

THE FAR EAST.

There has been no notable news from the Far Eastern war fronts this week except for the air battles over Guadalcanal and Port Darwin, in which the combat superiority of Allied fighter aircraft was strongly demonstrated. Politically, the two outstanding events have been Tojo's speech to the Japanese Diet and the arrival of Subhas Bose in Tokyo from Germany. The fact of Subhas Bose's transfer from Berlin to Tokyo is significant in more ways than one. It implies that Germany has now given up the hope of being able during the present war to take for herself a leading rôle in Indian affairs, and has therefore handed over to Japan the highest card which the Axis can play in India, on the ground that Japan alone is in a position to use it. Subhas Bose is the only really important Indian leader who has thrown in his lot with the Axis coalition; his namesake, Ras Behari Bose, who has lived in Japan since 1917 or 1918, and has been used by them as head of the "India Independence League," is only a minor personage. But Japan, by the conquest of Malaya and Burma, has reached the borders of India and brought large emigrant Indian communities under her control, while Subhas Bose has hitherto remained in Berlin, where he could have no contact with India or Indian communities except by broadcasting. The long delay in his removal to Asia has almost certainly been due to the German hope during 1942 that the conquest of the Caucasus and Egypt would enable Germany to dominate the Middle East and exert an influence over the anti-British elements in India, at least as great as Japan's. But such dreams have now faded, and it must have become clear in Berlin that the only way to use Subhas Bose effectively for making trouble in India was to let him go to Rangoon, even if this meant making him a Japanese, instead of a German, puppet. He has now made the journey to the Far East, and has come to Tokyo to confer with the leaders of Japan. On the 14th June, according to *Domei*, he had an interview with General Tojo, and afterwards one with Shigemitsu, the Foreign Minister. He was present at the Extraordinary Session of the Japanese Diet at which Tojo made his speech promising full support in the struggle for the "independence" of India.

The Extraordinary Session lasted from the 15th to 19th June. Its main practical task was to deal with a supplementary budget of 260 million yen which would raise the total general budget for the 1943-44 fiscal year to 13,895 million yen; it was stated that the extra expenditure would be for "wartime industrial readjustments and increased food production." Apart from this financial business—with regard to which the Japanese Government is still careful to observe the formal constitutional rights of the Diet—the Extraordinary Session provided an occasion for one of Tojo's speeches for the "clarification" of national policy. He reiterated Japan's professed war aims, declaring that it was "Japan's immutable policy to free Greater East Asia permanently from Anglo-Saxon domination and restore this region to its natural and proper condition," and said that Japan would "fight out this war of will-power and win this war of perseverance by putting forth all our efforts until the day when our adversaries are brought to submission." A great part of the speech, however, was directed not so much to the home front as to the Japanese-occupied countries and to China and India. The principal innovation was a promise of independence to the Philippines during 1943, thus putting the Philippines into the same category as Burma, which had hitherto been more favoured on account of the relatively unsatisfactory behaviour of the Filipinos. A promise of "participation of native representatives in the Government . . . to an extent commensurate with the degree of their ability" in the course of the present year was also made to Java, where the Japanese have now obtained the collaboration of a native nationalist leader named Soekarno.

To China Tojo promised a "fundamental revision in the Sino-Japanese Treaty," so as to aid "the healthy progress of the National Government," i.e., Wang Ching-wei's régime, and to realise "the ideal of China for the Chinese." He also boasted of recent defections of military commanders from the Chungking camp. He does not appear to have explained what form the fundamental revision would take, but the phrase may well foreshadow a new peace offensive in China with an offer of terms more attractive than any Japan has so far been willing to concede. This would be a natural sequel to the publicity given to the so-called "new policy" in China, to Tojo's visit to Nanking and to the appointment of Shigemitsu as Foreign Minister.

As to India, Tojo declared that Japan was "firmly resolved to exhaust all means in order to help expel and eliminate from India Anglo-Saxon influence—which is the enemy of the Indian people—and enable India to attain full independence in the true sense of the term." Three days after this proclamation *Domei* announced that Subhas Bose was about to leave for the south "to carry on his activity in the first line of the independence movement," and that he would "start a tremendous struggle against British tyranny in collaboration with Gandhi and others of his comrades in India." Bose was described as "second only to Gandhi" among Indian Nationalist leaders, Nehru being entirely ignored, and it was stressed that he had long held the belief that India could not be liberated by peaceful political means, but only by armed rebellion. Bose himself gave a press conference at the Imperial Hotel; he declared that "independence must not be given by anybody, but must be obtained by Indians themselves through their own struggle and sacrifice," but that, if British strength were reinforced, the Indians would have to ask for help from other countries. As if he found this somewhat embarrassing, he added that, if powerful Britain was not too proud to ask for help from the United States, there was no reason why Indians should refuse to accept assistance. Asked about Gandhi, he said that non-violence was a matter of conviction with him, but that other Indians regarded it as merely a temporary expedient and would take up arms when the time came. He added that the achievement of independence by Burma would have a far-reaching effect on India and would be used in reply to the propaganda of the British. He also mentioned the food situation in India, and said that the present shortages were the fault of the British, who had sent supplies out of India to the countries of the Middle East.

It seems likely that Bose will go to Rangoon and there attempt to organise a campaign of terrorism and sabotage in India, especially in Bengal, which is his own native province. A great intensification of enemy political warfare against India may be expected in the near future, as the Congress extremists will now have for the first time an important leader close at hand to direct revolutionary activity, and it is certainly in the interest of the Japanese to give them every possible aid in order to impede the launching of an offensive from India for the reconquest of Burma after the end of the monsoon in the autumn. The Japanese apparently regard Bose as a trump card, and though events may show that they have over-estimated both his ability and his influence, his failure is not likely to be due to any lack of resources placed by Japan at his disposal.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Events on the home-front have overshadowed all others during the last few days and the shadows are dark. The long-threatened coal stoppage has begun under conditions which seem at present to be as bad as can be conceived. Even before the stoppage, the country had had a shock in hearing from the Under-Secretary for War that production of material for land fighting was under schedule, and falling: and that, unless the trend was reversed, the chance of exploiting recent successes might be lost. In Washington, strains and stresses between Congress and the Executive have become worse, and show signs of interrupting and even paralysing administrative action, and so intensifying the difficulties to which war-time conditions inevitably and increasingly subject the ordinary citizen.

The miners stopped work on the 20th June (some a day earlier) and are reported to be in an obdurate state of mind. Though they do not like to be told that they are striking against the Government and damaging the war programme, they appear to be convinced that their claims are no more than justice, and to be unmoved by the condemnation of public opinion, which, indeed, condemns Mr. Lewis much more than his followers. On its side, the War Labour Board has uncompromisingly rejected the suggestion that the miners should be paid for the time spent in getting to and from the coal-face. It did so on the ground (doubtless justified) that this would be an inflationary increase, and thereby reaffirmed the intention to reject almost all demands for an increase in wage-rates, even when the employers wished to give one. The decision was taken against the vote of the workers' representatives on the Board, and it is only natural that labour organisations should tend to condone a strike against it, even though they are still adhering to their no-strike pledge.

Meanwhile, the President's intentions concerning the Smith-Connally Bill are still unknown. (Last week's *Summary* erroneously stated that the Bill laid

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