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**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
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**OA/ID Number:** 13748  
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**Folder Title:**  
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Sample

January 1, 1991

President George Bush  
White House  
Washington, D. C.

JAN 29

SAMPLE  
PJT  
Dec 1 Monday  
2:45 - 3pm

BUM

Dear President Bush,

In May, 1989 our son, David and all of our family were proud when Dave graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point. Our other son, Dan was especially proud of his brother as Dan was a 1984 graduate of West Point and ten months into his army career he had to lose out on his military service goals due to the effects of a severe closed head trauma injury.

Dave has been serving in Saudi Arabia since early September, 1990 as a Platoon 2LT with the 101st Airborne Division. He is proud to be serving his country. Recently, at Christmas Dave sent to us a Christmas card with a written note on the back of the card. It was a wonderful gift for us. It was heart-warming for his Mom as Helen has been battling two forms of cancer for several years.

There are times when we read or hear of letters to the editor, etc. that are critical of our presence in Saudi Arabia and in some instances, negative opinions from armed forces members. We wanted to share with you a copy of Dave's note to us because we know that his thoughts represent the thoughts of more than the majority of our armed forces.

All of us in our family, the both of us and Debbie Dan, David and Kathy support you 100% in the job you are doing relative to the Mid-East crisis and in your presidency. God bless you and your family and God bless America.

Sincerely,  
Bill & Helen Priatko  
Bill & Helen Priatko

Mr. Dad,

Just before I started to write this card I realized that this will be my first Christmas away from home. To the best of my knowledge, this will be the first time that our whole family hasn't been together for the holidays. There is always a first time for everything and we all knew that one of us would eventually be away for the holidays. I miss all of you and wish I could be home to share the joy of Christmas. But I realize that there is more important business at hand, right now that must be tended to. I am thankful that I can be here to serve my country. If I were given the option to come home for Christmas, I would refuse it and stay until the job is done. I have no regrets for taking the course in life that has led me here to the desert, regardless of the outcome. As parents, you have instilled values within me that have helped me to stand strong in the face of adversity and stand up for what is right. I feel a sense of peace despite the unfavorable situation and the uncertainty concerning the future. I attribute that peace to my faith in Jesus Christ knowing that he can overcome death and has promised us life eternal. As I look at the men I work with, I can not help feeling sorry for them. Most do not have a Christian foundation and their outlook on life is different. They look at the future with a sense of fear because their lives are focused on earthly things. As I see these things, I thank God for having parents like you who taught me what is really important in life. Thank you Mom and Dad for always being there and wishing your popularity by disciplining us to teach us to do the harder right. May you have a blessed Christmas and a prosperous New Year.

Love,  
Dad



+ 250X 1810-1D +

AMERICAN GREETINGS CORP  
MADE IN U.S.A.

*PJL*  
*per* WHITE HOUSE  
HUNTINGTON

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Priatko:

Thank you for your heartfelt message about the conflict in the Persian Gulf and for enclosing a copy of the letter from your son. I was deeply moved by his strong feelings about duty, justice, and faith. I know you are worried about David, and my heart goes out to you during this stressful time.

I am grateful that our courageous troops face this historic challenge knowing that they have the support of millions of people around the world and that we are all tremendously proud of the job they are doing. Rest assured that our troops have maximum support and protection and that we will bring them home as soon as possible.

I appreciate your encouraging thoughts and share your pride in David and in his fellow soldiers. Barbara and I are praying for you and for your family. God bless you.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. Bill Priatko  
12378 Longview Drive  
North Huntingdon, Pennsylvania 15642

Jan 19, 1991

Dear President Bush;

On Jan 16 I watched and listened to your address to the nation. I could see the obvious pain and sadness on your face as you told America what we had feared was inevitable for some time. I know the decision to send our troops into battle must have weighed heavy on your heart. God bless you for your courage.

My name is Donald Shelton, I reside in Lafayette, Georgia. I have a 24 year old son who is a machine gunner with the 82<sup>nd</sup> Airborne Division, now deployed in Saudi Arabia. His name

is Sgt Michael Shelton. He has been in the Persian Gulf since the first troops arrived. During the past months as we corresponded by mail he informed me several times that his squad was very much behind our presence there and was ready to do what had to be done.

Mr. Bush there is nothing more precious to me than the life of my son. I know in the days ahead he may be in grave peril. But I also realize what sacrifices Americans have had to make to keep our country free and strong.

I just felt compelled to write

this letter of support. In the days ahead I know you will have many difficult decisions to make. Please take comfort in this dark hour of history in knowing that America loves you and supports you to the fullest.

I will pray every morning that God grant you the courage to lead our Country through this crisis and that he will watch over our troops in this time of Peril.

Sincerely  
Donald F. Shelton  
1304 Fernwood Dr.  
Lafayette, Georgia  
30728

January 21, 1991

Mr. John S. Grabinski  
24324 South 80th Avenue  
Frankfort, Illinois 60423

Dear Mr. President,

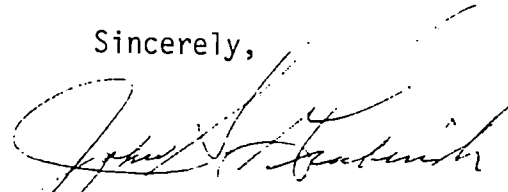
I am sure that in these troubled times for our Nation, it will be some time before my correspondence will reach you, providing that it is passed on through the proper channels, however I felt compelled to write to you in light of the political and public criticism that must weight heavy on your fulfilling your responsibilities, and feel that you could use a vote of confidence.

Our son Todd is one of the many troops participating in Operation Desert Storm, and his mother and I have not heard from him since the start of the conflict and refuse to burden the Military phone lines in trying to learn of his status. I am comforted by his photo which hangs on the wall over my desk next to a photo of General Schwarzkoph.

We are proud of our son, love him dearly and it would be devastating to loose him, but Mrs. Grabinski and myself believe in you as the Father and Head of this Nation in crisis, and can only offer this thought as a possible comfort for you: Be assured, that if we loose our son the fault does not rest with you and we will always look upon you as a man of peace, a leader who exhausted all means to avoid a war, we believe in you, pray for you and all the men involved in this world crisis and know that our son is employed by the greatest Nation in the World.

I hope God grants you peace and wisdom in the troubled times ahead. Maintain the thought that we believe in you and your direction of the Country. God bless you and the United States.

Sincerely,



Mr. John S. Grabinski

10.2  
January 11, 1991

Dear Mr. President

*camp*  
FEB 14 1991

FEB 15 1991

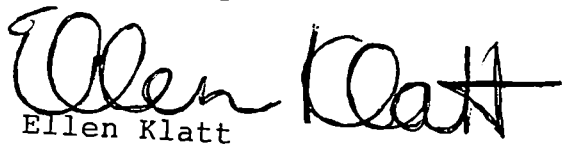
*DW*  
It is a cold and damp Friday afternoon in Columbia, S.C. My seven-year-old daughter, Margaret, who is very like her father, is baking cookies and our kitchen is just a little too warm. From the next room i hear the bips and bleeps of the Nintendo game my older daughter, Elizabeth, now ten and probably getting braces on her teeth soon, is playing. I am enjoying my few days of leisure before i begin the final semester of work towards my master's degree in teaching mathematics. On this date, i know that you cannot enjoy any such relaxing pastimes.

