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ABSTRACT

During World War II, a close friendship and excellent working relations developed between President Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) and Prime Minister Winston Churchill that were crucial in the establishment of a unified effort to deal with the Axis powers. In early 1941, FDR began the long-term correspondence that developed into a close working friendship with Churchill. This working relationship was highlighted by many joint appearances and agreements that not only addressed the immediate needs of the Allies but also the planning for a successful peace following victory. This lesson uses five primary source documents from this wartime period when the two leaders acted together to agree on war aims and to conceptualize a vision for the future. The lesson relates to the powers and duties of the president as defined in Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution. It also relates to the function of government and foreign policy in time of national crisis (war). The lesson correlates to the National History Standards and to the National Standards for Civics and Government. It presents historical background for this period and suggests diverse teaching activities for classroom implementation, including placing the documents in historical context, document analysis, writing activity, Venn diagram: compare/contrast, and a document-based question. Appended are a written document analysis worksheet and the primary source documents. (BT)



National Archives and Records Administration



THE CONSTITUTION COMMUNITY

The Great Depression and World War II (1929-1945)

Documents Related to Churchill and FDR

By Tom Gray

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2000

The Constitution Community is a partnership between classroom teachers and education specialists from the National Archives and Records Administration. We are developing lessons and activities that address constitutional issues, correlate to national academic standards, and encourage the analysis of primary source documents. The lessons that have been developed are arranged according to historical era.

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THE CONSTITUTION COMMUNITY



Documents Related to Churchill and FDR

Constitutional Connection

The lesson relates to the powers and duties of the president as defined in Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution. It also relates to the function of government and foreign policy in time of national crisis (war).

This lesson correlates to the National History Standards.

Era 8 -The Great Depression and World War II (1929-1945).

- **Standard 3A** -Demonstrate understanding of the international background of World War II.

This lesson correlates to the National Standards for Civics and Government.

Standard IV.C.2. -Explain the effects on the United States of significant world political developments.

Cross-curricular Connections

Share this exercise with your history, government, and language arts colleagues.

List of Documents

1. Table listing the major conferences of World War II .
2. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill Christmas Eve greeting from the White House, December 24, 1941. (page 1) , (page 2) , (page 3) , (page 4) , (page 5)
3. Remarks of President Roosevelt and Her Majesty Wilhelmina, Queen of the Netherlands, broadcast nationally at the Washington Navy Yard on the occasion of the transfer of a ship under the Lend-Lease Act, August 6, 1942. (page 1) , (page 2) , (page 3)
4. The Atlantic Charter , August 14, 1941.
5. Transcript of President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points speech, January 8, 1918. Also available from the University of San Diego's Web site at <http://ac.acusd.edu/History/text/ww1/fourteenpoints.html>.

Historical Background

A close friendship and the excellent working relations that developed between U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill were crucial in the establishment of a unified effort to deal with the Axis powers. This working relationship was highlighted by many joint appearances and agreements that not only addressed the immediate needs of the Allies but also the planning for a successful peace following victory.

In late December 1941, shortly after entry of the United States into World War II, Churchill met in Washington, D.C., with Roosevelt in what became known as the First Washington Conference, code name "Arcadia." The conference placed first priority on the Atlantic theater and the defeat of Germany and Italy. On December 24, 1941, Roosevelt and Churchill delivered Christmas greetings to the nation and the world from the South Portico of the White House during the lighting of the National Community Christmas Tree. FDR closed his short message with the following passage, "And so I am asking my associate, [and] my old and good friend, to say a word to the people of America, old and young, tonight, -- Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain." These words clearly describe the relationship that these two leaders of the "Free World" had struck.

FDR had begun the long-term correspondence that developed into a close working friendship with Winston Churchill in early 1940 while Churchill was still first lord of the admiralty. The initial interaction was to encourage a neutral America to take a more active anti-Axis role.

