

SAVING FREEDOM

Truman, the Cold War,
and the Fight for
Western Civilization

JOE SCARBOROUGH

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APPENDIX:

Position and Recommendations of the Department of State Regarding Immediate and Substantial Aid to Greece and Turkey

TOP SECRET

[Washington, undated.]

1.

In view of the wording and timing of the memoranda handed by the British Ambassador to the Secretary of State on February 24 the Department of State regards their presentation as a clear indication that unless the United States is willing to shoulder at once major financial and economic responsibility and a portion of the military responsibility for Greece and to discuss with the British joint measures which should be taken for the military and economic strengthening of Turkey:

(a)

Britain will no longer be able to collaborate with us in joint efforts to hold the line in those countries in order to prevent a complete collapse which would lay these countries open to Russian domination.

(b)

In an effort to salvage something of her political positions she may consider herself compelled to pursue policies of her own with regard to these countries.

2.

In the light of Britain's situation the Department considers this warning to be serious and founded in fact.

3.

The Department considers that this Government has only this choice: (a) either to accept the general responsibility implied in the British memoranda or (b) to face the consequences of a widespread collapse of resistance to Soviet pressure throughout the Near and Middle East and large parts of western Europe not yet under Soviet domination or the adverse consequences, from the standpoint of United States interests, of a possible new British deal with the Russians.

4.

For this reason the Department considers that this Government should accept the responsibilities in question and should do its best to discharge them in such a way as to maintain confidence in the United States and in their own ability to resist Soviet pressure.

5.

The Department considers, however, that before accepting such responsibilities, this Government should obtain satisfactory assurances from the British that we shall have their continued loyal cooperation in our joint efforts to prevent further extension of Soviet power at the expense of the independence of other peoples.

6.

With respect to Turkey, the Department notes that the only specific British proposal thus far is for discussion in the Combined Chiefs of Staff of the strategic and military position of Turkey. The Department recommends that we agree to the immediate undertaking of such discussions and that if as the result of them the Departments of State, War, and Navy find that certain assistance in the form of military supplies is important to the maintenance of Turkish independence, this Government endeavor to furnish an appropriate share.

The British also point out the need for further economic assistance to Turkey. The Department is giving further consideration to this question. It recommends at this time, however, that if in the light

of the studies of this Government and after consultation with Great Britain and Turkey the American Government should come to the conclusion that economic and particularly financial assistance to Turkey from abroad is important to the maintenance of Turkish independence, the United States Government endeavor so far as possible to furnish an appropriate share of such assistance under stipulated conditions assuring its most effective utilization.

7.

With respect to Greece, the Department views the problem as falling into two parts, military and economic, which will require separate consideration and treatment. The Department's tentative views on these points are as follows:

(a)

Military

The Department recommends that the United States Joint Chiefs immediately enter into conversations in the Combined Chiefs of Staff, as suggested in paragraph 9 of the British memorandum, with regard to the various military questions involved, and that if as a result of these conversations the Departments of State, War, and Navy should come to the conclusion that Greece must have continued assistance from abroad in the form of military supplies if it is to maintain its independence and restore domestic tranquility, the United States Government so far as it is able furnish an appropriate share of such supplies.

(b)

Economic

It is the view of the Department that the charges upon this Government involved in the assumption of military responsibility in Greece may continue indefinitely unless economic reconstruction in Greece is assured. The need for external assistance is unquestioned, though its exact magnitude cannot now be specified except to assert that such need is considerable. The British estimates as to the total external

assistance which will be required to support both military and civilian programs need to be checked.

If this Government is to provide immediate financial assistance to Greece, U.S. interests can be adequately served only by establishing immediately the controls necessary to assure the effective utilization of such assistance. The Greek Government cannot itself provide these controls in the near future.

Nor is it possible for the Greek Government, as now organized and administered, to undertake by itself the detailed and systematic program of restoration required to make the Greek economy self-supporting within the near future. This consideration seems to the Department to call for the establishment of an American Administrative Organization to undertake Greek rehabilitation. Such an Organization should have wide powers over Greek economic life. The establishment and operation of such an Organization would call for a considerable additional outlay in American funds and in American personnel of the highest competence and personal integrity. The Department would expect that such an Organization would be terminated as soon as its services were no longer required.

