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COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL
MOVEMENTS.

SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 5

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON, Chairman

REPORT

OF

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON, Ohio

AND

HON. CHESTER E. MERROW, N.H.

RELATIVE TO

THE NEAR EAST

(and other points visited)



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NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

The Congress, in the summer and fall of 1947 sent many of its Members abroad for study of conditions. It was a satisfaction as well as a responsibility to share in obtaining the first-hand knowledge that the House needs for its tasks this winter. Nothing could be of more importance at this moment inasmuch as one of the dramatic results of the tragic holocaust we call World War II has been the change in the position of the United States among the nations. We are now one of the two most powerful nations of the world.

For many years before the war there had been developing a warmth of feeling toward America, an admiration for our way of life, an eagerness to learn from us, a confidence in our sincerely unselfish desire to share our well-being with others. Today the situation has changed somewhat. Power sets up jealousies and fears and under the urge of war we developed a speed, a capacity, a strength the world had not seen. Unfortunately such strength, such power, does not build friendship; rather does it create envy and suspicion, and these can quickly turn to hatred.

More unfortunately still, the events that put us in the forefront did not develop synchronously wisdom and judgment. Rather did they give to those in authority the arrogance of the youth who in his ignorance is so certain he can handle everything. To gamble with the peace of the world is dangerous business, and we gambled. Should we now fail to see and to face realistically the results of appeasement policies or should we blindly refuse to face facts at this all-too-late date, we may well destroy our world. We dare not continue on the old road, our responsibility is too great. But, to find the best spot upon which to set our feet on a new trail which is, as yet, not even blazed, takes vision, indomitable courage, and inexhaustible faith. Fortunately it takes a lot of little things, too, which, when joined together and added up, give mechanics, the formulas, that go to make up these great strengths.

The first of these is first-hand knowledge—and that can be had only by going and seeing, by listening and understanding. Congress never appropriated money for more vital and constructive a purpose than the appropriation made this summer which sent its Members out to have a look-see—some within our own borders, others out across the world. These were no junkets. These were serious studies by hard-working men and women out on Government business, sensitive to the need of first-hand knowledge and determined to get it.

Several reports have already been made to the House by these travelers and it is apparent that they have brought back much that we shall find of inestimable value in the months to come. No Congress

has ever faced so great a responsibility, for no other Congress has ever had in its hands the fate of all the world. Surely we need every bit of information, of impression, of fact, and of vision we can secure, and then we need to use it with deep humility. Insofar as we are wise, insofar as we are understanding, insofar as we are selfless, shall we be instruments of the forces of eternal truth. The members of Subcommittee No. 5 are happy to submit their first-hand observations for the benefit of the Congress.

SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 5

It is the special responsibility of Subcommittee No. 5 of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to concern itself with many vital matters included under the heading of "Movements that cut across national boundaries." International health, the status of women, wages and the working conditions, labor and labor-management relations, are among the problems whose international aspects we have to watch, with an especial charge in the matter of the "explosive aspects" of the various movements that cut across national boundaries.

Our subcommittee as a whole spent days in London, Paris, and Rome. Congressman Donald L. Jackson, of California, spent some weeks in Greece and went to Turkey, accompanied by Congressman Olin E. Teague, of Texas, who, while not a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, was thoroughly qualified to evaluate conditions in those areas against a background of grim experience and with a deep sense of responsibility. They have prepared a report which is separately printed, as is that of Congressman Franklin J. Maloney, who gave himself to the task of making a detailed, first-hand study of the results of nationalization of industry in European countries, the impact of Communist tactics, and the atmosphere of today's Europe as practically evidenced.

Having spent some time in the Near East in 1945 Congressman Chester E. Merrow and I chose as our main area for study Cairo and the countries of the great Arabian Peninsula, with the strategically situated land of Iran.

Our original program would have brought us all together again in Cairo the first week of November with about a month to spend in north Africa, but a cable from the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs [Mr. Eaton], calling us to a special committee meeting on November 10, canceled this part of our proposed study.

THE NEAR EAST

1. STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE

If one looks at the map one sees at a glance the dramatic position of the Arabian Peninsula. It is in very truth a bridge between the west and the east, between Europe and Asia. For thousands of years caravans have made their way across it from the Mediterranean to the Himalayas and to the shores of India, from the Black and Caspian Seas and to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf—for thousands of years.

The discovery of oil under these barren sands has been filled with dramatic consequences. All eyes focus jealously upon the countries of the Near East.

IRAN

Again look at the map. Just beyond the eastern borders of the countries we include in the Near East, but definitely a vital part of the Europe-to-Asia bridge are two important countries—Iran and Afghanistan. Both are on the southern borders of the U. S. S. R. and are at the moment resisting Communist efforts. The oil of the Near East, and its lines of communication, are vital organs in the economic anatomy of the non-Soviet world. From the Adriatic to the Himalayas runs the front that covers them. Greece, Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan are sectors of this front.

Iranians frequently ask why Iran is not put in the same category as Turkey, and why does the United States policy on Iran differ from its policy in reference to Greece and Turkey.

In terms of United States self-interest and security, we should do well to consider seriously the question of building up the Iranian Army and of thus putting the country on practically the same basis in our considerations as Turkey and Greece. Probably Turkey can be held in the event of trouble—also Greece. We must never lose sight of the fact that in holding Greece and Turkey we have held only a part of the southern front and an aggressor might easily go around Greece and Turkey just as the Maginot line was outflanked in 1940. If Iran is not strong and able to resist, this eventuality is possible and might well mean the difference between our success and defeat. Iran is of such overwhelming strategic importance because of its oil, and because of its geographical location in relation to the Middle East, India, and the Persian Gulf, that its loss would create grave danger for the west. It could well be the first battlefield of another war should such an unfortunate catastrophe overtake the world.

