
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”

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1945 March 1

Message to Congress re the Yalta Conference

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

THE CAPITOL

MARCH 1, 1945

It is good to be home.

It has been a long journey. I hope you will agree that it was a fruitful one.

Speaking in all frankness, the question of whether it is to be entirely fruitful or not lies to a great extent in your hands. For unless you here in the halls of the American Congress -- with the support of the American people -- concur in the decisions reached at Yalta, and give them your active support, the meeting will not have produced lasting results.

That is why I come before you at the earliest hour after my return. I want to make a personal report to you --

and, at the same time, to the people of the country. Many months of earnest work are ahead of us all, and I should like to feel that when the last stone is laid on the structure of international peace, it will be an achievement for which all of us in America have worked steadfastly and unselfishly -- together.

I return from this trip -- which took me as far as seven thousand miles from the White House -- refreshed and inspired. The Roosevelts are not, as you may suspect, averse to travel. We thrive on it!

Far away as I was, I was kept constantly informed of affairs in the United States. The modern miracle of rapid communication has made this world very small; and we must always bear that in mind, when we think or speak of international relations. I received a steady stream of messages from Washington, and except where radio silence was necessary for security purposes, I could continuously send messages

any place in the world. And of course, in a grave emergency, we could even have risked breaking the security rule.

I come from the Crimean Conference, my fellow Americans, with a firm belief that we have made a good start on the road to a world of peace.

There were two main purposes at the Crimean Conference. The first was to bring defeat to Germany with the greatest possible speed and with the smallest possible loss of Allied men. That purpose is now being carried out in great force. The German army, and the German people, are feeling the ever-increasing might of our fighting men and of the Allied Armies. Every hour gives us added pride in the heroic advance of our troops over German soil toward a meeting with the gallant Red army.

The second purpose was to continue to build the foundation for an international accord which would bring order and security after the chaos of war, and which would give some assurance of lasting peace among the nations of the world.

Toward that goal also, a tremendous stride was made.

At Teheran, over a year ago, there were long-range military plans laid by the Chiefs of Staff of the three most powerful nations. Among the civilian leaders at Teheran, however, there were only exchanges of views and expressions of opinion. No political agreements were made -- and none was attempted.

At the Crimean Conference, however, the time had come for getting down to specific cases in the political field.

There was on all sides at this Conference an enthusiastic effort to reach agreement. Since the time of the Teheran Conference, there had developed among all of us a greater facility in negotiating with each other, which augurs well for the future peace of the world.

I have never for an instant wavered in my belief that an agreement to insure world peace and security can be reached.

The lapse of time between Teheran and Yalta without conferences of civilian representatives of the three major powers has proved to be too long -- fourteen months. During this long period, local problems were permitted to become acute in places like Poland and Greece and Italy and Yugo-Slavia.

Therefore we decided at Yalta that, even if circumstances made it impossible for the heads of the three governments to meet more often in the future, we would make sure that there would be more frequent personal contacts for exchange of views.

Accordingly, we arranged for periodic meetings of the foreign secretaries of Great Britain, Russia and the United States at intervals of three or four months. I feel very confident that under this arrangement there will be no recurrence of the incidents which this winter disturbed the friends of world-wide collaboration.

When we met at Yalta, in addition to laying our strategic and tactical plans for a final and complete military victory over Germany, there were a number of problems of vital political consequence.

First, there were the problems of the occupation and control of Germany after victory, the complete destruction of her military power, and the assurance that neither Nazism nor Prussian militarism could again be revived to threaten the peace and civilization of the world.

Second, there was the settlement of the few differences which remained among us with respect to the International Security Organization after the Dumbarton Oaks Conference.

Third, there were the general political and economic problems common to all of the areas which had been or would be liberated from the Nazi yoke.

Fourth, there were the special problems created by Poland and Yugo-Slavia.

Days were spent in discussing these momentous matters and we argued freely and frankly across the table. But at the end, on every point, unanimous agreement ^{was} ~~has been~~ reached. And more important even than the agreement of words, I may say we achieved a unity of thought and a way of getting along together.

It was Hitler's hope that we would not agree -- that some slight crack might appear in the solid wall of Allied unity which would give him and his yellow gangsters one last hope of escaping their just doom. That is the objective for which his propaganda machine has been working for months.

But Hitler has failed.

Never before have the major Allies been more closely united -- not only in their war aims but in their peace aims.

And they are determined to continue to be united with each other -- and with all peace-loving nations -- so that the ideal of lasting world peace will become a reality.

The Soviet, British and United States Chiefs of Staff held daily meetings with each other, and conferred frequently with Marshal Stalin, with Prime Minister Churchill and with me, on the problem of coordinating the strategic and tactical efforts of all the Allied forces. They completed their plans for the final knock-out blows to Germany.

At the time of the Teheran Conference, the Russian front was so far removed from the American and British fronts that, while certain long-range strategic cooperation was possible, there could be no tactical, day-by-day coordination. But Russian troops have now crossed Poland, and are fighting on the Eastern soil of Germany; British and American troops are now on German soil close to the River Rhine in the West.

It is a different situation today; a closer tactical liaison has become possible -- and, in the Crimean Conference, this has been accomplished.

Provision was made for daily exchange of information between the armies under command of General Eisenhower, those under command of the Soviet marshals on the Eastern front, and our armies in Italy -- without the necessity of going through the Chiefs of Staff in Washington and London as in the past.

You have seen one result of this exchange of information in the recent bombing by American and English aircraft of points which are directly related to the Russian advance on Berlin.

From now on, American and British heavy bombers will be used -- in the day-by-day tactics of the war -- in direct support of the Soviet Armies, as well as in support of our own on the Western front.

They are now engaged in bombing and strafing in order to hamper the movement of German reserves and materials to the Eastern and Western fronts from other parts of Germany and from Italy.

Arrangements were made for the most effective distribution of all available material and transportation to the places where they can best be used in the combined war effort -- American, British, and Russian.

Details of all these plans and arrangements are military secrets; but they will hasten the day of the final collapse of Germany. The Nazis are learning about some of them already, to their sorrow. They will learn more about them tomorrow and the next day -- and every day!

There will be no respite for them. We will not desist for one moment until unconditional surrender.

The German people, as well as the German soldiers must realize that the sooner they give up and surrender, by groups or as individuals, the sooner their present agony will be over. They must realize that only with complete surrender can they begin to reestablish themselves as people whom the world might accept as decent neighbors.

We made it clear again at Yalta, and I now repeat -- that unconditional surrender does not mean the destruction or enslavement of the German people. The Nazi leaders have deliberately withheld that part of the Yalta declaration from the German press and radio. They seek to convince the people of Germany that the Yalta declaration does mean slavery and destruction for them -- for that is how the Nazis hope to save their own skins, and deceive their people into continued useless resistance.

We did, however, make it clear at this conference just what unconditional surrender does mean for Germany.

It means the temporary control of Germany by Great Britain, Russia, France, and the United States. Each of these nations will occupy and control a separate zone of Germany -- and the administration of the four zones will be coordinated in Berlin by a Control Council composed of representatives of the four nations.

Unconditional surrender also means the end of Nazism, and of the Nazi party -- and all of its barbaric laws and institutions.

It means the termination of all militaristic influence in the public, private and cultural life of Germany.

It means for the Nazi war criminals a punishment that is speedy and just -- and severe.

It means the complete disarmament of Germany; the destruction of its militarism and its military equipment; the end of its production of armament; the dispersal of all of its armed forces; the permanent dismemberment of the German General Staff which has so often shattered the peace of the world.

It means that Germany will have to make reparations in kind for the damage which it has done to the innocent victims of its aggression.

By compelling reparations in kind -- in plants, and machinery and rolling stock and raw materials -- we shall avoid the mistake made after the last war of demanding reparations in the form of money which Germany could never pay.

We do not want the German people to starve, or to become a burden on the rest of the world.

Our objective in handling Germany is simple -- it is to secure the peace of the future world. Too much experience has shown that that objective is impossible if Germany is allowed to retain any ability to wage aggressive war.

That objective will not harm the German people. On the contrary, it will protect them from a repetition of the fate which the General Staff and Kaiserism imposed on them before, and which Hitlerism is now imposing upon them again a hundredfold. It will be removing a cancer from the German

body, which for generations has produced only misery and pain for the whole world.

During my stay at Yalta, I saw the kind of reckless, senseless fury and destruction which comes out of German militarism. Yalta had no military significance of any kind, and no defenses.

Before the last war, it had been a resort for the Czars and for the aristocracy of Russia. Afterward, however, and until the attack upon the Soviet Union by Hitler, the palaces and villas of Yalta had been used as a rest and recreation center by the Russian people.

The Nazi officers took them over for their own use; and when the Red Army forced the Nazis out of the Crimea, these villas were looted by the Nazis, and then nearly all were destroyed. And even the humblest of homes were not spared.

It is not yet possible to announce the terms of that agreement publicly, but it will be in a very short time.

When the conclusions reached at the Crimean Conference with respect to voting in the Security Council are made known, I believe you will find them a fair solution of this complicated and difficult problem. They are founded in justice, and will go far to assure international cooperation in the maintenance of peace.

A conference of all the United Nations of the world will meet in San Francisco on April 25, 1945. There, we all hope, and confidently expect, to execute a definite charter of organization under which the peace of the world will be preserved and the forces of aggression permanently outlawed.

This time we shall not make the mistake of waiting until the end of the war to set up the machinery of peace. This time, as we fight together to get the war over quickly, we work together to keep it from happening again.

I am well aware of the constitutional fact -- as are all the United Nations -- that this charter must be approved by two-thirds of the Senate of the United States -- as will some of the other arrangements made at Yalta.

The Senate of the United States, through its appropriate representatives, has been kept continuously advised of the program of this government in the creation of the International Security Organization.

The Senate and the House of Representatives will both be represented at the San Francisco Conference. The Congressional delegates to the San Francisco Conference will consist of an equal number of Republican and Democratic members. The American Delegation is -- in every sense of the word -- bipartisan.

World peace is not a party question -- any more than is military victory.

When our Republic was threatened, first by the Nazi clutch for world conquest in 1940, and then by the Japanese treachery of 1941, partisanship and politics were laid aside by nearly every American; and every resource was dedicated to our common safety. The same consecration to the cause of peace will be expected by every patriotic American and by every human soul overseas.

The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man, or one party, or one nation. It cannot be an American peace, or a British, a Russian, a French, or a Chinese peace. It cannot be a peace of large nations -- or of small nations. It must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world.

It cannot be a structure of complete perfection at first. But it can be a peace -- and it will be a peace -- based on the sound and just principles of the Atlantic Charter -- on the conception of the dignity of the human being -- on the guarantees of tolerance and freedom of religious worship.

As the Allied Armies have marched to military victory, they have liberated peoples whose liberties had been crushed by the Nazis for four years, and whose economy had been reduced to ruin by Nazi despoilers.

There have been instances of political confusion and unrest in these liberated areas -- as in Greece and Poland and Yugo-Slavia and other places. Worse than that, there actually began to grow up in some of them vaguely defined ideas of "spheres of influence" which were incompatible with the basic principles of international collaboration. If allowed to go unchecked, these developments might have had tragic results.

It is fruitless to try to place the blame for this situation on one particular nation or another. It is the kind of development which is almost inevitable unless the major powers of the world continue ^{without} ~~xxx~~ interruption to work together and to assume joint responsibility for the solution of problems which may arise to endanger the peace of the world.

We met in the Crimea, determined to settle this matter or liberated areas. I am happy to confirm to the Congress that we did arrive at a settlement -- a unanimous settlement.

The three most powerful nations have agreed that the political and economic problems of any area liberated from the Nazi conquest, or of any former Axis satellite, are a joint responsibility of all three governments. They will join together, during the temporary period of instability after hostilities, to help the people of any liberated area, or of any former satellite state, to solve their own problems through firmly established democratic processes.

They will endeavor to see to it that interim governing authorities are as representative as possible of all democratic elements in the population, and that free elections are held as soon as possible.

Responsibility for political conditions thousands of miles overseas can no longer be avoided by this great nation. As I have said, it is a smaller world. The United States now exerts a vast influence in the cause of peace throughout all the world. It will continue to exert that influence, only if it is willing to continue to share in the responsibility for keeping the peace. It would be our own tragic loss were we to shirk that responsibility.

Final decisions in these areas are going to be made jointly; and therefore they will often be a result of give-and-take compromise. The United States will not always have its way 100% -- nor will Russia or Great Britain. We shall not always have ideal solutions to complicated international problems, even though we are determined continuously to strive toward the ideal. But I am sure that -- under the agreements reached at Yalta -- there will be a more stable political Europe than ever before.

Of course, once there has been a free expression of the peoples' will in any country, our immediate responsibility ends -- with the exception only of such action as may be agreed upon in the International Security Organization.

The United Nations must also soon begin to help these liberated areas adequately to reconstruct their economy so that they are ready to resume their places in the world. The Nazi war machine has stripped them of raw materials and machine tools and trucks and locomotives. They have left their industry stagnant and much of their agriculture unproductive.

To start the wheels running again is not a mere matter of relief. It is to the national interest of all of us to see that these liberated areas are again made self-supporting and productive so that they do not need continued relief from us.

One outstanding example of joint action by the three major Allies in the liberated areas was the solution reached on Poland. The whole Polish question was a potential source of trouble in post-war Europe, and we came to the conference determined to find a common ground for its solution. We did.

Our objective was to help create a strong, independent, and prosperous nation, with a government ultimately to be selected by the Polish people themselves.

To achieve this objective, it was necessary to provide for the formation of a new government much more representative than had been possible while Poland was enslaved. Accordingly, steps were taken at Yalta to reorganize the existing Provisional Government in Poland on a broader democratic basis, so as to include democratic leaders now in Poland and those abroad.

This new, reorganized government will be recognized by all of us as the temporary government of Poland.

However, the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity will be pledged to holding a free election as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and a secret ballot.

Throughout history, Poland has been the corridor through which attacks on Russia have been made. Twice in this generation, Germany has struck at Russia through this corridor. To insure European security and world peace, a strong and independent Poland is necessary.

The decision with respect to the boundaries of Poland was a compromise, under which, however, the Poles will receive compensation in territory in the North and West in exchange for what they lose by the Curzon Line. The limits of the Western boundary will be permanently fixed in the final Peace Conference. It was agreed that a large coast line should be included.

It is well known that the people east of the Curzon Line are predominantly white Russian and Ukrainian; and that the people west of the line are predominantly Polish. As far back as 1919, the representatives of the Allies agreed that the Curzon Line represented a fair boundary between the two peoples.

I am convinced that the agreement on Poland, under the circumstances, is the most hopeful agreement possible for a free, independent and prosperous Polish State.

The Crimean Conference was a meeting of the three major military powers on whose shoulders rest the chief responsibility and burden of the war. Although, for this reason, France was not a participant in the Conference, no one should detract from the recognition there accorded of her role in the future of Europe and the world.

France has been invited to accept a zone of control in Germany, and to participate as a fourth member of the Allied Control Council of Germany.

She has been invited to join as a sponsor of the International Conference at San Francisco.

She will be a permanent member of the International Security Council together with the other four major powers.

And, finally, we have asked that France be associated with us in our joint responsibility over the liberated areas of Europe.

Agreement was also reached on Yugoslavia, as announced in the communique; and is in process of fulfillment.

Quite naturally, the Crimean Conference concerned itself only with the European war and with the political problems of Europe -- and not with the Pacific war.

At Malta, however, our Combined British and American Staffs made their plans to increase the attack against Japan.

The Japanese war lords know that they are not being overlooked. They have felt the force of our B-29's, and our carrier planes; they have felt the naval might of the United States, and do not appear very anxious to come out and try it again.

The Japs know what it means to hear that "The United States Marines have landed". And we can add, having Iwo Jima in mind: "The situation is well in hand".

They also know what is in store for the homeland of Japan now that General MacArthur has completed his magnificent march back to Manila, and Admiral Nimitz is establishing his air bases right in the back yard of Japan itself -- in Iwo Jima.

It is still a tough, long road to Tokyo. The defeat of Germany will not mean the end of the war against Japan. On the contrary, America must be prepared for a long and costly struggle in the Pacific.

But the unconditional surrender of Japan is as essential as the defeat of Germany -- if our plans for world peace are to succeed. For Japanese militarism must be wiped out as thoroughly as German militarism.

On the way home from the Crimea, I made arrangements to meet personally King Farouk of Egypt, Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia, and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. Our conversations had to do with matters of common interest. They will be of great mutual advantage because they gave us an opportunity of meeting and talking face to face, and of exchanging views in personal conversation instead of formal correspondence.

On my voyage, I had the benefit of seeing our Army and Navy and Air Force at work.

All Americans would feel as proud of our armed forces as I am, if they could see and hear what I did.

Against the most efficient professional soldiers and sailors and airmen of all history, our men stood and fought -- and won.

This is our chance to see to it that the sons and grandsons of these gallant fighting men do not have to do it all over again in a few years.

The Conference in the Crimea was a turning point in American history. There will soon be presented to the Senate of the United States and to the American people a great decision which will determine the fate of the United States -- and of the world -- for generations to come.

There can be no middle ground here. We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration, or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict.

I know that the word "planning" is not looked upon with favor in some quarters. In domestic affairs, tragic mistakes have been made by reason of lack of planning; and, on the other hand, many great improvements in living, and many benefits to the human race, have been accomplished as a result of adequate, intelligent planning -- reclamations of desert areas, developments of whole river valleys, provision for adequate housing.

The same will be true in relations between nations. For a second time, this generation is face to face with the objective of preventing wars. To meet that objective, the nations of the world will either have a plan or they will not. The groundwork of a plan has now been furnished, and has been submitted to humanity for discussion and decision.

No plan is perfect. Whatever is adopted at San Francisco will doubtless have to be amended time and again over the years, just as our own Constitution has been.

No one can say exactly how long any plan will last. Peace can endure only so long as humanity really insists upon it, and is willing to work for it -- and sacrifice for it.

Twenty-five years ago, American fighting men looked to the statesmen of the world to finish the work of peace for which they fought and suffered. We failed them then. We cannot fail them again, and expect the world again to survive.

