

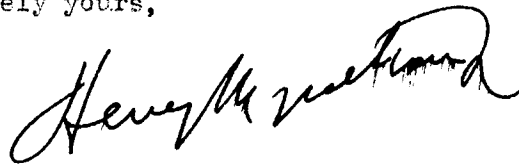
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY  
WASHINGTON

January 13, 1940

Dear Win:

I am enclosing herewith a draft  
of a speech. I have made no commitments  
to give it. I would like to have your  
frank criticisms and suggestions.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Henry M. Jackson".

Mr. Winfield W. Riefler,  
Battle Court Road,  
Princeton, New Jersey.

Enclosure.

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY  
WASHINGTON

September 27, 1940.

Dear Professor Riefler:

It was very good of you to send me a program of the conference you are planning to hold on November 14th and 15th, and to invite me to be present and speak there.

I am very sorry that I cannot accept the invitation as I am going to be away on a holiday during that period. I appreciate your thought of me and shall be interested in seeing any reports of the conference that may be put into printed form.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Benjamin S. Egan". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name "Sincerely,".

Professor Winfield Riefler,  
Battle Road Court,  
Princeton, New Jersey.

Appendix 2  
PROGRAM FOR WORK IN ECONOMICS  
PRESENTED TO ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION IN MARCH, 1940

I. General Orientation of Institute for Advanced Study

The work program of the Institute for Advanced Study differs in several vital respects from that of other academic institutions. It is not organized to teach in the sense that it announces courses, holds classes, or confers degrees. Neither is it equipped as a research institution with the facilities, such as laboratories, necessary to the prosecution of organized research. The Institute consists essentially of a group of individual scholars and the work program of the Institute is organized around the problems engaging the attention of those scholars.

II. Group in Economics

Our group in economics consists of Professors Riefler, Stewart, and Warren. Before coming to the Institute all three had wide and intimate contact with the role played by finance in the organization of contemporary economic society. This contact embraced not only the theoretical formulation of problems, but also the organization of research toward their clarification and the application both of the implications of theory and of the findings of research to the test of utility in the field of public policy.

III. Field of Concentration in Economics

At the Institute the economists propose to concentrate their work toward the increase of understanding of the role played by finance in the economic organization of society, i.e., they propose to devote their energies mainly to a study of economic phenomena from their financial aspects. Their major fields of interest, consequently, are the following:

## A. International Finance

1. Problems of the Foreign Exchanges
  - (a) Exchange controls as compared with free exchanges and fixed exchanges
  - (b) Barter agreements, stabilization funds, and central bank reserves, both gold and foreign exchange
  - (c) The role of central international money markets
  - (d) The so-called "gold" problem
2. Problems of the Balance of Payments
  - (a) Tariffs, quotas, barter agreements, investment flows
  - (b) Economic readjustments consequent on and likely to result from the war
3. Problems of International Capital Movements
  - (a) Long term, short term
  - (b) "Direct" investment vs "market-inspired" movements
  - (c) Equity vs. fixed interest
  - (d) Private vs. public borrowers
  - (e) Private vs. public lenders
  - (f) Hot money
  - (g) Political security for investment

## B. Intra-national Finance

1. Financial organization of society
  - (a) The money market
  - (b) The securities markets -- bonds, equities
  - (c) The mortgage market -- commercial, residential, farm
  - (d) The market for consumer credit
  - (e) Central banks and Treasuries
  - (f) Commercial banking institutions

- (g) Investment bankers
  - (h) Mortgage bankers
  - (i) Financial companies
  - (j) Insurance institutions
  - (k) Trustees institutions
2. Economic Fluctuations
    - (a) Business cycles
    - (b) Savings -- dissavings and investment
    - (c) Capital formation -- gross and net
    - (d) Price phenomena
  3. Fiscal Policy
    - (a) Taxation
    - (b) Public expenditures
  4. The Organization of Financial Risk
    - (a) Interest rates -- short term, long term
    - (b) Profits
    - (c) Losses

#### C. Economics of War Finance

At the present time, when the world is at war, most of these topics take on a further significance. They raise questions of the economic organization of society at war and carry implications with regard to the economic society that will emerge from that war.

#### IV. Methods of Work

The recital of this list of topics is not presented to indicate their relative importance, but merely to give an indication of the scope of the activity that is implied in the phrase "financial organization of society."

Our group proposes to keep in effective contact with this broad field at three levels, namely, (1) the level of theoretical formulation of problems, (2) the level of organized research on problems, and (3) the level of application of the results both of theoretical formulation and of research findings. This involves:

1. Theoretical formulation

- (a) Intimate contact with scholars everywhere working in financial problems through reading of manuscripts, correspondence, and conferences both at Princeton and outside
- (b) Influence on thought through suggestions and criticism of manuscripts, etc., as well as through direct publication

2. Organization of research

- (a) Effective knowledge of research in financial problems now going on, wherever it is located, in universities, research bureaus, public and private, or governmental agencies both here and abroad
- (b) Stimulation of research, clarification of research methods and objectives, and criticism of results, wherever such research is being effectively conducted
- (c) Participation in actual conduct of research, particularly in such programs as those of the Financial Section of the League of Nations and the National Bureau of Economic Research

3. Application of findings

- (a) Maintenance of close consultative arrangements with public policy making bodies in the field of finance, e.g., Treasuries, central banking institutions, both here and abroad, League of Nations

V. Effectiveness of Approach

It is the present judgment of our economic group that effective progress in the social sciences is not to be sought today in a single outstanding

contribution that will revolutionize all thought and lead to the adoption of "proper" policies by statesmen and business men. The economic problems with which they are concerned do not lend themselves to this approach. Rather they consist of clusters of related problems to be worked on all along the line. Each phase must be isolated intellectually to be analyzed and to be clarified through the application of research techniques where research is applicable. Valid findings must then be applied both to the analysis of other problems and to the formulation of policy, as time and circumstance permit.

The current world situation furnishes a concrete example of the applicability of this approach. At the present time with the world convulsed by a major war representing basically two radically different forms of economic organization, there are few general postulates on which the economist in the field of finance can work with any assurance of the applicability of his results in the future. It is necessary consequently for the economist to be sure to restate constantly the theoretical formulation of his problem as circumstances require, to concentrate organized research upon those individual phenomena which meet the requirements of being likely to endure, and to apply such insight as he acquires as opportunity permits.

#### VI. Feasibility of Program

The undertaking here outlined is so broad as to raise the question of its feasibility. Our experience in the short time we have been in existence, however, gives us confidence in our approach. Our economic group is already operating effectively on the lines outlined, particularly at research organizations such as the National Bureau of Economic Research in this country

as well as at comparable centers abroad. They are also in effective contact with public policy making bodies

### VII. Resources Needed

While the Institute has funds to maintain the economic group, its resources are not at present sufficient to give it the support it warrants. We are asking, therefore, for supplementary assistance. These funds requested are not for organized research in finance as such. The fact-finding involved in organized financial research requires large amounts of money, larger than the Institute wishes to administer. When our group work on problems such as these, they expect to prepare separate requests in cooperation with other institutions, such as those already granted by the Foundation in connection with the program of financial research and the program in fiscal policy being conducted under the auspices of the National Bureau of Economic Research. The supplementary funds requested here are to permit our group to carry out their individual participation in these programs as well as the other activities outlined above. A program such as this involves a certain amount of travel and a considerable expense for conferences here in Princeton. It involves, for example, the availability of stipends to permit younger economists just past the Ph.D. level and also more mature men of tested experience in the problem, to work on special aspects of financial problems, and to exploit special studies, illuminated by, but not covered by, the more organized research institutions. Finally, it involves considerable sums to bring to the Institute for longer periods, outstanding scholars in economics and finance both from this country and abroad to work intimately with our group as conditions permit.



6130-32nd Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. March 29, 1940.

Dear Win & Dorothy,

Some days ago, George Marshall, whom you may have known from Brookings days, communicated with Jean Flexner and with me, telling us that Jurgen Kucynski was in a British concentration camp, and asking us to protest to the British Ambassador, the Marquess of Lothian at the British Embassy here. His own letter was a statement of inquiry, a protest in the name of American sentiment which as he pointed out is pro-Ally largely thru anti-Nazi sentiment, and a statement of Jurgen's record. He got a very unsatisfactory answer from the secretary to the British Embassy referring him to the Swiss minister in London who took care of "enemy alien" interests there. George wrote again pointing out that Jurgen's activities did not put him in the enemy alien class. Jean and I decided to inquire further before writing so as to make the protest most effective. While waiting for some cables, Jean got hold of the enclosed which appeared in the London New Statesman. We think it gives ample basis for protesting to the British Ambassador.

I thought you might want to add your protest on Jurgen's behalf. My own letter encloses copy of this clipping asks the British Ambassador to transmit (which is his duty) the protest and that of others to the proper home department of the British Government, emphasizing Jurgen's record in the field of economics and anti-Nazi activity and pointing out that it doesn't help American confidence in the pro-Ally cause since American feeling is largely based on anti-Nazi sentiment.