8.

The Department considers that the program set forth in paragraphs 6 and 7, if put into effect promptly and in its entirety, offers a reasonable chance of success. Half-way measures will not suffice and should not be attempted. They would result merely in the waste of American money and manpower.

9.

The Department recommends that the above program, if agreed to by the Secretaries of War and Navy, be submitted immediately by the three Secretaries to the President for his approval.

10.

If the President's approval is forthcoming, the Department considers that the following further steps should then be taken:

(a)

An appropriate reply be made to the British Government and the specific assurances mentioned above be sought, and this Government at once propose top secret conversations at a high level in regard to the whole international situation with a view to ascertaining British capabilities and intentions.

(b)

The Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Commerce, and various other members of the Cabinet be informed of this decision and the Secretary of the Treasury be invited to arrange for Treasury participation in any future discussions bearing on financial assistance. Steps be taken by the Administration to obtain the wholehearted support of all other interested executive agencies of this Government in executing the program outlined.

(c)

Every effort be made at the highest governmental level to find means, without waiting for legislation, to alleviate the present Greek financial situation.

(d)

That steps be taken to see that the Greek Government requests at once in a formal manner the assistance of this Government in the rehabilitation of its economic life.

(e)

The problem be discussed privately and frankly by the leaders of the administration with appropriate members of Congress.

(f)

Legislation be drafted, in the light of these discussions with members of Congress and of the findings of the Combined Chiefs of Staff, and this legislation be submitted to Congress; such legislation might well include authorization for the President under certain conditions within prescribed limits to extend loans, credits, or grants to Greece and/or Turkey; also for the transfer to Greece or Turkey or both of

military supplies not transferable under existing law; and any necessary authorization for the supply of personnel.

(g)

In the meantime measures be taken immediately to transfer to Greece such available military equipment and other supplies as the three Departments find are urgently needed by Greece and are transferable under existing legislation.

(h)

Measures be adopted to acquaint the American public with the situation and with the need for action along the proposed lines.

PRESIDENT HARRY S. TRUMAN'S ADDRESS BEFORE A JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS, MARCH 12, 1947

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 aspect of the present situation, 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 and economic 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 is not a rich country. Lack of sufficient natural resources has always forced the Greek people to work hard to make both ends meet.

Since 1940, this industrious and peace loving country has suffered invasion, four years of cruel enemy occupation, and bitter internal strife.

When forces of liberation entered Greece they found that the retreating Germans had destroyed virtually all the railways, 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. 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, until now, has made economic recovery impossible.

Greece is today without funds to finance the importation of those goods which are essential to 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 purchases of food, clothing, fuel and seeds. These are indispensable for the subsistence of its people and are obtainable only from abroad. Greece must have help to import the goods necessary to restore internal order and security, so essential for economic and political recovery.

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 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. It needs supplies and equipment if it is to restore the authority of the government throughout Greek territory. Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy.

The United States must supply that assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid but these are inadequate.

There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn.

No other nation is willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek government.

The British Government, which has been helping Greece, can give no further financial or economic aid after March 31. Great Britain finds itself under the necessity of reducing or liquidating its commitments in several parts of the world, including Greece.

We have considered how the United Nations might assist in this crisis. But the situation is an urgent one requiring immediate action and the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind that is required.

It is important to note that the Greek Government has asked for our aid 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 we supervise the use of any funds made available to Greece; in such a manner that each dollar spent will count toward making Greece self-supporting, and will help to build 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 processes can be pointed out and corrected. The Government of Greece is not perfect. Nevertheless it represents 85 percent of the members of the Greek Parliament who were chosen in a recent election. Foreign observers, including 692 Americans, considered this election to be a fair expression of the views of the Greek people.

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 we advise tolerance now.

Greece's neighbor, Turkey, also deserves 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 the future of Greece. The circumstances in which Turkey finds itself 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 financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of effecting that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity.

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

The British government has informed us that, owing to its own difficulties 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.

I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, and I shall 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.

