

of course, they should see the road open towards Vladivostok, a situation which could only result from a much greater withdrawal of Russian forces from East to West than appears yet to have taken place. From the Russian side, too, there are indications of considerable hesitancy in breaking with Japan (the situation in this regard is again discussed in the "Soviet Union" section of the *Summary*). Exposure of Japan to air and submarine attack from Vladivostok would, of course, be most welcome as a relief to the mounting threat to Singapore and Burma, which now clearly appear as Japan's primary objectives, but against this has to be weighed the loss to the common cause of any detraction from the Russian effort in the West.

Stalin's own doctrine of the single front is being eagerly taken up by the Chinese, who are pressing the Russians to join in against Japan and advocating generally the pooling of military resources in the Far East and the establishment of a unified command. Chiang Kai-shek has offered to place at our and America's disposal all his resources in man-power and material. At the same time he asks for a full military alliance embracing China, Great Britain and the British Pacific Dominions, the United States of America, Russia, and the Netherlands. His Majesty's Government have thanked him and told him that the matter is being considered, taking into account the views of the other Powers concerned. His far-reaching proposals require careful scrutiny in the light of their effect both upon the conduct of the war and, eventually, upon post-victory negotiations for peace and a settlement in the Far East. In the meantime the closeness of the link between Great Britain and China has been publicly emphasised in Mr. Churchill's statement in the House of Commons that henceforth China's cause is our own, and the promise has been renewed that China will receive from Great Britain the maximum of support which it is in our power to give. Steps are simultaneously being taken to improve military *liaison*.

Anglo-American collaboration should from now on be free of the hamper of official American reserve and reticence in matters concerning the Far East. Indeed, President Roosevelt is taking an active lead with the Governments concerned, including that of the Soviet Union, in the attempt to expedite joint planning against "the common enemy." To help towards this His Majesty's Government are taking steps to convene an inter-Allied naval and military conference at Singapore, where Mr. Duff Cooper has been appointed Resident Minister, of Cabinet rank, for Far Eastern Affairs. The Netherlands authorities are showing readiness to co-operate in the fullest possible manner, and their naval and air forces have already rendered notable service.

With Japan's spectacular successes flaunted before their eyes, the Thais have been giving in and yielding to Japanese pressure all along the line. Their army resisted invasion for only a few hours, and the stand made by their Government against Japanese demands for total collaboration has been equally evanescent. Military co-operation with Japan was announced in a broadcast by the Thai Prime Minister, who spoke of the hopelessness of battling against the tide, and things have now gone so far that it has become a matter of comparatively minor importance whether Thailand openly enters the war against us or remains technically at peace. For the present she is being treated as enemy-occupied territory, her assets under British control being blocked, and her ships where possible detained.

Though the Japanese are showing justifiable elation over their early successes, they are being warned by their leaders that there is a long struggle ahead; a ten-years war with America was held up as a possibility by the navy spokesman. In regard to official veracity in the matter of war communiqués, the Japanese so far compare well with their Axis partners with the one exception of their claims of air losses, which have sometimes been palpably absurd. The official reports of land and sea operations have been kept, so far as can be judged, reasonably in line with the facts, allowing always for a margin of exaggeration where figures are concerned. The Admiralty reports are reputed the more honest.

Japanese subversive propaganda activities in India and Burma have yielded no visible results since war broke out, the popular reactions in both countries, as reflected in the vernacular press, being wholeheartedly anti-Japanese, though in Burma especially the Japanese advance has created a natural wave of apprehension from the point of view of security. There are signs, on the other hand, of Thailand becoming a centre of Indian disaffection under Japanese encouragement. An "Indian National Committee" is reported to have been set up in Bangkok,

and to have commenced operations with a vote of thanks to the Japanese for having recognised Indians as "free Asians."

To complete the record given in previous *Summaries* of the Japanese-American conversations which were in progress when war began, it should be added that the account which President Roosevelt has now given to Congress shows that the American Ambassador in Tokyo was told by the Japanese Foreign Minister on the 7th December that the Emperor duly received the President's personal message "with gratefulness and appreciation," and wished the President to know that he, too, cherished the desire for peace.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Well on the way to recovering from the initial shock caused by Japan's attacks and declaration of war, the United States accepted calmly the subsequent German and Italian declarations of the 11th December, and actually breathed a sigh of relief that the uneasy twilight period between peace and war, as it has been called, has at last passed by. "The long-known and the long-expected has thus taken place," the President announced in his message to Congress on the 11th; and within three hours both Houses had passed, and Mr. Roosevelt himself had signed—without even an echo of the political commotion and obstruction that so unfortunately stayed Wilson's hand for three whole days in April 1917—the resolutions to the effect that a state of war existed between the United States on the one hand and Germany and Italy on the other. Thus the United States entered the world war in its widest aspects even more unobtrusively than the President had dared to imagine—for, as late as the 10th December, he had expressed to His Majesty's Ambassador in Washington the view that "some work had to be done on educating public opinion" to see that the Japanese and German threats were essentially one.

In its preoccupation with recent events in the Pacific, the American public has hardly become conscious as yet—except in the general recognition that Japan is not really the chief enemy—of the meaning of war, in a military sense, with the other end of the Axis. Operational setbacks in the Pacific have brought the inevitable popular recriminations. One widely syndicated newspaper column of the 15th December, for instance, unfairly heaped all the blame for the "continuation of the futile United States-Japanese negotiations" of recent weeks on the person of Mr. Maxwell M. Hamilton, head of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs at the State Department—a charge to which the President's subsequent résumé to Congress of Japanese-American relations will have given a sufficient answer. The dissipation of the once-prevalent belief in a quick and easy victory over Japan has produced, not defeatism, but the sort of settled resolve which has been expressed by the slogan "Remember Pearl Harbour," advanced by the *Washington Post* and recalling the words which stirred American popular indignation after the sinking of the *Maine* in 1898. One writer, eager to outdo the Axis in its ruthlessness, has called for "an all-out war without Lord Queensberry rules!"

So far, there have been none of the "witch-hunts" among foreign-born groups in the United States that characterised the *furor americanus* in 1917—nor are there, indeed, likely to be. On the other hand, rumours of Fifth-Column activity will not have been dispelled by Colonel Knox's report, on his return from Honolulu, that probably "the most effective Fifth Column work of the entire war was done in Hawaii, with the possible exception of Norway"—though why, ask some people, should he pick on Norway? In the interest of "protecting the population from the dangers of war," the Governor of California has proclaimed a state of emergency, and local arrests have included the ex-German Consul in Los Angeles and the former West Coast leader of the German-American Bund. Following a proclamation of German-American loyalty issued on the 12th December by the anti-Nazi organisation "Loyal Americans of German Descent," the Steuben Society, which was founded in May 1919 to gather together the spiritual remnants of the many German-American bodies dissolved by the last war, has belatedly descended from the fence by declaring that "it is the duty of every loyal American to support our Government in prosecuting the war to a successful conclusion." The America First Committee, the local units of which were so often the tools of pro-Axis groups, has now disbanded itself, and its

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