

March 1, 1945

[Transcript of The ^{Yalta} ~~Yalta~~ Report]

FDR Speech File

ADDRESS Of The President
To The Joint Session Of The Congress
Delivered In The Well Of The House Chamber
Upon His Return From The Crimea Conference
March 1, 1945, at 12.30 p.m., e.w.t.
Radio Broadcast

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 are here -- you here in the halls
of the American Congress -- with the support of the American
people -- concur in the general conclusions (decisions) reached
at a place called Yalta, and give them your active support, the
meeting will not have produced lasting results.

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

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This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand notes taken at the time the speech was made. Underlining indicates words extemporaneously added to, the previously prepared reading copy text. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted when the speech was delivered, though they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.

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 so (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 seem to thrive on it! (applause)

And far away as I was, I was kept constantly informed of affairs in the United States. The modern miracles of rapid communication have (has) made -- have made this world very small. (; and) We must always bear in mind that fact (in mind), when we speak (think) or think (speak) 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 -- 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 even risked the breaking of the security rule.

I come from the Crimea(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 in this (at the) Crimea(n) Conference. The first was to bring defeat to Germany with the greatest possible speed, and (with) the smallest possible loss of Allied men. That purpose is now being carried out in great force. The German Army, and the German people, are feeling the ever-increasing might of our fighting men and of the Allied Armies. And every hour gives us added pride in the heroic evidence of -- the heroic advance of our troops in Germany -- on (over) German soil -- toward a meeting with the gallant Red Army. (applause)

The second purpose was to continue to build the foundation for an international accord that (which) would bring order and security after the chaos of the war, (and) that (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 Teheran, a little 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, at that time, there were only exchanges of views and expressions of opinion. No political arrangements (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 enthusiastic effort to reach an agreement. Since the time of (the) Teheran (Conference), a year ago, there had developed among all of us a -- what shall I call it? -- a greater facility in negotiating with each other (, which) that augurs well for the (future) 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.

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 -- fourteen months. During that (this) long period, local problems were permitted to become acute in places like Poland and Greece and Italy and Yugoslavia.

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

When we met at Yalta, in addition to laying our strategic and tactical plans for the complete (a final) and final (complete) military victory over Germany, there were other (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 the Nazis(m) nor Prussian militarism could again be revived to threaten the peace and the civilization of the world. (applause)

Secondly -- again for example -- there was the settlement of the few differences that (which) remained among us with respect to the International Security Organization after the Dumbarton 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 Yalta.

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 yoke. Very special problem. We over here find it difficult to understand the

ramifications of many of these problems in foreign lands, 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 together. (applause)

Or course, we know that it was Hitler's hope -- and the German warlords' -- that we would not agree -- that some slight crack might appear in the solid wall of Allied unity, a crack that (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 many months.

But Hitler has failed. (applause)

Never 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-loving nations -- so that the ideal of lasting (world) peace will become a reality.

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

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

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

Provision was made for daily exchange of information between the armies under the command of General Eisenhower on the Western front, and those armies under the command of the Soviet marshals on that long (the) Eastern front, and also with our armies in Italy -- without the necessity of going through the Chiefs of Staff in Washington or (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 tactics 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, German (and) materials to the Eastern and Western fronts from other parts of Germany or (and) from Italy.

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

Details of (all) these plans and arrangements are military secrets, of course; but they are going to (will) hasten -- this tying 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) sooner -- the sooner they give up and surrender -- surrender by groups or by (as) individuals, the sooner their present agony will be over. They must realize that only with complete surrender can they begin to reestablish themselves as people whom the world might accept as decent neighbors.

We made it clear, again, at Yalta, and I now repeat (--) that unconditional surrender does not mean the destruction or enslavement of the German people. The Nazi leaders have deliberately withheld that part of the Yalta declaration from the German press and radio. They seek to convince the people of Germany that the Yalta declaration does mean slavery and destruction for them -- 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 nations will occupy and control a separate zone of Germany -- and the administration of the four zones will be coordinated -- coordinated in Berlin by a Control Council composed of

representatives of the four nations.

