March 5, 1940.

Conf Memo to "Naval Person" (American Embassy-London)

From the President

Attached is memo to President from Adolph Berle—March 5, 1940
Re: President's message to Naval Person

See: Berle—Drawer 1-1940
London, May 10, 1940.

Dear Mr. President:

I enclose a letter and an advance copy of a White Paper describing the Battle of the River Plate, which have been sent to me by Mr. Winston Churchill with the request that they be forwarded to you.

Yours respectfully,

Enclosures:

as stated.

The President,
The White House,
Washington.

See: Great Britain folder. Brown 4 - 1940.
Letter to Winston Churchill from President - May 30, 1940.
My dear Churchill:—

I think this will interest you. It was over two weeks on its way from Berlin and coming from an American, long a resident in Germany, it has especial value. The writer was, I think, inclined to be pro-Nazi up to the time of the Munich Conference.

We are getting excellent reports of the fine job your Air Force has done the past week.

As ever yours,

The Right Honorable Winston Churchill, P. C.,
Prime Minister,
London,
England.

(Enclosure) Copy of Alexander Kirk's letter of July 29, 1940.

See: Germany folder—for original of the above letter and Alexander Kirk's letter to the President and his reply.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 8, 1940

Respectfully referred to the
Under Secretary of State for his in-
formation.

EDWIN M. WATSON
Secretary to the President
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 5, 1940

My dear Minturn:

Thank you for your letter of September twentieth and for the views contained in it. I have asked that the suggestions you made be communicated to the proper quarters.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

R. Minturn Sedgwick, Esq.,
10 Post Office Square,
Boston, Massachusetts.
September 25

950 High Street
Dedham
Massachusetts

Dear Missy,

I enclose a letter to the President from Mr. Nuttum, an old friend who married the daughter of the Rector of Groton. As he is a good loyal supporter, at a time when it is very difficult to be, I do feel that he deserves some attention.
To the President my love,

I don't want to bother him with a personal line.

Thank you much for helping me out!

Affectionately,

Catherine Dolores Grant.

Sept. 23.
The President
Washington
D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

It is with some hesitation that I bring this matter to your attention but I believe it is of sufficient importance to Anglo-American relations to warrant imposing on your time. I have felt for months that British propaganda in this country would be enormously strengthened if Mr. Churchill were on the air more frequently. Of course, he is far too busy to make special broadcasts. However, he does report fortnightly, as a rule, to the Commons on the progress of the war. I know it is contrary to the rules of the Commons to broadcast from there but strengthening the ties of friendship with this country is more important than the rules of the Commons. Furthermore, a speech from the House of Commons would carry far greater weight with the American public than one simply made from a broadcasting station which might be labeled as propaganda.

If you believe this idea of mine is a sound one, I suggest that you mention it to the British Ambassador. A word from you would carry enormous weight as, besides being the country's chief magistrate, no one understands the American people as you do. I need hardly add that I realize perfectly the suggestion would have to be made with some delicacy. In order that this letter may come to your attention, I am taking the liberty of seeking the cooperation of my good friend and neighbor, Catherine Grant. In closing, I should say that I have only spoken of enlisting your aid for this plan to Helen, my father and Catherine Grant, and, naturally, I will not mention it further, as should the plan come to fruition it might be embarrassing both to you and the British if it were generally known that you had cooperated in this direction.

Need I add my delight at the Gallup poll this morning. In the language of sport, it is "in the bag", and allow me to offer my congratulations.

With best wishes,

Faithfully yours,

[Signature]

RMS/G
Dear Churchill,

Mandell Willkie will give you this. He is truly helping to keep possies out over here.

I think this verse applies to you: As it does to us:

"Sail on, Old Ship of State! Sail on; Oh, Union strong and firm. Humanity, with all its fears, With all its hope of future years Is hanging breathless on thy fate."

As ever yours,

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Jan. 20

1940
TELEGRAM

The White House

39wuki 10 Gov't Cable Washington

London, Jan. 29, 1941

THE PRESIDENT:

Many happy returns.

Winston Churchill.

7:25 p.m.
Dear Mr. President,

I enclose herein the text of a message for you from the Prime Minister which was telegraphed to the Embassy last night.

Believe me,

Dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours

[Signature]

The Honourable,
Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States of America,
Washington, D.C.
TEXT OF MESSAGE DATED FEBRUARY 15th FOR
THE PRESIDENT FROM MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL.

Many drifting straws seem to indicate Japanese intention to make war on us or do something that would force us to make war on them in the next few weeks or months. I am not myself convinced that this is not a war of nerves designed to cover Japanese encroachments in Siam and Indo-China. However, I think I ought to let you know that the weight of the Japanese navy, if thrown against us, would confront us with situations beyond the scope of our naval resources. I do not myself think that the Japanese would be likely to send large military expedition necessary to lay siege to Singapore. The Japanese would no doubt occupy whatever strategic points and oilfields in Dutch East Indies and thereabouts that they covet and thus get into a far better position for a full-scale attack on Singapore later on. They would also raid Australian and New Zealand ports and coasts causing deep anxiety in those Dominions which have already sent all their best-trained fighting men to the Middle East. But the attack which I fear the most would be by raiders including possibly battle-cruiser upon our trade routes and communications across the Pacific and Indian Oceans. We could by courting disaster elsewhere send a few strong ships into these vast waters, but all trade would have to go into convoy and escorts would be few and far between.
Not only would this be a most grievous additional restriction and derangement of our whole war economy, but it would bring altogether to an end all reinforcements of the armies we had planned to build up in the Middle East from Australasian and Indian resources. Any threat of a major invasion of Australia or New Zealand would of course force us to withdraw our fleet from the Eastern Mediterranean with disastrous military possibilities there, the certainty that Turkey would have to make some accommodation, and reopen German trade and oil supplies from the Black Sea. You will therefore see, Mr. President, the awful enfeeblement of our war effort that would result merely from the sending out by Japan of her battle-cruiser and her twelve eight-inch gun cruisers into the Eastern oceans, and still more from any serious invasion threat against the two Australasian democracies in the Southern Pacific.

Some believe that Japan in her present mood would not hesitate to court an attempt to wage war both against Great Britain and the United States. Personally, I think the odds are definitely against that, but no one can tell. Everything that you can do to inspire the Japanese with fear of a double war may avert the danger. If however they come in against us and we are alone, the grave character of the consequences cannot easily be over-stated.
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (SC)

Secretary of State,
Washington.

TRIPLE PRIORITY.
2343, June 8, 4 p.m.
PERSONAL AND FOR THE PRESIDENT FROM THE FORMER NAVAL PERSON.

"One. At the end of last year we were on the point of holding a meeting of the representatives of the Dominions and allied governments in London. The meeting was to hear a statement from me on the war situation and was intended to be a symbol of our common determination to see the war through to a successful conclusion. The meeting was postponed as it proved impossible to persuade the Greek Government, who, at that time were not at war with Germany, to send a representative.

Two. We think this is a good moment to revive the proposal, and a meeting has indeed been suggested by two of our allies. At a time when the Germans are trying to declare peace in Europe, it will be useful to show that the inhabitants of the occupied countries
countries are still alive and vigorous, and that their lawful governments are carrying on the war from overseas with all the resources at their command.

Three. The meeting will be on June 12. It will be quite brief. I shall make a statement and I have no doubt that the allied representatives will also speak. The meeting will be attended by the Dominion High Commissioners, and the Prime Ministers, Foreign Secretaries and other representatives of the allied governments. The Free French movement will be represented. The resolution, of which I am sending you a copy, has already been agreed with the Dominions and Allies.

Four. I hope the meeting will provide a convincing demonstration of our common tenacity of purpose, but I need hardly say, Mr. President, what an accession of strength it would be if the United States Government felt it possible to be associated in some form or another with the proceedings.

Five. For text of resolution see my immediately following telegram."

JOHNSON.
SECRET AND PERSONAL FOR THE PRESIDENT FROM THE
FORMER NAVAL PERSON.

Embassy's 2343, June 8, 4 p.m.

"My immediately preceding telegram."