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 realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing 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 forced 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.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. 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 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.

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 principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East.

Moreover, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war.

It would be an unspeakable tragedy if these countries, which have struggled so long 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 striving 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.

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. On this subject the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government must work together.

This is a serious course upon which we embark.

I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious. The United States contributed \$341,000,000,000 toward winning World War II. This is an investment in world freedom and world peace.

The assistance that I am recommending for Greece and Turkey amounts to little more than one-tenth of 1 percent of this investment. 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 when the hope of a people for a better life has died. We must keep that hope alive.

The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms.

If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world—and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation.

Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events.

I am confident that the Congress will face these responsibilities squarely.

PUBLIC LAW 75, 80TH CONGRESS

AN ACT

To provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey

Whereas the Governments of Greece and Turkey have sought from the Government of the United States immediate financial and other assistance which is necessary for the maintenance of their national integrity and their survival as free nations; and

Whereas the national integrity and survival of these nations are of importance to the security of the United States and of all freedom-loving peoples and depend upon the receipt at this time of assistance; and

Whereas the Security Council of the United Nations has recognized the seriousness of the unsettled conditions prevailing on the border between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the other, and, if the present emergency is met, may subsequently assume full responsibility for this phase of the problem as a result of the investigation which its commission is currently conducting; and

Whereas the Food and Agriculture Organization mission for Greece recognized the necessity that Greece receive financial and economic assistance and recommended that Greece request such assistance from the appropriate agencies of the United Nations and from the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom; and

Whereas the United Nations is not now in a position to furnish to Greece and Turkey the financial and economic assistance which is immediately required; and

Whereas the furnishing of such assistance to Greece and Turkey by the United States will contribute to the freedom and independence of

all members of the United Nations in conformity with the principles and purposes of the Charter: Now, therefore,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the President may from time to time when he deems it in the interest of the United States furnish assistance to Greece and Turkey, upon request of their governments, and upon terms and conditions determined by him—

1. (1) by rendering financial aid in the form of loans, credits, grants, or otherwise, to those countries;
2. (2) by detailing to assist those countries any persons in the employ of the Government of the United States; and the provisions of the Act of May 25, 1938 (52 Stat. 442), as amended, applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to such Act, as amended, shall be applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to this paragraph: Provided, however, That no civilian personnel shall be assigned to Greece or Turkey to administer the purposes of this Act until such personnel have been investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation;
3. (3) by detailing a limited number of members of the military services of the United States to assist those countries, in an advisory capacity only; and the provisions of the Act of May 19, 1926 (44 Stat. 565), as amended, applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to such Act, as amended, shall be applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to this paragraph;
4. (4) by providing for (A) the transfer to, and the procurement for by manufacture or otherwise and the transfer to, those countries of any articles, services, and information, and (B) the instruction and training of personnel of those countries; and
5. (5) by incurring and defraying necessary expenses, including administrative expenses and expenses for compensation of personnel, in connection with the carrying out of the provisions of this Act.

SEC. 2. (a) Sums from advances by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation under section 4 (a) and from the appropriations made under authority of section 4 (b) may be allocated for any of the purposes of this Act to any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government. Any amount so allocated shall be available as advancement or reimbursement, and shall be credited, at the option of the department, agency, or independent establishment concerned, to appropriate appropriations, funds or accounts existing or established for the purpose.

(b) Whenever the President requires payment in advance by the Government of Greece or of Turkey for assistance to be furnished to such countries in accordance with this Act, such payments when made shall be credited to such countries in accounts established for the purpose. Sums from such accounts shall be allocated to the departments, agencies, or independent establishments of the Government which furnish the assistance for which payment is received, in the same manner, and shall be available and credited in the same manner, as allocations made under subsection (a) of this section. Any portion of such allocation not used as reimbursement shall remain available until expended.

