

● PSF

State Department

April-May 1940

5/2/40

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

↑
file

Bucharest, April 8, 1940.

The President,
The White House.

Dear Mr. President:

There has been a good deal of chatter among the armchair and boulevard strategists of the West about a drive on Germany through Rumania. Colonel Soesthenes Behn, who was here recently, for instance, talked gravely about this possibility. I will say, however, that before he left he had advanced the date to 1941 - I forget just which month.

Such a half-baked scheme would be doomed to failure for a host of reasons. The Military Attaché has, I believe, reported upon the military reasons, but even these assume that the necessary diplomatic spade-work shall have been accomplished; for it would be impossible to attempt a thrust through here without full Turkish cooperation and, preferably, Bulgarian as well. And surely the Allies would not be quite so foolish as to risk attack upon their communications by Italy, not to speak of a flank attack by Russia.

In the opinion of military men, Germany would probably not even have to trouble to send the troops into Rumania which are awaiting developments near the Slovak border - much less any forces from the Western Front - as its available air force would be sufficient to blast away advancing columns or to prevent landings from transports. It would be extremely difficult for the Allies to establish air bases. Just what Rumania's attitude

would be is difficult to forecast at this writing. In any case, it would be hard-boiled, and unless the Allied effort were most carefully prepared and overwhelming in strength Rumania would not willingly lend its country as a battlefield. The Rumanian peasant still sings a song from the last war about Sarail at Salonika and when is he ever coming. I have heard it.

As I see it from this angle, there are only three major considerations which deter Germany from coming into Rumania to do its own exporting:

1. The lingering belief that the Rumanians may really be prepared to do an almost instantaneous job of destruction of oil wells. If not, the Germans calculate that they could land from the air, preferably at night, in two hours from starting, sufficient troops in the oil fields to take care of them.

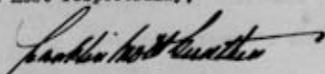
2. Unwillingness to risk adding Turkey just now to the list of active enemies.

3. Why trouble to come down here, with all its attendant risk, no matter what the understanding is with Russia, when they can successfully negotiate for their present needs?

The fact remains, however, that they are not getting what they want, due in part to faulty transport and loading facilities. They do not seem to be unduly disturbed yet about it, however, which would seem to indicate that reserves are sufficient for the present. If, as and when it is decided to make a pass at Turkey and Suez, Rumania's turn will surely come - and perhaps before if deliveries are insufficient or too much interfered with. The Rumanian is the artfullest dodger I have ever encountered, but the Briton is not especially adroit at sabotage.

With highest regard, believe me, dear Mr. President,

Yours most respectfully,



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 8, 1940

APR 8 1940

State Dept

file →

SITUATION IN THE BALKANS; ex-President Nowinski.

~~SECRET~~

My dear Mr. President:

In accordance with our conversation on April 4, I took the opportunity in a talk which I had with the Rumanian Minister on April 5 to inquire of the Minister with regard to the stories I had heard concerning the alleged threat that relations between the United States and Rumania would be broken unless the Rumanian Government permitted the former President and Foreign Minister of Poland to leave that country.

For your information I am enclosing a copy of a memorandum of that date of my conversation with the Minister.

I should like to call your attention particularly to the request made of me by the Minister that his confirmation of this report be kept confidential.

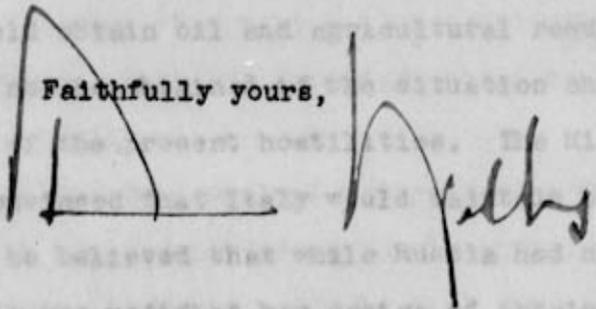
Believe me

Faithfully yours,

Enc.

The President,

The White House.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

DATE:
April 5, 1940

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: Situation in the Balkans; ex-President Moscicki.

PARTICIPANTS: Mr. Radu Irimescu, Minister of Rumania;
The Under Secretary, Mr. Welles.

COPIES TO: The President, 3

*** 1-1403

The Rumanian Minister called to see me today. The Minister expressed the belief that there was no immediate threat to the peace of the Balkans and that Germany had reached the decision that it was more to the interest of Germany to maintain the status quo and peace in the Balkans than to undertake any military adventure in that region, since so long as the Balkan countries remained at peace, Germany could obtain oil and agricultural requirements which could not be obtained if the situation changed during the course of the present hostilities. The Minister said he was convinced that Italy would maintain the same position and he believed that while Russia had not in the slightest degree modified her desire of obtaining

political jurisdiction as far as the Straits, he did not think that Russia would move in that direction for the time being.

The Minister spoke at some length of the difficulties Rumania was experiencing at the hands of Great Britain, and explained that the oil which Germany was obtaining from Rumania was neither in quality nor in quantity of any vital importance to Germany in the prosecution of the war. He states that it was his belief that "when Germany cracked up" it would be because of her inability to obtain sufficient stocks of lubricating oil, molybdenum, vanadium, and nickel. He said that with the exception of a small amount of nickel which Germany could obtain from Russia, none of the materials mentioned could be obtained by Germany. He said that no lubricating oil used in aviation could be obtained by Germany from either Russian or Rumanian sources. He further stated that large supplies of oil were now being obtained by Russia from Venezuela through Vladivostok and that the oil so obtained by Russia was being used in Siberia, thus making it possible for Russia to supply Germany with oil from Baku which would otherwise be needed in Siberia.

I told the Minister that while I was in Europe I had heard a report which had disquieted me to the effect that the Rumanian Ambassador in Paris had said that Ambassador

Bullitt had informed him that unless the Rumanian Government permitted former President Moscicki of Poland and former Foreign Minister Beck to leave Rumania, diplomatic relations between the United States and Rumania would be severed. The Rumanian Minister told me immediately that the story was entirely correct but that he hoped because of his position here in Washington I would not permit his name to be used in connection with the story. I told the Minister that I would necessarily have to speak to the President and the Secretary of State about the matter, but that I was sure they would treat any connection which he might have with the story with the utmost confidence.

Mr. Irimescu said that what had happened was as follows: When he was in Bucharest last month, his Prime Minister, Mr. Tatarescu, had expressed to him the gravest apprehension over the attitude taken by the United States. Mr. Tatarescu showed him reports sent from Paris by the Rumanian Ambassador to Paris reporting his conversations with Mr. Bullitt and alleging that Mr. Bullitt had stated positively that if the Rumanian Government refused to permit former President Moscicki to leave Rumania immediately, diplomatic relations between the United States and Rumania would be broken by direction of President Roosevelt. Mr. Irimescu said that he had stated to his Prime Minister that he was sure that this was not the

policy of the United States, since the United States must realize that while the Rumanian Government was desirous of acceding to the suggestion made by President Roosevelt that on humanitarian grounds the former President of Poland be permitted to leave Rumania, the Rumanian Government would nevertheless have to seize an appropriate opportunity for taking such a step in view of the Rumanian fear of getting into serious complications with Germany. Mr. Irimescu said that in fact after Moscicki's departure from Rumania, the German Government had made an exceedingly angry protest to the Rumanian Government because of the action taken.

S. W.

PELL

file
pell

PSF
State

WANTS DUTCHESS COUNTY CARRIED.

Income Tax examiners look into

Gleason - consulting

KRIEGER former highway Commissioner.

CONSULT EE PERKINS.

WANTS PORTUGAL: raised To Embassy.

Wanted by Portuguese

Make work easier

Help Democrats in Rhode Island
and Massachusetts & California

8 Apr 1940

Hyde Park, N. Y.,
April 8, 1940.

Dear Bertie:-

I hope you are safely back. I wish that I had had more time to chat with you the other day. The delightful gift arrived and will give me great pleasure.

As ever yours,

Honorable Herbert C. Pell,
American Legation,
Lisbon,
Portugal.

file

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 11, 1940

PSF: *File kept*

My dear Mr. President:

In reply to your memorandum of April 8 with regard to the possibility of raising the rank of our mission in Lisbon to that of an embassy, I fear that Bertie Pell has exaggerated the facts. According to your memorandum he has told you that practically every other important nation has an embassy in Lisbon. Upon investigation I find that there are only four embassies in Lisbon, namely, the Vatican, Brazil, Spain, and Great Britain. France, Germany, and Italy have legations only.

The general policy of the Department has been that we would not recommend to you the raising of a European legation to an embassy unless the principal European countries had done likewise, and in view of present circumstances, that condition does not exist.

I think also that it would be hard on the basis of our interests involved to justify raising the legation in Lisbon to an embassy ahead of our legations in countries like Uruguay, Holland, and Sweden.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

The President,
The White House.

[Handwritten signature]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Hyde Park, N. Y.,
April 8, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

Our Minister to Portugal says that practically every other important nation has an Embassy in Lisbon and that we are outranked to our disadvantage. He believes the Portugal Government would be glad to raise the Legations to Embassies. What do you think?

F. D. R.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
THE SECRETARY

*For the
President's
files.*

April 13, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

There is herewith enclosed data pertaining to a statement to the public, intended to be in line with your previous statements on similar occasions of invasion of Poland by Germany and Finland by Russia.

CH
N.L.
OK
Release for
Sunday papers
telR

THE
DEVELOP

1

Force and military aggression are once more on the march against small nations, in this instance through the invasion of Denmark and Norway. These two nations have won and maintained during a period of many generations the respect and regard not only of the American people, but of all peoples, because of their observance of the highest standards of national and international conduct.

The Government of the United States has on the occasion of recent invasions strongly expressed its disapprobation of such unlawful exercise of force. It here reiterates, with undiminished emphasis, its point of view as expressed on those occasions. If civilization is to survive, the rights of the smaller nations to independence, to their territorial integrity, and to the unimpeded opportunity for self-government must be respected by their more powerful neighbors.

April 13, 1940.

HOLD FOR RELEASE for publication in the MORNING PAPERS
of SUNDAY, APRIL 14th.

CONFIDENTIAL until released.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

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W

*File
Confidential*

PSF: State

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

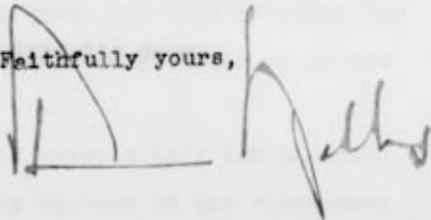
April 15, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

With reference to our recent conversation concerning the departure of Colonel Beck from Rumania, I am enclosing herewith for your information a copy of a memorandum from Mr. Murphy, Chargé d'Affaires of our Embassy in Paris, dated March 21, reporting a conversation he had had with General Sikorski, Polish Prime Minister. You will be interested in General Sikorski's references to Colonel Beck's present activities.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,



Enclosure:
As stated.

The President,
The White House.

COPY

Paris, March 21, 1940.

MEMORANDUM

I lunched today with General Sikorski, Polish Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army in France, who told me something of his efforts to reconstruct the Polish Army and his labors as Prime Minister.

He said that there were now 52,000 effectives in the Polish Legion, and only yesterday 27 Polish aviators had been sent to the Western front after an intensive course of training in France.

He said that he wanted Ambassador Bullitt to know that M. Lukasiewicz, former Polish Ambassador in Paris, was being taken care of. Under Sikorski's orders, M. Lukasiewicz is receiving a stipend of eight thousand francs monthly and has been given the task of compiling an extensive documentation of events leading up to the German-Polish war.

He said that he himself accepts only ten thousand francs monthly, devoting the balance of the allowances and pay to which he would be entitled to Polish charities.

General Sikorski went on at considerable length regarding Beck's misdeeds. He said that he was acting in scandalous fashion in Rumania, spending large sums of money in pursuit of pleasure, notwithstanding that many Poles were starving to death. He said that when Mrs. Beck

crossed the Rumanian frontier she had on her person \$562,000. "pocket money".

General Sikorski also said that Prince Radziwill was the eleventh Pole to whom the Germans had offered the Warsaw general government. Radziwill had refused. The same offer, of course, had been made to Beck. According to Sikorski, no Pole could afford to accept as it would mean inevitable assassination.

The General also said that the morale in the Polish Army is high and he does not doubt that it will eventually include upwards of 200,000 men.

(SIGNED) ROBERT D. MURPHY

Robert D. Murphy
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim

PSF: state
1

*File
Personal*

Lisbon, Portugal
April 20, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

A great deal depends on the attitude of Italy. It seems most probable that Spain will follow the Italian lead whatever it is. If they enter the war on the side of Germany, it would almost certainly mean an attack on Portugal which is practically unarmed and would offer no effective resistance. The English would be obliged to defend Lisbon harbor and Lagos, and would probably take over the administration of the Atlantic islands, Madeira and the Azores.

