

DRAFT 3/4/47

President's Message to Congress on the Greek Situation

*This is my first draft of
the March 4 draft - corrected.
by me before retyping into
the official March 4 draft. The
missing pages
are found on
the enclosure
pnp*

I lay before you today for consideration and decision a grave
problem of national security.

The British Government, through its Ambassador in Washington, has
informed the Government of the United States that as of March 31, this
year, it will be obliged to discontinue its program of financial and economic
assistance to Greece.

On March 3 the Secretary of State received, from the Greek Govern-
ment, through the Greek Minister in Washington, an urgent appeal for
financial, economic, and expert assistance from the United States. The
text of this message has been made public. ~~The Greek Government states~~
that ~~the~~ ^{from outside} Assistance is imperative, ^{says the Greek Government,} if Greece is to survive. Greece is
today without funds to finance the importation even of those ^{con-}sumption
goods which are essential for bare subsistence. Under these circumstances,
says the Greek Government, the people of Greece cannot make progress in
attacking problems of reconstruction, ~~even though substantial reconstruction~~
~~must be begun if the situation is not to continue to be critical.~~ The
Greek Government therefore asks for financial and economic assistance

which

which will ^{for the following purposes:}

~~enable Greece~~ ^{in order to enable Greece} immediately to resume purchases of food, clothing, ^{fuel,} ~~fuel,~~

seeds, and the like, that are indispensable for the subsistence of her

people and that are only obtainable from abroad;

^{in order to} enable the civil and military establishments of the Greek Government

^{import} ~~to operate~~ from abroad the means ^{for} restoring the tranquillity and feeling

of security necessary for economic and political recovery;

^{and in order to} enable Greece to create the means for self-support in the future.

Finally the Greek Government asks for the assistance of experienced

American administration^s, economic and technical personnel to assure the

utilization in an effective and up-to-date manner of the financial and

other assistance given to Greece, and to help restore a healthy condition

in the domestic economy and public administration. ~~the~~

The Greek Government expresses its determination to restore Greece

as a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy, but states that because

^{of these} circumstances ^{it} ~~they~~ must have aid from the outside.

8 I do not believe that the American people would be willing to see

this desperate appeal from the Greek Government for assistance in maintaining

its

its independence and democracy ^{turned down,} ignored. I therefore ask you today to grant to ~~the~~ Executive sufficient authority ^{extend assistance} to give help to the Greek Government, of a kind and on the scale that is required by the circumstances.

implications, and it would be lay some of these before you today.
 The primary objective of the foreign policy of the United States

is the creation of conditions in which nations shall be able to work out their own way of life free of coercion by other nations. This is the deeper meaning of ~~our~~ ^{the} war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won against countries ~~who~~ ^{who sought} to impose their will ~~upon~~ ^{upon} other nations. ~~To the end of~~ ^{In order to} creating conditions for the ~~and~~ peaceful development of nations free from coercion the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations, which is designed to make possible freedom and independence for all its members.

^{Our} ~~The~~ policy of ~~this country~~ of maintaining a world of free peoples means that we resist aggressive movements of any kind, whether they be Fascist, Nazi, or Communist, ~~which~~ ^{which} seek to impose upon other countries dictatorial regimes. This policy is a frank recognition that only in such a world can the United States maintain its freedom and ~~our~~ security.

A Frank

A frank appraisal of the present world situation, nevertheless,
~~requires recognition of the fact~~ ^{suggests} that majorities in a number of countries
of the world have had totalitarian forms of government imposed upon them
against their will. In recent months the Government of the United States
has made it clear that it considers that this has ^{already} happened ~~already~~ in
Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I think we must also frankly admit that
in a number of other countries there is imminent danger of similar
developments.

At the present moment in world history there is a conflict between
two ways of life. One way of life is based upon the will of the majority,
free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees
of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from
political oppression. The second way of life is based upon the imposition
of the will of a minority upon a majority, upon control, by a minority, of
the press and other means of communication, and upon terror and oppression.

It is the policy of the United States to give support to free
peoples who are attempting to resist subjugation ^{by} ~~from~~ armed minorities or
~~from~~ outside forces. It is our policy to assist ~~in securing the ability~~
^{free} peoples ~~who are now free~~ to work out their own destiny ^{in their own way.}

This

This is not a new policy. It was stated in the Atlantic Charter, the principle underlying it was enunciated in the Declaration of the United Nations and embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, and the principle was carried forward in the Yalta Agreement.

