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# MARSHALL




SPRING 2018

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## Features

**VOL. 4, NO. 1**

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## Departments



Front cover image: "All Our Colours to the Mast," the winning poster design in 1950 when artists from the 13 European nations participating in the Marshall Plan submitted more than 10,000 entries in response to the theme "Intra-European Cooperation for a Better Standard of Living" (from the George C. Marshall Research Library)

# welcome

Looking back to my message in the fall issue, I commented on how "full" it was with three substantive pieces, two drawn from Marshall Legacy Series presentations. I find myself of similar opinion with this issue but with all three pieces grounded in well-attended and well-received Legacy Series events.

Firstly, Dr. Mark Stoler, editor of the final two volumes of *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall* and the author of (still) the best single volume biography of Marshall, writes on the enduring legacy of Marshall and how the "soldier/statesman" duality was far more of a blend than a compound in terms of who Marshall was and what he achieved. Marshall himself, as Dr. Stoler points out, considered his Nobel Prize to be for his efforts to prepare the USA to fight and to win the impending war rather than for his role in the peace that followed. In illuminating this consideration, Stoler's article adds much to our understanding of this indispensable man.

Similarly, and appropriately, given our ongoing efforts to mark this 70th anniversary of the passage of the European Recovery Program, our other two pieces by Dr. David Hein and Dr. Barry Machado respectively, examine the Marshall Plan in action as a tool of national security, in the case of Dr. Hein's article. Indeed this piece goes a long way to providing a fuller exposition of all the considerations that underpinned the Marshall Plan in the minds of its architects. This is followed by some fresh thinking by Barry Machado in terms of understanding the origins of the plan in Marshall's long career. Dr. Machado's insights, to be published in a forthcoming book, are original and offer a new appraisal of George C. Marshall, the man, long dominated by the particular descriptions of the four-volume Pogue biography. As always, I hope you enjoy this new scholarship on Marshall and his times.

I am sure you all noticed the magnificent cover art that is quite familiar to most of you. "All Our Colours to the Mast" was the winner of the Marshall Plan poster competition in 1950 and wonderfully embodies the spirit and the practice of the Marshall Plan. You can read in more detail about a new exhibition that showcases all 25 of the finalists out of some 10,000 entries. Although the Marshall Foundation has had copies of these images for many years, it was only in June of 2017 that we received an original set of lithographs featuring all 25 finalists for what was formally titled the "Better Standard of Living" poster contest. This collection was donated by Lt. Col. John Lawyer, USAF (Ret.), whose father had served on the staff of the Economic Cooperation Administration in Paris at the time of the competition and received a set of the posters. The posters were in storage for many years until Colonel Lawyer rediscovered them and donated them to the Marshall Foundation where they could be viewed by visitors.

Sincerely,

Rob Havers, *President*

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

*"…I am deeply moved to find some means or method of avoiding another calamity of war."*

# George C. Marshall: Soldier of Peace

BY MARK A. STOLER, PH.D.

On October 30, 1953, General of the Army George C. Marshall received word that he had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. In keeping with tradition, the Nobel Institute provided no explanation for giving the award—or for selecting, for the first time, a professional soldier.


The Nobel Peace Prize awarded to George C. Marshall in 1953 (from the Marshall Museum display)

Most commentators believed Marshall had received the prize for his work on the European Recovery Program, better known as the Marshall Plan, that he had proposed and done so much to get through Congress as secretary of state in 1947-48. But a notable exception to this near-unanimous conclusion was, interestingly, Marshall himself! In his press conference on the following day he said, according to *The New York Times* (and as summarized in volume 7 of the *Marshall Papers*, p. 794), that "his greatest contributions to world peace were in speeding United States preparations to fight aggression in 1940" when he was army chief of staff" and "again in 1950" as secretary of defense. Truly, he was defining himself as a "soldier of peace."

Marshall was also equating peace with military preparedness. That was no accident. Three times he had witnessed the United States plunge into war militarily unprepared—1917, 1941 and 1950—and each time he had been asked to help create and train a new army. As a result, he had come to believe that proper military preparedness could have either averted war entirely or seriously diminished both its duration and the number of Americans who died. Throughout the post-World War II years he would consequently and forcefully call, albeit unsuccessfully, for the creation of a Universal Military Training system (UMT) to keep the nation prepared in the future.

*…he had come to believe that proper military preparedness could have either averted war entirely or seriously diminished both its duration and the number of Americans who died*

Marshall's first experience with American military unpreparedness in wartime occurred in 1917, when the United States entered World War I and he, as a captain and aide to the then-hospitalized General J. Franklin Bell, was in effect put in charge of mobilization in Bell's Eastern Department. He was soon shifted to the staff of the First Division as head of its Operations

This article is a summary of the author's Marshall Legacy Series talk for *The World Wars* sequence delivered in October 2017. In this article Dr. Stoler has referred to other speakers in the Series. You can watch their lectures as well as Dr. Stoler's lecture on our YouTube channel. YouTube

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Major General William Sibert

(G-3) section and sent to France, where on June 26 he followed the division commander, General William Sibert, as the first Americans to go ashore from the first convoy of U.S. troops. The First Division, however, was a division in name only. It had hastily been put together from understrength regiments and recent recruits and sent to France to bolster Allied morale in the face of continued military failures and massive casualties. Many of its soldiers had only received their rifles just before boarding ship in New York and had no training in trench warfare—or indeed any basic military behavior. In an episode he would remember for the rest of his life and often repeat to others, an appalled and humiliated Marshall watched a disheveled U.S. sentry respond to questioning from a French general about his rifle by handing the weapon over to him and then sitting down on a windowsill to roll a cigarette.

Marshall thus spent much of his time during the summer and fall of 1917 involved in training the men in his division. When General John J. Pershing, commander of the American Expeditionary Force in France, visited First Division headquarters, he was not impressed, and during an October 3 visit he publicly blamed and thus humiliated General Sibert in front of his subordinates for the problems he saw. At that time the acting divisional chief of staff with the temporary rank of major, Marshall sprang to Sibert's defense. When Pershing tried to ignore him and depart, Marshall put his hand on Pershing's arm to prevent him from leaving and angrily cited fact after fact to show that the fault lay not with Sibert, but instead with Pershing's own headquarters.

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

General John J. Pershing (*left*) and Major George C. Marshall formed a lasting friendship in World War I.

A month later Marshall challenged a French general who, in the aftermath of the first U.S. combat deaths, had questioned the fighting qualities of American troops. This was one of many conflicts that American officers from Pershing on down would have with their French and British allies. Indeed, these officers believed that the three-year stalemate and bloodbath in the trenches had resulted from a traditional European lack of innovation and creativity that could virtually contaminate them if they allowed their forces to be "amalgamated" into French and British lines. Instead they would try to remain a separate force trained, in Ed Lengel's words, in an "American Way of War" that emphasized flexibility, creativity, and open rather than trench warfare.

Despite the problems with the Allies, Marshall also learned about their importance. World War I was the first U.S. experience with allies since the 1778 French Alliance during the War for Independence, an experience that had left a bad taste in many American mouths before it ended in 1800. Marshall worked with French officers on an almost daily basis and clearly learned the vital importance of having allies in any future war—as well as the problems involved in working with them. As Winston Churchill would later say, the only thing worse than fighting with allies was fighting without them!

The previous confrontation with Pershing had enormous consequences for Marshall. Rather than relieving him for insubordination, Pershing came to rely upon Marshall when he visited

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Members of General Pershing's headquarters staff included Colonel Fox Conner (*front row left*) and George C. Marshall (*third from left in the back*). General Pershing stands second from left in the front row.

First Division headquarters, and in the summer of 1918 he had Marshall transferred to the Operations Division of his General Headquarters staff, where he served under then Colonel Fox Conner and soon developed quite a reputation—as well as the nickname "Wizard"—for his planning of the U.S. offensives at St. Mihiel and the Meuse-Argonne. Since these offensives had to be carefully coordinated with those of the Allies, Marshall once again worked closely with them and learned how vital they were to victory. He also learned, once again, the inevitable problems that arose when one had allies—and the need to address those problems. Indeed, Marshall's World War II insistence on the creation of the Anglo-American Combined Chiefs of Staff and the principle of "unity of command" can be traced to his World War I experiences—and the lack of such unity in that conflict.

There were numerous reasons for this lack of Allied unity in World War I. In a 1940 War College lecture (quoted in William T. Johnsen's *The Origins of the Grand Alliance*, pp. 30–31), Marshall's wartime superior and friend Fox Conner warned that "dealing with the enemy is a simple and straight-forward matter when contrasted with securing close cooperation with an ally"—and then explained why achieving Unity of Command with allies was so difficult as well as so important. Interestingly, Conner would in the 1920s also tell his young protégé Dwight Eisenhower to get an assignment with Marshall if at all possible, for in the future (according to Eisenhower in *At Ease*, p. 192) "we will have to fight beside allies and George Marshall knows more about the techniques of arranging Allied commands than any man I know. He is nothing short of a genius."

