

THE BIRTH OF THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE

Mark was glad to get back to Louisville and his job as a newspaperman. For two years he worked steadily at it; then, early in 1947, Secretary Byrnes appointed him the American delegate on the United Nations Commission of Investigation Concerning Greek Frontier Incidents, ^{||} a name fortunately usually shortened to the United Nations Balkan Commission.

The Commission was made up of one representative ^{from} of each of the eleven members of the Security Council: England, China, Australia, Syria, Brazil, Belgium, Colombia, France, Russia, Poland, and the United States. In addition to the chief delegate from each nation ^(there) were attached historians, lawyers, researchers, administration officers, military experts, secretaries, and stenographers, and the Secretariat of the United Nations itself ^{||} all in all, 120 members.

On Mark's delegation were Norbert Anschuetz, Harding Bancroft, Cy Black, Harry Howard, all from the State Department; Lieutenant Colonel A.C. (Ace) Miller, a military attaché in Athens assigned to the United States delegation because of his knowledge of the Greek situation; and two very young chaps, E. Donnell Bell and George Erminger,

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who served mostly as drivers.

The Commission's purpose was to investigate the Greek claim that the Communists of their own country, aided and abetted by Bulgaria, Albania, and Yugoslavia, were trying to overthrow the Greek government.

The Commission's ~~had its~~ baptism of Communist fervor ^{came} quickly. A large group of that persuasion ^{staged a rowdy demonstration} gathered in front of the Athens Palace, the hotel in which the majority of the Commission stayed and where it held its meetings, ~~and staged a rowdy demonstration.~~ ^{demonstrators} Mostly they were young, dark-skinned, curly-haired men with smears of beard along their jawbones. Shaking their fists angrily in the air, they shouted, "EAM...EAM... EAM...."

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To understand how these Greek guerrillas came into being we must go back briefly to those months of World War II just after the Germans overran Greece and joined with the Italians to occupy it. During that terrible time, guerrillas of every sort sprang up all over Greece to harass the occupation forces. The strongest group was ELAS, the fighting arm of the National Liberation Front, generally known as EAM from its Greek initials (Ethnikon ApoftheroStikon Matopon.)

Though EAM was sponsored from its beginning by the Communist Party of Greece, it kept this fact successfully hidden for some time. The

Why these initials?
full name?

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peasants believed ^{EAM was} ~~they were~~ working to liberate their country from the Germans and Italians and were enthusiastic in their support.

As time went on, many ^{Greeks} ~~people in Greece~~ became suspicious that EAM was Communist-oriented and ~~was~~ more interested in perpetuating its organization and its hold on Greece ^{than} in fighting the Germans and Italians. So the anti-Communists formed Rightist bands, mostly in Athens, to balance the power, EAM. ^{By} By the fall of 1944, when Greece was finally liberated from the Germans and Italians, the internal struggle between the Communists and anti-Communists was seething. On December 3, a Sunday, Greece was ravaged by ferocious fighting between EAM on one side and the Athens police, Greek reserves, British troops still in the country, and Rightists on the other. The savage struggle went on for weeks. Homes were set on fire; public buildings and stores were bombed; untold numbers of men, women, and children were wounded and killed. Peace ~~of a sort~~ came at last when the British sent in reserves and whipped the EAM guerrillas into submission.

It was peace of a sort, but it didn't last. Soon EAM was maneuvering again to overthrow the

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Greek government. By the time the Commission arrived in ~~early 1947~~, there had been guerrilla fighting practically over all Greece.

For three weeks the Commission held hearings in Athens, ^{interviewing} ~~it interviewed~~ Communists and non-Communists, government officials, Bulgarians, Albanians, Yugoslavs, ^{and} everybody it could find who might throw light on the situation. The Greek Communists testified they were fighting on their own to free their countrymen from the oppressive Monarchist-Fascist government, while the Bulgarians, Yugoslavs, and Albanians swore they had no part whatsoever in these ^{guerrilla} activities. When ^{the Commission} ~~it~~ finished the Athens hearings, ~~the~~ ^{it} Commission moved to Salonika ⁱⁿ ~~to~~ the northeast corner of Greece, where the guerrillas were the most active.)

no 9 ^{it} There ~~the Commission~~ continued to interview the Greek Communists and anti-Communists, Mark trying to get proof beyond a reasonable doubt that Yugoslavian, Bulgaria, and Albania were behind the guerrilla raids. In a sense the hearings were fast becoming academic, for while the Commission met and heard witnesses, Greece was ^{on} ~~coming to~~ the verge of collapse. The country's ~~conditions~~

^{was}
~~were~~ ripe for Communism: the railroads had been
 cut; food couldn't move; ~~the~~ people were without
 work. Out of a population of ^{7,000,000} ~~seven million~~, a
^{1,500,000} ~~million and a half~~ were unemployed; ^{the} the equivalent
 of ^{30,000,000} ~~thirty million~~ unemployed in the United States.

