

● PSF

Rumania

file
personal
PSF: Rumania
(2)

June 24, 1937

Dear Mr. President:

Sumner's telegram regarding
my transfer to Switzerland, reached
me this morning. I was extremely
pleased and in my cable reply,
I have asked him to convey to
you my grateful thanks and
appreciation of this additional mark

If you confidence.

During my service here, we have made a number of real friends to whom it will be hard to say "goodbye" and we have come to know the people, who, in spite of their often irritating Eastern characteristics, possess many likeable and estimable qualities.

I have enjoyed my duties here. The combination of the offices of the

Secretary of the Consulate General has
confirmed my expectations in every
way and has proved to be more
effective in the protection and
advancement of American interests,
in which we have had some success.
Other than the settlement of the
Government debt and the payment of
the service of the Rumanian Monopolies
Bonds held by Americans, we have
no pending questions with Rumania.

I shall always be grateful for
the opportunity you have given me
to be your representative at this post.

With our kindest remembrances
to Mrs. Roosevelt,

Faithfully & sincerely yours,

Leland Harrison

Leland Harrison

PSF; Rumania

CORRECTED COPY

J1
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (C)

BUCHAREST

Dated September 29, 1939

Rec'd 2:02 p.m. September 30.

Secretary of State,
Washington

283, September 29, 6 p.m.

Your 146, September 26, 6 p.m., my Telegram No. 256,
September 23, 6 p.m. and 268, September 26, 8 p.m.

~~STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL~~ FOR THE SECRETARY.

Thinking that it would meet with your approval, I
have already made clear on various occasions the purport
of the first paragraph of your telegram.

As much as I would like to see our President make
the humanitarian gesture outlined I cannot see that it
would serve a useful purpose now for the following
reasons:

(one) President Moscicki is in the throes of de-
ciding upon a successor. The Polish Ambassador has just
taken the eight hours journey again to join the President
and is perhaps his soundest advisor. The legal papers
necessary I know have been already smuggled into France
and in the event of decision need only be opened for the
formalities. I gather that part of the delay has

concerned

-2- 283, September 29, 6 p.m. from Bucharest

concerned Paderewski who is in no physical condition
alas to take a decision or play a responsible role.
In addition to the possibilities mentioned already I
learn that the Voivode of Posnania Rackiewicz is out of
Poland and available.

(two) There is no question of this Government's
permitting the President to leave Rumania until divested
of his functions. This country is threatened both
from without and until recently and perhaps still from
within. Even a bona fide escape of President Moscicki
would undoubtedly be seized upon by Germany or Russia or
both as an excuse and good reason for occupation of the
country, hence the precaution surrounding the President.
Rumania is in no position geographically, politically
or militarily to permit any principal member of the
Polish Government while in office to leave its confines.

(three) Any such threat on the part of our
President would I fear, at the present juncture only
muddy the waters and would be charged with a lack of
comprehension of the true situation and moreover would
not necessarily strengthen King Carol's hand who is
striving, I am satisfied, to deal with this problem
fairly, intelligently and in a humanitarian manner. The
Embassy assures me that the King is doing everything to
contribute

-3- 283, September 29, 6 p.m. from Bucharest

contribute to the President's comfort and welfare and that there is no complaint whatsoever as to his treatment. President Moscicki's wish it appears is to retire not to United States but to Switzerland. I have not repeated any of the above to Paris for the information of Ambassadors Bullitt and Biddle.

GUNTHER

OSB

PSF:
Rumania
State - 1

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

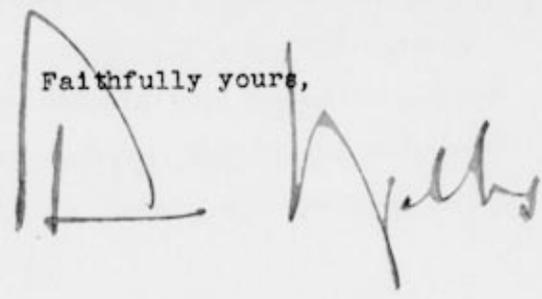
April 4, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

In accordance with our conversation of yesterday evening, I am submitting herewith the drafts of two telegrams. If you approve them, I will have them sent out immediately.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,



The President,
The White House.

XX

April 4, 1940

NO DISTRIBUTION

AMERICAN LEGATION

BUCHAREST

~~STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL~~ FOR THE MINISTER.

Department's No. 84, April 1, 6 p.m. and your
109, April 3, 5 p.m.

Owing to developments subsequent to the despatch
of the Department's instruction to you of April 1, 6 p.m.,
the President desires that you be informed that he
wishes you to postpone for the time being taking any
further action in this matter. Should the President
later desire to follow the matter up, you will be in-
structed accordingly.

U:SW:MW

*OK
FDR*

*Original sent to Mr. Miller
4/4/40
mm*

XX

April 4, 1940

NO DISTRIBUTION

AMERICAN EMBASSY

PARIS

~~STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL~~ FOR AMBASSADOR BIDDLE.

At the desire of the President, you are requested to telegraph the Department immediately your opinion as to the desirability of Colonel Beck proceeding to the United States at this time. The President is particularly anxious to know what in your judgment would be the effect of such a step upon the members of the present Polish Government, especially in the event that Colonel Beck was received by the President.

OK
FDR

Original sent to Mr. Wille
4/4/40
SW

U:SW:MW

TELEGRAM SENT

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

April 1, 1940

6 p.m.

AMERICAN LEGATION

BUCHAREST (RUMANIA)

84

Your 82, March 16, 8 p.m. and 88, March 20, 1 p.m.

You should personally inform Colonel Joseph Beck that
the President desires to have a conversation with him in
Washington and that you have been instructed to issue a diplo-
matic visa to him and that you have so informed the Rumanian
Government. Unless you receive a satisfactory reply from
Gafencu you should carry out your instructions to take up
this matter with King Carol.

HULL

WCBullitt

PA/D AMW

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

Bucharest
Dated April 3, 1940
Rec'd 7:13 p. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

109, April 3, 5 p. m.

Your No. 84, April 1, 6 p. m.

I have just seen Foreign Minister Gafencu again. He said that in view of the understanding between his Government and that of Germany--that the members of the former Polish Government should not be permitted to leave Rumania--he would have to discuss this matter with the German Minister Fabricius and would let me know the result as soon as possible. He suggested that I not apply for audience with the King until he had done this.

Colonel Beck's secretary is being sent by Beck from Brasov arriving at dinner time tonight and I shall tell him what you say, what I have done and also communicate to him for Colonel Beck your decision as conveyed in your No. 85, April 2, 7 p. m. Radio bulletin No. 75 of March 29 has not yet reached me. Am requesting the Embassy at Berlin if possible to send that and subsequent hereafter by air mail.

EMB

GUNTHER

THE SECRETARY OF WAR
DIRECTS ANSWERS TO THIS
RADIO AS FOLLOWS:

ADVISE WITHIN 12 HOURS
IF ANSWER IS UNNECESSARY.

IF ANSWER IS NOT SENT
WITHIN 7 DAYS, REASON
MUST BE STATED.

E.S. Adams
~~JAMES E. ADAMS~~
Major General,
The Adjutant General.

BFS

*file
secret
Bof*

RADIOGRAM

RECEIVED AT THE WAR DEPARTMENT

MK 45

March 5, 1941.

Filed Not given

2:47 P. M.

From Bucuresti,

To MILID

Copies furnished as noted:

By **RHP**, NAVS Date **FEB 26 1975**
E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(e) and 6(D) or (G)
OSD Letter, May 3, 1972

DECLASSIFIED



Number 58. March 4th.

Arrived in Sofia February 25th by airplane.

