

A P P E N D I X

TRUMAN, SENATOR AND PRESIDENT: WAS HE ANOTHER LINCOLN?

Many of the following notes are taken from the Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri. We would like to express appreciation for the help received there. TL in the margin denotes the Library source.

Senator Truman was tackling the toughest campaign of his career for his second term as Senator, when President Roosevelt asked him to read his message at the launching of Moral Re-Armament in Washington, June 4, 1939.

The President had known of Buchman's work for some years. He remembered his visit in 1929 when Roosevelt was Governor of New York. Roosevelt's first remark then was, "Hello Buchman - what's happening at Briarcliff?" It was a centre of Buchman's activities at that time.

The President probably did not know that Buchman knew Truman since their meeting in Kansas City in 1933 when Truman was a very successful judge. But in May 1939 his friend Tom Pendergast had been indicted for evasion of taxes. One week before the meeting at the Constitution Hall, Washington, on June 4, Tom Pendergast was sent to prison to serve a three-year sentence. Truman felt it like a lead weight, although there was never a shred of evidence that he was mixed up in it.

Before accepting to read the President's message, Truman said to Buchman, "If you think I am worthy to represent such a fine initiative for the nation I would be only too happy to participate and to accept." (p. 4)

On June 5, 1939, the Washington Post, with its story on the launching of MRA, carried a photograph of a crowded Constitution Hall. In a smaller photograph (p. 5) Dr. Buchman stood between Senator Truman and General Peter Winsler, an international judge of horses.

On June 8 Truman read the President's message and the news of the occasion into the Congressional Record (p. 7). This issue of the Record Truman would send to those who enquired about Moral Re-Armament. One copy was sent by his Secretary V.R. Messall on October 30, 1940 to Homer Chaillauz, Director of Americanism Commission, American Legion Headquarters, Indianapolis, Indiana. Messall wrote:

TL

"Senator Truman has been campaigning in Missouri in the general election for the past month and is not expected to return to Washington until about the middle of November, but he has asked me to forward to you the enclosed copy of the Congressional Record concerning the Moral Re-Armament movement.

"This group has been very active for the past year and a half, and has sponsored and held some very wonderful meetings throughout the United States. Senator Truman is very much impressed with the work they are doing and heartily approves of this movement. Mr. John McCook Roots has been very active in it."

Truman had experienced one of these meetings, at a luncheon in Seattle in November 1939: He sat at the top table with the father of John Roots, Bishop Logan Roots of Hankow (p.29).

One month earlier the Senator had spoken in a world broadcast from WRUL Boston, initiated by Dr. Buchman, with others. Rear-Admiral Richard E. Byrd and H. H. Elvin, Chairman of the British Trade Union Congress in 1938, were among them. Truman read once more the President's message, as well as one from General John J. Pershing, Commander-in-Chief of the Armies in World War I (also in the Congressional Record). He also told of the Hollywood Bowl meeting in the previous July (pp.16-19). He said:

"During the last four months we have seen our people from the farms, in the cities, from the workshop and in the homes answering this call for Moral Re-Armament. The hope of a new world, - united, strong and free as never before - has come to the hearts of Americans from coast to coast as they have watched this new spirit unite husband and wife, parents and children, employer and employee, statesman and citizen. The battle is for a new world - a world of peace and love. We have been gratified to see this nationwide response in America to the challenge of Moral Re-Armament.

"In every walk of life our citizens are awakening to those Christian virtues of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love, which form the bedrock of national character, and which enlist the citizens of a democracy in constructive national service."

He ended his broadcast:

"It is rare in these days to find something which will unite men and nations on a plane above conflict of party, class or political philosophy. I am sure that I voice the sentiment of all those who are listening when I express gratification at a response so remarkable to a need so urgent, and I am confident that America will play her full part in this great cause. I believe that the future of civilization must largely depend upon the success of Moral Re-Armament." (Shortwave world broadcast, WRUL Boston, 5-6 pm, Oct. 29, 1939.)

September 3, 1939 Britain declared war on Germany, following its invasion of Czechoslovakia and Poland (p.26).

August 24, 1940 Ray Foote Purdy, a life-long colleague of Buchman, was with some one hundred others in the mountain country beside Lake Tahoe, California. They were creating a Revue, to be called "You Can Defend America", and a hand-book of the same name to go with it (pp.34-43).

While at Lake Tahoe Purdy received a letter from Truman written from the United States Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, Washington D.C., which said:

"I am pleased to hear from you and to receive the program for the Moral Re-Armament week in San Francisco (pp.32-33). I am most happy to have it.

"You have hit the nail on the head when you say that it is going to be necessary to make tremendous sacrifices for the defense of democracy. I sometimes wonder if we are not going through a cycle of events similar to those which preceded the American and French Revolutions...

"It will require a complete moral reawakening to stem that tide. I always talk to the taxi drivers when I ride with them, and I find a large number of them, and a large number of other people I talk with, are favorable to a dictatorship. That's not Americanism, but the result, I think, of Fifth Column activities, and I am not an alarmist in that regard.

"I hope you can put on a program that will offset and overcome this tendency. It must be done." (p. 41)

November 1940: Truman cabled the British Foreign Office for continuing the assistance of "William Jaeger and his companions in our defense program." (p.55)

TL November 18, 1940: Buchman to Truman, from Ambassador Hotel, Atlantic City:

"Your telegram to London was an instant hit.(p.54) There was affirmative reply within 48 hours. My! What a relief it is that Jaeger is staying. Some of these British have a knack with our American labor that I covet for many an American, and they are such splendid samples. You have been the spearhead literally for millions in giving them a whole new grasp of where America's true defense lies. We are your grateful debtors...

