### Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Sen. Brewster

Mr. Mitchell: I think there were one or two messages such as the "dmiral speaks of in exhibit 1.

Mr. Murphy: And there is also a reference in Matsucka's message to Hitler that might lead to such an inference.

Mr. Gesell: I thought the Senator was referring to ones other than in the exhibit.

Senator Ferguson: I am. The letter maybe might refresh you.

Senator Browster: Well, I have a letter from Mr. Mitchell saying that there was no evidence that the Japanese had any knowledge that we were breaking their codes or suspected it, and that the evidence was all to the contrary. Do you recall that letter, Mr. Mitchell?

Mr. Mitchell: Yes. That is based on a report from the Department that we made inquiry of.

Senator Brewster: Yes.

Mr. Mitchell: I did not know it personally. I forwarded to you their report.

Senator Brewster: Yes.

Mr. Mitchell: But I think there are one or two messages in exhibit 1 that makes the same report, that the Japs were at one time fearful of certain ones of their codes being broken.

Senator Brewster: Well, I have one here, and it is

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Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Sen. Brewster

dated the 23rd lay of June, 1941, from Tokyo to Mexico, it appears on page 122 of the intercepts, concerning military installations, ship movements, and so forth and it says:

"Furthermore, since the Panama Legation, in their #62\* from Panama to me, mentioned the question of a trip, get in touch with them regarding date and time of arrival. (American surveillance will unquestionably be vigilant. There are also some suspicions that they read some of our codes. Therefore, we wish to exercise the utmost caution in accomplishing this mission. Also, and telegrams exchanged between you and Panama should be very simple.)"

Now, that, of course, is squarely in conflict with the report which apparently the Navy Department gave you, is it not, indicating that at least the Japanese suspected that we were breaking their code.

Mr. Mitchell: I assume the Navy kept right on cracking them, so we can assume the Japs did not know that. I suppose that is why they made that statement. Obviously that one message contains a suspicion that we might be.

Senator Brewster: Yes.

Mr. Mitchell: But we kept right on breaking them and I assume that if the Japs had known we had broken them they would have fixed them up.

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Senator Brewster: I am asking for information.

Mr. Mitchell: Well, you asked me if they were not in conflict?

Senator Brewster: Yes, and you agreed that it is. Now, the intercepts run from July 1st to December 7th and I asked some time ago for the earlier intercepts, after I was refused permission to examine the files, as I was reliably informed that there were five cablegrams which made very specific reference to this matter of which the Admiral now speaks, that the Germans had apparently discovered something of this kind and communicated it to the Japanese in this interchange of messages between Berlin and Tokyo regarding this and in this matter, - I am simply citing reports which the Admiral confirms now, or at least intimates in his reference to the Germans, I say I am at least surprised that the Navy would give you the information that there was nothing to indicate this if there are four or five messages of this character in their files.

Mr. Mitchell: To be specific, do I understand you would like to have any intercepts back to January 1st, 1941 of this type that indicate the suspicion, is that what you are interested in?

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Senator Brewster: Well, I certainly am, but I also call attention to my letter of November 15, in which I acknowledge the receipt of these intercepts from July 1, to December 8, and added I would greatly appreciate if you would send me another copy of this material, as well as a copy of all such intercepted messages between January 1st and July 1st, 1941.

To that, I, as far as I know, have received no reply. That was a month ago.

I think you will remember, Mr. Mitchell, ten days ago, in executive session, I spoke of this matter as a matter that I thought was of considerable interest, in view of the very great emphasis which had been placed on the complete ignorance of the Japanese of the fact that we were breaking their code.

Mr. Mitchell: I understand what you are especially interested in is the messages that have to do with the question of whether the Japs suspected our cracking the code. It is so much easier to get results if we know what we are after. I am just asking you the question, to get an indication as to what you are really interested in.

Senator Brewster: I think my interest has been made manifest also in a letter to you in which I asked specifically whether there was anything to indicate the Japs had

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either knowledge or suspicion that we were breaking their codes, and your reply, based on the Navy Department's information, was that there was nothing to indicate either, and your reply was that all the evidence was to the contrary.

Mr. Mitchell: That is exactly the report as it was given to us. I never asked them what their evidence was, but I assumed it was a fact because we kept on breaking the code, indicating that the Japs were not aware of it. I will get from the Navy just what the basisof that report is. I do not know.

Senator Brewster: You just heard Admiral Wilkinson testify that he understood there were indications that Berlin had given the Japanese a tip on this. I think it is unfortunate that the Navy should have given you a report of this character, if what Admiral Wilkinson says now is correct.

Mr. Murphy: That is two or three times that the statement is in the record.

Senator Brewster: I can quite understand the concern of the gentleman over aything which seems in any way to be in conflict here, but I think it is a rather important point, on which great emphasis has been laid, and I would like to know whether or not these messages exist. It is

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back to July 1st when these messages apparently occurred, in May and June. I have been trying for more than a month to get them. I spoke to counsel about this in the executive session ten days ago, and now I am advised that they would like to know just what it is I am after.

Mr. Murphy: You are using that microphone rather loudly. This is three times that that statement is in the record now.

The Vice Chairman: I think counsel understand, Senator.

I am sure they will continue to cooperate in every way
possible.

Are there any other questions of Admiral Wilkinson?

Senator Brewster: Yes, Mr. Chairman, I have further questions of Admiral Wilkinson.

Senator Ferguson: Mr. Chairman, I have a memo that I would like to refer to the counsel, and might refresh their memory. It is dated the 17th of November, and signed by Mr. Mitchell. It was received by me November 17 at 3 p. m.

(The document referred to was handed to Mr. Mitchell.)

Mr. Mitchell: That is the same thing, I think, to

which Senator Brewster just referred.

Senator Brewster: You gave me the same answer?

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Mr. Mitchell: Yes.

Senator Ferguson: Has this been put in the record? Mr. Mitchell: No.

Senator Ferguson: I will put this in the record. It is dated November 17, 1945.

"Memorandum to Senator Ferguson:

"With reference to your letter of November 16th, requesting 'all information that any of the Services or the Government had that Japan knew that we had broken their code, there is no information or indication that Japan Gver knew it. All information would indicate the contrary."

Now, Mr. Chairman, that indicates that Mr. Mitchell signed it, and the initials in the lower lefthand corner are "WDM/CBN."

That would indicate, Mr. Chairman, it was answered the day following the request for that information. I requested it on the 16th, and the letter came on the 17th.

Mr. Mitchell: I have been sitting here wondering just what the special significance and the importance in this inquiry is the question of whether prior to June, 1941, or at any time, the Japs suspected that we were cracking their code. I confess it would help me a bit to work this thing out, if I knew just what bearing it has on the case.

I am probably dumb about it, but I do not quite grasp it.

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I have an idea that maybe that attitude may have had something to do with the fact that maybe I did not follow up your request as diligently as I otherwise would.

Senator Brewster: I should be very happy to give
you what is in my apparently simple mentality. The
first thing which has interested me a great deal on this
particular episode, Mr. Mitchell, is if what Admiral
Wilkinson now says is correct, then the Navy has not been
giving you complete or accurate information when they
tell you there was nothing to indicate that the Japs knew
or suspected that we were breaking their codes.

That has been, as you know, a matter in which I had some concern about your previous willingness to submit the data.

As I said to you and others, that was the first point of my interest in this episode.

Mr. Mitchell: You made that request before the Admiral made that statement. I am trying to get back to your point of view as to the materiality of that in this hearing.

Senator Brewster: I am coming to that.

Mr. Mitchell: All right.

. Senator Brewster: The second point, I had thought that one of the very outstanding matters that had been

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emphasized here, and in fact you yourself examined General Marshall at great length regarding this very matter in connection with the Dewey episode, that a great state secret existing here was magic, and that the Japs had no knowledge or suspicion that we were breaking their codes, and apparently very great importance has been attached to that throughout this he aring.

If there is anything to indicate that is not so, we must all, to some extent, revise our estimate of the situation in the light of that possibility or probability. At least that is my observation in all this evidence. I cannot otherwise reconcile the whole Dewey episode.

Now, if, back in May or June, 1941, there were messages indicating that the Japs suspected that this was happening, if it was of great importance, I cannot understand why this has not been developed. I cannot understand why the Navy will tell you there was nothing to indicate it. If it is not of any importance, why do not they just simply give us the facts and the messages, and if it is of importance, and there is any suggestion of concealment, that is something we must take into account.

Mr. Murphy: Mr. Chairman, I might say, the gentleman from Maine has bean absent for some days. Yesterday we spent 20 minutes on tirades in connection with the Republican

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National Committee, and now we have spent 20 minutes in trying counsel, talking about the Dewey episode. I suggest that we talk about Pearl Harbor; I suggest that we proceed to inquire as to what happened at Pearl Harbor.

The Vice Chairman: I am sure the counsel understand the gentleman's request now, and I hope we can move along.

Senator Brewster: I certainly will be most pleased to.

I am not at all surprised that the gentleman from Pennsylvania is considerably concerned over the necessity of my replying to the question of counsel. I have been rather patient myself, and perhaps it is just as well, and this will clarify it.

The Vice Chairman: I think it does, Senator. I have heard every witness who has testified, and my clear impression is that the remark just made by Admiral Wilkinson is the first intimation that has come out in the course of this hearing that the Japanese had ever suspected that their code might have been broken. I know other witnesses have been asked the question whether there was anything to indicate that Japan had ever suspected that the code had been broken, and their testimony was that there was nothing to indicate it, until just at this moment when Admiral Wilkinson had made the remark in response to the question, and I think that is the first intimation that has come to the committee

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that anybody thought Japan might have had any knowledge that the code had been broken.

Senator Brewster: Mr. Chairman, I thank you very much for that observation, and I hope you agree with me that this does have a distinct relevance in establishing it.

The Vice Chairman: Of course, if the Senator wants information, I am sure counsel will cooperate in every possible way to secure it, and to give it to the Senator when it is secured.

Senator Ferguson: Mr. Chairman, might I just say I do not think we have wasted time this morning on this question as to whether or not counsel is able to obtain for us immediately upon our request information material to the matter that we have before us. I think as to whether or not the services are obtaining the information for us is very vital to this hearing. Now if we have a request in on the 16th day of November for certain material and that is material that is in the files, and then the fact that we get a reply immediately on the 17th of November, and we wait until the 18th day of December and do not jave that information, that question is very vital to the thing that we are trying. Are we getting the cooperation of the services or are we merely here taking what the services desire to give us?

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That is the question.

I raised it on the floor and I raise it again here.

That is very vital to this case. Are we getting what they want to give us, when they want to give it to us, or are they going to give it to us because it is material to this issue as we request it?

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#### Witness Wilkinson

Mr. Keefe: Mr. Chairman, may I interpose for a moment? The Vice Chairman: Does the Senator yield? Senator Brewster: Yes, I will yield.

The Vice Chairman: Senator Brewster yields.

Mr. Keefe: About the request for information and the speed with which it has returned, I have asked time and again for information and some of those requests were propounded in the first two or three days of this hearing.

In one instance it was promised to me in two days in respect to one request, and to date I have only received one or two responses of any kind to any request I have made.

You will recall that on the second or third day of these hearings I asked Admiral Inglis in respect to the condition of the Fleet, in respect to her fighting ability, on the 7th day of December when it was in the harbor. He told me that the CALIFORNIA was practically hors de combat because of an inspection and because of boxed ammunition. The noon hour intervened, and when he came back he said they were investigating it and he would report to me immediately, and to date I have received no report on the ships, except what has come to me from letters from men on the ships, and who know, who were in a position to know whether their fighting condition was reduced because of open voids and the boxing of ammunition, and the type of inspection that was carried

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### Witness Wilkinson

on. That is one thing.

While we were quizzing the Admiral, Admiral Inglis in this room, I made a request on Friday and the material was promised me for Monday, and that request has not been complied with.

I can go on and read the list from my notes -- I haven't got my notes here -- but I have made at least 25 requests and I am sure only two or three of which have been complied with. I wanted the information for the purpose of interrogation of witnesses at the proper time.

I have been told that they have liaison committees in the State Department, in the War Department and Navy Department who are standing by all the time to get the information just as rapidly as it is humanly possible to get it. Now one month goes by and although you have made an important request there is no intimation from counsel at all as to whether or not that request had been looked into.

