On that eventful day in September 1945 when we received the news that Japan had surrendered it was our fervent hope that we were at the threshold of a new era in which all democratic and liberty-loving peoples, relieved of threats of aggressive totalitarianism, would be free to devote their energies to the tasks of reconstruction and to cooperate in the maintenance of a peace based on justice and respect for the rights of human beings and of nations. It was also our hope on that day that the last serious danger to the security of the United States and of other peaceful nations had been eliminated and that at least for many years to come no country with friendly intentions towards its neighbors need have concern of threats from without. It is with the deepest regret that I am compelled to inform the Congress of the United States that these hopes have not as yet been realized and that if we are to enter into an era such as that which seemed to open before us in September 1945, and that if we are to discharge our responsibilities for safeguarding the security
security of the United States we must be prepared for further struggle and for further self-sacrifice; we must not allow ourselves to fall into the error of believing, merely because hostilities have terminated, that we can afford to ignore what is taking place in the world and to concentrate our attention on matters purely of domestic concern. We dare not relax for even a single moment; above all we cannot permit the degeneration of that great national unity in the facing of world problems which we achieved during the war and without which we could not have brought the war to a successful conclusion. That national unity at this moment is just as vital to the welfare of the nation as it was during the most trying period of the war. I am appealing to the Congress to cooperate in its preservation.

Termination of hostilities found a war-torn world in agony; great areas once rich industrially and agriculturally were barren and desolated; commerce, the life-blood of our civilization
civilization was disrupted because of lack of goods and means of transport; millions were without food and shelter; nations were set against each other or divided internally by passions and hatreds generated or strengthened during the war years; millions of persons, appalled at the horrors which they had witnessed, had lost all confidence in the human race; once prosperous and progressive countries were prostrate without the strength to embark upon their own reconstruction.

Our instincts as human beings rendered it impossible for us to refuse to assist in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of these war-stricken people and countries. Even if we had been successful in suppressing these instincts we could not ignore the fact that neither the United States nor any other country could have any hope for survival as a tranquil and prosperous entity in a poverty-stricken and despairing world. The world has grown too small to permit divisions of mankind to live in national compartments impervious to the economic situation or the state of morals of their neighbors.
Since the termination of hostilities, therefore, the
Government and the people of the United States have undertaken
to assist in the alleviation of sufferings of other peoples
And in solving the world problems of rehabilitation and
reconstruction. We have devoted much energy, enormous quan-
tities of goods, and huge sums of money to this end, Out-
standing citizens of the country have given generously of
their time and talents. We have made our contributions both
directly and through organizations to which other like-
minded nations contributed. Outstanding successes have
been achieved, particularly in the field of immediate relief,
I regret, however, to inform the Congress that the forces of
rehabilitation and reconstruction among which we as one of
the great productive nations are playing a leading role, have
not as yet been able to achieve the goals which must be
attained if the world is to enter the era envisaged in
September 1945. It has become increasingly clear that the
endeavors of these constructive forces are being offset to
an extent by well-disciplined and highly organized forces
determined to prevent the restoration of a prosperous world
society of democratic nations and free men. The strength and
resourcefulness of these forces must not be underestimated.
They are to be found in some form in almost every country;
they are operating under cunning slogans and clever catch-
words in almost every field of human endeavor. They rule
those areas in which they have already been successful in
seizing the power by terror and by depriving the population
of its civil rights and use their conquests as bases for the
further extension of their power to other territories. They
promote internal strife and economic chaos in those countries
in which they are not as yet in control. In such countries
they promote human misery and chaos with the hope that they
will be able to emerge from the confusion which they are pro-
longing as the only group sufficiently well organized to seize
control of the Government. In conditions prevailing in the post-war world tasks of a destructive and disruptive nature can frequently be performed without great expenditure of resources and man-power. The forces of rehabilitation and reconstruction are therefore at a sharp disadvantage. We find, consequently, that certain war-ravaged countries, in spite of the efforts, which have thus far been put forth, are still not in a position without further and more systematic aid from us to continue long to resist the pressure of the destructive forces to which they are constantly subject. It would be unutterably tragic for countries which have heroically struggled for their independence against overwhelming odds during the war years to lose after the victory that for which they had sacrificed so much. Furthermore the loss by some of these countries of their independence at this time threatens to set off a chain of events the consequences of which are still unfathomable. The disappearance
of some of them as independent democratic nations would be
certain to bring profound discouragement to the peoples of neigh-
boring countries who are struggling for the preservation of their
own independence and to render still more effective those forces
bent on the undermining of democratic governments and the destruction
of free human institutions. It is possible that following the
collapse of one or two countries, extensive areas might in rapid
succession pass to the control of these forces. Such a series of
events would be disastrous to world tranquility and economy and
would threaten our very national security. I, therefore, conceive
it to be my duty to bring these possibilities to the attention
of Congress which shares with me the responsibility for
deciding whether we should extend immediate and effective
assistance to those countries which are not likely to
survive without our aid or whether we shall play the
role of a passive spectator as they succumb to the
destructive forces threatening to engulf them.