For several months past i have read and listened to the well-aired complaints of some Americans who blame you for the crisis in the Middle East which has taken son or husband, daughter, sister, or mother away and who promise to hold you personally responsible if that loved one does not return. As a military wife of fifteen years, i have strong, unfavorable opinions of military families who thus publicly undermine the positions and missions of servicemembers, but i have known that these families speak out of their pain. I think that this pain and their real sacrifices entitle them to speak, even if so wrongheadedly. It has seemed to me that my support for you and my wholehearted agreement with the policies of your administration did not bear the costly stamp of personal hardship and so must be given less weight.

However, next week my husband, the father of the little girls who occupy the first paragraph of this letter, will leave his job training young people to become Navy and Marine Corps officers and will become a Desert Shield warrior. He is exhilarated by this, the challenge for which most of his life has been a preparation. I am filled with pride and love for my best friend and the finest Marine officer i have known. But being a temporary single parent is a charmless prospect. Besides, it hurts. So now my family is paying that price and may pay a price unspeakable higher. And i still say, sir, you are right. This must be done. It is worth the cost. Thank you

for your tireless, meticulous, and farsighted leadership and for your adamance in the face of cunning evil. I know that if the horror must happen, you will ensure that it is over as soon as possible. Not just my family, but many families are trusting you with our beloved ones because we believe you have proved yourself worthy of our trust and will continue to do so.

God bless you!



Ellen Klatt

2512 Bendemeer Drive  
Columbia, S.C. 29209

B.L.P.O.T.A.R.

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WH

THE  
BEST LOVED POEMS  
of the American People

Selected by  
HAZEL FELLEMAN  
II

PATRIOTISM AND WAR

When can their glory fade?  
O the wild charge they made!  
All the world wonder'd.  
Honor the charge they made!  
Honor the Light Brigade,  
Noble six hundred!

ALFRED TENNYSON

THE FIGHTING RACE

"READ OUT the names!" and Burke sat back,  
And Kelly drooped his head,  
While Shea—they called him Scholar Jack—  
Went down the list of the dead.  
Officers, seamen, gunners, marines,  
The crews of the gig and yawl,  
The bearded man and the lad in his teens,  
Carpenters, coal passers—all.  
Then, knocking the ashes from out his pipe,  
Said Burke in an offhand way:  
"We're all in that dead man's list, by cripes!  
Kelly and Burke and Shea."  
"Well, here's to the Maine, and I'm sorry for Spain,"  
Said Kelly and Burke and Shea.

"Wherever there's Kellys there's trouble," said Burke.  
"Wherever fighting's the game,  
Or a spice of danger in grown man's work,"  
Said Kelly, "you'll find my name."  
"And do we fall short," said Burke, getting mad,  
"When it's touch and go for life?"  
Said Shea, "It's thirty-odd years, bedad,  
Since I charged to drum and fife  
Up Marye's Heights, and my old canteen  
Stopped a rebel ball on its way;  
There were blossoms of blood on our sprigs of green—  
Kelly and Burke and Shea—  
And the dead didn't brag." "Well, here's to the flag!"  
Said Kelly and Burke and Shea.

"I wish 'twas in Ireland, for there's the place,"  
Said Burke, "that we'd die by right,

PATRIOTISM AND WAR

In the cradle of our soldier race,  
After one good stand-up fight.  
My grandfather fell on Vinegar Hill,  
And fighting was not his trade;  
But his rusty pike's in the cabin still,  
With Hessian blood on the blade."  
"Aye, aye," said Kelly, "the pikes were great  
When the word was 'clear the way!'  
We were thick on the roll in ninety-eight—  
Kelly and Burke and Shea."  
"Well, here's to the pike and the sword and the like!"  
Said Kelly and Burke and Shea.

And Shea, the scholar, with rising joy,  
Said, "We were at Ramillies;  
We left our bones at Fontenoy  
And up in the Pyrenees;  
Before Dunkirk, on Landen's plain,  
Cremona, Lille, and Ghent;  
We're all over Austria, France and Spain,  
Wherever they pitched a tent.  
We've died for England from Waterloo  
To Egypt and Dargai;  
And still there's enough for a corps or crew,  
Kelly and Burke and Shea."  
"Well, here's to good honest fighting blood!"  
Said Kelly and Burke and Shea.

"Oh, the fighting races don't die out,  
If they seldom die in bed,  
For love is first in their hearts, no doubt,"  
Said Burke; then Kelly said:  
"When Michael, the Irish Archangel, stands,  
The Angel with the sword,  
And the battle dead from a hundred lands  
Are ranged in one big horde,  
Our line, that for Gabriel's trumpet waits,  
Will stretch three deep that day,  
From Jehoshaphat to the Golden Gates—  
Kelly and Burke and Shea."  
"Well, here's thank God for the race and the sod!"  
Said Kelly and Burke and Shea.

JOSEPH I. C. CLARKE

# St. Alban's Catholic Church

Cathedral Chapel

DESIGNATE

ANGELICAN RITE • AGLIPAYAN

P. O. BOX 924944 • HOUSTON, TEXAS 77292

(713) 683-6224

Tuesday - February 5th  
ST. AGATHA



Dear Mr. President:

This is my very first experience at writing to such an high and esteemed official, so please forgive any gramatical errors (or) miss-spelling.

I am certain that traditional Anglicans all join in our complete and total support of our President and our fine young men and women who serve our cause in the Persian Gulf crisis.

Please know that our continued prayers (both) for the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES and for our Armed Forces shall be said during each celebration of the Holy Eucharist.

This may not be a very "priestly" request, but I would consider it to be a very personal favor to me...an old Anglican Priest down here in Houston, Texas....

Please, if you can, pass along to the proper military personel who re-load our aircraft with armed missiles...to inscribe (for me) an appropriate message on one of them...perhaps: "UP YOUR'S, Saddam" would do very nicely....and make it "from Father Bill".

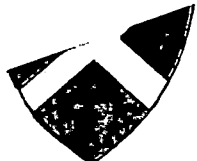
THANK YOU, Mr. President, for the calling for a National day of prayer...and God continue to Bless you in all ways.