The Crimean Conference was a successful effort by the three leading nations to find a common ground for peace. It spells the end of the system of unilateral action and exclusive alliances and spheres of influence and balances of power and all the other expedients which have been tried for centuries -- and have failed.

We propose to substitute for all these, a universal organization in which all peace-loving nations will finally have a chance to join.

I am confident that the Congress and the American people will accept the results of this Conference as the beginnings of a permanent structure of peace upon which we can begin to build, under God, that better world in which our children and grandchildren -- yours and mine, the children and grandchildren of the whole world -- must live.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Orig. in file (2/2)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 16, 1945.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. AUGUSTUS GIEGENGACK

Would you be good enough
to have a box made for this and have
it marked as follows:

F.D.R. Address to the Congress - Re
Yalta Conference - March 1, 1945.

Audrey Turner
Audrey Turner

Large Box

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

MARCH 1, 1945

CONFIDENTIAL: To be held in STRICT CONFIDENCE and no portion, synopsis or intimation to be published or given out until delivery of the President's message to the Congress HAS BEGUN.

Release expected about 12:30 P.M., E.W.T., March 1, 1945. The same release also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CAUTION: Extreme care must be exercised to avoid premature publication.

JONATHAN DANIELS
Administrative Assistant to
the President

P.F.F.

IF

File

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The Nazi officers took them over for their own use; and when the Red Army forced the Nazis out of the Crimea, these villas were looted by the Nazis, and then nearly all were destroyed. And even the humblest of homes were not spared.

It is not yet possible to announce the terms of that agreement publicly, but it will be in a very short time.

When the conclusions reached at the Crimean Conference with respect to voting in the Security Council are made known, I believe you will find them a fair solution of this complicated and difficult problem. They are founded in justice, and will go far to assure international cooperation in the maintenance of peace.

A conference of all the United Nations of the world will meet in San Francisco on April 25, 1945. There, we all hope, and confidently expect, to execute a definite charter of organization under which the peace of the world will be preserved and the forces of aggression permanently outlawed.

This time we shall not make the mistake of waiting until the end of the war to set up the machinery of peace. This time, as we fight together to get the war over quickly, we work together to keep it from happening again.

I am well aware of the constitutional fact -- as are all the United Nations -- that this charter must be approved by two-thirds of the Senate of the United States -- as will some of the other arrangements made at Yalta.

The Senate of the United States, through its appropriate representatives, has been kept continuously advised of the program of this government in the creation of the International Security Organisation.

The Senate and the House of Representatives will both be represented at the San Francisco Conference. The Congressional delegates to the San Francisco Conference will consist of an equal number of Republican and Democratic members. The American Delegation is -- in every sense of the word -- bipartisan.

World peace is not a party question -- any more than is military victory.

When our Republic was threatened, first by the Nazi clutch for world conquest in 1940, and then by the Japanese treachery of 1941, partisanship and politics were laid aside by nearly every American; and every resource was dedicated to our common safety. The same consecration to the cause of peace will be expected by every patriotic American and by every human soul overseas.

The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man, or one party, or one nation. It cannot be an American peace, or a British, a Russian, a French, or a Chinese peace. It cannot be a peace of large nations -- or of small nations. It must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world.

It cannot be a structure of complete perfection at first. But it can be a peace -- and it will be a peace -- based on the ~~same~~ and just principles of the Atlantic Charter -- on the conception of the dignity of the human being -- on the guarantees of tolerance and freedom of religious worship.

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As the Allied Armies have marched to military victory, they have liberated peoples whose liberties had been crushed by the Nazis for four years, and whose economy had been reduced to ruin by Nazi despoilers.

There have been instances of political confusion and unrest in these liberated areas -- as in Greece and Poland and Yugo-Slavia and other places. Worse than that, there actually began to grow up in some of them vaguely defined ideas of "spheres of influence" which were incompatible with the basic principles of international collaboration. If allowed to go unchecked, these developments might have had tragic results.

It is fruitless to try to place the blame for this situation on one particular nation or another. It is the kind of development which is almost inevitable unless the major powers of the world continue with ^{out} interruption to work together and to assume joint responsibility for the solution of problems which may arise to endanger the peace of the world.

Responsibility for political conditions thousands of miles overseas can no longer be avoided by this great nation. As I have said, it is a smaller world. The United States now exerts a vast influence in the cause of peace throughout all the world. It will continue to exert that influence, only if it is willing to continue to share in the responsibility for keeping the peace. It would be our own tragic loss were we to shirk that responsibility.

Final decisions in these areas are going to be made jointly; and therefore they will often be a result of give-and-take compromise. The United States will not always have its way 100% -- nor will Russia or Great Britain. We shall not always have ideal solutions to complicated international problems, even though we are determined continuously to strive toward the ideal. But I am sure that -- under the agreements reached at Yalta -- there will be a more stable political Europe than ever before.

Of course, once there has been a free expression of the peoples' will in any country, our immediate responsibility ends -- with the exception only of such action as may be agreed upon in the International Security Organisation.

The United Nations must also soon begin to help these liberated areas adequately to reconstruct their economy so that they are ready to resume their places in the world. The Nazi war machine has stripped them of raw materials and machine tools and trucks and locomotives. They have left their industry stagnant and much of their agriculture unproductive.

To start the wheels running again is not a mere matter of relief. It is to the ^{NATIONAL} natural interest of all of us to see that these liberated areas are again made self-supporting and productive so that they do not need continued relief from us.

One outstanding example of joint action by the three major Allies in the liberated areas was the solution reached on Poland. The whole Polish question was a potential source of trouble in post-war Europe, and we came to the conference determined to find a common ground for its solution. We did.

Our objective was to help create a strong, independent, and prosperous nation, with a government ultimately to be selected by the Polish people themselves. [To try to force either of the provisional governments on the Polish people -- the Warsaw government or the London government -- would have produced civil strife.]

To achieve this objective, it was necessary to provide for the formation of a new government much more representative than had been possible while Poland was enslaved. Accordingly, steps were taken at Yalta to ^{reorganize} reorganize the existing Provisional government in Poland on a broader democratic basis, so as to include democratic leaders now in Poland and those abroad.

This new, reorganised government will be recognised by all of us as the temporary government of Poland.

However, the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity will be pledged to holding a free election as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and a secret ballot.

Throughout history, Poland has been the corridor through which attacks on Russia have been made. Twice in this generation, Germany has struck at Russia through this corridor. To insure European security and world peace, a strong and independent Poland is necessary.

The decision with respect to the boundaries of Poland was a compromise, under which, however, the Poles will receive compensation in territory in the North and West in exchange for what they lose by the Curzon Line. The limits of the Western boundary will be permanently fixed in the final Peace Conference. It was agreed that a large coast line should be included.

It is well known that the people east of the Curson Line are predominantly white Russian and Ukrainian; and that the people west of the line are predominantly Polish. As far back as 1919, the representatives of the Allies agreed that the Curson Line represented a fair boundary between the two peoples.

I am convinced that the agreement on Poland, under the circumstances, is the most hopeful agreement possible for a free, independent and prosperous Polish State.

The Crimean Conference was a meeting of the three major military powers on whose shoulders rest the chief responsibility and burden of the war. Although, for this reason, France was not a participant in the Conference, no one should detract from the recognition there accorded of her role in the future of Europe and the world.

France has been invited to accept a zone of control in Germany, and to participate as a fourth member of the Allied Control Council of Germany.

She has been invited to join as a sponsor of the International Conference at San Francisco.

She will be a permanent member of the International Security Council together with the other four major powers.

And, finally, we have asked that France be associated with us in our joint responsibility over the liberated areas of Europe.

Agreement was also reached on Yugo-Slavia, as announced in the communique; and is in process of fulfillment.

Quite naturally, the ^{Communiqué} ~~Yalta~~ Conference concerned itself only with the European war and with the political problems of Europe -- and not with the Pacific war.

At Malta, however, our Combined British and American Staffs made their plans to increase the attack against Japan.

The Japanese war lords know that they are not being overlooked. They have felt the force of our B-29's, and our carrier planes; they have felt the naval might of the United States, and do not appear very anxious to come out and try it again.

The Japs know what it means to hear that "The United States Marines have landed". And we can add, having Iwo Jima in mind: "The situation is well in hand".

They also know what is in store for the homeland of Japan now that General MacArthur has completed his magnificent march back to Manila, and Admiral Nimitz is establishing his air bases right in the back yard of Japan itself -- in Iwo Jima.

It is still a tough, long road to Tokyo. The defeat of Germany will not mean the end of the war against Japan. On the contrary, America must be prepared for a long and costly struggle in the Pacific.

But the unconditional surrender of Japan is as essential as the defeat of Germany -- if our plans for world peace are to succeed. For Japanese militarism must be wiped out as thoroughly as German militarism.

On the way home from the Crimea, I made arrangements to meet personally King Farouk of Egypt, Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia, and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. Our conversations had to do with matters of common interest. They will be of great mutual advantage because they gave us an opportunity of meeting and talking face to face, and of exchanging views in personal conversation instead of formal correspondence.

On my voyage, I had the benefit of seeing our Army and Navy and Air Force at work.

All Americans would feel as proud of our armed forces as I am, if they could see and hear what I did.

Against the most efficient professional soldiers and sailors and airmen of all history, our men stood and fought — and won.

This is our chance to see to it that the sons and grandsons of these gallant fighting men do not have to do it all over again in a few years.

The Conference in the Crimea was a turning point in American history. There will soon be presented to the Senate of the United States and to the American people a great decision which will determine the fate of the United States -- and of the world -- for generations to come.

There can be no middle ground here. We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration, or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict.

I know that the word "planning" is not looked upon with favor in some quarters. In domestic affairs, tragic mistakes have been made by reason of lack of planning; and, on the other hand, many great improvements in living, and many benefits to the human race, have been accomplished as a result of adequate, intelligent planning -- reclamations of desert areas, developments of whole river valleys, provision for adequate housing.

The same will be true in relations between nations. For a second time, this generation is face to face with the objective of preventing wars. To meet that objective, the nations of the world will either have a plan or they will not. The groundwork of a plan has now been furnished, and has been submitted to humanity for discussion and decision.

No plan is perfect. Whatever is adopted at San Francisco will doubtless have to be amended time and again over the years, just as our own Constitution has been.

No one can say exactly how long any plan will last. Peace can endure only so long as humanity really insists upon it, and is willing to work for it -- and sacrifice for it.

Twenty-five years ago, American fighting men looked to the statesmen of the world to finish the work of peace for which they fought and suffered. We failed them then. We cannot fail them again, and expect the world again to survive.

The Crimean Conference was a successful effort by the three leading nations to find a common ground for peace. It spells the end of the system of unilateral action and exclusive alliances and spheres of influence and balances of power and all the other expedients which have been tried for centuries -- and have failed.

We propose to substitute for all these, a universal organization in which all peace-loving nations will finally have a chance to join.

I am confident that the Congress and the American people will accept the results of this Conference as the beginnings of a permanent structure of peace upon which we can begin to build, under God, that better world in which our children and grandchildren -- yours and mine, the children and grandchildren of the whole world -- must live.

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~~SECRET~~

(1)

I have just returned from a long journey and from many conferences with our Allies ~~and others~~ on subjects which will affect the lives of Americans and of people all over the world, for generations to come. I desire to report to the Congress of the United States on these conferences, for the Congress is vitally interested in them and will sooner or later be called upon to pass judgment upon the results of many of them.

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The purposes of these conferences were; first, ~~and foremost~~ to bring defeat to Germany and Japan with the greatest possible speed and with the smallest possible loss of Allied ~~forces~~ ^{men}; and secondly, to lay the foundations for an international accord which will bring order and security after the chaos of war, and give some assurance of lasting peace among the nations of the world, ^{which}

I am happy to report that progress -- very substantial progress -- was made toward both of these objectives.

More than a year has elapsed since the first meeting of the government leaders of the three major Allies at Teheran. At Teheran there were ^{long range} strategic plans laid by the ~~military~~ ^{plans} Chiefs of Staff of the three nations which have now been carried out in a vast attack upon Germany from the East and West and South. Among ^{at Teheran} the civilian leaders there were exchanges of views and expressions of opinion and a general understanding and appreciation of the

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opinions of each other. But no political commitments or agreements were made, and none were attempted.

At the ~~Yalta~~ ^{Crimson} Conference, ^{however,} the time had come for getting down to specific cases -- both military and political. As you know, from the official communique issued ^{by the Conference,} many specific problems were considered in detail and practical agreement reached among us as ^{many} to ~~all~~ of them.

There was on all sides ^{at this Conference} an enthusiastic effort to reach agreement -- a realistic appreciation of the ^{imperative} necessity of arriving at a common understanding. Since Teheran there had developed among us -- and especially among the Russians -- a greater facility in negotiating with each other, which augurs well for the peace of the world. *Month by month, there has been increased understanding and growing accord among the three great allies.*

I have never for an instant wavered in my belief that an agreement to insure world peace and security could be reached.

The lapse of time between Teheran and Yalta without conferences ~~of any~~ ^{of} civilian representatives ^{the} of three major powers has proved to be too long. During this long period, problems were permitted to become too acute in places like Poland and Greece and Italy and Yugo-Slavia.

(3)

When the meeting at Yalta was arranged in January, more than a year had elapsed since our last conference at Teheran. Efforts were made last summer to hold this second conference of the Prime Minister and the Marshal and myself; but certain military necessities of the Soviet Union made it impossible.

Those military necessities are now apparent to the world. They involved the planning and execution of the overwhelming offensive which the Russian army has now launched, which has liberated Poland, much of the Balkans and Czechoslovakia, which has cost the Nazis hundreds of thousands of men and badly-needed supplies and weapons -- and which is now bringing disaster and defeat to the very doors of Berlin.

The period which elapsed between the conference at Teheran and the conference at Yalta was too long. We all have realized that. Frequent personal meetings are the best means of avoiding differences between nations or even possibilities of misunderstanding. Therefore we decided at this conference that we would

to meet more frequently in the future, ^{we would} ~~and to~~ make sure that there

even if circumstances made it impossible for the heads of the three governments to meet

(4)

~~should~~ ^{more} ~~always~~ be a free and frequent exchange of views, ^{therefore} we have arranged for periodic meetings of the foreign secretaries of Great Britain, Russia and the United States every three or four months. I feel very confident that with these arrangements there will be no recurrence of the incidents which were so disturbing this winter to the friends of world-wide collaboration.

When we met at Yalta, there were several pressing ^{avoided -} problems which ^{called for} ~~required~~ discussion and ^{quick} solution.

First, there was the objective of final, complete and unmistakable military victory over Germany.

Second, there were ^{problems of the} the occupation and control of Germany after victory, the complete destruction of her military power, and the assurance that neither Nazism nor Prussian militarism could again be revived to threaten the peace and civilization of the world.

Third, there was the ^{settlement} ~~determination~~ of the few differences which remained among us after the Dumbarton Oaks Conference

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with respect to the International Security Organization.

Fourth, there were the general political and economic problems common to all of the areas which had been or would be liberated from the Nazi yoke.

Fifth, there were the special problems created by Poland ^{and the} ~~Yugoslavia, etc.~~ *Rumania* *Ingrelavia, and others* *etc.*

I am happy to be able to report to you and to the American people that on all of these points, after the most thorough and frank discussion, unanimous and complete agreement has been reached.

We came to that conference -- all of us -- determined that agreement must be reached and could be reached. That determination was fulfilled.

It was Hitler's hope that we would not agree -- that some slight crack might appear in the solid wall of Allied unity which would give him and his fellow gangsters one last hope of escaping their just doom. It was not only his hope -- it was the objective for which his propaganda machine has been devoting all of its efforts.

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Hitler has failed in this attempt -- as he has failed in his goals of world conquest.

Never before have the major Allies been more closely united -- not only in their war aims but in their peace aims. And they are determined to continue to be united until those aims are all accomplished. *lasting unity* *so that peace will become a reality*

The military leaders of our three governments, in continuous, joint conference at Yalta, have completed their joint plans for the final knock-out blows to the enemy in Europe. *Insert I. attached*
~~Those plans have been co-ordinated to provide the maximum striking power against the Nazi war machine.~~

What the German people, driven by their Nazi leaders, have endured and suffered in the last few months will be doubled and trebled in the months to come. There will be no respite for them. We will not desist for one moment until the day of the unconditional surrender of the German Army.

They know -- and the German Army now knows -- that defeat is inevitable. It is only by surrender that death and destruction in Germany can be stopped -- and nothing less than surrender



INERT

The Soviet, British and United States Chiefs of Staff held

daily meetings and conferred frequently with Marshal Stalin, with ^{Chief} ~~Chief~~ Prime Minister Churchill, and with me, on the problem of coordin- ^{tactical} ~~ation~~ ^{has} ~~ation~~ ^{plans} ~~ation~~ ating the strategical and tactical efforts of the Allied Armies.

The objective was to bring all our available force to bear against Germany ^{against} and what remains of enemy Italy ^{in order} to force a collapse of the

Axis military power in Europe at the earliest possible date.

At these conferences, the three Grand Staffs were fully
in a free and frank exchange of plans and ideas
co-operative and helpful to each other. Agreements were reached

~~and arrangements made that will materially augment the effect of
our combined effort.~~

Provision was made for close daily exchange of information between the armies under command of General Eisenhower, those under command of the Soviet marshals on the Eastern front, and our army in Italy - without the necessity of going through the staffs in Washington and London ^{as in the past.} ~~Arrangements were made to improve co-ordination between the land armies and the air forces of the three Allies.~~

From now on, American and British heavy bombers will be used in direct support of the Soviet armies, as well as in support of our own on the Western front.

You have seen the result of this ~~agreement~~^{agreement} in the bombing of ~~poison~~ by American and English aircraft, which are directly related

to the Russian advance on Berlin. In the day by day tactics of the war the Nazis will see our air power in support of Russian troop movements in a way which will bring destruction to German weapons and men.

Arrangements were made for the most effective distribution of available material and transportation to the places where they can best be used in the combined war effort -- American, English, and Russian.