1.2.
 returned
 to Athens

Early in February, before leaving Athens,
 Mark had sent a dispatch to the State Department,
 saying it appeared to him there was going to be
 an all-out Communist push to take over the Greek
 government. ~~Then~~, several times he returned from
 Salonika ^{to Athens} to collaborate with our ambassador to
 Greece, Lincoln MacVeagh, and Paul Porter, who
 was in Greece ^{as} as the head of a United States
 Economic Mission, on cables warning the Department
 of the ominous [?] situation.

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 to
 Athens

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General George C. Marshall, who had fairly
 suddenly replaced Byrnes as Secretary of State;
 Loy Henderson, director of Near Eastern and
 African Affairs in the State Department, and others
 were aroused. ~~The~~ President ^{Truman} decided to appear
 before a joint session of Congress and General Marshall
 prepared a "Memorandum," dated February 27, for him
 to use. ~~General~~ Marshall also presented it ^{on} the
 morning of the twenty-seventh at the White House
 to congressional leaders.

couldn't read

mount to \$250,000,000. It is altogether possible, and indeed probable, that there will be further needs next year. In addition to financial help it is essential that the Greeks be given assistance in the expenditure of these funds in the reconstruction of the essential services in the country, such as railroads, harbor facilities, bridges, highways, et cetera, and in the reorganization of the civil service which ^{has} ~~has~~ been threatened by the occupation and inflation.

"Our interests in Greece is by no means restricted to humanitarian or friendly impulse. If Greece should dissolve into civil war, it is altogether probable that it would ^{be} emerge as a communist state under Soviet control. Turkey will be surrounded and the Turkish situation, to which I will refer in a moment, would in turn become still more critical. Soviet domination might thus extend over the entire Middle East to the borders of India. The effect of this upon Hungary, Austria, Italy, and France cannot be overestimated. It is not alarmist to say that we are faced with the first crisis of a series which might extend Soviet domination to Europe, the Middle East, and Asia.

"There is no power other than the United

States which can act to avert this crisis....

"We can give you ^{no} ~~an~~ assurance that American assistance ⁱⁿ ~~is~~ Greece will unquestionably save the situation, but ^{it} ~~is~~ plainly evident that that situation cannot be saved without American assistance. The choice is between acting with energy or losing by default.

"The problem in Turkey is slightly different. The Russians, by conducting a war of nerves, have kept the entire Turkish Army mobilized with the resulting drain upon the economy of that country which it cannot long support under ~~its~~ present antiquated economic structure. It needs two things: financial assistance to increase its productiv^eness and some help to the end that its military forces may be rendered equally effective with fewer men.... Our military authorities are united in the view that the maintenance of the integrity of Turkey is essential to the entire independent structure of the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East.

"Impr^oved relations and better understanding with the Soviet Union will be much more difficult of achievement if we allow the situation in Greece and Turkey to deteriorate.

"As you can see³ ~~from~~ [#] what I've said the present situation is not one which permits of delay or

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inaction. We are at the point of decision...."

Unaware of the Secretary of State's "Memorandum" for it had not yet reached him, Mark traveled once more on February 27th from Salonika to Athens for a meeting at the embassy with Ambassador MacVeagh and Paul Porter. They decided to send another ~~most~~ urgent cable to General Marshall and mark it "for the President's eyes." The Ambassador signed it. It said in part:

"Porter, Ethridge, and I desire to emphasize that we have been in consultation over general situation and that opinions expressed in my telegrams, Feb. 9, Feb. 11, Feb. 17 represent views of all them. In addition, following concerted meeting last night:

"(One) We feel situation here so critical that no time should be lost in applying any remedial means, even if only a temporary character within possibilities of U.S. and S.C. [Security Council]. Impossible to say how soon collapse may be anticipated, but we believe that to regard it as anything but imminent would be highly unsafe.

"If nothing but economic and financial features were to be considered, full collapse from Greece's present position might take several months. However, deteriorating morale, both of civil servants and

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armed forces, as well as of general public owing to inadequate income, fear of growing banditry, lack of confidence in Government and exploitation by international Communists create possibility of much more rapid denouement.

