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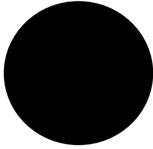

George F. Kennan and the Birth of Containment

The Greek Test Case

John O. Iatrides

Historians disagree on the causes of the Cold War and differ widely in their assessment of the significance of particular actions and policy pronouncements of its principal U.S. protagonists. However, when it comes to the origins of America's decision to confront the Soviet Union in the aftermath of the Second World War, they invariably focus on the strategy of containment and its generally acknowledged author, George F. Kennan, the almost legendary career diplomat, historian, and respected authority on Russia who died earlier this year at the age of 101. Rarely has a middle-level professional bureaucrat—as was Kennan in the late 1940s—received so much acclaim as this "architect" of a foreign policy strategy that was to dominate American government perceptions and actions for almost 50 years. Best known for his "long telegram" sent from Moscow on February 22, 1946, and its elaboration in the "X" article in *Foreign Affairs* of July 1947, Kennan also played a key role in drafting the Marshall Plan and was involved in a variety of major decisions regarding the North Atlantic Treaty, the Korean conflict, the German question, Radio Free Europe, political warfare, and the East-West arms race. Following short tours as ambassador to Moscow (1952) and Belgrade (1961–63), he retired to the Institute of Advanced Studies in Princeton to write his memoirs and award-winning history books, lecture on a variety of political topics, and offer commentary on American foreign policy and world affairs.

Kennan's impact on early postwar U.S. foreign policy is recognized by admirers and critics alike. Thus, for John L. Gaddis, historian of the Cold War and Kennan's biographer-designate, the "long telegram" remains "to this day the single most influential explanation of postwar Soviet behavior, and one which powerfully reinforced the growing tendency within the United States to interpret Moscow's actions in a sinister light."[1] Elsewhere Gaddis writes that Kennan's telegram "would shape American policy over the next half century more profoundly than his distant relative's denunciations of tsarist authoritarianism had influenced it during the preceding one."[2] For Walter L. Hixson, the University of Akron scholar, Kennan is "one of the most brilliant and respected diplomats in U.S. history," and "one of the principal architects of US foreign policy strategy during the Cold War."[3] The presidential adviser Clark Clifford also characterizes Kennan as "brilliant" and his famous telegram as "probably the most important, and influential, message ever sent to Washington by an American diplomat...."[4] Charles E. Bohlen, a fellow diplomat, Soviet expert, and friend of long standing, considered Kennan "the outstanding individual" in the Moscow embassy during his earlier tour of duty there, and one who "went on to become a brilliant policy planner."[5] Forrest C. Pogue, George C. Marshall's biographer, refers to Kennan's "...enormous influence at various levels of the administration" and regards him as a "prime mover in policy planning" under Secretary of State Marshall.[6] Daniel Yergin, one of the earliest "revisionist" historians, considered Kennan the "chief ideologue" of

the rigidly anti-Soviet group of American diplomats, his "long telegram" the "bible for American policymakers," and the "X" article "arguably the single most famous magazine article in American history."[7] Dean Acheson, Marshall's successor as secretary of state, who often disregarded Kennan's views, nevertheless wrote of his "penetrating dispatches from Moscow in 1946 (which) attracted so much attention among the higher officials in the Administration," and of the Policy Planning Staff which under Kennan (and later Paul Nitze) "was of inestimable value as the stimulator, and often deviser, of the most basic policies." On the other hand, Acheson found that Kennan's "long telegram" recommendations, "to be of good heart, to look to our own social and economic health, to present a good face to the world, all of which the government was trying to do—were of no help; his historical analysis might or might not have been sound, but his predictions and warnings could not have been better. We responded to them slowly...."[8] The view of the small minority of skeptics was best expressed by George Elsey, Clifford's assistant in the Truman White House: the "long telegram," Elsey remarked years later, "didn't tell us anything we didn't already know...."[9] Walter Lippmann's far more biting critique of the "X" article will receive special mention below.

The "Long Telegram" and the "X" Article

The circumstances surrounding Kennan's telegram of late February 1946 to the Department of State are well known. In a speech delivered on February 9, Stalin had declared the Soviet Union's determination to manage on its own its postwar reconstruction (a request for a large American loan had brought no response) and to concentrate on heavy industry, presumably facilitating remilitarization. Specifically, he claimed that rapid industrialization had made possible the defeat of Germany and that, thanks to the proposed new Five-Year Plans, "our country [will] be insured against any eventuality." Stalin also proclaimed that socialism and capitalism were incompatible, that wars between the two systems were inevitable, and that socialism's eventual victory was assured. Washington officials had found the speech isolationist and bellicose; Justice William O. Douglas considered it a "Declaration of World War III."[10] Moscow's refusal to join the newly established World Bank and International Monetary Fund reinforced such alarmist reactions and prompted the Department of State to ask Kennan, then serving at the U.S. embassy in Moscow, to provide "an interpretive analysis of what we may expect in the way of future implementation of these announced policies."[11] Having for months bombarded the department with just such reports only to find that it was "like talking to a stone," Kennan eagerly complied. As he explained later, "[N]othing but the truth would do. They had asked for it. Now by God, they would have it."[12] In Washington, Kennan's telegram of about 8,000 words was distributed to hundreds of civilian and military officials, and many viewed it as the much-needed key to the riddle of Moscow's hostile behavior.

Concerning Stalin's recent pronouncements, Kennan argued that "the Soviet party line is not based on any objective analysis of the situation beyond Russia's borders; that it has, indeed, little to do with conditions outside of Russia; that it arises mainly from basic inner Russian necessities which existed before the recent war and exist today." In his comprehensive, sophisticated, and tightly argued analysis of the root causes of Soviet conduct, he stressed the legacy of history ("at the bottom of the Kremlin's neurotic view of world affairs is the traditional and instinctive Russian sense of insecurity"); a dogmatic belief in the inevitability of conflict between socialism and capitalism, and in socialism's eventual triumph; the Soviet leaders' lust for absolute power and their total commitment "to the

belief that with US there can be no permanent *modus vivendi*; that it is desirable and necessary that the internal harmony of our society be destroyed, the international authority of our state be broken, if Soviet power is to be secure." Moreover, foreign Communist parties would be harnessed to Moscow's expansionist ambitions.

While portraying the Soviet Union as a menacing monolith, Kennan maintained that Stalin's regime was too weak to pursue its goals through war: the threat it posed to the United States and Europe was basically political rather than military. Accordingly, to counter such a threat he advocated the strengthening of American ideals and institutions at home and their effective projection abroad so as to demonstrate to the world the clear superiority of the American way. Kennan was urging reliance on what many years later the Harvard political scientist Joseph Nye would label America's "soft power": "A country may obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries want to follow it, admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness.... It is the ability to entice and attract. Soft power arises in large part from our values."[13]

The "long telegram" demonstrated its author's deep knowledge of Russian history and political culture, and of the Kremlin leaders' rigid mindset, especially their tendency to view others through a narrowly ideological Russian-Soviet perspective. It also revealed Kennan's deep-seated antipathy toward the Soviet regime, developed over many years of diplomatic service in the prewar Baltics and in Moscow. In effect, his analysis begins with the categorical assertion that the Soviet Union is by its very nature aggressive, and then proceeds to marshal those arguments that support such an assertion. It assumes that sinister Soviet postwar intentions were already obvious and needed no recounting.[14] In retrospect, it is clear that despite many disagreements and points of friction between Washington and Moscow, in February 1946 concrete evidence of further Soviet expansionism inimical to American interests was scant at best. Moreover, assuming he was correct about the Soviet menace, Kennan's prescription concerning a proper American response struck many officials in Washington as impractical and ineffective, as Acheson's comment quoted above indicates.