We cannot help but wonder as to what is the cause of this great delay. That has caused me great exasperation and I can only say we have been receiving spoon-fed evidence.

If we have the information certainly we will be in a better position to conduct an intelligent cross-examination.

That is all I want to say at this time.

Mr. Mitchell: May I be permitted to say something?

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### Witness Wilkinson

The Vice Chairman: Mr. Mitchell.

Mr. Mitchell: In regard to your request for the condition of the ships on Pearl Harbor Day, when they were inspected and open and all that sort of thing, I think we have already brought in some data on that. I think it was during your absence within the last few days.

The Vice Chairman: Last Saturday.

Mr. Gearhart: I was sick in bed one day. The report came to the committee when I was absent one day. I wonder why that was done.

The Vice Chairman: That was done on Saturday when, unfortunately, the gentleman from California was unavoidably absent, and we regret that. The counsel made a report to the committee, which sat for about an hour longer than we had expected, for counsel to make a report to the committee on various requests that had been made during the hearing by the different members of the committee.

During the course of that report to the committee I recall that quite a number of the things requested by the gentleman from California were presented and included in the record. If the gentleman will examine the record of last Saturday, the day on which he was unable to be here, I think ne will find at least responses to many of his requests, and the counsel made the statement that the information that

### Witness Wilkinson

was not being submitted at that time and that had been requested would be submitted as quickly as it could be secured.

The counsel gave us a rather exhaustive report along that line last Saturday. I am sure that many of the requests made by the gentleman from California were complied with in the course of that report.

Mr. Gearhart: May I inquire as to whether or not the chart I requested showing the numerical readiness of the Fleet in the Pacific, that I asked of Admiral Inglis, was mentioned?

Mr. Mitchell: There are so many of these that I cannot pick from memory the generality. We have been engaged in the last week checking up from the transcript to be sure that everything that was asked for orally here in the past will be submitted.

Mr. Gearhart: I requested a chart showing the number of ships that were in the Pacific on May 1st and the transfers from that Fleet to the Atlantic, and the augmentations from ship construction, and then I also asked for that information for the Atlantic Ocean as well, in chart form, and Admiral Inglis said he would have it two days later.

I have been told -- information has come to me from reliable sources -- that that report has already been submitted to counsel. Can counsel verify it?

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Mr. Mitchell: I have no recollection of seeing it. I will find out during the noon hour if it is in our files.

The Vice Chairman: I do recall, Mr. Gearhart, you made the request about the BOISE. That was included in the record last Saturday, and I am sure counsel will have the gentleman's request checked and every effort will be made to comply with .his request.

Senator Brewster: May I just ask that Admiral Wilkinson will check on those cablegrams, the intercepts during the noon hour so we can get this thing clarified?

Admiral Wilkinson: My only recollection was a dispatch from Berlin, I think, to Tokyo, indicating that the Germans thought we might be reading the Japanese codes and warning them about it.

Senator Brewster: I understood there were five messages on this subject between Tokyo and Washington. I would like to have a complete file.

The Vice Chairman: Admiral, you understand the Senator's request?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes.

The Vice Chairman: You will make every effort to comply with it?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to have the record Mr. Murphy:

Witness Wilkinson

note that not one question was asked the witness in the last half-hour.

The Vice Chairman: The committee will stand in recess until 2:00 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12 o'clock noon, the committee recessed until 2:00 o'clock p.m. of the same day.)

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# TESTIMONY OF REAR ADMITAL THEODORE STARK WILKINSON (resumed)

The committee will be in order. The Vice Chairman: Senator Brewster will resume his inquiry.

Senator Brewster: Admiral, were you able to secure those wires during the recess? I think they were radiograms.

Admiral Wilkinson: I have not been able to locate it to date. The liaison officer for the Navy Department has made the specific inquiry for that dispatch. I have talked to my predecessor, Admiral Kirk, who says he recalls it as a message from the Japanese Ambassador in Berlin to the home office in Tokyo that the German Foreign Minister Von Ribbentrop had advised him that there were indications that the Americans were breaking Japanese codes.

I may state, of course, that there were a number of codes, some of which are relatively simple and can be readily broken, others are more complex, and the very reading of one code would not be any assurance that others or the entire bulk of them were bein; broken. The only indication would be with respect to such a message that we were at least attacking their codes.

I do know that in the late fall, - in the early fall and the late fall we had some worries about the Japanese finding

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Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Sen. Brewster

that out and the Japanese suspicions, although we did not believe from the tenor of their dispatches that they were convinced at all that we were breaking them and those worries
occasioned our tightening up of security concerning intercepts and occasioned our being particularly careful about
broadening in any degree the text or even knowledge obtained
from the text of such messages.

Senator Brewster: When you say there are different codes, how frequently are they changed ordinarily?

Admiral Wilkinson: Again it is a matter for a communicator to give expert knowledge, but there is in general, I understand, two types of concealed message. One is a code and the other is a cipher applicable to that code. The code is contained in a book and to change it you have to issue another book. The cipher may be changed from day to day and often is.

You must first break the cipher on any message before you can tell what the concealed message is and then you must have the code to know what the words which have now been derived, or the groups which have now been derived mean under that code.

Answering your question directly then, the ciphers were very frequently changed, sometimes from day to day, and the codes would not be changed so often, perhaps once a month or even a year or more.

Senator Brewster: How many are they likely to have in use at any one time? How many would they be likely to have in use at any one time of codes as distinct from the ciphers?

Admiral Wilkinson: Oh, perhaps ten or twelve: A diplomatic code, a naval attache's code, a military, a consular, some very secret codes for each of those and some day to day codes.

Senator Brewster: And the interpretation of any one was dependent either upon breaking it as you did or upon having the code book to enable you to easily translate it?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, And the knowledge that we were attacking a code would not be particularly significant as it is more or less of an international practice. The knowledge that we had succeeded in breaking some of the simpler codes would not be particularly significant. If they knew definitely we had broken their most secret codes it would be a matter of great concern.

Senator Brewster: It is not considered that there is anything particularly reprehensible in this practice, is it? Isn't it a rather well recognized practice in the international code of morality that that is done by all governments in the interest of their national security?

Admiral Wilkinson: I think so. I do not think that governments are particularly desirous to admit it but I think it has been done in the past, sir.

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Senator Brewster: Yes.

Admiral Wilkinson: Whether it is being continued today in all countries I do not know,

Sanator Brewster: Wasn't there a rather conspicuous case in our own history during and after the last war about certain translations that were made in time of peace?

Admiral Wilkinson: My recollection is not authentic at all but I know that in the last war we did have a so-called Black Chamber.

Senator Brewster: Yes.

Admiral Wilkinson: And that some time after the last war I believe the then Secretary of State decided that he would abolish it completely and all such activities on our part were then discontinued for a time.

The Vice Chairman: If you will permit me, Senator, you and the Senator were both referring to the last war. You are talking about World War I?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, World War I. This one is too recent to be known as the last war.

The Vice Chairman: Well, both of them are last wars now.

Senator Brewster: Was that discontinued at that time when Henry L. Stimson was Secretary of State?

Admiral Wilkinson: I do not know.

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Senator Brewster: I think it was.

Now, have counsel been able to secure any further information about these messages? Have they made any inquiries from the Navy Department about 1t?

Mr. Mitchell: They are hard at work and so is the Army. Admiral Wilkinson: Mr. Chairman, may I suggest a change in the stenographic record of yesterday at this point?

The Vice Chairman: Yes, go ahead. That won't disturb you, will it, Senator?

Senator Brewster: No.

The Vice Chairman: Go ahead, Admiral.

Admiral Wilkinson: On page 4575, referring to the responsibility of the Office of Naval Intelligence regarding probable intentions of the enemy, in the middle of the page the record shows that my answer to a question was:

"I did not so understand, and I have the information, as I said, from my predecessor, my discussion with Admiral Ingersoll, the Assistant Chief of Operations, and just this morning from Admiral Kirk, also my predecessor."

That last phrase should read, " and just this morning I have received a dispatch from Admiral James who was a predecessor in turn of my predecessor, Admiral Kirk, to that effect."

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The Vice Chairman: Does that complete your correction?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes.

The Vice Chairman: Senator Brewster.

In connection with the discussion of Senator Brewster: the answering of the questions, I believe, of Judge Clark, about the threat of the American Navy on the flank of the Japanese operations, in replying to that you pointed out on page 4712 of your testimony:

"Our navy was much smaller then than it was ultimately and in fact at that time it was smaller than the Japanese fleet in the Pacific."

How long had that condition prevailed so far as you know and on what were the comparisons made?

Admiral Wilkinson: Sir, our navy was smaller than the Japanese fleet in the Pacific. I meant, of course, our force in the Pacific itself.

Senator Brewster: Yes, I understand that.

Admiral Wilkinson: I think that had in general prevailed throughout the year of 1941 and the disparity had been somewhat increased by the necessity of sending ships to the Atlantic, one of which, in fact, was my ship, the battleship Mississippi, in May of 1941.

Senator Brewster: You brought that from Pearl Harbor to New York or thereabouts?

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### Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Sen. Brewster

Admiral Wilkinson: From Pearl Harbor to the Atlantic, and then I was operating on the Atlantic patrol until I came ashore to the Office of Naval Intelligence.

Senator Brewster: Were there other battleships moved at that time?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes.

Senator Brewster: What were they?

Admiral Wilkinson: The Idaho and New Mexico, as I remember it, one carrier and three or four cruisers and some eight destroyers.

Senator Brewster: And what was the relative rank of the two navies before that transfer, approximately?

Admiral Wilkinson: Of the navies as a whole or of the forces in the Pacific?

Senator Brewster: No, the Pacific fleet and the Japanese fleet.

Admiral Wilkinson: I would prefer to refer to Admiral Inglis' testimony on that subject. My impression is that there was a slight disparity against the United States force.

Senator Brewster: Even before that time?

Admiral Wilkinson: Even before that time.

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Questions by: Senator Brewster

Mr. Gesell: May I interpose, Senator?

Senator Brewster: Yes.

Mr. Gesell: Congressman Gearhart raised before the recess the question of whether we had received a response to his request for a statement showing the relative strength of naval combatant units of various kinds in the Atlantic and Pacific on May 1, 1941 and December 7, 1941, including a comparison between the strength of our Navy and I believe the Navies of Allied and potential enemy powers.

We have gotten that material. I handed a copy to Congressman Gearhart, and we have one copy for every member of the committee.

I interpose with it now because it relates directly to your question.

Senator Brewster: Would you want to put that in the record now so it may be available?

Mr. Gearhart: I would like to have it included in the record, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Brewster: Will you offer it as an exhibit then?

Mr. Gesell: We will then offer this material as Exhibit

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so it will be available to every member of the committee.

The Vice Chairman: Yes. So ordered.

Senator Brewster: That will appear in the transcript

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tomorrow morning.

Mr. Gesell: Yes.

(The document referred to was marked Exhibit 86.)

(Exhibit 86 is as follows:)

NAVAL COMBATANT STRENGTH, ATLANTIC OCEAN, May 1, 1941.

|   | GERM                     | ANY                   | ITA                       |                                 | VIC | NCE                      | OTHER AUG-<br>MENTATIONS | TOTALS                       |
|---|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|-----|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| Battleships Aircraft Carriers Heavy Cruisers Light Cruisers Destroyers Submarines | 6<br>-<br>4<br>15<br>150 | (a)<br>(est)<br>(est) | 6<br>-4<br>11<br>84<br>77 | (b)<br>(c)<br>(d)<br>(e)<br>(f) |     | (g)<br>(h)<br>(1)<br>(j) | - (k) 9 (1) 9 (m)        | 17<br>12<br>26<br>160<br>294 |

(a) Includes 2 overage battleships, SCHLESIEN and SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.

(b) Includes damaged DUILIO and CAVOUR, heavily damaged, resting on bottom.

(c) Includes damaged BOLZANO.

(d) Includes 5 ineffective light cruisers.

(e) Includes 2 ineffective destroyers.

(f) Includes 8 ineffective submarines

(g) Includes 4 damaged or incomplete battleships

(h) Interned in Martinique.

(1) Includes 2 interned in Martinique.

(j) Includes 4 damaged or incomplete destroyers.

(k) Includes Yugoslavian DALMACIA and Dutch GELDERLAND.

(1) Includes 3 Yugoslavian, 1 Greek, and 5 Norwegian destroyers.

(m) Includes 3 Yugoslavian, 6 Dutch submarines.

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# ALLIED

|  | UNITED        | GREAT           |                         | FREE |                   | OTHER AUG-<br>MENTATIONS |                   | TOTALS           |  |
|--|---------------|-----------------|-------------------------|------|-------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|------------------|--|
| Battleships<br>Aircraft Carriers<br>Heavy Cruisers | 6 3 5         | 16              | (a)(b)<br>(c)(d)<br>(e) | 3    | (g)               | -                        | (k)               | 25<br>10<br>22   |  |
| Light Cruisers<br>Destroyers<br>Submarines         | 8<br>85<br>53 | 30<br>191<br>65 | (f)<br>(f)<br>(f)       | 12 8 | (h)<br>(i)<br>(j) | 11<br>15                 | (1)<br>(m)<br>(n) | 41<br>299<br>141 |  |

(a) Includes 3 battle cruisers.

(b) Includes 6 battleships damaged and under repair.

(c) Includes 1 escort carrier.

(d) Includes 1 large carrier damaged and under repair.

(e) Includes 5 heavy cruisers damaged and under repair.

(f) Estimated, no accurate figures available at this time.

(g) Includes 2 base ships and 1 interned at Alexandria.

(h) Interned at Alexandria.

(i) Includes 4 incomplete and 3 interned at Alexandria.

(j) Includes 1 incomplete and 1 interned at Alexandria.

(k) Includes Greek GEORGIOS AVEROV.

(1) Includes Dutch HEEMSKERCK and SUMATRA.

(m) Includes 6 Greek, 1 Dutch, 2 Norwegian, and 2 Polish destroyers.

(n) Includes 5 Greek, 7 Dutch, 1 Norwegian, 1 Polish and 1 Yugoslavian submarine.

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# NAVAL COMBATANT STRENGTH, PACIFIC OCEAN, as of May 1, 1941.

# AXIS

| JAPAN | VICHY FRANCE               | TOTALS                               |
|-------|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 10    |                            | 10                                   |
| 7     |                            | 7                                    |
| 18    |                            | 18                                   |
| 17    | 1                          | 18                                   |
| 100   | -                          | 100                                  |
| 68    | 2                          | 70                                   |
|       | 10<br>7<br>18<br>17<br>100 | 10 -<br>7 -<br>18 -<br>17 1<br>100 - |

# ALLIES

|                   |    | D STATES , | GREAT | DUTCH | TOTALS |
|-------------------|----|------------|-------|-------|--------|
| Battleships       | 9  | _          | 1     |       | 10     |
| Aircraft Carriers | 3  | -          | 1     | -     | 4      |
| Heavy Cruisers    | 12 | 1          | 4(a)  | _     | 17     |
| Light Cruisers    | 9  | 2          | 13(b) | 3     | 27     |
| Destroyers        | 67 | 13         | 6(b)  | 7     | 93     |
| Submarines        | 27 | 28         | -(c)  | 15    | 70     |

(a) Includes 1 unit damaged and under repair.(b) Estimated, no accurate figures available(c) Number unknown. Not enough data for estimate.

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CONFIDENTIAL

NAVAL COMBATANT STRENGTH, ATLANTIC OCEAN, December 7, 1941

# AXIS

|                          | GE                    |       | VICHY       | OTHER<br>AUGMEN- |            |  |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|-------|-------------|------------------|------------|--|
|                          | GERMANY               |       |             | TATIONS          | TOTALS     |  |
| Battleships              | 5(a)                  | 6(b)  | 5(g)        |                  | 16         |  |
| Aircraft Carriers        |                       | -     | 1(h)        | -                | 1          |  |
| Heavy Cruisers           | 4                     | 4(c)  | 4           | -                | 12         |  |
| Light Cruisers           | 4                     | 12(d) | 9(1)        | 2(k)             | 27         |  |
| Destroyers<br>Submarines | 20(est.)<br>155(est.) | 77(e) | 53(j)<br>60 | 9(1)<br>9(m)     | 159<br>291 |  |

- (a) Includes 2 overage battleships SCHLESEIN and SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.
- (b) Includes CAVOUR heavily damaged but afloat.
- (c) Includes damaged BOLZANO and GORIZIA.
- (d) Includes damaged D'AOSTA, BANDE NERE, and MONTECUCCOLI.
- (e) Includes 34 damaged destroyers.
- (f) Includes 26 damaged submarines.
- (g) Includes 3 damaged or incomplete battleships.
- (h) Interned at Martinique.
- (1) Includes 2 interned at Martinique.
- (j) Includes 7 damaged or incomplete.
- (k) Includes Yugoslavian DALMACIA and Dutch GELDERLAND.
- (1) Includes 1 Greek, 5 Norweigian, and 3 Yugoslavian destroyers.
- (m) Includes 6 Dutch, and 3 Yugoslavian submarines.

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|                   | -       | ALLIED        |       | OTHER              |        |
|-------------------|---------|---------------|-------|--------------------|--------|
|                   | UNITED  | GREAT BRITAIN | FREE  | AUGMEN-<br>TATIONS | TOTALS |
| Battleships       | 6(a)    | 12(e)(f)      | 3(k)  | -                  | 21     |
| Aircraft Carriers | 4(b)(c) | 8(g)(h)       | -     | - 1                | 12     |
| Heavy Cruisers    | 5       | 12(1)         | 3(1)  | 1(0)               | 21     |
| Light Cruisers    | 8(d)    | 28(j)         | 1(1)  | 2(p)               | 39     |
| Destroyers        | 92      | 225(j)        | 11(m) | 11(q)              | 339    |
| Submarines        | 58      | 80(j)         | 8(n)  | 15(r)              | 161    |

- (a) Does not include HORTH CAROLINA and WASHINGTON both on trials.
- (b) Does not include HORNET on trials.
- (c) Includes LONG ISLAND (Escort Carrier).
- (d) JUNEAU, ATLANTA, SAN DIEGO and SAN JUAN carried on Atlantic Fleet lists but were not completed or commissioned and are not included.
- (e) Includes 1 battle cruiser.
- (f) Includes one damaged battleship under repair.
- (g) Includes 2 Escort Carriers.
- (h) Includes 2 damaged aircraft carriers under repair.
- (i) Includes 5 damaged heavy cruisers under repair.
- (j) Estimated. No accurate figures available.
- (k) Includes 2 base ships and 1 interned at Alexandria.
- (1) Interned at Alexandria.
- (m) Includes 4 incomplete, 2 interned and 1 repairing.
- (n) Includes 1 incomplete and 1 interned at Alexandria.
- (o) Includes Greek GEORGIOS AVEROV.
- (p) Includes Dutch HEEMSKERCK and SUMATRA.
- (q) Includes 6 Greek, 1 Dutch, 2 Norwegian, and 2 Polish destroyers.
- (r) Includes 5 Greek, 7 Dutch, 1 Norwegian, 1 Polish, and 1 Yugoslavian submarine.

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NAVAL COMBATANT STRENGTH, PACIFIC OCEAN, as of December 7, 1941.

# AXIS

|                   | JA PA N | VICHY FRANCE | TOTALS |
|-------------------|---------|--------------|--------|
| Battleships       | 10      |              | 10     |
| Aircraft Carriers | 9       |              | 9      |
| Heavy Cruisers    | 18      |              | 18     |
| Light Cruisers    | 17      | 1            | 18     |
| Destroyers        | 103     | _            | 103    |
| Submarines        | 74      | 1            | 75     |

## ALLIES

|                              | UNITED<br>Pacific-A |    | GREAT<br>BRITAIN | FREE | DUTCH | TOTALS |
|------------------------------|---------------------|----|------------------|------|-------|--------|
| Battleships                  | 9                   | -  | 4(e)(f)          | -    | -     | 13     |
| Carriers<br>Heavy Cruisers   | 3                   | 1  | 1(g)             | -    | -     | 17     |
| Light Cruisers<br>Destroyers | 10(a)<br>54(b)(c)   | 13 | 17(h)<br>13(h)   | 1    | 3     | 31     |
| Submerines                   | 25(d)               | 28 | -(i)             | -    | 15    | 68     |

- (a) Includes BOISE which at that time was escorting in Asiatic waters.
- (b) Includes 4 destroyers assigned 14th Naval District.
- (c) Does not include destroyers assigned other West Coast Naval Districts.
- (d) Status of two submarines not clear.
- (e) Includes 1 battle cruiser.
- (f) Includes 1 damaged battleship under repair
- (g) This aircraft carrier damaged and under repair
- (h) Estimated, no accurate figures available.
- (1) Number unknown. Not enough data for estimate.

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# Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Senator Brewster

Senator Brewster: I notice the date is May 1, 1941. Was that before or after you were detached?

Admiral Wilkinson: Immediately before. I left about two weeks later.

Senator Brewster: About the middle of May?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes.

Senator Brewster: So that as of May 1st it would show the three battleships and the other units you mentioned in the Pacific Fleet?

Admiral Wilkinson: It should so show.

Senator Brewster: There has been a good deal of discussion about the information which was available to Admiral Fimmel. I think it has appeared rather clearly that under the limitations under which you were operating there was a ubstantial amount of material bearing on the diplomatic communications which you did not communicate to Admiral Kimmel.

Is that the way I understood your testimony?

Admiral Wilkinson: There was a substantial amount of diplomatic interchange of messages that was not sent verbatim, or even in gist of thomselves outside of Washington either to Admiral Hart, Admiral Kimmel, or to the Atlantic Fleet, for instance. The summary of those with respect to the status of the diplomatic negotiations was, however, contained in the fortnightly situation wherein it was stated what the general

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### Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Senator Brewster

progress of the negotiations was.

Senator Brewster: I think in Mr. Gesell's question yesterday, which was gone into rather clearly, whether it was not proper to convey that information, and there was a substantial amount of information bearing on the situation which was not communicated to Admiral Kimmel. I think perhaps you emswered that "yes", and you agreed it was a substantial amount but you kind of qualified it somewhat.

Admiral Wilkinson: There was certainly a substantial amount that was not forwarded in detail.

Senator Brewster: Yes.

Admiral Wilkinson: With respect to the summary, for instance, of the fortnightly summary of November 15, on the first page we find the diplomatic situation, paragraph 1:

"(1) Japan.

"The approaching crisis in United States-Japanese relations overshadowed all developments in the Far East during the period.

"Saburo Kurusu, former Japanese Ambassador to Berlin, is flying to Washington with compromise Japanese proposals. No one apparently expects his mission to succeed, the Envoy himself reportedly expressing extreme pessimism. American spokesmen, including Secretary Knox, have indicated that the United States will not budge from her position. Prime

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Minister Churchill warned that if war breaks out between Japan and America, Britain will declare war on Japan Within the hour!. The United States is preparing to withdraw the Marine detachments from China. The Japanese press continued to rail at Britain and the United States."

Now on December 1st, a similar first paragraph:

"Unless the Japanese request continuance of the conversations, the Japanese-American negotiations have virtually broken down. The Japanese Government and press are proclaiming loudly that the nation must carry on resolutely the work building the Greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere. The press also is criticising Thailand severely. Strong indications point to an early Japanese advance against Thailand.

"Relations between Japan and Russia remained strained. Japan signed a 5-year extension of the anti-comintern pact with Germany and other Axis nations on November 25."

Those were the diplomatic advices that were furnished to Admiral Kimmel, which are a brief summary of the status of negotiations.

Senator Brewster: You would recognize, would you not, Admiral, that there are very substantial gaps in those summaries, necessarily perhaps, as compared to the information available here in Washington?

Certainly. I mean the fact of the Admiral Wilkinson:

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Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Senator Brewster

dispatch of the 10-point note from us and the receipt of the Japanese reply was not in it.

Senator Ferguson: There was the conspicuous incident of the charting of the waters of Pearl Harbor, which was the dispatch of September 24, translated on October 9, and which I believe they indicated was not communicated to Admiral Kimmel at Pearl Harbor.

Is that your recollection?

Admiral Wilkinson: That is my recollection.

