

# Notes

Unless otherwise specified

1. Interviews were conducted by the author, Forrest C Pogue
2. Citations of letters to and from General Marshall are to copies found in the General's Pentagon files. Originals or copies will ultimately be deposited in the Marshall Research Library.
3. General Marshall's speeches are from Marshall's typewritten reading copies of speeches, hereinafter cited as *Marshall Speech Book*. Secondary source is cited if available.

It should be remembered throughout that minutes made at the international conferences and Joint Chiefs of Staff meetings are not transcriptions of direct statements but edited paraphrases agreed on by the secretaries and sometimes corrected by the participants. Also classified messages sent in code had to be paraphrased when a copy was made. In citations of cable messages to and from the War Department the date before the CM-IN number refers to date of dispatch. If receipt date is different it is put after the CM-IN citation in parenthesis (First msg date is date of dispatch. If date of arrival does not coincide, it is added in parentheses).

## ABBREVIATIONS\*

AAF	Army Air Forces	CAD	Civil Affairs Division
AAG	Air Adjutant General	CBI	China-Burma-India Theater
ABC	American-British Conversations	CCAC	Command Civil Affairs Committee
ActACofS	Acting Assistant Chief of Staff	CCS	Combined Chiefs of Staff
ACofS	Assistant Chief of Staff	CDC	Caribbean Defense Command
AG	Adjutant General (used for file location of documents)	CG	Commanding General
AGF	Army Ground Forces	CinCLant	Commander-in-Chief, US Atlantic Fleet
ALUSNA	US Naval Attaché	CinCPac	Commander-in-Chief, US Pacific Fleet
AMMISCA	American Military Mission to China (code name for American headquarters at New Delhi)	Cmdt	Commandant
ASF	Army Service Forces	CM-IN (or -OUT)	Cable Message, Incoming or Outgoing
ASW	Assistant Secretary of War	CNO	Chief of Naval Operations
BRCOS	British Chiefs of Staff	CofS	Chief of Staff
BPR	Bureau of Public Relations	CsofS	British and/or US Chiefs of Staff at conferences
BurBud	Bureau of Budget Director		

\* Documents have special nomenclature which does not always agree with approved abbreviations but it has been used for quick identification

Cominch	Commander-in-Chief, US Fleet	PMG	Provost Marshal General
CO	Commanding Officer	PMGO	Provost Marshal General's Office
Conf	Conference	POA	Pacific Ocean Area
COS	Chiefs of Staff (British)	PTO	Pacific Theater of Operations
COSMED	Chief of Staff, Mediterranean	RG	Record Group
CTO	Chinese Theater of Operations	ROTC	Reserve Officers' Training Corps
DCofS	Deputy Chief of Staff	SAC	Supreme Allied Commander
DefDept	Defense Department	SACMED	Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean
DSM	Distinguished Service Medal	SEAC	Southeast Asia Command
Exec	Executive File (OPD) (used for file location of documents)	SGS	Secretary General Staff
G-1	Personnel Division	So Pac	South Pacific Area
G-2	Intelligence Division	SS	Strategy Section
G-3	Operations Division	SWPA	Southwest Pacific Area
G-4	Supply Division	TAG	The Adjutant General of the Army
GHQ	General Headquarters	TS	Top Secret
GHQ	Air Forces US Air Forces, General Headquarters	USA	United States Army
HawDept	Hawaiian Department	USAAF	United States Army Air Forces
int	interview	USAFFE	United States Army Forces in the Far East
JAG	Judge Advocate General	USAFIA	United States Army Forces in Australia
JB	Joint Board	USN	United States Navy
JCS	Joint Chiefs of Staff	USSTAF	United States Strategic Air Forces
JPC	Joint Planning Committee	VMI	Virginia Military Institute
JPS	Joint Staff Planners	WD	War Department (used for file location of documents)
JRC	Joint Rearmament Commission	WDC	Western Defense Command
OCMH	Office of the Chief of Military History	WDCSA	War Department Chief of Staff Army (used for file location of documents)
OCS	Office of the Chief of Staff, Secretary General Staff	WH	White House
OPD	Operations Division		
OpNAV	Office of the Chief of Naval Operations		
PMC	Pacific Military Conference		

## GLOSSARY OF CODE NAMES

ANAKIM	Plan for recapture of Burma	BRIMSTONE	Plan for capture of Sardinia.
ANFA	Site of Casablanca conference, 14-23Jan43; sometimes used by OPD officers as a code name for the meeting.	BUCCANEER	Plan for amphibious operation in Andaman Islands.
ANVIL	Early plan for invasion of southern France.	CARTWHEEL	Converging drives on Rabaul by South Pacific and SWPA forces.
ARGONAUT	International conference at Yalta, Feb45.	CLARION	Coordinated attack on transportation throughout Germany by combined air forces.
BOLERO	Build-up of U.S. forces and supplies in the United Kingdom for cross-Channel attack.	COBRA	Operation launched by US First Army, 25Jul44, designed to effect breakout from the Normandy lodgment.

- CRICKET** British-US conference at Malta, preliminary to Yalta meeting with Soviets
- CROSSWORD** Surrender of German and Italian land, sea, and air forces under German commander-in-chief, Southwest Mediterranean, May45. Also *Sunrise*
- DRAGOON** Allied invasion of southern France, 15Aug44, planned under the code name ANVIL.
- ELKTON** MacArthur's 12Feb43 plan for recapture of Rabaul.
- EUREKA** International conference at Tehran, Nov43
- GRENADE** Ninth Army supporting attack for Operation VERITABLE.
- HALCYON** Code name for 1Jun44, sometimes called Y day; the date when all preparations for the Normandy assault had to be completed
- HUSKY** Allied invasion of Sicily, Jul43.
- JUPITER** Plans for operations in northern Norway
- NEPTUNE** Special code name for initial phases of *Overlord* assault. Directives for these phases had a Bigot classification
- OCTAGON** US-British conference in Quebec, Sep44.
- OLYMPIC** Plan for invasion of Kyushu, Mar46.
- OVERLORD** Allied cross-Channel invasion of northwest Europe, Jun44
- POINTBLANK** Combined Bomber Offensive against Germany
- QUADRANT** US-British conference in Quebec, Aug43
- RANKIN A-B-C** Plans for Allied return to Europe in event of deterioration of German position.
- RAVENOUS** Plan for 4 Corps' advance into Burma
- ROUNDUP** Plan for major US-British cross-Channel operation in 1943
- SEXTANT** International conference in Cairo, Nov-Dec43
- SHINGLE** Amphibious operation at Anzio, Italy
- SICKLE** Build-up of US Eighth Air Force in the United Kingdom for bomber offensive against Germany
- SLEDGEHAMMER** Plan for limited cross-Channel attack in 1942
- SYMBOL** Casablanca conference, 14-23Jan-43
- TARZAN** India-based portion of general offensive in Burma.
- TORCH** Allied invasion of north and northwest Africa, Nov42
- TRIDENT** International conference in Washington, 12-25May43.
- VERITABLE** 21 Army Group plan for a Canadian attack between the Maas and the Rhine, Jan-Feb45

## I: A TIME FOR DECISION

For Chapters I and II, I have relied heavily on *US For Rels, Casablanca*, Maurice Matloff, *Strategic Planning for Coalition Warfare, 1943-1944*, John Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, VI; and Arthur Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*. Initially I used the Army's own minutes of the great conferences, but in order to make citations easier for scholars to follow, I have keyed them to the *US For Rels* volumes I have also drawn on interviews with the following: Gens Marshall, Wedemeyer, Hull, Ismay, Alanbrooke; Adms King and Mountbatten; Air Marshal Portal; and Frank McCarthy.

1. See view of British official historian, John Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, VI, 342.
2. Lord Portal int, 7Feb47.
3. Sir Arthur Bryant, *The Turn of the Tide*, 246.
4. Gen Sir Hastings L. Ismay, Lt Gen Sir Frederick E. Morgan, and Maj Gen Ray W. Barker ints, 17Dec46 (author's notes).
5. Rear Adm C E Lambe int, 26Feb47.
6. Portal int, 7Feb47.
7. Embick and Fairchild to Marshall,

- sub: Comments on CCS 135/1 and 135/2, 4Jan43, *WDCSA 334 CCS (1-4-43)*.
8. Wedemeyer to Chief, Strategy Section, OPD, sub: Cross-Channel Operations, 10Apr43, *OPD 381 Security, Sec 1, Case 31* (italics in original).
  9. *Ibid.* Cf Albert C. Wedemeyer, *Wedemeyer Reports*, 94-96, where he apparently changed his views to some extent: "To sum up, it is only too obvious today that our strategic planning should have been oriented toward denying to the Soviet Union the opportunities which she used so promptly and effectively to extend her frontiers and her power." Again, "Our failure to use political, economic and psychological means in co-ordination with military operations during the war also prolonged its duration. . . . The Western Allies, by refusing to use the political and psychological instruments of strategy, and by committing themselves to defeat Germany solely by military means, gave Soviet Russia the initiative which should all along have been ours." And finally, "It was only at the eleventh hour that Winston Churchill began to take cognizance of the postwar balance of power. . . ."
  10. President's endorsement on memo, Leahy to Roosevelt, 30Sept42, cited Richard M. Leighton and Robert W. Coakley, *Global Logistics and Strategy, 1940-1943*, 604-605; Byron Fairchild and Jonathan Grossman, *The Army and Industrial Manpower*, 47-49
  11. BurBud to SecWar, 4Nov42, *WDCSA 020 (11-7-42) SW Open Files*, Leighton and Coakley, *Global Logistics, 1940-1943*, 605; Roosevelt to BurBud, 29Oct42, *F. D. R.: His Personal Letters*, II, 1358, shows Roosevelt's thinking.
  12. Marshall to President, 9Nov42, *SecWar File Folder, WH Corres.*
  13. *Ibid.* In *George C. Marshall: Ordeal and Hope*, 42, I mistakenly based my statement of Marshall's responsibilities on a directive of 5Jul39. These were not defined until 28Feb42. Cf Mark Watson, *Chief of Staff: Prewar Plans and Preparations*, 66.
  14. Draft Marshall to President, 7Nov42, *Marshall Library Files.*
  15. For budget purposes, he said, the strength of the Army was set for an average of 6,500,000 enlisted men for 1943. At the beginning of 1943 there would probably be 5,000,000 men and the Army would be lucky to get 7,000,000 by the end of the year. The average, he felt, could not possibly exceed 6,500,000. He agreed, however, that equipment should be provided for 7,500,000 by the end of 1943. Roosevelt to Marshall, 10Nov42, *Marshall Library Files.*
  16. Fairchild and Grossman, *Army and Industrial Manpower*, 50, Leighton and Coakley, *Global Logistics, 1940-1943*, 605
  17. Speech to National Association of Manufacturers, 4Dec42, including carbon of reading copy of speech and earlier drafts, in speech folder, *Marshall Library Files*
  18. Marshall to Maj Gen Frank Parker, 6Jan43, *Marshall Library Files*
  19. Mins of WH conf with CsofS, 7Jan43, *OPD Exec 10, Item 45*. Also see *US For Rels, Casablanca*, 505-40
  20. From JCS 167/2, 23Dec42, circulated as CCS 135 on 26Dec42, cited Maurice Matloff and Edward M. Snell, *Strategic Planning for Coalition Warfare, 1941-1942*, 376
  21. Stimson Diary, 7Jan43
  22. Winston S. Churchill, *The Hinge of Fate*, 650-59. For the entire background see exchange of msgs *US For Rels, Confs at Washington, 1941-1942* and *US For Rels, Casablanca*, 1943, 488ff.
  23. *US For Rels, Casablanca*, 488-89
  24. Marshall to Eisenhower, 23Dec42, *WDCSA 381 (SS) (1942)*; Eisenhower to Marshall, Cable 3501, 29Dec42, *The Papers of Dwight D. Eisenhower: The War Years*, ed Alfred D. Chandler, Jr, II, 875-76. For interesting description see Harold Macmillan, *The Blast of War*, 192-94; additional details in President's log in *US For Rels, Casablanca*, 522ff.
  25. A valuable source for the conference is the diary of British Brig Ian Jacob, Military AsstSec to the War Cabinet, who had helped to pick the site and make arrangements for the meeting. He permitted me to examine excerpts from his diary, copies of which were furnished me by Dr Stephen Ambrose, assoc ed. *Papers of Eisenhower*.

26. Henry H. Arnold, *Global Mission*, 388, has the most detailed account of the party's leaving. William D Leahy, *I Was There*, erroneously gives 10Jan as the date of the President's departure. See accounts of trip by Ernest J King and Walter M. Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King A Naval Record*, 415, and Wedemeyer, *Wedemeyer Reports*, 171.
27. McCarthy int, 17Oct57. He went on "I never went for those elaborate preparations again, because I realized that if General Marshall's plane went down, someone would know it and come rather quickly and we wouldn't be spending weeks trading with the Arabs. When he heard about this, he roared with laughter, and he asked me, when the trip was over, for a copy of the inventory of what we had taken. I think that was one of the best laughs he got during the war"
28. Ibid. The story is repeated in McCarthy memo, 18Jan61
29. Wedemeyer to Maj Gen T. T Handy, 22Jan43, *OPD Exec 3, Item 1a*
30. Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 444
31. Ibid, 444-45 (Bryant's paraphrase of Churchill's statement is "Nothing less, he felt, would be worthy of two great powers and their obligations to Russia") Jacob's Diary, 13Jan43; Sir John Kennedy, *The Business of War*, 280-81
32. Jacob's Diary, 14Jan43

## II. THE DEBATE OPENS

1. Mins CCS 55th mtg, 14Jan43, 10 30 am, *US For Rels, Casablanca*, 545. Although I used Gen Marshall's own copy of the minutes of this conference in my research, I have cited page references in *US For Rels*, which will be easier of access for the researcher
2. Mins CCS 57th mtg, 15Jan43, *ibid*, 570
3. Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 448.
4. Mins CCS 58th mtg, 16Jan43, *US For Rels, Casablanca*, 583
5. Mins CCS 55th mtg, 14Jan43, 10 30 am, *ibid*, 536-40
6. Mins CCS 55th and 56th mtgs, 14Jan43, 10.30 am and 2 30 pm, *ibid*, 545, 550, 553
7. Mins CCS 56th mtg, 2 30 pm, 14Jan43, *ibid*, 553
8. Stulwell to Marshall, AMMISCA 1558, 28Dec42, CM-IN 12637 (30Dec), quoting Chiang Kai-shek to President. Repeated in msg Roosevelt to Churchill, 7Jan43, *US For Rels, Casablanca*, 514-15.
9. Mins JCS mtg at WH, 7Jan43, *ibid*, 505-514. Also see Mins, CCS mtg on 23Jan43, *ibid*, 707-719, where Roosevelt stressed the importance of air power in aiding China.
10. Dill to Marshall, 2Jan43, Marshall to Dill, 5Jan, *WDCSA Burma TS*, Marshall to Handy, 5Jan, *OPD Exec 10, Item 22*, Dill to Marshall, 6Jan, *enc COS tel quoting Wavell, OPD Exec 10, Item 65*. Marshall had acceded to Dill's wish to delete a passage implying that Roosevelt felt there was "some sense" in Chiang's demand for strong naval action and a seven-division drive by the British into Burma. Dill's phrasing was accepted "I feel that we must do something to ensure that the Chinese put their full weight into the operations which are due to start in March. Can you suggest any assurances which will have this effect?" Dill to Marshall, 3Jan43, *WDCSA Burma TS*, Churchill's reply, 10Jan43, was wholly negative. *US For Rels, Casablanca*, 517-18
11. Hours after Marshall had left, a warning message came in from Stulwell giving the gist of Chiang's reply. ActCofS McNarney sent the message to the WH with a draft reply at 8 pm. The full text of Chiang's message was not ready before the WH party had left by late train for Miami. McNarney to President, 9Jan43, *WDCSA Burma TS*, President to Chiang, 9Jan43, *US For Rels, Casablanca*, 516; Stulwell to Marshall, 30, 9Jan43, CM-IN 3875, *OPD Exec 10, Item 22*, Stulwell to Marshall, 31, 9Jan43, CM-IN 3980, in Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland, *Stulwell's Mission to China*, 259-60
12. Mins CCS 56th mtg, 14Jan43, 2 30 pm, *US For Rels, Casablanca*, 554
13. Mins CCS 59th mtg, 17Jan43, *ibid*, 601-602, mins CCS 60th mtg, 18Jan43, *ibid*, 614-617, also references to CCS 154, 17Jan43, rpt by Br JPS "Operations in Burma, 1943," fns 5, 6, *ibid*, 614, 616.

14. CCS 153 (Rev), 17Jan43, rpt by US Joint Staff Planners, *ibid*, 755.
15. Mins CCS 59th mtg, 17Jan43, 10.30 am, *ibid*, 602-603. At this time the term "United Nations" referred to the states associated in the fight against the Axis powers through their adherence to the Atlantic Charter. When the world body bearing that name was being established in the spring of 1945, the word "organization" was added to distinguish it from the earlier group.
16. Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 449; memo by Br JPS, CCS 153/1, 17Jan43, *US For Rels, Casablanca*, 758.
17. Memo by Br JPS, CCS 153/1, 17Jan43, *US For Rels, Casablanca*, 758-60. See also 618-19.
18. Portal, quoted in Jacob's Diary, 14-Jan43.
19. Mins CCS 60th mtg, 18Jan43, *US For Rels, Casablanca*, 617.
20. Mins CCS 60th mtg, 18Jan43; CCS 153/1, para 2(c), 17Jan43, *ibid*, 618-19, 758
21. Mins CCS 60th mtg, 18Jan43, *ibid*, 619-21.
22. *Ibid*, CCS 153/1, para 11(c), *ibid*, 621-22, 757 (italics in original).
23. Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 449-50.
24. See Pogue, *Ordeal and Hope* for Marshall-Dill relationship; Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 450. There is some discrepancy between the accounts in Brooke's diary and in Air Marshal John C. Slessor's *Central Blue*, 446, about this incident. Since Slessor had handed over the paper to Portal, it seems likely that he did bring it to Brooke and Dill without Slessor's knowledge and that Dill did discuss it with Marshall. Possibly Marshall did not see the paper until after the meeting reconvened, but the speed with which he and King accepted it suggests that Marshall, at least, had been told what was in the paper. The fact that Brooke suggested that the paper be read and that Marshall and King withdrew to discuss it does not necessarily mean that the US CofS had not been told of its contents.
25. For action of CCS, *US For Rels, Casablanca*, 622, 637; for changes, *ibid*, 760, 774-75.
26. Mtg of CCS with Roosevelt and Churchill, 18Jan43, 5 pm, *ibid*, 627-37; Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 449.
27. CCS 155/1, "Conduct of the War in 1943," 19Jan43, *US For Rels, Casablanca*, 774
28. Mins CCS 65th mtg, 21Jan43, *ibid*, 667-79, contains discussions leading to agreement; see Combined Bomber Offensive directive, 21Jan43, *ibid*, 781-82; see also Sir Charles K. Webster and Noble Frankland, *The Strategic Air Offensive Against Germany, 1939-1945*, II, 10-21, on the Casablanca directive.
29. Stimson Diary, 30Jan43.
30. Eisenhower to Handy, 28Jan43, *OPD Exec 3, Item 1a*.
31. Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 454.
32. Jacob's Diary, 19Jan43
33. Kennedy, *Business of War*, 283; Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 454.
34. Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 450; Marshall to Roosevelt, 20Feb43, with draft ltr to Dill, *Marshall Library Files*. Marshall noted the importance of Dill's trip to India and China with Somervell and Arnold after Casablanca. His presence at New Delhi, Marshall believed, "was the major factor in enabling us to reach an agreement with the British and to stimulate them to aggressive efforts toward mounting a Burma operation."
35. Maurice Matloff, *Strategic Planning for Coalition Warfare, 1943-1944*, 39-40; Harley A. Notter, *Postwar Foreign Policy Preparation, 1939-1945*, 125-27; John P. Glennon, "This Time Germany Is a Defeated Nation," in *Statesmen and Statecraft of the Modern West*, ed Gerald N. Grob, 112-13.
36. Mins of WH conf with CsofS, 7Jan43, *OPD Exec 10, Item 45*. See also *US For Rels, Casablanca*, 505-14.
37. Churchill, *Hinge of Fate*, 684-89; *US For Rels Casablanca*, 506, 635, 704.
38. Marshall int, 29Oct56.
39. Wedemeyer, *Wedemeyer Reports*, 186-87; Deane to author, "Jul68," in answer to author's ltr of 28Jun68.
40. Marshall int, 11Feb57.
41. There is some uncertainty about the time of the departure. Some accounts indicate that Marshall and the other US CsofS left Casablanca before the conference was concluded. In fact the last session in which they were involved ended on the evening of 23Jan.

The next morning's activities consisted of conversations between Roosevelt and Churchill and the French leaders and of a press conference. The US CsofS seem not to have attended the historic conference where General Charles de Gaulle and General Henri Giraud shook hands. See Col McCarthy to Col Robert N Young, 23Jan43, *OPD Exec 10, Item 45A, Pt 2*, which indicated that a Stratoliner with Dill, Marshall, King, Cooke, Hull, McCarthy, and others would leave at 0700 on the morning of Sunday, 24Jan, for Algiers. Arnold, Wedemeyer, and others departed at approximately the same time for Algiers in a B-17. All were scheduled to arrive at Algiers at approximately 1100. A message from McCarthy to Young, 26Jan43, same

- file, said that members of the two parties had landed at 1100 as expected.
- 42 Harry C Butcher, *My Three Years with Eisenhower*, 247-50
  - 43 Eisenhower to Handy, 28Jan43, *OPD Exec 3, Item 1a*
  - 44 Marshall to Mrs T B Coles, 30Jan43, *Marshall Library Files*
  - 45 Marshall to Slessor, 4Feb43; Marshall to Haskell, 4Feb43, *Marshall Library Files*.
  - 46 Eisenhower to Handy, 28Jan43, *OPD Exec 3, Item 1a*, Eisenhower to Heron, 28Jan43, *Papers of Eisenhower, II*, 929-30
  - 47 Wedemeyer to Handy, 22Jan43, *OPD Exec 3, Item 1a*. Cf Wedemeyer, *Wedemeyer Reports*, 191-92
  - 48 Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 454
  - 49 Portal int, 7Feb47.

### III: MARSHALL AT HIS COMMAND POST

Much of the material for Chapters III and IV comes from interviews. Among those who furnished material were Gen Marshall, Brig Gen Frank McCarthy, Maj Gen William T. Sexton, Gen Thomas T Handy, Gen John E. Hull, Gen Maxwell Taylor, Maj Gen Orlando Ward, Gen of the Army Omar N. Bradley, H. Merrill Pasco, L. Arthur Minnich, Miss Mona Nason, Miss Cora E. Thomas, M/Sgt James Powder, Mrs Marjorie Payne Roberts Lunger, Maj Gen John H. Hildring, M/Sgt George Dumcke (in interview by Dr E. M. Coffman for author), Col Russell P. Reeder, Jr, Lt Gen Leslie R. Groves, Brig Gen William A. Borden, Gen of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower, Col Truman Smith, Gen Walter Bedell Smith, John J. McCloy, Brig Gen Paul M. Robinett. For the material pertaining to the Pentagon, I drew heavily on material gathered by Wilbur J. Nigh from the Chief of Staff's and Army Service Forces' files. Copies of all these can be found in the Pentagon Project Folder in the *Marshall Library Files*. Two of the most valuable sources are those collected in 1943 and 1944 by the Army Service Forces to be used in answering criticisms from Congress. Brig Gen C. F. Robinson to CG, ASF, subj. "The Pentagon Project," 25Jun44, Brig Gen Leslie R. Groves to CG, ASF, 3Apr42, with attached "Basic Data on the Pentagon," 9Mar43, *ASF Pentagon Building, 1944*

1. TAG memo W340-32-42, 13Nov42, *AG 029 21 (7-24-41) (1) Sec 1a*.
2. Reading copy of speech to National Association of Manufacturers, Waldorf Astoria, 4Dec42, *Marshall Library Files*. See also H. A. DeWeerd, *Selected Speeches and Statements of General of the Army George C. Marshall*, 220.
3. Stimson to President, 24Jul41, *AG 029 21 C/S Pentagon*.
4. Lt Gen Leslie R. Groves int, 7May70
5. Although the contractors spoke of four floors, Pentagonians count the ground floor as one and speak of five. There is a subbasement and even a sub-subbasement under parts of the building.
6. For details of planning, costs, and progress of construction, see *HQ ASF Pentagon Bldg, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, C/S Pentagon AG 029 21*
7. Stimson Diary, 19-20, 24, and 27Nov42.
8. Newell to Marshall, 17Oct43, *Marshall Library Files*
9. Marshall to Molly Winn, 29Jun43, *Marshall Library Files*.
10. Marshall to Maj Clifton S. Brown, 14May45, *Marshall Library Files*.
11. Marshall to Allen Brown, 7Jan42, *Marshall Library Files*.
12. Marshall to Allen Brown, 1Sept42, *Marshall Library Files*
13. Marshall to Adm H. R. Stark ("Dear Betty"), 8Dec44, *Marshall Library Files*. Admiral Stark received the nick-

- name "Betty" as a plebe at the US Naval Academy in 1899 when there was a national ceremony honoring "Betty" Stark, wife of Revolutionary War General John Stark of the Battle of Bennington fame. Stark is usually quoted as having said at the battle that they would win it before night or "Molly" Stark would be a widow. Since his wife was named Elizabeth (Betty), the expression is confused. S. E. Morison, *Battle of the Atlantic*, 39n. The nickname became a term of affection for Stark. He was one of the few Marshall ever addressed so familiarly.
14. Allen Brown to Marshall, 19Aug40, *Marshall Library Files*.
  15. Marshall to Allen Brown, 22Jan41, *Marshall Library Files*.
  16. Marshall to Molly Winn, 8May42, *Marshall Library Files*, Col James J. Winn int, 4Apr66
  17. Marshall to Allen Brown, 7Jan42, *Marshall Library Files*
  18. Marshall to Allen Brown, 1Sept42, *Marshall Library Files*.
  19. Devers int, 12Aug58.
  20. Marshall to CO, Fort Benning, Georgia, 22Sept44, *Marshall Library Files*.
  21. Marshall to Mrs Charles Dana Gibson, 29Jan42, *Marshall Library Files*.
  22. Rose P. Wilson, *General Marshall Remembered*, contains a number of letters and postcards he sent over the years, including a poem he wrote for her when she was small and a description of a postcard that he had Gen Pershing and Marshal Foch autograph for her when Gen Marshall accompanied the two on a trip to St Louis in 1921. This book of reminiscence, interesting for its warm picture of the General, is marred by the attempt to recall exact conversations. The author attributes opinions to the General that sound more as if taken from the text of a speech than from colloquial conversation.
  23. Keehn to Marshall, 11Nov40; Marshall to Keehn, 19Nov40, *Marshall Library Files*.
  24. Keehn to Marshall, 12Aug41, SGS to Keehn, 15Aug41; Marshall to Keehn, 18Aug41, *Marshall Library Files*.
  25. Marshall to Keehn, 2Dec42, *Marshall Library Files*.
  26. Keehn to Marshall, 13Sept48, *Marshall Library Files*. Keehn died in Feb49.
  27. Eisenhower to Marshall, 15Mar44; Marshall to Eisenhower, 23Mar44, *Marshall Library Files; Papers of Eisenhower*, III, 1769.
  28. McCarthy to D. L. Chambers, President, Bobbs-Merrill, 14Apr44, *Marshall Library Files*. The letter relative to Andrews is in *Marshall Library Files*
  29. Circular ltr 222, 18Mar43, *WDGSA 201 Marshall*; Lt Col C. M. Adams to All Military Attachés, 17Jul43, *WDGSA 201 Marshall*.
  30. On 18Mar44 Stimson wrote the President that Marshall had tried to block the Russian award and asked Roosevelt's view. The latter replied that he sympathized with the Chief of Staff but did not want to offend the Russians. He suggested that they check with Dill and if he said yes to go ahead. Dill, with whom Marshall had an agreement to decline exchange of decorations by the two governments during the war, agreed that under the circumstances the General should accept. Dill consulted the British Chiefs of Staff, who replied on March 20: "We entirely agree with you that General Marshall cannot refuse the Soviet decoration. To do so would almost certainly give offense to Marshal Stalin." In consenting Marshall made it clear that he considered that the award was being made to the Army—and he listed most of the top officers in the War Department as guests who should attend the presentation ceremony. President to SecWar, 14Mar44; SecWar to President, 18Mar44; Br CsofS to Dill, 20Mar44, *SecWar Safe File*: Gen Marshall also accepted an award from Cuba.
  31. Hull int, 8Aug57 (author's notes).