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"(Two) We believe best way ~~combat~~ explosive situation would be to help re-create confidence in state and in future of Greece as democracy of Western type by removing at least in present acute stage growing fear of inflation and consequently of increased misery and by making plain to everyone including Soviet Union our determination not to permit foreign encroachment either from without or within, on independence of Greece...."

note omission in "20" here

Mr. Truman moved with miraculous swiftness. On March 12, he asked a joint session of Congress for an appropriation of \$400,000,000 ~~+~~ \$250,000,000 for Greece and \$150,000,000 for Turkey, It was the very first step in the United States policy to contain Communism.

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When the announcement of the appropriation appeared in the Greek papers, alarm spread through the Russian ~~Commission~~ ^{members of the Commission}. "What does that move of your President mean, Mr. Ethridge?" inquired A.A. Lavrishev, the chief Russian delegate.

Russian Commission OK? see p. 273 etc for any earlier mentions?

"It means ^W, Mark answered, "you can't do ^{it}."

Quote OK here?
Antecedent of "it"?

After further hearings in Salonika, the Commission moved on to Sofia, in spite of the Russians' and Poles' vociferous objections. Naturally, ^{they} ~~the Russians and Poles~~ didn't want the Commission to go into Bulgaria to see personally if the Bulgars were providing help to the Greek guerrillas; but the majority of the Commissioners ^{decided} felt they needed to go, so they just said, "~~We are a United Nations Commission and we can go where we please.~~"

⁷ Again they spent days interviewing Bulgarian Communists and Greek Communists in Bulgaria and came to the conclusion that the Bulgars were playing a minor role compared to ^{that} ~~those~~ of the Yugoslavs.

Both the Greeks and Bulgars testified that Yugoslavia was furnishing the chief of command for the Greek guerrillas.

In addition to the new information gathered in Sofia, Mark was grateful for the visit there, ~~for it gave him~~ the chance to renew some of the friendships he had made ^{there} two years before. George C. Chakalov, let out of prison only two days before the Commission's arrival in Sofia, came to see him, but he didn't have much to say about conditions in Bulgaria. In fact, he didn't ^{really} know anything ~~the~~ ^{he} ~~had~~ been locked up. And he expected to be locked

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up again, he ^{said} ~~told Mark~~, as soon as the Commission left. Miraculously, he wasn't. Mark ^{received} ~~still gets~~ Christmas cards from him ^{year after year}.

Mark also saw other friends: Maynard Barnes, who was still the United States political representative in Bulgaria; ^{and} his wife Jean; and Nikola Petkov, who was still free, speaking his mind, and ⁱⁿ damping the Communist devils.

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From Bulgaria, the Commission went to Belgrade, Yugoslavia, ^{where} ~~here~~ it continued to hear ~~more~~ testimony, along the same line it had heard in Greece and Bulgaria, ^{that} it was Greece itself that wanted a Communist government, ^{not} a Monarchy-Fascist dictatorship.

After Yugoslavia, the Commission closeted itself in Geneva to write the report of its findings to present to the Security Council. It was a long, tedious job. The testimony alone that the Commission had gathered covered more than twenty thousand pages. At last, after six hard-working weeks, the report was finished and all that was left to be done was the signing of it by the delegates.

What
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be
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On the day for the signing, Mr. Mendes-vianna of Brazil, ^{who} ~~and he~~ passed from member to member Parts I and II of the report, which dealt ^{with} the Commission's actual findings. All eleven delegates signed. Then Part III, which

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contained conclusions, was passed. ^{9.} The Conclusions asserted that Greece's three northern neighbors ^H Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugolsvia ^H had encouraged, trained, and supported the Greek guerrillas in their armed activities against the Greek government.

Eight delegates, representing England, the United States, ^{China} Australia, Syria, Brazil, Belgium, and Colombia signed. However, Belgium and Colombia inserted a reservation that, although the facts led to the conclusions ^H arrived at, they were not sure the Commission had the right to draw conclusions.

^H France, which was in a very ticklish position because of the growing strength of the Communists within her own borders, abstained, ^H and Russia and Poland, of course, dissented in conclusions of their own, blaming conditions in Greece solely upon reactionary Greek government and thereby clearing Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugolsavia of any guilt.

Mark felt the Commission had accomplished a great deal. ^{by letting} It ~~had~~ let the world know the true situation in Greece and ^{showing} ~~had shown~~ Russia that she and her satellites would not go unchallenged.

And then there was the Truman Doctrine. ^H Through the ~~Truman~~ Doctrine was not the work of the Commission, it assuredly had come about because the Commission was in Greece, giving Mark the opportunity to see the woeful conditions there and, with the help ^H of Ambassador MacVeagh and Paul Porter, to write ~~their urgent pleas~~ ~~for help.~~

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the messages that created the Truman Doctrine. And the importance of that piece of legislation is immeasurable. Probably it ranks second only to the Marshall Plan in our post war foreign policy - helping people to help themselves.

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