

● PSF

Safe: William C. Bullitt

Safe File

[PSF, Safe, B. Mitt]

PSF

Vienna, March 12, 1939.

Secretary of State Keppler and Director General Vogl have related the following:

"On Wednesday, March 8th, a conference was held at the Fuehrer's which was attended by personalities from the army, economic circles, and the Party.

'Austria' was represented by Gauleiter Buerckel in addition to those mentioned above.

"Certain economic and labor problems were discussed first. Then the Fuehrer spoke. First, he declared that the four-year plan was a last resort. The real problem confronting the German people was to assure for itself the sources from which could be obtained the raw materials necessary for its well being. In addition, in order to enjoy this well being, enemies of the German people must be exterminated radically: Jews, democracies, and the 'international powers'. As long as those enemies had the least vestige of power left anywhere in the world, they would be a menace to the peace of the German people.

"In this connection, the situation in Prague was becoming intolerable. In addition, Prague was needed as a means of access to those raw materials. Consequently, orders have been issued to the effect that, in a few days, not later than the 15th of March, Czechoslovakia is to be occupied militarily.

"Poland will follow. We will not have to count on

a very strong resistance from that quarter. German domination over Poland is necessary in order to assure for Germany Polish supplies of agricultural products and coal.

"As far as Hungary and Rumania are concerned, - they belong without question to Germany's vital space - the fall of Poland and adequate pressure will undoubtedly bring them to terms. We will then have absolute control over their vast agricultural and petroleum resources. The same may be said for Yugoslavia.

"This is the plan/^{which} will be realized until 1940. Even then Germany will be unbeatable.

"In 1940 and 1941 Germany will settle accounts once and for all with her hereditary enemy: France. That country will be obliterated from the map of Europe. England is an old and feeble country, weakened by democracy. With France vanquished, Germany will dominate England easily and will then have at its disposition England's riches and domains throughout the world.

"Thus, having for the first time unified the continent of Europe according to a new conception, Germany will undertake the greatest operation in all history: with British and French possessions in America as a base, we will settle accounts with the 'Jews of the dollar' (Dollarjuden) in the United States. We will exterminate this Jewish democracy and Jewish blood

will

will mix itself with the dollars. Even today Americans can insult our people, but the day will come when, too late, they will bitterly regret every word they said against us.

"Among those present, some were very enthusiastic while others seemed much less so."

Safe: Bullitt

Paris, September 16, 1939.

Personal and
~~Confidential~~

Dear Mr. President:

I sent a telegram today which you have probably seen, describing the manner in which the German Air Force destroyed nine-tenths of the Polish Air Force at noon on the first of September. I assume that you saw the telegram and I want to let you know a number of related facts which I did not put in it.

My informant was the French Minister for Air, Guy La Chambre, who had just talked with a French officer who left Poland three days ago and personally witnessed the Polish débacle.

In the course of our conversation, La Chambre added a number of facts about air fighting on the western front which I did not consider it wise to put in my cable. He said that there had been a
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The Honorable

Franklin D. Roosevelt,

President of the United States of America,

Washington, D. C.

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED

number of air engagements between the Curtiss pursuit planes, which the French bought last year in the United States, and the German Messerschmidts. In the opinion of the French pilots, the Curtiss planes were definitely superior to the German Messerschmidts. On one occasion, three Curtiss planes had been attacked by six Messerschmidts and had beaten off the six and destroyed two of the six.

La Chambre said that he feared that the German espionage service was as well organized in France as it had been in Poland. The French, therefore, had to fear that at some given moment the German bombardment planes flying so high as to be out of sight would suddenly descend on the French air fields in an attempt to destroy the French air force before it could take the air. He had, therefore, taken the utmost precautions to distribute and conceal the French planes.

He felt that as long as the French pursuit planes should remain in existence, which would not be very long, they could prevent German bombardment, by day, of Paris and other vital centers. The truth was, however, that the French did not have sufficient planes to

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Poladier, a couple of days ago, expressed a much more pessimistic view to me. He said that he felt

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to hold the air for more than a couple of months at the outside, and he feared that the British could not be counted on for any effective action.

La Chambre added that he now had the exact figures with regard to the number of planes that the British could put in the air at this moment. The British had told tall stories about their production. The truth was that the British had today of the most modern types only 480 pursuit planes and about 500 bombers. Furthermore, the British pilots, with comparatively few exceptions, were so ill-trained that he did not know how effective they would be. He stated that in the raid against the Kiel Canal, a dozen British bombers had taken part. Two had been shot down; but four had got lost flying to Kiel and had crashed in Germany. Moreover, two of the air raid warnings in Paris had been caused by British planes which had lost their way and had flown over the city.

There were two vital questions for French aviation. First, whether or not the French pursuit planes could prevent the bombardment of French plane factories; second, whether or not the French could produce sufficient motors. He was doubtful about both points.

Daladier, a couple of days ago, expressed a much more pessimistic view to me. He said that he felt

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that his political life and probably his personal life as well could not last more than three months. He expected Hitler, as soon as the Polish attack should have been completed, to launch the entire German Air Force against France. The bombardments of France would be so terrible that the French people would blame him for the lack of French planes and would drive him from political life and indeed would probably kill him. He did not consider that the lack of planes was his fault but he would be blamed for it.

I do not know whether these pessimistic views will be justified by the event, but it is certain that, if they should be justified and if Germany after some weeks of combat should be able to drive the French and British Air Forces from the air, the bombardments of French land communications and the bombardments of British shipping might be as effective as the bombardments of Polish communications during the past two weeks.

Under the circumstances, I think you ought to have studied now in all its aspects the military and naval problem that will face the United States in case France and England should be defeated during the next eight months. I am convinced that if Hitler should be able to win during this period, he would be able to obtain the support of the Italians and the Japanese and would

be in a position to make the attack on South America which he announced to the leaders that he convoked on the eighth of March last. I now have in written form the statement which I telegraphed to you on that subject some months ago. The report was handed me by Otto of Hapsburg. It comes from one of his most trusted agents in Vienna who is in the center of the Nazi movement, and I consider it absolutely authentic.

I realize that it will probably be impossible for you to convince the people of the United States that they are menaced by Hitler. I can not express to you too strongly my conviction that we are menaced in the most terrible manner by Hitler. If we do not change at once the Neutrality Act and supply France and England immediately with all the weapons of war that we can produce, we shall be insane. It is the considered opinion not only of our own Military and Naval Attachés in Paris, but also of the French General Staff that if the United States should continue to refuse to supply airplanes, arms, and ammunition to France and England, France and England unquestionably would be defeated. It would be our turn next.

I intend to telephone to you later this evening to ask you whether or not you feel that it might not be worth while for me to telegraph to Bob La Follette and Tinkham on this subject. Any American who opposes the sale of arms and ammunition to France and England today must be either blind to the realities of the situation or no patriot.

Your Aunt Dora came to the Chancery to call on me this afternoon and again evoked not only my affection but my admiration. In her customary quiet manner, she announced that she had now given up her passage on the 16th and had taken passage on the 29th and then, with a twinkle in her eye, said: "But you know, I am rather tenacious". In other words, she hasn't the slightest intention of leaving her apartment until she is blown out of it. She is really superb.

Love to you all and good luck.

Bill.

Enclosure.

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box

lw

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (D)

Paris

Dated September 16, 1939

Rec'd 8:40 a.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

1939, September 16, 11 a.m.

PERSONAL AND ~~SECRET~~ FOR THE PRESIDENT.

I hope that you have decided to make no protest if the same rules of blockade should be applied now by the British and French as those which were applied by ourselves in conjunction with the British and French in the summer of 1918. The only effective weapon now in the hands of the democracies is the blockade. Since we participated in the preparation and application of the blockade rules of 1918 there is no reason why we should object to their application today.

You have probably already given instructions in this sense. If not please do, and please inform Lothian and Saint Quentin. I have written you with regard to this subject and many others; but the mails are so slow and irregular, and this question is so important, that I feel obliged to telegraph.

BULLITT

HTM:CSB

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

September 16, 1939.

Dear Mr. President:

I have thought that for convenient reference you may wish to have the enclosures that pertain to the so-called neutrality legislation:

(1) The pamphlet marked "A" is the present law, except that Section 2 expired by limitation on last May first;

(2) The pamphlet marked "B" contains all of the measures that were pending in the Senate Committee on March 31, 1939. I believe that the Pittman Resolution, which is printed first in the list, was regarded as more satisfactory than any of the others. You will notice that its Section 2 makes unlawful, after a proclamation is issued, the transportation on American vessels of passengers or any articles or materials directly or indirectly to any state named in the proclamation. This would, of course, apply to American vessels carrying goods of any kind to localities that might be entirely free of danger, as for example Canada, Vancouver, Australia and New Zealand. There are senators and others who advocate the "cash and carry" or "come and get it" plan, and I mention

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The President
The White House.

the matter now because of feeling certain that when the Senate Committee gets busy it will be a good deal discussed.

(3) Subsequent to March 31, 1939, there was a bill, which is marked "C", introduced by Senator Vandenburg to restore Section 2 of the present law, which vests a large discretion in the President relative to placing restrictions on the export of articles or materials in addition to arms, ammunition and implements of war.

There was a bill which is marked "D" introduced by Senator Gillette with a provision varying that contained in the Pittman measure relative to "Areas of Combat Operation".

(4) Marked "E" is the Bloom Bill passed by the House and which I suppose will be made the basis of consideration of the subject by the Senate Committee. Unlike the Pittman Resolution it does not repeal the arms embargo. On that point it rather absurdly retains the embargo of "arms and ammunition", omitting "implements of war".

(5) You may perhaps have occasion to look at some of the four Resolutions pertaining to the situation in Asia which are tacked together, the front one being marked "F".

Yours very sincerely,

R. Wallace Moon

Enclosures:
As stated.

A

[PUBLIC RESOLUTION—No. 27—75TH CONGRESS]

[CHAPTER 146—1ST SESSION]

[S. J. Res. 51]

JOINT RESOLUTION

To amend the joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution providing for the prohibition of the export of arms, ammunition, and implements of war to belligerent countries; the prohibition of the transportation of arms, ammunition, and implements of war by vessels of the United States for the use of belligerent states; for the registration and licensing of persons engaged in the business of manufacturing, exporting, or importing arms, ammunition, or implements of war; and restricting travel by American citizens on belligerent ships during war", approved August 31, 1935, as amended.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution providing for the prohibition of the export of arms, ammunition, and implements of war to belligerent countries; the prohibition of the transportation of arms, ammunition, and implements of war by vessels of the United States for the use of belligerent states; for the registration and licensing of persons engaged in the business of manufacturing, exporting, or importing arms, ammunition, or implements of war; and restricting travel by American citizens on belligerent ships during war", approved August 31, 1935, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"EXPORT OF ARMS, AMMUNITION, AND IMPLEMENTS OF WAR

"SECTION 1. (a) Whenever the President shall find that there exists a state of war between, or among, two or more foreign states, the President shall proclaim such fact, and it shall thereafter be unlawful to export, or attempt to export, or cause to be exported, arms, ammunition, or implements of war from any place in the United States to any belligerent state named in such proclamation, or to any neutral state for transshipment to, or for the use of, any such belligerent state.

"(b) The President shall, from time to time, by proclamation, extend such embargo upon the export of arms, ammunition, or implements of war to other states as and when they may become involved in such war.

"(c) Whenever the President shall find that a state of civil strife exists in a foreign state and that such civil strife is of a magnitude or is being conducted under such conditions that the export of arms, ammunition, or implements of war from the United States to such foreign state would threaten or endanger the peace of the United States, the President shall proclaim such fact, and it shall thereafter be unlawful to export, or attempt to export, or cause to be exported, arms, ammunition, or implements of war from any place in the United States to such foreign state, or to any neutral state for transshipment to, or for the use of, such foreign state.

"(d) The President shall, from time to time by proclamation, definitely enumerate the arms, ammunition, and implements of war,

the export of which is prohibited by this section. The arms, ammunition, and implements of war so enumerated shall include those enumerated in the President's proclamation Numbered 2163, of April 10, 1936, but shall not include raw materials or any other articles or materials not of the same general character as those enumerated in the said proclamation, and in the Convention for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War, signed at Geneva June 17, 1925.

"(e) Whoever, in violation of any of the provisions of this Act, shall export, or attempt to export, or cause to be exported, arms, ammunition, or implements of war from the United States shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both, and the property, vessel, or vehicle containing the same shall be subject to the provisions of sections 1 to 8, inclusive, title 6, chapter 30, of the Act approved June 15, 1917 (40 Stat. 223-225; U. S. C., 1934 ed., title 22, secs. 238-245).

"(f) In the case of the forfeiture of any arms, ammunition, or implements of war by reason of a violation of this Act, no public or private sale shall be required; but such arms, ammunition, or implements of war shall be delivered to the Secretary of War for such use or disposal thereof as shall be approved by the President of the United States.

"(g) Whenever, in the judgment of the President, the conditions which have caused him to issue any proclamation under the authority of this section have ceased to exist, he shall revoke the same, and the provisions of this section shall thereupon cease to apply with respect to the state or states named in such proclamation, except with respect to offenses committed, or forfeitures incurred, prior to such revocation.

"EXPORT OF OTHER ARTICLES AND MATERIALS

"SEC. 2. (a) Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of section 1 of this Act and he shall thereafter find that the placing of restrictions on the shipment of certain articles or materials in addition to arms, ammunition, and implements of war from the United States to belligerent states, or to a state wherein civil strife exists, is necessary to promote the security or preserve the peace of the United States or to protect the lives of citizens of the United States, he shall so proclaim, and it shall thereafter be unlawful, except under such limitations and exceptions as the President may prescribe as to lakes, rivers, and inland waters bordering on the United States, and as to transportation on or over lands bordering on the United States, for any American vessel to carry such articles or materials to any belligerent state, or to any state wherein civil strife exists, named in such proclamation issued under the authority of section 1 of this Act, or to any neutral state for transshipment to, or for the use of, any such belligerent state or any such state wherein civil strife exists. The President shall by proclamation from time to time definitely enumerate the articles and materials which it shall be unlawful for American vessels to so transport.

"(b) Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of section 1 of this Act and he shall thereafter find that the placing of restrictions on the export of articles or materials from the United States to belligerent states, or to a state

wherein civil strife exists, is necessary to promote the security or preserve the peace of the United States or to protect the lives or commerce of citizens of the United States, he shall so proclaim, and it shall thereafter be unlawful, except under such limitations and exceptions as the President may prescribe as to lakes, rivers, and inland waters bordering on the United States, and as to transportation on or over land bordering on the United States, to export or transport, or attempt to export or transport, or cause to be exported or transported, from the United States to any belligerent state, or to any state wherein civil strife exists, named in such proclamation issued under the authority of section 1 of this Act, or to any neutral state for transshipment to, or for the use of, any such belligerent state or any such state wherein civil strife exists, any articles or materials whatever until all right, title, and interest therein shall have been transferred to some foreign government, agency, institution, association, partnership, corporation, or national. The shipper of such articles or materials shall be required to file with the collector of the port from which they are to be exported a declaration under oath that there exists in citizens of the United States no right, title, or interest in such articles or materials, and to comply with such rules and regulations as shall be promulgated from time to time by the President. Any such declaration so filed shall be a conclusive estoppel against any claim of any citizen of the United States of right, title, or interest in such articles or materials. Insurance written by underwriters on any articles or materials the export of which is prohibited by this Act, or on articles or materials carried by an American vessel in violation of subsection (a) of this section, shall not be deemed an American interest therein, and no insurance policy issued on such articles or materials and no loss incurred thereunder or by the owner of the vessel carrying the same shall be made a basis of any claim put forward by the Government of the United States.

"(c) The President shall from time to time by proclamation extend such restrictions as are imposed under the authority of this section to other states as and when they may be declared to become belligerent states under proclamations issued under the authority of section 1 of this Act.

"(d) The President may from time to time change, modify, or revoke in whole or in part any proclamations issued by him under the authority of this section.

"(e) Except with respect to offenses committed, or forfeitures incurred, prior to May 1, 1939, this section and all proclamations issued thereunder shall not be effective after May 1, 1939.

"FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS

"SEC. 3. (a) Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of section 1 of this Act, it shall thereafter be unlawful for any person within the United States to purchase, sell, or exchange bonds, securities, or other obligations of the government of any belligerent state or of any state wherein civil strife exists, named in such proclamation, or of any political subdivision of any such state, or of any person acting for or on behalf of the government of any such state, or of any faction or asserted government within any such state wherein civil strife exists, or of

any person acting for or on behalf of any faction or asserted government within any such state wherein civil strife exists, issued after the date of such proclamation, or to make any loan or extend any credit to any such government, political subdivision, faction, asserted government, or person, or to solicit or receive any contribution for any such government, political subdivision, faction, asserted government, or person: *Provided*, That if the President shall find that such action will serve to protect the commercial or other interests of the United States or its citizens, he may, in his discretion, and to such extent and under such regulations as he may prescribe, except from the operation of this section ordinary commercial credits and short-time obligations in aid of legal transactions and of a character customarily used in normal peacetime commercial transactions. Nothing in this subsection shall be construed to prohibit the solicitation or collection of funds to be used for medical aid and assistance, or for food and clothing to relieve human suffering, when such solicitation or collection of funds is made on behalf of and for use by any person or organization which is not acting for or on behalf of any such government, political subdivision, faction, or asserted government, but all such solicitations and collections of funds shall be subject to the approval of the President and shall be made under such rules and regulations as he shall prescribe.

"(b) The provisions of this section shall not apply to a renewal or adjustment of such indebtedness as may exist on the date of the President's proclamation.

"(c) Whoever shall violate the provisions of this section or of any regulations issued hereunder shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than \$50,000 or imprisoned for not more than five years, or both. Should the violation be by a corporation, organization, or association, each officer or agent thereof participating in the violation may be liable to the penalty herein prescribed.

"(d) Whenever the President shall have revoked any such proclamation issued under the authority of section 1 of this Act, the provisions of this section and of any regulations issued by the President hereunder shall thereupon cease to apply with respect to the state or states named in such proclamation, except with respect to offenses committed prior to such revocation.

"EXCEPTIONS—AMERICAN REPUBLICS

"SEC. 4. This Act shall not apply to an American republic or republics engaged in war against a non-American state or states, provided the American republic is not cooperating with a non-American state or states in such war.

"NATIONAL MUNITIONS CONTROL BOARD

"SEC. 5. (a) There is hereby established a National Munitions Control Board (hereinafter referred to as the 'Board') to carry out the provisions of this Act. The Board shall consist of the Secretary of State, who shall be chairman and executive officer of the Board, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of Commerce. Except as otherwise provided in this Act, or by other law, the administration of this Act

is vested in the Department of State. The Secretary of State shall promulgate such rules and regulations with regard to the enforcement of this section as he may deem necessary to carry out its provisions. The Board shall be convened by the chairman and shall hold at least one meeting a year.