#### IV: MARSHALL AND HIS STAFF

1. See Brian Kelly, "Quarters One," *Commonwealth Magazine*, Dec67, 32-35.
2. Marshall int, 15Feb57.
3. Marshall to Krock, 28Sept44, Krock to Marshall, 2Oct44, *Marshall Library Files*. Marshall did not list the other

- papers he read. However, he once told the author that he particularly liked the *Christian Science Monitor*. He obviously glanced at the Washington papers, the *Post*, the *Star*, the often-critical *Times-Herald*, and the *News*.
4. Powder int, 19Oct59
  5. Marjorie Payne Roberts Lunger int. 20Jun69
  6. Much of the description of a day in the office is based on information from Maj Gen William T Sexton, who served in the secretariat from 1940 to 1944, and from Gen John E. Hull, who served in the Operations Division, War Department, from 1941 to 1946
  7. McCarthy to Marshall, 1Oct43, with comments by CofS, *Marshall Library Files*
  8. I have heard the story from Miss Nason, Gen Taylor, and Gen McCarthy. At the farewell party for Miss Nason, Gen Ridgway repeated it
  9. Marshall to Devers, 25Mar44, *Marshall Library Files*
  10. Other Reserve officers on the staff included B. W. Davenport, who had taken his law degree at the University of Virginia with Pasco at the same time as McCarthy was in graduate school there. L. Arthur Minnich, a student of history who was picked by Col McCarthy from a group of convalescents at Walter Reed Hospital; Gordon Bell, who was badly wounded at Anzio, Charles Heitzberg, who aided Bell, Pasco, and Davenport in covering the White House, Frank Werneken, who was McCarthy's special assistant, and Randall Oulie
  11. McCarthy to Marshall, 24Dec44, *Marshall Library Files*
  12. Marshall to Pasco, 25Dec44, *Marshall Library Files*.
  13. Ned Brooks to Mrs Richard Roberts, 6Dec48, enclosing script of his broadcast on the sergeant's decision not to write her story, Marshall to Mrs Richard Roberts (now Marjorie Payne Roberts Lunger), 27Dec48, *Marshall Library Files*.
  14. Marshall int, 21Nov56
  15. Ray S. Cline, *Washington Command Post: The Operations Division*, 166, Gen T. T. Handy int, 9Jul70
  16. Gen John E. Hull int, 5May70.
  17. Marshall to AsstSecWar McCloy, 31-Mar43, *Marshall Library Files*
  18. Roosevelt to Lt Gen C. E. Kilbourne, 21May43, *Marshall Library Files*
  19. Pogue, *Ordeal and Hope*, 22-23, 30-33, 131
  20. Quotations are in Marshall int, 13-Nov56 (author's notes)
  21. Marshall to Byrnes, 10Jul43, *WDCSA 040 (10Jul43) SS*. Also see ltr with attachments Ismay to Marshall, 3Jul43, *Marshall Library Files*.
  22. See Pogue, *Ordeal and Hope*, 298-300, on reorganization.
  23. Maj Gen Otto N. Nelson, *National Security and the General Staff*, 397-404, has a valuable description of the Joint Chiefs and Combined Chiefs of Staff organizations as they functioned in Washington. It should be remembered that the Joint Staff Mission acted in accordance with directives from the British Chiefs of Staff in London, and that at international conferences the British group in Washington was supplanted personally by heads of the various services. See also Cline, *Washington Command Post*, 98-106
  24. Marshall int, 13Nov56
  25. Arnold to Marshall, 10May43; Marshall to Arnold, 14May43, *Marshall Library Files*
  26. Marshall to Arnold, 18Oct43, *Marshall Library Files*
  27. Arnold to Marshall, 22Mar45, Marshall to Arnold, 8Apr45, *Marshall Library Files*.
  28. Marshall ints, 14Feb57, 21Nov56
  29. *Ibid*, 21Nov56
  30. Mrs Oveta Culp Hobby int, 28Aug63
  31. Marshall ints, 4 and 14Feb57.
  32. *Ibid*, 4Feb57
  33. Bell I. Wiley, *Historical Program of the US Army 1939 to Present*, 44ff.
  34. Col Russell P. Reeder, Jr, *Born at Reveille*, chaps 23-26, 182-224
  35. *Ibid*, 214-17. An autographed copy of *Fighting in Guadalcanal* is in the Marshall Library
  36. Memo by Bedell Smith from AFHQ file
  37. For Eisenhower corres with Gen Marshall, see Joseph P. Hobbs, *Dear General*. A typical reply is in Marshall to Eisenhower, 28Sep42, *Marshall Library Files*. "When you want some-

thing that you aren't getting tell me and I will try to get it for you. I have complete confidence in your management of the affair, and want to support you in every way practicable."

38. Marshall to Mrs Stilwell, 29Dec43, *Marshall Library Files*.  
 39. Marshall to WD Chiefs and CG AGF, AAF, SOS, 24Apr42, *ASF Styer Miscellaneous*.

### V: MARSHALL AND THE FIGHTING MAN . . . AND WOMAN

I have drawn heavily on interviews with Mrs Oveta Culp Hobby and Maj Gen Frederick Osborn and on Mattie Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps*, and Ulysses G. Lee, *Employment of Negro Troops*.

1. Marshall ints, 28Sept56 (author's notes), 21Nov56.
2. Marshall int, 15Feb57.
3. Rearranged somewhat in order from Marshall int, 15Feb57.
4. Jolson to Marshall, 26Oct43; Marshall to Jolson, 10Nov43; Marshall to G-1, 9Nov43, *Marshall Library Files*.
5. Marshall to McNair, 28Jul43, *WDCSA 430 (1942-43)*. The Civilian Conservation Corps was set up by President Roosevelt early in his first term to give employment to young men. Many of the projects were devoted to forestry or to prevention of soil erosion.
6. McNarney to Sen Rufus Holman, 10-Nov43, *Marshall Library Files*, Marshall to Special Services Division, 2Aug-43, *WDCSA 325 01 (1942-43)*.
7. Harper Sibley to Marshall, 27Feb42; Marshall to Sibley, 6Mar42, *AG 353.8 (11-5-41)*. Marshall emphasized that soldiers constantly needed reports on conditions in their homes, communications with relatives and friends, and advice on personal matters—services routinely provided by the Red Cross. Marshall's reference to an expeditionary force apparently was influenced by his World War I experience. Naturally the arrangements applied to Red Cross activities with all American forces sent to combat theaters.
8. Marshall int, 21Nov56.
9. Maj Gen Frederick Osborn int, 18Feb-59.
10. Marshall to Theater Commanders, 5Oct43, *Marshall Library Files*
11. Marshall to Surles, 6Feb44; see also Marshall to Roosevelt, 6Feb44, *Marshall Library Files*.
12. Survey by J. Walter Thompson Co, Nov44, *Marshall Library Files*.
13. Marshall to Roosevelt, 28Sept42, after President turned down initial request on 14Sept42, *Marshall Library Files*.
14. Patton to Mrs Marshall, n.d. but 1943, after Sicilian campaign, in Harry H. Semmes, *Portrait of Patton*, 173-74.
15. Roosevelt to SecWar and SecNavy, 11-Jan44, *Marshall Library Files*
16. Marshall to Roosevelt through channels, 3Feb44, *WDCSA 200 6, Sec 1; Exec Order 9419, 4Feb44*.
17. See Robert R. Palmer, Bell I. Wiley, and William R. Keast, *The Procurement and Training of Ground Combat Troops*, 62.
18. Marshall to W. B. Smith, 30Mar45, *Marshall Library Files*
19. Marshall to Handy, attached to draft message Marshall to MacArthur, 24-Jan44, *Marshall Library Files*, containing congratulations on his sixty-fourth birthday and announcement of an additional Oak Leaf Cluster to his Distinguished Service Medal.
20. Marshall to Marvin McIntyre, 2Apr42, *Marshall Library Files*.
21. Marshall to G-1, 24Dec43, *Marshall Library Files* Allen Brown, who had always been quick to spot injustice, had reported this state of affairs to his stepfather on reaching North Africa.
22. Noting that Stilwell, head of Army Ground Forces, now had four stars, and Arnold, head of the Army Air Forces, had five, he outlined the responsibilities of the nine men he now proposed for four. McNarney, Deputy Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean, with half a million men; Bradley, commander of 12th Army Group, with nearly 1 million men; Spaatz, head of U.S. Strategic Air Forces in Europe with some 230,000;

- Kenney, top air commander in the Pacific, with some 170,000, Clark with an army group of more than half a million, Krueger with Sixth Army; Devers with 6th Army Group and nearly 450,000 men; Somervell, commander of Army Services Forces, with more than 1 million men; and Handy, Deputy Chief of Staff of the Army Message drafted by Marshall's office with note by Marshall, sent by Stimson to President, 12Mar45, *Marshall Library Files*
23. Marshall to Sexton, 22Nov43, *Marshall Library Files*
  24. Marshall to Handy, 3Jan45, *Marshall Library Files*
  25. GCM [Marshall] to Gen McNarney, 27Dec43; J. T. M[cNarney] to Marshall, containing report of examining doctor and opinion of Surgeon General, 29Dec43, *Marshall Library Files*
  26. Frank Capra, *Frank Capra The Name Above the Title*, 325-67.
  27. Marshall int, 14Feb57. A film consisting of extracts from the series was shown after the war in the United States
  28. *Stars and Stripes*, 18Apr42
  29. Washington *Star Magazine*, "5¢ Magazine for \$180," 29Sept68, Marshall to Eisenhower, 29Oct43, *Marshall Library Files*, Eisenhower to Marshall, 1Nov43, *Papers of Eisenhower*, III, 1548
  30. Marshall int, 15Feb57.
  31. Marshall to Handy, 12Jan45, *Marshall Library Files*
  32. Marshall to JCS, 30Jul43, *WDCSA 3709 (30Jul43) SS*
  33. Showing his own disapprobation of the term, he suggested that the statement should not be printed I have quoted it because Lord Moran in his *Churchill: Taken from the Diaries of Lord Moran*, 392, cites a conversation between Marshall and Churchill in 1952 that indicates that the former agreed with the Prime Minister. Marshall's interview 15Feb57 would indicate that he did not. Marshall certainly believed strongly that there must be professional soldiers to stiffen units made up mainly of men brought in by the draft. But he did not denigrate the civilian soldier
  34. Marshall int, 14Feb57
  35. Hilldring int, 30Mar59.
  36. Marshall int, 20Feb57.
  37. Marshall to Patterson, 24Aug42, *Marshall Library Files*
  38. Patterson to Marshall, 18Oct43, *Marshall Library Files*
  39. Patterson to Marshall, 14Sept45, *Marshall Library Files*
  40. Marshall int, 20Feb57
  41. Hastie to Marshall, 30Jan43, *Marshall Library Files*
  42. Marshall int, 14Feb57
  43. Marshall to Harmon, 18Mar44, *Marshall Library Files*
  44. Stimson to Marshall, n d, forwarding memo dated 5Dec44, *SecWar Safe File, Folder Chaplains*
  45. Marshall to Stimson, 18Dec44, Marshall to Maj Gen S. G. Henry, 19Dec44, *Marshall Library Files*
  46. Henry to Marshall, 3Jan45, *Marshall Library Files*
  47. Henry to CofS, 30Mar and 5Jul45; Henry to Handy, 26Mar45, *WDCSA 201, Muller, L D*
  48. George H Day to Marshall, 17Mar45; Marshall to Day, 22Mar45, *Marshall Library Files*
  49. Marshall to Mr and Mrs A J Carlson, 14Mar45, *Marshall Library Files*
  50. Marshall to Crittenberger, 1Jun45, *Marshall Library Files*. Gen Crittenberger would lose another son in action in 1969
  51. Crittenberger to Marshall, 28Jun45, *Marshall Library Files*
  52. Hopkins to Marshall, 16Feb44, *Marshall Library Files*
  53. Ltr in *Marshall Library Files*
  54. The letters, authors purposely left anonymous, with comments are in files relating to letters of condolence in *Marshall Library Files*
  55. At Casablanca, Marshall got from the five secretaries a list of items they wanted replaced. Mattie Treadwell, the WAC historian, notes on the basis of interviews with the officers involved: "Finding that there was no legal means of free replacement, he personally paid for and forwarded new clothing, refusing to accept repayment." Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps*, 361
  56. *Ibid*, 5-7, 11-12, 16-17.
  57. Hilldring int, by Lt Col Treadwell, 17Jan46, cited in *ibid*, 20.
  58. BurBud to SecWar, 7Oct41, *AG 2919 WAAC, Sec 1, Pt 1 (6-2-41)*.
  59. Brig Gen A. D. Surles to Marshall,

- 5Sept41; Surlis to Marshall, 18Sept41; Mrs Hobby to Marshall, 20Oct41, *Marshall Library Files*.
60. Handwritten note to Gen Haislip on Mrs Hobby to CofS, 14Nov41, *AG 2919 WAAC, Sec 1, Pt 1 (6-2-41)*.
61. Hilldring int, by Treadwell, cited in Treadwell, *The WAC*, 22.
62. WD (signed by Gen Bryden in Marshall's absence) to BurBud, 25Nov41, *AG 2919 WAAC, Sec 1, Pt 1 (6-2-41)*.
63. Harold D. Smith to SecWar, 11Dec41, *AG 2919 WAAC, Sec 1, Pt 1 (6-2-41)*.
64. Mrs Hobby int, 28Aug63.
65. Marshall int, by R. A. Winnacker, 1Dec48.
66. Mrs Hobby int, 28Aug63; Treadwell, *The WAC*, 29.
67. Stimson Diary, 16May42.
68. Mrs Hobby int, 28Aug63.
69. Treadwell, *The WAC*, 50, 54, 62, 84, 91.
70. Mrs Hobby int, 28Aug63.
71. Marshall int, 21Nov56.
72. Treadwell, *The WAC*, 218, 203
73. Marshall to Somervell, 17Sept42, *Marshall Library Files*.
74. Treadwell, *The WAC*, 531.
75. Mrs Hobby int, 28Aug63.
76. Marshall int, by R. A. Winnacker, 1Dec48. In an interview with author 15Nov56, Marshall said that he would have taken Col Newsome to conferences abroad "but King would have gone crazy."
77. Mrs Hobby int, 28Aug63.

## VI: FACETS OF COMMAND

I have drawn in this chapter on interviews with Harvey Bundy, Col Stanley J. Grogan (by telephone), Speaker Sam Rayburn, Gen Osborn, Frederick V. Geier, and Charles R. Hook. I have made considerable use of Ralph Elberton Smith's *The Army and Economic Mobilization* and John Millett, *The Organization and Role of the Army Service Forces*.

1. T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia*, 68-81.
2. *Ibid*, 165-69. See summary of Record Relative to Gen Greely's Mission in Iran, Brig Gen St Clair Streett to Marshall, 17Aug42, *OPD Exec 10, Item 56*, Greely to CofS, 7Sept42, sub: Report on duty as adviser, Iranian Army, 19-May-4Sept42, *OPD 210 684 Iran, Sec 1, Case 45*; WD to Greely, 16May42, *AG 210 31 (5-13-42)*; Handy to CofS, 1Oct42, *Abstract PGF 261*; Summary attached to Welles to McNarney, 23-Sept42, *Dept State 891.20/175/MEL*, last three cited Motter, *Persian Corridor*, 165-66.
3. Richardson to CofS, 28Jul42; Marshall to MacArthur, 2Aug42; Handy to CofS, 8Aug42, *WDCSA SWPA 1942-43*; Marshall to McNair, 6Oct42, *WDCSA 201 Richardson*.
4. Stetson Conn, Rose C. Engelman, and Byron Fairchild, *Guarding the United States and Its Outposts*, 331-35. See Marshall to Van Voorhis, 4Jan41, *WPD 4440-1* and Marshall to Van Voorhis, 5Mar41 in *WPD 4440-51*; Marshall to Van Voorhis, 9Apr41, *OCS 17611-35*.
5. Marshall to Smith, 27Apr43, *Marshall Library Files*.
6. Marshall to Somervell, 12Apr43, *Marshall Library Files*.
7. *The Wartime Journals of Charles A. Lindbergh*, 94-130.
8. Marshall to Col —, 22Oct45, *Marshall Library Files*.
9. Mrs Hobby int, 28Aug63.
10. Marshall to Pershing, 27Mar43, *Marshall Library Files*.
11. Marshall to Eisenhower, 3Dec42, *OPD Exec 10, Item 36a*, cited Harry L. Coles and Albert K. Weinberg, *Civil Affairs: Soldiers Become Governors*, 55.
12. Eisenhower to Marshall, 4Dec42, CM-IN 1675, *OPD Exec 10, Item 36a*, cited Coles and Weinberg, *Civil Affairs*, 55. A résumé of this exchange is given in Marshall to President, 22Mar43, *Marshall Library Files*.
13. La Guardia to Maj Gen George V. Strong, 23Dec42 (two memos), Strong to Marshall, 23Dec42, *WDCSA 386 Africa, 1942*, cited Coles and Weinberg, *Civil Affairs*, 56. See Marshall to President, 22Mar43, in *Marshall Library Files*, for résumé of proposal.
14. La Guardia to Hopkins, 17Mar43, cited in Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins An Intimate History*, 725;

- E. M. W [Maj Gen E. M. Watson] to McCarthy, 16Mar43; McCarthy to CofS, 19Mar43; and McCarthy to Marshall, 19Mar43, with Marshall note, "Call his [Leahy's] special attention to the portion of Eisenhower's message I have underlined," *Marshall Library Files*.
15. Stimson Diary, 27Mar43.
  16. Marshall to President, 22Mar43, Marshall to McCloy, 27Mar43, *Marshall Library Files*
  17. Stimson Diary, 31Mar43; Marshall to McCarthy, 30Mar43, and McCloy to Marshall, 30Mar43, *WDCSA 201 La Guardia*
  18. Stimson Diary, 6Apr43.
  19. Pasco memo for record, 6Sept44; Marshall to SecWar, enclosing draft ltr to President, 7Sept44, *Marshall Library Files*, Stimson Diary, 8Sept44.
  20. Marshall to Osborn, 15Apr43, *Marshall Library Files*
  21. Murphy to Marshall, 25Mar43; Roosevelt to Stimson, 29Mar43, SecWar (drafted by Marshall's office) to President, 1Apr43, Marshall to Murphy, 1Apr43, Murphy to Marshall, 10May43; Marshall to Murphy, 11May43; Marshall to President, 1Apr43, *Marshall Library Files*
  22. Murphy to Marshall, 1[0]Sept43, Marshall to Murphy, 25Sept43, *Marshall Library Files*.
  23. Murphy to President, 25May44; Murphy to Marshall, 26May44, with msg to President enc; Marshall to Murphy, 8Jun44, *Marshall Library Files*
  24. Freeman to Marshall, 4Oct40; Marshall to Freeman, 10Oct40, Freeman to Col Ward Maris, 15Jan41, Marshall to Freeman, 17Jan41; Freeman to Marshall, 18Jan41; Freeman to Marshall, 9Feb41; W. T. S[exton] to Marshall, 12Feb42, and Marshall comments, *Marshall Library Files*.
  25. Freeman to Marshall, 6Aug43; Marshall to Freeman, 9Aug43, *Marshall Library Files*.
  26. Marshall to Stimson, 18Jan45, *Marshall Library Files*
  27. The Press Section was headed by Lt Col Stanley J. Grogan, the Radio Section by Col Edward M. Kirby, the Magazine Section by Col Francis V Fitzgerald, the Movie and Photograph Section by Col Mason Wright, and the Press Analysis Section by Lt Col Reginald E. Looker Memorandum by Maj Gen Robert C Richardson, n.d. furnished by James Hewes
  28. Info from William J. Donohoe, Public Information Division, Pentagon, tel int, 26Oct71, Grogan tel int, 1Sept69, Richardson Memoir.
  29. Marshall int, 20Feb57
  30. Marshall to Surles, 22Feb43
  31. Marshall to MacArthur, 8Sept44, *Marshall Library Files*
  32. Persons to author, 1Jul70
  33. The liaison chief gathered around him other skilled practitioners of the public-relations art, such as Lt Col Bryce Harlow, who later served Presidents Eisenhower and Nixon, and Brig Gen Robert Cutler, on duty part time from the SecWar's office. Other assistants included Maj Gen Edward Smith, later vice president and general counsel, Southern Bell Telephone Co; Lt Col Edward Crosland, vice president, American Telephone and Telegraph Co; Col Dillon Anderson, attorney in Houston, Cols John Dinsmore, Edward Walsh, and Kilbourne Johnson of the Judge Advocate General's Dept. Based on information from Gen Persons.
  34. At Christmas 1942 Marshall wrote Persons a glowing tribute "I am taking this rather formal method of giving you my Christmas greeting, for I wish to include my personal thanks for all that you have done with such conspicuous success to represent the interests of the War Department on the Hill You are one of the few men in the Army whom I consider irreplaceable in your present job so please watch your health and when you need a vacation, take it" Two years later, also at Christmas, he wrote "The cordial relations of the War Department with Congress are due largely to your political acumen and tactful handling of situations that might easily have been sources of considerable embarrassment." Marshall to Persons, Dec42 and Dec44, *Marshall Library Files*
  35. Speaker Sam Rayburn int, 6Nov57 (author's notes).
  36. Celler to Marshall, 20Oct43; Marshall to Celler, 22Oct43, *Marshall Library Files*
  37. Bundy int, 7Oct59.
  38. Osborn int, 18Feb59.

- 39 Marshall int, 19Nov56
40. See Paul A. C. Koistinen, "The 'Industrial-Military Complex' in Historical Perspective: The Inter-War Years," *The Journal of American History*, Mar70, 819-39. Professor Koistinen outlines the steps by which the military and industrial leaders formulated plans for cooperation in industrial mobilization that bore fruit in World War II
- 41 Geier int, 23Apr59. Hook told much the same story (int, 20Apr59), recalling that the chart showed what was needed in a white diagram with the small part available under the head of each item
- 42 Hook int, 20Apr59
- 43 See R. Elberton Smith, *The Army and Economic Mobilization*, chap 7; John D. Millett, *The Organization and Role of the Army Service Forces*, chap 12
44. Hook int, 20Apr59; Geier int, 23Apr59.
- 45 Hook int, 20Apr59
46. Marshall int, 7Dec56
- 47 Ibid
48. Marshall to Surles, 27Oct43, containing Smith to Marshall, 29Jul43, *WDCSA 451.1 (1942-43)*, Marshall int, 7Dec56. See also Gen Maxwell to Marshall, 30Oct43, *WDCSA 451.1 (1942-43)*.

### VII: WILLIWAWS AND JITTERS

I have depended heavily on the Army's official volume pertaining to Alaska and the Aleutians, Conn, Engelman, and Fairchild, *Guarding the US and Its Outposts*. Also of value have been Samuel E. Morison, *The Aleutians, Gilberts and Marshalls*, Brian Garfield, *The Thousand-Mile War World War II in Alaska and the Aleutians*; and Stetson Conn's extensive notes on relocation and Alaska

1. Stetson Conn, "The Decision to Evacuate the Japanese from the Pacific Coast," in *Command Decisions*, ed Kent R. Greenfield, 129.
2. Clark to JAG, GHQ, 24Jan42, cited Conn, *Guarding the US and Its Outposts*, 121; Marshall to President, n.d. but apparently 25 or 26Jan42, prepared by Provost Marshal General for Clark; Stimson Diary, 25Jan42; SecWar to Atty Gen, 25Jan42, *AG 381 (1-25-42)*.
3. Gullion's deputy, Col Archer L. Lerch, who had lived in California and Hawaii for many years, was convinced that anything short of removal of Japanese aliens and strict surveillance of citizens of Japanese descent was inconsistent with national safety. He characterized DeWitt's approval of a meeting between Gov. Curbert L. Olson and representatives of the Japanese-Americans as savoring "too much of the spirit of Rotary and overlooking the necessary cold-bloodedness of war." Next day Gullion informed Sec McCloy that DeWitt seemed to be leaning toward a policy of voluntary cooperation, which he considered extremely dangerous. Dep PMG Col Archer L. Lerch to PMG Gullion and Bendetsen, 4Feb42, *PMGO 384.4 WDC*; Gullion to McCloy, 5Feb42, *ASW 014.311 WDC, Box 20*
4. Stimson Diary, 3Feb42; DeWitt, Memo for record, 31Jan42, cited Conn, *Guarding the US and Its Outposts*, 124
5. He thought that the War Dept had about concluded that withdrawal of the Japanese should be restricted to certain protected areas. There were, he added, "so many legal questions involved in discrimination between the native-born Japanese . . ." and "so many that would be involved in a mass withdrawal, the social and economic disturbances would be so great that we would like to go a little slowly on it, and we are a little afraid that if it gets about out there that the Army is really taking the position on mass withdrawal, that it may stimulate [anti-Japanese feeling]. . ." Tel conv DeWitt with McCloy, 3Feb42, *PMGO 384.4 WDC*. Transcript of the conversation from McCloy.
6. Gen J. R. Deane to SecWar, 3Feb42, *SecWar Safe File*
7. Bendetsen to PMG, 4Feb42, *PMG 014.311 Gen P/W*; Gullion to McCloy, 6Feb42, *ASW 014.311 WDC, Box 20*.
8. Stimson Diary, 10Feb42.
9. Stimson Diary, 11Feb42; tel conv Mc-

- Cloy to Bendetsen, 11Feb42, *WDC 3844, Vol I, RG 338*, Conn, "The Decision to Evacuate the Japanese from the Pacific Coast," in *Command Decisions*, ed Greenfield, 103-104
- 10 Tel conv DeWitt with Clark, 12Feb42, cited Conn, *Guarding the US and Its Outposts*, 132
- 11 Copy of Lippmann column, "The Fifth Column on the Coast," 12Feb42, forwarded to Stimson by Deane with note, "General Marshall wants you to see this." *ASW 014 311 WDC, Box 20*
- 12 Ltr Boddy to Biddle, 16Feb42 On the same day he sent a wire in which he said that leaders of a local Japanese citizens' group were deeply worried and approaching a state of panic Both in *ASW 014 311 WDC, Box 20*
- 13 Stimson Diary, 17Feb42, Brig Gen Mark Clark, GHQ, Memo for record, 3 30 pm, 17Feb42, *GHQ file WDC Enemy Aliens*, cited Conn, *Guarding the US and Its Outposts*, 135, Conn, "The Decision to Evacuate the Japanese from the Pacific Coast," in *Command Decisions*, ed Greenfield, 146
- 14 Stimson Diary, 18Feb42
- 15 Ibid, 20Feb42
- 16 Gullion to CofS, 20Feb42, *PMGO 014 311 WDC*, tel conv DeWitt with Bendetsen, 20Feb42, Bendetsen to SecWar, 21Feb42, *SecWar Safe File, Aliens*
- 17 Knox to Biddle, 22Feb42, *ASW 014 311 WDC, Box 20*, tel conv DeWitt and Joyce, 23Feb42, *WDC 3844, Vol I, RG 338*, Tolan Committee to Governors, 26Feb42
- 18 Stimson Diary, 26Feb42, Stimson notes after cabinet meeting, 27Feb42, *WDCSA 334 Migs and Conf, Exec Order 9102*, 18Mar42, *Exec Order 9106*, 20Mar42, *Exec Order 9066*, 19Feb42
- 19 Notes on War Council, 23Mar42, *OCS SGS*
- 20 FDR to SecWar, 5May42, *ASW 014 311 Gen, WDC* DeWitt strongly favored moving German and Italian aliens from the West Coast Informed that the shift was not feasible in view of the President's attitude, the General declared that he thought someone was making a great mistake and that he would not change that view His protests were in vain. McCloy advised that no other mass evacuations be undertaken Tel conv DeWitt with Bendetsen, 11May42, *WDC CAD 311 2 Tel Conv*, cited Conn, *Guarding the US and Its Outposts*, 146
- 21 DeWitt testimony, House Subcommittee on Naval Affairs, 13Apr43
- 22 DeWitt to Marshall, 31May43, Marshall to DeWitt, 8Jun43, *Marshall Library Files*
- 23 Marshall int, 20Feb57
- 24 Ibid, 15Feb57
- 25 Conn, *Guarding the US and Its Outposts*, 231-32
- 26 Adams to DeWitt, 3229, 3Jul31, *Marshall Library Files*
- 27 Wesley F Craven and James S Cate, *The Army Air Forces in World War II*, I, 166-70, Marshall to Buckner, 23-Sept41, cited Conn, *Guarding the US and Its Outposts*, 249
- 28 Conn, *Guarding the US and Its Outposts*, 253-54
- 29 Buckner to CG, Western Defense Command, 31Jan42, Parker to Cmdt 13th Naval Dist, 1Feb42, *OPD 381 ADC, Sec 1, Case 6*
- 30 Eisenhower to Marshall, 13Mar42, *OPD 381 ADC, Sec 1, Case 6*
- 31 King's second endorsement to Parker to Cmdt 13th Naval Dist, 1Feb42, comments on Buckner and Parker plans as given in ltr Buckner to DeWitt, 31-Jan42, with first endorsement by DeWitt, 21Feb42, *OPD 381 ADC, Sec 1, Case 6*
- 32 Eisenhower to Marshall, 13Mar42, *OPD 381 ADC, Sec 1, Case 6*
- 33 Marshall to WPD, 18Mar42, suggestions were part of third endorsement to Buckner ltr in Eisenhower to TAG, 24Mar42, *OPD 381 ADC, Sec 1, Case 6*
- 34 Roosevelt to Stark and Marshall, 4Mar42, *OPD 380 3*
- 35 JCS 16/1, 29Mar42, "US Action", JCS 16/2, 19Jun42, "US Aid to Russia," *ABC 381 (1-23-42)*, Matloff and Snell, *Strategic Planning, 1941-1942*, 145
- 36 Pogue, *Ordeal and Hope*, 324-25
- 37 Morison, *Aleutians, Gilberts and Marshalls*, 4-5, Matloff and Snell, *Strategic Planning, 1941-1942*, 258, Conn, *Guarding the US and Its Outposts*, 264-65
- 38 Mins JCS 20th mtg, 15Jun42, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42), Sec 1*
- 39 Copy in *Marshall Library Files* and correspondence with King Attached to Theobald to King, 19Aug42, forwarded by King to Marshall for comment, the poem—marked "Read to Rear Admiral Theobald by General Buckner,

- Aug 18, 1942"—was quickly spread throughout the Alaskan Command and a copy or copies reached Marshall outside channels almost as quickly as it came to him through King. Samuel E. Morison, *Coral Sea, Midway and Submarine Action*, 171
40. Theobald to Buckner, 20Aug42, Marshall to King, 3Sept42, Marshall to DeWitt, 3Sept42, *Marshall Library Files*
41. Marshall to DeWitt, 3Sept42, DeWitt to Marshall, 5Sept42, 8Sept42, 9Sept42, and 23Sept42, *Marshall Library Files*
42. Marshall to King, 28Sept42 with King to Marshall comment on bottom of msg; Marshall to DeWitt, 2Oct43, *Marshall Library Files*
43. Marshall to DeWitt, 27Feb43; DeWitt to Marshall, 5Mar43, Marshall to DeWitt, 17Mar43, *Marshall Library Files* DeWitt later said the rift was exaggerated Marshall did not agree.
44. Marshall to DeWitt, 2062, 15Oct42; DeWitt to Marshall, from Comdt 13th Naval Dist, 17Oct42, Résumé of Procedure Resulting in Joint Directive for the Occupation of Amchitka, n.d., Tab A, rpt of Lt Col W J Verbeck, 4Oct42, *WDCSA Alaska (1942-43) SS*, Handy to Marshall, 29Oct42, Marshall to DeWitt, 29Oct42, *OPD 381 ADC, Sec 1, Case 36*.
45. DeWitt to Marshall, 5Dec42, *WDCSA Alaska (1942-43) SS*
46. Marshall to DeWitt, 17Dec42, *WDCSA Alaska (1942-43) SS*
47. DeWitt to Marshall, Rad 244, 20Dec42, *OPD Msg File*, Conn, *Guarding the U S and Its Outposts*, 275-76; Résumé of Procedure Resulting in Joint Directive
48. King to Marshall, 15Dec42, Marshall to King, 16Dec42, *WDCSA Alaska (1942-43) SS*, Cominch to Cincpac, 17-Dec42 (sent 18Dec), *OPD 381 ADC, Sec 1, Case 38*, DeWitt to Marshall 5Dec42, Marshall to DeWitt, 17Dec42, *WDCSA Alaska (1942-43) SS*. Marshall was unable to grant DeWitt's request to reassign the 44th Division and the 184th Infantry Regiment from his command to Alaska. The 44th Division, as DeWitt now knew, had been detached from the Western Defense Command for assignment elsewhere As for the 184th Infantry, there was no regiment available to take its place Even if it could be spared, Marshall said that he would be "reluctant" to commit it to Alaska, "except in the course of additional offensive operations in that area"
49. See Garfield, *Thousand-Mile War*, 207, 238-52, for vivid account of battle, question of relief of Maj Gen Albert E. Brown, commander of the 7th Infantry Division, and casualties For fuller discussion of the entire period see Conn, *Guarding the U S. and Its Outposts*, chap 2, and Morison, *Aleutians, Gilberts and Marshalls*, 37-51
50. DeWitt to Marshall, 30Jul43; DeWitt to Marshall, 2Aug43, *OPD 381 Security, Sec 7, Case 206*
51. Emmons to Handy, 4Aug43; Handy to CofS, 23Sept43, *OPD 381, Sec 7, Case 206*
52. Mins JCS 108th mtg, 19Aug43, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42), Sec 5*
53. Marshall to Handy, 26Aug43, McCloy to Marshall, 31Aug43, unsigned résumé of observations made in Alaska and the Aleutians, obviously by McCloy, 10Aug43, draft of ltr Col Paul Goode, OPD, to Brig Gen E. D Post, n.d. but shortly after McCloy returned to Washington, *ASW 333 1 Alaska*.
54. Marshall int, 21Nov56
55. DeWitt to Marshall, 31May43, 28Aug43, *Marshall Library Files*, and 27Aug43, *WDCSA Alaska (1942-43) SS*, Marshall to DeWitt, 7Sept43, *WDCSA 210 311 (5Sept43)*
56. JPS, 101st mtg, 15Sept43, *ABC 334 JSP Mins (2-13-42), Sec 5*.
57. Adm King to JCS, 21Sept43, *ABC 381 Japan (5-31-42), Sec 1*
58. F. N. R. [Col Frank N. Roberts] in covering note to Handy, 23Jan44, on Strategy Section study, 21Jan44; Goode to AsstCofS, OPD, 22Dec43, Paul Carraway to Billo, 25Dec43; JEH[ull] to Handy, 26Jan44; Mins JCS 117th mtg, 5Oct43, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42), Sec 5*.