I am adding a list of other Brookings people I have written to. If you think of some you want to write to, won't you send them a copy of the clipping and request to forward their protests, etc. Finally, would you send a copy of your letter and any replies you may receive to George Marshall, 38 E 57th St New York, N.Y.

Sincerely,

Elsie Gluck Kuznets

Bob Montgomery, U. of Texas, Ralph and Mildred Fletcher, Pittsburgh, Winfield Riefler, Princeton; Theresa Wolfson, New York; Paul Homan, Cornell; Carl Raushenbush; Edna and Arthur McMahon; Hildegard Kneeland, Mordecai Ezekiel, Ed Grey, Oscar Kiessling, George Galloway, Gustav Peck, Woodlief Thomas, Washington, D.C.

This file contained a transcript of a copyright-protected article that has been removed.

The citation for the original is:

Critic, "A London Diary," *New Statesman and Nation*, March 9, 1940, p299.

TO Winfield W. Riefler  
FROM Francis P. Miller

I

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

P. O. Box 2316  
Washington, D. C.

June 5, 1940

The gravity of events moving at lightning speed can no longer be ignored. The threat to our way of life implicit in these events makes it impossible for us to remain silent. We believe that there are responsible citizens in every part of the country who feel as we do.

We spent last Sunday together and, as a result, have drawn up this call to the nation. We hope you will wish to join us in signing it.

We plan to release this statement to the press on Sunday morning, June 9th, in order that it may appear in the morning papers on Monday, June 10th. If you wish to join with us in this call to the nation, will you wire me collect before Saturday noon, June 8th, care of Western Union, National Press Building, Washington, D. C.? I enclose a list of those who are being asked to sign.

Sincerely yours,

Francis P. Miller,

On behalf of the undersigned:

Enclosure

RICHARD F. CLEVELAND, Baltimore.  
STACY MAY, New York.  
HELEN HILL MILLER, Washington.  
WINFIELD W. RIEFLER, Princeton.  
WHITNEY H. SHEPARDSON, New York.

**DECLASSIFIED**  
Authority EO 10501

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

NOT FOR PUBLICATION prior  
to MONDAY, JUNE 10, 1940

A SUMMONS TO SPEAK OUT

The United States has now undertaken to meet the formidable challenge of Nazi Germany. Our program of national defense has been touched off by the invasion of the Netherlands, Belgium and France, and it is designed to repel any German attack on our territory or any invasion of our vital interests.

Belgium once acted in the same way to defend herself. Then, four weeks ago, the fact that she had erected forts on her eastern frontier with guns pointing toward Germany was officially cited by the German government as a justification for invading and subjugating her.

In the German view, the American defense program means that the United States has already joined with Great Britain and France in opposing the Nazi drive for world dominion -- in the American view, Nazi Germany is the mortal enemy of our ideals, our institutions and our way of life.

These hard-won possessions of ours are not for sale. They are not for surrender.

If the British navy is destroyed or taken over, if the French army is defeated in final action, we shall have to face our job alone. We shall have to aid South America single-handed, in the presence of triumphant and hungry aggressors operating across both oceans.

What we have, what we are and what we hope to be can now be most effectively defended on the line in France held by General Weygand. The frontier of our national interest is now on the Somme.

Therefore, all disposable air, naval, military and material resources of the United States should be made available at once to help maintain our common front.

**DECLASSIFIED**  
Authority EO 10501

- 2 -

But such resources cannot be made available fast enough to hold the German army in check on the European continent or to prepare for the eventual attack on American interests so long as the United States remains legally neutral -- nation-wide endorsement of the defense program shows that the American people has ceased to be neutral in any other sense.

For this reason alone, and irrespective of specific uses of our resources thereafter, the United States should immediately give official recognition to the fact and to the logic of the situation -- by declaring that a state of war exists between this country and Germany. Only in this constitutional manner can the energies be massed which are indispensable to the successful prosecution of a program of defense.

National unity must rise out of disunity. Individual sacrifice and dedication must stand in the place of individual self-interest. Above all, the representatives of the people must be made aware that they have only a short breathing-spell left within which to prove their capacity to organize a united initiative. For, unless they act diligently and wholly in the national interest, forgetting themselves and their political ambitions, they will presently find themselves washed out -- and our institutions with them -- by the waters that are rising over the whole world.

The undersigned, as individuals, invite those citizens of the United States who share these views to express them publicly through the free democratic institution of the American press.

(Signatures to follow)

## PRELIMINARY LIST OF THOSE INVITED TO SIGN

Herbert Agar, Louisville, Ky.  
 Burke Baker, Houston, Texas  
 John Balderston, Beverly Hills, Calif.  
 Russell Barnes, Detroit, Mich.  
 Stringfellow Barr, Annapolis, Md.  
 Laird Bell, Chicago, Ill.  
 John D. Biggers, Toledo, Ohio  
 Barry Bingham, Louisville, Ky.  
 James Boyd, Southern Pines, N. C.  
 J. Douglas Brown, Princeton, N. J.  
 John Stewart Bryan, Richmond, Va.  
 Raymond Leslie Buell, New York, N.Y.  
 Henry Miller Busch, Cleveland, Ohio  
 T. J. Caldwell, Houston, Texas  
 Vincent M. Carroll, St. Louis, Mo.  
 Raymond Clapper, Washington, D. C.  
 W. L. Clayton, Houston, Texas  
 Donald Comer, Birmingham, Ala.  
 Edward S. Corwin, Princeton, N. J.  
 R. Fairfax Crow, Houston, Texas  
 Gen. Benedict Crowell, Cleveland, Ohio  
 James F. Curtis, New York, N. Y.  
 Virginius Dabney, Richmond, Va.  
 Jonathan Daniels, Raleigh, N. C.  
 Elmer Davis, New York, N. Y.  
 J. Lionberger Davis, St. Louis, Mo.  
 Thomas M. Debevoise, New York, N. Y.  
 Henry S. Dennison, Framingham, Mass.  
 James C. Derieux, Columbia, S. C.  
 Lewis Williams Douglas, New York, N.Y.  
 Douglas Dow, Detroit, Mich.  
 David Dubinsky, New York, N.Y.  
 Major George Fielding Eliot, Brooklyn, N.Y.  
 Brooks Emeny, Cleveland, Ohio  
 Mark Ethridge, Louisville, Ky.  
 Harry Fisher, Bouton, Iowa  
 Walter T. Fisher, Chicago, Ill.  
 Ralph E. Flanders, Springfield, Vt.  
 D. F. Fleming, Nashville, Tenn.  
 Blanton Fortson, Athens, Georgia  
 Douglas S. Freeman, Richmond, Va.  
 John Fry, Washington, D. C.  
 Edwin F. Gay, Pasadena, Calif.  
 Edward T. Gushee, St. Louis, Mo.  
 Grover C. Hall, Montgomery, Ala.  
 Alvin H. Hansen, Cambridge, Mass.  
 J. Edward Hardy, Louisville, Ky.  
 Julian LaRose Harris, Chattanooga, Tenn.  
 George M. Harrison, Cincinnati, Ohio  
 Coleman Harwell, Nashville, Tenn.  
 John R. Hayden, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
 Carlton J. H. Hayes, New York, N. Y.  
 Brooks Hays, Little Rock, Ark.  
 Marion Hedges, Washington, D. C.  
 J. N. Heiskell, Little Rock, Ark.  
 Blakey Helm, Louisville, Ky.  
 William H. Hessler, Cincinnati, Ohio  
 George Watts Hill, Durham, N. C.  
 Howard Hill, Minburn, Iowa  
 Sidney Hillman, New York, N. Y.  
 Col. LeRoy Hodges, Richmond, Va.  
 Eric Hodgins, New York, N.Y.  
 Edwin P. Hubble, San Marino, Calif.  
 B. E. Hutchinson, Detroit, Mich.  
 R. Livingston Ireland, Jr., Cleveland, Ohio  
 Louis I. Jaffe, Norfolk, Va.  
 Edward Keating, Washington, D. C.  
 Dexter M. Keezer, Portland, Ore.  
 Frank Knox, Chicago, Ill.  
 Arthur Krock, Washington, D. C.  
 Edward R. Lewis, Winnetka, Ill.  
 E. K. Lindley, Washington, D. C.  
 Edna Lonigan, Brooklyn, N.Y.  
 Henry Luce, New York, N.Y.  
 George W. Martin, New York, N. Y.  
 L. Randolph Mason, New York, N. Y.  
 Geoffrey Mayo, Pasadena, Calif.  
 Anne O'Hare McCormick, New York, N. Y.  
 General Frank R. McCoy, New York, N. Y.  
 Ralph E. McGill, Atlanta, Ga.  
 Edward J. Meeman, Memphis, Tenn.  
 Charles Merz, New York, N. Y.  
 Walter Millis, New York, N. Y.  
 George Fort Milton, Chattanooga, Tenn.  
 Felix Morley, Washington, D. C.  
 Paul Scott Mowrer, Chicago, Ill.  
 Quigg Newton, Denver, Colorado  
 G. Bernard Noble, Portland, Ore.  
 Gerard S. Nollen, Des Moines, Iowa  
 J. Van Dyke Norman, Jr., Louisville, Ky.  
 General John F. O'Ryan, New York, N. Y.  
 Clarence Poe, Raleigh, N. C.  
 Frederick H. Reid, Denver, Colo.  
 Josephine Roche, Denver, Colo.  
 John D. Rockefeller, Jr., New York, N. Y.  
 Theodore W. Schultz, Ames, Iowa  
 William B. Smith, Roanoke, Va.  
 Charles M. Spence, St. Louis, Mo.  
 Admiral W. H. Standley, New York, N. Y.  
 Raymond Gram Swing, New York, N. Y.  
 J. Foster Symes, Denver, Colo.  
 Dorothy Thompson, New York, N.Y.  
 Clifton M. Utley, Chicago, Ill.  
 William Waller, Nashville, Tenn.  
 Walter F. Wanger, Los Angeles, Calif.  
 W. W. Waymack, Des Moines, Iowa  
 Philip Weltner, Atlanta, Ga.  
 Lloyd Wentworth, Portland, Ore.  
 Lloyd White, Cleveland, Ohio  
 William Allen White, Emporia, Kans.  
 Daniel Willard, Jr., Baltimore, Md.  
 David J. Winton, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 Harold E. Wood, St. Paul, Minn.  
 General Robert E. Wood, Chicago, Ill.  
 Henry M. Wriston, Providence, R. I.  
 Edward A. Wyatt, Petersburg, Va.