A situation has just developed which causes me to
bring this matter to you as one of the greatest urgency.
If the decision which we are to make is to be of any
significance in certain parts of the world it must be
made immediately. I have grave doubt that Greece will
be able to survive as an independent democratic country
unless it receives in the immediate future aid of a
character which we are not able to extend under existing
legislation. In view of the geographical situation of
Greece and of conditions in the Near East the disappearance
of
of Greece at this time as an independent democratic country would imperil the future of the whole Near and Middle East. In the situation that exists in the world we therefore must consider that the preservation of the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece are vital to the security of the United States.

None of the United Nations has suffered more severely than Greece during the war. In spite of the heroic resistance of the Greek people their country was inundated by invasion after invasion and a whole series of enemy occupations. Following the withdrawal of the enemy, passions which had been kindled during the war were inflamed by excesses on the part of both the right and the left and bloody and profitless civil strife has resulted.

When in its travail in 1945 the Government of Greece invited the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union to observe Greek elections, the United States, together with Great Britain, mindful of the pledges made at Yalta and hopeful that the presence of Allied observers might
tend to prevail upon the Greek people to resort to democratic methods in resolving their internal differences, accepted the invitation. These observers were convinced that the outcome of those elections represented the views of the majority of the Greek people at the time. Through UNRRA we sent to Greece large quantities of supplies and funds. Through the Import-Export Bank we extended a loan of $25,000,000 for the financing of self-liquidating projects. We have sold to Greece ships and some of our surplus property on favorable terms.

Great Britain has also been assisting Greece. Despite a shortage of manpower in the United Kingdom and the critical economic and financial situation of Great Britain, the British, at the request of the Greek Government, have been maintaining at their own expense certain armed forces in Greece in the hope that their presence would give a feeling of security to the Greek people; in order further to promote this feeling, they have been supplying and equipping the Greek military and police forces; they have also been contributing heavily to
to the support of the civilian economy. We seriously doubt
that without the aid rendered thus far by the United States
and Great Britain to Greece, that country would have been able
to withstand the terrific pressure to which it has been sub-
jected by those forces which have been endeavoring to bring
about the collapse of the Greek state and ultimately to de-
prive Greece of its independence. That pressure, which is to
an extent responsible for the financial and economic situation
in Greece, continues to be exerted and adds to the gravity of
the Greek crisis.

On February 24 this Government was informed by the
British Government that, in view of the financial and eco-
nomic situation of Great Britain, the British Government
could not continue after March 31 to extend financial assistance
to Greece or the aid in the form of military supplies which
the Greek armed forces must have from abroad if they are to
restore tranquility to the country. The British Government,
frankly concerned with regard to the future of Greece, has
inquired
inquired whether the American Government is prepared to extend assistance of the character formerly extended by the British Government. We know that Great Britain, in its present financial and economic situation, would have great difficulty in continuing to extend to Greece financial and economic assistance of the character which it has been furnishing in the past.

On March 3 the American Government received from the Greek Government the following message:

(Insert here the message from the President and Foreign Minister of Greece to President Truman and General Marshall.)

Reports from the Greek Government and from our own observers in Greece confirm the fact that Greece must have immediate financial assistance from abroad. Greece does not have at the present time the purchasing power necessary to enable her to make the imports necessary for the subsistence of the Greek people. We also have information showing that the Greek civilian and military forces responsible for the preservation of
of law and order can not restore tranquility in Greece without receiving from abroad certain military equipment and supplies which apparently the United States alone is in a position to furnish. Furthermore, it is clear that in addition to the financial and other assistance which Greece must have in order to supply the immediate subsistence needs of her people and to enable her to restore domestic tranquility, she must have financial and other assistance which will start her along the highway of reconstruction towards the goal of becoming a self-supporting state. The extension of financial and other material assistance to Greece, however, will not in our opinion be sufficient. The whole apparatus of government and of public economy is still in a partially paralyzed condition as a result of the shocks of the war and of the guerilla activities. If, therefore, we are to make sure that Greece will most effectively utilize such financial and other assistance as we may be prepared to extend to her, we should also send to Greece experienced American administrative, economic and technical assistants as requested.
requested by the Greek Government.

I am convinced that it is in the interest of the United States and of world peace that the American Government take heed of the pleas of Greece and extend the assistance requested. I, furthermore, firmly believe that the United States must be prepared to give similar assistance to other democratic countries who may require our aid in order to preserve their independence, particularly when it is clear that the preservation of their independence is important to the interests of the United States. I hope that the Congress of the United States will take the same view. If it does, certain new legislation should be immediately enacted which will enable the Executive Branch, without extensive delays, to furnish such aid as required. I therefore recommend to the Congress the passage of the following legislation: