MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

April 12, 1950

The Truman administration, by and large, in my judgment, is in the following position:

(1) An overwhelming number of people support the President and his administration on our overall foreign program; that is, the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Security Pact, the Arms Implementation Plan, etc. They support it because they believe:
   a. It is sound
   b. It is getting results; and more than anything else,
   c. Because it gives them a feeling of safety in a war-threatened world.

(2) The Truman domestic plan does not command the same support. I am not arguing its merits. People are concerned about deficit financing, even though it can be justified. They are concerned about the agriculture program, which builds up surpluses, such as potatoes, which are photographed in great piles. When these photographs appear in the press, they create the impression that money is being wasted. They are concerned with some features of the Social Security Plan, partly no doubt because it is new. They are concerned about some phases of the FBC program.

The people are pretty well united on six of the seven points in the President's Health Program, but are widely divided on Point 7, the so-called "Socialized Medicine" program.

Thus, in sum, the people are not united behind the domestic program to the extent they are united behind the foreign program of the Truman administration. Thus, as far as the domestic program of the Truman administration is concerned, deficit financing, etc., is widely propagated and the opposition to make the people believe that their ultimate domestic security is to some degree imperiled.

(3) Now, the present Communist inquiry has to a large extent robbed the Truman administration of some of the United support which our people had given to the foreign program. People who united to fight Communism abroad likewise unite to fight it at home. They feel that many of the advantages which come from spending their money to fight Communism abroad are lost unless equal effort is made to fight Communism at home.
This factor is being used by the Republicans, first, to divide and weaken support for the Truman program at home, and, second, incidentally weaken the solidarity of our people for the Truman program abroad. In essence, the charge of Communism in our government takes the luster off of our program abroad and correspondingly weakens the support of the people for the Truman program at home.

(4) Now, the problem is how to recapture the lost ground - how to make an asset of a liability - how to reestablish the White House and the Truman Administration as the foe of Communism at home as well as abroad - how to reunite the country to the fullest extent behind the foreign program and thus take away from the opposition the Communist issue, so it will not weaken the Truman program on the home front.

My recommendations for your consideration to accomplish the desired objective are as follows:

a. First, detach from the FBI file on Owen Lattimore the names of all informants. Have Mr. J. Edgar Hoover certify that the file, in all other respects, is accurate and complete, up to March 24th.

b. Make this file available to the Senate Investigating Committee. This should be done in the presence of General Snow of the State Department Loyalty Board and Mr. Seth Richardson of the Civil Service Review Board. It should be done at the White House, where the Committee members and Gen. Snow and Mr. Richardson can examine the file, preferably in the presence of the President.

c. Make available to the Senate Committee and its investigators, again in the presence of Gen. Snow and Mr. Richardson, the State Department and Civil Service Review Board files in all of the 81 cases named by Sen. McCarthy. The names of the informants in these files should first be detached.

d. Then the President should go on the air and tell the American people what he proposes to do and especially tell them the following:

(1) That there was no security program in government until the President himself set it up - that it was done not by Act of Congress but by Presidential order.
(2) That you have appointed outstanding Republicans with clean and outstanding American records to head the Loyalty Board in the State Department and the Civil Service Review Board.

(3) Give the political complexion of the make-up of those Boards.

(4) Tell of the prosecution by this present administration of Julius Goplon, Alger Hiss, Sabichy, Harry Bridges and the eleven Communists in New York, all of whom were recently convicted. Tell of the Pachus case that was brought to light, prosecution and sentence with your approval and with the instruments of your own Department of Law. Tell them that all of these prosecutions were successfully completed through agencies of the Truman administration, acting through its executive branch.

(5) Tell the people you are the implacable foe of Communism, what you have done and are doing to eradicate it and hold it in check at home and abroad; that you are doing everything in your power to keep the government above any known Communist influences.

(6) Then tell the people that you are breaking a long precedent because of the unusual nature of the times in making available the Lattimore file which Senator McCarthy calls his Number One Red Spy case. Follow that up by saying you are making available to the Committee in secret the other files mentioned above. Stick to your position that you will not make the FBI files public, using the statement of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover that he is opposed to this procedure, etc.

5. This is a bold program. It is a program, nevertheless, which will capture the imagination of the American people. It will make an end to Sen. McCarthy's ridiculous, unwarranted and wild general assertions. President Truman will carry the ball. If, in the course of any investigation, Communists are turned up, Truman will get the credit for it and not the blame. If Communists are turned up without this course of action, the Republicans will get the credit and Truman and the Democrats will get the blame.

This course will convince the American people there is nothing to hide. Upon such action, the investigating committee can bring in a ringing report which ought to completely lift this issue out of the next election.
This procedure will at one stroke restore complete confidence in your great international program with which, I believe, a vast and overwhelming number of the people are in accord. When you do this, you will correspondingly strengthen yourself and the administration in the eyes of the people in the home or domestic field.

This procedure and speech should be made before you go on your western trip. If this is done, your reception is bound to be a more spontaneous and finer affair. President Truman will be the hero, in my judgment, of all the people in America, by this bold and forthright action. President Truman will silence the opposition press or at least make them play sottovoce. All of this can be done without disclosing the names of any of the informants and without any serious disadvantage to the administration. I believe there is rich prospect of a bountiful harvest, with fruitful results.

6. This technique was used in the Pearl Harbor investigation. This technique saves the United States and the Truman administration, together with the Democratic Party, from a political catastrophe in the Pearl Harbor matter.

7. Finally, it is the only way the Truman Administration can kill permanently the rumor and propaganda that "there must be something bad in these files or Truman would not mind showing them" - "What is he trying to hide?" - "There are Communists in the State Department. Truman is fighting Communism abroad and defending it at home."

The above quotes will be the stock in trade which the Republicans will use in the coming election. It will be a part of the campaign speech of every candidate for national office. It is appealing because it allows erroneous conclusions to be drawn from the old adage "where there is smoke, there must be some fire".

In this memorandum, there is a good bit of thought on my part. It is based in part upon letters I have received from all over the country and which I have more or less carefully analyzed.

In conclusion, I strongly recommend for your own welfare, for the welfare of the country and lastly for the welfare of the Democratic party that the present Communist inquiry be not allowed to worsen, but that you take bold, forthright and courageous action which I presume to say will do as much as anything I can think of to give to you and your administration and party a
tremendous advantage in the coming election.

I believe it will insure the election of a Democratic Senate and House more than any other one thing in the present scene.

Respectfully submitted,