"I wish Mrs. Truman, your daughter and you could come as my guests to the Ambassador Hotel, Atlantic City, and enjoy Thanksgiving days here. All your friends would love to have you. You will find the Purdys, the Twitchells, Roots and others. I can promise you quiet, refreshing, relaxing days. Atlantic City at its best..."

TL November 18, 1940: Roots to Truman, from the Ambassador, Atlantic City:

"...Thanks for your help with...William Jaeger. Senator Capper also cabled, along with the Governors of California and Washington, and a number of labor and business leaders throughout the country...

"Some of us are here informally...at the CIO Convention (ph.51).. With best wishes to Mr. Messall and to the others in the office."

TL November 20, 1940: Truman to Buchman, from Washington:

"Appreciate most highly your letter of the eighteenth, and I am happy that the telegram to London had the desired effect.

"I would like very much to come to Atlantic City, but it is necessary that I leave for home today or tomorrow. My mother had an accident which caused her to break her hip and since she is eighty years old I must be as close to her as possible.

"I wish you every success in your undertakings."

Truman did not mention what he expressed to a friend, "I don't think my mother would have fallen in the old place." "The old place" was the family farm which his mother was forced to leave through the foreclosure of the mortgage by the Republican head of the county court. During Truman's gruelling campaign for his second term in the Senate he was so short of funds that he only had enough money for a fifteen minute radio talk on a local station. One night the Senator slept in his car, not having the price for a hotel bed. Some relaxing days at Atlantic City as Buchman's guest would certainly have been welcome.

TL December 11, 1940: William Jaeger to Truman, from Los Angeles:

"I want to tell you how grateful I am for your cabling London (p.54) on my behalf. My passport has been renewed by the British Government for five years.

"I have just come from attending the AFL National Convention (ph.p.51). I enclose a copy of a message cabled to Mr. Green and the Executive Council of the AFL by twenty-six leaders of British Labor, expressing their wholehearted support of the work of Moral Re-Armament in the defense of the nation.

"...Both AFL and CIO leaders are constantly asking us to help them in their work. This morning we are going to meet with sixteen AFL leaders of the Waterfront Unions in Long Beach.

"With deep appreciation for the lead you are taking in giving the world the philosophy it so badly needs at this critical time."

TL July 25, 1941: Buchman to Truman on "You Can Defend America" notepaper, from Camp Tallwood, Winthrop, Maine:

"It is always a pleasure to hear your voice. It carried all the way to Maine yesterday, where we are starting a school for Home Defense. We are planning to reach every American through 'the Maine door' (pp.58-63).

"I find a great many people talking about morale and home defense have not yet the foggiest idea of what it is all about.

"You seem never to forget and I am mindful of your thoughtfulness in remembering my birthday."

TL July 30, 1941: Truman to Buchman, from Washington:

"Appreciate most highly your note of the twentyfifth, and I am glad you liked my address.

"It takes everything to make a team pull together, and I think you yourself are doing yeoman service in that direction.

"Best wishes and the best of luck, and I hope you have a lot more birthdays."

December 7, 1941: Pearl Harbor. America entered the war actively.

TL December 31, 1941: Buchman to Truman, from 112 High Street, Brookline, Mass.:

"A happy New Year!

"You have truly been a miracle-man this year in the way you have worked wonders with your Committee. Your significant service there has clearly shown that America needs your type of leadership to restore the nation to moral and spiritual backbone.

"You are also a pioneer seer in Moral Re-Armament, and I want this New Year to send you my warmest thanks for the very large part you have already played in making the spirit of Moral Re-Armament a reality in the life of this great and needy nation.

"I am also enclosing an early copy of 'Fighters Ever', received from Britain, where it has sold a quarter of a million copies in four weeks. It shows the full intention on the part of negative forces to vitiate a constructive force and the answer on the part of Lord Salisbury, Lord Elton speaking for Labor, the Duke of Montrose - men like yourself - the most respected leaders of the nation. The book is well worth a careful study as the same forces of confusion may well try similar tactics in this country, and forewarned will be forearmed.

"We have received very heartening cables from London this week, where Members of Parliament and leading industrialists have raised a strong, responsible voice in answer to your statesmanlike lead in the Senate. It will be of great satisfaction to you, I am sure, to have this confirming word which represents the same judgement of the average Briton and sound British leadership.

"Believe me, with real gratitude, Yours sincerely." And after the signature:

"The enclosed clipping is a well-deserved tribute from the pen of one of the younger men associated with me, whose column reaches more than thirty papers in helping to bring the stimulus of a new spirit to the country."

TL January 1, 1942: Truman to Buchman, from Washington:

"I appreciated most highly your letter of December thirty-first, enclosing the clipping from the Frederick, Md. paper, containing an article by Du Bois Morris. I hadn't seen it and I appreciated it very much.

"I do not subscribe to a clipping bureau because I am of the opinion that if a man reads too many good things or too many bad things about himself, he will begin to believe it after a while and won't be able to think straight.

"The little booklet was also most interesting.

"I hope you have a successful year in spreading the desire for a reawakening of the moral code in this great country of ours."

TL February 17, 1942: Buchman to Truman, from 2419 Massachusetts Ave., Washington:

"Grateful for your strategic move.

"I have just had this wonderful added testimony from an industrialist who is an advisor to 400 textile industries, and also consultant to WPB. I am enclosing a copy of the signed document which shows the wholesome aftermath of the "You Can Defend America" Revue in a difficult area of the textile industry. This spirit is credited with having directly prevented three strikes since last August, and in one case the amount saved the industry was estimated at \$100,000. Your friend Senator Maybank would be heartened to know that this industrialist has just agreed to spend a week with me in the textile section of South Carolina where our first showing of the Revue begins on March 3rd before the Governor and the Legislature.