*"we will have to fight beside allies and George Marshall knows more about the techniques of arranging Allied commands than any man I know. He is nothing short of a genius."*

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

John McAuley Palmer

Pershing clearly recognized Marshall's genius and after the armistice sought to retain him in any capacity he could, giving him a host of specific assignments and then, in April 1919, making Marshall one of his aides—a position he continued to hold when Pershing went to Washington and became chief of staff. There Marshall would become deeply involved in highly political as well as military matters concerning the future of the army—and a strong supporter of the idea of Universal Military Training (UMT) as proposed by his old friend John McAuley Palmer when Congress in 1919 debated what the postwar U.S. army should look like. A key lesson from the wartime experience had been the lack of U.S. preparedness for war, as in effect it took a year from the declaration of war in April of 1917 for the U.S. Army to be ready for combat. Even then it had to rely upon its allies for key war materiel.

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Oil portrait of General Pershing (from the collection)

Marshall as well as Palmer saw UMT as the only democratic and affordable solution to the need for military preparedness in the 20th century given the lessons of World War I. But while Congress agreed in 1920 to the army of just under 300,000 that Palmer and Pershing had recommended, they did so without the UMT that was to be the core of this new system. Further cuts followed, and by 1939 the army was down to 175,000 and woefully unprepared for war.

This was but one of Marshall's many experiences with Congress while aide to Pershing—experiences that clearly prepared him for his 1939–1945 tenure as chief of staff, during which he would establish an extraordinary relationship with Congress. Beyond that, Marshall was, as Paul Barron noted in his presentation, much more than just an aide to Pershing. He was also Pershing's executive officer and virtual deputy chief of staff when the general was away as well as his protégé—and perhaps even more.

Pershing became Marshall's mentor and in many ways a key father figure, as a virtual father-son relationship developed between the two men—one who had been distant from his own father and the other someone who had lost his wife and three of his children in a fire. "No one knows better than I what such bereavement means," Pershing had telegrammed Marshall after the 1927 death of Marshall's first wife, Lily, "and my heart goes out to you very fully at this crisis in your life." Marshall's emotional, out-of-character and heartbreaking response (reproduced in volume 1 of the *Marshall Papers*, pp. 315–16) revealed just how deep had become the relationship between the two men. So did the fact that Pershing served as best man when Marshall remarried in 1931.

By that time Marshall was in the fourth year of his assignment as assistant commandant of the Infantry School at Ft. Benning—an assignment that restored his spirit and that had profound consequences for the World War II U.S. Army. He restructured the curriculum of this school so as to emphasize what he had learned in World War I as well as from his previous experiences:

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Assistant Commandant of the U.S. Army Infantry School at Fort Benning, Colonel Marshall sits front and center with other faculty members in 1931.

the need for simplicity in plans and orders and the ability to innovate and deal with the unexpected. He banned written lectures, provided poor or no maps during exercises so as to duplicate confusion on the battlefield, and emphasized the need for thoughtful and original responses to the unexpected. He also emphasized training in a warfare of movement. The old American belief in this regard had been reinforced by both the World War I experience and by the revolution in warfare caused primarily by the development of the internal combustion engine—which now powered tanks as well as trucks and, of course, aircraft. As Dik Daso noted in his presentation, Marshall had become friends with air officer Henry "Hap" Arnold when they and their wives lived near each other during Marshall's second tour of duty in the Philippines from 1913–16, and that friendship would be renewed in 1938 when they were both called to Washington to serve in the general staff, Arnold as chief of the Army Air Corps and Marshall as first head of the War Plans Division and then deputy chief of staff.

The result of Marshall's work at Benning was the so-called "Spirit of Benning" and the virtual creation of the American World War II military character, with simplicity, innovation and mobility as its hallmarks. The "Benning Revolution" also resulted in the creation of what would become the American high command in the war, as 200 future wartime generals passed through Benning's gates during Marshall's years there—150 as students and 50 as instructors (including Joseph Stilwell and Omar Bradley)

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Marshall with two members of the Civilian Conservation Corps in the 1930s in Oregon

After Benning, Marshall would have a series of military postings that deeply involved him with civilians—most notably with the Illinois National Guard and with the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), a New Deal program during the Great Depression that sent unemployed urban youth into the countryside for conservation work. Since the CCC and its camps were to be organized and run by the army, Marshall during his postings at forts Screven in Georgia and Moultrie in South Carolina as well as Vancouver Barracks in Washington state faced the challenge of training and directing youth who were not in the army and who could thus not be subjected to traditional army discipline. It was a challenge he loved, and it once again gave him experiences vital to his future work. Then in 1938 he became deputy chief of staff and experienced an eventful first confrontation with Franklin D. Roosevelt when, during a White House meeting, he openly disagreed with the president's plans for airpower expansion. That ended the meeting—and what appeared to be Marshall's brief stay in Washington. But instead of relieving Marshall, Roosevelt would in the following year jump over 33 senior generals to appoint him the next chief of staff. As had Pershing in France, Roosevelt would accept, if not necessarily welcome, dissenting opinions from the subordinate Marshall.

Marshall is being sworn in as Army Chief of Staff in 1939.

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Marshall was sworn in as army chief of staff on September 1, 1939, the day Hitler invaded Poland and thereby began World War II. What followed was Marshall's second major bout with unpreparedness for war and two years that both he and many scholars agree were his most difficult as army chief. From 1939 until official U.S. entry into the war in December of 1941, Marshall faced the daunting task of preparing for the possibility of war without alienating the large number of people in Congress as well as the rest of the country—and even in the War Department itself—opposed to U.S. intervention. He also had to deal with a president who preferred naval and air expansion as well as material support for Britain and France over army expansion.

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

President Franklin D. Roosevelt signs legislation enabling a peacetime military draft in 1940. Army Chief of Staff Marshall stands behind.

The unexpected and rapid German conquest of France in the spring of 1940 came as a great shock to the American people and ensuring great support for military preparedness—including the first peacetime draft in U.S. history and a massive expansion of the army—which went up from 175,000 to 1.4 million by December of 1941. But Marshall still needed to avoid taking sides in the continuing interventionist/anti-interventionist debate, something he was able to do by talking of military preparedness only for defense if attacked—and as a way to deter a potential enemy from attacking.

Throughout this time period Marshall would establish an extraordinary relationship with Congress, whose members developed an unparalleled trust in him. His relations with Roosevelt as this time were not as good or close, however, as the president continued to favor an air and naval buildup along with material aid to first Britain and then the Soviet Union via the 1941 Lend-Lease Act over army expansion—and with it possible deployment in Europe.

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Members of the World War II Combined Chiefs of Staff in Potsdam in 1945. Marshall sits on the right, flanked by U.S. Army General Henry H. "Hap" Arnold to his left and U.S. Navy Chief Admiral Ernest King to his right.

Marshall remained determined not to repeat the World War I experience regarding Allied lack of coordination as well as American preparedness—a fact that explains his agreement even before Pearl Harbor to a strategy of alliance with Britain and defeat of Germany before Japan if the United States did go to war. It also explains his call soon after Pearl Harbor for the creation of Allied coordination machinery designed not to repeat errors and problems he had experienced in 1917-1918. Most notable in this regard was acceptance of the principle of unity of command whereby in each theater all ground, naval and air forces of both powers would be placed under a single commander and the creation of the Combined Chiefs of Staff (CCS). Composed of the American and British army, navy and air chiefs, this body would determine how their combined forces would be used and would report directly to Roosevelt and Churchill, each of whom had a personal military representative on the CCS as well. Then in March of 1942, Marshall totally reorganized the general staff and in the process created three autonomous super commands reporting directly to him—service of supply, army ground forces, and army air forces—as well as a new Operations Division to replace the Old War Plans Division and serve as his "Washington Command Post." To run Army Air Forces Marshall appointed and supported his old friend Hap Arnold, even placing him on the new Joint Chiefs of Staff as well as the CCS even though he was technically Marshall's subordinate.

*Throughout this time period Marshall would establish an extraordinary relationship with Congress, whose members developed an unparalleled trust in him*

These moves did not eliminate Allied or inter-service disagreements. That was not possible, as Conner had noted in his 1940 War College lecture. But they provided organizational structures in which these disagreements could be thrashed out and resolved.