## A SUMMONS TO SPEAK OUT

The United States has now undertaken to meet the formidable challenge of Nazi Germany. Our program of national defense has been touched off by the invasion of the Low Countries and France, and it is designed to repel any German attack on our territory or any invasion of our vital interests.

Belgium once acted in the same way to defend herself. Then, three weeks ago, the fact that she had erected forts on her eastern frontier was officially cited by the German government as a justification for invading and subjugating her.

In the German view the United States has now joined with Great Britain and France in opposing the Nazi drive for world dominion. In the American view, Germany is the brutal enemy of our ideals, our institutions and our way of life.

These hard-won possessions are not for sale. They are not for surrender.

If the British navy is destroyed or taken over, if the French army is defeated in final action, we shall have to face our job alone. We shall have to aid South America single-handed, and we shall find ourselves handcuffed in the Pacific because of a menace on the Atlantic side.

What we have, what we are and what we hope to be, can now be most effectively defended on the line in France held by General Weygand. Our frontiers are on the Seine.

Therefore, all disposable military, naval and material resources of the United States should be made available at once to the Allies to help maintain our common front.

- 2 -

But such resources can not be made available fast enough to hold the German army in check on the European Continent or to prepare for the eventual attack on American interests, so long as the United States remains in a condition and state of mind of <sup>legal</sup> neutrality.

For this reason alone, and irrespective of the specific steps taken thereafter, the United States should immediately give official recognition to the fact and to the logic of the situation - by declaring that a state of war exists between this country and Germany. Only in this constitutional manner can the energies be roused which are indispensable to the successful prosecution of a program of defense.

National unity must rise out of dignity. Individual sacrifice and dedication must stand in the place of self-interest. Above all, the representatives of the people must be made aware that they have only a short breathing-spell left within which to prove their unqualified devotion to their duty. For unless they act diligently and wholly in the national interest, forgetting themselves and their political ambitions, they will presently find themselves washed out - and our institutions with them - by the waters that are rising over the whole world.

The undersigned, as individuals, invite those citizens of the United States who share these views to express them publicly through the free democratic institution of the American press.



✓ Please telephone me any criticisms or  
suggested changes

c/o Raymond Foodick

Newtown (Conn.) 314

where I shall be from 5.30 P.M. today (Tuesday)  
until 10 A.M. tomorrow, Wednesday.

Please let me know, in particular,  
which of the following "heads" you  
prefer -

A Call to the Nation

Action Now

A Call to Speak Out

A Summons to Speak Out

I like the last best. I think it is  
a more exact description of the nature  
of the broadcast, and I think it is not  
so pretentious as the first title.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'WMS' or similar, written in a cursive style.

COPY

BELL, BOYD & MARSHALL  
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET  
CHICAGO

June 6, 1940

To Richard F. Cleveland  
Stacy May  
Francis P. Miller  
Helen Hill Miller  
Winfield W. Riefler  
Whitney E. Shepardson

Dear Friends:

I am not joining in your statement. I think to publish this statement at this time is unwise. I think it is unwise from the point of view of your own objects.

I hope that when you and the others discussed this matter last Sunday you not only considered whether war ought to be declared, but also the effect of the publishing of your manifesto.

Even if it is desirable, war is not going to be declared next week. Your statement is going to be published next week. I hope that you will reconsider and that it will not be published because its effect in the Middle West is going to be one of antagonizing people to your main objects. This will be especially true if

2

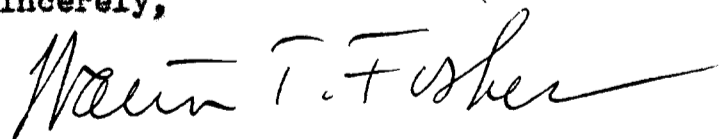
June 6, 1940

the preponderance of the signers is located on the Atlantic seaboard. If this preponderance turns out to be the fact when you get your replies in, I hope that for this reason alone you will reconsider publishing at this time.

The country is now unified upon a program of rapid increase in the production of war materials and for the preparation of <sup>war</sup> war. Your manifesto will tend to split that unity. While I believe - and have so stated since last September - that the United States is in substance in the war and should prepare accordingly and should support France and England to the utmost of its ability, large numbers of our fellow citizens still view with abhorrence this method of describing the situation. This is the method of your manifesto and it will tend in my opinion to create opposition to the U.S.A. doing those very things which are essential.

To repeat, you are not going to get your immediate declaration of war however valuable it might be in the way of encouraging the Allies and discouraging Italy. Therefore, believing <sup>your manifesto</sup> ~~it~~ will do more harm than good, I urge you not to publish at least for the present.

Sincerely,



WTF PLS

BELL, BOYD & MARSHALL

COPY

June 17, 1940

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller  
National Policy Committee  
National Press Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Helen:

I find that Alexander Sachs is deeply hurt that he was not asked to sign our Summons. I think it would be well if you were sure to invite him to the conference on the 29th.

Sincerely,

Winfield W. Riefler

NATIONAL POLICY COMMITTEE  
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

June 14, 1940

TO Members of the Special Committee on Implications of a  
German Victory

FROM Helen Hill Miller

When we decided on the week-end of June 28-30 for the meeting of the full committee, we did not realize that there would be a conflict of schedule with a meeting in New York on Friday, June 28th, which a number of our members wish to attend. In order to avoid this conflict, we will begin our Princeton meeting at 10:00 a.m., daylight saving time, on the morning of Saturday, June 29th, and plan to have sessions on Sunday afternoon as well as Sunday morning, June 30th.

The Committee will meet at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. Members are requested to make their own hotel reservations, and, since the Princeton Inn is usually crowded at this time of year, it is probably desirable to write promptly.

Within the next few days I shall have made a digest of Saturday's remarks which may serve as a preamble to the agenda. I would be grateful for suggestions concerning all available memos on one phase or another of the questions we discussed, which we may send to members of the full committee in advance of their meeting.

FRANK MILES, Editor

PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY

R. J. LAIRD, Business Manager

# IOWA LEGIONAIRE



Argonne-Armory Building  
East First Street, North of Grand Avenue  
DES MOINES

June 10, 1940

Mr. Winfield W. Riefler, Economist  
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Sir:

The Associated Press report that you are one of a group of thirty persons who in a meeting at Washington, D.C., Sunday, urged the United States to enter the European war immediately moves me to ask:

What fighting did you do in the last war?

Are you now of an age and of physical and mental fitness which would enable you to do military service?

If you could not be in our armed forces, how many of your own sons would be?

If we go to war now, what would you have our men fight with?

Kindly reply by return mail.

