

PSF: Trip File <sup>1738-43</sup>~~1943~~

TELEGRAM

PSF  
Trip

The White House  
Washington

August 2, 1952.

Specialist <sup>CLS</sup>  
<sub>10-10-66</sub>  
Mr. Stephen T. Kelly,  
100 Bureau.

While our earlier work was authority for discussion  
to make two appointments STOP The President knows about  
Horton for Secretary STOP Impossible for him to accept full  
time for personal reasons but he is deeply interested STOP  
Horton suggests Paul F. Frisell, Assistant Chief of Staff to  
be selected and Horton agrees to spend all possible spare  
time working with him even putting in full time as long  
as necessary after September first to get underway if  
Frisell is named STOP Hutton of the Board with Frisell  
and I personally think fine choice STOP Reference to John  
Stewart Hutton feels he is not up to requirements and on  
recommendation Lowell Hallowell and others would like to get  
C. E. Allen, Aviation Editor of Tribune who they say has  
technical knowledge and national reputation concerning STOP  
They suggest naming him head Division Information Research  
and Statistics and putting Stewart on as assistant to handle  
the publicity STOP Important they get setup going and would  
appreciate the President's advice STOP Individually Hallowell  
wishes for Allen's liberation and political faith.

REUTERS

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE BEST  
AVAILABLE. EVERY TECHNICAL  
EFFORT HAS BEEN TAKEN TO  
INSURE LEGIBILITY.

TELEGRAM

The White House  
Washington

PSF  
Trip

August 4, 1966

~~Restricted~~ C-5  
10-10-66

Sen. Stephen T. Early

USS SOURCE.

Reference

/ Howe's wire requesting hold up action Secretary Aeronautic  
Authority Jimmy misunderstood situation STOP Thought Norton  
was accepting for two months then turn over to Frissell STOP  
Actually Norton wants Fri sell appointed and promises to work  
with him for several months to get it going good STOP The  
Authority very anxious go ahead with appointment STOP Howe approves  
this wire STOP Please advise.

Malatyre

TELEGRAM

The White House  
Washington

August 5 1938

Secret and Confidential

The President

The UNQUOTE

Mrs. Roosevelt sends following QUOTE Have promised to speak Poughkeepsie for International Youth Congress evening of sixteenth STOP Wrote you letter. Johnny anxious to go over with me the things in storage on the nineteenth STOP Feel I had better not join you on Canadian trip. Will try to get Johnny to reach New York by the eighteenth so we can meet on you on nineteenth STOP All well here, Much love, Signed Eleanor UNQUOTE STOP Think Hall, Wallace and Perkins only three Cabinet Members here. Do you want Cabinet Meeting Friday or see them individually STOP Hanson Gary transfer held up. He hit ceiling and is very bitter. Have asked Bruce let matter ride until I can talk with you Tuesday. UNQUOTE

Malintyre

PSF  
Trip.  
File

TELEGRAM

PSF.  
Trip File

The White House  
Washington

August 1, 1936.

~~SECRET AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: ~~SECRET~~

The President

MR. SUMNER.

Baltimore negotiations still underway. Look favorable but we all insisting on open declaration for Lewis by Jackson STOP Mr. Sumner considering withdrawal. Sumner wants to know if Federal Judgeship there possibility STOP Missy phoned yesterday from Canada. Due here Tuesday afternoon. Asked me to thank you for message and sends love.

~~SECRET~~

TELEGRAM

PSF  
Trip File

The White House  
Washington

August 5 1938

~~Secret and Confidential~~

The President  
The USS HOUSTON

Mrs. Roosevelt sends following QUOTE Have promised to speak Poughkeepsie for International Youth Congress evening of sixteenth STOP Wrote you letter. Johnny anxious to go over with me the things in storage on the nineteenth STOP Feel I had better not join you on Canadian trip. Will try to get Johnny to reach New York by the eighteenth so we can meet on you on nineteenth STOP All well here, Much love, Signed Eleanor STOP UNQUOTE STOP Think Hull, Wallace and Perkins only three Cabinet Members here. Do you want Cabinet Meeting Friday or see them individually STOP Hanson Gary transfer held up. He hit ceiling and is very bitter. Have asked Braine let matter ride until I can talk with you Tuesday. STOP

Maladyre

Sent -  
1900 5 Aug.

Jm  
C.W.O.

Black, 143

TELEGRAM

The White House  
Washington

August 6, 1938.

PSF  
Trip

~~Restricted~~ - priority

CL 3  
10-10-66

The President  
MR. RUSSELL.

Tentative schedule Barnesville provides for Dick  
Russell provide, introducing Cernody and Georgia REA men then  
Governor Rivers who will welcome and introduce you. Confi-  
dentially Dick is not going to play ball and I am afraid  
elimination of George might react. However do not want  
to suggest change unless I have to STOP Could you advise  
immediately.

MCISTRE

TELEGRAM

The White House  
Washington

PSF  
Trip File

August 6, 1936.

Secret and Confidential

Mr. Stephen T. Early  
New Haven

Stop Greenville nine-forty-five P. M. but have changed  
it to three minute stop nearly change cross. Believe this OK  
STOP Can announce no platform appearance STOP Helen says all well  
and send love STOP Phoned Mrs. Roosevelt. She plans if poss-  
ible to be with Johnny on the Eighteenth and be at Hyde Park  
when the President returns STOP She still considers shutting  
down for a day but will depend on Johnny's plans STOP She wants  
the President to know small boys did considerable damage to  
old farm house on the road and sheriff has them in tow STOP  
She is taking responsibility of telling sheriff they should not  
be sent to institution but if possible scared and put on pro-  
bation and families told they must make good damage STOP Says if  
it is too heavy for them they can negotiate with the President  
after he gets there STOP I told her I thought that best way  
to handle STOP Days are about twelve and thirteen STOP Regards  
to all hands.

SCIENTER

not going  
to Canada stop

*Private & Confidential*  
*BF*  
*TWP*

In reply refer to Initials  
and No.

NAVY DEPARTMENT  
OFFICE OF CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS  
WASHINGTON

~~Confidential~~

11 August 1938

My dear Mr. Secretary:

In accordance with our telephone conversation of 10 August I have directed the HOUSTON to remain in the Atlantic pending further instructions.

The following itinerary is submitted for consideration:

<u>Arrive</u>	<u>Port</u>	<u>Depart</u>	<u>Distance</u>
	Pensacola, Fla.	10 Nov.	
13 Nov.	Colon, C.Z.	14 Nov.	1344 miles
16 Nov.	Quayaquil, Ecuador	18 Nov.	870 "
20 Nov.	Callao, Peru	22 Nov.	676 "
25 Nov.	Valparaiso, Chile	27 Nov.	1306 "
3 Dec.	Colon, C.Z.	3 Dec.	2666 "
6 Dec.	Pensacola, Fla.		<u>1344</u> "
		Total	8206 "

Sincerely yours,

*William D. Leahy*

Hon. Sumner Welles,  
Under Secretary of State,  
Washington, D.C.