"The signatories to this document are of vital interest in themselves, as they represent the 40,000 workers of Fall River who are opposed on most things among themselves. You have AF of L in John Reagan; the CIO in Edward H. Doolan; Thomas Shovell represents the Hillman Group, and William Ross the Dubinsky group, while William Harwood represents the old Fall River Textile Council. I feel you will agree this document is well worthy of special mention and inclusion in the dossier I left with you this morning. Our man in whose area this work is carried on is now up for re-classification from 1-A to 11-B. Evidence such as this shows, I know you are convinced of this, that it would be a calamity to remove the twenty odd trained men who are bringing this spirit to the nation.

"I have also had the news that the Virginia Senate and Legislature responded with cheers to the authoritative voice of the eighty-year old Senator Wickham when he presented a motion in the Senate and later took the news to the House of Representatives, where a similar ovation greeted him, inviting the Revue for a special presentation on February 27th before the Legislature under the sponsorship of the Governor (pp.88-89). You know, some day Mrs. Truman and you really must see this show.

"I have just had word from Detroit about two of the top business executives there that 'their breath is still coming in short pants' as a result of seeing the show!

"With real esteem, Believe me, Your sincere friend."

In the spring of 1942 Basil Entwistle, who was responsible for the work of Moral Re-Armament on the West Coast, met Senator Truman. (Entwistle had graduated from Oxford University with first class honors in philosophy, politics and economics.) Truman was in San Francisco in connection with his work of looking into the conduct of the war industries. His young aide in this project was Entwistle's colleague DuBois Morris, who arranged for the two men to meet at the Fairmont Hotel.

"Truman was very interested," Entwistle recalls, "to hear the evidence we could provide of positive efforts to increase management-labor teamwork, inspire both to improved production and offset Communist trouble-making. He kept me a good deal of the morning telling him about our support of Harvey Brown (p. 64), national president of the Machinist Union, in his efforts to increase production and harmony in the giant Boeing Aircraft Company in Seattle.

"The Senator was fascinated with the story of MRA trained workers at Lockheed, including Dale Reed, president of the local unions, who had stepped in at a time of crisis to prevent a serious strike (p. 48, 176-177). It was Reed who later testified before a Congressional committee, 'There are planes on the fighting fronts today that would not be there but for the enthusiasm and unselfish leadership the MRA workers have brought into the ranks of labor'.

"I told Truman, too, of our work with Dick Fernhout, chief of plant engineering for the Maritime Commission on the West Coast (p. 48). Through him we met senior labor and management representatives and were included by them in their programs for promoting production in the mushrooming Kaiser shipyards in San Francisco Bay (p.223) and other shipbuilding and shipping concerns.

"Harry Truman was an avid listener and kept drawing me out to give more detail. He seemed most responsive to the positive news I could give him, since a great deal of his time and effort was expended in unearthing problems and human frailties. I left our encounter with a sense of a great human, a totally unpretentious character who was dedicated to forwarding the interests of his country."

Merle Miller, in his international bestseller "Plain Speaking" (Coronet Books, Hodder Fawcett, London 1974), quoted Truman:

"I drove 25,000 to 30,000 miles, all over the country in an old broken-down Dodge. I made notes of everything I saw and what people said. It was the same everywhere. Millions of dollars were being wasted. Then I went back to the Senate, and saw to it that the committee was set up. It was called the Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program. I believe it was established that we saved the taxpayers about fifteen billion dollars. Some reporters estimated we may have saved the lives of a few thousands kids. Getting the construction of the B-26 bombers altered no doubt had a part in that."

In April 1942 Senator Truman and Congressman Wadsworth (p. 189) who drafted the bill setting up the Selective Service Administration, together with the Presidents of the two national labor organizations, William Green of AFL and Philip Murray of CIO, wrote to President Roosevelt:

"We feel it would be nothing short of calamitous and a contradiction of the spirit of the Selective Service Act should these trained morale-builders be assigned to any other type of war service than that in which heretofore they have been so usefully engaged. We, therefore, ask that the accredited status due to them be given these men who are intelligently and successfully fighting this battle.

"We believe, Mr. President, that this program, by virtue of its positive philosophy and its proved powers of capturing the public imagination, deserves your most careful consideration..."

The President's official response was to acknowledge the letter and pass it on to the Selective Service Directors for consideration. His personal conviction was reflected in a letter written a few days previously to his old headmaster, Dr. Endicott Peabody, who had been most impressed by the Revue and handbook 'You Can Defend America'. The President wrote, "We need more things like this to maintain and strengthen the national morale. From all accounts they are making a splendid contribution to patriotism and I hope a large number of communities will have the benefit of witnessing a performance."

TL July 4, 1942: Robert P. Patterson, Undersecretary of War, to Truman:

"I have your letter of June 24th requesting that Private John Cotton Wood and James Draper Newton be assigned to work in 'You Can Defend America'.

"I am strongly of the opinion that it would be unwise to take these men away from their regular training work for this purpose and that it would furnish a very bad precedent, inasmuch as 'You Can Defend America' is not under control of the Army.

"I am very sorry I am unable to accede to your request."

TL July 27, 1942: Truman to Roots:

"I am enclosing a copy of a letter we have received from the Under Secretary of War. He does not seem very kindly to our suggestion."

November 21, 1942. Frank Buchman had a serious heart attack at Saratoga Springs, New York. The previous night he gave a dinner party to celebrate the commissioning of Lieut. John Wood, who had graduated head of his class (p.168).

