ALLIED STRATEGY

By KLAUS MEHNERT

The comparative calm on the battle fronts during the last few months has been employed by all the belligerents for military preparations on a wide scale, probably to an extent unparalleled in the history of mankind. A new phase in this gigantic war is approaching. We take this opportunity to publish four articles in this issue which, we trust, will aid our readers in appreciating the significance of this moment and the events which are about to unfold.

The first of these articles deals with the strategy of the Allies. Their central problem is where to apply the main pressure of their armed forces—against Europe or against East Asia. Hence the slogans of “Europe First” and “Japan First” are among the most popular political terms of the present time.

In this article—the first of its kind, we believe—we have traced the story of this paramount strategical problem and its practical application, by collecting and analyzing much scattered material on battles, speeches, conferences, and important appointments.

BEFORE AND AFTER DECEMBER 8

Whatever the leading men in London and Washington may have thought in former years about the order in which they hoped to destroy Germany and Japan—the moment the war actually started in Europe, in September 1939, without involving Japan, they adopted a “Europe First” policy. There was no difficulty in agreeing on this as long as the war was confined to Europe. But as soon as war broke out in the Pacific on December 8, 1941, a serious strategical problem arose. In the first few weeks it did not yet become acute. The American and British forces stationed in East Asia were forced to fight back wherever they happened to be, trying to hold what they could. But soon the extraordinary Japanese successes made it quite clear that it was only a question of time before the forces the Anglo-Saxon powers had in East Asia would be overwhelmed.

The Allies, not strong enough to fight a large-scale war simultaneously against two continents, had sooner or later to decide: should all available Anglo-American forces be dispatched to East Asia to stem the Japanese advance, to attempt a reconquest of the areas lost there, and to attack Japan; or should the combined weight of the British and American forces be thrown against Europe in the hope of crushing Germany and Italy, with the intention of turning against Japan only after the accomplishment of this aim?

In speaking of these two alternatives, we do not mean to imply that the choice of one excluded all fighting whatsoever in the other. There had to be a certain amount of fighting both in the European and the Pacific war theaters at the same time, no matter what the decision. The choice was, not where to fight and where not to fight, but where to concentrate the bulk of the available forces for large-scale actions.

From the outset there was the possibility of a conflict between London and Washington. For London there was no question but that the “Europe First” policy must be adhered to even after December 8. To concentrate the Allied
forces in the Pacific meant to the British leaders the inviting of disaster to the British position in Europe and Africa. London felt that it could survive the loss of everything except the British Isles, Gibraltar, and the Suez Canal.

For Washington the situation was different. Although, particularly since the Anschluss of Austria to Germany in the spring of 1938, the American people had been fed anti-Hitler propaganda in large quantities, the feeling of the Americans as a whole was more anti-Japanese than anti-German. America had no possessions in Europe. But in the Pacific she stood to lose, not only the Philippines and her other island possessions such as Guam, Hawaii, and Samoa, perhaps even the Aleutians, but also her advantageous position in China. Finally, there was the memory of the Pearl Harbor disaster, which inclined the Americans to consider Japan as their Enemy No. 1. (The results of a Gallup poll published on February 24, 1943, showed that 50 per cent of all Americans voted Japan as "America's Enemy No. 1," and 34 per cent Germany.)

THE FIRST WASHINGTON MEETING

Winston Churchill was probably among the first to realize the danger that might arise from this difference of opinion in the Allied camp. We believe that his decision to fly to Washington less than a fortnight after the start of the Pacific war and to spend a fortnight in America was prompted largely by his desire to use all his personal influence to win over Roosevelt to the continuation of the "Europe First" policy in spite of what was going on in the Pacific.

During Churchill’s stay in America, a Supreme Command for the southwestern Pacific was agreed upon in Washington on January 3, 1942, and Sir Archibald Wavell, Commander in Chief of the British forces in India, was appointed its head. This move allayed some of the fears felt in Malaya and the Philippines, in the Dutch East Indies and Burma, in Chungking and Australia, of being left to their own devices. But looking back on the events between the appointment of Wavell and the conclusion of the Japanese conquest of Burma, we know that this was only an empty gesture. The success of Churchill’s "Europe First" policy was complete. The southwestern Pacific had been abandoned to its fate. "If we have not got large forces in Burma and elsewhere in the Far East, it is I who am responsible," Churchill frankly stated in the House of Commons on January 27 after his return from Washington.

At the time, few people realized that the First Washington Meeting—as we shall call this first conference between Churchill and Roosevelt after December 8—had resulted in a "Europe First" decision. Churchill was careful enough not to broadcast this fact, knowing what effect it would have on the morale of the armies and nations in the southwestern Pacific. It was Colonel Frank Knox, American Secretary of the Navy, who let the cat out of the bag with one of his frequent careless remarks when, in January 1942, he declared that the policy of the Allies was to "beat Hitler first." His statement immediately provoked a violent reaction, chiefly in Australia and Chungking but also in America. From this moment on, the controversy of "Hitler First" versus "Japan First" has not ceased to agitate the minds of the Allied camp.

PUBLIC OPINION

The geographical division between the adherents of these two slogans is relatively clear. The British Isles and the American East Coast are for "Europe First," while Chungking, Australia, and the other Anglo-American possessions in the Pacific, as well as the American West Coast, are for "Japan First." The Soviet Union naturally belongs to the "Europe First" camp, and its unceasing public pleas for a second front have all been directed toward the establishment of this second front in Europe. There can be no doubt that Molotov, during his visit to London and Washington in May and June, as well as Stalin, during Churchill’s visit to Moscow in August 1942, both stressed the
urgency of a “Europe First” strategy. Least unified is public opinion in the United States. The majority of the press, under the influence of Roosevelt’s political machine and the Jews, who are of course all for “Hitler First,” advocate Churchill’s policy. Yet there are also opponents of this policy, among them Senator Albert B. “Happy” Chandler from Kentucky, Senator Burton K. Wheeler from Montana, and the newspapers belonging to the Hearst concern. They all warn America not to fall for Churchill’s bait and fight England’s war in Europe, but rather to look after America’s own interests which are menaced in the Pacific.

From time to time, events have taken place which, greatly to the relief of Australia and Chungking, seemed to indicate a shift in the Allied strategy toward “Pacific First.” But they were invariably followed by disappointment.

April 18, 1942, saw the American air raid on Japan. Nobody imagined at the time that it was the foolhardy stunt which it later turned out to be. On the contrary, many people took it as evidence that the Allies had started a real war against Japan. The fallacy of this assumption, however, became apparent when weeks and months passed without a repetition of the raid. The Second Washington Meeting for which Churchill came to America from June 19 to 24, 1942, revealed that there had been no change in the “Europe First” strategy, although it was temporarily replaced by “Africa First.”