Unconditional surrender (also) means something else.
It means the end of Nazism. (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 Germany.

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

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

It means that Germany will have to make reparations
-- 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 that we and other people -- other
nations made after the last war, the (of) demanding of repara-
tions in the form of money which Germany could never pay.

We do not want the German people to starve, or to be-
come 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)

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

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

Before the last war, it had been a resort -- a resort for people like (the) Czars and princes, and (for the) aristocracy (of Russia) -- and the hangers-on. (Afterward) However, after the war, after the Red Revolution, (and) until the attack on (upon) the Soviet Union by Hitler, a few years ago, the palaces, (and) the villas of Yalta had been used as a rest and recreation 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 so destroyed, he kept soldiers there to protect what he thought would become his own, nice villa. It was a -- it was a useful rest and recreation center for hundreds of thousands of Russian workers, farmers and their families, up to the time that it was taken again by the Germans. The Nazi 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 villas 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) of it except blank (but) walls -- ruins -- destruction (and desolation).

Sevastopol -- that was a fortified port, about forty or fifty miles away -- there again was (also) a scene of utter 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 saw Sevastopol and Yalta! And I know that there is not (enough) room enough 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 -- 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 -- of voting in the Security Councils. I want to try to make it clear by making it simple. It took me hours and hours to get the thing straight in my own mind -- and many conferences.

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

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

When the conclusions reached (at the Crimean Conference) with respect to voting (in the Security Council) are made known, I think and I hope that (I believe) you will find them fair -- that you will find them a fair solution of this complicated and difficult problem; because 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 upon (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 win (get) the war finally (over quickly), we work together to keep it from happening again.

I -- as you know -- I have always been a believer in the document called the Constitution of the United States. And I spent a good deal of time in educating two other nations of the world in regard to the Constitution of the United States. The charter has to be -- and should be -- approved by the Senate of the United States, under the Constitution. I think the other nations all know it now. (laughter) I am aware of that fact, and now all the other nations are. And we hope that the Senate will approve of what is set forth as the charter of the United Nations when they all come together in San Francisco next month.

(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 -- bipartisan.

But, I think that world peace is not exactly a party question. I think that Republicans 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 (our) Republic was threatened, first by the Nazi clutch for world conquest back in 1940 -- '39 -- and then by the Japanese treachery in (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, I think, by every patriotic 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 peace, or a Russian, (a) French, or a Chinese peace. It cannot be a peace of large nations -- or of small nations. It must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world.

It 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 -- and 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 long years, (and) whose economy has (had) been reduced to ruin by Nazi despoilers.

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 vaguely 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 on another. It is the kind of development that (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 that (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 -- after hostilities -- to help the people of any liberated area, or of any former satellite state, to solve their own problems through firmly established democratic processes.

They will endeavor to see -- to 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 thousands of miles away (overseas) can no longer be avoided, I think, by this great nation. Certainly, I don't want to live to see another war. As I have said, the world is smaller -- smaller every year (it is a smaller world). The United States now exerts a tremendous (vast) influence in the cause of peace (throughout all the world). What we people over here are thinking and talking about is in the interest of peace,

because it's known all over the world. The slightest remark in the -- either 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, I think, if (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 a hundred percent (100%) -- nor will Russia nor (or) Great Britain. We shall not always have ideal answers -- solutions to complicated international problems, even though we are determined continuously to strive toward that (the) ideal. But I am sure that (--) under the agreements reached at Yalta (--) there will be (a) more stable political Europe -- and the parts of it -- 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 -- I don't want them starving to death -- so that they are ready to resume their places in the world. The Nazi war machine has stripped them of raw materials and machine tools and trucks

and locomotives, and things like that. They have left the (their) industry of these places stagnant and much of the (their) agricultural(e) areas are unproductive. The Nazis have left a complete ruin, or a partial ruin in their wake.

