

Crayfish Tales
by
Trapper Arne
(Actually a historical/
Political article)

Was FDR a Traitor?
by
Arne Koch

“FDR was a traitor,” said my friend while sipping some of my best brandy. “He knew all the time that the Japs were about to attack Pearl Harbor. And he said nothing about it to anyone.”

My friend and debating buddy surprised me. We had never before discussed Roosevelt and Pearl Harbor, so these opinions were new to me. I was stunned by his attack on one of the most popular presidents of the United States. Could he possibly be right? Why had I not heard this accusation before during my forty years as a naturalized American citizen?

Did President Franklin Delano Roosevelt really know in advance that the Japanese were about to attack Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941? Yes, said my friend, Roosevelt knew all about it. He knew not only the day and the time but also exactly where the attack would occur - Pearl Harbor. And how did Roosevelt know this? He was informed, says my friend, by no other than the Prince of Wales. I asked him for more details about how the Prince of Wales was able to give Roosevelt this information, but all he remembered was that he read it in an article somewhere. How the Prince happened to know so much about the approaching Japanese armada that nobody else knew anything about was not explained.

I was shocked to hear someone say that a U.S. President was a traitor. I was shocked because I had always assumed Roosevelt to be one of the most popular presidents of the country; also he was the only man who had been voted into the office as President of the United States for four terms. Obviously, more people had voted for him than against him, or he wouldn't have been where he was. Now I just had to find out if there was any truth to this stunning accusation about the 32nd President of the United States. Maybe I should now admit that my debating friend did not actually use the word 'traitor' when describing Roosevelt's action. That was my own interpretation. Had Roosevelt, as Commander in Chief, really known when and where the Japanese were going to attack, and had he withheld that information, that would make him a traitor, second only to Benedict Arnold who sided with the British during the revolutionary war.

Later I brought up this debate with another friend of mine, a school teacher. As I presented the gist of my discussion about Pearl Harbor and Roosevelt's assumed knowledge of the attack, my teacher friend said, "Of course, that's a well-known fact. You'll find it in all school history text books."

Actually, that statement bothered me even more. It made my head swim to think that the children of our country are being taught that one of their so-called great presidents was a traitor to their country. How could I have been so naive in my earlier assessment of this man to have missed this important information? After all, I had studied American history in high school and at a university in the European country of my birth, and never had I come across these dark implications about one of the U.S. presidents. After I arrived in this country and finished my academic studies at one of the more conservative colleges in the country, I studied American Social History. During my senior year our history textbook was "The American Social and Economic History" by H.U. Faulkner; but it contained not a word that F.D.R. ever was a traitor, or even a hint in that direction. The only appraisal of the Pearl Harbor incident included the statement that Congressional Investigations had revealed "ineptitude and inexcusable negligence both in Washington and at Pearl Harbor." This textbook also mentions the existing criticism of Roosevelt's foreign policies in the years preceding the war. But did that make him a traitor?

The idea that President Roosevelt might have been a traitor was upsetting enough to send me to the local library. There, at least, I should be able to learn if there were any bases for these serious allegations. Here I found several books on the subject of Pearl Harbor and the Japanese attack in 1941. Unfortunately I couldn't find any school books touching on the subject, and whatever history books I saw, said nothing regarding Roosevelt's being a traitor.

Soon, however, I found a really extensive source of Pearl Harbor information in Gordon Prange's book "At Dawn We Slept." Published in 1981, this book is the result of thirty-seven years of research by the author. His multivolume manuscript originally totaled over 3,500 pages. Not only did this book report the details of the naval tragedy at Pearl Harbor, it also included many interviews with both Americans and Japanese of all levels who were involved. Here, certainly, I would find some information to substantiate or not the accusation that Roosevelt was a traitor to the American people and to the U.S. Navy. I found it difficult to understand how Roosevelt, who had been Assistant Secretary of the Navy before he became President, and whose love for the Navy and sailing was well known, could deliberately have permitted the Japanese to destroy a large part of it.

Prange's book also goes into detail about the politically motivated criticism of the President at the time; but Prange puts little credence in attempts to put a traitor's label on Roosevelt. The book points out that the Roosevelt administration actually preferred avoiding a war with Japan in favor of concentrating on fighting the Nazi menace. The author also refers to the so-called historical revisionist theories of the attack, but more about that later. At least, I now was aware that a controversy existed about the causes for the Pearl Harbor assault and that the President was under political attack. But all in all, Prange puts no faith in theories of cover-up and treason by Roosevelt or his administration.

Another book I found on the subject was John Toland's "Infamy, Pearl Harbor and its Aftermath." Toland does not discuss the revisionists' theories in detail, but delves into the extent to which an administration cover-up occurred that tried to put the blame on the officers in the field instead of on the politicians in Washington. Were Admiral Kimmel and General Short, the field commanders of the Navy and Army on Hawaii at the time, chosen as scapegoats by the administration? Nowhere does Toland imply that Roosevelt personally knew the details about when and where the attack was coming.

Then I came across a book by T.R. Fehrenbach called "F.D.R.'s Undeclared War 1939 to 1941." Fehrenbach spends much time elaborating on the fact that the United States technically already was at war when the calamity at Pearl Harbor happened. F.D.R.'s "undeclared war," he calls it. Since the summer of 1941 American naval ships had escorted war-material laden convoys between the U.S. and Britain. The Greer incident en route to Iceland points this out. After being informed of a German U-boat in the area, the U.S. destroyer Greer had called general quarters started zigzagging and was soon after attacked by the U-boat with two torpedoes. They missed, but the Greer answered by dropping depth charges against the German underwater vessel. Obviously the US naval vessel was actively at war with Nazi Germany. Without a declaration of war.

Posthumously in 1986, Gordon Prange published a sequel to his "At Dawn We Slept" called "The verdict of History" with collaborators Goldstein and Dillon. In 'At Dawn We Slept' Prange spends most time elaborating on what led to the Pearl Harbor attack. In this controversial sequel, he personally analyzes the event and especially concerns himself with the decisions of the Roosevelt administration in relation to the field commanders both on Hawaii and other Pacific U.S. establishments. He analyzes in detail the importance of the fascinating American code breaking success referred to as 'magic', the interception of the Japanese secret diplomatic code, which was one of the main sources of intelligence information for the Roosevelt administration. This book is impressive in its enormous scope, infinitesimal details and seemingly unbiased attempts at finding out what really happened. How much did Roosevelt know, and how did he use the information? How much was fact, how much was assumption, how much was

political maneuvering?

Most of the books mentioned so far are rather unbiased in their approach of finding out Roosevelt's role in the Pearl Harbor catastrophe. The book "Pearl Harbor, The story of the Secret War," on the other hand, immediately sets out on the premise that Roosevelt was responsible for the attack and the lack of defense preparations. George Morgenstern wrote that book already in 1946, and had several investigations into the attack on which to base his information. He emphasizes the seeming duplicity of the Roosevelt administration when it insured the American people that peace and non-involvement in foreign wars was its main policy while at the same time apparently steering the Japanese into an untenable situation with the U.S. that could only lead to war. Morgenstern goes into great detail attempting to prove that the Roosevelt administration not only aggravated the political tension with Japan, but also knew, or should have known, exactly when the Japanese attack would occur and even where. He puts the blame for the Pearl Harbor attack on Roosevelt, plain and clear, but stays well away from considering the president a traitor to his country.

The book "Day of Infamy" by Walter Lord sheds no further light on the so-called revisionist theory, but instead describes in detail the attack on the Pearl Harbor installations. His book ends with Roosevelt's entry into the House Chamber of Congress, his introduction by Sam Rayburn and his now famous words: "Yesterday, December 7, 1941 - a date that will live in infamy - The United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked . . ."

A book that tries to analyze the question of Roosevelt's responsibility for the Pearl Harbor 'infamy' is Herman Wouk's "The Winds of War". This is not a historical analysis but rather a fictional bestseller with WWII as its subject that became the source for a TV mini series. However, the author uses an interesting device in expressing his own opinions about the revisionist theories. He interweaves his narrative with the diary of a German general, who at one phase of the book expresses 'his' opinion about the Japanese attack. The general refers to the attack as the 'Japanese blunder'. Although politically and strategically justified, Wouk let's the German general describe how the attack on Pearl Harbor compares with Hitler's sneak attack on Russia in the summer of 1941. The Pearl Harbor attack was conceived by the brilliant Admiral Yamamoto, commander-in-chief of the Japanese fleet. Yamamoto was against a war with the United States but had insisted that, if forced to fight, which he thought Japan was, the American fleet had to be knocked out first. The author writes "How could the Japanese fleet assemble, steam across the (northern) Pacific for eleven days to within two hundred miles of Hawaii, elude all United States intelligence efforts and all its sea and air patrols and catch the Army and Navy by surprise?" Yamamoto's operation, says Wouk, "surprised the Americans precisely because it was such a foolish thing to do,

such an outrageous gamble. However, even if it succeeded, it was just about the worst move the Japanese could try.”

