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Hearing held before

Joint Committee

on the

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

January 28, 1946

Washington, D. C.

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S. Con. Res. 27

Monday, January 28, 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.

Witness Zacharias

Questions by: Mr. Richardson

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The Vice Chairman: The committee will please come to order.

I might state that Senator Barkley had to go to the White House this morning to attend the usual Monday morning conference. He will be in a little later. We will proceed.

Does counsel have anything before the next witness is called?

Mr. Richardson: No.

The Vice Chairman: The counsel will then call the next witness.

Mr. Richardson: Mr. Chairman, I desire to present to you for examination, Captain Zacharias.

The Vice Chairman: Will you please come forward, Captain Zacharias. Will you please be sworn.

TESTIMONY OF CAPTAIN ELLIS M. ZACHARIAS

(United States Navy)

(Captain Zacharais was duly sworn by the Vice Chairman.)

Mr. Richardson: Captain, how old are you?

Captain Zacharias: I am 56 years old.

Mr. Richardson: How long have you been in the Navy?

Captain Zacharias: I have completed over 37 years in the Naval service.

Mr. Richardson: Were you a graduate of Annapolis? Captain Zacharias: I was.

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Witness Zacharias

Questions by: Mr. Richardson

Mr. Richardson: What class?

Captain Zacharias: Class of 1912.

Mr. Richardson: Now, will you detail to the committee in a general way, what your Naval experience has been since?

Captain Zacharias: As I have said, I have completed over 37 years in the Naval service. I served in or operated with all types of ships. I served aboard ship in all departments as head of the department.

I commanded destroyers, a heavy cruiser, and a battleship.

All of my shore duty with the exception of one year as instructor at the Naval Academy, and one year taking the senior course at the Naval War College, all of my work has been in Intelligence on shore duty. That included three and one-half years in Japan studying the language and the people; one tour in crypt-analytic work; two tours of about two and one-half years each as head of the Far Eastern Division of Naval Intelligence; one tour of about two and one-half years as District Intelligence Officer of the 11th Naval District with headquarters at San Diego, California; and between my two war cruises, I have served one year as Deputy Director of Naval Intelligence. That gives a total of about 12 years actually in Intelligence work on shore.

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Witness Zacharias Questions by: Mr. Richardson

At sea, my spare time was devoted to study and matters relating to intelligence, and while at sea I actually participated in certain counter-espionage activities, and this gave me a direct and indirect connection with intelligence over a period of 25 years.

During the war, I had the good fortune to command two capital ships.

Mr. Richardson: Which war?

Captain Zacharias: The recent war. One of those was the heavy cruiser Salt Lake City, and the other was the battleship New Mexico. Both of these ships participated in many of the operations successfully in the Pacific and both of them are still afloat.

My most recent duty was that of conducting a psychological warfare campaign against the Japanese high command, which had for its objective the unconditional surrender of the Japanese without the necessity of a forced invasion of the Japanese main islands.

Mr. Richardson: Now, just before you go into that, did this Intelligence work of yours, Captain, and your life in Japan, give you a Japanese acquaintance?

Captain Zacharias: It gave me an opportunity to make a very wide acquaintance in Japan, and I was fortunate in knowing intimately, many of the Japanese who in the last

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Witness Zacharias Questions by: Mr. Richardson war became the Japanese High Command.

Mr. Richardson: Did you learn the language? Captain Zacharias: I did.

Mr. Richardson: Do you speak it fluently?

Captain Zacharias: I speak it very fluently.

Mr. Richardson: And it was that fact, plus your Intelligence experience that brought the assignment to you that you were about to relate when I interrupted you?

Captain Zacharias: That is correct.

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Witness Zacharias

Questions by: Mr. Richardson

Mr. Richardson: Now will you proceed?

Captain Zacharias: I think that just about concluded my work, except I was about to say that this objective, which was the unconditional surrender of Japan without the necessity of a forced invasion of the Japanese main islands, there was an indication of completion of that on the 25th of July, 1945, in a broadcast by an official spokesman of the Japanes Government direct to me, and, as we know, the situation eventuated on the 15th of August, 1945.

Mr. Richardson: Now did your experience with the Navy take you into Hawaiian waters?

Captain Zacharias: It did quite often.

Mr. Richardson: And were you familiar with Hawaii and the general conditions and set-up in Hawaii?

Captain Zacharias: I was.

Mr. Richardson: With the character of the people there and the Japanese element involved in the population?

Captain Zacharias: I was, both the second generation Japanese, that is Americans of Japanese extraction, and also the first generation of Japanese who were enemy aliens after the war began.

Mr. Richardson: During 1941 were you in service in the Pacific?

Captain Zacharias: I was in command of the heavy cruiser

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Mr. Richardson: And was that a part of the Pacific Fleet?

Captain Zacharias: It was.

Mr. Richardson: Then you were stationed, a portion of the time at least, at Pearl Harbor?

Captain Zacharias: I was.

Mr. Richardson: Are you acquainted with Admiral Kimmel?

Captain Zacharias: I am, sir.

Mr. Richardson: And with his Chief of Staff, Admiral

Smith?

Captain Zacharias: I am.

Mr. Richardson: It was brought to the attention of the committee, Captain, that a conversation occurred between you and Admiral Kimmel during 1941 in which it is reported reference was made to the probability, possibility, likelihood of a Japanese surprise attack on Pearl Harbor.

Now I would like to ask you whether any such conversation occurred, where it occurred, when it occurred, and who was present.

Captain Zacharias: I think it will add something to the conversation by indicating the reasons for the conversation.

Mr. Richardson: Was there such a conversation?
Captain Zacharias: There was such a conversation.

Questions by: Mr. Richardson

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Mr. Richardson: When did it take place about? Captain Zacharias: It took place between March 26 and March 31, 1941.

Mr. Richardson: Where was it?

Captain Zacharias: In the office of the Commander in Chief, United States Fleet, Admiral Kimmel.

Mr. Richardson: At Pearl Harbor?

Captain Zacharias: At Pearl Harbor.

Mr. Richardson: Who was present at the conversation? Captain Zacharias: Admiral Kimmel and his Chief of Staff, then Captain W. W. Smith, now Vice Admiral Smith.

Mr. Richardson: They were old acquaintances of yours? Captain Zacharias: I had known them both previously. Mr. Richardson: Now if you will proceed.

Captain Zacharias: As I indicated, it will have some bearing to tell the reasons why I went over to see Admiral Kimmel on this occasion. On the 8th of February, 1941, I had a long conversation with Admiral Nomura in San Francisco. He was then enroute to Washington, D. C. as Ambassador.

The Vice Chairman: From Japan?

Captain Zacharias: From Japan.

Mr. Richardson: Was he one of the Ambassadors who thereafter conducted, in part, the negotiations that took place with Secretary Hull?

Witness Zacharias

Questions by: Mr. Richardson

Captain Zacharias: He was.

Mr. Richardson: Proceed.

Captain Zacharias: I had indicated previously to

Admiral Richardson that I proposed to have such a conversation with Admiral Nomura when he came through san Francisco, and Admiral Richardson expressed a desire to have a copy of the report which he knew I would submit after such a conversation, and for that reason, after Admiral Richardson was relieved on the first of February 1941 by Admiral Kimmel,

I sent to Admiral Kimmel on the 11th of February, 1941, in a letter to Admiral Kimmel, a copy of the report on this conference with Admiral Nomura that I had sent to Admiral Stark.

When I arrived in Pearl Harbor with my ship after an overhaul period on the West Coast I took the first opportunity to see Admiral Kimmel, and it occurred between the dates that I gave.

Mr. Richardson: Now why did you want to see Admiral Kimmel?

Captain Zacharias: I wanted to see Admiral Kimmel to find out if he had received the report, or whether or not this report of the conversation with Admiral Nomura had come to his attention. In addition to that I wanted to tell Admiral Kimmel of an incident which occurred on the

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loth of October, 1940, which had a bearing on future events as I saw them approaching.

Incidentally, I think what I am about to relate was referred to as having caused Admiral Richardson to take his Fleet out on a wild goose chase. I would like to clarify that point now by saying that this incident had no effect, as far as I could see, on influencing Admiral Richardson in any decision that he was to make as a result of it, which you will see from the incident itself.

on October 16, 1940, as District Intelligence Officer at San Diego, I received a report from an Intelligence Reserve Officer at the border, Tia Juana, or at San Jacinto opposite Tia Juana in Mexico, that he had something of the most vital importance and if I could not come down myself he requested that I send one of my best investigators. I could not go myself at that time, therefore I did select my most competent investigator to go down and find out what this was.

When he arrived this Reserve Officer related to him information that had just come from an informant in Mexico which stated that a certain Japanese -- who, incidentally, was on our No. 1 suspect list -- had stated that on the following day, the 17th of October 1940, the Japanese were going to bomb four battleships. He had all the details, that it would be done by a force of 12 planes divided into

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Witness Zacharias

Questions by: Mr. Richardson

four groups, one of whom in each group was to be a suicide plane and dive down the stack of each ship, and the other two would drop their bombs and get away, if possible.

When this report came to me I took it in to the Commandant of the District, and simultaneously I learned that Admiral Richardson had arrived on the West Coast, at San Pedro, with three battleships and a heavy cruiser, indicating the four ships in this picture.

Mr. Richardson: Where is San Pedro?

Ceptain Zacharias: San Pedro is the seaport of Los Angeles.

We notified Admiral Richardson that there was something of importance and requested that he remain on board while I come up by plane, which I did. I went aboard, related the story to Admiral Richardson, and he said, "Are there any planes in this vicinity which might carry out such an attack?" I informed him that we could not assure him that there were not planes in Mexico, and further that there had been surreptitious activities along the coast by the Japanese vessels that we knew of, but we were not certain that there were not planes in Mexico with which the Japanese could carry out such an attack.

Admiral Richardson considered that and then said, "We cannot ignore this." And I said, "Admiral, I think you are

Witness Zacharias

Questions by: Mr. Richardson

quite right." He said, "I will alert my anti-aircraft batteries, and when you return to San Diego you get in touch with Captain McCain, "who was then the Commanding Officer at the Naval Air Station at San Diego - "and tell him to be on the alert." I did that. I understand that the following morning Admiral Richardson sailed from San Pedro for San Francisco, where he was going anyhow, and possibly left a little before the time of his scheduled departure.

I told Admiral Kimmel that full situation.

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Questions by: Mr. Richardson

Mr. Richardson: Did you see Admiral Kimmel then at the place you mentioned earlier in your testimony?

Captain Zacharias: I did. As indicated, Admiral Kimmel then called in Captain Smith, and I proceeded to relate the circumstances of my interview with Admiral Nomura. He informed me he had received a copy of my report sent to Admiral Stark, and then I proceeded to tell him of this incident on the 16th of October, 1940. From that he went into a discussion of the general Japanese situation, the possibilities of what might occur in the future, Japanese attitudes, and the prospects of this situation being liquidated.

Mr. Richardson: What do you mean by that, "liquidated"? Captain Zacharias: The situation which then existed between Japan and the United States, for which Admiral Nomura had come over to this country to handle if possible.

Mr. Richardson: By the word "liquidated" you mean settled?

Captain Zacharias: Settled, right.