AFRICA FIRST

In his press conference of November 11, 1942, in the first triumph over the successful landing in North Africa, President Roosevelt revealed the following interesting facts. During the First Washington Meeting, he and Churchill had agreed on a frontal attack against Europe across the Channel. But the more the plan was studied the greater appeared the difficulties for its realization in 1942. It was then decided—according to the President, in June 1942—to substitute it by an invasion of North Africa. Apparently the Allied leaders felt that they had to force the Axis out of Africa in order to remove the threat to Egypt and to reopen their Mediterranean life line before they could undertake any move against Europe. Perhaps they also hoped that Stalin might accept their landing in Africa as a substitute second front. This, it turned out later, was not the case, for Moscow’s clamor for a second front was not lessened by the events in North Africa. At any rate, the African venture postponed the necessity of attacking Europe itself.

While everything was done after that to prepare the landings in the French colonial empire, some naval engagements took place in the Pacific (First and Second Solomon Battles, Battle of the South Pacific, Third Solomon Battle), all resulting in huge losses for the American fleet. At that time Roosevelt also made some statements which could have been interpreted as indicating his change-over to a “Pacific First” policy. While raising futile hopes in Australia and Chungking, they probably had no other purpose than to divert the attention of the Axis from North Africa.

CASABLANCA

From the moment the Allied invasion of French North Africa began on the night of November 7, 1942, it became obvious that for a long time to come there would be no chance for “Pacific First.” The Casablanca Conference, which lasted from January 14 to 26, 1943, emphasized this fact. Roosevelt and Churchill were careful enough not to include any direct statement referring to their “Europe First” policy in the communiqué of January 27. Indirectly, however, they made it quite clear when they said: “our [Roosevelt’s and Churchill’s] main objective is to relieve the burden on the Soviet armies as much as possible.” If this was their main objective, it could only be attained by throwing all available forces against Europe.

As a result, they continued to strengthen their North Africa armies until these
mounted to about one million men with vast equipment. In the Pacific, however, after three more battles in the Solomons area (off Lunga on Guadalcanal Island, off Rennell Island, and off Isabel Islands), all of which entailed great losses for the US Navy, the naval war lost in size and importance; while the land war (on Guadalcanal, in New Guinea, along the Arakan coast in Burma, and on Attu Island), although strategically important, never assumed the proportions of the first few months after December 8.

In his amazing broadcast of March 21, 1943, Churchill stressed the "Hitler First" policy more sharply than ever before and went so far as to say that, after the end of the war in Europe, Great Britain would demobilize part of her forces because there were many British soldiers who, for physical reasons, could not be employed in the war theater against Japan with its vast distances and poor lines of communication. Thus Churchill practically stated that England's interest in a full-scale war terminated with the restoration of peace in Europe, leaving the burden of the war against Japan to the Americans. The Prime Minister made no mention whatever of Chungking. This speech naturally created a disastrous impression among the Allied partners in Asia and the southwestern Pacific, the more so as Cordell Hull, the American Secretary of State, declared his full agreement with Churchill two days later. Indeed, the impression created by the broadcast was so alarming that Anthony Eden, the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, who happened to be visiting the USA at the time, attempted in a speech in Annapolis on March 26, 1943, to allay some of the alarm.

THE THIRD WASHINGTON MEETING

From May 11 to 27, 1943, the Third, and so far last, Washington Meeting between Churchill and Roosevelt took place. It brought the number of days which Churchill spent with Roosevelt since the start of the Pacific war up to 47 (First Washington Meeting 14 days, Second Washington Meeting 7 days, Casablanca 10 days, Third Washington Meeting 16 days). Once again the question of "Europe First" was among the chief topics of their conversation. Watching its sons fall on the battlefields of North Africa, sensing the approach of an invasion attempt against Europe with the terrific losses it would entail, and feeling that the advantages which America could derive for herself from the establishment of a second front in Europe were most doubtful, the American nation became more and more openly skeptical of the wisdom of the "Europe First" policy. Roosevelt had to take this American sentiment into consideration. Hence he refrained from any statement on future policy in that by now famous one-sentence communiqué of May 28 which read: "The recent conference of the combined staffs in Washington has ended in complete agreement on future operations on every front."

"That's all I have for you, boys." Stephen Early, President Roosevelt's secretary, is reported to have said apologetically to the disappointed journalists after reading the communiqué at an evening press conference in the White House.

The strategic result of the Third Washington Meeting has been kept a carefully guarded secret. One might even say that everything was done to confuse the world about the real outcome of the conference. Churchill himself made contradictory statements. On the one hand he declared in a press conference at the White House that the war would be waged "with the same vigor on both fronts"; on the other hand, in his speech before the US Congress on May 19, he emphasized the urgency of aiding the USSR, dampened the hopes for an attack against Burma, and promised England's support of the USA against Japan only "when the time is ripe."

On the whole, commentators were inclined to agree that once more Churchill's "Europe First" had triumphed. The near future will probably show whether they were correct in this. A serious attempt to invade Europe would auto-
matically relegate the Pacific war theater to second place, although it might allow the sending of planes to Australia and Chungking and the carrying out of some “publicity offensives” in the Pacific.

THE MATTER OF COMMAND

Strategic decisions are very closely linked with appointments to important military commands. In this respect the picture offered by the war against Europe is far clearer than that in the Pacific.

Outside of the British Isles, the Allied armies are concentrated in two areas: North Africa and the Near East. The armies in North Africa have as their Commander in Chief General Dwight Eisenhower (American), those in the Near East General Sir Henry Maitland Wilson (British). The naval commanders in these areas are Admiral Sir Andrew Brown Cunningham, in charge of naval operations in the Mediterranean, and his cousin, Admiral Sir John H.D. Cunningham, in charge of those in the Levant. Commander in Chief of all US troops in the European war theater is Lieutenant General Jacob Devers. In one respect the absence of clarity and co-ordination is still evident: as yet no Allied commander in chief for the European war theater has been appointed.

RAPID TURNOVER

The many conflicting views about the strategy to be employed in the Pacific were reflected in the changes in the command of this area, changes which present the picture of an amazing chaos.