Iran is, up to now, the outstanding United Nations success. In addition, the Iranians gave proof this October of a fine courage when the Parliament refused to ratify the Russian oil agreement by a vote of 102 to 2. We were there and felt the excitement and the upsurge of patriotism that resulted. There was no reaction from Moscow at the time, but later reports have shown the insidious methods of their propaganda.

THE IRANIAN ARMY

Although it is not now as efficient a fighting force as the Turkish Army, Iran is anxious to make its army, of slightly over 100,000 men, an effective instrument. With adequate supplies, training, and advice this could readily be done. When we were there negotiations were in progress for a \$25,000,000 credit from the United States to buy supplies. Since payment of interest is involved, approval by the Majlis (or Parliament) is constitutionally required.

AIR AND OIL

If Russia should decide to move south across the frontiers there is little to stop the advance. Iran has only a few inexperienced divisions, and only a handful of passenger planes. And at Abadan, at the northern end of the Persian Gulf, lies the largest oil refinery in the world. A few miles away in the tiny country of Kuwait is the richest single oil field yet proven. And what is there to hinder a further descent upon Bahrein and the fabulous fields of Saudi Arabia?

We have constructed an airfield at Dhahran in Arabia close to the oil fields. Given an appropriate agreement with King Ibn Saud, and a powerful air force ready to move in the event of trouble, we could protect the oil fields of the Middle East against aggression. At the present moment we lack the strength to do anything in this vital area. Greece, Turkey, and Iran might hold the front against such attack for a short time; but without the supporting air power from the United States, the whole Mediterranean area and the entire Near East could not be protected. The United States would do well to take steps to achieve and maintain air supremacy. First-hand study of this area suggests that in terms of our security we need an air force equal to any other force or combination of air forces.

Nothing is more necessary for our security in this area than that our agreements with Iran as well as with Saudi Arabia be both renewed and expanded.

2. THE OIL OF THE NEAR EAST

There is a rising demand throughout the world for oil. The United States is using more than ever before, and European recovery calls for a great increase in European consumption. The four major sources of supply include the United States, South America, Russia, and the oil fields of the Near East. The fields in the Near East contain approximately three-fourths as much oil as all the others in the world combined, scattered across Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and the sheikhdoms of Kuwait, Bahrein, and Qatar. The United States of America has proven reserves of about 21,000,000,000 barrels of oil, and last year consumed no less than 8.3 percent of these reserves or about 1,700,000,000 barrels. The importance of this figure is obvious; the oil in the Middle East is essential to the economy of the world.

The Arabian-American Oil Co. (ARAMCO), has five oil fields including Abu Hadriya, Dammam, Buqqa, Abqaiq, and Qatif. The company is owned jointly by the Standard Oil Co. of California, 30 percent; Texas Oil Co., 30 percent; Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, 30 percent; and Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., 10 percent. The proven reserves available to ARAMCO are about 5,000,000,000 barrels and no one yet knows how much oil may be obtained when these fields are finally developed. Dammam has now 32 producing wells while Abqaiq has about 25. At the moment the refinery at Ras Tanura is refining somewhat over 100,000 barrels a day. When the new pipe line to the Mediterranean is completed, the production of the fields in Saudi Arabia will be stepped up greatly.

ARAMCO in Arabia is the largest private American enterprise outside of the United States. With the American petroleum supply definitely limited and with the European and Far Eastern petroleum demands increasing, the Middle Eastern area will be increasingly important as a source of supply to reduce the drain upon the domestic reserves in the United States. At the moment a major part of the oil produced by ARAMCO is going to the United States Navy. It should not be forgotten that oil can be shipped from the Near East to the United States even cheaper than it can be obtained from the American fields. It is essential to us that we have available in the Middle East this great source of petroleum products.

The Kuwait Oil Co. located at the head of the Persian Gulf in the sheikhdom of Kuwait is in the first stages of development. This company, owned by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., is 50 percent British

and 50 percent Gulf Exploration Co. (American). Its concession covers the entire sheikdom of 6,000 square miles and it is hoped that by 1950, it will be producing 500,000 barrels a day. The Kuwait oil field, the largest single oil field in the world, has 8,000,000,000 or 9,000,000,000 barrels of proven reserves. The oil fields are shallow, only 4,700 feet below the surface, and Kuwait oil is the cheapest in the world. The wells at Dhahran go down 7,300 feet. These are the two largest fields in the Middle East and the fields with the greatest American interests.

We were informed that construction of a pipe line, 1,125 miles long, to convey the oil of Saudi Arabia to the Mediterranean, is to be started soon. The proposed line was planned to be laid through Arabia, Trans-Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon coming out near the port of Sidon. The inside diameter of this line is to be 31 inches, with pumps to be placed at intervals along the line. The project has been scheduled to be completed by late 1949. The cost of this line is estimated at approximately \$125,000,000, and when finished it should deliver to the Mediterranean port 300,000 barrels of oil a day. A similar line from the head of the Persian Gulf is also contemplated.

Oil is essential to the world's peacetime economy and is crucial in the event of war. If we can fully develop the oil of Arabia and the entire Persian Gulf area for use in western Europe and for use in this country, we will be in a position to conserve our already depleted fields at home. Nothing should be done to jeopardize our national interests in this area, and our policy in the area should be in accordance with this interest. Thanks to past good fortune the extensive oil concessions in Saudi Arabia are under American management. King Ibn Saud has shown his desire to increase the evidences of friendship between our two countries. Our Foreign Service people and the representatives of the oil company have been building well. There has been a very constructive frankness on both sides without which the rapid progress made in the 2 years since we last visited the area could not have been accomplished. It is a definite result of our accord with the Arabs that water and sewage disposal and power are to be put in the main cities of Arabia and that these are to be joined together by a railroad, all constructed by American engineers, so giving access to ports soon to be enlarged on both the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. In addition, hospitals and elementary and craft schools are being built and operated and the idea of a living wage is being introduced. An all too small American air mission is teaching a group of carefully chosen young Saudis how to run a commercial airfield. The agreement runs out this spring. The importance of renewal can hardly be overestimated.