Made official call on Premier, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of War, Chief of Staff, lesser officials and officers, and all foreign military attache. Due to barroom incident in which American Minister was involved, the atmosphere was not conducive to establishing basis for future productive work. Dirty gossip was current, some were mad, others cynically amused. I left March 3rd before audience with King could be arranged because of arrest of my Rumanian secretary in Bucharest.

Upon arrival in Sofia I gave a copy of my telegram No. 55 to Minister Earle. He read it and immediately telephoned asking British Minister or Military Attache to come. Colonel Ro.... came. The Minister informed him in my presence, and showed us a telegram to the President quoting me to the effect that Germans would not march into Bulgaria. A short argument ensued, and the telegram was torn up. The Minister then read to us Walter Winchell's cable to him: "Sock the Nazis one for me"

Earle was polite to me, he placed at my disposal his car and chauffeur, and I treated him with the

RADIOGRAM

BFS

RECEIVED AT THE WAR DEPARTMENT

SECRETARY OF WAR
ANSWERS TO THIS
RADIO AS FOLLOWS:
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IF ANSWER IS UNNECESSARY.
IF ANSWER IS NOT SENT
WITHIN 7 DAYS, REASON
MUST BE STATED.

JAMES F. MCKINLEY,
Major General,
The Adjutant General.

From _____

M.

Page 2 of No 58 from Bucuresti

Copies furnished as noted:

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (G)
OSD letter, May 3, 1972
By RHP, NARS Det. FEB 26 1975

*From Cass on
Quotations from
Newspaper memo*



respect due an American Minister. Behind my back, however, he talked about me in the most outrageous manner. It was too raw even for hard boiled correspondents, two of whom volunteered on their own initiative to furnish the statement which might help to elucidate somewhat the incomprehensible and to which I can add only that I did not dine with a German officer and that in this case to "appease" apparently means making calls on German Military Attache.

Confidential statement of Mr. Robert Saint John, Associated Press representative: "On Monday, March 3rd, at press conference with American Journalists Minister Earle announced that he was about to send a telegram to the President telling that despite all efforts of Ratay to appease the Germans, despite fact that while in Sofia he was seen dining in public with German army officer, Ratay's own secretary was arrested in Bucharest. "That is what he gets!" He added with chuckle.

"At dinner party which I gave for some American Journalists and some British Legation staff members with their wives on Saturday, March 1st, in public restaurant, Earle appeared uninvited, sat down at table and started

BFS

RADIOGRAM

RECEIVED AT THE WAR DEPARTMENT

SECRETARY OF WAR
ANSWERS TO THIS
RADIO AS FOLLOWS:

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IF ANSWER IS UNNECESSARY.
IF ANSWER IS NOT SENT
WITHIN 7 DAYS, REASON
MUST BE STATED.

JAMES F. MCKINLEY,
Major General,
The Adjutant General.

From

[REDACTED]

M.

Page 5 of 0.58 To
From Bucharest

Copies furnished as noted:



DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and (D) or (G)
CSD letter, May 3, 1978
NAES Doc. FEB 26 1975

anteroom for more than two hours after that. Once he broke away from us and thumbed nose at German before we could drag him back to anteroom. Because Earle and girls with him all agreed to tell a story about how Earle was victim of "unwarranted attack" it was impossible for me to write for the Associated Press complete version of affair, because I would have been immediately contradicted by Earle and his witnesses. What I did write was true as far as it went: "Words flew then bottles". I did omit for above reason and also so as not to embarrass State Department and my government, Earle's conduct, and how he provoked attack. I have not ^{made} this statement at any one's request! I make it only to keep the records clear! I make it voluntarily and am willing to take an oath that it is correct! I beg that it be kept strictly confidential." *(end of St. John's statement)*

Confidential statement of Russell Hill, correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune. "I was present at the dinner given by Saint John on March 1st and I was present at a conference given by Earle to American correspondents in his office March 3rd, and I can certify that everything Saint John has reported about what Earle

PST- Rumania Folder

JCB
Personal

No. 13

Bucharest, May 16, 1941.

Dear Mr. President:

I was amazed to learn, from your letter of April 4th, that you had read my letter and the Brugère report. You are an amazing and omniverous reader, to say the least, with all that you have on your broad shoulders.

I shall certainly deliver the message to King Mihai. I am enclosing herewith a snapshot I took of him at the door of our Sunday villa at Predeal in the Carpathians just beyond Sinaia. General Antonescu has his villa, which he built himself as the first pioneer of those parts somewhat further up the hill. And that was one reason why I took ours. And another was that the then Prime Minister Gigurtu's villa was somewhat further down the hill. The young King and his mother have to lunch quite frequently with the General on a Saturday or Sunday, when he has von Killinger, the Minister, and other German officials. The King and the Queen Mother usually drop in at our villa afterwards to relax. Just to show you how Mihai is overlooked, Avakoumovitch, my friend and former Yugoslav Colleague, told me before he left last week that

when

The President

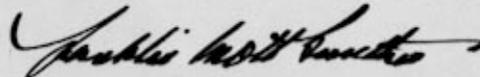
The White House.

when he had his farewell audience with King Mihai the latter did not even know there had been a rupture of relations.

I am enclosing as well a photograph of our villa, which was built by Tillea the pro-English former Rumanian Minister at London. Both this villa and his house in town, which we also occupy, have now been confiscated by the State, which has thus become my landlord.

With fervent wishes for your welfare and power, I am, dear Mr. President, with highest regard,

Yours very respectfully,



P. S. - As I have told Ray Atherton in a letter, the German Authorities here do not like it at all that we are on such friendly terms with the King and the Queen Mother. Of course, every move we all make is known to them. General Antonescu was heartily in favor of our friendship, but I happen to know that it has now reached his ears also that the Germans are grumbling.

May 27.

P.P.S.- I kept this letter open as the pouch was not leaving until the 28th and I knew that we were lunching at Sinaia Sunday with the King and Queen Mother. I took the opportunity to deliver to the
King

King your good wishes for himself and for his country and spoke also to the Queen Mother of your having mentioned them in a personal letter to me. They were both awfully pleased. The Queen Mother told me that she had just heard from her sister Irene; that both she and Spoleto were frightfully upset about having to be "King and Queen" of Croatia. Spoleto, she said, had first refused. Mussolini was annoyed and had told him that he had no right to refuse to cooperate in time of war.

The Queen Mother has given me a letter to forward for poor Myron Taylor. I am not allowed to use the Department's pouch for outside letters, but I shall manage to get it over just the same from Lisbon by air.

Huber

The following photos (sepia, about 3 3/4 x 4 1/4),
enclosed in Gunther & Roosevelt, 5/16/41,
placed in photo file: Romania, Predeal,

"Sunday villa" of Amer. Amb.
F.M. Gunther
acc. no. 42-22:4254(1-7)

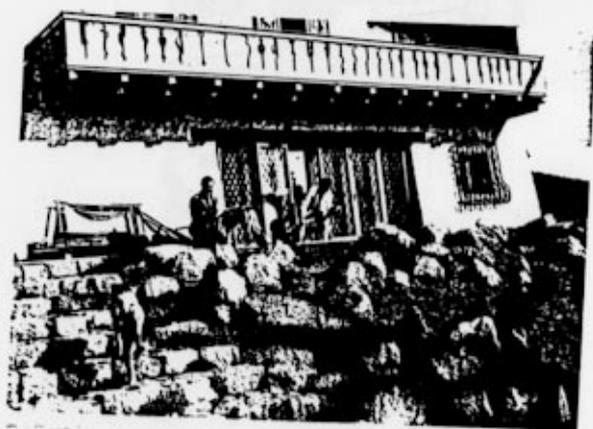
- (1) King Mihai "at the door of our Sunday villa at Predeal."
- (2) "a photograph of our villa" in snow.
- (3) View "Predeal in the Carpathians, just beyond Sivaia (?)"
- (4) Mr. and Mrs. Gunther in front of their villa (?).
- (5) "One of the Carpathian views from our villa"
- (6) "Our family of five Virginia Lewellyn setlers"
- (7) Carpathians in snow.



