

The Formation of the Western Alliance, 1948-1949

Student Name _____ Date _____

Activity #1: The Berlin Blockade

Directions (Group #1): Read the following documents on the Soviet blockade of West Berlin. When you are finished you will be assigned a partner. With that partner you will conduct a silent debate on whether President Truman should evacuate American forces in West Berlin.

Telegram, dated June 25, 1948, by Alfred M. Bingham, et al. to President Harry S. Truman:
http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/berlin airlift/large/documents/index.php?documentdate=1948-06-25&documentid=41&studycollectionid=Berlin&pagenumber=1 [Bingham was chairman of the American Association for a Democratic Germany. He and his co-authors were prominent liberals whose support Truman believed would be important in the upcoming 1948 presidential election.]

RUSSIAN EFFORTS TO DRIVE WESTERN POWERS FROM BERLIN ARE A CRUCIAL CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. SURRENDER WOULD DELIVER TO RUSSIAN VENGEANCE TWO MILLION GERMANS WHO HAVE DEFIED COMMUNIST TOTALITARIANISM. THERE ARE DISTURBING RUMORS OF PLANS TO EVACUATE BERLIN BECAUSE OF RUSSIAN BLOCKADE AGAINST GERMAN CIVILIAN SUPPLIES. ESSENTIAL SUPPLIES FOR THE GERMAN POPULATION CAN BE DELIVERED BY AIR AND IF NECESSARY MUST BE AT WHATEVER COST. WE URGE YOU TO MAKE THIS COUNTRY'S POSITION UNMISTAKABLE BY DECLARING THAT UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES SHORT OF WAR WE WILL REMAIN IN BERLIN AND MAINTAIN SUPPLIES FOR THE CIVILIAN POPULATION. NOTHING LESS CAN ADEQUATELY REASSURE DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN GERMANY AND ELSEWHERE THAT THIS COUNTRY WILL NOT DESERT THEM.

CIA memorandum, dated June 30, 1948, for President Harry S. Truman from Rear Admiral, U.S. Navy, R.H. Hillenkoetter, Director of the CIA:
http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/berlin airlift/large/documents/index.php?documentdate=1948-06-30&documentid=8&studycollectionid=Berlin&pagenumber=1

Information has been received that a conference was held in Karlshorst on 28 June 1948 between Russian officials, headed by Marshal Sokolovsky [the military governor of the Soviet zone of occupation], and German members of the German industrial committee. Sokolovsky opened the conference by asking the German industrialists what influence on the Eastern Zone of Germany would exist because of the blockade from the Western Zone.

A German representative stated that being cut off from the West meant a complete stoppage of production in sugar refineries...; it almost meant a complete closing down of canneries since the entire raw material was received from the West; and a certain discontinuance of the Baltic fishing fleet within a short time because of lack of machinery parts. Sokolovsky evidenced a great consternation at this statement, replying that the Russians had been led to believe the East could be independent of the West. The German member then stated that the heavy industries...could not produce without the West.... The Russians appeared greatly shocked, and a Russian General, in charge of trade and supply, said, "We had no idea of this situation; Russia is suffering from heavy droughts and is counting on German food supplies this year.... If we had known this, we would not have gone so far."

Top Secret report, dated July 28, 1948, titled "U.S. Military Courses of Action with Respect to the Situation in Berlin":

http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/berlin airlift/large/documents/index.php?documentdate=1948-07-28&documentid=15&studycollectionid=Berlin&pagenumber=1 [This report was prepared by the Secretary of Defense, James V. Forrestal, for the National Security Council.]

As a fundamental basis for consideration of the Berlin problem, it is assumed that it is United States policy to maintain our position in Berlin. This makes it essential to examine the courses of action that this policy necessitates and those to which it may lead.

Careful study of results to date, together with calculations of Berlin supply requirements and maximum air transport capabilities, indicates that minimum requirements can be met by air transport....

The daily cost of air transport supply operations is already very great and will naturally increase with augmentation of tonnage. In addition, it should be borne in mind that even augmented air lift can include little provision for clothing, maintenance material, raw material, or industrial supplies, which means that conditions in the western sectors of Berlin including unemployment, morale, and stamina of the population will steadily worsen even though food, medical, military, coal, gasoline, and Diesel supplies remain adequate for maintaining an existence level for the population.

