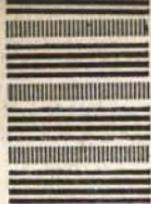


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MOSCOW CAIRO TEHERAN



EARL BROWDER



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THE THREE-POWER CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW

By EARL BROWDER

I

WHEN the Anglo-Soviet-American Conference, headed by the respective chiefs of the Foreign Office of each country, issued the historic declarations which embodied their unanimous agreement on the most pressing questions of the war, a new high stage had been achieved in cementing the Coalition which leads the United Nations.

The joint communiqué issued by the Conference established that:

"In the first place there were frank and exhaustive discussions of the measures to be taken to shorten the war against Germany and her satellites in Europe. Advantage was taken of the presence of military advisers representing the respective Chiefs of Staff in order to discuss definite military operations with regard to which decisions had been taken and which are already being prepared in order to create a basis for the closest military cooperation in the future between the three countries."

It must be assumed that this formulation covers definite military plans for the full unfolding of a two-front war against Hitlerite Germany. Details of such an agreement will become public knowledge, of course, only with the progress of the actions agreed upon. We can, however, feel confident that on this point we are not witnessing a repetition of the agreement of June, 1942, on "the urgency of the opening of the second front in 1942" which seemed to promise what was

not forthcoming. Here we have a pledge "for the closest military cooperation in the future," and the whole world understands this to forecast simultaneous blows upon the enemy main forces from East and West with the full strength at the command of all three Powers. It must be assumed that a calendar-plan has been agreed upon which guarantees the gearing of Eastern and Western Fronts into one mighty offensive.

This decision is the cornerstone of the structure of agreements raised by the Moscow Conference. It was due to the absence of coalition warfare, as now envisaged, that the Anglo-Soviet-American Coalition was for many months undergoing sharp strains, and all divisionist influences were working desperately to disrupt it, exploiting the absence of a joint plan of war. The Moscow Conference, creating the basis for the closest military cooperation, administered the heaviest political defeat to Hitler and his satellites, and to the adherents of negotiated peace within the Allied countries.

The joint communiqué further declared:

"Second only to the importance of hastening the end of the war was the recognition by the three Governments that it was essential in their own national interests and in the interests 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."

This second main agreement of the Moscow Conference is embodied in the Joint Four-Nation Declaration, in which the three main Powers are joined by China. Upon the basis of "their determination . . . to continue hostilities against those Axis powers with which they respectively are at war until such powers have laid down their arms on the basis of unconditional surrender," this declaration sets forth seven points of general agreement. They are: (1) that the united action pledged for the war will be continued for the organi-

zation of peace; (2) that those "at war with a common enemy" will act together in all matters of ending the war; (3) that they will "provide against any violation of the terms imposed upon the enemy"; (4) the necessity of establishing a general international organization of all peace-loving states, large and small, "based on the principle of sovereign equality"; (5) consultation between the four Powers, and with other of the United Nations, pending a general organization, "with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations"; (6) that they will not employ military forces within the territory of other states except in joint consultation for the purposes envisaged in this declaration; (7) to bring about a general regulation of armaments in the post-war period.

This historic declaration puts an end to a multitude of confusions in the United States, which were being exploited by the divisionists. (Incidentally, may I note that it fully confirms the correctness of my speech in Chicago, September 26, around which the newspapers raised such a furore?) It indicates with a high degree of precision those methods and forms whereby the common problems of the war shall be decided, and the post-war ordering of the world arrived at. It also brings China directly into the concert of chief powers, without altering the relations now existing between the Soviet Union and Japan. It fixes, without blueprints, the main line of approach whereby through the common prosecution of the war the collaboration of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and Britain will be continued in the post-war world.

