I have just returned from Berlin, the city from which the Germans intended to rule the world. It is a ghost city. The buildings are in ruins, its economy and its people are in ruins.

Our party also visited what is left of Frankfurt and Darmstadt. We flew over the remains of Kassel, Magdeburg and other devastated cities. German women and children and old men were wandering over the highways, returning to bombed-out homes or leaving bombed-out cities, searching for food and shelter.

War has indeed come home to Germany and to the German people. It has come home in all the frightfulness with which the German leaders started and waged it.

The German people are beginning to atone for the crimes of the gangsters whom they placed in power and whom they wholeheartedly approved and obediently followed.

We also saw some of the terrible destruction which the war had brought to the occupied countries of Western Europe and to England.
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How glad I am now to be home again! And how grateful to Almighty God that this land of ours has been spared!

We must do all we can to spare her from the ravages of any future breach of the peace. That is why, though the United States wants no territory or profit or selfish advantage out of this war, nevertheless we are going to maintain the bases necessary for the complete protection of our interests and world peace. Bases deemed by our military experts to be essential for our protection and which are not now in our possession, we will acquire by appropriate arrangements consistent with the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

No one can foresee what another war would mean to our own cities and to our own people. What we are doing to Japan now — even with the new atomic bomb — is only a small fraction of what would happen to the world in a third World War.

That is why the United Nations are determined that there shall be no next war.

That is why the United Nations are determined to remain united and strong. We can never permit any aggressor in the future to
be clever enough to divide us or strong enough to defeat us.

That was the guiding spirit in the Conference at San Francisco.

That was the guiding spirit in the Conference of Berlin.

That will be the guiding spirit in the peace settlements to come.

In the Conference at Berlin, it was easy for me to get along in mutual understanding and friendship with Generalissimo Stalin, with Prime Minister Churchill, and later with Prime Minister Attlee.

Strong foundations of good-will and cooperation had been laid by President Roosevelt. And it was clear that those foundations rested on much more than merely the personal friendships of three individuals, participants. There was a fundamental accord and agreement among the objectives ahead of us.

Two of the three original conferences of Teheran and Yalta were missing by the end of this Conference. Each one of those absent was sorely missed. Each of them had done his work toward winning this
war. Each of them had made a great contribution toward establishing and maintaining a lasting world peace. Each of them seems to have been ordained to lead his country in its hour of greatest need. And so thoroughly had they done their jobs, that we were able to carry on, and to reach many agreements essential to the future peace and security of the world.

The results of the Berlin Conference have been published. There were no secret agreements or commitments — apart from current military arrangements, and it was made perfectly plain to my colleagues at the Conference that under our Constitution the President has no power to make any treaties without ratification by the Senate of the United States.

The Conference was concerned with many political and economic questions. But there was one strictly military matter uppermost in the minds of the American delegates. It was winning the war against Japan. That subject was not neglected at Berlin. In fact — on our program — that was the most important item.

The military arrangements made at Berlin were of course secret. But they will not be secret long.

One of those secrets was revealed yesterday when the Soviet Union declared war on Japan.
The Soviet Union, before she had been informed of our new weapon, told us of her intention soon to enter the war in the Pacific. The date originally fixed was August fifteenth. We welcome into this struggle against the last of the Axis aggressors our gallant and victorious ally against the Nazis.

The Japs will soon learn some of the other military secrets agreed upon at Berlin. They will learn them first-hand — and they will not like them.

Our first non-military agreement in Berlin was the establishment of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

The Council is going to be the continuous meeting ground of the five principal governments on which to reach common understanding regarding the peace settlements. This does not mean that the five governments are going to try to dictate to, or dominate, other nations. It will be their duty to apply as far as possible, the fundamental principles of justice underlying the charter adopted at San Francisco.

Just as the meeting at Dumbarton Oaks drew up the proposals to be placed before the Conference at San Francisco, so this Council of Foreign Ministers will lay the groundwork for future peace settlements. This preparation by the Council will make possible speedier, more orderly, more efficient and more co-operative peace settlements than could otherwise be obtained.
One of the first tasks of the Council of Ministers is to draft proposed treaties of peace with former enemy countries: Italy, Russia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland.

