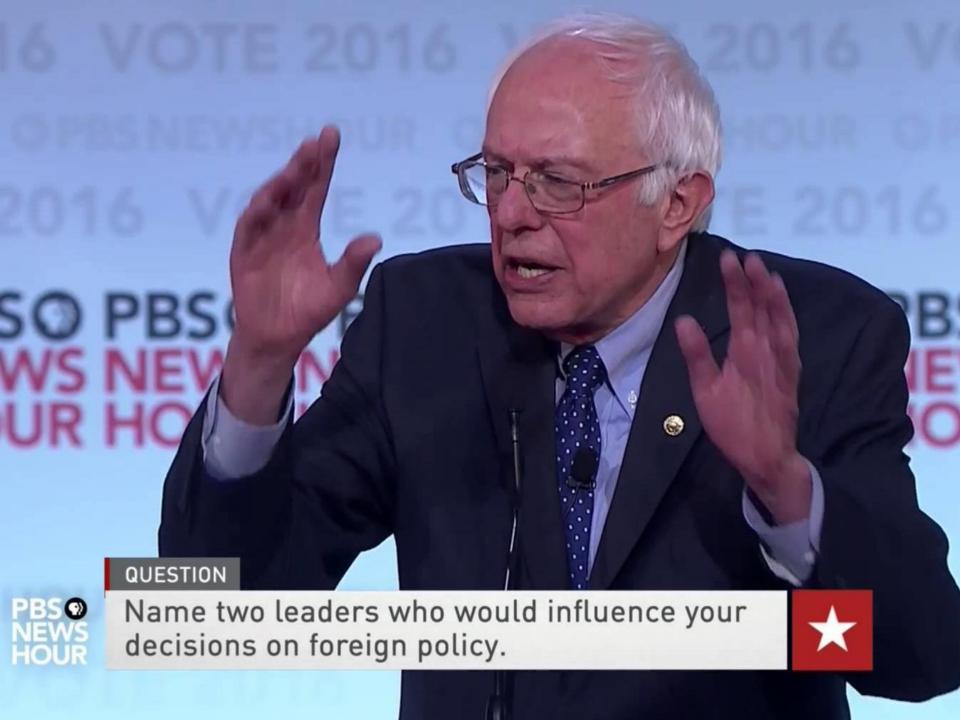
### Dr. John H. Maurer Mahan Professor of Strategy Naval War College



# the Bern



Nobody can deny that as a wartime leader, Churchill rallied the British people when they stood virtually alone against the Nazi juggernaut and rallied them and eventually won an extraordinary victory.

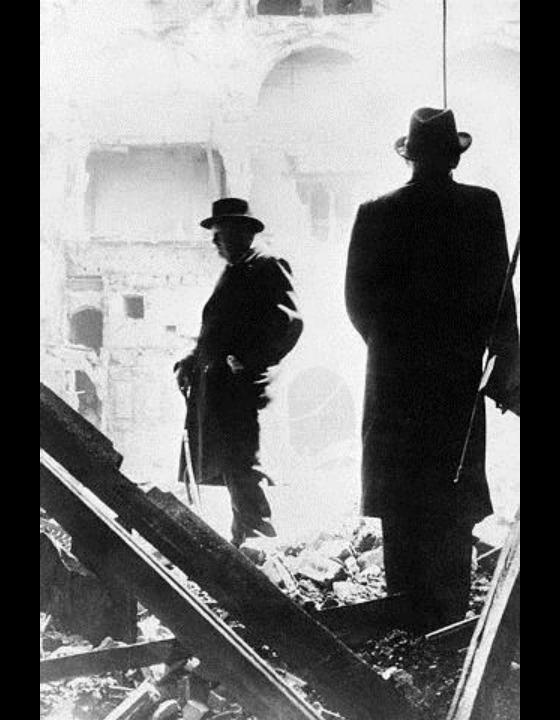
# Act One

### Averting Defeat



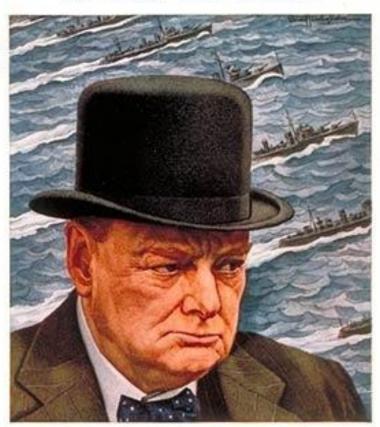






### TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE



MAN OF THE YEAR

Blood, tod, trans, owner-and would manage. (Transp. Kowa) Printed for the War Cabinet. May 1940.

MOST SECRET.

Copy No. 33

W.P. (40) 168.

(Also C.O.S. (40) 390.)

May 25, 1940.

### TO BE KEPT UNDER LOCK AND KEY.

It is requested that special care may be taken to ensure the scorecy of this document.

### WAR CABINET.

### BRITISH STRATEGY IN A CERTAIN EVENTUALITY.

### REPORT BY THE CHIEFS OF STAFF COMMITTEE.

THE object of this paper is to investigate the means whereby we could continue to fight single-handed if French resistance were to collapse completely, involving the loss of a substantial and the French contained in Appendix A of the Annex. Of these the two in are that:—

- (i) United States of America is willing to give us full economic and financial support, without which we do not think we could continue the war with any chance of success.
  - Italy has intervened against us.
- 9 In the
- (a) Could the United Kingdom noid out until assistance from the Empire and America made itself felt? and
- (b) Could we ultimately bring sufficient economic pressure to bear on Germany to ensure her defeat?

We summarise our conclusions and recommendations below. As regards the latter there are a large number of measures which we consider should be carried out at once irrespective of whether a French collapse is or is not likely.

We attach our detailed appreciation as an Annex.

### CONCLUSIONS.

There are three ways in which Germany might break down the resistance
of the United Kingdom—unrestricted air attack aimed at breaking public morale,
struction of the country by attack on shipping and ports, and occupation by
invasion.

### Air Factor.

- The vital fact is that our ability to avoid defeat will depend on three factors:—
  - (a) Whether the morale of our people will withstand the strain of air bombardment;

[21323]

B

### Chiefs' Assessment

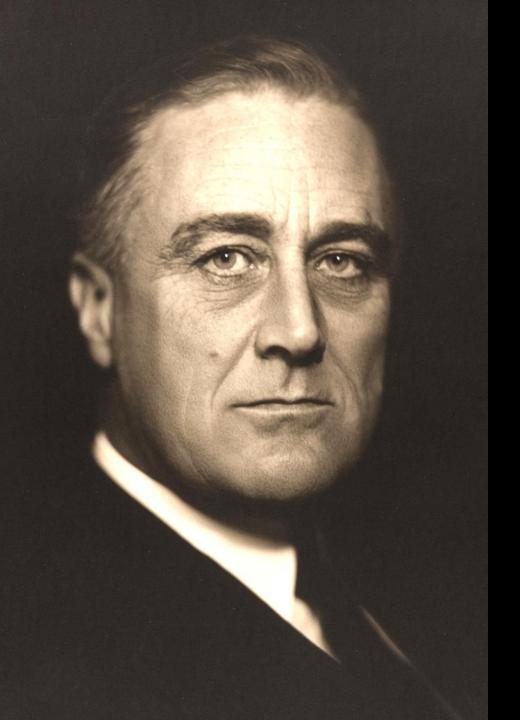
United States of America is willing to give us full economic and financial support, without which we do not think we could continue the war with any chance of success.

There are only two ways left now of winning the war, and they both begin with A. One is

aeroplanes and the other is America.

Winston Churchill September 1917





"[l]t is certain that Franklin Roosevelt will rank among the greatest of men who have occupied that proud position [of President]." Churchill on FDR

His generous sympathy for the underdog, his intense desire for a nearer approach to social justice place him high among the great philanthropists.



His composure combined with activity in time of crisis class him with famous men of action.