Mr. Churchill and I, with our Chiefs of Staff, also ~~discussed~~ ~~arrangements and~~ came to conclusions as to most effective distribution and use of our available men, transportation, and material, for use in the war against Japan both before and after the defeat of Germany.

Details of all these plans and arrangements are military secrets. The Nazis ^{are learning some of them already, to their sorrow; and} will learn about them in due time by land and ^{more} by sea and by air -- from all points of the compass.

~~I am certain that~~ ^{in the Kremlin} the military agreements reached will hasten the day of the final collapse of both Germany and Japan.

Our air forces are now engaged in bombing and strafing the dumps the ^{northwestern} of ^{Germany} ^{and from} reserves from Central and Western Germany and from Italy to the Eastern Front.

can stop it. ~~On that score, the United Nations stand together as one.~~

We tried to make it clear again at Yalta as in other statements, -- and I now again repeat it -- that unconditional surrender does not mean the destruction or enslavement of the German people. ~~It is only~~ ^{The} Nazi leaders ~~who~~ seek to convince the people of Germany that it does mean slavery and destruction -- for that is ^{for} ~~the only reason~~ they ~~have~~ to hope to defraud their people to further useless resistance to save themselves. ~~[So long as they continue successfully to deceive their people, so long must the ravages of war be inflicted upon Germany until surrender does come.]~~

We did, however, also make clear at this conference just what unconditional surrender does mean for Germany.

It means the control of Germany by a ^{Council} ~~Commission~~ composed of representatives of Britain, Russia and the United States -- and France if she desires to join. Each of these nations will occupy and control a separate zone of Germany -- and the administration of the zones will be co-ordinated in Berlin by

(8)

the United Nations Control ~~Commission~~ *Council*

Unconditional surrender also means the end of Nazism, and of the Nazi party, and of its barbaric laws and institutions.

It means the termination of all Nazi influence, of all militaristic influence, in the public, private and cultural life of Germany.

It means the just punishment of Nazi war criminals.

It means the complete disarmament of Germany; the destruction of its military equipment; the dispersal of all of its armed forces; the permanent dismemberment of the German General Staff which has so often shattered the peace of the world.

It means the end for all time of German production of new military armament, and the control of German industry to the extent necessary to see that it is not again used, openly or surreptitiously, to manufacture new weapons of war.

It means that Germany will have to make reparations in kind for the damage which it has done to the innocent and peaceful victims of its aggression.

→ In other words, our objective in handling Germany is

Insert 6

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p. 8

By providing for reparations in kind -- in plants, and machinery and rolling stock and raw materials -- we shall avoid the mistake of the last war when reparations were demanded in the form of money which Germany could ^{never} ~~not~~ pay. We then made the mistake of lending money to Germany which was never repaid, ^{if no.} ~~A~~ We shall not make these mistakes this time. We shall not want the German people to starve or become a burden on the rest of the world. But by reparations ^{in kind,} ~~A~~ those nations which have borne the main burden of the war and contributed most to victory will be paid, at least in part, for the ruthless damage done by the Nazis. And, ^{also} ~~besides~~ reparations in kind ^A will be another way to bring about the military disarmament of Germany.

During my stay at Yalta I saw the kind of reckless, senseless fury and destruction which comes out of German militarism. Yalta was formerly a resort for the Czars and for the aristocracy of Russia. Recently, however, and until the attack upon the Soviet Union by Hitler, it had been used as a rest and recreation resort by Russian peasants and workers. It had no military significance of any kind.

But when the Red Army forced the Nazis out of the Crimea, every home in Yalta was looted by the Nazis and then completely destroyed -- house by house. Helpless and innocent civilians were tortured and killed.

While the palaces were left standing, nearly every stick of furniture and furnishings was stolen and taken away. There was nothing left but ruin and desolation.

That was the imprint of German militarism upon a peaceful, quiet village.

I had read about Warsaw and Lidice and Rotterdam and Coventry -- but I saw Yalta! And I know that there is not enough room on earth for both German militarism and Christian decency.

INSERT 4

Although my travels took me as far as 7,000 miles from the White House, the modern miracle of rapid communication by radio and by air kept me in constant, quick communication with affairs in Washington. The Congress specifically knows that I have been able to communicate with it with ease and despatch. The Army and Navy and Air Transport Command have cooperated with exceptional efficiency in carrying out this fine job of communications.

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for lasting world peace.

On my voyage to Yalta and back, [which I have just completed,] I personally visited places over which the tides of this war had passed and where destruction was still going on. I have spoken with officers and men who had been engaged in the continuous, costly struggles which gained control of the Mediterranean Sea, kept open our lines of supply -- struggles which have had a major part in saving our civilization. I have seen at first hand the cost in lives and property and in human progress in many of these battles. I have talked with civilians of countries half way around the globe who have come to know -- and hate -- war in any form. And from the lips of men and women and children of all the civilized countries of the world there arise prayers that what they have suffered shall not happen again.

The conference at Yalta has taken the first steps to see to it that these things shall not happen again.

They were only the first steps. But they were important steps -- because they were based on the avowed firm conviction

~~_____~~

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that the survival of the world and of all civilization depends on the success of this new enterprise.

The foundations for the work which was accomplished at Yalta were laid at Dumbarton Oaks. However, there was one most important item at Dumbarton Oaks on which agreement was not reached -- the method of voting in the Council of the Organization.

Insert (5)

~~(Here discuss the voting question, the disagreements, and the solution reached).~~

Before announcing the conclusion reached we decided to consult the two other major powers now fighting against Japanese and Nazi aggression -- our allies China and France. These nations are expected to become permanent members of the Council, along with the three participants in the Yalta conference. We immediately consulted with the heads of these two governments and have now been assured that they are in agreement with us. (?)

Together with them, we have called a conference of all the United Nations of the world to meet in San Francisco.

-4-

On this question of voting procedure there was much frank and friendly discussion at Yalta; and at the end the compromise proposal suggested by the Americans was adopted.

Briefly that proposal was:

(1) That each member of the Security Council should have one vote. You will remember that the Security Council is to consist of five permanent members -- the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, China, and France -- and six other rotating members to be elected for a term of two years each by the General Assembly.

(2) All procedural matters are to be determined by a vote of seven of these eleven members.

(3) All other matters are to be determined by a vote of seven of the eleven members, ^{however} including the votes of all of the permanent members.

(4) On questions of investigating ^{international} disputes ~~or international~~ ~~frictions~~ or promoting peaceful settlement of disputes or the reference of disputes by the Security Council to regional agencies for settlement, a party to a dispute even though it be one of the permanent members is not to have a vote. The reason for this is that in such a quasi-judicial proceeding it is inappropriate for a

block the hearing of a dispute, but any international action will require the unity of the ^{big} Great Powers.

The conclusions reached at the Crimean Conference with respect to voting in the Security Council represent a fair and efficient compromise between conflicting points of view. They are founded in justice and will promote international cooperation in the maintenance of peace. I trust that the Conference at San Francisco will adopt them and that the Senate of the United States will finally approve them.

(Shall we discuss the voting in the General Assembly -- the 3, 3 and 5, proposal?)

(12)

There, we hope and confidently expect to execute a definite charter of organization under which the peace of the world will be preserved and the forces of militarism and aggression permanently outlawed.

I am well aware of the constitutional fact -- as are all the United Nations -- that this charter will have to be approved by two-thirds of the Senate of the United States.

P The Senate of the United States, through its appropriate representatives, has been kept advised continuously of the program and intentions of this government in the creation of the security organization and in the voting procedures which this government has proposed.

The Senate had its representatives at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference and will have its representatives at the San Francisco Conference. It will have had a large hand in framing the charter -- as will the appropriate members of the House of Representatives. ^{The} These Congressional delegates to ~~this~~ ^{the San} ~~Francisco~~ ^{Conference} ^{will} consist of an equal number of members of both political parties. In addition, I have appointed other permanent

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nations. It can not be a structure of complete perfection at first -- any more than was our own Constitution.

But it can be a peace, -- and it will be a peace -- based on the sound and just principles of the Atlantic Charter -- on the conception of the dignity of the human soul -- on the guarantees of tolerance and freedom of religious worship.

the Allies
As ~~we~~ have marched to military victory *they* we have liberated from the Nazi conquerer nations and peoples whose liberties have been crushed for four years, whose economy has been robbed and reduced to ruin by the Nazi despoilers. *These liberated nations* ~~They~~ now look to the United Nations, their liberators, for help and encouragement in the re-establishment of law and order, of government and commerce, of the normal processes of life.

~~2-14~~

endanger the peace of the world.

We met ^{in the Crimea} ~~at London~~ determined to settle this matter of the liberated areas. I am happy to report to the Congress that we did arrive at a settlement -- a unanimous settlement.

The three most powerful nations have agreed that the political and economic problems of any area liberated from the Nazi conquest or any former Axis satellite are a joint responsibility of all three governments. Any idea of special spheres of influence or special regions of leadership has been discarded. Instead, the three nations will join together during the temporary period of instability after hostilities cease to help the people of any liberated area or of any former satellite state to solve their own problems through firmly established democratic processes.

Our ultimate aim is that set forth in the principles of the Atlantic Charter -- to give all the peoples of Europe an opportunity, in an atmosphere of law and order, to choose the form of government under which they will live and to bring about the restoration of their sovereign rights and ~~their~~ self-government.

To ^{accomplish this aim} ~~do this~~, however, will no longer be the responsibility of any single nation. It will be the responsibility of all of us to work out jointly and in full co-operation and consultation with each other.

In carrying out that joint responsibility we shall jointly assist these people, wherever we think it necessary, to restore internal order and peace, and to carry out emergency measures for the relief of distress. ^P We shall also jointly assist in setting up interim governing authorities until such time as free elections can insure a government fully responsive to the will of the people themselves. ^{And W} We shall see to it that these interim authorities are as representative as possible of all democratic elements in the population, and that they are themselves pledged to the earliest possible holding of free elections.

And we shall all co-operate to the end that these elections are actually held and that they are untrammelled and free.

Of course if any of the matters involved are of direct concern to other of the United Nations or to any provisional government, the three major powers will consult with them before taking definite action.

That is the responsibility we have jointly assumed. It is a responsibility which carries out the faith expressed in the Atlantic Charter and in the United Nations Declaration. It is a responsibility which no strong, peace-loving nation can shirk, if she would do her share in preventing future wars in which she will have to join.

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nor will Russia or Great Britain. ~~As I have said before,~~ ^{We} shall
not have perfection or ideal solutions to complicated ^{international} ~~internal~~
problems, even though we are determined continuously to strive
toward the ideal. But I am sure that -- under the agreements
reached at Yalta -- we shall have a more stable political Europe
than ^{ever} ~~was~~ before.

Point 2 >

One outstanding example of joint action by the three major
allies was the solution reached on Poland. The whole Polish
question was a potential source of trouble in post-war Europe, and
we came to the conference determined to settle it. We did.

The objective in Poland was to create a strong, independent,
and prosperous nation with a government ultimately to be selected
by the Polish people themselves. To try to force either of the pro-
visional governments -- the Warsaw government or the London
government -- on the Polish people would have produced civil strife
which would not only have delayed the creation of a strong Poland,
but would also have created havoc in ^{back} ~~behind~~ of the lines of the great
Russian offensive which ^{has} ~~was~~ pushed through Poland into Germany itself.

It was necessary to create a new government much more repre-
sentative than it had been possible to create while Poland was
enslaved, -- ~~with only some of her leaders abroad and many others at~~

home. Accordingly steps were taken at Yalta to reorganize the existing Provisional Government in Poland on a broader democratic basis -- including democratic leaders in Poland itself and ^{those} abroad. This new, reorganized government will be recognized by all of us as the temporary government of Poland.

~~Moscow~~ In conformity with the general principles for all Provisional Governments, the ^{new} Polish Provisional Government will be pledged to ~~see to it that~~ ^{holding a free election} as soon as possible ~~a free election~~ ^{to} will ~~be held~~ on the basis of universal suffrage and a secret ballot. This ~~election~~ should guarantee a truly democratic government [^] for all democratic, anti-Nazi parties will be given the right to nominate candidates and take part in the election.

^{The decision} With respect to the political boundaries of Poland, ~~I must~~ [^] confess in all due candor that I am not completely happy. ~~Here too there~~ was a compromise, under which the Poles are receiving reimbursement in territory in the North and West in exchange for what they lose by the Curzon Line. The exact limits of the Western boundary have not yet been fixed, for there will be digressions from the Curzon Line to which, in general, Russia has agreed. They will await the final Peace Conference.

I am convinced that the agreement on Poland is the most hopeful

Point 7

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agreement possible under the circumstances for a free, independent and prosperous Polish State.

There was no disagreement among the Powers at Yalta with respect to France. The objection there is the same as with all liberated areas -- to build ^{up} strong, independent and free France with a government of its own choosing.

The Conference
~~This~~ was a meeting of the three major military powers, and it was not thought appropriate by any of the three participants that any nation which was not equipped with equal military power be included. *That is why France was not a member of the Conference.*

However, France has been invited to accept a zone of control in Germany and to participate as a fourth member of the Control ^{Council} ~~Commission~~ of Germany.

She has been invited ^{you as a} to sponsor the International Conference at San Francisco.

She will be a permanent member of the International Security Council together with the other four major powers.

We have asked that France be associated with us in our joint responsibility over the liberated areas of Europe.

We are all confident that under a democratic government of its own choosing France will resume her place as a great power of

22
~~the world~~

Quite naturally, the Yalta Conference concerned itself with ^{only} the European war and with the political problems of Europe.

But let not the Japanese war lords imagine that they were overlooked. At Malta, the Prime Minister and I, and the General Staffs of our respective Armies and Navies went over the problems of the Pacific War without Russia, who is not at war with Japan.

^{Insult} ^(B)
Our military leaders are in complete agreement as to the next blows in the Pacific.

Tokyo has only just begun to feel the brunt of our air and sea power. The homeland of Japan is doomed to ^{destruction} ~~defeat~~ -- just as inevitably as Germany. The end is not yet in sight, but the Japanese militarists know that continued resistance is useless and that it will only bring greater ruin to the Japanese people.

It is still a tough, long road to Tokyo. The defeat of Germany does not mean the end of the war against Japan. On the contrary, America must be prepared for a long and costly struggle to the ultimate victory which will surely be ours. This is no time to let down -- or to quit the job. If the American people want to end the Pacific war more quickly and save American lives, they must bend every energy and use every resource of material and man power

Insert (B) p. 22

And after I left the Crimea the
Prime Minister and I had further
talks at Alexandria about the Pacific
War. ~~The~~ Great Britain is determined to
throw all of her great might into the
struggle against Japan. ~~as the~~
~~victory in the Far East will be achieved~~
~~soon~~ ^{ultimately} ~~quickly~~

as soon as the Nazis surrender

to produce an overwhelming force with which to crush the Japs.

P I sincerely hope, therefore, that the Congress will adopt ~~some~~
~~kind-of~~ legislation without further delay which will insure enough
manpower to do the mighty job which remains to be done in the
Japanese war -- as well as in the German war.

Frank

→ On my voyage, I ~~have~~ had the benefit of seeing our Army and
Navy and Air Force at work. I have seen the results of their
combat activities. I have talked with our own officers and our
Allied officers about the fighting qualities of the sons of our
American homes. ^{P All} ~~Any~~ American would feel as proud of our armed
forces as I was, if ^{they} ~~he~~ could see and hear what I did. ^P Against the
most efficient and dangerous, and the best-equipped and trained
professional soldiers and sailors and airmen of all history, our
men stood and fought and won. On land ^{and} ~~and~~ sea, and in the air, they
slugged it out at close range and at ^{dist} ~~far~~ range -- and ^{our men,} ~~these citizens~~
who had ^{only} ~~just~~ recently become soldiers and sailors, have established
a record which future generations will look back upon with admira-
tion and respect -- and gratitude.

This is our chance to see to it that the sons and grandsons
of these gallant fighting men do not have to do it all over again
in a few years.

INSERT 8 / 73

In addition to what the official communique ^{of the Conference} has stated, there were many discussions and exchanges of views with respect to other problems in the Balkans. But no definite conclusions were reached, and they were left open for further discussions.

On the way home from the Crimea, I made arrangements to meet personally King Farouk of Egypt, Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia, King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. Our conversations had to do with matters of common interest such as trade and commerce, ~~but~~ ^{They} they will be of ^{great} mutual advantage ~~chiefly~~ because ^{They} it gave us an opportunity of meeting and talking with each other face to face, and ^{of} exchanging views in personal conversation instead of formal correspondence.

and with respect to dependent ~~and~~ areas
and international trusteeships

File 5,444

SECOND DRAFT

I have just returned from a long journey and from many conferences with our Allies on subjects which for generations to come will affect the lives of Americans and of people all over the world.

Although my travels took me as far as seven thousand miles from the White House, the modern miracle of rapid communication by radio and by air kept me in constant, quick communication with affairs in Washington. The Congress knows that I have been able to communicate with it with ease and despatch. The Army and Navy and Air Transport Command have cooperated with exceptional efficiency in carrying out this fine job of communications.

I desire to report to the Congress of the United States on these conferences — for the Congress is vitally interested in them and will sooner or later be called upon to pass judgment upon the results of many of them.

The purposes of the conferences were: first, to bring defeat to Germany and Japan with the greatest possible speed and with the smallest possible loss of Allied men; and secondly, to lay the foundations for an international accord which will bring order and security after the chaos of war, and which will give some assurance of lasting peace among the nations of the world.

I am happy to report that progress -- very substantial progress -- was made toward both of these objectives.

More than a year has elapsed since the first meeting of the government leaders of the three major Allies at Teheran.

At Teheran there were long-range strategic plans laid by the Chiefs of Staff of the three nations -- plans which have now been carried out in a vast attack upon Germany from the East and West and South. Among the civilian leaders at Teheran there were exchanges of views and expressions of opinion and a general understanding and appreciation of the opinions of each other. But no political commitments or agreements were made -- and none were attempted.

At the Crimean Conference, however, the time had come for getting down to specific cases -- both military and political. As you know from the official communique issued by the Conference, many specific problems were considered in detail and practical agreement reached among us as to many of them.

