

DRAFT OF SPEECH BY PRESIDENT TRUMAN ON BERLIN CONFERENCE
(SECOND DRAFT)

I have just come back from Berlin, the city from which the Nazi madmen intended to rule the whole world. It is a mass of ruins. It is a ghost city. The buildings are in ruins, its economy is in ruins, and its people are in ruins.

Our party also visited 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.

We also saw some of the terrible destruction which the war had brought to 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 our own cities and to our own people. What we are doing to Japan now -- even



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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 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.

Before we met at Berlin the United States Government had sent to the Soviet and British governments our ideas of what should be taken up at the Conference. At the first meeting our delegation submitted these matters for discussion. They were accepted as the proper subjects. Additional topics were added by the Soviet and British governments, but in the main the Conference was occupied with the American proposals.



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

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Strong foundations of good-will and cooperation had been laid by my illustrious predecessor President Franklin D. Roosevelt. And it was clear that these foundations rested on much more than merely the personal friendships of three individual participants. There was a fundamental accord and agreement upon our objectives ahead of us.

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 in the way Mr. Attlee was received as the new delegate of the ~~British~~ people.

Two ~~of~~ of the three original conferees 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 Providentially ordained to lead his country in an hour of overwhelming need. And so thoroughly had they done their jobs that we were able to carry on and reach many agreements essential to the future peace and security of the world.



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The results of the Berlin Conference have been published. I hope that you have read and studied them. There were no secret agreements or commitments. It was made perfectly plain to my colleagues at the Conference that under our Constitution the President had no power to make any treaties without the concurrence of the Senate of the United States.

This Conference was overdue. There were many matters which required consultation and agreement among the three strongest nations of the world.

They were nearly all political and economic matters. 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.

Obviously, the military conclusions that were reached cannot now be revealed.

But you need have no doubt that the American delegation -- the military and the civilian members alike -- were entirely satisfied with the war arrangements made at Berlin. Those arrangements will not be long secret.



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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 in the future. They would be wise to accept the inevitable before it is too late. Otherwise their fate will be even worse than Germany's.

The world will note that the first atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima which is purely a military base. That was because we did not want to destroy the lives of women and children and innocent civilians in this first attack. But it is only a warning of things to come. If Japan does not surrender, bombs will have to be dropped on war industries and thousands of civilian lives will be lost. I urge the Japanese civilians to leave industrial cities and save themselves from destruction.



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The United States is going to get all the bases it needs for our complete future protection. Whatever our experts tell us is reasonably necessary anywhere in the world, we will secure. We will secure them by arrangements consistent with the United Nations Charter.

A most important accomplishment in Berlin was the establishment of the Council of Foreign Ministers. The permanent members of the Security Council, are to be included -- the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia, France and China. Invitations have already gone forward to France and China to join the Big Three in this council; and China has already accepted.

The Council is going to be the continuous meeting ground and



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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. It will be their duty to apply so far as possible, the fundamental principles of justice underlying the charter adopted at San Francisco.

The Council is not intended to interfere in any way with the United Nations Organisation. It is only another step in our search for peace through international cooperation.

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 the Peace settlement. That does not mean, of course, that what the Council of Foreign Ministers does will be accepted blindly in the Peace settlement. 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.

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

One of the first tasks of the Council of Ministers is to draw up draft



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treaties of peace with former enemy countries; -- Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. Included in these peace treaties will be the settlement of the territorial problems created by the War.

These treaties, of course, will all have to be passed upon by the United Nations. In our own country, the Senate will have to ratify them. But we should begin at once to get them in form for submission to the other nations. Adequate study now may avoid 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 a direct 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 with all the nations involved.

I hope that the American people will agree with me that this machinery will be effective in hastening the day of peace and reconstruction in Europe.

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 has freed herself of the fascists. She is making real progress toward democracy.

A peace treaty with an Italian Government -- democratic in nature -- will



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make it possible for us to receive Italy as a member of the United Nations.

The Council of Foreign Ministers will have to prepare a treaty for Germany too. But its final acceptance will have to wait until Germany has developed a government with which a peace treaty can be made.

At the Crimea Conference machinery had already been set up for the immediate control of Germany. That machinery -- the Allied Control Council -- is now functioning. The German people 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 in war and their own fanatical resistance have destroyed the German economy and have brought chaos and misery upon the German people.

The general principles for the control of Germany were also 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 Chancellory in which the Nazis conceived and executed their atrocities against civilization.

There the Conference agreed upon the specific political and economic principles under which Germany will be governed by the occupying Powers.

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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.

In other words, we are going to do what we can to make Germany over into a



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decent nation, so that it may eventually work its way again into a place in the civilized world.

I shall not go into all 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



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to start on their way back from starvation and misery.

We were very careful in drawing up those principles. They were framed to eliminate all of Germany's economic power to make war.

German industry is to be decentralized in order to do away with concentration of economic power in cartels and monopolies. Primary emphasis is to be on agriculture and peaceful industries. All German foreign assets are to be seized by the Control Council if they are not now in the possession of a United Nation which was in the war against Germany. The economic policy makes it clear 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. They were designed to make sure of Allied control of all German scientific research that would contribute to war. And these economic principles are intended to apply alike to all the zones of occupied Germany.