Senator Brewster: With those things in mind, Admiral, I am somewhat puzzled by this statement in your report of December 19, 1941, - which was, of course, very near to the event, - and I quote from that report -- I do not know whether this has been put in evidence as an exhibit or not. It is a memorandum for the Chief of Naval Operations from Admiral Wilkinson on December 19, 1941.

Do you know whether that is in evidence?

Mr. Gesell: It is not, Senator. I think, if that is the memorandum given to us, it summarizes a report or reports on his testimony before the Roberts Board.

Senator Brewster: That is right.

Mr. Gesell: That is not in evidence.

Mr. Brevster: The subject is the proceedings of the President's Investigating Committee, December 19, 1941. .

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Questions by: Senator Brewster

This was a report from Admiral Wilkinson, reporting his sestimony before the so-called Roberts Commission, to whom he stated on page 3, "The Commander in Chief Pacific had as much information as we had, but I myself could not expect that he and his staff would infer positively a raid on Hawaii any more than we had been able to do from the same information."

That would not be a correct statement of the situation, would it, Admiral?

Admiral Wilkinson: I think if you will read the preceding two sentences, sir, it will make it clearer.

Int that the Japanese were contemplating an early attack, primarily directed at Thailand, Burma and the Malay Peninsula, and subsequent developments had proved this to be true. We had not been able to obtain intelligence or to develop by inference any indication of a raid on Hawaii. The Commander in Chief Pacific had as much information as we had, but I myself could not expect that he and his staff would infer positively a raid on Hawaii any more than we had been able to do from the same information."

Perhaps that is not correct in that the earlier dispatches bed not been relayed to him specifically.

Senator Brewster: Would not it be a matter of concern, and a matter of considerable interest or significance to the

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## Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Senator Brewster

entire Fleet at Pearl Harbor to know that the enemy were mapping the location of the Fleet day by day, by five sectors in Pearl Harbor? Would not it mean more to the Commander in Pearl Harbor than to anyone here in Washington who was less immediately concerned?

Admiral Wilkinson: Certainly it would be of more immediate application to him.

Senator Brewster: Yes.

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Admiral Wilkinson: He was well aware that the Fleet was under constant observation from the surrounding hills.

Senator Brewster: Yes.

Admiral Wilkinson: And that the reports were being made as to them. Whether the geographical designation of the areas by sectors would mean more to him or not I cannot say. Probably it would, yes.

Senator Brewster: If you had been in command of that Fleet you would probably lie awake at night trying to figure out just what the significance of that was, would you not?

Admiral Wilkinson: Might well have.

Senator Brewster: Now here in Washington you had reports from all over, you had the whole world view, you had Manila, you had all the other departments coming in here, and while you were naturally concerned, you were not immediately responsible for the safety of that Fleet, so it might well take

Questions by: Senator Brewster

up less of your thought and attention and consideration,
I can well understand, than it would in the hands of Admiral
Kimmel. That is probably a fair statement, is it not?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, sir.

Senator Brewster: So that in the light of what we now know it certainly proved unfortunate that it did not prove practical to send in some more information regarding the developments that were going on?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, sir. That again was a question of the security of the code, of which we were becoming increasingly concerned.

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acter the lessons which we have learned from this will undoubtedly have a substantial bearing on the conduct of our Armed Services, our Intelligence, and our entire arrangements, I assume.

Admiral Wilkinson: I hope so, sir. I hope we profit by all the lessons of the war.

Senator Brewster: I think that is the only justification of this investigation, as a matter of fact.

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, sir.

Senator Brewster: One other thing which I did not follow quite through is the matter of the Fleet.

Speaking to you now as a Naval officer of long experience, when you spoke of the Fleet at Pearl Harbor, the American Fleet as being inferior to the Japanese, you meant in the relative strength of battleships, destroyers, carriers, the entire component of the fleet?

Admiral Wilkinson: Including the Naval Air Force, yes, sir. That is discounting any superiority of training and material, in which we hoped we were a little better off.

Senator Brewster: Yes. Is it not also true that the power of the fleet increased proportionately to its moving from its base?

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Admiral Wilkinson: Yes.

Senator Brewster: As I remember Admiral Leahy, his testimony before us in 1938, when we were considering expanding the Navy, he estimated we would need a superiority of approximately two to one in order to move into the Western Pacific, and take up the Japanes on equal terms.

That involved communication lines and everything else.

Admiral Wilkinson: I think that is more than a fair statement, and when we did finally move into the Western Pacific in this war, we were more than two to one.

Senator Brewster: So when you speak of the Fleet as being inferior, our Fleet being inferior, you compared the values side by side, rather than the fact that there was four or five thousand miles of water that we had to cover.

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, sir, a direct comparison.

Senator Brewster: It is probably useless to contemplate, except as it assists us in this lesson, but the price at Pearl Harbor was not only the price we paid at Pearl Harbor that day but all the way on from Guadalcanal to Leyte, and even Okinawa, was it not, in the matter of the depletion of our naval strength?

Perhaps I should confine it now to Guadalcanal, where we went to fight on a shoestring, to stop the Japs because we had to stop them right then.

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Admiral Wilkinson: I was thinking, Senator, that of course we could not say what the course of the war might have been. We might have gone out of Pearl Harbor with what we had in an attempt to relieve the Philippines, which might well have been disastrous in view of the Japanese islands and air fields, and the challenge we would have met from the Japanese fleet.

The temporary losses at Pearl Harbor, and of course the actually complete losses of two battleships, undoubtedly reduced for a time the ratio and we had to wait until that ratio was restored and increased before we could successfully conduct the campaign in the Western Pacific. It is possible if our losses had not been incurred in Pearl Harbor, other losses might have resulted subsequently, and that those losses might have been more permanent, not readily restored.

I cannot say what it may have been in the course of the war.

Senator Brewster: Well, after this initial upset, we did demonstrate a capacity to beat the Japanese on almost any terms from then on. We had no serious surprises, no serious upsets in our procedure from them on.

Admiral Wilkinson: No, sir. The first campaign in the South Pacific, in the vicinity of Guadalcanal, was

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pretty tough fighting. Our losses were heavy, and so were the Japs' losses, we hope, but thereafter we began to have disproportionate losses, comparing the Jap losses with ours.

Senator Brewster: I think it is proper to speak of it now. It is my understanding that in the Naval Affairs Committee I think Admiral Stark, or Admiral King -- Admiral King I think testified that we had to go into Guadalcanal to stop it; we could not let the Japs go any further, so it was a calculated risk that we felt obliged to take.

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, sir.

Senator Brewster: Not because we felt it was necessarily easy or feasible, but it just had to be done with insufficient forces because of the losses at Pearl Harbor.

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, sir.

Senator Brewster: Is that right?

Admiral Wilkinson: In part. The ships that were disabled at Pearl Harbor, the older battleships, would have been strong units in the South Pacific, but they would not have been particularly well adapted to some of the fighting there which required faster vessels.

Senator Brewster: Yes.

Admiral Wilkinson: Our greatest difficulty, as I recall, in the earlier days of the war, was the lack of

Questions by: Senator Brewster

at Pearl Harbor.

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Senator Brewster: The estimated losses -- I recall getting this at that time from Admiral Stark -- the losses incident at Pearl Harbor, it was estimated at that time had set us back a year. Did you hear such estimates at that time?

Admiral Wilkinson: I defer to his judgment. I made no such estimate.

Senator Brewster: It would be true that if the Fleet had remained in being, with the augmentations in the ensuing 12 months, our progress both in the South Pacific and in West Pacific could have been that much more rapid, because of the strength which we would have had if we did not encounter these losses, don't you think so?

Admiral Wilkinson: I should say so, unless we had undertaken an expedition for the relief of the Philippines in the crisis that was developing there before we were prepared for it, in which case, of course, we might have had heavy losses there, and then been worse off than we were to begin with.

Senator Brewster: I quite appreciate that. That is, if the Japs had not sunk these ships at Pearl Harbor, public opinion might have been for a relief expedition, although

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Questions by: Senator Brewster

when I was at Pearl Harbor in 1940, the standing joke between the Army and Navy at that time was that the fellows in the Philippines were just out of luck, that we were not going to relieve them. There seemed to be a rather jovial aspect to it. The poor fellows were supposed to hold out for six months when they knew the Fleet, very well, was not coming, because it did not have the strength to go into the Western Pacific until it had the two to one superiority to the Japs, which it did not have. Did you ever hear such discussions?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes. Not authoritatively, not in the sense that they were definitely doomed, but that it was difficult to relieve them.

Senator Brewster: I refer to the Captains, not the top command. I refer to the boys down the line who felt they were up against it.

I think that is all that I have.

The Vice Chairman: Mr. Gearhart of California will inquire.

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Questions by: Mr. Gearhart

Mr. Gearhart: Admiral Wilkinson, during the course of your examination by the gentleman from Pennsylvania you pointed out certain advantages that the Fleet had in the harbor at the time of the surprise attack. One of them was that it was practically protected from submarine attack. And I think you also pointed out that when the ships were sunk they were sunk in shallow water and you were able to later raise them.

You did not mean to imply that that was a good place to have the Fleet if we had been under any impression that an attack was to occur, did you?

Admiral Wilkinson: No, sir. I think I was asked in fact whether, as to the contrast between Pearl Harbor and Lahaina Roads, whether the fact that the water was shallow in Pearl Harbor and ships were recovered would not have made Lahaina a worse place to be if a similar attack with similar effects had taken place, and I think my answer was yes.

I did not of myself, I believe, say I would prefer the ships stay in Pearl Harbor.

Mr. Gearhart: As a matter of fact as they were lashed together in pairs and in line, that very arrangement of things reduced their fighting capacity, didn't it?

Admiral Wilkinson: It reduced their ability to get out and reduced the arc of fire of the guns of the inner

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Mr. Gearhart: Prevented all maneuverability?

Admiral Wilkinson: The single ship would be unmaneuverable as long as it was tied up. The effect of tying them together was to delay the exit from the harbor in case of necessity of the inner ship and also it massed the guns, the inboard guns, the guns toward each other of the two ships lying side by side.

Mr. Gearhart: Yes.

In the event that Admiral Kimmel and General Short had received information that an attack was imminent, within the range of possibility, those ships wouldn't have been in the harbor at all, would they?

Admiral Wilkinson: Depending on the time of advance notice he got.

Mr. Gearhart: If he had gotten advance notice he would have gotten them out of the harbor as fast as he could?

Admiral Wilkinson: My impression is that he would. I can't speak for his mind.

Mr. Gearhart: As a matter of fact they presented a very, very enticing target to the Japanese in the position in which they were moored, did they not?

Admiral Wilkinson: Very much so. That, of course, was a characteristic of the limited mooring in the harbor for

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Questions by: Mr. Gearhart

deep draft vessels. There were not many places we could put them.

Mr. Gearhart: Admiral, you were a witness before the Hewitt inquiry?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Gearhart: That occurred in Washington sometime subsequent to the 2nd of May of 1945 and the month of August of 1945, did it not?

Admiral Wilkinson: It occurred, I think, in June, early June, 1945.

Mr. Gearhart: I will ask you if in that hearing, during the course of that hearing, the following questions were not asked you and to which you gave the following answers -- question by Mr. Sonnett:

"As to the dissemination of information, Admiral, outside of the Navy Department and to the Pacific Fleet, do I take it then that it was the responsibility of the ONI to disseminate information on the Japanese situation to the Pacific Fleet?"

Answer by Vice Admiral Wilkinson:

"That point was never fully determined. We issued the reports and the bi-weekly summary of the situation but I was told that the deductions of future movements were the function of the War Plans rather than of Intelligence, and this understanding was confirmed by the Assistant Chief of

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Operations, Admiral Ingersoll, when at one time I said that I thought it was our responsibility. He told me at that time that the Army system was for Intelligence to prepare the analyses of the enemy's prospective movements, but in the Navy system the War Plans did that.

"I told him then that I would prepare that analysis myself in my office in order that War Plans and the Chief of Naval Operations might use it as they saw fit, and in consequence such analyses as I made weren't transmitted to the Fleet but were given to the Chief of Operations and to the War Plans.

"The same with respect to spot news of the enemy movements. My understanding at the time was, and still is, that I would report to the War Plans and the Chief of Naval Operations the latest operational information deduced from all sources and that they would forward to the Fleet such items as they felt should be forwarded.