I remember our conversation about the Hesperides which should be separate from ultima Thule. We may have to consider whether or not they would give to me or to someone else the post which you declined twenty years ago.

Sometime ago our squadron went to Madeira for a few days manoeuvres without making any comment here. If its next cruise were to the Azores, I could accompany it if I was so instructed by the Department.

This summer the Portuguese are inaugurating a grand exposition to celebrate the centennial of their freedom from Spain in 1640 and the foundation of the country in 1140. I think this would be a very good occasion to raise the legation to an embassy as I suggested in my talk with you. As I said, the attitude generally is that countries which maintain embassies are either greater nations or at least think more of Portugal. There are now three embassies here, Spain, Brazil, and England, so there could be no objection based on the ground that British superior interests entitle them to first place as ours do for example, in Cuba or Panama.

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

I hope

I hope to be able to return to America in the summer and take part in the campaign. I am most interested in it, and will be entirely at your disposal.

Olive sends her best.

I am,

Respectfully,

Herbert C. Pell
Herbert C. Pell

HCP:GT

TELEGRAM

*file
personal*

Early

The White House

Washington

The White House
April 20, 1940.

Memo for the President:

Have talked to Sumner Welles this morning. He advises that "very little of significance" has developed over night in the foreign situation. I will, however, send you over our wire a summary of official dispatches -- summary now being compiled.

Press dispatches in brief follow:

Berlin: Hess tells German boys on Hitler's birthday that Germany will have colonies after the war in which they can adventure and fight.

Little Falls, N Y: Crack New York Chicago express train jumps rails, piles into cliff, killing seven, injuring fifty.

Stockholm: British landing force reported at Molde, southwest of Trondheim; Germans believed in Elverun in southeast Norway.

Washington: Roosevelt, who last year addressed Young Democrats with threat of bolt conservative ticket, speaks to them again tonight.

London: Britain launches new economic offensive in territory vital to Germany; allied expeditionary force nears big scale clash with Germans.

TELEGRAM

#2

The White House Washington

London: Great Britain and France have landed their expeditionary forces at Norway without a single loss, it was asserted officially, despite Germany's claims of British transport sinkings. British officials said:

"This proves more than ever that allied fleets are completely controlling sea routes."

Paris: French troops have landed in Norway and are participating in operations.

Stockholm: Allied and Norwegian forces reported to have effected contact both North and South of the vital Trondheim Mid-Norway areas. Allied forces said to have landed in some number at Namsos, 75 miles north of Trondheim; at Molde, 95 miles southwest of Trondheim and at Laerdale, 180 miles southwest of Trondheim.

Stockholm: Newspapers report allied forces at Namsos consist of three divisions-- one French two British-- totaling some 55,000 men. This report, however not confirmed.

London: The Admiralty and War Office, in joint charge of the British part of the expeditionary force, said in a communique today:

"The claim made by the German wireless that a British or French transport has been sunk or damaged off the Norwegian coast is quite untrue."

In southeastern Europe, it was reported that Britain has made attractive offers of exchanges of goods calculated to lessen German's trade with that important area.

The Allies were reported pleased by the dispatch of a Jugo-Slav mission to Moscow, to negotiate a trade agreement after a 22-year breach in Jugo-Slav-Russian relations.

On the diplomatic side it was understood that Viscount Halifax foreign secretary, and Rushdu Arah, Turkish ambassador, had discussed yesterday Italy's attitude toward the Allies with particular reference to Southeastern Europe.

(more)

TELEGRAM

#3
The White House
Washington

London: reference to Southeastern Europe.

The big development yesterday was the reported British acceptance in principle of Russia's offer, made several times since the start of the European war, to enter trade negotiations. Viscount Halifax was said to have told Ivan Maisky, Russian ambassador, yesterday that Britain was ready to negotiate if Russia had anything worth while to offer.

Lord Halifax was understood to have made it plain that Britain would require firm assurances regarding any agreement that no important British empire raw materials or manufactured goods which might be supplied Russia in return for Russian raw materials would fall into Germany's hands.

Add train wreck: Little Falls:

Rounding a sharp curve at high speed while entering the outskirts of Little Falls, the locomotive leaped its track, careened over the other three tracks of the right-of-way, and crashed into the side of a 200 foot rock embankment. Its boiler exploded, shooting up a huge cloud of live steam.

The baggage car immediately behind was broken free and rolled on down the tracks. The mail car, directly behind the baggage car, piled into the locomotive. The following three pullman cars smashed onto the top of this wreckage.

London: It was said officially that Viscount Halifax, foreign secretary, told Ivan Maisky Russian ambassador, yesterday that the government had considered Russia's suggestion that Britain and Russia engage in trade talks "and is prepared to discuss with the Soviet government in an exploratory manner whether there is a basis for a trade agreement, taking into account the war situation".

The official informant said: "There is nothing further to say".

This meant a British acceptance in principle of Russia's suggestion, made on several occasions--provided that Russia had something to offer that would be of value to Britain.

TELEGRAM

The White House

Washington

The White House
April 20, 1940

FOR THE PRESIDENT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Summary of State Department messages received from Europe, Saturday, April 20 follows:

"The general tenor of telegrams received today from Europe is more reassuring. The British charge at Rome told Phillips that he did not feel there was danger of any immediate military move on the part of Italy, arguing that there is no marked increase in manufacture of war material. Rochat, at the French foreign office, told Bullitt that French government is convinced Italy is planning no immediate action in the Balkans or the Mediterranean, and added that France is taking no special measures. He added that the Italian press campaign should not be taken seriously. Although not expecting military operations in the Balkans, the French government still feels it is only a question of time before Sweden will be drawn into the conflict. The State of Siege in Holland seems to be caused more by internal than external reasons, as the authorities are greatly concerned over Nazi fermentation. The French foreign office has seen no evidence of an immediate German act of aggression against the Low Countries. The only ominous note today comes from Vatican City circles which are still greatly alarmed at the possibility that Mussolini may make an aggressive move in the very near future."

EARLY.

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

The White House
April 21, 1940.

FOR THE PRESIDENT

Summary of State Department messages received from Europe, Sunday, April 21, follows:

"Not many telegrams of importance have been received. Kirk reports from Berlin that a rumor circulated there yesterday to the effect that both Germany and Italy have decided upon moves against Rumania and Yugoslavia but he added that no confirmation of this rumor could be obtained and that reports from Bucharest and Belgrade indicated no fear of immediate developments although a general state of anxiety exists. Kirk also reported that he understands that the departure of the Norwegian minister was requested on express orders from Hitler when Hitler became acquainted with the contents of a proclamation by the king of Norway.

"Macveagh reports from Athens that a high foreign official told him that he was increasingly confident that Italy does not desire war with England and consequently with Greece and that the Bellicose press campaign in Italy could be explained as an effort to keep the Allies impressed with Italy's importance. He said that Greek officials doubted whether Italy could invade Yugoslavia without allied and even Balkan intervention.

"Our Military attache at Stockholm reports extensive fighting in various parts of Norway; both German and Allied reinforcements are arriving at Norvik. Schoenfeld reports from Helsinki that he has been reliably informed that as many as eighty German transports were sighted yesterday near the Danish island of Bornholm heading north."

(end)

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

*file
plus mail*

The White House
April 26 1940

FOR THE PRESIDENT via Mr. Hassett:

After heated bitter debate, the House voted 189 to 185 to open the Wage-House law amendment. Previously, Mrs. Norton had used the President's statement on the Floor and released it to the press. When the count was announced, revealing the close four vote margin, Sabbath demanded a recapitulation but Rayburn, Acting Speaker, held the margin was large enough and rejected the motion. By the vote, the Wage-House Act now is open to amendments offered by Mrs. Norton, by Barden and by Ramspeck. Debate on these three bills proceeding with house in uproarious mood.
R.T.W.

TELEGRAM

file personal
The White House

Washington

The White House
April 25 1940

FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUMMARY OF TELEGRAMS FROM EUROPE REACHING STATE DEPARTMENT
MORNING APRIL 25, 1940 FOLLOW:

"Reynaud informed Bullitt there was excellent possibility Allies would capture Narvik immediately. Trondheim will present greater difficulties since Germans have consolidated their position and have naval support. The Allies' present objective is to hold Narvik region and railway line to Sweden.

"The attack on Sweden is expected momentarily.

"French reports indicate concentration of transports in Baltic near Memel. Naval attache in Stockholm confirms this information and states Germans have air base on Danish island of Bornholm.

"Finns fear occupation of Aland islands and are confident Sweden, which is now fully mobilized, will fight. Reynaud is convinced Sweden will offer resistance but can not maintain it long.

"Reynaud fears recent telegrams of Mussolini to Hitler have made it impossible for Mussolini to retreat from pro-German position although the fundamental position is unchanged. Allies are prepared to make minor concessions. Hitler can make broad promises. Minor indications of activity in the Mediterranean area reported today include information Italy now is buying aviation gasoline in large quantities from American firms. Strengthening of British naval units at Gibraltar also reported. First confirmation in Berlin of German-Rumanian trade agreement indicates present quota of Rumanian oil is not increased. There is little increase in food stuffs."

EARLY.

RECEIVED
TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

*file
confidential* STE
The White House
April 22 1940

FOR THE PRESIDENT

Summary of State Department messages received from Europe Monday morning, April 22, follows:

" A triple priority telegram from Stockholm quotes a telegram from a Norwegian army officer that Captain Losey, assistant American Military Attache, was killed by German bomber plane at Dombas yesterday.

"The legation at Stockholm reports that there is no movement in Sweden for direct military aid to Norway similar to that which was so active during the Russo-Finnish war, and that the apparent laissez-faire with which the population in the occupied areas has accepted the German invasion has had a disheartening effect in Sweden.

"Kirk reports that according to Swedish circles in Berlin, Sweden will resist whichever power first attempts an invasion of her territory. Sweden is alleged to have notified Germany that all ore deliveries would be stopped and ore fields destroyed if she enters Sweden at any point; Sweden is also alleged to have told Britain that she will continue ore deliveries to Germany and will brook no interference in the matter from the Allies. Apprehension in Stockholm is due (1) to reports of continued massing of troops in Denmark and along the Northern coast of Germany, and (2) to German anger over prolongation of Norwegian resistance."

Early

TELEGRAM

#3

The White House
Washington

ADD NEWS SUMMARY:

United Press says from Stockholm:

Robert M. Losey, U S Air attache, was killed in central Norway, during a German air raid, messages disclosed today.

Losey, who formerly was in Helsinki, was reported killed at Dombas, when German airplanes bombed that sector.

He recently had passed through Stockholm from Finland enroute to Sweden.

Early

TELEGRAM

#2

The White House
Washington

FOR THE PRESIDENT:

ADD STATE DEPARTMENT SUMMARY

Secretary Woodring advises that Captain Robert M. Losey, air corps, U S A., has been killed by a bomb in or near Dombas, Norway, according to cable received from a Major of the Norwegian army. No details given. Upon inquiry I ascertained that Captain Losey about one month ago was sent from the United States to Helsinki, assigned to our legation as a military observer. Later he was transferred from Finland to Norway and Sweden as an observer.

The State Department tell me that he was assigned to Mrs. Harriman and assisted her in making safe departure when Norway was attacked.

I am having the State Department announce receipt of the cable announcing the captain's death. The War Department will confine its release strictly to service record and biographical data in routine way.

STE

~~TELEGRAM~~

file

The White House

Washington

The White House
Washington April 23 1940

MEMO FOR THE PRESIDENT:

I am sending you today "American White Paper" by Joe Alsop and Bob Kitner as published by Simon and Schuster. The appearance of this publication is causing expected reverberations among some Washington newspaper men, Arthur Krock in particular. My answer to them is "So What"

It will interest you to know also that Joe and Bob have sold serial rights to the Ladies' Home Journal, Curtis Publishing Company. The Ladies' Home Journal has a circulation equal to that of the Saturday Evening Post.

S T E

TELEGRAM

The White House

Washington

The White House
April 23 1940

SUMMARY OF STATE DEPARTMENT MESSAGE RECEIVED FROM EUROPE
TUESDAY MORNING APRIL 23, 1940

"Bullitt reports that French foreign office analyzes Mussolini's telegram in which he transmitted cordial wishes to Hitler and expressed the conviction that Germany would be victorious in the present war as indicating that he is still personally convinced that Germany will win an overwhelming victory during the next few months. The Foreign office considers it, therefore, an indication that an attack by Germany on the Western front is likely.

"Stockholm reports that both Goering and Hitler have appeared impressed by the Swedish determination to resist invasion, and that this attitude may well have deterred Germany from making the expected formal request for the passage of troops through Sweden.

