

A SYNCHRONY
OF
THE ATLANTIC CONFERENCE
AUGUST 1941

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PREFACE

The first “summit” meeting between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill at Argentia on Placentia Bay, Newfoundland, was shrouded in a secrecy far greater than was to occur with the later meetings. As a result, official pronouncements and newspaper reporting were often at variance with the events as they were actually taking place. The synchrony sets out in tabular form the chronology of what was happening with respect to the several parties, juxtaposed with what was being reported.

The synchrony is preceded by an introductory section which contains material that provides a background frame of reference for the conference. It also contains some discussion of the events that were occurring then.

Because the Joint Declaration - what later came to be known as the Atlantic Charter - was one of the most important results of the conference, the appendix contains the several draft versions as well as the final text.

When the President took a cruise on the *USS Potomac*, it was normal for the *USS Potomac* to be followed by another ship which would carry staff, reporters, etc. together with escorting destroyers. In the case of the Atlantic Conference the following ship was the *USS Calypso*. In following the movement of the *USS Potomac* in the synchrony it should be noted that such movement also includes the movement of the *USS Calypso* and the escort, although no specific mention is made of them.

Also, because the heavy cruiser *USS Augusta* did not have sufficient accommodations for all of the American participants, the other participants were placed on the *USS Tuscaloosa*, a heavy cruiser like the *USS Augusta*. Again, in following the movement of the *USS Augusta* in the synchrony it should be noted that such movement also includes the movement of the *USS Tuscaloosa* (and an accompanying destroyer escort), although no specific mention is made of them either.

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Introduction

While there had been communication and correspondence between President Roosevelt and Winston Churchill ever since Churchill had become Prime Minister in May 1940, the conference at Argentia on Placentia Bay, Newfoundland, in August 1941 was their first meeting as leaders of their respective countries. After the fall of France in June 1940, Great Britain had little to rely on for defense against the expected invasion from Germany, other than the oratory of Churchill and the courage and high morale of the people.

There was only one possible source of material aid - the United States. Desperate as was the position of Great Britain, the United States was barely recovering from the Great Depression and a large number of Americans still felt that the United States should, and could, be isolated from European affairs. President Roosevelt, using his great political skills, knew how far and how fast the country could be moved. By the end of 1940 several significant steps had been taken - Sept. 3: 50 old US destroyers are exchanged for the right to build air and naval bases on British territories; Oct. 2: the military draft begins; Dec. 29: President Roosevelt gives his "Arsenal of Democracy" speech. A week later, on Jan. 6, 1941 in a speech to Congress - the Four Freedoms Speech - he formally proposed the Lend Lease program.

It was virtually inevitable that these two men would want to meet in person. Each had a large ego. Each was supremely self - confident in his negotiating skills, sure that he could bring someone around to his own point of view by his powers of persuasion. Of course with two such strong personalities, it was possible that such a meeting could be a total disaster. To that end, President Roosevelt would use Harry Hopkins, who had been appointed Lend Lease Administrator, as his personal envoy to Churchill - and later, to Stalin - to get a first hand report on attitudes and conditions.

Initially it seems that President Roosevelt thought in terms of an informal, intimate meeting which could be arranged quickly, with little more than the two of them participating - perhaps in the Bahamas on the *USS Potomac*. Indeed, some historians feel that his March 1941 cruise - the one which ended with his speech from the *USS Potomac* at Fort Lauderdale - was originally conceived with the possibility of just such a meeting in mind. On the other hand, Prime Minister Churchill was thinking in terms of a conference with senior diplomatic and military personnel participating and with adequate time for staff preparation of position papers. Considerations of logistics eliminated an early meeting and considerations of security eliminated the Caribbean.

Also, given the nature of the world situation, the meeting would be one in which the British would be coming as supplicants, with the Americans as host. So, the site had to be one with feasibility of access for both sides, both in terms of security and in terms of geography, and one in which an American presence would dominate.

The choice of Argentia thus becomes natural. As you go up the Eastern coast of North America, from Maine past New Brunswick and Nova Scotia to Newfoundland, it arcs out and over towards England. The Americans could get to Newfoundland essentially by following the coast; that is, they would not have to venture far out into the Atlantic Ocean where German submarines cruised. The British, with a major naval base at Scapa Flow in the Orkney Islands just off the northernmost coast of Scotland, could also get to Argentia with a relatively short, safe journey. If the meeting were planned and held in secret, security would be that much better.

Additionally, Argentia was one of those British territorial locations where the United States had acquired the right to build an American air and naval center in the destroyers for bases deal. Thus the British, when arriving in Argentia, would see American ships surrounded by American buildings and protected by American airplanes.