### dian Ocean 0 NOTE ON THE PROPERTIES MELDELP FORDARY LINE LOWGITUDE SCALES A FORTUNE MAP

### ONE WORLD ONE WAR

A map showing the line-up and the strategic stakes in this first global war



### THE ATLANTIC BRIDGE

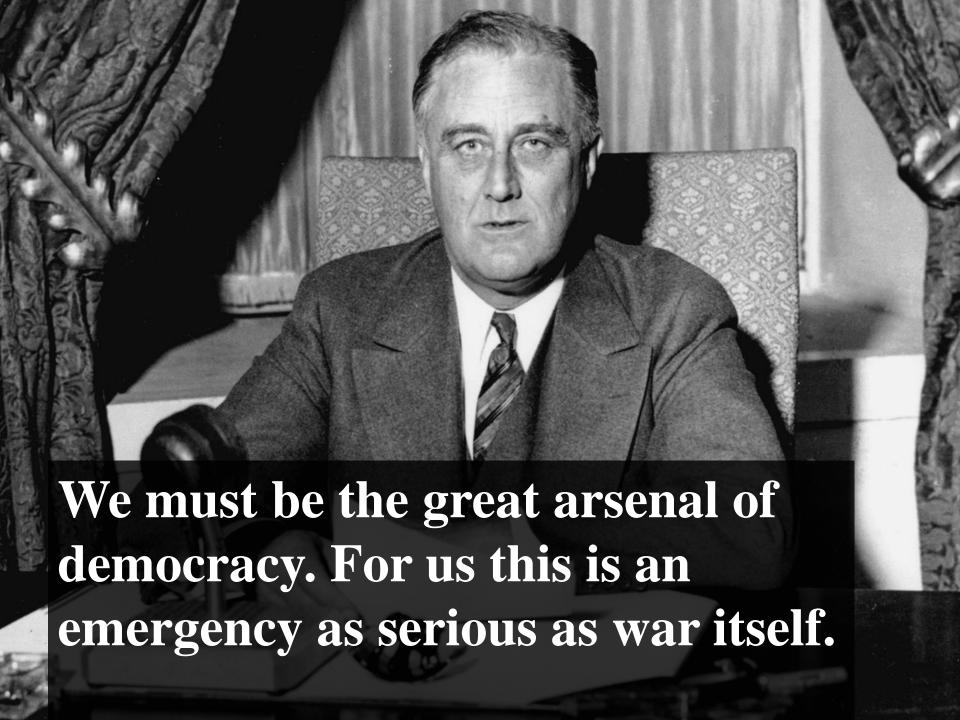
These life lines increased Anaction with the horst day these continuous in Lines the North Administry on Control and the Control and the Control and the Control and Control a