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

Date- 2-18-59

Signature- *Carl F. Spicer*

REUTERS FILE

ROOSEVELT

~~CRUISES OF THE~~ CRUISES OF THE PRESIDENT IN NAVAL VESSELS OR INTIMATE VESSELS WHEN OFFICIAL ESCORT WAS

DATE AND PLACE OF EMBARKATION	DATE AND PLACE OF DEBARKATION	NAME OF VESSEL CARRYING PRESIDENT	NAME(S) OF ESCORTING VESSEL(S)	NAMES OF PLACES VISITED ENROUTE	TOTAL MILES STEAMER	NAME(S) OF PRESIDENT'S AGENTS	MARAL AND MILITARY FILES
1 July 1934 Annapolis, Md.	3 August 1934 Portland, Oregon	USS HOUSTON	(USS HOUSTON) GILMER WILLIAMSON N. W. ...	Portland, Oregon Astoria, Oregon Seaside, Oregon Astoria, Oregon Portland, Oregon	15,724		
2 October 1935 San Diego, Calif.	23 October 1935 Charleston, S.C.	U.S.S. HOUSTON	U.S.S. HOUSTON	San Diego, Calif. San Francisco, Calif. Seattle, Wash. Portland, Ore. Astoria, Ore. Seaside, Ore. Astoria, Ore. Portland, Ore. Charleston, S.C.			
23 March 1936 Port Kaituma, N.Z.	8 April 1936 Port Louis, N.Z.	U.S.S. HOUSTON	U.S.S. HOUSTON	Port Kaituma, N.Z. Port Louis, N.Z.			
14 July 1936 Port Kaituma, N.Z.	5 August 1936 Port Louis, N.Z.	SEVANIAN	U.S.S. HOUSTON	Port Kaituma, N.Z. Port Louis, N.Z.			
18 November 1936 Charleston, S.C.	15 December 1936 Charleston, S.C.	U.S.S. HOUSTON	U.S.S. HOUSTON	Charleston, S.C.	15,000		
24 April 1937 San Francisco, Calif.	11 May 1937 San Francisco, Calif.	U.S.S. HOUSTON	U.S.S. HOUSTON	San Francisco, Calif.			
29 November 1937 Miami, Fla.	5 December 1937 Miami, Fla.	U.S.S. HOUSTON	U.S.S. HOUSTON	Miami, Fla.			
2 September 1937 New York, N.Y.	7 September 1937 New York, N.Y.	U.S.S. HOUSTON	U.S.S. HOUSTON	New York, N.Y.			
30 May 1938 San Francisco, Calif.	5 May 1938 San Francisco, Calif.	U.S.S. HOUSTON	U.S.S. HOUSTON	San Francisco, Calif.			
17 June 1938 San Francisco, Calif.	18 June 1938 San Francisco, Calif.	U.S.S. HOUSTON	U.S.S. HOUSTON	San Francisco, Calif.			
12 August 1938 San Francisco, Calif.	24 August 1938 San Francisco, Calif.	U.S.S. HOUSTON	U.S.S. HOUSTON	San Francisco, Calif.	2,000		





100  
101  
102  
103  
104

NAVAL AND  
MILITARY  
AIDES

DE NAAR

Major -  
R. Lee Ross (K. McIntire, Md.)

105  
106

Major -  
R. Lee Ross (K. McIntire, Md.)

107  
108

Major -  
R. Lee Ross (K. McIntire, Md.)

109  
110

Major -  
R. Lee Ross (K. McIntire, Md.)

3

~~SECRET~~

*Handwritten scribbles and initials*

*PSF  
Trip File*

March 9, 1943

DRAFT OF A DECLARATION BY THE UNITED NATIONS ON  
NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

In the Declaration signed on January 1, 1942, the United Nations pledged themselves to a complete victory in this war for the preservation of liberty, independence, human rights and justice. They also proclaimed their resolve to attain, for themselves and for the human race as a whole, the objectives stated in the Joint Declaration of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill dated August 14, 1941, known--from the region in which it was formulated--as the Atlantic Charter. That Charter sets forth certain fundamental principles and purposes, applicable to all nations and to all peoples, among which are the following:

Respect for the rights of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live;

Restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those who have been forcibly deprived of them; and

Establishment of a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

By their adoption of the Atlantic Charter as an integral part of the Declaration of January 1, 1942, the 31 United Nations have thus affirmed their determination that the

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UNCLASSIFIED

Independence

JUN 2 1972

independence of those nations which now possess independence shall be maintained; that the independence of those nations which have been forcibly deprived of independence shall be restored; that opportunity to achieve independence for those peoples who aspire to independence shall be preserved, respected, and made more effective; and that, in general, resolute efforts will be made to create a system of world security which will provide for all nations and all peoples greater assurance of stable peace and greater facilities for material advancement.

The carrying out of these pledges imposes important responsibilities upon those peoples who possess or who are seeking to regain independence and upon all peoples who aspire to independent status. The particular pledge that peoples who aspire to independence shall be given an opportunity to acquire independent status is, therefore, in varying degrees, of concern to all of the United Nations and to all nations and peoples which now, or which may hereafter, cooperate in carrying forward and applying the provisions of the Atlantic Charter. The effectuation of that pledge requires that all such nations and peoples collaborate to that end with each other to the fullest practicable extent. Accordingly, the United Nations hereby make the following  
**DECLARATION:**

1. It is the duty and the purpose of those of the United Nations which have, owing to past events, become charged with responsibilities for the future of colonial areas to cooperate fully with the peoples of such areas toward their becoming qualified for independent national status. While some colonial peoples are far advanced along this road, the development and resources of others are not yet such as to enable them to assume and discharge the responsibilities of government without danger to themselves and to others. It is, accordingly, the duty and the purpose of each nation having political ties with colonial peoples:

- a. To give its colonial peoples protection, encouragement, moral support and material aid and to make continuous efforts toward their political, economic, social, and educational advancement;
- b. To make available to qualified persons among the colonial peoples to the fullest possible extent positions in the various branches of the local governmental organization;
- c. To grant progressively to the colonial peoples such measure of self-government as they are capable of maintaining in the light of the various stages of their development toward independence;
- d. To fix, at the earliest practicable moments, dates upon which the colonial peoples shall be accorded the status of full independence within a system of general security; and
- e. To pursue policies under which the natural resources of colonial territories shall be developed, organized and marketed in the interest of the peoples concerned and of the world as a whole.

2. It is

2. It is incumbent upon all peoples that aspire to independence to exert themselves in every feasible way to prepare and equip themselves for independence--socially, economically, and politically--to the end that they may, as soon as possible, be able to create, conduct and maintain, for, by and of themselves, efficient structures of stable self-government based on sound principles of social and political morality. In the present moment of world emergency, the capacity and desire of such peoples for the enjoyment of freedom can best be demonstrated by their contribution now toward the defeat of the Axis foes of all freedom and independence.

3. The carrying out of the policies above declared will necessarily call for much and continuous consultation and collaboration between and among the nations which are directly responsible for the future of various colonial areas and other nations which have substantial interests in the regions in which such areas are located. In order to provide an effective medium for such consultation and collaboration, there shall be created in each region, by agreement of the nations thus concerned, a commission on which each of those nations shall be represented and in the work of which the various colonial peoples concerned shall have appropriate opportunity to participate and to  
have

have or to achieve representation.

4. As a result of the last war, peoples in several areas still unprepared for full independence were released from political ties with nations formerly responsible for them. Other peoples in like status may be similarly released from their former political ties as a result of this war. It is the purpose of the United Nations to assume with respect to all such peoples a special responsibility, analogous to that of a trustee or fiduciary. The United Nations hereby recognize it as their duty to give the fullest cooperation to such peoples in their efforts to prepare themselves for independence through political, economic, social, and moral advancement--and eventually to arrange for their assumption of independent status. To this end, they recognize it as their duty to observe in the case of such peoples each of the policies, obligations and methods hereinbefore set forth for observance by independent countries toward their own colonial peoples.

5. In order to carry out effectively the purposes and functions described in the preceding paragraph, the United Nations propose to establish, as soon as circumstances permit, an International Trusteeship Administration composed of representatives of the United Nations and of all other nations which now, or which may hereafter, cooperate in  
carrying

2070 20704 20704  
Lead cylinder  
These cylinders are  
used for the  
purpose of  
the  
administration  
of the  
territories  
held in trust  
under the  
Atlantic Charter.

-2-

carrying forward and applying the provisions of the Atlantic Charter. The Administration will operate through regional councils composed of representatives of the nations having major interests in the respective regions. The machinery of each council will be so designed as to give the peoples of the territories held in trust in its region full opportunity to be associated with its work.

6

Copy No. .... 4 .....

*seen RC*

To : Joint Staff Mission  
From: War Cabinet Office  
Dated: 3 Sept. 1943



CONCRETE 725

Following for Prime Minister from Foreign Secretary.

My immediately preceding telegram.

Following is list of possible subjects:

- A. Military.....Italian and Balkan situations.
- B. Political issues which may arise as the war progresses.
  - 1. Functions, scope and location of proposed Three-Power Commission.
  - 2. Common policy to prevent Allied territories evacuated by Germans from falling into chaos in the absence of liberating Allied armies.
  - 3. Common policy towards resistance movements in Yugoslavia.
  - 4. Resumption of relations with Poland, constitution of union of Polish patriots, and general policy in relation to Poland.
  - 5. Attitude towards French committee with special reference to its position in metropolitan France, and establishment of eventual French Government.
  - 6. Policy towards Turkey and question of our modifying our relations with her.
  - 7. Question of getting Finland out of the war.
  - 8. Post-war control of the entrance to the Baltic (Stalin raised this in 1941).
  - 9. Policy towards Persia.
  - 10. Setting up of special machinery for dealing promptly and jointly with questions requiring current and close collaboration.

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 By BT Date MAY 21 1973

C. Political problems after the termination of hostilities.

1. Proposed Four-Power declaration.
2. Question of joint responsibility for Europe as against separate spheres of influence.
3. Treatment of Germany and other enemy countries
  - (a) During the armistice period, e.g., control commission, etc.
  - (b) At the peace settlement, e.g., frontiers, military occupation, reparations, decentralization of German government, etc.
4. Possibility of Soviet co-operation in international bodies dealing with such matters as finance, transport, aviation, etc. and I.L.O.
5. Economic matters insofar as this is possible as a result of present talks in Washington about Article VII.
6. Future of Poland and Danubian and Balkan countries, including question of confederations

032350Z

Distribution

Mr. Martin  
Sir A. Cadogan

WELFARE NO. \_\_\_\_\_

PRIVATE OFFICE

Following Most Secret and Personal message from Prime Minister to Marshal Stalin should be held pending final approval, which awaits President's concurrence:

(Begins)

1. The President and I were both very glad to get your appreciative message of Sept. 10. We have a most intense desire to help your grand efforts in every possible way.
2. We are each sending you our proposed Agenda separately. We should be very glad to have your list of subjects. Nothing should be barred out, but some may be more suitable for verbal discussion when the Heads of Governments meet.
3. The President seemed to think November 15 would be a good date to aim at for our Personal meeting, and I will of course conform to whatever arrangements are

convenient to you two.

4. There appears to be a very real constitutional difficulty in the President going so far as Teheran, and I still hope you will consider Egypt or perhaps a Syrian port like Beyrout. One way of holding the Conference would be for us each to have a ship and meet in one of the harbours of Egypt or the Levant or possibly at Cyprus. If this idea attracted you we could place a fine ship entirely at your disposal and you could send on ahead all your advance party, cypher staffs, etc., so as to be completely independent of us and at the same time in constant contact with your own war front.

5. Wherever we go, we think that the Press should be entirely banished and the whole place sealed off by military cordon, so that we are not disturbed in any way in these conversations upon which, I repeat, the hopeful future of the world depends.

(Ends)

ENCLOSURES REFERRED TO IN

MR. CHURCHILL'S LETTER of 13 SEPT. 1943

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RIGHT OF FILES OF P. 201  
ENCLOSURE ATTACHED TO THE

WELFARE NO. \_\_\_\_\_.

PRIME MINISTER TO DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN SECRETARY.  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ and Personal.

The President thinks we should be prepared to raise with Stalin, at the Foreign Secretaries Conference in the first instance, the post-war world organization. Everything should have relation to an interim or emergency period of unspecified duration, during which permanent structures could be shaped and built. In this period he contemplates three forms of United Nations collaboration:

- (a) The Four Powers, who would guarantee by force the maintenance of peace and order and the enforcement of Armistice conditions.
- (b) An Executive Council embracing additional members of the United Nations, making up in all and step by step a total of eleven.
- (c) A general Assembly of all the United Nations in which, presumably, respectable neutrals might find their place. This would provide opportunities for the ventilation

only  
reference, the board will be  
the President of the League of Nations  
League of Nations and Secretary  
League of Nations and Secretary  
League of Nations and Secretary

of opinion and would be able to pass resolutions but would  
enjoy no executive power.

I repeat that the whole of the above is for the  
interim Armistice period only and in no way prejudices  
final decisions as to world order, nor of course the natural  
Anglo-American special relationship.

W S C

13.9.43

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE SECRETARY

September 14, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

In response to your request I am transmitting herewith draft suggestions for an agenda for the Tripartite Conference.

This matter requires some rather careful consideration.

It seems to me that it would be well not to be too detailed in suggesting items for discussion but try to keep the exchange of views on the broad basis of general world security within which framework, if the Soviet Government is willing to cooperate, many of the detailed questions would be more easily solved.

It might be well to have the question of the Soviet attitude toward the Pacific war situation come up, but I question the advisability of including any such item in a proposed agenda.

CH

*Final copy*

DRAFT

September 14, 1943.

AGENDA FOR TRIPARTITE CONFERENCE

1. General security (four-nation declaration).

As a basis for the maintenance of peace and security in the world after the end of hostilities, it is suggested that the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China enter into a four-nation arrangement which would provide for consultation and cooperation in carrying out the responsibilities of those four nations for the maintenance of peace by continuing after the war the present collaboration in the prosecution of the war.

A tentative draft of such declaration is attached hereto..

2. Treatment of Germany and other enemy countries in Europe.

- (a) During armistice period, international military, political, and economic control over Germany.
- (b) Steps towards ultimate settlement:- length of armistice period, future status of German Government, frontiers, and other questions.

3. Economic matters for reconstruction.

- (a) Question of reparations.
- (b) Cooperation in rehabilitation of war damage in U. S. S. R.
- (c) Joint action for assistance to other countries.
- (d) Collaboration on an international basis dealing with matters such as food and agriculture, transport and communications, finance and trade, and I.L.O.
- (e) Any specific matters either of the other Governments wishes to raise.

4. Methods of dealing with current political and economic issues and those which may arise as the war progresses.

Our proposal is that matters on which it is found desirable for the three Governments to consult should be dealt with in Moscow, London, or Washington as may be most appropriate on an ad hoc basis by the permanent diplomatic representatives in each capital. Experts could be sent if desired to participate depending upon the character of the subjects under discussion. This is not intended to preclude the holding of international or tripartite conferences as occasion may make desirable.

We will be prepared to discuss at the October Moscow Conference any current issues proposed by either of the other two Governments on which it may be found timely to consult.