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

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

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

To achieve that (this) objective, it is (was) necessary to provide for the formation of a new government much more representative than had been possible while Poland 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 Poland on a broader democratic basis, so as to include democratic leaders now in Poland and those abroad. This new, reorganized government will be recognized by all of us as the temporary government of Poland. Poland needs a temporary government in the worst way -- an ad interim government, I 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, Poland has been the corridor through which attacks on Russia have been made. Twice in this generation, Germany has struck at Russia through this corridor. To insure European security and world peace, a strong and independent Poland is necessary to prevent that from happening again.

The decision with respect to the boundaries of Poland was, frankly, a compromise. I didn't agree with all of it, by any means, but we didn't go as far as Britain wanted, in certain -- certain areas; we didn't go so far as Russia wanted, in certain areas; and we didn't go so far as I wanted, in certain areas. It was a compromise. The decision under -- is not only a compromise -- is one, 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

East. The limits of the Western border (boundary) will be permanently fixed in the final Peace Conference. We know, roughly, that it will include -- in the new, strong Poland -- quite a large slice of what now is called Germany. And it was agreed, also, that the new Poland will have a large and long coast line, and many new harbors. Also, that East Prussia -- most of it -- will go to Poland. 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 Polish; and a very great majority of (that) the people west of the line are predominantly Polish, except in that part of East Prussia and Eastern Germany, which will go to the new Poland. 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 Poland before -- hadn't been any Polish government -- 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 Crimea(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 (sic) -- 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 we hope that it's (is) in process of fulfillment. But, not only there but some other places, we have to remember that there are a great many prima donnas in the world. All of them wish to be heard, before anything becomes final, so we may have a little delay while we listen to more prima 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.

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

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

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

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 (is) (still a tough) a long, tough road to Tokyo. It's longer to go to Tokyo than it is to Berlin, in every sense of the word. The defeat of Germany will not mean the end of the war 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 defeat of Germany. (applause) I say that advisedly, 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 militarism.

On the way back (home) from the Crimea, I made arrangements to meet personally King Farouk of Egypt, Haile Selassie, the Emperor of Ethiopia, and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. Our conversations had to do with matters of common interest. They will be of great mutual advantage because they gave (us) me, and a good many of us, an opportunity of meeting and talking face to face, (and of) in 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, I think, would feel proud -- as proud of our armed forces as I am, if they could see and hear what I did.

Against the most efficient professional leaders (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 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 (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 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 circles (quarters). In domestic affairs, tragic mistakes have been made by reason of lack of planning; and, on the other hand, many great improvements in living, and many benefits to the human race, have been accomplished as a result of adequate, intelligent planning -- reclamations of desert areas, developments of whole river valleys, provision for adequate housing, 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. Peace can endure only so long as humanity really insists upon it, and is willing to work for it -- and sacrifice for it.

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

I think the Crimea(n) Conference was a successful effort by the three leading nations to find a common ground of (for) peace. It spells -- it ought to spell -- the end of the system of unilateral action, the (and) exclusive alliances, the (and) spheres of influence, the (and) balances of power and all the other expedients that (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 are feeling it today, and are going to feel it in the future.

(prolonged applause)

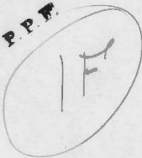
FILE MEMO:

File

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)

P.P.T.



RETURN TO J. ROMAGNA

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

STATEMENTS FILE

MARCH 1, 1945

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

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

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

JONATHAN DANIELS
Administrative Assistant to
the President

and Congress:
MR. VICE PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND
OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

It is good to be home.

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

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

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

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

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

I come from the Crimea 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 in the Crimea Conference. The first was to bring defeat to Germany with the greatest possible speed, and with the smallest possible loss of Allied men. That purpose is now being carried out in great force. The German Army, and the German people, are feeling the ever-increasing might of our fighting men and of the Allied Armies. Every hour gives us added pride in the heroic advance of our troops, in Germany toward a meeting with the gallant Red Army.

(appliance)

*from the
Notes*
I hope that you will understand for the moment
the importance of getting these things done, the
President's report to Congress, the President's
report to the people, the President's report to
the world. It is a very important thing.
I hope that you will understand for the moment
the importance of getting these things done, the
President's report to Congress, the President's
report to the people, the President's report to
the world. It is a very important thing.

general conclusion
I will be
entire time. I did
not. I was not all
for a second, until
arrived back in
Washington, and then
I heard all the
rumors which had
occurred in my
absence. (laughter)
Yes, I learned from
the newspapers that
and that.

