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Churchill, Roosevelt and the Casablanca Conference, January 1943

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Preface

In September 1997 I began researching a dissertation for my history degree entitled ‘Churchill, Roosevelt and the Casablanca Conference, January 1943′. The title was suggested by my supervisor, Dr David Reynolds, an expert in Anglo-American relations during this period. After endless reading, a number of trips to various archives, and a number of hours spent trawling the web for background materials and images, the study was completed. In June 1998 I found out that I got a 2:1 history degree, and that both markers of the dissertation had awarded it firsts, so it played a crucial role in getting me a 2:1 overall, and was probably my single best piece of work during my degree.

When I graduated and entered the new media industry, somewhat by accident, I needed to learn about putting together websites for myself. A 15,000-word dissertation seemed to offer ample scope for learning, and I created a number of versions of the site over a number of years.

That site is no longer live, but as I explore new technologies for creating eBooks, it once again seems like the ideal source text for me to experiment with. Who knows, somebody may even find it useful!

Simon Appleby, March 2013

Acknowledgements

This dissertation would not have been possible without the help and supervision of Dr David Reynolds, of Christ's College, Cambridge. His endless knowledge of World War II, and his own contributions to the understanding of it, were the most important factors in determining the quality of this study. His knowledge of the documents held at the Churchill Archive Centre and the Public Record Office was also extremely useful. It is because of him that this dissertation is of sufficient quality (I feel) to be published. The staff at the Churchill Archive Centre were also extremely helpful.

1

Introduction and a Note on Sources

A single volume study of the Casablanca Conference has not yet been written. Much scholarship has been devoted to the later conferences at Teheran and Yalta, where Stalin's presence and the certainty of Hitler's defeat made for lively debate and greater consideration of post-war issues, issues which take on greater importance in the light of the Cold War.[1] Casablanca was the first of the 1943 conferences, of which there were seven in all.[2] While there is no single-volume history, few historians of the war leaders or of their generals do not consider the conference. Warren Kimball, with his recently published *Forged in War* has produced an excellent summary of the conference in terms of the personal relationship between Roosevelt and Churchill, and this should be considered one of the best secondary accounts, while John Keegan also devotes his attention to its import, providing a good account from the military perspective as part of what is possibly the best single-volume account of the war.[3]

1. On the Moscow and Teheran conferences, Sainsbury (1985); on Yalta, Clemens (1970)

2. Washington (TRIDENT), May 12-27, 1943; Quebec (QUADRANT); Moscow foreign ministers' conference, October 18-November 1; Cairo (SEXTANT), November 23-26 (FDR, Churchill, Chiang Kai-Shek); Teheran (EUREKA), November 28-December 1 (FDR, Churchill, Stalin); second Cairo, December 4-6 (Churchill, FDR, Ismet Inonu, Turkish President). Yalta (ARGONAUT) was February 4-11, 1945

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore the significance of the personal relationship between Churchill and Roosevelt, the so-called “special relationship”, to the outcome of Casablanca. Did it affect the outcome of discussions? Was it a decisive or a divisive factor? Was it crucial to determining the outcome of the conference, or would the decisions have been the same without the two men? Were other relationships more important to reaching a resolution of a significant division between the JCS and their counterparts on the COS?

Arguably Casablanca was the first summit conference at which post-war issues were considered in a concrete way – the Atlantic conference considered them in hypothetical and idealist fashion. Rather than Eastern Europe, though, the territories under consideration in 1943 were the colonies of the Old World. The most important event for which it is now remembered is the policy of Unconditional Surrender, still mired in controversy. An important feature at the time was the resolution of the internal wrangling that beset liberated French territories in North Africa, an issue which, as we shall see, was inextricably bound up with the future of colonialism.

Militarily, it was unremarkable except for what it failed to do, that is, produce any decision to open a true Second Front in Europe in 1943. The most significant military decision was that taken to invade Sicily (HUSKY), which Keegan believes was decisive in committing the Allies to a Mediterranean strategy. The logical next step from HUSKY was the invasion of Italy,

3. Kimball (1997), Ch.6; Keegan (1989)(1), pp.262-4, 354-5

and it is arguable that the invasion of Southern France which followed D-Day, DRAGOON, was also a result of invading Sicily.[4]

Chapter 1 is a summary of the Anglo-American relationship, and the personal relationship, from the outbreak of war in September 1939 until the end of 1942, immediately before the conference. Chapter 2 is an overview of the conference itself, examining the immediate context of the meeting. It also considers the attitudes of those involved, and the surprisingly crucial aspect of differing conference preparations. Chapter 3, which in many ways of the crux of this study, contains summaries of all of the main issues under discussion, the effect of the personal relationship upon them, and what their handling can tell us about the personal relationship. Chapter 4 considers the fate of the relationship at future wartime conference, provides an evaluation of the facts that have been presented, and draws conclusions.

A Note on the Sources

Three types of source have been used in this study: firstly, primary sources, especially the recollections of many of the participants, written either during the conference or after the war; secondly, the official records taken by both the British and American contingents; thirdly, secondary works devoted to examining in greater depth the many issues that were raised at Casablanca.

Memoirs vary in quality and lucidity on the details of the conference, but there are few major participants who did not commit their thoughts to paper about the

4. Keegan (1989)(1), pp.263-4

war (Roosevelt himself, who died in 1945, is of course the vital exception – for his attitude we must turn to his correspondence and the recollections of those around him). Elliott Roosevelt provides his own account of many wartime conferences in *As He Saw It*, but he should be considered less than completely reliable, owing to a desire to justify his recently-dead father's policies, and repudiate Churchill, who, with FDR dead, was able to write the history of the war from his own inimitable perspective with less fear of contradiction. Sherwood provides a useful account based heavily on the papers of Harry Hopkins. Averell Harriman has also written of his experiences. Of the military men, Ismay and others have been published. Macmillan and Murphy both provide accounts of their part in resolving the French impasse, Murphy through memoirs, Macmillan through (self) published diaries. Sadly, we are deprived of the thoughts of Brigadier Vivian Dykes, a vital spoke in the Anglo-American wheel – he died in a plane crash while returning from the conference, and his diary stops two months short of events at Casablanca. Lastly, there is Churchill's epic six-volume account, *The Second World War*, which while purporting to be history, is in truth a personal account and a significant piece of self-justification, using the documents sent and received by Churchill during the war.

The volume of FRUS devoted to the Washington and Casablanca conferences is invaluable. It contains the President's Log, as recorded by his aides, and the broader Proceedings of the Conference, which includes the minutes of all meetings involving the Americans. It also contains the main documents produced during the deliberations, as well as a variety

of pre-conference materials. Excellent editorial notes provide details of un-minuted meetings as available from other sources.

A number of unpublished sources have been consulted while writing this study. A vital insight into the organisation behind the conference, and a lower level perspective of it, is provided by the diaries of Colonel Ian Jacob: he was sent out beforehand to expedite arrangements and was a vital part of the secretariat during its running. These diaries are still little known, having only been made available at the Churchill Archive Centre in 1993. For meetings that did not involve the American delegation, it has been necessary to visit the Public Record Office in Kew: CAB 99/24 is the British Proceedings of the Conference, and there is also relevant material in the Premier Papers series. The Churchill Archive Centre has also yielded some useful background material, including War Directives circulated by Churchill in the build-up to the conference and the volume of telegrams he sent during his time at Casablanca. In order to gain a picture of the course of the conference, I created a chart, using material from FRUS and the PRO; this shows the dates of all significant meetings at the conference, who was present, and which issues were discussed. This had been included in this study as the Appendix [not yet included in on-line version].

There are many secondary works that have been consulted during the course of this study: on the Anglo-American alliance, on the Soviet dimension, on the personal relationship, on the different conferences, and on the variety of issues raised at Casablanca. A full list of all relevant secondary works can be found in the Bibliography. In addition, bibliographic footnotes

will draw the reader's attention to books and articles of particular interest and merit regarding the topics under discussion.

Abbreviations

CBO	**Combined Bomber Offensive**
CCS	**Combined Chiefs of Staff, the supreme strategy-making committee of the Allied military**
CHAR	**The Chartwell Papers, covering Churchill's life up to 1945, held at the Churchill Archive Centre, Cambridge**
COS	**Chiefs of Staff committee, the British heads of the armed services**
FRUS	**Foreign Relations of the United States, collections of documents on US foreign policy published by the State Department**
HMG	**His Majesty's Government**
JACB	**The papers of Colonel Ian Jacob, held at the Churchill Archive Centre**
JCS	**Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, the American heads of the armed services**
PRO	**Public Record Office**

Codenames for military operations are in capitals (e.g. ANAKIM). Footnotes use the author / date system. See the Bibliography for details of cited works.

2

Anglo-US Relations Up To SYMBOL

The history of Anglo-US relations up to the Casablanca conference can be split into two distinct phases. The first starts with the beginning of WW2 in September of 1939, and ends with the American declaration of war in December 1941. Churchill described this episode as 'How the British people held the fort alone, till those who hitherto had been half blind were half ready.'[1] The second begins with America's entry into hostilities, and continues up until the SYMBOL conference in Casablanca, from the 14th to the 24th of January 1943, and beyond. The relationship during these two different periods was bound to be different, for as Churchill famously said when someone suggested that Britain continue the same cautious approach toward America she has used before Pearl Harbour: "Oh! That is the way we talked to her while we were wooing her; now that she in the harem, we talk to her quite differently!"[2]

US neutrality was, from the beginning of war, strongly weighted in favour of assisting Britain. This was especially true after the shock caused by the fall of France in 1940, which left Britain facing Germany alone. FDR's reelection for an unprecedented third term in 1940 made him more politically secure, and he subsequently felt that he could begin to offer more

1. Churchill (1949), p.xiii
2. Bryant (1986), p.282

concrete assistance to the British. However, by the time the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor in December 1941, America was still dragging her heels. While in the North Atlantic the US Navy was operating a state of undeclared war against Germany, American policy was still cautious. What concessions there were had been relatively small: military missions and staff talks, including the affirmation of ‘Germany First’; the first meeting between the two leaders and the signing of the Atlantic Charter, arguably a vague and useless document in the context of a war far from being won, and of course Lend-Lease, inspired by FDR’s vision of America becoming the ‘arsenal of democracy.’[3]

Although initially Lend-Lease supplies were slow to come, they eventually covered half the UK’s balance of payments. Lend-Lease became a truly effective method for supply, as American industry tooled up for the mass production that was required to win the war. Hitler invaded the USSR in June 1941, initially making rapid gains. The German military was now fully committed to a major land campaign, making it extremely unlikely that Britain would be invaded. Churchill allied with Stalin in 1942, pledging material support. This meant that a new ally needed to be supplied, leading to Churchill’s initiation of costly Arctic convoys. The turning point in Hitler’s war was to occur on the Russian front not long before Casablanca: the battle of Stalingrad. In November 1942 the German 6th Army, which had captured the city, was trapped by a daring Soviet encirclement, creating a pocket containing 250,000 German troops. German force of arms was demonstrated to be susceptible to massive defeat, and Hitler’s strategic thinking was shown to be fallible by Stalingrad; more

3. Radio address of the President, 29.12.40

importantly, the strategic advantage was permanently ceded to Stalin on the Russian front, although he continued to call for a Second Front in Europe.