Following is text referred to:

'The Governments of the United Kingdom of Great
Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, Australia, New
Zealand and South Africa, the Government of Belgium,
the provisional Czechoslovak Government, the Governments
of Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland
and Yugoslavia, engaged together in the fight against
aggression are resolved:

(One) That they will continue to struggle against
German or Italian oppression until victory is won,
and will mutually assist each other in this struggle
to the utmost of their respective capacities;

(Two) That there can be no settled peace and
prosperity
-2- 2344, June 8, 1941 from London

prosperity so long as free peoples are coerced by violence into submission to domination by Germany or her associates, or live under the threat of such coercion;

(Three) That the only true basis of enduring peace is the willing cooperation of free peoples in a world in which, relieved of the menace of aggression, all may enjoy economic and social security; and that it is their intention to work together, and with other free peoples, both in war and in peace to this end."

JOHNSON

GW
July 13, 1941.

S. W.

O.K. - Send

F. D. R.

My dear Mr. President:

I am heartily in accord with the suggested message to Mr. Churchill enclosed with your memorandum of July 12. It seems to me highly desirable that you send this message without delay. If you have no further changes to make in it, please send it back to me and I will then have it cabled to the Embassy in London.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

Enc.

The President,

The White House.
FOR: WINSTON CHURCHILL

I know you will not mind my mentioning to you a matter which is not in any way serious at this time but which might cause unpleasant repercussions over here later on. I refer to rumors which of course are nothing more nor less than rumors regarding trades or deals which the British Government is alleged to be making with some of the occupied nations. As for example the stupid story that you have promised to set up Yugoslavia again as it formerly existed and the other story that you had promised Trieste to Yugoslavia.

In certain racial groups in this country there is of course enthusiastic approval for such promises in relation to post-war commitments, but on the other hand there is dissension and argument among other groups such as the Czechs and Slovaks and among the Walloons and Flemish.

You will of course remember that back in early 1919 there was serious trouble over actual and alleged promises to the Italians and to others.
It seems to me that it is much too early for any of us to make any commitments for the very good reason that both Britain and the United States want assurance of future peace by disarming all trouble-makers and secondly by considering the possibility of reviving small states in the interest of harmony even if this has to be accomplished through plebiscite methods.

The plebiscite was on the whole one of the few successful outcomes of the Versaille Treaty and it may be possible for us to extend the idea by suggesting in some cases preliminary plebiscites to be followed a good deal later on by second or even third plebiscites.

For example none of us know at the present time whether it is advisable in the interest of quiet conditions to keep the Croats away from the throats of the Serbs and vice versa.

I am inclined to think that an overall statement on your part would be useful at this time, making it clear that no post-war peace commitments as to territories, populations or economies have been given. I could then back up your statement in very strong terms.

There is no hurry about this but you might think it over

ROOSEVELT
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 12, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR SUMNER WELLES:

What do you think about a telegram something like the enclosed for me to send to Winston on Monday?

F.D.R.

Enclosure.

REGRADED
UNCLASSIFIED
FOR: WINSTON CHURCHILL

July 11, 1941

TELEGRAM

FOR: WINSTON CHURCHILL

I know you will not mind my mentioning to you a matter which is not in any way serious at this time but which might cause unpleasant repercussions over here later on. I refer to rumors which of course are nothing more nor less than rumors regarding trades or deals which the British Government is alleged to be making with some of the occupied nations. As for example the crazy story that you have promised to set up Yugoslavia again as it formerly existed and the other story that you had promised Trieste to Yugoslavia.

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I am inclined to think that an overall statement on your part would be useful at this time, making it clear that no post war peace commitments as to territories, populations or economies have been given. I could then back up your statement in very strong terms.

There is no hurry about this but you might think it over.

ROOSEVELT
MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

July 9, 1941

It is now evident that preliminary commitments for the post-war settlement of Europe are being made, chiefly in London. Perhaps you are being kept informed of these. I am not clear that the State Department is being kept informed of all of them by the parties. Some have been told to us by the British; others we hear about.

I propose sending you from time to time information as to the post-war commitments as we hear of them. You will recall that at Versailles President Wilson was seriously handicapped by commitments made to which he was not a party and of which he was not always informed.

I have suggested to Sumner that we enter a general caveat, indicating that we could not be bound by any commitments to which we had not definitely assented.

Attached, the first batch of these commitments as they appear.

Adolf A. Berle, Jr.

Attachment
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ASSISTANT SECRETARY

July 8, 1941

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

Peace Commitments

1. An alleged British commitment to cede the Italian port of Trieste to a reconstituted Yugoslavia. (Reported by AP: statement of General Dusan Simovich, Premier of the Yugoslav government in exile.) General Simovich likewise said that both Britain and the United States had given a written declaration that all attempts to dismember Yugoslavia would be considered invalid, null and void.

2. Negotiations now pending in London between the Soviet Government and General Sikorski, representing the Polish Government, carried on through the medium of Anthony Eden. The Soviet Government proposes to constitute national committees for the three nations of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, these to be created from nationals now apparently on Russian soil. Boundaries are to be left for further consideration. The Russians propose that each of these
these shall constitute such type of government as it chooses, but that they shall be joined together in some sort of a federation.

General Sikorski, the President of Poland (in exile) seems to have replied that he would commence negotiations on the understanding that the Polish Government in exile was recognized as the Government of Poland. Some retrocession of territory from Russia to Poland is indicated. (Reported by cablegram from our Embassy in London.)

3. The Eden declaration promising independence to Syria. It is probable that additional discussions along this line have been conducted in the Near East, though we have no definite advice of this fact.

4. The Russian Government has undoubtedly insisted on recognition of Russian title to the Baltic republics of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia. The Russian Ambassador was firm in his insistence on this point in a recent conversation with Mr. Henderson of the State Department. I surmise that a somewhat similar position has been taken by Russia in London; and from a conversation held by Lord Halifax with

Mr. Welles
Mr. Welles recently, I gather that the British Government may have indicated sympathy, if not agreement. At all events, Lord Halifax endeavored to secure Welles's acquiescence with this point of view, though he did not report an initiative from the Russian Government.

These are for information: I make no comment on the merits of the suggestions.

Adolf A. Berle, Jr.
MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

Post-War Peace Commitments.

You may have noted a long cable from London, dated July 7th (No. 2887). Eden asks Winant to comment on a resolution by which the "Allied Governments" (namely, Britain, Greece, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Poland and Yugoslavia), agree: (1) that it is the common aim of these governments to see that food and raw materials shall be made available for the post-war needs of these countries when liberated; (2) that plans of each government are to be coordinated; (3) that they will collaborate in the preparatory measures already taken by Britain and will collaborate "to the fullest extent of the treaty power" in pursuing the action required; (4) that they will prepare estimates of food and raw materials and priority lists; (5) that the re-provisioning of Europe is to have prior claim on the shipping resources of each government and
and on Allied shipping resources, to be worked out with the British Ministry of War Transport; and (6) that an Estimate Bureau shall be formed by Britain, headed by Leith-Ross.

The covering note from Eden indicates that a "Control Bureau" for these post-war settlements is to be set up in Britain.

We have been and are being consulted in respect of this; J. M. Keynes is talking to Acheson.

I do not comment on the merits. Much of the material and shipping will be, derivatively, American. A plan to regionalize the world (leaving us the Western Hemisphere) has already been turned down by our people.

The obvious intent is partly humanitarian, but still more to channelize the trade and economics of this area through London when the war is over.

A. A. Berle, Jr.
10, Downing Street,
Whitehall.

18th. August 1941.

Dear Mr. President,

I am writing to thank you very much indeed for the great honour you have done me by sending me your photograph. I appreciate so much that you should have inscribed the photograph.
for me, and I shall
treasure it all my
life as one of my most
proudly cherished
possessions.

Thank you again
for your great kindness.

Yours very sincerely,
Lady Churchill
To the President of the United States of America.

The White House,

D.C., Washington.
In reply refer to
PR 811.001 Roosevelt-Photographs,
Churchill, Mary

August 29, 1931

My dear Miss Tully:

Reference is made to your memorandum of July 22, 1941 transmitting a photograph of the President which he had autographed for Miss Mary Churchill, the daughter of Winston Churchill.