As we have said before, Churchill and Roosevelt agreed on January 3, 1942, on a Supreme Command in the southwestern Pacific, with Sir Archibald Wavell as its head. Simultaneously, Admiral Thomas C. Hart, USN, was appointed Commander in Chief of the Allied naval forces in that area. This situation was maintained for only a few weeks. Vice-Admiral Helfrich, since 1940 Commander in Chief of the Dutch naval forces in the Netherland East Indies, took Admiral Hart’s place on February 10, since the latter was killed in action during the battle of the Java Sea on February 4. But Vice-Admiral Helfrich was deprived of a good deal of Admiral Hart’s powers, as the Americans and British were reluctant to put their naval forces under the Netherlander. Hence it was decided to organize a new command for the naval forces of the Australian and New Zealand area (the “Anzac Area”), to which Vice-Admiral Herbert F. Leary of the US Navy was appointed. Even what remained of the southwest Pacific was no longer under Vice-Admiral Helfrich’s full control; for Washington decreed that Rear Admiral Glassford, Commander of the US naval forces in the southwest Pacific, “would physically direct operations at sea while Vice-Admiral Helfrich would direct them from shore,” as the Navy spokesman declared in Washington on the day Vice-Admiral Helfrich took over his new post. In addition to this, there were also Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, who had been appointed Commander in Chief of the US Pacific Fleet following the dismissal of Admiral Kimmel after the disaster of Pearl Harbor, and Rear Admiral John F. Shafroth, since May 22 Commander of the US Fleet in the southeast Pacific.

Nor was General Wavell in full control. Washington explained that his authority was limited to tactical decisions, while all strategical plans were to be elaborated in London and Washington. “Two committees above Wavell!” the Batavia newspaper Javabode wrote in despair on February 9, 1942. General Wavell did not enjoy his command very long. On March 2, when the fate of the Netherland East Indies was sealed, he was returned to India and replaced by a Dutch general. The latter lasted only a few days, until the Dutch forces capitulated, and on March 17 General MacArthur took his place.

THREE COMMITTEES

Finally, numerous committees were to spring up in London and Washington to make the life of the commanders on the spot miserable and to prevent clarity of purpose and action.
On January 27, 1942, in a speech before the House of Commons after his return from the First Washington Meeting, Churchill announced the creation of "Pacific War Councils" in London and Washington as well as the formation of a "Combined Chiefs of Staffs Committee" in Washington.

The Pacific War Council in London consisted of representatives from the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, India, and the Netherland East Indies (but not from Chungking). It was to deal with the entire Pacific situation and to be assisted by the British Chiefs of Staffs Committee in London. It met for the first time on February 10, 1942, with Prime Minister Churchill in the chair.

The Pacific War Council in Washington, which met for the first time on April 1 with President Roosevelt in the chair, had a larger membership. While also including representatives from the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, and the Dutch East Indies, it lacked a representative from India but had representatives from Chungking and Canada. Harry Hopkins, Roosevelt's closest personal adviser, participated in the Council as a member of the "Munitions Assignment Board"—another invention of the Allied war bureaucracy. The first meeting of the Pacific War Council in Washington, lasting ninety minutes, was widely publicized; newsreel and news photographers took pictures.

The Combined Chiefs of Staffs Committee met in Washington for its first session on February 14, 1942. It included the American Secretaries of the Army and the Navy and the Chiefs of the US Army, Navy, and Army Air Force, as well as some ranking British military and naval representatives. From the outset this committee was faced by criticism on the part of the Dominions, the Dutch East Indies, and China. They were disappointed at not being included and felt apprehension at the fact that, as a result, the supreme strategy of the war was exclusively in American and English hands. To allay these fears, a representative of the Australian Army was admitted to the committee and left for America on April 1.

The relationship between the Pacific War Councils in London and Washington and the Combined Chiefs of Staffs Committee in Washington remained entirely unclear, except for a statement in the New York Times on April 1, according to which the Pacific War Council in Washington was to dominate the one in London, which latter was to act "as a kind of liaison office between Washington and London." The chaos resulting from such top-heavy bureaucracy had its share in bringing about the long series of Japanese successes in the Pacific. It seems to us noteworthy that in none of these three Allied strategic committees are there any representatives of the USSR to be found.

During the past months, less has been heard of these various organizations. As time went on, it proved necessary to give more authority to the men on the spot and to curtail the power of the Councils and Committees in faraway London and Washington. As far as the southwestern Pacific is concerned, these men on the spot were primarily MacArthur, Nimitz, and Halsey.

"MACNIMSEY"

On March 17, General Douglas MacArthur, the Commander in Chief of the American and Filipino forces in the Philippine Islands, left Corregidor by plane prior to its capture by the Japanese and was appointed Commander in Chief of the Allied forces in those portions of the southwestern Pacific which were still in Allied hands, i.e., primarily Australia. He was severely handicapped in his duties by the fact that the Allied naval forces in the southwestern Pacific were under the independent command, first of Vice-Admiral Leary, then of Vice-Admiral Robert Lee Ghormley and, on October 25, 1942, after his recall owing to his failures in the Solomon Islands, of Vice-Admiral William Halsey. Vice-Admiral Halsey in turn had to consider the wishes of Admiral Chester V. Nimitz, the supreme commander of the Allied naval forces in the entire Pacific with the exception of
the United States West Coast and Alaska. Thus, although Vice-Admiral Halsey had the “tactical command,” the “strategic command” was in the hands of Admiral Nimitz.

The Australian press invented the name “MacNimsey” from syllables taken from each of these three names. But even this compound name could not conceal the difficulties arising from so complex a leadership. In the middle of last April, MacArthur and Halsey met for several days to clarify the issue of command. Almost a whole month passed before, on May 14, 1943, news of this meeting was published. The reports seemed to indicate that MacArthur had won and that henceforth his command was to supersede that of Halsey. However, the statements were so confused that the clamor for a unified command in the south and southwest Pacific has not ceased.

While all this was going on in the Allied camp, the Japanese rapidly developed the far-flung arc of their outer defenses in which they had established themselves in the spring of 1942. It runs from Burma through Malai, Sumatra, Djawa, Timor, New Guinea, and the Bismarck Archipelago to the Marshall Islands and Ohtori Shima (formerly known as Wake Island). No wonder that the “Europe First” strategy found its most severe critics in Australia and Chungking. Their reaction throws much light on the strategy of the Allies.