Pres. Sec. file
folder Romania
1941 box 67
further to FDR 5-16-41

1-48-22: 4254(1)

King Michael in the morning
"Sunday visit" of General Marshall, J.M. Linn, etc.
Romania. Predal, in The Carpetbaggers 1941



The

 1941

45-2214254(P)

... ..
 "Signifying"

1941



Our family of
 fine Virginia Sheltie
 Collies -

"Stony Brook" of Ames, Conn. 319
 "Riverside", Rindall - The Doghouse
 1941

Price \$100.00
 1941
 1941
 1941

1941-1942



Pres. S. C. J. file
Folder: Romania
1941 - 1947
written to W. A. P., 5-16-41

44-2214254 (2)

Romania, Prutal, in the Carpathians

1941.



One of the Carpathian
 towns from the hills

From the hills
 looking down
 from the hills, 5-16-41

"Sunday view" of Dan. Dubrovnik
 1941

6919
 SIP-F

48-221-2294(2)
 (3)



Pres. Soc. file
Jocelyn & Virginia
1941 box 67
Jocelyn to WWR, 5-16-41

48-22:4254(3)

W. J. ...
...
...
...

Rumania, Bradcaal, in the Carpathians 1941



Pres. Sacc. Jola
Folder: Kuymanian
1941 box 57
Further to K.A.R. 5-16-41

40-2214254 (2)

"Sunday villa" of Simon. Umb. F. M. Gunther
Romania, Beleak, in The Carpathians

1941

No. 14

Bucharest, June 10, 1941.

Dear Mr. President:

At this distance from home I devour everything which reaches me concerning the progress of events there, and there is nothing which interests me more than your apparent plans to make a better social world of it after the war. I so interpret your appointment of Mr. Winant to London.

As of possible interest, I quote herewith from a memorandum made of a recent conversation with a Rumanian official, if only to show a rather typical trend of thought in this country:

"Rumania had been saved from the fate of Poland, Yugoslavia and Greece by collaboration with the Germans so far, and the best thing for the country would be an immediate peace between England and Germany, which would permit the latter to play the role of the defender in Europe against Communism. It was true that Rumania would remain in the German orbit but would be better off than if left to the mercy of Communism, as he felt would infallibly occur if Germany lost the war. He said that capitalism had not solved the problem of social inequality and that only authoritarianism and Communism offered remedies, the former the best. If the totalitarian systems in Europe were destroyed the continent would remain at the mercy of the Communist idea, which the victors would be unable to deal with, since capitalism had no solution

The President,

The White House.

solution to offer a Europe filled with war-weary and discontented populations, ripe for Communist propaganda.

"Mr. Ghiulescu was of the opinion that if the war were won by England and the United States, the latter would have to assume world leadership and that this would take the form of an imperialist system. He wondered what form our imperialism would then take. I objected to the use of the word 'imperialism' and pointed out that the idea of political domination of other nations was repugnant to the American people, that they had no intentions in that direction, that their interest in the defeat of Germany was to prevent just such a thing, and that our system of Government was not designed to deal with an empire overseas. To this he replied that by imperialism he did not mean necessarily political domination, though that would follow. But if the Anglo-American side prevailed, the fatal result of its victory would be an imperialistic system, perhaps at first only economic and cultural in scope. He asked what form our imperialism would take, since he believed that such an outcome was inescapable. I replied that the idea of a federal system is traditional in American political thought and that already many people in the United States were advocating some sort of world federation, in which the various states would give up certain of their powers to a central authority which might exercise some form of international economic control, such as over the balance of payments, supplies of raw materials, etc. He stated that it was his feeling that the United States, in case of victory, would be under an obligation to humanity to undertake the imperialistic responsibilities requisite to furnishing sufficient stability and directive effort to save Western civilization. It would act then as the economic driving force, would maintain the world markets, would fill the place now occupied by England as the political, cultural and polarizing force in the world. He said that he felt Germany was now making her last effort to become the dominant power in Europe. If she failed this time, she would assuredly retrograde to the rank of a second-class power, and not for another hundred years could she ever constitute a danger on this continent, as this effort would completely exhaust not only her material resources and manpower, but something of the national genius would be extinguished.

"He cited several historical examples of
countries

countries in Europe which had become dominant for a time and reached an apex of development and power, after which their expansive drive seemed to have been burned out, notably: Holland Spain, etc. The present war was a struggle on the part of Germany to replace England as the dominant nation. But even if Germany were beaten and England victorious, England had already demonstrated that she was decadent and would not be able to continue in her place as a dominant nation, which place must be assumed by the United States."

So few Rumanians have ever even been to the United States and we as a Government have always refrained from propaganda. Since that has been left largely to the films I have been struck with the rather curious prevailing conceptions, in less well informed circles, regarding our country, our people, our ideals, and our Government. This does not apply to the peasants in Transylvania who have well treated immigrant relatives in the United States. It has been an uphill job, ever since I have been here--and probably Harrison found the same--enlightening certain categories of Rumanians regarding us. I tried to get the Department at least to send me its cultural handouts published in the French language, designed primarily for Latin America, but was turned down. Only a handful of men in this entire country speak English well--and one of them is Stoica who is coming to us. Due to the practice followed by Presidents Coolidge and Hoover of rewarding sterling "go-getters" by appointing them Ministers somewhere, we were formerly represented here by men who spoke no known language but English, and hence America was almost unanimously misinterpreted and they themselves invariably misunderstood.

The prevailing feeling here seems to be that once the war is over the British will undoubtedly tend to slop back again into a by-play of selfish interest, meddling in the internal affairs of countries in Southeastern Europe, and another old-school-tie epoch, and that if we are not careful, the eventual drift towards centralization of corporative control in the U.S.A. will be more than we can prevent. I mean also that the post-war tendency will be very strong towards "agreements in restraint of trade", especially in England. A modified inflation is sooner or later inevitable in both countries, when it would be, in my humble opinion, in some respects desirable.

With fervent wishes for your welfare and a rapid recovery from your reported illness, I am, dear Mr. President, with highest regard,

Yours most respectfully,

Franklin D. Roosevelt

PSF Rumania Folder
Original in family
folder

No. 14

Bucharest, June 10, 1941.

Dear Mr. President:

The enclosed translation of an article from the BUKARESTER TAGEBLATT of June 6th will amuse you. The paper in question is the local German language sheet for the German colony and published under pretty close control of the Press Attaché of the German Legation. It will give you and your family a good laugh, especially the penultimate paragraph, and I would not exclude Mrs. Mortimer from the fun.

As recently forecasted to the Department of State, the blow has "fallen" and General Antonescu, acting in response to official German complaint, has told the King and the Queen Mother that they should not see so much of me as I am considered to be far too well informed. Nevertheless, there are ways and ways!

With fervent wishes for your welfare, I am, dear Mr. President, with highest regard,

Yours most respectfully,

Franklin Mott Gunther

The President
The White House.

Enclosure: 1.

IS ROOSEVELT OF JEWISH DESCENT?

(Translated from the "Bukarester Tageblatt", dated
June 6, 1941)

Berlin. The German press has repeatedly pointed out that remarkably many Jews are Roosevelt's closest Counselors, among whom Secretary of State, Morgenthau, the Governor of New York State, H. H. Lehmann, the President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, Joe Bloom, Roosevelt's Economic Counselor Benjamin Cohen, the President's appointee to the Supreme Court, Felix Frankfurter, and recently also Manasse Baruch, head of American armament production during the World War. The German papers partly connected this observation to the fact that the anti-German policy of the American President was due to his circle of Jewish collaborators.