Text of telegram from Mr. Eden to His Majesty's Ambassador  
at Moscow dated September 18th, 1943.

SECRET.

My immediately preceding telegram.

Following is text of our agenda. Begins.

1. Exchange of views of the situation in Italy and the Balkans.
2. The setting up of machinery for dealing with questions requiring current and close collaboration, with particular reference to functions and scope of politico-military commission in Algiers.
3. Question of joint responsibility for Europe as against separate areas of responsibility.
4. Relations between the U.S.S.R. and Poland and policy in relation to Poland generally.
5. Question of agreement between major and minor allies on post war questions.
6. Agreement in principle in regard to treatment of Germany and other enemy countries in Europe.
  - (a) During the Armistice period, e.g. under any commission, etc.
  - (b) At peace settlement, e.g. frontiers, military occupation, disarmament, reparations, decentralization of the German Government, etc.
7. Common policy towards Turkey.
8. Common policy towards resistance movement in Yugoslavia.
9. Peace feelers from enemy states.
10. Attitude towards the French Committee with special reference to its position in Metropolitan France and establishment of eventual French Government.
11. Future of Poland, Greece, Danubian and Balkan countries,

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including/

Gov't Tel. 1-12-72

By RT Date MAY 21 1973

including the question of confederations.

12. Common policy in Persia.

13. Post war economic collaboration with the U.S.S.R.

Ends.

*Secret*  
*Next Trip File*

BRITISH EMBASSY,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

September 19th, 1943.

*PSE -*  
*Trip File*

Dear General Watson,

I much regret that a copying error crept into the text of one of the telegrams from Mr. Eden which I communicated to the President yesterday.

The last words of Paragraph 11 of our Agenda ought to read "including the question of confederations" and not "including the question of eventual French Government". I enclose a corrected copy.

Please accept my apologies.

Yours sincerely,

*R. J. Campbell*

Brigadier General Edwin M. Watson, U.S.A.,  
Military Aide to the President,  
The White House,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

[Retired for preservation]

المملكة العربية السعودية

Documents & photos relating to  
visit of Lt. Colonel Harold B. Hopkins A.U.S.  
to see  
King Ibn Saud in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia  
August 1943

- (1) Letter to President Roosevelt from the King
- (2) aide Memoire of King re seeing Dr Weizmann
- (3) Memorandum of Colonel Hopkins summarizing results of mission <sup>of mission</sup>
- (4) Memorandum of conversation with the King re Arab Federation <sup>of 11 August 43</sup>
- (5) Photographs of trip.
- (6) Supplementary Memorandums of Colonel Hopkins - 27 Sept 43

(21)

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

BSF  
Trip File

MEMO FOR MISS TULLY:

I think you will remember Mrs. Roosevelt's conversation with the President about making a list of things he has read in his life which have had an influence on his development.

The man is asking for it but I imagine the President is too busy, and with your approval I will tell him to go ahead with others and wait for the President's until later.

m.c.t.

25

P.S.  
Trip

Encounter With a Junker and a Nazi

Cast

Colonel Henry E. Dudley

Captain Borchard

Oberst<sup>Graf</sup> von Werder

Oberst Irkens

Monsieur Louis Cardinaux, Red Cross Delegate

Crossville, Tennessee

September 5th, 1943

"They will kill you", said an official who had visited the prisoners' camps. "Don't walk into the lion's den. You do not realize what those people are capable of doing. A month ago, they hanged a fellow-prisoner of theirs in the camp, because he had spoken against Nazism".

- "I'll keep my name a secret and introduce myself as a Swiss, which I am.-

"They'll recognize you".

- No. My picture has been in no German newspaper since twelve years.-

. . .

I was driven up to the big, fortified gate of one of the camps. The first thing that happened was that a corporal, in order to announce me, spelled my name with a far-sounding voice into the telephone that was placed outside. I did not know that the barracks nearby belonged to the administration; I thought that they were already those full of Nazis, and that thus, through the evening silence, my arrival was being thunderously proclaimed to my enemies.

Shortly afterwards, the friendly American colonel explained to me that yesterday he had told the two German camp commanders what guest was expected the next day; he believed that else they could have felt deceived and perhaps would have complained to the Red Cross. Both of them had shown to be willing to talk to me.

That is how shortly afterwards three persons came to meet. They knew one another by name and reputation: a Prussian Junker (that is: member of a high-ranking family), a leading Nazi, (both of them Obersten, that is: colonels) and myself, their enemy.

Both these men had not heard anybody speaking the truth to them for ten years; what German, or what foreigner captured by them would have ventured to tell them his mind? But I, too, had not spoken to a Nazi or a Junker in ten years. The conversation which came to last longer than two hours, represented the clash of two worlds, such as I had caused between Mussolini and myself, a decade previously.

As none of us wanted to convince his opponent, some kind of a philosophical dialogue was to be expected. According to the Geneva Convention, no prisoner of war may be constrained to talk through threats or torture as it is done in Germany. I had made up my mind to abstain from any insult of the prisoner's Fuehrer or their people. Had I but once let out a word like criminals, either of the German officers would have gotten up and broken off the conversation for which I had travelled twenty four hours. On the contrary: I had decided to call them "Herr Oberst" two hundred times. For at the sound of their titles, the Germans' hearts open up.

Evidently, similar intentions were entertained by the two colonels, because in my presence neither of them offended the Jews, the liberals, or the German Republic. Therefore two conversations ensued which went on in the most polite manner, though full of mutual hate and contempt. These conversations were as different from one another as the two men that had them with me. I have always believed that an interesting document of this kind incites our imagination more than an invented conversation, and that non-fiction can therefore be more dramatic than fiction. That is why I am not adding any commentary or change to these conversations, which I am writing down from memory. Of course, I have abridged them because they were too long. Perhaps some of the officers that are now preparing for the occupation of Germany will realize what expects them.

\* . \*

The two German colonels had never yet entered the small room of an officer's barrack; during four or five months, that is to say since they were captured, they had not at all left from behind the barbed wire of the camp. It was the first time today that they were led into the small resting-house of the guarding officers. The whisky that they were offered here was the first since they were captured; the prisoners are given beer only, two bottles a day. The colonel that I spoke to second, saw the first billiard table in a long time, too; he had a good time at it while waiting.

I had insisted on talking to the officers separately. A German-American captain had been ordered to listen in silence, and to leap in, should a sudden blow occur. This man had immigrated twenty years ago and was now an interpreter in the camp. And at last the American colonel led in a gentleman who had put on civilian clothes; he was introduced, and he had a well-known Junker-name. Simultaneously both of us, he and I, made the stiff, short Prussian bow, that I had acquired again for the occasion. Of course, we did not shake hands.

A man, about fifty years old, fat, heavy, and bold-headed, with a round fullmoon-head, a fat-folded neck, and almost without any chin; that is what was sitting in front of me. One would not readily have believed him capable of using weapons on the battlefield. He looked like an underwear manufacturer from Saxony. And sure enough he had been used as a diplomat, then being captured at certain negotiations. When speaking, he made long pauses, to be able to think. After such a pause, he spoke out a customary answer, never expressing thoughts of his own. Evidently he was not one of the gifted representatives of his Junker-class, whereas his grandfather still had made a name for himself in the war of 1870. Sometimes he smirked; and although he seldom laughed, nevertheless he tried to fill up his fullmoon-face with a smile.

