

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress.

The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved.

One phase of the present problem, which I wish to present to you at this time for your consideration and decision, concerns Greece and Turkey.

The United States has received from the Greek Government an urgent appeal for financial, economic, and ^{administrative} industrial assistance.

Preliminary reports from the American Economic Mission now in Greece and reports from the American Ambassador in Greece corroborate the statement of the Greek Government that assistance is imperative if Greece is to survive as a free nation.

I do not believe that the American people and the Congress wish to turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the Greek Government.

Greece has never been a rich country. Poverty of natural ^{rich} resources has always forced the Greek people to work hard to make both ends meet. This industrious and peaceful country has, since 1940, suffered invasion, four years of cruel enemy occupation, and bitter internal strife.

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When forces of liberation entered Greece they found that the retreating Germans had destroyed virtually all of Greece's rail-ways, roads, port facilities, communications, and merchant marine. More than a thousand villages had been burned. Eighty-five percent of the children were tubercular. Livestock, poultry, and draft animals had almost disappeared. ~~And~~ Inflation had wiped out practically all savings.



As a result of these tragic conditions, a militant minority, exploiting human want and misery, was able to create political chaos which has made economic recovery impossible.

Greece is today without funds to finance the importation of those goods which are essential for bare subsistence. Under these circumstances the people of Greece cannot make progress in solving their problems of reconstruction. Greece is in desperate need of financial and economic assistance to enable it to resume immediately purchases of food, clothing, fuel, seeds and the like that are indispensable for the subsistence of its people and that are obtainable only from abroad, and to import the goods necessary

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to restore internal order and security so essential for economic and political recovery. Assistance is necessary to enable Greece to establish itself as a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy.

The Greek Government has also asked for the assistance of experienced American administrators, economists and technicians to insure that the financial and other aid given to Greece ~~is~~ ^{shall be} used effectively in creating a stable and self-sustaining economy and in improving its public administration.

The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries. A Commission appointed by the United Nations Security Council is at present investigating disturbed conditions in northern Greece and alleged border violations along the frontier between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the other.

Meanwhile, the Greek Government is unable to cope with the situation. The Greek army is small and poorly equipped. If that army is to restore the authority of the Greek state throughout its

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It is important to note that the Greek Government has asked for our assistance in utilizing effectively the financial and other assistance we may give to Greece, and in improving its public administration. It is of the utmost importance that the use of any funds made available to Greece be supervised, by us, in such a manner that each dollar spent will count toward making Greece self-supporting, and will assist in building an economy in which a healthy democracy can flourish.



No government is perfect. One of the chief virtues of a democracy, however, is that its defects are always visible and under democratic process ^{is} can be pointed out and corrected. The government of Greece is not perfect. It nevertheless represents eighty-five percent of the members of the Greek Parliament who were chosen

last year in an ^{fair} election, ~~which~~ ^{was} watched by 692 foreign observers, including 692 Americans, ^{who present and watched that election.} ~~considered to be fair and honest.~~
The observers reported at fair and honest bodies.

The Greek Government has been operating in an atmosphere of chaos and extremism. It has made mistakes. The extension of aid by this country does not mean that the United States condones everything that the Greek Government has done or will do. We have condemned in the past, and we condemn now, extremist measures of the right or the left. We have in the past advised tolerance, and

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we advise it now.

The plight of Greece's neighbor, Turkey, also demands our attention.

The future of Turkey as an independent and economically sound state is clearly no less important to the freedom-loving peoples of the world than that of Greece. The circumstances in which Turkey finds ^{it} ~~her~~ self today are considerably different from those of Greece. Turkey has been spared the disasters that have beset Greece. ~~And~~ During the war, the United States and Great Britain furnished Turkey with material aid.

Nevertheless, Turkey now needs ~~our~~ support.

Since the war Turkey has sought additional financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of modernizing ^{offering that} ~~its~~ defenses and developing ^{new} ~~its~~ economy, both of which ~~are~~ necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity.

That integrity is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East.

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The British Government has informed us that, ~~due~~ to its own difficulties, it can no longer extend financial or economic aid to Turkey.

As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it. We are the only country able to provide that help and it is in our ~~vital~~ interest to ~~do so~~. *supply it.*



I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, and I *shall* ~~wish to~~ discuss these implications with you at this time.

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations.

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To ensure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not go very far in realizing our objectives, however, unless we are willing ^{in emergency} to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.



The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes imposed upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments, *Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia for instance.*

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At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. ~~And~~ the choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by 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 will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

[There has been a world-wide trend away from the system of free enterprise toward state-controlled economies. Two great wars and an intervening world depression have weakened this system almost everywhere except in the United States. Continued chaos in other countries and pressure exerted upon them from without, will almost certainly mean the end of free enterprise and democracy in those countries.

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If, by default, we permit free enterprise to disappear in the other nations of the world, the very existence of our own economy and our own democracy will be gravely threatened.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside forces.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

The world is not static, and the status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in the status quo in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion, or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the ~~purpose~~ principles of the Charter of the United Nations.



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It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave im-
in a much wider situation
portance, Greece, and its island possessions, control the western

approaches to the Middle East. If Greece should fall under the
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control of an armed minority, the effect upon ~~the~~ neighbor, Turkey,



would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East, an area in which the

United States has a vital interest in the maintenance of peace and

good order. ~~This is an area of great natural resources which must~~

be accessible to all nations and must not be under the exclusive

control or domination of any single nation. The weakening of Turkey,

or the further weakening of Greece, would invite such control.

Nor is this all. There are countries in Europe whose

people are struggling against great difficulties ~~and impediments~~

to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair

the damages of war.

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It would be an unspeakable tragedy if ^{these} countries such as Greece, which have struggled so long for their independence against overwhelming odds, should lose that victory for which they sacrificed so much. Collapse of free institutions and loss of independence would be disastrous not only for them but for the world. Discouragement and possibly failure would quickly be the lot of neighboring peoples engaged in a struggle to maintain their freedom and independence.

Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far reaching to the West as well as to the East.

We must take immediate and resolute action.

I therefore ask 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. In requesting these funds, I have taken into consideration the maximum amount of relief assistance which would be furnished to Greece out of the \$350,000,000 which I recently requested that the Congress authorize for the prevention of starvation and suffering in countries devastated by the war.

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In addition to funds, I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey, at the request of those countries, to assist in the tasks of reconstruction, and for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished. I recommend that authority also be provided for the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel.

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 the Congress. This is a subject upon which the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government must work together.

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This is a ~~grave~~ and serious course upon which we embark.

I would not recommend it except that the alternative ~~to this~~
~~course~~ is ~~much graver~~ and much more serious.

The United States contributed 340 billion 900 million dollars toward winning World War II. This was an investment in World freedom and world peace.

The assistance that I am recommending for Greece and Turkey amounts to 1 tenth of 1 per cent of our monetary investment in world freedom and world peace. It is only common sense that we should safeguard this investment and make sure that it was not in vain.

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. *They reach their full growth*
~~They burst forth in their full stature~~ when the hope of a people for a better life has died.



We must keep ~~the flame of~~ hope *alize* in the Greek people.

~~Our strength must support that flame until the Greek nation can keep it burning bright and strong for all the world to see.~~

We have had placed upon us, by the swift movement of events, great responsibilities.

I have full confidence that

~~We shall be tested as never before.~~

not only future security

~~At all~~ We must face the realization that, *the peace of the world of* the future security of this nation depends upon ~~the~~ continuation of the fundamental belief in human freedom and democracy, *not only* within our own country, but among the peoples of the world.]