(c) Whenever any portion of an allocation under subsection (a) or subsection (b) is used as reimbursement, the amount of reimbursement shall be available for entering into contracts and other uses during the fiscal year in which the reimbursement is received and the ensuing fiscal year. Where the head of any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government determines that replacement of any article transferred pursuant to paragraph (4) (A) of section 1 is not necessary, any funds received in payment therefor shall be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

(d) (1) Payment in advance by the Government of Greece or of Turkey shall be required by the President for any articles or services furnished to such country under paragraph (4) (A) of section 1 if they are not paid for from funds advanced by the Reconstruction Finance

Corporation under section 4 (a) or from funds appropriated under authority of section 4 (b).

(2) No department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government shall furnish any articles or services under paragraph (4) (A) of section 1 to either Greece or Turkey, unless it receives advancements or reimbursements therefor out of allocations under subsection (a) or (b) of this section.

SEC. 3. As a condition precedent to the receipt of any assistance pursuant to this Act, the government requesting such assistance shall agree (a) to permit free access of United States Government officials for the purpose of observing whether such assistance is utilized effectively and in accordance with the undertakings of the recipient government; (b) to permit representatives of the press and radio of the United States to observe freely and to report fully regarding the utilization of such assistance; (c) not to transfer, without the consent of the President of the United States, title to or possession of any article or information transferred pursuant to this Act nor to permit, without such consent, the use of any such article or the use or disclosure of any such information by or to anyone not an officer, employee, or agent of the recipient government; (d) to make such provisions as may be required by the President of the United States for the security of any article, service, or information received pursuant to this Act; (e) not to use any part of the proceeds of any loan, credit, grant, or other form of aid rendered pursuant to this Act for the making of any payment on account of the principal or interest on any loan made to such government by any other foreign government; and (f) to give full and continuous publicity within such country as to the purpose, source, character, scope, amounts, and progress of United States economic assistance carried on therein pursuant to this Act.

SEC. 4. (a) Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is authorized and directed, until such time as an appropriation shall be made pursuant to subsection (b) of this section, to make advances, not to exceed in the aggregate \$100,000,000, to carry out the provisions of this Act, in such manner and in such amounts as the President shall determine.

(b) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President not to exceed \$400,000,000 to carry out the provisions of this Act. From appropriations made under this authority there shall be repaid to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation the advances made by it under subsection (a) of this section.

SEC. 5. The President may from time to time prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary and proper to carry out any of the provisions of this Act; and he may exercise any power or authority conferred upon him pursuant to this Act through such department, agency, independent establishment, or officer of the Government as he shall direct.

The President is directed to withdraw any or all aid authorized herein under any of the following circumstances:

- (1) . If requested by the Government of Greece or Turkey, respectively, representing a majority of the people of either such nation;
- (2) . If the Security Council finds (with respect to which finding the United States waives the exercise of any veto) or the General Assembly finds that action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuance of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable;
- (3) . If the President finds that any purposes of the Act have been substantially accomplished by the action of any other inter-governmental organizations or finds that the purposes of the Act are incapable of satisfactory accomplishment: and
- (4) . If the President finds that any of the assurances given pursuant to section 3 are not being carried out.

SEC. 6. Assistance to any country under this Act may, unless sooner terminated by the President, be terminated by concurrent resolution by the two Houses of the Congress.

SEC. 7. The President shall submit to the Congress quarterly reports of expenditures and activities, which shall include uses of funds by the recipient governments, under authority of this Act.

SEC. 8. The chief of any mission to any country receiving assistance under this Act shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and shall perform such functions relating to the administration of this Act as the President shall prescribe.

Approved May 22, 1947

A NOTE ON SOURCES

These books and archival records are a sampling of materials consulted by the author, and are recommended to those who wish to learn more about this critical period of American postwar history.

Biographies of Truman

The best-known and most readable biography of the thirty-third president is the Pulitzer Prize-winning *Truman* by David McCullough (1992). It paints an admiring and lavishly detailed portrait of its subject and won the man from Missouri a whole new legion of admirers. A less literary but more scholarly and balanced study is *Man of the People: A Life of Harry S. Truman* by Alonzo Hamby (1995). *The Accidental President: Harry S. Truman and the Four Months That Changed the World* by A. J. Baime is a gripping account of Truman's first steps onto the presidential stage, although the narrative necessarily ends long before the debut of the doctrine.