War in North Africa began in June 1940, with some spectacular British victories against the Italians; subsequently, however, Rommel came close to taking Egypt and the Suez Canal. It is vital to appreciate the while there was a huge difference in scale between BARBAROSSA and the Western Desert Campaign, the desert was the only place the British army was engaging German troops. As the only active Allied land theatre, protecting the Suez Canal, it loomed large in British strategic calculations. The TORCH landings in North Africa, in November 1942 were a response to the glimmer of hope offered by the Western Desert Campaign; Churchill at the June 1942 Washington Conference had suggested them to FDR, and in the absence of viable options for a true Second Front, FDR had agreed. The Second Front, the term given to a major invasion of the continent by the Allies, was to continue to dominate the agenda in 1943. TORCH, an operation involving British, American and Free French troops, effectively secured the whole of Africa and the Middle East for the Allies (hence the feasibility of meeting at Casablanca in the first place), although Rommel was reinforced in Tunisia, where he put up impressive resistance until May 1943. The product of a marriage between a British strategy and American resources, which ruled out any attempt to cross the Channel in 1942, TORCH demonstrated the benefits of military co-operation, and gave an opportunity to ‘blood’ US troops for the first time. Where next to deploy those blooded troops was to be the crux of the Casablanca deliberations, at a time when the strategic situation could have gone either way.

By this time also, American naval activity in the Atlantic had increased significantly in terms both of escort and merchant shipping – the use of American shipyards was making up for losses, while a proper convoy system was in place for trans-Atlantic shipping. The ability to transport goods and troops across the Atlantic was crucial to the continuation of the war, to the build-up of troops in the UK for an eventual invasion of the continent (BOLERO), and to the very survival of the UK. The threat posed to all of this by the U-boats was therefore to be high on the list of priorities when the Allies met at Casablanca.

Meanwhile the USAAF was creating its 8th Air Force in the UK, about which there was to be a dispute at Casablanca. In the Pacific, the war that was developing was largely an American one – the sinking of the British ships Prince of Wales and Repulse in December 1941 and the fall of Singapore in February 1942, deprived the British of any significant military presence, except in India, and virtually no naval presence. The Americans were in the driving seat for directing that war, and by 1943 their attention turned to how they might bring British troops in India back into offensive action in order to reassure the beleaguered Chinese Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-Shek.

The importance of the war leaders to the developing process of co-operation should not be underestimated. They used their constant communication as a means to discuss policy and sound out their ideas at the highest possible level, sometimes bypassing unhelpful elements such as Joseph Kennedy, the defeatist American Ambassador in London. The ambassadors when war broke out, Lothian for HMG and Kennedy for the US, were both replaced in 1941 by more obedient

and diplomatic men, Halifax and Winant, denoting the growing importance of direct communication between the two leaders. Certainly, their communication was relatively free of diplomatic niceties, and Churchill gave free rein to his gift for rhetoric. On some matters, their accord could be striking, while on other occasions, each man was capable of ignoring the other's suggestions; for example, Churchill was loathe to discuss the British Empire and the possibility that it might have to be surrendered as the price for American involvement.

Churchill first corresponded with Roosevelt when he entered the war government as First Lord of the Admiralty. He genuinely respected his American counterpart, and their correspondence during this period provides a unique insight into their attitudes towards one another and their developing relationship. Both leaders (and their aides) pored over the content of their messages to ensure that they gave exactly the right impression to the other: of Britain's steadfastness, of America's concern, of Britain's determination and America's restriction. Both men were capable of being frank, and Churchill could be tenacious. His persistence was equalled, though, by Roosevelt's ability to read and reply selectively. Another notable feature of the correspondence is the imbalance: Churchill's communications outnumber Roosevelt's by approximately three to one, indicating clearly where the power lay.

Roosevelt and Churchill met once before the entry of America into the war, at Placentia Bay (their first meeting since 1918), and a number of times between the outbreak of war and Casablanca: at the first Washington conference (ARCADIA), December 1941, the two leaders confirmed the 'Europe First' strategy;

at the second Washington conference the problems of the second front were discussed, and the TORCH landings touted as an alternative. In addition, there were numerous other staff meetings and talks, resulting in the sharing of technology, and agreements to liase on the construction of atomic weapons (over which there was controversy at Casablanca); importantly, unity of command in the Allied military was established. The progress made by Britain and America between 1941 and the Casablanca meeting should not be underestimated. From uneasy allies, they progressed to a genuinely united front, with unusually close military, economic and technological co-operation.

Anglo-US relations before American entry into World War II were by no means as easy or straightforward as one might imagine, given the two powers' eventual co-operation and joint victory. At the start of war, America was a nation with a strong non-interventionist streak, and the UK was a suspicious imperial power that distrusted American intentions. Both sides were heavily influenced by their respective experiences of the Great War: America thought the British had secret war aims and imperialist ambitions; Britain thought America would only enter the war if her territorial or economic interests were blatantly threatened, rather than out of any sense of obligation to the Old World. Once the issue of America's entry into the war was settled, she and Britain became impressively close partners, a fact that is often obscured by the myriad minor differences that manifested themselves between American entry and eventual victory. While military co-operation was at first grudging, by the time of Casablanca the first major Anglo-American operation had been carried out (TORCH), joint structures of command had been established both at theatre and

higher levels. For the first time, and despite the persistently dangerous situation in the Atlantic, the war looked winnable, and the British and Americans believed they could make significant strides towards winning it.[4]

4. Further reading: for the full FDR-Churchill correspondence, see Kimball (1984); on the development of the Anglo-US alliance, see Reynolds (1981); on Lend-Lease, see Kimball (1969); for an account of the major strategic events described, see Keegan (1989)(1).

3

The Background to the Conference

The Casablanca Conference was originally intended to be a three-power conference, between the USSR, the UK and the USA:

> *"Immediately after the African landings, Roosevelt and Churchill began to talk about sitting down with Stalin. ... But Stalin ... was suspicious. Declining the President's invitation in courteous language, the Soviet generalissimo nevertheless added a tart reminder: "Allow me to express my confidence that the promises about the opening of the second front in Europe given ... in regard to 1942, and in any case with regard to the spring of 1943, will be fulfilled."*[1]

What Stalin did not mention was that his fear of flying meant he could not face attending unless the conference was on Soviet soil. His absence made things both easier and more difficult: easier, because there was a genuine co-operative alliance between the British and the Americans, which could function in a more trusting atmosphere; more difficult because the decisions reached would have to take account of the Soviet perspective, even though there was nobody at the conference to express that perspective.

1. Murphy (1964), p.205

After the TORCH landings in November 1942, it was clear that there were a number of important issues that needed to be considered for 1943:

- The future of operations in Tunisia, which were not completed as quickly as had been hoped;
- The future of Grand Strategy – TORCH had served to convince Stalin that the Allies were serious in pursuing the war, but it had not been a true Second Front. Now the CCS had to decide whether to cross the Channel in force, pursue the Mediterranean option or concentrate more resources on the Pacific. They also had to consider the best use to make of a growing strategic bomber force available in the UK;
- The desperate supply situation of the UK – the U-boat wolf packs were working extremely well at the end of 1942, their success being compounded by the Allies' loss of the ability to read naval Enigma traffic during the latter half of the year. The situation had serious implications for Stalin, who was receiving aid from British convoys, and for the logistics of strategy in 1943;
- The political situation in North Africa following Eisenhower's militarily expedient but diplomatically disastrous deal with Admiral Jean Darlan, the Vichy vice-premier who had

> chanced to be in North Africa at the time of TORCH. Even though it had spared much bloodshed, Churchill and Roosevelt were under strong political pressure, and both were seeking ways of turning control of the French colonies to their advantage under a more acceptable leadership.

There was therefore, considerable need to assess the future of the war in 1943, and the proposed meeting was discussed by the two leaders from the start of December onwards. The suggestion to meet in North Africa was Roosevelt's, who famously said that he preferred "a comfortable oasis to the raft at Tilsit" (by which he indicated a desire to avoid discussion of post-war issues, hence a complete exclusion of the State Department).[2] The preparations were made by Eisenhower's staff in North Africa and by British representatives from the COS, including Colonel Ian Jacob. Deciding against Churchill's repeatedly stated preference for Marrakech, the resort of Anfa, a suburb of Casablanca, was secured. It contained a number of luxurious villas, as well as a hotel large enough to accommodate all of the participants; its proximity to the coast made it easy to maintain communications with London, via the H.M.S. *Bulolo*.

The prospect of the trip excited both men enormously – Roosevelt always relished the idea of hoodwinking the press and public as to his whereabouts, while both men had great fun creating code-names for themselves: Roosevelt suggested Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, an interesting choice which Churchill,

2. Kimball (1984), R-224

with characteristic attention to detail, rejected, perhaps lest the conference be dubbed 'quixotic'.[3] He suggested Admiral Q. and Mr. P., noting with a typical touch that 'We must mind our P's and Q's.'[4] It is also worth noting FDR rarely travelled, because of his illness – he was to leave the United States only a handful of times in his lifetime. The journey to Casablanca, and the stop-over in the British colony of Gambia, were probably influential for him. They provided a window on the world of colonialism, about which he and Churchill were to find themselves arguing.

