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Congress of the United States

Report of Proceedings

Hearing held before

Joint Committee

on the

Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack
S. Con. Res. 27

January 22, 1946

Washington, D. C.

Pages: 7889 to 8008

WARD & PAUL

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PEARL HARBOR REPORT Vol. 42 (5)

S. Con. Res. 27

Tuesday, January 22, 1946

Congress of the United States,

Joint Committee on the Investigation

of Pearl Harbor Attack,

Washington, D.C.

The Joint Committee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10:00 A. M., in the Caucus Room (room 318), Senate Office Building, Senator Alben W. Barkley (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senators Barkley (chairman), George, Lucas, Ferguson and Brewster.

Representatives Cooper (vice chairman) Clark, Murphy, Gearhart and Keefe.

Also present: Seth W. Richardson, General Counsel;
Samuel H. Kaufman, Associate General Counsel, and John E.
Masten, of counsel, for the joint committee.

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The Chairman: The committee will come to order.

General, will you hold up your hand?

TESTIMONY OF MAJOR GENERAL WALTER C. SHORT

United States Army, Retired

(General Short was duly sworn by the Chairman.)

The Chairman: General, the Chair understands that you have a statement here which you desire to read, or to have read, due to the fact that you have been somewhat indisposed.

If you would like to have someone else read it, it would be entirely agreeable to the committee, or if you wish to read it yourself, why, you may proceed.

General Short: Mr. Chairman, I have been in the hospital with pneumonia, and have not entirely recovered by strength, but I shall make every effort to go through my testimony before this committee without interruption.

I prefer to read it myself.

The Chairman: You may proceed.

General Short: Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you and and the members of the committee for giving me, after four long years, the opportunity to tell my story of Pearl Harbor to the American public. I appeared before the Roberts Commission but was not permitted to hear the other witnesses nor given the privilege of cross-examination. I was not

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given the opportunity to read the evidence taken before the Roberts Commission until August, 1944. I appeared before the Army Pearl Harbor Board but again was not permitted to hear the other witnesses nor given the privilege of cross-examination. However, I was furnished a copy of the hearings except for the part considered top secret. The Army Board labeled certain evidence top secret and I was never permitted to see that until this Committee was about to meet. Both Boards took testimony off the record which has not been made available to me.

Before taking up my statement in detail, there are a few points that I would like to mention for emphasis. These will be elaborated upon later.

- 1. On Pearl Harbor Day I was carrying out orders from the War Department as I understood them.
- 2. At no time since June 17, 1940 had the War Department indicated the probability of an attack on Hawaii. In none of the estimates prepared by G-2 War Department was Hawaii mentioned as a point of attack but the Philippines was mentioned repeatedly.
- 3. There was in the War Department an abundance of information which was vital to me but which was not furnished to me. This information was absolutely essential to a correct estimate of the situation and correct decision.

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My estimate of the situation and my decision were made

without the benefit of this vital information. Had this information been furnished to me I am sure that I would have arrived at the conclusion that Hawaii would be attacked

and would have gone on an all-out alert.

4. When I made the decision, based on the information available to me, to go on alert to prevent sabotage (No. 1), I reported measures taken as follows: "Reurad 477 27th Report Department alerted to prevent sabotage. Liaison with the Navy." The War Department had nine days in which to tell me that my action was not what they wanted. I accepted their silence as a full agreement with the action taken. I am convinced that all who read the report thought that my action was correct or I would have received instructions to modify my orders.

I would like to pass out at this time a chart, copies of these charts, in colors, will be placed on the bulletin board. They are not large enough to be very readily seen from there.

I have had several charts prepared that may be of assistance to this committee in the course of my testimony.

Chart No. 1 is a Chronological Summary. It shows my appointment to Hawaii in December 1940, my conversations in Washington in January, 1941, and the period of my com-

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mand for ten months from February 7, 1941 to December 17, 1941.

It traces my ten months of effort to strengthen Hawaiian Defense. As I mention these efforts in the course of my testimony, a glance at this chart will show how the particular matter fitted into the chronological picture.

At the foot of the chart are listed the various requests and requisitions I made of the War Department, most of which were disapproved. An "X" on the chart indicates the date of disapproval of my request. The committee may see at a glance that by December 7th, the picture clearly showed that the War Department was not favorably considering my efforts to strengthen the great Hawaiian outpost.

The Chronological Summary also shows the "alert" messages and the replies, beginning July 8, 1941. It shows the step-up in traffic from the 24th to the 28th of November.

And it portrays graphically the 9 days of silence which the War Department maintained after I sent my second sabotagealert report.

It shows also the December 4th sabotage report, which was sent by General Martin from Hawaii on December 4th, but for some reason mever reached the War Department until December 10th.

(The chart referred to is as follows:)

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General Short: Introduction. 1. Appointment to Hawaii.

The Chief of Staff selected me as the Commanding
General of the Hawaiian Department. I was first notified
in December, 1940. I held conferences in Washington, D. C.,
with General Marshall the first week in January, 1941. I
also conferred with General Gerow in the War Plans Division.
I talked with some officer about the equipment of the Hawaiian
Department. I talked with Colonel (now General) Spaatz about
the Air Corps problem.

2. Assumption of Command.

At the time I assumed command on February 7, 1941, the Hawaiian Department was amply prepared for defense against the submarine danger and against sabotage and espionage, but was not adequately prepared for defense against an air raid, either by bomber or by torpedo planes or both.

On February 7, 1941, the Chief of Staff sent me a letter, detailing his policies regarding the Army mission in Hawaii and stressing his interest in strengthening our air power and anti-aircraft defense. In that letter he deplored the

¹ See Ltr, Secretary of Navy to Secretary of War, dated 24 Jan. 1941, and reply by the Secretary of War, Joint Committee, Daily Record, vol. 5, pages 720-728.

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Witness Short

fact that all defenses would be inadequately equipped because of the overall shortage of aircraft and anti-aircraft equipment.2

EFFORT TO STRENGTHEN DEFENSES

3. Ten Months! Efforts.

During the ten months immediately following my assumption of command, in full cooperation with the Navy, I made strenuous efforts to improve the defense system of the Hawaiian Islands.

4. Agreements with Navy.

A joint agreement with reference to the employment of
the Air Forces was concluded with the Navy, and has heretofore
been called to the attention of this committee. Pertinent
extracts have been selected by the Counsel for the committee
and introduced here as Exhibit 44. Committee Exhibit 13,
the Air Study dated August 20, 1941, is also before the
committee. These agreements specifically placed the responsibility for distant reconnaissance upon the Navy and
provided that the Army, when called upon, should furnish to
the Navy any available aircraft for assisting in this reconnaissance. It specified also that when Army planes were
detailed to assist in the distant reconnaissance they would
act directly under the orders of the Navy and report to the Navy

Ltr, Marshall to Short, 7 Feb. 1941, Committee Exhibit No. 53, "Correspondence between General Marshall and General Short", pages 1 to 3.

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Witness Short

the results obtained in carrying out the mission.

4. Statement to Roberts Commission.

At the time that I was called before the Roberts Commission, I prepared and submitted to them a large document marked as their Exhibit No. 7. I am submitting a copy of this long document to this Joint Congressional Committee, in order that you may have it available in your own records and in order that I may refer to it in this statement.

6. Statement to Roberts Commission.

At this time I want to call attention to pages 28 to 48, inclusive, of Exhibit 7 of the Roberts Commission and to the exhibits lettered "V" through "Z", and "LA" through "LR", as annexed to that Exhibit 7. On those pages and in those exhibits, I developed at some length and in considerable detail, the nature of my effort to improve Hawaiian defense.

The Vice Chairman: General, pardon an interruption.

Do we have before us this exhibit from the Roberts testimony that the General is referring to?

Mr. Kaufman: Yes, sir. Reference was made to it the other day, Mr. Chairman, and indication was made by Mr. Masten that there were only five copies available.

The Vice Chairman: That is the one, is it?

Mr. Kaufman: That is the one.

The Vice Chairman: All right.

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Go ahead, General.

General Short: 7. Statement to Roberts Commission.

I think it unnecessary at this time to read all the factual data that I previously collected for the Roberts Commission. Those who wish to check the details are referred to the statement which I made to the Roberts Commission. I believe that it will be sufficient if I summarize briefly my efforts to increase the defenses of Hawaii.

8. Letter to General Marshall 19 February 1941.

My initial study of the problem was incorporated in a letter to General Marshall on February 19, 1941, and is copied on pages 4 to 9, Committee Exhibit No. 53, "Correspondence between General Marshall and General Short."

9. Airfield Bunkers.

On February 19, 1941, a letter was sent to the War Department recommending that \$1,565,600 be allotted for the purpose of providing protective bunkers and the necessary taxiways and hard standings for our aircraft. On September 12, 1941, the War Department promised \$1,358,000, but these funds were not to become available until January 1, 1942, nearly 30 days after the attack. As a result of the delay of this project, on December 7, 1941, it was impracticable to disperse the planes adequately at Hickam Field or to protect them from an air raid. Bunkers at Wheeler Field

had been constructed with soldier labor.3

10. Military Roads and Trails.

On February 19, 1941, I requested \$1,370,000 for construction of military roads and trails. Up to December 7, 1941, only \$350,000 had been allotted to us.

11. Coast Artillery.

On February 18, 1941, I requested two regiments of mobile coast artillery. As a result, the War Department, in May 1941, authorized certain increases in the coast artillery garrison, to be gradually furnished us between June 1941 and March 1942. The War Department, however, disapproved our request of February 25, 1941, for an increase in enlisted men of the 251st Coast Artillery Regiment from 1181 to 1450. This was an anti-aircraft regiment.

12. Kaneohe Naval Air Station.

In February 1941, the Army assumed responsibility for the defense of the Naval Air Station at Kaneohe Bay. General Marshall concurred with this change in the defense plan. On April 14, 1941, a letter was sent to the Adjutant General recommending procurement of a 12-inch gun battery for the Kaneohe Bay area. I requested an increase of the War Strength

See Exhibit "W" to Exhibit 7, Roberts Commission.

Exhibit "LA" to Exhibit 7, Roberts Commission. Exhibit "LJ" to Exhibit 7, Roberts Commission.

Garrison to 71,500 to provide appropriate defenses for Kaneche Bay and for station complements. This request, as well as our subsequent letters, did not receive favorable consideration from the War Department.

13. The Infantry.

As early as April 25, 1941, I requested the organization of two triangular divisions in place of the Hawaiian Division (Square), the formation of station complements at Schofield Barracks and Fort Shafter, and the activation of an Air Defense Command. At this time the Square division was outmoded and no longer in use in the mainland units. On May 29, 1941, the War Department reduced our initial war garrison to 58,000. I immediately protested and asked that the allotment be increased to 71,500 and repeated my request for station complements. These requests met with disapproval, except that authority was granted in July for the organization of the two triangular divisions, with a reduced overall strength remaining at 58,000 instead of 71,500 as requested by me.

14. Additional Airfields.

Proper air defense and training urgently required the construction of additional airfields. Numerous letters were

⁶ Exhibit "10" to Exhibit 7, Roberts Commission; Ltr, Mar. 13, 1941, Gen. Marshall to Gen. Short, page 13, Committee Exhibit No. 53.

⁷ Exhibit "IL" to Exhibit 7, Roberts Commission.

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Witness Short

dispatched between April 5, 1941, and May 14, 1941, with specific recommendations for ten airports. Up until the time of the attack, no funds had been specifically allotted by the War Department, although plans had been approved. By directing that an air field be constructed at Kahuku, delay was occasioned by protracted negotiations. In an effort to start fields without waiting for the receipt of funds, I directed the use of soldier labor at Molokai, Burns, Morse and Barking Sands. I considered the immediate improvement of Bellows Field vital for the protection of Oahu and so informed the War Department. The War Department approved plans for the project but did not immediately allocate funds. However, the District Engineer was directed to take all possible steps until such time as the specific funds were made available. By this makeshift means gasoline storage tanks were completed and a 5000-foot runway was half completed on December 7, 1941.

