

PSF

Yugoslavia

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE SECRETARY

April 6, 1941.

COMPILATION OF RADIO BULLETINS RECEIVED UP TO 7:30 P.M.

London: No reports have yet reached London to the effect that British troops have come into contact with German forces in Greece or Yugoslavia, but it has been officially announced that British, Australian and New Zealand troops are in Greece and are with the Greeks on the Bulgarian border. It has been reported that the Yugoslav Government has left Belgrade.

Berlin: Little detailed news has been received from the Balkans. Italian planes are said to have bombed points in southern Yugoslavia, and German pilots reported widespread devastation in Belgrade as the result of several raids. One pilot said Belgrade was a "sea of flame" and it was stated that a railway station, military barracks, bridges and grounded planes were hit. The high command said that Greek forces were putting up a stiff resistance in the Struma River valley before the German advance.

Ankara: No concern has been expressed in official quarters over the German assault on Greece and Yugoslavia. No cabinet meeting was called on Sunday, and it was stated that Turkey's plans were previously made for action as a result of such an attack. The German Ambassador has assured the Turks that Germany has no designs on Turkey, but this opinion was not shared by many Turks.

Cairo: The capture of Addis Ababa is confirmed.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE SECRETARY

-2-

Zurich: The German radio reported that German troops have reached their objectives everywhere in Greece and Yugoslavia.

New York: A short wave radio report has been received from Ankara to the effect that fierce Greek counter-attacks have stopped the Germans at several points and that Greeks have entered Bulgaria at one place. Official axis radios have announced that British submarines have gone into action in the Adriatic, based on Dubrovnik and Cattaro, Yugoslav ports.

Moscow: The official radio broadcast Sunday without comment the German reports of the bombing of Belgrade. The news of the German attack on Yugoslavia and Greece was played down in the Moscow press today, while much was made of the signing of the Russo-Yugoslav friendship pact.

file
special folder
Radio Bulletins

4-6-41

RADIO BULLETIN

3:00 am Germans driving toward Nis. This report emanates from Belgrade.

- -

Minister Lane reported conferring with Foreign Office and other Government officials regarding United States aid.

- -

Report from Bern states that Bulgarian troops have joined Germans.

3:15 a.m. Thrace and Eastern Macedonia invaded by German troops (5:30 a.m. Greek time).

- -

Berlin radio reports Italian participation in air activity over southern Yugoslavia.

8 a.m. Berlin reports air raid over Belgrade.

- -

Moscow radio announces signature of friendship pact between Soviet Russia and Yugoslavia.

- -

Radio from Athens reports German invasion of Greece and strong resistance being encountered by the German forces.

- -

From Berlin Goebbels reports that Germany is not fighting against the Greeks but merely protecting them from the British.

R.C.A.

-2-

R.C.A. reports no contact with any point in Yugoslavia -
will advise later when communication restored.

S:GWR:MMT:SS 4/6

April 6, 1941.

RADIO BULLETIN

U. P. received between 9:00 and 11:00 a.m. report as follows: German troops attacking Yugoslavia from three directions with the two principal objectives being Zagreb and Belgrade.

- -

Two air raid attacks reported on Belgrade and Germans claim to have hit the principal railway stations, air ports and military barracks. Large fires are reported to have been started within the city.

- -

Radio broadcasts were received from Belgrade until 12 noon Yugoslav time. Up to that time religious music was constantly being broadcast from the capital.

- -

King of Greece has issued proclamation that the British and the United States will aid Greece and has called upon the Greeks to defend their honor to the last man.

- -

The British Cabinet has held a series of meetings throughout Saturday night and into the early hours of this morning, Sunday.

- -

The radio broadcast stressed that no official comment has been received from Washington but is expected momentarily.

S:GWR:MMT:SS 4/6

*file
personal*

RADIO BULLETIN

April 7, 1941

CONFIDENTIAL

Several press and radio men with whom I was in contact between 1:00 a.m. and 8:00 a.m. told me that frankly they had had no news from the Yugoslavia area for some time. I understand that all news thus far is "rewritten" from yesterday's news, or based on the German official radio.

8:00 a.m. - Berlin Relay by C.B.S.

The German official communique states that their operations are proceeding according to plan.

The Germans announce that Sofia was bombed yesterday but that the only victims were women and children.

FROM BERNE:

There are no communications with Berlin and Rome except by radio.

Yugoslavia-1942



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

August 4, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS TULLY:

With reference to the President's memorandum of July 30, 1942, I am returning herewith the telegram dated July 29th, addressed to him by His Majesty Peter II, King of Yugoslavia.

I am also enclosing for your files a copy of the President's reply of August 3rd.

Stanley Woodward
Stanley Woodward

Enclosures:

Original telegram from
King Peter, July 29, 1942;
Copy of telegram from the
President, August 3, 1942.



TELEGRAM SENT
THE WHITE HOUSE

August 3, 1942

HIS MAJESTY

PETER II

KING OF YUGOSLAVIA,

LONDON

Your Majesty's visit was a personal pleasure which I shall long remember. It gave also to the American people an opportunity to do honor to the valiant Yugoslav people in their noble and unceasing fight for the liberation of their country.

I noted with pleasure the energy and thoroughness with which you entered into the daily life of America at war, seeking out the men at work and studying the conversion of our great industries to the sole purpose of providing the armaments with which the war shall be won. I am glad that you carried with you the conviction of America's determination to press on to victory with everything we have.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

The White House
Washington

WB42 435

JUL 29 5 10 PM 1942

WA NEWYORK NY JULY 29 1942 332P

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHDC

AT THE MOMENT OF MY DEPARTURE FROM THE UNITED STATES, I WISH
TO THANK YOU, MR PRESIDENT, FOR THE WARM WELCOME WHICH YOU
AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE EXTENDED TO ME DURING MY VISIT
TO THIS GREAT COUNTRY. I CANNOT BUT FEEL THAT THE MANY TOKENS
OF WARMTH AND HOSPITALITY WHICH I GRATEFULLY ACCEPTED DURING
MY STAY WERE INTENDED NOT FOR ME ALONE BUT FOR MY PEOPLE WHO
HAVE ALWAYS HAD THE GREATEST SYMPATHY AND ADMIRATION FOR THEIR
AMERICAN BROTHERS. WHEN A FEW WEEKS AGO I CROSSED THE OCEAN

WB42 2

TO COME TO THE UNITED STATES I CONSIDERED MYSELF A MESSENGER OF MY MARTYRED PEOPLE WHO ARE NOW LIVING THROUGH THEIR MOST TRYING DAYS RESISTING THE INVADERS AND STRAINING ALL THEIR FORCES TOWARD FINAL VICTORY. OVER A YEAR AGO THE YUGOSLAV PEOPLE GATHERED IN THE STREETS OF BELGRADE AND ASKED ME TO BE WITH THEM TO PROTECT THEIR LIBERTY. AT THAT TIME WE FOUND INSPIRATION IN THE HOPE THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD STAND BY ALL THOSE WHO PREFERRED TO FIGHT RATHER THAN TO SUBMIT TO THE INFAMY OF SLAVERY. TODAY AMERICAN SOLDIERS HAVE BECOME OUR COMRADES-IN-ARMS ON EVERY BATTLEFIELD - ON LAND, IN THE AIR AND ON THE SEAS - WHEREVER THE BATTLE IS WAGED. FROM THEIR

WB42 3

HOMES DARKENED BY MOURNING, FROM THEIR REFUGES IN THE MOUNTAINS AND IN THE FORESTS, THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE ADMIRERD THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF YOUR SOLDIERS, SEAMEN AND PILOTS, AND FERVENTLY PRAY FOR THEIR CONTINUED SUCCESS. I WAS PRIVILEGED TO SEE SOMETHING OF THE AMERICAN WAR EFFORT IN YOUR TRAINING CAMPS, IN YOUR PLANTS AND FACTORIES. I SAW THE SHINING ARMS AND PLANES READY TO BE SENT TO BATTLE, SO FORMIDABLE AND SO PERFECT THAT ANY FIGHTING MAN MUST BE PROUD TO HANDLE THEM I HAVE OBSERVED THE SPIRIT OF AMERICAN MEN AND WOMEN, I HAVE SEEN THE RESOLUTION AND DETERMINATION WRITTEN ON THEIR FACES, AND I AM CONVINCED THAT NOTHING CAN EVER STOP THE UNITED STATES ON ITS ONWARD MARCH TO VICTORY. A DEMOCRACY WHICH FIGHTS

WB42 4

ENTIRELY WITH THE CLEAN WEAPONS OF DEMOCRACY MUST NEED WIN
THE WAR AND THE PEACE THAT WILL FOLLOW. THE YUGOSLAVS, ONE OF
THE UNITED NATIONS, FEEL THAT THEY SHALL BE LINKED TO THE
UNITED STATES AS MUCH IN THIS PRESENT WAR AS IN THE FUTURE
PEACE. MY PEOPLE AND I CHERISH OUR FRIENDSHIP WITH THE
UNITED STATES AND ARE DEEPLY GRATEFUL FOR ITS HELP AND SUPPORT
IN THIS, THE MOST MOMENTOUS PERIOD OF THEIR HISTORY. I WISH
TO THANK YOU ALSO, MR PRESIDENT, FOR THE WARM PERSONAL KINDNESS
YOU HAVE SHOWN ME AND I WISH YOU AND YOUR FAMILY, AND THE
ENTIRE AMERICAN NATIONAL ALL STRENGTH AND HAPPINESS TODAY
AND EVER

PETER.