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

P that goal, too -- in that goal --
Toward that goal ^{a little} ~~also~~, a tremendous stride was made.

at that time
At Teheran, ^{a little} 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, ^{at that time} there were only exchanges of views and expressions of opinion. No political ~~agreements~~ ^{agreements} were made -- and none was attempted.

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

a year ago
There was on all sides at this Conference an enthusiastic effort to reach agreement. Since the time of the Teheran Conference, ^{what shall I call it?} there had developed among all of us -- ~~which that~~ ^{we know each other better.} a greater facility in negotiating with each other, which ~~that~~ augurs well for the future peace of the world.

2
I have never for an instant wavered in my belief that an agreement to insure world peace and security can be reached.

P there were a number of things that we did that were
crucial
concrete
for instance,
The lapse of time between Teheran and Yalta without conferences of civilian representatives of the three major powers has proved to be too long -- fourteen months. During ~~that~~ ^{this} long period, local problems were permitted to become acute in places like Poland and Greece and Italy and Yugo-Slavia.

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

the complete final
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. ^{but} I feel very confident that under this arrangement there will be no recurrence of the incidents which this winter disturbed the friends of world-wide collaboration.

Cooperation and
When we met at Yalta, in addition to laying our strategic and tactical plans for ~~a~~ ^{the} ~~final~~ ^{complete} military victory over Germany, there were ~~a number of~~ ^{lots 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 Nazism nor Prussian militarism could again be revived to threaten the peace and civilization of the world. ^(agreed)

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

INSERT (1) HERE
Thirdly, there were the general political and economic problems common to all of the areas ^{the -- oh -- these were} which had been or would be liberated from the Nazi yoke. ^{that would be in the future or which}

INSERT (2) HERE
Fourth, there were the special problems created by a ^{few} 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.

followed the Secretary of State and the Foreign Minister of Great Britain.

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. (Applause) -- and the German warlords --

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

is a crack that

But Hitler has failed. (Applause)

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

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

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

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

from what it was fourteen months ago; 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 tactics of the war -- in direct support of the Soviet Armies, as well as in support of our own on the Western front. *① INSERT HERE*

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

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

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

and I think all three of us at the Conference put that

to these attacks.

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

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

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

they are working at it day and night - for this --
We did, however, make it clear at this Conference just what unconditional surrender does mean for Germany.

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

means something else. 35
Unconditional surrender ~~also~~ means the end of Nazism *(applause)* and of the Nazi party -- and ~~all~~ of its barbaric laws and institutions.

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

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

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

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

that we and other people -- other nations
By compelling reparations in kind -- in plants, and in machinery, and rolling stock, ~~and~~ raw materials -- we shall avoid the mistake made after the last war, ~~of~~ *of* 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.

rest of the world now and in the future.
Our objective in handling Germany is simple -- it is to secure the peace of the ~~future~~ world. Too much experience has shown that that objective is impossible if Germany is allowed to retain any ability to wage aggressive warfare. *(applause)*

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

politics
they will give them -- they

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

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

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

There was little left but ruins and desolation.

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

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

Of equal importance with the military arrangements at the Crimean Conference were the agreements reached with respect to a 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 Council.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

to consist of an equal number
and Senate - an equal number of
- 6 -

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

I don't think that World peace is not, ^{exactly} a party question, ^{I think that Republican} any more than is military victory ^{back} -- the ^{back} ^{'39--} ~~chance~~ ^{back} of the war.

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

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

It must be a structure of complete

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Things that might happen that we can't foresee
at this moment might happen suddenly -- unexpectedly -- near
at this moment might happen suddenly -- unexpectedly -- near

and just as much as Democrats. (Impassive) It's not a party question

to Great Britain

translators the world is smaller -- smaller every year.