"Mr. Sonnet: Would it be an accurate summary then, Admiral, to state that information in the possession of the Office of Naval Intelligence concerning the Japanese movements, for example, would be disseminated by ONI but the evaluation of the Japanese plans or deductions to be drawn from these movements would be the function of War Plans or the Chief of Naval Operations?"

Answer by Vice Admiral Wilkinson:

"The latter part of your question, yes. The first part, the day by day information of Japanese movements would not, according to my then and present understanding, be sent out by Intelligence, but rather by Operations after their evaluation."

I will ask you if those questions were asked and if those answers constituted the answers you gave to those questions at that time?

Admiral Wilkinson: To my recollection, yes.

Mr. Gearhart: At the time you gave those answers in 1945, in June 1945, did you recall or did you have in mind the provisions of Schedule of Organizations, a schedule which bears the date of 23 October 1940, a schedule which I understand was in effect in 1941?

Admiral Wilkinson: I had those in mind as modified by the instructions that had been turned over to me by my predecessor and that had been confirmed by my conversation with Admiral Ingersoll to which I testified, I believe, yesterday.

Mr. Gearhart: The document Schedule of Organizations, is in the nature of a regulational order, is it not?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Gearhart: Well, your understanding is quite contrary to what the Schedule of Organizations required and

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Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Mr. Gearhart

recited; is that not correct?

Admiral Wilkinson: The Schedule of Organizations was prepared and issued by the Chief of Naval Operations. It was subject to change by him orally or otherwise. It had been changed orally by him to Admiral Kirk. It had been changed orally by Admiral Ingersoll, his assistant, and speaking for him, to me.

I considered that the change had been made orally and did not require the textual change in writing.

Mr. Gearhart: Now, are you giving hearsay evidence in reference to verbal changes by Admiral Stark, or are you reciting your own information received from the lips of Admiral Stark?

Admiral Wilkinson: I am giving the hearsay information received officially from my predecessor, and I am giving you information received from Admiral Stark's first assistant, Admiral Ingersoll, who spoke for him.

Mr. Gearhart: Now, regardless of that, the schedule of organizations provides that, in respect to both foreign and domestic intelligence, that the ONI should evaluate the information collected and disseminate as advisable?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes.

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Mr. Gearhart: All right.

I find in the correspondence a letter dated 18 February, 1941 from Admiral Kimmel to Admiral Stark, to which there is appended a postscript, which I will read:

"I have recently been told by an officer fresh from Washington that ONI considers it the function of Operations to furnish the Commander in Chief with the information of a secret nature. I have heard also that Operations considers it responsible for furnishing the same type of information to that of ONI. I do not know that we have missed anything but if there is any doubt as to whose responsibility it is to keep the Commander in Chief fully informed with pertinent reports on subjects that should be of interest to the Fleet, will you kindly fix that responsibility so that there will be no misunderstanding?"

I also find Admiral Stark's answer to Admiral Kimmel, dated 22 March, 1941, in which he says:

"With reference to your postscript on the subject of Japanese trade routes and responsibility for the furnishing of secret information to the Commander in Chief of the Pacific, Kirk informs me that ONI is fully aware of its responsibility in keeping you adequately informed concerning foreign nations, activities of these nations, and disloyal elements within the United States. He further says that

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sent by dispatch."

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Questions by: Mr. Gearhart Witness Wilkinson information concerning the location of all Japanese merchant ships is forwarded by airmail weekly to you, and that if you wish this information can be issued more directly or

I also find a memorandum for the Chief of Naval Operations, dated March 11, 1941, signed A. G. Kirk; from the Office of Naval Intelligence, which is apparently the basis for Admiral Stark's answer to the postscript of Admiral Kimmel's letter in which it is stated:

"4. The Division of Naval Intelligence is fully aware that it is the responsibility of this division to keep the Commander in Chief, Pacific Fleet, adequately informed concerning foreign nations, activities of these nations, and disloyal elements within the United States."

Now, with those letters in mind, I will ask you, first, the A. G. Kirk that signed the memorandum of March 11, 1941, to the Chief of Naval Operations, was then Director of Maval Intelligence?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, sir.

That is the position you later held? Mr. Gearhart: Admiral Wilkinson: I relieved him directly.

When you became Chief of Neval Opera-Mr. Gearhart: tions, did Admiral Kirk inform you of that correspondence between Admiral Hart and Admiral Kimmel and of his memorandum

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Questions by: Mr. Gearhart

which was sent around?

Admiral Wilkinson: Not specifically.

Mr. Gearhart: When you talked with Admiral Ingersoll, the Assistant Chief of Naval Operations, as you testified in the Hewitt inquiry, and told Admiral Ingersoll in effect that you thought it was your function to evaluate and disseminate the intelligence, did you find and give him these precedents to support your position?

Admiral Wilkinson: No.

Mr. Gearhart: Did you ever discuss the subject with your senior subordinates in the office?

Admiral Wilkinson: Frequently.

Mr. Gearhart: Some of them had been on duty much longer than you had, had they not?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Gearhart: Did any of them recall to you the memorandum of Admiral Kirk?

Admiral Wilkinson: I do not recall that they did, and do not believe they did, sir. I think it was generally understood that we had the responsibility and I accepted it, of keeping the forces afloat, including the Commander in Chief, Pacific, of all information, informed of all information except that which through our instructions, was specifically excepted, and if I may I will read my answer

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Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Mr. Gearhart

of yesterday:

"I said that the text of the regulations which you introduced read 'evaluate the information collected and disseminate as advisable."

"I understood our duties to be, and still understand, to disseminate and spread abroad all types of basic information, what General Miles had termed static information, such as the defenses of the country, its economics, the diplomatic relations, the characters and activities and previous careers of its military and naval men, the location of its fleets, the actual movements of its fleets and everything other than the enemy's probable intentions, and such specific information as in itself might give rise or might require action by our fleet or by our naval forces.

"In the latter case, before dissemination, I would consult higher authority, either the Assistant Chief, the Chief of Naval Operations, or my colleague, Chief of War Plans, in order that this information that I sent out would not be in conflict with his understanding of the naval situation, and the operations for which he was responsible."

That is the end of my answer, sir.

I will explain further that it would obviously be

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undesirable for me to send out information which on its receipt would cause the Commander in Chief to take such action as would be in conflict with the action which was desired by the responsible officer in the Department for War Plans.

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Mr. Gearhart: And still Admiral Kirk issues a memorandum in which he says that it is his responsibility and we have also in the record that Admiral Stark says it was the responsibility of ONI.

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Admiral Wilkinson: I think that last sentence of Admiral Kirk's is not as all-embracing as you would have it be, if you would mind reading it again, sir, the last part of Admiral Kirk's letter.

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Mr. Gearhart: Well, Admiral Kirk says:

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"The Division of Naval Intelligence is fully aware that it is the responsibility of this Division to keep the Commander in Chief, Pacific Fleet, adequately informed concerning foreign nations, activities of these rations, and disloyal elements within the United States."

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Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, sir.

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Mr. Gearhart: That is pretty definite, isn't it?

Let's pursue it a little further. It is an interesting subject.

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Admiral Wilkinson: All right.

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Mr. Gearhart: I find among the correspondence a letter from Admiral Kimmel, Chief of Naval Operations, dated 26 May, 1941, entitled "Survey of Conditions in the Pacific Fleet."

In this letter there appears under Title VII, "Information:"

"Information.

very difficult position. He is far removed from the seat of government in a complex and rapidly changing situation. He is as a rule not informed as to the policy or change of policy reflected in current events and naval movements, and as a result is unable to evaluate the possible effect upon his own situation. He is not even sure of what force will be available to him and has little voice in matters radically affecting his ability to carry out his assigned tasks. This lack of information is disturbing and tends to create uncertainty, a condition which directly contravenes that singleness of purpose and confidence in some course of action so necessary to the conduct of military eperations.

"It is realized that on occasion the rapid development in the international picture, both diplomatic and military, and perhaps even the lack of knowledge of the Military authorities themselves, may militate against the

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Questions by: Mr. Gearhart

furnishing of timely information, but certainly the present situation is susceptible to marked improvement. Full and authoritative knowledge of current policies and objectives even though necessarily late at times, would enable the Commander in Chief, Pacific Fleet, to modify, adapt, or even reorient his possible course of action to conform to current concepts. This is particularly applicable to the current Pacific situation where the necessity for intensive training of a partially trained fleet must be carefully balanced against the debility of this training by strategic dispositions or otherwise to meet impending eventualities.

"Moreover, due to this same factor of distance and time, the Department itself is not too well informed as to the local situation, particularly with regard to the status of current outlying island developments, thus making it even more necessary that the Commander in Chief Pacific Fleet be guided by broad policy and objectives rather than by categorical instructions.

"It is suggested that it be made a cardinal principal that the Commander in Chief, Pacific Fleet, be immediately informed of all important developments as they occur, and by the quickest secure means available."

Did you see this letter after you arrived and assumed

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Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Mr. Gearhart

the duties as Director of Naval Intelligence?

Admiral Wilkinson: No, sir. I am not sure that Admiral Kirk saw it.

Questions by: Mr. Gearhart

Mr. Gearhart: I find that Admiral Stark testified before the Naval Court of Inquiry, and I quote his testimony:

"You considered the letter Exhibit 33 so good, did you not, Admiral Stark, that you caused it to be reproduced and distributed in a restricted area upon its receipt among important offices in the Navy Department?"

Answer:

"Yes. It was our general custom to do that and I mimeographed this, sent it to all hands who were concerned, followed it up and, as I recall, assembled all concerned for Admiral Kimmel to talk to himself in my office."

Did you see the mimeographed copy that Admiral Stark, according to his testimony, had prepared and distributed to the Navy Department?

Admiral Wilkinson: No, sir.

Mr. Gearhart: Did Admiral Stark mention this letter to you after you assumed your duties?

Admiral Wilkinson: No, sir.

Mr. Gearhart: I find that Admiral Stark testified further before the Naval Court of Inquiry in respect to this letter, and I quote:

"Have you any comment on the last sentence in the last paragraph of 7?

Answer:

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"About being guided by broad policy and objectives rather than by categorical instructions? I have just covered that. You mean the next paragraph?"

"Yes."

Answer:

"(Reading). 'It is suggested that it be made a cardinal principle that the Commander in Chief Pacific Fleet be immediately informed of all important developments as they occur and by the quickest secure means available. I was in complete concurrence with him on that and that was one of my objectives, yes."

"You agreed with Admiral Kimmel then that the Commander in Chief of the Pacific Fleet should be, insofar as you were able, immediately informed of all important developments as they occurred, and by the quickest secure means available? "Yes."

Did Admiral Stark tell you after you became Director of Naval Intelligence that one of his objectives was that the Commander in Chief Pacific Fleet be immediately informed of all important developments as they occurred by the quickest secure means?

Admiral Wilkinson: Not to my recollection.

Mr. Gearhart: I find in the correspondence a letter from Admiral Kimmel to Admiral Stark dated 26 July 1941 --

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Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Mr. Gearhart

by the way, when did you become Director?

Admiral Wilkinson: 15 October 1941.

Mr. Gearhart: This is a quotation of Admiral Stark -pardon me, it is a quotation from Admiral Kimmel's letter to Admiral Stark of July 26, 1941:

"1. The importance of keeping the Commander in Chief advised of department policies and decisions and the changes in policy and decisions to meet the changes in the international situation."

Sub-paragraph a:

"We have as yet received no official information as to the United States attitude toward Russia's participation in the war, particularly as to the degree of operation, if any, in the Pacific between the United States and Russia, if and when we become active participants. Present plans do not include Russia and do not provide for coordinated action, joint use of bases, joint communications systems, and the like. The new situation opens up possibilities for us which may be fully explored \*\* \* and so on.

Then Admiral Kimmel asked a number of questions: "Will England declare war on Japan."

The answer to 1 is in the affirmative -- and so on.

He asked all the questions possible about the situation which might develop in the Pacific.

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Did you know anything about that long letter that he wrote to Admiral Stark?

Admiral Wilkinson: I do not know, sir. I think normally that would be prepared in the division of War Plans which has cognizance of the plans you speak of, whether there was coordination between Russia and America, and so on. Anything with regard to our own participation or the participation of other nations in conjunction with us.