15. Landing Strips.

On June 21, 1941, the War Department's attention was directed to the necessity for landing strips at Wheeler Field. In spite of a prolonged exchange of communications on this subject, no funds were allotted or received for this

WARD & PAUL WASHINGTON, D. C.

⁸ Exhibit "1B" to Exhibit 7, Roberts Commission.

Witness Short

purpose. Limited improvements were made by soldier labor.

16. Radar.

The Aircraft Warning Service was regarded as probably the most important single defense project. The priorities granted to us, however, made it impossible to complete the permanent radar stations prior to the time of the attack. 10

17. Priorities.

The priorities situation also rendered it impossible to obtain supplies except from the mainland, with delivery delayed six to eight weeks even under the most favorable conditions. We made repeated efforts to correct this situation, but no success had been made up to the time of the attack. In this respect, as well as all others, the War Department reserved to itself full control of the determination of the strategical importance of the various defense projects and in the case of aircraft warning material did not favorably consider my request that a higher priority be granted to us. 11

18. Camouflage of Airfields.

On July 15, 1941, we requested funds for camouflage treatment of airfields. The War Department, apparently acting upon their estimate that air attack was improbable, had furnished us no funds for this purpose prior to December 7, 1941. The effectiveness of camouflaging which we were able

⁹ See page 33 and Exhibit "ID" of Exhibit 7, Roberts Commission.

Il Exhibit "IF" to Exhibit 7, Roberts Commission.

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Witness Short

to do was limited by our inability to buy the necessary materials. 12

19. Field Fortifications.

Along the same line, our request for funds for field fortifications and camouflage was also denied by the War Department. No funds were given us for this purpose. 13

20. Advance Procurement Funds.

On July 28, 1941, we requested a revolving fund allotment of \$1,000,000 to permit advance procurement of essential materials. In September the Deputy Chief of Staff allotted \$500,000 for this fund, but before any materials could be secured the War Department diverted the money for housing at Kaneohe Bay. As a result, no reserve supplies, except lumber, had been accumulated. 14

21. Air Depot.

Our Air Depot at Hickam Field was extremely vulnerable to attack. Therefore on September 10, 1941, I recommended that bombproof facilities for aircraft repair be constructed, costing \$3,480,650. On October 27, the War Department informed me that:

"*** it is a policy that such facilities will not be provided." 15

¹² Exhibit "Z" to Exhibit 7, Roberts Commission

¹³ Exhibit "Y" to Exhibit 7, Roberts Commission

¹⁴ Exhibit "IG" to Exhibit 7, Roberts Commission 15 Exhibit "X" to Exhibit 7, Roberts Commission

During the attack, this Air Depot was a main target and suffered tremendous damage. Immediately after the attack, funds were provided, and underground, bombproof facilities were begun.

22. May 1941 Maneuvers.

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During our May 1941 maneuvers, it was found that our then existent defensive field orders were too cumbersome. On July 14, 1941, a tentative Standing Operating Procedure was issued. In letters dated October 10 and 28, General Marshall suggested certain changes in this defense plan, relative to the air corps mission, which suggestions we adopted in the final draft of the S.O.P., dated 5 November 1941. Due to this plan and the familiarization of all units with it, all personnel down to the last man were able to act promptly in the execution of their missions when the raid took place. This they did in a most creditable manner.

23. Standing Operating Procedure. The Standing Operating Procedure of November 5, 1941, was issued to comply with paragraph 159, FM 100-5, issued by the War Department on May 22, 1941, which states:

"In every unit, standing operating procedure is prescribed by the commander whenever practicable.

¹⁶ See pages 42-45, Domm. Ex. No. 53, "Correspondence between General Marshall and General Short".

"This procedure covers those features of operations which lend themselves to a definite or standardized procedure without loss of effectiveness. The adoption of such procedures will save time in the preparation and issuance of orders, minimize the chances for confusion, and errors when under stress of combat, and greatly simplify and expedite the execution of operations in the field."

The value of having a Standing Operating Procedure was fully demonstrated at the time of the attack.

I wish to pass out Chart No. 2 at this time.

The Vice Chairman: This (indicating) is the chart you refer to, General?

General Short: That is correct.

The Vice Chairman: I believe all members of the committee have it.

General Short: This chart will summarize for the committee the requests I made of the War Department and the amount I was granted.

It shows that I requested a total of some \$22,953,697 for projects which the responsible officers in Hawaii considered vital for national defense.

It shows that the War Department granted us only \$350,000 -- for roads and trails.

The grants totaled about 1-1/2percent of the requests.

That situation speaks for itself.

I want to add that beginning December 7, 1941, right after

the attack, I was given a blank check for everything I needed.

(The chart above referred to is as follows:)

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7 FEB TO 7 DEC 1941 AN TS DEFENSE FUNDS - REQUESTS & GR

\$ 1,565,600

\$1,370,000

BRANTED + 150,000

BUNKERS 19 Feb. 1941

ROADS & TRAILS

BATTERY FOR KANEOHE BAY

\$ 215, 265

TEN AIRPORTS 5 APRIL TO MAY 1941

WHEELER FIELD IMPROVEMENT

CAMOUFLAGING AIRFIELDS

FUND FOR MATERIALS

BOMBPROOFING NAWAIIAN AIR DEPOT

\$ 55,700

1 56,210

\$ 1,000,000

REQUESTED \$ 22,953,697

REQUESTS

SCAL

• 25 APR.- ORGANIZATION OF 2 TRIANGULAR DWISIONS • REQUESTS FOR PRIORITIES ON MATERIALS • 18 FEB. - TWO REGIMENTS OF MOBILE COAST ARTILLERY • 25 FEB. - INCREASE OF STRENGTH OF 251 of C.A. REGIMENT

GRANTED \$350,000

CHART IN 2

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Witness Short

General Short: PREPARATION OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION FOR DEFENSE.

24. Civilian Defense Program.

From page 43 through page 48 of the statement which I submitted to the Roberts Commission, I discussed the Civilian Defense Program of the Islands. The committee may examine that statement for an outline of this phase. The defensive measures to enable the civilian population to meet any emergency which might arise where covered under the following headings:

- (1) Production and storage of food,
- (2) Organization of doctors and nurses for care of injured and wounded,
- (3) An agreement with the Red Cross for it to purchase and store in Honolulu \$200,000 worth of medicines and surgical supplies and equipment for use in any possible emergency,
- (4) Organization of an auxiliary to the police force to guard utilities and prevent sabotage,
- (5) Preparation of plans and provision for evacuation of women and children and preparation of shelters for workers in the vicinity of central industries.

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Governor Poindexter's Letter. I think the best summary of my work in preparing the civilian population to meet any emergency is found in the letter of Governor Joseph B. Poindexter, dated December 23, 1941 which I should like to quote in full:

"SEAL

OF THE

TERHITORY OF HAWAII

Executive Chambers

HONOLULU

23 December 1941

Lieutenant General Walter C. Short, Fort Shafter, T.H.

My dear General Short :

Having noted in the public press that an investigation is being made as to the military preparedness of the Army and Navy in Hawaii on December 7, 1941, I believe it appropriate that I make to you a statement as to the state of preparedness of the civil communities of these Islands for war when they were so insidiously and treacherously attacked on December 7, 1941.

The citizens of the Hawaiian Islands have always appreciated that these Islands were important to National De-

17- See Exhibit 7, Roberts Commission, page 47a to 47c.

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Witness Short

fense from a military standprint, but it has only been since your arrival in these Islands on February 5, 1941 that it has been brought home to the civil population the importance of the part it would play in the event of a war in the Pacific. On December 7th, the citizens of these Islands met the hour of their test in such a manner as to make me proud to be the Chief Executive of these Islands. Your foresight in urging the population to prepare to meet the possible vicissitudes of war and the joint efforts of the Army and civil population in planning and preparing for this emergency was magnificently rewarded.

It may be of interest to point out in detail some of the plans and preparations which bore fruit on December 7. 1941:

- The enactment of the Hawaiian Defense Act by (1) a special session of the Legislature called for that purpose. This legislation permits a mobilization of the entire civil economy of the Islands in the interest of National Defense or in the event of disaster. By virtue of this Act. civilian defense was planned and many of its phases were brought to such a point of preparation that they were able to go into action immediately and to function effectively on December ?, 1941.
 - The production and conservation of food: (2)

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Householders were persistently urged to stock their shelves in canned food. It is estimated that this resulte d in increasing the available food supply of the Hawaiian Islands by more than twenty per cent. Federal appropriation was requested for procurement and storage for food reserve. This appropriation has, since December 7, 1941, been authorized. By agreement with plantation owners, plans were made for the procurement and storage of seed and the planting of certain large areas with quick growing food crops. Agreements were also made for the growing, in normal times, of these crops not usually grown in marketable quantities. Infurtherance of this plan, the War Department was induced to permit the purchase of Island grown potatoes for the use of the Army although the price was above that of mainland potatoes. In anticipation of the receipt of reserve supplies of food asked for in the emergency, the Army supported a certificate of necessity for building an adequate warehouse to meet these needs. This warehouse is now available for the storage of food supply when it arrives.

(3) The medical facilities for the care of the injured and wounded during any disaster was one of the first things accomplished by the civilians of these Islands for an emergency. This resulted in mobilizing the entire medical profession of the Islands with all its medical facilities.

Approximately three thousand persons were given training and instruction in First-Aid as required by the Red Cross. The persons thus trained assisted in carrying out the arduous tasks of evacuation. Twenty First-Aid units were organized, each unit consisting of personnel of about one hundred and twenty. An ambulance corps of one hundred and forty improvised ambulances were organized. The performance of their tasks by these groups was one of the highlights of the civil defense efforts on December 7, 1941.

- (4) Plans for the evacuation of women and children and the preparation of shelters for workers in essential industries had reached a high state of perfection on December 7, 1941, and the evacuation of women and children from areas attacked was accomplished in a most admirable manner.
- (5) An auxiliary police force to guard utilities and to prevent sabotage was organized at an early date in our preparation and it was able to function instantly when called upon to do so on the morning of December 7th. The work of this force was exceptional and excellent.
- (6) Legislation authorizing a home guard was enacted at the special session of the Territorial Legislature. It was well planned and so organized that 1400 of such home guardsmen could be and were placed on duty thereby relieving members of the Army for other military duty.

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There were many other matters too numerous to (7) detail here which were planned and accomplished at your instigation. Important among these was the bringing home to the public the urgent necessity for cooperation and public service in times of emergency.

All of the foregoing required tremendous effort on the part of the local authorities, the citizenry and military authorities. All such efforts have been rewarded since December ?, 1941, in that Territorial and City Governments and all phases of the public welfare have overcome all obstacles and have operated smoothly as a direct result of prior planning and training.

It is my belief that the public has confidence in the military and civil authorities. The fact that the Japanese Government has seen fit to inflict a treacherous attack has not in any way diminished the faith of this community in your demonstrated abilities. I wish to state that the magnificent way in which the Territory of Hawaii met its problem in its crucial hour was in a large measure due to your foresight. I am deeply grateful for your efforts on behalf of the Territory.

You are at liberty to use this letter in any way which you see fit.

> Very sincerely yours, (8) J. B. POINDEXTER GOVERNOR OF HAWAII.

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PRE-WAR ALERTS

Marshall-Herron Alert. Prior to the time that I assumed command in Hawaii, General Marshall had definitely indicated his intention to direct personally any genuine pre-war alert. As Commanding General and as a matter of training I was, of course, fully authorized to conduct drills, maneuvers and practice alerts. Numerous maneuvers, general and special practice alerts were, in fact, held. However, as a part of my orientation, on the day before I assumed command, General Herron, my predecessor, acquainted me with the relation which had existed between himself and General Marshall during the all-out alert which began June 17, 1940. 18 In that alert. General Marshall had directed the alert and had closely supervised its continuance, as disclosed in Committee Exhibit No. 52, "Communications between War Department and General Herron Concerning 1940 Alert". The following message began the alert:

"June 17, 1940. No. 428. Immediately alert complete defensive organization to deal with possible
trans-Pacific raid, to greatest extent possible without
creating public hysteria or provoking undue curiosity
of newspapers or alien agents. Suggest maneuver basis.

