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DRAFT OF SPEECH BY PRESIDENT TRUMAN ON BERLIN CONFERENCE

I have just come back from the city from which the Nazi madmen intended to rule the whole world. [I wish that I could adequately describe to you what that city now looks like.] It is a mass of ruins. It is [only] a ghost city. The buildings are in ruins, its economy is in ruins, and its people are in ruins.

I also saw Frankfort and Kassel and Potsdam, and I flew over the remains of other cities in Germany. I saw German women and children and old men wandering over the highways of Germany, returning to bombed-out homes or leaving bombed-out cities. I saw them searching for some bits of fire wood -- some bits of food.

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 it -- multiplied a thousand fold.

I also saw some of the terrible destruction which the war had brought to some of the occupied countries of Western Europe and to England.

How glad I am now to be home again! And how grateful to Almighty God that this land of ours has been spared!



No one can now foresee what another war would mean to the world, 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 not only united but eternally strong. We can never permit any aggressor in the future to be clever enough to divide us or strong enough to beat 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 Conference to come.

Long before we met at Berlin the United States Government had sent to the Soviet and British governments our ideas of what should be discussed at the Conference. At the first meeting I submitted these matters as the proposed agenda. They were accepted as the proper subjects of discussion. Some additional subjects were added by the Soviet and British governments, but in the main the Conference was mostly occupied with our own proposals.



In our Conference at Berlin, I found that I could get along fine with Generalissimo Stalin, with Prime Minister Churchill, and -- later with Prime Minister Attlee.

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I could sense the strong foundations of good-will and cooperation which had been laid by my illustrious predecessor President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

And I learned that these foundations rested on much more than merely the personal friendships of three individual participants.

[It was quite clear to me that] there was a fundamental accord and agreement upon our objectives among the people of our respective nations.

That was especially shown by the cordiality with which I was personally received as the new delegate of the American people.

And it was later shown by the same kind of reception with which Mr. Attlee was received as the new delegate of the British people.

Two-thirds of the original conferees of Teheran and Yalta were missing by the end of ^{the} ~~our~~ Conference. Each one of the absent was sorely missed. Each of them had done his great work toward winning this war. Each of them ^{a great} had made his inimitable contribution toward establishing and maintaining a lasting world peace. Each of



them seems to have been Providentially ordained to lead his country in an hour of overwhelming need [and crisis.] And so thoroughly had they done their jobs that [it is no disparagement of their abilities -- but rather a recognition of them -- to say that we were still able to carry on in Berlin, that] we were able to reach many agreements essential to the future peace and security and welfare of the world.

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The results of ~~our~~ conference have all been published in full.

I hope that you have all read them and studied them. There were no secret agreements or commitments [arrived at.] And [I made] it *was made* perfectly plain to my colleagues at the Conference that under our Constitution ~~I~~ *the President* had no power to make any treaties without the concurrence of the Senate of the United States.

[I had been anxious to call] this Conference [for some time, as you know. In fact, it] was overdue. For there were many matters which required consultation and [discussion and] agreement among [us --] the three strongest nations of the world.

They were nearly all political and economic matters. But there was one strictly military matter uppermost in ~~my~~ *the* mind. *of the American* It was winning the war against Japan. I assure you that that subject was not neglected at Berlin. In fact -- *our program* -- on ~~my own~~ agenda -- that was



the most important item.

Naturally, I cannot now reveal the military conclusions
that were reached,

But the American delegation -- the military and the civilian
members alike -- were all entirely satisfied with the arrangements
about the Japanese War made at Berlin. Those arrangements will
not be long secret.



The Japs will probably learn of them before the rest of the world. For they will learn of them first hand -- and they will not like them.

The British, Chinese, and United States governments speaking from Berlin 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. Since then they have seen what our atomic bomb can do. They can foresee what it will do. They would be wise if they would accept the inevitable before it is too late; otherwise their fate will be even worse than Germany's.

*Why we dropped
Hiroshima*

And incidentally let no one worry about whether the United States is going to get all the bases it needs in the Pacific for our complete future protection. I can assure you that whatever our experts tell us *anywhere* *in world* is reasonably necessary will be ours. We do not propose to give up what we have gained at such cost -- so long as we need it for our own safety.

The most important accomplishment in Berlin -- apart from the decisions about the Japanese war -- was the establishment of the Council of Foreign Ministers. The so-called Big Five, the permanent members of the Security Council, are to be included -- the United States, United Kingdom, Russia, France and China. Invitations have already gone forward to France and China to join the Big Three in this council.



The Council is going to be the continuous meeting ground and

discussion table of the principal Powers, at least until the United Nations Organization is set up. This does not mean that the Big Five are going to try to dictate to, or dominate, the smaller nations of the world. It will be their duty in carrying out their tasks to implement, so far as possible, the fundamental principles of justice underlying the charter adopted at San Francisco.

Their duties will be many. The most important duty will be to lay the groundwork for the Peace Conference.

Just as the meeting at Dumbarton Oaks prepared the proposals to be laid before the Conference at San Francisco, this Council of Foreign Ministers is necessary in order to do the same preparatory work for the Peace Conference. That does not, of course, mean that what the Council of Foreign Ministers does is expected to be accepted blindly by the Peace Conference. The Dumbarton Oaks proposals were not accepted without substantial change at San Francisco. But this preparation by the Council will mean a more orderly, more efficient and more co-operative Peace Conference than would otherwise be possible, with so many nations participating and so many complicated problems presented.

That kind of preparatory work was missing at the Versailles Peace Conference. We have now learned the value of it all in our international relationships. I know how helpful it will be in ironing out many of the disturbing questions which will have to be settled finally by the nations

of the world.

One of the first tasks of the Council of Ministers is to draw up treaties of peace with the former enemy countries; Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. Included in these peace treaties will be the settlement of all the territorial and boundary problems which are now outstanding as a result of the war in Europe.

These treaties, of course, will all have to be adopted by the United Nations. In our own country, the Senate will have to confirm them. But we should begin at once to work on them and get them down on paper for submission to the other nations. Adequate [preparation and discussion and] study now may avoid [the imposition of injustices and] the planting of the seeds of future wars,

Other international problems will be referred to this Council from time to time. Some have already been referred to it by the Berlin Conference.

Whenever the Council is to consider a matter in which any unrepresented nation has an interest, that nation will be invited to take part in the discussion. In other words, we expect to settle many international problems in this Council not by the dictatorial word of the Big Five or of any one of them, but by co-operative discussion [and consultation] with all the United Nations involved.



I hope that the American People will agree with me that this

machinery will be [very] effective in hastening the day of peace and reconstruction in Europe. *If* We were anxious to settle the ^{future} status of Italy first among the former enemy countries. *Italy* ~~She~~ 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 has freed herself of the fascists. She is making real progress toward democracy.

Within our limited resources we look forward to strengthening Italy economically in the fields of transportation, coal, and raw materials. We look forward to strengthening her politically so that she may become a responsible participant in international affairs.

A peace treaty with an Italian Government -- democratic in nature -- ^{will} ~~would~~ make it possible for us to receive Italy as a member of the United Nations.

Eventually the Council of Foreign Ministers will have to prepare a treaty for Germany too. But that will have to wait [a long time] until Germany has developed a government with which a peace treaty can be made.

✓ Machinery had already been set up At the Crimea Conference for the immediate control of Germany. That machinery -- the Allied Control Council -- is now functioning. The German people [I assure you from personal observation,] are beginning to atone for the crimes of the gangsters whom they placed in power and whom they whole-heartedly approved and obediently followed. German ^{brutality} [Ruthlessness] in war and their

own fanatical resistance have destroyed the German economy, and have ^{brought} ~~made~~ chaos and misery [inevitable for] ^{upon} the German people.

