

7/2/47

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

RE: The Secretary's Harvard Speech of June 5, 1947.

The reaction to Mr. Acheson's May 8 speech had been exceedingly favorable and had been successful in bringing the discussion back to the basis of economic aid, where it rightly belonged. In Europe, however, the opinion in regard to the Truman Doctrine continued to be highly critical and was quite responsive to the Soviet propaganda line that the United States had embarked upon a course of violent anti-Communism and imperialism. To my mind what was needed was a new speech by the Secretary of State directed primarily to the foreign audience and containing a highly attractive emotional and psychological appeal. What was necessary was an idea.

In some of the draft memoranda prepared by Cleveland a few days earlier (the middle of May) I had been impressed with his arguments for European unity. It occurred to me that this was the most popular single concept that the United States could present to Europe, namely, that Europe should unite, Europe should work together on a program of reconstruction. It seemed to me that this would hit the right psychological tone because Europe was afraid of both the USSR and the United States and that ~~if~~ we could convince Europe that our help was truly altruistic.

When, therefore, I was asked about May 15 to write an address for the Secretary to give at the University of Wisconsin on May 25, I began writing along this line. Before I had finished I was informed that the Secretary was not going to Wisconsin. Nevertheless since I knew that the Secretary was going to give a number of speeches in June, I thought it would be a good idea to finish this one and have it ready. I therefore completed it and on May 20 I sent it not only to a number of office directors for criticism, but sent it to Mr. Acheson.

A day or two later Mr. Acheson told me that he had taken my draft personally to the Secretary and had urged him to give it. I also learned that Mr. Acheson had discussed my draft and had praised it at his May 21 Staff Meeting.

Here ends the trail of my own knowledge. I heard nothing more about my draft.

Along around the 25th of May, however, I did hear that George Kennan was preparing a paper containing ideas somewhat similar to my draft. It appears that Kennan's paper went to the Secretary about a week after mine did. Just what effect Kennan's paper had on the Secretary's speech and what effect mine had, I do not know. Joe Johnson told me that he was sure that the Secretary did not get the idea of European unity from Kennan.

It would seem that the Secretary drafted his June 5 speech himself and that Bohlen worked it over and inserted considerable material. I have been extremely curious about this matter but has been impossible to trace it beyond this point.

JMJ:eh