A report published in the "Nationalistischen Korrespondenz" poses the question whether Roosevelt himself was of Jewish descent. Among others it is stated therein:

"In 1935 the "Neue Freie Presse", at that time still in Jewish possession, occupied itself in Vienna with this question and published information received from the American President, explaining: '300 years ago my ancestors came from Holland to America. The question whether these my ancestors were Jews, Catholics or Protestants, does not worry me.' This evasive information, which, by its clear frivolous confusion

of

of the Jewish problem with confessional problems, bears typical Jewish marks and becomes conceivable when the real origin of Roosevelt is closely examined."

As a basis for this there exists a genealogical table compiled, on the occasion of the Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt, by the Dutchman J. van Minne (published at that time in the organ of the Dutch genealogical committee), as well as according to a scientific work published shortly before the war by Adolf Schmalix (Weimar 1939). Schmalix, aside from the ascertainment and complement of the Roosevelt family tree, has searched the origin of the married women and, in addition to the literature appearing in Europe, has also studied the archives.

From an examination by these scientific elaborators of the Roosevelt genealogical tree, the ancestors of the American family branch is Claes Martensen van Roosevelt, who immigrated between the years 1644 and 1649 from Holland to New Amsterdam, later New York. It is not quite clear whether this Claes really was the first ancestor as there was published in the "Detroit Jewish Chronicle" of 1935, and not contradicted by the Roosevelt family, the statement presuming that there was a Roosevelt in New Amsterdam already in 1620 who was a Jew and originated from a Spanish family by the name of Rossocampo.

It is sure, however, that the wife of Claes Roosevelt, the first ancestress of the family, was a Jewess. The name is Janetje Samuels, called Thomas, who

who originated from the family Crespo Cortez, immigrated from Mallorca to America.

Furthermore, it is attested, and is undeniable, that the Jewish descent of Roosevelt's mother is the Jewish family de Illan, later Delano, which immigrated from Italy. The American President bears, as second Christian name, the Jewish family name of his mother. He calls himself "Franklin Delano Roosevelt".

This statement would not be complete were one to leave out of the picture the wife of the President who, as is known, originates from another branch of the family and is a distant relative of the President. Her mother was the Jewess Rebeka Hall.

Under the circumstances, the evasive remarks of the President are more than understandable, as well as the fact that he pledged himself by solemn oath to Jewry, because its blood runs in his veins.

PST Romania

~~Strategic Confidential~~

Bucharest, June 18, 1941.

No. 15.

Dear Mr. President:

I am enclosing herewith, as of possible interest, a paraphrase of a telegram I sent on June 6th, 6 p.m., to the Department. I am in touch sporadically with a representative of this organization. ^(i.e. the Anti-Nazi group) This individual, who is a Dutchman, and represents Phillips Radio, is free to travel in this part of the world and does so even in Germany. He complained to me bitterly that his organization has received no financial assistance whatsoever from Britain. Naturally he does not expect any help from us as it is exactly this type of "boring from within" that the Germans and Communists carry on in our country and to which we quite rightly take exception.

One has to see first-hand, as I have here, month by month, the long German columns to realize the tremendous military strength of the Germans, their efficiency, discipline and organization. General Anton-escu himself has twice said to me that the German Army will never be beaten on land by anyone, much less ourselves, and that Germany can only suffer defeat from within

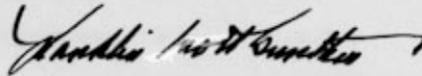
The President,

The White House.

within. Hence the British would seem to be missing a good opportunity to achieve their ends through the use of this organization. Quite a long time ago I wrote to Sumner along these lines but have never heard anything more. I realize that it is a delicate matter for us to touch.

With fervent wishes for your welfare, I am, dear Mr. President, with highest regards,

Yours most respectfully,



Franklin Mott Gunther.

Enclosure:

1. Paraphrase.

P.S. There appear to me to be four ways of finishing off this German mechanized paraphernalia:
(1) the obvious and ponderous way, to wit: destroy it with shot and shell, but that would take an unconscionable amount and result in a good deal of hurt in the doing, whether from the air or on land or both; (2) to entice or catch it on the water or in a great marsh, such as the Pripet, and sink it; (3) to cut its life blood, oil, and immobilize it; (4) to bore from within in Germany itself. This latter would be more successful if accompanied by merciless retaliatory bombings of large centers of population in Germany. I have recently had and communicated to the Department an opinion, which I value highly, to the effect that given fifteen successive nights of bombing of Berlin and the German people would force peace or rebel. My informant was thinking also of Vienna, the great Danube port where roughly three million Germans from bombed cities elsewhere in Germany are at present sheltering.

1941

PARAPHRASE OF STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL TELEGRAM
NO. 508, OF JUNE 6, 6 P.M., FROM
MINISTER GUNTHER TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE

A reliable contact has given me a statement relative to the existence in Germany of two underground organizations. These organizations, which are working separately one from the other but with the same end in view, are the Communist Party and the Anti-Nazi Party (the latter was founded about a year and a half ago). The statement shows that the work of the two organizations mentioned is being carried out in the following manner:

1. Acts of sabotage in shops, docks and factories;
2. Use of propaganda against the Nazi regime by showing that what National Socialism says is a tissue of lies, and by setting forth the iniquities of the men of the Party, including their scandalous mode of living;
3. Efforts to obtain a foothold in all classes, particularly in the army, by fostering unrest and discontent and making known to the officers and men that the Party men are staying at home and living well,

and

and at the same time persecuting their relatives and families, while they are risking their lives in different countries.

In this respect, the campaign in Crete and Greece was particularly productive, and has caused various attacks against Party members. To prove their good will three regiments of S. S. men were sent to Yugoslavia; of these, two divisions were completely annihilated. In addition, 100,000 S. S. men were enrolled in parachute corps, a move to which the Fuehrer gave his assent only after long hesitation. However, the greater part of the Party members are still in Germany, and dissatisfaction is increased by this fact alone;

4. A whispering campaign is the latest type of propaganda. It is to the effect that the British have never lost a war, and that in the present conflict they cannot lose with America's tremendous help; furthermore, there can be no peace, as long as National Socialism remains in power, but only ruin and disaster, while Germany could probably obtain a decent peace if National Socialism were liquidated.

The

The following conclusion is reached as a result of a careful investigation as to the temper of the different classes:

(a) The Germans can be beaten from within more easily than from without;

(b) Thus far modest amounts have been invested in acts of sabotage, but more rapid progress could be made if larger funds could be obtained;

(c) As long as no initiative is taken by men with feelings of leadership and responsibility, the German people will continue to carry on the war faithfully under the most unfavorable conditions. However, if that initiative were taken, over 80 per cent of the German people would welcome peace.

Continuing, the statement says that various prominent members of the Nazi Party feel that there is "something in the air", and that it is not out of the question that their dreams will have a very terrible and abrupt ending one day. For instance: Himmler is considerably better guarded today than ever was the foremost general in the German army; further, one of Germany's best known present day economists
has

has intimated that it might be worthwhile if "certain people", who are desirous of peace, were to meet Goering privately, or if that is not possible, one of his closest friends.

In conclusion, the statement says that level-headed and prominent Germans have been impressed by the American President's last speech more than by anything else. Never before have so many depressed faces been seen nor so many worried remarks been heard, this the more so as Tokyo has definitely requested the German Government to avoid war with the United States, at least during the coming six months.

~~Confidential~~

Bucharest, June 19, 1941.

No. 16.