The general principles for the control of Germany [as well as the machinery] ^{also} were laid down at Yalta. Their objectives were clear, —to wipe out Nazism and German militarism, to prevent Germany from ever again waging an aggressive war, and to punish those responsible for the many war crimes committed in the name of the German people.

With these general objectives in mind, the Conference of Berlin convened almost in the very shadow of the ruins of the Chancellery in which the [brutal and arrogant] Nazis conceived and executed their [barbarous] atrocities against civilization. There the Conference agreed upon the specific political and economic principles under which Germany ^{will} ~~would~~ be governed by the occupying Powers.

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

The political policy will result in:

- (1) Complete disarmament of Germany.
- (2) Elimination or control of any German industry which could be used for war.
- (3) Abolition and dispersal of all the German armed forces.
- (4) Abolition of the German General Staff, all military schools,

and all organizations which serve to keep alive the military tradition in Germany.

(5) Destruction of all forms of Nazism and prevention of their revival; the arrest and punishment of war criminals and Nazi leaders; the removal of all active members of the Nazi Party from public office and semi-public office and from important places in private undertakings.

(6) Control of German education so as to eliminate Nazi and militaristic doctrines and make possible the beginnings of democracy in Germany.

(7) Reorganization of the judicial system and the system of local government in Germany in accordance with democratic principles.

(8) Encouragement of free speech, free press, freedom of religion and ^{the right of labor to organize.} ~~trade unionism~~

In other words, we are going to do what we can to make Germany over into a decent nation, so that it ^{may} ~~might~~ eventually work its way again into a place in the civilized world.

I shall not go into the details of the economic principles upon which we agreed for the control of the economy of Germany. They too are available if you wish to read them.



They are designed primarily to enable the German people [to begin]

to start ^{over} their own way back on the road from starvation and misery.

~~But~~ We were very careful in drawing ^{up} those principles, to make sure of certain safeguards. They were framed, for example, to eliminate all of Germany's economic power to make war. They also provide very clearly that 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, ~~and~~ ^{make} they were designed to ~~be~~ sure that we would control all German scientific research, and experimentation,

The economic action taken against Germany at the Berlin Conference included another most important item -- the exaction of reparations. At the Crimea Conference it was decided that we would not again make the mistake of demanding reparations in money and then lending Germany the money with which to ^{pay} make the payments, Instead, reparations ^{are} were to be paid in physical assets such as machinery ^{and} raw materials, etc.

At Berlin we made the further decision that the payment of reparations would not come from any goods which Germany imported. We made it quite clear that when Germany exported anything from current production, those exports should be used to pay for imports.

The Berlin agreement calls for payment of reparations in kind from those resources of Germany which are not required for her peacetime economy.

Its first purpose is to take out of Germany everything with which

she could prepare for another war. Its second purpose is to help the devastated ^{at} countries to bring about their own recovery [and reconstruction] by means of the equipment and material taken from Germany.

Originally the United States proposed to divide these reparations on a percentage basis. However, after long discussion and debate, it was decided to have each of the major powers take its reparations from its own zone of occupation. The Eastern zone under Russian control will take care of Russia and Poland. The Western zones under the British, French and American forces will take care of all the other nations entitled to reparations. *Russian gets 50%*

However, the western zones of Germany have a much greater amount of industrial production than the eastern zone. For the Eastern Zone is mostly devoted to agriculture and to the production of raw materials. Besides, Poland and Russia had suffered much more physical destruction by the German armed forces than had the Western Allies. Therefore, we thought it only fair that Poland and Russia should receive a part of the removable German equipment in the Western zones which could otherwise be used by Germany for another war.

But Poland and Russia under the agreement will have to give something in exchange for what she gets from the Western zones. They will have to give certain raw materials and food which are available in the Eastern section of Germany and which are lacking in the West.

We expect to leave within Germany enough resources to enable the people to subsist without sustained support from other nations. But we do not expect to leave a thing which would enable them to renew their war making activities.