Mr. Richardson: Go ahead.

Captain Zacharias: In the course of our discussions, Admiral Kimmel asked me if the situation became extreme what I thought would occur. And this point is very important, because I think of a misunderstanding that has been created

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Witness Zacharias Questions by: Mr. Richardson by something which has been said here about the date December 7 having been the date which I predicted.

First I would like to say that December 7 is a synonym for Pearl Harbor particularly in the memorandum which I later submitted to Admiral Draemel for Admiral Nimitz.

This conversation with Admiral Kimmel was nine months before Pearl Harbor, and I don't think there is any profession which would attempt to predict nine months ahead the exact day that something would occur. I told Admiral Kimmel in this conversation that if the situation became such that Japan decided that they must go to war with us, that it would begin with an air attack on our fleet on a week-end and probably a Sunday morning; that attack would be for the purpose of disabling four battleships.

Mr. Richardson: Why did you mention four battleships rather than three or five or seven?

Captain Zacharias: Four battleships was a number that I had determined in my own mind as the number that the Japanese felt they would have to reduce our fleet in order to prevent effective interference with any southern movement that they might want to make after declaring war with us. I will go into more detail on that later.

Admiral Kimmel then asked me how I thought they would

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Witness Zacharias Questions by: Mr. Richardson effect such an attack. I said there are two methods, the least likely of which would be to bring in seaplanes, surreptituously aboard merchant vessels, and land them in the lea of some of our islands that were sparsely populated and then on a selected day, weather permitting, they could make such an attack.

He asked how that could be prevented. I said that could be prevented effectively by declaring a defensive sea area around the Hawaiian Islands, in which case you notify all nations of the world and require all merchant vessels coming into that area to proceed through a specified point at which place we could conduct inspections.

That would preclude any surreptitious entrance and prevent such a contingency of an attack by that method.

However, I emphasized that the most probable method of attack would be by aircraft carriers supported by appropriate ships; that such an attack would come in undoubtedly from the northern because that was the prevailing winds in the Hawaiian Islands; they would come in and launch their attack downwind, because of their concern over the possible loss of a single capital ship and for that reason after launching their planes, the ships and the force which brought the planes to launch them would retreat as quickly as possible directly upwind in order to escape any damage

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Witness Zacharias Questions by: Mr. Richardson which they felt might come.

Mr. Richardson: Was there discussion as to where this supposed expedition would start from?

Captain Zacharias: There was not.

I would like to indicate at this point that although this conversation was nine months prior to the actual attack on Pearl Harbor, it lasted for about an hour and a half, and concerned something in which the Commander in Chief of the Pacific Fleet would be vitally interested. However, I realize that Admiral Kimmel was a very busy man, that I was only one of hundreds to whom he talked, and it was quite possible that he could not remember the details of my conversation.

However, his Chief of Staff, then Captain Smith, was present throughout the entire conversation, and I am sure that he remembers the details of that conversation, because he has discussed those details subsequent to the event, and for a considerable period after Pearl Harbor occurred.

Mr. Richardson: Why did you think the attack would come on Sunday morning?

Captain Zacharias: I think it has been clearly indicated that the Japanese knew of our every movement in and out of Pearl Harbor, the situation existing in Hawaii prior to the attack on December 7. They well knew that on Sunday h5

Witness Zzcharias Questions by: Mr. Richardson morning everyone took advantage of the lack of drills to be excused from reporting in on Sunday morning. We call it being excused from Sunday morning quarters.

So that they would not have to report on that day.

That applies to officers and men, and particularly to those who have families in Hawaii, in Honolulu.

Mr. Richardson: Well --

Captain Zacharias: I might add there that Sunday morning is a time when everyone is enjoying their leisure and it is significant that 8 o'clock in the morning, which was approximately the time of the attack, at 8 o'clock. That is the time when the watches change, when men are relieving others who have been on watch, and there is a certain amount of confusion existing at that time in the turnovers which take place.

Mr. Richardson: You spoke of Japanese knowledge in Hawaii. Was it a matter, Captain, of common knowledge in the Navy that there was present in Hawaii a large number of Japanese agents?

Captain Zacharias: It was. In my conversations, and I must say that I kept in constant touch with not only the fleet intelligence officer, but also with the district intelligence officers, because I had a hand in setting up that organization beginning with my arrival there November

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Witness Zacharias Questions by: Mr. Richardson

13, 1940. Therefore, I had a direct interest in that organization and what they were accomplishing. It was believed that there existed in Hawaii at least a thousand enemy agents.

Mr. Richardson: Well, now, do you know of anywhere that you have served, where the operations of a military force of either the Army or the Navy was subject to as concentrated as espionage as our establishment in Hawaii?

Captain Zacharias: I do not, and there is no other place comparable except in Panama where there was an unusually large group of Japanese barber shops before Pearl Harbor.

Mr. Richardson: Now, in this conversation, Captain, that you had with Admiral Kimmel, were the details of the reasons why you thought there would be an attack discussed between you?

Captain Zacharias: Only in a general way, but I think the reasons why I thought there would be an attack on the Fleet if the situation became such that war between Japan and the United States was imminent, I think that those reasons have a great bearing on everything that is before this committee.

Mr. Elchardson: Was there any discussion on the part of Admiral Kimmel in agreement with or opposition to your

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Witness Zacharias Questions by: Mr. Richardson views?

Captain Zacharias: Yes, sir. After outlining to him the probabilities and the methods by which the Japanese would make their attacks, in the second instance that of an attack by aircraft carriers, Admiral Kimmel asked me how I thought it could be prevented, and I stated that the only possible way of doing it would be to have a daily patrol out to cover the approach of the Japanese, and this patrol must go out at least 500 miles.

To that Admiral Kimmel replied, "Well, we have neither the personnel nor the materiel with which to carry out such a patrol," and I replied to him, "Well, Admiral, you better get them because that is what is coming."

Mr. Richardson: Do you, as a Naval man know of any other way in which such an attack could be effectively guarded against than through distant patrol and discovery of the attacking planes either in carriers, or in the air, and an attack on those planes by fighter planes?

Captain Zacharias: Only by learning of the approach of such a force and intercepting it with the fleet.

Mr. Richardson: Where were you at the time of the attack?

Captain Zacharias: I was in command of the Salt Lake City which was then 200 miles west of Oahu returning to

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Witness Zacharias Questions by: Mr. Richardson Pearl Harbor.

Mr. Richardson: Now -- go ahead.

Captain Zacharias: I was with Admiral Halsey's force which had been to Wake Island to deliver the planes to the Marines.

Mr. Richardson: Between the time of this conversation with Admiral Kimmel, and the attack, were there any other discussions between you and any of the staff officers, or task commanders with respect to the probability of an attack on Hawaii from the air?

Captain Zacharias: There was.

Mr. Richardson: I want to know whether it was a matter of general conversation, or simply a vague possibility?

Captain Zacharias: There was. As I indicated while on sea duty, I devoted myself to reading and study of intelligence matters. For that reason I frequented the Fleet Intelligence Office. The Fleet Intelligence Officer, then Commander Layton, I knew well, and I had recommended him to Admiral Richardson for that job which he did in an excellent manner.

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Witness Zacharias

Questions by: Mr. Richardson

In my visits to the Fleet Intelligence Office and the Public Relations Office I was enabled to keep track on the situation as it was developing and there came a period when I was somewhat concerned over the prospects. That is what prompted me to say at one time to a group of the staff assembled, I can't recall just who was present at the time, --

Mr. Richardson: Where was it?

Captain Zacharias: In the office of the Commander in Chief Pacific Fleet, the flag office.

I was prompted to say, as recorded in this memorandum which has been presented to the committee, that "I think it is time to stop these surprise inspections and get ready for a surprise attack." These surprise inspections were methods by which the material conditions of the ships were ascertained without giving previous notice of visits by either division commanders or others.

Mr. Richardson: Was there any rejoinder to that remark on your part from those present?

Captain Zacharias: There was not. In the course of those conversations I asked the Fleet Intelligence Officer if he had presented to the War Plans Officer of the Commander in Chief a certain extract from a Japanese book which considered the pros and cons of success of an attack on Pearl

WARD & PAUL WASHINGTON, D. C.

Witness Zacharias

Questions by: Mr. Richardson Senator Lucas

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Harbor. That is included in one of the papers that were presented to the committee by the Navy Department and I would like to refer to that later on. It is page 47 of the papers.

Senator Lucas: What is the date of that conversation, sir?

Captain Zacharias: That was in October 1941. I will

bring that in when I discuss the reasons for my belief that

an attack on Pearl Harbor would occur.

Mr. Richardson: Between the time you had your first talk with Admiral Kimmel and the time you had this talk in the fall of 1941 was the subject of a possible air attack on Pearl Harbor a matter of common or unusual discussion among the Navy people that you met in Hawaii?

Captain Zacharias: Because of my --

Mr. Richardson: Was it or not?

Captain Zacharias: There was general discussion of what would occur if we went to war with Japan.

Mr. Richardson: Was there any general feeling that an attack, an air attack, surprise air attack was possible or probable or likely or improbable?

Captain Zacharias: There was not much expression of opinion. It was rather an acceptance of my opinion because of my background knowledge and any discussion was for the purpose of accertaining what I thought in the premises, and

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I cannot recall any objections to them or any attempt to belittle the possibilities.

Mr. Richardson: Was there any discussion at any time prior to the attack between you and the other commanders of the task forces about the probability of an attack by air on Hawaii in the case of hostilities?

Captain Zacharias: There was not. I was a little reluctant to impose my views here and there. I think most
of the officers present knew of my background and if the
task force commanders wanted any opinion from me they could
ask for it.

I discussed with Admiral Spruance, who was my Division Commander when I was in command of the SALT LAKE CITY, the possibilities of the success of Admiral Nomura in preventing hostilities developing between Japan and the United States.

Mr. Richardson: Did you believe he would be successful?

Senator Brewster: I don't believe he had finished
his answer.

Mr. Richardson: Pardon me. Proceed.

Captain Zacharias: In these conversations with Admiral Spruance there was nothing very definite. There was nothing definite regarding what would happen if we went to war.

It was more with regard to the possible success of preventing war. Outside of that I did not talk to any task force commanders.

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Witness Zacharias

Questions by: Mr. Richardson Mr. Keefe

I might say that I did at one time, or on several occasions, endeavor to engage in conversation the War Plans Officer of the Commander in Chief regarding the situation. On three separate occasions I endeavored to do so, but he was always preoccupied and I was never able to do so. It seemed rather strange to me at the time that he did not want to discuss it, so much so that I went to the Fleet Intelligence Officer and questioned him about the attitude of this individual.

Mr. Keefe: Mr. Chairman, may I ask at this point: Who was the War Plans Officer, by name?

Captain Zacharias: That was then Captain C. H. McMorris, U. S. Navy, now Vice Admiral McMorris.

As a result of what I took to be in the colloquial a "brush-off", I never discussed the situation with him although he was the War Plans Officer for the Commander in Chief.

Mr. Richardson: Just a minute. He was a civilian?