There was on all sides at this Conference an enthusiastic effort to reach agreement -- a realistic appreciation of the imperative necessity of arriving at a common understanding. Since Teheran there had developed among us -- and especially among the Russians -- a greater facility in negotiating with each other, which augurs well for the peace of the world. Month by month, there have been increased understanding and growing accord among the three great Allies.

I have never for an instant wavered in my belief that an agreement to insure world peace and security could be reached.

The lapse of time between Teheran and Yalta without conferences of civilian representatives of the three major powers has proved to be too long. During this long period, problems were permitted to become too acute in places like Poland and Greece and Italy and Yugo-Slavia.

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Frequent personal meetings are the best means of avoiding differences between nations or even possibilities of misunderstanding. Therefore we decided at this conference that even if circumstances made it impossible for the heads of the three Governments to meet more frequently in the future, we would make sure that there should be a more frequent exchange of views. Therefore we arranged for periodic meetings of the foreign secretaries of Great Britain, Russia and the United States every three or four months. I feel very confident that with these arrangements there will be no recurrence of the incidents which were so disturbing this winter to the friends of world-wide collaboration.

When we met at Yalta, there were several pressing world problems which called for discussion and quick solution.

First, there was the objective of final, complete and unmistakable military victory over Germany.

Second, there were the problems of the occupation and control of Germany after victory, the complete destruction of her military power, and the assurance that neither Nazian nor Prussian militarism could again be revived to threaten the peace and civilization of the world.

Third, there was the settlement of the few differences which remained among us after the Dumbarton Oaks Conferences with respect to the International Security Organization.

Fourth, there were the general political and economic problems common to all of the areas which had been or would be liberated from the Nazi yoke.

Fifth, there were the special problems created by Poland and Yugo-Slavia.

I am happy to be able to report to you and to the American people that on all of these points, after the most thorough and frank discussion, unanimous and complete agreement has been reached.

We came to that conference -- all of us -- determined that agreement must be reached and could be reached. That determination was fulfilled.

It was Hitler's hope that we would not agree -- that some slight crack might appear in the solid wall of Allied unity which would give him and his fellow gangsters one last hope of escaping their just doom. It is not only his hope still -- it is the objective for which his propaganda machine has been devoting all of its efforts.

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Hitler has failed in this attempt -- as he has failed in all of his aims at world conquest.

Never before have the major Allies been more closely united -- not only in their war aims but in their peace aims. And they are determined to continue to be united together and with all peace-loving nations so that lasting world peace will become a reality.

The military leaders of our three governments, in continuous, joint conference at Yalta, have completed their joint plans for the final knock-out blows to the enemy in Europe.

The Soviet, British and United States Chiefs of Staff held daily meetings with each other, and conferred frequently with Marshal Stalin, with Prime Minister Churchill and with me, on the problem of coordinating the strategical and tactical efforts of the Allied forces. The objective was to bring all our available power to bear against Germany and against what remains of enemy Italy, in order to force a collapse of the Axis military power in Europe at the earliest possible date.

At Teheran the Russian Front was so far removed from the American and British Fronts that while certain long-range strategic cooperation was possible, there could be no tactical, day-by-day coordination. The situation is different today, and a closer tactical liaison has become possible.

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Details of all these plans and arrangements are military secrets. The Nazis are learning some of them already, to their sorrow; and will learn more about them in due time.

The military agreements reached in the Crimea will hasten the day of the final collapse of both Germany and Japan.

What the German people, driven by their Nazi leaders, have endured and suffered in the last few months will be doubled and trebled in the months to come. There will be no respite for them. We will not desist for one moment until the day of the unconditional surrender of the German Army.

They know -- and the German Army now knows -- that defeat is inevitable. It is only by surrender that death and destruction in Germany can be stopped -- and nothing less than surrender can stop it.

We tried to make it clear again at Yalta as in other statements, -- and I now again repeat it -- that unconditional surrender does not mean the destruction or enslavement of the German people. The Nazi leaders seek to convince the people of Germany that it does mean slavery and destruction -- for that is how they hope to defraud their people to further useless resistance in order to try to save their own skins.

We did, however, also make it clear at this conference just what unconditional surrender does mean for Germany.

It means the temporary control of Germany by a Council composed of representatives of Britain, Russia and the United States -- and France, if she desires to join. Each of these nations will occupy and control a separate zone of Germany -- and the administration of the four zones will be coordinated in Berlin by a United Nations Control Council composed of representatives of the four nations.

Unconditional surrender also means the end of Nazism, and of the Nazi party -- and all of its barbaric laws and institutions.

It means the termination of all Nazi influence and of all militaristic influence in the public, private and cultural life of Germany.

It means the just and speedy punishment of Nazi war criminals.

It means the complete disarmament of Germany; the destruction of its military equipment; the dispersal of all of its armed forces; the permanent dismemberment of the German General Staff which has so often shattered the peace of the world.

It means the end for all time of German production of new military armament, and the control of German industry to the extent necessary to see that it is not again used, openly or surreptitiously, to manufacture new weapons of war.

It means that Germany will have to make reparations in kind for the damage which it has done to the innocent and peaceful victims of its aggression.

By providing for reparations in kind -- in plants, and machinery and rolling stock and raw materials -- we shall avoid the mistake of the last war when reparations were demanded by the Allies in the form of money which Germany could never pay. We then made the further mistake of lending money to Germany which was never repaid to us. We shall not make these mistakes again this time.

We do not want the German people to starve, or to become a burden on the rest of the world. But by reparations in kind, those nations which have borne the main burden of the war and contributed most to victory will be paid, at least in part, for the ruthless damage done by the Nazis.

And, reparations in kind will also be another way to bring about the military disarmament of Germany.

In other words, our objective in handling Germany is simple — it is to secure the peace of the future world. Too much and too sad experience has shown that that objective is impossible if Germany is allowed to retain any ability to wage aggressive war.

Until militarism is finally crushed in Germany there can be no decency in Germany and no hope of lasting peace in the world. And the people of the United Nations will see to it that German militarism is crushed — never to rise again.

That objective will not harm the German people. On the contrary, it will protect them from a repetition of the fate which the General Staff and Kaiserism imposed on them before, and which Hitlerism is now imposing upon them again a hundred-fold. It will be removing a cancer from the German body, which for centuries has produced only misery and pain for the whole world.

During my stay at Yalta I saw the kind of reckless, senseless fury and destruction which comes out of German militarism. Before the last war, Yalta was a resort for the Czar and for the aristocracy of Russia. Recently, however, and until the attack upon the Soviet Union by Hitler, the palaces of Yalta had been used as a rest and recreation center by Russian workers. Yalta had no military significance of any kind, and no defenses.

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But when the Red Army forced the Nazis out of the Crimea, all the palaces were looted by the Nazis and then all but three were completely destroyed. In addition many of the small houses were demolished. Nearly every stick of furniture and furnishings was stolen and taken away. Helpless and innocent civilians were tortured and killed.

There was little left in Yalta but ruin and desolation.

Sevastopol was also a scene of utter destruction -- with less than a dozen buildings left standing in the whole city. I saw, but simply cannot describe, the human suffering and misery there. There may have been some semblance of excuse for some of the ruin in Sevastopol, as an important sea port -- but at Yalta there were the same wanton destruction and the same human suffering -- but no possible reason for it except sheer Nazi bestiality.

That was the imprint of German militarism upon a peaceful, quiet village.

I had read about Warsaw and Lidice and Rotterdam and Coventry -- but I saw Sevastopol and Yalta! And I know that there is not enough room on earth for both German militarism and Christian decency.

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No great nation can now exercise its veto powers to block the hearing of a dispute, but any international action to maintain peace will require the unity of the five great powers.

The conclusions reached at the Crimean Conference with respect to voting in the Security Council represent a fair and efficient compromise between conflicting points of view. They are founded in justice and will promote international cooperation in the maintenance of peace. I trust that the Conference at San Francisco will adopt them and that the Senate of the United States will finally approve them.

(Shall we discuss the voting in the General Assembly -- the 3, 3 and 5, proposal?)

Together with China and France, the participants in the Crimean Conference have called a conference of all the United Nations of the world to meet in San Francisco on April 25, 1945. There, we hope and confidently expect to execute a definite charter of organization under which the peace of the world will be preserved and the forces of aggression permanently outlawed.

I am well aware of the constitutional fact -- as are all the United Nations -- that this charter will have to be approved by two-thirds of the Senate of the United States.

The Senate of the United States, through its appropriate representatives, has been kept advised continuously of the intentions of this government in the creation of the security organization.

It is fruitless to try to place the blame for this situation on one nation or another. It is the kind of development which is almost inevitable unless the major powers of the world continue without interruption to work together and assume joint responsibility for the solution of any problems which may arise in the future to endanger the peace of the world.

We met in the Crimea, determined to settle this matter of liberated areas. I am happy to report to the Congress that we did arrive at a settlement -- a unanimous settlement.

The three most powerful nations have agreed that the political and economic problems of any area liberated from the Nazi conquest, or of any former Axis satellite, are a joint responsibility of all three governments. Any ideas of special spheres of influence or special regions of leadership have been discarded. Instead, the three nations will join together during the temporary period of instability after hostilities to help the people of any liberated area or of any former satellite state to solve their own problems through finally established democratic processes.

Our ultimate aim is that set forth in the principles of the Atlantic Charter -- to give all the peoples of Europe an opportunity, in an atmosphere of law and order, to choose the form of government under which they will live and to bring about the restoration of their own sovereign rights and self-government.

We shall also jointly assist in setting up interim governing authorities until such time as free elections can insure a government fully responsive to the will of the people themselves.

We shall see to it that these interim authorities are as representative as possible of all democratic elements in the population, and that they are themselves pledged to the earliest possible holding of free elections.

And we shall jointly see that these elections are actually held -- and that they are untrammelled and free.

It is a responsibility which no strong, peace-loving nation can shirk, if she would do her share in preventing future world wars.

Responsibility for political conditions thousands of miles overseas can no longer be avoided by this great nation. The United States now exerts a vast influence in the cause of peace throughout all the world. It will continue to exert that influence only if it is willing to continue to share in the responsibility for keeping the peace.

The conference at Crimea recognized that the political and economic problems which will follow the war in Europe are Allied problems as much as military victories are — and that they must be handled as Allied problems and not as the problem of one ally alone.

Final decisions in these areas are going to be made jointly; and therefore they will often be a result of give-and-take compromise. The United States will not always have its way 100% — nor will Russia or Great Britain. We shall not have perfection or ideal solutions to complicated international problems, even though we are determined continuously to strive toward the ideal. But I am sure that — under the agreements reached at Yalta — we shall have a more stable political Europe than ever before.

Of course, once there has been a free expression of the peoples' will in any country, our immediate responsibility ends — with the exception only

of such action as will be agreed upon in the International Security Organization.

The United Nations must soon begin to help these liberated areas to reconstruct their economy so that they are ready to resume their places in the world. The Nazi war machine has stripped them of raw materials and machine tools and trucks and locomotives. They have left their industry stagnant and much of their agriculture unproductive. To start the wheels running again is not a mere matter of relief. It is a matter of making these countries again self-supporting.

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on a broader democratic basis, so as to include democratic leaders now in Poland and those abroad. This new, reorganized government will be recognized by all of us as the temporary government of Poland.

In conformity with the general principles for all Provisional Governments, however, the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity will be pledged to holding a free election as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and a secret ballot. This should guarantee a truly democratic and representative government -- for all democratic, anti-Nazi parties will be given the right to nominate candidates and take part in the election.

The decision with respect to the political boundaries of Poland was a compromise, under which the Poles are receiving reimbursement in territory in the North and West in exchange for what they lose by the Curzon Line. The limits of the Western boundary have not yet been fixed. They will await the final Peace Conference.

Throughout history, Poland has been the corridor through which attacks on Russia have been made. Twice in this generation, Germany has struck at Russia through this corridor. The reason has been that Poland has been a weak military nation. We all believe that a strong and independent Poland is necessary to European security and world peace. It is a matter of life and death to the Soviet Union. After the terrible burdens which Russia has borne in this war, the Curzon Line was a decision of necessity.

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Quite naturally, the Yalta Conference concerned itself only with the European war and with the political problems of Europe.

But let not the Japanese war lords imagine that they were overlooked. At Malta, the Prime Minister and I, and the General Staffs of our respective Armies and Navies went over the problems of the Pacific War without Russia, which is not presently at war with Japan.

And after I left the Crimea, the Prime Minister and I had further talks at Alexandria about the Pacific War. Great Britain is determined to throw all of her great might into the struggle against Japan as soon as the Nazis surrender.

It is still a tough, long road to Tokyo. Tokyo has only just begun to feel the brunt of our air and sea power. The defeat of Germany does not mean the end of the war against Japan. On the contrary, America must be prepared for a long and costly struggle to the ultimate victory which will surely be ours. This is no time to let down -- or to quit the job. If the American people want to end the Pacific war more quickly and save American lives, they must bend every energy and use every resource of material and manpower to produce an overwhelming force with which to crush the Japs.

The ultimate and complete victory against Japan is of equal importance with the defeat of Germany -- if our plans for world peace are to succeed.

I sincerely hope, therefore, that the Congress will adopt legislation without further delay which will insure enough manpower to do the mighty job which remains to be done in the Japanese war -- as well as in the German war.

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In addition to what the official communique of the Conference has stated, there were many discussion and exchanges of views with respect to other problems in the Balkans, and with respect to dependent areas and international trusteeships. But no definite conclusions were reached, and they were left open for further discussions.

On the way home from the Crimea, I made arrangements to meet personally King Farouk of Egypt, Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia, and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. Our conversations had to do with matters of common interest such as trade and commerce. They will be of great mutual advantage because they gave us an opportunity of meeting and talking with each other face to face, and of exchanging views in personal conversation instead of formal correspondence.

On my voyage, I had the benefit of seeing our Army and Navy and Air Force at work. I have seen the results of their combat activities. I have talked with our own officers and our Allied officers about the fighting qualities of the sons of our American homes.

All Americans would feel as proud of our armed forces as I am, if they could see and hear what I did.

Against the most efficient and dangerous, and the best-equipped professional soldiers and sailors and airmen of all history, our men stood and fought and won. On land, on sea, and in the air, they have slugged it out at close range and at

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distant range — and our men, who had only recently become soldiers and sailors, have established a record which future generations will look back upon with admiration and respect — and gratitude.

This is our chance to see to it that the sons and grandsons of these gallant fighting men do not have to do it all over again in a few years.

The Conference in the Crimea was a turning point in American history. There will soon be presented to the Senate of the United States and to the American people a great decision which will determine the fate of the United States — and of the world — for centuries.

There can be no middle ground here. We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict.

Twenty-five years ago, American fighting men looked to the statesmen of the world to finish the work of peace for which they fought and suffered. We failed them then. We cannot fail them again, and expect the world to survive again.

The Crimean Conference was a successful effort by the three leading nations to find a common ground for peace. It spells the end of the system of unilateral action and exclusive alliances and spheres of influence and all the other expedients which have been tried for centuries — and have failed.

We propose to substitute for all these a universal organization in which all peace-loving nations will finally have a chance to join.

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I am confident that the Congress and the American people will accept the results of this Conference as the beginnings of a permanent structure of peace upon which we can begin to build a better world.

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Total- 4946

THIRD DRAFT

I have just returned from a long journey and from many conferences with our Allies on subjects which for generations to come will affect the lives of Americans and of people all over the world.

I am happy to inform you that these conferences have done much ~~to provide~~
to provide
for a foreseeable period of time -- ~~a~~ world of peace.

Although my travels took me as far as seven thousand miles from the White House, the modern miracle of rapid communication by radio and by air kept me ~~in~~
informed constantly of everything ~~in the United States, and~~
~~constant, quick communication with affairs in Washington -- except only where~~
radio silence was necessary for security purposes. *I could continuously send messages to the White House.*

I ~~desire to~~ report to the Congress of the United States on these conferences --
now make this
for the Congress is vitally interested in them, and will sooner or later be called upon to pass judgment upon the results of many of them.

The purposes of the conferences were: first, to bring defeat to Germany ~~and Japan~~ with the greatest possible speed and with the smallest possible loss of Allied men; and secondly, to ~~lay the foundation for~~ *continue to build* an international accord which will bring order and security after the chaos of war, and which will give some assurance of lasting peace among the nations of the world.

have
I am ~~happy~~ to report that progress -- very substantial progress -- was made toward both of these objectives.

At Teheran, over a year ago, there were long-range strategic plans laid by the Chiefs of Staff of the three most powerful nations -- plans which have now

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been carried out in a vast attack upon Germany from the East and West and South. Among the civilian leaders at Teheran there were exchanges of views and expressions of opinion. But no political agreements were made — and none were attempted.

At the Crimean Conference, however, the time had come for getting down to specific cases ~~both military and political~~ in the political field.

There was on all sides at this Conference an enthusiastic effort to reach agreement. Since Teheran there had developed ^{all of} ~~among us~~ ~~and especially with the Russians~~ — a greater facility in negotiating with each other, which augurs well for the peace of the world.

I have never for an instant wavered in my belief that an agreement to insure world peace and security ^{can} ~~could~~ be reached.

The lapse of time between Teheran and Yalta without conferences of civilian representatives of the three major powers has ^{14 months} proved to be too long. During this ^{long} period, ^{fresh} problems were permitted to become ~~and~~ acute in places like Poland and Greece and Italy and Yugo-Slavia. ~~and~~

Therefore we decided at this Conference that, even if circumstances made it impossible for the heads of the three ~~governments~~ to meet more frequently in the future, we would make sure that there should be a more frequent ^{official} exchange of views. Accordingly, we arranged for periodic meetings of the foreign secretaries of Great Britain, Russia and the United States ^{at intervals of} ~~every~~ three or four months. I

feel very confident that ^{under this} with ~~these~~ arrangement there will be no recurrence of the incidents which were ^{unfortunate} ~~disturbing~~ this winter ^{definitely to} the friends of world-wide collaboration. ~~to~~

When we met at Yalta, there were several pressing ~~and~~ problems which called for ^{frank} discussion and quick solution.

