

April 23, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

1. We consider that the proposals contained in our joint message are eminently fair and reasonable and go as far as we can to meet the desires of the Soviet Government, as expressed in Marshal Stalin's message of April 7th.
2. You must understand that the United States cannot agree to be a party to the formation of a Polish Government which is not representative of the democratic elements of the Polish people.
3. The United States Government has been deeply disappointed that the Soviet Government has not found it possible to carry out the consultation with a representative group of Polish leaders other than those now officials of the Provisional Government functioning in Warsaw.
4. The United States Government ^{with other members of} is determined to proceed with the plans for the World Organization, no matter what difficulties or differences may arise in regard to other matters, ~~with other members of the United Nations.~~ ^{United Nations} Nevertheless, the failure of the three principal Allies who have borne the brunt of the war to reach a just solution of the Polish problem will cast serious doubt upon our unity of purpose in regard to post-war collaboration.
5. As President Roosevelt in his last message to Marshal Stalin on April 1st pointed out, no policy in the United States, whether foreign or domestic, can succeed unless it enjoys public confidence and support. This necessarily affects both political and economic cooperation.

6. We hope sincerely that the Soviet Government will bear these factors in mind in considering the request that they accept the United States and British proposals contained in the joint message from the President and the Prime Minister delivered to Marshal Stalin on April 18th.

Stetinius is authorized etc
- S. F. - Arrangements