The confidence of the Arabs in the United States is fundamental to the vast oil developments upon which the United States and all the countries of the world rely for much of the oil supply needed for their economic progress.

3. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE NEAR EAST

AGRICULTURAL POSSIBILITIES

We were instructed to give consideration wherever possible to the agricultural possibilities of these Near East countries, and to learn what if any justification there might be for the hope that a proportion

of the food needs of western Europe, now shut away from Soviet and satellite country production, might be met by agricultural development in the area.

It may be recalled that during the war the United States Army was instrumental in the development of an irrigation project in the desert of Saudi Arabia where wells bubble up at intervals from the ground. This proved tremendously successful and not only saved shipping but was a boon to our troops. Thanks to quick action when the Army abandoned it almost overnight, this experiment is being carried on by American agricultural experts, financed by the Saudi Arabian Government. Here is a 2,000-acre tract which thanks to American know-how and friendly agreements, produces wheat, alfalfa, watermelon, melon, squash, eggplant, broccoli, onions, carrots, beets, cabbage, and other vegetables. Why should this not be extended and the surplus produce be exported?

FOOD AND IRAQ

But it is in Iraq that the greatest possibilities for agricultural production exist. It would be impossible to estimate the riches contained in the long unused and constantly accumulating soil of the Euphrates Valley. In 1945 it was estimated that something over 4½ million people lived in Iraq. History tells us that between the eighth and thirteenth centuries this broad valley of Mesopotamia contained a full 20,000,000. There actually is in existence still the remains of an old dam and canal system that was destroyed by the Mongols between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which could be made usable again with comparatively little expense or effort. There is no doubt but that this ancient valley could indeed stage a "second blooming" and could play a vital part in supplying food to western Europe. This fact should be remembered, as we take up our ever-increasing and inescapable responsibilities for world peace.

THE ARABS

Syria and Lebanon offer agricultural possibilities also, though in somewhat lesser degrees. Here we find people with centuries of experience in irrigation, in agriculture, just beginning to come out from under the disheartening and stultifying effects of 400 years of Ottoman rule. It was the Arabs' knowledge of terraces, of irrigation, that covered the hillsides of ancient days with fruit and the plains with grain. This knowledge has lain dormant and although the older generation may not have thrown off all the effects of Turkish enslavement, their sons and daughters are doing so with an energy that is inspiring. The greatest factor in this rebirth has been the American University of Beirut where for more than 80 years American education has been freely theirs and American principles have been lived.

It would appear that the Arabian Peninsula could be and should be a granary for a large area of the world. This is of vast importance to our western civilization. But without mutual confidence, is it not a good deal to expect that rapid and constructive steps in that direction will be taken?

ECONOMIC OUTLOOK IN IRAN

To support an army capable of resisting an enemy, Iran must be economically strong. There is great need for industrial and agricul-

tural development of the country, and Iranian leaders are anxious to raise the standard of living and to improve the conditions of their people. To this end an industrial and agricultural survey was recently made of Iran at the request of the Iranian Government by the American firm of Morrison & Knudson, of Boise, Idaho. A plan for the development of the country was suggested covering 240 projects and costing eventually one and a quarter billion dollars. This, of course, is in excess of what can be done within the next few years, but both the possibility and the need exist.

Iran is in a position to spend about \$250,000,000 of its own money for such development, and the country has been seeking a loan of \$250,000,000 from the International Bank. The bank does not have sufficient funds available to make such a loan over a period of 7 years and negotiations are, therefore, in progress for a loan of about \$70,000,000 to \$100,000,000 over a 2-year period. The International Bank makes loans for both reconstruction and development, and in the future the emphasis will be on development rather than on reconstruction. Lending money to Iran would be an excellent investment since the oil resources of the country stand behind its credit. If Iran can put into effect the proposed program for agricultural and industrial development, the standard of living could be raised and the economy of the country would be able to support stronger defenses.

4. PALESTINE

Flying down over the coastal plain past Haifa to the amazing city of Tel Aviv which has spread itself far beyond its 1945 boundaries, one can well understand how the tragically persecuted Jews of the DP camps of Europe must feel upon landing, no matter how crowded their all too inadequate housing facilities are—or how poverty stricken they may be. At Jerusalem the old city seems smaller. We were struck with the immense amount of building going on everywhere. In the new suburbs the streets are broad, stores resemble ours and residence areas are growing up like mushrooms, pretty solid mushrooms to be sure, as all buildings must be of the native stone. This gives an immediate effect of permanency and is, of course, a great fire protection. The whole atmosphere of the new city is one of energy, growth, and enthusiasm.

With what is left of the King David Hotel turned into British headquarters, rooms had been found for us in an immaculate little hotel on the outskirts of the city, where we were exceedingly well cared for. We confess it was a relief not to be in town where disturbances were too frequent for comfort.

It is not within the province of this subcommittee to comment upon the relative merits of the various plans for the disposal of the Palestine question, nor to express any opinion regarding the United Nations decision. Assigned to an on-the-spot study of the explosive aspects of such movements as communism, Zionism, nationalism, and other doctrines, it was not our business even to form opinions on that problem. Rather was it incumbent upon us to talk with as many as possible of those in authority, Britishers, Jews, and Arabs, as well as our own exceedingly well-informed representatives. This we did to the best of our ability and in spite of hazards involved. Our present responsibility is to give the factual picture of our experi-

ence, briefly and clearly, and to convey our sense of the tragic difficulties presented. But first a few words may be said on the background of both sides, Arab and Jew.

