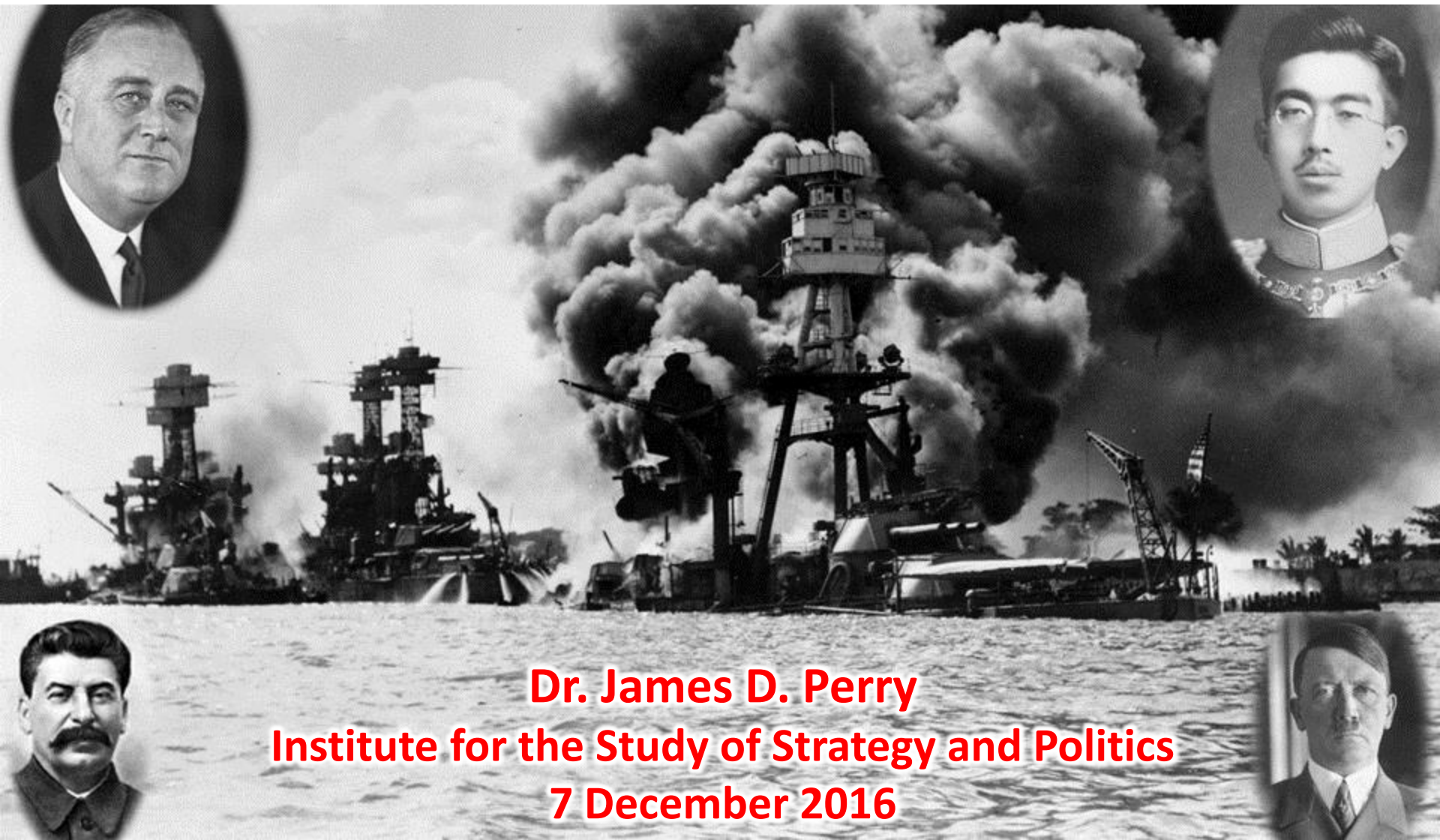
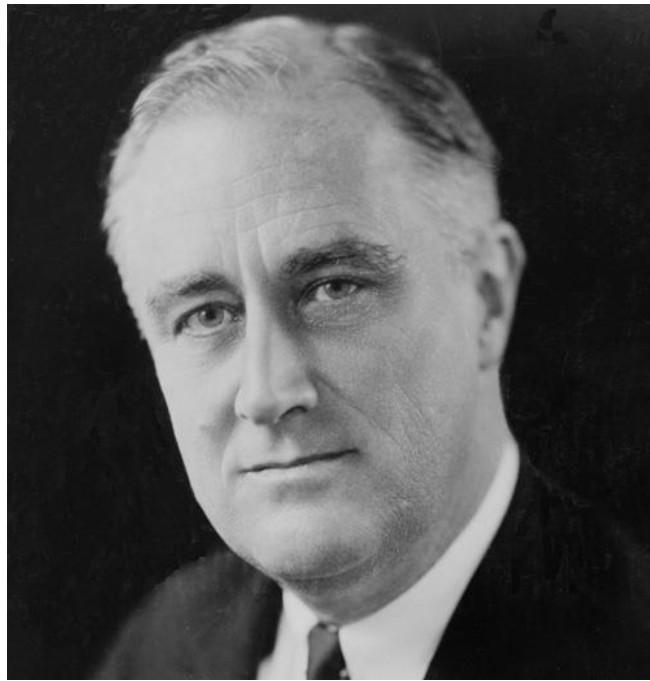


# Operation Barbarossa and the Road to Pearl Harbor



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**Institute for the Study of Strategy and Politics**  
**7 December 2016**



"We must recognize that the hostilities in Europe, in Africa, and in Asia are all parts of a single world conflict. We must, consequently, recognize that our interests are menaced both in Europe and in the Far East...

Our strategy of self-defense must be a global strategy which takes account of every front and takes advantage of every opportunity to contribute to our total security."