Examination of the correspondence between the two men from December 1st 1942 to their arrival at Casablanca gives a quick indication of the business which awaited at Casablanca.[5] The largest number of exchanges during this period was on various aspects of the political situation in North Africa and the mess in which Eisenhower had mired his command (22 in a total of 83), a clear indication that the issues were both complex and contentious. A handful of messages made reference to the shipping situation in the Atlantic and other parts of the world, while in an exchange of lengthy telegrams, the demands of Chiang Kai-Shek for greater assistance were debated. The most significant matter referred to was the Allies' relationship with Stalin and his desire for a Second Front. Most discussion took place in the knowledge

3. Kimball (1984), R-252

4. Kimball (1984), C-253

5. Kimball (1984): On the political situation in N.Africa: R-225, R-232, C-227, C-229, R-236, C-236, R-241, C-239, R-245, R-246, C-242, C-243, C-244, C-246, R-247, C-249, C-249/1, R-250, C-251, R-252, C-253. On shipping: C-233, C-234, R-239, C-247, R-251, C-257. On China: R-254, C-258. On Stalin and the Second Front: C-216, R-224, C-219, C-224, R-230, R-231, C-230, R-234/1 (letter), R-238, C-235

that only a conference could resolve this, the most critical issue, and from the middle of December the two leaders turned their attention to attempting to gain Stalin's participation. It is notable that major issues of Grand Strategy do not make any appearance whatsoever in their pre-conference messages – the only telegram which makes any attempt to survey the state of the war was one of Churchill's, which provided an overview of the logistics of production in 1943, and is mostly concerned with manpower, shipping and munitions, not operations.[6]

As has already been mentioned, FDR was anxious to avoid bringing State Department officials, claiming the conference would have nothing to do with foreign policy. For this reason, Churchill was forced to exclude Eden, his Foreign Secretary, in order to advance Roosevelt's case. Thus when the conference began the participants were, with a few exceptions, either military men or political advisors to the war leaders.

The American Contingent

Joint Chiefs of Staff

- General George C. Marshall, US Army Chief of Staff
- Admiral Ernest J. King, C-in-C US Fleet
- General H.H. Arnold, Commander USAAF

Other military

- General Brehon B. Somervell, Commander, US Army Service Forces

6. Kimball (1984), C-247

Civilians

- Harry Hopkins
- Averell Harriman
- Robert Murphy

The British Contingent

Chiefs of Staff

- Field Marshall Sir Alan Brooke, Chief of the Imperial General Staff
- Admiral of the Fleet Sir Dudley Pound, First Sea Lord
- Marshal of the Royal Air Force Sir Charles Portal
- Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, Head of Combined Operations

Other military

- Field Marshall Sir John Dill, Head of the Joint Service Mission, representative of the COS in Washington
- General Hastings Ismay, Chief of Staff to the Minister of Defence (Churchill)

Civilian

- Lord Leathers, British Minister of War Transport

- Harold Macmillan, Minister Resident[7]

A notable absentee was Admiral William D. Leahy, FDR's chief of staff and the Chairman of the JCS. He fell ill en route and did not attend, a loss in terms of influence and knowledge of FDR that probably handicapped the Americans from the start.

With the arrival of these men and their leaders, the stage was set for the conference. Most were exceptional military minds, but not all tuned in to the same wavelength – confrontation was likely, although the presence of Dill, at the instigation of the Americans, gave the hope of accord being reached, for there was no more skillful a man at overcoming differences between the JCS and COS. It was clear from the development of the war in 1942 that there were going to be major conflicts over strategy, while the volume of correspondence over the North Africa situation presaged a similar confrontation in the political arena.

The personal relationship at this point, though, was in generally excellent shape: only Churchill had met Stalin at this point, and the latter's overshadowing of the special relationship was to come later. In a Christmas message to Churchill, FDR had cabled 'The old teamwork is grand,' and at this point it certainly was strong and healthy.[8] The two leaders, both strong proponents of personal diplomacy, conferred most evenings, until what Roosevelt referred to as 'the Winston hours,' usually around 2 a.m.[9] Both enjoyed

7. Sources for the list of attendees are numerous; these are the principal protagonists as listed in FRUS (visitors are not included on this list)

8. Kimball (1984), R-244

9. Kimball (1997), p.184

themselves at the conference, Churchill eating, drinking and playing bezique, Roosevelt inspecting American troops and enjoying a rare vacation from the hothouse atmosphere of Washington politics. Regardless of apparent fissures among the CCS, and despite disagreements over various issues (as we shall see in Chapter 3), there could not have been a stronger basis on which to build a political and strategic consensus on how to conduct the war in 1943.[10]

10. Further reading: the most useful overview of the conference is Kimball (1997), Ch.6; many participants have recounted the roles they played, including Hopkins, Harriman, Murphy, Elliott Roosevelt, Macmillan and Brooke; there is also Churchill himself. The accounts vary in quality and detail, but generally all agree on the problems and the solutions found to them. For details of all the above-mentioned memoirs see the Bibliography; on the role of Dill as a broker, see Danchev (1986)

4

Topics of Discussion at SYMBOL

This chapter is organised into a number of sections, covering all of the main issues that were dealt with at Casablanca:

- The Combined Bomber Offensive
- The Battle of the Atlantic
- The Grand Strategic Vision
- Absent Ally – The Spectre of Stalin
- Roosevelt's Fourth Policeman, Churchill's Pet Project – China and Turkey
- Unconditional Surrender
- The de Gaulle – Giraud Affair
- TUBE ALLOYS – The Silent Controversy

The Combined Bomber Offensive

The Combined Bomber Offensive (CBO) was conceived with the following objective: 'the progressive destruction and dislocation of the German military, industrial and economic system, and the undermining of the morale of the German people to the point where their capacity for armed defence is fatally weakened.'[1]

1. Memorandum by the CCS, 21.1.43, 'The Bomber Offensive from the United Kingdom', in FRUS, pp.781-782

This involved the bombing of German targets by night by the RAF, and daylight raiding, without fighter cover, by bombers of the USAAF's 8th Air Force.

Churchill was initially reluctant to approve the CBO – precision daylight bombing was considered by many in the RAF to be impracticable and dangerous, despite the obvious advantages in terms of seeing the target (although much still depended upon the weather). In a directive prior to the conference he wrote:

> *The brute fact remains that the American bombers so far have rarely gone beyond the limits of British fighter escort. … They have not so far dropped a single bomb on Germany. … We should, of course, continue to give the Americans every encouragement and help in the experiment which they ardently and obstinately wish to make.*[2]

The Americans, though, were confident in the defensive armament of their bombers, and wished to go ahead with the project, describing how they and the RAF between them would bomb Germany 'around the clock' (an aphorism holding a certain appeal for Churchill). At this stage of the war, with BOLERO nowhere near later levels, Churchill exerted much more strategic influence than he was later to have. However, at a meeting at his villa for lunch on the 20th of January, Churchill met Major General Ira C. Eaker, the officer commanding all US air forces in the UK. FRUS states that no official record of such a meeting exists, but speculates that this was where Churchill was persuaded to drop his opposition to the principle of daylight bombing.

2. CHAR 23/10 - W.P.(42) 580, 16.12.42, p.2

In his diary Eaker mentions that Churchill had met General Carl A. Spaatz, his predecessor in the UK, on the previous day for the same purpose.[3] Churchill mentions no such meeting, but gives his own account of the meeting with Eaker in his history of the war thus:

> *Considering how much had been staked on this venture by the United States, and all they felt about it, I decided to back Eaker in his theme, and I turned round completely and withdrew all my opposition to the daylight bombing by the Fortresses.*[4]

This implies that Churchill was persuaded merely by the merits of the argument, but given his earlier objections, and given that he viewed his books with the attitude that 'this is not history, this is my case,' we cannot completely rely on him to present the situation as it actually happened.[5] In reality, the British were gaining much of what they wanted from the conference in terms of the strategic agenda (see section on The Grand Strategic Vision). It would seem entirely plausible, then, that dropping all objections to the daylight sections of the CBO was a significant *quid pro quo* to the Americans. In addition, Churchill must have seen that any efforts by the 8th Air Force were preferable to its current state of inactivity.

While we have seen Churchill's opinions on the subject, and his eventual agreement to allow the Americans to proceed, there is little to indicate that Roosevelt took any close interest in the matter. There

3. Eaker diary (Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.). Cited in FRUS editorial note, pp.666-667

4. Churchill (1950), p.609

5. Sir William Deakin, quoted by Kimball in Blake and Louis (1993)

is no record of him making any comment on it one way or the other. The subject was only briefly raised at the JCS meeting held on the 15th, which was FDR's final consultation with his commanders before they began consultation with their British counterparts.[6] The aspect of the subject raised, namely the subordination of US air forces to a British commander, apparently elicited no comment from the President. Again, at a meeting between Roosevelt, Churchill and the CCS, Roosevelt, who spoke on a number of topics at the meeting, including the cross-channel invasion concept and the timetable for that operation, let the matter pass without comment.[7] The fact that it was General Marshall providing the progress report suggests that on strategic matters that did not particularly interest him the President was content to let his subordinates handle such matters, and trusted Marshall. The fact that Churchill met alone with the USAAF generals indicates the matter was of peripheral concern to Roosevelt at the conference – had he been deeply concerned it is quite likely that Hopkins or Harriman would have attended to present his point of view.

There is little evidence that the important but uncontroversial issue of CBO affected the relationship between the two war leaders at SYMBOL. Churchill, always the more willing to 'dirty his hands' on the workings of strategy and technology, was persuaded to drop his opposition after some consultations with a leading proponent, and given the rarity with which the topic was broached in the CCS meetings, we may assume that it was not the most central topic of

6. Meeting of Roosevelt with the JCS, 15.1.43, JCS Minutes in FRUS, p.562

7. Meeting of the CCS with Roosevelt and Churchill, 18.1.43, CCS Minutes in FRUS, pp.627-637

discussion. Indeed, we may conclude that it was the least controversial major topic of the entire conference.

The Combined Bomber Offensive was a pragmatic strategy, based on differences in technology and operational approach; it vexed Churchill, but in its handling one can discern little hint of the personal relationship between the two war leaders.[8]

The Battle of the Atlantic

At the time of the Casablanca conference, Allied merchant shipping losses were dangerously heavy – 860,000 tons in November 1942 alone.[9] Ways of reducing these losses were obviously at the forefront of Allied thinking, but there was only one major departure from current strategy proposed at Casablanca – this was the use of heavy bombers based in the UK to strike at a variety of U-boat related targets, such as the submarine pens on the Bay of Biscay, and any factory that was believed to be manufacturing U-boat components. General Marshall expressed it as the idea that 'we must keep hammering on one link in the chain, whether it be the factories which manufacture component parts, the submarine assembly yards, submarine bases, or submarines along the sea lanes.'[10]

8. Further reading: for an overview of the strategic bombing concept in theory and practice, see Frankland (1965), and Overy (1980), Ch.3 (iv) and Ch.5; for an overview of the bombing issues debated at Casablanca, see Hastings (1979), Ch.7

9. For more detailed figures for the period, see Keegan (1989)(2), p.88

10. Meeting of Roosevelt with the JCS, 15.1.43, JCS Minutes in FRUS, p.561

The policy was well supported throughout the CCS and by the war leaders – while Allied shipping losses were so desperate, any inroads that could be made into the German capability to create, put to sea and supply submarines might offer vital respite to the beleaguered convoys. Given that resolutions were similarly being made about the combination of UK and US bomber forces with a new strategic direction (the CBO), Casablanca was the most logical time to reach such agreements. Technically, this particular decision belongs under the auspices of the CBO – however, the fact that this was the only new anti-submarine warfare idea proposed at the conference, and that it was being considered in the context of the larger Battle of the Atlantic means that it should be dealt with here.

The Battle of the Atlantic was discussed seven times at Casablanca. Unlike the CBO, it was the subject of direct consultation between Churchill and Roosevelt on several occasions, including their first face to face meeting of the conference on the evening of January 14. The relatively large number of discussions might suggest some degree of controversy or conflict, but that was not in fact the case. Rather, the number of times it was discussed is indicative of how urgent it was felt to be – while the conference progressed, the future of the Allied war effort in Europe was being decided by the U-boat wolfpacks and the Allied escort ships. Neither Roosevelt nor Churchill realised that the battle had actually been won – never again would the wolfpacks be so successful – but in order to remedy the U-boat peril, it was ordered that the production level of escort vessels be maintained if not stepped up in 1943.

Largely though, there was little the conference could achieve – all efforts were being made by the relevant commands, and one suspects that their shared love for the navy was what drew Roosevelt and Churchill to the subject. Roosevelt had been Assistant Secretary of the Navy in Woodrow Wilson's WW1 administration, and was always more interested in ships than any other branch of the military, while Churchill's love of the navy is well known. FDR's communication with Churchill when the latter returned to the Admiralty on the outbreak of war was ostensibly so Churchill could keep Roosevelt in touch with naval developments. It was to provide the foundation for a greater degree of naval co-operation later in the war. Before America's formal entry into the war, it was in the field of naval activity that FDR was most helpful to the UK, providing escorts well into the Atlantic and pursuing rules of engagement that led to the loss of American lives in conflict with the U-boats.

It could be said that naval affairs, especially with regard to the Atlantic situation, were the bedrock of the personal relationship. This continued to be the case at Casablanca, and the issues of the U-boat war and the Battle of the Atlantic were as non-controversial as the Combined Bomber Offensive turned out to be. Both men were confident in their own abilities to assess the situation, and neither saw much conflict, or scope for conflict – the sustenance of Britain was central to both of their strategic conceptions of the war, and it was axiomatic to the Americans that the war would be ended by a massive invasion of the continent from bases in England. Victory in the Atlantic struggle was a pre-requisite for the build-up of troops and weapons necessary to carry this through.[11]

The Grand Strategic Vision

> *"We came, we listened and we were conquered."*
>
> *General A C Wedemeyer, US Army*[12]

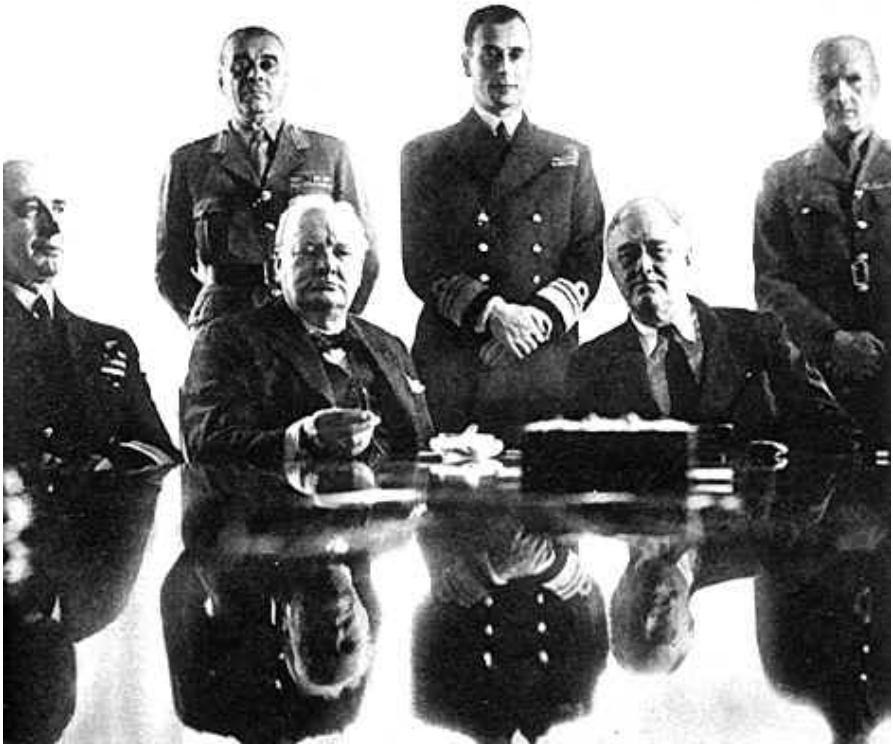
The JCS considered that they 'lost' at Casablanca, that they were talked into a strategy to which they had no intention of subscribing at the start of the conference, despite the fact that the British circulated an agenda weeks before the conference.[13] Murphy talked of the Americans as a 'reluctant tail to the British kite,' while Marshall was well aware that the British had outplanned and outmanoeuvred their American counterparts.[14] As we shall see, the British did indeed gain agreement for their strategic agenda, against the better judgement of the Americans, and with the able assistance of Churchill. Roosevelt offered no comparable support to the JCS.

11. Further reading: Keegan (1988), Ch.4, for an account of the Battle of the Atlantic; Weinberg (1994), Ch.7, for an overview of the naval situation from 1942-44 and the blockade of the UK; Smith (1996), Ch.5, for an examination of the Anglo-US logistics diplomacy at Casablanca

12. Quoted in Keegan (1989)(1), p.263

13. PRO, CAB 80/67

14. Murphy (1964), p.211



Churchill and FDR pose with their miltary chiefs

It is possible to consider some elements of Grand Strategy for 1943 discretely; for example the Combined Bomber Offensive and the Battle of the Atlantic. But when it comes to operations on land, or amphibious operations requiring landing craft, naval and air support and logistics, it is not so easy to consider each theatre of operations in isolation, largely because operations in one were likely to be at the expense of the others. At the beginning of 1943, Anglo-US forces were disposed in two theatres against the Germans, and in one against the Japanese. A number of divisions, both British (in which we include Commonwealth and Dominion troops) and American, were held in the UK, partly for home defence and

partly as part of BOLERO, which was envisaged as eventually leading to the invasion of North-West Europe. American and British troops were also engaged in ongoing operations in North Africa, where they were following up the successful TORCH landings with the conquest of Tunisia. The troops in the Pacific were largely American, although there was a significant British presence in India and South East Asia, hence the feasibility of undertaking operations in support of the Chinese in 1943.

When the CCS met at the start of the Casablanca conference, they were faced with a number of dilemmas and decisions on the broad outline of Grand Strategy, before they decided on the actual operations to be undertaken. These were as follows:

- What splitting of resources and effort to effect between the European / North African theatre and the Pacific / Far Eastern Theatre;
- Whether or not to undertake an invasion of north-west Europe in 1943;
- What operations to undertake in the Mediterranean in 1943, if any;
- Whether or not to open a full-scale Second Front in 1943, and if so, where.

The details of the strategic arguments, which raged among the CCS (not necessarily along national lines) and their planners, are too intricate to go into here. A number of writers have summarised them, and particular attention should be drawn to Michael Howard's *Grand Strategy*, where chapters XIII and XIV deal with future strategy and future operations

respectively. The ‘broker’, Field Marshall Dill, was vital to the resolution of a number of thorny issues, and the CCS met numerous times to thrash out a way of taking the fight to the Axis.[15] Our concern, though, is with the war leaders – what did they think of the issues, and to what extent did this opinion shape the position of their country at the negotiating table? More importantly, how did their opinions affect the way they treated each other?

Churchill, as had been apparent since the Great War, considered himself to be a keen strategic thinker – he is famous during that conflict for having masterminded the ill-fated Gallipoli campaign while First Lord of the Admiralty. A preoccupation with peripheral strategies and attacking the ‘soft underbelly’ of the Axis marked out his thinking during the WW2 as well, and he and the COS were very much in tune in wanting to avoid major cross-Channel operations in 1943. However, Churchill was prepared to countenance some form of SLEDGEHAMMER in 1943, that is a limited operation against France, with the objective of provoking air and naval battles with the Germans, as well as of forcing the *Wehrmacht* to divert more troops from the Russian front. The minutes record that:

> *Mr. Churchill then discussed operation SLEDGEHAMMER. He thought … that plans should be made to undertake it, including the appointment of a Commander and the fixing of a target date. He had not been in favour of such*

15. By far the most amusing account is that given by Jacob, who describes not the issues but the emotions they provoked, and the way several meetings nearly erupted into violence. This is lost to us in the minutes, which have been thoroughly sanitised.