Yours very truly,

*Frank Miles*  
FRANK MILES Editor  
Iowa Legionaire

FM/H

W E A R Y O U R L E G I O N B U T T O N

June 17, 1940

Mr. Frank Milos, Editor  
Iowa Legionaire  
Argonne-Armory Building  
East First Street, North of Grand Avenue  
Des Moines, Iowa

Dear Mr. Milos:

Thank you for your letter of June 10th. I feel it is proper that individuals who feel that it is very important for the United States to enter the war immediately should make available the background from which they speak. I do not, however, feel that the implications of your questions are in all cases proper. They seem to indicate that only those males who are of an age to enter the army and are willing to do so should express an opinion with respect to the attitude this country should take in this hour of peril. Personally I do not believe it is right to attempt to suppress public opinion in this matter; Congress urgently needs information with respect to the attitude of the people of this country irrespective of whether they are personally males or of a fighting age.

I was twenty years old, a sophomore at Amherst College, when the United States entered the last War. Steps were immediately taken to form an ambulance section at the college to be sent over as rapidly as possible. I volunteered, was enlisted in the National Army on July 18, 1917, sailed for France on August 6th and landed in St. Nazaire around August 16th, in the first convoy of the American troops to arrive directly in France. After preliminary training, we were sent to the front on October 1, 1917 and were there continuously until the Armistice. From October 1, 1917 to June 6, 1918 we operated in the Champagne sector which was relatively quiet much of the time. After that our division, the 5th French Division, was incorporated in the 10th French Army and took part in the Marne-Aisne, Oise-Aisne and Ypres-Lys major offensives. After the Armistice we entered Germany in the Army of Occupation and were stationed at Bad-Durken until the end of Feb., 1919. We were then returned to this country, arriving on April 3rd and were demobilized on April 10, 1919. Our unit was one of the few American units which was awarded the Fourragere. I was personally awarded the Croix de Guerre.



Mr. Frank Miles

-2-

June 17, 1940

I do not know whether I would be physically and mentally acceptable to the United States or not, if the United States should enter the present war. I have two sons, aged 12 and 14, who would not now be available, but who will certainly be called upon when Germany wins in Europe. When we do fight, as fight we assuredly shall, our boys must be given the best and most adequate equipment possible. This country must be mobilized to produce armaments in inconceivably greater quantities than are now planned. Such industrial mobilization will never take place so long as we are technically at peace. Nobody can doubt that, had the United States formally declared war last autumn, instead of hiding legally behind the Neutrality Act, the present supplies of airplanes, tanks, guns and munitions available for our armed forces would be inconceivably greater than they actually are. If we declare war now, the supplies of airplanes, tanks, guns, munitions and trained troops available next Spring will be infinitely greater than if we proceed along the present halting program, in fact at war with Germany, but without taking internal measures consistent with that situation. The most important thing for the American people to realize is that they are in fact at war and to act consistently with that fact.

Very sincerely yours,

Winfield W. Riefner

June 17, 1940

Mr. Frank Miles, Editor  
 Iowa Legionairs  
 Argonne-Armory Building  
 East First Street, North of Grand Avenue  
 Des Moines, Iowa

Dear Mr. Miles:

Thank you for your letter of June 10th. I feel it is proper that individuals who feel that it is very important for the United States to enter the war immediately should make available the background from which they speak. I do not, however, feel that the implications of your questions are in all cases proper. They seem to indicate that only those males who are of an age to enter the army and are willing to do so should express an opinion with respect to the attitude this country should take in this hour of peril. Personally I do not believe it is right to attempt to suppress public opinion in this matter; Congress urgently needs information with respect to the attitude of the people of this country irrespective of whether they are personally males or of a fighting age.

I was twenty years old, a sophomore at Amherst College, when the United States entered the last War. Steps were immediately taken to form an ambulance section at the college to be sent over as rapidly as possible. I volunteered, was enlisted in the National Army on July 18, 1917, sailed for France on August 6th and landed in St. Nazaire around August 16th, in the first convey of the American troops to arrive directly in France. After preliminary training, we were sent to the front on October 1, 1917 and were there continuously until the Armistice. From October 1, 1917 to June 6, 1918 we operated in the Champagne sector which was relatively quiet much of the time. After that our division, the 5th French Division, was incorporated in the 10th French Army and took part in the Marne-Aisne, Oise-Aisne and Ypres-Lys major offensives. After the Armistice we entered Germany in the Army of Occupation and were stationed at Bad-Durkum until the end of February, 1919. We were then returned to this country, arriving on April 3rd and were demobilized on April 10, 1919. Our unit was one of the few American units which was awarded the Fourragere. I was personally awarded the Croix de Guerre.

I do not know whether I would be physically and mentally acceptable to the United States or not, if the United States should enter the present war. I have two sons, aged 12 and 14, who would not now be available, but who will certainly be called upon when Germany wins in Europe. When we do fight, as fight we assuredly shall, our boys must be given the best and most adequate equipment possible. This country must be mobilized to produce armaments in inconceivably greater quantities than are now planned. Such industrial mobilization will never take place so long as we are technically at peace. Nobody can doubt that, had the United States formally declared

Mr. Frank Miles

-2-

June 17, 1940

war last autumn, instead of hiding legally behind the Neutrality Act, the present supplies of airplanes, tanks, guns and munitions available for our armed forces would be inconceivably greater than they actually are. If we declare war now, the supplies of airplanes, tanks, guns, munitions and trained troops available next Spring will be infinitely greater than if we proceed along the present halting program, in fact at war with Germany, but without taking internal measures consistent with that situation. The most important thing for the American people to realize is that they are in fact at war and to act consistently with that fact.

Very sincerely yours,

Winfield W. Riefler

FRANK MILES, Editor

PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY

R. J. LAIRD, Business Manager

# IOWA LEGIONNAIRE



Argonne-Armory Building  
East First Street, North of Grand Avenue  
DES MOINES

June 20, 1940

Mr. Winfield W. Riefler  
School of Economics and Politics  
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Comrade:

Thank you for your kindly and intelligent letter, and congratulations on your splendid war record!

While we disagree as to whether or not America should declare war at the present, I am glad to have your viewpoint. Basically we are together.

With all good wishes, I am

Faithfully yours,

*Frank*  
FRANK MILES, Editor  
Iowa Legionnaire

FM/H

W E A R Y O U R L E G I O N B U T T O N

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

P. O. Box 2316  
Washington, D. C.  
June 20, 1940

MEMORANDUM TO THOSE INVITED TO SIGN  
"A SUMMONS TO SPEAK OUT"

From the 127 persons invited to sign the "Summons" released to the press on June 10th, 83 replies were received. Thirty expressed their desire to sign and one indicated that he would have signed had he received the letter in time. Among the remaining 52 replies, there were only six vigorous dissents from the proposed statement. While not wishing to subscribe to the paragraph favoring a declaration of war, 46 indicated their approval of other paragraphs in the Summons and suggested alternative means of effecting the same end that the signers desired. To further the interchange of thought on this subject, permission has been obtained to circulate privately, to the list of persons originally asked to sign, the following replies:

Burke Baker, Houston, Texas:

Glad to sign "A Summons to Speak Out." This has been my view since September first. Although most people are afraid of the words "declaration of war" they now want to give allies all possible aid, and such aid cannot be given quickly enough nor our own defense program carried forward rapidly enough without the national unity which a declaration of war would bring.

Barry Bingham and Mark Ethridge, Louisville, Kentucky:

We are not willing to urge declaration of war. We subscribe heartily to Courier-Journal editorial of June 6 which you may find on file in our Washington office. But, if purpose of declaration of war is to abrogate neutrality, it can be done more easily. Moreover, Attorney General's ruling opens way for material help which undoubtedly will follow. If purpose is to establish emergency economy in this country, we feel your manifesto would injure rather than help the Allies. The President could not for minute afford to urge bestowal of emergency powers. Public opinion is not ready for it and movement toward that end would only create resistance to help that can otherwise be given. Asking A. P. to get statement.

- 2 -

T. J. Caldwell, Houston, Texas:

Replying to your letter of June 5, I regret that I cannot join the list of those who will sign "A Summons to Speak Out."

Although I am, and have been all along, entirely in favor of our doing everything that we can, short of sending troops to Europe, to assist the Allies, I have not reached the point of being convinced that our declaring war would be especially helpful and certainly I would not feel free to urge such action upon those in authority. If war were declared by those who know the situation much better than I, it would meet with my entire approval.

I have had the feeling that the threat of our going into war probably would have something to do with keeping Italy out, which I think is a substantial contribution to the Allies.

I feel very highly complimented that you included me in your list, and I would be interested in knowing what the general reaction to your suggestion is.

Vincent Carroll, St. Louis, Missouri:

I read your note of June 5 and its enclosures as earnestly as I ever have read anything in my life.

I am exactly 100 per cent in agreement with your objectives and with your conclusions in every respect except as to the technique by which you hope to focus public sentiment. There can not be any doubt that, in this section of the country at least, sentiment is 95 to 5 in favor of giving France and England all the help anybody knows how to give them. I don't believe, however, the state of mind here has crystallized to the point where it is ready for a declaration of war. To the uninitiated, that means the immediate sending of whatever expeditionary force we are able to muster. And the determination of our rank and file is not that strong yet. If there is some middle ground beyond neutrality, short of declaration of war, which would serve your purpose equally well, I think this maneuver would be infinitely more effective. In a week or ten days, perhaps, the thermometer may have risen to the place where the declaration you propose would have the desired results. I am fearful that such a battle cry is just a trifle too far ahead of the trend.