The photograph was forwarded to the American Embassy at London for appropriate delivery, and the Department is now in receipt of a letter from the Embassy dated August 20, 1941 transmitting a sealed letter in reply addressed to the President by Miss Mary Churchill. The letter is enclosed herewith together with a copy of the Embassy's letter for your files.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosures:

From Embassy, London,
August 20, 1941, with enclosure.

Miss Grace G. Tully,
The White House.
Department of State

BUREAU PR
DIVISION

ENCLOSURE TO

Letter drafted 8-27-41

ADDRESS TO

Miss Grace G. Tully
Dear Ray:

The enclosed letter addressed to the President, which was sealed when received, came from 10 Downing Street with the statement that it was from Miss Mary Churchill and with the request that it be forwarded to Washington.

Yours sincerely,

(unsigned)

Enclosure:

as stated.

The Honorable Ray Atherton,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.
Published in
Pearl Harbor
Hearings

PART 15 PAGES 1716-1718

Published also, in Foreign Relations of the United States, 1941,
Vol. IV, the Far East, page 380.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

August 19, 1941

There is attached a draft telegram to the Embassy at London containing a proposed message from you to the British Prime Minister. If you approve of the draft I will arrange to have the message transmitted.

[Handwritten note:]

From [Handwritten name]
FDR
AMERICAN EMBASSY,

LONDON (ENGLAND).

TRIPLE PRIORITY.

SECRET FROM THE PRESIDENT FOR CHURCHILL.

QUOTE With reference to our discussions in regard to the situation in the Far East, upon my return to Washington I learned that the Japanese Ambassador had on August 16 approached the Secretary of State with a request for a resumption of the informal conversations which the Ambassador and the Secretary of State had been holding directed toward exploring the possibility of reaching a basis for negotiations in regard to a peaceful settlement in the Pacific area and that the Secretary of State had in reply confined himself to repeating what he had previously said in regard to the developments in Japan's course of conquest which had led to the cessation of those conversations.

On August 17 I sent for the Japanese Ambassador and the Secretary of State and I received him. I made to him a statement covering the position of this Government with respect to the taking by Japan of further steps in the

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direction of military domination by force along the lines of the proposed statement such as you and I had discussed. The statement I made to him was no less vigorous than and was substantially similar to the statement we had discussed.

The Ambassador renewed the request made by him to the Secretary of State in regard to the resumption of conversations. I replied by reviewing the Japanese Government's action in actively pursuing a course of conquest and in inspiring the Japanese press to attack this Government. I dwelt on the principles of peaceful, lawful and just international relations which this Government has emphasized and I suggested that if the Japanese Government is prepared to embark upon a peaceful program this Government would be prepared to resume the exploratory conversations and that before undertaking the resumption of those conversations we felt that it would be helpful to have a clear statement of the Japanese Government's attitude and plans.

The Japanese Ambassador said that he would communicate what I had told him to his Government. UNQUOTE
My dear Mr. President:

The British Government has inquired, through the British Chargé d'Affaires here, whether you would see any objection to Mr. Churchill's making a broadcast to the American people—particularly to labor—on next Labor Day. Please let me know what reply you wish me to make.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

The President,
The White House.
Extract from letter from General Auchinleck to Prime Minister.

Three days ago I spent a morning in the Desert outside Cairo with the 4th Armoured Brigade and watched them training in their new American tanks and shooting from them. There is no doubt that they are excellent machines, very handy and really manoeuvrable and fast. Our officers are delighted with their reliability and endurance when compared with our own tanks, and are frankly amazed at the length of time they can be kept in work without having to go into the shops to be overhauled. We have had to make a good many minor alterations and adjustments to make these tanks battleworthy, such as fitting wireless sets, drinking water tanks, &c., but these have not caused any appreciable delay in their issue to the troops, as many of the alterations can be and are carried out in an hour or two by the unit itself.
The 8th Hussars were making excellent shooting when I was watching them, and we have been able to make them a good allotment of practice ammunition, I am glad to say. Confidence in their ability to hit the enemy tanks is more than half the battle I feel.

This Brigade will be moving forward very soon now and will continue their training in the Western Desert.
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (SC)

Secretary of State,
Washington.

TRIPLE PRIORITY
5213, November 2, noon.

PERSONAL AND TO THE PRESIDENT FROM THE FORMER NAVAL PERSON

"As your Naval people have already been informed, we are sending that big ship you inspected into the Indian Ocean as part of the squadron we are forming there. This ought to serve as a deterrent on Japan. There is nothing like having something that can catch and kill anything. I am very glad we can spare her at this juncture as it is more than we thought we could do some time ago. The firmer your attitude and ours, the less chance of their taking the plunge.

I am grieved at the loss of life you have suffered with REUBEN JAMES. I salute the land of unending challenge!"

WINANT
HSM
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (SC)

London
Dated November 24, 1941
Rec'd 7:07 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

TRIPLE PRIORITY
5624, November 24, 11 a.m.

PERSONAL AND FOR THE PRESIDENT FROM THE FORMER NAVAL PERSON.

I have received a message in following sense from General Auchinleck dated 10:20 a.m. 23/11 at Cairo. He thinks that battle is moving to a climax. It now appears that some at any rate of the German tanks yesterday reported being attacked by our forces north of Bir-el-Gubi succeeded in breaking out in a northeasterly direction. At Sidi Rezegh our troops were being strongly pressed on 22 November from west and east by reported forces of 100 enemy tanks. Our resistance, as far as is known, is successful. Situation appears to be that enemy having failed to break out towards Bir-el-Gubi now attempts to go west through Sidi Rezegh through narrow ravine which still exists between Tobruk troops.
#5624, November 24, 11 a.m. from London

troops and 30 corps. At time of message battle is proceeding on Sidi Rezegh where 30 corps is concentrating troops. Evening of 22 November one brigade Australian division reported south of Gambut. Tobruk report more prisoners taken but no other news. One three two ND Italian armoured divisions reported to have moved west to Bir-Hacheim and is being watched.

WINANT

HSM
AMERICAN AMBASSADOR  
LONDON  
FOR FORMER NAVAL PERSON

In view of growing importance of operations Middle East and Libya, I am sending my old friend Bill Bullitt as my personal representative to visit that area, to report to me and to be of what assistance he can to you supply and similar problems. He leaves by clipper the southern route about December first.

I would be grateful if you personally would ask your civilian and military authorities out there to put at Bullitt's disposal such information as you and they think proper. If there is any person in the area whose opinions you would wish Bullitt to seek, or if there is any special problem you think Bullitt should devote special attention to, please let me know.

Lybian

I am very happy at the progress of the advance. Its repercussions over here are excellent.

As you know, the coal strike is off through agreement on arbitration and I hope to mediate the proposed railroad strike in the next week.

ROOSEVELT
Grace:

Paraphrase this and shoot it to Bullitt this morning.

F.D.R.
HRL
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (SC)

Secretary of State,
Washington.

TRIPLE PRIORITY
5708, November 27, 2 p.m.

PERSONAL AND FOR THE PRESIDENT FROM THE FORMER NAVAL PERSON.

We shall be glad to see Bullitt in the Middle East and I hope matters will be tidied up there by the time he arrives. I am telling Oliver Lyttelton to see he has all facilities and to look after him.

WINANT

London
Dated November 27, 1941
Rec'd 8:46 a.m.

REGRATED
UNCLASSIFIED
Published in
Pearl Harbor
Hearings

PART 14 PAGES 1300

State Dept copy published also in Foreign Relations of U.S., 1941, Vol. IV, the Far East, p. 665.
HM
This telegram must be paraphrased before being communicated to anyone (SC)

London
Dated November 26, 1941
Rec’d 12:55 a.m.

SECRETARY

TRIPLE PRIORITY.

5670, November 26, 6 a.m.

FOR THE PRESIDENT FROM THE FORMER NAVAL PERSON.

"Your message about Japan received tonight. Also full accounts from Lord Halifax of discussions and your counter project to Japan on which Foreign Secretary has sent some comments. Of course, it is for you to handle this business and we certainly do not want an additional war. There is only one point that disquiets us. What about Chiang Kai Shek? Is he not having a very thin diet? Our anxiety is about China. If they collapse our joint dangers would enormously encroach. We are sure that the regard of the United States for the Chinese cause will govern your action. We feel that the Japanese are most unsure of themselves."