There follows the Declaration Regarding Italy. It fixes Allied policy "that fascism and all its evil influence and configuration shall be completely destroyed and that the Italian people shall be given every opportunity to establish governmental and other institutions based upon democratic principles." It records the declaration of the United States and Great Britain that their actions in Italy have been based upon this policy "insofar as paramount military requirements have permitted." Seven points of application of this policy are

laid down: (1) inclusion in the Italian Government of representatives of those Italians who have always opposed fascism (this refers, without naming them, to the six parties in the Italian Liberation Front); (2) restoration "in full measure" of freedom of speech, of religious worship, of political belief, of press and public meetings, and the right to form anti-fascist political groups; (3) suppression of all institutions of the fascist regime; (4) removal of all fascists and pro-fascists from all public positions; (5) full amnesty for all political prisoners of the fascist regime; (6) democratic organs for local government; (7) arrest of fascist chiefs and army generals charged with war crimes.

These seven points are conditioned, for their full application, upon the decision of the supreme military command in Italy, so long as active military operations are proceeding; and do not prejudice the right of the Italian people ultimately to choose their own form of government.

Thus the Declaration on Italy settles all the most disputed problems in this relation—except the delicate one of how far the application of these points would help, not hinder, the prosecution of the war. The promptness with which these points are applied will be a measure of the democratic faith of our military command on the spot, plus the influence of this general directive of basic intention of the three Governments. The Declaration's influence upon the course of events in Italy should be expected to grow stronger from week to week.

The fourth document, the Declaration on Austria, sets an important line for all the Nazi-subjugated countries. It declares that "Austria, the first free country to fall victim to Hitlerite aggression, shall be liberated from German domination." It envisages a free and independent Austria which, with its neighbors faced with similar problems, will thereby "find that political and economic security which is the only basis for lasting peace." Austria, and by implication all other subjugated countries, is reminded of her responsibility for

collaboration with Hitlerite Germany, and that her own contribution to her liberation will inevitably enter into the final settlement.

The fifth and final document of the Conference is the Statement on Atrocities. This is signed by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin, whereas all the other documents are issued in the name of the Foreign Ministers (with the Four-Nation Declaration also signed by the Chinese Ambassador in Moscow). This records the "monstrous crimes" of "German officers and men and members of the Nazi party," against the peoples of the Nazi-occupied territories, and promises that "they will be brought back to the scene of their crimes and judged on the spot by the peoples whom they have outraged." Those criminals whose offenses have no particular geographical localization will be punished by joint decision of the governments of the Allies.

II

Three days before the documents of the Moscow Conference were released to the public, President Roosevelt had already anticipated the successful outcome. He informed his press conference that the Moscow meeting was progressing beyond all expectations and expressed his own jubilation over the results achieved. Leading American newspapers warned that the actual results might come as an anti-climax, and that disillusionment was to be feared. But the publication of the documents on November 1 proved that President Roosevelt was correct again, as he has been so many times when he has had to take issue with the press. It is not too much to say that the Moscow Conference decisions were received with joy by the peoples of all Allied and conquered countries.

In the United States a wave of enthusiastic approval swept over the country. Indeed, this was so strong that it even penetrated the United States Senate, where a dreary debate had been dragging along for weeks for and against a rather

innocuous expression of support for the idea of a general international organization for the maintenance of peace after the war. The Moscow Conference results brought a halt to that rather confused debate, which ended with the adoption of a specific approval for the Moscow Conference Declaration, through the addition to the original resolution of the decisive paragraph from the Moscow Four-Nation Declaration. Only five die-hard appeasers of Hitlerism stood up to vote against it!

The Congress of Industrial Organizations was meeting in convention when the good news came. It immediately adopted a ringing resolution of approval of the Moscow decisions, which set the tone of labor declarations which came from all over the country, and from all varieties of labor unions.

From London came simultaneously the news that the British Trades Union Congress had at last decided to call an international congress of labor of the United Nations (including from America the A. F. of L., C.I.O., and Railway Unions, and from Latin America the Confederation of Workers), to meet in London next June, and bring about in the ranks of labor that unity which had already been achieved between the Governments.

III

Approval of the Moscow Conference decisions of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition has been overwhelming—but not unanimous in the United States.