"The Finnish minister has informed Bullitt that the Finnish government was most fearful that the Soviets might attack Finland during next two or three months when exhaustion of the Finnish army would prevent an adequate defense of the country. At the end of that time the Finnish government believed it could put up an excellent fight if again attacked.

"Kirk reports that according to information for authoritative Jewish quarters, the dispatch of German Jews to eastern Poland has ceased for the time being for various technical reasons".

Early.

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

The White House
April 23 1940.

FOR THE PRESIDENT

BRIEF PRESS REPORTS

Philadelphia:- Senator Guffey faces crucial test of his political career in battle for Democratic renomination in today's state primary election.

-oOo-

London:- Sir John Simon introduces in Commons today biggest budget in Britain's history, a ten billion dollar plus token of the government's determination to throw the country's wealth unstintingly into the war.

-oOo-

Paris:- Allied forces are parading with Norwegian forces on the Oslo front at present and are continuing to land troops without difficulty.

-oOo-

Berlin:- The German press opened an attack on Sweden today warning the Stockholm government that it would be "bitterly Serious" to permit Swedish newspapers to continue publication of dispatches reflecting on the Nazi armed forces. This obviously aimed at one Swedish newspaper which published reports that German fliers had machine-gunned women and children as they fled across fields.

-oOo-

This country prepared today for mass evictions of foreigners to rid itself of a horde of spies. Nation-wide spy hunt organized. Much concern over activity of German agents.

-oOo-

Tokyo:- DOMEI Japanese news agency, said today that well-informed Japanese quarters interpreted Admiral Taussig's statement as indication that United States is "preparing to actively interfere in East Asiatic affairs."

Japanese newspapers carried banner headlines on Taussig's statement before Senate Committee.

-oOo-

Senate Naval Committee takes up today' government's plane export policy; State and Navy heads disclaimed responsibility for Admiral Taussig's statements of yesterday.

TELEGRAM

The White House

Washington

The White House
April 24 1940

file personal

SUMMARY OF STATE DEPARTMENT MESSAGES RECEIVED FROM EUROPE
WEDNESDAY APRIL 24 1940

Among the relatively few telegrams received this morning is one from Phillips reiterating that the attitude of the Italian public is much calmer; whereas last week many well informed Italians were fearful that a fateful decision was about to be made, today there is far less openly expressed anxiety. Ciano's assurances to Phillips, however, concern the present and not the future, and Phillips cautions us that we shall have further periods of greatly increased anxiety. He adds that there are signs that Mussolini is becoming impatient.

In Belgrade, a foreign office official informed Lane that the commercial negotiations with the Soviet government would result in formal recognition. He added that the decision to normalize relations had been taken in 1939, but had been deferred because of the war in Finland so as not to irritate unduly the British and French.

Kirk reports from Berlin that the German minister in Copenhagen has been appointed Hitler's special plenipotentiary "in connection with the general evolution of administrative matters in Denmark". In Norway it is stated that civil authorities are replacing military officers in occupied regions, and that a German administrative specialist has been sent to Oslo with a large staff.

Cox telegraphs from Oslo, in connection with the air attack of the previous night, that little damage was reported from the airports, and no casualties.

Early.

TELEGRAM

The White House

Washington

The White House

FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Press Briefs

Philadelphia:- Senator Guffey held an apparently conclusive lead in his primary battle for Democratic renomination.

Returns from 5,179 out of Pennsylvania's 8,108 precincts in yesterday's primary gave:

Guffey 250,010; Walter A Jones, 192,495. Wm N. McNair 27,524

President Roosevelt the only candidate on the ballot for presidential preference, polled 293,586 votes.

Governor Arthur H. James had 135,199 votes for delegate-at-large, and Senator James Davis 131,698.

Tokyo:- Foreign office spokesman Yakaichiro Suma indicated today that he regarded Rear Admiral Taussig's statement that war between the United States and Japan was "inevitable" as a "seasonal patriotic outburst for the purpose of building up the navy".

Washington:- Senator Bennett Clark demanded that Rear Admiral Taussig be court martialed for telling the Senate Naval Affairs Committee that war between the United States and Japan is inevitable.

Early.

TELEGRAM

The White House *bill*

Washington The White House
April 25 1940

FOR THE PRESIDENT:

PRESS BRIEFS

Washington :- The Senate is expected to pass today a bill certifying President Roosevelt's action in "freezing" Danish and Norwegian securities held in the United States. Approval is considered certain.

Berlin:- The high command charged that Allied forces had "begun air war against undefended towns which are without military importance" ; a charge interpreted in Nazi sources as "perhaps a final warning" that the German air force will retaliate.

London:- German troops occupied the town of Seinkjer, North of Trondheim, after sharp fighting and British-Norwegian forces dug in at Meiri village, six miles north of Steinkjer, it was reported.

Stockholm:- Germans smash through Allied defense lines for big advance north of Elverum. Important city of Roros threatened.

Tronsjon, Norway:- Germans took troops from west wall for Norwegian campaign. Transports waited in Oslofjord four days before landing soldiers.

Paris:- Newspaper claims 17,000 Germans killed enroute to and in Norway. New battleship ready ahead of schedule.

Stockholm:- German motorized troops, smashing through Allied defense lines in the Oesterdalen valley, threatened the strategically important city of Roros today in an attempt to cut off the Allied expeditionary force in Norway from all communication with South and Central Sweden.

Washington:- Third term sentiment among Senate Democrats was strengthened by the re-nomination of Senator Guffey.

"The Pennsylvania result indicates a strong third term trend and among the state's Democrats" said Senator Pittman.

Senator Minton, a supporter of Paul McNutt, told reporters that the result represented "a big victory for Joe Guffey and Roosevelt all in one dose".

"It shows the pulling power of the New Deal," he said.

TELEGRAM

The White House Washington

The Guffey victory caused one influential Republican to comment that his party must re-cavass the Pennsylvania situation and abandon the theory that the state "is in the bag" for Republicans in November.

Random comments:

Senator Herring: "It was a well-deserved triumph for Senator Guffey and a real boost for the third term."

Senator Truman: "I'm just as happy as Guffey is. It means that the country is for President Roosevelt."

Senator Ellender: "It was a wonderful victory and a fine test for third term popularity".

--oOo--

Rome:- The subject of Italy's "natural aspirations," formerly referred to in unofficial quarters as claims upon France for Tunisia, Djibouti and a share in the control of the Suez canal, has been revived for the first time since the war.

An authoritative news bulletin of the Informazioni del Giorno remarked yesterday that "unsettled problems are still confronted by Italy's determination to reach a solution safeguarding her immediate interests".

EARLY.

CONFIDENTIAL AND BECAUSE PROBABLY RETURNED TO
RECEIVED BY THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE
APRIL 25 1940

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

The White House
April 25 1940

MEMO FOR WDH

State Department sent the President last night three drafts of proclamations affecting Norway and neutrality. The President may sign one or all of these proclamations. Please let McDermott, State Department, know in case only one proclamation is signed which proclamation it is; or advise him if all proclamations are signed.

Suppose you will announce to newspapermen in Warm Springs the fact that the ~~Proclamations~~ proclamation or proclamations have been signed and will let the State Department here, as is the practice, give out the text.

To avoid possibility of a mistake by the Department, I am asking care be taken to give McDermott correct and detailed report on signing, etc.

Regards.

STE.

TELEGRAM

file

The White House

Washington The White House
April 24 1940

W D H:

Latest AP pennsylvania returns gives Roosevelt
417,141 from 4740 of the state's 8105 districts
Gaffey 323,188 from 6315 districts and Jones 254,191
from 6315 districts.

STE.

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

The White House
April 26 1940

*File
Personal
confidential*

PRESS BRIEFS

Stockholm:- Germans retreat from Roeros, dig defense south of city. Norwegians strongly posted to north.

Berlin:- Germans claim Oslo and Trondheim forces, converging to cut Norway in half, now only 40 miles ~~apart~~ apart in Roeros area.

London:- Big fights sue in Steinkjer and Roeros areas. British "suicide" column held Germans four days at Steinkjer, war office reports.

Washington:- Commerce Department announces that war stimulated boom has boosted exports in first quarter more than billion dollars.

Bucharest:- United States legation has sent letter to all Americans in Rumania advising those "who have no compelling reason for remaining to consider the possibility of returning to the United States as soon as feasible".

London:- British and French troops have established contact with Norwegian troops in the Trondheim area and are supporting them to the full. But, it was added, German troops are pressing hard from the south, supported by ~~air~~ planes and using armored fighting vehicles.

Admitting Frankly that British forces were having a difficult time in Norway, a military spokesman said that Britain was determined "to go on with the job and see it through."

Stockholm: The Norwegian retreat has ended and the time has come for attack, the Norwegian high command said today in a proclamation for the troops.

"Our retreating has ended," the proclamation said. "Our allies are now here in force to help us. The time has come to turn and attack."

STE

TELEGRAM

TELEGRAM

*File personal
+ confidential*

The White House
Washington

The White House
April 26 1940

SUMMARY OF STATE DEPARTMENT MESSAGES RECEIVED FRIDAY MORNING
APRIL 26 1940:

"Sterling reports from Stockholm that Swedish minister in Berlin received further assurances from Ribbentrop yesterday that Germany intended to respect Swedish neutrality.

"Biddle hears from M Zaleski however that Allies supreme war council expects immediate move against Sweden, or at least recurrent waves of German pressure.

"The council is confident of the ultimate success of the Allied military operations in Norway.

"Less pessimism is recorded in Allied circles regarding the situation in southeastern Europe. Gunther reports from Bucharest that French are replacing their present ambassador with Goulondre who is more acceptable to the Rumanians."

Early

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

The White House
April 26 1940

FOR THE PRESIDENT

ADD PRESS BRIEFS

Honolulu:- The U S Fleet, its month of maneuvers at an end, began moving into the Pearl Harbor navy base today.

London:- Alfred Duff Cooper, former first lord of the admiralty, who said in a speech Tuesday that "the whole German people are responsible for that nation's crimes-- we must defeat the German people in battle", explained today that he had been trying to rouse Britons to a better war spirit.

"I said this because I think the British people are getting very slack about the war and not thinking seriously about it," he said in an interview with the United Press.

Rome:- A messagero dispatch from Bucharest quoted reports that Field Marshal Hermann Goering, German Nazi number 2, would visit King Carol soon.

Vatican City:- Myron C. Taylor discussed the international situation with the Pope today, it was understood. The Pope received Taylor in audience at noon.

Taylor yesterday conferred with prominent Vatican personages including high prelates attached to the secretariat of state.

Stockholm:- Sweden has purchased four destroyers from Italy and the destroyers, accompanied by a Swedish motorship, are now at Cartagena, Spain, on the way to this country.

Stockholm:- Dispatches from the frontier said that the Allied position in Norway was greatly improved as a result of the arrival of British fighting planes.

The British have both bombing planes and pursuit ships which can be put into action quickly from three large airbases "some-where on a Northern Norwegian fjord", the newspaper Dagens Nyheter said.

London:- A picture of what has happened in the north sea and the entrance to the Baltic since the British challenged the German invasion of Norway was provided today in a series of communiques. The Admiralty announced this morning that in the first battle of Narvik, every officer and man of the British destroyer Hunter was believed lost. There were eight officers, 147 men, including three Maltese from Britain's mediterranean naval base, and "two other personnel" aboard. "There is a faint possibility that a very small number of these officers and men may be prisoners," said the Admiralty.

*File
personnel
+ confidential*

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

*File
personal
+
confidential*

An Admiralty description of the second battle of Narvik, April 13, told of wild fights in treacherous narrow fjords. In three hours, it was said, all seven German destroyers in the battle were sunk or reduced to burning hulks, and no effective damage was done to British ships.

The destroyer Icarus led eight other British destroyers and the battleship Warspite into the fjord. The Warspite and the Cossack engaged German shore batteries, it was said, while the Ocarus, Bedouin, Punjabi and Eskimo exchanged fire with six German destroyers, zig zagging in the fjord with all guns blazing.

Then fleet airplanes attacked Narvik as the German destroyers dropped out, one by one, afire or sinking, it was said.

Four German destroyers took refuge in the Rombak fjord, the Admiralty said, and the British followed them in. The Eskimo, leading the British detachment, was damaged when a German destroyer, aground, kept its guns firing.

Around a bend of the fjord, it was said, the British found three German destroyers jammed against the ice, one abandoned, a second with only its bows showing above the water and the third afire.

As British bluejackets attempted to board the abandoned ship, it was said, it sank. Its crew had scuttled it.

Stromstad, Sweden:- Two large warships --either battleships or big cruisers-- and 15 destroyers were seen off the Stromstad archipelago today speeding southward toward the Kattegat. They were believed to be German ships.

The vessels kept outside Swedish territorial waters.

