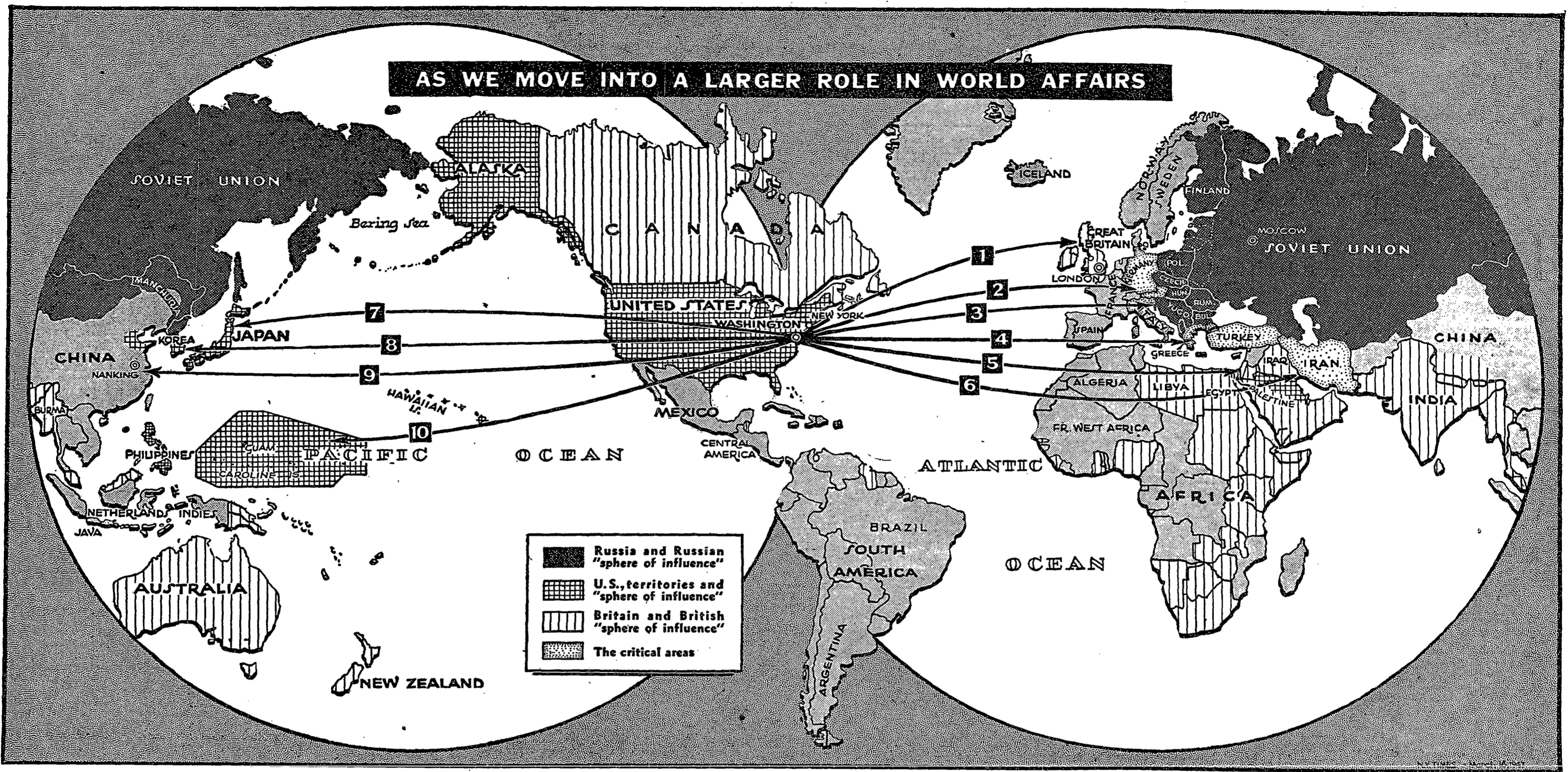


THE NEWS OF THE WEEK IN REVIEW



In his message to Congress last Wednesday the President emphasized the responsibilities of the United States in world affairs. The map shows ten areas of importance for the U. S.