I think,

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

INSERT (L) HERE

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

therefore;

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

on the frontiers

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

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

and things like that

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

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

INSERT (M) HERE

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

as it has been sometimes before

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

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

The decision with respect to the boundaries of Poland was a compromise, under which the Poles will receive compensation in territory in the North and West in exchange

even though everybody doesn't agree with it, obviously.

that is, as you know two governments -- one in London, one in Berlin, practically the same.

I don't want to lose these amendments.

I don't want them starting to shuck -- complete ruin, or a partial ruin in their wake. say that is an organized or plain common sense.

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

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

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

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

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

She has been invited to join as a sponsor of the International Conference at San Francisco 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, be associated with us in our joint responsibility over the liberated areas of Europe.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

just for example, we have in Italy 3 compromised -- the people living the Curzon line

another nation was not included,

(applause) --

(applause) I say that admittedly with the thought in mind that that is especially true

I think I

it is longer to go to Tokyo than it is to Berlin, but every man of the road.

Play that last phrase -- "most of it" -- will go to France. It comes if it will go to France. I say that phrase -- what shall I call it? -- the anomaly of the free State of a very young country. I say that last phrase -- it would be like.

back

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

INSERT (V) HERE

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

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

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

P3 I think 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 Crimea was a turning point in *the history and thought in the of the United States* and to the American people a great decision *the world* which will determine the fate of the United States -- and of the world -- for generations to come.

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

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

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

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

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

We failed them.
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 again.

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

the the the
-- it ought to spell --
always *Permit*

We propose to substitute for all these, a universal organisation 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 are feeling it today, and are going to feel it in the future.

(prolonged applause)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Washington, D. C.

March 1, 1945

Polk
David
File

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES BEFORE
A JOINT SESSION OF THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES ON THE SUBJECT OF THE YALTA CONFERENCE.

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Vice-President, Mr. Speaker,
Members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives;
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 steel around the
bottom of my legs (Laughter) and also because of the fact
I have just completed a 14,000-mile trip. (Applause).

First 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 frankness, 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 American people concur in

the general conclusions reached at that place called Yalta, and give them your active support, the meeting will not have produced lasting 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 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 toward which all of us in America have worked steadfastly and unselfishly together.

I am returning from this trip that took me so far, refreshed and inspired. I was not ill for a second until I arrived back in Washington, and here I heard all of the remarks 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 seem to thrive on it (Applause.)

And far away as I was, I was kept constantly 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.

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

with great force. The German army, the German people are feeling the ever-increasing might of our fighting men and of the Allied armies; and every hour gives us added pride in the heroic advance of our troops in Germany on German soil toward a meeting with the gallant Red armies. The second purpose was to continue to build the foundation for an international accord that would bring order and security after the chaos of the war, that would give some assurance of lasting peace among the nations of the world. Toward that goal a tremendous stride was made.

At Teheran 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 Teheran, however, at that time there were only exchanges of views and expressions of opinion. No political arrangements were made and none was attempted. At the Crimean conference, however, the time had come for getting down to specific cases in the political field. There was on all

sides at this conference an enthusiastic effort to reach an agreement.

Since the time of Teheran, 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 well for the 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.

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 acute in places like Poland, Greece, Italy, and Yugo-Slavia. We decided at Yalta therefore that even if circumstances made it impossible for the heads of the three

governments 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 met at Yalta, in addition to laying out strategic and tactical plans for the complete and final military victory 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 victory, the complete destruction of her military power, and the assurance that neither Nazism nor Prussian militarism could again be revived to threaten the

peace - the civilization of the world. (Agreement)

Secondly, again for example, there was a settlement of the few differences that remained among us in respect to the international security organization after the Dumbarton Oaks conference. As you remember, 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 Yalta.

Thirdly, there were 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 Nazi yoke, a very special problem. We over here find it very difficult to understand the ramifications of many of these problems in foreign lands, 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 of 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. (Applause.)

We know, of course, that it was the hope of Hitler and the German war lords that we would not agree, that some slight crack might appear in the solid wall of Allied unity, a crack that would give him and his fellow gangsters 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.) Never 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 loving nations so that the ideal of lasting peace will become a reality.