## VIII: NOT SO PEACEFUL PACIFIC

I have drawn heavily in this chapter on Louis Morton, *Strategy and Command: The First Two Years*.

1. Wedemeyer, *Wedemeyer Reports*, 193-94, 205-207
2. MacArthur to Maj Gen Albert C. Smith, 7Jan55, cited Morton, *Strategy and Command*, 438-39.
3. Douglas MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 172-73. Cf MacArthur to Smith, 5Mar-53, cited Morton, *Strategy and Command*, 250, with slightly different text.
4. Marshall to King, 1Dec42, *OPD 381 SWPA, Sec 2, Case 83*; Morton, *Strategy and Command*, 302-304, 619-20.
5. Morton, *Strategy and Command*, 370-71, citing King-Nimitz radios, 30Nov, 2Dec42; memo for Marshall et al, 15Dec42, enc ltr Nimitz to King, 8Dec42, *OPD Exec 10, Item 67b*
6. King had anticipated that a bolder strategy in the Solomons would require increased forces. In a memo of 3Dec42 he asked Marshall if Army ground troops could relieve 17,000 Marines on defense duty in the Hawaiian and Samoan areas. He also asked for relief of five air squadrons for offensive operations in other areas. On 24Dec Marshall said he did not see how he could manage the relief of the Marines because of the shortage of troopships and cargo ships. The critical need for air support in North Africa made it "practically impossible" to commit more units and planes to the Pacific. Marshall reminded King that the draft directive on Rabaul drawn up three weeks earlier provided that Nimitz and MacArthur jointly would determine the task forces to be used in offensives in the Southwest Pacific and the defense forces needed to protect lines of communications. "The decision in this matter would have a preliminary bearing on your memorandum of Dec 3d." *WDCSA SWPA 1942*
7. Nimitz to King, 8Dec42, *OPD Exec 10, Item 67b*
8. Marshall to King, 21Dec42, *OPD Exec 10, Item 67b*.
9. King to CofS, "Preliminary draft for staff study only," sent to Handy personally by Conolly, 12/23/42; Handy to Conolly, 29Dec43, *OPD Exec 10, Item 67b*
10. King to Marshall, 6Jan43, *OPD Exec 10, Item 67b*
11. Marshall to King, 8Jan43, *OPD 384 PTO, Sec 2, Case 43*
12. King to Marshall, 8Jan43, *OPD Exec 10, Item 67b* (italics in original); Marshall to MacArthur, 8Jan43, CM-OUT 2833, contains King's proposals, *OPD Msg File*
13. Marshall to MacArthur, 164, 7Jan43, CM-OUT 2273, Marshall to MacArthur, 192, 8Jan43, CM-OUT 2833, *OPD Exec 10, Item 23b*
14. MacArthur to Marshall, C-82, 10Jan43, CM-IN 4574, *OPD Exec 10, Item 23a*.
15. Marshall to MacArthur, 249, 11Jan43, CM-OUT 3664, *OPD Exec 10, Item 23b*
16. Marshall to MacArthur, 616, 26Jan43, CM-OUT 8822, *OPD Exec 10, Item 23b*. Marshall did not return to Washington from Casablanca until 28Jan. Although he may have directed that this be sent from Washington, it seems likely that his planners there requested information that they knew would be required when Marshall and King returned
17. MacArthur to Marshall, C-251, 27Jan43, CM-IN 12553, *OPD Exec 10, Item 23a*
18. King to Marshall, 6Feb43, *OPD 381 PTO, Sec 3, Case 195* Marshall on the same day sent a repeat of his 8Jan message to MacArthur.
19. See Pogue, *Ordeal and Hope*, chap 17; King to Marshall, 2Feb43, enc radios from Halsey to Nimitz and MacArthur, 1, 2Feb43, and Arnold memo to Stratemeyer, 11Nov42, *WDCSA SPA 1943*.
20. Handy to Cooke, 15Feb43, *WDCSA SPA 1943*
21. King to Marshall, 2Feb43, enc radios from Halsey to Nimitz and MacArthur; MacArthur to Halsey, 3Feb43, enc with King to Marshall, 3Feb43, *WDCSA SPA 1943*; MacArthur to Marshall, C-390, 9Feb43, CM-IN 4496; MacArthur to Marshall, C-416, 11Feb43, CM-IN 5610, *OPD Exec 10, Item 23a*.

22. MacArthur to Marshall, C-447, 15Feb-43, CM-IN 7418, Marshall to MacArthur (and to Emmons for Nimitz and Harmon for Halsey), 1222, 16Feb-43, CM-OUT 5656, *WDCSA 381 (16-Feb43)*; Marshall to King, 17Feb43, *OPD 381 PTO, Sec 3, Case 125*.
23. Stimson Diary, 11Mar43 and 22Nov44. In the latter entry Stimson said: "He [Marshall] was speaking of the hostility which Admiral King has for General MacArthur and how it crops out in the meetings whenever they have to deal with the southwestern Pacific. It dates back to the rumpus which MacArthur had with the Navy at the outbreak of war when he could not get on with Admiral Hart at all. King has inherited that hostility and it has gotten so bad that Marshall finally said to him, thumping the table, 'I will not have the meetings of the Joint Chiefs of Staff dominated by a policy of hatred. I will not have any meetings carried on with this hatred,' and with that he shut up King."
24. Marshall int, 21Nov56.
25. Robert L. Eichelberger and Milton MacKaye, *Our Jungle Road to Tokyo*, 14-16, George C. Kenney, *General Kenney Reports A Personal History of the Pacific War*, 52-53. Kenney also wrote (26-27): "While a brilliant, hard-working officer, Sutherland had always rubbed people the wrong way. He was egotistic, like most people, but an unfortunate bit of arrogance combined with his egotism had made him almost universally disliked."
26. Marshall int, 21Nov56. Marshall spoke when memories were still fresh of recent attacks on him and the Navy in books written by members of MacArthur's staff. However the record shows ample evidence of strong resentment of the Navy by the Southwest Pacific commander and some members of his staff.
27. Marshall to President, 21Feb43, *WDCSA 2012 (21Feb43) SS*, White House to CofS, 22Feb43, enc rev msg, *WDCSA 201 MacArthur, Douglas*. The words "tremendous and remarkably," "enthusiastic," and "and difficult" were omitted from the message sent by the President. However the phrase "and your leaders and to the officers and men of the Australian and United States forces" was included in the President's message but does not appear in the version quoted in MacArthur's book. Marshall to MacArthur, 1398, 22Feb43, CM-OUT 7781, *OPD Msg File*, MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 171-72.
28. MacArthur to Marshall, C-533, 23Feb-43, CM-IN 11883, *OPD Msg File*.
29. Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943-1944*, 93.
30. Appointment book kept by Marshall's secretary shows that he left the office early on Wednesday, 3Mar, because of a cold and that he was absent with a cold the remainder of the week. He left about noon of 7Mar for Miami and returned from there on the afternoon of 14Mar in time to attend an informal supper at the White House. Katherine T. Marshall, *Together*, 141.
31. *Ibid*, 142.
32. Mins PMC 1st mtg, 12Mar43, 10.30 am, *ABC 370 26 (7-8-42), Sec 4*, ELKTON Plan II, 28Feb43, *ibid*, Sec 2; Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943-1944*, 93-94; Morton, *Strategy and Command*, 390-91. It should be noted that the count of divisions assigned MacArthur sometimes varied because only 3 of the 11 Australian divisions were prepared for offensive operations.
33. Mins PMC 3d mtg, 13Mar43; *ABC 370 26 (7-8-42), Sec 4*. Gen Kenney and Brig Gen L. R. Boyd, Emmons's Chief of Staff, were ranking Army members of the subcommittee.
34. Harmon and Sutherland as senior representatives to JPS, 14Mar43; Annex "A," Mins PMC 4th mtg, 15Mar43, *ABC 370 26 (7-8-42), Sec 4*.
35. Mins PMC 4th mtg, 15Mar43, *ABC 370 26 (7-8-42), Sec 4*, Wedemeyer to Marshall, 16Mar43, *ABC 370 26 (7-8-42), Sec 1*.
36. JCS 238, 16Mar43, *ABC 370.26 (7-8-42), Sec 1*, Mins JCS 66th mtg, 16Mar43, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42), Sec 3*.
37. Mins JCS 66th mtg, 16Mar43, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42), Sec 3*.
38. JCS 238/1, 18Mar43; Mins JCS 67th mtg, 19Mar43, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42), Sec 3*.
39. Mins JCS 67th mtg, 19Mar43, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42), Sec 3*; JCS 238/1,

- 18Mar43, *ABC 370 26 (7-8-42), Sec 1*, Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943-1944*, 95, Morton, *Strategy and Command*, 395 How the votes of the JCS are split is rarely a matter of record Lt Grace P Hayes, USN, of the Historical Section of the JCS, states in an unpublished study that Stratemeyer, representing Arnold, alone voted against added air groups for the Pacific Hayes. "The War Against Japan," *The History of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in World War II (1953)*, I, chap 13, 441 A copy of this study, declassified Nov71, is now in Record Group 218, National Archives
- 40 Mins JCS 68th mtg, 21Mar43, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42), Sec 3*, MacArthur to Marshall, C-1162, 25Mar43, *OPD Msg File*
- 41 Mins JCS 70th mtg, 28Mar43, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42), Sec 3* Approved
- directive JCS 238/5/D; cited Morton, *Strategy and Command*, 641, app K
- 42 Leahy, *I Was There*, 153
- 43 JCS to MacArthur, Nimitz, and Halsey, 29Mar43, CM-OUT 11091 through 11093, *OPD Msg File*
- 44 Kenney, *General Kenney Reports*, 215-16, says that he kept telling all comers that if they would leave MacArthur alone, he would win the war for them He wrote of political speculation about MacArthur but did not mention meeting with Mrs Luce or with Senator Vandenberg See Arthur H Vandenberg, *The Private Papers of Senator Vandenberg*, 76-77
- 45 *Time*, 17May43
- 46 Vandenberg, *Private Papers*, 77-78, (italics in original)
- 47 Leahy, *I Was There*, 150
- 48 *Time*, 26Apr43
- 49 *Ibid*, 17May43

#### IX. WINDING UP IN TUNISIA

I have drawn on interviews with Gens Eisenhower, Bradley, Alanbrooke, Ismay, de Gaulle, Robinett, Julius Holmes I have made considerable use of George Howe, *Northwest Africa Seizing the Initiative in the West*, Harold Macmillan, *The Blast of War*, Robert D Murphy, *Diplomat Among Warriors*, and Dwight D Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe*

- 1 Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 454-55
- 2 Marshall int, 4Feb57
- 3 Mins of General Council in ODCofS, 1Feb43, *WD General Council Mins*
- 4 Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 689
- 5 Butcher, *My Three Years with Eisenhower*, 259-60 Eisenhower to Marshall, 27Jan43, in referring to the approaching promotion asked that Mrs Eisenhower be informed before public announcement was made "As a matter of sentiment, I would like for her to be first, outside of official circles, to hear." Butcher seems to have exaggerated Eisenhower's unawareness of the steps being taken in Washington—or the messages were delayed On 9Feb Marshall radioed that he would personally notify Mrs Eisenhower, adding "the probability is for Thursday though I have not yet secured formal commitment." On 11Feb he sent word "I telephoned your friend at ten this morning Your nomination went forward at noon" Marshall to Eisenhower, 9 and 11Feb43, *Marshall Library Files*
- 6 WD to Eisenhower, 18Dec42, CM-OUT 6349, *OPD Msg File*, cited Coles and Weinberg, *Civil Affairs*, 40 Robert D. Murphy, *Diplomat Among Warriors*, chap 11, Macmillan, *Blast of War*, 168-74 Murphy, incorrectly designated in my *Ordeal and Hope* as consul general in Algiers, served in French North Africa from 1940 to 1942 as representative of the President although still designated as counselor to the embassy in France He served as special adviser to Eisenhower in the fall preceding the invasion and shortly after the landings became head of the Civil Affairs Section of Allied Forces Headquarters. Roosevelt's action in 1943 merely regularized one phase of his work
- 7 Eisenhower to Marshall, 30Nov42, forwarded by Marshall to SecState, 31Dec42, in *US For Rels, Europe, 1942*, II, 501
- 8 Roosevelt to Churchill, 250, 1Jan43, *US For Rels, Europe, 1943*, II, 23-24
- 9 Marshall to Smith, 670, 1Jan43, *OPD Msg File* Marshall noted that he was sending this message to Smith in order

- not to worry Eisenhower, commenting that Milton Eisenhower had spoken to him that morning about his brother's problems.
10. George F. Howe, *Northwest Africa: Seizing the Initiative in the West*, 368.
  11. Stimson Diary, 30 and 31Jan43. Stimson recalled that in Cuba during and just after the Spanish-American War the commanding general had been in charge of military government and had acted through the SecWar and not the SecState.
  12. Marshall to SecWar, 1Feb43, *WDCSA Africa 1942-43*; Stimson Diary, 2Feb43.
  13. Eisenhower to Marshall, 17Jan43, *Marshall Library Files*
  14. Eisenhower to Marshall, 187, 11Feb43, CM-OUT 5597, *OPD Exec 3, Item 1b*, Marshall to Eisenhower, 2312, 15Feb43, CM-OUT 5111, *OPD Exec 3, Item 2*, Eisenhower to Marshall, 1086, 16Feb43, CM-IN 8030, *OPD Msg File* On Gen Bradley's relations with Gen Marshall at this time, see Omar N. Bradley, *A Soldier's Story*, 19-22.
  15. Howe, *Northwest Africa*, 422
  16. Marshall to Eisenhower, 2362, 16Feb43, *OPD Exec 3, Item 2-13*
  17. Pogue, *Ordeal and Hope*, 415-16, 419-24; Stimson Diary, 17 and 18Feb43.
  18. Howe, *Northwest Africa*, 439, 469-70.
  19. Marshall to McNair, 1Feb43, *WDCSA 250 (1942-43)*.
  20. Eisenhower to Marshall, 2771, 24Feb43, CM-IN 12476, cited Howe, *Northwest Africa*, 481; Marshall to Brig Gen C. L. Bolté, 27Feb43, *Marshall Library Files*, Marshall to Devers, 25Feb43, *WDCSA 250 (1942-43)*. Marshall also told McNair: "Where there is so much smoke there must be fire and whatever corrective measures are being taken I wish them to register a positive and marked change in procedure." Marshall to McNair, 31Mar43, *Marshall Library Files*
  21. Marshall int, 15Feb57.
  22. Howe, *Northwest Africa*, 477; Martin Blumenson, *Kasserine Pass*, 303-304; Paul Robinett, *Armor Command*, 169-97.
  23. Bradley to Marshall, 29May43, *Marshall Library Files*.
  24. Walker to AGF, 12Jun43, *OPD 381 Africa, Sec 4*.
  25. Marshall to Eisenhower, 3072, 1Mar43, *WDCSA 381 Husky, 1942-43*.
  26. Eisenhower to Marshall, 3Mar43, *Marshall Library Files*
  27. Promoted soon afterward to the rank of lt gen, Fredendall served out the war as Second Army commander at Memphis. Offered first to MacArthur and then to Eisenhower for further field command, he was turned down. A large number of his headquarters personnel at Memphis furnished the staff for Eichelberger's Eighth Army in the Pacific.
  28. Howe, *Northwest Africa*, 471; Ernest N. Harmon, Milton MacKaye, and William R. MacKaye, *Combat Commander*, 120.
  29. Patton to Marshall, 22Feb43, *Marshall Library Files*
  30. Eisenhower to Marshall, 11Mar43, *Marshall Library Files*.
  31. Bradley, *Soldier's Story*, 73-74.
  32. Marshall to Eisenhower, 5940, 14Apr43, *OPD Exec 10, Item 36a*.
  33. Eisenhower to Marshall, 16Apr43, *Marshall Library Files*
  34. Marshall to Eisenhower, 14Apr43; Eisenhower to Marshall, 29Mar43, enc Eisenhower to Alexander, 23Mar43, *Marshall Library Files*
  35. Eisenhower to Marshall, 5Apr43, *Marshall Library Files*. See views on Montgomery in latter.
  36. Howe, *Northwest Africa*, 655-66, 676.
  37. *Ibid*, 675-76.
  38. Marshall to Eisenhower, 6May43, *Marshall Library Files*
  39. Patton to Marshall, 8May43, *Marshall Library Files*.
  40. Marshall to Herbert Bayard Swope, 10May43, *Marshall Library Files*.
  41. Marshall to Maj Gen John L. Hines, 14May43; Marshall to Embick, 20May43, *Marshall Library Files*.
  42. Marshall to Surles, 8May43, enc editorial from *Washington Post* of that day, *Marshall Library Files*.

## X. TRIDENT

I have drawn heavily on Matloff, *Strategic Planning for Coalition Warfare, 1943-1944, US For Rels, Washington and Quebec, 1943*, Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*.

1. Churchill, *Hinge of Fate*, 783, 789; Leahy, *I Was There*, 158
2. Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 500
3. Mins JCS 76th mtg, 27Apr43, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42), Sec 4*, Marshall to Eisenhower, 27Apr43, CM-OUT 11068, *Marshall Library Files*
4. Marshall to Handy, 30Mar43, *WDCSA 381 (30Mar43) SS*
5. Eisenhower to Marshall, 5May43, *Marshall Library Files*, reminded Marshall of his earlier statement
6. Marshall int, 13Nov56 (author's notes)
7. Eisenhower to Marshall, 5May43, *Marshall Library Files*
8. Stimson Diary, 3May43, Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943-1944*, 124
9. There is some confusion on the date of the session Leahy speaks of a meeting at the WH on Sunday, 8May. However Sunday was the ninth. Stimson in his diary entry for 10May refers to a meeting of the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the WH on the previous day. At a meeting on 8May the Joint Chiefs discussed points that would be raised with the President They stressed the close relationship between the war in Europe and the fight against Japan and strongly opposed any action that would jeopardize the cross-Channel assault in 1944 They were willing to consider limited operations in the western Mediterranean after the Sicilian campaign, provided that they did not prevent the subsequent withdrawal of units from the area, supported the Combined Bomber Offensive, and left the cross-Channel operation intact. Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943-1944*, 124; Leahy, *I Was There*, 157-58, Stimson Diary, 10May43
10. Stimson Diary, 10 and 12May43.
11. Mins JCS 78th mtg, 8May43, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42), Sec 4*
12. Marshall to Maj Gen Frank Parker, 12Apr43, marked "not used," *Marshall Library Files*
13. Marshall rpt to colleagues on appearance before Senate subcommittee, Mins JCS 79th mtg, 10May43, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42), Sec 4*
14. Vandenberg, *Private Papers*, 48-50 (italics in original)
15. Mins CCS mtg with Roosevelt and Churchill, 12May43, 2 30 pm, WH, *US For Rels, Washington and Quebec, 1943*, 24-33
16. Moran, *Churchill*, 102-103
17. Mins CCS 83d mtg, 13May43, Annex A, Global Strategy of the War, *US For Rels, Washington and Quebec, 1943*, 35, 222-23, Mins JCS 78th mtg, 8May43, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42), Sec 4*
18. JSSC Embick to S&P Gp OPD, 1May43 Global Estimates of the Situation, 28-Apr43, M S F[airchild] to Embick, 1May43, *ABC 381 (9-25-41), Sec 7*
19. Mins CCS 83d mtg, 13May43, *US For Rels, Washington and Quebec, 1943*, 34-48
20. Mins JCS 81st mtg, 14May43, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42), Sec 4*
21. Mins CCS 84th mtg, 14May43, *US For Rels, Washington and Quebec, 1943*, 53.
22. Mins JCS 81st mtg, 14May43, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42), Sec 4*, Mins CCS 85th mtg, 15May43, *US For Rels, Washington and Quebec, 1943*, 80-85
23. Portal added "Marshall from 1943 on believed and emphasized that with ten-to-one air superiority (and we just about had that) we could do the job in Normandy." Portal didn't believe that it could be done in 1943, but he did in 1944 Portal int, 7Feb47. (author's notes)
24. Mins CCS 85th mtg, 15May43, *US For Rels, Washington and Quebec, 1943*, 81, 83, 84
25. See 53-page account of the visit, plus letters of thanks, by Gerald Horton Bath, "A Report on the Visit of the British High Command to Colonial Williamsburg, May 15th and 16th, 1943" I have also drawn on McCarthy int, 29Sept58
26. The Portal incident was related by several of the participants. Marshall to Mrs M C. Long, quoted in Bryant,

- Turn of the Tide*, 506-507, mentions Brooke's bird-watching
- 27 Mins JCS 83rd mtg, 17May43, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42), Sec 4*
- 28 Mins CCS 86th mtg, 17May43, *US For Rels, Washington and Quebec, 1943*, 95, Mins JCS 84th mtg, 18May43, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42), Sec 4*
- 29 Mins CCS 87th mtg, 18May43, *US For Rels, Washington and Quebec, 1943*, 97-108
- 30 British conversion to the efficacy of air power is also underlined in their planning paper prepared over the weekend. The first of three necessary prerequisites for a re-entry on the Continent across the Channel is an "intensified combined bomber offensive." Mins CCS 87th mtg, 18May43, CCS 234, 17May43, *US For Rels, Washington and Quebec, 1943*, 97-108, 261
31. Mins CCS 88th and 89th mtgs, 19May-43, Mins CCS mtg with Roosevelt and Churchill, WH, 19May43, 6 pm, CCS 237/1, Resolutions by the CCS, 20May-43, *ibid*, 112-22, 281-82
- 32 Stimson Diary, 19May43
33. Craven and Cate, *Army Air Forces in World War II*, II, 305; Webster and Frankland, *Strategic Air Offensive Against Germany, 1939-1945*, I, 309-13
- 34 King and Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King*, 441
- 35 Morton, *Strategy and Command*, 449
36. Mins CCS 83d mtg, 13May43, Annex A, Global Strategy of the War, *US For Rels, Washington and Quebec, 1943*, 35-36, 222-23 (italics added)
- 37 Mins JCS 78th mtg, 8May43, Mins JCS 81st mtg, 14May43, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42), Sec 4*, Mins CCS 84th mtg, 14May43, CCS 219, 14May43, *US For Rels, Washington and Quebec, 1943*, 52-54, 227-29. While this paper was drafted by the US Joint Staff Planners, the short memo read by Leahy 13May had been drafted by the Joint Strategic Survey Committee at the Joint Chiefs' request
38. Mins CCS 86th mtg, 17May43; CCS 232/1, Agreed Essentials in the Conduct of the War, 18May43; *US For Rels, Washington and Quebec, 1943*, 93-94, 231-32
39. Mins CCS 86th mtg, 17May43, *US For Rels, Washington and Quebec, 1943*, 93-94.
- 40 Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 507, 510, Mins CCS 92d mtg, 21May43, *US For Rels, Washington and Quebec, 1943*, 145-48.
- 41 Mins JCS 90th mtg, 24May43, 9 30 am, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42), Sec 4*. The report of this discussion goes no further than my text indicates. See King and Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King*, 441, for King's recollection in later years
- 42 Mins CCS 95th mtg, 24May43, 11 30 am, CCS 242/6, rpt of CCS to Roosevelt and Churchill, 25May43, Overall Strategic Concept, II, 2, *US For Rels, Washington and Quebec, 1943*, 184-86, 364-65.
- 43 Mins CCS 84th mtg, 14May43, 10:30 am, *US For Rels, Washington and Quebec, 1943*, 57-62
- 44 Mins CCS mtg with Roosevelt and Churchill, 14May43, 2 00 pm, WH, *ibid*, 67-68 (italics in original).
- 45 *Ibid*, 72ff. See also Stilwell's presentation at the morning CCS mtg, *ibid*, 62-64
- 46 *Ibid*, 75-76; Mins CCS 84th mtg, 14-May43, *ibid*, 64. See Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 320-27, for the Washington conf and Roosevelt's decision
- 47 Mins CCS 91st mtg, 20May43, 3:30 pm, *US For Rels, Washington and Quebec, 1943*, 142, CCS 242/3, 24May43, Draft rpt, CCS to President and Prime Minister, *ibid*, 362 (Opns in Burma-China Theater)
48. Mins CCS mtg with Roosevelt and Churchill, 21May43, 5 00 pm, WH, *ibid*, 155-56, CCS 242/2, 23May43, *ibid*, 356 (Opns in Burma-China Theater); CCS 242/6, 25May43, Final rpt, CCS to President and Prime Minister, *ibid*, 369
- 49 Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 508-509.
50. Brooke went on. "At times the war may be won by bombing, and all must be sacrificed to it. At others it becomes necessary for us to bleed ourselves dry on the Continent because Russia is doing the same. At others our main effort must be in the Mediterranean directed against Italy or the Balkans alternately, with sporadic desires to invade Norway and 'roll up the map in the opposite direction Hitler did.' But more often

than all he wants to carry out all operations simultaneously, irrespective of shortage of shipping" Ibid, 513

- 51 Stimson Diary, 19May43, Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 514  
52 Stimson Diary, 25May43

## XI. JOURNEY TO ALGIERS

I have drawn heavily on Leighton and Coakley, *Global Logistics and Strategy*, Churchill, *The Hinge of Fate*, and interviews with Col John J. Winn.

- 1 Churchill, *Hinge of Fate*, 812-13, Roosevelt to Stalin, 2Jun43, *OPD 300 6 (OCS Papers)*, 1943-44
- 2 During the night they were shaken awake briefly by some sudden bumps that were explained either as electrical discharges or an actual crash of lightning Churchill, *Hinge of Fate*, 813, Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 516-18
- 3 Marshall int, 20Nov56, Churchill, *Hinge of Fate*, 814, refers to Marshall's interest in the questions of attainder and impeachment
- 4 Churchill, *Hinge of Fate*, 815
- 5 Butcher, *My Three Years with Eisenhower*, 316, Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 518-19
- 6 Churchill, *Hinge of Fate*, 817-19; Mins Algiers conf, 1st mtg, 29May43, *Trident Conf Bk, May43*, 467-75, Butcher, *My Three Years with Eisenhower*, 317-19
- 7 Butcher, *My Three Years with Eisenhower*, 317-19
- 8 Churchill, *Hinge of Fate*, 821, Leighton and Coakley, *Global Logistics and Strategy*, 1940-1943, 65
- 9 Mins Algiers conf, 2d mtg, 31May43, *Trident Conf Bk, May43*, 477-95
- 10 Eisenhower to Marshall, 5Apr43, *OPD Exec 3, Item 1a*
- 11 Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 525
- 12 Mins Algiers conf, 3d mtg, 3Jun43, *Trident Conf Bk, May43*, 497-505
- 13 See the perceptive chapter in Lord Moran's *Churchill*, "The Conversion of Marshall," especially 109
- 14 Ibid, 110-11 Marshall told the doctor, "He is a very wonderful man, but he won't look at things like a man who has been all his life a soldier I must have facts" Note comments on Moran by John Colville and others in *Action This Day Working with Churchill*, ed John Wheeler-Bennett.
- 15 Thomas M. Johnson, "America's No. 1 Soldier," *Reader's Digest*, 17Feb44; Butcher, *My Three Years with Eisenhower*, 324, Marshall int, 21Nov56
- 16 After allowing time for the story to be savored, Marshall added "He got on the word right away—'plant' was very much better" To the author's suggestion that there probably had not been anyone like Churchill as a "master of language in our time" and that perhaps Woodrow Wilson was closest to him in the United States in this era, General Marshall agreed that the former President was a great master of words "But the trouble with Mr Wilson," he added, "I would say by comparison, was his very perfect English, but it didn't arouse you" In contrast "Churchill's was calculated to put everybody on their feeling The fact is that he defended England at its weakest by his statements He rallied the whole nation" Marshall int, 15-Nov56
- 17 In a letter of 8Jun43 to Brig Gen O E Walsh, he spoke of enjoying lunch with him "last Saturday" in Recife As a result of possible engine trouble, he had paid a surprise visit to Belém. In a letter to Col John Mullenix he said that he had heard so much about Ascension Island that he was glad to be able to visit it on his way home from Algiers To the pilot, Capt S T. Stanton, he wrote 8Jun43 "Again I wish to thank you for a very pleasant and comfortable trip across the Atlantic I remember very well the skill you displayed when you took me to England and back a year ago in a Stratoliner It is easy to see that you are equally artful with a C-54"
- 18 Stimson Diary, 8Jun43
- 19 Marshall to Churchill, 8Jun43, *Marshall Library Files*
- 20 Stimson Diary, 31May and 3Jun43
- 21 Marshall to Maj Gen A C Gillem, CG Hq Armored Forces, 11Jun43, *Marshall Library Files*
- 22 Marshall to Lt Allen Brown, 16 and 29Jun43, *Marshall Library Files*.