WINANT

HM

REGRADED
UNCLASSIFIED
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (SC)

Secretary of State, Washington.

5770, November 30, 4 p.m.

PERSONAL AND FOR THE PRESIDENT FROM FORMER NAVAL PERSON.

"It seems to me that one important method remains unused in averting war between Japan and our two countries, namely a plain declaration, secret or public as may be thought best, that any further act of aggression by Japan will lead immediately to the gravest consequences. I realize your constitutional difficulties but it would be tragic if Japan drifted into war by encroachment without having before her fairly and squarely the dire character of a further aggressive step. I beg you to consider whether, at the moment which you judge right which may be very near, you should not say that "any further Japanese aggression would compel you to place the gravest issues before Congress "or words to that effect.

London
Dated November 30, 1941
Rec'd 1:28 p.m.
-2- #5770, November 30, 4 p.m., from London

effect. We would, of course, make a similar declaration or share in a joint declaration, and in any case arrangements are being made to synchronize our action with yours. Forgive me, my dear friend, for presuming to press such a course upon you, but I am convinced that it might make all the difference and prevent a melancholy extension of the war.

WINANT

EDA
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

To Mrs. Churchill

Our very warm Christmas greetings. It is a joy to have Winston with us.

I want you to know how grateful I am to you for telling him so.

Sincerely,

[Signature]
MISS TULLEY

Could you please transmit to the President and Mrs. Roosevelt the following message received from London:

"President and Mrs. Roosevelt. My sincere thanks to you and Mrs. Roosevelt for your very kind message which gave me so much pleasure and comfort. Winston has told me how good you both have been to him and I am most grateful. I send you my warmest greetings. You are constantly in my thoughts and prayers. Clementine Churchill."

27th December, 1941
Prime Minister.
TRIP OF THE PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND
THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA
TO
OTTAWA, CANADA

Sunday, December 28, 1941

Depart Washington, D. C. 2:15 P.M.
Pass Baltimore, Maryland 2:57 P.M.
Pass 30th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 4:28 P.M.
Arrive Pennsylvania Station, New York City 6:10 P.M.
Depart Pennsylvania Station, New York City 6:25 P.M.
Arrive Springfield, Mass. 9:40 P.M.
Depart Springfield, Mass. 9:55 P.M.

Monday, December 29, 1941

Arrive White River Junction, Vermont 1:10 A.M.
Depart White River Junction, Vermont 1:20 A.M.
Arrive Ottawa, Canada 9:00 A.M.

***

Wednesday, December 31, 1941

Depart Ottawa, Canada 2:20 P.M.
Arrive White River Junction, Vermont 10:00 P.M.
Depart White River Junction, Vermont 10:15 P.M.

Thursday, January 1, 1942

Arrive Springfield, Mass. 1:30 A.M.
Leave Springfield, Mass. 1:45 A.M.
Arrive Pennsylvania Station, New York City 5:00 A.M.
Depart Pennsylvania Station, New York City 5:15 P.M.
Pass 30th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 6:50 A.M.
Pass Baltimore, Maryland 8:15 A.M.
Arrive Washington, D. C. 9:00 A.M.
MR. PRESIDENT.

May I leave with you this reminder about your promise to make some statement confirming that there is to be no question of the transfer to the United States of the British West Indian Colonies either under the Bases Agreement or otherwise.

I stated in the House of Commons on August 20, 19140, "There is of course no question of any transference of sovereignty - that has never been suggested - or of any action being taken without the consent of or against the wishes of the various Colonies concerned." Anxiety is however still felt on the subject in many Islands, and it has been suggested that, as this is likely to be revived by the publication of the proposed communique about the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, that announcement would be a suitable occasion for your statement, possibly in reply to an inspired question at a Press Conference, subsequent to the Press release.

14.1.42.
Churchill
BRITISH EMBASSY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

January 30th, 1942.

Dear Mr. President,

I enclose herein the text of a telegram for you from the Prime Minister which has just been received at the Embassy.

I hope you will allow me to take this opportunity of adding my own good wishes.

Believe me,

Dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours,

Halifax

The Honourable
Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States of America,
Washington, D. C.
Telegram for the President from the
Prime Minister dated January 30th, 1942.

Many happy returns of the day,
and may your next birthday see us a long
lap forward on our road. Please give my
kindest regards to Mrs. Roosevelt.
Fernie, Naval Person

I really think it better for our friends to go straight to London and not go to escort for a couple of days. They ought to present themselves first before any general meeting.

I know you will understand. Also I hope secrecy in regard to their visit can be maintained.

Roosevelt
January the 31st, 1942. Churchill

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

I write to thank you and the President for the delightful photograph which you so generously gave us. I shall always treasure it. I remain, as ever, yours sincerely,

Winston
shall see you both into my own eyes. This will not be the least of the joys which will bring me in its peace and train. A box of delicious foods (like feminine accessories) was handed with delight by my daughter, Mary, to me, but not least by my cook. And very sincerely,

Clementine Churchill
Mrs. Roosevelt
The White House

Cc
By Air Pouch
10, Downing Street,
Whitehall.

Jan 1942

Dear Mr. Roosevelt,

I was so sorry that the mode of our departure depots my desire to take leave of you personally so denied true the opportunity to try to thank you for your real kindness done during my stay in Washington. I do not think, though, that I could have expressed in words, any more than in writing, my feel gratitude for the honor you beam an me by retaining true the hospitality of the White House.

This and the pleasant memories of the best happy Christmas, the thoughtful attention of everyone in the White House and the gracious reception of the President and yourself will always remain one of my most cherished thoughts.

May I ask you to offer to the President,
As well, my sincere thanks.

You will know, hence any delay there may be before you receive this letter but it was in no way possible to despatch it before my return to England.

We all had meaningful journeys here.

Again please accept my best thanks.

Yours sincerely

Ralph Thompson

[Signature]

[Initials] C.R. Thompson
Mr. Roosevelt.
The White House
Washington, D.C.

USA
MEMORANDUM FOR MISS THOMPSON:

There are transmitted herewith two sealed letters addressed to Mrs. Roosevelt which have been received in the Department by air pouch from the American Embassy at London.

Enclosures:
   Two sealed letters.
MEMORANDUM

Mr. President:

Your memorandum of February 2nd requesting copy of the message from Churchill dated January 23rd, 1942 from the British Embassy.

Attached is a carbon copy, as requested.

Adolf Berle

Attachment
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 2, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR

ADOLF BERLE:

Regarding your memorandum of January 27 - St. Pierre and Miquelon - will you be good enough to get a copy of the message from Churchill dated Jan. 23, 1942 from the British Embassy, as we do not seem to have a copy.

F.D.R.
Dear Mr. President:

On my return from a week's holiday in Florida after influenza, I found the enclosed message just received from the Prime Minister on the subject of St. Pierre and Miquelon.

Please let me know if you would like me to send any answer to the Prime Minister. I shall, of course, always be at your disposal if you would like to speak to me about this question.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) Halifax.

The Honourable
Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States of America,
Washington, D. C.
Message from the Prime Minister to the President, dated January 23rd, 1942.

Personal and

I saw General de Gaulle yesterday and after a severe conversation he agreed to the communique which I left with you being published by United States, British and Canadian Governments without any acceptance by us of his proposed secret conditions. He feels it necessary to consult Admiral Muselier who is a member of the National Committee but I understand that I am to receive final assent of Free French tomorrow when I will immediately telegraph confirmation to you.

2. Assuming the above, what procedure do you want followed? Will Mr. Hull put it to Vichy or will you simply issue communiqué straight away? I think the latter course would be better and these two tiny islands can then relapse into the obscurity from which they have more than once emerged since the Treaty of Utrecht.

3. Meanwhile we are also informing Canada and asking them to communicate through appropriate channels with you. It is important that no statement should be made till the Canadians' definite agreement has been received.