The largest Anglo-American disagreement, as Brad Coleman and Nigel Hamilton explained in their presentations, was over how to defeat Germany first—with Marshall's "direct" approach across the English Channel pitted against Britain's "peripheral" approach in North Africa and the Mediterranean. This dispute was not finally settled until the first "Big Three" meeting in Tehran in November of 1943, when Roosevelt and Soviet leader Josef Stalin outvoted Churchill and forced him to agree to Operation OVERLORD for 1944.

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

General MacArthur in August 1945

There were also serious disagreements within both the CCS and the JCS over Europe vs. Pacific, for despite formal agreement to the Germany-first strategy, more U.S. forces would be deployed in Asia and the Pacific than in Europe until late 1943. Also notable were disputes over which route in the Pacific should be favored and over relations with MacArthur—which as Jim Zobel pointed out in his presentation, were far from being as bitter during the war as they are usually portrayed.

Contrary to popular belief, MacArthur as chief of staff did not try to cripple Marshall's career by sending him to Chicago to train the Illinois National Guard in 1935. In fact he had recommended Marshall for promotion to brigadier general and saw the Chicago assignment as vital in light of the Bonus March a few years earlier and his fear of labor violence and/or insurrection in the face of the Great Depression. MacArthur did feel betrayed by FDR and Marshall over what he considered his "abandonment" in the Philippines in 1941–early 1942, and he opposed the Europe-first strategy throughout the war, suffering what Marshall would refer to as "localitis." MacArthur also never realized that Marshall was, in Zobel's words, "his greatest ally" in Washington, recommending him for the Medal of Honor and convincing FDR to withdraw him from the Philippines to head the Southwest Pacific theater (SWPA) from Australia.

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Ernest King and Army Chief General Marshall

That would lead to major conflicts with Navy Chief Admiral Ernest J. King, who wanted to shut SWPA down and focus all attention on Admiral Chester Nimitz's Central Pacific drive. He had let the army take the lead in Europe, King reasoned, so Marshall should let the Navy take the lead in the Pacific. This conflict only compounded other problems Marshall had with the very prickly and difficult King—an admiral rumored to shave with a blowtorch. "He is the most even-tempered man in the world," one of his daughters quipped; "he is always in a rage." But interservice cooperation was a top priority for Marshall, and he even went to King's office once to apologize for keeping the admiral waiting.

Marshall also remained deeply involved in the continued expansion of the army, which would grow (with inclusion of the AAF) to 10.4 million by 1945. In appointing generals to high command in this massive force, Marshall relied, as Stephen Taaffe noted, upon the officer's character, military education, youth, and his knowledge of them—either personally or through close and trusted associates from World War I or Benning who knew the officers involved, with Conner protégé Eisenhower as a classic example of the latter. As Taaffe also pointed out, army forces would be organized into 89 divisions, 20 corps and 8-9 field armies for overseas deployment—a small number of divisions compared to the Germans and the Soviets. This "90 division gamble" worked, but barely, as army ground forces faced a manpower crisis during the late 1944 "Battle of the Bulge." The gamble was also based on continued reliance on Soviet forces, who throughout the war both inflicted casualties on the Germans and suffered themselves casualties that dwarfed those suffered by Anglo-American forces, to confront the bulk of the German Army.

Although a strong supporter of air power, Marshall had to consistently fight the myth that it alone could win the war. In the end, he would say, it always came down to "the guy in the mud." Indeed, as Conrad Crane noted in his presentation on airpower myths, the entire strategic bombing campaign was a costly failure until the end of 1943, when new long-range fighter aircraft could accompany the bombers over Germany and the primary objective shifted from destruction of German morale and industry to destruction of the Luftwaffe.

Marshall was also deeply involved during the war in postwar planning for the army. Indeed in his 1945 published biannual report, he made a major push for UMT as the best and only suitable postwar defense policy for the United States.

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

George C. Marshall at the Nobel Peace Prize ceremony in Oslo in 1953

Considering all these as well as his numerous other responsibilities, Marshall was in effect running and coordinating the entire U.S. global war effort. So great was the national respect for him that *Time* magazine would name him its 1943 "Man of the Year." Yet for that very reason he would be denied the OVERLORD command, with Roosevelt telling him that he "could not sleep at night with you out of the country." On V-E Day tributes poured in to him as, in Churchill's words, "the true organizer of victory," with the elderly Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson in the most moving tribute calling him "the finest soldier I have ever known."

In his Nobel Prize speech (reproduced in volume 7 of the *Marshall Papers*, pp. 810-16), Marshall explained why a soldier receiving a peace prize did not seem "as remarkable to me as it apparently does to others. I know a great deal of the horrors and tragedies of war," he explained. "The cost of war in human lives is constantly spread before me, written neatly in many ledgers whose columns are gravestones. I am deeply moved to find some means or method of avoiding another calamity of war." As this presentation has hopefully pointed out, Marshall saw military unpreparedness as a major cause of war and preparedness as a way to prevent war. His preferred method, indeed the only appropriate method for American society, he claimed, was Universal Military Training—something he was never able to obtain. Despite that fact, what he had accomplished was extraordinary. "I hope I have sown some seeds which may bring forth good fruit," he said with typical modesty in concluding his Nobel Prize Lecture. He certainly had.

Mark A. Stoler is professor emeritus of history at the University of Vermont and editor of *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, Volumes 6 and 7. 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 publications.

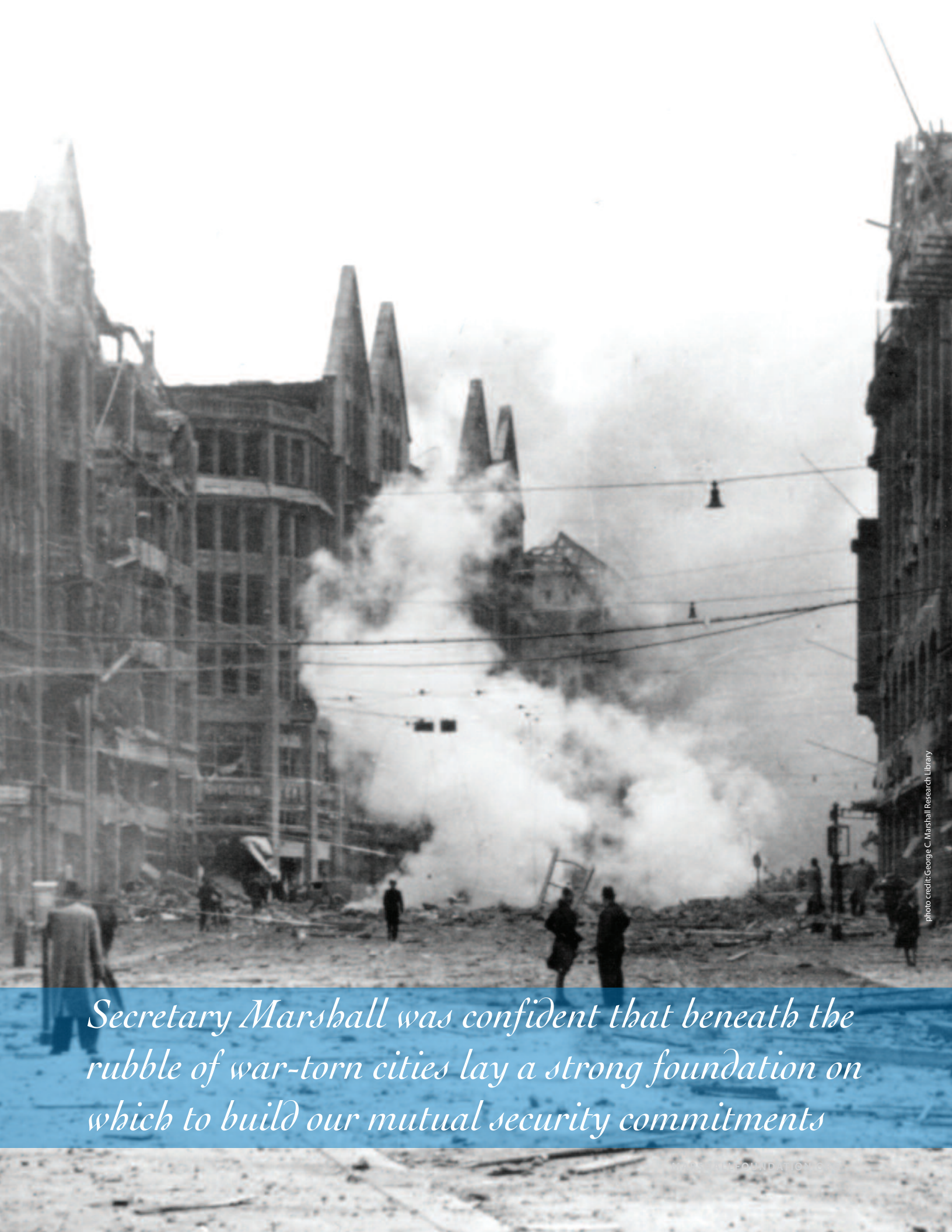


photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

*Secretary Marshall was confident that beneath the rubble of war-torn cities lay a strong foundation on which to build our mutual security commitments*

# The Marshall Plan: Defending Democracy

BY DAVID HEIN, PH.D.