Very Respectfully  
Your Humble Servant in Christ  
The Very Reverend Monsignor

William Champion

DOD

100 Sample!



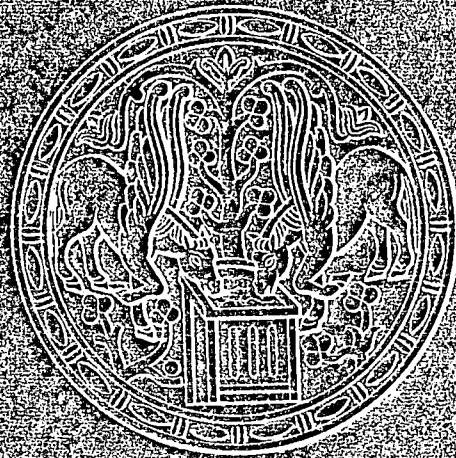
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COMBINED MID-CENTURY EDITION

Modern American Poetry

Modern British Poetry

*Edited by Louis Untermeyer*



HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY, NEW YORK

YAN

HITMAN

Dun and saffron, robed and splendid,  
 Broke the solemn, pitying Day,  
 And I knew my pains were ended,  
 And I turned and tried to pray;  
 But my speech was shattered wholly,  
 And I wept as children weep,  
 Till the dawn-wind, softly, slowly,  
 Brought to burning eyelids sleep.

AN ASTROLOGER'S SONG

To the Heavens above us  
 Oh, look and behold  
 The Planets that love us  
 All harnessed in gold!  
 What chariots, what horses  
 Against us shall bide  
 While the Stars in their courses  
 Do fight on our side?

All thought, all desires,  
 That are under the sun,  
 Are one with their fires,  
 As we also are one:  
 All matter, all spirit,  
 All fashion, all frame,  
 Receive and inherit  
 Their strength from the same.

(Oh, man that deniest  
 All power save thine own,  
 Their power in the highest  
 Is mightily shown.  
 Not less in the lowest  
 That power is made clear.  
 Oh, man, if thou knowest,  
 What treasure is here!)

Earth quakes in her throes  
 And we wonder for why!  
 But the blind planet knows  
 When her ruler is nigh;  
 And, attuned since Creation  
 To perfect accord,  
 She thrills in her station  
 And yearns to her Lord.

The waters have risen,  
 The springs are unbound—  
 The floods break their prison,  
 And ravin around.

No rampart withstands 'em,  
 Their fury will last,  
 Till the Sign that commands 'em  
 Sinks low or swings past.

Through abysses unproven  
 And gulfs beyond thought,  
 Our portion is woven,  
 Our burden is brought.  
 Yet They that prepare it,  
 Whose Nature we share,  
 Make us who must bear it  
 Well able to bear.

Though terrors o'ertake us  
 We'll not be afraid.  
 No power can unmake us  
 Save that which has made.  
 Nor yet beyond reason  
 Or hope shall we fall—  
 All things have their season,  
 And Mercy crowns all!

Then doubt not, ye fearful—  
 The Eternal is King—  
 Up, heart, and be cheerful,  
 And lustily sing:—  
*What chariots, what horses  
 Against us shall bide  
 While the Stars in their courses  
 Do fight on our side?*

RECESSIONAL

God of our fathers, known of old,  
 Lord of our far-flung battle-line,  
 Beneath whose awful hand we hold  
 Dominion over palm and pine—  
 Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,  
 Lest we forget—lest we forget!

The tumult and the shouting dies;  
 The captains and the kings depart:  
 Still stands Thine ancient sacrifice,  
 An humble and a contrite heart.  
 Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,  
 Lest we forget—lest we forget!

Far-called, our navies melt away;  
 On dune and headland sinks the fire:

Lo, all our pomp of yesterday  
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!  
Judge of the Nations, spare us yet,  
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

If, drunk with sight of power, we loose  
Wild tongues that have not Thee in awe,  
Such boastings as the Gentiles use,  
Or lesser breeds without the Law—

Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,  
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

For heathen heart that puts her trust  
In reeking tube and iron shard,  
All valiant dust that builds on dust,  
And, guarding, calls not Thee to guard,  
For frantic boast and foolish word—  
Thy Mercy on Thy People, Lord!

## THE LAST CHANTEY

*"And there was no more sea"*

Thus said the Lord in the Vault above the Cherubim,  
Calling to the Angels and the Souls in their degree:

"Lo! Earth has passed away  
On the smoke of Judgment Day.

That Our word may be established shall We gather up the sea?"

Loud sang the souls of the jolly, jolly mariners:

"Plague upon the hurricane that made us furl and flee!

But the war is done between us,  
In the deep the Lord hath seen us—

Our bones we'll leave the barracout', and God may sink the sea!"

Then said the soul of Judas that betrayed Him:

"Lord, hast Thou forgotten Thy covenant with me?

How once a year I go  
To cool me on the floe?

And Ye take my day of mercy if Ye take away the sea."

Then said the soul of the Angel of the Off-shore Wind:

(He that bits the thunder when the bull-mouthed breakers flee):

"I have watch and ward to keep  
O'er Thy wonders on the deep,

And Ye take mine honor from me if Ye take away the sea!"

Loud sang the souls of the jolly, jolly mariners:

"Nay, but we were angry, and a hasty folk are we.

If we worked the ship together  
Till she foundered in foul weather,

Are we babes that we should clamor for a vengeance on the sea?"

Then said the souls of the slaves that men threw overboard:

"Kenneled in the picaroon a weary band were we;

But Thy arm was strong to save,  
And it touched us on the wave,

And we drownded the long tides idle till Thy Trumpets tore the sea."

Then cried the soul of the stout Apostle Paul to God:

"Once we frapped a ship, and she labored woundily.

There we  
And they  
When they le

Loud sang the s  
Plucking at t  
"Our thu  
And the  
May we lift a

Then said the :  
Fettered wri  
"Ho, we  
O'er the  
Heave or sin'

Up spake the s  
(He that led  
"Oh, the  
And the  
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178 Address on Foreign Policy at the Navy Day Celebration  
in New York City. October 27, 1945

*Mayor La Guardia, ladies and gentlemen:*

I am grateful for the magnificent reception which you have given me today in this great city of New York. I know that it is given me only as the representative of the gallant men and women of our naval forces, and on their behalf, as well as my own, I thank you.

New York joins the rest of the Nation in paying honor and tribute to the four million fighting Americans of the Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard—and to the ships which carried them to victory.

On opposite sides of the world, across two oceans, our Navy opened a highway for the armies and air forces of the United States. They landed our gallant men, millions of them, on the beachheads of final triumph. Fighting from Murmansk, the English Channel and the Tyrrhenian Sea, to Midway, Guadalcanal, Leyte Gulf and Okinawa—they won the greatest naval victories in history. Together with their brothers in arms in the Army and Air Force, and with the men of the Merchant Marine, they have helped to win for mankind all over the world a new opportunity to live in peace and dignity—and we hope, in security.

In the harbor and rivers of New York City and in other ports along the coasts and rivers of the country, ships of that mighty United States Navy are at anchor. I hope that you and the people everywhere will visit them and their crews, seeing for yourselves what your sons and daughters, your labor and your money, have fashioned into an invincible weapon of liberty.

The fleet, on V-J Day, consisted of 1200 warships, more than 50,000 supporting and landing craft, and over 40,000 navy planes. By that day, ours was a seapower never before equalled in the history of the world. There were great carrier task forces capable of tracking down and sinking the enemy's fleets, beating down his airpower, and pouring destruction on his war-making industries. There were submarines which roamed the seas, invading the enemy's own ports, and destroying his shipping in all the oceans. There were amphibious forces capable

of landing soldiers on beaches from Normandy to the Philippines. There were great battleships and cruisers which swept the enemy ships from the seas and bombarded his shore defense almost at will.