In July 1940 newly elected Prime Minister Churchill requested help from FDR, after Britain had sustained the loss of 11 destroyers to the German Navy over a 10-day period. Roosevelt responded by exchanging 50 destroyers for 99-year leases on British bases in

the Caribbean and Newfoundland. A major foreign policy debate erupted over whether the United States should aid Great Britain or maintain strict neutrality.

In the 1940 presidential election campaign Roosevelt promised to keep America out of the war. He stated, "I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again and again; your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars." Nevertheless, FDR wanted to support Britain and believed the United States should serve as a "great arsenal of democracy." Churchill pleaded "Give us the tools and we'll finish the job." In January 1941, following up on his campaign pledge and the prime minister's appeal for arms, Roosevelt proposed to Congress a new military aid bill.

The plan was to "lend-lease or otherwise dispose of arms" and other supplies needed by any country whose security was vital to the defense of the United States. This Lend-Lease Act, proposed by FDR in January 1941 and passed by Congress in March, went a long way toward solving the concerns of both Great Britain's desperate need for supplies and America's desire to appear neutral. Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee during the debate over lend-lease, "We are buying . . . not lending. We are buying our own security while we prepare. By our delay during the past six years, while Germany was preparing, we find ourselves unprepared and unarmed, facing a thoroughly prepared and armed potential enemy."

In August 1941, Roosevelt and Churchill met for the first of nine face-to-face conferences during the war. The four-day meeting aboard a ship anchored off the coast of Newfoundland at Argentia Bay was devoted to an agreement on war aims and a vision for the future. The document created at this meeting was the The Atlantic Charter , an agreement on war aims between besieged Great Britain and the neutral United States. The charter set forth the concepts of self-determination, end to colonialism, freedom of the seas, and the improvement of living and working conditions for all people. Many of the ideas were similar to those proposed by Wilson's Fourteen Points , but not accepted by our allies at the Versailles Conference at the close of World War I.

From 1941 when they first met until FDR's death in 1945, Roosevelt and Churchill sustained a close personal and professional relationship. Playwright Robert Sherwood later wrote, "It would be an exaggeration to say that Roosevelt and Churchill became chums at this conference. . . . They established an easy intimacy, a joking informality and moratorium on pomposity and cant, -- and also a degree of frankness in intercourse which, if not quite complete, was remarkably close to it." Roosevelt cabled Churchill after the meeting, "It is fun to be in the same decade with you." Churchill later wrote, "I felt I was in contact with a very great man who was also a warm-hearted friend and the foremost champion of the high causes which we served."

Two of the documents featured in this lesson, the typewritten drafts of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Winston Churchill's Christmas Eve greeting from the White House in Washington, D.C., on December 24, 1941, and the remarks of the president and Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands are housed at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, NY.

Resources

Kimball, Warren. *Forged in War: Roosevelt, Churchill and the Second World War*. New York: William Morrow & Co., 1997.

Teaching Activities

Placing the Documents in Historical Context

1. As a homework assignment, direct students to read and gather facts from their textbooks on the political careers of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill. The focus of these notes will be from the period prior to and during World War II, especially focusing on their cooperative efforts in directing their nations' war efforts. Divide the class into half and assign one group to gather 10 facts about FDR and the other half to gather 10 facts about Churchill. On the board, compile that facts gathered in two separate columns.

2. Photocopy and distribute copies of the chart (Document 1) to the class. Direct students to highlight on the chart in which conferences both Roosevelt and Churchill were participants. Lead a class discussion about the major decisions made at each of these highlighted conferences relative to the outcome of World War II.

Document Analysis

3. Photocopy and distribute Document 2. Instruct the students to examine the document and complete a Written Document Analysis Worksheet. Lead a class discussion about the results of the document analysis and ask the following questions. What reasons did FDR and Churchill each give for the importance of celebrating Christmas and lighting the tree during the dark days of the war? What references do each of the speakers make concerning their common enemy? What references do each make concerning the other speaker? Is there evidence that a close friendship is developing? What focus is placed on the children in their messages?