BACKGROUND

Regardless of the validity or the invalidity of the arguments put forward by both Arabs and Jews, it is of the utmost importance to the integrity, not only of our Government but of every individual American, that not only the arguments themselves, but their background be very widely known and thoroughly understood.

As we have mentioned, an important factor in the rebirth of the Arabs has been the American University of Beirut where for 80 years American education has been freely theirs and American principles have been lived. One measure of the completeness with which they absorbed our democratic ideas and ideals is provided by their reaction to what they consider our infidelity to these very ideals. They interpret our agreement to the United Nations plan as an effort to take from them some of their land and to force upon them an alien minority. Our attitude has bewildered and angered them, but it has gone far deeper than can yet be measured, for they feel we have betrayed them both morally and spiritually. To fail to understand this is to fail to comprehend the heart of the present Arab point of view relative to Palestine.

We dwell upon the Arab point of view because until very recently few people knew they had one. Even now there is a minimum of actual knowledge about these countries in America. For us to continue to interpret this ancient people with their rich culture, their art, and their scientific tradition, as if they were something between beings out of the fantastic world of the Arabian Nights and fast-riding desert tribes swooping down from the hills to carry off women and children, would be the height of folly.

For the evaluation of the Zionist movement two things are important as background—one is the complete and passionate belief inculcated in the synagogues down the centuries that God chose the sons of Judah as His own and that He, in all His majesty and power gave them this much-disputed land of Palestine. Unless you can understand the depth of this belief, you will fail to evaluate the situation with realism. The other is the Hitler persecutions and the consequent horrors visited upon the victims which in the minds of many can be brought to an end only by settlement in this Promised Land.

PALESTINE IN OCTOBER 1947

Arriving in Jerusalem on October 4, we found ourselves in what was virtually an armed camp. Warned upon our arrival at the airport of the police order to stop when the siren blew and stay still until the all clear, faced with barbed-wire entanglements strung around the five restricted areas and the constantly required passes, we found a terrific tension in the whole area. It was during our stay in Jerusalem that the United States position relative to the partition plan was announced. The day after we left, our consulate was bombed.

Try as we would to find some points of agreement between the contending groups, we found but two. Arabs and Jews agreed that

the British should withdraw, and at once; and that, whatever the results, each felt able to cope with whatever situations might arise. Their first wish has been granted; and the British are folding up their tents with, oddly enough, a note of deep sadness. Indeed, it is this strange undertone of tragedy that meets one at every turn.

It seems especially tragic now the die has been cast, that there have been, within both groups, those who felt a way could be found for peaceful settlement. Those with whom we spoke admitted that the rigidity of the leaders, the unbending intolerance on both sides, presented an insoluble problem. Arabs pointed out the fact that Jews and Arabs have lived for all the centuries in practically unbroken friendliness together. They pointed to Baghdad from which stem many of the world's richest and most powerful Jews, and where 120,000 have dwelt in peace and prosperity. They said quite frankly that it is the European Jew with his alien ideas now being forced upon them that they do not want. Among the Jews who have urged a unified Jewish-Arab state, probably the best known is Dr. Magnus, head of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. But in addition there are groups of Orthodox Jews, strangely inarticulate, who told us that to them Zionism is the greatest tragedy ever faced by the Jewish people. Only time can tell us in what degree they sensed the truth.

Politically there are internal divisions also on both sides. Out of sympathy with their elders who constitute the Arab high executive committee, a group of young Arabs has begun to be aware of itself. Without real leadership there is genuine concern lest they turn toward Moscow. This would lead to very serious developments.

Nor can the growing popularity and power of the Mufti, Haj Amin Al Husseini, who has now moved from Egypt to Lebanon, be entirely ignored. Some with whom we talked hold the opinion that the increase of his influence is due partly to subtle and insidious work by Moscow agents, while others reminded us that his pro-Nazi activities during the last war and his efforts to overthrow the reigning house in Iraq, have netted him more enemies than friends.

Great Britain deals officially only with the Jewish Agency which is established in Jerusalem in an impressive building having the atmosphere of a government office. Acceptance by these Zionists of the partition plan brought forward a seldom-mentioned group—the Zionist-Revisionists. This group is composed largely of passionately patriotic Palestinians who have tasted Russian ruthlessness in the past and remember it and whose violent opposition to partition is matched only by their opposition to communism in any form. The full-page statement in September in New York papers, of their irrevocable position against partition, was clearly reflected in Palestine where we were told that they represent as much as 17 to 20 percent of the Jewish population.

How all these differences will be resolved is fortunately not the responsibility of any outsiders. What is important is that we know of their existence. Especially should we be aware of the fact that the belligerent groups have armed units.

It is difficult to say how large these various units are. The Arab Legion, originating in Trans-Jordan and used by the British for policing the borders and certain other places such as Jerusalem, consists of some 8,000 troops. The Arab countries bordering on Palestine

each have sent a few troops to their border areas. What equipment they have is hard to say although such is too easily come by.

The Jewish Agency's fighting arm is the Haganah, which under existing law is an illegitimate organization generally moderate in its action. Illegitimate also is the Irgun Zvai Leumi, which all authorities in Jerusalem told us is an unacknowledged arm of the Revisionists. Identification of the "Stern gang" with any particular group was difficult, but the consensus of opinion was that they work with the Communists and fellow travelers.

