
BACKGROUND BRIEFING—UNITED STATES

For the second time this century, the United States has been called upon to mobilize its people and resources to defeat aggressor nations bent on world domination. Although the historical position of the United States has been to avoid quarrels in foreign lands and to shun the centuries-old practice of conquest and exploitation so characteristic of Europe and Asia, the American people have generously shouldered the primary burden of defending democracy and Western civilization. The United States believes that its security and the security of the other nations of the world will be achieved not through territorial changes, nor through the establishment of spheres of influence and puppet governments, but through the implementation of those principles for which the United Nations fought the last war.

The occupied former Axis powers must be purged of influences that produced the last war. These nations must be reconstructed along democratic principles to prevent the resurrection of militarism. The United States views with concern the lack of cooperation by the Soviet representatives to the joint commission governing Germany. The efforts of the Soviets to set up a puppet Communist Party in their zone and to undermine with propaganda the administration of the three western zones are not consistent with their wartime pledge to cooperate in the restructuring of postwar Germany. In addition, their continuing policy of robbing the Soviet zone in Germany of its industrial production undermines the Allied goal of making Germany self-sufficient. The cost to the American taxpayer of the occupation and reconstruction of the U.S. zone is large, and the sooner national institutions are created in Germany, the sooner this burden will cease.

Moscow's financial support and direction of the Communist Party in certain Western European countries, like France and Italy, threaten the integrity of these nations. The communists are attempting to take advantage of the economic and political dislocations of the war to disrupt the democratic values of these nations and to establish minority communist regimes taking their orders from Moscow. In some nations, like

Greece, these anti-democratic forces are waging a ruthless civil war against the legitimate government. By encouraging such threats to the peace, the Soviet Union endangers the cooperative relationship developed during the war and contradicts the professed desire of the Soviets for peaceful relations between themselves and the West.

The economic prosperity upon which postwar security depends requires that all nations have free access to the resources and markets of the world. The last war demonstrated that we live in an interdependent world and that the struggle for exclusive economic and political control over areas that led to World Wars I and II can no longer be permitted. The American experience demonstrates that economic freedom leads both to economic prosperity and to the strengthening of democratic values. The actions of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe have cut off millions of Europeans from the benefits of such free trade and are forcing them into economic systems that deny basic human rights.

World trade and prosperity require that the major waterways of the world be open to the free, unimpeded use of all nations. Attempts by the Soviet Union to gain control over the straits connecting the Black Sea with the Mediterranean Sea would threaten the free use of this vital waterway. The pressure applied by Moscow on the government of Turkey for military, territorial, and political concessions is contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter, in which the founding states renounce the use or threat of force in their relations. While we support negotiations between nations over common issues, such negotiations cannot be conducted in an atmosphere of threats or intimidation.

The fundamental right of people to choose freely their own form of government and the promises made at Yalta concerning Poland are being violated by the Soviet Union in areas of Eastern Europe under the control of the Red Army. Specifically, democratic parties have not been given the opportunity to participate freely in the political life of Poland and "free, unfettered" elections have not yet been held. The Soviet

Union gives no indication of its intent to fulfill these solemn pledges. On the contrary, throughout Eastern Europe, the Communist Party has been installed in positions of power by Soviet forces. Even in Czechoslovakia, where some semblance of democracy remains, the Soviet Union has exerted its power to ensure that communist politicians control key ministries in the coalition government. The imposition of minority governments against the will of the majority was a practice employed by the Nazis. We hope that era has passed.

A reduction in armaments is essential for world peace and security. Nations possessing large armies deprive themselves of the manpower that would be employed in productive economic activities and threaten the security of their neighbors. Again, the years prior to World War I and II illustrate this costly lesson. While the United States government has demobilized most of the sixteen million men who had been in its armed forces during the war, the Soviet Union continues to maintain a very large army. Elements of the Red Army are occupying many nations in Eastern Europe and inhibiting the development of free institutions in these nations. The sheer size of these enormous armies causes insecurity in nations to the west.