AUSTRALIA AND “EUROPE FIRST”

When it became clear that Churchill and Roosevelt were pursuing a “Europe First” policy, Australia reacted immediately with signs of disappointment and pleas for reconsideration. It is easy to imagine how Australians must feel when Japanese planes fly over their territory while they are reading books like Victory Strategy. This book was written by America’s outstanding military commentator, Hanson Baldwin of the New York Times, and appeared in April 1942. After explaining that Hawaii, Alaska, and the Aleutian Islands must, of course, be kept intact, he continues:

But when it comes to the question of Australia, and only Australia, I would place her in the category of secondary importance in the strategic sense. Australia to Asia is as western Africa to Europe. In other words her strategic importance is much less than that which is attached to the British Isles, Hawaii, Midway, Alaska, the Aleutians, India, the Soviet Union, or Chungking. If I am permitted to say so frankly, I would rather give up Australia . . . . The fact that Australia has deserts both in the north and in the south, which virtually cut off communications with the interior, makes her defense so difficult as to demand the need of an enormous quantity of shipping.

Books could be filled with quotations from the Australian press and radio, showing how the Australians have been trying to influence London and Washington ever since that first blow of Colonel Knox’s “Hitler First” statement in January 1942; and there is no end to the cartoons repeating ideas similar to the one expressed in a cartoon of the Sydney Daily Telegraph (23.3.43): Ridiculing Churchill’s broadcast of March 21 (“some time next year—it may well be the year after—we might beat Germany”), the cartoon shows a gigantic Japanese soldier, standing with one foot in China and the other in New Guinea, while a tiny Australian shakes his fist at him saying, “You just wait (till year after year after next)!”

THE “HOLDING WAR”

It was this same Churchill broadcast which finally proved to Australia the futility of her attempts to change Churchill’s mind. At first the reaction was almost one of despair. It was impossible to conceal the disappointment and alarm. But at the same time the Australian leaders realized that they could not allow their people to remain in this gloomy and perplexed state of mind, and they began to search for some formula which would make the situation more understandable to the Australians. So they invented a new slogan—the “holding war.” In a speech made on March 25, Prime Minister Curtin gave to understand that hope of diverting Churchill and Roosevelt from the “Hitler First” policy had to be abandoned, and added: “Whether we like it or not, we shall essay a
'holding war' against Japan for some indefinite period. This period has every indication of being protracted." A week later, in an address at a Liberty Loan rally, he stated:

"Australians must realize that they face a long struggle—a struggle that must last longer than the struggle in Europe. The augmentation of forces in the Pacific, necessary for a defeat of Japan, cannot come before Hitler's defeat. Australia is facing a prolonged war without interruption, week by week, month by month, for two, three, or more years. I put it before the Australians solemnly and pitilessly that it requires the whole strength of the Allies to defeat Hitler. The less concentration of Allied forces there is in Europe the longer the war will last. All we can do is to hold on with all our strength, whatever the sacrifice. If in the meantime and prior to Hitler's defeat, Australia should go down, the war would be still more prolonged because it would deprive the United Nations of any base wherefrom to wage war against Japan."

**A NEW LINE**

From then on the Australian Government changed its policy in London and Washington. Resigning itself to the impossibility of altering the "Europe First" decision, it adopted a new line. "We realize that you are not going to send us armies or navies for the time being, so we do not ask for that any more," it said in effect to Roosevelt and Churchill. "But if you want us to be able to continue our 'holding war' with the forces available in Australia, we need one thing absolutely—more planes."

Bearing messages of this kind, Dr. Evatt, the Australian Foreign Minister, Lieutenant General Kenny, Commander of the Allied Air Force in the southwest Pacific, and Major General Sutherland, MacArthur's Chief of Staff, were sent to Washington. And, to back up their pleas, a broadside was fired in the direction of Washington from the three biggest guns in Australia. On April 14, Prime Minister Curtin, General MacArthur, and General Sir Thomas Blamey, Commander of the Allied land forces in the southwest Pacific, delivered speeches all to the same effect, namely, that the danger of a Japanese attack against Australia was very great, the concentration of Japanese troops, planes, and ships in the area north of Australia more alarming than at any time before, and the need for more planes imperative.

**WASHINGTON'S ANSWER**

Colonel Knox, US Secretary of the Navy, countered the plea from Australia with the charge that the speeches of April 14 had greatly exaggerated the danger threatening Australia and that, according to the best information at the Government's disposal, there was no indication of any large naval concentration of the Japanese in the waters north of Australia.

Colonel Knox's statement, which was tantamount to calling Curtin, MacArthur, and Blamey liars, immediately caused a flare-up. The Australian press rallied behind its leaders, while in America public opinion was divided and for the first time an anti-MacArthur wave swept through the press of the USA. Here is an example, quoted from an editorial in the Chicago Sun:

"[General MacArthur] is causing the American public to lose confidence in the joint Chiefs of Staff, against whose major strategic decisions he appears to be protesting. . . . There is nothing in the course of events to indicate that these men should be deprived of their commands or subjected to a hostile publicity campaign by a subordinate. And let MacArthur remember that before he instructs his spokesman again to contradict Colonel Knox.

During the last few weeks Prime Minister Curtin and his supporters made a number of more hopeful statements, in the effort to create the impression that the Third Washington Meeting had finally shown proper understanding for the needs of the Pacific war theater. Curtin never failed to add that this favorable turn was the result of his own statesmanship. Since, however, the Australian elections are probably to be held this autumn, this sudden optimism would seem to be nothing but an election maneuver.

The attitude of New Zealand was on the whole similar to that of Australia, with one difference, however. Not feeling themselves directly menaced as yet by a Japanese attack, the New Zealanders have shown a rather provincial complacency toward world politics.
CHUNGKING

In order to understand Chungking's feelings toward the strategy of London and Washington, one must bear in mind that the Chungking leaders have stood alone in a serious war lasting almost six years. When the Pacific war broke out, Chungking's first reaction was one of joy over the fact that it had now gained two vast empires as allies in its struggle against Japan. It expected that Japan's pressure would be noticeably lessened as she would have to fight America and Great Britain, and Chungking even dreamed that the Allies would crush Japan. However, the opposite occurred, and Chungking quickly found itself infinitely worse off than before the outbreak of the Pacific war. Instead of finding relief through the active entry of the Anglo-Americans into the war, Chungking had to send its own troops to assist them in Burma, with the result that its divisions there were also drawn into the vortex of the British defeat. And this was not all. Before the Pacific war, Chungking had received supplies from the Anglo-Saxon countries via Burma and southeastern China. The Japanese conquest of Hongkong and Burma completely closed these doors, leaving only the air route from India to Chungking open.

At first Chungking tried to console itself with the thought that this adverse development was only temporary, that the Allies would soon recover from their blows and hit back at Japan. Instead, the heaviest blow of all came: the realization that the Allies were determined on a "Europe First" policy. When it was first formulated by Colonel Knox a few weeks after the outbreak of the Pacific war, Chungking immediately protested. On January 18, Dr. Sun Fo, President of the Legislative Yuan, declared at a press interview:

"If Britain and the United States intend allowing Japan a free hand in East Asia, as advocated in recent speeches made by leading Anglo-American statesmen, with a view to finishing the fight in Europe first, grave doubts exist in our minds as to the advisability of our continuing to resist Japan."