It is rather important to notice the exceptions, the dissenters who stand out against the joyous approval of the great mass of the people and their representatives.

The Hearst press brazenly echoed the Berlin propaganda line—Mr. Cordell Hull and Mr. Anthony Eden had sold out Europe to the Bolsheviks! Likewise spoke the *Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Daily News*, and the *Washington Times-Herald*, of the notorious McCormick-Patterson newspaper Axis.

The Trotskyites supplemented this line with its converse—Molotov had sold out the workers of Europe to Hull, Eden, and the international capitalists!

The Social-Democratic *New Leader* took the double-line of praising Cordell Hull to the skies as the Daniel who had tamed the Soviet lions in their den, and at the same time dolefully warning of the disastrous consequences of the concessions made to Stalin!

The *Socialist Call* compromised the issue by giving one column to the pure Trotskyite line, while another column by Norman Thomas was an approximation of the *New Leader* double-talk.

William C. Bullitt, of "carrot and club" notoriety, issued a doleful lament that in Moscow there had not been heard "the voice of Europe." Mr. Bullitt still yearns for his old friend, Pétain, on whose behalf he surrendered Paris to the Nazis, and whose voice is still, for him, "the voice of Europe."

Ten Bishops and Archbishops, acting as the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, issued a statement on the Declarations of the Moscow Conference, the key sentence of which reads: "They do not, however, dispel the fear that compromises on the ideal of the Atlantic Charter are in prospect. Some things these documents imply by statement and more significantly still by omission leave an uneasiness in minds intent on peace and justice to all." Within a few hours of the issuance of the statement in America this quotation was being broadcast to the world by the Berlin radio, and featured in the Hearst press.

The Catholic dignitaries are vague in identifying those things which leave uneasiness in their minds. But, fortunately, since we need to know precisely what is in their minds, we can find it clearly stated by them elsewhere. One of the signers is the Archbishop of Chicago; under his spiritual guidance is published *The New World*, which carries the sub-title "Chicago's Official Catholic Paper." In the October 1 issue of this paper, on the front page, is printed the political thought

which moved the Bishops to their statement against the Moscow Conference. It is a brief and pointed description of what they see as the desirable outcome of the war. It says:

“What if Germany starts to really crack on the Eastern front? The military leaders of the Reich have reason to fear the invasion of the Soviet much more than domination of Anglo-American forces. The direct possibility within the next few months is that the trapped Germans will let down the gates on their Western front for the easy conquest of their territory by a more benign foe.”

There we have it! In placing themselves against the Moscow Declaration, as they did against the opening of the Second Front, these gentlemen of the Church are lending their voices to sinister political forces. These political forces, whose hopes of splitting the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition and making a soft peace with Hitlerism, whose hopes that our country and England can be made to unite with Germany as the “more benign foe” of Hitlerism, *for a new war against the Soviet Union*, are canceled out by the Moscow agreements.

Truly, the Moscow Declarations are a death-blow to such hopes. The Reverend gentlemen who expressed their “uneasiness” at the results of the Moscow Conference were guilty of understatement, for their feelings must be of *dismay*. They have lost their perspective of uniting the world against the Soviet Union. And they have taken a position contrary to the desires and interests of the vast majority of all Catholics who are deeply anti-fascist.

IV

The Moscow Conference of Foreign Secretaries came together as an exploratory conference, to pave the way for a future meeting of President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Premier Stalin. Before the Conference care was taken not to arouse high hopes in the immediate results of its work, for it was generally expected that the most significant

agreements could only be arrived at later in the meeting of principals.

Contrary to such expectations, the Moscow Conference itself formulated the basic agreements which already establish the line of march for the Coalition leading the United Nations. Its success was beyond all expectations.

