

Witness Marshall

Questions by: Senator Ferguson

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Senator Ferguson: But I am trying to get what your action would have been.

General Marshall: I can't say. I doubt if I would have sent anything on that statement of the President at that time.

Senator Ferguson: Now, this is not clear in the record, General. I don't know as you can help clear it up, but I would like to ask it.

Do you know how the 13 and the 14 part message, the whole of the 14-part message, got on your desk on Sunday morning? We haven't any evidence to show how it got there. Do you know? Have you been told?

General Marshall: Well, I know that when I came to the office, it was there. Colonel Bratton was on the heels of it waiting to see me. General Miles came in. I had General Genow come in. While I was reading the message -- I have stated previously, in answering Senator Brewster, how word came to me that they had important information for me, and I went down to the War Department to receive that important information.

I was going anyway, because that was my regular Sunday morning routine, in contrast to Monday or Saturday, when I got down at 7:30. The procedure that they had gone through I don't know. I think my testimony will show whether it was here or before the Board, what my reaction at the moment was

1 witness Marshall

Questions by: Senator Ferguson

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2 that they told me that half of the message had come in the
3 evening before and during the night that the other half had
4 come, sometime in the middle of the night, and had been par-
5 celled out, the War Department, as I recall, to do the trans-
6 lating from Japanese into English having sent over from the
7 Navy -- they having actually deciphered the Japanese message.

8 Now, that is my recollection of the affair at the time.
9 The other item was that the particular part which affected me
10 and caused me to act was not the 14-parts, it was the one
11 o'clock, which, unfortunately, they put on the bottom of the
12 pile and I read through everything before I came to that.

13 Senator Ferguson: General, on page 7984 of our type-
14 written record, under General Short's testimony, we find
15 this language:

16 " * * * Japan had been semi-officially told that:

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

19 "And the American Government had, and believed, reports
20 that:

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

25 Now, my question is, Did you know that the Japanese knew

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Questions by: Senator Ferguson

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2 semi-officially -- and, as I understand this testimony, it
3 would appear that Postmaster General Walker, or someone opera-
4 ting between the State Department and the Japanese, was con-
5 veying certain messages, and that this was one of the mes-
6 sages that was delivered, that if Japan invades again the
7 United States --

8 General Marshall: If Japan invades again?

9 Senator Ferguson: Again, the United States will fight
10 with Japan. Did you know that they were semi-officially notified
11 to that effect, that if she moved south, we would fight?

12 General Marshall: I don't recall.

13 Mr. Murphy: She had official notice in the note of
14 August 17.

15 Senator Ferguson: I appreciate that.

16 Mr. Murphy: That was official.

17 Senator Ferguson: But at this late date that he was
18 telling us -- this was in November, that she had the notice.

19 Have you any knowledge as to who wrote Exhibit 17,
20 being the 27th of November?

21 General Marshall: I have no accurate knowledge. I assume
22 that it was drafted in the War Plans Division under General
23 Gerow's direction. It may be that it was drafted initially
24 in the Navy Department, but my assumption was that it was
25 drafted in War Plans Division, and I assume that because my

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Questions by: Senator Ferguson

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signature being on the document and its date of November 27, meaning that I possibly signed it on the night of the 26th, but they didn't get Admiral Stark's signature, naturally, until the 27th, and they dated it accordingly.

Senator Ferguson: I think the facts show it was on Navy stationery but there isn't any doubt that it represents your idea at that time?

General Marshall: That is correct, sir.

Senator Ferguson: Now, General, you were sitting here this morning while we were discussing this memorandum from the British Government and the one from the Australian Government?

General Marshall: Yes, sir, I heard the discussion.

Senator Ferguson: I now ask you, did the President of the United States or anyone else ever take up with you any of the things mentioned in those memorandums that we discussed here this morning?

General Marshall: Well, I have to answer that this way, Senator. I never heard of those memorandums until this morning, and as to did he ever discuss any of these things, of course, they were related to a good many things, including this document here (indicating).