Gould Lincoln, in his column "The Political Mill" in Washington's "Evening Star" wrote 500 words on December 1, 1942. The headline was, "Dr. Buchman now lying ill has dramatized means of accomplishing unity for war". It ended with these words (p.169):

"Tributes to the worth of moral re-armament have come from leaders in Britain... Recognition of the work done in this country has come, too, from leading members of Congress. Among the signatories of a tribute of this kind were Senators Truman of Missouri, Thomas of Utah and Representatives Wadsworth of New York and Lea of California. It said: 'Three years ago there was launched a nation-wide program of moral re-armament, the value of which was publicly recognized by leaders throughout the country. Since that time the spirit of this patriotic crusade has run like a flame throughout the English-speaking world. It is stimulating personal self-sacrifice, industrial co-operation and national unity so vital to our Allied cause'."

December 4, 1942. Congressman Wadsworth wrote Buchman:

"Moral Re-Armament is not only helping us immensely in the war effort, but we shall need it just as much in the aftermath of this war as we do during the actual fighting of it." (p.171)

January 4, 1943: New York World Telegram's page one banner, "Board Cites Draft Act Tampering". On page three an eight column article carried a line of portraits of six men who supported the stand of the MRA workers. They were: Brig. Gen. Ames T. Brown, New York State Director of Selective Service; Major-Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, National Director of Selective Service; Rear-Admiral Richard E. Byrd; Rep. James W. Wadsworth; Senator Arthur Capper of Kansas, and Senator Harry S. Truman.

When Buchman, still seriously ill, saw this attack, he commented, "Well, we've certainly made the front page this time." Then seeing on page 3 photos of the six men who were accused of exercising influence, he added, "That's a team I'd be proud of anywhere. Thank God for them. God's truth is marching on." And he laid the newspaper aside (p.171).

April 11, 1943: New York Herald Tribune headline: "MRA praised by Truman as 'Vital Service'." Sub-head: "Senator says it has aided war industry." The article quotes him recalling as early as 1941 he had seen MRA in action in West coast airplane plants. "Since then I've met groups of them wherever I've gone." he added. He estimated that 100 Members of the House and Senate are sympathetic towards the movement (p.174). (Associated Press)

In 1943 Frances Roots, daughter of Bishop Logan Roots and sister of John, whom the Senator knew well, was invited, with her colleague Mary Lou Merrill, by the Trumans for tea in their Connecticut Avenue Apartment in Washington. Mrs. Truman served her home-made brownies, and Frances, a professional pianist, accompanied their daughter Margaret, then an aspiring young concert singer. When the Senator came in he went straight to the piano and played his now-famous rendition of Paderewski's "Minuet".

TL April 12, 1943, From the Office of Senator Harry S. Truman, Washington:

"The Fight to Serve" released here today by Senator Harry S. Truman, is a documented record of Moral Re-Armament's contribution to the war effort and of their fight to secure industrial production. It contains first-hand reports from management, union officials and workers of increased cooperation and output in aircraft, steel, shipbuilding and other war industries, resulting from their work. (p.174)

The document reveals that extensive plans to expand "You Can Defend America" programs of Moral Re-Armament in plane factories and shipyards had to be curtailed in January, when MRA's full-time key workers were classified for immediate induction and the value of their program questioned by a local New York draft board and a section of the New York press. This is the first statement issued by leaders of the MRA group since that controversy arose.

Associated with Senator Truman in the foreword to "The Fight to Serve" are a group of 21 Congressional, business and labor leaders. Among them are Rear-Admiral Richard E. Byrd; Representative James W. Wadsworth, co-author of the Selective Service Act; Howard Coonley, Chief of the Conservation Division of the WPB and 1939 President of the NAM; H. Birchard Taylor, Vice-President of the Cramp Shipbuilding Co.; Felix Knight, Vice-President of the AFL; Allan S. Haywood, Vice-President and Director of Organization of the CIO; Frank Fenton, Director of Organization of the AFL; Clinton S. Golden, Vice-President of the USWA and assistant to CIO President Philip Murray; Senator Thomas of Utah; Senator Capper of Kansas; Congressman Lea of California, and Dwight Marvin, 1942-43 President of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

The signatories to the foreword take the position that in view of the results already achieved, the experience and talents of the trained MRA specialists "should be employed in the building of industrial morale and productive strength."

"Moral Re-Armament is making an essential contribution to America's war effort and to the spirit of the country," they state. "Long before Pearl Harbor its key men enlisted in this national service. They are a trained force intelligently and successfully fighting the battle for industrial cooperation and national unity."

The evidence includes a selection of letters written to Major-General Lewis B. Hershey, National Director of Selective Service, from company executives and heads of unions with a total membership of over 4,000,000 workers asking for continuation of the work in their plants. "There are planes on the fighting fronts today that would not be there but for the MRA workers," writes Dale Reed, President of the Union in Lockheed-Vega. "The success of our own Joint Labor-Management Committee experiment owes much to its (MRA) influence," reports Mr. Taylor, vice-president of the Cramp Shipyards, Philadelphia, in another typical letter.

The nationwide program of Moral Re-Armament was launched four years ago, according to the document, "to rouse America to a thinking and living adequate to the threatened impact of total war." In recent months the record shows a handbook and war revue called "You Can Defend America" have dramatized this message for thousands of Americans in more than 20 states at the invitation of Governors, Legislatures, Mayors, Defense Councils, industrial and labor leaders, military authorities. The program thus initiated has been driven home by city campaigns, training centers for industrial and national teamwork, labor-management round tables and an intensive man-to-man campaign in war industries.

Among the many national leaders who have commented on the effectiveness of this work are Philip Murray of the CIO, William Green of the AFL, Governor Edison of New Jersey, Governor Saltonstall of Massachusetts, Major-General Francis B. Wilby, now Superintendent of West Point, Brig.-General Monsignor William R. Arnold, Chief of Chaplains, and others whose statements appear in "The Fight to Serve".