The next time I discussed this with someone whom I considered of importance was with Mr. Munson. I had --

Captain Zacharias: He was a civilian, and who had come to Hawaii with a letter signed by Admiral Stark, the Chief of Naval Operations, which he showed to me, Munson showed to me, stating that he was there to investigate certain matters and everything was to be opened up to him.

Witness Zacharias

Questions by: Mr. Richardson

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Munson told me that he had been advised to get in touch with me because of my background knowledge of the Japanese. I had several conferences with him during the period of October 20 to 26, 1941, and during those conversations I related to him every aspect of a possible attack. He was principally interested in whether or not there would be an armed uprising in Hawaii or on the West Coast in case of a war between Japan and the United States.

After relating to him everything that I had told to
Admiral Kimmel I told him that he could forget about an
armed uprising or sabotage of any kind, that was categorical,
because it would begin with an air attack on our Fleet,
and for that reason it would have to be conducted with the
greatest secrecy and therefore no Japanese, regardless of
their position in the United States or in Hawaii, would
be aware of the fact that such an attack was coming.

That being so, and knowing the great preparations that you have to make in an armed uprising or for the commission of sabotage, those contingencies were an impossibility, and I told him that I was convinced that hostilities would begin with an air attack on the Fleet.

Mr. Richardson: Now, Captain, during the period immediately before the attack do you know what distant reconnaissance was being carried on of your own knowledge?

Witness Zacharias

Questions by: Mr. Richardson

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Captain Zacharias: I do not.

Mr. Richardson: You were with Halsey's Task Force? Captain Zacharias: Yes, sir.

Mr. Richardson: And your Task Force was ready for battle from the time you started up to the time of the attack, was it not?

Captain Zacharias: You mean from the date we left Pearl Harbor on the 28th of November 1941?

Mr. Richardson: That is right.

Captain Zacharias: We received no direct orders from Admiral Halsey but the Fleet went out ostensibly on routine training on that morning. About noon we changed course to the westward and headed for Wake Island. That was not the direction of the operating area and we knew that we were going on a different mission.

As I recall Admiral Halsey did not send out any specific orders to the ships of his course, at least to the cruisers, because there was no necessity. He had full knowledge undoubtedly of what might be impending and I assume that he was in a position to make any dispositions necessary to meet any threat that we might encounter enroute or returning from Wake Island. I knew that something unusual was occurring but was not quite certain. We did learn enroute

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Witness Zacharias Questions by: Mr. Richardson

that, through signal, that we were going to Wake Island to deliver planes to the Marines which the ENTERPRISE had on board, that we would launch them about 100 miles east of Wake Island and then return to Pearl Harbor. We were originally scheduled to arrive back in Pearl Harbor on the 5th of December 1941, but we were delayed by fueling and weather and now I know because of certain orders which did not speed us up, and we felt that that was where our luck began because we were just 200 miles to the westward instead of being inside on December 7.

Mr. Richardson: Do you regard that as good luck or bad luck?

Captain Zacharias: I regard that as good luck because as a Commanding Officer of a ship I prefer to take my chances in the open sea rather than in an enclosed harbor.

Mr. Richardson: Now, can you give us a little more information on certain orders that you later discovered had been transmitted, who transmitted them and what they were, generally?

Captain Zacharias: What orders?

Mr. Richardson: You just said that you learned afterward of certain orders which delayed you. I am wondering what those orders were.

Captain Zacharias: Oh, that is only hearsay and what

I have heard of the testimony before this committee.

Mr. Richardson: I see. When knowledge of the attack came to you in fact the direction in which you were directed to search was to the south, was it not?

Captain Zacharias: That is correct.

Mr. Richardson: Did that surprise you?

Captain Zacharias: It did. I might qualify that by saying that in the numerous reports that we were receiving subsequent to the attack it was indicated that there was a Japanese force down to the southerd, but still I could not reconcile them being there.

Mr. Richardson: I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Captain Zacharias: If I may, I indicated that I felt it important to present the reasons why I thought an attack on Pearl Harbor or the Fleet would occur.

Mr. Richardson: Very well. Let me ask you preparatory to that, Captain, did you consider that the tension of the situation with the probability of war with Japan constantly increased during 1941?

Captain Zacharias: It did.

Mr. Richardson: And was there any time that it was as tense as it was during the week before the attack?

Captain Zacharias: I had, the week before the attack,

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Witness Zacharias

Questions by: Mr. Richardson

having sailed on the 28th of November, which seems to have been the really turning point in the situation, I received very little news onroute to Wake Island except through radio press, which indicated that there had been some difficulty in the progress of the negotiations taking place in Washington.

However, I had become somewhat concerned over certain events which had transpired in the interim or during 1941, such as the embargo and other things which were matters of policy.

Mr. Richardson: Now, as the tenseness grew in your mind and with your experience did the danger of an air attack become greater and greater, as the tenseness continued?

Captain Zacharias: No, because I was always convinced that if the situation ever became such that hostilities between Japan and the United States were imminent that the Japanese would begin their campaign with an air attack on our Fleet wherever it was.

Mr. Richardson: What I am suggesting is that the condition of affairs, the information you had, growing tenseness of the situation, constantly made that danger greater?

Captain Zacharias: It did not make the danger of an air attack any greater. It made the danger of hostilities become more imminent.

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Mr. Richardson: As hostilities became more imminent the danger of an air attack increased?

Captain Zacharias: That is correct.

Mr. Richardson: No further questions.

Captain Zacharias: Now may I go ahead with the reasons why I thought that there would be an air attack?

Senator Lucas: Will you move closer to the microphone, please.

Captain Zacharias: Yes, sir.

There were four very good reasons why I felt that in case of hostilities between the United States and Japan it would begin with an air attack on our Fleet.

First of all, the Japanese could be counted upon not to commit the grave strategical blunder of making a movement to the southard without disabling a part of our Fleet and that is in spite of the fact that we had in Pearl Harbor at the time a force considerably inferior to the Japanese Fleet, namely, about 180 ships in the Japanese Fleet to 102 of ours.

That was because the Japanese well knew if they made a movement to the southard that before we would be able to assemble an expeditionary force with which to take the offensive against them we would be able to bring around from the Atlantic Coast the rest of our Fleet which would

Witness Zacharias

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Questions by: Mr. Richardson

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then made us superior to the Japanese, even if that Fleet had to go around the Horn.

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Witness Zacharias

Questions by: Mr. Richardson

The Japanese are great students. They know everything that has been written about the fundamental of warfare. They know all of the lessons of history, and they could be counted upon to utilize everything that has been written about it.

They realized the value of surprise as one of the fundamental principles of warfare. They used it at Port Arthur with tremendous success. Therefore, it could be certain that they would use it again at Pearl Harbor if they could do it with fair safety.

I have already indicated that the Japanese weighed in their minds the probability of success of such an attack on Pearl Harbor. They have written several books and those books, I might say, are always released under the auspices of the military in Japan, because of the complete government control and censorship.

In those books they have discussed the probability of success in war with the United States. In this particular book, which is entitled "When Japan Fights," written ostensibly by a civilian named Hirata, he discussed the pros and cons, and I think it might be well to read that. It is very short, and is included at page 47, I think, of the papers which were given to the committee.

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Questions by: Mr. Richardson Witness Zacharias

"The American Commander in Chief has been occupied by various secret plans, but the three points which he is the most concerned are:

- "(1) Will a Japanese fast striking force made up of cruisers and aircraft carriers come on a scouting or striking mission?
- "(2) Will Japanese submarines hover near the islands to attach or harass the Fleet?
- "(3) Will a Japanese expeditionary force be sent overseas?

"The first of these is the most fearsome. Suppose Japan were to form a fast striking force composed of such speedy battleships (whose speed America cannot match) as the Haruna, Kongo, and Kirishima, the aircraft carriers Akagi and Ryujo and the Nachi class of heavy cruisers? This would be a fast-stepping force that would be truly matchless and invincable.

"Were they opposed to even the large guns of American battleships, they could utilize their superior speeds, thus leaving their slow adversaries behind. If opposed to a cruiser force, they could close in with telling blows, crush the opposition. Truly this would be a peerless force; able to close to battle, or open out, if outgunned. If this fast striking force should meet misfortune, losing one

Witness Zacharias Questions by: Mr. Richardson or two fast battleships or aircraft carriers, they would surely be a severe blow to Japan, and we would have to grit our teeth, smothering our rage until the day of a decisive main engagement to obtain our revenge.

"Maybe such a bold venture would be too great a risk, who can say? On the other hand, warfare is a risk, and he who hesitates, or fears the risks of bold venture, cannot wage war.

"More over, an attack off Hawaii would be the first battle of the Pacific war, and if in the very first engagement one can wrest the courage away from the enemy by one's own daring, it would put him in a funk or give him the jitters."

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Mr. Richardson: Was that brok at all widely read among naval men?

Captain Zacharias: It was read by our officers who knew the Japanese language. In fact, this translation was made in the Fleet Intelligence Office at Hawaii and, as I have indicated, a copy of this extract was given to the War rlans Officer about October 1941. That was the third indication.

The fourth indication that they would attack, open the war by an attack on our Fleet was somewhat strengthened by this incident which occurred in Mexico on October 16, 1940.

We had always known through discussions of the 55/3 ratio that Japan was anxious to have the number of capital ships reduced because they felt that with a 5/5/3 ratio it was possible for us to arrive in the theater of operations in Asia with more than parity. That is what crystallized in my mind the fact that they would make an attack on our Fleet for the purpose of getting four battleships. Four battleships cut of our number, which were then fifteen, excluding the two new ones which we had not yet commissioned, would have reduced us to eleven. One battleship they knew was always in the Navy Yard under overhaul, bringing us down to ten. Under the treaty they were allowed nine battleships, but, as expected, they had rearmed the Hiyei, which brought them upto ten, or what they considered a parity with us.

As we know, the intensity of their attack was directed towards the battleships and I think my impressions were confirmed. Those were the four reasons why I felt certain that hostilities with Japan would begin with an air attack on our Fleet.

Now, I would like to jump back to my conversation with Admiral Kimmel, to say that in the precautions that I felt we should take I indicated that there would be earliest indications of hostilities and unmistakable signs of hostilities.

Among the earliest indications I told him would be the withdrawal of their merchant ships to Japan. We had long realized that and had kept a complete track of the location of every Japanese merchant vessel throughout the world. I started that system myself in 1935 in the Office of Naval Intelligence.

The other early indication would be preparations or, rather, deceptive measures in which they would engage, some of which developed. The unmistakable signs, as I pointed out to Admiral Kimmel, would be the appearance of submarines in the Hawaiian area, in which case he could well realize that the Japanese were then ready to strike.

In my conversations with Mr. Munson there was one additional indication which I gave to him mand that was that we already had two Japanese envoys in Washington, Admirel Nemura and Mr. Kurusu; that when the third envoy arrived they could

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Witness Zacharias

Questions by: The Chairman

definitely look for things to break one way or the other.

I learned over the radio on the 3rd of December that the Japanese Ambassador to Peru, Mr. Sakamoto, had arrived in Washington and that made me feel that the situation was coming to a head.

Mr. Richardson: I have no further questions.

The Chairman: I did not have the privilege of hearing your testimony up to now because I was unavoidably absent and I may ask a question or two that has already been covered.