¹⁸⁻Affidavit of General Herron, page 212, Clausen Report.

Maintain alert until further orders. Instructions for secret communication direct with Chief of Staff will be furnished you shortly. Auknowledge. ADAMS."

Supervision by Chief of Staff. The "ecord is clear that at the time of the 1940 alert the Chief of Staff had sufficient time and sense of personal responsibility toward the Hawaiian Department to order and to supervise the Hawaiian alert. In addition, he had information which caused him to st ate that --

In any event it would have been foolhardy not to take special precautions. "

Expected Action of Chief of Staff. It was my expectation that if the Chief of Staff once again had information causing him to expect a "trans-Pacific raid" against Oahu, he would follow the course he had previously set as an example. I felt that a Chief of Staff who had personally supervised the long-continued 1940 Alert would certainly have the time and interest not only to read and to understand my suocinct report "Reurad four seven two 27th Report Department alerted to prevent sabotage. Liaison with the Navy", but to send further word in the event that he disagreed in any way with the measures I had taken in obedience to his November

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^{19 -} Page 13, Committee Exhibit No. 52.

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Witness Short

27 directive. At the time that the previous alert had been modified, on July 16, 1940, the Chief of Staff had thought that the sabotage menace continued, even though the air r. id danger had subsided. He had said that he wanted the Air Corps training resumed in such manner that the "aerial patrol measures" could be reestablished on short notice.

THE WAR PLANS

Rainbow Five. The basic war plan was called Rainbow Five by the Army and WPL-46 by the Navy. This plan could be put into effect only by the War and Navy Departments. 21

Local Defense Plan. The Joint Coastal Frontier Defense Plan for Hawaii was approved by Admiral Bloch and me on 11 April 1941, based, of course, on the Rainbow Plan. Under this plan, the Navy undertook responsibility for "distant reconnaissance". No part of this Joint Plan would take effect until the War Department ordered M-day under the Rainbow Plan, unless it was ordered in effect from Washington or by mutual agreement of the Army and Navy in Hawaii. Due to my knowledge of the attitude of the War Department, I would never have ordered any part of the plan into effect

^{20 -} Page 18, Committee Exhibit No. 52

^{21 -} Section IX, par. 53, Rainbow Five; Sec. VIII, par. 40a, Rainbow Five.

²²⁻ Par. 18,1, Joint Coastal Frontier Defense Plan 18 April 1941

²³⁻ Par. 15,0,(2), Joint Coastal Frontier Defense Plan, 18 April 1941.

without consulting it, as long as communications were open and time permitted. Under the circumstances preceding the attack, the War Department, with far more intimate knowled;e of the nature of the Japanese situation, had not ordered M-day, had not put the Rainbow Plan into effect, in whole or in part, and had expressed no dissatisfaction with my report of a sabotage alert. The only conclusion I could draw was that it did not want the war plans implemented because of the possible alarm to the public or the danger of provoking the Japanese. Their silence I took as concurrence with the degree of alert I had adopted.

INFORMATION FURNISHED HAWAIIAN DEPARTMENT

Information in General. I want to cutline for the Committee the information which the War Department furnished me during the critical ten-day period preceding the attack.

Pass out chart No. 6, please.

(The Chart above referred to 16 as follows, to-wit:)

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Chart No. 6 is an attempt to show on the map the import-

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ant factors which entered into my estimate of the situation -the things which led me to think that the Japanese were not going to attack Hawaii.

1. The last official prediction of an imminent trans-

Pacific raid on Oahu was the Marshall-Herron Alert of 1940

(shown by a broken line on the map from Japan to Honolulu.)

- 2. The current information in November 1941 from Washington pointed to a Jap attack on Russia, Siam, Kra, the Philippines or Borneo (shown by heavy dark arrows stemming from Japan).
- 3. The current information also indicated that the probable danger in Hawaii, Guam and Samoa was "internal attack"; that is, hostile action in the form of sabotage and subversive activities.
- 4. Meantime, Hawaii wasa focal point in transporting troops, B-17's and air crews to the Philippines. The planes were always sent to Hawaii unarmed, but when sending them out to the more dangerous area of the Philippines, we were instructed to arm them.
- 5. Discussion was going on about army troops moving out to Christmas and Canton to relieve the Marines (shown by a dotted line on the map?.
 - 6. The Marshalls were the nearest Jap territory.

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Witness Short

With such a picture, the Committee can get a better idea of the considerations which weighed on my mind.

Background since 1940 Alert. As a matter of brief background, the committee should recall the precedent set by the Marshall-Herron Alert of 1940. They should also bear in mind the message from the Adjutant General on July 25, 1941 which is shown in committee exhibit No. 32 (Reading):

"WASHINGTON DC 152A July 8, 1941

"C G

HAWN DEPT FORT SHAFTER TH

"NINE TWO FOUR SEVENTH AGMC FOR YOUR INFORMATION DEDUCTION FROM INFORMATION FROM NUMEROUS SOURCES IS THAT JAPANESE GOVT HAS DETERMINED UPON ITS FUTURE POLICY WHICH IS SUPPORTED BY ALL PRINCIPAL JAPANESE POLITICAL AND MILITARY GROUPS PERIOD THIS POLICY IS AT PRESENT ONE OF WATCHFUL "AITING INVOLVING PROBABLE AGGRESSIVE ACTION AGAINST MARITIME PROVINCES OF RUSSIA IF AND WHEN SIBERIAN GARRISON HAS BEEN MATERIALLY REDUCED IN STRENGTH AND IT BECOMES EVIDENT THAT GERMANY WILL WIN A DECISIVE VICTORY IN EUROPEAN RUSIA PE IOD OPINION IS THAT JAP ACTIVITY IN THE SOUTH WILL BE FOR THE PRESENT CONFINED TO STITURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF NAVAL APMY AND AIR BASES IN INDO CHINA ALTHOUGH AN ADVANCE AGAINST THE BRITISH AND DUTCH CANNOT BE ENTIRELY RULED OUT PERIOD NEUTRALITY

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PACT WITH RUSSIA MAY BE ABROGATED PERIOD THEY HAVE ORDERED ALL JAP VESSELS IN US ATLANTIC PORTS TO BE WEST OF PANAMA CANAL BY FIRST AUGUST PERIOD MOVEMENT OF JAP SHIPPING FROM JAPAN HAS BEEN SUSPENDED AND ADDITIONAL MERCHANT VESSELS ARE BEING REQUISITIONED

ADAMS. "

This is the only message sent direct by the War Department to me which indicates that "magic" sources were being used by the information center. It also is the only message received from the War Department that made a definite estimate as to probable Japanese action.

I should like also to read the messare of July 25, 1941 received through Naval Intelligence, shown in committee exhibit No. 32. This is addressed to Admiral Kimmel from Admiral Stark. (Reading)

"THIS IS A JOINT DISPATCH FROM THE CNO AND THE CHIEF OF STAFF US ARMY X APPROPRIALE ADEES DELIVER COPIES TO COMMANDING GENERALS HAWAII PHILIPPINES AND CARIBBEAN DEFENSES COMMAND AND TO GENERAL CHANEY IN LONDON XX YOU ARE ADVISED THAT AT 1400 GCT JULY TWENTY SIXTH UNITED STATES WILL IMPOSE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST JAPAN X IT IS EXPECTED THESE SANCTIONS WILL EMBARGO ALL TRADE BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES SUBJECT TO MODIFICATION THROUGH A LICENSING SYSTEM FOR CERTAIN

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MATERIAL X IT IS ANTICIPAL'D THAT EXPORT LICENSES WILL BE GRANTED FOR CERTAIN GRADES OF PETROLEUM "RODUCTS COTTON AND POSSIBLY SOME OTHER MATERIALS AND THAT IMPORT LICENSES MAY BE GRANTED FOR RAW SILK X JAPANESE ASSETS AND FUNDS IN THE UNITED STATES WILL BE FROZEN EXCEPT THAT THEY MAY BE MOVED IF LICENSES ARE GRANTED FOR SUCH MOVEMENT X IT IS NOT REPEAT NOT EXPECTED THAT JAPANESE MERCHANT VESSELS IN UNITED STATES PORTS WILL BE SEIZED AT THIS TIME X UNITED STALES FLAG MERCHANT VESSELS WILL NOT AT PRESENT BE ORDERED TO DEPART FROM OR NOT TO ENTER PORTS CONTROLLED BY JAPAN X CNO AND COS DO NOT ANTICIPATE I MEDIATE HOSTILE REACTION BY JAPAN THROUGH THE USE OF MILITARY MEANS BUT YOU ARE FURNISHED THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT YOU MAY TAKE APPROPRIATE PUE-CAUTIONARY MEASURES AGAINST POSSIBLE EVENTUALITIES X ACTION BEING INITIATED BY THE UNITED STATES ARMY TO CALL THE PHILIPPINE ARMY INTO ACTIVE SERVICE AT AN EAULY DATE XX THIS DESPATCH IS TO BE KEPT SECRET EXCEPT FROM INTEDIATE NAVY AND ARMY SUBORDINATES X SPENAVO CINCPAC CINCLANT CINCAF COM FIFTEEN SPENAVO LONDON XX.

The Vice Chairman: General, would you pardon an interruption there? What is the page of that which you just read?
General Short: That is on page 2 of exhibit No. 32.
The Vice Chairman: And what was the page of the other

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one you read?

The Vice Chairman: Page 1?

General Short: Yes, sir.

The Vice Chairman: Thank you, sir.

General Short: The other was page 1.

Mr. Gearhart: May I have the page number which you are reading from now?

General Short: Page 2 of exhibit 32.

Mr. Gearhart: No, I mean of your statement.

General Short: Page 16 of my statement.

Also, on October 20, 1941 the Army had informed me that they expected "no abrupt change in Japanese foreign policy" 25 in spite of the fact that the Navy Department had predicted possible hostilities on October 16, 1941.

These two messages are so diametrically opposed in their views that I should like to read them.

The Vice Chairman: Will you please give the page every time you read one?

General Short: Yes, sir. On page 3 of exhibit 32 a message sent by Ingersoll to Admiral Kimmel dated October 16, 1941.

^{25 -} Radiogram 20 Oct. 1941, Adjutant General to Short, page 4, Committee Exhibit 32.

^{26 -} Radiogram, 16 Oct. 1941, CNO to CINCPAC; page 3, Committee Exhibit 32; Page 20-B, Exhibit 37.

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WARD & PAUL. WASHINGTON .

"THE RESIGNATION OF THE JAPANESE CABINET HAS CRE-ATED A GRAVE SITUATION X IF A NEW CABINET IS FORMED IT WILL PROBABLY BE STRONGLY NATIONALISTIC AND ANTI AMERICAN X IF THE KONOYE CABINET REMAINS THE EFFECT WILL BE THAT IT WILL OPERATE UNDER A NEW MANDATE WHICH WILL NOT INCLUDE RAPPROCHEMENT WITH THE US X IN EITHER CASE HOSTILITIES BETWEEN JAPAN AND RUSSIA ARE A STONG POS-SIBILITY X SINCE THE US AND BRITAIN ATE HELD RESPONSIBLE BY JAPAN FOR HER PRESENT DESPERATE SITUATION THE E IS ALSO A POSSIBILITY THAT JAPAN MAY ATTACK THESE TWO POWERS X IN VIEW OF THESE POSSIBILITIES YOU WILL TAKE DUE PRECAUTIONS INCLUDING SUCH PREPATATORY DEPLOYMENTS AS WILL NOT DISCLOSE STRATEGIC INTENTION NOR CONSTITUTE PROVOCATIVE ACTIONS A AINST JAPAN X SECOND AND THIPD ADEES INFORM APPROPRIAGE ARMY AND NAVAL DISTRICT AUTHORITIES X ACKNOWLED E XX.

That was a quite definite prediction of hostile action on the part of Japan.

Now, the Army message reads as follows; page No. 4, exhibit 32:

"WASHN DC 1234P OCT 20 1941

"20th FOLLOWING WAR DEPT ESTIMATE OF JAPANESE
SITUATION FOR YOUR INFORMATION STOP TENSION BETWEEN
UNITED STATES AND JAPAN REMAINS STRAINED BUT NO PEPEAT

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Witness Short

NO ABRUPT CHANGE IN JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY APPEARS IMMINENT

ADAMS."

Sabotage vs. Air Danger. General Marshall's testimony made a strong point of the fact that in the correspondence between him and the Hawalian Department, sabotage was not mentioned but that the letters were confined largely to aircraft and anti-aircraft defense. He stated that he did not understand the reason why sabotage then should later be emphasized. The reason that sabotage was never discussed in my letters to General Marshall was the fact that we had in Hawaii all of the equipment necessary to prevent sabotage. Our letters were written to emphasize the need of aircraft and anti-aircraft defense. The Secretary of the Navy had stated in his letter to the Secretary of War on January 24, 1941, that defense against sabotage had been provided for satisfactorily. I a reed fully with this statement. There was therefore no reason to make requests upon the Chief of Staff with reference to equipment or material for antisabotage measures.

Nov. 24 Message to Kimmel. On November 24, 1941, Admirel Kimmel received the following message from the Chief of Naval Operations, concurred in by the Chief of Staff:

"There are very doubtful chances of a favorable

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Witness Short

outcome of negotiations with Japan. This situation, coupled with statements of Nippon Government and movements of their naval and military force, indicate, in our opinion, that a surprise aggressive movement in any direction, including an attack on the Philippines or Guam is a possibility. The Chief of Staff has seen this dispatch and concurs and requests action. senior Army officers in respective areas. Utmost secreoy is necessary in order not to complicate the already tense situation or precipitate Japanese action." 27

This mess age indicated possible movement in the direction of the Philippines or Guam and called for secrecy.

Nov. 27 Message to Kimmel. On November 27th the Chief of Naval Operations sent to the Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Fleet the following message which was made known to me:

"Consider this dispatch a war warning. The negotiations with Japan in an effort to stabilize conditions in the Pacific have ended. Japan is expected to make an aggressive move within the next few duys. An amphibicus expedition against either the Philippines, or Kra Peninsula or possibly Borneo is indicated by the number and equipment of Japanese troops and the organization of

^{27 -} Message 24 Nov., Navy to Kimmel, page 28-B, Exhibit 37.

Witness Short

of their naval forces. You will execute a defensive deployment in preparation for carrying out the tasks assigned in WPL 46. Guam, Samoa, and Continental Districts
have been directed to take appropriate measures against
sabotage. A similar warning is being sent by the War
Department. Inform naval district and army authorities.

28
British to be informed by Spenavo."

You will notice that whereas the message of the 24th indicated a possible attack on Guam, by this time they had decided that the movement was entirely to the south and they indicated only sabotage arrangements on the Island of Cahu.

while this message is headed "War Warning", it should be noted that Navy War Plan 46 was not placed in effect by the Navy Department, but a defensive deployment was oredered in preparation for carrying out the tasks assigned under Navy War Plans 46. This indicated that later directions would be received if it became necessary to carry out this plan.

Japanese action towards the south was indicated. I want to emphasize the following sentence from the message:

"You will execute a defensive deployment in preparation for carrying out the tasks assigned in WPL 46."

^{28 -} Message 27 Nov., Navy to Kimmel, page 31B, Exhibit 37.

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Witness Short

Such defensive deployment would necessarily include dis-

Do-Don't Message. On November 27th I received the following radiogram from the Clief of Staff which, on account of its conflicting instructions, the Army Pearl Harbor Board called the "Do-or-Don't message":

"No. 472. Negotiations with the Japanese appear to be terminated to all practical purposes with only the barest possibilities that the Japanese Government might come back and offer to continue. Japanese future action unpredictable but hostile action possible at any moment. If hostilities cannot, repeat cannot, be avoided the United States desires that Japan commit the first overt act. This policy should not, repeat not, be construed as restricting you to a course of action that might jeopardize your defense. Pricr to hostile Japanese action, you are directed to undertake such reconnaissance and other measures as you deem necessary but these measures should be carried out so as not, repeat not, to alarm the civil population or disclose intent. Report measures taken. Should hostilities occur, you will carry out the tasks assigned in Rainbow Five so far as they

Line 5, Page 123, Report of the Army Pearl Harbor Board; also line 20, page 1, Top Secret Report of the Army Pearl Harbor Board.

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Witness Short

pertain to Japan. Limit the dissemination of this highly secret information to minimum essential officers."

The impression conveyed to me by this message was that the avoidance of war was paramount and the greatest fear of the War Department was that some international incident might occur in Hawaii and be regarded by Japan as an overt act. That this opinion was in accordance with the views of General Marshall is shown by the following quotation from his testimony:

"So far as public opinion was concerned, I think the Japanese were capitalizing on the belief that it would be Ja very difficult to bring our people into a willingness to enter the war. That, incidentally, was somewhat confirmed by the governmental policy on our part of making certain that the overt act should not be attributed to the United States, because of the state of the public mind at the time. Of course, no one anticipated that that overt act would be the cripplin; of the Pacific Fleet." 31

No mention was made of a probable attack on Hawaii since the alert message of June 17, 1940. An examination of the

³⁰⁻Message 27 Nov., No. 472, from Marshall; page 7, Exhibit 32 31 - Army Pearl Harbor Board Transcript, Vol. A, page 41.

Witness Short

various Military Intelligence estimates prepared by 4-2 WD, shows that in no estimate did G-2 ever indicate the probability of an attack on Hawaii. There was nothing in the message directing me to be prepared to meet an air raid or an all-out attack. "Hostile action at any moment" meant to me that as far as Hawaii was concerned the War Department was predicting sabotage. Sabotage is a form of hostile action.

Sabotage Emphasis. The only additional information received from the War Department after the receipt of message No. 472 (November 27) was contained in three messages on sabotage and subversive measures. The first from G-2 War Department to G-2 Hawaiian Department received November 27th read as follows:

"Japanese negotiations have come to practical stalemate. Hostilities may ensue. Subversive activities may be expected. Inform Commanding General and Chief of Staff only."

This message was erroneously paraphrased in the Army Pearl Harbor Board Report, page 133, to indicate that hostilities were "probable".

Report by General Short. I replied as follows to the radiogram from the Chief of Staff November 27th:

WARD & PAUL. WASHINGTON. D. C.

^{32 -} Exhibit 33

^{33 -} Message 27 Nov., No. 473, War Dept G-2 to Hawn. Dept. G-2; Page 10, Exhibit 32.

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Witness Short

"Chief of Staff, War Department Washington, D. C.

"Reurad four seven two 27th Report Department alerted to prevent sabotage. Liaison with the Navy. SHORT # 34

I wish to point out that this message reporting measures taken referred by number to the mess age which I had received from the War Department. If the War Department had checked the message carefully, there could have been no possible mistake that it was in reply to War Department message No. 472 which directed a report of the measures taken. War Department Message No. 472, November 27th was the only message addressed to the Commanding General, Hawaiian Department, signed "Marshall". The message of November 27th, No. 473, signed "Miles", was addressed to G-2, Hawaiian Department, and did not call for a report. My message No. 959, November 27th, was addressed to the Chief of Staff, referred by number to No. 472, and stated that I was reporting measures taken. It is difficult to see how there could have been any possible confusion as to the message which was being answered. Failure to check my message No. 959 to determine to which war Department message it was a reply probably came about only because all who read the message believed the action

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^{34 -} Page 12, Exhibit 32.

Witness Short

was correct. General Marshall, in his testimony before the Army Pearl Harbor Board, stated:

"We anticipated, beyond a doubt, a Japanese movement in Indo-China and the Gulf of Siam, and against the Malay Peninsula. We anticipated also an assault on the Philippines. We did not, so far as I recall, anticipate an attack on Hawaii; the reason being that we thought, with the addition of more modern planes, that the defenses there would be sufficient to make it extremely hazardous for the Japanese to attempt such an attack."

Nov. 28 Sabotage Message and Report. On November 28th the following message, relating entirely to sabotage and subversive measures, was received from the War Department:

"HAWN DEPT FT SHAFTER TH

*482 28th Critical situation demands that all precautions be taken immediately against subversive activities within field of investigative responsibility of
War Department (see paragraph three MID SC 30-45). Also
desired that you initiate forth all additional measures
necessary to provide for protection of your establishments, property, and equipment against sabotage, protec-

^{35 -} Army Pearl Harbor Board Transcript, Vol. 1, page 9.

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W itness Short

protection of all activities against espionage. This does not, repeat not, mean that any illegal measures are authorized. Protective measures should be confined to those essential to security, avoiding unnecessary publicity and alarm. To insure speed of transmission identical telegrams are being sent to all air stations but this does not, repeat not, affect your responsibility under existing instructions. ADAMS."

When this message was received from the War Department

I felt that it had been prepared after consideration had been
given to my message reporting measures taken pursuant to

War Department message No. 472. I sent the following message
in reply and was careful to refer directly to the War Department number "482":

WAR DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON D. C.

"Re your secret radio 482 28th, full precautions are being taken against subversive activities within the field of investigative responsibility of War Department (paragraph 3 MID SC 30-45) and military establishments including personnel and equipment. As regards protection

^{36 - 28} Nov. Message No. 482 from The Adjutant General; Page 13, Exhibit 32;

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of vital installations outside of military reservations such as power plants, telephone exchanges and highway bridges, this headquarters by monfidential letter dated June 19, 1941, requested the Governor of the Territory to use the broad powers vested in him by Section 67 of the Organic Act which provides, in effect, that the Governor may call upon the commenders of military and naval forces of the United States in the Territory of Hawali to prevent or suppress lawless violence, invasion, insurrection, etc. Pursuant to the authority stated the Governor on June 20th confidentially made a formal written demand on this headquarters to furnish and continue to furnish such adequate protection as may be necessary to prevent sabotage, and lawless violence in connection therewith, being committed against vital installations and structures in the Territory. Pursuant to the foregoing request appropriate military protection is now being afforded vital civilian installations. In this connection, at the instigation of this headquarters the City and County of Honolulu on June 30th, 1941 enacted an ordinance which permits the Commanding General Hawaiian Department to close, or restrict the use of and travel upon, any highway within the City and County of Honolulu, whenever the Commanding General deems such action neces-

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Witness Short

sary in the interest of national defense. The authority thus given has not yet been exercised. Relations with FBI and all other Federal and Territorial officials are and have been cordial and mutual cooperation has been given on all pertinent matters.

SHORT"."37

General Arnold's Radiogram. On November 28th General Arnold, Chief of the Air Corps, sent to the Commanding General, Hawaiian Air Forces, a message relating entirely to sabotage and subversive activities, similar in tone to War Department message No. 482, signed "Adams". 38 General Martin, replying to this message on December 4th, gave a detailed report of measures taken by him nagainst sabotage and subversive activities and added:

"This entire department is now operating and will continue to operate under an alert for prevention of 39

We received no reply disagreeing in any way with the ac-

Nov. 28 to Dec. 7, 1941. From November 28, 1941, until

^{37 -} Page 17, Exhibit 32

^{38 -} Page 14, Exhibit 37

^{39 -} Message, 4 Dec., No. 1033; Gen. Martin to Gen. Arnold; Page 19, Ex. 32.

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Witness Short

the war began, I received only one more message from the War Department, that of November 29, 1941, regarding preparations to move two Army pursuit squadrons on short notice, and informing me that the Army would take over the defense of advance Pacific bases, except for furnishing anti-aircraft equipment. This message stated that Christmas and Canton Islands would be garrisoned from Hawaii, and replacements would be sent from the United States. This was the last information from the War Department until the final message from the Chief of Staff of December 7th, which arrived seven hours after the attack.