Yugoslavia - 1942

The White House
Washington

WB37 CABLE

SEP 7 1 02 PM 1942

LONDON 54 SEP 7 1942 206P

LC PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

WHITE HOUSE WASHDC

PLEASE ACCEPT MY WARMEST THANKS FOR YOUR VERY KIND TELEGRAM
ON THE OCCASION OF MY BIRTHDAY AND REST ASSURED THAT I
GREATLY APPRECIATE THE UNITED STATES PEOPLE GOOD WISHES FOR
OUR EFFORTS AGAINST COMMON ENEMIES STOP WITH RENEWED
GRATITUDE FOR ALL YOUR KINDNESSES

PETER OF YUGOSLAVIA.

PSE
Yugoslavia-1942

Christmas Greetings
and
Best Wishes
from
Pete



The Royal Palace, Dedinje, Belgrade.

PSF Yugoslavia



Franklin Delano Roosevelt
The White House
Washington,
D.C.

The Atlantic City
Washington

PSF: Yugoslavia from
file
personal

W

B28 CABLE

MAR 31 7 36 AM 1943

LONDON MAR 31 1943 30 1943

NLT PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC

DEEPLY TOUCHED BY YOUR INSPIRING TELEGRAM I BEG YOU MR
PRESIDENT TO ACCEPT THE EXPRESSION OF MY WARMEST THANKS
PETER 2 OF YUGOSLAVIA.

1263
hm

RSF: Yugoslavia folder

Sent to H.P.
to be put in lock
box or safe

June 17, 1943.

My dear Peter:-

A chapter of delays overtook your very wonderful Christmas present. Apparently it came just after I had left for North Africa -- and when I got back to Washington somebody had sent it to Hyde Park. I have only just discovered it there and I am thrilled by the beauty and the usefulness of the cigarette box. I want to apologize for this long delay and also to tell you how much touched I am by your thoughtfulness and your remembrance of me.

I hear from time to time of you and now comes the good news of your engagement. I hear from many people how charming your fiancée is and I wish for both of you all the happiness in the world. All the good luck in the world and I hope much that we shall see you again soon.

With my best wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

His Majesty
Peter II,
King of Yugoslavia.

PSF: Yugoslavia folder 1-43

PO1 56 IMP YOUGETAT

The White House
Washington

CPR CAIRO 2005 FIL NOV 2 1943

NOV 2 7 38 AM 1943

HIS EXCELLENCY MR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (WASHNDC)
HAVE JUST INSPECTED THE LIBERATORS STOP THEY ARE TRULY
MAGNIFICENT MACHINES STOP I TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO RENEW
MY PERSONAL AND MY PEOPLES WARMEST THANKS TO YOU MR PRESIDENT
AND TO THE AMERICAN NATION FOR THIS GENEROUS GIFT FULSTOP

PETER 11 R.

file

PSF: Yugoslavia folder
1-43

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

December 23, 1943

*file
Confidential*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I have your note of December 22 inquiring if the message from King Peter of Yugoslavia had been answered.

It was answered under date of December 18 and I attach a copy of the reply as well as the message for your information.

E. A. Tamm

Enclosures:
From Cairo, 2269, December 9;
To King Peter, December 18, 1943.

RECORDED IN THE
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RECORDS OF THE

December 18, 1943

WHITE HOUSE

December 18, 1943

His Majesty

Peter II

King of Yugoslavia

I deeply appreciate Your Majesty's message on the anniversary of Pearl Harbor, which has reached me in Washington. Your thoughtfulness on this occasion marks again our close association in working toward the complete victory which we all know our united efforts will achieve.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

740.0011 European War 1931/32289
EU:CWC:RMU 12/18/43

AMT

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (A)

Cairo

Dated December 9, 1943

Rec'd 3:35 p.m., 11th.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

2269, December 9, 9 a.m.

Following telegram was delivered to me on December 7 and has been withheld from transmission for obvious reasons.

"To H. E. Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the U.S.A., Washington. On the second anniversary of the knavish attack on peaceful Pearl Harbor which so happily coinciding with the successful conclusion of the Far Eastern conference I wish to offer you Mr. President and the gallant American armed forces my very best wishes for every success towards decisive victory. Peter II R".

Acknowledgment should be direct to King.

KIRK

CSB

PSF: Yugoslavia

~~See Times "A"~~
3-44

February 16, 1944

Dear Mr. Adamic:

The receipt is acknowledged of your letter dated February 12th in regard to the provision of suitable and adequate military supplies for the Yugoslav Partisans.

I assure you that the problem of supplying equipment to the Partisans of Yugoslavia has been and is now a matter of interest to the Allied Chiefs of Staff.

I am extremely sorry that pressure of work with the business of legislation makes it impossible for me to see you within the next few weeks to discuss with you the matter presented in your letter.

Very truly,

(Sgd) FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Mr. Louis Adamic
Milford
New Jersey

546)

lms

Don Corrie "A"
3-44

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 15, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR
ADMIRAL LEAHY

Will you prepare reply for
my signature and tell him how
terribly sorry I am that I cannot
see him for a few weeks because
I am so jammed up with legislation?

F. D. R.

Note from Louis Adamic, Milford, N.J., 2/12/44,
to the President, with attached personal letter
for the President, in re shipment of supplies
to the Yugoslav Partisans, and suggesting an
enclave in the coast, deep enough to reach across
the first mountain ranges to assure their
delivery. This would be opened at some point on
the Adriatic.

Telephone: Milford 146

LOUIS ADAMIC • MILFORD • NEW JERSEY

February 12, 1944

Dear Mr. President:

The attached idea may already be under consideration by Allied officers in charge of the military problem in reference to Yugoslavia. If not, I offer it here for what it is worth.

The idea, of course, has political implications. These I should like to have an opportunity of discussing with you. The gist of what I should like to lay out is: that, if adequately supplied, the Partisans could liberate their country themselves; that no large-scale invasion of Yugoslavia may be necessary.

I hope you can spare the time to see me.

Faithfully,

Louis Adamic

LOUIS ADAMIC · MILFORD · NEW JERSEY

February 12, 1944

The Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, DC

personal

Dear Mr. President:

Marshal Tito's communiques and other sources indicate that supplies are now moving over clandestine routes across the Adriatic to the Yugoslav Partisans. These clandestine sea routes are possibly capable of carrying an adequate volume of supplies, but knowledge of the terrain over which these supplies must move after they reach Yugoslavia leads to the conclusion that nothing less than an enclave in the coast, deep enough to reach across the first mountain ranges, will serve to assure their delivery.

I believe Tito could help create such an enclave and then assign a portion of his total forces sufficient to maintain contact with it for a considerable time.

The Germans might make a big effort to pinch off such an enclave. Whether they succeeded or failed would depend on the Partisans' ability to conduct flanking operations against them and on the defensibility of the terrain. If the terrain were well chosen, the mountains would protect all but a few lines of access to it. In any case, during the time it would take the Germans to mount their offensive, Allied motorized columns could be carrying supplies to the Partisans in great volume.

The equipment sent into Yugoslavia should include, among other items, heavy-calibre self-propelled anti-tank guns and other weapons of the type which would be necessary for defense against armored columns.

Should it become necessary to abandon the enclave, withdrawal should prove inexpensive in both men and materials, as the terrain would compel the enemy to attack only along certain lines where delaying action would be easy to conduct. In extremity, it should be simple to fall back into the sea without serious losses.

