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ADDRESS Of The President To The Joint Session Of The Congress Polivered in The Well Of The House Chamber Upon His Return From The Crimes Conference March 1, 1945, at 12,30 p.m., e.w.t. Radio Ercadcast

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker, and Members of the Congress (Senate and of the House of Representatives):

I hope that you will pardon me for an unusual posture of sitting down during the presentation of what I want to say, but I know that you will realize that it makes it a lot easier for me in not having to carry about ten pounds of steel 'round, on the bottom of my legs; and also because of the fact that I have just completed a fourteen-thousand-mile trip. (applause)

First of all, I want to say, it is good to be home. (applause)

It has been a long journey. And I hope you will also agree that it has been, so far, (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 <u>are</u> here -- <u>you here</u> in the halls of the American Congress -- with the support of the American people -- concour in the <u>general conclusions</u> (decisions) reached at <u>a place called</u> Yaits, and give them your active support, the meeting will not have produced lamiting results.

And that is why I have come before you at the earliest hour I could after my return. I want to make a personal

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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 am returning from this trip -- that (which) took me ao (as) far (as seven thousand miles from the White House --) -- refreshed and inspired. I was well the entire time. I did not -- I was not ill for a second, until I arrived back in Washington, and there I heard all of the rumors which had occurred in my absence. (laughter) Yes, I returned from the trip refreshed and inspired. The Roosevelts are not, as you may suspect, averse to travel. (laughter) We <u>seem to</u> thrive on iti (applause)

And far away as I was, I was kept constantly informed of affairs in the United States. The modern miracleg of repid communication <u>have</u> (has) made -- <u>have made</u> this world very small. (; and) We must always bear <u>in sind</u> that fact (in mind), when we <u>speak</u> (think) or <u>think</u> (speak) of international relations. I received a steady stream of messages from Washington -- <u>I might say from not only the Executive branch with all its</u> <u>departments</u>, but also from the Legislative branch with all its <u>departments</u> -- 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 even risked the breaking of the security rule.

I come from the Grimea(n) 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 <u>in this</u> (at the) Crimes(n) Conference. The first was to bring defeat to Garmany 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 /llied Armies. And every hour gives us added pride in the heroic <u>evidence of</u> -- <u>the heroic</u> advance of our troops <u>in</u> <u>Germany -- on</u> (over) German soil <u>--</u> toward a meeting with the gallant Red Army. (applause)

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

That goal, too -- in that goal -- toward that goal (also), a tremendous stride was made.

At Toheran, a little over a year ago, there were longrange military plans laid by the Chiefs of Staff of the three most powerful mations. Among the civilian leaders at Toheran, however, at that time, there were only exchanges of views and expressions of opinion. No political <u>arrangements</u> (agreements) were made -- and none was attempted.

At the Crimea(n) 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 enthusinstic effort to reach an agreement. Since the time of (the) Teheran (Conference), <u>a year sgo</u>, there had developed among all of us <u>a</u> -- what shall I call it? -- a greater facility in negotiating with each other (, which) <u>that</u> sugars well for the (nuture) peace of the world. We know each other better.

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

<u>There were a number of things that we did that were</u> <u>concrete -- that were definite.</u> For instance, the lapse of time between Teheran and Yalta without conferences of <u>represent-</u> <u>atives -- of</u> civilian representatives of the three major powers has proved to be too long -- fourteen months. During <u>that</u> (this) long period, local problems were permitted to become acute in places like Foland and Greece and Italy and Tugo-Slavia.

Therefore, we decided at Yalta that, even if circumstances made it impossible for the heads of the three governments to do it -- to meet more often in the future, we would make that sure by arranging that there were to (would) be (more) frequent personal contacts for the exchange of views, between the Secretaries of State and the Foreign Ministers of these three Powers.

(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. <u>And</u> I feel very confident that under this arrangement <u>that</u> there will be no recurrences of the incidents which this winter disturbed the friends of world-wide cooperation and collaboration.

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When we not at Yalta, in addition to laying our strategio and tactical plans for <u>the complets</u> (a final) and <u>final</u> (complete) military victory over Germany, there were <u>other</u> (a number of) problems of vital political consequence.

For instance, 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 <u>the</u> Nazis(m) nor Frussien militarism could again be revived to threaten the peace and <u>the</u> civilization of the world. (applause)

Secondly -- again for example -- there was the settlement of the few differences <u>that</u> (which) remained among us with respect to the International Security Organization after the Dumberton Oaks Conference. As you remember, at that time, I said -- after it -- that we had agreed ninety percent. Well, that's -- that's -- that's pretty good -- pretty good percentage. I think the other ten percent were ironed out at Teheran -- at Yelts.

Thirdly, there were the -- the -- there were the general political and economic problems common to all of the areas that would be in the future or which have been (which had been or would be) liberated from the Nazi yoks. <u>Yery special prob</u>lem. We over here find it difficult to understand the ramifications of many of these problems in foreign lends, but we are trying to.

Fourth, (there were) the special problems created by a few instances such as 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 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 togetter. (applause)

<u>Of course, we know that</u> it was Hitler's hope -- and <u>the German warlords'</u> -- that we would <u>not</u> agree -- that some slight orack might appear in the solid wall of Allied unity, <u>a</u> <u>orack that</u> (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 <u>meny</u> months.

But Hitler has failed. (applause)

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

The Soviet, and British and United States Chiefs of Staff hold daily meetings with each other (, and). They conferred frequently with Marshal Stalin, and (with) Frime

Minister Churchill and with me, on the problem of coordinating the strategic and tactical efforts of (all) the Allied <u>Powers</u> (forces). They completed their plans for the final knock-out blows to Germany.

At the time of the Teheran Conference, the Russian front, <u>for instance</u>, was (so far) removed <u>so far</u> from the American and British fronts that, while certain long-range strategic cooperation was possible, there could be no taotical, day-by-day coordination. <u>They were too far spart</u>. But Russian troops have now crossed Poland (, and). <u>They</u> are fighting on the Zastern soil of Germany <u>herself</u>; British and American troops are now on German soil close to the (River) Rhine <u>River</u> in the West. It'<u>s</u> (is) a different situation today <u>from what it was</u> <u>fourteen months ago</u>; a closer taotical lisison has become possible <u>for the first time in Europe</u> -- and, in the Crimea(n) Conference, (this) <u>that was something else that was</u> (has been) accomplished.

Provision was made for daily exchange of information between the armies under <u>the</u> command of General Elsenhower <u>on</u> <u>the Western front, and</u> those <u>armies</u> under <u>the</u> command of the Soviet marshals on <u>that long</u> (the) Eastern front, and <u>also with</u> our armies in Italy -- without the necessity of going through the Chiefs of Staff in Washington <u>or</u> (and) London as in the past.

You have seen one result of this exchange of information in the recent bombings 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 tastics of the war -- 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 in direct support of the Soviet Armies, as well as in the 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, <u>German</u> (and) materials to the Eastern and Western fronts from other parts of Germany or (and) from Italy.

Arrangements <u>have been</u> (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. Fritish, and Russian.

Details of (all) these plans and arrangements are military secrets, of course; but they are going to (will) hasten -- this tieing of things in together is going to hasten the day of the final collapse of Germany. The Nazis are learning about some of them already, to their sorrow. And I think all three of us at the Conference felt that they will learn more about them tomorrow and the next day -- and the (every) day after that! (applause)

There will be no respite to these attacks (for them). We will not desist for one moment until unconditional surrender. (applause) You know, I've always felt that common sense prevails in the long run -- quiet, overnight thinking. I think that's true in Germany, just as much as it is here.

The German people, as well as the German soldiers must realize that (the) sconer -- <u>the sconer</u> they give up and surrender -- <u>surrender</u> by groups or <u>by</u> (as) individuals, the sconer their present agony will be over. They must realize that only with complete surrender can they begin to resetablish 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 englavement 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 -- they are working at it day and night -- for it is -- for that is how the Nazis hope to save their own skins, how to (and) deceive their people into continued and useless resistance.

We did, however, make it clear at the (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 mations will occupy and control a separate zone of Germany -and the administration of the four zones will be coordinated - goordinated in Berlin by a Control Council composed of

representatives of the four nations.

Unconditional surrender (also) means something else. It means the end of Nazies. (applause) (, and) It means the end of the Nazi party -- and (all) of all its barbaric laws and institutions.

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

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, of (and) its military equipment; the end of its production of armament; the dispersel 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 -- reparations in kind for the damage which (it) has been done to the innocent victims of its aggression.