Then the author moves into the subject of Roosevelt’s role in this ‘outrageous gamble’. From decoded diplomatic telegrams, the administration knew that Japan was going to strike any day, somewhere. In order to maintain the secrecy about having broken the Japanese diplomatic code, it became imperative that the U.S. take care not to make the Japanese realize that it could read their diplomatic messages. As Roosevelt was determined that the U.S. had to come to the help of Great Britain in its fight to save ‘democracy’ against the ravages of the Nazi regime, he was looking forward to a Japanese first blow as an excuse to enter the war on the side of the Allies. Did Roosevelt keep the military leaders on Hawaii in the dark about the impending attack as the revisionists imply? Roosevelt, says Wouk, was capable of dastardly and political actions. He was capable of anything. But, says the writer, records show that the command on Hawaii very well knew that war was imminent. All they had to do was read the newspapers that were full of articles about the Japanese aggression in Indochina. Wouk continues, via his fictional general’s diary, that just ten days before the attack, a communique was sent from Washington to the field commanders on Hawaii including the statement, “This is a war warning”. The commanders could not claim that there had been no warnings. Could Washington have sent them more explicit warnings? Yes, of course they could have. “There is no acceptable excuse for professional military leaders to be surprised, even under the most lulling and peaceful of circumstances. It happens, but it is not excusable”.

The book also emphasized that there was no evidence that Roosevelt ever knew where the attack was going to occur. The Japanese had uncannily kept the secret water tight about where their carrier fleet was and where it was heading. Not even top military leaders in Japan and their diplomats had any idea that Pearl Harbor was targeted for an attack. This is also corroborated by Prange, who had interviews with many Japanese officers and politicians after the war. The Americans at Pearl Harbor were, says Herman Wouk, psychologically unprepared for a war. In addition, most military analysts at the time were convinced that of all the likely places for a Japanese attack, Pearl Harbor was not the place. Morgenstern, on the other hand, does not adhere to this belief, but shows that the administration in Washington should have been able to predict that the attack was going to be exactly where it occurred. Wouk’s German general explains the surprise at Pearl Harbor by accusing the officers of “the sacred American Saturday night ritual of getting stinking drunk, as did most of their men”. He adds that if American forces ever again will be attacked by surprise, it will most likely be on a Sunday morning. “National character changes very slowly”.

But even if Roosevelt was hoping for an excuse to enter the war ‘to save democracy’ on

Britain's side, there is a good argument for believing that he would have been much better served by a victory at Pearl Harbor than a naval disaster. If Roosevelt, assuming he knew of the attack's approach, had commanded the U.S. Navy to meet and attack the Japanese forces north of Hawaii, he would have had just as good a case for declaring war. It certainly would not have been necessary to sacrifice 3000 members of the armed forces to make the Congress agree to a declaration of war. Roosevelt was not lacking intelligence. It would have been totally idiotic to miss the chance of counter attacking the Japanese task force and possibly halt or at least minimize the effect of the attack. The most logical conclusion for Roosevelt's lack of explicit warnings to the Hawaiian commanders is that he did not know where the attack was going to occur. The Winds of War ends on the note, "The conspiracy theory of Pearl Harbor is a trivial excuse for professional failure".

Most impressive readings covering the World War are the masterly written books by Sir Winston Churchill. His command of the English language is indisputable, but his eloquence is even overshadowed by his superb analysis of the strategic complexities of the alliance against Adolf Hitler and his Japanese tripartite¹ member. In Churchill's book *The Grand Alliance*, he describes how the news of the Pearl Harbor attack reached him while in the company of Averell Harriman, Roosevelt's lend-lease coordinator. Churchill also describes the intense relief he felt when finally assured that Britain was no longer alone in the fight against Hitler's Nazi Germany. After seventeen months of fighting Hitler alone, Churchill exclaimed, "England will live! Britain will live, The Commonwealth will live!". His relief was profound and he now knew that the war against Nazi Germany would be won with the help of full-fledged support from the arsenal of democracy, the United States.