23. Mrs Marshall, *Together*, 153-54; Col J J. Winn int, 4Apr66.
24. Stimson Diary, 1Jul43, Marshall int, 11Feb57.
25. Dwight D Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe*, 172; Eisenhower to Marshall, 123, 9Jul43, CM-IN 6408; Marshall to Eisenhower, 419 3Jul43, CM-OUT 1760 (4Jul), *OPD Msg File*
26. Marshall to Eisenhower, 1759, 5Jul43, CM-OUT 1894, *OPD Msg File*
27. Matthew B. Ridgway, *Soldier: The Memoirs of Matthew B Ridgway*, 68-70.
28. See *ibid*, 71, for view of Gen Karl Student and contrary views cited in Albert N. Garland and Howard McGaw Smyth, *Sicily and the Surrender of Italy*, 422-25.
29. Patton to Marshall, 18Jul43, *Marshall Library Files*.
30. Marshall to Col Stanley J. Grogan of Press Relations, 19Jul43, *Marshall Library Files*.
31. Stimson Diary, 19Jul43
32. *Ibid*, 12Jul43 and rpt to President filed with entry under 10Aug43; Henry L. Stimson and McGeorge Bundy, *On Active Service in Peace and War*, 429-35.
33. Stimson Diary, 19Jul43.
34. Butcher, *My Three Years with Eisenhower*, 373-74.
35. Stimson Diary, 10Aug43, rpt to President
36. *Ibid*, 28Jul, 9Aug43
37. Stimson to Roosevelt, 10Aug43, Stimson and Bundy, *On Active Service*, 436-38.
38. Stimson Diary, 1Nov43

## XII: FRANCE AGAIN TO THE BATTLE

I am especially indebted to Marcel Vigneras, *Rearming the French*, Murphy, *Diplomat Among Warriors*, and *US For Rels, Europe, 1943*

1. Marshall to SecWar, enc Matthews to SecState, 1Jan43; memo by SecState, 5Jan43, Hull to Matthews, 6Jan43; Br Embassy to State Dept, with aide-mémoire and attached statement, 7Jan43, *US For Rels, Europe, 1943*, II, 27-33.
2. Eisenhower to Marshall, 4367, 5Jan43, *OPD Exec 5, Item 13*
3. Mins of WH conf with CsofS, 7Jan43, *OPD Exec 10, Item 45*
4. Marcel Vigneras, *Rearming the French*, prol and chap 1
5. Marshall to Eisenhower, R-2080, 17-Oct42, CM-OUT 5682, *OPD Exec 5, Item 8*, passing on presidential directive that Gen Clark conveyed to French representatives
6. Vigneras, *Rearming the French*, 31; rpt Logistics Div SOS, 9Jan43, *ASF Planning Div, Logistical Study 6*.
7. Mins CCS 57th mtg, 15Jan43, *US For Rels, Casablanca, 1943*, 569.
8. Mins CCS mtg with Roosevelt and Churchill, 18Jan43, 5:00 pm, at President's villa, *ibid*, 636
9. Mins CCS 61st mtg, 19Jan43, 10 00 am, *ibid*, 639
10. Mins CCS 62d mtg, 19Jan43, at 4:00 pm, *ibid*, 652.
11. *Ibid*, 653.
12. Vigneras, *Rearming the French*, 38;
- Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 683, 693; Murphy, *Diplomat Among Warriors*, 193.
13. Marshall to McCloy, 4Feb43, *WDCSA France (SS)*.
14. Stimson Diary, 3Feb43. Roosevelt asked Stimson to give Marshall his views since there had been no time to see him since his return
15. Samuel H Wiley (from Murphy) to SecState, 1Feb43; Wiley (from Murphy) to Sec and UndSecState, 6Feb43; Wiley (from Murphy) to President and SecState, 18Feb43, *US For Rels, Europe, 1943*, II, 44-46, 48-51, 55-56.
16. President to Murphy, 20Feb43, *OPD Exec 1, Item 13*
17. Murphy to President and SecState, 20-Feb43, *OPD Exec 1, Item 13*.
18. Marshall to President, 20Feb43, enc proposed msg to Eisenhower. Approved by President. *WDCSA France (SS)*
19. Marshall for Béthouart, 24Feb43, *WDCSA France (SS)*.
20. Mins Trident conf, CCS 87th mtg, 18-May43, *US For Rels, Washington, 1943*, 97-108
21. Vigneras, *Rearming the French*, 57.
22. Wiley (from Murphy) to Hull, 3Jun43, *US For Rels, Europe, 1943*, II, 134-35
23. Hull to Wiley (for Murphy), 7Jun43;

- Roosevelt to Eisenhower, 10Jun43, *ibid*, 138, 145
24. Roosevelt to Churchill, 281, 10Jun43, *ibid*, 146, n 53
  25. Wiley (from Murphy) to SecState, 13-Jun43, Wiley (from Murphy) to SecState, 16Jun43, (2msg), *ibid*, 151-55
  26. Marshall to Eisenhower, 492, 17Jun43, CM-OUT 7060, No 492, *OPD Exec 10, Item 47* Murphy's message of June 16 had helped prompt this action by suggesting that it should be made abundantly clear to the French that in light of the recent developments it was necessary for the United States to review its current policy of rearming the French forces
  27. Roosevelt to Churchill, 17Jun43, *US For Rels, Europe, 1943*, II, 155-57
  28. Churchill to Roosevelt, 18Jun43 (2 msg), *ibid*, 159-61.
  29. Macmillan, *Blast of War*, 282-83. Murphy in *Diplomat Among Warriors* is far less informative on this phase of activities
  30. Charles de Gaulle, *The War Memoirs of Charles de Gaulle*, II, 129
  31. Wiley (from Murphy) to SecState, 23-Jun43, *US For Rels, Europe, 1943*, II, 163-64, cf de Gaulle, *Memoirs*, II, 133
  32. CofS. to Leahy, 4Jul43, *WDCSA 6763 (2Jul43)* Clear copy sent WH, 4Jul43, 10 00 am Apparently this was in reply to memo by Rear Adm Wilson Brown, naval aide to President Roosevelt, to Marshall and other CofS, 3Jul-43, asking comments on the proposed message Draft Roosevelt to Eisenhower and Murphy, reply to Wiley (from Murphy) to SecState, 1195, 30-Jun43 However the message in *US For Rels, Europe, 1943*, II, 168-69, does not include the suggestion to which Marshall objected.
  33. Marshall to Molly Winn, 13Jul43, *Marshall Library Files*.
  34. Mins CCS spec mtg, 8Jul43, *ABC 334 CCS Mins (1-23-42), Sec 5*
  35. Somervell to Marshall, 10Jul43, *JRC 902/II Rearmament Plan*, cited Vigneras, *Rearming the French*, 84, and Marshall to Arnold, Somervell, et al, 12Jul43, *WDCSA France (SS)*
  36. Marshall to Brig Gen Louis Fortier, 10Jul43, *Marshall Library Files*
  37. Marshall to Molly Winn, 13Jul43, *Marshall Library Files*
  38. Marshall to Giraud, 16Jul43, *JRC SHAEF Mission to France 902/II, RC 331, Box 217*

### XIII: THE GOAL IN SIGHT

I drew heavily in this chapter on volumes by Matloff, Morton, Bryant, and *US For Rels, Washington and Quebec, 1943*. Interviews include those with Gens Handy, Morgan, Alanbrooke, Kenneth McLean, Baeker and Adm C E Lambe

1. Memo to President and appended msg, drafted by OPD, approved by Marshall, sent to Leahy 30Jun43; notes by CofS on JCS 377 (rev) Opns to Assist Portugal, *OPD Exec 1, Item 26, Paper 2*.
2. Wedemeyer to Handy, 4Jul43, *ABC 381 Husky (1943), Sec 1-B*
3. Hull to Handy, 17Jul43, *ABC 381 SS Papers (7Jan43), Nos 96-126/3*, Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943-1944*, 165-66.
4. Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943-1944*, 167
5. CCS rpt to Roosevelt and PM Churchill, 25May43, *US For Rels, Washington, 1943*, 367-68; Forrest C. Pogue, *The Supreme Command*, 103.
6. Lt Gen Sir Frederick Morgan, *Overture to Overlord*, 73; Morgan int, 2Apr-46 Gen Morgan also showed me his "Diary of an Underdog in Chief," in which he complained of the scapegoat role that he believed was being wished on him. Marshall int, 15Nov56
7. His request to Churchill to change the place of the meeting was sent the same day as he dissolved the Board of Economic Warfare headed by Henry Wallace and put its functions and others that had been handled by the Sec of Commerce under James F Byrnes, now director of the Office of War Mobilization. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 740-41
8. Mins JCS 100th mtg, 6Aug43, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42), Sec 4*. See Marshall remark that Handy had said that in the Mediterranean political consequences were the goal while in

- OVERLORD they had an offensive action that would accomplish military results by itself.
9. Lt Col Walter E. Todd to OPD, 26Jul43, gives account of Marshall's reasoning, *OPD Exec 5, Item 11, Paper 2*, cited Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943-1944*, 174-75.
  10. CCS 303, 9Aug43, *US For Rels, Quebec, 1943*, 472-82; Mins JCS 102d mtg, 9Aug43, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42)*, Sec 5, cited Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943-1944*, 175. In view of Gen Marshall's acceptance in mid-July of an attack on the mainland of Italy and his statement to the President on 25Jul, it is difficult to understand Sir Arthur Bryant's charge that peace feelers on 16Aug (the first tentative one is mentioned by Churchill several days later) came just in time to prevent the Americans from throwing over Brooke's Mediterranean strategy. Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 580
  11. SS 90, 8Aug43, "Conduct of the War in Europe," *ABC 381 SS Papers (7Jan43)*, Nos 2-95, cited Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943-1944*, 177-78.
  12. King and Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King*, 482, Leahy, *I Was There*, 174.
  13. The log of the President's visit to Canada, 16-26Aug43, personal copy furnished by Gen T. T. Handy to author.
  14. Maj Gen Kenneth R. McLean int, 13-Mar47, and Adm C E Lambe int, 26-Feb47
  15. Handy int, 9Jul70. Handy's chief worry was that as he went into the President's dining car, he stepped on Fala, thus opening an important conference with flushed apologies.
  16. Leahy, *I Was There*, 175; JCS 105th mtg, 16Aug43, 10.00 am, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42)*, Sec 5
  17. Mins CCS 108th mtg, 15Aug43, 2:30 pm, *US For Rels, Quebec, 1943*, 864-65
  18. *Ibid*, 864-66; Todd to OPD, 26Jul43, *OPD Exec 5, Item 11*
  19. Marshall had canvassed this possibility with the other Joint Chiefs of Staff before the meeting, when they agreed they had to have a firm decision. Mins CCS 108th mtg, 15Aug43, 2:30 pm, *US For Rels, Quebec, 1943*, 862-69; Mins JCS 104th mtg, 15Aug43, 5 00 pm, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42)*, Sec 5.
  20. Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 577-78
  21. *Ibid*, 579; Mins CCS 109th mtg, 16-Aug43, *US For Rels, Quebec, 1943*, 870
  22. Garland and Smith, *Sicily*, 449; Martin Blumenson, *Sicily. Whose Victory?* 1969, 146-47.
  23. Mins CCS 113th mtg, 20Aug43, *US For Rels, Quebec, 1943*, 904-11.
  24. Mins CCS with Roosevelt and Churchill, 23Aug43, *US For Rels, Quebec, 1943*, 942
  25. Wedemeyer, *Wedemeyer Reports*, 245.
  26. Mins JCS spec mtg, 9Sept43, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42)*, Sec 5, Winston S. Churchill, *Closing the Ring*, 134-37, has text of paper he gave Roosevelt. A copy of the paper circulated by Marshall to the Joint Chiefs is in *ABC 334 CCS Mins (2-14-42)*, Sec 5
  27. An irreverent soul, apparently in the Operations Division, commented in the margin "Foreordained in Algiers Conference"
  28. Mins JCS spec mtg, 9Sept43, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42)*, Sec 5
  29. King to Marshall, 11Jun43, enc memo for JCS, Future Campaign Opns in the Pacific Ocean Areas (circulated as JCS 353), *OPD 381 Security, Sec 5, Case 163*
  30. JCS 353/1, Rpt by Joint Staff Planners, 14Jun43, *ibid*; Mins JPS 80th mtg, 13Jun43, *ABC 334 JPS Mins (2-13-42)*, Sec 4
  31. Mins JCS 92d mtg, 15Jun43, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42)*, Sec 4. Leahy agreed with Marshall in keeping the timing of operations with the JCS.
  32. Mins JPS 80th mtg, 13Jun43, *ABC 334 JPS Mins (2-13-42)*, Sec 4, Marshall to MacArthur, 4656, 11Jun43, CM-OUT 4580; MacArthur to Marshall, C-3134, 12Jun43, CM-IN 7367, *OPD Msg File*
  33. Mins JCS 92d mtg, 15Jun43, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42)*, Sec 4.
  34. Marshall (for the JCS) to MacArthur, 4769, 14Jun43, CM-OUT 6093 (15Jun), *OPD 381 Security, Sec 5, Case 163*. This telegram was drafted by the Joint War Plans Committee at the request of the Joint Staff Planners
  35. MacArthur to Marshall, C-3302, 20-Jun43, CM-IN 13149 (21Jun), *OPD Msg File* Two days after this reply, Gen Arnold informed MacArthur that the Washington planners were considering the withdrawal of one heavy bomber group and one medium

- bomber group from his area for the Gilberts-Marshalls operations, in addition to the Naval Air Forces reported available Arnold asked what specific effect the loss of these groups would have on his air operations. Regretfully but not angrily, MacArthur answered that while two bomber groups would not be missed in an area employing masses of air strength, they made up a "very high proportion" of his total strength. He felt their withdrawal would "collapse the offensive effort in the Southwest Pacific Area." In the end MacArthur did not lose these groups and was given two additional fighter groups for his offensive. Both Marshall and Arnold were opposed to shifting any of his air strength to Nimitz and found the needed bombers in the United States. Arnold to MacArthur, 5011, 22Jun43, CM-OUT 9340, *OPD Msg File*, MacArthur to Arnold, C-3413, 24Jun43, CM-IN 15013, *OPD Msg Log*, Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943-1944*, 189
36. King to Marshall, 14Jun43, Marshall to King, 23Jun43, *WDSCA South Pacific Area*
  37. JCS 386, Report by the Joint Strategic Survey Committee, 28Jun43, *ABC 384 Pacific (6-28-43)*, Mins JCS 94th mtg, 29Jun43, *ABC 334 JCS Mins (2-14-42)*, Sec 4
  38. Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943-1944*, 192
  39. King to Marshall, 22Jul43, Marshall to King, 29Jul43, with Memo for Record, 4Aug43, on action taken, *OPD 381 Security, Sec 6, Case 196*
  40. Morton, *Strategy and Command*, 511-12.
  41. Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943-1944*, 208-209, Mins JPS 94th mtg, 12Aug43, *ABC 334 JPS Mins (2-13-42)*, Sec 4, Mins CPS 72d mtg, 13Aug43, *ABC 334 CPS Mins (1-23-42)*, Sec 3, CPS 83, 16-Aug43, *ABC 381 Japan (27Aug42)*, Sec 3
  42. Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 572, 587
  43. Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943-1944*, 235
  44. Marshall to Stilwell, 3259, 27Aug43, CM-OUT 11436, Marshall to Stilwell, 3243, 26Aug43, CM-OUT 10767, *OPD Msg File*, CCS 319/5, Final Quadrant Rpt to President and Prime Minister, 24Aug43, *US For Rels, Washington and Quebec, 1943*, 1127-28 (Opns in China-Burma-India Theater, 1943-44), also see Mins CCS 107th mtg, 14Aug-43, 4 30 pm, and Mins CCS 113th mtg, 20Aug43, Mins CCS mtgs with President and Prime Minister, 19 and 23-Aug43 for discussions on CBI Theater, *ibid*, 856ff
  45. Christopher Sykes, *Orde Wingate A Biography*, 538-42
  46. Marshall int, 29Oct56 (author's notes)
  47. Sykes, *Orde Wingate*, 533-34, 545
  48. Churchill to Roosevelt, 320, 19Jun43, *OPD 384 CTO, Sec 1, Case 12*
  49. Marshall to JCS, 28Jun43, *ibid*; Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943-1944*, 202. Matloff points out 202, n 73, that Gen Marshall was willing to let US troops serve under Brig Orde Wingate and under Lt Gen William J Slim, for whom he had great respect
  50. Roosevelt to Churchill, 311, 9Jul43, *OPD Exec 10, Item 25*
  51. Marshall int, 21Nov56
  52. Marshall draft for President to send Churchill, 7Jul43, *OPD Exec 10, Item 63A* Sent to Churchill, 8Jul43 Douglas's own account shows no basis for the feeling, see Sholto Douglas, *Combat and Command Memoirs of Lord Douglas*
  53. Churchill, *Closing the Ring*, 77-78, 89; Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 567 Churchill indicates that he realized the proposal to appoint a relatively junior officer such as Mountbatten was an unusual step, but "having carefully prepared the ground beforehand, I was not surprised when the President cordially agreed." Part of the preparation may be explained in this statement of Marshall's recollection of the selection "Finally, Mr Churchill, as I recall, said, well, who did I suggest and I said Mountbatten That's the way Mountbatten got his command out there." Marshall int, 21Nov56
  54. Marshall to Stilwell, Radios 3243, 3259, 26 and 28Aug43, *Stilwell Radio File*
  55. Joseph W Stilwell, *The Stilwell Papers*, 1Nov43, 236-37
  56. Wedemeyer, *Wedemeyer Reports*, 248-50
  57. In his war memoirs Churchill listed no specific name, Stimson recorded Roosevelt's statement that the Prime Minister offered the command to Mar-

- shall and the President's own mention of Eisenhower as the Chief of Staff's possible successor. Churchill told Stimson at lunch on 22Aug that he had suggested Marshall for the Supreme Command. Churchill, *Closing the Ring*, 85; Stimson Diary, 22Aug43; Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 615, 758.
58. Marshall to President, 11Aug43, Divisions for OVFLORD on 1May44, *Marshall Library Files*.
59. Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 579
60. Alanbrooke int, 5May61. To the question of pressure on the Prime Minister from the President, Lord Alanbrooke replied: "He didn't give me the impression that the President raised the matter with him. He may have. But anyhow, he told me that was the conclusion he had come to, and there-
- fore, he wished to go back on the promise that he had made." His suggestion that Churchill had to give up the cross-Channel command to get Roosevelt's consent to Mountbatten's appointment is incorrect, although the Prime Minister may have given that reason. The principle that a British officer should have the Southeast Asia Command had been accepted by the United States earlier. Mountbatten's appointment was completely acceptable to Marshall and Roosevelt. Neither is there evidence of a trade in regard to the Mediterranean Command, as Brooke suggested later in the interview quoted above.
61. *Ibid.*
62. Marshall int, 15Nov56; Stimson Diary, 22Aug43; Leahy, *I Was There*, 178

#### XIV: A SEASON OF RUMORS

I drew heavily on Millett, *Organization and Role of the Army Service Forces*, Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, and the extensive newspaper clipping collection of the Marshall Library. I am especially indebted to Miss Eugenia Lejeune for the excellent compilation of material which she made for me on the Supreme Command question.

1. Stimson Diary, 29Sept43.
2. Washington *Evening Star*, 15Jan43; New York *Mirror*, 28Feb43; New York *Journal-American*, 28Feb43.
3. New York *World-Telegram*, 18 and 25May, 7Jun43; New York *Herald Tribune*, 8Jun43. See also clipping files on Supreme Command, *Marshall Library Files*.
4. *Army and Navy Journal*, 4Sept43.
5. Millett, *Organization and Role of the Army Service Forces*, chap 2.
6. *Ibid*, chap 24.
7. Somervell to Marshall, 12Sept43, *Hq ASF, CofS, 1943 (4)*
8. Stimson Diary, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22Sept; 5, 6, 13, 29Oct; 6 and 8Nov43.
9. Stimson Diary, 6Oct43. Detailed discussions of reactions in Washington are in Gen W. D. Styer, *ASF CofS*, to Somervell, 2, 3, 14Oct43, *Hq ASF, CofS, 1942-43 (6)*.
10. *Washington Post*, 1Jun63.
11. For Hopkins's part of the story, see excellent account in Sherwood's *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 759-61. Also see Millett, *Organization and Role of the Army Service Forces*, 408-16, and my own account in *Supreme Command*, 24-32.
12. Stimson Diary, 15Sept43.
13. *Ibid.*, 20 and 21Sept43.
14. Newark *Star-Ledger*, 19Sept43; Washington *Times-Herald*, 19Sept43.
15. Walter Trohan, Washington *Times-Herald*, 21Sept43
16. *Cong Record*, 78th Cong, 1st sess, 20-Sept43, LXXXIX, 7682.
17. Washington *Times-Herald*, 20Sept43.
18. Walter Lippmann, "General Marshall," New York *Herald Tribune*, 23Sept43.
19. *Washington Post*, 22Sept43.
20. Washington *Times-Herald*, 25Sept43.
21. *Cong Record*, 78th Cong, 1st sess, 27-Sept43, LXXXIX, 7829
22. Stimson Diary, 28Sept43
23. Somervell to Marshall, 24Oct43, *Hq ASF, CofS, 1943 (4)*.
24. Detroit *Free Press*, 23Sept43.
25. New York *Herald Tribune*, 22 and 23-Sept43, New York *Sun*, 1Oct43.
26. Washington *Times-Herald*, 26Sept, 19-Oct43.
27. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 761. Note is reproduced.
28. Stimson Diary, 28Sept43. Stimson recognized that the US was asking a tremendous prize and that Churchill's position was made worse by the gossip over Marshall's new role.

- 29 Stimson Diary, 29Sept43, Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 764
- 30 Marshall int, 15Nov56 Gen Marshall also said that "a Tucson publisher" (presumably William Mathews) may have influenced Pershing's decision
- 31 Pershing to President, 16Sept43, *Marshall Library Files* Reproduced in Mrs Marshall's *Together*, 156-57.
- 32 Roosevelt to Pershing, 20Sept43, *Marshall Library Files, F. D. R. His Personal Letters*, II, 1444-45
33. Stimson Diary, 16, 17, and 18Sept43
- 34 Ibid, 28Sept43
- 35 Undated memo for record by Handy, apparently Oct43, *OPD 384 TS (1942-44), Case 20*. Stimson Diary, 29Sept43, mentions matter being turned over to Handy
- 36 CG AAF Arnold to Handy, 29Sept43, *OPD 384 TS (1942-44), Case 15*
- 37 Lincoln to Gailey, 21Jan44, Handy to Marshall, 4Oct43, *OPD 384 TS (1942-44), Case 15*, Marshall to Handy, 8Nov43, *OPD Exec 10, Item 63c, Pt 2*
38. Revised draft Handy to CofS, 5Oct43, *OPD 384 TS (1942-44), Case 15* Handy suggested Marshall be permitted to make "detailed" strategic decisions—Marshall changed this to "minor"—but not retain his seat on the Combined Chiefs of Staff
- 39 This feeling was not shared by Montgomery, who disliked the plan and apparently the man as well. His antipathy became more pronounced when Morgan backed Eisenhower in his disagreements with Montgomery. So intense were the latter's feelings that Marshall said later that he was not certain that had he become Supreme Commander, he could have kept Morgan as Chief of Staff because of Montgomery's animus For early career, see Lt Gen Sir Frederick Morgan, *Peace and War, A Soldier's Life*
- 40 Morgan, *Overture to Overlord*, 208-10, contains description of trip through Md and Va
- 41 Ralph Ingersoll, *Top Secret*, 15, Morgan, *Overture to Overlord*, 193-212, Morgan int, 2Apr46
- 42 Marshall to King, 4Nov43, *Marshall Library Files*
- 43 Morgan, *Overture to Overlord*, 201-202, Morgan int, 8Feb47.
44. Marshall to Devers, 24Sept43, *Marshall Library Files*
- 45 Marshall to Stimson, 8Nov43, *Marshall Library Files*
- 46 Marshall int, 15Nov56 This statement was confirmed by Justice Douglas in later years
- 47 *Newsweek*, 6Dec43, 30-32, Marshall int, 28Sept56 (author's notes)
- 48 President to Prime Minister, 403, 30-Oct43, Prime Minister to President, 481, 31Oct43, draft answer to No 481, President to Prime Minister, 1Nov43, *OPD Exec 10, Item 63c*

## XV. MARSHALL'S DILEMMAS

I have drawn on the following volumes to a considerable extent *The Private Papers of Senator Vandenberg*; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, John R. Deane, *The Strange Alliance*, and Martin Blumenson, *From Salerno to Cassino*

1. Earl F. Ziemke, *Stalingrad to Berlin The German Defeat in the East*, chaps 7 and 8, B. H. Liddell Hart, *The History of the Second World War*, 490-92; Geoffrey Jukes, *Kursk The Clash of Armor*.
2. Comment to Col W. M. Spencer, 30-Mar46, forwarded to author by Spencer, 17Aug67
3. US War Dept General Staff, *Biennial Report of the Chief of Staff of United States Army, July 1, 1941 to June 30, 1943 to the Secretary of War*, 31-33, 44. Other statistics list Soviet armies as engaging four-fifths of the German forces.
4. Sir John Dill, *New York Times*, 9Sept-43 For newspaper comments see booklet prepared by The Analysis Branch, War Dept Bur of Pub Rels, 1Oct43, in *Marshall Library Files*
5. Later Marshall said of this period: "My problem was not to be forced into the invasion command at the start. There were political necessities. Mr. Roosevelt had many Republican and Democratic opponents I could get many things if I asked for them which he couldn't. I shouldn't be immodest about this, but more than one Democratic leader and Republican would ask if I wanted [a certain measure] or

- if I were speaking for the President . . . [Senate Democratic leader Alben] Barkley particularly would call for me." Marshall int, 28Sept56 (author's notes).
6. Lewis B Sebring, Washington *Post*, 26Sept43, Jack Turcott, Washington *Times-Herald*, 22Sept43. General MacArthur was quoted as saying: "It makes little difference whether I or others wield the weapons just so the cause for which our beloved country fights is victorious. However subordinate may be my role, I hope to play it manfully" Dispatches reprinted in Washington *Post* and *Times-Herald*, 22Sept-43
  7. Turcott, Washington *Times-Herald*, 22Sept43
  8. Associated Press, "More Power Asked for MacArthur," Washington *Post*, 22Sept43, Washington *Times-Herald*, 22Sept43
  9. Washington *Times-Herald*, 23Sept43
  10. Frazier Hunt, *The Untold Story of Douglas MacArthur*, 311-12; Hadley Cantril, *Public Opinion, 1935-1946*, 630-31, 666
  11. Vandenberg to Willoughby, 17Aug43, Vandenberg, *Private Papers*, 80
  12. Vandenberg to Wood, 15Sept43; entry of 30Sept43, Vandenberg to Willoughby, 17Aug43, *ibid*, 81, 82, 80 (italics in original)
  13. O'Donnell, Washington *Times-Herald*, 22Sept43
  14. New York *World-Telegram*, 25Sept43.
  15. Chennault to President, 5Sept43, *Hopkins Papers*, Bk VII, cited Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 374
  16. Soong for President, 15Sept43, *Hopkins Papers*, Bk VII, cited *ibid*, 375.
  17. Roosevelt to Marshall, 27Sept43, *Hopkins Papers*, Bk VII, cited *ibid*, 375.
  18. Stimson Diary, 18Oct43
  19. *Ibid*, 19Oct43
  20. Somervell to Gen Ward, 1May50, cited Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 376, Rpt to CCS by SAC, South-East Asia, 1943-1945, 3-7
  21. Somervell to Marshall, 24Oct43, *ASF CG's File (1943) (4)*.
  22. Somervell, who played a key role in settling the disagreement, kept General Marshall fully informed, writing him among other things that the climax of the last discussion was "a heated argument between Stilwell, Chennault, and Madame regarding a whore house—this floored me!" Somervell also faithfully carried out the instructions Marshall had given him before leaving Washington for China. to warn Stilwell in the name of the Chief of Staff against making wisecracks about Chiang Kai-shek Somervell to Marshall, 24Oct43, *ASF CG's File, Folder Chief of Staff (1943) (4)*; Stilwell, *Stilwell Papers*, 232-35, Stimson Diary, 19, 20Oct and 1Nov43 on Washington reactions to all this
  23. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 379, n 78, note that Stilwell did not officially receive the title of Deputy Supreme Allied Commander
  24. Charles F Romanus and Riley Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problems*, 22-29. Slim, one of the few British officers the Chinese held in regard, reciprocated Stilwell's views Slim int, 24Apr61
  25. Stilwell, *Stilwell Papers*, 10Nov43, 239; Don Lohbeck; Patrick J. Hurley, 256, 262-64 Hurley was later highly critical of Stilwell, but his early attitude was quite friendly Hurley's biographer noted mainly the criticism. Stilwell was obviously upset by the battle of nerves then in progress in Chungking, but reports by Somervell of his conversation with Mountbatten at this period indicate that "Vinegar Joe" was less than fair to his superior
  26. Stilwell, *Stilwell Papers*, 237-38
  27. Marshall to Hopkins 10Oct41, *SecWar Safe File, Folder Russia*
  28. Deane to Marshall, 29Oct43, *OPD Exec 5, Item 12* Later, after he had become extremely frustrated with the Russians, Deane may have changed his views somewhat However years later he declined to associate himself with the harsher accusations, political and personal, against the Lend-Lease representative Deane int, 31Oct60.
  29. Marshall int, 14Nov56 (author's notes).
  30. For material on Standley-Faymonville problems, see Adm William H Standley and Adm Arthur A. Ageton, *Admiral Ambassador to Russia*, chaps 18-21
  31. In Harriman to Marshall, 23Sept43, *OPD Exec 1, Item 21*, the ambassador outlined points on which they agreed.