"This camp is not where I should be" said the Junker-colonel. "I was a diplomat, and am entitled to a much more comfortable place where my colleagues are allowed to live. Here this camp was horrid at the beginning. Just compare our treatment here with that of the American prisoners in Germany. They have libraries and swimming-pools. We don't even have an orderly each: we have to manage with one for three of us".

-And the captured Poles, Czechs, and Frenchmen,- do they have swimming-pools, too? If a people has no government to back it up, you treat it as one treats a slave.-

"I am entitled to a better camp" repeated the Junker who was only interested in his own condition. "In Xx, I was a diplomat."

As I had been told of the case, I replied: -But at the moment you were captured in that hotel, you were wearing a uniform.-

"A pure coincidence! I had put it on again in Vichy to travel to the negotiations. A pure coincidence!"

I spoke about Hitler's resignation from the high command. He did not disclaim this information; he only said: "After all, the Fuehrer hasn't learnt strategy; he isn't a Fieldmarshal Moltke."

-We assume-, I said, -that in a few months the Prussian Junkers are going to deliver up the defeated Hitler and will make the Allies a lot of offers, so as to make off with a tolerable peace.-

"In a few months?"

-Perhaps even weeks-, I said, mentioning my reasons for the moral dissolution which the Germans were already undergoing.

"I have fought in Russia" said the colonel. "No soldier there is going to retreat one step without fighting. Every one of them knows

that under the oppression of communism, German culture would be doomed."

-Which culture?-, I rejoined. -That of the Nazis?-

"The German culture", he went on, decisively. "You wouldn't believe how dullened the Russian people is. They just can't even read. Really, they still live half like animals. When I once gave a piece of chocolate to a small girl, she didn't know what to do with it. Most Russians welcomed us as liberators. Once, a Russian city was first lost and then recaptured by us; we were received as saviours after the Russian horrors that had taken place in the mean time."

-Then-, I said, -it is as carriers of culture that you broke into Russia, and not as conquerors?-

"We must free the world of the terrors of the Reds. That is the aim of our Russian war."

A neutral visitor who by chance was in the camp, had entered not long ago, after politely having asked the American colonel's permission and mine, too. I now asked the German colonel whether I should also interpret the enslavement of the French population as a deed of culture. Here he smiled:

"Enslavement! Evidently, you, too, are a victim of the American propaganda."

-I have more immediate sources. Not long ago, a neutral Ambassador returning from Europe told me that on the Paris depot, in July of this year, he had seen German soldiers dragging some hundred French workers to a train bound for Germany, the hands of the Frenchmen being chained.-

The Junker seemed to enjoy my account; he laughed and said:  
"There are criminals everywhere. Probably that's what those were."

At this moment, the neutral listener started to speak: -I've had to work in France for several weeks, officially. The sights that I got were so frightening that I decided to fight against Germany in the American Army. Unfortunately, I was not accepted.-

As I had to constrain myself, I rested satisfied by this welcome interruption of the stranger, and turned the conversation upon the attitude of the German nobility.

-How was it possible-, I asked, -that you, descendent of an aristocratic family, could lend yourself to such a system, and to a man who would have remained powerless without the aid of your class?-

"It is we that were powerless without him!" he now vivaciously exclaimed; it was the first time he had said the truth. "The Fuehrer has given back to a people the self-reliance of a great nation."

-And you didn't notice that he introduced into warfare a completely new morality, or rather immorality, which your fathers did not know?-

"What is it you call immorality?"

-For instance a hospital-ship being bombarded.-

The colonel smiled: "By accident, of course! Such regrettable incidents do occur during war-time."

-Then, evidently, it was also by accident that your soldiers shot from above at the fleeing French women and children, or that they bombarded the town of Bath in the countryside of England so as to kill the three hundred children that had been brought there?-

"What town did you say? Bath?" he said, wrongly pronouncing the name. "Never heard of that."

-The whole world has heard of it. How do you account for the world's indignation at the Germans? The things they have entailed on foreign lands since so many years have not been forgotten. Don't you see that it is through a moral insurrection of the world, and not through your more numerous airplanes, that the war has been brought about, and with it, your defeat?-

The Junker smiled again: "Defeat? For the present I don't even see the famed invasion. To have two hundred miles more or less in Russia makes almost no difference. And what, after all, is the

importance of small Sicily?"

-You have lost your ally. Fascism disappeared, and your party will soon follow it.-

"No. The case is quite different. Remember that we have lasted ten years as yet. Fascism was twenty years old!"

-So you figure-, I said, -that your Fuehrer's turn will come only in 1953? We think it is coming tomorrow. Do you really not see the resemblance of today's German situation with the one in the Fall of 1918? At that time, the generals betrayed the army; the Kaiser fled to Holland, General Ludendorff to Sweden, with a pair of yellow eye-glasses. This time, there will be a break between the generals and the Nazi leaders.-

"I have never heard of such a discrepancy" said the colonel.

-Then there won't be any revolts at the fronts?-

"Never!"

-And the German population approves of the bombardments and will endure like the English?-

"Much better and longer. I have just received a letter through the Red Cross, from the Ruhr-district; it is full of resolution and hope."

-Perhaps the letter is written in a code, and only you understand its meaning!-

"With us Germans everything is straight forward, without guile. It is the Anglo-Saxons that are of a different constitution."

-It's strange. The world believed that just the opposite is the case.-

"They are jealous of Germany. The English grudge us our life. To give a reason for their own conquest, 'they speak of God, but they mean cotton', as the poet says."

-You are right-, I said. -The Germans say cotton only. They have stopped saying God at all.-

"You are mistaken" said the colonel. "In his speeches, the Fuehrer often confides in God."

-The question is whether God confides in the Fuehrer.- Could I now talk to Oberst Xxx?-

"I would advise you not to. He would not give you any information! Evidently, the Prussian Junker did not want the impression of his great personality on me to be rubbed out by a more intelligent colleague. Perhaps they even hated one another; for the Junker was no regular Nazi.

I turned to the American colonel, who nodded. As the Junker left and I wanted to let him through the door with a stiff salutation, he suddenly seized my hand by surprise and went off. I was annoyed at having let him do it, but then I thought of a letter of Bismarck's to his wife, in which he wrote about a personal friend: 'The Prince of Augustenburg cheated a hand-clasp off me. But next time I'll have him return it to me.'

. . .

Instantly afterwards, a tall, slim man of the middle forties stepped out of the darkness. He was wearing a wide-open khaki shirt and a pair of short khaki trousers, if one wasn't to count the dense dark hair on his arms and legs. Aside of this intended outer roughness he stepped up with great inner firmness and frigidity; neither did he laugh nor make pauses, as the Junker had done. In his deep voice he gave plain answers. His diction and the intonation of his voice reminded of Goebbels; not his stature, though. With his lean figure, he could well have yealded one of the screen stars of the somber sort favoured by women.

This other German colonel (or Nazi Oberst), captured in ~~Wanis~~ from under Rommel, came from a middle-class family of Western Germany.

He had belonged to the Nazi party since its beginnings, and having been a personal friend of Hitler's, he had already become colonel at a very young age. Unlike in the case of the Junker, there could be no doubt that this Nazi colonel had taken part in the fight himself. He had nothing in common with Hitler: neither the hysterical voice nor the long, excited speeches, nor the ridiculous face; he only had the masterly skill in coldly lying to your face, and in declaring things as being not only genuine, but holy, of which he knew the falseness exactly.