"(b) Every person who engages in the business of manufacturing, exporting, or importing any of the arms, ammunition, or implements of war referred to in this Act, whether as an exporter, importer, manufacturer, or dealer, shall register with the Secretary of State his name, or business name, principal place of business, and places of business in the United States, and a list of the arms, ammunition, and implements of war which he manufactures, imports, or exports.

"(c) Every person required to register under this section shall notify the Secretary of State of any change in the arms, ammunition, or implements of war which he exports, imports, or manufactures; and upon such notification the Secretary of State shall issue to such person an amended certificate of registration, free of charge, which shall remain valid until the date of expiration of the original certificate. Every person required to register under the provisions of this section shall pay a registration fee of \$500, unless he manufactured, exported, or imported arms, ammunition, and implements of war to a total sales value of less than \$50,000 during the twelve months immediately preceding his registration, in which case he shall pay a registration fee of \$100. Upon receipt of the required registration fee, the Secretary of State shall issue a registration certificate valid for five years, which shall be renewable for further periods of five years upon the payment for each renewal of a fee of \$500 in the case of persons who manufactured, exported, or imported arms, ammunition, and implements of war to a total sales value of more than \$50,000 during the twelve months immediately preceding the renewal, or a fee of \$100 in the case of persons who manufactured, exported, or imported arms, ammunition, and implements of war to a total sales value of less than \$50,000 during the twelve months immediately preceding the renewal. The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to refund, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$400 to every person who shall have paid a registration fee of \$500 pursuant to this Act, who manufactured, exported, or imported arms, ammunition, and implements of war to a total sales value of less than \$50,000 during the twelve months immediately preceding his registration.

"(d) It shall be unlawful for any person to export, or attempt to export, from the United States to any other state, any of the arms, ammunition, or implements of war referred to in this Act, or to import, or attempt to import, to the United States from any other state, any of the arms, ammunition, or implements of war referred to in this Act, without first having obtained a license therefor.

"(e) All persons required to register under this section shall maintain, subject to the inspection of the Secretary of State, or any person or persons designated by him, such permanent records of manufacture for export, importation, and exportation of arms, ammunition, and implements of war as the Secretary of State shall prescribe.

"(f) Licenses shall be issued to persons who have registered as herein provided for, except in cases of export or import licenses where the export of arms, ammunition, or implements of war would be in violation of this Act or any other law of the United States, or of a treaty to which the United States is a party, in which cases such licenses shall not be issued.

"(g) Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of section 1 of this Act, all licenses theretofore issued under this Act shall ipso facto and immediately upon the issuance of such proclamation, cease to grant authority to export arms, ammunition, or implements of war from any place in the United States to any belligerent state, or to any state wherein civil strife exists, named in such proclamation, or to any neutral state for transshipment to, or for the use of, any such belligerent state or any such state wherein civil strife exists; and said licenses, insofar as the grant of authority to export to the state or states named in such proclamation is concerned, shall be null and void.

"(h) No purchase of arms, ammunition, or implements of war shall be made on behalf of the United States by any officer, executive department, or independent establishment of the Government from any person who shall have failed to register under the provisions of this Act.

"(i) The provisions of the Act of August 29, 1916, relating to the sale of ordnance and stores to the Government of Cuba (39 Stat. 619, 643; U. S. C., 1934 ed., title 50, sec. 72), are hereby repealed as of December 31, 1937.

"(j) The Board shall make an annual report to Congress, copies of which shall be distributed as are other reports transmitted to Congress. Such reports shall contain such information and data collected by the Board as may be considered of value in the determination of questions connected with the control of trade in arms, ammunition, and implements of war. The Board shall include in such reports a list of all persons required to register under the provisions of this Act, and full information concerning the licenses issued hereunder.

"(k) The President is hereby authorized to proclaim upon recommendation of the Board from time to time a list of articles which shall be considered arms, ammunition, and implements of war for the purposes of this section.

"AMERICAN VESSELS PROHIBITED FROM CARRYING ARMS TO BELLIGERENT STATES

"SEC. 6. (a) Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of section 1 of this Act, it shall thereafter be unlawful, until such proclamation is revoked, for any American vessel to carry any arms, ammunition, or implements of war to any belligerent state, or to any state wherein civil strife exists, named in such proclamation, or to any neutral state for transshipment to, or for the use of, any such belligerent state or any such state wherein civil strife exists.

"(b) Whoever, in violation of the provisions of this section, shall take, or attempt to take, or shall authorize, hire, or solicit another to take, any American vessel carrying such cargo out of port or from the jurisdiction of the United States shall be fined not more than \$10,000,

or imprisoned not more than five years, or both; and, in addition, such vessel, and her tackle, apparel, furniture, and equipment, and the arms, ammunition, and implements of war on board, shall be forfeited to the United States.

"USE OF AMERICAN PORTS AS BASE OF SUPPLY

"SEC. 7. (a) Whenever, during any war in which the United States is neutral, the President, or any person thereunto authorized by him, shall have cause to believe that any vessel, domestic or foreign, whether requiring clearance or not, is about to carry out of a port of the United States, fuel, men, arms, ammunition, implements of war, or other supplies to any warship, tender, or supply ship of a belligerent state, but the evidence is not deemed sufficient to justify forbidding the departure of the vessel as provided for by section 1, title V, chapter 30, of the Act approved June 15, 1917 (40 Stat. 217, 221; U. S. C., 1934 ed., title 18, sec. 31), and if, in the President's judgment, such action will serve to maintain peace between the United States and foreign states, or to protect the commercial interests of the United States and its citizens, or to promote the security or neutrality of the United States, he shall have the power and it shall be his duty to require the owner, master, or person in command thereof, before departing from a port of the United States, to give a bond to the United States, with sufficient sureties, in such amount as he shall deem proper, conditioned that the vessel will not deliver the men, or any part of the cargo, to any warship, tender, or supply ship of a belligerent state.

"(b) If the President, or any person thereunto authorized by him, shall find that a vessel, domestic or foreign, in a port of the United States, has previously cleared from a port of the United States during such war and delivered its cargo or any part thereof to a warship, tender, or supply ship of a belligerent state, he may prohibit the departure of such vessel during the duration of the war.

"SUBMARINES AND ARMED MERCHANT VESSELS

"SEC. 8. Whenever, during any war in which the United States is neutral, the President shall find that special restrictions placed on the use of the ports and territorial waters of the United States by the submarines or armed merchant vessels of a foreign state, will serve to maintain peace between the United States and foreign states, or to protect the commercial interests of the United States and its citizens, or to promote the security of the United States, and shall make proclamation thereof, it shall thereafter be unlawful for any such submarine or armed merchant vessel to enter a port or the territorial waters of the United States or to depart therefrom, except under such conditions and subject to such limitations as the President may prescribe. Whenever, in his judgment, the conditions which have caused him to issue his proclamation have ceased to exist, he shall revoke his proclamation and the provisions of this section shall thereupon cease to apply.

"TRAVEL ON VESSELS OF BELLIGERENT STATES

"SEC. 9. Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of section 1 of this Act it shall thereafter be

unlawful for any citizen of the United States to travel on any vessel of the state or states named in such proclamation, except in accordance with such rules and regulations as the President shall prescribe: *Provided, however,* That the provisions of this section shall not apply to a citizen of the United States traveling on a vessel whose voyage was begun in advance of the date of the President's proclamation, and who had no opportunity to discontinue his voyage after that date: *And provided further,* That they shall not apply under ninety days after the date of the President's proclamation to a citizen of the United States returning from a foreign state to the United States. Whenever, in the President's judgment, the conditions which have caused him to issue his proclamation have ceased to exist, he shall revoke his proclamation and the provisions of this section shall thereupon cease to apply with respect to the state or states named in such proclamation, except with respect to offenses committed prior to such revocation.

"ARMING OF AMERICAN MERCHANT VESSELS PROHIBITED

"SEC. 10. Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of section 1, it shall thereafter be unlawful, until such proclamation is revoked, for any American vessel engaged in commerce with any belligerent state, or any state wherein civil strife exists, named in such proclamation, to be armed or to carry any armament, arms, ammunition, or implements of war, except small arms and ammunition therefor which the President may deem necessary and shall publicly designate for the preservation of discipline aboard such vessels.

"REGULATIONS

"SEC. 11. The President may, from time to time, promulgate such rules and regulations, not inconsistent with law, as may be necessary and proper to carry out any of the provisions of this Act; and he may exercise any power or authority conferred on him by this Act through such officer or officers, or agency or agencies, as he shall direct.

"GENERAL PENALTY PROVISION

"SEC. 12. In every case of the violation of any of the provisions of this Act or of any rule or regulation issued pursuant thereto where a specific penalty is not herein provided, such violator or violators, upon conviction, shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

"DEFINITIONS

"SEC. 13. For the purposes of this Act—

"(a) The term 'United States', when used in a geographical sense, includes the several States and Territories, the insular possessions of the United States (including the Philippine Islands), the Canal Zone, and the District of Columbia.

"(b) The term 'person' includes a partnership, company, association, or corporation, as well as a natural person.

"(c) The term 'vessel' means every description of watercraft (including aircraft) or other contrivance used, or capable of being used, as a means of transportation on, under, or over water.

"(d) The term 'American vessel' means any vessel (including aircraft) documented under the laws of the United States.

"(e) The term 'vehicle' means every description of carriage (including aircraft) or other contrivance used, or capable of being used, as a means of transportation on or over land.

"(f) The term 'state' shall include nation, government, and country.

"SEPARABILITY OF PROVISIONS

"SEC. 14. If any of the provisions of this Act, or the application thereof to any person or circumstance, is held invalid, the remainder of the Act, and the application of such provision to other persons or circumstances, shall not be affected thereby.

"APPROPRIATIONS

"SEC. 15. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated from time to time, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such amounts as may be necessary to carry out the provisions and accomplish the purposes of this Act."

Approved, May 1, 1937, 6.30 p. m., Central Standard Time.

[COMMITTEE PRINT]

B -

MARCH 31, 1939

**Text of
Legislation Relating to
Neutrality, Peace, and Our
Foreign Policy**

**PENDING IN THE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE**

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations

COMMITTED PRINTS

MARCH 31, 1939

Text of
Legislation Relating to
Neutrality, Peace, and Our
Foreign Policy

REPORTING IN THE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations

S. J. RES. 97

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76TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. J. RES. 97

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 20 (legislative day, MARCH 16), 1939

Mr. PITTMAN introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

JOINT RESOLUTION

To be known as the "Peace Act of 1939."

- 1 *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*
- 2 *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
- 3 **AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE**
- 4 **PROCLAMATION OF ARMED CONFLICT BETWEEN FOREIGN**
- 5 **STATES**
- 6 **SECTION 1. (a)** That whenever any foreign state or
- 7 states declare a state of war to exist between or among two
- 8 or more foreign states, the President shall issue a proclama-
- 9 tion naming the states involved. Whenever the Congress
- 10 shall by concurrent resolution find, or whenever the President
- 11 shall find that there exists an undeclared state of war be-

1 tween or among two or more foreign states the President
 2 shall forthwith proclaim such fact, naming the states involved.
 3 The President shall from time to time, by proclamation,
 4 name other states as and when they may become involved in
 5 such war.

6 (b) Whenever the conditions which have caused the
 7 President to issue any proclamation under the authority of
 8 this section have ceased to exist, he shall revoke the same by
 9 proclamation.

10 COMMERCE WITH STATES ENGAGED IN ARMED CONFLICT

11 SEC. 2. (a) Whenever the President shall have issued
 12 a proclamation under the authority of section 1 (a) it shall
 13 thereafter be unlawful for any American vessel to carry
 14 any passengers or any articles or materials, directly or
 15 indirectly, to any state named in the proclamation.

16 (b) Whenever the President shall have issued a
 17 proclamation or proclamations under the authority of section
 18 1 (a) it shall thereafter be unlawful to export or transport,
 19 or attempt to export or transport, or cause to be exported or
 20 transported, from the United States, directly or indirectly, to
 21 any state named in the proclamation or proclamations, any
 22 articles or materials until all right, title, and interest therein
 23 shall have been transferred to some foreign government,
 24 agency, institution, association, partnership, corporation, or
 25 national. The shipper of such articles or materials shall be

1 required to file with the collector of the port from which they
 2 are to be exported a declaration under oath that there exists
 3 in citizens of the United States no right, title, or interest in
 4 such articles or materials, and to comply with such rules and
 5 regulations as shall be promulgated from time to time by the
 6 President. Any such declaration so filed shall be a conclu-
 7 sive estoppel against any claim of any citizen of the United
 8 States of right, title, or interest in such articles or materials.

9 (c) Insurance written by underwriters on articles or
 10 materials included in shipments which are subject to restric-
 11 tions under the provisions of this Act, and on vessels carrying
 12 such shipments shall not be deemed an American interest
 13 therein, and no insurance policy issued on such articles or
 14 materials, or vessels, and no loss incurred thereunder or by
 15 the owners of such vessels, shall be made the basis of any
 16 claim put forward by the Government of the United States.

17 (d) Whenever the President shall have revoked any
 18 proclamation issued under the authority of section 1 (a) the
 19 provisions of this section shall thereupon cease to apply in
 20 respect to the state or states named in such proclamation,
 21 except with respect to offenses committed prior to such
 22 revocation.

23 AREAS OF COMBAT OPERATIONS

24 SEC. 3. (a) Whenever the President shall have issued
 25 a proclamation or proclamations under the authority of sec-

tion 1 (a), and he shall thereafter find that the protection of citizens of the United States so requires, he shall issue a proclamation, whereupon it shall be unlawful, except under such limitations and exceptions as the President may prescribe, for citizens of the United States or vessels flying the flag of the United States to proceed through any areas defined from time to time by the President to be areas of combat operations and so specified in his proclamation.

(b) The President may from time to time modify or extend his proclamation or proclamations, and when the conditions which have caused him to issue his proclamation or proclamations have ceased to exist he shall revoke the same and the provisions of this section shall thereupon cease to apply.

RED CROSS AND OTHER EXCEPTIONS

SEC. 4. The provisions of sections 2 and 3 shall not apply to travel and trade on or over lands, lakes, rivers, and inland waters bordering on the United States where no armed conflict exists as herein defined. Furthermore, these provisions shall not prohibit the transportation by vessels under charter or other direction and control of the Red Cross, proceeding under safe conduct granted by States engaged in armed conflict, of officers and Red Cross personnel, medical personnel and medical supplies, food, and clothing, for the relief of human suffering.

TRAVEL ON VESSELS OF FOREIGN STATES

SEC. 5. (a) Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of section 1 (a) it shall thereafter be unlawful for any citizen of the United States to travel on any vessel of the state or states named in such proclamation: *Provided, however,* (1) That the provisions of this section shall not apply to a citizen of the United States traveling on a vessel whose voyage was begun in advance of the date of the President's proclamation, and who had no opportunity to discontinue his voyage after that date; (2) that they shall not apply under ninety days after the date of the President's proclamation to a citizen of the United States returning from a foreign state to the United States; and (3) that they shall not apply to officers, agents, and employees of the Government of the United States traveling on official business under specific authorization by the President.

Whenever the President shall have revoked any proclamation issued under the authority of section 1 (a), the provisions of this section shall thereupon cease to apply with respect to the state or states named in such proclamation, except with respect to offenses committed prior to such revocation.

ARMING OF AMERICAN MERCHANT VESSELS PROHIBITED

SEC. 6. Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of section 1, it shall there-

1 after be unlawful, until such proclamation is revoked, for any
 2 American vessel, engaged in commerce with any foreign
 3 state, or in any combat area, to be armed or to carry any
 4 armament, arms, ammunition, or implements of war, except
 5 small arms and ammunition therefor, which the President
 6 may deem necessary and shall publicly designate for the
 7 preservation of discipline aboard such vessels.

8 FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS

9 SEC. 7. (a) Whenever the President shall have issued
 10 a proclamation under the authority of section 1 (a), it shall
 11 thereafter be unlawful for any person within the United
 12 States to purchase, sell, or exchange bonds, securities, or
 13 other obligations of the government of any state named
 14 in such proclamation, or of any political subdivision of
 15 any such state, or of any person acting for or on behalf
 16 of the government of any such state, issued after the date
 17 of such proclamation, or to make any loan or extend any
 18 credit to any such government, political subdivision, or
 19 person: *Provided*, That if the President shall find that such
 20 action will serve to protect the commercial or other interests
 21 of the United States or its citizens, he may, in his discretion,
 22 and to such extent and under such regulations as he may
 23 prescribe, except from the operation of this section ordi-
 24 nary commercial credits and short-time obligations in aid

1 of legal transactions and of a character customarily used in
 2 normal peacetime commercial transactions.

3 (b) The provisions of this section shall not apply to a
 4 renewal or adjustment of such indebtedness as may exist
 5 on the date of the President's proclamation.

6 (c) Whoever shall violate the provisions of this section
 7 or of any regulations issued hereunder shall, upon conviction
 8 thereof, be fined not more than \$50,000 or imprisoned for
 9 not more than five years, or both. Should the violation be
 10 by a corporation, organization, or association, each officer
 11 or agent thereof participating in the violation may be liable
 12 to the penalty herein prescribed.

13 (d) Whenever the President shall have revoked any
 14 proclamation issued under the authority of section 1 (a),
 15 the provisions of this section and of any regulations issued
 16 by the President hereunder shall thereupon cease to apply
 17 with respect to the state or states named in such proclama-
 18 tion, except with respect to offenses committed prior to such
 19 revocation.

20 SOLICITATION AND COLLECTION OF FUNDS

21 SEC. 8. Whenever the President shall have issued a
 22 proclamation or proclamations under the authority of sec-
 23 tion 1 (a), it shall thereafter be unlawful for any person
 24 within the United States to solicit or receive any contribu-

1 tion for or on behalf of the government of any state or agent,
2 instrumentality, or supporter, named in the proclamation.

3 Nothing in this section shall be construed to prohibit
4 the solicitation or collection of funds to be used for medical
5 aid and assistance, or for food and clothing to relieve human
6 suffering, when such solicitation or collection of funds is made
7 on behalf of and for use by any person or organization which
8 is not acting for or on behalf or in aid of any such govern-
9 ment, but all such solicitations and collections of funds shall
10 be subject to the approval of the President and shall be
11 made under such rules and regulations as he shall prescribe.

12 (b) Whenever the President shall have revoked any
13 proclamation issued under the authority of section 1 (a), the
14 provisions of this section and of any regulations issued by
15 the President hereunder shall thereupon cease to apply with
16 respect to the states named in such proclamation, except with
17 respect to offenses committed prior to such revocation.

18 AMERICAN REPUBLICS

19 SEC. 9. This Act shall not apply to an American repub-
20 lic or republics engaged in war against a non-American
21 state or states, provided the American republic is not coop-
22 erating with a non-American state or states in such war.