Franklin D. Roosevelt to Joseph Grew, January 1941

# Japan, China, and the USSR, 1931-1941

- Japan occupied Manchuria in 1931 to prevent Chiang from unifying China – but this also posed direct threat to USSR
  - Rise of Hitler in 1933 heightened threat to USSR
  - 1936 Anti-Comintern Pact raised prospect of two-front war
- Soviet strategy:
  - Build up forces in Siberia, fortify border to deter Japan
  - Seek allies to isolate Germany and Japan
  - Deflect German, Japanese aggression away from Soviet borders
  - Urge “United Front” to oppose Japan (CCP to stop fighting KMT)
  - Keep China fighting and aid KMT, especially after 1937 and 1940
  - Split anti-Soviet coalition (1939 Nazi-Soviet Pact, 1941 Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact)
- US response: Naval Expansion Acts of 1934, 1938, 1940

# Japanese Planning Against the USSR, 1931-1941

- Phase One: Concentrate in eastern Manchuria, attack along Ussuri River and in Maritime Province
- Destroy Soviet heavy bombers based at Voroshilov and capture airfields (1,200mi range TB-3 capable of reaching all of Japan)
- Japan greatly outnumbered in combat aircraft, e.g. 800:2,800 in 1941 – plans assumed IJN aircraft would participate (based at sea or in Korea)
- Japan barely superior on the ground in Phase One, and needed to break through fortifications – thus IJN airpower even more critical
- Phase Two: Shift forces to western Manchuria, cut Trans-Siberian RR, and repel any Soviet counterattack





# German-Japanese Diplomacy



German Foreign Minister  
Joachim von Ribbentrop



Japanese Ambassador  
Hiroshi Oshima



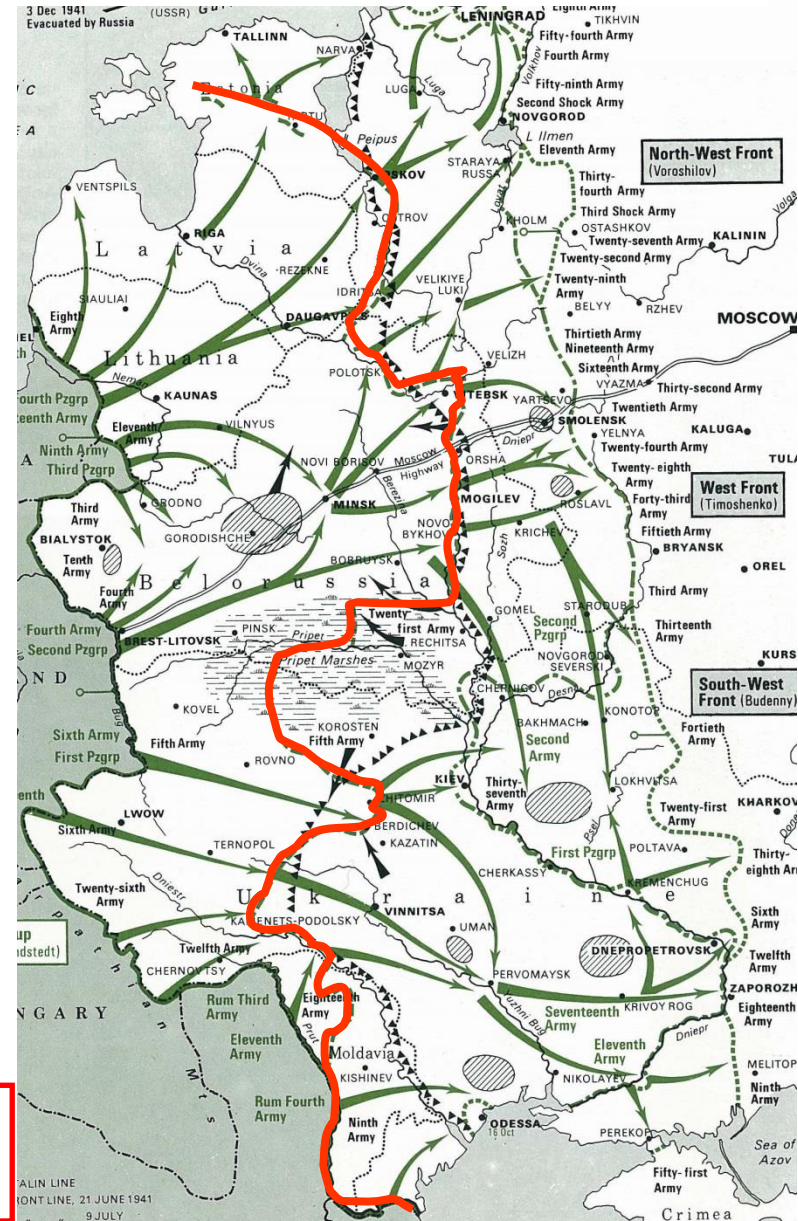
Japanese Foreign Minister  
Yosuke Matsuoka

- During Operation Barbarossa, Japanese Ambassador Hiroshi Oshima sent detailed reports to Tokyo describing German intentions and the Wehrmacht's progress in Russia.
- Oshima relayed Ribbentrop's repeated requests for a Japanese attack on Siberia to Matsuoka.
- American intelligence decrypted Japanese diplomatic cables ("MAGIC").

# Japan and Operation Barbarossa (June-July 1941)

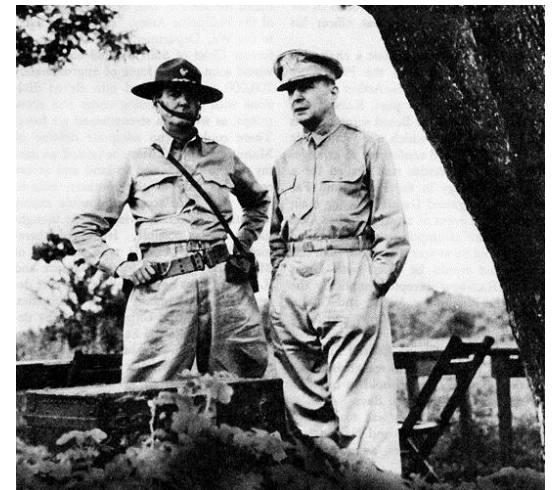
- German attack provokes strategic debate in Japan; US follows this debate.
- July 2: Japan tells Germany, "Japan is preparing for all possible eventualities regarding the Soviets in order to join forces with Germany in combating Communism and destroying the Communist system in eastern Siberia."
- Japan begins reinforcing Manchuria.
- Japanese need to decide by mid-August whether or not to attack in order to achieve their objectives before Siberian winter.