Senator Ferguson: The reason I put an all-inclusive question was that I wanted to finish as soon as I could.

Witness Marshall

Questions by: Senator Ferguson

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1 When did you first learn that the President had decided
2 to send a message to the Emperor?

3 General Marshall: I don't recall that, sir.

4 Senator Ferguson: Was it before --

5 General Marshall: Mr. Stimson would have told me, I
6 would have learned it that way, I think.

7 Senator Ferguson: Do you know whether you knew it be-
8 fore the 7th?

9 General Marshall: No, sir. I don't.

10 Senator Ferguson: When did you first learn:

11 "President's subsequent procedure -- "

12 That is after he sent the message to the Emperor.

13 " -- is that if no answer is received by him from the
14 Emperor by Monday evening,

15 "(a) he will issue his warning on Tuesday afternoon or
16 evening

17 "(b) warning or equivalent by British or others will
18 not follow until Wednesday morning, i.e., after his
19 own warning has been delivered repeatedly to Tokyo and
20 Washington."

21 General Marshall: I have no knowledge of that whatsoever.
22 I imagine that was washed out by the actual attack on Pearl
23 Harbor and I was interested in other matters.

24 Senator Ferguson: In other words, you were not consulted
25

WARD & PAUL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Witness Marshall

Questions by: Senator Ferguson
Mr. Keefe

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1 prior to the time of this memorandum?

2 General Marshall: No, sir.

3 Senator Ferguson: You were not consulted?

4 General Marshall: To the best of my recollection I was
5 not consulted.

6 Senator Ferguson: That is all.

7 The Vice Chairman: Mr. Keefe of Wisconsin will inquire,
8 General.

9 Mr. Keefe: General, the testimony of Commander
10 Schulz indicates that after the President on the evening of
11 December 6th, read the 13-part message, in effect, turned to
12 Mr. Hopkins, and said "This means war," and indicated that
13 he would have to get in touch with Betty, meaning Admiral
14 Stark, immediately.

15 Now, as one member of the committee, and I speak only
16 for myself, that impressed me, that the President did, or had
17 in his mind, as a result of the conclusion after reading that
18 message, "This means war," did the thing which we would expect
19 the Commander in Chief to do, namely, to immediately contact
20 his Chief of Naval Operations.

21 The evidence further indicates that he took the phone,
22 called the Navy Department, and was advised that Admiral Stark
23 was attending the National Theatre; he hung up the phone and
24 indicated, according to Commander Schulz's testimony that he
25

Witness Marshall

Questions by: Mr. Keefe

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wouldn't call Admiral Stark out of the theatre because it might cause some public comment, but that he would get him later.

Now, in view of that testimony, which I have sketched without any attempt to state the testimony exactly, we are left in the dark as to whether or not the Commander in Chief contacted to you as Chief of Staff that evening of December 6.

Can you state definitely whether or not you have a present recollection as to whether the President did in fact contact you?

General Marshall: I am quite certain that he did not.

Mr. Keefe: Well, could there be any question about it?

General Marshall: There is no question in my mind, no.

That is a positive answer.

Mr. Keefe: And you are certain that you did not attend any meeting then, at the White House that night?

General Marshall: I am absolutely certain of that.

Mr. Keefe: I see.

General Marshall: I might say that since I appeared before the committee I learned one little item that I had forgotten at the time, and that is not only had I no dinner engagements of any kind between the 1st of November and the 7th of December, except one family dinner, as a matter of fact with Mrs. Nicholas Longworth, whom I see sitting here,

Witness Marshall

Questions by: Mr. Keefe

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1 but that Mrs. Marshall was convalescing from having broken
2 three or four ribs and we didn't go out anywhere; we certainly
3 were not going out under those conditions; and I found out
4 afterwards that that morning, Sunday morning, that I had break-
5 fast with her in her bedroom, by her bed.
6

7 So, all the evidence, in my own mind, short of my absolute
8 knowledge of the matter, is that I was home, as was customary.