The book explodes the "pro-Nazi myth" and charges of appeasement raised by the New York Board in their verdict about Moral Re-Armament, with the information that the group has been banned by the Nazis and that the leaders of the work in occupied countries are in German concentration camps (pp.218-219). Charges of pacifism and draft-dodging are dispelled with the evidence that hundreds of MRA workers have been in action with armed forces on the fighting fronts since the outbreak of war. (Senate Office Building)

November 19, 1943 Senator Truman and Representative Wadsworth had dinner and saw a special performance of "The Forgotten Factor" in Philadelphia. The audience, of more than 1,200 in the ballroom of the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, included top executives of major war firms and 300 elected leaders of half a million workers in the area. (pp.188-189)

After the performance Truman and Wadsworth went on to the stage where a reception was held. The Senator said:

"It has been the job of the Senate War Investigation Committee, of which I am Chairman, to look into the home front situation and make recommendations. We have listened..., taken five million words of testimony..., from the highest government and business officials to tank welders and airplane mechanics. I have personally travelled over 100,000 miles.

"Seeing America from the inside in this way has given me both great pride and deep concern. Pride as an American at the magnitude of the effort put forth... concern over the spirit of division which exists on the home front... The forces of disunity in our national life appear to be stronger today perhaps than at any time in our history. And they are growing stronger.

"Men in industry know of the battle for control which is going on in many of our major war plants. Most Management and Labor in the country want to co-operate to win the war and build a lasting peace. But there are extremists in both camps... They represent an alien philosophy of conflict and so play into the hands of foreign ideologies.

"We must start now to draw the true battle line in American industry - between the responsible and constructive forces in both Management and Labor against the small but active minority who believe in a finish fight. If America can win the battle for industrial teamwork, then we will be on the road towards winning the greater battle for national unity. And we can bring victory in this battle as our contribution to the peace table.

"The time is ripe for an appeal...to the hunger for great living that lies deep in every man. What Americans really want is not a promise of getting something for nothing, but a chance to give everything for something great...

"I have known this group since June 4, 1939... I was struck at that time by the clarity with which they saw the dangers threatening America, and the zeal and intelligence with which they set about rousing the country.There is not a single industrial bottleneck I can think of which could not be broken in a matter of weeks if this crowd were given the green light to go full steam ahead... If America doesn't catch this spirit, we will be lucky to win the war, and certain to lose the peace. With it there is no limit to what we can do for America and America for the world."

November 20, 1943, Evening Bulletin, Philadelphia:

"Unity within U.S. asked by Truman" (p.188). "He says here that it can be Greatest Contribution to the Peace Table." "...A rebirth of freedom in the home country is the only reward we can guarantee to those men of America who are fighting abroad..."

May 14, 1944. Premiere of "The Forgotten Factor" at the National Theatre, Washington. Senator Truman and Congressman Wadsworth sent out one thousand personal letters of invitation.

May 15, 1944: "Teamwork Drama Hailed at Capital" (New York Times). They continue:

"Nearly 2,000 persons, including Cabinet Members, Members of Congress, high Army and Navy officials and leaders in industry and labor, filled the National Theatre..." (p.198-199, 5 photos)

May 21, 1944: Times-Herald, Washington: "What are the Facts about MRA?" by Frank C. Waldrop. His article and six photos were given a full page (p.199).

August 11, 1944: St. Louis Dispatch: "Truman affirms Belief in Moral Re-Armament Idea", by Edward Harris, its Washington correspondent. In the sixth paragraph Harris quotes Truman as saying that he was at the National Theatre. Actually he was in Kansas City in conclave with the Democratic Party heads about the Vice President spot on the ticket. He had given his Senate Office instructions that no one was to know where he was. Wadsworth stepped in to fill the gap and introduced the play, together with Senator Thomas of Utah.

April 12, 1945. President Roosevelt died. Truman became President.

June 26, 1945. President Truman and Dr. Buchman met in San Francisco (p.224). At the Final Session of the United Nations the color photograph shows President Truman sitting on the platform with Henry L. Stimson, Secretary for War on his right and Edward R. Stettinius, Secretary of State, on his left. The photo shows Crown Prince Faisal of Saudi Arabia speaking. He was one of those who spoke for the five continents (p.225).

President Truman said: "Let us not fail to grasp this supreme chance to establish a worldwide rule of reason, free from the fear of war, and to create an enduring peace under the guidance of God." (p.224)

This was the first international occasion for Truman, to see and to be seen by leaders of the world. Previously his only experience outside America was during World War I, when he was fighting in France.

The issue that roused most controversy in San Francisco was over the Trusteeship chapter in the UN Charter. The British led one group and the Philippine led by General Romulo championed the others. Stormy scenes were expected. However, many saw a special showing of "The Forgotten Factor". The General was so moved by it that his tactics in the Conference changed. The tone of his speech at the critical committee meeting was so different that the British delegate had to revise his speech to match the new tone of the General.

Alistair Cooke wrote in the Manchester Guardian, "One of the mysteries of the Conference was the outbreak of friendship between the British and the Philippine delegations." (pp.224-229)

September 23, 1945. Bishop Roots died at Mackinac Island. President Truman's message:

"I shall be thinking of all the members of your dear family when you gather to pay the last sad tribute to a loved and loving Father who was my faithful friend. Through long years as a Churchman, as humanitarian, as citizen, Bishop Roots at home and in foreign lands was a noble exemplar of the Christian ideal. My heart goes out to you in deepest sympathy."

TL June 2, 1948. Rear-Admiral Richard E. Byrd to President Truman:

"On June 4, 1939, you read at Constitution Hall, Washington, a message from President Roosevelt at the launching for America of a national program for Moral Re-Armament. In many ways since then your vision and courage have contributed to the growth of this new spirit in industrial and international affairs.