4. I do hope the solution for which I have worked here will be satisfactory to Mr. Hull and the State Department. I understood fully the difficulty in which they were placed. Public opinion here was of course delighted at the Vichyites being overthrown by an overwhelming popular vote and (I word undecypherable) of de Gaulle would have been very popular.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Herewith the latest draft of the message from you to Mr. Churchill referring to his message to you of January 23.

The signs of a possible or probable movement in the Mediterranean by Germany, gathering its full momentum by next spring, make it very important that this be kept in mind when we appraise the present threatening Vichy attitude towards this Government—more threatening than heretofore.
SUGGESTED DRAFT FROM THE PRESIDENT TO MR. CHURCHILL

Since you left with me the draft communiqué regarding the islands of St. Pierre-Miquelon, and since your message of January 23, there are increasing signs that a further German movement in the Mediterranean is seriously threatening, that German pressure on France is increasing, and that dangerous developments in that area may occur in the near future. This situation has become so menacing, particularly in the face of certain definite information which has come to us, that we have informed our military and naval people that it is more than likely that we shall not be able to remain much longer in North Africa. They tell us they have also informed your military and naval staffs here.

In the face of this situation, in which St. Pierre-Miquelon played its part for whatever importance it may have had, I feel that our common purpose would not best be served now by presenting the proposed formula or by further elaborating a new formula of which there would be little or no likelihood of acceptance by Vichy in the present state of
affairs, and which might be seized on as justifying ac-
tion against our interest. Your Government, the Canadians,
and ourselves could, however, announce independently that
the islands are French and will remain French. The solution
of any other problems or details relating to the islands might
then be left in suspense for the duration of the war.

In the new situation created with regard to the Medi-
terranean and the Vichy Government, which Mr. Hull has ex-
plained at length to Lord Halifax, we are giving all possible
study and consideration to our relations with Vichy to see
if anything can be salvaged in the furtherance of our gen-
eral united military effort. I shall, of course, keep you
fully informed of our deliberations in this respect.
Memorandum for the President.

I am sending you the attached draft to be substituted for the one you now have dated Feb. 5, 1942.

CH
Since you left with me the draft communiqué regarding the islands of St. Pierre-Miquelon, and since your message of January 23, there are increasing signs that a further German movement in the Mediterranean is seriously threatening, that German pressure on France is increasing, and that dangerous developments in that area may occur in the near future. This situation has become so menacing, particularly in the face of certain definite information which has come to us, that we have informed our military and naval people that it is more than likely that we shall not be able to remain much longer in North Africa. They tell us they have also informed your military and naval staffs here.

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likelihood of acceptance by Vichy in the present state of affairs, and which might be seized on as justifying action against our interest. Your Government, the Canadians, and ourselves could, however, announce independently that the islands are French and will remain French. The solution of any other problems or details relating to the islands might then be left in suspense for the duration of the war.

In the new situation created with regard to the Mediterranean and the Vichy Government, which Mr. Hull has explained at length to Lord Halifax, on February 4, and in the face of the speed of the disintegration of this situation more especially as regards North Africa and the Far East, I feel that in order that the initiative may not be taken away from us by some German tactical move, it may be necessary at any minute now to order Ambassador Leahy home on consultation.
February 11, 1942.

Dear Winston:—

These people who go around under assumed names render themselves open to all kinds of indignity and suspicion. The enclosed correspondence, which I have arranged in chronological order will amuse you. Ned Bruce is an old friend of mine and a really grand person -- but is completely unorthodox. While you were here he sent a letter to a man named "Marin" in my care.

The British Embassy was asked for verification and I suppose the matter has been to Scotland Yard and back again.

Some day I want to see a painting by this alias fellow -- and some day I hope you will get enough time to resume the painting and that I will be able to return to making ship models and collecting stamps!

As ever yours,

The Honorable
Winston S. Churchill,
Prime Minister of Great Britain,
London,
England.

(Enclosures)
Grace:

Take up with British Embassy.

Pass it on to them.

F.D.R.
December 23, 1941

The President
The White House

My dear Mr. President:

We have always had a very high regard in the Section for an English painter named Charles Marin who we understand is otherwise known as Winston Churchill. If I am correct in assuming that this is the same person who is your great visitor now in the White House, would you be kind enough to hand him the enclosed note as we would like very much to have him come to lunch.

Devotedly yours,

s/ EDWARD BRUCE
Mr. Charles Marin
The White House

My dear Marin:

I just heard you were staying in Washington and as you are on our list of the artists we like to entertain at the Section of Fine Arts, I hope very much you will drop in and have lunch with us. We are not very hot on entertainment these days but we serve coffee, which is provided by a friend of ours, between 12:00 and 2:00 o'clock and have a table where the guests of the Section can eat the lunch which they bring with them.

If you could fix a date, I think I could get one or two of our better artists to drop in because I know they would like to meet you.

Very sincerely yours,

s/ EDWARD BRUCE
Chief of the Section of Fine Arts
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 20, 1942.

PA:

Ask Lord Halifax in confidence whether
Winston Churchill's painter name is Charles Marin
because I have a note from my head man Ned Bruce
for him under that name.

F.D.R.

Correct name is Charles Morin, not Marin.

A.McD.

3/2/42
MEMO FOR GRACE TULLY:

To give to the President upon his return.

S.T.E.
By Hand

Dear Pa,

    I enclose the papers you handed to me last week. I am sorry for the delay in returning them but it took us some time to check the Prime Minister's painting alias.

    I understand the latest information is that K.G. will not be coming to this country anyway for some time.

    All the best.

    Yours ever,

    s/ Angus McD.

Major General Edwin Watson,
The White House
Washington, D.C.
The White House
Washington

2-10-42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

The attached from my friend Angus McDonnell states that --

1. Winston Churchill's painter name is Charles Morin, not Marin.

2. The King of Greece will not be coming to this country for some time. In other words, his coming has been indefinitely postponed.

E.M.W.
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 15, 1942.

DICTATED BY THE PRESIDENT

This memo in the handwriting of Winston Churchill was handed to me about January 1, 1942. I got He Saw, We Saw, U Saw on to the plane, in accordance with above request, and they were arrested by the British in the Near East before they got back to Burma. U Saw had been communicating with the Japs.

F. D. R.
Can President for
U.S. W. + his
companions Tin Tut
on first available
plane nice to
West Africa?
February 21, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

This is the extract from Churchill's speech that I think some day soon Wheeler and some of his crowd may pick up.

HARRY L. HOPKINS
The statement about which I talked with you over the telephone.

J. F. B.
"On the other hand, the probability since the Atlantic conference, at which I discussed these matters with President Roosevelt, that the United States even if not herself attacked would come into the war in the Far East and thus make the final victory assured, seemed to allay some of these anxieties; and that expectation has not been falsified by the events.

"It fortified our British decision to use our limited resources on the actual fighting front. As time went on we had the greater assurance that if Japan ran amok in the Pacific we would not find ourselves alone. * * *"
My dear Mr. President:

The Embassy at London has telegraphed under date of March 16 that your letter to Mr. Churchill, which was enclosed with the Department's instruction of February 16, had been delivered to him and that he wished you to know that he had read it with great interest.

The letter came to the Department from the White House sealed and merely with instructions that it be forwarded to the Prime Minister so I do not know the subject.

Faithfully yours,

The President,
The White House.
April 16, 1942.

Dear Winston:

I do not want to add to our troubles but we know each other so well that I think you ought to see the enclosed copy of a letter from one of our best newspaper men in regard to the Burma situation.

I have never liked Burma or the Burmeses! and you people must have had a terrible time with them for the last fifty years. Thank the Lord you have HE-SAW, WE-SAW, YOU-SAW under lock and key. I wish you could put the whole bunch of them into a frying pan with a wall around it and let them stew in their own juice.

As ever yours,

The Honorable

(Enclosure)
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Captain McCrea has told me of your desire to send a copy of Leland Stowe's confidential letter from Burma to Mr. Churchill.

I am enclosing a copy herewith which does not disclose the source from which it came, although the text of the letter itself is a clear indication that the writer is an employee of mine and in the Daily News foreign service. I don't think there is any objection to this, however.

[Signature]

Attachment
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 7, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR
WINSTON CHURCHILL

I found this envelope among my things yesterday. Even if you prefer the trade of bricklaying to the great science of philately, you may have a descendant who collects stamps. I think this was postmarked on the AUGUSTA at the moment you stepped over the side.

F. D. R.
June 10, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR
THE PRESIDENT

A reminder to write the Prime Minister to thank him for the set of his books.

G. G. T.

Thanked by cable—
June 2nd, 1942.

Dear Mr. President,

I am writing with reference to the Prime Minister's telegram to you of May 27th to inform you that the collection of his books which he is presenting to you has now reached the Embassy by bag from the Foreign Office. I am sending these books to the White House today under separate cover.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States of America,
Washington, D. C.
14 June, 1942.

My dear Mr. President,

For a long time I have watched with grateful admiration the vast stream of gifts which from the first days of the War has been flowing from America to Great Britain for the relief of suffering and the succour of distress, and in a volume which has barely lessened as a result of the advent of war to America, though a considerable diminution of it was well to be expected. The generosity of these gifts, each one of which represents a personal sacrifice by an individual, is overwhelming and without precedent. I am therefore anxious in the first place to express to you, Mr. President, the profound gratitude of the British people, and shall be glad if there is some way in which you may see fit to pass my feelings along to the American public.

My second purpose in addressing you today is unhappily one of informing you that we now feel under
the necessity of asking that this brotherly flow of material shall be diminished. It is not that the gifts are not desired - indeed they have constantly been ingeniously devised to meet our real needs and the parcels from America have become a familiar and welcome feature in all the misfortunes which have overtaken our civilian population. The request which I am now compelled to make is due to additional demands on shipping resulting from the enormously increased flow of war materials for which ocean transport has to be provided. We shall have therefore to assign to goods of a more warlike character the shipping space which has hitherto been available for the relief of our people - a sacrifice which we will make here without complaint, but not without very great regret.

As to the method of procedure, we have a Committee here - the American Gifts Committee - which hitherto has endeavoured to ensure that gifts from America shall only be of a character that shall meet some real need. The Committee will now have to extend its
activities and try to control the actual volume of gifts. A statement will shortly be issued to the press indicating the lines along which it is hoped to proceed.

I cannot conclude this letter, Mr. President, without affirming once again our gratitude for the comfort in days of suffering and of trial that was brought to us by the people of America, and our desire to make known our thanks.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

The President of the United States of America.
July 1st

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you so much for the photograph that you sent me, I am terribly pleased with it.

I have it by the side of my father-in-laws, and as my son is not yet old enough to distinguish
between you and Winston
I am afraid that he calls both photographs
Grandpapa!

Thank you for sending Winston home
looking so well.

Yours Sincerely

Pamela S. Churchill
+BAP to H.C., Memo 7.9.42

PSF Churchill folder

Reg. NPx 59-150
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 9, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR
W. S. C.

The enclosed official reply on my part to your official communication of June fourteenth is, I suppose, for the benefit of the records or archives of both our Governments for the delectation of historians.

The point of it is that I hate like blazes cutting off or diminishing the flow of "Bundles for Britain" -- but it has to be done.

However, if you personally long for a seven-to-one Martini, I will send it across pronto.

As ever yours,

"F.D.R."

P.S. Tell Tommy and John Martin they may have two apiece.

F. D. R.

(over)
Department of State

BUREAU

DIVISION

ENCLOSURE

TO

Letter drafted 7/3/1942

ADDRESS TO

White House
My dear Mr. President:

There is enclosed a letter from Prime Minister Churchill expressing appreciation for the gifts for relief of suffering which have been sent from America to Great Britain and stating that the volume of this material must be diminished because of increased demands on shipping.

I enclose for your consideration and, if you approve, your signature, a suggested reply to Mr. Churchill.

Faithfully yours,

Enclosures:

From Prime Minister;
To Prime Minister.

The President,

The White House.
July 9, 1942

My dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I have received your letter of June 14, 1942 in which you express the gratitude of the British people for the vast stream of gifts which from the first days of the war has been flowing from America to Great Britain for the relief of suffering. You ask that this expression be conveyed to the American public.

You say also that this flow of material must be diminished due to additional demands on shipping and that it will be necessary to assign to goods of a more warlike character the shipping space which has hitherto been available for the relief of the British people. You state further that the American Gifts Committee in Great Britain, which hitherto has endeavored to ensure that gifts from America shall meet some real need, will now try to control the actual volume of gifts.

I am gratified by your statement that the relief sent from this country has given comfort to the British people during their days of great trial, and I shall give to the American people your expression of appreciation for the gifts they have provided. I am convinced that their action is indicative of the profound admiration felt in this country for the heroic stand of the British people against a barbarous foe.
You may be assured that we shall cooperate in every feasible way with the American Gifts Committee in order to meet the situation brought about by the increased demand for shipping.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Franklin D. Roosevelt

The Right Honorable
Winston S. Churchill, M.P.,
Prime Minister,
London.
July 28, 1942.

1 Grosvenor Square,

Dear Mr. President:

I forwarded to the Prime Minister a package which I received from the State Department and which they told me contained a cartoon of the United Nations Day program held at the White House on June 14th. I have just received a letter from the Prime Minister asking me to convey to you his warm thanks for your thoughtfulness and to tell you that he was very glad to have this amusing cartoon.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 12, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HARRY HOPKINS:

Will you speak to me about this today?

F.D.R.

Most Secret telegram received at British Embassy July 31 from the Foreign Office containing a message for the Pres. from Prime Minister Churchill.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 12, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR
HARRY HOPKINS:

Will you speak to me about this today?

F.D.R.

August 19, 1942

THIS CAN BE FILED.

H.I.H.
Dear Mr. President,

I enclose herein a copy of a telegram received at the Embassy this morning from the Foreign Office containing a message for you from the Prime Minister.

Believe me,

Dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours,

R. I. Campbell.

The Honourable

Franklin D. Roosevelt,

President of the United States

of America.

Washington, D. C.
Message from the Prime Minister for the 
President dated July 31st, 1942.

I should be grateful for a decision about 
command of "BOLERO", "SLEDGEHAMMER", "ROUND-UP" and 
"TORCH". It would be agreeable to us if General 
Marshall were designated for supreme command of 
"ROUND-UP" and that in the meantime General Eisenhower 
should act as his deputy here. We would appoint 
General Alexander as task force commander in the first 
instance to work with and under General Eisenhower. 
Both these men would work at "TORCH" and General 
Eisenhower would also for the time being supervise the 
"BOLERO"-"SLEDGEHAMMER" business. He will thus be able 
to draw up for "TORCH" the necessary forces with least 
injury to "BOLERO" and "ROUND-UP". As soon as "TORCH" 
has taken shape he would command it, with Alexander and 
an American commander as task force commanders of two 
forces starting from United Kingdom and United States. 
When this party starts out to do the job we should be 
glad if you would nominate either General Marshall or 

another locum tenens to carry forward the work of 
"BOLERO", "SLEDGEHAMMER" and "ROUND-UP". We will 
supply him also with a deputy.

2. It seems important to act quickly, as committees 
are too numerous and too slow. If you prefer other 
arrangements pray let me know your wishes.
Message from Mr. Churchill to M. Stalin dated August 1st 1942.

I will certainly come to Moscow to meet you and will fix date from Cairo.

Churchill.
Message from M. Stalin to Mr. Churchill dated July 31st 1942.

I received both your messages July 31st.

On behalf of Soviet Government I invite you to U.S.S.R. to meet members of Government. I would be very grateful if you could come to U.S.S.R. to consider jointly urgent questions of war against Hitler as menace from these quarters to Great Britain, U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. just now reached a special degree of intensity.

I think most suitable meeting place would be Moscow as neither I nor members of Government and leading men of general staff could leave the capital at moment of such an intense struggle against Germans.

The presence of Chief of Imperial General Staff would be extremely desirable.

Date of meeting please fix yourself in accordance with time necessary to complete your business at Cairo. You may be sure beforehand that any date would suit me. Let me express my gratitude for your consent to send next convoy with war materials for U.S.S.R. at beginning of September. In spite of extreme difficulty to divert aircraft from battlefront we will take all possible measures to increase aerial protection of convoy. Stalin.