And history will never forget that great leader who, from his first day in office, fought to reestablish a strong American Navy—who watched that Navy and all the other might of this Nation grow into an invincible force for victory—who sought to make that force an instrument for a just and lasting peace—and who gave his life in the effort—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The roll call of the battles of this fleet reads like a sign post around the globe—on the road to final victory: North Africa, Sicily, Italy, Normandy, and Southern France; the Coral Sea, Midway, Guadalcanal, and the Solomons; Tarawa, Saipan, Guam, the Philippine Sea, Leyte Gulf; Iwo Jima and Okinawa. Nothing which the enemy held on any coast was safe from its attack.

Now we are in the process of demobilizing our naval force. We are laying up ships. We are breaking up aircraft squadrons. We are rolling up bases, and releasing officers and men. But when our demobilization is all finished as planned, the United States will still be the greatest naval power on earth.

In addition to that naval power, we shall still have one of the most powerful air forces in the world. And just the other day, so that on short notice we could mobilize a powerful and well-equipped land, sea, and air force, I asked the Congress to adopt universal training.

Why do we seek to preserve this powerful Naval and Air Force, and establish this strong Army reserve? Why do we need to do that?

We have assured the world time and again—and I repeat it now—that we do not seek for ourselves one inch of territory in any place in the world. Outside of the right to establish necessary bases for our own protection, we look for nothing which belongs to any other power.

We do need this kind of armed might, however, for four principal tasks:

First, our Army, Navy, and Air Force, in collaboration with our allies, must enforce the terms of peace imposed upon our defeated enemies.

Second, we must fulfill the military obligations which we are undertaking as a member of the United Nations Organization—to support a lasting peace, by force if necessary.

Third, we must cooperate with other American nations to preserve the territorial integrity and the political independence of the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

Fourth, in this troubled and uncertain world, our military forces must be adequate to discharge the fundamental mission laid upon them by the Constitution of the United States—to “provide for the common defense” of the United States.

These four military tasks are directed not toward war—not toward conquest—but toward peace.

We seek to use our military strength solely to preserve the peace of the world. For we now know that this is the only sure way to make our own freedom secure.

That is the basis of the foreign policy of the people of the United States.

The foreign policy of the United States is based firmly on fundamental principles of righteousness and justice. In carrying out those principles we shall firmly adhere to what we believe to be right; and we shall not give our approval to any compromise with evil.

But we know that we cannot attain perfection in this world overnight. We shall not let our search for perfection obstruct our steady progress toward international cooperation. We must be prepared to fulfill our responsibilities as best we can, within the framework of our fundamental principles, even though we recognize that we have to operate in an imperfect world.

Let me restate the fundamentals of that foreign policy of the United States:

1. We seek no territorial expansion or selfish advantage. We have no plans for aggression against any other state, large or small. We have no objective which need clash with the peaceful aims of any other nation.

2. We believe in the eventual return of sovereign rights and self-government to all peoples who have been deprived of them by force.

3. We shall approve no territorial changes in any friendly part of the world unless they accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned.

4. We believe that all peoples who are prepared for self-government should be permitted to choose their own form of government by their own freely expressed choice, without interference from any foreign source. That is true in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, as well as in the Western Hemisphere.

5. By the combined and cooperative action of our war allies, we shall help the defeated enemy states establish peaceful democratic governments of their own free choice. And we shall try to attain a world in which Nazism, Fascism, and military aggression cannot exist.

6. We shall refuse to recognize any government imposed upon any nation by the force of any foreign power. In some cases it may be impossible to prevent forceful imposition of such a government. But the United States will not recognize any such government.

7. We believe that all nations should have the freedom of the seas and equal rights to the navigation of boundary rivers and waterways and of rivers and waterways which pass through more than one country.

8. We believe that all states which are accepted in the society of nations should have access on equal terms to the trade and the raw materials of the world.

9. We believe that the sovereign states of the Western Hemisphere, without interference from outside the Western Hemisphere, must work together as good neighbors in the solution of their common problems.

10. We believe that full economic collaboration between all nations, great and small, is essential to the improvement of living conditions all over the world, and to the establishment of freedom from fear and freedom from want.

11. We shall continue to strive to promote freedom of expression and freedom of religion throughout the peace-loving areas of the world.

12. We are convinced that the preservation of peace between nations requires a United Nations Organization composed of all the peace-loving nations of the world who are willing jointly to use force if necessary to insure peace.

Now, that is the foreign policy which guides the United States. That is the foreign policy with which it confidently faces the future.

It may not be put into effect tomorrow or the next day. But nonetheless, it is our policy; and we shall seek to achieve it. It may take a long time, but it is worth waiting for, and it is worth striving to attain.

The Ten Commandments themselves have not yet been universally achieved over these thousands of years. Yet we struggle constantly to achieve them, and in many ways we come closer to them each year. Though we may meet setbacks from time to time, we shall not relent in our efforts to bring the Golden Rule into the international affairs of the world.

We are now passing through a difficult phase of international relations. Unfortunately it has always been true after past wars, that the unity among allies, forged by their common peril, has tended to wear out as the danger passed.

The world cannot afford any letdown in the united determination of the allies in this war to accomplish a lasting peace. The world cannot afford to let the cooperative spirit of the allies in this war disintegrate. The world simply cannot allow this to happen. The people in the United States, in Russia, and Britain, in France and China, in collaboration with all the other peace-loving people, must take the course of current history into their own hands and mold it in a new direction—the direction of continued cooperation. It was a common danger which united us before victory. Let it be a common hope which continues to draw us together in the years to come.

The atomic bombs which fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki must be made a signal, not for the old process of falling apart but for a new era—an era of ever-closer unity and ever-closer friendship among peaceful nations.

Building a peace requires as much moral stamina as waging a war. Perhaps it requires even more, because it is so laborious and painstaking and undramatic. It requires undying patience and continuous application. But it can give us, if we stay with it, the greatest reward that there is in the whole field of human effort.

Differences of the kind that exist today among nations that fought together so long and so valiantly for victory are not hopeless or irreconcilable. There are no conflicts of interest among the victorious powers so deeply rooted that they cannot be resolved. But their solution will require a combination of forbearance and firmness. It will require a steadfast adherence to the high principles which we have enunciated. It will also require a willingness to find a common ground as to the methods of applying those principles.

Our American policy is a policy of friendly partnership with all peaceful nations, and of full support for the United Nations Organization. It is a policy that has the strong backing of the American people. It is a policy around which we can rally without fear or misgiving.

The more widely and clearly that policy is understood abroad, the better and surer will be the peace. For our own part we must seek to understand the special problems of other nations. We must seek to understand their own legitimate urge toward security as they see it.

The immediate, the greatest threat to us is the threat of disillusionment, the danger of insidious skepticism—a loss of faith in the effectiveness of international cooperation. Such a loss of faith would be dangerous at any time. In an atomic age it would be nothing short of disastrous.

