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MARSHALL



Spy Pilot

Building on a Mission
of Remembrance

Marshall and Israel

Marshall Foundation
Scholars Program

WINTER 2019



MARSHALL

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Powers draws upon his book *Spy Pilot: Francis Gary Powers, the U-2 Incident, and a Controversial Cold War Legacy* and details the controversy that surrounded his father following the May 1, 1960 shoot-down of the CIA U-2 spy plane he was piloting. Mr. Powers contends that this was one of the most infamous incidents of the Cold War and caused a severe setback in U.S. – Soviet relations.



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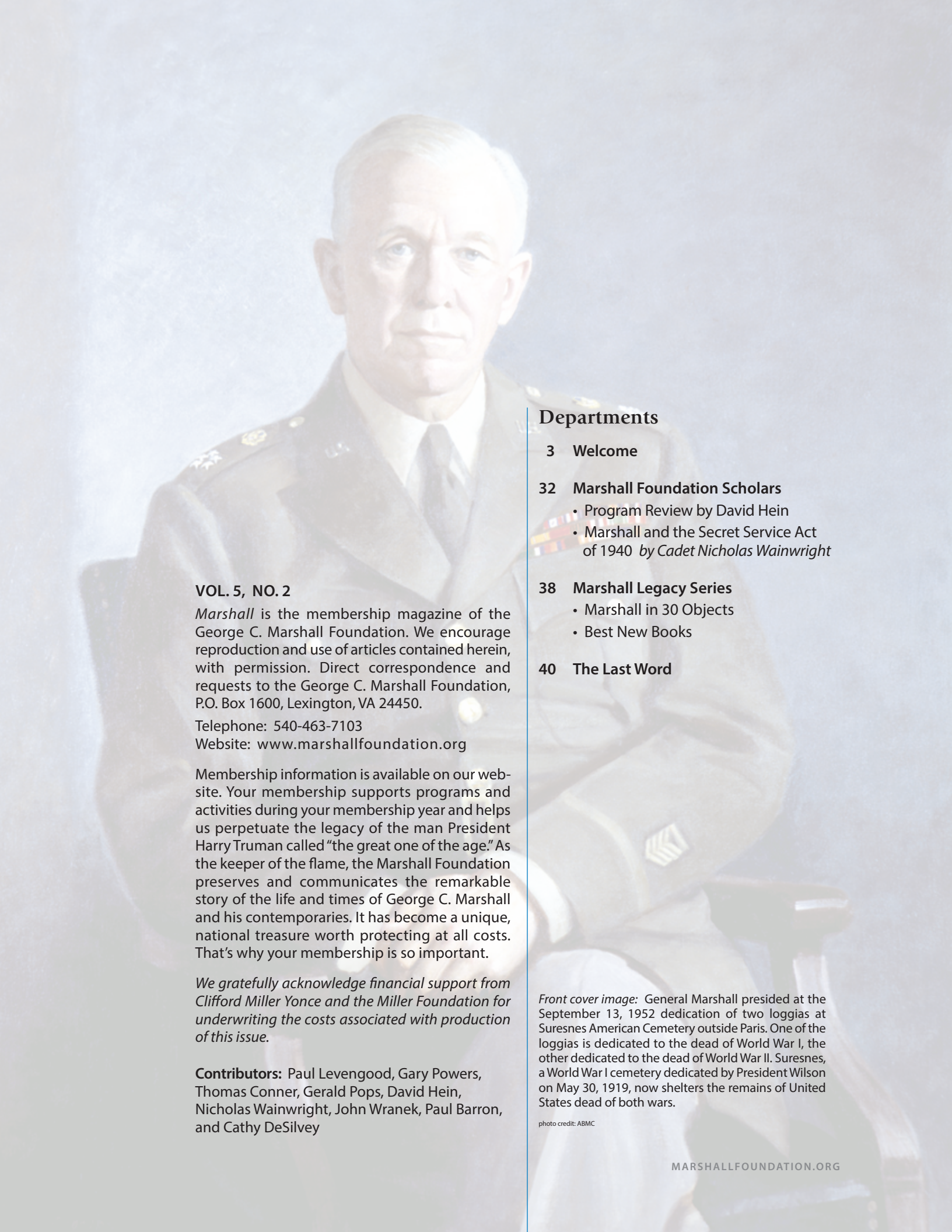


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We gratefully acknowledge financial support from Clifford Miller Yonce and the Miller Foundation for underwriting the costs associated with production of this issue.

Contributors: Paul Levensgood, Gary Powers, Thomas Conner, Gerald Pops, David Hein, Nicholas Wainwright, John Wranek, Paul Barron, and Cathy DeSilvey

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Front cover image: General Marshall presided at the September 13, 1952 dedication of two loggias at Suresnes American Cemetery outside Paris. One of the loggias is dedicated to the dead of World War I, the other dedicated to the dead of World War II. Suresnes, a World War I cemetery dedicated by President Wilson on May 30, 1919, now shelters the remains of United States dead of both wars.

photo credit: ABMC

welcome



I am pleased to present you with the Fall/Winter 2019 issue of *Marshall*. I invite you to explore these three excellent articles, which demonstrate the breadth of topics that touch the career and legacy of George Catlett Marshall. They should come in handy as the days grow short and long nights call for good reading material.

I would ask you to take a moment and consider what the magazine in your hands represents, because in many ways it is a physical manifestation of the mission of the George C. Marshall Foundation, bringing together a number of ways we promote the Marshall legacy. To begin with, most of the authors whose work has appeared in these pages since 2015 have spent time poring through our collections, either here in Lexington or remotely. And in case you've forgotten, those collections are vast and rich. They include more than 700 reels of microfilm, 2,000 maps, 10,500 photographs, and in excess of one million manuscript items (i.e., pieces of paper), including the George C. Marshall Papers and those of more than three hundred of his contemporaries, related individuals, and organizations. They are the single most comprehensive source anywhere on General Marshall and his life and career, and one of the most important collections of World War II and Cold War resources in the nation. This treasure trove is made available by the dedicated staff of our library, making researchers, whether academics or interested amateurs, feel welcome and valued.

Lavishly illustrated, the articles published in *Marshall* represent the fruits of scholarly research and writing, and in many cases are part of books or longer articles. But most of them are also versions of the authors' work that has been presented at our Legacy Lectures. Mostly delivered here in Lexington, these public programs are opportunities for our members to learn from the most up-to-date scholarship on George C. Marshall, his life, and times. (Many are available to view through our website, <https://www.marshallfoundation.org/newsroom/legacy-series-past-events/>) So you can see that through both the printed and spoken word, we are making our collections available and meaningful and playing a vital role as a bridge between the scholarly world and a broader public.

We are proud to provide *Marshall* as a benefit of your membership at the Foundation. Your generosity allows us to support scholarship, offer stimulating lectures, and produce a fine publication that all keep George Catlett Marshall's peerless legacy alive.

In this holiday season, my colleagues and I give thanks for you, our members, and wish you and your families our very best.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Paul A. Levengood'.

Paul A. Levengood, *President*



...when Francis Gary Powers officially became an American hero..., it was difficult not to see the delayed recognition as something even more profound: The last fading echo of the Cold War.

Spy Pilot:

Francis Gary Powers, the U-2 Incident, and a Controversial Cold War Legacy

BY FRANCIS GARY POWERS, JR., AND KEITH DUNNAVANT



On the morning of June 14, 2012, Francis Gary Powers, Jr., walked into the Pentagon feeling the full weight of his family's complicated history. It had not been easy growing up as the only son of a world-famous spy who emerged as a Cold War pawn. It had not been easy hearing the whispers that his father should have killed himself rather than allow himself to be captured and interrogated by the Soviet Union. Some even suggested he was a traitor to his country, and it had not been easy living in the shadow of all those doubts.



photo credit: USAF Museum

The journey to this moment began more than a half century earlier, on May 1, 1960, five years before the son was born. In an age before reconnaissance satellites, as the epic struggle between east and west reached a fever pitch, the 30-year-old Powers roared into the early-morning sky above Pakistan, piloting a U-2 spy plane, the high-altitude engineering marvel designed by aviation legend Clarence "Kelly" Johnson at Lockheed's super-secret Skunk Works. A one-time Air Force pilot now working in stealth

Left: One of the original CIA U-2A Dragon Lady aircraft (Courtesy the USAF Museum)

Opposite page: Francis Gary Powers pauses for a photograph before a flight.

for the Central Intelligence Agency, Powers was headed for the Soviet Union, on the 24th U-2 mission authorized over hostile territory in search of vital military intelligence. Just days before a scheduled summit meeting in Paris between U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Soviet premiere Nikita Khrushchev, the White House had green-lighted one last secret overflight, penetrating deeper than ever before into the interior of Russia. By this time, the U-2 program had already provided a wealth of intelligence about Soviet capabilities, and Powers had proven to be one of the CIA's most skillful pilots. But his final mission quickly turned to disaster.

...the U-2 program had already provided a wealth of intelligence about Soviet capabilities, and Powers had proven to be one of the CIA's most skillful pilots. But his final mission quickly turned to disaster.

This article is a summary of the author's lecture delivered in May 2019. You can watch Mr. Powers's talk, as well as other Legacy Series lectures, on our YouTube channel. 

U-2 "B" Squadron
c. 1956 Incirlik,
Turkey. Powers is in
the back row, top
left.



photo credit: Courtesy Francis Gary Powers, Jr. Collection

Three and one half hours into the flight, near the city of Sverdlovsk, the U-2 was shot down—not by a direct hit but by the combined force of several V-75 surface-to-air missiles exploding nearby in a cacophonous burst of ballistic thunder in the thin air above 70,000 feet. As his aircraft began tumbling violently to the ground, Powers bailed out, eventually landing in a plowed field.

“...Khrushchev bided his time, luring Eisenhower into a public-relations trap, before finally announcing, to a stunned world, “We have the remnants of the plane—and we also have the pilot, who is quite alive and kicking.”

He was quickly surrounded by farm workers and turned over to the authorities, who began the vigorous interrogations that would continue for months, pushing the pilot to the physical and emotional brink. When Washington clumsily tried to sell a cover story about a weather reconnaissance aircraft veering off course, Khrushchev bided his time, luring Eisenhower into a public-relations trap, before finally announcing, to a stunned world, “We have the remnants of the plane—and we also have the

pilot, who is quite alive and kicking.” The Soviets also had salvaged the U-2’s camera and various other incriminating artifacts, achieving a remarkable propaganda coup that embarrassed the Eisenhower administration, which was forced to admit it had lied not just to the Soviets but also to the American public; drew back the veil on America’s covert surveillance operation, which the president reluctantly called a “distasteful but vital necessity”; and deepened the Cold War, which soon pivoted toward the tense and dangerous days of the Berlin Crisis, the Bay of Pigs, and the Cuban Missile Crisis.



