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and that the American Government had, and believed, reports that --

Japan will be on the move soon. The American Government does not believe that your visit on Monday to the President or the coming of Mr. Kurusu will have any effect on the general situation."

If this information is connected up with the knowledge gained of the definite Japanese intention to expand southward, it is clear that the War and Navy Departments must have known that war was a certainty, and that they, with this exclusive intelligence, wanted to make the estimate and decision as to American military defensive action. This explains their care in ordering we not to disclose intent, alarm the population, or do anything which Japan could use as propaganda that the United States had provoked war.

Nov. 20 Ultimatum. I had not been told, but Washington knew, that the Secretary of State regarded the November 20, 1941 Japanese proposal as ar ultimatum and that from then on it was merely a question of trying to stall off the final break as long as possible and, quoting Secretary Hull, "in the hope that somewhere even then something might develop sud-70 denly and out of the sky."

Deadlines. I did not know, but the War Department knew

<sup>69 -</sup> Testimony of Mr. Hull, Joint Committee Daily Record, Nov. 23, 1945, vol. 7, pages 1136, 1181.

<sup>70 -</sup> Testimony of Mr. Hull, Joint Committee Daily Record, Nov. 23, 1945, vol. 7, page 1195.

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72 - Intercept 16 Nov 1941, pages 137-138, Comm. Ex. No. 1.

73 - Intercept #1140, 19 Nov., page 159, Comm. Ex. No. 1.

71 - See #736, Committee Exhibit No. 1, page 100

that the Japanese had set a deadline after which their armed forces would move. On November 26 a translation of intercept No. 188, on page 174 of Exhibit No. 1, disclosed that --

"\* \* \* our forces shall be able to move within the

in the event that the U.S.-Japanese negotiations were not successfully terminated by 25 November 1941. The first Navy translation which told of the November 25 deadline was made as early as 5 November 1941.

On 17 November, an intercept was deciphered which included this sentence:

"I set the deadline for the solution of these negotiations in my #736, and there will be no change."72
On 22 November, a translation of a 19 November intercept showed that Kurusu and Nomura still regarded the 25 November deadline as "an absolutely unalterable one."73 This message also contained considerable discussion about evacuation of go vernment officials and their wives. The 25 November deadline was then extended to 29 November, by an intercept of 22 November, translated the same day. But the Tokyo Government

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becare more emphatic, saying:

"This time we mean it, that the deadline absolutely cannot be changed. After that things are automatically going to happen."

On the 28th of November it was learned in Washington that in two or three days a report would be sent from Tokyo in answer to the "humiliating" American proposal after which --

\* the negotiations. will be de facto ruptured. "75 This same intercept, moreover, showed a design to hide the fact that negotiations were broken off.

Code Destruction. Another thing I did not know is the fact that the Japanese were under orders to destroy their codes and code machines. The War Department knew of this code destruction as early as 1 December 1941 and knew specifically of the orders to destroy the codes in the United States on 3 I should certainly have been told of this December 1941. intelligence. The following testimony of General Miles makes it plain why the Japanese messages ordering the destruction of their codes did not reach the Cormanding General in Hawail?

<sup>74 -</sup> Intercept #812, 22 Nov., page 165, Corr. Ex. No. 1.

<sup>75 -</sup> Intercept #844, 28 Nov., page 195, Corr. Ex. No. 1.

<sup>76 -</sup> Intercepts #2436, 2444, 2443, 867, pages 208, 209, 215, Comm. Ex. No. 1.

"Mr. Gesell: The Army did not send any messages to General Short in respect of code destruction, did it?

"General Miles: No, sir.

"Mr. Gesell: What is the explanation of that?

"General Miles: The main reason was that the code experts apparently agreed, at least the Navy was particularly strong on the point that their code was much more secure than ours. It was obviously, of course, of great importance in security that a message be sent in only one code and not two and we had every reason to believe, or thought we did, that a Navy message to Hawaii would be promptly transmitted to the Army authorities there.

"Mr. Gesell: It is a fact, is it not, General Miles, that none of these messages contained any instructions for the Navy authorities to show the information to the Army representative at Hawaii?

"General Miles: That is true, sir.