"We know that today America is locked in a mortal war of ideas. Our future and that of all free peoples is at stake. Our Government and people have need of every available force in order to win.

"This week marks the tenth anniversary of Moral Re-Armament. Thirty thousand people are meeting in the Hollywood Bowl on June 2 and 3, to demonstrate the urgency of ideological preparedness for the democracies. A World Assembly for ideological training attended by delegates from 40 nations, many at a cabinet level, is taking place June 7-14 at the Mission Inn, Riverside, California.

"The first special plane from Europe came in on Sunday. Among the 60 arrivals were Fausto Pecorari, recently Vice President of the Italian Constituent Assembly; Knud Kristensen, former Prime Minister of Denmark; Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, private secretary to three Kings of England; a party of British miners; Fred Copeman, former Comintern delegate and British leader of the International Brigade in Spain; Dr. Michael Horlacher, President of the Bavarian Parliament, and the Mayor of Essen in the Ruhr.

"The German delegation and the party of Japanese en route, are the largest groups from these countries to visit America since the war. France, China, Greece, Holland, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, India, Pakistan and Burma will also be represented.

"Invitations for the California meetings were issued by a group of 83 Senators and Representatives from 40 states. A copy of their cable now printed in the program, is attached together with the 'New York Times' and 'Herald Tribune's' accounts.

"In view of the world importance of this occasion and of the issues at stake for America, we sincerely hope that you, who have done so much to further this vital work, will send a message of greeting and encouragement which will still further impress on the democratic peoples the reality and urgency of the war of ideas."

TL June 2, 1948. Leslie L. Biffle to Matt (probably Connelly, Truman's secretary):

"The enclosed letter from Admiral Byrd, together with the program of MRA, explain themselves. I am inclined to think that his matter is worthy of very serious consideration. I understand that Senator Bridges will this afternoon send a letter urging that this be done. If the President is prepared to send something along the suggested memorandum, it might prove helpful.

"A very nice trip to you!" It was signed "Les", who was the Senate Secretary.

The delegates referred to in Admiral Byrd's letter were welcomed to Washington by Speaker of the House, Hon. Joseph Martin; by the President pro-tempore of the Senate, Hon. Arthur H. Vandenberg, and by Dr. John R. Steelman, Assistant to the President, and Mrs. Steelman. An address of welcome was made on the floor of the House by the Minority Whip, Hon. John W. McCormack:

"Mr. Speaker, at Riverside, California, starting on June 7 and ending June 14, is being held the World Assembly of the Moral Re-Armament Association, with distinguished delegates and representatives from 24 countries.

"The meeting of the world assembly dedicated to the great work of moral re-armament, or a return to God by individuals and nations, is a matter of worldwide importance. Communicants and members of all creeds, they are uniting in a determined effort to get the world back on a sound pathway, which might well be termed 'The Road to God'.

"Moral Re-Armament of all persons and all nations is the primary and real answer to the materialistic feelings and conditions so prevalent in the world today. This period of materialism, in my opinion, will be followed by a long period of mutual faith on the part of the peoples of the world. History shows relapses from time to time but always followed by a recovery of spiritual truths and as a result the progress of mankind.

"I congratulate those persons attending this world assembly. This work is not and will not be in vain. Moral Re-Armament is the pathway to world stability, world happiness, and world peace."

TL June 12, 1948: William D. Hassett, (Secretary to the President) to Byrd:

"This is in acknowledgement of your letter of June second to the President with respect to the World Assembly now being held in Riverside, California. I regret that your letter was received after the President's departure on his western trip and it, therefore, was not possible to lay it before him for his consideration."

TL June 14, 1948, John Roots to the President, a telegram stating:

"Congratulations on an inspired foreign policy address. Europe, from which I have recently returned, always remembers that you were the first American President to express as a matter of policy the determination of the free world to remain free from Communism. They bless you for it and they thank God, as I do, for the still greater job you are now tackling, of teaching the nations that anti-Communism is not the answer to Communism; that only the courageous living of our democratic faith is the answer. America is slow to learn that only the passionate pursuit of a greater ideology can master militant materialism. People don't like to be told they must live sacrificially and above selfish points of view. But the future of the human race depends on our learning this lesson in time.

"My heart goes out to you, and to Mrs. Truman and Margaret, as my father's did while he was still alive, in your gallant fight against odds. The real America is on your side. Frances is in Los Angeles and will be waving from the crowd today."

The "gallant fight against odds" to which Roots referred was the President's battle for his second term. And his sister's "waving in Los Angeles" referred to the 9,000 miles he was travelling by train. Officially the President was going to Berkeley University to receive a degree. However, he was using the opportunity "to see the people" as the train made its various stops.

The positive response which the President got from the people on this brief journey made him decide to make a 33-day tour in the fall, which was to cover 21,928 miles. Leslie Biffle made his own tour. Posing as a "chicken peddler" he travelled about rural areas asking people how they felt about the election. His report to Truman was that he need not worry as the common people were for him.

But the odds against Truman made it look as though he didn't have a chance. Henry Wallace and the Dixiecrats had split the Democratic Party into three groups. "Life" Magazine carried a full-page picture of Dewey "the next President". Walter Lippman wrote about the work Dewey had cut out for him in foreign policy. Drew Pearson surveyed the "Dewey team" as the "exciting, hard working close-knit clique that would be moving into the White House." The Alsop brothers worried over "how the government could get through with a lame-duck president: events will not wait patiently until Thomas E. Dewey officially replaces Harry S. Truman."

From overseas in Berlin the President had a terrible feeling "that we are very close to war."