Dear Mr. President:

Just for background, and in case something happens to your Representative here, I think I should inform you that I have learned that last Sunday, the 15th, after they had lunched at General Antonescu's Predeal villa, the King and the Queen Mother were taken severely to task for having such friendly relations with my wife and myself by Mihai Antonescu, the intimate in that family, though no relation, and Minister without Portfolio. I consider, I am sorry to say, that Mihai Antonescu has gone over to the Germans lock, stock, and barrel, not necessarily for money but for power. He has an overweening ambition. A mutual friend of General Antonescu and myself goes so far as to say that General Antonescu's sustained seediness is not so much anemia as slow poison being administered by Mihai, who has plans to succeed him. As to the former the General, in any case, seems to be getting better. This is a curious family group of Antonescus and generally considered to be a "ménage a trois". Mihai Antonescu, it seems, engineered the divorces from former marriages of both the General and his wife and then fell in love himself with

Madam

The President,

The White House.

Madam Antonescu. (Incidentally her former husband, it is said, was a Jew, associated with the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas, and the General is supposed to have had a Jewish mother or grandmother, I am not sure which.) I must admit that Mihai is extremely clever, deep and very hard working. The General leans heavily upon him for all sorts of spade work.

My wife happened to be in Braşov the day following this luncheon for a fitting and chanced to see King Michael's young Military Aide, who is a warm friend of ours. He alleged that Mihai Antonescu had been extremely rude to the Queen Mother. One afternoon the week before the royal pair had passed by our town house, with this Aide. I happened to be in the garden and they called through to me. I went out to the curb and talked with them both for a few minutes only and we all decided that it would not be discreet for them to come into the house. The police car following theirs (which is customary) immediately lodged a report of their visit. Mihai Antonescu berated the King for having done this but the Queen Mother interposed at once saying that it was her idea, whereupon Mihai Antonescu asked them both if they did not realize that I was the head of the British Intelligence in Rumania and not only distributed British funds but Russian Bolshevik gold as well. All of which is quite amusing if it were not at the same time so tragic.

The King and the Queen Mother had planned to stop by at our Predeal villa Sunday last after lunching with
the

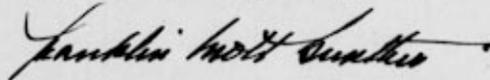
the General, but they did not turn up and I suspected that something of this sort had happened. Naturally all concerned are very angry indeed that a little snip like Mihai Antonescu should have so far forgotten himself as to have been rude to the Queen Mother. I must say, however, that even General Antonescu has been pretty hard on them both at times and has shown ill-will and even contempt in many small ways, such as putting all the Palace servants out of their lodgings, which he turned over to the troops, and other minor annoyances and economies. He so cordially hates ex-King Carol that I suppose in a way he unconsciously takes it out on the boy. The King and the Queen Mother have so few intimate friends and so few pleasures that one really feels very sorry for them.

Also I have reported at length in despatches to the Department the long-standing intrigue regarding Princess Ileana, the younger sister of ex-King Carol, married to Archduke Anton of Hapsburg. Some of the Germans have long been "playing her up", and I feel confident that in certain German official circles they would be very welcome successors to Carol's dynasty. Neither the boy nor his mother are on good terms with Ileana. Incidentally she is supposed to be the daughter of Prince Barbu Stirbey, Prime Minister in the late '20's, who was long devoted to the late Queen Marie. However, the Prince - who was banished from Rumania by Carol but is back now - has no affection for her nor have any of the other members of his family, two very
nice

nice married daughters who are friends of ours. Every time that Princess Ileana has turned up in Rumania in the last year and a half, the German Legation has paid her marked attention. This was the first definite sign Carol had of German official dissatisfaction with him. I understand that she plans to return next month to take up her residence for a period of two months at Bran, the medieval castle which makes one think of Graustark, in the neighborhood of Predeal and Braşov. Princess Ileana and her husband have taken great pains to turn Bran into a most attractive residence. I understand that her husband does not expect to be with her much of the time. He is an active pilot in the Luftwarffe, has the Iron Cross, but is not considered to be in any way mentally gifted.

With fervent wishes for your welfare, I am, dear Mr. President, with highest regard,

Yours most respectfully,



Franklin Mott Gunther.

P.S. July 1. This letter has been awaiting a courier-pouch. We have since seen the "Officier d'Ordnance" at the house of a Colleague. I enclose herewith a copy of a note to my wife from the Queen Mother which he delivered. It is pathetic. The King wanted to go to the front and should have just slipped away in one of the cars which he drives himself. Unfortunately the people about him made a formal request. It was refused, and Mihai Antonescu, Acting President of the Council in the General's absence at the front, has forbidden the King to appear there. Young Michael is broken-hearted. In fact, he and his mother are both so discouraged that I fear they would welcome an excuse for getting out for good. I am against this on principle, but who knows how it will work out.

It appears that in the conversation above referred to with the Queen Mother, little Mihai Antonescu posed as the real Head of the State since the General's ill health and averred that it was he who ran things and not the General. Sooner or later the latter will be informed of this, I hope.

C O P Y

Sunday, June 29th, 1941.

My dear Mrs. Gunther -

Please forgive pencil but I only wanted to send you a few words in haste just to tell you how I am longing to see you. What an obnoxious situation we are in. We mustn't do this and we mustn't do that. It is exactly like the story, "Go and see what Baby's doing and tell him not to"! If this goes on much longer I shall go stark staring mad. You heard what happened when I dared speak to your husband in front of your house the other day in town. I am afraid at the moment the only thing is to lie low and keep quiet - but I am so longing to see you both and have a talk like we had the afternoon in Poiana when we laughed so much!! Quite between you and me and the lamp post, my child is not allowed to go to the front!! though he does nothing but ask every day, and as for me, I am not supposed to mix in anything, all I can do is to go to the hospitals and make silly conversation but take no active part in anything. It can't be helped, times have changed and one must just grin and bear it. I hope you are both well. I send you and your husband my very best love and hope so much that we may meet again soon.

Lovingly

H E L E N .

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Rumania

PSF: Rumania

Paraphrase of Code Cablegram
Received at the War Department
at 2:10, June 24, 1941.

Bucharest, filed 17:10, June 23, 1941.

1. On June 22 the Rumanian High Command announced general mobilization with June 21 as the effective date. Indications are that operations on the Pruth front will be of minor importance at first. It is believed that General Antonescu was appointed as commander of the German-Rumanian forces on this front as a gesture. The actual work is being done by General Hansen and the German General Staff. It is believed that the command will change hands when Dniester is reached.

2. The first air raid alarms were sounded in Bucharest following noon, June 23 but none were heard before.

RATAY

Distribution:

THE PRESIDENT
Secretary of War
State Department
Chief of Staff
War Plans Division
Office of Naval Intelligence
GHQ

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
DECLASSIFIED
DDO DIR. 5200.9 (9/27/58)

Date- 5-27-69

Signature- *RH Birk*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INFORMATION COPY

No. 15

Bucharest, July 28, 1941.

Dear Mr. President:

It may possibly have been brought to your attention that the Rumanian authorities, prompted by the German authorities here, protested to me the terms of your telegram to President Kallinin of the U.S.S.R., in reply to his telegram to you of congratulations on July Fourth. As they were basing their protest upon the text as received over the Russian radio, I asked the Department to repeat your telegram to me and, for convenience of reference, I attach a copy hereto. The terms of your telegram, naturally, lost nothing in the telling by the time the Russians had radioed it in their language and the Germans had retranslated it from German into Rumanian. As soon as I received the real text I saw that their hand had been overplayed, as I expected, so I sent it to Cretzianu with the following annotation:

"Much Ado About Nothing." W. Shakespeare.

"Had the Head or Acting Head of the Rumanian State chosen to send a telegram of congratulations to our President on the Fourth of July, the Anniversary when we celebrate our independence from British rule, he would probably have received a similarly cordial telegram in reply."

I

The President

The White House.

*Fitz
Personel*

I am seeing to it that a copy of the true text will reach General Antonescu also from me, although I think I can count upon Cretzianu's doing likewise.

