2018

The Battle of Malaya: The Japanese Invasion of Malaya as a Case Study for the Re-Evaluation of Imperial Japanese Army Intelligence Effectiveness During World War II

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THE BATTLE OF MALAYA: THE JAPANESE INVASION OF MALAYA AS A
CASE STUDY FOR THE RE-EVALUATION OF IMPERIAL JAPANESE ARMY
INTELLIGENCE EFFECTIVENESS DURING WORLD WAR II

A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of the Arts

By

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B.A., Wright State University, 2015

2018
Wright State University

WRIGHT STATE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

April 20, 2018

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY
SUPERVISION BY Daniel J. Lauro ENTITLED: The Battle of Malaya: The Japanese
Invasion Of Malaya as a Case Study for the Re-Evaluation of Imperial Japanese Army
Intelligence Effectiveness During World War II BE ACCEPTED IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF Master of the
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ABSTRACT

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2018. The Battle of Malaya: The Japanese Invasion of Malaya as a Case Study for the Re-Evaluation of Imperial Japanese Army Intelligence Effectiveness During World War II.

The present assessment of Japanese intelligence operations during World War II is based almost entirely upon the work of Western researchers. The view presented is one of complete incompetence by the West. Little attention has been paid to any successes the Japanese intelligence organizations achieved. In fact, the majority of Anglo-American historians have instead focused on the errors and unpreparedness of the Allies as the cause of their early failures. This view is completely dismissive of Japanese intelligence efforts. The majority of the research does not take into account the extensive preparations and training the Japanese intelligence organizations and military undertook in the lead up to World War II. This information calls into question the assertion that Allied failures were the primary provenance of the early Japanese successes.

This study focuses on the Japanese intelligence efforts from 1930 to 1942. It will analyze the events leading up to and the Invasion of Malaya. This was a pivotal event at the opening of World War II, and was a decisive Japanese victory. Previously, the success of Japanese forces during this, and other, event has been credited to failures in Allied intelligence and preparedness. Western sources at large have claimed that Japanese intelligence as a whole was faulty. This project will argue that in fact Japanese

intelligence units were highly skilled and contributed greatly to Japanese successes. It

was as a result of severe organizational deficiencies and failures that appeared in the

latter half of the war that Japan eventually would fall behind in the intelligence war.

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Dedication

First and foremost, to my father who always believed in me and always pushed me to excel and to pursue those things that made me happy in life. I love you Dad and I am sorry that you never got to see me complete this work. To Debb my partner who has endured my long hours of absence in the effort to complete this project and has gone above and beyond to motivate me and keep me going. To Josh, Hall, and Carl, in no particular order, who were there for my B.A. and who have persevered as friends through my journey for my M.A. To the History department at WSU, whose tough love and guidance have helped me to get this far. Finally, to Dr. Christopher Beck, almost seven years ago you gave a longhaired, bearded, Rob Zombie T-Shirt wearing undergrad a chance in your Travels and Trade class. I hope that the years of guidance and mentorship have not been a complete waste or disappointment. Thank you for giving me the chance I needed to prove to myself that I belonged in this field.

Prologue

December 5th 1941, the Japanese First Air Fleet, designated *Kido Butai* or Mobile Unit/Force, refueled for the final time on their approach to Pearl Harbor. December 6th brought with it more, last minute, intelligence. Japanese submarines reported that the American fleet was not using its alternate anchorage. In the evening, the command staff had a final meeting during which they reviewed the operational plan one final time and assessed the latest intelligence reports to have been received. The last of the reports from their spy in Pearl Harbor arrived that night. The information that the operative sent was posted on the ready room boards for all the pilots to see in the morning. At noon of that same day, the *Kido Butai* had already adjusted its course due South and increased to full speed. Grand crews had already lined the aircraft up on the decks and readied them for combat while mechanics performed final inspections. By 6:15 a.m. approximately one hundred and eighty Japanese fighters, bombers, and torpedo planes had formed up. By 7:00 a.m., using a radio direction finder tuned to a Honolulu station for guidance, Commander Fuchida Mitsuo (1902-1976) estimated his attacking aircraft were an hour out from their target.

At 7:49 a.m. Admiral Nagumo Chuichi (1887-1944) received the infamous "TORA…TORA…TORA" radio message signaling that the attack on Pearl Harbor had commenced. Admiral Yamamoto also received that message, due to favorable atmospheric conditions, on his flagship near Hashirajima in Japanese imperial waters.

The first bombs began to fall on the US fleet at 7:55 a.m. The first torpedo, loosed by Lt. Goto Inichi, struck the *USS Oklahoma* shortly after the first bombs were released. Chaos reigned as the unprepared American seamen attempted to discern at first whether it was an attack or insubordinate pilots barn storming the ships. Once the explosions began American servicemen struggled to get their ships under way, attend to damage control, and mount a defense. They categorically failed in all their efforts. The lone exception was the *USS Nevada*. The *Nevada* was the only battleship to get underway. The ship and its crew made a desperate dash for the open ocean but after taking several bomb hits and a torpedo strike they were forced to beach to prevent blocking the harbor entrance. Approximately one hour behind the first wave was the Japanese attack's second wave. Arriving from several directions at once, they attacked Ford Island, Hickam Field and other vital aircraft facilities. The attack was over ninety minutes after the first bombs dropped. Pearl Harbor was devastated. The United States Pacific Fleet lie shattered on the harbor bottom. In the first fifteen minutes of the attack, the battleships *USS Arizona* and *Oklahoma* had been sunk while the *USS California* and *West Virginia* had been severely crippled. Five total battleships were sunk outright. The remaining battleships all received substantial damage and it would be three months before the least damaged of them returned to service. The Japanese had seemingly scored a decisive and demoralizing victory against the Americans.[1]

In early 1941 top Japanese military commanders believed for a myriad of reasons that war with the United States was inevitable. As early as the 1920s America and Britain had been aware of the potential as Japan increased its imperial presence in the Pacific

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[1] John Prados, *Combined Fleet Decoded: The Secret History of American Intelligence and the Japanese Navy in World War II*, (New York: Random House, 1995), 184-189.

region. Tensions between East and West escalated after Japan's 1931 invasion of Manchuria. Japan spent much of the 1930s after the invasion attempting to isolate China from any Western help. Japan also began a more earnest attempt at becoming independent of the West for resources. This attempt led them to begin looking at the resource rich area of Southeast Asia that included possessions of the British Empire.

In 1937, the start of the Second Sino-Japanese War and the Nanking Massacre began to sway Western opinion against the Japanese. Great Britain, occupied with events in Europe, had little time or the resources to deal with the potential Japanese threat in the Pacific region. Likewise, America was in no position to resist the Japanese directly at this point. Americans in general were also opposed to entering another costly conflict, preferring to let the Europeans deal with their own mess. As a result, the Western powers supplied the Chinese with money for their war supplies, hoping to stem the Japanese advance. In 1940, the Japanese invaded French Indochina. Their goals were to stop the influx of war supplies to China and to take control of the natural resources of the region. The United States in turn placed an embargo on all manufactured goods and resources going to Japan that it deemed to be war material. Oil was still allowed to be exported due in large part to the belief that to restrict its sale to Japan would be considered an extreme provocation. Aviation fuel, though, was on the list of goods embargoed.

The unmistakable escalation of Japanese aggression in the Pacific region forced the United States to face the reality that war with Japan was a very distinct possibility. American leadership was still uncertain at this point as to what they would do in the case of war between the two nations. In 1940 following naval exercises, President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882-1945) ordered the fleet to remain at Pearl Harbor. Pearl Harbor had been

incredibly useful as a forward naval base, but it had never been primary fleet base. The re-location of the Pacific fleet clearly was meant as a deterrent to further Japanese aggression in the emerging Pacific theater. Japanese war planners now felt that a preemptive strike against the Americans was necessary in order to ensure their plans on moving into what they referred to as the Southern Area.[2] This area included British holding like Malaya and Singapore and the Japanese command believed that strikes against these resource rich British territories would draw the Americans into a conflict.

In January 1941 the Japanese Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku authored a paper that would be the origin of the attack plan that the Japanese Combined Fleet would execute in December of that same year. Yamamoto's paper was unequivocal in its thesis. The Imperial Japanese Navy had to strike first and strike hard. Yamamoto pointed to the fact that the IJN had never won a scenario that involved reactionary tactics. As part of a multi-pronged thrust into the Pacific the IJN and IJA would have to work together to take key territories away from the West. One of the targets was Pearl Harbor. There Yamamoto declared that the IJN should attack using naval airpower as its primary offensive weapon and follow that success up with an extensive blockade conducted by IJN submarines. Yamamoto then requested that a naval aviator not indoctrinated within the traditional ideology of decisive naval battle doctrine to study the proposed project. Yamamoto received the results of that feasibility study sometime in March or April of 1941. It was within this period that the order was given to begin drawing up the actual battle plans for air attack on the naval base at Pearl Harbor.[3]

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[2] John Prados, *Combined Fleet Decoded*, 120. The Southern Area was the name the Japanese used to refer to the countries of Southeast Asia that they felt could supply them with the raw resources they required to continue their imperial endeavors.
[3] John Prados, *Combined Fleet Decoded*, 133.

The Japanese, as part of an overall ongoing naval intelligence gathering effort at the time, had sent naval officers under official cover as civilians to each of its embassies. The officers would direct espionage operations in addition to actively gathering intelligence themselves. In Hawaii this person was Yoshikawa Takeo. Yoshikawa's reason for being in Hawaii was because of this intelligence effort and not as a direct result of the planning of the attack on Pearl Harbor. In fact evidence shows that at the same time Yoshikawa was arriving in Hawaii the first order to create an attack plan was being issued in Japan. This did not mean that he did not contribute to the Pearl Harbor attack plan. As his mission continued the intelligence he gathered would be utilized in the plan that was developed.[4]

On a clear March afternoon in 1941 a Japanese liner nosed its way into a berth on the Hawaiian Island of Oahu. As the passengers disembarked, an official of the Japanese Consulate met a lone slim man in his late twenties. After receiving the traditional Hawaiian lei greeting the young man, whose papers identified him as Morimura Tadashi, was guided through customs by the consular agent who met him. Mormura was then taken to the consulate on Nuuana Avenue. Once there Morimura was introduced to his co-workers and shown to his residence within the consular compound. He was then given a rather innocuous title at the consulate, one that both the Consul and Vice Consul had known would hide his true task.

Morimura had spent years preparing for his real mission: to keep the Japanese Navy informed of the readiness of the U.S. Pacific Fleet anchored in Pearl Harbor. He had begun by familiarizing himself with the various military installations located in the Hawaiian Islands while simultaneously studying English so that he could glean all the

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[4] John Prados, *Combined Fleet Decoded,* 150.

information possible from periodicals like the *New York Times*. He also studied naval theory, read the works of Alfred Thayer Mahan, and studied *Jane's Fighting Ships*, memorizing the silhouettes of all the American vessels. His task was to monitor the activities, movements, and daily routine of the American fleet. He would then send this information back through the consulate in reports to Japan. Ultimately, this intelligence would aide in the planned attack on Pearl Harbor.

Over the months Morimura painstakingly recorded the patterns of most of the U.S. military activity on the islands. He never trespassed on government property and never committed any outright acts of espionage. Instead, Morimura gathered all of his intelligence through open sourcing and human intelligence. He was no different from the local law enforcement and Federal analysts working in the United States today, or the numerous attachés and businessmen working for the U.S. government observing the goings on in whatever nation they are residing in. He gained valuable information from local residents and servicemen at bars and in social environments, primarily as a result of the openness of these targets. He combed through local, national, and international papers to find corroborating data. He relied on his memory, avoiding cameras and notepads that may have drawn attention to him.

Morimura also was careful in his intelligence gathering habits. He never overused any one location or method. There was one exception. Morimura did have a preferred restaurant, the Shunchu-ro, which sat on the side of Alewa Heights.[5] That particular establishment afforded him an excellent view of Ford Island and Hickam Field. It also served to re-enforce his cover as a hard drinking, womanizing, Japanese government

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[5] John Prados, *Combined Fleet Decoded*, 146; Peter Elphick, *Far Eastern File: The Intelligence War in the Far East, 1930-1945* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1997), 297.

worker. Other times he would dress as a common day laborer and spend time in the cane fields on the slopes of Aiea that conveniently overlooked the submarine facilities in Pearl. These locations and techniques helped Morimura to gather the information that would be critical to the success of the Japanese attack on December 7th of that same year.

The narrative above may read like a work of historical fiction, but these events actually took place. Morimura Tadashi's real name was Yoshikawa Takeo (1914-1993). Yoshikawa provided the Imperial Japanese Navy with invaluable information, used to plan its attack on the US Pacific Fleet stationed at Pearl Harbor. Yoshikawa's intelligence helped to eliminate other, less strategic, targets on the island so that the planners could focus solely on the fleet at Pearl Harbor.[6] The intelligence he provided may even have resulted in the decision to use bombs on the American battleships in addition to torpedoes.[7] By the time of the attack Yoshikawa not only knew the names of most of the American ships, but he also knew their schedules down to the day. The largely complete picture that Yamamoto and his planners had of Pearl Harbor and American military activity on the islands, thanks to Yoshikawa's efforts, contributed directly to the success of the attack on December 7th.

Yoshikawa was no slouch. He had been a graduate of the Imperial Japanese Naval Academy and had served on capital ships in the Navy. Additionally, Yoshikawa had undergone training in both submarines and naval aviation, but forced to retire early for medical reasons cutting short a promising career. Approximately two years after his discharge, the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN) approached him and offered him a position

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[6] One major mistake in the attack was the decision to cancel the third wave of attacks which would have targeted Pearl Harbor's repair facilities and storage depos.
[7] Yoshikawa noted that the battleships were moored in a double row along Ford Island. This meant that only the outboard row of ships could be attacked with torpedoes, aerial bombing would be necessary in order to strike the inboard row of ships.

in its intelligence division. Yoshikawa's extensive naval training made him a valuable

asset and potentially the most valuable spy in Hawaii. Over the next few years

Yoshikawa studied everything that was available to him on the United States Navy and

its many Pacific bases. In 1940 he was given his assignment which posted him in Hawaii

and tasked him with keeping the IJN command informed of the current status of the U.S.

fleet. This assignment would end up becoming part of the overall strategy devised by

Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku that called for a surprise aerial attack on Pearl Harbor as the

opening gambit of war with the U.S. As the only military asset in the Hawaiian Islands,

the intelligence that Yoshikawa passed on proved invaluable to Yamamoto in his

planning.[8]

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[8] David Kahn, *Codebreakers: The Story of Secret Writing* (New York: MacMillan, 1967), 13, 42, 47, 52;
Tony Matthews, *Shadows Dancing: Japanese Espionage Against the West, 1939-1945* (New York: St.
Martin's Press, 1993), 61; John Prados, *Combined Fleet Decoded*, 145-146, 150, 178-179; Peter Elphick,
Far Eastern File, 297.

Chapter 1

Thesis

      Yoshikawa Takeo's activities in Hawaii represent a highly developed and sophisticated approach to intelligence operations. His training and approach to his mission was on par with Japan's Western counterparts. Yet, Western scholars, both British and American, have readily dismissed Japanese intelligence as faulty. Instead, they focus on Western intelligence failures as being the source of Japanese successes in the first half of the Second World War. This thesis will argue the opposite. It will argue that the Japanese had an intelligence apparatus that was as developed as those possessed by its Western counterparts. It will analyze the Japanese espionage operations, in particular those of the Imperial Japanese Army, conducted in preparation for the Invasion of Malaya. The battle will be used as a case study to analyze Japanese intelligence contributions to the overall success of that military operation. It will focus heavily on the contributions made by the famous Japanese intelligence unit *F Kikan* as related by its commander Fujiwara Iwaichi (1908-1986) in his memoir *F. Kikan: Japanese Intelligence Operations in Southeast Asia during World War II*. This thesis will analyze the intelligence operations of *F Kikan* using the Intelligence cycle as defined by the Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI). This cycle is the same that was

implemented during the war. The ODNI has simply provided a clear and concise definition of the individual steps involved and the methods of collection.[9]

Yoshikawa Takeo's training and activities were not unique among the various branches of Japanese intelligence. Instead, he is typical of the effort that the Japanese exerted in order to field highly capable operatives. Despite the revelations of Yoshikawa's activities there is still considerable conjecture over the capabilities and effectiveness of operatives like him and over Japanese intelligence as a whole. Some historians like W.J. Holmes have credited the work Yoshikawa did as being vital to the success to the strike on Pearl Harbor. Yet other historians like David Kahn have argued that Yoshikawa was more interested in dalliances with local Japanese-American women that life on the Hawaiian Islands provided him. Kahn's analysis painted Yoshikawa as being unhappy with both his assignment and the people with whom he worked. As a result, Yoshikawa focused on his own personal gratification instead of tending to his duties. R.B. Stinnet even goes so far as to claim that Imperial Japanese Army and Navy intelligence officers were badly trained. The speculation that surrounds Yoshikawa's activities and achievements is representative of the larger, Western, view of Japanese intelligence activities during World War II. When the subject of intelligence during the war is brought up, scholars tend to go straight to speaking about the ingenious complexity of the Enigma machine and the herculean efforts of the Allies to decipher it. In such discussions the Germans often receive as much praise for their ingenuity as the Allied

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[9] *Intelligence Is For Commanders*, published in 1948 and authored by LTC Robert Glass and LTC Phillip Davidson, is one of the first times the term Intelligence Cycle is used to describe the process that was being utilized at that time. A process that in the authors' understanding had roots all the way back in the mid-19th century. The components of the cycle they recognized were 1) direction of collection effort; 2) Collection; 3) Processing information; 4) Use of Intelligence. All of which fell under the umbrella of the Mission. The authors were presenting the concepts, ideas, and rules for the practice of intelligence. Clearly, they believed that only by understanding the intelligence procedure could a commander fully realize the assistance he could receive in accomplishing his mission.

codebreakers. Meanwhile in any similar discussion about the Pacific war, historians

belittle and ignore Japanese intelligence efforts. This thesis will take a critical look at

Japanese intelligence capabilities and argue that they were better than given credit for

using an analysis of the intelligence operations that preceded the Battle of Malaya.

The following study will look at the Japanese development of their intelligence apparatus

in the years prior to the Second World War. It will examine their use of intelligence operations at

its onset. The thesis will look specifically at the Japanese intelligence systems employed prior to

and during the Battle of Malaya. The Invasion of Malaya, like the attack on Pearl Harbor, was a

pivotal event that occurred in late 1941. Both were decisive Japanese victories. In each case the

success of the Japanese forces has been credited to epic failures in Allied intelligence and

preparedness. Historian David Kahn has said that the Japanese intelligence services experienced

success in only the most extraordinary and propitious of conditions. The attack on Pearl Harbor,

often, is still referred to as "… the greatest shock ever sustained by the United States."[10] Western

sources have claimed that Japanese intelligence was faulty. This project will argue that in fact

Japanese intelligence units were highly skilled and contributed considerably to Japanese military

successes. It would be because of the development of severe organizational deficiencies, internal

failures, and inter-service rivalry during the second half of the conflict that Japan would fall

behind in the intelligence war and eventually succumb to defeat.

Exploration of Thesis

Not until the 1970s did the world learn of the complex role intelligence played in

the Allied victory in WWII. The story of intelligence operations during the Second World

War first started in 1973 with revelations about the Enigma cipher machine and the

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[10] David Kahn, "The Intelligence Failure of Pearl Harbor," *Foreign Affairs* 70, no. 5 (Winter 1991): 150.
This article was published ten years before the attack on the Twin Towers in 2001, but the reasoning for
Kahn's claim would still hold true today. Pearl Harbor is still the greater shock because it destroyed
America's myth of invulnerability and the idea that it could remain isolated from the world.

ULTRA program. Gustave Bertrand published his work *Enigma ou la plus grande énigme de la guerre 1939-1945* in that year and for the first time revealed the multinational effort that went into breaking the German cryptographic system. Bertrand's book led to the even larger disclosure of the critical role intelligence played in tactical, strategic, and operational planning. For the first time scholars began to realize the tremendous impact intelligence had on the events of WWII. This in turn led to a serious revision to the historiography of the war.[11]

Britain followed suit in 1979, publishing its official history of intelligence operations during the Second World War titled *British Intelligence in the Second World War*. The multi-volume tome, edited by Sir Francis Harry Hinsley, illuminated the extent to which the British used intelligence operations during the war and their importance to its outcome. In particular, the work goes into extensive detail about the use of information and dis-information. Allied deceptions at Normandy, counter-intelligence operations, and the decryption of Enigma are all detailed in its pages. Because of the American desire to keep its own intelligence capabilities a secret, *British Intelligence* was limited in its scope to events and actors in the European Theater of Operations (ETO).[12]

Those initial works have heavily influenced the World War II narrative. That influence is apparent today in works like Andrew Roberts' 2009 publishing, *The Storm of War: A New History of the Second World War*. In his book Roberts illustrated how the relationship between German General Erwin Rommel and British Field Marshal Bernard

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[11] Gustave Bertrand's work, translated as *Enigma, or the Greatest Enigma of the War of 1939-1945*, resulted in a tremendous demand to reveal the rest of the story on the breaking of the cipher. It also created tremendous pressure to disclose the entirety of the Ultra story.

[12] Ken Kotani, "Japanese Intelligence in World War II: Success and Failures," *NIDS Security Reports*, (2009): 3. In addition to taking into mind a consideration for America's need to keep its intelligence abilities secret from the Soviet Union, the war in the Pacific was also seen as its domain. Finally, there was also the need to consider diplomatic repercussions should Britain reveal America's role or put pressure on it to reveal its role in intelligence operations in the ETO during WWII.

Montgomery had to be re-evaluated. Montgomery "… had the invaluable advantage of being able to read Rommel's Enigma communications, Montgomery knew how short the Germans were of men, ammunition, food and above all fuel."[13] The Allied victory in the ETO is now understood to have been due in large part to its extensive intelligence apparatus. Since Bertrand's original revelations the overall contribution of intelligence to operations in the ETO has emerged as a complex and detailed picture. The intricate nature of this story is possible because of the unparalleled access that the Allies had to Axis, in particular German, personnel and records at the end of the conflict. The result has been that scholars from all walks of academia have been able to ascertain the strengths and weaknesses of the various intelligence organizations and the impact that they had on operations and decision-making. Historians in particular have the ability to examine and understand the cultural, bureaucratic, and ideological factors that influenced the operation of intelligence agencies. Unfortunately, the same conditions that added to our understanding of the intelligence war in the ETO did not exist in the Pacific theater at the end of the war.[14]

The United States and its allies did not get the same kind of access to the Japanese personnel and documents that they had gotten in the ETO. Unlike the conditions in Europe where geographic distances were relatively short and the Allies had invaded the very capital of their foe, the Pacific Ocean is a vast expanse of nothingness dotted infrequently by small spits of land. One of the results of the combination of the

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[13] Gustave Bertrand's work, translated as *Enigma, or the Greatest Enigma of the War of 1939-1945*, resulted in a tremendous demand to reveal the rest of the story on the breaking of the cipher. It also created tremendous pressure to disclose the entirety of the Ultra story; Andrew Roberts. *The Storm of War: A New History of the Second World War* (London, New York: Allen Lane, 2009), 297.
[14] Edward J. Drea, "Reading Each Other's Mail: Japanese Communication Intelligence, 1920-1941," *The Journal of Military History* 55, no. 2 (April 1991): 185-186; Ken Kotani, *Japanese Intelligence in World War II* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2009), 1.

geography of the Pacific Theater of Operations (PTO) and the overall American strategy

to defeat the Japanese was that no Allied soldier actually set foot on Japanese home soil

prior to the surrender in Tokyo Bay. Thanks to the large geographic separation there was

over a month delay between the end of the war in the Pacific and the arrival of the first

occupation forces in September of 1945. In that interim period Japanese intelligence

personnel had been busy. The intelligence branch of the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA)

had embarked on an extensive burn campaign that destroyed the majority of their

cryptanalytic work. Code breakers went underground. Authorities removed the names of

intelligence operatives and personnel from rosters, or declared them dead. These

preparations allowed the Japanese to feign ignorance once the occupiers arrived and

began asking questions. The Americans too, were planning on playing "stupid" so to

speak. The U.S. had been successful in the breaking of Japanese codes. As a result the US

knew that the Japanese were not as incompetent as they were playing. The Americans

participated in the charade because to reveal the Japanese duplicity in this matter could

have potentially disclosed their own extensive capabilities. A giant game of balderdash

ensued. Complicating the situation were the extreme racial prejudices held at the time. In

the end Nazis were still white Europeans who had become misguided. The Japanese on

the other hand were viewed as sub-human as a result of their Eastern origin, and

dehumanized further by wartime propaganda. Ultimately, both sides were able to protect

their secrets successfully from the each other, leaving historians with a wholly

incomplete story.[15]

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[15] Edward J. Drea, "Reading Each Other's Mail," 185-186; Louis Allen, "Japanese Intelligence Systems," *Journal of Contemporary History* 22, no. 4 (October 1987): 547-549; Ken Kotani, *Japanese Intelligence in World War II*, 1.

Despite the fragmentary nature of the available information on Japanese intelligence during WW II a satisfactory history can still be constructed. There is an abundance of information readily available for current historians to utilize. The National Institute for Defense Studies in Shinjuku, Tokyo Japan houses an extensive collection of documents dating from 1865 forward. They are divided between the army, navy, and the Ministry of Defense. Many of the records are available digitally. Unfortunately, a greater number of them have yet to be translated and scanned as reading eighty-year-old hand writing presents a unique challenge, especially when it is in the Japanese language. The U.S. National Archives houses the *World War II Collection of Seized Documents: Japan*. This collection consists of copies of everything brought to America at the end of the war. Many of these records also go back to the mid-1860s. Additionally, there are the documents that have been emerging thanks to the Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act which also encompasses information related to Japan. Finally, there exist an impressive number of oral and first person histories published in both English and Japanese. Fujiwara Iwaichi's memoir, which will be used heavily in this work, is one such example. With this information it should be possible to create a moderately detailed summary of Japanese intelligence capabilities prior to and during the war. Furthermore, it may be possible to construct a framework with which it may be possible to start telling a more nuanced history of the subject.[16]

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[16] Louis Allen, "Japanese Intelligence Systems," 547-549; Edward J. Drea, "Reading Each Other's Mail," 185. Examples of the kinds of information that are available are Nakamuda Ken'ichi, *Johoshikan no kaiso* (Recollections of an Intelligence Officer) (Tokyo: Sonorama, 1985). Nakamuda served as an intelligence officer during the Second World War. Tanaka Yuki, *Hidden Horrors: Japanese War Crimes in World War II* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1996). This work contains interviews with individuals who both served and suffered at the hands of internal intelligence forces like *Tokko*. In 1985 there was a panel discussion that was recorded in "Zadankai: Nihon Rikugin ango wa naze yaburarenakattaka," (Panel Discussion: Why Couldn't the Japanese Army Codes be Broken?) *Reikishi to jimbutsu: Taiheiyo senseo*

Current scholars in the field claim that it is impossible to form a thorough understanding of Japanese intelligence during the war. This is a direct result of the fragmented nature of the information possessed. Edward Drea has asserted that the evidence possessed is circumstantial at best, and "… there cannot be any certainty about how the Japanese used their cryptographic treasures."[17] Drea also questions whether any cryptanalytic successes the Japanese did have even mattered due to the infighting and bureaucratic issues that divided the intelligence services. These issues, while present at the start of the conflict, would not dominate Japan's intelligence landscape until the latter half of the war. This claim writes off all operational failure as a result of internal disorganization and strife while simultaneously denoting that the intelligence organizations were failures. At the very least the claim marginalizes the early pre-war and initial wartime efforts and successes the Japanese did have in the intelligence arena. To subjectively discount the intelligence abilities of the Japanese based on operational outcomes, missing data, and the end result of the war does a disservice to both sides in the conflict. Despite the fact the Japanese ultimately lost the intelligence war, it is essential that historians construct as accurate a narrative as possible. To that end, it is possible to create such a history by using the available primary and secondary information.