His bow was still smaller than the Junker's had been. I managed to place him into the beam of the lamp; there he sat all along, motionless, his long legs wide apart and the feet firmly set, as is done by people who want to hold fast to the ground. He was ~~resting~~ his arms on his thighs, letting them hang down between the legs, so as to look relaxed. His whole attitude was to show me that the Nazis are gentlemen even when talking to people they hate.

In none of his answers did he get communicative, or slightly agreeable as the Junker had been. He also did not intersperse any courtesies; not for one second did he lose sight of me. He made use of that aggressive stare that all of them have learnt, and he did not seem used to anyone who stood it without looking away.

Now, the shouting and laughing of some hundred men's-voices entered through the opened door. Over at the camp, so was I told later, the prisoners were drinking and singing, and were having a good time.

-Your men are celebrating, it seems?-, I asked. -They don't quite seem to know how the war is coming along.-

"Evidently you want to convince me that we are off badly", the Nazi replied indifferently, "just because we have retrograded in Russia?"

-I don't want to convince you of anything, Herr Oberst, as you say that you believe in a dogma that has lasted ten years.-

"It's even twenty years ago" the Nazi calmly said, "that I first lived to see the Fuehrer". This expression that they all of them use, is supposed to depict the impression of a supernatural vision.- In ready-for-print sentences, the Nazi went on: "At that time, I saw my country betrodde and dishonored by the barbaric victors, and at the same time overpopulated with strangers". He avoided the word Jews. "Therefore I decided to help in the work of its re-erection. The German honor and the German culture were at stake."

-Again I hear the world culture-, I said. -I wonder why no artist or scientist has enriched the world as a result of the rule of your party.-

"What the world says is all the same to us" replied the Nazi, in a cold voice. "German culture is too good to be exported."

-Then all you grant the oppressed nations are bombs-, I said, -and you keep the high culture for yourselves. What a pity in the case of the French, for instance, who, you know, have waited for it such a long time: the poor French, that half-Negro people, as your Fuehrer called them.-

"Yours is the mockery of an emigrant" said the Nazi. "Meanwhile the German people stands united behind its Fuehrer."

-I heard that ten years ago- Thence, when the time of reckoning comes we must conclude that the entire German people has participation in the guilt. In the meantime, though, things seem to have changed. Now the people probably realize that their Fuehrer is going to draw their country into the precipice a second time. Their

ascent to liberty, just resumed, was retarded by almost fifty years through your party.-

"That is your opinion. We believe the opposite is true."

-Then you still believe in the German victory?-

Here the Nazi did not give a direct answer. Evidently with a definite intention, he said: "Who has fought in Russia as I did, knows that no German soldier would ever make peace with the Russians."

The similarity of this answer to the Junker's indicated their official policy, that still wants to disunite Russia and its Western Allies.

-That is strange-, I said, -as the Germans and the Russians have been friends centuries along. And now, suddenly, you hate the Russians?-

"We hate neither the Russians nor the French. Generally speaking hate does not at all fit the Germans."

-How interesting!-, I said in a low voice.

"The Russians", the Nazi colonel went on, "really are still a wild gang; the French are a decadent race. We have to check both of them. Once, when we had to evacuate a Russian town, we killed all our wounded, so that they should not fall into the hands of such a beastly enemy."

-For the same reason-, I said, -many Jews have killed themselves rather than falling into the hands of the Nazis.-

At this point, our glances met and remained firmly entrenched. But neither of us jumped to his feet. Then, we simultaneously released our stare. For a while, I paused in my questioning, looked around, and saw the eyes of the neutral wandering back and forth from me to the colonel, with a spectator's enjoyment.

-It was interesting for me to hear that the Germans do not hate. We do, you know.-

"I didn't say that", said the colonel. "We do hate the English."

-And why them in particular?-

"They've begun the war."

-No fooling!-, I loudly exclaimed, and had to suppress a laugh. -And here we have the whole world believing it was the Germans who by their free will invaded Poland on the first of September!-

-We had to intervene to save our fellow-Germans in Poland, who since twenty years had been subjugated by the Poles, on the order of England. Who was it that first declared the war,- we or the English?"

-The Germans have introduced the simplified procedure-, I said. -They simply begin to shoot.-

"The Americans too", said the Nazi, "have waged war against us, years before their declaration of war. Haven't they? As early as '39 they supplied the English with everything."

-You are mistaken-, I replied. -It was already in '37 that the President fought against Germany with normal weapons. At that time, in a speech, he coined the magnificent expression, 'people like that should be placed in quarantine!'. Without America's entry into the war, I should probably sit behind barbed wire and there perhaps be treated by you, Herr Oberst, like those that share views with me.-

"And how are those treated, according to your information?"

-With the whip, Herr Oberst.-

"The same old lies. As if we were barbarians. Who are the barbarians? Tell me!" he asked, taking on a louder tone. "We have nothing against a chivalrous war. But the English shoot at poor women and children and invalides."

At these words the four of us simultaneously lifted their heads:

the two Americans, the Neutral, and I. For a few moments, we were as if paralyzed by the impudence with which the Nazi presented such a sentence,- in the appearance of complete sincerity.

-That really is news. Up to this day the world thought it was the Germans who started to bombard Poles and Englishmen at the beginning of the war.-

"Only after the English had begun<sup>doing</sup> it" the Nazi replied, quite interpidly.

-Hear, hear!- I said, beding forward. -And what were the names of the cities that the English bombarded at that time?-

Without trying to answer, the Nazi said for the third time: "The Fuehrer had warned the English four or five times that if they would not stop bombarding, he would be forced to make requitals over England."

That sheered me up somewhat, and I said: -So after the English have started off the war, first, and then the bombardments, now they are superior in both aspects. But whilst the English have held out magnificently, we think that the nerves of the Germans will soon collapse. This war, I think, will be decided by higher morale.-

"Our morale is the higher one" said the colonel, calmly and firmly. "You have proof of it in our tolerance, for instance."

-Oh,- I said, -you know this word?-

"You have an example of it in our willingness to talk to you, personally. I know some of your books, from former times."

-They seem to have had little influence on you, though. But, speaking of your being tolerant: shall I perhaps see a sign of it in the fact that, not long ago, a swastika was cut by a knife into the back of one of your fellow-prisoners in this camp, who had spoken against the Nazis?-

"I know nothing about that".

the Nazis?-

"I know nothing about that."

-Now if you think that you German conquerors have the higher morale, why do all conquered nations hate you?-

"Because they grudge us our right to love. But ask the Austrians! They welcomed us with flowers. That's what we call a war of flowers."

-Both the German and the Austrian Republic were in favor of uniting, from the first day of their existence.-

"Then you are not against the Anschluss of Austria to Germany?"

-We are even determined to maintain it after the defeat of Germany. It is the only deed of Hitler that will outlive him, after his downfall.-

The Nazi let that pass, seemed unshaken, and in return asked: "But why, then, didn't your Republic carry out the Anschluss?"

-Because we don't make use of violence and invasions. Your method, as you see, doesn't lead anywhere.-

"It leads to Prague, Warsaw, Amsterdam, Paris", he said the colonel

-All of which you are going to lose again tomorrow-, I replied. -Nothing will remain of your conquests. Of the whole cruel business, there will remain nothing but twenty million corpses and the world's hate against Germany. It seems that you do not believe that since a few months the German people is beginning to understand that it took an adventurer to be a prophet and that, therefore, it has been miserably cheated?-

"On the contrary:" the colonel said, "we all believe in our Fuehrer."

