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SOLARIUM PROJECT

Principal Points Made by JFD

1. It is difficult to conclude that time is working in our favor.
 2. Practically everywhere one looks - Africa, Middle East (except for British at Suez), India, South East Asia, Far East (except for U.S. at Korea and Japan), there is no strong holding point and danger everywhere of Communist penetration. South America is vulnerable. West Germany might take the Communist bait and block EDC, thus risking a NATO collapse. In the world chess game, the Reds today have the better position.
 3. Incalculable factors may, of course, change the pattern of the future and dislocate Red plans.
 4. The existing threat posed by the Soviets to the Western World is the most terrible and fundamental in the latter's 1000 years of domination. This threat differs in quality from the threat of a Napoleon or a Hitler. It is like the invasion by Islam in the 10th century. Now the clear issue is: can western civilization survive?
 5. The Western powers, except the U.S. (and certain smaller British possessions), are weakened by the recent wars, shattered, "old people" who want to spend their remaining days in peace and repose. They are willing and glad to gamble on time bringing about a solution, limiting themselves to rear guard actions. Their hope is that the Soviets, like Genghis Khan, will get on their little Tartar ponies and ride back whence they came.
- Only the U.S. (and certain smaller British possessions) has the strength, the dynamic, is unscarred enough to hold a different philosophy. Shall we continue to defer to our allies? Or have we a duty to take leadership in a fast and vigorous pace?
6. The present course we are following is a fatal one for us and the free world. It is just defensive: we are always worrying about what the Soviet will take next. Unless we change this policy, or get some break, we will lose bit by bit the free world, and break ourselves financially. And we will lose the support of Congress and the American people. You can't hold the world by just defensive action much longer. It is necessary to take a new, different line.
 7. There are alternatives to the present course of action:
 - a. on a grand scale
 - b. on a lesser scale.

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8. An alternative on the grand scale would be to draw a line and tell the Soviets that if one more country on our side of the line should succumb to Communism (by overt or covert aggression from the outside or (more likely) by cultivated indigenous uprising from within), that would be a casus belli between the U.S. and the Soviet. This alternative risks global war.

9. An alternative on a lesser scale would limit the line so drawn to an area. Thus, a line drawn in Asia, plus notification to Communist China that if one more country falls to Communism on our side of the line, we will take measures of our own choosing. This alternative might not risk global war.

In connection with such an alternative in Asia, we might work up an Asian NATO (which would take a long, long time).

10. Another alternative which could stand alone or be combined with either of the above would be to attempt to restore the prestige of the West by winning in one or more areas a success or successes. A success for the free peoples is badly needed.

The world now looks only to Moscow for successes; Moscow has had so many in the post-war years. Yet the U.S. still represents the greatest power in the world; and a victory might turn the world to our side again. Our enemy is probably much more scared than we give him credit for.

Where can we have such a success?

- a) In Korea, if the armistice breaks down.
- b) In Hainan, by use of MGC troops and U.S. naval and air power. Hainan has ore needed by Japan; it adjoins the most vulnerable part of China; it is located near Indo-China; it is near the mainland.
- c) In Albania, if we can settle what to do with it when we take it (as could readily be done by indigenous, inspired, financed people)
- d) In Hungary, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia? To do any one of these might take two years to accomplish. All the more reason to begin at once. And whatever of these is tried, the action would be coupled by aggressive disturbances of the Soviet rule over all the satellites. The goal: disturb the Kremlin; make it think more of holding what it has, less of gaining additional territory and peoples; turn the Soviet bloc into a loose alliance, without aggressive capacities, far different from Stalin's monolith.

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11. These alternative courses would be not welcomed by our allies. ~~They would shudder.~~ They would shudder, wish to draw back. Their large neutralist populations might overturn existing governments and prevail.

Yet we should now explore these alternatives, even if eventually we conclude that perhaps the French and British are right and there is no other possible course than to wait and see.

People look to the new Administration to appraise the alternatives and see if there is not some different way.

Points made by President

1. We must convince ourselves and our friends of the rightness of any course we adopt. We must convince the Congressional leaders, too.

2. We cannot live alone: we need allies.

3. He discarded at the outset the alternative of "drawing the line."

4. JFD omitted one alternative: that we should depend less on material strength and think more of improving the standards of living in the other countries as the way to gain true indigenous strength. We want people to see freedom and communism in their true lights: it will take time, but it must be done or we will lose in the end. (JFD made the point that talk about "liberty" doesn't stop people from becoming communist. To which the President replied -- it's men's hands and hearts that must be won.

5. When GMH said the present policy was leading to disaster, sapping our strength, that we must do something else or the American people will turn against us, we must now examine our capabilities; -- the President agreed with his points.

The President answered GMH's question of what would happen if we "walked out" on the Pacific by saying the Soviets would turn Japan into an industrial workshop and change the balance of power thereby.

6. President said he would like to see set-up some teams of bright young fellows, each team to take an alternative, each team to tackle its alternative with a real belief in it just the way a good advocate tackles a law case -- and then when the teams are prepared, each team should put on in some White House room, with maps,

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charts, all basic supporting figures and estimates, just what each alternative would mean in terms of goal, risk, cost in money and men and world relations. Against such a background, the NSC would be qualified to come to a decision. But don't talk about decisive action, until all the facts are laid out cold and hard. (He suggested having a trustworthy, experienced British officer on each such team).



7. President suggested we should have a Volunteer Freedom Corps to fight all over the world, wherever it might be sent.

8. One point raised by GMI was that historically wars have been fought for conquest; but the USA wins a war and then walks out on the victory. In considering the alternatives, GMI said we should look ahead to see what we would do with any victory we might win; walk out or take over what we conquered or be prepared to support what we conquered for a long time, if necessary. Don't go into an action unless you know where you're coming out.

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