- This included the fact that no direct representative of G-2 would be appointed at that time and that instead intelligence information would be sought from the British and the Russians. Marshall, in a letter to Harriman, 25Sept43, *OPD 336, Russia 28*, said: "My views are in accord with yours" The Military Mission included the heads of the Supply Division (Brig Gen Sidney P Spalding) and Air Division (Brig Gen Hoyt Vandenberg), and a Naval Division (under Commodore—later Rear Adm—C E Olsen) Deane, as Chief of the Military Mission, reported to the Joint Chiefs of Staff Since Marshall acted as agent for the Joint Chiefs in European matters, messages were still channeled through the War Department For details of arrangement see ActSecState to chargé in USSR, 1Oct43, *US For Rels, The British Commonwealth, Eastern Europe, The Far East, 1943*, III, 704-705, Harriman to ActSecState, 4Nov43, *ibid*, 587-89
- 32 Marshall ltr of instruction to Deane, 1Oct43, *OPD Exec 5, Item 12* For background of mission see Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943-1944*, chap 13, John R Deane, *The Strange Alliance*, 11-12
- 33 Harriman to Marshall, 2Nov43, CM-IN 1946, *OPD Msg File*, recalls the earlier agreement
- 34 Deane, *Strange Alliance*, 49 (italics added), Joseph R. McCarthy, *America's Retreat from Victory The Story of George Catlett Marshall*, 42 (According to the President of Devin-Adair, publisher of the McCarthy volume, the book was written not by McCarthy but by newsman Forrest Davis Devin A Garrity to author, 7Jul72)
- 35 McCarthy, *America's Retreat from Victory*, 41
- 36 Ltr of instruction to Deane from CofS, 1Oct43, *OPD Exec 5, Item 12, Tab 1.*
- 37 Deane to Marshall, 29Oct43, *OPD Exec 5, Item 15*
- 38 JCS to Deane, 799, 29Oct43, CM-OUT 13427 (30Oct); Harriman to Marshall, 2Nov43, CM-IN 1946 (4Nov), *OPD Msg File*
- 39 JCS to Deane, 826, 8Nov43, CM-OUT 2946; Hull to Handy, 1007, 20Nov43, CM-OUT 8182, Marshall to Deane, 32, 18Nov43, CM-OUT 7202, OPD to Deane, 23, 15Nov43, CM-OUT 6032, *OPD Msg File*
- 40 Deane to JCS, 24, 28Oct43, CM-IN 16983, *OPD Msg File*
- 41 Marshall to Leahy, 28Oct43, *Marshall Library Files*, JCS to Deane, 792, 28-Oct43, CM-OUT 12663, *OPD Msg File*
- 42 Stimson Diary, 28, 31Oct43, 4Nov43, Eisenhower to CCS, W-3325 (in two parts), 25Oct43, CM-IN 14919, CM-IN 15186, *OPD Msg File*
- 43 Stimson Diary, 28Oct43
- 44 Martin Blumenson, *Salerno to Cassino*, 73-157
- 45 Butcher, *My Three Years with Eisenhower*, 423-25, Marshall to Eisenhower, 22Sept43, *Marshall Library Files*
- 46 Bryant, *Triumph in the West*, 30-32
- 47 Churchill to Roosevelt, 7Oct43, Roosevelt to Churchill, 8Oct43, *OPD Msg File*, Churchill to Roosevelt, 8Oct43, Roosevelt to Churchill, 9Oct43, *OPD Exec 10, Item 64* Churchill, *Closing the Ring*, 212-15, gives texts of the exchange Copies, including drafts of the American replies, which Marshall helped to formulate, are in above files. The last sentence of the passage, beginning with the word "Strategically," was not in the War Dept draft of President to PM, 9Oct43
- 48 The denouement bitterly disappointed Churchill, who showed he was still deeply displeased with the Americans when he came to write his memoirs Surprisingly General Brooke—who had said earlier that they should not undertake the Aegean operation with the commitments they had in Italy—wrote in his postwar gloss on his diary entry: "At very little cost Crete and Rhodes could have been rendered possible operations without affecting Italy, whereas as matters stood [the American refusal to allocate additional resources for the eastern Mediterranean], these were possible only at the expense of Italian operations and were consequently ruled out" Bryant, *Triumph in the West*, 30-33, 38; Michael Howard, *The Mediterranean Strategy in the Second World War*, 51

## XVI: AN EXERCISE IN SELF-DENIAL

I have drawn heavily on the following: *US For Rels, Cairo-Tehran, 1943*, Bryant, *Triumph in the West*, Arnold, *Global Mission*, Leahy, *I Was There*; King and Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King* Interviews include those with Gens Handy, McCarthy, Alanbrooke, and Adm King

- 1 *US For Rels, Cairo-Tehran*, chap 1
- 2 Harriman to President, 26Oct43, *ibid*, 43-44
- 3 Marshall to Leahy, 25Oct43, *Marshall Library Files*
- 4 Churchill to Roosevelt, 26Oct43, Churchill to Roosevelt, 27Oct43, *US For Rels, Cairo-Tehran*, 41-42, 47-48
- 5 Churchill to Roosevelt, 11Nov43, Roosevelt to Churchill, 11Nov43, *ibid*, 79-80
- 6 Stimson to Hopkins, 10Nov43 Included in Stimson Diary under entry for that day
- 7 *Ibid*, 11Nov43
- 8 Kennedy, *Business of War*, 307, 312-13
- 9 Dill to Brooke, 16Oct43, cited Bryant, *Triumph in the West*, 49-50
- 10 "The Americans at no point 'insisted on abandoning Mediterranean operations' In the discussion at Quebec in August, to which General Brooke's entries seem particularly to refer, they had stood firmly by the agreement reached at Washington the previous May, that the forces allotted to General Eisenhower should not be increased and that seven divisions should be returned from his command to the United Kingdom—divisions which were in fact still available to him when the invasion of Italy began. The fact that the agreed Allied Grand Strategy had been entirely successful in achieving its objectives, by bringing about a collapse of the Axis position in the Mediterranean and compelling the German High Command to divert forces from other fronts, did not seem in Washington a valid reason for abandoning it" Howard, *Mediterranean Strategy*, 47-48
- 11 Kennedy, *Business of War*, 305
- 12 King and Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King*, 500-501, Arnold, *Global Mission*, 453-54
- 13 Log of President's trip, *US For Rels, Cairo-Tehran*, 270-90, King and Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King*, 501 Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 768,
- has Hopkins's memo on the incident, part of which is reproduced in the text See Arnold, *Global Mission*, 455 Despite these well-documented accounts, the incident is rediscovered periodically by the press and given banner headlines as one of the closely kept secrets of the war
- 14 Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe*, 196, King and Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King*, 504
- 15 The quotation is from Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 770, but the general sense of the statement is in Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe*, 197
- 16 Stimson Diary, 3Dec43
- 17 Log of President's trip, *US For Rels, Cairo-Tehran*, 290, Butcher, *My Three Years with Eisenhower*, 406, King incorrectly that Marshall and King went on Monday, Arnold, *Global Mission*, 458, gives same departure time as King and Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King*, 504, but suggests that the President also flew at the same time Actually the President went later on Sunday, arriving the following morning
- 18 It has been suggested by Barbara Tuchman and others that Chiang Kai-shek was offended because Churchill and Roosevelt did not meet him. Tuchman, *Stilwell and the American Experience in China, 1911-1945*, 401. However Roosevelt did not arrive until the following morning Bryant indicates that Chiang Kai-shek was there shortly before Churchill
19. Marshall int, 29Oct56 (author's notes).
20. *US For Rels, Cairo-Tehran*, 312-13
- 21 *Ibid*, 313-15, Churchill, *Closing the Ring*, 328-29
- 22 *US For Rels, Cairo-Tehran*, 317
- 23 Stilwell's version was accepted by King for inclusion in his memoirs. Arnold, *Global Mission*, 461; Stilwell, *Stilwell Papers*, 245; King and Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King*, 511.
- 24 Arnold, *Global Mission*, 462
25. *US For Rels, Cairo-Tehran*, 322-26.
- 26 Marshall int, 20Nov56.

27. *Ibid*, 13Nov56 (author's notes) General Marshall added that he "had many hectic scenes with the Prime Minister He could be strong and loud. Churchill, however, once he accepted a point would not hold it against me He would put his arms around me"
28. *US For Rels, Cairo-Tehran*, 364-65
29. *Ibid*, 477-82.
30. Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 380
31. *US For Rels, Cairo-Tehran*, 521.
32. Marshall int, 15Nov56.
33. *US For Rels, Cairo-Tehran*, 543-55, 558-64
34. *Ibid*, 576 Gen Deane, as head of the US Military Mission to Moscow, informed the Russians of all postponements in dates. Yet one of the witnesses against William Remington during an investigation for subversion testified that the date of D day was one of the secret items the Russians bought from him
35. Marshall int, 11Feb57, Marshall, in int, 25Jul49, with Lamson, Hamilton, Matthews, and Smith, said the Joint Chiefs were always fearful that Roosevelt might lightly commit them to operations in the Balkans. "When President Roosevelt began waving his cigarette holder, you never knew where you were going," he said
36. Marshall int, 11Feb57 (italics added)
37. King and Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King*, 520-21
38. For accounts of the visit see *ibid*, 521-22; Arnold, *Global Mission*, 472
39. *US For Rels, Cairo-Tehran*, 681. Words in brackets are thus in published text.
40. *Ibid*, 724-25, 815-16
41. See editorial note, *ibid*, 725. Marshall's name is omitted from the list of those present, but the President's log, 658, from which the bulk of the information on this page is taken, lists the CofS among those attending.
42. JCS to President, 17Nov43 (1st memo), *ibid*, 195, 203-205.
43. JCS to President, 17Nov43 (2d memo), *ibid*, 209
44. JCS to President, 17Nov43, Enc B to 1st memo, *ibid*, 206
45. *Ibid*, 252-53
46. Memo by US Csofs, CCS 408, 25Nov43, *ibid*, 405-406
47. Memo by Churchill, 25Nov43, memo by Br Csofs, 26Nov43, *ibid*, 407-408, 424-26
48. Col Stanley J. Grogan tel int, 1Sept69.
49. Marshall ltr to Sherwood, in Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 803.
50. *Ibid*; Marshall int, 15Nov56.
51. This was the way Marshall wrote it in the draft he sent to Gen Eisenhower; the actual message to Stalin has "the Command of Overlord" rather than "command of Overlord operation"
52. Marshall to Eisenhower, 7Dec43, *Marshall Library Files*
53. Marshall to Sexton, 22Nov43, *Marshall Library Files*
54. Lt Gen Marshall S Carter (then a colonel) recalls that he had asked Sutherland for a ride in his plane to the Pacific theater Soon afterward so many of the US participants at the conference made similar requests that a second plane had to be provided.
55. Sexton to Marshall, 20Nov43, *Marshall Library Files*
56. Hunt, *Untold Story of Douglas MacArthur*, 313-14
57. Walter Krueger, *From Down Under to Nippon*, 28-29, Frank McCarthy's recollections of trip
58. For extended quotation, which must be used with care, see MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 183.
59. *Ibid*, 184.
60. Bryant, *Triumph in the West*, 390.
61. Marshall to Allen Brown, 27Dec43; Marshall to Clifton Brown, 29Dec43, *Marshall Library Files*
62. Ltrs McCarthy to author, 24Jan and 1Feb68; Gen T T. Handy int, 9Jul70.
63. Stimson Diary, 17, 18, and 23Dec43.

## XVII: ITALY VERSUS ANVIL

I have drawn on Martin Blumenson, *Anzio*, Churchill, *Closing the Ring*; Bryant, *Triumph in the West*, Mark Clark, *Calculated Risk*; and the correspondence between Allen Brown and Madge Brown (now Mrs John Pendleton). Interviews were held with Gens Morgan, Alanbrooke, McCarthy, Eisenhower and with Harvey Bundy and Miss Cora Thomas.

1. Marshall to Eisenhower, 29Dec43, "I had brought him home, over his strenuous objections, to force him to take a brief rest before he undertakes his heavy obligations in England," Marshall to Roosevelt, 4Jan44, *Marshall Library Files*
2. Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe*, 216-17
3. Information furnished by McCarthy and Dr A B Sageser, Kansas State University
4. Folder on Alibi Club; Marshall to Leon and Agnes Thompson, 10Jan43, thanking them for the dinner the preceding week, *Marshall Library Files* On Alibi Club see article by Frank C. Waldrop, "Washington Clubs," *Washingtonian*, Apr68, 48-49
5. Stimson Diary, 3Jan44
6. *Ibid*, 3 and 12Jan44.
7. Smith to Eisenhower, W-9389, 5Jan44, *OPD Exec 17, Item 25*
8. Eisenhower to Smith, 6513, 5Jan44, *OPD Exec 17, Item 25*.
9. Csofs to Prime Minister, 1354, 14Jan44, *SHAEF SGS 381, Overlord-Anvil, I*
10. Eisenhower to Marshall, 17Jan44, *OPD Exec 9, Bk 14*
11. Martin Blumenson, *Anzio The Gamble That Failed*; Blumenson, "General Lucas at Anzio," in *Command Decisions*, ed Greenfield, 323-50.
12. Churchill, *Closing the Ring*, 430, 434, 440-41
13. Marshall int, 13Nov56 (author's notes).
14. Churchill, *Closing the Ring*, 441.
15. Stimson Diary, 12Jan44; Smith to Eisenhower, W-9715, 9Jan44, *OPD Exec 17, Item 25*
16. Bryant, *Triumph in the West*, 93-94.
17. Blumenson, *Anzio*, 58-60, 63-65, 86-95.
18. Churchill, *Closing the Ring*, 486-89.
19. Marshall to Devers, 18Feb44, *Marshall Library Files*, Blumenson, *Anzio*, 139; Mark W. Clark, *Calculated Risk*, 306
20. Marshall to Eisenhower, 205, 1Mar44, *SHAEF Files*
21. Eisenhower to Marshall, W-9856, 22-Jan44, *SHAEF Files*
22. Eisenhower to Marshall, B-33, 23Jan44, *SHAEF SGS 381, Overlord-Anvil, I*
23. Tel conv Morgan and Smith with Handy and Hull, 4Feb44, *SHAEF SGS 381, Overlord-Anvil, I*, Eisenhower to Marshall, W-10678, 6Feb44, *OPD Exec 10, Item 52A*
24. Butcher, *My Three Years with Eisenhower*, 487
25. Marshall to Eisenhower, 78, 7Feb44, *SHAEF SGS 381, Overlord-Anvil, I*.
26. He concluded by saying that it was not entirely a bad thing, inasmuch as it showed that the commander was on the job and was willing to fight for what he believed necessary to do the job, even though the staff in Washington might be irritated to distraction. Arnold, *Global Mission*, 429-30.
27. Eisenhower to Marshall, W-10786, 8Feb44, *SHAEF Files*
28. Bundy int, 7Oct59. Stimson Diary, 16-Feb44, says "Marshall has been particularly insistent upon the importance of this matter [recognition of Dill]." Stimson explained that Dill "was not only able but very fair-minded and tactful in his dealings with the Staff and has been a great factor in keeping the unity of Staff operations which has been so remarkable in campaigns thus far. Therefore we are trying to give him a boom in this country to show how important he is and to make the Prime Minister a little bit cautious about removing him."
29. Hull to Handy, 15Feb44, *OPD Exec 9, Bk 15, Paper 253*; Eisenhower to Marshall, W-11500, 19Feb44, *SHAEF Files*.
30. Leahy, *I Was There*, 223.
31. Dill wrote Brooke. "I have been in and out of Marshall's room lately trying to get him to see your point of view regarding ANVIL/OVERLORD and trying to get his point of view. I take it now that the United States Chiefs of Staff delegated their powers to Eisenhower

- on this question, you will be satisfied." Also see Bryant, *Triumph in the West*, 105
- 32 JCS to Eisenhower, 151 and 153, 21-Feb44, *OPD Exec 2, Item 11*
  - 33 SCAEF 6th mtg, 26Feb44, *SHAEF SGS File, 337/11*, Eisenhower to Marshall, B-245, 9Mar44, *OPD Msg File*
  - 34 Bryant, *Triumph in the West*, 108, 110-11
  35. The italics are Churchill's. Dill to Marshall, 12Mar44, forwarding Churchill to Marshall, *OPD Exec 10, Item 66*, Marshall to Eisenhower for Prime Minister, 298, 15Mar44, *SHAEF Files*
  36. Marshall to Eisenhower, 314, 16Mar44, *SHAEF Files*
  37. Marshall to Eisenhower, 25Mar44, CM-OUT 14078, *OPD Exec 10, Item 52B*
  38. Bryant, *Triumph in the West*, 134
  39. Jt Staff Mission to War Cabinet, JSM 1613, 31Mar44, *OPD Exec 3, Item 16*
  40. Jt Staff Mission to Br CsofS, FMD 183, 1Apr44, *OPD Exec 3, Item 16*
  41. Handy signed Marshall to Eisenhower, W-16455, 31Mar44, *SHAEF SGS 381, Overlord-Anvil, I*
  42. Stimson Diary, 27Mar44.
  - 43 Eisenhower to Marshall, S-50310, 12-Apr44, *SHAEF Files*.
  44. Churchill to Dill for Marshall, 021985, 16Apr44, *OPD Exec 3, Item 16*, Churchill, *Closing the Ring*, 513-14.
  - 45 Diary Office of CinC, 18Apr44
  - 46 Marshall to Eisenhower, W-14078, 25-Mar44, *SHAEF Files*
  47. Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, V, 260-63
  48. Devers to Marshall, B-12811, 31May44; Bronze Star citation, cited Mrs Marshall, *Together*, 196.
  - 49 Marshall to Allen Brown, 1Mar44, *Marshall Library Files*
  - 50 Ibid, 11Mar44, *Marshall Library Files*.
  - 51 Allen Brown to Madge Brown, 27Feb-44, *Marshall Library Files*
  52. Ibid, 6Mar44, *Marshall Library Files*.
  - 53 Ibid, 7Mar44, *Marshall Library Files*.
  - 54 Ibid, 19Mar44, *Marshall Library Files*
  - 55 Ibid, 22 and 26Mar44, *Marshall Library Files*
  - 56 Marshall to Allen Brown, 24Mar44, *Marshall Library Files*
  - 57 Allen Brown to Marshall, 10Apr44, *Marshall Library Files*
  - 58 Marshall to Allen Brown, 18Apr44, *Marshall Library Files*
  - 59 Ibid, 17May44, *Marshall Library Files*
  - 60 Mrs Marshall, *Together*, 195
  - 61 Miss Cora E Thomas int, 10Mar61
  62. Mrs Marshall, *Together*, 195, said "that morning" but General Marshall's message to Allen's wife (Marshall to Madge Brown, 30May44) says, "I have just received a message from General Clark . . . that Allen was killed in his tank by a German sniper at 10 a m May 29th near Campoleone" Copy furnished author by Allen's widow

### XVIII. "MAN OF THE YEAR"

I have drawn on Palmer, Wiley, and Keast, *The Procurement and Training of Ground Combat Troops*, Fairchild and Grossman, *The Army and Industrial Manpower*, Matloff, "go-Division Gamble," in *Command Decisions*

1. *Time* also said "The American people do not, as a general rule, like or trust the military. But they like and trust General Marshall. This is no more paradoxical than the fact that General Marshall hates war. The secret is that American democracy is the stuff Marshall is made of" *Time* credited him with seven great contributions since 1939 (1) building the Army to its current strength from 200,000, (2) creating a training program and a schedule of equipment unmatched anywhere, (3) holding off hastily planned or ill-advised military operations; (4) insisting on unity of command; (5) refusing to send out green, ill-equipped troops, (6) recognizing airpower early and pushing the air program, and (7) breaking "the traditionally supercilious War Department enmity toward innovations of equipment."
- 2 Freeman to Marshall, 30Dec42, with attached editorial, "Man of the Year" from the *Richmond News Leader*, *Marshall Library Files*
- 3 Stimson Diary, 23Dec43
4. Ibid, 31Dec43
- 5 Ibid, 27, 29, 30, and 31Dec43
- 6 Ibid, 31Dec43 Apparently Gen Marshall considered issuing a further statement on the strike. He received the

- following from AsstSec McCloy on 5Jan: "For what it may be worth this is to let you know that I have given some thought and talked to a few people about the wisdom of your making a statement in re the strike situation, and my judgment is that, pending any further developments, it would be wiser to say nothing." *Marshall Library Files*
7. William Frye, *Marshall Citizen Soldier*, 351-52 Frye says Marshall erred on this occasion because he combined his usual objective off-the-record press briefing on the war with a red-hot statement on a current domestic problem
  - 8 Quoted in *Army and Navy Journal*, 15Jan44, 574. The *Journal* declared that the kindest thing that could be said about the labor organizations was that they failed to realize what they were doing. "Informed by General Marshall, it is to be believed they will now understand that strikes are in fact sabotage as serious as actual dynamiting of trains and of mills" *Ibid*, 8Jan44.
  - 9 *Army and Navy Journal*, 15Jan44.
  10. DeWeerd, *Selected Speeches and Statements*, 246-48. Original in *Marshall Library Files*
  - 11 Marshall to President, 27Jan44, *Marshall Library Files*.
  12. Marshall to Smith, 21Feb44, *Marshall Library Files*
  13. Marshall to Lady Mary Burghley, 29-Mar44, *Marshall Library Files*
  14. Marshall [Pasco] to Bolté, 3Mar44, *Marshall Library Files*.
  15. *Ibid*. While these were normal instructions, Marshall on occasion, particularly if he wanted to show troops to a guest of great importance, would accept honors.
  16. Marshall [Pasco] to Lt Gen W H. Simpson, 3Mar44, *Marshall Library Files* He sometimes tried to do too much. One of the commanders involved believed that he did not leave sufficient time for all that he wanted to see. Bolté int, 28May58.
  17. The final figure for the Army and Army Air Forces was set at approximately 8,300,000 in 1945.
  18. Stimson Diary, 26Jan44. The 2d Cavalry Division was inactivated shortly after it went overseas in 1944, and its personnel was used to meet various shortages.
  19. An unfortunate by-product of the whole affair was that someone leaked information on the War Department's intentions to the press Opponents of the ASTP in the Pentagon suspected Col Herman Beukema, well-known professor of the social sciences at the U S Military Academy, director of the program. Secretary Stimson stuck loyally by the colonel, insisting that the investigators appointed by the Army were too severe and that he had confidence in him. Stimson Diary, 26-Jan and 18Feb44; Palmer, Wiley, and Keast, *Procurement and Training of Ground Combat Troops*, 38-39
  20. One million of these—in fifty ground divisions and supporting troops—were earmarked for shipment and would steadily be sent overseas. A quarter of a million were in Air Forces units being prepared for shipment out of the country. Larger groups were in training—three-quarters of a million fliers and nearly 100,000 instructors and assistants, a third of a million ground troops in replacement-training centers with 75,000 officers and men in charge of instruction. The remainder—and here he was later to seek replacements—were engaged in administration, maintenance, transportation, and supply Although some surplus might be trimmed, there was little solution to his problems to be found in these men in uniform. Marshall to Stimson, 17Mar44, original to S/W before Cabinet meeting, 3/17/44, *Marshall Library Files*.
  21. Marshall to UndSecWar Patterson, 17-Mar44, *Marshall Library Files*.
  22. Marshall to Byrnes, 23Mar44, *Marshall Library Files*.
  23. Stimson Diary, 22, 23, and 24Mar44.
  24. *Ibid*, 29Mar44.
  25. *Ibid*, 4Apr44.
  26. Fairchild and Grossman, *Army and Industrial Manpower*, 236; *Time*, 24-Jan44.
  27. Stimson Diary, 12Apr44. The quoted words represent Stimson's paraphrase of Marshall's statement.
  28. *Ibid*, 20Apr44; Maurice Matloff, "The 90-Division Gamble," in *Command Decisions*, ed Greenfield, 366-81.

- 29 Howard to Marshall, 24Apr44, *Marshall Library Files*
- 30 Marshall to Roberts, 6Apr44, *Marshall Library Files*
31. Marshall to Devers, 7Apr44, *Marshall Library Files*
32. McCarthy to Brig Gen Alexander D Surles, 11May44, *WDCSA 680 2 (1944-45)*.
- 33 Marshall to Hamilton Corbett, 26May-44, Marshall to Mrs Erskine Wood, 10May44; Marshall to Wood, 10May-44, *Marshall Library Files* Note earlier visits of Marshall with Wood in my *George C Marshall Education of a General*, 312
- 34 According to McCarthy, "General Marshall considered that in this action he had scored a sort of personal victory over the United States Navy and never stopped regaling Admiral King, the somewhat dour Chief of Naval Operations, with the story of how he improved the morale of the US Air Forces at the expense of the Navy" McCarthy, memo to author, 18Jan61, William F Haney to Marshall, 8Jun-44, *Marshall Library Files*
- 35 *Time*, 8May44, 11-12.
- 36 Stimson to Marshall, 10May44, in Diary, attached to entry of 11May44
- 37 Stimson Diary, 11May44. See Matloff, "The 90-Division Gamble," in *Command Decisions*, ed Greenfield, 366-81.
38. Marshall to Devers, W-22650, 13Apr44, *OPD Msg File*
- 39 Marshall to Eisenhower, W-22651, 13-Apr44, *OPD Msg File*
- 40 Eisenhower to Marshall, 3Mar44, *OPD Exec 9, Bk 16*, Marshall to Eisenhower, 254, 9Mar44, *SHAEF Files*
41. Marshall to Eisenhower, W-22651, 13-Apr44, *OPD Msg File*
- 42 Butcher, *My Three Years with Eisenhower*, 17Apr44, 519
- 43 Eisenhower to Marshall, 17Apr44, *Marshall Library Files*
- 44 Stimson Diary, 25May44. Stimson remarked that Marshall deserved a lot of credit for the system, which other armies did not have Marshall to Stimson, 6Jun44, quoting from Eaker to Arnold, *Marshall Library Files*
- 45 Stimson Diary, 16 and 17May44, Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943-1944*, 410-12; Marvin A Kreidberg and Merton G Henry, *History of Military Mobilization in the United States Army, 1775-1945*, 628
- 46 Marshall to Commanders, 22Mar44, *Marshall Library Files*
- 47 Stimson Diary, 15Mar44
- 48 Ibid, 12 and 17Apr44 The committee included key members of the Military and Naval Affairs and Appropriations committees One of the junior members was Representative Lyndon B Johnson of Texas. Marshall's part in the unification fight will be discussed more fully in a subsequent volume. See Vincent Davis, *Postwar Defense Policy and the US Navy, 1943-1946*, chap 3. See also Demetrios Caraley, *The Politics of Military Unification A Study of Conflict and the Policy Process*, 218, 250-52
- 49 Stimson Diary, 3, 5, 8, and 9May44
- 50 Ibid, 12 and 15May44
- 51 Marshall to SecWar, 17Apr44, *Marshall Library Files*
- 52 Leahy, *I Was There*, 221-22 Leahy says he discussed the measure with Vinson on 13Jan For other details see memo from Maj Gen Miller G White to Col William T Sexton, 13Jan44, *Marshall Library Files*
- 53 Marshall int, 14Feb57
- 54 Harbord to Wadsworth, 9Feb44, Wadsworth to Harbord, 11Feb44; Harbord to Wadsworth, 14Feb44, Marshall to Wadsworth, 15Aug44, returning Harbord corres, *Marshall Library Files* Harold Ross, editor of *The New Yorker*, passed on to Stephen Early, White House press secretary, letters from Harbord and asked for comment Early in turn forwarded them to Marshall's office, where McCarthy—with assistance from Marshall—framed a suitable rebuttal See Harbord file in *Marshall Library Files*
- 55 Stimson Diary, 31Jan44
- 56 Ibid, 1Feb44 In view of the fact that a Navy representative had said that Roosevelt had approved the Navy draft "in part," it may be argued that the President was accurate in his denial. Leahy's failure to mention the two-star advance may also be cited in Roosevelt's defense
- 57 *Army and Navy Journal*, 4Mar44.
- 58 Stimson Diary, 18May44
- 59 Ibid, 22May44
- 60 *Look*, 16May44
- 61 From account furnished the author by

Brig Gen Robert Cutler, War Department Coordinator for Soldier Voting in the Army and Air Corps, who was present. Cutler wrote the account on 30Jan61; *Marshall Library Files*. Substantially the same account appears in Robert Cutler, *No Time for Rest*, 228-29. In the book (published in 1965) he changes the number of governors to

forty-five. I have followed his earlier text. For King's participation and views, see King and Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King*, 543.

62. Cutler, memo to author, 30Jan61, *Marshall Library Files*
63. Memo containing suggested topics for CofS, unsigned [by member of staff], 5/26/44, *Marshall Library Files*.

### XIX: OVERLORD AT LAST

I have drawn heavily on my notes collected in the period 1946-52 for the writing of *The Supreme Command* and my own recollections of the D-day period.

1. Marshall to Eisenhower, 5968, 25Aug-43, CM-OUT 10283, *OPD Msg File*
2. Eisenhower to Marshall, 24Aug43, *OPD Exec 9, Bk 11*
3. Eisenhower to Marshall, W-8367, 27-Aug43, *OPD Exec 3, Item 10*.
4. Eisenhower to Marshall, 6Sept43, *Marshall Library Files*.
5. Eisenhower to Marshall, 24Aug43, *OPD Exec 9, Bk 11*.
6. Eisenhower to Marshall, 6Sept44, *Marshall Library Files* Stephen Ambrose, in a talk with the author, suggested that Bedell Smith may have told Marshall about the incidents when he was in Washington in October. If so, he failed to give Marshall details on Eisenhower's actions.
7. Pearson, not bound by the agreement, heard the story from other sources and decided to release it. In a mistaken effort to minimize the incidents Gen Smith denied that a reprimand had been given. His announcement brought a great outcry in the United States. Marshall's mail was soon filled with angry letters demanding severe punishment or dismissal. Acting on the theory that the problem was one for Eisenhower to handle, Marshall took no action. Marshall to Eisenhower, 3233, 23Nov43, CM-OUT 8960, *OPD Exec 3, Item 11*, asks for full information and what Eisenhower had done. See folders in Marshall files on incident, including Eisenhower report and correspondence, pro and con; Ladislas Farago, *Patton Ordeal and Triumph*, chaps 16 and 17, Garland and Smyth, *Sicily*, 426-31; Bradley, *Soldier's Story*, 160-62, 229, 357 and Eisenhower, *Cruade in Europe*, 179-81.
8. Eisenhower to Marshall, 20Sept43, *OPD Exec 3, Item 1c*.
9. Marshall to Eisenhower, 536, 21Oct43, *OPD Msg File*. It was the disruption of this plan to which Marshall referred in a letter to Roy Roberts mentioned earlier (359). Cf. Farago, *Patton*, 355, for the suggestion that Stimson had in mind Patton's transfer to the Fifth Army in connection with Alexander's plans for a dash northward. In the Cairo-Tehran conferences still in progress, both Stimson and Marshall had opposed any such ambitious plans on Alexander's part. There is no evidence that they considered such a role for Patton.
10. Eisenhower to Marshall, 24Aug43, *Marshall Library Files*
11. Notes for CofS, on Eisenhower's stationery, 2Oct43, brought to Washington by Smith, *SHAEF Files* (italics in original).
12. Eisenhower to Marshall, 17Dec43, *OPD Exec 9, Bk 14*.
13. *Ibid* See similar statement Smith to Hull, 138, 19Dec43, CM-IN 12388, *OPD Exec 17, Item 28*.
14. Marshall to Eisenhower, 5585, 23Dec-43, CM-OUT 8894, *OPD Exec 3, Pt 11*.
15. McNarney to Eisenhower, 5363, 21Dec-43, CM-OUT 7894, *OPD Exec 17, Item 28*.
16. Eisenhower to McNarney for Marshall, 187, 23Dec43, *Marshall Library Files*.
17. Eisenhower to Marshall, W-8550, 25-Dec43, CM-IN 16030, *OPD Exec 17, Item 28*.
18. *Ibid*.
19. Marshall to Eisenhower, 5810, 28Dec-43, CM-OUT 10107, *OPD Exec 17, Item 28*.