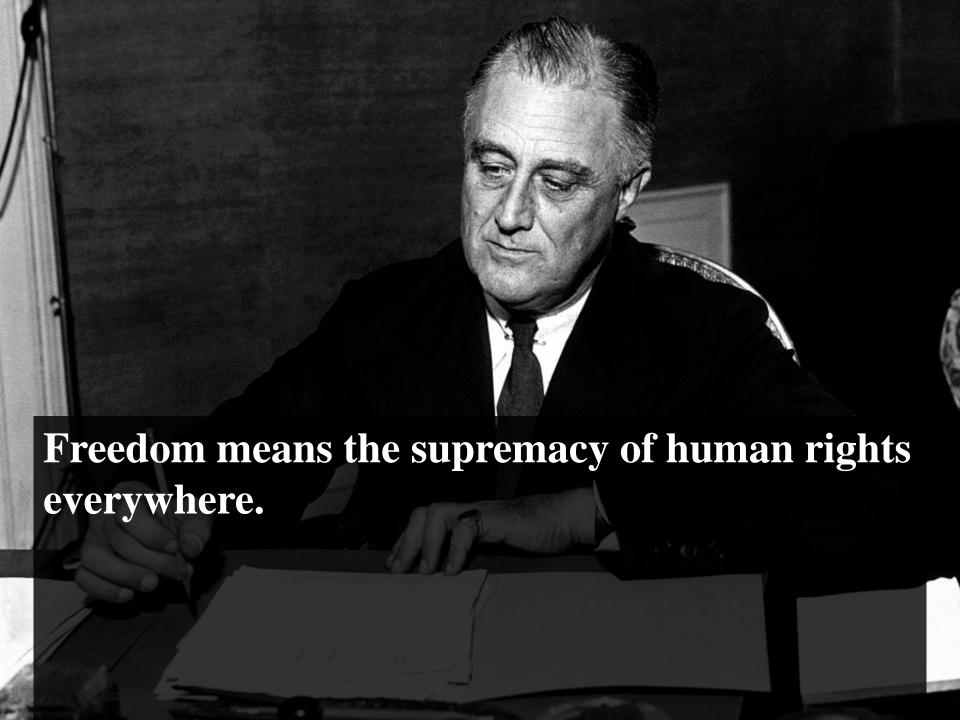


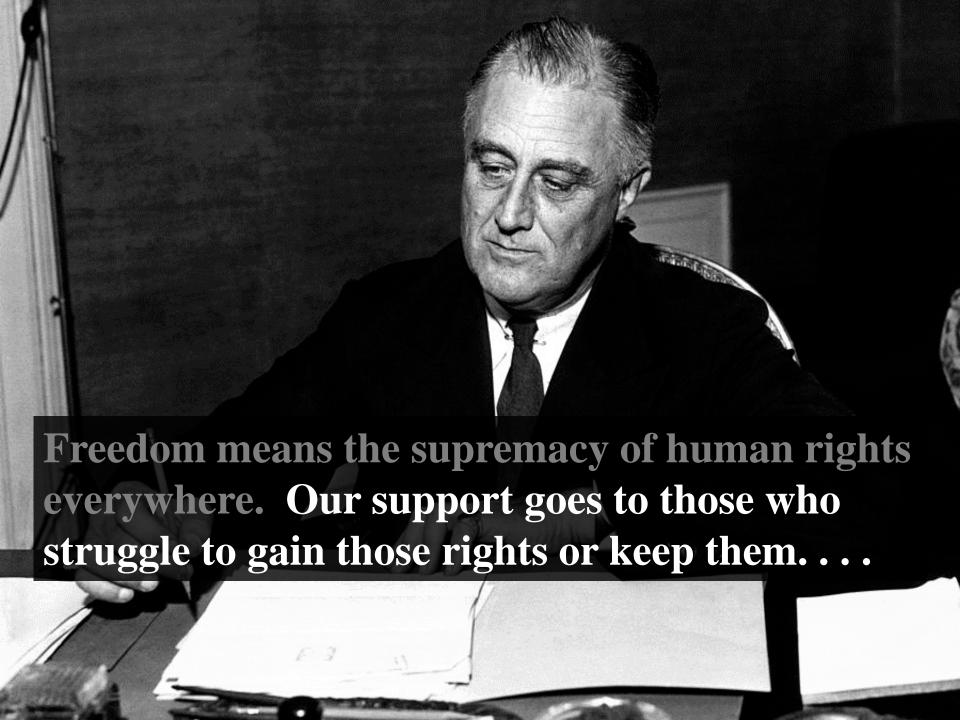
### THE PACIFIC VASTNESS

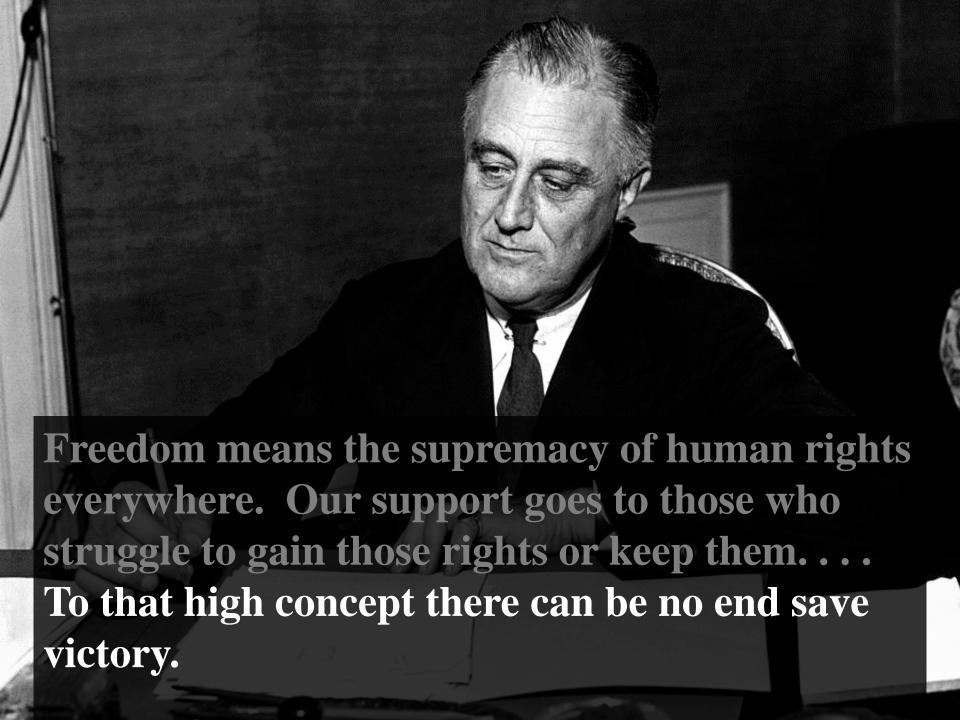
The transactous distances in the Pocific. only yesterday opposited on on element of American security, have become the tooghest of way problems. While across the relatively marrow Albertic, America has to support Allies who are estimated an artifilished bettle grounds ocross the Poetic we must create. and supply, new break in ureas that are threannals of unites from industrial overters and note dather/orton points. Unless Soviet Russia: by joining her offices' was opinion Jopon, permits the full use of the most promising line of counserotock (Alooka - Aleutian blonds - Kom clupters. Vindirontoki, the Jopennese will entire for a long time for greater statlegic advan-Even the most distant objective of the Jopon ese drive is many times nearer to Inpon them Sens closed to us by the Japanese. American supplies and arroad forces will reach fourth.

Againstic and the Judien count over a reade that is longer than a learney half around the world. Yet in these very regions, centering on Builds, the United Nations, if-prepared though they are, will have to hight one of the spent declaive burtles of history: The Burtle for Asia.









What is the answer that I shall give, in your name, to this great man, the thrice-chosen head of a nation of a hundred and thirty millions?



Here is the answer which I will give to President Roosevelt:



Here is the answer which I will give to President Roosevelt:

Put your confidence in us. Give us your faith and your blessing, and, under Providence, all will be well.



We shall not fail or falter; we shall not weaken or tire.



We shall not fail or falter; we shall not weaken or tire.

Neither the sudden shock of battle, nor the long-drawn trials of vigilance and exertion will wear us down.



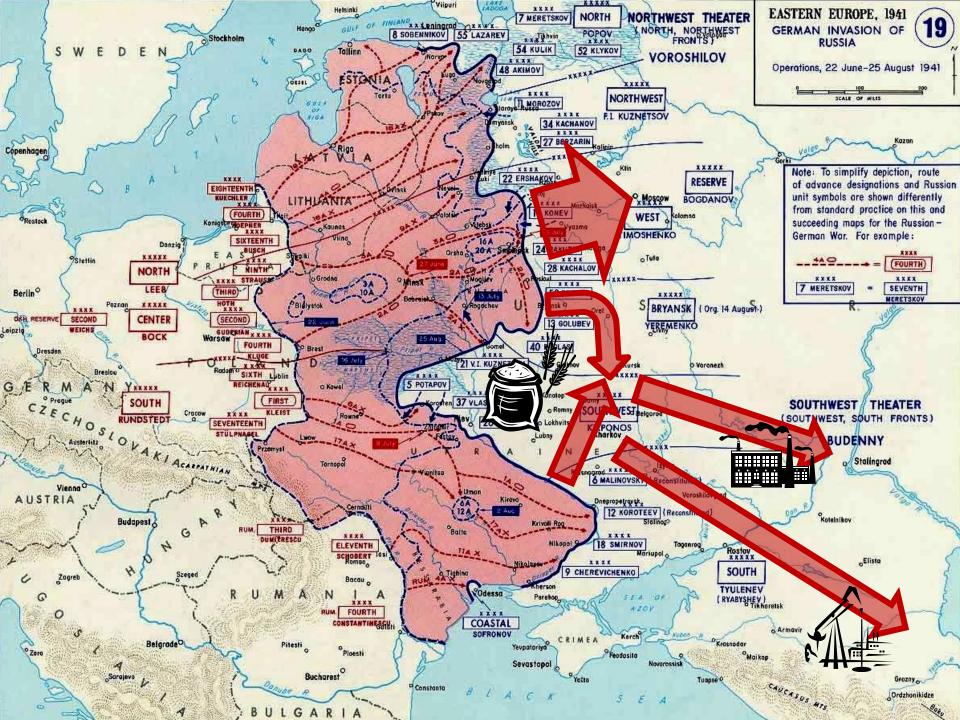
Give us the tools, and we will finish the job.





### **Operation Barbarossa**





# ACtIWO

## Why We Fight





### THE Atlantic Charter

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.

- I. Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.
- 2. They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.
- 3. 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.
- 4. 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.
- 5. 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 advancement and social security.
- 6. 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 the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

- 7. Such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.
- 8. 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.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

August 14, 1941

# 6. After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny,

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FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

August 14, 1941

"All the News That's Fit to Print."

## The New York Times.

Temperatures Yesterday-Max., 76; Min., 56

VOL. XC... No. 30,519.

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 15, 1941.

THREE CENTS NEW YORK COTY

#### ROOSEVELT, CHURCHILL DRAFT 8 PEACE AIMS, PLEDGING DESTRUCTION OF NAZI TYRANNY; JOINT STEPS BELIEVED CHARTED AT PARLEY

#### TREASURY WEIGHS **INCREASED RATE** OF SECURITY TAX

Doubled Levy and Broader Base Are Considered as Curb on Inflation, Says Morgenthau

DISMISSAL PLAN IS URGED

It Would 'Cushion' Workers in Defense After Arming Ends -House to Get Projects

#### By JOHN MacCORMAC Special to TEX NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 14-Secretary Morgenthau stated today that the Treasury was studying the question of higher social security taxes on a broader basis and the supplementing of them by a "dis missal" wage with a view to preventing inflation now and providing a cushion against post-war dis-

#### Defense Plant Cost Is \$3,549,770,000

WASHINGTON, Aug. 14-New industrial plants and expansions to existing ones authorized since the beginning of the defense program number 2,082, government statisticians estimated today, and their cost will aggregate \$3,549,770,000.

The government is committed to plant financing totaling \$2,720,936,000, and private financing will amount to \$828,834,000. For the most part the financing by private sources has been limited to the smaller projects.

#### U. A. W. BARS REDS FROM UNION POSTS

Ban on Nazis, Fascists and Communists Is Voted After Bitter Debate in Buffalo

> By LOUIS STARK Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BUFFALO, Aug. 14-After two He said that he had intended to and a half hours of turbulent de- in relentless pursuit of the Soviet suggest such a plan to the House bate, the United Automobile Work-Banking and Currency Committee ers-C. L O. convention tonight if that body had not postponed his adopted a strong declaration Rivers toward the Black Sea. appearance from today to Sept. 15. amending the constitution to bar

#### NAZIS GAIN IN SOUTH

Seize Iron Ore Center-See Ukraine Army in Hopeless Trap

SOVIET ADMITS LOSS

Yields 2 Defense Bases. but Says Germans Pay 'Terrible Price'

By Telephone to THE NEW YORK TIMES, BERLIN, Aug. 14-In a special communiqué issued from Reichsfuchrer Hitler's field headquarters somewhere on the Eastern Front the Germans declared this evening that the defense of the Western Ukraine by the Russian armed forces was facing complete col-

German, Rumanian, Hungarian and Italian troops were said to be armies, pushing them southward between the Dniester and Dnieper Odessa was reported to be en-



HISTORIC MEETING AT SEA BETWEEN MR. ROOSEVELT AND MR. The President and the Prime Minister on the deck of H. M. S. Prince of Wales after church services last Sunday

Associated Press Wireshoto

#### TALKS HELD AT SEA

Closer War Cooperation to Doom Aggressors Pledged by Leaders

SOVIET AID INCLUDED

Disarmament of Axis Is Envisaged in a World Freed From Want

By FRANK L. KLUCKHOHN Special to THE NEW YORK TRUES.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 14-A joint declaration of eight bases for world peace to follow "final destruction of the Nazi tyranny" was made public through Washington and London today in the names of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill after a series of historic and dramatic conferences between the two leaders somewhere on the Atlantic.