In his June 5, 1947 speech at Harvard University, Secretary of State George C. Marshall affirmed that the United States should "assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed," he assured his listeners, "not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos." This program's "purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist."

It would be a noble deed to enable Europeans to heat their homes during brutally cold winters and to consume enough calories to gain sufficient nourishment. It would be good, too, to help them to rebuild their industrial capacity and thus their opportunities to participate in regional and worldwide markets. But these worthy endeavors were subordinate to international security.

Thus Armin Grünbacher, in an article in *Central European History* (2012), provides a reading of this program that takes into account the harsh realities of the East-West conflict. He points out that "the originally propagated view that the Marshall Plan was an altruistic endeavor through which the U.S. saved Europe from collapse and starvation has long been dismissed and replaced with a more realistic approach to international affairs." In the years immediately following the Second World War, he says, "*Realpolitik* and the perception of the evermore menacing Cold War made it inevitable that Marshall Plan aid… would become a weapon in the…conflict."

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Marshall's speech at Harvard announced the intention of European recovery.

This article is a summary of the author's Marshall Legacy Series talk for the *Europe's Unlikely Recovery* sequence delivered in March 2018. You can watch Dr. Hein's lecture as well as other lectures in the Legacy Series on our YouTube channel. YouTube


Residents of Vienna in protest

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

George Kennan

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

For George Kennan, the head of Marshall's policy planning staff, there were only five centers of industrial and war-making capacity in the world that were important to the national security of the United States: the U.S., Britain, Germany and Central Europe, the Soviet Union, and Japan. One of these five, the Soviet Union, was already in hostile hands; the U.S. must make sure that no others fell to the Soviets. Kennan saw the Marshall Plan as an instrument of Communist containment. The success of containment depended on boosting confidence in the democratic leadership of Western Europe. It was essential to strengthen not only France and Britain but also the three western zones of occupied Germany and to tie them to the West. The possibility that all of Germany would instead become linked to the Soviet Union historian Melvyn Leffler refers to as the "strategic nightmare" of George Marshall and U.S. policy makers.

*Kennan saw the Marshall Plan as an instrument of Communist containment. The success of containment depended on boosting confidence in the democratic leadership of Western Europe.*

A key concept behind the Marshall Plan was that money, not arms, must be the primary tool for promoting geopolitical stability. The USSR had the lead in ground forces: the huge Red Army. U.S. planners did not expect that Moscow, still suffering from the last war and lacking strong naval and air forces, would start a war. But in late 1947, CIA analysts determined that even if the Soviet Union did not opt for open military aggression, it would still attempt to "build up its war potential and…extend its influence and control by political, economic, and psychological methods." And on that playing field—political, economic, psychological—the ERP (European Recovery Program) could prudently compete, applying U.S. strength to the adversary's weakness in the most effective manner.


Now in addition to idealistic humanitarianism and realistic defense strategy, there's a third fiber in the cord which is the Marshall Plan. Recall the Potsdam Conference, held in July 1945, where the conferees created the Council of Foreign Ministers. This body was to negotiate peace treaties with former enemy nations. Meetings were held in London, Paris, and New York, producing treaties with Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, Italy, and Romania.

Then the crucial fourth set of meetings began on March 10, 1947, in Moscow. Now if you had been Secretary George C. Marshall in the Soviet capital back then, you would have been painfully

aware of the fact that this meeting was becoming increasingly hard to sit through, both physically and psychologically. Playing for time, seeking to allow conditions in Western Europe to deteriorate further, Stalin was hoping to see these countries bleed to the point of exhaustion from the wounds they'd suffered in wartime. At the Moscow Conference, we see the ending of World War II overlapping with the beginning of the Cold War.

Focused on the future of Germany, this conference covered not merely cash and coal and steel and heavy equipment. Values were also at the heart of the matter. The United States noted that the Allied Control Authority had been directed to prepare for the eventual reconstruction of German political life on a democratic basis.

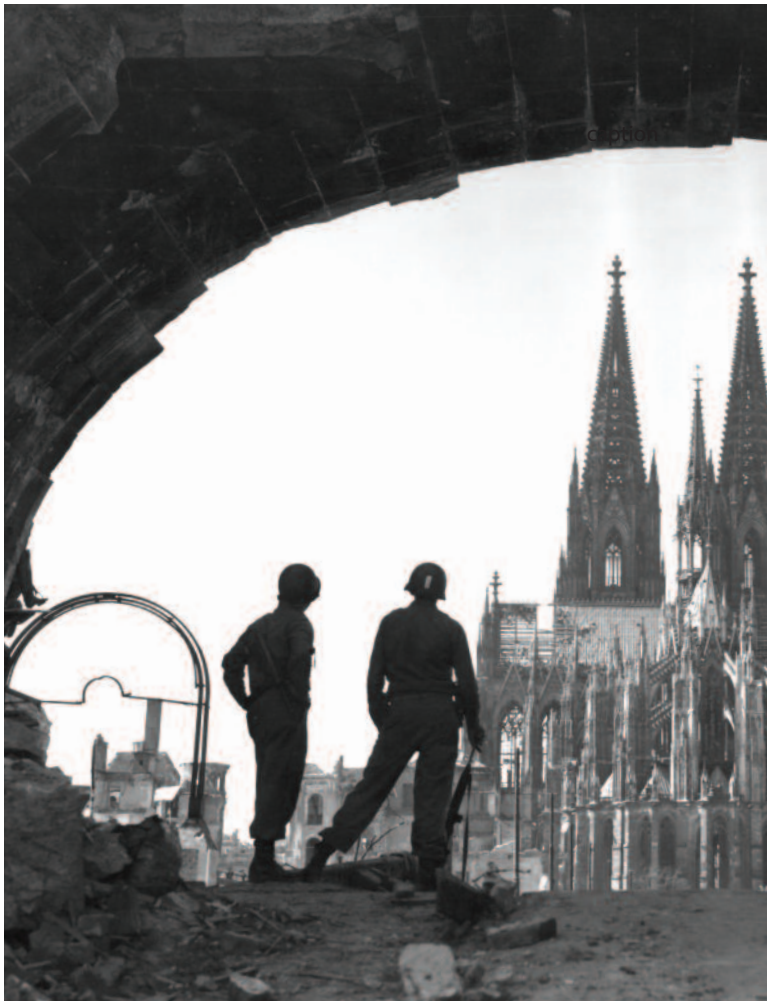


photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Soldiers standing in the rubble in Cologne

But what was democracy? General Marshall and his team worked to make that directive more precise: The secretary of state made clear to his fellow conferees that democracy means not just a way of voting and governing but also, more fundamentally, inalienable rights, which may not be taken away. These rights include "the right of every individual to develop his mind and his soul in ways of his own choice, free of fear or coercion—provided he does not interfere with the like right of others." And Marshall noted that "To us a society is not democratic if men…are not free to express their own beliefs and convictions without fear that they may be snatched away from their home and family."

Within the goals of the Marshall Plan, including humanitarian relief and international-security strategy, where does reestablishing Europeans' confidence in free governments fit in? Somewhere in between idealism and realism. And in between means and ends. Maintaining free, autonomous governments would reaffirm Western Europeans' bonds with the United States: their shared traditions and common values.

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Secretary of State Marshall

But freedom and democracy were also, from Marshall's point of view, desirable ends, good in and of themselves. Securing democracy would help to keep the peace. Keeping the peace would help democratic governments to grow. And boosting confidence both in the economy and in democracy would help to prevent a desperate lurching into the Communist brand of stability and social harmony. The Marshall Plan affirmed that free markets and basic human rights and food security were mutually reinforcing: good in and of themselves and contributory to a just and lasting peace.

The piece of this Marshall Plan puzzle that has perhaps been a trifle overlooked is this role of democracy. The reason may be that democracy's use at the time looks too much like a slogan in the propaganda war—democracy versus totalitarianism, freedom versus slavery—and therefore an obvious part of the sales pitch in this postwar period of bipolar competition. And perhaps democracy's role has been discounted too because proclaiming it looks disingenuous in an era in which the United States supported strong-man regimes if they were on the right side in the Cold War.

And yet there is no doubt that George C. Marshall was truly committed to the principles and practices of democracy, even when this open, participatory form of government caused him problems. On June 14, 1948, in a letter to a fellow alumnus of VMI, Marshall exclaimed: "God bless democracy! I approve of it highly but suffer from it extremely."


photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Senator Arthur Vandenberg and Secretary Marshall sold the plan to the American people.

