

BACKGROUND OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY

A Chronology of Cooperation in Western Europe

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The history of post-war foreign aid to Europe is one of changing emphasis from RELIEF to RECOVERY to REARMAMENT.

I. The forerunner of the Marshall Plan was RELIEF.

Between 1944 and 1947 the United States had contributed more funds than all other nations combined to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA).

"That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President such sums, not to exceed \$1,350,000,000, as the Congress may determine from time to time...." Joint Resolution of Congress, March 28, 1944.

The purpose of these funds as defined by agreement was:

"Being determined that immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as a consequence of retreat of the enemy the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in the recovery of the health of the people, and that preparation and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services..."

During the immediate post-war years when RELIEF was uppermost in our minds, when efforts were being directed toward the welfare of millions of war ravaged peoples, the Soviet was demonstrating an increasing determination to enslave additional millions;

The Communist-backed guerilla army was keeping Greece in turmoil and threatening her internal security.

The Kremlin was applying heavy pressure to her immediate neighbor Turkey for concessions and influence over the Dardanelles and in a demand for two Turkish provinces.

II. As the days went by it became clearly apparent that the world of nations could not rapidly rekindle economic activity without a plan for economic RECOVERY.

On JUNE 5, 1947 the emphasis was shifted from Relief to RECOVERY.

General George C. Marshall, speaking at the commencement exercises at Harvard called for an end to stop-gap methods. Urging all European nations to join with the United States in a plan for RECOVERY he said:

"It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to 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 not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. Its purpose would 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... Any government that is willing to assist in the task of recovery will find full cooperation, I am sure, on the part of the United States Government."

In July of 1947, sixteen nations assembled in Paris to discuss and compile the minimum requirements for an effective recovery program.

The Soviet Union rejected the Marshall Plan and compelled her satellites to boycott the conference.

The Marshall Plan meetings moved ahead.

During these discussions, in the months that followed, events were moving rapidly in Europe.

On October 5, 1947 the Communist International (Comintern) which had been dissolved in 1943, was revived at a secret meeting in Poland by Communist delegates from nine European nations, under the name of Cominform (Communist Information Bureau).

On December 30, 1947, King Michael of Rumania abdicated his throne and the Communist controlled government in Bucharest proclaimed a "People's Republic."

On February 25, 1948, President Eduard Benes of Czechoslovakia yielded to the Communist ultimatum to install a pro-Soviet Cabinet and join the Russian bloc in Eastern Europe.

Alarmed by the Soviet coup in Czechoslovakia, the premiers and foreign ministers of Belgium, The Netherlands and Luxembourg agreed at Brussels Conference to accept an Anglo-French proposal for a defense pact; a five-nation 50-year security pact was signed on March 17, 1948.

On April 1, 1948 the Soviet Military Government in Berlin opened a land blockade of the Allied sectors of the city. By September 30, 1949 when the blockade and a Western counter-blockade were finally lifted, the US-British Airlift had flown 2,313,315 tons of food and coal into Western Berlin.

On April 2, 1948 the Congress of the United States completed action on the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948.

Within two years European trade and industrial and agricultural production had surpassed pre-war levels.

It was expected that \$17 billion over a four year period would be required to achieve the objectives of the Marshall Plan. After only three years and an expenditure of only 60 percent of the contemplated sum, the Marshall Plan had accomplished what it set out to do. By the middle of 1952 industrial production in Western Europe was up nearly 40 percent over prewar levels and agricultural production was about 15 percent ahead of prewar.

III. From Recovery to REARMAMENT

While Marshall Plan assistance was putting most of Western Europe back on its economic feet, Nationalist China was reeling under the steady communist advance.

On January 22, 1949 the Nationalist Armies finally surrendered Peiping and the battle for China became hopeless.

On April 4, 1949, the United States, Canada and 10 Western European nations signed the North Atlantic Treaty against armed attack. The Treaty was ratified by the United States Senate in July of that year.

On June 25, 1950, Korea time, the Kremlin leaders changed their tactics from internal subversion to naked aggression. Communist-led North Korean armies swarmed across the 38th parallel. The United Nations moved swiftly against the assault, and armed units from 21 nations landed in Korea to halt and hurl back the invading forces.

At this point the transition from Recovery to REARMAMENT was made. It was plainly apparent that if aggression would be used in one part of the world no other part was immune from attack. In January of 1951 General Eisenhower arrived to take command of the NATO forces. NATO which had previously been a paper pact now became the foundation upon which to build a strong deterrent against further aggression.

The United States continued to support the economies of the free nations, but the purpose was no longer recovery. The objective now was to sustain healthy economies so that the countries concerned would be able to shoulder the drain of military buildup without driving their slender economic capacities down to levels which would invite revolution.

The purpose of the Mutual Security Program became:

"...to maintain the security and to promote the foreign policy of the United States...to strengthen mutual security and individual and collective defenses of the free world, to develop their resources in the interest of their security and independence and the national interest of the United States and to facilitate the effective participation of those countries in the United Nations system for collective security." -- Mutual Security Act of 1951.

President Eisenhower described the Mutual Security Program in these terms.

