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SEP 1 1944

Senate

RECALL OF SPECIAL AMBASSADOR WILLIAM PHILLIPS

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, a most incredible situation has come to my attention, a situation which I believe merits the attention of Members of the Senate. I have been informed that our great British allies, who have contributed so much to the common good of the United Nations in recent months, have now taken an incredibly harmful step, a step which can only injure friendly relations between ourselves and our heroic British allies.

Mr. President, I have heard with dismay and deep shock that the British Foreign Office has declared President Roosevelt's personal special ambassador, Mr. William Phillips, *persona non grata*. They have made this declaration because this emissary of our Commander in Chief has made a report on conditions in India which the British do not like. I ask Senators, and my fellow citizens, Mr. President, is the Government of the United States of America so weak, are our people so incompetent, has our sovereignty become so impaired, that even the President of the United States is no longer permitted to know the truth about conditions in friendly countries with which we have diplomatic relations?

For the benefit of my colleagues who are not fully aware of the circumstances surrounding Mr. Phillips' recall, let me give this background: A little more than a year ago Mr. Phillips returned from India. He made numerous oral reports to our President with respect to the conditions in India. He spoke of the mercenary character of the Indian Army. He told of the things which were seriously interfering with the Allied effort in the Far East.

All of us have friends or relatives in the far eastern theater of war. It is our sacred duty to see that those boys are not forgotten. It is our sacred duty to see that everything is done to protect them and to insure their speedy homecoming after a successful military

operation against Japan. But what do we find the situation to be in that far-off and remote corner of the globe? We find that the Commander in Chief's personal representative in India points out the miserable condition of the Indian people. The representatives of the Senate who were privileged to go to India will bear out the condition of the people in India, the Indian army, and all the impediments to our entire operation against Japan which exist in that country today. We find that Great Britain, which has not borne, and apparently will not bear, the brunt of the struggle against Japan, by its mismanagement of the Indian situation has made for great discouragement and irritation to General Stilwell and to the heroic Americans fighting in that sector of the world.

India may well become a country dogged by civil war—civil war which may even be a stab in the back for our brave young men in the China-India-Burma theater of operations.

Early in the war I stood on this floor and asked for greater activity on the part of the British and American Governments in the India-China-Burma theater of operations. At that time I expressed the hope that such action would be forthcoming, that it would not be too long delayed, and I stated that failure to realize the seriousness of the situation there might result in China being starved, exhausted, and driven out of the war, might greatly prolong the war, and consequently mean a much greater loss of American lives, equipment, and opportunity.

These are real problems, Mr. President, problems about which our country must know, but apparently our British allies do not think that we ought to know about them. What is more, Mr. President, they think that our President should not know about them.

The statement which is now being made by high officials in the British Government, namely, that what happened in India is none of our business,

I repudiate. As soon as they found out what Ambassador Phillips had told his commanding officer, the President of the United States, they put obstacles in the way of his work as a liaison officer on General Eisenhower's staff in England, with the result that he has now "resigned" and is coming home "for family reasons."

Mr. President, I do not know what action our State Department will take in this matter. I do know that the British officials have seen fit to make strong representations to American publishers against the publication of Mr. Phillips' views and I do know that Mr. Phillips has been declared *persona non grata* both in India and in London.

Mr. President, if our magnificent united war effort is to succeed, we must have friendship and understanding among our allies; but I repeat that we must have it on a realistic basis. Such incidents as this do not encourage or aid the friendship of nations. They make for suspicion; they make for fear; they make for mistrust.

So Mr. President, I respectfully call upon the President of the United States to make a full report to the Senate of the United States on the conditions in India and on any foreign interference with American diplomacy, so that we may safeguard the well-being of our sons, our sons-in-law, our brothers, and our other kinsmen who are heroically fighting the hated Japanese enemy in the Far East.

I repeat, Mr. President, that we owe this to them and that we owe this to the American people, and that only by knowing the true conditions in other countries, not as we wish them to be but as they exist, can the American people in the future organize and promote a policy of friendship with other nations that will ultimately lead to that for which we all pray and so earnestly seek, a generous and everlasting peace among the nations of the earth.