You just spoke of the Peruvian Japanese Minister arriving in Washington on the 3rd of December.

Captain Zacharias! Yes, sir.

The Chairman: Where were you at that time?

Captain Zacharias: I was in command of the Salt Lake
City. We were then en route to Pearl Harbor from Wake Island.

The Chairman: From Wake?

Captain Zacharias: Yes, sir.

The Chairman: When did you arrive at Pearl Harbor?

Captain Zacharias: On the morning of -- at noon on the 8th of December.

The Chairman: On the 8th. After the attack? Captain Zacharias: Yes, sir.

The Chairman: You got this information about the Peruvian Minister or Ambassador on the 3rd by radio you say?

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The Chairman: You had a radio receiving set on board the ship?

Captain Zacharias: By radio, yes, sir.

Captain Zacharias: We had many sets, yes, sir.

The Chairman: And you got it through a radio?

Captain Z; charias: Yes, sir.

The Chairman: Do you know whether the officers in charge of the Pearl Harbor installations in the Fleet and particularly Admiral Kimmel, Admiral Bloch or General Short, had that information about the Peruvian Minister coming here on the third?

Captain Zacharias: It is possible they had the information regarding his arrival but I had not indicated to them that that would have any bearing on the subsequent events because I did not know in my conversations with Admiral Kimmel that there would be even a second ambassador arriving.

The Chairman: You don't know what his reaction to that would have been if he had known it?

Captain Zacharias: I do not know, sir.

The Chairman: Were you stationed at Pearl Harbor or in the Hawaiian Islands when you had this conversation in March with Admiral Kimmel?

Captain Zacharias: I was in command of the heavy cruiser Salt Lake City and I have already indicated in my testimony

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Witness Zacharias

Questions by: The Chairman

why I sought this conference with Admiral Kimmel and that was to discuss, to make certain he had received the report of my conference with Admiral Nomura which I had given in detail to Admiral Stark in a letter to Admiral Stark.

The Chairman: Maybe you have already stated it. What was Admiral Kimmel's reaction to that prediction?

Captain Zacharias: 'What he stated? I did state, sir.

The Chairman: All right. State it again, please.

Captain Zacharias: He said to me, "Well, we have neither the personnel nor the material with which to carry out this patrol." I had indicated to him that the only way to prevent this air attack which would come down wind from the northward because that was the prevailing wind in Hawaii, was to have out patrols at least five hundred miles then, and he stated that he had neither the personnel nor material with which to carry out such patrols and I said to him, "Well, admiral, you better get them because that is what is coming."

The Chairman: You formed your conclusion as to what was coming from your general knowledge of the situation, to-gether with your experience, your long experience in the Intelligence Division?

Captain Zacharias: That is correct, sir.

The Chairman: You did not have the benefit of any magic or intercepted messages at the time you formed your conclusion

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Witness Zacharias

Questions by: The Chairman

and at the time you transmitted your conclusion to Admiral Kimmel?

Captain Zacharias: No, sir, I did not. I did have some knowledge of certain messages which dealt with the Far East-ern situation in general but I would not say that I had access to any which really bore upon the events which followed.

The Chairman: Have you read those intercepted messages as they have been filed with the committee?

Captain Zacharias: Yes, sir.

The Chairman: Have you read the messages about which Admiral Kimmel and General Short have testified as being messages to which they were entitled and which might have changed their course of action if they had had them?

Captain Zacharias: Those which were not de moded, I think, until after Pearl Harbor.

The Chairman: No, some of them were decoded.

Senator Brewster: But not communicated.

The Chairman: But not communicated. They were decoded but not communicated to them.

Captain Zacharias: Yes, sir, I now recall them.

The Chairman: As an Intelligence Officer I would like to ask your opinion as to whether those messages if transmitted would have given any additional information as to the immediate likelihood of an attack on Pearl Harbor?

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Witness Zacharias

Questions by: The Chairman

Captain Zacharias: I can state the effect that they would have had on me but I cannot state what effect they would have had on Admiral Kimmel or General Short.

The Chairman: Well, I realize that but just for my own not ourlosity exactly but for my own information I would like to get an opinion as to what reaction they would have had on you.

Captain Zacharias: What opinion I would have had? The Chairman: Yes.

Captain Zacharias: Why, I can state positively if I had had access to those messages it would have further confirmed my opinion as to what took place.

The Chairman: Those messages, outside of the one carving up the Pearl Harbor region or area into five different sections for the ships to be parked - that is not the naval word.

Mr. Murphy: Docked.

The Chairman: Docked or berthed pertain to the --Captain Za charias: The five different what, sir?

The Chairman: One of those messages was an intercept of a message between the Hawaiian Islands and Tokyo indicating the dividing up of the harbor into five sections and the berthing of the ships there, which might have indicated they had. some particular interest in that in Pearl Harbor, but outside of that, as I recall, the other messages were dealing with

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Witness Zacharias

Questions by: The Chairman

the general situation between Japan and the United States and the growing tensity of it. Would those messages outside of that one, would those messages have indicated any additional likelihood of an attack upon Pearl Harbor?

Captain Zucharias: Yes, I think I can say categorically that those messages would have had a very distinct effect on my opinion.

The Chairman: Now, this book from which you have quoted here, you say that the part you read was translated and distributed among the naval officers?

Captain Zacharias: I do not know the distribution but this copy was given to me by the Fleet Intelligence Officer because it was translated in that office and I picked it up in the course of my conversations with them and my interest in the situation.

The Chairman: That was in October?

Captain Zacharias: Ahout October.

The Chairman: 1941?

Captain Zacharias: 1941, yes, sir.

The Chairman: Well, that is all I will ask at the moment. I am at a disadvantage because I did not hear the rest of the testimony. Congressman Cooper.

The Vice Chairman: That Fleet Intelligence Officer you referred to, Captain, was the Fleet Intelligence Of licer of the

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Witness Zacharias

Questions by: The Vice Chairman

Pacific Fleet under the ormmand of Admiral Kimmel?

Captain Zacharias: He was the first Fleet Intelligence Officer of the Pacific Fleet and later, as the name was changed -- first he was Fleet Intelligence Officer of the United States Fleet and when it was changed later to the Pacific Fleet he became Fleet Intelligence Officer of the Pacific Fleet. He had been there for quite a considerable time before Pearl Harbor.

The Vice Chairman: Well, at the time you received this copy that you have read to the ormmittee he was then Admiral Kimmel's Intelligence Officer?

Captain Zacharias: That is correct.

The Chairman: Would you allow me to ask one question that I have overlooked?

The Vice Chairman: Yes.

The Chairman: What, from your experience, your long experience in the Intelligence Division of the Navy, what is the practice of naval officers in the Navy Department in transmitting diplomatic messages to naval officers in the field or in the waters where they are in command?

Captain Zacharias: I think the general prlicy is to give such messages only to those who need to know their existence.

The Chairman: There is a general policy that from such

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Witness Zacharias

Questions by: The Chairman

messages as are received initially anywhere an ostimate of the situation is drawn and that is transmitted to the commanding officers both in the Navy and War departments, is it?

Captain Zacharias: I did not get that.

The Chairman: Instead of sending each individual diplomatic message that is picked up in general for any reason or from any source to the commanding officers in the field or in the waters in which the Navy may be operating, is it the practice to send them an estimate, a general estimate of the situation drawn from those messages that are received in the Department as a whole?

Captain Zacharias: Either or both of those methods are employed.

The Chairman: Either or both?

Captain Zacharias: Yes.

The Chairman: All right.

The Vice Chairman: Captain, would you give us a little more information as to why you considered the arrival of the third Japanese envoy so important?

Captain Zacharias: The reasons an to why I felt that the arrival of a third envoy in Washington would precipitate a decision, that came through experience in Intelligence work and our observation of the many Japanese missions which came over to this country on inspection trips or purchasing mis-

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Questions by: The Vice Chairman

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We noticed that almost invariably when they went to a certain industrial activity they were interested in one particular thing in that plant. Depending on its importance, a second mission would come and go to that same plant and showed an interest only in that particular piece of machinery or whatever it was. They would be followed by a third group, who would go through the same procedure and after the visit of the third group all interest in that plant and that particular item would disappear.

In my mind I formulated the opinion that the Japanese would not accept the view of a single individual; that two individuals usually resulted in a controversy. Therefore, it was necessary to have the opinion of a third one before they would reach their decision. That is typical and in line with everything Japanese.

The Vice Chairman: It is part of their way of operating, to do everything three times before they reach a decision?

Captain Zacharias: That is correct, sir, and that is possibly the reason why even in their most important operations they have in the past taken away the initiative from the commander-in-chief and required him to get his detailed instructions from Tokyo before he would make any move.

I feel that that very condition was responsible for in

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Witness Zacharias

Questions by: The Vice Chairman

some degree our success at Midway. Ordinarily when a force is coming in to make a surprise attack, as they were doing again at Midway, a commander-in-chief would know that he had been discovered when they spotted a patrol plane of ours two days before and would then retire to a sector and come in at a later date. The commander-in-chief was not empowered to make any such decision and by the time, I assume, that he was able to contact Tokyo and get permission to change his plan it was too late.

I give that as an indication that decisions by the Japanese are never confined to a single individual or even two.

The Chairman: And you cite that instance as something that actually happened that contributed to our success in the Battle of Midway?

Captain Zacharias: Yes, sir, that was known; that information had been furnished to Mr. Munson and, as I indicated in the memorandum, I talked with a third party, went over the details of this thing completely the night before I sailed for Wake Island. The night before was N ovember 27, 1941; and that was with Mr. Lorrin Thurston, the head of the Honolulu Advertiser and the head of station KGU in Honolulu, who was a Military Intelligence Reserve Officer, a captain.

The Vice Chairman: He was a Captain in the United States

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Army?

Captain Zacharias: Yes, Militury Intelligence Reserve and, as I indicated in that memorandum, he expressed surprise that he had not been informed as to what to send out over his radio when the air attack came.

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The Vice Chairman: Well, now, I want to try to understand you a little more clearly, Captain, about this -- what was his name, Thurston?

Captain Zacharias: L-o-r-r-i-n T-h-u-r-s-t-o-n; Lorrin Thurston.

The Vice Chairman: Well, was he at that time a Captain in the United States Army?

Captain Zacharias: He was a captain in the Military Intelligence Reserve of the United States Army, not on active duty.

The Vice Chairman: Not on active duty?

Captain Zacharias: Right.

The Vice Chairman: Well, was that a civilian radio station that he had or was it a military radio station?

Captain Zacharias: That was one of the two civilian radio stations on the Island of Oahu.

The Vice Chairman: And just what was it you told him? Captain Zacharias: I related to him the entire probability of events as I have already testified and that is

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Witness Zacharias

Questions by: The Vice Chairman

what caused him to say to me with an expression of surprise, "Why, I am here and a Reserve Intelligence Officer in G-" and I have not been given any indication of what I should send out over the radio in the event of an air attack."

I said to him, "Well," I said, "if you say "We are having a sporadic air attack; there is no reason for alarm. Everyone should keep in doors because if you go on the streets you will interfere with the military going to their posts. Just stay at home and keep calm. "

And I might say that on the morning of December 7th when the Communications Officer brought me the word around eight o'olock that Cahu had been attacked, I turned on my radio and almost those exact words were going out over KGU.