The chiefs of the United States and British Governments insisted that aggressor and potential aggressor nations must be completely disarmed and they made clear

### **AMERICAN OPINION**

(August-September 1941)

How would you vote today on the question of the United States entering the war now against Germany?

Enter war: 21 percent

Stay out: 74 percent

No opinion: 5 percent

Which of these two things do you think is the more important—that this country keep out of war or that Germany be defeated, even at the risk of our getting into the war?

**Defeat Germany: 57 percent** 

Stay out: 38 percent

No opinion: 5 percent

# Actinee

## A New Age Begins

## A Nuclear Age!

## MAUD Report

In spite of this very large expenditure we consider that the destructive effect, both material and moral, is so great that every effort should be made to produce bombs of this kind.

## MAUD Report

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As regards the time required, . . . the material for the first bomb could be ready by the end of 1943.

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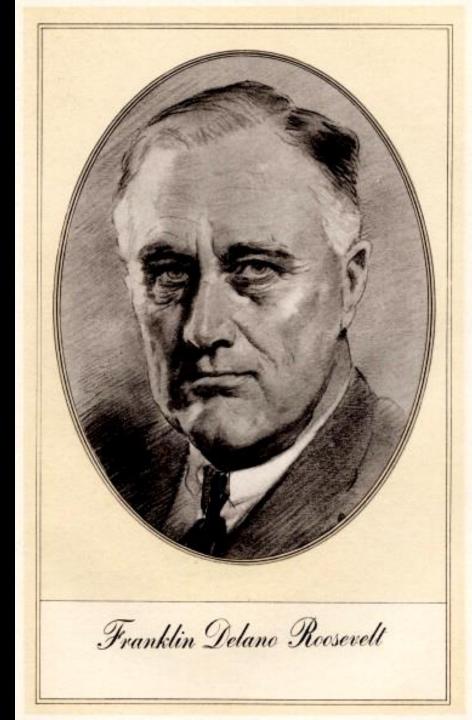
... Even if the war should end before the bombs are ready the effort would not be wasted, ... since no nation would care to risk being caught without a weapon of such decisive possibilities.

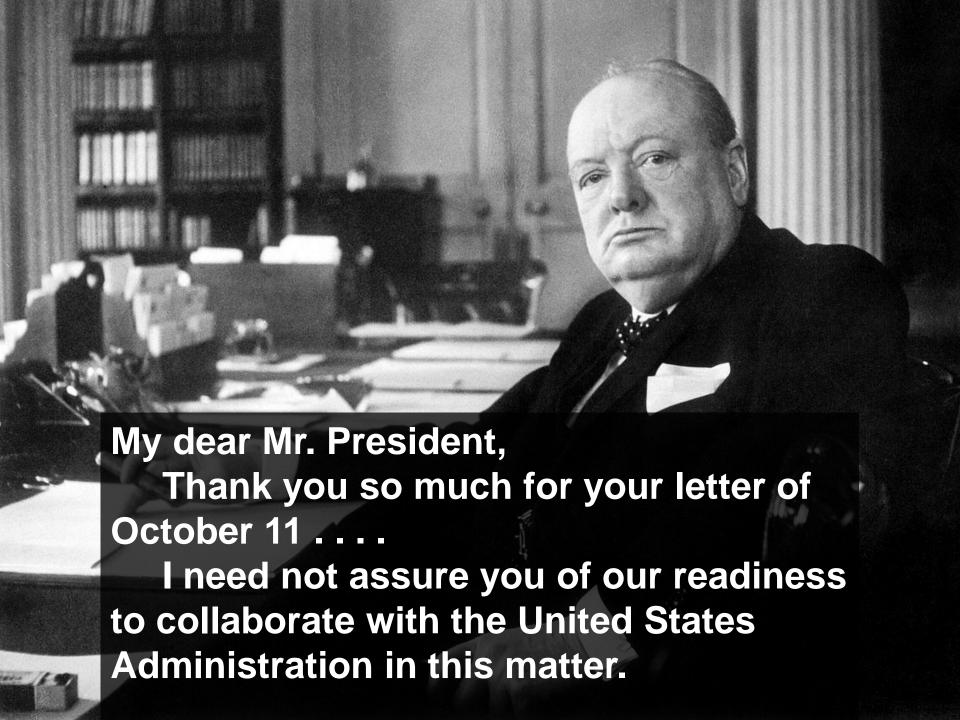
### MAUD REPORT

#### **Conclusions and Recommendations**

- i. The committee considers that the scheme for a uranium bomb is practicable and likely to lead to **decisive results** in the war.
- ii. It recommends that this work be continued on the highest priority and on the increasing scale necessary to obtain the weapon in the shortest possible time.
- iii. That the present collaboration with America should be continued and extended especially in the region of experimental work.

My Dear Winston, It appears desirable that we should correspond or converse concerning the subject which is under study by your MAUD committee, and by Dr. Bush's organization in this country, in order that any extended efforts may be coordinated or even jointly conducted.



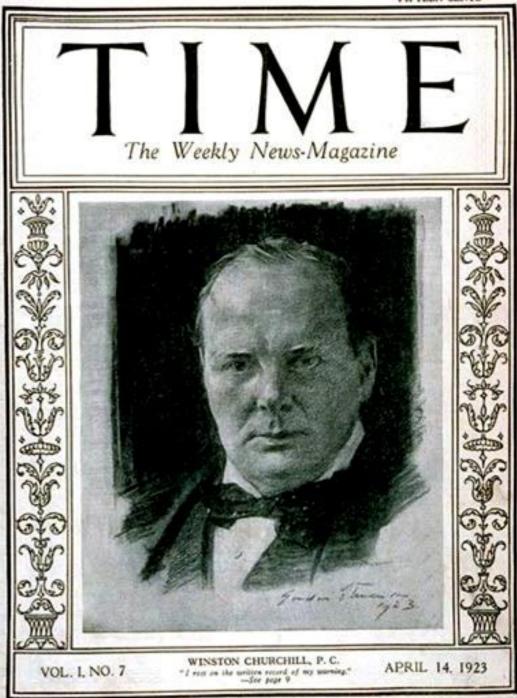


## Act Four

# in ASIa

A war with Japan! But why should there be a war with Japan? I do not believe there is the slightest chance of it in our lifetime.

> Winston Churchill to Stanley Baldwin 15 December 1924





great danger must be grappled with from the outset, and I have asked myself what is the best way. do not write about these naval matters without experience. It seems to me that the Admiralty imagine themselves confronted with the same sort of situation in regard to Japan as we faced against Germany in the ten years before the war. They have a wonderful staff of keen, able officers, whose minds are filled with war impressions. The whole of this great thinking body is preparing the Hong Kong Navy for the impending struggle. is to become a strong base for submarines, twelve and possibly up to 21 being provocatively stationed there in time of peace right under the very noses of the Singapore is to be developed as fast as Japanese. The new construction programme is to be possible. pushed forward. All the reserves of stores and ammunition are to be rapidly completed on lavish scales. One hundred merchantmen are to be armed with six inch guns. Every technical service is to be brought to the highest perfection. For what? A war with Japan! But why should there be a war with Japan? I do not believe there The is the slightest chance of it in our lifetime.

"I believe that we may assume the principal causes of friction in the past [between Japan and the United States] either to have been removed or to be on the road to eventual elimination."