The need for secrecy has been noted. Concern for secrecy and security was so dominant for FDR that most of the American delegation was not made party to the fact that there was going to be a conference with the British until the very last moment - merely being told to report to a certain place at a certain time. As a result, the American delegation was not nearly as well prepared as was the British.

Churchill's aim was to get as much military aid and supplies as possible. In particular, the British wanted bombers. Scarred by the ghastly wastage of men in World War 1, they had convinced themselves that air power alone could virtually win the war. It was a position to which FDR was brought round, although the top U.S. military had a more realistic assessment of the ultimate need for forces on the ground.

The United States had a very difficult decision to make. On the one hand, England could not withstand a German onslaught without getting armaments and supplies from America. But the U.S. was just gearing up, and every gun, tank or bomber sent overseas meant a shortage for American troops. If England should not be able to withstand the Germans, vast quantities of materiel would fall into enemy hands and America would be that much less prepared. (The same question existed with respect to the Soviet Union. This was a major reason for sending Harry Hopkins to the Soviet Union to assess their resistance capabilities just before the Atlantic Conference.) There clearly was a risk, but President Roosevelt decided to take it.

The maximum wish for the British was that the United States would actually enter the war, but Churchill realized that this probably would be expecting too much given the overall mood of the American people. Moreover, it is generally felt that at this point in time President Roosevelt genuinely believed that a sufficiently well - endowed "Arsenal of Democracy" with armaments flowing to allies overseas could, and would, keep the U.S. out of war. What would have happened had Japan not bombed Pearl Harbor and Germany not declared war on the United States is now a matter for speculation only

A concern to both Britain and the United States was the aggressive Japanese posture in Asia. Britain wanted a very strong statement from the U.S. to the effect that America would counter any Japanese movement with force. Given the state of public opinion and the fact that the United States was negotiating with Japan to see if there was not some diplomatic solution, this was something that President Roosevelt would not want to do.

While there was no formal agenda for the meeting, President Roosevelt believed that it was essential that there be some statement giving a vision of the post - war world. There were, however, two major areas of disagreement between the United States and Great Britain. America had a position opposing colonialism, while Great Britain, of course, was an imperial power. Also, the United States wanted to see an end to the special trade agreements that existed within the British Commonwealth; that is, to see them replaced with a free trade mechanism.

The text of the Joint Declaration, as it was released to the press after the conference, reflects the discussions, agreements and resolutions of the several issues. As the conference progressed, various drafts using language proposed by one side or the other were worked over by FDR and Churchill. The texts of these several drafts, with comments, are in an appendix. The synchrony itself merely shows the points of time when the drafts were worked up or considered.

The term "Atlantic Charter" came to be used in referring to the Joint Declaration, although there never was a formal document, a "Charter", signed by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill. The subject came up at President Roosevelt's news conference on December 19, 1944. Excerpts from the report of that news conference from the New York Times are also in an appendix.

Beyond the significance of the words of the Joint Declaration itself is the fact that the Atlantic Conference marked the start of an extremely warm personal relationship between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill. The Conference also laid the foundation for the cooperation between the American and British air, sea and land forces that would be so important to the winning of the Second World War.

NY Times

USS Potomac

USS Augusta

Churchill/
HMS Prince of Wales

Sunday Aug.03

<p>Announces FDR's plans for "a week's vacation in New England waters." Emphasizes "rigid secrecy" governing Potomac's movements and that newspapermen will not be permitted to accompany the Potomac on an escort ship.</p>	<p>Potomac at New London Submarine Base. FDR boards about 8:30 P.M "to the squeal of a bosun's pipe and snap of the presidential ensign being run up the mast.". Then, "in the afterglow of sunset", down the Thames Channel to salt water; cruise along the coast to anchor at Harbor of Refuge, Point Judith, Rhode Island.</p>	<p>Augusta leaves anchor at College Point in New York City. Berths at Smithtown Cove.</p>	<p>Winston Churchill and entourage leave London at 12:30 P.M.; they board a special train headed North at 1:00 P.M. After lunch, the destination and purpose is explained to those not yet informed.</p>
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Notes and Comments: President had left White House in the late morning to board train to New London. "The train,...,reached New London at 8:15 P.M. It backed to within a hundred yards of Potomac's gangway." After a ten-minute ceremonial meeting with the base commandant and the Governor of Connecticut, F.D.R. boarded.

NY Times

USS Potomac

USS Augusta

Churchill/
HMS Prince of Wales

Monday Aug.04

<p>Reports on Aug. 3d sailing from New London. "On leaving shore the President severed all contact with the public until his return. ... Not even the crew knew where they were bound, it was reported." Notes that this was the first sea cruise since March.</p>	<p>Cruises to South Dartmouth Mass. "At 10:00 A.M. Roosevelt took the wheel of a Chris Craft speedboat and roared in to the dock of the local yacht club..." ;several members of Danish and Norwegian royal families - in - exile were waiting for a tour of the Potomac. After the tour the ship took a run over to Buzzard's Bay, where there was some "desultory angling, conversation and a light meal". It returned to South Dartmouth in late afternoon. She then sailed to Menemsha Bight, Vineyard Sound, arriving there in the evening.</p>	<p>Augusta moves north; late in the afternoon she reaches Vineyard Sound for rendezvous with Potomac. "The naval flotilla stood off Martha's Vineyard for some hours before Roosevelt's little fleet steamed into the sound."</p>	<p>Train reaches Thurso, the railhead on North coast of Scotland closest to Scapa Flow, at 9:30 A.M. Party crosses to Scapa Flow and boards Prince of Wales. Flotilla leaves Scapa Flow at 4:00 P.M.</p>
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Notes and Comments: The Department of State had requested that the President invite these personages aboard for a short tour.

There was no visiting this night between the two contingents anchored in Vineyard Sound.

The concurrent absences of FDR and Churchill were not being linked in London; in contrast, the German radio was saying that Churchill was on route to meet FDR.

NY Times

USS Potomac

USS Augusta

Churchill/
HMS Prince of Wales

Tuesday Aug.05

Simply notes that the President is on a sea voyage vacation	At 5:30 A.M. the Potomac pulls alongside Augusta's starboard side and transfer begins. At 6:17 A.M. F D R and staff transfers. The Potomac returns to Buzzard's Bay.	With the President and his staff on board, the Augusta heads East past Nantucket Shoals lightship. The squadron was about 280 miles out to sea by late morning.	En route - relaxation and preparation
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Notes and Comments: Although the President was now on board the Augusta, the Presidential flag remained on the USS Potomac.

NY Times

USS Potomac

Wednesday Aug.06

<p>First speculation about a meeting appears; the headline reads: MEETING OF CHURCHILL AND ROOSEVELT ON PRESIDENT'S CRUISE IS REPORTED." The subheadings tell the story:"Rumors in Capital; It is not denied that two leaders will meet or have met; Churchill is on a trip; news that he cannot attend debate astonishes Commons - but London is silent." Article says that it became known that Harry Hopkins had left London and was reported to be with Churchill.</p> <p>The article also quotes the dispatch from the Potomac: "After a night of restful sleep the President is continuing his cruise in northern waters to an undisclosed destination. He is ...enjoying the sea air from the fantail..."</p>	<p>Enters Cape Cod Canal in late afternoon.</p> <p>The well known deception intended to have people believe that the President was still on board the Potomac [by having a stand - in wear characteristic clothes, hold a cigarette at the characteristic forty - five degree angle and wave to people] occurred while the Potomac was in the Cape Cod Canal.</p>	<p><u>USS Augusta</u></p> <p>Proceeds onward at a steady 21 knots.</p> <p><u>Churchill/ HMS Prince of Wales</u></p> <p>En route</p>
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Notes and Comments: The Cape Cod Ship Canal, opened in 1914 and 17.4 miles long, shortened the water route from New York to Boston and enabled coastal shipping to go directly from Buzzard's Bay to Cape Cod Bay without going out into the Atlantic Ocean to get around Cape Cod.

NY Times

USS Potomac

USS Augusta

Churchill/
HMS Prince of Wales

Thursday Aug.07

<p>Reports that while rumors persist, the only communication from the Potomac is the "laconic" message: "Cruise ship proceeding slowly along coast with party fishing from stern. Weather fair, sea smooth. Potomac sailors responding to New England air after Washington summer."</p>		<p>Approaches coast of Newfoundland in early morning. At 9:24 drops anchor in Berth No.2, Ship Harbor, Placentia Bay. During the forenoon of the initial day at Argentia the President engages in some fishing - first from the Augusta's forecastle and then from a boat. Later he abandons fishing to cruise along shore to inspect development of new base. Conferences with staff and military close the day.</p>	<p>En route - relaxation and preparation</p>
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Notes and Comments: The President had arranged for a "family reunion" : The ship on which FDR,Jr. was serving was ordered off convoy duty to patrol the harbor at Argentia; FDR,Jr. was then ordered to report to the cabin of the CinC,Atlantic Fleet - where, of course, he found his father. Elliott, who was in the Air Force and stationed at Gander Bay, was ordered to fly to the Naval Air Station at Argentia. Both served as Junior Aides to the President during the conference.

NY Times

USS Potomac

USS Augusta

Churchill/
HMS Prince of Wales

Friday Aug.08

<p>Prints UP dispatch with caption: "Roosevelt's Yacht Sets 'No Destination' As Rumors of Purpose of Trip Increase" Its first sentence reads: "Another message from the Potomac, the absence from Washington of four ranking naval and military leaders and the continued lack of official denials were thought by some here today to give color to reports that President Roosevelt might be meeting Prime Minister Churchill." The message from the Potomac read: "All members of party showing effects of sunning. Fishing luck good. No destination announced, President being kept in close touch international situation by Navy radio. All on board well and weather excellent."</p>	<p>Puts in to Shelburne, Nova Scotia for supplies.</p>	<p>Military staffs engage in planning sessions. In afternoon, break in sessions to allow for a tour of the area by plane. Welles and Harriman arrive by plane in late afternoon; board Augusta at 4:36 P.M. They are with the President for dinner and leave the ship at 7:50 P.M.</p>	<p>En route - relaxation and preparation</p>
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Notes and Comments: The English press was still accepting the stories about FDR's vacation cruise.

NY Times

USS Potomac

USS Augusta

Churchill/
HMS Prince of Wales

Saturday Aug.09

<p>Quotes dispatch from Potomac:” Cruise uneventful and weather continues fair. President spent most of day working on official papers. Potomac and Calypso moved close inshore today and received fuel, water and provisions.” Under a Rome dateline, Italian press attacks on the President are reported. One has the headline: ”Roosevelt Goes Fishing and Enjoys Himself While His Victims Suffer”</p>		<p>FDR waits patiently in wheelchair on quarter-deck. Churchill and delegation arrive at 11:00 A.M. After initial formalities, groups mingle. FDR invites Churchill to tour Augusta and to have a private lunch in his cabin. Churchill leaves at 2:30 P.M. First, and only, formal dinner this night. Churchill and party board at 7:00 P.M.; leave at 11:45.</p>	<p>Approaches Placentia Bay early in morning; berths at 9:00 A.M. Churchill leaves in Admiral’s barge to cross to Augusta.</p>
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Notes and Comments: This was their first summit meeting; they actually had been introduced to each other in 1918, when FDR, then Ass’t. Sec. of the Navy, was in London as part of an inspection trip. While FDR remembered this, Churchill did not; FDR never quite forgave him.

NY Times

USS Augusta

Churchill/
HMS Prince of Wales

Sunday Aug.10

<p>Quotes dispatch from Potomac:” Ship anchored in fog. Prospects for fishing appear very poor. Everything quiet on board. No especial news.” Mentions that there was neither confirmation nor denial of rumors of meeting with Churchill.</p>	<p>FDR boards destroyer McDougal to get to Prince of Wales for joint service.</p> <p>Late in the afternoon FDR and Sumner Welles meet to go over Welles’ suggested revisions to the British draft of the Joint Declaration. Welles prepares his second revised draft. Some of British delegation, including Churchill, come over, a little later; they leave at 7:00 P.M. Churchill and a few others come back for dinner with FDR; leave after midnight.</p>	<p>The President is received with full honors. He “walks” the entire length of the ship to get to his place of honor. Members of the two delegations, officers and crew intermingle for the joint service. Afterwards FDR has wheelchair tour and lunch. The first draft of a joint declaration is given to the President. FDR leaves at 3:00 P.M. Churchill explores the land in the afternoon.</p>
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Notes and Comments: The picture of the Americans and the British being together on the quarter - deck became one of the most enduring memories of the conference.

NY Times

USS Augusta

Churchill/
HMS Prince of Wales

Monday Aug.11

<p>No reports</p>	<p>At 11:00 A.M. Churchill and Cadogan meet with FDR, Hopkins and Welles in the Admiral’s cabin to discuss Welles’ second draft. The discussions last for 2 hours. It is agreed that Churchill will prepare another revision and that Welles will meet with Cadogan to go over it.</p> <p>Churchill boards at 7:00 P.M. for an intimate dinner with FDR; leaves at 11:30 P.M.</p>	<p>At 11:00 A.M. the military staffs of the U.S. and Britain meet jointly.</p> <p>After returning from the morning’s meeting, Churchill cables War Cabinet in London a full summary.</p>
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Notes and Comments: The morning FDR - Churchill meeting was probably the most important of the entire conference.

NY Times

USS Potomac

USS Augusta

Churchill/
HMS Prince of Wales

Tuesday Aug.12

<p>Under Washington, D.C. dateline, reports that a second day has passed without receiving a report from the Potomac; and that this has revived talks of a meeting. Article notes that many important decisions await President's return.</p>		<p>FDR and Churchill hold their last meeting at noon. The final text of the Joint Declaration and an appropriate preface are worked out. The meeting breaks up just before 3:00 P.M.; good byes and formalities on deck. FDR and full staff are on deck to watch Churchill's "little fleet" stand out of the harbor. Ship gets underway minutes after and sets course for Blue Hill Bay, Maine to rendezvous with the Potomac.</p>	<p>The return cable from the Cabinet containing a final suggestion arrives at 1:00 A.M.</p> <p>Gets underway at 4:47 P.M. accompanied by an American destroyer division which will accompany the British flotilla to a point 150 miles east of Iceland.</p>
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Notes and Comments: Churchill's cable was received at 2:00 A.M. London time; a Cabinet meeting was called at 3:00 A.M. and a reply sent by 4:00 A.M. During the conference there were more than 33 messages sent between the Prince of Wales and Whitehall; the speed of communication was astonishing to the Americans.

NY Times

USS Potomac

USS Augusta

Wednesday Aug.13

Article's headline reads: " Roosevelt 'Lost' on Yacht for Three Days; Rumor of Meeting With Churchill Persists"	In Yarmouth Harbor (Nova Scotia). Leaves Harbor in evening.	En route to Blue Hill Bay
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Notes and Comments: The President decided that the return journey would be at a leisurely pace since there had not been any premature discovery of the conference; furthermore he neither wanted to put Churchill in danger nor to detract from the impact of the joint declaration.

Thursday Aug.14

The lead article reports that the White House has announced that there will be a statement for the press at 10 A.M. At the same time (3:00 P.M. in London) Clement Atlee, the Deputy Prime Minister, will broadcast an "important" message. That President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill had actually met and decided on joint Anglo - American steps is the conclusion of official Washington, according to the article.	Returns to Yarmouth Harbor before dawn. Anchors in Blue Hill Bay to await Augusta. President crosses to Potomac which leaves shortly after 2:00 P.M.	Anchors in Blue Hill Bay about lunch time.
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Notes and Comments: The use of the term "Atlantic Charter" first occurred in an English paper, the Daily Herald. In its editorial of Aug. 14 it said: "This is the Atlantic Charter, a prelude to peace aims, not a complete statement."

NY Times

USS Potomac

Friday Aug.15

A banner headline: "ROOSEVELT, CHURCHILL DRAFT 8 PEACE AIMS, PLEDGING DESTRUCTION OF NAZI TYRANNY; JOINT STEPS BELIEVED CHARTED AT PARLEY" Paper includes text of the Official Statement and the photograph of the President and the Prime Minister at the joint services which had been held on the Prince of Wales; it reports generally favorable reaction.	Uneventful day with some fishing. Moves South and reaches Pulpit Harbor by nightfall.
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NY Times

USS Potomac

Churchill/
HMS Prince of Wales

Saturday Aug.16

<p>Article reports that President's cruise will end today when he comes ashore at Rockland, Maine; he will then take a train to Washington, arriving there sometime Sunday morning. Article notes that the dispatch from the Potomac listing those on board specifically did not include Churchill.</p>	<p>In Pulpit Harbor until early afternoon. Then 10 mile jaunt to Rockland. Sighted at the Rockland seawall at about 3:00 P.M. Press conference in Potomac's saloon at about 3:15 P.M. "Sitting in the white walled room, pleasantly decorated with soft green window drapes, the President sat with cigarette holder in hand, discussing impressions of the Churchill meeting but refusing, for what he said were obvious reasons, to give the dates of the conferences aboard the United States cruiser Augusta and the British battleship Prince of Wales, or the position of the ships when the conferences occurred." President piped off the Potomac at 4:00 P.M.</p>	<p>Anchors in Iceland early in the morning; leaves as night falls.</p>
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Notes and Comments: The listing of those on board the Potomac with the President was presumably prompted by a rumor that Churchill would accompany him back to the Capital.

Sunday Aug.17	New York Times Reports on Saturday's press conference.
Sunday Aug.18	Prince of Wales enters Scapa Flow early in the morning; Churchill and party transfer at once to mainland and special train back to London

Appendix A

Participants in the Atlantic Conference

BRITISH PARTICIPANTS:

Winston S. Churchill, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom
Sir Alexander Cadogan, Permanent Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
General Sir John Dill, Chief of the Imperial General Staff
Admiral Sir Dudley Pound, Admiral of the Fleet, First Sea Lord, and Chief of the Naval Staff
Air Vice - Marshall Sir Wilfred Freeman, Vice Chief of the Air Staff
Professor F.E.Lindemann (Lord Cherwell), Adviser to the Prime Minister
Mr. J.M.Martin, Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister
Commander C.R.Thompson, Personal Assistant to the Prime Minister
Brigadier Vivian Dykes, Director of Plans, War Office
Captain B.B. Schofield, Director of Trade Division, Admiralty
Colonel L.C.Hollis, Military Assistant, Secretary to War Cabinet, Ministry of Defense
Lieutenant Colonel E.I.C. Jacob, Military Assistant, Secretary to the War Cabinet, Ministry of Defense
Group Captain W.M.Yool, Staff Officer to the Chief of Air Staff
Captain A.R.S.Nutting, Military Assistant to the C.I.G.S.
Commander M.G.Goodenough, Plans Division, Admiralty
Paymaster - Captain R.V. Brockman, Secretary to the First Sea Lord
Captain R.P.Pim, Operations Division, Admiralty
Lieutenant Commander H.W.McMullan, Operations Division, Admiralty
Paymaster - Captain L.A. deC.Ritchie, Mr. H.V.Morton, Mr. Howard Spring, Representatives of the Ministry of Information
Inspector W.H.Thompson, Personal bodyguard of the Prime Minister

AMERICAN PARTICIPANTS:

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States
Harry Hopkins, Personal Advisor to the President
Sumner Welles, Under Secretary of State
Averell Harriman, Special Representative of the President and Lend - Lease "expediter" in England
General George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff of the General Staff
Admiral Harold R. Stark, Chief of Naval Operations
General H.H.Arnold, Chief of the Army Air Corps
Vice - Admiral Ernest J. King, Commander in Chief, Atlantic Fleet

AMERICAN PARTICIPANTS(continued):

Major General James H Burns, Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of War

Rear Admiral Richmond K. Turner, Director of War Plans, Department of the Navy

Commander Forrest Sherman, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations

Lieutenant Colonel Charles W. Bundy, Assistant Director of the War Plans Division, War Department

Captain John R. Beardall, Naval Aide to the President

Captain Elliot Roosevelt, Junior Military Aide to the President

Lieutenant (j.g.) Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., Junior Naval Aide to the President

Appendix B

The Note from King George VI

Although Winston Churchill was Prime Minister and thus head of the government, he was not Head of State as was President Roosevelt. Churchill's Head of State was the king, and Churchill had needed the king's permission to leave the country. Both President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill were always mindful of formal requirements. Since the President was both Head of State and host, it was appropriate for Churchill to be presented to the President by means of a letter of introduction from King George VI. When they first met on board the *USS Augusta*, Churchill presented his "credentials" - and with a slight bow.

President Roosevelt had met and spent several days with King George VI and Queen Elizabeth when they had visited the United States in June, 1939. This is reflected in the note from the king. It read as follows:

BUCKINGHAM PALACE

3d August, 1941

My dear President Roosevelt,

This is just a line to bring you my best wishes, and to say how glad I am that you have an opportunity at last of getting to know my Prime Minister. I am sure you will agree that he is a very remarkable man, and I have no doubt that your meeting will prove of great benefit to our two countries in the pursuit of our common goal.

Believe me

Yours very sincerely

George R.I.

The President
of the United States of America

Appendix C

The Drafts and Final Text of the Joint Declaration

For some little time before the Atlantic Conference, FDR had been urging Winston Churchill to issue a statement on war aims. As the President initiated various moves to aid Great Britain, the need for some such statement became more and more urgent, both to rally support for these initiatives and to overcome the still strong isolationist feeling in much of the country. FDR brought the subject up during the first day, suggesting to Churchill that there be a joint declaration. Cadogan, after meeting with Welles in the afternoon, prepared a draft for Churchill's review and consideration. This draft, as revised by Churchill, was given to President Roosevelt on Sunday after the joint service.

THE FIRST DRAFT:

It was a stratagem of President Roosevelt to have the British prepare the initial draft. FDR was afraid that a U.S. draft might be too challenging to the British by attacking colonialism and trade discrimination and that the conference could founder if started on this basis; he was also confident that he would be able to insert American points of view in what he expected would be a vague but inspiring Churchillian manifesto. It read as follows:

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together to resolve and concert the means of providing for the safety of their respective countries in face of Nazi and German aggression and of the dangers to all peoples arising therefrom, deem it right to make known certain principles which they both accept for guidance in the framing of their policy and on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, political or other;

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; they are only concerned to defend the rights of freedom of speech and of thought without which such choosing must be illusory;

Fourth, they will strive to bring about a fair and equitable distribution of essential produce not only within their territorial jurisdiction but between the nations of the world.

Fifth, they seek a peace which will not only cast down forever the Nazi tyranny but by effective international organization will afford to all States and peoples the means of dwelling in security within their own bounds and of traversing the seas and oceans without fear of lawless assault or need of getting burdensome armaments.

THE SECOND DRAFT:

Neither President Roosevelt nor Sumner Welles were particularly happy with the first draft, but they did feel it was a basis for further discussion. The President felt that the first three points although not very clear, were in line with his desire that there not be any secret territorial or political agreements. The fourth, they felt, contained a meaningless promise. It was the fifth point - with its reference to an "international organization" - that really bothered FDR. Although a Wilsonian Democrat and originally a supporter of the League of Nations, he had moved away from a belief in an international organization in later years. Moreover, he didn't want to offer the isolationists a target for attack. Welles was told to do a redraft.

The redraft kept the preamble with some minor modifications - such as "consider and resolve" rather than "concert and resolve", to remove something that sounded too much like joint action. Welles liked the first three points, and basically they too were kept. However the phrase "concerned to defend" conjured up an American guarantee which could only be met by entering the war.

The major changes were with the fourth and fifth points. Welles wanted a document which would commit FDR and Churchill to a strong position on free trade and anticolonialism. It read as follows:

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together to consider and to resolve the steps which their Governments should take in order to provide for the safety of the respective countries in face of the policies of the world-wide domination and of military conquest upon which the Hitlerite Government of Germany and the other dictatorships associated therewith have embarked, deem it right and proper to make known certain principles which they both accept for guidance in the framing of their respective policies and on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live;

Fourth, they will strive to promote mutually advantageous economic relations between them through the elimination of any discrimination in either the United States of America or in the United Kingdom against the importation of any product originating in the other country; and they will endeavor to further the enjoyment by all peoples of access on equal terms to the markets and to the raw materials which are needed for their economic prosperity;

Fifth, they hope to see established a peace, after the final destruction of Nazi tyranny, which by effective international organization, will afford to all states and peoples the means of dwelling in security within their own boundaries, and the means of assurance that human beings may live out their lives in freedom from fear. They likewise hope to see established by such a peace safety for all on the high seas and oceans, and the adoption of such

measures as will prevent the continuation of expenditures for armaments other than those which are purely defensive.

THE THIRD DRAFT:

When President Roosevelt reviewed Welles' draft late Sunday afternoon he felt that Churchill's preamble (which Welles had left pretty much intact) was too bellicose. He also pruned the first part of Welles' fourth point, removed the reference to an international organization, divided the fifth and added a new point. Welles was then told to prepare another redraft for the meeting scheduled for Monday morning. It read as follows:

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see self - government restored to those from whom it has been forcibly removed.

Fourth, they will endeavor to further the enjoyment by all peoples, without discrimination and on equal terms, to the markets and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

Fifth, they hope to see established a peace, after the destruction of the Nazi tyranny, which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in security within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance to all peoples that they may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

Sixth, they desire such a peace to establish for all safety on the high seas and oceans;

Seventh, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Because no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise further all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace - loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

THE FINAL TEXT OF THE JOINT DECLARATION AND THE OFFICIAL STATEMENT:

The late Monday morning meeting, using Welles' second redraft as its basis - with FDR, Churchill, Hopkins, Cadogan and Welles attending - was, perhaps, the most important session of the conference. Up to this point, each side had been working alone on the joint declaration and while much of the original draft was visible, serious differences existed between the American and British. These had now to be faced and negotiated.

FDR and Welles had been very careful, because of the American political situation, to use language which would make clear that there were no commitments, secret or otherwise. But it was just this absence that Churchill objected to; he needed something that would better the morale of his country. Finally Churchill suggested that in the official statement containing the joint declaration there be language which would state that there had been discussions which had only been concerned with questions relative to the furnishing of aid to countries resisting aggression under the terms of the Lend - Lease Act.

Churchill agreed to the first three points (with a minor change to the third). The fourth, on the question of free trade, provoked discussion. Churchill knew that FDR wanted to release something immediately after the close of the conference. So, in order to apply pressure, he said that he would have to submit FDR's proposed language to the Commonwealth countries for approval - which would take at least a week. Churchill then suggested the inclusion of a phrase like "with due regard for our present obligations". Churchill knew his man; FDR would later agree.

Churchill agreed to the fifth, sixth and seventh points (again, with some minor modifications). Although Churchill still wanted some reference to his "effective international organization", FDR felt that he couldn't accept it.

The meeting ended with the understanding that Churchill should redraft along the lines suggested, and that Cadogan and Welles would meet later that afternoon to go over Churchill's redraft. On returning to his quarters, Churchill cabled a full summary of the morning's meeting to London. In the cable he warned the Cabinet not to raise unnecessary difficulties. He also indicated his belief that FDR, for the sake of dispatch, would agree to language more suitable to the British viewpoint.