The late Cardinal Verdier was prone to say that there might be just wars, but that there could be no such thing as a "HOLY WAR". The Rumanians, however, have worked themselves up into such a pitch of frenzy and perfervid jitters that they are most susceptible to German machinations and, as you know, due to pressure from that quarter, have subjected me to all sorts of annoyances, allowed their press to carry on a campaign of vilification, and canceled the exequaturs of our Consuls in Bucharest.

To give you an idea of the prevalence and intensity of feeling just now, I am translating herewith a paragraph from the French of a letter from a Rumanian General, retired, who has sent to me, for return to His Majesty's Government, his Commission and Decoration in the Order of the Bath. After referring to his vicarious comradeship with the British, when fighting in the last war shoulder to shoulder with France and Italy for liberty, he says the following:

"Considering that today all Europe, together with Germany, the liberator, at its head, is fighting against the common enemy of humanity, and that England, seemingly without any conception of the real meaning of the word 'Nation', has ranged itself on the side of the beast against the Cross, we, those old soldiers who have fought all their lives for their Cross and their country, can no longer wear upon their breast the Order vouchsafed by a Government which has proved to the world to have neither Cross nor 'Nation'.

This

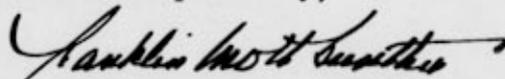
This gesture of protest is but fitting due to the memory of our glorious heroes and brave soldiers who died and fought over there on the battlefields for the remaking of our Greater Rumania, bequeathed to us by our ancestors more than two thousand years ago."

I would like to answer the gallant General somewhat at length, but shall refrain and confine myself to a simple acknowledgment, in English, with Rumanian translation attached, conveying the assurance that I shall forward his Order to its ultimate high destination. Almost any and every Rumanian I have ever talked to on the subject have maintained that in the last war this country suffered infinitely more from the Russians, as allies, than they did from the Germans, as enemies. I shall not expatiate upon their vivid recollection of the failure of France and England to render their promised support.

Elizabeth Bibesco, who, I am sorry to say, is not what she used to be, having taken to drink, and I fear drugs, alleges that in the heyday of her wit she once said to General Pershing: "You know, General, the only reason the Allied Generals ever won the Great War was that they had Generals opposing them." She further asseverates that General Pershing pondered for a minute and then replied: "But Generals always have Generals opposing them, haven't they?"

With highest regard and fervent wishes for your own welfare,

Yours most respectfully,



Enclosure: copy of telegram.

July 30.

P. S. I enclose herewith and respectfully commend to your attention a copy of my telegram of this date, exposing the Bolshevik's misuse of your telegram.

COPY OF DEPARTMENT'S TELEGRAM TO BUCHAREST, NO. 351,

JULY 19, 1941

I have received your kind telegram extending congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of the anniversary of the Independence of the United States. Your thoughtfulness in sending this message at a time when the Russian people are combating so heroically a ruthless invader is deeply appreciated. The American people abhor armed aggression. They are bound with strong ties of historic friendship to the Russian people. It is, therefore, only natural that they are observing with sympathy and admiration the valiant struggle which the Russian people are waging at the present time in self-defense. On behalf of the Government and people of the United States, as well as on my own behalf, I thank you for your friendly greetings. I extend best wishes for yourself and for the welfare and success of the Russian people."

Telegrama pentru
Statele Unite ale
Americii de Nord
Columbia District
Zona 2-a

Legatiunea Americana
Bucuresti
July 30, 1941

NLT

SECSTATE

WASHINGTON

706 Thirtieth

Please convey also to the President paragraph
Your 351 July nineteen stop I have now succeeded
in obtaining the exact text of the Russian version of
President Roosevelt's telegram to Kallinin in reply to
the letters on Independence Day stop This falsified
version was given out by Moscow radio on July eleven
at eighteen hours in French as follows colon quote

A Son Excellence Michel Kalinin President du
Soviet Supreme de l'union des Republiques Sovietiques
Moscou paragraph quote

J'ai recu votre precieux telegramme de felicitations
pour la fete de l'anniversaire de l'indpendance des
Etats Unis stop Les Etats Unis fletrissent l'attaque
allemande contre l'union Sovietique stop Le peuple
americain se sent lie au peuple russe par l'amitie et
lui souhaite la victoire stop Au nom du Gouvernement
du peuple et en mon nom personnel je vous remercie
pour vos bons voeux et je crois en votre victoire sur
l'ennemi stop quote Roosevelt unquote paragraph

As you will see the Moscow version is a deliberate
distortion of the true text stop Unfortunately the
Rumanian Government did not trouble to confirm but
permitted itself to be influenced by this forgery
supposing it to be genuine stop Comment on this Bolshevik
trick would appear superfluous stop

GUNTHER

Rumania Folder
1-41

file
personal

Dear Frank:

Your stimulating letter of August 5 presented a series of themes which, I can assure you, have been very much in my mind. It is a source of deep satisfaction, to me personally and to those in the Government concerned with our foreign relations, that chiefs of mission abroad are, like yourself, looking ahead and applying their experience and skill to the tremendous problems which will occupy us for the next generation. Your observations are so sound that I have taken time for fuller reflection on them, and this letter is more than an expression of my appreciation of your kindness in sending me this thoughtful study.

I was glad you were able to make the recent trip to Budapest, for that exchange of views showed how useful a personal contact with the leaders in other countries can be. If the situation had been such that you could have returned for a brief visit to the United States, it would have been still better, apart from the personal pleasure of your visit, for I think you would have found that we are very much alive to the problems which have been occupying you, and that we are making some progress in the plans to prevent just the shortsighted solutions which at the end of the last war brought about the tragic situation leading up to the events of the last few years.

It is true that the minority problem, with which you are having direct experience, must be approached from other angles. The method of exchanging populations seemed very brutal a few years ago, but after the atrocious hardships of recent mass deportations, perhaps the public mind everywhere will be more receptive to a solution, under international safeguards, along these lines for certain areas.

The exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey, and Greece and Bulgaria in 1923 presents an interesting example as a starting point for study in

this

this connection. The fact, too, that the lives of all inhabitants of many of the regions in question must be reoriented should make such an adjustment easier.

There would have to be, of course, provision for time enough for an orderly transfer, and machinery for economic rehabilitation over a period of many years in the areas affected. Even so the obstacles in some regions appear almost unsurmountable, in view of the degree to which great industries have been nationalized or dislocated. The economic adjustments, even within sound and historical frontiers, will require a degree of collaboration which the statesmen and industrial leaders of a generation ago would not accept, but I hope there is now a more general acknowledgment of the interrelations without which no solid reconstruction can begin. You are quite right in suggesting that this is the time to prepare for a collaboration to be immediately effective upon the cessation of hostilities. It was one of the major mistakes that there was no limitation to the ambitions of individual governments in the countries of the new Europe at the beginning of the reconstruction period following the last war.

The various forms of international cooperation which should now prevail are under close study, with a better appreciation of their practical political and economic aspects. We hope that the theorists and idealists will find that it serves their cause as well.

Our specialists find that they can make some progress on the economic factors of the Jewish problem, but the complexity of the emotional and political aspects makes this one of the major difficulties to be faced. Some of the most enlightened men in America are devoting themselves to systematic study of this problem, and we are hopeful that a solution will be found. The reports from your Legation have shown how important it is that the dreadful events of this summer should be made impossible in a civilized world. The expression of your indignation, if of limited practical effect, at least made known our concern regarding these atrocities.

Even

Even though the extraordinary complications of totalitarian war make it difficult to formulate any public statement of war aims in a conflict where surprising turns of events present us constantly with new situations, the declaration of the Atlantic helped, I think, the nations of the world to realize how deeply we are concerned with post-war problems.

Very sincerely yours,

The Honorable
Franklin Mott Gunther,
American Minister,
Bucharest.

Rumania Folder
1-41

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 25, 1941.

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

F. D. R.

No. 16

Bucharest, August 5, 1941.