STE

TELEGRAM

*File
Personal*

The White House

Washington

FOR THE PRESIDENT

The White House
April 26 1940

Mrs. Watson understands that the General expects to be able to leave New York late today. She detects a new and puzzling air of mystery. She fears he may have a cold but suspects he whispers when he telephones her so as keep his companions from hearing what he has to say.

She is puzzled, also, because he hoarsely whispered his intention to return from New York to Washington on the B & O. This seems strange and can be attributed to the fact that the General either dislikes tunnels or for some unknown reason prefers a bus-ferry-train combination

STE

—
TELEGRAM

The White House

Washington

The White House
April 27 1940

*File
personal
✓*

FOR THE PRESIDENT

The State Department tells me this morning that none of the telegrams received thus far today are of sufficient importance to warrant transmission to the President. Hence there will be no confidential official summary today. Nor will I file anything to you while you are enroute to Washington except, of course, in case of emergency.

STE.

TELEGRAM

TELEGRAM

File personal

The White House

Washington

The White House
April 27 1940.

PRESS BRIEFS

Stockholm:- Germans seized all Allied legation documents, codes, in occupying Copenhagen; coup was serious factor in German successes in Norway.

London:- Germans may force further Allied withdrawals on Norwegian fronts, British hint; reinforcements, more planes being sent,

Stockholm:- Big Allied air craft carriers penetrate Norwegian fjords; Norwegians planning stand north of Roeros; British hold line near Steinkjer.

StPaul:- Wallace defends farm credit reorganization as vital to prevent growth of "trojan horse" in U S: assails "enemies" seeking its defeat.

Washington:- Growing sentiment for easing neutrality restrictions and granting belligerent credits meets cold reception from Pittman.

Berlin:- Germany charged that documents captured from British troops in Norway showed that the Allies had planned to invade Norway. A detailed statement of the charges was made as Joachim von Ribbentrop, foreign minister, addressed the diplomatic corps and German and foreign newspaper men charging that after "declaring war on Germany without any good reason" Britain and France had done everything possible to embroil neutrals.

Rome:- Italy "cannot stand outside" the conflict in Europe, Dino Grandi, president of the Chamber of Fasces and corporations, said in a speech. Grandi, who is also minister of justice and one of the original black shirt leaders, assured Premier Mussolini that the Italian people are behind him "in whatever decision he may make in the present international situation."
"Italy cannot stand outside this conflict" he said.

Berlin:- Germany charged that Great Britain and France had long planned an invasion of Norway, that Norway had connived in the plans, and that British troops actually were on the way to the Norwegian coast when Germany landed occupation forces April 9. Joachim von Ribbentrop, made the charge before a formally assembled diplomatic and German and foreign newspaper corps.

"Allies all lies", he said of French and British government assertions that during the Russo-Finnish war they wanted to land troops in Scandinavia to aid finland. They wanted, he said, to outflank Germany as part of a deliberately planned campaign to embroil neutrals on their side in the war.. Germany, he said, would publish documents, some captured from British troops in Norway,

TELEGRAM

File personal

The White House
Washington

in serial form, to give "documentary proof" that :

- 1 The Allies long planned to occupy Norway.
- 2 Norway knew this.
- 3 Norway was ready to enter the war on the Allied side
- 4 The British plan was frustrated only because Germany intervened at the last hour.

Germany made its charges in a perfectly timed series of proclamations, communiques and statements.

Rome:- Italy has barred both foreign and Italian airplanes from eight strategic zones including coastal waters and the Alpine borders with both France and Germany.

A list of the prohibited zones was published and accompanied by routes which private planes must take to and from Italian colonies and to and from Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the red sea, British and French Somaliland and Kenya.

The majority of the forbidden zones were in the Tyrrhenian sea, between Italy and the islands of Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily.

Meanwhile the press campaign against the Allies gained momentum.

EARLY.

PSF: *State*

file personal

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

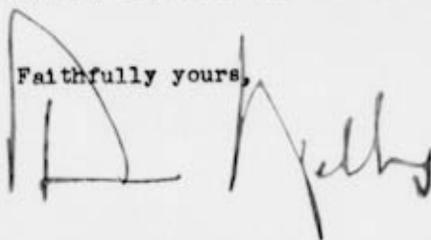
April 29, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

I have received this morning a personal letter from Jeff Caffery under date of April 22 of which I am sending you a copy for your information. "Bouças" referred to in the letter is the Rio de Janeiro manager of the International Business Machines Corporation, a very close friend of President Vargas and a very able and understanding friend of the United States.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,



Enc.

The President,
The White House.

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Rio de Janeiro,
April 22, 1940

Dear Sumner:

The Germans are intensifying their propaganda efforts. The new Ambassador is a shrewd and quiet little man, with tactics altogether different from those of his predecessor, the well-known Mr. Ritter. He is getting some results, because I hear fairly frequently someone in the Government say that he is "sympatico".

I have a feeling the Germans would like very much to create difficulties for us, having in mind their apprehension that we might eventually enter the war and then desire to have Brazil enter also. Bouças feels that he is the target for German propaganda at this juncture: the Army General Staff, for instance, was told that Bouças had been bribed by New York bankers to bring about the foreign debt settlement. Bouças fears the Germans would like to involve him in some sort of incident which would have repercussions in the United States.

With all good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,

JEFFERSON CAFFERY

The Honorable
Sumner Welles,
Under Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 3, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR PREPARATION OF REPLY
FOR MY SIGNATURE.

F. D. R.

Letter to the President from Herbert Pell-
Lisbon, Portugal-April 29, 1940
Re: National Exposition this summer in Portugal
to celebrate Centennial of National Independence
in 1140 and final freedom from Spain in 1640.
He would like to see the U. S. well
represented; also thinks it a good time to
raise Legation to an Embassy.

201 9 7
WASHINGTON
THE WHITE HOUSE

*file
personal*

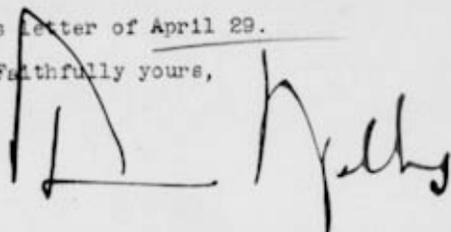
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 6, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

I am enclosing for your approval a draft reply
to Bertie Pell's letter of April 29.

Faithfully yours,



Enclosure:

To Honorable
Herbert C. Pell,
May 4, 1940.

The President,
The White House.

My dear Bertie:

In your letter of April 29 you brought up two subjects, namely, the Portuguese national exposition this summer and the question of the rank of our mission in Lisbon.

With regard to the national exposition, we are planning to send a delegation of four or five persons. The State Department informs me that preparations are nearly ready, and that a list will be submitted to me in a very few days.

In the matter of raising the Legation at Lisbon to an Embassy, the general policy of this Government has been against raising a European legation to an embassy unless the principal European countries had done likewise. I am told that France, Germany, and Italy thus far have only Legations in Portugal. Furthermore, I am afraid that if we were to raise the Legation in Lisbon to an Embassy, it would immediately create new problems for us in several other countries, both in Europe and Latin America, which would feel that they had as good, or better, claims to this distinction.

Very sincerely yours,

The Honorable
Herbert Claiborne Pell,
American Minister,
Lisbon.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
THE UNDER SECRETARY

May 9, 1940

Miss Tully:

I think this is
the letter you were asking
about yesterday.

Ann Carlson

APR 31 1940
U.S. POST OFFICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20540

Lisbon, Portugal
April 29, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

I have just received your note of April eighth. I wrote to you air mail on one of the subjects of our conversation, and I should be very grateful if you could do something about the other.

This summer Portugal is having a national exposition to celebrate the centennial of the national independence in 1140 and final freedom from Spain in 1640. They are making a great deal of it, and I should like to see the United States well represented.

I suggest that it would be a very good time to raise this legation to an embassy. I know that the Portuguese Government would be glad to exchange ambassadors with the United States, and, as I told you, they believe that the nations which send ambassadors are either greater nations or at least nations which think more of Portugal than do the others. Lisbon is the only capital in western Europe, which receives ambassadors from any nation, to which the American representative is in the second class of envoy.

I should

I should be very grateful if this could be done.
I need not suggest to you that it would have a good effect
on the people of Portuguese descent in California and New
England.

I hope that this can be done at the present time.

I am,

Respectfully,

Herbert C. Pell

Herbert C. Pell

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

PSF: *State*

*file
journal*

Bucharest, May 3, 1940

Dear Mr. President:

If one were to believe AFFAIRS, a Washington publication - and I suppose there are some who do - peace is "just around the corner" and you the protagonist and that it was you, Mr. President, with the ancillary aid of Ambassador Steinhardt, who was responsible for the Peace which has hamstrung poor Finland should Russia decide that she would like some more. And that also I know to be untrue.

I am enclosing herewith a paraphrase of my cable No. 329 of October 12, 1939. Rereading this even today there is very little I would change. Meanwhile there has, of course, been some improvement in the Allied position in the air. But I realize the futility of peace efforts yet and can only hope that something will happen to change the outlook and that the British will realize that their propaganda about starving German women and children and cutting up Germany in small pieces as before Bismarck is very welcome to the poisonous but clever Goebbels, who is making good use of it to rally the German people more closely than ever around Hitler. Also they permitted Hitler to steal a march by announcing Peace terms, which gives him an additional

The President,
The White House,
Washington.

additional alibi for the deluded German people.

If I were to send the telegram again I would add a subdivision to the effect that Britain will probably face practical financial ruin from a protracted war and possibly France as well and that they will both probably emerge as very good imitations of totalitarian states and stay that way. Stalin, I feel, is still the villain of the piece and waiting for Act III and general exhaustion to appear and work his will.

Should the Allies win without our active participation - and I still feel that they have only at best a fifty-fifty chance - the British are going to be awfully cocky. In high official circles in Washington, of course, butter would not melt in their mouths and in London where the national pastime of buttering up the American Ambassador is not making good progress with Joe Kennedy, but in outlying portions of the globe such as this one sometimes gets a different impression. For instance, recently a Secretary of the British Legation was maintaining that this time they did not intend to have any Wilsonian peace. I was on the point of countering that they would be fortunate not to have a Stalin peace this time but others joined the conversation and I held my tongue. This observation of his, considering the individual, sounded to me like a "mot d'ordre". And then the other day the Counsellor of the French Embassy was holding forth in my hearing about how after the war they would render valueless our gold hoard by the simple expedient of refusing to accept gold in payment, a rather silly remark but indicative. And

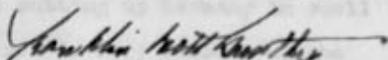
the

the Englishman, Walter Duranty, whom I enjoy a lot, makes no bones about it but that we are going to be made to pay for the war whether we come in or not. Personally, I feel that we can take our chances and under your wise direction build up our own strength to the point where we can take care of ourselves. Could we have come in in the very beginning that would have been different but now with what you have on your shoulders in the Far East and elsewhere we had better just mend our own fences and exert our great influence for a negotiated peace when the opportunity presents itself. Then perhaps a new world order can come into effect. For this war is not a new war but just phase C of the war begun in 1914.

In lighter vein, I wonder if you have seen the enclosed parody on Alice. I have you in my prayers during these moments of great and difficult decision and pray also that no matter what you decide we are not to be deprived of your guidance in this appalling period. I also pray for your health and welfare.

With highest regard, believe me, dear Mr. President,

Yours very respectfully,



Enclosures:

Paraphrase of telegram No. 329

Parody

P. S.

It is an immense advantage to me to be able to talk things over here with Ambassador Steinhardt. He will have been here three days in all. I am glad that he decided to spend the extra time here and not in Paris.

The President,
The White House,
Washington.

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM SENT

To: Secstate, Washington Date: October 12, 3 p.m. 1949

No.: 329

FOR THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY. ~~STRICTLY~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

As a matter of duty I am impelled to submit the following convictions and considerations as they are so cogent as seen from this angle:

1. Over the years the Versailles Treaty had to be either defended or modified. This was not done. The errors of nations as well as of individuals must be paid for.
2. Only a portion of the Poland established by Versailles is occupied by the Reich. Should Germany be defeated, are the Allies ready then to fight Soviet Russia for the remainder? Are they ready to compel it to give up other acts of aggression accomplished by intimidation and force, both present and future? In the Balkans there may shortly take place the same thing that is happening in the Baltic.
3. The figures showing Germany's tremendous air superiority are in the possession of our General Staff. Should cities and ports of Great Britain soon be dealt smashing blows the American reaction probably would be such as to diminish markedly the length of time we can possibly remain neutral. I believe, knowing the British as I do (I was there throughout the last war), that they will become only more bitter and determined to see the war to a finish as the result of such attacks. Therefore the war will be more protracted and our neutrality will be more endangered. It is probably the belief of the Germans in their mistaken psychology that they can scare Great Britain into submission, but the fallacy of German psychology is proverbial.
4. A fair chance exists that German aggression now is finally ended and that the Reich will now concentrate on the Soviets (as reported in my cable No. 293 of October 2). British statesmen and others have for years desired this and now when it may be realized this time is chosen to fight the Germans. Hence the present conflict would appear to be an anachronism as it ought to have been fought years ago, if at all.
5. Pan-Slavism and Russian imperialism at present give indications of becoming rampant, for they were never dead but only biding their time. It is entirely possible that this was foreseen by German leaders and that the sequence of events was purposely planned by them to make the Western world see the necessity for Germany to be

strong

strong and the particular fatuity of the present war. The fact remains, nevertheless.