The projected meeting of the chiefs of the Coalition is not, however, rendered unnecessary by this success, nor is it likely to be postponed. Just as the gigantic victories of the Red Army, with Anglo-American advances in Africa and Italy and the air war over Germany, enlarged the successes of the Moscow Conference, so now the accelerated military victories, reinforced by the political blows of the Moscow Conference against the Axis and the appeasers, serve all the more to set the stage of history for the Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin meeting to take further steps in the same direction.

The world has opened a new epoch in its history.

It is our practical task to carry to the broadest masses a full understanding of this great turn in history, and to gather its full fruits for our country in a mighty strengthening of national unity to complete the war with honor and despatch, and thus to reach the post-war reconstruction of the world under happier auspices than had hitherto seemed possible.

THE HISTORIC TEHERAN MEETING *

LIKE no other event that men and women of our generation can remember, the meeting of our President with Marshal Joseph Stalin and Premier Winston Churchill overwhelms the imagination. The handclasp of these three men—"friends in fact, in spirit, and in purpose"—symbolizes the peak toward which the whole course of the coalition has been moving, a new high of unity among the three peoples they represent.

To the beast of fascism, who attempted a barbaric insurrection against civilization, the Roosevelt-Stalin-Churchill handclasp is the seal of doom. To the millions on the fighting lines, assembly lines, in all phases of human endeavor who constitute this immense reality—the United Nations—the handclasp of our leaders is a pledge that out of this war comes a new dawn for all humankind.

It is the great day of the war. It throws a new beam of light on the character of this war as a great step forward in the liberation of peoples, a war different from any other in the past.

On the immediate military issue in Europe, which is to take advantage of the great opportunity for early victory, the Teheran meeting gives us the most authoritative assurances of all the conferences in the past half year. Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill are agreed on the "scope and timing" of operations, to be undertaken on all fronts, and by means of all forms of warfare. The confident way in which the communiqué speaks of this decision can only mean that the climax of the war in Europe is at hand.

The three great architects of Hitlerism's destruction are also

* Editorial in *Daily Worker*, Dec. 7, 1943.

the planners and rebuilders of a durable peace. Coming from these three men, this is no Utopian web, spun by incidental characters. This is the conviction of the world's most responsible statesmen that the American, Soviet and British peoples have it within their power—as fascism is eradicated—to maintain a durable peace. And because it comes from these particular peoples, the Soviet Union in equal alliance with our own and the British nation, the peace must be a just one.

The Teheran declaration also gives in more concise form one of the main achievements of the three power meeting in Moscow five weeks ago. It holds forth the prospect of an international organization, built around the continuing unity of the major powers, but in which all other nations, big and small will participate fully. Provided the unity of the big four is maintained (and that is now more than a promise) such an organization of sovereign countries will not repeat the mistakes of the past. And into it will be welcomed the other peoples, some of whom are now across the front lines from us, as soon as we have evidence that “in heart and mind” they can be trusted in the “world family of democratic nations.”

There is much more to be said on aspects of the truly historic Teheran meeting, which we leave for other days. But on this day, the second anniversary of Pearl Harbor, the news of Teheran forms the most appropriate commemoration.

The American people, we think, will welcome President Roosevelt home with a new and deeper appreciation of his leadership. The country will ratify his immense work by rallying most firmly behind him. Petty carping must be rejected. The sinister conspiracies of influential reactionary forces must now be completely defeated.

The responsibility which the Commander-in-Chief undertook at Teheran is the nation's responsibility: to win this war quickly, and together with the President at the helm, to make sure that America continues to march abreast of our great allies, in the advance of all humanity toward a better day.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE TRI-PARTITE CONFERENCE

THE conference of Foreign Secretaries of the United States of America, Mr. Cordell Hull; of the United Kingdom, Mr. Anthony Eden: and of the Soviet Union, Mr. V. M. Molotov, took place at Moscow from the nineteenth to the thirtieth of October, 1943. There were twelve meetings. In addition to the Foreign Secretaries, the following took part in the conference:

For the United States of America: Mr. W. Averell Harriman, Ambassador of the United States; Maj. Gen. John R. Dean, United States Army; Mr. H. Hackworth, Mr. James C. Dunn and experts.