By compelling reparations in kind -- in plants, (and) in machinery, (and) in rolling stock, (and) in raw materials -we shall avoid the mistake <u>that we and other people -- other</u> <u>nations</u> made after the last war; <u>the</u> (of) demanding <u>of</u> 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 rest of the (future) world now and in the future. Too much experience has shown that that objective is impossible if Germany is allowed to retain any ability to wage aggressive warfare. (applause)

<u>Now, these</u> (That) objectives will not <u>hurt</u> (harm) the Garman people. On the contrary, <u>they will give them --</u> <u>they</u> (it) will protect them from a repetition of the fate which the General Staff and Kaiserism imposed on them before, and which Hillerism is now imposing upon them again a hundredfold. It will be removing a cancer from the German body <u>politic</u>, which for generations has produced only misery and <u>only</u> pain to for).

During my stay <u>in --in</u> (at) Yalta, I saw the kind of reokless, senseless fury, <u>the terrible</u> (and) destruction <u>that</u> (which) comes out of German militarisa. Yalta, <u>on the Black</u> <u>Sea</u>, had no military significance of any kind. <u>It had</u> (, and) no defense(s).

Before the lest war, it had been a resort -- <u>a resort</u> for <u>people like</u> (the) Czars <u>and princes</u>, and (for the) aristooracy (of Russia) -- <u>and the hangers-on</u>. (Afterward) However, <u>after the war, after the Red Revolution</u>, (and) until the attack <u>on</u> (upon) the Soviet Union by Hitler, <u>a few years ago</u>, the palaces, (and) <u>the</u> villes of Yalta had been used as a rest and rescreation center by the Russian people.

The Nazi officers took these former palaces and villas -- took them over for their own use. The only reason that the so called former palace of the Czar was still habitable, when we got there, was that it had been given -- or he thought it

had been given -- to a German general for his own property and his own use. And when Yalta was as destroyed, he kept soldiers there to protect what he thought would become his own, nice ville. It was a -- it was a useful rest and recreation center for hundreds of thousands of Russian workers, farmors and their families, up to the time that it was taken again by the Germans. The Mazi officers took these places for their own use, and when the Red Army forced the Nazis out of the Crimea -- just almost a year ago -- last April, I think it was -- all of these villes were looted by the Nazis, and then nearly all of them were destroyed by bombs placed on the inside. And even the humblest of the homes of Yalta were not spared.

There was little left (in Yalta) <u>of it except blank</u> (but) <u>walls --</u> ruin<u>s</u> -- <u>destruction</u> (and desolation).

Sevastopol -- that was a fortified port, about forty or fifty miles away --- there again was (also) a scene of uttar destruction -- a large city with great navy yards and fortifications -- I think (with) less than a dozen buildings were left intact in the entire (whole) city.

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

Let us go on with the story, which I hope to do under an hour.

Of equal importance with the military arrangements at the Crimean (sic) Conference were the agreements reached with respect to a general international -- <u>international</u> organization for lasting world peace. The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks. There was one point, however, on which agreement was not reached (at Dumbarton Oaks). It involved the procedure of voting -- <u>of voting</u> in the Security Council<u>s</u>. <u>I want to try to make</u> it clear by making it simple. It took me hours and hours to get the thing straight in my own mind -- and many conferences.

At the Crimea(n) Conference, the Americans made a proposal -- <u>a proposal</u> on <u>the</u> (this) subject which, after full discussion, <u>I am glad to say</u>, was unanimously adopted by the other two nations.

It is not yet possible to announce the terms of \underline{tt} (that) (agreement) publicly, but it will be in a (very) short time.

When the conclusions reached (at the Crimeen Conference) with respect to voting (in the Security Council) are made known, <u>I think and I hope that</u> (I believe) you will find them <u>fair -- that you will find them</u> a fair solution of this complicated and difficult problem: Secause it's -- it's a -- might almost say it's a legislative problem. They are founded in justice, and will go far to assure international cooperation in the maintenance of peace.

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.

(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 <u>upon</u> (under) which the peace of the world will be preserved and the forces of aggression permanently outlawed.

This time we are (shall) not making (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 <u>win</u> (get) the war <u>finally</u> (over quickly), we work together to keep it from happening again.

<u>I</u> -- as you know -- I have always been a believer in the document celled the Constitution of the United States. And <u>I</u> spent a good deal of time in educating two other mations of the world in regard to the Constitution of the United States. The oharter has to be -- and should be -- approved by the Senate of the United States, under the Constitution. I think the other mations all know it now. (laughter) <u>I</u> an aware of that fact, and now all the other mations 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 maxt month.

(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) the Congressional delegates (to the San Francisco Conference) to (will) consist of an equal number of -- and Senatorial -- an equal number of Republican and Democratic members. The American Delegation is -- in every sense of the word -- bipartisen.

But, I think that world peace is not exactly a party question. I think that Republicens want peace just as much as Democrats. (applause) It is not a party question -- any more than is military victory -- the winning of the war.

When <u>the</u> (our) Republic was threatened, first by the Nazi clutch for world conquest <u>back</u> in 1940 --- '39 -- and then by the Japanese treachery <u>in</u> (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, <u>I think</u>, by every patrictic American, (and) by every human soul overseas, too.

The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man, or one party, or one nation. It cannot be just an American peace, or a British <u>peace, or</u> 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 coorderative effort of the whole world.

It must be a structure of complete -- it cannot be, what some people think, 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 concept(ion) of the dignity of the human being -- <u>end</u> on the guarantees of tolerance and freedom of religious worship.

As the Allied Armies have marched to military victory, they have liberated people(s) whose liberties had been crushed by the Nazis for four <u>long</u> years, (and) whose economy <u>has</u> (had) been reduced to ruin by Nazi despolars.

There have been instances of political confusion and unrest in these liberated areas -- that is not unexpected -- as in Greece or in (and) Poland or in (and) Yugo-Slavia, and there may be more (other places). Worse than that, there actually began to grow up in some of these places queer (them vagualy defined) ideas of -- for instance, "spheres of influence" that (which) were incompatible with the basic principles of international collaboration. If allowed to go on unchecked, these developments might have had tragic results in time.

It is fruitless to try to place the blame for this situation on one particular nation or <u>on</u> another. It is the kind of development <u>that</u> (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 <u>that</u> (which) may arise to endanger the peace of the world.

We met in the Crimea, determined to settle this matter of liberated areas. Things that might happen that we

can't foresee at this moment might happen suddenly -- unexpectedly
-- next week or next month. And I am happy to confirm to the
Congress that we did arrive at a settlement -- and, incidentally,
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 <u>--</u> after hostilities <u>--</u> to help the people of any liberated area, or of any former satellite state, to solve their own problems through firaly established democratic processes.

They will endeavor to see -- to see to it that interim governing -- the people who carry on the interim government between occupation by (sic) Germany, and by true independence (sic), that such an interim government will be (authorities are) as representative as possible of all democratic elements in the population, and that free elections are held as soon as possible thereafter.

Responsibility for political conditions thousends of miles <u>away</u> (oversees) can no longer be avoided, <u>I think</u>, by this great nation. <u>Certainly, I don't want to live to see another war.</u> As I have said, the world is <u>smaller</u> -- <u>smaller</u> <u>every year</u> (if is a smaller world). The United States now exerts a <u>tremendous</u> (vast) influence in the oause of peace (throughout all the world). <u>What we people over here are</u> thinking and talking about is in the interest of peace.

because it's known all over the world. The slightest remark in the -- sither House of the Congress, it's known all over the world the following day. We (It) will continue to exert that influence, only if we are (it is) willing to continue to share in the responsibility for keeping the peace. It will (would) be our own tragic loss, <u>I think, if</u> (were) we were to shirk that responsibility.

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

Of course, once that there has been a true (free) expression of the peoples' will in any country, our immediate responsibility ends -- with the exception only of such action as may be agreed on (upon) by the (in the) International Security Organization that we hope to set up.

The United Nations must also (soon) begin to help these liberated areas adequately to reconstruct their economy --<u>I don't want them starving to death</u> -- so that they are ready to resume their places in the world. The Nazi war machine has stripped them of rew materials and machine tools and trucks

and locomotives, <u>and things like that</u>. They have left <u>the</u> (their) industry <u>of these places</u> stagment and much of <u>the</u> (their) agricultur<u>al(e) areas are</u> unproductive. <u>The Nazis</u> <u>have left a complete ruin, or a partial ruin in their wake</u>.

To start the wheels running again is not a more matter of relief. It is to the mational interest <u>that</u> (of) all of us -- <u>all of us</u> (to) see <u>to it</u> that these liberated areas are again made self-supporting and productive so that they do not need <u>continuous</u> (continued) relief from us. <u>I should say that</u> was an argument based on plain common sonse.

One outstanding example of joint action by the three major <u>Allied Powers</u> (Allies) (in the liberated areas) was the solution reached on Foland. The whole Folish question was a potential source of trouble in post-war Europe -- <u>as it has</u> <u>been sometimes before</u> -- and we came to the conference determined to find a common ground for its solution. <u>And we did --</u> <u>aven though everybody doesn't agree with us, obviously.</u>

Our objective was to help <u>to</u> create a strong, independent, and prosperous mation. That's the thing we must always remember, those -- those words, agreed to by Russia, by Britain, and by me: the objective of making Foland a strong, independent and prosperous mation, with a government ultimately to be selected by the Folish people themselves.

To achieve <u>that</u> (this) objective, it <u>is</u> (was) necessary to provide for the formation of a new government much more representative than had been possible while Foland was enslaved. There were, as you know, two governments -- one in London.

one in Lublin -- practically in Russia. Accordingly, steps were taken at Yalta to reorganize the existing Provisional Government in Polend 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. <u>Foland needs a temporary government in the worst way -- an ad interim government</u>, t think is another way of putting it.

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, Foland 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 Kuropean security and world peace, a strong and independent Foland is necessary to prevent that from happening egain.

The decision with respect to the boundaries of Poland was, <u>frankly</u>, a compromise. <u>I didn't agree with all of it</u>, by any meens, but we didn't go as far as <u>Britain wanted</u>, in certain <u>-- certain areas; we didn't go so far as <u>Russia wanted</u>, in cer-<u>tain areas; and we didn't go so far as <u>Russia wanted</u>, in cer-<u>tain areas; and we didn't go so far as <u>Russia wanted</u>, in cer-<u>tain areas; and we didn't go so far as <u>Russia wanted</u>, in cer-<u>tain areas; and we didn't go so far as <u>Russia wanted</u>, in cer-<u>tain areas; and we didn't go so far as <u>Russia wanted</u>, in cer-<u>tain areas; and we didn't go so far as <u>Russia wanted</u>, in cer-<u>tain areas; and we didn't go so far as <u>Russia wanted</u>, in cer-<u>tain areas; and we didn't go so far as <u>Russia</u> <u>a compromise -- is one</u>, however, 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 in the</u></u></u></u></u></u></u></u></u> East. The limits of the Western <u>border</u> (boundary) will be permanently fixed in the final Peace Conference. <u>We know, roughly,</u> that it will include -- in the new, strong Polend -- quite a large slice of what now is called Germany. And it was agreed, also, that the new Foland will have a large and long coast line, and many new harbors. Also, that East Prussia -- most of it -- will go to Foland. A corner of it will go to Russia. Also, that the -- what shall I call it? -- the anomaly of the Free State of Danzig, I think Danzig would be a lot better if it were Polish.

It is well known that the people east of the Curzon Line -- just for example, here is why I compromised -- the people East of the Curzon Line are predominantly white Russian and Ukrainian -- they are not Foliah; and a very great majority of (that) the people west of the line are predominantly Foliah, except in that part of East Frussia and Eastern Germany, which will go to the new Folend. As far back as 1919, (the) representatives of the Allies agreed that the Curzon Line represented a fair boundary between the two peoples. And you must remember, also, that there was no Folend before -- hada't been any Foliah covernment -- before 1919 for a great many generations.

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

Now, the Crimse(n) Conference was a meeting of the three major military powers on whose shoulders rested (the) chief responsibility and burden of the war. Although, for

this reason another nation was not included, France was not a participant in the Conference, no one should detract from the recognition that was (there) accorded there to (of) her role in the future of Europe and the future of the world.

France has been invited to accept -- this was on -on my -- second part was on my motion (nic) -- 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 next month.

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 that -that she be associated with us in our joint responsibility over the liberated areas -- all of them -- in (of) Europe.

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.

Agreement was (also) reached on Yugo-Slavia, as announced in the communique; and <u>we hope that it's</u> (is) in process of fulfillment. But, not only there but some other places, we have to remember that there are a great many prime donnas in the world. All of them wish to be heard, before enything becomes final, so we may have a little delay while we listen to more prime donnas.

Quite naturally, this (the Crimean) Conference

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

 \underline{In} (At) Malta, however, our Combined British and American Staffs made their plans to increase the attack against Japan.

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

The Japs <u>now</u> know what it means to hear that "The United States Marines have landed." (prolonged applause) And <u>I think I</u> (we) can add <u>that</u> having Iwo Jima in mind, <u>that</u> "The situation is well in hand." (more applause)

They also know what is in store for the homeland of Japan now that General Hsoárthur has completed his magnificent march back to Hanila -- (appleuse) -- and that Admirel Nimitz is establishing (his) air bases right in <u>their own</u> (the) back yard (of Japan itself -- in Iwo Jima). (more appleuse)

But, lest somebody else lay off work in the United States, I can repeat what I have said -- a short sentence -even in my sleep: "We haven't won the wars yet" -- with an S on "wars."

It's longer to go to Tokyo than it is to Berlin, in every sense of the word. The defest of Germany will not mean the end of the word against Japan. On the contrary, we (America) must

be prepared for a long and costly struggle in the Pacific.

But the unconditional surrender of Japan is as essential as the defect of Germany. (applause) <u>I say that advisedly</u>, with the thought in mind that that is especially true (,) if our plans for world peace are to succeed. For Japanese militarism must be wiped out as thoroughly as German militarisa.

On the way <u>back</u> (home) from the Crimes, I made arrangements to meet personally King Farouk of Zgypt, Haile Selassie, <u>the</u> Emperor of Miniopis, and King Ibn Seud of Saudi Arebia. Our conversations had to do with matters of common interest. They will be of great mutual advantage because they gave (us) <u>me, end a good many of us</u>, an opportunity of meeting and talking face to face, (and of) <u>in</u> exchanging views in personal conversation instead of formal correspondence.

For instance, on the problem of -- of Arabia, I learned more about that whole problem -- the Moslem 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.

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

All Americans, <u>I think</u>, would feel <u>proud --</u> as proud of our armed forces as I am, if they could see and hear what I did.

Against the most efficient professional <u>leaders</u> (soldiers and sailors and airmen of all history, our men stood and fought -- and won. (applause)

I think that this is our chance to see to it that

the sons and <u>the</u> grandsons of these gallant fighting men do not have to do it all over again in a few years.

The Conference in the Crimes was a turning point -- \underline{I} hope in our history and therefore in the history of the world (in American history). There will soon be presented to the Senate (of the United States) and (to) the American people a great decision that (which) will determine the fate of the United States -- and \underline{I} think, therefore, the fate 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 <u>circles</u> (quarters). In domestic affairs, tragio 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 desart areas, developments of whole rivar valleys, provision for adequate housing, and a dozen different topics.

The same will be true in relations between nations. For the (a) second time in the lives of most of us 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. Feace 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 ego, American fighting men looked to the statemen of the world to finish the work of peace for which they fought and suffered. <u>We failed them</u>. We failed them then. We cannot fail them again, and expect the world (again) to survive again.

<u>I think</u> the Grimea(n) Conference was a successful effort by the three leading nations to find a common ground <u>of</u> (for) peece. It spells -- <u>it ought to spell</u> -- the end of the system of unilateral action, <u>the</u> (and) exclusive alliances, <u>the</u> (and) spheres of influence, <u>the</u> (and) balances of power and all the other expedients <u>that</u> (which) have been tried for centuries -- and have always failed.

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

And 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, and can live.

And that, my friends, is the only message I can give you. But I feel it very deeply, as I know that all of you ere feeling it today, and are going to feel it in the future.

(prolonged applause)

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FILE MEMO:

This is the transcript of the President's

Address made March 1st, as taken down by the

House reporters,

(Copy of the Congressional Record attached also as it contained the Address)



TURN TO J. ROMAGNA

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STATEMENTS FILE

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MARCH 1, 1945

COFFIDERTIAL: To be held in STRICT CONFIDENCE and no partion, synopsis or intimation to be published or given out until dolivory of the President's message to the Congress HAS BROON.

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

CAUTION: Extreme care must be exercised to avoid promoture

> JONATEAN DANTELS Administrative Assistant to the President

> > aler

a place called

and Congreso; MR. VICE PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, JEABERS OF THE SEMITE AND OF THE HOUSE OF REFERENCESTING Priver ball, I want to say

It is good to be home . (any James? It has been a long journey. Al hope you will agree that it was a fruitful one. -yalu

Speaking in all frameness, the question of whether it is to be entirely fruitful or pet lies to a great extent in your hands. For unless you fire in the halls of the American Congress - with the support of the Imerican poople - concur in the desteigns reached at faits, and give them your active support, the meeting will not have produced lasting results.

Af that is why I come before you at the carlicat hour \mathcal{O} after my return. I want to make a personal report to you - and, at the same time, to the people of the country. Many menths of carment work are should of us all, and I should like to feel that when the last stone is laid on the structure of international posec, it will be an achievement for which all of us in America have worked stoadfastly and unselfishly - together.