9 Mr. Keefe: That is your present recollection, that on
10 the evening of the 6th of December you were at home?

11 General Marshall: I can't say that is my recollection.
12 I am certain I was at home, but I don't recall anything about
13 it.

14 Mr. Keefe: But you are certain of one thing and that is
15 that you received no communication from the President on the
16 evening of the 6th of December and that you didn't attend any
17 meeting at the White House that night?

18 General Marshall: That is correct. I will add that the
19 first information I had of anything unusual was, as I have
20 testified, after I got into my shower, or was going into my
21 shower when this message was relayed to me from Colonel Bratton
22 that he wanted to come out to the house with an important
23 matter.

24 Mr. Keefe: Now, General Marshall, do you have a clear
25 present recollection as to the meeting at the White House on

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Witness Marshall

questions by: Mr. Keefe

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Tuesday, November 25⁷

General Marshall: I have gotten most of my recollection out of reading Mr. Stimson's report, he having the only diary.

Mr. Keefe: In other words, in answer to the questions that have been asked you with respect to that meeting of the 25th, am I to infer that your memory has been refreshed by reason of your having read the memorandum submitted to the committee by former Secretary Stimson?

General Marshall: That is correct, sir.

Mr. Keefe: Do you have any independent present recollection of the events that took place or the conversations that took place at this meeting of November 25?

General Marshall: No, sir, I do not. What he is talking about here, had been talked about back and forth through so many combinations that I cannot recollect the events of a particular meeting at this moment.

Mr. Keefe: Do you have any independent recollection of having been told by Secretary Stimson of the Cabinet meeting of Friday, November 7, when a poll was taken of the Cabinet on the question as to whether the people would back the Cabinet and the President in case we struck at Japan down there, and what the tactics should be?

I am quoting from Secretary Stimson's language.

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Witness Marshall

Questions by: Mr. Keefe

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1 General Marshall: I testified a little bit ago, I
2 think, in regard to that, that I had no recollection of it,
3 but I am quite certain Mr. Stimson must have told me that.

4 Mr. Keefe: Of course, in connection with what took
5 place on the 25th, when you were present with the President,
6 and the Secretaries and Admiral Stark, it would be quite
7 important to have known of the previous action of the Cabinet,
8 when that question was presented, and the unanimous vote was
9 recorded, as recorded in Secretary Stimson's diary, so I ask
10 you now, at the time you met with these people on the 25th,
11 do you have any present recollection now of having known of
12 this meeting on the 7th, and its possible influence on the
13 conversation which took place on the 25th?

14 General Marshall: I can only say what I said a few moments
15 ago: I have no recollection of being told about the vote,
16 and I assume that I was told.

17 Mr. Keefe: Do you agree with Secretary Stimson when he
18 sets forth in his diary as follows:

19 "I pointed out to the President that he had already
20 taken the first steps towards an ultimatum in notifying Japan
21 way back last summer that if she crossed the border into Thai-
22 land, she was violating our safety and that therefore he had
23 only to point out (to Japan) that to follow any such expedition
24 was a violation of a warning we had already given."
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witness Marshall

Questions by: Mr Keefe

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General Marshall: Yes, sir, I am in agreement with what he is saying. The actual terminology he uses in regard to an ultimatum -- it certainly was a very definite notification.

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Witness Marshall

Questions by: Mr. Keefe

Mr. Keefe: Now, do I understand you to say, General Marshall -- this will shorten the thing up, because I am as anxious to conclude this examination as you are -- that you have read the statement of Secretary Stimson and that Secretary Stimson's statement, so far as you are concerned, conforms to your own knowledge and recollection of the events set forth, and you agree with that statement?

General Marshall: I will put it this way, that there is nothing he says in here that I take exception to in my recollection, and his statement has reminded me of a great deal that I had entirely forgotten, and I am in general agreement with all that he states.

Mr. Keefe: Well, to narrow it down one step further, is there anything in this statement that you do take exception to?

General Marshall: I can think of nothing now, sir.

Mr. Keefe: And is there anything in his record, as set forth in his diary, which is appended to his general statement, that you consider not to be in accordance with the facts, in accordance with your present recollection?

General Marshall: There is nothing that I know of, of that character.

Mr. Keefe: So that as a member of the committee I am safe in accepting the statement of Secretary Stimson, together with the memoranda contained in his diary, as being in full

Witness Marshall:

Questions by: Mr. Keefe
Senator Ferguson

accord with your own attitude toward the things and events
which he described?

General Marshall: Yes, sir, including that about the
War Department General Staff.

Senator Ferguson: You mean by that, the criticism, if it
is criticism?

General Marshall: Yes, sir.

Mr. Keefe: I didn't have particular reference --

Senator Ferguson: That is what you meant by that?

General Marshall: I didn't understand.

Senator Ferguson: That there was some criticism.

General Marshall: Yes, sir; I accepted that.

Senator Ferguson: You accepted that.

General Marshall: I don't take exception to it.

Mr. Keefe: I want to say, General Marshall, that so far
as my question was concerned, I was not specifically referring
to the conclusions as to responsibility which Secretary Stimson
sets forth in his statement.

General Marshall: I was trying to make perfectly clear
my agreement with what he says.

Mr. Keefe: I am trying to limit my question to the
factual information which is contained in his statement and
the matter of conclusions, I assume, will be the prerogative of
this committee.

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Witness Marshall

Questions by: Mr. Keefe
Mr. Clark

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2 But on the factual information set forth in his statement
3 and in the diary, you are in accord?

4 General Marshall: I noted nothing that I would take
5 exception to.

6 Mr. Keefe: Do you think of anything that you would add
7 to that statement that Secretary Stimson has excluded?

8 General Marshall: I suppose if I took a few hours off
9 I might bring up a great many things, but I think he covers
10 the general question of the whole affair very well.

11 Mr. Keefe: That is all.

12 Mr. Murphy: Mr. Chairman --

13 The Vice Chairman: Mr. Clark.

14 Mr. Clark: General Marshall, I should like to ask you,
15 as a military man, as one who has had at least some contacts
16 with diplomatic activities, as to whether there was, in your
17 opinion, anything in the 13-part message any more indicative of
18 war than what had been received up to that time?

19 General Marshall: I am sorry, I can't give you a cate-
20 gorical answer to that, for the reason that I read it that
21 morning very hurriedly, and then I never read it again until
22 just before I came up here, and I tried to time myself in
23 reading it that time, and I was interrupted before I finished,
24 and I never read it since; so there we stand. I have been
25 busy and I just haven't read it all.

WLC 3

Witness Marshall

Questions by: Mr. Keefe
Mr. Clark

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25 busy and I just haven't read it all.

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Witness Marshall

Questions by: Mr. Murphy

Mr. Murphy: Mr. Chairman --

The Vice Chairman: Mr. Murphy.

Mr. Murphy: For the record there has been question after question about Commander Schulz saying the President said "This means war", and I would like to read Commander Schulz's exact words, page 12,441 of the printed record:

"Commander Schulz. Mr. Hopkins then read the papers and handed them back to the President. The President then turned toward Mr. Hopkins and said in substance -- I am not sure of the exact words, but in substance -- 'This means war.' Mr. Hopkins agreed, and they discussed then, for perhaps five minutes, the situation of the Japanese forces, that is, their deployment and --"

Again on page 12,443.

There has been a statement made that the President called the Navy Department.

Page 12,443:

"Commander Schulz. There was no mention made of sending any further warning or alert. However, having concluded this discussion about the war going to begin at the Japanese convenience, then the President said that he believed he would talk to Admiral Stark. He started to get Admiral Stark on the telephone. It was determined -- I do not recall exactly, but I believe the

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Witness Marshall

Questions by: Mr. Murphy
Senator Ferguson

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2 White House operator told the President that Admiral Stark
3 could be reached at the National Theater."

4 The Vice Chairman: Senator Ferguson.

5 Senator Ferguson: General, to carry Mr. Keefe's question
6 further, about whether the President had seen the 13-part
7 message, I want to ask you whether or not you had any informa-
8 tion that the President had seen this message and made any
9 remarks about it prior to the time of the attack?