"...no single country, even one so powerful as ours, can alone defend the liberty of all nations threatened by communist aggression from without or subversion within. Mutual Security means effective mutual cooperation. For the United States, this means that, as a matter of common sense and national interest, we shall give to help other nations in the measure that they strive to do their full share of the common task."

Results of Mutual Security

Greece and Turkey, once seriously threatened by Communism are now strong members of NATO.

Sixteen nations of Western Europe have been assisted through the Marshall Plan to recover from economic despair and political hopelessness following World War II. (Ten nations who once required U. S. assistance are now standing on their own economic feet and in most cases, as with the Netherlands, are carrying a larger burden of military buildup than previously.)

By the end of 1953 NATO's ground forces had increased three fold. Plane strength has increased by $2\frac{1}{2}$ times. Piston-driven aircraft have largely given way to streamlined jets. Contrasted to 15 airfields at the disposal of the NATO Command in 1950 there are now over 120 airfields available for at least limited use.

Through cooperation there is being created in the free world a military force equivalent to 175 divisions; also 200 airforce squadrons, nearly 1500 naval aircraft and a great number of naval vessels. The U. S. ground forces are now 22 active divisions (19 Army and 3 Marine). In addition there are 6 Army division equivalents made up of 18 active regimental combat teams; and 25 active National Guard Divisions.

The job of building up the major units of the NATO forces has been a joint effort. Since 1950 our European Allies alone have spent over \$8 billion for military "hardgoods" and their total defense expenditures have amounted to over \$35 billion. In the same period the U. S. has shipped \$6.0 billion worth of weapons to Western Europe.

NATO Europe itself provides over 90% of NATO's ground force manpower, about 75% for Air Forces and a good share of NATO's naval strength.

Against the background of military strength, economic development continues. Europe's reserves of gold and dollars increased by over \$2 billion in calendar year 1953 alone.

Industrial production, agricultural production achieved all time peak levels during 1953. Trade liberalization has now surpassed the 75 percent current goal. The deutschemark, the lira and the pound have just about attained par rate.

Because of this progress, FOA has reduced requests for next year's funds by 43 percent from two years ago. (In 1953 - \$6 billion appropriated; in 1955 - \$3.4 billion has been requested.)

The \$3.4 billion which is being requested for the coming fiscal year is less than one percent of our gross national product -- it amounts to about one hour's pay every two-and-a-half weeks, and averages out at 6¢ per capita per day, about the price of a candy bar. This is the least costly insurance policy ever developed.

Beginning with the Marshall Plan in 1948, and up to the present, the total appropriations for all types of U. S. grant assistance related to Mutual Security Programs has amounted to approximately \$35 billion. This is less than the U. S. defense expenditure (\$50 billion) in one fiscal year (1953), and less than the U. S. cost of six months of war during the height of World War II.

While completing the original task of rebuilding European economies, the Marshall Plan also revived the energies of the free peoples of Western Europe. In so doing there was developed, through the Marshall Plan and programs that followed, an increasingly brighter picture of strength and progress among the Free Nations of the world.

A. program for peace

1. Through mutuality the United States is working with about 60 other free nations.

- a. to develop military strength against aggression
- b. to create economic strength and conditions for expanded economic activity
- c. to develop technical skills through the exchange of ideas, knowledge and know-how
- d. to encourage the development of expanding trade between nations and peoples -- the key to economic health and growth.

2. To continue intensive exploration to discover means by which:

- a. the resources and ingenuity of mankind can be further put to work for progress. On April 16, 1953, President Eisenhower said:

"Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed..."

"The peace we seek, founded upon decent trust and cooperative effort among nations, can be fortified, not by weapons of war but by wheat and by cotton, by milk and by wool, by meat and by timber and rice. These are words that translate into every language on earth. These are needs that challenge this world in arms..."

"This Government is ready to ask its people to join with all nations in devoting a substantial percentage of the savings achieved by disarmament to a fund for world aid and reconstruction. The purposes of this great work would be to help other peoples to develop the undeveloped areas of the world, to stimulate profitable and fair world trade, to assist all peoples to know the blessings of productive freedom."

"The monuments to this new kind of war would be these: roads and schools, hospitals and homes, food and health."

"We are ready, in short, to dedicate our strength to serving the needs, rather than the fears, of the world."

- b. To work with other nations to harness the awful power of the atom and direct its energies to peaceful and constructive pursuits.

Speaking before the United Nations on December 8, 1953, President Eisenhower signaled the dawn of a new hope for peace. He said:

"The United States knows that if the fearful trend of atomic military buildup can be reversed, this greatest of destructive forces can be developed into a great boon, for the benefit of mankind."

"The United States knows that peaceful power from atomic energy is no dream of the future. That capability, already proved, is here -- now -- today..."

"The United States pledges before you -- and therefore before the world -- its determination to help solve the fearful atomic dilemma -- to devote its entire heart and mind to find the way by which the miraculous inventiveness of man shall not be dedicated to his death, but consecrated to his life. "

Since the President made his stirring address before the world of nations intensive exploration has been going on to implement the plan. Recent developments have indicated that the Soviet has declined to pursue these studies further. President Eisenhower has declared that plans to create an atomic pool for peaceful use of the atom will continue; and these plans will be activated with or without Soviet participation.

M/PR
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