Should the Germans concentrate a great force against the position, that might afford an opportunity to open another enclave at some other point on the Adriatic, since only a finite number of Axis divisions are available for operations in the area.

Faithfully,

Louis Adamic

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Handed for
reply.*

March 13, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

What do I do about
this?

F. D. R.

PSF: Yugoslavia

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

9 March 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

The attached letter from General Mihailovich has just come to me from Captain Mansfield of our organization who represented us at Mihailovich's headquarters. You will note it is dated December 29th.


William J. Donovan
Director

In reply refer to Initials
and No.

Op-16-FT
CONFIDENTIAL

NAVY DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS
WASHINGTON

Yugoslavian folder 1-44
Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
DECLASSIFIED
DOD DIR. 5200.9 (9/27/58)

Date- 7-17-66

Signature- *Carl L. Spicer*

21 March 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE NAVAL AIDE TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Yugoslav Merchant Marine Over 1000 G.R.T.
Enclosure: (A) Analysis of Yugoslav Merchant Marine Over
1000 G.R.T., dated 20 March 1944.

1. DNI records show distribution of merchant ships of
Yugoslav registry at the present time as follows:

U. S. control 5 ships - 14,329 g.r.t.
British control 19 ships - 88,089 g.r.t.

2. Thirteen Y-S ships (26,253 g.r.t.) were in Italian
hands prior to September, 1943. Of this group 7 ships (11,416 g.r.t.)
have been war casualties; 4 ships (8,030 g.r.t.) have been delivered
to United Nations control, leaving 2 ships in enemy hands.

3. TOMISLAV, 5411 g.r.t., was seized in Shanghai by
Italians and is presumed under Jap control at the present time.
SERAFIN TOPIC, 1396 g.r.t., originally seized by Italians in Mediter-
ranean, since unreported and believed under enemy control.

4. Detailed analysis is attached.

5. This excludes 79 small vessels used in Adriatic and
Ionian Sea coastwise traffic ranging from 70 to 8/900 tons and not
qualified for deep sea service. This last group of small craft was
last reported in Italian hands.

Recpy.
D. Frothingham
D. FROTHINGHAM,
Captain, USNR.

CC: Op-16-1-F
(Via Op-16-F)

CONFIDENTIAL

20 March, 1944.

YUGOSLAV MERCHANT MARINE
(OVER 999 G.R.T.)

SERVING UNITED NATIONS

Directly available
U.S. operation
WSA control

	<u>Tonnage</u>	<u>Year Built</u>		
BOSANKA	3456	1905		
DUBRAVKA	3798	1905		
KARMEN	2541	1896		
PLAVNIK	2762	1922		
VIS	1772	1921	5 ships	14,329 G.R.T.

Directly available
British operation
EMWT control

ALEKSANDAR I.	5948	1927		
DINARA	3192	1917		
DRAVA	3508	1919		
DUBROVNIK	5156	1938		
DUNAV	4369	1912		
FRANKA	5282	1918		
IVAN TOPIC	4943	1920		
JURKO TOPIC	5160	1919		
LUCIJANA	4062	1928		
MARIJA PETRINOVIC	5684	1918		
NJEGOS	4393	1908		
OLGA TOPIC	4375	1918		
PERAST	3871	1911		
PRINC ANDREJ	5041	1930		
SENGA	5140	1913		
SRECA	5246	1918		
SVETI DUJE	3624	1902		
SVETI VLAHO	5965	1928		
TIMOK	3130	1924	19 ships	88,089 G.R.T.

Directly available
other United Nations,
excluding U.S. or
British control

NETI	2904	1900	1 ship	2,904 G.R.T.
------	------	------	--------	--------------

25 ships 105,322 G.R.T.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

DECLASSIFIED

DDO DIR. 5200.9 (9/27/58)

Date- 7-19-66

Signature-

Carl L. Spicer

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IN ITALIAN HANDS PRIOR TO SEPTEMBER, 1943

<u>Now in Allied hands</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>	<u>Year Built</u>		
DUBAC	2819	1901		
IVO MATKOVIC	2527	1920		
JUGOSLAVIJA	1275	1932		
KUMANOVA	1409	1907	4 ships	8,030 G.R.T.

Sunk

UNA	1397	1904		
JUNAK	1571	1921		
NIKO MATKOVIC	1425	1906		
VRANJIC	1541	1918		
KARAGJORGJE	1293	1913		
KRALJ ALEKSANDER	2463	1932		
PRESTOLONASLEDNIK				
PETAR	1726	1931	7 ships	11,416 G.R.T.

* Presumed still available to Axis

TOMISLAV	5411	1928		
SERAFIN TOPIC	1396	1904	2 ships	6,807 G.R.T.

13 ships 26,253 G.R.T.

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DOD DIR. 5200.9 (9/27/58)

Date- 7-19-66

Signature-

Carl L. Spicer

PSF: *Yugoslavia folder*
1-44

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 26, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

Will you try your hand at
preparing a nice personal letter
from me to the King of Yugoslavia?
It can start off, "Dear Peter", as
I have always treated him as a sort
of ward.

F. D. R.

Letter, 4-17-44, from Peter II of
Yugoslavia, re Yugoslavian Government
or Yugoslavian Committee.

file
personal

Yugoslavia folder
1-44
②

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

31 May 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Thank you for the copy of Mrs. Hemingway's memorandum which you sent to General Donovan. Because I know General Donovan will be interested in seeing this upon his return from overseas, I have taken the liberty of having the memorandum copied.

As you requested, the original is returned to you herewith.

Respectfully,

G. Edward Buxton

G. Edward Buxton
Acting Director

Enclosure

March 21, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Mrs. Ernest Hemingway, as dictated to Mrs. Boettiger.

Jugoslavs in Italy told Mrs. Hemingway that OWI's Radio New York - Voice of America - is very pro-Mikhailovich - so much so that General Mikhailovich allows his troops to listen to the broadcasts but forbids their listening to BBC broadcasts especially beamed to them. "Voice of America" is, according to Mrs. Hemingway, especially beamed to the Yugoslav troops. Mrs. Hemingway says that the Jugoslavs she talked to think of this broadcast in terms of "The Voice of the President".

....

The Jugoslavs Mrs. Hemingway talked to are very much upset over the fact that all journalists until lately have been banned from covering all moves of their troops. She says that lately the British have allowed three correspondents - one from Time and Life, one from Reuter's, and one photographer. It appears that the Jugoslavs are very anxious to have full news coverage as they feel that the world should know of their efforts.

...

The Jugoslavs requested some time ago permission to send a small military mission to Washington, D.C. and cannot understand why they have had no reply from here.

...

The Jugoslavs complain that they are flooded with British propaganda - leaflets, radio broadcasts, books, etc. - and they have begged for similar material from the United States - unsuccessfully. They would like such things as American history books, as it appears they are interested in studying our governmental set-up.

...

Mrs. Hemingway says there are 20,000 to 40,000 Slovenes in Sardinia. These Slovenes were at one time forced by the Fascists into the Italian Army. Later they were taken out of the army and put in concentration camps. Now they are released but kept in Sardinia and are starving, as they have no means of livelihood.

...

The Yugoslav Army consists of about 300,000 men, women and children. The children act as military couriers, as the army has no telephone lines. Their "kicks" and requests are as follows:

Under Lend Lease and the agreement in Cairo, they are supposed to receive 6,000 tons of materials per month. They have received, from October 15 to March 1, 6,000 tons plus \$50,000 for repair of boats, etc. They received 34,000 rifles, 14,000 of which proved to be unusable. Their ships, 50 large and 100 small, have been seized and are tied up unused "somewhere" in Italy. Their ship repair slips are also now in Italian hands. Therefore, all they now have for supply transportation service is a very inadequate little schooner fishing fleet.

They need, and I believe were promised under Lend Lease, jeeps, tanks, anti-tank guns, both light and heavy, ack-ack, transport planes, mountain artillery, tommy guns, planes to be based in Italy for tactical bombings, boots, clothing, food, and medicine.

They say that they can take care of the transportation of all of the above-mentioned material if their ships now held in Italy are returned to them as well as their ship repair slips.

It appears that one of their greatest needs for transport planes is for transportation of the wounded. Mrs. Hemingway said that now it takes them sometimes weeks to get their wounded from battlefields to cities where there are hospitals. She also said that Jugoslavs are only allowed in the dirtiest and worst of Italian hospitals, and their only means of transportation to those hospitals is by donkeyback, etc.

Mrs. Hemingway says that what is known as English Force 133 has been counted on to take care of the transportation of supplies of this type, but that they do not have anywhere near the facilities for supplying the quantities needed by the Partisans.

Mrs. Hemingway says that Jugoslavs believe they are entitled to all the above because they are holding in combat 23 German divisions, 9 Bulgar divisions, and 10 Croat Quisling divisions.

022

1944 MAY 25 5M 2 52

SECRETARY

Yugoslavia folder
1-44

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 26, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR
COLONEL DONOVAN:

I thought you might like to
read the enclosed. Will you please
return for my files?

F.D.R.

Memorandum for the President, 3-21-44, from
Mrs. Ernest Hemingway, as dictated to Mrs.
Boettiger, in re the Yugoslavs.

*File
Personal*

*Yugoslavia folder
1-44*

November 2, 1944.

My dear Peter:

It is good to have your note and I can assure you that I am thinking much of the day when you and your wife will be going back to Belgrade. I think things are shaping up well and I am glad indeed that you see Mr. Churchill and can partake of his great wisdom.

Some day when peace has permanently come to the world you and your wife must come over here and stay with us, either in the White House or at our country place in Hyde Park.

In the meantime, I do hope to see you both one of these days.

My wife and I send you both our warm regards.

Very sincerely yours,

His Majesty
Peter II
King of Yugoslavia,
London.

September 17th. 414

London.



Dear Mr. President.

I take this occasion to thank you again for your kindness to me. I followed the good advice you gave me in your letter and am very grateful to you for your interest in me and my country. You know, Mr. President how much I value your friendship and how sincerely I reciprocate it.

The Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
Washington D.C.

It is wonderful to see how things
are shaping thanks to you and
Mr. Churchill for thought and
courage. The world owes you both
a lot. Let us hope that a new era of
Peace, justice and freedom is
dawning for us all. My wife
joins me in sending you and Mrs.
Roosevelt all our very best greetings
and good wishes.

Yours very sincerely.

Peter

It is wonderful to see the things
Mr. Churchill has thought and
done, and in hope that a new era of
ad. set in. Justice and freedom is
coming for in all. My wife
joins me in sending you and M.
Roosevelt all our very best love
and good wishes.
Yours very truly
M.

The Hon. Franklin Roosevelt,
President of the United States of
America.

Washington D. C.

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1944 Vol. 1v Europe

Pages 1442-1443

Yugoslavia - Peter 1-44

~~SECRET~~

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

December 23, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Negotiations for United
Yugoslav Government

The enclosed telegram from Ambassador Patterson reporting King Peter's present attitude on this question is of interest.



Enclosure:

Copy of telegram from
London, no. 17 Yugos Series,
December 22, 1944.

DEPARTMENT
OF
STATE

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

TR-615

This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (SECRET)

London

Dated December 22, 1944

Rec'd 9:25 p.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

US URGENT

YUGOS 17, December 22, 8 p.m.

FROM AMBASSADOR PATTERSON

King Peter told Yarrow today that in response to his request to Churchill for a private meeting, he saw Churchill, Eden and Stevenson yesterday. He handed them a memo regarding article 42 of the Yugoslav Constitution which gives the King the right to appoint three regents and their deputies. He told Churchill he did not want to force himself on the Yugoslav people, who had the right to choose their form of government, but he insisted on his constitutional right to appoint the regents; and the Tito-Subasic regency agreement was not constitutional. (repeated to Moscow as my 136 and Caserta as my 40).

Churchill commented that Tito has done many unconstitutional things and will probably do more, but since he had the power, what could be done about it?

Peter reiterated that he wanted to designate the
regents

-2- YUJCS 17, December 22, 8 p.m. from London

regents, and he would accept the agreements otherwise. To this Churchill replied that "you can't accept one part of the agreement and reject another. You should accept it entirely and wholeheartedly. There is no time to change it".

The King answered that Tito and Subasic took two months to agree and he thought himself entitled to a couple of weeks. The meeting ended with both Peter and Churchill asking the other to think the matter over further.

After relating the above to Yarrow Peter added, "At least I gained some time. I will sign if I can name the regents, otherwise I will refuse".

WINANT

JT

3980

hms

PSF Yugoslavia folder 1-45

January 6, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR BRIG. GENL. Wm. J. DONOVAN

Dear Bill;

Thank you for your note of December nineteenth, transmitting a message for the President from the University of Belgrade.

The President has addressed the attached letter to Professor Jevrem Nedeljkovic and I am sending it to you here-
with for transmittal.

Grace G. Tully
Private Secretary

hms

January 5, 1945

My dear Professor Nedeljkovic:

I have received with appreciation and interest your message sent on the occasion of the anniversary celebration of the University of Belgrade.

I rejoice that your University has been freed from the shackles of Nazi domination and I trust that never again will its students be forced to submit to a curriculum fixed by a pernicious political system.

It is the earnest hope of the American people that the University of Belgrade will shortly be able to resume its rightful role as a guardian and disseminator of knowledge, in keeping with its illustrious past and the great traditions of free scholarly research.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Professor Jevrem Nedeljkovic,
University of Belgrade,
Belgrade, Yugoslavia

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

19 December 1944

~~SECRET~~

Miss Grace Tully
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I would appreciate it very much if you will bring to the attention of the President the attached memorandum with a message for him from the University of Belgrade.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Bill

William J. Donovan
Director

DECLASSIFIED

By Authority of A.C.

Rosner Letter 19 Oct 72

By _____ Date _____

~~SECRET~~

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

By Authority of A.C.

19 December 1944

Rosner letter 19 Oct. 72

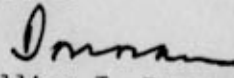
By _____ Date _____

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

The following cable has come to us from Belgrade University in Belgrade, through our representatives there. This University has always had an influential position in Yugoslavia, and it is suggested that you may wish to send a reply.

The following is the message:

"Mr. Franklin Roosevelt, President of the United States. On the occasion of its great anniversary celebration, the University of Belgrade sends to you its sincere greetings and gratitude for help given to our people, who were never subdued, in achieving their freedom, and to the efforts of our National Liberation Army in its struggle against the fascist conquerors, the Serbian people and its university believe that the assistance of the friendly and allied United States of America in the rehabilitation of our devastated country and the creation of a better future will not fail to come. Signed: President of the great anniversary celebration of the University of Belgrade, Professor Jevrem Nedeljkovic."


William J. Donovan
Director

~~SECRET~~



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

January 5, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR GENERAL WATSON

As directed in the President's memorandum of December 21, 1944, there is attached a draft of a reply to the undated message sent to the President through the Office of Strategic Services by one Professor Jevrem Nedeljkovic, president of the anniversary celebration of the University of Belgrade.

General Donovan's memorandum and accompanying note are also attached.

G. T. Summerlin
George T. Summerlin
Chief of Protocol



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 21, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. SUMMERLIN

FOR PREPARATION OF REPLY
FOR MY SIGNATURE.

F. D. R.

Letter from Gen. W. J. Donovan, 12/19/44,
for Miss Tully, with enclosed Secret memorandum
of same date for the President. Carbons retained
for our files.

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

19 December 1944

~~SECRET~~

Miss Grace Tully
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I would appreciate it very much if you
will bring to the attention of the President the
attached memorandum with a message for him from
the University of Belgrade.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

William J. Donovan
Director

DECLASSIFIED

By Authority of A.C.

Rosner letter 19 Oct 72

By _____ Date _____

~~SECRET~~

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

19 December 1944

~~SECRET~~
DECLASSIFIED

By Authority of A.C.

Rosner LeAev 19 Oct. 72

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

By _____ Date _____

The following cable has come to us from Belgrade University in Belgrade, through our representatives there. This University has always had an influential position in Yugoslavia, and it is suggested that you may wish to send a reply.

The following is the message:

"Mr. Franklin Roosevelt, President of the United States. On the occasion of its great anniversary celebration, the University of Belgrade sends to you its sincere greetings and gratitude for help given to our people, who were never subdued, in achieving their freedom, and to the efforts of our National Liberation Army in its struggle against the fascist conquerors, the Serbian people and its university believe that the assistance of the friendly and allied United States of America in the rehabilitation of our devastated country and the creation of a better future will not fail to come. Signed: President of the great anniversary celebration of the University of Belgrade, Professor Jevrem Nedeljkovic."

William J. Donovan
Director ~~SECRET~~

*Ship file**file confidential*MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

The Department has today received a telegram from Ambassador Patterson (copy enclosed) reporting that King Peter of Yugoslavia has requested that you send a telegram to Mr. Churchill supporting King Peter's position in the discussions now in progress in London concerning an agreement between Prime Minister Subasic and Marshal Tito for the formation of a united federal government in Yugoslavia. A copy of the Department's reply to Ambassador Patterson, now going forward, is also enclosed. Copies of the Department's earlier telegrams (No. 6 and No. 7 of December 23) and the full text of the Department's memorandum to the British Embassy of the same date are also enclosed for your convenient reference.

Will you please indicate whether you consider that any further messages in this matter would be appropriate?

E.S.

(by J.C.G.)

Enclosures.

January 7, 1945

This
telegram must be
carefully paraphrased before
being communicated
to anyone.

January 7, 1945

US URGENT

AMEMBASSY,

LONDON.

Yugos 2

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
Franklin D. Roosevelt Library 5P

State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

FEB 2 1972

Signature- J8

You may say to King Peter that your report (REURTEL 4 January 6, midnight) has been sent to the President. As regards the King's request that the President communicate with Mr. Churchill before the resumption of discussions of the Subasic-Tito agreement, you should say that the views of this Government as set forth in the Department's 6 and 7 of December 23 to you have already been communicated to the British Government through the Embassy in Washington, together with a somewhat detailed statement of our policy concerning the Yugoslav question in general. In view of Mr. Churchill's personal interest in the Yugoslav discussions it is supposed that this statement has been brought to his attention. The contents of it have also been communicated to the White House. For the moment, the Department cannot say whether the President, on reexamining these documents, will have further observations to communicate to the British

-2-

Government. As King Peter knows, the President has given much thought to the developments in Yugoslavia, and it is believed that the instructions sent to you and the memorandum already communicated to the British Government reflect his views on the matters in question.

STETTINIUS

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

RECORDED

State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

Date- FEB 2 1972

Signature- *jd*

SE:CWC:

S:DF:MLM

DEPARTMENT
OF
STATE

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

PC-519

This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (b)(7)(D)

London

Dated January 6, 1945

Rec'd 12:30 a.m., 7th

Secretary of State,
Washington.

US URGENT

YUGOS

4, January 6, Midnight

FROM AMBASSADOR PATTERSON

Last evening Ambassador Stevenson called on me and
said he had just called on King Peter at Eden's suggestion
and told him Churchill next week would urge him to sign
Tito-Subasic agreements.

Stevenson suggested to King that he make a declaration
in which he accepts agreements on understanding they will
be carried out to the letter and in spirit of principles
contained therein. King accepted Stevenson's offer to
give him in writing suggestions as to what declarations
should contain.

Directly after this meeting Stevenson wrote "personal
and private" letter to King, copy of which Stevenson gave
me and I am forwarding to Department. After giving de-
tailed suggestions for wording declaration the letter

adds:

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DECLASSIFIED

State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

Date- FEB 2 1972

Signature- JS

-2- #4, January 6, Midnight, from London

adds: "Your desire to do all in your power to protect the rights and liberties of your peoples is fully recognized. The fact is, however, that a revolution has taken place in Yugoslavia and no agreement however carefully drafted and apparently comprehensive will preserve these rights if the will to carry it out wisely and tolerantly is lacking" (Reported to Caserta as my 4 and Moscow as my 5).

Stevenson told me King will now probably accept agreements along lines of declaration suggested by Stevenson. He also said that British cabinet would probably meet Monday evening when they will discuss Yugoslav problem.

I called on King Peter at his country estate this afternoon at his request. He gave me telegram from Fotich quoting from NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE January 3 article by Ned Russell datelined London, January 2, headlined "Peter accepts Regency". Since this article was untrue, King said, he would request me to ask Department to have United States press publish retraction. He added that at his suggestion DAILY TELEGRAPH of January 6 published news item stating that creation of regency council was still under discussion and that no decision had been reached.

He then gave me copy of a letter he wrote to Prime Minister Churchill on January 5 which reiterates his objection to proposed regency and to interim legislative powers for Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

DECLASSIFIED

Avnoj

State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

Date- FEB 2 1972
JS

-3- #4, January 6, Midnight, from London

Avnoj and adds that he would welcome suggestions from Churchill. Copies of letter and DAILY TELEGRAPH item being sent Department by airgram.

The King requested me to convey to the President the fact that he would be grateful if President would cable his support of King's position to Churchill before proposed meeting of British cabinet on January 8. Summing up, King said he would try to eliminate completely the regency clause and one reference to his not returning to his country. Failing this he would insist on choosing the regents himself. He repeated his determination that the article dealing with the interim legislative powers of Avnoj be deleted.

During my talk with the King, the Queen and Princess Aspasia were present. Princess commenting on fact that King George of Greece had given in on his regency problem after a session with Churchill lasting from 10 p.m. to 5 a.m. said "Peter isn't going to act the way George did. George is weak".

WMB

WINANT Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

UNCLASSIFIED

State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

Date- FEB 2 1972

Signature- JS

DEPARTMENT
OF
STATE

OUTGOING
TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

DGS

This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. [REDACTED]

December 23, 1944

6 p.m.

US URGENT

AMEMBASSY,

LONDON.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
RECORDED

State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

Date- FEB 2 1972

YUGOS

6

Signature- *Jb*

SECRET FOR AMBASSADOR PATTERSON

Supplementary to your series of telegrams on
the proposed agreement for the formation of a new
Yugoslav Government the British Ambassador has in-
formed the Department of a telegram from Mr. Eden
stating that Subasic has given him a full explana-
tion of the agreement with Tito which, when read to-
gether with the supplementary texts, seems to afford
a QUOTE satisfactory basis on which to build a new
federal Yugoslavia UNQUOTE. He asks for the Depart-
ment's reaction, and says that it would be helpful,
if the Department favors the agreement as a whole,
if you could be instructed so to inform King Peter,
with whom the matter will be discussed by Mr. Churchill
and Mr. Eden later this week.

You may inform both Dr. Subasic and King Peter
that the Department has examined with attention the

DECLASSIFIED

State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

Date-

FEB 2 1972

Signature-

J

-2- # 6, December 25, 1944, 3 p.m. to London.

documents which you have submitted; that the principles enunciated in the agreement as a whole are generally in accord with those to which this Government subscribes, both for the conduct of the war and for general dealings with other governments; ^{but} ~~and~~ that this Government would not undertake to express an opinion as to the prospects for securing an effective and loyal implementation of these principles, since so much will depend on the good will, cooperation, and mutual respect with which the personalities who may be designated to conduct the affairs of the new Government approach the admittedly difficult problems involved in rebuilding their country.

You should add that, as concerns our general attitude, this Government has consistently defended the rights of the various peoples of Yugoslavia to work out their own forms of Government without the exercise of any foreign influence or the imposition of the rule of any one national or political group within the country over other elements.

If questions should be raised concerning the

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State Dept letter
of 1-11-72

Date-
148-

FEB 4 1972

Signature- *JK*

Signature-

-3- #6, December 23, 1944, 6 p.m., To London.

particulars of the agreement and its supplementary texts, you may say that this Government hesitates to express an opinion, both because of the very general nature of the language used, and the technicalities of Yugoslav law which may be involved as, for example, in the project for a Regency and the provisions for elections. Since these questions moreover may involve a decision taking into account the realities of the situation in Yugoslavia, the good will of the parties involved, and the King's conception of his responsibilities to his people, you should not enter into discussion of any of them.

For your guidance it may be added that in the event of the King's acceptance of this or any other compromise agreement the question of QUOTE recognition UNQUOTE by this Government would not arise. Our formal relations would not be determined by our appraisal of the merits of the arrangement. Should the King reject whatever terms may be arrived at, we consider it probable that Marshal Tito would formally repudiate the Government in exile and request recognition of his organization as the responsible Government. In such

-4- #6, December 23, 1944, 6 p.m., to London.

circumstances our decision concerning recognition would depend on a re-examination of the situation within Yugoslavia, followed probably by consultation with other Governments with regard to the situation then prevailing.

In its memorandum to the British Embassy the Department is outlining our general attitude toward the proposed agreement. Pertinent sections are being repeated to you in the next following telegram. Sent to London, Yugos. Repeated to Ampolad, Caserta, and Moscow.

STETINIUS

CODE ROOM: PLEASE REPEAT TO AMPOLAD, CASERTA AS
DEPARTMENT'S 501 AND TO MOSCOW AS
DEPARTMENT'S 2862.

SE: CWCannon: JS

12/21/44

NUR

A-EE

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State Dept letter
of 1-11-72

Date-

FEB 2 1972

Signature- *JS*

DEPARTMENT
OF
STATE

OUTGOING
TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

DGS

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. [REDACTED]

December 23, 1944

7 p.m.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

DECLASSIFIED

State Dept. letter

of 1-11-72

Date- FEB 2 1972

Signature- [Signature]

AMEMBASSY,

LONDON (TELETYPE):

YUGOS.

7

In its memorandum to the British Embassy (see preceding telegram) the Department paraphrased its instructions to you adding certain observations summarized below. The respective paragraphs numbered for security reasons should be rearranged in numerical order.

BEGIN SUMMARY.

FIVE. As forces within the country assume a greater share of responsibility in the Government it is the hope of this Government that genuine efforts will be made to assemble representatives with sound claim to speak for the broad masses of the population, to consider, without other influence, the relations among various elements in Yugoslavia and their respective projects of governmental reform.

FOUR. This Government has consistently defended the rights of the various peoples of Yugoslavia to work out their own forms of Government without the exercise of any foreign influence or the imposition of the rule of any one national or political group within the country over other elements. It has favored the extension of military aid to those resistance forces actively engaged against the Germans without political distinction and has avoided giving political support to either the nationalists or the Partisans. It deplores the cleavages and controversies which have taken place within Yugoslavia

DECLASSIFIED

State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

Date- FEB 2 1972

Signature- *JS*

-2- #7, December 23, 1941, to London.

amounting at times to active civil war, and between the Yugoslavs at home and their representatives abroad. It thinks that many of these problems are an outgrowth of the diverse national and social elements, and exposure to the stress and hardships of war conditions, and that the desire for democratic government is today general in the country, and not the monopoly of any one group or party.

One. The language of the Agreement and its supplementary texts is so vague that the real test would seem to be an evaluation of the good will of the parties to the agreement. Stripped of its generalities the agreement provides for a thoroughgoing reordering of administrative, legislative, electoral and institutional procedures, in which one group would have practically complete and exclusive power. The gesture toward the Government in exile seems hardly more than a concession considered sufficient to acquire recognition by other Governments, on grounds of an apparent continuity.

DECLASSIFIED

State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

Date- FEB 2 1972

Signature- *J*

-3- #7, December 23, 7 P.M., to London.

Two. While provision is made for the representation of various parties and national groups, there is no indication of any change in Tito's present requirement that all must belong to the Liberation Front. Arrangements for the elections for the proposed Constituent Assembly will be made in accordance with a law QUOTE which will be enacted in good time UNQUOTE; meanwhile the anti-Fascist Council will exercise legislative powers and the Government, composed almost entirely of Partisan representatives, will organize the executive powers and the judiciary. Considerable significance attaches also to the provisions concerning the right of suffrage, or to hold office. A misuse of the broad authority implicit in these provisions might well serve to circumvent democratic processes of government.

Six. The Department has given some thought to the fact that the Soviet and British Governments have acted as advisers in the negotiations between Subasic and Tito. It is not clear to what extent these discussions may be related to understandings between the British and Soviet Governments with regard to their respective interests in Southeastern Europe. At the time the British Embassy informed the Department of the joint messages sent by Eden and Molotov to Subasic and Tito, and requested an indication of this Government's approval of the projected arrangements, Mr. Hull replied that since this Government had not been informed of the nature of the proposed solutions

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State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

Date- FEB 2 1972

Signature- *[Signature]*

-4- #7, December 23, 7 p.m., to London.

of the Yugoslav problems it could hardly undertake to become associated with recommendations regarding the negotiations. At the stage to which the matter has meanwhile advanced, as indicated by the arrangements for the forthcoming conversations of Churchill and Eden with King Peter to bring about a definitive solution, the Department therefore feels that the exercise of its influence would extend beyond the responsibilities which this Government considers appropriate as regards decisions by which the future of Yugoslavia may be so vitally affected.

THREE. Account must be taken of course of the actualities of the situation. The Partisan organization appears in fact to be in effective control of the liberated parts of Yugoslavia. Its present armed strength, the presence of Soviet armies under a formal agreement with Tito, and the political support of the British and Soviet Governments have created a situation in which the Partisan leaders have taken advantage of their achievements in guerrilla warfare for the creation of a powerful political organization. It is comprehensible that among a ravaged and demoralized people who have lost faith in their leadership abroad this movement should have found at least temporary popular acceptance, and its ~~opponents~~ ^{opponents} for the time being are reduced to sullen impotence. Thus, the Partisan political program, including such radical innovations as the reorganization of the State as composed of ~~QUOTE~~ six nations ~~UNQUOTE~~, with perhaps even the eventual

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State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

Date- FEB 2 1972

Signature- *JS*

-5- #7, December 28, 7 a.m., to London.

addition of Bulgaria, appears to be taken as a matter of course, though the implications are of fundamental importance to the political organization of Southeastern Europe.

END SUMMARY.

Complete text being sent by airmail. Please keep Mr. Winant fully informed. Sent to YUGOS London as 7; repeated to ANTOLAD Caserta as 502 and to Moscow as 2883.

STETTINIUS
(CNC)

Code Room: Please repeat to ANTOLAD Caserta as Department's 502 and to Moscow as 2883.

December 23, 1944

MEMORANDUM

As suggested by Mr. Eden in his telegram to Lord Halifax dated December 19, 1944, a copy of which has been handed to the Department, instructions have been sent to Mr. Patterson, the American Ambassador to Yugoslavia, authorizing him to inform King Peter of certain observations which the Department has made regarding the proposed agreement between Dr. Subasic and Marshal Tito looking toward the formation of a new Yugoslav Government.

Mr. Patterson has been requested to inform King Peter that the Department has examined with attention the series of documents embodying the new proposals, and that the principles enunciated in these documents, taken as a whole, are in general accord with those to which this Government subscribes both in its dealings with other governments and in the particular relations connected with the conduct of the war. At the same time

Signature-

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State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

Date- FEB 2 1972

Signature- JS

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he should indicate that since so much will depend on the good will, mutual respect, and cooperation with which the personalities who may be designated to conduct the affairs of the new Government approach their admittedly difficult problems, this Government would not undertake to express an opinion as to the prospects for securing an effective and loyal implementation of the principles set forth in the agreements. As regards the general American attitude he has been authorized to say that his Government has consistently defended the rights of the various peoples of Yugoslavia to work out their forms of government without the exercise of foreign influences or the imposition of the rule of any one national or political group within the country over other elements.

Mr. Patterson has also been informed that the Department feels that he should not enter into discussion concerning the particulars of the agreement and its supplementary texts, both because of the general nature of the language used and the technicalities of Yugoslav law which

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State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

Date- FEB 2 1972

Signature- JS

may

may be involved as, for example, in the project for a Regency and the provisions for elections. In the Department's opinion it would not be appropriate to discuss these matters since they involve a decision to be made by the King and the Yugoslav authorities themselves, taking into account the realities of the situation in Yugoslavia, the good will of the parties involved, and the King's conception of his responsibilities to his people.

Since Mr. Eden has expressed an interest in the Department's reaction to the proposed basis of settlement, in view of the conversations which Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden intend to have with King Peter, the following additional observations may be useful in outlining the attitude of this Government toward the questions now in discussion.

As for the terms of the proposed agreement, it may be said in amplification of the observations communicated to Mr. Patterson as set forth above, that the language

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State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

Date-

Signature-

FEB 2 1972

of

exercise

of the texts is so vague that the real test would seem to be an evaluation of the good will of the parties to the agreement. Stripped of its generalities the agreement provides for a thoroughgoing reordering of administrative, legislative, electoral and institutional procedures, in which one group, even though it may be the strongest in the country, would have practically complete and exclusive power. The gesture toward the Government in exile, in the person of Dr. Subasic, seems hardly more than a concession considered sufficient to acquire recognition by other Governments, on grounds of an apparent continuity.

While provision is made for the representation of various parties and national groups, there is no indication of any change in Tito's present requirement that all must belong to the Liberation Front. Arrangements for the elections for the proposed Constituent Assembly will be made in accordance with a law "which will be enacted in good time"; meanwhile the anti-Fascist Council will

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State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

Date- FEB 2 1972

Signature- *[Signature]*

exercise

State Dept. letter of

1-11-72

-5-

Date-

FEB 8 1972

Signature-

exercise legislative powers and the Government, composed

almost entirely of Partisan representatives, will or-

ganize the executive powers and the judiciary. Con-

siderable significance attaches also to the provisions

concerning the right of suffrage, or to hold office.

A misuse of the broad authority implicit in these

provisions might well serve to circumvent democratic

processes of government.

Account must be taken of course of the actuali-

ties of the situation. The Partisan organization ap-

pears in fact to be in effective control of the liberated

parts of Yugoslavia. Its present armed strength, the

presence of Soviet armies under a formal agreement with

Marshal Tito, and the political support of the British

and Soviet Governments, over a period of many months,

have created a situation in which the Partisan leaders

have taken advantage of their achievements in guerrilla

warfare for the creation of a powerful political organiza-

tion. It is comprehensible that among a ravaged and

demoralized people who have lost faith in their

leadership

DECLASSIFIED

State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

-6-

Date- FEB 2 1972

leadership abroad this movement should have found at least temporary popular acceptance, and its opponents for the time being are reduced to sullen impotence. Thus, the Partisan political program, including such radical innovations as the reorganization of the State as composed of "six nations", with perhaps even the eventual addition of Bulgaria, appears to be taken as a matter of course, though the implications are of fundamental importance to the political organization of Southeastern Europe.

This Government has consistently defended the rights of the various peoples of Yugoslavia to work out their own forms of Government without the exercise of any foreign influence or the imposition of the rule of any one national or political group within the country, even though claiming majority support, over other elements. It has favored the extension of military aid to those resistance forces actively engaged against the Germans, without political distinction, and has avoided giving political support to either the nationalists or the Partisans. It

deplores

DECLASSIFIED

State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

-7-

FEB 8 1972

Signature-

deplores the cleavages and controversies which have taken place within Yugoslavia amounting at times to active civil war, and between the Yugoslavs at home and their representatives abroad. It thinks that many of these problems are an outgrowth of the diverse national and social elements, and exposure to the stress and hardships of war conditions, and that the desire for democratic government is today general in the country, and not the monopoly of any one group or party.

As forces within the country assume a greater share of responsibility in the Government it is the hope of this Government that genuine efforts will be made to assemble representatives with sound claim to speak for the broad masses of the population, to consider, without other influence, the relations among various elements in Yugoslavia and their respective projects of governmental reform.

In evaluating the problems now present the Department has given some thought to the fact that the Soviet and British Governments have acted as advisers in the negotiations between Prime Minister Subasic and Marshal Tito. It is not

clear

DECLASSIFIED

State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

-8-

Date-

FEB 2 1972

Signature

clear to what extent these discussions may be related to understandings between the British and Soviet Governments with regard to their respective interests or operations in Southeastern Europe. At the time the British Embassy informed the Department of the joint messages sent by Mr. Eden and Mr. Molotov to Dr. Subasic and Marshal Tito, and requested an indication of this Government's approval of the projected arrangements, Mr. Hull replied that since this Government had not been informed of the nature of the proposed solutions of the Yugoslav problems then in discussion it could hardly undertake to become associated with recommendations regarding the negotiations. At the stage to which the matter has meanwhile advanced, as indicated by the arrangements for the forthcoming conversations of the British Prime Minister and Mr. Eden with King Peter to bring about a definitive solution, the Department therefore feels that the exercise of its influence, except as set forth above, would involve responsibilities which this Government considers it should not take in the circumstances, as

regards

regards decisions by which the future of Yugoslavia may
be so vitally affected.

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State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

Date- FEB 2 1972

Signature- *JL*

Department of State,

Washington,

SE:CWC:BJB: 12/21/44

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PSF Yugoslavia folder
1-45
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 8, 1945.

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. SUMMERLIN:

FOR PREPARATION OF THE
NECESSARY REPLY.

F.D.R.

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

~~SECRET~~
~~SECRET~~

4 January 1945

Miss Grace Tully
The White House

Dear Miss Tully:

I think the President will be interested
in seeing the attached message of greeting from Marshal
Tito, transmitted by the OSS representative in Caserta.

Sincerely yours,

G. Edward Buxton
Acting Director

Enclosure.

DECLASSIFIED

By Authority of A.C.

Rosner Letter, 19 Oct. 72

By _____ Date _____

~~SECRET~~
~~SECRET~~

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

~~SECRET~~

4 January 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

The OSS representative in Caserta has transmitted the following message, dated 1 January:

"Franklin Delano Roosevelt, President, United States of America.

"I heartily wish you a happy New Year for 1945 with deep conviction that this shall be the year of final victory for United States over common enemy.

"Signed, Tito".

G. Edward Buxton
Acting Director

DECLASSIFIED

By Authority of A.C.

Rosner letter, 19 Oct 72

By _____ Date _____

~~SECRET~~

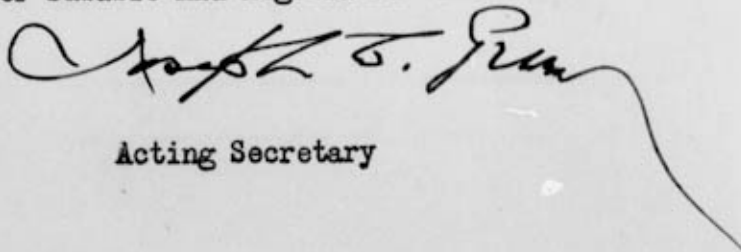
~~SECRET~~DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

January 12, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Yugoslav Situation

I believe you will wish to see the enclosed telegrams from Ambassador Patterson describing conversations among King Peter, Churchill and Eden just prior to the issuance of the King's communique rejecting the agreement which Prime Minister Subasic had negotiated with Tito.



Acting Secretary

Enclosures:

1. Copy of telegram from London, no. 6 Yugoslav Series, January 11, 1945.
2. Copy of telegram from London, no. 8 Yugoslav Series, January 11, 1945.

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DECLASSIFIED

State Dept letter
of 1-11-72

Date- FEB 2 1972

Signature- 

DEPARTMENT
OF
STATE

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF
CENTRAL SERVICES
TELEGRAPH SECTION

EOC-1904

This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. [REDACTED]

London

Dated January 11, 1945

Rec'd 10 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

US URGENT

YUGOS 6, January 11, 5 p.m.

FROM AMBASSADOR PATTERSON

Yesterday King Peter talked to me at length about
his conversation January 9 with Churchill and later
Stevenson called to inform me about this and Churchill's
previous talk with Subasic. Edon and Stevenson were
with Churchill on both occasions. Principal points
of interest made by King and/or Stevenson are as
follows:

At Monday's meeting, Churchill showed Subasic the
King's letters regarding unconstitutionality of proposed
regency and interim legislative power for Avnoj. Edon
had studied latter question and was impressed by King's
views. Subasic replied that King under the constitu-
tion would appoint regents under article 116, second
paragraph of which required all acts done under the
article to be validated later; and it was clear that

acts of Avnoj

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FOIA b7C

state dept letter
of 1-11-72
FEB 2 1972

Date-

Signature- [Signature]

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State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

FEB 2 1972

-2- YUGOS 6, January 11, 5 p.m. from London. Date-

Signature- JS
acts of Avnoj were subject to confirmation by the
duly elected legislative body. Churchill remarked
it was pity Subasic had not made this clear in the
agreement nor to the King. Subasic replied he had
not seen King in three weeks. He said that on his
return to Yugoslavia he would try to broaden Avnoj
by including in it some members of the pre-war
Parliament.

British cabinet discussed Yugoslav problem
Monday evening and decided Churchill should advise
King to sign agreement.

King Peter was pleased at his friendly recep-
tion by Churchill and Eden on Tuesday. Churchill
earnestly advised King to sign agreement adding:
"But I am not a Yugoslav. You know your people best.
It is for you to decide." When King raised his
objection to legislative power for Avnoj Eden brought
up proposal to add to Avnoj some members of old
Parliament and said he thought agreement should be
changed to this effect. (Repeated to Caserta as my
6 and Moscow as my 6).

King then said he wanted to choose his regents
at which Churchill barked: "You cannot choose them
yourself. As a constitutional monarch you must al-
ways take the advice of your Ministers" and proceeded
to give King

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-3- YUGOS 6, January 11, 5 p.m. from London.

State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

to give King a short lecture on constitutional monarchy.

Date- FEB 2 1972

Signature-

JP

Churchill added emphatically: "The three great powers will not lift one finger nor sacrifice one man to put any King back on any throne in Europe." He said that if Peter went back to Yugoslavia Tito would ask him to sign many death warrants. If he refused his life would be in danger.

