1941

Dr. John H. Maurer
Mahan Professor of Strategy
Naval War College
Feel the Bern!
Name two leaders who would influence your decisions on foreign policy.
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
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
“[I]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.
We must be the great arsenal of democracy. For us this is an emergency as serious as war itself.
Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere.
Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them.
Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them. . . . To that high concept there can be no end save victory.
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.
"LET US GO FORWARD TOGETHER"
Operation Barbarossa
Act Two
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.

1. 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, 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 lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.
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 Bredere Base Are Considered As Curb on Inflation, Says Morgenthau

DISMISSAL PLAN IS URGED
It Would Cushion Workers in Defense After Armistice Ends—House to Get Projects

By JOHN MacOMMA
Special to The 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 “de minimis” wage with a view to preventing inflation now and providing a cushion against post-war dislocation.

He said that he had intended to suggest such a plan to the Economic Stabilization and Currency Committees if that body had not postponed his appearance from today to next week.

Defense Plant Cost is $3,549,770,000

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
WASHINGTO, Aug. 14—New industrial plans and experiences to existing ones authorized since the beginning of the defense program number 2,389, government statistics estimated today, and their cost will aggregate $3,549,770,000.

The government is committed to plant financing totaling $2,721,990,000, and private financing will amount to $827,780,000. Most of the most part the financing by private concerns 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 JOHN R. STEELE
BUFFALO, Aug. 14—After two and a half hours of turbulent debate, the United Automobile Workers, I. O. executive council adopted a strong declaration opposing the organization in Nazi-dominated labor unions.

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 C. BURGOYNE BARTER
Special to The New York Times
DUBLIN, Aug. 14—In a special communiqué issued from Moscow, Hitler's field headquarters somewhere on the Eastern Front, the Germans declared the evening that the defense of the Western Ukraine by the Russian armed forces was facing critical collapse.

German, Romanian, Hungarian and Italian troops were said to be in retreat toward the Don and Dniester rivers toward the Dniester river. Ukraine was reported to be evacuating.

HISTORIC MEETING AT SEA BETWEEN MR. ROOSEVELT AND MR. CHURCHILL

The President and the Prime Minister on the deck of H. M. S. Prince of Wales after church services last Sunday.

TALKS HELD AT SEA

Close War Cooperation to Doom Aggressors Pledged by Leaders

Soviet Aid Included

Disarmament of Axis Is Envisaged in a World Freed from Want

By FRANCIS L. KLEICHNEDER
Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, Aug. 14—A joint declaration of eight hours 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 disheartening conferences between the two leaders somewhere on the Atlantic.

The chiefs of the United States and British Governments insisted that aggressor and potential aggressors must be compelled to disarm and they made clear...
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
Act Three
A New Age Begins
A Nuclear Age!
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

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.

As regards the time required, . . . the material for the first bomb could be ready by the end of 1943.
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. As regards the time required, . . . the material for the first bomb could be ready by the end of 1943. . . . 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.
My dear Mr. President,
Thank you so much for your letter of October 11 . . . .
I need not assure you of our readiness to collaborate with the United States Administration in this matter.
Act Four
War 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. You know I 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 Navy for the impending struggle.

Hong Kong 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 Japanese. Singapore is to be developed as fast as possible. The new construction programme is to be 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 is the slightest chance of it in our lifetime.

The
“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
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

BY

HUGH BYAS

ALFRED A. KNOOPF • NEW YORK

1942
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)
JAPAN WARS ON U.S. AND BRITAIN;
MAKES SUDDEN ATTACK ON HAWAII;
HEAVY FIGHTING AT SEA REPORTED

GUAM BOMBED; ARMY SHIP IS SUNK
U. S. Fighters Head North From Manila—
Battleship Oklahoma Set Afire by
Torpedo Planes at Honolulu
104 SOLDIERS KILLED AT FIELD IN HAWAII
President Fears "Very Heavy Losses" on Oahu—
Churchill Nominates Japan That a
State of War Exists

WASHINGTON, Dec. 7—President Roosevelt has declared that the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor is virtually a war with Japan. This is the first declaration of a state of war made by the President in his message to Congress.

The attack on Pearl Harbor has been followed by a declaration of war on the United States by the Japanese government, which has been transmitted to the United States through the British government.

The declaration of war by Japan on the United States has been made by the Japanese government, which has been transmitted to the United States through the British government.

The Japanese government has declared that it will fight to the death to secure its independence and to defend its national honor.

The United States government has declared that it will resist any further aggression by Japan and will not recognize any grievances or demands made by Japan.

The news of the attack on Pearl Harbor has been followed by a declaration of war by the United States on Japan, which has been transmitted to the United States through the British government.

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PROPOSED MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

December 7, 1941.

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

the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked

by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

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

engaged in 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 Oahu,

the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered

to the Secretary of State a formal reply to a message, stating

that diplomatic negotiations must be considered

contained no threat or hint of

armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of

Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack

planned many days ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Govern-

ment 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.
I wish indeed that my mother whose memory I cherish could have been here to see.
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. 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 out of water in a legislative assembly where English is spoken.
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.
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
PLAN DOG

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

Churchill
“What Japan Thinks of Us”
21 January 1938