Writing Activity

4. Inform the students that even before Roosevelt and Churchill met in person, they made important agreements. One of these led to the Lend-Lease Act in early 1941. This agreement helped to solve an immediate need for supplies for Britain and our other future allies. As Germany took over country after country in Europe and Japan expanded its territory in the Far East, public opinion in the United States began to reflect isolation less and less and to the horrors of these conquests more. In 1939, the United States passed legislation with provisions that favored the Allies, allowing the sale of arms and munitions on a "cash-and-carry" basis. In 1941 the Lend-Lease Act allowed the president to sell, exchange, lease, or lend arms, supplies, and equipment to any nation whose defense was considered essential to our security. With large amounts of armament being

sent to the Allies, the United States became known as the "arsenal of democracy." This act would eventually provide the Allies with more than \$50 billion in supplies.

Photocopy and distribute the three pages of Document 3. Instruct the students to compare the comments made by both the president and the queen and, as homework, to write an essay supporting the following thesis statement: "The actions taken by the United States and the Netherlands in transferring a ship to Holland are an excellent example of the purposes set forth by FDR and Churchill when lend-lease was introduced."

Venn Diagram: Compare/Contrast

5. Inform the students that in August 1941, Roosevelt and Churchill met in Argentia Bay, Newfoundland, and drafted an agreement on war aims. This document became known as the Atlantic Charter.

Photocopy and distribute Documents 4 and 5 (Atlantic Charter and Fourteen Points speech). Divide the class into cooperative groups and instruct them on creating and using a Venn diagram (similarities/differences). Using the two documents, direct the groups to create a Venn diagram that lists the provisions of the Fourteen Points that are similar to and different from those of the Atlantic Charter. Lead a class discussion about the findings of the activity to determine how much influence the Fourteen Points might have had on the adoption of the Charter.

Document-based Question

6. Direct students to brainstorm a list of conclusions drawn from the Christmas messages of FDR and Churchill, the remarks by FDR and Queen Wilhelmina, and the Atlantic Charter that relate to the international background of World War II. Instruct each student to write a thesis statement based on the information presented in the list. Examples might include the following:

- a. The relationship that developed between FDR and Churchill prior to U.S. involvement in World War II was crucial to the establishment of a unified effort to deal with the Axis powers.
- b. As a result of the Lend-Lease Act, the United States was actively engaged in World War II months before war was declared by Congress.

Next, compile a list of the student-generated thesis statements.

Direct students to use their knowledge of the period and the information contained in the documents to assess the validity of one of the thesis statements and to write a well-organized essay. Explain that their essays should include an introduction incorporating the thesis statement, several paragraphs explaining and supporting the thesis, and a conclusion. To support their positions, instruct students to draw evidence from the documents used in class, their knowledge of the topic, and the information gathered from their cooperative groups. Ask them to include specific historical details and cite sentences and phrases taken from specific documents.

The documents included in this project are from Record Group 44, Records of the Office of Government Reports [OGR]; and the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library. They are available online through the National Archives Information Locator (NAIL) <<http://www.nara.gov/nara/nail.html>> database, control numbers NLR-PFF-1820-1STCARBON-RS34, NLR-PFF-1820-1STCARBON-SI11, and NWDNS-44-PA-426. NAIL is a searchable database that contains information about a wide variety of NARA holdings across the country. You can use NAIL to search record descriptions by keywords or topics and retrieve digital copies of selected textual documents, photographs, maps, and sound recordings related to thousands of topics.

The photograph above is of FDR and Churchill in Shangri-La during the 3rd Washington Conference. It is from the Roosevelt Library and its NAIL control number is NLR-PHOCO-47961535.

This article was written by Tom Gray, a teacher at DeRuyter Central Middle School in DeRuyter, NY.