SECOND ORPHAN

Still Chungking hoped that the words of Colonel Knox had expressed the opinion of one man only. The faked reports about the American air raid on Japan created the illusion that America had finally started her offensive. But when no further raids followed, and the first raid was gradually reduced to its true proportions, increased gloom descended on Chungking, until the Casablanca Conference left no doubt that the "Europe First" policy had won out. The lack of spirit with which the Burma campaign along the Arakan coast was carried out by the British forces between December 1942 and April 1943 and its disastrous end confirmed to Chungking its sad isolation.

Chungking's reactions to this disappointing development were very similar to Australia's. Both are orphans of the Pacific, and both have used almost identical arguments and methods in their desire to reverse the "Europe First" decision. They have even repeatedly pointed out to the world the other orphan's plight, thereby hoping to increase the Allies' attention to their own. Thus, on May 6, the Chungking Central Daily News wrote: "The position of Australia is serious. Australia is Japan's immediate objective, and the menace to Australia cannot be overlooked. Australia's appeal for more help should not fall on deaf ears."

Like Australia, Chungking sent its representatives to plead for aid. Among them were Madame Chiang Kai-shek, General Hsiung Shih-hui, and Foreign Minister T. V. Soong. The plea was always for a "third front" and for material aid through the reopening of the Burma Road; and no opportunity was missed by Chungking to impress the Allies, particularly America, with the disastrous consequences which the absence of aid was bound to bring.

SURPRISES

In view of the constant repetition of this demand, it was a slap similar to that given to Australia by Colonel Knox in April when President Roosevelt, in his
speech opening the new session of Congress, declared on January 7, 1943: "The United States is sending Chungking by air as much material as she was sending when the Burma Road was open." Chungking's comment on this statement was "surprising" and "amazing." But as the truth could be disclosed only by publishing hitherto carefully guarded secrets, there was nothing Chungking could do about it.

Roosevelt's statement did not stop Chungking's clamor for more aid. Nevertheless, approximately at the same time as Australia, Chungking also began to show signs of resigning itself to the "holding war." But, like Australia, it did not abandon its incessant demands for more planes. Even in this modest hope, however, Chungking has so far been disappointed. In March 1943, at a New York meeting in honor of Madame Chiang Kai-shek, General H. Arnold, Commander in Chief of the US Army Air Force, explained America's inability to satisfy Chungking's desire for planes for the time being. He gave many reasons and pointed out that, to maintain 400 bombers and 100 fighters in air bases in China, 75,000 tons of gasoline a month as well as large amounts of bombs and arms would be necessary. In order to supply by air this amount of gasoline alone, General Arnold explained, more than 1,000 four-engined large-sized transports would have to be operated more than 12 times a month.

The fact that, in the first half of 1943, seven Chungking generals have gone over with their troops to the National Government, is a symptom of the reaction of the Chungking adherents to the policy of their allies.

The development of the war up till now has shown that the Allies have not been strong enough and did not possess enough ships to conduct large-scale operations against both Europe and East Asia. Whether they ever will be strong enough for this is more than doubtful. America's military strength, it is true, is still on the increase, although the rate of increase is declining; but that of Great Britain seems to have reached its zenith some time ago, while both Germany and Japan are adding to their strength every month. Japan, in fact, has only started to mobilize the huge resources of her new empire.

Thus the Allies still have to choose between "Europe First" and "Japan First." Neither choice is attractive to them. If they concentrate on Europe, they allow Japan to consolidate her power still further, and vice versa.

Hitherto the Allies have clearly followed a "Europe First" policy. This, we believe, was the result of pressure coming from London and Moscow and of the fear that an all-out war against Japan would give Germany a free hand in Europe and might cause the USSR (or even England) to drop out of the war. To keep the Red Army in the war is of paramount importance to Roosevelt and Churchill. In fact, Allied strategy so far can almost be reduced to the formula: do everything to let the Reds do ninety per cent of the fighting.

If Roosevelt saw himself compelled in this respect to follow a policy not altogether popular in his country, one need not feel too sorry for him. He knows how to look after his interests. Thus the "Europe First" strategy has resulted in his growing influence in Australia and in the establishment of what practically amounts to an American protectorate over large parts of Africa.

Surveying the chaotic story of Allied strategy in the first eighteen months since Pearl Harbor, one cannot but notice the contrast offered by the strategy of the Axis. This strategy is clear and convincing. For the Axis, no such perplexing alternatives exist as "Europe First" or "Pacific First." While Japan is building Greater East Asia, Germany and Italy are consolidating Greater Europe. Each success of one Axis partner automatically benefits the others, as both ends of the Axis are not only fighting against the intrusion of Great Britain and the USA into their spheres but are also preparing for the decisive counterattack against the Allies.
SIX CAMPAIGNS IN THE DESERT

By LIEUTENANT M. ANDREONE, R.I.N.

The war in Africa lasted from June 11, 1940, to May 12, 1943, that is, almost three years. In looking back on it we can see many things more clearly today than at the time when they occurred. We know now that this war was unique in history, with its strange pendulum swings of three pairs of offensives over a battlefield more than a thousand kilometers long and only a few kilometers wide; and the important role these desert campaigns have played in the present World War has now become discernible.

At our request, Lieutenant Andreone of the Royal Italian Navy tells the story of these three years. His article is the first complete account of this war to appear in Shanghai.—K.M.

The war in Africa started, like any other modern war, with activity on land, on sea, and in the air. It began more or less as a study of the enemy, as an effort at contacting him and destroying, especially by air, his vital points, which were sometimes far removed from the real front.

On the Tunisian-Libyan front some small encounters of no importance took place. On June 20, France having asked for an armistice, all fighting ceased along that border, while it continued on a minor scale on the Libyan-Egyptian front. After Air Marshal Italo Balbo, the Governor of Libya, was killed in action on June 30, Marshal Rodolfo Graziani of Abyssinian fame took over the command of the Italian operations. General Sir Archibald P. Wavell was the Commander in Chief of the British forces in the Middle East.