> Franklin D. Roosevelt "Shall We Trust Japan" Asia, July 1923



## INSIDE

## ASIA

by JOHN GUNTHER

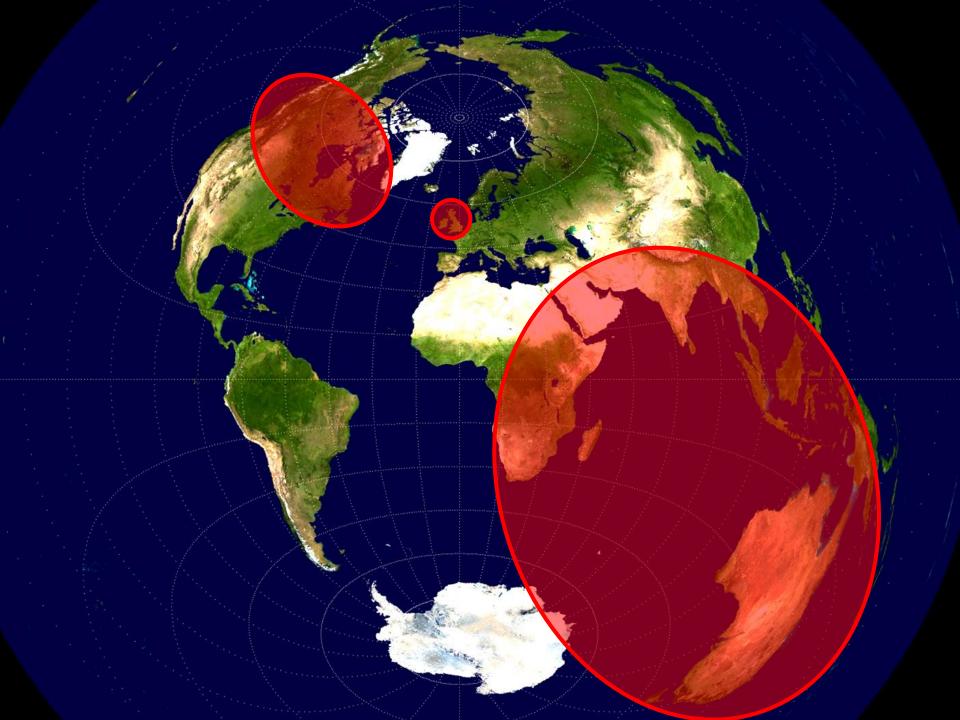


" The Most Competent One-Man Reportorial Job Ever Undertaken"

N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE "BOOKS"

John Gunther describes the events and personalities which are shaping the course of one-third of the globe, in a way which makes them understandable to the average man and woman. Exciting, dramatic, penetrating.

Great Britain, as everyone knows, is the greatest Asiatic power.

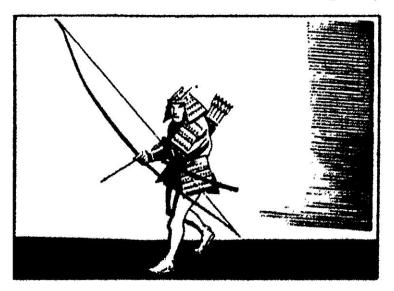




The island empire is gripped by a harsh military despotism, which now seeks to clothe itself with Nazi-Fascist trappings.



#### GOVERNMENT BY ASSASSINATION



HUGH BYAS



ALFRED A KNOPF · NEW YORK

## AMERICAN OPINION

(August-September 1941)

Should the United States take steps now to keep Japan from becoming more powerful, even if this means risking war with Japan?

Yes: 67 percent

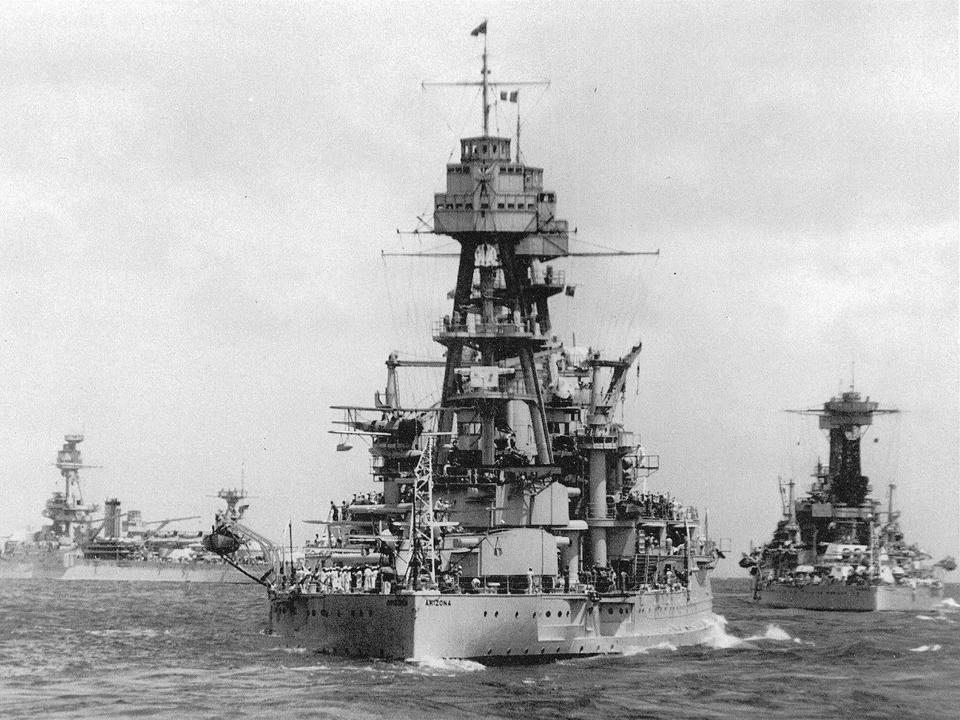
No: 19 percent

No opinion: 14 percent



# HOW TO HALT JAPAN? American Actions

- Forward-deployed battle fleet in Hawaii
- Naval buildup to develop "Two-Ocean Navy"
- Strengthen forces in the Philippines
  - Increase Philippine army
  - Forward-deploy submarine force
  - Put in place large bomber force
- Economic restrictions
  - Exploit Japan's dependence on imported oil
  - Exploit Japan's financial weakness
- Negotiations from position of strength



Why are you in Hawaiian Area? Answer: You are there because of the deterrent effect which it is thought your presence may have.