Written Document Analysis Worksheet

1. TYPE OF DOCUMENT (Check one):

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Newspaper | <input type="checkbox"/> Map | <input type="checkbox"/> Advertisement |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Letter | <input type="checkbox"/> Telegram | <input type="checkbox"/> Congressional record |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Patent | <input type="checkbox"/> Press release | <input type="checkbox"/> Census report |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Memorandum | <input type="checkbox"/> Report | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |

2. UNIQUE PHYSICAL QUALITIES OF THE DOCUMENT (Check one or more):

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Interesting letterhead | <input type="checkbox"/> Notations |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Handwritten | <input type="checkbox"/> "RECEIVED" stamp |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Typed | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Seals | |

3. DATE(S) OF DOCUMENT: _____

4. AUTHOR (OR CREATOR) OF THE DOCUMENT: _____

POSITION (TITLE): _____

5. FOR WHAT AUDIENCE WAS THE DOCUMENT WRITTEN? _____

6. DOCUMENT INFORMATION (There are many possible ways to answer A-E.)

A. List three things the author said that you think are important:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

B. Why do you think this document was written?

C. What evidence in the document helps you know why it was written? Quote from the document.

D. List two things the document tells you about life in the United States at the time it was written:

E. Write a question to the author that is left unanswered by the document:

Designed and developed by the
Education Staff, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC 20408.

Document 1: Major Conferences of World War II

Dates	Conference	Participants
August 9-12, 1941	Newfoundland Conference	Roosevelt and Churchill - draft the Atlantic Charter
December 22, 1941	Arcadia Conference	Roosevelt and Churchill - Agreement to follow Churchill's "Europe first" strategy; Declaration of the United Nations
June 20, 1942	Washington, D.C., Hyde Park	Roosevelt and Churchill - Peripheral strategy first priority; cross-channel invasion second priority
January 14-24, 1943	Casablanca Conference	Roosevelt and Churchill - discuss that end of war will be nothing less than an unconditional surrender from the Axis powers
May 12, 1943	Trident Conference, Washington, D.C.	Roosevelt and Churchill - Plans set for invasion of Italy, stepped-up Pacific war, increased air attacks on Germany
August 17-24, 1943	Quebec (Quadrant) Conference	Roosevelt and Churchill - D-Day Set for May 1, 1944; Southeast Asia command reorganized for war on Japan; Gilberts and Marshalls set as first objectives in central Pacific offensive
November 23-26, 1943	Cairo Conference	Roosevelt, Churchill, Chiang Kai-shek - Agreement on military operations in China against Japanese; promise of postwar return of Manchuria to China and of freedom for Korea
November 28 - December 1, 1943	Big Three Conference, Teheran, Iran	FDR, Churchill and Russian leader Joseph Stalin - Plans for two-front war against Germany, for later Russian participation in war against Japan, and for postwar cooperation
December 4-6, 1943	Second Cairo Conference	Churchill, Roosevelt, Ismet Inonu - Anakim postponed, Ike command
July 1-15, 1944	Bretton Woods Conference	Delegates of forty-four nations - Establishment of International Monetary Fund and Bank, groundwork for United Nations

September 12-16, 1944	Quebec Conference	Roosevelt and Churchill - Broad plans for global war; FDR agreed to Churchill plan for Greece and Italian attack, due to fear of Russia in Balkans; FDR agreed to continue Lend-Lease to Churchill to rebuild Britain's economy; tentative agreement on Morgenthau Plan for postwar Germany; FDR decided that U.S. troops would occupy SW Germany and Brit. troops in NW Germany; FDR still unwilling to recognize De Gaulle
February 4-11, 1945	Yalta Conference	FDR, Churchill and Stalin - discuss the future of Europe, Asia and the United Nations, Jan./ Feb
July 17-August 2, 1945	Potsdam Conference	Truman, Churchill and Stalin - Potsdam Declaration demanding Japanese surrender; agreement on principles governing treatment of Germany.