Pearson

September 15th, 1944

Dear Draw:

My warm thanks to you for the full text
of Ambassador Phillips' letter.

Cordially,

WALTER WHITE.

Mr. Drew Pearson
1313 Twenty-ninth Street, N. W.
Washington,
D. C.

WW:DW

WASHINGTON MERRY - GO - ROUND

WASHINGTON 7, D. C.

DREW PEARSON
1818 TWENTY-NINTH STREET, N. W.

ROBERT S. ALLEN
28 TWENTY-EIGHTH STREET, N. W.

Warm
Thanks

August 30, 1944

11703

AUG 31 1944

Mr. Walter White
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Walter:

Enclosed is the full text of Ambassador
Phillips' letter. I published practically everything
he said except for one or two sentences.

Best of luck to you on the book.

Yours,



Drew Pearson

Enclosure

*Pearson
re: Ambassador*

August 28, 1944

Dear Drew:

I read with tremendous interest your column today about the recall of Ambassador Phillips. Would you send me the full text of Ambassador Phillips' letter from which you quoted? I will treat this as confidential if you wish. But I want to study it before I go in the fall to the Pacific, India, China and other places.

At the moment I am working feverishly writing a book and several articles on my recent trip overseas. But I shall be coming to Washington some time after Labor Day and want very much to talk with you, particularly to get your advice with respect to some of the places to which I hope to go.

Ever sincerely,

Mr. Drew Pearson
1313- 29th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Secretary

WW:RR

November 10, 1944

Dear Ambassador Phillips:

My hope to see Mr. Nehru in India was most premature. I have just received through the British Information Services the following cable from Robin Cruikshank:

"In response to your telegram we are anxious to do what we can to facilitate your visit but authorities inform us they are not hopeful of arranging for you to see the leaders you mentioned. Please let us know approximate date of your arrival in India so that we can help with general facilities."

Under these circumstances, I am very strongly inclined to refuse to go to India and to make public my reasons for such refusal. Would you agree?

May I once again tell you how much I enjoyed that visit with you? It is my hope that it will be only the first of other meetings because I profited so much from your broad experience.

With cordial personal greetings to you and Mrs. Phillips.

Ever sincerely,

Honorable William Phillips
Hotel Charlesgate
Boston, Massachusetts

WALTER WHITE.

WW:DW

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

WESTERN UNION

1201

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

A. N. WILLIAMS
 PRESIDENT

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

WUA41 12=BEVERLY MASS OCT 21 1214P

WALTER WHITE-

*Phillips
re: appointment*

-GLAD TO SEE YOU HOTEL CHARLESGATE BOSTON NOVEMBER SECOND AT 11
 OCLOCK=WILLIAM PHILLIPS.11.1239P...

10/21/44 - 12:45 PM
 W W

W: 11
October 17, 1944

My dear Ambassador Phillips:

I am grateful for your letter of
October 14.

I know it is crowding you a bit
since you are not moving to Boston until
October 31. But it is so important that
I see you, and because I shall be leaving
shortly after Election Day, would it be
possible for me to see you on Thursday,
November 2?

Ever sincerely,

Secretary

Hon. William Phillips
Highover
North Beverly
Massachusetts

WW:ER

HIGHOVER
NORTH BEVERLY, MASS.

Oct. 14/

20. 1944

Dear Mr. White.

OCT 17 1944

In reply to your

kind letter. I do not expect
to be in New York before you leave,
but as I am moving to Boston
on October 31st. I would be
glad to arrange a meeting with
you there any day after November
1st which is most convenient for
you.

This would save you a
trip to Beverly. You have an
interesting assignment ahead of you.

Sincerely yours,
William Peckoff

Hotel Charlesgate
Boson:

November 11th /44

NOV 13 1944

Dear Mr. White:

I think you are
right in not going to India
under the circumstances, and
I see no reason why you
should not make public your
reasons.

It was a great pleasure
to see you the other day and I
hope we may meet again after
your return. With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,
William Phillips

COPY

Hotel Charlesgate
Boston

November 11, 1944

*WW taking - et al
signal to Pacific - et al
11-21-44 - D.W*

Dear Mr. White:

I think you are right in not going to India under the circumstances, and I see no reason why you should not make public your reasons.

