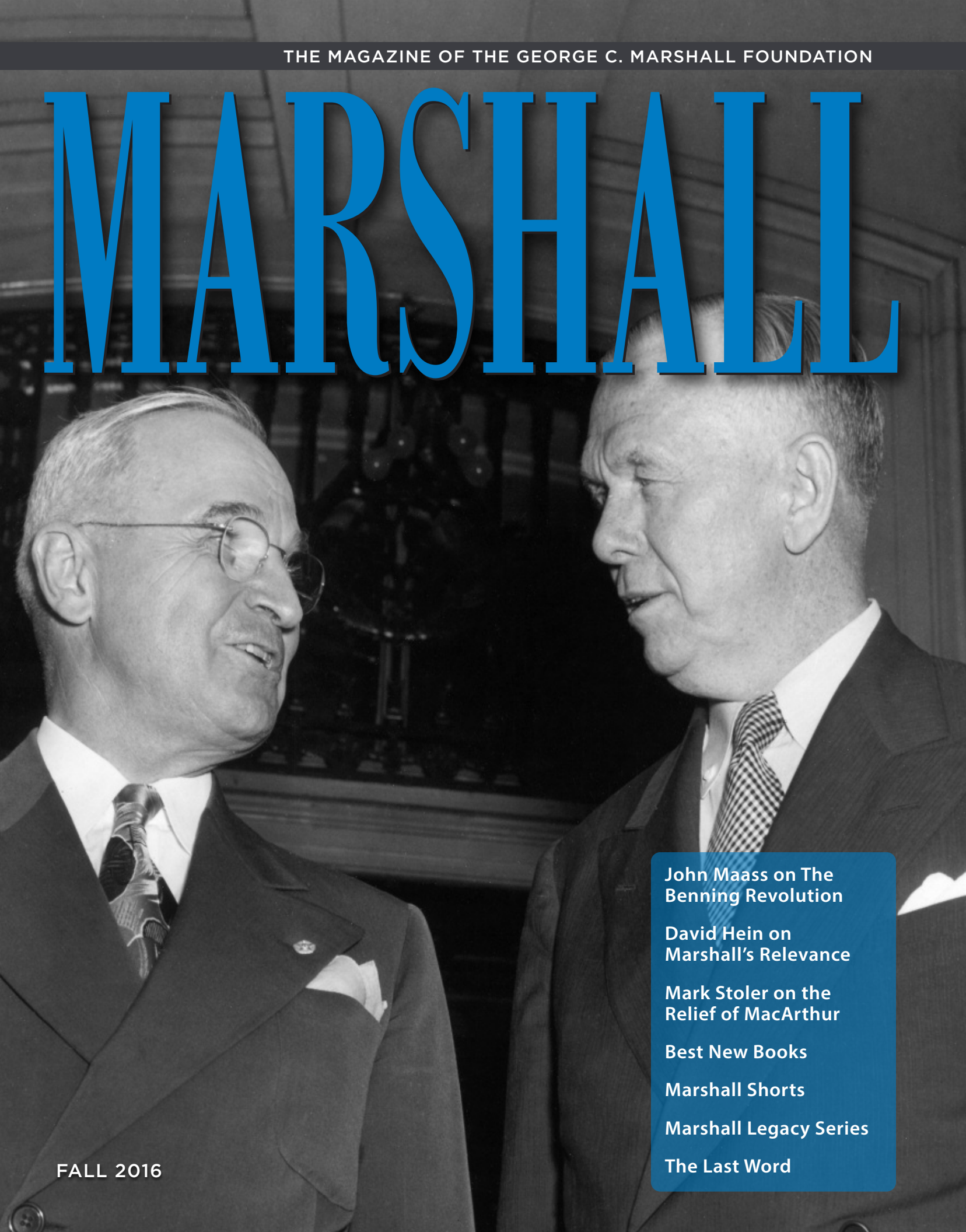
THE MAGAZINE OF THE GEORGE C. MARSHALL FOUNDATION

MARSHALL



John Maass on The Benning Revolution

David Hein on Marshall's Relevance

Mark Stoler on the Relief of MacArthur

Best New Books

Marshall Shorts

Marshall Legacy Series

The Last Word

FALL 2016

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FALL 2016

MARSHALL

Features

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Membership information is available on our website. Your membership supports programs and activities during your membership year. By renewing your membership, you help us perpetuate the legacy of the man President Harry Truman called "the great one of the age." George C. Marshall helped to shape the course of world events during a distinguished career that covered the first half of the 20th century. Learn more about General Marshall's legacy through our Marshall Legacy Series, our publications, our programs, our museum and our website.

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Departments

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welcome

I am delighted to welcome you to the second edition of MARSHALL magazine. The Marshall Foundation began this publication intent on bringing together the best articles and new research on the life and times of General Marshall, much of it drawn from our own archival holdings.

I'm pleased to say that this issue builds firmly on the broader work of the Foundation over the last year and in particular that of the Marshall Legacy Series. In its infancy twelve months ago, the Legacy Series has grown to be a popular aspect of our efforts to engage the wider world and to bring Marshall's legacy to new generations of Americans. Well-attended lectures, presentations and exhibitions here in Lexington attest to a deep well of interest in General Marshall. Interest in Marshall, however, is both national and international, and for those who cannot attend Legacy Series events in person, the magazine provides a perfect synopsis as well as a timely recap. John Maass's work here underscores the message he delivered in May in Lexington and reprises his insights into how General Marshall applied the lessons of one World War in the prosecution of another. David Hein's article, by contrast, addresses the contemporary remembrance of Marshall and how Marshall's conduct still has the power to exert an influence on the modern world. For the article on MacArthur's relief, Mark Stoler draws directly on work he undertook as the editor of *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall* and in particular the recently completed Volume VII, "The Man of the Age: October 1, 1949—October 16, 1959."

Interest in Marshall… is both national and international, and for those who cannot attend Legacy Series events in person, the magazine provides a perfect synopsis.

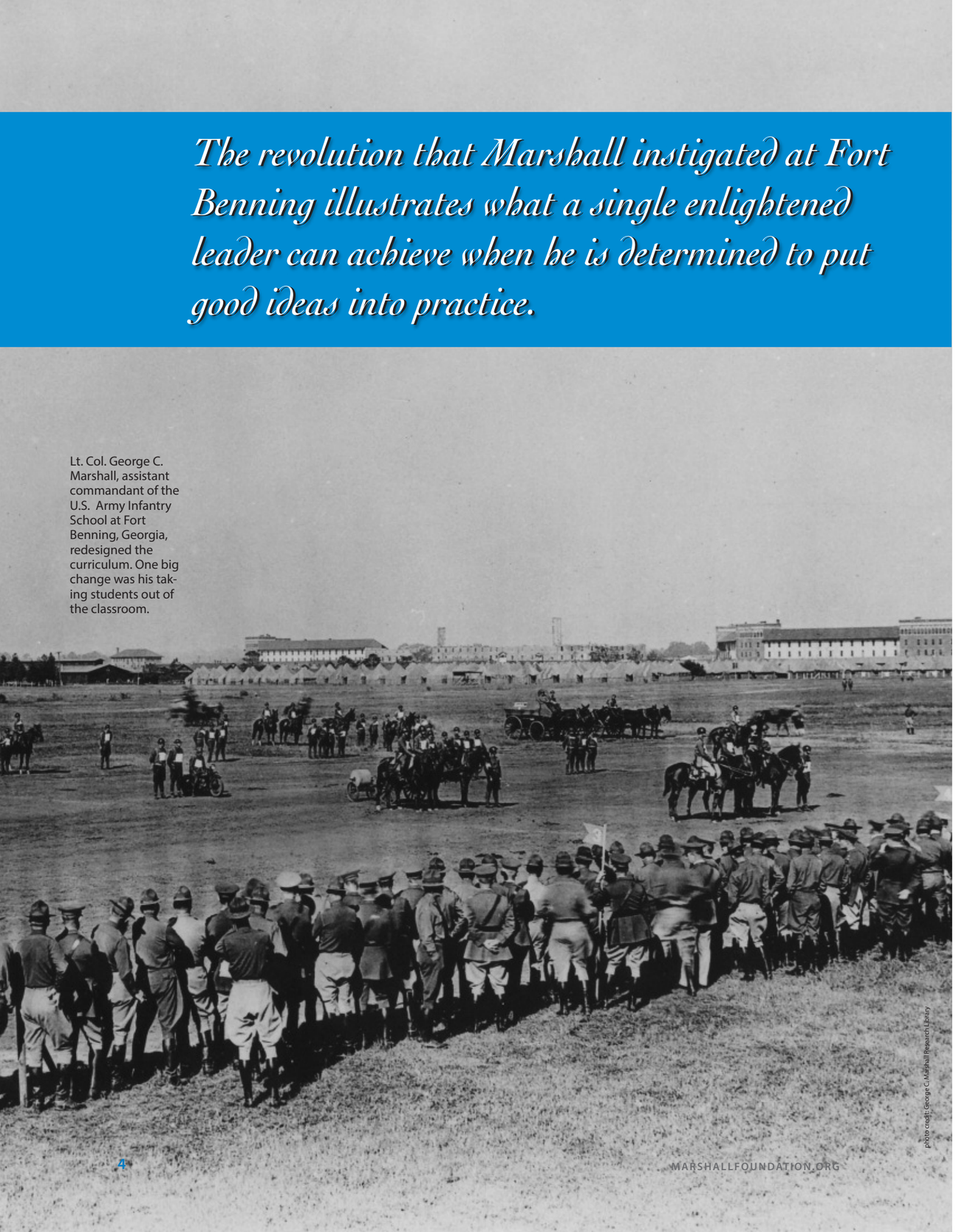
The publication of Volume VII capped a monumental effort encompassing more than 30 years of concerted, scholarly endeavor by many dedicated individuals. The publication came, too, in a year when the work of the Foundation, and its wider significance and import to American society, was recognized by the first of two companion resolutions to be passed by the United States Congress, recognizing the Foundation and its home here on the post of the Virginia Military Institute as America's National George C. Marshall Museum and Library. This is a significant development, led by Congressman Bob Goodlatte and supported (in true Marshall-esque, bipartisan fashion) by the whole Virginia delegation, and a tremendous fillip for our efforts that recognizes all we have done over fifty-plus years and looks ahead to all we will do over the next fifty. The inspiration to be drawn from an understanding of how Marshall faced and overcame his challenges has a resonance and a relevance that are timeless.