War in the desert was nothing new for the British and the Italians. The question was: would the desert war be influenced by the experiences of the European war in 1939 and 1940? But these experiences were of too recent date for them to have been adapted to desert warfare; the war started more or less on the old lines. It is true that the two armies were mechanized—to a certain extent the motor had taken the place of the camel—that they were more numerous in men and had a bigger range of action. But the old dogmas of bases, lines of communication, etc., were still considered the foundations of desert warfare, thus limiting the possibilities of the new army of the desert. Consequently, not much happened at first. The two air forces bombed each other’s bases of supply, the Italians pounded Malta, British convoys, and the Suez Canal, and the enemy attacked the bases in Libya and southern Italy.

THE FIRST ITALIAN OFFENSIVE . . .

Marshal Graziani started the first offensive on August 13, 1940. In his first push he did not try any complicated strategic maneuvers but applied superior forces at one point and succeeded in his aim. His army was quite small and consisted of three infantry regiments, one machine-gun battalion, one company equipped with mortars, one artillery regiment, and some technical units, with support from the air but not from the sea. Additional troops were stationed in various parts of Libya.

His well-balanced force advanced from Fort Capuzzo across the border to Sollum. The defenders were Britons, Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans, and Indians. General Wavell fell back, and the Italian column pushed on until, on December 17, it occupied Sidi Barrani, 120 kilometers inside Egypt, taking up positions at Maktita, a few kilometers
east of Sidi Barrani. The British retreated with their tanks, armored cars, and planes; they dynamited and salted the wells, but the attackers were supplied with water trucks and condensing apparatus. All this time, widespread and repeated bombings were carried out by both air forces, and the British Navy also joined in the fray, shelling the Italian positions along the Egyptian coast.

... AND BRITISH COUNTERPUSH

Meanwhile, in Cairo, General Wavell prepared a counteroffensive in great secrecy and reinforced his army, bringing troops to Egypt from the Near East. The British offensive was well planned and even better executed by an army 40,000 men strong known as the Nile Army. The attack came as a surprise to Graziani, owing to the fact that the Nile Army succeeded in approaching and deploying around the battlefield completely unnoticed, making good use of the night and of a sandstorm blowing at the time. The attack began on December 10, 1940. The British armored units drove concentrically on Sidi Barrani, while another column drove past, pointing on Bugbug. First to sustain the impact of the motorized columns of the enemy were the Libyan divisions to the south of the town, which resisted bravely but were overpowered. Their commander, General Pietro Maletti, died on the field. The Italians were now attacked on all sides: on land by armored columns, from the sea by the British fleet that had steamed out of Alexandria, and from the air by the British Air Force which had obtained superiority. Sidi Barrani fell the same day. A large number of prisoners and much material were captured.

The enemy’s success was made possible by the fact that the battle array of Graziani’s forces had not been extended deep enough into the desert. Thus the encirclement of his forces could be effected within a few hours during the night and the British fleet could intervene effectively. Added to this fault in the Italian positions there was a marked superiority of the Nile Army in men, material, and aviation. The enemy’s superiority in mechanized units and tanks especially enabled General Wavell to exploit his initial success to the utmost.

Owing to the heavy losses on the Italian side, the advance of the Nile Army became relatively easy, the more so since it was constantly supported by the Navy, which shelled the Italian positions along the African coast. Bardia, attacked by land and sea, fell on January 5, and Tobruk on January 22. The fall of Tobruk, the stronghold of the Italian defense system in Libya, precipitated matters, and the enemy proceeded rapidly westward, with two British columns advancing, one along the coast and the other south of the Djebel through El Mechili. On February 6, Benghazi surrendered, and the two columns jointly proceeded southwest to Agedabia and El Agheila, where they arrived on February 11. In spite of this British advance, however, Graziani’s offensive had not been a complete failure, for the few Italian divisions in Africa had compelled England at a very critical moment,—namely, after Dunkirk—to dispatch large numbers of men and tanks to Egypt.

England was glowing with her first victory of the war; but there was something to mar the rejoicing: while the British columns were marching on Agedabia, they had been attacked for the first time by German planes. Furthermore, unconfirmed reports that had already been circulating for two months placed 30,000 German troops in Libya, with another 50,000 waiting in Italy or on route. The British Navy warned that, in view of the heavy Axis traffic in the central Mediterranean, the Axis might be contemplating a counterattack in Libya.

At the end of March, Marshal Graziani was relieved of his command at his own request and replaced by General Italo Gariboldi. For the Axis position in North Africa this was a dangerous moment. But it passed. Instead of attempting to push on into Libya, the British diverted part of their forces for the Balkan
adventure. The Axis recognized its chance and hit back.

**ROMMEL APPEARS ON THE SCENE**

The third phase of the Libyan campaign was now about to start. The new Axis command did not allow the Nile Army any breathing space or time to consolidate the positions it had captured. As early as March 27 the first successful encounter of German Panzers with British troops south of Agedabia was reported. This was nearly 150 kilometers to the rear of the most advanced British position at El Agheila. The Nile Army did not know whether it was coming or going.

The Axis offensive was under way. The first result was achieved by an Italo-German mechanized division under the command of General Erwin Rommel, a German Panzer expert. In a giant raid and by means of outflanking tactics, this force took El Agheila, the desert outpost of Marsa el Brega, and Agedabia. The British High Command diagnosed the situation promptly and correctly, and by April 3 it had already given the order to evacuate Benghazi, although no Axis troops were yet in sight. The Italo-German forces carried on at top speed, a small column arriving at El Regima, some 20 kilometers east of Benghazi, just in time to cut off the retreat of the Indian rearguard. By this time the offensive had turned into a race between Axis and British troops. Tocra and Barea fell in rapid succession, and on April 9 Derna was in Axis hands.

The main Panzer column pushed from Msus to El Mechili. On its way it captured several British generals—among them General Sir Richard Nugent O’Connor, who had been knighted one month earlier for his brilliance as field commander of the Nile Army during the winter campaign—and many men. To complete the success there was need of boldness, and the Axis command showed no lack of that. With great recklessness as far as the lines of communication were concerned, it charged past Tobruk with its British garrison, captured Bardia and, without stopping, reached Sollum on April 13.

In six days the ground which the British troops had needed eight weeks to cover was recaptured. By the end of the month and with apparent ease, the Axis army drove the British out of Sollum, advancing 10 kilometers into Egyptian territory and occupying Halfaya Pass, the gate to Libya.

**TWO NEW IDEAS**

The Garibaldi-Rommel offensive of March and April 1941 was something new in the Libyan war. In his westward offensive General Wavell had directed a

![Map of North Africa](https://example.com/map.jpg)

Three pairs of campaigns in North Africa
column from Tobruk to the south of the Djebel; but this was a secondary force, sent with the idea of carrying material and foodstuffs to the coast of the Gulf of Sirte for the main column that was advancing and fighting along the coast. The new Axis command conceived the strategic idea that by employing the main force to cut at the base of the peninsula of Barca it would automatically achieve the fall of the entire peninsula. Consequently, the Axis column following the coast was nothing but a mopping-up unit.

