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The New American Foreign Policy - Is there Danger in it or
Promise?, 1947.

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THE NEW AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY — IS THERE DANGER
IN IT OR PROMISE?

Are we dividing the world? Are we undermining the United Nations?
Are we defending Democracy?

By
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

At
The Temple

On
Sunday morning, April 13, 1947

The request which the President of the United States made on March 12 for 400 million dollars aid to Turkey and Greece stirred a great debate in our country which is still going on and has provoked a sharp division of opinion. This division of opinion is due not to the money involved in the recommendation of the President. Our country has spent larger sums of money in recent years in aiding war-ravaged countries.

In connection with his request, the President announced what amounted to a new foreign policy for our country, one on which all are not agreed. For these hundreds of millions of dollars requested are to be applied notmerely to the material relief and reparation of the distressed civilian population of Greece, but also for the maintenance and equipment of the Greek armed forces. In the case of Turkey, which requires no civilian relief at all, the full amount to be allocated to it will be applied to its military establishment.

The President made it clear that the real purpose of these aids or "loans" was to aid democracy, to aid those peoples whose freedoms are endangered by foreign pressures. The danger to Greece and Turkey apparently must be very real and imminent. Quite hurriedly the President convoked the secret conference with congressional leaders before he appeared in person before the Congress of the U.S. to make his request. There was an air of mystery and great urgency about it all. In his speech the President spoke of the gravity of the situation. He also indicated that the security of our nation was involved in this situation of Greece and Turkey.

A determined effort was made to rush through the legislation, to rush it through in a few weeks. A deadline was set. Legislation had to be passed not later than March 31. That was the day on which Great Britain wished to terminate her financial commitments in Greece and Turkey. It was quite remarkable with what haste our State Department works in Washington when it is in compliance with a request of Great Britain and with what a slow, snail-like pace it operates when it concerns a matter of which Great Britain does not approve.

It is now two years since the President requested of Great Britain that 100

thousand immigration certificates for Jews in detentions in the American and British Zones be issued to permit them to go to Palestine....Our President has not found it necessary to appear before a joint congress of the United States in behalf of this request which involves the welfare of hundreds of thousands of people who have been languishing and have been for years in refugee camps.

This request for aid for Greece and Turkey which had behind it a measure of such great urgency was also intended to coincide with the Conference in Moscow, and was intended to strengthen the hands of our Secretary of State who was at present negotiating the German Peace treaty in Moscow. One was given the impression that unless this aid was given before March 31 something terrible would happen. Either the Soviet armies would march in Turkey, or the so-called guerrilla bands fighting the Greek Government would take over.

An attempt was made, in my judgment a very unfortunate attempt, to promote an atmosphere of hysteria, a hysterical stampede to put over a policy of the gravest implications to our country, a policy which should call for the most careful and thorough-going public discussions before it is adopted. It was not long before the proponents of this measure found that they had over-reached themselves and an amendment was introduced by them to correct this grave and serious blunder which they themselves had committed.

Now, no one can be opposed to the giving of material aid to the Greeks. They are a brave and valiant people who fought most courageously during the last war and before the last war against the Fascist hosts of Mussolini. Greece suffered appallingly and the Greek people are suffering greatly today. We have already, through UNRRA contributed some 255 million dollars to the relief of the civilian population of Greece, and since the beginning of the war, we have authorized another 200 million dollars to Greece of which some 56 millions are available for use in the future. I say no one can object to extending additional aid to the Greek people although under the present regime it is very doubtful whether any of this material relief will actually reach the masses of the Greek people.

A very reliable and disinterested observer as reported by Mr. Arthur Krock in the New York Times stated: "There is no doubt that the loudest shouters in support of the United States are Athens' three thousand wealthiest citizens whom the government continues to protect against any direct taxation and who, with their gold pounds, hardly realize there is any inflation in the country."