Mr. Gearhart: Your answer is interesting in view of Admiral Stark's answer to Admiral Kimmel, from which I will quote. His letter was dated August 19, 1941. That is getting pretty close up to your tenure, is it not? I will quote a portion:

"I can readily understand your wish to be kept informed as to the department policies and decisions and the changes thereto which must necessarily be made to meet the changes in the international situation. This we are trying to do, and if you do not get as much information as you think you should get the answer probably is that the situation which is uppermost in your mind has just not jelled sufficiently for us to give you anything authoritative."

Evidently Admiral Stark thought that that responsibility was ONI's, didn't he?

Admiral Wilkinson: No, sir. I should say that a

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situation which has not jelled is a matter for the State Department, a matter of international relations. As I heard you, and I may not have understood it, that was a question of a fluid situation, an international situation.

Mr. Gearhart: Then I understand that you still believe that the organizational order of ONI didnot mean what it said during your tenure as Director of the Office of Naval Intelligence?

Admiral Wilkinson: It meant, as I interpreted it, and as it had been amended to me verbally, and as I mentioned yesterday, there was one whole paragraph with regard to the Division of Public Relations which viewed as it stood would give us authority and instructions as to what to do with Public Relations, they had been completely lifted out of my office, but the order of over a year's standing had not been amended, but there was no order, and I don't know that one was required to show textual changes in each order every time a directive of any sort was issued in modification of it, whether that directive was in text or orally.

Mr. Gearhart: Did Admiral Stark ever call you in and tell you that you should disregard the Schedule of Organizations in respect to the evaluation of information collected and of disseminating it as was deemed advisable?

Admiral Wilkinson: I never asked Admiral Stark that.

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Questions by: Mr. Gearhart

I had the word from my predecessor and I confirmed it by instructions from Admiral Stark's responsible assistant.

Mr. Gearhart: Did Admiral Kirk tell you to disregard his memorandum which he had issued just a short time before to the contrary effect?

Admiral Wilkinson: I don't consider the memorandum is to the contrary effect, sir, if you speak of that letter which you read to me, because that is a broad and all-embracing program, and what he told me was specific orders he had received from Admiral Stark which he stated had been received in the presence of Admiral Ingersoll and Admiral Turner.

Mr. Gearhart: Well now, to quote his memorandum again -there is no use disregarding its import --

Admiral Wilkinson: No, sir, except it is very broad. Mr. Gearhart: (Reading)

"Naval Intelligence is fully aware it is the responsibility of this Division to keep the Commander in Chief Pacific Fleet adequately informed concerning foreign nations, activities of these nations, and disloyal elements within the United States."

Did Admiral Kirk ever tell you to disregard that memorandum: Admiral Wilkinson: That is a very broad statement. There were limitations and modifications to it such as I mentioned. Admiral Kirk never told me of the memorandum itself

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and, as I mentioned, I never saw the memorandum, but I do recognize that in the broad sense that is the responsibility of the office, as it may have been amended by instructions received from higher authority, which I mentioned, sir.

Mr. Gearhart: Then I will ask you, Admiral Wilkinson, why didn't you transmit the information that was contained in the intercepts to Admiral Kimmel, Commander in Chief of the Pacific Fleet, when the information pointed directly to Hawaii?

Admiral Wilkinson: The information contained in those intercepts pointed to many sources.

Mr. Gearhart: I am not talking about the ones that pointed to Panama or the ones that pointed to any other place, but the ones that pointed directly to Hawaii. Was not it your duty to transmit the information contained in intercepts that reached your desk which did point directly to Hawaii and did evidence an inordinate interest by the Japanese in conditions which existed on Oahu Island?

Admiral Wilkinson: We did not, perhaps erroneously, recognize that that was an inordinate interest in Hawaii. We had found inquires and reports of similar investigations in many ports. We considered that those were part, as I have said, of the degree of nicety of the Japanese Intelligence. We did not send this to the Commander in Chief, partly in

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Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Mr. Gearhart

error, perhaps we didn't recognize it pointed specifically to an attack on Hawaii, and partly also because we were very jealous at that time of the security of the code and the fact that we were breaking the code, as Senator Brewster has mentioned they were already suspicious that we were attacking the code, and we continued to discourage that suspicion.

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Questions by: Mr. Gearhart

Mr. Gearhart: There were some intercepts which reached your desk which indicated on the part of the Japanese an inordinate interest in conditions existing in Panama?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Gearhart: Did you inform the Commanding General and the Commanding Admiral at Panama?

Admiral Wilkinson: No, sir.

Mr. Gearhart: Of those messages?

Admiral Wilkinson: No, sir.

Mr. Gearhart: Now, they were of a special concern to the commanders at Panama?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Gearhart: Why did you not give them that specific information which pointed their way?

Admiral Wilkinson: It was well known that a great deal of espionage activity was going on throughout all of our coastal areas, and our island possessions. That information as to those espionage activities was known and sent by the Office of Naval Intelligence to the District Intelligence officers located in those various ports. That information which they received, plus that which we collected on the spot, was conveyed to the local commander in every instance. The Commander in Chief of Hawaii, the Naval Commander in Panama, the Commander in Chief of Manila,

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Witness Wilkinson Questions by: Mr. Gearhart
were all aware that their forces were under constant
espionage. They were so aware because of the activities
of the Intelligence agencies, and our own representatives
there.

These messages that you speak of, which pointed to
the desire for information in those various ports, were
of themselves but confirmatory of the espionage activities
which were already known and which were constantly being
kept before the commanders.

Mr. Gearhart: Well, the situation still remains that you had information, very much definite information which you did not transmit to the commanders in the field that were in command in the areas, that the information you had related to.

Admiral Wilkinson: That information was little more than what they had through their own intelligence agencies, Mr. Congressman. They were aware that they were the subject of constant espionage, that the result of that espionage was being transmitted back to Japan. We knew that photographs were being taken of the Fleet in Hawaii. In fact, we endeavored to secure a law to prevent the taking of photographs and were unsuccessful, and the commanders of the Fleet were aware of that, all of that.

The specific inquiry as to the division of Pearl Harbor

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Questions by: Mr. Gearhart

into several areas and the location of ships in those areas was another refinement on that intelligence, a refinement which we perhaps should have recognized as indicating a possible attack.

It would also be indicated similarly elsewhere, but the fact that a comprehensive espionage was being carried on was, I think, known through the district intelligence officers to the Naval Commanders in all of these ports, and I know that the time I was in Hawaii, that we were cognizant of that fact, and we were helpless to stop it.

We could not censor the mails. We could not censor the dispatches. We could not prevent the taking of photographs. We could not arrest Japanese suspects. There was nothing we could do to stop it, and all hands knew that espionage was going on all along, and reports were going back to Japan.

Mr. Gearhart: My dear sir, don't you think that you were assuming a tremendous responsibility in deciding in your mind what Admiral Kimmel knew and what the Admiral in command at Panama knew?

Admiral Wilkinson: No, sir. I think that from the reports that we had sent to our district intelligence officers and those returned by them, we knew they were acquainted with the espionage. But these particular messages, indicating

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as it has been said, a bombing plan, were not sent out in view of the attempts at security of the code breaking apparatus, code breaking process that we were then maintaining.

Mr. Gearhart: In view of the fact that Admiral Kimmel was writing to Admiral Stark for information, begging for information almost monthly or weekly, don't you think he was entitled to know that a Japanese intercept had disclosed that the Japanese had divided Oahu into five areas, and that the Japanese were demanding and their confederates on that island were reporting day by day on the movements of ships into and out of Pearl Harbor, -- don't you think that that was information Admiral Kimmel was entitled to have?

Admiral Wilkinson: With the exception of a division of Pearl Herbor into these areas, I think Admiral Kimmel was aware that some such process of survey, espionage and reports was under way; I think he was aware of that by virtue of his contacts with the district intelligence officer.

Mr. Gearhart: But the point remains you had definite information to the effect that I have just described, and you thought you were fulfilling your full responsibility when you leftAdmiral Kimmel to guess that they were exercising espionage over his command?

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Admiral Wilkinson: I did not leave him to guess. Our district intelligence officer and his fleet intelligence officer was aware of the espionage. The only thing he was not aware of was the message dividing the harbor into five parts, which might have been for convenience in locating it on a map, and which probably was, as we now appreciate, information convenient in establishing an attack.

Mr. Gearhart: Yes, and that would indicate to any man that they were dividing that harbor into parts for the purpose of making more convenient a possible attack?

Admiral Wilkinson: Very possible.

Mr. Gearhart: Wouldn't that have been mighty important information for Admiral Kimmel to have?

Admiral Wilkinson: It would have been useful. He had been writing himself of the dangers of an air attack. He had been drawing up plans for protection against an air attack. He was convinced that there was a possibility and a threat of an air attack. It would have been a confirmation of his suspicions.

Mr. Gearhart: And being a confirmation of his suspicions, he probably would have acted, would he not, in the light of that confirmation?

Admiral Wilkinson: I am not sure. The message that arrived was translated on October 9. If he had had the

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Witness Wilkinson Questions by: Mr. Gearhart message on October 10th, what action he would have taken, I don't know. He couldn't keep the Fleet at sea for two or three months.

Mr. Gearhart: He didn't have to bring them all in at one time, did he?

Admiral Wilkinson: No, sir, he didn't. Ordinarily he had them operating in three sections, as I recall, of which two were at sea at one time.

Mr. Gearhart: Two less three battleships.

Admiral Wilkinson: Well, that was a particular incident, as you recall, in that period, but the normal schedule called for their operating in three sections, of dividing the battleships, I believe, among two, if not three, and having them at sea, only one in port at any time.

Mr. Gearhart: Now, that information of the division of Hawaii into five areas, supported by six other intercepts, each one reporting in respect to those areas and with respect to the set-up in the harbor, taken all together probably would have a very decided effect upon the mind of the commander in Hawaii, the commander charged with the defense of the fleet and of our military and naval establishments there would it not?

Admiral Wilkinson: I should think so. What effect it would have I do not know, sir, in view of the relatively protracted length of time that was affected, nearly two months, whether he would have kept the fleet at sea continually or would have pursued a rotational plan he had in effect.

Mr. Gearhart: If Admiral Kimmel had been informed by furnishing him either copies of the intercepts or the substance thereof, that the Japanese were constantly calling for further information with respect to ship movements, that would probably have had an effect upon the commander of the island, would it not?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, sir, further information with respect to the ship movements might well have been desirable for him to know, but I do not think it would have affected the status of the fleet if he had known of these things.

Mr. Gearhart: Well, you are giving us an expression of

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#### Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Mr. Gearhart

your thoughts now, aren't you?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, sir. That is what you asked me.

Mr. Gearhart: Have you a right to assume that Admiral Kimmel would have thought the same way you do now or then?

Admiral Wilkinson: Not at all, except as a naval officer, sir.

Mr. Gearhart: As commanding officer he had a right to make those decisions and make whatever conclusions he pleased from the information that you should have supplied him with, is that not correct?

Admiral Wilkinson: He had a right to make any conclusion which he pleased. I am not quite as yet in agreement with the fact I should have supplied it to him.

Mr. Gearhart: And by withholding from him that information you withheld from him the right to decide what importance should be attached to those messages, you denied to him the right to evaluate those messages in that way, didn't you, and you denied him the right to act in the light of what information those messages conveyed, didn't you?

Admiral Wilkinson: I denied -- in the first place, I am not convinced that it was I who was withholding them. In the second place, whoever withheld them was not denying him these facilities but not furnishing him the opportunity to work upon them.

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Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Mr. Gearhart

Mr. Gearhart: Yes. Now, I have been referring specifically to the messages which appear --

Senator Brewster: Mr. Chairman, would the gentleman yield at this point because I wanted to complete what I had which bears on this particular point you are discussing, which you just concluded. Are you through with that phase of it?

Mr. Gearhart: I was just going to conclude that phase of it by calling attention to him that I am referring to the messages that appear on page 12, 13, 14, and 15 of exhibit 2 in this proceeding. Now do you want me to yield?

Senator Brewster: If you will, at that point.

I did not perhaps make it clear, Admiral, as to the purport of my questioning on your testimony before the Roberts Commission which bears I think very directly on this point that Mr. Gearhart has been stressing and I think that in justice to you it ought to be clear.