"Mr. Gesell: And that was the practice where joint messages were sent sometimes as we have seen, was it not?

"General Miles: That happened on one or two occassions, yes, sir.

"Mr. Gesell: Did you give any instructions or directions to the Navy that action should be taken to see that these messages were made available to the Army authorities

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at Pearl Harbor?

"General Miles: Any instruction to the Navy?

"Mr. Gesell: To the Navy here that they should so transmit the messages that the Army would be certain to receive them?

"General Miles: No, sir, that was not considered necessary."

Ships in Harbor Report. While the War Department G-2 may not have felt bound to let me know about the routine operations of the Japanese in keeping track of our naval ships, they should certainly have let me know that the Japanese were getting reports of the exact location of the ships in Pearl Harbor, which might indicate more than just keeping track, because such details would be useful only for sabotage, or for air or submarine attack in Hawaii. As early as October 9, 1941, G-2 in Washington knew of this Japanese espionage. 78 This message, analyzed critically, is really a bombing plan for Pearl Harbor.

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<sup>77 -</sup> Daily Record, Vol. 13, pages 2220-2222

<sup>78 -</sup>Army Intercept No. 23260, 24 Sept. 1941, page 12, Comm.

Ex. No. 2

<sup>79 -</sup> Daily Record, vol. 12, page 2101.

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Winds Cole. I was not informed, but the War Department knew, of the so-called "Winds" code or of the fact that the so-called implementing message had been received, definitely confirming the fact that diplomatic relations would be severed between Japan and the United States.

Hull's "Ultimatum" to Japan. I was not informed of Secretary Hull's note of November 26th, proposing a ten-point plan which the Japanese considered an ultimatum. 81

War Considered Inevitable. I did not know that sometime in the fall of 1941 the Chief of Staff had come to the conclusion that war with Japan was inevitable. 82

Jap Reply - 13 Parts. Critical information (the first 13 parts of the long Japanese memoranium) finally terminating relations with the United States was received in the War Department by 9:00 P.M. on December 6. The so-called "pilot" mess age from Tokyo to Washington December 6, 1941, No. 901, 83 had been received in the War Department sometime during the

<sup>80 -</sup> Intercepts #2353, 2354, 19 Nov., Comm. Fx. No. 1, pages 154, 155; Test. of Capt. Saffort, USN, Army Pearl Harbor Boart, Tr., Vol. C, pages 126-135, 152-157, 173.

<sup>81 -</sup> Hull's Note, 26 Nov. 1941, Joint Com. Ex. No. 1, Interoept No. 1189, pages 181-182.

<sup>82 -</sup> See Army Pearl Harbor Board, vol. A, page 40.

<sup>83 -</sup> Exhibit 1, page 238.

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afternoon of December 6. This message stated definitely that the long Japanese memorandum would be sent as message No. 902 and would be presented to the Americans as soon as instructions were sent.

Part 14, Jap Reply. The 14th part of the long memorandum and the short message of the Japanese directing the Ambassador to deliver the leng memorandum at 1:00 P.M. on the 7th were in the hands of the War Department between 8:30 and 9:00 A.M. December 7th. 84 This message indicated a definite break of relations at 1:00 P.M., and pointed directly to an attrok on Hawaii at dawn. Had this vital information been communicated to Hawaii by the fastest possible means, we would have had more than four hours to make preparations to meet the attack which was more than enough for completing Army preparations. The Navy might have had time to get all ships out of the harbor.

Delay of Dec. 7 Message. Not until seven hours after the attack was I informed that the Japanese Ambassador had been directed to deliver the 14-part memorandum to the Secretary of State at 1:00 P.M., December 7th. This message was received in the War Department from a naval courier between

<sup>84 -</sup> Exhibit 1, No. 902, page 245, and No. 907, page 248; Army Pearl Harbor Board Tr., vol. A, pages 13-17.

8:30 A.M. and 9:00 A.M., December 7th (3:00 A.M. to 3:30 A.M. Honolulu time). This message definitely pointed to an attack on Pearl Harbor at 1 P.M., Washington time. If this message had been delivered to me by the most rapid possible means of communication I would have had four hours, more than enough time, to fully alert the Army forces against an air raid.