It is clear from all the attendant circumstances, however, that the real purpose was not the relief of the Greek population, but the underpinning of the Greek Government and reactionary government, an unpopular government, one which has been maintained in power by the armies of the British Government and one which Great Britain is about to abandon because she is no longer able to pay the bill. And the United States is now to take over Great Britain's financial commitments in that country on the ground that we must hold the line there and in Turkey against Soviet aggression. Those are the frontiers of democracy -- Greece, Turkey, Persia. That is where we must continue the southward thrust of the armies. These countries represent new outposts of democracy which must be defended by the United States at all costs. We must, the United States must now assume the role of global defender and champion of democracy -- now that Great Britain no longer is able to play that role. And we are to do that by sending money, loads of money, hundreds of millions of dollars, literally millions, to that country and perhaps later one -- who knows? -- our armed forces.

In this connection it might be well to call attention to the true democratic character of the present Greek Government. The President of the United States called the present government of Greece "not perfect." That was a brilliant under-statement. One of the observers as reported in that conservative paper, the New York times, writes: "All responsible and reasonably disinterested Americans with whom I have talked in Greece felt that our money would go down a rate hole unless political stability accompanies economic stabilizing and that any stability is simply unobtainable under the present government, and possibly not without new elections following a general amnesty."

Whether or not the last elections were fair, it is still a fact that a substantial section of Greek public opinion feels that they were not. In any new election the Left stands no chance of winning, which makes denial of the electoral test by the government even stupider."

"The announcement that the United States is going to bail out Greece has served to impede many good things Paul Porter wanted the Athens Government to accomplish on the home front. It was also the signal for a new campaign of repression by the Ministry of the Interior, which is neither better nor worse than the Soviet NKVD or the Yugoslav OZNA (the secret police)."

This observer further asserted "that the Ministry, in its renewed campaign of repression, is following the secret police technique made familiar for years in Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Spain, Japan and Soviet Russia. Arrests of citizens were made between midnight and 5 o'clock A.M. and within twenty-four hours those seized were deported to 'a lonely island without a public trial.'"

"In one three day period, after the United States said it would assume political responsibility, the Greek Government arrested about 600 persons in Athens, mostly professionals -- doctors, lawyers, etc. -- and sent them away, frankly declaring there was no longer any need to exercise restraint."

"And the Rightists and extremists, encouraged by the President's speech, now trumpet that the Center is almost as traitorous as the Left because it doesn't make humble obeisance to the government."

"This observer concluded with the statement that, as much as he detests Communists, he would 'go to the mountains' if he were a citizen of Greece."

And so here is a government in Greece bent upon exterminating not only Communists, but Republicans as well, bent upon which might last, according to the testimony of the ex-premier, leader of the Liberal Party, Sophonlis, at least a generation. This is the kind of a government which the United States is rushing in to support without even demanding as a prior condition, a house cleaning, rushing in to maintain ^{and} ~~this~~ support this government in the ^{name} ~~way~~ of democracy.

As far as Turkey is concerned, Turkey is an unabashed and unadulterated dictatorship. And everybody knows it. In World War I Turkey fought on the side of Germany, not on the side of the Allies. In the Second World War, Turkey maintained a cynical neutrality, playing off the Nazis against the Allies, and the Allies against the Axis and benefiting from both. In 1944 Churchill complained of the "hopes which were cherished that Turkey might enter the war on the side of the Allies or at least accord them the necessary air bases for action." "These hopes have failed."

So these are the democracies whom we are now to arm against dictatorship. These are to be our dependable allies in any future struggle between them and their great powerful neighbor across the border.

But the support of Greece and Turkey, which at the moment involves some 400 million dollars -- this only part of a larger program. This is to be only the first installment. There are to be other loans and grants if we have to hold the line against the Soviet Government. We might have to hold it indefinitely, and whenever there is a deficit, it will be clearly up to Uncle Sam to pay the deficit. We are now to be called on to defend democracy in Greece and Turkey, but also all over the world wherever there is a threat of communism, Uncle Sam will have to appear as the Knight Errant, defending democracy. And suppose the threat occurs in France, or Italy, or India, or in the Near East, or in China? That is now our pledged obligation. We are to involve ourselves in every domestic controversy. We tried it in China. We failed there. Our present Secretary of State went to China. We took sides in China in a war between the nationalist government and the communist government and we came away defeated and discredited leaving China in a worse state than before.