This thesis would not be the first attempt at piecing together a history in this manner. In fact, it draws its inspiration from the work of Revolutionary War historian Woody Holton. In his book *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* Holton successfully presents the argument that the

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shiriizu (Winter 1985), where a former cryptanalyst from the 1940s, Kamaga Kazuo, related his experiences.

[17] Edward J. Drea, "Reading Each Other's Mail," 204-205.

Virginia Founding Fathers were forced into acting by those who were socially and economically beneath them. Traditionally, the Founders are viewed as having led the common people who have been voiceless in most of history. The lack of primary evidence that surrounded these groups did not deter Holton. Holton constructed the framework for his argument using what does exist: newspapers, records of town meetings, reports on social events, and commentary in the journals and personal writing of the elites. From there he was able to extrapolate the unknowns to form a coherent argument that provides a new understanding of the events and forces that motivated the Founders. In a similar manner, this thesis will look at the knowns and attempt to extrapolate the unknowns in an effort to create a more thorough understanding of Japanese intelligence operations. By analyzing information that is directly linked and tangentially connected to Japanese intelligence efforts, it may be possible to construct the necessary framework to better analyze the Japanese intelligence operations of WWII.

Review of Literature/Historiography

Starting in the 1970s with the revelations about the ULTRA project, historians have been examining the role of intelligence during World War II. The impact of intelligence on the war has been scrutinized from the lowest level operations to the creation of overall strategy. From this analysis, a general picture has emerged, at least in regards to the European Theater of Operations. The Allies enjoyed considerable superiority over their opponents in the field of intelligence in this picture. The contribution of Allied intelligence operations to the Allied war effort was a major facilitator in their eventual victory. The deciphering of the Enigma cypher and Operation Bodyguard are both prime examples of the importance of intelligence to the outcome of the war. Furthermore, access to the Axis powers' records and personnel after the war have helped historians to craft a thorough understanding of the many intelligence factors that

contributed to the pursuit of the war. This work has created an understanding of the many aspects

that constituted Hitler's and the German's conduct of the war. This is not the case with the study

of intelligence in the Pacific theater.[18]

The present assessment of Japanese intelligence operations during World War II is based

almost entirely upon the work of Western researchers using Western sources. This work heavily

favors the idea that early Allied failures were solely a result of unpreparedness and their later

successes derived wholly from their achievements. Central to this idea is the theme of overall

ineffectiveness in the Japanese intelligence services. At the start of the war the Japanese racked

up a remarkable string of successes. The vast majority of intelligence histories, though, refuse to

credit the Japanese and their intelligence efforts for setting the stage for their victories. Most

historians point instead to the flaws and weaknesses of the West as the as the primary basis for

the Japanese superiority at places like Malaya and Pearl Harbor. Almost no credit is given to the

Japanese for their performance, especially at the onset of the war, instead Allied errors are

credited. The work of historians like David Kahn tends to support this view. Kahn has dismissed

Japanese SIGINT efforts entirely and overall has painted a picture of the Japanese being

ineffective, incapable, and developmentally behind the West in terms of intelligence capability.

Then there are a select few historians, such as Edward Drea, who feel it is impossible to make any

real determination about the effectiveness of Japanese intelligence capabilities based on the

available evidence. There is still another line of thought, though, that has begun to emerge.

Spearheaded by Dr. Ken Kotani, this line of thinking argues that Japanese intelligence

organizations were not inept. Instead they suffered from a lack of status, central organization, and

efficiency.[19] Edward Drea also raised this idea in the conclusion of his paper on Japanese

communications intelligence between 1920 and 1941 when he stated that "Whether or not

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[18] Ken Kotani, *Japanese Intelligence in World War II*, vii; Ken Kotani, "Japanese Intelligence in World War II," 3-4; Hisao Iwashima, *Johosen ni Kanpai Shita Nihon (Japan's Total Defeat in the Intelligence War)* (Tokyo: Hara Shouhou, 1984).
[19] Ken Kotani, *Japanese Intelligence in World War II*, 1-26.

Japanese cryptanalytic victories mattered in an intelligence system divided against itself is a question that awaits an answer."[20]

The surprise attack on Pearl Harbor is one of the most widely studied intelligence failures of World War II. The common conclusion is that there were plenty of warnings available prior to the attack that signaled Japanese intentions. In fact, frequently the assertion is that the U.S. had ample information about Japanese intentions because of intercepted communications and broken codes. Gordon Prange's 1981 book *At Dawn We Slept* examines the events leading up to the attack and his effort focus on the gathering of intelligence during the period prior to December 7th. His work is valuable in helping to understand the revisionist viewpoint of the events. The primary claim that has manifested because of looking at the intelligence America gathered prior to the attack is that the Japanese success was the result of an American intelligence failure. David Kahn's article, "The Intelligence Failure of Pearl Harbor", is an example of this assessment. He directly attributes the success of the attack to two major defects in American operations. The first was the lack of centralized intelligence and the second a lack of co-ordination between the military commands.[21] This assessment though continually fails to realize the scope of Japanese preparations prior to the attack and in doing so reveals its major flaw.

Edward Drea, an eminent scholar who specializes in Japanese military affairs, takes a slightly different approach. In his article "Reading Each Other's Mail: Japanese Communication Intelligence, 1920-1941" he points out that currently there exists a fragmented history of Japanese intelligence accomplishments. This is the result of several factors that when combined may, potentially, make resolving this convoluted and fractured story incredibly difficult. Key to the mess historians currently must deal with is the fact that Japanese intelligence organizations pursued a vigorous and thorough burn policy at the end of the war. Compounding this was the fact that many of the surviving agents remained in hiding for fear of reprisals and have now

[20] Edward Drea, "Reading Each Other's Mail," 23.
[21] David Kahn"The Intelligence Failure of Pearl Harbor," 14-15.

passed on, leaving their stories untold. Drea maintains that a thorough understanding of the

dynamics that existed between intelligence and military planning is not possible. His assertion is

based on the belief that historians possess little of the necessary evidence and that what they do

have is circumstantial at best. Instead of making assertions one way or another, Drea's work

attempts to describe the known and expand on that knowledge. This allows him in the end to push

aside the assertion that Japanese intelligence was wholly inept. Instead, Drea points out that it is

now known Japanese intelligence was far more successful than previously credited. The question

instead is whether that success mattered or not due to deficiencies in the organization of the

intelligence system.[22]

Dr. Ken Kotani has no patience for the depiction of Japanese intelligence as being

incompetent or for the claim that Allied failures alone spawned Japanese success. In his book

Japanese Intelligence in World War II he argues that the officers of Japanese intelligence were

accomplished at performing their job. He posits that their downfall was a result of insufficient

resources and a de-centralized intelligence organization. The fact that operations staff looked

down on intelligence officers, coupled with the severe internal competition between the various

organizations, only served to exacerbate the issues. Kotani points out that despite the contribution

of intelligence officers in multiple tactical successes, like Pearl Harbor, they were not allowed to

take part in strategic planning. The author points to events like the invasion of French Indochina

as an example. The 1st group, operations, ignored intelligence's opposition to the invasion and

kept them in the dark throughout the entire planning process. Despite a successful outcome, the

invasion resulted in America cutting off the all-important export of oil to Japan. This was a

potential outcome intelligence had feared.

Kotani and his works are only the most recent additions to the literature that originated in

Japan itself. Like America, intelligence studies in Japan have been for the most part ignored until

recently. What literature does exist offers vital clues to answering the question about why Japan

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[22] Edward Drea, "Reading Each Other's Mail," 203-205.

lost the intelligence war. In 1994, retired Colonel Ariga Tsutao published his book *Nihon Riku Kai Gun no Jyoho Kiko Sono Katsudo* (The Organization and Activities of the IJA and IJN). This work was instrumental in opening the way for increased work in the field. By far the largest work done on the history of Japanese Intelligence was *Rikugun Nakano Gakko* (Nakano Army School) and published in 1978. The book is a wide-ranging survey of the espionage activities and training of the IJA. The book spans the time from the Sino-Japanese War to the end of the Second World War. Graduates of the school, known for turning out highly trained and competent intelligence officers, compiled and edited the work.

Many former Japanese officers have left us with their memoirs. These important works provide an inside look at Japanese intelligence activities. Several volumes appeared just prior to and during the Pacific War. They dealt with the long history of Japanese Counter-Intelligence efforts. *Nihon Bocho shi* (History of Japanese Counter-Intelligence) traces the history of the subject back to the eighth century. The Japanese Military Police, known as the *Kenpei-Tai*, edited their own official history in 1939. In 1975, well after the end of World War II, the Military Police Officers Association edited another volume entitled *Nihon Kenpei Seishi* (Official Japanese Military Police History). They put out yet a third history in the early 1980s. These works go into significant detail about the covert operations that took place in Manchuria, China, and Southeast Asia.

The Japanese Military Police were not the only former combatants that were writing memoirs. Several members of both the Imperial Japanese Navy and the Imperial Japanese Army also wrote about their experiences before, during, and after the Pacific War. Retired Captain Motonao Samejima and retired Lieutenant Kenichi Nakamuta both left copious amounts of personal papers that recollected their codebreaking missions during the Pacific War. Motonao's work was titled *Moto Gunreibu Tsushin Kacho no Kaiso* (Memoir of an ex-Chief of Communications, Navy General Staff) and published in 1981, while Kenichi's effort was titled *Joho Shikan no Kaiso* (Memoir of an Intelligence Officer) and was released in 1974. In 1951

former Vice Admiral Toshiyuki Yokoi wrote about the IJN's codebreaking efforts starting in the 1920s and proceeding through the end of the Pacific War. The book was titled *Nihon no Kimitsushitsu* (Japanese Black Chamber). Imai Takeo, a former Major General, wrote *Showa no Boryaku* (Conspiracies in the Showa Era) in 1967. His book revealed some of the intelligence operations that the IJA had been running in China and Manchuria. In 1972 retired Captain Yuzuru Sanematsu wrote *Joho Senso* (Intelligence War) in which he described his duties as part of the IJN's intelligence section. What makes his work interesting is that he also spent time serving on Navy General Staff.[23]

It is apparent that the current view of Japanese intelligence operations during World War II is flawed. It is unacceptable to assert that the only reason the Japanese enjoyed any success was due to the failures of others. Even though the Allied advantage in the Pacific was obvious much sooner than in Europe, there is strong evidence that Japanese intelligence was not the problem. The question then becomes where the problem, if there was one, existed? The question is not easily answered because the role of Japanese intelligence organizations and their effectiveness is murky at best. This is a result of the combination of several factors. The destruction of the vast majority of intelligence documents at the end of the war and the reclusiveness of Japanese operatives after the war are two of these components. Edward Drea feels because of this lack of evidence it is currently impossible to make a determination on the effectiveness of Japanese intelligence during the war. For Drea, and for this research, the question to answer is, what effect did the organization and structure of the intelligence services have on overall Japanese intelligence and military performance? Answering this question can give historians a more accurate and complete picture of Japanese intelligence during World War II.

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[23] Ken Kotani, *Japanese Intelligence in World War II*, 1-5. I am citing Ken Kotani's work here because his efforts allowed me to compose the portion of my historiography relating to Japanese language sources. His synopsis of the Japanese literature aided me in verifying what abstracts and descriptions I had found on these works in English, and saved me many of hours of translation time on those that I found nothing on.

The present assessment of Japanese intelligence operations during World War II is based almost entirely upon the work of Western researchers. The narrative as presented thus suffers from fundamental flaws. The most important of these flaws is that effective Japanese intelligence operations do not receive credit for the success of events like the attack on Pearl Harbor and the Invasion of Malaya. Instead, their triumphs belong to American and Allied intelligence failures. While this may in part be true, to ignore the intelligence operations of the Japanese as wholly ineffective is a mistake. What attention granted to any victories the different Japanese intelligence organizations achieved often comes in the form of conspiracy books. Books like Charles Beard's *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War 1941*, John Toland's *Infamy*, and *Betrayal at Pearl Harbor* by James Rusbridger. In fact, many Anglo-American historians have instead chosen to focus on the errors and unpreparedness of the Allies as the cause of their early failures. This view is completely dismissive of Japanese intelligence efforts. Much of this research does not consider the extensive preparations and training the Japanese intelligence organizations and military undertook in the years prior to World War II and is based heavily on Western sources. This information alone should call into question the assertion that Allied failures alone were the primary provenance of the early Japanese successes.

Intelligence Overview

If paying to poke someone is the world's oldest profession, then paying someone to poke around in somebody else's business is easily the second oldest. Espionage, the oldest subset of intelligence gathering, has a history as old as mankind. The Ancient Greeks used spies extensively as did the Roman Empire. The ancient writings of generals, philosophers, and advisors often contained advice on the use of espionage as part of a successful military strategy. The Chinese classic *The Art of War* by Sun-Tzu and the *Artasastra* by the Indian philosopher Chanakya are both notable examples of classic treatises on the art of intelligence gathering. The ancient Egyptians were also noted for

having an extremely adept intelligence system. Espionage is even found within the Bible. Recorded in the book of Numbers is the story of Joshua, Caleb, and the twelve spies sent forth by Moses into the Promised Land to assess whether or not it was suitable for the Israelites.

During the 14th through 16th centuries espionage continued to be practiced extensively by both the East and West. Like previous shoguns, the Tokugawa shogunate of Japan employed espionage to manage and control the daimyo and samurai. The shogunate realized that it needed some manner of discovering internal corruption and dissent throughout Japan. The *Metsuke* were officially the censors of the Tokugawa shogunate. Unofficially they operated as the shogun's personal intelligence agency. They were tasked with reporting any events, situations, or conversations back to officials in Edo that showed evidence of dissent, corruption, or maladministration. They functioned in a similar fashion to the manner in which attachés do in the modern intelligence world. In the West the efforts of the shogunate are embodied most famously in the form of the legendary ninja. In reality the shogunate's actual efforts were much more practical and far less fanciful. The Mongols also used espionage extensively during their conquests in Asia and Europe. Meanwhile, in the Americas, the Aztecs learned how to use the individuals in their society that were in charge of commerce as spies. Additionally, prior to a battle or conflict, the Aztecs would send members of their own tribe out among their enemy. These individuals would speak the local dialect and wear the local attire, not unlike human intelligence (HUMINT) assets today.[24]

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[24] Jasques Soustelle, *Daily Life of the Aztecs* (New York: Dover Publications, 2011), 209; W.G. Beasley, ed., *Select Documents on Japanese Foreign Policy, 1853-1868*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 326.

Since its incorporation, the definition of intelligence and its purpose have changed little. Intelligence is the information, regardless of source, collected from both within and outside a parent nation. That data can pertain to direct or indirect threats, to the parent nation, its people, its property, and may include any number of the aforementioned circumstances or include them all. The intelligence may also involve reporting on the development of new technologies, offensive or defensive, the propagation of weapons and weapon systems within a nation, region or hemisphere, and more recently, the proliferation and use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). The accumulated information is then processed and used to understand a perceived opponent or threat, to discern the consequences of any action taken politically or militarily, inform negotiations and policy decisions, aid internal security and first responders. The process by which all of this is done is now known as the Intelligence Cycle.[25]

In *U.S. National Intelligence: An Overview 2013*, a report written and published by the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, the Intelligence Cycle is defined as "the process of developing raw information into finished intelligence for use by policymakers, military commanders, and other consumers in decision making."[26] It is a cyclical six step process that is designed to be dynamic and repeatable at the same time. Those six steps in order are: 1) Planning and Direction; 2) Collection; 3) Processing and Exploitation; 4) Analysis and Production; 5) Dissemination and; 6) Evaluation. The final step is unique in that is occurs at the end of each of the previous steps in addition to occurring for the process as a whole.[27]

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[25] Corin Stone, *U.S. National Intelligence: An Overview 2013* (Washington D.C.: Office of the Director of National Intelligence, 2013), 2-4.
[26] Corin Stone, *U.S. National Intelligence: An Overview 2013*, 4.
[27] Corin Stone, *U.S. National Intelligence: An Overview 2013*, 4-6.

The first step, referred to as the Planning and Direction stage, provides the

impetus for the entire intelligence cycle. In the modern parlance direction often comes

from a specific requirement provided by the consumer for specific project. In this

instance the direction aspect precedes the planning phase. The refined intelligence that is

provided to the consumer is referred to as the product and it may consist of any number

of things individually or as a combination of them. Some examples of products are full

reports, graphics, and raw data that has been collected and processed but not analyzed.

Depending on the customer's requirements the intelligence organization(s) assigned with

generating the product will proceed with planning.[28]

The second step in the Intelligence cycle is the gathering of the raw data for the

project. There are five primary sources of intelligence. They are Geospatial Intelligence

(GEOINT), Human Intelligence (HUMINT), Measurement and Signature Intelligence

(MASINT), Open-Source Intelligence (OSINT), and Signals Intelligence (SIGINT). Data

collection is conducted in a manner that assembles information related to the product in

as many of the aspects of intelligence as possible. Sources of information can range from

newspapers and social networking sites to complex clandestine aerial surveillance and

satellite imagery. Once the intelligence needed to produce the finished product has been

amassed the next step in the cycle can begin.

In the third step of the Intelligence Cycle, Processing and Exploitation, the raw

data from the previous step is refined into a form that is more readily usable.[29] The

Processing and Exploitation phase of the Intelligence Cycle uses highly trained and

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[28] Corin Stone, *U.S. National Intelligence: An Overview 2013*, 4-6.
[29] Exploitation is defined as the process of obtaining intelligence information from any source and taking advantage of it for intelligence purposes in *U.S. National Intelligence: An Overview 2013*. This definition will be the primary one used in conjunction with the term in this thesis.

specialized individuals and complex equipment to make the collected intelligence usable

by the analyst in the next step. During this step imagery is interpreted, data is translated if

necessary, if possible it is decrypted, and then it is organized in a manner that makes

analysis both easier and more efficient.[30]

The fourth step in the Intelligence Cycle is Analysis and Production. As with the

preceding step this one also utilizes highly trained and specialized people and equipment

to give meaning to the refined intelligence. The processed intelligence is synthesized into

a finished product that produces actionable intelligence.[31] In some instances this step may

be skipped as a result of time constraints or the requirements of the customer. An

excellent example of this occurred during the Cuban Missile Crisis. President Kennedy

only needed the actual quantity of Soviet equipment in Cuba and facts on Soviet activities.

As a result no analysis was required.[32]

Dissemination of the completed intelligence product to the customer is the fifth

step in the Intelligence Cycle. There are multiple methods of dissemination in today's

world. Hardcopy, electronic distribution, and formal briefings are all used. Most finished

intelligence will be distributed through multiple if not all avenues. It is during this phase

when evaluation may uncover gaps in the intelligence and identify new pertinent

questions that need answered in order to fulfill the consumer's original requirements.

More often than not, the Intelligence Cycle begins anew at this point.[33]

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[30] Corin Stone, *U.S. National Intelligence: An Overview 2013*, 4-6.
[31] Actionable is defined in *U.S. National Intelligence: An Overview 2013* as (1) Information that is directly useful to customers for immediate exploitation without requiring the full Intelligence Cycle; actionable information may address strategic or tactical needs, support of U.S. negotiating teams, or actions dealing with such matters as international terrorism or narcotics. (2) Intelligence and information with sufficient specificity and detail that explicit responses based on that information can be implemented. These will be the primary definitions utilized in this thesis.
[32] Corin Stone, *U.S. National Intelligence: An Overview 2013*, 4-6.
[33] Corin Stone, *U.S. National Intelligence: An Overview 2013*, 4-6.

The final step in the Intelligence Cycle is Evaluation. This step is unique in the fact that it exists in a specific point within the cycle but also throughout it. At the end of every cycle feedback is acquired and used to refine both the process and the intelligence as whole. At the same time constant evaluation exists in every step in order to better fulfill the customers' requirements in the present and the future. The feedback is used to refine techniques and activities and to develop new more effective methods of collecting intelligence. This step is vital to addressing the dynamic environment of intelligence gathering.[34]

Intelligence gathering falls into five basic categories as previously mentioned. They are HUMINT, OSINT, SIGINT, GEOINT, and MASINT. Despite the modern naming and acronym conventions these practices have been around for most of human history. The one exception is MASINT, not formally recognized until 1986, and where the other four categories collect direct evidence, MASINT tends to be indirect. Together these different types of intelligence and their collection techniques provide intelligence organizations with all of the raw data they require to fulfill their missions.

Measurement and Signature Intelligence (MASINT) is technically derived information. It relies on data sources other than imagery and signals. MASINT is a product of the technological age we live in and often relies on optical information in visual spectrums that humans cannot perceive. It also includes radio frequency analysis, acoustics, seismology, and the use of material sciences in achieving its objectives. The tools used for MASINT collection include computers with advanced software suites, satellites, and drones. The final intelligence product for MASINT is a result of the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the information collected through these means.

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[34] Corin Stone, *U.S. National Intelligence: An Overview 2013*, 4-6.

Since MASINT is a product of the past thirty years it will not be included in the discussion.[35]

Human Intelligence (HUMINT) is the collection of information via a human source. This is the category that the majority of people think of when they think of intelligence work. James Bond is the epitome of this, idea, style of spy. In HUMINT is much broader than this preconceived understanding. HUMINT is the only one of the five categories where its collectors interact directly with the information sources- assets- directing their activities and conversations. The greatest advantage provided by HUMINT is the ability of its collectors to obtain information that is otherwise impossible to procure.[36]

Human Intelligence encompasses a wide range of activities. It can be high-level national security information all the way down to low-level unit or individual specific missions. HUMINT is further divided into two main categories, overt collection and covert collection. Overt collection includes but is not limited to the debriefing of persons who travelled to locations and nations of interest, diplomatic reports from embassies, law enforcement reports on criminal activities, and reports on host country officials' reactions to U.S. policy. In overt collections the collector meets openly with sources and declares their position as an official representative of the U.S. Government.[37]

Covert operations, often-referred to as clandestine operations, are those conducted in secret on foreign soil.[38] The collections officer, usually under the cover of a NOC

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[35] Corin Stone, *U.S. National Intelligence: An Overview 2013*, 45-46, 75.
[36] Corin Stone, *U.S. National Intelligence: An Overview 2013*, 45-46.
[37] Corin Stone, *U.S. National Intelligence: An Overview 2013*, 45-46.
[38] In the Central Intelligence Agency clandestine operations are now conducted by the Directorate of Operations, the replacement for the Clandestine Service. Most nations have similar divisions in their respective intelligence services.

(Non-Official Cover), will attempt to develop discreetly a relationship with a source that

is close to the desired information. Ultimately, the goal is to get that source to divulge the

intelligence that the collections officer's nation desires. The methods used in this type of

operation can vary. The source may be told of the collecting individual's national

affiliation, they may be persuaded via moral or ethical arguments, and the collection

officer may utilize temptation in the form of vice or carnal pleasure. Money can also be a

powerful motivator. Finally, blackmail is never out of the question. Once recruited the

source is tightly controlled to protect both the collections officer and the source

themselves. It is also imperative for the political safety of the nation doing the collecting

that the operation eludes detection. This is one of the reasons that covert operatives often

operate under a NOC and if captured are disavowed. This process if most often the

longest and most time consuming, often taking years, but often yields the most actionable

intelligence.[39]

GEOINT is the acronym for geospatial intelligence and encompasses the

exploitation and analysis of imagery as well as the exploitation and analysis of geospatial

information. Variations of GEOINT have been around for as long as warring states have

had armies. In the earliest times this involved the scouting and mapping of terrain. The

result being the ability to pick positions and locations for battle that were favorable to

one's self. With the advent of photography imagery analysis comes into being. The most

famous of which might be the pioneer aviators of WW1 taking reconnaissance photos of

the trench works and lines of opposing forces. Today with the advent of satellites and

[39] Corin Stone, *U.S. National Intelligence: An Overview 2013*, 45-46.

multi-spectrum video imagery GEOINT has entered a completely new realm and is one of the most important information sources intelligence agencies have at their disposal.[40]

Open-Source Intelligence (OSINT) is derived from all the information that is publicly available. The data that is collected, processed through the intelligence cycle, and disseminated to the appropriate audience in a timely manner. OSINT pulls from a wide variety of sources: Newspapers, magazines, TV, social media, internet and computer based information, government reports, official data, directories and other forms of public data, Grey Literature, observation and reporting, and the availability of worldwide satellite imagery such as Google Earth.[41]

Signals Intelligence (SIGINT) is the data that is collected from all data transmissions. This includes Communications Intelligence (COMINT), Electronic Intelligence (ELINT) and Foreign Instrumentation Intelligence (FISINT). COMINT involves analyzing traffic patterns. This was particularly useful in both World Wars as it provided a means to locate enemy naval units in the period before radio direction finding. It is also useful in determining who is involved with whom and what a potential hierarchy may be. It helps to establish links between different groups and can potentially reveal some of the meaning within the communication. FISINT is obtained by intercepting foreign electromagnetic transmissions. It involves such things such as telemetry data,

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[40] Corin Stone, *U.S. National Intelligence: An Overview 2013*, 45-46.
[41] Corin Stone, *U.S. National Intelligence: An Overview 2013*, 45-46; Grey Literature is open-source material that is available through controlled access. I can include things like research reports, unofficial government reports, technical reports, dissertations and the data from studies. Satellite imagery like Google Earth provides more OSINT than is recognized. In an exercise during an internship in the summer of 2016 the author was able to accurately model the Iranian submarine fleet's number and patrol capability based on images found on Google Earth.

beacons, and video data links. Finally, ELINT is derived from electronic signals such as

RADAR and other non-communicative signals.[42]

Applying this intelligence model to the Japanese Pearl Harbor intelligence

operations makes it clear that they were some of the finest of the war. First and foremost

Japanese leadership utilized intelligence in their operational planning. This was

something that would disappear as the war drew on and internal power struggles

escalated. Yoshikawa Takeo's mission in Hawaii is an excellent example of what can be

learned by simply using openly available information, OSINT. It also stands as an

example of top-notch HUMINT work. Yoshikawa's frequent sightseeing trips around the

islands allowed him to view and document US military installations from various vantage

points. Restaurants, hotels, and even parks with "picturesque" views of Pearl Harbor

allowed him to chart the numbers and locations of United States Navy (USN) ships. They

also allowed him to keep track of their comings and goings. The various bars and dining

establishments frequented by USN personnel gave Yoshikawa the opportunity to verify

his observations and learn of new developments on the bases. American servicemen

seemed more than willing to talk about things that to them appeared harmless. Yoshikawa

also looked to newspapers and local publications that often detailed the stationing and

deployment of vessels. In addition to the HUMINT, the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN)

was also using Radio Direction Finding (RDF) to plot the deployment of USN

warships.[43] All of this intelligence and more would provide the basis for the attack that

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[42] Corin Stone, *U.S. National Intelligence: An Overview 2013*, 45-46; ELINT sources do not contain speech or text. Those signals fall specifically under COMINT.

[43] The use of RDF to track ships was something that had been done since at least the First World War. In the case of this work it will be considered as Signals Intelligence (SIGINT). It could be said that it constitutes a form of MASINT, but since MASINT was not formally recognized until the 1980s it is being excluded as a category from model being used by this thesis.

Admiral Onishi Takijiro, Commander Genda Minoru, and Admial Yamamoto Isoroku planned.

The attack on Pearl Harbor, though, was just a small piece of a larger Japanese thrust into the Pacific. Pearl Harbor for America was a monumental failure and marked the country's entrance into a war that it had not wanted. The reality was the attack, while important, was a side attraction to the larger invasion of Southeast Asia and its resource rich territories. The topic itself has also been well trod. Therefore in this work the intelligence activities of the Japanese leading up to and during the Battle of Malaya, an often-overlooked action, will be analyzed. The operations discussed will be classified into one of the four defined categories of SIGINT, HUMINT, GEOINT, and OSINT. The success of each will then be assessed according to how they contributed to Japan's final victory in its Malayan campaign. The intelligence system employed by the Japanese will be examined and its effectiveness will be judged using Intelligence Cycle presented here. The results will then be included in the overall analysis of Japanese intelligence operations.

Chapter 2

Historical Background: Japan's Rise to Imperial Power

In 1868 the last feudal Japanese government came to an end and imperial rule was revived. The emperor, though, was more of a figurehead in the same vein that the British monarchy is today. Real political power rested with the newly established national assembly. The establishment of the Meiji Restoration soon followed. Its beginning also signaled the start of Japan's rapid transformation into a modern regional imperial power. The Meiji Restoration was a vast plan of social, political, and technological reforms triggered by the realization that the nation lagged far behind its Western counterparts. By the 1890s Japan emerged as an economic powerhouse that stood on equal footing with many of the Western powers. Japan accomplished in thirty years what it had taken the West almost two hundred years to do. Practically overnight, its economy and industry modernized. This revolution was reacting, in large part, to the threat that the Western colonial powers presented. The Japanese had seen how China was carved up for the West's for own economic benefit. They also remembered how helpless they were to Commodore Matthew Perry's demands when he visited Edo Bay in 1853.

A profound sense of nationalism motivated the men who helped to bring down the Tokugowa Shogunate in 1867 and revive the emperor. They had been radicalized by the various events of the previous seventeen years, were angry at Japan's position in the world as well as their own, and desired to change things. Men like Yamagata Aritomo,

who desired to establish Japan's place among the world's powers in order to protect its independence and rights, or Itō Hirabumi who often voiced the desire to make Japan the equal of any Western nation. These overlapping motives became the basis and driving force behind a series of missions both at home and abroad designed to bring Japan up to par with the rest of the world and that fueled the progress of the Meiji Restoration.

Yamagata Aritomo had been a leader in the *sōnnō jōi* movement in the 1850s and helped to form a volunteer militia that had drawn from all of Japan's social classes.[44] That regiment, called the *Kiheitai*, had been successful in both the Shimonoseki War (1863-1864) and in the Boshin Civil War in 1866.[45] From these experiences Yamagata made a strong case for Japan creating a Western style conscript army. In 1869 and 1870 he visited Europe and observed both the French and Prussian armies. His experiences with these modern conscript armies reinforced his leaning towards the formation of such a military in Japan. Yamagata's observations on the benefits of the conscript army were essential to the development of his belief that Japan should adopt modern military practices and form a national army. The advantages of a conscript army that so appealed to Yamagata included: fast mobilization, complete support of the state by the population, formation of loyalty to the nation versus an individual, and the creation of national unity.[46]

During the first year of the Meiji period both the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN) and the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) were formally established. In terms of being

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[44] Sōnnō jōi was both a political philosophy and social movement. In the 1850s and 1860s it became the slogan of the forces attempting to overthrow the Tokugowa Shogunate. It translates approximately to "Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarians."; Roger Hackett, *Yamagata Aritomo in the Rise of Modern Japan, 1838-1922* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 12, 13.

[45] Kiheitai (奇兵隊) translates approximately as "odd soldier"

[46] Roger Hackett, *Yamagata Aritomo in the Rise of Modern Japan*, 52-53, 60-62.

modern military services, though, both were still lacking. Yamagata spent an enormous

amount of energy attempting to rectify this situation within the Army. Upon his return

from Europe in 1870 he was appointed the Vice-Minister of Military Affairs. One of the

first things that he did was to pass the Conscription Ordinance. This law was similar to

French conscription legislation. It mandated compulsory service for all males twenty

years of age. It was a tremendous step towards the disenfranchisement of the hereditary

warrior classes. It also opened the door for social advancement based on skill and

opportunity. More importantly it moved the people of Japan towards a more nationalistic

fealty.

Yamagata's trips to the West were some of the most influential of the series of

foreign missions whose goal was to advance Japan. The Iwakura expedition potentially

was the most important. It, more than anything else, shaped Japan's future economically,

socially, and politically. In 1871 Iwakura Tomomi led a group of forty-nine Japanese

government leaders on an extended trip through the West. Fifty-eight students some of

whom were tasked with remaining behind as international students for several years

accompanied them. The group focused on learning about the West. Its primary objective

was to learn the secrets of the West: How did the West arrive at the condition it was in

presently? How could Japan reach modernity on an equivalent scale and place itself as an

equal among the advanced nations of the West? The answers to those questions pointed

Japan down a path that embraced technological progress and colonial conquest. They had

keenly observed that not all Western countries were equally modern and those that were

not, often fell victim to those that were. To that end the Japanese went about observing

and acquiring the scientific and technological advancements of the West for themselves.

Once they had them, they studied them, understood them, and then improved upon them. It was not be long before Japan announced itself to the modern world.

The impetus for the diplomatic missions to the West was Japan's changing ideas about its place in the Pacific and its relation to its regional neighbors. The Japanese, after witnessing how Europe had carved up China, had realized that they needed to advance as a nation technologically, socially, and economically. But, they were not sure what type of nation they were destined to become. The Iwakura mission more than any other defined what path that national change would take. The late nineteenth century saw an increase in the aggressiveness of Western imperial designs in the East. As the United States and the major powers of Europe had come to realize after several large-scale military conflicts, the strength of the national economy augmented the capability of a nation to achieve political unity in its populace and to exercise its military might. To that end, this period saw an increase in colonial empire building. The belief of the colonizing nations was that the possession of vast colonial territories contributed to the wealth and growth of the parent nation. As a result, Africa was quickly consumed by European powers. The US expanded into the Pacific and took Hawaii in 1893 and both the US and Europe then began to divide Asia. The US and Germany competed for influence in places like the Marshall Islands, France brought Vietnam under its umbrella, and Britain folded Burma into its empire.

The West's belligerent encroachment into the territories of the East forced Japan to reassess its relations with both Eastern and Western nations. Yamagata Aritomo was once again at center stage. His ever-pragmatic worldview led him to see Japan's neighbors as backwards and weak. Yamagata viewed them all as easy victims for

Western colonial ambitions similar to the Eastern European nations he and others had observed. Korea, though, drew his attention more than any other nation. Korea's location posed an immediate threat to Japan's national security in his opinion. In Yamagata's mind Japan needed to create a buffer around its possessions that was essential to maintaining its security. Korea, as a peninsula, protruded into Yamagata's buffer zone. In order to defend the national interests and security of Japan, Yamagata introduced an ambitious plan for the rapid expansion of its military forces. His plan also included the development of corresponding intelligence services.[47]

Japanese Intelligence Development (1868-1941)

The development of the various Japanese intelligence organizations coincided with its rise to imperial power. Early on, the Japanese realized that effective intelligence gathering was paramount to their planned success. 1868, the first year of the Meiji Restoration, marks the formal establishment of the Imperial Japanese Navy and the Imperial Japanese Army. From their beginnings each possessed and controlled its own intelligence apparatus. While the military technology of Europe was new and at times unknown to the Japanese, the art of intelligence gathering was not. For over a thousand years Japanese military leadership had followed the maxims contained in Sun Tzu's *The Art of War*. One of the most poignant and perpetually relevant dicta of the text was that for one to be successful in battle, one must know his enemy as they knew himself. To that end the IJA had commenced intelligence gathering operations in China by the mid-1870s. Yamagata utilized information obtained from formal operations such as those performed by Fukushima Yasumasa and from informal operations performed by secret societies like the *Genyosha*.

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[47] Roger F. Hackett, *Yamagata Aritomo in the Rise of Modern Japan*, 138.

General Baron Fukushima Yasumasa (1852-1919) was a key figure in Japan's

early intelligence history. Fukushima was a native of Matsumoto in the Nagano

Prefecture. One of his earliest assignments upon entering the Japanese army in 1878 was

a posting as military attaché to the Japanese legation in China. It was during this time that

he led one of Japan's first intelligence rides, modeled after those of the great adventurers

of the West, to India.[48] In 1887 Yasumasa was posted as an attaché in Berlin. In 1892 he

was recalled home and took fifteen months to cross Siberia alone. The route that

Yasumasa followed took him over Siberia, Mongolia, and Manchuria. During his travels

he kept detailed notes of everything that he was observing. The resulting reports served to

feed the already growing anti-Russian sentiment that was forming in Japan. That anti-

Russian attitude amongst Japanese leadership was instigated by the Russian construction

of the Trans-Siberian Railway. While the Russians made claims that the railway would

serve an economic purpose, the Japanese saw it as an inroad for military advancement

into the region. Fukushima "was probably the pioneer in Japan of the 'intelligence ride'

already widely practiced by Russian and British officers in Asia."[49] Fukushima's reports

reached as high as Yamagata Aritomo. Fukushima's reports no longer survive, but

Yamagata's own personal writings dating from October of 1893 acknowledge the weight

Fukushima's accounts carried in his strategic thinking.[50]

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[48] The intelligence ride is not to be confused with the staff ride. The staff ride originated sometime in the
19th century and was a tour of battle positions by an army's general staff. It was used to train officers on the
failures and success of specific battles and the individual events that made them up. The intelligence ride
was often performed by a single individual, or small group of men, under some other guise but whose true
intent was to collect intelligence for future actions.
[49] Ian Nish, "Japanese Intelligence and the Approach of the Russo-Japanese War," in *The Missing
Dimension: Governments and Intelligence Communities in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Christopher Andrew
and David Dilks (London: MacMillan, 1984), 20.
[50] Ian Nish, "Japanese Intelligence and the Approach of the Russo-Japanese War," 19-20.

Japanese intelligence has roots that can be traced all the way back to its feudal period. During that period much of the espionage was carried out by secret societies. This practice carried on all the way through the Second World War and many of those secret societies came to make up a significant portion of the informal intelligence network upon which men like Yamagata relied on. The Japanese recognized these societies as being a primitive, yet effective, means of sharing information, discovering secrets, and of gaining leverage on people. The *Genyosha*, Dark Ocean Society, was founded in 1881. The society gained enough power that it was actually able to influence Japanese politics. *Genyosha* was paramilitary in nature and it possessed a nationalistic objective. In the words of its members it existed to safeguard the rights of the people. Its real *raison d'être* was to gather intelligence on Korea, China, Russia, and Manchuria.[51]

Yamagata also received information that came from commercial espionage. The *Nisshin Boeki Kenkyujo* (Sino-Japanese Commercial Research Office) was one such example. Ostensibly, its employees engaged in learning Chinese customs, language, and culture in order to help Japanese companies doing business in China. Among the many tasks they engaged in was open source intelligence gathering. During the Sino-Japanese war the Japanese military utilized many of the employees of the *Boeki Kenkyujo* as scouts and interpreters. Additionally, the military used them to gather human intelligence. The Japanese military also began to use them to watch the Korean peninsula. They then expanded the scope of their operations in the 1890s to include observing Russia and its movements. The close eye kept on Asian neighbors was due in part to the fact that Japan now saw China and most of its Asian neighbors as backwards and itself as a great civilizing force for the region. Japanese leadership viewed both China and Korea as

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[51] Tony Matthews, *Shadows Dancing*, 43-44.

puppets of Russia and therefore as hostile nations. Japanese leadership also viewed

Russia's movement and expansion into China and Manchuria as military endeavors and

not commercial. One of the objects of Japan's information gathering activities was to

keep track of Russian political developments, troop numbers, and the disposition of both

Chinese and Russian military forces. In many instances Japanese military officers on

study leave with Russian units gathered intelligence on Russia's military status. In the run

up to the Russo-Japanese conflict the Japanese utilized this tactic extensively. The data

collected by the formal and informal intelligence networks proved valuable in both of the

conflicts Japan fought in at the turn of the twentieth century.[52]

Since 1868, as a result of the many missions to Europe, including the Iwakura

mission, Japanese military officers had learned about modern European military practices.

On multiple occasions European military commanders tutored the Japanese directly in the

techniques that were they currently employed. Prussian Major Jacob Meckel, for example,

instructed his Japanese army counterparts on the army strategies utilized in the recent

Franco-Prussian War. Japanese naval officers learned from their British peers while on

study leave with Royal Navy units. At the same time British Royal Navy officers were

posted on Imperial Japanese Navy ships and tutored their Eastern counterparts. While

none of these lessons involved intelligence operations that we know of, that does not

mean that the Japanese were not influenced by European examples of intelligence

collection. There is ample evidence that even if the Japanese were not formally educated

in European intelligence techniques, they were observant enough to learn from what was

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[52]Ian Nish, "Japanese Intelligence and the Approach of the Russo-Japanese War," 18; J.W.M. Chapman, "Japanese Intelligence, 1918-1945: A Suitable Case for Treatment" in *Intelligence and International Relations 1900-1945*, ed. Christopher Andrew and Jeremy Noakes (Exeter: Exeter University Publications, 1987), 147; Louis Allen, "Japanese Intelligence Systems," 6.

going on around them wherever they were posted. The aforementioned intelligence rides

of Fukushima Yasumasa stand as example of this. European expansion throughout Asia

and Africa had established a tradition of intelligence gathering by lone military scouts

and adventurers riding across frontiers. The reports they compiled fed not just the

imagination of those back in their home country, but also supplied their native militaries

with vital information on regions they may one day be invading.[53]

Europe's colonial expansion into Africa and Asia had created a practice of using

spies and scouts to gather information on potential enemies. Military scouts often

journeyed deep into frontier lands sending back detailed reports about geography,

inhabitants, cities, and their thoughts on the cultures they encountered. Similarly,

adventure journalists like Archibald Colquhoun and George Ernest Morrison undertook

great expeditions across vast distances of foreign lands. Upon returning home, they wrote

up their experiences for publication. While the public relished reading these exciting

stories, often the true motive behind them was to help compile information for their

government that aided them in conquering these exotic lands. The Japanese learned from

the European example. They had their own adventurers, who like the European

counterparts, secretly amassed information on their neighbors for the state. Japan, though,

was not without its own rich history of espionage to pull from. The Japanese looked

inward as much as they did outward in regards to spying and intelligence gathering. The

Tokugawa Shogunate, for instance, had utilized sophisticated intelligence and spying

operations in order to maintain control over the daimyo and samurai.

During the mid to late 19th century the focal point of much of the Japanese

intelligence gathering effort began to shift from military officers on study leave to the use

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[53] Ian Nish, "Japanese Intelligence and the Approach of the Russo-Japanese War," 17.

of attachés. The Japanese continued to employ and refine the practice of using attachés all the way up to the Second World War. Each attaché at an embassy collected and collated data into reports that were then sent to the associated First Secretary. The political attaché studied the political atmosphere, kept an ear to the ground at official functions, and read the local and national papers for political affairs of note. Similarly the commercial attaché kept abreast of the happenings in the business world. They made notes on new scientific developments, military contracts, and patents filed for new technologies. The commercial attaché also kept abreast of stock market activity and public financial matters. The military attachés spent their time, usually aided by a small team of specialists, combing through scientific and technical journals. They were looking for information on arms and ammunition production, advancements that had military applications, and even banking and shipping information that could reveal the production capability and capacity of the host nation's industry. Thus, the embassy served as an intelligence clearing house. All the intelligence reports for a single region were gathered at this one place and then the First Secretary would send the information on to the appropriate ministry in Tokyo.[54]

During this time the Japanese also began to employ private citizens as intelligence assets. Japanese intelligence organizations paid private traders like Kishida Ginko to report back to their IJA handlers on a variety of subjects. Kishida had helped Dr. James Hepburn on his now famous Japanese dictionary. Together in 1866 they travelled to Shanghai to have it printed on the modern presses of that city. That first trip was the beginning of almost thirty years of traveling back and forth between China and Japan.

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[54] Ian Nish, "Japanese Intelligence and the Approach of the Russo-Japanese War," 17; Louis Allen, "Japanese Intelligence Systems," 549; Ken Kotani, *Japanese Intelligence in World War II*, 6.

While in China, Kishida embarked on numerous business ventures. He became well versed in the customs and details of several regions. Kishida was a vast source of information on a country that few Japanese had visited. His final business venture was to begin publishing pocket editions of Chinese classics designed to be snuck into the Chinese Civil Service exam by hopeful candidates.[55] Kishida also had ties with *Genyosha*, one of the informal intelligence networks utilized by the Japanese. It was one of his bookstores in Shanghai, spawned by the publishing of the pocket editions, which Lt. Arao Sei arranged to use as the base and cover for his formal intelligence mission in China. Arao pioneered the integration of the formal and informal intelligence networks that Japan used through the end of the Second World War. Arao utilized businessmen and combined their efforts with those individuals who conducted their own intelligence rides throughout Central Asia. He combined the use of informal intelligence sources with the formal military intelligence operations of Japan. In his efforts Arao managed to cover the military, political, and economic spheres of the region. In 1890 Arao, with the help of the IJA, established a formal government business in China. Located in Shanghai, the *Nisshin Boueki Kenkyo-Jo*'s (Institute for Sino-Japanese Trade) outward appearance was that of a legitimate business endeavor. The stated purpose was to educate Japanese citizens in the Chinese language and culture in order to facilitate Japanese commercial expansion into China. Meanwhile, its hidden purpose was the headquarters for Japanese intelligence operations in China.[56]

First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895)

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[55] The Civil Service Examination was part of a system to choose candidates for the state bureaucracy. The system came into widespread use during the Tang dynasty and remained in place until 1905. The exams were based on a knowledge of the classics and literary style versus technical prowess.

[56] Ian Nish, "Japanese Intelligence and the Approach of the Russo-Japanese War," 17; Louis Allen, "Japanese Intelligence Systems," 549; Ken Kotani, *Japanese Intelligence in World War II*, 6.

The beginnings of Japan's colonial empire came with the defeat of China in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). The war's genesis had its roots in the continued concern of the Japanese over the danger the Korean peninsula presented should a foreign power gain a foothold there. Korea, unable to deal with Western encroachment, found itself with an isolationist government in the 1880s that was attempting to preserve the traditional conservative politics and society. The Koreans continued to rely on the Chinese for protection and guidance on international matters. Unfortunately, the Chinese were in no position to provide either. Having lost two wars to Britain in 1842 and 1860, followed by a loss to the French in 1885, the Chinese had proven they were incapable of resisting Western advances into the East. Finally, by the 1890s the Japanese leadership realized that possessing Korea would be beneficial for their growing industry as a result of the extensive coal and iron ore deposits it possessed.

In 1894 hostilities broke out between Qing controlled China and Japan over the disposition of Korea. It was Japan's first modern international conflict. It was not only the Japanese desire to end Chinese suzerainty there, but to also prevent any other powers such as the Russians, besides themselves, from taking up residence in the aftermath of accomplishing that goal. Almost as important was the fact that Japanese leadership had also recognized the economic potential that Korea held. It was rich in both coal and iron ore deposits, both important in the halcyon days of Japan's industrial and military buildup. Korea could also prove to be an agricultural boon and help to feed the growing Japanese population.[57]

Traditionally, Korea had been a tributary of the Qing Empire in China. As a not unexpected result the Chinese regime held significant influence over the Korean officials.

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[57] Peter Duus, *The Rise of Modern Japan* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976), 125.

While the Korean court remained conservative and subservient to the Chinese, the populace of the country was divided. On one hand there were those who wanted to retain the relationship with China and on the other were the reformists who wanted to break from this relationship. In large part the reformists were inspired by the accomplishments of the Japanese and saw the potential for their own country. As a result Korean reformists wished to approach Japan and the Western nations it had learned from in order to start their own journey of advancement. The Japanese were open to meeting with and promoting the agenda of the reformists for very obvious self-serving reasons. In the mid-1880s China was weakened after fighting multiple wars against both the British and the French and the Japanese saw the opening to supplant Chinese authority in Korea.

Between 1882 and the onset of the war between Japan and China there were a number of crisis that resulted in escalated tension between the two nations. In 1882 there was a military uprising. Rioting occurred in Seoul. Food shortages that had occurred due to drought and that had led to great hardship among the Korean population triggered the violence. In the midst of the Koreans attacked the Japanese legation. Japan responded by sending a number of warships and a detachment of soldiers to Seoul in order to protect its interests. Tensions between the two subsided after an agreement that mandated Korea pay reparations to Japan. In 1884 there was a failed coup by a group of pro-Japanese reformers. While they were successful for a time in gaining power, it was not long before pro-Chinese forces took back the reins in a counter-coup. During the upheaval a number of Japanese citizens were killed. The result was the Convention of Tientsin which mandated that neither Japan nor China maintain a military presence in Korea and that

warning should be given to the other in the event the decision was made to dispatch troops for any reason. This became a key component in the start of the war in 1894.[58]

In 1894 the situation in Korea became tense. Korean agents assassinated a pro-Japanese Korean revolutionary, Kim Ok-kyun, who had been involved in an attempted coup in 1884. The Korean government had Kim's body drawn and quartered and then subsequently displayed as a warning to other revolutionaries. This upset both the Japanese and the local Korean Kim supporters. At the same time the Korean government was also dealing with a populist uprising whose adherents demanded reforms aimed at improving the quality of life for Korea's destitute. Unable to deal with these matters the Korean leadership turned to China for military aide. In June the Korean king asked for help in suppressing the Donghak rebellion. The Qing government responded by sending troops to aid the Koreans without notifying the Japanese. This caused considerable apprehension in Tokyo because the Qing government's actions were in clear violation of the Convention of Tientsin (1858). Japan's leaders assembled to decide on a course of action.[59]

The violation of the previous Tianjin Treaty, which forbade the deployment of Chinese forces into the Korean peninsula without first notifying Japan, had the leadership in Tokyo clamoring for action. The Japanese feared Western interference on the Korean peninsula because of a weak Korean government that was allied to an ailing China. The solution was to propose that the Koreans accept Japanese protection and abandon China. In return, the Japanese would intervene in the current domestic crisis. This was to be

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[58] Louis Allen, *Japan: The Years of Triumph from Feudal Isolation to Pacific Empire* (New York: American Heritage Press, 1971), 47-51.

[59] Michael J. Seth, *A History of Korea: From Antiquity to the Present* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2010), 225.

followed by longer-term intervention with an agenda of progress and reform in the country. The goal was to make Korea so strong that it would become a suitable barricade that prevented encroachment into Yamagata's buffer zone. Japan dispatched an expeditionary force in late spring of 1894 with these, and other, goals in mind. In early July the Japanese captured the king and replaced the existing Korean government with a pro-Japanese body. The new body gave the Japanese the right to expel the Qing forces by any means necessary. Things began to deteriorate quickly after this. Soon after the British intervened but all their efforts to mediate a resolution failed. Within a short period the Japanese took all the necessary steps to expel the Chinese culminating in the first battle of the war, the Battle of Pungdo on July 25th.[60]

Prior to the onset of the war estimates of the Chinese military's strength and capabilities had placed it well beyond those of its Japanese counterparts. It was not long before the intelligence apparatus of the IJA allayed any fears that were had concerning the Chinese military. General Fukushima Yasumasa, the Japanese attaché assigned to China, utilized the web of formal and informal intelligence systems to report that the Chinese Army suffered from both political and military weaknesses and that the symptoms were widespread. Yamagata, who was now a Field Marshall, learned from the intelligence system that significant levels of corruption plagued the Chinese Army. The vast intelligence network also illustrated that the figures on the strength of the Chinese Army were meaningless. Like the pre-Meiji conscript army the Chinese army drew officers and men from their commander's home province. Any reinforcements or replacements also had to come from the same locale and could not be pulled from

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[60] Michael J. Seth, *A History of Korea*, 225.

anywhere else. This led to significant issues in training and bred infighting and favoritism. The loyalty of the various units was also in question.

Corruption was also widespread. While a battalion should have consisted of five hundred men, Japanese intelligence discovered that many contained as few as three hundred, or sixty percent of their designed strength. This meant that the Chines army's numbers were conflated. This was because many of the commanders kept the enlistment artificially low so that they could pocket the difference in the pay allotted to a full battalion by the government. The IJN also participated in pre-war intelligence work. It obtained valuable information by using private citizens as intelligence assets. Japanese Admiral Saigo Tsugumichi paid British national J.M. James to report on the daily activities in the city of Tientsin. Overall, IJN and IJA intelligence efforts elevated the Japanese confidence going into the conflict about what they could potentially accomplish. Their intelligence activities not only dispelled any notions of Chinese military superiority, it had also affirmed that their tactical analysis and planning were accurate.[61]

The war lasted a scant nine months. Yamagata's arms buildup in combination with the information provided by Japan's intelligence network in China had given Japan a significant advantage. The lessons learned from the Europeans paid off. The Japanese forces overwhelmed the Chinese at Pyongyang followed by a decisive naval victory the day after. In November Port Arthur was taken and then in February of 1895 the Chinese fleet at Weiheiwei was destroyed. By April of 1895 Itō Hirobumi had negotiated an end to hostilities. The Treaty of Shimonoseki granted Japan territory in Manchuria to the Liaodong Peninsula, cession of the Pescadores Islands and Taiwan to Japan, and

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[61] Louis Allen, "Japanese Intelligence Systems," 548-549; Louis Allen, *Japan: The Years of Triumph*, 53-55; Ken Kotani, *Japanese Intelligence in World War II*, 6-7.

numerous commercial and economic privileges. The concessions granted in the Treaty of

Shimonoseki at the conclusion of the First Sino-Japanese War ushered Japan into the

world as the first true Eastern colonial power. The Japanese had no intention of stopping.

Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905)

In many ways the war between Russia and Japan had been inevitable. For over

two hundred years the Russians had crawled across Asia until in the 1860s they reached

the Pacific. Vladivostok, Russia's newest port at the time, allowed the Russian Navy

access to the Pacific, but its various egresses were well covered by Japan. In addition to

the hindrance presented by Japan, Vladivostok was not an ice free port which was

something the Russians desired. When Russia failed to gain possession of the island of

Tsushima in 1860 as a possible place for a port in the Far East it turned its focus to the

Korean peninsula. A port on the peninsula would allow the Russian fleet to sortie directly

into the Yellow Sea.[62]

In 1895 Russia had approached and been received by China as an ally against

Japan. The payoff was that Russia had been allowed to construct the Chinese Eastern

Railway across Manchuria. Shortly thereafter, in 1898, China ceded Shantung to the

Germans as recompense for the murder of two of its subjects. Russia capitalized on the

events and secured a lease of the Liaotung Peninsula from China at the same time. The

Japanese sent a military force in to recover their legations and immediately withdrew half

of their force upon the legation's safe return. Russia again exploited the situation by

sending its garrisons into Manchuria. The Japanese realized that it was only a matter of

time before Russian attempted to push into Korea in order to utilize its warm water ports.

The Japanese had considerable interests in Korea as they owned the Korean rail system

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[62] Louis Allen, *Japan: The Years of Triumph*, 55.

and tens of thousands of Japanese nationals had settled in Korea. Japan was able to force Russia's withdraw through political maneuvering and with the help of its American and British allies.

In 1902 the Japanese and British signed the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which opened the door for Japan to consider military rebuffs of Russian advances into Asia. While British aid was not automatic in the event of conflict, the alliance formally recognized that the Japanese had political, commercial, and industrial interests in Korea. Additionally, the Americans had vowed to side with Japan if a European power should come to the aid of Russia in the event that hostilities broke out between the Russians and the Japanese. For a time it appeared that the overwhelming political pressure applied by the Japanese and their allies was going to carry the day. Unfortunately, it was not to be.[63]

Japan and its allies forced Russia to agree to withdraw its forces from Manchuria in three phases. In early 1903 the first of those withdrawals occurred. However, the second planned step of the withdrawal did not occur as planned. The Tsar ignored the moderates that were his advisers and instead created a Viceroy of the Russian Far East to whom he gave the ability to negotiate direct with Japan, China, and Korea. In doing this he completely cut his foreign minister out of the loop. The Tsar made Admiral Eugene Alexeiev the Viceroy. Alexeiev was an extremist in Asian matters and believed that Russian domination of the Asian people was necessary. Furthermore, for Alexeiev and those that shared his thinking Korea must be Russian.[64]

In mid-1903, amid mounting concern, the Japanese proposed a settlement with Russians. The plan offered guaranteed both China's and Korea's territorial integrity,

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[63] Louis Allen, *Japan: The Years of Triumph*, 56.
[64] Louis Allen, *Japan: The Years of Triumph*, 57-58.

recognize Russian railway interests in Manchuria, and Japan's economic and political investments in Korea. Russia responded by saying it would only guarantee the Korean stipulations only. This alluded to the fact that Russian had designs on the whole, or at least a significant portion, of Manchuria. Additionally, Russia requested in its counter proposal that Japan should eschew fortifying the Korean coast and repudiate interest in Manchuria. Russia's rejection of the Japanese terms made war appear inevitable. The British intervened, acting as mediator, but failed in the attempt. The Japanese re-iterated their terms in January 1904, but this time they came in the form of an ultimatum.[65]

The turn of the twentieth century saw nationalism run rampant across the entire globe. It was also the high tide mark of European racism towards Asia peoples. German Emperor Wilhelm II often corresponded with his cousin Tsar Nicolas II applauding him for his stance against the encroaching Asian threat. Wilhelm saw Nicolas as the defender of not just Europe, but of white Europeans as well. With Wilhelm aggressively supporting Russian aspirations in the East it was only a matter of time before Russian intransigence lead to war. It was not long before the Tsar, as well as many Russians, became uninterested in compromise with the Japanese. The Japanese soon realized as the talks progressed at the end of 1903 Russia's stubborn refusal to compromise was a stalling tactic. The goal was to give the Russian military time to build up before war. The Japanese, believing that the Russians could not be serious about war, offered one final ultimatum in January of 1904. The Tsar, emboldened by Wilhelm II's rhetoric and the belief that Germany would come to Russia's aid, ignored it.

The Tsar communicated in February of 1904 to his Viceroy that the Japanese should be perceived as having started any conflict. The Japanese did not bother to declare

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[65] Louis Allen, *Japan: The Years of Triumph*, 57-58.

war formally. On the 8th of February Japanese destroyers attacked the Russian naval squadron at Port Arthur. On the 9th Admiral Togo Heihachiro's battleships entered into action forcing the squadron to withdraw into Port Royal. The formal declaration of war arrived on February 10th 1904, but the series of one sided naval defeats Russia suffered in the few days before the declaration were a foreshadowing of what was to come.[66]

Japan's strategy for the conflict was to destroy Russia's navy. By accomplishing this goal the Japanese would be able to deploy their ground forces freely wherever they wished, and whenever they liked. The Russians intended to fight a delaying action, drawing the Japanese deep into Manchuria where they would be confronted far from resources and re-enforcements. There the Japanese would be defeated at either Harbin or Liaoyang. Within the first three months of the war the Japanese army had landed in Korea and advanced across the Yalu. Once they were into Manchuria they faced and defeated the Russians in battle twice. The second Japanese victory was the costly but tactically significant capture of Port Royal. The Japanese victory at Port Royal freed the forces there for important operations at Mukden. Japanese Field-Marshall Oyama Iwao (1842-1916), the Supreme Japanese Commander in Manchuria, acting quickly gathered about 250,000 men and began the assault. The Japanese faced approximately 320,000 Russian over a fifty-mile front, but after three weeks of hard fighting and heavy losses on both sides the Japanese took Mukden. The victory at Mukden was the proverbial nail in the coffin for the Russians. After its capture the Russians had little chance for victory in the war.[67]

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[66] Louis Allen, *Japan: The Years of Triumph*, 59-60.
[67] Louis Allen, *Japan: The Years of Triumph*, 60-61. The victory at Port Royal brought with it the surrender of over 23,000 men, over 2 million rounds of ammunition, four battleships, two cruisers, and a plethora of small vessels.

Hoping that her sea power would save the day, Russia refused to surrender. In the hopes of possibly blockading Japan, the Russian Baltic Fleet sortied on the 16th of October 1904. Japanese Admiral Togo correctly anticipated that the Russian Fleet would attempt to pass through the Tsushima strait as a shortcut to Vladivostok. Togo's scouts sighted the Russian fleet at 5 am on May 27th. Admiral Togo departed with the Combined Fleet at 6:34 am and sighted the Russian fleet at 13:40. Within an hour Togo had executed the difficult tactic of 'Crossing the T' not once, but twice.[68] By 9:30 on the 28th of May the Russian Baltic Fleet had been destroyed and what little remained surrendered. The Japanese losses amounted to around 600 casualties. Three torpedo boats sank. The Russians suffered far, worse losing seven of their total eleven battleships along with fifteen other ships constituting cruisers, destroyers, and miscellaneous ships in the fleet. Out of 18,000 Russian sailors only 6,000 survived the battle. The Japanese victory at the Battle of Tsushima Strait not only sealed the fate of the Russian navy, but of Russia itself.

In September of 1905, American President Theodore Roosevelt helped to negotiate peace between the two combatants. On the 5th of September the Treaty of Potsdam was signed in New Hampshire. All Japan's interests in Korea were formally recognized and both countries withdrew from Manchuria simultaneously. Furthermore, Japan received the Liaotung peninsula, the Russian rail system in the region, and received Russia's mining rights as well. Both sides agreed to not exploit the Manchurian railways for strategic purposes and all of Manchuria was to be returned to China with the

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[68] Crossing, or capping, the 'T' is a classic naval warfare tactic where warships in the line astern formation crosses in front of the opponent's line of ships. In doing this the side that is Crossing the T is able to bring the full might of all their guns to bear on their opponent. Conversely, the side being capped is only able to return fire with their forward armaments. In military terms the side that is Crossing the T is using enfilade fire which reduces ranging errors while maximizing chances for a hit. The tactic was designed for heavily armed warships and was rendered obsolete with introduction of naval aircraft and missile systems.

exception of any leased territories. Maybe just as important as the concessions Japan got

from Russia was the boost to its standing in the world. Overnight the Japanese Navy went

from an unknown to being rated in the top three navies in the world. Just as important

was the fact that the West now believed that Japan's armies were nothing to be scoffed at.

They drew interesting conclusions. The Japanese had fought with and defeated an

opponent that had a numerical advantage but was also thought to be superior in both

training and breeding. The world was on notice, Japan had arrived.

Japanese Intelligence and the Russo-Japanese War

The Iwakura mission, along with the other diplomatic expeditions of the late

nineteenth century, was more than just an information gathering endeavor. The Japanese

also gathered intelligence on their potential European opponents. Germany, Britain, and

British India were of particular interest. But none held the Japanese attention as closely as

Russia did. From about 1890 forward the Japanese envisioned the Russians as the

primary opponent of the Japanese military. Japan not only kept close tabs on Russia itself,

but also upon the proceedings that it took part in Asia. Russia was known to be active in

China, Manchuria, Korea, and Siberia. In fact the Japanese viewed both China and Korea

as puppet states that the Russians influenced and regarded them as being hostile to

Japanese interests. As a result, they received the same level of scrutiny that Russia proper

did. By the time of the Russo-Japanese War the Japanese intelligence apparatus was

much larger, more efficient, and no longer of an *ad-hoc* nature like it had been for the

earlier Sino-Japanese conflict. The result was that intelligence efforts for the Russo-

Japanese War were both more complex and more numerous. Of particular interest to the

now extensively developed Japanese intelligence during the waning years of the nineteenth century was the Trans-Siberian Railway and Russia involvement with it.[69]

The Trans-Siberian Railway was constructed under the direct supervision of the Russian government between the years of 1891 and 1916. The intention was, officially, to create an efficient and speedy transportation route between Europe and Asia. Despite the large amount of commercial traffic the line serviced, being filled to capacity almost immediately, the Japanese leadership saw the line instead as a potential military artery. Japanese leadership viewed the line, in combination with the Chinese Eastern Railway, as a way for Russia to intrude on Japan's regional concerns.[70] It even potentially placed the Russians in the position to invade the Japanese Islands themselves. Thus, the focus of Japanese intelligence was to monitor developments along and surrounding the line. The construction and use of the Trans-Siberian Railroad became part of the *casus belli* for the Russo-Japanese War. In the mind of Yamagata, the railroad was a long-term threat. It gave the Russians access to Korea and its warm water harbors. The Russians, Yamagata concluded, would be tempted to obtain access and use those ports anyway they could. Ultimately, with Russians on the Korean peninsula the very of safety of Japan was at stake. Therefore, Yamagata and the Japanese decision makers were highly interested in the ability of the line to transport troops and military supplies from Europe to the East.[71]

During the period after the First Sino-Japanese War and going into the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese intelligence system used military attachés agents of

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[69]Ian Nish, "Japanese Intelligence and the Approach of the Russo-Japanese War," 17-18.

[70] The Chinese Eastern Railway was constructed between 1897 and 1902 by Imperial Russia via a concession issued from Qing China. The line was roughly shaped like the letter 'T' and contained three branches. The Harbin-Manzhouli or Western Branch, the Harbin-Suifenhe or Eastern Branch, and the Beijing-Harbin or Southern Branch.

[71]Ian Nish, "Japanese Intelligence and the Approach of the Russo-Japanese War," 18; James L. McClain, *Japan: A Modern History* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2002), 292.

espionage. Prior to that and starting with the Meiji Restoration the practice of sending military officers abroad for training had become routine. Referred to as *ryugakusei*, overseas student, some of the first of these military officers arrived in Russia in the late 1890s. Often, connected with the attaché office were groups of language officers whose duties also included acting as intelligence officers. The activities of the military attachés may or may not have been fully known to the diplomats who were also expected to carry out intelligence functions themselves. Even the lower level consuls, as was illustrated earlier with the story of Yoshikawa Takeo, provided reports *inter alia* on the military goings on in the city of their posting. By the 1890s Japanese intelligence operations exhibited the features that would make them successful during the first years of World War II. Diplomats, for instance, created spy networks out of local recruits who were paid from diplomatic funds. Intelligence gathering had long term goals in mind. Prior to the Battle of Malaya the Japanese utilized both of these techniques.[72]

General Baron Fukushima Yasumasa was one of the early intelligence figures with a foreign posting who figured greatly in the future conflict with Russia. First posted to China in 1878 as a military attaché, he helped to pioneer the Japanese intelligence ride when he took a solo trip into India. In 1892 he spent 15 months on another such trip crossing Siberia. His reports on the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway, the organization of the Russian Army, and the apparent weakness of the Qing government all carried immense weight with Yamagata Aritomo. It was primarily because of these reports and the suspicion they cast on Russian intentions in the East that Yamagata

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[72] *Ryugakusei* (留学生) can be read as meaning 'exchange student, overseas student' and is the term was use for military officers on on study leave abroad. Most often these officers were posted with a diplomat or attaché of some kind and more often than not were tasked with certain intelligence duties.

successfully argued for the buildup of the Japanese army and navy that occurred over the next decade.

In 1898 both the Japanese army and navy sent their own respective officers to Russia as *ryugakusei*. Hirose Takeo (1868-1904), a graduate of Tokyo Naval College, was posted under the naval attaché to the Japanese legation in St. Petersburg. He served in that position for five years. Meanwhile, Captain Tanaka Giichi (1864-1929), a graduate of the military academy, was assigned to the military attaché to the Japanese legation in St. Petersburg. Tanaka was instructed to pay particular attention to the condition of the Russian army, its operations, ability to mobilize, education, and the general condition of Russia. Both men were to pay close attention to the interconnection between the military and the people. The Japanese goal was to have both Hirose and Tanaka attached directly to Russian units during their time in the country. The posting of two Japanese officers to active Russian units had never been achieved before. Both men enveloped themselves in the language, culture, and customs of the country in an effort to achieve this objective.[73]

In March of 1900 Captain Tanaka Giichi requested posting to a Russian unit. Tanaka's Russian language skills had become more than adequate and he had gone so far as to profess belief in the Orthodox faith.[74] In June of that same year his request was approved. During his time with the Russian unit, Tanaka carefully recorded the details of his time in the barracks and on maneuvers. More importantly he observed the social unrest that was present in Russia. Because of strikes organized by the revolutionary movement, Tanaka detected the beginning deterioration of Russian stability. He also

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[73]Ian Nish, "Japanese Intelligence and the Approach of the Russo-Japanese War," 20-22.
[74] Translated from Tanaka-denki in Ian Nish "Japanese Intelligence and the Approach of the Russo-Japanese War"

noted the movement for Polish independence in his work. Both things he believed could be exploited to the advantage of the Japanese in the event of war. To those ends he set about attending functions in Warsaw and building up connections amongst these various movements. He was careful, though, not stir up sedition.[75]

In 1902 Tanaka was recalled to Japan. His superiors ordered him to persist for a time in both Manchuria and Siberia on his return for intelligence purposes. He left St. Petersburg in April and travelled to Harbin via the Siberian railway first and then the Chinese Eastern Railway. From Harbin he made an excursion by river to Vladivostok and then returned. He proceeded to take the Chinese Eastern railway again to Port Arthur whence he departed for Nagasaki. Upon his arrival in Tokyo of June of that same year Tanaka had completed over two months of reconnaissance throughout Russia. The evidence that Tanaka provided on the railways' capacity to carry troops and supplies, its developmental progress, and Russian motives within the regions visited proved vital to Japanese strategic planning against Russia. As a result of his time and experiences in Russia he was promoted to head of the Russian section in 1903 and became responsible for operational planning against Russia. The intelligence gathering that Japan engaged in was not uncommon in the West or the East, as can be seen in this example. Intelligence excursions like this continued to play an important role through the Second World War. The Japanese often debriefed diplomats, heads of state, businessmen, and average citizens upon their return to the nation. The Japanese clearly developed an intelligence apparatus along the same lines and at roughly the same pace as their Western counterparts.

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[75]Ian Nish, "Japanese Intelligence and the Approach of the Russo-Japanese War," 20-22.

Aside from information gathering, Japan also attempted to foment rebellion prior to and during the war with Russia. The Finnish and Polish populations were both susceptible to such efforts, as were weak points in Russia itself. Both had suffered persecution at the hands of the Tsarist government and both were sick of its perceived tyranny. In Finland, for example, a group of individuals who applauded Japan's progress socially and economically opposed Tsarist rule. They saw in Japan a potential ally in escaping Tsarist tyranny. In 1904 they created a stir when they assassinated a provincial governor. The Japanese viewed them as a tool with which they could subvert the Tsar. In doing this they forced the Russian military to commit troops to a pacification effort. Those directly involved with the assassination were chiefly urban in nature. The Japanese military saw the benefit in exploiting resentment of the Russians and the potential undermining of their war effort. In Poland could be found the foundations of the labor movement and other anti-Tsarist groups which spread throughout Russia in the late nineteenth century challenging Tsarist rule. Individuals like Józef Pilsudski who resented the russification of their homeland held a deep seated distaste for not only the Tsar but for the Russian rule of Poland in general. These parties were all weapons against the Russians in the eyes of the Japanese. They were used to disrupt the Russian war effort and, in theory, were supposed to tie up the crack units of the Russian military.[76]

Colonel Akashi Motojiro (1864-1919), Tanaka's successor, became aware of the dissent present in both these regions. With the goal of finding a way to cajole Russia into keeping her top troops in Europe, Akashi set about aiding Russian revolutionaries, buying Russian agents, and disrupting Russian war efforts through the support of internal discord. Japanese intelligence not only used Finland and Poland, Pilsudski traveled to Tokyo at

[76]Ian Nish, "Japanese Intelligence and the Approach of the Russo-Japanese War," 24.

the onset of the Russo-Japanese War to try to acquire Japanese assistance for a Polish

uprising, to try and disrupt the Russian war effort, but it also attempted to use other anti-

Tsarist groups found along the Russian borders and in Europe. Akashi ended up

distributing approximately one million yen to these various groups in attempting to

complete his mission of subversion.[77]

While the Japanese subversion campaign during the Russo-Japanese war appears

to have been enormous, the question of its effectiveness remains. While it is true that the

Russians did not send their crack troops to face Japan at the onset of hostilities, the

question of whether the decision was a result of unpreparedness, the surprise and

swiftness of the Japanese attack, or Russia's – and the West's – propensity to

underestimate the East's abilities still remains. No direct correlation between Japanese

activities and Russian troop deployment exists. In no way, though, does this detract from

the efforts and achievements of Japanese intelligence. It was also during this time that the

Japanese began intercepting communications between the Chinese diplomats in Japan

and their government. While the Japanese had been able to crack Chinese cryptology

there is no surviving evidence that they had been able to crack European codes. On the

other hand, European powers had cracked the Japanese codes and were feeding

information to Russia.[78]

As it is with all assessments of intelligence work, it is almost impossible to arrive

at an overarching estimate of Japanese intelligence effectiveness during the war. The

Japanese had both successes and failures. Japan was successful in obtaining actionable

[77]Ian Nish, "Japanese Intelligence and the Approach of the Russo-Japanese War," 25-26.
[78]Ian Nish, "Japanese Intelligence and the Approach of the Russo-Japanese War," 26-28; Christopher Andrew, "Codebreakers and Foreign Offices: The French, British and American Experience," in *The Missing Dimension: Governments and Intelligence Communities in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Christopher Andrew and David Dilks (London: MacMillan, 1984), 35-37.

intelligence through capable field officers. It was able to create concern about both Polish and Finnish resistance in Russian authorities. When Japan openly declared war, it created a general headquarters for intelligence gathering that lasted the duration of the conflict. As a result, Japan was able to offset for its lack of manpower and resources with the careful application of intelligence. In the end, the decision to go to war with Russia was a calculated risk based on information gained through its intelligence operations. Despite all of this and the resounding Japanese victory that made the Western world take note, several operational weaknesses were exposed that would feature down the road all the way to the Second World War.

For starters, Japanese cryptanalytic activities demonstrated their second-rate nature to their European counterparts. This problem would persist through their defeat at the end of 1945. For many, the Japanese had numerous small or short-lived triumphs, but never achieve the type of long-term successes that the West continually appeared to have.[79] Another major weakness that became apparent during the Russo-Japanese War was the lack of co-operation between the Imperial Japanese Army and the Imperial Japanese Navy. Each ran their own intelligence arm and each acted, for the most part, independently of the other. Very little documentation survives on the IJN side, but what little there is seems to corroborate this. The relationship between the two continued to be strained all the way down to defeat in 1945. The other large pitfall of Japanese intelligence appears to be that it became dependent on personalized intelligence gathering

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[79] The analysis of Japanese cryptanalytic activities is plagued with many pitfalls and dangers. This view that they were never as successful has been fostered by several interrogations of Japanese intelligence officials and leadership at the end of the conflict. It is now known that the Japanese were often speaking in half-truths at best. The information gained from these interviews is thus up for debate and should be more closely reviewed, especially in the light of many of the documents released in the past ten to fifteen years. These facts coupled with the issue of Japanese intelligence outfits burning many if not all of their documents have led in no small way to assessment about their effectiveness we possess today.

coming from almost larger than life characters like Tanaka and Akashi. This view may be a result of the lack of information left after the great purges of the Second World War.[80] Almost no information exists on the level of organization in Tokyo during this time, or after, and what has survived tends to be of a biographical nature. This has led historians to a character driven narrative versus a factual cause and effect analysis of events as they occurred.[81]

What Japanese intelligence activities during this period reveal to historians is that they were not on a course of development dissimilar to their European counterparts. This was due in no large part to their extensive missions to the West where they interacted with, learned from, and observed the practices of European powers. While the Japanese may have lacked in certain areas they were just as accomplished as their Western counterparts in many of the other facets of intelligence gathering. The Japanese utilized the same Intelligence Cycle and the same collection disciplines as the West. It also reveals that the intelligence rivalry among services prevented the long-term creation of a governing central intelligence authority. This is something that the Western powers also suffered from. America itself did not attempt to solve this issue until the creation of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) at the onset of the Cold War, and arguably still has not fully achieved the intended result.

Outcomes

Its military victories over first China and then Russia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries respectively, signaled it arrival as a top world military power. These events helped to start Japan down the path to colonial expansion.

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[80] After the Japanese surrender many of the intelligence organizations began to destroy any and all documentation on their activities reaching as far back as 1865.
[81] Ian Nish, "Japanese Intelligence and the Approach of the Russo-Japanese War," 28-32.

By the start of the First World War Japan had gained Taiwan in the Treaty of

Shiminoseki, which ended the First Sino-Japanese War, and Korea as a protectorate, first

through the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1905 and then fully annexing it in 1910. Japan seized

upon the opportunity to expand its sphere of influence following the outbreak of WWI.

The Empire of Japan declared war on the German Empire and quickly seized the German

colonial holdings in the Pacific. Japan's new territories were the Marshall Islands, the

Northern Mariana Islands, and the Caroline Islands. The Treaty of Versailles officially

recognized the Japanese seizure of these islands and the Japanese created the position of

Governor of the South Pacific Mandate to oversee them.

The islands of the South Pacific Mandate were of vital strategic import because

they enabled the Japanese to dominate the Pacific sea-lanes militarily. Additionally, they

provided advantages in terms of their positioning for the refueling and provisioning of

ships. The Japanese viewed these islands as, in modern terminology, unsinkable aircraft

carriers.[82] The Japanese built them up militarily and used them first for their initial

conquests of the Pacific starting in 1931 and ultimately to defend against incursion by the

United States. The Japanese officially started the Pacific War with their invasion of

Manchuria in 1931 following the Mukden Incident, otherwise known as the Manchurian

Incident. The islands of the South Pacific Mandate became the sites for the both the

offensive and defensive operations of the Japanese Navy and Army in the Pacific after

the December 1941 offensive thrust into the Pacific.

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[82] The term unsinkable aircraft carrier arises during the Second World War as direct reference to the islands that the Japanese are using to project both their political and military force. This is the precise reason that the American's chose them as targets in their island hopping campaign, in order to utilize them for the same purpose only direct towards Japan.

Most importantly Japanese military intelligence had shown that it was equivalent in almost all respects to that of its Western counterparts. Japanese intelligence systems had played important roles in both Japanese victories at the turn of the twentieth century. A thorough analysis of Japanese intelligence has a basis in the late nineteenth century when they were absorbing, implementing, and improving on the practices they had observed while studying in the West. Japan's intelligence methods were connected to the training of its military officers abroad. This meant that Japan's military branches were developing their intelligence capabilities at roughly the same time as their Western counterparts. In 1893 the Navy General Staff took over operational authority of the IJN and its third department, or section depending on translation, was dedicated to intelligence gathering. The Imperial Japanese Army, under Yamagata Aritomo, fully adopted the Prussian General Staff system in 1878. Under this organization the second department, or section, was dedicated to intelligence operations. For comparison, the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) is the oldest existing intelligence service in the United States founded in 1882. Likewise, the US Army counterpart, the Military Intelligence Division (MID), was founded in 1885. Meanwhile Britain's Secret Service Bureau, the predecessor to MI6, was formed in 1909 and the British Royal Navy formed the Naval Intelligence Department (NID) in 1887.

Chapter 3

British Malaya

British Malaya is the term used to describe the states of the Malaya peninsula that Britain brought under its colonial umbrella in the late eighteenth century. The Malayan peninsula lies on a vital sea-lane for trade and travel. The first Europeans to establish themselves in the region were the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, followed by the Dutch in the seventeenth century. English traders had been present in the Malayan region since the seventeenth century. Prior to the nineteenth century, the British interests in the region had been of an economic nature. Having already colonized India, they began to look for new territories to strengthen their colonial empire in terms of raw resources. As time progressed, the British were able to establish a series of free ports in the region in an attempt to break up the monopoly held on the region by other European powers. Eventually, these ports allowed Britain to control the majority of the trade through the region. In the nineteenth century, fearing Siamese expansion, the rulers of Malaya aligned themselves with Britain thereby increasing its power in the region.

It was the British that eventually established their sovereignty over the Malayan states with the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824. That treaty delineated the boundaries between the Dutch East Indies and the territories that became British Malaya.[83] Becoming a British

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[83] The Dutch East Indies, or Netherlands East Indies, eventually became Indonesia. At the time of the Second World War it was prized for their oil reserves.

Colony introduced the Malayan region to yet another round of foreign influence as the British imported Indian workers and eventually Indian soldiers into the region in order to meet the demands of the colonial economy and defend the colony.

While British policy was decidedly non-interventionist to start with, the mining of resources valuable to the Empire led to infighting among the Malay states. Initially, this conflict revolved around the production of tin. The resulting destabilization led to British intervention. The British employed gunboat diplomacy to pacify the region and bring it back into line with the Empire. In 1874 the British and the Sultan of Perak signed the Treaty of Pangkor. The treaty opened the door for increased British influence and legitimized their presence in the region. As a result, the British placed advisors with the Malay states and eventually ruled in all but name.