1. BRITAIN—The empire's difficulties pose new world problems for the United States.
2. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA—In this key area 160,000 American troops are on duty.
3. TRIESTE—28,000 American troops are standing guard between Yugoslavia and Italy.
4. GREECE AND TURKEY—The President demands aid for them to head off communism.
5. PALESTINE—The U. S. is pressing Britain for a solution of the immigration problem.
6. MIDDLE EAST—This area, with large U. S. oil stakes, is of growing importance.
7. JAPAN—125,000 American troops occupy this strategic area off the Asiatic mainland.
8. KOREA—With Russian troops in the North, 50,000 U. S. troops occupy southern Korea.
9. CHINA—U. S.-Soviet differences are reflected in Nationalist-Communist civil war.
10. PACIFIC ISLANDS—The United States has claimed a trusteeship over this area.

'Truman Doctrine'

Russia and the World

President Truman last week announced what was generally regarded as a new foreign policy for the United States—a policy that might well be as important for America and for the world as the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 and the Roosevelt Lend Lease program of 1941.

The President's announcement was of vital importance in two respects: first, it was a statement to the world that the United States was ready to play a much larger role of leadership; second, it was a warning to Russia that the United States was now prepared to "contain" Russian expansion.

Out of the President's pronouncement there arose these two momentous questions:

- (1) Will the new policy help to promote peace or does it increase the dangers of war?
- (2) Will the Congress and the nation support the President in his program?

The President spoke on Wednesday before a hushed joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives. His address was divided sharply in two parts: a call for immediate action, and a statement of the larger implications for America and the world.

Immediately, the President asked Congress to approve \$400,000,000 in economic and military aid for Greece and Turkey, and for authority to send "civilian and military" personnel to them. These countries are the key to the region that guards the strategic Dardanelles and form a buffer between Russia and the Mediterranean and vital oil reserves of the Middle East.

World Wide Effects

For the long term, the new policy called for the United States to extend aid all over the world where "democratic" nations are threatened. The President said, "We [must be] willing to help free peoples maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose on them totalitarian regimes."

In this way the issue between Russia and the United States was joined by the President. It was joined only two days after the opening of the meeting of the Big Four Foreign Ministers in Moscow. That meeting, convened to write peace treaties for Germany and Austria, was overshadowed by the developments in Washington, and the effect of the Truman statement on these crucial negotiations is bound to be profound.

At the end of the week, there were no clear answers to the two large questions raised by the new foreign policy, but there were some indications as to what the answers might be.

As for Question No. 1—the question-

of peace or war—there was a feeling that, because the United States has taken so firm a stand, Russia might talk in more definite terms about relations in the United Nations, about Germany and Europe, and about other matters in dispute. At any rate, the immediate reaction of the officially controlled Moscow press was not so strong as might have been expected. But there were some observers who felt that the long-range effect of the policy would be to sharpen the conflict and the threat of war.

As for Question No. 2—the question of support at home for the program—the majority reaction in Congress and in the nation seemed to be that in principle the policy was correct. There was doubt, however, as to the means of implementing it—as to whether or not Congress and the nation were ready to spend the money needed to play this larger role in the world.

The eyes of the world, to which both questions are fateful, were focused on Washington and on Moscow.

The New Policy

At Yalta twenty-five months ago the leaders of the three great powers—Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill—pledged that the liberated peoples of Europe would be allowed to "create democratic institutions of their own choice"; to have "free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people." At the time—it was a few weeks before American troops crossed the Rhine—the prospects seemed bright for Big Three cooperation in post-war settlements, despite the differences between Soviet and Western political concepts.

But since Yalta the outlook has greatly changed. In the past two years Governments dominated by or closely tied to the Kremlin have come into power in Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Finland, Czechoslovakia and Albania—with a combined population of 70,000,000.

Russia's control of these so-called "satellite powers" has been a frequent source of East-West friction. Washington has repeatedly protested violation of the Yalta agreement. It has charged that "free elections" have not been held and that "democratic processes" have been suppressed. Moscow has ignored many of the charges. To others it has replied with counter-charges that the American Government is seeking to support "fascist elements."

United States Interests

The increase of Russia's influence has been accompanied by enlargement of American responsibilities in many parts of the world. In the Pacific, America served notice that she plans to retain, for strategic reasons, islands formerly under Japanese control. Despite failure to solve the problem of Chinese disunity, America's interest in China remains great. In the Middle East, American concerns have begun vast new oil developments and

Washington has backed the anti-Soviet Iranian Government. America's great financial strength is a potent factor.