6. Today one is not justified in being so confident as in 1914 of an Allied victory won by eventual economic and military pressure, due to the possibility of increased supplies from Russia and to the military strength of Germany. There is much more likelihood that Russia will emerge as the only victor following upon the destruction and exhaustion of all parties to the struggle. Furthermore, were Germany to become fully engaged later on the Western Front and thereby eventually greatly weakened, Russian imperialism would have little or nothing to stop it; unless the British and French have been profound enough to ally the Russians with them and the German-Soviet Agreement is only a pretense arranged with the Allies beforehand. Even if the British and French had planned this, I do not think they could have accomplished it. Germany was surprised, according to certain information here, at the entry into Ukraine-Poland up to the Rumanian frontier of Soviet troops.

7. Although Hitler's present terms, which are those of a victor, cannot be accepted by the British, nothing exists to prevent conversations in a neutral state. The Allies will be the better off for any time gained and it will give opportunity to reveal the true aims of Soviet Russia. Once the British get an idea, though slow to take it up, they are difficult to swerve from it and in my opinion we could exercise great influence in showing them where their real interests are. The time is now and not later on when revenge and hatred become more intense - and the more prolonged the conflict the more likelihood that we will be dragged into it eventually. The long term economic and social implications would appear to be unfavorable even if we are successful in keeping out of it.

GUTHRIE

ALICE IN DILEMMALAND

"Will you walk a little faster?" said
the garner to the hull;
"There's a farley close behind us and
he's pressing on my skull;
"See how eagerly the wheelers and
mcnutts and others strain;
"Will he, won't he, will he, won't he,
will he, won't he run again?"

AL GRAHAM.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 4, 1940

file personal

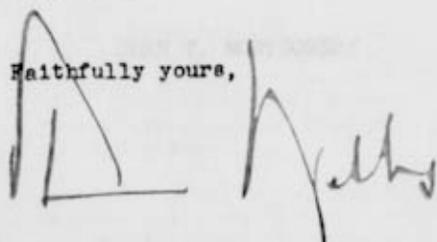
My dear Mr. President:

I believe you will be amused by a recent interchange of personal letters between our Minister in Budapest, John Montgomery, and Count Csáky, the Foreign Minister. This correspondence constitutes an unusual page in diplomatic history.

However, as a very positive sign that neither the Regent nor the Prime Minister feel that Montgomery's position has been in the slightest degree affected by this row with the Foreign Minister, the Regent only last week conferred upon him the highest decoration of the Hungarian Government which, naturally, Montgomery had to refuse.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,



Encs.

The President,
The White House.

His Excellency
Mr. John Flournoy Montgomery,
Minister Extraordinary and Minister
Plenipotentiary,
BUDAPEST.

C
O
P
Y

Budapest, March 12, 1940.

Dear Count Csáky,

Dr. Béla Imrédy called on me yesterday to say that you had received him at your request and had informed him of my having said, in my last conversation with you, that he, Dr. Imrédy, was conspiring to unite the Crowns of Italy and Hungary and to obtain German approval thereof. In view of my not having given you this information confidentially, he said, you felt justified in imparting it to him and in authorizing him to discuss the matter with me, should he so desire.

May I ask that you be good enough to advise me if Dr. Imrédy's statements to me are correct?

In anticipation of a reply at your earliest convenience, I beg to remain,

Yours sincerely,

JOHN F. MONTGOMERY

His Excellency
Count István Csáky,
Royal Hungarian Minister
for Foreign Affairs,
Budapest.

C
O
P
Y

Ministre des
Affaires Etrangères

Budapest, March 16, 1940.

Dear Mr. Montgomery,

On my return from Sopron I received the following letter from you:

"Dear Count Csáky,

Dr. Béla Imrédy called on me yesterday to say that you had received him at your request and had informed him of my having said, in my last conversation with you, that he, Dr. Imrédy, was conspiring to unite the Crowns of Italy and Hungary and to obtain German approval thereof. In view of my not having given you this information confidentially, he said, you felt justified in imparting it to him and in authorizing him to discuss the matter with me, should he so desire."

"May I ask that you be good enough to advise me if Dr. Imrédy's statements to me are correct?"

On the same day I received from H. E. Dr. Imrédy the following letter:

"Dear Friend,

On the 6th of March at the session of the Commission for Foreign Affairs of the House of Commons you have manifested the desire to have a private talk with me. This conversation took place at the end of the meeting and on this occasion you told me the following:

On the 4th of March Mr. Montgomery, the American Minister, called on you and during your conversation he asked you for enlightenment concerning the rumour after which, without regard to the person of H.S.H. the Regent. I was working for the establishment of a personal union between Italy and Hungary.

It is natural that to your question I gave the formal answer that there is not a word of truth in this rumour bearing doubt on my person and my loyalty. As this rumour represents under

false

His Excellency
Mr. John Flournoy Montgomery,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister
Plenipotentiary,
BUDAPEST.

false lights my person and at the same time my country's public affairs, we decided that I will try to bring some lights into this matter and for this reason I would make a personal call on Mr. Montgomery. At the same time you authorized me to refer to Mr. Montgomery's communication to you.

To-day I called on Mr. Montgomery who declared that on the 4th of March during his visit to you there was no question whatsoever of a personal union between Italy and Hungary and consequently no mention of my person was possible. Thus I could throw no light on the matter.

I consider it my duty to let you know all this, adding that I told Mr. Montgomery that I would inform you of his communication."

The Hungarian Government in these last days has stressed to the American Government the entire confidence that this Government places in the person of the American Envoy. When from such serious quarters one hears for the second time a rumour, whose enlightenment is my duty in my quality of Minister of Foreign Affairs, a rumour that you did not even qualify as confidential - I thought that it would be the best thing to choose the most straightforward way; so I asked Dr. Imrédy to call on you and ask you who imparted these informations to you, so as at the same time, he, being the person interested, could refute the allegations. He was much more qualified to do so, as I, neither on the first nor the second occasion, when you mentioned this matter, could not give any other opinion except that I do not believe that the President of the Parliamentary Commission of Foreign Affairs would ever be inclined to support any action of such gravity behind the back of the Hungarian Government.

From the above you may see that I must give an affirmative answer to the question contained in your letter and I must add, what is not figured in the letters, that you already told me twice that you hear, or that it is repeated - I can't remember your exact phrasing - that Dr. Imrédy is supposed to assume the rôle of the Hungarian "Seys-Inquart".

As you have told Dr. Imrédy that there was no question of his name ever having been mentioned I must qualify the case as a misunderstanding - and even as a very serious misunderstanding - and with this statement, in what concerns my person, I consider the whole affair closed.

I beg to remain

Yours sincerely

(Signed) STEPHEN CSAKY

His Excellency
Count István Tisza,
Royal Hungarian Minister
for Foreign Affairs,
Budapest.

C
O
P
Y

Budapest, March 21, 1940.

Dear Count Csáky:

I beg to thank you for your letter of March 16, replying to mine of March 12, in which you were so good as to quote a communication received by you from His Excellency Dr. Imrédy regarding his conversation with me on March 11.

Fully appreciative of the great sense of duty demanded by your high office and gratified by the confidence in my person which the Hungarian Government has expressed, I yet must confess surprise at realizing that my conversations in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs are not regarded as confidential unless I specifically qualify them as such.

Parenthetically, my appointments with you consistently are made for the purpose of informing myself accurately of the political situation, foreign and domestic, and not to provide information of which I fully realize you should be more cognizant than I. However, I must base my queries on reports and rumors which afford me clues to the incidents and events which depict the reality, many of which might cause me embarrassment if they were portrayed as emanating from me, or representing my opinions. Consequently, any good reason for my having been quoted appears to me as obscure.

From your letter it would appear that your memory of our conversations is not refreshed by consulting a written record. It has been my consistent habit to dictate full minutes of all my conversations with you immediately after their conclusion, of which I have a complete and permanent record. From this I was able positively to say to Dr. Imrédy that the question of a personal union of the Crowns of Hungary and Italy did not arise during the course of my conversation with you on March 4, and that (as I now reaffirm) his name was not mentioned on that occasion.

This circumstance, however, did not exist in our conversation of December 9, 1939, in my written memorandum whereof appears the following:

"I asked about rumors coming out of Italy that the King of Italy or some other Italian was to become King of Hungary. (Count Csáky) was very much annoyed about it. He said that such rumors came from Imrédy and that they had been

given

His Excellency
Count István Csáky,
Royal Hungarian Minister
for Foreign Affairs,
Budapest.

given out in Rome by the representative of the Tass Agency and that it was more of such silly propaganda that Imrédy was constantly putting out."

In consequence, Dr. Imrédy's statement in his letter to you, that his name was not mentioned in my conversation with you on March 4, is quite correct. The statement in your letter to me, that I had told Dr. Imrédy of there being no question of his name's ever having been mentioned in our talks, is inaccurate, and is not borne out by Dr. Imrédy's letter.

Also, in view of the fact that, in past conversations with you (but not for a period of more than three months), I frequently queried rumors regarding Dr. Imrédy, I find it difficult to comprehend your having disclosed them to him at this time, and your having attributed to me your own expressed views.

You will recall that you explained the statements inimical to President Roosevelt, in your Rome press interview of April 18, 1939, as having been made in deference to Signor Mussolini. Since you afforded me no explanation for the writing of your letter to me of April 24, 1939, which contained a thinly-veiled attack upon President Roosevelt and a criticism of the domestic and foreign policy of my Government, I can but surmise in deference to whom it was written. From these examples of actions tending to endanger the good relations between the United States and Hungary, apparently made to satisfy an ulterior motive, I scarcely can be reproached for the thought that, perhaps, in a more limited sphere, the attempt to draw me into an issue which can result only in becoming an embarrassment to me in the performance of my duties, has been made in deference to some domestic political circumstance of which I am not aware.

As stated in your letter, you regard this incident as a misunderstanding. It is to be regretted but, as a personal matter, not to be construed in too serious a vein. However, in larger aspect, the impairment of our confidential relations is a matter which I view with no small concern.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) JOHN MONTGOMERY

C
O
P
Y

MINISTRE DES AFFAIRES ETRANGERES

Budapest, le 23 mars 1940.

Cher M. Montgomery,

Je viens de recevoir Votre lettre en date du 21 mars que Je conserverai parmi les souvenirs les plus intéressants de ma vie de diplomate.

Les affirmations erronées qu'elle contient, je veux les attribuer à ma connaissance défectueuse de Votre langue maternelle. Ce qui me surprend d'autant plus que pendant de longues années j'avais toujours eu des relations très amicales, sinon intimes avec tous Vos prédécesseurs.

Néanmoins, étant donné que tous les hongrois sans exception tiennent à avoir les meilleurs rapports avec Votre grand et glorieux pays et qu'il y a du danger, selon Votre lettre, que Vous ne confondiez nos relations personnelles avec celles qui existent si heureusement entre nos deux pays et vu d'autre part que je ne peux pas exclure la possibilité de nouveaux malentendus indésirables pour mon pays, je me suis décidé à me faire assister d'un interprète toutes les fois que Vous allez m'honorer de Votre visite.

Ainsi tout danger d'erreur et de malentendu sera éliminé.

Veillez agréer, Cher M. Montgomery, les assurances de ma haute considération.

ETIENNE CSAKY

Son Excellence
M. JOHN FLOURNOY MONTGOMERY,
Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre
plénipotentiaire des Etats Unis d'Amérique,
B U D A P E S T.

Department of State

BUREAU
DIVISION

TA

ENCLOSURE

TO

5/8/40

Letter drafted

ADDRESSED TO

The President,

The White House

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 19, 1941.

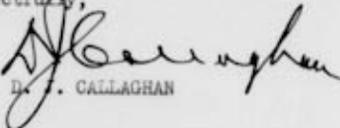
MEMORANDUM FOR

THE PRESIDENT

I tried several times, prior to the President's departure on the cruise, to see the President about this matter, without avail.

I am sorry that I did not learn of the President's reaction to the Assistant Secretary of State's memorandum.

Respectfully,


D. J. CALLAGHAN

*File
Personal
Confidential*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 10, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR
CAPTAIN CALLAGHAN

Will you speak to me
about this at your convenience?