Over the previous year, the secretary of state had immersed himself in American democracy: crossing the United States, explaining, arguing for, selling the European Recovery Program (ERP), and also playing a huge role in working with leading figures in Congress, such as Michigan's Republican Senator Arthur Vandenberg, to secure its passage. Marshall's speeches on the hustings when he was setting forth this plan's principles and objectives can be discounted as campaign rhetoric—to some extent. But his words carry the ring of truth.

In Boston, Massachusetts, on October 15, 1947, Marshall told the Congress of Industrial Organizations that "the basic issue … is simply whether or not men are to be left free to organize their social, political and economic existence in accordance with their desires; or whether they are to have their lives arranged and dictated to them by small groups of men who have arrogated to themselves this arbitrary power."

As we've seen, in Marshall's way of thinking, democracy did not mean simply a mode of selecting leaders, a political process. His concern was with preserving a form of government that ensured individuals' basic rights. In his speech to the CIO, he said that the political problem "in the world today… has assumed more menacing proportions than ever before. The great enemy of democracy has always been the concentration of arbitrary power in a few hands." This concentration, he believed, would lead to the devaluation of basic human rights. "The particular theory used as a justification for the suppression and eventual elimination of civil liberties varies with the times," he said. But "all such theories … contain within themselves the greatest of all human fallacies, that in human affairs the end justifies the means."

*"…The great enemy of democracy has always been the concentration of arbitrary power in a few hands."*

This phrase—"the end justifies the means"—is amply illustrated in Arthur Koestler's classic anti-Communist novel, *Darkness at Noon*: Life and death, truth and lies, the individual and the masses: all take on meaning and value only in relation to the center-of-value, the State, which

means the Party, which is ruled by No. 1, who is Stalin. And the Party justifies its lies, its killings, its ruthless and relentless denial of the first-person pronoun—"I"—all in the name of an ever-receding future, an end-state of perfect justice and harmony. This ideal future goal justifies all the present horrors.

*"Because the economic stability of Europe is essential to the political stability of Europe, it is of tremendous importance to us, to our peace and security, and it is equally important to the entire world."*

The threads composing the Marshall Plan's goals are indicated at the close of Marshall's speech: "Because the economic stability of Europe is essential to the political stability of Europe, it is of tremendous importance to us, to our peace and security, and it is equally important to the entire world." In other words, economic revitalization will foster confidence in democratic institutions in a free society. And this commitment will align with the geopolitical strategic interests of the United States, contributing "to our peace and security." But then he immediately goes on—beyond economic and security interests: "We are faced with the danger of the actual disappearance of the characteristics of western civilization on which our government and our manner of living are based."

What Marshall meant by democracy in Europe was, as he put it in a speech in Chicago on November 18, "a position of stability so it [Europe] could work out its own problem," rather than a situation in which it would "be kept in a state of permanent dependency and eventual absorption into a system alien to its traditions and civilization." And he made clear an essential element of the Marshall Plan. Central to European traditions is "the rule of impartial law as against the exercise of arbitrary power." He pointed to a postwar "political and economic vacuum" in Europe, in which these time-honored institutions were threatened.


Marshall Plan parade in the Netherlands

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Marshall takes questions

On January 8, 1948, before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Marshall warned that support of the ERP should not be given "for light or sentimental reasons." Support should be based instead on "the highest considerations of national interest." And there are no higher national interests than these two: "the establishment of enduring peace" and "the maintenance of true freedom for the individual." He asked that in the coming weeks the ERP "be judged in these terms and on this basis."

Now the fact that *ideals*, not just material products, count for something becomes important in the historical analysis of the Marshall Plan's actual—not just mythical—impact on the strength of Communist parties in western Europe in the late forties. The historian Barry Machado makes a strong case for the position that "belly Communism"—poverty, unemployment, and misery as incubators of Communism—has been overemphasized and that Communism retained much of its appeal in France and Italy.

*…there are no higher national interests than these two: "the establishment of enduring peace" and "the maintenance of true freedom for the individual."*

The Marshall Plan curbed the growth of Communism, he points out, but defections by the hard core were minimal. Idealistic, utopian, cultural, historical, and other reasons also had important roles in Europeans' continuing Communist Party commitments. Machado notes that many French citizens patriotically admired Communists in World War II, for Party members often made courageous Resistance fighters. But for other citizens, General Marshall's and western democracies' credible commitment to human rights undoubtedly found considerable traction.


photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Flour sack from a miller in Independence, MO

Marshall was for a system in which persons are viewed as ends and not as means. In which human beings' basic liberties are preserved. In which citizens have the freedom and security that make striving and generosity, duty and sacrifice, both possible and meaningful.

Without referring to the European Recovery Program at all, in a recent essay the English philosopher Roger Scruton throws considerable light on our main themes ("The Case for Nations," *Wall Street Journal*, June 3, 2017). Democracy, he says, requires a demos, a people, united by "a prepolitical loyalty," rooted in a common territory, history, and culture. The rule of law depends upon "a legacy of social trust," such as the Americans and the British have enjoyed for centuries. A nation's stability may be bolstered by economic growth, but essential to "enduring peace" are mutual trust and shared resolution, expressed through "institutions that foster collective decisions in response to the problems of the day."

When, in Marshall's words, "chaos" and "desperation" gain the upper hand, social cohesion may break down, and with it, the shared commitment, the national loyalty, that makes democracy and the rule of law work. Economic security can provide a boost in national confidence, Scruton observes, but with it must also come a renewed focus on citizens' common history and culture, their loyalty to shared principles and values transcending the boundaries—and barriers—of class, of family, of religion. Historically, that's exactly what ERP funds helped the citizens within the various nations of Western Europe to accomplish, as workers, consumers, and owners sought the common good rather than accepting ongoing strife and societal breakdown.


photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Marshall Plan aid restored hope.

This history is what people at the time and historians later pointed to when they spoke of the renewal of confidence, the restoration of hope, the fortified commitment to democracy which came with the Marshall Plan. After World War II, the United States did not abandon the nations of Western Europe. The Marshall Plan respected these nations' institutions and leaders, their individual goals and policies. And the ERP reflected our shared commitment to democratic values, expressed in forms distinctive to the traditions and cultures of the European nations.

Secretary Marshall was confident that beneath the rubble of war-torn cities lay a strong foundation on which to build our mutual security commitments. But this foundation would never be solid bedrock, a gray monolith that citizens could take for granted. Rather, this foundation was a variegated mixture, whose strength derived from both unique national sources of identity and core principles of law and democracy, of individual freedom and minority rights, that bound these nations together in common purpose and shared endeavor.

David Hein, Ph.D., is a senior fellow at the George C. Marshall Foundation and an affiliated scholar of the John Jay Institute. Related articles by this author include "In War for Peace: General George C. Marshall's Core Convictions and Ethical Leadership," *Touchstone* (2013); "Ronald Reagan and George C. Marshall: A Cold War Affinity," St. Croix Review (2016); "General George C. Marshall: Why He Still Matters," *Marshall: The Magazine of the George C. Marshall Foundation* (2016); "The Marshall Plan: Conservative Reform as a Weapon of War," Modern Age (2017); "Niebuhr's *Irony of American History*: Still Vital at 65," *The Imaginative Conservative* (2017); and "George Washington and George C. Marshall: The Persistence of Duty," *Modern Age* (2018).