For the United Kingdom: Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, Ambassador; Mr. William Strang; Lieut. Gen. Sir Hastings Ismay and experts.

For the Soviet Union: Marshal K. E. Voroshiloff, Marshal of the Soviet Union; Mr. A. Y. Vyshinski and Mr. M. Litvinoff, Deputy People's Commissars for Foreign Affairs; M. V. A. Sergeyeff, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Trade; Maj. Gen. A. A. Gryzloff of the General Staff, Mr. G. F. Saksin, senior official for People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, and experts.

The agenda included all questions submitted for discussion by the three Governments. Some of the questions called for final decisions, and these were taken. On other questions, after discussion, decisions of principle were taken. These questions were referred for detailed consideration to commissions specially set up for the purpose, or reserved for treatment through diplomatic channels. Other questions again were disposed of by an exchange of views. The Gov-

ernments of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union have been in close cooperation in all matters concerning the common war effort, but this is the first time that the Foreign Secretaries of the three Governments have been able to meet together in conference.

In the first place there were frank and exhaustive discussions of the measures to be taken to shorten the war against Germany and her satellites in Europe. Advantage was taken of the presence of military advisers representing the respective Chiefs of Staff in order to discuss definite military operations with regard to which decisions had been taken and which are already being prepared in order to create a basis for the closest military cooperation in the future between the three countries.

Second only to the importance of hastening the end of the war was the recognition by the three Governments that it was essential in their own national interests and in the interests 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.

This conviction is expressed in a declaration in which the Chinese Government joined during the conference and which was signed by the three Foreign Secretaries and the Chinese Ambassador at Moscow on behalf of their Governments. This declaration published today provides for even closer collaboration in the prosecution of the war and in all matters pertaining to the surrender and disarmament of the enemies with which the four countries are, respectively, at war. It sets forth the principles upon which the four Governments agree that a broad system of international cooperation and security should be based. Provision is made for the inclusion of all other peace-loving nations, great and small, in this system.

The conference agreed to set up machinery for ensuring the closest cooperation between the three Governments in the

examination of European questions arising as the war develops. For this purpose the conference decided to establish in London a European advisory commission to study these questions and to make joint recommendations to the three Governments.

Provision was made for continuing, when necessary, the tripartite consultations of representatives of the three Governments in the respective capitals through the existing diplomatic channels.

The conference also agreed to establish an advisory council for matters relating to Italy, to be composed in the first instance of representatives of their three Governments and of the French Committee of National Liberation. Provision is made for addition to this council of representatives of Greece and Yugoslavia in view of their special interests arising out of aggressions of fascist Italy upon their territory during the present war. This council will deal with day-to-day questions other than military preparations and will make recommendations designed to coordinate Allied policy with regard to Italy.

The three Foreign Secretaries declared it to be the purpose of their Governments to restore the independence of Austria. At the same time they reminded Austria that in the final settlement account will be taken of efforts that Austria may make toward its own liberation. The declaration on Austria is published today.

The Foreign Secretaries issued at the conference a declaration by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin containing a solemn warning that at the time of granting any armistice to any German Government, those German officers and men and members of the Nazi party who have had any connection with atrocities and executions in countries overrun by German forces will be taken back to the countries in which their abominable crimes were committed to be charged and punished according to the laws of those countries.

In an atmosphere of mutual confidence and understanding which characterized all the work of the conference, consideration was also given to other important questions. These included not only questions of a current nature but also questions concerning treatment of Hitlerite Germany and its satellites, economic cooperation and assurance of general peace.

JOINT FOUR-NATION DECLARATION

THE Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China:

United in their determination, in accordance with the declaration by the United Nations of Jan. 1, 1942, and subsequent declarations, to continue hostilities against those Axis powers with which they respectively are at war until such powers have laid down their arms on the basis of unconditional surrender;

Conscious of their responsibility to secure the liberation of themselves and the people allied with them from the menace of aggression;

Recognizing the necessity of ensuring a rapid and orderly transition from war to peace and of establishing and maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments;

Jointly declare:

1. That their united action, pledged for the prosecution of the war against their respective enemies, will be continued for the organization and maintenance of peace and security.