Delayed Translation Dec. 6 "Pearl Harbor" Message.

A more prompt decoding and translation of one of the December 6th intercepts would have pointed out clearly to the War and Navy Departments that a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor was planned. After discussing the lack of baloon barrage defense, the consul at Honolulu reported as follows to Tokyo:

preparations, because they must control the air over the water and land runways of the airports in the vicinity of Pearl Harbor, Hickar, Ford and Ewa, there are limits to the balloon defense of Pearl Harbor. I imagine that in all probability there is considerable opportunity left to take advantage for a surprise attack against these . 85 places.

I would like to set up my conclusions. There will be a certain amount of repetition, but I think it is desirable.

Obeyed Instructions. On December 7, 1941 I was obeying

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my instructions from Washington as I understood them, and as the War Department had every reason to know that I understood ther, and was acting in accordance with the information which was available to me at that time. Little information was available to me. The little that was given to me in the War Department message of November 27th did not give an accurate picture of the prospects of war. The War Department knew definitely by 9:00 P.M., December 6th, that the hour had struck and that war was at hand. By 9:00 A.M., December 7th, the War Department knew the hour of attack. None of this information was given to me.

If for any possible War Department Responsibility. reason the War Department felt that it could not give me the information, then it was the responsibility of the War Department to direct me to go on an all-out alert particularly since it well knew that we were on an anti-sabotage alert. The Hawaiian "Department was not provided with agencies for obtaining Japanese information outside of Hawaii, and was dependent on the War Department for such information.

When the War Department was War Department Estimate. informed that the Hawaiian Department was alerted a gainst sabotage, it not only did not indicate that the command should be alerted against a hostile surface, subsurface, ground or air attack, but replied emphasizing the necessity for protec-

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tion against sabotage and subversive measures. This action on the part of the War Department definitely indicated to me that it approved of my alert against sabotage. The War Department had nine more days in which to express its disapproval. The action of the War Department in sending unarmed B-17's from Hamilton Field, California, on the night of December 6th, to Honolulu confirmed me in my belief that an air raid was not probable.

Reasonable Reliance on Report. Confirmation of my view that the War Department's silence and failure to renly to my report of November 27th constituted reasonable grounds for my belief that my action was exactly what the War Department desired is contained in General Marshall's testimony before this Joint Committee on December 11, 1945:

Army viewpoint, that when an overseas commander is ordered to take 'such 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 this difference?

"General Marshall: I would assure so."86

<sup>86 -</sup> Daiby Record, vol. 21, page 3443.

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87 conducting considerable reconnaissance.

The Joint Coastal Frontier Distant Reconnaissance Plan. Defense Plan, Hawaiian Coastal Frontier places upon the Cormandant of the 14th Naval District the responsibility for distant reconnaissance. Annex #7 to the Joint Coastal Frontier Defense Plan provides that when naval forces are insufficient for long distance patrol and search operations and army aircraft are made av ilable, these will be under the tactical control of the naval command during search operations. That means that the army planes receive their missions and all instructions from the naval commander and carry out the search as he deers necessary in order to carry out his responsibility for distant reconnaissance. During the period November 27th to December 6th the Navy made no request for army planes to participate in distant reconnaissance. To me this meant that they had definite information of the locations of the Japanese carriers or that the number unaccounted for was such that naval ships and planes could make the necessary reconnaissance w ithout the assistance from the Army. It is noted that the Navy Department, both on October 16 and on November 27, directed Admiral Kimmel to make preparatory defensive deployments, and that Admiral Kimmel had several task forces at sea and was He 111 not have

<sup>87 --</sup> Exhibit 37, pages 20B and 31B.

sufficient equipment to conduct complete reconnaissance. General Marshall has testified here that even during the war the Hawaiian Islands had never had sufficient equipment for complete perimeter reconnaissance.

Army-Navy Goperation. During this period I held frequent conferences with the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Fleet and the Commandant of the 14th Naval District, and at no time was anything said to indicate that they feared the probability of an air attack by the Japanese. In fact, the sentiment was expressed by a naval staff officer that there was no probability of such an attack. With a large part of the United States Navy in Hawaiian waters and with their sources of information, I was convinced that the Navy would be able either to intercept any carrier attempting to approach Oahu or at least to obtain such information from task forces or by reconnaissance as to make them aware of the presence of carriers in the Hawaiian waters and of the probability of an air attack.