~~We intend to help the Greek nation~~ to preserve its free institutions.

It is imperative to our security that we ~~do so~~. ~~And in order to accomplish this we must give that~~ ^{Our help must be primarily in the form of} economic and financial aid ^{which} necessary for the creation

of a stable economic structure in Greece. Assistance of this kind is

entirely in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of

the United Nations. It would be an unspeakable tragedy if countries which

have struggled for so long for their independence against overwhelming odds

should lose that victory for which they sacrificed so much. Collapse of

~~their~~ free institutions and loss of ~~their~~ independence would ^{have} ~~have consequences~~ ^{the disasters not only for them}

~~which are incalculable for the rest of the world. It would be certain to~~

~~bring profound~~ Discouragement, and possibly ~~would bring~~ defeat, ^{but for} ~~to the peoples~~ ^{of neighboring}

of neighboring ^{peoples} ~~countries~~ engaged in the struggle for ^{freedom} ~~the preservation of~~

~~their~~ ^{and} independence. ~~Such a situation of this sort would be disastrous~~

~~to the security of our own national security. Extensive areas~~

~~might~~

help ~~coming~~ from any other country. The British Government, which has been assisting Greece, has informed us that it can give no further financial or economic aid in this crisis. Great Britain finds itself under the necessity of reducing or liquidating its commitments in several parts of the world, including Greece and Turkey. It would be difficult to overemphasize the importance of these developments to the United States and to American foreign policy.

No government is perfect. One of the chief virtues of democracy, however, is that its defects of government are always visible and under democratic process can be pointed out and

rectified. ^{The} Greece's government is not perfect. ^{Greece has its independence. (Greece @)} It has been

^{that Government has been} operating in an atmosphere of chaos and extremism, and has ^{it}

made mistakes. The extension of aid by this country does not

mean that this government condones everything that the Greek

Government has done or will do. We have condemned in the ^{past} ~~people~~

and

and we do condemn now any extremist measures of the ~~Right~~ or
the ~~Left~~. We have in the past advised tolerance and we advise
it now.

~~The Greek Government in power today represents 85% of the
members of the Greek Parliament. The elections for the Greek
Parliament, it will be recalled, were held last March under the
eyes of 1,500 American, British, French, and South African observers
invited by the Greek Government. These observers spent the two
months preceding the elections observing pre-election conditions
throughout Greece and it is ^{their} opinion that the elections
were fair and that the present Parliament is the true choice
of the majority voters. Certain political groups, representing
at most about 15% of the electorate, abstained from the polls,
but a great majority of those eligible to vote cast their ballots.~~

~~The Greek Government in its communication to the Government
of the United States emphasizes that economic reconstruction
must be based upon administrative efficiency, ^{as well as political stability.} I consider it ~~of~~~~

~~great~~

debate?

see notes

Necessary
~~great importance that the Greek request for the assistance of~~
~~experienced American administrative, economic and technical~~
~~personnel to ensure the most efficient utilization of the financial~~
~~and other aid the United States might extend to Greece, be~~
~~granted.~~ *be granted.*
It is of utmost importance that the ^{expenditure of the} funds made avail-
able to Greece ^{be supervised in such manner that each} be meticulously supervised so that ~~every~~ dollar
advanced ^{shall} ~~will~~ count towards making Greece truly self-supporting.

The future of Turkey as an independent and economically
sound state is clearly no less important than that of Greece,
~~but~~ ^{nevertheless} the circumstances in which Turkey finds herself today are
considerably different. Turkey has ~~happily~~ been spared the
disaster ^{to have} that beset Greece. And during the war, the United States
and Great Britain furnished Turkey with very material aid. ^{Since}
the war, however, Turkey has sought additional financial assist-
ance from both Great Britain and United States for the purpose
of effecting that modernization of its defensive establishments

that

Finally, I ask that the Congress provide authority which will permit the speediest and most effective use, in terms of needed commodities, supplies, and equipment, of such funds as may be authorized.

If further funds, or further authority, should be needed for purposes indicated in this message, I shall not hesitate to bring the situation before Congress. This is a time when the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government must work together expeditiously, and in close coordination, ~~to ward off dangers which are no less certain to affect the peace, security, and prosperity of the nation because they are a step removed in time and space.~~