The Administration

The life and presidency of Harry S. Truman have been the subject of countless books and articles, but the Truman Doctrine has received relatively little attention from scholars. So crowded is the canvas of the immediate postwar years, with massive military demobilization, the Berlin Blockade and Airlift, the Marshall Plan, and countless other crises, that the doctrine sometimes gets lost in the background. However, those scholars who have examined the topic have done so thoughtfully and well, and readers wishing to learn more should explore the works mentioned below.

Perhaps the best and most exhaustive scholarly study of the doctrine is *"A New Kind of War": America's Global Strategy and the Truman Doctrine in Greece* by Howard Jones (1989). Jones, a diplomatic historian of note, effectively illuminates the conflict in both Washington and the Balkans over confronting communist aggression.

For a detailed study of the crafting of Truman's speech, see *Proclaiming the Truman Doctrine: The Cold War Call to Arms*, by Denise M. Bostdorff (2008).

A number of the participants in this historical drama left compelling memoirs that were valuable sources in the crafting of this narrative. The most immediate and compelling are those of State Department official Joseph M. Jones, a participant in the proceedings. His *Fifteen Weeks: February 21–June 5, 1947* (1955) vividly conveys the determination of Dean Acheson and his team to act swiftly in response to the crisis and provides important detail and chronology. Acheson's own memoir, *Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department* (1969) is like the man himself: mordant, witty, and admiring of Truman. The book is a wonderful portrait of a lost age of American diplomacy. (For a more objective look at Acheson, consult *Dean Acheson: A Life in the Cold War* by Robert L. Beisner [2006].) Finally, Truman's own account of his time in office, *Memoirs by Harry S. Truman, Volume 2: Years of Trial and Hope* is a useful, sometimes pungent record of his thoughts and actions during those fateful weeks in 1947.

The Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS), the official history of American diplomacy published by the Office of the Historian at the Department of State, is an astonishing compendium of documents begun in 1861. Freely available online, it allows the researcher superb insights into the thinking and actions of policy makers.

Various newspaper archives, especially that of the *New York Times*, provide contemporary and often colorful observations. Thankfully, the days of scrolling through illegible microfilm are mostly over, and the online *Times* archive, available by subscription, is compendious and easily searchable.

Congress

For the legislative history of the Truman Doctrine, some of the sources above are helpful, but most valuable of all is the *Congressional Record*, which first appeared in 1873. A detailed record of deliberations on the House and Senate floors, and in committees, it is a priceless resource. Unfortunately, the years covered in this book are not freely available online and must be accessed either through subscription or at research libraries. The author has also relied upon his own experience as a member of the House of Representatives for an insight into the congressional debates on the doctrine.

The sometimes troubled collaboration between Truman and Senator Arthur Vandenberg is thoughtfully explored by Lawrence J. Haas in his *Harry & Arthur: Truman, Vandenberg, and the Partnership That Created the Free World* (2016). For more about Senator Robert A. Taft and his worldview, consult *Mr. Republican: A Biography of Robert A. Taft* (1972).

The Greek Civil War

The classic English-language account of the Greek Civil War is *The Struggle for Greece: 1941–1949* by C. M. Woodhouse (1976). A veteran of Britain's Special Operations Executive (SOE), Woodhouse helped organize Greek resistance forces during the German occupation, and later served as a Conservative member of Parliament and a member of the House of Lords. His experience on the ground gave him a unique insight into the complexity of the bitter Greek conflict. *Greece, the Decade of War: Occupation, Resistance and Civil War* by David Brewer (2016) is a more recent, scholarly study based on new evidence. Another important work is *An International Civil War: Greece, 1943–1949* by the late André Gerolymatos (2016), who was a native of Greece and professor of history at Simon Fraser University in British Columbia.

Crete: The Battle and the Resistance by Antony Beevor (1991) includes a vivid and detailed narrative of the German invasion of Greece. For

Churchill's Christmas visit to Athens in 1944, see *Churchill: Walking with Destiny* by Andrew Roberts (2018), and *Winston Churchill: Road to Victory: 1941–1945* (1986), volume 7 of the official biography by Sir Martin Gilbert.