



(A) THE GREEK-TURKISH AID PROGRAM (THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE)

The Greek-Turkish Aid Program was in direct response to appeals to the United States Government by the Governments of Greece and Turkey for financial and economic assistance to meet the emergencies with which the two countries were faced early in 1947. The threat of communist domination lay over both and there was danger that, without outside help, Greece would not survive as an independent democracy and that Turkey might be unable to resist the pressure to which the Soviets were subjecting her.

During the war both countries had received aid from Great Britain and the United States. Turkey maintained its independence but Greece came under the domination of the Nazis and the four years of enemy occupation wrought great destruction of its resources, with the result that during the two years following the liberation of the country, little progress was made toward recovery despite relief assistance from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, supplemented by substantial aid from Great Britain. Communist elements took advantage of the situation and the country was torn by civil warfare carried on largely by guerrilla forces supported by communist groups outside the country.

While conditions in Turkey were less serious economically, the nation had been under constant pressure from the Soviet Government which necessitated the maintenance of armed forces at full strength. It was feared that if the situation continued Turkey's ability to withstand the pressure would be destroyed.

The United States, acting in accordance with agreement reached at the Yalta Conference in February, 1945, to assist liberated countries in establishing democratic governments, had sent a mission to participate with representatives of Great Britain and France in observing the Greek elections on March 31, 1946. President Truman, by executive order on November 17, 1945, appointed Henry F. Grady as his representative to head the mission and on

January 11, 1946, named six other members of the delegation. The allied mission completed its report on April 10, 1946 and, in a statement the following day, said the elections were, on the whole, free and fair. (1)

Conditions in Greece failed to improve and in January, 1947, the United States sent an economic mission headed by Paul A. Porter to Greece to examine economic conditions in the country and determine what outside assistance was necessary to bring about recovery and reconstruction. This mission was in Greece from January 8 to March 22, 1947. It found little progress toward recovery had been made during the two years following the liberation and that the country was threatened with economic disaster. It recommended the United States immediately extend financial aid.

The situation reached a crisis late in February, 1947, when the British Government announced that it could no longer continue the aid to Greece and Turkey which it had been furnishing, and on February 24th, through its Ambassador in Washington, it notified this government of its decision.

The President held several meetings and consultations with members of the Cabinet and others and on February 27th called in a group of Congressional leaders for a bipartisan discussion of the situation. Those present included Senators Arthur H. Vandenberg, (Rep.) Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Tom Connally, (Dem.), ranking minority member of the committee; Alben W. Barkley, minority leader of the Senate; Bridges, (Rep.) Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee; Speaker Joseph Martin of the House of Representatives; Representatives Sam Rayburn, minority leader of the House, Eaton, (Rep.) Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee; and Bloom, ranking minority member of the committee. Also present were the Secretary and Under Secretary of State. Representative Taber, (Rep.) Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee was unable to attend but went to the White House later in the day and was briefed by the President.

On March 3, the Greek Government appealed directly to the United States for help. In a note (2) addressed to the President and the Secretary of State, Prime Minister Maximos and the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs Tsaldaris, requested financial, economic and expert assistance,



which they said was necessary if Greece was to survive. They asked for such aid as needed to bring about economic recovery, to enable them to obtain essential imports necessary for the subsistence of the people, to organize and equip the armed forces so as to restore order in the country, to enable them to restore their production facilities and for American administrative and technical personnel to help in the work of reconstruction.

In a statement accompanying the public release of the Greek appeal on March 4th, Secretary of State Marshall said that for sometime the United States Government had been endeavoring in various ways to assist in restoring the economy of Greece.

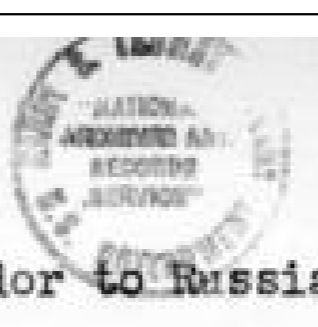
"For sometime," he said, "this Government has been endeavoring in various ways to assist in the restoration of the economy of Greece. Spurred by appeals from the Greek Government, it has been studying ways and means of providing additional assistance. This study impelled the dispatch of the economic mission headed by Paul A. Porter which is now in Greece. It has also involved consultations and exchanges of ideas with the Greek Government and the British Government, which has likewise been bending every effort to help Greece."



"Recently reports from our own representatives and from the Greek and British Governments have shown that the economic condition of Greece has deteriorated to the verge of collapse. The Greek Government has renewed its request for help. In the light of the world situation, this is a matter of primary importance to the United States. It has received the urgent attention of the President and the executive agencies concerned. It has been discussed with the appropriate congressional leaders.

"I cannot say anything today regarding the action which may be taken, other than that a full public statement will be made very soon, when the executive agencies have completed their consideration of the matter. The problems involved are so far-reaching and of such transcendent importance that any announcement relating to them could properly come only from the President himself. The final decisions will rest with the President and the Congress."