The Vice Chairman: Well, now, I cannot say that I understand this. I am sure it is my fault but I am sorry. I still do not quite understand just the status of that officer. You say he was not on active duty?

Captain Zacharias: He was not on active duty.

The Vice Chairman: Then you say he was working with the Army Intelligence Office. Now, what does that mean?

Captain Zacharias: I did not say he was working with the Intelligence Office. I said that he was an Intelligence Officer in the Military Reserve not on active duty but I happened to know that he was consulted from time to time by the

Witness Zacharias

Questions by: The Vice Chairman

Army because he was a very prominent citizen in Hawaii by reason of those two positions he occupied, but I inject that only to indicate that up to the very last moment these ideas that I had were being passed along as freely as possible.

The Vice Chairman: Well, the reson I got the impression that he was connected with the Army Intelligence Office there in Hawaii was your statement that you said he was surprised that he had not been told about that because he was connected with the Army Intelligence Office.

Captain Zacharias: Well, if I conveyed the impression that that was being critical of the Army for not advising him I ask to correct that because it was not. That was only incidental and the surprise was on his part.

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Witness Zacharias Questions by: The Vice Chairman

There were no implications in that. I only brought that in to further substantiate the fact that I was carrying all these things along in my own mind.

The Vice Chairman: Well, you told us about your conversation with Admiral Kimmel in which you gave him the information that you here related, and then you state that you conveyed substantially the same opinion, or expressed the same views to Captain Layton.

Captain Zacharias: No, sir, I did not say that I had expressed those same views to Captain Layton. Undoubtedly in our many conversation, possibilities and probabilities were discussed, but I did not say that I had given Layton specifically an outline of what I had expected. I assume that he would arrive at similar conclusions because of his experience in Intelligence, and knowledge of the Japanese. He was also a Japanese language officer.

The Vice Chairman: And you had served with him, and it was on your recommendation that he was appointed in the position he was then holding?

Captain Zacharias: That is correct.

The Vice Chairman: Now, who else, if anybody, besides Admiral Kimmel, did you tell substantially this same thing to?

Captain Zacharias: I think those were all. As I said

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before, I was on duty there in the Hawaiian area. I already expressed myself to Admiral Kimmel and his Chief of Staff. I felt if there was anything further that they wanted from me, they knew where I was, and they could get it.

The Vice Chairman: You were not at that time in the Intelligence Service of the Navy?

Captain Zacharias: I was not, except indirectly, because I had been admonished by a former director of Naval Intelligence when I completed a certain tour of duty in Naval Intelligence, when he said to me "Although you are now leaving this office to go to sea, you must consider yourself as continuing your active intelligence work. I hope you will feel that way and continue to do so, because of your background and the value that it will have to the Navy, and generally in the future."

In other words, he gave me a commission to continue intelligence work even while I was afloat, and I proceeded to do so, even to the extent of engaging in certain counterespionage activities, while I was abroad ship.

The Vice Chairman: I believe you stated you had directly, or in an indirect way, about 25 years experience in Naval Intelligence work?

Captain Zacharias: That is correct, sir.

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Witness Zacharias Questions by: The Vice Chairman

The Vice Chairman: Then the greater part of your 37 years' service in the Navy has been devoted to that line of work?

Captain Zacharias: That is correct, sir, although the portions afloat, as I have indicated, were during my spare time, because all Japanese language officers well realized that in order to have the possibility of promotion by selection in addition to their specialty, they had to be good Naval officers.

The Vice Chairman: Now, one other inquiry, if I may please, Captain.

This information that you say you conveyed to Admiral Kimmel, was that based upon your general knowledge of the Japanese, and the relations existing between Japan and the United States, or was any part of that directly the result of your conversation with Admiral Nomura?

Captain Zacharias: I think I can say categorically that it was principally my background experience, and not the result of the conversation with Admiral Nomura. had hoped that he might be able to arrive at a successful solution to the situation between Japan and the United States. I might say after my conversation with him, I was not too hopeful, but I felt -- I knew that -- I will stick . to my original expression, I felt that he was quite anxious

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Witness Zacharias Questions by: The Vice Chairman to prevent a war between Japan and the United States, because he had always said to me that if Japan and the United States went to war, it would mean the finish of the Japanese Empire and a great loss to the United States. He reiterated thatin my conversation with him in San Francisco on February 8, 1941.

The Vice Chairman: Well, you sought this conference with Admiral Nomura in San Francisco, then, did you?

Captain Zacharias: I did, and when I had previously notified the Commander in Chief of the United States Fleet, Admiral Richardson, that I proposed to do so, he liked the idea and asked me to send him a copy of the report of that conversation immediately after itwas completed.

The Vice Chairman: And you were then serving as Naval Intelligence Officer at San Francisco?

Captain Zacharias: No, sir, I was then in command of the heavy cruiser, Salt Lake City, which had recently come into Mare Island to be overhauled, and an implementation of her armament.

The Vice Chairman: Had you been ordered, directed, or had a suggestion come to you that you have such a conversation with Admiral Nomura?

Captain Zacharias: Only through the attitude of Admiral Richardson when I indicated to him that I had known

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Witness Zacharias Questions by: The Vice Chairman Admiral Nomura intimately in Japan, and on subsequent occasions of his visit to the United States, that I had found him the one Japanese who was willing and never embarrassed by discussing situations, and I felt if anybody could get from him an expression of opinion as to the real mission for which he was sent over, that I could do it. I felt there was only one other person in the United States with whom he would talk as frankly, and that was Admiral W. V. Pratt, retired.

The Vice Chairman: You had known Admiral Nomura in Japan?

Captain Zacharias: Yes, sir.

The Vice Chairman: How long were you stationed in Japan, Captain?

Captain Zacharias: The first time about three years.

The Vice Chairman: Were you Naval Attache at our Embassy there?

Captain Zacharias: I was an attache at the Embassy for the purpose of learning the language and studying the people. It was during that period that I first met Admiral Nomura. He was then director of Naval Intelligence in Japan.

The Vice Chairman: All told, how much time have you spent in Japan ?

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Witness Zacharias Questions by: The Vice Chairman

Captain Zacharias: About four years. I went back to the Asiatic Fleet in 1926 for a specific purpose, and on my way back from the Asiatic Fleet I was in Japan for a period of something over six months, to refresh my knowledge of both the language, the people, and the situation.

The Vice Chairman: Well, after your conversation with Admiral Richardson, in which he indicated at least to you that it thought it might be well for you to talk to Admiral Nomura, you then did have the conversation with him?

Captain Zacharias: I did, sir.

The Vice Chairman: And you reported by way of a memorandum on that conversation to Admiral Stark, Chief of Naval Operations?

Captain Zacharias: I wrote a personal and very lengthy letter to Admiral Stark, a copy of which you have in the papers that were furnished by the Navy Department to the committee, and I received a reply from Admiral Stark, a copy of which also has been furnished to you, in which he indicated that my letter to him was very interesting and illuminating, and he had sent the original over to the President and had made copies for the Secretary of the Navy, and Secretary of State.

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Witness Zacharias

Questions by: The Vice Chairman

The Vice Chairman: I believe you state that copies were sent to Admiral Kimmel and in your conversation with him he told you he had received it.

Captain Zacharias: That is correct, sir.

The Vice Chairman: Now what was the occasion for your writing the memorandum to the other Admiral, Admiral Draemel?

Captain Zacharias: That memorandum, as you recall, was written on March 17, 1942. The specific purpose of that memorandum was to advise Admiral Nimitz, then Commander in Chief of the Pacific Fleet, of the situation existing in Hawaii as I saw it, and to indicate to him that if certain steps were not taken to change the situation existing there that he could expect something even more disastrous than what took place at Pearl Harbor.

As you know, that situation eventuated less than three months later and precipitated the battle of Midway. At that time, as you know, the Japanese were approaching Hawaii with an overpowering force for the purpose of capturing Hawaii after Midway.

I must say that I felt that we were very fortunate in the conclusion of that campaign. I know that Admiral Nimitz felt that way after the battle of Midway had finished.

Now, as I say, this memorandum was prepared for Vice Admiral Nimitz of the situation then existing. I was very

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Questions by: The Vice Chairman

WASHINGTON.

much concerned in what had not been done regarding Japanese agents in Hawaii subsequent to Pearl Harbor, the inspections of various localities and everything else as is outlined in this memorandum.

I was still the Commanding Officer of a ship and it took a good deal of deliberation on my part to decide to go over to the Commander in Chief and present my views to him. However, because of my background in Intelligence and knowing that I was the Senior, the one officer in the United States Navy who had such a background of knowledge regarding the Japanese, and in Intelligence work, I felt it my duty to advise him of the situation as I saw it, and I proceeded to have a conversation with Admiral Draemel, his Chief of Staff, to see what he might suggest.

After going over all these details with him, which included a complete analysis of the situation prior to Pearl Harbor, and that was given to Admiral braemel for the sole purpose of letting him know my background and to let him know, or, rather, to convince him that I knew what I was talking about, that was the sole purpose of giving him this pre-Pearl Harbor background.

After my conversation, and the relation of it was given to him, he said, "Well, now, I agree with you practically 99 percent and I wish you would write that out for me in the

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Witness Zacharias Questions by: The Vice Chairman form of a memorandum so I can give it to Admiral Nimitz to read, and then if he wants to discuss it with you further he can do so."

I told him I would be very glad to do that. I returned to my ship and wrote out the memorandum as exactly as possible as our conversation had taken place and gave it to him.

The Vice Chairman: Then on March 17, 1942, when you wrote this memorandum to Admiral Nimitz, you were then in the Pacific Fleet?

Captain Zacharias: That is correct, sir. I was a subordinate.

The Vice Chairman: And in command of the cruiser SALT LAKE CITY?

Captain Zacharias: In command of the cruiser SAIT LAKE CITY.

The Vice Chairman: I believe you stated, Captain, that you were graduated from the Naval Academy in 1912.

Captain Zacharias: That is correct, sir.

The Vice Chairman: From what State were you appointed?

Captain Zacharias: Florida.

The Vice Chairman: And you have been in the Navy continuously since then?

Captain Zacharias: That is correct.

The Vice Chairman: That is all. Thank you.

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Witness Zacharias

Questions by: Senator Lucas

The Chairman: Senator George had to leave to go to the floor. Congressman Clark is not here.

Senator Lucas.

Senator Lucas: Captain, you told the committee a few moments ago that in October, 1941, you attempted, on three different occasions, to discuss the Japanese situation from the standpoint of a surprise attack with Captain Layton. Is that right?

Captain Zacharias: No, sir. This was with Captain McMorris -- and it was not to discuss the possibilities of an air attack, it was to discuss the current situation of our relations with Japan.

Senator Lucas: Well, why did you want to see Captain McMorris at that time?

Captain Zacharias: Because he was the War Plans Officer and I knew that he would be drawing up any procedures for eventualities.

Senator Lucas: What did you have in mind discussing with Captain McMorris?

Captain Zacharias: I would have discussed with him the probabilities.

Senator Lucas: Of an air attack?