First, there was the objective of final and complete military victory over Germany.

Second, there were the problems of the occupation and control of Germany after victory, the complete destruction of her military power, and the assurance that neither Nazism nor Prussian militarism could again be revived to threaten the peace and civilization of the world.

Third, there was the settlement of the few differences which remained among us after the Dumbarton Oaks Conference with respect to the International Security Organisation.

Fourth, there were the general political and economic problems common to all of the areas which had been or would be liberated from the Nazi yoke.

Fifth, there were the special problems created by Poland and Yugo-Slavia.

On all of these points, after the most thorough and frank discussion, unanimous and complete agreement has been reached.

We came to that conference -- all of us -- determined that agreement must be reached and could be reached. That determination was fulfilled.

It was Hitler's hope that we would not agree -- that some slight crack might appear in the solid wall of Allied unity which would give him and his fellow gangsters one last hope of escaping their just doom. That is the objective for which his propaganda machine has been working for months.

But Hitler has failed.

Never before have the major Allies been more closely united -- not only in their war aims but in their peace aims. And they are determined to continue to be united with each other -- and with all peace-loving nations -- so that the ideal of lasting world peace will become a reality.

~~The military leaders of our three governments, in continuous, joint conference at Yalta, have~~ completed their ~~joint~~ plans for the final knock-out blows to ~~the enemy in Europe~~ Germany.

The Soviet, British and United States Chiefs of Staff held daily meetings with each other, and conferred frequently with Marshal Stalin, with Prime Minister Churchill and with me, on the problem of coordinating the strategic and tactical efforts of all the Allied forces. They

At the time of the Teheran Conference, the Russian front was so far removed from the American and British fronts that, while certain long-range strategic cooperation was possible, there could be no tactical, day-by-day coordination. *Insert B*

It is apparent *to-day* the situation ~~is different today~~ a closer tactical liaison has become possible -- and, in the Crimean Conference, ~~this~~ has been accomplished.

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Provision was made for close, daily exchange of information between the armies under command of General Eisenhower, those under command of the Soviet marshals on the Eastern front, and our army in Italy -- without the necessity of going through the Chiefs of Staff in Washington and London as in the past.

You have seen ^{one} ~~the~~ result of this exchange of information in the recent bombing by American and English aircraft of points which are directly related to the Russian advance on Berlin.

- in the day-by-day tactics of the war -

From now on, American and British heavy bombers will be used in direct support of the Soviet armies, as well as in support of our own on the Western front.

~~In the day-by-day tactics of the war the Nazis will see our air power in support of Russian troop movements in a way which will bring destruction to German weapons and troops.~~

They are now engaged in bombing and strafing in order to hamper the movement of German reserves and materials from Central and Western Germany and from Italy, ^{with} ~~to~~ the Eastern front.

Arrangements were made for the most effective distribution of all available material and transportation to the places where they can best be used in the combined war effort -- American, ^{British} ~~English~~, and Russian.

Details of all these plans and arrangements are military secrets; but they will hasten the day of the final collapse of ~~both~~ Germany, ~~and Russia~~. The Nazis ^{about} are learning some of them already, to their sorrow; and will learn more about them in due time.

What the German people, driven by their Nazi leaders, have endured and suffered in the last few months will be ^{increased} ~~continued~~ ^{in the months to come.} There will be no respite for them. We will not desist for one moment until [the day of the] unconditional surrender. [of the German Army.] (c)

We ~~tried to make~~ ^{make} it clear again at Yalta, as in other statements -- and I now repeat ~~it~~ -- that unconditional surrender does not mean the destruction or enslavement of the German people. The Nazi leaders seek to convince the people of Germany that it does mean slavery and destruction -- for that is how they hope ^{and} ~~to~~ defraud their people ^{into continued} ~~in their~~ useless resistance, ~~in order to try~~ to save their own skins.

We did, however, ~~also~~ make it clear at this conference just what unconditional surrender does mean for Germany.

It means the temporary control of Germany by Great Britain, Russia and the United States -- and France, if she desires to join. Each of these nations will occupy and control a separate zone of Germany -- and the administration of the four zones will be coordinated in Berlin by a United ~~Nations~~ Control Council composed of representatives of the four nations.

Unconditional surrender also means the end of Nazism, and of the Nazi party -- and all of its barbaric laws and institutions.

It means the termination of all militaristic influence in the public, private and cultural life of Germany.

It means the just and speedy punishment of Nazi war criminals.

It means the complete disarmament of Germany; the destruction of its ~~militarism~~
and its military equipment; the end of its production of armament; the dispersal of
all of its armed forces; the permanent dismemberment of the German General
Staff which has so often shattered the peace of the world.

It means that Germany will have to make reparations in kind for the damage
which it has done to the innocent ~~and powerful~~ victims of its aggression.

By providing for reparations in kind -- in plants, and machinery and
rolling stock and raw materials -- we shall avoid the mistakes of the last war of
demanding
~~when reparations [were demanded by the allies]~~ in the form of money, which
Germany could never pay, *and then making loans to Germany*
~~for then made the further mistake of lending money to~~
~~Germany] which was never repaid.~~

We do not want the German people to starve, or to become a burden on the
rest of the world. ~~[But by reparations in kind, those nations which have borne
the main burden of the war and contributed most to victory will be paid, at
least in part, for the ruthless damage done by the Nazis.]~~

And, reparations in kind will also be another way -- an effective way --
to bring about the military disarmament of Germany.

~~In other words,~~ Our objective in handling Germany is simple -- it is to
secure the peace of the future world. Too much ~~unpleasant~~ experience has shown
that that objective is impossible if Germany is allowed to retain any ability

to wage aggressive war.

That objective will not harm the German people. On the contrary, it will protect them from a repetition of the fate which the General Staff and Kaiserism imposed on them before, and which Hitlerism is now imposing upon them again a hundred-fold. It will be removing a cancer from the German body, which for ^{generations} ~~centuries~~ has produced only misery and pain for the whole world.

During my stay at Yalta I saw the kind of reckless, senseless fury and destruction which comes out of German militarism. Before the last war, Yalta was a resort for the Czars and for the aristocracy of Russia. Recently, however, and until the attack upon the Soviet Union by Hitler, the palaces ^{and villas} of Yalta had been used as a rest and recreation center by Russian workers. Yalta had no military significance of any kind, and no defenses.

But when the Red Army forced the Nazis out of the Crimea, all the ^{villas} ~~palaces~~ were looted by the Nazis, and ^{nearly all} ~~all but these~~ were destroyed. In addition ~~many~~ ^{most} of the small houses were demolished. [Nearly every stick of furniture and furnishings was stolen and taken away. Helpless and innocent civilians were tortured and killed.]

There was little left in Yalta but ruin and desolation.

Sevastopol was also a scene of utter destruction — with less than a dozen buildings left standing in the whole city. I saw, but ^{adequately} ~~simply~~ cannot describe, the human suffering and misery there. There may have been ^a ~~some~~ semblance of

excuse for some of the ruin in Sevastopol, as an important sea port -- but at Yalta there was no possible reason for the wanton destruction and suffering -- except sheer Nazi bestiality.

~~that was the impact of German militarism upon a peaceful quiet village.~~

I had read about Warsaw and Lidice and Rotterdam and Coventry -- but I saw Sevastopol and Yalta! And I know that there is not enough room on earth for both German militarism and Christian decency.

Of equal importance with the military arrangements at ~~Yalta~~ ^{the Crimean Conference} were the agreements reached with respect to the general international organization for lasting world peace.

The foundations had been laid at Dumbarton Oaks. However, there was one most important item at Dumbarton Oaks on which agreement ^{had been} ~~was not~~ ^{reached} -- the method of voting in the Security Council, ~~in the Organization~~.

On this question of voting procedure there was much frank and friendly discussion at Yalta. At the end, a compromise proposal, which had been suggested by the Americans, was adopted. ⁹ The agreement ~~reached~~ on voting procedure has now been made public, and you are familiar with it.

In accepting this American proposal, the strong Powers of the world have shown moral leadership and adherence to fundamental principles of justice.

The effect of this procedure is to permit any nation -- no matter how small -- to take to the Council its dispute with any other nation -- no matter how large. And if such a dispute arises, neither party to the dispute, large or small, will vote in the Council on the question of whether the dispute should be investigated, or whether the Council should recommend procedure for settling it, ^{whether the Council should} or call upon the parties to settle the dispute by means of their own choice, or on ^{any} similar questions. In other words, any nation, large or small, may have its disputes heard, and no powerful nation -- not even a member of the permanent five -- can veto attempts to have it peacefully settled.

However, when the question ^{becomes} ~~is~~ one of action to prevent war, when the Council is no longer engaged in a quasi-judicial function but is performing its

taking

political function, then the permanent members of the council -- the big five -- must all agree as a matter of necessity, for ^{upon them jointly will lie} ~~they bear~~ the principal ~~joint~~ ^{determination} responsibility for action. Any ~~international action~~, therefore, ~~which that power~~ ^{or that an actual threat to peace has occurred} ~~determines that a breach of the peace, or a direct threat to peace exists,~~ or that force or other sanctions should be used to keep the peace, or any ^{determination} ~~agreements~~ to supply armed forces, ^{to prevent war} ~~for keeping the peace~~, must require the concurrence of all the permanent members.

The conclusions reached at the Crimean Conference with respect to voting in the Security Council represent a fair ~~and efficient~~ ^{working} compromise between conflicting points of view. They are founded in justice, and will ^{go far to secure} ~~secure~~ international cooperation in the maintenance of peace.

~~(Shall we discuss the voting in the General Assembly -- the 3, 3 and 5, proposed?)~~

Together with China and France, the participants in the Crimean Conference have called a conference of all the United Nations of the world to meet in San Francisco on April 25, 1945. There, we hope, and confidently expect, to execute a definite charter of organization in accordance with the agreements reached at Yalta -- under which the peace of the world will be preserved and the forces of aggression permanently outlawed.

This time we shall not make the mistake of waiting until the end of the war to set up the machinery of peace. This time, as we fight together to get the war over quickly, we work together to keep it from happening again.

I am well aware of the constitutional fact -- as are all the United Nations -- that this charter will have to be approved by two-thirds of the Senate of the United States, as will ~~some~~ ^{some} of the other arrangements made at ~~Yalta~~ ^{Yalta}.

The Senate of the United States, through its appropriate representatives, has been kept advised continuously of the intentions ^{program} of this government in the creation of the ^{international} security organization.

The Senate had its representatives at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, and will have its representatives at the San Francisco Conference -- as will the House of Representatives. The Congressional delegates to the San Francisco Conference will consist of an equal number of Republican and Democratic members.

~~In addition, I have appointed another prominent member of the Republican Party to represent the United States at San Francisco.~~ The American Delegation is -- in every sense of the word -- bipartisan.

World peace is no party question -- any more than military victory is.

When our Republic was threatened, first by the Nazi clutch for world conquest in 1940, and then by the Japanese treachery of 1941, partisanship and politics were laid aside by nearly every American; and every resource was dedicated to our common safety. The same consecration to the cause of peace will be expected by every American and by every human soul overseas. It is now a matter of the survival of ~~human~~ ^{civilized} life on this earth.

The structure of world peace can not be the work of one man, or one party,

or one nation. It can not be an American peace, or British, or Russian, or French or Chinese peace. It can not be a peace of large nations -- or of small nations. ^{It must rest on the cooperative effort of the whole world.} It can not be a structure of complete perfection at first ~~any more than was our own Constitution~~

But it can be a peace -- and it will be a peace -- based on the sound and just principles of the Atlantic Charter -- on the conception of the dignity of the human ^{being} ~~being~~ -- on the guarantees of tolerance and freedom of religious worship.

Insert ①

As the Allied ^{armies} have marched to military victory, they have liberated ~~countries~~ and peoples whose liberties ^{had} been crushed ^{by the Nazis} for four years, and whose economy had been ~~crushed and~~ reduced to ruin by ~~the~~ Nazi despoilers.

~~But, unfortunately, the Allies had not yet worked out ~~among~~ political plans for the proper administration of these liberated areas until such time as the people of the areas could themselves decide upon the form of their governments.~~

~~As a result~~ ^{in these liberated areas} there have been instances of political confusion and unrest -- as in Greece and Poland and Yugo-Slavia and other places. Worse than that, there actually began to grow up in some of ^{these} ~~these areas~~ vaguely defined ideas of "spheres of influence" ~~all of~~ which were incompatible with the basic principles of international collaboration. If allowed to go unchecked, these developments ^{will} ~~might~~ have planted the seeds of a new war.

It is fruitless to try to place the blame for this situation on ~~any one~~ *particular* nation or another. It is the kind of development which is almost inevitable unless the major powers of the world continue without interruption to work together and assume joint responsibility for the solution of ~~the~~ ^{its} problems which may arise ~~in the future~~ to endanger the peace of the world.

We met in the Crimea, determined to settle this matter of liberated areas. I am happy to report to the Congress that we did arrive at a settlement — a unanimous settlement.

The three most powerful nations have agreed that the political and economic problems of any area liberated from the Nazi conquest, or of any former Axis satellite, are a joint responsibility of all three governments. ~~any ideas of special spheres of influence or special regions of leadership have been discarded.~~ Instead, ~~the three nations~~ ^{They} will join together, during the temporary period of instability after hostilities, to help the people of any liberated area, or of any former satellite state, to solve their own problems through firmly established democratic processes.

~~[We shall also jointly assist in setting up interim governing authorities until such time as free elections can insure a government fully responsive to the will of the people themselves.]~~

~~We shall~~ ^{They will} see to it that ~~these~~ ^{governing} interim authorities are as representative as possible of all democratic elements in the population, and that ~~they are~~ *free elections are held as soon as possible.*

[themselves pledged to the earliest possible holding of free elections.

And we shall jointly see that these elections are actually held — and that they are untrammelled and free.]

Responsibility for political conditions thousands of miles overseas can no longer be avoided by this great nation. The United States now exerts a vast influence in the cause of peace throughout all the world. It will continue to exert that influence, only if it is willing to continue to share in the

responsibility for keeping the peace.

If we would be worthy of the blessings which Providence has showered upon us, let us not shirk that responsibility!

Final decisions in these areas are going to be made jointly; and therefore they will often be a result of give-and-take compromise. The United States will not always have its way 100% — nor will Russia or Great Britain. We shall not always have ~~[perfection or]~~ ideal solutions to complicated international problems, even though we are determined continuously to strive toward the ideal. But I am sure that — under the agreements reached at Yalta — we shall have a more stable political Europe than ever before.

Of course, once there has been a free expression of the peoples' will in any country, our immediate responsibility ends — with the exception only of such action as will be agreed upon in the International Security Organization.

The United Nations ^{also} must soon begin to help these liberated areas ^{adequately} to reconstruct their economy so that they are ready to resume their places in the world. The Nazi war machine has stripped them of raw materials and machine tools and

trucks and locomotives. They have left their industry stagnant and much of their agriculture unproductive.

To start the wheels running again is not a mere matter of relief. It is to the natural interest of all of us to see that these liberated areas are again made self-supporting and productive so that they do not need ^{continued} relief from us.

One outstanding example of joint action by the three major Allies in the liberated areas was the solution reached on Poland. The whole Polish question was a potential source of trouble in post-war Europe, and we came to the conference determined to settle it. We did.

The objective [in Poland] was to create a strong, independent, and prosperous nation, with a government ultimately to be selected by the Polish people themselves. To try to force either of the provisional governments on the Polish people -- the Warsaw government or the London government -- would have produced civil strife. [This would not only have delayed the creation of a strong Poland, but would also have produced havoc in back of the lines of the great Russian offensive which has now pushed through Poland into Germany itself.]

It was necessary to create a new government much more representative than it had been possible to create while Poland was enslaved. Accordingly, steps were taken at Yalta to reorganize the existing Provisional Government in Poland on a broader democratic basis, so as to include democratic leaders now in Poland and those abroad. This new, reorganized government will be recognized by all of us as the temporary government of Poland.

However, the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity will be pledged to holding a free election as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and a secret ballot.

The decision with respect to the political boundaries of Poland was a compromise, under which the Poles are receiving reimbursement in territory in the North and West in exchange for what they lose by the Curson Line. The limits of the Western boundary have not yet been fixed, *but will include a large land line.* They will await the final Peace Conference. *Insert (2).*

Throughout history, Poland has been the corridor through which attacks on Russia have been made. Twice in this generation, Germany has struck at Russia through this corridor. ~~The reason has been that Poland has been a weak military~~ *To ensure European security and world peace,* ~~action. We all believe that a strong and independent Poland is necessary, as~~ ~~European security and world peace.~~

I am convinced that the agreement on Poland is the most hopeful agreement possible under the circumstances for a free, independent and prosperous Polish State.

With respect to France, there was the same objective as with all liberated areas — to build a strong, independent and free France with a government of its own choosing.

Crucial
The Conference was a meeting of the three major military powers, and it was not thought appropriate by any of the three participants that any nation which was not equipped with equal military power be included. That is why France was

not a member of the Conference.

However, France has been invited to accept a zone of control in Germany, and to participate as a fourth member of the ^{Allied} Control Council of Germany.

She has been invited to join as a sponsor of the International Conference at San Francisco.

She will be a permanent member of the International Security Council together with the other four major powers.

We have asked that France be associated with us in our joint responsibility over the liberated areas of Europe.

We are all confident that, under a democratic government of its own choosing, France will resume her place as a great power -- and, as such, ^{she} will be welcomed by all the nations of the world. ^A Agreement was reached on Jugo-Slavia also, as announced in the Communiqué, and is in process of fulfillment. ^{It} Quite naturally, the Yalta Conference concerned itself only with the

European war and with the political problems of Europe -- and not with the Pacific war.

[But let not the Japanese war lords imagine that they were overlooked. At Malta, the Prime Minister and I, and the General Staffs of our respective Armies and Navies went over the problems of the Pacific War without Russia, which is not presently at war with Japan.]

Great Britain is determined to throw all of her great might into the struggle against Japan as soon as the Nazis surrender.]