**German Offensive,  
22 June – 9 July 1941**



# Japan and Operation Barbarossa (June-July 1941)

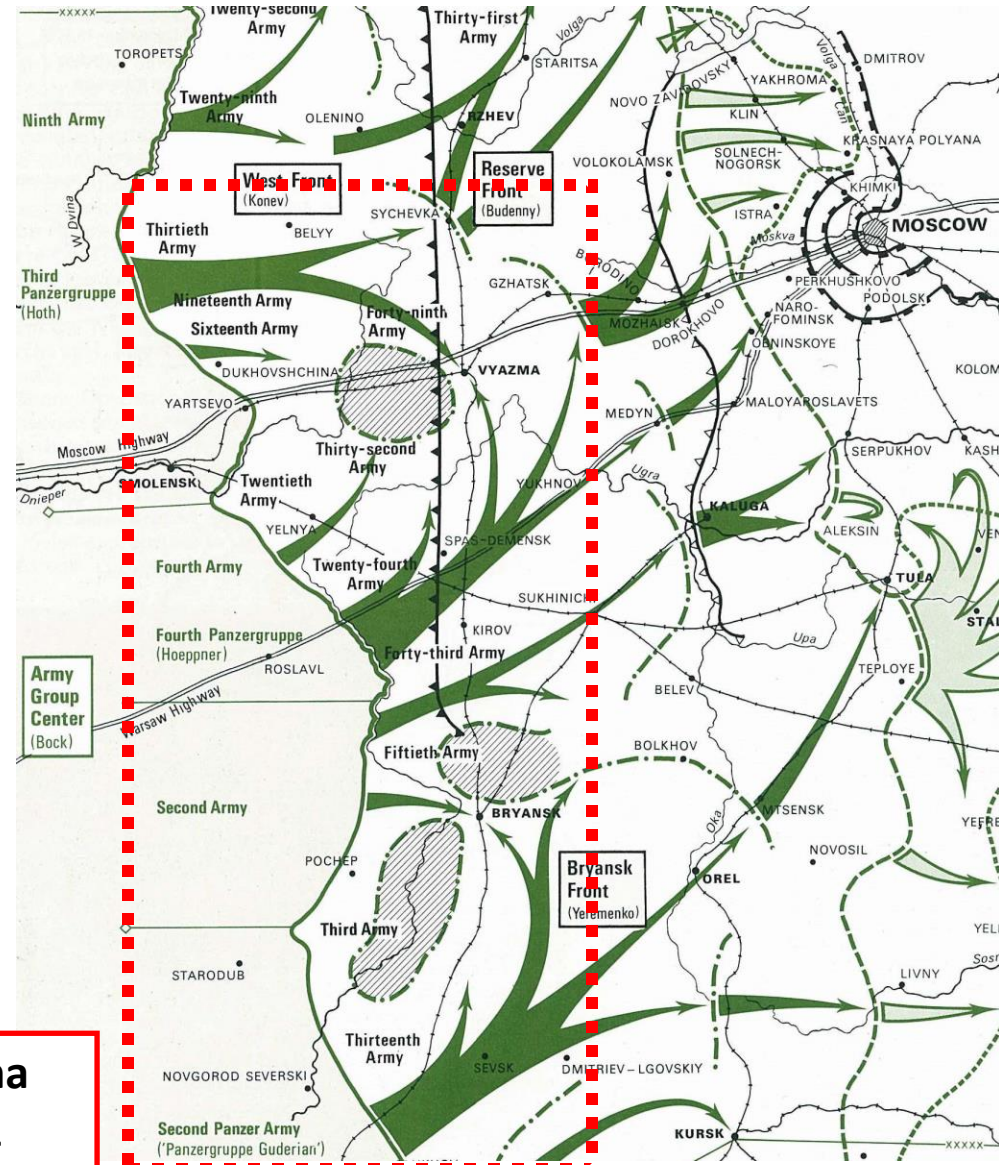
- In July 1941, US unsure which way Japan will jump.
- Japan imported 90% of its oil, with US supplying 75% of the imports.
- US knew that cutting off US oil would force Japan to conquer SE Asia before stockpile exhausted.
- July 26: US freezes Japanese assets, embargoes oil exports to Japan.
- *Intent is to discourage a move North.*
- US reinforces Philippines and calls up Phil Army under MacArthur.
- Hopkins visits Moscow, late July.
- Stalin expects to hold at Leningrad-Smolensk-Kiev-Odessa line until winter.
- We need to keep Japan in check until then.





# Japan and Operation Barbarossa (October 1941)

- August-September: Germans move south, destroy 700,000 Soviet troops near Kiev
- October 2: Germans resume advance on Moscow, trap 700,000 Soviet troops in Battle of Bryansk-Vyazma.
- October 7: Stalin offers Hitler peace in exchange for Baltic States, Byelorussia, Moldavia, and Ukraine – but Hitler refuses
- October 15: Panic in Moscow!