Such has been the interest in this publication and the associated Legacy Series that we have made the decision to publish the magazine twice in 2017, providing greater benefit to all members far and wide. I thank you for your support as a member. I hope you enjoy this edition of MARSHALL magazine.

Sincerely,

Rob Havers, *President*

The revolution that Marshall instigated at Fort Benning illustrates what a single enlightened leader can achieve when he is determined to put good ideas into practice.



Lt. Col. George C. Marshall, assistant commandant of the U.S. Army Infantry School at Fort Benning, Georgia, redesigned the curriculum. One big change was his taking students out of the classroom.

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

The Benning Revolution

BY JOHN R. MAASS, PH.D.

In the decade following the end of World War I in 1918, the training of infantry officers of the U.S. Army—regulars, reservists and National Guardsmen—remained mired in outmoded techniques. The Army's leading training institution, the Infantry School at Fort Benning, Georgia, set the standard in its Company Officer Course (for lieutenants & junior captains) and its Advanced Course (for senior captains & majors).


The Staff
Infantry School

LT. COL. GEO. C. MARSHALL, JR.
Asst. Commandant

In November 1927 Lt. Col. George C. Marshall Jr. became assistant commandant of the school and head of the Academic Department, which gave him direct responsibility for the curriculum. He set out on a bold course to overhaul both the method and the content of the instruction. Within a few short years Marshall and his staff remade the Infantry School into an institution that developed flexible, effective leaders for the modern battlefield.

George Marshall had graduated from the Virginia Military Institute in 1901, serving as cadet commander during his senior year and earning a commission in the infantry. He spent World War I in senior staff positions, playing a prominent role in planning the American Army's two great offensives at St. Mihiel and the Meuse-Argonne. His work brought him recognition from the Army's top commanders, and after the war he was General John J. Pershing's chief aide. Marshall then served in the Philippines and China and taught briefly at the Army War College before taking up his duties at Fort Benning.

…his level-headed, imperturbable attitude "compelled respect" and spread a "sense of authority and calm.… many came to praise his quiet creativity, innovative spirit…"

Marshall had a reputation, going back to his days as a cadet, of being cool, aloof, and formal. His stiff, austere manner was forbidding, particularly to those who served under him. This distant demeanor notwithstanding, his level-headed, imperturbable attitude "compelled respect" and spread a "sense of authority and calm." Although instructors and students at the Infantry School thought of him as a taskmaster, many came to praise his quiet creativity, innovative

John Maass' article "The Benning Revolution" appears in *A History of Innovation: U.S. Army Adaptation in War and Peace* that was published by the Center of Military History and is reprinted here with permission.

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Construction of the new quadrangle for the 29th Infantry Division at Fort Benning in 1928. Tents and practice fields for maneuvers are shown in the background.

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

George C. Marshall, Mrs. Nettie Hoge, Katherine Marshall and Gen. William Hoge (from left to right). A recently widowed Marshall had arrived at Benning in 1927 carrying the enormous weight of grief from the loss of his first wife Lily. It was here he met Katherine Tupper Brown. They married in October 1930.

spirit, and sense of mission as he restructured the officer courses. Marshall always set high expectations, demanded results, and rewarded those who performed well. But he seemed to bring an added drive and reserved personality to his new billet. Shortly before he came to Benning, his wife had died of heart disease. Omar N. Bradley, an instructor at the school and a future five-star general, surmised that "to help overcome his grief, [he] threw himself into the job completely."

In early 1927 the chief of infantry reported that he had just revised the curriculum of the Infantry School "with great care." A survey of regimental commanders a few months later found almost all of them satisfied with Benning graduates. Only three lamented the overemphasis on weapons firing, close order drill, physical training, and other basic subjects at the expense of "tactics and troop leading." Marshall also saw the same shortcomings; he believed that the tactical training had become "increasingly theoretical," with much of it devoted to classroom lectures on doctrinal principles and the details of staff processes, such as the proper format of a formal operations order, and that junior officers, instead of focusing on how best to defeat an enemy, were sinking "in a sea of paper, maps, tables and elaborate techniques." Marshall wanted them to learn the art of tactical improvisation and creativity, not rote regurgitation of standard formulas. He thought the existing infantry doctrine was too cumbersome and complicated for wartime.

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Proficiency with weapons was important to Lt. Col. Marshall. Students had ample time on the firing range to perfect their marksmanship.

Marshall intended to thoroughly revamp the program, albeit in a gradual fashion so as to minimize opposition from traditionalists. The school's commandant gave him an unobstructed hand. Marshall also benefited from Benning's favored status and his own efforts to hand-pick talented instructors, many of whom would rise to become generals. The new assistant commandant launched his attack across a broad front, changing the content of the program, how the young officers applied that knowledge in field training, and even how the school imparted material to students.

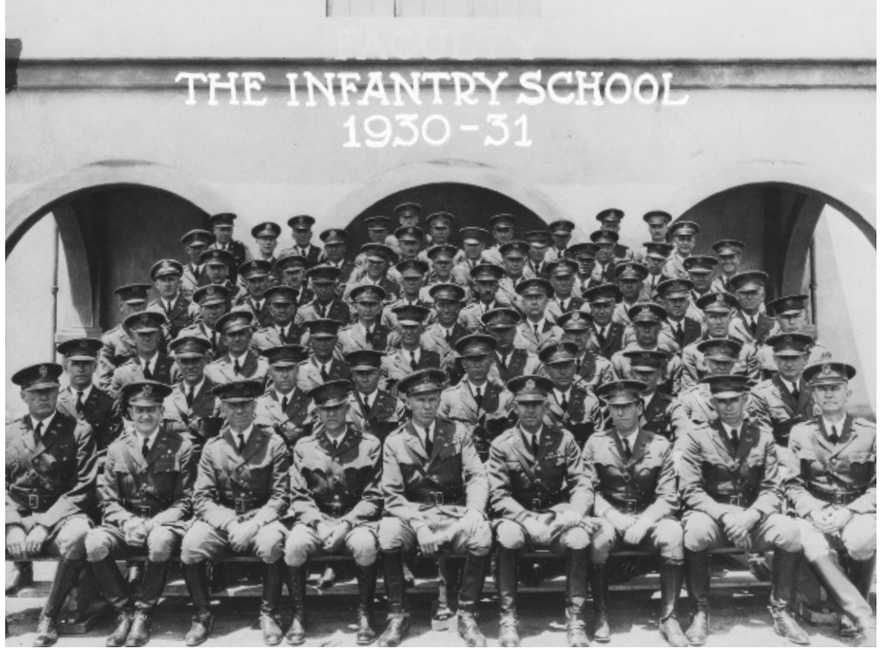
photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Portrait of the tactical instructors at Fort Benning in 1929. George C. Marshall is seated front and center. This photo includes future generals Joseph Stilwell, seated to Marshall's right, and Omar Bradley who is standing behind Marshall's right shoulder.

Despite the chief of infantry's satisfaction with the 1927 curriculum, one of Marshall's first acts was to form a committee to rethink the entire program of instruction. Based on the group's recommendations, Marshall advocated a major shift of hours to tactics, including an increasing emphasis on mechanized warfare. The school would also teach students how to prepare and conduct challenging field training for their own units. By the time Marshall departed Benning, the number of hours devoted to tactics instruction in the Company Officer Course had nearly doubled from 221 to 400. For the Advanced Course, it totaled almost 800 hours.

We must develop a technique and methods so simple and so brief that the citizen officer of good common sense can readily grasp the idea.

Marshall further focused the tactical work on "a very practical system suited to officers who will be responsible for the development of a hastily raised wartime force." The U.S. Army had faced that type of situation in World War I, but Marshall worried that the hard lessons had been forgotten in the aftermath of victory. He knew that the majority of troops in a future mobilization, even officers, would come directly from civilian life and would not have the skills and the



Portrait of the faculty of the Infantry School in 1931. Marshall again seated front and center

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Marshall with boots, riding crop and campaign hat in 1930

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

experience to execute the type of complex operations that a professional standing army might be able to handle. "We must develop a technique and methods so simple and so brief that the citizen officer of good common sense can readily grasp the idea," he maintained. He began by doing away with the production of overly detailed operations orders, arguing that commanders rarely had the time to develop and issue long written orders in wartime. He taught his officers to rely on brief written or even oral orders and stressed the use of basic, straightforward language rather than the jargon and rigid format found in training manuals.