It was a great pleasure to see you the other day and I hope we may meet again after your return.
With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) WILLIAM PHILLIPS

BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICES

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA

NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK

6th November 1944

Dear Mr. White,

Robin Cruikshank of the Ministry of Information has asked me to pass on to you this message, which we have received by telegram:

"In response to your telegram we are anxious to do what we can to facilitate your visit but authorities inform us they are not hopeful of arranging for you to see the leaders you mentioned. Please let us know approximate date of your arrival in India so that we can help with general facilities."

If there is any help we can give you in transmitting any reply you wish to make to London we will be most happy to be of assistance.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) AUBREY NIEL MORGAN

Mr. Walter White,
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

ANM:NM

November 16, 1944

My dear Ambassador Phillips:

This is a confidential and ad interim report.

I am talking with the President tomorrow. Yesterday he transmitted to me in Washington through Mrs. Roosevelt his opinion that I should by all means go to India; that I should not make public at this time the correspondence I have had with London but hold it in reserve until after I have been to India; that in reaching India I might be permitted to talk with Messrs. Nehru, et al; that if I am not permitted to do so I can learn a good deal through talking to number two people; and that I can make public after leaving India that I was refused permission to talk to Nehru, et al, which would follow up on your experience there and be helpful.

I will write you again after I shall have talked with the President tomorrow.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary

Hon. William Phillips
Highover
North Beverly
Massachusetts

WW:RR

PERSONAL
CONFIDENTIAL

November 20, 1944

Dear Ambassador Phillips:

I had a long talk with the President last Friday despite the very great pressure on him because of certain war developments and other engagements. He feels very strongly that I should go to India. He believes that there is a reasonable possibility that, following the considerable publicity given to the refusal to permit you to talk with Messrs. Nehru, Gandhi and others, I will be permitted to talk to Mr. Nehru when I reach India. He feels that in the event I am not permitted to do so, I should talk with Mr. Gandhi and with others who are not in prison. He believes that thereby I will be able to gain a good deal of first-hand information which might be useful on my return, and that I should refrain from giving any publicity now or while I am in India to the difficulties now being experienced.

In discussing the matter at its meeting last Monday, our Board of Directors felt that because there are a great many Negro troops in what was until recently known as the China-Burma-India Theatre, I could not properly fail to visit them, which would be a reason for my presence in India.

I would like very much to have your reaction.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

Ambassador William Phillips
Highover
North Beverly,
Massachusetts

WW:DW

November 22 / 44
Hout Charlesgate.

23513

Dear Mr. White.

NOV 24 1944

I thank you for your letter of the 20th. Probably the President is right in his recommendation. I was only thinking of the effect in India if you were not allowed to see Nehru and the others behind the bars. In that case the result would surely be a further loss of prestige for us. But it is a good gamble and I hope you win out.

In case you have not seen the special "note on the Gandhi-Jinnah Conversations". I am sending you my copy. When you have

read it and you kindly
return it to me. I found
it interesting though depressing.

Don't fail to let me know
when you return for I shall be
keen to hear the story of
your travels.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours
William Phillips

In particular I hope you will study
the reported trend of India
towards Soviet Russia as a

Review of the former distances of
Britain and American policy towards Russia.

November
24th
1944

My dear Ambassador Phillips:

I am particularly appreciative of your gracious letter of November 22. It is, as you say, a gamble. I am grateful for your good wishes that I may win out.

No I have not seen the comment on the "Ghandi-Jenni" conversation and I am exceedingly happy to have it. I return your copy herewith after I have taken the liberty of making a copy for my personal information.

Your suggestion that I look into the treatment toward Russia because of the Anglo-American attitude toward India is most timely. The events seem to indicate that not only that part of the world but the Balkans will also move into the orbit of the U.S.S.R., largely because of our own mistakes. As soon as I return to the United States I shall get in touch with you to find out how and where I can see you to make a report which I hope will be more hopeful than present conditions warrant.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

Ambassador William Phillips
Charlesgate Hotel
Boston, Mass.

Enclosure
WW:elj