**Bryansk-Vyazma  
2-15 Oct 1941**



# Japan and Operation Barbarossa (October 1941)

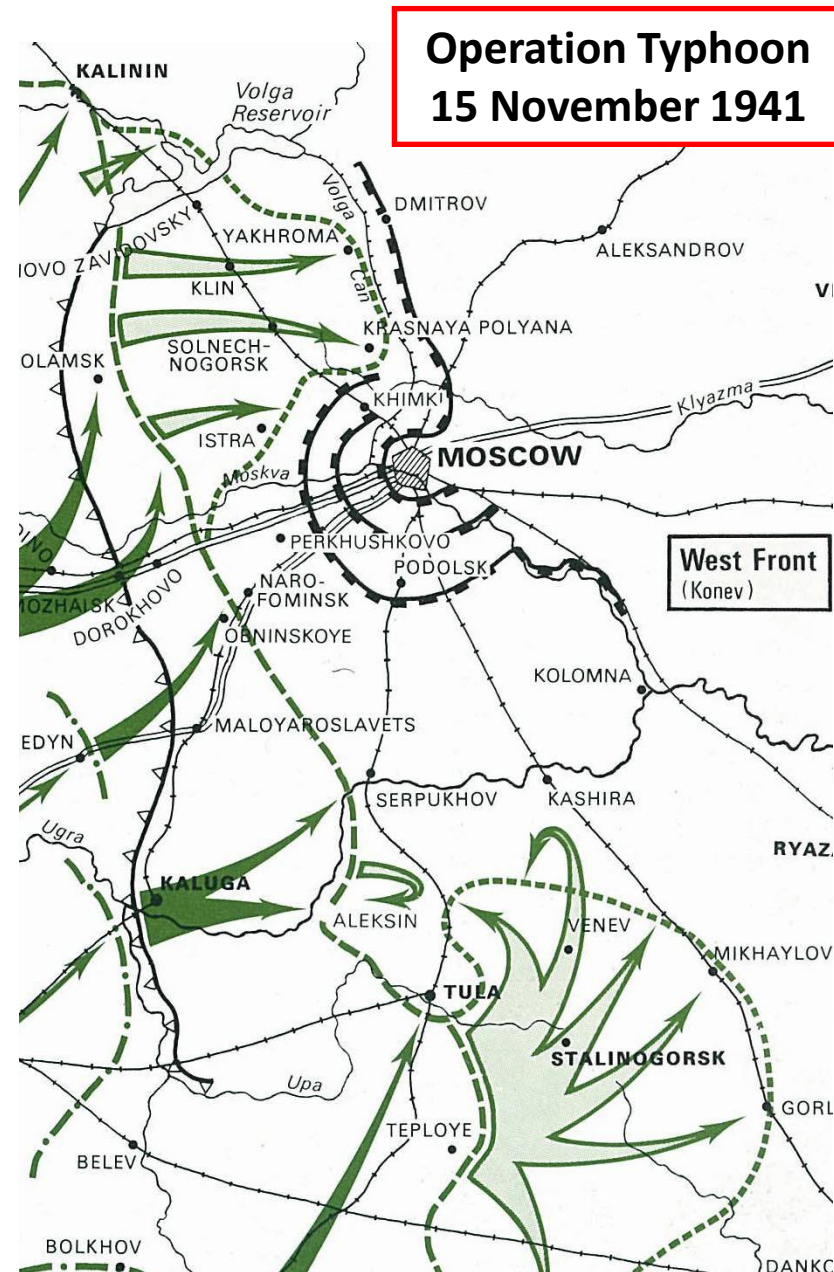


- October 16: Tojo replaces Konoye as Prime Minister (Tojo was known for his anti-Soviet views).
- We know Japan has decided to move south and weather will not be good – *but* Japan will attack anyway if Moscow falls.
- FDR tells Churchill “I think they are heading north.”
- October 11: US opens negotiations with Soviets for use of bases in Siberia to shuttle-bomb Japan.
- October 16: FDR orders accelerated reinforcement of the Philippines with B-17s, ground troops, submarines (we know Japanese are watching this).
- Newspaper articles emerge about US capability to bomb Japan from the Philippines.
- October 17: British order battleships to Singapore.
- We create a threat in the South that Japan cannot ignore in order to prevent Japan from moving North.



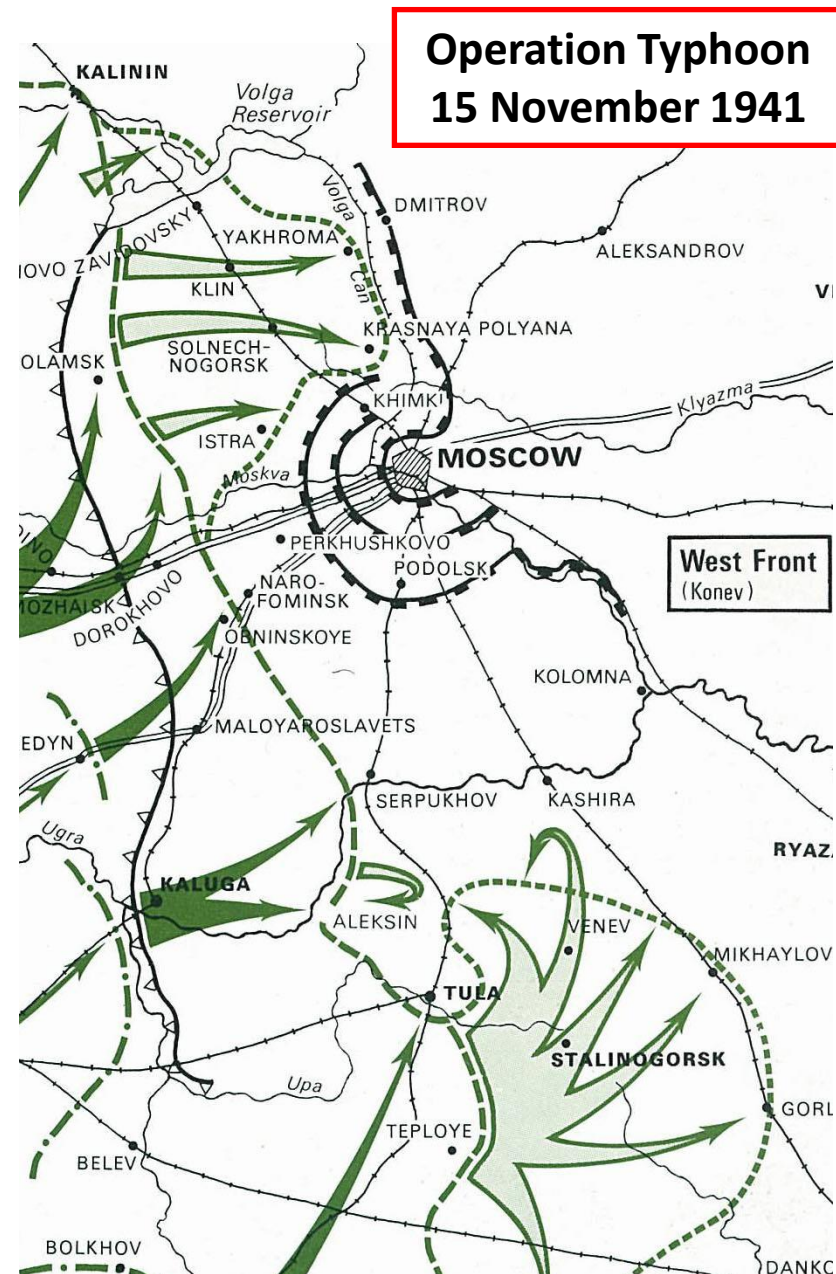
# Japan and Operation Barbarossa (Nov – Dec 1941)

- November 15: German advance on Moscow resumes.
- US fears fall of Moscow will trigger Japanese attack on Siberia.
- November 15: Army Chief of Staff General George Marshall briefs press on US capability to bomb Japan from Philippines – “we will set the paper cities of Japan on fire.”
- Story appears in NYT on November 19.
- November 26: Germans are 25 miles from the Kremlin.
- November 26: Japanese invasion fleets sail for Southeast Asia and carrier strike force sorties from the Kuriles – but where is it going?