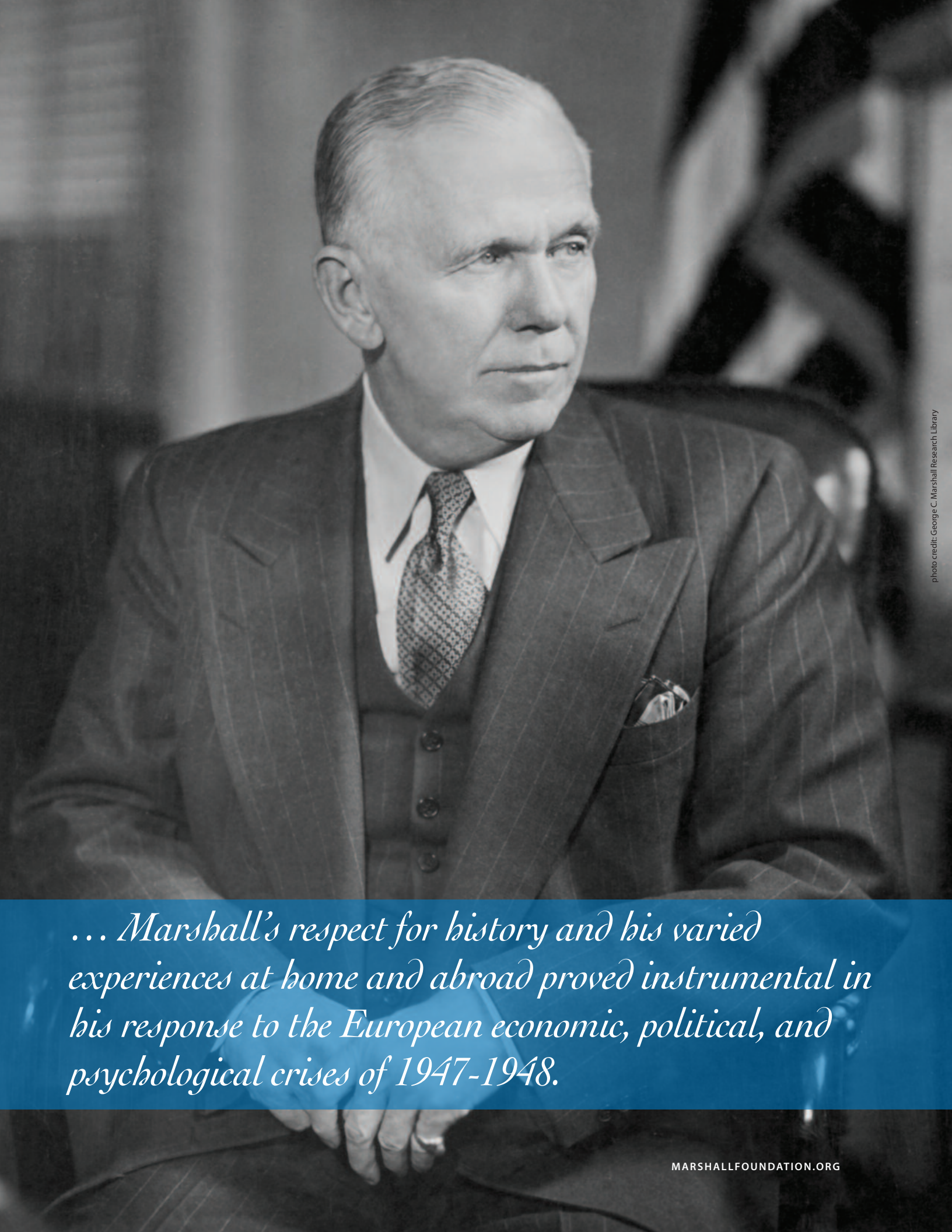


photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

*. . . Marshall's respect for history and his varied experiences at home and abroad proved instrumental in his response to the European economic, political, and psychological crises of 1947-1948.*

# New Light on the Origins of the Marshall Plan

BY BARRY MACHADO, PH.D.

George C. Marshall, the brilliant organizer of his country's victory on World War Two's battlefields, was with equal brilliance the architect of a revolution in America's foreign policy in the late 1940s. Archival digging with a different objective has uncovered key facets of the historical Marshall either missing or indistinct in earlier accounts of his statesmanship.

A fresh understanding of the statesman Marshall—what made him tick from 1947 until 1949—is that the postwar re-ordering of the Atlantic world, of which the European Recovery Program (ERP) constituted a vital part, rested much more than previously appreciated on four personal traits that Marshall possessed as Secretary of State: realism, a historical sensibility, a tolerance of diversity, and empathy.

painting by Joseph Duplessis

Benjamin Franklin

Marshall's realism, which prized reconciling means and ends, comprehending limits in national power, and exercising an informed world responsibility, derived from two main sources. One was instructive writings by and about Benjamin Franklin. When it came to America's patriarchs, Marshall preferred Franklin above all others. In fact, along with Robert E. Lee, Franklin served as his historical role model.

That other indispensable wellspring was his Christian beliefs, in particular a lifetime adherence to the teachings of his Low Church Episcopalianism. His realism, in other words, was a hybrid: Franklinesque and Christian. Hence, Marshall's advocacy of the European Recovery Program sprang as much from his conscience as from his own imposing intellect.

*Marshall's advocacy of the European Recovery Program sprang as much from his conscience as from his own imposing intellect*

Let's examine Franklin's impact first. Marshall's biographers have offered virtually no help on this matter, yet Benjamin Franklin was a constant presence, an inspirational teacher, throughout Marshall's life. Not a trace of Franklin's imagery adorns the stately Leesburg residence that the Marshalls called home after World War II. Nonetheless, Marshall's oft-repeated admiration for a fellow Pennsylvanian inclined him towards a Marshall Plan notably free of ideological rigidity as well as full of common sense and enlightened self-interest.

This article is a summary of the author's Marshall Legacy Series talk for the *Europe's Unlikely Recovery* sequence delivered in February 2018. It is based on his forthcoming book about Marshall, *The Education of an American Statesman*. You can watch Dr. Machado's lecture on our YouTube channel. YouTube

From cradle to grave, Christian teachings molded Marshall's conscience. His conviction that original sin limited human wisdom and virtue anchored itself securely in *The Book of Common Prayer*. As a regular communicant, he affirmed this central article of faith every Sunday morning upon reciting the "General Confession."

*Faith-based as well as philosophically rooted, Marshall's realism accounted for his tactical dexterity on ERP's behalf…*

Faith-based as well as philosophically rooted, Marshall's realism accounted for his tactical dexterity on ERP's behalf: a readiness to compromise in order to obtain public and congressional support for passage of enabling legislation. Such flexibility also facilitated his adoption of priorities and distinctions among his larger foreign policy goals. Arguably, without his realism Western Europe might have waited longer to be rebuilt.

The tacit bargain Marshall struck with Senator Arthur Vandenberg, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, about how to sell the Marshall Plan rates as probably the most compelling example of his pragmatism. Their two-headed campaign, with Secretary Marshall's resorting to rational persuasion and high-mindedness in a basically educational offensive and the Michigan Republican's resorting to a shriller, more emotional anti-communism that enlarged the Soviet menace, overwhelmed the opposition.

The specter always hovering over Marshall's revolution in Euro-American relations was China. With that country's civil war threatening the Marshall Plan's viability, the Secretary of State clung to reason and religion. Going with a strong, favorable historical current in Western Europe made vastly more sense to him than testing a dangerous whirlpool in China.

His reasoning amounted to a real-life expression of Reinhold Niebuhr's "Serenity Prayer": a willingness to "accept the things" he could not change in China, to muster the courage to "change the things" he could in Europe, and to seek the "wisdom to know the difference." Finding a better description of Christian realism in practice taxes the imagination. Senator Joseph McCarthy and his followers never embraced its wisdom, however.

George and Katherine Marshall

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Throughout his life Marshall cultivated his historical sensibility. Beginning in adolescence, he became a great lover of history, far more ardent than previously realized. An incessant reader, he tutored himself about the past and its lessons. His second wife, Katherine, was absolutely correct about his reading habits: "he went through a pile of books with the avidity of a swarm of locusts devouring a green field." What he "devoured" mostly were histories and biographies, not the pulp fiction for which he has received a bad rap.

And yet in the fourth and final volume of Forrest Pogue's excellent biography—which covers the secretary of state years—no indication whatsoever exists that his subject ever read a serious book, let alone one that directly influenced his transformative decision-making while running his country's foreign affairs out of an office in Foggy Bottom.

As he aged, Marshall compiled an ever-growing library of history books that went either unnoticed or else uncommented upon until he occupied Quarters No. 1 at Fort Myer. They made up the syllabus for what he referred to as his "night reading course." His self-schooling in the evening has never received the prominence accorded even his horseback riding in the morning.

But Marshall also had a well-stocked "plane library." For the Army's Chief of Staff, flying and reading history had gone hand-in-hand during World War II, when he spent at least 51 days in the air from Pearl Harbor to V-J Day. Marathon flights abroad, usually on a C-54, gave him plenty of time for airborne historical research.

Marshall, it turns out, proselytized on history's behalf. Starting with a remarkable speech to the American Historical Association in December 1939, for the next fourteen years he promoted something akin to universal historical literacy for his fellow Americans. That crusade has been a heretofore unappreciated companion to his better known and equally unsuccessful campaign for Universal Military Training. He meant both to complement the ERP and NATO, intending each as a component of a coherent foreign policy in a democracy.

Envisioning a republic brimming with amateur historians, just like himself, instead of historical illiterates, like most Americans then and now, Marshall regularly and boldly rebuked professional historians for the off-putting way they wrote and taught history. He demanded a relevant, usable past right up until his final pitch during his Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech in Oslo in 1953.