*S. W.
To Pres. reply
H. R.*

Dear Mr. President:

Although as yet premature, the first faint fissures in the clouds of war are beginning to show light and thoughts must turn to Peace and its problems. In this country there are many Poultney Bigelows--though even now in the minority--who still think that Peace will come, and had best come through German domination of Central Europe. The fierce and unexpected resistance of the Russians who seem to have found the tactical answer to the Blitz, from which I trust that we are learning, and the strides made at home under your impetus and direction in the Battle of Production are causing this minority their first faint doubts.

Some of the basic principles of President Wilson, altered and brought up to date, plus the application of the lessons which we should have learned by now since 1918, must, in my humble opinion, form the cornerstones of a new edifice. And America must play a predominant role at last, though sorely lacking in men
qualified

The President,

The White House.

qualified by training, temperament, knowledge of European psychology and linguistic attainments. Every nation must be won over to the willing surrender of a far greater degree of sovereignty to the future Central Armed Organization and the Economic World Federation than was even dreamed of for the League of Nations. Both the British and French Governments have certainly proved themselves, since 1919, ineffective individual or collective policemen of European peace and our Government will have a hard time of it from selfish interests when it does play its great role and is bound to become mighty unpopular. I concede that considerable spade work must be done to prepare American public opinion, and later again to the idea that some American armed units will have to be in Europe after the Peace.

Of all the problems which will have to be dealt with, that of the minorities will be one of the most vexing, unless the principle of transfer of nationalities is espoused. In my own humble opinion, based on nearly four years in this turbulent sector of Europe, it is good medicine, though strong and bound to cause pain for a year or two, individually and collectively, but once that is over the cause for a most serious complaint will have been eradicated. But what provision is to be made for the widespread Jewish minority? That is the one important phase of the problem which still baffles. Can other minorities be uprooted and transferred and the Jews left where they are? Possibly so, diminished in number as they have been, to the eternal shame of the countries concerned. But to understand the problem of the Jews in Rumania, in its bulk, it is necessary

necessary to see them in the villages of Moldavia and elsewhere in the North. One must never think of the Rumanian Jew in terms of the good Jewish citizen at home. Most of these I refer to are the old type of Eugene Sue wandering Jew, with chronic conjunctivitis, cap, curls, beard and robe, and, they say, invariably crawling. They fasten upon village and small town life and also make such a living as they can out of the sorely tried Rumanian peasant--the class in this country principally worth keeping. The above mentioned Jews are almost 100% illiterate, in the sense that they never learn to read or write the language of the country they live in, and are seemingly wholly unassimilable. A self-elected minority wherever they are found. It may be the best solution after all to provide a new and much more spacious Jewish homeland where schools and facilities for education could be established. Then by degrees the second and third generation Jews who have profited by these advantages could be permitted to return. To leave them where they are only invites other repetitions of the appalling slaughters which we have recently deplored. Then there is the educated, industrious class of Jew in Rumania. The ethnic Rumanian, usually an indolent, careless fellow, is trying to narrow the gap in social progress which exists between him and the countries of Western Europe. But the Rumanian has only barely emerged from the pastoral stage of social development and he finds the Jew already so strongly entrenched in all the professions and in

the

the financial and industrial life of the country as to prevent the former's natural social development.

I have made myself unpopular in certain quarters because of my observations regarding the cruelty and injustice to the Jews, observations which, I may say, have been tart and pointed, to say the least. I have never acted upon instructions from the Department. In fact I have never had any on this subject, but I would do the same thing again and again on principle as I abhor cruelty and injustice. I know that my Latin American Colleagues here and many others feel pretty much as I do and would welcome a real effort to solve this problem humanely on the part of their Governments.

I cannot but express the hope that when the time comes more Diplomats--the United States now has a Service quite different from the one it had in 1918--and fewer Professors--although some are very useful--will be making the next Peace, and that the vanquished as well as the victors may have a voice in it. Moreover, Peace Treaties, no matter how thoughtful and provident, are but milestones on the road to progress and must be resilient and susceptible to modification and readaptation to future unforeseen developments.

Recalling the vast influence of the declaration of the Fourteen Points by President Wilson in hastening disintegration and elimination of leadership in the States of the Central Powers, one wonders--although, naturally, I would not venture to suggest it--whether it is not now time for a similar declaration of peace aims by our President from this angle. Of course, I

do

do not presume to offer advice, Mr. President, or aim to form an opinion, which I fully realize can only be arrived at logically in Washington, to which flies daily information and views from all over the world. I do have the very definite impression, however, that the British are letting slide a golden opportunity in not making clearer and more definite their own peace aims, which could be so worded as to cut the ground from under Hitler, who still has a firm hold on the little man in Germany through German social security, no good substitute for which has as yet been more than faintly adumbrated by the British. Also have I the impression that such shortsighted, vindictive Jewish propaganda as the book, "Germany Must Be Destroyed", only serves to knit together the unraveling threads of the German whole cloth.

Nor would I venture from here to form conclusive views, without the comprehensive information available in Washington on such important phases of peace as disarmament, future world economics, including the removal of artificial customs barriers, hope held out that our vast gold reserves may be intelligently meted out--albeit sparingly, and naturally we should never again be ready to sacrifice our own interests to unattainable ideals--to help put the world back on a sane and sound trading basis, barring which no Peace that is established will last very long, a new International Labor Organization, short and sharp indemnities compensating countries, not individuals, for damages sustained, but not more than

can be paid in five years' time, and, above all, a new European Social Security to drive home the point that this war is being waged for the good of ordinary people in all Europe, including Germany.

With highest regard and fervent wishes for your welfare, I am, dear Mr. President,

Yours most respectfully,

Franklin D. Roosevelt

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

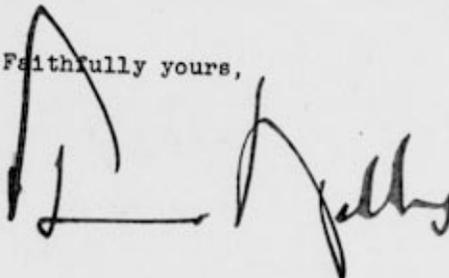
October 30, 1941

My dear Mr. President:

The letter from Franklin Mott Gunther, which you sent to me on September 25 for the preparation of a reply, shows that he has given much thought to current and post-war problems; it seemed to suggest further study and a reply in some detail. I am transmitting herewith a draft letter which you may wish to send to him, commenting on his observations.

Mr. Gunther's letter is also returned to you herewith.

Faithfully yours,



Enclosures:

1. Draft reply.
2. From Mr. Gunther,
August 5, 1941.

The President,
The White House.

*File
Personal*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 12, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. GEORGE T. SUMMERLIN

I think, in spite of what you say, that I should send a little note to ex-King Carol that we are doing all we can through the American Minister at Bucharest.

F. D. R.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

September 8, 1941

In reply refer to
PR 871.001 Carol 11/242

My dear General Watson:

I am enclosing herewith a letter addressed to the President by ex-King Carol of Rumania which has been received from the American Ambassador at Mexico City.

The American Minister at Bucharest has been requested to submit a report to the Department in regard to the alleged danger to the life of King Mihai. As soon as the report shall have been received, it will be forwarded to Ambassador Daniels for transmission to Carol.

Since Ambassador Daniels is being requested to acknowledge the receipt of ex-King Carol's letter, it appears that no further action is required on the part of the President.

Sincerely yours,

G. H. Hammer
Chief of Protocol

Enclosure:

Original letter from
ex-King Carol to the
President.

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

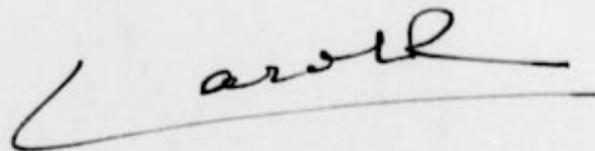
For Mr. F. D. Roosevelt President of the U.S.A.

