

**The Marshall Plan: America's Soft Power Diplomacy Saves Europe
from Economic and Political Chaos following World War II**

**Process Paper
and
Annotated Bibliography**

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The Marshall Plan was an influential program that revolutionized American foreign policy by integrating the use of “soft power” with America’s military might and other diplomatic tools. Soft power, a term recently coined by Harvard professor Joseph Nye, is the use of economic and cultural aid to exert influence without using military force. Marshall Plan aid allowed Europe to rebuild and become the prosperous continent it is today. As such, the Marshall Plan was ideal for this year’s History Day theme.

As I conducted my research, I learned that the Marshall Plan provided American aid to the nations of Western Europe following World War II. My interest in European recovery led me to investigate the Marshall Foundation website. This source provided unedited manuscripts of interviews with Secretary of State Marshall, as well as documentaries about Marshall and his involvement in European recovery. With this knowledge, I interviewed foreign policy expert Druso Daubon who gave me numerous examples of how the Marshall Plan has influenced many foreign policy initiatives to this day. Mr. Daubon also acquainted me with Professor Nye and the term “soft power.” I realized from this conversation that the term soft power was a perfect way to characterize Marshall Plan diplomacy.

A highlight of my research process was visiting the National Archives where I was able to experience the job of a historian by sifting through documents pertaining to the Marshall Plan. These documents provided primary source accounts on America’s goals for the plan and Europe’s perspective. Telegrams, memorandums, and personal notes illustrated the steps taken by American officials to establish the plan. These documents also revealed Soviet opposition and their use of propaganda to negatively influence other Europeans.

In order to further support my position that the Marshall Plan had a long lasting impact on American foreign policy, I consulted former State Department analyst, Christopher Clarke. Dr. Clarke stated that the Marshall Plan was “One of a very small handful of crucial post-war policies that determined the course of the next half-century.” This interview helped me better understand the Marshall Plan’s effect on European recovery and its long lasting legacy.

I chose the exhibit category because I wanted to display my project in a way that would capture the viewer’s attention. Photographs taken of Europe before and after the Marshall Plan clearly show the change from desperation and poverty to a stable continent. An exhibit is a powerful way to display images, quotes and stories of people involved in the Marshall Plan, who witnessed its effect on European society.

The Marshall Plan, a key turning point in American foreign policy, had long term consequences in proving the effectiveness of soft power diplomacy. It allowed much of Europe to rebuild itself after World War II, yet initially it was debated by the Congress, American citizens, and Europeans before it went into effect. While the Marshall Plan failed to prevent all of Europe from turning to communism, it did save Western and Southern Europe from this fate.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Acheson, Dean. "Turkish Request for American Aid." Memo to George C. Marshall. 28 Jan. 1948. State Department Records. U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.

This declassified State Department document lists numerous Turkish requests for millions of dollars in credit and financial assistance to purchase military and civilian ships, as well as funds for "strengthening their military." Money was also used for agricultural equipment, industrial development and modernization of Turkish airports. This document also revealed that some requests had to be denied "due to limited funds and previous commitments." I used this document to demonstrate that European governments were eager to receive American assistance.

Alphand, Herve. Interview. *George C. Marshall and the American Century*. Film. 1991.

This quote from French ambassador Herve Alphand clearly states the absolute poverty of Europe after World War II and what these countries needed just to survive. Its use makes clear the need for the Marshall Plan.

***American Expert Discusses Agricultural Equipment with Turkish Farmers*. 1949. The British Museum, London, England. *The British Museum*. Web. 3 Feb. 2011.**

I used this image to portray one aspect of America's soft power in Europe. An American advisor provides Turkish farmers with information about the operation of agricultural equipment.

***Anniversary of the Marshall Plan*. Cartoon. Ed. Marilyn Turkovich. Voices Education Project, Web. 29 Jan. 2011.**

This image depicts the debate in the United States of what would be more costly to America, either helping the Europeans or not acting and allowing the continent to recover on its own. I used this source to show the debate over the Marshall Plan.

Anschoetz, Norbert. "U.S. Credits Granted to Greek Government." Memo to John Auchinloss. 29 Jan. 1947. State Department Records. U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.

