Proposed Program of Action by the President

It is important that the President, in the immediate future, take the initiative in exerting vigorous leadership in the field of foreign affairs. There is a widespread feeling in the country that the world is drifting into chaos and that the President is taking little direct part in preventing this development. Similarly, as the debate on the Marshall Plan drags on, our friends in western Europe develop a sense of futility which handicaps them in the propaganda war they are carrying on. The American people are confused by the Wallaceites on the one hand and the isolationists on the other, and this situation is being exploited by the Communists in Italy and other western Europe countries.

The crisis in western Europe is deepening and is likely to continue to worsen for the next few months. The coup in Czechoslovakia has also discouraged the champions of democracy, both at home and abroad.

The situation is ripe for bold and aggressive leadership which will underscore:

1. the commitment of the United States to the United Nations as an instrumentality of world peace and the continuing efforts which have been and will be made to reach a basis of understanding with Russia;
2. the significance to the United States of preserving the western democracies; and
3. the essential unity of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan.
The following program is proposed for consideration:

1. The President’s St. Patrick Day speech should be used to
   enunciate strong support for the United Nations. The speech might
   discuss the great strength and possibilities of United Nations as well
   as its weaknesses, such as the veto, and what we propose to do to cure
   the weaknesses.

2. The President should go before a joint session of the
   Congress and should make the following points:
   a. He should again review all of the efforts which have
      been made to reach agreement with the Russians.
   b. He should express a willingness to enter into discussions
      with Russia at any time with a view of finding a solution
      to our differences – but only on condition that Russia
      forthwith cease her fifth-column activities in Italy and
      other nations and that such discussions not be turned into
      a farce like the last meeting of Foreign Ministers in London.
   c. He should emphasize that the Marshall Plan was restricted
      to western Europe solely by action of the Russians and
      should refer to the Russian veto of the original Czech
      acceptance.
   d. He should then draw the inevitable conclusion that commu-
      nistic Russia is an aggressive imperialist power threatening
      the existence of the democracies in western Europe and that
      this threat also constitutes a menace to the security of
      the United States.
e. He should then make it clear that the Truman Doctrine as enunciated last March applies not only to Greece and Turkey, but to all western Europe and should emphasize that the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine are twin cornerstones of American world policy.

f. He should state that this Government will meet any further Russian expansion in western Europe with action in the Security Council to declare such expansion a threat to peace.

g. He should then announce that this Government has initiated consultations with the western powers with a view of extending the Truman Doctrine to them. In this respect, he might state that technical military conversations are already under way involving such matters as a coordinated defense, the interchange of technical personnel, and the standardization of weapons.

h. The President should then end by asking the Congress to back up the Executive branch in a joint resolution endorsing the extension of the Truman Doctrine to Western Europe and should again press for the earliest possible enactment of the Marshall Plan.

j. At the earliest possible time the President should state what we propose to do regarding partition in Palestine. This should be carefully timed. For instance, lifting of the embargo should be announced in such a way that Jewish leaders will get the credit and
yet under circumstances that clearly show the President was not pressured into action.

Unless some such program as this is followed, the unity of the American people will be destroyed and we are likely to relapse into isolationism, while leaving a free field for communistic expansion in Europe.

It is admitted that there are risks involved in this proposed program. It involves, however, no basic change in the policy we are in fact pursuing and its clear statement at this time would appear to provide the only hope of bringing the Russians into a bargaining mood.