I have recieved from my country very serious news relating that my Son's surety and life are seriously endangered.

General Antonescu in understanding with the Germans so as to compleet their plans want to get lid of Him.

I beg you to give my son all your assistance so that his surety and life should be save guarded.

Adressing my self to you Mr. President Iam sure that I will find a compleet understanding for the feelings of father and all your aid.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Carroll', with a horizontal line underneath it.

Mexico Aug. 6. 1941

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The Honorable

Franklin D. Roosevelt,

The White House,

WASHINGTON.

Contents:

Letter to the President
from ex-King Carol of Rumania.

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PSF: Rumania

No. 17

Bucharest, September 24, 1941.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dear Mr. President:

You instructed me to visit my Colleagues in neighboring countries and to write you regarding my impressions. But I realize that nowadays you will probably never have time to read this. Last week-- setting foot out of Rumania for the first time since February 1940--I visited Budapest, with the Department's permission. I found the Pells in great form. Bertie is already a popular figure with his leonine head and giant stature, and the Buick station wagon in which he generally drives about unfailingly collects a crowd. They are both much liked and appreciated and the fact that he is an old friend of yours loses nothing in the telling among the Hungarians. Olive is by way of being some sort of cousin of my wife through the Jaffrays. She, Olive, is most talented. I saw two portraits painted by her, one of Mrs. Schott,

the

The President,
 The White House.

the wife of one of the Secretaries, and one of Harriet Post that was, which are absolute "knockouts". She seems to have the great gift of converting to canvas a person's most charming, albeit fleeting, expression. As Ruskin once remarked, "For a hundred people who can talk there is only one who can think; but for a thousand who can think there is only one that can see." Bertie likes it there and is interested. We both realize, however, that we may not be in these posts indefinitely. He made a constructive suggestion regarding his own future, which I venture to submit as he may be too modest to do so himself. Like many newcomers into the Service, he is appalled by the penury of our Department of State and thinks that if only he could be put in authority there at some future date he could obtain for us the adequate appropriations from Congress so sorely needed for the proper functioning of the Department. With Bertie's knowledge of politics and the psychology of politicians I have no doubt but that he could be a great help working for the Department with those on the Hill. We in the field have all missed Messersmith.

László de Bárdossy, now Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, was Hungarian Minister here from the end of 1934 until just after the Vienna Diktat of August 30, 1940. I was always on very friendly terms with him here and, as soon as they had let him know that I was in Budapest, he asked me to come to tea and I found him alone. We talked for about an hour
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over the teacups. He began by expressing his liking for and appreciation of Bertie and gave me the opportunity to confirm the report that he was an old personal friend of yours, Mr. President. After asking a number of questions and sending messages to a few personalities in Rumania we passed to a discussion of the war with Russia. He confirmed what he had said in his recent radio address, but more succinctly, which in summary means that although Hungary is heartily in favor of the removal of the danger to Southeastern Europe of Russia, the Hungarian Government is quite willing to leave that job to Germany and has no intention of pursuing the campaign indefinitely, which is wise. The Military Attaché at the Legation, Major Partridge, had previously told me that Hungarian casualties at the outside would not exceed five thousand.

As is usual with statesmen in this part of the world, he deprecated our keeping such "low company". I pointed out to him that Russia's friendly attitude towards China, the victim since over four years of brutal aggression, meant a great deal to us in the preservation--or rather reestablishment--of equilibrium in the Far East. This is a feature which rarely occurs to these people so engrossed are they with their own particular troubles, so I always make a point of stressing it and also endeavored to calm his apprehension by expressing the view that the mere fact of a military alliance on the part of Russia with Britain, coupled with such influence as we might be

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in a position to exert, would accomplish more towards a metamorphosis of a militant Russian ideology, already waning, than all the German arms combined. He insisted, however, that the German arms were nevertheless needed to push Russia back where its ever-present imperialism could do no further harm.

His Minister here, de Nagy, talks peace to me, when I see him, on the basis of a German victory over Russia and a possible evacuation of the West of Europe. I feel myself that this has been Hitler's plan all along, so I took pains to point out to de Bárdossy that this plan was based upon a false premise, to wit, the complete subjection or capitulation of Russia. Although I could see that he was not as confident of complete German victory, as I had expected him to be, nevertheless he argued that according to his information the rumored destruction in Russia was grossly exaggerated as it was simply physically impossible to destroy on that scale. For instance, he "knew as a fact" that only a small section of the Dnepropetrovsk Dam had actually been destroyed and the Germans estimated that this could be repaired in a month or so. The same, he said, applied to several captured factories. In fact, he went so far as to say that he estimated that thirty percent of Russia's industry was already in German hands and could be availed of and that next year's Ukraine crop, together with an important present contribution, would be in German hands.

I further pointed out--as I always do, and no one in this part of Europe really likes the idea-- that should events transpire as he anticipated, peace on any such basis as might be proposed by Hitler would mean "vital space" for Germany in Southeastern Europe and the Balkans, as well as in Russia, and perpetual German domination. He winced at this. So I said that I doubted very much the acceptance by the West of any such peace proposals and that they would not constitute a peace but merely a truce, giving time to Germany to develop Russia's captured resources and start war all over again in a few years. I said that the Western Powers preferred justice to peace and that they were determined to prevent repetitions of German efforts to dominate the world. I then reminded him that there were two commodities absolutely essential for Germany's continuation of mechanized warfare, namely rubber and oil. He did not know that just a year ago the price of a kilo of rubber in Bucharest was 300 Lei and today, if obtainable, it costs 7,000. He seemed rather vague about Ersatz tires, so I pointed out to him that they were no good unless made with a certain quantity of real rubber. I also said that in spite of recent advances, I felt sure that Germany would not get control of the Baku oil fields during this campaign. He was much impressed with the potential dearth of these two essential commodities. He asked me about rumored destruction at Ploesti and I was obliged to tell him that the stories were grossly exaggerated. However, I pointed out that the total amount of present and

future

future deliveries from Rumania were only a drop in the bucket for the running of such a vast war machine as that of Germany.

He had previously in the conversation been disposed to ridicule our fears as to a possible German expansion in America. I took pains to go into this question in detail, giving him all the facts at my disposal tending to show that we were speaking factually and that "Forfeldkämpfe" was something that we knew all about.

Of all the statesmen in this part of the world with whom I have talked, there is none who has the broad understanding of Maniu, the pro-democratic, veteran head of the National Peasant Party here, and even Maniu is, of course, completely obsessed by the Transylvanian question. None of these statesmen seems ever to be able to see the wood for the trees, and there is not a single one of them who had as yet the remotest real conception of how we visualize Europe after the war. International Conciliation of the Carnegie Foundation has done a splendid job in producing recently that symposium of American views on peace. I have written for a number of extra copies and shall do my best to get these people to read them. When the time comes I fear they will have some rude surprises in store. As a rule they are pro or anti the democratic powers, depending upon whether they think we will help or hinder their own plans for the aggrandizement of their particular nation or pet cause. I do not think

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my judgment of them is too harsh; it is merely realistic.

The only other subject of interest discussed with de Bárdossy was the Banat. A friend of mine now in the Hungarian Foreign Office had previously told me that the Yugoslav Banat had come under discussion at the recent meeting with Hitler of the Regent and de Bárdossy. The latter, however, insisted, when I asked him, that no decision had been reached. I telegraphed this to the Department on my return. They may all be waiting for the Rumanians to occupy Odessa. Of course, before leaving Budapest I conveyed my impressions and the substance of the above orally to Bertie and Travers, the First Secretary.

With highest regard and fervent wishes for your welfare, I am, dear Mr. President,

Yours most respectfully,

Franklin D. Roosevelt