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

They conferred frequently with Marshal Stalin, Prime Minister Churchill, and with me on the problem of coordinating the strategic and tactical efforts of the Allied powers. They completed their plans for the final knockout blow to Germany.

At the time of the Teheran conference the Russian front, for instance, was removed so far from the American and British fronts that while certain long-range strategic operations were possible there could be no tactical day-by-day coordination; they were too far apart. But Russian troops have now crossed Poland; they are fighting on the eastern soil of Germany herself. British and American troops are now on German soil close to the Rhine river in the west. It is a different situation today from what it was 14 months ago. A closer tactical liaison has become possible for the first time in Europe. That was something else that was accomplished in the Crimean conference.

Provision was made for daily exchange of information between the armies under the command of General Eisenhower on the western front and those armies under the command of the Soviet marshals on that long eastern front, and also with our armies in Italy without the necessity of going through the chiefs of staff in Washington or 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 tactics of the war. We have not 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 tactical war in direct support of 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

hampers the movement of German reserves, German materials for the eastern and western fronts from other parts of Germany or from Italy.

Arrangements have been made for the most effective distribution of all available material and transportation to the places where they can best be used in the combined war effort, American, British, and Russian. The details of these plans and arrangements are military secrets, of course, but this tying 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 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 common sense prevails in the long run, clear frank thinking. I think

that is true in Germany just as much as it is here.

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

We made it clear again at Yalta, and I now repeat, that unconditional surrender does not mean destruction or the enslavement of the German people. The Earl of Halifax 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 that is how the Nazis hope to save their own skins -- to deceive their people into continued and useless resistance.

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, Russia, France and the United States. Each of these nations will occupy and control a separate zone of Germany, and the administration of the four zones will be coordinated, 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 Nazism. (Applause) It means the end of the Nazi 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 Nazi war criminals 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 armament, the dispersal of all of its

armed forces, the permanent dismemberment of the German general staff which has so often shattered the peace of the world.

It means that Germany will have to make reparations, 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 raw materials we could avoid the mistakes that we and other people, other nations 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 them protection from a repetition of the fate which the General staff and Kaiserism imposed on them before, and which Hitlerism is now imposing on them again 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 Yalta I saw the kind of reckless, senseless fury and terrible destruction which comes out of German militarism. Yalta on the Black Sea 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 czars, princes, and the aristocracy of Russia. Afterwards, however, after the war, after the Red revolution and until the attack on the Soviet Union by Hitler two years ago, the palaces and the villas of Yalta had been used as a rest and recreation center by

the Russian people. The Nazi 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 general ^{for} his own property for his own use, and when the rest of Yalta 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 Nazi officers took these places for their own use. When the Red army forced the Nazis out of the Crimea almost a year ago last April, it was found that all of the palaces were looted by the Nazis, 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.

Sevastopol, 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 less than a dozen buildings were left intact 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 Oaks. 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 Crimean conference the Americans made a proposal, a proposal on the subject, which after full discussion I am glad to say was unanimously adopted by the other two nations.

It is not yet possible to announce the terms of it publicly, but it will be in a short time. When the conclusions reached with respect to voting 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 San Francisco a meeting of all the United Nations of the World on the 25th of April next month.

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

This time we are not making the mistake of waiting 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 believer 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 nations of the world know it now. (Laughter) I am aware of that fact and now all the other nations are; and we hope the Senate will approve of what is set forth

as the charter of the United Nations when they all come together in San Francisco next month.

The Senate of the United States through its appropriate representatives have been kept continuously advised of the program of this government in the creation 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 Republican 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 Republicans 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 Nazi clutch for world conquest back in 1939 and 1940, and then by the Japanese treachery in 1941, partisanship and politics were laid aside by nearly every American, and

every resource was dedicated to our common safety. The same consecration for the sake of peace will be expected I think by every patriotic American, 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 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 Nazis for four long years, whose economy had been reduced to ruin by Nazi despoilers.