I do not believe that mes age has been placed in evidence.

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Mr. Kaufman: Counsel for General Short has suggested that we offer in evidence at this point a telegram from the War Department to General Short dated November 29, 1941. The request was made by counsel for General Short.

The Vice Chairman: Do we have copies for the committee?

Mr. Kaufman: We have photostats; and I think they have been handed around to the members of the committee this morning.

The Vice Chairman: Does counsel desire that the message be read at this time?

Mr. Kaufman: Either read into the record, or marked as an exhibit. I suggest it be read into the record.

The Vice Chairman: Suppose you read it into the record.

Mr. Kaufman (reading):

WARD & PAUL. WASHINGTON, D. C

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Witness Short

Stamped SECRET FROM WAR DEPARTMENT "Standard Form No. 14A BUREAU A. G. O. Approved by the Presid nt AG 381(11-29-41)MC-E

March 10, 1926.

TELEGRAM

EHB/cdm - 1712

NOVEMBER 29 1941 Official Business -- Government Rates

CABLEGRAM

"COMMANDING GENERAL

SENT NO. 489, 11/29

HAWAIIAN DEPARTMENT

FORT SHAFTER T H

"CONSULT C IN C PACIFIC FLEET REFERENCE HIS DISPATCH NUMBER TWO EIGHT ZERO SIX TWO SEVEN TO CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERA-TIONS PERIOD IN VIEW OF INFORMATION CONTAINED IN ABOVE DISPATCH COMMA THE MOVEMENT OF THE TWO ARMY PURSUIT SQUAD-RONS AS INDICATED IN WAR DEPARTMENT CABLE NUMBER FOUR SIX SIX COMMA NOVEMBER TWO SIX COMMA ONE NINE FOUR ONE COMMA WILL BE SUSPENDED PERIOD THESE SQUADRONS SHOULD HOWEVER BE PREPARED TO MOVE ON SHORT NOTICE PERIOD PARAGRAPH WAR DEPARTMENT HAS OFFERED TO TAKE OVER DEFENSE OF PACIFIC ADVANCE BASES FROM THE NAVY EXCEPT FOR FURNISHING ANTI-AIRCRAFT EQUIPMENT PERIOD CONSULT C IN C PACIFIC FLEET REFERENCE REQUIREMENTS AND AREAS TO BE DEFENDED PERIOD WAR DEPARTMENT HAS ALSO ASSUMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEFENSE OF CHRISTMAS AND CANTON PERIOD IT IS CONTEMPLATED THAT YOU WILL FORM BASE DEFENSE UNITS FROM THE HAWAIIAN GARRISON

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Witness Short

SPECIALLY ORGANIZED AS TASK FORCES FOR PARTICULAR AREAS
PERIOD IF THESE UNITS ARE MOVED FROM OAHU COMMA NECESSARY
REPLACEMENTS FROM THE UNITED STATES WILL BE FURNISHED
PERIOD REPORT YOUR CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE
WAR DEPARTMENT AT THE EARLIEST PRACTICABLE DATE

ADAMS

BASED ON: WPD 4571-5, OFFICIAL: SECRET 11/29/41.

Signature illegible

Green cy w/d & destroyed by burning.12/30/41, CDM - 1705.

ADJUTANT GENERAL.

STAMPED SECRET."

Senator Ferguson: What is the name of that man at the bottom of the telegram?

Mr. Kaufman: The notation here is "Signature illegible."
General Short: I think it was General Wall.

The Vice Chairman: It does not look like "Wall" on my copy. It looks more like "Williams."

Mr. Murphy: Does the record now show there is a notation that the signature is illegible?

Mr. Kaufman: There is a notation on the mimeographed copy. On the photostatic copy there is a signature, but I cannot make it out.

General Short believes that it is the signature of

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General Wall.

General Short: I may be wrong, but it looks like "Wall," the last four letters.

Senator Brewster: What are his initials?

General Short: I do not know.

Senator Brewster: Isn't there somebody that can clarify that? I think there is somebody in the War Department that can tell whose signature it is.

Mr. Kaufman: Somebody suggested "Sullivan." We will make an effort to find out whose signature it is.

Mr. Murphy: I was wondering, Mr. Chairman, what difference it makes who signed it, as long as it came from the Adjutant General.

The Vice Chairman: That is what I was going to ask. General Adams was the man who sent it?

General Short: General Adams was the man who sent it.

The Vice Chairman: Adams' name on it meant to you
that the Adjutant General of the Army sent it to you?

General Short: That is correct.

The Vice Chairman: And this other signature did not mean anything to you at the time, did it?

General Short: That is correct.

Senator Brewster: I think in view of the fact that it has appeared at some times that the Chiefs in the

Witness Short

offices did not always know what their subordinates were doing, we certainly ought to establish, at any rate, who signed this. It does not seem that would be beyond the possibility of determination.

The Vice Chairman: The counsel has stated he will endeavor to secure that information. You may continue, General.

Senator Ferguson: May I make one inquiry of counsel? In the lower left-hand corner of the telegram, the "green cy W/D and destroyed by burning 12/30/41 cdm-1705," what is that?

Mr. Kaufman: I do not know, sir.

Senator Ferguson: Is there any character that that refers to?

Mr. Kaufman: I am told the "green cy" refers to green copy.

Senator Ferguson: Will you ascertain what that means?
Mr. Kaufman: Yes.

The Vice Chairman: All right, proceed, General. Give us the page where you will resume.

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General Short: I am resuming on page 24 of my statement.

The message sent by the Chief of Staff of December 7,

which arrived 7 hours after the attack, was as follows:

"HAWN DEPT FT SHAFTER TH

529 7th Japanese are presenting at 1:00 P.M. Eastern Standard Time today what amounts to an ultimatum also they are under orders to destroy their code machine immediately. Just what significance the hour set may have we do not know but be on alert accordingly. Inform naval authorities of this communication.

MARSHALL"

42. Delay of December 7 Message.

The message was filed at 12:18 P.M., December 7th,

Eastern time (6:48 A.M., December 7th, Honolulu time). It

was received by the R.C.A. in Honolulu at 7:33 A.M., December

7th, and delivered to the Signal Office, Fort Shafter, at

11:45 A.M. (Delivery was undoubtedly delayed by the Japanese

attack.) The deciphered message was delivered to the Adjutant

General, Hawaiian Department, at 2:58 P.M., December 7th.

Delay in deciphering due to not being marked "priority" in Washington. Thus, this vital message was received 7 hours after the attack.

⁴¹ Page 21, Exhibit 32.

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If this message had been sent by scrambler telephone there would have been time to warm up the planes and put them in the air, thus, at least, avoiding a large loss of planes in the initial attack at 8:00 A.M. This would not necessarily have lessened the naval losses. The fact that the War Department sent this message by radio in code instead of telephoning it in the clear and putting it through in the minimum amount of time indicates that the War Department, even as late as 6:48 A.M., December 7th, Honolulu time, did not consider an attack on Honolulu as likely enough to warrant drastic action to prepare the islands for the sneak attack.

Senator Lucas: Pardon me, General Short. There is one statement you made there with respect to the word "priority" that I do not find in my copy.

General Short: That is not there. Since writing the statement I have seen the photostatic copy of the message as it was received in Hawaii and there is no indication of any mark of priority or urgency, or anything.

Senator Lucas: Will you kindly refer to page 24 and read that statement again, in order that I may correct my copy here?

General Short: The deciphered message was delivered to the Adjutant General, Hawaiian Department, at 2:58 P.M.,

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December 7th. Delay in deciphering due to not being marked "priority" in Washington.

Senator Lucas: Thank you, sir.

General Short: I might say that General Powell, who is one of the witnesses and who was the Signal Officer in Honolulu, will have a photostatic copy of the message as received. I believe also that it is shown in the Clausen Report in that condition.

43. Staff Procedure re Communications.

It is standard staff procedure and doctrine that all important or emergency messages should be sent by all available means of communication, which in this case would have included the scrambler telephones which had been frequently used between the War Department and Fort Shafter. Colonel Phillips and General Marshall did confer by scrambler phone later in the day on December 7, 1941. If security would be violated by sending the information by phone, then the War Department should have issued the necessary alert orders which they would have known that I would have issued at once if I had the information which they possessed. In support of this position, I quote from the War Department Field Manual on Signal Communication:

"* * * Choice of the means employed in each instance depends on the situation. Exclusive reliance upon

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any one means is unwise because special and unforeseen circumstances may render that means inoperative when most needed. Plans of all commanders will make advance provision for prompt employment of effective and reliable alternate means; and the simultaneous operation of several means will minimize the ill effects of complete interruption in any one. * * * ACTION TAKEN - NOVEMBER 27 to DECEMBER 7, 1941 44. Alert Plans.

The Standing Operating Procedure, Headquarters Hawaiian Department, 5 November 1941, provided for the following alerts: "SECTION II - ALERTS

"13. All defense measures are classified under one of the three (3) Alerts as indicated below. Operations under any Alert will be initiated by a Department order, except in case of a surprise hostile attack. * * *

"14. ALERT NO. 1. a. This alert is a defense against acts of sabotage and uprisings within the islands, with no threat from without. * * *"

(I want to make clear that under Alert No. 1, we had skeleton crews at all anti-aircraft guns, capable of conducting fire on the enemy, and that .30 cal., .50

Underscoring supplies; par. 8b, FM 24-5, page 4.

provided. * * *

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cal., and pistol ammunition was immediately at hand for rifles, pistols, automatic rifles and machine guns. Three-inch ammunition was readily accessible to all but four batteries. This ammunition was in casemates from 20 to 75 yards from the batteries.

As part of Alert No. 1, the Interceptor Command and the Aircraft Warning Service functioned from 4:00 A.M. to 7:00 A.M., the most dangerous hours for an air raid.)

"15. ALERT NO. 2. a. This alert is applicable to a more serious condition than Alert No. 1. Security against attacks from hostile subsurface, surface, and aircraft, in addition

"16. ALERT NO. 3. a. This alert requires the occupation of all field positions by all units, prepared for maximum defense of Oahu and the Army installations on outlying islands.

to defense against acts of sabotage and uprisings, is

45. Conferences November 27.

When I received the November 27, 1941 message, signed "Marshall", I immediately talked it over with my Chief of Staff, Colonel Phillips, and then made my decision to order Alert No. 1. This decision was then communicated to G-2 and to the echelon commanders. On that same afternoon, I conferred on the matter with General Martin and with General Burgin.

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The general contents of the radiogram were also made known to the two Division Commanders through staff officers. In view of the restrictive orders against wide dissemination of the information, I withheld it from the other Army personnel. At the same time that I ordered Alert No. 1 into effect, I directed that the Interceptor Command, including the Aircraft Warning Service and Information Center, should operate from 4:00 A.M. until 7:00 A.M. daily. In addition, the six mobile stations operated daily, except Sunday, from 7:00 A.M. to 11:00 A.M. for routine training and daily, except Saturday and Sunday, from 12:00 noon until 4:00 P.M. for training and maintenance work.

46. Alert No. 1: Consideration.

In making the decision for Alert No. 1, I considered several matters:

a. Navy Conversations. From repeated conversations with the Navy, I knew that the Japanese naval vessels were supposed to be either in their home ports or proceeding south. I had no information suggesting that some ships might have been detached to proceed eastward. Our information also indicated that Japan had no land-based bombers capable of proceeding from their nearest island, some 2100 miles away.

b. Task Force Reconnaissance. It was known that the Navy usually had two or three task forces at sea. The carriers

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Compare, Army Pearl Harbor Board Tr., vol. 4, pages 284, 285.

case is shown by the following quotations from his testimony:

a total width of 600 miles. Two task forces would thus cover 1200 miles of ocean in the vicinity of Oahu. The Navy also had reconnaissance from Midway, Wake, Palmyra, and Johnston islands. I thus felt that air attack was highly improbable. On the morning of November 27th, I conferred with Admiral Kimmel concerning the messages we had each received from Washington with reference to Wake and Midway. Admiral Kimmel and I discussed reinforcement of the Wake and Midway garrisons by Army planes. Such reinforcement would have weakened the Cahu defense. The Admiral asked his War Plans officer, Captain McMorris, what he thought were the chances of a surprise attack at Honolulu. The captain answered, "None". General Martin and Colonel Mollison were present with me at this conference. Admiral Kimmel and Admiral Bloch, who were present, expressed no difference of opinion with Captain McMorris. Reconnaissance, as directed in message No. 472, November 27th, was a function of the Navy under the Joint Agreement approved March 28th by Admiral Bloch and me. That the Chief of Staff recognized that this was the

with the task forces normally scouted 300 miles at each side,

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WASHINGTON.

"General Marshall. Distant recommaissance. -- was a naval function, and the Army Commander was liable to furnish them such of the planes suitable for that purpose that could be provided."

"General Marshall. * * * As I recall the matter, the only way the Army would have been involved in the deep reconnaissance would have been in detaching units to serve under the Navy. * * * 45

"General Russell: Well, is it your view that both having seen the message of November 27, without more ado the Navy should have started their distant reconnaissance?

"General Marshall: That is right. That is my view."46

c. Training Mission. The factor of training was also considered. Use of Alerts 2 or 3 would have seriously interfered with our training mission. The soldiers and officers of my command were in large part relatively new to the Army and to their specialized tasks. Regular training was essential. The War Department message had not indicated in any way that our training mission was modified, suspended or abolished, or that all troops were to go immediately into tactical status.

⁴⁴ Army Pearl Harbor Board Tr., vol. A, page 26.

⁴⁵ Army Pearl Harbor Board Tr., vol. 1, page 43.

⁴⁶ Army Pearl Harbor Board Tr., vol. 1, page 47.

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The Hawaiian Air Force in particular had the mission of training combat crews and of ferrying B-17's to the Philippine Islands. On September 8, 1941, we sent nine trained combat teams to General MacArthur. Before November 27th, we had sent 18 trained teams to the mainland and we had 17 more teams ready to go to the mainland for ferrying purposes. Twelve more combat crews had to be trained for planes expected to arrive at an early date. Only six of our 12 Flying Fortresses were in condition and available for this important training. It was thus imperative that General Martin be allowed to make maximum use of these planes for training. If war were momentarily expected in the Hawaiian Coastal Frontier, these considerations would give way. But every indication was that the War Department expected the war to break out, if at all, only in the far Pacific and not at Hawaii. In fact, on November 26, 1941, a radiogram from the War Department had ordered me to equip two B-24 airplanes for a special photographic reconnaissance mission over Truk and Jaluit in the Caroline Islands, with particular attention to the location of naval vessels, submarines, airfields, simplanes, barracks and camps. If attacked, the crews were directed to use all means in their power for self-preservation. These planes were to be sent to Honolulu unarmed, but I was directed to insure that both were "fully equipped with gun

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Witness Short

ammunition upon departure." The first of these two planes did not arrive in Hawaii until December 5, 1941. Presumably, had the War Department in the meantime decided that Hawaii was a zone of danger, they would have armed the plane before sending it to me. General Martin wired back a request that the second B-24 bring necessary equipment other than the guns and ammunition which we could supply. 48

I would like now to pass out Chart No. 4. I want this committee to see graphically the picture as I had it in my mind and as all of us in Hawaii saw it at the time.

There was a large number of Japanese aliens and of citizens of Japanese extraction. There were thousands of these people all around us and near to every military and neval installation.

Most of these Japanese were loyal. Many were disloyal. Sabotage was "first to be expected in point of time", as General Marshall put it.

Chart 4 shows the major installations. Each black square represents an important camp, airfield, or naval yard. Each round black dot represents 1000 persons of Japanese extraction. Each grey dot represents 1000 other residents.

My figures are taken from a 1943 Census study based

⁴⁸ Message, 5 Dec. 1941, to General Arnold.

Witness Short

on the population figures of 1940.

(The chart referred to is as follows:)

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POPULA JAPANESE

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General Short: d. Sabotage Danger. The danger of sabotage was paramount in my mind and seemed to me to be the chief danger which the War Department feared. Sabotage had long been considered our primary danger in Hawaii, because of the large Japanese population, many of whom were Thirty-seven percent of under suspicion of disloyalty. the population was of Japanese descent, or probably 161,000. Of these about 40,000 were Japanese aliens. Many of the Japanese lived in very close proximity to air fields and other defense installations. Sabotage might reasonable be expected for several months perior to the outbreak of hostilities. Anti-sabotage defense is best carried out where there is little dispersion of the command. Planes must be grouped on landing mats and on the apron. The fact that man-proof fences and searchlights had not been installed around the air-fields made the protection of the planes from sabotage much more difficult when the planes were dispersed in bunkers. Funds for fencing airfields had been finally allotted by the War Department but too late for installation of fences prior to attack. That the War Department was equally conscious of the danger of

Compare, Hawaiian Defense Project Revision 1940, Committee Daily Record, Vol. 6, pages 966, 967; also Exhibit 44.

ASHINGTON: D.

Witness Short

sabotage is shown by the following quotations:

In the Aide Memoire handed to the President by the Chief of Staff May 3, 1941, was the statement --

"* * * In point of sequence, sabotage is first to be expected and may, within a very limited time, cause great damage. On this account, and in order to assure strong control, it would be highly desirable to set up a military control, of the islands prior to the 150 likelihood of our involvement in the Far East."

General Marshall in his letter to me of February 7, 1941, stated:

"* * * The risk of sabotage and the risk involved in a surprise raid by air and by submarine, constitute the real perils of the situation. * * *"

e. Herron Alert Precedent.

The precedent of the Herron Alert of 1940, to which I have already alluded, and the general War Department policy of centralization were important factors in my mind. I felt and I still feel that if the Chief of Staff wanted an all-out alert in Hawaii, he would have ordered it himself and not expected me to make the decision, knowing as he did how relatively limited was my information as com-

Exhibit 59; Daily Record, vol. 17, page 2388.

Exhibit 53, pages 1 to 3.

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Witness Short

pared to that available to him. Questioned by Mr. Keefe, General Marshall gave the following testimony before this committee:

"Mr. Keefe: Well, when you issued the alert on the 17th of June 1940, you used the language, 'To deal with possible trans-Pacific raid.'

"General Marshall: That is correct, sir.

"Mr. Keefe: Yes. Well, now, then, let us put it this way without splitting words: General Marshall, on the morning of the 28th of November you had tremendously more information as to the possibility of an attack by the Japanese than you had in June 1940?

"General Marshall: That is correct, sir.

"Mr. Keefe: If you had information in June 1940 as to the possibilities of a trans-Pacific raid, you had a mountain of evidence on the 27th of November, did you not, to the same effect?

"General Marshall: That is correct."

Message No. 472, November 27th, was referred to so frequently by General Marshall as a command directive that I feel there should be a comparison of this message with the Herron message and with the Navy message of November 27th.

Dailt Record, vol. 22, page 3713

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I have prepared a chart for comparison of these three messages and have attached it as Annex "A" to this prepared statement. An inspection of the chart comparing the three Alert Messages makes it readily apparent by the Army Pearl Harbor Board designated Message No. 472 of November 27th as the "Do-Don't Message."

I would like you to turn to that chart. I would like to make some remarks in reference to it.

Taking up the comparison of the three alerts -The Vice Chairman: Will you give us the page,
General?

General Short: It is the very last thing in the statement, Annex "A".

At the time of the Herron alert, there were no negotiations going on between Japan and the United States, so no information was given on that subject. The Navy message stated, "Negotiations have ceased. Aggressive move by Japan expected within next few days." That was a very positive and definite statement. The Army message stated,

"Negotiations appear to be terminated to all practical purposes with only the barest possibility will be resumed."

Now, the papers indicated that they had been resumed on December 1st, 2nd, and 5th. However, I had no information from the Var Department. The War Department knew that

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while they had outwardly been resumed, they were de facto ruptured, and the Japanese emissaries had been told to keep up the illusion that the negotiations were going on, so that we would be misguided. That information was not in my hands.

The alert message of June 17 made an estimate of Japanese action as a possible trans-Pacific raid. That is what they probably thought the danger was. The Navy Message of November 27 stated:

"Amphibious expedition against Philippines, Thai,
Kra Peninsula or possibly Borneo indicated by known Jap
task forces."

This message also made a direct estimate of the probable Japanese action.

The Army message stated:

"Japanese future action unpredictable, but hostile action possible at any moment."

Now, this was not in any sense an accurate statement as to the probable Japanese action considering the information that was known in Washington. Mr. Hull stated that he considered the document from the Japanese of November 20 as an absolute ultimatum, and from then on, it was just a question of putting it off. They knew that that meant war.

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General Stark stated before this committee that he made up his mind in the fall that war was inevitable. The "future action unpredictable" in this message did not reflect those two opinions in any way.

Now, I will take up the question of missions and orders as given in the three messages. The alert of June 17, 1940, stated:

"Immediately alert complete defensive organization to greatest extent possible without creating public hysteria or projecting undue curiosity of newspapers and agents.

"Maintain alert until further orders."

It stated exactly the type of alert that was desired, which were defensive missions.

The Navy message stated:

"Consider dispatch a war warning. Execute appropriate defensive deployment preparatory to carrying out tasks assigned in WPL 46."

Again, a definite directive.

Take a look at the Army message. It states:

"US desires Japan commit first overt act. This should not be construed as restricting you to a course of action that might jeopardize your defense. Take such reconnaissance and other measures as you deem necessary, but these measures carried out so as not to alarm civil popula-

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tion or disclose intent. Should hostilities occur, carry out tasks Rainbow Five."

Everything is qualified. No definite directive without qualification.

All messages contain certain miscellaneous instructions.

The Herron message stated:

"Instructions for secret communications with Chief of Staff will be furnished you shortly. Acknowledge."

The Navy message stated:

"Inform District and Army authorities. Guam, Samoa directed take appropriate measures against sabotage."

The Army message of November 27 stated:

"Report measures taken. Limit dissemination to minimum essential officers."

Those are the only two unqualified statements in the The "report measures taken," when that report message. was made, no attention was paid to it.

Now, analyze the last:

"Limit dissemination to minimum essential officers."

It does not say to limit to minimum essential officers and men. It says "to minimum essential officers."

Now, if you took up alert No. 2 or No. 3, under No.2 you could not send a plane in the air to shoot down Japanese planes without telling the crew that they were to shoot

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down Japanese planes, and telling them why. You could not put your anti-aircraft in position and tell them to shoot down Japanese planes without giving them a definite order, and telling them why.

Alert No. 3 would have sent every man to his battle position. You do not send soldiers into battle without telling them why they are there. So that instruction alone literally interpreted would have prevented the use of alert No. 2, or alert No. 3.

We come now to the follow-up of these messages, which is a very important factor. The Herron alert of June 17, 1940 states:

"Frequent instructions and request for information from War Department for several weeks."

The committee exhibit No. 52 shows those in detail.

The Navy message of November 27:

On December 3rd two messages with reference to Japanese instructions to destroy codes were sent. On December 6th authority was granted for outlying islands to destroy all secret and confidential documents.

Now, as to the Army message of November 27th, no checkup was made to even find out what my report of measures taken meant. No additional instructions were given from the 28th of November under after the attack.

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Witness Short

The Vice Chairman: General Short, it has been suggested that we might recess until 2 o'clock. You might possibly get a little tired.

General Short: Thank you very much.

The Vice Chairman: We will recess at this point to two o'clock this afternoon.

General Short: Thank you, very much.

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(Whereupon, at 11:55 a. m., the committee recessed to reconvene at 2:00 o'clock p. m., of the same day.)

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AFTERNOON SESSION

2:00 p.m.

The Chairman: The committee will come to order.

Mr. Keefe: Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Congressman Keefe.

Mr. Keefe: Yesterday, at the beginning of my examination of Admiral Kimmel, I made the statement, which I quote from the record:

"In your testimony you have acquitted yourself magnificently."

My attention has been called to the city edition of the New York Times which reports that incident as follows:

"The Admiral was applauded by spectators when Representative Keefe, Republican of Wisconsin, told him, 'In your testimony you have acquitted yourself insignificantly."

I want the record to show that I have discussed this matter with Mr. White, who wrote the article, and I am certain that he sent the quote correctly, and either in transmission or in composition some error was made which completely changes the statement to such an extent that I feel it is necessary to have the matter corrected. I hope that in the later editions of the New York Times that very serious error will be noted, and that it would not be sent out to their readers as indicating that I have accused Admiral Kimmel of acquitting himself insignificantly, which caused the audience in the

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room to voice their approval by spontaneous applause. The whole thing just does not make sense, and I know the New York Times will see that it is properly corrected.

The Chairman: The committee can correct its own mistakes but it cannot correct those made outside. However, I am sure that the great newspaper, New York Times, will make the necessary correction in this case.

Mr. Murphy: Mr. Chairman, at that point, I am wondering what the committee is doing about protecting itself, because there are a great many misquotations in the record itself.

I know there are a great many in my own questions. I am wondering if we have anybody proof-reading the record, and what steps we will take to correct the misquotes in the record, because there are a lot of misquotes in the record.

Senator Ferguson: I have noted some misquotes in the record.

The Chairman: It might be advisable for members of the committee to read over their own questions in the daily record and call the attention of the reporters to any mistakes that may be made.

The Vice Chairman: Mr. Chairman, in the Ways and Means
Committee of the House of Representatives each member is
furnished a copy of the daily record with the pages marked on
the back where his name appears, or his corrections. He can

Witness Short

turn through the pages under his name and very readily take out his own without having to read everything that is in the whole record. I do not know whether anything like that is practical here or not, but that is the practice that is followed there.

The Chairman: It would not be difficult for each member of the committee to find his own interrogation, and if there are any mistakes to call the attention of the reporter to them.

The Chair is advised that General Short wishes to be excused for the remainder of the day after he finishes his written statement, because of his recent illness. That is entirely agreeable.

The Chair wishes also to announce that immediately following that there will be an Executive Session of the committee, at which he hopes all members will be present.

Go ahead, General.

TESTIMONY OF MAJOR GENERAL WALTER C. SHORT, U.S. ARMY (Resumed)

General Short: Proceeding on page 33:

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47. Confirmation of Sabotage Alert.

After making my decision for the anti-sabotage alert, several other things occurred which confirmed my opinion that I was complying exactly with the wishes of the War Department.

a. Report to and Acquiescence by War Department.

As directed, I reported that I had alerted the Department to prevent sabotage and had established liaison with 53 No reply disagreeing with my report was sent the Navy. to me. If the War Department felt upon receipt of my report that my alert against sabotage was not sufficient to meet the situation, it should have immediately ordered me to provide against an air raid or against an all-out attack. No steps of this kind were taken by the War Department, and I had every reason to believe that they approved fully of the measures I had taken, inasmuch as they had nine days before the attack in which to give me additional instructions or direct that an all-out alert against an air raid or an allout alert be put into effect. General Marshall, when asked by Mr. Keefe, if it wasn't his responsibility to check up on the measures taken by General Short as reported in reply to message No. 472 of November 27th, stated:

Message 27 Nov., Short to Marshall, Exhibit 32, page 12.

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"General Marshall: Now, in this particular case, a very tragic thing occurred, there is no question about that, there is no question in regard to my responsibility as Chief of Staff, I am not attempting to evade that at all, but I do not think it is quite characterized in the manner that you have expressed yourself."

When questioned further by Mr. Keefe with regard to General Gerow's responsibility in the matter, General Marshall stated:

"He had a direct responsibility and I had the full responsibility."

As shown in the following quotation, General Marshall admitted that since no objection was being raised by the Var Department, I had the right to assume that my action was approved:

"Senator Ferguson: Vell, would this be true from an Army viewpoint, that when an overseas commander is ordered to take measures as he deems necessary and to report measures taken to you, is he correct in assuming that if his report is not the kind of action that you had in mind that you would thereafter inform him specifically of the difference?

[&]quot;General Marshall: I would assume so."

54 - Daily Record, vol. 22, page 3726.

^{55 -} Daily Record, vol. 22, page 3728. 56 - Daily Record, vol. 22, page 3443.

Witness Short

With reference to my report that the Department was alerted to prevent sabotage, General Marshall testified:

"It did not register on Colonel Bundy, it did not register on General Gerow, it did not register on me and it carries Mr. Stimson's initials also."

For nine days from November 27 to December 7th this reply apparently did not register on any of the responsible officers.

I want to emphasize also that my report was clear and concise, as required by War Department rules:

"General Gerow: (Reading) 'The merit of a report is not measured by its length. A concise presentation of important points usually is all that is required.

"Senator Ferguson: Would General Short's reply comply with that regulation?

"General Gerow: Yes, sir."

In spite of General Gerow's confession that this report of mine was in conformity with directives, he still contended that somehow he had misunderstood it. When asked how it should have read in order to be clear to him and his staff, he answered:

"Well, I think, sir, if the message had read simply,

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^{57 -} Daily Record, vol. 22, page 3732.

^{58 -} Daily Record, vol. 25, pages 4356-4357; quoting par. 46, FM 101-5, page 30.

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Witness Short

'alerted against sabotage only', it would have been per59
fectly clear."

The one little word "only" seems to have been the missing link in General Gerow's mind. He was unwilling to read my message and admit it meant what it said, no more and no less.

b. Further Sabotage Messages.

The three messages on sabotage and subversive activity convinced me that the Var Department was cognizant
of the measures I had taken, approved of the action, and
wanted to be sure that my measures against sabotage and
subversive acts were complete but that no illegal acts
were committed in carrying them out. I believed, and I had
good reason to believe, that since the War Department specifically mentioned subversive activities as a threat to
Hawaii, they would also mention a "trans-Pacific raid" if
they had thought it to be one of our immediate dangers. The
fact that the War Department sent to the Hawaiian Department
three separate and distinct messages on November 27th and
28th with reference to sabotage is conclusive evidence that
the War Department considered it as a very serious threat.

^{59 -} Daily Record, vol. 25, pages 4420-4421

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1941, the War Department was ferrying planes to Hawaii, unarmed and unprepared to fight. In fact, twelve B-17 airplanes under orders from the War Department left Hamilton Field, California in two squadrons at 9:30 P.M., December 6, Pacific Time (12:30 A.M. December 7, Eastern Time), and at 10:30 P.M. December 6, Pacific Time (1:30 A.M. December 7, Eastern Time). None of these planes was equipped with ammunition or defensive armament. The machine guns were cosmolined and had not been bore-sighted. Ferry crews were skeletonized, consisting of pilot, co-pilot, navigator, engineer and radio operator. Such crews were incapable of manning the machine guns even if the guns had been properly prepared for combat and supplied with ammunition. It cannot be imagined that the War Department wished to send these planes to Honolulu unarmed when they already had information of a pending Japanese attack. The only inference that can be drawn is that while the War Department had information of a pending attack, General Arnold, the Chief of Air Corps, who ordered these planes to Honolulu, and who I understand was present at Hamilton Field at the time of their departure, did not know of the critical situation in the relations between the United States and Japan.

c. Ferrying Unarmed Planes. As late as December 6,

⁶⁰ Compare Marshall's Test., Army Pearl Harbor Board Tr., vol. A, pages 20-21.

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Witness Short

These planes actually arrived at Hickam Field in the midst of the first attack. Four of the 12 planes were destroyed or damaged without being able to fight.

d. Conferences with Navy. In my conferences with Admiral Kimmel and Admiral Bloch between November 27, 1941 and December 7, 1941, nothing further developed to indicate that an attack might be expected in our coastal frontier sector. The Navy War Warning message of November 27th, shown to me by Admiral Kimmel, indicated that in the continental districts and at Guam and Samoa the Navy Department feared chiefly the sabotage danger.61 On December 1, 1941, we conferred for a long while regarding the suggestion from Washington that army troops relieve the Wake and Midway Marine garrisons, to make them available for landing operations. On December 2, Admiral Kimmel came to my quarters with an 8-page letter he had prepared on this Wake and Midway problem. On December 3, we conferred at Admiral Kimmel's headquarters on a radiogram I was sending to the War Department with .63 During this reference to the relief of Wake and Midway. period, November 27 to December 7, the Navy made no request for Army planes to help conduct long distance reconnaissance.

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⁶¹ Exhibit 37, page 31B.

Compare page 301, vol. 4, Army Pearl Harbor Board Tr. 62

⁶³ Compare pages 301-302, 394, vol. 4, Army Pearl Harbor Board Tr.

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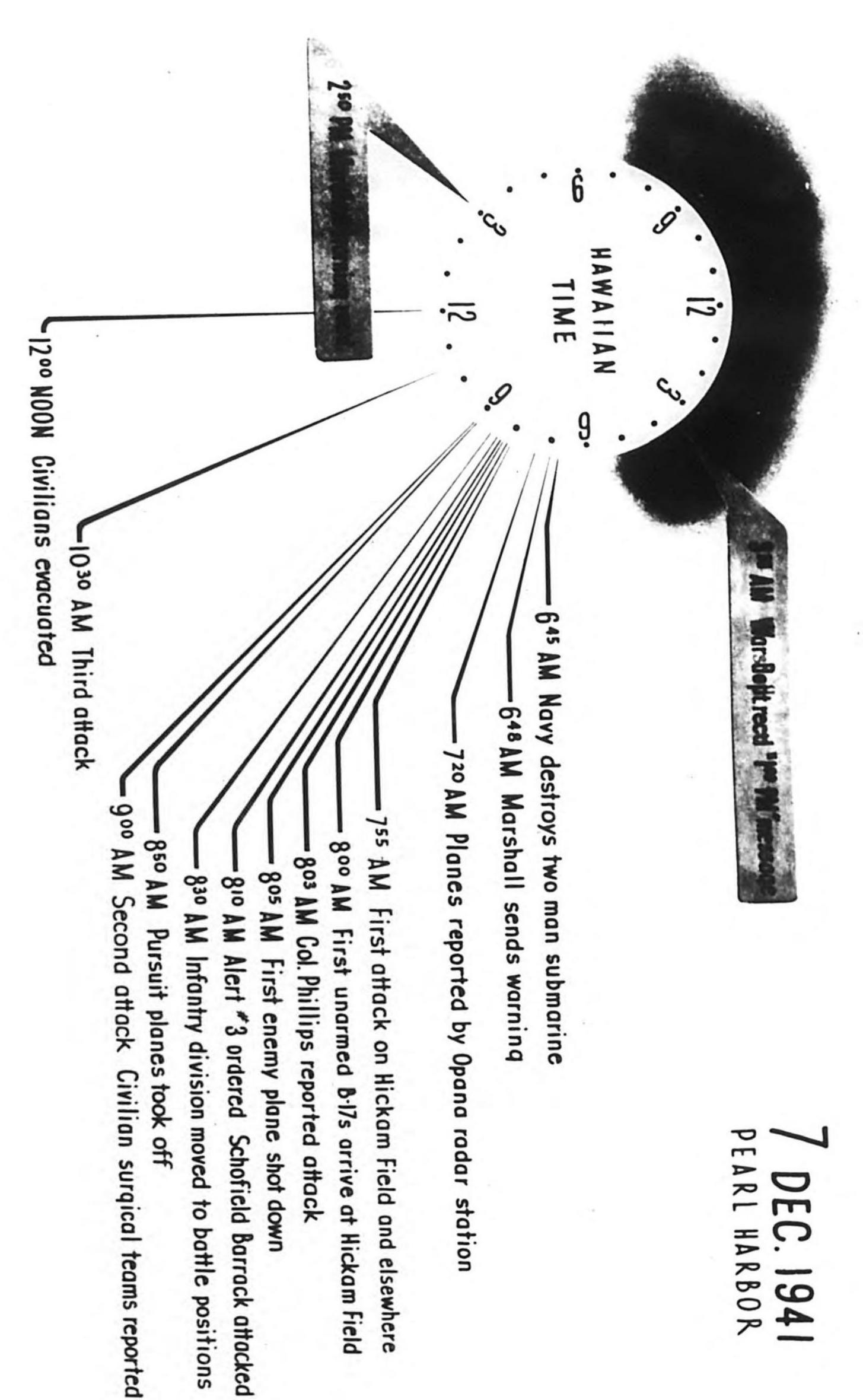
At that time I was convinced that the Navy either knew the location of the Japanese carriers or had enough information so that they were not uneasy. I felt that they could handle the situation. My liaison officer to the Navy, Major Fleming, held another conference with Colonel Pfeiffer of the Marine Corps on December 4, 1941.