Finally, it is always possible that the Soviets may devise and employ means, by interference in the air corridor, of vitiating or stopping air transport operations....

Nevertheless, as initially stated, minimum Berlin supply requirements can be met by air transport for at least a considerable, though probably not an indefinite, period. For this reason, the Joint Chiefs of Staff are firmly of the opinion that air transport supply should be continued and should be augmented immediately as necessary to meet the minimum requirements since this is providing and should continue to provide a cushion of time during which some other solution to the Berlin problem may be found....

If the decision is made that our occupation troops are to remain there until forced to withdraw by war action and that an attempt will be made to supply Berlin by force if supply can be maintained no other way, then the Joint Chiefs of Staff recommend that:

- (1) All possible time, not only for continuation of effort toward peaceful solution of the problem, but also for preparation for the event of war, be gained by augmentation of the air supply method, and
- (2) Full-out preparations for the early eventuality of war be inaugurated immediately....

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Student Name _____ Date _____

Activity #1: The Berlin Blockade

Directions (Group #2): Read the following documents on the Soviet blockade of West Berlin. When you are finished you will be assigned a partner. With that partner you will conduct a silent debate on whether President Truman should evacuate American forces in West Berlin.

CIA memorandum, dated June 30, 1948, for President Harry S. Truman from Rear Admiral, U.S. Navy, R.H. Hillenkoetter, Director of the CIA:

http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/berlin airlift/large/documents/index.php?documentdate=1948-06-30&documentid=8&studycollectionid=Berlin&pagenumber=1

On 23 June 1948, the justice administration of the Soviet Zone issued a directive on the judicial measures to be taken in connection with currency reform.... [T]he directive treats Berlin as a part of the Soviet Zone. A copy of the directive is in the possession of the Central Intelligence Agency.

The above directive was discussed on 26 June 1948 among the justice and police officials of the Soviet Zone. When the Chief of Police of the legal section stated that the directive cannot be enforced because of the geographical location of the courts in Western Berlin, former President Wagner of the Interior Administration stated that this was of no consequence since detailed instructions for enforcement will not be ready for three weeks, by which time the Western Allies will have evacuated Berlin....

The above information is an indication that the Soviets mean business in the present crisis. Having gone this far, it is difficult to see how they could back down without a maximum loss of face even in their own camp [that is, among their own allies]....

Translation of a letter, dated July 14, 1948, by Alexander S. Payushkin [the Soviet Ambassador to the United States) to U.S. Secretary of State:

http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/berlin airlift/large/documents/index.php?documentdate=1948-07-14&documentid=10&studycollectionid=Berlin&pagenumber=1

The Soviet Government has familiarized itself with the note of the Government of the United States of America of July 6, 1948 in which the situation which has been created at the present time in Berlin is described as a result of measures taken by the Soviet side. The Soviet Government cannot agree with this statement...and considers that the situation which has been created in Berlin has arisen as a result of violation by the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain, and France of agreed decisions taken by the four powers in regard to Germany and Berlin which has found its expression in the introduction of...special currency for the western sectors of Berlin and in the policy of the dismemberment of Germany. The Soviet Government has more than once warned the Governments of

the United States of America, Great Britain, and France in regard to the responsibility which they would take upon themselves in following along the path of the violation of agreed decisions previously adopted by the four powers in regard to Germany. The decisions adopted at the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences...have as their aim the demilitarization and democratization of Germany, the removal of the base itself of German militarism and the prevention of the revival of Germany as an aggressive power and thereby the transformation of Germany into a peace-loving and democratic state.... In accordance with these agreements the Governments of the four powers took upon themselves for the administration of Germany and bound themselves jointly to draw up a statute for Germany...and to conclude with Germany a peace treaty which would be signed by a Government of a democratic Germany adequate for that purpose.

These most important agreements...have been violated by the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain, and France.... By the separate actions of the Governments of the U.S.A., Great Britain, and France the four power control mechanism in Germany has been destroyed and the Control Council as a result thereof has ceased its activity....