20. Eisenhower to Marshall, 8781, 29Dec43, *OPD Exec 17, Item 28* Marshall's earlier recommendation of Hodges had been reinforced by his statement to Eisenhower of 28Dec43 "Hodges is exactly same class of man as Bradley in practically every respect Wonderful shot, great hunter, quiet, self-effacing, thorough understanding of ground fighting, DSC, etc, etc"
21. Marshall to Eisenhower, 5898, 29Dec43, CM-OUT 10627, *OPD Exec 17, Item 28*
22. Marshall to Eisenhower, R-8213, 17-Jan44, Wilson to Eisenhower, W-448, 18Jan44, CM-IN 11472, *OPD Msg File*, Eisenhower to Marshall, W-9745, 19-Jan44, *OPD Exec 17, Item 28*
23. Marshall to Eisenhower, R-8213, 17-Jan44, *OPD Msg File*, Eisenhower to Marshall, W-9737, 18Jan44, CM-IN 11895, *OPD Exec 17, Item 28*
24. Marshall to Eisenhower, R-8316, 19-Jan44, CM-OUT 7432, *OPD Exec 3, Pt II*, Farago, *Patton*, 376, 382-83, Eisenhower to Marshall, W-9777, 20Jan44, CM-IN 13079, *OPD Msg File*, Eisenhower to Marshall, 9737, 18Jan44, *OPD Exec 17, Item 28*
25. As early as Jul41, McNair drew up for Marshall a list of officers he considered especially suited for higher command Of the men who would later head the theaters, army groups, and armies, several—MacArthur, Krueger, Buckner, Stilwell, and Patton—already had important command assignments Of the remainder a list of brig gens included Bradley, Gerow, Simpson, and Eichelberger, and a group of cols worthy of notice included Eisenhower, Patch, Clark, Handy, and J Lawton Collins.
26. Of Huebner, for example, he said later "Huebner I'd known as a first lieutenant in France in dugouts, trenches, etc, and I had a great fondness for and admiration for [him], particularly for his fighting qualities" Marshall int, 19Nov56
27. Eisenhower to Marshall, W-8967, 31-Dec43, *OPD Exec 17, Item 28*
28. Butcher, *My Three Years with Eisenhower*, 467.
29. Marshall to Eisenhower, 10Feb44, *WDCSA 381 (1944-45), Case 2*, Pogue, *Supreme Command*, 119.
30. Eisenhower to Marshall, 19Feb44; Bidwell to Brig Gen Frank N. Roberts, 21Feb44, *OPD Exec 9, Bk 15*
31. Marshall to Eisenhower, 2Mar44, *OPD Exec 9, Bk 15*
32. Eisenhower to Marshall, B-252, 10Mar44, *SHAEF Files*
33. Marshall int, 14Feb57.
34. Farago, *Patton*, 416ff
35. *Ibid*, 417, contains the text that apparently was reported in British and US newspapers Although Eisenhower to Marshall, S-50908, 29Apr44, *OPD Exec 1, Item 28c*, said: "His actual words according to my reports were, 'Since it seems to be the destiny of America, Great Britain and Russia to rule the world, the better we know each other the better off we will be,'" he appears to have been misled by staff members of his own headquarters According to Cmdr Butcher, Eisenhower's naval aide, "Our PRO [Press Relations Officer] has been busy on his own getting Russia included and to some extent has succeeded . ." Butcher, *My Three Years with Eisenhower*, 510-11. For the gist of Marshall's correspondence with Eisenhower, see Pogue, *Supreme Command*, 164-66, based on Eisenhower's personal file and Marshall's Executive Office File, made available to the author in the summer of 1946. *Papers of Eisenhower*, III, 1837-41, have the Eisenhower documents and summaries of other material.
36. Marshall to Eisenhower, WAR-28238, 26Apr44, *OPD Exec 1, Item 28c*
37. Marshall to Eisenhower, WAR-29722, 29Apr44, *OPD Exec 1, Item 28c*, Farago, *Patton*, 417
38. *Ibid*; Pogue, *Supreme Command*, 164-66, Marshall to Eisenhower, W-29722, 29Apr44, *OPD Exec 1, Item 28c*
39. Marshall to Eisenhower, W-29722, 29-Apr44, *OPD Exec 1, Item 28c*.
40. Eisenhower to Marshall, S-50908, 29-Apr44, *OPD Exec 1, Item 28c* Apparently Farago in his biography of Patton, 419-20, was misled by a long footnote in the author's *Supreme Command*, 165, n 17, into thinking that because a letter from Smith to Marshall is mentioned first that Smith actually wrote the severe letter cited above. This led him into an examination of reasons for Smith's animosity. In fact,

- as Butcher's *My Three Years with Eisenhower*, 531, points out, Smith had attempted to mollify Marshall. Smith's message of 27Apr44, S-50822, explaining to Marshall that Eisenhower was on a maneuver indicated that the Supreme Commander had been very reluctant to disclose Patton's presence in the United Kingdom for fear that he would create an incident. But Smith and the Press Relations Officer argued that newsmen would begin saying that they were trying to smuggle Patton in. *Papers of Eisenhower*, III, 1837-41, n 1838, makes clear that Smith was trying to play down Patton's indiscretion and that Eisenhower wrote the severe letter after returning to his headquarters.
- 41 Eisenhower to Patton, 29Apr44, *Marshall Library Files*
  - 42 Eisenhower to Marshall, S-50965, 30Apr44, *OPD Exec 1, Item 28c*.
  - 43 McNarney for Marshall to Eisenhower, W-30586, 1May44, *OPD Exec 1, Item 28c*
  - 44 Eisenhower to Marshall, S-51128, 3May44, *OPD Exec 1, Item 28c*
  - 45 Eisenhower to Patton, S-51129, 3May44, Stimson to Eisenhower, 5May44, *Eisenhower Personal File*
  - 46 Eisenhower to CCS, S-52026, 17May44, CM-IN 13179, *OPD Exec 6*
  - 47 Eisenhower to Marshall, 21May44, *OPD Exec 10, Item 57* Incidents summarized in Pogue, *Supreme Command*, 163-64
  - 48 Stimson Diary, 24 and 31May, 1, 2, and 5Jun44 See later references 19 and 20Jun44
  - 49 *Ibid*, 1Jun44.
  - 50 Diary Office of CinC, 23May44.
  - 51 Eisenhower to Marshall, S-52951, 1Jun44, Eisenhower to Marshall, 031815, 3Jun44, Eisenhower to Marshall, S-53141, 4Jun44, *OPD Exec 6*; Eisenhower to CCS, SCAF 46, 5Jun44, *SHAEF Files* See Pogue, *Supreme Command*, 166-70, based on interviews with most of the principals and on written accounts by two participants in the meeting, Air Marshal Sir James Robb and Gen Bull See my own recollections and those of others of the D-day period in addresses given at Eisenhower Library, 6Jun69, in collection of addresses published by Eisenhower Foundation, *D-Day: The Normandy Invasion in Retrospect*
  - 52 Stimson Diary, 5Jun44
  - 53 See *ibid*, 6Jun44, for the Secretary's reaction.
  - 54 Marshall to Madge Brown, 7Jun44, *Marshall Library Files*.
  - 55 Mrs John W Pendleton to author, 5Jan68. She had come to Washington just about the time that Clifton Brown, who had been sent back as a courier with Allen's effects, had attempted to call her in New York.
  - 56 Eisenhower to Marshall, 90016, 6Jun44, *OPD Msg File*
  - 57 William D Hassett, *Off the Record with F D R · 1942-1945*, 249

## XX: OF DE GAULLE AND THE LJUBLJANA GAP

I have drawn on the *Reports by the Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean, to the Combined Chiefs of Staff on the Italian Campaign: Part I, 8 January 1944-10 May 1944; Part II, 10 May 1944-12 August 1944; Part III, 13 August 1944-12 December 1944; and Report by the Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean, to the Combined Chiefs of Staff on the Operations in Southern France, August 1944*

1. Marshall to Roosevelt, S-53824, 15Jun44, CM-IN 11162, *SecWar Safe File, Folder French*
2. McCarthy to author, 8Nov57 and 9Jul71; Marshall to Lee, 13Jun44, *Marshall Library Files* For general details of trip see Arnold, *Global Mission*, 503-17, and King and Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King*, 547-55.
3. The location, approximately a forty-minute drive outside London, had been selected by members of Gen Eisenhower's staff on the theory that the Germans might soon launch heavy bombing attacks on the British capital in retaliation for D day.
4. Arnold, *Global Mission*, 505.
5. See informal notes CCS 163d mtg, 11Jun44, 2:15 pm, Stanwell Place, Middlesex, England, *OPD Exec 9, Bk 19*; Bryant, *Triumph in the West*, 157.
6. Informal notes, CCS 163d mtg, 11Jun44, *OPD Exec 9, Bk 19*; mins mtg held 11Jun44 at 2 15 pm Stanwell Place,

- Middlesex, England, *ABC 334 CCS Mins (1-23-42)*, Sec 7.
7. McCarthy to author, 8Nov67.
  - 8 For the visit to the beach I have used Bradley, *Soldier's Story*, 289-91, in addition to accounts by Arnold, *Global Mission*, 504-507, King and Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King*, 548-50; McCarthy to author, 8Nov67
  9. Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, 13-14
  - 10 Marshall to Roosevelt, S-53824, 14Jun44, CM-IN 11162, *SecWar Safe File, Folder French*
  11. Arnold, *Global Mission*, 509-12, says that about seven rockets fell within five miles of them and one about a mile and a half away. He gives detailed descriptions of the weapons. Later in the war the more powerful and more sophisticated V-2 rocket was put into service
  12. President to Prime Minister cited in Smith signed Eisenhower to Marshall, S-51841, 14May44, *OPD Exec 10, Item 52d*
  13. Marshall to Roosevelt, 15May44; Smith to Marshall, S-51841, 15May44, CM-IN 10806, *OPD Security, Sec 4, Case 72*
  14. Eisenhower to Marshall, S-51959, 16-May44, *OPD Exec 10, Item 52d*
  - 15 Roosevelt to Marshall, 2Jun44, *Marshall Library Files*
  16. Pogue, *Supreme Command*, 142-50, based in part on ints with Gen de Gaulle, Brig Gen R. A. McClure, Lt Gen Sir Frederick Morgan, and Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart
  - 17 Marshall int, 29Oct56 (author's notes) Marshall spoke at the CCS mtg on 15-Jun of a somewhat difficult interview he had with B  thouart, apparently the previous day
  18. Stimson Diary, 16Jun44
  - 19 Marshall int, 13Nov56.
  - 20 Roosevelt to Marshall, 14Jun44, *Marshall Library Files* "Therefore," he continued with a dig at London, "there does not appear to be any objection to de Gaulle's visit to France as arranged by the British Government without consulting the United States"
  - 21 de Gaulle, *War Memoirs*, II, 252-53; Anthony Eden, *The Reckoning The Memoirs of Anthony Eden, Earl of Avon*, 526-27; Cordell Hull, *The Mem-*
  - oirs of Cordell Hull*, II, 1431-32; Churchill, *Closing the Ring*, 628-30.
  - 22 Stimson Diary, 15Jun44. See also brief of tel conv Marshall to SecWar, 15Jun44, *SecWar File*
  23. Stimson Diary, 22Jun44; Marshall int, 29Oct56. It is not clear just when and where this meeting took place. Marshall was at Chequers for dinner on the tenth but this was before he knew of de Gaulle's action. Apparently it was on 13 or 14Jun
  - 24 Marshall int, 13Nov56 (author's notes).
  25. Stimson Diary, 14Jun44
  - 26 Ibid, 15Jun44.
  - 27 See *ibid*, 15 and 20Jun44, on the role of SecNavy Forrestal and AsstSecWar McCloy, perhaps at Stimson's suggestion, in influencing the publications.
  - 28 Ibid, 20Jun44.
  - 29 Marshall to Dill, 28Jul44, *Marshall Library Files* In int 29Oct56 Marshall said that when de Gaulle came here, "the President ordered me to meet him"
  30. *Washington Times-Herald*, 20Jun44, *New York Herald Tribune*, 20Jun44.
  31. Clark, *Calculated Risk*, 380-81, Marshall int, 5Oct56 (stenographic account)
  - 32 Marshall to Mrs Madge Brown, 23Jun44, *Marshall Library Files*
  - 33 Stimson Diary, 22Jun44
  - 34 Mins of special mtg with Marshall and Arnold at Advanced Hqs, SACMED, 17Jun44, SAC (44) Special, *ABC 384 Europe (5Aug43)*, Sec 9A
  35. Wilson int, 20Apr61
  - 36 Wilson to Eisenhower, B-12995, 19-Jun44, comment on CCS to Wilson and Eisenhower, OZ 3116, 15Jun44, *OPD Exec 17, Item 20*, Eisenhower to Wilson, S-53967, 16Jun44, *SHAEF SGS 370 2/2*, Opns from Mediterranean in Support of Overlord, II
  - 37 Kennedy, *Business of War*, 334.
  - 38 Eisenhower to Marshall, S-54239, 20-Jun44, CM-IN 16616, *OPD Exec 17, Item 20*, Marshall to Eisenhower, W-54372, 22Jun44, *OPD 381, 1942-44, Sec XVI, Case 405*
  - 39 Devers to Marshall, B-13019, 20Jun44, CM-IN 16360, *OPD Exec 17, Item 20*.
  - 40 Macmillan, *Blasi of War*, 416
  - 41 Handwritten note on Lt Col Frank S Henry to Chief SS, 20Jun44, Opns to ASSIST OVERLORD with SS 240/17, *ABC 381 SS papers, 240/11-240/24 (7Jan43)*.

42. Bryant, *Triumph in the West*, entry for 23Jun44, 166.
43. Kennedy, *Business of War*, entry for 22Jun44, 332 (italics in original).
44. Bryant, *Triumph in the West*, 165
45. Eisenhower to CCS, S-54425, 23Jun44, CM-IN 19511, *OPD Exec 17, Item 20* "France," he insisted, "is the decisive theater"
46. The landing in southern France, Marshall emphasized, was "the only operation which provides maximum support for OVERLORD, provides the required additional major port, puts the French forces in to France and opens the way for a greater number of U.S. divisions, utilizes air buildup in Corsica and concentrates maximum forces in the decisive theater" Marshall to Eisenhower, W-55794, 24Jun44, *OPD Exec 17, Item 20*
47. Kennedy, *Business of War*, 334.
48. Contained with text of American reply in Eisenhower to Marshall, S-54760, 29Jun44, CM-IN 24126, *OPD Exec 17, Item 20*, part of text is in Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, VI, 351-52.
49. Eisenhower to Marshall, S-54760, 29-Jun44, *OPD Exec 17, Item 20*
50. Marshall to Eisenhower, W-58039, W-58040, W-58041, 29Jun44, *OPD Exec 17, Item 20*
51. Prime Minister to President, 718, 28-Jun44, *OPD Exec 10, Item 63c*.
52. Corres of 28 and 29Jun44, between President and Prime Minister is given in Marshall to Eisenhower, W-58039, W-58040, W-58041, 29Jun44, *OPD Exec 17, Item 20* Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, 721-23, gives the full text of the 29Jun44 message from the President as he received it. It must be remembered that messages sent in code were supposed to be paraphrased when sent again. For this reason I have cited the body of the text as Churchill received it from Roosevelt, but have given the text of the final two paragraphs as they were added to the WD draft at the WH. This text and the matter of authorship are given in CKG [Col Charles K. Gailey] to Handy, 30Jun44, *OPD Exec 10, Item 71*.
53. Bryant, *Triumph in the West*, 167.
54. Eisenhower to Marshall, S-54849, 1Jul-44, CM-IN 411, *OPD Exec 17, Item 20*.
55. Butcher, *My Three Years with Eisenhower*, 10Jul44, 608.
56. Churchill to Ismay, 6Jul44, Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, 691-92.
57. CCS to Wilson, COSMED, 139, 2Jul44, CM-IN 1613, *OPD Exec 10, Item 52c*.
58. Eisenhower to Marshall, S-56667, 2Aug-44, *OPD Msg File*
59. Eisenhower to Marshall, FWD-12614, 5Aug44, *OPD Msg File*
60. Eisenhower to Marshall, 11Aug44, *Marshall Library Files*, cited Butcher, *My Three Years with Eisenhower*, 639. Mtg was on 9Aug.
61. Eisenhower to Churchill, 11Aug44. On the fifteenth Churchill wrote: "Thank you for your most kind letter of August 11" *Eisenhower Personal File*.
62. Col Richard Park to SGS, 7Aug44, giving reply of Hopkins to Prime Minister; President to Prime Minister, 596, 7Aug44, PM to President, 8Aug44, *OPD Exec 10, Item 63c*
63. Prime Minister to Eisenhower, 4519, 18Aug44, *Eisenhower Personal File*; see Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, VI, 363-400, Eisenhower to Wilson pass to Churchill, CPA-90240, 24Aug44, *Eisenhower Personal File*.
64. See Maurice Matloff, "The Anvil Decision: Crossroads of Strategy," in *Command Decisions*, ed Greenfield, 383-400 On the importance of Marseille to Eisenhower's supply in fall and winter 1944-45, see Roland G. Ruppenthal, *Logistical Support of the Armies*, I, 124.
65. Marshall int, 29Oct56 (author's notes).
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid, 20Nov56.
68. Chester Wilmot, *The Struggle for Europe*, chap 23.
69. Moran, *Churchill*, entry of 4Aug44, 173.
70. Field Marshal Earl Alexander, *The Alexander Memoirs, 1940-1945*, ed John North, 115-17.
71. Alanbrooke int, 5May61. In a letter to Wilson, 2Aug44, cited in Bryant, *Triumph in the West*, 191, Brooke said. "It was a great pity that we were defeated over ANVIL in the end: Alex's talk about his advance on Vienna killed all our arguments dead. It is a pity because I do not see Alex advancing on Vienna this year unless he does it in the face of a crumbling Germany, and in that case he has am-

ple forces for the task and greater than he will be able to administer over snow-covered mountain passes. However, I do not feel that ANVIL can do much harm at this stage of the

war, and it may well prove of some use in introducing French forces to reinforce the Maquis."

72 Wilson int, 20Apr61.

73 Moran, *Churchill*, 184

### XXI: THE DRIVE TOWARD GERMANY

I have drawn on Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe*, Montgomery, *Memoirs*, MacDonald, *Stegfried Line Campaign*, and Cole, *Lorraine Campaign*.

1. Butcher, *My Three Years with Eisenhower*, 66, 614-15.
2. Marshall int, 21Nov56.
3. Butcher, *My Three Years with Eisenhower*, 622
4. *Ibid*, 630-31; Pogue, *Supreme Command*, 192-93.
5. Marshall to Eisenhower, W-73221, 31-Jul44, *OPD 311.23 TS (1942-44), Case 33*, Martin Blumenson, *Breakout and Pursuit*, 197-335
6. Craven and Cate, *Army Air Forces in World War II*, III, 596, Lewis H. Breton, *The Breton Diaries The War in the Air in the Pacific, Middle East and Europe*, 30 October 1941-8 May 1945, 309, 323, Eisenhower to Marshall, S-54239, 20Jun44, *SHAEF Files*; Marshall to Eisenhower, W-56294, 26-Jun44, *SHAEF G-3 Formation of FAAA 7281/1 Airborne*, Eisenhower to Marshall, S-55192, 8Jul44, *OPD Exec 10, Item 52c*
7. Eisenhower to Marshall, CPA-90228, 17Aug44, *OPD Msg File*
8. See ltr, Eisenhower to Arnold, 3Sept-44, n2, *Papers of Eisenhower*, IV, 2112-13 Charles B MacDonald, "The Decision to Launch Operation Market-Garden," in *Command Decisions*, ed Greenfield, 329-41, Charles B MacDonald, *The Stegried Line Campaign*, 119-39 For criticism of the withdrawal of planes from transporting gasoline for ground troops in order to prepare for a drop at Tournai, see Liddell Hart, *History of the Second World War*, 563
9. Stories cited in Butcher, *My Three Years with Eisenhower*, 648-49; Diary Office of CinC, 19Aug44.
10. Baldwin, *New York Times*, 17Aug44
11. Marshall to Eisenhower, W-82265, 17-Aug44, *SHAEF Files*.
12. Eisenhower to Marshall, CPA-90230, 19Aug44, *SHAEF Files* In his *Memoirs*, 228, Montgomery wrote. "I never once had cause or reason to alter my master plan"
13. Eisenhower to Marshall, 24Aug44, *OPD Exec 9, Bk 22*
14. Mrs Theodore Roosevelt, Jr, *Day Before Yesterday The Reminiscences of Mrs Theodore Roosevelt*, 450-51, Marshall ints, 28Sept56 and 11Apr57
15. Stimson Diary, 21Aug44
16. Marshall to Mrs Lesley J McNair, 26-Jul44, *Marshall Library Files*
17. Draft of Remarks for CofS at Ceremony Honoring Gen McNair—apparently 25May45, at Army War College—accepting plaque in honor of Gen McNair. The legend on the plaque read "To commemorate the quiet thoroughness of this outstanding soldier", *Marshall Library Files*
18. Devers to Marshall, 1Jul44, Marshall to Devers, WX-66124, 16Jul44; Eisenhower to Marshall, 12Jul44, *Marshall Library Files*, Pogue, *Supreme Command*, 229
19. Marshall int, 4Feb57 The Patton argument can be followed in Gen George S Patton, *War as I Knew It*, Robert Allen, *Lucky Forward*, Ingersoll, *Top Secret*; Farago, *Patton*, and, more recently, in Liddell Hart, *History of the Second World War* Montgomery's position is stated in his *Memoirs* and is supported by Alanbrooke in Bryant's *Triumph in the West* The Eisenhower position on the broad-front versus narrow-front argument may be found in his *Crusade in Europe*; Stephen Ambrose, *Supreme Commander*, and his essay in *Papers of Eisenhower*, V, 39-48, Lt Gen Sir Francis de Guingand, *Operation Victory*. Also see Pogue, *Supreme Command*, and Rupenthal, *Logistical Support of the Armies*, I For a good statement on why Eisenhower could not deprive Bradley and Patton of their share in the ad-

- vance, see Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, V, 380-81.
20. Butcher, *My Three Years with Eisenhower*, 638-39.
  21. I have drawn on the convenient summaries of Liddell Hart, *History of the Second World War*, chap 32, and Ziemke, *Stalingrad to Berlin*.
  22. Fenard to Marshall, 23Aug44, *Marshall Library Files*.
  23. Marshall to Fenard, 30Aug44, *Marshall Library Files*.
  24. Pasco to Marshall, 19 and 22Aug44, *Sexton Papers*. Arnold, *Global Mission*, 522-23. Gen and Mrs Marshall had also visited former Amb and Mrs Joseph Davies at their Adirondacks lodge, Camp Topridge, in New York, 9-15Aug.
  25. Pasco to Marshall, 19 and 21Aug44, *Sexton Papers*.
  26. Arnold, *Global Mission*, 523.
  27. Ziemke, *Stalingrad to Berlin*, 340, 344-45; Arnold, *Global Mission*, 524-25.
  28. Marshall to Hopkins, 18Aug44, *Marshall Library Files*.
  29. Mins CCS 172d mtg, 12Sept44, 12:00, *Octagon Conf Bk, Sept44*, 191
  30. Ibid. See also Webster and Frankland, *Strategic Air Offensive Against Germany*, III, 65-68.
  31. Lord Tedder, *With Prejudice*, 602-606, 611-12.
  32. Bryant, *Triumph in the West*, 219.
  33. Mins CCS 172d mtg, 12Sept44, 12:00, *Octagon Conf Bk*, 193.
  34. Ibid, 195.
  35. Mins CCS 1st Plenary Session, 13Sept-44, 11:45 am, *Octagon Conf Bk*, 236-37.
  36. Bryant, *Triumph in the West*, 204.

## XXII: ROADS TO TOKYO

For valuable sources see notes 19 and 21. I interviewed Adm Nimitz and Robert Sherrod for this chapter.

1. Marshall to MacArthur, 23Dec43, *Marshall Library Files*.
2. Marshall to MacArthur, 30Dec43; Adm Richard S. Edwards to Marshall, 4Jan-44, indicated that the carrier would be available within a few days, *Marshall Library Files*.
3. See sources cited Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943-1944*, 456, n 12; and MacArthur to Marshall, 2Feb44, CM-IN 1443, *OPD Msg File*.
4. Stimson Diary, 17Feb44.
5. MacArthur through Osborn to Stimson, 21Jan44, included with Stimson Diary entry of 18Feb44. A copy of the remarks MacArthur asked Osborn to convey was given to Marshall by Osborn.
6. MacArthur to Marshall, 27Feb44, *Marshall Library Files*.
7. See similar episode in Pogue, *Ordeal and Hope*, 378.
8. Marshall to MacArthur, 9Mar44, *Marshall Library Files*.
9. Marshall to MacArthur, 19Mar44, *Marshall Library Files*.
10. JCS to MacArthur and Nimitz, 12Mar-44, CM-IN 5137, *OPD Msg File*, cited Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943-1944*, 458-59.
11. Marshall to MacArthur, 8Jun44, *Marshall Library Files*.
12. MacArthur to Marshall, 18Jun44, *Marshall Library Files*
13. Stimson Diary, 22Jun44.
14. Marshall to MacArthur, 24Jun44, *Marshall Library Files*.
15. Vandenberg, *Private Papers*, 83-84.
16. *Time*, 24Apr44.
17. Vandenberg, *Private Papers*, 85; *Time*, 24Apr44.
18. Vandenberg, *Private Papers*, 84-86.
19. For the basic account of the Marianas story, see Samuel E. Morison, *New Guinea and the Marianas*; Philip A. Crowl, *Campaign in the Marianas*; King and Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King*; Robert D. Heinl, *Soldiers of the Sea: The U.S. Marine Corps, 1775-1962*.
20. Morison, *New Guinea and the Marianas*, 339-40.
21. I have relied heavily on Crowl, *Campaign in the Marianas*, chap 10, for treatment of this controversy. Crowl, a naval officer in the Pacific in World War II, was co-author with J. A. Isely of *The U.S. Marines And Amphibious Warfare*. His account is judicious and well balanced and is considered fair by the Navy, Army, and Marine Corps

- historians. I am indebted to Robert Sherrod for detailed newspaper coverage of the whole controversy and for some of the principal items of correspondence. In defending his articles, he got a number of pertinent documents from the Navy Department. The original collection, now at Syracuse University, was sent to me for copying at Sherrod's request. For his articles see "Saipan," *Life*, 28Aug44, and "Command, The Generals Smith," *Time*, 18Sept44
22. Nimitz to King, 27Oct44, *WDCSA 000 7, 1944-45*
  23. King to Marshall, 6Nov44, *WDCSA 000 7, 1944-45*
  24. Marshall to King, 22Nov44, *WDCSA 000 7, 1944-45*
  25. King to Marshall, 23Nov44, *WDCSA 000 7, 1944-45*
  26. Nimitz int, Nov60, said Marshall came to see him a month or so after the events on Saipan and declared that he would never let soldiers serve again under a Marine. Nimitz said that he had never seen Marshall so exercised. While I do not question the possibility that Marshall may have had such a feeling, it is a little difficult to resolve the time sequence. Although Nimitz saw King on several occasions in the summer and fall of 1944, when King either met him in California or flew out to the Pacific, it seems unlikely that he and Marshall saw each other until early 1945, when Nimitz appeared before the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington. Marshall's only visit to Nimitz's headquarters in the Pacific was in Dec43 on his return from the Cairo conference. It is worth noting Nimitz's opinion of Marshall as stated in 1960: "From the time I first saw Marshall [in 1939], I thought he was an able, distinguished man of high moral integrity who would do nothing he should not do. I never had reason to change my mind."
  27. Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943-1944*, 480-81
  28. See accounts by Leahy, *I Was There*, 246-49ff, King and Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King*, 566
  29. Nimitz int, Nov60
  30. MacArthur to King, with information copy to Marshall, 5Aug44, *OPD 201, MacArthur, (1942-44), Case 1*. Pasco to Marshall, 15Aug44, *ibid*, said that the copies had been brought from Southwest Pacific by Col William L. Ritchie for Marshall, King, and Leahy
  31. Marshall to MacArthur, 21Aug44; Pasco to Marshall, 21Aug44, MacArthur to Marshall, 30Aug44, *OPD 384 TS (1942-44), Case 53*
  32. *Biennial Report of Chief of Staff of US Army, July 1, 1943 to June 30, 1945 to the SecWar*, 71.