Following in the footsteps of his mentor, Pershing, Marshall was a devotee of open warfare—offensive maneuver—and wanted to avoid the static trench battles that had entangled the European combatants in World War I and cost them millions of casualties. Marshall was convinced that the capability to execute fluid operations would be even more critical in future conflicts. To that end, he was one of the leaders in driving the Army to revamp its organization and doctrine. He wanted a triangular structure in which each unit had three subordinate maneuver elements, a more flexible arrangement than the existing square formations with four maneuver elements. He championed the concept of the holding attack as the standard operation that commanders at any level could adapt to a wide variety of situations. While one element fixed the attention of the enemy with fire or a frontal attack, another would maneuver against a flank, and the third would remain in reserve to exploit whatever opportunity arose. He believed that any leader could grasp this simple yet highly adaptable system.

Marshall moved most of the tactics course out of the classroom and into the field

To ensure that students could actually implement these concepts, Marshall moved most of the tactics course out of the classroom and into the field. Several important modifications to the program reinforced this change of venue. He placed more emphasis on using the base's infantry regiment as an element of practical instruction rather than simply a demonstration unit. Instead of watching a company or battalion execute a maneuver, the student officers now filled the command billets and led the way. To give each student more hands-on experience, Marshall argued for and won the right to reduce the size of the annual class. As a result, the young officers had more opportunities to talk through the material with instructors, whether in the field or in a classroom. While the reduction in class size at first blush seemed counterproductive since it resulted in fewer officers undergoing training, the Benning graduates, when they returned to their regiments, were expected to impart what they had learned to their contemporaries via unit schools. Thus, the overall impact of a smaller but better educated class was beneficial for the Army.

"Over the Top" Doughboys (members of the 29th Infantry Division) practicing maneuvers

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

The tactical problems themselves grew ever more challenging. When Marshall discovered that the instructors were repeatedly returning to the same training areas for field exercises, he insisted on using all of the post's hundred thousand acres to develop the skills of students and teachers alike. He believed that good tactics instruction "demands a wide variety of terrain and frequent contact with unfamiliar ground." For similar reasons he replaced highly detailed maps, which were not likely to be available for real operations overseas, with simpler ones that had imperfections and conveyed less information; leaders thus had to look more closely at the actual terrain and evaluate it with their own eyes. He wanted to solve one of the biggest shortcomings in many young officers—a failure to use terrain to best advantage in maneuvering their unit and in positioning their heavy weapons.

… he encouraged the officers to generate original and even unorthodox ideas.

Marshall also put an end to what he called "rehearsed demonstrations of tactics," adopting instead more realistic "free maneuvers," which allowed student commanders wide latitude to react to the situations that developed. He added more night training and put the officers in charge of understrength units, thus replicating additional realities of combat. In every exercise he routinely threw unexpected scenarios or surprise situations at officers to get them used to reacting to the unforeseen. By putting students in the field leading a real unit across real terrain, he forced them to deal with real problems. His pedagogical approach was not to teach them how something could be done perfectly, but how to respond to adversity and learn from their mistakes.

Peace Strength Battalion, Headquarters Company on maneuvers with replacements observing in the foreground

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

To further emphasize "the strain and confusion of the battlefield," Marshall invited senior officers to the Infantry School to talk about their wartime experiences. The program already had a block of historical instruction, but Marshall made it both more interesting and more demanding. Instead of requiring students to research and write a paper on a World War I battle, he allowed them to pick any military subject they wanted, including studies of great combat leaders. The young officers took turns presenting their findings to the entire class, which trained them not only to analyze historical examples but also to defend their conclusions in discussions with others.

…officers in the course found that they were free to "disagree at times on questions of military education, regardless of rank," in an atmosphere "of tolerance of ideas which encourages open and free discussion."

One of Marshall's most fundamental changes to the program was to reduce the emphasis on what was called the school solution, the pre-approved answer that students were expected to come up with when facing a given tactical situation. Instead, he encouraged the officers to generate original and even unorthodox ideas. To reinforce this, he made it a policy that "any student's solution of a problem that ran radically counter to the approved school solution, and yet showed independent creative thinking, would be published to the class." Equally important, officers in the course found that they were free to "disagree at times on questions of military education, regardless of rank," in an atmosphere "of tolerance of ideas which encourages open and free discussion."

Marshall set this tone by personal example. He routinely joined the class in the field and initiated impromptu debates on military topics. Often he would describe a tactical situation, then pick out one student to give an off-the-cuff oral operations order. After fellow officers critiqued it, the colonel weighed in with his thoughts. He implemented a similar program for the faculty, holding occasional meetings during the school year to review and discuss emerging tactics and weapons. His goal was to continually update the curriculum and not allow it to remain fixated on how things had been done. Marshall's tutoring had the desired effect. Infantry school students noted that the instructors were ready to look beyond existing manuals for new ideas.

Marshall's reforms at the Infantry School carried far beyond, changing the approach to training officers throughout the Army for years to come: Approximately two hundred future generals passed through the course as students or instructors during his tenure. A veteran of the program remarked that Marshall had undermined the Infantry School's "complacency, renewed its enthusiasm, and trained a new generation of ground force leaders." By the time the United States entered World War II, Marshall's changes had made the Infantry School an important factor in the Army's mobilization plans. In the course of that massive conflict he directed just the type of force he had envisioned, one composed of millions of citizens. They were able to rapidly transform into soldiers largely due to the training concepts, doctrine, and force structure Marshall had advocated a decade earlier.

Marshall had undermined the Infantry School's "complacency, renewed its enthusiasm, and trained a new generation of ground force leaders."

To be sure, Marshall was not the first military educator to improve instructional techniques or enhance the realism of military training. Nevertheless, through innovation and determination he was able to change the content and methodology of the courses available to Army infantry officers in the years leading up to World War II and thereby make his mark on an entire service. His success partially explains how the Army, which came relatively late to armored, airborne, amphibious, and other advanced forms of warfighting, was able to catch up so quickly with—and in some cases surpass—other armies around the world. The revolution that Marshall instigated at Fort Benning illustrates what a single enlightened leader can achieve when he is determined to put good ideas into practice.

John R. Maass, Ph.D., is a historian with the U.S. Army Center of Military History in Washington, D.C. He received his doctorate in early American history from Ohio State University where he also studied military history and Native American history. He received his bachelor's degree in history with distinction from Washington and Lee University, where he was also an Army ROTC distinguished military graduate. His article "The Benning Revolution" appears in *A History of Innovation: U.S. Army Adaptation in War and Peace* that was published by the Center of Military History and is reprinted here with permission.

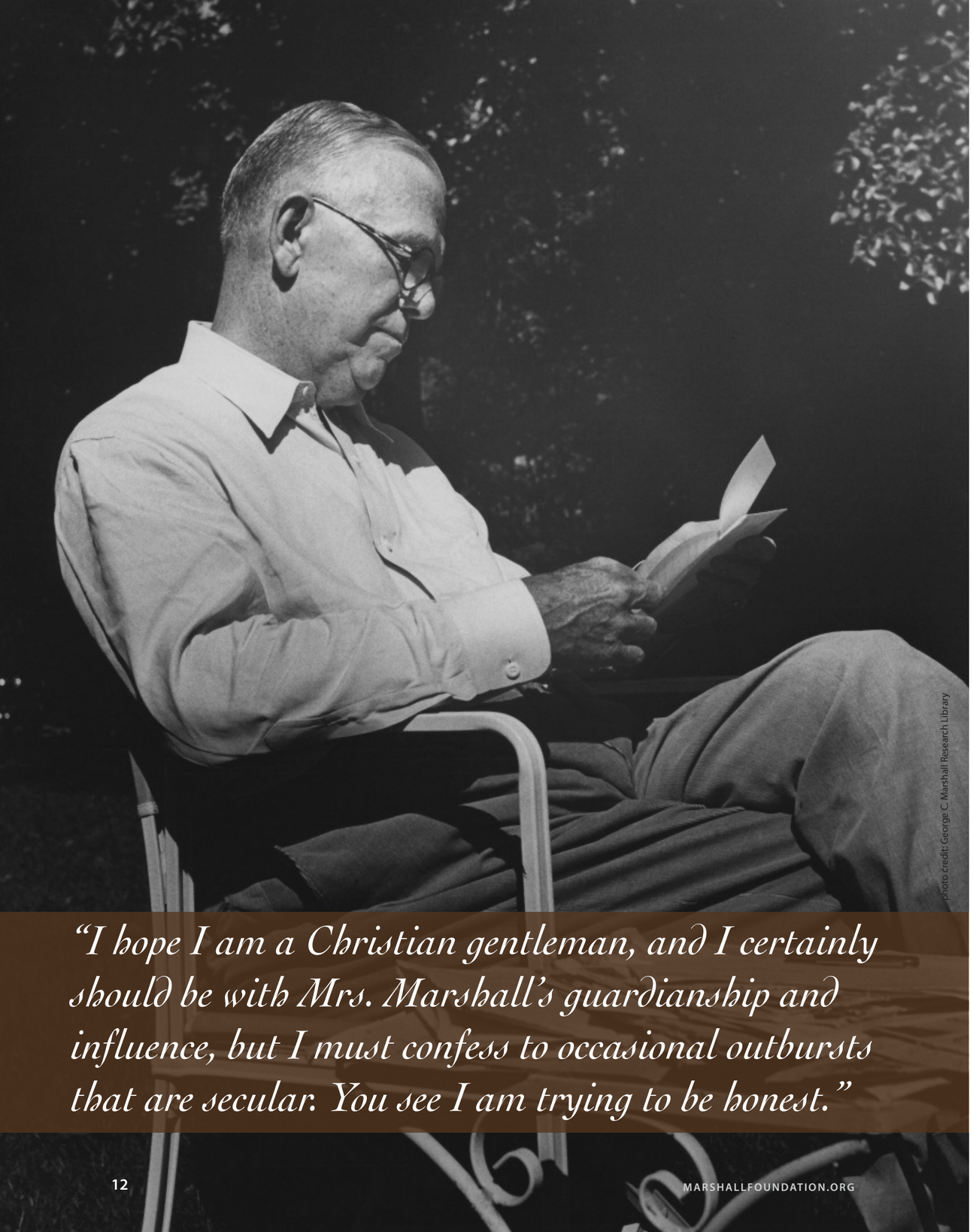


photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

"I hope I am a Christian gentleman, and I certainly should be with Mrs. Marshall's guardianship and influence, but I must confess to occasional outbursts that are secular. You see I am trying to be honest."