Expectations from War Department. I felt that I had a right to expect the War Department to inform me by the most rapid means possible if a real crisis arose in Japanese relations. I did not expect that when the crisis arose the message would relaim in the hands of General Miles and Colonel Bratton without action from 9:00 A.M. till 11:25 A.M., and

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that when action was finally taken the lesire for secrecy would be considered more important than the element of time. Had the message in regard to the Japanese ultimatum and the burning of their code machines been given me by telephone as an urgent message in the clear without loss of time for encoding and decoding, delivery, etc., or if I had been directed by telephone to go on an all-out alert for a dawn trans-Pacific raid, without being told the reason, I would have had approximately four hours in which to make detailed preparations to meet an immediate attack.

Follow-up of Orders. When any department of the Army has issued an order on any matter of importance, it has performed only one-half of its function. The follow-up to see that the order has been carried out as desired is at least as important as issuing the order. The War Department had nine days in which to check up on the alert status in Hawaii and to make sure that the measures taken by me were what was desired, which it did not do. The check-up would have required no more than a reading of my report of measures taken.

Supervision by Chief of Staff. Repeatedly, from the time I took command in Hawaii in February 1941, the Chief of Staff had written me at length advising me on policies and details of operation. However, after October 28, 1941, with the War Department receiving information almost daily which

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indicated that war was imminent, he communicated to me none of those personal ressages containing the inside information.

Erroneous Estimate of Situation. My decision to put the Hawalian Department on an alert to prevent sabotage was based upon a belief that sabotage was our gravest langer and that air attack was not imminent. I realize that my decision was wrong. 88 I had every reason to believe, however, that my estimate of the situation coincided with that of the War Department General Staff, which had the signal advantage of superior sources of intelligence as to enemy intentions.

Hindsight Value of Information Withheld. I know it is hindsight, but if I had been furnished the information which the War Department had, I do not believe that I would have me de a mistaken estimate of the situation. To make my meaning clear, I went to add that I do not believe that my estimate of the situation was tue to any carelessness on my part or on the part of the senior Army and Navy officers with whom I consulted. Nor do I believe that my error was a substantial factor in causing the damage which our Pacific Fleet suffered during the attack.

Intelligence Complacency. I have been more than astounded

<sup>88 --</sup> Ompare Army Pearl Harbor Board Transcript, Testimony of Gen. Short, vol. 38, page 4440.

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to learn the complacency of the War Department General Staff with relation to so-called "magic" intelligence. The War Department could have devised a method to paraphrase the information obtained and send it by courier to me, without, if they chose, disclosing to me that it resulted from an ability to decipher Japanese messages. I want to quote for the committee the following pertinent paragraph from the Operations Manual then current:

"From adequate and timely military intelligence the commander is able to draw logical conclusions concerning enemy lines of action. Military intelligence is thus an essential factor in the estimate of the situation and in the conduct of operations."

General Marshall and Admiral Wilkinson have pointed out that the security of our oryptanalytic ability was risked for the slight, temporary exultation of shooting down Yamamoto's plane. Surely, then, supplying the data to me and to Admiral Kimmel would not have been inconceivably risky.

Opinion of Judge Advocate General. I want to quote for the committee one paragraph from the opinion of the Judge Advocate General of the Army concerning this intercept intelligence:

<sup>89 -</sup> Par. 194, FM 100-5, dated May 22, 1941, p. 40.