The economic action taken against Germany at the Berlin Conference included another most important item -- 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. Instead, reparations are to be paid in physical assets such as machinery and raw materials.




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The Berlin agreement calls for payment of reparations in kind 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 could 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 was submitted 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 most heavily suffered in the loss of life and property.

But at Berlin, after much discussion, the idea was dropped of attempting to fix a dollar value on the property to be removed from Germany in kind. We were not sure that there would be enough removable capital goods in Germany of a war production nature to equal the sum being considered. To fix a dollar value on the removable property for each nation would be a kind of guarantee of the amount each nation would get -- a guarantee which might not be fulfilled. Therefore we decided to divide the property by percentages of the total available. And we generally agreed that Russia should get fifty percent of the total for herself and



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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 should be met from the property located in the zone of Germany occupied by the Soviet Union and from 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 zones of occupation in Germany and from German frozen assets in all other countries. The Soviet waives all claim to gold and art treasures captured by the Allied troops in Germany.

Under this formula it is unnecessary to have a detailed accounting of the property already taken from the various zones. Such an accounting would have given rise to all sorts of disputes as to what was legitimate war booty and what was reparations in kind.

All of us felt confident that this formula of taking reparations by zones would lead to less friction between the Allies than the tentative basis originally considered for study at Yalta.

The difficulty with this formula, however, is that the industrial capital equipment unnecessary for the German peace economy -- which



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is property to be used for reparations -- is not evenly divided among the zones of occupation. The western zones have a much higher percentage than the eastern zones which is mostly devoted to agriculture and to the production of raw materials. In order to equalize matters and give Russia and Poland their fair share of 50%, it was decided that they should receive ten percent of the capital equipment in the western zones available for reparations.

But the claim of Russia and Poland upon the western zones is not fixed in terms of dollars or tonnages or capacities. It is fixed in terms of percentages of capital equipment which the Control Council, subject to approval by the zone commander, determines should be removed as unnecessary for the German peace economy.

An additional fifteen percent of the capital equipment in the western zone is to be turned over to Russia and Poland. But for this property Poland and Russia will have to give to the western zones an equal amount in value in food and raw materials which are available in the eastern part of Germany but are lacking in the western part. This provision of fifteen percent is not additional reparations for Russia and Poland. It is a means of maintaining a balanced economy and providing the usual exchange of goods within Germany between the East and the West.

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It was also agreed at Berlin that the payment of reparations from whatever zones taken should leave enough resources to enable the German people to subsist without external assistance. In working out the economic balance of Germany, the necessary means must be provided to pay for approved imports. The proceeds of exports from current production and stocks in Germany must be available in the first place for the payment of such imports.

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 already 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 settlement.



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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 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. 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 realized the hardships that would result.



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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.

In this instance there is much to justify the action taken. An agreement on some provisional line was necessary to enable the new Poland to organize itself and to permit the speedier withdrawal of the armed forces which had liberated her from the Germans. Most of what was done had already been agreed on at Crimea. In the area east of the Curzon line there are over 3,000,000 Poles who are to be repatriated to Poland. They need room to settle. The territory the Poles are to administer in the west is less in square kilometers but much richer in economic resources 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. We were informed that there are only about a million and a half left, and they would be willing to return to Germany.

This new territory will enable Poland better to support its population.

It will provide a short and more easily defendable frontier be-



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tween 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.

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 ultimately to be selected by the people themselves.

Also the Three Powers agreed to facilitate the earliest possible return to Poland of all Poles who wish to return -- including soldiers -- with the



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assurance that they would have all the personal and property rights of other 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 Declarations on Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary. These other 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 Powers. Until they are re-established as members of the international family they are the joint concern of all of us.



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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. The three governments agreed that the Allied Press would enjoy freedom to report to the world upon all developments in Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. The same agreement was reaffirmed as to Poland.

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 important to the future peace and security of the world.

One of the persistent causes for wars in Europe in the last two centuries has been the selfish control of the water ways 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



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the agencies would include the U.S. the U.K. the Soviet and France plus those states which border on the waterways.

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.

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

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 at Paris.

We agreed that Allied troops should be withdrawn immediately from Teheran.

We also agreed that the present status of the Dardanelles under the old Montreux Convention fails to meet present day conditions, and that conferences on the subject should be undertaken between each of the three governments and the Turkish Government.

I want to express the thanks of the American people for the fine and successful services which were rendered at this Conference by Secretary of State Byrnes. This applies also to the rest of the American Delegation -- Admiral Leahy and Ambassadors Harriman, Davies and Pauley -- and to the entire American staff. Without them the Conference would not have accomplished as much as it did.

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Any man who sees Europe must 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 and particularly about the people of Western Europe. Many of them 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 be kept alive~~ can survive -- 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 throughout much of the continent of Europe 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

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since victory was won in Europe. The overall purpose of the meeting was to find the means by which that 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 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.

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 professional soldiers whose only moral arms were obedience and worship of force.



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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.

The war has shown us that we have tremendous resources of iron and coal and copper and petroleum and 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. 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 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, just peace. From



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Teheran, and the Crimea, and San Francisco, and Berlin we shall march
together to that objective.

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