LOVE OF THE LAND

But this is not the whole picture—for there is the more peaceful side made up of miles and miles of Arab orchards, of Jewish communal farms, of terraces under process of rehabilitation by both, of agricultural experiment stations. Jewish Agency developments have grown rapidly and the people we talked with had an enthusiasm good to see. But that enthusiasm was not theirs alone—we found it on the Arab hillsides also, where for lack of American money the progress has been slower. But eagerness to renew the fertility of the land is common to all. It is important no matter who governs, for a great part of the food today comes from abroad. Without food imports the people would starve. Perhaps those who in thought and feeling long for peaceful solutions to the many complexities could build upon this deep love of the land, of the country. This love exists in the hearts of all who have lived there, for even the British leave with a reluctance bred of a deep feeling for this terrain that is called Palestine.

In submitting this picture of the facts and impressions we brought back with us from Palestine, we do so with the hope that in spite of all the possible violence of reaction that may yet result from the United Nations decision, there may still remain the possibility that, once the British have gone and the two peoples who stem from a common ancestry are faced with the full responsibility for their common future, they may find a way to peace.

PROBLEMS AHEAD

We are now faced with the results of our agreement with the United Nations plan of partition and all it may mean to the west. A year ago we stood ace high in the Near East. Where we stand in the future will undoubtedly be governed somewhat by what they consider their need of our engineers and others in their oil and other developments. The signed pipe-line contract with Syria will unquestionably be rejected by the Syrian Parliament. Such rejection will be an indication as to how the wind blows. It is inconceivable that people who still cling to feudal ways in many respects and to whom their religion is paramount, would risk a break with Moscow's opposite. But we must not underestimate the violence of Arab sentiment against being forced to accept the United Nations decision, in which the United States played a major role, and which violates the principles taught them in American colleges as fundamental to free democratic living.

Only time can give us the answer.

5. THE COMMUNIST DRIVE AGAINST THE UNITED STATES

SOVIET PROPAGANDA EVERYWHERE

In the various countries which the committee visited the Communists under the direction of Moscow are making a powerful drive against the United States through their extensive propaganda. Misinformation, abusive statements, vituperation, shameless lies, and a continual blasting against our policies and against our activities are the order of the day. Let no one be mistaken—there is Moscow-inspired effort to abuse, malign, and discredit this country:

The issue is clearly drawn. The policy of the Kremlin is well defined and well developed. We must be realistic about this unpalatable situation and understand that to meet effectively and to counteract this sinister effort we must take real measures. The story of America must be told. This propaganda offensive against us can be met only with counterpropaganda. There is in full progress a "war of ideas" and the ideological lines of battle are distinctly defined. To ignore what the Communists, directed by Moscow, are trying to do would be to blind ourselves completely to the realities of this most unpleasant, disquieting situation.

Take Arabia, for instance, it is difficult to estimate with any accuracy how many radio receiving sets there are in the Arabian peninsula. Many of the people in Arabia are unable to read or write but they can listen to the radio and constantly repeat what they hear. The Russians broadcast in Arabic. The Arabian grapevine is effective. Arabs gather in large groups around the loud speaker and whatever they hear serves as the subject of repeated conversations. Through the few thousand radio sets in Arabia, therefore, many thousands of people are reached.

The Russians strive to convince the Arabs that we are heartless capitalists and this anti-American propaganda continues day in and day out. In contrast one hardly ever hears an American broadcast in Arabia. We should have radio facilities by which we could broadcast in Arabic and portray the American way of life to offset the influence of Russian propaganda. Our information program in every one of these countries is hopelessly weak.

In Kuwait, we found that Communist radio programs vilifying the United States exceed in magnitude the lies and misrepresentations that formerly came out of Nazi Germany. The Moscow broadcasts are designed to poison the minds of the Arabs against the Americans. It is encouraging, however, that the Arabs are not very susceptible to these programs, and that there are relatively few Communists in Arabia and the Persian Gulf area. The Communists are endeavoring, however, to increase their influence and they will not hesitate to employ any method which will serve their aims. They hear almost nothing from the United States, and we are badly missing an opportunity to build up the good will of millions who are most anxious to be our friends.

In Iran, the Soviet propaganda emphasizes the line that the United States is on the brink of an economic depression. This is one of the constant themes. The Soviet Union hopes that we will have a depres-

sion and that there will be such a severe economic collapse as to prevent the United States from assisting free people. They are also telling the Iranians that the proposed credit from the United States will be used by America to unload junk, and that if we were really interested in Iran, we would extend aid for the procurement of medical supplies, etc. The Soviets also warn that Iran must be particularly careful or she may become the "Poland" of World War III.

Russia controls considerable newsprint, a propaganda weapon also, and will sell it to Iran at one-tenth the price the country has to pay elsewhere. We were informed that if we could somehow secure even a small amount of newsprint for Iran it would help tremendously. To do this is next to impossible because of our own shortage, but it would be good to do and the possibility should be carefully examined.

POSSIBILITY FOR FUTURE FRIENDLY RELATIONS

A year ago no country in the world had the friendship of the Arabs as we did. A year ago we were tops in this link area, this bridge between the east and the west. Where shall we find ourselves from here out? King Ibn Saud has given no indication that he intends to sever the very friendly and constructive relations between our two countries, and his influence is far reaching. Perhaps his attitude is due partly to the fact that of all the heads of governments in the area this King most clearly sees the menace of the Kremlin in broad perspective, and as a devout son of the prophet recognizes the fundamental danger. The sinister possibilities behind the momentary agreement between the United States and the Soviet in the United Nations plan to partition Palestine is probably troubling him as much, if not more, than it is troubling others. Indeed, the Arabs on the peninsula have no illusions over the meaning of the U. S. S. R. agreement to partition. They recognize the cupidity inherent in every Soviet move. If through the United Nations partition plan Moscow obtains the opportunity consequent upon her agreement, to set up cells of destruction within Arabia, then indeed will a dark shadow have spread across the sunny path of a friendship with us which the Arabs as keenly desire as do we, and to which both of us have grown accustomed.

