

to continue China's war in isolation if the United States laid down unacceptable conditions for Lease-Lend assistance accords with the remarkable phrase in his "Double Tenth" broadcast (noted in *Summary* No. 263) that China would go on with the war against Japan "in co-operation with her Allies or alone." However extraordinary such an attitude may appear at first sight, it is less so if it is realised that the Chinese army, as distinct from the American air force in China, and excluding the campaign in western Yunnan, has received in 1944 no war material to speak of. Despite the important influence it has exercised in the strategic position in the Western Pacific as a whole, the activity of the American air force from Chinese bases has been by no means an unmixed blessing to China, for it has provoked the Japanese into major offensives without providing enough air power to stop these offensives. A large part of the supplies flown over the "Hump" has gone into building up a long-range bomber force for the strategic bombing of Japan, which may have an important long-term effect on the course of the war, but has done nothing to help Chinese troops in Hengyang or Kweilin. In some Chinese quarters it was urged at the outset that, after the need for fighter aircraft for the protection of key cities had been met, priority of air transport should be given to artillery and other supplies for the Chinese army before any attempt was made to build up a large bomber force. The Americans, on the other hand, seem to have relied on the Chinese army with its existing equipment to protect the airfields which were constructed, and no doubt certain highly-placed Chinese, if only for reasons of "face," encouraged them in this belief. Now that disaster has come in South China, and a number of important airfields have fallen one after another into the hands of the Japanese, mutual recriminations between Chinese and Americans have been more or less inevitable; the Americans point to incompetence, corruption and defeatism among Chinese generals as the causes of the collapse, while the Chinese say they could have done better if they had been given some guns.

The Yunnan campaign has been an additional complication, because virtually all American material not required for the American air force was diverted to the Chinese army on this front on General Stilwell's recommendation. The campaign has been not unsuccessful; Tengchung has been captured and contact made with South-East Asia Command forces in North Burma. But from a Chinese point of view Tengchung cannot weigh in the scales against Changsha and Hengyang; the link-up of the Ledo and Burma roads is being pushed forward as fast as conditions allow, but it must be some time yet before China obtains any relief by this route, and much trouble may be in store for her in the meantime.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

On Tuesday the United States elected a President, one-third of the Senate, a complete House of Representatives and a host of State officials, including thirty Governors. Not unnaturally the Presidential election overshadowed all others.

Mr. Roosevelt has won a resounding victory. The American people's verdict has been deliberate and complete. The result is a landslide and Mr. Roosevelt is the first President to serve not only for three but for four terms.

Before the results of the Presidential election were known the majority of "experts" generally conceded a slight advantage to Mr. Roosevelt, and although it was expected that he might win by a narrow margin they refused to commit themselves, despite the fact that the betting odds were roughly three to one on Mr. Roosevelt. Their forecasts were hedged with all sorts of conditions, and they took final refuge in the fact that the figures were liable to a margin of error of 3 per cent. either way. The Gallup poll gave Mr. Roosevelt 51.5 per cent. and Mr. Dewey 48.5 per cent. of the civilian popular vote, on the eve of the poll. The magazine *Fortune*, whose polls have been fairly accurate in the past, issued a final tabulation showing 53.6 per cent. for President Roosevelt and 46.4 per cent. for Governor Dewey. No sampling of the Soldiers' Vote was allowed.

A few weeks ago Dr. Gallup also estimated that the poll would be less than 40 million, but on Tuesday, thanks largely to the efforts of the C.I.O.'s Political Action Committee in getting out the vote and to the last-minute appeals by both candidates, thanks also to generally favourable weather, the total vote was much larger than at first anticipated.

Lacking any definite lead by the experts beyond the statement that the race was "neck and neck" and a "photo-finish" was to be expected, 56 Washington political correspondents relied on their own judgment and forecast a handsome

victory for President Roosevelt, giving him 332 electoral votes compared with 199 for Mr. Dewey. There is no doubt that the result will tend to discredit the public opinion surveys which, while claiming prescience have not risked prophecy, and whose careful scientific planning has been so wide of the mark.

During this final week the election campaign reached new heights of bitterness, venom and acrimony. Never before in his lifetime, said the President, had a campaign been filled "with such misrepresentation, distortion and falsehood. Never since 1928 have there been so many attempts to stimulate in America such racial or religious intolerance." Because of this Mr. Roosevelt admitted frankly that, although originally reluctant to run, he had become most anxious to win.

In his speech at Madison Square Garden Mr. Dewey continued to use the technique of the repetition of a few basic themes. He belaboured the "one-man rule," the "tired and quarrelsome Administration" which systematically "abused and insulted" the powers of Congress. He accused the President of prolonging the war in Europe through his "incompetence," and asked what had happened to General Eisenhower's forecast that Germany would be defeated in 1944. Mr. Morgenthau's alleged plan for the pastoralisation of Germany, for which he maintained Mr. Roosevelt was responsible, had stiffened, he declared, the will of the German people to resist and had caused the unnecessary loss of American lives.

Mr. Dewey also accused the Democratic party of selling out to the Communists, alleging that they, through Sydney Hillman of the C.I.O.'s Political Action Committee, were trying to secure control of the Federal Government. Once again he reminded his listeners that there were 10 million unemployed in 1940 and that "it took a war to get jobs." He reiterated his belief that now was the time for a change to a Republican administration in order to ensure full employment through lowered taxation, increased social security, freedom of private enterprise and the maintenance of high wages through collective bargaining. The President in turn ridiculed this charge at Boston by saying "this 'incompetent' Administration had developed a programme which was so good for the farmers and the business men and the workers of the nation that it is time for a change" according to the Republicans. "This 'chaotic' Administration has done such an amazing job for war production that it is time for a change." The Administration "had done such a fine job with the Good Neighbour policy and our plans for world peace that it is time for a change."

Despite the original design of the Republican party to concentrate on domestic issues and underline the weaknesses of the Administration on the home front, with foreign policy and the war securely tucked away on a non-partisan basis, events have made foreign policy the dominant issue. There is no doubt that the President correctly gauged the feeling of the public when he took the initiative and demanded that the American representative on the Council of the United Nations Organisation should be endorsed in advance by Congress with power to act, a demand which was later, and in a less forthright manner, made by Mr. Dewey. The record of the Republican party and the prominence in its ranks of unregenerate isolationists such as Senators Nye and Johnson considerably helped the President, and there was undoubtedly a feeling that Mr. Dewey, despite his protestations that he would be able to work with Congress better than President Roosevelt, would not be able to control the isolationists in his own party. Mr. Roosevelt has also probably been helped by the implication that the Republicans would not co-operate in building world peace in the event of a Democratic victory, thus building "a party spite-fence between (Americans) and the peace." Mr. Dewey suffered too by his failure to repudiate his isolationist backers. Compared with Mr. Willkie, the Governor failed to arouse enthusiasm and his speeches lacked warmth and popular appeal. His strategy in going back to 1933 in finding grounds on which to attack the President is also open to question, though it must be admitted that the progress of the war in Europe and the Pacific, despite China, all helped Mr. Roosevelt.

In his whirl-wind campaign, moreover, the President successfully refuted the charge that he is a decrepit old man incapable of assuming the burdens of another term of office. Mr. Dewey's charges that the President was at heart an isolationist and was responsible for the United States entering the war unprepared have been a boomerang.

The problems which the President will be called upon to face both at home and abroad are critical and it is therefore all the more encouraging that he has been given so decisive a mandate by the people of the United States. His authority will now everywhere be greater. The Democratic Party has gained