Fallout Shelter
Diagram

Tried for espionage as the world watched and quickly sentenced to ten years of confinement, Francis Gary Powers became a powerful symbol of American humiliation—an unwelcome reminder of the limits of U.S. power, even at the height of the American Century. Like the still-gathering Space Race, which the Soviets, featuring the triumphs of Sputnik and Yuri Gagarin, were then winning, he was proof that the philosophical, military, and economic rivalry required both sides to take calculated risks which often resulted in stunning setbacks producing potent shards of political shrapnel that could not be easily avoided.

But beyond the failure of his mission and the unmasking of the CIA's aerial surveillance program, known as Operation Overflight, Powers became a victim of his own government's carefully orchestrated campaign of misinformation necessitated by the still-classified details of the U-2, and the willingness of many American media outlets to accept the notion that the pilot had proved to be "an extremely cooperative witness for the Russians." (Powers did not help his cause with the folks back home by apologizing during the show trial, telling the court he was "deeply repentant and profoundly sorry," which made him an even more powerful propaganda weapon against the U.S.) The possibility that he had suffered a flame-out or purposely descended to a lower altitude, where the U-2 could have been shot down by a MIG jet fighter—a charge given voice by Eisenhower himself—enabled the CIA's desire to protect its technological and operational secrets. Media promoted the notion that Soviet SAMs remained incapable of reaching the U-2 above 65,000 feet. Even Powers' father unwittingly contributed to the murkiness swirling around the crash, telling *The New York Times* after attending the trial that he did not believe his son had been shot down. (Years later, Norwegian Selmer Nilson, who once spied for the Soviets, insisted that the Russians had smuggled a bomb aboard the U-2 before it left Pakistan, a tale which gave rise to various conspiracy theories that colored the incident in the sort of hazy mythology so often associated with the Kennedy assassination.) In this climate, it was understandable for the American public to wonder about

On February 10, 1962, the Soviets released Powers and traded him for notorious Russian spy Rudolph Abel, allowing the former U-2 pilot to walk to freedom across the Glienicke Bridge...



above: "Duck and Cover" Civil Defense Photo, c.1950s

left: Francis Gary Powers in front of a U-2, c.1963 when he was a test pilot for Lockheed

photo credit: Courtesy Francis Gary Powers, Jr. Collection

Francis Gary Powers
in USAF uniform,
c. 1952



other troubling details of Powers' story: Why had he not destroyed the plane on the way out? And why he had not used a specially prepared, poison-laced silver dollar to commit suicide and thereby prevent capture?

On February 10, 1962, the Soviets released Powers and traded him for notorious Russian spy Rudolph Abel, allowing the former U-2 pilot to walk to freedom across the Glienicke Bridge separating West and East Germany, culminating his ordeal with a moment of cloak-and-dagger intrigue. Allen Dulles, the one-time Director of Central Intelligence, greeted him warmly and said, "We are proud of what you have done."

But the doubts followed him home...

To many Americans, despite his nearly two years as a prisoner of an undeclared secret war, Powers was repatriated as something less than a hero. There were no ticker-tape parades, no invitations to the White House. All that remained were those lingering doubts about what really happened behind the Iron Curtain—and the pervasive stench of humiliation. Many agency officials remained privately disdainful of him, and when a large contingent of U-2 pilots was presented with the prestigious Intelligence Medal, he was inexplicably excluded. He would later receive the commendation, but it was not the last time some high-ranking officials of the agency found it more convenient to pretend Francis Gary Powers had never existed.

...Powers was repatriated as something less than a hero. There were no ticker-tape parades, no invitations to the White House. Only those lingering doubts about what really happened behind the Iron Curtain...

After enduring lengthy debriefings at Langley and a classified congressional investigation that exonerated him, he was cleared to return to work at the CIA, where he launched a program to train pilots for dealing with the enemy. There, he met Sue TK, the agency employee who would become his second wife. Later settling in southern California, he became a U-2 test pilot for Lockheed; wrote a best-selling book about the U-2 Incident—whose contents caused him to be fired from Lockheed, apparently pressured by the CIA; authorized a television film about

...Powers could not escape the enduring infamy and lingering impact of the U-2 Incident. "I still feel like a scapegoat"...

his life starring Lee Majors of *The Six Million Dollar Man* fame; and spent several years as a helicopter pilot providing traffic reports for a Los Angeles television station.

Even while carving out a comfortable upper-middle-class life with his wife and their son and daughter in the San Fernando Valley, Powers could not escape the enduring infamy and lingering impact of the U-2 Incident. "I still feel like a scapegoat," he told reporters more than a decade after his return from captivity, insisting that the Air Force had violated its agreement to allow him to rejoin the service at a rank taking into account his CIA years. "I guess they didn't want to have a known spy in the Air Force."



left: Francis Gary Powers, his wife Sue, and their children Dee Powers and Francis Gary Powers, Jr., c. 1970 at their home in Sun Valley, CA

above: Francis Gary Powers with his son, Francis Gary Powers, Jr., c. 1976 on set of the *Francis Gary Powers Story*

While listening to a middle-school class discussion of the shoot-down, which by then was part of a history lesson about the Cold War, Dee Powers was horrified when her teacher told

the students that her father should have killed himself—and that by not doing so, he had been derelict in his duty. “That was very traumatic for me,” she recalled.

In time, Francis Gary Powers, Jr., would understand his sister’s pain. But he would learn to deal with it in a very different way.

In the years after his father died suddenly on August 1, 1977—crashing his traffic helicopter onto an Encino golf course, after running out of gas, a rather prosaic end for such a legendary cold warrior—the son began to wonder about the man who had left him at the impressionable age of twelve. “I understood that my dad was famous, but it really didn’t register at that age that everybody’s dad wasn’t famous,” he said many years later. He began to ask questions of his mother and others, trying to understand who his father had been and why he had left behind such a conflicted legacy.

What began as rather unfocused adolescent curiosity slowly grew into a sophisticated search for truth, much of it hidden in the shadows, which eventually launched Francis Gary Powers, Jr., on a crusade that would dominate and define his life.

“I understood that my dad was famous, but it really didn’t register at that age that everybody’s dad wasn’t famous...”

By the time the middle-aged son with the famous name reached the Pentagon the week before Father’s Day in 2012, he had spent more than two decades researching every conceivable aspect of his father’s life. He had devoted much of his free time to pursuing Freedom of Information Act requests and scouring de-classified documents for crucial facts and anecdotal morsels; visited the Soviet prison where his father was confined; collected and preserved artifacts including

Francis Gary Powers, Jr., Rainer Hunger, and Jim Connell look at SA-2 Missile base Photo at the Central Armed Forces Museum in front of Powers's U-2 wreckage, c. May 1, 2010.



The Cold War Museum Logo
(Courtesy of www.coldwar.org)

the rug his father made in prison and the suitcase he carried across the Glienicke Bridge; met dozens of military and intelligence officers who knew his father; convinced the U.S. Air Force to give him a back-seat ride in a U-2; developed an exhibit and lecture about the U-2 Incident, which took him across the country and beyond; and founded the Cold War Museum, devoted to understanding the conflict that shaped geopolitics for more than forty years.

Determined to walk the narrow tightrope between detached historian and emotionally involved son, Powers insisted, “I was not doing it to validate my dad. I was doing it to find out what the truth was so I could set the record straight.”

Once Powers became convinced, after exploring all the evidence—much of it unavailable until the turn of the century—that his father’s service had been unfairly tainted, the son began a concerted effort to rehabilitate the image of Francis Gary Powers—to prove that the man who had

...to prove that the man who had endured 22 months in a Soviet prison was, in fact, a hero who deserved to be venerated by the country he served.

endured twenty-two months in a Soviet prison was, in fact, a hero who deserved to be venerated by the country he served. At his urging, the Air Force and intelligence agency began to posthumously award a series of long-denied honors, including the Prisoner of War Medal, the Distinguished Flying Cross, and the CIA Director’s Medal.

The son’s private war to recast his father’s place in the history books culminated inside the Pentagon’s ornate Hall of Heroes, as a select group of relatives, friends, and military brass watched while Air Force General Norton Schwartz presented the late pilot the Silver Star, the military’s third-highest honor—draping it around the neck of the grandson he had never known.

All those years after Powers had returned home amid such ambivalence, the citation acknowledged that he was “interrogated, harassed, and endured unmentionable hardships on a continuous basis by numerous top Soviet Secret Police interrogation teams,” while “resisting all Soviet efforts through cajolery, trickery and threats of death,” and exhibiting “indomitable spirit, exceptional loyalty, and continuous heroic actions.”

Welling up with emotion, the son felt a satisfaction he had been pursuing for much of his adult life. “It’s never too late to set the record straight,” he told the packed auditorium. “Even if it takes fifty years.”

More than twenty-two years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, when Francis Gary Powers officially became an American hero in the eyes of the military establishment, it was difficult not to see the delayed recognition as something even more profound: the last fading echo of the Cold War.

Author’s Note:

Utilizing a long list of previously classified documents obtained through FOIA requests, never-published correspondence from Powers’ time in prison, in-depth audio recordings made by the pilot more than forty years ago, and extensive interviews with military and intelligence agency contemporaries and family members, the book sketches an anecdotally rich portrait that brings his remarkable journey to life in vivid detail—from his modest roots in the countryside of Kentucky and Virginia through his untimely death at the age of forty-seven. It is the story of a gifted young Air Force pilot who distinguished himself flying the F-84 Thunderjet, which prompted him to be recruited into the CIA at a fortuitous time, just as the U-2 was becoming operational and the Eisenhower Administration endeavored to exploit the technology to open a new front in an undeclared war. And it is the story of a middle-aged man who tried to get on with his life but could not help feeling estranged from the very government he risked his life to protect.

The book takes the reader deep into the Cold War, placing Powers in proper historical context while using his personal story to illuminate the larger conflict; examines the U-2 Incident in minute detail; and follows the son’s journey while he meticulously searched for clues and some larger truth, seeking redemption for his father and, ultimately, a measure of peace for himself.

More than 22 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall ... Francis Gary Powers officially became an American hero in the eyes of the military establishment...



SPY PILOT is the definitive story of Francis Gary Powers and a son’s attempt to restore his father’s reputation. To order an autographed copy, visit www.spypilotbook.com. More information available at www.garypowers.com.

Francis Gary Powers, Jr., is Founder and Chairman Emeritus of The Cold War Museum. He is the author of *Letters from a Soviet Prison* (2017) and *Spy Pilot* (2019), which help to dispel the misinformation surrounding the U-2 Incident. Mr. Powers is a Board Member of the SAC and

Aerospace Museum and an Honorary Board Member of the International Spy Museum. He lectures throughout the U.S. as well as internationally, and he appears regularly on C-SPAN, the History, Discovery, and A&E channels.





photo credit: ABMC

“We were keeping faith with the fallen. We were taking to them all that we could of home, of beauty, and of remembrance.”

Building on a Mission of Remembrance:

George C. Marshall and the American Battle Monuments Commission, 1946–1959

BY THOMAS H. CONNER, PH.D.

One of the most under-explored chapters of General Marshall's life of service is the thirteen years he spent as a member of the American Battle Monuments Commission (ABMC), the federal agency created in 1923 to build and maintain cemeteries and monuments abroad to honor the memory and preserve the remains of our fighting forces in the First World War.



photo credit: ABMC

The mandate of the commission was extended and expanded after the Second World War, and today, the agency has custody over twenty-six cemeteries and thirty monuments, memorials, and markers in seventeen countries worldwide. Nine of these cemeteries hold World War I dead, and fourteen more were built after 1945 for the fallen from World War II. Altogether, roughly 125,000 American dead from these two conflicts rest in ABMC cemeteries in eight countries, and an additional 60,000 of those with no known graves are commemorated by name on “walls of the missing” at these sites.


The first chairman of the original seven-person commission, appointed by President Warren G. Harding, was General John J. Pershing. He served in that role from 1923 until his death in 1948. General Marshall was appointed to the expanded eleven-person commission by President Harry S. Truman in October 1946, and was elected chairman by vote of the members in January 1949. He remained on the board until his death in October 1959. It is a little-known fact that the nation's first “General of the Armies” (Pershing) and its first “General of the Army” (Marshall) contributed their final years of public service as ABMC chairmen. Just as Marshall's illustrious mentor had presided over the agency throughout its creation of the World War I memorials, the younger man would be called upon to do the same for the next generation of overseas sites and build on the ABMC's already established mission of remembrance.

Left: This temporary cemetery, shown in 1945, is now known as Netherlands American Cemetery. The permanent cemetery was constructed during General Marshall's chairmanship of the American Battle Monuments Commission. It was dedicated in July 1960, nine months after Marshall's death.



General of the Armies
John J. Pershing

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

This article is a summary of the author's lecture delivered in July 2019. You can watch Dr. Conner's talk, as well as other Legacy Series lectures, on our YouTube channel. 

Marshall was no stranger to the work of the commission, having served as a senior aide to General Pershing in the 1920s while the agency was first getting organized. When Truman put him on the newly expanded board, however, Marshall was in the final stage of his famous mission to China. Soon after he returned to the United States, he became Secretary of State; thus, the General missed eight of the first ten ABMC meetings he was entitled to attend. Even so, on the two occasions he was present, in February and May 1947, he engaged actively in discussions

about the placement of the World War II cemeteries and other policy issues relating to the proposed sites. Marshall was particularly keen that a cemetery be situated in the Philippines (to this day, Manila is the site of the largest ABMC cemetery), and that some damage to the World War I memorials from the more recent conflict be preserved for its “psychological effect and added interest” (such scars can be still be seen, for example, on the front wall of the chapel at the Aisne-Marne cemetery at the edge of Belleau Wood). His expressed hope that the Gov-

ernment would eventually fund pilgrimages by Gold Star Mothers and war widows from World War II to the new cemeteries, as had been done during the 1930s, bore no fruit, but nonetheless revealed his strong belief in the importance of encouraging such visits by the American public to the overseas sites.

Marshall presided over eleven of the eighteen meetings held during the decade he served as ABMC chairman. Most of his absences were the result of declining health during the last three years of his life. His one-year stints as chairman of the American Red Cross (October 1949–September 1950) and Secretary of Defense (September 1950–September 1951) overlapped his ABMC chairmanship but did not cause the General to miss one meeting.

Still, whether because of temperament or the multiplicity of responsibilities competing for his attention, Marshall brought a much lighter touch to the work of the commission than did his predecessor. Whereas General Pershing, for whom the ABMC was the major focus of the last quarter century of his service to the nation, had made annual inspection tours of the overseas sites for nearly two decades and exercised power of approval over the smallest details of design

and construction of the World War I memorials, his successor delegated such matters to General Thomas North, the commission’s Secretary, and only made one visit to the new cemeteries as they were being built. In any case, there is no denying the impact of General Marshall’s leadership on the agency at a most crucial time in its history.

The ABMC chairman expressed his “deep concern about the overall morale factor if our foreign national cemeteries are not adequately maintained...”

One of the most pressing problems confronting the ABMC during Marshall’s chairmanship was securing funds to pursue the construction of the World War II cemeteries in a timely and expeditious manner. The early stage of construction of these sites coincided with the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950, and the priority assigned to the expenses of that conflict curtailed practically all other government spending. The ABMC’s funding for 1950, 1951, and 1952 was cut to the point that the permanent burials in the new cemeteries, the acquisition and placement of the marble headstones, and the construction of the memorial chapels at each site slowed dramatically. Levels of personnel assigned to direct the work of the commission in Europe and



photo credit ABMC

Manila American Cemetery and Memorial



photo credit: ABMC

elsewhere were similarly reduced, arousing fears on General Marshall's part for the effect inadequately supervised and persistently unfinished building sites would have on American parents when they visited the plots designated for the permanent interment of their dead sons.

In March 1951, looking for relief from these concerns, then Secretary of Defense Marshall contacted General Omar Bradley, then serving as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. "In addition to my other duties," he wrote tongue-in-cheek to his wartime subordinate, "I still seem to be Chairman of the American Battle Monuments Commission." On Bradley's advice, Marshall wrote a follow-up letter

Brittany American Cemetery in France was dedicated on July 20, 1956, one of six World War II overseas cemeteries dedicated by the American Battle Monuments Commission during General Marshall's chairmanship.



Omar Bradley

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

three days later to General Joseph T. McNarney, whose office had ordered the personnel reductions. The ABMC chairman expressed his "deep concern about the overall morale factor if our foreign national cemeteries are not adequately maintained, and if the long-range program for construction...in our World War II cemeteries is postponed or otherwise interfered with." This intervention secured almost immediate increases in the levels of military personnel assigned to cemetery construction, although not even a face-to-face meeting with President Truman five months later could break the funding impasse. By 1953, ABMC funding was flowing more reliably again, and even if Marshall's influence had only been partially successful at relieving these problems in the short term, it cannot be denied that having a man of such stature advocating for it served the commission well.

Marshall was also called upon to referee a more awkward controversy that spanned the first five years of his chairmanship—namely, the issue of the placement of the grave of General George S. Patton, Jr., in the Luxembourg American Cemetery. Patton's body had rested in that cemetery since his death in December 1945. While the site was still in the custody of the Graves Registration Service (GRS) of the Army, Mrs. Patton had won the support of Louis Johnson, Marshall's predecessor at the Pentagon, for the movement of her husband's remains to a more



photo credit: ABMC

General George S. Patton's grave is set apart at the head of the thousands of graves at Luxembourg American Cemetery.

prominent place in front of the thousands of other graves in the cemetery. When Secretary Johnson asked the ABMC for its thoughts on the matter, the commission registered a strong objection that General Marshall was obliged to convey to the Pentagon chief.

One of the invariable principles behind the organization of the burials in all of the nation's overseas cemeteries, Marshall explained, was equal treatment and placement for all, regardless of rank, color, or circumstances of death. Moving Patton to a spot outside the perfectly ordered rows of graves would violate that principle. In August 1949, when Johnson authorized the repositioning of Patton's grave anyway, just before the GRS ceded jurisdiction over the cemetery to the ABMC, the commission declined to place a permanent headstone on the new location as a

sign of its continuing disapproval of the family's insistence on special treatment. This action also held open the possibility that the ABMC might yet move the grave back into the ranks. Not until 1954, with General Marshall's concurrence, did the ABMC give the Patton grave its permanent headstone. It remains the only burial plot in any of the commission's cemeteries favored with an isolated location.

General George S. Patton rests in a grave set apart at Luxembourg American Cemetery. It is the only burial plot in ABMC cemeteries isolated in such a manner.



photo credit: ABMC



photo credit: ABMC

General Marshall presided at the September 13, 1952 dedication of two loggias at Suresnes American Cemetery outside Paris. One of the loggias is dedicated to the dead of World War I, the other dedicated to the dead of World War II. Suresnes, a World War I cemetery dedicated by President Wilson on May 30, 1919, now contains the remains of United States dead of both wars.

What stands out most prominently about General Marshall's service to the ABMC is how beautifully he expressed the importance of the overseas memorials in his public utterances as chairman, and how staunchly he encouraged ordinary Americans to embrace the sites as their own and actually to visit them.

In September 1952, Marshall presided over the dedication of the first of the new constructions of the commission since the end of World War II. In the Parisian suburb of Suresnes, a permanent cemetery for approximately 1,500 dead from World War I had been dedicated by President Woodrow Wilson on Memorial Day 1919. After World War II, the ABMC decided to expand the cemetery chapel and add twenty-four unknown dead from the more recent conflict in order to make the site a shrine to the fallen from both World Wars.

Marshall's participation in the 1952 dedication at Suresnes highlighted the only visit he made to the second generation of ABMC memorials. He seized the occasion to make a forceful statement about the significance of the overseas sites of remembrance. Not only were the cemeteries a physical reminder of Americans' willingness to sacrifice their lives in the defense of freedom far from their shores, General Marshall further understood them to be symbols of the nation's determination to keep waging this fight. France was awash in cries at that time, especially from Communists, that the Americans should "go home." As he referenced the dead arrayed before him in the Suresnes cemetery, Marshall observed that "these Americans can never go home," and emphasized, in a flurry of Cold War rhetoric, that "Americans will not go home until our friends here feel that our presence is no longer essential to their security, when we can leave a land free of terror, a land where the dignity of the individual is supreme."

Not only were the cemeteries a physical reminder of Americans' willingness to sacrifice their lives in the defense of freedom far from their shores, General Marshall further understood them to be symbols of the nation's determination to keep waging this fight.

General Marshall's stepson, 2LT Allen T. Brown, was killed in action near Campoleone, Italy, on May 29, 1944. He is buried at the American Battle Monuments Commission's Sicily-Rome American Cemetery in Nettuno, Italy.

"Marshall, of course, had already been to Allen's gravesite, but Katherine had not. He knew how emotional it would be for her to see the marker.... A few years later Katherine described what she saw and felt when she approached Allen's grave. 'As I knelt down to place a wreath,... I felt that his last resting place should be with his comrades where his life had counted the most, for they had given a country liberty and a people freedom'."