6. OUR GOVERNMENT SERVICES IN THE NEAR EAST

There is one more thing of very real moment to this country which gives us great satisfaction to report: The high quality of the personnel sent into the Near East by the Foreign Service Division of our State Department. These are exceedingly difficult posts and at the moment, posts of danger. Our contacts, made in the tense atmosphere of these difficult problems, gave rare opportunity for evaluation of character and capacity. We can be proud that we have so high a caliber of representation. In this we include all from heads of missions down the line to the alien employees. And we include also the wives whose contribution to the efficiency of our posts is incalculable. The same should be said of our missions in Tehran and Dhahran where every American plays an important part in building friendship and security for America.

To continue to improve our Foreign Service, which is one of the vital arms of American security, a few basic points should be empha-

sized: We must send out men and women of unquestionable loyalty, of capacity and intelligence, and we must give them as much training as can possibly be given. Their pay must be such as will relieve them from constant anxiety for the future of their families. We must supply them with funds adequate to cover the expenditures they are put to in the performance of their duties. We must house our chiefs of services in Government-owned and basically equipped residences worthy of the greatest of all the nations with simple American adequacy. We must own chancelleries such that our offices may in themselves be demonstrations of the standards that spell out American efficiency. We should also own and basically equip residences for certain members of the staffs and increasingly wherever possible, apartment facilities for the Americans of the secretarial group for whom the problem of housing is more difficult than we should permit. Above all else, we should and must see to it that our Foreign Service is built up and extended rather than cut down and restricted at every point.

AMERICAN MISSION IN IRAN

We have two small missions in Tehran, one to the military under the command of Gen. Robert W. Grow, and one to the gendarmerie under Gen. H. Norman Schwartzkopf. Little by little the Iranians have accepted and begun to use the suggestions and advice given them. The relations between the groups are of mutual respect and friendliness. The young Shah, grown from a charming, serious young man into a mature, thoughtful, and increasingly able ruler in the 2 years since our last audience with him, evidences his confidence in our Ambassador George V. Allen. There is no difficulty between the heads of our missions and the Ambassador. All work in the closest harmony for one purpose: To build a lasting friendship between our two countries and to assist the Iranian Government to strengthen the units upon which it depends for internal order and external security. It is our conviction that the agreement between this country and Iran covering these important missions must not only be continued, but that every effort should be made to make possible to these courageous people a more adequate air protection, a better equipped and trained military establishment and more knowledge of the United States and our way of life.

The missions that we now have in Iran are there under the war emergency powers of the President. If the emergency should be declared at an end, the military missions could not remain. Should the missions be withdrawn from Iran, it would constitute a severe blow and the Iranians would feel that the United States had lost interest in them. In the last session, the House passed a bill providing for military missions in various countries, but this bill failed to pass in the Senate.

THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE

Everywhere we went in the Near East we found a demand for and a tragic lack of information about America. No books, no magazines, no newspapers—even for our staffs. The latest paper found during our stay in Tehran in late October bore the date line of September 18. With all the millions of feet of documentary and other films we have available in this country, were it not for the Army mission there would

not be an inch of film in Iran. Penny-wise and pound-foolish have we been at a time when all the world wants to know of us.

Is not it amusing—or is it tragic—that we who talk so much at this end of our way of life, who advertise ad nauseam, have failed to make any real effort to give other people a picture of our day-by-day living. How can we expect them to reject the falsehoods with which they are being flooded day after day, month after month, year after year? No books of ours, no magazines, few if any pictures in some of the countries where commercial films go, all this leaves the field open for belief in the subtle as well as the crude propaganda of the other side.

Russia's paramount aim is to drive us out of western Europe and the Mediterranean Basin. At no time in recent months have the leaders of the Soviet Union evidenced any desire to reach an understanding or to cooperate with our efforts in the establishment of a peaceful world. It is regrettable that this is so. In view of the unfriendly propaganda, to attribute any motive to the Kremlin other than the undermining of this country, would be to blind ourselves to the obvious facts of life. In addition to our aid to western Europe and the Near Eastern countries resisting communism and in addition to a preparedness program which we so badly need, we must hasten to develop an "offensive of ideas" to counteract the misinformation, the abuse, and the deliberate lies that are being broadcast and printed about the United States.

OTHER COUNTRIES

1. BY SHIP TO ENGLAND

Sailing on September 18 for Europe, the group used several hours of every day on the ship for discussions and conferences. These gave opportunity for clarification, for orientation, and for a pointing-up of our purposes that nothing else could have done. Add to this the talks with such people as Sir Ian Fraser, long a member of Parliament, with Miss Alice Bacon, Labor member of Parliament, with Mr. Morgan Phillips, secretary of the Labor Party, with oil and transport men, and with a selected group of women, some going to an international meeting of women in Paris, others coming from the conference held at Philadelphia. Our sea voyage gave us a full and profitable introduction to some, at least, of the conditions we were to study.

England presented a grimness we saw nowhere else. Everyone's clothes need renewal, most buildings still need repair and paint. The dank chill of the average service flat creeps into your very bones. The better ones have one electric heater metered by shillings in a slot; but the walls are damp and cold straight through, some so saturated that water actually runs down onto the floor, hard on little children and inexpressibly hard on old people. Yet, one heard on every side, from all sorts and kinds, "What we need is a hard winter." But if such develops, many of England's old people will not be there in the spring.

The unusually sunny summer had given everyone 2 or 3 months of a more varied and a more palatable diet, but that was over, and they were reverting to their cabbage, their sprouts, their beet root, carrot, and turnip diet, with what is equivalent to about two chops a week in meat and now and again fish. If only they could have put up some of these precious summer fruits and vegetables against the winter.