Captain Zacharias: Of what might eventuate. I would have related to him then everything I had told Admiral

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Witness Zacharias

Questions by: Senator Lucas

Kimmel, because it was just at that same period that I had the conversations with Mr. Munson.

Sentor Lucas: Why were you so free with Munson with respect to the possibility of an air attack and yet you did not pass it on in October 1941 to the proper authorities in Hawaii?

Captain Zacharias: I had already passed it along to Admiral Kimmel.

Senator Lucas: Yes, you had done that back in March, 1941.

Captain Zacharias: Yes.

Senator Lucas: Did it ever occur to you, as the tense situation developed between this country and Japan, to again repeat that to Admiral Kimmel?

Captain Zacharias: I have already indicated that Admiral Kimmel and his Chief of Staff knew that I was a Commanding Officer in his Fleet, and I felt that if he wanted any further information from me he knew where he could find me. I did not again go over to bring myself to his attention, because I long since learned that when you are persistent in these things you arouse certain feelings which nullify the effect which you desire to produce.

Senator Lucas: Did you feel that they considered you a sort of a nuisance for interfering with their own decisions

Questions by: Senator Lucas

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when you made suggestions of this kind?

Captain Zacharias: No, sir, there was no indication of that. Why Captain McMorris did not want to discuss it I do not know, but it so impressed me after the third attempt that I went in to Commander Layton and said, "What is the matter with Captain McMorris? I tried to engage him in a conversation about this situation but he does not feel like talking about it." And the Intelligence Officer indicated to me he did not know any reason why he should not want to discuss it.

Senator Lucas: You were a very good friend of Captain Layton?

Captain Zacharias: Yes, sir.

Senator Lucas: I understand you recommended him.

Captain Zacharias: I did.

Senator Lucas: As it Layton you recommended for the position he held in the Fleet at that time?

Captain Zacharias: That is correct. I might add that I was also a good friend of Captain McMorris and he is a classmate of mine.

Senator Lucas: Now did you discuss with Layton at any time in October 1941 the possibilities of an air attack and give tohim the substance of the conversation that you gave to Munson?

Captain Zacharias: No, only I think I discussed with him

Questions by: Senator Lucas

the fact that Munson had sought me ought, and what I had gone over with him I cannot recall.

Senator Lucas: Why did you consider Munson more important than Layton?

Captain Zacharias: Because Munson had come out with a letter signed "H. R. Stark", to open up everything to him. That letter was to the Commander in Chief of the Pacific Fleet. So I tried to get from Munson some indication as to whom he was representing, but he consistently declined to tell me, in a very friendly manner, so I did not pursue it further, but I reached my own conclusions.

Senator Lucas: Did Munson talk to Captain Layton while he was there?

Captain Zacharias: Yes, sir.

Senator Lucas: Did you confer with Layton after Munson left and discuss with him the conversation that you might have had?

Captain Zacharias: Now, only incidentally, possibly.

In one of my visits to the Fleet Intelligence Officer I said

I had some conversations with Munson and had given him my

idea of what would occur.

Senator Lucas: As I recall, Admiral Kimmel does not remember the conversation you had with him in March, 1941.

Captain Zacharias: I have indicated that I was possibly one

Questions by: Senator Lucas

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of hundreds with whom he talked, and although the subject of our conversation was one which I felt, and still feel, was most vital to his position as Commander in Chief of the Fleet, I have said that I can realize that he might not remember the details of that conversation.

Senator Lucas: Have you talked to Captain Smith, the other officer who was present at the time you engaged Admiral Kimmel in a conversation about this important matter?

Captain Zacharias: Not about the matters I discussed there. I probably have spoken to him in greetings.

The Vice Chairman: Will the Senator yield? Senator Lucas: Yes.

The Vice Chairman: I understood the Senator to state Admiral Kimmel testified he did not have the conversation with him.

Senator Lucas: If I said that I am wrong. Admiral Kimmel did not recall the substance of the conversation that he had with you, Captain?

The Vice Chairman: If the Jenator will permit, I interrogated Admiral Kimmel about that. He stated that he did have a conversation with Captain Zacharias in March of 1941. Then I read to him this statement from your memorandum and asked him whether Captain Zacharias told him there would be an air attack on Pearl Harbor, and he answered that he

Questions by: Senator Lucas

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did not believe that.

Senator Lucas: Yes, I think that is right.

Captain Zacharias: I think I can clarify that.

Senator Lucas: Clarify it, if you will, sir.

Captain Zacharias: Yes, sir. The question asked of Admiral Kimmel was whether this was going to take place, or whether I had told him that this would take place on December 7, and he said I did not.

The Vice Chairman: I will read the quotation, if the Senator will indulge me a moment.

Senator Lucas: I yield for that purpose.

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Witness Zacharias

Questions by: The Vice Chairman

The Vice Chairman: I first asked Admiral Kimmel:

"Now, you were asked some questions about some conversations between you and Captain Zacharias."

Senator Brewster: What page is that?

The Vice Chairman: Page 7133 of our transcript.

Admiral Kimmel answered:

"Yes, sir."

Then I asked:

"He was an officer under your command at the time?

"Admiral Kimmel: Yes."

Then I asked:

"And you stated that you did have a conversation with him in March of 1941, and you did not recall that he said anything to you about expecting an air attack on Pearl Harbor, is that correct?

"Admiral Kimmel: That is right. I made such a statement as that."

Then I asked:

"Did you have any conversation with him at any other time other than March, 1941?

"Admiral Kimmel: Not that I now recall."

Then I asked:

"You had no other coversation with him at æll, that you remember?

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Witness Zacharias Questions by: The Vice Chairman

"Admiral Kimmel: Well, I cannot recall every conversation I had with every officer in Pearl Harbor, but so far as I know, Captain Zacharias never expressed any idea that an attack on Pearl Harbor was imminent at any time to me. He may have expressed such sentiments, I do not know."

Then I said:

"Now, then, Admiral, you say that when you received the message of November 24, 1941, from the Chief of Naval Operations," -- then I inquired about the message of November 24.

Then shortly after that we recessed for noon.

Captain Zacharias: Yes, sir.

The Vice Chairman: In the meantime I had looked at these papers that had been filed before we resumed the afternoon session, or that you had filed with the Navy Department. There was only one copy, and I had not read it up to that time, but during the noon recess I looked through it. Then, when we resumed the hearing after noon, I questioned Admiral Kimmel further on that point, as appears on page 7140 of our transcript.

Senator Brewster: Would not you take page 7137, where you started your question on that? That is where you began in the afternoon about the conversation.

Witness Zacharias Questions by: The Vice Chairman

The Vice Chairman: That was during the morning. I had not thought that was important, but this should precede what I read.

Senator Brewster: That was the afternoon session, page 7137, when we resumed the inquiry, and introduced the exhibit.

The Vice Chairman: Oh, yes, I see now. Page 7137. Captain Zacharias: I think I know the point.

The Vice Chairman: Any how, on page 7137 I asked Admiral Kimmel this question:

"Admiral Kimmel, this morning I asked you a few questions about your conversation with Captain Zacharias. At that time I did not have before me the photostatic copies of certain documents that have been presented here to the committee with respect to Captain Zacharias, and at the conclusion of the morning's session, counsel handed me this copy which is the only one before the committee.

It is headed 'Notes, Correspondence, and Reports Relating to Pearl Harbor and Events Leading Up To It.' And quite a number of items are listed on the front page, but I will pass on down to an item appearing about the middle of this page, which I will read to you:

"March, 1941: Conversation with Admiral Kimmel CINCPAC' -- that was you -- 'and his Chief of Staff, Captain,' it

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Witness Zacharias

Questions by: The Vice Chairman

looks like 'W. W. Smith, U. S. N.

"Admiral Kimmel: That is right."

Then I continued reading:

"Regarding Nomura, notifying of surprise attack on our Fleet by Japanese in case hostilities eventuate. Details of this conversation are covered in a personal and confidential memo to Chief of Staff, to CINCPAC, Rear Admiral Milo Draemel, U. S. N., for presentation to CINCPAC (Admiral Nimitz) and dated March 17, 1942, copy attached.

"Then I turn over to this copy to which he refers in that note. I will not take time to read all of it, but in the fourth paragraph of this headed 'Personal and Confidential Memoran dum for Admiral Draemel, March 17, 1942' I read you as follows:

"Only a few people know that I had cautioned Admiral Kimmel and Captain Smith during the course of an hour and a half conversation with them of the exact event to take place on 7 December, not only as to what would happen, but also how and when. My only error was that the Japanese were after four battleships, and they got five."

"Do you recall any such statement as that, or any information of that nature given you by Captain Zacharias?

"Admiral Kimmel: I think there is very little I can add to my previous testimony on that subject. In the past

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Witness Zacharias Questions by: The Vice Chairman few days I heard of this memorandum, and I had read that memorandum before I testified before this committee and if you want me to clarify any of my previous statements, I will be pleased to do so, but I am willing to let it stand as it is."

Then I asked:

"Well, in questions asked you by counsel and those which I asked you, you stated that you did not remember -- "Admiral Kimmel: That is correct."

Then I asked:

"-- any conversation with Captain Zacharias along this line.

"Admiral Kimmel: I remembered a conversation with Captain Zacharias."

Then I asked:

"But I have now tried to refresh your memory.

"Admiral Kimmel: That is right."

Then I state:

"If it is worth anything in that respect.

"Admiral Kimmel: Yes."

Then I state:

"By reading you what appears in this memorandum prepared by him, which has been presented to this committee for whatever it may be worth. h6

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Witness Zacharias Questions by: The Vice Chairman

"Admiral Kimmel: That is right."

Then I asked:

"And I am now asking you whether he said to you what he states there, or anything like that.

"Admiral Kimmel: He did not, and furthermore, I would have paid very little attention to any man who told me in March of 1941 that an attack was going to occur on the Pacific Fleet in Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941."

I think that covers the pertinent point. I assume you are familiar with it.

The Chairman: I think it is time to adjourn.

Captain Zacharias: I can reply very quickly to that.

The Chairman: Yes, if you will. We will have to recess in a moment.

Captain Zacharias: Included in that memorandum was
the date December 7. I have already indicated that December
7 is synonymous with Pearl Harbor. When you realize that
this memorandum was prepared after Pearl Harbor, it was
referring back to an event for the benefit of Admiral
Draemel and Admiral Nimitz, and Admiral Kimmel is quite correct in saying that in March, 1941, I did not predict something was going to happen on December 7th. And he is also
correct in saying that I did not indicate that there was any
imminence of Japanese hostilities. Everything I said to him

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Witness Zacharias Questions by: The Vice Chairman was contingent upon the development of a situation which made hostilities between Japan and the United States imminent. I did not predict when that would occur, but I indicated to him clearly as to what would happen if that situation evolved.

The Chairman: The committee will recess until 2 o'clock, and the chair understands that Justice Roberts will be here.

You may come back here also, Captain.

Captain Zacharias: I will be here, sir.

(Whereupon, at 12:10 o'clock p. m., the committee recessed to 2:00 o'clock p. m., of the same day.)

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AFTERNOON SESSION

2:00 P.M.

The Chairman: The ormmittee will come to order.

Mr. Justice Roberts, will you be sworn?