I want to be helpful to whatever degree my name will be helpful, but if its use would influence any one, I believe I'd like to save it until the time when it might be effective. I feel that time is not quite yet as to a declaration.

So, it is with sorrowful regret that I can not go along with you at the moment. Please bear in mind, however, if the situation develops, that I'd like to do what I can. What's everybody's business is nobody's business and subject only to the test that it must appeal to me as an effective maneuver, I am ready to do whatever I can, in my small way, to help to arouse this country to its peril.

- 3 -

W. L. Clayton, Houston, Texas:

Referring your letter and my air mail reply, may I suggest following as the outside limit to which in my opinion American people willing to go at present:

First, Congress should repeal neutrality act because it no longer correctly interprets national sentiment and national interest of American people.

Second, Congress should repeal Johnson Act and authorize President in his discretion to extend credits to Allies up to one billion dollars for purchase agricultural, mineral and industrial products of the United States including munitions of war.

Third, President should extend every possible aid to the Allies including permission to them to recruit volunteers in the United States.

Fourth, Congress should appropriate one hundred million dollars to the American Red Cross for relief of refugees in England and France.

If you and your group will amend your statements to correspond to above, will be glad to join you and want to pay my part of expense.

Jonathan Daniels, Raleigh, North Carolina:

I must vigorously decline to sign your "summons." I have the greatest respect for you and your opinions but I cannot help but feel that you are engaged now in an effort to mobilize American intellectuals in the hysteria which is already so widespread.

Even if this great decision which you would have us make were based only on aid to the Allies, I doubt whether it would serve their cause significantly today. We certainly could not get into the battle raging on the Somme. We could not put troops into Europe for months. We could not appreciably increase the material assistance we are already giving. There is no lack of funds for Allied purchases now.

However, I think our great job, if the world is threatened with totalitarian triumph, is the protection and defense of this hemisphere and perhaps of parts of the East. If we should go precipitately into a war which might be lost in Europe almost as we entered it, whatever power and prestige we might have in the limiting of a victorious German peace would be lost.

If we are going to war in the future, we have already begun to move with dispatch in preparation for it. My own fear today is that we may embrace fascism at home in the guise of defense against fascism abroad. I agree we must prepare and promptly. I share your hope for an Allied victory. But I think an expression, from the group to which you have written, of a demand for immediate war would be a dangerous emotional pressure from the very people who ought to keep their heads.

- 4 -

I hope you will forgive me if I seem too vigorous in my dissent. But since I think you are doing a dangerous - even from the standpoint of the strategy of democracy, if you will - an ill-advised thing, I would not be your friend nor entitled to the honor you paid me in asking me to join you if I did not speak out straight and with all the vigor I am able to command.

Douglas Dow, Detroit, Michigan:

I agree with letter up to the point of declaring war. Will approve statement recommending non-belligerent status and scrapping of artificial legislation but believe strongly that present problem is production and that this can best be achieved under Knudsen's committee operating under peace time law. A transition to a war economy at this time might delay needed production by as much as six months.

Walter T. Fisher, Chicago, Illinois:

I am not joining in your statement. I think to publish this statement at this time is unwise. I think it is unwise from the point of view of your own objects.

I hope that when you and the others discussed this matter last Sunday you not only considered whether war ought to be declared, but also the effect of the publishing of your manifesto.

Even if it is desirable, war is not going to be declared next week. Your statement is going to be published next week. I hope that you will reconsider and that it will not be published because its effect in the Middle West is going to be one of antagonizing people to your main objects. This will be especially true if the preponderance of the signors is located on the Atlantic seaboard. If this preponderance turns out to be the fact when you get your replies in, I hope that for this reason alone you will reconsider publishing at this time.

The country is now unified upon a program of rapid increase in the production of war materials and for the preparation for war. Your manifesto will tend to split that unity. While I believe - and have so stated since last September - that the United States is in substance in the war and should prepare accordingly and should support France and England to the utmost of its ability, large numbers of our fellow citizens still view with abhorrence this method of describing the situation. This is the method of your manifesto and it will tend in my opinion to create opposition to the U.S.A. doing those things which are essential.

To repeat, you are not going to get your immediate declaration of war however valuable it might be in the way of encouraging the Allies and discouraging Italy. Therefore, believing your manifesto will do more harm than good, I urge you not to publish at least for the present.



- 5 -

Ralph E. Flanders, Springfield, Vermont:

Your draft of a call to the nation has been received. I wholeheartedly approve your purpose but am doubtful as to the means proposed. A declaration of war would start the nation onto a slow, massive preparation including the draft training camp, etc., and an entry into the war when it would be months or years too late. What is urgently demanded is immediate legislation by this Congress before adjournment authorizing the production of airplanes, tanks and shells to the full limit of the enormous productive capacity of this nation, said supplies to be turned over to the allies neither for cash nor credit but as a free gift to a common cause. In addition, new taxes should be imposed heavy enough to pay for these supplies as they are made so far as it is possible to do so without decreasing their production under a free economy. I am sure you will find the nation more ready to back you up in this than on a declaration of war and we will thereby stand a better chance of saving western civilization.

E. Howard Hill, Minburn, Iowa:

I want you to know that I gave your statement, "A Summons to Speak Out," my most careful consideration.

Frankly, my strongest impulse was to sign. I did not sign because I think we should have been in about six months ago. Now I'm afraid the thing will be over before we could render any very effective aid and having declared war we would either have to finish the thing or be finished. Perhaps there will be a breathing spell of a year or two in which we can get ourselves prepared. Another reason I did not sign is that I do not feel well enough informed to make a decision of this importance.

You may be interested in knowing that I made my decision against the advice of practically every one I talked to about the matter. The day your letter came several of us Dallas County farmers went on a soil conservation tour in Madison County to the south. Every farmer in our group thought the U.S. should get in and help. I asked the question very bluntly, "Should the U. S. declare war?" and was fairly bowled over by the unanimity of affirmative answers. I put my question to hired men pitching hay in the field, to county agents, and to small town business men and they didn't seem to be a bit shocked by the question. So the middle-west has its mind made up whether it has thought the thing through or not I don't know.

May I say that I greatly admire you and your group for having the courage to make your convictions known and for trying to do something about them. Time may prove that you were absolutely right in wanting our government to take this step now.

- 6 -

Louis I. Jaffe, Norfolk, Virginia:

I have read your letter of June 5 with great travail of spirit. I agree with the manifesto's appraisal of the meaning to us of the European struggle, but I cannot gain the consent of my reasoning or my conscience to join in a recommendation that our government should, at this time, declare a state of war to exist between the United States and Germany.

Something more is needed to establish a casus belli that would be recognized as imperious by the American people. Maybe that will develop later. I do not close my mind to that eventuality. But I think that to urge a declaration of war against Germany now is to court a negative answer that would be in the last degree unfortunate. The country is not ready for it. It is ready for "everything possible except actual war" and in the exploration of that very evident public consent, I think, lies the greatest opportunity to bring the allies material help. I think public opinion is now ready to countenance supplying the Allies with planes, guns and even destroyers from our own military stores, and even to repeal the Johnson Act and the Neutrality Act, if necessary, to accomplish this aid. That, I think, is the most promising field for pressure by your group -- which is also my group in every material respect save that which calls for an immediate declaration of war by the United States against Germany. The rebuff that such a demand would encounter, in the present state of American opinion as I have been able to gauge it, would, I fear, endanger the objectives that are coming within reach.

Gerard S. Nollen, Des Moines, Iowa:

While believe we should follow vigorous program of preparation and give allies every possible assistance in form of war and other materials, feel would be grave error make formal declaration of state of war. I am supporting position taken by William Allen White's committee and urge you do likewise.

Clarence Poe, Raleigh, North Carolina:

I am appalled at your committee's willingness to include no denunciation of war as a system but merely to answer with preparation of more war. In a world as now organized, I approve war preparation as necessary and inevitable but America should let all other nations know that our supreme hope is not merely to answer terror with terror, blood with blood, and death with death, but to work resolutely and unceasingly for a new world order in keeping with the professed ideals of America and Christianity. I am heart-sickened by a triumphant cynicism everywhere demanding that America must both acknowledge and accept "the law of the jungle" as the supreme and inescapable destiny of mankind.

- 7 -

Charles M. Spence, St. Louis, Missouri:

It has been with genuine and troubled regret that I have found myself unable to respond as you request to your circular letter of June 5. My reasons for not doing so are so confused that I have some difficulty expressing them even to myself, and yet you may be interested in some indication of what they are.