2. That those of them at war with a common enemy will act together in all matters relating to the surrender and disarmament of that enemy.

3. That they will take all measures deemed by them to be

necessary to provide against any violation of the terms imposed upon the enemy.

4. That they recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date 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 maintenance of international peace and security.

5. That for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending the re-establishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security, they will consult with one another and as occasion requires with other members of the United Nations with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations.

6. That after the termination of hostilities they will not employ their military forces within the territories of other states except for the purposes envisaged in this declaration and after joint consultation.

7. That they will confer and cooperate with one another and with other members of the United Nations to bring about a practicable general agreement with respect to the regulation of armaments in the post-war period.

DECLARATION REGARDING ITALY

THE Foreign Secretaries of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union have established that their three Governments are in complete agreement that Allied policy toward Italy must be based upon the fundamental principle that fascism and all its evil influence and configuration shall be completely destroyed and that the Italian people shall be given every opportunity to establish governmental and other institutions based upon democratic principles.

The Foreign Secretaries of the United States and United Kingdom declare that the action of their Governments from the inception of the invasion of Italian territory, in so far as paramount military requirements have permitted, has been based upon this policy.

In furtherance of this policy in the future the Foreign Secretaries of the three Governments are agreed that the following measures are important and should be put into effect:

1. It is essential that the Italian Government should be made more democratic by inclusion of representatives of those sections of the Italian people who have always opposed fascism.

2. Freedom of speech, of religious worship, of political belief, of press and of public meeting shall be restored, in full measure, to the Italian people, who shall also be entitled to form anti-fascist political groups.

3. All institutions and organizations created by the fascist regime shall be suppressed.

4. All fascist or pro-fascist elements shall be removed from the administration and from institutions and organizations of a public character.

5. All political prisoners of the fascist regime shall be released and accorded full amnesty.

6. Democratic organs of local government shall be created.

7. Fascist chiefs and army generals known or suspected to be war criminals shall be arrested and handed over to justice.

In making this declaration the three Foreign Secretaries recognize that so long as active military operations continue in Italy the time at which it is possible to give full effect to the principles stated above will be determined by the Commander-in-Chief on the basis of instructions received through the combined chiefs of staff.

The three Governments, parties to this declaration, will, at the request of any one of them, consult on this matter. It is further understood that nothing in this resolution is to operate against the right of the Italian people ultimately to choose their own form of government.

DECLARATION ON AUSTRIA

THE Governments of the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and the United States of America are agreed that Austria, the first free country to fall a victim to Hitlerite aggression, shall be liberated from German domination.

They regard the annexation imposed on Austria by Germany on March 15, 1938, as null and void. They consider themselves as in no way bound by any changes effected in Austria since that date. They declare that they wish to see re-established a free and independent Austria and thereby to open the way for the Austrian people themselves, as well as their neighboring states which will be faced with similar problems, to find that political and economic security which is the only basis for lasting peace.

Austria is reminded, however, that she has a responsibility, which she cannot evade, for participation in the war at the side of Hitlerite Germany, and that in the final settlement account will inevitably be taken of her own contribution to her liberation.

STATEMENT ON ATROCITIES

THE United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union have received from many quarters evidence of atrocities, massacres and cold-blooded mass executions which are being perpetrated by Hitlerite forces in many of the countries they have overrun and from which they are now being steadily expelled. The brutalities of Nazi domination are no new thing, and all peoples or territories in their grip have suffered from the worst form of government by terror. What is new is that many of these territories are now being redeemed by the advancing armies of the liberating powers and that in their desperation the recoiling Hitlerites and Huns are redoubling their ruthless cruelties. This is now evidenced

with particular clearness by monstrous crimes on the territory of the Soviet Union which is being liberated from Hitlerites and on French and Italian territory.

Accordingly, the aforesaid three Allied powers, speaking in the interests of the thirty-two United Nations, hereby solemnly declare and give full warning of their declaration as follows:

At the time of granting of any armistice to any government which may be set up in Germany, those German officers and men and members of the Nazi party who have been responsible for or have taken a consenting part in the above atrocities, massacres and executions will be sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of these liberated countries and of the free governments which will be erected therein. Lists will be compiled in all possible detail from all these countries, having regard especially to invaded parts of the Soviet Union, to Poland and Czechoslovakia, to Yugoslavia and Greece, including Crete and other islands; to Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, France and Italy.

Thus, Germans who take part in wholesale shooting of Italian officers or in the execution of French, Dutch, Belgian or Norwegian hostages or of Cretan peasants, or who have shared in slaughters inflicted on the people of Poland or in territories of the Soviet Union which are now being swept clear of the enemy, will know they will be brought back to the scene of their crimes and judged on the spot by the peoples whom they have outraged. Let those who have hitherto not imbued their hands with innocent blood beware lest they join the ranks of the guilty, for most assuredly the three Allied powers will pursue them to the uttermost ends of the earth and will deliver them to their accusers in order that justice may be done.

The above declaration is without prejudice to the case of German criminals whose offenses have no particular geograph-

ical localization and who will be punished by joint decision of the Governments of the Allies.

THREE-POWER CAIRO DECLARATION

THE several military missions have agreed upon future military operations against Japan.

The three great Allies expressed their resolve to bring unrelenting pressure against their brutal enemies by sea, land and air. This great pressure is already rising.

The three great Allies are fighting this war to restrain and punish the aggression of Japan.

They covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion.

It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first World War in 1914 and that all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China.

Japan also will be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed.

The aforesaid three great powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent.

With these objects in view the three Allies, in harmony with those of the United Nations at war with Japan, will continue to persevere in the serious and prolonged operations necessary to procure the unconditional surrender of Japan.

DECLARATION AT TEHERAN

WE, THE President of the United States of America, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and the Premier of the Soviet Union, have met in these four days past in this

capital of our ally, Teheran, and have shaped and confirmed our common policy.

We expressed our determination that our nations shall work together in the war and in the peace that will follow.

As to the war, our military staffs have joined in our round-table discussions and we have concerted our plans for the destruction of the German forces. We have reached complete agreement as to the scope and timing of operations which will be undertaken from the east, west and south. The common understanding which we have here reached guarantees that victory will be ours.

And as to the peace, we are sure that our concord will make it an enduring peace. We recognize fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the United Nations to make a peace which will command good will from the overwhelming masses of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations.

With our diplomatic advisers we have surveyed the problems of the future. We shall seek the cooperation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and in mind are dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. We will welcome them as they may choose to come into the world family of democratic nations.

No power on earth can prevent our destroying the German armies by land, their U-boats by sea, and their war plants from the air. Our attacks will be relentless and increasing.

Emerging from these friendly conferences we look with confidence to the day when all the peoples of the world may live free lives untouched by tyranny and according to their varying desires and their own consciences.

We came here with hope and determination. We leave here friends in fact, in spirit, and in purpose.

(Signed at Teheran, Dec. 1)

ROOSEVELT, STALIN, CHURCHILL.

VICTORY—AND AFTER

By Earl Browder

Earl Browder's book, *Victory—and After*, of which close to half a million copies have been sold in 1943, represents the views of the foremost American Communist leader, and the organization which he heads, on the most vital questions of the war.

While written during an earlier stage of the war, this statesmanlike and far-visioned work, which clearly foresaw the course of world historical development under the impact of the global conflict, finds daily confirmation as the war progresses. The validity and correctness of the Communist position have found supreme confirmation in the epoch-making Teheran Agreement, a sound understanding of which will be immensely aided by the study of *Victory—and After*.

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