After the London meeting of the three powers...measures were undertaken by the Governments of the U.S.A., Great Britain, and France directed towards the division and dismemberment of Germany including preparations which are now in progress for the designation of a separate Government for the western zones of Germany and the separate currency reform for the western zones of occupation introduced on June 18th of this year.

In as much as the situation created in...Germany is the direct result of the systematic violation by the Governments of the U.S.A., Great Britain, and France of the decisions of the Potsdam Conference...the Soviet Government must reject as completely unfounded the statement of the Government of the U.S. to the effect that the measures for the restriction of transport communications between Berlin and the western zones of occupation of Germany introduced by the Soviet command for the defense of the economy of the Soviet zones against its disorganization are allegedly in violation of the existing agreements concerning the administration of Berlin....

The Government of the United States declares that the temporary measures put into effect by the Soviet Command for the restriction of transport communications between Berlin and the western zones have created difficulties in supplying the Berlin population of the western sectors. It is impossible however to deny the fact that these difficulties were occasioned by the actions of the Governments of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France, and primarily by their separate actions in the introduction of new currency in the western zones of Germany and special currency in the western sectors of Berlin.

Berlin lies in the center of the Soviet zone and is a part of that zone. The interests of the Berlin population do not permit a situation in which in Berlin or only in the western sectors of Berlin there shall be introduced special currency which has no validity in the Soviet zone.... The Soviet Command has been forced therefore to adopt certain urgent measures for the protection of the interests of the German population and also of the economy of the Soviet zone....

With reference to the statement of the Government of the United States that it will not be compelled by threats, pressure or other actions to renounce its right to participation in the occupation of Berlin, the Soviet Government does not intend to enter into discussion of this statement since it has no need for a policy of pressure since by violation of the agreed decisions concerning the administration of Berlin the abovementioned Governments themselves are reducing to naught their right to participation in the occupation of Berlin....

From newspaper editorial, "West Can Pull Out of Berlin Proudly," *Los Angeles Times*, September 12, 1948:

http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/berlin_airlift/large/documents/index.php?page=2&documentid=32&documentdate=1948-09-12&studycollectionid=Berlin&groupid

Russia is holding the trump cards in Berlin and will only give in at a price that may prove too high for the westerners to pay. Besides, any bargain that one may strike with Moscow today...can be at best only temporary.

No one expects Stalin to live up to his agreements a month, a week, or a day after he has given them. In which case one may well ask, why make the concessions to the Russians in the first place? [...]

Even a most superficial study of the recent activities and attitudes of Russia in Berlin will convince any sensible person that Moscow is staging an intensive effort to drive the western Allies to despair and hence to a declaration of war, in which the Americans, the British, and French will be branded the aggressors. This is the sort of trap that Stalin has set for the west and the west should be very careful not to play into Stalin's hands....

The longer the division of Berlin into four sectors continues and the longer the western Allies remain there as targets of constant humiliations by the Soviet power, the greater the danger of an explosion that will plunge Europe and the world into another conflict.

The western Allies can pull out of Berlin proudly and with every evidence of dignity and get back to their own zones on the excellent ground that cooperation with Russia is no longer possible. They can then establish their military, economic and political front along their Russian border and meet the Soviets on better than even terms....

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Student Name _____ Date _____

Activity #2: The Berlin Blockade

Directions: With your partner, you must debate the following question, without talking. Every statement must begin with Yeah, but. Both of you will be given a position to debate prior to class. You have twenty minutes to work with your partner, after which there will be a class discussion. Using the information that you learned in this unit, debate the following statement (You may need to continue onto separate paper):

“U.S. troops and administrators should remain in Berlin, in spite of the Soviet blockade”

Yeah, but...

Yeah, but...

Yeah, but...

Yeah, but...

Yeah, but...

Yeah, but...

Yeah, but...

Yeah, but...

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Student Name _____ Date _____

Activity #2: The North Atlantic Treaty

Directions: Using the following documents, answer the questions on the worksheet.

The North Atlantic Treaty, April 4, 1949: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/nato.htm>

The Parties to this Treaty reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments.

They are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilisation of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law.

They seek to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area.

They are resolved to unite their efforts for collective defence and for the preservation of peace and security.

They therefore agree to this North Atlantic Treaty:

ARTICLE 1

The Parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, to settle any international dispute in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered, and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 2

The Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them.

ARTICLE 3

In order more effectively to achieve the objectives of this Treaty, the Parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack.

ARTICLE 4

The Parties will consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the Parties is threatened.

ARTICLE 5

The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all, and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognised by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually, and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.

Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall immediately be reported to the Security Council. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security....

ARTICLE 8

Each Party declares that none of the international engagements now in force between it and any other of the Parties or any third State is in conflict with the provisions of this Treaty, and undertakes not to enter into any international engagement in conflict with this Treaty.

ARTICLE 9

The Parties hereby establish a Council, on which each of them shall be represented to consider matters concerning the implementation of this Treaty. The Council shall be so organised as to be able to meet promptly at any time. The Council shall set up such subsidiary bodies as may be necessary; in particular it shall establish immediately a defence committee which shall recommend measures for the implementation of Articles 3 and 5.

ARTICLE 10

The Parties may, by unanimous agreement, invite any other European State in a position to further the principles of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area to accede to this Treaty. Any State so invited may become a party to the Treaty by depositing its instrument of accession with the Government of the United States of America. The Government of the United States of America will inform each of the Parties of the deposit of each such instrument of accession.

ARTICLE 11

This Treaty shall be ratified and its provisions carried out by the Parties in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited as soon as possible with the Government of the United States of America, which will notify all the other signatories of each deposit. The Treaty shall enter into force between the States which have ratified it as soon as the ratification of the majority of the signatories, including the ratifications of Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States, have been deposited and shall come into effect with respect to other States on the date of the deposit of their ratifications....

Speech by President Harry S. Truman to the U.S. Senate, April 12, 1949:

http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/nato/large/documents/index.php?pagenumber=2&documentid=1&documentdate=1949-04-12&studycollectionid=NATO&groupid=

This treaty is an expression of the desire of the people of the United States for peace and security, for the continuing opportunity to live and work in freedom.

Events in this century have taught us that we cannot achieve peace independently. The world has grown too small. The oceans to our east and west no longer protect us from the reach of brutality and aggression.

We have also learned—learned in blood and conflict—that if we are to achieve peace we must work for peace.

This knowledge has made us determined to do everything we can to insure that peace is maintained. We have not arrived at this decision lightly or without recognition of the effort it entails. But we cannot escape the great responsibility that goes with our stature in the world. Every action of this nation in recent years has demonstrated the overwhelming will of our people that the strength and influence of the United States shall be used in the cause of peace, justice, and freedom....

The twelve nations which have signed this treaty undertake to exercise their right of collective or individual self-defense against armed attack.... The treaty makes clear the determination of the people of the United States and of our neighbors in the North Atlantic community to do their utmost to maintain peace with justice and to take such action as they may deem necessary if the peace is broken....

The nations signing this treaty share a common heritage of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law. The American members of the North Atlantic community stem directly from the European members in tradition and in love of freedom. We have joined together in the progressive development of free institutions, and we have shared our moral and material strength in the present task of rebuilding from the devastation of war.

The security and welfare of each member of the community depend upon the security and welfare of all. None of us alone can achieve economic prosperity or military security. None of us alone can assure the continuance of freedom.

Together, our joint strength is of tremendous significance to the future of free men in every part of the world. For this treaty is clear evidence that differences in language and in economic and political systems are no real bar to the effective association of nations devoted to the great principles of human freedom and justice.

This treaty is only one step—although a long one—on the road to peace. No single action, no matter how significant, will achieve peace. We must continue to work patiently and carefully, advancing with practical, realistic steps in the light of circumstances and events as they occur, building the structure of peace soundly and solidly.

I believe that the North Atlantic treaty is such a step, based on the realities of the situation we face today and framed within the terms of the United Nations charter and Constitution of the United States. In the conviction that the North Atlantic treaty is a great advance toward fulfillment of the unconquerable will of the people of the United States to achieve a just and enduring peace, I request the advice and consent of the Senate to its ratification.