10 General Marshall: I had no such information.

11 Senator Ferguson: One more question.

12 On page 53 of the Secretary of War's statement, he has
13 this language -- talking with the President:

14 "I told him I could see two. His alternatives were
15 -- first, to do nothing; second, to make something in
16 the nature of an ultimatum again" --
17 Notice he says "ultimatum again".

18 -- "stating a point beyond which we would fight;
19 third, to fight at once. I told him my only two were the
20 last two, because I did not think anyone would do nothing
21 in this situation, and he agreed with me. I said of the
22 other two, my choice was the latter one."

23 That was to fight at once.

24 Now, did Secretary Stimson ever discuss with you that
25 language or that idea?

WLC6

Witness Marshall

Questions by: Senator Ferguson

It doesn't purport to have you in the conversation.

General Marshall: I wasn't in the conversation. I was just trying to think of his conversations with me.

He was very much afraid -- he feared that we would find ourselves involved in the developing situation where our disadvantages would be so great that it would be quite fatal to us when the Japanese actually broke peace.

He also felt very keenly that, and thought about this part a great deal more than I did, because it was his particular phase of the matter, that we must not go so far in delaying actions of a diplomatic nature as to sacrifice the honor of the country. He was deeply concerned about that.

My approach to the matter, of course, was much more materialistic. I was hunting for time. Hunting for time, so that whatever did happen we would be better prepared than we were at that time, that particular time.

So it was a question of resolving his views as to the honor, we will say, of the United States, and his views of a diplomatic procedure which allowed the Japanese to continue movements until we would be in a hopeless situation before the peace was broken, and mine, which as I say, were much more materialistic, as I think they should have been, that we should get as much time as we could in order to make good the terrible deficiencies in our defensive arrange-

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Witness Marshall

Questions by: Senator Ferguson

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2 ments.

3 This particular statement that he makes here, that he made
4 to the President, I don't recall of his ever making it quite
5 so flatfootedly to me, that we would strike first.

6 Senator Ferguson: At least the substance of this was dis-
7 cussed with you?

8 General Marshall: Oh, yes, we talked many times about it.

9 Senator Ferguson: Was it generally agreed between the
10 war Cabinet, as it has been described, that we would not strike
11 first?

12 That was generally agreed on, was it not?

13 General Marshall: I don't recall exactly the time the
14 President enunciated the directive that we must not make
15 the overt act.

16 Senator Ferguson: That is right. So it was finally agreed,
17 Secretary Stimson's idea to fight at once was overruled, and we
18 took another course?

19 General Marshall: Yes, sir.

20 Senator Ferguson: Which was carried out.

21 General Marshall: Yes, sir.

22 Senator Ferguson: Your idea was, as you say you were more
23 realistic --

24 General Marshall: I said "materialistic."

25 Senator Ferguson: Yes, "materialistic." You realized that

Witness Marshall

Questions by: Senator Ferguson

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2 we had to fight with, did you not, and that is what caused you
3 to hesitate?

4 General Marshall: Mine was, in a sense, a technical job.
5 I was struggling with the means to fight.

6 Senator Ferguson: Yes, and you wanted time.

7 General Marshall: I wanted time, and the question was
8 how much time could be given to us and still maintain the
9 honor of the United States and not get ourselves in a hopeless
10 position.

11 Senator Ferguson: Did you ever get to the point of dis-
12 cussing the point where you would attack if you did attack
13 first, or was that ruled out because the President made a
14 policy?

15 General Marshall: We went back, of course, to our arrange-
16 ment with the British, as to the prospective deployment of the
17 fleets, who would assume the burden of responsibility here
18 and who would receive the burden of responsibility there.

19 As a matter of fact our first issue, undoubtedly, would
20 have been to protect our convoys, and to have continued the
21 reinforcement of the Philippines.