General George C. Marshall:
Why He Still Matters

BY DAVID HEIN, PH.D

In today's society, not only is the whole concept of personal identity in flux, but the notion of a consistent character is up for grabs. Celebrities receive attention, after all, for shamelessness one day and contrition the next, for recklessness followed by rehab—and we keep buying their products. The traditional virtues of self-sacrifice and perseverance, of humility and patience, of integrity and honor, appear to many to be not only old-fashioned but completely past their sell-by date.

A related problem is that words like "prudence" and "forbearance" are unknown to young people today—and not the words only but also the virtues these words point to. Contemporary culture has shifted the traditional virtues and come up with new ones.

Because prudence and courage and perseverance and humility and gratitude are needed now more than ever, when we look at George C. Marshall, we're not just admiring a historical artifact. Nor are we simply praising another great figure who embodied excellence of character. We are trying to reclaim a rare life and career for present needs: someone who refused to collect a million dollars for writing his own memoirs; someone who declined to accept lucrative offers to serve on corporate boards. What were the main touchstones and themes of Marshall's life and character?

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Secretary of State George C. Marshall and Katherine Marshall with Pope Pius XII in Rome in 1948

George Marshall had a deep religious faith. He described himself fairly in a February 1, 1944 letter to Miss Nina Anderson Pape, a friend from Savannah, Georgia: "I hope I am a Christian gentleman, and I certainly should be with Mrs. Marshall's guardianship and influence, but I must confess to occasional outbursts that are secular. You see I am trying to be honest."

In recent years, historians of the Second World War have helped us toward a more mature view of the ethical ambiguities and moral disasters of the Allied cause in the so-called Good War. In their work, institutional Christianity rarely appears except in a predictably negative light. But

revisionist historians might overcorrect: In their eagerness to detect the ethical blind spots, the sins of commission and omission, and the Manichaean language of righteous Allied armies marching to war against evil foes, revisionists might neglect to appreciate the virtues of the Christian witness and of men and women who were shaped by Christian institutions.

"We are determined that before the sun sets on this terrible struggle, our flag will be recognized throughout the world as a symbol of freedom on the one hand and of overwhelming power on the other."

Throughout his career, George Marshall—to the consternation of Senator Joseph McCarthy—totally avoided dualistic language; but he may be forgiven if he thought that World War II offered a choice, as both Churchill and Roosevelt averred, between two religions—and that the religion of Nazi racialism was a devilish option.

Marshall was devoted to peace, but he recognized that in the affairs of real human beings in a real world, peace depends upon the right use of power, and justice can sometimes be achieved only through force of arms.

In June 1942, General Marshall ended his graduation speech at West Point with this pronouncement: "We are determined that before the sun sets on this terrible struggle, our flag will be recognized throughout the world as a symbol of freedom on the one hand and of overwhelming power on the other." As a tool of a free nation, power, Marshall believed, was a dangerous but necessary, indeed inescapable, reality. He knew its uses: from the persuasive power of negotiation and argument to the physical might of deadly force.

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Gen. George C. Marshall delivers remarks at U.S. Military Academy graduation in 1942.

In his book *Inferno*, Max Hastings argues that World War II, as a total war, demanded that Marshall be an adroit administrator, an effective strategist, and a supreme recruiter of talent—and by these means a great warlord, whose contribution to victory was second to none. As secretary of state from 1947 to 1949, Marshall was involved with the Truman Doctrine, the policy of containment, and the planning of NATO. As secretary of defense, he played a role in large-scale rearmament as the United States took on increasing global responsibilities in the postwar period.

How did this great warlord feel about such impossible demands as "loving thy neighbor as thyself?" Rose Page, a young friend of General Marshall, once said to him, "The Deaconess [at National Cathedral School] is always harping on 'love thy neighbor as thyself.' I think that's about the most impossible thing in the world."

General Marshall laughed and offered Rose a good answer. All that *love thy neighbor* means "is, don't expect the other fellow to do all the adjusting to make you happy. That's the hitch that throws most people. You want to be understood and appreciated? That's natural, but it doesn't matter so much to God if people understand you; it does matter to him if you try to understand them and make allowances accordingly."

While students of Marshall's life and career always mention his positive character traits—his selfless devotion to duty, for example—they have been slow to recognize that these attractive

photo credit: White Studio Photographic Collection, U.S. Military Academy Archives

General Marshall congratulates a new West Point graduate at ceremonies in 1942.

characteristics were embedded in a commitment to virtue itself. Although he did not speak of an order of natural or divine law—as C. S. Lewis did when he wrote in *The Abolition of Man* about the universal *Tao*—Marshall was a Victorian who gives every indication of having looked at the virtues in just this way.

Again, why is the example of George Marshall needed today? For this reason: As Jonah Goldberg has written in a recent book on the virtues, our culture has undergone a seismic shift in its understanding of right and wrong. It used to be, he points out, that heroes "did good out of a desire to do good—and that good was directed by some external ideal." This ideal "existed in some sort of Platonic realm outside of" the protagonist; this good was something the hero had to reach for. Now people reach inward.

"The truth is," Goldberg comments astutely, "it's hard to find a children's cartoon or movie that doesn't tell kids that they need to look inside themselves for moral guidance. Indeed," he observes, "there's a riot of Rousseauian claptrap out there that says children are born with rightly ordered consciences." This novel approach overturns thousands of years of moral teaching. Now, if it feels right, do it. "According to Nietzsche's *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, the death of God and the coming of the ubermensch was going to require the new kind of inner-directed hero to become his own god. . . . Suddenly 'integrity' can be understood only as a firm commitment to one's own principles." Only my own values are legitimate.

"Heck, if you are a god," Goldberg remarks, "then doing what you want is God's will." He concludes: "I suspect that before long we'll be pining for the good old days, when, no matter how often people failed to uphold the standards of integrity, those standards actually meant something." I suspect he is right; I hope so.

Influenced not only by the southern tradition of the gentleman but also by the American military's stress on Washington as the model officer, Marshall believed in honor and self-mastery. This belief meant loyalty to virtue's cause: honesty at all costs, duty and service, and kindness toward those who could do you no good. It repudiated self-seeking, unbridled emotion, cynicism, and any excuse to do other than your best. He said: "Nobody goes bad if they get the habit of honesty." A virtue is simply a good habit; and good habits, practiced over and over again, form character.

That's what he told the mother of two mountain boys who attacked his car one day with a shower of stones and mud clods. He stopped the car, took the miscreant lads to their mother, told them that what they'd done was stupid, wrong, and dangerous: attacking a complete stranger. Their father was dead, it turned out. The boys lived with their mother, an emaciated woman, in a shabby little house in a ragged yard in the hills. Marshall talked with her about honesty. He turned to say goodbye, saluting her politely. What the two boys said then, Rose Page, who was in the car with her godfather, never forgot: "Mister," the boys said, "you reckon we'll git to see each other again sometime—maybe some time when things is better?" "There's always a chance of that!" Marshall reassured them. "So long for now!"

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

General Marshall and Mrs. Marshall share an afternoon at Dodona Manor in 1944 with Mrs. James Winn (left) and her children, Jimmy Winn, Jr. and Kitty Winn.

A whole social history lives in that scene which continues to the present day—of boys growing up without fathers, not learning how to be real men, lacking anyone with half the skills and sense of a George Marshall to come along and try to set them right.

It's not that Marshall simply was any of these good character traits—honest and patient and so on; these virtues were not inborn. What it means to believe in virtue is to believe that there is—as my mother put it a few days before she died after I complimented her on her courtesy to the nurses—"only one way to be." It means to embrace the old-fashioned view that we are formed not just by nature or culture but by will and conscience, by the cultivation of good habits, by rightly ordered thoughts, by being grounded in a hierarchy of beliefs and principles, by choosing to participate in communities that are schools of courage and compassion. It's not that Marshall was preternaturally selfless; it's that he learned to see himself objectively, to channel his clamant ego, to direct his ambition, and to bend his will to public service—because he believed that course of conduct to be true and right. Hence his manner of dealing with the opportunity to take command of the D-Day invasion.

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

General Marshall leads the parade of World Famous Heroes.

Another principle George Marshall stands for is one of the simplest of all. It's the one that is the most important for me as a teacher. In one way or another, I am constantly striving to convey the following message to my students: Work hard, and do not make excuses.