As I understand now, I did not realize that your testimony was not taken down before the Roberts Commission; that you appeared before them and testified off the record.

Admiral Wilkinson: My testimony was not intentionally off the record, but it was not recorded and reduced except as a summary of the statement, I believe.

Senator Brewster: Yes. So that this record which you made immediately thereafter for Admiral Stark was the only

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Questions by: Sen.Brewster

record, apparently, of your testimony?

Admiral Wilkinson: Apparently and which, of course, was my recollection after the fact.

Senator Brewster: Now, the Roberts Commission, after the preliminaries on the first page, apparently thought it was important, - they apparently did attach great importance to this question of information that Admiral Kimmel had received, because at the bottom of the first page you state (Reading):

" They then asked me what information and communications had been sent during the months preceding the attack."

And you turned in a full page there of information you furnished and then you say at the bottom of page 2;

"Without mentioning particular dispatches, we had assured ourselves that all of this information had either passed through the CINCS Asiatic and Pacific Fleets or, if not, had been furnished them from the Department."

Then came the next paragraph which I have quoted. Commander-in-Chief Pacific had as much information as we had."

I think you have now agreed in both the colloquies with Congressman Gearhart and myself that that was not strictly accurate, that they did not have all of the information which you had here, either in connection with this particular inter-

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Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Sen. Brewster

cept and some of those that followed it and also as to the broader diplomatic phases of it, which might be more arguable, but at any rate was information which you had which he did not have.

Now, the point which I was bringing out was this, that the Roberts Committee, which made the reports bearing on the responsibility of Admiral Kimmel, apparently did that on the basis of your statement that Kimmel had all of the "information which we had", that is the Department here had. If that is not so it would be possible that their conclusions might have been very different as to the responsibility of Admiral Kirrel and any others concerned, if they had had a more accurate picture of what had been furnished to Kimmel, would that not be so ?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, sir, and thank you for the suggestion. I had not appreciated that when I was answering Mr. Gearhart, and in the middle of page 2 you will find just above that this statement? (Reading)

"We had, on the first of December, drafted a summary of information available to us at that time, reciting the details of the concentration of Japanese land forces in Indo-China, Hainan and Formosa, and the several naval preparations, including:

Reorganization of Japanese Fleets;

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Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Sen. Brewster

- Resiging for war of Japanese ships by locking, etc.;
- "(c) Additional naval aircraft to the Mandated Island area;
- "(1) Establishment of patrol between Marshalls and Gilberts;
- The activity of the combined Air Force (patrol planes and tenders) in South China and the Mandates;
- "(f) The taking over of many merchant vessels by the Japanese Navy and the equipment of several antiaircraft ships;
- "(g) The radio intelligence with respect to the two task groups under the Commander-in-Chief Second Fleet -Group One operating in the South China area, and Group Two in the Mandated Islands area. (I stated, however, that nothing in this item made us forecast a mo vement as far east of the Mandated area as Hawaii -- whereupon Mr. Roberts asked the distance from Hawaii to the Mandates, and I told him the easternmost - Jaluit -- was about 2300 miles, and the remainder extended to the westward about 2700 miles. Actually the figures are 2100 and 2400.)

"Without mentioning particular dispatches, we had

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Questions by: Sen. Brewster

information I just mentioned -- "had either passed through the CINCS Asiatic and Pacific Fleets or, if not, had been furnished them from the Department. In addition, on December 3rd we had ascertained that Japanese diplomatic and consular agencies had been ordered to burn all their confidential codes and papers immediately, and we had relayed this information to CINCS Asiatic and Pacific and to the Commandants of the 14th and 16th Naval Districts, and had also directed our representatives in the Far East (attaches and observers) to burn their codes and papers.

comber 1st that the Japanese were contemplating an early attack, primarily directed at Thailand, Burma and the Malay Peninsula, and subsequent developments had proved this to be true. We had not been able to obtain intelligence or to develop by inference any indication of a raid of Hawaii. The Compander-in-Chief Pacific had as much information as we had."

I think in speaking of that and bringing it back I might well have been -- I think I was in fact referring to the fact that he had as much information as we had on all of that subject I have just read.

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Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Sen. Brewster

Senator Brewster: Certainly the statement is somewhat broader than that. I think it is. We can now see here that it is perhaps unfortunate that you did not have a complete transcript of your evidence because it might do you more justice than this somewhat sweeping surmary by yourself would when you perhaps might not have been thinking of all that was involved.

Admiral Wilkinson: No, sir. Obviously this was prepered by me for the private and personal information for
Admiral Stark, which I had made, telling him what I and other
officers had told the Roberts Commission.

Senator Brewster: Yes.

recollection, it had nothing to do with the transcript. I thought notes had been taken. In fact, I thought there was a recorder or stenographer present and I was later to have a record of that but I understand none were taken, I understand none appeared in the record except a two paragraph statement.

Senator Brewster: This does have the value of having been made contemporaneously.

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, sir.

Senator Brewster: This was made --

Admiral Wilkinson: It is my recollection immediately after the event.

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Witness Wilkinson

Questions by Sen. Brewster

Senator Brewster: Yes.

Admiral Wilkinson: But I know, for instance, I did not tell them about magic, I did not let them know, - I did not tell them about all the diplomatic messages.

Senator Brewster: So that magic, you say, was freely discussed, as you say later on in the memorandum. You mention that on the next page.

Admiral Wilkinson: My hearing was very brief. They were interested in the actual movements of forces and I did not go at any length into the discussion of the diplomatic magic.

Senator Brewster: On page 4 at the bottom you say?

"The meeting was discussing the Magic freely but stated they would be most careful that no mention of it would be made."

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, sir.

Senator Brewster: So that was apparently one of the topics that was gone into to a material extent.

Admiral Wilkinson: I think the discussion I had with them as to the magic was simply as to the fourteen part message.

Mr. Gesell: Senator, would it be helpful to put the entire text of the memorandum in the record? We have read different portions, at different times, and to show the relationship of the excerpts wouldn't it be a good idea to put it all in?

|  | 1  | Questions by Sen. Brewste   |
|--|----|---|
|  | 2  | Senator Brewster: I think it would be helpful to put  |
|  | 3  | all in.   |
|  | 4  | The Vice Chairman: You want it included at this point   |
|  | 5  | in the record?  |
|  | 8  | Mr. Gesell: Yes. I think it would be a good idea.   |
|  | 7  | The Vice Chairman: It is so ordered.  |
|  | 8  | Mr. Gesell: If it is so ordered I think it would be   |
|  | 9  | helpful.  |
|  | 10 | The Vice Chairman: All right.   |
|  | 11 | (The memorandum above referred to is in words and   |
|  | 12 | figures as follows, to-wit;)  |
|  | 13 | "Op-16 Copy No. 5 of 5.   |
|  | 14 | SECRET  |
|  | 15 | December 19, 1941   |
|  | 16 | S-F-C-R-E-T   |
|  | 17 | MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS  |
|  | 18 | Subject: Proceedings of President's Investigating   |
|  | 19 | Committee, 1000 to 1200, December 19, 194   |
|  | 20 | On notification from Admiral Reeves, received at 0915,  |
|  |    | I reported to Justice Roberts' Commission at ten o'clock in   |
|  | 22 | the Munitions Building. General Miles was also there, accom-  |
|  |    | panied by the chief of his Far Eastern Division, Colonel R.  S. Bratton; Commander McCollum accompanied me. The Commis- |
|  | 61 | 3. Bratton; Commander McCollum accompanied me. The Commis-  |

sion stated they wished the Army and Navy Intelligence to

cooperate in their answers; that they would heardeneral Miles first but might ask me any questions that might arise during his discussion.

General Miles was then questioned, and in the main his testimony was not interrupted by any side questions to me; so that despite the statement of joint questioning the actual effect was complete testimony by General Miles, followed by mine. In fact, General Miles was excused, because of preparations for departure from the city this afternoon on an inspection trip, immediately after his testimony, although Colonel Bratton remained.

They asked General Miles mainly what reports and instructions his office and the command in Hawaii had exchanged for a period of approximately one month prior to the actual attack. He mentioned communications regarding possibilities of sabotage and described at some length the events in General Marshall's office, including the sending of the subsequently delayed dispatch to General Short on the morning of Sunday, December 7th. He mentioned his experience in service in the Islands and said that in the past the concern of G-2 of the Army had been rather in sabotage than in a military raid. He said his studies as war plans officer there had, however, envisaged the possibility of a raid and that he had reached the conclusion that a successful raid was possible against a garri-

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# Witness Wilkinson

son which had not been warned, but was not possible against a garrison which had been warned.

They then asked me what information and communications had been sent during the months preceding the attack. I said that, for an understanding of the picture, I would like to describe our avenues of intelligence, and then mentioned the Naval Attaches we had maintained in the Far East, and the seventeen additional observers and consular shipping advisers we had established in the past year. These informants reported matters which they ascertained either by their own observation or by contacts which they might make. We had in the past had secret agents in Japan but we had none re cently since those we had had had not survived. Also a source of information was the radio net and the intercepted dispatches, utilizing the facilities of the 14th and 16th Naval Districts. mation dispatches were received by us and the forces in the field kept informed, and the Chief of Naval Operations had testified as to actual warning dispatches which he had sent in the period immediately prior to the attack. As to the actual interchange of messages with reference to intelligence, in general the sources reported their information to us via the Corrender-in-Chief of the Asiatic and in forwarding it the Commander-in-Chief Pacific was usually advised. We had, on the first of December, I rafted a summary of information

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#### Witness Wilkinson

available to us at that time, reciting the details of the concentration of Japanese land forces in Indo-China, Hainan and Formosa, and the several naval preparations, including:

- (a) Reorganization of Japanese Fleets;
- (b) Readying for war of Japanese ships by docking, etc.;
- (o) Additional naval aircraft to the Mandated Island area;
- (1) Establishment of patrol between Marshalls and Gilberts;
- The activity of the combined Air Force (patrol planes and tenders ) in South China and the Mandates;
- (f) The taking over of many merchant vessels by the Japanese Navy and the equipment of several anti-aircraft ships;
- The radio intelligence with respect to the two task groups under the Commander-in-Chief Second Fleet -Group One operating in the South China area, and Group Two in the Mandated Islands area. (I stated, however, that nothing in this item made us forecast a movement as fer east of the Mandated area as Hawall --- whereupon Mr. Roberts asked the distance from Hawaii to the Mandates, and I told him the easternmost - Jaluit -- was about 2300 miles, and the remainder extended to the west-

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## Witness Wilkinson

ward about 2700 miles. Actually the figures are 2100 and 2400.)

Without mentioning particular dispatches, we had assured ourselves that all of this information had either passed through the CINCS Asiatic and Pacific Fleets or, if not, had been furnished them from the Department. In addition, on December 3rd we had ascertained that Japanese diplomatic and consular agencies had be en ordered to burn all their confidential codes and papers irrediately, and we had relayed this information to CINCS Asiatic and Pacific and to the Commandants of the 14th and 16th Naval Districts, and had also directed our representatives in the Far East (attaches and observers) to burn their codes and papers.

On the evidence available we had concluded on December 1st that the Japanese were contemplating an early attack, primarily directed at Thailand, Burra and the Malay P eninsula, and subsequent developments had proved this to be true. We had not been able to obtain intelligence or to develop by inference any indication of a raid on Hawaii. The Commander-in-Chief Paulfic had as much information as we had, but I myself could not expect that he and his staff would infer positively a raid on Hawaii any more than we had been able to do from the same information. I believed the raid had been aside from the main effort, and to my belief the Japanese striking force

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#### Witness Wilkinson

had retired to the westward immediately afterwards. We had no conclusive evidence of any Japanese surface vessels operating thereafter to the eastward of Hawaii, although it was probable that some submarines had come into the eastern Pacific and possibly were still there.

The Commission asked as to the control of fishing boats in the vicinity of Hawaii. I said that I knew that even before I left there in May there had been measures to effectuate control of these boats - first, by lenying non-citizens the right to own and use them; and second, by either removing or, in some way I thought, controlling their radio. These efforts were made principally by the Coast Guard as their proper province, although guided by the advice of the Commandant's office. Such measures as have been taken since the Coast Guard was incorporated into the Navy would, of course, be more directly under his command.

