Mr. Clifford:

I do not believe that this is the occasion for the "All-out" speech for the following reasons:

1. Insufficient time to prepare what could be the most significant speech in the President's administration. Such time is necessary to develop the philosophy and issues and do justice to the subject. I think that the President should have two weeks to prepare such a speech.

2. There has been no overt action in the immediate past by the United States which serves as an adequate pretext for the "All-out" speech. The situation in Greece is relatively "abstract"; there have been other instances - Iran, for example - where the occasion were adequately justified such a speech and there will be other such occasions - I fear - in the future.

3. The public is not prepared. Public opinion and support - the unity of all the people - must come after the "All-out" speech. Nothing would be more disastrous than to have such a speech divide the country. I believe an "All-out" speech will have a divisive effect if delivered too soon. A series of Presidential and Cabinet speeches and Executive Department actions will be necessary to educate and inform the public to the point where the "All-out" message can be delivered and have the desired effect. The time to begin this education is now, and the forthcoming speeches should be one of a series, building up as rapidly as possible to the great climax - the "All-out" speech.

4. The "All-out" speech delivered on the opening of the two-year Conference would, in my opinion, destroy that Conference which gives promise of producing an acceptable Treaty of Peace for Austria, if not for Germany. The President must not be charged, as was Roosevelt, with torpedoing a major world Conference the latter had had a chance.

For these reasons, I believe that next week's message should be limited in scope. It can be stated as a subject of "Proposed Responsibility for European Reconstruction." Respectfully.
Confidential

To: Mr. Clifford:—

I do not believe that this is the occasion for the "all-out" speech for the following reasons:

1. To point time to prepare what would be the most significant speech in the President's administration. Much more time is necessary to develop a speech that would justify its subject. I think I should have 2 weeks to prepare such a speech.

2. There has been no event action by the U.S.S.R. events that would serve as an adequate pretext for the "all-out" speech. The position in Greece is relatively "abstract"; there have been other instances — Iran, for example — where the occasion more adequately justified such a speech, and that will be the other such occasions — I fear — in the future.

3. The public is not prepared. Public acceptance of support — the unity of all the people — cannot come after the "full-out" speech. Nothing would be more disastrous than to
have such a speech divide the country.

I believe an "all-out" speech should be delivered, and not too soon. The senior
of no action and Cabinet policy. The senior
reticence will be necessary to educate the
wary. The "all-out" message can be delivered
and have the desired effect. The time to
begin this education is now, so the
forthcoming speech should be one of a series leading
towards the "all-out" speech.

The three reasons:

4. The "all-out" speech delivered on the
opening of the American Conference would,
in my opinion, carry the Conference
with it, and jettison the idea of producing an
acceptable Treaty of Peace for Europe, if not
for Germany. The President must not
be charged, as was Roosevelt, with
perpetuating a major world Conference
before it has had a chance.
For these reasons, I respectfully believe that most useful leverage should be limited in scope. I recommend as a subject "U.S. Responsibility for European Reconstruction."

Respectfully,