There has been talk about the atomic bomb scrapping all navies, armies, and air forces. For the present, I think that such talk is 100 percent wrong. Today, control of the seas rests in the fleets of the United States and her allies. There is no substitute for them. We have learned the bitter lesson that the weakness of this great Republic invites men of ill-will to shake the very foundations of civilization all over the world. And we had two concrete lessons in that.

What the distant future of the atomic research will bring to the fleet which we honor today, no one can foretell. But the fundamental mission of the Navy has not changed. Control of our sea approaches and of the skies above them is still the key to our freedom and to our ability to help enforce the peace of the world. No enemy will ever strike us directly except across the sea. We cannot reach out to help stop and defeat an aggressor without crossing the sea. Therefore, the

Navy, armed with whatever weapons science brings forth, is still dedicated to its historic task: control of the ocean approaches to our country and of the skies above them.

The atomic bomb does not alter the basic foreign policy of the United States. It makes the development and application of our policy more urgent than we could have dreamed 6 months ago. It means that we must be prepared to approach international problems with greater speed, with greater determination, with greater ingenuity, in order to meet a situation for which there is no precedent.

We must find the answer to the problems created by the release of atomic energy—we must find the answers to the many other problems of peace—in partnership with all the peoples of the United Nations. For their stake in world peace is as great as our own.

As I said in my message to the Congress, discussion of the atomic bomb with Great Britain and Canada and later with other nations cannot wait upon the formal organization of the United Nations. These discussions, looking toward a free exchange of fundamental scientific information, will be begun in the near future. But I emphasize again, as I have before, that these discussions will not be concerned with the processes of manufacturing the atomic bomb or any other instruments of war.

In our possession of this weapon, as in our possession of other new weapons, there is no threat to any nation. The world, which has seen the United States in two great recent wars, knows that full well. The possession in our hands of this new power of destruction we regard as a sacred trust. Because of our love of peace, the thoughtful people of the world know that that trust will not be violated, that it will be faithfully executed.

Indeed, the highest hope of the American people is that world cooperation for peace will soon reach such a state of perfection that atomic methods of destruction can be definitely and effectively outlawed forever.

We have sought, and we will continue to seek, the attainment of that objective. We shall pursue that course with all the wisdom, patience,

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and determination that the God of Peace can bestow upon a people who are trying to follow in His path.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:43 p.m. from a stand at the south end of the Sheep Meadow in Central Park, New York City. His opening words referred to Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia. The address was carried over all radio networks.

179 Letter to Dr. Lyman J. Briggs on His Retirement as Director of the National Bureau of Standards.

*October 29, 1945*

*Dear Dr. Briggs:*

Your retirement as the Director of the National Bureau of Standards will deprive the nation of the services of an eminent scientist and government administrator. You have well merited the wide recognition which has come to you by virtue of your personal achievements in the field of scientific research and by your competent direction of the Bureau's diversified operations.

I should like to take this occasion to comment on your long and unique record of public service. In World War I, military and naval developments which you sponsored and actively developed were a potent factor in our victory. In the decades of peace thereafter, you guided the Bureau's activities into fruitful channels and added to your own accomplishments, particularly in the then undeveloped field of aerodynamics. As World War II approached, President Roosevelt expressed his confidence in your capabilities by designating you as Chairman of the First Committee on the Investigation of Atomic Energy. The findings and recommendations of that Committee were an important factor in the decision to initiate the vast national effort for developing atomic weapons, and the subsequent discoveries of the National Bureau of Standards contributed greatly to the success of that effort.

Your record has been one of ever-increasing achievement, and you represent an outstanding example of the integrity and competence of government-sponsored science and research. I hope that you will fully

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"I send also my personal appreciation of the superb leadership shown by you and your commanders in directing the valiant legions of our own country, and of our Allies, to this historic victory.

"Please transmit this message to the appropriate officers of your command, and publish it to all Allied forces in your theaters of operation."

And in the message to Marshal Stalin, we asked him to do the same thing for the Russian commanders and Russian troops.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Truman's sixth news conference was held in his office at the White House at 8:35 a.m. on Tuesday, May 8, 1945. The White House Official Reporter noted that members of the Cabinet, Mrs. Truman and Margaret Truman, high United States and British Army and Navy officials, and Senate and Congressional leaders were grouped in chairs around the President's desk.

27 Broadcast to the American People Announcing the  
Surrender of Germany. *May 8, 1945*

[ Delivered from the Radio Room at the White House at 9 a.m. ]

THIS IS a solemn but a glorious hour. I only wish that Franklin D. Roosevelt had lived to witness this day. General Eisenhower informs me that the forces of Germany have surrendered to the United Nations. The flags of freedom fly over all Europe.

For this victory, we join in offering our thanks to the Providence which has guided and sustained us through the dark days of adversity.

Our rejoicing is sobered and subdued by a supreme consciousness of the terrible price we have paid to rid the world of Hitler and his evil band. Let us not forget, my fellow Americans, the sorrow and the heartache which today abide in the homes of so many of our neighbors—neighbors whose most priceless possession has been rendered as a sacrifice to redeem our liberty.

We can repay the debt which we owe to our God, to our dead and to our children only by work—by ceaseless devotion to the responsibilities which lie ahead of us. If I could give you a single watchword for the coming months, that word is—work, work, and more work.

We must work to finish the war. Our victory is but half-won. The West is free, but the East is still in bondage to the treacherous tyranny

Harry S. Truman, 1945

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of the Japanese. When the last Japanese division has surrendered unconditionally, then only will our fighting job be done.

We must work to bind up the wounds of a suffering world—to build an abiding peace, a peace rooted in justice and in law. We can build such a peace only by hard, toilsome, painstaking work—by understanding and working with our allies in peace as we have in war.

The job ahead is no less important, no less urgent, no less difficult than the task which now happily is done.

I call upon every American to stick to his post until the last battle is won. Until that day, let no man abandon his post or slacken his efforts.

And now, I want to read to you my formal proclamation of this occasion:

“A Proclamation—The Allied armies, through sacrifice and devotion and with God’s help, have wrung from Germany a final and unconditional surrender. The western world has been freed of the evil forces which for five years and longer have imprisoned the bodies and broken the lives of millions upon millions of free-born men. They have violated their churches, destroyed their homes, corrupted their children, and murdered their loved ones. Our Armies of Liberation have restored freedom to these suffering peoples, whose spirit and will the oppressors could never enslave.

“Much remains to be done. The victory won in the West must now be won in the East. The whole world must be cleansed of the evil from which half the world has been freed. United, the peace-loving nations have demonstrated in the West that their arms are stronger by far than the might of the dictators or the tyranny of military cliques that once called us soft and weak. The power of our peoples to defend themselves against all enemies will be proved in the Pacific war as it has been proved in Europe.

“For the triumph of spirit and of arms which we have won, and for its promise to the peoples everywhere who join us in the love of freedom, it is fitting that we, as a nation, give thanks to Almighty God, who has strengthened us and given us the victory.