23 USE OF AMERICAN PORTS AS BASE OF SUPPLIES

24 SEC. 10. (a) Whenever, during any war in which the
25 United States is neutral, the President, or any person there-

1 unto authorized by him, shall have cause to believe that any
2 vessel, domestic or foreign, whether requiring clearance or
3 not, is about to carry out of a port of the United States, fuel,
4 men, arms, ammunition, implements of war, or other sup-
5 plies to any warship, tender, or supply ship of a belligerent
6 state, but the evidence is not deemed sufficient to justify
7 forbidding the departure of the vessel as provided for by
8 section 1, title V, chapter 30, of the Act approved June 15,
9 1917 (40 Stat. 217, 221; U. S. C., 1934 edition, title 18,
10 sec. 31), and if, in the President's judgment, such action
11 will serve to maintain peace between the United States and
12 foreign states, or to protect the commercial interests of the
13 United States and its citizens, or to promote the security or
14 neutrality of the United States, he shall have the power
15 and it shall be his duty to require the owner, master, or
16 person in command thereof, before departing from a port of
17 the United States, to give a bond to the United States, with
18 sufficient sureties, in such amount as he shall deem proper,
19 conditioned that the vessel will not deliver the men, or any
20 part of the cargo, to any warship, tender, or supply ship of
21 a belligerent state.

22 (b) If the President, or any person thereunto author-
23 ized by him, shall find that a vessel, domestic or foreign, in
24 a port of the United States, has previously cleared from a
25 port of the United States during such war and delivered its

1 cargo or any part thereof to a warship, tender, or supply
2 ship of a belligerent state, he may prohibit the departure of
3 such vessel during the duration of the war.

4 SUBMARINES AND ARMED MERCHANT VESSELS

5 SEC. 11. Whenever, during any war in which the
6 United States is neutral, the President shall find that special
7 restrictions placed on the use of the ports and territorial
8 waters of the United States by the submarines or armed
9 merchant vessels of a foreign state, will serve to maintain
10 peace between the United States and foreign states, or to
11 protect the commercial interests of the United States and its
12 citizens, or to promote the security of the United States,
13 and shall make proclamation thereof, it shall thereafter be
14 unlawful for any such submarine or armed merchant vessel
15 to enter a port or the territorial waters of the United States
16 or to depart therefrom, except under such conditions and
17 subject to such limitations as the President may prescribe.
18 Whenever, in his judgment, the conditions which have
19 caused him to issue his proclamation have ceased to exist,
20 he shall revoke his proclamation and the provisions of this
21 section shall thereupon cease to apply.

22 NATIONAL MUNITIONS CONTROL BOARD

23 SEC. 12. (a) There is hereby established a National
24 Munitions Control Board (hereinafter referred to as the
25 "Board"). The Board shall consist of the Secretary of State,

1 who shall be chairman and executive officer of the Board,
2 the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the
3 Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of Commerce.
4 Except as otherwise provided in this Act, or by other law,
5 the administration of this Act is vested in the Department
6 of State. The Secretary of State shall promulgate such rules
7 and regulations with regard to the enforcement of this section
8 as he may deem necessary to carry out its provisions. The
9 Board shall be convened by the chairman and shall hold at
10 least one meeting a year.

11 (b) Every person who engages in the business of
12 manufacturing, exporting, or importing any of the arms,
13 ammunition, or implements of war referred to in this Act,
14 whether as an exporter, importer, manufacturer, or dealer,
15 shall register with the Secretary of State his name, or busi-
16 ness name, principal place of business, and places of business
17 in the United States, and a list of the arms, ammunition,
18 and implements of war which he manufactures, imports,
19 or exports.

20 (c) Every person required to register under this sec-
21 tion shall notify the Secretary of State of any change in the
22 arms, ammunition, or implements of war which he exports,
23 imports, or manufactures; and upon such notification the
24 Secretary of State shall issue to such person an amended
25 certificate of registration, free of charge, which shall remain

1 valid until the date of expiration of the original certificate.
 2 Every person required to register under the provisions of
 3 this section shall pay a registration fee of \$100. Upon
 4 receipt of the required registration fee, the Secretary of State
 5 shall issue a registration certificate valid for five years, which
 6 shall be renewable for further periods of five years upon
 7 the payment for each renewal of a fee of \$100.

8 (d) It shall be unlawful for any person to export, or
 9 attempt to export, from the United States to any other
 10 state, any of the arms, ammunition, or implements of war
 11 referred to in this Act, or to import, or attempt to import,
 12 to the United States from any other state, any of the arms,
 13 ammunition, or implements of war referred to in this Act,
 14 without first having obtained a license therefor.

15 (e) All persons required to register under this section
 16 shall maintain, subject to the inspection of the Secretary of
 17 State, or any person or persons designated by him, such per-
 18 manent records of manufacture for export, importation, and
 19 exportation of arms, ammunition, and implements of war as
 20 the Secretary of State shall prescribe.

21 (f) Licenses shall be issued to persons who have regis-
 22 tered as herein provided for, except in cases of export or
 23 import licenses where the export of arms, ammunition, or
 24 implements of war would be in violation of this Act or any
 25 other law of the United States, or of a treaty to which the

1 United States is a party, in which cases such licenses shall
 2 not be issued.

3 (g) No purchase of arms, ammunition, or implements
 4 of war shall be made on behalf of the United States by any
 5 officer, executive department, or independent establishment
 6 of the Government from any person who shall have failed to
 7 register under the provisions of this Act.

8 (h) The provisions of the Act of August 29, 1916, re-
 9 lating to the sale of ordnance and stores to the Government of
 10 Cuba (39 Stat. 619, 643; U. S. C., 1934 edition, title 50,
 11 sec. 72), are hereby repealed as of December 31, 1937.

12 (i) The Board shall make an annual report to Congress,
 13 copies of which shall be distributed as are other reports trans-
 14 mitted to Congress. Such reports shall contain such infor-
 15 mation and data collected by the Board as may be considered
 16 of value in the determination of questions connected with the
 17 control of trade in arms, ammunition, and implements of war.
 18 The Board shall include in such reports a list of all persons
 19 required to register under the provisions of this Act, and full
 20 information concerning the licenses issued hereunder.

21 (j) The President is hereby authorized to proclaim
 22 upon recommendation of the Board from time to time a list
 23 of articles which shall be considered arms, ammunition, and
 24 implements of war for the purposes of this section.

REGULATIONS

1 SEC. 13. The President may, from time to time, pro-
2 mulgate such rules and regulations, not inconsistent with law,
3 as may be necessary and proper to carry out any of the provi-
4 sions of this Act; and he may exercise any power or authority
5 conferred on him by this Act through such officer or officers,
6 or agency or agencies, as he shall direct.

GENERAL PENALTY PROVISION

7 SEC. 14. In every case of the violation of any of the
8 provisions of this Act or of any rule or regulation issued pur-
9 suant thereto where a specific penalty is not herein provided,
10 such violator or violators, upon conviction, shall be fined not
11 more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than five years,
12 or both.

DEFINITIONS

13 SEC. 15. For the purposes of this Act—
14 (a) The term "United States", when used in a geo-
15 graphical sense, includes the several States and Territories,
16 the insular possessions of the United States (including the
17 Philippine Islands), the Canal Zone, and the District of
18 Columbia.
19 (b) The term "person" includes a partnership, com-
20 pany, association, or corporation, as well as a natural person.
21 (c) The term "vessel" means every description of
22 watercraft (including aircraft) or other contrivance used, or
23

1 capable of being used, as a means of transportation on, under,
2 or over water.

3 (d) The term "American vessel" means any vessel
4 (including aircraft) documented under the laws of the United
5 States.

6 (e) The term "vehicle" means every description of car-
7 riage (including aircraft) or other contrivance used, or
8 capable of being used, as a means of transportation on or
9 over land.

10 (f) The term "state" shall include nation, government,
11 and country.

SEPARABILITY OF PROVISIONS

12 SEC. 16. If any of the provisions of this Act, or the
13 application thereof to any person or circumstance, is held
14 invalid, the remainder of the Act, and the application of such
15 provision to other persons or circumstances, shall not be
16 affected thereby.

APPROPRIATIONS

17 SEC. 17. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated
18 from time to time, out of any money in the Treasury not
19 otherwise appropriated, such amounts as may be necessary
20 to carry out the provisions and accomplish the purposes of
21 this Act.
22
23

1 REPEAL OF ACTS OF 1935, 1936, 1937
 2 SEC. 18. The Act of August 31, 1935 (Public Resolu-
 3 tion Numbered 67, Seventy-fourth Congress), as amended
 4 by the Act of February 29, 1936 (Public Resolution Num-
 5 bered 74, Seventy-fourth Congress), and the Act of May 1,
 6 1937 (Public Resolution Numbered 27, Seventy-fifth Con-
 7 gress), and the Act of January 8, 1937 (Public Resolution
 8 Numbered 1, Seventy-fifth Congress), are hereby repealed.

76TH CONGRESS
 1ST SESSION

S. J. RES. 106

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 28, 1939

Mr. NYE (for himself, Mr. BONE, and Mr. CLARK of Missouri) introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

JOINT RESOLUTION

To amend the joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution providing for the prohibition of the export of arms, ammunition, and implements of war to belligerent countries; the prohibition of the transportation of arms, ammunition, and implements of war by vessels of the United States for the use of belligerent states; for the registration and licensing of persons engaged in the business of manufacturing, exporting, or importing arms, ammunition, or implements of war; and restricting travel by American citizens on belligerent ships during war", approved August 31, 1935, as amended.

- 1 *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*
- 2 *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
- 3 That subsection (a) of section 1 of the joint resolution
- 4 entitled "Joint resolution providing for the prohibition of

1 the export of arms, ammunition, and implements of war
 2 to belligerent countries; the prohibition of the transportation
 3 of arms, ammunition, and implements of war by vessels of
 4 the United States for the use of belligerent states; for the
 5 registration and licensing of persons engaged in the business
 6 of manufacturing, exporting, or importing arms, ammunition,
 7 or implements of war; and restricting travel by American
 8 citizens on belligerent ships during war", approved August
 9 31, 1935, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

10 "SECTION 1. (a) Whenever the Congress shall by joint
 11 resolution find or whenever the President shall find that
 12 there exists a state of war between, or among, two or more
 13 foreign states, the President shall forthwith proclaim such
 14 fact, and it shall thereafter be unlawful to export, or attempt
 15 to export, or cause to be exported, arms, ammunition, or
 16 implements of war from any place in the United States to
 17 any belligerent state named in such proclamation, or to any
 18 neutral state for transshipment to, or for the use of, any
 19 such belligerent state."

20 SEC. 2. Subsection (c) of section 1 of such joint reso-
 21 lution of August 31, 1935, as amended, is amended to read
 22 as follows:

23 "(c) Whenever the Congress shall by joint resolution or
 24 whenever the President shall find that a state of civil strife
 25 exists in a foreign state and that such civil strife is of a mag-

1 nitude or is being conducted under such conditions that the
 2 export of arms, ammunition, or implements of war from the
 3 United States to such foreign state would threaten or en-
 4 danger the peace of the United States, the President shall
 5 forthwith proclaim such fact, and it shall thereafter be un-
 6 lawful to export, or attempt to export, or cause to be ex-
 7 ported, arms, ammunition, or implements of war from any
 8 place in the United States to such foreign state, or to any
 9 neutral state for transshipment to, or for the use of, such
 10 foreign state."

11 SEC. 3. Section 2 of such joint resolution of August 31,
 12 1935, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

13 "SEC. 2. Whenever the President shall have issued a
 14 proclamation under the authority of section 1 of this Act
 15 it shall thereafter be unlawful, except under such limitations
 16 and exceptions as the President may prescribe as to lakes,
 17 rivers, and inland waters bordering on the United States,
 18 and as to transportation on or over lands bordering on the
 19 United States, to export or transport, or attempt to export
 20 or transport, or cause to be exported or transported, from the
 21 United States to any belligerent state, or to any state wherein
 22 civil strife exists, named in such proclamation, or to any
 23 neutral state for transshipment to, or for the use of, any such
 24 belligerent state or any such state wherein civil strife exists,
 25 any articles or materials whatever until all right, title, and

1 interest therein shall have been transferred to some foreign
 2 government, agency, institution, association, partnership,
 3 corporation, or national. Every person who exports or
 4 transports any articles or materials from the United States
 5 to any such state shall be required to file with the collector
 6 of the port from which they are to be exported or transported
 7 a declaration under oath that there exists in citizens of the
 8 United States no right, title, or interest in such articles
 9 or materials, and to comply with such rules and regulations
 10 as shall be promulgated from time to time by the President.
 11 Any such declaration so filed shall be a conclusive estoppel
 12 against any claim of any citizen of the United States of
 13 right, title, or interest in such articles or materials. Insur-
 14 ance written by underwriters on any articles or materials
 15 the export of which is prohibited by this Act, or on any
 16 articles or materials exported or transported in violation of
 17 this section, or on any vessel or vehicle carrying any such
 18 articles or materials, shall not be deemed an American inter-
 19 est therein, and no insurance policy issued on any such
 20 articles or materials or on any such vessel or vehicle, and
 21 no loss incurred under any such insurance policy or by the
 22 owner of the vessel or vehicle carrying any such articles or
 23 materials, shall be made a basis of any claim put forward by
 24 the Government of the United States."

1112 SEC. 4. Subsection (a) of section 6 of such joint resolu-
 1120 tion of August 31, 1935, as amended, is amended to read
 1121 as follows:

1122 " (a) Whenever the President shall have issued a pro-
 1123 clamation under the authority of section 1 of this Act, it shall
 1124 thereafter be unlawful, until such proclamation is revoked,
 1125 for any American vessel to carry any arms, ammunition, or
 1126 implements of war, or any other articles or materials what-
 1127 ever, to any belligerent state, or to any state wherein civil
 1128 strife exists, named in such proclamation, or to any neutral
 1129 state for transshipment to, or for the use of, any such bel-
 1130 ligerent state or any such state wherein civil strife exists."

1131 SEC. 5. Section 9 of such joint resolution, as amended,
 1132 is amended by striking out the following: ", except in
 1133 accordance with such rules and regulations as the President
 1134 shall prescribe".

1135 SEC. 6. Section 10 of such joint resolution of August
 1136 31, 1935, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

1137 "SEC. 10. Whenever the President shall have issued a
 1138 proclamation under the authority of section 1 of this Act,
 1139 it shall thereafter be unlawful, until such proclamation is
 1140 revoked, for any American vessel engaged in commerce to
 1141 be armed or to carry any armament, arms, ammunition, or
 1142 implements of war, except small arms and ammunition

- 1 therefor which the President may deem necessary and shall
- 2 publicly designate for the preservation of discipline aboard
- 3 such vessels."

76TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. J. RES. 21

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 4, 1939

Mr. NYE introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

JOINT RESOLUTION

To prohibit the shipment of arms, ammunition, and implements of war from any place in the United States.

- 1 *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*
- 2 *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
- 3 That from and after the approval of this joint resolution it
- 4 shall be unlawful to export, or attempt to export, or cause
- 5 to be exported, arms, ammunition, or implements of war
- 6 from any place in the United States, except to nations on
- 7 the American continents engaged in war against a non-
- 8 American state or states.
- 9 SEC. 2. The President may, from time to time, promul-
- 10 gate such rules and regulations, not inconsistent with law, as
- 11 may be necessary and proper to carry out any of the pro-

1 visions of this joint resolution; and he may exercise any
2 power or authority conferred on him by this joint resolu-
3 tion through such officer or officers, or agency or agencies,
4 as he shall direct.

5 SEC. 3. Any arms, ammunition, or implements of war
6 exported or attempted to be exported from the United States
7 in violation of any of the provisions of this joint resolution
8 and any vessel or vehicle containing the same shall be sub-
9 ject to the provisions of sections 1 to 8, inclusive, title 6,
10 chapter 30, of the Act approved June 15, 1917 (40 Stat.
11 223-225; U. S. C., title 22, secs. 238-245).

12 In the case of the forfeiture of any arms, ammunition,
13 or implements of war by reason of a violation of this joint
14 resolution, no public or private sale shall be required; but
15 such arms, ammunition, or implements of war shall be
16 delivered to the Secretary of War for such use or disposal
17 thereof as shall be approved by the President of the United
18 States.

19 SEC. 4. In every case of the violation of any of the
20 provisions of this joint resolution or of any rule or regulation
21 issued pursuant thereto where a specific penalty is not herein
22 provided such violator or violators, upon conviction, shall be
23 fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than
24 five years, or both.

1 SEC. 5. If any of the provisions of this joint resolution,
2 or the application thereof to any person or circumstance,
3 is held invalid, the remainder of the joint resolution, and
4 the application of such provisions to other persons or cir-
5 cumstances, shall not be affected thereby.

6 SEC. 6. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated
7 from time to time, out of any money in the Treasury not
8 otherwise appropriated, such amounts as may be necessary
9 to carry out the provisions and accomplish the purposes of
10 this joint resolution.

JOINT RESOLUTION

1 Approved by the Senate and House of Representatives
2 of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
3 That section 1 of the Neutrality Act, approved August 6,
4 1936, as amended, be amended by adding at the end thereof
5 the following new subsection:
6 "(7) Whenever the President shall have issued a prohi-
7 bition under the subject of section 1 of this Act and
8 he shall thereafter find that the violation of such prohibi-
9 tion is a serious matter and that it is in the interest of
10 the United States to provide for the punishment of such
11 civil offenses, it shall be the duty of the President to

76TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. J. RES. 67

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 13, 1939

Mr. THOMAS of Utah introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

JOINT RESOLUTION

To amend the Neutrality Act.

- 1 *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*
 2 *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
 3 That section 2 of the Neutrality Act, approved August 31,
 4 1935, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof
 5 the following new subsection:
 6 " (f) Whenever the President shall have issued a pro-
 7 clamation under the authority of section 1 of this Act and
 8 he shall thereafter find that the placing of restrictions on
 9 the export of certain articles or materials of use in war, in
 10 addition to arms, ammunition, and implements of war, from
 11 the United States to belligerent states, or to a state wherein
 12 civil strife exists, is necessary to promote the security or

1 preserve the peace of the United States, he shall so proclaim,
 2 it shall thereafter be unlawful, except under such limitations
 3 and exceptions as the President may prescribe, to export, or
 4 attempt to export, or cause to be exported, such articles or
 5 materials from any place in the United States to belligerent
 6 states or to any state wherein civil strife exists, named in
 7 such proclamation issued under the authority of section 1 of
 8 this Act, or to any other state for transshipment to, or for
 9 the use of, any such belligerent state or any such state
 10 wherein civil strife exists."

11 SEC. 2. Such Act is further amended by adding after
 12 section 3 the following new section:

13 "SEC. 3A. Whenever the President shall find that one or
 14 more states signatory to a treaty to which the United States
 15 is a party is engaged in war with another state in violation
 16 of such treaty, he may, with the approval of a majority of
 17 each House of Congress, exempt such other state, in whole
 18 or in part, from the provisions of any proclamation issued by
 19 him under the authority of this Act, if such other state is
 20 not engaged in war in violation of such treaty. The President
 21 may, from time to time, charge, modify, or revoke, in whole
 22 or in part, any exemption issued by him under the authority
 23 of this section."