Insert ③

It is still a tough, long road to Tokyo. The defeat of Germany does not mean the end of the war against Japan. On the contrary, America must be prepared

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for a long and costly struggle. [This is no time to let down -- or to quit the job. If the American people want to end the Pacific war more quickly and save American lives, they must bend every energy and use every resource of material and manpower to produce an overwhelming force with which to crush the Japs.]

The unconditional surrender of Japan is ^{is essential as the} ~~of equal importance with the~~ defeat of Germany -- if our plans for world peace are to succeed. For Japanese militarism must be wiped out as thoroughly as German militarism.

In addition to what the official communique of the Conference has stated, ^{Crimea} there were many discussions and exchanges of views with respect to other problems in the Balkans, and with respect to dependent areas and international trusteeships. But no definite conclusions were reached, and they were left open for further discussions.

On the way home from the Crimea, I made arrangements to meet personally King Farouk of Egypt, Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia, and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. Our conversations had to do with matters of common interest such as trade and commerce. They will be of great mutual advantage because they gave us an opportunity of meeting and talking face to face, and of exchanging views in personal conversation instead of formal correspondence.

On my voyage, I had the benefit of seeing our Army and Navy and Air Force ^{as they have done so} at work. ~~I have seen the results of their combat activities.~~ I have talked with our own officers and our Allied officers about the fighting qualities of the sons of our American homes.

No 5

All Americans would feel as proud of our armed forces as I am, if they could see and hear what I did.

Against the most efficient ~~and dangerous~~, and the best equipped professional soldiers and sailors and airmen of all history, our men stood and fought and won. On land, on sea, and in the air, they have slugged it out at close range ~~and at distant range~~ -- and have established a record which future generations will look back upon with admiration and respect -- and gratitude.

This is our chance to see to it that the sons and grandsons of these gallant fighting men do not have to do it all over again in a few years.

The Conference in the Crimea was a turning point in American history. There will soon be presented to the Senate of the United States and to the American people a great decision which will determine the fate of the United States -- and of the world -- for centuries.

There can be no middle ground here. We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration, or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict. (Insert 4)

Twenty-five years ago, American fighting men looked to the statesmen of the world to finish the work of peace for which they fought and suffered. We failed them then. We cannot fail them again, and expect the world to survive again.

The Crimean Conference was a successful effort by the three leading nations to find a common ground for peace. It spells the end of the system of unilateral

action and exclusive alliances and spheres of influence and balances of power and all the other expedients which have been tried for centuries -- and have failed.

We propose to substitute for all these a universal organization in which all peace-loving nations will finally have a chance to join.

I am confident that the Congress and the American people will accept the results of this Conference as the beginnings of a permanent structure of peace upon which we can begin to build ^{under and for} a better world ^{in which your children and} for our children will prosper -- ^{and live} safely.

B p. 4 /

Russian troops
have crossed Poland,
and are fighting on
the Eastern soil of
Germany; British
and American troops
are on German
soil close to the
Rhin Rhine in the
West

© p.6

The German people,
as well as German
soldiers and sailors,
must realize that the
sooner they give up and
surrender, by groups or
as individuals, the sooner
their present agony will
be over. They must
realize that only with
complete surrender ~~will~~
~~there be opportunity to~~ can they
rebuild a Germany ~~is~~
in a way that will allow
the world to accept them
as decent neighbors.

Insert ①



Our American insistence on peace all over the world stems from our own hard-headed national interest. It means peace for ourselves; it means security and well-being for ourselves; it means an increased productivity and a higher standard of living for ourselves -- as well as for the rest of the world.

It is well known that the people east of the Curzon Line are predominantly Russian and Ukrainian; and that the people west of the line are predominantly Polish. As far back as 1919, ~~at the Versailles Conference,~~ the representatives of the Allies agreed that the Curzon Line represented a fair demarcation of a boundary between the two peoples.

INSERT 3

But the Japanese war lords know that they are not being overlooked. They have felt the force of our B-29's, and our carrier planes; they have felt the naval might of the United States, and do not appear very anxious to come out and try it again; they know what it means to hear that "The United States Marines have landed".

They also know what is in store for the homeland of Japan now that General MacArthur has completed his magnificent march back to Manila and Admiral Nimitz is establishing his air bases right in the back yard of Japan itself in Iwo Jima.

INSERT 4

I know that the word "planning" is not looked upon with favor in some quarters. In domestic affairs, many tragic mistakes have been made by reason of the lack of planning; and many great improvements in living and many benefits to the human race have been accomplished as a result of adequate, intelligent planning — reclamations of desert areas, developments of whole river valleys, provision ^{for} ~~of~~ adequate housing.

The same will be true in relations between nations. For a second time, this generation is face to face with the objective of preventing wars. To meet that objective, the nations of the world will either have a plan or it will not. The groundwork of a plan has been furnished, and has been submitted to ^{us} ~~A~~ humanity for discussion and decision.

No plan is perfect. Whatever is adopted at San Francisco will doubtless have to be amended time and again over the years, just as our own Constitution has been.

~~But it will be a beginning, for which man and woman and children over the world will look and hope and pray.~~

No one can say exactly how long any plan will last. Peace can ~~endure~~ ^{endure} only so long as humanity really insists upon it, and is willing to work for it — and sacrifice for it. To make any peace plan ~~last~~ ^{last}, nothing less will do.

4th Draft

It is good to be home.

It has been a long journey. I hope you will agree that it was a fruitful one.

Speaking in all frankness, the question of whether it is to be fruitful or not, as I see it, lies in your hands. For only if you here in the halls of the American Congress, with the support of the American people, concur in what was ^{done} ~~and~~ at Yalta, and only if you give active support and implementation to the decisions at Yalta - only in that event will the meeting have produced real ~~benefits~~ ^{results}.

That is why I come to you at the earliest hour after my return. I want to make a personal report to you -- and at the same time to the people of the country. Many months of earnest work are ahead of us all, and I should like to feel that when the last stone is laid on the structure of international plank ~~is nailed down in peace~~, it will be an achievement for which all of us in America have worked steadfastly and unselfishly -- together.

I return from this trip -- which took me as far as seven thousand miles from the White House -- refreshed and inspired. The Roosevelts are not, as you may suspect, averse to travel. We thrive on it!

And it should be noted that far away as I was this time,

I was kept constantly informed of affairs in the United States. The modern miracle of rapid communication has made this world so small, that we must always bear that in mind, when we speak of international relations. I received a constant stream of messages from Washington, and except only where radio silence was necessary for security purposes, I could continuously send messages to the White House. And of course, in a grave emergency, we could even have risked breaking the security rule.

But I may as well admit that not all my travels to these conferences have left me at the end with a lifting of the spirits. On this one I have no such complaint.

I believe, my fellow Americans, that we have gained a good start on a road to a world of peace.

① FOURTH DRAFT

I have just returned from a long journey and from many conferences with our Allies on subjects which for generations to come will affect the lives of Americans and of people all over the world.

I am happy to inform you that those conferences have done much -- for a foreseeable period of time -- to provide a world of peace.

Although my travels took me as far as seven thousand miles from the White House, the modern miracle of rapid communication by radio and by air kept me informed constantly of affairs in the United States, and -- except only where radio silence was necessary for security purposes -- I could continuously send messages to the White House.

I now make this report to the Congress of the United States on these conferences -- for the Congress is vitally interested in them, and will sooner or later be called upon to pass judgment upon the results of many of them.

④ There were two main ^{Yalta} purposes ^{the} conferences ^{was} were: first, to bring defeat to Germany with the greatest possible speed and with the smallest ~~possible loss of Allied men~~ ^{possible loss of Allied men} ^{and} second, to continue to build an international accord which will bring order and security



And there is pride in all our hearts

And as we read, hour by hour, the dispatches from
the fighting front, we

And today the German army--and the German people--
are feeling the might of our fighting men, ~~as they push~~
~~relentlessly and brilliantly forward, to a meeting with~~
~~the gallant Red army. We have reason to be proud of~~
Every hour these days gives us added pride in their
heroic advance over German soil toward a meeting with
the gallant Red army.

after the chaos of war, and which will give some assurance of lasting peace among the nations of the world.

On that purpose, too, there is reason for
~~I can report that progress -- very substantial progress --~~
satisfaction.
~~was made toward both of these objectives~~

At Teheran, over a year ago, there were long-range strategic plans laid by the Chiefs of Staff of the three most powerful nations -- plans which have now been carried out in a vast attack upon Germany from the East and West and South. Among the civilian leaders at Teheran there were exchanges of views and expressions of opinion. But no political agreements were made -- and none ^{was} attempted.

At the Crimean Conference, however, the time had come for getting down to specific cases in the political field.

There was on all sides at this Conference an enthusiastic effort to reach agreement. Since Teheran there had developed among all of us a greater facility in negotiating with each other, which augurs well for the ^{future} peace of the world.

I have never for an instant wavered in my belief that an agreement to insure world peace and security can be reached.

The lapse of time between Teheran and Yalta without conferences of civilian representatives of the three major powers has

proved to be too long -- 14 months. During this long period, local problems were permitted to become acute in places like Poland and Greece and Italy and Yugo-Slavia.

Therefore we decided at this Conference that, even if circumstances made it impossible for the heads of the three governments to meet more frequently in the future, we would make sure that there ^{should} be a more frequent official exchange of views.

Accordingly, we arranged for periodic meetings of the foreign secretaries of Great Britain, Russia and the United States at intervals of three or four months. I feel very confident that under this arrangement there will be no recurrence of the incidents which ~~were this winter disturbing to~~ ^{this winter disturbed} the friends of world-wide collaboration.

When we met at Yalta, ~~there were several pressing problems~~ ^{and after we had agreed on our strategic and tactical plans for a} ~~which called for frank discussion and quick solution.~~

~~First, there was the objective of final and complete military victory over Germany, there were a number of problems of political vital political consequence.~~

~~Second, there were the problems of the occupation and control~~ ^{trial} of Germany after victory, the complete destruction of her military power, and the assurance that neither Nazism nor Prussian militarism could again be revived to threaten the peace and civilization of the world.

which are directly related to the Russian advance on Berlin.

From now on, American and British heavy bombers will be used -- in the day-by-day tactics of the war -- in direct support of the Soviet armies, as well as in support of our own on the Western front.

They are now engaged in bombing and strafing in order to hamper the movement of German reserves and materials to both the Eastern and Western fronts from Central and Western Germany and from Italy.

Arrangements were made for the most effective distribution of all available material and transportation to the places where they can best be used in the combined war effort -- American, British, and Russian.

Details of all these plans and arrangements are military secrets; but they will hasten the day of the final collapse of

Germany. The Nazis are learning about some of them already, to their sorrow; ^{they} ~~and~~ will learn more about them ^{tomorrow and the} ~~in due time~~.
next day - and every day!

~~What the German people, driven by their Nazi leaders, have endured and suffered in the last few months will be increased in the months to come.~~ ⁹ There will be no respite for them. We will not desist for one moment until unconditional surrender.

The German people, as well as ^{the} German soldiers ~~(and sailors)~~, must realize that the sooner they give up and surrender, by groups or as individuals, the sooner their present agony will be over. They must realize that only with complete surrender ^{begin to reestablish themselves as people whom} can they ~~rebuild a Germany in a way that will allow the world~~ ^{might} ~~to accept~~ ~~them~~ as decent neighbors.

We made it clear again at Yalta, ~~[as in other statements]~~ and I now repeat -- that unconditional surrender does not mean

the destruction or enslavement of the German people. The Nazi leaders ^{deliberately omitted that statement from the German press and radio.} ^{They} leaders seek to convince the people of Germany that ^{the Yalta declaration} ~~it does mean~~ ^{does mean} slavery and destruction -- for that is how ^{The Nazis desperately} ~~they~~ hope to save their own skins and ^{decisive} ~~defraud~~ their people into continued useless resistance.

We did, however, make it clear at this conference just what unconditional surrender does mean for Germany.

It means the temporary control of Germany by Great Britain, Russia and the United States -- ^{undoubtedly} ~~and France, if she desires to~~ ~~join.~~ Each of these nations will occupy and control a separate zone of Germany -- and the administration of the four zones will be coordinated in Berlin by a United Control Council composed of representatives of the four nations.

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Unconditional surrender also means the end of Nazism, and of the Nazi party -- and all of its barbaric laws and institutions.

It means the termination of all militaristic influence in the public, private and cultural life of Germany. *speedy and for the Nazi war criminals a punishment justified severe.*
It means ~~the just and speedy punishment of Nazi war criminals.~~

It means the complete disarmament of Germany; the destruction of its militarism and its military equipment; the end of its production of armament; the dispersal of all of its armed forces; the permanent dismemberment of the German General Staff which has so often shattered the peace of the world.

It means that Germany will have to make reparations in kind for the damage which it has done to the innocent victims of its aggression.

By providing for reparations in kind -- in plants, and machinery and rolling stock and raw materials -- we shall avoid the mistakes of the last war of demanding reparations in the form of money which Germany could never pay, ~~and then making loans to Germany which were never repaid.~~

We do not want the German people to starve, or to become a burden on the rest of the world.

Our objective in handling Germany is simple -- it is to secure the peace of the future world. Too much experience has shown that that objective is impossible if Germany is allowed to retain any ability to wage aggressive war.

That objective will not harm the German people. On the contrary, it will protect them from a repetition of the fate which the General Staff and Kaiserism imposed on them before, and which Hitlerism is now imposing upon them again a hundredfold. It will be removing a cancer from the German body, which for generations has produced only misery and pain for the whole world.

During my stay at Yalta, I saw the kind of reckless, senseless fury and destruction which comes out of German militarism. Before the last war, Yalta ^{has been} was a resort for the Czars and for the aristocracy of Russia. ^{afterward,} ~~Recently,~~ however, and until the attack upon the Soviet Union by Hitler, the palaces and villas of Yalta had been used as a rest and recreation center by Russian workers.

Yalta had no military significance of any kind, and no defenses.

~~The Nazi officers took them over for their own use; and~~
~~But~~ when the Red Army forced the Nazis out of the Crimea, ~~these~~ ^{first} all the villas were looted by the Nazis, and ^{then} nearly all were destroyed. ~~In addition most of the small houses were destroyed.~~
^{And even the humblest of homes were not spared.}

Insert (A)



Insert (A) p. 9

There was little left in Yalta but ruin and desolation.

X Sevastopol was also a scene of utter destruction--with less than a dozen buildings left intact in the whole city.

~~It [E] those of you who have seen other examples of Nazi sadism can sense the inward rage which I felt as I looked upon this exhibition of Nazi brutality.~~

There was little left in Yalta but ruin and desolation.
~~a sight which some of you who have seen the battle of Berlin can~~
~~and I know~~

Sevastopol was also a scene of utter destruction -- with

~~intact~~
~~less than a dozen buildings left standing in the whole city.~~
~~Those of you who have seen other scenes of Nazi sadism can~~
~~imagine the~~
~~regime which I felt as I saw this~~
~~I saw, but cannot adequately describe the human suffering and~~
~~There is no military justification for destroying docks, rail yards, and the like.~~
~~There was no effort to spare innocent people~~
~~misery, there. There may have been a semblance of excuse for~~
~~families, and no military justification or sensible~~
~~some of the ruin in Sevastopol as an important sea port but~~

~~at Yalta there was no possible reason for the wanton destruction~~

~~and suffering, or except sheer Nazi bestiality.~~
~~It was~~
~~Dumbarton Oaks~~

I had read about Warsaw and Lidice and Rotterdam and
Coventry -- but I saw Sevastopol and Yalta! And I know that
there is not enough room on earth for both German militarism
and Christian decency.

Of equal importance with the military arrangements at the
Crimean Conference were the agreements reached with respect to
the general international organization for lasting world peace.

The foundations had been laid at Dumbarton Oaks. ^{continued page 12} However,
there was one most important item on which agreement had not
been reached at Dumbarton Oaks -- the method of voting in the
Security Council.

On this question of voting procedure there was much frank
and friendly discussion at Yalta. At the end, a compromise pro-

the permanent members of the Council -- the big five -- must all agree as a matter of necessity, for upon them jointly will be the principal responsibility for action. Any determination, therefore, that some event constitutes a breach of the peace, or that an actual threat to peace has occurred, or that force or other sanctions should be used to keep the peace, or any determination to supply armed forces to prevent war -- all such questions ^{should} must require the concurrence of all the permanent members.

When the
The conclusions reached at the Crimean Conference with *are made known, I believe you will find them* respect to voting in the Security Council represent a fair working compromise between conflicting points of view. They are founded in justice, and will go far to assure international cooperation in the maintenance of peace.

~~Together with China and France, the participants in the~~
~~Crimean Conference have called~~ ^{will} a conference of all the United Nations of the world ~~to~~ meet in San Francisco on April 25, 1945. *all*
There, ^A we hope, and confidently expect, to execute a definite charter of organization in accordance with the agreements reached at Yalta -- under which the peace of the world will be preserved and the forces of aggression permanently outlawed.

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for world conquest in 1940, and then by the Japanese treachery of 1941, partisanship and politics were laid aside by nearly every American; and every resource was dedicated to our common safety. The same consecration to the cause of peace will be expected by every ^{patriotic} American and by every human soul overseas. It is now a matter of the survival of civilized life on this earth.

The structure of world peace can not be the work of one man, or one party, or one nation. It can not be an American peace, ^{nor a} ~~an~~ British, ^a ~~an~~ Russian, ^a ~~an~~ French, ^{nor a} ~~an~~ Chinese peace. It can not be a peace of large nations -- or of small nations. It must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world. ^P It can not be a structure of complete perfection at first. But it can be a peace -- and it will be a peace -- based on the sound and just principles of the Atlantic Charter -- on the conception of the dignity of the human being -- on the guarantees of tolerance and freedom of religious worship.

(D)

Our American insistence on peace all over the world stems from our own hard-headed national interest. It means peace for ourselves; it means security and well-being for ourselves; it means an increased productivity and a higher standard of living for ourselves -- as well as for the rest of the world.