—from *George Marshall: Defender of the Republic* (p. 536) by David Roll



Later in his 1952 tour of Europe, with Mrs. Marshall at his side, the General visited the grave of his stepson, Army Lt. Allen T. Brown, in the Sicily-Rome American Cemetery behind Anzio beach near where the young man had died in action in May 1944. He wrote years later that he and his wife had found this site "a very beautiful cemetery in layout, buildings, statuary, and mosaics." Marshall never saw any of the completed cemeteries besides Suresnes because he was too ill to attend the later dedications. But, in the course of remarks he made in December 1956 at the last ABMC meeting he would attend, on the heels of six cemetery dedications the previous summer, he once again emphasized the "artistic merit and beauty" of the sites, and expressed the hope that many people would visit them. "We think largely of the parents and widows," the General said, "but we should be working constantly to the end that the cemeteries will become well known to all travelers overseas."

Six months later, Marshall made his most profound public statements about the hallowed sites and his own ABMC service in the introduction to a long feature story that appeared in the June 1957 edition of *The National Geographic Magazine*. He began the piece, entitled "Our War Memorials: A Faith Kept," as follows:

Twice since World War II [in 1948 and in 1952] my heart has led me on long pilgrimages overseas. I went as an old soldier seeking fallen comrades.

The hours I walked among our lost legions were among the most poignant of my life. Each site evoked old memories of decisions made, of battles waged and won, and, above all, of the young Americans who paid the highest price that war can exact. Yet the tribute I gave these men in my thoughts must remain an unwritten one, for words cannot capture or convey gratitude held so deeply.

In the course of my pilgrimages there grew a very great, if melancholy satisfaction in the work of the American Battle Monuments Commission, entrusted with the care of our war dead in foreign lands. We were keeping faith with the fallen. We were taking to them all that we could of home, of beauty, and of remembrance.

To those families who had made the difficult decision to entrust a fallen soldier to an overseas cemetery, Marshall offered the following assurance: "Yes, he rests now in a serene and beautiful place, well planned, well built, well kept by dedicated men. From our task's inception," he continued, "the Commission has tried, as far as work and patience and skill can do, to make the memorials worthy of the men and women they honor."



photo credit: ABMC

This is the Netherlands American Cemetery in 2014. Wearing his original uniform and jump boots, World War II veteran Clinton Riddle commemorated the 70th anniversary of Operation Market Garden at the cemetery with 82nd Airborne Division soldiers. During the war, Riddle served with the 325th Glider Infantry Regiment, 82nd Airborne Division.

Marshall called those resting in the cemeteries “the sons of every free man.” He issued a final challenge to all of the readers of the 1957 piece to pay their own tribute by visiting the sites. “If you believe in a life of the spirit, as most Americans devoutly do, then you must believe these men want visitation. Without it theirs would be a lonely vigil, one lacking the best evidence we could give of gratitude and steadfast memory.”

When the nation’s first five-star general passed away in October 1959, the surviving ABMC commissioners paid tribute to “his keen interest in the work of the Commission and the leadership he gave to it in carrying out its responsibility for the design and construction of the magnificent cemeteries overseas, in which more than 80,000 of the heroic Dead of World War II lie buried,” and recalled “with prideful memory” their work with him.

While Marshall’s exalted rank prohibited him from retiring from military service, it is worth recalling yet again that his position as ABMC chairman was the final civilian office he held. It is indicative of the undying nobility of his spirit that the last formal service he gave to the nation was devoted to honoring those who had borne the battle, as well as the cause for which they had so heroically sacrificed.

“If you believe in a life of the spirit, as most Americans devoutly do, then you must believe these men want visitation. Without it theirs would be a lonely vigil, one lacking the best evidence we could give of gratitude and steadfast memory.”

Dr. Thomas H. Conner holds the William P. Harris Chair in Military History at Hillsdale College, where he has taught since 1983. A native of southeastern Pennsylvania, he graduated from Elizabethtown College in 1972 with a Bachelor

of Arts degree in History. He then completed his M.A. and Ph.D. at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.





photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library - George C. Marshall Research Library

Throughout his fifty-year long public career Marshall consistently applied values of equality, religious freedom, and fair treatment. He championed democracy, openness, and freedom of speech.

Marshall & Israel

BY GERALD POPS, PH.D.

Despite his many and exceptional achievements as “organizer of victory” in World War II, his postwar service as special ambassador in China, secretary of state (including the conceptualizing and securing enactment of the Marshall Plan) and secretary of defense (stabilizing Korea and repelling North Korean aggression), and other notable achievements in his career, George Catlett Marshall is today viewed ambivalently in the Jewish-American community.

How is this explained? The usual response is that Marshall opposed, while serving as secretary of state in 1948, Truman’s decision to grant recognition to the new Jewish state coincident with British withdrawal as the U.N.’s head of mandatory Palestine. These critics point to the disagreement that arose between Marshall, Robert Lovett, and other State Department officials and the White House, particularly the president’s domestic political advisor, Clark Clifford, on

Opposite page: Moshe Sharett, Foreign Minister of Israel, and George Marshall

May 12, 1948. Suggestions of anti-Semitism in the position taken by Secretary of State Marshall and State Department staff first surfaced in a book by Clifford, with Richard Holbrooke, in 1991, entitled *Counsel to the President*, and later in 2008 in a *Washington Post* editorial by Holbrooke, declaring that “some” State Department officials were known to be anti-Semitic. These innuendoes invited readers, many of them Jewish, to conclude that Marshall was an anti-Semite, or at least was influenced by the anti-Semitism of others in his department.

Left: President Truman, Secretary Marshall, and Undersecretary Robert Lovett



In this article I will lay out the circumstances that underlay the evolution of the positions taken by Marshall and Truman at that May 12, 1948 White House meeting, two days before the British withdrawal. Further, I will make the case that General Marshall was acting in good faith and in the interests of all parties, including both Jewish and Arab populations of Israel, as well as the president.

This article is a summary of the author’s lecture delivered in July 2019. You can watch Dr. Pops’s talk, as well as other Legacy Series lectures, on our YouTube channel. [YouTube](#)

Some Terms

“Anti-Semitism” means hostility toward Jews as persons or as a people. It may be based on religious beliefs, perceived behaviors of Jewish people, or a historical perspective (most notably, a perceived role in the death and crucifixion of Christ). Often, this hostility is expressed indirectly through coded language. The word “Zionist” technically means a person who is part of an early twentieth-century movement of Jews seeking to return to their ancestral homeland (the land of “Zion” in Palestine), but it is also used pejoratively, especially in middle eastern countries or in fabricated western myths about Jews conspiring to gain world domination (for example, *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*). To criticize the state of Israel or Israeli government policy is less often an expression of anti-Semitism; indeed, many American Jews who have nothing against Judaism often oppose Israeli political leaders and Israeli national policy.

Nazi-Germany’s Holocaust in World War II greatly accelerated Zionism, with the great majority of Jewish survivors choosing to migrate to Palestine. This movement was not only because Palestine was the historic home of the Jewish race and religion, but also because Britain had recognized the right of Jews to return there in the Balfour Declaration of 1917. The British position was endorsed by the League of Nations in the 1920s, anticipating the establishment of a Jewish homeland and eventual statehood in Palestine.

1947: The Players and Their Positions

When George Marshall walked into his new civilian office across from the White House on January 21, 1947, he came face-to-face with conflicts across the globe, among them the conflict in Palestine. Two items were on his desk. On top was a note from President Truman, which read:

The only major political issue between the United States and the United Kingdom which may require your immediate attention is the question of Palestine.



photo credit: Library of Congress

Loy Henderson

Underneath was a briefing on events and conditions from the department’s professional Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, headed by Loy Henderson, who was regarded as a hard-liner on Soviet matters, an advocate of British policy in Palestine, and thought by many, including Jews, as anti-Semitic.

The United Kingdom had a mixed history on its attitudes toward Arab-Jewish conflicts in Palestine. In the Balfour Declaration and League of Nations, up until about 1930, it supported Jewish immigration into Palestine and the creation of a Jewish homeland and eventual independent statehood in Palestine. In the 1930s, Britain switched its allegiance to Arab nations and imposed strict restrictions on Jewish immigration and land-acquisition rights in Palestine (announced as policy in the White Paper of 1939). It became dependent on middle eastern oil, and it created, armed, and trained the professional Arab Legion military.

Most, not all, professional staff concerned with middle east affairs in the U.S. Departments of State and Defense were pro-Arab, based on the size of the Arab world and its oil resources, and the importance of that oil to long-term defense interests of the U.S. military.

Within the public realm, however, President Truman, Congress, many state legislatures, both political parties, and many political leaders announced their support of a Jewish state, or at least a homeland, in Palestine.

photo credit: <http://mideastweb.org>



The Fight Over Partition

Prior to Marshall's arrival at State, the U.N.'s Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in 1946 recommended that a trusteeship be established by the U.N. in Palestine to bring Arabs and Jews together, create two autonomous states, and allow free Jewish immigration. The Arabs strenuously objected, causing British leaders to distance themselves from the committee's recommendations.

In May 1947 Marshall approved the formation of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), composed of eleven "nonaligned countries" to work out a practicable solution to resolve the security problem expected when the British would request permission to end its governing role. The resulting UNSCOP majority report: (1) favored partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states and Jerusalem, (2) accepted British resigning its power to preside over Palestine, and (3) "economic unity" of Palestine. In September, Marshall supported the report before the U.N. General Assembly.

State Department professionals, led by Henderson, urged Marshall to abandon his support for partition, but he refused. Partition was approved by a 33-13 vote in the General Assembly on November 29. Marshall's efforts on behalf of the partition were applauded by U.S. delegation head, Ambassador Warren Austin, delegation members including Eleanor Roosevelt and Adlai Stevenson, and Jewish leader Chaim Weizmann, who thanked General Marshall "for the noble part which you and your administration played in solving the millennial (sic) old problem of our country and our people." Jews everywhere celebrated.

Detail Map of UN-SCOP Partition Plan for Palestine - September 1947

Nevertheless, Marshall had reservations about partition, on three grounds: (1) the intensity of Arab outrage over partition coupled with threats of military and hostile actions against Jewish settlements pointed toward an all-out war if any attempt to implement partition was taken; (2)

Zionist leader
and first president
of Israel Chaim
Weizmann



Courtesy of the Library of Congress, LC-BZ-5419-15 (P&P)

the probability that the Jews would lose the war, given the 50-1 ratio of Arab to Jewish population and the imbalance of arms in favor of the Arabs; and (3) knowledge that the Soviets, who backed Jewish statehood, would seek to play a large role in the area. Backed up by the visionary head of planning at State, George Kennan, Marshall (and President Truman, as well as the large majority of U.S. and Jewish-American citizens) wished to avoid the U.S. assuming Britain's role in Palestine because this would likely lead to participation in future wars. He also favored the prevention of arms flowing into Palestine which could be used by either side and promote conflict.