As happened in Truman's earlier campaign there was a shortage of money. On the great train journey there had to be a whip around for cash before the train could leave one station. At the end of the trip his family and staff were exhausted, but not Truman. He seemed to have a sense of destiny that carried him.

Meanwhile during the middle of June, 1948 delegates from the World Assembly in California arrived in Washington. The "Washington Post" carried 400 words headlined, "Delegates are honored: Moral Re-Armament leaders are feted on visit here". One of the events mentioned was a reception by Dr. and Mrs. John R. Steelman with Mrs. Vogel. The Steelmans had been among those who welcomed the delegates to America.

Steelman's knowledge of MRA developed during the years when he was Director of the US Conciliation Service, 1937-1944, years during which he worked with Senator Truman and the Committee to Investigate National Defense program.

Duncan Corcoran, who gave up his job in the Clyde shipyards to work with Buchman, is photographed (p.275) in a Washington MRA home with Steelman in 1945. He writes, "Steelman kept close contact with us because of our big impact on industry. He consulted with us often on industrial issues and attended our gatherings regularly."

April 19, 1946. 'Los Angeles Citizen': John R. Steelman is quoted:

"The greatest industrial revolution, the greatest time saver and money saver that could come from America would be a spirit of united dedication to the job of making teamwork the normal practice of industry. That is where the MRA industrial drama, 'The Forgotten Factor', supplies the answer. It shows how the stubborn factor of human nature can be dealt with. The spirit it depicts and the men who are working in this spirit are truly the industrial pioneers of the future."

Niagara Falls program December 1946-January 1947: John R. Steelman:

"My experience in the US Conciliation Service for the past ten years has given me one burning conviction - that the future of America depends on management, labor and government finding an unbreakable teamwork in the postwar years. That is where MRA supplies the answer. It is the most effective single force in the country for creating industrial teamwork."

Steelman was a thoughtful host with the delegates from California. He took them into the West Wing of the White House and the President's Office, where visitors are not usually allowed to go, June 1948.

Earlier in the day 45 of the delegates had been at a luncheon hosted by Paul Hoffman, the administrator of the Marshall Plan. The fact that the Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, attended the lunch was a striking measure of recognition of the work of MRA.

Kenaston Twitchell, a colleague of Buchman's since the 1920's, wrote the following account the same day to Buchman in California:

"...Hoffman, before us all, made it clear that no statement or speech from Marshall was necessary. With diplomatic brilliance Hoffman said that one speech by Marshall at Harvard last year had involved him, Hoffman, in a lot of work and he didn't want to risk the Secretary making another address. So the way was cleared for Marshall to slip out if he chose to.

"Marshall was on Hoffman's right and I was on his left, so I was able to gage something of the reactions of both, and I believe the truths given by our people registered strongly with them. We held the speaking, at Hoffman's suggestion, until the luncheon was over, which gave us 20 minutes before Marshall left.

"...We were in prayer that every second should be in the Spirit...Chen Li-fu (President of the Chinese Nationalist Government) registered obviously the high point of the lunch when he said that at the California Assembly he had seen where he needed to change and where his Government needed the same. Nothing could have been more divinely timed to open the eyes of American policy makers to the real secret of China's recovery...

"Marshall leaned over and asked me to let him say a few words without introduction. He regretted he must leave but did not want to do so without a word of greeting, and acknowledge his interest in what had been said. He said that Hoffman was concerned with material things which were a vital necessity, but he wanted to stress his own conviction that they were merely the foundation, and that it was absolutely vital that we have a general spiritual re-generation throughout the world, 'which is what you men are interested in'.

"Hoffman stayed for fifteen minutes longer (hearing three more speakers). He said he was very much heartened by what he had heard, that he knew full well men did not live by bread alone and expressed his warmest appreciation for what he had heard."

The luncheon was served in the private dining room of the Carlton Hotel.

John Gunther in "Inside USA" writes of Paul Hoffman, "the kind of modern executive who is testimony to the fact that, despite everything, the free enterprise system will work, if you think of it in terms of enterprise for the many, not just for the few."

November 1, 1948. President Truman defeated Thomas E. Dewey. The unbelievable had happened. Everybody in the media, the very people who made their living telling readers and listeners who to vote for, were proved wrong about Truman. If they had been in politics or industry they would have lost their jobs. (But remain they did. The world loves its entertainers.)

Truman's years as President produced the success of the Marshall Plan, the formation of NATO, the remarkable Berlin Air-Lift, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and vital help for Greece and Turkey. He sensed Japan's potential greatness and laid a sound foundation for her remarkable recovery. Thanks to Truman the Korean War was contained through auspices of the UN, the first time it had had such a responsibility.

On the home front he established the Commission on Civil Rights. Early in his political career he had shown where his heart lay regardless of the risk of such outspokenness. He upheld the principle of civilian control over the military and made sure the Atomic Energy Commission was in civilians' hands. He unified the Defense Department, and was the first president to suggest Medicare.

But perhaps what meant most to the average American was the gain in income, standards of living, education and housing. Never before in their history had Americans seen anything like it. There was a gain of eleven million jobs in the seven years of Truman's presidency, and almost no unemployment.

A striking tribute from those who served him in the White House was that no one, even years later, had anything but appreciation for having worked for him.

Shortly after he became President a remarkable prophecy was made about him. Peter Howard, British journalist, playwright and author, wrote:

"Truman will leave an eternal mark on civilization. He is able to get the best out of both management and labor because both sides trust him."

The "Kansas City Labor Bulletin" carried it on June 22, 1945. In the final sentence Howard gave the reason for his judgement:

"The President brings two great assets to his task - a humble appreciation of the limitations of all human leadership and a knowledge of the power from Heaven. So far no man in the position he holds has failed in this spirit to leave an eternal mark on civilization."