76TH CONGRESS
 1ST SESSION

S. 203

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 4, 1939

Mr. KING introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

A BILL

To repeal the Neutrality Act of August 31, 1935, as amended.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
 2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
 3 That the joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution provid-
 4 ing for the prohibition of the export of arms, ammunition,
 5 and implements of war to belligerent countries; the pro-
 6 hibition of the transportation of arms, ammunition, and
 7 implements of war by vessels of the United States for the
 8 use of belligerent states; for the registration and licensing
 9 of persons engaged in the business of manufacturing, export-
 10 ing, or importing arms, ammunition, or implements of war;
 11 and restricting travel by American citizens on belligerent

1 ships during war", approved August 31, 1935, as amended,
2 is hereby repealed.

3 SEC. 2. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to affect
4 in any manner any proceedings instituted prior to the date
5 of enactment of this Act with respect to any offenses com-
6 mitted or forfeitures incurred under such joint resolution of
7 August 31, 1935, as amended, prior to the date of enactment
8 of this Act.

A BILL

To repeal the Neutrality Act of August 31, 1935, as amended,
and to amend the same in certain particulars.
Enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives
of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
That the joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution provid-
ing for the prohibition of the export of arms, ammunition,
and implements of war to belligerent countries; the pro-
hibition of the transportation of arms, ammunition, and
implements of war by vessels of the United States for the
use of belligerent states; for the restriction and licensing
of persons engaged in the business of manufacturing, export-
ing, or importing arms, ammunition, or implements of war;
and restricting travel by American citizens on belligerent

76TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1745

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 8, 1939

Mr. LEWIS introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred
to the Committee on Foreign Relations

A BILL

To repeal the specific Acts known as neutrality laws passed in
the years 1935, 1936, 1937, and 1938, and to reestablish
the doctrine of the United States that neutrality in all foreign
conflicts is the policy of the United States and to be enforced
according to such regulations as the Executive in charge of
the national defense of the country and the protection of our
citizens, from time to time will be called upon to apply.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That the Acts of Congress designated as neutrality statutes
4 of the dates of the years of 1935, 1936, 1937, and 1938, and
5 the amendments and additions thereto be each hereby
6 repealed.

1 SEC. 2. That the policy of neutrality of the United States
2 of America as concerns conflicts in foreign lands that bear
3 no relation to the United States, of interest to its citizens or
4 defense to its Nation is to be executed from time to time by
5 appropriate Executive orders by the President of the United
6 States and enforced in such branches of the Government as
7 shall be directed.

8 SEC. 3. That the regulations for the enforcement of
9 neutrality in the different forms of political subjects are to
10 be carried out by such provisions and orders, and substitute
11 orders, as from time to time will be called for by the needs
12 of the United States and the proper defense of the interests
13 of its people.

14 All Acts and parts of Acts in conflict with this Act are
15 hereby repealed.

76TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. CON. RES. 8

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 20 (legislative day, MARCH 16), 1939

Mr. SHEPPARD submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Whereas recent expressions from the administration here in Washington and by constituted authorities of certain other nations make it appropriate at this time to bend every effort to avoid another general war during the present generation because such a conflict would be so deadly and such a burden for all nations that eminent authorities agree modern civilization in its present form could not survive such a catastrophe for even a few years; and

Whereas the United States of America has long pursued the policy of contributing to the furtherance of peaceful relations between various nations through its activities in the establishment of The Hague Tribunal, the furthering of the success of the Washington Conference called in this city in 1921, in its participation in the London Conference in 1930, and in addition to other attempts, its action in the First General Conference for the Limitation of Armaments held in Geneva in 1932; and

Whereas the Secretary of State should be commended for his efforts through Geneva recently in advocating a reduction of armaments on the part of the great powers as a part of the program for peace advocated by the present administration, which said reduction in armaments will not only promote the mutual safety of all nations, but also will avoid further vast expenditures of tax money for armaments by the governments of peoples already poverty-stricken and tax-ridden; and

Whereas the experience of the World War as expressed at Versailles soon thereafter demonstrates that peace is also endangered most seriously by the inadequate restriction and control of the manufacture and sale of munitions of war, which matter was properly investigated by the Special Committee on Investigation of the Munitions Industry, authorized by the Senate; and

Whereas it is to the interest of the safety of society and the avoidance of another world war in the near future that the program of the administration for peace mentioned above should include the problem of restriction of the manufacture and sale of munitions of war: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives*
 2 *concurring)*, That the Secretary of State be, and hereby is,
 3 respectfully urged to include in his commendable program
 4 for peace the matter of a mutual restriction and control of the
 5 manufacture and sale of munitions of war; and be it further
 6 *Resolved*, That the Secretary of State be, and hereby is,
 7 further respectfully requested to secure treaties with all the

1 great powers under which there will be effected among other
 2 needed provisions a reduction in all phases of armaments
 3 and all types of armed forces and a concerted restriction on
 4 the manufacture and sale of munitions of war so that this
 5 industry will be strictly regulated in the interest of preserv-
 6 ing peace.

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76TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 2320

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MAY 4, 1939

Mr. VANDENBERG introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

A BILL

To reenact the provisions of section 2 of the joint resolution of August 31, 1935, as amended.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That the provisions of section 2 of the joint resolution of August 31, 1935, as amended by the joint resolution of May 1, 1937, except subsection (e) of such section, are hereby reenacted, as follows:

"EXPORT OF OTHER ARTICLES AND MATERIALS

"SEC. 2. (a) Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of section 1 of this Act and he shall thereafter find that the placing of restrictions on the shipment of certain articles or materials in addition

1 to arms, ammunition, and implements of war from the
 2 United States to belligerent states, or to a state wherein
 3 civil strife exists, is necessary to promote the security or
 4 preserve the peace of the United States or to protect the
 5 lives of citizens of the United States, he shall so proclaim,
 6 and it shall thereafter be unlawful, except under such limi-
 7 tations and exceptions as the President may prescribe as to
 8 lakes, rivers, and inland waters bordering on the United
 9 States, and as to transportation on or over lands bordering
 10 on the United States, for any American vessel to carry such
 11 articles or materials to any belligerent state, or to any state
 12 wherein civil strife exists, named in such proclamation
 13 issued under the authority of section 1 of this Act, or to
 14 any neutral state for transshipment to, or for the use of,
 15 any such belligerent state or any such state wherein civil
 16 strife exists. The President shall by proclamation from time
 17 to time definitely enumerate the articles and materials which
 18 it shall be unlawful for American vessels to so transport.

19 "(b) Whenever the President shall have issued a
 20 proclamation under the authority of section 1 of this Act
 21 and he shall thereafter find that the placing of restrictions on
 22 the export of articles or materials from the United States
 23 to belligerent states, or to a state wherein civil strife exists,
 24 is necessary to promote the security or preserve the peace
 25 of the United States or to protect the lives or commerce of

1 citizens of the United States, he shall so proclaim, and it
 2 shall thereafter be unlawful, except under such limitations
 3 and exceptions as the President may prescribe as to lakes,
 4 rivers, and inland waters bordering on the United States,
 5 and as to transportation on or over land bordering on the
 6 United States, to export or transport, or attempt to export
 7 or transport, or cause to be exported or transported, from
 8 the United States to any belligerent state, or to any state
 9 wherein civil strife exists, named in such proclamation issued
 10 under the authority of section 1 of this Act, or to any neutral
 11 state for transshipment to, or for the use of, any such bel-
 12 ligious state or any such state wherein civil strife exists, any
 13 articles or materials whatever until all right, title, and interest
 14 therein shall have been transferred to some foreign govern-
 15 ment, agency, institution, association, partnership, corpora-
 16 tion, or national. The shipper of such articles or materials
 17 shall be required to file with the collector of the port from
 18 which they are to be exported a declaration under oath that
 19 there exists in citizens of the United States no right, title,
 20 or interest in such articles or materials, and to comply with
 21 such rules and regulations as shall be promulgated from
 22 time to time by the President. Any such declaration so filed
 23 shall be a conclusive estoppel against any claim of any citi-
 24 zen of the United States of right, title, or interest in such
 25 articles or materials. Insurance written by underwriters on

1 any articles or materials the export of which is prohibited by
2 this Act, or on articles or materials carried by an Ameri-
3 can vessel in violation of subsection (a) of this section,
4 shall not be deemed an American interest therein, and no
5 insurance policy issued on such articles or materials and no
6 loss incurred thereunder or by the owner of the vessel
7 carrying the same shall be made a basis of any claim put
8 forward by the Government of the United States.

9 “(c) The President shall from time to time by proclama-
10 tion extend such restrictions as are imposed under the author-
11 ity of this section to other states as and when they may be
12 declared to become belligerent states under proclamations
13 issued under the authority of section 1 of this Act.

14 “(d) The President may from time to time change,
15 modify, or revoke in whole or in part any proclamations is-
16 sued by him under the authority of this section.”

76TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 2320

A BILL

To reenact the provisions of section 2 of the
joint resolution of August 31, 1935, as
amended.

By Mr. VANDENBERG

MAY 4, 1939

Read twice and referred to the Committee on
Foreign Relations

76TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 2402

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MAY 11 (legislative day, MAY 8), 1939

Mr. GILLETTE introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

A BILL

Providing for certain proclamations by the President in the case of war between two or more foreign states, and for other purposes.

- 1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
- 2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
- 3 That whenever any foreign state shall declare that a state
- 4 of war exists between it and any other foreign state or states,
- 5 or whenever the President, or the Congress by concurrent
- 6 resolution, shall find that there exists an undeclared state
- 7 of war between or among two or more foreign states, the
- 8 President shall forthwith proclaim such fact and the names
- 9 of the states involved. He shall also, by proclamation, im-
- 10 mediately name any other state which becomes involved in
- 11 any such war, and he shall, by proclamation, revoke any

1 proclamation issued under the authority of this section when-
 2 ever the conditions which caused him to issue the same shall
 3 cease to exist.

4 AREAS OF COMBAT OPERATIONS

5 SEC. 2. (a) Whenever the President shall have issued
 6 a proclamation under the authority of section 1 of this Act,
 7 he shall, by proclamation, define the areas of combat
 8 operations of the states named in the proclamation so issued
 9 under the authority of section 1, and thereafter any citizen
 10 of the United States or any American vessel that enters or
 11 proceeds through any area so defined shall do so at his or
 12 its own risk: *Provided*, That the provisions of this section
 13 shall not apply to any class of such citizens or vessels which
 14 the President, under such conditions as he may by regulation
 15 prescribe, shall specifically exempt from the operation of this
 16 section.

17 (b) The President may from time to time modify or
 18 extend any proclamation issued under the authority of this
 19 section, and he shall, by proclamation, revoke any procla-
 20 mation so issued when the conditions which caused him to
 21 issue the same shall cease to exist.

22 FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS

23 SEC. 3. (a) Whenever the President shall have issued a
 24 proclamation under the authority of section 1 of this Act, it
 25 shall thereafter be unlawful for any person within the United

1 States to purchase, sell, or exchange bonds, securities, or other
 2 obligations of the government of any State named in such
 3 proclamation, or of any political subdivision of any such State,
 4 or of any person acting for or on behalf of the government
 5 of any such State, issued after the date of such proclamation,
 6 or to make any loan or extend any credit to any such govern-
 7 ment, political subdivision, or person: *Provided*, That if the
 8 President shall find that such action will serve to protect the
 9 commercial or other interests of the United States or its
 10 citizens, he may, in his discretion, and to such extent and
 11 under such regulations as he may prescribe, except from the
 12 operation of this section ordinary commercial credits and
 13 short-time obligations in aid of legal transactions and of a
 14 character customarily used in normal peacetime commercial
 15 transactions. Nothing in this subsection shall be construed
 16 to prohibit the solicitation or collection of funds to be used
 17 for medical aid and assistance, or for food and clothing to
 18 relieve human suffering, when such solicitation or collection
 19 of funds is made on behalf of and for use by any person or
 20 organization which is not acting for or on behalf of any such
 21 government, political subdivision, or person, but all such
 22 solicitations and collections of funds shall be subject to the
 23 approval of the President and shall be made under such rules
 24 and regulations as he shall prescribe.

1 (b) The provisions of this section shall not apply to
 2 a renewal or adjustment of such indebtedness as may exist
 3 on the date of the President's proclamation or to an Ameri-
 4 can republic or republics engaged in war against a non-
 5 American state or states, if the American republic is not co-
 6 operating with a non-American state or states in such war.

7 (c) Whoever shall violate the provisions of this section
 8 or of any regulations issued hereunder shall, upon convic-
 9 tion thereof, be fined not more than \$50,000 or imprisoned
 10 for not more than five years, or both. Should the violation
 11 be by a corporation, organization, or association, each officer
 12 or agent thereof participating in the violation may be liable
 13 to the penalty herein prescribed.

14 (d) Whenever the President shall have revoked any
 15 proclamation issued under the authority of section 1 of
 16 this Act, the provisions of this section and of any regulations
 17 issued by the President hereunder shall thereupon cease to
 18 apply with respect to the state or states named in such
 19 proclamation, except with respect to offenses committed
 20 prior to such revocation.

21 NATIONAL MUNITIONS CONTROL BOARD

22 SEC. 4. (a) There is hereby established a National
 23 Munitions Control Board (hereinafter referred to as the
 24 "Board"). The Board shall consist of the Secretary of State,
 25 who shall be chairman and executive officer of the Board,

1 the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the
 2 Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of Commerce.
 3 Except as otherwise provided in this Act, or by other law,
 4 the administration of this Act is vested in the Department
 5 of State. The Secretary of State shall promulgate such rules
 6 and regulations with regard to the enforcement of this section
 7 as he may deem necessary to carry out its provisions. The
 8 Board shall be convened by the chairman and shall hold
 9 at least one meeting a year.

10 (b) Every person who engages in the business of manu-
 11 facturing, exporting, or importing any arms, ammunition, or
 12 implements of war, whether as an exporter, importer, manu-
 13 facturer, or dealer, shall register with the Secretary of State
 14 his name, or business name, principal place of business, and
 15 places of business in the United States, and a list of the arms,
 16 ammunition, and implements of war which he manufactures,
 17 imports, or exports.

18 (c) Every person required to register under this section
 19 shall notify the Secretary of State of any change in the arms,
 20 ammunition, or implements of war which he exports, imports,
 21 or manufactures; and upon such notification the Secretary
 22 of State shall issue to such person an amended certificate of
 23 registration, free of charge, which shall remain valid until
 24 the date of expiration of the original certificate. Every per-

1 son required to register under the provisions of this section
 2 shall pay a registration fee of \$500, unless he manufactured,
 3 exported, or imported arms, ammunition, and implements of
 4 war to a total sales value of less than \$50,000 during the
 5 twelve months immediately preceding his registration, in
 6 which case he shall pay a registration fee of \$100. Upon
 7 receipt of the required registration fee, the Secretary of State
 8 shall issue a registration certificate valid for five years, which
 9 shall be renewable for further periods of five years upon the
 10 payment for each renewal of a fee of \$500 in the case of
 11 persons who manufactured, exported, or imported arms, am-
 12 munition, and implements of war to a total sales value of
 13 more than \$50,000 during the twelve months immediately
 14 preceding the renewal, or a fee of \$100 in the case of per-
 15 sons who manufactured, exported, or imported arms, ammu-
 16 nition, and implements of war to a total sales value of less
 17 than \$50,000 during the twelve months immediately preced-
 18 ing the renewal. The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby
 19 directed to refund, out of any moneys in the Treasury not
 20 otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$400 to every person
 21 who shall have paid a registration fee of \$500 pursuant to
 22 this Act, who manufactured, exported, or imported arms, am-
 23 munition, and implements of war to a total sales value of
 24 less than \$50,000 during the twelve months immediately
 25 preceding his registration.

1 (d) It shall be unlawful for any person to export, or
 2 attempt to export, from the United States to any other
 3 state, any arms, ammunition, or implements of war, or to
 4 import, or attempt to import, into the United States from any
 5 other state, any arms, ammunition, or implements of war,
 6 without first having obtained a license therefor.

7 (e) All persons required to register under this section
 8 shall maintain, subject to the inspection of the Secretary of
 9 State, or any person or persons designated by him, such
 10 permanent records of manufacture for export, importation,
 11 and exportation of arms, ammunition, and implements of war
 12 as the Secretary of State shall prescribe.

13 (f) Licenses shall be issued to persons who have reg-
 14 istered as herein provided for, except in cases of export or
 15 import licenses where the export of arms, ammunition, or
 16 implements of war would be in violation of law, or of a treaty
 17 to which the United States is a party, in which cases such
 18 licenses shall not be issued.

19 (g) No purchase of arms, ammunition, or implements
 20 of war shall be made on behalf of the United States by any
 21 officer, executive department, or independent establishment
 22 of the Government from any person who shall have failed to
 23 register under the provisions of this Act.

24 (h) The Board shall make an annual report to Congress,
 25 copies of which shall be distributed as are other reports trans-

mitted to Congress. Such reports shall contain such information and data collected by the Board as may be considered of value in the determination of questions connected with the control of trade in arms, ammunition, and implements of war. The Board shall include in such reports a list of all persons required to register under the provisions of this Act, and full information concerning the licenses issued hereunder.

(i) The President shall, by proclamation, definitely enumerate from time to time, upon recommendation of the Board, the articles which shall be considered arms, ammunition, and implements of war for the purposes of this section, but the articles so enumerated shall include the arms, ammunition, and implements of war enumerated in the President's Proclamation Numbered 2163, of April 10, 1936, but shall not include raw materials or any other articles or materials not of the same general character as those enumerated in the said proclamation, and in the Convention for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War, signed at Geneva June 17, 1925.

(j) Whoever shall violate the provisions of this section or of any regulations issued hereunder shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

REGULATIONS

SEC. 5. The President may, from time to time, promulgate such rules and regulations, not inconsistent with law, as may be necessary and proper to carry out any of the provisions of this Act; and he may exercise any power or authority conferred on him by this Act through such officer or officers, or agency or agencies, as he shall direct.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 6. For the purposes of this Act—

(a) The term "United States", when used in a geographical sense, includes the several States and Territories, the insular possessions of the United States (including the Philippine Islands), the Canal Zone, and the District of Columbia.

(b) The term "person" includes a partnership, company, association, or corporation, as well as a natural person.

(c) The term "vessel" means every description of watercraft (including aircraft) or other contrivance used, or capable of being used, as a means of transportation on, under, or over water.

(d) The term "American vessel" means any vessel (including aircraft) documented under the laws of the United States.

(e) The term "vehicle" means every description of carriage (including aircraft) or other contrivance used, or

1 capable of being used, as a means of transportation on or over
2 land.

3 (f) The term "state" shall include nation, government,
4 and country.

5 SEPARABILITY OF PROVISIONS

6 SEC. 7. If any of the provisions of this Act, or the
7 application thereof to any person or circumstance, is held
8 invalid, the remainder of the Act, and the application of
9 such provision to other persons or circumstances, shall not
10 be affected thereby.

11 APPROPRIATIONS

12 SEC. 8. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated
13 from time to time, out of any money in the Treasury not
14 otherwise appropriated, such amounts as may be necessary
15 to carry out the provisions and accomplish the purposes of
16 this Act.