I roturn from this trip -- which took no se far sehousand miles from the White House - refreshed and inspired. The Roosevelts are not, as you may suspect, averse to travel. The thrive on it! (moleneed to

(and far andy as I was, I was kopt constantly informed of affairs in the United States. The actern miracloy() repid communication has made this world were small, and Wo must always boury that the size which we states or speak of international root lations. I received a steady stream of messages from Washington (A) weer week and except where radio silence was necessary for security purposes, I call continuously and mussings any place in the world, and of equiva, in a grave energy, we could expn have risked de

for a straid, untill with a firm balled that we have made a good start on the read invived including to a world of poses. I cone from the Crincal Conference, my follow impricant;

in this Washington, and these There all the The first was to bring defent to Germany with the grostest possible more which had speed, and with the smallest possible loss of allied men. That purpose is now being carried out in great force. The German Army, Steamed As by purpose is not come carried out in grant force, the ourman arcy, assault, (and the Comma popul, are fooling the over-increasing might of your digital out of the state of the allied and are force for a state of the force right of the state of the state of the state of the state is force right of the state of the state of the state of the state is force right of the state of the state of the state of the state is force right of the state of the state of the state of the state is force right of the state of the state of the state of the state of the is force right of the state of the is force right of the state y.a (widow of the herri

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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 pace among the mations of the world. P That goal, tor - in that goal --

A Toward that goal alie, a tremendous stride was made. a little

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that

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 attampted.

At the Crimsal 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 Teheren Conference, there had developed among all of us - fur and all 3 a greater facility in negotiating with each other, which chet call it ? ... augure well for the Salare peace of the world, hit far sal she lick,

I nave never for an instant wavered in my bolief that an agreement to insure world peace and security can be reached. If Manuae a much and faining that is do far is not and the second of the barree of the barreen Teheran and Yalta without and the second removes a faining an another that a second of the second of the barreen Teheran and Yalta without I have never for an instant wavered in my belief that

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conferences of poivilian representatives of the three major when has proved to be too long - fourteen mothe. During char the long period, local problems were parmitted to become acute in places like Poland and Greece and Italy and Nugo-Slavia. trian

Therefore we decided at Malta that, even if circumstances and it impossible for the heads of the three governments to met more often in the future, we would gain Sirve that there see a serve frequent personal contacts for Schnage of wars and the decimant anang

Accordingly, We arranged for periodic meetings of the foreign scortarian of first Spissing, Russis and the United States at intervals of three or four motios of feel very confident that under this arrangement there will be no recurrence of the institute which this origent disturbed the friends of of the incidents which this winter disturbed the friends of world-wide_collaboration. the complete linal

When we not at Talta, in addition to laying our strategic and tactical plans for - Maai and complete military viotory over Germany, there were a weight of problems of vital political consequence.

Jerical Control of Germany After victory, the complete destruction control of Germany After victory, the complete destruction of her military perer, and the assumes that heliter, Maining nor Frussian militarias could again be revived to threaten the peace and Ciriliarito en the marile (regiment)

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

liberated from the Masi yoke.

the Secretarian State and the Famiger Minis

Fourth, there were the special problems created by e fa-

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 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. (applanes) - und the Sermon worlderts --

Guene, we then that it was Hiller'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 follow gangstors one last unity and the state of the state hope of oscaping their just doon. That is the objective for hope of escaping their due to be working for ponths.

But Hitler has failed. (applance)

also Nover before have the major Allies been more closely united -- not only in their war aims but in their pace aims. And they are determined to certinue to be united with each other -- and with all pace-lowing mations - so that the ideal of lasting will 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, which Frie Minister Churchill and with no, on the problem of coordinating the strategic and tactical afforts of 361 the Allied Server. They completed their plans for the final knock-out blows to Germany.

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in 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 What, while certain imp-range strategic cooperation was possible, there could be no teatical, devy-devy coordination. My unce But-Bussian troops have not crossed Folland, and are informed on the Bastern soll of Certainly fartism and American troops are non on Corman soil close to the Baver Enire in the Nest. on the Barrow soll of Decrange set the Barrow Bring IB the best. may now on Grains soll closer to be barrow better Higs a different hitselin today a closer tastical lision , His boom possible and the Criman Contractor, this better for the on the history for the first of the

Provision was made for daily exchange d'information between the armise under Command of General Eisenhower, those devalue ander company of the Sortic marchale on the Bastern Front, and our armise in faily - without the necessity of going through the Chiefs of Staff in Washington and London as in the past. ther lay

You have seen one result of this exchange of information in the recent bombings by American and English aircraft of points which are directly related to the Russien advance or Borlin.

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From now on, Amorican and British heavy bombers will be used - in the day-by-day tactics of the war at in direct ow most of the Soviet Armice, as well as in support of our own on the Mastern front.

They are now engaged in boobing and straining in order to hamper the neverant of German reserves, and materials to the Eastern and Western fronts from other parts of Germany #~ and from Italy.

Arrangements pere nade for the most effective dis-tribution of all available material and transportation to the places where they can best be used in the combined war offort - American, British, and Russian.

Details of the tong plant ind providents are Details of the tong plant ind providents are college of details, the provide has been plant to college of details, the lists are lakening boots some of them already, to that a superior, they will laken some shout and tongoing and the next day - and how a side for the func-ant tensories and the next day - and how a side for the func-

and think all the of us at the

to these attack There will be no respite for thum. We will not desist for one moment until unconditional surrender. (applaced)

Rinner @ Hase -> The German people, as well as the German poldiers must realise that the sconer they give up and surrender by groups or en individuals, the sconer their present agony will be over, They must realise 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, sgain, at Yalta, and I now repeat that unconditional surrender does not mean the destruction or emalavement of the Ownamo people. The Mani leaders have deliberately withhold that part of the Yalta declaration from the Owname and wait 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 destruction for bins, and deceive their people into continued and useless resistance. Good to

(they are writeing "I We did, however, make it clear at this Sonference just what unconditional surrender does mean for Germany.

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politic,

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 mones will be coordinated fon Berlin by a Control Council composed of representatives of the four nations.

Unconditional surrender abor means the end of Maximgel "yelows) and of the Maximy and add chairs barbard laws and institutions.

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

It means for the Mazi war oriminals a punishment that is speedy and just - and severe.

It means the complete distrnament 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 shattored the peace of the world.

It means that Germany will have to make reparations -- reparations in kind for the damage which to has done to the innocent victims of its aggression. - that we and other people - other nations

By compelling reparations in kind -- in plants, and on machinery and rolling stock and naw materials -- we shall avoid the mistakegade after the last way of damaining of 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 reat of the world. neet of de mon and in the julies

Our objective in handling dermingt statistic - 13 is to some the passe of the four evolution of the source of the source of the source allowed to retain any dulity to make source particles. If the converget for the source of the source particle of the intervention of the source of the source particle of the fore the converget for all protect the fore a repetition of the first which the description is possible of the first which the fore the source of the source particle of the first which for converget for the source of the source body which for converget for the source of the source body which for converget for the source of the source of the first which for converget for the source of the source of the first which for converget for the source of the source of the first which for converget for the source of the source of the source of the first which for converget for the source of the source of the source of the first which for converget for the source of the first for the source of the sourc

(they will give them - - they

During my stay startalta, I saw the kind of recklass. senseless fury, and destruction which comes out of German militarism. Yalta had no military significance of any kind, T had and no defenses. large blackson.

Before the last war, 10 had been a resorting the sect played like Ourreland for the astronomy between a flavour for the sec-tion and the section with the bornet than on the theory of the set places de villes of faith for the been used as a rest add

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What Serastopol was above a same of utter destruction $-\alpha$ with less than a dozen buildings left intact in the whole city. allink

I had read about Warsow 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. (pr/myd opp auce) <u>Histi</u> Of equal importance with the military arrangements - international at the Grimean Conference were the agreements reached with respect to a general international organization for lasting world peace. The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks. There was one point, however, on which agreement was not reached at Dumbarton Oaks. It involved the procedure of voting in the Security Councils

INSERT (H) HERE

At the Crimeas Conference, the Americans made a proposal on WES subject which, after full discussion, was unanimously adopted by the other two nations.

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

When the conclusions reached at the Crimon Confer with respect to voting in the Security Council are made known. 9cha I bolieve 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 mointenance of pesse. INSERT (I) HERE

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

This time we and not make the mistake of waiting ints the way were not have the interve of mathing until the end of the war to set up the mechanizery of passes. This then, as we fight together to fight the war was substity finally work together to keep if from happening again. *miletr (J) were* the work model water of the constitutional fact - as are

all the United Mations - that this charter must be approved by two-thirds of the Senate of the United States -- as will some of the other arrungements made at Yalta.

The Senate of the United States, through its appropriate representatives, he been kept continuously advised of the ogram of this government in the creation of the International courity Organization.

The Senate and the House of Representatives will both The Santo And the louis of Laplacenterity of this own be represented at 16 San Francisco Conference. The Compressional dologitos to the far Francisco Conference all consist of an oqual music of Angenblian and Denoretic enchors, the Angentan Delegation is - in overy sense of the word - bipartisan, , I think that Republic

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Macquine 13 - in every same of the word - biophilam, for flar 9 diak Word papers in you, a party quantum - way now ham in will very vietney - the same of the same in which are paper of the same of the same clutch for words composited will and then by the basis clutch for words composited will and then by the basis

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by nearly every American; and every resource was dedicated to our common safety. The sume consecration to the cause of our comen sates. The every patriotic American, and by every human soul overseas "Schuck, pase, r just

The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man, or one party, or one mation. It caunot be an American peace, or a British, a Runsinn, & French, or a Chinese peace. It cannot be a peace of large mations - or of sonll nations. It must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world.

net be a stimuline of competer - Detructure of complete perfection at first. But Wichn 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 Arhies dave marched to military victory. they have liberated peopley those liberties had been crushed by the Mazis for four years, and whose scenary had been reduced to ruin by Mazi despoilers.

There have been instances of publical conversion of the second se the basic principles of international collaboration. If allowed to go unduccied, these developments might have had tragic results inded in the trade of the second that

It is fruitings to try to place the blane for this situation on one perticular ration or mother. It is the kind of development into a lost inevitable unless the major powers of the world continue without interruption to work together and the assume joint responsibility for the solu-tion of problems which may arise to endanger the peace of the that world.

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note. ("applance) I wont a porty grad

We not in the Crines, determined to settle this matter of liberated areas. Al an happy to confirm to the Congress that we did arrive at a sottlement - a unanimous sottlement.

The three most powerful nations have agreed that the political and economic problems of gry area liberated from the list conquert, or of any former than articlito, are a joint responsibility of all three governments. They will join together, during the temporary period of instability fiter hostilities, to help the people of anyliberated area, or of any former A satalite state, to solve their emproblems through firmly established denoeratic processes.

Jonen IT, the p They will indeavor to see to it that interim governing They that any first open that we sail for an many settledy - must alonents in the population, and that free elections are held as seen as populations for the set

The operation of the policial continues thousands of interconverse on o larger be avoided by this pract nation. Action is I have baild, disc, a mailing avoid, "The birth States procepts a what filtence in the cause of prose, thereas the state that marked by a state of the states of the states of the states that marked by the states of the states of the states of the disc states of the stat

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Of course, encouchere has been a free, opposite of the peoples' till in any chuntry, our insertion propositility offs -- with the exception only of met action ag any to agreed with the international Security Organization are depart any.

The United Mations must less with begin to help these liberated areas dequality to reconstruct their commany coment they are ready to remain their liberation of the second bat they are ready to remain their liberation of the second tools and thread al concentive. They may first the second second stagmant and much of their agridulture diproductive. As they atagmant and much of their agridulture diproductive. As they atagmant and much of their agridulture diproductive. As they atagmant and much of their agridulture diproductive. As they atagmant and much of their agridulture diproductive. As they atagmant and much of the second second second second second as the second sec

To start the whole running again is not a more atter of rolaf. It is to be national interest, we all of us a soch a that those Atberated areas are again made bolf-supporting and graduative so that they do not nod comprehend rolas from us. Asian

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Constanting example of joint action by the three migra like in the liberated errors was the solution rached on Poland. The thele Foliable action was a potential source of trachle in post-war Rurope, and we can to the conference determined to find a commo graded for its solution. "So did @

Our objective use to help, create a strong, independent, and prosperous nation, with a government ultimetal the rive selected by the Polish people themselves.

To solve Ania objective, it will necessary to provide for the furst into if a new generation and the performance than had been possible while beland was weallowed, Alecordingly, etces were them as fulls to icongrafis the cristing Provident Growmont in Poland on a broadey descertic basis, so just include doncerent is loaders mon, the Foland and these abreds. This may, recognized government yfil hor recognized by all if us as the temperary commont yfil hor recognized by all if us as

Housever, 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 ballet.

Throughout History, Poland has been the confider through thich attacks on Russia hvor been made. This in this generation, Gormany has struck at Russia through this confider. To insure European security and norld peace, a strong and independent Pilend is no cosmany. facewater shart

fact The decision with respect to the bundarius of Polent and a comprovide funder which search the fact for the funder of the second componention in territory in the North and Host is exchange

indy doesn't agree with the obviously .

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in the East the new Poland will

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Lebe orde.

for what they lose by the Curson Line. The limits of the Mestern boundary will be permanently fixed in the final Peace Conference. It was agreed that a large coast line, and

It is well known that the people east of the Curson Line) are predominantly white Mussian and Ukrainian And that the people west of the line are predominantly Polish, he far back as 1919, the representatives of the Allies agreed that the Curzon Line represented a fair boundary between the two peoples. Miser O here grathrynch filed greating into the she

Inder

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

 ℓe^{-} , The Crimean Conference was a meeting of the three major military powers on whose shoulders rest the chief reasons while a matter of the war. Although, for this reasons frame was not a participant in the Conference, no one should detract from the recognition there accorded of to her role in the future of Europe and therefords. Mouse future films of the future of Europe and therefords. The future future films of the future future films of control

in Germany, and to participate as a fourth na nber of the Allied Control Council of Germany. INSERT (R) HERE

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

She will be a permanent member of the international Security Council together with the other four major powers. ratin was that that the

And, finally, we have asked that France, be associated with us in our joint responsibility over the liberated areas and Europe. we hope that it's

INSERT (S) HERE Agreement was also reached on Yugo-Slavis, as announced communique, and win process of fulfilment, (MYSST 0 Hits Quite naturally, the Chimean Conference concerned itself in the

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

3-At Malta, however, our Combined British and American Staff's 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. (prolonged applause) that

The Japs Jacw what it means to hear that "The United States Marines have landed", And the can add having Two Jima in mind a "The situation is well in hand" (And any farme)

Japan now that General Magarhur has completed his manifesting march back to Manife and Kämisal Naite is setablishing her air bises right in the back yard of Japan Land and Jim ward of Japan March and Japan Japa

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

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that that is Equivally

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ation

On the way here, from the Crimes, I made arrangements to meet personally King Farouk of Egypt, Haile belassie, for Emperor of Ethiopia, and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. Our conversations had to do with matters of common interest will be of great nutual advantage because they gave which an "Nor opportunity of pacifier and they have because they gave which an "Nor opportunity of meeting and talking face to face, and of in sood exchanging views in personal conversation instead of formal correspondence.

INSERT (HERE

Lack

spics .

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 sirmen of all history, our men stood and fought -and won, (exectance)

P 9 Chunk that this is our chance to see to it that the sons and the grandsons of these gallant fighting men do not have to do it all over again in a few years.

The Conference in the Crimes was a turning pointing and American Aistory. There will soon be presented to the Sente the operation of the United States and to the American people a great decision function of which will determine the fate of the United States -- and of the in the world -- for generations to come. 9 thank therefo

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 miny 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, and a dozen different

The same will be true in relations between nations. For the A second time this generation is face to face with the objective of proventing 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 secrifice for it.

Hefe .

Parmich)

Is willing to work for it -- and sacrifice for it. No. fadds there, Twenty-five years ago, Amfions fighting sen looked to the statement of the world to findsh the work of paces for which thought and suffered. [We fulled then then. We cannot full thom going, and expect the world achies to surfives/sec.

"Think the original Conference are a necessity of the type in the second provide the finite of the second provide the second pr the

the - it angles to speel -- We propose to substitute for all these, a universal organisation in which all peace-loving mations will finally have a change to join.

Cold I as coinfident that the Congress and the American popular 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 grandshildren — yours and mine, the children and grandshildren of the whole world — must live, fail on Live.

and that, my friends, is the only mesange I can give you. But I fal it very deeperg, as I know tall of you are feeling it today, and are poing to fail it in the Juture . (porlaged upg lance)

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Washington, D. C. Harch 1, 1945

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ADDRESS OF THE FRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES LEFORE A JOINT SESSION OF THE SEMATE AND THE HOUSE OF HEFRESITATIVES ON THE SUBJECT OF THE VALUE CONFERENCE.

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Vice-President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Senate and of the House of Mepresentatives; I hope you will pardon me for the unusual posture of sitting down during the presentation of what I wish to say, but I know you will realize it makes it a little easier for me in not having to carry about ten pounds of steal around the bottom of my legs (Laughter) and also because of the fact

I have just completed a 14,000-mile trip. (Applause).

Piret of all, I want to say that it is good to be home. It has been a long journey and I hope you will also agree, so far, a fruitful one.

Speaking in all framkness, the question of whether it is 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 "merican people concur in

the general conclusions reached at that place called Talta, and give them your active support, the meeting will not have produced lasting results; and that is why I nav, some before you at the earliest hour I could after my return. I want to make a personal report to you and at the same time to the people of the country.

Kany months of earnest work are sheed of us all, and I should like to feel that when the last stome is laid on the structure of international peace it will be an achievement toward which all of us in America have worked steadfastly and unselfishly together.

I am returning from this trip that took ms so far, refreshed and inspired. I was not ill for a second until I arrived back in Washington, and have I heard all of the remarks which had coourred in my obsence. (Laughter.) Yes; I returned from the trip refreshed and inspired. The Possevelts are not, as you may suspect, areres to trevely

(Laughter.) we seem to thrive on it (Applause.)

informed of affairs in the United States. The modern miracles of rapid communication have made this world very small. We must always bear in mind that fact when we speak or think of international relations. I received a steady stream of messages from Washington, I might say from not only the executive branch with all its departments, but also from the legislative branch in its two departments; 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 the breaking of the security rule.

And far away as I was, I was kept constantly

I come from the Orimean conference with a firm belief that we have made a good start on the road to a world of passe. There were two main purposes in this Orimean conferences the first was to bring defeat to Germany with the greatest possible speed and the mailest possible loss of Allied man. That purpose is now being carried out

with great force. The German samp, the German people are feeling the ever-increasing night of our fighting sen and of the Allied armies; and every hour gives us added pride in the herois advance of our troops in Germany on German soil toward a asseting with the gallant Red armies. The second purpose was to continue to build the foundation for an intermational accord that would bring order and security after the chace of the war, that would give some semuricon of lasting peace among the mations of the world. Toward that goal a treasndow stride was made.

At teherem a little over a year ago there were long range military plans laid by the chiefs of staffs of the three most powerful nations. Among the civilian leaders at Teheram, however, at that time there were only exchanges of views and expressions of opinion. We political arrangements were made and none was attempted. At the Oriman conference, however, the time had some for getting down to specific eases in the political field. There was no all

sides at this conference an enthusiastic effort to reach

an agreement.

Since the time of Teheren, a year ago, there had developed among all of us -- what shall I call it? A greater facility in negotiating with each other that augurs woll for the peace of the world; we know each other better.

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

There were a number of things that we did that were concrete, that were definite; for instance, the lapse of time between Teheran and Yalta without conferences of representatives, of civilian representatives of the three major powers, has proved to be too long -- 14 months. During that long period local problems were permitted to become soute in places like Foland, Greece, Italy, and Tugo-Slavia. We decided at Yalta therefore that seen if obrommatances made it impossible for the based of the three grownments to meet more often in the future, we would make that sure by arranging that there be frequent personal contacts for the exchange of views between the secretaries of state and the foreign ministers of these three powers; we arranged for periodic meetings at intervals of three or four months. I feel very confident that under this arrangement there will be no recurrences of the incidents which this winter disturbed the friends of world wide cooperation and collaboration.

When we not at Taits, in addition to laying out strategic and tastical plans for the complete and final military vistory over Germany, there were (discussed) other problems of vital political consequences for instance, first there was the problem of the occupation and control of Germany after vistory, the complete destruction of her military power, and the assurence that noither Mesian nor Prussion militarium could again be revived to threaten the

peace - the averagitam file wined . (applied)

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Becondly, egain for example, there was a settlemant of the few differences that remained among us in respect to the international security organization after the humbarton Gaks conference. As you remamber, at that time and afterwards I said we had about 90 percent accord. That is a pretty good percentage. I think the other 10 percent were ironed out at Yalka.

Thirdly, there ware the general political and economic problems common to all of the areas that would be in the future,or which have been, liberated from the Masi yoke, a very special problem. We over here find it very difficult to understand the remifications of many of these problems in foreign lands, but we are trying to.

Fourth, there were the special problems ormeted by a few instances such as Foland and Yugo-Slavia.

Days were spent in discussing these momentous matters, and we argued freely and frankly across the table. But at the end of every point unaninous agreement was

reached; and more important even than the agreement of words, I may say, we achieved a unity of thought and a way of cetting along together, (Applause.)

We know, of course, that it was the hope of Hillor and the German war lords that we would not agree, that some slight creak might appear in the solid wall of Allied unity, a creak that would give him and his fellow gangeters one last hope of escaping their just doom. That was the objective for which his propaganda machine has been working for many months.

But Hitler has failed, (Applause.) Kever before have the major Allies been more closely united not only in their war aims but also in their peace aims, and they are determined to continue to be united, to be united with each other and with all peace lowing nations so that the Edeal of lasting peace will become a reality.

The Soviet, and British, and United States Chiefs of Staff held daily meetings with each other.

Minister Onurchill, and with me on the problem of eccordinating the strategic and tastical efforts of the filled powers, They completed their plane for the final knowledge blows to Germany.

At the time of the Teheran conference the Passian front, for instance, was removed so far from the American and British fronts that while certain long-range strategie operations were possible there could be no testioni day-byday goordinations they were teo far spart. But Presian troops have now crossed Foland; they are fighting on the eastern soil of Germany herself. British and American troops are now on German soil close to the Maine river is the west. It is a different situation today from what it was 14 months ago. A closer tectical lisions has been possible for the first time in Murapa. That was something else that was accomplished in the Crimean conference,

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They conferred frequently with Marshal Stalin, Frime

artion between the annies under the summed of Sessrel Electronour on the exercen front and these anded under the someond of the Sories aerotate on that long earlors front, and also with our annies in italy without the necessity of going through the shiefs of staff in Radiogtan or forder as in the part.

Provision was made for delly endeance of inform

Ten here seen one result of this exchange of information in the recent heatings by American and Suction elevents of points which are directly related to the Panetan aformer on Serlin. From our on American and fulfish herery boshers will be used in the day by day testion of the our. We have not begin to realize, I which, that there is all the difference in the world Sectores testion on the our side and stating on the other -day by day testical our is direct appears of Serlet analog or well as is the appear of our out a the meature frame.

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hamper the normanic of German reserves, German materials for the eastern and western frunts from other parts of Germany or from Italy.

Arrangements have been made for the most effective distribution of all evailable material and transportation to the places where they can best be need in the combined war effort, American, British, and Possian. The details of these plans and arrangements are military secrets, of course, but this tying of things in together is going to haston the day of /final collapse of Germany. The Masis are Learning about some of them sireedy to their sorrow, and I think all three of us at the conference felt that they will learn more about it tomorrow, and the next day, and the day after that, (Applause) There will be no respite to these attacks; we will not desist for one moment until unconditional surrender. (Applause)

So, I have always felt that econom sense pro-

wills in the long run, elser frank thinking. I think

The German people as well is the Serman additions must realize that the scenary, the scenar they give up and surrender -- durrender by grapps or by infordumity the scenar their present equary will be every. They must realize that any with complete surrender can they ingle to been doing the the scenario of the sorid sight accout a decout arighters.

We have it clear ages at Adia, and I are report, that mean-fitianil arrender does not man destruction or the exclorement of the Seman people. The Sent Leaders have deliberately eithered that part of the Sent Leaders there deliberately eithered that part of the Sents destinantion from the Seman prove and radius. They not to anvince the people of Semany that the Selfs destination does man elemery and destruction for them. They are matching at 52 day and stick, for finit is farm the Selfs have to any their on adda - to descine their people into

excitioned and mailess resistance.

that is true in Germany just as such as it is incom-

We did however make it clear at the conference just what unconditional surrender does mean for Germany. It means the temporary control of Germany by Great Britain, Russis, France and the United States, Each of these nations will occupy and control a separate some of Germany, and the administration of the four somes will be coordinsted, coordinated in Berlin by a control still composed of the representatives of the four nations. Unconditional surrender means just that; it means the end of Masian. (Applause) It means the end of the Maxi party and of 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 Maxi war ortisinals a punishment that is speedy and just and severe. It means the complete disarmament of Germany, destruction of its militarism, of its military equipment, the end of its production of armment, 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 Generary will have to make reparetions, reparations in kind for the damage which has been done to the innocent victims of its aggression. By compelling reparations in kind in plants, in machinery, in rolling stock, in new materials we could would the mistakes that we and other people, other mations made after the last war, the demanding of 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 rest of the world now and in the future. Too much experience has shown that that objective is impossible if Germany is allowed to

retain any ability to wage aggressive warfare. (Applause)

These objectives will not hurt the German people; on the contrary, they will give then protection from a repetition of the fate which the general staff and faiseriam imposed on them before, and which Hitleriam is now imposing on them egain a hundredfold. It will be removing a cancer from the German body politic which for generations has produced only misery, only pain for the

whole world.