This memorandum from State Department diplomat Norbert Anschuetz, who was stationed in Greece, expressed the urgent request of the Greek government for financial assistance. This document uncovered during my research at the National Archives furthered my understanding of the compelling need for American financial assistance and provided perspective into the European point of view.

***"The American Bludgeon in the Solution of Market Problems."* Cartoon. *Izvestiya*. 3 Nov. 1949. *United States Library of Congress*. Web. 29 Jan. 2011.**

This political cartoon shows the Soviet view of the Marshall Plan and its attempts to discourage its acceptance in Europe. This primary source shows an American capitalist destroying the economic sovereignty of European nations. I used this source to show how the Soviets tried to turn Europeans against the Marshall Plan and the United States.

***Berliners Rummage through Trash for Food. The Century*. New York: Doubleday, 1998. p. 298. Print.**

This photograph shows the desperation and suffering in Germany following WWII. This primary source shows how Berliners were reduced to picking through trash for food to eat.

***Bombed Factories in Nijmegen, Holland. 1944. The Free Republic*, Web. 30 Jan. 2011.**

This photograph provides a good example of the devastation of Europe's infrastructure following World War II.

***Boy with New Shoes, Germany. 1948. Associated Press. George C. Marshall Foundation* Web. 7 May 2011.**

This photograph shows the joy on a young child's face after receiving a new pair of shoes provided by Marshall Plan aid. I used this image to illustrate the positive response of Europeans to American assistance.

Burke-White, Margaret. *Bombed Out Germany*. 1945. Time-Life, New York. *Life Magazine*. *Life Magazine in World War II*. Web. 23 Dec. 2010.

This image was used to demonstrate the devastation of Germany caused by Allied bombing during World War II.

Clifford, Clark. Interview. *George C. Marshall and the American Century*. 1991. Film.

Clark Clifford was special council to President Truman and very influential with the Marshall Plan. This first hand account on the situation in Europe after World War II clearly states that the problems could not be overcome by Europe itself and urged American assistance.

Cornfield, David. *Ruins of the German Reichstag*. 1945. Corbis Images, Web. 30 Jan. 2011.

This photograph illustrates the need to rebuild government buildings around Europe. The destruction of the Reichstag was just one of many destroyed government buildings in European capitals.

Daubon, Druso. Personal Interview. 30 Jan. 2011.

Druso Daubon is a foreign policy analyst at the National Security Analysis Department, Johns Hopkins University APL. In this interview he explained the concept of soft power and how the United States government uses it as a tool of American foreign policy. Mr. Daubon provided specific examples of American soft power initiatives. This interview dramatically expanded my knowledge of the concepts of soft power. I cite this interview as a primary source because Mr. Daubon is an expert in using soft power initiatives to eliminate sources of terrorism and he uses many of the Marshall Plan's lessons in his work.

***Elderly Women Walk among the Rubble of Newbury, England*. 1943. Associated Press. U.S. National Archives. Web. 29 Jan. 2011.**

This photograph illustrates the hardships faced by all aspects of English society during and after WWII.

“European Recovery Act (Public Law 472).” U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Web. 22 Nov. 2010.

The European Recovery Act was the official name of the Marshall Plan. This plan was aimed at providing financial aid and resources to the people of Europe in order to deal with the poverty and famine they were facing, as well as rebuild the participating nations.

German Information Center. *Stuttgart- Before and After the Marshall Plan. The Marshall Plan and the future of U.S.-European Relations.* German Information Center. 1973. New York: German Information Center, pp.46-47. Print.

I used this image to show the drastic change in West German infrastructure before and after the aid of the Marshall Plan. These primary source photographs reveal the impact of the Marshall Plan.

Haas, Ernst. *Shipments of Marshall Plan Supplies. The Century.* New York: Doubleday, 1998. p. 302. Print.

This photograph shows the enormous amount of supplies the United States sent to Western Europe as a result of the Marshall Plan. I used this source to show the amount of aid the United States provided to Europe after World War II.

Holland. The Dutch Government. *The Ship of Europe.* By Reijn Dirksen. Ed. Marilyn Turkovich, 1948. *Voices Education Project.* Web. 29 Jan. 2011.

