

go back to 1918, the principal modern precedent for a Japanese is inevitably that of 1905, when the gains of a year's warfare in Korea and Manchuria were endangered by the slow, menacing approach of the much-advertised Russian Baltic Fleet, but decisive victory was gained by Togo, who patiently awaited it in Japanese home waters. If Japan were now to adopt a cautious "fleet-in-being" strategy, Japanese morale could no doubt be bolstered up by appeal to this precedent as long as the main fleet was intact, even though considerable territorial losses were incurred.

A further indication of caution in the use of the navy is perhaps to be found in the appointment of Admiral Koga to succeed Yamamoto in the command of the main fleet. Koga is 58, and is not known, as Yamamoto was, for any special force of personality or originality of ideas; moreover, he has been transferred from the command of the Yokosuka Naval Base, which is normally a conclusion to an active career and not a step to a fleet command. He seems to be a capable, but thoroughly orthodox officer, unlikely to indulge in hazardous enterprises. Yamamoto was undoubtedly well suited for the operations of the first three months of the Pacific war, when audacity paid such handsome dividends, but his temperament subsequently became something of a liability, and it is known that the loss of the four aircraft-carriers at Midway was much taken to heart by Japanese naval officers.

On the economic side, an important step in the unification of control over production has been taken by the appointment of Lieutenant-General Teichi Suzuki, chairman of the Planning Board, as the first holder (concurrently) of the office of Cabinet Administrative Inspector, which was created by a Government decision on the 17th March. Suzuki is Tojo's right-hand man for war-time economic organisation, and it seems that the drastic powers over all Government Departments recently conferred on Tojo will in practice, as regards economic affairs, be exercised by Suzuki rather than by Tojo himself. A far-reaching economic programme submitted by Suzuki was approved by the Cabinet on the 3rd May; it comprised three parts: (a) a plan for expansion of production concentrated on "the five key-industries," namely, coal, iron and steel, light metals, shipbuilding and aviation; (b) a plan for expansion of electric power supplies; and (c) a plan for the mobilisation of labour.

Japanese military activity in China recently has not been on a large scale, but has been conspicuous in a region which because of its relative proximity to Chungking had caused some alarm there. The Chinese military spokesman in Chungking on the 27th May stated that official circles considered the Japanese operations in Western Hupeh to be the beginning of an attempt to reach Chungking this summer. Such a move is not out of the question, but there is as yet no evidence that the Japanese are substantially increasing their forces in Central China, as would be required, or that their present operations differ from the standard type of their recent offensives, which have been aimed at destruction and disorganisation rather than at any permanent seizure of objectives. It is possible, however, that even without a serious intention of penetrating more deeply into China, the Japanese may wish to create anxiety by demonstrative attacks in order to support political intrigues for the disintegration of Free China which they are actively carrying on. The field for intrigue is at present not unpromising from a Japanese point of view because of the continued deterioration of the food position. The price of rice in Chungking has risen 60 per cent. during May, and famine conditions exist not only in Honan, but also now in Kwangtung.

Chungking opinion, as expressed by the *Ta Kung Pao*, welcomed the news of the dissolution of the Comintern, and made use of the occasion to direct a homily at the Chinese Communists. The sole duty of the Communists of the United Nations was now, according to the *Ta Kung Pao*, to assist their Governments in the war against the aggressors. Under Stalin the spirit of patriotic nationalism had been allowed to flourish in the U.S.S.R. and this corresponded with the slogans of "Nation above all" and "Victory comes first" urged by Marshal Chiang Kai-shek. The cry that "the workers had no fatherland" had lost its meaning. The implication of such argument is that the Chinese Communists should not only combine with Chungking in the war against Japan, but also submit to a central Government which is controlled by the Kuomintang. It remains to be seen whether Kuomintang-Communist relations are really affected by the dissolution of the Comintern; the conflict between the two parties in China is due, not so much to any interference from Moscow as to the incompatibility between the Kuomintang's claim to exclusive political power and the Communist Party's possession of an army and a regional civil administration of its own.

Great interest has been shown in Chungking in the proposal introduced to the United States Congress by Representative Judd of Minnesota, a former missionary in China, for the repeal of the oriental exclusion laws of 1882. The Judd proposal would maintain the exclusion of Japanese, but because of their national behaviour and not of their race. A Chungking broadcast in English on the 30th May, said that the voting on the Bill would be "an acid test of the practicability of the Atlantic Charter," and that the significance of the Repeal proposal "rivals and even surpasses that of supplying China with modern weapons."

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The announcement made in Washington to the effect that the meeting between the President and the Prime Minister had ended in complete agreement concerning the prosecution of operations in all theatres of war had a reception for which it would be hard to find a precedent; it was understood not only as meaning something real, but also as meaning exactly what it said. Combined with the optimistic reports from Moscow of increasingly cordial co-operation with the United States and Britain, it led commentators, especially radio speakers, to express supreme confidence over the working out of the strategic plans of the United Nations. Though the Pacific First campaign is not silenced—the latest voice to call for all-out war against Japan is that of Colonel Roane Waring, this year's National Commander of the American Legion—it has lost much weight since reassurance has been given to those who sincerely feared that the Japanese danger was being underestimated. Mr. Churchill, in his press conference two days earlier, had further consolidated the impressions made by his speech to Congress. At the same time he aroused great interest by his reference to Italy, to the effect that the Italian people would be well advised to dismiss their leaders and throw themselves on the justice of those whom they had so grievously offended. Such words echo opinions that have been widely expressed in recent months by American political writers, whose interest in the question is stimulated by the existence of great masses of industrious and law-abiding citizens of Italian extraction. There is no suggestion, however, that military pressure should be relaxed, or that anything less should be demanded than unconditional surrender, in the sense of surrender on terms dictated and not negotiated or discussed.

Mr. Sumner Welles has again set forth in some detail his conception of the form of collective security in which the United States should join after the war. It is along clearly Wilsonian lines: Mr. Welles has never minced his words about the disastrous effect of the American rejection of the Covenant, and to him the essential points of the fresh start after the war lie not so much in any drastic change of the Covenant system as in American participation, and in a firmer resolution by the member States to carry out their own plans. On the surface at least there is not a great difference between the principles of action laid down by Mr. Welles and those accepted by Senator Taft, who may be regarded as representing a considerable section of the Republican Party.

The question of the post-war organisation of air transport has again been in the news, though not in so sensational a form as when Representative Clare Luce made her famous maiden speech in Congress. In response to a *questionnaire* from the Civil Aeronautics Board eighteen air line companies declared strongly against Government management, control or interference. Pan-American Airways was not one of these; but its president, Mr. Juan Trippe, has also spoken in favour of "fair competition," while suggesting that British and other United Nations airlines should be allowed to acquire the transport planes they will need in order to compete at all. The commercial air transport companies are particularly unfriendly to the idea of Government management, of which they had unfavourable experience in the early days of the New Deal. They have developed under exceptionally favourable conditions; they had either no international problems to solve, or only those arising in the relatively manageable area of Latin America. They now realise that one country, however large, or even one continent, would be too small a unit for post-war air traffic; that rights of landing, servicing, &c., must be acquired on a world-wide scale; and that in this respect conditions are now favourable to the British lines. (Full attention is paid to any statements on this side which seem to imply any ambition to "dominate" the air). The eighteen companies favoured governmental action so far as might be necessary to acquire these by agreement. Political writers have pointed out that this would

[25528]

E