The question of Poland was a most difficult one. Certain compromises about Poland had been agreed upon at the Crimea. They obviously were binding upon us at Berlin. The Eastern boundary had already been fixed approximately at the Curzon Line. In exchange, Poland was to receive what the Crimea Declaration called "substantial accessions of territory in the North and West." It was provided at the Crimea that the opinion of the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity should be obtained as to the extent of these accessions and that the final delimitation of the Western Frontier of Poland should await the Peace Conference.

By the time of the Berlin Conference, the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity had already been formed. It had been formally 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 secret ballot. It had also agreed that the Allied Press would be given full freedom to report to the world all the facts about Poland before the elections and during the elections.

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. Their representatives were invited to Berlin. They presented their views fully to the Foreign Ministers of the Conference.

They agreed, as did we all, that the final delimitation of the borders must await the Peace Conference.

However, a considerable portion of what was the Russian zone of occupation was turned over to Poland at the Berlin Conference for administrative purposes pending the final determination of the Peace Conference. In other words, this area was taken out of the Russian Zone and placed under the administration of the Poles.

I must in all candor say that I did not like this provision of the Berlin agreement. I still do not like it. Until almost the end of the Conference, I declined to agree to it.

However, every international agreement has in it the element of compromise. This one 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.

Peace Conference will have to work this out.

In this instance there is much to justify the action taken. Most of it had already been agreed on at Crimea. In the area East of the Curzon Line there are over _____ Poles who are to be repatriated to Poland. They need room to settle. The territory the Poles are receiving in the West is less in square kilometers than what they are

losing in the East. The area they are acquiring used to be populated with Germans. But most of them had already left in the face of the invading Red Army. There are only about a million left, and they would be willing to return to Germany. This new territory will enable Poland better to support its population. It will provide the shortest and the most easily defendable frontier between Poland and Germany. Settled by Poles, it will provide a more homogeneous nation with fewer national minorities. It was formerly one of the bases for German militarism -- with its resources in zinc and coal. Poland, which was the first overrun and devastated nation has a justifiable moral claim to this area.

It will help carry out the basic policy of the United Nations toward Poland -- to create a strong, independent and prosperous nation with a government ultimately to be selected by the people themselves.

Throughout history, Poland has been the gateway for invasions into Russia. Twice in this generation Russia has been attacked by Germany through this gateway. Can anyone blame Russia for wanting a strong Poland? Is it not helpful to world peace to have a strong democratic and homogeneous Poland?



As a further help to Poland, the United States and Britain undertook to protect the property interests of the New Polish Government in all Polish assets located in American or British territory. Also the three Powers agreed to facilitate the earliest possible return to Poland of all Poles who wish to return -- including soldiers -- with the

assurance that they would have all the personal and property rights of all Polish citizens.

Russia will get a small part of Germany too. 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. We can not forget the fact that Poland was doomed by Hitler to destruction and its people to complete extermination -- and that it was the Russians who drove the Nazi invader out of Poland. And above all, it is what the Poles themselves want -- as indicated to us by their new, reorganized government.

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

It was reaffirmed in the Berlin Conference.

It was reaffirmed in the Berlin Declarations on Poland and Italy.

It was reaffirmed in the Berlin Declaration on Spain where the present fascist regime was rejected as a possible member of the United Nations.

It was reaffirmed in the Berlin Declaration on admission of

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other neutral nations into the United Nations.

It was reaffirmed in the Berlin Declarations on Finland, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary. These other nations are not to be spheres of influence of any one power. Until they are re-established in as members of the international family they are the joint concern of all of us.

The American delegation was much concerned over the inability of the representatives of a free press to get information out of the former satellite nations. Its proposals along these lines obtained the assurance that in future the Allied Press would enjoy full freedom to report to the world upon all developments in Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland.

*Proposed
Also Polished.*

There were several other proposals advanced by one or another of us which were not decided upon but were left to the Council of Ministers for further discussion and conclusion.