British fully established rule by the early twentieth century. The populations of the region, now known as British Malaya, were subjects of the crown. As with other colonies, the British viewed Malaya as primarily an economic possession. Initially, its main attractions were its tin and gold mines. Eventually, British entrepreneurs experimented with a variety of cash crops that included coffee and pepper. In the late nineteenth century, rubber was added to the list of valuable exports and with the rapid growth of technology it soon became the leading earner for the region. By the 1930s, some fifty years after the introduction of rubber, the international trade that ran through Malaya and Singapore was significant.

1926 was the peak year for British Malaya in terms of trade. Malaya by itself eclipsed all other British colonies combined in terms of value. It decreased after that due to falling prices that were the result of the worldwide economic downturn of the 1930s.

Yet, in 1938 Malayan trade still eclipsed that of all the British African colonies, or of New Zealand. By that time Malaya was producing half of the world's rubber, one third of its tin, and it had substantial iron ore deposits. It is no wonder that Japan looked at Malaya with intent. Not only did it harbor vital resources that Japan needed for its own economic and military advancement, it also provided a gateway to the Dutch East Indies and their bountiful oil fields. Then there was Singapore, a thriving port lying on a valuable trade and travel route. Malaya was rich with raw materials that Japan needed to feed its war machine and economy. It was inevitable that the Japanese would look to take these colonies from the British and other European powers for its own.[84]

Pre-World War II Malaya

Japan had begun the process of organizing an espionage ring in Malaya during the First World War. During that conflict Britain granted Japan, then an ally, the use of naval facilities in the port of Penang. At that point in it its history Japanese intelligence services possessed nearly twenty years of successful operations experience. Utilizing Japanese agents and foreign assets, the intelligence agencies proved instrumental in the decision to go to war with China, the First Sino-Japanese War, and later in the Japanese victory over Russia during the Russo-Japanese War. It was not long before they put the skills and tactics they had honed in the previous quarter century to work in Malaya. By 1905 the Japanese had operatives in the northern and Southern regions of the China Seas. Once the Japanese established a covert presence in Malaya it was a relatively easy task for them to

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[84] Peter Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, 122; Louis Allen, *Japan: The Years of Triumph*, 106.

link up with their sister networks in places like Thailand and Burma. This led to the creation of a loose, but large, web of intelligence that spread across the entire region.[85]

Starting in the 1870s and continuing through the late 1930s the Japanese population on the Malayan peninsula increased from a mere handful of individuals to over six thousand people. During this period the nature and makeup of this population had evolved considerably. The population evolved from a predominantly female base to male and professionally from prostitution to entrepreneurial in nature. The period between the two world wars saw some of the most explosive growth in the Japanese population and these changes were the reflection of the growing Japanese Imperial drive. The need for more raw materials, outlets for manufactured goods, and territory led to emigration and economic enterprise throughout the region. Japanese ambition in East Asia was driven in part by the desire to be viewed as an equal of its Western counterparts. This drove the Japanese to exert a greater effort to achieve their goals.[86]

In the late 1930s the British became increasingly alarmed about the number and activities of the Japanese nationals living in its Southeast Asian possessions. A significant portion of the British authorities' attention focused on actions classified within the category of espionage. The British anxiety was not unfounded. There was an extensive pre-war espionage network in Malaya controlled primarily by the Japanese. They did have some fringe help from their future allies Italy and Germany. Regrettably, the majority of the Japanese populace's actions that were of interest to the British in these cases have failed to receive much, if any, scholarly attention. The narrative on the

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[85] Peter Elphick, *Singapore: The Pregnable Fortress, A Study in Deception, Discord and Desertion* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1995), 49.
[86] Yuen Choy Leng, "The Japanese Community in Malaya before the Pacific War: Its Genesis and Growth," in *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 9, no. 2 (September 1978): 163, 165-170.

security of Malaya and the Singapore naval base is incomplete until this aspect is added to the other facets currently being studied. The information that we do have about Japanese assets placed at the community level and within the commercial environment show historians that the Japanese possessed a dedicated and capable intelligence gathering force.[87]

The inter-war period is notable for being a time during which a lack of attention and funding compromised the British Far East strategy. Despite an analysis by Major-General William Dobbie that predicted when and where major landings could, and would, occur in the event of an invasion, the British government took no remedial action. In lieu of sending a large number of reinforcements to the region the British decided that a proper defense was possible by using a large naval force stationed at the Singapore Naval Base. By 1940 military planners grudgingly admitted that to defend Singapore alone the British needed more than just a strong fleet presence. They also needed a significant air force, numbering upwards of 500 aircraft, and ground forces in addition to the naval units in order to secure the entire peninsula. Unfortunately for the British it was a matter of too little too late. By the time they realized their folly, priorities in other regions of the world and at home prevented them from sending the required forces for a successful defense of Malaya.

The oral histories and memoirs from British expatriates and Malayan nationals during the inter-war period recount a lively Japanese citizenry that was involved in all aspects of life. In almost every town, village, and community there resided a Japanese population that was participating in a variety of trades. Local Japanese populations engaged in trades like barbers, shopkeepers, photographers, and fishermen. As tensions

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[87] Peter Elphick, *Singapore: The Pregnable Fortress*, 45.

between East and West increased, the seemingly omnipresent Japanese soon evolved into the ever present and ever watching Japanese spy, for both their contemporaries and later historians. Despite being over exaggerated there was a significant element of truth underlying these suspicions. The Japanese intelligence organizations were financially backing much of the subversion that existed in Malaya and it was not confined to just those individuals of Japanese heritage. It also included Indians and Malayans who were unhappy with British colonial rule. British authorities, sensitive to potential diplomatic backlash from a nation that was still nominally friendly and desiring to avoid creating unrest in the East, resorted to deporting only those Japanese suspected of espionage who they had enough information on to warrant such action.[88]

The British were in a pickle. Despite the mounting evidence that pointed to a complex and massive espionage campaign in Malaya they were still very careful not to take any action that may have provoked or offended the Japanese. The British had enough on their plate in the West, the last thing they wanted to do was precipitate violence in the East. This was further complicated by the fact that through the mid-1930s up to 1940 the Japanese government was going out of its way to look for provocation, especially in the diplomatic realm. Adding to the strain for the British was the growing concern over developments in Europe. British leadership was well aware that they could ill afford a war on two fronts. Europe was the, closer, more pressing concern. This resulted in a non-confrontational policy in the East. They still needed to find some way to curtail Japanese intelligence activities. Thus, the British resorted to deportation in cases involving the Japanese that warranted action. Even in those instances the decision to act

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[88] Brian Bridges, "Britain and Japanese Espionage in Pre-War Malaya: The Shinozaki Case," in *Journal of Contemporary History* 21, no. 1 (January 1986): 23-24; Peter Elphick, *Singapore: The Pregnable Fortress*, 45, 53.

needed sanctioned first by the Foreign Office and then by the Colonial Office, both

located in London. As can be expected this led to inter-ministry headaches for the British

and an exploitable weakness for the Japanese.[89]

Commercial and Diplomatic Intelligence

The Japanese web of espionage in Malaya focused more heavily on the collection

of commercial intelligence. In the pre-war period the majority of the agents that

comprised this web were individuals of a Japanese nationality, many of whom were

ostensibly there on commercial business. Most of these people were what the Intelligence

Community today refers to as an asset. The Japanese government did not directly employ

them per se, instead they were tasked with collecting intelligence that they came into

contact with through the course of their normal business dealings and day to day life.

This is not to say that there were not a considerable number of agents whose spying was

the main reason that they were there. As assets of the Japanese intelligence apparatus,

they only took part in the collections step of the Intelligence Cycle. They were not privy

to, nor did they need to be, the larger planning and direction of operations. This was as

much for their own safety as it was for the security of whatever operation they were

providing data for. In today's parlance this is referred to as compartmentalization.[90]

Thanks to Japanese imperial ambition, not only had the Japanese presence

multiplied in regards to population in Malaya, but also in respect to the number of

commercial endeavors that they had. They owned tin mines in the east and in the south in

and around Johore, rubber estates along major routes of travel that allowed them to

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[89] Peter Elphick, *Singapore: The Pregnable Fortress*, 53.
[90] I have chosen to use the word 'web' instead of 'network' or 'system' due to the loose-knit and complex nature of the endeavor. Like a spider's web the interwoven network of individuals who made up the web served to catch, snag, and snare, information wherever it came into contact with them.

monitor Commonwealth troop movements, and a massive fishing fleet that operated out

of Singapore and travelled up and down the entire coast. During their fishing voyages the

skippers of the individual vessels had ample opportunities to survey various ports, the

coastline, and traffic on the seas. A favorite tactic of the Japanese intelligence

organizations was the infiltration of the small business professional, and the result is the

ubiquitous image of the dentist who was a spy that has been passed down to us by history.

In practically every town there was a Japanese storekeeper, barber, or dentist. In many

instances they set up their practices and businesses near, or even next to, the local British

garrison. This made it easy to monitor activity and in the course of doing business pick

up the random bits of information that were spilled through uncaring lips.[91]

In a situation not that much different than today, the vast majority of Japanese

enterprises that were located throughout the rest of the world, not just Malaya, were

engaged in some kind of espionage.[92] Many of the businesses were not only members of

government sponsored trade organizations but had also received substantial funds or

subsidization from the Japanese government. In many instances the entire reason for the

existence of a firm was to conduct intelligence gathering for the government and partake

in subversive activities. This was multiplied by the devotion that Japanese citizens had

for their land and emperor. The fidelity of Japanese nationals to their home was strong

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[91] Peter Elphick, *Singapore: The Pregnable Fortress*, 48-51.

[92] It is an accepted fact that the majority of nations spy on one another whether they are on friendly terms or not. The known exception is the Five Eyes intelligence alliance (FVEY) which is made up of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Together they developed the ECHELON surveillance system used initially to monitor communications coming from the Eastern Bloc and now used to monitor private communications all over the world. These five nations as part of a joint SIGINT sharing agreement do not spy on each other. Headline news stories like the one in 2013 about the U.S. bugging the German Chancellors office in 2010 illustrate that even among allies a certain amount of intelligence gathering goes on.

enough of a motivating factor that both employees of corporations and regular Japanese citizens would engage in espionage without question when called upon.

Two prime examples of firms whose *raison d'être* was spying were the Nippon Trade Agency and the South Manchurian Railway (SMR). The "Nippon Trade Agency, which was almost certainly a section of the Army Special Service Section," had branches all over the world that included cities and countries such as Singapore, Bangkok, and China.[93] In China it was even known as the 'Japanese Detective Bureau'. The SMR eventually gave "birth to the Economic Research and Investigation Bureau."[94] The SMR also had close ties with the Japanese Army in Manchuria and actively engaged in espionage on its own. Several SMR's officials, when detained and searched in Singapore, were found to be holding detailed documents on the rail systems of several neighboring countries. Among the nations they had information on were Thailand and the Netherlands East Indies (NEI). NEI possessed rich oil deposits and as a result was of particular interest to the Japanese. These documents included a confidential book, of which there were only a few restricted copies in existence, which went into comprehensive detail on the Malayan railways.[95]

Colonel Tsugunori Kadomatsu's story is one good example of the ability of Japanese agents to insert themselves into positions of opportunity in Malaya. Tsugunori had been working for Japanese Naval Intelligence since 1930. Employed under the alias Shawan, he worked in Singapore for approximately six years as a steward in the British Officers' Club. Owing to lax security within the club, Tsugunori passed on information about the daily routines of crews, issues within the fleet, along with the comings, goings,

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[93] Peter Elphick, *Far Eastern File,* 50.
[94] Peter Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, 50.
[95] Peter Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, 50.

and potential destinations of the various British and commonwealth ships stationed or visiting Singapore. The British discovered Tsugunori in 1941 when a visitor noticed his unusual interest in the officers' discussions. The British devised a rather simple ruse to catch the spy. The next time that he was working an officer would mention, in a noticeable manner, that the warship *Prince of Wales* was due in port soon. Meanwhile another British agent would observe the actions of the, hopefully, unsuspecting Tsugunori. When the scene played out the British agents observed Tsugunori hastily scribbling something on a napkin that he was holding. Once detained and the napkin confiscated it read 'PW end of November' and the British promptly arrested him.[96]

Diplomatic intelligence was, and still is, an incredibly efficient and effective way of gaining information about one's opponent. The Japanese used their embassies and consulates more extensively for covert affairs than most other countries at the time did. As had been the practice for almost seventy years, Japanese consulates and embassies directed intelligence activities within to which they were accredited. They actively executed the collection, processing and exploitation, and analysis steps of the intelligence cycle. In some cases, to varying degrees, they also partook in the planning and direction step. Staff, whose primary mission was the gathering of intelligence, filled these locations. Ambassadors, consular officials, and attachés collected information on any matter that could be of use or was of interest to their or other departments. From their official offices, they managed the covert operations of the various Japanese associations and commercial firms. They also facilitated the meetings between subversives and nationalists with their own government officials. They took advantage of their diplomatic privileges, as many

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[96] Paul Kratoska, *The Japanese Occupation of Malaya: A Social and Economic History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), 28; Tony Matthews, *Shadows Dancing*, 49-50.

nations still do today, in the organization and facilitation of these operations. They even functioned as clearing houses for all of the intelligence that was collected, passing it along in protected diplomatic pouches or transmitting it direct to Tokyo via their own wireless systems. Once the intelligence arrived at the appropriate department in Tokyo, it was analyzed and the final product was disseminated to the proper parties for use.

The Shinozaki Case

One of the more famous cases of pre-war diplomatic espionage was that of Shinozaki Mamoru (1908-1991). The declassification of British records in the years after the war combined with the release of an autobiography in the early 1970s now permit a deeper analysis of the events surrounding this man. In the fall of 1940 Shinozaki was a press attaché stationed in Singapore at the Japanese Consulate-General. His position as a journalist, a non-official cover or NOC, provided the cover for his activities as a spy for the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[97] In September of 1940 Shinozaki was arrested on charges of espionage after obtaining intelligence of a military nature from a British serviceman.

As had been practice since the early days of the Meiji Restoration, Japan had been sending consuls to Singapore since the late 1880s. British authorities had come to suspect, and rightly so, that the staff of these consuls were engaged in activities beyond the scope of the normal consular duties, activities of a clandestine nature. British suspicions were compounded by their inability to distinguish clearly between Japanese government employees and those who employed by Japanese-run organizations. The matter was complicated owing to the fact that many Japanese firms were part of government funded

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[97] An agent under a NOC has no official ties to the government for which he/she is clandestinely operating. When captured or caught these individuals their government disavows any knowledge of their espionage related activities and as will be seen this was the case with Shinozaki.

trade organizations or had received substantial government financial backing. Shinozaki, though, had carried a letter of appointment expressly naming him as a member of the consulate staff when he arrived in 1938.[98]

Special Branch of the British colonial police in Malaya had long deemed the Japanese Consulate-General in Singapore as the primary conduit through which intelligence flowed to Tokyo. While this was not, nor is it still, an unusual practice, it did present the British with a very specific and delicate set of problems. First and foremost, the Japanese and British, ostensibly, were friendly. Any action the British took to curb and counter the intelligence activities of the Japanese had to be carefully calculated for political reasons. Second, once any information had been placed inside of a diplomatic bag and properly marked the British had little recourse for search or seizure even if they had enough evidence to do so. If the intelligence did not go out via diplomatic courier then operatives smuggled it out aboard ships, by agents across the border to Thailand, or radioed to passing sea traffic. The suspicions of the Special Branch proved to be very astute after the start of the war in December of 1941.[99]

Upon his arrival in Singapore Shinozaki began to fraternize with British service members who posted there, often times inviting them out to raucous parties. It was these parties, in combination with his posting at the consulate, which caught the attention of the British Special Branch. It was not long before Shinozaki's movements were being watched with regularity. After agents of Special Branch observed him meeting multiple times with Frank Gardner, the British service member in question, they ordered Shinozaki to report to Special Branch headquarters. Gardner was detained at a later time

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[98] Brian Bridges, "Britain and Japanese Espionage in Pre-War Malaya," 24.
[99] Peter Elphick, *Singapore: The Pregnable Fortress*, 51.

for questioning. Prior to his being called in by the British Special Branch, British agents observed Shinozaki meeting with visiting mid-level Japanese Army officers and escorting them around Singapore. These interactions only served to confirm Special Branch's suspicions about him. The British arrested Shinozaki promptly upon his arrival at Special Branch headquarters.

Special branch detectives took Shinozaki to the Consulate-General in order to search his room. The Consular-General Toyoda Kaoru who had been proclaiming Shinozaki's innocence also accompanied them. When they arrived Shinozaki bolted for his residence. Upon entering his quarters he attempted to dispose of a letter by throwing it quickly to the Consular-General's secretary. While the detectives searched the room another consular official attempted to burn and flush another document down the toilet. In total, the British recovered the first letter, several reports, a notepad, and the partially burned document. Toyoda remained present during the entire search in an attempt to prevent the British from opening and searching the official consular safe.

After a short trial Shinozaki was found guilty of collecting information on and about the Royal Artillery and for collecting information on the movements and deployments of British troops, both for "… a purpose prejudicial to the interests of the British Empire …."[100] During the trial it came to light that Shinozaki had paid Gardner undisclosed sums of money. The conclusion was that those payments had been for information detailing British military troop movements and disposition. Shinozaki denied that he had ever had conversations with any British service members on such topics other than what came up in passing. He claimed he had never deliberately sought the information out. He also contended that the money he had given to Gardner had been

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[100] Brian Bridges, "Britain and Japanese Espionage in Pre-War Malaya," 28.

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merely "out of sympathy."[101] The question had been, and to some extent still is, what exactly did Shinozaki do and was he successful in any attempts he made to gather information on British forces.[102]

In post-war interviews, Shinozaki reversed his post-trial stance. He admitted to attempting contact with British Royal Artillery servicemen. His goal had been to ascertain the positions of the heavy British guns. Authorities in Singapore at the time of his arrest had also determined that he had attempted to learn from Gardner information regarding British troop movements, positions, coastal defenses, unit strengths, and the location of ammunition dumps. While his success at gaining this information appears to have been mediocre, his acting as a guide for Japanese military experts was significant. In September of 1940 Shinozaki guided Army General Staff planning officer Lieutenant Tanigawa Kazuo and his assistant Kunitake Teruhito around the Southern portion of the Malayan peninsula. Their observations were included in a report published in 1941 titled "Intelligence Report of British Malaya" and included detailed cartographic information on the region stretching from the Malay peninsula all the way to Singapore. Kunitake later became a staff officer in the 25th Army. That unit successfully attacked the very areas Shinozaki had guided him to for surveillance.[103]

Despite British efforts to keep things quiet when dealing with Japanese agents, a few cases like the Shinozaki case did become public. Those that did served only to re-enforce the fears of the populace that Japanese spies could be lurking anywhere. British authorities attempted to counter the Japanese intelligence activities but lacked any real

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[101] Brian Bridges, "Britain and Japanese Espionage in Pre-War Malaya," 28.
[102] Brian Bridges, "Britain and Japanese Espionage in Pre-War Malaya," 28-29.
[103] Brian Bridges, "Britain and Japanese Espionage in Pre-War Malaya," 29; [103]Ken Kotani, "Japanese Intelligence in World War II," 14.

counter-intelligence strategy. They began to prohibit foreigners or "aliens" from certain areas and to declare others off limits to foreigners. The police created a special *Nippon* (Japan) section that dealt exclusively with the comings, goings, and activities of Japanese nationals. Despite British counter intelligence efforts, diplomatic concerns prevented their endeavors from being effective. More importantly, the cases that are known about are direct evidence that the Japanese were continuing to use attachés, businessmen, local shop owners, and even the disenfranchised native populace as operatives to great effect. They are proof that the Japanese continued to operate a highly developed espionage operation that consisted of both formal and informal collections activities. They had employed these same tactics with great effect since before the First Sino-Japanese War and they were some of the same strategies that the West was employing. The result of this intelligence effort would eventually be a total victory over British Commonwealth Forces in 1941.[104]

Japanese Naval Intelligence

While we have spoken about diplomatic and commercial intelligence, let us turn to the subject of naval intelligence. The Japanese created the The *Kaigun Tokumu Bu*, Naval Special Service Organization, in the early 1930s in China. Its origination lies with a group of naval attachés located at various ports. The Naval Special Service Organization performed many of the same functions of its army counterpart and was supposed to cooperate with them closely. However, the Naval Special Services never achieved the power or importance of its army equivalent and there is evidence that the navy units engaged in infighting and petty disputes with the army units. There are even

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[104] Brian Bridges, "Britain and Japanese Espionage in Pre-War Malaya," 23-24; Paul Kratoska, *The Japanese Occupation of Malaya*, 28-29.

reports that illustrate how naval representatives reported on their army opposites to their superiors in Tokyo.[105]

Possibly some of the most significant work that the *Kaigun Tokumu* did was in the South China Sea around Malaya. The intelligence effort undertaken by the navy agents aboard Japanese fishing vessels helped to map coastlines, conduct hydrographic surveys, reported on naval traffic, and scout naval bases and ports. The Japanese fishing fleets were by far the largest in the region and they roamed far and wide collecting intelligence. The issue became so severe, and so widely known, around Singapore and the coasts of Malaya that the government decided to limit the annual number of fishing licenses the Japanese could have. They also instituted a system of inspection to help combat the issues on those vessels that were granted a license. While the issues surrounding Malaya and Singapore are perhaps the best known, it is highly likely that the Japanese navy repeated the use of this tactic in other areas as well.[106]

Like other land based commercial interests, the fishing fleets of Japan were often highly subsidized by the government, if not directly then most assuredly through bank loans that were guaranteed by the government. Many of the officers in the fishing fleets were naval officers. Their actions often gave them away to British Special Branch. Often times they became exceedingly obdurate when the British boarded their vessel. In one instance, the crew of the largest fishing vessel to visit Singapore, the *Shinkyo Maru*, acted in such a professional manner that Special Branch suspected the entire crew of being, at the very least, naval reservists and the ship of being a spy ship. Furthermore, the British

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[105] Peter Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, 41-43.
[106] Peter Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, 42; Yuen Choy Leng, "The Japanese Community in Malaya," 171-172, 176; Max Everest-Phillips, "The Pre-War Fear of Japanese Espionage: Its Impact and Legacy," in *Journal of Contemporary History* 42, no. 2 (April 2007): 244-245.

discovered that the vessel itself carried both a medium-wave and short-wave transmitter. The latter of which had a range of almost ten thousand miles under the ideal atmospheric conditions enabling the Japanese to communicate with Tokyo directly. Special Branch intercepted transmissions indicating that the crew was in constant contact with someone in Japan.[107]

The Inspector General of Police, Straits Settlements, René Onraet (1887-1952) recounted in his 1947 memoirs that evidence, like that found on the *Shinkyo Maru*, of Japanese intelligence efforts was rarely uncovered by the British. Yet, his post-war assessment was that this did not matter because the British never developed an effective counter-intelligence program to combat them. He referred to their fishermen as "'South Seas Ronin'" and described their operations as a "'Standing Patrol'" that extended all the way back to Japan.[108] The success of the Japanese invasion of Malaya in 1941, along with other landings in the Southeast Asia region, are proof evident of the effective gathering of intelligence by the Japanese Naval Special Services. The knowledge that was provided on landing sites, coastlines, and littoral hydrography collected by the fishing fleets played an important role in the early Japanese triumphs in the Pacific.[109]

Japanese Army Intelligence Efforts in Malaya and Southeast Asia

Finally, we shall address the topic of Japanese Army Intelligence. In the 1920s the Japanese Army established the *Tokumu Kikan* (Special Service Organization) which operated initially in Mongolia, Manchuria, and China. The initial area of operations was

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[107] Peter Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, 43.
[108] Peter Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, 44. In feudal Japan ronin were master less samurai who often took mercenary work to earn money. Ronin, having no masters, had no home and were known to wonder the country side, hence the comparison. While the wondering warrior image may seem appropriate, it is not as the operatives that Onraet is describing had a lord in the form of their government and their emperor.
[109] Max Everest-Phillips, "The Pre-War Fear of Japanese Espionage," 256.

due in no small part to the experiences and fears the Japanese had harbored about these regions since the turn of the twentieth century. Tensions grew geo-politically in both the East and West, the Special Service Organization began to open up branches in French Indo-China, Malaya, and Thailand. Many of the *kikans* operated covertly under assumed names, while others were derived their name from their leader like the famous *F Kikan*, *Fujiwara Kikan*, that operated in Malaya in 1941and was named after its commander Fujiwara Iwaichi (1908-1986).[110]

Despite the fact that the *kikans* fell under the authority of the Army General Staff in Tokyo they had a great deal of autonomy. The General Staff granted the *kikans* a good deal of independence, but they also assumed a good deal of it on their own. The character of the *kikan*'s commander often determined the level of independence for unit. The most obvious examples of this self-determination occurred in Manchuria where *kikans* often conducted operations without any authorization from Tokyo and in some cases explicitly against orders from the General Staff.

In general, the *kikans* fell within the categories of strategic or tactical operations depending upon the mission they were created for, or assigned to. As a result, some of them were permanent fixtures in a region or theater while other existed only for a short period before being dissolved upon the completion, or failure, of their mission. The *kikans* that operated within a military unit tended to be semi-permanent and their mission of a strategic nature. On the other hand, the IJA created temporary *kikans* for short-term tactical goals and they often operated in forward areas with very specific short term objectives. In both cases all clandestine operations, espionage, subversion, and fifth column activities fell under their purview, the exception being outright military

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[110] Peter Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, 39.

intelligence missions. The *kikans* also acted as a liaison between the Japanese

government and local government officials and/or, depending on the situation, the leaders

of various insurgent and independence groups in the local population.

In mid-1940, the Japanese ramped up the effort to gather intelligence on Malaya

and the surrounding regions. It was during this time that the Imperial Japanese Army

intensified the deployment of its own assets into the region. During these preliminary

efforts matters involving the Soviet Union and China pre-occupied the Japanese military.