TESTIMONY OF MR. JUSTICE OWEN J. ROBERTS

(sworn by the Chairman)

Mr. Richardson: I have before me, Mr. Chairman, some correspondence which it might be well to have extended in the record in connection with the testimony of the Justice.

The first is a letter of December 16, 1941 to the President from the Secretary of War in connection with the individuals who were selected to form the Commission of which the Justice was the chairman.

That is followed by a letter of January 27, 1942, being a letter to Justice Roberts from the Secretary of War with reference to the report which had been prior thereto filed.

The third is a letter under date of January 31, 1942 from the Justice to the Secretary of War in acknowledgment of the letters.

I think probably it would be sufficient if the letters were extended in the record by the stenographer without reading them.

Senator Brewster: Mr. Chairman, I have had the privilege of counsel showing them to me and I think that they are of sufficient consequence to have them read.

The Chairman: Ch, well, they ought to be spread on the

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record at this point before Justice Roberts testifies.

Senator Brewster: I think they should be read so the committee will be familiar with them.

The Chairman: If there is no objection counsel may read them.

Mr. Murphy: I have a suggestion to make. They were read about two weeksago at the time Senator Ferguson asked a question about them. I think these were among those read.

Senator Brewster: These were not read.

The Chairman: The chair does not understand that they were read.

Mr. Murphy: Oh, I see, these letters were not read.

The Chairman: Without objection the counsel will read the letters into the record at this point in sequence.

Mr. Richardson: (Reading)

"PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

December 16, 1941

"Dear Mr. President:

"Knox tells me that you would like our suggestions as to the investigating board this morning" --

The Chairman: Let me ask counsel this question: Prior to that letter is there any official document appointing the Commission by the President which might well go in ahead of these letters?

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Witness Roberts

Mr. Richardson: This would come ahead of that, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Brewster: Yes.

The Chairman: Go ahead.

Mr. Richardson: (Reading)

"Knox tells me that you would like our suggestions as to the investigating board this morning.

"1. My suggestion for the civilian head is Justice Roberts. No less a man in my opinion should be asked and Roberts, by his action in investigating and prosecuting the Teapot Dome scandal and in deciding the Black Tom case more recently, has an outstanding reputation among our people for getting down to the bottom of a flactual situation. I think his appointment would command the confidence of the whole country. I believe Knox agrees with me.

"2. For the War Department representatives I suggest Major General Frank R. McCoy, Retired, and Brigadier General Joseph T. McNarney of the Air Corps.

"a. McCoy you know personally. He has the most outstanding record of any man in the Army for such an appointment, requiring as it does breadth of view, superlative character, and wide similar experience. ber of the Lytton Commission which investigated the

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Witness Loberts

Japanese in Manchuria, he won a very high reputation among all nations involved for his balance and tact. It was due to him more than any other member that the report of that Commission was unanimous.

"b. McNarney I recommend as the best air man we have for that purpose. I think there must be an air man on the board because the duties and alleged derelictions were in air protection. The fight was an air fight. We have no retired officers of the Air Corps fit for this assignment, but MoNarney has a reputation which commands the respect of everybody. As you know, he was Chief of Staff for Chaney in London, was on the recent Staff conferences with the British, went to Moscow, and is familiar with British technique in respect to air defense. Marshall and I think he is the most competent man we have at the present time on air and ground joint requirements.

"Marshall and I unite on all the foregoing suggestions after very careful consideration by each of us.

"Most confidentially we are sending to Hawaii two men to relieve Short and Martin, the present Army Commander and Air Commander. Lieutenant General Emmons, cur present Air Combat Commander, will relieve Short. Brigadier General Tinker will relieve Martin. They are starting at once and I think nothing should be said about

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have had a sad and serious blow in this matter. Major General Dargue and Colonel Bundy, who have been missing since the storm of last Friday night, were on their way out to Hawaii. They were two of the best men we had and we had expected to use Dargue to relieve one of the men out there.

"Faithf::lly yours,

HENRY L. STIMSON.

Secretary of War."

This is addressed to:

"The President,

The White House.

"My opinion is that the housecleaning which I desoribe in the last paragraph should be synchronized with
a similar housecleaning in the Naval Command, and all
announced at the same time."

This is followed by a letter of January 27, 1942 from the Secretary of War to Justice Roberts. (Reading)

"My dear Justice Roberts:

"This is just a hasty line to tell you that an admirable job I think that you and your colleagues have done in your difficult task of drawing the report on the disaster at Pearl Harbor.

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"I think it is a masterpiece of candid and accurate statement based upon most careful study and analysis of a difficult factual situation. One of the best features of it has been your treatment of certain underlying elements which could not be fully embedied in the report without giving assistance to the enemy.

"Your full opinion on some of these latter points seems to me so important that I hope it will be given to the President and others of us/sho are concerned in the defense of the country, in a manner which can be used without going to the enemy. These are the type of things that I intended to suggest to you in my preliminary talk with you before you left for Pearl Harbor.

"Faithfully yours,

"HENRY L. STIMSON."

And addressed to: "Honorable Owen J. Roberts, United States Supreme Court, Washington, D.C."

That is followed by a letter of January 31, 1942 from Justice Roberts to the Secretary of War. (Reading) "My dear Mr. Secretary:

"I am greatly indebted to you for your letter of January 27th with respect to the Pearl Harbor report. It was good of you to take the time from your manifold

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duties to write me about it.

"Yours sincerely,

"OWEN J. ROBERTS."

Addressed to:

"Hon, Henry L. Stimson,

"Secretary of War,

"Munitions Building,

"Washington, D.C."

Mr. Murphy: Mr. Chairman, does the record show the date of the first two letters?

Mr. michardson: Yes.

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Mr. Murphy: It does? All right.

The Chairman: Proceed with the examination of Justice Roberts.

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Witness Roberts

Questions by: Mr. Richardson

Senator Ferguson: Mr. Chairman, I wish those would remain or be gotten back.

The Reporter: They will be back in a half-hour.

The Chairman: Proceed, Mr. Richardson.

Mr. Richardson: Mr. Justice, you were the Chairman of what is known as the Roberts Commission in connection with the investigation of Pearl Harbor?

Mr. Justice Roberts: Yes, sir.

Mr. Richardson: When was that Commission sworn in?

Mr. Justice Roberts: I should think the 18th or 19th

of December. I can give you the exact date from the minutes.

We swore the recorder and then he swore the members of the Commission.

Mr. Richardson: How soon after that before the Commission began to function?

Mr. Justice Roberts: Immediately. The very morning that it was organized.

Mr. Richardson: Will you give us a running resume of the time the Commission did function here and then later upon your arrival at Hawaii?

Mr. Justice Roberts: We call in the higher command of the Army and Navy and asked them to produce the war plans, maps, orders, and every document that could have a bearing on the situation at Pearl Harbor. We examined those and had

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Witness Roberts

Questions by: Mr. Richardson

the officers explain them and their bearing to us.

I might say at that time we had not decided how we would take testimony, and we had no stenographer. We had a secretary who was a stenographer who made notes on the topics on which these people spoke, and we each made notes for ourselves of things which we thought important and that we desired to investigate.

General Marshall and Admiral Stark were present and gave us an outline of the whole transaction from their points of view. We asked whether we should retain certain code telegrams, and what not, and they told us that copies of them would be found at Pearl Harbor, and we decided not to take those into our possession at that time but to get them when we had stenographic service at Pearl Harbor.

As the result of the conference and testimony of these gentlemen, who were not under oath but were upon honor to give us all they had, we then formed a plan of going to Pearl Harbor where copies of practically every document they produced would be found and we could proceed more formally with the stenographer.

We made arrangements immediately for stenographic service by stenographers known in Washington, and known to me personally to be reputable, because we did not know what kind of stenographic service we could depend on in Pearl

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Witness Roberts

Questions by: Mr. Richardson

Harbor, and we took those gentlemen with us. I think they arrived on Oahu on the 22nd -- I may be wrong about the date -- about 6:00 o'clock in the morning, and we started our session at 9:30 on that morning at Fort Shafter with a stenographer present, and we called for our first witness, after we called for the production of a lot of Cocuments, General Short.

Mr. Richardson: From that time on, when the Commission functioned, it was by question and answer to witnesses who had first been duly sworn?

Mr. Justice Roberts: Yes. I might say that Congress passed an Act giving us the right to subpoena witnesses and sweer them, and that was at our request.

Mr. Richardson: Was any witness proposed who was not given an opportunity to be heard?

Mr. Justice Roberts: Certainly not.

Mr. Richardson: How were your proceedings conducted with respect to their being open or otherwise?

Mr. Justice Roberts: They were closed. Every witness was asked to observe secrecy, that is to say, not to disclose what went on in the room.

Of course the reason for that was what this committee now knows, that there were questions of broken codes. We were informed that the Army and Navy were getting invaluable

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Witness Roberts

Questions by: Mr. Richardson

information every day; that the Japanese did not realize that their codes were broken, and indeed the Navy was rather chary about even telling us about the thing for fear there might be some leak from our Commission.

Of course if we held open hearings there was a chance we might do a great damage to our forces, our military program.

Mr. Richardson: When did you complete your duties there, approximately?

Mr. Justice Roberts: I have got it all in the minutes, and you have the minutes, I think, so when I speak I do not speak against the minutes. It was around the 18th of January, I suppose.

Mr. Richardson: Then you returned to Washington?

Mr. Justice Roberts: Yes, we came to San Francisco, and in order not to lose any time we came back by Pullman from San Francisco, and we had a drawing room in which we could discuss the facts, and as to facts which were of record and as to which there was no doubt we could start to prepare findings, which we did on the train.

Mr. Richardson: Approximately how long after you returned were your findings completed?

Mr. Justice Roberts: Again I do not speak by the record. It is all here. You can get it day by day. But I should

think something over a week.

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Questions by: Mr. Richardson

The Chairman: The report shows that they held meetings on the 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd and 23rd.

Mr. Justice Roberts: That is right.

The Chairman: And the report is dated the 23rd of January.

Mr. Justice Roberts: That is right.

Mr. Richardson; Then upon your return to Washington you took no more testimony?

Mr. Justice Roberts: Yes, we did. We took some testimony on some matters that were still doubtful in our minds, and we did not attempt to make findings on those particular points until we had taken testimony from General Marshall, Admiral Stark and several others.

Mr. Richardson: I note, Mr. Justice, in the report that your Commission eventually made, there are 19 in number of what is referred to as the findings of fact.

I also note in the minutes of your Commission, under date of January 21, 1942, the following language:

"At 3:00 o'clock p.m. the Secretary of the Navy, having been shown certain proposed findings of fact, stated that he suggested no changes for the safeguarding of the national interest in any of the statements except one, in Finding No. 20. This was then differently phrased. At

WASHINGTON,

Witness Roberts

Questions by: Mr. Richardson

4:30 p.m. Brigadier General Gerow, designated the Chief of Staff, after examining the same findings for the same purpose stated to the recorder that he found no changes to suggest, and the recorder so informed the Commission."

I would be obliged if you would give us some explanation with respect to the elimination of what must have been originally Finding No. 20 in connection with your report.

Mr. Justice Roberts: There wasn't any elimination.