But there is little sugar, and what there is is tightly rationed, and containers have long since become more precious than diamonds, more valuable than furs, and far more scarce, and refrigeration as we understand the term just does not exist. Indeed, all household supplies are in short supply and tightly rationed, and clothes as well, yet British women in dresses that have been turned not only once but sometimes twice, cheered up with bits of brave color here and there, many of them stockingless, and British men in their worn and shiny clothes and frayed shirts are saying with complete conviction, "If we have a hard winter, we'll pull out of this."

From what background does this come? Some would say it emanated from the hope of those who look to the speedy overthrow of what they consider an inept, ignorant, and incompetent Labor government. But that is not accurate, it is said by those who want the Labor government retained.

Of one thing we became convinced and that is that we here have very little understanding of the forces that put the Labor government in. The fact that all groups were held together with a certain magnificence through the war by the amazing force and inspiration of Winston Churchill did not mean that people in all walks of life had not become increasingly aware of the backwardness of the Conservatives, of their inability to see their outworn methods in the light of the changed world. This was responsible, in a certain degree at least, for the election of a Labor government. We should be aware also of the considerable group of young Conservatives who voted for and still uphold the present government, certain that the Conservatives must be purified by the fire of reality if their return to power is to be anything short of tragedy. Nor should we forget the effect of that election upon some of the countries of Europe who were thoroughly out of sympathy with their own outworn governments and who, because they could find nothing better anywhere, were casting their eyes eastward. The whole atmosphere of Europe changed when the Labor government went in, and eyes once more turned westward. Should we not be a little grateful for that? Certainly, we should not forget it.

The fact that Labor went in on unfulfillable promises that they have not as yet had the courage to acknowledge as such, and that they have not yet faced up to cold reality is, at this moment in time, more than regrettable, but still very human. We should know, for it has happened here.

If we feel the leadership unequal to its task should we not recall that most of those who could have led England through these troublous times lie buried where poppies blow?

But we have confidence that with or without a hard winter, Britain will face up to the new conditions and pull out.

BRITISH NEED FOR MODERNIZATION

The economic situation in England is somewhat parallel to the political one. For years owners took everything out of the business, out of the mines, and put little or nothing back. We saw some of their factories in 1944—the new war ones, streamlined and light; others, for four, five, and six generations in the same family, unbelievably dark, crowded, and generally what we would not tolerate if only from the safety angle. All this is being recognized, but it cannot be

rectified overnight, especially when men are paid whether they work or not and when they have laid their burden of personal responsibility upon government. But the Labor government must modernize the mines and make it possible for owners to put labor-saving methods into industry, or how will England be able to compete in world markets? And compete she must if she is to survive.

2. FRANCE

France is something else again—and the recent happenings there offer all the evidence anyone should need to be convinced that the U. S. S. R. recognizes us as her great adversary in the ruthless methods she is employing to control one of the keys to western Europe. The Kremlin is determined to have France. The French have shown their unwillingness to accept such domination, but they cannot go it alone.

As a background for our present judgments we should remind ourselves of the courageous action of the Ramadier government last spring when Communist members were removed. They had learned from bitter experience that even one Communist within the government means the sabotaging of every constructive effort that is attempted, and they were successful in freeing themselves from such direct destructive influences. But they have been unable to rid France of the indirect but grimly determined persistence of Kremlin-directed Communists seeking to disrupt their economic life.

In France, the Communist drive against the United States, the chief objective of which is to defeat the Marshall plan, has reached an all-time high. The Communist Party has been given by Moscow the immediate task of sabotaging French recovery. The party's program is to accomplish the following: By an all-out propaganda campaign, they are attempting to persuade the French people that the Marshall plan is a myth and that it will never materialize. At the same time they are trying to convince the country that all American aid is part of a capitalistic-imperialistic plan to enslave the world. This drive against the United States is increasing in severity as news reports from the European capitals within the last few days indicate.

By creating as much unrest as possible, the tactics of the Communists are designed to prevent economic, social, and political stability in France and in other countries. They are trying—and we must keep this constantly in mind—to create as discouraging a picture as possible of the economic and social instability of France, so that we will become tired of giving aid, and at the same time to discredit the United States for the purpose of making France look to the east instead of to the west. They accuse us of "imperialism" and economic intervention in the internal affairs of France and other European countries, all of which they say is aimed at economic enslavement. The Communist-controlled propaganda agencies say that our Government is rotten, that our books are rotten, that our films are rotten, and that everything in connection with the United States is rotten. The Communist press runs special sections on American decadence. This is the type of stuff that is being spewed out of the Communist propaganda agencies in western Europe and the Near East.

CHANNELS USED FOR THE SPREADING OF PROPAGANDA IN FRANCE

Following is a detailed summary of the most important channels used for the spreading of Communist propaganda against the United States in France. Although this deals only with France, the same general pattern obtains in other countries where the Communists are active. The channels used for the Communist vilification of the United States include the press, the radio, literature, pamphlets, posters, motion pictures, public speeches, and lectures.

Press.—A total of 11 dailies, 71 weeklies, and 1 monthly are officially published by the French Communist Party; in addition, 18 dailies, 68 weeklies, 1 biweekly, 22 monthlies, 7 bimonthlies, 2 tri-monthlies, published unofficially by the party and its "front" organizations, engage in active propaganda. The dailies are sold at 5 francs, less than one-fourth of the price of an egg on the Paris market. They are often dropped free of charge in the mail boxes or distributed free on the streets of Paris. Of particular importance in this respect is *La Terre*, party peasant publication circulated according to most recent information in 200,000 copies and distributed gratis in the French countryside.