By the time of the afternoon meeting, FDR had agreed to the "due regard" language in point four. In point seven, Churchill had inserted the idea of a transition period before the creation of a world organization. This last draft was accepted by Welles and then by FDR.

In the return cable from London, the Cabinet had suggested a new article dealing with social security. At the final meeting of Churchill and FDR at noon on Tuesday, the proposal of the Cabinet was accepted; it was inserted after the fourth point. The text of the Official Statement now read as follows:

The President of the United States and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, have met at sea. They have been accompanied by officials of their two governments, including high ranking officers of their military, naval and air services. The whole problem of the supply of munitions of war, as provided by the Lend - Lease Act, for the armed forces of the United States and for those countries actively engaged in resisting armed aggression has been further examined.

Lord Beaverbrook, the Minister of Supply of the British Government, has joined in these conferences. He is going to proceed to Washington to discuss further details with appropriate officials of the United States Government. These conferences will also cover the supply problems of the Soviet Union.

The President and the Prime Minister have had several conferences. They have considered the dangers to world civilization arising from the policies of military domination by conquest upon which the Hitlerite government of Germany and other governments associated therewith have embarked, and have made clear the steps which their countries are respectively taking for their safety in the face of these dangers.

They have agreed upon the following joint declaration:

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

FIRST, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

SECOND, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

THIRD, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self - government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

FOURTH, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

FIFTH, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic adjustment and social security;

SIXTH, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established 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 men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

SEVENTH, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

EIGHTH, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace - loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

Appendix D

The December 19, 1944 News Conference

[The following are excerpts from a page 1 article which appeared Wednesday, December 20, 1944 in the New York Times. Dated Washington, Dec. 19, its headline reads:]

Atlantic Charter Unsigned But Intact, Roosevelt Says

President Roosevelt, tanned and looking much rested after a three - week vacation interspersed with work at "the little White House" in warm springs, Ga., returned to Washington today and held his first news conference since he left for the South on Nov. 27.

Under a barrage of questions that awaited his signal, Mr. Roosevelt disclosed ..., and said that there was not and never had been a formal, complete Atlantic Charter signed by him and Mr. Churchill. ...

The Atlantic charter entered the questioning with a query whether Mr. Churchill had ever signed it. Mr. Roosevelt replied that nobody ever signed it. Asked where it was now, he said there wasn't any copy of the Atlantic Charter, as far as he knew. With this he launched on the detailed story of the writing of the declaration of principles that was radioed to the British and American Governments from the warships Augusta and Prince of Wales on Aug. 14, 1941, after the Roosevelt - Churchill meeting at sea, for publication to the world.

The nearest thing one could get to the Atlantic Charter, Mr. Roosevelt said, would be the papers which were given to radio operators aboard the British and American warships with instructions to put their contents on the air. However, Mr. Roosevelt continued, there was no formal document. The joint agreement on principles, he said, was scribbled on pieces of paper, with many corrections, some in Mr. Churchill's writing, some in his own, some in the handwriting of Sir Alexander Cadogan, British Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and some written by Sumner Welles, then Under-Secretary of State. And that, he said, was the Atlantic Charter.

Asked about the signing of the obligations of the Atlantic Charter by all the United Nations, the President recalled that most signatures were affixed on Jan 1 and 2, 1942. ...

The original United Nations declaration, he said, was typewritten in the State Department and signed. ... [Some months later, when other countries were to sign] ...there was no copy of the declaration available. It was in a safe at the State Department, he related, and the keeper of the safe who had the combination was out in Bethesda, Md.

In the absence of a document to sign, the President said, he wrote out a document in longhand, as follows: "We hereby join in the document of the United Nations set up on Jan.1, last." ...

There were signatures, the President said, returning to the Atlantic Charter, but none to any form document. Anyhow, he said, when asked whether the spirit of the declaration was still there, all who had participated in its composition agreed on it. It was signed in substance, he suggested, explaining that it was a memorandum to the press and radio.

"Have you wished since that time that you had a formal document?" a correspondent asked. Mr. Roosevelt said that he had not, except for the benefit of sightseers in Washington who would want to see it.

The signatures of the President and Mr. Churchill that accompanied the announcement of what later came to be known as the Atlantic Charter, White House attachés asserted, were fixed to the whole announcement of the meeting at sea and the agreement on a joint declaration, not to that part of the news release that quoted the declaration itself. This, they said, was how the impression had arisen that Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill had signed the Atlantic Charter as a formal document. ...