A SUMMARY ACCOUNT
by Harry J. Hornaday

I. General

Since 1946-47, the United States has been concerned with the problem of threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece. Through the United Nations it has sought to preserve the integrity of Greece against the actions of her northern neighbors and to find some solution of the problems therein involved. Through its aid missions, American AID to Greece and the Economic Cooperation Administration, it has sought to help Greece to regain the capacity to cope with the Communist attempt to overthrow the constitutional system in Greece, and to assist that country along the road toward social and economic reconstruction.

II. The Greek Problem
in the Security Council, 1946-47

CONSIDERATION OF THE GREEK PROBLEM IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The Security Council first considered the problem of Greece as a result of a letter of the representative of the U.S.S.R. on January 23, 1946 under article 18 of the Charter which charged that the presence of British troops in Greece was a threat to international peace and security. Since no disposition was made on the part of the Security Council, however, to agree with the Soviet thesis, the charge was not sustained. The Greek question came before the Security Council for a second time in August 1947 as a result of a cable from the Ukrainian Minister of Foreign Affairs on August 24, 1946 under article 30 of the Charter which charged that the policy of the Greek Government had produced a situation in the Balkans endangering international peace and security. The question was discussed between August 28 and September 30, 1946 but once more the Security Council declined to accept the Soviet thesis.

Since December 1944, the United Nations has been especially concerned with the problem of threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece. The problem of Greece was brought to the attention of the Security Council for the third time when, on December 3, 1945, the representative of Greece, under articles 35 and 35 (1) of the Charter, requested that the Security Council give early consideration to a situation which, it was charged, was leading to friction between Greece, on the one hand, and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the other. The Greek Government declared that the guerrilla movement in Greece was receiving support from Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, that groups of men were trained for guerrilla activities in Greece, and that foreign assistance had been given to the guerrillas.

THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION OF INVESTIGATION

On December 19 the Security Council unani- mously approved a resolution establishing a Commission of Investigation on which the representatives of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Yugoslavia were attached. This Commission was made to hold an on-the-spot investigation in order to ascertain the facts as to the disturbed situation along the northern frontiers of Greece.
signed its report in Geneva on May 28, 1947. Among other things, it found that Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia had, in fact, been initiating the Greek guerrilla movement, as charged, and it proposed that the Security Council recommend that the four parties concerned do their best to establish normal and good neighborly relations, abstain from any action likely to maintain or increase the tension in the frontier region, and refrain from any support of elements in neighboring countries aiming at the overthrow of the lawful governments of those countries. Secondly, the Commission proposed that the four parties enter into new frontier conventions along the lines of the Greek-Bulgarian convention of 1931. It was also suggested that a body be established to investigate frontier violations or complaints, use its good offices, make studies and investigations, and report to the Security Council. Finally, it was suggested that the proposed commission study the question of international refugee and the practicability of the voluntary transfer of minorities.

The representatives of the U.S.S.R. and Poland, who held the Government of Greece solely responsible for the troubled situation along the northern frontier, subscribed neither to the conclusions of the Commission nor to its recommendations.

III. The General Assembly and the Problem of Greece, 1947-48

THE QUESTION OF THE "CONFLICT TO POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF GREECE",

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1947

The Security Council discussed the Greek problem during June, July, and August 1947, but because of the Soviet veto, it was unable to reach any decision. The question was taken off the agenda of the Security Council on September 15 on the motion of the United States representative, and on September 28 the General Assembly decided to the question of "threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece" on its agenda. On October 21, 1947, the General Assembly, by a vote of 43 to 4, with 11 abstentions, approved a resolution establishing the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, with representatives of 11 nations, although the U.S.S.R. and Poland refused to serve, and endorsed it with powers of observation and conciliation, in general accord with the recommendations of the original Commission of Investigation. Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia were called upon forthwith to cease giving assistance to the Greek guerrilla movement and Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Yugoslavia were called upon to cooperate in the settlement of their disputes by peaceful means. To that end it was recommended that the four parties concerned:

1. Establish normal diplomatic and good neighborly relations among themselves as soon as possible;
2. Establish frontier conventions providing for effective machinery for the regulation and control of their common frontiers and the specific settlement of frontier incidents and disputes;
3. Cooperate in the settlement of the problems arising out of the presence of refugees in the four states concerned;
4. Study the practicability for concluding agreements for the voluntary transfer of minorities.

The United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, composed of the active representation of Australia, Brazil, China, France, Mexico, the Netherlands, Pakistan, the United Kingdom, and the United States, began its work in Greece in November 1947, and has continued to sit in that country, either in Salonika (December 1947-July 1948) or in Athens (July 1948-49).

In its first report to the General Assembly signed at Geneva on June 30, 1948, the Special Committee:

For text see Doc. A/574; Report of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, p. 36. The Special Committee had previously submitted two interim reports to the Secretary-General, on Dec. 31, 1947 (U.N. doc. A/929) and Jan. 10, 1948 (U.N. doc. A/922). For convenience these reports, together with that of June 30, 1948, may be found in Documents and Reports, Sept.-Oct. 1947, pp. 523-571, and 599-632. It may also be noted that a supplementary report of the Special Committee on the Balkans was signed on Sept. 30, 1948 (U.N. doc. A/962) and an interim report was signed on Oct. 26, 1948 (U.N. doc. A/963). The supplementary report and the third interim report which gave further details and confirmed the conclusions reached on June 30, 1948, may be found respectively in Documents and Reports, September 1948, pp. 419-423, and January 1949, pp. 483-493.