Churchill then spoke of his desire that liberated peoples have full and fair chance to choose their own Government. He was thinking of making proposals to Stalin and Roosevelt regarding methods of ensuring honest plebiscites -- perhaps along lines of an international trust which he mentioned in Athens. But he thought King Peter might have a better chance of returning if decision were made by assembly rather than plebiscite. He also said that Tito would need King's help in many ways and want him for the peace conference. If the King signed he would retain his constitutional position. If he refused he would be by-passed and left "isolated and impotent."

Churchill asked King to give him prompt decision -- a yes or no, or else state he could not make up his mind.

After conference

-4- YUGOS 6, January 11, 5 p.m. from London.

After conference with Churchill Eden offered to give King friendly help. He said he thought the King had too many incompetent advisers living in London on Yugoslav pensions. If they wanted to engage in politics they should go back to Yugoslavia.

Stevenson saw Subasic yesterday and asked him what he would do if King does not sign. Subasic replied that it depended on how King expressed his refusal; that he would either go back to Belgrade as Premier and try to effect changes or else resign.

WINANT

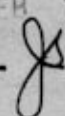
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State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

Date- FEB 2 1972

Signature- 

DEPARTMENT
OF
- STATE

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF
CENTRAL SERVICES
TELEGRAPH SECTION

HJD-1929

This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. [REDACTED]

London

Dated January 11, 1945

Rec'd 11:16 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

US URGENT

YUGOS 8, January 11, Midnight
FROM AMBASSADOR PATTERSON.

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State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

Date- FEB 2 1972

Signature- [Signature]

Referring to my preceding telegram, King Peter's
office yesterday informed London press that a communique
would be issued at noon today but at last moment they
postponed issuance under pressure from British Foreign
Office exerted by Ambassador Stevenson.

King went to see Eden this afternoon at latter's
request. When I met the King at 7 p.m. he told me
exuberantly that he had just issued the communique and
added: "I may get my throat cut for this." He said
that Eden was most friendly but advised him not to issue
communique. King assured Eden he would take entire per-
sonal responsibility for it. At Eden's suggestion he
altered clause in last sentence from "King would welcome
opportunity to confer directly with Marshal Stalin" to
read "King has the greatest regard for Marshal Stalin."

He also changed

-2- #YUGOS 8, January 11, Midnight from London

He also changed phrase "formation of the regency" to read "form of the regency."

At end of interview Eden said to King; "Your Majesty, I have great admiration for you personally and I can understand your point of view".

WINANT

JMS

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State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

Date- FEB 2 1972

Signature-

JA

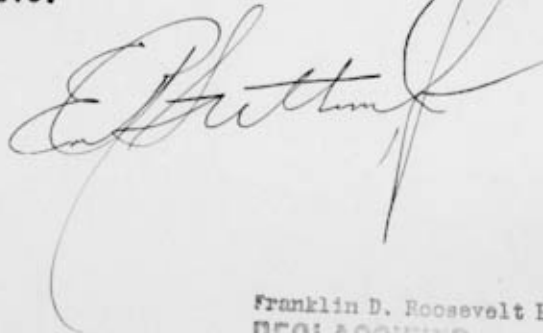
~~SECRET~~THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

January 17, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Yugoslav Situation

I am transmitting two telegrams from Kirk in regard to this matter, the first indicating that Tito will give Peter a few more days to accept the agreement and, if he does not, he himself will repudiate the agreement and presumably proceed with the establishment of a provisional government. The second telegram indicates that the Foreign Office is preparing to "throw over" Peter and to ask United States support for this move.



Enclosures:

1. Telegram no. 166,
January 15, 1945,
from Caserta.
2. Telegram no. 177,
January 16, 1945,
from Caserta.

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State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

Date- FEB 2 1972

Signature- 

DEPARTMENT
OF
STATE

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF
CENTRAL SERVICES
TELEGRAPH SECTION

DSH-1251

This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. [REDACTED]

Secretary of State,
Washington.

166, January 15, 10 p.m.

OSS has informed us that Tito appeared very pleased
that King Peter had made declaration which he did with
regard to Tito-Subasic agreement and expressed view
that Peter had only damaged his own cause. Although
Tito first intimated he would give up idea of a unified
government, he later admitted that if Peter accepted
agreement within next few days, he would go through with
it but if there were any more delay, he would repudiate
it. Belgrade newspaper editorials of January 14 confirm
this decision and forecast pursuance of national libera-
tion plans for time being. In event Peter should remain
firm, Belgrade opinion is that agreement would be repudi-
ated by Tito, AVNOJ would be declared provisional supreme
administrative organ and Tito would be named Premier of
National Committee. Thereafter, the Allies would be
faced with question of recognition in which Anglo-Saxons
are expected to be more hesitant than Russians and other
continental governments.

LMS

Caserta

Dated January 15, 1945

Rec'd 7 p.m., 16th

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State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

Date- FEB 2 1972

Signature- [Signature]

KIRK

DEPARTMENT
OF
STATE

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF
CENTRAL SERVICES
TELEGRAPH SECTION

RA-1417

This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone, [REDACTED]

Caserta

Dated January 16, 1945

Rec'd 10:20 a.m., 17th

Secretary of State

Washington

177, January 16, 11 p.m.

[REDACTED]

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State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

Date- FEB 1 1972

Signature- [Signature]

MacMillan said last evening that he had just been
informed that the Foreign Office was instructing Halifax
to inform Department of British position with regard to
Tito-Subasic agreement since recent declaration of
King Peter. He stated that he gathered from message he
had received that Foreign Office was preparing to "throw
over" King Peter. He added that Halifax had been told
to tell us politely that it was all very well and good
for United States to stall on Yugoslav situation, but
that British Government was obliged to take a definite
position and could not afford to take same (repeated to
Moscow as 17, London for Patterson as 33) "waffling"
line as the State Department.

KIRK

W3B

PSF: Yugoslavia folder 1-45
file telephoned OK to New

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

JAN 22 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

The Department is receiving from the British Embassy this afternoon a note requesting, by Mr. Eden's instruction, the Secretary's observations on a British proposal to invite the Yugoslav Government to proceed to Belgrade, regardless of such reservations as King Peter may still insist on, and there carry out the Tito-Subasic agreement in concert with the National Committee of Liberation. The British Ambassador would then be accredited to the Regency set up under the agreement and would proceed forthwith to Belgrade. A communication to this effect is to be made to Dr. Subasic at noon tomorrow.

Enclosed herewith is the draft of the Department's note in reply. Will you let me know if it is in accord with your views?

Franklin D. Roosevelt

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State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

Date- FEB 2 1972

Signature- *JF*

Enclosure:

Draft of note
to British

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State Dept letter
of 1-11-72

Date-

FEB 2 1972

Signature-

[Handwritten signature]

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to His Excellency the British Ambassador and acknowledges the receipt of the Embassy's note of today's date referring to an aide-memoire of January 20 on the subject of the negotiations now in course at London for the establishment of a unified Yugoslav Government. The Embassy requests the observations of this Government with respect to the course which the British Government now proposes to follow, in the event that King Peter fails to declare his acceptance of the Tito-Subasic agreement before midday tomorrow.

The substance of the Department's telegram to Ambassador Patterson of January 18 has already been communicated orally to the Embassy. It referred to the general lines of American policy, as had been communicated in greater detail in the Department's memorandum of December 23, 1944, and observed that the real merits

of

of some of the questions connected with the reservations made by King Peter could better be determined if the Government returns to Yugoslavia, and if the diplomatic missions of friendly governments can be established at an early date at Belgrade.

In substance, therefore, the Department is in agreement with the objective under which the Yugoslav Government would return to the country to work together with the various elements within Yugoslavia. When that time comes, the Department would prefer, of course, that the regular American diplomatic and consular establishment should accompany or shortly follow the returning Government.

The time limit set by the British Government for the presentation of its recommendations concerning the return of the Government would indicate that a break between the King and one or both of the parties to the proposed agreement is anticipated. Should this eventuality arise the Department would nevertheless desire to make some arrangements for provisional representation

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State Dept. letter
of 1-11-72

at

FEB 2 1972

JS

at Belgrade. Basing our action on the assumption that a truly representative administration will be established, with provision for early and free elections as set forth in the agreement, assurances to this effect being fundamental to the whole agreement, the Department would be prepared to use the regular diplomatic mission for this provisional representation, pending the examination of the situation in Yugoslavia and consultation with other Governments with regard to the situation then prevailing.

*OK
JH*

Department of State,
Washington,

SE:CWC;BJS 1/22/46

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State Dept. letter of
1-11-72

Date- FEB 2 1972

Signature- *JH*