It is thus tempting to conclude that Kennan's succinct explanation for growing U.S.-Soviet tensions was the lightning bolt that woke American policymakers to the dangerous storm that was fast approaching. In reality, long before Kennan's telegram had been read, a yet-to-be-defined strategy of a more "muscular" response to perceived Soviet challenges was already taking shape under the personal direction of the new president. On April 22, 1945, at a less than cordial meeting with Soviet foreign minister V. M. Molotov, President Truman used "sharp" language (his own characterization) to demand that the Soviet Union carry out the Yalta agreements concerning Poland. According to the president's account, Molotov complained that "I have never been talked to like that in my life."[15] On May 10, the Truman administration abruptly terminated the wartime Lend-Lease assistance to the Soviet Union, a decision that Stalin called "unfortunate and brutal."[16] And one does not have to endorse in its entirety the political scientist Gar Alperovitz's thesis concerning "atomic diplomacy" to concede that in the summer of 1945, the Truman administration's decision to use nuclear weapons against Japanese cities was motivated in part by concerns that, if allowed to occupy Manchuria in pursuit of Japanese forces, the Soviet Union was likely to become as aggressively expansionist in the Far East as it had shown itself to be in East-Central Europe.[17] In January 1946, President Truman wrote to his secretary of state, James Byrnes, that Soviet behavior in Germany, the Baltics, Poland, and Iran was an "outrage," that the Soviet Union was plan-

ning to seize the Turkish straits, and that he was tired of "babying" Moscow's leaders who understood only an "iron fist." The historian Arnold A. Offner does not overstate the case when he argues that "the President had made his personal declaration of Cold War."[18] On February 28, 1946, Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal and Secretary of State Byrnes agreed that the U.S. Navy should prepare a task force for the Mediterranean to escort the battleship *Missouri* on its impending visit to Istanbul (where it was to deliver the ashes of the Turkish ambassador, who had died in Washington).[19] Clearly intended as a signal to Moscow, the naval task force was to become permanently based in the Mediterranean. In short, in his "long telegram" Kennan was preaching his "Protestant sermon" (as he called it)[20] largely to officials who were already fervent believers in its message.

If the "long telegram" did not actually give birth to the strategy of containment, it was nevertheless very important. Its wide circulation among top-level government officials, and the near-universal high praise it received, turned it into something of a banner under which various U.S. decision makers and their advisers could rally to formulate policy. It provided an authoritative, coherent, and convincing explanation for the rising friction in U.S.-Soviet relations for which, the telegram made clear, Moscow was to blame. And while it is not possible to measure with any degree of accuracy the impact of the "long telegram" on particular officials, there is evidence that the impact was considerable at the highest levels of government. Thus, the Clifford-Elsey report of August 1946 on the U.S.-Soviet contretemps, which Truman commissioned possibly after having read the "long telegram," was based in large measure on Kennan's views concerning the Soviet Union's aggressive expansionism.

According to Clifford, Kennan's comments, "covering six single-spaced pages, were particularly helpful, and we incorporated almost every one of his suggestions in the final report." In addition, Kennan was given the opportunity to review the final report, and he expressed his full satisfaction. The report's principal recommendation was that the United States "should be prepared, while scrupulously avoiding any act which would be an excuse for the Soviets to begin a war, to resist vigorously and successfully any efforts [at expansion by] the U.S.S.R.... It must be made apparent to the Soviet Government that our strength will be sufficient to repel any attack and sufficient to defeat the U.S.S.R. decisively if a war should start." Truman found the report "very valuable" but also incendiary, as he explained to Clifford: "[I]f it leaked it would blow the roof off the White House, it would blow the roof off the Kremlin."[21] In short, it can be presumed that, at the very least, Kennan's views on Soviet behavior fortified the president's own predisposition to get tough with Moscow.

Thus the "long telegram" arrived at the perfect moment to encapsulate and bolster the views of key officials who had reached similar conclusions on their own. In particular, it reinforced their belief that negotiating with the Kremlin in search of genuine compromise was not only pointless but dangerous and that Soviet leaders would not be receptive to balance of power offers. Specifically, Kennan's analysis dismissed out of hand any possibility of negotiating spheres of influence arrangements in Europe as the basis for coexistence. His portrayal of indigenous Communist parties as Moscow's willing pawns helped strengthen simplistic perceptions that were oblivious to the powerful forces of nationalism in Yugoslavia, China, Vietnam, and elsewhere, and distorted Washington's view of the causes of the growing Communist insurgency in Greece. Similarly, his emphasis on the Soviet leaders' "neurotic view of the world" obscured the fact that Stalin could be cautious, pragmatic, and, above all, opportunistic.

While attracting the favorable attention of top government officials, the "long telegram" remained a secret document. Soon, however, Kennan's interpretation of Soviet behavior was to become public. Even before reading the "long telegram," Secretary of the Navy Forrestal was convinced that "we are dealing not only with Russia as a national entity but with the expanding power of Russia under Peter the Great plus the additional missionary force of a religion."[22] Taking a personal interest in Kennan's thinking, Forrestal solicited the diplomat's comments on an academic's recent paper that treated Marxist ideology as the driving force behind the Kremlin's policies. Instead of comments, Kennan responded with an essay titled "The Psychological Background of Soviet Foreign Policy," and in January 1947 he spoke at the Council on Foreign Relations on the same topic. When the editor of *Foreign Affairs*, Hamilton Fish Armstrong, inquired if he had a text on the subject that he could publish, Kennan gave him the essay he had written for Forrestal. Cleared by the Department of State, it was published anonymously in the journal's July 1947 issue under the title "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," its author's name given as "X." As Kennan, who was almost immediately identified as the author, recalled, "It was a literary extrapolation of the thoughts which had been maturing in my mind, and which I had been expressing in private communications and speeches, for at least two years into the past."[23]

Much along the lines of the analysis presented in the "long telegram," the "X" article stressed the role of history, ideology, and the pursuit of absolute power as the forces driving Soviet foreign relations. The result "is a fluid stream which moves constantly, wherever it is permitted to move, toward a given goal. Its main concern is to make sure that it has filled every nook and cranny available to it in the basin of world power. But if it finds unassailable barriers in its path, it accepts these philosophically and accommodates itself to them." Accordingly, the Soviet menace could be successfully confronted by the "patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies...[and] the adroit application of counterforce at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points, corresponding to the shifts and maneuvers of Soviet policy." Confident that such a long-term strategy would prove effective, Kennan predicted that such "counterforce" would "promote tendencies which must eventually find their outlet in either the breakup or the gradually mellowing of Soviet power."

The "X" article served as the rationalization for the postwar strategy of containment, providing the appearance of strength, consistency, and continuity to American foreign policy for decades to come. At the same time, Kennan's less than precise definition of "counterforce," and of the "geographical and political points" where it was to be applied, as well as his criticism of the Truman Doctrine, sparked endless debate as to what in fact he had advocated. His own subsequent lament that the article was seriously flawed is endearing but does not end the dispute over its impact: "So egregious were those errors that I must confess to responsibility for the greatest and most unfortunate of the misunderstandings to which they led."[24] Having to face Secretary Marshall's wrath for violating the cardinal rule that "planners don't talk," Kennan would recall: "Feeling like one who has inadvertently loosened a large boulder from the top of a cliff and now helplessly witnesses its path of destruction in the valley below, shuddering and wincing at each successive glimpse of disaster, I absorbed the bombardment of press comment that now set in. I had not meant to do anything of this sort...."[25]

The "bombardment of press comment" included blistering fire from a formidable critic: the eminent foreign affairs columnist Walter Lippmann. In a series of 12

newspaper articles, which appeared in the *New York Herald Tribune* and were soon published in a volume titled *The Cold War* (and coining that much-used term), Lippmann challenged the validity of Kennan's analysis of Soviet foreign policy motives and labeled containment a "strategic monstrosity."[26] In Lippmann's view, Soviet control of East-Central Europe was motivated not by open-ended aggressive expansionism but by limited (and historically justified) security considerations. Moreover, U.S.-Soviet agreement on a political settlement for Europe (a division of spheres of influence) was possible, even if unattractive. He castigated Kennan: "For a diplomat to think that rival and unfriendly powers cannot be brought to a settlement is to forget what diplomacy is all about. There would be little for diplomats to do if the world consisted of partners, enjoying political intimacy, and responding to common appeals." Some 20 years later, Lippmann's prophetic condemnation of containment was effectively summarized by his biographer, Ronald Steel:

> It could be attempted only by "recruiting, subsidizing and supporting a heterogeneous array of satellites, clients, dependents and puppets." Propping up anticommunist regimes around the periphery of the Soviet Union would require unending American intervention. Because many of these regimes were dictatorial they would be prey to insurrection, which they would beseech the United States to quell in the name of anticommunism. Confronted with such demands the United States would either have to "disown our puppets, which would be tantamount to appeasement and defeat and the loss of face," or else support them "at an incalculable cost on an unintended, unforeseen and perhaps undesirable issue."[27]

One may or may not be satisfied with Kennan's subsequent explanation that his apparent disagreement with Lippmann was based on a misunderstanding, and that Lippmann "mistook me for the author of precisely those features of the Truman Doctrine which I had most vigorously opposed—an assumption to which, I must say, I had led squarely with my chin in the careless and indiscriminate language of the X-Article."[28] Until much more is known about official Soviet perceptions, fears, and aspirations in the immediate postwar period, it would be impossible to say with any degree of certainty whether a purely nonmilitary American opposition to Soviet policies or an attempt at settlement in Europe could have averted the East-West conflict. What can be said at present is that, after 1946, the policies of the United States commonly referred to as containment were consistent with what key decision makers, including President Truman, believed that Kennan had advocated in the "long telegram" and reiterated in the "X" article. Needless to say, his superiors were entirely free to draw their own conclusions and implement whatever policies they thought were appropriate and likely to succeed.

The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan

Alarmed by the continuing deterioration in its relations with Moscow, accused by Republican leaders of being soft on international communism, and spurred by Britain's sudden decision to end its support to Greece and Turkey, in mid-February 1947 the Truman administration decided to launch a policy designed to block further Soviet expansionist moves. The immediate objective was to provide assistance to Greece and Turkey, both perceived to be targets of Moscow's aggression. However, the "Truman Doctrine" speech was purposefully bolder and more ambitious in its scope. This was partly for reasons of domestic politics: Republican leaders had made it clear that they would support a program of

massive assistance to Greece and Turkey only if it was "linked to the survival of the Western world." In addition, Truman was urged by his own advisers to "rally American support for a new policy along the lines of our September 1946 [Clifford-Elsey] report."[29] After many drafts and some bickering between the Department of State and the White House staff on language and content, the president's speech (to a joint session of Congress on March 12, 1947) depicted the world as divided into two camps, one free and the other under totalitarian rule, and committed the United States to go to the aid of free nations that were threatened by foreign aggression or internal subversion. Within the context of such a global contest the administration requested $400 million for aid to Greece and Turkey.[30]

Kennan, then lecturing at the National War College in Washington, was not involved in the drafting of the Truman Doctrine speech. However, he chaired one meeting in the Department of State at which there was full agreement that Greece would be given "extraordinary economic *and military* aid." According to one participant whose account of those events Kennan cites with approval, those present "were quite openly elated over the possibility that the United States might now take action on a broad enough scale to prevent the Soviet Union from breaking through the Greece-Turkey-Iran barrier into the Middle East, South Asia, and North Africa. They had long felt themselves virtually unarmed in trying to deal with this problem, which was to them as real as the walls about them and held frightful potentialities for the security of the United States and the future of the world." Curiously, according to the same authoritative account, "the problem of aid to Turkey, being of secondary urgency, was hardly discussed."[31]

Yet, when Kennan was shown the draft of the president's speech, he was anything but pleased:

> To say that he found objections to it is to put it mildly. He objected strongly both to the tone of the message and the specific action proposed. He was in favor of economic aid to Greece, but he had hoped that military aid to Greece would be kept small, and he was opposed to aid of any kind to Turkey. It was nevertheless to the tone and ideological content of the message, the portraying of two opposing ways of life, and the open-end commitment to aid free peoples that he objected most. The Russians might even reply by declaring war! Kennan voiced his objections to a number of people, including, finally, Acheson. It was too late. The decisions had already been taken and widely approved.[32]

Given Kennan's view that the Soviet threat to Greece was real, if not imminent, his reservations about military assistance to that country, where a Communist insurgency was by early 1947 definitely gaining momentum, are hard to fathom. Nor was his fear that Moscow might respond to the Truman Doctrine by declaring war consistent with his assessment, expressed in his lectures at the National War College and recorded in his memoirs, that the Soviet Union was weak and that its threat was largely political rather than military.[33] Similarly, his statement at the National War College that the Soviet regime lacked the material and human resources to "rehabilitate" the economy of Greece shows little understanding of Moscow's methods of harnessing the economies of its satellites to its own central plan.[34] In his own memoirs, Kennan disparages "the congenital aversion of Americans to taking specific decisions on specific problems, and by their persistent urge to seek *universal formulae or doctrines* in which to clothe and justify particular actions...[and] to attribute *a universal signifi-*

cance to decisions we have already found it necessary, for limited and parochial reasons, to take."[35] However, beyond his objection to the language of the "doctrine" one suspects that, for Kennan, Greece and Turkey simply did not fall into the category of states whose defense against Communist aggression was of vital importance to the United States.

Kennan's direct involvement in the administration of American assistance to Greece occurred in late 1947, when officials in Washington gave serious consideration to the need to send combat troops to fight alongside the faltering Athens government forces. In the Department of State itself, the Division of Near Eastern Affairs favored sending troops as a logical extension of the support already committed; it was argued that "an extremely firm stand in Greece" would contribute to the success of American policy in Europe. However, Kennan spoke forcefully against the participation of American combat forces in the Greek conflict. He reasoned that although it might be easy to "go in," it "does not appear very clear as to when and how we would get out." Further, that the United States might have to establish "occupation or military government," a prospect he clearly dreaded. Finally, he thought that sending American troops to Greece would raise the question of the need to take similar action elsewhere in the Middle East and the Mediterranean. In the event, while diplomats debated the issue, any decision had to have the endorsement of the military authorities. At first, the Joint Chiefs of Staff appeared to favor sending troops to Greece, claiming that it would serve as "tangible evidence of U.S. determination to uphold its policy by military action if necessary." However, after careful study of the practical requirements and ramifications of the contemplated action, the military leadership concluded (on April 1, 1948) that the dispatch of American troops to Greece would be "militarily unsound": "(a) Unless it is known that we are ready and able to back them up to any extent that will be reasonably necessary and (b) Unless our best intelligence indicates that such a move will not precipitate overt action by Soviet satellites or USSR forces, since neither the geographical position and terrain of Greece nor our over-all military strategy justify commitment to major operations in that country...." One more stipulation was added for good measure: "Unless we have determined that we do not need nor intend to undertake military action elsewhere with our currently weak forces."[36] In the end, the greatly improved performance of the Greek armed forces and Britain's decision not to withdraw from Greece all of its own troops, which had remained in that country since 1945, obviated the need to send American combat forces to fight in the Greek civil war.

In retrospect, as of spring 1947, the Truman Doctrine represented a new and important, if vague, commitment to take action—as needed—to prevent further gains by the Soviet Union and international communism. Although the Truman administration's immediate goals were specific and limited, the president's pronouncement did set the stage for the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty, and (in due course) the American response to the Korean conflict. Despite his subsequent disclaimers and objections, Kennan's "long telegram" and "X" article, combined with his well-earned reputation as an authority on Russia, helped to mold and rationalize the strategy of containment as the pillar of American foreign and security policy in the Cold War. His pithy analysis of the root causes of U.S.-Soviet friction was accepted with alacrity by decision makers who proceeded to put in place a strategy of containment that reflected their own notions of what was needed under the circumstances.

If Kennan's role in the formulation of the Truman Doctrine was marginal, he was the principal architect of containment's next phase: the Marshall Plan. In late April 1947, Secretary Marshall returned from the

Council of Foreign Ministers meeting in Moscow alarmed by the devastation he had seen across Western Europe and the possibility that the Soviet Union might take advantage of the situation to expand its influence across the continent. He instructed Kennan to assemble and chair the State Department's newly created Policy Planning Staff (PPS) and prepare a program of American assistance for Europe's economic recovery. It was at once an exciting and daunting assignment:

> I was supposed to review the whole great problem of European recovery in all its complexity, to tap those various sources of outside advice which we would never be forgiven for not tapping, to draw up and present to the Secretary these recommendations he wanted, and be prepared to defend these recommendations against all governmental critics, including ones who could be expected to show no charity or mercy toward a man who came as an invader of their hitherto private bureaucratic premises.[37]

At times, discussions in the Policy Planning Staff were a bit too heated for Kennan: "I can recall one occasion, in late evening, when I, to recover my composure, left the room and walked, weeping, around the entire building."[38] But the work was done, and on schedule. To be sure, all major recommendations were submitted to higher authority for review and approval. In the end, however, the comprehensive report and recommendations that Kennan wrote and presented to Secretary Marshall on May 23, 1947, served as the core of Marshall's commencement speech at Harvard University the following month and the blueprint for the administration's remarkable program for Europe's economic recovery.

Kennan's own contributions included the key principles that would become the hallmark of the Marshall Plan. First, "that the Europeans should themselves take the initiative in drawing up a program and should assume central responsibility for its terms." As Kennan recorded later, "[W]e hoped to force the Europeans to begin to think like Europeans, and not like nationalists, in their approach to the economic problems of the continent." Implicit in this stipulation was the requirement that participating countries would maintain free and competitive markets and that the means of production would remain largely in private hands. In addition, it was to be made clear that the United States would fund the program on a one-time basis. Secondly, that the program would be offered "to all of Europe—that if anyone was to divide the European continent, it should be the Russians, with their response, not we with our offer...." And finally, that "decisive emphasis [be] placed on the rehabilitation of the German economy and the introduction of the concept of German recovery as a vital component of the recovery of Europe as a whole." Indeed, the proposed plan would make no distinction between victors and vanquished. This last principle was especially important in view of Moscow's refusal to cooperate with the United States, Britain, and France in restoring Germany's economy under four-power direction.[39]

In June 1949, the ambassadors of countries participating in the recovery program gave a dinner in Washington in honor of the president and his secretary of state. Responding to one of the many toasts, Marshall, a taciturn man who had once admonished Kennan to "avoid trivia," raised his glass to Kennan, who was deeply moved by the gesture. Marshall had every reason to appreciate Kennan's skills. A few days after his speech at Harvard University, Marshall worried that the offer he had just extended to the Europeans might be accepted by Moscow, thus destroying the purpose of the plan. On the other hand, openly excluding the Russians would be seen as hostile to

Moscow and make the United States appear responsible for Europe's division. When he confided his concerns to Kennan, he received the reassurance he needed. According to Charles Bohlen, who was present, "Kennan and I looked at each other and said we were convinced that the Soviet Union could not accept the plan if it retained its original form, because the basis of self-help and the fact that the United States was to have a voice with the receiving country as to how the aid was used would make it quite impossible for the Soviet Union to accept, given the nature of the Soviet structure, and particularly because of the political control which they were establishing over the countries of Eastern Europe."[40]

As every student of the Cold War knows, Kennan was right. Once the requirements of participation in the recovery program had been made clear, Moscow withdrew from the negotiations, forcing its European satellites to do the same. The author of the "long telegram" and the "X" article had succeeded in building into the Marshall Plan his own brand of containment.

Containment: The Greek Test Case

If the Marshall Plan proved to be Kennan's true pride and joy as a policymaker—"demilitarized containment," if you wish—the Greek "test case" turned out to be a far more complicated business.

The Greek civil war that without any doubt helped trigger the Truman Doctrine, and which in turn put to the test (during the years 1947–49) Kennan's initial formulation of the policy of containment, was a long and intermittent domestic conflict, the result of bitter political quarrels that had festered for decades. In the course of the Second World War, a new catalyst was added: a powerful Greek Communist Party (KKE) that succeeded in fielding the largest network of resistance organizations and aspired to seize power on the heels of the retreating Axis occupation forces. The Greek conflict was also briefly a battle in the Cold War, as both the Athens government and the insurgents sought and received assistance from the protagonists in the East-West conflict.

The fighting took place in three distinct but interconnected phases or "rounds." The "first round" occurred in the fall of 1943, during the occupation, and was caused by attempts of the Communist-controlled resistance army, ELAS, to destroy rival resistance bands. Although ELAS was largely successful in at least marginalizing its rivals, this early phase of the civil war ended inconclusively as British officers clandestinely attached to the major resistance groups managed to arrange a truce. Anticipating more violence, the British authorities placed all resistance bands under nominal British command and ordered ELAS to remain away from the capital at the moment of liberation, which came in mid-October 1944. The "second round" occurred in the greater Athens area during December 1944–January 1945, when the KKE refused to have ELAS disarmed in anticipation of the formation of a new national army. Now an insurgent force, ELAS fought against the government's security contingents and British troops that were rushed to the capital from Italy. This round ended with the defeat and disbandment of ELAS, but the KKE's political organization and its underground network remained in place. The "third (and final) round" took place in 1946–49, when the KKE fielded its "Democratic Army of Greece" and launched a full-scale insurrection with assistance from Soviet-bloc countries. It was defeated by national forces supplied, equipped, and trained first by Britain and, after 1947, by the United States. Until 1945, the KKE leadership had been confident that it could seize power on its own, relying on its populist appeal and the strength of ELAS. After its defeat in the "second round," the KKE realized that it could not succeed without substantial support from the Soviet bloc.

Before the final Soviet victories at Stalingrad in January 1943, Britain's policy in Greece was to foment armed resistance against the Axis occupation and (at the same time) support the Greek government in exile based in Cairo. After Stalingrad, as the eventual victory of the Allies became virtually certain, Britain's involvement in Greek matters changed dramatically. London's new objective was to prevent the Communists from seizing power and delivering Greece to Moscow's orbit, a development that would endanger Britain's traditional interests in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East. This was to be achieved by installing and supporting an anticommunist coalition government and returning King George (a Churchill protégé) to the throne despite his questionable democratic credentials. In the first two "rounds" of the civil war, British intervention succeeded in foiling the KKE's attempts to eliminate its opponents; British officials advised succeeding Greek governments on all aspects of the country's post-liberation difficulties. Following the "second round," several thousand British troops remained in Greece to train and augment the country's newly formed security forces. However, as noted above, in February 1947 the Labor government informed the United States that it could no longer afford to provide economic and military support to Greece and Turkey. Britain's decision to withdraw from the two Mediterranean countries had, in fact, been anticipated in Washington, and American officials had been preparing to deal with the resulting situation.[41]

During the Second World War, the attitude of the United States toward Greek political issues was one of deliberate non-involvement coupled with sporadic criticism of Britain's interventionist tactics. In particular, the State Department objected to British efforts to control the resistance bands, restore the Greek monarchy, and reimpose a British sphere of influence in Athens—all in the wake of the Churchill-Stalin notorious "percentages agreement" on Southeastern Europe of October 1944. Britain's military intervention during the "second round" was severely criticized by American officials, and there was an attempt to deny the use of American transport vessels for the supply of British troops in Athens. An American proposal that the problems of Greece be handled by a tripartite American-British-Soviet mission was dropped when Churchill counterproposed a purely Anglo-American effort.[42] The United States, Britain, and France supervised the Greek parliamentary elections of March 1946 (the Soviet Union refused to send observers, and the KKE abstained), and small-scale American economic assistance was provided through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Otherwise, the United States showed no intention of becoming involved in Greece. Until summer 1946, the American ambassador in Athens, Lincoln MacVeagh, attributed the continuing instability and violence in that country largely to traditional political divisions aggravated by the ravages of war and highhanded British meddling.[43] In July, MacVeagh dismissed as a "psychological element in the situation" British claims that KKE's tactics and funds "stem from Russian sources," and concluded: "Possibly the Russians, who are showing themselves in these days to be supreme realists, do not feel it necessary, in order to keep the leftist pot here boiling merrily, to do more than fan the flames with a sympathetic press and radio and keep the local communists in a constant state of hopeful expectation of more definite assistance to come."[44]

However, in Washington a radically different view began to surface, based on developments largely unrelated to the situation in Greece. Growing friction with Moscow over Germany, East-Central Europe, Iran, Korea, and various international organizations lent credence to the perception that the Soviet Union was aggressively pursuing expansionist policies along a broad front. In

March 1946, as Kennan's "long telegram" was circulating, a Department of State internal document concluded that "Greece fits into Russia's plans for expansion into the Middle East and toward the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean.... It is in Greece and Turkey...that the Western system has the opportunity of presenting the strongest front to the outward and downward extension of Soviet methods and influence."[45] In late August, MacVeagh reported new intelligence indicating that the KKE was controlled by Moscow.[46] In September, with the KKE this time boycotting the plebiscite on the monarchy, King George was returned to his throne to the delight of the Right and Center-Right. By December 1946, American officials had become convinced that the Soviet Union and its Balkan satellites were fomenting the new Greek crisis. In February 1947, in light of Britain's decision to discontinue its support to Greece and Turkey, a Department of State memorandum pronounced the situation in Greece "critical" and added: "The capitulation of Greece to Soviet domination...might eventually result in the loss of the whole Near and Middle East and Northern Africa...."[47] Within weeks, President Truman would announce to Congress, and the American public, a program of assistance to Greece and Turkey as the first step in the new strategy of blocking further Soviet expansion.

In the early 1920s, Moscow had played a crucial role in the establishment of the KKE, and in 1931 had dispatched Nikos Zahariadis, who had been trained and groomed in the Soviet Union, to become the party's secretary general. However, during the Second World War, officials in Moscow remained passive observers of developments in Greece, including the first two rounds of civil war, and made no attempt to establish direct communication with the KKE. This despite urgent requests from KKE leaders for guidance and assistance. Specifically, in June 1944, when the liberation of Greece appeared imminent, the KKE asked the head of the Soviet military mission at Tito's headquarters to provide a mission and military assistance to ELAS and sent a letter to Stalin requesting military and diplomatic support to counter the projected British intervention in Athens.[48] Although a team of Soviet officers did arrive at ELAS headquarters, they offered no real support; instead they scorned suggestions that the Greek Communists were ready to seize power and advised the KKE to join the newly formed government of national unity. Probably in response to the letter to Stalin, Georgi Dimitrov, the veteran Bulgarian Communist leader and the Kremlin's top expert on the Balkans, sent word to the Greek Communists that "they are to resolve the questions they raised themselves."[49]

In mid-September 1944, with the German withdrawal from Greece under way, the KKE leadership welcomed reports that Bulgarian troops in Greek Macedonia, now under Soviet command, would take part in operations against the retreating Germans. In late September, about 250 Soviet officers entered several towns in Northern Greece, apparently in anticipation of the arrival of their units in full strength. There were reports that Soviet troops would soon liberate Thessaloniki.[50] However, several weeks later Soviet personnel in Greece were quietly withdrawn, presumably on orders from Moscow—where Churchill and Stalin had just concluded, on October 9, their "percentages agreement" on Southern Europe, consigning Greece to Britain's zone of responsibility.

In early December 1944, as fighting in Athens between ELAS and the British intensified, the KKE sent Dimitrov an urgent request for assistance. The response was negative: "[I]n the current situation our Greek friends will not be able to count on active intervention and assistance from here...."[51] And, following the defeat of ELAS, Stalin commented to Dimitrov: "I advised not starting this fighting in Greece.... The ELAS people...have taken on more than they can

handle. They were evidently counting on the Red Army's coming down to the Aegean. We cannot do that. We cannot send our troops into Greece either. The Greeks have acted stupidly."[52]

The "Third Round"

In the months before the all-important March 1946 Greek elections, the KKE, whose followers—in the aftermath of the "second round"—had become targets of widespread and persistent right-wing persecution, once again sought to secure a commitment of Soviet support for armed revolution. A high-level delegation traveled to Moscow to present the party's case for bolder action. Specifically, the Greek Communists inquired whether they should prepare for armed insurrection or concentrate their efforts on self-defense measures combined with political mass mobilization. Soviet officials advised them to participate in the upcoming elections and afterward, "in accordance with the way the situation develops, the center of gravity may move as necessary, either to legal methods or to armed struggle."[53] Ignoring Soviet recommendations, the KKE boycotted the elections (thus contributing to the victory of its adversaries) and opted for armed insurrection. Thus, the civil war's third and most important round was launched by the KKE on its own, with no encouragement from Moscow and, indeed, against Soviet advice.

In March or April 1946, Zahariadis traveled secretly and alone to Moscow and was received by Stalin, V. M. Molotov, and A. A. Zdanov; he then reportedly had another meeting with Stalin in the Crimea. The Soviet leaders criticized the KKE'S boycott of the elections, which had resulted in the formation of a staunchly anticommunist government and the continued persecution of leftists. Yet they "agreed as concerns the prospects for the armed struggle," and Stalin reportedly told Zahariadis to "work out the final details with Tito." Furthermore, "You will advance from the village to the city gradually, to avoid an untimely armed intervention by the British, and in the direction of searching for a *compromise*."[54]

Stalin's concluding admonition suggests that, in early 1946, the Soviet leader assumed that the crisis in Greece could still be resolved through a negotiated settlement by the parties directly involved. However, Zahariadis interpreted Stalin's admonitions to imply approval and even encouragement of an armed insurrection, presumably in the event that compromise proved to be impossible.[55] Yet the KKE's preconditions for peaceful settlement and national reconciliation were totally unacceptable to its domestic opponents and all but precluded the possibility of compromise. These demands included the withdrawal of British forces from Greece, a neutralist foreign policy in the emerging East-West conflict, the punishment of wartime collaborators (most of whom were fanatical anticommunists), and the end of the persecution of leftists. Interspersed with the KKE's demands were insinuations that the Communists were prepared to resort to armed force again. Thus, although deeply divided among themselves, so long as they could count on outside support, anticommunist politicians were bound to reject what amounted to capitulation to the KKE.

In the absence of meaningful political dialogue and as acrimony intensified, the new insurrection continued to escalate and spread. Following Zahariadis' March-April visit to the Soviet Union, the KKE sent to Moscow a long list of its needs in weapons and supplies and noted that "we are not in a position by ourselves to cope with the demands of partisan struggle." Yet the response, delivered through Dimitrov, was anything but encouraging: "At the present time you should not count on the help you requested, and you should wait." The KKE was urged to continue its *political* struggle but to avoid exposing its cadres to the dangers of guerrilla warfare.[56]

In January 1947, ignoring Moscow's views, Zahariadis wrote to Stalin that the KKE could achieve victory but added: "We beg you to help us and to meet our most serious needs." In an obvious reference to the problems faced by Stalin and his comrades in the early days of the Bolshevik revolution, he added: "You understand the importance in this struggle of the lack of adequate financial resources...." Within weeks the KKE learned that it would soon receive $33,000 from several foreign Communist parties, including the American, but there was no hint of military support.[57] Yet, in April—one month after the proclamation of the Truman Doctrine—the KKE's Central Committee ordered the command of its newly formed Democratic Army of Greece, to prepare to seize all of northern Greece. The codename for this major operation that was to be launched in early 1948 was "Limnes," and its original plan (now in the KKE archives in Athens) was written in Russian, presumably so that it could be read abroad. According to the directive, "to defeat the enemy's plans the Democratic Army must transform guerrilla tactics into conventional warfare and establish free areas not only in the mountains but also in areas that are essential from the political as well as the military perspective." More specifically, "the basic target of the Democratic Army must be the occupation of Thessaloniki, which will result in the decisive transformation of the situation...."[58] In Belgrade, Zahariadis boasted to Tito that the strength of the Democratic Army would soon reach 50,000 and could establish a viable "Free Greece" in Macedonia and Thrace, with Thessaloniki as its capital. The insurgents were to acquire heavy artillery, airplanes, and ships. Yet Zahariadis also admitted that the supply of weapons continued to be inadequate for the task.[59] Parenthetically, although a small landing strip was prepared in the Prespa area (near the border with Albania and Yugoslavia), there were to be no airplanes or heavy artillery for the insurgents, and their "navy" consisted of few small wooden vessels. As for the main objective of Operation Limnes, on February 10, 1948, a large band of insurgents approached the outskirts of Thessaloniki and fired a number of artillery and mortar rounds into the city. Following some confusion, government forces killed or captured most of the attackers.[60]

In May 1947, Zahariadis had again traveled to Moscow and presented Soviet officials with two memoranda in which he repeated the claim that the Democratic Army could expand to 50,000 and added that Soviet assistance would ensure victory. The KKE's objective, he said, was the establishment of a "peoples' democracy." He also had a private meeting with Stalin on May 20 at which "war materials and diplomatic backing were guaranteed by Moscow."[61] The KKE was encouraged to submit a "wish list" of needed matériel. Shipments of weapons and supplies from Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to the Greek insurgents increased in volume, and the fighting in northern Greece intensified as the government troops were initially unable to do much more than defend large towns that came under attack. The tide would change only gradually, during the second half of 1948, as the government forces improved in numbers, morale, effectiveness, and firepower, thanks in large measure to American military assistance, which had begun to arrive in October 1947, and to operational advice and direction provided by a U.S. military mission—under the terms of the Truman Doctrine. The mission, headed by Gen. James Van Fleet, helped plan operations, supervised their execution, and pressured for better results. At the same time, American civilian advisers were assigned to most Athens ministries and assumed extraordinary authority over various agencies of the Greek state. As already noted, sending American combat troops to Greece was briefly considered but proved unnecessary.

In early 1948, while the insurgents still appeared to be gaining momentum, their

most important foreign patron sounded anything but confident of their eventual victory. Significantly, the KKE was not invited to join the Cominform, which was established by Soviet authorities in September 1947 to serve as the directorate of international communism. On February 10, 1948, at a meeting in Moscow of Soviet, Yugoslav, and Bulgarian leaders, Stalin angrily dismissed the Tito-Dimitrov scheme for a Communist "Balkan federation" that was to include Greece. He also spoke critically, and at some length, about the Greek insurgency:

> Recently I started to doubt that the partisans could win. If you are not sure that the partisans would win, the partisan movement should be restricted. The Americans and the British have a very strong interest in the Mediterranean. They would like to have their bases in Greece. They would use all possible means to support a government that would be obedient. This is an international issue of great importance. If the partisan movement is halted, they would have no excuse to attack you. It is not so easy to start a war now, when they lack the pretext that you are organizing civil war in Greece. If you are confident that the partisans have good chances of winning, that is a different matter. But I have some doubts about this....

Later in the same conversation, Stalin said: "Of course, the partisans should be supported. But if the prospects for the success of a partisan movement in a certain country are declining, it is better to postpone the struggle until a more favorable time...."[62]

In June 1948, just as the Stalin-Tito split was surfacing and the Greek government forces prepared to launch new counteroffensives against the Democratic Army, Zahariadis went to Belgrade and presented his case to Dimitrov, who recorded: "There are favorable conditions for continuing the struggle. Our help will be necessary in the future."[63] Indeed, despite Stalin's recurring doubts and reservations, on September 8, 1948, officials of the Communist parties of the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Romania, and Czechoslovakia met in Warsaw and formed a commission to coordinate efforts to fulfill "their duty to meet the needs of the Democratic Army of Greece." At subsequent meetings, the commission discussed problems encountered, especially the failure of member countries to contribute to the estimated $30–$40 million needed by the insurgents.[64] On the other hand, supplies of every kind continued to flow toward the Greek border, transported by rail or cargo ships to Bulgaria and Albania, and from there to insurgents' units in Greece. Bulgarian and Yugoslav documents now available show impressive quantities and varieties of weapons and ammunition, communications equipment, clothing and footwear, medical supplies, food, articles of personal hygiene, and money (in U.S. dollars) sent to the Democratic Army. Recently declassified Polish army documents contain detailed lists of shipments of nearly 45,000 tons of military and food supplies transported by Polish-registry vessels between November 1948 and November 1949.[65]

It is impossible to determine what percentage of these shipments actually reached the insurgents' fighting units. There is good reason to believe that problems in organization, coordination, and transportation plagued the effort to assemble and deliver supplies where they were needed. As a result, in the crucial battles of early 1949 the Democratic Army suffered from serious shortages and deficiencies that could not be overcome. Equally important, and despite Zahariadis' boasts, the insurgents' combat strength peaked at about 28,000 in May 1948, and by January 1949 it had dropped to about 24,000. Increasingly, the Democratic Army resorted to forced recruitment, with women eventually representing about

25 percent of the fighting force. But having abandoned guerrilla tactics in favor of static warfare, the insurgency was doomed. In spring and summer 1949, in the hard-fought battles of Grammos and Vitsi, the Democratic Army was badly mauled by government forces, which were by that time far superior in numbers, leadership, mobility, and firepower. (In November 1948, the government forces numbered about 150,000 in the army, 50,000 in the national guard, 14,000 in the navy, and 6,500 in the air force.)

In retrospect, it appears that without the expectation that Stalin would in the end give them the support they needed to win, the KKE leaders would have hesitated to launch a full-scale insurrection. Most probably the party would have opted to protect its cadres from right-wing attacks through measures of armed "self-defense," conserved its strength in the mountains, and kept its options open. A strong showing at the polls remained a possibility at least until early 1947, when the Communists' popularity plummeted.

Initially, the hope for decisive Soviet support was based on little more than faith in the leadership of the international Communist movement, on Zahariadis' vaunted access to the Kremlin and to Stalin personally, and on Moscow's occasional Delphic messages. However, *after* May 1947, following the announcement of the Truman Doctrine, certain senior Soviet officials had signaled their approval of the KKE's resort to open insurrection and were involved in a program, carried out by Moscow's client regimes, to provide assistance to the Democratic Army. Expecting to receive the support it now so badly needed, the KKE made plans to seize northern Greece and establish a mini-state that the Soviet bloc might be persuaded to recognize. Such an outcome would have placed the rest of Greece at the mercy of its Communist neighbors and, ultimately, of Moscow. But we can now see that if Stalin could not tolerate an independent Tito, he was even less likely to countenance an independent Zahariadis. At any rate, with American assistance such an outcome was averted, and the application of a containment policy in Greece appeared to have been a success.

Epilogue

A fitting epilogue to the Soviet role in the Greek civil war was provided years later by a veteran KKE leader: "From the start the [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] viewed with skepticism the outcome of the armed struggle.... [Yet it] could not decide to advise us to abandon the armed struggle.... It only advised us to develop it with caution. We had no objection...."[66] For Stalin, the Communist insurrection in Greece was a marginal battle in the emerging Cold War that he had not initiated but that he would have liked to win so long as it did not put at risk his newly acquired empire in Eastern Europe. For Truman and his advisers, the civil war served as the first test of a grand strategy—to oppose what they perceived as Soviet expansion—which they were anxious to launch and determined to win. Thus, although the civil war was largely a Greek conflict, fought by Greeks on both the winning and losing sides, its outcome was determined by outsiders who were engaged in their own soon-to-be-global confrontation. Even if not actually fomented by Stalin, a Communist victory in Greece would have been a major setback for the United States and Western Europe, and a gain for the forces of communism.

In purely military terms, the American experience in Greece did not produce a valuable precedent or create a model that might be applied elsewhere. By the time American military advisers arrived on the scene, the Democratic Army had abandoned guerrilla tactics in favor of static, conventional warfare, which proved to be its downfall. Thus, no worthwhile lessons of counterinsurgency were learned in Greece.

The original rationale of the Truman Doctrine and of the Marshall Plan, in which Greece participated, was for the United States to help its beneficiaries rebuild and develop their economies and strengthen their democratic institutions so that they could stand up to Communist pressures, whether from within or from the outside. In Greece, the American program focused primarily on the security requirements created by the civil war. Beyond building up the armed forces and their support services, much of the assistance was spent on infrastructure: roads, rail service, ports, electricity, and telecommunications, as well as public health projects. Once the fighting had stopped, efforts to improve agricultural production also proved reasonably successful. On the other hand, reforming the civil service, making taxation more equitable, and expanding the economy's industrial base proved to be very difficult given the pressures of the civil war and in the face of opposition from various entrenched Greek interest groups. Three years after the introduction of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, the head of the American Mission in Greece reported: "Economic and political leadership comes mainly from a small wealthy class which, with some notable exceptions, is indifferent to its social responsibilities, is resistant to reforms, and is motivated by a mercantilist and rentier philosophy rather than a production philosophy.... In a climate of distrust and discontent, political instability is both cause and effect...." He concluded: "The relationship of the people to their Government has become that of petitioners, and the Government has become a petitioner to the world...."[67]

American officials were also frustrated in their efforts to reform a system of government that continued to be dominated by traditional political oligarchies, highly politicized military officers, and the palace. It was not for lack of trying. While not wishing to appear heavy-handed in its intervention, the Department of State worried in late 1947 that "political strength seems to have been passing from center and liberal groups into hands of totalitarian rightists or leftists...." Washington wished that

> responsible Greek political leaders would have vision, restraint, and patriotism to form political coalition which would include those leftist, liberal and center groups sufficiently enlightened and loyal to refuse to have any further dealings or associations with communists and those rightist groups which would be willing loyally to cooperate with all anti-Communist center and leftist groups. Rightist groups unwilling to cooperate with Greek leftist anti-Communist groups should be considered as reactionaries unworthy of membership in such coalition and groups prepared to cooperate with communists should be regarded as disloyal, contaminated, or politically immature elements the presence of which would be almost certain to create distrust within the ranks of such a coalition....[68]

But elaborate American prescriptions for good government fell on deaf ears and instability and stagnation continued, while in the absence of a general amnesty for those who had supported the insurgency national reconciliation proved impossible in the short term. Finally, efforts to build a broad coalition of democratic forces were abandoned in favor of stability and vigilance against Communist penetration. In July 1950, the head of the U.S. Military Mission sent word to King Paul (who had succeeded his brother George upon the latter's death in April 1947) that the current government was not reliable and that a strong government under Gen. Alexander Papagos was in Greece's best interests. In September, the new American ambassador announced that while be-

fore the Korean War a center-left government might have been appropriate, a center-right government was now needed. The ambassador hoped that a right-wing government would not "become necessary" in the future.[69] Two years later, a right-wing government under Papagos was in fact elected, and was continued by his successor, Constantine Karamanlis.