F. D. R.

State Dept folder
1-40
|||

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 9, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

Recently the Secretary of Agriculture asked, at your request, that the possibility be examined of getting our exports into Europe by land, through Portugal or some other country, in the event that hostilities should extend to the Mediterranean and it should become difficult or impossible to reach Eastern Europe by water.

This has been done, and the conclusion is suggested that in the event the Mediterranean should become a belligerent area, as defined in the Neutrality Act, it would be difficult, probably impossible, for our goods to reach Eastern Europe or the Balkans in any quantities by land transshipment.

In the event that the Mediterranean should become a belligerent area, American shipping would presumably
be

The President,

The White House.

be excluded under the Neutrality Act from the entire Mediterranean. In those circumstances, assuming that Spain and Portugal remained neutral, the only European ports which might remain open to American ships would be the Portuguese ports and those on the Atlantic Coast of Spain (see enclosed Neutrality map.) If the factual situation should be such that, at least for the initial stage of conflict in the Mediterranean, Portugal and the Spanish Atlantic ports could be left open to American shipping and air communication, this would maintain some direct American shipping contact with Europe as well as enable the continuance of the only remaining air mail route.

It is extremely doubtful, however, that American goods in any appreciable quantity could reach Eastern Europe overland from any European port outside the Mediterranean unless they could be transported through Italy. If American goods could not be transported through Italy it would appear impractical or impossible, in view of the war controls and inland transportation problems (there is a definite freight-car shortage in

Northern

Northern and Central Europe and in Russia), to attempt to convey such goods to Eastern Europe by way of French, Channel, North Sea or Baltic ports. Similarly, American goods, other than those destined for Spain or Portugal, transported in either American or foreign ships to Portuguese or Spanish Atlantic ports almost certainly could not be transported from such ports entirely by land to any European destination other than France, Switzerland, Belgium and the Netherlands.

The cost of loading and unloading and transporting goods overland from Portuguese and Spanish Atlantic ports to Spanish Mediterranean ports for further water shipment through the Mediterranean to Eastern Europe would not appear to make that route a feasible one for transporting American goods to that area. Moreover, the Spanish inland transportation system is seriously disorganized as a result of the Spanish civil conflict.

Although there is rail transportation from Casablanca, on the Atlantic Coast of Morocco to ports as far east as Tunis on the Mediterranean Coast of Northern Africa, the increased transportation costs involved, as in the case of transporting goods across the Spanish peninsula, would probably render that route also impracticable.

Considering

Considering the Eastern approach to Eastern Europe, there is a continuous railway connection from the Suez through Syria and Turkey to Haydarpasa across the straits from Istanbul, and within the very near future there will be a continuous railway connection from Basra, Iraq, on the Persian Gulf, to Haydarpasa. Sections of both of these lines are narrow gauge. There is a shortage of narrow gauge equipment on the line from Suez and it is doubtful whether sufficient rolling stock would be available for the standard section of the line from Basra. Moreover, lighterage is necessary for the transport of goods from Haydarpasa to the Oriental Railway at Istanbul, which connects with Balkan and Central European railways. Except for tank cars, there is not the shortage of freight cars in Turkey and the Balkans that exists in Northern and Central Europe.

There is also railway communication from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea. However, to reach Eastern Europe by this route goods would have to be transported across the Caspian Sea and thence by Soviet railway either to the Turkish railway or to the Black Sea for further water shipment to the Balkans. The freight-car shortage in Soviet Russia, previously mentioned, would affect the possibility of the transportation of goods through the Soviet from the Pacific.

Because

Because of the great distance and transportation costs, it is very doubtful whether any American goods would be transported to Eastern Europe by way of the Eastern routes discussed above; certainly no heavy commodities would move by those routes unless they were essential.

In view of the foregoing, it seems probable that such American goods as continued to move through war controls to Eastern Europe would be transported direct from the United States through the Mediterranean in such foreign ships as might be available.

Finally, it is possible that if the Mediterranean should become a belligerent area, the Balkan area would also be involved in the war. In that situation, it is highly problematical whether any American goods would be exported or could get through to that area.

I trust that the foregoing answers the questions you had in mind.

Faithfully yours,

Henry F. Grady
Henry F. Grady
Assistant Secretary

Enclosure:
Neutrality Map

State Dept. -
1940

May 10, 1940

My dear Prince Félix:

I was delighted to receive your Chargé d'Affaires and I am very grateful for the most interesting Album of Luxemburg postage stamps which you so thoughtfully sent to me. They form a welcome and prized addition to my collection. I was particularly interested in the charity stamps which have such an excellent likeness of the children.

Her Royal Highness and you and your children are much in my thoughts in these difficult days. I renew my suggestion that if conditions get so bad that it is unsafe for the children to remain in Luxemburg or France, we should be delighted to have them come over here. I assure you that we would be most happy to have the children and that we would take very good care of them.

With kindest regards and with my best wishes for your happiness and safety, I am

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Franklin D. Roosevelt

His Royal Highness

Prince Félix of Luxemburg.

*Original sent to State for delivery 5/10/40
pen*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF PROTOCOL

May 10, 1940.

Memorandum for
Miss LeHand:

In compliance with the President's memorandum of May 8, 1940, I am transmitting herewith a draft of a suggested letter to Prince Félix of Luxemburg, thanking him for the Album of stamps which he recently sent to the President.

If you will return the letter to me when signed, I shall be glad to forward it to the American Minister to Luxemburg for appropriate delivery. Your file is returned herewith.

R. G. ...
Chief of Protocol.

206

Luxembourg, le 1 mars 1940.

*adl
5/10/40*

Monsieur le Président,

Je suis heureux de pouvoir profiter de l'occasion de la nomination d'un chargé d'affaires du Grand Duché auprès de Vous, Monsieur le Président, pour Vous envoyer tous mes plus sincères et cordiaux souvenirs et Vous exprimer au nom de mon petit pays notre profonde gratitude pour tout ce que Vous avez fait et ferez pour nous.

Nous vivons surtout en ce moment des heures d'angoisse; mais nous espérons encore toujours pouvoir échapper à la tourmente. Mieux que quiconque nous sentons Votre main si bienfaisante et heureuse et Votre éminente influence dans tout ce qui s'est produit et se produira dans le monde. Ceci nous rend confiants pour l'avenir.

Le contact plus intime de mon pays avec les Etats-Unis, du fait que notre chargé d'affaires résidera dorénavant à Washington, contribuera certainement dans une large mesure au développement de ces mêmes sentiments ardents que notre pays et nous-mêmes éprouvons pour Vous, Monsieur le Président, et Votre grande patrie.

La Grande Duchesse se joint à moi pour Vous envoyer tous nos plus chaleureux souvenirs, et dans l'attente de la paix mondiale si vivement souhaitée, je Vous prie, Monsieur le Président, d'agréer les assurances de mes sentiments de cordiale sympathie et de profonde amitié.

avec les vœux de cette

Votre

fille

May 9, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. SUMMERLIN

Will you be good enough to prepare reply for my signature and say I was delighted to receive his Charge d'Affaires yesterday and that I am very grateful for the most interesting Album of Luxemburg postage stamps, which are a great addition to my collection, and that I am particularly interested in the charity stamps which have such excellent likenesses of the children?

Will you say also that the Grand Duchess and he and the children are much in my thoughts in these difficult days, and that I renew my suggestion that if things get so bad that it is unsafe for the children to remain in Luxemburg or France, we should be delighted to have them come over her and we would take very good care of them?

F. D. R.

Handwritten text on the top-left flap, including the words "BUREAU" and "SECRET".

Monsieur le P R E S I D E N T des Etats-Unis d'Amérique

F R A N K L I N R O O S E V E L T

White House
W A S H I N G T O N .

State Dept. - 1940

OFFICE OF
THE UNDERSECRETARY



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

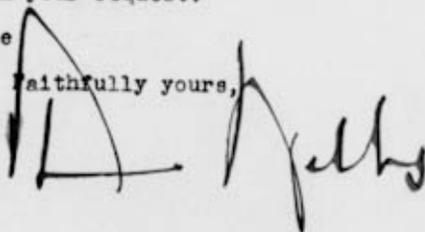
May 18, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

The attached telegram has been noted by the interested officials in the Department of State and is returned to you herewith in accordance with your request.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,



The President,
The White House.

STANDARD TIME INDICATED
RECEIVED AT
SHOREHAM HOTEL
BRANCH
ADAMS 0700
TELEPHONE YOUR TELEGRAMS
TO POSTAL TELEGRAPH

Form 16 L

Postal Telegraph

Atlantic Routes
Commercial Cables



All America Cables
Canadian Pacific Telegraphs

EVERY TELEPHONE
IS A
Postal Telegraph
STATION
THE CHARGES
WILL APPEAR
ON YOUR
TELEPHONE BILL

W5 71 CABLE VIA FRENCH=PARIS 14 1235P

1941 MAY 14 AM 10 58

HUGUES LEGALLAIS=

CHARGE D AFFAIRES DE LUXEMBOURG WASHINGTON=

GRANDE DUCHESSE ET PR^ACE DE LUXEMBOURG ME CHARGENT DE VOUS
PRIER D EXPRIMER AU PRESIDENT LEUR GRATITUDE PROFONDEMENT EMUE
POUR OFFRE ACCORDER HOSPITALITE A LEURS ENFANTS STOP PARENTS
ET ENFANTS ONT A COEUR RESTER REUNIS NON LOIN LEUR PAYS PENDANT
CRUELLE EPREUVE STOP PRIERE REMERCIER PRESIDENT SENTIMENTS DE
SYMPATHIE AGISSANTE MANIFESTEE PAR LUI ET GOUVERNEMENT ETATS
UNIS A L EGARD PEUPLE LUXEMBOURGEOIS=

FUNCK.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SPECIAL DIVISION

May 10th, 1940.

My dear Mr. President:

With reference to the German invasion of Belgium and Holland this morning, the attached memorandum and explanatory marked map may be of some interest to you.

You will recall that last fall I sent to you a map by Colonel Brown showing the then allocation of the Belgian Army. Brown is the military attache at Brussels. He is a man of exceptionally good judgment; and called the turn last September and again under date of April 3 predicted the attack. His opinion of April 3 briefly was that Hitler would direct a von Schlieffen attack on Holland and Belgium. It would come by way of Krefeld, in Germany, through to the Scheldt on the north via Rotterdam, with another "axis" through Einhoven, north of Liege, and another through Luxembourg, south of Liege, to "outflank, envelop and destroy" the enemy.

My opinion is that the main objective of the attack is to establish air bases in Southeastern Holland for an assault on England. As my reports to you last fall stated, the Germans said positively they would project their attack on England in May. The plan doubtless embraces the possibility of testing the resistance in Belgium to determine whether Germany could project a similar von Schlieffen plan by penetration into France from the east and north in connection with similar attacks on the Western Front.

The concensus of opinion when I left Brussels was that barring some accident, new weapon or the like, Belgium would hold until the French and the British could dig in somewhere in Belgium and establish a line extending to the North Sea.

German success in Holland was then generally considered to be more or less a foregone conclusion. It was generally accepted also that the Germans would make good their promise of an air attack on Britain to destroy her eastern ports and chief industrial and utility centers. The Germans, even chiefs of mission, also boasted that they would drive England to her knees by the middle of August.

Faithfully yours,

Joseph E. Davies

The Honorable
Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SPECIAL DIVISION

April 28, 1940

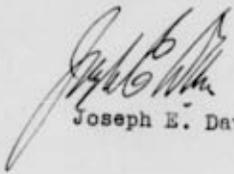
MEMORANDUM

ON PROBABLE GERMAN ACTION THROUGH THE
LOW COUNTRIES

Under date of April 3, 1940 I received a personal letter from Colonel Brown, Military Attaché in Belgium, in which he writes as follows:

"On this moment of writing and universal expectancy, I thought you might like to have my opinion on the big setup as I see it and because I am rather close to it. As we called the turn last fall I think I can call it now. Here it is.

"They are going to do it. It is going to come west and it's not so very far away. I must say that I am not entirely sustained in this opinion by others who might be just as well qualified as I am to express an opinion. However, as you remember that opinion was wrong last September and our opinion was justified by the event. You and I saw the things rather clearly at that time and were not influenced by the then adverse opinion. I think it will come on the Krefeld-Eindhoven-Breda axis for Holland; north and south of Liege for Belgium; and in Lorraine. Of course it will come everywhere, but those will be the principal axes relied upon."


Joseph E. Davies

GERMANY

On the defeat of Germany in the World War, the Empire was replaced by a Federative Republic dating from abdication of the Kaiser (November 9, 1918), who found asylum in Holland. Besides having largely to replace material losses and to pay enormous sums by way of reparation, Germany was stripped of about 31,780 square miles of European territory, and lost all her colonial possessions. See "Recent Changes in World Maps," at front of volume.

