

accepted U.S. policy had been formulated and the Service Departments found themselves in a favourable position in relation to the other Departments of the Government. The effect of this lack of policy was particularly apparent in the discussion concerning the status of France. On that point the representative of the War Department is reported to have said that unless the White House were to say that France was a full partner the War Department would not now agree to an allocation of ships to the French which might later prevent the mounting of an operation because ships were not available. He added that if, however, the White House were to say that France was a full partner and was to receive an allocation of ships, the soldiers would obey (as they had done in the case of the U.K. and the U.S.S.R.).

(c) One participant in the discussions expressed the opinion that the pre-eminent position occupied by the Service Departments on the U.S. side (in contrast to the role of the War Office on the U.K. side) was not merely a transitory feature, but resulted from the mistaken view which he had found prevalent in the U.S. Administration for some time to the effect that wars are waged by the Service Departments and not by the Government as a whole; implying a persistent refusal to regard war as "the continuation of policies by other means." In any case it was explicitly stated in the discussion that the U.S. Service Departments held the view that "he who manages the ships, manages the war," and that control over shipping could not be relinquished by these Departments. Mr. Hopkins was also reported to have expressed the opinion in the closing stages of the discussion, that if there was the slightest conflict between the military demands and those of liberated areas for Civil Import Programmes, the civilian shipping agencies would soon discover which Department had the real control.

10. In these circumstances it was apparent that any further progress towards the achievement of the objectives sought by the U.K. delegation could be achieved only by stages and over a longer period of time than had originally been envisaged.

11. The first stage would be the completion of an interim arrangement which would represent the best compromise possible at this time. On January 14 a memorandum of Agreement was concluded between the U.S. and U.K. Governments embodying this arrangement.²¹⁸ A copy of the main sections of this memorandum[†] is attached. It is to be observed that the agreement was completed with the clear understanding that the "allocation" of ships specified therein was for the three months period only, (particularly as the shipping authorities anticipate serious reductions in the availability of shipping for even their present programmes after the first of April), and that it was subject to adjustment on grounds of military necessity with Mr. Hopkins (clearly against his will) acting as arbiter if the Service Departments wished to appeal for such an adjustment. It was only on the basis of this compromise formula, proposed

²¹⁸Voir États-Unis, *Foreign Relations of the United States. The Conferences at Malta and Yalta, 1945*. Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1955, pp. 420-2.

See United States, *Foreign Relations of the United States. The Conferences at Malta and Yalta, 1945*. Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1955, pp. 420-2.