

and in the war of liberation now entered upon in earnest, they will continue their efforts ever more strongly for victory.

Recent events in Finland and Turkey are significant of the crumbling of the German positions at both ends of the eastern front.

Behind this bare recital of offensive successes and operational gains lies a meritorious story of realistic planning for the strategic needs of total war. A year ago I spoke of the then public achievements of the latest meetings at Casablanca and at Washington between Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt. Last August there was the historic conference at Quebec, and between August and the end of the year there followed meetings at Moscow, Cairo and Teheran. Of the outcome of these meetings I should now like to speak briefly.

It has been said that Casablanca and Quebec were primarily "councils of war", where strategic decisions of the highest importance were taken involving the war in Europe and the war in the far east. It was the war still at the planning stage, but all of the combined declarations of 1943 were calculated to impress the neutral nations of Europe, and even more the German satellite states, with the determination of the allied powers to stop at nothing short of victory over the axis.

The organization of total war for victory always has had some contemplation of the period following the end of hostilities. This necessity is reflected in the communiques issued following the Cairo and Teheran meetings, where for the first time in this war the Generalissimo of China and the Premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were brought into direct conference with Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt.

The Cairo meeting made it clear that Japan would be fought and defeated, and that those possessions which were added by force of arms to the empire of Japan over the past half-century would be taken from her. The meeting at Teheran envisaged the early prospect of frontal attacks upon the nazi stronghold in Germany—attacks from the east and south and west. The United States, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. did not go so far as to specify what losses a defeated Germany was to suffer. But some guidance on this point had been given by the meeting at Moscow, at the end of October, of the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union, the United States, and Great Britain. Dealing with the case of fascist Italy, then already but a glimmering remnant of Mussolini's once-pompous empire, Mr. Molotov, Mr. Hull and Mr. Eden stated that:

Allied policy towards Italy must be based upon the fundamental principle that fascism and

all its evil influences and emanations shall be utterly destroyed, and that the Italian people shall be given every opportunity to establish governmental and other institutions based upon democratic principles.

The Moscow conference gave many leads for the future organization of a peaceful world order. In particular, in a four-power declaration to which China also was a party, these nations pledged their joint efforts to bring about the unconditional surrender and disarmament of their common enemy, and to take all necessary measures to provide against the violation of terms imposed upon that enemy.

They likewise agreed not to use their military forces after the war in other states except after joint consultation, and to confer with each other and other united nations on the regulation of post-war armaments.

To carry on cooperation in war time as collaboration in peace time, Great Britain, the United States and the U.S.S.R. further expressed their "unanimous recognition . . . that it was essential in their own national interests and in the interest of all peace-loving nations to continue the present close collaboration and cooperation in the conduct of the war into the period following the end of hostilities, and that only in this way could peace be maintained and the political, economic and social welfare of their peoples fully promoted." With this objective in mind they set up two continuing bodies, representing the three powers to which have been given important functions. The European advisory commission has been established in London to make joint recommendations to the three governments regarding armistice terms and the nature of the post-war supervision to apply to Germany. The advisory council for Italy with headquarters in the liberated zone has already been set up. Provision was made for representation on the council of the French committee of national liberation and the governments of Yugoslavia and Greece.

Perhaps of greatest continuing interest was the so-called Moscow declaration on general security. In outlining a part of the pattern of post-war international society, the three nations envisaged the necessity of establishing a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintaining of peace and security.

On the strength of these several conferences, there is hope that the united nations will carry into the post-hostilities period the machinery of military, political and economic collaboration which has been so extensively developed under stress of war.