(D)

And in speaking of the Atlantic Charter, do you remember that the apostles of isolationism, a short time ago, ~~wanted~~ sought to relegate ^{it} ~~the Atlantic Charter~~ to oblivion? They even said it didn't exist! But, have you any doubt, after reading the Yalta declaration, that the Atlantic Charter lives today stronger than ever before.

19 207

As the Allied armies have marched to military victory, they have liberated peoples whose liberties had been crushed by the Nazis for four years, and whose economy had been reduced to ruin by Nazi despoilers.

There have been instances of political confusion and unrest in these liberated areas -- as in Greece and Poland and Yugoslavia and other places. Worse than that, there actually began to grow up in some of them vaguely defined ideas of "spheres of influence" which were incompatible with the basic principles of international collaboration. If allowed to go unchecked, these developments *might have had tragic results.* ~~might well have planted the seeds of a new war.~~

It is fruitless to try to place the blame for this situation on one particular nation or another. It is the kind of development which is almost inevitable unless the major powers of the world continue without interruption to work together and to assume joint responsibility for the solution of problems which may arise to endanger the peace of the world.

We met in the Crimea, determined to settle this matter of liberated areas. I am happy to *confirm* ~~report~~ to the Congress that we did arrive at a settlement -- a unanimous settlement.

The three most powerful nations have agreed that the political

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and economic problems of any area liberated from the Nazi conquest, or of any former Axis satellite, are a joint responsibility of all three governments. They will join together, during the temporary period of instability after hostilities, to help the people of any liberated area, or of any former satellite state, to solve their own problems through firmly established democratic processes.

endeavor to
They will ^{endeavor to} see to it that interim governing authorities are as representative as possible of all democratic elements in the population, and that free elections are held as soon as possible.

Responsibility for political conditions thousands of miles *as I have said, it is a "smaller" world.* overseas can no longer be avoided by this great nation. [^] The United States now exerts a vast influence in the cause of peace throughout all the world. It will continue to exert that influence, only if it is willing to continue to share in the responsibility for keeping the peace. *It would be our own* ~~(if we would be worthy of~~ *logic loss were we to* ~~the blessings which Providence has showered upon us, let us not~~ *P* shirk that responsibility!

Final decisions in these areas are going to be made jointly; and therefore they will often be a result of give-and-take compromise. The United States will not always have its way 100% --

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 nor will Russia or Great Britain. We shall not always have ideal solutions to complicated international problems, even though we are determined continuously to strive toward the ideal. But I am sure that -- under the agreements reached at Yalta -- *there will be* ~~shall have~~ a more stable political Europe than ever before.

Of course, once there has been a free expression of the peoples' will in any country, our immediate responsibility ends -- with the exception only of such action as *may* ~~will~~ be agreed upon in the International Security Organization.

The United Nations must also soon begin to help these liberated areas adequately to reconstruct their economy so that they are ready to resume their places in the world. The Nazi war machine has stripped them of raw materials and machine tools and trucks and locomotives. They have left their industry stagnant and much of their agriculture unproductive.

To start the wheels running again is not a mere matter of relief. It is to the natural interest of all of us to see that these liberated areas are again made self-supporting and productive so that they do not need continued relief from us.

One outstanding example of joint action by the three major

28 Fifth Draft

Allies in the liberated areas was the solution reached on Poland.

The whole Polish question was a potential source of trouble in post-war Europe, and we came to the conference determined to settle it. We did settle it.

The objective was to create a strong, independent, and prosperous nation, with a government ultimately to be selected by the Polish people themselves. To try to force either of the provisional governments on the Polish people -- the Warsaw government or the London government -- would have produced civil strife.

It was necessary to create a new government much more representative than it had been possible to create while Poland was enslaved. Accordingly, steps were taken at Yalta to reorganize the existing Provisional Government in Poland on a broader democratic basis, so as to include democratic leaders now in Poland and those abroad. This new, reorganized government will be recognized by all of us as the temporary government of Poland.

However, the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity will be pledged to holding a free election as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and a secret ballot.

Throughout history, Poland has been the corridor through which attacks on Russia have been made. Twice in this generation,

23
Germany has struck at Russia through this corridor. To insure European security and world peace, a strong and independent Poland is necessary.

The decision with respect to the political boundaries of Poland was a compromise, under which the Poles ^{will receive} ~~are receiving~~ reimbursement in territory in the North and West in exchange for what they lose by the Curzon Line. The limits of the Western boundary ^{will be permanently fixed in} ~~(have not yet been fixed, but will include a large coast line. They will await)~~ the final Peace Conference. ^(It was agreed that a large coast line should be included.)

It is well known that the people east of the Curzon Line are predominantly Russian and Ukrainian; and that the people west of the line are predominantly Polish. As far back as 1919, the representatives of the Allies agreed that the Curzon Line represented a fair ~~delineation of a~~ boundary between the two peoples.

I am convinced that the agreement on Poland is the most hopeful agreement possible under the circumstances for a free, independent and prosperous Polish State.

With respect to France, there was the same objective as with all liberated areas -- to build a strong, independent and free France with a government of its own choosing.

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The Crimean Conference was a meeting of the three major military powers, and it was not thought appropriate by any of the three participants that any nation which was not equipped with equal military power be included. That is why France was not a member of the Conference. *But the one showed defeat from the recognition of France accorded at Yalta.*

However, France has been invited to accept a zone of control in Germany, and to participate as a fourth member of the Allied Control Council of Germany.

She has been invited to join as a sponsor of the International Conference at San Francisco.

She will be a permanent member of the International Security Council together with the other four major powers.

We have asked that France be associated with us in our joint responsibility over the liberated areas of Europe.

2

We are all confident that, under a democratic government of its own choosing, France will resume her place as a great power -- and, as such, she will be welcomed by all the nations of the world.

Agreement was reached on Yugo-Slavia also, as announced in the communique, and is in process of fulfillment.

Quite naturally, the Yalta conference concerned itself only

with the European war and with the political problems of Europe.--
At Malta, however, our Combined British and American Staffs made their plans to increase the blow against Japan.
 But The Japanese war lords know that they are not being

overlooked. They have felt the force of our B-29's, and our carrier planes; they have felt the naval might of the United States, and do not appear very anxious to come out and try it

R the Japs
 again; ~~they~~ know what it means to hear that "The United States

Marines have landed". *And we can add, having Iwo Jima in mind: "The situation is well in hand."*

They also know what is in store for the homeland of Japan now that General MacArthur has completed his magnificent march back to Manila, and Admiral Nimitz is establishing his air bases right in the back yard of Japan itself -- in Iwo Jima.

It is still a tough, long road to Tokyo. The defeat of Germany ~~does~~ ^{will} not mean the end of the war against Japan. On the contrary, America must be prepared for a long and costly struggle.

The unconditional surrender of Japan is as essential as the defeat of Germany -- if our plans for world peace are to succeed. For Japanese militarism must be wiped out as thoroughly as German militarism.

In addition to what the official communique of the Crimean Conference has stated, there were many discussions and exchanges

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of views with respect to other problems in the Balkans, and with respect to dependent areas and international trusteeships. But no definite conclusions were reached, and they were left open for further discussions.

On the way home from the Crimea, I made arrangements to meet personally King Farouk of Egypt, Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia, and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. Our conversations had to do with matters of common interest ~~such as trade and commerce~~. They will be of great mutual advantage because they gave us an opportunity of meeting and talking face to face, and of exchanging views in personal conversation instead of formal correspondence.

On my voyage, I had the benefit of seeing our Army and Navy and Air Force at work. I have talked with our own officers and ~~with~~ our Allied officers about the fighting qualities of the sons of our American homes.

All Americans would feel as proud of our armed Forces as I am, if they could see and hear what I did.

Against the most efficient professional soldiers and sailors and airmen of all history, our men stood and fought -- and won. On land, on sea, and in the air, they have singled it out at close

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range -- and have established a record which future generations will look back upon with admiration and respect -- and gratitude.

This is our chance to see to it that the sons and grandsons of these gallant fighting men do not have to do it all over again in a few years.

The Conference in the Crimea was a turning point in American history. There will soon be presented to the Senate of the United States and to the American people a great decision which will determine the fate of the United States -- and of the world -- for centuries *to come*.

There can be no middle ground here. We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration, or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict.

I know that the word "planning" is not looked upon with favor in some quarters. In domestic affairs, ~~many~~ tragic mistakes have been made by reason of ~~the~~ lack of planning; and many great improvements in living, and many benefits to the human race, have been accomplished as a result of adequate, intelligent planning -- reclamation of desert areas, developments of whole river valleys, provision for adequate housing.

The same will be true in relations between nations. For a

4
2
second time, this generation is face to face with the objective of preventing wars. To meet that objective, the nations of the world will either have a plan or they will not. The groundwork of a plan has been furnished, and has now been submitted to humanity for discussion and decision.

No plan is perfect. Whatever is adopted at San Francisco will doubtless have to be amended time and again over the years, just as our own Constitution has been.

No one can say exactly how long any plan will last. Peace can endure only so long as humanity really insists upon it, and is willing to work for it -- and sacrifice for it. ~~To make any peace-plan last, nothing less will do.~~ *than such work and sacrifice*

Twenty-five years ago, American fighting men looked to the statesmen of the world to finish the work of peace for which they fought and suffered. We failed them then. We cannot fail them again, and expect the world to survive again.

The Crimean Conference was a successful effort by the three leading nations to find a common ground for peace. It spells the end of the system of unilateral action and exclusive alliances and spheres of influence and balances of power and all the other expedients which have been tried for centuries -- and have failed.

29
We propose to substitute for all these, a universal organization in which all peace-loving nations will finally have a chance to join.

I am confident that the Congress and the American people will accept the results of this Conference as the beginnings of a permanent structure of peace upon which we can begin to build, under God, that better world in which ^{our} ~~your~~ children and grandchildren -- yours and mine, the children and grandchildren of the whole ~~land and mine~~ -- will live. world -- must live.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

- (1)
- (A) -- I might say from -- ~~from not only the~~
~~Executive branch, and all its departments,~~
~~but also from the legislative branch --~~
~~its two departments --~~
- (B) ~~As you remember, at that time, I said~~
~~after it that we had agreed ninety~~
~~percent. Well, that's pretty good --~~
~~a pretty good percentage. I think the~~
~~other ten percent were ironed out at~~
~~Yehogan -- at Yalta.~~
- (C) ~~It's a special problem. We over have~~
~~find it difficult to understand the~~
~~ramifications of many of these problems in~~
~~foreign lands, but we are trying to.~~
- (D) ~~And we have begun to realize, I think,~~
~~that there is all the difference in the world~~
~~between tactics on the one side, and~~
~~strategy on the other -- day by day~~
~~tactics of the war~~

(2)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

(E) You know, I have always felt that common sense prevails in the long run -- quiet, over-night thinking. I think that's true in Germany, just as much as it is here.

(F) The only reason that this so-called former palace of the Czar was still habitable, when we got there, was that it had been given -- of ^{us} ~~we~~ thought it had been given -- to a German general for his own property and his own use. And when Yalta was so destroyed, he kept soldiers there to protect what he thought ^{would} become his own, ~~his own property~~ ^{his villa}. It was ^a ~~an~~ -- it was ^{used} ~~was~~ a rest and recreation center for hundreds of thousands of Russian workers, farmers and their families, ^{and} ~~up~~ to the time that it was taken again by the Germans. The Nazi officers took these places for their own use.

3

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

6

^{us}
~~Let's go on with the story, which I~~
~~hope to do under an hour.~~

H

I want to try to make it clear by
making it simple. It took me
hours and hours to get the thing
straight in my own mind - and
many conferences.

I

~~If there is going to be held, as you
know -- after we have straightened
that voting matter out -- there is going
to be held in San Francisco, a
meeting of all the United Nations of the
world, on the 25th of April - next
month.~~

J

~~I -- as you know -- I have always been
a believer in the document called
The Constitution, and I spent a good
deal of time in educating two other
nations of the world in regard to the
Constitution of the United States. ~~the~~ The~~

(4)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

(J) (CONTINUED.)

Charter has to be, and should be approved by the Senate of the United States, under the Constitution. I think the other nations all know it now. I am aware of that fact, and now all the other nations are. And we hope that the Senate will approve of what is set forth as the Charter of the United Nations when they all come together in San Francisco next month.

(K)

between the
Occupation

(J)

carry on the interim government
~~between the Occupation and the time when the people of Germany, and the people of France, will be able to exercise their own independence, that such an interim government will be~~

by

by

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

- (K) ~~What we people over here are thinking and talking about is in the interest of peace, because it's known all over the world. The slightest remark in either house of Congress is known all over the world the following day.~~
- (M) ~~But the thing we must ^{all} remember -- ^{those words} agreed to by Russia, by Britain, and by me -- the objective of making Poland a strong, independent and prosperous nation --~~
- (N) ~~Poland needs a temporary government in the worst way -- ^{an} ~~an~~ interim government. I think is another way of putting it.~~
- (O) ~~I did not agree with all of it, by any means, but we did not go as far as Britain wanted, in certain areas; and we did not go as far as Russia wanted, in certain areas; and we did not go as far as I wanted, in certain areas.~~

6

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

① CONTINUED

~~It was a compromise. The~~
~~decision under -- is not~~
~~only a compromise -- is one,~~
~~however,~~

②

~~We know, roughly, that it will~~
~~include -- in the new, strong Poland --~~
~~quite a large slice of what now is~~
~~called Germany. And~~

③

~~And you must remember, also, that there~~
~~was no Poland before -- hadn't been~~
~~any Polish government -- before 1919~~
~~for a great many generations.~~

④

~~-- in my -- second post war, on my~~
~~-- this was on ^{the} ~~the~~ ~~border~~ -- France~~
~~has been invited to accept~~

⑤

~~Of course, there are a number of~~
~~smaller things that I haven't got time~~
~~to go into on which agreement was had,~~
~~and we hope that things will straighten~~
~~out.~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

- (v) For instance, on the problem of --
of Arabia, I learned more about
that whole problem -- the
Maslem, ^{problem,} the Jewish problem -- by
talking with Ibn Saud for five
minutes than I could have learned
in the exchange of two or three
dozen letters.

5th Draft.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
THE CAPITOL
MARCH 1, 1945

It is good to be home.

It has been a long journey. I hope you will agree
that it was a fruitful one.

Speaking in all frankness, the question of whether
it is to be ^{entirely} fruitful or not, as I see it, ^{to a great extent} lies in your hands.
For ^{unless} only if you here in the halls of the American Congress,
with the support of the American people, concur in ^{the decisions reached} what was
done at Yalta, and only if you ^{then you} give active support and
implementation to the decisions at Yalta -- only in that
event will ^{will not} the meeting ^{lasting} have produced ~~real~~ results.

That is why I come ^{before} to you at the earliest hour after
my return. I want to make a personal report to you -- and,
at the same time, to the people of the country. Many months
of earnest work are ahead of us all, and I should like to

feel that when the last stone is laid on the structure of international peace, it will be an achievement for which all of us in America have worked steadfastly and unselfishly -- together.

I return from this trip -- which took me as far as seven thousand miles from the White House -- refreshed and inspired. The Roosevelts are not, as you may suspect, averse to travel. We thrive on it!

[And it should be noted that far away as I was, [this time,] I was kept constantly informed of affairs in the United States. The modern miracle of rapid communication has made this world ^{very} small, ^{and} ~~that~~ we must always bear that in mind, when we ^{think of} speak of international relations. I received a *steady* ~~constant~~ stream of messages from Washington, and except ~~where~~ where radio silence was necessary for security purposes, I could continuously send messages ^{any place in the world, through} ~~to~~ the White House. And of course, in a grave emergency, we could even have risked breaking the security rule.

[But I may as well admit that not all my travels to these conferences have left me at the end with a lifting of the spirits. On this one I have no such complaint.]

So one from the Crimean Conference,
~~I believe~~ my fellow Americans, ~~that~~ we have ~~gained~~ *with a firm belief that*

made a good start on a road to a world of peace.

There were two main purposes at the ~~Yalta~~ *Crimean* Conference.

The first was to bring defeat to Germany with the greatest possible speed and with the smallest possible loss of Allied men. *That purpose is now being carried out in great force.*
And today the Germany army, ~~the~~ *ever-increasing* and the German people, ~~the~~ *and of the Allied Armies.*
are feeling the might of our fighting men. Every hour ~~these~~ *our troops*
~~days~~ gives us added pride in ~~their~~ *the* heroic advance over German
soil toward a meeting with the gallant Red army.

The second purpose was to continue to build ~~on~~ *the foundation for*
an international accord which will bring order and security
after the chaos of war, and which will give some assurance
of lasting peace among the nations of the world.

The second purpose was to continue to build the foundation for an international accord which ^{would} ~~will~~ bring order and security after the chaos of war, and which ^{would} ~~will~~ give some assurance of lasting peace among the nations of the world.

Toward this goal, also, a tremendous stride was made.
~~On that purpose, too, there is reason for gratification.~~

At Teheran, over a year ago, there were long-range military plans laid by the Chiefs of Staff of the three most powerful nations. Among the civilian leaders at Teheran ^{however,} there were ^{only} exchanges of views and expressions of opinion. ~~but~~ ^{no} political agreements were made -- and none was attempted.

At the Crimean Conference, however, the time had come for getting down to specific cases in the political field.

There was on all sides at this Conference an enthusiastic effort to reach agreement. Since the time of the Teheran Conference, there had developed among all of us a greater facility in negotiating with each other, which augurs well for the future peace of the world.

On that purpose, too, there is reason for gratification.

At Teheran, over a year ago, there were long-range *military*
[strategic] plans laid by the Chiefs of Staff of the three most
powerful nations, [-- plans which have now been carried out in
a vast attack upon Germany from the East and West and South.]
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views and expressions of opinion. But no political agreements
were made -- and none was attempted.

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negotiating with each other, which augurs well for the
future peace of the world.

I have never for an instant wavered in my belief that an agreement to insure world peace and security can be reached.

The lapse of time between Teheran and Yalta without conferences of civilian representatives of the three major powers has proved to be too long -- fourteen months. During this long period, local problems were permitted to become acute in places like Poland and Greece and Italy and Yugo-Slavia.