Under the Delimitation Agreement, regarding the special investigatory services, the actual investigations of all vivilian population in Hawaii were in charge of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, but I knew the military and naval counter-intelligence services were closely allied with the FBI, and that I felt sure that with the fishing boats Captain Mayfield and Naval Intelligence gave actual assistance where possible. Mr. Roberts said that they would find out more of

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Witness Wilkinson

that exact situation when they got out there.

They asked what arrangements we had in the Intelligence branch of the Navy Department as to information furing Satur-Tay night (December 6). I said that responsible officerrs were on telephone call, but that in addition there was an officer wat ch in our Foreign Branch, in our Administrative Branch, in our Domestic Intelligence Branch, and that, beginning on Friday night I had set a watch over the week-end in the Far Eastern section itself. I said that Commander McCollum had relieved Lt. Cordr. Watts at 0800 Sunday, that I had arrived at the office at about 0900, and that only then had the last part of the Magic (the reeting was discussing the Magio freely but stated they would be most careful that no mention of it would be made) arrived containing the final instructions to the Japanese Ambassadors in Washington to break off negotiations, whereas the previous parts which had been available to us the preceding night had been more argumentative in sense and rather of the type of a 'White Paper' designed subsequently for publication.

Sometime after 0900 Sunday the information came that the presentation of the complete message, which was to be withheld until a later dispatch announcing the hour, was not directed to be made at 1300, Washington time. I said I understood by hearsay that the actual call requesting the appoint-

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#### Witness Wilkinson

ment was not made until 1300 and that the appointment was granted for 1345 - but that the State Department was, of cours-, aware of these tires.

I said that we had reported this information to you, and that while we were discussing it you had tolked over the phone with General Marshall, and that I understood you and General Marshall had mentioned (to the Corrission) your conversation and the dispatch he sent.

The Corrission asked about the RADAR installations on the ships and in Hawaii. I understood that the Army had RADAR on shore, and I knew we had it installed on a few ships. However, it only works on a direct line such as the eye does, and in consequence, the RADAR on the ships so fitted which were in Pearl Harbor could not be effective because of the interposition of the mountains and the hills and the land in general. Some of the ships which were out of port were equipped with RADAR but, as far as I knew, they had not picked up anything on them - again because of the limitations of the device - the curvature of the earth limiting its range.

With regard to the general question of the readiness of the Intelligence Service, I said that on the recommendation of my predecessor, Captain Kirk, as early as last April the Chief of Naval Operations had sent out a dispatch that, because of past experience with reference to the Axis beginning activities

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## Witness Wilkinson

on Saturdays or Sundays or on national holidays, the personnel of the naval intelligence service should be particularly careful on those days. Again in March the Chief of Naval Operations had directed an advanced state of readiness of the District Intelligence organization, had directed the placing of coastal information sections in active status in May, the further expansion of District Intelligence organizations in May; and a complete state of readiness had been directed in July.

After my testimony Lieutenant-General C. D. Herron, who relinquished command in early February in Hawaii, testified mainly about his preparations and his general practice as to alert stations. He said that last winter he had had them in the field for six weeks on the alert, but had subsequently modified that in some degree although he had maintained guns at their field stations. He said his primary plan was to use anti-aircraft for the defense of Pearl Harbor, to use fighting planes to control the air, and to have infantry support covering landing beaches. He said that he considered the most dangerous time to be dawn, particularly because of the possibility of approach during the night of enemy vessels, whether aircraft carriers or an actual raiding expedition.

The Commission asked if he considered Sunday morning the most lax time in the defenses, and consequently the most ad-

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Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Mr. Gearhart

vantageous time for an attack. He said that with regard to the reserves, Yes, because they were more likely to be on leave or other privileges, but with regard to the actual stations in the field he considered that they should be as efficient and as fully manned on Sundays as on any other morning. He personally made many dawn inspections on Sundays to check on and insure their readiness.

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Mr. Gearharts Admiral, did you ever give any attention or consideration to the possibility of transmitting the substance or the copies of those intercepts that I have directed your attention to?

Admiral Wilkinson: No, sir. As I have stated, my responsibility was limited to sending out, or included what was a limitation, the sending out of all information except that respecting enemy communications and that which might require or involve operational plans and movements. This message was

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Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Mr. Gearhart

of that character. I am not convinced that I would have been authorized or permitted to send that out, or whether I should have given it or suggested to another agency that it should send it out, but in any respect, enswering your question, I 111 not consider sending it out because I did not evaluate it, as I had not, as an indication of the detailed intelligence they desired.

Mr. Gearhart: Well, did you consider Hawaii to be beyond possibility of attack?

Admiral Wilkinson: No, sir.

Mr. Gearhart: Did you think it was beyond probability of attack?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes.

Mr. Gearhart: Is that the reason why you 111 not alequately evaluate those messages concerning ship movements --

Admiral Wilkinson: No, sir.

Mr. Gearhart: (Continuing) -- in and around Hawaii? Admiral Wilkinson: No, sir, it had nothing to do with the possiblity versus the probability of them.

Mr. Gearhart: Did you refrain from transmitting copies of intercepts for any particular reason?

Airiral Wilkinson: If I considered sending them, which I doubt, I would have refrained from sending copies of them because of danger to the code, the code breaking activities.

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Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Mr. Gearhart

Mr. Gearhart: What was the practice of your division? Admiral Wilkinson: Not to send copies outside the Navy Department and to limit those very carefully.

Mr. Gearhart: Did you ever send any copies of intercepts?

Adriral Wilkinson: Not to my knowledge and only at the last moment did I send the gist of such an intercept, when we said that the diplomatic agencies have been told to burn their codes.

Mr. Gearhart: Now, by transmitting that information any Japanese who cracked our code would know that we had cracked thears, wouldn't they?

Admiral Wilkinson: Not only that, but if any widespread conversation or discussion had come to the ears of any Japanese agents, they would have known we had oracked it. I think our code was fairly secure. What we were attempting to avoid was the spread of knowledge that we were engaged in code breaking and had succeeded in breaking their code.

I think I recall that General Marshall testified that he had heard rumors that that knowledge was beginning to leak out.

Mr. Gearhart: You were present when General Marshall wrote out the message on the 7th of December, the one that arrived in Hawaii too late?

Admiral Wilkinson: No, sir.

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Mr. Gearhart: You were not among those in that group? Admiral Wilkinson: No, sir.

Mr. Gearhart: Well, in that message he tells them that "Tomorrow the Japanese are going to deliver an ultimatum to the State Department" and also that they were going to deliver it at one o'clock. He did not hesitate to tell what he had learned through reading the intercepts, did he?

Adriral Wilkinson: No, sir, not did we in sending out the message about breaking the coies.

Mr. Gearhart: As a matter of fact, your office had been sending out the substance of intercepts all during the year of 1941?

Admiral Wilkinson: I believe not, sir. I think those messages you spoke of were sent out by the Communications office.

Mr. Gearhart: What foes "OPNAV" stand for? Adriral Wilkinson: OPNAV? That is Chief of Naval Operations office as a whole. Is there any number, small number on it afterwards, Op-13, Op-20, something like that? Mr. Gearhart: "OPNAV" is the way this reads.

Admiral Wilkinson: That is general operations of the Navy, yes.

Mr. Gearhart: That means the Chief of Naval Operations? Admiral Wilkinson: Or someone in his office. The actual

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Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Mr. Gearhart

office number if it is prepared in a subordinate office would be indicated by a number such as Op-200 which would be Communications, or Op-16, which would be Intelligence.

Mr. Gearhart: Well, you have looked through these messages that have been sent them by OPNAV, have you not, during the year of 1941?

Admiral Wilkinson: I have seen this book. I am not sure that I recall which were sent out by OPNAV and which were otherwise indicated.

Mr. Gearhart: Well, here is one that was sent out on the 7th day of July 1941 to the Commander-in-Chief of the Asidio Fleet and for the information of the Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Fleet, This reads:

"TOKYO TO WASHINGTON 1 JULY 3298

"Japan DIRECTS EIGHT MARUS ON EAST COAST UNITED STATES RUSH CARGO HANDLING AND PROCEED COLON PASS THROUGH CANAL TO PACIFIC BETWEEN 16 AND 22 JULY ON FOLLOWING SCHEDULE: 16TH TOKAI: 17TH", and so forth, naming a lot of dates.

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes.

Mr. Gearhart: You have that before you, do you? Adriral Wilkinson: Yes.

Mr. Gearhart: Page 6 of exhibit 37.

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes.

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### Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Mr. Gearhart

Mr. Gearhart: That is transmittal of information that was received from intercepts, is it not?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes.

Mr. Gearhart: Turn over to page 7, and you will find another message.

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Gearhart: That is a transmittal by OPNAV or whatever you call it of information received from intercepts, isn't it?

Adriral Wilkinson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Gearhart: Likewise the next, on page 8?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Gearhart: And page 9?

Adriral Wilkinson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Gearhart: Page 10?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, sir. Those were all sent out by the Communications office and all sent out in July. I am informed that that practice was discontinued after July. In any event, it was not under the Office of Naval Intelligence.

Mr. Gearhart: That was sent out because someone who then had the sayso believed that it was necessary to advice Admerican commanders in the field of information that was received in intercepts?

Admiral Wilkinson: Yes, sir. There was a balance between the information roing out and the security of the code

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breaking processes.

Mr. Gearhart: Yes.

Admiral Wilkinson: As we have heard a few moments ago, sir, there were rumors of the suspicions as to code breaking and during the surmer and fall every attempt was made to tighten up the security. This practice was apparently iscontinued and we were constantly being warned by all hands to be careful about how the code breaking was threatened, the knowledge of code breaking was possible of suspicion.

Mr. Gearhart: All right. Now, in a lot of those messages that I called your attention to, the ones relating to ship movements and inquiries concerning ship movements, did they take on any greater importance in your mind when the Navy translated this ressage from Tokyo to Washington, 5 Noverber 1941, translated on November 5, 1941;

"Because of various circumstances, it is absolutely necessary that all arrangements for the signing of this agreement be completed by the 25th of this month. I realize that this is a difficult order, but under the circumstances it is an unavoidable one. Please understand this thoroughly and tackle the problem of saving the Japanese-U. S. relations from falling into a chaotic condition. Do so with great determination and with unstinted effort, I beg of you.

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#### Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Mr. Gearhart

"This information is to be kept strictly to yourself only."

Now, when you read that message of a dead line being fixed by Japan for the doing of something, didn't the previous Japanese ship movement intercepts take on a new and a more important aspect in your estimation?

Admiral Wilkinson: I would not say that it did, sir. That was in the character of prospective diplomatic negotiations that they were anxious to reach a conclusion on. Our war plans people were fully cognizant of it. They were aware of the diplomatic negotiations ond, in fact, on October 16th they had sent out a warning message, on November 24th they sent another and on November 27th still another. These messages were in a class of affecting the operations of the Fleet, which I did not feel was in my province to relay.

Mr. Gearhart: When you read the intercept from Tokyo to Hong Kong dated November 14, 1941, translated November 26, 1941, in which the following is saids

"Should the negotiations colkapse, the international situation in which the Empire will find herself will be one of tremendous orisis. Accompanying this, the Empire's foreign policy as it has been decided by the cabinet, insofar as it pertains to China, is:

We will completely destroy British and American # a.

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Witness Wilkinson

Questions by: Mr. Gearhart

power in China.

"b. We will take over all enemy concessions and enemy important rights and interests (customs and minerals, etc.) in China.

"c. We will take over all rights and interests owned by enemy powers, even though they might have connections with the new Chinese government should it become necessary."

When you read that warlike intercept didn't the interest in our ship movements in Hawaii take on an added importance in your estimation?

Admiral Wilkinson: I would say the interest in our ship movements everywhere did. The interest of the enery espionage in the movement of our ships and the information they dispatched in conjunction with the messages hitherto were all matters considered by the question of how the fleet would operate and what it would do and were measures under the jurisdiction of the War Plans section.

Mr. Gearhart: Now, in the light of these last two intercepts that I have called your attention to, intercepts having to do with a dead line and Japan's martial intentions, after you read them and you say the shipping movement intercepts took on a more important aspect and a greater importance, did you at that time give any considerations to whether or not you should transmit to Admiral Kimmel the substance of the ship

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