Heaven knows I would regard the defeat of the Allies as an unspeakable tragedy. By that token I am in favor of giving them every possible aid short of war that we can. I am not convinced, however, that in the immediate future we could be of appreciably greater assistance to them by declaring war on Germany than otherwise. The humiliating and deplorable, but plain, fact is that we are not in a position to defend ourselves, much less give France and Great Britain military assistance. That being true, it seems to me that our formal entry into the war would be of only doubtful psychological value to the Allies and would embark us on an extremely perilous course should they be defeated before we could give them effective aid -- as they well might be.

It seems to me that in all these circumstances the best we can do is to give the Allies as much aid as we can with credits and materials of war, and prepare as speedily and efficiently as possible, not only to defend our interests should the necessity arise but to give the Allies effective aid should that become possible before the close of the war. For these reasons I am not presently willing to go as far as you and your associates.

# THE SPRINGFIELD UNION

SPRINGFIELD UNION PUBLISHING COMPANY

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

19 June 1940

Published  
MORNING  
AND  
EVENING

Dear Win:

How funny we should both have started to hunt each other up within a couple of months. Memories of the war, I suppose, are responsible.

But I remembered you as a man of better arguments than the one you offered in a letter. After all, your claim was made in England, which makes it suspect; and Britain herself didn't think the Czech army was worth fighting for; and finally, the argument that the United States is to Britain as Britain was to Czechoslovakia doesn't seem to me sound.

But let's talk about it instead of writing about it. I'd be delighted to see you. Orleans, however, is a long way off for people without a car. My wife...not the one you met...suggests you or your family or both you and your family, if you drive back and forth from New Jersey to the Cape might find this a good half-way spot for a meal...our apartment very unhappily isn't large enough to put anyone but us to bed in it. But we'd be very glad to feed you no matter how many you have become in these fifteen or twenty years. Only, let us know ahead of time, at 208 Pearl Street, because my hours are particularly irregular and we are not infrequently out of town over the week end.

Try hard to stop in.

Best,

Bill

These articles are protected by copyright and have been removed.

The citations for the originals are:

“A Fighter Then and Now.” [The New York Herald Tribune, June 13, 1940.]

Millis, Walter. “A Statement of Conviction.” [The New York Herald Tribune, June 13, 1940.]

October 30, 1940

Honorable Frank A. Walker  
United States Postmaster General  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Walker:

I haven't sent you the letter I promised you because, as the campaign has developed, my reasons for supporting the reelection of President Roosevelt seemed to become increasingly the wrong reasons. By "wrong" I mean reasons which seem, somehow or other, to be unpopular in the closing phases of a campaign.

Although both parties talk about "the" crisis, I doubt whether any appreciable portion of the American people remotely apprehend the depth of the crisis they are in, and have been in for months now. They are going blithely through all the motions of a political campaign as though the exercise of democratic functions represented an inalienable privilege for beings fortunate enough to reside in this country, rather than a right of citizenship achieved through great effort and at the cost of great sacrifice. There is much talk in radio and press of "democracy," our democracy here in the United States, being in jeopardy, but I defy anyone listening to these now almost hackneyed phrases to distill from them a realization of how deep that jeopardy is, how tenuous the thread of national strength and security on which the present exercise of our ancient rights depends.

The evacuation of Dunkerque took place less than six months ago. It was a brilliant military maneuver executed with bravery and daring. Its success and the consequences ensuing from its success, however, cannot be ascribed solely to brilliance, bravery, or daring. They were also due in large part to luck. There is a large element of chance in the fact that the British are still at war and not yet, like the French, "coordinated" into "the new European system." There is also, consequently, a large element of chance in the fact that we are having time to arm, time to debate the nature and extent of our aid to Britain, time even to hold an election. No one would imagine from the current tone of political discussion in this country that the American people were remotely aware of the true significance of that historical accident at Dunkerque. If they

Honorable Frank A. Walker

-2-

October 30, 1940

were, we would not now be discussing domestic issues at all, and our leaders would not now be casting around for a foreign policy formula composed of such unstable and mutually exclusive ingredients as "all aid to Britain" and "no participation in war."

I feel that Hitler is within a hairs' breadth of achieving his "new European system," that the military and economic potential of that system exceeds ours, and rivals ours in power even after we add to our own strength the full resources of the British Empire, of Latin America and of potential allies in the East, that it is an aggressive system which must by its very nature come in conflict with our own. I feel that whether or not we enter the war is not a matter of our choice, that whether or not we fight is not for us to decide any more than it was a matter for the Norwegian people to decide. What we can decide still, thanks to the "accident of Dunkerque," is how rapidly we shall try to arm, and when we shall acknowledge that we must fight. If Hitler in the present campaign in the Mediterranean succeeds as brilliantly as in the Battle of France, even that choice is distinctly limited. I feel that we should have entered the war long ago, that the longer we defer the less are our chances of survival.

Neither President Roosevelt nor Mr. Willkie seem to subscribe to this view. Both take the position that we are sufficiently remote from the crisis to be able to exercise choice as to whether or not we participate. President Roosevelt seems to me, however, to be much more aware of the problem than Mr. Willkie. This is not my only or main reason for supporting Mr. Roosevelt, however. I am voting for him because I do not think we have time to change administrations. I fear that Mr. Hitler is definitely taking the American presidential campaign into his time calculations and that he is planning to present to the world another breath-taking victory immediately after the American elections. I think he is doing this in the hope that the United States will at that moment be relatively immobilized by its internal campaign. As a citizen I wish to do my utmost to nullify this plan.

I have wanted to talk to you personally during these last weeks, but have not been able to get to Washington. My best to you.

As ever,

Winfield W. Stiefler

Boris  
Bullitt

September 3, 1940

Dear Sir:

Your letter of August 27th with regard to Madame  
Boris has been received while Mr. Riefler is away  
from Princeton.

I am forwarding this to him immediately and  
know that he will be most grateful to you for the  
trouble you have taken in this regard.

Very truly yours,

Secretary

Honorable William C. Bullitt  
Ambassador to France  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.



ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

August 27, 1940

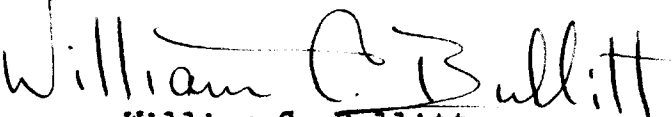
Dear Mr. Riefler:

I have for acknowledgment your letter of August 25, concerning Madame Boris and Georges Boris' son by his first wife.

You might wish to write to Boris, as I did myself over two weeks ago, that his wife is safe and well. I am sorry I have no news about his son. I have also written to the American Embassy at Vichy regarding Madame Boris, and as soon as I receive any further information I will let Boris know in London.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

  
William C. Bullitt

Dr. Winfield W. Riefler,  
Institute for Advanced Study,  
School of Economics and Politics,  
Princeton, New Jersey.

Boris E. W.

August 25, 1940

Dear Boris:

I was heartbroken to receive your letter of August 5th, but glad that you had escaped to England and proud to know that you had joined de Gaulle's Legion.

I am, of course, very anxious to be of help, but it is difficult for me to know just exactly what to do. I have written Ambassador Bullitt to find out whether he knows anything of the whereabouts of Mrs. Boris or of your son. If your son should come to this country, I will of course do all that I can to help him out. My big problem is to know how to go about arrangements, inasmuch as I do not know the boy or his mother. I should think it would be necessary for you through some mutual friend in France to make the arrangements for getting him over here, notifying me so that I can be on the alert to meet him when he comes.

My heart goes out to you in this period of trial. Let's hope that we can save at least some individuals from the catastrophe.

Sincerely,

M. Georges Boris  
25 Collingham Gardens  
London, S. W. 5  
ENGLAND

August 25, 1940

My dear Ambassador Bullitt:

I am in receipt of a very frantic letter from M. Georges Boris, who is now in England with de Gaulle, concerning the fate of his wife, Mme. Boris, and his son by his first wife, Mme. Hoinbach. He states in his letter that he has written to you about his wife, but has not yet received a reply.

Naturally I am anxious to be as helpful as I can to Boris, but I do not see exactly what it is possible for me to do. Do you know by any chance whether Mme. Boris has been located and whether she is coming to this country as Boris hopes? Also, do you know anything at all of the fate of his son?

Very sincerely yours,

Winfield W. Riefler

Honorable William C. Bullitt  
Ambassador to France  
United States Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

*Jl de Gaulle HQ*  
4 Carlton Gardens,  
S.W.

*Pirate address*  
*75 Collyerbury*  
*London S.W. 5*  
August 5th, 1940.

Mr. Wilfried Rieffler,  
Institute of Advanced Studies,  
Princeton University,  
Princeton - N.J.  
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Rieffler,

I only just had your address. Otherwise I would have written to you a long time ago in order to ask your advice, and perhaps your help, to get my wife and also my young boy out of France.