Advocacy of Increase of Jewish immigration into the U.S.

Marshall was sensitive to all of the pressure being placed on the British in Palestine to receive Jewish immigrants. Why shouldn't others, including the United States, play a larger role? He joined in 1947 with a group of eight members of Congress in urging legislation (the Stratton Bill) that sought admission of 400,000 displaced persons of all faiths into the United States. He testified before the House Immigration and Naturalization committee, urging the United States to accept a larger share of Jewish resettlement:

We had hoped a year ago that admission of displaced persons into Latin America and other countries outside of Europe would solve the whole problem but we now know that it will not....[W]e cannot, I feel, sit back ourselves and expect other countries to make all the positive efforts to solve this problem in which we are so directly concerned.... If we practice what we preach, if we admit a substantial number..., then...(with what others are doing and will do) we can actually bring an end to this tragic situation. In so doing, we will also confirm our moral leadership and demonstrate we are not retreating behind the Atlantic Ocean....[W]e are actually in a better position to receive a substantial number of these people than any other nation. We have numbers of the stock already in this country who know their language and who have the resources and the interest to assume the task of fitting a relatively small number of their kinsmen into our vast economy, without expense to this Nation in their resettlement, and with a reasonable assurance that they will not become public charges.

Less than two weeks before the British withdrawal, he wrote:

I had been pressing for the admission of a substantial number of displaced persons into the United States, as I felt that the integrity of our

whole position depended on our willingness to accept displaced persons. Some of the strongest opposition had come from persons whose only reason for opposing the measure was that they did not like Jews.

The Stratton-Marshall view was a lonely voice. More common was the sentiment voiced by British foreign minister Ernest Bevin in 1946:

I hope it will not be misunderstood in America if I say, with the purest of motives, that [U.S. policy toward Jewish immigration into Palestine] was because they did want too many of them in New York.

Here, Bevin signaled not only his own anti-Semitism, but also that of State Department professionals and many House members. The Stratton Bill was defeated in the House.

Marshall continued to support partition but began searching for other means to guarantee the security of the Jewish people in Palestine when the British withdrew. He was drawn to the joint U.S.–British U.N. Committee report of 1946 recommending a temporary U.N. trusteeship during which a truce and negotiations leading to shared Arab-Jewish governance could be pursued. The effort would be augmented by an embargo of arms entering Palestine.

Where Was Truman?

Meanwhile, President Truman, to whom Marshall looked for guidance, vacillated. His sympathy for Holocaust survivors was manifest, but he resented the intense lobbying pressure coming from American Zionists, and he was shocked by acts of terrorism against the British by the radical Irgun splinter group of the Jewish army. Wishing also to maintain friendly relations with the oil-rich Arabs for long-term defense and diplomatic purposes, he was far from decided on what should be his course of action.

In this vacuum, with these forces operating, Ambassador Austin prepared, with Marshall's consent, a speech intended for presentation to the Security Council advancing the idea that the U.S. would favor a temporary U.N. trusteeship arrangement if the Security Council decided it could not enforce partition. A draft of the speech was sent to a vacationing Truman in Key West on February 23, 1948, asking permission for Austin to deliver it to the U.N. Marshall received a positive reply from Truman. The next day Austin delivered the speech, stating that the U.N. charter itself did not invest authority in the Security Council to enforce the partition resolution, contrary to the General Assembly's earlier assumption. He proposed that the Security Council decide whether it had sufficient authority to implement the partition peacefully, and if not, did it believe it was possible to implement the partition by force? Then, Austin proposed, the matter should be given to the General Assembly to work out a plan for implementation of the partition. The Council accepted the proposal; days later, a majority of the permanent members reported that partition could not be achieved peacefully. This led to a shift in the U.S. delegation's position in the U.N.



U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Warren Austin

photo credit: Library of Congress

Marshall continued to support partition but began searching for other means to guarantee the security of the Jewish people in Palestine when the British withdrew.

Shift in U.S. Policy

The Austin speech constituted an apparent shift in the administration's policy, seemingly with Truman's blessing. U.S. support for partition had become conditional: partition should be supported so long as enforcing it did not require the use of armed force, especially American armed force. The second shoe fell on March 19:

Austin announced in the Security Council that partition could not be carried out without the use of force. The Security Council then called for an immediate truce and for a special session of the General Assembly to consider a plan for placing Palestine under temporary trusteeship. Austin made it clear that the trusteeship proposal was not intended to prejudice the character of an eventual solution of the problem (that is, some form of partition was still possible).

Truman was furious. The night before Austin's announcement, at the insistence of his old partner in the men's clothing business, Eddie Jacobson, Truman reluctantly agreed to talk to a Zionist he admired, Chaim Weizmann, in a secret White House meeting. Moved by Weizmann's

appeal, he promised him that his major policy direction was toward an independent Jewish state and justice for the Jewish people. It is not clear that he also promised immediate recognition of a new Jewish state coincident with British withdrawal.

Most Zionists were appalled by the Austin speech and—but for Weizmann, Rabbi Judah Magnes, and a few others in the Jewish peace camp—reacted bitterly. Truman privately declared he had been surprised by the timing of Austin's statement to the U.N., and blamed the “striped-pant boys” at the third and fourth levels of the State Department for bringing it about while Marshall and Lovett were away from Washington. He said they had sabotaged his ability to manage the political fallout. Publicly, he said that it was necessary to have a truce before partition could be

Dr. Judah S. Magnes,
chancellor of the
Hebrew University
of Jerusalem



Courtesy of the Library of Congress, LC-M32-3128[P]



Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion of Israel calls on Secretary of Defense Marshall at the Pentagon in 1951. He is accompanied by Israeli Ambassador to the U.S., Abba Eban.

implemented, and that American policy had not changed. As Marshall said later: “He [Truman] had agreed to the statement but said if he had known when it was going to be made he could have taken certain measures to have avoided the political blast of the press.”

The possibility that a U.N. temporary trusteeship could be arranged and be effective was not far-fetched. Although White House staffers Clifford and Niles thought it damaging to the Zionist cause, Truman told the press he would not have proposed it if he did not think it had a chance of working.

Marshall instantly went to work to manufacture support for the trusteeship. He met with Palestinian Jewish leaders, receiving their advice and assessing the significance of their views. These included Weizmann, Abba Eban, David Ben-Gurion, Moshe Sharett (speaking for Jewish defense forces as a whole), and Magnes. The first four spoke for the Jewish mainstream leadership. Rabbi Magnes, chancellor of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, led a faction opposed to creation of a unilateral Jewish state and favoring instead a bilateral, cooperative governmental arrangement with the Arabs. Sharett was prepared to meet some of the conditions which made Marshall hopeful. Magnes and the pacifist camp were enthusiastic. But two events doomed the initiative. The first was Marshall’s unfortunate statement to the press that both sides had accepted most points of a truce proposal—this caused Sharett to immediately deny he had accepted any of the conditions, probably to save face in Palestine. Just as damaging was the British decision to move up its planned withdrawal date to May 14, 1948, which strengthened the hand of those preparing for armed conflict rather than truce talks.

Sharett was prepared to meet some of the conditions; this made Marshall hopeful. Magnes and the pacifist camp were enthusiastic.

Climactic May 12 Meeting

As of late March, U.S. policy regarding Palestine was in disarray. The president may have been confused as to exactly what the American policy was, as there is no evidence that he communicated his thoughts or even the fact of his secret meeting with Weizmann to Marshall or Lovett,

or expressed any fresh resolve which may have stemmed from the meeting. In this climate of uncertainty, Truman called for a White House meeting on May 12 of his advisors to discuss the matter, a bare fifty hours before the British were to withdraw. White House staffers included presidential domestic advisor and 1948 presidential campaign manager Clark Clifford, David Niles, a foreign policy advisor and a strong advocate for Jewish statehood, and State Department officials Marshall, Lovett, Charles Bohlen (Soviet expert), Fraser Wilkins of the Near East desk (Henderson was pointedly absent), and Robert McClintock, a liaison person.

Marshall, whose conditions for accepting his appointment as Secretary of State included exemption from domestic party politics, was made uncomfortable by Clifford's presence. He did not feel Clif-

...Marshall intervened to say that he had told Sharett that it was dangerous to base long-term prediction of victory on temporary military success.

ford should take part in the discussion of an important foreign policy matter. He was aware of the importance of the Jewish vote in the 1948 election, and wanted it to have no bearing on the discussion of the Palestine issue.

After Lovett reviewed recent developments on the ground in Palestine, Marshall intervened to say that he had told Sharett that it was dangerous to base long-term prediction of victory on temporary military success. Then Clifford was called upon by Truman to speak. He outlined the case for immediate recognition of the about-to-be-created Jewish state. Lovett rebutted Clifford's statement before Marshall voiced his outrage: Clifford was mistaken and was a domestic political adviser to the President and should not play a role in a crucial discussion bearing on an important foreign policy matter. He suspected that Clifford was maneuvering Truman into factoring into the sensitive Palestine policy decision an election campaign strategy. Finally, Marshall stated that "if the President were to follow Mr. Clifford's advice and if [in the coming presidential election] I were to vote, I would vote against the President." At no point did Marshall threaten to resign, but the pronouncement had startled those present, and Truman quickly concluded the meeting with the remark that he was inclined to agree with General Marshall, leaving Marshall and Lovett with the impression their view had prevailed over Clifford's.

Lovett got the opposite news from Clifford by phone afterwards, who convinced him that Truman was rock-solid in not wishing to delay recognition even one hour beyond the end of the British mandate. With Lovett mediating, a deal was struck between Marshall and the White

Marshall was undoubtedly not satisfied with the compromise, but he agreed not to publicly object to the decision.

House: while *de facto* recognition would be extended upon Britain's withdrawal, official U.S. recognition as a matter of law would be delayed until the new nation had a name, settled borders, and a plan to create an acceptable constitutional framework.

Marshall was undoubtedly not satisfied with the compromise, but he agreed not to object publicly to the decision. Also, he would later assure the president that the State Department would implement the action to the best of its ability. He would also tell Truman in a meeting on May 17 that the United States "had hit its all-time low before the U.N." Eleanor Roosevelt, a U.S. delegate member in the U.N., wrote to Marshall after recognition was announced:

The way in which the recognition of Palestine came about has created complete consternation in the United Nations.... Much as I wanted the Palestine State recognized, I would not have wanted it done without the knowledge of our representatives in the United Nations who had been fighting for our changed position [i.e., a truce plus a temporary U.N. trusteeship].... Several of the representatives of other governments have been to talk to me since, and have stated quite frankly that they do not see how they could ever follow the United States' lead because the United States changed so often without any consultation.... I have seldom seen a more bitter, puzzled, discouraged group of people than some of those whom I saw on Saturday. Some of them I know are favorable to the rights of the Jews in Palestine, but they are just nonplused by the way in which we do things.

Some Thoughts About the Confrontation

Lovett, who ran the State Department on a day-to-day basis, later said he did not think Marshall was fully aware of the internal conflict within the State Department on the Palestine question. He conceded that "there were some among [the professional staff] who were...inclined to be anti-Semitic." Lovett thought that Clifford probably was aware of these papers prepared by professional staff at third and fourth levels of the department when Clifford referred to the department's "interference" in the President's decision prerogatives regarding the recognition decision. Truman blamed these third- and fourth-echelon "striped-pants boys" for opposing his decision: while "it was always understood that eventually we would recognize any responsible government the Jews might set up," the "striped-pants boys would like nothing better than to sabotage the President's policy." At no time did Truman indicate that the disagreement was between himself and Marshall.



Clark Clifford,
Special Counsel to
the President

photo credit: Harry S. Truman Library & Museum

Piling On: The Clifford-Holbrooke book, 1991

Clifford's humiliation at the hands of Marshall at the May 12 meeting made a mark upon him for the rest of his life. The very first sentence in *Counsel to the President*, his and Holbrooke's book about Clifford's long career as advisor to several presidents, records that mark:

My mind's eye roams over forty-five years of a life in Washington. But my memory comes to rest first on a meeting in the President's office on a Wednesday afternoon in the spring of 1948, when the Truman Administration faced a decision whose consequences are still with us today.

Clifford recalled that, even before the meeting, "Marshall did not like me." He made disparaging remarks about Marshall's behavior, most notably referring to Marshall's speaking in "a righteous God-damned Baptist tone" in stating that the matter should not be decided on the basis of politics and if domestic politics were not involved Clifford would not be in attendance.

Richard Holbrooke, who had become a high-ranking State Department official under President Clinton, made a more damaging statement in a *Washington Post* editorial in 2008 in describing the May 12 meeting:

Beneath the surface lay unspoken but real anti-Semitism on the part of some (but not all) policymakers.

Although Holbrooke did not label Marshall an anti-Semite, this comment clearly invited readers to infer that Marshall was either one of the anti-Semitic “policymakers” or was purposely relying on advice based on anti-Semitism.

Marshall on Race and Religion

Throughout his fifty-year long public career Marshall consistently applied values of equality, religious freedom, and fair treatment. He championed democracy, openness, and freedom of speech. He promoted the growth of young men of all religious and racial identities within the Civilian Conservation Corps. He opposed using the atomic bomb on a non-military target unless Japanese citizens could be alerted first to evacuate. He counted among his friends and associates many Jews, including presidential advisor Bernard Baruch and treasury secretary Henry Morgenthau. An outstanding example of his lack of cultural or religious animus toward Jewish people was his relationship to Anna Rosenberg, a Jewish woman he chose as his assistant secretary of defense for manpower development.



Felix Larkin (left) General Counsel of the Department of Defense swears in Anna M. Rosenberg as Assistant Secretary of Defense. Also pictured next to George C. Marshall is Robert A. Lovett, Deputy Secretary of Defense.

When Marshall was appointed secretary of defense by President Truman shortly after the start of the Korean war, he settled on Anna Rosenberg as by far the best person for the job of mobilizing special talent. Opposition to her appointment developed both within his department and the senate because Rosenberg was (1) Jewish, a woman, and born in Hungary, and (2) her last name was Rosenberg, and two Rosenbergs, Ethel and Julius, both unrelated to her, had been convicted for espionage and sentenced to death the very same year.

Right-wing senators and media spokesmen launched a campaign to discredit her and keep her from being confirmed. Members

of Marshall’s own staff advised against pursuing the Rosenberg nomination on the grounds that it would take up valuable time and likely be unsuccessful. Marshall told them they would work for Rosenberg or they would not work for him. Knowing the emotional pressure under which Rosenberg was laboring, Marshall exerted strenuous efforts to see her confirmed: personally intervening in the process of gathering positive evidence, testifying on her behalf before the senate armed services committee, and lending strong moral support. The opposition fell apart. Rosenberg was confirmed and served with great distinction in the post until January 1953.

Conclusion

We cannot say today with any confidence that the Jews of Palestine would have been better served by a U.N. trusteeship, negotiations toward a truce, and shared Jewish-Arab governance. The debate on this very matter was engaged by Jewish groups from 1945 to 1948, which finally ended with an Arab massacre of Jewish medical personnel in a Hadassah hospital caravan, which silenced the peaceful accommodation camp. But it is my belief, and the evidence supports it, that Marshall sincerely believed that a U.N. trusteeship was a better pathway to resolution of the Palestinian problem, for Jews, Arabs, and Americans, than partition implemented by force of arms.



photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Marshall probably would have supported recognition of any Jewish state which emerged after a British withdrawal, because he would have seen this as a political decision constitutionally belonging to the president. He would have done this gracefully had he been given clearer guidance by Truman as to what Truman was thinking, had the British not rushed their withdrawal, and had the president not allowed policy to go so far down the track toward the creation of a U.N. trusteeship and its accompanying emphasis on reaching a truce and shared government. Had any of these conditions been met, the May 12 meeting and the confrontation between Clifford, Marshall, and Truman would not have occurred, and no innuendos by Clifford and Holbrooke would have emerged, as indeed they should never have in any event.

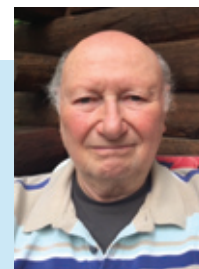
Secretary of Defense Marshall at a dinner celebrating the 76th birthday of Chaim Weizmann, the President of Israel, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. Left to right: Ambassador Abba Eban, Moshe Sharett, unknown guest, Marshall, and Abraham Feinberg

In light of recurring Arab-Israeli wars, border conflicts, and mutual recriminations over the past seventy-five years, one could reasonably argue that a U.N. trusteeship, a truce, and a shared governance approach, as difficult as they would have been to achieve in the climate then existing, would have been a preferable course to follow. Anti-Jewish and anti-American animosity in the Arab world may well have been far less, and much bloodletting avoided.

To suggest that Marshall may have been influenced by anti-Semitism, anti-Zionism, or anti-Israeli bias, does a disservice to the man as well as to the diplomacy and statesmanship of Moshe Sharett, Judah Magnes, Robert Lovett, and George Kennan in their efforts in pursuit of peaceful means to prevent armed conflict.

Dr. Gerald Pops, Professor Emeritus at West Virginia University, holds a doctoral degree from the Maxwell Graduate School at Syracuse University and a law degree from the University of California at Berkeley. He specialized in graduate training, teaching conflict management and labor relations, administrative justice and ethics, human resource and environmental

management, and public leadership. Lacking textbook material in ethical leadership in government, he came to the Marshall Library in 2002 to work with Larry Bland, who headed the Marshall Papers project, in order to begin research ultimately leading to his book, published in 2009, *Ethical Leadership in Turbulent Times: Modeling the Public Career of George C. Marshall*.



MARSHALL Scholars



THE MARSHALL FOUNDATION SCHOLARS PROGRAM IN GENERAL— AND CADET WAINWRIGHT IN PARTICULAR

by David Hein, Ph.D.



David Hein, Ph.D., is a senior fellow at the George C. Marshall Foundation and the author of many books and articles, including “In War for Peace: General George C. Marshall’s Core Convictions and Ethical Leadership,” *Touchstone* (2013); “The Marshall Plan: Conservative Reform as a Weapon of War,” *Modern Age* (2017); “Washington and Marshall: Two Studies in Virtue,” *Modern Age* (2018); “At 70: Rethinking the Marshall Plan,” *Providence: A Journal of Christianity and American Foreign Policy* (2018); and “George C. Marshall: Exemplar of Lived Burkean Conservatism,” *Intercollegiate Review* (2019).

Successfully relaunched three years ago, the Marshall Foundation Scholars program has become an essential part of our mission to make the Marshall legacy available to new constituencies, including rising generations of undergraduate students. This program incorporates what educators call “high-impact practices”: in this case, one-on-one coaching by librarian and faculty advisor to achieve an outstanding result, an example of which is published here.

Program participants are carefully selected from well-regarded colleges and universities within 200 miles of Lexington, Virginia. Each successful scholar works with original documents in our archives, formulates a thesis based on his or her research, and crafts a paper strong enough to warrant placement in our collection of excellent work produced by previous Marshall Foundation Scholars.

The standard for completion—at which point students may officially call themselves Marshall Foundation Scholars—is appropriately rigorous. The reason for this high bar is not arbitrary but rather a function of the nature and purpose of all research and writing. Every paper, article, or book should be written with a particular audience in mind.

For the MFS program, the audience is users of our library and archives. Thus MFS papers must achieve one or both of the following goals: contribute significant new knowledge on an important topic; offer a fresh and accurate reinterpretation of existing knowledge. In other words, these papers have to give visiting researchers texts worth spending time with. And the papers’ content must be presented in a clear, well-organized fashion.

This demanding program’s participants regularly make unsolicited comments along the following lines: “I’ve never been so engaged in research and writing; this direct coaching—from initial idea to digging in the archives to revised thesis through writing and revising—has been extremely helpful; I’ve really enjoyed it and have learned a lot from it.” Hard work leading to a splendid result and a well-earned reward produces the best kind of academic satisfaction.

Which is a long way of saying what Cadet Nicholas Wainwright has been up to in his project, which is indeed a paper that is both a contribution to our knowledge of an important topic—Marshall’s development of the U.S. Army on the eve of entry into World War II—and a compelling reexamination of what we thought we knew about Marshall’s role in this process.

Cadet Wainwright’s article is published here partly because its appearance is a way of letting Foundation members know about the MFS program but chiefly because his work deserves placement beside the outstanding articles of our Legacy Series speakers: no mean accomplishment. Bear in mind that, for reasons of space, Cadet Wainwright’s entire paper could not be published. Scholars’ papers are normally at least twenty to twenty-five pages in length.

Congratulations to Cadet Wainwright for being the first Foundation Scholar to have an article accepted for publication in this fine magazine, where he quite deservedly joins distinguished company, and best wishes to him on what we expect will be a splendid future.

George C. Marshall *and the* Selective Service Act of 1940

BY NICHOLAS J. WAINWRIGHT

Less than a year into his tenure as chief of staff and only slightly over a year before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, General George C. Marshall threatened to resign. Marshall's spectacular career was almost

cut short by a disagreement over an issue that he deemed critical to the success of the United States in the looming world war. Despite Marshall's willingness to walk away from the office of chief of staff, historians frequently overlook the importance of the issue on which he staked his career: the Selective Service Act of 1940.

Buried in the overwhelming context of World War II, the successful implementation of the first peacetime draft in American history remains shrouded in obscurity. The story of how the Selective Service Act (also known as the Burke-Wadsworth Bill) came into being and the role Marshall played in its successful implementation warrant more attention than they have received. A closer examination of the history of the Selective Service Act reveals a surprising degree of popularity at a time when most Americans opposed involvement in the emerging crises in Europe and Asia. A Gallup Poll taken in 1940 found that opposition to U.S. entry into the European theater ran as high as 88 percent. And yet, curiously, another Gallup Poll of young American men eligible to be drafted found support for peacetime conscription at 91 percent.

Study of the political climate in which the Selective Service Act emerged reveals a story that explains its popularity. The 1940 draft did not begin as a government mandate. Rather, it came out of a civilian movement for preparedness led by Grenville Clark (1882–1967), a prominent international lawyer and, after World War II, coauthor of the widely praised *World Peace through World Law* (1958).

Furthermore, Army Chief of Staff Marshall displayed considerable awareness of political realities by exercising restraint first in the lobbying effort to establish peacetime conscription and then in recognizing the hurdles to implementation. Marshall's astute recognition of the limits of power ensured that the draft bill would not only survive the legislative process but also be enacted to widespread acclaim. Although Clark is often recognized as the father of the selective service, Marshall is due more credit for it than he has received.

Absent the popularity generated by the civilian-led movement and the cooling temperance of the chief of staff, the selective service system of 1940 likely would have inspired resistance of similar intensity as prior American endeavors in conscription had experienced. Both the Union and the Confederate governments relied on conscription to raise armies during the Civil War, and in both North and South conscription was met with noncompliance and rioting. The U.S.

next relied on conscripts to fill the ranks during World War I with a revamped and rebranded selective service system that addressed many of the shortcomings of the Civil War draft. But despite efforts by the U.S. government to make conscription more palatable, this draft still met significant and violent resistance in the form of sabotage, particularly in the South.

With the violent resistance conscription typically faced in the U.S., the assumption persisted that similar opposition would emerge in 1940. As they considered the prospect of involvement in another global war, however, few senior officials in the U.S. government, if they were honest, would have denied the need to raise massive armies as a measure of preparation. But with the unpopularity of the 1917 draft still in recent memory, none were willing to initiate the call for conscription in 1940. Not only was the history of the draft in the U.S. one of resistance and non-compliance, the prospect of a draft during peacetime was unheard of. Still widespread was the notion that preparation for war would inevitably lead to entry into war. With such significant opposition to U.S. involvement in World War II, U.S. officials could not reasonably anticipate success in establishing a peacetime draft in 1940.

The anticipated headwinds against a draft inspired hesitation among government officials, including Marshall, who recognized the political limitations that the office of chief of staff placed on him. When the call finally sounded for conscription, it did not come from congressmen on the armed services committee or from the War Department but rather from an organized group of activist citizens. The movement began with Grenville Clark and eight other men who met in May 1940 to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of their successful contribution to the preparedness movement before the Great War.

Faced with another war, Clark rallied the “old Plattsburgh crowd” to action once again to initiate a lobbying campaign for peacetime conscription. The new Plattsburgh Movement quickly established committees and resolutions around which to organize. The most significant of them included the call for compulsory military service as fundamental to the defense of the nation. Peacetime conscription was the most ambitious objective Clark and others set for themselves, and it would eventually become the movement’s most significant accomplishment.

Building on their experience during the Great War and relying heavily on prominent connections to the Roosevelt Administration and to the nation’s Ivy League elite, Clark and his allies backed a cause that was not a grass-roots movement by any stretch of the imagination. The citizen call for conscription was a movement organized and supported by a close-knit group of elites, including Plattsburghers such as Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, Assistant Secretary Robert P. Patterson, and Justice Felix Frankfurter. This movement was closely tied to the current administration, even at the highest level, with President Franklin D. Roosevelt himself having been a classmate and longtime friend of Clark.

Marshall was connected to the Plattsburgh Movement as well, albeit in a less direct way. In 1916, as a newly minted captain in the U.S. Army and the aide of General J. Franklin Bell, Marshall became involved with the training of 1,200 wealthy young men at the Plattsburghian Military Training Camp at Monterey, California. But despite this connection and his awareness of the need for a significant increase in manpower, Marshall hesitated to lend full support to the Plattsburgh Movement as it got under way in the spring of 1940.

His hesitation should not be confused with resistance, however. Marshall was fully aware of the manpower needs the Army faced going into the 1940s as Panzer divisions rolled across France. In fact, his staff had already prepared plans for a draft in 1939, which would be initiated in the event of a declaration of war by Congress. Rather, Marshall's hesitation was a prudent political move in the spring of 1940. As he later explained to his official biographer, Forrest C. Pogue, if the call for conscription had originated with the U.S. Army, "I would have defeated myself before I started....[But] if I could get civilians of great promise to take the lead... then I could take up the cudgels and work it out."

Marshall knew that conscription was necessary, and in the coming months he adamantly asserted this fact. Yet as the movement got under way, the chief of staff remained aware of the dangers inherent in such a program originating with his office during a time when entry into the war faced significant opposition. He was conscious of civilian perceptions and of the reality that, without widespread popular support, a peacetime draft bill would die in committees.

With the success of the Plattsburgh Movement, Marshall received exactly what he wanted: civilians taking the lead on conscription. He maintained some reservations about their work, however. His predominant concern was one of logistical reality. As he told his chief biographer, "we didn't have the [instructional personnel] and we wanted to make a much slower start and work up to it." Still, Marshall recalled that others on his staff argued "that there was not time" for a gradual process of raising manpower, and "public opinion demanded" Selective Service.

Although the chief of staff was about to receive the massive increase in personnel that he knew was necessary, he realized that the existing cadre structure in the Army was not ready to absorb these new numbers. Marshall wanted the draft, but, as he later explained, he "was determined that we were going to do this thoroughly.... We had to turn out trained divisions that could fight their first battle—not a learning battle, but a battle to the death."

As the Plattsburgh Movement achieved dramatic and rapid success, Marshall, counseling restraint, urged Stimson and Patterson to slow down on the draft. But he experienced little success as public opinion swelled in support of peacetime conscription. The draft was coming much faster than he had anticipated, and, Marshall recalled, he "couldn't slow it down.... I would find the Selective Service Act... revoked if I...delayed its procedure." The chief of staff faced two poor options: either work with more than he had bargained for in a hasty Selective Service system or accept none at all.

Developments in Europe added urgency to the American situation. Between June 14 and 18, 1940, France fell to German occupation, shocking the world. Finding his options to exercise power and influence limited in the final scope and design of the draft and now wary of the threat posed by Nazi Germany, Marshall finally came around to lending full support to the Selective Service system emerging in the Selective Service Act. Given the urgency of events in Europe, he saw that having a manpower deficit was worse than coping with a clogged instructional system. Late in the summer of 1940, Marshall joined the Plattsburgh crowd in offering public support for the bill.

Yet Marshall still did not find perfect concord with the Plattsburgh group. Organized as the National Emergency Committee of the Military Training Camps Association, Clark and other

founding members of the movement advocated a repeat of the 1915 model of military training camps first established on the shores of Lake Champlain at Plattsburgh, New York. A memo dated June 15, 1940 which details the necessity of universal military training also describes the movement's intentions to reestablish "this summer...a new system of training camps." Clark and the National Emergency Committee hoped to establish military camps across the United States to absorb and train the draftees enlisted by the Selective Service Act. They pushed ahead with a plan "for additional camps, based on the Plattsburgh idea," in an effort to sway Stimson and Marshall to support their method of training.

Stimson saw merit in this idea, having been, as he recalled, "an observer of the training camps of 1915 and...a member, [and] a pretty hard worker, in the training camps of 1916....I have also seen the inestimable worth and value which came out of those camps." But when met with a request from the National Emergency Committee to authorize the camp model, Stimson hesitated. Chief of Staff Marshall stood in the way, once again urging caution.

Speaking from his own experience with the 1916 training camps, Marshall told his biographer: "There wasn't any question about the great benefit of the camps at the time of the First World War. But this was a totally different situation." Once again, the urgency with which the Plattsburgh Movement acted gave rise to a hastiness in execution that Marshall perceived as unnecessary. He explained that the military training camp system "was the best we could do for World War I under the circumstances," but going into World War II, Congress was much more cooperative. Therefore Marshall felt that the United States still had time to prepare, and he hoped to make the best of the opportunity to build not only a large army but also an efficient and well-trained army. He said he "was determined that we would train our officers thoroughly."

Facing a Secretary of War and Assistant Secretary of War sympathetic to the Plattsburgh idea, not to mention a growing movement of civilian support and significant sympathy in Congress, Marshall did not balk at being the one man standing in their way to ensure effective rather than hasty implementation of the Selective Service system. Seeing the tidal wave of support for the Plattsburgh idea approaching, Marshall threatened Stimson with resignation. For good measure, he offered a biting recommendation that "You get a Plattsburgh man and run it to your own satisfaction."

Stimson cracked. Not willing to lose Marshall over the Plattsburgh proposal, he declined to approve the largescale system of camps that the National Emergency Committee recommended. Clark was furious. In a telegram to Stimson on July 16, he expressed his displeasure: "I am greatly disappointed to hear that difficulties are being made by staff officers to carrying out [the] proposal for September camps of [the] Plattsburgh type." Hoping to trump logistical reality with rhetorical urgency, Clark asked: "If out of one hundred thousand reserve officers four or five thousand competent men cannot be found to conduct these camps, why not surrender to Hitler right now?" Clearly exasperated, Clark asserted: "In my humble judgement the way for the staff to show its competence is to exhibit a grasp of our position with reference to [the] world situation and to find ways of helping men throughout the country who wish to strengthen the country... instead of raising difficulties."

Four days before Clark's strongly worded telegram to Stimson, Marshall stood before the Senate on July 12 in defense of the Selective Service Act. Exhibiting his competence in the very way that Clark suggested, Marshall not only testified on behalf of peacetime conscription but also advocated for mobilizing the National Guard to provide more units into which draftees could be absorbed and efficiently trained, thereby presenting an alternative training model—one that was both more economical and more effective.

In Marshall's opening remarks on the Selective Service Act, he affirmed: "I am...strongly of the opinion that some such measure is immediately necessary." He continued: "I do not think we can obtain the necessary men on a voluntary basis." With the backdrop of the flames spreading across Europe, the senators expressed concern as they questioned the chief of staff about the needs of the Army.