-Perhaps you are one of the enthusiasts-, I said. I have always designated the Hitler-Youth as idealists. Only unfortunately they have been educated towards a destructive ideal.-

"Probably" he said, "our ideal comes a century too early."

-On the contrary-, I said, -it comes a thousand years too late. What you preach is nothing but of the Middle Ages.-

He cleverly evaded, returned to the previous subject, and said: "If you have written the word 'idealists' referring to the Hitler-Youth, you are a white raven (that is: a strange bird)".

-I am against raven anyway-, I said. -The Hitler-Youth, though, can face death, in quite as raptured a way as those Jews that spoke their old Hebrew prayer out into the air before being shot by your men. The only difference is that these respected their God of Wisdom and Justice, whilst you idolize Power and kill and pillage in her name.-

v "We have never sought for power" said the Nazi, brazen-faced.

-Why do you deny that, too, now? To admit it would become you better.-

"We only wanted to secure the right of existence of the enslaved German people. My men have never killed a civilian or pillaged a house. The French woman I lived with in Paris was quite astonished at our attitude and admitted she had imagined the Germans to be quite different".

-I cannot judge what you have done personally; but thousands of Frenchmen have attested the opposite of what you say, and all pictures and other accounts show it. The world will pronounce all of you guilty and will avenge itself. And that, soon.-

"We will answer for our actions" said the Nazi, "but not before we will have retreated from every inch of our country".

-On the contrary-, I said. 'Not one foreign soldier will stand on German soil when the collapse will take place. Exactly like in 1918. At that time, too, half the continent was in the claws of the Germans and their allies, and still they suddenly released their hold.-

"At that time, our victorious armies received a stab in the back".

-We know all about that legend of the Jews and the socialists.

Do you happen to know who was the only man to demand the fatherland's defense on November fifth, in 1918? It was the Jew Rathenau, whom your friends killed.- As the Nazi retained his brazen silence, I again asked: -Who, then, is going to replace the Jews and socialists tomorrow, to officiate as scape-goats?-

"This time our leaders and the people are going to fight to the last gasp. We will fight, win, or die." Here he paused, and then asked in a changed voice: "But surely you won't approve of that?"

-On the contrary-, I now exclaimed. If your leaders should fall fighting against the enemy, then I am willing to change my opinion about the Nazis.-

At this moment, the Nazi changed his position and his voice, but without getting up, and abruptly said: "I regret this conversation."

I at once got up to have him led back. But he did not move, he tensely looked at a radio set which all along had stood to my right, on the floor, in the direct light of the lamp. He said: "I see that you have had our conversation recorded on the radio."

Now the four of us laughed. The American colonel, whom we translated it to, showed how the set worked. He probably had it standing there permanently. By the turn of a button, he produced an evening-music. Then he said: -You should really know me well enough to know that I don't do such things.-

The Nazi, embarrassed the first time, apologized to the colonel with a few English words. I stepped up and said to the colonel in English: Herr Oberst did not believe you capable of doing such a thing, but evidently he thought of me.- This I repeated in German to the German's face.

The Nazi who had quickly collected himself, didn't think of denying what I had said; he replied: "In political combat, all expedients are permitted."

-That is, according to your system, Herr Oberst-, I said. -We believe in the opposite. It is you who have introduced those recordings and instruments into the fight. You cannot imagine why we despise such means. You scent betrayal everywhere, because you yourselves have been brought up with it.-

"Not at all" he explained, but could not carry on. This Nazi's error was so symbolical, it all at once disclosed so much of his world, that it put me into the best of moods. -It seems-, I now said, -that in the art of deception you are a beginner, and that you take me for one, beside. During one whole hour the radio set stands in front of you, and you don't see it. And then you think me naive enough to put it right in front of your nose ■ if I have the intention of recording our conversation with it. Not even we democrats are as dumb as that!-

As we had gotten up at this incident, and as I personally could not have wished for a better ending, I stopped questioning. I had made up my mind not to shake hands with the Nazi, and therefore I backed away from the door. The Nazi's foolishness in the last minute had excited him so much that, without greeting anyone in the room, he stepped through the door and into the darkness. From there, an armed guard led him back behind barbed wire.

*next trip file*

BRITISH EMBASSY,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

September 18th, 1943.

                     & PERSONAL

Dear Mr. President,

I have just received a telegram from  
Mr. Eden containing the text of our agenda for the  
Foreign Ministers' Conference. In a further  
telegram Mr. Eden explains the reasons for the  
changes made from the earlier text, most of which  
are designed to take account of the comments made  
by the State Department. Mr. Eden instructs me  
to communicate to you, and also to the State  
Department, the text of the agenda and his  
explanations. I add a copy of the earlier text  
for ease of reference.

Believe me,

Dear Mr. President,

Respectfully and sincerely yours,

*R. I. Campbell*

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Gov + Tel. 1-12-72  
By RT Date MAY 21 1973  
The Honourable

Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
President of the United States of America,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Text of telegram from Mr. Eden to His Majesty's Ambassador  
at Moscow dated September 18th, 1943.

~~SECRET~~.

My immediately preceding telegram.

Following is text of our agenda. Begins.

1. Exchange of views of the situation in Italy and the Balkans.
2. The setting up of machinery for dealing with questions requiring current and close collaboration, with particular reference to functions and scope of politico-military commission in Algiers.
3. Question of joint responsibility for Europe as against separate areas of responsibility.
4. Relations between the U.S.S.R. and Poland and policy in relation to Poland generally.
5. Question of agreement between major and minor allies on post war questions.
6. Agreement in principle in regard to treatment of Germany and other enemy countries in Europe.
  - (a) During the Armistice period, e.g. under any Commission, etc.
  - (b) At peace settlement, e.g. frontiers, military occupation, disarmament, reparations, decentralization of the German Government, etc.
7. Common policy towards Turkey.
8. Common policy towards resistance movement in Yugoslavia.
9. Peace feelers from enemy states.
10. Attitude towards the French Committee with special reference to its position in Metropolitan France and establishment of eventual French Government.
11. Future of Poland, Greece, Danubian and Balkan countries,

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including the question of eventual French Government.

12. Common policy in Persia.

13. Post war economic collaboration with the U.S.S.R.

Ends.

Text of telegram received from Mr. Eden dated September 18th.

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You should explain to the State Department that we naturally take account of their comments and that for reasons set out below the following further changes have been made in our agenda:

- (a) The cross headings (A) (B) and (C) are confusing and have been omitted.
- (b) Item 2. This combines B(1) and B(10) of our original agenda.
- (c) Item 5. This is intended to cover the question of proposed Soviet-Czech treaty and any similar situations that may arise in the future.
- (d) Item 9. This item has been inserted to cover all peace feelers including those from Finland.
- (e) Item 13 is new but clearly unobjectionable.

2. Following items have been omitted from our original agenda:

- (a) B(2). We agree with American comment, and policy towards liberated territories is already being dealt with apart from the Conference.
- (b) B(8). We do not wish to raise this point ourselves but Stalin raised it in 1941 and we must therefore be prepared to deal with it again.
- (c) C(1). This has already been settled.
- (d) C(4). This item appears in the American agenda and we do not propose to duplicate it though we shall probably wish to raise the question of procedure for handling of post war civil aviation under item 3(d) of the American agenda.

3. I should be glad to know whether the Americans

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intend to circulate any papers. We should be particularly interested to know what they have in mind as regards item 3(c) and 3(d) of their agenda in order to consider what preparations we should make for discussions on these items. I am contemplating the possibility of circulating brief memos accenting particular points which we consider require scrutiny, in those of our items where this course would appear useful and possibly draft proposals in the case of a few of them.