Dr. Morris Martin writes, "Truman genuinely liked MRA and what it was doing, particularly in the war industries, and more than the hundreds of other causes in which as a public figure he was asked to take interest. But when he was tapped for the vice-presidency he had to cut them all off including MRA." Did this alter his personal attitude towards MRA?

Facts speak for themselves and indicate no change of attitude:

1. Margaret Truman, brought by two aides in a presidential car, visited Willard and Mary Lou Hunter, close associates of Buchman, in their Washington house on March 9, 1948.
2. The Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, spoke at a luncheon at the Carlton Hotel, Washington, for forty-five delegates from the World Assembly of MRA in California, June 1948.
3. Dr. John R. Steelman, Personal Assistant to the President, was a host to these delegates while they were in Washington (as described on p.288 in this appendix) June 1948.
4. There was also the visit to Caux, August 1948 by Vice-President Alben Barkley with a Congressional delegation, described by the journalist, DuBois Morris, a member of the White House Correspondents Association, on page 280 A. (Dr. Buchman is pictured with them on page 279.) This would likewise hardly have taken place had the President deemed the connection with MRA in any way detrimental to him, especially that year when he was fighting against great odds for his second term as President.
5. Finally there is the account from Morris Martin's diary (p.224). Buchman was invited to Truman's reception June 26, 1945, which took place before the Final Session of the United Nations Assembly in San Francisco. Buchman and Truman had not met since 1939. Truman recognized Buchman and said, "I am so glad to see you. I am so glad to see you." Kenaston Twitchell, son-in-law of Senator Alexander Smith of New Jersey, was also invited and escorted Buchman.

In David McCullough's magnificent book "Truman" (Simon and Schuster, 1992) he writes about two occasions during Truman's presidency which highlight his greatness.

During the Korean war Truman read in the papers one morning that the body of an American soldier, killed in action, Sergeant John Rice, had been brought home for burial in Sioux City, Iowa. As the casket was about to be lowered into the grave, officials of the Park, hearing that Rice was an American-Indian, forbade it. He was not "a member of the Caucasian race". Burial was denied.

Truman reacted immediately and strongly. Telephone lines were put to use and an Air Force plane was sent to Iowa to bring the soldier's casket for burial in Arlington National cemetery with full military honors. His widow and three children were to accompany their father's remains in the plane. They were to be witnesses of a farewell to their father which would hearten them all their lives.

In 1952 Winston Churchill, once more Prime Minister, visited America and had dinner with Truman on board the presidential yacht. During the evening Churchill reviewed the world situation and referred to the time of the Potsdam Conference, when he met Truman for the first time.

"I must confess, Sir," Churchill said, "I held you in very low regard then. I loathed your taking the place of Franklin Roosevelt." After a pause the old man continued, "I misjudged you badly. Since that time, you more than any other man have saved the Western civilization."

This was indeed balm to Truman's soul at a very difficult time, and something for which he was always grateful to the old British warrior.

In late May, 1945 Truman wrote in his diary:

"Things are going so well I hardly know what to think. I can't understand it - except to attribute it to God. He guides me, I think."

In the fall of 1948 Truman spoke at an American Legion Fair at Caruthersville, Missouri, about the difficulties that lay ahead for the country. And he ended with a sense of hope when he said:

"We are going forward to meet our destiny which I think Almighty God intended us to have."

* * * * *

A selection of additional books and films written and made since the war by people mentioned in these pages.

Almond, Harry: "Iraqi Statesman" - Baker, Arthur: "The House is Sitting" - Barrett, Michael: "Footprints" - Belden, Kenneth: "Reflections on Moral Re-Armament", etc. - Blake, Howard: "Way to Go" - Campbell, Dr. Paul: "A Dose of my own Medicine" - Cross, Kate: "Cooking round the World" - Entwistle, Basil: "Japan's Decisive Decade" - Drysdale, V.L.: "The Sacred Pipe" - Fangen, Ronald: "Both are my Cousins" - Foss, Denis: "Shoot a Line" - Gates, Dr. Irene: "Any Hope, Doctor?" - Hale, Reginald and Grete: "The Life and Times of G.Cecil Morrison" - Hofmeyr, Agnes Leakey: "Beyond Violence" - Hunter, T. Willard: "The Spirit of Charles Lindbergh" - Jaeger, Clara: "William Jaeger" - Jardine, Lionel: "They called me an Impeccable Imperialist" - Ledwith, Frank: "The best of all Possible Worlds" - McLean, Adam: "Whatever next . ." - Marcel, Gabriel: "Fresh Hope for the World" etc. - Martin, Dr. Morris: "Born to Live in the Future - Up With People at 25, 1990" - Mottu, Philippe: "The Story of Caux" - Mowat, Robin: "Decline and Renewal" - Roots, John McCook: "Chou En-lai" - Shoemaker, Samuel: "Faith-at-Work Movement" - Slattery, Sarah L.: "I Choose" - Strong, Signe Lund: "Window" - Swain, Dr. Loring: "Arthritis, Medicine and the Spiritual Laws" - Twitchell, Kenaston: "Regeneration in the Ruhr" - Von Teuber, Eugene: "Step Ahead of Disaster" - Vrooman, Lee: "The Faith that Built America" - Wishard, Wm. Van Dusen: "The American Future" - Wolrige Gordon, Anne: "Peter Howard Life and Letters".

Films: Channer, David: "For the Love of Tomorrow", and Rajmohan Gandhi in "Encounter with Truth", etc. - Fleming, Robert: "Yes (Youth Employment Skills) Canada" and Canadian Legislatures annuals - Foss, Hannen: Director "Freedom" - Sisam, Peter: "One Word of Truth", "Crowning Experience", etc.

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