These treaties, of course, will have to be passed upon by all the nations concerned. In our own country, the Senate will have to ratify them. But we shall begin at once the necessary preparatory work. Adequate study now may avoid the planting of the seeds of future wars.

I am sure that the American people will agree with me that this Council of Foreign Ministers will be effective in hastening the day of peace and reconstruction.

We were anxious to settle the future of Italy first among the former enemy countries. Italy was the first to break away from the Axis. She helped materially in the final defeat of Germany. She has now joined us in the war against Japan. She is making real progress toward democracy.

A peace treaty with a democratic Italian Government will make it possible for us to receive Italy as a member of the United Nations.

The Council of Foreign Ministers will also have to start the preparatory work for the German peace settlement. But its final acceptance
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will have to wait until Germany has developed a government with which a
peace treaty can be made. Until that is done, the Conference of Berlin
laid down the specific political and economic principles under which
Germany will be governed by the occupying Powers.

These principles have been published. I hope that all of
you will read them.

They seek to rid Germany of the forces which have made
her so long feared and hated, and which have now brought her to com-
plete disaster. They are intended to eliminate Nazism, arms, war industries, the German General Staff and all its mili-
tary tradition. They seek to rebuild democracy by control of German
education, by reorganizing local government and the judiciary, by en-
couraging free speech, free press, freedom of religion and the right
of labor to organize.

German industry is to be decentralized in order to do away
with concentration of economic power in cartels and monopolies. Chief
emphasis is to be on agriculture and peaceful industries. German economic
power to make war is to be eliminated. The Germans are not to have a
higher standard of living than their former victims — the people of the
defeated and occupied countries of Europe.
We are going to do what we can to make Germany over into a decent nation, so that it may eventually work its way from the economic chaos it has brought upon itself, back into a place in the civilised world.

The economic action taken against Germany at the Berlin Conference included another most important item -- reparations.

We do not intend again to make the mistake of exacting reparations in money and then lending Germany the money with which to pay. Reparations this time are to be paid in physical assets from those capital resources of Germany which are not required for her peacetime economy.

The first purpose of reparations is to take out of Germany everything with which she can prepare for another war. Its second purpose is to help the devastated countries to bring about their own recovery by means of the equipment and material taken from Germany.

At the Crimea Conference, a basis for fixing reparations had been proposed for initial discussion and study by the Reparations Commission. That basis was a total amount of reparations of twenty billion dollars. Of this sum, one half was to go to Russia which had suffered more heavily in the loss of life and property than any other country.
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But at Berlin the idea of attempting to fix a dollar value on the property to be removed from Germany was dropped. To fix a dollar value on the share of each nation would be a sort of guarantee of the amount each nation would get -- a guarantee which might not be fulfilled.

Therefore it was decided to divide the property by percentages of the total amount available. We still generally agreed that Russia should get fifty percent of the total for herself and Poland, and that the remainder should be divided among all the other nations entitled to reparations.

It was determined that the reparation claims of the Soviet Union and Poland are to be met from the property located in the zone of Germany occupied by the Soviet Union, and from the frozen German assets in Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, Rumania and Eastern Austria. The reparation claims of all the other countries are to be met from property located in the western zone of occupation in Germany, and from the frozen German assets in all other countries. The Soviet waives all claim to gold and art treasures captured by the Allied troops in Germany.

This formula of taking reparations by zones will lead to less friction among the Allies than the tentative basis originally proposed for study at Yalta.
The difficulty with this formula, however, is that the industrial capital equipment not necessary for the German peace economy is not evenly divided among the zones of occupation. The western zones have a much higher percentage than the eastern zone which is mostly devoted to agriculture and to the production of raw materials. In order to equalize the distribution and give Russia and Poland their fair share of approximately $20, it was decided that they should receive, without any reimbursement, ten percent of the capital equipment in the western zones available for reparations.

As you will note from the communiqué, a further fifteen percent of the capital equipment in the western zone not necessary for Germany's peace economy is also to be turned over to Russia and Poland. But this is not free. For this property Poland and Russia will give to the western zones an equal amount in value in food, coal, and other raw materials. This fifteen percent, therefore, is not additional reparations for Russia and Poland. It is a means of maintaining a balanced economy in Germany and providing the usual exchange of goods between the eastern part and the western.
It was agreed at Berlin that the payment of reparations, from whatever source taken, should always leave enough resources to enable the German people to subsist without sustained support from the other nations.