REGRADED
UNCLASSIFIED
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 12, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR
HON. HARRY L. HOPKINS

Will you and the Joint Board prepare a reply to the enclosed?

F. D. R.

Enclosure

Let to the President from the Prime Minister of England - Most Secret dated 10/31/42
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Nov. 16, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR
THE PRESIDENT

A reminder to write to
Mrs. Churchill when Mrs.
Roosevelt gets back.

G. G. T.
November 7th, 1942.

Dear Mr. President,

I enclose herein a letter for you from Mrs. Churchill which reached me this morning by air from London.

Believe me,

Dear Mr. President,

Yours very sincerely,

[Signature]

The Honourable
Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States of America,
Washington, D. C.
November 2, 1942

10, Downing Street,
Whitehall.

My dear Mr. President,

It is now ten days since Mrs. Roosevelt's arrival in this country. Although her visit was generally expected, the exact date was not known beforehand; when it was announced that she would be here amongst us, it was a universal pleasure and satisfaction. I have been fortunate in accompanying Mrs. Roosevelt on several occasions, and I wish I could have been with you.
cows describe the effect she has on our women and girls. When she appears, their faces light up with gladness and welcome. One expedition was to see the civilian women pilots who fly planes from factories to airfields later in the day where the A.T.S. camps; the first where the women undergoing preliminary training are being trained as motor drivers for the Army. On another day, when she was staying with us at Chequers, I took Mrs. Roosevelt to see a
Maternity Hospital for the wives of officers in the three fighting services. She talked to each of them, the young mothers - one of them said the visit was his and in their lives.

That last Friday I accompanied Mrs. Roosevelt to Canterbury. We came just from Dover. We stood on the French coast line; it was a calm, soft afternoon. There was no enemy activity. Yet the very next day,
Canterbury was viciously bombed by daylight & it may well be that among the casualties were some of children who were with women & children who were with some. It is possible that she was indeed fortunate that her visit was twenty-four hours before the raid.

I have heard from Mrs. Roosevelt speak four times, on each occasion to groups of young women in the Services. Each time she said something
significant, fresh a true, she gave all who heard her a sense of being in the presence of a remarkable personality. Coming back on the train, Mrs. Roosevelt held up Press Conference, at which I was allowed to be present. I was struck by the ease, friendliness, and dignity with which she talked with the reporters and by the solemn air.
( ) to see Mrs. Churchill. I trust she is better. I received your letter and became very concerned for your health. I hope you are better now.

Mr. Churchill and I are both in good health and sending our best wishes. We often think of you and your recent experience. If you feel well, please write to us.

offered me which has widened
10, Downing Street,
Whitehall.

This will not be so, & we must hope that they are right. On each occasion that Mr. Winston has been to America he has told me of 2 or 3 ways he has told me of & I am very grateful for his kindness & hospitality. I only wish that I could do something adequate to show you how I feel about this. I hope we may say to meet you in person & tell you... Meanwhile I send you...
my greetings across the skies
a ocean

Sincerely
Clementine S. Churchill

I had nearly forgotten to thank you for the most lovely ham we sent us (also honey) we are beginning it this evening. I so love Virginia hams.
Private & Personal

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.
Parliamentary Analysis of Political Party Progress

Seats in the House of Commons after last General Election (1929) and at Present Time (December 1940) showing changes resulting from by-elections, and total poll in 1929 Election.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats 1929</th>
<th>Seats 1928-40</th>
<th>Loss</th>
<th>Gain</th>
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<tr>
<td>Conservatives</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal National</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>All Others</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>48</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Including National Labour, Independents etc. (Two seats now vacant).

Conservative Party

Sources: * Speeches of Party Leaders, various resolutions/proposals, and two reports issued by post-war reconstruction sub-committee - but not yet adopted: "Educational Aim" and "A Plan for Youth".

Labour Party

Sources: All policies mentioned below were adopted at the 41st Annual Conference, May 1942 (and quoted from Report of Conference) except No.1 which is from "The Old World and the New Society" recently issued by the National Executive Committee; and No.6 which was adopted at the 1939 Conference.

General Aim: "There can be no return to the pre-war system... We have to provide public employment... rebuild Britain to standards worthy of the men and women who have preserved it... organise social services at a level which secures adequate health, nutrition, and care in old age... provide educational opportunities for all which ensure that our cultural heritage is denied to none."

Liberal Party


General Aim: "The Liberal Party stands for the abolition of class barriers and of hereditary rights in the legislature and for a Social Order in which there shall be neither poverty nor privilege... While opposed to bureaucratic regimentation, it advocates vigorous State action in order to equalise opportunity, to prevent exploitation, and to ensure the full use of the nation's resources, and it seeks the widest possible diffusion of property and power."

Liberal National Party

Source: "A Basis for Britain's Post War Policy", adopted at a Conference of the Party held September 1941.

General Aim: "If a better-ordered world is to follow the present struggle... the policies designed to achieve that object must not only be conceived in a liberal spirit, but must also be shaped and administered by men and women of liberal mind and outlook."

1. **General Aim**: Mr. Churchill as leader of the Conservative Party, said at the meeting of the Central Council (March 1942) that the instant task must be concentration for victory. And after that to build a better future by "blending new impulses with great traditions."

2. **Education**: Reports of sub-committees on Education (not yet endorsed), stress the need for "national loyalty" and service to state as opposed to "the fullest development of the individual." More religious instruction in schools and daily compulsory worship. Retention of church schools and "Public Schools" (i.e., private boarding schools). "Training of character must be 'tough' as well as 'good'... Disease... misfortune, unhappiness, and the sense of guilt or sin - all these are a necessary part of every man's life... Therefore the child must be educated "to face and overcome trial and hardship." Compulsory membership of a Federation of Youth for all boys and girls 14 to 18.

**Education**: (a) School-leaving age to be raised to 18 without exception, and within three years to 16, with part-time education continued to 18; (b) sports requisites and transport to be provided for all children; (c) all schools for children over 11 to be brought under common regulations and standards; (d) fees to be abolished; (e) acceptance of democratic principle that all children should attend schools provided by the state; (f) school canteens and midday meals free; (g) free compulsory medical inspection; (h) free compulsory medical dental and eye treatment; (i) greater equality in allotment of grants to local authorities; (j) universitie and technical colleges to be accessible to all.

**Education**: (a) "It is in the highest interests of the community that for every child there should be available the widest facilities possible for the development of his spiritual and intellectual capacity and natural aptitude; and (b) it should be the aim of State policy to provide educational and cultural facilities not only during the statutory period of compulsory schooling, but throughout the active life of every citizen and to encourage him to take advantage of such facilities."
membership of a Federation of Youth
for all boys and girls 14 to 18.

3. FREEDOM OF OPINION AND PRESS. Mr. Churchill said: "We have succeeded in
preserving our traditional free
institutions, of free speech ..
free press."

4. HEALTH. Central Council (1946)
referred to Executive Committee
resolution for "linking up of
medical services of the country".

5. SOCIAL SECURITY. Central Council (1946):
"In view of high cost of living.. pensions
of old people should be kept constantly
under review". Resolutions drawn for
discussion at 1938 Conference wanted
(besides more consideration for owner
of property involved in slum clearance)
family allowances, increase in old-age
pensions contingent on retirement from
work, and national rather than local
payment of public assistance.

6. PLANNED DEMOCRACY. Mr. Churchill
said he was perpetually being bidden
to devote more time and attention to
the rebuilding of the post-war
world... Measures have been taken
to study and plan for that most
important and longed for period. "But
we must above all things be careful
that nothing diverts our thoughts or
our fullest energies from the task
of national, preservation and inter-
allied duty."

equality in allocation of grants to
local authorities; (k) universities
and technical colleges to be accessible
to all.

FREEDOM OF OPINION AND PRESS. Resolution
passed demanding that "Daily Worker",
suppressed some time ago, should
be allowed to resume publication. (Ban
has since been lifted by Government).

HEALTH. "There should be the right
to all forms of medical attention
and treatment through a National Health
Service". (Part of Social Security
resolution).

SOCIAL SECURITY. (a) One comprehensive
scheme; (b) adequate cash payments
to provide security whatever the
contingency; (c) family allowances; (d)
see above; (e) adequate pensions
for dependents of those killed or
disabled in war; (f) carefully planned
transference from war to peace
conditions.