Consequently, by the time Marshall took charge of the State Department, he possessed an acute historical sensibility and a high regard for history's lessons, along with the dependable guidance they provided for sound public policies. Especially was he open to further historical instruction upon taking his oath of office, and there are telling examples of how his historical knowledge shaped his decision-making while secretary of state.

Two of those fresh perspectives on how Marshall's aptitude for thinking historically contributed to the creation of the Marshall Plan must suffice. Both constitute previously missing pieces in that intricate puzzle of why the unprecedented foreign aid program came into being. Both involved that critical foresight which a firm grasp of history bestowed on the man who reordered the Atlantic world.

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

At the Moscow Conference (*from left to right*) Winston Churchill, Averell Harriman, Josef Stalin, and Vyacheslav Molotov

During the pivotal and maddening Moscow Foreign Ministers Conference in the spring of 1947, Marshall—as much student/teacher as servant/leader—read avidly the British diplomat and historian Harold Nicolson's recently published *The Congress of Vienna*. This book was a gift of British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin. Its author focused on an early 19th century success in peacemaking. Nicolson's analysis functioned as either catalyst or rationale for Marshall's subsequently ending that dangerous drift in Western diplomacy that had served Josef Stalin's purposes.

In important respects, the book doubled as a manual for securing a modern-day peace by creating an Atlantic partnership, forgiving losers, and checking the ambitions of another Romanov

in Moscow. Its message was implicit: instead of post-Napoleonic France, post-Hitlerian Germany and its economy should be integrated into a new regional system that blocked Russian expansion westward.

What Marshall read about the botched peacemaking that followed America's Civil War—the so-called "Era of Reconstruction"—convinced him as well that he couldn't leave Western Europeans to "their own devices and resources," as Congressional Republicans did to defeated Southerners in the late 1860s. Based largely on American historian and diplomat Claude Bowers's *The Tragic Era*, a mainstream history in its day, Marshall regarded Reconstruction as flawed for two principal reasons: the "absence of any constructive economic support" for the vanquished and a "spirit of vengeance" on the part of the victor.

Not only did Secretary Marshall not wish to repeat America's irresponsibility after the Great War—for him, living history—but he believed that two additional lessons of history reinforced that attitude. His knowledge of peacemaking after the Napoleonic Wars and American Civil War provided signposts for doing it right the next time, warnings about the perils of ignoring past mistakes.

As Secretary of State, Marshall tolerated diversity on a grand scale, tolerance which he programmed into the Marshall Plan. Marshall Planners partnered with governments of the Right, Center and Left, along with royalists, socialists, labourites, Keynesians, supply-siders, Christian Democrats, and secular Muslims. And they managed sixteen counterpart funds by virtually sixteen different criteria.

The earliest stirrings of this trait can be traced to an extended family fractured by the Civil War as well as to his four years at the Virginia Military Institute, where he graduated as the lone Northerner in his class at a self-consciously Southern school with blood ties to the Confederacy. Physically, his parents had lived in the borderlands. Psychologically, he always straddled regional cultures. The axis of Augusta, Kentucky; Uniontown, Pennsylvania; and Lexington, Virginia foretold his future.

From his Kentucky-born parents Marshall acquired a feeling of cultural in-betweenness. This self-image solidified during his undergraduate years at VMI. There, an uprooted, transplanted Yankee with an unwelcomed accent experienced non-stop hazing in service to a very different point of view. The experience freed him from those biases that came with his accident of birth north of the Mason-Dixon Line.

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

George Kennan

His choice of historical role models, that odd couple of Benjamin Franklin and Robert E. Lee, perhaps best captured the divided, but balanced, nature that resulted. Though both were prominent rebels, Franklin and Lee personified two competing cultural and sectional traditions that achieved peaceful co-existence in Marshall.

Marshall's signature respect for differences also manifested itself in his selection of real-life mentors in the U. S. Army: John J. Pershing, John MacAuley Palmer, and Fox Conner. That personal quality further exhibited itself in the selection of his two top departmental advisers, George Kennan and Robert Lovett. They qualified as another truly odd couple.

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

President Truman, Secretary Marshall and Undersecretary Robert Lovett.

Marshall's tolerance of diversity proved absolutely essential for ERP's ultimate success. Diplomat, grand strategist, and introvert, Kennan delivered invaluable analysis and intellectual stimulation. Personable Wall Street banker and to the manor born, Lovett had the interpersonal skills Kennan sorely lacked. Except for his grand ideas, the Doer had little use for the Thinker. However, their boss had a different role on his team for men so strikingly different.

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Senator Arthur Vandenberg

As he did for Senator Vandenberg, his most valuable congressional ally in the difficult fight for ERP's passage. Vandenberg was Marshall's antithesis. *New York Times* columnist James Reston once described him as a "pompous windbag," a vain, "self-important man who could strut sitting down."

For the fate of ERP, he was, indispensable on Capitol Hill. However improbable their association, Marshall, Kennan, Lovett, and Vandenberg played team ball at its finest, principally because the "Old Man" understood how to balance diversity and community. This unusual talent he demonstrated again in establishing guidelines for implementing the plan that bears his name and confers on him immortality.

Little understood in previously published accounts, Marshall's extensive travels, at home and abroad, deepened and broadened an empathy that assimilation at VMI and thinking historically instilled independently. In combination, voracious reading and decades of wandering served a perpetual student as outstanding tutors.

*During his long military career Marshall came to know, first hand, nearly every region of his own country and a good deal of the rest of the world.*

During his long military career Marshall came to know, first hand, nearly every region of his own country and a good deal of the rest of the world. In fact, from 1901 until 1947, he spent fully one-fifth of his adult life overseas. In particular, two years living in France during World War I, three-and-a-half years in China, and, most unexpectedly, three years in Chicago in the mid-1930s imparted intimate knowledge that book learning could not. Indeed, Marshall's life reminds us of the limits of book learning.

Marshall's social interactions in France from 1917 until 1919 conveyed emotional dividends. China supplied intellectual dividends. And Chicago provided political dividends. All functioned as outsized classrooms, where insights of future benefit in how best to promote ERP's passage accumulated. Each lengthy posting also made its valuable contribution to the specific shape the landmark aid program ultimately assumed.

photo credit:George C. Marshall Research Library

Marshall (*standing, left*) and Madame Jouatte (*seated, left*) and others who shared her house in 1917

In France, the Army billeted Marshall in farmhouses in the countryside where he came to know intimately French artisans, farmers, workers, and peasants—and to comprehend their wartime suffering. He also developed a lasting bond with his landlady. Their friendship endured until her death in the early 1950s. When fully reconstructed, it is a moving testament to Marshall's compassion and humanity.

The same magnanimity of spirit which characterized his personal relationship with Madame Veuve Jouatte, who extended him numerous kindnesses during his six months under her roof, Marshall transferred, in effect, to her countrymen after World War II. She and her neighbors gave France a human face, imparting life to a mass of bloodless economic statistics a generation later.

Marshall's social interactions with the French people during the First World War humanized the plight of all Western Europeans after the Second World War. They allowed him, thirty years later, to perceive continental distress through a familiar Gallic lens. They assured that his heart, as well as his head, was always in the Marshall Plan's mission.

*… he structured the essence of the Marshall Plan… "Only Europeans themselves can solve their problem."*

Marshall's experiences in China from 1924 until 1927 and later during the entirety of 1946 operated as a constant reference point in his formulation of America's postwar foreign policy, lending themselves profoundly as reinforcement for his realism and humility. The sum of insights obtained from living in China provided crucial tutelage for constructing foundations on which Marshall built the ERP. China in upheaval was a primer for Realism 101.

Marshall's most important takeaways amounted to a brace of unshakeable convictions. The first dealt with limits on American power, specifically about Washington's inability to control the Chinese political situation, which rendered economic assistance futile and any Nationalist military successes against the Communists on the battlefield illusory. The second pertained to the Chinese government and people as the only ones capable of solving their country's fundamental problems.

Marshall's latter conviction morphed into a "First Precept of Statesmanship." Around this foundational precept he structured the essence of the Marshall Plan. It should be familiar to all its students: "Only Europeans themselves can solve their problem."

Never getting as much media play as America's open-ended commitment in the Truman Doctrine, Marshall's dictum made clear that the United States was no redeemer nation. It could

save neither China nor Europe from itself. An insight once gained in China he transferred to Western Europe. Years in the Middle Kingdom left him, in other words, clear eyed about preconditions for a workable Atlantic partnership. He concluded that a synergy between American aid and Western European self-reliance promised a success that trying to right the wrongs in China could not.

Finally, that little-known, much undervalued time he spent in the Windy City from 1933 to 1936 also merits attention. Purely by happenstance, Marshall came to know well both Charles Dawes and Robert McCormick during his three-year residence there. Had he not accepted an unwanted reassignment as senior instructor to the Illinois National Guard, headquartered in the Loop, the Marshall Plan might never have come to pass in the manner it did.