It was within this setting that Shinozaki played his part and began the gathering of

intelligence prior to the Battle of Malaya. In early 1941, the strategic and logistical

planning for the Malayan offensive began in earnest but by then Shinozaki was

imprisoned. However, the role played by Shinozaki and others like him illustrate that the

Japanese had started gathering information early. The nature of the information Shinozaki

and his compatriots were compiling proved instrumental to the Japanese success in

December of 1941.[111]

The Japanese Military Affairs Bureau Unit 82 conducted military planning for the

coming offensive. Unit 82 utilized intelligence developed from the web of agents that had

been cultivated since the end of the First World War. Subsequent to the attack, the Army

General Staff assigned intelligence officers like Fujiwara Iwaichi to lead the clandestine

intelligence divisions within the region. As previously mentioned one of the primary

functions of the *kikans*, was to establish connections with subversive elements and pro-

independence factions, and in Fujiwara's case, it was to make contact with Malayan

independence groups. Through the *kikans* these grassroots organizations gained financial

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[111] Brian Bridges, "Britain and Japanese Espionage in Pre-War Malaya," 31-32; Louis Allen, "Japanese Intelligence Systems," 548.

support for their cause in return for providing the Japanese with information on Commonwealth troop strength, disposition, and movement. The *kikans* were accomplishing two objectives at once, stirring up anti-British sentiment while obtaining valuable military intelligence. Fujiwara Iwaichi headed one of these intelligence operations called *Fujiwara Kikan* after its leader, *F Kikan*. Established in 1941, and sent to Bangkok in September of that same year, the General Staff tasked *F Kikan* with contacting the various anti-colonial factions and movements in the region. It achieved notable success in establishing cooperation between the leaders of several of these movements and Japan. In February of 1941, British intelligence picked up some of the aforementioned radio transmissions from these sources. The messages contained deployment information for Commonwealth forces and their equipment. Additionally, many of the disaffected Malayans Fujiwara's unit supported helped to create maps of the jungles, terrain, and act as guides for the Japanese when they invaded. The information provided by these spies contributed to the successful invasion in December of 1941.[112] Japanese intelligence activities in the Southern Region illustrate how Japan's intelligence development was proceeding along similar lines, and a similar pace, as the West. It is clear that they understood the intelligence cycle. Unit 82 and other intelligence departments provided planning and direction for assets in the field. The *kikans* executed the collection step for the IJA utilizing the OSINT and HUMINT disciplines. The IJA also engaged many of its informal intelligence networks to achieve its goals. Analysis and evaluation was conducted in multiple locations. Initially the primary distillation of the raw data was performed within the units themselves. Then their analysts would create an intelligence product and disseminate it to the proper departments in Tokyo. All of

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[112] Tony Matthews, *Shadows Dancing*, 49; Peter Elphick, *Singapore: The Pregnable Fortress*, 52, 71-72.

these components contributed to the success the Japanese would achieve when they

invaded Malaya. Prior to the invasion Japanese military leadership had an extensive

knowledge of British Commonwealth forces disposition, capability and weaknesses. The

Japanese engaged and supported native nationalist movement in order to undermine the

British. Finally, due to Japan's intelligence efforts the military planners had an excellent

lay of the land. Japan's intelligence system was clearly not the "…unsophisticated,

parochial, fragmented, adamantine, spasmodic and often vague…" operation that many

experts today claim it was.[113]

[113] Alvin Coox, "Japanese Net Assessment in the Era before Pearl Harbor," in Alland Millett and Williamson Murray (eds.), *Calculations* (Free Press, 1992), 298.

Chapter 4

The Battle of Malaya

The Battle of Malaya, often referred to as the Invasion of Malaya, began on December 8th 1941 and ended on January 31st of 1942. The opening stages of the attack occurred just prior to the strike on Pearl Harbor. It was the first major battle of the Pacific War. From the onset the Japanese had naval and air supremacy. Fighting between the Imperial Japanese Army and British Commonwealth forces on land dominated the landscape. The campaign was total disaster for the defending forces as the IJA routed the British at every turn. One of the notable features of the battle was that the Imperial Japanese Army utilized bicycle infantry. This allowed the IJA to move swiftly through the jungles while still carrying a significant amount of equipment. Despite the fact that British Royal Engineers destroyed over a hundred bridges the IJA was not delayed. This was due in large part to the extensive intelligence operations that had been undertaken prior to the battle. The IJA had obtained excellent maps of the region and native guides that were waiting to lead the troops through the terrain.

The IJA 25th Army invaded the northern coast of Malaya at Kota Bharu on December 8th of 1941. The IJA also landed at two different places in Thailand and attacked West into Malaya. On the same day, Japanese air power began an assault on Singapore. The Japanese quickly isolated defending units of the Indian Army and forced them to surrender. Thanks to the light tanks, bicycles, and native guides the IJA moved

swiftly across the country achieving its objectives. The Japanese use of light armor added to their advantage as the Commonwealth forces had no equivalent. Japanese airpower was not just superior in number, but also in the quality of aircraft and pilots. What airpower the British forces did have was quickly destroyed.

The Commonwealth Forces suffered defeat followed by defeat. On December 8th they attempted to invade Thailand and destroy a key road but failed. On the 10th of December Japanese aircraft sank the battleship *HMS Prince of Wales* and the battlecruiser *HMS Repulse*, becoming the first capital ships to be sunk solely by aircraft. What followed were a series of defeats at places like Jitra, Kampar, and Slim River. By the middle of January 1942, the IJA had reached Johore a southern Malayan state. Johore marked the first time the Japanese suffered a tactical setback due to the incredibly stubborn defense mounted by the Australian 8th Division. The Australians were not able to hold their position for long and after being outflanked fought a withdrawal action that lasted for four days. On the 20th of January the IJA landed more troops at Endau and the last Commonwealth defensive line in Johore was under assault for its entire length. With no fixed defenses to fight from it was only a matter of time before the line collapsed. On the 27th General Archibald Wavell gave permission for the remaining forces to fall back to Singapore.

In just under two months' time, the IJA had handed the British Commonwealth a stunning and one-sided defeat. Over 50,000 Commonwealth troops were captured or killed. When the IJA took Singapore another 80,000 were taken prisoner. By the time it was all over the Japanese had suffered some 9,000 casualties. The Commonwealth forces' casualties totaled over 145,000, 130,000 of whom were captured. The Royal Navy had

lost two ships of the line, one of which was the newly completed battleship *Prince of Wales*.[114] British airpower had been eliminated. The British presence in the Pacific had been all but removed along with any threat it may have posed Japanese ambitions.

Fujiwara Iwaichi and F Kikan

Since the Russo-Japanese War the Japanese had felt that their position in Manchuria was necessary for the defense of Korea and ultimately Japan itself. They also desired the economic gains the resources of the region provided. In the late 1920s Chinese nationalist leader Chiang Kai-Shek and the successful unification of China were threatening their position in Manchuria. Simultaneously Russia was beginning to exert pressure on the region. Within the Japanese government and military there were elements who concluded that a conflict was in Japan's best interest because war provided a legitimate excuse to invade. The invasion would be the means by which Japan could fortify the area and solidify its control. The result was a false flag operation engineered by officers of the *Kwantung Army* now known as the Manchurian Incident. On the 18th of September 1931, Kawamoto Suemori carefully placed explosives along a section of the South Manchuria Railway near Mukden. Just after 10 p.m. the charges were detonated. Kawamoto and his fellow *Kwantung Army* conspirators intended to derail the Darien Express and blame the local Chinese warlord. The Japanese used the apparent act of Chinese terrorism as a pretext to invade, as planned, and occupy Manchuria. The road to the Pacific War was open.

The Second Sino-Japanese War technically started in July of 1937. The Marco Polo Bridge incident marks the moment when tensions between Chinese and Japanese

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[114] Peter Hore, *The World Encyclopedia of Battleships* (London: Hermes House, 2005), 200-201. The *Prince of Wales* was laid down January 1937, Completed in March of 1941, and sank December of 1941.

forces escalated into outright combat. Both the major Western powers in the region, Britain and America, condemned the Japanese as the aggressor in the region. As the Sino-Japanese conflict deepened and consumed more the region, the Western powers began to take action against the Japanese. The United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union all imposed economic sanctions on the Japanese in response to their activities. The situation in the Pacific intensified when Japan allied with Germany and Italy in July of 1941. The Japanese invasion of French Indochina only served to exacerbate the situation. In response, President Roosevelt seized Japanese assets in America. Shortly thereafter, both the British and the Dutch followed America's example. This effectively put Japan on the defensive as it relied heavily on the import of raw materials and oil to power its industry and war machine.[115]

The Japanese began to plan for the impending military clash between themselves and the Western powers in the Pacific region. The Japanese army had prepared extensively to fight on the Asian mainland against both the Chinese and the Soviet Union. It had not trained or planned as extensively to face their potential Anglo-American adversaries in the vast regions of the Pacific. Facing a potentially vast and drawn out conflict in the Pacific Japanese leadership looked to places like Burma, the Dutch Indies, and Malaya to become important battlegrounds. In addition to being rich in resources, these colonies also possessed populations the Japanese could subvert to fight against their Western masters. That would make Western resistance to Japanese advances even more difficult.[116]

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[115] James L. McClain, *Japan: A Modern History*, 442-443.
[116] Iwaichi Fujiwara, *F. Kikan: Japanese Army Intelligence Operations in Southeast Asia during World War II* ed. Yoji Akashi (Hong Kong: Heinemann Educational Books Limited, 1983), 7-8.

The indigenous peoples of places like Malaya came to play an important role in the coming war. Despite the erosion of the national consciousness of colonial populations caused by years of imperial rule, they still yearned to be free. The Japanese realized that if they examined and learned what the desires and sentiments of these groups were, then when war came they would have the ability to assist them. Ostensibly, the efforts aimed at helping groups, like the Malayans, gain their independence. In return, they would view the Japanese as liberators and friends. More importantly, in assisting them the Japanese forced the colonial powers to have to deal with a subversive element that could erode their power from the inside. They would also be able to provide invaluable assistance and intelligence to the Japanese in the lead up to war and then during actual conflict itself.

Realizing that Japan and the Western powers were on a collision course, the Imperial Japanese Army 8th section, Intelligence section, began to investigate the various courses of action they had available to them. Ultimately, they came up with three potential courses of action. The first was to pursue a relationship with the Indian Independence League (I.I.L.). The second was to collaborate with Malayan independence fighters led by native-born Japanese Tani Yutaka (1911-1942). Tani had immigrated to Malaya in the late Meiji period and had opened a barbershop. During an anti-Japanese incident, shortly after the Manchurian Incident, Tani's six-year-old sister was killed during an episode of public violence. Afterwards, Tani joined a group of Malayan bandits and quickly became renowned for both his bold actions and fighting spirit. By the late 1930s he was wanted by the British authorities and by all accounts was leading a force of

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almost three thousand men. It was not long before he was working as an agent for the Imperial Japanese Army Intelligence section.[117]

In the fall of 1941 things were heating up fast for Japan. The Army General Staff was preparing for war of an unprecedented scale in the Pacific against the West. The Western powers had already employed a number of economic sanctions against the Japanese in an effort to curtail their activities. In September of 1941 Fujiwara Iwaichi reported to Army General Staff 8th section officer Lieutenant Colonel Kadomatsu in Tokyo. Kadomatsu was sending Fujiwara to Bangkok in order to assist Colonel Tamura Hiroishi in the overseeing of a *kosaku* (intelligence operation) in Malaya.

Fujiwara's commanders dispatched him to the region because they believed that the situation in Malaya would soon degenerate to a state of war with Britain. Fujiwara's was officially ordered to"… engage in a *kosaku* in Malaya in order to assist intelligence operations, particularly with respect to the I.I.L. [Indian Independence League] and Malay and Chinese anti-British groups."[118] Fujiwara's mission encompassed assisting Japanese military operations, promoting a spirit of cooperation between the Japanese and Malaya's disaffected population in the event of hostilities, and to assess the potential "… Japan-India relations from the standpoint of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere."[119] It was Fujiwara's mission to collect intelligence on the Commonwealth forces, and to find a way to pit Indians and Malayans against their colonial overlords.[120]

Since the early 1930s the Japanese had been observing the nationalists in Malaya. They began providing various independence seeking factions, like the I.I.L., with the

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[117] Iwaichi Fujiwara, *F. Kikan,* 9; Ken Kotani, *Japanese Intelligence in World War II*, 53-54.
[118] Iwaichi Fujiwara, *F. Kikan*, 17.
[119] Iwaichi Fujiwara, *F. Kikan*, 17.
[120] Iwaichi Fujiwara, *F. Kikan*, 11,17; Peter Elphick, *Singapore: The Pregnable Fortress*, 71.

funds necessary to pursue their endeavors. In Malaya the I.I.L. had and extensive network of agents and sleeper cells. One of which was responsible for a bout of unrest during a rubber workers strike in May of 1941. Unable to quell the uprising the estate owners had to call on the 1/13th Frontier Force Regiment, made up of Indians, to deal with it. This played into the Japanese hands as "setting Indian against Indian in a foreign land" did little for either the morale of Commonwealth units or for popular support of the British.[121] The greatest success of the I.I.L. ended up being found within the ranks of the Indian forces in Malaya. This was to be essential to the later Japanese success because "49 percent of the combined British/Indian/Australian/Malayan force" was Indian.[122]

Fujiwara along with his men arrived on the 28th of October in Bangkok. The Japanese took extraordinary security precautions to protect the men and their mission, including the use of false identities for the unit. Within a few days of his arrival, Fujiwara received his orders from Colonel Tamura Hiroishi. "Under my command I want you to take charge of liaison with the I.I.L. and to assist Tashiro, who is responsible for overseas Chinese affairs, and Kamimoto, who is in charge of the *Harimau kosaku*… ."[123] As he was to be the liaison between the Japanese and the I.I.L. Fujiwara was introduced to Pritam Singh, a leader in the Indian Independence League. The I.I.L. had been attempting to bring as many Commonwealth soldiers of Indian heritage into their fold as possible and many of those men were stationed in Malaya. Fujiwara, in time, became the driving

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[121] Peter Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, 192.
[122] Peter Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, 192; [122] Iwaichi Fujiwara, *F. Kikan*, 12,13.
[123] Iwaichi Fujiwara, *F. Kikan*, 22. *Hiramau* is the malay word for tiger and was the name that Tani Yutaka went by as a rebel fighter.

force behind the creation of the Indian National Army (INA) as a result of his interactions with the I.I.L.[124]

As the faceoff between the Japanese and the Western powers in the Pacific intensified, Japan found itself strapped for needed resources due to economic embargoes. Shortages of strategic resources, both at the time and foreseen in the future, like rice, tin, oil, and rubber forced Japan's gaze to focus on the small countries of Southeast Asia. Malaya and Thailand could provide the needed tin and rubber. The Netherland East Indies could provide the oil required and possession of Malaya furnished the easiest path into that region. Thailand, like Korea, could become Japan's rice bowl. In the midst of it all sleepy little Thailand ended up becoming the frontline in an intensive diplomatic and military intelligence war.[125]

Thailand's position geographically in the heart of Southeast Asia made it crucial to both the West and Japan. The West could use Thailand to check Japanese military moves in the region. With the proper attention, the West could prevent the Japanese from acquiring the strategic resources that they so needed and desired in order to continue their quest for Pacific dominance. On the other hand, it was imperative that the Japanese establish a foothold in the country. From Thailand they could easily gather intelligence on the military situation in Malaya and in Burma. It gave them an easy point of infiltration into both these regions so they could support indigenous independence efforts and subvert British authority. Thailand, at the outbreak of hostilities, became an important piece of the puzzle in the victory over the British.

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[124] Peter Elphick, *Singapore: The Pregnable Fortress*, 71-72; Iwaichi Fujiwara, *F. Kikan*, 22-23.
[125] Iwaichi Fujiwara, *F. Kikan*, 24.

Over the previous ten years, the Japanese had managed to manipulate people and events in order to create a pro-Japanese faction within Thailand. Major-General Pibul Songkram (1897-1964) had seized power in a *coup d'état* in 1932. In 1938, amidst the rise of National Socialism, he consolidated his power and became the fascist leader of the nation. In 1940 he instigated an incident with French Indochina in order to recover territory lost to the French. The Japanese took notice and intervened as a mediator. By helping to settle the matter and in the process setting up new borders that were favorable to Thailand, the Japanese earned support from the Thai government. In return, the Japanese chose to support Pibul. These events combined with Japanese presence in the region gave it a louder voice when it came to Thai affairs. Colonel Tamura, whom Fujiwara had recently reported too in Bangkok, had effectively been the man shaping the political situation in Thailand. He was without a doubt the leading authority on Southeast Asian affairs within the region.[126]

At the time of Fujiwara's arrival in Bangkok the state of things had become much more complex and dangerous. The Western powers were desperately seeking any intelligence that could aide them in defending their holdings, China jockeyed with Japan for support in the region. Even Germany was eyeing the resources of the region for its own war effort. Japan's counter intelligence effort was multi-faceted and involved both formal and informal operations. They utilized doctors, both civilian and military, operatives disguised as commercial representatives, military advisers to help with armaments sold to Thailand, technicians for the railroads, and even Buddhist monks.

In a foreshadowing of things to come, the Japanese intelligence effort suffered from the kinds of activity that would plague Japan in the latter half of the coming war.

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[126] Iwaichi Fujiwara, *F. Kikan*, 24-25.

The lack of a central authority regarding intelligence matters meant that not everyone was being directed the same. The intelligence collected was sent to various departments, but often it was not shared as inter department competition was growing. The IJA and the IJN both operated their own intelligence unit independent of any central control and with practically no horizontal coordination. This meant that two seemingly innocuous pieces of data that when combined may have revealed something key to Japanese efforts potentially never crossed the same desk. Furthermore, the departmental and agency rivalry extended to the agents in the field. Often times Fujiwara observed, they worked just as hard to find out what the other Japanese were doing as they did trying to ascertain data on the enemy. This behavior often led to agents exposing not only themselves but also other operatives and assets of the Japanese government.[127]

Fujiwara had his first meeting with one of the I.I.L. leaders, Pritam Singh, at the residence of Colonel Tamura sometime shortly after he arrived in Bangkok. Fujiwara had realized before he left Tokyo that the Japanese needed to pursue a policy in Southeast Asia that sought to understand the various populations' desire for independence from Western colonial rule. Through assisting them in gaining their liberation Fujiwara not only served Japan's purpose of creating a subversive force, but the Japanese could then fold that population under their own imperial umbrella afterwards. Fujiwara realized that the *kosaku* that he was assigned to needed to have a basis in understanding and utilizing ideologies that were compatible with the Malayan population.[128] Fujiwara's first words to

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[127] Iwaichi Fujiwara, *F. Kikan*, 25-26.
[128] Iwaichi Fujiwara, *F. Kikan*, 11-12, 17.

Singh were "I have come to help you realize your high ideal [independence] and I look

forward to working together with you."[129]

From the start, Singh and Fujiwara appeared as old comrades. Singh openly

shared his political activities and the fact that he had been working for Indian

independence since 1939. He felt betrayed by the British and looked to take advantage of

the apparent coming hostilities in order to achieve his goals. A few days after meeting

Fujiwara, Singh took him to meet a Japanese national named Otaguro who had been

working as an English teacher in Singapore. While Otaguro did not appear to be

interested in any kind of nationalist movement, he held no love for the West. It was

because of the growing Anglo-Japanese tension that he had had to leave Singapore.

Fujiwara made the man his eyes and ears in the city.

Having begun to develop his own network of assets Fujiwara set about coming up

with a system of operations in the region. He wanted to find out from Singh what the I.I.L.

activities were in Thailand and Malaya. How did these coincide with the plans for his

independence movement? Fujiwara needed to know how this could fit into Japan's plans,

how could it aide their efforts when war came. To make matters difficult, the entire time

Fujiwara was planning for war, he had to be careful not let on to his new cohorts that

Japan was preparing for war against the West.

The importance of the relationship that Fujiwara had with Singh and the I.I.L.

cannot be understated. Indians made up almost fifty percent of the British

Commonwealth forces. The I.I.L. had members stationed in southern Thailand along the

Malayan border and in Kota Bharu on the east coast of Malaya. Singh traveled to these

locations on a monthly basis in order to maintain contact with his people and help to

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[129] Iwaichi Fujiwara, *F. Kikan*, 27.

distribute anti-colonial propaganda. The I.I.L. was actively trying to win the Indian soldiers over to its side. The I.I.L. had not been able to infiltrate the British-Indian Army units that guarded Malaya's border because of frequent rotations. The Indians in those units, though, were known to have strong anti-British feelings and be receptive to propaganda. Singh assured Fujiwara that in the event of hostilities the Indian soldiers were respond to appeals to turn on their British comrades if I.I.L. officers accompanied Japanese troops.[130]

Despite the fact that the I.I.L.'s efforts had not been able to penetrate deep into Malaya, Fujiwara saw an opportunity. Fujiwara first wanted to use the I.I.L. to organize Indians within Malaya in order to help expand I.I.L. activities within the country. He also saw the chance to penetrate into enemy lines by giving Japanese Army support to I.I.L. agents. Through them, he hoped to win support among Indians in the Malayan civilian population and with those within the Commonwealth army units. The second goal was especially important for when hostilities commenced between the two nations. In order to help win hearts and minds Fujiwara guaranteed the lives of all Indian POWs. This would illustrate to the Indian POWs and those that remained in Commonwealth service what Japan's real intentions were and help to win their support for the I.I.L. and thus the Japanese.[131]

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[130] Iwaichi Fujiwara, *F. Kikan*, 32.

[131] Iwaichi Fujiwara, *F. Kikan*, 40. Fujiwara constantly talks of Japan's true intentions. He says that Japan intended to lift all of Asia up and help it prosper. At one point in his writing he even goes to length to describe how he wanted his men to act in order to avoid another incident like what happened in China, referring most likely to Nanking. He even refers to the "Asia is One" ideology put forth by Okakura Tenshin, a proposed paradise constructed on the principles of co-prosperity and mutual happiness. This part of his writing must be taken with some doubt. Fujiwara himself may very well have held chivalrous attitudes about honor, duty, and helping to liberate the Asian nations. Unfortunately, Japan's leadership did not hold these same ideals.

By November relations between Japan and the West had grown stale to the point

that Fujiwara knew that war was inevitable. He found it increasingly difficult to lay

concrete plans for war and yet kept them hidden from his assets like Singh. Over the

course of four meetings Fujiwara discussed the implementation of the plans he and Singh

had made for the I.I.L. Included in those discussions was the admission that Malaya

would become a battleground in the coming conflict. By the end of the sessions Singh

and Fujiwara had not only come to common ground on ideology but also created a pledge

of support to each other. Among the articles in the agreement were statements that

affirmed the I.I.L.'s military support of Japan against Britain in the region, the I.I.L.

would advance with Japanese troops into Malaya and a host of other nations in order to

convert British-Indian troops to the Japanese cause. On the other side of the table the

Japanese pledged to recognize the I.I.L.'s independent actions, guarantee the safety of all

Indian POWs, the IJA would assist the I.I.L. in its propaganda efforts, and provide

monetary and technical support for I.I.L. activities. The pledge was signed and sent to

Tokyo December 1st, 1941.[132]

F Kikan, under Fujiwara's leadership, played a significant role in opening up

relations with the various independence movements in the region. These proved to be

invaluable once the Japanese had invaded. They not only provided valuable military

intelligence, but also the native Malayans involved drew maps of routes through the

jungles and some even acted as guides when the invading Japanese landed. Perhaps the

unit's greatest accomplishment was a direct result of the contact Fujiwara had with

independence leader Pritam Singh. Thanks to the relationship that was developed,

Fujiwara was able to recruit approximately forty thousand Indian prisoners of war into

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[132] Iwaichi Fujiwara, *F. Kikan*, 45-48.

what became the Indian National Army (INA). This was a magnificent accomplishment and posed a very real and very direct threat to the British imperial rule. The INA took part in operations against the British in 1944 in Arakan and Manipur. At the end of the war many in the INA were held as complicit in Japanese war crimes and the repatriation of others resulted in their facing trials for treason. Many historians view these proceedings as the stimulus for several famous mutinies. They are considered crucial to the eventual ending of British rule. While the INA, directly or indirectly, seems to have been more effective in the post-war period, it without a doubt constituted a major military concern during the war and thus drew British resources and attention away from other matters. This in and of itself should be considered a success.[133]

During the invasion of Malaya Japanese units utilized light tanks and, famously, bicycle infantry. However, the invaders had not actually brought their bikes with them. They knew from the intelligence gathered by native assets that they could confiscate what they needed from the local populace. More importantly, they were able to traverse the tropical rainforests that were interlaced with native paths thanks to the native guides they had, due in no small part to the efforts of Fujiwara and the *F Kikan* unit. Fujiwara's activities illustrate the usefulness of organizing subversion and guerilla warfare efforts. Despite the military accomplishments of Fujiwara and his unit, its true success was one of a political nature.[134]

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[133] Peter Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, 38-41; Iwaichi Fujiwara, *F. Kikan*, 31; Louis Allen, "Japanese Intelligence Systems," 559-559.
[134] Peter Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, 38-41; Iwaichi Fujiwara, *F. Kikan*, 31; Louis Allen, "Japanese Intelligence Systems," 559-559.

"The Odd Man Out" – Patrick Stanley Vaughn Heenan

By the time the Japanese launched their offensive in the Pacific they had utilized their impressive HUMINT network to gather the information they required prior to the attacks. Japanese intelligence efforts steadily intensified as Japan gained both economic and military power in the Pacific. Beginning in the 1930s their clandestine efforts had increased to a point that they were drawing attention and raising concern with British authorities. Late 1940 and early 1941, at least eighteen months before their attacks, saw a significant increase in Japanese military intelligence assets deployed to places like Malaya and Thailand. Agents consisted of embassy staff, Japanese business people, tourists, and came to include disaffected members of the indigenous populations. The Japanese had done their due diligence and the reward was a series of sweeping victories that left the Americans reeling and all but removed the British from the theater for the rest of the war.[135]

Malaya, better than any other target, embodied the spirit and achievements of Japanese intelligence. The Japanese Secret Services, and the intelligence web that they had created, had successfully constructed a realistic picture of the British Order of Battle (OOB). That intelligence web, as previously illustrated, consisted of diplomatic, military, and commercial components. The Japanese had also enlisted the aid of the local populations and paid informants. Some of those informants had were even British servicemen as in the Shinozaki incident. Several British servicemen over the previous years had been bribed into providing the Japanese with information on troop and weapons deployment, layouts of bases, and even the whereabouts of vessels of the Royal

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[135] Tony Matthews, *Shadows Dancing*, 49.

Navy. Perhaps, though, the most significant of all these accomplishments was the recruitment of Captain Patrick Stanley Vaughn Heenan (1910-1942).[136]

Patrick Stanley Vaughn Heenan was a complicated individual. While he appeared to athletically gifted, academically he was lacking. In 1935 he managed to be selected for service in the Indian Army but was a misfit from the onset. Many of those who served with him felt that he walked around with a chip on his shoulder for some reason. Unbeknownst to them, or the Indian Army, Heenan was illegitimate and this was one of the primary sources of his rancor. In his time with the Indian Army he was transferred numerous times. This only added to his feelings of being an outsider. Despite performing admirably during a campaign on the frontiers, he remained unpopular. Compounding the issue was the fact that essentially it appeared that he had no desire to remedy his status as an outcast. In mid to late 1938 he took a six month leave from his unit and traveled to Japan.[137]

Captain Heenan took a long leave in 1938. The exact dates of his leave are unknown to historians, but it began sometime in the fall and lasted into the spring of 1939. His decision to spend his time in Japan was not unusual for officers of the British and Commonwealth forces. In some cases the trip to Japan was merely a layover before returning to England, but for many the entire leave was spent there learning the language and immersing themselves in the culture and its customs. These extended leaves in Japan were not frowned upon. With the situation in the East degrading quickly war seemed inevitable and any and all knowledge of the people and language of a potential enemy

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[136] Tony Matthews, *Shadows Dancing*, 49, 53; Peter Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, 305.
[137] Peter Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, 306; Peter Elphick, *Singapore: The Pregnable Fortress*, 72; Tony Matthews, *Shadows Dancing*, 53; Peter Elphick and Michael Smith, *Odd Man Out: The Story of the Singapore Traitor* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1993), 78-79, 84, 89, 91.

was welcomed. Likewise, the Japanese Secret Services saw the visiting British officers as targets of opportunity.[138]

It is unknown whether Heenan sought out the Japanese or whether he was approached and recruited like so many other assets. Presently, it appears that any of the records on Heenan were destroyed at the end of the war along with so many others, and neither the Japanese Defense Agency nor the National Institute for Defense Studies has any information on him. There are also no files in any of the records that the United States confiscated with the Japan capitulation in 1945.