> *an operation in 1942 but felt that it was our duty to engage the enemy on as wide a front as possible.*[16]

He did not favour ROUNDUP, that is a major return to the Continent in force, for 1943. One senses with Churchill's advocacy of SLEDGEHAMMER, though, that the politician in him was talking, rather than the strategist – he did not wish to contradict the desire of the Americans to make some impact on the continent. Churchill was a persistent advocate of caution in planning cross-Channel operations, remembering clearly the disastrous 1942 Dieppe raid. Given his preoccupation with the Mediterranean, this policy points to an awareness of the danger of being out of step with American opinion too badly, especially with the opinion of Marshall, a persistent advocate of SLEDGEHAMMER and critic of Mediterranean operations. Churchill probably knew that by supporting the invasion of Sicily he made ROUNDUP impossible and SLEDGEHAMMER unlikely, without alienating Marshall or the JCS.

Churchill was all in favour of the operation in Burma proposed by the Americans (ANAKIM), especially as it enhanced the safety of his beloved India, and as it reassured the Americans that he was serious about the British commitment to war in the Pacific. Churchill made it plain that 'not only are British interests involved, her honour is engaged' in the Pacific, demonstrating the political and diplomatic value he invested in military policy.[17] It almost goes without saying that Churchill was enthusiastic for operations

16. Meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill with the CCS, 18.1.43, CCS Minutes in FRUS, p.629

17. Meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill with the CCS, 18.1.43, CCS Minutes in FRUS, p.629

in the Mediterranean: he wanted to see the invasion of Sicily as soon as possible (preferably by May 1943), wanted to retake the Dardanelles from the Germans, and bring Turkey into the conflict as soon as possible. Always his own man strategically, Churchill was, as we shall see, fundamentally different in his approach to matters of strategy to FDR.

The British out-planning of the Americans was due in no small part to a Royal Navy vessel, H.M.S. *Bulolo*, a floating library and communications centre, with a large staff (much larger than the Americans had thought to bring with them).[18] The British monopoly on communication allowed Churchill to stay closely in touch with events, including with the products of ULTRA intelligence (during the conference Churchill sent a number of telegrams to the War Cabinet demanding that he be sent more secret intelligence).[19] The use of secret intelligence, while the information was shared between the British and the Americans, undoubtedly gave the edge to the British, who knew from Enigma decrypts far more about the Russian front than Stalin was telling them, including the progress of the battle for Stalingrad. Furthermore, Churchill's 'hands on' style gave him the edge in his personal relationship with Roosevelt, who did not process information in the same way as Churchill.

Roosevelt was not disposed to spend his time pondering matters of strategy. As we have seen, he was quite prepared to delegate the definition of American strategy to the JCS, subject to his approval. The relationship between the two leaders on matters of strategy was at this point excellent. There were apparently no major disagreements between them at

18. See PRO, HW1/1274-1330
19. CHAR 20/127/1

the conference over major issues of strategy: Roosevelt supported ANAKIM, as it assisted his pet cause, the Chinese Nationalist Government; his keen desire to woo Stalin meant that he was also enthusiastic for a Second Front, thus his support both for the concept of some sort of SLEDGEHAMMER in 1943, and for the invasion of Sicily. That all of his causes were being furthered made him more amenable to assisting Churchill, namely in the British aim of bringing Turkey into the war, which had been important in the Great War, and a Mediterranean strategy. Churchill had taken advantage of Roosevelt's hands-off strategic style, and his need for action for domestic political consumption, by getting him to agree to TORCH at a time when JCS opinion was in favour of the invasion of France, not North African adventures. He appears to have achieved a similar result this time, by allowing the COS to dominate, and ultimately win, the arguments of the CCS, and then demonstrating in his support of the CCS proposals, ideals of which Roosevelt could not help but approve, i.e. a swift Second Front, support of both Russia and China.

The personal relationship was never at its most important when determining matters of strategy. Most of the meetings for which records exist, where both leaders were present without the CCS show a general avoidance of strategic discussion – the topic of conversation was more often the de Gaulle – Giraud controversy, or the need to reassure Stalin, than it was purely strategic matters.[20] After all, determining strategy was the raison d'être of the CCS, and however 'hands on' Churchill's approach, Roosevelt was not a

20. Meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill with the CCS, 18.1.43, CCS Minutes in FRUS, pp.627-636

war leader in the same sense as Churchill – he had been first elected in peacetime, although as President he was the Commander-in-Chief of the American military, conferring vast if rather vague powers. Churchill's knowledge of Roosevelt, of his approach, his geo-political and diplomatic agenda, and of his trust in his COS, were what enabled him to pull off a British 'victory' at Casablanca, and the minutes of the various CCS sessions at which the war leaders were present show us little except agreement. The most important meeting as far as we are concerned was held on the 18th January: all of the issues discussed here were agreed upon, and others were touched upon. Roosevelt and Churchill both appear from the minutes to be thoroughly satisfied with progress, united in their approach, and sometimes more closely in tune with each other than with the CCS.

On the night of the 24th, at Marrakech after the end of the conference proper, Churchill and Roosevelt approved a joint letter to the COS and JCS, as a response to their final proposals for conduct of the war in 1943. Martin Gilbert describes the scene:

> *While 'cordially approving' these proposals, Churchill and Roosevelt, in a joint reply, stressed four points: the desirability of finding means of running the convoys to North Russia even through the period of the Sicily landings, the urgency of sending air reinforcements to China and of finding personnel to making them fully operative, the importance of achieving a June landing in Sicily and the 'grave detriment to our interest which will be incurred by an apparent suspension of activities during summer months', and fourthly, the need to build up the United States striking force in*

> *Britain 'more quickly', so as to be able to 'profit by favourable August weather' for some form of cross-Channel attack.*[21]

This should serve as a reminder that both men were first and foremost politicians, enjoying an excellent relationship and a remarkable degree of harmony in the context of an already co-operative and stable alliance. There is little evidence of discord in their view of the strategy for pursuing the war in 1943, demonstrating that whatever their differences, their similarities were often greater.[22]

Absent Ally – The Spectre of Stalin

> *The PM had all along made clear that before any triangular meeting, it would be necessary for the President and himself to get together in order to agree on ... operations in 1943, and frame an answer to Stalin's questions. The President, on the other hand, seemed to think that Stalin would dislike the idea of the British and the Americans putting their heads together before bringing him into the discussion.*
>
> *Colonel Ian Jacob, diary*[23]

The need to reassure the USSR was high on the list of political priorities for the war leaders when they met at Casablanca. Stalin, as the sole Soviet decision-

21. Gilbert (1989)(1), pp.311-312. Note signed 'FDR, WSC', 25.1.43: PRO, PREM 3/420/5

22. Further reading: Bryant (1986), Ch.11 brings together the Brooke diaries and other primary sources to give a good overview of the tensions and arguments.

23. JACB 1/20

maker, had been invited to the conference, as Roosevelt was anxious that there should be a proper three-power discussion. However, the situation on the Russian front (which Churchill received ULTRA decrypts about throughout the conference, including a detailed report on Stalingrad on the 19th) meant that Stalin was unwilling to leave his country, and the conference was thus confined to the two 'Western' Allies. Churchill found himself in a situation where he would have better access to the President, would not be eclipsed by Stalin, and could pursue his country's strategic agenda to best advantage.

The need to reassure Stalin was paramount, and was the main reason FDR wished to see him face to face, especially in light of Churchill's visit to Moscow in August 1942. Travelling to the USSR was not really an option for FDR, for we should not forget that two things made travel difficult for Roosevelt: one was his physical disability, the result of infection by polio; the other was the constitutional difficulties which he would cite as making it impossible for him to leave the US for a prolonged period (a restriction he overcame when it suited him). A vast amount of German manpower and resources were being poured into the Russian front, and Stalin was desperatefor a 'Second Front', something which would draw off a significant number of German divisions. With the victory of the British at Casablanca in setting a strategic agenda that was of their own conception, there would be no Second Front in Europe, merely an invasion of Sicily (HUSKY), with the promise of a cross-channel invasion in 1944. This was not going to be to Stalin's liking: the promise of the Combined Bomber Offensive and the Sicily operation would not by themselves bring about a German collapse, even if the Sicily operation did lead to the invasion of Italy later in 1943. There were

other reasons to reassure Stalin: the deal with Darlan before his death at the end of 1942 demonstrated to many that the Allies would deal with traitors and collaborators, and it was in order to allay this concern that the policy of Unconditional Surrender was conceived.

Fears that Stalin might come to a negotiated peace with Hitler were not uncommon – after all, he had signed the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939 with no apparent qualms. Reassuring Stalin was not just desirable, it was crucial, because without the Russian war effort Germany might countenance all sorts of other escapades, or, more dangerously, reinforce France to the point where invasion was impossible. The activities of the Allies to date suggested no serious commitment to relieving Stalin – TORCH had been useful for 'blooding' American troops, but had not significantly changed the focus of Nazi strategic priorities (Hitler did reinforce Tunisia, but there was little he could have done to prevent its eventual fall to the Allies). The invasion of Sicily was not likely to help much, although it did provide a number of options for future strategy. The supply of American Lend-Lease goods was seriously threatened by the vulnerability of the Arctic convoys to German air and sea attack, and Stalin's stubborn refusal to allow Allied aircraft to fly out of Murmansk to protect the convoys hardly helped matters. The Combined Bomber Offensive was designed to assist Russia by damaging Germany's production capacity and morale on her home front, but the Sicily invasion was one of two operations planned for Western Europe in 1943, apart from the completion of victory in North Africa, and it was initially thought that mounting that operation would entail the cancellation of Arctic convoys for several months owing to shortages of shipping. The closing stages of

the conference produced the resolution by the war leaders that these convoys should be continued regardless, such was their psychological and material importance to the Soviets. ‘No investment could pay a better military dividend,’ said Churchill, who insisted that the convoys must be got through.[24] Along with his change of heart on the CBO, this clearly illustrates the value of having the war leaders present at a strategic conference – their politico-military outlook is vital to offset the purely military considerations of the military staff. The existence of the personal relationship seems have made it easier for Churchill to prevail in situations where he perceived political dimensions to military issues that Roosevelt did not.

Roosevelt and Churchill were both agreed on the importance of the Soviet Union to the conduct of the Second World War: as soon as Russia had been attacked, Churchill had swallowed his anti-Communist principles to extend rhetorical encouragement with limited military support, while Roosevelt saw Stalin as a man with whom he could do business. Part of the thinking behind Allied policy towards the Soviets was the desire to ensure their participation in the war in the Pacific, a conflict which it was anticipated at this point would go on at least two years after the end of the war in Europe. It was predictable that Stalin would affect the personal relationship, and he certainly did: by the end of the war, Churchill was the junior partner in the three-power relationship. Roosevelt’s desire to meet with Stalin at the beginning of 1943, and Churchill’s realisation that a condominium of the two great powers would lead to the eclipse of British influence, were both apparent in their handling of the

24. Telegram STRATAGEM: 232: Churchill to Attlee, 25.1.43. Quoted in Howard (1972), p.261

situation in the run up to, and during, the Casablanca conference. The personal relationship, however strong it may generally have been at the time of Casablanca, was still, as the principals' attitudes to Stalin demonstrated, inherently tied to diplomatic and geo-political realities, especially the rise of the Soviet Union and the decline of the British Empire.[25]

Roosevelt's Fourth Policeman, Churchill's Pet Project – China and Turkey

The Americans harboured a far more positive attitude to the Chinese than the British, who saw them as militarily and politically weak, and strategically of little value; Churchill perceived them as a waste of time and resources. Roosevelt, on the other hand, was looking to a postwar system of global security in which 'Four Policeman' kept the international peace. These were to be America, the USSR, Britain and China, which was weak, but considered a 'policeman in waiting.' This, along with the US inability to mount major operations in the Pacific in 1943, and the need to maintain pressure on Japan, account for Roosevelt's determined stance.

It was a need to reassure the Chinese Nationalist Government, and its head, Chiang Kai-Shek, that created the plan for the British offensive into Burma from India (ANAKIM). This would reopen the Burma Road, and provide a land-based route for the supply of the Chinese. When the JCS offered to provide all

25. Further reading: for a discussion of Churchill's attitude to Russia, see Lawlor in Langhorne (1985), and Warner in Dockrill (1996); for a discussion of Churchill's relationship with Stalin, see Edmonds in Blake and Louis (1996); see also Dallek (1974), Ch.14 on FDR and alliance politics.

of the landing craft and crews, and the naval support for the operation, the British were unlikely to refuse. Churchill, whatever his misgivings about the Chinese, generally humoured Roosevelt – the Far East and Pacific were after all primarily American theatres of operation, where Britain depended upon the US to defend her Antipodean dominions. He did use the personal relationship to resist attempts to have the Chinese present at a wartime conference (these eventually failed, with the Cairo conference). However, the broadest strategic issues involving the Chinese (whether they were worth being allied to, how far to go in assisting them) did not arise at SYMBOL, while the commitment to ANAKIM was as much to do with keeping up pressure on the Japanese as it was to do with easing the supply situation of Nationalist China. The Chinese issue did not really vex the personal relationship – Churchill knew Roosevelt well enough to know that silence was the most prudent option with regard to Sino-American policy, and he generally held his peace. The personal relationship thus provided the knowledge to ease diplomatic relations and strategic discussions, an undoubtedly important function.

In the same way as Franco's Spain was pursued by Germany, Turkey was 'always wooed but never won' by the Allies, who sought bases in the Balkans and unrestricted access to Russia via the Black Sea. Britain had a stronger Mediterranean perspective on strategy than the US, which tended to subscribe to the view of Marshall that the Mediterranean theatre would prove to be a 'suction pump.' Britain donated significant amounts of arms to Turkey. In addition, Churchill undoubtedly harboured the desire, conscious or not, to prove the validity of the strategic concept underlying the Gallipoli campaign of the Great War.

The Casablanca conference produced the resolution that getting Turkey in to the war should be solely in the hands of the British: The Prime Minister asked that the British be allowed to play the Turkish hand, just as the United States is now handling the situation with reference to China. The British would keep the United States informed at all times.[26]

Given that the Americans wished to avoid Mediterranean entanglements, their relinquishing of involvement looks like a sign of goodwill, for by bowing out they were surrendering the chance to interfere in a policy they may have harboured reservations about. It is likely, given the complete absence of State Department officials among the American delegation, that this was the personal initiative of Roosevelt, who was the only American present with the authority to make that decision. It suggests the existence of a strong personal dimension between the war leaders in determining foreign policy, despite (or perhaps because of) the absence of Cordell Hull, the American Secretary of State, and Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Secretary. This was to be an enduring facet of the personal relationship (it had already manifested itself with regard to Eire, Vichy France, Spain and other nations in the two men's correspondence), and one which was later to be extended to the three way relationship between Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin.[27]

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26. Meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill with the CCS, 18.1.43, CCS Minutes in FRUS, pp.634

27. On FDR, Churchill and China, see Dallek (1974), Ch.14

Unconditional Surrender

The doctrine of unconditional surrender was not new – when pronouncing it, Roosevelt referred to examples from the American Civil War to illustrate its validity. While it may not have been new to history, it was relatively new to WW2. The President announced the policy at the press conference on the 24th of January, the final day of conference business, saying:

> *I think that we have all had it in our hearts and heads before, but I don't think that it has ever been put down on paper by the Prime Minister and myself, and that is the determination that peace can come to the world only by the total elimination of German and Japanese war power, [which means] the unconditional surrender by Germany, Italy and Japan.*[28]

This was the only new policy of any note to emerge from the conference, and is therefore the policy for which the conference is most remembered. The policy was based on the legacy of the First World War armistice, which had ended the conflict without the occupation of Germany or Austria, and led to the myth that Germany was 'stabbed in the back' by socialists, which Hitler exploited during his rise to power. Therefore, a desire to learn from the lessons of the past was a major motivator. In addition, it was felt that such a strong policy might crush home morale in the Axis nations, and the will of the Axis political and military elites that were pursuing the war.

28. Transcript of Press Conference, 24.1.43 in FRUS, p.727

According to FRUS, Roosevelt floated the policy at a luncheon meeting at his villa on the 23rd, receiving the strong approval of Harry Hopkins and the assent of Churchill. This information is based on the recollections of FDR's son, Elliott, who was present for many of the Casablanca meetings, although the editorial note states that he may well have been confused about the date of the conversation.[29] Certainly, the meeting was not the first time the concept had been floated: before leaving for the conference, Roosevelt told the JCS that he was going to ask Churchill for such a policy in order to reassure Stalin.

Churchill told the House of Commons in 1949 that the concept had certainly been discussed informally a number of times in conversations between him and the President, and the minute of a meeting of the two war leaders with the CCS reads:

> *The Prime Minister suggested ... we release a statement to the effect that the United Nations are resolved to pursue the war to the bitter end, neither partly relaxing in its efforts until the unconditional surrender of Germany and Japan had been achieved.*[30]

Based on the evidence presented in FRUS, the two men were in accord over the policy. However, there is evidence to suggest that the policy actually put a significant strain on the personal relationship, and that it illustrated the limitations of the personal alliance

29. Editorial note for Roosevelt-Churchill luncheon meeting, 23.1.43 in FRUS, p.704

30. Minutes of the meeting of the CCS with Roosevelt and Churchill, 18.1.43 in FRUS, p.635

between the two men, as well as some of the strengths. Averell Harriman met with Churchill on the evening of the press conference, the 24th, and recalls:

> *[Churchill] was in high dudgeon. He was offended that Roosevelt should have made such a momentous announcement without prior consultation and I am sure he did not like the manner of it. I had seen him unhappy with Roosevelt more than once, but this time he was more deeply offended than before. I also had the impression he feared it might make the Germans fight all the harder.*[31]

It is not clear what angered Churchill. Possibly it was the inclusion of Italy in the formula. Part of the thinking behind the planned invasion of Sicily (HUSKY) was that it might knock Italy out of the war, and Churchill was prepared to countenance a settlement in order to speed up the defeat of Germany, especially if it avoided the need for a full scale invasion of the continent. Possibly it was that Churchill envisaged the policy as for diplomatic consumption, rather than the public gesture that Roosevelt so typically made it into. Britain lacked the resources to pursue the policy without massive American aid, and enforcing Unconditional Surrender went against the grain of traditional British policy towards the continent, which was generally concerned with the balance of power. If there was only a handful of conversations on the topic beforehand, it is not surprising that Churchill was caught off guard by the decision to reveal it to the world, hence his concern that it might make the enemy fight all the harder in the knowledge that either victory or defeat must be

31. Harriman (1976), p.188

total. The transcript of the press conference suggests that it may well have been an almost spontaneous and last minute inclusion, in which case Churchill had every right to be aggrieved. The policy was not even mentioned in the approved communiqué that accompanied the press conference.[32] If this was the case, it illustrates the President's capacity for unilateral action, and his ever-increasing tendency to give consideration to Stalin before Churchill.

The personal relationship at its most intimate level apparently failed to deal with the problems raised by the Unconditional Surrender policy (although there is much confusion surrounding the events, caused by the number of conflicting accounts). If Harriman's recollections are accurate, it failed badly – after nine days of contact, there should have been no excuse for serious dissent over policy, or policy surprises, at a press conference that was intended to be a summary of what had gone before. The fact that Churchill told Harriman all about his apparent anger, though, does illustrate the value of the trust that each leader placed in the other's confidantes. Churchill's telling Harriman about his misgiving enabled Harriman to report them to FDR, who clarified his thinking, making it apparent that he intended a rehabilitative aspect to the policy that he had not explained.