There have been instances of political confusion, of unrest in these liberated areas -- that is not unexpected -- as in Greece, or in Poland, or in Yugo-Slavia; and there may be more. Worse 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 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 blame 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.

We met in the Crimea determined to settle this matter of liberated areas, things that might happen to need to be cared for this week, that might happen suddenly and unexpectedly next week, next month; and I am happy to confirm to the Congress that we did bring on 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 clutch, or of any former Axis satellite, are a joint responsibility of all three governments. They will join together during the temporary period of instability after hostilities to help the people of any liberated area, or of any former satellite state, to solve their own problems through firmly established democratic processes.

They will endeavor to see to it that interim governments -- the people who carry on the interim governments between the occupation of Germany and the day of true independence, that such an interim government would

be as representative as possible of all democratic 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 nation. Certainly I do not want to live to see another war. As I have said, the world is smaller, smaller 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 always have its way one hundred percent; nor will Russia, nor Great 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 Nations must also begin to help these liberated areas adequately to reconstruct their economy.-- I do not want them to starve to death -- so that they are ready to resume their places in the world. The Nazi war machine has stripped them of raw materials, machine tools,

trucks, locomotives, and things like that. They have left the industry of these places stagnant and much of the agricultural areas unproductive. The Nazis have left complete or partial ruin in their wake.

To start the wheels running again is not a mere matter of relief; it is to the national interest of all of us -- of all of us -- to see to it that these liberated areas are again made 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 three major Allied powers was the solution reached on Poland. The whole Polish question was a potential source of trouble in postwar Europe, and we came 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 strong, independent, and prosperous nation; that was the thing we

must all remember -- those words agreed to by Russia, by Britain, and by me: the objective of making Poland a strong, independent, and prosperous nation with a government ultimately to be selected by the Polish 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 enslaved. There were, you know, two governments; one in London, one in Lublin, practically in Russia.

Concrete steps were taken at Yalta to reorganize the existing provisional government of Poland on a broader democratic basis so as to include democratic leaders now in Poland and those abroad. This new, reorganized government will be recognized by all of us as the temporary government of Poland. Poland needs a temporary government in the worst way -- an interim government is another way to put 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 by secret ballot.

Throughout history Poland has been the corridor through which attack on Russia has been made. Twice in this generation Germany has struck Russia through this corridor. To insure European security and world peace a strong and independent Poland is necessary to prevent that from happening again.

The decisions with respect to the boundaries of Poland were frankly a compromise. I did not agree with all of it by any means. But we did not go as far as Britain wanted, ~~we did not go as far as Britain wanted~~ in certain areas; we did not go as far as Russia wanted in certain areas; and we did not go as far as I wanted in certain areas.⁹ It was a compromise.

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 lose by the Curzon line in the east.

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

It is well known that the people east of the Curzon line -- this is an example of why it is a compromise -- the people east of the Curzon line are predominantly White Russians and Ukrainians -- a very great majority -- not Polish; and the people west of that line are predominantly Polish except in that part of East Prussia and eastern Germany which would go to the new Poland.

As far back as 1919 representatives of the Allies agreed that the Curson line represented a fair boundary between the two peoples. You must remember also that there was no Poland or had not been any Polish government before 1919 for a great many generations.

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

The Crimean conference was a meeting of the three major military powers on whose shoulders rests 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 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 zone of control in Germany and to participate as a fourth member

of the Allied control council on Germany.

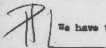
She has been invited to join as a sponsor of the international conference at San Francisco next month.

She will be a permanent member of the international security council together with the other four major powers.

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

There were, of course, a number of smaller things I have not time to go into on which joint agreement was had. We hope things will straighten out.

Agreement was reached on Yugo-Slavia, as announced in the communique; and we hope that it is in process of fulfillment, not only there but in some other places.

 We have to remember that there are a great many prima donnas in the world all wishing to be heard before anything becomes final; so we may have a little delay while we listen to more prima donnas. (Laughter)

Quite naturally this conference concerned itself only with the European war and with the political problems of Europe; and not with the Pacific war. At Yalta, however, our combined military staffs made their plans to increase their attack against Japan.