Whatever the circumstances of his recruitment, it is apparent that during his time in Japan he received instruction on intelligence tradecraft. It is also during this period that he most likely learned how to operate the radio equipment he used as a spy. The Indian Army Signals School did not start giving instruction on radio sets until 1941 and there were few other places that he could have learned the necessary skills to use the equipment he in possession at the time of his capture. Additionally, he needed instruction in the codes that he was to use. The period when he learned the codes would have presented his Japanese handlers the most opportune time in which to teach him how to use the radio. Heenan's new Japanese handlers also taught him the art of taking pictures suited for intelligence purposes. He later proved to have a talent for it. The Japanese handlers also educated him on the web of espionage they had created in Malaya. He would have been told who his contacts were too be, some of whom were in the I.I.L. The entire recruitment in all likelihood was rather routine, as the Japanese did not realize exactly who they had. Here, was a major failing on their part. Had they done their

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[138] Peter Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, 306; Peter Elphick and Michael Smith, *Odd Man Out*, 114-115; Peter Elphick, *Singapore: The Pregnable Fortress*, 72.

research on Heenan, they may have been able to see how valuable he was, and foresee how much more valuable he could become. An officer like Heenan had access to valuable information like daily codes, troop strength, disposition, and the equipment and supplies available to them.[139]

Having been recruited by the Japanese intelligence services while he was on leave in Japan, Heenan returned to Malaya around July of 1939. Heenan was by all accounts an unpopular fellow and ill-suited for most of his duty postings. After his return from Japan he served with the 15th Motor Transport Company, but after a short time he was in trouble for his attitude once again. Apparently, among all the skills that he had learned in Japan he had failed to learn how to control his temper. In September of 1939 he became involved in a quarrel between the military police and the British Other Ranks (BORS), non-commissioned officers, and was sent packing to the 1/16th Punjabis.[140] This was not the first, nor the last, transfer for Heenan. While with the 1/16th Heenan distinguished himself during the Waziristan Campaign but this was not enough to change others' opinions of him or to lose his mantle as misfit. As soon as was possible the unit's new commanding officer, a Colonel Clarke who took command after the campaign, took the first available opportunity to make his unit's problem, someone else's.[141]

In October of 1940, Heenan found himself as part of the 2/16th Punjab Regiment that was being sent to Malaya. It is possible that Heenan requested a transfer to the unit so as to be in a better position to be useful to his Japanese handlers, but more likely he was assigned there in yet another instance of British commanders attempting to pass on a

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[139] Peter Elphick and Michael Smith, *Odd Man Out*, 115-118.
[140] In British India and Malaya there was a further distinction made between BORS and Indian Other Ranks (IORs).
[141] Peter Elphick and Michael Smith, *Odd Man Out*, 131.

problem officer. By late October the convoy that the regiment had boarded to travel

Malaya was anchored off Penang and the regiment had disembarked for its new camp.

The regiment's new location put it very close to the Malay and Thailand border and it

was at this point that Heenan's handlers really began to put him to work. Patrick made

numerous clandestine trips into Thailand and began passing intelligence.[142]

Due to being an unpopular fellow and apparently ill-suited for duty in his initial

posting with the 2/16th Punjab regiment Heenan's commanding officer, Colonel Frank

Moore, requested he be transferred out. One of the many reasons given for the transfer

was his propensity for taking unauthorized trips into Thailand. While this behavior

should have aroused some sort of suspicion, it did not. Furthermore, not only was Heenan

transferred, he was going to be posted to a newly formed intelligence unit and was being

made a Grade Three Intelligence staff officer. The promotion granted him a security

clearance and access to secure facilities. The new posting was in Singapore and the

position was as Air Intelligence Liaison Officer (AILO). This new position provided

Patrick Heenan with extensive access to highly sensitive information that would be

actionable in the eyes of his Japanese handlers. The Air Liaison Unit was involved in the

planning of the ground and air defenses for the northern airfields and the port city of

Penang. The AILO position also afforded Heenan with more freedom to move about,

both on his own and as part of his duties, and he visited a number of airfields in both an

official and unofficial capacity.[143]

Heenan used his position to glean information where and when he could. Often he

used his rank and its influence to turn unknowing officers into unwitting agents of the

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[142] Peter Elphick and Michael Smith, *Odd Man Out*, 134.
[143] Peter Elphick, *Singapore: The Pregnable Fortress*, 73; Peter Elphick and Michael Smith, *Odd Man Out*, 170-171,173,175; Peter Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, 307.

Japanese. A warrant officer, whose last name was Swindlehurst, stationed at the Alor Star airfield was one such source for Heenan's activities.[144] Heenan regularly requested that Swindlehurst drive him about the airfield and give him a detailed account of the serviceability and availability of the aircraft on hand under the guise of collecting data for a report or briefing. As Heenan was the AILO, Swindlehurst was obliged to comply with his requests with no second thoughts. Flight Sergeant Ron Wardrop was another innocuous individual who became a source of intelligence for Heenan. Wardrop was Armourer Sergeant for 62 squadron stationed at Alor Star and Heenan frequently queried him as to the status of stores and request detailed explanations of their purposes. He also repeatedly inquired as to which aircraft could be armed with what weapons.[145]

During this time Heenan continued to engage in unsanctioned trips that doubled as photoreconnaissance missions. In fact, Heenan had grown evermore complacent in his tradecraft thanks to the lack of any real counter-intelligence efforts by the British. Many of his activities were beginning to draw suspicion from comrades but also from his Commanding Officer in the Liaison unit, Major James Cable France. France had discovered that his "…Photogenic Captain G III – Tom Heenan…" had taken a party of troops out on supposed exercises and while out had photographed all the roads, crossroads, and junctions. France later learned of Heenan's similar trips into Thailand while stationed with the Punjabi regiment earlier. France also learned that Heenan had persuaded the Station Commander to allow him access to Frank's highly secret documents stored in the Commander's safe. The complacent attitude toward Heenan despite the mounting suspicions of his comrades and commanding officer are damning

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[144] WO Swindlehurst's recollections of Heenan's activities are used in several books, but his first name is never given.
[145] Peter Elphick and Michael Smith, *Odd Man Out*, 179-180.

evidence of the general British outlook on the Japanese. It was a viewpoint that was

inspired by the fiction of Fortress Singapore and the racist belief that the cartoonish

Japanese could not possibly pose a threat. But pose one they did and Heenan had become

one of their most important tools in Malaya.[146]

Heenan's position in the Air Liaison Section was nigh perfect for gathering the

military intelligence Japan needed for its invasion. As an AILO, Heenan had access to

detailed information about the northern airfields, the aircraft stationed at them, their

defenses, their stores, and their OOB. As a grade three intelligence staff officer Heenan

had access to practically everything his handlers could desire. Additionally, Heenan had

been involved in devising the aerial defensive strategy in the event of invasion.

Furthermore, he had access to the then equivalent of the IFF (Identity Friend or Foe)

system that the British were using. This consisted of a set of Air Recognition Strips

which allowed airmen to identify friendly ground forces, and a series of Air Recognition

Codes that allowed friendly pilots to identify each other. As with so many other codes

then, and now, they were supposed to be changed on a daily basis.

Captain Patrick Stanley Vaughn Heenan potentially made the one of if not the

single biggest contribution to the invasion's early successes. His role in helping to plan

the defensive aerial response to an invasion and his access to the IFF systems of the time

are now apparent when looking at the events and corresponding reports of December 8th,

1941. At Kota Bharu the Japanese invasion forces were guided to shore by signal lights

displayed by Japanese agents. In response British aircraft were deployed, in the dark, to

attack the Japanese troop transports. Upon arrival the British found their targets flashing

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[146] Peter Elphick, *Singapore: The Pregnable Fortress*, 73; Peter Elphick and Michael Smith, *Odd Man Out*, 182-184.

the correct RAF recognition signal for the day. It is highly probable that they received the signal and other codes for the day had been provided to them through the efforts of Captain Heenan.

At the time of the invasion British RAF officers noted that the Japanese were incredibly successful at knowing where and when to catch the RAF on the ground. Repeatedly the Japanese caught the RAF pilots after returning from sorties when they were most vulnerable. Pilots and ground crew watched as the Japanese strafed and bombed the rows of their stationary aircraft with relative impunity. Basil Gotto, an RAF pilot, wrote the Japanese had "'… absolute air supremacy,'" and "'Our fighters…were having no success and were continually being caught having just landed.'"[147] Jack Wells, another member of Heenan's AIL section, recalled that on the day of the attacks Heenan's actions gave away his knowledge. After learning of the attacks on Singapore and several airfields to the south, Wells inquired as to why they had not yet been hit yet seeing at they were on the front lines. Heenan's response was simply that they would be. Wells recalled that after that exchange Heenan kept looking at his watch and watching a distinct portion of the sky. Wells realized only in hindsight that "'…he was expecting them [the Japanese]! He knew exactly when the blighters were coming!'"[148] Shortly after telling Wells the Japanese would arrive, they did. Once over the airfield they proceeded to bomb the rows of parked aircraft being refueled and re-armed. Prior to the attack Wells and several other servicemen on the airfield re-called Heenan having disappeared, most likely radioing the Japanese of the impending arrival of British aircraft.

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[147] Peter Elphick and Michael Smith, *Odd Man Out*, 184.
[148] Peter Elphick and Michael Smith, *Odd Man Out*, 190.

Time and again the RAF was being caught unawares after missions. In a report

compiled in 1942 by General Wavell this was attributed to information being sent via

radio from the area around the aerodromes. The agent in question was no doubt Captain

Heenan. The timing of the attacks on the airfields is strong evidence of his complicity. As

Jack Wells had observed there was no reason that the Japanese should have ignored Alor

Star due to its position to the north of several other targets, including a nearby airfield

that had been attacked at about 0730. The Japanese did not attack Alor Star was until

1100 hours despite its close proximity to other frontline targets. Strategically and

tactically there was no reason to ignore Alor Star, unless the Japanese knew that the

field's aircraft were out on sortie. The Japanese raid on Alor Star coincided perfectly with

the return of its aircraft. The Japanese knew that an attack on Alor Star was pointless

until Heenan had informed them of the RAF aircrafts' return. Eventually the raids on

Alor Star and its neighboring airfields resulted in the order to evacuate. Only a handful of

obsolete Buffalo fighters and Blenheim bombers survived.

The information that Heenan had provided the Japanese at the time of the invasion was,

by all accounts, limited to the northern airfields. It proved to be disastrous for the British

as the Japanese used it to devastating effect. Within the opening days of the Battle of

Malaya they were able to force the British to abandon their frontline airfields, destroy the

majority of the RAF and Commonwealth air forces, and ensure their own air superiority

for the duration of the campaign. British Intelligence got on to Heenan and arrested him

two days after the attacks on Malaya. Among the things discovered when his quarters

were searched were sensitive documents, a codebook, and two radio transmitters. Among

the documents were situation reports that he should not have been in position of. At the

time of his arrest contemporary sources actually place him at the head of a vast network

of Japanese spies that operated between Penang and the Thai border. As an AILO Heenan

had access to secret information and he had been passing it on to the Japanese. Heenan

was arrested after having been caught sending the current condition and deployment of

aircraft to the Japanese, thus allowing them to repeatedly catch the pilots and planes on

the ground. After his apprehension, Heenan was court-martialed in January of 1942, and

summarily executed for his crimes in February of that same year.[149]

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[149] Peter Elphick, *Singapore: The Pregnable Fortress*, 72-76.

Chapter 5

IJA Intelligence Collection Activities

At the end of the Second World War, the Japanese destroyed many of the records that pertained to their intelligence gathering activities. This has left modern historians with questions on not only how intelligence was gathered, but also what intelligence the Japanese did collect. However, there is enough surviving information to begin to give answers to some of these questions. A textbook used by the Japanese Army titled *Joho Kinmu no Sanko* (Text Book for Intelligence Duties) categorized intelligence gathering as belonging to one of two groups, information gathering or information duties. The intelligence activities carried out by attachés, businesses, corporations, and other overseas organizations fell under information gathering. Both OSINT and HUMINT played a large part in this category, as did observation, photography, and the debriefing of individuals. Lower levels of SIGINT were also categorized as information gathering. Information duties included spotting, use of reconnaissance units to locate targets, POW debriefs, captured documentation, and battlefield espionage.[150]

Clearly, the IJA was delineating between short-term, information duties, and long term, information gathering, operations as it planned for the invasion of Malaya. This was also something that both Britain and America did, and still do. The long term collection of data allowed Japan to understand the Malay region, its geography, and its population

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[150] Ken Kotani, "Japanese Intelligence in World War II," 5.

in a manner that the British did not. The Japanese long term efforts yielded significant

results that included the readiness, disposition, and deployment of British Commonwealth

forces. Their efforts alerted them to, and allowed them to target, disaffected portions of

the populous that could help to undermine British authority. These early efforts also

yielded geographical information that was essential in both planning the invasion and

then navigating the terrain once their forces had landed. These activities are evidence that

at the start of their Pacific thrust in 1941 the Japanese had an effective method of

analyzing the data they had gathered, producing a useful product, and disseminating it

along the proper channels to those who needed it.

The term HUMINT carries with it the suggestion of James Bond-esque espionage.

In reality, the majority of it is accomplished using attachés stationed in foreign embassies.

IJA attachés collected information from their foreign counterparts, military officers, and

collected OSINT from the local regions publications and news services. They also hired

locals to act as their own personal assets and many embassies had a substantial budget for

exactly that purpose. In 1941 alone the Imperial Japanese Army spent approximately 32

billion yen, adjusted for inflation, on these types of intelligence operations. By the end of

the war that amount ballooned to nearly 320 billion yen adjusted. The HUMINT activities

of the IJA fell into three distinct categories: 1) against the European nations in the

Southern Area (including Malaya and Singapore); 2) against Russia in Manchuria 3);

against China.[151]

The vast web of spies the IJA cultivated produced results that were just as

significant as any major intelligence coup and were just as useful in helping to defeat the

Commonwealth forces. Many Japanese attachés, businessmen, and native Malayans went

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[151] Ken Kotani, *Japanese Intelligence in World War II*, 26.

on photographic excursions. These trips provided the Japanese with an abundance of useful intelligence for the invasion. They helped to map the network of local trails and roads that ran along the Malaya and Thailand border. The condition of these roads, their bridges, connections and intersections, and their ultimate destinations were of vital importance to the Japanese. Ultimately, the information helped the Japanese forces to advance through terrain that would have otherwise been foreign and impossible to navigate. *F Kikan*'s subversion efforts made this even easier.

In the years before the war the Japanese utilized their attachés to collect a substantial amount of intelligence. The collecting happened in the West just as frequently and with just as many positive results as it did in the Southeast Asian countries. IJN Captain Sanematsu Yuzuru and several other fellow IJN officers were stationed across the United States in places like Los Angeles and Washington where they collected information on the US Navy. Back in the Japan IJA officers who were considered experts on selected countries were sent to those regions to gather intelligence. Sometimes as part of a *ryugakusei* other times covertly. Yet others were sent to places like Spain, Finland, and Sweden. The intelligence collected by IJA officers sent to Europe has been assessed as having a high degree of accuracy. Japanese planning and collection activities were not only selecting targets of importance tactically and operationally, they were executing on their plans as well.[152]

The Imperial Japanese Army collected significant amounts of data on the troop deployments of various Western powers in the Far East. This information included HUMINT and COMINT that was then classified according to its accuracy. Japanese intelligence operations also employed OSINT extensively. In the 1930s this was a

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[152] Ken Kotani, "Japanese Intelligence in World War II," 6.

developing field of intelligence gathering, still in its nascent stages. It was not until 1941

that the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service turned radio into a source of information

for the US. There were also agencies in every country that collected the periodicals and

trade publications for analysis. Colonel William Donovan (1883-1959) was once advised

that he could find better intelligence than could be provided by anyone in the West on the

state of Japanese shipbuilding by simply analyzing the Japanese press. The Japanese, for

instance, were able to stay abreast US aerospace development by monitoring *Aviation*

Week. This earned the publication the moniker "Aviation Leak" as a result of the

intelligence it provided. Once hostilities commenced OSINT was a way to replace some

of the intelligence lost as a result of the removal of Japanese personnel when embassies

closed. The Domei News Agency for instance compiled, translated, and passed on the

news from every country around the world on a daily basis. With these efforts came the

task of deciphering the true intentions behind a nation's published news, and of whether

it was factual or not. Confirmed Japanese OSINT sources for the pre-war years included

Reuters, AP, *The New York Times, Life,* and *Time* magazine.[153]

Photography played a key role on all the sides during the war. Especially

important was professional press photography. The Japanese in one instance learned of

the latest British anti-aircraft (AA) weaponry when a picture of dignitaries arriving on the

British battleship *King George V* was printed in the January 1941 *Life* magazine. In the

background was Britain's latest AA rocket launcher. Considering that at the time the

most advanced IJN AA weaponry was still machine guns, this was a significant piece of

intelligence. When the Japanese took the Palembang oil fields in Sumatra, they utilized

the local maps provided in easily obtained publications. Detail was then added to the

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[153] Ken Kotani, "Japanese Intelligence in World War II," 8.

maps, in addition to data on oilfields and airfields, provided Japanese businesses operating in the area.

At the onset of the Pacific War Japan's chief opponent were the British Forces deployed in Malaya. Because of this the IJA increased intelligence gathering on the British in the late 1930s and then stepped up operations again in late 1940 as a precursor to war. One of the key assessments that made by the Japanese intelligence community was that the British colonial garrisons were a composite force. The Japanese appraisal of Commonwealth forces concluded they were comprised primarily of men from the nations of Great Britain, India, and Australia. The Japanese then went on to evaluate each of the three groups. The British they assessed as being a difficult enemy to overcome in battle, but due to being colonial forces and limited in number they would fall. The Japanese also predicted that the Commonwealth forces would fight a predominantly defensive battle as most were stationed in defense of Singapore. The Japanese prediction played out to be unequivocally true as all but one of the British actions was defensive in nature. Thus in the invasion of Malaya they would not play a significant factor. The Japanese evaluated the Australians as being poorly trained and poorly equipped. They would present a difficult fight based on their national character, stubbornness and bravery, but in the end, they too would fail to stop a Japanese attack. This also came to pass as the Australians mounted an uncompromising defense of Johore and handed the Japanese Army its first tactical setback of the campaign. Finally, and maybe most importantly, the Japanese appraised the Indian and Malayan soldiers as having no desire to fight for the British. Instead, the Japanese discovered most of them to have anti-British sentiment and the Indians were evaluated as being highly fractured. The British had been able to manipulate

the various Indian and Malayan factions in order to prevent unity and maintain power. This meant that the British had almost no real support in a fight against an invader. If the Japanese took the time to understand the Indian and Malayan demographics and their motivations, they would have a powerful tool to use against the British.

While the Japanese seemed to think lightly of British Commonwealth soldiers, the key element that they hit upon was the disharmony between the British and their colonial subjects. Even though the Japanese believed the British troops possessed a reasonable fighting ability, their relations with their Indian comrades and the native soldiers was poor at best. As a result, they had undermined their own ability to mount any significant defense of Malaya. The detailed intelligence gathering operations preceding the Malayan invasion meant that the Imperial Japanese Army not only had a clear picture of the geography on which it was going to fight, the military capability of forces it would face, but that it also had a firm grasp on the social makeup of its opponent.

In the period preceding the invasion *F Kikan* lead the way in subverting British authority. As a long-term strategy the Japanese expended a considerable amount of resources supporting and encouraging various Asian independence movements. The lion's share of the effort was concentrated on the Indians, both civilian and those in the Commonwealth forces, living in Malaya. Japanese intelligence had identified, and rightly so, this distinct group as being the most susceptible to their efforts. *F Kikan* in particular had been instrumental in implementing this strategy in Malaya. The unit targeted Indian nationals and quickly set up a network of subversive agents across all of northern Malaya. As a result of its contact with and support of the IIL the Japanese had nurtured feelings of

colonial resentment not only in the local populations but also among the ranks of the Commonwealth forces.

Because of the Japanese subversive efforts, its army units had local guides to help them navigate Malaya and that some of the Commonwealth units turned on and betrayed their British officers. Because the Indian Army constituted almost half of the Commonwealth forces in Malaya, the ability to sow discord among them was an important factor in their campaign and one that is often overlooked today when studying the Battle of Malaya. Captain Heenan was a white Indian officer who exhibited empathy towards his Indian comrades while harboring vast resentment against his British peers. He stands as an example of what the Japanese efforts highest goals were.

As was previously indicated in this thesis, Thailand served as the base of intelligence gathering activities in Southeast Asia. As the only independent nation in the region it was possible for Japanese intelligence agencies to set up bases of operation in cities like Bangkok. From these locations they were able to concentrate their efforts on the targets in the region that held the most value to them, places like Malaya and Singapore. From his headquarters in Bangkok, Colonel Tamura Hiroshi collected information on geography, cartography, British Commonwealth forces, and other areas of interest vital to the coming war effort. Tamura executed a methodical analysis of the routes the IJA would take through southern Thailand and the landing points it would use on the Malay Peninsula. These studies were essential to the early surprise and success that the Japanese enjoyed in the Battle of Malaya.

Starting in the summer of 1940 the Japanese intelligence efforts in the Southeast Asia region targeting Malaya and Singapore had increased rapidly. This was because of

the coming war with Britain. The activities that the Japanese took clearly demonstrated the same well-developed features as their Western counterparts as discussed above. The Japanese were planning their missions and targets on a vast strategic level in Tokyo. However, they were planning also from a strategic, tactical, and operational standpoint on a lower level from bases situated within the regions of interest to them. They were exercising all the same collections techniques as the West and from their success we can glean the fact that their analysis and dissemination of the finished intelligence product was also effective. Simply put, British and Allied failures in the Pacific were not purely a symptom of unpreparedness and underestimation of the Japanese. Instead when looking at the larger picture and including the Japanese narrative, it can be observed that success like the Battle of Malaya were the result of a long term intelligence operation that aided in the advanced training of Japanese forces for the coming fight.

While none of the information discovered or revealed to date points to an intelligence homerun for the Japanese, they were nevertheless able to gather enough pieces of the puzzle overall to make a significant impact on their operations in late 1941. At the start of their invasion of Malaya their intelligence and subversion efforts had set the stage for a highly successful campaign. The Japanese spun a great web of espionage over Southeast Asia utilizing military, commercial, and civilian sources in its construction. Examples of military intelligence Japanese successes included the acquisition of information on RAF facilities and a naval base that was under construction. The RAF data was obtained from an RAF aircraftsman. The plans for the naval base were purchased in 1933. In 1934 a Japanese businessman failed in an attempt to purchase the plans to another RAF base. Other intelligence efforts include the attempt to obtain

diagrams and maps of railway networks for various regions within Southeast Asia. In 1937 they successfully secured the plans to the Woodlands Railway switch that operated between Malaya and Singapore as a border crossing checkpoint. Prior to gaining the plans to the Woodlands switch, Japanese intelligence efforts had procured the drawings of the Causeway that linked the mainland and Singapore. Additionally, they gained vital information on the submarine and coastal defenses located throughout Malaya. One British agent even provided them a list of fifth columnists to help carry out sabotage work.[154]

The vast web of Japanese pre-war espionage in the Pacific and Indian Oceans reached as far south as Australia, west into India, and as far east as Hawaii. Inspector General of Police, Straits Settlements, René Onraet made, perhaps, the best assessment of Japanese intelligence activities in Malaya. Writing in 1945, Onraet mused on how the Japanese had spent the better part of twenty years after the Great War expanding their trade, understanding, and presence in Malaya. They were everywhere, or at least it appeared that way. The British and other Europeans saw the activities of the Japanese travelers, photographers, and those from other various and sundry occupations as a real threat. The reality was that the managers, chair people, and chiefs of major business and banking institutions were the real danger. This included those individuals posted in government facilities like Shinozaki Mamorou.[155]

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[154] Peter Elphick, *Singapore: The Pregnable Fortress*, 51-53.
[155] Peter Elphick, *Singapore: The Pregnable Fortress*, 51. The British had divided the Malayan peninsula into three political entities. They were *The Crown Colony of the Straits Settlement* where René Onraet had served, *The Federated Malay States*, and *The Un-Federated Malay Straits*. Japanese Espionage and subversion can be best understood within the context of these geo-political sub-divisions as each held its own distinct politics and population.

As Onraet recollected the Japanese activities, he fell convinced that what he had observed was the slow and calculated preparation for the events that unfolded in the late 1930s and culminated with the defeat of the British Commonwealth forces in the Battle of Malaya. It was easy for them, Onraet surmised, because no one considered that a future military success would be possible. Malaya was the Gibraltar of the East. Yet, not only was it possible, but it depended on the patient intelligence gathering effort the Japanese had embarked on after World War 1. It was an effort based on the highly developed intelligence system that the Japanese had spent the last seventy plus years developing. By 1938 Onraet had been so deeply concerned about the level of espionage in Malaya, conducted in large part by the Japanese employed in commercial endeavors, that he had introduced legislation requiring that at least half of those companies' employees be non-Japanese. His warning and concerns went unheeded.[156]

Refining the IJA Intelligence System

The late 1930s were a tumultuous time for the Imperial Japanese Army. The Army General Staff began to consider ways to boost their intelligence gathering capabilities. The bolstering of open source intelligence gathering and signals intelligence analysis was a primary concern. At the same time an effort was being led to revise the Military Secret Act and make intelligence work more methodical and scientific. The act had been created in 1894 just after the First Sino-Japanese War and had remained virtually unchanged since then.[157]

Several major changes occurred in the IJA intelligence apparatus in 1936. The Japanese formed a Russian section in order to intensify collections against that nation and

[156] Peter Elphick, *Singapore: The Pregnable Fortress*, 51.
[157] Ken Kotani, *Japanese Intelligence in World War II*, 28.

to alleviate the overload on the European and American sections who, up until that point, had also taken on the task of covering Russia in addition to their normal duties. A Conspiracy section was created as direct result of the attempted military coup in Tokyo known as the February 26th incident.[158] The IJA also formed a counter-intelligence section at this time. Then in 1937 the institution that became the famous Nakano School was established.