This poster created by the Dutch government advertised the Marshall Plan and its benefits in creating a strong and unified Europe.

Horse, Outerbridge. Memo to John Auchincloss. 29 Jan. 1948. State Department Records. U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.

This letter from Foreign Service Officer Outerbridge Horse to the head of the State Department's Division of European Affairs illustrated the dire situation faced by the Belgium economy following World War II. In this letter, Horse explains Belgium's request for \$50 million dollars to, "tide them over financial difficulties." I used this source to show how the European countries were continuously asking for American financial aid.

Jackson, William. "United States Proposal for a European Settlement." 23 May 1946. State Department Position Statement. State Department Records. U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.

The important primary source provided a clear outline of the United States goals for the Marshall Plan and the assistance it would provide to Europe. This proposal was very influential to the eventual design of the Marshall Plan.

Kennan, George F. “The Political and Strategic Background of American Aid Programs.” Memo to State Department. Feb. 1948. *George C. Marshall Foundation*. Web. 31 Dec. 2010.

This site gave useful information on the strategic background of the Marshall Plan and the reasons for initiating it.

Latrides, John. “Reflections on America’s Intervention in Post-World War II Greece.” *Modern Greek Studies Association*. Yale Univ. Collection of Manuscripts and Archives. Web. 28 Dec. 2010.

This source portrayed the United States and the Soviet Union on a collision course over the fallen body of war-torn Greece. The influence of communist in Greece was one of the major catalysts of the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan.

Lovett, Robert. Memo to George C. Marshall. 12 Dec. 1947. State Department Records. U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.

This declassified “Top Secret” message from Under Secretary of State Robert Lovett to Secretary of State Marshall states that the Soviet Union was against European recovery. The Soviets wanted European economic collapse because they believed it would turn countries towards communism. According to Lovett the Soviets were using propaganda to turn the people of Europe against the United States and convince them that U.S. foreign policy was dominated by “selfish and predatory considerations.” I used this source to show the Soviets view of the Marshall Plan and how they were trying to use propaganda to get other European nations to reject the plan.

Marcus, Edwin. “Can He Block It?” Cartoon. *New York Times* [New York] June 1947. *United States Library of Congress*. Web. 29 Jan. 2011.

This image portrays the debate over whether Soviet leader Josef Stalin could successfully block Marshall Plan aid to Europe and impose his own ideas on Eastern Europe.

Marcus, Edwin “While the Shadow Lengthens.” Cartoon. *New York Times* [New York] 14 Mar. 1948 *United States Library of Congress*. Web. 29 Jan. 2011.

This cartoon shows the communist threat increasing as the United States debates funding the European Recovery Act. I used this document to demonstrate the arguments used by Marshall Plan advocates.

Marshall, George Catlett. Memo to State Department's Division of European Affairs. 12 Dec. 1947. State Department Records. U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.

This telegram from Secretary Marshall to the State Department's Division of European Affairs explains why the United States should give Italy assistance. Marshall states that the United States "did not fight the war in Italy to once again see the Italian people subjected to totalitarian rule." This source shows the reasons that George C. Marshall and President Truman stated it was necessary to implement the Marshall Plan.

Marshall, George Catlett. "Speech delivered by General George C. Marshall at Harvard University on June 5, 1947." *Modern History Sourcebook*: Ed. Paul Halsall. Fordham University. Web. 1 Dec. 2010.

This speech launched the Marshall Plan. Listening to it helped me to understand the arguments for the Marshall Plan saving Europe and the benefits to the United States as well.

Marshall Plan Bread for Greek Children. 1949. Bettman Archives. Corbis Images for Education. Web. 4 Feb. 2011.

This photograph shows how the Marshall Plan provided food for the children of Greece. This primary source creates a powerful comparison with earlier pictures of starving children.

Nelson, William. "Capitalist Europe on the Upswing." Cartoon. *Public Affairs Press 1947: Soviet History*. Web. 4 Feb. 2011.

This cartoon portrayed the Soviet view that the Marshall Plan was American economic imperialism.