“Now, therefore, I, Harry S. Truman, President of the United States of America, do hereby appoint Sunday, May 13, 1945, to be a day of prayer.

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"I call upon the people of the United States, whatever their faith, to unite in offering joyful thanks to God for the victory we have won, and to pray that He will support us to the end of our present struggle and guide us into the ways of peace.

"I also call upon my countrymen to dedicate this day of prayer to the memory of those who have given their lives to make possible our victory.

"In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed."

28 Statement by the President Calling for Unconditional  
Surrender of Japan.      *May 8, 1945*

NAZI GERMANY has been defeated.

The Japanese people have felt the weight of our land, air and naval attacks. So long as their leaders and the armed forces continue the war the striking power and intensity of our blows will steadily increase and will bring utter destruction to Japan's industrial war production, to its shipping, and to everything that supports its military activity.

The longer the war lasts, the greater will be the suffering and hardships which the people of Japan will undergo—all in vain. Our blows will not cease until the Japanese military and naval forces lay down their arms in *unconditional surrender*.

Just what does the unconditional surrender of the armed forces mean for the Japanese people?

It means the end of the war.

It means the termination of the influence of the military leaders who have brought Japan to the present brink of disaster.

It means provision for the return of soldiers and sailors to their families, their farms, their jobs.

It means not prolonging the present agony and suffering of the Japanese in the vain hope of victory.

Unconditional surrender does not mean the extermination or enslavement of the Japanese people.

97 Radio Report to the American People on the Potsdam Conference. August 9, 1945

[ Delivered from the White House at 10 p.m. ]

*My fellow Americans:*

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 terrific destruction which the war had brought to the occupied countries of Western Europe and to England.

How glad I am 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, we are going to maintain the military bases necessary for the complete protection of our interests and of world peace. Bases which our military experts deem to be essential for our protection, and which are not now in our possession, we will acquire. We will acquire them by arrangements consistent with the United Nations Charter.

No one can foresee what another war would mean to our own cities and 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 of 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 upon much more than the personal friendships of three individuals. There was a fundamental accord and agreement upon the objectives ahead of us.

Two of the three conferees of Teheran and Yalta were missing by the end of this conference. Each of them was sorely missed. Each had done his work toward winning this war. Each 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.

I want to express my thanks for the excellent 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 other members of the American delegation—Admiral Leahy and Ambassadors 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.

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 the winning of the war against Japan. On our program, that was the most important item.

The military arrangements made at Berlin were of course secret. 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, agreed to enter the war in the Pacific. We gladly 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 more of the other military secrets agreed upon at Berlin. They will learn them firsthand—and they will not like them.

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 proposals for discussion. Subjects were added by the Soviet and British Governments, but in the main the conference was occupied with the American proposals.

Our first nonmilitary 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, so 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 cooperative peace settlements than could otherwise be obtained.

One of the first tasks of the Council of Foreign Ministers is to draft proposed treaties of peace with former enemy countries—Italy, Rumania, 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 are 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 a German peace settlement. But its final acceptance will have to wait until Germany has developed a government with which a peace treaty can be made. In the meantime, the conference of Berlin laid down the specific political and economic principles under which Germany will be governed by the occupying powers.

Those principles have been published. I hope that all of you will read them.<sup>1</sup>

They seek to rid Germany of the forces which have made her so long feared and hated, and which have now brought her to complete disaster. They are intended to eliminate Nazism, armaments, war industries, the German General Staff and all its military tradition. They seek to rebuild democracy by control of German education, by reorganizing local government and the judiciary, by encouraging free

<sup>1</sup> See Item 91.

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 industry. 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 civilized 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 resources of Germany which are not required for her peacetime subsistence.

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 billions of 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.

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 approximately half of the total for herself and Poland, and

that the remainder should be divided among all the other nations entitled to reparations.

Under our agreement at Berlin, the reparations 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 German assets in Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, Rumania and East Austria. The reparations claims of all the other countries are to be met from property located in the western zones of occupation in Germany, and from the German assets in all other countries. The Soviet waives all claim to gold 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 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 to give Russia and Poland their fair share of approximately 50 percent, it was decided that they should receive, without any reimbursement, 10 percent of the capital equipment in the western zones available for reparations.

As you will note from the communique, a further 15 percent of the capital equipment in the western zones 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 15 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 part.

It was agreed at Berlin that the payment of reparations, from whatever zones taken, should always leave enough resources to enable the German people to subsist without sustained support from other nations.

The question of Poland was a most difficult one. Certain compro-

agreements 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 acceptance—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. The agreement on some line—even provisionally—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. In the area east of the Curzon line there are over 3,000,000 Poles who are to be returned to Poland. They need room, room to settle. The new area in the West was formerly populated by Germans. But most of them have already left in the face of the invading Soviet Army. We were informed that there were only about a million and a half left.

The territory the Poles are to administer will enable Poland better to support its population. It will provide a short and more easily defensible 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.

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 was agreed to recommend that in the peace settlement a portion of East Prussia should be turned over to Russia. That, too, was agreed upon at Yalta. It will provide the Soviet Union, which did so much to bring about victory in Europe, with an ice-free port at the expense of Germany.

At Yalta it was agreed, you will 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 Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary. These nations are not to be spheres of influence of any one power. They are now governed by Allied control commissions composed of representatives of the three governments which met at Yalta and Berlin. These 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 reestablished 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 German satellite nations. The three governments agreed at Berlin that the Allied press would enjoy full freedom from now on to report to the world upon all developments in Rumania, 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 upon two or more states.

The United States proposed at Berlin that there be free and unrestricted navigation of these inland waterways. We think this is 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 on them 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 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.

Any man who sees Europe now must realize that victory in a great war is not something you win once and for all, like victory in a ball game. 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 their 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 worldwide 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, a military base. That was because we wished in this first attack to avoid, insofar as possible, the killing of civilians. But that attack is only a warning of things to come. If Japan does not surrender, bombs will have to be dropped on her 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 know now how close they were to finding it. And we knew the disaster which would come to this Nation, and to all peace-loving nations, to all civilization, if they had 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 the bomb 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, Canada, and the United States, who have the secret of its production, do not intend to reveal that secret until

means have been found to control the bomb so as to protect ourselves and the rest of the world from the danger of total destruction.

As far back as last May, Secretary of War Stimson, at my suggestion, appointed a committee upon which Secretary of State Byrnes served as my personal representative, to prepare plans for the future control of this bomb. I shall ask the Congress to cooperate to the end that its production and use be controlled, and that its power be made an overwhelming influence towards world peace.

We must constitute ourselves trustees of this new force—to prevent its misuse, 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.

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, on the dignity of the human being, on the conception of the State as the servant—and 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 the 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. That 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 which 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

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of man is not a sentimental aspiration or a vain hope or a piece of rhetoric. It is the strongest, most creative force now present in this world.

Now let us use that force and all our resources and all our skills in the great cause of a just and lasting peace!