Admiral Stark to Admiral Richardson 27 May 1940

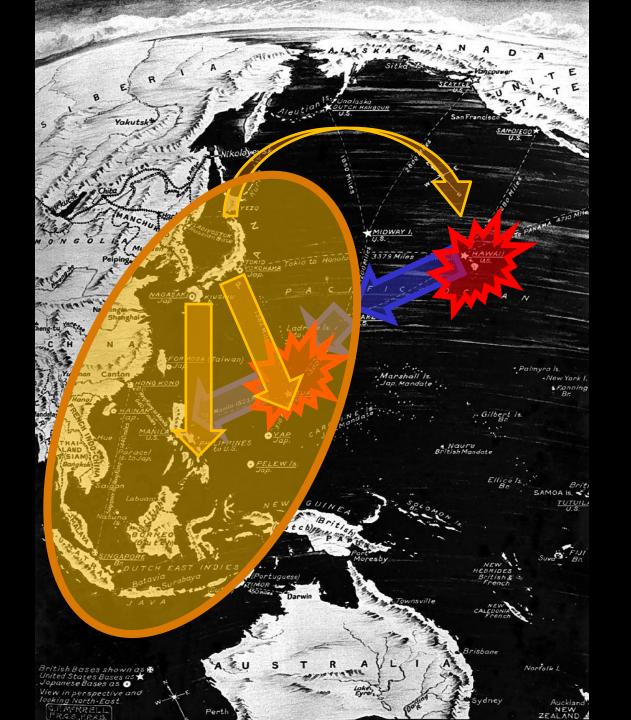


#### CHURCHILL'S FOUR POSSIBLE FUTURES

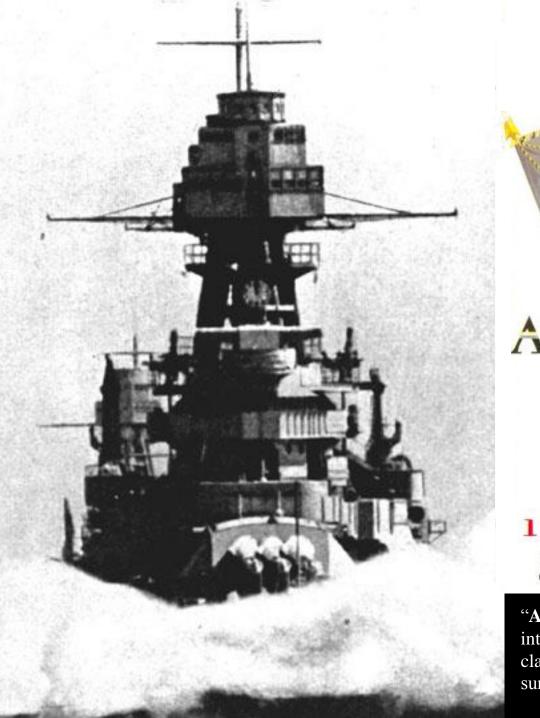
- U.S. comes into the war against Germany; Japan remains neutral.
- U.S. at war on the Allied side; Japan at war on the Axis side.
- Both U.S. and Japan stay out of the war.
- "Worst nightmare": U.S. stays out of the war; Japan comes in.

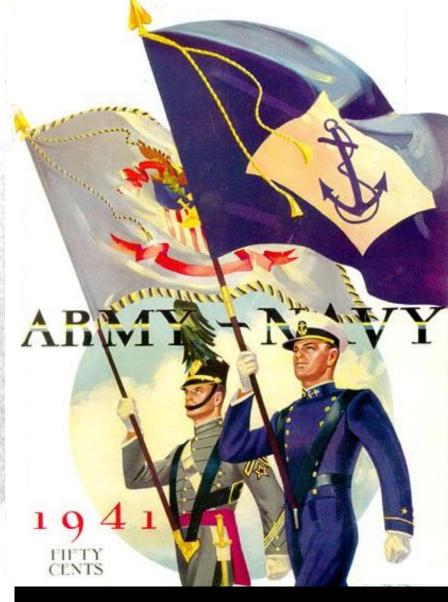




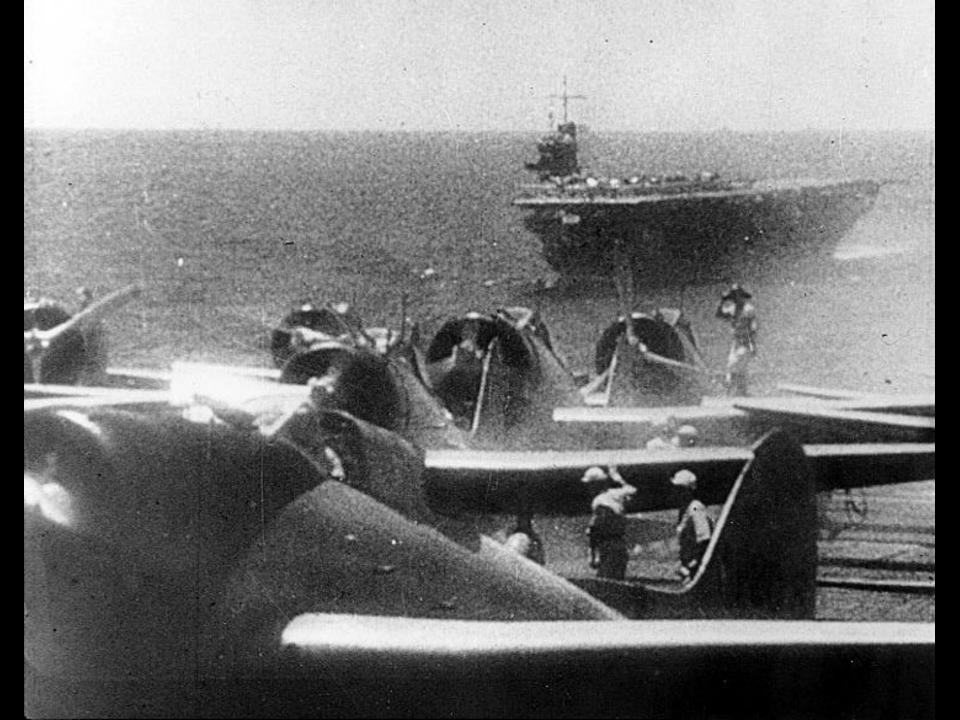








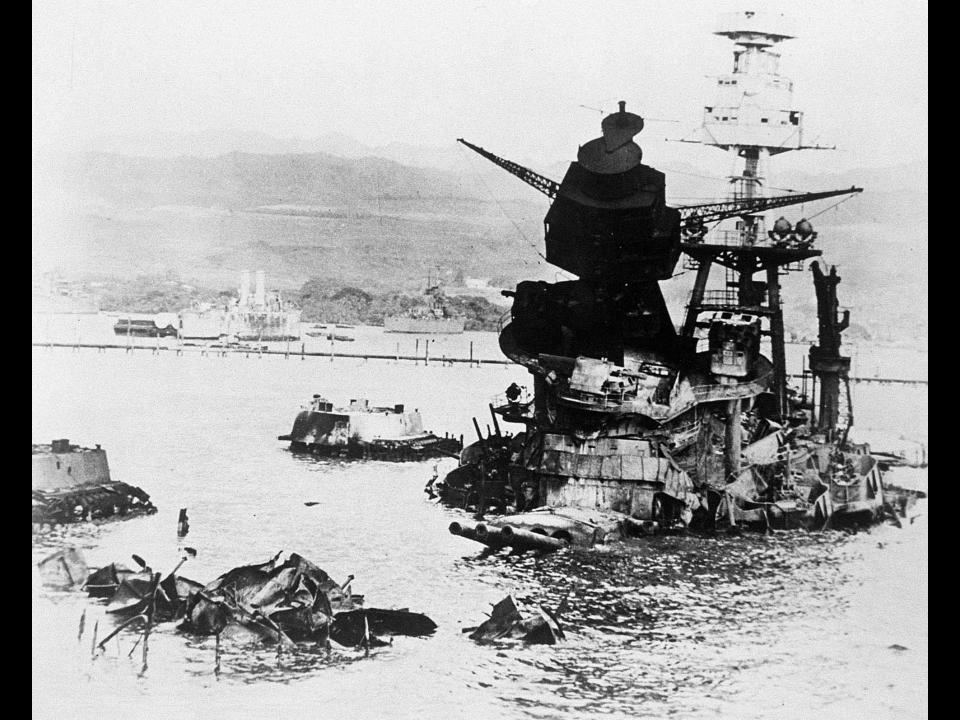
"A bow on view of the *U. S. S. Arizona* as she plows into a huge swell. It is significant that despite the claims of air enthusiasts no battleship has yet been sunk by bombs." (29 November 1941)













"All the News That's Fit to Print."

### The New York Times.

### JAPAN WARS ON U.S. AND BRITAIN; MAKES SUDDEN ATTACK ON HAWAII; HEAVY FIGHTING AT SEA REPORTED

### CONGRESS DECIDED TOKYO ACTS FIRST

It Today and Find It Ready to Vote War

U. S. and Britain

### CONFERENCE IS HELD TOGO CALLS ENVOYS

Roosevelt Will Address Declaration Follows Air

### Legislative Leaders and After Fighting Is On, Grew Cabinet in Sober White | Gets Japan's Reply to

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To that that is no subtite here with the word of the subtite there would be sainly.