During my stay in Taits I saw the kind of reckless, senseless fury and terrible destruction which comes out of German militarian. Taits on the Black See had no military significance of any kind, It had no defense. Before the last war it had been a resort, a resort for people like the camre, princes, and the aristoarcey of function. Afterwards, however, after the war, after the fed revolution and until the stack on the Soviet Union by Hitler two years ago, the palaces and the villes of Table had been used as a rest and recreation camter by

the Russian people. The Next officers took over the former palaces and villas for their own use. The only reason that the so-called palace of the former Czar was still standing when we got there was that it had been taken over by a German gameral for his own property for his own use. and when the rest of Yalts was destroyed he kept soldiers there to protect what he thought would become his own personal villa. It was used as a rest and recreation center where hundreds of thousands of Russian workers, farmers and their families -- up to the time it was taken again by the Germans, when the Mazi officers took these places for their own use. When the Red army forced the Nazis out of the Crimes almost a year ago last April, it was found that all of the palaces were looted by the Nagis, and then nearly all of them were destroyed by bombs placed on the inside. Even the humblest of the homes of Yalta were not spared; there was little left of it except blank walls, ruin and

destruction.

Seventorol, that other fortified port about 40 or 50 miles away -- there again was a scene of utter destruction of a large city and great navy yards and great fortifications. I think loss than a dozen buildings were left intent in the entire city. I had read about Warsaw and Lidice and Rotterdam and Coventry, but I saw Sevastopol and Yalta; and I know there is not room enough on earth for both German militarism and Christian decency. (Applause) But, to go on with the story which I hope to do in under an hour -- of equal importance with the military arrangements at the Crimean conference were the agreements reached with respect to a general international organization for lasting world peace. The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Caks. There was one point, however, on which agreement was not reached. It involved the procedure of voting, of voting in the Security Council. 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 con-

ferences.

At the Oriman conference the Americans made a proposal, a proposal on the subject, which after full discussion J am glad to say was unanimously adopted by the other two mations.

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It is not yst possible to announce the torus of it publicly, but it will be in a short time. When the conclusions reached with respect to woling are made known I think and I hope that you will find them fair, that you will find them a fair solution of this complicated and difficult problem -- I might almost say it is a legislative problem. They are founded in justice and will go far to insure international cooperation for the maintenance of

peace.

There is going to be held, you know, after we have straightened that voting matter out, there is going to be held in Sam Prancisco a meeting of all the United Mations of the World on the 65th of April maxt month. There we all hope and confidently expect to exscute a definite charter of the organisation upon which the peace of the world will be preserved and the forces of aggression permanently outlawed.

This time we are not making to midske of writing until the end of the war to set up the machinery of peace. This time as we fight together to win the war finally we work together to keep it from happening again.

As you know, I have always been a bolieved in the document called the Constitution of the United States, I spent a good deal of time in educating the other nations of the world with regard to the Constitution of the United States.

The charter has to be and should be approved by the Senate of the United States under the Constitution. I think the other dations of the world know it now, (Laughter) I am sware of that fact and now all the other mations are; and we hope the Senate will approve of what is set forth as the charter of the United Nations when they all come

The Senate of the United States through its appropriate representatives have been kept continuously advised of the program of this government in the orestion of the international Security organization.

The Senate and the House will both be represented at the San Francisco conference. The congressional delegates will consist of an equal number of Nepublican and Democratic Members. The American delegation is in every sense of the word bi-partisan, because world peace is not exactly a party question. I think that Nepublicans want peace just as much as Democrats, (Applause) it is not a party question any more than is military victory, the winning of the war-

When the republic was threatened first by the Masi clutch for world conquest back in 1030 and 1940, and then by the Jepanese treachery in 1941, partiesnehip and politics were letd aside by nearly every American, and

every resource was dedicated to our common safety. The same consecration for the sake of passe will be expected I think by every patrictic American, by every human scal

overseas too.

The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man or one party or one nation; it cannot be just an American peace, or a British peace, or a Russian, French, or a Chinese peace; it cannot be a peace of large nations. or of small nations; it must be a peace that rests on the cooperative efforts of the whole world. It must be a structure complete. It cannot be what some people think, 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 guarantee 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 Nasis for four long years, whose

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economy had been reduced to ruin by Masi despoilers.

There have been instances of political confusion, of unrest in these liberated areas -- that is not unexpected -as in Oreece, or in Foland, or in Yugo-Slavis; and there may be more. Works than that, there actually began to grow up in some of these places queer ideas of, for instance, spheres of influence that were incompatible with the basis principles of intermational collaboration. If allowed to go on unobacked these developments might have hed tregic results in time.

It is fruitless to try to place blace for this situation on one particular nation or on another. It is the kind of trouble that is inevitable unless the major powers of the world continue without interruption to work together and assume joint responsibility for the solution of problems that may arise to endanger the peace of the world. matter of liberated areas, things that might happen to meed to be cared for this week, that might happen suddenly and unexpectedly next week, next month; and I as happy to confirm to the Congress that we did bring on a settlement -and.ingidentally, a unaninous settlement.

We mat in the Orimes determined to settle this

The three most powerful nations have egreed that the political and commonic problems of any area liberated from the Hami clutch,or of any former Aris estellite, are a joint responsibility of all three governments. Theyfill join together during the termporary period of instability after hostilities to help the people of any liberated area, or of any former satellite state, to solve their out problems

through firmly established democratic processes.

They will endeavor to see to it that interim governments -- the people who carry on the interim governments between the occupation of Germany and the day of

true independence, that such an interin government would

be as representative as possible of all/demonstic elements in the population, and that free elections are held as soon as possible thereafter.

The responsibility for political conditions thousands of miles away can no longer be avoided, I think, by this great mation. Certainly I do not want to live to see another war. As I have said, the world is smaller, smiller every year. The United States now exerts a tremendous influence in the cause of peace. Whatever people over here think or talk in the interests of peace is of course known the world over. The slightest remark in either house of Congress is known all over the world the following day. We will continue to exert that influence only if we are willing to continue to share in the responsibility for keeping the peace.

It will be our own tragic loss if we were to shirk that responsibility.

Final decisions in these areas are going to be

made jointly, therefore; and therefore, they will often be the result of give-and-take compromise. The United States will not simts have its way one hundred percent; nor will Russia, nor Graat Britain. We shall not always have ideal solutions to complicated international problems even though we are determined continuously to strive toward that ideal. But I am sure that under the agreement reached at Yalta there will be a more stable political Europe -parts of it - than ever before. Once there has been a true expression of the people's will in any country, of course, our immediate responsibility ends, with the exception only of such action as may be agreed on by the international security organization we hope to set up.

The United Mations must also begin to help these liberated areas adequately to reconstruct their economy.---I do not want them to starwe to death -- so that they are ready to resume their places in the world. The Masi war

machine has stripped them of raw materials, machine tools,

trusks, locamotives, and things like that. They have left the industry of these places stagmant and much of the agricultural areas unproductive. The Maxis have laft

complete or partial ruin in their wake. "

To start the wheels rughing spain is not a more matter of relief; it is to the mational interest of all of us -- of all of us -- to see to it that these liberated areas are sphinneds self-supporting and productive so that they do not need continuous relief from us. I should say that was an argument based upon common sense.

One outstanding example of joint action by the Enree anjor Allied powers was the solution reached on Foland. The whole Polish question was a potential source of trouble in postwar Runger, and we can to the conference determined to find a common ground for its solution; and we did. We know everybody does not agree with it -- obviously.

Our objective was to help create a stronge

independent, and prosperous nation; that was the thing we

by Britain, and by moi the objective of making followd a strong, independent, and propperous nation with a government ultimately to be solected by the follow people

themselves.

To achieve this objective it is necessary to provide for the formation of a new government much more representative than had been possible while Poland was emakaved. There ware, you know, two governments; one in Lendon, one in Jublin, ormatically in Passis.

Concrete step were taken at Taits to reorganise the existing provisional government of Foland on a broader democratic basis so as to include democratic leaders now in Foland and those abroad. This new, reorganised government will be recognized by all of us as the temporary government of Foland. Foland needs a temporary government in the worst way -- an interim government is another way to put it. However, the new Folich provisional government of Mational Unity will be pledged to holding a free election

as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage

and by secret ballot.

Throughout history Foland has been the corvider Through which stack on Russis has been made. Twice in this generation Germany has struck Russis through this corridor. To insure European security and world peace a strong and independent Foland is necessary to prevent that

from happening again.

The decisions with respect to the boundaries of Boland were frankly a compromise. I did not agree with all of it by any means. But we did not go so far as Britain wanted, we did not go as far as Britain emated in certain areas; we did not go as far as Bussis wanted in certain areas; and we did not go as far as I wanted in certain areas; do we did not go as far as I wanted in certain

While the decision is a compromise it is one,

however, under which the Poles will receive compensation

in territory in the north and west in exchange for what

they loss by the Curzon line in the east.