In the logistic field (i.e., the field of military transport and supplies), the Axis command had the revolutionary idea of exploiting its success to the limit, without any thought of the lines of communication, which would be organized after the military objectives had been achieved.

The main result of the campaign was that England, whose attention and forces were concentrated on the war in Europe, was thus compelled to distract her thoughts and power from the main theater of operations. This was exactly what the Axis powers had intended. The Italo-German offensive had coincided with the crucial period of the Balkan campaign, and some of the best British troops had to be diverted against the Axis in Marmarica.

THE SIEGE OF TOBRUK

In Cairo, General Wavell called a war council, while troops were passing daily through Alexandria on their way from East Africa to the Egyptian front. During April the British made several attempts to liberate besieged Tobruk, interspersed with frequent attacks on the frontier and one attempted landing in the neighborhood of Bardia. But all to no avail.

Nevertheless, Tobruk was a thorn in the side of the Axis command, and at the beginning of May the Italo-Germans carried out an attack against the fortress. They broke through the first line of defense, capturing a great number of artillery emplacements, knocking out a score of tanks, and seizing prisoners.

But the British fell back to the second line of defense, which withstood the Axis onslaught.

Why the lull in the war of movement? It had become a war of material; both opponents were stacking up with arms of every kind; the war in the desert had already proved to be a very costly one in arms, and superiority in material was one of the keys to victory. In May, Cairo reported for the first time the arrival of American material. It was said that no less than 26 US merchantmen, piled up to the funnels with war material and convoyed by US naval vessels, had reached Suez. On the other hand, the British one day discovered over 100 Junker transport planes on an airfield near Benghazi; they were the same type as had already been used in Greece to land field artillery and armored cars behind the enemy lines.

Meanwhile, Tobruk was still withstanding the Axis siege. The besieged fortress received its supplies by sea and, even though it was a thorn in the side of the Axis, it was certainly also very expensive for the enemy. Every convoy on route or that had reached the roadstead was attacked from the air, the score ranging from three transports hit to four ships and a cruiser sunk.

With the siege of Tobruk and the presence of Axis troops in Egypt, with the anesthetization of Malta by the Axis air forces and the necessity of reinforcing General Wavell’s troops, Great Britain had arrived at a critical moment of the war. The African Mediterranean chessboard demanded all the attention of the London general staff and the pick of the British land, air, and naval forces, and all the best resources of the Empire were dumped on African soil. To the Axis, Africa—the outpost of Europe—was fulfilling its task in a manner superior to all expectations.

TANK BATTLE IN THE DESERT

After a May rehearsal at freeing Tobruk, the British High Command decided in the middle of June that something decisive had to be done to stop this
long-drawn-out siege. England judged that, at the cost of enormous sacrifices, she had accumulated enough men and armaments to ensure the defeat of the Italo-German forces in Egypt. General Wavell decided to add skill to might by adopting a maneuver based on the Axis command's principle of "keeping deep into the desert."

With a feint at Halfaya Pass, the tank battle started at Sidi Omar, 50 kilometers from the coast, with the obvious idea of turning the Axis positions of Bardia, Sollum, and Halfaya Pass. For three days the battle swirled in the desert. Both sides fought gallantly, but on the third day the enemy, after losing nearly 50 per cent of his armored cars, was thrown back to where he came from. The British could not outmaneuver the Axis command, and the superiority in tanks had not been great enough to decide the battle in their favor. This battle postponed the offensive by five precious months, during which England had to accept new sacrifices to divert more material to the African shores.

Lieutenant General Erwin Rommel was promoted to the rank of full general, while General Wavell was sent to India and replaced by General Claude J. Auchinleck. The war continued on a minor scale on the Egyptian frontier, as the Tobruk garrison made attempts every month to break the steel ring around the town.

VAST ASSAULT

The next phase in the Libyan campaign started on November 19, 1941, when enemy motorized and armored units attacked the Axis positions in Marmarica on a 100-kilometer front. With a decisive countermaneuver, the Italian Ariete division surrounded and destroyed part of the enemy units at the end of the first day, compelling the rest to fall back. The battle continued to rage as Italo-German motorized units passed to the counterattack, destroying numerous tanks and taking prisoners.

At the same time the Tobruk front flared up with the enemy again trying to break the siege. As the battle grew in violence in the Tobruk/Bir el Gobi/Sidi Omar/Sollum square, an enemy mechanized column was sighted in the far south of the desert and attacked by Italo-German air squadrons. On the Sollum front the Italian Savona division was heavily engaged and withstood all enemy attacks. The enemy losses were high, and the commander of the 4th Tank Brigade, General Sperling, was captured. In the meantime, the enemy mechanized units sighted a few days before in the far south reached Gialo Oasis, 200 kilometers south-southeast of Agedabia and captured it a few days later.

By the end of the month the Savona division on the Sollum front had broken up all attacks; the important position of Sidi Omar had been recaptured; Bardia was firmly in Axis hands, although attacked during the battle by enemy units; and the Tobruk garrison remained encircled. However, the Axis High Command was fighting under unfavorable conditions; the enemy had an enormous superiority in mechanized units; Tobruk was in the hands of the enemy; and the Axis supplies had to come from Benghazi and Tripoli, 300 and 1,500 kilometers away respectively. Moreover, the long sweep taken by the enemy in the southern desert through Gialo Oasis was a potential threat.

QUANTITY TELLS

Although the battle was still being fought at the beginning of December in the Sollum/Sidi Rezegh/Sidi Omar area, with success for the Italo-German forces (which captured General Reginald Miles), the enemy was also south of the Djebel. In spite of the heroic resistance put up by the Italo-German forces, the enemy gradually advanced westward. The British were incessantly supplied with new forces; the battle was one of materials and supply. The British had the superiority. In the second half of December all the Djebel with Derna and Benghazi, was evacuated, but Bardia and Sollum, although cut off from the main Axis force, stubbornly kept on repulsing all enemy attacks up to January 15, 1942.
The British had succeeded in removing the threat to Suez, but at what cost? The battle was won by sheer numbers. The Axis command’s transport difficulties and the American material thrown into the fray without regard to loss en route were the key to the British victory. The battle was won, not by any special strategy, but simply by the enormous reserves at the disposal of General Wavell. The exaggeration of the principle of “marching deep into the desert” represented by the sweep of the enemy column through Gialo Oasis did not carry much weight in the final outcome of the battle. As it had to cover about 500 kilometers through sheer desert, the column could not be powerful enough; and, arriving in a worn-out condition to the southwest of Agedabia, it was unable to prevent the orderly evacuation of the Barca peninsula by the Axis forces.