CHRISTMAS GREETING OF THE
PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN, WINSTON CHURCHILL,
ON THE OCCASION OF THE LIGHTING OF THE
NATIONAL COMMUNITY CHRISTMAS TREE,
DELIVERED FROM THE SOUTH PORCH OF THE WHITE HOUSE,
December 24, 1941, at 5.10 P.M., E.S.T.

THE PRIME MINISTER:

Follow workers in the cause of Freedom:

I have the honor to add a pendant to the necklace of that Christmas goodwill and kindness with which my illustrious friend -- the President -- has encircled the homes and families of the United States by his Message of Christmas Eve, which he has just delivered.

I spend this anniversary and festival far from my country, far from my family, and yet I cannot truthfully say that I feel far from home. Whether it be -- (applause) -- whether it be by the ties of blood on my mother's side, or the friendships I have developed here over many years of active life, or the commanding sentiment of comradeship in the common cause of great peoples who speak the same language, who kneel at the same altars, and to a very large extent pursue the same ideals -- whichever it may be, or all of them together -- I cannot feel myself a stranger here in the center and at the summit of the United States. (applause) I feel a sense of unity and fraternal association, which, added to the kindness of your welcome, convinces me that I have a right to sit at your fireside and share your Christmas joys. (applause)

Follow workers, follow soldiers in the Cause:

This is a strange Christmas Eve. Almost the whole world is locked in deadly struggle. Armed with the most terrible weapons which science can devise, the nations advance upon each other. Ill would it be for us, this

Document 2: Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill Christmas Eve greeting from the White House, December 24, 1941, page 1.

Christmas-tide, if we were not sure that no greed for the lands or wealth of any other people, no vulgar ambition, no morbid lust for material gain at the expense of others, had led us to the field. And ill would it be for us if that were so.

Here in the midst of war, raging and rearing over all the lands and seas, creeping nearer to our hearths and homes; here amid all these tumults, we have tonight the peace of the spirit in each cottage home and in every generous heart.

Therefore, we might cast aside -- for this night at least -- the cares and dangers which beset us, and make for the children an evening of happiness in a world of stern. Here then -- for one night only -- each home throughout the English-speaking world should be a brightly lighted island of happiness and peace.

Let the children have their night of fun and laughter. Let the gifts of Father Christmas delight their play. Let us grownups share to the full in their untinted pleasures, before we turn again to the stern tasks and formidable year that lie before us.

Resolve that by our sacrifice and daring those same children shall not be robbed of their inheritance, or denied their right to live in a free and decent world.

And so -- (applause) -- and so in God's Mercy, a Happy Christmas to you all. (applause)

Document 2: Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill Christmas Eve greeting from the White House, December 24, 1941, page 2.

CHRISTMAS GREETINGS TO THE NATION
DELIVERED BY THE PRESIDENT
ON THE SOUTH PORCH OF THE WHITE HOUSE
AND BROADCAST OVER A NATIONAL AND WORLDWIDE SCHEME
DECEMBER 24, 1941, 9.05 P.M., E.S.T.
UPON THE OCCASION OF THE LIGHTING OF THE
NATIONAL COMMUNITY CHRISTMAS TREE AT THE WHITE HOUSE

(the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Winston Churchill, was
standing at the side of the President while he was speaking.
The Prime Minister also delivered an address, which is appended.)

And now, for the ninth time, I light the living Christmas Community
Tree of the Nation's Capital.

(the President then pressed a button, and the tree was lighted)

FELLOW WORKERS FOR FREEDOM:

There are many men and women in America -- sincere and faithful
men and women -- who are asking themselves this Christmas:

How can we light our trees? How can we give our gifts? How can
we meet and worship with love and with uplifted (hearts) spirit and heart
in a world at war, a world of fighting and suffering and death?

How can we pause, even for a day, even for Christmas Day, in our
urgent labor of arming a decent humanity against the enemies which beset
it?