### XXIII. SOLDIERS AS GOVERNORS

I have relied heavily on Coles and Weinberg, *Civil Affairs Soldiers Become Governors*, William Franklin, "Zonal Boundaries and Access to Berlin," *World Politics*, Oct 1963; Matloff, *Strategic Planning for Coalition Warfare, 1943-1944*, *US For Rels*, 1944, I

1. Coles and Weinberg, *Civil Affairs*
2. Marshall int, 14Feb57
3. Stimson Diary, 4Nov42.
4. Marshall int, 14Feb57. See ltr from Maj Gen Julius Klein to author, 19-Feb70, *Marshall Library Files*
5. Marshall int, 14Feb57
6. Stimson Diary, 6Nov42
7. For background on this and other early developments pertaining to the school and CAD, see Coles and Weinberg, *Civil Affairs*, 3-69, and Cline, *Washington Command Post*, 320-27
8. Hilldring int, 30Mar59. The words are Hilldring's summary of Marshall's views
9. *Ibid*. Only the statement that "we are a priesthood" sounds unlike the language that Marshall used at other times in speeches or testimony. Hilldring also quoted a story told him by Roosevelt illustrating that MacArthur in the 1930s shared this viewpoint. The President said that when he first asked MacArthur to take over the task of organizing the Civilian Conservation Corps, Gen MacArthur replied that he couldn't do it, since it was not a task concerned with the defense of the country. Roosevelt was at first irritated but he remarked to Hilldring that on thinking it over that evening

he was pleased. "He said, I guess I must admit, as much as I was disturbed that morning, that if the Chief of Staff of the Army is so devoted to keeping the Army out of anything that smatters even slightly of a political activity and he feels this so strongly that he will defy the Commander-in-Chief, we've got something in the noodles of our professional soldiers that's good for the country. So I absolved MacArthur from culpability here. I didn't change my mind about wanting him to do it and insisting that he would do it, but I did get some vicarious satisfaction out of his behavior that morning. . . ." For MacArthur's views on the value to the Army of the CCC experience, see Pogue, *Education of a General*, 279.

10. Marshall to Stettinius, 13Jul44, *Marshall Library Files*. Marshall was an old friend of Stettinius and addressed this letter to "Ed." He also suggested that it might be best to keep the letter out of the records
11. Stettinius to Marshall, 14Jul44, *Marshall Library Files*
12. McCloy to Marshall, 15Jul44, *Marshall Library Files*.
13. For the best treatment of the question of zone boundaries, see William Franklin, "Zonal Boundaries and Access to Berlin," *World Politics*, Oct63, 1-31. See also Philip E. Mosely, "The Occupation of Germany. New Light on How the Zones Were Drawn," *Foreign Affairs*, Jul50, 580-604.
14. See folder in National Archives, *OPD Exec 2, Item 11*. The initial notes kept by the recorder are confusing. They indicate that Roosevelt said that Berlin was to be in the US zone. However this does not coincide with the map on which Roosevelt drew his lines and is contradicted by the instructions transmitted by the President. Moreover, within a few days Roosevelt had a chance to pass on the correctness of the instructions as recalled by Marshall. They appeared in a CCS paper, 320/4 (Rev), 4Dec43, incorporating Roosevelt's instructions as Marshall and Handy understood them, which the COSSAC staff was asked to examine. The map marked by Roosevelt was reprinted in Matloff's *Strategic Planning, 1943-1944*, 341, which appeared in 1959, and reference is made to it, together with the pertinent papers regarding it, in *US For Rels, Cairo-Tehran*, 261, 786-87. It was reproduced, along with a sketch map—which corresponds with a later map put out by the State Department based on Boundaries referred to in CCS 320/4(Rev)—in 1966 in Cornelius Ryan's *The Last Battle*, facing 162. Cf similar sketch map in *US For Rels 1944*, I, facing 196, which also appeared in 1966. In his written account Ryan carefully handles the contradictory statements about whether the United States should or should not have Berlin. However his editors in their captions for the maps declared (162-63): "Roosevelt's desire to have Berlin for the United States was clearly evident from the lines he drew on the National Geographic map. . . ." The original Roosevelt map obviously shows no such thing. This statement is followed by another editorial comment: "Military minds prevailed and one of the plans that was substituted for FDR's was the one below—notice that Berlin is no longer included in the projected American zone. . . ." In fact it is similar to the State Department map, which attempted to indicate what Roosevelt had asked for. A crude sketch map, not reproduced, that accompanied Handy's instructions also shows Berlin east of the line. It seems likely that a hasty reading of this sketch, a crude overlay of the Roosevelt map, resulted in the inclusion of Cottbus, the exclusion of Berlin, and the failure to touch the Czech border. The later and neater sketch map follows the boundaries noted in Handy's memo of 19Nov and CCS 320/4(Rev), 4Dec43. Clearly if the United States Army changed Mr. Roosevelt's plans it was between 19Nov43 and 4Dec43, while the conference was in progress, and not weeks later in the Pentagon. A copy of the initial notes by the recorder, obviously not a stenographer, is included with the Handy memo and the short handwritten notes kept by Marshall. The initial record shows some blanks and some words, with question marks, that are almost nonsensical. In the final "official" version some of these blanks are filled in with

- what seem to be correct words, others are omitted entirely. It is this version that says Roosevelt wanted Berlin for the United States, although the map marked by the President does not do so and Marshall's instructions to Handy definitely say that Berlin is to be jointly occupied. Since the Handy version was available for Roosevelt's later scrutiny (in an official paper submitted the morning after Roosevelt had discussed the boundaries with Churchill), I am inclined to conclude that the Marshall version is correct.
- 15 Ryan, *Last Battle*, 149.
- 16 See *US For Rels, Cairo-Tehran*, 879-88, for pertinent information.
- 17 George F Kennan, *Memoirs, 1925-1950*, 166-71.
18. Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe*, 218-19, Eisenhower, *At Ease Stories I Tell to Friends*, 267-68, Henry Luce, "To Ike, the Wall Rises between Opposing Ideas of Man," *Life*, 8Sept61, 46-49. In a conference with his policy advisers at the Brown Palace Hotel in Denver, Colorado, 29Jul52, Eisenhower mentioned pleading with President Roosevelt in Jan44 not to divide Germany. If the Russians insisted on having their area, he recommended that the Western Allies keep their part as a unit. This statement is in line with his *Crusade in Europe* statement. Copy of the conference remarks furnished author 13May71 by Dr Walter Judd, one of the advisers present. Cf article in *US News & World Report*, 25Jan71, based on this transcript.
- 19 Eisenhower to Marshall, 15Feb44, *OPD Exec 9, Bk 15*.
- 20 Franklin, "Zonal Boundaries and Access to Berlin," *World Politics*, Oct63, 1-31, *US For Rels, Malta-Yalta*, 117-21, 127, 174, 956.
- 21 *US For Rels, Malta-Yalta*, 117-21, 127, 174, 956. At Yalta a decision was made to allocate a zone carved out of the areas assigned to the Western Allies. Marshall commented in 1956 "The occupation zones were an irritant to Churchill and a puzzle to me. . . . The boundaries were set in London. We thought the Russians would take Berlin before we could get there. Never entered our minds that we could get to Berlin ahead of them." Marshall int, 14Nov56 (author's notes).
- 22 For excellent summary see Paul Y. Hammond, "Directives for the Occupation of Germany: The Washington Controversy," in *American Civil-Military Decisions, A Book of Case Studies*, ed Harold Stein, 311-464.
- 23 John Blum, ed, *From the Diaries of Henry Morgenthau, Jr, III*, 328. Cantil, *Public Opinion, 1935-1946*, 1141. In Britain two-thirds of those expressing an opinion favored the permanent separation of the Ruhr, and more than half wanted Germany to be split into several states. A popular book of the period, *The Black Record of Germany, Past, Present, and Future*, by Sir Robert Vansittart, for many years Permanent Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, called for "the defeat, demilitarisation, occupation, re-education of Germany" to create "a prosperous but not powerful Germany. A full life and a full larder, but keep their arsenals empty." Preface, ix.
- 24 Pogue, *Supreme Command*, 353-58.
- 25 Blum, *Morgenthau Diaries*, III, 343-69.
- 26 Stimson Diary, 4Sept44.
- 27 Ibid, 5Sept44.
- 28 Ibid, 6Sept44.
29. Ibid, 7Sept44. Stimson in his Diary entry of 9Oct44 noted that the British ambassador, Lord Halifax, said that perhaps the best way to handle Nazi criminals was to shoot them without a trial.
- 30 Ibid, 9 and 11Sept44.
- 31 Ibid, 14Sept44.
- 32 Ibid, 16 and 17Sept44.
- 33 Eden, *Reckoning*, 552; Stimson Diary, 20Sept44.
- 34 Moran, *Churchill*, 193-95.
- 35 He also passed on Acheson's comment that Stimson's two memos were "remarkable examples of his rugged common sense and courage." Acheson to Marshall, 28May47; Marshall to Stimson, 30May47, note indicating Marshall wrote Stimson for permission to use them on 28Apr47, *Marshall Library Files*. The documents were made available to Marshall by Dr Rudolph Winnacker, Historian, Dept of Defense.

## XXIV: VICTORY DEFERRED

I have interviews on this period with Gens Eisenhower, Bradley, Ridgway, Taylor, and Carter Clarke, Lady Mary Burghley, Lady Dill, Maj MacDonald-Buchanan.

1. See Pogue, *Ordeal and Hope*, app I
2. Speech by Rep Forest A. Harness, *Cong Record*, 78th Cong, 2d sess, 11-Sept44, XC, pt 6, 7648-51. See also speech, *ibid*, 18Sept44, 7866-68.
3. *Pearl Harbor Attack Hearings*, 1132ff.
4. *Ibid*.
5. Marshall to Dewey, 27Sept44 (2d ltr), *Pearl Harbor Attack Hearings*, pt 3, 1132-33. Also see following pages for discussion of circumstances surrounding the letter. The second letter added: "A further most serious embarrassment is the fact that the British Government is involved concerning its most secret sources of information, regarding which only the Prime Minister, the Chiefs of Staff and a very limited number of other officials have knowledge" Marshall omitted from the last quoted paragraph the following: "I might add that the recent action of Congress in requiring Army and Navy investigations for action before certain dates has compelled me to bring back the Corps commander, General Gerow, whose troops are fighting at Trier, to testify here while the Germans are counterattacking his forces there This, however, is a very minor matter compared to the loss of our code information."
6. Marshall testified in Dec45 that after the election, he sent Maj Gen Clayton Bissell, G-2, to Albany to show Dewey intercepted messages and the use made of them. He later invited him to the Pentagon to see other material, *ibid*, 1136-37.
7. Marshall to Truman, 22Sept45, *Marshall Library Files*.
8. Truman to Marshall, 24Sept45, *Marshall Library Files*.
9. *Life*, 17Dec45, 20, has edited text. See reprint of this version in Allen W. Dulles, *Great True Spy Stories*, 285-89.
10. Chester G Starr, *From Salerno to the Alps*, 165, 305-306, 332. Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, VI, 37-39.
11. Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, VI, 47-48
12. *Ibid*, 48-50; Leahy to President, 14-Oct44, sends draft of President to Prime Minister, replying to 793, *OPD Exec 10, Item 63c*.
13. James F. Byrnes, *All in One Lifetime*, 244. See folder Trips-France, 5-14Oct-44, *Marshall Library Files*, Handy int, 14Jul70.
14. Patton, *War as I Knew It*, 148
15. Ltr Bradley to author, 6May68.
16. Montgomery, *Memoirs*, 254.
17. Marshall int, 15Nov56.
18. Lucian K. Truscott, *Command Missions A Personal Story*, 439
19. Jean de Lattre de Tassigny, *The History of the French First Army*, 194-95; Marshall int, 15Nov56; Handy int, 14-Jul70
20. Marshall int, 15Nov56.
21. Ltr Maj Gen Paul Baade to Hist Div, 3Dec44, *After Action Reports 35th Div, Record Group 407, National Archives*, Baade to Marshall, 30Oct44; McCarthy to Pasco, 9, 11, and 12Oct-44; Marshall to CG 1st Army Hodges, 12Oct44; Marshall to CG V Corps Gerow, 12Oct44; Marshall to Eisenhower, 16Oct44, *Marshall Library Files*; Patton, *War as I Knew It*, 151.
22. Marshall to Mrs Patton, 25Oct44. This was actually in reply to Mrs Patton's letter of thanks for a telegram that Pasco had sent her at Marshall's request. See also Marshall to Mrs Eisenhower, 24Oct44, *Marshall Library Files*. As noted earlier, Marshall called few people by their first names. See my *Ordeal and Hope*, 476, n 50, where Eisenhower says he thinks he called him Ike only once.
23. Marshall to McCoy, 17Oct44, *Marshall Library Files*
24. Marshall to Eisenhower, 16Oct44, *Marshall Library Files*. According to Stimson, Marshall considered Devers under some strain and not quite as much in command of his situation as Eisenhower clearly was. Marshall had spent a lot of time with Bradley, "whom he always thinks highly of." Stimson Diary, 16Oct44
25. Stimson Diary, 3Nov44.
26. Marshall to Handy and Hull, 20Oct-

44. *OPD 381 TS (1942-44), Sec XVIII, Case 538/2*, Marshall to Eisenhower, W-50676, 22Oct44, *OPD 370.5 TS (1942-44), Sec XV, Case 520/8*; draft of directive to Eisenhower and others, SS 316, 20Oct44, *ABC 381 SS Papers (7Jan43), Nos. 314-326*; Pogue, *Supreme Command*, 307.
27. Eisenhower to Marshall, S-63616, 23-Oct44, *Papers of Eisenhower*, IV, 2247-49 (the long note to this cable summarizes in particular the discussions about air). For lengthy footnote on recommendations of planners, British Chief of Staff action, and Marshall's order to delay action, see Pogue, *Supreme Command*, 308, n 10
28. Eisenhower to Marshall, S-63259, 21-Oct44, CM-IN 19569, *OPD Msg File*.
29. These involved ammunition for 8-inch guns and howitzers; 240-mm. howitzers; 155-mm. guns and howitzers; 105-mm. howitzers; and 81-mm. mortars
30. Marshall to Eisenhower, W-50677, 22-Oct44, *Marshall Library Files*. To deal with this problem Eisenhower urged that Maj Gen Lucius Clay, then director of materiel for Gen Somervell's command, be sent temporarily to take charge of the port of Cherbourg.
31. Marshall to Eisenhower, WAR 51862, 25Oct44, *OPD Msg File*, Eisenhower to Marshall, S-63616, 23Oct44; Eisenhower to Marshall, S-64077, 26Oct44, *SHAEP Files*
32. Eisenhower to Marshall, S-67807, 22-Nov44, *WDCSA 471 TS (1944-45), Case 4*
33. Churchill to Roosevelt, 844, 6Dec44; Roosevelt to Churchill, 672, 9Dec44.
- |           |          |              |                                     |
|-----------|----------|--------------|-------------------------------------|
| Western—  | 43 div   | 1,776,360 on | 256 mile front (American)           |
|           | 8 div    | 277,184 on   | 315 mile front (French)             |
|           | 15 div   | on           | 195 mile front (British and others) |
| Italian   | 6 div    | on           | 70 mile front (American)            |
|           | 15 div   | on           | 113 mile front (British and others) |
| Dalmatian | 9-10 div | 30,000 on    | 340 mile front (Yugoslav partisans) |
| Russian   | 440 div  | 3,500,000 on | 1450 mile front (Russians)          |
|           | 12 div   | 140,000 on   | 100 mile front (Rumanians)          |
|           | 7 div    | 21,000       | (Yugoslavs)                         |
- DCofS G-2 Brig Gen John Weckerling to Marshall, 12Dec44, *Marshall Library Files*
48. Pogue, *Supreme Command*, chap 20, 359-72.
49. Hugh M. Cole, *The Ardennes. Battle of the Bulge*, 80-102.
- Leahy had forwarded the Churchill message to Marshall and King for response. A note on message 672 indicates that it was sent to Churchill as corrected by Marshall, *OPD Exec 10, Item 63c, Pt 2*
34. Marshall to Stark, 8Dec44, *Marshall Library Files*.
35. Moran, *Churchill*, 189-90.
36. Stimson Diary, 4 and 9Nov44
37. See Dill file in Marshall papers on last illness, funeral, and statue and Robert Woods Bliss correspondence.
38. Churchill to Marshall, OZ-6528, 5Nov-44, *Marshall Library Files*.
39. Marshall to Churchill, 7Nov44, *Marshall Library Files*
40. Marshall to Lady Burghley, 16Dec44, *Marshall Library Files*.
41. Lady Dill to Marshall, 22Dec44 and 10Jan45, *Marshall Library Files*.
42. Marshall int, 11Feb57.
43. Stimson Diary, 13 and 14Sept44.
44. Although four five-star admirals were authorized, the Navy decided to postpone naming Adm Halsey for the moment. He was appointed Fleet Adm 4Dec45. Gen Bradley was made General of the Army as of 18Sept50.
45. Stimson Diary, 28Nov, 12 and 15Dec-44, *Cong Record*, 78th Cong, 2d sess, 15Dec44, XC, pt 7, 9527.
46. Stimson Diary, 13Nov44, *Cong Record*, 78th Cong, 2d sess, 5Dec44, XC, pt 7, HR 5493, 8837; 28Nov44, XC, pt 6, S 2192, 8501
47. Marshall's G-2 Division reported to him on 12Dec44 the following regarding the strength of Allied armies on various fronts
50. Stimson Diary, 18 and 19Dec44.
51. Marshall to Eisenhower, W-81088, 22-Dec44, *Marshall Library Files*, Marshall int, 14Nov56 (author's notes).
52. Of his talks with Marshall, Taylor wrote Ridgway on 17Jan45, "Everyone in Washington appeared pleased over

the conduct of Airborne troops in battle. However, General Marshall is emphatic in speaking about the 'timidity' of our planning. His idea of the proper Airborne operation is to seize an air head and then pour in large quantities of troops. He is plainly impressed with the use of Airborne troops in the

Southwest [Pacific] I pointed out some of the difficulties in such an operation in Europe, but I am not sure he was listening. He damned without stint the Montgomery 'Carpet' in Holland."

53 Marshall to Eisenhower, W-84337, 30-Dec44, *Marshall Library Files*.

## XXV: CRISIS IN MANPOWER

I relied heavily on Fairchild and Grossman, *Army and Industrial Manpower*; Lee, *Employment of Negro Troops*, Palmer and others, *Procurement and Training of Ground Combat Troops*; Tedder, *With Prejudice*; Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*. Interviews included those with Gens Lewis Hershey, Walter Bedell Smith, Ben Lear.

1. Stimson Diary, 21 and 28Dec44. See draft of statement for Stimson.
2. Philadelphia *Record*, 23Dec44.
3. Washington *Star*, 28Dec44.
4. Somervell to Marshall, n.d. but after 28Dec44, forwarding memo, n.d., no signature; note at top: "To accompany Mr Stimson's weekly war review of last Thursday," BPR War Review by SecWar at Press Conference, 28Dec44, *Marshall Library Files*.
5. Ibid; note attached to Somervell to Marshall, n.d. but after 28Dec44, *Marshall Library Files*.
6. Somervell to Marshall, 30Dec44, *Marshall Library Files*.
7. WD press release, 12Dec44; Somervell to Marshall, 30Dec44, *Marshall Library Files*.
8. Stimson Diary, 15Jan45.
9. *Biennial Report of the Chief of Staff of the US Army, July 1, 1943 to June 30, 1945 to the Secretary of War*, 103-104.
10. Marshall concurred with Stimson on Wilbur's power and directness but feared that the appointment of "a [combat] soldier would antagonize Congress." Stimson Diary, 27Dec44.
11. Hershey made his case clear in Oct45, when he was shown a copy of Gen Marshall's final report containing the statement on "shortages in deliveries of inductees" cited above. The Selective Service head protested vigorously to the Chief of Staff. In addition to detailing Army changes in policy during the early part of 1943, he spelled out problems that arose later that year. He suggested that Army physical and mental standards had been set unreasonably high in the July-September

period, when 420,000 men out of 1,189,000 delivered by Selective Service to induction stations had been rejected. Of these 175,000 had been turned down for mental reasons unaccompanied by organic disability and "100,000 were neurotics of a type not identified normally in civilian life." In this case Hershey was alluding to the retention of Army peacetime standards, when conditions such as overweight and underweight, poor but correctible vision, tendency to bed-wetting, and mental disturbances accounted for a significant number of rejections Hershey to Marshall, n.d. but received in G-1 from Marshall, 1Oct45, *Marshall Library Files*. Hershey emphasized that sudden shifts in Army policy resulting from political pressures and momentary needs led to sudden stops in induction calls. He noted, for example, successful Air Forces efforts to reduce the recruitment from the states of Oregon, Washington, and California, when aircraft plants there needed men. Despite Hershey's complaints that part of Marshall's report gave a misleading picture, the Chief of Staff decided to let it stand. For the whole affair, see Hershey to Marshall, n.d. but received in G-1 from Marshall, 1Oct45; draft reply of 3Oct45 for Marshall's signature (not sent); advice of Surlis to send no detailed reply, in Surlis to Pasco, 5Oct45; and finally the reply, saying that "The fact they occurred and their effect on operations were sufficient for a factual recital of the military events as they happened," Marshall to Her-

- shey, 8Oct45 (not sent), *Marshall Library Files*
- 12 Stimson Diary, 31Dec44
  13. Ibid, 1 and 2Jan45
  - 14 It is difficult to arrive at an accurate figure for fighting and nonfighting men Apparently Marshall and his staff in referring to supply personnel actually meant those at ports and bases Every combat division had personnel engaged in housekeeping and supply activities Lt Col John B Morgan to Pasco, 2Jan45, Marshall to SecWar, 2Jan45, Pasco for Marshall to SecWar, 3Jan45, extract from SecWar's notes on mtg with President after cabinet mtg, 5Jan45, *Marshall Library Files*
  - 15 Pasco to Stimson, 5Jan45, *Marshall Library Files* He ultimately had sixty-one
  16. Marshall int, 5Oct56, stenographic notes by Miss Mary L Spilman; Stimson Diary, 4Jan45
  - 17 Stimson Diary, 27Dec44, 4Jan45
  - 18 Ibid, 4Jan45
  - 19 Marshall int, 5Oct56
  - 20 Stimson Diary, 9Jan45; Marshall int, 5Oct56
  - 21 Marshall int, 5Oct56
  - 22 Stimson Diary, 6Jan45, *Time*, 15Jan45 State of Union msg, *Cong Record*, 79th Cong, 1st sess, 6Jan45, XCI, pt 1, 91-96
  - 23 Fairchild and Grossman, *Army and Industrial Manpower*, 239
  - 24 Stimson Diary, 10Jan45
  - 25 Ibid, 13Jan45
  - 26 Ibid, 15Jan45.
  - 27 Ltr President to Chmn House Mil Affs Comm, 17Jan45, enc Marshall and King to President, 16Jan45, in *Mobilization of Civilian Manpower, Hearings on H R. 1119*, 79th Cong, 1st sess, 18-Jan45, 436-37, *Time*, 29Jan45, Stimson Diary, 16 and 17Jan45; Fairchild and Grossman, *Army and Industrial Manpower*, 240
  - 28 Stimson Diary, 23Jan45
  - 29 Ibid, 24Jan45
  30. Fairchild and Grossman, *Army and Industrial Manpower*, 240-41
  - 31 *Time*, 5 and 19Feb45.
  32. Stimson Diary, 17Feb45.
  - 33 Fairchild and Grossman, *Army and Industrial Manpower*, 241.
  34. *Time*, 5Mar45; Stimson Diary, 22Feb-45.
  35. Fairchild and Grossman, *Army and Industrial Manpower*, 244, see Stimson Diary entries for late February and March
  36. Marshall to Eisenhower, W-87829, 6Jan45, *Marshall Library Files*
  - 37 Marshall to Eisenhower, W-88777, 7Jan45, *Marshall Library Files*
  - 38 Eisenhower to Marshall, S-74291, 9Jan-45, *Marshall Library Files*, Marshall ints, 13Nov56 and 14Feb57, Lear int, 9May57
  - 39 Eisenhower to Marshall, S-74003, 7Jan-45, *SHAEF Files*
  - 40 Ulysses G. Lee, *Employment of Negro Troops*, 636-43
  41. Palmer, Wiley, and Keast, *Procurement and Training of Ground Combat Troops*, 14, 71-72, 202-203
  - 42 Reckord to Somervell, 15Jun43, *AG 353 (15Jun43)* "File Jul 26 1943" is stamped on the document.
  - 43 ACofS G-3 Brig Gen Ray E Porter to McNair, 13Jun43; AGF to CofS, 25Jun-43, *AG 353 (15Jun43)*
  - 44 Marshall to McNair, 3Sept43, *AG 353*
  - 45 McNair to Marshall, 6Sept43, *AG 353*
  - 46 Eisenhower to Marshall, W-8706, 28-Dec43, CM-IN 17276, *OPD Msg File*, Palmer, Wiley, and Keast, *Procurement and Training of Ground Combat Troops*, 203-204
  - 47 Palmer, Wiley, and Keast, *Procurement and Training of Ground Combat Troops*, 204-19
  - 48 See attack on War Department by Sen Robert Taft, *Cong Record*, 79th Cong, 1st sess, 27Feb45, XCI, pt 2, 1475-77 See also memo by Brig Gen W W Irvin, 25Jan45, memo by Maj Gen I H Edwards, 3Mar45, Edwards to CofS 10Mar45
  - 49 Eisenhower to Marshall, 5Dec44, *OPD Exec 9, Bk 24*, Mil Mission Moscow Deane to JCS, M-22052, 17Dec44, CM-IN 16815, *OPD Msg File*.
  50. Eisenhower to CCS, repeat to Br CsofS, SCAF 155, 21Dec44, *OPD Msg File*
  51. Marshall to Eisenhower, WX-82070, 25Dec44, *OPD 381 TS (1942-44)*, Sec XXI, Case 604, CCS to Eisenhower, WARX-82144, 26Dec44, *OPD Msg File*; Pogue, *Supreme Command*, 406-407.
  - 52 Marshall to Eisenhower, WX-82070, 25Dec44, *OPD 381 TS (1942-44)*, Sec XXI, Case 604. Deane to Marshall, MX-22154, 25Dec44, *OPD Msg File*, makes clear that Stalin meant Devers's group

- rather than Clark's in this last reference and that the reference was made only casually.
53. CCS to Eisenhower, FACS 119, 29Dec-44, *OPD Msg File*.
  54. Tedder, *With Prejudice*, 642-43; Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, 279.
  55. Stalin to Churchill, 7Jan45; see also Churchill to Stalin, 9Jan45, *Triumph and Tragedy*, 279-80.
  56. See Tedder, *With Prejudice*, 641-54; A. H. Birse, *Memoirs of an Interpreter*,

- 176-77; Tedder int, 13Feb47; Bull int, 27May59; Betts int, 18May50.
57. See my essay "The Struggle for a New Order," in *The Meaning of Yalta*, ed John L. Snell, Herbert Feis, *Churchill—Roosevelt—Stalin The War They Waged, and The Peace They Sought*, 489-558, John S. D. Eisenhower, *The Bitter Woods*, 425; Marshal George K. Zhukov, *Marshal Zhukov's Greatest Battles*, ed Harrison E. Salisbury, 267-90.

## XXVI: THE GREAT MYTH

The most complete diplomatic and military records are contained in *US For Rels, Malta-Yalta*. My initial notes on the two conferences were taken from Marshall's own copy of the proceedings. Later, in 1955, I used galley proofs of the State Department volume, while writing three of the six chapters of *The Meaning of Yalta*, edited by John L. Snell, which contains many of my conclusions on the conference that space does not permit me to review here. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr, *Roosevelt and the Russians*, is based on the Secretary of State's papers and notes at the conference. James F. Byrnes, in *Speaking Frankly and All in One Lifetime*, provides his recollections. Gen Laurence Kuter, *Airman at Yalta*, gives the recollections of the chief airman in the American military delegation Leahy's and King's memoirs contain pertinent information on their experiences. Athan G. Theoharis, *The Yalta Myths: An Issue in U.S. Politics, 1945-1955*, is an interesting study of public opinion and political discussion of the Yalta controversy. Diane S. Clemens's *Yalta* takes a revisionist view of the conference. I have interview material on this chapter from Gens Marshall, Hull, Kuter, Smith, Ismay, Deane, and McCarthy; Adms Leahy, King, and Cunningham; Field Marshal Alanbrooke; Marshal of the Royal Air Force Portal, and Amb Bohlen. I also talked with Gen Groves concerning the information available at that time about the atomic bomb. This chapter was read by Gen John E. Hull, Chief of the Operations Division in 1945, who was Gen Marshall's primary adviser on plans and operations at Yalta.

