DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

January 19, 1942

MEMORANDUM

Re: Evacuation of President Quezon

Mr. President:

I transmitted your message to the War Department, stating that you were anxious to have President Quezon's evacuation provided there was an even chance or better of his getting out.

General Marshall telephoned yesterday to say that they considered it best not to reopen the question. He considered that there was still too great danger of repercussions among the Filipino troops.

I told General Marshall that in our telephone conversation you had distinctly left the matter subject to his estimate of chances and that under these circumstances, I was sure you would accept his judgment in the matter.

It seems that the danger in getting in or out by plane is secondary to the dangers to morale among the Filipino soldiers.

Adolf A. Berle, Jr.
Jan. 26, 1942

My dear Mr. President,

I am taking the opportunity of sending this personal word to you by a submarine which I hope will succeed in breaking through the Japanese blockade.

We are holding the fort here and keeping our colors flying. Our men are keeping their chins up, and the casualties coming in to the hospital invariably ask: "When will American planes arrive?" and "How soon can I get back onto the firing line?"

Our supreme confidence is in you. I know that you will not allow red tape or hesitation to slow the aid which we must have
soon. If we wait so as to gather an attacking force of sure superiority and allow Corregidor or Singapore to fall in the interim, the winning of the war against Japan will be delayed immeasurably. Although I am no military strategist, I am convinced that a smashing attack NOW, while the Japanese lines are overextended and while Corregidor and Singapore are still in our hands, will be worth more than ten victories later on.

We are hoping that President Oregan’s health will not break under the rigors of our underground life. The kind of life we have to live here is a strain, but the morale is good. The sight of American planes overhead will put new fight into every one.

I have not been able to secure reliable reports of the Japanese treatment of Americans in Manila. Such reports as I have had have not been reassuring.

With affection and confidence,

Edr. sincerely yours,

[Signature]

[Signature]
WAR DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Subject: Radiogram from General MacArthur quoting President Quezon.

General MacArthur points out that the nature of President Quezon's letter is such that it can properly be answered only by the President of the United States. He requests information as to when reply can be expected.

That portion of Mr. Quezon's letter on which he asked distribution was sent immediately, through G-2, to Colonel Donovan's organization. A radiogram of acknowledgment has been dispatched to General MacArthur.

The following draft of a suggested reply is intended for dispatch by the President to General MacArthur for President Quezon:

"I have read with complete understanding your letter to General MacArthur. I realize the depth and sincerity of your sentiments with respect to your inescapable duties to your own people and I assure you that I would be the last to demand of you and then any sacrifice which I considered hopeless in the furtherance of the cause for which we are all striving. I want, however, to state with all possible emphasis that the magnificent resistance of the defenders of Bataan is contributing definitely toward assuring the completeness of our final victory in the Far East. The
gaps existing in our offensive armaments are those that are to be expected when peace-loving countries such as the United States and the Philippines suddenly find themselves attacked by autocratic power which has spent years in preparation for armed conflict. Initial defeats, privations and suffering are the inevitable consequences to democracy in such circumstances. But I have pledged to the attainment of ultimate victory the full man power, finances and material resources of this country; and this pledge of victory includes as an essential objective the restoration of peace and tranquillity in the Philippines and its return to the control of a Government of its own choosing. While I cannot now indicate the time at which succor and assistance can reach the Philippines, I do know that every ship at our disposal is bringing to the South West Pacific the forces that will ultimately smash the invader and free your country. Ships in that region have been loaded and dispatched to Manila with various supplies for the garrison. Already our forces, with those of our Allies, have inflicted severe losses upon enemy convoys and naval shipping and are definitely slowing his Southward advance. Our four engine bombers are daily reporting to General Wavell from the trans-African route and
more recently via the Pacific. Ten squadrons of pursuit and fighter planes have already been made available in that theater and a steady flow of such planes is crossing the Pacific. Our Navy is heavily engaged in escorting to the same region large troop convoys. Every day gained for building up our forces is of incalculable value and it is in the gaining of time that the defenders of Bataan are assisting us so effectively.

"I have no words in which to express to you my admiration and gratitude for the complete demonstration of loyalty, courage and readiness to sacrifice that your people, under your inspired leadership, have displayed. They are upholding the most magnificent traditions of free democracy.

"Those portions of your letter to General MacArthur on which you asked publicity are being broadcast to the world from Washington. Your words and your example will rally to renewed effort not only the people of your own country but all those that in every section of the globe are enlisted in the fight for democratic principles and freedom in government."

Secretary of War.
Please convey the following message from the President to President Quezon:

I have just received your message sent through General MacArthur. From my message to you on January 30, 1942, you must realize that I am not lacking in understanding of or sympathy with the situation of your government today. The immediate crisis certainly seems desperate but such crises and their treatment must be judged by a more accurate measure than the anxieties and sufferings of the present, however acute. For over thirty years the American government has been carrying out to the people of the Philippines a pledge to help them successfully, however long it might take, in their aspirations to become a self-governing and independent people with the individual freedom and economic strength which that lofty aim makes requisite. You yourself have participated in and are familiar with the many carefully planned steps by which that pledge of self-government has been carried out and also the steps by which the economic independence of the Islands is to be effective. May I remind you now that in the loftiness of its aim and the fidelity with which it has been executed, this program of the United States towards another people has been unique in the history of the family of nations. In the McElroy-Tydings Act of 1934, to which you refer, the Congress of the United States finally fixed the year 1946 as the date in which it was hoped that the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands established by that Act should finally reach the goal of its hopes for political and economic independence.
By a malign conspiracy of a few depraved but powerful nations this hope is now being frustrated and delayed. An organized attack upon individual freedom and governmental independence throughout the entire world, beginning in Europe, has now spread and been carried to the southwestern Pacific by Japan. The United States has become involved in this war because of its defense of the rights of small nations. The basic principles upon which existed and which have guided its conduct towards the Philippines have been violated in the rape of Poland, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Manchukuo, China, Indo-China, and finally the Philippines.

You refer in your telegram to the announcement by the Prime Minister of Japan of Japan's willingness to grant to the Philippines her independence. I only have to refer you to the present condition of Korea, Manchukuo, North China, Indo-China, and all other countries which have fallen under the brutal sway of the Japanese government, to point out the hollow duplicity of such an announcement.

The United States today is engaged with all its resources and in company with the governments of twenty-six other nations in an effort to defeat the aggression of Japan and its Axis partners. This effort will never be abandoned until the complete and thorough overthrow of the entire Axis system and the governments which maintain it. We are engaged now in laying the foundations in the southwest Pacific of a development in air, naval, and military power which shall become sufficient to meet and overthrow the widely extended and arrogant attempts of the Japanese.
By the terms of our pledge to the Philippines implicit in our years of conduct towards your people and expressly recognized in the terms of the McDuffy-Tydings Act, we have undertaken to protect you to the uttermost of our power until the time of your ultimate independence had arrived. Our soldiers in the Philippines are now engaged in fulfilling that purpose. The honor of the United States is pledged to its fulfillment. We propose that it be carried out regardless of its cost. Those Americans who are fighting now will continue to fight until the bitter end. We have not hitherto nor do we now impose any compulsion upon your soldiers who have been cooperating with us in this endeavor. But so long as the flag of the United States flies on Filipino soil as a pledge of our duty to your people, it will be defended by our men to the death. Whatever happens to the present American garrison we shall not relax our efforts until the forces which we are now marshaling outside the Philippine Islands return to the Philippines and drive the last remnant of the invaders from your soil.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE ADJUTANT GENERAL:

Subject: Far Eastern Situation.

The Secretary of War directs that a secret message, as follows, be sent by the most expeditious means possible consistent with secrecy to Commanding General, U.S. Army Forces in Far East:

FROM THE PRESIDENT TO GENERAL MACARTHUR STOP PLEASE
DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT QUEZON QUOTE I
HAVE JUST LEARNED THROUGH A MESSAGE FROM GENERAL MACARTHUR
THAT YOU HAVE AUTHORIZED THE DESTRUCTION OF SILVER CURRENCY
BELONGING TO THE COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENT IF THIS SHOULD BECOME
NECESSARY TO PREVENT ITS CAPTURE BY THE ENEMY STOP IT IS A
REAL GRATIFICATION TO HAVE THIS ADDITIONAL PROOF OF THE COM-
PLETE LOYALTY OF YOURSELF AND YOUR GOVERNMENT TO THE UNITED
STATES AND YOUR READINESS FOR SELF SACRIFICE IN THE CAUSE FOR
WHICH WE ARE ALL FIGHTING STOP I REGRET THAT REQUIREMENTS OF
SECRECY DO NOT PERMIT ME TO PUBLISH THE NEWS OF YOUR ACTION
COMMA FOR IT IS THROUGH SUCH EVIDENCE OF THE COMPLETE SOLIDARITY
OF THE UNITED POWERS THAT ALL OUR PEOPLES ARE INSPIRED TO IN-
CREASED EFFORT TOWARD FINAL VICTORY

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

L. T. GEROW,
Brigadier General,
Assistant Chief of Staff.

NOTE: Dispatched by Code Room, WIBC, as Radio No. 1090, est. 1905.

NOTED-OFFICIALS OF STAFF

SECRET

FEB 14 1942

88 A G O

FEB 18 1942

Received
M-64
For the Chase National Bank, New York City. From the general funds of the Philippine Government deposited with you please place to the credit of Douglas MacArthur at the Chemical National Bank and Trust Company, New York, five hundred thousand dollars; to the credit of Richard K. Sutherland at the Army National Bank, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, seventy-five thousand dollars; to the credit of Richard J. Marshall, Junior, at the Army National Bank, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, forty-five thousand dollars; to the credit of Sidney L. Huff at the First National Bank, San Diego, California, twenty thousand dollars. Radio through War Department report of execution. By direction of the President: Jose Abad Santos, Secretary of Finance.

Approved: Manuel L. Quezon.

MacArthur.

Exact Action Copy to: Secretary, General Staff. CY No. 1 and 2

Action requested above has been taken.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

The attached memorandum completes the account of Luzon evacuations, a part of which was sent to you this morning.

Chief of Staff.
SECRET

Summary of Developments in MacArthur's Case

1. February 23 (No. 1078)

Radio orders from President dispatched to General MacArthur, directing him to proceed Mindanao for purpose of organizing resistance; within a week thereafter to proceed from Mindanao to Australia to take command of American Forces in that country. Intention of President to negotiate with other governments for their acceptance of MacArthur as Commanding General, revamped ABDA.


Discusses above plan in detail. Gives outline of existing situation. Requests that timing of his departure be left to him because of time required in arranging for details of Luzon defense, after his departure. Suggested use of surface vessel, submarine and airplanes, but indicated date of departure could not be given at this time.

3. February 25 (No. 1087)

Instructions of President to MacArthur stating that the timing of departure and details of method would be left to him. Suggested submarine and airplane arrangements that would make these available to MacArthur on call.


Accepted proposed arrangements and requests Navy Department order submarine to Corregidor. Brett to be instructed to send 3 B-24s to Mindanao on call. Estimated date of departure as March 15.

5. February 26.

Admiral King directed Admiral Glassford to keep a submarine constantly at the disposal of General MacArthur, until further orders. General Brett, in Australia, was directed to be prepared to dispatch to Mindanao, on call of General MacArthur, three heavy bombers.
Very dear Mr. President:

We are just notified that the anticipated
arrival is about the 15th so about that
date he would feel free to leave Fort Wadco, and
requests certain preliminary
arrangements. Submarine
and planes.

Yours truly,

[Signature]
SECRET

now commanding U.S. Forces in Australia. Please inform me at once whether these proposed arrangements appear satisfactory to you. Meanwhile you should not, repeat not, communicate on this subject with Army and Navy commanders in Australia, until after receipt of message from me that general arrangements from this end have been completed.

AG 381 (3-7-42)
FROM Fort Mills, P. I.
TO Adjutant General
No. 438, March 7, 1942.

It has been continuously reported from various agencies that the Commander in Chief of the Japanese forces in the Philippines, General Homma, committed harikari because of his failure to destroy our forces in Bataan and Corregidor. His funeral was held in Manila on Feb. 26 in presence of personal representatives of the Emperor and his ashes were flown to Japan the following day. I cannot completely substantiate this report but not only from local spies but from intercepted Japanese communications it is believed to be correct. It is further indirectly substantiated by a change in Japanese methods since that time. There is a touch of irony involved in that his funeral rites and it is believed his suicide took place in my old apartment which he occupied in the Manila Hotel. I suggest that you initiate publicity in this matter. It will have a greater psychological effect if announced by Washington rather than by me.

MacArthur

EXACT ACTION COPY TO
A.C. of S., G-2 Copy No. 1

EXACT INFO COPIES TO
A.C. of S., G-1 Copy No. 2
A.C. of S., G-3 Copy No. 3
A.C. of S., WPD Copy No. 4
Chief Army Air Forces Copy No. 5
Miscellaneous Division Copy No. 6
Secretary General Staff Copy No. 7

SECRET RADIOGRAM

RETURN ALL COPIES TO ROOM 1704 AGO IN COMP WITH PAR 40 C AR 380-5

SENT 8:33 A M
3/7/42 MDR
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

I think it important that some such message as the following be dispatched today to General Wainwright:

"The nation is aware of the extreme difficulty of your task and of its vast importance. With confidence in your leadership and the superb gallantry and efficiency of that devoted band of American and Filipino soldiers under your command, I am submitting your nomination as a Lieutenant General.

It shall be my constant aim to see that every possible means and method are employed to relieve your situation."

[Signature]

Chief of Staff.

Approved,

Henry L. Stimson
Secretary of War.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

General Marshall 'phoned me on receipt of the following telegram from Wainwright:

"Landing attack on Corregidor is in progress. Enemy landed north point. Further details as develop."

In view of this he has sent the attached cable to Wainwright, trying to bolster up his morale.
One year ago today I began my long odyssey which started from Corregidor and ended in this great capital of the United States. It is now my duty to report to you on what we have accomplished during this year.

I do not have to tell you that from the first day of the invasion of our country by Japan, the Japanese have directed their propaganda at convincing you that Japan is our friend and liberator. Your answer, our answer, has been to fight them to the bitter end.

The flower of our youth died side by side with their American comrades in defense of our country, our liberties, and the American and Philippine flags.

The surrender of Bataan and Corregidor did not end that epic struggle. Even the broadcasts from Tokio that now and then tell of the stern and cruel measures taken by the Japanese Army in the Philippines against Filipinos, reveal that our people have not accepted defeat, and as best they can, they are still fighting
the invaders at whatever cost.

But Japan is bent upon winning your good will by every possible device -- if she can. Knowing that independence is the cause for which our forefathers fought and died; knowing, too, that we have stood by America because she has made good her pledge to make our people free and independent, Japanese propaganda has been insistently telling you that you must not have faith in America, and that the independence of our country will only come from Japan.

In line with this policy of deceit, Premier Tojo, at the last session of the Imperial Diet, has again reiterated his statement made last year that Japan is ready to grant independence to the Philippines. Assuming that tomorrow Japan was to declare the Philippines an independent nation, what would that mean? It would merely mean that the Philippines would be another "Manchukuo" -- a government without rights, without powers, without authority. A government charged only with the duty to
obey the dictates of the Japanese rulers. After the tragic end
of Korea's independence, in utter disregard of a solemn pledge
to respect it, it would be worse than folly to rely on any promise
made by the Japanese government.

Vis-a-vis Manchukuo and Korea, let us go over our association
with the United States:

Coincident with the organization of Civil Government in the
Philippines in the early years of the American regime, the Filipino
people enjoyed, for the first time in their history, freedom of
speech, freedom of the press, freedom of worship, and all the other
freedoms guaranteed in the Bill of Rights. Neither the President
nor the Congress of the United States could deprive the Filipinos
of these rights, for they were under the protection of the Consti-
tution of the United States itself.

With the help of the United States, we made steady progress
in every field of human endeavor and rapid advance in the practice
of self-government. At last America gave us complete autonomy on matters affecting our domestic affairs, preparatory to the establishment of the Philippine Republic which was set for the fourth of July 1946. We were a happy and prosperous people when Japan, without the slightest provocation on our part, brought sufferings, death and havoc, and destroyed every vestige of freedom in our country.

But our sacrifices have not been in vain. By our decision to fight by the side of the United States, by our heroism, and by our loyalty to the American flag, we won a battle greater than we lost. Our decision and our heroism have won for our people real freedom for all time.

You know what President Roosevelt said in his proclamation to the Filipino people on December 28, 1941. These were his words:

"I give to the people of the Philippines my solemn pledge that their freedom will be redeemed and their independence established
and protected. The entire resources in men and materials of the United States stand behind that pledge."

Not only that. President Roosevelt has, in effect, already given the Philippines recognition as an independent nation.

On my arrival in Washington, he rendered me honors due only to the heads of independent governments. He met me at the railroad station with the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Interior. Mrs. Quezon and I were his official guests at the White House.

He has recognized our right to take part in the Pacific War Council, with Great Britain, China, and the self-governing Dominions of Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The President of the United States presides over the Council table.

In the name of the Philippines, I am a signatory to the Atlantic Charter. We are one of the United Nations. And whether the war is over before or after July 4, 1946, the date fixed for the establishment of the Philippine Republic, I am
certain that we shall have our own representation in the Peace
Conference.

Japan now promises you independence. That promise means less
than nothing. Our independence is already a reality, since the
President of the United States, by his several official acts
enumerated above, has given recognition to the Philippines as
possessed of the attributes of full nationhood. The only thing
lacking is the formal establishment of the Philippine Republic.

This cannot happen until our country is liberated from the
invader — until you, my fellow-citizens, can exercise your full
right to elect the officials of the Government of the Republic.

On January 6, 1941, President Roosevelt said:

"In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look
forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

"The first is freedom of speech and expression — everywhere
in the world."
"The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way — everywhere in the world.

"The third is freedom from want — which, translated into world terms, means economic understanding which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants — everywhere in the world.

"The fourth is freedom from fear — which, translated into world terms, means worldwide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor anywhere in the world."

Those are the Four Freedoms for which we fight. They will come after the victory of the United Nations. When that glorious day arrives, the Filipino people will enjoy the blessings of these four freedoms — freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear. The first two need no
elaboration. You have known and exercised them before this war began. But, in the past, the other two have only been the hope and the ambition of our people.

Now we can look forward to these human rights with the assurance of their realization after the war. We shall secure for every Filipino the satisfaction of the basic human needs which are the rights of all men — food, clothing, and shelter, and economic opportunity. With the help of the United States, we shall rebuild our ravaged land, and make of it a prosperous member of the family of free nations.

President Roosevelt and I have already agreed that studies be made now for the economic rehabilitation of the Philippines, so that we shall be ready to proceed with the gigantic task of rebuilding our country as soon as the enemy is expelled.

As for the fourth freedom — the freedom from fear of aggression — we have before us, not only the commitment in
principle of the United Nations, but also the pledge of the
Government of the United States, as given by President Roosevelt
in his proclamation to the Filipino people. In furtherance of
this pledge, President Roosevelt has authorized the State
Department to discuss with me the question of our future security
and of the safeguarding forever of the mutual interests of the
United States and the Philippines in the Pacific area.

My beloved countrymen: I give you my solemn assurance that
the Philippines is not being neglected. The President, the Congress,
the American people, are doing and will do everything in their
power to redeem you as soon as possible from the heel of the
invader.

As for me, you know that day and night I can only think of
you, of the day of your redemption and my return to our beautiful
Islands. I would not be here, I would not have left you for a
moment, I would have been sharing with you your sufferings and
your hardships if I did not feel that I could only be of service to you by my being free from the clutches of the enemy.

Do not despair for your liberation is certain. It may take time, but it will come. Meanwhile, don't let the Japanese fool you. Use your wits and beat him at his own game. Above all, you must continue to have faith in America who has kept faith with every nation, and especially with us. Our bond of friendship tempered in the heat of battle, will last beyond the war and into the peace of freedom, general well-being and safety that will follow it.