# Japan and Operation Barbarossa (Nov – Dec 1941)

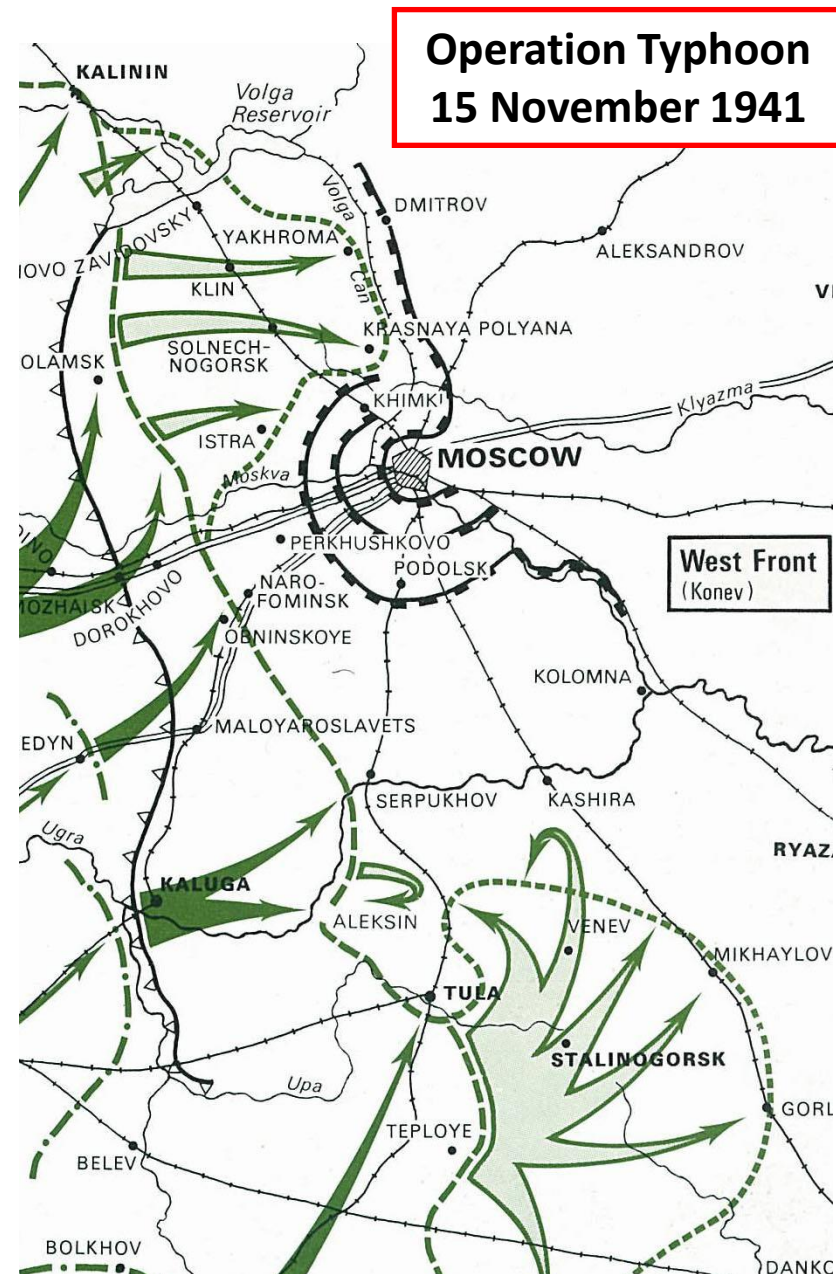
- “Modus Vivendi”: Japan to withdraw from Southern Indochina in exchange for unfreezing of assets and lifting of oil embargo.
- November 26: Secretary Hull withdraws Modus Vivendi and issues Ten Point Note: Japan to withdraw from China and Indochina and recognize Chiang as government of China.
- Ten Point Note an ultimatum – totally unacceptable to Japan.
- Need to keep Japan off Russia’s back explains substitution of Ten Point Note for Modus Vivendi on November 26.
- Purely American concerns would argue for further conciliation in order to strengthen Philippines further,.





# Japan and Operation Barbarossa (Nov – Dec 1941)

- Even as late as December 5, FDR fears Japan is moving north.
- Knox says Japanese fleet is at sea, *probably* moving south.
- FDR says: “It's not absolutely certain that they wouldn't be going north. You haven't yet information that they're not going north.”
- US was unprepared for war during period of maximum danger to USSR, and had to accept painful consequences.
- Consequences were only truly fatal for British, French, and Dutch colonial empires – which FDR wanted to eliminate in accordance with the Atlantic Charter.



# Summary

- USSR faced a “two front war” threat from 1933 to 1941
- USSR sought to keep Germany and Japan divided diplomatically and diverted militarily
- German invasion of the USSR faced America with prospect that Japan would unite with Germany to dominate Eurasia
- FDR sought to divert Japanese attention to the South so that Japan would not attack Siberia
- Crises in US-Japanese relations resulted from military crises on the Eastern Front – we feared Japan would attack USSR, so we increased tension with Japan
- Ultimate product of this policy was Pearl Harbor