One of them I wish to discuss in detail because it was advanced by the United States and because, in my opinion, it is most important to the future peace and security of the world.



One of the most persistent causes for wars in Europe in the last two centuries has been the selfish control of the [highways of] waterways [traffic] of Europe. I mean the Danube, the Dardanelles, the Rhine, the Kiel Canal. I mean 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 proposed that regulations for such navigation be provided by international authorities representing the nations interested in using those waterways. To start it, we proposed immediate interim navigation agencies for the Danube and the Rhine. The function of the agencies would be to restore and develop the use of the rivers, and to assure equal treatment on these waterways for all nations. Membership on the agencies would include the Big Four of Europe plus the riparian states, *which border on the waterways.*

Our proposal was considered by the Conference, but in the absence of agreement it was referred to the Council of Ministers. There, the United States intends to press for its adoption.

Other questions referred to the Council of Ministers were the withdrawal of troops from Iran and the disposition of Italian territories.

We agreed that the zone of Tangier should be discussed in the near future at a meeting of the representatives of Russia, United Kingdom, France and the United States.

We also agreed that the present status of the Dardanelles under the old Mont^{ev}aux Convention fails to meet present day conditions, and that conferences on the subject should be undertaken at once between the three governments and the Turkish Government.

Any man who sees Europe now *must* [as I have seen it] realize 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 is something that 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. They lack clothes and fuel and tools and raw materials and houses. They lack the means to live. They lack the means to restore the towns and cities and factories which the Nazis and the war have destroyed.

As the winter comes on, the distress will increase. Unless we do what we can to help -- unless we keep our victory won by keeping alive a world in which that victory can survive -- we may lose next winter what we won at such terrible cost last Spring. We may lose throughout much of the continent of Europe the foundations of order on which the hope for world-wide peace must rest. 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 -- if we let the men and women of Europe despair -- we shall lose a strong foundation for the necessary work of peace.



We must help to the limits of our strength while help can still be offered. And we will.

Our meeting at Berlin was the first meeting of the great allies

since victory was won in Europe. The overall purpose of the meeting was to find the means by which the victory won at such great cost might be made the basis of lasting peace in the world.

I hope you will agree with me that substantial progress was made. We cannot be satisfied with a military victory alone. A military victory was not the only reason for which we poured out so much in human life and treasure.

Our victory 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 [inalienable] rights of the common man and on the dignity of the human being and on the conception of the State as the [creature and] ^{-not the master-} servant of its people.

The Conference met in a city where for more than a decade there had been established the doctrine that human beings have no individual dignity apart from service to the State, and that they have no rights other than those parcelled out to them by a dictator.

And in the clash between these two doctrines our side won -- won overwhelmingly. A free people showed that it was able to defeat [disast-rously] [an armed phalanx of] professional soldiers whose only moral arms were obedience and ^{loyalty} ~~love~~ 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 only in the way some of us believe it to be true,

~~What~~ The war has shown us [is not only] that we have tremendous resources of iron and coal and copper and petroleum and all the materials for war. ~~What~~ It has shown us [is not] that we have skillful workers and and able managers, generals, and a brave people capable of bearing arms.

All these things we knew before. All these things we have sensed from the beginning.

The new thing -- the thing we had not known -- the thing we have learned now and never should be permitted to forget, is this; that a society of self-governing men, is [a society] more powerful, more enduring, more creative than any other kind of society, [however disciplined, however centralized, however purposeful its meaning.]

What we know now is this: 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, but the strongest, the most powerful and the most creative force now present in this world.

Only the other day we saw the proof of it again in the development and use of the atomic bomb. Developed by free men, working together, this new instrument will, ^{unless the Japanese surrender,} totally destroy the Japanese Islands whose leaders started this war in the Pacific eight years ago,

The Berlin Conference and the Conferences which preceded it have shown that that kind of victory need not be thrown away -- that it can be used to build a road to an enduring peace.

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