A G E N D A.

- A. Military.....Italian and Balkan situations.
- B. Political issues which may arise as the war progresses.
1. Functions, scope and location of proposed Three-Power Commission.
  2. Common policy to prevent Allied territories evacuated by Germans from falling into chaos in the absence of liberating Allied armies.
  3. Common policy towards resistance movements in Yugoslavia.
  4. Resumption of relations with Poland, constitution of union of Polish patriots, and general policy in relation to Poland.
  5. Attitude towards French committee with special reference to its position in metropolitan France, and establishment of eventual French Government.
  6. Policy towards Turkey and question of our modifying our relations with her.
  7. Question of getting Finland out of the war.
  8. Post-war control of the entrance to the Baltic (Stalin raised this in 1941).
  9. Policy towards Persia.
  10. Setting up of special machinery for dealing promptly and jointly with questions requiring current and close collaboration.
- C. Political problems after the termination of hostilities.
1. Proposed Four-Power declaration.
  2. Question of joint responsibility for Europe as against separate spheres of influence.
  3. Treatment of Germany and other enemy countries
    - (a) During the armistice period, e.g. control commission, etc.
    - (b) At the peace settlement, e.g. frontiers, military occupation, reparations, decentralization of German government, etc.
  4. Possibility of Soviet co-operation in international bodies dealing with such

matters/

matters as finance, transport, aviation,  
etc., and I.L.O.

5. Economic matters insofar as this is possible  
as a result of present talks in Washington  
about Article VII.
6. Future of Poland and Danubian and Balkan  
countries, including question of confederation.

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*P.S.F.  
Not in file*

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No. 612.  
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His Majesty's Embassy enclose the text of an amendment which His Majesty's Government desire to offer to the draft 4-Power Declaration. The proposed amendment has been approved by the Cabinet in London after consultation with the Governments of His Majesty's Dominions. Unless the United States Government sees any objection, His Majesty's Government propose to communicate it to the Soviet Government.

British Embassy,

Washington, D.C.

September 28th, 1943.

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED by British  
Govt., State Dept. tel. JAN 12 1972  
By R. H. Parks Date MAY 21 1973

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The Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Russian Union and China, united in their determination, in accordance with the declaration by the United Nations of January 1st, 1942 and subsequent declarations to continue hostilities against those Axis powers with which they respectively are at war until such powers have laid down their arms on the basis of unconditional surrender, conscious of their responsibilities to secure liberation of themselves and the people allied with them from the menace of aggression; recognizing the necessity of ensuring a rapid and orderly transition from war to peace and of establishing and maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments, jointly declare

1. That their united action pledged for the prosecution of the war will be continued for the organization and maintenance of peace and security.
2. That those of them at war with a common enemy will act together in all matters relating to the surrender and disarmament of that enemy, and to any occupation of enemy territory and liberation of other States held by that enemy.
3. That they will take all measures deemed by them to be necessary to provide against any violation of the terms imposed upon the enemy.
4. That they recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization based on the principle of sovereign equality of all nations for the maintenance of international peace and security in which all peace-loving nations, great and small, may play their parts.
5. That for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending the re-establishment of law and order and the inauguration of a general system of security they will consult one another and as occasion requires with other members of the United Nations, with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations.
6. That in connection with the foregoing purpose they will establish a technical commission to advise them on the military problems involved including the

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Observations by the Foreign Office on the British Amendments to the draft Four-Power Declaration.

Paragraph 2: The re-draft is designed to meet the susceptibilities of the European Allies and scarcely alters the sense. The words "of the territory" should be inserted after the word "liberation".

Paragraph 3: The original American phrase "the requirements imposed upon their present enemies" might be held to mean that we proposed at some early date to make friends with the latter. "Requirements" is rather vague and "terms" seems to meet the case better.

Paragraph 4: There was at first a tendency here to think the words "sovereign equality" might unduly encourage the pretensions of the smaller Powers, but the Dominions were, broadly speaking, in favour of keeping them in. We should like to temper the doctrine of sovereign equality to the extent of adding the words "in which all the peace-loving nations, great and small, may play their part". This would avoid the criticism that we were intending at some early stage to admit the ex-enemy powers into our new system on a footing of equality. It also implies that some nations may have a greater part to play than others.

Paragraph 5: The American draft is open to the interpretation of inaugurating a sort of four-power dictatorship. This point was especially stressed by the Dominion Governments. Our formula is designed to suggest a middle way. It does not exclude consultation between the four powers only, but is a little weaker than the American in form in that it says "with a view to joint action" instead of "act jointly". We believe this is the minimum which would be willingly accepted by the smaller powers.

Paragraph 7: Remains as in American draft but its implication ought to be examined at the Conference. Should we and the Americans, for instance, be barred from operating in France or Holland except after consultation with the Russians, and would the Russians be unable to advance into Poland or Roumania except after consultation with us?

Paragraph 8: Our addition is designed to make the declaration more palatable to the smaller powers.

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EMBASSY OF THE  
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

**REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED**

October 2, 1943

*PSF.  
Trip File*

My dear Mr. Secretary:

Referring to the letter of Mr. Hamilton, Chargé  
d'Affaires of the United States of America in the  
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, dated September 20  
and addressed to Mr. V. M. Molotov, People's Commissar  
for Foreign Affairs, regarding the proposed by the  
Government of the United States agenda for the three  
partite conference, I have the honor to inform you  
that the Soviet Government has instructed me to bring  
to the knowledge of the United States Government the  
following:

The Soviet Government has acquainted itself with  
the suggested by the United States Government agenda  
for the conference of representatives of the Governments

of

The Honorable

Adolf A. Berle, Jr.

Acting Secretary of State

Department of State

Washington, D. C.

of the United States of America, Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government having expressed, in due time, its consent to the arrangement of the conference, then and there advanced its point of view that for the success of this conference it was desirable to receive, from the Governments of Great Britain and the United States of America, a list of questions to be considered at the conference as well as suggestions on those questions,

This proposal of the Soviet Government did not meet with any objections, however, up to the present time, the United States Government, on its part, did not present any proposals with the exception of that of the declaration of four nations.

On its part the Soviet Government proposes the following:

1. To consider measures of shortening the war against Germany and her allies in Europe.

In view are such urgent measures to be carried out yet in 1943 by the Governments of Great Britain and the United

United States, which will secure the invasion of Western Europe, across the English Channel, by the Anglo-American armies and which, with simultaneous mighty blows of the Soviet troops upon the main forces of the German Army at the Soviet-German front, are to undermine fundamentally the military-strategic position of Germany and lead to a decisive shortening of war.

2. The Soviet Government has no objections against the discussions of questions, proposed by the United States Government concerning European countries. The Soviet Government considers it, however, desirable that the Government of the United States of America transmit in advance its proposals on the questions presented for concordance of those proposals among the three Governments.

Besides, the Soviet Government draws the attention of the United States Government to the fact that this conference, as it was agreed upon, must be a conference of representatives of three countries - the United States of America, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, that is the reason why the Soviet Government does not see any ground

to include into the agenda, point 1, containing the draft of the Joint Declaration of Four Nations.

3. The Soviet Government considers that the conference of the representatives of the three Governments is to be of a preliminary character and has to work out the proposals for consecutive decisions of the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Accept, dear Mr. Secretary, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

Sincerely yours,

A. GROMYKO

Andrej A. Gromyko  
Charge d'Affaires