# Pearl Harbor in Perspective: How Much of a Disaster?



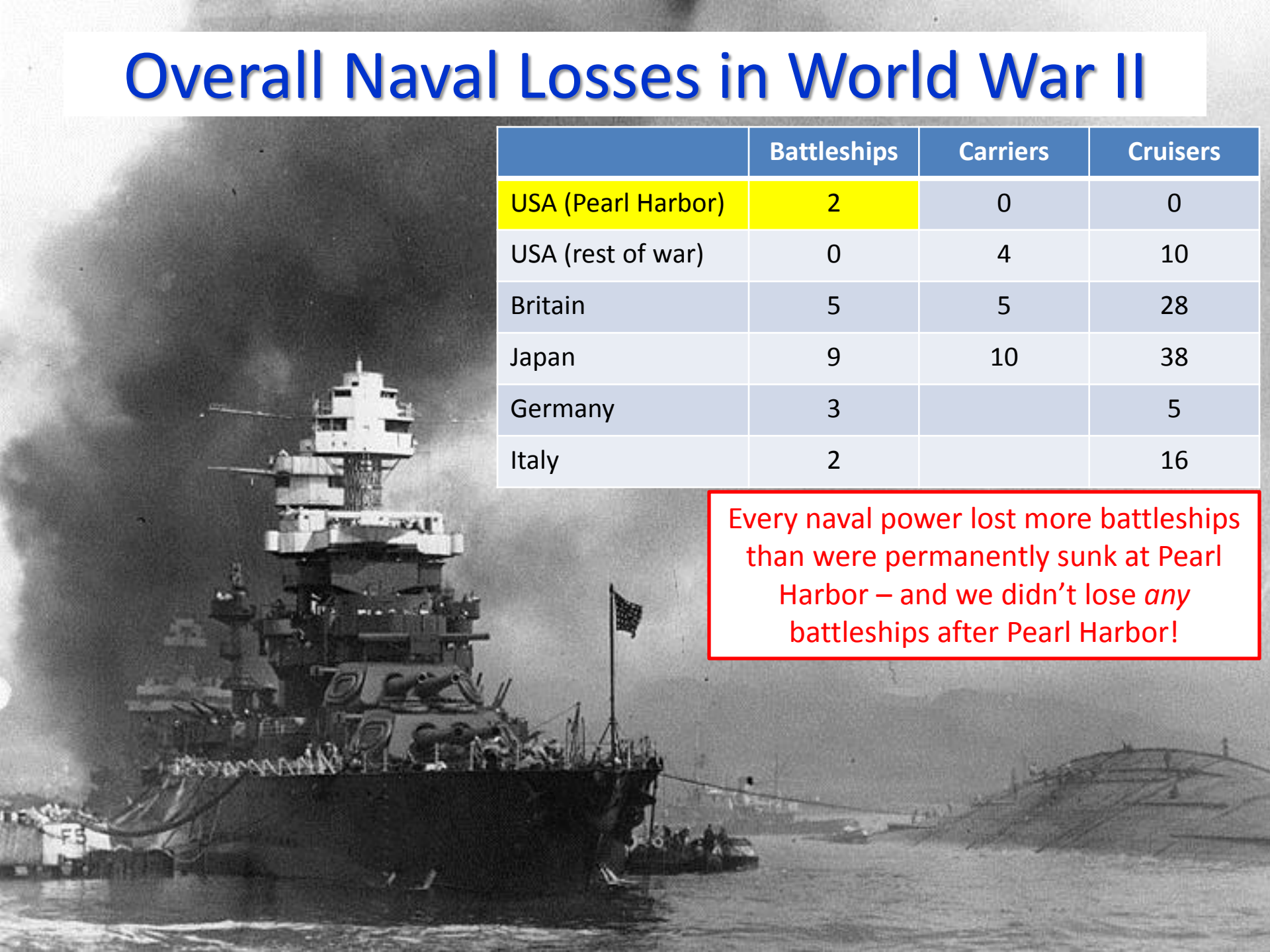


# Effects of the Attack

- **2,403 Americans killed, 1,178 wounded**
- **2 battleships destroyed, 6 damaged (out of 8)**
- 3 cruisers damaged (out of 8)
- 3 destroyers damaged (out of 30)
- 1 auxiliary ship destroyed, 4 damaged (out of 50)
- 169 aircraft destroyed, 159 damaged



# Overall Naval Losses in World War II



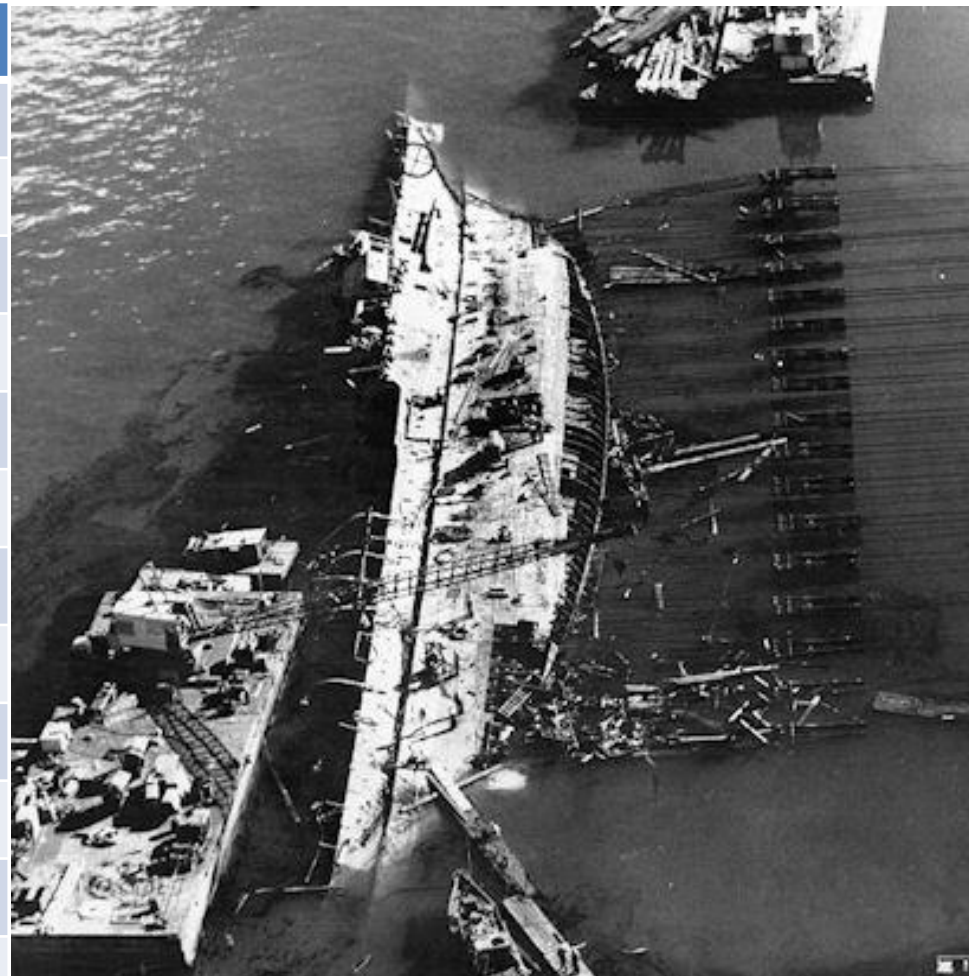
	Battleships	Carriers	Cruisers
USA (Pearl Harbor)	2	0	0
USA (rest of war)	0	4	10
Britain	5	5	28
Japan	9	10	38
Germany	3		5
Italy	2		16

Every naval power lost more battleships than were permanently sunk at Pearl Harbor – and we didn't lose *any* battleships after Pearl Harbor!