The Three Great Powers are now more closely than ever bound together in determination to achieve that kind of peace. From Teheran, and the Crimea, from San Francisco and Berlin—we shall continue to march together to a lasting peace and a happy world!

NOTE: The President returned to Washington on August 7. He was welcomed by members of the Cabinet on his arrival at the White House at 11 p.m., after traveling by special train from Newport News where he had disembarked that afternoon.

98 Citation Accompanying the Distinguished Service Medal  
Presented to James F. Byrnes. *August 13, 1945*

CITATION FOR DISTINGUISHED SERVICE MEDAL

MR. JAMES F. BYRNES, as Director of War Mobilization from October 1942 to March 1945, discharged duties of great responsibility with outstanding success. Faced with the problem of aiding the Chief Executive in girding the nation for a conflict of unprecedented proportions, he accomplished his task with exceptional skill. His sympathetic consideration of both military and civilian needs struck a delicate balance that insured the armed forces sufficient manpower and materiel for a maximum effort in a global war while maintaining civilian economy at the highest level of any belligerent in World War II. When necessary, he did not hesitate to support unpopular measures essential to the successful prosecution of the war. He continually gave ready hearing to all sides of momentous questions and rendered logical, sound decisions. He accompanied the Commander-in-Chief to vital conferences, applying his extensive knowledge of inter-Allied problems to their prompt and effective solution. With vast understanding, exceptional ability as an arbiter, unswerving devotion to the national

McGroarty/Dooley  
March 5, 1991  
6:00 pm  
[JSC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS  
THE CAPITOL  
MARCH 6, 1990  
9:00 PM

Mr. President. Mr. Speaker. Members of Congress: Five short weeks ago, I came to this House to speak to you about the State of the Union. We met then in time of war. Tonight, we meet in a world blessed by the promise of peace. //

From the moment OPERATION DESERT STORM commenced on January 16, until the time the guns fell silent at midnight one week ago, this nation has watched its sons and daughters with pride -- watched over them with prayer. // As Commander in Chief, I can report to you: our armed forces fought with honor and valor. As President, I can report to the nation -- mission accomplished.

No one nation can claim this hard-won victory for its own. It is a victory for every nation in the coalition -- and for the United Nations. It is a victory for the rule of law -- and for what is right. //

DESERT STORM's success also belongs to the team that so ably leads our Armed forces: our Secretary of Defense and our Chairman of the Joint Chiefs: Dick Cheney and Colin Powell. //

And of course, this victory belongs to someone whose responsibilities keep him from joining us tonight. I'm talking about the one the British now call the "Man of the Match" -- the tower of calm at the eye of DESERT STORM -- General Norman Schwarzkopf. ///

DE LA BILL-EE-AIR

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Let us not forget Saudi General Khalid, or Britain's General de la Billiere, or General Roquejoffre of France -- and all the others whose leadership played such a vital role. //

I thank the members of this Congress -- for once the battle was joined, support here for our troops was steady and strong. And above all, I thank those whose unfailing love and support sustained our courageous men and women in the field. I thank the American people. ///

Tonight, I come to this House to speak about our world -- our world after war.

The recent challenge could not have been clearer. Saddam Hussein was the villain -- Kuwait the victim. To the aid of this small country came nations from North America and Europe, from Asia and South America, from Africa and the Arab world -- all united against aggression. //

Our uncommon coalition fought in common cause. We must now work in common purpose -- to forge a future that should never again be held hostage to the darker side of human nature.

The work of peace begins with the liberation of Kuwait -- with a peace that makes a small nation whole. Throughout the Middle East, we must work to put to rest the ancient enmities that for so long have shattered the peace in this historic heart and crossroads of civilization. //

I am pleased to report tonight that the ceasefire is holding and appears to be secure. [[LATEST DEVELOPMENTS ON CEASEFIRE, POWs, etc.]]

Yes, Saddam Hussein remains in Iraq. But he walks amidst ruin. I can report to you: His war machine is crushed. // I can report to you: His ability to threaten mass destruction is itself destroyed. // And this I promise you: for all that they have done to their own people, to the Kuwaitis, and to the entire world -- Saddam and those around him are accountable. ///

All of us grieve for the victims of war. For the **people of Kuwait** -- and the suffering that scars the soul of that proud nation. For all our **fallen soldiers**, and their **families** -- for **all the innocents** caught up in this conflict. And for the people of Iraq -- my hope is that one day we will welcome them once more as friends into the community of nations -- for the people of Iraq have never been our enemy.

To all who know America, it will come as no surprise that our commitment to peace in the Middle East does not end with the liberation of Kuwait. //

So tonight, let me outline four key challenges to be met:

First, we must work together to create shared security arrangements in the region. Our friends and allies in the Middle East recognize that they will bear the bulk of the responsibility for regional security. But we want them to know that, **just as we stood with them to repel aggression -- so now America stands ready to work with them to secure the peace.**

What does this mean for the United States? It does not mean stationing U.S. ground forces on the Arabian Peninsula -- but it does mean, for example, American participation in joint

exercises -- involving both air and ground forces. And it means maintaining a capable U.S. naval presence in the region -- just as we have for over forty years.

All that we have accomplished in war will be in vain, if this nation fails to serve -- now and in the future -- as a force for peace and stability. //

Second, we must act to control the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the missiles used to deliver them. This calls for greater coordination among the suppliers of these deadly technologies. And it calls for greater cooperation among the states of the region to forego these and other modern weapons. It would be tragic if the nations of the Middle East and Persian Gulf were now, in the wake of war, to embark on a new arms race.

Iraq requires special vigilance. Until Iraq convinces the world of its peaceful intentions -- that its leaders will not use new revenues to rearm Iraq and rebuild its menacing war machine - - Iraq must not have access to the instruments of war. ///

Third, we must work to create new opportunities for peace and stability in the Middle East. On the night I announced OPERATION DESERT STORM, I expressed my hope that out of the horrors of war might come new momentum for peace. // In the conflict just concluded, Israel and many of the Arab states have for the first time found themselves confronting the same aggressor. We have learned in the modern age, geography cannot guarantee security -- and that security does not come from

military power alone. There can be no substitute for negotiations -- the tactics of terror lead nowhere. We must do all that we can to close the gap between Israel and the Arab states -- and between Israelis and Palestinians.