And the question arises whether we are really able to pay such an enormous bill, whether our resources are really quite so boundless as to warrant us to undertake such a task, whether any country in spite of endless resources is quite able to stem the tide of communism if it sweeps over the world. And are we prepared to

to align ourselves with all parties, all sections anywhere in the world which alledge to be fighting communism? Are we prepared to cast in our lot with Franco in Spain, or with Peron in the Argentine who are fighting communism? Where are we to draw the line?

These questions were asked very pointedly recently in a very thought-provoking column written by Mr. Walter Lippman, who is quite a conservative, if not a reactionary in many ways: Mr. Lipman writes:

"The case of Greece illustrates concretely the basic fallacy of the Truman Doctrine in its present uncorrected, unqualified and unbalanced form. It is that the expansion of the Soviet Union and the spread of Communism can be checked by subsidizing all the governments, parties, factions which are most undeniably anti-Communist. A policy of this kind is bound to fail because it commits us to an alliance with the most reactionary forces in the world and alienates the moderate and democratic forces.

"It assumes that mankind is divided into totalitarian Communists and Jeffersonian Democrats. It is not. There are also Nazis, Fascists, feudal lords, war lords. There are also republicans, enlightened conservatives, liberals, progressives, social democrats, socialists, Christian democrats, cooperators, labor parties, democratic planners, and what not.

"If we conduct the Truman policy on the principle that whoever is most vehemently against the Soviets is our friend and ally -- and in his heart a Jeffersonian Democrat -- we shall separate ourselves from the masses of the people almost everywhere. We shall have embraced the extremists of the right as against the extremists of the left, when it is our interest and our duty to align ourselves with the middle and the moderate parties. They are our real friends in the struggle for freedom, and they will decide the issue."

If there was a real threat on the northern borders of Greece and Turkey, if there was a real threat to the sovereignty of those countries, Great Britain should have

immediately referred the matter to the United Nations, or the United States should have referred it to the United Nations. That is exactly what it exists for. That is exactly why the Security Council is in continuous session -- quickly to settle world peace. The whole philosophy of the United Nations, the underlying charter of the United Nations ~~is~~ is to deny the right of any one nation to set itself up as the protector of international justice and of peace, to deny any single nation the right to intervene in any one country. The whole philosophy of our United Nations, which our country was so eager to bring into being was to substitute collective judgment and collective action for unilateral judgment or unilateral action, however high-minded -- to deny independent assumption of responsibility which really belongs to the United Nations. Why did the United States by-pass the United Nations in this Greek, Turkish issue or crisis, if it was an issue? What was the rush? There is a United Nations Commission at the moment investigating all border difficulties of Greece and Turkey which is to report on any evidences of foreign interference. And that Commission is to bring in its report this month, this April. Why didn't the United States wait until the report was brought in? What was the rush?

If the United Nations is weak, the way to strengthen it is not to ignore it. That is the way to kill it. That is the way the League of Nations was killed. If every time a real issue arises, you make it irrelevant, you make it meaningless. You make it futile. You discredit it. If the United Nations is weak, the thing to do is to strengthen it, to use that same pressure and speed and funds that the United States uses to pour into Greece, Turkey and other countries -- to strengthen this international organization.

There is a United Nations military staff at work studying what armed forces are to be made available by each nation for policing, to be used to build up an international army to enforce, to implement the decisions of the Assembly. Here is a great opportunity for the United States to strengthen this international organization. But unfortunately we make blunders, and we repeat these blunders time and again. We

called the League of Nations into existence. And we destroyed it the first year by refusing to enter the League. We are the champions, the protagonists of the new organization, the United Nations, and have almost dealt it a mortal blow by by-passing it, ignoring it in this critical situation, if it is critical, in connection with Greece and Turkey.

Senator Vandenberg, one of the best informed minds in the United States Senate, and one who has a great devotion to the institution of the United Nations Organization which he helped to build, was quick to grasp this blunder -- only he was a party to it himself -- and he sought to redress the wrong by adopting an amendment to the bill which would give the United States authority to modify or halt the program at any time. The United States pledges to obey a finding of the UN even though any veto might be imposed in the Security Council. This is a very vital and helpful improvement of the measure. Had the procedure been the other way around, how much prestige would have accrued to this world organization which stands in need of such desperate building up in the world. And this grave mistake was made largely because in the last year our country, our government, not our people, has drifted far away and dangerously away from the basic idea which underlies the world concept of the United Nations. What is the basic idea? There are competing, conflicting ideologies which are irreconcilable. These ideologies cut across the world, not only between separate countries, but within each country. They are real fundamental divisions. There is a vast section of our globe that is communist. There is a ~~far~~ vast section of our government which is socialist. There is a vast section which is capitalist and there are grades in between. And the basic philosophy underlying the United Nations is that it possible to organize them all in spite of their sharp differences and divisions within one international framework to preserve peace and to enable these systems to work out their destinies without war. Quite decidedly the basic idea of the United Nations ~~States~~ rejects the thought which has been propagandized by our government within the last year that there exist two worlds, ~~judgments~~ which must continue to be in an endless state of tension and potential war. One seeking to infiltrate the others.

The aim of the United Nations is to arrive at some basic understand and settlement of its differences which will lead to peace, not to provoke and irritate and intensify those differences. Since Mr. Churchill's speech at Fulton, Mo, a year ago, our country, our government has been drifting away from this basic conception of the United States and the first danger signal, the first disastrous consequence was the almost fatal blow of this new Truman doctrine. And because of this wrong-headed policy, the United States is losing the position of leadership within this organization of the United Nations. And because of this wrong-headed policy, we find ourselves taking over the responsibility for bolstering the British Empire and assuming all of its responsibilities and liabilities without any of its assets. Because of this policy we are now taking over the responsibility of guarding the famous life line of the British Empire which is to us no life line at all. Because of this policy we are now finding ourselves in the position of taking over single-handed the financing and policing of the world world. As Lippman said: "we find ourselves in the position of supporting reaction almost everywhere in the world." And also in the position of encouraging, I am afraid, anti-liberal movements ultimately in our own country which begin with red-baiting and communist witch-hunting just as after the last war. There is the same mood in our country now as there was after the last world war.

Although President Truman is convinced there is no danger of Communism in this country and on February 28 he wrote to the ex Governor George Earle , of Pa.:

"People are very much wrought up about the Communist 'bugaboo,' but I am of the opinion that the country is perfectly safe so far as communism is concerned -- we have too many sane people. Our Government is made for the welfare of the people, and I don't believe there will come a time when anyone will really want to overturn it.

Harry Truman."

That is true. And yet four weeks later, Harry Truman issued an executive order that

Communists and communist-sympathizers should be screened out of their jobs because they constitute a threat to our government and to the democratic processes of our government. When a country goes anti-liberal, anti-communist, it ends up by being anti-Semitic. That is a lesson of our history. Hitler used this communist scare. Have we forgotten? He used this communist scare to rise to power, to foster and justify aggression and by so doing brought on the Second World War and strengthened Communism. The democracies who tolerated Hitler and sought to found themselves fighting not the Soviet Union, but Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Fascist Italy and fighting with the Soviet Union as their ally. Why can't we learn something from experience which cost mankind tens of millions of lives just a few short years ago?

All this is not to say that Russia is not without blame, that Russia has no responsibility for the tensions which exist on the international scene today. Far from it. It is equally culpable. The fault is not all with the United States or with Great Britain, and one does not have to apologize to be critical of that country. The Soviet Union has not cooperated. It has strayed too often and used too often the veto power. It has sought to use military strength which it has in Eastern Europe to bring about the kind of government that would be favorable to it, just as Great Britain sought to restore the monarchy in Greece... It has refused to cooperate whole-heartedly ~~in~~ with the international instrumentalities the United Nations established for the benefit of all mankind, demands that form common bonds of cooperation within the United Nations whereby all these differences may at some time be attenuated, softened if not altogether resolved.

The Middle East may become the point of origin of World War III. Or yet it may become the proving ground for world cooperation of the powers of the United Nations, because there is enough there of all they need, and more.

This is the time now. Russia is not ready to fight even if she should want to fight. Russia has been terribly weakened, drained by her terrific sacrifices in the last war. Russia will not be able to fight for years, perhaps decades to come.

Great Britain doesn't want to fight. We say that we don't want to fight. The next few years, the next few decades is the time when mankind can build up machinery for peace which will make war in the days to come almost impossible. And that is where statesmanship should be used to strengthen the United Nations. Mr. Truman ought to appear before joint sessions of the Congress of the United States and Mr. Churchill should be writing articles for it and Mr. Stalin should be working for it.

Perhaps the soundest and sanest word spoken on the subject was spoken in the Senate of the United States -- and with that I close. The Senator of our State, Senator Taft in announcing his position regarding the statement on Greece said:

"I intend to vote for the Greek and Turkish loans for the reason that the President's announcements have committed the United States to this policy in the eyes of the world, and to repudiate it now would destroy his prestige in the negotiations with the Russian Government, on the success of which ultimate peace depends.

"I do not regard this as a commitment to any similar policy in any other section of the world, or to the continuation of the same policy in Greece or Turkey when peace negotiations are completed.

"In so far as the loans are for reconstruction ~~and~~ and rehabilitation, we are only doing in Greece what we have done elsewhere. In so far as they help preserve order, I think they must be justified as a means of maintaining the status quo during the period while the sound basis for peace in Europe is being worked out.

"I am in thorough accord with the Vandenberg amendments proposing that we withdraw whenever a Government representing the majority of the people request us to do so, and whenever the United Nations find that action taken or assistance furnished by them makes the continuance of our assistance undesirable. I believe we should, in any event, withdraw as soon as normal economic conditions are restored."

It is the duty of the American people to be on the alert, to see to it that this new Truman doctrine does not become a very mischievous doctrine in the world. It is time for American citizens to insist that our government shall proclaim the one slogan which is likely to save our world -- "All power to the United Nations!"

1) Request - Mar. 12 - 400 M. aid - stirred great debate - still going. sharp division of opinion.
Not due to money involved - U.S. spent much larger sums.
In connection with request - Pres. announced a new foreign policy for our country - on which we are not all agreed.

Those millions ~~are~~ to be applied not merely to the material relief and rehabilitation of the distressed civilian population of Greece, but to the maintenance and equipment of its armed forces. In the case of T. which requires no civilian relief, the full amount which is to be voted to it, will be applied to its military establishment.

The Pres. made it clear that the real purpose of the "loans" was to aid ~~the~~ democracy, to aid "those peoples whose freedoms are endangered by foreign pressures".

2) The danger to Greece and T. apparently must be very real and imminent. Hurriedly the Pres. convoked a secret conf. with Corp. leaders. There was an air of ^{mystery & quiet} ~~disaster~~ ^{vigilance} about it all. In his speech T. spoke of the "gravity of the situation" and that the "security of this nation was involved".

A determined effort was made to rush the bill thru - in a few weeks - A dead line was set - March 31 - the day ^{on which} F.B. wished to terminate her financial commitments in Greece & T. (How quickly we act!) Macaulay
One was given the impression that unless this loan was voted before March 31 - the Soviet armies would march into G. & T. - so that the guerrilla bands fighting the G. govt. would take over.

~~There has been something~~

An attempt was made to ~~generate~~ present an hysterical stampede to put over a policy of the present influencers which calls for the most careful & thorough study and discussion.

It was not long before even the proponents, the measure found that they had over-worked themselves, and amendments were introduced by them to ~~correct~~ correct ~~their~~ their ~~own~~ own and serious blunders which they had committed.

3/ No one can be opposed to the giving of material aid to that war-ravaged country of G. - Egypt valiantly - suffered appallingly. We have already there UNRRA contributions 255 M. + authorized since we began 196 M. of which 56 M. are left from authorization and are available for use in the future.

Altho, under the present regime, it is doubtful how much of ^{such} ~~this~~ aid would actually reach the masses of impoverished people.

Writing in "N.Y. Times" - Arthur Koestler - reports testimony of an altogether reliable and disinterested observer.

But it is clear from all the attendant circumstances that the real purpose of the Bill was not the relief of the G.

isolation but the underlying, that ~~great~~ ^{great} G. ant - a roadmap
unipolar, great, which ~~has~~ ^{has} been maintaining in off,
and which S. B. is about to abandon, no longer able to
support it financially.

We are now to take over S. B.'s financial commitments -
on the ground that we must hold the line there ^{and} Turk
against Soviet aggression. There ^{as in Persia} we
must "contain" the southward push of the Soviet Union,
T. & Iran - represented the outposts of democracy
which must be defended by the U.S. at all costs since
the U.S. must now assume the role of the global
champion of democracy - now that T. B. can no longer
play that role. Money! Military missions can't miss it ?

4). In this connection the attention should be drawn to
the democ. character, the present part of it
quite again: →

(a) Here is a part. hate upon exterminating
not only Comm - but Republicans as well, hate
upon and the, which may at best, (former
President, leader, Liberal Party, Sophistic,)
at least a generation - or a royalist
dictatorship of U.S. working in to
support that part - without even demanding
a house - cleaning

5/ As far as Turkey - unadorned dictatorship.

In World War I - Germany.

In World War II - cynical neutrality - play off one against the other -

1944 - Churchill - "hopes cherished - enter war - or, at least, a second season. Boxes for our air action, have failed."

6/ There are the democrats whom we are now to arm against

dictatorships - defensible allies in a future struggle
with their great neighbor - Soviet U.

7/ But the support of G. & T., we are told, is only part of
the larger program. It may involve further loans &
grants. This is only first installment - must hold
the anti-Soviet line then undiminished. (Defeat)

And what about Com. threats in the rest of the world?
Suppose Com. threatens France, Italy, ^{New York} ~~India~~, China?

We lived it in China? Marshall.

Can we afford to pay the bill? - Reserves not boundless.
Is any single country able to stem the tide of Com. ^{dispendency} ~~dispendency~~ with all ~~these~~ ^{leagues}

And are we prepared to align ourselves with all ^{France?} ~~France?~~
anywhere in the world which fight Com. - ^{France?} ~~France?~~

When shall we draw the line? As we ride forth -

the Knight Errant of Democracy.

Lipman 2nd

- 8/ If there is real threat to peace - G. & T. - why did not J. B. (5)
refer matter to V. N. Why did not U.S.?
- That's exactly what V. N. was created for!
- That's exactly why Security Council in continuous session.
- Philos. of V. N. - Charter - deny right of any one nation
to set itself up as the protector of the international order
and of peace - to intervene in affairs of another nation.
- Collective judgment - collective security - not uni-
lateral judgment & action - however high minded
and nobly motivated.
- No indef. assumption of responsibility which belongs to V. N.
- Why the U.S. by-pass V. N.? There is a U.N. Com. investigating
- What was the work? Border disturbances - press interference
Refugee in Egypt
- If V. N. is weak - the way to strengthen it is not
to ignore it. - That's the way to kill it! - Levy
- If you make it irrelevant - discarded it!
- If V. N. is weak - strengthen it! Use same speed,
pressure, funds - to get action -
- There is a U.N. Military Staff Com. - studying what armed
forces are to be made available by each nation for
world policing - Get quick action there -
9/ U.S. - most eager for Levy - Helped to destroy it.
Again in case, V. N. - not seriously

Senator Vandenberg - redress the wrong - Amendment series 6

V.N. authority to modify or halt the program at any stage. + U.S. keeps itself to pay a funding for U.N. even the any veto might be interposed in the Sec. Council.

- (a) This is a vital, & helpful improvement. - But ~~the~~ had the procedure been the other way round - how much postage would have occurred - U.N.

10). A grave mistake was made - Commendable effort has been made to correct it -

→ It was made - bec. in last yr. & so, we have drifted far into and dangerously away from idea which underlies the whole concept of U.N. -

- There are conflicting pol. & econ. ideologies in world - NA only but separate countries but rather each country - There are divisions -

- There is a vast section / globe - communist

- Another - socialist - Another capitalist

- It is possible to ^{themselves} organize within an inter. framework - to prevent peace - each work out its own destiny without war -

- Int. decidedly it rejects - 2 worlds - in an endless state of potential war - each one seeking to isolate the other - & the other - contain it

— It aims at a settlement of these diff. which may lead to war. not at provocation —

Since Fulton drift away - first disaster
consequence was the almost fatal blow which
gave us internally by our first at V. N.

Because, this worry-headed policy — we are losing
our leadership in org. on hold. —

- Leadership in org. the world
 - Taking over resp. for bolstering Br. Empire - all its
 commitments & obligations. ^{more of its assets}
 Grant its life line - ^{med. & econ.} ^{single-handed financial}
 - Supporting readers in many parts, the world.

supplying readers
Encouraging ^{anti-fascism} Red barking + Com m. with hunting
in our own country - just as after last war!

Author — Rev. T. — Feb. 28 — 29. Rev. George H. Earle,
 1 Pg. (Jericho)

A few weeks later - T. issued
an executive order that Com.
Comm. sympathizers be thoroughly
& swiftly screened out of
govt. jobs - which had a threat
to our democ. process.

11). Hitler used the Com. scare to rise to power & to (8)
foster German aggression.

— He built on 2nd world war - & strengthened Com.

— The democ. who tolerated Hitler - & sought to "con-
tain Com" - "cordon sanitaire" - found themselves
in 1939 - fighting Hitler - with Com. Russia
in 1941 - as their most powerful ally -

— Why could we learn something from an experience
which cost the world millions of lives?

12). There are diff. ^{grants for co-operation} ~~not all our fault~~ -

① Soviet not wholehearted - (Veto) - (East Europe) - (Propaganda)

Did not join - World Bank & Inter. Monetary Fund -

Food & Agr. organization -

Interstat. Relief Ag. -

U. S. Trusteeship Council -

~~Com~~

② Even when we make allowances for (atomic energy)
capitalistic overdevelopment -

— But we must find common ground -

Middle East area (Conflict - ^{Old} Cooperation?)

13). Russia is not ready to fight - weakness -

This is time to build strong world system.

14). (Tab)

And the Rightists and extremists, encouraged by the President's speech, now trumpet that the Center is almost as traitorous as the Left because it doesn't make humble obeisance to the government."

This observer concluded with the statement that, as much as he detests Communists, he would "go to the mountains" if he were a citizen of Greece.

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Whether or not the last elections were fair, it is still a fact that a substantial section of Greek public opinion feels they were not. In any new election the Left stands no chance of winning, which makes denial of the electoral test by the government even stupider.

The announcement that the United States is going to bail out Greece has served to impede many good things Paul Porter [the President's special Ambassador] wanted the Athens Government to accomplish on the home front. It was also the signal for a new campaign of repression by the Ministry of the Interior, which is neither better nor worse than the Soviet NKVD or the Yugoslav OZNA [secret police].

Arrests by Night

This observer, who would not be quoted in this space had he not impressively established his reliability, disinterestedness and capacity to report objectively, further asserted that the Ministry, in its renewed campaign of repression, is following the secret police technique made familiar for years in Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Spain, Japan and Soviet Russia. Arrests of citizens were made between midnight and 5 o'clock A. M., and within twenty-four hours those seized were deported to "a lonely island without a public trial."

"In one three-day period," he added, "after the United States said it would assume political responsibility, the Greek Government arrested about 600 persons in Athens, mostly professionals—doctors, lawyers, etc.—and sent them away, frankly declaring there was no longer any need to exercise restraint.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"People are very much wrought up about the Communist 'bugaboo,' but I am of the opinion that the country is perfectly safe so far as communism is concerned—we have too many sane people. Our Government is made for the welfare of the people, and I don't believe there will come a time when anyone will really want to overturn it.

"HARRY TRUMAN."

by the Federal
gation.

These actions were taken as Senator Robert A. Taft, chairman of the majority Policy Committee, announced that he would support the Greek-Turkish program, but with reservations, and as Russia and Turkey became targets in the debate.

Senator Taft announced his position with this statement:

"I intend to vote for the Greek and Turkish loans for the reason that the President's announcements have committed the United States to this policy in the eyes of the world, and to repudiate it now would destroy his prestige in the negotiations with the Russian Government, on the success of which ultimate peace depends.

"I do not regard this as a commitment to any similar policy in any other section of the world, or to the continuation of the same policy in Greece or Turkey when peace negotiations are completed.

"In so far as the loans are for reconstruction and rehabilitation, we are only doing in Greece what we have done elsewhere. In so far as they help preserve order, I think they must be justified as a means of maintaining the status quo during the period while the sound basis for peace in Europe is being worked out.

"I am in thorough accord with the Vandenberg amendments proposing that we withdraw whenever a Government representing the majority of the people request us to do so, and whenever the United Nations find that action taken or assistance furnished by them makes the continuance of our assistance undesirable. I believe we should, in any event, withdraw as soon as normal economic conditions are restored."

Connally Denounces Russia

The Senate heard Tom Connally of Texas, former Foreign Relations Committee Chairman, denounce Russia as a nation seeking world domination.

If Russia wants the friendship of the United States, he said, let her

Continued From

grenades and heavy had bailed out on rocky hideouts in the The guerrillas were fighting stubbornly tain passes.

Air Minister Panlopoulos said 200 Gl light bombers, fighters were attacked "in perfect weather," he said, were "excellent."

Dispatches from numbers of planes in the offensive there, and rockets to dislodge guerrillas so ground forces at them.

Official reports at first day's fighting army was inflicting on the guerrillas easily.

The Government gave but press dispatches 116 guerrillas were five wounded and secured in one battle near of Frangista.

Vice Premier Sotirios returned from the reported that he was

said, "hopes to bring domination and to control of Europe. She 'all the land that adjoins'."

If Greece and Turkey Connally said, Italy would be the next he added:

"The United States to have her own within her own borders farther. Russia has select her own system, but she has political pressure, by armed force, to sap independent and sov-

"Yes, we want her own form of government want her to be seen

There is no doubt that the loudest shouters in support of the United States are Athens' three thousand wealthiest citizens whom the government continues to protect against any direct taxation and who, with their gold pounds, hardly realize there is any inflation

The case of Greece illustrates concretely the basic fallacy of the Truman Doctrine in its present uncorrected, unqualified and unbalanced form. It is that the expansion of the Soviet Union and the spread of Communism can be checked by subsidizing all the governments, parties, factions which are most undeniably anti-Communist. A policy of this kind is bound to fail because it commits us to an alliance with the most reactionary forces in the world and alienates the moderate and democratic forces.

It assumes that mankind is divided into totalitarian Communists and Jeffersonian Democrats. It is not. There are also Nazis, Fascists, feudal lords, war lords. There are also republicans, enlightened conservatives, liberals, progressives, social democrats, socialists, Christian democrats, co-operators, labor parties, democratic planners, and what not.

If we conduct the Truman policy on the principle that whoever is most vehemently against the Soviets is our friend and ally—and in his heart a Jeffersonian Democrat—we shall separate ourselves from the masses of the people almost everywhere. We shall have embraced the extremists of the right as against the extremists of the left, when it is our interest and our duty to align ourselves with the middle and the moderate parties. They are our real friends in the struggle for freedom, and they will decide the issue.