Rose Page learned from General Marshall the value of tenacity of purpose and the efficacy of hard work. Sometimes she tried to make excuses for her failures. Marshall would brush them aside. He "forever denied me the luxury of pushing the blame elsewhere." Adhere strictly to honor, he taught; good ends do not justify dishonorable means: no excuses. Once young Page cried out: "Oh, Colonel Marshall, I'm real sorry I talked so ugly, and why am I so dumb?" Marshall replied very earnestly: "Never give me the cheap excuse that you made a mistake because you're dumb. It's a weak pretense; feeling sorry for yourself is always objectionable to other people; and especially so to me. It's a form of cowardice."

Marshall believed that in order to be of real service to others, we must not be cowardly. We must be strong. And that means we have to respect ourselves.

Rose Page learned lessons from her godfather, George Marshall, about healthy self-respect. Self-respect is good: it is practiced by someone who is secure. Its opposite is self-importance, Marshall told her, and an attitude of self-importance betokens insecurity. Self-respect, he pointed out, engenders others' respect for you, and that respect leads to reasoned, thoughtful behavior from others. Self-importance induces lack of respect from others.

He advised Rose to simply avoid disagreeable, petty, hyper-opinionated bullies. There are plenty of such people around. At the same time, recall your own self-respect. Do not lower yourself. Do not harass or ridicule a troublesome and annoying but insecure and intrinsically unhappy person. An insecure man or woman is an unhappy man or woman, he told her, and such people will try to drag you down if you let them.

General George C. Marshall was not perfect. He made mistakes. But the net result was a rare achievement in character, military command, and peacetime leadership. Indeed, if George C. Marshall were a book, then we would urge that book's recognition as a great classic: a canonical work that should be appreciated—or at least read—more than it is today. A classic is a work that endures. Its meaning is not bound by time or place. Its truths remain fresh and pertinent.

In Marshall's case, not the bound leaves of a book but beliefs, principles, practices, choices, and commitments embedded in a life's story—and, yes, words of advice, also: These elements compose the best account, a text with the title George C. Marshall—a classic, still worth reading deeply, marking well, and passing along to young people who may be hyper-connected in cyberspace but almost completely ignorant of the great lessons offered by their most exemplary forebears.

So that's why we should turn to this old soldier and listen to him and pay heed to his example. The answer to why he still matters is that he knew, indeed he embodied, principles and values, habits and strengths, a history and a character we lose sight of at our great peril. He always wanted to be a teacher; he is still—if we allow him to be—a teacher for the generations.

A recent study found that a majority of U.S. college graduates do not know the length of a term for a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, what the Emancipation Proclamation accomplished, or which Revolutionary War general led the American troops at Yorktown. And I can promise you that most—indeed, 90%—do not know anything about George C. Marshall.

What difference does it make, as long as they know the principles he stood for—as long as high-school students have words like peace and respect and courage fixed to their classroom bulletin boards? The answer is from philosophy or perhaps cognitive psychology: Abstractions by themselves are not the best path to learning. The imagination must supplement the reason. Logical deduction must be aided by the power of the concrete image. Preachers learn that a picture, a story, is ten times more memorable than an abstract phrase. That's why when I teach the virtues, I do so in connection with specific examples of leaders and the problems they faced and the virtues that came into play—or failed to come into play. The concrete particular, not just the abstract universal, is what they need.

Hence, again, the necessity of teaching young people about George Marshall. I know of only one or two leaders in American history who equal him as models of self-mastery, service to our country, and leadership in high command. We can't let him be forgotten just when we need his witness more than ever. "Succeeding generations," declared Winston Churchill, "must not be allowed to forget his achievements and his example."

David Hein is a humanities professor at Hood College, an affiliated scholar of the John Jay Institute, and a trustee of the George C. Marshall Foundation. Related articles by this author include "In War for Peace: General George C. Marshall's Core Convictions and Ethical Leadership," *Touchstone* (March 2013); "Ronald Reagan and George C. Marshall: A Cold War Affinity," *The St. Croix Review* (August 2016); and "The Marshall Plan: Conservative Reform as a Weapon of War," *Modern Age: A Quarterly Review* (forthcoming).

U.S. Army Chief of Staff General Douglas MacArthur and staff led the Inaugural Parade of President Franklin Roosevelt in March 1933. With the Washington Monument towering behind them, they are riding up 15th Street.

Marshall "effectively countered MacArthur's call for victory at any price and set the stage for…others who had yet to testify."

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Truman's Relief of MacArthur:
Marshall's Congressional Testimony

BY MARK A. STOLER, PH.D.

The seventh and final volume of *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall* covers the last ten years of Marshall's life, a time period that includes his 1949 appointment as head of the American Red Cross, his 1950-51 tenure as secretary of defense, and his eight years of retirement before his death on October 16, 1959. Approximately half of the volume deals with his very filled year as defense secretary, a year in which his energies were focused on both the Korean War that had begun in June of 1950 and a NATO military buildup that included passage of a major military assistance program, creation of a unified NATO military command under General Dwight D. Eisenhower, obtaining Allied agreement to a rearmed West Germany within that NATO command, and the sending of four additional American divisions to join the two already on occupation duty in Europe.

This NATO military buildup was the top priority of Marshall, Secretary of State Dean Acheson and the other members of the Truman Administration, even after the massive Communist Chinese intervention in the Korean War in late November of 1950. Indeed, the administration concluded that this Chinese intervention was, in the words of Marshall and the service secretaries, "a carefully laid Russian trap" to lure the United States into a full-scale, general war with China that would preoccupy American military forces, thereby foil the creation of a NATO military command, and consequently enable the Red Army to conquer and occupy all of Western and Central Europe—an area of much greater strategic importance to the United States than Asia. Throughout his tenure as army chief of staff during World War II and then as secretary of state, Marshall had been a strong advocate for this "Europe-first" approach, which was based on the belief that U.S. security would be imperiled if the huge industrial and human resources of the entire European Continent were to fall under the control of a hostile power. That belief

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Secretary of Defense George C. Marshall sits at his desk in the Pentagon on the first day of his new job, Sept. 21, 1950.

General Douglas MacArthur watches from a balcony above a crowd of soldier-spectators as the 16-man Japanese surrender delegation arrives at City Hall in Manila on August 20, 1945.

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

had undergirded both the "Germany-first" approach during World War II and the ensuing Cold War policy of containing Soviet expansion, a policy that included the Marshall Plan to rebuild Western Europe economically as well as the formation of and U.S. membership in NATO. As Paul Nitze, the new head of the State Department Policy Planning Staff put it, "the successful defense of Europe was an integral part of the defense of the United States," and if a beachhead on the European continent could not be maintained, "a successful outcome of a global war would be hard to foresee." Consequently "a consensus" existed in late 1950 among Marshall, Acheson, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) that, in the words of Deputy Defense Secretary Robert Lovett, "Korea is not a decisive area for us," and that while its loss might lead to the loss of Japan, "Western Europe was our prime concern and we would rather see that result than lose in Western Europe."

This began what was labeled the "Great Debate" in Congress over whether or not U.S. forces should be sent to NATO.

Not all Americans agreed. Many considered Asia more important than Europe or remained isolationist. This group included such important Republican leaders as Senator Robert Taft of Ohio and former President Herbert Hoover, who in early 1951 proposed an alternative "fortress America" policy. This began what was labeled the "Great Debate" in Congress over whether or not U.S. forces should be sent to NATO.

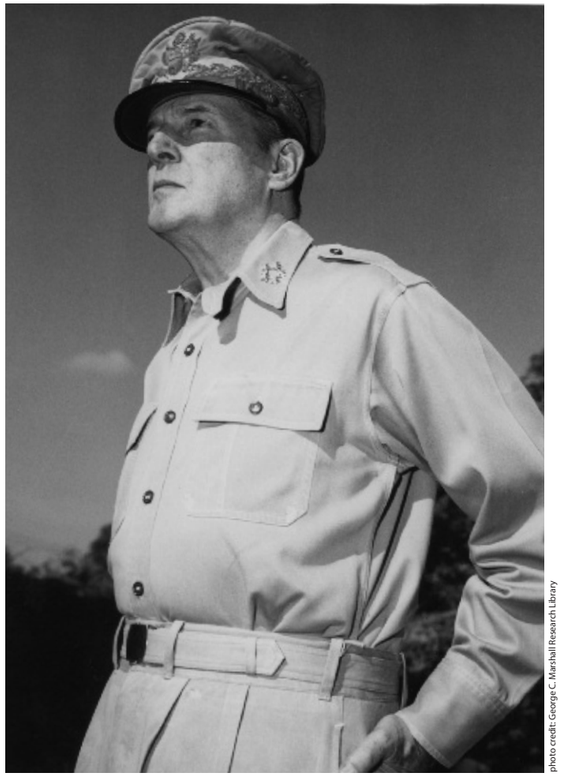


photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

General MacArthur in August 1945

Another leading figure in the "Asia first" group was General Douglas MacArthur, commander of all U.S. and U.N. forces in the Far East. Ignoring presidential orders to clear all public statements with Washington in advance, MacArthur on numerous occasions in late 1950 and early 1951 publicly called—in direct opposition to administration policy—for a major expansion of the war to Chinese territory. One such statement on March 23/24 torpedoed the possibility of armistice talks. Another on April 5, 1951, in the form of a March 20 letter that House Republican Minority leader Joseph Martin released and read on the House floor, precipitated Truman's relief of MacArthur on April 11, 1951.