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Committee unanimously reached a number of conclusions. Although it had consistently endeavored to establish normal diplomatic and good neighborly relations between Greece and its northern neighbors, only the government of Greece cooperated with it in any way. Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia not only refused to cooperate with it but also refused to recognize it as a legitimate body of the United Nations. The Special Committee was therefore unable substantially to assist the four governments concerned (1) the establishment of normal relations, (2) frontier conventions, (3) political refugees, and (4) voluntary transfer of minorities. It was evident to the Committee that good neighborly relations did not exist between Greece and her northern neighbors. Moreover, it appeared to the Special Committee that the Greek guerrillas were receiving assistance from Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia. Because of the character and scale of the support, it was the view of the Special Committee that it had been given "with the knowledge of the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia." The Committee was convinced that as long as the situation along the northern frontiers indicated such support, a threat to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece would exist and international peace and security in the Balkans would be endangered. Despite the refusal of the northern neighbors of Greece to cooperate with it, the Special Committee was also convinced that it would be possible to assist the four governments concerned toward a peaceful settlement in the interest of all if Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, like Greece, were prepared to act in accordance with the resolution of October 21, 1947, and in the spirit of the United Nations Charter.

The Special Committee made a number of recommendations in its report of June 30, 1948. The first of these states that as long as the disturbed conditions continued it was essential that an agency of the United Nations be established with the functions of "investigating" along the northern frontiers of Greece and of endeavoring to bring about a peaceful settlement. It also recommended that the General Assembly consider "ways and means of obtaining the cooperation of Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia with the Special Committee."

THE ACTIVITIES OF UNICEF (1949)

Meanwhile the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans continued its work although it suspended its conciliation role until the "Conciliation Committee" headed by Dr. Ernst had terminated its work and submitted a report. In its unanimous report to the fourth session of the General Assembly signed on August 15, 1949, in Athens, the Special Committee notes that "Albania is the principal source of material assistance" to the Greek guerrillas. The report declares that Albanian support has been "vital to the continuance of the Greek guerrilla movement since all the main guerrilla concentrations are found on the Albanian frontier." This is not to be overlooked, however. The report notes that Yugoslavia has continued assistance to the Greek guerrillas and "providing it to whom has been openly proclaimed by the Bulgarian Government." On the other hand, it is indicated that Yugoslav assistance has recently declined, following the Yugoslav-Communist rift in 1949, and note is made of Marshal Tito's speech of July 20, 1949, concerning the role of the Greek-Yugoslav frontier. The report stresses the very important assistance of Romania to the Greek guerrillas, including the fact that the "Free Greece" radio has been moved from the neighborhood of Belgrade to the vicinity of Bucharest, and states that this assistance "together with that of the other Soviet satellites, points toward "the existence of a highly coordinated system of support" to the Greek guerrillas movement." As the report declares, on a number of occasions the Greek guerrillas have openly acknowledged their foreign support, as stated by the Greek Communist Party itself on January 30-31, 1948, when it proclaimed "in the Popular Democracy we found great and whole-hearted support without which we could not have made progress." Among other things, the report calls attention to the fact that none of the approximately 20 thousand Greek children removed from Greece to the territories of her northern neighbors during 1948 have been returned to Greece in accordance with the unanimous resolution of the General Assembly signed on August 15, 1949 (UN Doc. A/4525). The report states that these children will be returned to their homes by the Greek Government, and that the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans will continue its work until this is done.

November 27, 1948. Nevertheless, thousands of Greek children, contrary to the spirit of that resolution, have been transferred from one Soviet satellite state to another. Moreover "in violation of fundamental humanitarian principles, some of these children, both boys and girls of adolescent age, have been sent back to Greece to fight in the ranks of the guerrillas." The report outlines the conciliatory efforts of the Special Committee, noting that its conciliatory role was suspended for 3 months during 1949 to avoid duplicating the efforts of the Conciliation Committee, of which Dr. H. V. Ernst was chairman. The Special Committee, however, immediately resumed this role after the termination of Dr. Ernst's activities. Although the Soviet Union and Poland refused to cooperate in the work of the Special Committees, Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia refused to cooperate or even to recognize the documents of the Committee were sent regularly to these governments, and the Committee remained available to assist Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Yugoslavia in the solution of their difficulties. The report concludes that "the continuance of the present situation constitutes a threat to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece and to peace in the Balkans," reaffirming conclusions which the Special Committee had reached in 1948. The report contains no recommendations which are to be the subject of a supplementary report before the General Assembly takes up the Greek problem in the autumn of 1949.

TEXT OF REPORT OF U. N. SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE BALKANS

Secretariat Official Records:

Chapter I. Creation, Function and Organization of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans

A. THE CRYPTO QUESTION BEFORE THE THIRD REGULAR SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

[Note: The text that appears in Supplement No. 1 (A/508) is not printed here. However, the supplementary report (UN Doc. A/508) will contain a complete chronology of the Greek question from 1938 to the present.]