(Chart No. 5 is as follows:)

Will you pass out Chart No. 5, please.

⁶⁴ Compare page 303, vol. 4, Army Pearl Harbor Board Transcript.

⁶⁵ Compare pages 302, 394, vol. 4, Army Pearl Harbor Board Transcript.



PEARL HARBOR

CHART NO S 7972

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Hook follows

a 24-hour clock. It shows the December 7 "1 P.M." message which was received in the War Department about 9 A.M. Washington time, which was 3:30 A.M. Hawaiian time. The events of the submarine sinking, the radar mis-

General Short: This chart collects the time data on

interpretation, and the action at the time of the attack are charted. After the third attack, the "1 P.M." massage arrived.

It had been delayed by the coding, by the commercial transmission, by the attack, and by the fact that it was not marked "urgent" or "priority". Other priority messages were first decoded by my Message Center.

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This time element was so important that I would like to run over this chart in some detail.

We notice first on the chart the fact that the War Department had in its possession at 3:30 a.m. Honolulu time, the 1 p. m. message stating that the other matter was to be delivered at that hour. It was three hours and 15 minutes from that time before anything happened in Honolulu.

Then we had the destruction of the two-man submarine.

About this same time, at 6:48 a.m. General Marshall wrote a message which was not delivered until after the attack.

Seven-twenty a. m. planes reported. The Opana radar station picked up the planes from the north, and it was misinterpreted by the Control Officer.

Seven-fifty-five a.m., the first attack in Hickam Field and other installations.

Eight a. m., the first of the unarmed B-17's from Hancock Field, California, arrived at Hickam Field.

Incidentally, the first plane to land, the pilot was killed by the Japanese.

At 8:03 a. m. my Chief of Staff, Colonel Phillips, reported the attack.

At 8:05 a. m., the first enemy plane was shot down.

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At 8:10 a. m. the alert by that time had been transmitted to all of the major echelons, and Schofield Barracks had been attacked, and a plane was shot down there.

By 8:30 a. m. the infantry divisions were proceeding to their battle positions.

At 8:50 a. m., the first of the pursuit planes took the air to combat the Japanese.

At 9 a. m., the second attack struck. At the same time the Civilian surgical teams started reporting at a hospital for work.

By 10:30 a. m. the third attack took place.

When this was over, at noon, the Civilian ambulance teams started evacuating women and children from the threatened-attack places, and it was not then until 2:50 p. m., that Marshall's warning message was received, practically 11-1/2 hours after the War Department had its information, the information in its possession when we received this vital information.

48. Events Early on December 7, 1941. Two events occurred early on the morning of December 7th, which, if interpreted differently at the time, might have had a very decided effect upon the action that followed.

49. Submarine in Pearl Harbor.

About 6:45 A.M. a two-man submarine entering Pearl Harbor

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was destroyed by ships on duty. Had the naval authorities foreseen this as a possible forerunner of an air attack or notified the Army, time would have been available for the dispersion of the planes. However, the naval authorities did not connect this submarine attack with a possible general attack. The Army was not notified until after the attack.

50. Radar Schedule.

After the Aircraft Warning Service Information was closed at 7:00 A.M., December 7th, the Opana station remained in operation. On Saturday, December 6, 1941, 2d Lieutenant Grove C. White, Jr., 0396182, Signal Corps, had obtained permission of the Control Officer to have all stations operate from 4 A.M. to 7 A.M. only on Sunday, December 7, 1941.

51. Misinterpretation of Radar.

At 7:20 A.M., December 7, 1941, the telephone operator at the Information Center received a call from the Opana radar station stating that a large number of planes were heading towards Oahu from North 3 points East. Lieutenant Kermit A. Tyler then talked on the telephone with Private Lockard of the Opana station and said that it was not anything of importance. At 0700 all the men at the Information Center except the telephone operator had folded up their equipment and left. When the Opana operator phoned

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at 0720, Lieutenant Tyler thought the flight indicated was either a naval patrol, a flight of Hickam bombers or possibly some B-17's from the United States.

52. Misinterpretation of Radar.

If Lieutenant Tyler had realized that the incoming flight was Japanese, there would have been time to disperse the planes but not to warm up the engines and get them into the air. Lieutenant Tyler made no report of this matter to me and as far as I know did not report the incident to the Control Officer, Major Tyndall, after the Information Center was manned about 8:30 A.M. This matter was not brought to my attention until the next day when it was too late to be of value. Had this incident been reported to the Control Officer at 8:30 A.M. on the 7th, he would have informed the Navy and it might have enabled them to locate the carriers.

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I might say at this point, at that time there was no device in existence for determining whether a plane picked up by the radar was friend or foe. A few months later such a device was put on the planes.

ACTION AT THE TIME OF ATTACK

Beginning of Attack. 53.

At 7:55 a.m., December 7th, the enemy planes attacked Hickam Field, Pearl Harbor and Wheeler Field. At 9:00 a. m., a second attack was made, and a third about 10:30 a. m., each lasting approximately 15 minutes. At 8:03 a. m., the Chief of Staff reported the attack, and by 8:10 a. m., an order had been given to all units (major echelons) by telephone to put Alert #3 into effect.

54. Anti-aircraft Artillery.

All anti-aircraft batteries had skeleton crews guarding them. These crews were able to conduct antiaircraft fire. All units had in their possession ammunition for rifles, pistols, automatic rifles and machine guns. Three-inch ammunition had been placed in positions accessible to all batteries except four batteries of the 64th C.A.C. (AA).

55. Automatic Weapon Batteries.

The automatic weapon batteries at Fort Kamehameha, Pearl Harbor and Capt Malakole fired on the enemy planes

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during the 8 o'clock raid. The first enemy plane was shot down at 8:05 a. m.

56. Hawaiian Air Forces. During the first attack men started pulling planes out of the fire, and at 8:50 the serviceable pursuit planes took off.

57. 24th Division.

at 8:10 a. m. The troops of this division promptly returned the fire and with success -- one plane being shot down with a rifle. At 8:30 a. m., the Division started moving to its battle positions to repel a possible landing attack.

58. 25th Division.

The 25th Division opened anti-aircraft fire almost immediately. It also moved into battle positions at 8:30 a.m.

59. Value of Prior Training.

All movement and action of troops was carried out as prescribed in the Standing Operating Procedure, with precision and with remarkable speed. The value of our prior planning and training, which had made everyone familiar with the plans, was brought out very clearly.

60. Civilian Surgical Teams.

At 9:00 a. m., the first civilian surgical teams began reporting at Tripler General Hospital.

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61. Civilian Relief Committee.

at 12;00 noon the Civilian Relief Committee beg an the evacuation of Hickam Field, Wheeler Field and Schofield, and continued throughout the afternoon and part of the evening. Most of the women and children were moved to school buildings, altjough a few from these posts and all of the women and children from Shafter, Tribler, Ordnance Depot and Signal Depot were sheltered in the incompleted underground Interceptor Command Post.

62. Seizure of Foreign Agents.

During December 7th the foreign agents previously listed by F.B.I. and G-2 were arrested and confined at the Immigration and Quarantine Stations as follows:

Japanese 370

Germans 98

Italians 14

Total 482

Incidentally, there were only four of the listed agents that were not picked up on this first day.

62. Clearing Airfields.

The 804th Engineers began clearing the runways at Hickam Field and Wheeler Field just as soon as the first attack diminished.

64. Creditable action of Command. Every officer and

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and man under my command performed his duty in a most creditable manner. The deeds of courage on the part of both the military and civil population is a matter which I hope that history will e entually disclose.

INFORMATION NOT SENT BY WAR DEPARTMENT

65. Policy to Withhold Information.

As this Joint Committee's investigation has already revealed, there was a vast amount of highly significant information available in the War Department which no responsible military man could exclude from consideration in forming an estimate of the situation. The War Department was aware of the fact that I did not have this information and had already decided that I should not get this informa-66 tion. It was therefore their duty not only to make the estimate of the situation but to make the decision as to what military action it required, and to give me orders to go on an all-out alert instead of permitting my sabotage alert to stand. This was in line with their centralized peacetime control system. It is my firm conviction that they did estimate the situation, that they expected only sabotage and subversive activities in Hawaii, and that on reading my report "Department alerted to prevent sabotage. Liaison with the Navy," they dismissed the matter from their minds because I had done exactly what they desired. 66 Army Pearl Habber Board Transcript, vol. C, page 199.

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66. No Magic to Hawaii.

A definite decision had been made by the War Department that neither the Japanese intercepts nor the substance of them should be given to the Commanding General in Hawaii. The following testimony of General Miles make such decision clear:

"Mr. Gesell: What steps were taken to distribute the intercepted messages to the Commanding Officer at Hawaii?

"General Miles: There were no steps taken to distribute these messages to that General.

"Mr. Gesell: Do I understand from your answer that these messages as intercepted and translated were not sent to Hawaii by the Army?

"General Miles: They were not. In some cases the substance, of some messages, were sent to Hawaii, and almost always in naval code, I think always in naval code, because the naval code was considered to be more secure than the Army code.

"Mr. Gesell: Who made the decision that these messages should not be sent to Hawaii as they were intercepted and translated as far as the Army is concerned?

"General Miles: That followed from the general policy laid down by the Chief of Staff that these messages and the fact of the existence of these messages or our ability to

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decode them should be confined to the least possible number of persons; no distribution should be made outside of Washington.

"Mr. G sell: Was that determination by the Chief of Staff in writing or simply an expression of policy?

"General Miles: As far as my recollection goes, it was simply an expression of policy.

"Mr. Gesell: Were you consulted in connection with the formulation of that policy?

"General Miles: I do not now remember but I imagine that I was."

67. Hindsight Evaluation.

I do not want to attempt to summarize or even to list all the information here which the War Department had but which I did not have. I want to refrain from hindsight evaluation of this information. But I also want to call the committee's attention to some very obvious items which had they been given to me, would have necessarily changed the picture which I then had of the crisis between the United States and Japan.

68. Military Commitments in Far East. I did not know that U. S. Army officers at Singapore had made tentative 67 - Daily Record, vol. 12, pages 2091-2092. 68 - See Marshall-Stark Report to Roosevelt, 27 Nov. 1941; Army

Pearl Harbor Board Transcript, vol.1, pages 9-12; compare Army Pearl Harbor Board Transcript, vol. 5, pages 449-450.

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military commitments, not approved by the President, that the United States would fight, along with the Netherlands and the British, to defend the Dutch East Indies and 68 Singapore.

69. Japanese Knowledge of U. S. Policy.

Japanese suspected or had somehow learned of this joint military program. Intercept No. 1243, dated 3 December 1941, published in Joint Committee Exhibit No. 1, page 227, disclosed to the War and Navy Departments, at least by December 5th, that the Japanese did realise that such joint military action would occur. As early as November 12, the people in Washington had in their hands Intercept No. 1066, printed on page 111 of Committee Exhibit No. 1, which disclosed that Japan had been semi-officially told that --

"If Japan invades again, the United States will fight with Japan,"

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