# Pearl Harbor

## Salvage and Repair

Ship		Returned to Service
Arizona	Sunk	Never
Oklahoma	Sunk	Never
Utah	Sunk	Never
West Virginia	Sunk	July 1944
California	Sunk	January 1944
Nevada	Sunk	October 1942
Pennsylvania	Minor	March 1942
Tennessee	Minor	February 1942
Maryland	Minor	February 1942
Raleigh	Major	July 1942
Helena	Major	June 1942
Cassin	Severe	February 1944
Downes	Severe	November 1943
Shaw	Minor	July 1942



- **100 ships moored at Pearl Harbor**
- **19 sunk or damaged in the attack**
- ***All but three warships put back in action***



# Pearl Harbor and the Battle of Production



USN Ships in Commission, 1941 – 1945

	Dec 1941	Pearl Harbor	1943	1944	1945
Battleship	17	2 sunk 6 damaged	20	22	23
Cruiser	37	3 damaged	40	48	70
Destroyer	172	3 damaged	229	335	389
Destroyer Escort				230	362
Carrier	7		4	10	20
Light Carrier				9	8
Escort Carrier	1		12	35	71

Pearl Harbor did not significantly hinder the expansion of the fleet.

# Major Powers in WW2: Strength and Casualties

	Army + Air Force Peak Strength	Army + Air Force Deaths	Navy Peak Strength	Navy Deaths
USA	8,266,373	318,274	3,892,978*	144,206*
Britain	4,300,000	213,685	863,500	81,006
USSR	10,500,000	7,988,194	312,700	59,506
Germany	12,000,000	5,180,102	648,443	138,429
Japan	5,500,000	1,647,200	1,663,223	473,800
Italy	2,800,000	259,642	259,100	31,347
Total		15,607,097		928,294

Deaths are from all causes but exclude POW deaths and civilian deaths.

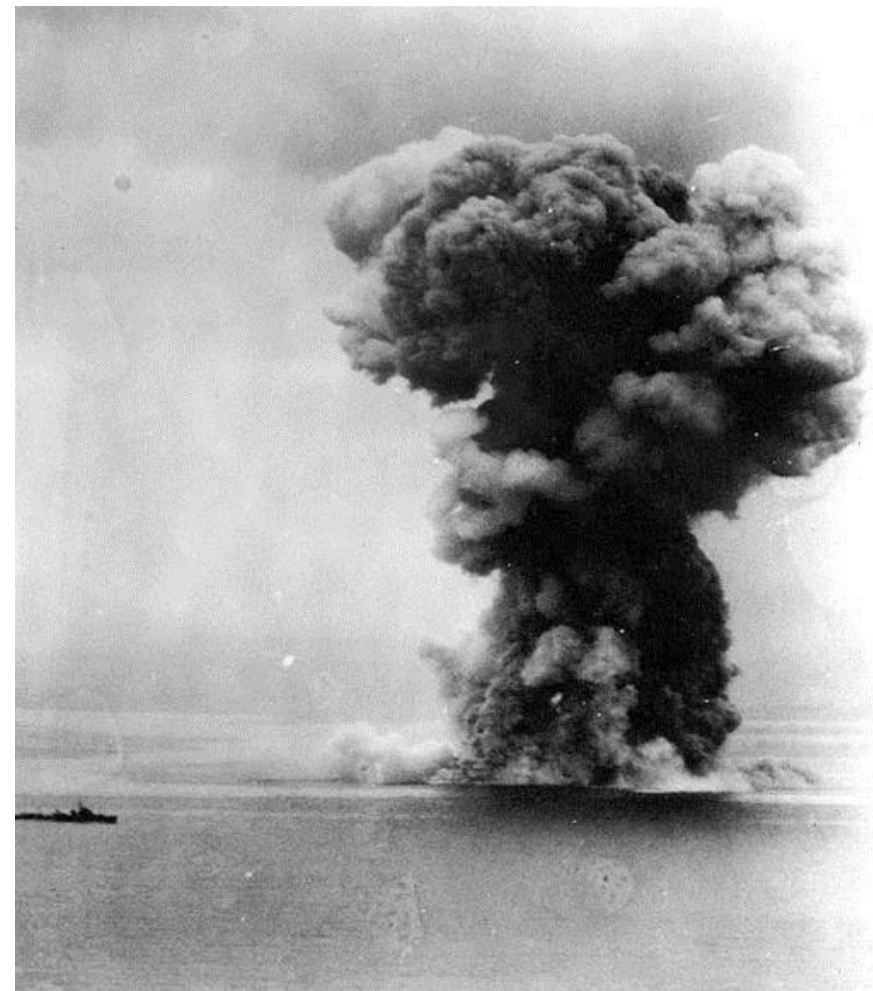
\* USN peak strength was 3,4038,347 and it suffered 69,242 dead  
USMC peak strength was 484,631 and it suffered 74,964 dead

1,862 USN/USMC deaths at Pearl Harbor were 1.3% of USN/USMC deaths in WW2

# Naval Personnel Losses in WW2 Naval Actions

Naval Action	USN KIA	IJN KIA
Leyte Gulf	4,336	7,475
Okinawa	4,022	4,037
Pearl Harbor	1,862	64
Java Sea / Sunda Strait	1,805	46
Guadalcanal Nov 42	1,004	3,000
Savo Island	980	129
Iwo Jima	811	-
Tarawa	727	516
Coral Sea	565	966
Marianas	557	2,987
Midway	350	3,057
Bismarck Sea	13	2,890

Pearl Harbor was our worst defeat, but we lost more men in later victorious battles.