Marshall as defense secretary was, of course, involved in and agreed with this decision to relieve MacArthur, though most reluctantly. From April 6–10 he participated in a series of meetings with Truman, Acheson, special presidential assistant W. Averill Harriman and Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman General Omar Bradley. Marshall urged caution at these meetings and on one occasion proposed instead that MacArthur first be called home for consultation. According to Bradley the two of them also drafted an unsent "personal and confidential letter" for Marshall to send MacArthur. But by April 9 all of them as well as the individual members of the JCS agreed that there was no alternative save to relieve MacArthur from all his commands.

MacArthur's relief stunned the nation and led to howls of protest, with public opinion at one point running 10-1 against the president. MacArthur was invited to address a joint session of Congress, which he did famously on April 19. Six days later, the Senate unanimously voted to have its Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees conduct joint hearings on MacArthur's relief—and on the entire situation in the Far East. MacArthur would testify first and Marshall second, followed by many others.

It should be noted that this entire episode coincided not only with the "Great Debate," but also with what has been labeled "Second Red Scare," which had already begun and which included attacks on Marshall as well as the rest of the Truman Administration by Republican Senators William Jenner, Joseph McCarthy and others for having "lost" China to Communism, for harboring spies and traitors, and for in effect being traitors themselves. Marshall would thus be questioned not only on the MacArthur relief and U.S. policy in the Far East but also on his failed mission to China in 1945–46 and on his policies as secretary of state from 1947–1949.

…this entire episode coincided not only with the "Great Debate," but also with what has been labeled "Second Red Scare," which…included attacks on Marshall….

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

General Marshall on a visit to General MacArthur (*far right*) at Southwest Pacific Headquarters on round-the-world trip en route from Cairo and Teheran Conferences in December 1943

Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Richard Russell (D-GA) would preside over the hearings. Democrats rejected a Republican proposal that they be open and broadcast over radio and television, opting instead for closed hearings with the issuance each day of transcripts that had been censored to protect classified information. The summary that follows, as well as the fuller one contained in Volume 7 of the Marshall Papers, is based on both those open transcripts and the censored sections, which were declassified in the mid-1970s.

MacArthur testified from May 3 to May 5 and Marshall from May 7 through May 14, after being introduced and sworn in as well as complimented by Russell as someone whose name "had become synonymous with integrity and devotion, throughout the land, to duty.… Most men are slaves of their ambitions," Russell recalled having read in the past, whereas "General Marshall is the slave of his duties." Accompanied by Felix Larkin, general counsel for the Office of the Secretary of Defense, Marshall then began with a brief statement before making clear his readiness "to answer any questions you may wish to ask."

On Truman's direction, Marshall had previously met extensively with Acheson, Harriman and the JCS to prepare his testimony. He also met over the weekend of May 5–6 with Deputy Defense Secretary Robert Lovett, Bradley, Air Force Chief General Hoyt Vandenberg, Larkin and Marx Leva, the former assistant secretary of defense for legislative and legal affairs, and he both received advice from and spoke by telephone with Bernard Baruch regarding that testimony.

According to Larkin, Marshall requested that he and Frank C. Nash, the defense secretary's representative on the senior staff of the National Security Council, prepare an opening statement that Marshall reviewed and approved with minor changes on the morning of May 7, albeit with the comment that he intended to begin "with something of my own." In that "something," Marshall stated that it was "a very distressing necessity, a very distressing occasion, that compels me to appear here this morning and in almost direct opposition to a great many of the views and actions of General MacArthur," whom he described as "a brother Army officer" and "a man for whom I have tremendous respect as to his military capabilities and military performances and from all I can learn, as to his administration of Japan."

…General MacArthur," whom he described as "a brother Army officer" and "a man for whom I have tremendous respect as to his military capabilities and military performances…."

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

General Marshall shown with General MacArthur and Colonel H. B. Wheeler on a visit to Japan en route from China to Washington, D.C. to report to President Truman in March 1946

Contradicting what MacArthur had stated during his testimony, Marshall then insisted that there had never during the Korean War been any disagreement of which he was aware between President Truman, himself and the JCS. There had been, however, "and continue to be basic differences of judgment" between all of them on one hand and MacArthur on the other.

Marshall went on to assert that MacArthur had been incorrect in claiming that as defense secretary Marshall had "overruled" the Joint Chiefs' opposition to abandoning Formosa and seating Communist China in the UN. Opposition to both had been established U.S. policy when he became defense secretary and it remained so. "There has been no deviation from that policy whatsoever," he continued, and "At no time have I entertained the opinion that there should be any deviation." Nor would the United States agree to include these two items in any armistice terms.

There had been, however, "and continue to be basic differences of judgment" between all of them on one hand and MacArthur on the other.

MacArthur was also incorrect, Marshall asserted, in claiming that he had overruled JCS views, as expressed in a January 12 memorandum to him, regarding expansion of the war via an intensified economic blockade and imposition of a naval blockade against Communist China along with removal of existing restrictions on air reconnaissance of Chinese coastal areas and Manchuria as well as the operations of Nationalist Chinese forces against the Communists. That memorandum had been prepared at a time when complete evacuation of U.S. forces from Korea was being considered in light of the massive Chinese intervention and had been proposed "as tentative courses of action to be pursued if and when this possibility came closer to reality." Marshall had at that time submitted the memorandum to the NSC for consideration, but as the situation in Korea improved, "it became unnecessary" to put these courses of action into effect. "None of these proposed courses of action were vetoed or disapproved by me or by higher authority," Marshall concluded on this particular matter. Rather, "Action with respect to most of them was considered inadvisable in view of the radical change in the [military] situation which originally had given rise to them."

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Secretary of Defense Marshall confers with Sen. Harry F. Byrd (D-VA) before the start of the joint Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committee probe of the firing of General MacArthur in May 1951.

Marshall then explained "the basic differences of judgment" between MacArthur, who wished to expand the war on the one hand, and him, Truman and the JCS who wished to keep it limited on the other. Expansion, he warned, risked not only a full-scale war with China but also an "all-out war with the Soviet Union" even at the expense of losing NATO and UN allies and exposing Western Europe to attack by Soviet troops. "This fundamental divergence" was one of "judgment" and arose "from the inherent difference between the position of a field commander, whose mission was limited to a particular area and a particular antagonist, and the position of the JCS, defense secretary and president, who were responsible for U.S. security and had to consider U.S. interests and objectives globally. Such divergent views were far from new in U.S. military history. What was new, and what had brought about MacArthur's relief was "the wholly unprecedented situation of a local theater commander publicly expressing his displeasure at and his disagreement with the foreign and military policy of the United States."

With that and praise for the U.S. forces in Korea, Marshall said that he was "ready to answer any questions you may wish to ask." Twenty-six senators from the two committees then began to question Marshall in order of seniority. The process took nearly twenty-eight hours spread over seven days and resulted in more than 500 pages of published hearings, taken according to one source from 1,100 pages of transcript, as well as numerous additional pages of classified material. Many of the questions duplicated those already answered and led Russell at one point to ask his colleagues to pare down their questions accordingly. If one reads the entire transcript, one would have to conclude that they did not. Nor did some of them refrain from giving speeches along with their repeated questions.

Marshall then explained "the basic differences of judgment" between MacArthur, who wished to expand the war on the one hand, and him, Truman and the JCS who wished to keep it limited on the other.

Most of the questions focused on the points Marshall had briefly addressed in his opening statement, leading him to provide more detailed information on each of them. Never had there been disagreement between Truman, him and the JCS, and he had never overruled the JCS regarding Formosa, China, or the January 12 memorandum. That memorandum, he explained, had been drawn up "When we were at our lowest point," but on JCS recommendation it had been "held in abeyance" and some of its proposals considered "unwise" once it became clear that the military situation was not as dire as MacArthur had claimed on January 10; consequently it never received NSC approval. Furthermore, 12 of the 16 points in the memorandum had already been put into effect. MacArthur's March 23/24 public statement had "brought to a halt" Truman's efforts to obtain an armistice in Korea, while his letter to Martin was "an expression of views in one way or another practically in complete disagreement with the Commander in Chief." Military officers of course had a right to disagree with administration policies, Marshall made clear, but not in public as MacArthur had done on numerous occasions as opposed to the silence both he and before him General John J. Pershing had maintained when they had disagreed with Presidents Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt during the two world wars. Nor did Marshall believe the Chinese could be driven out of Korea, even if all of MacArthur's proposals were adopted. Rather, acceptance of those proposals would risk "the loss of our allies, the loss of continuation and development of collective action, collective defense, and the hazard of entering into a general war" while jeopardizing NATO and the defense of Western Europe "very, very seriously." Furthermore, no blockade of the China coast could be effective given the fact that Beijing received the bulk of its supplies from the neighboring Soviet Union. And bombing what MacArthur had labeled the Chinese "sanctuaries" in Manchuria, he revealed in classified testimony, would endanger the more concentrated and vulnerable US and UN "sanctuaries" at the port of Pusan in South Korea and in Japan. In light of this vulnerability, he and members of the JCS believed that UN forces were gaining more than they were losing by not bombing Manchuria. The best strategy in Korea, he maintained, was to continue to attack the Chinese so as "to inflict the greatest number of casualties we could in order to break down not only the morale but the trained fabric of the Chinese Armies" and thereby bring them to the negotiating table. Chinese losses of trained troops as a result of this strategy had also, he asserted, "probably restrained action by the Communist Chinese forces on the Indochina frontier."