Sen. Robert A. Taft (R-OH), Speech on the North Atlantic Treaty, July 26, 1949:

<http://www.teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=857>

Why did I vote against the Atlantic Pact? I wanted to vote for it—at least I wanted to vote to let Russia know that if she attacked western Europe, the United States would be in the war. I believe that would be a deterrent to war....

But the Atlantic Pact goes much further. It obligates us to go to war if at any time during the next 20 years anyone makes an armed attack on any of the 12 nations.... Under the new pact the President can take us into war without Congress. But, above all the treaty is a part of a much larger program by which we arm all these nations against Russia... A joint military program has already been made.... It thus becomes an offensive and defensive military alliance against Russia. I believe our foreign policy should be aimed primarily at security and peace, and I believe such an alliance is more likely to produce war than peace. A third world war would be the greatest tragedy the world has ever suffered. Even if we won the war, we this time would probably suffer tremendous destruction, our economic system would be crippled, and we would lose our liberties and free system just as the Second World War destroyed the free systems of Europe. It might easily destroy civilization on this earth....

There is another consideration. If we undertake to arm all the nations around Russia from Norway on the north to Turkey on the south, and Russia sees itself ringed about gradually by so-called defensive arms from Norway and Denmark to Turkey and Greece, it may form a different opinion. It may decide that the arming of western Europe, regardless of its present purpose, looks to an attack upon Russia. Its view may be unreasonable, and I think it is. But from the Russian standpoint it may not seem unreasonable. They may well decide that if war is the certain result, that war might better occur now rather than after the arming of Europe is completed....

How would we feel if Russia undertook to arm a country on our border; Mexico, for instance?

Furthermore, can we afford this new project of foreign assistance? I think I am as much against Communist aggression as anyone, both at home and abroad.... But we can't let them scare us into bankruptcy and the surrender of all liberty, or let them determine our foreign policies. We are already spending \$15,000,000,000 on our armed forces and have the most powerful Air Force in the world and the only atomic bomb. That, and our determination to go to war if Europe is attacked, ought to be sufficient to deter an attack by armed force.

We are spending \$7,000,000,000 a year on economic aid to build up those countries to a condition of prosperity where communism cannot make internal progress. Shall we start another project whose cost is incalculable, at the very time when we have a deficit of 1,800,000,000 dollars and a prospective deficit of three to five billion? The one essential defense against communism is to keep this country financially and economically sound. If the President is unwilling to recommend more taxes for fear of creating a depression, then we must have reached the limit of our taxpaying ability and we ought not to start a new and unnecessary building project....

The Formation of the Western Alliance, 1948-1949

Student Name _____ Date _____

Activity #2: The North Atlantic Treaty

Directions: Use the readings your teacher has given you to answer the following questions.

Question	Answer
According to the preamble of the North Atlantic Treaty, what did the signatories all have in common, that might serve as a basis for their coming together?	
What did this treaty obligate its signatories to do?	
According to the terms of the treaty, how could additional nations be added to the alliance?	
Why did President Truman believe that the United States should sign the North Atlantic Treaty?	
What did Senator Taft fear would be the Soviet Union's reaction to the alliance?	
On what other grounds did Senator Taft oppose U.S. involvement in the North Atlantic Treaty?	

The Formation of the Western Alliance, 1948-1949

Student Name _____ Date _____

Growing American Involvement in Europe, 1945-1949

The left-hand column shows a list of developments in Europe during the period 1945-1948. For each of these, give the U.S. response to this occurrence, and explain how it deepened American involvement in European affairs. Feel free to use the interactive map of Cold War Europe (<http://www.teachingamericanhistory.org/neh/interactives/coldwareuropemap/>) to assist you.

Development	U.S. Response
Apparent Soviet unwillingness to live up to terms of Potsdam and Yalta Agreements (locations 2, 4, 5, and 7)	
Harsh winter of 1947 (location 11)	
Withdrawal of British influence from the Eastern Mediterranean region (location 12)	
Soviet blockade of Berlin (location 16)	