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Lewis Wins Captive Mine Fight;

### GUAM BOMBED: ARMY SHIP IS SUNK

U. S. Fliers Head North From Manila-Battleship Oklahoma Set Afire by Forpedo Planes at Honolulu

### 104 SOLDIERS KILLED AT FIELD IN HAWAII

President Fears 'Very Heavy Losses' on Oahu-Churchill Notifies Japan That a State of War Exists

### By FRANK L. KLUCKHOHN

by FRANKE LEMANDELINES

Should be The New York Than

WASHINGTON, Monday, Den. 8—Sudden and unexpected

attacks on Pearl Harbor, Honolitu, and other United States

possessions in the Facilite early yesterday by the Japanese air

force and navy plunged the United States and Japan into active

The initial attack in Hawaii, apparently launched by torpedin minusal states in hawari, apparency successor by torpeco-carrying bombers and submarines, caused widespread damage and death. It was quickly followed by others. There were uncon-firmed reports that German raiders participated in the attacks. Guam also was assaulted from the air, as were Davao, on the

sith demage, however.
[Joyanes practice troops had been handed in the Philippine and indire Jupeans and added some committie, 1997, place and indire Jupeans and added some committee, 1997, place and indirect Jupeans and Added to the Committee, 1997, place and indirect Jupeans and the Jupeans and Jupeans and the Jupeans and Jupea

"Nation Placed on Full War Basis
"O was account by Secretary of Basis Washington. The news of these surprise attacts full like a bombshell on Cooled Hall today or making a type and the Amy and Navy cods and like type the confirmation and utforty surprise at 200 miles and the confirmation of the confirmation and utforty surprise at 200 miles and the confirmation an

that Frame Minister Courechil men souther Japan Chat a state of war existed, of beavy fighting flashed for the White House, Landon reported semi-officially that the British Empire would carry out Prime Minister Winston Churchill's plodge to give the United States full support in case of hostilities with Japan. The President and Mr. Churchill talked by transatticutio telephone.



armed attack.

### PHOPOSED MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

Yesterday, December 7, 1941, a date which will live in which will live in which which will live in which which will live in which will live in which which will live in which which will live in which which which will live in which which will live in

by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan and deliberately attacked

The United States was at the moment at peace with that nation and was

of the conversation with its Government and its Emperor looking

toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Indeed, one hour after

Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in

the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered

to the Secretary of State a formal reply to a message.

While

This reply contained that diplomatic negotiations

met be considered as a contained no threat whint of the contained no threat whint of the contained hint of the contained no threat the hint of the contained no threat the hint of the contained no threat the contained hint of the co

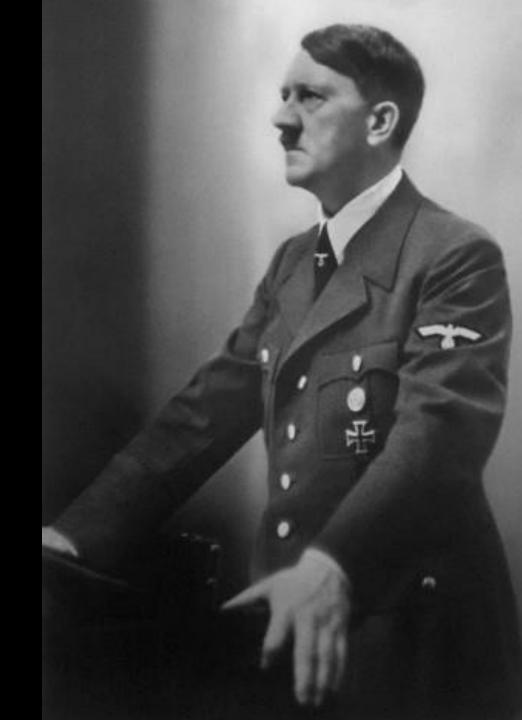
Hawaii from Japan make it obvious that the attack deliberately planned many days ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Covernment has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

## Act Five

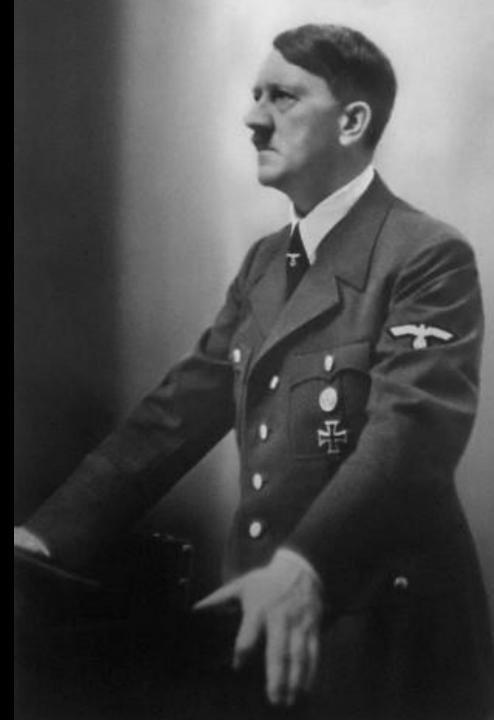
## Global War



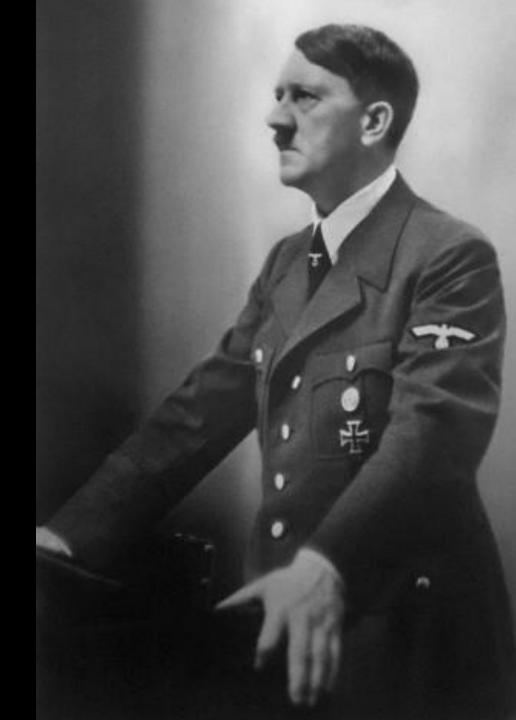
It fills all of us—the German people and, I believe, all decent people of the world—



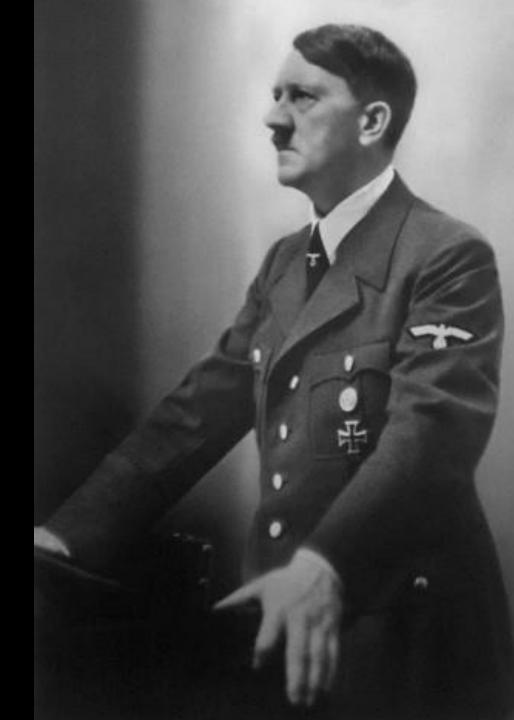
It fills all of us—the German people and, I believe, all decent people of the world with profound satisfaction that the Japanese government, after negotiating with this false man for years, has finally had enough of being derided in so dishonorable a manner.