Out of the period of expansion—and the war period before it—the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have emerged as the world's great superpowers, while the power of Britain has declined. The two great states have grown fearful of each other's power, suspicious of objectives. Soviet Russia has charged that the United States is seeking to forge a ring around the Soviet Union. Many Americans see Russian expansion and Communist party infiltration tactics in non-Soviet areas as a threat to American influence. The conflict has been reflected in all international conferences, in the United Nations, and especially in the firm deadlock over the all-important question of control of atomic energy.

A focal point in this conflict is the region of the Near and Middle East, an area that contains vital resources and is of great strategic value. Stretching 2,000 miles from the Adriatic Sea to the Persian Gulf, it is the crossroads for air, sea and land routes between Europe and Asia and Russia and the Mediterranean.

In this vital area the clash between Soviet and Western influence centers on two countries, Greece and Turkey. Heretofore, the United States has counted heavily on British support in keeping these countries out of the Russian orbit. But three weeks ago Britain, hard pressed financially, asked the United States to assume her responsibilities in both Greece and Turkey. Thus a critical problem was posed for Washington.

Legacy of War

Greece, with a population of 7,366,000 in an area the size of North Carolina, is a poor and rugged land, wrecked by war and torn by internal strife. Four years of enemy occupation left it stripped of resources, its people weakened by hunger, nine-tenths of its merchant marine destroyed. After the defeat of Germany, there was civil war between the Rightist, British-backed Government and the Leftist, Communist-led E. A. M. This bitter struggle—intensified by the return last September of King George II of the Hellenes—handicapped efforts for economic reconstruction.

Mounting inflation has added to the sufferings inflicted by guerrilla war. The British since 1945 have spent \$350,000,000 in Greece to help sustain the Government. Much of the money has gone to maintain an army of 130,000 men to cope with the E. A. M. and with possible trouble from Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania; Greece's Balkan neighbors.

Turkey, with an area of 294,416 square miles and a population of 18,971,300, presents a contrast to Greece. Her Government is authoritarian. The strongest of the Middle East nations, Turkey suffered no war damage and has no internal difficulties. Her economy is considered stable. Nevertheless, because of differences with her powerful neighbor, Russia, Turkey's future is uncertain. Moscow has demanded a voice in the control of the Dardanelles; Russia has demanded that Turkey cede to her two former Russian border districts in the East. Turkey is in an exposed position; a Greek collapse could result in Soviet pressure on three sides.

All this has imposed a tremendous military burden on the Turks, who have kept 600,000 men under arms for seven years. The present Turkish budget of 1,000,000,000 Turkish pounds amounts to half the national income. Of the budget 45 per cent goes for military expenses.

The President's Message

This was the background for the President's statement of policy on last Wednesday. The President had given many days to preparing his message. He had discussed its contents with Republican and Democratic Congressional leaders for one and one-half hours last Monday.

At 1:03 P. M. on Wednesday he began reading his eighteen-minute declaration in the House Chamber on Capitol Hill. He spoke earnestly, gravely, but undramatically of the situation that had called for the message. The seriousness of what he was saying was reflected in the sober atmosphere of the occasion. His audience of Cabinet members, Senators and members of the House listened with grim attention as he developed his thesis that Greece and Turkey must be helped to counter the spread of communism. At the end they rose and cheered.

The President's message included immediate proposals and long-range implications:

IMMEDIATE PROPOSALS: These centered on the necessity for prompt aid to Greece and Turkey. The President said:

"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. . . . The Greek Government is unable to cope with the situation. . . . Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy."

"National Integrity"

"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 the future of Greece. . . . Since the war Turkey has sought additional financial assistance . . . for the purpose of effecting that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity. . . . 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."

Making it plain that the aid would

include technical and administrative advice and, in the case of Greece, would involve close supervision of how the money is spent, the President asked for \$400,000,000 to bolster the two countries. Of this \$250,000,000 (including \$50,000,000 in relief funds) would go to Greece and \$150,000,000 to Turkey. It was at this point that the President asked for the authority to send American civilian and military personnel to the two countries.

BROAD IMPLICATIONS: These centered on the clash between democracy, in the western sense, and totalitarianism. The President said: "To insure 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. "At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. . . .