In the end, as an agent of major institutional reform and democratization the Truman Doctrine was to prove ineffective, if not counterproductive. But as a *military* instrument of sorts, *pace* George Kennan, it most certainly contributed in keeping Greece outside the Iron Curtain. ●

Notes

1. John Lewis Gaddis, *The Long Peace: Inquiries into the History of the Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 39.

2. John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 20. A cousin of his grandfather, also named George Kennan (1845–1924), had written extensively about Russia.

3. Walter L. Hixson, "George Frost Kennan," *Encyclopedia of US Foreign Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), vol. 3, p. 3.

4. Clark Clifford, *Counsel to the President: A Memoir* (New York: Random House, 1991), pp. 4, 102.

5. Charles E. Bohlen, *Witness to History, 1929–1969* (New York: Norton, 1973), p. 17.

6. Forrest C. Pogue, *George C. Marshall: Statesman 1945–1959* (New York: Viking, 1987), p. 154.

7. Daniel Yergin, *Shattered Peace: The Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977), pp. 170, 322.

8. Dean Acheson, *Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department* (New York: Norton, 1969), pp. 151, 214–15.

9. Arnold A. Offner, *Another Such Victory: President Truman and the Cold War, 1945–1953* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), p. 134.

10. Yergin, *Shattered Peace*, p. 167; John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War 1941–1947* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), pp. 299–300.

11. Yergin, *Shattered Peace*, p. 167.

12. George F. Kennan, *Memoirs, 1925–1950* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967), p. 293.

13. Quoted in Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: The Price of America's Empire* (New York: Penguin, 2004), p. 19.

14. By a remarkable coincidence, in March 1946 Kennan's opposite number in the British embassy, Frank K. Roberts, sent to his superiors a series of cables explaining Moscow's hostile behavior toward the West in general and Britain in particular. Drawing conclusions essentially similar to Kennan's, Roberts carefully illustrated his analysis with references to specific Soviet policies and actions. Having described the resulting situation as "alarming," he nevertheless concluded: "[I]t is therefore possible, though difficult, to reconcile British and Soviet interests in any problem with which we are likely to be faced, granted the right mixture of strength and patience and the avoidance of saber-rattling, or the raising of prestige issues...." (Kenneth M. Jensen, ed., *Origins of the Cold War: The Novikov, Kennan, and Roberts "Long Telegrams" of 1946* [Washington: U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 1993], p. 57).

15. Harry S. Truman, *Year of Decisions: 1945* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1955), p. 85.

16. Offner, *Another Such Victory*, p. 45.

17. Offner, *Another Such Victory*, pp. 96–98; Gar Alperovitz, *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam. The Use of the Atomic Bomb and the American Confrontation with Soviet Power* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1965); David Holloway, *Stalin and the Bomb* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 130–33.

18. Arnold A. Offner, "The Truman Myth Revealed: From Parochial Nationalist to Cold Warrior," unpublished paper, 1988, p. 11.

19. Walter Millis, ed., *The Forrestal Diaries: The Inner History of the Cold War* (London: Cassell, 1952), pp. 46–47.

20. Kennan, *Memoirs*, p. 293.

21. Truman demanded to have all copies of the report given to him, presumably to be destroyed. In 1966, Arthur Krock of the *New York Times* obtained from Clifford a copy of a draft of the report and two years later published it in his memoirs without permission (Clifford, *Counsel to the President*, pp. 109–29). See Arthur Krock, *Memoirs: Sixty*

Years on the Firing Line (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1968), pp. 476–82.

22. Millis, ed., *Forrestal Diaries,* p. 149.

23. Kennan, *Memoirs*, p. 355.

24. Ibid., p. 359.

25. Ibid., p. 356.

26. Walter Lippmann, *The Cold War: A Study in U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Harper, 1947), p. 11.

27. Ronald Steel, *Walter Lippmann and the American Century* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980), pp. 444–45.

28. Kennan, *Memoirs*, p. 360.

29. Clifford, *Counsel to the President*, pp. 130–37.

30. Joseph M. Jones, *The Fifteen Weeks: February 21–June 5, 1947* (New York: Viking Press, 1955); George Elsey, "Impressions of a Speechwriter," in *The Truman Doctrine of Aid to Greece: A Fifty-Year Retrospective*, ed. Eugene T. Rossides (New York: Academy of Political Science, 1998), pp. 55–59.

31. Jones, *Fifteen Weeks*, pp. 132–33, emphasis added.

32. Ibid., p. 155.

33. Kennan, *Memoirs*, p. 317.

34. George F. Kennan, "Comments on the National Security Problem," National War College, Washington, DC, March 27, 1947 (unpublished).

35. Kennan, *Memoirs*, pp. 322–23, emphasis added.

36. Howard Jones, "A Reassessment of the Truman Doctrine and Its Impact on Greece and U.S. Foreign Policy," in *Truman Doctrine of Aid to Greece,* ed. Rossides, pp. 31–33; John O. Iatrides, "Civil War, 1945–1949: National and International Aspects," in *Greece in the 1940s: A Nation in Crisis*, ed. John O. Iatrides (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1981), p. 215.

37. Kennan, *Memoirs*, p. 326.

38. Ibid., p. 328.

39. Ibid., pp. 333–38.

40. Charles E. Bohlen, *The Transformation of American Foreign Policy* (New York: Norton, 1969), p. 91.

41. Clifford, *Counsel to the President*, pp. 131–32.

42. John O. Iatrides, *Revolt in Athens: The Greek Communist "Second Round," 1944–1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 200–55.

43. John O. Iatrides, ed., *Ambassador MacVeagh Reports: Greece, 1933–1947* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 659–71.

44. Department of State Records (hereafter DSR), MacVeagh dispatch 1282, 868.00/7-445.

45. DSR, S. W. Rockwell March 11, 1946, "The Soviet Union and Greece," Lagoudakis papers, Boston University.

46. *Foreign Relations of the United States* (hereafter, *FRUS*), 1946, vol. 7, p. 227.

47. DSR, 868.00/2047.

48. Vasilis Kontis and Spyridon Sfetas, ed., *Emfylios polemos: Eggrafa apo ta Yiougoslavika kai Boulgarika archeia* [Civil War. Documents from the Yugoslav and Bulgarian archives] (Thessaloniki: Paratiritis, 1999), pp. 12–13.

49. Ivo Banac, ed., *The Diary of Georgi Dimitrov* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 327.

50. Kontis and Sfetas, ed., *Emfylios polemos*, pp. 19–20.

51. Banac, ed., *Diary of Georgi Dimitrov*, p. 345.

52. Ibid., pp. 352–53.

53. Artiom Ulunian, "The Soviet Union and the Greek Question, 1946–53: Problems and Appraisals," in *The Soviet Union and Europe in the Cold War, 1943–53*, ed. F. Gori and S. Pons (London: Macmillan, 1996), p. 146.

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58. Text of Operation Limnes in Kontis and Sfetas, ed. *Emfylios polemos*, doc. 10; analysis in Iliou, E*llinikos emfylios polemos*, pp. 205–11.

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