First I must tell you that at the outbreak of the war I joined the army in spite of being rather old (52) and was sent as agent de liaison (interpreter) with the British Expeditionary Force.

I escaped with my unit from Dunkirk and since then have been in England. I joined General de Gaulle's Legion of course. I am now working with them at their Headquarters.

As regards my wife, the situation will be explained to you in the enclosed copy of a letter I sent to President Roosevelt. Since then I had indirect news and learnt that she is staying with friends at Brive-la-Gaillarde (Corrèze) in unoccupied territory. The name of these friends is Chadourne and the address : 9 avenue Charles Rivet .

I have not been able to get any letters or any definite news and do not know whether she is trying to get an exit permit and the American visa as I want her to do. I expect, however, that friends who returned from London to Vichy will deliver here a detailed message. At the same time, I expect that her first husband who is very influential in pro-German clique (Bergery) will help her out.

On the other hand, I have not received any answer

- 2 -

from America. Not knowing ~~you~~ address I sent a copy of my letter to President Roosevelt through his friend Lady Oxford and Asquith and another copy was forwarded to a friend of mine Mr. Hamilton Fish ~~Armstrong~~, editor of "Foreign Affairs", but as said above I have not had any reply.

Other friends of mine, Mr. and Mrs. Degener, 122 East 73 New York, are ~~trying to~~ send cables advising my wife to come and stay with ~~them~~. In order to help securing the French visa, they told her of portraits she could paint and an exhibition which will follow in New York (my wife is quite a good painter of portraits).

May I ask you to see on your side that my appeal does not remain without effect and that the day my wife applies for the American visa there will be no difficulty for her in obtaining it.

I fear that before long the Germans will occupy the South ~~area~~ and then there will be no hope left. I fear reprisals and my wife would not be able to stand ill-treatment ~~of~~ the privations that might fall upon her.

Now I come to the second subject, which is that of my son from a first marriage. He is 16 years old, quite a nice child, much too refined and to sensitive for the fate which awaits him.

He is staying very likely with his mother (Madame Heinbach (who is 100% French and catholic in spite of her name) at The Curate's in Linard par Bonnat (Creuse) in the unoccupied area.

If the case of my wife is already difficult, I am afraid that that of my son is still more difficult, for supposing he is able to leave France for America I shall not be able to support him, unless some American securities belonging to me, and which are in New York, under the name of a French Bank, can be released, which I doubt.

\*  
They are ready  
to provide  
for her

- 3 -

However, it has occurred to me that, as funds are being collected in America for European children refugees, my boy could perhaps be included amongst these children, for the reason that he is threatened with ill-treatment, being 50% Jewish, and moreover the son of a de Gaulle's legionnaire liable to death sentence.

Of course, I would like him to be able to carry on studying, and to learn English so as to be able to earn his living as soon as possible. If I knew that he would be taken in charge by nice people (teachers, people of some education etc.), I would do the utmost to get him out of France, but I do not want to do anything in this connection before I hear from you, there is any favourable outlook.

I am afraid I am giving you a lot of trouble over these matters and I apologize for it, but you surely understand that in such circumstances one does not hesitate to call upon one's friends.

I thank you in advance for all you can do

and I am,

Yours very sincerely,

Jorges Boris

P.S. It has occurred to me that Mr. [unclear] would perhaps intervene if necessary, as I know how he feels towards Blum, of whom I was the private secretary. I leave it in your hands.

I forgot to mention that I ~~also~~ wrote a letter to Mr. Bellett who knows my wife and came to our home in Paris, but it might not have reached him.

Georges Boris,  
25 Collingham Gardens,  
London, S.W.5.

London, July 4th, 1940.

Mr. President,

May I appeal to your great heart and ask you to rescue my wife, who is in France.

My name may not be unknown to you; in 1934, back from a visit to America, I published in Paris a book "La Revolution Roosevelt", in which I endeavoured to explain to my countrymen the great task of renovation you had undertaken in the U.S. In many articles in the weekly "Lumière", of which I was the editor until war broke out, I followed your struggle and showed that your successes were the successes of friends of democracy all over the world.

After that, I was the private secretary of Premier Léon Blum, at the Treasury, during his second ministry in 1936. In September last, at 51, I volunteered to join the Army and was attached by the French to the British Expeditionary Force as interpreter. With my unit, I escaped from Dunkirk, and have since been maintained in England. Now I have decided to fight on, side by side with the British, for a cause which is common to us all.

But I have left my wife behind in France, a most fragile creature for whom I dread not only possible bad treatment at the hands of political enemies or Germans, but the mere hardships of life in the France of to-day and to-morrow. For she suffers from a serious disease of the spine (non-contagious) and is under permanent threat of paralysis. She needs frequent treatment and constant care.

I write to implore you for aid and assistance in her favour. Could your Embassy in France try to find her with the indications concerning her last-known whereabouts given on the attached slip? Could Mr. Bullitt, who knows her and who knows me well, take her under his protection? And, above all, if your generous country were to receive refugees and help them to get out of France, could she be put on the first lists? We have friends in America who would certainly look after her, so that even if she were not allowed to take money out of France she would not be a burden to the U.S. Government.

-2-

Mr. President, once again, this time for a personal but most distressing reason, I put all my hopes in you.

Assuring you of my immense gratitude for all you may decide, I am, Mr. President,

Yours sincerely,

Mr. F. D. Roosevelt,  
President of the United States of America,  
WHITE HOUSE,  
W a s h i n g t o n.



DECLASSIFIED

Authority EO 10501

112  
JAMES P. WARBURG  
40 WALL STREET  
NEW YORK

Confidential

December 31, 1940

Dr. Winfield W. Riefler  
Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, N. J.

Herewith the final proof of the letter to Congress, which is now being released for appearance in the newspapers Friday, January 3rd, to which your signature will be appended along with about fifty others from various parts of the country.

In addition to the news release, the letter will be reproduced in a paid advertisement in The New York Times on Sunday, January 5th. It is hoped that perhaps some of the signers in cities other than New York may form groups to insert similar advertisements in other newspapers throughout the country.

James P. Warburg.

This article is protected by copyright and has been removed.

The citation for the original is:

“An Open Letter to Congress.” The New York Times, [January 5, 1941]. Proof dated December 30, 1940.

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY
DAY LETTER	URGENT RATE
SERIAL	DEFERRED
NIGHT LETTER	NIGHT LETTER
SPECIAL SERVICE	SHIP RADIOGRAM

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

*Warburg*

# COPY OF WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

December 30, 1940

**Mr. James P. Warburg**  
**40 Wall Street**  
**New York City**

**YOU MAY ADD MY NAME TO YOUR OPEN LETTER TO CONGRESS.**

**Winfield V. Riefler**

**Charge Institute for Advanced Study**

JAMES P. WARBURG  
40 WALL STREET  
NEW YORK

December 27, 1940.

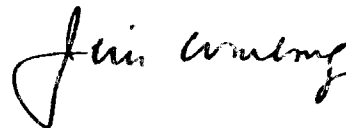
Dr. Winfield Riefler,  
Institute for Advanced Study,  
Princeton, N. J.

Dear Win:

A group of us, including Dean Acheson, Lewis Douglas, and about forty to fifty others in various parts of the country, are going to send the enclosed Open Letter to Congress, to be released probably January fourth. We should very much like to have you join us if you would care to do so. Inasmuch as our deadline is next Tuesday, I should be deeply grateful if you would send me your reply by wire. I hope very much that you will join us.

With the Season's Greetings, I am

Very sincerely,



JPW/H

302

July 5, 1940

Mr. Richard Ellis Posner  
150 Westminster Road  
Rochester, New York

Dear Mr. Posner:

Mr. Riefler is at present away from Princeton for an indefinite period. I am, therefore, forwarding your letter of July 3rd with regard to the plans for a meeting in New York.

Very truly yours,

Secretary

150 Westminister Road  
Rochester, New York  
July 3, 1940

Dear Sir:

As one of the thirty prominent persons who signed his name to the statement published June 10th in the Rochester Times Union calling for an immediate declaration of war by the Government of the United States against the German Reich, you assuredly would be interested in the letter I recently mailed to Mr. Walter Millis, editor of the New York Herald Tribune. In that communication I enquired of Mr. Millis as to the possibilities of his bringing all the efore-mentioned signers of the June 10th declaration to a conference where ways and means to organize a nation-wide campaign for a war-proclamation might be explored.

I pointed out to Mr. Millis that last week several Rochester citizens formed a "StopHitler" committee with the announced intention of campaigning locally for immediate American intervention in the conflict abroad, and asked why the June 10th signers could not pursue a similar line of action, individually or jointly.

If you feel inclined to support such a move for an open and systematic campaign for war, I should welcome a response from you indicating whether a conference next week or the week following in New York City might be agreeable to you personally.