22 Senator Ferguson: That is all.

23 Mr. Keefe: Mr. Chairman --

24 The Vice Chairman: Mr. Keefe.

25 Mr. Keefe: As I recall the testimony, General Marshall,

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Witness Marshall

Questions by: Senator Ferguson

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2 with respect to the sending of this message of the 26th, there
3 was some question in your mind, and in the record it was not
4 clear, just what the events and circumstances were with respect
5 to the preparation of that warning message that was sent to
6 General Short.

7 Now, if Mr. Stimson's report is correct, and I assume that
8 it is, that question seems to be resolved, because he states
9 that on the 27th, on page 19 of his report:

10 "We then discussed the messages that might be sent
11 to the commanding officers of the various theaters,
12 including in particular General MacArthur, who was in
13 the Philippines and in the forefront of the threatened
14 area. We had already sent MacArthur a warning, but I
15 felt that the time had now come for a more definite
16 warning. In talking with the President on the telephone
17 that morning, I had suggested, and he had approved the
18 idea, that we should send out a final alert, namely,
19 that they should be on the qui vive for any attack, and
20 explaining the exact situation. Ordinarily, of course,
21 there would be no reason for me to participate in the
22 sending of any such message which was the normal function
23 of the military staff. As the President himself, however,
24 had now actually directed the sending of the message, and
25 as I wanted the message clearly to provide the commanding

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Witness Marshall

Questions by: Mr. Keefe

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officers in the various areas as to exactly what the diplomatic situation was, I undertook to participate in the framing of this message myself."

So it now appears from his statement that that message was actually framed on the 27th while you were attending maneuvers. Do you so understand it now, General Marshall?

General Marshall: My confusion was with relation to the previous evening. My recollection was that before I left for North Carolina I had discussed with General Gerow the general terms of such a message.

Mr. Keefe: But it was not prepared?

General Marshall: He was in the business of preparing it and I think he brought in to Mr. Stimson the draft. That is my recollection of the procedure. What Mr. Stimson says is accurate. My trouble was trying to orient what I had said before the message was prepared and what my reaction was after they showed me the message on my return.

Mr. Keefe: So you did have a discussion with General Gerow the night before?

General Marshall: I say that was my recollection, that before I left, the afternoon before, I had a discussion with him. I don't know what General Gerow testified. I was in a confused state of mind as to whether that was correct or whether it was my reaction when I saw the message that had

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Witness Marshall

Questions by: Mr. Keefe

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2 already been sent, and I couldn't remember which was which.

3 Mr. Keefe: You are in agreement with the thesis that
4 so far as the actual message was concerned it was prepared
5 on the 27th and that Secretary Stimson himself participated
6 in the preparation of that message?

7 General Marshall: That is correct.

8 Mr. Keefe: And did the unusual, as he says, in that
9 matter, because it was on what he conceived to be direct orders
10 of the President that such a message be sent?

11 General Marshall: That is correct.

12 Mr. Keefe: And he wanted to be sure that it accurately
13 conveyed the necessary information to the commanders in the
14 field?

15 General Marshall: That is correct, sir.

16 Mr. Keefe: That clears up that little bit of discrepancy
17 that existed in the other hearings, and I am glad that it has
18 been cleared up in accordance with Secretary Stimson's state-
19 ment.

20 That is all.

21 The Vice Chairman: Does counsel have anything further?

22 Mr. Richardson: No.

23 The Vice Chairman: Any further questions?

24 (No response.)

25 The Vice Chairman: Is there any reason why General Marshall

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Witness Marshall

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2 cannot now be excused?

3 (No response.)

4 The Vice Chairman: General, we thank you for your appear-
5 ance and the additional information you have given the committee
6 and you are excused.

7 General Marshall: Thank you very much.

8 The Vice Chairman: The Chair is advised that Chairman
9 Barkley and Senator Ferguson have agreed that we will adjourn
10 at this point until 11 o'clock Thursday morning.

11 We will ask Admiral Stark to be back at 11 o'clock
12 Thursday morning.

13 (Whereupon, at 1:00 p.m., an adjournment was taken
14 until 11:00 a.m., Thursday, April 11, 1946.)

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