The Netherlands. The Ministry of Economic Affairs. *The Marshall Plan and You*. By Jo Spire. The Hague, 1949. *United States Library of Congress*. Web. 29 Jan. 2011.

This government poster was designed to show the people of the Netherlands how important Marshall Plan aid was to European survival and post war recovery. I used it to show the European perspective.

Seymour, Davis. *Hungry Greek Children Wait in Line for Powdered Milk. 1948. The Century. New York: Doubleday, 1998. p. 296. Print.*

This photograph depicts the effects of the post-WWII economic crisis on children in Greece. This primary source helps to demonstrate the situation the communist were trying to take advantage of.

Something for Everyone. 1950. Averell Harriman Collection, United States Library of Congress. Web. 4 Feb. 2011.

This image shows a British family receiving a complete meal from the United States through the Marshall Plan. The United States seal is clearly displayed on the box of supplies.

Truman, Harry S. "President Truman's Message to Congress; March 12, 1947, Document 171." *United States National Archives. National Archives and Records Administration, Web. 22 Nov. 2010.*

In this speech, President Truman announced that the United States would financially support nations resisting Soviet or communist aggression. This speech shows that among the goals of the Marshall Plan was combating the spread of communism.

Polish Girl Surveys Ruins of Warsaw. United Press International. 1946. Time-Life Books. [New York] 1989. p. 438. Print.

This image graphically shows the utter destruction of Poland. Unfortunately, Josef Stalin would not allow Poland to accept Marshall Plan aid.

United States. European Recovery Program. *Whatever the Weather, We Only Reach Welfare Together. By E. Spreckmeester. United States, George C. Marshall Foundation. Web. 22 Nov. 2010.*

The flags of European nations form the blades of a windmill while the American flag forms the tail. This shows the unity the Marshall Plan created among Europe and the United States. I used this source to show how the Marshall Plan aid guided the European nations away from communism.

Walters, Vernon. Interview. *George C. Marshall and the American Century. 1991. Film.*

Vernon Walters served in Paris at Marshall Plan headquarters. In this quote, he clearly portrays the immense destruction in Europe after World War II and the very small amount of rebuilding that had been accomplished by Europeans three years after the war.

Wasserstein, Benard. *European Refugee Movement after WWII*. 1945. British Broadcasting Company, London, England. *BBC Online*. Web. 3 Feb. 2011.

This photograph shows German refugees being expelled from their homes after WWII as an act of vengeance. I used this image to show not only the destruction, but the vengeance faced by Germany following WWII.

***Starving Italian Children Watch Man Finish Gruel*. Wide World News. By Time-Life Books. Time-Life Books [New York], 1989. p. 445. Print.**

This photograph shows the poverty experienced by people in Italy following WWII and the “every man for himself” mentality that people had developed.

Secondary Sources

Bailey, T. and Kennedy D. *The American Pageant*. 10th ed. New York: DC Heath, 1994. pp. 892-894. Print.

This text informed me about the conditions in Europe following World War II which led to the Marshall Plan. The source allowed me to understand the poverty, famine, and desperation in Europe after the war.

Clarke, Christopher. Personal Interview. 11 May 2011.

Dr. Clarke, a retired U.S. State Department intelligence analyst, confirmed the importance of the Marshall Plan to modern American foreign policy. Dr. Clarke states that, “the Marshall Plan was one of a very small hand-full of crucial post-World War II policies that determined the course of the next half century. I used this source to better understand the Marshall Plan’s effect on the State Department today and how they handle foreign affairs.

Delong, Bradford. *The Economic History of the Twentieth Century*. University of California at Berkeley, Feb. 1997. Web. 27 Jan. 2011.

This source provided me with information on Europe’s economy following World War II and after the Marshall Plan. This source also gave me very useful graphs that allowed me to display statistics illustrating the positive effects of the Marshall Plan

Ferguson, Niall. "Dollar Diplomacy: How Much Did the Marshall Plan Really Matter?"
The New Yorker 27 Aug. 2007 *New Yorker Online*. Web. 16 Dec. 2010.