PLANNED DEMOCRACY. "There must be no
return to an unplanned competitive
society .. Government control of
industry, central planning of nation's
economic life, and the subordination
of many private interests to the
common good", necessitated by war,
must be maintained after victory.
Preparations now for these vital
changes is urgent. A national planning
authority, and the establishment of
a National Industry Board to direct
location of industry agreed upon in
principle.

scholarships and better opportunities
for adult education; (e) some kind of
religious education; (h) "efficient
medical care".

FREEDOM OF OPINION AND PRESS. "The
Liberal Party notes with alarm successive
encroachments on the liberty of the press
and speech, and reaffirms its conviction
that wholehearted effort to win the war
must rest on public education, assault
and enthusiasm, based on knowledge".

HEALTH. "Among the measures to achieve
social and economic security there must
be "adequate Medical, Optical and Dental
Services for all". Generous provision
of community centres and playing
fields for healthy recreation.

SOCIAL SECURITY. (a) National statutory
minimum wage; (b) Family Allowances;
(c) Comprehensive social insurance
with contributions from all workers; (d)
wholesale housing at rents people can
afford; (e) Careful plans for demobilis-
ization at end of war to prevent un-
employment, with a survey to be
undertaken forthwith, by a Minister with
an Economic General Staff, of economic
resources and manpower.

PLANNED DEMOCRACY. A social programme
must provide "for the abolition of mass
unemployment and lead to a higher
standard of life". Both these objects
can be achieved (a) "if the policy of
the Atlantic Charter., is sincerely
pursued" with "a return to the policy
of Free Trade"; (b) countries with
high standards assist others to increase
production and consumption; (c)
"currency and taxation policies are
directed to the adjustment of purchasing
power so as to eliminate slumps... Planing
must be for the general good
not for sectional profit or convenience,
and the mandate... (must be) "Plan
for the People".

FREEDOM OF OPINION AND PRESS. "At the
conclusion of the War, this Council will
press for the full restoration by Parliament
at the earliest possible moment of all
civil liberties suspended or restricted
during war time".

HEALTH. "The maintenance and improvement (of
Social Services) will depend upon the pursuit
of an expansive and liberal economic policy.
The general health of the community will be
improved with a larger number of citizens
working on the land pursuing up-to-date
housing and adequate sanitary amenities".

SOCIAL SECURITY. "A solution of this
problem (unemployment) so as to give all
able-bodied citizens the best opportunity
to work, must be regarded as one of the
essential aims of the Government...
generous treatment of those who are too
young, too old, or too infirm (to work)
with special emphasis on good nutrition
and good education for the young".

PLANNED DEMOCRACY. The Liberal National
Council takes "the view that it is impossible
to envisage the conditions which will exist
after the termination of the war clearly
enough to warrant the drawing up at the
present time (September 1942) of detailed
proposals for dealing with post-war
problems".

* See foot of next page.
CONSERVATIVE PARTY.

7. CONTROL OF INDUSTRY. (a) Mines. No comment. (b) Transport. Central Council (1938) calls upon the Government to introduce legislation amending the London Passenger Transport Act of 1933 by curtailing its monopolistic powers. (c) Manufacturing. Resolution down for discussion (1938) demanded that efforts be made to reduce the imports of foreign textiles and to increase the export trade. (d) Agriculture. Central Council (1940) urged Government to promote and encourage the small farmer and every form of individual enterprise. Resolution down for discussion (1938) asked Government to fortify price level of agricultural commodities in order to arrest drift from the land and advocated greater control of overseas supplies. "Marketing Boards are an interference to open competition which is essential to the Public Purse."

LABOUR PARTY.

CONTROL OF INDUSTRY. "The socialization of the basic industries and services of the country and the planning of production for community consumption, (ie) ... the only lasting foundation for a just and prosperous economic order." (a) Mines. To be requisitioned by Government for duration of war, and run by National Board appointed by Government. National ownership and control of mines is best solution of problem, but this wider scheme will not be pressed until end of war. (b) Transport. Coordination of "all forms of transport - road, rail, inland waterways - under national ownership." (c) Manufacturing. "Root cause of bottle-necks, idle machinery, under-production and wasted labour in war factories arises from the conflict between private interest and public welfare ... whole economy of war production should be put, progressively, on a socialistic basis." (d) Agriculture (i) National ownership of agricultural land to enable .. planned system of ... production; (ii) unification in single Ministry of Ministries of Food and Agriculture; (iii) development of national plan to ensure "adequate and varied diet... control of prices ... higher standard of living for rural population."

LIBERAL PARTY.

CONTROL OF INDUSTRY. "Emphasis must be placed on the maximum quantity of ... goods and services rather than upon 'making money' ... industry must be dematerialized so that the workers shall no longer be regarded as 'hands' but as partners, with an effective voice in determining the conditions under which they work, a share in the profits their labour helps to create and with full opportunity of entry to managerial positions". (a) Mines. (b) Transport. and (c) Manufacturing: no comment. (d) Agriculture, should be planned with a view to maintaining soil fertility, growing foods most needed for nutrition and most suited to soil climate, guaranteeing prices for efficient farming, and maintaining as high a standard of rural living as enjoyed elsewhere.


INTERNATIONAL. (a) The Conference rejoiced in fellowship with the great American nations, the U.S.A. and China, and sent greetings of friendship to all United Nations and to nations suffering under Nazi oppression; (b) declared protection of Jews. (c) United Nations have responsibility for post-war reconstruction in all nations:

LIBERAL NATIONAL PARTY.

CONTROL OF INDUSTRY. "The liberation of commerce and the maximum exchange of goods and services in national and international trade, subject only to such regulations as may be found necessary for the economic security of the inhabitants of any country or for better ordering of international trade generally. The maximum development of the potentials and production, accompanied by such a distribution of purchasing power as will ensure a corresponding increase in consumption, by the encouragement of individual initiative, adequate wages, high efficiency, good conditions of work and sufficient leisure for the preservation and encouragement of private enterprise." (a) Mines. (b) Transport and Manufacturing: no comment. (d) Agriculture. Larger production of home-grown foodstuffs, improved security of tenure for tenant-farmer and smallholder, higher efficiency in farming methods as necessary to state aid, reasonable profit to the farmer so he can pay adequate living wage to his labourers, and greater co-operation between urban and rural populations.

FINANCE AND TAXATION. "A system of taxation which, while distributing the burden according to ability to pay, is so designed as to fall fairly on all and not to discourage either private thrift or the provision by business undertakings of adequate sums for maintaining and improving their capital equipment."

INTERNATIONAL. "The Conference ... recognizes in the fact that it (the Atlantic Charter) was a joint declaration ... pledge of cooperation in the tasks of post-war world reconstruction ... which are of vast importance for the present mankind ... welcomes in particular two principles laid down ... (a) that nations which threaten aggression, must be effectively disarmed."

9. FINANCE AND TAXATION. Resolutions down for discussion 1938 urged the easing of Death Duties; the restriction of national expenditure and the reduction of "taxation wherever possible" and that "further increase in respect of Local Government (expenditure) be discouraged."

INTERNATIONAL. Five primary tasks should be undertaken, and plans agreed by the United Nations should be ready for immediate application. (a) Preservation of peace by International-Police Force which would be strengthened by a union or Federation of English-speaking peoples; (b) effective organization of international justice; (c) all Colonial
United Nations have responsibility for: (a) international law, (b) national and international cooperation in the maintenance of peace and security, (c) the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, (d) the promotion of democracy, the protection of human life and the promotion of social progress and better standards of living for all., (e) effective organisation of international economic assistance and co-operation in solving international problems, (f) the promotion of the economic, social and cultural development of all peoples; (g) the promotion of the economic, social and cultural development of all peoples; (h) the promotion of the economic, social and cultural development of all peoples; (i) the promotion of the economic, social and cultural development of all peoples; (j) the promotion of the economic, social and cultural development of all peoples.

10. WAR SERVICES. (a) Servicemen's Pay and Dependent's Allowances. No comment.
(b) Pensions. In 1936 resolutions were...