A private American financier and Calvin Coolidge's vice president, Dawes had organized in 1924 the Dawes Plan which sought to solve Germany's reparations problem. In some ways it stands as a forerunner of the Marshall Plan. Editor and publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*, McCormick became a future vociferous adversary of Marshall's. After the Second World War, the two were fated to be symbols of foreign policies in opposition. The Colonel led the resistance to the ERP throughout Middle America, also known as Tribune-land. He pitted his isolationist creed and conspiratorial ideas against Marshall's support for unprecedented involvement in European affairs.

Fortunately, Marshall's encounter with Chicago acquainted him with the businessman whose private plan for reconstructing a ravaged Europe after the last war had failed, as well as with his staunchest opponent in trying to win over public opinion to the necessity of a colossal government aid program after the next war. A fan of Sun Tzu, Marshall knew his principal domestic enemy before entering into a battle with Atlantic solidarity at stake. Foreknowledge had left him forearmed.

Living in Lexington, France, China and Chicago yielded invaluable tutelage for a future statesman. Like his love affair with history, each place stretched his mind, enhancing his understanding of other people's very different points of view. Besides fostering internal and external perspectives on America itself, each diminished narrow-mindedness in ways that had direct applications to how he conceptualized a workable European Recovery Program.

In combination, George Marshall's respect for history and his varied experiences at home and abroad proved instrumental in his response to the European economic, political, and psychological crises of 1947-1948. They meant that in calculations of national interest an American statesman brought heart, conscience, and intellect to bear. In concert, they all left him ready when, attired in a three-piece suit rather than a uniform, history's bell again tolled.

Barry Machado taught courses in U.S. military, political, diplomatic and business history at Washington and Lee University for 34 years until his retirement in 2005. A graduate of Dartmouth College and Northwestern University, he is author of several books about post-World War II, including *In Search of a Usable Past: The Marshall Plan and Postwar Reconstruction Today*, and a contributor to several books about the Marshall Plan and the Cold War. His new book, *The Education of an American Statesman*, is in the process of being published.

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

# Exhibition Features Marshall Plan Posters


Original lithographs hang in the lower gallery exhibition, "Hope for Those Who Need It."

Beginning in the fall of 1950 artists from the European nations participating in the Marshall Plan submitted more than 10,000 entries for a poster contest embracing the theme "Intra-European Cooperation for a Better Standard of Living."

Following run-off competitions locally, a selection of the best posters from each country was submitted to Paris to be judged by a distinguished intra-European jury composed of representatives of the graphics and fine arts fields, museum directors and curators, educators and information specialists from twelve of the thirteen participating countries.

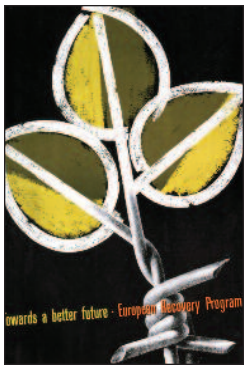
What is interesting to note about these posters is the year in which they were commissioned—1950—three years after George C. Marshall gave his speech at Harvard University and two years after the European Recovery Program had become operational. ERP aid had been supplied to all the countries of western Europe. So why a poster contest now?

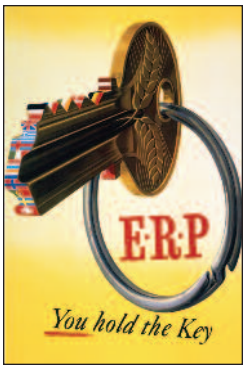
These posters were intended to promote the idea of Western Europe cohesion and an integration of all the countries with the removal of trade barriers and inter-governmental institutions to aid in trade. Many of designs use multiple country flags to depict this new union. It is not surprising then that the winning design depicts a one-Europe ship with sails made from flags from each country. Twenty-five winning posters were selected, and a first prize of $1,500 was awarded to Dutch artist, Reyn Dirksen, for his poster titled, "All Our Colours to the Mast," which





Some of the top 25 finalist posters (*left*). The entrance to the Marshall Plan exhibition (*below*)




has been used for the front cover of this issue of the magazine. All 25 original posters are on display in the Museum through June.

This year marks the 70th anniversary of the signing of the Marshall Plan into law. The Marshall Foundation has invited teachers and their students to participate in a 2018 Marshall Plan Poster contest inspired by the original contest held in Europe. Students have been encouraged to draw inspiration from the 1950 poster competition and submit their entries before May 31. A winner or winners are expected to be announced the following week.

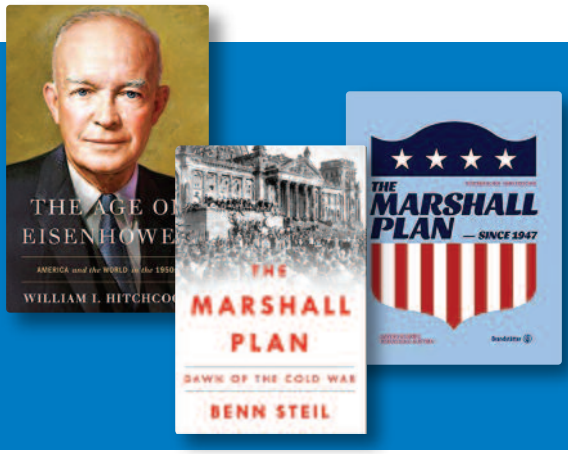

## Legacy Series SCHEDULE

**Europe's Unlikely Recovery**
***Jan—June 2018***

May 10
Dr. Regina Longo discusses Marshall Plan Films and Italian Cinema.

June 5
Marshall Plan Day at the Museum and Library

To see the lineup for the rest of the Marshall Legacy Series, go to our website.




## NEW BOOKS ABOUT OR INCLUDING MARSHALL

*The Marshall Plan: Dawn of the Cold War* (2018) by **Benn Steil**

*The Age of Eisenhower, America and the World in the 1950s* (2018) by **William Hitchcock**

*The Marshall Plan: Saving Europe, Rebuilding Austria* (2017) by **Günter Bischof** and **Hans Petschar**

# the last word

photo credit: George C. Marshall Research Library

Secretary Marshall and Undersecretary of State Robert A. Lovett appear before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in November 1947 to address the need for economic aid to Europe. With arms crossed, Charles "Chip" Bohlen is seated in the row behind them along with other State Department staff members.

*"Marshall had a power of command that I have never seen equaled. He would listen carefully to all sides of a question and then make up his mind. Once the decision was made, there was no turning back, a characteristic that apparently was developed during his military training. His personality infected the entire State Department. It gave it a sense of direction and purpose. He was not a gregarious man—he did not know many people at State—but it did not take long after his acceptance of the post of Secretary for his character to permeate the department. We realized we were working for a great man."*

— Charles "Chip" Bohlen
in *Witness to History, 1929-1969*

Bohlen drafted the remarks (the Marshall Plan speech) that Secretary Marshall delivered at Harvard University on June 5, 1947. Later he would succeed George F. Kennan as U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union.

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

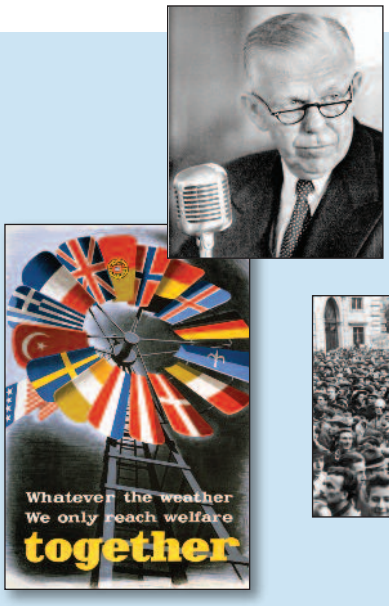
| Benefits of Membership | Levels of Membership | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Friend | Associate | Colleague | Supporter | Partner | Leader | Visionary | Strategist |
| *An annual contribution of at least:* | $75 individual | $150 dual | $250 | $500 | $1,000 | $2,500 | $5,000 | $10,000 |
| Unlimited free Museum admission during the membership year | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ |
| New members receive a Five-Star lapel pin | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ |
| Receive the newsletter, *The Strategist* | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ |
| Receive two issues of our magazine, *MARSHALL* | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ |
| Free admission to most Legacy Series events | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ |
| Receive 10% discount in the Museum Shop | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ |
| Reciprocal admission to 950 NARM-member museums | | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ |
| New members receive *The Words of George C. Marshall* | | | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ | ★ |
| 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 THE GEORGE C. MARSHALL FOUNDATION

P.O. Box 1600, Lexington, VA 24450







## 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.