Sincerely yours,

*Richard Ellis Fosner*  
Richard Ellis Fosner

P.S. Today, from one of your co-signers, Mr. James F. Curtis, 61 Broadway, New York City, I received a note suggesting that such a conference as I outlined above could be very useful. He also indicated his willingness to attend it whenever called. Naturally, such a meeting would be private or secret, to avoid unfavorable publicity at the outset.

HOMER & CO. INC.

*This came to him at home. I think the editorial referred to is very good especially about appendicitis. Ref 3. DSR*

*B.W.M.*

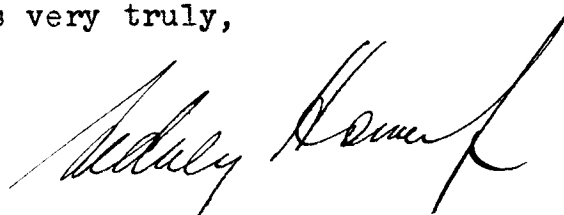
January 10th, 1941.

Mr. Winfield W. Riefler,  
Princeton, N. J.

Dear Mr. Riefler:-

I have read with interest and admiration your "Open Letter to Congress" as printed in the New York Times. I am taking the liberty of sending you an editorial which I have recently published on the same subject, and refer you to Page 4, of the enclosed bulletin.

Yours very truly,



President.

Sidney Homer, Jr.,  
er.

This article is protected by copyright and has been removed.

The citation for the original is:

“From the Trading Desk—Institutional Bonds.” Bond Bulletin, January 2, 1941.



DAVID J. WINTON  
2600 FOSHAY TOWER  
MINNEAPOLIS

January  
7 t h  
1 9 4 1

To the Signers of the  
"Statement of Urgency":

Because I know you will be interested in your part in connection with the "Statement of Urgency", I am quoting excerpts from a letter received from Helen Hill Miller so you may know that your effort brought forth fruit:

"December 30, 1940

"Lots of things happened to the 'Statement of Urgency' over the week-end:

"On Saturday, I knew that Mr. Early had been showing the Statement to the various newsmen, since I received a call from the City Desk of the Washington Star asking for the text of the 'Statement of Urgency'. I am enclosing the article which grew out of that call.

"When I saw the Star Sunday morning, I realized that Early had called specific attention to the Statement in his talk with the newsmen prior to the release of the President's speech. I enclose a clipping on that also.

"Then when we listened to the speech last night, we recognized the paraphrase of the Statement which occurred about two-thirds of the way through:

'But all our present efforts are not enough. We must have more ships, more guns, more planes - more of everything. This can only be accomplished if we discard the notion of 'business as usual'. This job cannot be done merely by superimposing on the existing productive facilities the added requirements for defense.

'Our defense effort must not be blocked by those who fear the future consequences of surplus plant capacity. The possible consequences of failure of our defense efforts now are much more to be feared'."

On behalf of the sponsors may I thank you for your prompt response to our letter of December 17th. We would have written you earlier but Christmas and New Year's prevented.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID J. WINTON.

30F

May 5, 1941

Winfield W. Riefler  
Princeton  
New Jersey

You are one of the 1500 who signed the petition addressed to the President, dated March 31, 1941, asking him to take prompt and decisive action to provide American convoys.

A meeting of a group representing those signers was held at the Engineering Society Building in New York City on April 29, 1941, to consider what further action might be taken on this subject. At that meeting the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Since the safety of our country and the continuance of the ideals of our people require that the Axis dictators be defeated and their plans for conquest be frustrated,

RESOLVED, that we urge the use, at such times and in such manner as the President shall direct, of merchant vessels of the United States and the protection thereof by naval and air forces of the United States for the transportation and delivery of food, raw materials and munitions of war to the British Isles and elsewhere where resistance to the totalitarian powers is being maintained."

The undersigned committee was then appointed to forward a copy of the above resolution to the President, and also to the 1500 signers of the petition and to urge these latter:

1. To communicate, and urge others to communicate, to their Representatives in Congress their considered conviction that whatsoever is necessary to defeat the totalitarian powers must be done immediately, for the consequences of inaction and delay are more dreadful than the consequences of action;
2. To join forces with the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies or The Fight for Freedom Committee or any other responsible group working to the same end;
3. To attend the meeting to be held at Madison Square Garden at 8 P.M. on May 7th under the auspices of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, at which Wendell Willkie will speak and Mayor La Guardia will preside, and to get friends to do likewise.

Many who feel as we do are asking what they can do. These are the things to do. They are the least. **THEY MUST BE DONE TO-DAY!**

Kenneth P. Budd  
James F. Curtis  
Richard M. Hurd  
Pierre Jay

Keith Lorenz  
George W. Martin  
General John F. O'Ryan

Nathan A. Smyth  
Archibald G. Thacher  
Westmore Willcox, Jr.

William C. Chanler, Chairman.

For the Committee

*H. H. Pike, Jr.*  
H. H. Pike, Jr. Sec'y.  
120 Wall Street,  
New York, New York

**CLASS OF SERVICE**

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

# WESTERN UNION

1220

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

R. B. WHITE  
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER  
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NP29 355 NT 4 EXTRA 1/138=NEWYORK NY MAY 20

DR WINFIELD RIEFFLER=

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

1941 MAY 21 AM 8 02

WILL YOU JOIN WITH US AND OTHERS IN SIGNING THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT TO THE PRESIDENT WHICH WILL BE PUBLICIZED?

"WE AWAIT YOUR ADDRESS ON MAY 27 IN THE BELIEF THAT YOU WILL TELL WHAT WE MUST DO TO INSURE THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES BY HASTENING THE DEFEAT OF THE AGGRESSORS. WE PLEDGE TO YOU OUR LOYAL SUPPORT IN THE PERFORMANCE OF THIS HISTORIC TASK."

"SOME OF US HAVE BEEN YOUR POLITICAL ADHERENTS, SOME YOUR OPPONENTS, BUT ALL OF US ARE UNITED ON THIS FIRM BASIS: WE ARE AMERICANS, YOU ARE OUR ELECTED PRESIDENT. WE ACKNOWLEDGE THE ETERNAL TRUTH OF THAT FINE OLD AMERICAN PRINCIPLE THAT POLITICAL DIFFERENCES END AT THE WATER'S EDGE. IT IS AT THE WATER'S EDGE THAT OUR PEOPLE NOW STAND, FACING TO EASTWARD AND WESTWARD THE FRIGHTFUL REALITY OF WORLD WAR AND WORLD REVOLUTION."

END 1.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

**CLASS OF SERVICE**  
 This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

# WESTERN UNION

1220

SYMBOLS
DL - Day Letter
NL - Night Letter
LC - Deferred Cable
NLT - Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

R. B. WHITE  
 PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON  
 CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER  
 FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NP29 2/153=

"WE HAVE PRAYED THAT WE MIGHT BE SPARED FROM INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR. BUT WE CANNOT CLOSE OUR EYES TO THE WHOLESALE MURDER OF LIBERTY. MOST OF ALL WE CANNOT IGNORE THE THREATS TO OUR OWN SECURITY UTTERED AND PROGRESSIVELY ENFORCED BY THOSE TYRANTS WHO ARE DEDICATED TO THE PROPOSITION THAT DEMOCRACY MUST DIE."

"THE DICTATORS HAVE EXTENDED THEIR WORLD WAR AND WORLD REVOLUTION FROM CONTINENT TO CONTINENT - FARTHER AND FARTHER OUT INTO THE ATLANTIC OCEAN - NEARER AND NEARER TO THE LIFELINE OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE. WITH THEIR PROPAGANDISTS AND SABOTEURS THEY HAVE BEGUN THEIR INVASION OF THIS HEMISPHERE."

"THE CHALLENGE IS INESCAPABLE. WE CANNOT MEET IT WITH MERE WORDS NOR WITH MERE DOLLARS. WE KNOW THAT STRONG ACTION, EVEN ARMED ACTION, ENTAILING GREATER SACRIFICES WILL BE REQUIRED OF US."

"WITH FIRM DETERMINATION TO CARRY THROUGH AT WHATEVER COST THE POLICIES NECESSARY TO DEFEAT TYRANNY, WE AWAIT THE FACTS AND LEADERSHIP WHICH THE=

END 2.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

**CLASS OF SERVICE**

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

# WESTERN UNION

1220

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

R. B. WHITE  
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER  
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NP29 3/64=

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF ALONE CAN GIVE. WE REPEAT TO YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, THE FINAL WORDS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: 'WITH A FIRM RELIANCE ON THE PROTECTION OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE, WE MUTUALLY PLEDGE TO EACH OTHER OUR LIVES, OUR FORTUNES AND OUR SACRED HONOR.'"

PLEASE WIRE CARE COMMITTEE TO DEFEND AMERICA BY AIDING THE ALLIES, 8 WEST 40TH STREET, NEWYORKCITY.=  
LEWIS W DOUGLAS      MRS J BORDEN HARRIMAN.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE