Witness Creighton

Questions by: The Chairman

The Chairman: After that the war came and we were involved and there was no particular reason to follow up your message, was there?

Captain Creighton: I would conclude that that was the cycle of events, yes, sir.

The Chairman: That is all.

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Witness Creighton Questions by: Senator Ferguson

Senator Ferguson: I have some questions since the Chairman has asked questions.

I show you page 5125 and I show you a longer message signed by Admiral Phillips as well as Admiral Hart, to Washington, that was replied to, and the reply follows the message that I handed you, and I want you to see whether or not that does not reply to the message of Admiral Hart, and also to your message as to what our intentions were?

(The document was handed to Captain Creighton.)

Captain Creighton: You are asking my opinion about something very intricate, that I never heard of before, sir.

Senator Ferguson: What was Commander Baecher telling you just now?

Captain Creighton: He was trying to explain that this matter which had been produced since the war, that Admiral Hart had sent it in. Quite frankly, I was so busy reading, I did not pay at tention.

Senator Ferguson: It was prior to the war, and it was a reply prior to the war, but that actual message was not send until after the attack. It shows an answer to Admiral Hart's inquiry.

Mr. Murphy: Will the gentleman yield?

Captain Creighton: Are you asking my opinion on this

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Witness Creighton Questions by: Senator Ferguson Mr. Keefe matter, sir?

Senator Ferguson: Yes, if you know anything about it.

Captain Creighton: It means nothing to me at the moment.

Senator Ferguson: That is all.

The Chairman: All right. Thank you very much, Captain.

Mr. Keefe: Let me ask a question of the Captain, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Yes, Mr. Keefe.

Mr. Keefe: I understood you to say, Captain, that you were pretty busy all the time at the dock yards to arrange for incoming ships, their repairs, berthing, and all that sort of thing, that you were tremendously busy where you were.

Do you have any recollection of the convoys that came into Singapore consisting of American ships carrying British troops late in November, 1941?

Captain Creighton: No, sir.

Mr. Keefe: Do you have any recollection of the American liner, Manhattan, which had been converted into a troop carrier, which came to Singapore in the latter part of November, 1941?

Captain Creighton: I recall only that she arrived there

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Witness Creighton

Questions by: Mr. Keefe

with troops after we were in Java. I do not remember the circumstance that you are speaking of.

Mr. Keefe: It did not come until after you had gotten out of Singapore?

Captain Creighton: I think by the difference between the date you give me and the one I remember, there were two different arrivals. I am thinking of February, and you of November.

Mr. Keefe: The reason I ask you that, I just finished reading last night a diary of a sailor on this Manhattan who described the course of this convoy from Halifax to Singapore.

Captain Creighton: Yes.

Mr. Keefe: Convoying or carrying troops, one of a large number of ships, American warcraft, that went to Singapore convoying these troop carriers.

I am wondering if you were there when they arrived.

Captain Creighton: If they came in November, I was there, but I do not remember their arrival. They could come very easily without my seeing them, or being aware that they were there.

Then, too, they might have gone to the civilian anchorage, which is very large, of course, or to the dock yard itself, in which case I would have seen them.

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Witness Creighton

Questions by: Mr. Keefe

Mr. Keefe: Well, if American men-of-war came with them as part of the convoy, you would have known about that would you not?

Captain Creighton: I can hardly imagine not knowing about it, because some of our officers would have come ashore and they would have come right to the consulate, and to my office too.

Mr. Keefe: But you have no recollection of it? Captain Creighton: I have not, sir.

Mr. Keefe: That is all.

Mr. Murphy: Will the gentleman give the source of his articles, so we can check it?

The Chairman: He can do that without the witness remaining on the stand.

Thank you very much, Captain. We appreciate your appearance. You are now excused.

Mr. Richardson: Mr. Chairman, I would like to call Colonel Bickmell.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE W. BICKNELL

(Mr. Bicknell was duly sworn by the Chairman.)

Mr. Richardson: Will you state your full name, Colonel, for the record?

Mr. Bicknell: George W. Bicknell.

Mr. Richardson: Colonel, were you in the Arm at

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Witness Bicknell Questions by: Mr. Richardson Hawaii prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir, I went on duty in October, 1940.

Mr. Richardson: You were there during 1940 and 1941? Mr. Bickmell: Yes, sir.

Mr. R ichardson: What was your section?

Mr. Bickmell: I was the Assistant G-2 of the Hawaiian Department, and also the contact officer for the Hawaiian Department.

Mr. Richardson: Will you explain to the committee what your general duties were under your assignment?

Mr. Bicknell: My general duties were to keep the Department Commander thoroughly informed as to activities within the civil population on the Island of Oahu, and the other Hawaiian Islands, and to contact all visiting officials and business men coming back from the Orient especially, in order to obtain any information which they might have on the general situation in the Pacific area.

I also was responsible for the internal security of the Islands, and for observations of all measures necessary, counter-intelligence measures necessary to protect any information from getting into enemy hands, or prevent any espionage that might be conducted in the Hawaiian Islands.

Mr. Richardson: Colonel, with what other organizations

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Witness Bicknell Questions by: Mr. Richardson did you have immediate liaison?

Mr. Bicknell: I had immediate liaison with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the District Intelligence Officer of the Navy, the Federal Communications Commission and, in fact, all territorial and Federal departments, such as customs, immigration and treasury.

Mr. Richardson: Who was your immediate superior?

Mr. Bicknell: My immediate superior was General

Fielder, who was at that time Colonel Fielder of G-2 of
the Hawaiian Department.

Mr. Richardson: From what source did you seek to get the information that you were supposed to report?

Mr. Bicknell: We used every available source. Our principal source for obtaining economic information and information about the Far East was from businessmen returning on liners or coming in on the clipper ships from the Orient, interviewing them, getting their opinions; interviewing any officials of the British or other national military organizations that came through Hawaii, as well as picking up the intercepts on all Japanese radio stations, reading the Japanese language papers and obtaining some papers from the Orient and piecing all of that information together.

Mr. Richardson: Now, Colonel, was your job a uniform job, or did you do most of your work in civilian clothes?

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Witness Bicknell Questions by: Mr. Richardson

Mr. Bicknell: Practically all of my work was done in Civilian clothes.

Mr. Richardson: What did you have to do with the furnishing of the information based on the alleged burning of codes and papers by the Japanese consul?

Mr. Bicknell: That information was given to me by the agent in charge of the Federal Bureau of investigation and I in turn passed it on to the Chief of Staff and Staff of the Hawaiian Department at their regular staff meeting on Saturday morning, December 6, 1941.

Mr. Richardson: How often were staff meetings held?

Mr. Bicknell: Staff meetings were held every Saturday.

Mr. Richardson: And who was supposed to attend those staff meetings?

Mr. Bicknell: All members of the General And Special Staff of the Department Commander.

Mr. Richardson: Who was the Department Commander?
Mr. Bicknell: At that time, General Short.

Mr. Richardson: Would he attend these Saturday convocations of his staff?

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

Mr. Richardson: Who would attend in his place?

Mr. Bicknell: The Chief of Staff, Colonel Phillips,

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Witness Bickmell

questions by : Mr. Richardson

Mr. Richardson: Was there a general discussion at those meetings of the fact, or of the intelligence that you would report?

Mr. Bicknell: There was hardly ever any discussion of it. The facts were simply laid out. Once in a while there would be a question asked about the significance of the fact, but very seldom.

Mr. Richardson: Do you recall the incident of the Mori message?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Mr. Richardson: Who brought that to your attention? Mr. Bicknell: That was brought to my attention by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. Richardson: What steps did you take to acquaint General Short with that message?

Mr. Bicknell: I called Colonel Fielder and told him that I had some information that was extremely important, that it should be given immediately to the Department Commander, and Colonel Field said that they were planning on going out for dinner, but he would talk with General Short.

I asked him to urge the importance of it upon the General, that we see him, and he told me to be out at Fort Shafter within the next ten minutes, that they would wait for me.

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Witness Bicknell Questions by: Mr. Richardson

So I went out there, and did arrive. General Short and Colonel Fielder were waiting and the message was shown to them.

It had been in my hands only a matter of less than an hour.

I told them I felt that the thing was highly suspicious and highly significant, that I had not had time to evaluate the message but it did seem to me of utmost importance at that particular time.

Mr. Richardson: They heard you?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Mr. Richardson: How long was your conference?

Mr. Bicknell: Not more than five minutes.

Mr. Richardson: There was no unpleasantness or criticism in connection with it?

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

Mr. Richardson: Was there a remark made there by General Short that indicated he thought you were a little too sensitive on the question of intelligence?

Mr. Bicknell: I would not say there was any remark made like that. The remark made by General Short was that the message was a very true picture of what was going on in Hawaii at that time.

I remember I thought that was just the trouble with it,

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Questions y: Mr. Richardson Witness Bickmell it was too accurate a picture.

I would say that the general reaction was perhaps I was somewhat intelligence-conscious, but nobody told me so in so many words.

Mr. Richardson: You spoke a moment ago about the fact that the espionage condition in Hawaii was part of your duty.

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Mr. Richardson: I will ask you whether you have prepared, as a part of your notes, a statement in relation to your estimate of the espionage situation there in Hawaii?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, I have, sir.

Mr. Richardson: I wonder if you would consult that and read it to us? It is not very long, as I remember it.

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

Mr. Richardson: I might say, for the information of the committee, that I feel, and have felt that our testimony here, specifically on questions of espionage, was a little vague.

I went over this statement. It seemed to be a very admirable statement and it would save time if the Colonel was permitted to read it.

The Chairman: All right, Colonel, go ahead.

Mr. Bicknell: From the angle of security Hawaii,

during the period 1930-1941, was totally unguarded and presented a mecca to agents and observers of any foreign government. This state of affairs, however unwelcome to the Army and Navy, had the full protection of our civil law, a condition which should never be allowed to exist again.

Pearl Harbor, lying low under the surrounding hills, was constantly in view of any and all who cared to look. Japanese training ships, tankers, and auxiliary vessels frequently called in port with all crew members, both officers and men, fully equipped with binoculars and cameras, enjoying shore leave and the hospitality of the local Japanese colony. Invariably, parties of officers were entertained in Japanese homes, on the heights, where the entire installation of Pearl Harbor, Hickam Field, and other airport facilities could be leisurely and minutely observed. At some of these homes, situated on the crown of high ground, elaborate, lattice-work orchid houses had been constructed from which careful observation could be made by large parties of individuals who would remain completely screened from observation by neighbors or others passing on nearby roads.

Photography, in the earlier part of this period, flourished in Hawaii. As late as 1939, after the visit of the United States Fleet, a large photograph showing the entire panoramic view of Pearl Harbor, with each ship clearly defined

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of a Japanese photography shop. There were no prohibitions except those placed in effect by the commanding officers of various posts, stations or cantonments. General prohibition of photos of the crater in Diamond Head as well as certain other specific military and naval areas were adopted and placed in effect by Territorial Law which restricted flying over these areas. It was physically impossible to prevent promiscuous photography inasmuch as every road, every nilltop, and many private homes offered the most excellent vantage points for obtaining clear and detailed photographs.

Because of these topographical features, practically all of the islands' protective installations were accessible to photographic recording. In view of this, it was perhaps an exercise of good judgment on the part of the military authorities not to waste much effort in attempting to put an end to this practice.