17 REPEALS

18 SEC. 9. The joint resolution of August 31, 1935, as
19 amended, and the joint resolution of January 8, 1937, are
20 hereby repealed; but nothing in this section shall be con-
21 strued to affect in any manner any proceedings instituted
22 prior to the date of enactment of this Act with respect to
23 any offenses committed or forfeitures incurred under either
24 of such joint resolutions prior to the date of enactment of
25 this Act.

A BILL

25405

76TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 2402

A BILL

Providing for certain proclamations by the
President in the case of war between two or
more foreign states, and for other purposes.

By Mr. GILLETTE

MAY 11 (legislative day, MAY 8), 1939

Read twice and referred to the Committee on
Foreign Relations

76TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. J. RES. 306

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JULY 5, 1939

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

JOINT RESOLUTION

Neutrality Act of 1939.

Whereas the policy of the United States in foreign wars not affecting the defense of the United States is a policy of neutrality in accordance with the rules of international law; and

Whereas the United States stands for restating and strengthening the rights of neutrals at the earliest practicable time; and

Whereas it seems advisable, until these rights can be restated, to diminish the risk of this Nation becoming involved in foreign wars by restricting the exercise of certain neutral rights of our citizens: Therefore be it

1 *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*
2 *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

1 PROCLAMATION OF A STATE OF WAR BETWEEN FOREIGN
2 STATES

3 SECTION 1. (a) That whenever the President or Con-
4 gress by concurrent resolution shall find that there exists a
5 state of war between foreign states, and that it is necessary
6 to promote the security or preserve the peace of the United
7 States or to protect the lives of citizens of the United States,
8 the President shall issue a proclamation naming the states
9 involved; and he shall, from time to time, by proclamation,
10 name other states as and when they may become involved
11 in the war.

12 (b) Whenever the conditions which have caused the
13 President to issue any proclamation under the authority of
14 this section have ceased to exist, he shall revoke the same.

15 SEC. 2. Whenever the President shall have issued a
16 proclamation under the authority of section 1 (a) it shall
17 thereafter be unlawful to export, or attempt to export, or
18 cause to be exported, arms or ammunition from any place in
19 the United States to any belligerent states named in such
20 proclamation.

21 TRAVEL ON VESSELS OF BELLIGERENT STATES

22 SEC. 3. (a) Whenever the President shall have issued
23 a proclamation under the authority of section 1 (a), no citi-
24 zen of the United States shall travel except at his own risk
25 on any vessel of the state or states named in such proclama-

1 tion, unless in accordance with such rules and regulations
2 as the President shall prescribe.

3 (b) Whenever the President shall have revoked any
4 proclamation issued under the authority of section 1 (a),
5 the provisions of this section and of any regulations issued
6 by the President hereunder shall thereupon cease to apply
7 with respect to the state or states named in such procla-
8 mation, except with respect to offenses committed prior to
9 such revocation.

10 FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS AND TRANSFER OF TITLE

11 SEC. 4. (a) Whenever the President shall have issued
12 a proclamation under the authority of section 1 (a), it shall
13 thereafter be unlawful for any person within the United
14 States to purchase, sell, or exchange bonds, securities, or
15 other obligations of the government of any state named
16 in such proclamation, or of any political subdivision of
17 any such state, or of any person acting for or on behalf
18 of the government of any such state, issued after the date
19 of such proclamation, or to make any loan or extend any
20 credit to any such government, political subdivision, or
21 person: *Provided*, That if the President shall find that such
22 action will serve to protect the commercial or other interests
23 of the United States or its citizens, he may, in his discretion,
24 and to such extent and under such regulations as he may
25 prescribe, except from the operation of this section for a

1 period of not more than ninety days without renewals ordi-
 2 nary commercial credits and short-time obligations in aid
 3 of legal transactions and of a character customarily used in
 4 normal peacetime commercial transaction; the President
 5 shall make public every ninety days any and all exceptions
 6 granted under this proviso, together with the amounts of
 7 credits involved.

8 (b) The provisions of this section shall not apply to a
 9 renewal or adjustment of such indebtedness as may exist
 10 on the date of the President's proclamation.

11 (c) Whoever shall violate the provisions of subsection
 12 (a) of this section or of any regulations issued thereunder
 13 shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than
 14 \$50,000 or imprisoned for not more than five years, or
 15 both. Should the violation be by a corporation, organization,
 16 or association, each officer or agent thereof participating in
 17 the violation may be liable to the penalty herein prescribed.

18 (d) Whenever the President shall have issued a procla-
 19 mation under the authority of section 1 (a) it shall there-
 20 after be unlawful, except in accordance with such rules
 21 and regulations as the President shall prescribe, to export or
 22 transport, or attempt to export or transport, or cause to be
 23 exported or transported, from the United States directly or
 24 indirectly to any state named in the proclamation, any
 25 articles or materials until all right, title, and interest therein
 26 shall have been transferred to some foreign government,

1 agency, institution, association, partnership, corporation, or
 2 national. The shipper of such articles or materials shall be
 3 required to file with the collector of the port from which
 4 they are to be exported a declaration under oath that there
 5 exists in citizens of the United States no right, title, or
 6 interest in such articles or materials, and to comply with such
 7 rules and regulations as shall be promulgated from time
 8 to time by the President. Any such declaration so filed shall
 9 be a conclusive estoppel against any claim of any citizen
 10 of the United States of right, title, or interest in such articles
 11 or materials. Insurance written by underwriters on such
 12 articles or materials shall not be deemed an American interest
 13 therein, and no insurance policy issued on such articles or
 14 materials, and no loss incurred thereunder, shall be made
 15 the basis of any claim put forward by the Government of
 16 the United States. The provisions of this subsection shall
 17 not apply to trade on or over lands, lakes, rivers, and inland
 18 waters bordering on the United States.

19 (e) Whenever the President shall have revoked any
 20 proclamation issued under the authority of section 1 (a),
 21 the provisions of this section and of any regulations issued
 22 by the President hereunder shall thereupon cease to apply
 23 with respect to the state or states named in such proclama-
 24 tion, except with respect to offenses committed prior to such
 25 revocation.

SOLICITATION AND COLLECTION OF FUNDS

SEC. 5. (a) Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of section 1 (a), it shall thereafter be unlawful for any person within the United States to solicit or receive any contribution for or on behalf of the government of any small state named in the proclamation or of any association, organization, or person acting for or on behalf of such government. Nothing in this section shall be construed to prohibit the solicitation or collection of contributions to be used for medical aid and assistance, or for food and clothing to relieve human suffering, when such solicitation or collection of contributions is made on behalf of and for use by any person or organization which is not acting for or on behalf or in aid of any such government, but all such solicitations and collections of contributions shall be subject to the approval of the President and shall be made under such rules and regulations as he shall prescribe.

(b) Whenever the President shall have revoked any proclamation issued under the authority of section 1 (a), the provisions of this section and of any regulations issued by the President hereunder shall thereupon cease to apply with respect to the small states named in such proclamation, except with respect to offenses committed prior to such revocation.

AMERICAN REPUBLICS

SEC. 6. The foregoing provisions of this joint resolution shall not apply to any American republic.

USE OF AMERICAN PORTS AS BASE OF SUPPLY

SEC. 7. (a) Whenever, during any war in which the United States is neutral, the President, or any person thereunto authorized by him, shall have cause to believe that any vessel, domestic or foreign, whether requiring clearance or not, is about to carry out of a port of the United States, fuel, men, arms, ammunition, implements of war, or other supplies to any warship, tender, or supply ship of a belligerent state in violation of the laws, treaties or obligations of the United States under the law of nations and the supreme law of the land, but the evidence is not deemed sufficient to justify forbidding the departure of the vessel as provided for by section 1, title V, chapter 30, of the Act approved June 15, 1917 (40 Stat. 217, 221; U. S. C., 1934 edition, title 18, sec. 31), and if, in the President's judgment, such action will serve to maintain peace between the United States and foreign states, or to protect the commercial interests of the United States and its citizens, or to promote the security or neutrality of the United States, he shall have the power, and it shall be his duty, to require the owner, master, or person in command thereof, before departing from a port of the United States, to give a bond

1 to the United States, with sufficient sureties, in such amount
2 as he shall deem proper, conditioned that the vessel will
3 not deliver the men, or any part of the cargo, to any war-
4 ship, tender, or supply ship of a belligerent state.

5 (b) If the President, or any person thereunto author-
6 ized by him, shall find that a vessel, domestic or foreign,
7 in a port of the United States, has previously cleared from
8 a port of the United States during such war and delivered
9 its cargo or any part thereof to a warship, tender, or
10 supply ship of a belligerent state, he may prohibit the
11 departure of such vessel during the duration of the war.

12 SUBMARINES AND ARMED MERCHANT VESSELS

13 SEC. 8. Whenever, during any war in which the United
14 States is neutral, the President shall find that special restric-
15 tions placed on the use by the submarines or armed merchant
16 vessels of a belligerent state of the ports and territorial waters
17 of the United States will serve to maintain peace between
18 the United States and belligerent states, or to protect the
19 commercial interests of the United States and its citizens,
20 or to promote the security of the United States, and shall
21 make proclamation thereof, it shall thereafter be unlawful
22 for any such submarine or armed merchant vessel to enter
23 a port or the territorial waters of the United States or to
24 depart therefrom, except under such conditions and subject
25 to such limitations as the President may prescribe. When-

1 ever, in his judgment, the conditions which have caused him
2 to issue his proclamation have ceased to exist, he shall re-
3 voke his proclamation and the provisions of this section
4 shall thereupon cease to apply.

5 NATIONAL MUNITIONS CONTROL BOARD

6 SEC. 9. (a) There is hereby established a National
7 Munitions Control Board (hereinafter referred to as the
8 "Board"). The Board shall consist of the Secretary of
9 State, who shall be chairman and executive officer of the
10 Board, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War,
11 the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of Commerce.
12 Except as otherwise provided in this joint resolution, or by
13 other law, the administration of this joint resolution is vested
14 in the Department of State. The Secretary of State shall
15 promulgate such rules and regulations with regard to the
16 enforcement of this section as he may deem necessary to
17 carry out its provisions. The Board shall be convened
18 by the chairman and shall hold at least one meeting a year.

19 (b) Every person who engages in the business of manu-
20 facturing, exporting, or importing any of the arms, ammuni-
21 tion, or implements of war referred to in this joint resolution,
22 whether as an exporter, importer, manufacturer, or dealer,
23 shall register with the Secretary of State his name, or busi-
24 ness name, principal place of business, and places of business
25 in the United States, and a list of the arms, ammunition,

1 and implements of war which he manufactures, imports,
2 or exports.

3 (c) Every person required to register under this sec-
4 tion shall notify the Secretary of State of any change in the
5 arms, ammunition, or implements of war which he exports,
6 imports, or manufactures; and upon such notification the
7 Secretary of State shall issue to such person an amended
8 certificate of registration, free of charge, which shall remain
9 valid until the date of expiration of the original certificate.
10 Every person required to register under the provisions of
11 this section shall pay a registration fee of \$100. Upon
12 receipt of the required registration fee, the Secretary of State
13 shall issue a registration certificate valid for five years, which
14 shall be renewable for further periods of five years upon
15 the payment for each renewal of a fee of \$100.

16 (d) It shall be unlawful for any person to export, or
17 attempt to export, from the United States to any other
18 state, any of the arms, ammunition, or implements of war
19 referred to in this joint resolution, or to import, or attempt
20 to import, to the United States from any other state, any
21 of the arms, ammunition, or implements of war referred to
22 in this joint resolution, without first having obtained a license
23 therefor. In the application for license the applicant shall
24 set forth a description of such exports or imports together
25 with the terms of sale as to credit or payment.

1 (e) All persons required to register under this section
2 shall maintain, subject to the inspection of the Secretary of
3 State, or any person or persons designated by him, such per-
4 manent records of manufacture for export, importation, and
5 exportation of arms, ammunition, and implements of war as
6 the Secretary of State shall prescribe.

7 (f) Licenses shall be issued to persons who have regis-
8 tered as herein provided for, except in cases of export or
9 import licenses where the export of arms, ammunition, or
10 implements of war would be in violation of this joint reso-
11 lution or any other law of the United States, or of a treaty
12 to which the United States is a party, in which cases such
13 licenses shall not be issued.

14 (g) No purchase of arms, ammunition, or implements
15 of war shall be made on behalf of the United States by any
16 officer, executive department, or independent establishment
17 of the Government from any person who shall have failed
18 to register under the provisions of this joint resolution.

19 (h) The provisions of the Act of August 29, 1916,
20 relating to the sale of ordnance and stores to the Govern-
21 ment of Cuba (39 Stat. 619, 643; U. S. C., 1934 edition,
22 title 50, sec. 72), are hereby repealed as of December 31,
23 1937.

24 (i) The Board shall make an annual report to Congress,
25 copies of which shall be distributed as are other reports

1 transmitted to Congress. Such reports shall contain such
 2 information and data collected by the Board as may be con-
 3 sidered of value in the determination of questions connected
 4 with the control of trade in arms, ammunition, and imple-
 5 ments of war. The Board shall include in such reports a
 6 list of all persons required to register under the provisions
 7 of this joint resolution, and full information concerning the
 8 licenses issued hereunder: *Provided*, That, if the President
 9 shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of
 10 section 1 (a), the Board shall thereupon make public an
 11 immediate report containing all the information herein pro-
 12 vided, and shall make public a similar report each ninety days
 13 thereafter so long as such proclamation shall be in force.

14 (j) The President is hereby authorized to proclaim
 15 upon recommendation of the Board from time to time a list
 16 of articles which shall be considered arms, ammunition, and
 17 implements of war for the purposes of this section.

18 REGULATIONS

19 SEC. 10. The President may, from time to time, pro-
 20 mulgate such rules and regulations, not inconsistent with law,
 21 as may be necessary and proper to carry out any of the
 22 provisions of this joint resolution; and he may exercise any
 23 power or authority conferred on him by this joint resolution
 24 through such officer or officers, or agency or agencies, as he
 25 shall direct.

1 GENERAL PENALTY PROVISION

2 SEC. 11. In every case of the violation of any of the
 3 provisions of this joint resolution or of any rule or regula-
 4 tion issued pursuant thereto where a specific penalty is not
 5 herein provided, such violator or violators, upon conviction,
 6 shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or imprisoned not more
 7 than five years, or both.

8 DEFINITIONS

9 SEC. 12. For the purposes of this joint resolution—

10 (a) The term "United States", when used in a geo-
 11 graphical sense, includes the several States and Territories,
 12 the insular possessions of the United States (including the
 13 Philippine Islands), the Canal Zone, and the District of
 14 Columbia.

15 (b) The term "person" includes a partnership, com-
 16 pany, association, or corporation, as well as a natural person.

17 (c) The term "vessel" means every description of
 18 watercraft (including aircraft) or other contrivance used,
 19 or capable of being used, as a means of transportation on,
 20 under, or over water.

21 (d) The term "state" shall include nation, government
 22 and country.

23 SEPARABILITY OF PROVISIONS

24 SEC. 13. If any of the provisions of this joint resolu-
 25 tion, or the application thereof to any person or circumstance,
 26 is held invalid, the remainder of the joint resolution, and the

1 application of such provision to other persons or circum-
 2 stances, shall not be affected thereby.

3 **APPROPRIATIONS**

4 SEC. 14. There is hereby authorized to be appropri-
 5 ated from time to time, out of any money in the Treasury
 6 not otherwise appropriated, such amounts as may be neces-
 7 sary to carry out the provisions and accomplish the purposes
 8 of this joint resolution.

9 **REPEAL OF ACTS OF 1935, 1936, 1937**

10 SEC. 15. The Act of August 31, 1935 (Public Reso-
 11 lution Numbered 67, Seventy-fourth Congress), as amended
 12 by the Act of February 29, 1936 (Public Resolution Num-
 13 bered 74, Seventy-fourth Congress), and the Act of May 1,
 14 1937 (Public Resolution Numbered 27, Seventy-fifth Con-
 15 gress), and the Act of January 8, 1937 (Public Resolution
 16 Numbered 1, Seventy-fifth Congress), are hereby repealed:
 17 *Provided*, That such repeal shall not affect the validity of
 18 the Proclamation Numbered 2237 of May 1, 1937 (50 Stat.
 19 1834), defining the term "arms, ammunition, and imple-
 20 ments of war" or of certificates of registration or licenses
 21 issued pursuant to the provisions of section 5 of the Act of
 22 May 1, 1937.

Passed the House of Representatives June 30, 1939.

Attest: SOUTH TRIMBLE,

Clerk.

RECEIVED
 JUNE 30 1939

H. R. RES. 306

JOINT RESOLUTION

70th Congress, 1st Session

Printed by the Government Printing Office

76TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. J. RES. 306

JOINT RESOLUTION

Neutrality Act of 1939.

JULY 5, 1939

Read twice and referred to the Committee on
Foreign Relations

76TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. J. RES. 186

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 5 (legislative day, AUGUST 2), 1939

Mr. NYE introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

JOINT RESOLUTION

Providing that the United States should maintain a policy of strict neutrality in Asia.

Whereas it is charged openly and the facts would seem to demonstrate that the United States has a secret alliance with Great Britain in relation to both Europe and Asia; and

Whereas such an alliance must inevitably mean war for the United States; and

Whereas by a succession of newspaper dispatches it is disclosed that the Department of State is actively participating through communications and conferences in relation to the support of the Chinese Nationalist currency, in a conflict between Great Britain and Japan, and in relation to Chinese silver in the British banks in Tientsin, as well as in other matters which affect Great Britain; and

Whereas such conduct by the Department of State in the war in Asia is political intervention in Asia and is wholly unneutral; and

Whereas such conduct cannot but involve the United States on the side of Great Britain in its differences with Japan and must ultimately lead the United States into war: Therefore be it

- 1 *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*
- 2 *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
- 3 That the United States should maintain a policy of strict
- 4 neutrality in relation to the war now taking place between
- 5 China and Japan and disassociate itself from Great Britain,
- 6 whose political and economic interests in China are para-
- 7 mount and are now in conflict with the interests of Japan,
- 8 and that war with Japan in support of British interests would
- 9 mean disaster for the United States.

76TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. J. RES. 186

JOINT RESOLUTION

Providing that the United States should maintain a policy of strict neutrality in Asia.

By Mr. NYE

AUGUST 5 (legislative day, AUGUST 2), 1939

Read twice and referred to the Committee on
Foreign Relations

76TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. J. RES. 123

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JULY 11 (legislative day, JULY 10), 1939

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

AMENDMENT

(IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE)

Intended to be proposed by Mr. PITTMAN to the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 123) relative to violation of a treaty, viz: Strike out all after the resolving clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

- 1 That whenever the President shall find that any foreign
- 2 state which is a party to the treaty known as the Nine
- 3 Power Pact between the United States, Belgium, the British
- 4 Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands,
- 5 and Portugal, regarding principles and policies to be followed
- 6 in matters concerning China, signed at Washington, Febru-
- 7 ary 6, 1922, is endangering the lives of citizens of the United
- 8 States, or depriving such citizens of their legal rights and
- 9 privileges, through the commission of acts, or the failure to

1 perform required acts, in violation of the express provisions
 2 and guaranties in said treaty, the President is authorized
 3 by proclamation to restrict or prohibit the export from the
 4 United States to such foreign state and to any other place
 5 under the physical or political control thereof of any of the
 6 following articles and materials: "Arms, ammunition, im-
 7 plements of war", as defined in the Act approved May 1,
 8 1937 (Public Resolution Numbered 27, Seventy-fifth Con-
 9 gress, first session), and iron, steel, oil, gasoline, scrap-iron,
 10 scrap-steel, and scrap-metal containing a combination of
 11 iron or steel and other metals or any combination of metals.

12 SEC. 2. (a) Each proclamation issued by the President
 13 under section 1 shall definitely enumerate the articles and
 14 materials referred to in such section the export of which is
 15 to be restricted or prohibited by such proclamation, and shall
 16 name the foreign state or states and the places under the
 17 physical or political control thereof to which such procla-
 18 mation is to apply.

19 (b) Each such proclamation shall take effect upon the
 20 thirtieth day after the date such proclamation is issued, and
 21 shall remain in effect until changed, modified, or revoked
 22 as hereinafter provided.

23 (c) The President may from time to time by procla-
 24 mation change, modify, or revoke, in whole or in part, any
 25 such proclamation, and he is authorized to prescribe such

1 rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the
 2 provisions of this joint resolution.

3 (d) Whenever in the judgment of the President the
 4 conditions which caused him to issue any such proclamation
 5 have ceased to exist, he shall revoke the proclamation and
 6 the provisions of this joint resolution shall thereupon cease
 7 to apply with respect to the foreign state or states and the
 8 places under the physical or political control thereof named
 9 in such proclamation, except with respect to offenses com-
 10 mitted, or forfeitures incurred, prior to such revocation.

11 SEC. 3. (a) It is hereby declared to be the intent of
 12 Congress that the authority granted to the President by this
 13 joint resolution shall be exercised only to the extent neces-
 14 sary for the protection of the lives of citizens of the United
 15 States and the rights and privileges guaranteed to them
 16 under the treaty referred to in section 1, and that such
 17 authority shall not be exercised until after the President shall
 18 have made every reasonable effort to induce the foreign
 19 state or states concerned in any violation of said treaty to
 20 comply with the terms of said treaty in order to protect the
 21 lives of such citizens and the rights and privileges so
 22 guaranteed.

23 (b) In carrying out the provisions of this joint resolu-
 24 tion there shall be no discrimination between foreign states
 25 which are parties to and so violating said treaty.

1 SEC. 4. (a) Whoever shall export, or attempt to export,
2 or cause to be exported, from the United States to any foreign
3 state or states or to any place under the physical or political
4 control thereof named in any proclamation issued by the
5 President under section 1, any articles or materials enumer-
6 ated in such proclamation the export of which is restricted
7 or prohibited, shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or im-
8 prisoned not more than five years, or both, and the property,
9 vessel, or vehicle containing the same shall be subject to the
10 provisions of sections 1 to 8, inclusive, title 6, chapter 30,
11 of the Act approved June 15, 1917 (40 Stat. 223-225;
12 U. S. C., 1934 edition, title 22, secs. 238-245).

13 (b) In the case of the forfeiture of any articles or ma-
14 terials by reason of a violation of any such proclamation, no
15 public or private sale shall be required; but such articles or
16 materials shall be delivered to the Secretary of War for such
17 use or disposal thereof as shall be approved by the President.

18 SEC. 5. This joint resolution and all proclamations is-
19 sued thereunder shall not be effective after May 1, 1940,
20 except with respect to offenses committed, or forfeitures
21 incurred, prior to such date.

76TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. J. RES. 123

AMENDMENT

(IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE)

Intended to be proposed by Mr. PITTMAN to
the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 123) relative
to violation of a treaty.

JULY 11 (legislative day, JULY 10), 1939
Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and
ordered to be printed

76TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. J. RES. 143

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JUNE 1 (legislative day, MAY 31), 1939

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

JOINT RESOLUTION

To provide for retaining in the United States, and denying export therefrom, articles or materials to be used in violation of the sovereignty, independence, or territorial or administrative integrity of any nation, contrary to the treaty engagements of the United States.

- 1 *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*
- 2 *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
- 3 That in compliance with our treaty engagements, and to
- 4 conserve our resources for national-defense purposes, there
- 5 shall be retained within the United States, and denied export
- 6 therefrom, all goods, wares, merchandise, munitions, mate-
- 7 rials, and supplies of every kind and character, except agri-
- 8 cultural products, which there is reason to believe will, if
- 9 exported, be used, directly or indirectly, in violation of the

1 sovereignty, or the independence, or the territorial or admin-
 2 istrative integrity of any nation, whose sovereignty, inde-
 3 pendence, and territorial and administrative integrity the
 4 United States is obligated by treaty to respect.

5 SEC. 2. The President shall issue from time to time as
 6 may be necessary public proclamations specifying articles
 7 and materials to be retained within the United States and
 8 denied export therefrom under this Act, and the extent to
 9 which and the terms and conditions under which such articles
 10 and materials shall be so retained and denied export. Any
 11 such proclamation shall become effective on the date specified
 12 therein.

13 SEC. 3. Any proclamation issued under section 2 of this
 14 Act, together with a statement of the facts upon which it
 15 is based, shall be transmitted by the President to the Con-
 16 gress forthwith, or, if the Congress is not in session, at the
 17 beginning of the next session. If the Congress shall there-
 18 after disapprove of such proclamation by concurrent resolu-
 19 tion, such proclamation shall not be effective after the date
 20 of such concurrent resolution.

21 SEC. 4. The President may, from time to time, pro-
 22 mulgate such rules and regulations, not inconsistent with
 23 law, as may be necessary and proper to carry out any of
 24 the provisions of this joint resolution; and he may exercise
 25 any power or authority conferred on him by this reso-

1 lution through such officer or officers, or agency or agencies,
 2 as he shall direct.

3 SEC. 5. It shall be unlawful to export, or attempt to
 4 export, or in any manner contribute to the export of, any
 5 article or material from the United States in violation of
 6 the terms or conditions of any proclamation issued under
 7 section 2. Any person violating the provisions of this joint
 8 resolution or any rule or regulation issued hereunder shall,
 9 upon conviction, be fined not more than \$50,000 or im-
 10 prisoned not more than five years, or both.

21 RES. 143

JOINT RESOLUTION

JOINT RESOLUTION

To provide for retaining in the United States, and denying export therefrom, articles or materials to be used in violation of the sovereignty, independence, or territorial or administrative integrity of any nation, contrary to the treaty engagements of the United States.

By Mr. SCHWELLENBACH

JUNE 1 (legislative day, MAY 31), 1939

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

S. RES. 166

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JULY 18, 1939

Mr. VANDENBERG submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

RESOLUTION

1 *Resolved*, That it is the sense of the Senate that the
2 Government of the United States should give Japan the
3 six months' notice required by the treaty of 1911 for its
4 abrogation so that the Government of the United States may
5 be free to deal with Japan in the formulation of a new
6 treaty and in the protection of American interests as new
7 necessities may require; and be it further

8 *Resolved*, That it is the sense of the Senate that the
9 Government of the United States should ask that the Con-
10 ference of Brussels of 1937, now in recess, should be reas-
11 sembled to determine, pursuant to the express provisions of
12 the Nine-Power Treaty of Washington of 1922, whether
13 Japan has been and is violating said treaty and to recom-
14 mend the appropriate course to be pursued by the signatories.

76TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. RES. 166

RESOLUTION

Favoring the notification of Japan of the intention of the United States to abrogate the treaty of 1911.

By Mr. VANDENBERG

JULY 18, 1939

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

2. RES. 166

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

July 18, 1939

The Committee on Foreign Relations

has the honor to report the following resolution, which was reported to

RESOLUTION

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Paris, October 4, 1939.

Personal and
Secret.

Dear Mr. President:

I enclose herewith three documents that will interest you.

The long one beginning, "Dear Sir Edward" is the communication on behalf of the French Government, written by Jean Monnet, to the British Government, in the person of Sir Edward Bridges, Secretary of the War Cabinet, concerning the organization for practical collaboration between the French and British Governments.

You will note that it follows the lines established in 1918. It is entirely sensible, I think; and I plead guilty to getting the idea started and to getting Daladier to put the matter in Monnet's hands.

Monnet

The Honorable

Franklin Delano Roosevelt,

President of the United States of America,

The White House,

Washington.

Monnet accompanied Daladier to England for his conferences with Chamberlain last week, and has spent the days since talking with all the Cabinet Ministers in England. He is confident that the British will accept the organization as outlined by him in this letter. I thought you would be interested in having it in advance.

So far as the organization in the United States is concerned, the present plan is to set up a joint Franco-British purchasing agency, and not make purchases through Morgan and Company or through any other bank or agent.

I have had a large enough finger in all this business to be able to steer it, in case you have any definite ideas as to what you want or do not want. Just let me know.

The second and third documents have to do with airplane orders in the United States. They were handed to me tonight by Guy La Chambre.

The airplane situation is approximately the following: The French produced in the month of September 1939, 319 war planes. The British produced approximately 450 war planes. In addition, both the French and

British

British produced a considerable number of training planes.

The French and British believe that the Germans can produce approximately fifteen hundred planes per month but can not go above that figure; and that the Germans are now producing one thousand planes a month.

The French and British hope that their combined production of war planes will amount to approximately twelve hundred a month by next Spring. It is obvious to everyone that if France and England are to obtain, first, equality in the air, and then dominance in the air, the productive capacity of the United States must be called into play to a much larger degree than at present.

The French realize that the production of motors by Pratt and Whitney, Curtiss Wright, and Allison will be in such large measure taken up by orders of the American Army that it will be necessary for the British and French to pay for enlargements of these plants so that their production may be trebled.

The present plan is to send to the United States, as soon as the Neutrality Act shall have been changed,

persons

persons competent to carry through the business of enlarging existing plants and placing of orders.

The French Air Ministry, and Daladier as well, have great confidence in Colonel Jacquin who is now in Washington; but business on the scale contemplated-- which will probably amount to a billion dollars-- will probably be placed in the hands of Monnet. Nothing of course will be done until the embargo provisions of the Neutrality Act shall have been eliminated.

You will note in the long and disorderly slip of paper--handed me tonight by Guy La Chambre--which gives the orders placed in America, that between now and next February, one hundred Douglasses and 215 Glenn Martins are to be delivered; but that no Curtiss P-36s are to be delivered between now and next February. The reason for this is that the Curtiss P-36 production between now and February has been taken by our own army. In combat the P-36s have proved superior to the German Messerschmidts and everyone, from the aviators who fly them up to Daladier, is enthusiastic about them. Fifteen of the P-36s have already been lost in combat and, incidentally, have destroyed approximately 22 Messerschmidts.

It

It is vital at the present time for the French to have replacements for the unit of 200 P-36s which they got to France just before the war began. The French are desperately anxious to buy more P-36s at once, and would be glad to buy every P-36 that can be produced in the United States between now and December 1940.

I do not know the point of view of our army on the P-36s at the present time; but I remember that last January when we were discussing the question of this plane, our army already regarded it as slightly antique, and was especially anxious to get the P-40. If this still remains the point of view of our army, and especially if our army has its nose more in the air than last January with regard to the P-36, it occurs to me that there might be a method entirely legal and not offensive to our army by which the production of P-36 planes could be released for purchase by the French.

Is it not possible and desirable for our army to declare that since it has a model - the P-40 - far superior to the P-36, it is no longer interested in the P-36 production?

I make this suggestion with full knowledge that I am entirely ignorant with regard to the views of our army at this moment. If there is anything to be done in this sense, you will know, and I am certain that you will do it.

There is another enormous hole in the French defense against the German bombardment planes. The French have practically no modern "projectors", that is to say, search-lights for use against German bombardment planes that arrive at night. The French search-lights are too slow in action to follow the modern bombing planes and there is an intense fear here that night bombing of Paris and other vital centers may be most terrible.

As you know, the only two manufacturers of search-lights of this nature in the United States are General Electric and Sperry. The French have approached these two corporations and asked urgently for deliveries. They have been told that deliveries by these companies have been so fully pre-empted by our own army that the combined production which can be sold to the French will be 9 search-lights in February of next year; 15 in March, and 30 in April. What will be left of Paris and other

French

French towns by that time remains to be seen.

I do not know whether or not there is any method of increasing the production of these search-lights or of releasing some of the present production to the French. Will you have this looked into? It may be vital.

My own view of the future is the following: France and England will not accept the "peace ultimatum" that Germany is contemplating. It may indeed never be launched. Germany then will attack France with all the force that she possesses or can acquire from the Soviet Union and Italy.

The attack against France may be successful. I do not believe that it will be.

If American production of airplane motors and bodies can be trebled in eight months, dominance in the air should be in the hands of the French and British by August or September of next year. This dominance could be increased greatly by the spring of 1941, and at that time France and England might hope to defeat Germany.

Germany's obvious avenue of escape then would be to go Bolshevik and summon the Soviet armies. If French

and

and British dominance in the air should be sufficient at that time, the Soviet Union would not dare to march and France and England could impose a peace that would prevent the destruction of everything civilized on the continent of Europe by the Bolsheviks.

It is clear that the small nations of the world -- and that includes every nation as small or smaller than Poland -- will no longer be able to exist unless at the end of this war there can be established such a dominance in the air of the United States, England and France that the small nations can be protected without vast losses of infantrymen.

The productive capacity of France and England in airplanes is too small to achieve such dominance. The future, therefore, will depend on the production of an overwhelming number of planes in the United States.

I realize that France and England may be defeated and destroyed before our American production can be raised to a sufficient point to save them, but I hope that will not be.

I am certain that there is no single problem confronting you at the moment which is more important than

the

the problem of increasing our production of motors and planes.

I think that the French and British will have sense enough to be ready to pay cash for the extension of existing facilities for production in the United States and for the purchase of all the production of those increased facilities, but it is obvious that such an increase in production can be carried out only with the fullest cooperation of our government and it is also obvious that such cooperation will depend entirely on yourself in the first instance.

I am sending this letter to you by special courier on the CLIPPER, and I hope that it will reach you in less than a week. If you have any comment or suggestions to make, will you please send me back a word by the same route.

The question of the P-36s is so urgent that if you see a way to get deliveries of any number of these machines however small for the French -- even a dozen per month -- I hope you will send me a telegram containing just one word, "Favorable". In that case, I could have Colonel Jacquin phone immediately to Miss

Le Hand

- 10 -

Le Hand, who could put him in touch either with yourself or any one you might designate. Both Daladier and Guy La Chambre assure me that he is a man of the utmost discretion.

We are expecting the bombs to begin falling on this house in about a week; but nobody either here or anywhere else in France is disturbed by the prospect. This people remains an example of what a nation should be when faced by the ultimate realities.

Love and good luck.

Bill

October 1st.

Dear Sir Edward,

This is a hasty note written quickly before leaving for Paris. I am entrusting it to Pleven who will bring it to you and be at your disposal to comment on any part which I am afraid might be obscure in view of the rush in which this letter is dictated.

I am attempting only to cover the various points which we discussed and to outline suggestions for the solution of some of the problems which will face our two countries; some of these problems have been met during the last war and were solved by the organization which was created at the end of 1917, while some others are new and might require original solutions.

In the main, the ideas and organization I have discussed with you and the various British Ministries to whom you were good enough to introduce me, are nothing else than the very ideas and organization which finally, after three years of conflict, the Allies had to recognize as essential, and were successfully tested.

As regards the organization, there should be established for each main category of needs an Anglo-French Council and corresponding Permanent Executive Committee. The following Councils and Committees could be immediately created:

Anglo-French Council of Armaments	-	Permanent Executive Committee of Armaments,
" " " " Aviation	-	Permanent Executive Committee of Aviation,
" " " " Food	-	Permanent Executive Committee of Food,
" " " " Maritime Transports	-	Permanent Executive Committee of Sea Transports.

The requirements of certain raw materials, such as: coal, oil, timber, are likely to be so important that it might be well justified to have special Executives dealing exclusively with these products. Also certain groups of supplies, such as for example wheat, sugar, etc., which are grouped under the heading of Food may require special Executives such as wheat, sugar, etc. This can be worked out as and when necessary.

Such an organization should necessarily be in close touch with the Economic Warfare organization, as it is clear that the programmes of purchases of the Executive Committee will be very often influenced by the necessities of Economic Warfare, while the existence of the Committees and of their joint purchasing organizations will in many cases assist the action of the Economic Warfare.

On the model of what was created in the last war, the Councils could be composed of the respective English and French Ministers and would deal only with questions of broad policy, and would issue general directions to their Permanent Executive Committees.

The Permanent Executive Committees would be constituted by a few technicians of both countries; their duty would be:

- a) to establish and keep an inventory of the resources and requirements of both countries,
- b) to secure the best utilization in the common interest of the resources of the two countries in raw material, means of production, etc.,
- c) on the basis of the national programmes communicated to them by their respective national Administrations, to formulate the joint allied import programmes,
- d) to organize the purchases to be made in common abroad through single purchasing agencies,

e) to follow the execution of these programmes.

The principle of purchases being made for joint account through single agents in the various foreign countries seems to be of paramount importance, but probably nowhere will prove more essential than in the United States. In this connection you will remember the explanations I have given you about the precautions to observe and the methods to follow when France and England will be able to purchase war material in the United States, particularly aviation material.

In many countries the establishment of joint purchases might also lead to the joint purchasing organization becoming the agent of neutral countries for their own purchases, with the result that the allied purchasing organization would thus become the principal factor in many markets and, in certain cases, the only purchaser of certain products.

Such a situation would give the Allies among other advantages a great power in influencing prices and conditions of credit.

Distinct from the executives which deal with the programmes of needs, the task of the shipping Council and Executive would be to arrange for the transportation of the supplies to be imported under the joint programmes.

So as to coordinate the work of the various Councils and Committees, there might be a small Economic War Council which might be constituted by a member of the British Government and one of the French Government. To this Council, which would meet when needed, would be referred problems such as those which would arise if a shortage of maritime transport facilities or of means of foreign exchange made it necessary to curtail the joint programmes or to establish priorities

between them. This Council would keep the Supreme Council informed and would refer to the latter questions of policy for which a decision of the Supreme Council might be necessary.

As said above, the above scheme is simply an adaptation or an extension to present circumstances of the organization which, under the pressure of difficulties and after considerable waste of time, our two countries had to establish about the end of 1917. Our aim to-day is to tackle the problems at once and before they are forced on us by the pressure of events.

In the execution of the programs, it is likely that the main difficulties will arise in connection with shipping and finance.

As to shipping, we have the experience of the last war to guide us.

It is obvious that France will be short of shipping and therefore that a certain balance will have to be provided for her imports. This problem might not become so acute in this war as it was in 1914-1918, since the Admiralty, giving us the lead by applying immediately the methods adapted at the end of 1917, appears optimistic as to the limited scope of submarine destruction. Nevertheless there will be a shortage. The difficulty in the last war was solved, after three years of disorderly negotiations and much trouble, by an agreement made in November 1917, and it would greatly simplify everything if we reverted to the principles then adopted.

As to finance, the difficulty is going to be the limited resources of gold and foreign exchange of our two countries. Indeed the problem of financing foreign imports will be an important one which never existed to a similar extent in 1914-1918

because we could draw on the financial resources of the U.S.A. both before 1917 and after.

This question is evidently much more complex than any of the others which the allied organization will be called upon to deal with. I will take advantage of my visit to Paris to take up this matter with Mr. Paul Reynaud, but already I suggest you give thought to the possibility of the two Governments asking the two Treasuries to consider the best methods of securing also in the financial field the coordination of efforts of the two countries in a manner which will permit the working of the Allied organization in relation to finance.

I will inform Mr. Daladier of the various conversations that I have had with you and the various British Ministries of generally our common understanding of the problems.

I expect to be back before the end of the week and I hope then to be in a position to work out with you a common plan of action, which could then be submitted to our two Governments for their approval.

I am grateful for the assistance which you have so kindly given me.

With kind regards, believe me,
Yours sincerely,

d'octobre à Février
100 Douglas
215 gln

Curless
H. 75

Glenn
Martin

Douglas

Février	Mars	Avril	Mai	Juin	Juillet	Août	Septembre	Octobre	Novembre	Décembre	Total Fin Mai	Total Mai - Décembre
236	55 12	55 46	55 48	55 49	60	60	60	55 46	55 33	55 26	235	320
240					9	9	11	18	23	30		10.0
	55	55	55	55	55	55	55	55	55	55	165	385
		20	30	50	50	60	60	60	60	60		
						450					50	400

N O T E

au sujet des Commandes actuellement passées
en AMERIQUE.

Les commandes actuellement conclues par le Colonel JACQUIN comprennent 530 appareils CURTISS P.36.

Les négociations sont en cours pour 550 appareils GLEEN MARTIN et 450 appareils DOUGLAS et 100 appareils ^{Curtis}/P.40.

En outre, les moteurs nécessaires pour ces appareils, environ un millier de moteurs PRATT & WIDNEY destinés à des appareils français est en cours de livraison.

Enfin, la mission JACQUIN est prêt de conclure l'achat de I.440 moteurs CYCLONE double rangée, destinés à équiper des appareils français.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

From: *Paris*

Number: *2487* Dated: *10-17-10a*

Code: *D*

Caption: *Personal and ~~Secret~~
for the President*

This telegram has been distributed to:

*S
U*

Please advise the Division of Communications and Records if further distribution should be made.

FS

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (D)

Paris

Dated October 17, 1939

Rec'd 7:15 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

RUSH

2487, October 17, 10 a.m.

PERSONAL AND ~~SECRET~~ FOR THE PRESIDENT.

With reference to enclosure No. 1 to my letter of October 4, 1939, I now have the text of the agreement which Monnet concluded in London for the coordination of French-British economic activities during the war covering shipping, air production and supply raw materials and munitions, oil and food.

Monnet was informed by the British Government that you had indicated to Lothian that you considered a British mission preferable to a purchasing corporation. The question will be decided in Paris tonight or tomorrow. Because of the pooling of resources by the French and British Governments achieved agreement the French Government is inclined to believe that it would be preferable to make purchases in the United States through a single joint Franco-British mission.

My opinion is that a joint Franco-British mission would be the most efficient mechanism.

Question one.

FS 2-No. 2437, October 17, 10 a.m. from Paris.

Question one. Do you agree?

I assume from Morgenthau's talk with St. Quentin on September 13, 1939, that such a joint mission would be able to find the same sort of cooperation in Washington that was accorded last winter to Monnet.

Question two. Is this assumption correct?

HPD

BULLITT

JT
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (D)

PARIS

Dated May 14, 1940

Rec'd 3:53 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

RUSH

657, May 14, 7 p.m.

~~SECRET~~ AND PERSONAL FOR THE PRESIDENT.

The Germans have launched the greatest attack of modern times on the French army from the point where the Maginot line ends at Montmedy northwestward to the line Sedan Givet Dinant Namur. They have put in four armored divisions and many other troops and an overwhelming number of tanks and airplanes. This^{is}/as you know, the shortest road to Paris.

The Belgians have been obliged to fall back to the line of Namur Louvain Malines Antwerp. Dutch resistance has been almost crushed.

At this moment news has reached the French general staff that certain dispositions of airplanes and troops indicate that Mussolini is contemplating making a direct attack on France and that he has adjourned his attack on Yugoslavia.

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED

There

CO ENCLAVE
LAME P...
CYO...
L...
21

-2- #657, May 14, 7 p.m., from Paris

There are literally no French planes available to face an Italian attack and the Italian aviation would be able to bomb southern and southwestern France at will.

(END SECTION ONE)

BULLITT

CSB

JT
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (D)

PARIS

Dated May 14, 1940

Rec'd 5:03 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

RUSH

657, May 14, 7 p.m. (SECTION TWO)

I have talked with eyewitnesses of the German bombings in Belgium and Luxemburg, including the Archduke Otto and Bech, Foreign Minister of Luxemburg. Neither men, women, nor children are being spared and the tales of horror pass belief.

No one in Paris doubts that Mussolini is contemplating pleasurable the infliction of similar atrocities. Information reaching the French Foreign Office today which Leger has just given me indicates moreover that the Italians are trying to provoke incidents which will give them an excuse for attacking France. The Italian colony in Tunis has become most provocative and insults to French and English in Italy continue.

BULLITT

NPL

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE SECRETARY

5/14/40

657 - Paris, - sec. 3.

THIS TELEGRAM IS NOT YET COMPLETE.
FURTHER SECTIONS WILL BE DELIVERED
WHEN AVAILABLE.

Sections 1, and 2 were
delivered at 6:30 P.M.

N.M.M.

PAP
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (D)

PARIS

Dated May 14, 1940

Rec'd 5:25 p.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

RUSH

657, May 14, 7 p.m. (SECTION THREE).

Nearly EVERY member of the French Government and many French senators have appealed to me today to ask you to make a final effort to keep Italy from entering the war as Germany's ally. Telegrams from the French Ambassador in Rome today report that the Italian press is filled with praise of the American Government and its friendly gesture in eliminating certain duties on Italian goods. Poncet reports that this is being interpreted to mean that the Government of the United States approves of Mussolini's present policies. Since you have handed Mussolini a carrot of this variety I trust that you have not forgotten the club.

The suggestions that have been made to me are the following:

(One) That the most powerful weapon to employ against Mussolini would be a statement by the Pope based on purely spiritual grounds denouncing the barbarities which Germany has inflicted on the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxemburg.

BULLITT

NPL

PAP

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (D)

PARIS

Dated May 14, 1940

Rec'd 6:55 p.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

RUSH

657, May 14, 7 p.m. (SECTION FOUR)

I have been requested by numerous members of the French Government to ask you to use all the influence you have to persuade the Pope to make such a declaration. It is pointed out that his telegrams to the sovereigns of the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxemburg were in the nature of political acts whereas what is needed is a declaration on the ecclesiastical and spiritual plane which centuries ago would have taken the form of excommunication of Hitler and Germany.

Two. Several members of the French Government and the Argentine Ambassador have suggested to me that if all the countries of Latin America should join in denouncing the invasion of the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxemburg, and if this denunciation should be fully supported by you the effect in Italy would be important.

BULLITT

WVC

PAP

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (D)

PARIS

Dated May 14, 1940

Rec'd 8:05 p.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

RUSH

657, May 14, 7 p.m. (SECTION FIVE)

(Three) It has been suggested to me by many persons that you might let Mussolini know privately that in case he should go to war at this time as Hitler's ally you would do everything in your power to cut off from Italy all immigrant remittances and other funds which Italy ordinarily receives from the United States.

(Four) All the members of the government including Reynaud, the Senators, and others with whom I have talked today have implored me to obtain more planes immediately and have become exceedingly depressed when I explained that so far as I knew no planes were available.

You will have thought of other possible methods of influencing Mussolini and I do not wish to make this telegram any longer but I must end it by saying the unless action is immediate it will come too late and that no one in France, general or statesman, believes that France can resist an attack by Italy at this time when every available

man

PAP -2- 657, May 14 7 p.m. (SECTION FIVE) from Paris

man in the French army is needed to stem the German advance
through Belgium.

(END OF MESSAGE)

BULLITT

WPL

Pres.
PAP
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (D)

PARIS

Dated May 14, 1940

Rec'd 6:55 p.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

RUSH

659, May 14, 7 p.m.

PERSONAL AND ~~SECRET~~ FOR THE PRESIDENT:

I received from Rome at 7 o'clock this evening
Ambassador Phillips' rush 341, May 14, noon.

I felt that it was my duty to communicate the informa-
tion it contained immediately to the Prime Minister. He
was in a meeting of the War Cabinet but came out and I
communicated the information to him at 7:10 p.m.

He said that the British Ambassador in Paris had just
given him the same news. He expressed the opinion that
Italy certainly would enter the war on the side of Germany
and might even attack France tonight.

I asked where he expected the attack. He said that
it might come in Tunis or might be begun by bombardments
of the Riviera and Marseille by Italian planes.

The Prime Minister went on to say that he felt
Mussolini had decided to act at this moment because of the
appalling

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED

PAP -2- 659, May 14, 7 p.m. from Paris

appalling success which the German army had had in the sector Montmedy-Sedan. He said that the Germans had attacked with colossal tanks and at the same time with a totally overwhelming mass of bombardment planes and pursuit planes.

(END SECTION ONE)

BULLITT

WVC

PAP
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (D)

PARIS

Dated May 14, 1940

Rec'd 6:40 p.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

RUSH.

659, May 14, 7 p.m. (SECTION TWO)

The German tanks had crossed the River Meuse as if it did not exist. They had run through the French anti-tank defenses which consisted of railroad rails sunk deep in concrete and protruding from ground as if the rails were straw. They had crossed the anti-tank traps and had completely demolished the concrete fortifications by which the Maginot Line had been extended in that region since the beginning of the war.

Reynaud then said "at this moment there is nothing between those German tanks and Paris".

He stated that the French were attempting a counter attack to cut off the raids made by this German tank advance but he did not know what hope of success remained. Even without the participation of Italy, France faced one of the gravest and most terrible moments in her history. With the participation of Italy the result would be tragic not only for France and England but for every country in the world including the United States.

BULLITT

FAP
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone (D)

PARIS

Dated May 14, 1940

Rec'd 6:43 p.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

RUSH

.659, May 14, 7 p.m. (SECTION THREE)

WE WERE at one of the most terrible moments in human history. France would fight on but the French soldiers, brave as they were, could not stand against simultaneous attacks by tanks on the ground and bombs and machine gun bullets from the air.

Reynaud then implored me to obtain additional aeroplanes from the United States. I told him I feared there were none to be had.

He then said that the war with Italy would involve Italian submarine attacks on all shipping in the Mediterranean. The British and French had an inadequate number of destroyers. He knew that the United States had a large number of old destroyers which could be used effectively against submarines. He implored me if possible to have the Government of the United States declare these destroyers to be without military value and sell them to the French and British Governments.

BULLITT

PAP

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (D)

PARIS

Dated May 14, 1940

Rec'd 8:10 p.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

RUSH

659, May 14, 7 p.m. (SECTION FOUR)

He then went on to say that he had just talked with the British Prime Minister on the telephone. The British had been obsessed by the idea that the seizure of Belgium and the Netherlands was merely a preparation for air attacks on England. He had convinced Churchill at last that the real objective of the German army was the destruction of the French army and Churchill had agreed to send all the British planes available to assist the French in the Montmedy Sedan sector.

Reynaud again referred to the overwhelming effect of the attack of heavy tanks combined with incessant bombing from the air.

In conclusion he thanked me with genuine gratitude for having given him the information I had communicated and said once more that at this moment we faced the enslavement not only of Europe and of Africa, but also the rest of the world by a barbarism which would crush twenty centuries of Christian civilization.

(END OF MESSAGE)

BULLITT

NPL

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

NPL

This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone (D)

FROM PARIS

Dated May 16, 1940

Rec'd 5:05 p.m.

SECRETARY OF STATE,

WASHINGTON.

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED

706, May 16, 6 p.m.

PERSONAL AND ~~SECRET~~ FOR THE PRESIDENT.

I should like to speak what follows into your most private ear at the White House and to have no record of it. It is the sort of hypothesis that we often discuss but never put on paper. HOWEVER, I cannot talk with you so here goes.

It seems obvious that unless God grants a miracle as at the time of the battle of the Marne, the French army will be crushed utterly. The British, who have not yet sent to France the quantities of pursuit planes that they have in England to protect their factories, (they have exactly two squadrons in France) are already beginning to be critical and contemptuous of the French. That was the tone of the British Ambassador when he spoke to me this morning.

I think that it may possibly be of the utmost importance for the future of the United States that you should have in mind the hypothesis that, in order to escape from the ultimate consequences of absolute defeat,

2 706 May 16, 6 p.m. from Paris

the British may install a government of Oswald Mosley and the union of British fascists which would cooperate fully with Hitler. That would mean that the British navy would be against us.

I think that, perhaps by way of a conversation with Mackenzie King or some direct arrangement with the officers of the British fleet, you ought to try to make certain that in case the war goes as badly as it may, the British fleet would base itself on Canada for the defense of the dominion which might become the refuge of the British crown.

NPL

BULLITT

~~SECRET SECRET~~

FROM: STATE DEPARTMENT
TO : PRESIDENT U.S.
VIA : NAVAL RADIO WASHINGTON

190530CR1

19 MAY 1940

AMBASSADOR BULLITT SAYS REGARDING A CONVERSATION HE HAD LAST NIGHT WITH PREMIER REYNAUD THAT THE PREMIER FEELS THAT THE SITUATION IS EXTREMELY ~~XXXX~~ SERIOUS. GERMAN DRIVE IS DIRECTED TOWARDS CHANNEL PORTS TO INTERCEPT FRENCH TROOPS IN BELGIUM AND TO SECURE BASES FOR ATTACKS ON GREAT BRITAIN . IF GERMANY IS SUCCESSFUL , BECAUSE OF HER GREATER IMMEDIATE STRENGTH , AND GAINS THESE OBJECTIVES , THE ALLIES MIGHT BE BEATEN INSIDE OF SIXTY DAYS.

PREMIER REYNAUD WANTS THE PRESIDENT TO MAKE A DECLARATION THAT THIS COUNTRY'S INTERESTS WILL NOT ALLOW IT TO PERMIT THE ALLIES TO BE DEFEATED. BULLITT TOLD HIM THAT SUCH A DECLARATION WOULD HAVE NO GREAT VALUE BECAUSE OF CONGRESS. REYNAUD SAID HE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND ATTITUDE OF CONGRESS WHEN ULTIMATE DEFEAT OF U.S. IS AT STAKE. BULLITT REAFFIRMED THAT PUBLIC OPINION IN AMERICA IS NOT READY FOR SUCH A STEP. REYNAUD REPLIED THAT IT AT LEAST WOULD ENCOURAGE ALLIES AND DISCOURAGE THE ENEMIES

AMBASSADOR BULLITT IS TRANSMITTING REQUEST ~~REQUEST~~ FOR PREMIER WHO WANTS AN EARLY REPLY TO HIS PLEA.

AMBASSADOR AGREES WITH ESTIMATE OF GRAVITY OF SITUATION BUT DOESNT BELIEVE SUCH A STATEMENT WOULD HAVE THE DESIRED EFFECT.

DISTRIBUTION

✓ PRESIDENT.....ACTION

NAVAID.....

FILE.....

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED

SECRET

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

REB

GRAY

Paris

Dated May 20, 1940

Rec'd 2:20 p. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

RUSH

772, May 20, 5 p. m. (SECTION ONE)

As I said to the President by telephone this afternoon at four o'clock there are on the roads of France today moving southwestward from three to five millions refugees. So little can be done to help them, that French women and children literally are dying of starvation on the roads.

Whenever possible the German aviators bomb these columns of refugees and machine gun them.

Last night by chance I met the wife of the Minister of Blockade Madame Georges Monnet who had been at Soissons attempting to evacuate small children. They were walking on the road toward Paris since they had no means of transportation and she was trying to keep them singing to help their little feet to move. Two German aeroplanes came down and machine gunned them and the road was filled with little bodies.

The same story I have from fifty witnesses French and American.

BULLITT

CSB

REB

GRAY

Paris

Dated May 20, 1940

Rec'd 3:06 p. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

RUSH

772, May 20, 5 p. m. (SECTION TWO)

For example, Mr. Barton Hall succeeded in getting through to Paris last night from Compiègne. He said that although the train service is running the Germans appear to be well informed of the departure of every train for Paris and immediately the train leaves the station it is subjected to attack. Other means of transportation no longer exist and the streets of Compiègne are filled with dead horses and human corpses. According to Mr. Hall no one in Compiègne expected that town to be subjected to attack from air since it had been transformed into a sanitary center and a large number of wounded had been brought to its hospitals.

The hospitals as well as all the rest of the city have been the object of almost continuous bombardment for the last 10 days.

Chautemps

REB -2- #772, From Paris, May 20, 5 p. m. (SECTION TWO)

Chautemps, who is in charge of the terrible problem of handling the refugees, said to me today that he estimated that there were at least three million old men, women and children on the roads. He could not possibly find means to care for them. The most terrible thing was that in France, French women and children were dying of starvation. He implored me to try to obtain immediate help.

BULLITT

CSB

FS

GRAY

Paris

Dated May 20, 1940

Rec'd 1:55 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

RUSH

772, May 20, 5 p.m. (SECTION THREE).

I talked with Wayne Taylor, representative of the Red Cross in Paris, and he stated that what I have reported above did not give one-tenth of the truth. The barbarities of the Germans and the sufferings of the French were ten times more horrible. He estimated that there were at least five million persons on the road and that a vast number of these would die of starvation and illness unless they could be cared for by American help.

I asked you over the telephone to try to get Congress to vote today twenty million dollars for the succor of these refugees. In the opinion of Wayne Taylor this sum would not be sufficient. He believes that whatever should be given could be expended most efficiently through the French Red Cross.

It should be expended for food, clothing, medicines and beds which ^{might be} furnished in kind from the United States.

FS 2-No, 772, May 20, 5 p.m. from Paris(SECTION THREE)

I implore you to attempt to obtain the vote from Congress today. It is our duty to ourselves and to humanity to try to save as many lives as we can save from the onslaughts of barbarism.

(END OF MESSAGE).

CSB

BULLITT

JT

PLAIN

PARIS

Dated May 20, 1940

Rec'd 3:46 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

778, twentieth.

I have just received a letter from Chautemps, Vice Prime Minister, who is in charge of the problem of refugees, giving a description of the suffering of the French civilian refugees in the course of which he estimates that three million refugees are now on the roads. He concludes by the statement "Many among them are women and children wounded by the enemy machine guns. In one little village which is not a military objective and is known only for the splendor of its historical monuments, a hospital containing twelve hundred beds was set up at the beginning of the war. Yesterday that hospital alone took in 3200 wounded civilians of whom two-thirds had to remain standing because there were no beds for them and no room for them to lie down. This pathetic horde because of the lack of transport can receive less than the minimum of food necessary to sustain life."

BULLITT

CSB

Hold

HSM
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased
before being communi-
cated to anyone. (D)

Paris

Dated May 22, 1940

Rec'd 6:25 a. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

802, May 22, 10 a. m.

Your 430, May 21, 7 p. m.

Please inform Secretary Early that the description
I telephoned is contained in my RUSH 772, May 20, 5 p.m.,
and in my 778, May 20.

BULLITT

RR

[PSF, Safe, Bullitt]

MP
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (D)

Paris

Dated May 22, 1940

Rec'd 3:05 p. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington

RUSH.

823, May 22, 6 p. m.

PERSONAL AND ~~SECRET~~ FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Take the shortest line from 1914 angels to a
shelled cathedral and remember taxicabs and hope.

BULLITT

HPD

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

From: *Paris*

Number: *825* Dated: *5-23-9a*

Code: *Gray*

Caption: *Personal for the President*

This telegram has been distributed to:

S
u

Please advise the Division of Communications and Records if further distribution should be made.

HSM

GRAY

Paris

Dated May 23, 1940

Rec'd 7:52 a. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

825, May 23, 9 a. m.

PERSONAL FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Aunt Bill Hooper (your cousin Elsie) arrived in Paris last night from the American Hospital in Etretat where orders were given to all civilians to evacuate. She came by automobile with Dr. Fuller and her two nurses.

For five hours they came through the stream of refugees from Belgium and northern France. Aunt Bill stated to me this morning that the scenes of weariness and hunger passed description. As far as the eye could reach on every road in every direction were streams of old men, women and children moving without help. Aunt Bill asked me on her behalf to implore you to send ships instantly with food and medicines, pointing out quite rightly that the need is instant, immediate and terrible.

(END SECTION ONE).

BULLITT

RR

HSM

GRAY

Paris

Dated May 23, 1940

Rec'd 7:02 a. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

825, May 23, 9 a. m. (SECTION TWO)

Wayne Taylor told me yesterday that you did not wish to introduce a bill in Congress until after the close of the Red Cross drive. I understand but I hope that this will not delay by one hour the sending of aid.

Aunt Bill did not (repeat not) see any machine-gunning of these streams of refugees.

Will you please inform her brother Charlie Perkins and other members of her family that she is in better health than for a long time and that she expects to leave by automobile for Biarritz today accompanied by Dr. Fuller and her two nurses. She asked me to give you this personal message:

"Please tell Franklin that I myself have seen the need and nothing could be more terrible." (END OF MESSAGE).

BULLITT

DDM

JR
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (D)

Paris

Dated May 27, 1940

Rec'd 8:15 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

RUSH.

892, May 27, 11 a.m.

PERSONAL AND ~~SECRET~~ FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY:

Your 493, May 26, 4 p.m., requires handling in the
most delicate possible manner at this moment, and cannot
be communicated in crude terms at a time when the
determination is absolute to fight on land to the bitter
end.

I will have to present it as a desire on our part to
be of assistance if the worse comes to the worst. I shall
do so with extreme care. I trust that you have taken
EVERY precaution to make certain that nothing crude comes
to Paris via London on this subject.

BULLITT

HPD

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED

HSM
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased
before being communi-
cated to anyone. (D)

Paris

Dated May 28, 1940

Rec'd 8:30 a. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED

RUSH

912, May 28, 11 a. m.

PERSONAL AND ~~SECRET~~ FOR THE PRESIDENT.

The Belgian Ambassador called on me this morning at 9:30 a completely broken man. He said that the King's action in ordering the entire Belgian army to surrender, without consulting either General Gort or General Blanchard or informing the Belgian Government, was an act of dishonor without parallel in history. Since a King without honor was nothing, the King no longer existed. The Prime Minister of Belgium would denounce the King's action this morning on the radio and would announce that it was illegal since such acts had to be countersigned by the Prime Minister and would call on all Belgians to go on fighting.

The Belgian Ambassador went on to say that he had come to ask me whether in view of the treachery and dishonor of the King the invitation of the President to the Royal children still stood. (END SECTION ONE).

BULLITT

HSM
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased
before being communi-
cated to anyone. (D)

Paris

Dated May 28, 1940

Rec'd 7:28 a. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

RUSH

912, May 28, 11 a. m. (SECTION TWO)

I replied that I had of course had no communication with you on this subject; but that I felt that you would not wish to visit the sins of the father on the children and that your invitation would stand.

I went on to say that on the other hand several serious problems now arose. If the King had ordered his army to betray its Allies he doubtless had done so after a previous agreement with the Germans with regard to his personal life. The King might now be on his way back to his Palace in Brussels and might desire to have his children join him and although he had forfeited by his action of treason all rights as a King he still had humane rights as a father.

At this point the Belgian Ambassador interrupted me to say that yesterday evening shortly before the news had
arrived

hsm -2- No. 912, May 28, 11 a.m. (Section 2) from Paris
arrived of the King's order to his army to surrender he
had received a telegram from the King stating that he
was most grateful (*) and to me and that he desired his
children to proceed immediately to Lisbon and to leave
for the United States.

BULLITT

RR

(*) apparent omission

HSM

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (D)

Paris

Dated May 28, 1940

Rec'd 8:35 a. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

RUSH

912, May 28, 11 a. m. (SECTION THREE)

I said, however, that this telegram of the King's might well be considered canceled by his subsequent action and that I believed that he, the Ambassador, should consult the Belgian Prime Minister and the other members of the Belgian Government who are now in the Belgian Embassy in Paris with regard to the future plans of the Royal children. It might even be that the Belgian Government would desire to proclaim the Crown Prince King.

In any event after the Belgian Government should have decided what it considered wise the Belgian Prime Minister accompanied by him, the Ambassador, should call on the French Prime Minister and should obtain the full assent of the French Government to future plans for the Royal children.

BULLITT

RR

HSM
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased
before being communi-
cated to anyone. (D)

Paris

Dated May 28, 1940

Rec'd 7:30 a. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

RUSH

912, May 28, 11 a. m. (SECTION FOUR)

I added that I would take no action except in full accord with the French Government and the Belgian Government and that I would desire to have written statements from both Governments before attempting to set in motion any mechanism for the transfer of the Royal children to America.

The Belgian Ambassador said that he considered my advice was wise and that he would consult the Belgian Prime Minister as previously set forth.

I added once more that it must be clear that the American Government would have nothing whatsoever to do with regard to the decision to be made as to the Royal children. My part would be if you should consent to attempt to arrange a mechanism by which the mutual decision of the French and Belgian Governments could be carried out. (END MESSAGE).

BULLITT

HSM

7498
JT
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (D)

PARIS

Dated May 28, 1940

Rec'd 7:17 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

929, May 28, 10 p.m.

PERSONAL AND ~~SECRET~~ FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Spaak, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium,
asked to see me this evening and I received him at
7 o'clock.

He said that he wished to thank me for the state-
ments that I had made this morning to the Belgian
Ambassador with regard to the Royal children. (See
telegram No. 912 of May 28, 11 a.m.).

He went on to say that since the King had committed
an act which dishonored not only himself but also the
entire Belgian nation from which the honor of Belgium
could not recover for a hundred years it was impossible
for anyone to expect you to receive the Royal children
at the request of a man whose name would go down in
history as the synonym of dishonor.

It was his present opinion and that of the Belgian
Government that you should not be asked to receive the
Royal children. They should be kept in France in the
horrible

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED

-2- #929? May 28, 10 p.m., from Paris

horrible and remote chateau where they are now lodged.
He trusted that if you should receive a further appeal
from the traitorous King Leopold you would ignore it.

(END SECTION ONE)

BULLITT

HPD

JT
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone (D)

PARIS

Dated May 28, 1940

Rec'd 7:22 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

929, May 28, 10 p.m. (SECTION TWO)

Since this is the position of the Belgian Govern-
ment the question of the opinion of the French Government
does not rise and the children will remain in France.

In discussing the action of the King, Spaak said
that since the beginning of the war the Belgian Ministers
had been shocked to perceive on many occasions that the
King had no sense of loyalty whatsoever to his Allies.
They had tried to impress on him the fact that since he
had appealed to the British and French for aid, he was
obliged to give every help in his power to the French
and British. He had said if the Germans asked him to do
anything against the French and British he would abdi-
cate at once. The fact was that he had committed the
most terrible act of treachery and a crime against the
French and British and apparently was so without moral
sense that he did not realize the depth of his infamy.

(END MESSAGE)

BULLITT

HPD

May 31, 1940

Bullitt:

I am sorry you keep referring to the Atlantic Fleet because ~~it~~ such talk reminds me of mother who met a rabbit.

I cannot of course give you a list of the disposition of our ships but if you know it you would not continue fantasies.

Incidentally further strong steps were taken yesterday by me in regard to the Mediterranean threat.

Roosevelt

FS
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (D)

Paris
Dated May 31, 1940
-
R_Ec'd 6:42 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

RUSH

962, May 31, noon (SECTION ONE)

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

Your 534, May 30, 3 p.m.

The French Government is fully aware of the vitally
useful part that our fleet is playing in the Pacific.

Reynaud in appealing to me to request you to send
the Atlantic fleet to the Mediterranean said "We are
most grateful for the presence of your fleet in the
Pacific. Without firing a shot it is keeping the war
from spreading to the French and British Empires in the
Far East. We hope it will stay there. Your Atlantic
fleet can play exactly the same role in the Mediterran-
ean".

RR

BULLITT

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED

JR
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (D)

Paris

Dated May 31, 1940

Rec'd 7:25 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

RUSH.

962, May 31, noon. (SECTION TWO)

I believe that if we had sent the Atlantic fleet on a
visit either to Greece or Tangier when first I made the
recommendation more than two weeks ago Mussolini would not
have dared to treat pressure of our Government to keep him
out of war in the manner that he has.

I gather from your telegram under reference that you
now consider inevitable the entrance of Italy into the
war.

I feel sure that you realize the consequences that a
stab in the back by Italy at this moment may have for France
and England as well as the consequences it may have later
this year for South America and the United States. I trust
that no member of the American Government is still cherishing
in the words of Reynaud "fatuous and naive illusions as to
the virtues of Mussolini" and that the moment he stabs you
will take every economic and financial measure that
constructive imagination can devise to weaken Italy.

RR

BULLITT

JR
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (D)

Paris

Dated May 31, 1940

Rec'd 6:45 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

RUSH.

962, May 31, noon (SECTION THREE).

To believe that the Government of the United States
will be able EVER to cooperate with Mussolini is as
dangerous to the future of America as would have been
the belief that our Government could cooperate with Al
Capone.

The latest information of the French Government
indicates that Mussolini will make war on France on June
4.

I am sure you realize the bitterness that such a blow
will produce.

May I inform the French Government when stating--as I
must in view of your telegram under reference--that there
is no hope whatsoever the Atlantic fleet will come to
Tangier, that the moment Mussolini strikes economic and
financial measures will be taken at once by our Government
to make the lot of the aggressor hard?

Anything

-2- #962, May 31, noon (SECTION THREE) from Paris.

Anything you can do now will leave Mussolini less strength with which to cooperate with Hitler in attacking the Americas.

At this moment words are not enough. Indeed unaccompanied by acts they are rather sickening. (END MESSAGE)

BULLITT

RR

NAVY DEPARTMENT

OFFICE OF CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

—X—

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

**PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300**

General Edwin M. Watson

**PERSONAL
and
CONFIDENTIAL**

Safe File: Bullitt

[PSF, Safe, Bullitt]

Ans.

JT

GRAY

PARIS

Dated June 10, 1940

Rec'd 10:13 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

RUSH

1132, June 10, 6 p.m.

PERSONAL FOR THE PRESIDENT

I have just received from Paul Reynaud,
President of the Council of Ministers, the following
message to you. He telephoned to me and asked me to
transmit it immediately since his own code clerks could
not possibly do the work. This is the full text of the
message referred to in my telegram earlier today.

"Mr. President: I wish first to express to you
my gratitude for the generous aid that you have decided
to give to us in aviation and armament.

For six days and six nights our divisions have been
fighting without one hour of rest against an army which
has a crushing superiority in numbers and material.
Today the enemy is almost at the gates of Paris.

We shall fight in front of Paris; we shall fight
behind Paris; we shall close ourselves in one of our
provinces

-2- #1132, June 10, 6 p.m., from Paris

provinces to fight and if we should be driven out of it we shall establish ourselves in North Africa to continue the fight and if necessary in our American possessions.

(END SECTION ONE)

BULLITT

NPL

EG

GRAY

Paris

Dated June 10, 1940

Rec'd 3:05 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

RUSH

1132, June 10, 6 p.m. (SECTION TWO)

A portion of the government has already left Paris. I am making ready to leave for the front. That will be to intensify the struggle with all the forces which we still have and not to abandon the struggle.

May I ask you, Mr. President, to explain all this yourself to your people to all the citizens of the United States saying to them that we are determined to sacrifice ourselves in the struggle that we are carrying on for all free men.

This very hour another dictatorship has stabbed France in the back. Another frontier is threatened. A naval war will begin.

You have replied generously to the appeal which I made to you a few days ago across the Atlantic. Today this 10th of June 1940 it is my duty to ask you for new and even larger assistance.

RR

BULLITT

PAP

GRAY

PARIS

Dated June 10, 1940

Rec'd 3:10

Secretary of State

Washington

RUSH

1132, June 10, 6 p.m. (SECTION THREE)

At the same time that you explain this situation to the men and women of America, I beseech you to declare publicly that the United States will give the Allies aid and material support by all means "short of an expeditionary force". I beseech you to do this before it is too late. I know the gravity of such a gesture. Its very gravity demands that it should not be made too late.

You said to us yourself on the 5th of October 1937:
'I am compelled and you are compelled to look ahead. The peace, the freedom and the security of 90% of the population of the world is being jeopardized by the remaining 10% who are threatening a breakdown of all international order and law.'

CSB

BULLITT

CK

GRAY

Paris

Dated June 10, 1940

Rec'd 11:30 p.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

RUSH

1132, June 10, 6 p.m. (SECTION FOUR)

Surely the 90% who want to live in peace under law and in accordance with moral standards that have received almost trusty acceptance through the centuries, can and must find some way to make their will prevail.

The hour has now come for these. Paul Reynaud".

I see no reason why you should not make public this message from Reynaud. He would be only too happy if you should make it public.

BULLITT

EMB

JT

GRAY

PARIS

Dated June 11, 1940

Rec'd 4:40 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

1154, June 11, 6 p.m.

PERSONAL AND ~~SECRET~~ FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Samuel Wiley, our Consul at Le Havre, who reached Paris after having been bombed and machine gunned heavily while crossing the Seine has given me a description which is terrible of the sufferings of the refugees from the upper Seine district who are pouring southwestward.

I implore you either to take the relief of these refugees out of the hands of the Red Cross or to put an admiral instantly in charge of the relief with full authority to act under the Red Cross as suggested in my previous telegram transmitted on this subject today.

I sent you that telegram after lunching with Wayne Taylor and Dean Jay, both of whom feel as I do that the Red Cross has not acted with either the speed or the efficiency that must be demanded of every organization today.

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED

MOREOVER,

-2- #1154, June 11, 6 p.m., from Paris

MOREOVER, they are both as shocked as I am that the Red Cross has made no arrangements to send other ships immediately to follow the MCKEESPORT. We must have two ships a week immediately each one carrying a million dollars worth of supplies.

BULLITT

HPD

JT
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (D)

PARIS

Dated June 11, 1940

Rec'd 6:10 p.m., 12th

Secretary of State,
Washington.

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED

RUSH

1149, June 11, 3 p.m.

PERSONAL AND ~~SECRET~~ FOR THE PRESIDENT.

The evacuation of Paris has added a million to the number of men, women, and children who are moving into southwestern France whose lives can be saved only by American aid.

You will recall that when I described to you over the telephone about 3 weeks ago the condition of the refugees from Belgium and northern France you said that you would ask Congress immediately for \$20,000,000 to keep them alive.

Later I was informed that at the request of the Red Cross which was putting on a drive for funds you would not ask for this sum or any other from the Congress until the conclusion of the Red Cross drive.

I was furthermore informed by you over the telephone that within three days a ship entirely filled with Red Cross supplies would leave the United States for Bordeaux.

(END SECTION ONE)

BULLITT

NPL

HSM
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased
before being communi-
cated to anyone. (D)

Paris

Dated June 11, 1940

Rec'd 11:35 a. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

RUSH

1149, June 11,

(SECTION TWO)

Since I was under the illusion that the Red Cross would handle this matter with the urgency and efficiency demanded by the sufferings of the refugees I did not suggest that you ignore the Red Cross and have recourse to the Congress.

The ship whose sailing you promised in three days has not yet left the United States. This ship the MCKEESPORT I am authoritatively informed is the only ship which has been chartered by the Red Cross. There are now six million persons in southwestern France who will die unless American aid for them is organized immediately with the utmost efficiency.

BULLITT

RR

JR
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (D)

Paris

Dated June 11, 1940

Rec'd 10:18 a.m., 12th.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

RUSH.

1149, June 11, (SECTION THREE)

This is no time to be a respecter of persons. I consider criminal the negligence of the Red Cross in failing to organize a regular supply line to Bordeaux three weeks ago. I am now convinced that the officials of the Red Cross are incompetent to organize relief on the scale demanded. The problem is as great as the problem of feeding and supplying the entire French Army.

I suggest that today you take the organization of a supply line to Bordeaux out of the hands of the Red Cross and place it in the hands of the most competent Admiral of the United States Navy. Or you might place an Admiral in the Red Cross with complete power to act.

At least two ships a week should reach Bordeaux from this moment on.

You cannot tolerate today the incompetence of any individual or organization which is preventing supplies from reaching dying French men, women and children.

CSE

BULLITT

HSM
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased
before being communi-
cated to anyone. (D)

Paris
Dated June 11, 1940
Rec'd 12:25 p. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

, RUSH

1149, June 11 (SECTION FOUR)

Harry Hopkins telephoned to me about a week ago to ask me the amount I estimated would be needed for the maintenance of life in southwestern France this year. As he doubtless told you I stated that I thought at least \$100,000,000 would be needed.

I have discussed this question fully with Wayne Taylor and he agrees with me that this sum is not an overestimate. Two ships a week, \$1,000,000 a ship.

Please take action today and do not tolerate for personal or any other reasons continued incompetence in saving lives.

The mere fact that the ship which you promised would arrive on May 30 will not reach France before June 30 should be sufficient evidence to justify your acting in the most drastic manner. (END MESSAGE).

BULLITT

RR