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

The Japs know what it means to hear that the United States Marines have landed. (Applause) And I think I may add, having Iwo Jima in mind, that "the situation is well in hand!" (Applause) They also know what is in store for the homeland of Japan now that General MacArthur has completed his magnificent march back to Manila (Applause) and with Admiral Nimitz establishing air bases right in their own back yard. (Applause) But

lest somebody lay off work in the United States I shall repeat what I have said -- a short sentence even in my speech -- "We haven't won the wars yet" with an "s" on wars. It is a tough road to Tokyo; it is longer to Tokyo than it is to Berlin in every sense of the word.

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

But the unconditional surrender of Japan 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 succeed: Japanese militarism must be wiped out as thoroughly as German militarism.

On the way back from the Crimea I made arrangements to meet personally King Farouk of Egypt, Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia, and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. Our conversations had to do with matters of

common interest, and they will be of great mutual advantage because they gave us the opportunity of meeting face to face, and of exchanging views in personal conversation instead of formal correspondence. For instance, from Ibn Saud of Arabia I learned more of the whole problem of the Moslems and more about the Jewish problem in five minutes than I could have learned by the exchange of a dozen letters.

On my voyage 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 efficient 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 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 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

favor in some circles. In domestic affairs tragic mistakes 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 adequate, intelligent planning: reclamation of desert areas, development of whole river valleys, provision for adequate housing, and a dozen 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 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 to be. No one can say exactly how long any plan will last. Peace can endure only so long as humanity really insists upon it and is willing to work for it and sacrifice for it.

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

I believe the Crimean conference was a successful effort by the three leading nations to find a common ground of peace. It spells, and it ought to spell, the end of the system of unilateral action, exclusive alliances, and spheres of influence, and balances of power, and all the other systems 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 ^a am confident 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 into which our children and grandchildren, yours and mine, and the children of the whole world, must live and can live.

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 ^{it} 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 FDR'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 appraisal organizations. He asked if we would be interested in it. 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.

Dear Dr. Tridman:

Was going through my mother's estate and found the enclosed papers. There is a note attached that said they are believed to be notes by F. D. R.'s secretary on his return after speech at YALTA.

Any info you can give us would be appreciated. Of course, we have kept the originals.



Elaine M. Willer
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HARRISBURG, PA 17109
(717) 671-1855
(OR)
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(B)

p. 19

Describe full well
that the word "planning"
has been shot at by
many people. Any
plan - community, state
national or world-wide -
can be ridiculed and
opposed in some
given particulars x
Plans for the reclamation
of a desert & control

water shed or the
improvements - knowing
can or are being
blocked - Congress.
Domestically it
made costly mistakes
because lack
planning, yet history
shows us "many"
great improvements &
good & human race
- been based on
careful planning
ahead.

The on the same
relations as nation
another. Today
or come to second
the are objective —
ending frequent
wars.

Either. I would it
plan not the
ground work has been
finished & greater
fear & peoples' will
to meet met and are
about to make a final

decision by
deliberation on a
plan / they can
offer to humanity &
has shown a perfect
whatever plan is
adopted 15.7.16
doubtless by the unworldly
^{over the} years just in him
Christ. I been ~ times
amended ~~xxxxx~~

~~The~~ 'assumed'
human delegates -
great Conference of
thinking men & women

Dep. Because this and
affects every part of the
world, I call these local
problems —

And, all that, they sum into
dozens

XXXXXX

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 soon 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 desert areas, developments of whole river valleys, 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 objective, the Nations of the world will either have a plan or they will not. The groundwork of a plan has now been furnished, and has been submitted to humanity for discussion and decision.

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

No one can say exactly how long any plan will last. Peace can

endure only so long as humanity really insists upon it, and is willing to work for it — and sacrifice for it.

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

The 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 mission to various European countries to ascertain the need for immediate civilian supplies for the liberated countries and to make certain investigations 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.

1945, I boarded the U.S.S. *Quincy* at Algiers for the voyage home with the President. On this trip, we worked on the foregoing report which he delivered to the Congress after his arrival in Washington.

(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,