Another course of complete, detailed and vital statistics as readily available to enemy agents as to other interested persons, were the many publications issued at frequent intervals by official and semi-official agencies of the government. Reports of Planning Commissions, including detailed and accurate drawings; charts; and statistics on all matters such as communications, telephones, plants,

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distribution lines, transformer stations; public transportation such as railroads, buses and streetcars; water supply including sources, reservoirs, distribution mains, gates and shut-offs; and all such data could be purchased for thirty-five or fifty cents.

In some instances the demands for appeasement and betterment of labor conditions added to the problem. Many of the plantations, utilizing the services of Japanese labor, made every endeavor to improve their morale and contentment. Such a program included the maintenance of homeland culture and practices with the erection of temples, entertainment of visiting Japanese priests, officials or crew members in large parties, sometimes given at company expense.

Personal contacts would thus be established with individuals who often had detailed information relative to maneuvers, new gun placements, and other similar matters. In many instances, friends or relatives of these employees lived adjacent to the channel into Pearl Harbor and were intimately acquainted with the movements of naval vessels in and out of the base, their silhouettes, new equipment, and other features viewed from only one or two hundred yards away.

No positive identification was required of seamen leaving and returning to a visiting Japanese vessel. Passes were

issued, but not photographic passes. To the average customs guard one Japanese closely resembled another. It was not possible for an individual to leave the boat and for another, entirely different, person to don the uniform and use the pass to re-embark with no suspicion being arounsed. Hence, all precautions against illegal entries was frustrated.

In considering such illegal entries, it should be remembered that a great many Japanese ships passed by and entered into Hawaiian waters. Precautions were adopted against smuggling by having each ship closely followed into port by a Coast Guard cutter. However, the ever-present Japanese fishermen, equipped with sampans having cruising ranges of thousands of miles were quite capable of meeting the larger ships many miles away from any possible observation. Indications do . exist that such methods were employed to bring in some undesirable individuals who were not discovered prior to the opening of hostilities.

The sampan fleets were divided into three main classes; deep sea and long range; offshore and short range operations; and shallow-water, bait-catching equipment. In the first classification, the boats were large, seaworthy, radio-equipped, and quite capable of prolonged cruising at sea.

The second classification included smaller but often equally well equipped craft which cruised around each of the islands

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in the Hawaiian group, and whose crews were intimately acquainted with reefs, caves, landing places, tides, currents, and local wind and sea conditions. Thirdly, small boats operated within the bays, locks, and harbors, netting small fish to be used as bait for the larger craft.

The operators of these boats knew every detail of these waters, the depths, nature of bottoms and, most important of all, were always present to observe any operations or maneuvers. Through 1938, 1939 and part of 1940 these small boats had access to Pearl Harbor itself, cruised about where naval craft were at anchor, encroached upon landing areas of large seaplanes, and were constantly aware of any change in details of channels, currents, and other features.

The fishermen themselves were a clannish group, having their own "huis" or associations and acting for their own interests in maintaining price levels, demanding special privileges, etc. They also made trips back to the homeland and spent periods of time in the Japanese Fishing Schools in order to become more efficient in their art. At intervals, officials from these schools visited Hawaii and brought new ideas, methods or operation, and perhaps, even other thoughts from the Empire. When these fishermen were back in Japan they were "entertained" by various officials, and it is safe to assume that their information was carefully

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evaluated. In some cases they were royally extertained and visited certain naval establishments in Japan. Every indication points toward a well-planned system of total espionage with perhaps the individuals themselves having little or no knowledge of their own direct contribution.

The Japanese themselves developed a system of such total espionage which perhaps outranks any other similar system in the world. Even at home, in everyday life, it is carried out meticulously. The supervisor of the organization in the government directs his state or provincial deputies. They, in turn, direct the district or city leader. Under these the territory is broken down into areas or wards, then to neighborhoods and, finally, to blocks. The block leader has in his possession a plan showing each house in his block. He has further data on who lives in the house; how many children; where each is employed; details as to possession of an automobile, electric icebox, telephone, radio receiver, sewing machine, and other information, including a list of visitors who call at regular or irregular intervals, where mail is sent and from whom received. All such data is minutely recorded and reported periodically. Should an individual move to another block, the information on him is passed on to the new block leader and dropped from the records of the first. Such a mesns of constant surveil-

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Witness Bickmell

lance precludes any suspicious acts on the part of the individual from passing unnoticed. Mail and communications from relatives or friends abroad, and the business and financial affairs of the family, are always under complete observation.

Everyone is familiar with the usual depiction of the prewar Japanese tourist or traveller. His field glasses, camera, and sketch pad were always in evidence. He took pictures by the millions and all went back to Japan for examination. As a tourist, member of a trade mission, a minor official, an observer, a priest or a student, he flooded our country as well as others, always taking photos, collecting picture postcards, vital statistics, trade journals, pamphlets -- in fact, everything on which appeared even a scrap of vital information. These too, always went back to Japan and became available for evaluation, compilation and file. Japanese banks, business houses, transportation companies, tourists, bureaus, etc. were opened in many cities and localities both in Hawaii and on the mainland. Each formed a little collection center of its own and gathered data of a specific nature.

No comparable system either for the collection of worldwide information or to protect the interests of our country existed in the United States prior to the war. The American

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Witness Bickmell

people have always demonstrated a complete lack of appreciation of such institutions and a simple, naive belief that these practices are not in keeping with the American way of life. Nevertheless, this nation seems somewhat alone in such ideals. Others carry on intelligence activities in times of peace to prepare for war. Under normal peacetime conditions we rely solely on our military, naval, and commercial attaches for such information and ignore the fact that they are handicapped from the start through their official status and that their movements and activities are greatly curtailed. No further argument is required when we realize the great wealth of information in the hands of Japan at the start of this war as compared to the meager dribbles of similar information in our possession on Japan and the Japanese.

It can be safely stated that the enemy had complete knowledge of our Hawaiian fortifications, general defenses, armament, naval and air strength, as well as many details of our military, naval, and air facilities. The only thing they lacked was knowledge of our secret military plans which had been well guarded, resting solely in the hands of military and naval commanders and members of their immediate staffs.

The much debated question as to whether the attack by

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Witness Bicknell

Japan could have been foreseen in time to have taken protective action is involved and highly controversial. During the entire year preceding Pearl Harbor, the situation had been developing in steady steps with an absolute certainty of the result.

The Japanese had long been discussing, preaching and advocating the Greater East Asia Sphere of Co-Prosperity. Selected representatives of many Asiatic countries convened in Japan to hear discussions of the principles of East Asian co-prosperity. In these delegations were many Japanese residents of each area represented. Some Japanese from Hawaii participated.

The war with China gave clear indication of Japanese action and a pattern of the methods adopted by and to be expected from their government. We had felt the everincreasing tension with the bombing of the Panay and other simibar events which took place in the Far East. We had listened to their great volume of radio propaganda directed toward those countries included in their conception of the These programs clearly indicated the Sphere of Prosperity. working of the Master Minds and gave every reason to believe that it was their intention to build up an Empire in Asia from which would be expelled every influence and semblence of control by the British, Dutch and Americans. There was

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Witness Bicknell

no denial of this intention. Japan desired to strengthen her economic and military position. Raw materials needed in her island empire were to be obtained in China, India, Burma, Thailand, and the Dutch East Indies. Strongpoints for the defense of this empire also were to be located in these countries.

Should it be possible to oust western influence and power from the countries included in the Greater East Asia Sphere of Co-Prosperity, Japan would be able to control the Asian situation. With the Dutch and British already involved in war with Germany, the opportunity for expansion was present. Should the United States become involved in the war in the Atlantic, her resources and strength might well be diverted from the Pacific. If Japan had assurances from Germany that the attention of our forces could be held in the Atlantic, there seemed to be no logical reason why the Japanese should not strike.

To assure a successful coup, it was only required that what strength the United States and Britain had in the Pacific be neutralized in one great blow. Germany had demonstrated the power of the blitz-krieg -- an example for the Master Minds.

As a result of the years of gathering information from every conceivable source, Tokyo was well aware of all strong-

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Witness Bicknell

made.

points and defenses, as well as the general offensive strength which could be thrown against her in the Pacific. She had been softening up the peoples of Thailand, Burma, and the Dutch East Indies through general Fifth Column activities and radio propaganda. Her military and naval machines were fully equipped, well supplied, and ready to move at the moment's notice. All was in readiness. It was only to be determined how and when the strike would be

To succeed fully, Japan had to predetermine what counteraction unsympathetic nations would be able to take against this great move to envelope all Eastern Asia. American forces in the Philippines, particularly the air force, might cause some trouble and delay. Reinforcement of the garrison in these islands must be prevented. To obstruct reinforcement it would be necessary to prevent any American or British navel support from becoming available for convoy and protective service, without which no troop or supply movements could be made into the Philippines in the face of Japan's superior naval at rength, submarine and air support.

The espionage system was working well; information was available daily from Hawaii, reporting ships in port -- arrivals and departures. Other sources kept Tokyo well informed of the location of Dutch naval units and the few British ships

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Witness Bicknell

The Japanese staff had a complete picture then available. and could readily determine the plan for action.

Mr. Richardson: Now, Colonel, let me ask you this question:

From your experience in Hawaii, as Assistant G-2, your observation of espionage development there, did you have any doubt at any time during the two months prior to Pearl Harbor that Tokyo had complete information as to Pearl Harbor, the location of the ships from time to time in Fearl Harbor, the way in which our fleet was using Pearl Harbor, and all of the details in reference to the military occupation or military use of the Harbor as a base?

Mr. Bicknell: I have no doubt whatsoever.

Mr. Richardson: Then in estimating your espionage problem in Hawaii, you took it for granted that Tokyo knew all of those details?

Mr. Bicknell: I did.

Mr. Richardson: I have no further questions.

The Chairman: Did you communicate your information and judgment with respect to that, to General Short, or Colonel Phillips?

Mr. Bickmell: Those estimates were submitted, Mr. Senator, through the form of intelligence estimates.

Witten? The Chairman:

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The Chairman: They were both going to the same dinner

Witness Bicknell that evening?

Questions by: The Chairman

Mr. Bicknell: That is right.

The Chairman: Where was it that they instructed you to take this message?

Mr. Bicknell: To Colonel Fielder's quarters.

The Chairman: To Colonel Fielder's quarters?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

General Short was to be there? The Chairman:

Mr. Bicknell: Yes. Both waited there for me.

They waited there to receive it before The Chairman: going to the dinner?

Mr. Bicknel,: That is right.

The Chairman: And they went on to the dinner after they got the message?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

The Chairman: What was it in the manner or bearing of General Short that created the impression in your mind that he was a little impatient with your intelligence complex, if that is the proper word?

Mr. Bicknell: Well, it was the general reaction that the points in the message which I considered most suspicious seemed to be everyday affairs in their minds.

The Chairman: In other words, what you had thought was unusual and therefore that you were impelled to seek them out

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Witness Bicknell Questions by: The Chairman to divulge, was by them regarded as just a matter of routine, and of no more importance than any other message they had received?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

The Chairman: What time in the evening was that?

Mr. Bicknell: That was somewhere in the vicinity of 6 o'clock in the evening.

The Chairman: You did not see them after that?

The Chairman: Until after the attack?

Mr. Bicknell: That is right.

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

The Chairman: Are you familiar with the equipment, by way of airplanes and antiaircraft and all other equipment, radar stations, and all the whole series of things that were there both on the part of the Army and Navy at the time of the attack and immediately before it?

Mr. Bicknell: Only in a general way. That is, I did not know the complete details of where every gun or where every position was.

The Chairman: You we re familiar with it in a general way?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

The Chairman: And you had an over-all picture of what was there?

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Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

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The Chairman: Was it part of your duty to form an estimate as to the effectiveness of what was there by way of material and equipment?