The question of Poland was a most difficult one. Certain compromises about Poland had already been agreed upon at the Crimea Conference. They obviously were binding upon us at Berlin.

By the time of the Berlin Conference, the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity had already been formed; and it had been recognized by all of us. The new Polish government had agreed to hold free and unfettered elections as soon as possible, on the basis of universal suffrage and the secret ballot.

In accordance with the Crimea agreement, we did seek the opinion of the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity with respect to its western and northern boundaries.

They agreed, as did we all, that the final determination of the borders could not be accomplished at Berlin, but must await the peace settlement. However, a considerable portion of what was the Russian zone of occupation in Germany was turned over to Poland at the Berlin Conference for administrative purposes until the final determination of the peace settlement.
Nearly every international agreement has in it the element of compromise. The agreement on Poland is no exception. No one nation can expect to get everything that it wants. It is a question of give and take -- of being willing to meet your neighbor half-way.

In this instance there is much to justify the action taken. An agreement on some line -- even provisionally -- was necessary to enable the new Poland to organise itself, and to permit the speedier withdrawal of the armed forces which had liberated her from the Germans. In the area east of the Curzon line there are over 5,000,000 Poles who are to be repatriated to Poland. They need room to settle. The new area in the West used to be populated with Germans. But most of them have already left in the face of the invading Soviet Army. We were informed that there are only about a million and a half left.

The territory the Poles are to administer in the West will enable Poland better to support its population. It will provide a short and more easily defendable frontier between Poland and Germany. Settled by Poles, it will provide a more homogeneous nation.

The Three Powers also agreed to help bring about the earliest possible return to Poland of all Poles who wish to return -- including soldiers -- with the assurance that they would have all the rights of other Polish citizens.
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The action taken at Berlin will help carry out the basic policy of the United Nations toward Poland -- to create a strong, independent and prosperous nation with a government to be selected by the people themselves.

It is what the Poles themselves say they want -- as indicated to us by their new, reorganized government.

It was agreed to recommend that in the peace settlement a portion of East Prussia should be turned over to Russia. That, too, as was announced at the time, was agreed upon at Yalta. It will provide Russia with an ice-free port at the expense of Germany.

At Yalta it was agreed, you recall, that the three governments would assume a common responsibility in helping to reestablish in the liberated and satellite nations of Europe governments broadly representative of democratic elements in the population. That responsibility still stands, we all recognize it as a joint responsibility of the three governments.

It was reaffirmed in the Berlin Declarations on Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary. These nations are not to be spheres of influence of any one power. They now are governed by Allied Control Commissions which are
composed of representatives of the three governments which met at Yalta and Berlin. As control Commissions it is true, have not been functioning completely to our satisfaction, but improved procedures were agreed upon at Berlin. Until these States are re-established as members of the international family they are the joint concern of all of us.

The American delegation was much disturbed over the inability of the representatives of a free press to get information out of the former satellite nations. The Three Governments agreed that the Allied Press would enjoy freedom to report to the world upon all developments in Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. The same agreement was reaffirmed also as to Poland.

One of the persistent causes for wars in Europe in the last two centuries has been the selfish control of the waterways of Europe. I mean the Danube, the Black Sea Straits, the Rhine, the Kiel Canal and all the inland waterways of Europe which border on two or more states.

The United States proposed at Berlin that there be free and unrestricted navigation of these inland waterways. We think it important to the future peace and security of the world. We proposed that regulations for such navigation be provided by international authorities.
The function of the agencies would be to develop the use of
the waterways, and assure equal treatment of the same for all nations.

Membership on the agencies would include the United States, Great Britain,
the Soviet Union and France plus those states which border on the water-
ways.

Our proposal was considered by the Conference and was referred
to the Council of Ministers. There, the United States intends to press
for its adoption.

I want to express my thanks for the fine and successful services
which were rendered at this conference by Secretary of State Byrnes and
which were highly commended by the leaders of the other two powers. I
am thankful also to the rest of the American Delegation — Admiral Leahy and
Ambassador Harriman, Davies and Pauley — and to the entire American staff.
Without their hard work and sound advice the conference would have been
unable to accomplish as much as it did.

Any man who sees Europe now must realise that victory in a great
war is not something that you win once and for all, like victory in a game
of baseball. Victory in a great war is something that must be won and
kept won. It can be lost after you have won it — if you are careless or
negligent or indifferent.
Europe today is hungry. I am not talking about Germans. I am talking about the people of the countries which were overrun and devastated by the Germans, and particularly about the people of Western Europe. Many of them lack clothes and fuel and tools and shelter and raw materials. They lack the means to restore their cities and factories.

As the winter comes on, the distress will increase. Unless we do what we can to help, we may lose next winter what we won at such terrible cost last spring. Desperate men are liable to destroy the structure of their society to find in the wreckage some substitute for hope. If we let Europe go cold and hungry, we may lose some of the foundations of order on which the hope for world-wide peace must rest.

We must help to the limits of our strength. And we will. Our meeting at Berlin was the first meeting of the great allies since victory was won in Europe. Naturally our thoughts now turn to the day of victory in Japan.

The British, Chinese, and United States governments have given the Japanese people adequate warning of what is in store for them. We have laid down the general terms on which they can surrender. Our warning went unheeded, our terms were rejected. Since then, the Japanese have seen what our atomic bomb can do. They can foresee what it will do in the future.
The world will note that the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, which is purely a military base. That was because we did not want in this first attack to destroy the lives of women and children and innocent civilians. But that attack is only a warning of things to come. If Japan does not surrender, bombs will have to be dropped on war industries and, unfortunately, thousands of civilian lives will be lost. I urge Japanese civilians to leave industrial cities immediately, and save themselves from destruction.

I realize the tragic significance of the atomic bomb.

Its production and its use were not lightly undertaken by this Government. But we knew that our enemies were on the search for it. We knew now how close they were to finding it. And we knew the disaster which would come to this nation, to all peaceful nations, to all civilization, if they found it first.

That is why we felt compelled to undertake the long and uncertain and costly labor of discovery and production.

We won the race of discovery against the Germans.

Having found it we have used it. We have used it against those who attacked us without warning at Pearl Harbor, against those who have starved and beaten and executed American prisoners of war, against those who have abandoned all pretense of obeying international laws of warfare.
We have used it in order to shorten the agony of war, in order to save the lives of thousands and thousands of young Americans.

We shall continue to use it until we completely destroy Japan's power to make war. Only a Japanese surrender will stop us.

The atomic bomb is too dangerous to be loose in a lawless world.

That is why Great Britain and the United States who have the secret of its production do not intend to reveal it until means have been found to control it so as to protect ourselves and the rest of the world from the danger of destruction.

We must constitute ourselves trustees of this new force — to keep it away from the hands of those who might misuse it, and to turn it into the channels of service to mankind. It is an awful responsibility which has come to us. We thank God that it has come to us instead of to our enemies, and we pray that He may guide us to use it in His ways and for His purposes. I shall ask the Congress to co-operate to the end that its production and use be controlled and its power be made a forceful influence towards world peace,
Our victory in Europe was more than a victory of arms.

It was a victory of one way of life over another. It was a victory of an ideal founded on the rights of the common man, and on the dignity of the human being, and on the conception of the State as the servant — not the master — of its people.

A free people showed that it was able to defeat professional soldiers whose only moral arms were obedience and worship of force.

We tell ourselves that we have emerged from this war the most powerful nation in the world — the most powerful nation, perhaps, in all history. It is true, but not in the sense some of us believe it to be true.

The war has shown us that we have tremendous resources to make all the materials for war. It has shown us that we have skillful workers and managers and able generals, and a brave people capable of bearing arms.

All these things we knew before.

The new thing — the thing we had not known — the thing we have learned now and should never forget, is this: that a society of self-governing men, is more powerful, more enduring, more creative than any other kind of society, however disciplined, however centralized.
We know now that the basic proposition of the worth and dignity
of man is not a sentimental aspiration or a vain hope or a piece of
rhetoric. It is the strongest, the most powerful and the most creative
force now present in this world.

The Three Great Powers are now more closely than ever bound
together in determination to achieve a practical and a just peace. From
Teheran, and the Crimea, and San Francisco, and Berlin — we shall con-
tinue to march together to that objective.

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