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Bombing Manchuria, Marshall further warned, could also lead to Soviet retaliation with the "considerable" ground and air forces they had in the area, he made clear. While MacArthur had maintained that Soviet intervention was a remote possibility, Marshall rated it "a very real possibility" given their supply of aircraft to the Chinese, the existing Sino-Soviet Treaty of Alliance, and as he revealed in classified testimony, the fact that Soviet pilots and communication personnel had been operating MIG fighter aircraft. Soviet personnel, he further revealed, were also involved in the antiaircraft systems around the North Korean capital of Pyongyang and in the laying of mines. As for MacArthur's desire to use Chinese Nationalist troops on Formosa in Korea and/or to "unleash" them against the Chinese mainland, a report by officers from MacArthur's own headquarters had concluded after visiting Formosa that those troops were incapable even of defending the island. Korea, Marshall emphasized, was but one front in the global Cold War. And while it might appear at the moment to be a stalemate, so incorrectly had other and lengthier Cold War crises, such as Berlin and Greece, which the United States and its allies had eventually won.

Senate critics of Administration policies also questioned Marshall on his 1945–46 China Mission and his 1947-49 Far Eastern policies as secretary of state. He denied that the JCS and the Defense Department had consistently favored a more aggressive policy regarding China and the Far East than the State Department. There had been some disagreements, but all had agreed that "under

Felix Larkin, general counsel for the Office of the Secretary of Defense, talks with Secretary of Defense Marshall before the seventh day of testimony before the joint Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committee on May 14, 1951.

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

no circumstances" could Formosa be allowed to come under Communist control. Nevertheless, he warned as he reminded the senators of how limited in size American forces had been before the Korean War, "we must not commit our strength in relation to Formosa and other points in China, in a manner which we could not afford." The same held for French Indochina. While the JCS had favored equipping and training anti-Communist forces there if so requested, they had also insisted, he revealed in classified testimony, that "under no circumstances should we commit ourselves to troops action in Indo-China."

The Nationalists had lost mainland China primarily because of "very ineffective leadership…and a great deal of ineptitude" in regard to military operations…

Marshall had always considered the Chinese Communists to be "Marxist Communists," as they themselves had so stated and insisted in his presence. He strongly defended his suppression as secretary of state of the report General Albert C. Wedemeyer had submitted after completion of his mission to China and Korea, explained the numerous reasons he had done so, and asserted that the situation in China at that time "was such that we would literally have to take over control in the country in order to insure that the [Nationalist] armies functioned with efficiency"—this at a time when "we had one and a third divisions in the United States." The Nationalists had lost mainland China primarily because of "very ineffective leadership…and a great deal of ineptitude" in regard to military operations—not withdrawal of U.S. aid as Senate critics claimed. Indeed, as secretary of state he had requested and received from Congress large sums for the Nationalists that they had misused. "What was basically lacking," he continued, "was the support of the army by the people as well as competent leadership. When Senator Styles Bridges (R-NH) claimed that the 80th Congress "had possessed some foresight" on aid to China compared to the state department, Marshall noted that he had requested $575 million but received only $400 million—a fact "which would have some bearing on that particular question."

Senator Lyndon B. Johnson (D-TX) shifted the questioning at one point to military preparedness and the pending Universal Military Service and Training (UMST) Bill on which he and Marshall had been working. Universal Military Training (UMT) had long been Marshall's favored solution to the old problem of U.S. military unpreparedness, and he made clear that he was not satisfied with the present mobilization effort and that the nation was not prepared for the global war that could result from the measures MacArthur was advocating. He emphasized in this regard the importance of prompt action on the UMST Bill. "I have talked about that so often," he admitted, "I almost give offense by talking about it again."

"I think you have made a wonderful contribution in the manner in which you have cleared up many of these things that many of us were wondering about," Senator John Sparkman (D-AL) had previously told Marshall. "I think you have given us background and perspective that otherwise we might not have had." At the end of the May 12 session that ended the first round of questioning, Chairman Russell offered his own praise. "Your recollection as to details and as to dates of all these various transactions has been perfectly astonishing to me." So had been Marshall's "almost infinite" patience in light of the repetitious nature of the questions asked. The hearings would be "a rich treasure house for the historian when he goes to analyze and to write the history of this period in our Nation's history." Russell then thanked Marshall for his cooperation, stated it would be necessary for him to return on Monday morning, May 14, for additional questioning, but made clear to his colleagues that Marshall would have to leave Monday afternoon for the events to be held in his honor at the Virginia Military Institute (VMI) the following day. He concluded by once again thanking Marshall and noting that he had given "a remarkable exhibition of stamina, both physical and mental….It has been a very grueling experience, I know, and it is one that would have tested the fire of any man. Throughout it all, you have handled yourself as a soldier would—as the soldier we know you to be." With that and congratulations on the honors he was about to receive at VMI, Marshall's testimony came to an end.

The hearings would be "a rich treasure house for the historian when he goes to analyze and to write the history of this period in our Nation's history."

The official history of the Office of the Secretary of Defense, aptly concluded that Marshall's seven days of testimony were "long, tiring and repetitious, but that he "effectively countered MacArthur's call for victory at any price and set the stage for the Joint Chiefs, Acheson and others who had yet to testify." JCS chairman Bradley would famously state during his testimony that MacArthur's proposals would "involve us in the wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time and with the wrong enemy," but it was Marshall who in his lengthy preceding testimony first explained how and why that was the case.

Mark A. Stoler is professor emeritus of history at the University of Vermont and editor of *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall.* Volume 6 of the Marshall Papers was published in 2013, and the final volume including Marshall's years as secretary of defense was published in early 2016. Dr. Stoler is the author of *Allies and Adversaries: The Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Grand Alliance, and U.S. Strategy in World War II* (2000), which won the 2002 Outstanding Book Award of the Society of Military History, as well as *George C. Marshall: Soldier-Statesman of the American Century* among other notable achievements. The subject matter included in this article can be found in Vol. 7 of the Marshall Papers.

MARSHALL SHORTS

ANNUAL LEGO COMPETITION DRAWS A LARGE CROWD

By Cara Cook Sonnier

credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

LEGO Competition first-place winner Andy Li, of Lexington, stands with Foundation President Rob Havers. The entire group is shown to the right.

The Marshall Museum buzzed with activity during the last Saturday in July when 27 children, along with family and friends, filled the museum lobby and research library to take part in the second annual LEGO competition. This event was part of the Marshall Legacy Series sequence on *Speed and Fury*.

At the start of the two-hour session, participants toured the lower gallery special exhibition "From Machine to Man" to look at the artifacts on display in order to gain inspiration for their creations. Contestants could sketch a design before returning upstairs to select LEGOs from the various colors and styles sorted in bins. Contestants then had one hour to create their entries.

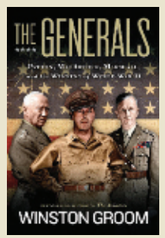
Judges walked the halls of the museum during that time to quiz the participants about their creations and ask them to explain how they

credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

interpreted the contest theme, "Made for Speed." The contestants created spaceships, tanks and planes in an across-the-board display of imagination.

First-place winner Andy Li, of Lexington, used technology to explain his creation, a futuristic airplane. Because Andy is able to speak broken English only, his father entered Andy's answers to the judges' questions in his native language into his smartphone and then translated them into English for the judges to read. This seems like a very Marshall-like solution to the problem.

BEST NEW BOOKS ABOUT OR INCLUDING MARSHALL



The Generals **(MacArthur, Patton, Marshall)**
(National Geographic Society) **by Winston Groom**

Eisenhower's Armies: The American-British Alliance during World War II (Pegasus) **by Niall Barr**

General George C. Marshall and the Atomic Bomb
(Praeger) **by Dr. Frank Settle**

The Bombers and the Bombed: Allied Air War Over Europe 1940-1945
(Penguin Group) **by Richard Overy**

credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Howard Hammersley and two of the striking photos from the Hammersley Collection

HAMMERSLEY COLLECTION FEATURES WORLD WAR II PHOTOS

By Cathy DeSilvey

Among the many thousands of photographs stored in the Archives is one unusual collection of the photographs of a professional photographer. Not only that but a combat photographer in World War II.

Howard Hammersley entered the U.S. Army Air Corps in 1942. Following graduation from photo school, he served 38 months in England, Africa, and Italy as the chief photo officer of the Mediterranean Allied Air Forces (MAAF) from 1942 to 1945. He flew 40 combat missions.

Hammersley oversaw Combat Camera Units (CCU) in the 12th and 15th air forces and supervised the work of three still photographers. "My job was to see that the American public, through photographs, got an idea of what the airmen were doing to fight the war," he said. The CCU had been created because "war correspondents didn't like flying," he once told an interviewer.

Hammersley mounted cameras in fighter and bomber planes to photograph reconnaissance runs and to document bombing accuracy. The large K-3B cameras could be mounted vertically at the back of the bomb bay doors to capture the release of bombs and the ground below. Handheld K-20 cameras were used on planes by the CCU.

Hammersley documented Operation Strangle, the precision bombing of middle Italy to cut off Nazi supply routes. "Our bombers had to

credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

operate with the skill of a surgeon to spare the treasures of art and history and religion in cities like Pisa, Sienna, and Florence." He also photographed the bombing of Cassino and Rome, capturing images showing the differences between tactical and strategic bombing. Cassino's famed Benedictine Abbey was destroyed while Rome's cultural monuments were spared.

Hammersley had a staff of 32 who processed and developed reconnaissance images 24 hours a day. Photos of combat missions, people, and features photography were sent to a Hollywood Film Unit in California to be handled by the War Department.