The handling of Unconditional Surrender demonstrated that FDR was still capable of unilateral action, and the kind of 'gesture politics' which were a cardinal feature of his style. He had also demonstrated this in his numerous heavy-handed attempts to provoke Churchill over the future of French North Africa, and in his egocentric handling of the de Gaulle

32. FRUS, pp.726-731

– Giraud controversy. Despite failing to deal with this issue, the fact that the personal relationship could withstand such disagreements, at least in public, is nevertheless a testament to its durability and utility.[33]

The de Gaulle-Giraud Affair

> *It was decided at the beginning that a wedding should be arranged if possible. The President once said this must be a wedding even if it was a shotgun wedding, and Murphy and I were responsible for making the necessary arrangements between the bride and the bridegroom [Giraud]. The bride (General de G.) was very shy and could not be got to the camp at all until two days before the end. I never thought really that we would get them both to the church and, as I warned both the emperors [Roosevelt and Churchill], the dowry required to make anything of it would be quite large.*
>
> *Harold Macmillan, War Diaries, pp.9-10*

Harold Macmillan was appointed Minister Resident at Allied Headquarters in Northwest Africa on 30th December 1942. He flew out to take up his post a few days later. His first major task was to attend the Casablanca conference in his new capacity. The task which confronted him, and Robert Murphy, the President's personal representative in North Africa, was a challenging one: unite the French forces of newly liberated North Africa, under the command of

33. Further reading: for more details, an assessment of the genesis of the policy in FDR's thinking, and its consistency with previously stated war aims, see O'Connor (1971), especially Ch.3; for a discussion of the policy's effects on the rest of the war see Campbell in Langhorne (1985)

General Giraud, with the Free French organisation under the mercurial leadership of Charles de Gaulle.[34] The objective was to create a strong organisation, politically and militarily unified and armed by the Allies, to provide the greatest possible assistance to the war effort. Further, the alliance with Darlan had been a political disaster for Roosevelt, and to a degree for Churchill, which made it necessary to be seen to solve the problem. This was a considerable challenge, although the assassination of Darlan in December 1942, after his change of sides, made the task considerably easier than it might have been – de Gaulle would most probably never have consented to be in the same room as Darlan, much less shake hands with him for the cameras, as he was eventually to do with Giraud.

Giraud was unquestionably not a Vichy loyalist – he was smuggled out of France in 1942 with the aid of the British, having had nothing to do with collaborationist regime of Marshall Petain. He was considered by many British and American diplomats and officers to be ideally suited to leading the French forces of newly liberated North Africa, and he came across well to those who met him, including Macmillan. Yet consolidation of the military power of the French required the amalgamation of the newly freed territories with the Free French. De Gaulle was the leader of the Free French, and it would be difficult to imagine a more headstrong and proud chief. HMG provided funds for the Free French movement, and Churchill at the same time loathed and admired de Gaulle, and the two had an extremely stormy relationship – Churchill, for example, did not dare tell

34. By this time the Free French movement had been renamed as the Fighting French. The change of name never stuck and most people referred to them as the Free French throughout the war.

de Gaulle of TORCH until the very eve of the landings. Brokering a compromise between these two men was never likely to be an easy task. It is hardly surprising that the subject was discussed more times at the Casablanca conference than any other. Quite possibly, the fact that military matters were in the hands of the CCS meant that Churchill and Roosevelt, and their advisors, felt able to concentrate on such a thoroughly political matter, namely the resolution of this messy conflict. In addition, the President needed to take the opportunity to resolve a public relations disaster while he had all the participants close at hand.

It is not necessary to go into detail as to the nature of the political settlement, or to examine too closely the comings and goings of Macmillan and Murphy – suffice to say it was a complex problem, and both men had much to do with its solution. We are interested in what the issue and its solution can tell us about the relationship between Roosevelt and Churchill. Roosevelt was in fine spirits when he arrived at Casablanca, so fine that he did not seem to be interested in difficulties; he was sublimely confident of his ability to find a solution which would work. As Murphy recalls: ‘the tone of the conference was set by President Roosevelt. His mood was that of a schoolboy on vacation, which accounted for his almost frivolous approach to the problems with which he dealt.’[35] This accounts for the lighthearted nature of the ‘shot-gun wedding’ analogy, which Roosevelt used throughout the conference.

The first important point to register is that Roosevelt harboured an intense dislike for de Gaulle which, unlike Churchill, was not offset by any respect or

35. Murphy (1964), p.165

admiration for his determination to see his country free; indeed, he harboured a distinct dislike for the French nation per se, seeing its empire as the worst manifestation of European colonialism. He was nonetheless quite taken with Giraud (quite possibly by his disinterest in politics and his malleability), and was more than happy to leave the obstinate de Gaulle in the political wilderness, especially as he was proving unwilling to attend the conference. Churchill leaned towards de Gaulle as a solution – he was a known quantity, could be controlled by means of restricting British subsidies, and was considered a great if difficult man. Of Giraud, Churchill wrote to FDR not long before the conference: "Giraud is in my opinion quite unsuited to the discharge of civil responsibilities."[36] With such different opinions, no 'special relationship' could have prevented a falling out, especially given Roosevelt's lack of seriousness in approaching the whole issue.

On one instance, Elliott Roosevelt (not a particularly reliable witness) recalls: 'Churchill advanced the proposal that the French provisional regime might best be left exclusively to de Gaulle, but the President dismissed the subject "almost peremptorily."'[37] Churchill, of course, makes no mention of such a suggestion in his history of the war, but then his account of meetings and conferences is firmly selective. He also fiercely repudiates suggestions by Elliott Roosevelt that he was actively seeking to postpone the arrival of de Gaulle at the conference. The telegrams sent by Churchill to the War Cabinet

36. Kimball (1984), C-249
37. E.Roosevelt (1946), p.99

during the conference certainly bear him out on this point: one, sent on the 18th January, contains the text of a message to be delivered to de Gaulle:

> *The position of His Majesty's Government towards your Movement while you remain at its head will also require to be reviewed. If with your eyes open you reject this unique opportunity we shall endeavour to get on as well we can without you.*[38]

The number of occasions on which Roosevelt met Giraud without Churchill's presence suggests an equally strong preference. The personal relationship between Roosevelt and Churchill, though, did not help to ease a potential disagreement: the leaders advocated different solutions, and it would appear that Roosevelt got his way not by personal diplomacy or consultation, but by simply ignoring Churchill, and pushing him into arranging the 'shot-gun wedding.' His desire to shape the post-war future of North Africa, in marked distinction to Churchill's preference of the colonial status quo, led him to accord Churchill's opinions a lack of respect which was unusual in their relationship. It might at this point be helpful to explore one of the greatest underlying tensions of the personal relationship: views on colonialism. Churchill is famous for having said only a few weeks before that he had 'not become the King's First Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire,'[39] while Roosevelt was firmly interested in self-determinism, a concept propagated in the jointly issued Atlantic Charter of August 1941. Elliott Roosevelt reports that on that occasion his father said to Churchill:

38. CHAR 20/127/1

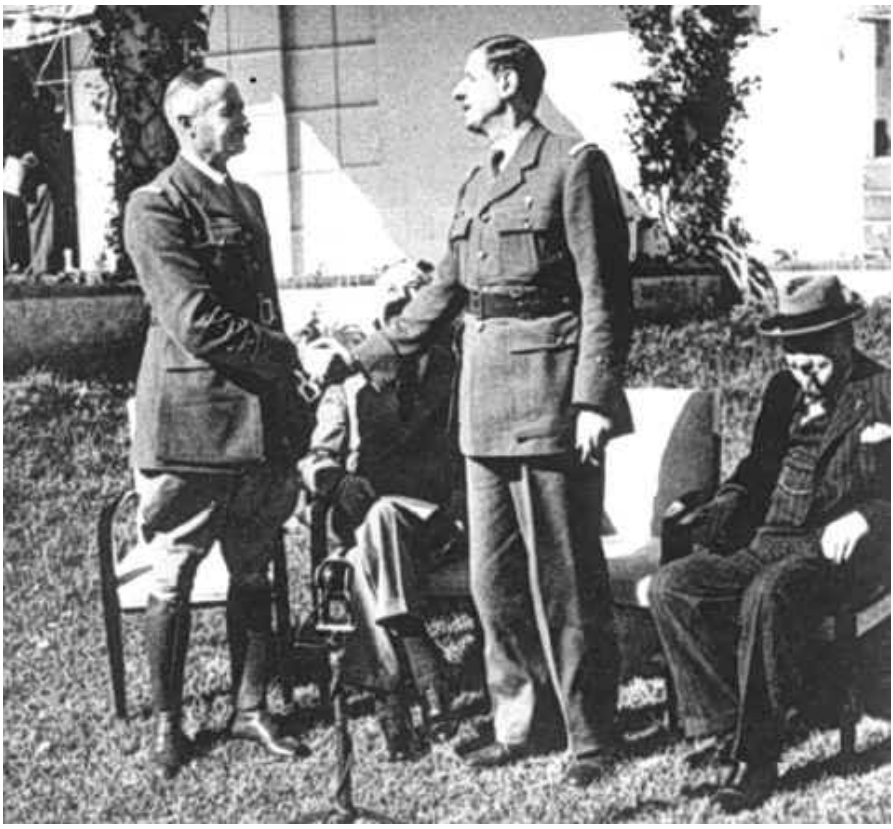
39. Rhodes-James (1974.), VI, p.6693

> *I can't believe that we can fight a war against fascist slavery [at this point, with no immediate prospect of US entry into the war, the 'we' is telling], and at the same time not work to free people all over the world from a backward colonial policy."*[40]

To this end, Roosevelt took advantage of his visit to Casablanca to meet the Sultan of Morocco, with whom he talked pointedly of Morocco's post-war aspirations and America's role in them, testified to both by Robert Murphy and Elliott Roosevelt. Churchill sulked throughout the dinner (although possibly this was because no alcohol was permitted!).[41] Roosevelt undoubtedly possessed a cruel streak, and he seemed to enjoy baiting Churchill, who knew that Britain would be hard-pressed to resist American policies in the post-war world. It was this anti-colonialism which underlay Roosevelt's approach to the French problem. Ultimately, Roosevelt wanted someone he could work with (or better still, someone who would work for him) – that someone he considered to be Giraud, despite his over-reaching ambition. Roosevelt did not feel that he could work with de Gaulle (sometimes Churchill felt the same), and thus distrusted Churchill's advocacy of him.