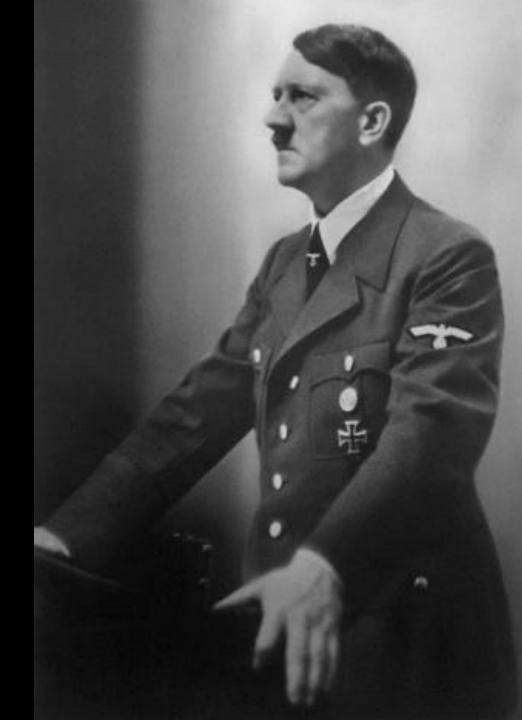
We know what force stands behind Roosevelt.



We know what force stands behind Roosevelt. It is the eternal Jew.



"Roosevelt was strengthened in this resolve [for war] by the Jews surrounding him."

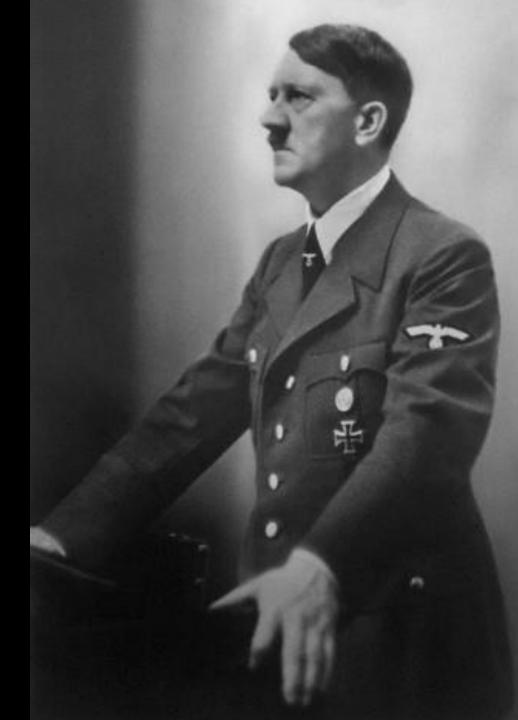


"Roosevelt was strengthened in this resolve [for war] by the Jews surrounding him.

The full diabolical meanness of Jewry rallied round this man, and he stretched out his hands.



Thus began the increasing efforts of the American **President to** create conflicts, to do everything to prevent conflicts from being peacefully solved.







### Speech 6 Compress 26.12.41

I feel greatly honoured that you should have invited me to enter the United States Senate and address the Representatives of Songress La Goulde of Great

The fact that my American forbears have for so many generations played their part in the life of the United States, and that here I am, an Englishman, welcomed in your midst, makes this experience one of the most moving and thrilliand the state of the law and has not been entirely uneventful. Just include that many there were a second of the second that many there were the second of the second that the second the second that

been American and my mother British, instead of the other way round, I might have got here on my own. In that case this would not have been the first time you would have heard my voice. In that case I should not have needed any invitation; but if I had, it is hardly likely that it would have been unanimous.

So perhaps things are better as they are.

I may confess, however, that I do not feel like a fish cut of water in a legislative assembly where English is spoken.

I wish indeed that my mother whose memory I cherish c[oul]d have been here to see.

### Speech 6 Compress 26.12.41

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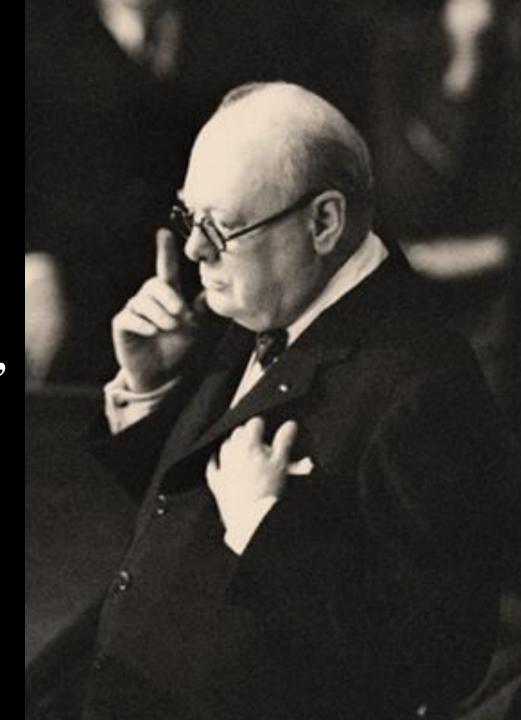
So perhaps things are better as they are.

I may confess, however, that I do not feel like a fish cut of water in a legislative assembly where English is spoken.

By the way I cannot help reflecting that if my father had been American and my mother British, instead of the other way round, I might have got here on my own.

### **Sword for Freedom**

The United States, united as never before, has drawn the sword for freedom and cast away the scabbard.



Franklin Delano Roosevelt took the oath of office in 1933 at a time when 25 percent of the American people were unemployed, country was in incredible despair. And he stood before the American people and he said, "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself," a profound statement that gave the American people the courage to believe that, yes, we could get out of that terrible depression.



In reply refer to Initials

Op-12-CTB

NAVY DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS
WASHINGTON

SECRET

November 12, 1940.

### Memorandum for the Secretary.

Referring to my very brief touch in a recent conference as to the desirability of obtaining at once some light upon the major decisions which the President may make for guiding our future naval effort in the event of war, and in further immediate preparation for war, you may recall my remarks the evening we discussed War Plans for the Navy. I stated then that if Britain wins decisively against Germany we could win everywhere; but that if she loses the problem confronting us would be very great; and, while we might not lose everywhere, we might, possibly, not win anywhere.

As I stated last winter on the Hill, in these circumstances we would be set back upon our haunches. Our war effort, instead of being widespread, would then have to be confined to the Western Hemisphere.

I now wish to expand my remarks, and to present to you my views concerning steps we might take to meet the situation that will exist should the United States enter war either alone or with allies. In this presentation, I have endeavored to keep in view the political realities in our own country.

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED

### American COAs

- A. Defend the Western Hemisphere
- B. Offensive in the Pacific against Japan
  - Fight on defensive in the Atlantic
- C. Give equal commitment to fighting in both the Atlantic and the Pacific
- D. Offensive in the Atlantic against Germany
  - Fight on defensive in the Pacific

## PLANDOG

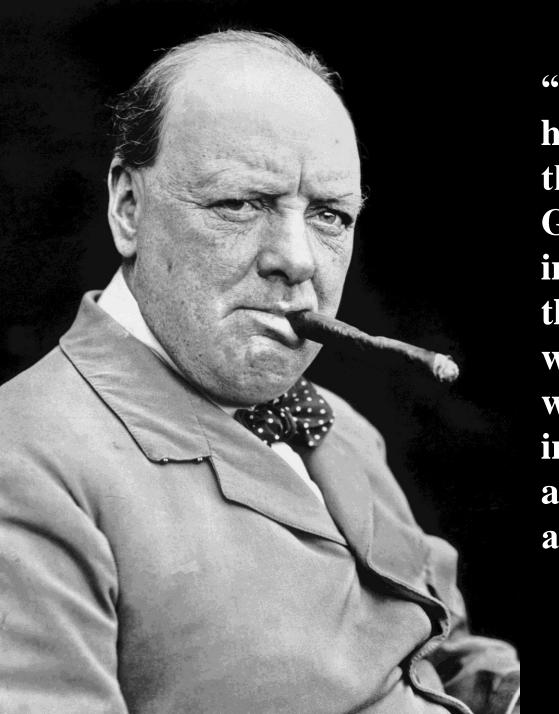
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China "Incident" and Move South



"We must recognise, however reluctantly, that the Mikado's Government has only imperfect authority over the naval and military warriors of Japan . . . . we must feel ourselves in the presence of an army and navy which are running amok."

"What Japan Thinks of Us" 21 January 1938