All of us know the depth of bitterness that makes the dispute between Israel and its neighbors one of the world's most painful and intractable. In 1948 and 1956 -- in '67 and again in '73 -- in 1982 in Lebanon, and today in the violence of the West Bank and Gaza -- hostility has spilled over into bloodshed and open conflict. // For too long, the passage of time in the Middle East has been measured by wars waged. //

By now, it should be plain to all that peacemaking in the Middle East requires compromise from all parties. At the same time, peace brings real benefits to everyone. A comprehensive peace must be grounded in United Nations Security Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle of territory for peace. This principle must be elaborated to provide for Israel's security and recognition, and at the same time for legitimate Palestinian political rights. Anything else would fail the twin tests of fairness and security. Let us bury the legacy of the 1967 conflict, once and for all. The time has come to put an end to Arab-Israeli enmity. //

History has shown that this task will be far from easy. But I guarantee you one thing: there will be no greater advocate of peace in the Middle East than this President. //

Fourth, we must foster economic development for the sake of peace and progress. The Persian Gulf and Middle East form a region rich in natural resources -- with a wealth of untapped human potential. The challenge is to promote open trade and investment -- and achieve economic growth and opportunity for all people of the region. //

By meeting these four challenges -- shared security arrangements, controlling weapons of mass destruction, ending Arab-Israeli enmity, and fostering economic development -- we can build a framework for peace. / I have asked **Secretary of State Baker** to go to the Middle East, to conduct a new round of consultations. He will go to listen, to probe, to offer suggestions -- to advance the search for peace and stability. I have also asked him to raise the plight of the hostages held in Lebanon. We have not forgotten them -- we will not forget them. ///

To all the challenges that confront this region of the world, there is no single solution -- no solely American answer. **But we can make a difference. America will work tirelessly as a catalyst for positive change.** //

The consequences of this conflict reach far beyond the confines of the Middle East. // Twice before in this century, an entire world waged wars against aggression. Twice this century, out of the horrors of war emerged hope for a more peaceful world. Twice before, those hopes proved to be a distant dream, beyond the grasp of man. Until now, the world we've known

has been a world divided -- a world of barbed wire and concrete block, conflict and Cold War. ///

Now, we can see a new world coming into view. A world where the United Nations -- freed from the clash of ideologies -- is poised to fulfill the historic vision of its founders. A world in which there is the very real prospect of a new world order, where the conduct of nations is guided by the rule of law. In the words of Winston Churchill, a "world order" in which "the principles of justice and fair play... protect the weak against the strong...." A world in which freedom and respect for human rights find a home among all nations. //

The Gulf war put this new world to its first test. / And my fellow Americans: We passed that test. //

For the sake of our principles -- for the sake of the Kuwaiti people -- we stood our ground. // Because the world would not look the other way -- Mr. Ambassador, tonight, Kuwait is free. ///

Tonight, as our troops begin to come home --let us recognize that the hard work of freedom **still calls us forward.** / We've learned the hard lessons of history. The victory over Iraq was not "a war to end all wars." This new world order does not mean an era of perpetual peace.

But our victory sends a clear signal. **To any dictator -- to any would-be tyrant, anywhere in the world, the message is clear: Aggression will not stand.** ///

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Our success in the Gulf will shape not only the new world order we seek -- but our mission here at home. //

In the war just ended, there were clear-cut objectives -- time tables -- and, above all, an overriding imperative to achieve results. We must bring that same sense of self-discipline -- that same sense of urgency -- to the way we meet challenges here at home.

Brock Brower  
514-4134

We can build on our successes -- and complete the unfinished business that remains. Last year, we passed a Crime Bill that made a start in the right direction. This year, we will send/we've sent to

Non Payne  
1557

Congress our comprehensive crime package. Last year, we passed the Air Transport Act. This year, we've sent up our new Highway Bill -- the Surface Transportation Act. In 1990, we enacted an historic Clean Air Act -- now we've sent forward a National Energy Strategy. Last year, we passed a Child Care Bill that put power in the hands of parents. Today, we're ready to do the same thing with our schools, and expand choice in education. //

Airport + Airway Expansion Act - FAA Reauth.

Assistance

Jack Howard  
1266  
Mac.  
Sean Smith  
6298

It's time to finish the job. Tonight, I call on Congress to move forward aggressively on the domestic front. Let's begin with education, transportation and crime -- and let's commit ourselves to passing forward-looking legislation without delay. If our forces managed to win the ground war in 100 hours -- then surely, we can pass this legislation in 100 days. // Let that be a promise we make tonight to the American people. //

Five weeks ago, when I spoke in this House about the State of our Union, I asked all of you: if we can selflessly confront

Marianne  
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Rob

Ed Goldstein

Doreen  
Torgerson

evil for the sake of good in a land so far away -- then surely we can make this land all that it should be. // In the time since then, the brave men and women of DESERT STORM accomplished more than even they may realize. **They set out to confront an enemy abroad -- and in the process, they transformed a nation at home.**

Think of the way they went about their mission -- with confidence and quiet pride. // Think about their sense of duty -- about **all they taught us -- about our values.** About ourselves. //

We hear so often about our young people in turmoil -- how our children fall short -- how our schools fail us. How American products and American workers are second-class. // Well, don't you believe it. // The America we saw in DESERT STORM was first-class talent -- using first-class technology and text-book tactics. The excellence embodied in the Patriot missile -- and the patriots who made it work. And soldiers who know about honor and bravery and duty and country -- and the world-shaking power of these simple words. // There is something noble and majestic about the pride -- about the patriotism -- that we feel tonight.

So, to everyone here -- and everyone watching at home -- think about how we can honor the men and women of DESERT STORM.

Let us honor them with our gratitude -- I ask the Congress to join with me in proclaiming a special day of thanksgiving, [DATE].

Let us comfort the families of the fallen -- and remember each precious life lost. //

614-1492

~~Ken Carter~~  
~~614-125~~

Let us learn from them as well. Let us honor those who have served us / by serving others. //

Let us honor them as individuals -- men and women of every race, all creeds and colors -- by setting the face of this nation against discrimination, against bigotry and hate. ///

I'm sure many of you saw on television the unforgettable scene of four terrified Iraqi soldiers surrendering. They emerged from their bunker -- broken, tears streaming from their eyes, fearing the worst. / And then there was the American sergeant. Remember what he said? "It's okay. You're all right now. // You're all right now." //

~~614-125~~  
~~614-125~~  
~~614-125~~

Chief Warrant Officer Charlie Rowe

That scene says a lot about America -- a lot about who we are. // Americans are a humble people. We are a good people - a generous people. A people who believe in justice. Let us always be humble and good and generous and just in all we do. ///

PAO Col. Pendergast 804/444-6474

Soon, our troops will begin the march we've all been waiting for -- their march home. // Let it remind us that those who have gone before are linked with us in the long line of freedom's march. Americans have always tried to serve -- to sacrifice nobly for what we believe to be right. That proves that we can come together with respect and compassion to serve a larger purpose. //

[[Tonight, I want to announce that during the week of May 11th the nation will celebrate the return of our troops.]] Every Main Street in every city and town in America will welcome them,

with open arms. They may have missed **Thanksgiving** and **Christmas** -- but I can tell you this: for them and for their families, the day they come home will be a **holiday they'll never forget.** //

In a very real sense, **this victory belongs to them** -- to the privates and the pilots, to the sergeants and the supply officers, to the men and women in the machines, and the men and women who made them work. It belongs to the 101st Airborne. The 2nd Marine. To the 24th Mechanized -- the Wisconsin and the Saratoga -- the 1st Tactical Fighter Wing. This victory belongs to the finest fighting force this nation has ever known. ///

Let us honor those who have served us -- those who have shown us all that America means to the world -- by making certain that we here are worthy of them. ///

May God bless this great nation -- the United States of America.

# # #