40. E. Roosevelt (1946), pp.36-7

41. Editorial note for Roosevelt dinner party, 22.1.43 in FRUS, pp.692-3



Giraud (left) and de Gaulle shake hands for the cameras

It was important to both Churchill and Roosevelt that the controversy was resolved, and resolved their way. The solution, in the end, bound the two French leaders to have ‘talks about talks’, and the photograph of them shaking hands in front of a beaming Roosevelt was largely a public relations exercise. They failed to agree about anything, except that neither should be excluded, nor wished to be excluded, from the solution. This was in the long-term a victory for de Gaulle, who marginalised Giraud by the end of 1943. This solution in turn drew the Prime Minister and the President away from conflict over the issue. Their personal relationship had done little to alleviate their

differences on the matter, and the suggestions are that Roosevelt allowed his dislike of Churchill's position to become obvious. There was little actual discussion between them on the matter (discussion as opposed to instruction by Roosevelt), and the account of Elliott Roosevelt does suggest tension caused by Roosevelt's attitude to Churchill's views. This situation was exacerbated by Churchill's apparent inability to exercise control over de Gaulle, leading to Roosevelt's acid comment that 'I should suggest to him that salaries are paid for devoted and obedient service, and if he doesn't come, his salary will be cut off.'[42] De Gaulle came shortly after the suggestion was made.

Roosevelt and Churchill's special relationship was easy enough to maintain on issues where they had a common goal – the defeat of Germany, victory in the Battle of the Atlantic. Where their aims differed widely, it did little good: Roosevelt supported Giraud, Churchill de Gaulle. That a settlement was reached was more down to Macmillan, Murphy and Hopkins than the two leaders, who did not discuss the issue properly, or come to a satisfactory and workable conclusion. Once again, the limitations of the personal relationship become all too apparent.[43]

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42. Editorial note for Roosevelt-Churchill luncheon meeting, 20.1.43, in FRUS, p.662. Henry Stimson, the US Secretary of War, who was not present at the conference, recounted the comment as part of an anecdote in a diary entry for 3.2.43 (Stimson Papers)

43. Further reading: on the Darlan deal and the effect of the assassination, see Hurstfield (1986), Chs 8 & 9; on the de Gaulle - Giraud controversy, see Kersaudy (1981), Ch.10; for an overview of America and colonialism, see Louis (1997), Ch.6

Tube Alloys – A Silent Controversy

There is a final element to SYMBOL which is hardly apparent from any records – a running argument between the USA and UK about TUBE ALLOYS, which had recently been taken over by the US as the Manhattan Project to construct the first atomic bomb. On 1st November 1942, Churchill received a letter from Dr. Sir John Anderson, an important member of the British research team, informing him that the US would not share information on the project with the UK unless that information could be taken advantage of by the recipient during the course of the current war:

> *I have today been informed that the United States Authorities have received an order which restricts interchange of information [on this subject] by the application of the principle that they are to have complete interchange on design and construction of new weapons and equipment only if the recipient of the information is in a position to take advantage of it in this war.*[44]

In practice this directive, which was implemented with the consent of FDR, was interpreted very strictly by the Americans, who stopped most information going to the British teams that had done much of the early work on nuclear fission. Despite the fact that this was a major concern to Churchill, who had taken a strong interest in the project, and who had been an early advocate of full sharing of technology, there is no indication that he discussed it with FDR at Casablanca. While many of their conversations were off the record,

44. Anderson to Churchill, in PREM 3/139/8A

it seems likely that Churchill skirted the issue, although he was to take it up directly in correspondence with FDR. This tells us much about the personal relationship – that it was not necessarily effective at resolving controversy, for this was undoubtedly a major disagreement between two allies, and that Churchill was aware of its limitations for that purpose.

His response to the situation was to talk to Hopkins while at SYMBOL – this is from a note he sent Hopkins after the conference:

> *That very secret matter ... which you told me would be put right as soon as the President got home? I should be very grateful for some news about this.*[45]

As with the Unconditional Surrender disagreements, this does illustrate the value of the two leaders having good relations with each other's aides. However, ultimately the matter casts the personal relationship as being limited in some aspects, and the issue of co-operation over nuclear weapons as being one which was most vexatious to alliance politics during late 1942 and the first half of 1943. As with other disagreements, the two leaders were almost diametrically opposed, forced into opposing positions by standing up for what they perceived to be their national interest over the interests of the coalition of which they were a part. The special relationship was demonstrated to be irrelevant when the interests and objectives of the alliance partners seriously diverged, as happened over atomic weapons, a reminder of the convenience element inherent in the politics of the

45. Churchill to Hopkins, letter dated 16.1.1943, PRO, PREM 3/139/8A

Grand Alliance, and of the competition and resentment that lay beneath the surface at many levels of co-operation.[46]

46. Further reading: for the full British correspondence, see PRO, PREM 3/139/8A. See also Sherwin (1975), Ch.3; for a good summary of the controversy and the issues involved, see Gowing (1964), Ch.5.

5

Conclusions

The personal relationship between FDR and Churchill was undoubtedly crucial to determining the outcome of SYMBOL. In terms of diplomacy and foreign relations it was a summit conference between two men who could (and did) argue with each other on issues like the French situation from a position of understanding and trust (relative to normal relationships between world leaders). The predilection of both men for personal diplomacy only served to enhance this. In terms of the military discussions, the two men were not essential to CCS deliberations – however, having them both present as arbiters of their countries' policies undoubtedly saved time later, especially given Churchill's view of his own strategic abilities.

Without the two war leaders, it is extremely unlikely that the French situation would have been resolved so quickly (if resolved it was), while the policy of Unconditional Surrender was simply a unique product of having the two men in the same place at the same time. Predictably, the whole conference is suffused with the personalities and policies of its two principals. In a message to the absent Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden, Churchill wrote 'The President dined with me last night and inspected the Map Room. He is in great form and we have never been so close,'[1] just one of many pieces of anecdotal evidence that points to the

strength of their working relationship, whatever the disagreements over policy they may have had. At the highest level, their meeting shaped the whole course of the war in 1943, subsequent meetings only serving to follow the strategic signposts already laid out by Casablanca (although we should not forget there were many other levels of military planning of equal influence). Other relationships were to play their part in determining the outcome of the conference, such as the Murphy-Macmillan partnership, and the ability of Dill to act as a broker in CCS deliberations, while obviously, the military outcomes of the conference could not have been reached without the CCS.

There were issues that were bound to be hotly debated when the two men arrived at the conference, as well as those that were likely to be non-controversial. Roosevelt felt strongly about China; he was strongly opposed to de Gaulle; crucially, he was also firmly looking to a new post-war world order which held no place for imperialism, a view confirmed by his visit to British West African possessions on his way to Casablanca. He left strategic matters to Marshall, and had little apparent interest in the CBO; however, he was deeply concerned by the Battle of the Atlantic and the ramifications of logistics issues. Most importantly, he was also deeply concerned about Stalin's resolve, hence his unscripted announcement of the policy of Unconditional Surrender.

Churchill felt strongly about almost every issue under discussion! The CBO and Grand Strategy exercised his delight in debating strategy, while his concern over the outcome of the Battle of the Atlantic is well documented. Turkey was his 'pet project' at the time,

1. Telegram from Churchill to Eden, dated 22.1.43, in CHAR 20/127/1

and his feelings on the imperialism issue and the Free French situation were as emphatic as usual – he did not intend to let FDR strong-arm him into renouncing the concept of European imperialism, even though they were meeting in a French imperial possession liberated by Americans. The unspoken backdrop to all this was an ongoing dispute between the two sides over the future of co-operation in the attempt to create a nuclear bomb, in which Churchill elected to pursue the matter with Harry Hopkins rather than take it up personally with FDR.

Both leaders were dependent to a certain extent on advisors. On military matters, FDR relied more heavily on Marshall than Churchill did on his COS. Diplomatically, both were their own men, with Hopkins, Harriman, Macmillan and Murphy only enjoying a limited amount of autonomy to resolve the French impasse. General Somervell and Lord Leathers appear to have had more leeway in resolving the logistics issues raised for the coming year. The diplomatic resolutions reached at Casablanca, though, were very much the result of the personal war-leader diplomacy of which both men were so fond.

Despite the raft of problems facing them at the start of the conference, both men were personally confident of the strength of their personal relationship, and of its utility in settling disputes about how to conduct the war. Though each was aware of potentially troublesome issues, they did not allow this to interfere with an essential optimism (although there was a real recognition that the problems, especially military, were serious ones). Churchill was not so confident that he did not urge his staff to plan rigorously for the event, in the event a decisive factor in the military deliberations. Each leader and their staff attached

different importance to some issues, hence the variety of debates and disagreements – ultimately, though, the leaders did hope to find a common way, despite the impression that British planning might have given to the contrary.

The Casablanca conference was a positive experience for both war leaders, despite some disagreements and the last-minute surprise announcement of Unconditional Surrender, which Churchill claimed caught him totally unawares. SYMBOL laid the basis for strong Anglo-American co-operation in 1943, with a number of subsequent conferences that embellished the themes laid out there, such as the invasion of Italy following on from HUSKY. It also established strong precedents for unity of purpose as a vital element of allied policy. 1943 was in many ways the heyday of the personal relationship, which began to deteriorate once Stalin and Roosevelt finally put their heads together as Teheran. FDR was so convinced that he could get through to Stalin that he was prepared to sacrifice his good relationship with Churchill to do so. That period in the history of United Nations alliance politics, which were dark days from the point of view of Churchill's influence, make the co-operation and good-natured impression we get of Casablanca seem like something of a high-point in the relationship, coming as it also does at the start of the allied successes that were to become a feature of the second half of the war. The conference was fundamentally a product of the 'special relationship' between Churchill and Roosevelt, which also strengthened it. Unlike previous conferences, which had been set against British reverses such as the fall of Tobruk, SYMBOL, held in territory gained by allied force of arms, was a fundamentally positive experience for both men, which should be remembered as two things: the conference

where Unconditional Surrender was announced, and the first conference which looked in concrete terms to the future of the colonies in the post-war world.

The positive tone of the conference was captured by FDR in a telegram to King George summarising the progress that they had made at Casablanca, which conveys the sense of purpose that infused the participants at SYMBOL, and the genuine warmth that existed between the two main protagonists:

> *As for Mr Churchill and myself, I need not tell you that we make a perfectly matched team in harness and out – and incidentally had lots of fun together as we always do. Our studies and our unanimous agreements must and will bear fruit.*[2]

2. Telegram from Roosevelt to King George VI in CHAR 20/127/1

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