Howard Hammersley founded the photography department at *The Roanoke Times* and worked as a photographer there until his retirement in 1980.

GEORGE C. MARSHALL
LEGACY SERIES
VISIONARY IN WAR AND IN PEACE

Legacy Series Continues to Reveal Marshall's Genius

Former curator of Modern Military Aircraft for the Smithsonian Air and Space Museum, Dr. Dik Daso opened the Legacy Series sequence on *Speed and Fury* with a talk on "Marshall, Arnold and the Creation of American Airpower."

The challenges General Marshall faced as Army Chief of Staff before and during World War II have been the focus of the Marshall Legacy Series in 2016. Each of the three sequences, *All Who Want to Serve*, *Speed and Fury*, and *Let's Get a Move On*, has addressed key concerns and issues: growing the army that needed more men (and women) in uniform, training and supplying that growing Army, and inspiring civilian manufacturing to equip it.

He solved every problem in typical fashion—employing thorough research and preparation, articulating clearly the problem and its solutions, enabling and promoting others to enact the solution or advance the program, and supporting their efforts tirelessly and often behind the scenes.

Marshall anticipated U.S. entry into the European conflict. In September 1940 Congress initiated at Marshall's request an unusual peace-time draft to increase troop strength to about 1.4 million. One year later Marshall returned to Congress to request a year's extension on new enlistments, fearing the U.S. would be undermanned should it be forced into the fight sooner than it was ready. Before the end of that second year, Japan had bombed Pearl Harbor and U.S. entry into the war had become the reality Marshall expected. Chief of Staff Marshall, the logistics genius who earned the nickname "The Wizard" in WWI once again was pressed to solve countless supply, training, housing, equipment and transportation problems for an Army that

increased from about 190,000 soldiers in uniform when he became chief of staff in 1939 to more than 8,000,000 by war's end in 1945. The Legacy Series sequences revealed a leader with enormous problem-solving capabilities and foresight who possessed highly effective skills in persuasion, delegation and leadership.

Marshall had a world war to win. He found or created opportunities for members of minority groups to serve in regular or special units. America in the 1940s was still a segregated society, and discrimination existed widely. Marshall was not intent on social engineering, but he did want to employ anyone who wanted to serve. He crossed traditional boundaries to create special units formed along racial and ethnic lines. The famous Tuskegee Airmen grew from the needs for more airmen in fighter units. Native American "code talkers" were deployed to the Pacific by the Army and Marine Corps to use native languages for encoded communication.

Chuck Bedell looks at photos from the Howard Hammersley Collection included in the "From Machine to Man" exhibition. Howard Hammersley was a combat photographer during WWII.

In January 1943 General Marshall approved recommendations from the War Department to form all-Nisei (second generation Japanese-American citizens) combat units. This recommendation included reopening selective service to Japanese Americans.

Ten years earlier, as assistant commandant of the Army's Infantry School at Fort Benning, Georgia, Marshall accomplished two remarkable things that enabled the United States and its allies to prevail during World War II. He transformed the curriculum in anticipation of the next large war following World War I. Famously, he said, "Study the first six months of the next war." He possessed a remarkable vision that helped him during his entire career to "see" what was around the corner. He used this gift to identify future Army leaders as well. Nearly 200 officers with whom Marshall trained or worked at Benning became those leaders ("Marshall's Men") during WWII. He relied on them to execute the tactics that would accomplish the strategies he set in place as chief of staff.

He kept in touch with colleagues and technological advances to great advantage. Marshall had witnessed the first manned flight and then observed aircraft above the battlefield in WWI. Familiar with aircraft, but not knowledgeable, he and Gen. Henry "Hap" Arnold, who became a close friend to whom he deferred on the technology, developed American airpower during WWII. The Jeep, one of the iconic vehicles of World War II, may have not been produced if it had not been for General Marshall. Marshall's oversight of the top secret Manhattan Project allowed the allied developers of the first atomic bomb to proceed unimpeded and at breakneck speed against a possibility the enemy would develop this weapon first. Operating discreetly, often in the shadows, Marshall orchestrated some of the greatest technological advances the world had seen.

Marshall understood that success on the battlefield was linked to soldiers having everything they needed to fight. He wanted the public to know as much, too, and he said, "Without the cooperation of the mechanic who builds the planes, the machinist who forges the guns, or the farmer who raises the crops, the soldier in the field cannot succeed." As the war continued, Marshall's concern shifted to maintaining the high levels of production that had been achieved through civilian mobilization. He did not want overconfidence in the outcome of the war to affect production, and he encouraged civilians to continue working as hard as possible until the final surrender. He was always several moves ahead.

Legacy Series SCHEDULE

Let's Get a Move On
Sept—Dec 2016
"What We're Made Of" exhibition remains open

October 12
Historian Bill Spear talks about the early days of the Jeep

November 6
Victory Chef Cook-Off

December 3
Museum Open House and Cupcake Wars

The World Wars
Jan—Aug 2017
Two world wars, includes D-Day, Marshall's Men, soldiers in WWI become leaders in WWII

Europe's Unlikely Recovery
Sept—Dec 2017
The Marshall Plan and Marshall's leadership in convincing a reluctant Congress to support it, threat of Communist control of western Europe

the last word

"In a war unparalleled in magnitude and in horror, millions of Americans gave their country outstanding service. General of the Army George C. Marshall gave it victory.

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

President Harry S. Truman presenting the Distinguished Service Medal to General Marshall, Nov. 26, 1945

By the favor of Providence, General Marshall became Chief of Staff of the United States Army on the day that Germany attacked Poland. His was the vision that brought into being the greatest military force in history. Because he was able to make the Allies understand the true potentiality of American greatness in personnel and materiel, he was able to exercise greater influence than any other man on the strategy of victory. It was he who first recognized that victory in a global war would depend on this Nation's capacity to ring the earth with far-flung supply lines, to arm every willing Ally and to overcome the aggressor nations with superior fire power. He was the first to see the technological cunning and consequent greater danger of the Nazi enemy. He was the master proponent of a ground assault across the English Channel into the plains of Western Europe directed by a single Supreme Allied Commander. He insisted on maintaining unremitting pressure against the Japanese, thereby preventing them from becoming entrenched in their stolen empire and enabling our timely advances across the Pacific. He obtained from Congress the stupendous sums that made possible the atomic bomb, well knowing that failure would be his full responsibility. Statesman and soldier, he had courage, fortitude, and vision, and best of all rare self-effacement. He has been a tower of strength as counsellor of two Commanders in Chief. His standards of character, conduct, and efficiency inspired the entire Army, the Nation and the world. To him, as much as to any individual, the United States owes its future. He takes his place at the head of the great commanders of history."

—Citation for the Distinguished Service Medal

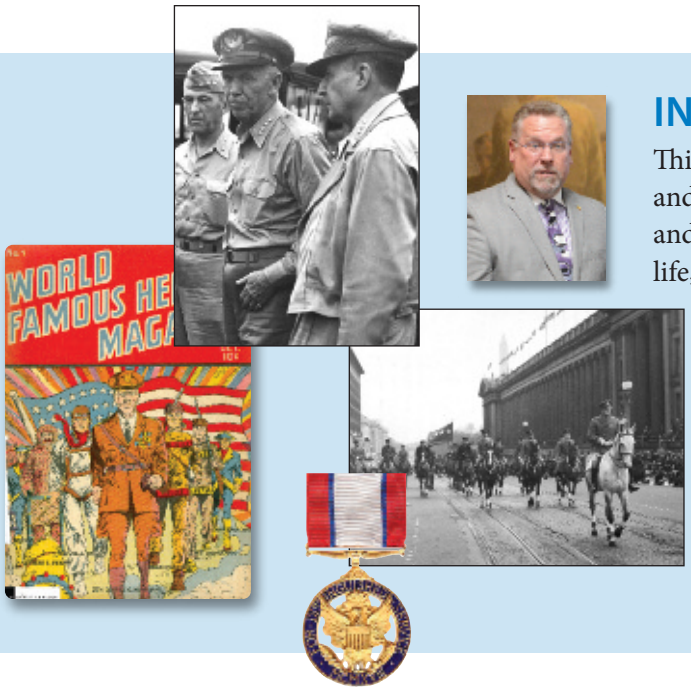
By renewing your membership, you help us perpetuate the legacy of the man President Harry Truman called "the great one of the age." As the keeper of the flame, the Marshall Foundation preserves and communicates the remarkable story of the life and times of George C. Marshall and his contemporaries. It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

KEEP MARSHALL'S LEGACY ALIVE

Benefits of Membership	Levels of Membership							
	Friend	Associate	Colleague	Supporter	Partner	Leader	Visionary	Strategist
An annual contribution of at least:	$75 individual	$150 couple	$250	$500	$1,000	$2,500	$5,000	$10,000
Free admission to Museum during the membership year	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★
New members receive a Five-Star lapel pin	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★
Receive the newsletter, *The Strategist*	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★
Free admission to most Legacy Series events	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★
Receive two issues of our magazine, *MARSHALL*	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★
Receive 10% discount in the Museum Shop	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★
Reciprocal admission to 750 NARM-member museums		★	★	★	★	★	★	★
New members receive *The Words of George C. Marshall*			★	★	★	★	★	★
Receive a private tour of the Archives					★	★	★	★
Receive a table at a Foundation award event								★

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

GCMF THE GEORGE C. MARSHALL FOUNDATION



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.