"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 and radio, fixed elections and the suppression of personal freedoms. "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 pressures."

"This is a serious course upon which we embark. I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious."

Questions in Congress

The President's message was recognized as one of the most important pronouncements ever made by an American Chief Executive.

Although the response on Capitol Hill seemed generally favorable, some important reservations were stated by lawmakers. These involved the questions of where the policy would lead the country in the future, what it would do to the United Nations, how much it would cost and whether military as well as civilian aid should be given.

On the first question, Senator Robert Taft, chairman of the Republican policy committee, yesterday called for an official opinion by military men on the possibility of war with Russia if the program is carried out.

Among the Republican majority, strongly committed to Federal economy in order to permit tax cuts, this question of costs loomed large. Some members raised the question whether the \$400,000,000 for Greece and Turkey might not prove to be merely

a first step toward vast financial commitments.

On the question of military aid numerous Congressmen of both parties expressed doubts. Senator Vandenberg pledged support of the President's aims, but thought Congress should exercise the right to judge for itself the proper methods of carrying out the policy.

America's new role also brought divergent reactions abroad. In London the Foreign Office credited the President with "wise recognition of wider issues involved," but The Daily Herald, organ of the Labor party, warned that "world unity" would be shattered if Soviet-American relations are allowed to grow worse. Paris appeared uneasy at the prospect of a showdown between Russia and the United States—with France caught in the middle. Premier Demetrios Maximos of Greece and Premier Recep Peker of Turkey voiced their appreciation. More important than these reactions was the effect the Truman statement might have in Moscow.

Echoes in Moscow

On Monday in Moscow the Foreign Ministers of the Big Four met to consider treaties for Germany and Austria. On Wednesday word came of the Truman message which, observers agreed, might have considerable impact on the meeting. Yet little reaction if any was noticeable in the conference itself.

In the Russian press the reaction was sharp—but not more so than many past criticisms of American policy. Some of the strongest statements in Mr. Truman's message were omitted in the texts printed by the Soviet newspapers. Editorial writers in leading papers made no attempt to tell the Russian people—as many observers had expected they would—that the new American policy might imply the possibility of war with the Soviet Union.

Izvestia, the official Government organ, printed on Friday a front-page editorial on the President's message. The strongest parts of the editorial were statements that Mr. Truman "did not take into account the international organization [the U. N.] or the sovereignty of Greece"; that "Hitler also referred to the Bolsheviks when he wanted to open the road to conquests"; that "We witness a fresh intervention by the United States of America in the affairs of other states."

During the week the Foreign Ministers made the opening moves on the chessboard of power politics. There were plays and counter-plays; charges and counter-charges. Subjects were brought up that had nothing, technically, to do with the agenda, which is restricted to treaties for Germany and Austria. Thus the first week was one of diplomatic sparring and feinting for position for the negotiations that lie ahead.

Moscow wore a new face for the

meeting. Hotels were freshly painted; new uniforms were issued to guards, attendants and police; the elevator girl in the Hotel Metropole discarded her usual shawl head-covering and displayed an American-style permanent wave. An observer commented that the capital was dressed up like a Potemkin village—a reference to the practice of Prince Potemkin who had facades erected to delude Catherine II as to the state of her realm.

America and Russia

From the opening of the conference at 5 P. M. on Monday it was evident that two of the four conferees would dominate the negotiations—Vyacheslav M. Molotov, 57, the Russian Foreign Secretary and former Premier, and George Catlett Marshall, 67, the American Secretary of State and former Chief of Staff of the United States Army.

The pattern followed by the conferees was familiar. Each morning their Deputies met—there are two Deputies Councils, one for Germany and one for Austria—at 10 A. M. to plan the day's agenda. Their meetings lasted until well into the afternoon. Then, as long shadows from the Kremlin's towers fell across the city, the Foreign Ministers themselves—each flanked by six experts and interpreters—took their places at the conference table.

On only one question last week was there agreement. The Ministers unanimously ruled for the liquidation of the old Prussian State. This action was a formal approval of a law—promulgated by the Allied Control Council for Germany two weeks ago—which termed Prussia "the bearer of militarism and reaction in Germany" and abolished the Prussian State, its central Government and all its agencies.

On all other questions there was disagreement. These were the major issues:

Soviet Move

CHINA: At the opening meeting on Monday Mr. Molotov made a move that was seen as an attempt to throw the United States a representative off balance. He proposed that the Ministers include on the agenda a discussion of the situation in China. At the previous Moscow conference of December, 1945, the Big Three had agreed "to the need for a unified and democratic China under the National Government, for broad participation by democratic elements . . . and for a cessation of civil strife" between the Kuomintang and the Communists.

None of these objectives has been accomplished although General Marshall spent last year in China in an attempt to bring the warring factions together. In that year the Chinese Communists and the Moscow press had often condemned American support of the one-party Kuomintang regime.

In the Council last week Secretary

Marshall declared that the Chinese question could not be taken up because China, one of the Big Five, was not represented at the conference.

OCCUPATION TROOPS: Immediately after Mr. Molotov made his China proposal Mr. Marshall tried his own gambit on the conference chess-board. He made a proposal—a favorite one of his immediate predecessor, James F. Byrnes—for a reduction of the occupation forces in Europe. These are estimated strengths of the Big Four forces on the continent:

U.S.S.R. Troops: 1,130,000 in Germany, Austria, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria; 16,000 (mostly NKVD and military missions) in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Albania.

British Troops: 439,000 in Germany, Austria, Italy, Trieste and Greece.

U. S. Troops: 188,000 in Germany, Austria, Italy and Trieste.

French Troops: 72,000 in Germany and Austria.

In the Council last week Mr. Molotov said that he was not prepared to give an opinion on Mr. Marshall's request. The question, in the American Secretary's words, was "left in suspense."

DEMILITARIZATION: The first issue directly connected with the agenda was brought up by Mr. Molotov on Tuesday when he declared that the Potsdam declaration on demilitarization of German armed forces had not been carried out satisfactorily in the western zones.

On this question the Potsdam agreement provided that "all German land, naval and air forces shall be completely and finally abolished."

Count of Prisoners

In the Council last week Mr. Molotov charged that Great Britain was keeping Germans in military organizations in her zone. Ernest Bevin, Britain's Foreign Minister, admitted that the British were using 84,000 former German troops for the hazardous job of mine-sweeping but declared that they would be disbanded when that job was finished. He asked for assurance that German prisoners of war in the Soviet occupation zone were not being "induced to join" the Russian armed forces, and asked for details on the number of prisoners still in camps in Russia.

Mr. Molotov termed reports of such recruiting the work of "rumor-mongers" in the western press; said that Russia would state the number of prisoners she held if the other powers did the same. On Friday Mr. Marshall announced that the United States held 15,103 prisoners from the German armed forces outside Germany. Mr. Bevin placed the number held by Britain outside Germany at 435,295. Georges Bidault, French Foreign Minister, said there were 612,877 German prisoners in France and North Africa.

Mr. Molotov did not immediately give exact figures, but Tass, the Government news agency, announced that Russia held 890,532 German PW's within her borders, had released 1,003,974.

DENAZIFICATION: The Molotov attack on demilitarization policies in the Western zones of occupation was countered on Thursday by an American accusation that Russia was failing to wipe out Nazism in her zone. The broad outlines for denazification had been set out in the Potsdam Declaration, which provided that "Nazi leaders, influential Nazi supporters, shall be arrested and interned. All members of the Nazi party who have been more than nominal participants shall be removed from public and semi-public office and important private undertakings."

In the Council last week Secretary Marshall declared that "we are disturbed by frequent reports that in the Soviet zone former active Nazis may be cleared by joining the Communist-led Socialist Unity party." Mr. Molotov replied to this charge by saying that important Nazi industrialists were now economic leaders in the Western zones.

The most important over-all proposal affecting the German treaty came yesterday. M. Bidault recommended that the Allies undertake a systematic reduction of the German population through emigration. This, Secretary Marshall said, struck at the heart of the German problem.

Interpreter

Vladimir Pavlov, regular interpreter for Foreign Minister Molotov, was absent from the Big Four Moscow conference last week with a cold. His place was taken by a temporary interpreter, Oleg Troyanovsky, son of the first Ambassador of the Soviet Union to the United States. Troyanovsky *fits* went to school in the United States (including a year at Swarthmore), acquired some American mores. Troyanovsky *père* once said of him: "My boy takes me to the baseball games. He likes apple pie. He speaks French with an American accent. And I laugh and laugh."