The limits of the western border will be permanently fixed in the final peace conference. Noughly it will include in the new, strong Foland quite a large slice of what is now called Germany. It was agreed also that the new Foland will have a large and long coast line and many new harbors; also that East Franzis -- most of it -- will go to Foland; a corner of it will go to Runsis; also that -what shall I call it -- the encedy of the Free State of Danzis -- Danzig will be a lot better if it is Folish.

It is well known that the people east of the Gurmon line -- this is an example of why it is a compromise -- the people east of the Gurmon line are predominantly White Mussians and Ukrwinians -- a very great majority -- not Polishi and the people west of that line are pre-huitmantly Polish except in that part of Kast Prussia and eastern

Cermany which would go to the new Poland.

As far back as 1019 representatives of the Allies

agreed that the Curnon line represented a fair boundary between the two peoples. You must remember also that there was no Folend or had not been any Foliah government before 1919 for a great many generations.

I an convinced that this agreement on Poland, under the circumstances, is the most hopeful agreement possible for a free, independent, and prosperous Folish state.

The Orignman conference was a meeting of the three major military powers on whose shouldors rests the chief responsibility and burden of the war. Although for this reason another nation was not included -- Prance was not a participant in the conference -- no one should deprect from the recognition which was accorded there to her role in the future of Europe and the future of the world.

France has been invited to accept a gone of

control in Germany and to participate as a fourth member

of the Allied control council on Germany.

She has been invited to join as a sponsor of the international conference at San Premoisco next month. She will be a permanent mamber of the international security council together with the other four major powers. Finally, we have asked France that she be asso-

cisted with us in our joint responsibility over the liberated areas of Europe.

There were, of course, a number of scaller things I have not time to go into on which joint agreement was

had. We hope things will straighten out.

Agreement was reached on Yago-Slavia, as announced in the communique; and we hope that it is in process of

in the world all wishing to be heard before snything becomes final; so we may have a little delay while we listen to

more prime dounas. (Laushter)

Quite naturally this conference concorned

itself only with the Buropean war and with the political problems of Burope; and not with the Facific war. At Yalts, however, our combined military staffs made their plans to increase their stack spinst Japan.

The Separases war lords know that they are not being overlooked. They have full the force of our B-05% and our carrier places; they have full the newel might of the inited States and do not appear very anxious to error out and ter it analog.

The Japs know what it means to hear that the Dhited States Harines have landed. (Applause) And I think I may add, having Neo Jims in mind, that"the situation is well in hand?" (Applause) They also know what is in store for the baseland of "apan now that Genoral Hashritur has completed his magnificent march book to Hamils (Applause) and with Admirel Himits establishing

air bases right in their own back yard. (Applause) But

lest conshedy key off work in the United States I shall repeat what I have sold -- a short sontence even in my speech -- "We haven't won the ware yot" with an "s" on ware. It is a tough road to Tokyo; it is longer to Tokyo than it is to Spriin in every same of the word.

The defect of Germany will not mean the end of the war against Japan; on the contrary, we must be prepared for a jon; and a costly struggle in the Facilia.

But the unconditional surrender of "span is as essential as the defeat of Germany. (Applause) I say that advisedly; and we must bear in mind that that is especially true if our plans for world peace are to succash: Japanese militariam must be wiped out as thoroughly as German militariam.

On the way back from the Orizan 1 made arrangements to meet personally King Farouk of Reypt, Haile Salassie, Reports of Rhigore, and King Don Saud of Saudi Arabia. Our conversations had to do with matters of

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common interest, and they will be of great matual advantage because they gave us the opportunity of mosting face to face, and of exchanging views in personal convergention instead of formal correspondence. For instance, from Rom Saud of Arabia I learned more of the whole problem of the Moslems and more about the Jewish problem in five minutes than 4 could have learned by the exchange of

a dosen letters.

On my worage I had the benefit of seeing the army, the navy, and the 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 officient professional soldiers, and

sailors, and airmen of all history our men stood and

fought -- and won. (Applause.)

I believe that this is our chance to see to it that the sons and grandsons of these gallant fighting wen do not

have to do it all over again in a few years.

The conference in the Crimes was a turning point, I hope, in our history and, therefore, in the history of the

world. There will soon be presented to the Senate and to

the American people a great decision that will determine

the fate of the United States -- and I think, therefore, the

fate of the world - for generations to come.

There can be no middle ground; we shall have to face the responsibility for world collaboration, or we shall

have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict.

I notice the word "planning" is not looked upon with

have been made by reason of lack of planning. On the other hand, many great improvements in living, and many benefits to the human race have been accomplished as a result of

favor in some circles. In domestic affairs tragic mistakes

adequate, intelligent planning: reclamation of desert areas, development of whole river valleys, provision for adequate

housing, and a dosen different topics. The same will be true in our relations between nations.

For the second time in the lives of most of us this generation is face to face with the objective of preventing wars. To most that objective the mations 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

immanity for discussion and decision.

No plan is perfect. Whatever is adopted at San Francisco

will doubtless have to be smeaded time and again over the

years, just as our own Constitution has to be. No one

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can say exactly how long any plan will last. Feace 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 statemen of the world to finish the work of peace

for which they fought and suffered. We failed them, we

failed them then; we cannot fail them again and expect the

world to survive.

I believe the Grimman conference was a successful effort by the three leading nations to find a common ground of peece. It spells, and it ought to spell, the end of the system of unilateral action, exclusive alliances, and spheres of influence, and belances of power, and all the other systems which have been tried for centuries and have always failed.

We propose to substitute for all these/universal organization in which all paces loving nations will finally have a chance to join; and ¹ as confident the Congress and the American people will accept the results of this conference as the beginnings of a permanent structure of passe upon which we can begin to build, under God, that better world into which our children and greanchildren, yours and mine, and the children of the whole world, must live and oun live.

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And that, my friends, is the only message I

can give you; I feel very deeply as I know all of you are feeling and as they are going to feel/in the future.

(Applause.)

TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH RESEARCHER

NAME: David M. Pinter

ORGANIZATION:

ADDRESS: 232 Spring St. Middletown, PA

TELEPHONE: (717) 944-0311 INFORMATION REQUESTED OR DISCUSSED 97-853

ACTION TAKEN I explained that the document may be a draft of a segment of FDN's March 1, 1945 address to Congress on Yalta. I suggested that he consult an appraiser and gave him the names and telephone numbers of two appraisel organizations. He asked if we would be interested in i. I said we would accept a donation. He asked if there was a tax benefit for such a donation; and I told him I thought there was but to consult a tax advisor.

I placed the copies in the speech folder on the Yalta speech. Mr. Pinter thought his mother may have got it from a William B. Ball who was with a law firm she worked for in Harrisburg, PA in the 1970s.

EMPLOYEE RECEIVING/MAKING TELEPHONE CALL: Raymond Teichman

DATE:5/9/97 TIME: 11:00 a.m.

97-853

Den Dr. Tickman : Was going through my mother ; estate and found the enclosed papers. There is a note attached that said they are believed to be notes by F. D. R 's secreting on his return office expects it YALTA. angisto you can give is would be appreciated Elin M. William 4611 HILLSIDE ROAD N MEL HARRISBURG, PA 17109 (7,7)671-1855 (OR) DAVID M. PINTER 232 SPRING ST. MIDDLETOWN, PA 1705

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138. Address to Congress on Yalta Conference

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

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

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 the 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 – I hope in our history and therefore in the history of the world. There will some be presented to the Senate of the United States and to the American people a great decision that 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 circles. 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 – reclamation of detert areas, developments of whole river vallers, and provision for adequate housing.

The same will be true in relations between Nations. For the second time in the lives of most of us this generation is face to face with the objective of preventing wars. To meet that objetive, 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

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d our carrier ed States, and again.

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land of Japan s magnificent tz is establishin Iwo Jima. United States, ntence – even with an s on

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128. Address to Congress on Yalta Conference

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 Crimea Conference was a successful effort by the three leading Nations to find a common ground for peace. It ought to spell the end of the system of unilateral action, the exclusive alliances, the spheres of influence, the balances of power, and all the other expedients that have been tried for centuries-and have always 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, and can live.

And that, my friends, is the principal message I can give you. But I feel it very deeply, as I know that all of you are feeling it today, and are going to feel it in the future.

NOTE: In February, 1945, the President had sent me on a special mis- at Algiers for the voyage home with sion to various European countries to ascertain the need for immediate civilian supplies for the liberated which he delivered to the Congress countries and to make certain inves- after his arrival in Washington. tigations on the trial of war criminals. While in London on this mission, I was summoned to fly to Algiers to join the President on his return voyage from the Yalta Conference.

1045. I boarded the U.S.S. Quincy the President, On this trip, we worked on the foregoing report

(For the official communiqué of the Yalta Conference, and a fuller account of the circumstances and accomplishments of the Yalta Conference, see Item 134 and note, this volume.)

On the morning of February 18,

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