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"But since we know in retrospect that Short was rot, apparently, fully alive to an imminent outside threat and since the War Plans Division had received substantial information from the Intelligence Section, G-2, the Board argues that had this additional information been transmitted to Short it might have convinced him not only that war was imminent but that there was a real possibility of a surprise air attack on Hawaii. In retrospect it isilfficult to perceive any substantial reason for not sending Short this additional information or, in the alternative, checking to see whether Short was sufficiently alive to the langer. General Gerow did neither. In my opinion General Gerow showed a lack of imagination in failing to realize that had the Top Secret information been sent to Short it could not have had any other than a beneficial effect. General Gerow also showed bok of imagination in failing to make the proper deductions from the Japanese intercepts. For instance the ressage of 24 September from Tokyo to Honolulu requesting reports on vessels in Pearl Harbor and dividing Pearl Harbor into various subdivisions for that purpose coupled with the message of 15 November to Honolulu to make 'the ships in harbor report' irregular and the further ressage of 29 November to Honolulu asking for reports even when there were no ship movements, (Top

Secret Ex. "B") might readily have suggested to an imaginative person a possible Jap design on Pearl Harbor. Failure to appreciate the significance of such messages shows a lack of the type of skill in anticipating and preparing against eventualities which we have a right to expect in an officer at the head of the War Plans Division. If this oriticism seems harsh, it only illustrates the advisability of General Gerow transmitting the Top Secret information to Short."

Adequate Sabotage Defense. I had been furnished adequate means to prevent sabotage. I used those means with complete success, as the testimony has shown. No one can say to what extent sabotage would have occurred if the Army had not taken such measures to prevent it.

Inadequate Means for Air Defense. I had not been furnished adequate means to defend against a surprise air raid. The War Department was aware of the inadequacy of our aircraft and anti-aircraft defense establishment. The following table will show at a glance how inadequate our air defense was at the time: 91

<sup>90 -</sup> Opinion of the Judge Advocate General, 25 Nov. 1944, Corrittee Exhibit 63, page 45.

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I would like to offer at this time a table showing the type of equipment that was actually available on December 7th, the number that we required to complete our plans and the amount of equipment that was actually on hand in December 1942.

The Vice Chairman: General, is that information you are seeking to offer now different from the table that is in your statement?

General Short: It is in that it has the additional equipment that was present at Hawaii in December 1942.

The Vice Chairman: And that table, is that different from the one appearing in your statement?

General Short: Just the third which it adds.

The Vice Chairman: It ails another column?

General Short: It adds another column.

Mr. Murphy: May I ask at this time, Mr. Chairman, if this sta tement given here is a correct statement about there being no bombers in Hawaii on December 7th?

General Short: No, no torpedo bombers.

Mr. Murphy: No torpedo bombers?

General Short: We had no toroedo bombers.

<sup>91 -</sup> The required number of planes is based on the "Study of the Air Situation in Hawaii", dated 20 Aug. 1941, Comm. Ex. 13, Daily Record, pages 1013 to 1050; the anti-air-craft requirements are stated in my letter to the Chief of Staff dated March 15, 1941, Exhibit 53, pages 15; also Army Pearl Harbor Board Tr., vol. 1, pages 21,23.

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Mr. Murphy: It shows no bombers at all. My impression is there were 37.

General Short: The B-17's were bombers.

Mr. Murphy: Are those the only ones then?

General Short: Those were the only bombers. We had B-18's that were seven years old, that were distinctly out-of-date, with a maximum speed of 150 miles per hour and I did not include those because the air people did not feel that those were proper equipment to fight with.

Mr. Murphy: We will go into that later with you as to what I had in mind.

Senator Lucas: General, you said "December 1942".

General Short: I am making a comparison of what they had provided at the end of another year.

The Vice Chairman: Well, to you have copies of this new table that you want to refer to now?

General Short: I have only one.

The Vice Chairman: Or can you give us this third column? General Short: I will give you the third column.

The Vice Chairman: If you can give us the third column slowly so that we can insert it on here, that might serve the purpose.

General Short: All right, sir. I would like to call attention to the fact also --

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The Vice Chairman: How is this third column to be headed? General Short: "On Hand December 1942."

I would like also to call attention to the fact that in December 1942 the Japanese had several months before been decisively defeated at Midway and that the danger of an attack was far less than it had been on December 7, 1941.

The Vice Chairman: Well, now, it would be helpful, I think, if you would give us the third column just exactly as it appears here. For instance, "B-17D Planes."

General Short: I will give each one in turn if that wi ll be satisfactory.

The Vice Chairman: All right.

General Short: B-17 planes: Available on December 7th - 6; required 180; in December 1942 there was only one B-17 plane but there were 40 B-24 planes, which was a very comparable plane.