The United States promises that it will hold in trust for mankind the vast power of the atom that was developed during the war. The economic benefits that peacetime atomic energy can provide should be made available to all nations of the world. The United States is committed to the principle of international control over the development of atomic power. Until such effective international mechanisms for control can be established, the United States will not seek to exploit its sole possession of these fearsome weapons, but will

keep its atomic forces to ensure the preservation of the peace.

Using armed force to extort concessions from smaller neighbors, such as the Soviet Union has done in northern Iran this year, is a flagrant violation of United Nations principles and resembles the aggressive behavior of Hitler's Germany before the last war. The violation of Iran's territorial sovereignty by Soviet forces, and the establishment of two communist-dominated puppet governments in areas occupied by the Soviets were a breach of the peace that the United States could not accept. The United States is pleased that the Soviet forces finally have been withdrawn from Iranian territory and assumes that there will not be a recurrence of this type of activity.

The spirit of wartime cooperation that characterized relations among the United Nations allies is sadly lacking today in the meetings of the United Nations Organization because of the provocations and obstructive tactics of the Soviet representatives. The people of the world, weary from war, have turned to the United Nations as the best hope for the future, but the efforts of the majority, representing the freedom-loving countries of the world, are being thwarted by a minority consisting of the Soviet Union and its client regimes.

The American people feel nothing but good will toward the Soviet people. We admire the sacrifices that they made in the fight against fascism and wish to work with them in building a safe, secure world. However, the attitudes and actions of the Soviet government puzzle the American people and lead them to question whether the Soviet Union is really committed to world peace.

FROM THE HISTORICAL RECORD

Excerpts from a speech by President Truman on Navy Day, October 27, 1945

"We have assured the world time and time again—and I repeat it now—that we do not seek for ourselves one inch of territory in any place in the world. Outside of the right to establish necessary bases for our own protection, we look for nothing which belongs to any other power... We seek to use our military strength solely to preserve the peace of the world. For we now know that this is the only sure way to make our own freedom secure.... Let me restate the fundamentals of the foreign policy of the United States:

"1. We seek no territorial expansion or selfish advantage. We have no plans for aggression against any other state, large or small. We have no objective which need clash with the peaceful aims of any other country.

"2. We believe in the eventual return of sovereign rights and self-government to all peoples who have been deprived of them by force.

"3. We shall approve no territorial changes in any friendly part of the world unless they accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned.

"4. We believe that all peoples who are prepared for self-government should be permitted to choose their own form of government by their own freely expressed choice, without interference from any foreign source....

"5. By the combined and cooperative action of our wartime allies, we shall help the defeated enemy states establish peaceful democratic governments of their own choice....

"6. We shall refuse to recognize any foreign government imposed upon any nation by the force of any foreign power. In some cases it may be impossible to prevent forceful imposition of such a government....

"7. We believe that all nations should have the freedom of the seas and equal rights to the navigation of boundary rivers and waterways and of rivers and waterways which pass through more than one country.

"8. We believe that all states which are accepted in the society of nations should have access on equal terms to the trade and the raw materials of the world....

"9. We believe that the sovereign states of the Western Hemisphere, without interference from outside the Western Hemisphere, must work together as good neighbors in the solution of their common problems.

"10. We believe that full economic collaboration between all nations, great and small, is essential to the improvement of living conditions all over the world, and to the establishment of freedom from fear and freedom from want.

"11. We shall continue to strive to promote freedom of expression and freedom of religion throughout the peace-loving areas of the world.

"12. We are convinced that the preservation of peace between nations requires a United Nations Organization composed of all the peace-loving nations of the world who are willing jointly to use force if necessary to insure peace....

"Differences of the kind that exist today among nations that fought together so long and so valiantly for victory are not hopeless or irreconcilable. There are no conflicts of interest among the victorious powers so deeply rooted that they cannot be resolved. But their solution will require a combination of forbearance and firmness. It will require a steadfast adherence to the high principles which we have enunciated. It will also require a willingness to find a common ground as to the methods of applying those principles."