Radio.—At least three broadcasts a day are made over the French and French African radio stations under Communist sponsorship. This does not include the Communist broadcasts from Moscow in French.

Literature.—Numerous pro-Soviet and anti-American books are published by the party, and a large number are imported in French translation from the Soviet Union. They are sold at the Communist Party bookshop as well as many bookstores all over Paris and the provinces. All may be obtained at absurdly low prices (Biography of Stalin, cardboard bound, on good quality paper, with portrait attached is sold for 12 francs, less than one-half the price of a 5-cent roll of Lifesavers sold in Paris for 30 francs.)

Pamphlets and posters.—The Communists officially admit to spending 40,016,622 francs during 1946 for posters, pamphlets, and tracts. The real figure is reported to be infinitely greater. In addition "front" organizations likewise spend extensive funds on pamphlets and posters.

Motion pictures.—While striving to undermine public interest in American motion pictures, the party arranges free showings of films by Communist producers and promotes Soviet motion pictures. The latter are usually exhibited under the auspices of "Communist front" organizations.

We were twice in Paris—before and after the municipal elections. Thanks to old friends we were able to get reactions and opinions from more than our exceedingly well-informed Embassy staff. Again we found saturated walls, no hope of heat and a minimum of light. Food in France has always been less drab than in England, and it tastes good today. But the heart of French subsistence is bread—grain—in ways that neither the British nor we can wholly understand. The core of France is the peasant who, after the war of 1870 went into his hoardings of gold and paid Germany off in 48 hours. The peasant is still a deciding factor and he is still hoarding, but this time it is not money—it is what is even more necessary to the world today—food.

He now feeds much of his grain to his animals, and he saves it for seed. He has learned to eat meat not once a week as he used to do, but once or even more daily, and he likes it. No; it is not easy to get the French peasant to part with these things for francs that have no value, when there are no goods he wants in the market. Revaluation of the franc had become imperative.

BLACK MARKET

One of the contributing factors to discontent in France is the thriving black market, which among England's more law-abiding citizens prospers little. If you have money you can have anything you want in France. If you have not, you are fertile soil for Communist propaganda. The Communists are using the reductions of the bread ration with all their fiendish capacity—and the hungry listen.

FRENCH ELECTIONS

The swing to the right evidenced by the French municipal elections in October was without question given a lilt by the calling of our special session. Had this swing not been in industrial areas it would have been of little moment, but it came from cities, from industrial towns, and it so heartened the people that it was unquestionably one of the reasons for the shift of Communist tactics from pressures and propaganda to open war upon the free institutions of France. Having read the Communist posters, incredible in the viciousness of their attacks upon the United States, having read the Paris newspapers on the spot, having seen some of the handbills flooding the city, it is difficult to understand how men can say, "I am not for this aid unless France stops the strikes." Can they not realize that the "Commies" do not propose to let the strikes abate in the slightest if they can keep them going? Can they not see the dark hand of Moscow keeping the fire going under the pot of discontent and despair? The Kremlin was successful in forcing the Ramadier government out, but they were not able to prevent the formation of a new government under M. Schuman. They will continue their disruptive work hopeful of continuing confusion and of ultimately getting one or more of their members in. If they do, our chances of keeping France out from under the iron curtain will be definitely lessened, and the methods we shall have to employ will be increasingly more costly.

The undiluted truth of the matter is that we are in a bitter war as yet without guns; that we still have a chance to shove the fighting well into the future, but only by going all-out in this "cold war" declared upon us by the ruthless men of the Kremlin, whose relentless purpose is to liquidate all those who refuse to accept their domination.

3. ITALY

Congressman Lodge has made a report of conditions in Italy as he saw them that shows the same strategy being applied there as has been used in France. De Gasperi has so far succeeded in keeping himself in power. If he falls and the Communists obtain a place in the government, sabotage will increase by leaps and bounds.

All this was evident to us even though we made Rome only an overnight stopping place. But even this was enough to register the changed aspect of the people since our last sight of them in 1945. Then they gave every appearance of discouragement, of hopelessness. Not so now. Their steps are strong, their eyes are alight, their chins are up and their smiles a joy to see. A new determination radiated from them which gives one hope that with a little help at this crucial moment, as an assurance that we recognize their situation in the relentless battle being waged by Moscow against them and against us, that this will give them the strength to win through.

4. GREECE

Athens was disturbing, for there the worker long has been the tool and the prey of whatever group was in power. His attitude now seems to be that as he could not be worse off he might possibly take a chance on communism and see if it has something better to offer. Add to that the lack of water in the Athens area due to the emptying by the Germans of the great Marathon Dam which takes 7 years to fill, and you have a situation piled on top of the continuous guerilla war that would dishearten the most courageous government. But Greece is the subject of another report.

CONCLUSION

Sent out to secure facts relative to the movements that cut across national frontiers with emphasis upon their explosive aspects, we wish to emphasize the grimness of the world situation with which we are faced and in which we must take a responsible position.

No one who has traveled with a seeing eye can feel there is any question of the fact that the Soviet Government has launched into a cold war. The viciousness of the attack cannot be adequately described. It is our considered opinion that the people of America must be given a frank, calm, dispassionate picture of the actual situation of western Europe. If such a picture is given, we are certain they will quickly recognize their responsibility not only to Europe but to their own future security.

NOTE.—The three reports presented by Subcommittee 5 of the Foreign Affairs Committee, based upon investigations abroad in 1947 are:

The Near East, by the Honorable Frances P. Bolton and the Honorable Chester E. Merrow.

The Situation in Greece, by the Honorable Donald L. Jackson with the collaboration of the Honorable Olin E. Teague.

The Political Situation in Europe, by the Honorable Franklin J. Maloney.