How can we put the world aside, as men and women put the world
aside in peaceful years, to rejoice in the birth of Christ?

These are natural -- inevitable -- questions in every part of the
world which is resisting the evil thing.

And even as we ask these questions, we know the answer. There
is another preparation demanded of this nation beyond and beside the pro-
paration of weapons and materials of war. There is demanded also of us

**Document 2: Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill Christmas
Eve greeting from the White House, December 24, 1941, page 3.**

(also) the preparation of our hearts; the arming of our hearts. And when we make ready our hearts for the labor and the suffering and the ultimate victory which lie ahead, then we observe Christmas Day -- with all of its memories and all of its meanings -- as we should.

Looking into the days to come, I have set aside a Day of Prayer, and in that Proclamation I have said:

"The year 1941 has brought upon our nation a war of aggression by powers dominated by arrogant rulers whose selfish purpose is to destroy free institutions. They would thereby take from the freedom-loving peoples of the earth the hard-won liberties gained over many centuries.

"The new year of 1942 calls for the courage and the resolution of old and young to help to win a world struggle in order that we may preserve all that we hold dear.

"We are confident in our devotion to country, in our love of freedom, in our inheritance of courage. But our strength, as the strength of all men everywhere, is of greater avail as God upholds us.

"Therefore, I do hereby appoint the first day of the year 1942 as a day of prayer, of asking forgiveness for our shortcomings of the past, of consecration to the tasks of the present, of asking God's help in days to come.

"We need His guidance that this people may be a humble people, that it may be truthful in spirit but strong in the conviction of the right; steadfast to endure sacrifice, and brave to achieve a victory of liberty and peace."

Our strongest weapon in this war is that conviction of the dignity and brotherhood of man which Christmas Day signifies -- more than any other day or any other symbol.

Document 2: Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill Christmas Eve greeting from the White House, December 24, 1941, page 4.

Against enemies who preach the principles of hate and practice them, to set our faith in human love and in God's care for us and all men everywhere.

It is in that spirit, and with particular thoughtfulness of those, our comrades and brethren, who serve in our armed forces on land and sea, near and far -- those who serve for us and endure for us -- that we light our Christmas candles now across (this) the continent from one coast to the other on this Christmas (evening) 1941.

We have joined with many other nations and peoples in a very great cause. Millions of them have been engaged in the task of defending good with their life-blood for months and for years.

One of their great leaders stands beside me. He and his people in many parts of the world are having their Christmas trees with their little children around them, just as we do here. He and his people have pointed the way in courage and in sacrifice for the sake of little children everywhere.

And so I am asking my associate, (and) my old and good friend, to say a word to the people of America, old and young, tonight -- Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain. (applause)

Document 2: Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill Christmas Eve greeting from the White House, December 24, 1941, page 5.

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AND
HER MAJESTY WILHELMINA, QUEEN OF THE NETHERLANDS
BROADCAST NATIONALLY
AT THE WASHINGTON NAVY YARD
ON THE OCCASION OF THE TRANSFER
OF A SHIP
UNDER THE LEND-LEASE ACT,
AUGUST 6, 1942, at about 1.15 P.M., E.S.T.

The President spoke as follows:

YOUR MAJESTY:

From the earliest days of history, the people of The Netherlands -- your people -- have been willing to fight for their freedom and independence. They have won out in the face of great odds.

Once more they are fighting for that independence. Once more they will win and maintain it.

We, too, in the United States are fighting for our freedom and it is natural and right that The Netherlands and the United States have joined hands in the common struggle.

The gallant exploits of your countrymen have won the admiration of all the other peoples of the world -- first, in The Netherlands itself and later in the Netherlands' Indies where, in the face of overwhelming (numbers) odds, your sons and our sons went down fighting to the bitter end on land and sea and in the air. Their memory inspires us to redouble our efforts for the cause for which they gave their lives.