Area. The area is now 181,683 square miles. The Empire included about 208,683 square miles in Europe, and colonial possessions covered 1,035,000 square miles in Africa, 96,200 in Oceania, and about 3,000 in Asia.

Physical Features. In general terms, northern Germany may be described as largely a lowland plain. South of this is a central highland region, including the Harz Mountains and other chains; while the remainder of the Republic, to the south, is a great plateau diversified by mountains, hills, and tablelands. It is only in the Bavarian Alps, at the extreme south, that the snow-line is reached (highest elevation, the Zugspitze, 9,710 feet).

With the exception of parts of Bavaria and Württemberg drained by the Danube into the Black Sea, practically all Germany is drained into the North and Baltic seas. The great river of western Germany is the Rhine (length 700 miles), which rises in Switzerland. Draining Lake Constance through the depression between the Swiss and German Jura ranges, the Rhine flows at first westward, but turns at the French border, and runs north along frontier of Alsace and Baden to 33 about miles north of Strasbourg. Northwest of Essen it passes into the Netherlands, finally emptying into the North Sea. The Rhine is navigable for large vessels as far as Kehl, near Strasbourg, beyond which point boats use the Rhine and Rhône Canal. Its principal tributaries are the Neckar, Main, and Moselle. The Neckar (222 miles) skirts the eastern margin of the Black Forest, and, turning westward south of the Odenwald, reaches the Rhine at Mannheim. The Main (300 miles), which empties into the Rhine at Mainz after a zigzag course from the east, is navigable to Bamberg, from which point the Ludwig Canal carries shipping south to the Altmühl River of the Danube system, thus bringing the North and Black seas into direct communication. The other chief rivers are the Ems, Weser, and Elbe, flowing into the North Sea, and the Oder, into the Baltic. The Elbe (720 miles) rises in Czechoslovakia, and is swollen to large volume even before it breaks through the northern mountain barrier of the Bohemian plain into Germany. Ocean vessels ascend to Hamburg, and the river is navigable for smaller craft into Czechoslovakia. The Oder (552 miles), which reaches an arm of the Baltic at Stettin, affords navigation into Upper Silesia, and, with its largest tributary, the Warta, is navigable into Poland. The Vistula is navigable from the Gulf of Danzig, into the heart of Poland. Germany has a few small lakes in southern Bavaria, and a great many in the Baltic coastal plain. **Climate:** Germany as a whole is remarkable for the uniformity of its climate. The west has a mild climate like that of the British Isles. In the upland districts, winters are often severe, but the lower river valleys are delightful throughout the seasons. In the sheltered valleys of the Rhine and Main, subtropical fruits mature. The cold increases, however, toward the east. Rainfall averages 27 inches annually, being heaviest on the mountains, and there in summer. On the Harz Mountains it reaches 66 inches.

Population. The population, 1935, was 66,616,000. That of former Germany in Europe was about 65,000,000; of the imperial colonies, about 15,000,000. **Religion:** There is no State Church. All denominations are accorded liberty of conscience and complete social equality. About 60 per cent of the people are Protestant. **Education** is general and compulsory, the school age 6 to 14. Secondary schools include the town middle schools (for business) and the gymnasia (university preparatory); also technical, normal, professional, and industrial schools, etc. There are 23 universities.

Government. Germany is a Federal Republic comprising 18 individual Republics. Under the Constitution adopted July 31, 1919, all power of the State is derived from the people. Each state in the federation must have a republican constitution. Fran-

chise is secret and universal (for both sexes). Powers of state are vested in the Reichsrat, or State Council (whose members represent the component states, and whose assent is necessary to all proposed legislation), and the Reichstag, or federal legislature (popular representatives elected for 4 years). The Reichsführer for the Republic is elected by the people for 7 years, and appoints a Cabinet of Ministers responsible to the Reichstag. War and peace can be declared only by federal legislation. The referendum is provided. Since 1933, Germany has been under a dictatorship. Capital, Berlin.

Industries and Resources. *Agriculture:* Fully nine-tenths of all the land is productive. Most holdings are small, with peasant proprietors, but in the northeast, larger estates prevail. The leading crops in order of acreage, 1934, were hay, rye, oats, potatoes, wheat, barley, and sugar-beets. Other important crops are vegetables, flax, hemp, hops, tobacco, fruits (apple, pear, plum, cherry, apricot, peach), and nuts (walnut, almond). The vine-clad, terraced slopes of the valleys of the Rhine, Moselle, Neckar, and Main have long been celebrated for their wines. Stock-raising is prominent. Superior horses are reared on the Bavarian plateau and in the north. Saxony and Silesia are renowned for their wool. Great herds of Holstein and Friesian cattle are reared on the meadows reclaimed from the marshlands of the northwest coastal regions. Other stock comprise pigs, goats, poultry, and dogs. *Forests* occupy about 50,000 square miles, being thickest on the mountain slopes. About two-thirds are pine, larch, and fir, the remainder, foliage trees (oak, birch, ash, beech, etc.). The Scotch pine and white birch are characteristic trees in the northern plain. The most thinly wooded tracts are in the northwest. Great stress is everywhere laid on forestry, which is scientifically conducted under State supervision. *Minerals:* In mineral wealth, Germany is very rich. Westphalia, Rhenish Prussia, Silesia, and Saxony are the greatest producing sections, coal and iron being the chief products. There are silver-lead mines in Saxony, and zinc in Silesia, Westphalia, and Rhenish Prussia; the Harz Mountains are rich in gold, silver, lead, and copper. There are enormous rock salt deposits in Hannover and Saxony. Germany is also a great producer of potash salts.

Manufactures. Prior to the World War, Germany had surpassed all other European nations in rapidity of recent industrial development. The variety and volume of her output, and her enterprise in disposing of it, were one of the wonders of the modern world. The foundations of her progress were laid broad and deep, being based on her central position, her rich natural resources (especially of coal and iron), the length and completeness of inter-communication of her waterways, the degree to which the Government had fostered industry, the progress of scientific education hand in hand with material development, and, above all, the technical aptitude of the German people themselves, who excel in manufactures requiring expert knowledge, high dexterity, and precision of delicate adjustment. It is on these foundations that the new Germany of today is rising from the ashes of the great conflagration.

The iron industry is centered in Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony; steel, in Rhenish Prussia. Saxony leads in textiles, but linen is produced also in Westphalia and Silesia; cotton goods in Bavaria, Baden, and Württemberg; woollens in Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria; silks in Rhenish Prussia and Baden. Glass, porcelain, and pottery are made in Silesia, Thuringia, Bavaria, and Saxony; clocks and woodenware in Württemberg and Bavaria. Enormous quantities of beet sugar are refined in Prussia, Brunswick, Anhalt, Bavaria, etc. Alcoholic liquors are distilled chiefly in the potato-raising districts of the northeast, and beer is brewed in every part of the country.

Defense. On signing of armistice, November 11, 1918, the German Army numbered about 6,000,000 men. By peace treaty, the effective army is limited to 100,000. All fortresses west of a line about 31 miles east of the Rhine have been demolished. No air force is permitted. A small navy on a volunteer basis is allowed, but no submarines. Germany's field losses in the War were nearly 6½ million men (1,792,358 killed); navy losses, 65,341 (54,256 killed). Peace treaty with United States signed August 25, 1921.

THE NETHERLANDS

Area. The Netherlands has a land area of 13,302 square miles.

Physical Features; Climate. Surface is flat, one-fourth below sea-level, and protected from inundation by 1,500 miles of dikes. Owing to proximity of sea, the winters are moderate and the summers cool. The mean annual temperature is about 50°; the maximum, 94°; and the minimum, -5.8° Fahr. Rainfall averages twenty-eight inches annually.

| Population. | Year | Population | Year | Population |
|-------------|------|------------|-----------|------------|
| | 1880 | 4,511,415 | 1913 | 6,114,302 |
| | 1900 | 5,104,137 | 1935 Est. | 8,302,102 |

Religion. About half the population adhere to the Dutch Reformed (Presbyterian) Church, and about a third to the Roman Catholic. Churches of both denominations receive fixed allowances from the Government. Complete liberty of conscience and social equality are granted to adherents of all churches.

Government. The Netherlands is a constitutional monarchy, governed by the Sovereign and a Parliament, called the States-General, which consists of two chambers. The members of the First Chamber are elected by the Provincial states for 6 years, one-half retiring triennially; those of the Second Chamber, directly by the people, for four years. 's Gravenhage (The Hague) is the official capital; Amsterdam the actual capital.

There is a State Council composed of fourteen members, and presided over by the Sovereign. It is consulted on all legislative and many executive questions.

Education. Elementary instruction is both public and private. Secondary schools are of various kinds: Burgher Day-and-Evening schools (trade), Higher Burgher schools (non-classical and scientific), and Gymnasias (classical). Higher education is provided by two private universities, four public universities, and many special schools.

Religious and sectarian instruction are separate. Private instruction is largely supported by the State.

Industries and Resources. *Agriculture:* In careful, intensive agriculture the Netherlands is surpassed by no other country. Grain, potatoes, sugar beets, and flax are the chief products. In the provinces of North and South Holland, large areas are devoted to market gardening and fruit and flower culture. The principal grains, according to the acreage devoted, are rye, oats, and wheat, in order named. Large areas are also devoted to peas, barley, and horse beans. Tulips and other flowering bulbs are exported. Over a third of the country is under permanent pasture for great numbers of the finest dairy cattle.

A project for draining the Zuider Zee has added about 817 square miles to the land area of the Kingdom.

Fisheries. Herring and oysters are the important catches.

Minerals. Coal is mined in the Province of Limburg.

Manufactures. Shipyards, breweries, distilleries, sugar refineries, vinegar factories, and salt works are the leading manufacturing establishments. Other industries are textiles, carpets, leather, paper, chocolate, pottery, gold and silver ware, and diamond-cutting.

Defense. *Army:* Peace strength, about 30,000. Men 19 to 40 years old chosen by lot for Army service. *Navy:* Three coast-defense ships, two cruisers; also gunboats, torpedo boats, and submarines.

Colonies. The possessions of the Netherland Indies and the Netherland West Indies aggregate an area of nearly 800,000 square miles, and a population of about 63,000,000. The most important possessions are Java, Sumatra, Netherland Guiana (Surinam), and Curaçao.

BELGIUM

Area. The total area is 11,752 square miles.

Climate. Belgium enjoys a cool and temperate climate, much similar to that of Holland. Ostende and Spa are famous resorts.

| Population. | Year | Population | Year | Population |
|-------------|------|------------|-----------|------------|
| | 1890 | 6,069,521 | 1920 | 7,465,782 |
| | 1900 | 6,693,548 | 1935 Est. | 8,275,552 |

Belgium is the most densely populated country of Europe (704 per square mile). French and Flemish are the official languages.

Religion. The constitution provides for full religious liberty and state support of all denominations. The population is almost entirely Roman Catholic.

Government. Belgium is a constitutional monarchy, governed by the King, Senate, and Chamber of Representatives. The Senate is elected in part directly by the people, and in part indirectly by the provincial councils. The lower house is elected by direct vote. There is a responsible ministry of thirteen departments.

Education. Primary schools are supported by the communes. Secondary instruction is provided in royal atheneums and other segregated middle-class schools. There are four noted universities: at Bruxelles (Brussels), Gand (Ghent), Liège, and Louvain. There are numerous special technical schools, commercial high schools, and royal academies and institutions.

Industries and Resources. *Agriculture:* The agricultural districts are mainly in the north and west. The chief products are oats, rye, potatoes, wheat, barley, and beets. Dairying is well developed.

Large areas of the country were laid waste in the general European war, and agricultural pursuits suffered severely. The devastation caused famine conditions, which had to be relieved by foreign contribution.

Forests. Though large areas were deforested by the waste of war, there is still much forest land in Belgium. Before the war, forest products were over four million dollars in annual value.

Fisheries. The annual catch, principally herring, is valued at more than \$1,000,000.

Minerals and Manufactures. The mines and manufactures provide a livelihood for the majority of the population. From Mons to Liège stretch the great coal fields which have attracted the extensive metal industries for which the country is famous. Iron, copper, zinc, and lead are also mined.

The principal manufactured products are pig iron, steel, motor cars, glass, artificial silk, lace, linen, and gloves. There are also many sugar manufactories, distilleries, and refineries.

In 1914 all industry was brought to a standstill by the German invasion, and vast destruction was wrought to manufacturing establishments and industrial centers, from which recovery was difficult and slow. Practically the entire country was occupied by the Germans, and tributes were levied on the cities. A large part of the population was driven to refuge in foreign countries.

Defense. *Army:* The army is made up by conscription and voluntary enlistment. In 1933 it numbered over 68,000 men. Conscripted men spend 12 or 13 months in active training, and are under military obligation for 25 years. The country maintains 195 military airplanes.