Naval Action	Loser KIA	Winner KIA
Cape Matapan	2,303	3
Bismarck	2,200	3
North Cape	1,932	11
Denmark Strait	1,415	0
Mers El Kebir	1,297	2



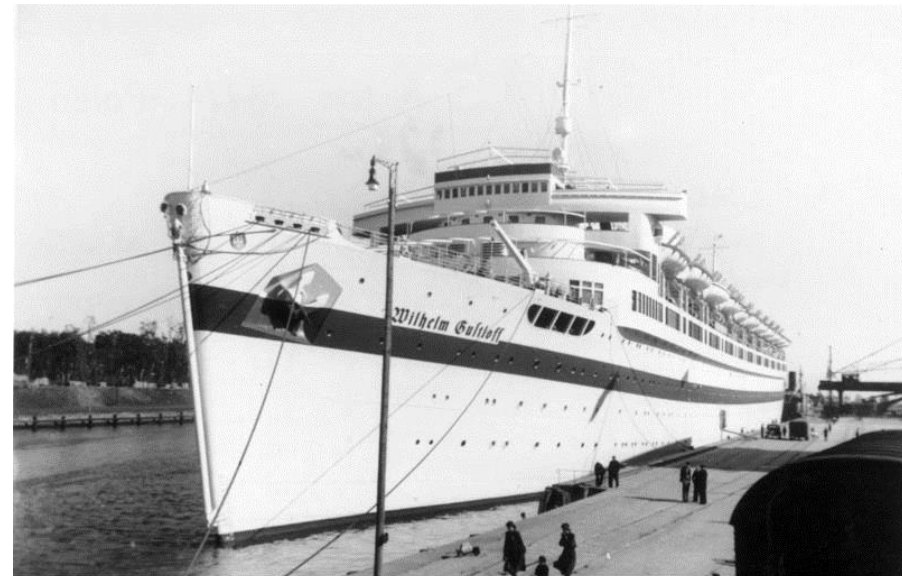
# Deaths from Losses of Single Ships

Ship	KIA	Ship	KIA	Ship	KIA	Ship	KIA
Yamato	3,055	Arizona	1,177	Kaga	811	Courageous	519
Bismarck	2,200	Shinyo	1,130	Zara	799	Avenger	516
Scharnhorst	1,932	Kongo	1,123	Taiyo	747	Kinugasa	511
Taiho	1,650	Mutsu	1,121	Nachi	807	Repulse	508
Yamashiro	1,626	Fuso	1,100	Chokai	773	Kumano	497
Chiyoda	1,470	Musashi	1,023	Neptune	737	Maya	479
Shinano	1,435	Bretagne	977	Franklin	724	Galatea	469
Hood	1,415	Chitose	903	Gloucester	722	Charybdis	464
Roma	1,393	Haguro	900	Soryu	711	Suzuya	450
Ashigara	1,300	Indianapolis	879	Juneau	687	Tama	450
Shokaku	1,272	Barham	862	Mikuma	650	Yahagi	445
Chuyo	1,250	Zuikaku	842	Sydney	645	Oklahoma	429
Unryu	1,239	Blucher	830	Liscome Bay	644	Cornwall	424
Glorious	1,207	Royal Oak	833	LST-531	636	Dunedin	419
Tirpitz	1,204	Fiume	814	Trento	570	Penelope	417

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What was the largest loss of life from a single ship sinking in World War II?



Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-H27092.  
Foto: Sonnke, Hans | 1939 Herbst

Hospital ship *Wilhelm Gustloff*  
sunk in the Baltic 30 January 1945  
by Soviet submarine:

**~9,400 dead**

# Deaths from Losses of US and British Ships

Ship	KIA	Ship	KIA	Ship	KIA	Ship	KIA
		Arizona	1,177			Courageous	519
						Avenger	516
						Repulse	508
				Neptune	737		
				Franklin	724	Galatea	469
Hood	1,415			Gloucester	722	Charybdis	464
		Indianapolis	879	Juneau	687		
		Barham	862				
				Sydney	645	Oklahoma	429

If Arizona's magazine had not exploded, and Oklahoma had not capsized, casualties on these ships would could very well have been relatively light.

KIA: Maryland(2), Pennsylvania (15), Tennessee (22), Nevada (60), California (100), West Virginia (106)



# Pearl Harbor Compared to Land Battles

Battle	KIA	Days
Normandy	20,668	86
Ardennes	19,246	40
Okinawa	13,704	81
Luzon	10,380	219
Northern Italy	8,486	206
Hürtgen Forest	8,157	95
Iwo Jima	6,821	25
Lorraine	6,657	108
Salerno to Cassino	6,266	134
Anzio	5,538	123
Marianas	5,219	51
Leyte Island	3,504	70
North Africa	2,838	177
Sicily	2,572	39
Pearl Harbor	2,403	1
Peleliu	2,336	73
Tarawa	1,696	3



**In 1944 and 1945, US suffered roughly 500 killed per day. Pearl Harbor equal to four days of 1944/1945 losses.**

# Pearl Harbor compared to the Eastern Front

- DAILY Soviet military deaths, June – December 1941: **17,224**
- DAILY Soviet military deaths, June 1941 – May 1945: **7,955**
- DAILY Soviet civilian deaths, June 1941 – May 1945: **9,671**
- DAILY American military deaths, 1944-45: **500**
- Killed at Pearl Harbor: **2,403**

**Every day on the Eastern Front for nearly four years was far more disastrous than Pearl Harbor!**



# Pearl Harbor in Perspective: How Much of a Disaster?

- Pearl Harbor put US battleship force *temporarily* out of action
  - four of them returned to combat in 1942, two more in 1944.
- Attack largely ignored surface forces (cruisers, destroyers) that played a key role in the Solomons battles.
- Loss of two battleships with 1,606 men was “unlucky” but all other countries in WW2 suffered similar or greater losses.
  - Japanese attack was otherwise not very effective
- Naval production already in the pipeline would have overwhelmed Japan even with a much more destructive attack on Pearl Harbor.
- Personnel losses at Pearl Harbor chiefly remarkable because they occurred on one day. We lost more men in later naval battles and especially in protracted ground combat.



# Questions?