The problems raised by these developments -- the British action and the Greek appeal -- gave the President much concern and were the subject of study by many officials in the government. At a Cabinet meeting on March 7th, the Greek question was discussed at length and the President appointed a Cabinet Committee which included Secretary of the Treasury Snyder, Secretary of War Patterson, Secretary of the Navy Forrestal, Under Secretary of State Acheson



and W. Averell Harriman, Secretary of Commerce, and former Ambassador to Russia, to map plans for presenting the facts to leading persons throughout the country.

The President and his advisers continued their studies of the situation and on March 10th, the President met again with Congressional leaders to consider the steps planned to aid Greece and Turkey. The group included Senators Vandenberg, Barkley, Connally, Taft (Rep.) and White (Rep.) and Kellar, (Dem.) and Representatives Martin, Eaton, Bloom, Taber, Rayburn, Halleck (Rep.), Cannon (Dem.) and Mahon (Dem.).

Following this meeting, announcement was made that the President would address the Congress on the following Wednesday, March 12. On that day he went before a Joint Session and outlined the situation. In this address he asked the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of \$400,000,000 for the period ending June 30, 1948. He also asked authorization for the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey to help in the reconstruction work and to supervise the use of such assistance as might be furnished. (3)

The President's message brought quick reaction throughout the world and was generally well received. There was immediate response from Greek leaders who expressed their gratitude in behalf of the nation.

On May 7th, Under Secretary of State Acheson delivered the address at Cleveland, Mississippi. (4) The President had accepted an invitation to speak to the Delta Council there on that day but was unable to make the trip and Mr. Acheson spoke in his place. It was this address which the President felt marked the real beginning of the foreign policy of his Administration. In it, Mr. Acheson set forth what he termed "some of the basic facts of life with which we are primarily concerned today in the conduct of foreign relations" -- that most of the countries of Europe and Asia were in a state of physical destruction or economic dislocation, that Germany and Japan, upon whose production Europe and Asia were largely dependent, had been unable to begin the process of reconstruction, and that crop failures in Europe had further impeded reconstruction.

The address attracted immediate attention abroad and was followed here by the introduction in the Congress of legislation to provide the assistance re-

requested by the President. The act authorizing United States aid was passed and was signed by the President on May 22. (5) Under the Act Congress authorized the appropriation of \$400,000,000 of which \$300,000,000 was allotted to Greece. These funds were made available for assistance through June 30, 1948, with expenditures to be administered by an American mission.

In signing the Act, the President said that its passage by the Congress was proof "that the United States earnestly desires peace and is willing to make a vigorous effort to help create conditions of peace." (6) On the following day the President signed an executive order prescribing regulations for carrying out provisions of the law. (7)

On June 5, 1947, at a press and radio conference, the President announced the appointment of Dwight P. Griswold, former Governor of Nebraska, as Chief of the United States mission to direct and supervise the aid and of Richard F. Allen, who had directed American Red Cross relief work in Europe, including the programs in France before and after the German invasion, as Field Administrator for Relief. The President said at the time that the Greek-Turkish Program was advocated by the administration for two important reasons, first, to extend aid to starving millions and to help restore the economy of the countries and, second, to help those nations which wanted to preserve their freedoms and to set up a bulwark against totalitarian aggression.

Immediately following the approval of the aid act representatives of the United States Government entered into negotiations with Greek and Turkish representatives on conditions to govern administration of the aid. The President, on May 31st, approved the draft of a proposed agreement and on June 20th, the agreement was signed by the United States and Greek representatives. A similar agreement with Turkey was signed on July 12th.

Early in 1948, it became evident that additional military aid would be required for Greece and Turkey because of the intensified guerilla operations and on March 22nd a Bill was introduced by Senator Vandenberg to provide such aid. This legislation was incorporated in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948 which the President signed on April 3rd. Of the \$275,000,000 authorized, \$225,000,000 was appropriated in a measure which became law on June 28th. Subsequent aid to Greece and Turkey was provided under the European Recovery Pro-



(A) The Greek-Turkish Aid Program; Notes, sources and references:

- (1) Executive Order providing for U.S. representation in observing Greek Elections. Statement of the Allied Mission, April 11, 1946.
- (2) Text of Greek note is not contained in these papers but is in Department of State records; see Vol. XVI, No. 409A, May 4, 1947, Department of State Bulletin supplement.
- (3) Text of President Truman's address to Joint Session of Congress, March 12, 1947.
- (4) Text of Dean Acheson's address at Cleveland, Mississippi, May 8, 1947.
- (5) P.L. 75, 80th Congress.
- (6) Text of Statement by the President on signing Greek-Turkish Aid, May 22, 1947.
- (7) Executive Order prescribing regulations for carrying out provisions of the Greek-Turkish Aid law.
- (8) See notes on the European Recovery Program (the Marshall Plan), Section D.

(Various other statements, announcements and orders relating to the Greek-Turkish Aid program have been included as available.)