The Netherlands' Navy is today adding fresh laurels to those already won in battle from the North Sea to the Java Straits. We Americans can know no better cause than to assist your gallant Navy.

It is, therefore, as a tangible expression of our admiration for all that the Netherlands' Navy has done, and is doing, that I have the

Document 3: Remarks of President Roosevelt and Her Majesty Wilhelmina, Queen of the Netherlands, broadcast nationally at the Washington Navy Yard on the occasion of the transfer of a ship under the Lend-Lease Act, August 6, 1942, page 1.

great pleasure of turning over to you, under the provisions of the Lend-Lease Act, this ship.

Built by American workers in American yards, she will hereafter fly the brave Ensign of The Netherlands.

And she will bear the name of one who has come to stand in the eyes of the world as a symbol, a symbol of Netherlands' courage and Netherlands' determination.

For it is as the "QUEEN WILHELMINA" that she will embark upon her new career.

And so I ask Your Majesty to receive this ship as a symbol of the friendship and the admiration of the people of the United States.

The response of Her Majesty Wilhelmina, Queen of the Netherlands, was as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT:

I am very happy that the transfer of this vessel under the provisions of the lend-lease agreement takes place during my presence in Washington. This enables me to thank you personally for your gracious initiative and for your continued personal interest.

I see in this ceremony fresh evidence of the excellent spirit of friendship which ever since the days of John Paul Jones has existed between our two navies.

This admirable vessel, replete with the most modern technical devices, is a valuable addition to our naval forces.

It will operate in close (collaboration) cooperation with the United States Navy against our common enemies. The officers and crew will do all they can to live up to the friendly thought to which we owe this new unit of our Navy.

Document 3: Remarks of President Roosevelt and Her Majesty Wilhelmina, Queen of the Netherlands, broadcast nationally at the Washington Navy Yard on the occasion of the transfer of a ship under the Lend-Lease Act, August 6, 1942. page 2.

- 3 -

I (have) gladly accept(ed) your suggestion to give it my name.
May your love of the sea and of seamanship pervade this vessel
and inspire those on board.

With this wish I now commission the Queen Wilhelmina.

**Document 3: Remarks of President Roosevelt and Her Majesty
Wilhelmina, Queen of the Netherlands, broadcast nationally at the
Washington Navy Yard on the occasion of the transfer of a ship under
the Lend-Lease Act, August 6, 1942, page 3.**

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, declare 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. They adhere to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

2. They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

3. They agree the rights of all peoples to the self-determination of governments under which they live, and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been unjustly deprived of them.

4. They will cooperate, with the support for their emerging allies, to further the rights of all States, great or small, to the free and equal access to the trade and economic resources of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

5. They desire to bring about the fullest possible freedom of nations in the economic field, with the objective of securing for all improved living standards, economic progress and social security.

6. They are determined to oppose any aggression upon the rights of the smaller States, and to support the United Nations in the maintenance of international law and justice.

in respect 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 observe the high law and justice which binds them.

8. They believe that all of the nations of the world, for reasons as well as spiritual and moral, must work to the achievement of the new world. Since no future peace can be maintained if for a man or a State there remains to be sought by force or other means, or by other means, aggression against other States, they believe, pending the establishment of a system of permanent organs of general security, that the determination of such a system is essential. They will therefore aid and encourage all other peoples and nations which will assist in the maintenance of the world's peace and security.

WILSON D. BRANTLEY
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

August 14, 1941

Document 4: The Atlantic Charter, August 14, 1941.



Document 5:

Fourteen Points Speech by Woodrow Wilson

January 8, 1918

Gentlemen of the Congress ...

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view.

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secured once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The program of the world's peace, therefore, is our program; and that program, the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of an autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the governments and peoples associated together against the Imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end.

For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this program does not remove. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this program that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world, -- the new world in which we now live, -- instead of a place of mastery.

Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination.

We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor, and everything that they possess. The moral climax of this the culminating and final war for human liberty has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.



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