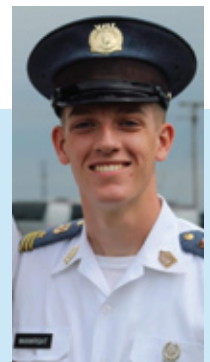
Marshall responded bluntly, never hesitating to convey his sense of the demands made by the severity of the situation. He was honest about the reservations that he still held in regard to the Military Training Camps Association's plan, admitting that "the training of young men in large training camps on the basis of compulsory training is something that we cannot manage at the present time" without emasculating the Regular Army. Instead, he advocated the mobilization of the National Guard to provide more units into which new recruits could assimilate for training. The bottom line remained, however: "we must have more men, and quickly."

Marshall's view prevailed. On August 28, the Selective Service Act passed the Senate with a provision that ordered the National Guard to active service. Nine days later, on September 7, the bill cleared the House. On September 16, the president signed the Selective Service Act into law. A month later, President Roosevelt read the first draft number aloud to a national radio audience. The first-ever peacetime conscription was underway, and the chief of staff turned to the matter of training the fresh recruits of what would become an eight-million-man army.

George C. Marshall was not the pivotal player in the passage of Selective Service. John G. Clifford, one of the leading scholars of the Act, suggests that if anyone deserves the title of "father of Selective Service," it is Grenville Clark. This observation is certainly true, but Marshall is due more credit than he has been given. As chief of staff, Marshall was aware of the limitations that his office placed on him. Yet, when it became necessary to do so, Marshall did not hesitate to speak truth to power in order to ensure that the government implemented the selective service system effectively rather than hastily.

Cadet Nicholas Wainwright is a first-class cadet at the Virginia Military Institute, in Lexington, Virginia, majoring in International Studies and History, with minors in National Security and Military History. A recipient of a four-year Army ROTC scholarship, he is also a member of the Institute Honors Program and the Cadet Assistant at the John A. Adams '71 Center for Military History and Strategic Analysis. During the

summer of 2019, Cadet Wainwright completed an internship at the History-Library Directorate of the Office of the Secretary of Defense, as well as Army ROTC Advanced Camp at Fort Knox, Kentucky. During his final year at VMI, Cadet Wainwright is serving as the Regimental S-2 Captain in charge of academics. Cadet Wainwright is from Pembroke, Massachusetts.





Marshall in 30 Objects

Marshall was described as having “expressive” hands, and a sketch of his hands also exists in the archive. These were cast in plaster by American sculptor Bryant Baker in 1957. Baker was most famous for his bronze sculpture *Pioneer Woman*. The hands do not belong to the Marshall Foundation Museum Collection, and have been on long-term loan from Virginia Military Institute’s Museum System.

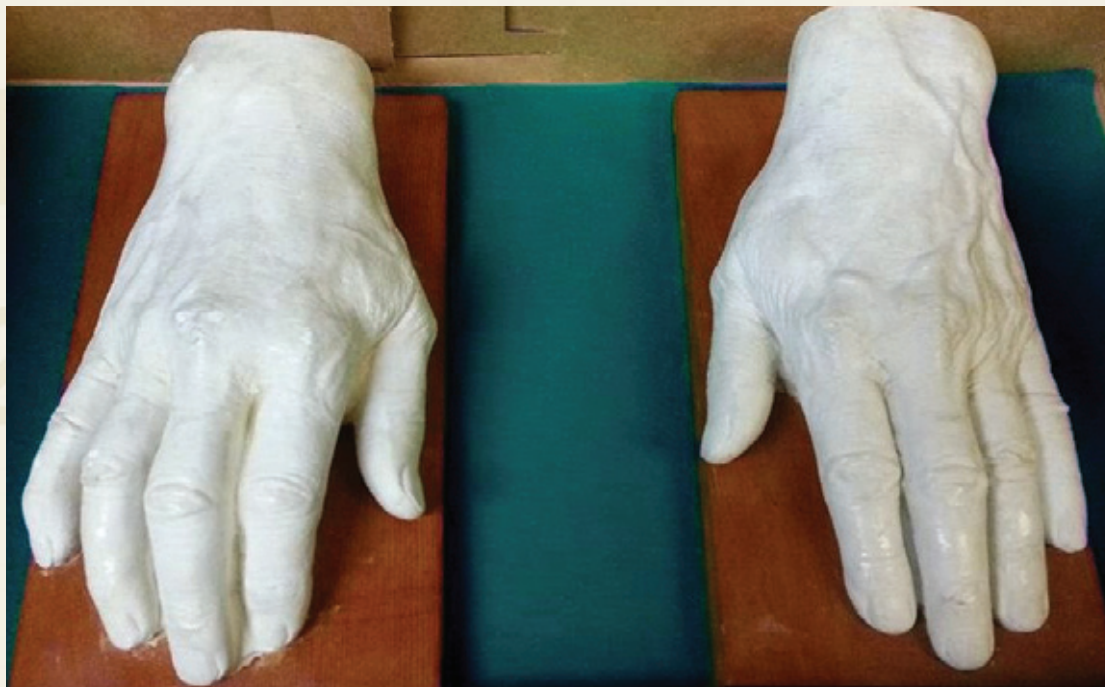


Exhibit poster

Opposite page, top left: The cadets of Company A presented this Virginia Military Institute saber to Marshall at his 1901 graduation.

The George C. Marshall Foundation is excited to announce the opening of our latest exhibit: *Marshall in 30 Objects*. Items from the museum collection, library and archive, and loans from the George C. Marshall International Center and Virginia Military Institute Museum System are included in the exhibit.

The objects and documents are displayed in chronological order beginning with his time as Cadet George C. Marshall, Jr., Class of 1901, at the Virginia Military Institute (VMI), and ending with the dedication of a 7-foot bronze statue on VMI’s Post nearly twenty years after his death. Visitors can follow his career as a soldier-statesman throughout the exhibit and also see items that symbolize the strength of Marshall’s character.

Themes explored in this exhibit include:

Military and Civilian Leadership: Items on display include correspondence about his opinion on voting, his support of the Tuskegee Aviation program, the Women’s Army Corps, the five-star rank, and his speech to the Harvard Alumni Association, known as the “Marshall Plan” speech.

Reverence toward the Virginia Military Institute: Marshall credited VMI as the institution that gave him his strident belief in the citizen-soldier, and personally, the base from which he was able to become one of America’s greatest leaders. VMI also has recognized Marshall as its most accomplished graduate by dedicating Marshall Arch and the bronze statue on Post.



Importance of work-life balance: Marshall realized that in order to be productive and focused, he needed to relax and enjoy himself outside of work. He was a regular reader, an avid fisherman, and a devoted equestrian. Items never displayed before include his Harnell fishing rod, loaned from the George C. Marshall International Center, and the Pariani saddle he purchased in 1930.

Tributes to Marshall: Though Marshall did not want or need recognition for his life's work, he was still recognized for his strength of character throughout his life, first by his VMI Class of 1901 Brother Rats, then later by General Pershing, President Truman, Kappa Alpha Order, and the Nobel Prize Committee. Items related to these events are also part of the exhibit.

Marshall in 30 Objects will be on display through June 2020.



Clockwise: The long-awaited brigadier general insignia Marshall received in 1936.

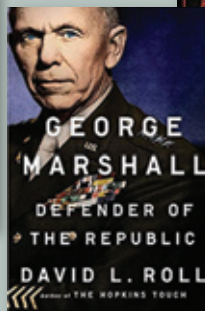
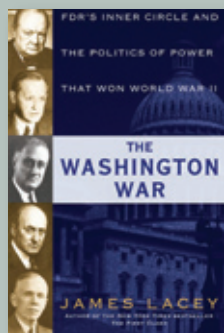
A selection of books from Marshall's personal library at Dodona Manor.

Loan courtesy of the George C. Marshall International Center.

The cadets of Company A presented this Virginia Military Institute saber to Marshall at his 1901 graduation.



The Remington typewriter that Forrest C. Pogue used to write the four-volume biography of George C. Marshall.



NEW BOOKS ABOUT OR INCLUDING MARSHALL

The Washington War: FDR's Inner Circle and the Politics of Power That Won World War II
By James Lacey (Bantam, 2019)

George Marshall: Defender of the Republic
By David L. Roll (Dutton Caliber, 2019)

Author Ed Cray, who wrote *General of the Army: George C. Marshall, Soldier and Statesman*, died on October 8, 2019. He was an American journalist, biographer, and professor emeritus at USC.

the last word



General George C. Marshall in 1944. Marshall was insistent that he personally respond to every letter that crossed his desk, and it made no difference whether the correspondence was from an officer or a civilian. Much of this correspondence is housed within the archive at the George C. Marshall Foundation, and selected correspondence has been published in volumes 1–7 of *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, completed in 2016.

“Sincerity, integrity and tolerance are, to my mind, the first requirements of many to a fine, strong character.”

—Letter to Peter R. DuPont
March 8, 1950


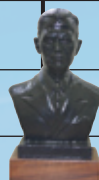
“The most important factor of all is character, which involves integrity, unselfish and devoted purpose, a sturdiness of bearing when everything goes wrong and all are critical, and a willingness to sacrifice self in the interest of the common good.”

— Letter to Miss Lillian Craig's class in
Roanoke, Virginia
March 15, 1944



Through your membership, you help us perpetuate the legacy of the man President Harry Truman called “the great one of the age.” As the keeper of the flame, the Marshall Foundation preserves and communicates the remarkable story of the life and times of George C. Marshall and his contemporaries. It has become a unique, national treasure worth protecting at all costs. That’s why your membership is so important.

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| Unlimited free Museum admission during the membership year | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ |
| New members receive a Five-Star lapel pin  | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ |
| Receive the newsletter, <i>The Strategist</i> | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ |
| Receive two issues of our magazine, <i>MARSHALL</i> | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ |
| Free admission to most Legacy Series events | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ |
| Receive 10% discount in the Museum Shop | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ |
| Reciprocal admission to 950 NARM-member museums | | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ |
| New members receive <i>The Words of George C. Marshall</i> | | | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ |
| Receive a private tour of the Archives  | | | | | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ |
| Receive a bust of Marshall—civilian or military | | | | | | | ★ | ★ |
| Receive a table at a Foundation award event  | | | | | | | | ★ |

Original busts of George C. Marshall by Dan Booton

Marshall received this Nobel Peace Prize in 1953. It's on display in our museum.

GCMF

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Henry Wiencek
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George Marshall
and
George Washington:
Indispensable Men

March 26

Colonel (USA)
Pete Sniffin
discusses
Marshall's
Humility, Faith and
Final Honors



INSIDE THIS ISSUE

This magazine, in tandem with our Marshall Legacy Series and other initiatives, brings Marshall to life substantially and in a fashion that does justice to the complexities of his life, character, and career.

Spy Pilot: Francis Gary Powers

Building on a Mission of Remembrance

Marshall and Israel

Marshall & the Selective Service Act

Marshall Legacy Series