When we started to make findings, every member of the

Commission was drawing findings to represent his view of

certain facts. Then we took the different drafts of the

members and compared them, and corrected them, and agreed

on a statement.

In order to have that done accurately, I asked the Commissioners in making findings, to make a short finding for each specific fact. When we had finally agreed on the findings there were over 70 of them, numbered from 1 to 70. They were agreed upon. Those were the ones that were shown to the Secretary of the Navy and Secretary of War.

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Hook follows

When we came to draft our report for submission to
the President, every one of the Commission but myself said
that it was a disjointed sort of thing, because it had
70 short paragraphs in it, cut apart, and they said it
would be a great deal better to put the findings in longer
paragraphs together.

We did that, and we finally condensed those 70 paragraphs into 19, without changing a word in them. If you will look at the findings, you will see that No. 1 consists of two paragraphs. Those were originally numbered separately.

The next one consists of two paragraphs which were originally numbered separately. The third one does not. The fourth consists of three paragraphs that had separate numbers, and so on.

We took the findings that dealt with a particular situation and put them under one caption with paragraphs instead of having them numbered straight through.

As to finding No. 20, I think I know what it was. It is at the bottom of page 6 of the printed report. That finding is now in a paragraph starting "November 24, 1941."

It dealt with a message from the Navy. In making up a statement on these messages we garbled them. We were told if we had translated them accurately, that either the Germans or the Japanese, who had taken off the code messages, might

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Witness Roberts Questions by: Mr. Richardson take the translation and break our code, and we should paraphase them, and Secretary Knox thought our paraphrase perhaps was not plain enough to deceive the Japanese, and he suggested a slight change in verbiage, and we made it.

Mr. Richardson: Then, as a matter of fact, Mr. Justice, nothing in your findings was deleted, or eliminated because of the objection of anyone outside of the Commission?

Mr. Justice Roberts: Certainly not, except, as I say, Secretary Knox called attention to one finding, and said that might give some information, that we ought to phrase it somewhat differently, and we did.

Mr. Richardson: But the factual result of the rephrasing was the same as the original phrasing?

Mr. Justice Roberts: Absolutely.

Mr. Richardson: Now were your Commission unanimous in approving each of the findings which you reported?

Mr. Justice Roberts: Certainly.

Mr. Richardson: And was your Commission unanimous in the report which you filed on those findings?

Mr. Justice Roberts: It was.

Mr. Richardson: Now, when that report was made, how was it signed?

Mr. Justice Roberts: Signed by all the Commission,

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Witness Roberts Questions by: Mr. Richardson in duplicate.

Mr. Richardson: And each Commissioner had a signed copy of the report?

Mr. Justice Roberts: No, sir. When we decided to make this change in the findings of fact, to put them in long paragraphs, that was pretty late. I think it might have been Thursday afternoon or Friday morning, and our Secretary told us that he could get the report finished quicker, if he did not have to make seven copies, with six carbons, so he made the first and two carbons; that made it less difficult to put into the machine for each page, and we signed two duplicates. That is one, the ribbon copy, and one carbon.

I kept this one copy (indicating) as my copy, the third carbon. If you will look at the minutes, you will see the Commissioner instructing the secretary to make one copy from this to each of the other commissioners, that is to make four from this. So far as I know, the four were made, and so far as I know, each Commissioner has a copy. I do not believe there was any shuffling around. I think that is the copy that the minutes said I was to have.

Mr. Richardson: And that copy was an exact copy of the report as signed?

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Witness Roberts

Questions by: Mr. Richardson

Mr. Justice Roberts: Absolutely. It is a carbon copy of the ribbon copy.

Mr. Richardson: Now, following the signing of your report, did you have some conference with the President with reference to that report?

Mr. Justice Roberts: Yes. I covered that in my letter.

Mr. Richardson: Would you mind going over it again, so your testimony can be complete here on that point?

Mr. Justice Roberts: I do not know whether I can state what is in the letter with accuracy or not. I think I can.

That report was finished around 2:30 on Friday afternoon, December 23. In the presence of the Commissioners, I called the White House, got Miss Tully on the phone, told her the report would be ready late that afternoon, was practically ready, and would be ready within an hour or so, and I should like to know whether the President wished it sent by the recorder under cover or whetherhe wished the Commission to wait on him in a body and present it, or whether he wanted myself, as the Chairman, to present it.

Miss Tully told me that the President was in a Cabinet meeting and could not reach him, but when he came out she would communicate with me.

The Commission waited until Miss Tully came back and

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witness Roberts Questions by: Mr. Richardson said the President had come out of the Cabinet meeting, that he was very tired, and he did not want the report presented that afternoon; that he wanted it presented by me as Chairman of the Commission in person, and he would see me for that purpose at 11 o'clock the next morning.

Mr. Richardson: What date or what month was the 24th?
Mr. Justice Roberts: January 24, Saturday.

Mr. Richardson: Your earlier remark was December 23.
That should have been January?

Mr. Justice Roberts: Should have been January, certainly.

So I called at the White House on the morning of January 24 at 11 o'clock, saw the President in his study on the 2nd floor. He was at his desk. I handed him an envelope containing these two duplicate reports. He opened it, and then started to read it.

I sat there and he read it line by line, and so far as I could make out he read every word of it, carried his finger on the pages.

I was there over two hours.

When he concluded reading it, he turned to me and said, "Is there anything in this report that might give our enemies information they ought not to have?" Or words to that effect. I said, "No, sir, I cleared that with the Secretary of War and Secretary of the Navy,

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Witness Roberts Questions by: Mr. Richardson because we didn't want to put anything in here that might endanger the national defense."

Then he said, "I do not see why I should not give this report to the public in full."

I said, "It would be a great satisfaction to the Commission if you did that, sir," or "it would please the Commission if you did that," or words to that effect.

He rang the bell, and Mr. McIntyre came in. He threw this whole thing across the table, as I remember it, both copies, and envelope, and said, "Mac, give that to the Sunday papers in full," and Mr. McIntyre said, "Well I will have to put it in the mimeographing room, in the press room."

You see, it was then one o'clock and he took it and started to go away, and then he turned around and said, "Don't you want to say something about the work of the Commission, Mr. President?"

The President said, "Oh, yes," and then he said something about he was greatly indebted to the Commission for their prompt report, something of that kind, and Mr. McIntyre turned and went away. I have never seen the report from that day to this.

Mr. Richardson: You have had a copy, this carbon copy? Mr. Justice Roberts: That has been in my files.

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Witness Roberts Questions by: Mr. Richardson

Mr. Richardson: That has also been compared, has it, with this Senate document No. 159?

Mr. Justice Roberts: Yes.

Mr. Richardson: And that also is a correct copy of the report?

Mr. Justice Roberts: Well, I found one typographical error in the Senate Report, in Finding 15, whereit should read "distant air raid reconnaissance," it reads "distinct air raid reconnaissance." There can be no mistake as to what is meant, because the word "distant" appears twice again in the same paragraph. That is at the top of page 12. That is evidently a printer's error. That is the only thing I can find.

Mr. Richardson: I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: I do not care to inquire of the Justice. Congressman Cooper.

Mr. Justice Roberts: I would like to say this; When we made these findings into larger paragraphs, we made two or three changes. You will note up at the top of page 8, at the end of the paragraph there, "Referred to in the next succeeding paragraph."

Well, as that paragraph had been put into a finding we had to change the words "next succeeding finding" to

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The same thing occurs in one or two other places wherever we speak of the "next succeeding paragraph."

That originally read "finding" but when we put them in one finding, we changed it.

"paragraph," because they were all separate .

The Chairman: I will ask just one question.

I gather from your statement there was never any finding 20 that was in any way eliminated, but you consolidated some 70-odd findings into 19 findings; is that correct?

Mr. Justice Roberts: That is correct.

The Chairman: At no time during your consideration was there any finding No. 20 that was subsequently eliminated?

Mr. Justice Roberts: No, sir. There is one other thing.

At the bery last moment, and after we had heard from the Secretaries of War and Navy, we made a slight change in Finding 16, what is now the 4th paragraph of that finding.

In reading over the thing when it was finally in type, there was a word or two in there which I thought indicated that the Navy might have broken the Japanese navy code after December 7, and I eliminated, with the consent of the other two commissioners, two or three words, that I thought might indicate that the Navy had broken the Japanese code.

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Witness Roberts

Questions by: The Chairman

That was the Japanese naval code, and not this other code that has been talked about.

The Chairman: That elimination was made with the approval of all of the Commissioners?

Mr. Justice Roberts: Yes.

The Chairman: As a matter of fact, the whole report was a tentative draft which was subsequently reduced in form to the 19 findings which appear here in this official document?

Mr. Justice Roberts: That is correct.

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Witness Roberts

Questions by: The Vice Chairman

The Chairman: Congressman Cooper.

The Vice Chairman: Mr. Justice, there never was any intention of conducting any kind of court proceeding or trial, or anything of that kind?

Mr. Justice Roberts: No, sir.

The Vice Chairman: You were just making an investigation, were you?

Mr. Justice Roberts: Yes, sir. This seemed to me a preliminary investigation, like a grand jury investigation, and I did not think, for our report, that was to be taken as precluding every one of the men mentioned in it from a defense before his peers.

In other words, you could not conduct a proceeding without cross-examination and without publicity and call it a trial. It was not a trial.

The Vice Chairman Questions by: Senator Lucas

The Vice Chairman: It was just an investigation? Mr. Justice Roberts: It was an investigation and it was the formation of a judgment to be handed to the President. We didn't know whether the President would publish it or what he would do with it.

The Vice Chairman: That is all.

The Chairman: Senator George.

Senator George: No questions.

The Chairman: Congressman Clark is not here. Senator Lucas.

Senator Lucas: Mr. Justice, after the President gave the two copies to Secretary McIntyre with instructions to give it to the press, do you recall seeing that report in the press the following Sunday?

Mr. Justice Roberts: At that time I was on the Supreme Court and the following Monday mimeographed copies of this press release were sent up to the press room of the Supreme Court and Mr. Potter brought me up one. I didn't compare it line for line with our report but I had the report fully in mind. I read it through and it was obviously complete.

Senator Lucas: After you read the report through you saw no changes or there was nothing in the report that called to your attention any changes from what you had

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Questions by: Senator Lucas Mr. Nurphy

presented to the President on the Saturday before?

Mr. Justice Roberts: That is correct, sir. I also saw the full report published in the New York Times on Sunday and read it with some care to see if it was complete and to my eye it was complete. There again I did not compare it line for line with my typewritten copy. Of course, with this (indicating printed copy) I took the trouble to compare it paragraph by paragraph -- not line by line -- and it was complete.

Senator Lucas: That is all.

The Chairman: Congressman Murphy.

Mr. Murphy: Mr. Justice, when Admiral Kimmel was testifying before us he made some reference to the type of stenographic work done at Pearl Harbor. As I read the record that has been given to us there was first several pages reporting the questions and answers as between the Commission and the witness. Thereafter there were corrections suggested and as we have been given it they are interlined following each particular page that would be corrected.

Then after that was done, as I understand it Admiral Kimmel presented his version of the testimony. I mean, something that was prepared by him and which he wanted the Commission to substitute for that which the stenographer had actually reported. As I understand it, then the Commission