1. Frederick L. Allen, "Marshall, Arnold, King Three Snapshots," *Harper's Magazine*, Feb45, 287.
2. The clock, pictures, a desk and table of the same design, and the flags are in the Marshall Library, Lexington, Va.
3. Allen, "Marshall, Arnold, King," *Harper's Magazine*, Feb45, 287.
4. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr, *Roosevelt and the Russians*, 33-35.
5. Groves to Marshall, 30Dec44, *US For Rels, Malta-Yalta*, 383-84.
6. Churchill to Roosevelt, 1Jan45, Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, 338; *US For Rels, Malta-Yalta*, 460.
7. Marshall int, 20Nov56.
8. Eisenhower to Marshall, S-75090, 15-Jan45, *OPD Msg File* (italics in original). The basic memo was prepared by Brig Gen Arthur S. Nevins, Chief of the Operations Staff (G-3). Eisen-

hower in a memo to Nevins 14Jan45 indicated. "I have changed your memorandum, also, to discuss only the difference between an ineffectual Russian offensive and a strong and sustained one." In counting divisions he had estimated 61 United States divisions, including 4 airborne; 16 British, including 2 airborne, and 8 French divisions—85 divisions in all. "Finally, I have re-cast your language somewhat to make it a bit more optimistic. The fact is that 20, or even 10, additional divisions are not now in sight; consequently, there is no use asking for them. (Unless you consider that a total of 10 might finally be sent here from Italy.)" *Papers of Eisenhower*, IV, 2429-30 In his more detailed outline of 20Jan45 (Eisenhower to CCS, S-75871), Eisenhower again noted: "The enemy has now some eighty divisions

- on the Western Front, not all of them at full strength. Provided the Russian offensive is continued with vigour and the enemy maintains his front in Italy, this number is likely to dwindle. Should however the Russian offensive weaken and the Germans carry out a partial withdrawal from the Italian front there might be a diversion to my front of some ten or more divisions from Russia, and a dozen divisions from Italy." *SHAEF SGS 381*, Post Overlord Planning, 38, II. At the beginning of February he announced with delight to Bradley and Montgomery "The Russian offensive has won great successes and the enemy has been forced to withdraw troops from the Western Front. It is of paramount importance therefore to close the Rhine north of Duesseldorf with all possible speed." Eisenhower to Bradley and Montgomery, 1Feb45, in *Papers of Eisenhower*, IV, 2465, cf Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe*, 474-75.
- 9 Stimson Diary, 17Feb45.
  - 10 Montgomery, *Memoirs*, 278-82.
  - 11 *Ibid*, 286.
  - 12 Eisenhower, "Notes on Conference with Gen G C Marshall, 28Jan45," Diary Office CinC, Montgomery, *Memoirs*, 289.
  - 13 Diary Office CinC, 28Jan45.
  - 14 Marshall int, 20Nov56.
  - 15 Kuter, *Airman at Yalta*, 89-90.
  - 16 The foregoing is based on *US For Rels, Malta-Yalta*, 464-65, 469-71, 473-76, 484-88.
  - 17 Marshall int, 19Nov56.
  - 18 Bryant, *Triumph in the West*, 301; Stimson Diary, 17Feb45.
  - 19 *US For Rels, Malta-Yalta*, 532-33, 542-43; Moran, *Churchill*, 149-53, 207-208, 217-18.
  - 20 *US For Rels, Malta-Yalta*, 544-45.
  - 21 Kuter, *Airman at Yalta*, 3, 7-11, 14-17.
  - 22 *US For Rels, Malta-Yalta*, President's log, 549-50, Kuter, *Airman at Yalta*, 110-16, King and Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King*, 587-88.
  - 23 Mark Twain, *Innocents Abroad* (Heritage Club ed), 293, *Time*, 19Feb45.
  - 24 Robert K. Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra*, 174-75. Admiral C. E. Olsen, "Full House at Yalta," *American Heritage*, Jan72, 21-25, 100-03, has detailed account of housekeeping arrangements at Livadia Palace and two adjoining buildings where the American delegation (which he estimates at 270) was housed.
  - 25 Kuter, *Airman at Yalta*, 122.
  - 26 Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra*, 521.
  - 27 King and Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King*, 588, Leahy, *I Was There*, 296-97; Stettinius, *Roosevelt and the Russians*, 81-84, Byrnes, *All in One Lifetime*, 259.
  - 28 Ltr, Hull to author, 22Dec69.
  - 29 Joseph R. McCarthy, *America's Retreat from Victory The Story of George Catlett Marshall*, 61.
  - 30 Marshall int, 4Feb57.
  - 31 Pogue, *Ordeal and Hope*, 239.
  - 32 For a convenient summary of much of the background material, see Deft-Dept Bull, "The Entry of the Soviet Union into the War against Japan Military Plans, 1941-1945," Sept55. See also essays by Forrest C Pogue and by George A Lensen in *Meaning of Yalta*, ed Snell.
  - 33 CCS 300, Memo by JCS, Estimate of the Enemy Situation, 1943-44, 6Aug43, *US For Rels, Quebec, 1943*, 417-24. See Hopkins on unsigned memo, Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 748-49. The views are much like others offered by Maj Gen James H Burns, an assistant to Hopkins in Lend-Lease matters, and to some degree similar to views of Gen Embick.
  - 34 Deane, *Strange Alliance*, 49-51 (italics added).
  - 35 Hull, *Memoirs*, II, 413, 1309-10, Deane to JCS, 31Oct43, CM-IN 655, Harriman to Marshall, 2Nov43, CM-IN 1946, *OPD Msg File*.
  - 36 Rpt by Comb Staff Planners, CCS 417, 2Dec43, *US For Rels, Cairo-Tehran*, 765.
  - 37 *Ibid*, 770.
  - 38 Memo by US CsoFS, CCS 397 (rev), 3Dec43, *ibid*, 779.
  - 39 Roosevelt rpt to Pacific War Council, 12Jan44, *ibid*, 868-70; alluded to in Harriman to Roosevelt, 15Dec44, *US For Rels, Malta-Yalta*, 378-79.
  - 40 See also statement of Hollington Tong, 23Sept48, *US For Rels, Cairo-Tehran*, 891; *US Relations with China*, 558.
  - 41 *US For Rels, Cairo-Tehran*, 566-67; William M. Franklin, "Yalta Viewed From Tehran," in *Some Pathways in Twentieth-Century History Essays in*

- Honor of Reginald Charles McGrane*, ed Daniel R. Beaver
- 42 *US For Rels, Cairo-Tehran*, 567-68.
43. Mins mtg of Pacific War Council, 12-Jan44, *ibid*, 868-69. Sec Hull's later surprise that Stalin had asked for concessions at Yalta, after his unequivocal promise in Moscow to fight Japan, should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the Russian leader spelled out in part for Roosevelt and Churchill what a more cynical SecState might well have realized was coming. Nor should it obscure the fact that they expected it.
44. DefDept Bull, "The Entry of the Soviet Union into the War against Japan." 28
45. Decision amending JCS 924, 11Jul44, *ABC 384 Pacific (1-17-43), Sec 4*. Although these plans were ordered, "the invasion itself was never authorized," as Leahy has noted, *I Was There*, 245.
46. Unsigned memo Embick for JSSC to Cofs, 30Sept44, *OPD 381, Sec XIX, Case 533* This had been called for by Marshall at the beginning of the month.
47. Marshall to Embick, 3Oct44 (not sent), *OPD Exec 9, Bk 23*.
48. Harriman to Roosevelt, 24Sept44; President to Harriman, 4Oct44, *US For Rels, Malta-Yalta*, 5-7.
49. JCS to Deane, 28Sept44, CM-OUT 38050. Details in DefDept Bull 30.
50. Harriman to President, 17Oct44; Deane to JCS, 17Oct44, *US For Rels, Malta-Yalta*, 370-72. In Deane's message there is a detailed list of Russia's needs, totaling 1,056,000 tons. Included were 30,000 trucks, 400 C-47 aircraft, and 100 C-54 aircraft.
51. JCS 1176, Rpt by Jt Staff Planners, Russian Participation in the War against Japan, 23Nov44, DefDept Bull, 39-40 (italics added).
52. JCS 1176/6, Rpt by Jt Staff Planners, Russian Participation in the War against Japan, 18Jan45, as rev by JCS, 24Jan45; JCS to President, 23Jan45, "For the Joint Chiefs of Staff [George C. Marshall], Chief of Staff, US Army," in *US For Rels, Malta-Yalta*, 396, 388-94. Cf Anthony Kubek, *How the Far East Was Lost*, 117, which cites document—giving same source—as "General Marshall to President Roosevelt, January 23, 1945, Yalta Documents, p. 396." In the text the author says that Marshall "submitted a memorandum to the President," without indicating that he was forwarding the document on behalf of all the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Marshall acted on behalf of all the Chiefs, instead of Leahy's doing so, because Leahy had left that morning by ship with the President for Malta. Marshall and the other Chiefs left by plane two days later. Professor Kubek also insists that "A group of veteran intelligence officers, most of them regular Army colonels, prepared a document known as the Colonels' Report before our leaders went to Yalta." *Ibid*, 119. However the source he cites, *Military Situation in the Far East, Hearings*, 82d Cong, 2d sess, pt 4, 21Jun51, 2916-17 (held by the Senate committees on the Armed Services and on Foreign Relations), specifically gives an April date—which is referred to on 2914 and 2915 as 21Apr45 and on 2916 as 12Apr45. According to the *Hearings*, 2916, Sen H. Alexander Smith asked, "Is that dated prior to the Yalta Conference?" and Sen Styles Bridges replied, "No; it was after Yalta but before Potsdam. . . ." The document itself has a fascinating and muddled history, which I shall discuss in my next volume.
53. Pasco note on Deane ltr to Marshall, 2Dec44, conveying views of Handy and Hull to Marshall; Marshall to Stimson, 21Dec44; Marshall to Deane, 2Jan45; Deane to Marshall, 3Jan45, *Marshall Library Files*; Pasco draft to Stimson, sent forward to President, 3Dec44; Marshall to Eisenhower, WAR-22163, 17Jan45, *OPD Exec 5, Item 19*.
54. Stettinius, *Roosevelt and the Russians*, 90-98.
55. *US For Rels, Malta-Yalta*, 564-66.
56. Stettinius says Alger Hiss and H. Freeman Matthews were there at the time, but the official minutes show that they came in after he had presented the agenda. Stettinius, *Roosevelt and the Russians*, 84; *US For Rels, Malta-Yalta*, 567.
57. *US For Rels, Malta-Yalta*, 564-67.
58. SecState to President, 2Feb45, *ibid*, 567. The memo that Stettinius says he presented and that presumably was discussed in the remainder of the meeting

is on 567-69 and Stettinius, *Roosevelt and the Russians*, 85-87 On the discussion see pages following Harriman had made the President aware of these demands on 15Dec44

59. *US For Rels, Malta-Yalta*, 379-83, 385-88, says Blakeslee and Borton memos were not included in the Briefing Book, and apparently not brought to FDR's attention.
60. King and Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King*, 591-92 It seems likely that King confused this session with a meeting in the summer of 1945, when in fact he did say that southern Sakhalin was enough By that time there was widespread doubt that Russian aid was essential But by then the agreement with Stalin had been signed
61. Leahy, *I Was There*, 317-18 Leahy also said (312) "I offered no objection to the decision to seek Russian assistance, although personally, I believed that the United States, single-handed if necessary, could defeat her within the time estimated" (This is an interpolated statement in the book and not in his diary for the date) What he did say in his diary under 1Jan45 date (286) was that Japan was facing inevitable eventual defeat but that

there was "little prospect of obtaining from them an unconditional surrender within the year that was before us." His entry on 4Feb45, (298-300), mentions nothing of the concessions, although under 8Feb45, (307-11), he says that Harriman told him privately of talks between Roosevelt and Stalin on the latter's demands As to the 10Feb plenary session, where he was the only member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff present, he says in his book (318) "It may come as a surprise to learn that the misnamed 'concessions' evoked little discussion and no argument when Stalin . formally announced that Russia would enter the war against Japan within two or three months with certain understandings. These . . . were substantially those that Ambassador Harriman had reported to me as agreed upon between Roosevelt and Stalin on February 8"

62. Marshall int, 4Feb57

63. Kuter, *Airman at Yalta*, 128-30

64. Marshall int, 4Feb57.

65. Cf Clemens, *Yalta*, chap 8, Franklin, "Yalta Viewed from Tehran," in *Some Pathways in Twentieth-Century History*, ed Beaver.

## XXVII: THE FALTERING AXIS

For the Dresden episode I have drawn heavily on Craven and Cate, *The Army Air Forces in World War II*, III, Webster and Frankland, *The Strategic Air Offensive Against Germany*, III, David Irving, *The Destruction of Dresden*, (1963 and 1964); R. H. S. Crossman, "Apocalypse at Dresden," *Esquire*, Nov63; Joseph W Angell, Jr, "Historical Analysis of the 14-15Feb45 Bombing of Dresden," USAF Historical Division Research Project (1953), Anthony Verrier, *The Bomber Offensive* (1968), and an excellent study, based on interviews and a fresh look at sources, by Melden Smith, "The Bombing of Dresden Reconsidered: A Study in Wartime Decision Making" (PhD diss, Boston University, 1971).

1. In Marshall int, 14Feb57, he said "I never got caught in a review but once . . ."
2. Clark, *Calculated Risk*, 423-26.
3. Marshall int, 15Feb57
4. Clare Boothe Luce to Marshall, 6Jan45, Luce to SecWar, 6Jan45; Stimson to Luce, 12Jan45, Marshall to Pasco, 9Jan45, *Marshall Library Files, Cong Record, 79th Cong, 1st sess, XCI*, pt 1, 6Jan45, 91-96.
5. Col Wilton B. Persons to CofS, 8Mar45 with handwritten note by McCarthy, Marshall to Wilson, 8Mar45, *Marshall*

*Library Files*, *New York Times*, 6 and 22Mar, 4May45.

6. Clark, *Calculated Risk*, 425

7. *US For Rels, Malta-Yalta*, 608

8. This text is from MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 249 Marshall to President, 5Feb45, *OPD Exec 17, Item 15*, sent above text, but he wrote "historic" instead of "historical" with notation. "I suggest you send some such message to MacArthur"

9. Lee, *Employment of Negro Troops*, 573, 576-78

10. Marshall to Eisenhower, F-26834, 13-

- Feb45, *SHAEF Files*. Summarizing a report by Marshall on the 92d Division, Stimson wrote in his Diary, 21-Feb45: "This is believed by the Army to be a very clear demonstration of the unreliability of Negro troops unless they are at least supported by white commissioned and noncommissioned officers. The 92d Division has been nursed and trained and strengthened more than any division we have and the men simply would not either stand fire or stay out nights fire or no fire. As Marshall remarked, the only place they could be counted on to stand would be in Iceland in summertime where there was daylight for 24 hours"
11. See Pogue, *Education of a General*, 260, and present vol, chap 5.
  12. Lee, *Employment of Negro Troops*, 576-79
  13. FDR to SecState Stettinius, 4Dec44, *US For Rels, Malta-Yalta*, 174. "We are against reparations."
  14. See *Meaning of Yalta*, ed Snell, 136-37.
  15. Mins 1st Tripartite Military mtg, 5Feb45, *US For Rels, Malta-Yalta*, 595ff
  16. *Ibid*, 596. In connection with the above statement Marshall is first quoted as saying that the Allies lacked ground superiority. Later both he and Brooke spoke of "sufficient superiority."
  17. *Ibid*, 597
  18. *Ibid*, 583
  19. For the analysis of the reasons for the decision on Dresden, I have relied on Webster and Frankland, *Strategic Air Offensive*, III, 43, 54-57, 100-102, 112-17.
  20. *US For Rels, Malta-Yalta*, 583.
  21. *Ibid*, 599-600; USSTAF MAIN-IN 15172, 1Feb45; USSTAF MAIN-IN 15873, 5Feb45, *USSTAF Historical Division Film*, 519 523, RG 18, *National Archives*.
  22. Pertinent documents cited in Joseph W Angell, Jr, "Historical Analysis of the 14-15Feb45 Bombing of Dresden," 13-14.
  23. Loutzenheiser to Giles, 6Mar45, *AAF (AAG) 000 800 Germany*, 1.
  24. Marshall to Stimson, Bombing of Dresden, 6Mar45, *ibid*, and *Marshall Library Files*
  25. Craven and Cate, *Army Air Forces in World War II*, III, 731 n84. Original memo by Stimson to Marshall, 6Mar45, McCarthy to Marshall, 6Mar45, with Marshall's "O.K.;" McCarthy to CG, AAF, 6Mar45, *Marshall Library Files*
  26. McCarthy to Giles, 20Mar45, McCarthy to Kyle, 7Apr45, with reply by WHK[y]le in *Marshall Library Files*; USSTAF to CG, USAAF, Washington, n.d. but in reply to WAR 49485, 6Mar45, *USSTAF Historical Division Film*, 519,523, RG 18, *National Archives*
  27. Webster and Frankland, *Strategic Air Offensive Against Germany*, III, 112-13.
  28. The figure of 35,000 is based on information uncovered after the appearance of David Irving's *The Destruction of Dresden* (1963 and 1964) Irving accepted a figure of 135,000 after the reported finding of a contemporary police report. See discussions by Angell, "Historical Analysis," and Melden Smith, "The Bombing of Dresden Reconsidered A Study in Wartime Decision Making," both favoring the 35,000 figure Smith cites letter by Irving to *London Times*, 7Jul66, in which he says that new information shows the 135,000 figure to be in error Irving's letter quoted a German report by the Dresden area police chief, made about one month after the raids and furnished to Irving in 1966 by the East German authorities, which declared: "Casualties by March 10, 1945, 18,375 dead, 2,212 seriously injured, and 13,918 slightly injured had been registered, with 350,000 homeless and permanently evacuated" The total death toll, "primarily women and children," was expected to reach 25,000; fewer than 100 of the dead were servicemen.
  29. Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe*, 365-67, 474-76.
  30. Luce, "To Ike, the Wall Rises Between Opposing Ideas of Man," *Life*, 8Sept61, 46-49, Albert L. Warner, "Our Secret Deal over Germany," *Saturday Evening Post*, 2Aug52, 30, 66
  31. *US For Rels, Malta-Yalta*, 464-66, Lt Gen Walter Bedell Smith, *My Three Years in Moscow*, 21-22.
  32. Montgomery, *Memoirs*, 290-92 Montgomery says he repeated next to Churchill what he had said on 1Mar.
  33. Marshall to Eisenhower, 6Mar45, *Marshall Library Files*

34. Eisenhower to Marshall, FWD-17802, 12Mar45, *SHAEF Files*, Eisenhower to Marshall, 12Mar45, *Marshall Library Files*
35. Eisenhower to CG 12th Army Gp and 6th Army Gp, 12Mar45, *Marshall Library Files*
36. Marshall to Eisenhower, WX-57751, 23Mar45, *Marshall Library Files*
37. Marshall to Eisenhower, W-59318, 27-Mar45, *Marshall Library Files*.
38. Eisenhower to Marshall, FWD-18258, 28Mar45, *SHAEF Files*
39. Eisenhower to CCS, FWD-17645, 8Mar-45, *SHAEF Files*
40. Eisenhower to Marshall, 26Mar45, *Marshall Library Files*
41. Eisenhower to Mil Mission Moscow, Inf CCS, FWD-18264, SCAF 252, 28-Mar45, *SHAEF SGS 373 5, I*
42. Marshall to Eisenhower, WAR 61337, forwarding Br Csofs views, 30Mar45, *OPD Msg File*; CCS 805/4, Memo by Rep of BrCsofs, 4Apr45, *ABC 384 Europe (5Aug43), Sec 1-D*
43. Churchill to Br Csofs, 31Mar45, *Triumph and Tragedy*, 460-62
44. Churchill to Eisenhower, 31Mar45, *SHAEF Files*, Prime Minister to Roosevelt, 1Apr45, Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, 463-66
45. Marshall to President, 2Apr45, Study of War Department on Probable Developments in German Reich, *OPD 381 TS (1945), Sec IV, Case 97/9*
46. Ltr McCarthy to author, 7Feb70, *Marshall Library Files*
47. Ltr Mrs Roosevelt to Marshall, 15Apr-45, McCarthy memo on funeral arrangements to Marshall, 13Apr45, *Marshall Library Files*
48. Stimson Diary, 13Apr45
49. Pasco to Marshall, 12Apr45.
50. Pasco to CoS, 14Apr45, Marshall to Wilby, 16Apr45, *Marshall Library Files*
51. James M Burns, *Roosevelt The Soldier of Freedom*, 599-612, drew together a number of accounts for a moving description of the funeral William Hassett said that two officers helped the pallbearers, but McCarthy and others were certain that Powder was involved. The exertions by Sgt Powder, who had suffered for some months with a heart condition, worried Gen Marshall, who instructed Col McCarthy to tell the sergeant that it would be "absolutely necessary in the future to make such arrangements as to preclude any physical exertion on his part other than walking. . . . Although his physical exertion yesterday was a matter of emergency, he should give careful advance thought in order to be prepared for such emergencies without taking over himself." McCarthy to Marshall, two memos about Powder, 16Apr45, *Marshall Library Files*
52. In addition to Burns, see Stimson Diary, 15Apr45; King and Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King*, 600; Hassett, *Off the Record with F. D R*, 343-45. On the evening of the funeral, Mrs. Roosevelt wrote to General Marshall "My dear General, I want to tell you tonight how deeply I appreciate your kindness and thoughtfulness in all the arrangements made. My husband would have been grateful and I know it was all as he would have wished it. He always spoke of his trust in you and of his affection for you With my gratitude and sincere thanks Very sincerely yours, Eleanor Roosevelt." (Eleanor Roosevelt to Gen Marshall, April 15th, 15Apr45 handwritten letter in *Marshall Library Files*)

## XXVIII. END IN EUROPE

I have drawn on Dulles, *The Secret Surrender*, Stalin's correspondence with Roosevelt and Churchill; Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, Bryant, *Triumph in the West*, Pogue, *The Supreme Command*, and Bradley, *A Soldier's Story*. Interviews include those with Gens Eisenhower, Ismay, Bradley, Hodges, Simpson, Deane, Bedell Smith; Air Marshals Portal and Tedder; Field Marshals Montgomery and Alanbrooke.

1. Stimson Diary, 2Apr45
2. *Ibid*, 3Apr45
3. Burns, *Roosevelt The Soldier of Freedom*, 229-38.
4. Churchill to Eisenhower, 2Apr45, cited Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, 467
5. Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, VI, 150.
6. *Ibid*, 150-51.

7. Stimson Diary, 11, 12, and 13Mar45  
Allen W Dulles, *The Secret Surrender*,  
147-51, has a convenient chronology  
of the correspondence and action See  
Toland, *Last 100 Days*, chap 13.
8. Stimson Diary, 17Mar45.
9. Molotov to British and American Govern-  
ments, 23Mar45, Dulles, *Secret Sur-  
render*, 149; *Correspondence between  
the Chairman of the Council of Min-  
isters of the U.S.S.R. and the Presi-  
dents of the U.S.A. and the Prime  
Ministers of Great Britain During the  
Great Patriotic War of 1941-45*, II,  
296-97. (Cited hereafter as *Stalin Cor-  
respondence*) For the background of  
Molotov's announcement see *US For  
eign Relations, Europe, 1945*, V, 820-29.
10. Stalin to President, 29Mar45; Marshall  
to Leahy, 29Mar45, draft ltr for Presi-  
dent to Stalin, *Marshall Library Files*,  
*Stalin Correspondence*, II, 200-201,  
204-205
11. Stalin to Roosevelt, 3Apr45, cited  
Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, 446-  
47, *Stalin Correspondence*, II, 205-206.
12. Leahy to Marshall, 4Apr45, *Marshall  
Library Files*.
13. Marshall to Leahy, 4Apr45, with origi-  
nal draft President to Stalin, which  
contained Stimson's penciled sugges-  
tions Filed with it is the copy of the  
msg, revised by Leahy and approved  
by the President, that was sent from  
the WH to Stalin, 222, 4Apr45, *Mar-  
shall Library Files* See Dulles, *Secret  
Surrender*, 151, for statement that  
Justice Byrnes told him later that he  
had modified the stronger language of  
the original draft. See also *Stalin Cor-  
respondence*, II, 207-209.
14. Roosevelt to Stalin, 222, 4Apr45, *Mar-  
shall Library Files*. Churchill italicized  
the words of the last sentence in his  
*Triumph and Tragedy*, 448-49, saying  
that although he felt that Roosevelt  
had not drafted the entire message,  
"he might well have added this final  
stroke himself. It looked like an addi-  
tion or summing up, and it seemed  
like Roosevelt himself in anger." Roosevelt's own considered reaction  
was shown more clearly on 12Apr45 in  
his last cable to the Prime Minister:  
"I would minimize the general Soviet  
problem as much as possible, because  
these problems, in one form or an-  
other, seem to arise every day, and  
most of them straighten out, as in the  
case of the Berne meeting. We must  
be firm however, and our course thus  
far is correct." Cited Churchill, *Tri-  
umph and Tragedy*, 454 In the last  
cable message Roosevelt sent from  
Warm Springs on 12Apr45, according  
to Leahy, he wrote Harriman, "It is  
my desire to consider the Berne misun-  
derstanding a minor incident." Leahy,  
*I Was There*, 336; see *Stalin Cor-  
respondence*, II, 214, for Roosevelt to  
Stalin, recd 13Apr45. Cf. Ryan, *Last  
Battle*, 164, on Mrs. Anna Rosenberg's  
recollections of Roosevelt's outburst  
against Stalin on March 24, 1944.
15. Churchill to Stalin, 6Apr45, cited  
Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, 449-  
51.
16. Stalin to Roosevelt, 7Apr45, cited  
Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, 451-  
52
17. Marshall int, 11Feb57; Gen Antonov  
to Gen Deane, 30Mar45, *Stalin Cor-  
respondence*, II, 210-11
18. Stalin to Churchill, 7Apr45, Churchill  
to Roosevelt, 11Apr45, Roosevelt to  
Churchill, 12Apr45, cited Churchill,  
*Triumph and Tragedy*, 451-54, *Stalin  
Correspondence*, I, 316-17.
19. Eisenhower to Marshall, 16Aug45, *Mar-  
shall Library Files*
20. Memo by JCS, CCS 805/2, Plan of  
Campaign in Western Europe, 30Mar-  
45, *ABC 384 Europe (5Aug43)*, Sec 1-D.
21. Eisenhower to Marshall, FWD-18710,  
7Apr45, *Marshall Library Files*. See  
earlier msgs, Eisenhower to Marshall,  
SHAEF 260, 31Mar45, *ABC Europe  
(5Aug43)*, Sec 1-D See Marshall to  
Stettinius, 13Jul44, cited above in chap  
23, 459.
22. Marshall int, 11Feb57.
23. Kenneth Strong, *Intelligence at the  
Top*, 187-88. For a provocative study  
of the whole National Redoubt ques-  
tion see Rodney Minott, *The Fortress  
That Never Was*.
24. Leahy says in his memoirs that his  
notes indicate that the question was  
never brought formally before the CCS  
for action. Leahy, *I Was There*, 351.
25. Truman to Churchill, 21Apr45, cited  
Leahy, *I Was There*, 349-51.
26. According to Ryan, *Last Battle*, 321,  
Bradley conceded that his account in  
*Soldier's Story* created the erroneous  
impression that he gave his estimate

- to Eisenhower in March and that he was speaking of the fight from that time on, when in fact his estimate was made after his first troops crossed the Elbe and referred to possible heavy losses in Berlin. It was easy to misread Bradley's account since the 100,000-casualty figure seemed more likely if it had been made in March after he had crossed the Rhine rather than in mid-April after the crossing of the Elbe. The price for taking Berlin was indisputably high. Harrison E. Salisbury, in his edition of *Marshal Zhukov's Greatest Battles*, says (288): "The cost of the final battle in Soviet casualties . . . was enormous. 305,000 from April 16 to May 8 in the First and Second Byelorussian and the First Ukrainian Fronts alone."
27. Montgomery to Eisenhower, M-568, 6Apr45; Eisenhower to Montgomery, 8Apr45, *Eisenhower Personal Files*, Montgomery to Eisenhower, M-1070, 9Apr45, *SHAEF Files*.
  28. Stephen E. Ambrose, *Eisenhower and Berlin, 1945 The Decision to Halt at the Elbe*, gives the various arguments but concludes in favor of Eisenhower.
  29. Eisenhower to Marshall, 15Apr45, *Marshall Library Files*; Bradley, *Soldier's Story*, 537-39
  30. Marshall int, 11Feb57.
  31. WD memo, with covering note by Maj Gen Clayton L. Bissell, G-2, 22Mar45, *OPD 381, Sec IV*
  32. Eisenhower to CCS, SCAF 264, 5Apr45, *SHAEF SGS 373 5, Bomb-Line, Liaison, and Co-ordination of Fronts, I*.
  33. COS to JSM, COS (W) 748, 11Apr45, *SHAEF SGS 373-5, Bomb-Line, Liaison, and Co-ordination of Fronts, I*
  34. Lincoln to Hull, 13Apr45, CCS 805/7 and CCS 805/8, *OPD 381 TS, Sec V*, (italics in original); CCS to SHAEF, FACS 176, 12Apr45; Eisenhower to CCS, SCAF 274, 11Apr45; Eisenhower to Mil Mission Moscow, SCAF 275, 12-Apr45, *SHAEF SGS 373 5, Bomb-Line, Liaison, and Co-ordination of Fronts, I*.
  35. CCS to Eisenhower, FACS 191, 21Apr45; Eisenhower to CnC ExFor, Cmdrs 12th, 6th Army Gps, FWD 19624, 21-Apr45, *SHAEF SGS 373-5, Bomb-Line, Liaison, and Co-ordination of Fronts, I*.
  36. Eisenhower to Mil Mission, Moscow, SCAF 298, 22Apr45; Eisenhower to Mil Mission, Moscow, SCAF 292, 21-Apr45, *SHAEF SGS 373 5, Bomb-Line, Liaison, and Co-ordination of Fronts, I*
  37. Eisenhower to Mil Mission Moscow, SCAF 299, 23Apr45; Mil Mission Moscow to Eisenhower, MX-24032, 24Apr45, Mil Mission Moscow to Eisenhower, MX 24055, 25Apr45, *SHAEF SGS 373-5, Bomb-Line, Liaison, and Co-ordination of Fronts, I* The British, fearing that the Russians were trying to apply the line of the Elbe in the north as well as in the center of the SHAEF line, asked Eisenhower to make the distinction clear
  38. Marshall to Eisenhower, W-74256, 28-Apr45, *OPD 381 TS (1945), Sec V, Case 123*.
  39. Eisenhower to Marshall, FWD 20225, 1May45, *SHAEF Files*
  40. Pogue, *Supreme Command*, 469. On Grew see *US For Rel, Europe, 1945, IV*, 448-53
  41. Marshall int, 11Feb57.
  42. *US For Rel, Cairo-Tehran*, 255-56
  43. Stimson Diary, 25Aug44. In his notes for the conference, included with the entry, he had made his view stronger: "Let her [Russia] do the dirty work but don't father it" However Stimson was thinking mainly of punishment of Nazi officials, a few weeks later he strongly opposed the Morgenthau Plan as a policy that would bankrupt Germany or destroy her industry
  44. In fact, when Marshall had urged this arrangement on AsstSecWar McCloy, the latter was reminded of Clausewitz (see chap 23, 459-60)
  45. *The Forrestal Diaries*, ed Walter Millis, 49-50, *US For Rel, Europe, 1945, V*, 252
  46. Stimson Diary, 23Apr45
  47. *US For Rel, Europe, 1945, V*, 253, cf Harry S Truman, *Memoirs, I*, 77
  48. *US For Rel, Europe, 1945, V*, 253.
  49. Stimson Diary, 23Apr45.
  50. *US For Rel, Europe, 1945, V*, 254 (italics added).
  51. See Truman's statements in *US For Rel, Europe, 1945, V*, 255; cf Gabriel Kolko, *The Politics of War: The World and United States Foreign Policy, 1943-1945*, 391, 395. Note also that Kolko, who had earlier said that "Leahy, the strongest advocate of a tough policy toward Russia, was on hand to provide the continuity and play on the same penchant for the

dramatic and the absurd," includes Leahy among the hard-liners at the conference of advisers, although Forrestal in his summary of the discussions distinctly thought that the Admiral took more or less the position of the SecWar. Certainly Leahy was not unreasonable in his statement. See Kolko, 381 and 395, and *Forrestal Diaries*, 49-50. The question arises whether a firm stand to indicate that the US was not weakening was the same as a determination to force a break if need be. Only Forrestal im-

plied that he was ready to go that far. See Kolko, 395.

52. *US For Rels, Europe, 1945*, V, 257-58.
53. Truman, *Memoirs*, I, 245.
54. Toland, *Last 100 Days*, 483-542; Dulles, *Secret Surrender*, 188-196
55. Marshall to Eisenhower, W-78438, 7May45, *Marshall Library Files*.
56. Eisenhower to Marshall, FWD 20926, 8May45, *Marshall Library Files*.
57. Stark to Marshall, 30Mar45, *Marshall Library Files*
58. Prime Minister to Wilson for Marshall, 30Mar45, *Marshall Library Files*.