The Vice Chairman: One B-17 and --

General Short: 40 B-24's which would accomplish the same purpose.

Interceptors and Fighters: There were 105 available on December 7th; required according to our plans 185; and in December 1942 they had 200.

Torpedo Borbers: There were none available on December 7th, 36 were required according to our plans and there were

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still none on hand in December 1942.

The Vice Chairman: None?

General Short: None, yes, sir.

3-inch Anti-aircraft Guns: There were 82 available on December 7th, 98 required by the plan. In December 1942 there were only 40 3-inch anti-aircraft guns but there were 44 90-millimeter guns, which was a much more powerful gun, able to accomplish much more.

37 millimeter Anti-aircraft Guns: On December 7th there were 20 available. There were required under our plans 135.

In December 1942 there were actually 276.

50 calibre machine Guns: Available December 7th 109; required according to our plan 345; actually available in December 1942 793.

I wish to point out that the fifty caliber machine gun was the most effective weapon against planes coming in very low over the water, and that the number that they had in December 1942 was more than seven times the number that we had on December 7th.

I am presenting this table because there has been a statement before the committee that we had all that was necessary to defeat the Japanese attack.

The seriousness of this shortage of equipment is best borne out by recalling that our equipment was inadequate to

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protect the Pacific Fleet, ever had we been on an all-out alert such as that which the Chief of Staff had ordered in June, 1940. I want to quote General Herron's testimony in this point?

"General Frank. \* \* \* Let us assume that in 1940, when the Army was in that alert, that there was a real menace and that an attack had come similar to the one that came on December 7th with the Army on the alert and the Navy not. What do you think would have happened?

"General Herron: Well, approximately what happened on December 7th. The dive bombers would have come in. The Army could not have stopped them with its three-inch guns posted up on the hills. They necessarily would bring more planes than we had. If we had 50 combat planes they 92 would bring 150, surely."

Army Failure - Heroism of Troops. Due to the fact that the War Department did not make available to Hawaii the information in its possession, the Army forces in Hawaii were unable to prevent the terrific destruction caused by the Japanese attack. However, the fine action of the Hawalian troops when struck by the surprise attack should not be overlooked. Every officer and man did his full duty with promptness, pre-

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<sup>92 -</sup> Army Pearl Harbor Board Tr., vol. 3, page 234.

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cision and efficiency. All organizations moved quickly to their battle positions and took up their prescribed duties. Acts of heroism, were the rule, not the exception.

General Staff Reorganization. I trust that the reorganization of the War Department General Staff will lead in the future to prompt evaluation and use of all items of intelligence concerning possible aggressive movements by foreign military Powers.

Unjust War Department Treatment. I do not feel that I have been treated fairly or with justice by the War Department. I was singled out as an example, as the scapegoat for the disaster. My relatively small part in the transaction was not explained to the American people until this Joint Congressional Committee forced the revelation of the facts. I fully appreciate the desire of the War Department to preserve the secrecy of the source of the so-called "magio", but I am sure that could have been done without any attempt to eceive the public by a false pretense that my judgment had been the sole factor causing the failure of the Army to fulfill its mission of defending the Navy at Pearl Harbor. I am sure that an honest confession by the War Department General Staff of their failure to anticipate the surprise raid would have been understood by the public, in the long run, and even at the Instead, they "passed the buck" to me, and I have kept time.

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my silence until the opportunity of this public forum was presented to me.

War Department's Four-year Silence. The War Department had four years to admit that a follow-up should have been male on the November 27 message and on my report of the same date, but no such admission of responsibility was made public until General Gerow and General Marshall testified before this committee.

First Opportunity to Present Story. I want to thank all the members of this committee for the thorough manner in which you have tried to bring out the facts and particularly for the opportunity to present my story to you and through you to the American public.

The Chairman: The committee will excuse you at this time, General, until ten o'clock tomorrow morning.

General Short: Thank you, sir.

The committee desires to have an executive The Chairman: session and the spectators will depart as rapidly as possible.

> (Whereupon, at 3:15 P.M., January 22, 1946, an adjournment was taken until 10 A.M., Weinesiay, January 23, 1946.)

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