In this article, economic historian Niall Ferguson provided information on the use of financial aid as a foreign policy tool and a means of removing the causes of crisis around the world. It also evaluated the influence of the Marshall Plan on American foreign diplomacy in the years since the Marshall Plan.

Gaddis, John Louis. *The Cold War: A New History*. New York: Penguin, 2005. pp. 30-38. Print.

This source gave me information about Russia's acts against the Marshall Plan and their tactics to counter it. I used this source to build my knowledge of the Cold War and the political goals of the Marshall Plan.

George C. Marshall Foundation. *Marshall Foundation: Celebrating His Legacy, Inspiring New Leaders*. George C. Marshall Foundation, 2009. Web. 2 Feb. 2011.

This website provided key information on George C. Marshall's life and legacy. It was the source of several primary sources related to the Marshall Plan and a great documentary spanning Marshall's life. This website was also the source of the brief biography that I displayed on my exhibit.

Great Projects Film Corporation, National Endowment for the Humanities, and Geoffrey C. Ward. *George Marshall and the American Century*. Ken Levis and Kenneth Mandel. George C. Marshall Foundation, 1991. Web. 22 Nov. 2010.

This film gave me a broad overview of the situation in Europe following World War II and the need to prevent the type of desperation that existed in Germany following WWI, as well as the goal of preventing the spread of communism. The film also provided information on the Marshall Plan's strategy to provide assistance to Europe and the legacy of the Plan.

Greene, Felix. "The Enemy: What Every American Should Know About Imperialism." 1965. Spartacus Educational Schoolnet. Web. 27 Apr. 2011.

This source provided a negative American point of view on the Marshall Plan, demonstrating that not all Americans supported the plan. The source also shows that there were Americans who believed that the Marshall Plan was American imperialism just as the Soviets were saying. This secondary source shows the different sides of the debate over the Marshall Plan.

McCullough, David. *Truman*. New York: Simon and Shuster, 1992. pp. 564 - 582. Print.

This source gave me information on how important President Truman felt the Marshall Plan was to the safety of the United States and the free world. This source also provided information on the reasons why President Truman named the European Recovery Act the Marshall Plan and not the Truman Plan. He understood that Marshall's excellent reputation would help get the act passed in Congress.

Nye, Joseph. "Security and Smart Power." *American Behavioral Scientist* (Mar. 2008) Print.

This article provided by Mr. Daubon gave me insight into modern day uses of soft power. It was this article that gave me the idea of applying the current term "soft power" to describe Marshall Plan diplomacy.

"Operation Continuing Promise." *Operation Continuing Promise*. United States Navy Southern Command, 19 Nov. 2010. Web. 4 Feb. 2011.

This website explained how the United States Navy fosters good will in Latin America through *Operation Continuing Promise*, which is a soft power initiative.

Padoan, Pier C. "The Marshall Plan 60th Anniversary" *Lessons Learned*. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development Conference. Paris, France: 12 June 2007. Web. 19 Apr. 2011.

This source was a video recording of a conference hosted by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. It provided information on the Marshall Plan's impact on modern foreign policy since World War II. Conference presenters made clear that the Marshall Plan has become a synonym for successful economic cooperation.

Statistics and Reports Division, Office of Program and Policy Coordination. Agency for International Development. *Marshall Plan Assistance, Grants and Loans by Country*. 1967. *George C. Marshall Foundation*. Web. 29 Dec. 2010.

This source gave me exact data to display on my exhibit about the amount of funding each European country received through the Marshall Plan.

Tilghman, Andrew. "Survey: Officers Favor 'Soft Power'." 25 Sept. 2010: *Army Times*. Web. 4 Feb. 2011.

This article explains how military officers view soft power as an effective way to achieve American national security goals without the use of force, saving both military and civilian lives.

U.S. Department of State. Bureau of International Information Programs. *The Marshall Plan and its Relevancy After 60 Years*. Interview with Edwina Campbell. *USINFO*. U.S. Department of State, July 2007. Web. 6 Apr. 2011.

Edwina Campbell is Director of Political-Military Affairs Strategist Program at the U.S. Air Force Air Command and Staff College. In this source, she provides information about the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). This source helped me explain the relevance of the Marshall Plan to foreign policy today after 60 years.