Navy: One ex-British sloop is used in the fishery service and there are a number of motor launches.

Colonies. *Belgian Congo:* The Congo Independent State was annexed to Belgium in 1907. The area, including part of former German East Africa, added 1920, is about 920,656 square miles; population, 10,000,000. The chief products are rubber, ivory, palm-nuts, palm-oil, white copal, and cacao. Coffee, rubber, rice, and cotton plantations have been established. Tobacco grows in all parts. Important minerals are gold, copper, and diamonds. Other minerals, coal, iron, tin, and manganese, are known to exist.

LUXEMBOURG

Area. Luxembourg has an area of 998 square miles.

Population. The population was 304,900 in 1935.

Religion. The inhabitants are almost entirely Roman Catholic.

Government. Luxembourg is a Grand Duchy. It was declared neutral territory and its independence and integrity guaranteed by the Treaty of London, in 1867. It was, however, forcibly occupied by the armies of Germany in 1914. It is governed by the Sovereign, and a Chamber of Deputies elected by universal suffrage.

Industries and Resources. *Agriculture:* The majority of the people are engaged in agriculture, raising grain, fruits, and vines.

Minerals and Manufactures. The region is rich in iron ore. Other minerals are copper, lead, and antimony. The chief manufactures are iron and steel, beer, distilled liquors, paper, leather, gloves, and textiles.

COPY GLW

*file
journal*

JH

THE WHITE HOUSE

May 10, 1940

HIS MAJESTY

CAROL II,
KING OF RUMANIA,
BUCHAREST.

Upon this national anniversary which is being celebrated in Rumania today I take pleasure in extending my cordial good wishes for Your Majesty's personal welfare and for the peace and prosperity of the Rumanian people.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

A true copy of
the signed original.
gfa

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

WB93 RW Ab 25 ETAT

Bucuresti May 11, 1940

THE PRESIDENT:

I thank you Mister President for your so cordial and warm wishes
sent to me and my people.

Carol R.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 16, 1940

In reply refer to
PR

My dear Miss LeHand:

The Minister of Sweden at Washington has requested me to forward to the President the enclosed letter addressed to him by the Crown Prince of Sweden. The letter was sealed when I received it and the contents are unknown.

Sincerely yours,

L. G. Thompson
Chief of Protocol.

Enclosure:
Letter.

Miss Marguerite A. LeHand,
Private Secretary to the President,
The White House.

See: Sweden - Drawer 4 - 1940 for letter

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 20, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. BRECKINRIDGE LONG

What is your situation in regard to evacuating all American Nationals from Greece, Macedonia, Yogo-Slavia, Bulgaria, Roumania and Turkey in the event of spread of operations to Eastern Mediterranean. This includes ultimately, of course, evacuating Americans from Palestine, from Arabian States and Egypt. What is proposed?

F. D. R.

*File
personal*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 20, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

I have your memorandum of today about evacuating Americans. We have warned all Americans out of the Balkan countries, as well as Turkey, Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and the North African Coast.

Those in Tunisia and points west have been asked to proceed to Casablanca, which is accessible by motor and rail. One American ship is calling there and one American is awaiting departure from there.

Americans in Switzerland, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Italy are being requested to proceed to Genoa. The Washington sailed from Genoa yesterday with 1,076 passengers. We are waiting now to hear from Pell at Lisbon how many Americans are there desiring evacuation. The Washington will reach Gibraltar sometime tomorrow and may be diverted to Lisbon if there are as many as 100 passengers awaiting repatriation but it will be too expensive

The President

The White House.

expensive to send her there for less.

The Manhattan is on the way east and, in case war breaks in the Mediterranean, she will be diverted to Lisbon to pick up those and perhaps proceed to Bilbao, so that she will not have to enter the prescribed zone, from which point she can collect the Americans we have warned out of England and France and who are collecting in the neighborhood of Bordeaux. If Italy becomes a belligerent, and consequently Genoa is closed to American ships, Americans in that neighborhood are already being warned and may be directed to proceed to the Bordeaux area.

In case Italy enters the war the situation of those in Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Turkey will be difficult but there are a number of American ships always in the Mediterranean and there will be some at that time in the Eastern Mediterranean. These, we hope, might be got out of the Mediterranean through the Suez Canal and they might be used to pick up Americans at Piraeus, Tel Aviv, and Jaffa on the way.

Warnings have been issued to all people in that area and many of them are heeding the warning.

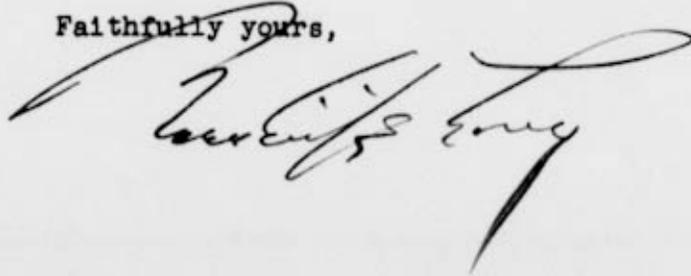
There will always be some who do not heed these warnings. We are seeking information as to the numbers arriving at different points and will route ships to them in so far as possible. It may be that some of them will
have

have to proceed overland, through Russia and out via Vladivostok. That is the situation with the small number of citizens now in Sweden, for whom that remains the only practical egress.

We have communicated to Kennedy and Gray in Dublin your desires about Bantry Bay. As you know, Kennedy wired that Ireland might be a trouble spot. However, it seems that Bantry Bay would be the best point of departure and it is impractical to get them over from that country into any other country.

I hope I have complied with your request. If not, and you want to ask me further on the telephone, I am always available.

Faithfully yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "David L. Gray". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed text "Faithfully yours,".

y. Conf.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

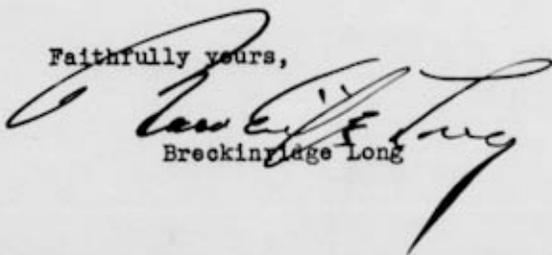
May 21, 1940.

My dear Mr. President:

At the suggestion of Sumner I am continuing in direct contact with you on the subject of your memorandum of yesterday and my letter of last evening and am calling to your attention a cable just received from Kennedy about Bantry Bay.

In case Bantry Bay should not prove to be desirable as the point of departure, it would seem that Galway would be the next best choice. Cobh is out.

Faithfully yours,



Breckinridge Long

Enclosure:
From London, No. 1277, May 20,
8 p.m.

The President,
The White House.

RWR

GRAY

LONDON

Dated May 20, 1940

Rec'd 9:30 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

1277, May 20, 8 p.m.

Your 896, May 18, 5 p.m.

You may want to pass on to the President the following information on Bantry Bay.

The Naval Attache informs me that a vessel of any size would have to anchor four or five miles from the town. The anchorage is exposed to southwesterly winds which frequently make boarding from small boats hazardous. In the opinion of shipping people here, it would be dangerous for passengers to board a ship in Bantry Bay from small boats except in very good weather.

Consul Smale of Cork reports that there are no accommodations except a twenty room hotel, that there is no tender available, that the facilities for servicing ships are extremely limited, that for eight or nine hours out of each twelve hours, it is impossible to reach vessels because of mud flats, and that there are no facilities except one small crane for handling baggage and stores. I doubt if it would be feasible to
embark

-2- No. 1277, May 20, 8 p.m. from London.

embark perhaps over 1,000 people or more in small boats. For that reason, if Bantry Bay is selected, it will undoubtedly be necessary to bring a tender around from Cobh.

I realize, of course, that the military angle is the most important one. Consul Smalt has taken this matter up with the appropriate authorities and is of the opinion that the west of Ireland is definitely less desirable from this standpoint than is Cobh.

There is feeling of tension in Ireland that may even necessitate reconsidering Ireland as a temporary place of refuge.

KENNEDY

NK

*File
personal*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 21, 1940

Dear Mr. President:

I approach you again directly ^{*Wesson J*} by my understanding with Sumner and would like to call your attention to the question of repatriation from Ireland.

The Manhattan is en route to the Mediterranean. She will enter the Mediterranean Saturday unless those waters by that time should be closed by reason of Italy's entry into the war. If it is closed, she can proceed to pick up Americans at Lisbon, Bilbao, and then on to Ireland. We cannot count upon that ship being available.

The only other available ship is the President Roosevelt now engaged on a run to Bermuda under contract with the governmental authorities there. The Maritime Commission has approached the operating United States Lines and the officials of that company are willing to permit the ship to be diverted so that she can sail from New York on Saturday in case the Manhattan enters the
Mediterranean

The President

The White House.

Mediterranean on that day. Her requisition might be postponed until the following Wednesday at the end of her return from her next trip to Bermuda. However, amongst the directors of the company, Mr. Vincent Astor has taken the definite position that he will not consent to it and the understanding of the Maritime Commission is that his refusal to consent is because of some understanding he has with you which concerns Bermuda, but which is not very definite in our minds. The consent of Mr. Astor would seem to be necessary to relieve the only obstacle to the use of that vessel. Consequently, in view of the fact that it might be advisable to have her sail from New York on Saturday for Ireland, this matter is hurriedly presented to your attention with the hope that in case Mr. Astor is correct you will advise us to that effect, or that you may consider changing Mr. Astor's understanding.

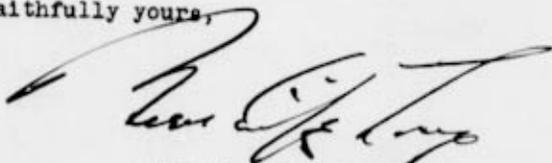
Kennedy telegraphs today that most of the Americans refuse to leave England to go to Ireland to await the indefinite idea that some ship at some time may be sent. He asks for a name of a ship and a definite port and says that under those circumstances the Americans in England will be glad to go to Ireland but that their fear of trouble in Ireland itself is such as to cause
them

them to hesitate to leave the known dangers of England for the unknown dangers of Ireland.

It is obvious that without your decision so as to make the steamship Roosevelt available, and your authorizing the use of either Galway or Bantry Bay (though I sent you an earlier note today about Bantry Bay) authority is lacking to complete the arrangements and it is urgently necessary that some decision be reached.

I know how awfully busy you are and I hate to thrust things upon your attention but I have no alternative.

Faithfully yours,



Breckinridge Long
Assistant Secretary

Tell O'Neil

SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 23rd, 1940.

Dear General:

Here is the note which
I talked to you about on the 'phone.

I will appreciate it very
much if you will hand it to the Boss.

With warm personal regards,

I am

Sincerely yours,

J. E. D.
Joseph E. Davies

Brigadier General Edwin M. Watson,
Secretary to the President,
The White House.

2-1-2

WASHINGTON

May 23rd, 1940.

Dear Mr. President:

To save your energies and time I am submitting this brief memorandum in this manner.

You envisage this whole problem with greater comprehension than any single mind. I offer, however, these concrete thoughts:

My judgment is that, short of a miracle, both France and England will be occupied or destroyed this summer because of the overwhelming preponderance of men, materials, mechanized equipment, initiative and the dominance in the air of the Germans. (With Italy in "at the kill").

What will happen to the British and French fleets is of vital importance to the preservation of the British and French Empires, whether or not they remove their seats of government to this continent. It would also be disastrous to our security if the British and French fleets were turned over to Hitler under a German imposed peace. It would be little less disastrous if they were scuttled.

A victorious Germany would also, in all probability, demand as one of the rights of conquest the title to the British and French possessions in this hemisphere.

Up to now there has been no notice served by Hitler of intended reprisals against the British

e Honorable
Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House

and French populations in the event of the scuttling or other disposition of the British and French fleets or possessions.

Would it not be advisable, therefore, before this happens, for the British and French to sell and assign certain of their possessions in this hemisphere which are vital to our defense in consideration of the relinquishment of their obligations to us?

Might it not also be advisable, prior to the initiation of any peace negotiations and prior to the removal of the seats of government of France and Britain, respectively, to make a similar disposition of their fleets either to Canada or to the United States under some such arrangement?

These are rather violent suggestions, but these are violent times.

Without the British and French fleets available the preponderance of the combined naval strengths of Germany, Italy, Russia and Japan compared with the United States navy alone will threaten our security and independence most seriously.

From such experience as I have had, I am firmly convinced that the community of interest of Germany, Italy, Russia and Japan is cohesive and implemented with the very definite understanding as to how each will participate in the spoils through spheres of influence over and occupation of different parts of the world.

It is only our strength which probably has eliminated us from their calculations so far. With the British and French fleets in their possession, the United States would undoubtedly be included in their plans.

Respectfully yours,
(Signature)