Churchill's and Roosevelt's long personal friendship had been punctuated with an extensive exchange of letters for several years. Much of this correspondence brings out the fact that Churchill desperately wanted the U.S. to enter the conflict in Europe. Many letters also indicate that Roosevelt was willing to rush to the aid of Britain and her allies. But he was hampered by Congress and the still intensely isolationist American people with, among many others, Charles Lindbergh as a favorite standard bearer. The fact that Roosevelt had been able to persuade Congress to aid Britain through the lend-lease program and convoy escorts, indicates how the isolationist winds in the country were beginning to ebb. With the Pearl Harbor attack, Roosevelt and Churchill were united in the struggle against Hitler and Japan, and the American people, isolationists or not, dropped all their reservations. Congress, almost unanimously, with the exception of a representative from Montana, voted for war.

¹Germany, Italy and Japan were united in the so called Tripartite Pact alliance in 1940.

After reading all these books on the subject of F.D.R.'s role in the Pearl Harbor attack, was I ready for a verdict? Yes, I was ready. My verdict was, No, F.D.R. was no traitor to his country and the U.S. Navy. No facts have been uncovered that support the traitor's theory. All accusations against F.D.R. are based on politically motivated theories, unsubstantiated assumptions and incidents that are better explained as coincidental. Take the incident of the radar station at Kahuku Point on Oahu. Shortly after 0700 on December 7, 1941, the operator saw on the oscilloscope a large blip that was so large he first thought something was wrong with his equipment. Soon, however, he realized that he was actually recording a group of airplanes, probably more than fifty, about 132 miles north of the Kahuku Point. The operator reported his finding to the Information Center. An inexperienced assistant to the controller took the message. Neither the regular controller nor the aircraft identification officer was available. It did not occur to the assistant controller that the aircraft could be enemy aircraft. But he did suddenly remember that a group of B17 bombers was due to arrive from the West Coast that morning. He became convinced that the radar operator had picked up this group on the screen. He reported to the radar station, "Don't worry about it." The Army was in charge of the radar stations on Hawaii, and there were several other already in operation. Strangely, however, most of them went off the air at 0700, the time when a surprise attack was the most likely. Reportedly, most of the radar stations and some sound detectors that were supposed to warn of attacking air planes, were not operating because nobody expected the attack that they were supposed to warn against! However, had the radar report actually been forwarded from the Kahuku Point to the 14th Pursuit Wing, it probably would have made little difference from a practical point of view. It was already too late to do more than sound an alarm, break out the ammunition and maybe disperse some of the airplanes on the ground. The Pearl Harbor attack started at 0750, 1320 Washington time². At 1300, Washington time, the Japanese envoys Nomura and Kurusu were scheduled to meet with Secretary of State Hull. They were delayed but when they arrived at 1405, the Roosevelt administration already knew that Japan had attacked the U.S. at Pearl Harbor. In addition to that, thanks to the code breaking American specialists, the contents of the message brought by the Japanese emissaries was already known and had been read by both Roosevelt and Hull. The message included the Japanese response to the U.S. diplomatic message of November 26, which had been interpreted by the Japanese as an ultimatum. The Japanese diplomatic message declared that diplomatic communications were at a standstill and at a breaking point. Roosevelt's response when reading the message the night before the official presentation was simply, This means war.

The Roosevelt administration now knew that war was imminent. Not only were diplomatic relations broken, but they also knew that the Japanese embassy had orders

²In 1941 the time difference between Washington and Honolulu was five and one half hours; it was later changed to six hours.

to destroy all codes and code machines, the traditional last step before a war breaks out. The Chief of Staff, General Marshall, who had been out riding his horse that Sunday morning, immediately realized the seriousness of the situation. He ordered warnings to be sent out to the Philippines, Panama, the West Coast and Hawaii by fastest possible means. A dispatch with the warnings was sent with the words, "If there is a question of priority, give the Philippines first priority." The administration was still apparently unaware that Pearl Harbor was the intended target. The immediacy of the war warning now started deteriorating through an inexcusable series of errors. The time was almost noon, Washington time, one hour and twenty minutes before the attack on Hawaii. Even if the message had gone out with highest priority, it is questionable whether it would have arrived early enough to do much good. But it didn't go out immediately to Pearl Harbor. The message to General MacArthur in the Philippines and to the Caribbean Defense Command and San Diego was out within ten minutes. However, the Pearl Harbor message hit several snags. Atmospheric static made radio connections with Honolulu impossible. Instead Western Union sent the message to San Francisco after which RCA conveyed it the rest of the way via teletype that had just been installed. RCA in Honolulu received the message from Marshall at 0733, three minutes past the Washington deadline of 1300 with the Japanese envoys. The RCA messenger boy picked up several messages to be delivered, but the one which was warning of the attack on Pearl Harbor, now just minutes away, was given no priority. Caught in a traffic jam, the messenger did not deliver the messages to Admiral Kimmel or General Short until several hours after the attack had started.

Another indication that Washington never expected Pearl Harbor to be the Japanese target is apparent from a comment made by Secretary of the Navy, Frank Knox. As he was handed a dispatch that Sunday afternoon reading, "We are being attacked, this is no drill," he blurted out, "My God, this can't be true, this must mean the Philippines." -- "No Sir, this is Pearl!"

Morgenstern in his book maintains that Washington, especially the military representatives, must have or should have understood where the first strike would fall. Already in September 1941, Washington was aware of spy communications between the Japanese Consulate in Honolulu and its government. The Japanese consul had been instructed to divide the area in Pearl Harbor into a five-part geographical grid and to report in detail what U.S. warships were at anchor or in docks. This later became known as the bomb plot message. Even such details as whether more than one ship were tied up at the same wharf were requested. Reports on the locations and comings and goings of US warships were regularly reported twice a week. On November 29, several days after the Japanese task force had left on its Hawaiian mission, the Japanese consul was instructed to report, not only all ship movements within the harbor but also where there had been no movements from previous reports. On December 6, a

detailed report itemizing all ships in Pearl Harbor left the consulate for Japan and was intercepted by U.S. code breakers. On December 7, at 00:42, the American intelligence intercepted a message that asked about barrage balloons at Pearl Harbor and 'the opportunity for a surprise attack'. This could have been considered a dead give away of what was about to come within hours. Unfortunately these last messages were not decoded until December 8 by the Army monitoring station in San Francisco and therefore of no help in warning the Hawaiian commanders. These highly alarming messages did not even reach Washington until December 23, although they were forwarded by air mail. Why this information was given such poor priority is not clear. Had it arrived in time and had it been analyzed with proper military insight as to its significance, events may have turned out differently. But to assume that Roosevelt had a hand in trying to delay the intercepted intelligence reports is obviously not justified. To what extent has the criticism of Roosevelt's role been politically motivated? Some political bias is to be expected. My personal experience reveals that many of the opinions about the Pearl Harbor responsibility are politically prejudiced. My brandy sipping friend, who initially accused Roosevelt of being a traitor, is a staunch republican. On the other hand, all the democrats on which I have tried out this traitor's theory, refuse to believe that Roosevelt was that devious. Morgenthorn may have republican leanings as he often, while referring to the Congressional investigation, quotes the minority (republican) report of the Joint Committee conclusions.

Shortly after the Pearl Harbor attack, the first of nine investigations were launched attempting to analyze where to put the blame for the calamity in Hawaii. The Roberts Commission, The Navy Court of Inquiry, The Army Pearl Harbor Board, the Clausen Investigation, the Congressional Investigation and The Hewitt Inquiry were the more notable ones. The first of these investigations, the Roberts Commission, was named after the Supreme Court Associate Judge that Roosevelt chose to direct the investigation. This commission consisted of two Army and two Navy officers in addition to one civilian and was directed to investigate the responsibilities for the losses at Hawaii and to make recommendations. All levels of witnesses were called from admirals and generals to enlisted personnel and civilians who had no policies, positions or decisions to defend. The Roberts Commission transcripts form a fascinating document into the Pearl Harbor tragedy. When the report was published, Kimmel and Short were bitterly disappointed as they were charged with not only errors of judgement but, worse, dereliction of duty.

The Navy Court of Inquiry basically seemed to support Admiral Kimmel and criticized Washington without coming to any definite conclusions. The Army Pearl Harbor Board faced a different problem as the Army on Hawaii was responsible for the defense of the Navy Fleet when in harbor. However, the Navy had responsibility for long range air reconnaissance. One witness, a field artillery battery commander at Schofield Barracks,

made the devastating comment about the Army readiness when witnessing, “. . . in fact, because it was in the tropics we did very little work in the afternoon.” Admiral Pye added further damage by stating, “I lost confidence in the people whose job it was (to protect the Navy).” While professing impartiality, the Board summary showed a deep bias against the War Department and the Administration’s prewar policy. While admitting that General Short had erred in his war preparations, it blamed the War Department for not adequately informing Kimmel and Short of the impending attack. Henry Stimson, Secretary of War, was understandably not happy with the outcome of the Army Board hearings. He selected Major Henry Clausen to continue investigating the Pearl Harbor affair primarily from the Army point of view. The Navy investigation fared no better. James V. Forrestal, Secretary of the Navy, also instituted a supplemental inquiry under Vice Admiral Hewitt. Both additional inquiries were prompted by the decision to permit more testimony based on the secret Magic code intercepts. Neither hearing, however, added substantially to what had previously been determined about Kimmel’s and Short’s responsibilities. Interestingly, both commanders looked forward to a full-fledged court martial which would give them a better opportunity to defend themselves and to question witnesses. Early in 1942 the requests for retirement for Kimmel and Short had been accepted and both were scheduled for court martial “at such time as the public interest and safety permits.” The charge was “dereliction of duty.” An additional investigation was performed in 1944 by Admiral Tommy Hart, “to collect testimony from Navy officers concerning the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor for use at the court martial of Admiral Kimmel and General Short.” However, neither commander had the opportunity to defend himself in a court martial. Both were relieved of their posts and encouraged to request retirement. As a consequence, they were both demoted and lost one star in their military rank. Finally, in 1945, a congressional investigation convened including six democrats and four republicans with Vice President Barclay as the chairman. After months of hearings, the committee published two reports, a majority report signed by all but two of the committee members, and a minority report signed by the two disagreeing members. The majority report criticized Kimmel and Short for “errors of judgment” rather than the more serious “dereliction of duty” that the Roberts report had handed out. The minority report, however, often quoted by Morgenstern, put most of the blame on the Roosevelt administration. Although critical of Roosevelt’s role, they did not accuse him of provoking or having prior knowledge of the Japanese attack. Even these minority members cited Kimmel and Short for failure to perform their responsibilities in Hawaii. While researching for this article about Pearl Harbor, I came across an Internet transcript of remarks made at the Office of The Secretary of Defense in April of 1995. Here members of the Kimmel family were pleading for the posthumous restoration of the rank of Admiral for Rear Admiral Kimmel. Many arguments were aired in defense of Admiral Kimmel and General Short with severe criticism of the Roberts Commission, General Marshall and, in particular, Admiral Stark, Chief of Naval Operations in 1941.

But not a word accusing President Roosevelt of responsibility for the Pearl Harbor disaster.

After reading all these books and investigative and critical reports, I unhesitatingly come to the conclusion that Roosevelt was no traitor to his country or his beloved navy. But as commander in chief of the U.S. Armed Forces he must be charged with some of the blame for the Pearl Harbor catastrophe. It becomes apparent from reading these detailed accounts that more information about the threatening political situation with Japan should have been forwarded to the field commanders. But it becomes equally apparent that Kimmel and Short had enough foreboding information available to take more militarily intelligent steps to prepare themselves for the coming attack. Facts tell me that Roosevelt was no traitor. But how do I convince my debating friend of that.

Bibliography

- Churchill, Winston S. *The Grand Alliance*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1950.
- Faulkner, Harold U. *American Political and Social History*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1952.
- Fehrenbach, T.R. *F.D.R.'s Undeclared War*. New York: David McKay Co., 1967
- Lord, Walter. *Day of Infamy*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1967
- Morgenstern, George. *Pearl Harbor, The Story of the Secret War*. New York: The Devin-Adair Co., 1947.
- Prange, Gordon. *At Dawn We Slept*. New York: Mc-Graw Hill, 1981
- Prange, Gordon. *Pearl Harbor: The Verdict of History*. New York: Penguin Books, 1991
- Wouk, Herman. *The Winds of War*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971
- Hearings Before the Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack, Congress of the United States. Seventy-ninth Congress. Purdue University, Liberal Arts Dept., World WideWeb, Internet.
- Remarks at the Meeting of the Office of the Secretary of Defense and Members of the Kimmel Family Dealing with the Posthumous Restoration of the Rank of Admiral for Rear Admiral Husband Kimmel, United States Navy. April 27, 1995, Washington D.C.