There were two primary reasons for the creation of the Nakano School. Prior to its formation the IJA recruited its intelligence officers from the foreign language college or the Army Staff College. The number of graduates from the former was limited and the latter did not teach of the intelligence skillset necessary for intelligence operations. In the majority of the cases the newly hired foreign language graduates gained the needed skills through on the job experience. IJA intelligence was severely understaffed and it needed qualified, trained, individuals to fill its ranks in order to fulfill its mission. The Nakano School provided the solution to those issues. The school had four objectives: 1) bring the Japanese intelligence apparatus back up to speed as compared to its Western counterparts; 2) utilize the latest scientific, logic, and technological innovations for analysis; 3) exploit the skills and specialties of its staff; 4) develop its members to their fullest potential. The school also invested in an ideological education for its students. The goal of this was to create intelligence professionals who would be resistant to corruption and temptation.[159]

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[158] Ken Kotani, *Japanese Intelligence in World War II*, 30. On February 26th in 1936 a group of IJA officers supported by over 1000 soldiers staged a coup in Tokyo. Despite it being unsuccessful, they killed several ministers in the attempt to overthrow the government.
[159] Ken Kotani, *Japanese Intelligence in World War II*, 30-32.

The creation of the Nakano School appeared to have addressed the deficiencies in the Imperial Japanese Army's intelligence system. It also contributed to the preparations for the Pacific War. Ultimately, the Nakano School would send almost two thousand of its graduates into the PTO. The IJA had thus improved its intelligence. From 1936 forward it dealt more efficiently with Russia and it stepped up its operations against the British. However, it failed to make major advancements in its overall efforts against the United States.

In the Southern Region Fujiwara Iwaichi and his IJA intelligence unit, *F Kikan*, supported local independence movements. The movements helped to erode the strength of the Commonwealth forces garrisoned in Malaya and Singapore. Prior to the War *F Kikan* made contact Yutaka Kani and Pritam Singh. Singh was a member of the I.I.L. and together with Fujiwara Iwaichi he negotiated IJA support for the I.I.L. That agreement stipulated that in the case of war the I.I.L. would use its influence to draw Commonwealth Indian forces away from their units utilizing propaganda and other methods. Yutaka Tani led a band of Malayan freedom fighters that numbered over three thousand strong. Fujiwara used him and his army as an informal intelligence source gathering crucial information on Malayan affairs and organizations.

Once the Japanese thrust into the Pacific had started I.I.L. teams went to the front with *F Kikan* officers and began to recruit Indians from the Commonwealth units, persuading them to switch sides. Upon the British surrender of Singapore the Japanese took 45,000 Indian POWs. Fujiwara informed them that they would not be POWs but instead would become the nucleus of an army the goal of which was the liberation of

India. He then presented them to their new commander Mohan Singh formerly of the British Indian Army. This group became the First Indian National Army.

Examining the IJA intelligence activities of the IJA in the Southern Area it becomes apparent the Britain's defeat was unavoidable. IJA intelligence activities carefully and thoroughly explored the topography of Malaya, probed British military affairs, and scrutinized the politics of the region. The *kosakus* identified unrest among the Commonwealth forces and conducted operations with the goal of creating division with the British ranks. It must be acknowledged that the British also handicapped themselves. They failed to engage in any serious counter-intelligence activities and they failed to objectively evaluate their opponent. Instead they relied on subjective analysis based on unscientific ethnic beliefs that rated the IJA as a second rate force. While these definitely factored into the British defeat, in no way should they detract from the capability and effort the Japanese displayed in their intelligence operations in the region.

Analysis and Exploitation

Analysis is the process that creates a useful intelligence product out of the information that is collected. While the current narrative says that the Japanese system of exploitation was inadequate, this was far from the truth. It is true that prior to the war the Japanese had no overarching organization that could integrate the data from the multiple intelligence departments that existed. The respective intelligence sections of the IJA and the IJN unilaterally performed analysis of the collected information. The final results, intelligence product, would then be reported to the other sections within the parent organization. The primary recipients of the intelligence were the various operations departments. During the analysis of the intelligence, the Japanese officers would judge

the reliability of the intelligence, exactly like today. Their *Kakudo* (level of certainty)

consisted of four ratings: 1) *Ko* (certain), must be confirmed by SIGINT, OSINT, and

HUMINT; 2) *Ostsu* (almost certain), confirmed by two out of the three elements; 3) *Hei*

(a bit uncertain), this was assigned to information obtained for the first time but with an

analytical context; 4) *Tei* (uncertain), no confirmation of any sort. Captain Sanematsu

Yuzuru writing on the topic of the confidence that the Japanese had in their analysis and

evaluation practices commented on the different levels of the intelligence cycle they used.

He wrote that it was comprised of four individual steps: 1) collection; 2) evaluation; 3)

distillation; 4) judgment.[160] It is obvious how that process very nearly mirrors the one

used as an analytical model for this thesis. The distillation step, step three for the

Japanese, corresponds with the analysis and production step of the model used here. The

Japanese began the habit of checking the accuracy of their work against the actual actions

of their enemy. Any discrepancy between the analysis and fact was examined to see

where the fault was and to ascertain if it was correctable. This was the judgement stage,

stage four for the Japanese, and it corresponds to the evaluation stage in the ODNI

Intelligence cycle model presented in this thesis. The difference between the two

intelligence cycles lies in the fact that the evaluation step in the presented model is both a

distinct step an ongoing background process that occurs at every point in the cycle. This

illustrates how the Japanese were not only analyzing, but also judging the quality of the

intelligence that they were producing. The Japanese use of objective standards and a

defined process in analyzing their intelligence proves that their intelligence system was

operating as efficiently, if not more so, and in a similar manner to their Western

counterparts.

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[160] Ken Kotani, *Japanese Intelligence in World War II*, 92-93.

Where was the failure?

To this day there is a lack of understanding of Japanese military and intelligence capabilities during World War II. This has led to the continued belief that their early successes had more to do with Western failures and incompetence then their own hard work and planning. This stems from the same attitude that led the British to underestimate their capabilities in the Pacific and Indian Oceans prior to the opening of hostilities. Upon closer examination, it is apparent that the Japanese not only had all the military virtues that the West so coveted but also had similar resources and capabilities, especially in the realm of intelligence gathering. So why did the Japanese ultimately lose the intelligence war?

One aspect that must be considered was the acceptance and use of intelligence by field commanders. In the Japanese military the reception of intelligence varied greatly from commander to commander. While this was a problem that was seen in the West, it potentially was not as severe as it was in the Japanese military ranks. For some Japanese commanders intelligence was not a highly regarded function. Notable within the context of this work is the case of Lieutenant General Mutaguchi. Stationed in Southeast Asia, he believed that the fighting spirit of his men was all that was required to achieve his goals and the failure of his campaign to invade India rested squarely on his disregard of the intelligence provided to him on enemy disposition and strength. On the other hand, Lieutenant General Sakurai's Chief of Staff, Major-General Iwakura Hideo, was dedicated to the use of intelligence. In his employ was an agent who had been trained in Cairo and spoke Arabic. The use of this agent led to the successful recruitment of assets among the Muslim populations in Arakan. Then there was Major Hachisuka Mitsuo who

infiltrated British lines in a Burmese disguise and sent detailed intelligence on British unit strength, position, and the surrounding terrain to his handlers.

The failure of some IJA commanders to accept intelligence as being important to their overall success raises the question of how well the Japanese army applied the Intelligence Cycle to its operations. The first step of the cycle is Planning and Direction. Prior to the Battle of Malaya, there was a top down approach to intelligence. IJA General Staff in Tokyo were making decisions on what the goals were and deploying assets. Fujiwara Iwaichi and the other *kikan* commanders are proof of this. That is not to say that there was not planning and direction going on at lower levels, there was. The majority of that kind of activity, though, seemed to fall into categories where discretion and autonomy were required in order to fulfill the larger mission at hand. This kind of operation lies in stark contrast to what was going on in China in the 1930s when IJA elements were acting completely of their own accord, and often against orders, and in the latter of half of WW II when things began to fall apart thanks to rivalry within the Japanese ranks.

The Second step of the Intelligence Cycle is Collections. Prior to the Invasion of Malaya and on through the Pacific War the Japanese excelled at both HUMINT and OSINT. These were by far the Japanese military's strongest two collection disciplines and their successes during their thrust into the Pacific in early 1941 stand as an example of how important these were. The Battle of Malaya was a one sided affair because of the intelligence Japanese operatives, both formal and informal, were able to collect on the British Commonwealth forces' disposition, makeup, deployment, and readiness. Later in the war, these continued to be Japanese intelligence's strong suites. Thanks to OSINT,

IJN intelligence was able to accurately assess American Naval losses in several battles and even predict the time and location of several USN offensives. Unfortunately, these came at a time in the war when operations ignored intelligence reporting for a myriad of reasons.

The third and fourth steps of the cycle are Processing and Exploitation, and Analysis and Production. Both the IJA and the IJN performed these step unilaterally. This was the result of not having a central governing agency or department for intelligence operations. Virtually every other nation in the conflict shared this failure. As a result, bits of information acquired by one agency that would have completed a picture when paired with data from another agency never passed across the same desk. Vertical communication meant that transmission of intelligence from one intelligence operations department to another was difficult, if not impossible. Inter-service and political rivalries compounded the problem in the latter stages of the war. These issues affected the final step of the Intelligence Cycle, Dissemination, as well. By the second half of the war information was not being shared openly and there were even cases of competing intelligence agencies keeping tabs on each other in order to curry favor.

The last component of the Intelligence Cycle is Evaluation. It is not only the sixth step but also an ongoing process during each of the other five steps. Japanese intelligence operations illustrate an objective and scientific approach to the evaluation of intelligence. Early on IJA and IJN intelligence departments are applying complex mathematical formulas and algorithms to categorize data. Japanese analysts were also grading the reliability of the information based on specific criteria. The IJA and the IJN were invested in the development and utilization of professional analysis. During this time they

can be accessed as being ahead of the US and Britain in that both of those countries were performing intelligence through power versus intelligence through mind. Ultimately, steps four through six suffered from the previously stated flaws in addition to a creeping top down corruption that resulted from commanders not wanting to communicate bad news to their superiors for fear of reprisal.

In the 1930s the Japanese goal was create a Pan-Asian economic bloc. The defensive plan chosen by the politicians failed to include both the IJA and the IJN. Since the IJA and IJN each had their own political component the defense plan essentially allowed for three separate goals to be pursued. The failure to unite all three entities in a common purpose would have long lasting effects. At the breakout of the Second World War the government and the IJA favored an alliance with Germany while the political component of the IJN resisted the idea. During the 1940s the part that intelligence played in the larger strategic plan was limited. Both political and military Japanese leadership contained many individuals who did not necessarily see the value of foreign intelligence. This was a symptom of the fact that bureaucrats in the government, IJA, and IJN were dictating grand strategy simultaneously. Complicating the matter further was the fact that none of three groups involved were operating from the same playbook. The result was that the decision making process did not require intelligence to proceed. Instead, it needed personal and departmental connections to get decisions made.

Complicating matters was the fact that the Japanese had no body dedicated to making decisions on Japanese Grand Strategy. The role had originally been filled by the *Genro*, veteran advisers to the Emperor, but by the start of the 1930s the last of those had died. The result was a power vacuum that the IJA tried to fill. Unfortunately, the IJA's

specialty was tactical and not strategic planning. By the late 1930s as the IJA attempted to fill the role left vacant by the deceased *Genro* the it tried to formulate both political and military strategy. Ultimately, the IJA's decisions and efforts precipitated the Second-Sino Japanese War and lead to the Pacific War. This illustrates the failure of high level Japanese military and political leadership to integrate the intelligence that they possessed. The model that both the IJA and IJN followed internally at their lower levels that ensured dissemination of information was absent at the higher levels of control. The struggle for political power at these higher levels contributed considerably to this issue. As the Second World War progressed this failure to integrate would creep down through the levels of leadership and was one cause of the eventual rift between intelligence sections, operations departments, and command.[161]

There were also numerous cases of Japanese codes being read. This was more of an issue for the IJN than the IJA. Most famous amongst the naval failures are those that led to the disastrous Battle of Midway and the loss of Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku (1884-1943). The effect of these compromises on IJN policy, strategy, and the overall state of the war cannot be ignored. Yet in the case of the IJA effective counterintelligence apparatuses existed and there is no proof of IJA ciphers being read until late in the war. Despite the compromises the IJN leadership failed to enact any countermeasures. Furthermore, the IJN failed to investigate thoroughly the reason for the compromises and thus did not know what the proper countermeasures were. The Japanese responses to these events and others later on are problematic in that they did not approach even a low level of counterintelligence. The lack of IJN counterintelligence awareness was the root of several major issues. The IJA did not suffer from this malady.

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[161] Ken Kotani, *Japanese Intelligence in World War II*, 138-140.

Another issue that plagued Japanese intelligence operations was the misuse and misappropriation of talented personnel as either a result of incompetence or inter-service rivalry. Concerning the outfits described in this thesis Major Fujiwara Iwaichi stands as an example of this kind of bungling. Fujiwara, the successful leader of *F Kikan*, was reassigned to General Headquarters soon after the invasion of Malaya was complete. This mistake precipitated a later crisis in which the relationship between the Indian subversive elements, the newly formed INA, and the Japanese fell apart. Fujiwara's replacement, Major-General Iwakuro Hideo, was a capable individual militarily speaking. What he lacked was any experience in dealing with the Indians in Malaya. He was too rigid and inflexible, and he failed to understand the feelings, aspirations, and motivations of his allies. As a result, whenever there was a difference of opinion on matters his attitude was not helpful. Instead, Iwakuro often took on a position of superiority and arrogance bolstered by Japan's military successes. Eventually this led to a loss of close co-operation and both sides became distrustful of the other's motives. This cost the Japanese valuable assets in terms of intelligence and military operations.[162]

The Americans also made similar grievous mistakes in the management of their personnel. Joseph Rochefort stands as an example of the latter in American intelligence history. Assigned to Station HYPO at Pearl Harbor, Rochefort was sure the next Japanese attack would be in the Central Pacific. Meanwhile, a competing intelligence group, OP-20-G, based in Washington was positive it would be somewhere else. The time of the attack was also a source of disagreement between the two operations. Rochefort and his group devised a simple test to determine what the target was and succeeded in revealing that it was Midway. Ultimately, Rochefort was correct about both the location and time

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[162] Iwaichi Fujiwara, *F. Kikan*, xvii-xviii, 238-241.

of the attack. Soon after, Rochefort was re-assigned to command a floating dry dock, the result of embarrassing the commander of OP-20-G who just happened to be the brother of the Director of Naval Communications, Rocehfort's boss.

One of the largest issues that the Japanese faced was a lack of intelligence dissemination amongst different elements of the military. Information silos became common practice as the war progressed. By the latter half of the war not only were the various agencies not sharing intelligence but they were actively keeping tabs on one another in an effort to gain favor among the leadership. This was compounded by the leadership of each service relying more on its own assessments than on the information gathered by its respective intelligence agency. It became so bad in the Imperial Japanese Army by the end of the war that its intelligence division was absent any real function. The situation was muddied further when policy and operations departments also began to compile and disseminate their own intelligence product. It became almost impossible in many instances to have an objective grasp of any situation as a result of the sheer volume of information that had been acquired.

A perfect example of this was when Japanese Naval Intelligence ascertained that an attack on the Marianas by the USN was imminent. They even correctly judged the window for the attack to be from May to June. The Naval Operations Bureau, though, decided to ignore the Intelligence Bureau's assessment of what became the Battle of the Philippine Sea. Part of the issue was that the Operations Bureau was conducting its own analysis of available information, and amateur individuals with little to no actual intelligence experience were doing it. The situation was made worse because operations and intelligence existed within different silos. Additionally, the men in the intelligence

arms of the service often drew criticism and derision from those in operations because they "'… were not in the field of action, and they did not see the results. It is inexcusable for them to comment on war results….'"[163] The effects of this attitude can be seen in the tabulation of the battle results. A famous example of this kind of problem was the misreporting of the battle results from the Battle of Taiwan-Okinawa. The Intelligence Bureau of the IJN had determined through intercepted communications and open source intelligence that at best the USN had lost one carrier and one battleship. Operations had claimed, however, that the Japanese sunk nineteen carriers and four battleships. The USN had only had seventeen carriers in the operation. Had this been true that victory would have meant the annihilation of the entire USN carrier force in the Western Pacific. Another example of the ineptitude of IJN Operations to assess intelligence accurately was the fact that over the course of the war they claimed that the *Saratoga* had been sunk four times and the *Lexington* six times, a discrepancy that even the Emperor had commented on.[164]

When looking at the larger picture of the entire Pacific War, it becomes clear that in the early stages of the conflict Japanese intelligence was both well developed and incredibly effective. The Japanese intelligence apparatus was utilizing all the steps of the intelligence cycle that the West was with as much acuity.[165] Furthermore, the military, the IJA in particular, utilized the information provided them to great effect at the beginning of war as has been shown. The Battle of Malaya is a valuable case study supporting that

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[163] Ken Kotani, "Japanese Intelligence in World War II," 3.

[164] Ken Kotani, "Japanese Intelligence in World War II," 24-26.

[165] This in fact makes complete sense when the entire history of Japan's transformation from 1865 forward is taken into account. The missions to the West had taught the Japanese, both directly and indirectly, the value of intelligence. The Japanese had learned the practices and processes of Western intelligence and had developed them as highly as the West in order to prevent themselves from becoming another victim of its colonial expansion.

conclusion. The result is that historians must discard the old idea that Japanese success was primarily the product of Allied negligence. Instead, the strategic and tactical success of the Japanese rested squarely on their patient application of intelligence toward a specific end. This is also where the first intimation of future failure also occurs. The Japanese had been growing and expanding and since the turn of the century they had possessed a very definite long term goal. In the case of Malaya they spent the better part of ten years building their networks before ramping up their effort in the final year before the shooting war began. Once the conflict started though and they did not achieve the fast victory they had planned for, they failed to adapt their intelligence to a short-term fluid situation.

As the war progressed, there was also a measurable deterioration in the utilization of intelligence as illustrated in the short example of the Battle of Taiwan-Okinawa and the faulty assessment of USN carrier losses. By the end of the war the intelligence bureaus' functionality was absent from all strategic and tactical decisions. The operational bureaus and the leadership had taken to using their own amateurish assessments leading to dismal military operations. There are many reasons for why this happened, in fighting and competition between the services and their branches, the failure to decipher codes, counterintelligence issues, and the failure to share intelligence both within and between the IJN and the IJA. The IJA and IJN triumphed early in the war due to the efforts of their intelligence divisions. However, the degeneration of the integration of intelligence systems into operations over the course of the conflict resulted in Japan's eventual defeat in the intelligence war.

Conclusion

The Scrutable Westerners and Japanese Intelligence in WW II

The current view of Japanese intelligence operations during the Second World War in particular, even among Japanese historians, is that the Japanese were inferior to the West in almost all respects. This inferiority is believed to have played no small part in their eventual defeat. SIGINT is often used as the best example of how far behind the Allies the Japanese were. The problem with this view, and the SIGINT example in particular, is that the conclusions drawn are based almost solely on information from the Allied nations' archives, American accounts in particular. It is apparent that those who analyzed this information became the victims of the biases belonging to those who collected and recorded the data as well as their own personal beliefs. As a result they, almost wholly, have concluded that Japanese intelligence was lacking in both the ability and in the seemingly vast resources that the Americans had available to them. Yet it was not just a few years before that the exact opposite was believed true.

In the years following World War II and on through the early 1980s historians had become accustomed to the image of the omnipresent Japanese spy. Whether they were the businessman, the tourist, or the local doctor, they were always there waiting, watching, and reporting. This was an image that was perhaps first conceived when Russian authors talked about the discovery of a Japanese agent in the heart of Moscow who had assumed the identity of a Russian officer. Yet it was made concrete at the onset

of the Second World War by British Major-General Smyth who reported that the Japanese had infiltrated every level of the local population so that none of his movements went unreported. The exploits of individuals like Yoshikawa Takeo, mentioned at the start of this work, did not detract from this myth in any way.

The reality, as in most cases, lies somewhere in between these two points of view. Currently it remains undiscovered by historians. In truth, many of the resources that America and the Allies had available to them were also available to the Japanese. In several cases, such as the Battle of Malaya and the attack on Pearl Harbor, the foundations of military success were extremely effective intelligence operations. Yet, at the same time, Japan also failed to exploit some of the advantages that it had. The result was that it suffered because of those failures. The Japanese were not alone in their mistakes, the Allies shared many of the same failings. Japan suffered not only from a lack of a central intelligence authority but also from inter-agency and inter-service competition. These issues also plagued the Americans and the rest of the Allies. As has already been illustrated, Japan not only had learned from the European powers in the mid-nineteenth century but had spent the seventy plus odd years leading up to the Second World War cultivating an effective intelligence apparatus. It had been instrumental in the decision to take on the Chinese in the First Sino-Japanese War and it had been influential in the defeat of the Russians in the Russo-Japanese War. By the time of World War Two it would be appurtenant to Eastern and Western countries.

Presently, the commanding thesis about Japanese Intelligence capability in both Japanese and Western narratives, both military and intelligence, has focused on SIGINT. This is primarily a result of the revelation of ULTRA in 1974. Due to the plethora of

information about the breaking of Japanese codes it has been admittedly difficult, even

for Japanese academics, not to attribute American success to the achievements of this

program. The continued disclosure of information about ULTRA and its achievements

has only served to further negatively impact the evaluation of Japanese achievements in

this field. Nor has it helped to understand the role that SIGINT played in Japanese

planning. The extensive burn campaign Japanese military forces launched in 1945 have

complicated the issue. The chief Japanese signals intelligence unit, *Owada Tsushin-Tai*,

destroyed all of its records. Additionally, many of the unit's agents went into hiding for

fear of reprisal for their activities. They wanted to avoid interrogation by the US

occupation forces. The only information currently available on Japanese SIGINT is based

primarily on oral histories that carry their own set of issues to deal with, difficulties like

the fact that Japanese codebreakers were keenly aware of their position at the end of the

war. As a result, they feared retaliation amongst other potential punishments and had no

issues telling those who conducted their debriefings half-truths and outright lies.[166]

The case of Seizo Arisue (1895-1992) provides a closing example of why

Japanese intelligence operations in the Second World War must be re-evaluated. Seizo

surrendered with many other Japanese officers to MacArthur during the occupation in

Japan in 1945. Within a year he was debriefed and it is as a result of that interrogation

that historian David Kahn argued in his chapter "Codebreaking in World Wars I and II"

in *The Missing Dimension: Governments and Intelligence Communities in the Twentieth*

Century that Japan along with two other major belligerents could be eliminated from the

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[166] Edward J. Drea, "Reading Each Other's Mail," 185.

discussion on SIGINT.[167] Seizo according to the records cited by Kahn had claimed that

the Japanese had failed to break American cryptosystems.[168] However, documents

released by the Central Intelligence Agency in 2005 under the Nazi War Crimes

Disclosure Act reveal Seizo to be an individual who possessed both a clever and cunning

nature. Early on in the documents, Seizo was characterized as untrustworthy and

duplicitous. The author of one section of the documents suspects Seizo of delivering

intelligence to the Soviets via a courier he describes as "a cute little number who may

also be his [Seizo] mistress."[169] Furthermore, in notes entered in March of 1951 Seizo

was characterized as an power hungry individual utilizing his relations with the American

occupation forces in order to "… salvage personal power which he knows will crumble

rapidly as soon as the Americans are no longer under control."[170]

Admittedly, this information came to light twenty-five years after Kahn originally

wrote his article, but it illustrates the pitfalls of relying on the interrogation records and

oral histories of Japanese intelligence officers and assuming they were giving full

disclosure. What successes may the Japanese have had in SIGINT that were protected by

individuals like Seizo? It is also an excellent example of why the subject of Japanese

intelligence operations needs revisited and revised. Kahn's work *Codebreakers: The

Story of Secret Writing* published in 1967 is still regarded by many as the definitive

history of cryptography. Yet in the chapter on Japanese efforts in cryptology he spends

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[167] David Kahn, "Codebreaking in World Wars I and II: The Major Success and Failures, Their Causes and Their Effects," in *The Missing Dimension: Governments and Intelligence Communities in the Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Christopher Andrew and David Dilks (London: MacMillan Publishers LTD, 1984), 143.
[168] David Kahn, "Codebreaking in World Wars I and II," 143. This particular article can also be found in *The Historical Journal* (Cambridge University Press) 23, no. 3 (September 1980): 617-639.
[169] "Arisue, Seizo," Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act Collection, doc. 519cd820993294098d516c4b, CIA FOIA Reading Room, [https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/519cd820993294098d516c4b date accessed January 22, 2018]: 2.
[170] "Arisue, Seizo," Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act Collection, 10.

the majority of his time lauding the hard work and genius of Joe Rochefort and American

cryptographic ingenuity while simultaneously denigrating the Japanese efforts. Kahn

describes Japanese successes as happening only "in extraordinarily favorable

circumstances" in the pre-war years and proceeds to elaborate on how they were

"unequal to the task" throughout the rest of the section.[171] The bias of the history is

evident in the chapter title alone, "The Scrutable Orientals," and as with his later chapter

in *The Missing Dimension* he again leans heavily on the post war Seizo concessions, "We

couldn't break your codes at all."[172] While other aspects of the work may still hold up its

analysis of more recent events, particularly those involving the Japanese before and

during the Second World War, must now be called into question, as the current accepted

narrative must also be. Furthermore, this example also demonstrates how the singular

focus on SIGINT as the primary benchmark for measuring the success level of an

organization's intelligence efforts fails to acknowledge other vital areas of intelligence

gathering. While much, if not all, of the information on Japanese signals work has been

lost there is considerable information available on their other efforts and on the successes

that they had in those fields. These other vital areas should be examined more closely and

then be used to re-evaluate Japanese intelligence efforts during World War II.

    This thesis has been only a rudimentary and precursory attempt at re-evaluating

Japanese Intelligence operations during the Second World War. It is clear from the

history briefly touched on as the foundation of this effort that the implications of

Japanese intelligence organizations' actions are not only voluminous but also have had

much greater impact than they given credit for. This is especially true when looking at

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[171] David Kahn, *Codebreakers*, 579,583.
[172] David Kahn, *Codebreakers*, 584.

World War II. As has been seen a reasonable or adequate history could, arguably in some case has, been written from Allied sources but the result is one that is both full of gaps and skewed in favor of America and its allies. It is possible, though, to write a history derived from the careful study of the information contained in archives, oral histories, and interrogations. Historians must then take this data and construct a framework from which the unknown and the lost can be postulated and as a result create a more accurate and dynamic image of Japanese intelligence accomplishments and effectiveness. The information exists. New data is appearing every year as with the example of the documents on Arisue Seizo. Some already exists in an astonishingly unabridged form like that on the Nakano School. Yet other information is patchy at best if not lost almost entirely such as that related to IJA signals intelligence during the Pacific War. Never the less, there are enough pieces of the puzzle presently, with more being found every year, for us to begin to build a more balanced and clear picture of Japanese intelligence during the Second World War.

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