Therefore we decided at ^{Yalta} ~~this Conference~~ that, even if circumstances made it impossible for the heads of the three governments to meet more ^{often} ~~frequently~~ in the future, we would make sure that there would be a more frequent ^{personal contacts for} ~~official~~ exchange of views. ^P Accordingly, we arranged for periodic meetings of the foreign secretaries of Great Britain, Russia and the United States at intervals of three or four months. I feel very confident that under this arrangement there will be no recurrence of the incidents which this winter disturbed the friends of world-wide collaboration.

When we met at Yalta, [and after we had agreed on our] *in*
addition to laying out
strategic and tactical plans for a final and complete military
victory over Germany, there were a number of problems of vital
political consequence.

First, there were the problems of the occupation and
control of Germany after victory, the complete destruction of
her military power, and the assurance that neither Nazism nor
Prussian militarism could again be revived to threaten the
peace and civilization of the world.

Second, there was the settlement of the few differences
which remained among us with respect to the International
Security Organization after the Dumbarton Oaks Conference.

Third, there were the general political and economic
problems common to all of the areas which had been or would be
liberated from the Nazi yoke.

Fourth, there were the special problems created by
Poland and Yugo-Slavia.

Days were spent in discussing these momentous matters
and we argued ^{freely and frankly} [back and forth] across the table. But at the end,

[I am glad to say,] on every point, unanimous agreement has been reached. And more important even than the agreement or words, I may say we achieved a unity of thought and a way of getting along together.

It was Hitler's hope that we would not agree -- that some slight crack might appear in the solid wall of Allied unity which would give him and his fellow gangsters one last hope of escaping their just doom. That is the objective for which his propaganda machine has been working for months.

But Hitler has failed.

Never before have the major Allies been more closely united -- not only in their war aims but in their peace aims. And they are determined to continue to be united with each other -- and with all peace-loving nations -- so that the ideal of lasting world peace will become a reality.

The Soviet, British and United States Chiefs of Staff held daily meetings with each other, and conferred frequently with Marshal Stalin, with Prime Minister Churchill and with me, on the problem of coordinating the strategic and tactical efforts of all the Allied forces. They completed their plans for the final knock-out blows to Germany.

At the time of the Teheran Conference, the Russian front was so far removed from the American and British fronts that, while certain long-range strategic cooperation was possible, there could be no tactical, day-by-day coordination. But Russian troops have now crossed Poland, and are fighting on the Eastern soil of Germany; British and American troops are now on German soil close to the River Rhine in the West. It is a different situation today; a closer tactical liaison has become possible -- and, in the Crimean Conference, this has been accomplished.

Provision was made for [close] daily exchange of information between the armies under command of General Eisenhower, those under command of the Soviet marshals on the Eastern front, and our armies in Italy -- without the necessity of going through the Chiefs of Staff in Washington and London as in the past.

/ You have seen one result of this exchange of information in the recent bombing by American and English aircraft of points which are directly related to the Russian advance on Berlin.

From now on, American and British heavy bombers will be used -- in the day-by-day tactics of the war -- in direct support of the Soviet armies, as well as in support of our own on the Western front.

They are now engaged in bombing and strafing in order to hamper the movement of German reserves and materials to ^{other parts of} ~~both~~ the Eastern and Western fronts from ~~Central and Western~~ Germany and from Italy.

Arrangements were made for the most effective distribution of all available material and transportation to the places where they can best be used in the combined war effort -- American, British, and Russian.

Details of all these plans and arrangements are military secrets; but they will hasten the day of the final collapse of Germany. The Nazis are learning about some of them already, to their sorrow. They will learn more about them tomorrow and the next day -- and every day!

There will be no respite for them. We will not desist for one moment until unconditional surrender.

The German people, as well as the German soldiers must realize that the sooner they give up and surrender, by groups or as individuals, the sooner their present agony will be over. They must realize that only with complete surrender can they begin to reestablish themselves as people whom the world might accept as decent neighbors.

We made it clear again at Yalta, and I now repeat --
that unconditional surrender does not mean the destruction or
enslavement of the German people. The Nazi leaders ^{have} deliberately
withheld ^{part of the Yalta declaration} that ~~statement~~ ^{from} from the German press and radio. They
seek to convince the people of Germany that the Yalta declaration
does mean slavery and destruction ^{for them} -- for that is how the Nazis
hope to save their own skins and deceive their people into
continued useless resistance.

We did, however, make it clear at this conference just
what unconditional surrender does mean for Germany.

It means the temporary control of Germany by Great
Britain, Russia, ^{France,} and the United States. and undoubtedly France.
Each of these nations will occupy and control a separate zone
of Germany -- and the administration of the four zones will
be coordinated in Berlin by a United Control Council composed
of representatives of the four nations.

We do not want the German people to starve, or to become a burden on the rest of the world.

Our objective in handling Germany is simple -- it is to secure the peace of the future world. Too much experience has shown that that objective is impossible if Germany is allowed to retain any ability to wage aggressive war.

That objective will not harm the German people. On the contrary, it will protect them from a repetition of the fate which the General Staff and Kaiserism imposed on them before, and which Hitlerism is now imposing upon them again a hundredfold. It will be removing a cancer from the German body, which for generations has produced only misery and pain for the whole world.

During my stay at Yalta, I saw the kind of reckless, senseless fury and destruction which comes out of German militarism.

Before the last war, ~~Yalta~~^{it} had been a resort for the Czars and for the aristocracy of Russia. Afterward, however, and until the attack upon the Soviet Union by Hitler, the palaces and villas of Yalta had been used as a rest and recreation center by Russian ~~people~~^{the}.
~~Moreover,~~ ^{in 1944} Yalta had no military significance of any kind, and no defenses.

The Nazi officers took them over for their own use; and when the Red Army forced the Nazis out of the Crimea, these villas were ~~first~~ looted by the Nazis, and then nearly all were destroyed. And even the humblest of homes were not spared.

There was little left in Yalta but ruin and desolation.

Sevastopol was also a scene of utter destruction -- with less than a dozen buildings left intact in the whole city.

I had read about Warsaw and Lidice and Rotterdam and Coventry -- but I saw Sevastopol and Yalta! And I know that there is not enough room on earth for both German militarism and Christian decency.

Of equal importance with the military arrangements at the Crimean Conference were the agreements reached with respect to ~~a~~ ~~the~~ general international organization for lasting world peace.

The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks. These ~~plans~~ ^{foundations} ~~one point~~ on which agreement was not reached at Dumbarton Oaks, ~~involved~~ the procedure of voting in the Security Council.

At the Crimean Conference, the Americans made a proposal which, ~~after~~ ^{after} full discussion, was unanimously adopted by ~~that~~ the other two ~~major~~ ^{four} nations.

on this subject
It is not yet possible to overcome the terms of that agreement ~~fully~~, but it will be in a very short time.

When the conclusions reached at the Crimean Conference with respect to voting in the Security Council are made known,

I believe you will find them a fair ^{solution of this} ~~working compromise between~~
~~Complicated and different problem.~~
~~conflicting points of view.~~ They are founded in justice, and

will go far to assure international cooperation in the maintenance of peace.

A conference of all the United Nations of the world will meet in San Francisco on April 25, 1945. There, we all hope,

and confidently expect, to execute a definite charter of

organization in accordance with the agreements reached at Teheran --

under which the peace of the world will be preserved and the forces of aggression permanently outlawed.

T This time we shall not make the mistake of waiting until the end of the war to set up the machinery of peace. This time, as we fight together to get the war over quickly, we work together to keep it from happening again.

I am well aware of the constitutional fact -- as are all the United Nations -- that this charter must be approved by two-thirds of the Senate of the United States -- as will some of the other arrangements made at Yalta.

The Senate of the United States, through its appropriate representatives, has been kept continuously advised of the program of this government in the creation of the international security organization.

~~The Senate had its representatives at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, and~~ ^T The Senate and the House of Representatives will both be represented at the San Francisco Conference. The Congressional delegates to the San Francisco Conference will consist of an equal number of Republican and Democratic members. The American Delegation is -- in every sense of the word -- bipartisan.

~~Let~~ World peace is not a party question -- any more than is military victory.

When our Republic was threatened, first by the Nazi clutch

for world conquest in 1940, and then by the Japanese treachery of 1941, partisanship and politics were laid aside by nearly every American; and every resource was dedicated to our common safety. The same consecration to the cause of peace will be expected by every patriotic American and by every human soul overseas. [It is now a matter of the survival of civilized life on this earth.]

The structure of world peace can not be the work of one man, or one party, or one nation. It can not be an American peace, ^{or} ~~not~~ a British, a Russian, a French, ^{or} ~~not~~ a Chinese peace. It can not be a peace of large nations -- or of small nations. It must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world.

It can not be a structure of complete perfection at first. But it can be a peace -- and it will be a peace -- based on the sound and just principles of the Atlantic Charter -- on the conception of the dignity of the human being -- on the guarantees of tolerance and freedom of religious worship.

[And in speaking of the Atlantic Charter, do you remember that the apostles of isolationism, a short time ago, sought to relegate it to oblivion? They even said it didn't exist! But, have you any doubt, after reading the Yalta declaration, that the Atlantic Charter lives today stronger than ever before.]

As the Allied armies have marched to military victory, they have liberated peoples whose liberties had been crushed by the Nazis for four years, and whose economy had been reduced to ruin by Nazi despoilers.

There have been instances of political confusion and unrest in these liberated areas -- as in Greece and Poland and Yugoslavia and other places. Worse than that, there actually began to grow up in some of them vaguely defined ideas of "spheres of influence" which were incompatible with the basic principles of international collaboration. If allowed to go unchecked, these developments might have had tragic results.

It is fruitless to try to place the blame for this situation on one particular nation or another. It is the kind of development which is almost inevitable unless the major powers of the world continue without interruption to work together and to assume joint responsibility for the solution of problems which may arise to endanger the peace of the world.

We met in the Crimea, determined to settle this matter of liberated areas. I am happy to confirm to the Congress that we did arrive at a settlement -- a unanimous settlement.

The three most powerful nations have agreed that the political

and economic problems of any area liberated from the Nazi conquest, or of any former Axis satellite, are a joint responsibility of all three governments. They will join together, during the temporary period of instability after hostilities, to help the people of any liberated area, or of any former satellite state, to solve their own problems through firmly established democratic processes.

They will endeavor to see to it that interim governing authorities are as representative as possible of all democratic elements in the population, and that free elections are held as soon as possible.

Responsibility for political conditions thousands of miles overseas can no longer be avoided by this great nation. As I have said, it is a ~~smaller~~ world. The United States now exerts a vast influence in the cause of peace throughout all the world. It will continue to exert that influence, only if it is willing to continue to share in the responsibility for keeping the peace. It would be our own tragic loss were we to shirk that responsibility. (C)

Final decisions in these areas are going to be made jointly; and therefore they will often be a result of give-and-take compromise. The United States will not always have its way 100% --

nor will Russia or Great Britain. We shall not always have ideal solutions to complicated international problems, even though we are determined continuously to strive toward the ideal. But I am sure that -- under the agreements reached at Yalta -- there will be a more stable political Europe than ever before.

Of course, once there has been a free expression of the peoples' will in any country, our immediate responsibility ends -- with the exception only of such action as may be agreed upon in the International Security Organization.

The United Nations must also soon begin to help these liberated areas adequately to reconstruct their economy so that they are ready to resume their places in the world. The Nazi war machine has stripped them of raw materials and machine tools and trucks and locomotives. They have left their industry stagnant and much of their agriculture unproductive.

To start the wheels running again is not a mere matter of relief. It is to the natural interest of all of us to see that these liberated areas are again made self-supporting and productive so that they do not need continued relief from us.

One outstanding example of joint action by the three major

Allies in the liberated areas was the solution reached on Poland.

The whole Polish question was a potential source of trouble in

post-war Europe, and we came to the conference determined to *find a common ground for its solution. We did.*
~~settle it. We did settle it.~~

Our objective was to *help* create a strong, independent, and prosperous nation, with a government ultimately to be selected by the Polish people themselves. *(*To try to force either of the provisional governments on the Polish people -- the Warsaw government or the London government -- would have produced civil strife.*)*

To achieve this objective, it *proved for the formation of*
~~it~~ *was necessary to create* a new government much more representative than ~~it~~ had been possible ~~to create~~ while Poland was enslaved. Accordingly, steps were taken at Yalta to reorganize the existing Provisional Government in Poland on a broader democratic basis, so as to include democratic leaders now in Poland and those abroad. This new, reorganized government will be recognized by all of us as the temporary government of Poland.

However, the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity will be pledged to holding a free election as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and a secret ballot.

Throughout history, Poland has been the corridor through which attacks on Russia have been made. Twice in this generation,

Germany has struck at Russia through this corridor. To insure European security and world peace, a strong and independent Poland is necessary.

The decision with respect to the ~~(political)~~ boundaries of Poland was a compromise, under which ^{however,} the Poles will receive ^{Compensation.} ~~reimbursement~~ in territory in the North and West in exchange for what they lose by the Curson Line. The limits of the Western boundary will be permanently fixed in the final Peace Conference. It was agreed that a large coast line should be included.

It is well known that the people east of the Curson Line are ^{wholly} predominantly Russian and Ukrainian; and that the people west of the line are predominantly Polish. As far back as 1919, the representatives of the Allies agreed that the Curson Line represented a fair boundary between the two peoples.

I am convinced that the agreement on Poland, under the circumstances, is the most hopeful agreement possible for a free, independent and prosperous Polish State.

[With respect to France, there was the same objective as with all liberated areas -- to build a strong, independent and free France with a government of its own choosing.]

FIFTH DRAFT

(A) - 24 -

The Crimean Conference was a meeting of the three major military powers, and it was not thought appropriate by any of the three participants that any nation which was not equipped with equal military power be included. That is why France was not a member of the Conference.

*But no one should detract from the recognition, ^{here accorded of} ~~as here~~ ^{role in the future of Europe and the world.}
France accorded at Yalta.*

France has been invited to accept a zone of control in Germany, and to participate as a fourth member of the Allied Control Council of Germany.

She has been invited to join as a sponsor of the International Conference at San Francisco.

She will be a permanent member of the International Security Council together with the other four major powers.

And, finally,
We have asked that France be associated with us in our joint responsibility over the liberated areas of Europe.

Agreement was reached on Yugo-Slavia (also) as announced in the communique; and is in process of fulfillment.

Quite naturally, the Yalta conference concerned itself only

I hope it was again taking her place in the family of nations.

(A)

on whose shoulders ~~had rested~~ ~~as well~~
rested the chief responsibility and
burden of the war. Although, for this
reason, France was not a participant in the
Conference,

with the European war and with the political problems of Europe -- and not with the Pacific war.

At Malts, however, our Combined British and American Staffs made their plans to increase the ^{attack} ~~effort~~ against Japan.

The Japanese war lords know that they are not being overlooked. They have felt the force of our B-29's, and our carrier planes; they have felt the naval might of the United States, and do not appear very anxious to come out and try it again.

The Japs know what it means to hear that "The United States Marines have landed". And we can add, having Iwo ^{Jima} ~~Jima~~ in mind: "The situation is well in hand".

They also know what is in store for the homeland of Japan now that General MacArthur has completed his magnificent march back to Manila, and Admiral Nimitz is establishing his air bases right in the back yard of Japan itself -- in Iwo Jima.

It is still a tough, long road to Tokyo. The defeat of Germany will not mean the end of the war against Japan. On the contrary, America must be prepared for a long and costly struggle ^{in the Pacific.} ~~in the Pacific.~~

4 ^{But} ~~the~~ the unconditional surrender of Japan is as essential as the defeat of Germany -- if our plans for world peace are to succeed. For Japanese militarism must be wiped out as thoroughly as German militarism.

On the way home from the Crimea, I made arrangements to meet personally King Farouk of Egypt, Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia, and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. Our conversations had to do with matters of common interest. They will be of great mutual advantage because they gave us an opportunity of meeting and talking face to face, and of exchanging views in personal conversation instead of formal correspondence.

On my voyage, I had the benefit of seeing our Army and Navy and Air Force at work.

All Americans would feel as proud of our armed forces as I am, if they could see and hear what I did.

Against the most efficient professional soldiers and sailors and airmen of all history, our men stood and fought — and won.

This is our chance to see to it that the sons and grandsons of these gallant fighting men do not have to do it all over again in a few years.

The Conference in the Crimea was a turning point in American history. There will soon be presented to the Senate of the United States and to the American people a great decision which will determine the fate of the United States -- and of the world -- for ^{generations} ~~centuries~~ to come.

There can be no middle ground here. We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration, or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict.

I know that the word "planning" is not looked upon with favor in some quarters. In domestic affairs, tragic mistakes have been made by reason of lack of planning; ^{on the other hand,} and many great improvements ^{have} in living, and many benefits to the human race, have been accomplished as a result of adequate, intelligent planning -- reclamations of desert areas, developments of whole river valleys, provision for adequate housing.

The same will be true in relations between nations. For a

second time, this generation is face to face with the objective of preventing wars. To meet that objective, the nations of the world will either have a plan or they will not. The groundwork of a plan has ^{now} been furnished, and has now been submitted to humanity for discussion and decision.

No plan is perfect. Whatever is adopted at San Francisco will doubtless have to be amended time and again over the years, just as our own Constitution has been.

No one can say exactly how long any plan will last. Peace can endure only so long as humanity really insists upon it, and is willing to work for it -- and sacrifice for it.

Twenty-five years ago, American fighting men looked to the statesmen of the world to finish the work of peace for which they fought and suffered. We failed them then. We cannot fail them again, and expect the world again to survive.

The Crimean Conference was a successful effort by the three leading nations to find a common ground for peace. It spells the end of the system of unilateral action and exclusive alliances and spheres of influence and balances of power and all the other expedients which have been tried for centuries -- and have failed,

We propose to substitute for all these, a universal organization in which all peace-loving nations will finally have a chance to join.

I am confident that the Congress and the American people will accept the results of this Conference as the beginnings of a permanent structure of peace upon which we can begin to build, under God, that better world in which our children and grandchildren -- yours and mine, the children and grandchildren of the whole world -- must live.

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