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Mr. Bicknell: No, sir, that was not within myprovince.

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My province was more counter-intelligence and external intelligence, rather than anything pertaining to operations

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which was more of a combat intelligence nature.

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The Chairman: Would you be able to express an opinion as to whether the fullest possible use was made of what was

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there in the way of equipment, men and material, on the day

of the attack or immediately before it in preparation for

it, or in an anticipation of any possible attack?

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Mr. Bicknell: Well, I am in a position to say that I could observe the action of the Navy, because I saw the

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attack from a point two miles behind Pearl Harbor, and

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900 feet above 1t.

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Within four minutes, three or four minutes after the original torpedo had been dropped, into Pearl Harbor, the entire Naval forces opened up with all of their anti-aircraft and in fact on the second round of that one plane that was shot down there in Pearl Harbor. So I should say, from what I could observe, a very effective and efficient use was made of all of the equipment which the Navy had

Witness Bicknell Questions by: The Chairman h26 on hand. That was all that was within my immediate line of 3 vision. 4 I could not say anything as to the Army equipment. 5 The Chairman: Would you be in a position to express any 0 opinion as to whether the steps taken in anticipation of 7 a possible attack, or to avoid it, or to counteract it, 8 were fully realized and appreciated, and made effective? Mr. Bicknell: I would not know about that. 10 The Chairman: You would not know about that? 11 Mr. Bicknell: No, sir. 12 The Chairman: That is all. 13 Mr. Cooper. 14 The Vice Chairman: As I understood it, Colonel, you 15 were G-2 of the Hawaiian Department? 10 Mr. Bicknell: I was the Assistant G-2. 17 The Vice Chairman: The Assistant G-2 of the Hawaiian 18 Department? 19 Mr. Bicknell: That is right. 20 The Vice Chairman: You made these evaluations as to 21 the local situation existing there with respect to espionage? 22

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

The Vice Chairman: Every week for some of the time, or

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witness Bicknell Questions by: The Vice Chairman part of the time every two weeks?

Mr. Bicknell: That is right.

The Vice Chairman: And those reports went to the Commanding Officer, General Short?

Mr. Bickmell: Yes, sir.

The Vice Chairman: That continued throughout the whole period that General Short was in command there?

Mr. Bicknell: Those reports were originated, if I am not mistaken, late in September of 1941, and continued through the time of the attack.

I believe around October 17, one of those reports included the paragraph that war would be expected to break out with Japan either at the end of November, or if not then, then not until April of 1942.

The Vice Chairman: That was your estimate that you made?

Mr. Bicknell: That is right.

The Vice Chairman: Based on the information you had been able to secure?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

The Vice Chairman: That war might be expected to break out between the United States and Japan towards the end of November?

Mr. Bickmell: That is right.

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Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

The Vice Chairman: Of 1941?

The Vice Chairman: And if it did not occur then, that it might go until the following April?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

The Vice Chairman: That was in your estimate, in your report submitted?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

The Vice Chairman: Now, as I understood from you, you received this information about five o'clock on the afternoon of December 6, 1941 from the FBI agent in charge there at Honolulu, about the Japanese consul burning these important papers?

Mr. Bickmell: No, sir, that was the Mori message I received at 5 o'clock in the afternoon of December 6.

The Vice Chairman: I see.

Mr. Bicknell: The information in regard to the burning of the codes came to me from the FBI, I believe, on the 5th of December, and that information on the burning of the papers was given to the assembled staff on the morning of December 6th.

The Mori message did not come to my attention until five o'clock on the afternoon of December 6th, and it then was reported immediately to General Short.

The Vice Chairman: By six o'clock you had reported it to General Short in person?

Mr. Bicknell: That is right.

The Vice Chairman: Together with General Fielder?

Mr. Bickmell: Yes, sir.

The Vice Chairman: Then it was that you got the impression that he thought you were too intelligence-minded?

Mr. Bickmell: Yes, sir.

The Vice Chairman: All right. Thank you.

The Chairman: Senator George.

Senator George: No questions.

The Chairman: Mr. Clark.

Mr. Clark: No questions.

The Chairman: Senator Lucas.

Senator Lucas: Colonel, when you received this message on December 6th, what was the conversation that you had with the FBI about the message?

Mr. Bicknell: I was at home on the afternoon of December 6th, and Mr. Shivers, the agent in charge, called me at home and said he had something of high importance that he thought I should see immediately. I went to down, and wasin town within 20 minutes and he showed me this message which had just been finally translated, and said this thing looked very significant to him, that something was going to happen. I read the message over and agreed with him, and immediately called General Fielder.

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Witness Bicknell

Questions by: Senator Lucas

Senator Lucas: How long had you known Mr. Shivers?

Mr. Bicknell: I had known Mr. Shivers ever since he came to the islands in 1939.

Senator Lucas: Did you know that the FBI were tapping the telephone lines of the Japs at the time?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Lucas: Did you know that the Navy was also tapping telephone lines?

Mr. Bicknell: I did not.

Senator Lucas: The Navy never gave you that information?

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

Senator Lucas: Now what information was exchanged in the way of intelligence between your Intelligence Department and the Intelligence Department of the Navy?

Mr. Bicknell: As far as my Department was concerned, everything that we received was given to the Navy.

Senator Lucas: In other words, whatever you received in the way of intelligence, you evaluated it and transmitted it to the Navy?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Lucas: In Hawaii?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Lucas: What about the Navy giving to you the information that they had?

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Witness Bicknell Questions by: Senator Lucas

Mr. Bicknell: They gave us whatever they thought was proper to give, but I know that certain information never was received from them.

Senator Lucas: What do you mean by that?

Mr. Bicknell: Well, just as an example, these intercepted telephone calls. I knew they were intercepting them, I knew what calls they were intercepting, but they never told me anything about it. I know when the original winds message came down that Captain Mayfield knew about it, but he never told me anything about it. Instances of that kind, where I felt there was certain information which they were not allowed to pass on to their corresponding numbers in the Army.

Senator Lucas: Was that a regulation that the Navy had, not to permit to pass that on?

Mr. Bicknell: I do not know.

Senator Lucas: Even though it might have been the regulation not to transmit magic word for word, was there any regulation which prohibited them from transmitting to the Army the substance of whatever they received, regardless of where they got it?

Mr. Bicknell: I would not know that, sir.

Senator Lucas: Anyhow, there were certain important matters that came to the Navy in the way of intelligence that

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Questions by: Senator Lucas Witness Bicknell you, as the Intelligence Officer, did not receive? Mr. Bicknell: That is right.

Senator Lucas: Now the Army was out there to defend the Navy in case of attack. That was its primary duty, was 1t not?

Mr. Bicknell: According to the orders, that is correct.

Senator Lucas: I understand according to the orders that was the primary duty of the Navy. And in order to defend the Navy, is it a fair assumption that the Intelligence Officer should have evaluated and transmitted to him all the essential information that the Navy might have?

Mr. Bicknell: That is the only system I know of whereby Intelligence can function.

Senator Lucas: Colonel, were you in on the meetings when General Short decided to put Alert No. 1 into effect, which was the sabotage alert?

Mr. Bickmell: No, s'r.

Senator Lucas: Did you know anything about that? Mr. Bicknell: The warning message of November 27 was read to the assembled staff by Colonel Phillips. I was present at that meeting when that message was read. But when General Short conferred with other staff members relative to the type of alert, I was not present.

Senator Lucas: Did he ever discuss that question with

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Witness Bicknell Questions by: Senator Lucas
you?

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

Senator Lucas: You were the Intelligence Officer at that time, were you not?

Mr. Bicknell: I was the Assistant Intelligence Officer.

Senator Lucas: The Assistant Intelligence Officer?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes.

Senator Lucas: Well, did General Fielder ever discuss that question with you?

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

Senator Lucas: Did you know that the Army was alerted to sabotage only on December 7?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Lucas: How did you get that information?

Mr. Bicknell: I saw where the troops were, and after the movement had started I learned that the order had been issued to Alert No. 1. In my outfit a counter-intelligence crew had been on a full alert since the 1st of November.

We had been on a 24-hour watch, and had been since the 1st of November, so it made no difference to us. When the order was finally issued that Alert No. 1 went into effect, then we learned of that, but it made no difference to our set-up, because we were already in full alert.

Senator Lucas: Regardless of the fact that the order

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Witness Bicknell Questions by: Senator Lucas was issued, your outfit continued to be on the alert that you had been following previous to the time of the last order that came out by General Short?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Lucas: Had the FBI man received similar messages previous to this, or had he tapped wires to obtain information of this kind?

Mr. Bicknell: To the best of my knowledge, that was the first one that had been received.

Senator Lucas: Now here it is:

"(J) Hello, is this Mori?"

As I read this I would like to have you stop me, if you will, and point out, if necessary, what you consider the significant part of this message which caused you and the FBI man to become somewhat worried about the situation.

"(J) Hello, is this Mori?

"(E) Hello, this is Mori."

What does the (J) mean there?

Mr. Bicknell: J?

Senator Lucas: J says "Hello, is this Mori?"

Mr. Bicknell: That is Japan.

Senator Lucas: And "(H) Hello, this is Mori."

What does the "(H)" mean?

Mr. Bicknell: That is Honolulu.

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Witness Bicknell Questions by: Senator Lucas

Senator Lucas: "Japan: I am sorry to have troubled you. Thank you very much.

"Honolulu: Not at all.

"Japan: I received your telegram and was able to grasp
the essential points. I would like to have your impressions
on the conditions you are observing at present. Are airplanes
flying daily?

"Hawaii: Yes, lots of them fly around.

"Japan: Are they large planes?

"Honolulu: Yes, they are quite big."

Mr. Bickmell: That is all significant, are the airplanes flying daily, and what type. If they are quite big they could be long-range reconnaissance planes, and "They are flying daily" gives some idea of whether they were carrying on long-range reconnaissance in daylight hours.

Senator Lucas: Now did you discuss that phase of it with General Short?

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

Senator Lucas: Or General Fielder?

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

Senator Lucas: Did they read this message in its entirety?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Lucas: Did they say anything about that particular

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Witness Bickmell

Questions by: Senator Lucas

phase of it?

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir, they said that that was a very true picture of what was going on in Hawaii.

Senator Lucas: That is all they said?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Lucas: They were in a hurry, were they?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Lucas: "Japan: Are they flying from morning till night?

"Hawaii: Well, not to that extent, but last week they were quite active in the air."

Mr. Bickmell: Yes, sir.

Senator Lucas: That is another significant statement, I take it?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Lucas: "Japan: I hear there are many sailors there, is that right?

"Hawaii: There aren't so many now. There were more in the beginning part of this year and the ending part of last year.

Is that so? "Japan:

"Hawaii: I do not know why this is so, but it appears that there are very few sailors here at present.

"Japan: Are any Japanese people there holding meeting

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Witness Bickmell Questions by: Senator Lucas to discuss US-Japanese negotiations being conducted presently?"

Mr. Bicknell: That is very significant. I believe there was a great doubt in the minds of the Japanese officials as to what the Japanese in Hawaii would do in case war should break out between the United States and Japan.

They had been subjected to American influences for a long time. Many of the American-Japanese had been back to their mother country and had found that they could not speak that language, that they had lost their taste for Japanese customs of old, and that they did not like Japan, and that they were happier back at home in Hawaii.

I believe the Japanese, in thinking of any possibility of reaction in Hawaii, were especially apprehensive themselves as to what the younger Japanese would do, whether they would support Japan or whether they would support the United States. They had no doubt whatsoever as to what the older ones would do, they were bound to be loyal to Japan, but they did have a very great doubt as to the action of the younger generation of Japanese.

As to holding large numbers of meetings, at that time, as you perhaps recall, Japan was beaming propaganda in large degrees to the countries which it was about to attack. They also beamed more innocuous stuff to Hawaii. They were perhaps looking to find out whether or not their propaganda

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Witness Bicknell Questions by: Senator Lucas was bearing fruit, and were these ideas which were being broadcast on the radio being taken up, and were the people holding meetings, and was there any indication of activity amongst the local Japanese.

That is a possibility; I do not say it is a probability.

Senator Lucas: Were they holding meetings at that

time in Hawaii?

Mr. Bicknell: They were holding meetings, but they were holding meetings at that time in Hawaii at our instigation, where we were trying to Americanize them and cement their loyalty to the United States, so any information they got on that might be misleading.

Senator Lucas: Colonel, did you feel that the Japanese situation in Hawaii was so desperate that nothing but a sabotage alert should have been in existence after that war warning message came on November 27?

Mr. Bicknell: My feelings on that question have been expressed to practically every commanding general whom I have come in contact with, and that was that we would never have any sabotage trouble with the local Japanese, and we did not.

Senator Lucas: Were you there in 1940?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Lucas: You had an all-out alert at that time,

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Witness Bicknell Questions by: Senator Lucas did you not?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Lucas: And did you experience any difficulty with the Japanese people at that time?

Mr. Bicknell: None whatsoever.

Senator Lucas: And following the attack on Pearl Harbor, do you know of any acts of sabotage that were committed by the Japanese?

Mr. Bicknell: There was not a single act of sabotage on December 7 or thereafter, no, sir.

Senator Lucas: Well, the message goes on:

"Japan: Are any Japanese people there holding meeting to discuss US-Japanese negotiations being conducted presently?

"Hawaii: No, not particularly. The minds of the Japanese here appear calmer than expected. They are getting along harmoniously.

"Japan: Don't the American community look with suspicion on the Japanese?

"Hawaii: Well, we hardly notice any of them looking on us with suspicion. This fact is rather unexpected. We are not hated or despised. The soldiers here and we get along very well. All races are living in harmony. It appears that the people who come here change to feel like the rest of the people here. There are some who say odd

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Witness Bicknell Questions by: Senator Lucas things, but these are limited to newcomers from the mainland, and after staying here from three to six months, they too begin to think and fell like the rest of the people

"Japan: That's fine.

in the islands.

"Hawaii: Yes, it's fine, but we feel a bit amused.

"Japan: Has there been any increase in" - and there is a blank there - "of late? That is, as a result of the current tense situation.

"Hawaii: There is nothing which stands out, but the city is enjoying a war building boom.

"Japan: What do you mean by enjoying a war building boom?

"Hawaii: Well, a boom in many fields. Although there is no munitions industry here engaged in by the army, civilian workers are building houses for the army personnel. Most of the work here is directed towards building houses of various sorts. There are not enough carpenters, electricians and plumbers. Students at the High School and University have quit school and are working on these jobs, regardless of the fact that they are unskilled in this work.

"Japan: Are there many big factories there?

"Hawall: No, there are no factories, but a lot of small

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Witness Bicknell

Questions by: Senator Lucas

buildings of various kinds are being constructed.

"Japan: Is that so?

"Hawaii: It is said that the population of Honolulu has doubled that of last year.

"Japan: How large is the population?

"Hawaii: The population increase is due to the present influx of Army and Navy personnel and workers from the mainland.

"Japan: What is the population?

"Hawaii: About 200,000 to 240,000. Formerly there were about 150,000 people.

"Japan: What about night time?

"Hawaii: There seem to be precautionary measures taken."

Mr. Bicknell: That is significant, that taken together with the next question.

Senator Lucas: Yes, the next question is:

"Japan: What about searchlights?

"Hawaii: Well, not much to talk about.

"Japan: Do they put searchlights on when planes fly about at night?

"Hawaii: No."

Mr. Bicknell: That is very significant. If we put the searchlights on at night when the planes are flying around, that means long-range reconnaissance ships are trying

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Witness Bickmell Questions by: Senator Lucas
to find the island to come back. That is the only reason
the searchlights are turned on, to help the ship find its
way back after a trip. If the ship leaves in the morning
and it does not come back until after dark it gives you
some idea as to how far the reconnaissance may be.

Senator Lucas: Colonel, as the Assistant Intelligence Officer, did you have the right to make any significant suggestions that you thought this message contained when you talked to General Short?

Mr. Bicknell: I would have had the right, sir, if I had more time to evaluate it, but I just received the message in my own hands, and realizing that it was significant, I went directly to the General with it. I had not had time to even give this thing more than one or two reads.

As I said, I felt it was highly significant, and I still feel it was highly significant. It may be perfectly innocent, but from an intelligence angle, and putting it together with the information that we already had, that the Japanese Consul was burning papers, and we knew that the condition in the Pacific was serious, a message of this type did, and still does, seem highly significant to me.

Senator Lucas: If you had not thought it was significant you would not have requested an interview with General Short around his dinner hour, would you?

Witness Bicknell

Questions by: Senator Lucas

Mr. Bicknell: That is correct.

Senator Lucas: Did both General Short and Colonel Fielder read this message?

Mr. Bicknell: As I remember it, they put it down on the table and Colonel Fielder read it over General Short's shoulder as he turned the pages.

Senator Lucas: Then this telephone conversation continues:

"Japan: What about the Honolulu newspapers?

"Hawaii: The comments by the papers are pretty bad.

They are opposite to the atmosphere pervading the city. I

don't know whether the newspaper is supposed to lead the

community or not, but they carry headlines pertaining to Japan

daily. The main articles concern the US-Japanese conferences.

"Japan: What kind of impression did Mr. Kurusu make in Hawaii?

"Hawail: A very good one. Mr. Kurusu understands the American mind, and he was very adept at answering queries of the press.

Japan: Are there any Japanese people there who are planning to evacuate Hawaii?

"Hawaii: There are almost none wishing to do that.

"Japan: What is the climate there now?

"Hawaii: These last few days have been very cold with

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Witness Bicknell Questions by: Senator Lucas occasional ra nfall, a phenomena very rare in Hawaii.

Today, the wind is blowing very strongly, a very unusual climate."

Mr. Bicknell: That information would be very helpful about the weather, especially the fact that it was unusual weather, to a task force commander. Of course I do not want to be accused of taking advantage of information we had after the attack, but to inquire about weather conditions and the extent of any cold front, that information right there would be extremely valuable to them.

I have felt that it was quite possible, in reconstructing the attack on Pearl Harbor, that the Japanese task force came in behind the cold front which they used as a screen against a possible observation from the air. The official Japanese movies of the attack show a cold front when the airplanes were taking off from the carriers. The timing of the attack is such that there is a strong possibility in my mind that that is now it was planned, to move behind that cold front and use it as a screen to prevent any aerial reconnaissance from sighting the fleet, and therefore the date of the attack was primarily the date when they could come nearest to the islands, within striking range of the islands behind that cold front. It might even have been the 6th, 7th or 8th. But that type of information in that

Witness Bicknell

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Questions by: Senator Lucas

one paragraph would be extremely helpful to anyone desiring to know those conditions.

Senator Lucas: Well, this fellow Mori was not just talking for his health.

Mr.Bicknell: Mrs. Mori was talking.

Senator Lucas: What is that?

Mr. Bicknell: Mrs. Mori was talking. This is his wife. The Doctor did not talk.

Senator Lucas: Did you ever find out to whom she was talking?

Mr. Bicknell: It was a Japanese newspaper that the call originated from. But there is one thing again that must be borne in mind. This conversation was between Honolulu and Tokyo. It was scrambled. The Japanese had the scrambler in Tokyo in order to unscramble it. Anybody in the Pacific Ocean between Hawaii and Tokyo with a scrambler could unscramble this and listen to it, whether they were in Tokyo or whether they were a thousand miles from Hawaii.

This information is open to interception by anybody having the scrambling device which was used on that circuit.

Senator Lucas: "Japan: Is that so?

"Hawaii: Here is something interesting. Litvinoff, the Russian Ambassador to the United States, arrived here yesterday. I believe he enplaned for the mainland today.

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Witness Bicknell Questions by: Senator Lucas
He made no statements on any problems.

"Japan: Did he make any statements concerning the US-Japan question?

"Hawaii: No. Not only did he not say anything regarding the US-Japan question, he also did not mention anything pertaining to the Russo-German war. It appears he was ordered by his government not to make any statement.

"Japan: Well, that means he was very different from Mr. Kurusu.

"Hawaii: Yes.

"Japan: What kind of impression did Litvinoff make?

"Hawaii: A very good one here. He impressed the people as being very quiet and a gentleman.

"Japan: Did he stop at the same hotel as Mr. Kurusu?

"Hawaii: Yes, at the Royal Hawaiian overnight. He has already emplaned for the mainland.

"Japan: Do you know anything about the United States fleet?

"Hawaii: No, I don't know anything about the fleet.

Since we try to avoid talking about such matters, we do not know much about the fleet."

Mr. Bicknell: That, to me, is also very significant.

That could be a very nice cover-up. The Japanese already

knew all about the fleet, they did not have to talk on the

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Witness Bickmell Questions by: Senator Lucas telephone about that. They were getting daily reports from their Consul as to movements of ships in and out of Pearl Harbor. They did not have to ask any questions about that at all.

Senator Lucas: Hawaii further says: At any rate, the fleet here seems small. I don't know if all of the fleet has done this, but it seems that the fleet has left here.

"Japan: Is that so? What kind of flowers are in bloom in Hawaii at present?"

Mr. Bicknell: That is significant.

Senator Lucas: Why is that significant?

Mr. Bicknell: Perhaps I am too intelligence conscious, but in the last war I spent a lot of my time in intelligence and cryptography, and an open code is one of the most commonly used methods of passing on information.

"What kind of flowers are in bloom in Hawaii at present?"

What in the world does a Japanese newspaper want to

know about flowers in Hawaii? Then, as you go on, you see

that this conversation will pick out the two flowers, only

two flowers of the many that were blooming in Hawaii at that

time. And there is some misunderstanding about the poinsettias

which you will discover in the next question.

Senator Lucas: "Hawaii: Presently, the flowers in bloom

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Witness Bicknell Questions by: Senator Lucas are fewest out of the whole year. However, the hibiscus and the poinsettia are in bloom now."

Then there is a note: "Japan does not seem to know about poinsettias. He admits he doesn't know.

"Japan: Do you fell any inconvenience there due to the suspension of importation of Japanese goods?"

Well, when the fellow in Japan who was talking did not catch the significance of poinsettias undoubtedly the so-called secret code, or whatever they had, was not working quite properly.

Mr. Bicknell: The thing is, on the original record of this interception, there seems to be somewhat of an argument in there. It is badly mixed up with static. But the best we could make out of it in listening to the original was there was some question in his mind as to what the real point was in this.

Senator Lucas: Continuing further:

"Japan: Do you feel any inconvenience there due to the suspension of importation of Japanese goods?

*Hawaii: Yes, we feel the inconvenience very much.

There are no Japanese soy, and many other foodstuffs which come from Japan. Although there are enough foodstuffs (Japanese) left in stock to last until February of next year, at any rate it is a big inconvenience.

Witness Bicknell

Questions by: Senator Lucas

"Japan: What do you lack most?

"Hawaii: I believe the soy is what everyone is worried about most. Since the freeze order is in force, the merchants who have been dealing in Japanese goods are having a hard time.

"Japan: Thanks very much.

"Hawaii: By the way, here is something interesting about Hawaii. Liquor sells very fast due to the boom here. The United States, which twenty years ago went under prohibition, is today flooded by liquor. British and French liquors are also being sold. The Japanese merchants, whose business came to a standstill due to the suspension of importation of Japanese goods, engage in liquor manufacture. The rice from the United States is used in brewing Japanese sake here, and the sake is exported back to the mainland.

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Witness Bicknell

Questions by: Senator Lucas

"(H) explains that the Japanese sake brewed in Honolulu is called 'Takara-Masamune', that a person named Takagishi was the technical expert in charge of the brewing; that said Takagishi is a son-in-law of Grand Chamberlain Hyakutake, being married to the latter's daughter; and that said Takagishi returned recently to Japan on the Taiyo Maru. He adds that Japanese here and the Americans also drink sake. He informs (J) that Japanese chrysanthemums are in full bloom here, and that there are no herring-roe for this year's New Year celebration.

"(J) How many first generation Japanese are there in Hawaii according to last surveys made?"

Mr. Bicknell: We go back there to that same question.

Senator Lucas: Yes. You explained that before.

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Lucas: (Reading)

"(H) About fifty thousand.

"(J) How about the second generation Japanese?

"(H) About 120,000 or 130,000.

"(J) How many out of this number of second generation Japanese are in the United States Army?"

Mr. Bicknell: Highly significant.

Senator Lucas: Yes.

Mr. Eicknell: They are again trying to find out what

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Witness Bicknell

Questions by: Senator Lucas

the Japanese feeling are, are they more inclined toward loyalty to Japan or loyalty to the United States.

Senator Lucas: (Reading)

- "(H) There aren't so many up to the present. About 1,500 have entered the army, and the majority of those who have been drafted into the army are Japanese.
 - "(J) Any first generation Japanese in the army?
- "(H) No. They do not draft any first generation Japanese.
 - "(J) Is that right, that there are 1,500 in the army?
- "(H) Yes, that is true up to the present, but may increase since more will be inducted in January.
 - "(J) Thank you very much.
 - "(H) Not at all. I'm sorry I couldn't be of much use.
 - "(J) Oh no, that was fine. Best regards to your wife.
 - "(H) Wait a moment please?
 - "(J) off phone."

Now, Colonel, did the Navy, the Army or the FBI pick up Mrs. Mori following the outbreak of war?

Mr. Bicknell: We picked up, on the afternoon of the 7th of December, both of them, Mrs. and Dr. Mori.

Senator Lucas: Did you ever have a talk with Mrs. Mori about this conversation?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Witness Bickmell

Questions by: Senator Lucas
the Japanese feeling are, are they more inclined toward
loyalty to Japan or loyalty to the United States.

Senator Lucas: (Reading)

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1,500 have entered the army, and the majority of those who
have been drafted into the army are Japanese.

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 - "(J) Oh no, that was fine. Best regards to your wife.
 - "(H) Wait a moment please?
 - "(J) off phone."

Now, Colonel, did the Navy, the Army or the FBI pick up Mrs. Mori following the outbreak of war?

Mr. Bicknell: We picked up, on the afternoon of the 7th of December, both of them, Mrs. and Dr. Mori.

Senator Lucas: Did you ever have a talk with Mrs.
Mori about this conversation?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Witness Bicknell Questions by: Senator Lucas 1 Senator Lucas: What did she say? 5 Mr. Bicknell: Nothing. 3 Senator Lucas: She didn't have much to say? 4 Mr. Bicknell: No. 5 Senator Lucas: What happened to them? 8 Mr. Bicknell: The last I knew they were still over 7 here in detention, somewhere on the Mainland. 8 Senator Lucas: What was Mori's business there? 8 Mr. Bicknell: I have forgotten his business. 10 Mr. Kaufman: Dentist. 11 Mr. Bicknell: That is right, dentist. 12 Senator Lucas: Was this conversation picked up through 13 his office or his home? 14 Mr. Bicknell: This was his home. Of course, the 15 reason that this was intercepted was the fact that he was 16 already on our suspect list. 17 Senator Lucas: How long had he been there? 18 Mr. Bicknell: Ever since we had one. 18 Senator Lucas: Ever since what? 20 Mr. Bickmell: Ever since we had a list. 21 Senator Lucas: Were you surprised that the attack came? Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir. 23 Senator Lucas: Do you know of anybody that wasn't? 24

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

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Witness Bickmell

Questions by: Senator Lucas

Senator Lucas: Notwithstanding all of this information that you had, notwithstanding the fact that you transmitted it on the night of the 6th to General Short?

Mr. Bicknell: I think it would have been very difficult indeed to make any conclusions out of this that would have predicted accurately that we were to be attacked on the following morning by air. I think it is an indication that something will happen and quickly, but to draw the inference that it was going to hit Pearl Harbor would really be stretching the imagination.

Senator Lucas: Did you know about the ship movements, did you know that the Japanese were reporting ship movements in and out of the harbor?

Mr. Bicknell: I did not know that until after this. I knew it on the day of the 7th.

Senator Lucas: How did you learn that?

Mr. Bicknell: Because the minute the war started we placed the Japanese Consulate under protective custody of the Honolulu Police Force. The boys went in the consulate and found a large tub of papers burning in one of the rooms. So they explained to the Consul that that was considerable of a fire risk and put the fire out, put the papers in burlap bags, which later we received, and found in them portions of messages, portions of code books being burned,

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witness Bicknell Questions by: Senator Lucas and these were transmitted immediately to Captain Rochefort and within a short time he was able to give us some information on some of these messages, a few of them being movements of ships in and out of Pearl Harbor.

Then the next day or two we also subpoensed all of the records of the various cable companies and from those we got a complete file of the reports they had made.

Senator Lucas: Were any of these messages, that you pieced together there and found that the Japanese Consulate had received, decoded and translated previous to Pearl Harbor?

Mr. Bicknell: Not that I know of.

Senator Lucas: What was this conversation that you had with the General Staff about the burning of papers -- on December 5, was it?

Mr. Bicknell: The 6th.

Senator Lucas: The 6th.

Mr. Bicknell: That was at the regular weekly meeting of the staff where all matters of importance were brought up, and I told them that reliable reports had been received to the effect that the Japanese Consulate were burning their secret papers.

Senator Lucas: Was General Short there when you made that statement?

Mr. Bickmell: No, sir.

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Questions by: Senator Lucas Witness Bicknell

Senator Lucas: Was Colonel Phillips there?

Mr. Bicknell: Colonel Phillips was there, yes, sir.

Senator Lucas: He was?

Mr. Bicknell: He was there.

Senator Lucas: There is some question as to what you said. According to the evidence here it is contended that they believed that it was another routine daily duty of where they burn a lot of papers.

Mr. Bicknell: If it was a routine duty why would one of the trusted members of the Consulate be telephoning to somebody else in great excitement about it? If it was a routine affair they certainly wouldn't be telephoning to each other about it.

Senator Lucas: Was that explained?

Mr. Bickmell: At that time I didn't know that, at that conference I didn't know those facts.

Senator Lucas: Did any members of the staff know of this conversation?

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

Senator Lucas. What did you say, in substance, about these particular papers when you discussed the question before the staff?

Mr. Bickmell: I said, substantially, that I had received confidential information of a very reliable nature that the

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Witness Bicknell Questions by: Senator Lucas

Japanese Consulate were burning all of their secret papers.

Senator Lucas: All of their secret papers?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Lucas: And that information came from the FBI?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Lucas: Do you know whether or not that information was ever transmitted to the Navy?

Mr. Bickmell: Yes, sir, it was.

Senator Lucas: Whose responsibility was it for having that transmitted to the Navy?

Mr. Bicknell: That was Mr. Shivers' responsibility.

Senator Lucas: So it not only went to the Army, that they were burning all of the important papers in the Consulate, but it also went to the Navy?

Mr. Bickmell: Yes, sir.

Senator Lucas: That was on December 6th?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Lucas: That very question was discussed at the staff meeting at that time?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Lucas: And it was following this meeting with the staff where you had the discussion as to the burning of important papers that the Mori message came along?

Mr. Bickmell. Yes, sir.

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Witness Bicknell

Questions by: Senator Lucas

Mr. Murphy

Senator Lucas: That was submitted on the same day to General Short and Colonel Phillips?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Lucas: That is all.

The Chairman: Mr. Murphy.

Mr. Murphy: Colonel Bicknell, I want to ask you two questions.

The Chairman: The Chair would like to announce that at the conclusion of Colonel Bicknell's testimony I desire to have a brief executive session.

Mr. Murphy: Colonel Bicknell, what difference do you think it would make in the disposition of the forces in Hawaii up to December 7,1941 if General Short and Admiral Kimmel had the magic which was available to Washington?

Mr. Bicknell: That would be rather hard for me to say, but I would say that if we had had in Hawaii all the information which was available from all intelligence sources, I feel certain that General Short would have gone into a full alert.

Mr. Murphy: Well, I am going to separate the two. First of all, there was considerable information in Hawaii which the Navy had which you didn't have?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Mr. Murphy: Then assuming that there was available to

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Witness Bicknell Questions by: Mr. Murphy you the information that was available to the Navy so that you could in turn make recommendations to General Short, what difference would it make, in your judgment, in the disposition of the forces?

Mr. Bicknell: I feel that the information that the Navy had, especially with regard to the winds message, and perhaps some other items that I can't recall at the moment, but there were a number of others, that we would have been able to put up a much stronger case and to argue, if necessary, with the Department Commander on the seriousness of the situation.

Mr. Murphy: Assuming you had known on the 3rd of December that the Japanese were destroying their codes in the different centers of the world, and that information was available to the Navy at Hawaii, what recommendation would you have made based on that?

Mr. Bicknell: We had that information.

Mr. Murphy: You did have it?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Mr. Murphy: General Short said he never got it.

Mr. Bicknell: I didn't get it officially, either.

Mr. Murphy: Do you suppose General Short had it?

Mr. Bicknell: I don't think so.

Mr. Murphy: When we were questioning General Short about

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Witness Bicknell Questions by: Mr. Murphy
the message of General Marshall, when he was questioned
about the message of General Marshall, he said the most
significant thing in that message, to him, was the information about the burning of codes, that was highly important.

Do you know whether or not he had information about the Japs burning these codes before December 7?

Mr. Bickmell: I doubt very much that he had, other than what information I have just related about the local Japanese Consulate. There was a great deal of confusion existing that we didn't get straightened out until after the attack. The message that you have mentioned, relative to the Japanese burning their codes, destroying their codes in other parts of the world and the local Japanese situation. That came about due to the fact that Captain Mayfield, District Intelligence Officer, called Mr. Shivers, I believe somewhere around the 3rd or 4th of December, and asked him if he knew that the Japanese Consuls were burning their codes. The FBI did not know about it and thought he meant the local Consulate. They redoubled their efforts and observation of the local Consulate and then discovered that the local Japanese Consulate was burning their codes. That was turned back to the Navy as confirmation that they were burning the codes, but at that time the FBI did not know that Captein Mayfield was talking about another message.

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Witness Bickmell

Questions by: Mr. Murphy

Mr. Murphy: Well, the confirmation as to the Japanese at Hawaii, that wasn't until the 6th of December, was it?

Mr. Bicknell: There is some question as to date on that. My belief was that I received that information late on the 5th, but I may be mistaken.

In refreshing my memory with Mr. Shivers while he was in Hawaii just recently, he seemed to think it was the 4th. I can't remember those dates.

Mr. Murphy: Well, the Navy at Hawaii had messages on the 3rd about codes; they had messages on the 4th about codes. Did they pass that on to the Army?

Mr. Bicknell: They didn't pass it on to me.

Mr. Murphy: Did you hear about it on the 3rd or 4th?

Mr. Bicknell: I heard about it.

Mr. Murphy: What difference do you think it would make in your judgment if you knew that on the 3rd?

Mr.Bicknell: If I had known that on the 3rd I would have gone to the General with that message and pointed out to him the significance, the probable significance of that, the same as I did with the other ones.

Mr. Murphy: What significance would you give to it?

Mr. Bicknell: I would say that when an Embassy or

Legation starts destroying its codes it is a sign that we

are coming to a very rapid end of peaceful relations.

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Witness Bicknell

Questions by: Mr. Murphy

Mr. Murphy: At any rate, you had no contact directly with Captain Layton, did you?

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

Mr. Murphy: Did General Fielder have any contact directly with him?

Mr. Bicknell: I don't know.

Mr. Murphy: Did you know that Captain Layton was giving in sanitized form certain information to the Intelligence Officer of the Air Corps?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Mr. Murphy: Did you wonder why he would give it to him and not to your office?

Mr. Bicknell; It didn't make much difference so long as I got it.

Mr. Murphy: Did you get it from the Air Corps?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Mr. Murphy: In other words, the Air Corps man would get it from Captain Layton and transfer it to you?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Mr. Murphy: Well, you were never permitted to see any of the messages as such, were you?

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

Mr. Murphy: You got it in sanitized form second-hand?

Mr. Bickmell: Yes, sir.

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Witness Bicknell	i i	tn	es	8	B	10	kne	11
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Questions by: Mr. Murphy Senator Ferguson

Mr. Murphy: You do think it would make a difference if you had magic in Hawaii?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Mr. Murphy: All right. No other questions.

The Chairman: Mr. Gearhart.

Mr. Gearhart: No questions.

The Chairman: Senator Ferguson.

Senator Ferguson: In the answers to the Senator from Illinois when he read you the Mori message, do you want to convey to the committee that you conveyed all that information to General Fielder and General Short?

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

Senator Ferguson: That is what is now known as hindsight?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Ferguson: An examination of the details of this message leads you to that conclusion?

Mr. Bicknell: Exactly.

Senator Ferguson: Now, after you told them about the message and the information that you gave them that evening, did you examine it again in detail until after the attack?

Mr. Bicknell: I took that message back to the office and examined it for about an hour, and we had then just ended a period of 24-hour duty and I decided that I needed

Witness Bicknell Questions by: Senator Ferguson to get some rest and so I locked it up in the safe and went home about 9:00 o'clock to get rested up. Needless to say I didn't have a chance to look at the message for sometime thereafter.

Senator Ferguson: You indicated that an examination of the Mori message led you to the opinion that they were speaking there as to what the attitude of the Japanese would be in the case of attack. Did you know a man by the name of Saiki?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Ferguson: Did you know there was a full-page advertisement in the Hilo Tribune Herald calling a mass meeting of alien Japanese at 2:00 p.m. on Sunday, the 7th?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Ferguson: As an Intelligence Officer, did you ever look into that question?

Mr. Bicknell: Never heard of it before, sir. That is on the Island of Hawaii. It never got to me.

Senator Ferguson: It never got to you?

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

Senator Ferguson: And that there was some claim that they got mixed up on their dates, because of the international date line, would that refresh your memory?

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

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Witness Bicknell

Questions by: Senator Ferguson

Senator Ferguson: Well, then, as I understand it, you didn't get directly from the Navy the fact that they were burning codes in Washington or destroying the code machine?

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

Senator Ferguson: Did you ever convey that message to General Fielder, then Colonel Fielder?

Mr. Bicknell: I never received any information that I could substantiate enough to say that it was authentic.

Senator Ferguson: So you didn't convey it to anyone else?

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

Senator Ferguson: It had never reached even a good rumor stage; is that it?

Mr. Bicknell: That's right.

Senator Ferguson: I noticed in your affidavit to Colonel Clausen this language:

"Before 7 December 1941 and about 3 December 1941 I learned from Navy sources of the destruction of codes and papers by Japanese diplomatic representatives in Washington, London, Hongkong, Singapore, Manila and elsewhere."

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir..

Senator Ferguson: That is what you and I have been talking about?

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Witness Bicknell

Questions by: Senator Ferguson

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Ferguson: That you thought it was from Navy sources?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Ferguson: But it wasn't such that you conveyed it to anyone?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Ferguson: Then that should be added to your statement to Colonel Clausen?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Ferguson: In explaining that message?

Mr. Bicknell: That is right.

Senator Ferguson: Well, now, had you ever known the Embassy in Hawaii to burn any papers in the yard?

Mr. Bicknell: I have known that everybody in Hawaii burns papers in the yard, but they don't burn them inside.

Senator Ferguson: When was it they first burned them inside, was that on Sunday?

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir, that was the date that I am in doubt about. It was either the 3rd or 4th, when the FBI intercepted a telephone call from one of the attaches of the Consul saying that they were burning all of these secret papers.

Senator Ferguson: But you learned later that that

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Witness Bicknell Questions by: Senator Ferguson was not a fact because they were burning them on the day of the attack?

Mr. Bicknell: They had to retain one code right up to the very last minute. There was a tremendous volume of messages to burn. They were burning those inside the house in a tub. They couldn't possibly burn all of the papers there were to burn in such a short period of time. When the police went in there on the morning of the 7th there was 5 burlap sacks of stuff that still had not been burned, but which had been torn in pieces. There was a pile of ashes there of all the papers that had been burned.

So it was the volume that prevented them from getting rid of it. If they had built a bonfire outside they could have disposed of them, but they were burning them inside the Consulate.

Senator Ferguson: Did you mention to General Short or General Fielder that this message, the Mori message, had been on a scrambler phone?

Mr. Bicknell: I don't think I mentioned it because it was so obvious. All messages were scrambled.

Senator Ferguson: You say all messages were scrambled?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir. Every message was scrambled.

Senator Ferguson: Between private citizens?

Mr. Bicknell: All radio telephone, overseas telephone

WASHINGTON.

Witness Bicknell Questions by: Senator Ferguson calls, all messages are scrambled, to protect the privacy of the conversation. If it weren't for that you could turn in and listen to any conversation.

Senator Ferguson: Who was the man in Hawaii who was calling, did you ever learn?

Mr. Bicknell: The man in Tokyo, you mean?

Senator Ferguson: Yes.

Mr. Bicknell: I don't know who that was.

Senator Ferguson: You stated at one place in your testimony that it was the wife that was talking and when they ended up they say:

"Oh, no. That was fine. Best regards to your wife."

Mr. Bicknell: As I remember the original record it

was a woman's voice. We may be mistaken. It may have been

Dr. Mori himself. But he denied that he had the conversation

and said that it was his wife who did the talking when we

examined him.

Senator Ferguson: Did you ever figure out what the hibiscus and the poinsettias meant?

Mr. Bicknell: I don't think anyone will ever figure that out unless somebody tells us what it meant. It would be almost impossible to draw any conclusion with only one reference of that type. If we had more identification, or more messages, with the recurring phrase, it might be possible

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Witness Bicknell

Questions by: Senator Ferguson

to get what they were talking about.

Senator Ferguson: At least you didn't have the code words to ever figure that out?

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

Senator Ferguson: Did you look over these ads in the various papers, the Honolulu Star-Bulletin and the other papers, the Advertiser?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Ferguson: Did you ever look over those ads?

Mr. Bicknell: You mean the jumbo silk ad?

Senator Ferguson: Yes.

Mr. Bicknell: Yes.

Senator Ferguson: Did you ever find anything?

Mr. Bicknell: Absolutely nothing.

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Senator Ferguson: At this time, I would like to make this statement:

I asked Captain Zacharias about that ad. Since then
I have had a letter from the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, and
also a memorandum from Riley Allen on the same question.

I think to complete this record, that this ought to go in the record. I have shown it to Mr. Kaufman.

The Chairman: Without objection that may be done.

Do you want it printed in the record?

Senator Ferguson: I think that it ought to be spread on the record.

Mr. Murphy: May I inquire if it is claimed there is any significance to it?

Senator Ferguson: No. It is claimed there was not.
This witness's testimony was along the same line. You saw
no significance about this ad at all?

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

The Chairman: It may be spread on the record.

(The letters referred to are as follows:)

WARD & PAUL WASHINGTON, D. C.

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HONOLULU STAR - BULLETIN

Honolulu 2, Hawaii, U. S. A.

February 5, 1946

Senator Homer Ferguson (Mich.)

Member Pearl Harbor Investigating Committaa,

United States Senate,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Ferguson:

News dispatches from Washington report that an advertisement which appeared in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin December 3, 1941, has become a matter of inquiry and discussion by the Pearl Herbor Investigating Committee.

The question appears to be whether this advertisement was inserted for a subversive purpose by agents of, or sympathizers with, the Japanese government, and whether such agents or sympathizers sought to disseminate information unfriendly to and dangerous to the security of the Hawaiian Islands at a time when the Japanese carrier fleet was approaching Oahu to strike on the morning of Sunday, December 7.

It was perhaps natural that immediately after that surprise attack, and when we who live in Hawaii had ample reason to fear another and greater assault, rumors of information and propaganda "planted" in the newspapers and in radio broadcasts should become current.

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The story of the Hawaii Importing Company's ad is one of those rumors, which quickly grew to considerable proportions by word of mouth repetition, but which, like other reports of sabotage and "fifth columnist" activities, proved under competent, impartial examination, completely baseless.

Our own office, in common with the intelligence service of the Army and the Navy, and the FBI, investigated this particular rumor. All were satisfied the advertisement had no enemy motive or design.

The facts are covered in the enclosed affidavit from Porter Dickinson, assistant general manager of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, who, at the time of the Japanese attack and thereafter was advertising manager of the Star-Bulletin.

I send this to you so that if you feel there are any unanswered questions concerning the authenticity and the bona fides of this advertisement, the answers will, I think, be apparent. Like some others of the imaginative reports which leaped into Circulation here and on the mainland after Pearl Harbor, this rumor may be hard to exterminate forever, and we are ready at any time to reiterate the accompanying statement.

Yours very truly,

/s/ Riley H. Allen

/t/ Riley H Allen

Editor.

February 1, 1946

MEMO TO: RILEY ALLEN

RE: HAWAII IMPORTING CO. AD OF DECEMBER 3, 1941.

Now that the Hawaii Importing Co. ad which appeared in the Star-Bulletin on December 3, 1941 has been brought up before the Pearl Harbor investigating committee, it might be well to review what happened at the time and shortly after publication of this ad.

- 1. The same ad appeared in both the Honolulu Star-Bulletin and the Honolulu Advertiser. The Star-Bulletin published the ad on December 3, 1941 and the Advertiser published it on December 5, 1941.
- 2. It had been the practice of the Hawaii Importing Co. to repeat ads which appeared first in the StarBulletin a few days later in the Honolulu Advertiser.
- 3. The Hawaii Importing Co. had run practically the same ad a year previous on December 2, 1940. The ad was of the same size, and carried the same illustrated heading. A good many items were the same as carried in the December 3 1941 ad.
- 4. The Hawaii Importing Co. had run for several years previous on approximately the same date, ads of similar type.
 - 5. The names carried in the ad were questioned by

many, but proved to be bona fide names of materials.

- 6. The drawing used for the heading of this particular ad was the same that appeared in the ad of December 2, 1940.
- 7. Shortly after December 7, 1941 the FBI, office of Naval Intelligence and Army Intelligence, all investigated this copy through the management and personnel of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin and Hawaii Importing Co.
- 8. Following a very close examination of the copy and all persons involved in the placement of this copy, the three agencies gave the Hawaii Importing Co. a clean bill of health.

/s/ Porter Dickinson
/t/ Porter Dickinson

Assistant General Manager

HONOLULU STAR-BULLETIN

(Notary seal)

Subscribed and sworn to before me this Second day of February, 1946.

/s/ John F Stone

Notary Public, First Judicial Circuit

Territory of Hawaii

My commission expires July 15, 1949.

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Senator Ferguson: Do you know whether or not your testimony or your ideas as to the conversation between you and General Fielder on the night of the 6th in any way conflicts, or have you talked it over since that time?

Mr. Bicknell: I haven't had an opportunity to talk with General Fielder on that. I don't think there is any conflict.

Senator Ferguson: So there can't be any doubt about the record, I wish that you would try to recall as nearly as you can, if not the exact words, at least the substance of the conversation that you had in relation to the message, the Mori message on the 6th?

Mr. Bicknell: It is five years ago. Five years is a long time.

The one thing that I do remember is General Short saying, in effect, that he didn't see anything very wrong with the message, because it was a very accurate picture of what was going on in Hawaii, and I ventured the remark that I perhaps felt it was too accurate a picture.

Now, I haven't any recollection other than that.

Senator Ferguson: That is the substance of the conversation as you remember it today?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Ferguson: Now, do you know of anything that

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Questions by: Senator Ferguson Witness Bickmell you can give us here that would aid us in the solution of this problem that we are confronted with, as to how this could happen and Hawaii not be alerted to it?

Mr. Bicknell: I might say, if it is not the wrong thing, that I feel we might expect another Pearl Harbor unless we can develop an intelligence service that is a coordinated and efficient intelligence service, where all information obtained from all sources comes to some one central point and is properly evaluated and made available to all the agencies involved.

Unless we do that and unless we place ourselves in such a position, and if we have one or two or three or four separate agencies working on intelligence and not coordinating their endeavors, we are not safeguarding the interests of our nation.

Senator Ferguson: In other words, when you divide intelligence and do not give all of the services the entire picture, you really destroy the value of intelligence?

Mr. Bicknell: That is true. I think that this trouble we have had, that you are now trying to solve, is not a question of personalities. It is a question of system, the system was wrong.

We did not have trained intelligence people. We had very few trained intelligence officers in the Army and Navy h8

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anyway, and when you try to put that information in a pigeon-hole and do not give it proper circulation in relation to other available information, you are destroying the entire objective of your plan.

Senator Ferguson: Did the Army in a way treat this intelligence as a minor branch, in your opinion? Did they give it the full meaning that it should have had?

Mr. Bicknell: I think that is a question of personality.

Some few general officers that I have known give intelligence the highest regard. Others give it little.

General Herron, formerly Department Commander at the time I went on duty in Hawaii, gave it the highest importance. That is one of the reasons he called me back, was to reorganize his Intelligence Department and his G-2 in such a way that it would function properly, should my emergency arise.

Senator Ferguson: And, now, should we understand that you personally feel as an Intelligence Officer in G-2, second in command, that you did all that you could with the information that you were furnished, that you feel that if you had had all of the information here in Washington, as well as elsewhere, that America had, that you would have been able to see a different picture at Hawaii on the 6th and 7th of December, 1941?

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Senator Ferguson: That is all.

The Chairman: Mr. Keefe.

Mr. Bioknell: Yes, sir.

Mr. Keefe: Colonel, all of this -- from all of the intelligence that you had, and all of the information that was available to you as Assistant Chief of Intelligence, of G-2 in Hawaii for some time prior to the 6th of December, did you have or obtain any impression or idea that Hawaii was to be the object of an attack by the Japs?

Mr. Bicknell: There was nothing, sir, to give you any idea as a definite idea, but there was always -- in considering intelligence, one of the first precepts is to avoid surprise.

And probabilities are just as important.

I believe that in figuring out any military problem that the possibilities and probabilities must be given consideration.

Now, the fact that the Fleet was in Hawaii, the fact that our air forces were in Hawaii, and the general evaluation of the Japanese plan to work down through the Indies and Singapore, which seemed evident, it would appear that the only thing that would deter them in doing that would be interference from our air or Navy forces. Therefore, it would seem to me that Hawaii could be placed very near the top of

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Witness Bicknell Questions by: Mr. Keefe a list of possible attacks by the enemy.

Mr. Keefe: I gathered the impression from a statement that you made a few moments ago, that it was your opinion that if you had had certain intelligence that was available in Washington, and which was not furnished the Hawaiian Department that you perhaps would have been in a better position to stand up and argue with the Commanding General on the question of alerting.

Mr. Bicknell: I think that is true. If we had had all information, we might have been able to do that.

If we had had meteorological information as to the formations to the west and northwest, if we had had the full import of the so-called winds message, if we had had the magic, it would have been much easier to say that the possibility of an attack was increasing in importance, rather than decreasing.

Mr. Keefe: Were you surprised, yourself, by the attack?

Mr. Bicknell: Well, naturally, when you are looking

out of your window on a peaceful Sunday morning and see

a battleship blow up under your eyes, you are pretty apt

to be surprised.

Mr. Keefe: I don't mean that, of course. I mean, was the fact that the Japanese attacked on Sunday morning a surprise to you, as the Assistant Chief of G-2 of the

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Witness Bickmell

Questions by: Mr. Keefe

Hawaiian Department?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir, I think it was.

Mr. Keefe: I am trying to find someone among all of these witnesses who have been here, who was not surprised. You were veering pretty close to that position.

Mr. Bicknell: I think I must admit I was surprised.

Mr. Keefe: You finally landed in the same category with everybody else. Everybody was surprised here in Wash-ington and in Hawaii.

That is all.

Mr. Murphy: Mr. Chairman --

The Chairman: Mr. Murphy.

Mr. Murphy: Colonel, you said that General Herron had placed intelligence as being of the highest importance.

Where did General Short place it?

Mr. Bickmell: I never became as well acquainted with General Short as I was with General Herron, perhaps due to the fact that I had not served with General Short long enough, and that he did not have much confidence in a reserve officer. But I have the feeling, that with intelligence from the information that I was passing on, that I have previously reviewed this afternoon, and these estimates in these military attache reports that went to Washington every week, and all of the information that was going

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through, it was rather uncommon not to have some questions asked it about it by the Department Commander.

Mr. Murphy: Well, you had predicted war at the end of November, had you not?

Mr. Bickmell: Yes, sir.

Mr. Murphy: Were you ever asked about your prediction?

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

Mr. Murphy: Nobody paid any attention to it, did they?

Mr. Bickmell: No, sir, they did not;

Mr. Murphy: And the reason you shifted it over to February because of the weather conditions?

Mr. Bickmell: Yes, sir.

Mr. Murphy: In other words, if they didn't attack toward the end of November, there would be such a change in weather conditions that you predicted an attack in February?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Mr. Murphy: You said that you didn't have the meteorological information.

Mr. Bickmell: We didn't have it.

Mr. Murphy: But the Navy had some pretty good men on it, didn't they?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

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Mr. Murphy: And they did have quite a Navy set-up for meteorological data, which was not furnished to you?

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Mr. Bicknell: That is right. That is the point that I made in my remarks about a correlated intelligence

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agency. The information should be available.

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Mr. Murphy: Did you know anything about the lost carriers, the carriers that couldn't be accounted for?

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Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

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Mr. Murphy: Did you know anything about the expecta-

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Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

tion that there were carriers in the Marshalls?

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Mr. Murphy: Did you know about the submarines that were sighted at Salpan and were predicted as moving eastward?

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Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

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Mr. Murphy: If you had had the data which you now know the Navy did have at Hawaii, do you think that the magic at Washington would have added much to it in order to inform

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you so that you could predict more likely a possibility of

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attack?

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Mr. Bicknell: You are telling me something that I never heard before. I will say again that if we had information of that type, perhaps I could go even further in my statement to you and say that we would have been in a better position to make more definite predictions as to

Mr. Murphy: In other words, you in Intelligence were

pretty much in the dark as to what the Navy was doing in

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Hawaii?

Witness Bicknell Questions by: Mr. Murphy h15 Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir. Mr. Murphy: That is all. The Chairman: Mr. Clark. Mr. Clark: Colonel, I have been interested by your 5 statement in regard to the consolidation of the intelligence 6 service, and I have also noted what you said about the use of magic had it been available in Hawaii. You recognize also the great importance of carefully 8 safeguarding the information gained through magic? 10 11 Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir. Mr. Clark: It played a tremendous part in the subse-13 13 quent conduct of the war? 14 Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir. Mr. Clark: And the system that seemed to have bean 15 followed was to receive the magic here in Washington. 10 17 Mr. Bicknell: Right. 18 Mr. Clark: And carefully safeguard it. 19 Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir. 20 Mr. Clark: And then issue orders to the command in 21 Hawaii. There is something to be said for that system too, is there not? 23 23 Mr. Bicknell: I didn't understand. 24 Mr. Clark: I say, there is something to b said for

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that system too?

Witness Bicknell

Questions by: Mr. Murphy

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Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir, but in these days of modern communications, and in these days of situations we are so rapidly facing, that question is not as important as it used to be.

For instance, here on the mainland, we can handle information of a highly secret nature over protected wire circuits.

It could be sent from Washington to San Francisco in perfect safety over a special wire network. It is now possible to go from Hawaii to -- from San Francisco to Hawaii in 9-1/2 hours by airplane with courier. It isn't like the old days when it used to take many many hours to get a message through by codes and ciphers and all the machinery that is gone through.

A courier might be well on his way to a distant point with the message in the time that it would take to do that, with the message in personal custody.

Mr. Clark: Under conditions as they existed in the last war, General Marshall seems to have taken particular precautions to safeguard the secrecy of magic by confining it to just as small a circle as possible.

Mr. Bicknell: That is true.

Witness Bioknell

Questions by: Mr. Clark

Mr. Clark: Now, to you agree or disagree with that report?

Mr. Bicknell: I think it is perfectly possible in a case

like that that you to not have to send out the information

that you obtain from magic sources, but orders could be properly prepared based on that information and forwarded to the necessary commanders.

Mr. Clark: Well, you think those orders should have gone beyond what were issued in this case?

Mr. Bicknell: I to not know enough about the Washington angle of this thing to form an opinion.

Mr. Clark: I will take as an illustration the message from General Marshall of the 27th. Do you think that more should have been stated in that order?

Mr. Bicknell: There again is a question of judgment. My personal point of view is that the department commander is to judge what the local conditions are and take action that he considers appropriate. That is why we have a department commander and a Lieutenant General, who does not wait for somebody else to tell him what to do. He must draw his own conclusions and take action.

Mr. Clark: And when he receives a message of that character he would be supposed to exercise that independence of judgment?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

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Witness Bicknell

Questions by: Sen.Lucas

2 Mr. Clark: That is all.

Senator Lucas: May I ask one question on that point, Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman: Yes, Senator Lucas.

Senator Lucas: You were familiar with the message sent by General Marshall on the 27th?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

Senator Lucas: Were you also familiar with the reply of General Short's?

Mr. Bicknell: Only from what I have read in the newspapers.

Senator Lucas: You were not consulted?

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

Senator Lucas: You never saw the message?

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

Senator Lucas: You know what it is. All he said in reply was, "Alerted to sabotage, and liaison with the Navy." Do you think that was responsive to that original message of the 27th? Maybe I shouldn't ask you that.

Mr. Bicknell: I don't think I can answer that.

Senator Luces: All right.

The Chairman 8 Did you say you were a reserve dfficer?

Mr. Bloknell: Yes, sir.

The Chairman: And I think you remarked that General Short

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Witness Bicknell

Questions by: The Chairman

111 not think much of reserve officers.

Mr. Bicknell: I have that feeling.

The Chairman: Is that a chronic attitude of regular Army officers toward reserve officers?

Mr. Bicknell: No, sir.

The Chairman: It is nott. What is your present occupation?

Mr. Bicknell: I am Regional Manager of the Veterans' Aiministration in Honolulu.

The Chairman: Oh, I see. Under General Bradley?

Mr. Bicknell: Yes, sir.

The Chairman: Well, Colonel, the corrittee thanks you for your appearance here and for the trouble you went to to get here from Honolulu to testify and appreciate very much your cooperation.

Mr. Bicknell: Thank you.

The Chairman: You are now excused.

(Witness exoused.)

Senator Ferguson: Mr. Chairman, I have a memorantum here that Colonel Bratton referred to, he got it from the Army, made by Pettigrew, that he had written for Bratton and that Bratton had turned it over for higher authority, but I would like to have it marked as an exhibit, not part of the record, but as an exhibit.

The Chairman: It will be marked as exhibit 156, I think.

(Insert)

Mr. Murphy: Mr. Chairman, I am just wondering on that exhibit of Pettigrew, if it is the whole exhibit. I thought it was a lot bigger than that.

Mr. Kaufman: Five cages.

Mr. Murphy: I know, but isn't that the beginning of a big exhibit?

Mr. Kaufman: What is that?

Mr. Murphy: I thought there was a lot that followed that.

(The document above referred to was marked Exhibit No. 156)

Mr. Richardson: Mr. Chairman, we have prepared in our office a complete list, - there is in one of the exhibits in some one of the earlier hearings a partial list, - of the current newspaper headlines in the Hawaiian and Honolulu daily newspapers relating to the general international war situation.

We have prepared a complete copy of those headlines which we would like to have extended in the record so that there . will be in the record a complete list.

The Chairman: You want that printed as part of the hear-ings?

Mr. Richardson: Yes.

The Chairman: Thatt will be done.

(The locument above referred to is in words and figures as follows, to-wit:)

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HONOLULU ADVERTISER

HEADLINES

November 7, 1941

KURUSU CARRYING SPECIAL NOTE TO F. D. R. FROM PREMIER
TOJO

Japan Ready to Act Unless Tension Eases

JAPAN WAITS BEFORE MOVE IN FAR EAST

Aggression in Pacific Appears Shelved Until Kurusu's Mission has been Completed in U. S.

INVASION HELD TOO DIFFICULT BY OFFICIALS

Offensive May Start in Middle East Soon; Invasion of Continent Impracticable at Present

November 13, 1941

TOKYO RADIO ASSERTS WAR IS ALREADY ON

Any Military Moves Only Logical Result of Encirclement Policy, Japanese Staff Says

ENVOY UNDISMAYED

CARRIES BROAD POWERS TO LUT

Kurusu Denies Taking Message, Implies Errand of Bigger
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November 14, 1941

JAPANESE CONFIDENT OF NAVAL VICTORY

November 26, 1941

AMERICANS GET WARNING TO LEAVE JAPAN, CHINA

HULL REPLY TO JAPAN READY

November 27 1941

U. S. -- JAPAN TALKS BROKEN OFF AS HULL REJECTS

APPEASEMENT

Full Surrender Demanded in U. S. Statement

Evacuation Speeded as Peace Fades

November 28, 1941

Perris Island, S. C. -

balloon at Paris Island, S. C., looking for all the world like an air monster. The wench controllling it is in the sandbagged structure protected there from bomb splinters. The helium sausage may be used to protect beachheads, bridgeheads and other strong points, thereby differing from the British technique which keeps them flying over London. The Marines encamped on Parris Island, S. C., have a special training school on these balloons.

	i	13,024			
	1	November 29, 1941			
	2	U. S. REJECTS COMPROMISE IN FAR EAST			
	3	Washington Insists on Maintenance of Status Quo,			
	4	Withdrawal from China by Japan Army			
	8				
WARD.	в	U. S. WARPLANES MAY PROTECT BURMA ROAD			
	7	Protective Force of 200 Planes, 500 Pilots Held			
	8	Sufficient to Ward Off Attack by Japanese			
	Q.	November 30, 1941			
	10	KURUSU BLUNTLY WARNED NATION READY FOR BATTLE			
	11	Foreign affairs Expert Attacks Tokyo Madness			
PAC	12				
F. WA	13	LEADERS CALL TROOPS BACK IN SINGAPORE			
SHINGT	14	Hope Wanes as Nations Fail at Parleys; Nightly			
TON. D C	15	Blackouts Held in P. I.: Hawaii Troops			
n	18	Allerted			
	17	December 1, 1941			
	18	JAPANESE PRESS WARNS THAILAND			
	18				
	20	BURMA YROOPS ARE REINFORCED			
	21	British, Indian Units Arrive at Rangoon			
	22				
	23	F. D. R. HURRIES TO PARLEYS ON ORIENT CRISIS			
	24	December 2, 1941			
	25	JAPAN CALLED STILL HOPEFUL OF MAKING PEACE WITH U.S			

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WARD & PAUL, WASHINGTON, D C	1	Thailand Now in Allied Bloc, Press Charges
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	3	JAPAN GIVES TWO WEEKS MORE TO NEGOTIATIONS
	4	Prepares for Action in Event of Failure
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	6	MALAYA FORCES CALLED TO FULL MOBILIZATION
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	8	QUEZON HELD TO BLAME IN P. I. DEFENSE DELAY
	a	December 3, 1941
	10	HUGE PINCERATTACK ON U. S. BY JAPAN, FRANCE PREDICTED
	11	Pepper Visions Nations Acting as Nazi Pawns
	12	
	13	U. S. DEMANDS EXPLANATION OF JAPAN MOVES
	14	Americans Prepare for Any Emergency; Navy De-
	15	clared Ready
	18	December 4. 1941
	17	HAWAII MARTIAL LAW MEASURE KILLED FOR PRESENT SESSION
	18	
	19	JAPANESE PIN BLAME ON U. S.
	20	Army Paper Charges Violation by F. D. R.
	21	December 5, 1941
	23	PROBE OF JAPANESE ACTIVITIES HERE WILL BE MADE BY SENATE
	23	Spy Inquiry Rapidly Gets Tentative O. K. by
	24	State Department
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December 5, 1941

PACIFIC ZERO HOUR NEAR; JAPAN ANSWERS U. S. TODAY

JAPAN CALLS IN NATIONALS

JAPAN HAS SECRET SHANGHAI AGENTS

December 6. 1941

AMERICA EXPECTED TO REJECT JAPAN'S REPLY ON INDO-CHINA Hull May Ask Proof, Suggest Troop's Recall

JAPAN TROOPS CONCENTRATED ON THAI FRONT

Military Observers Say Few Units Have Been Posted

In North

December 7, 1941

F. D. R. WILL SEND MESSAGE TO EMPEROR ON WAR CRISIS
Japanese Deny Massing Troops for Thei War

BRITISH FEAR TIENTSIN ROW, CALL UP GUARDS

May Isolate Concession to 'Prevent' Agitation

over U. S. -- Japan Rumors

HIROHITO HOLDS POWER TO STOP JAPANESE ARMY

HONOLULU STAR BULLETIN HEADLINES November 10, 1941 3 NAVY CONTROL FOR HONOLULU HARBOR December 1, 1941 U. S. ARMY ALLERTED IN MANILA 6 Singapore Mobilizing as War Tension Grows 8 JAPAN ENVOYS RESUME TALKS AMID TENSION December 4, 1941 10 11 JAPAN SPURNS U. S. PROGRAM Press Holds Acceptance Not Possible 12 13 December 5, 1941 14 JAPAN PARRIES OPEN U. S. BREAK Q 15 FURTHER PEACE EFFORTS URGED Tokyo Claims Policy 'Misunderstood' in Wahington 16 17 as One of Force and Conquest December 6, 1941 18 SINGAPORE ON WAR FOOTING 19 Sudden Order Calls Troops to Positions 20 21 State of Readiness is Completed; No Explanation 22 Given 23 NEW PEACE EFFORT URGED IN TOKYO 24 Joint Commission to Iron Out Deadlock with U. S. 25 Proposed.

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Mr. Richardson: Mr. Chairman, I should like to request that exhibit 143, which is the so-called Roberts report, consisting of the transcript from that hearing and the exhibits, and exhibit 144, consisting of the Hart transcript of evidence and the exhibits, and exhibit 145, the Navy Court of Inquiry and exhibits; exhibit 146, which is the Hewitt transcript and exhibits; exhibit 147, which is the Army Pearl Harbor Board transcript and exhibits; exhibit 148, which consists of the volume of Clausen affidavits and attached exhibits. and exhibit 149, which is the so-called Clarke report, be received in evidence as such exhibits, the evidentiary part thereof to be received by the committee with the same force and effect as though the witnesses who were then in these various respective reports sworn and testified, - with the same force and effect as though the witnesses had been heard and their testimony taken in this proceeding.

With reference to that part of my request affecting the Clausen affil avits, there was extensive examination here about ther. While I do not regard them as of the same grade of evidence as I do the sworn testimony by question and answer which was taken on the other groups of so-oalled investigations, my reason for including them in my request is that I think the committee is amply able to give those affilavits the weight that they may consider them entitled to, and in view of the fact that much reference has been made to various of the

affidavits here and considerable testimony taken concerning them, it would be wise to include the Clausen affidavits and exhibits as a part of this testimony and as a part of the record in this proceeding from an evidentiary standpoint.

Now, it has not been our intention to include in these exhibits as thus identified the various conclusions and findings and decisions of whatever nature that may have been reached in, upon or concerning any of these prior investigations. It had been our intention to include those documents in a separate volume which could be available for the examination of the committee in a volume by itself, which raises the question as to whether you would rather have it in that form or have the particular findings and conclusions and whatever decisions there may be appear in the record adjacent to the particular exhibit, which would be the report of the transcript and exhibits themselves.

It struck us that the separate volume idea, containing all of those reports and decisions, would be better as a reference matter particularly than to bring them into exhibits relating to transcripts of testimony and other exhibits which are a formal part of this record as a matter of the factual record.

The Chairman: That matter was suggested some days ago and I thought that we had decided that all these opinions and findings, and so forth, to which you have referred would be printed

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in a separate volume for convenience.

The Vice Chairman: We agreed to that.

The Chairman: I think that we decided to do that.

Mr. Richardson: All right, if that is the understanding.

The Chairman: It will be so ordered without objection, to have them handled in that way rother than to have to run back through a lot of other volumes and plok out the findings and opinions that have been rendered by all these various boards. I thought we had decided to do that.

Senator Ferguson: Mr. Chairman, I noted one thing that Mr. Richardson has asked us. In effect we are stating that we are going to treat the evidence, for instance, given in the Hart and the Hewitt evidence as if it were produced here in open hearing.

I don't think that we were going that far. I think that we as members of the committee should consider it but I think it has a different value than that which is given here and where every member of the committee has had the right of examination with the aid of counsel, and I don't think we should agree as a committee that we are going to give it the same weight as the evidence in open hearings.

The Chairman: The chair did not understand that the counsel suggested that. That it would be considered for whatever weight it has as if the same testimony were given here.