A MASTERPIECE OF STRATEGY

The Axis command was now faced by a tough problem. The enemy’s superiority in material and men was bound to remain if not increase in the future, while the Axis had the usual difficulties of transportation, the chronic ailment of all these African campaigns. How to beat the powerful foe under such conditions?

That is why the next offensive of General Rommel is the battle supreme of the entire African war, the masterpiece that opposed skill and strategy to steel and numbers and came out victorious. The new Axis offensive got under way on January 19, 1942, three weeks after the arrival of the enemy. This did not give much respite to the British troops that had covered 500 kilometers from Sidi Omar, fighting hard all the way.

The start of this third Axis offensive reveals another principle of the Axis command, namely, striking hard and unexpectedly, thus pushing the enemy off his balance in spite of his numerical superiority. The principle is as old as the world; the merit of the Axis command is that it has used it to perfection.

On the first day of the offensive the enemy was already pushed back east of Agedabia. Next Benghazi was reached and the drive carried on in heavy rains past Derna, as the war booty increased and the enemy accelerated the tempo of his retreat in order to break contact. Then, unexpectedly, the Axis was faced by a strong line of defense stretching from Ain el Gazala to Bir Hakeim. Great masses of Allied forces, ready for an offensive, were poised on this line, the most advanced of the British alignment.

The Allied forces were composed of the Eighth Army, headed by General A. L. Ritchie who, under General Auchinleck, commanded a large army with 2,000 tanks, and 2,000 planes. The Axis forces counted several big Italian units, among them the Ariete and Trieste divisions, and the German Africa Corps under General Erwin Rommel. The Commander in Chief of the Italian forces was General Ettore Bastico, the new Governor of Libya. The developments of the ensuing battle enable us to reconstruct the objectives of the Axis command. They were:

(1) To hold the British forces in Ain el Gazala and Acroma.
(2) To thrust at Tobruk, turning the entire defensive system from the south.
(3) To exploit the ensuing success.

The battlefield to be was the triangle Tobruk/Ain el Gazala/Bir Hakeim, a rocky plateau covered in part with shifting sand dunes and excellent for the defenders. After many weeks of careful preparation, the battle commenced on May 26 and, after four phases, ended on June 21.

THE TURNING OF A LINE

The preliminary phase was opened by Italian troops that hurled themselves against El Ualeb and forced a breach across the first defensive barrier. At the same time, concentrations of Italo-German armored units arrived in front of Bir Hakeim, while other units, turning from the south, encircled the system and then, pushed north towards Knightsbridge.

On June 11 the defenders of Bir Hakeim capitulated, and the second
phase of the battle commenced. With Bir Hakeim secured, the Axis troops to the north of this locality proceeded towards the coast behind El Gazala and eastward towards El Adem. The going was by no means easy, and a huge tank battle developed in the triangle Acroma/Knightsbridge/El Adem. General Ritchie, evidently thinking that the Axis troops were at the end of their tether, threw in his last reserves. But the engagement was concluded with a smashing victory for the Axis. Ain el Gazala was cut off and 6,000 prisoners captured. El Adem was overwhelmed, and the enemy fled toward Egypt.

The encirclement of Tobruk on June 18 started the third phase of the battle. Incessantly hammered from land and air, Tobruk fell in four days with the surrender of 6 British generals, 33,000 men, and piles of supplies, fuel, war material, etc. General Ritchie was abruptly dismissed. This time the British Navy, which had suffered heavy losses by Italian naval assault units in the harbor of Alexandria at the beginning of the year, did not make any attempt to relieve Tobruk.

The fourth phase was completed in two days with the occupation of Fort Capuzzo, Sollum, and Halfaya Pass. This time these strongholds were to be had for the asking. On and on went the Axis offensive, deeper and deeper into Egypt. Sidi Barrani and Marsa Matruh were passed, and El Alamein, 100 kilometers from Alexandria, was reached on July 1. Later it became known that the Axis had not intended to advance this far. But the unexpected booty, particularly in trucks and gasoline, was so great that the advance was carried much further than originally planned.

Great Britain seethed with indignation; the Government had to ask for a vote of confidence in the House of Commons. General Auchinleck was replaced by General Sir Harold R. L. Alexander; and Generals Bastico and Rommel were promoted to the rank of marshal. Deep in the desert, Giarabub Oasis, that had fallen to the enemy on February 18, 1941, after an epic defense of eighty days, was recaptured by Axis troops which proceeded east to Siwa Oasis.

Is it just a coincidence, or is there something more to it that the new Axis offensive corresponded chronologically to events of great importance in other war theaters? In East Asia, British and American troops, beaten by the Japanese, were asking for help; on the vast plains of the Don and Volga the Soviets were crumbling and asking for help; but all these cries for help were lost in London and Washington because the African war sector, after two years of war, was swallowing up the most imposing concentration of the combined British and American war effort. The magnetic needle of the war compass still pointed to the African sector, as the much-vaunted Allied strategy of “Europe First” had to be turned into an “Africa First.”

2,000 KILOMETERS

A glance at the map shows that, with Tobruk and Benghazi destroyed by the previous fighting, the nearest harbor for landing heavy material from Italy was Tripoli, 2,000 kilometers away. Although the Axis command had proved itself successful so far in its heretical attitude toward the old logistic dogmas concerning lines of communication, this figure was prohibitive for any command. Alexandria is a fortified city, and a real attack could not be improvised. There was need of material, ammunition, and men, of reorganizing the troops after so long an advance, and the old handicap of the Axis command, the problem of transportation, was ever present. Moreover, there were growing indications that an Allied attack on West Africa was imminent.

Thus in September the war settled down at El Alamein on a mere 50-kilometer front between the sea and the marshy depression of Qattara. The Allies continued to bring up all forces available, and the concentration of artillery and arms on the short front was terrific. The Axis command made its first bid in October, attacking in force and opening
a wide passage through the mine fields, penetrating for a depth of 10 kilometers into the enemy system, and then suddenly returning to its own positions.

General Sir Harold Alexander, the new Commander in Chief of the Allied forces in the Middle East, and General Bernard L. Montgomery, the commander of the Eighth Army, then in turn made their bid at the El Alamein front. Just as a man who, unable to move a weight too heavy for his strength, applies all his might at various points, so General Alexander repeatedly concentrated his attack and all his strength alternatively on the north and south of the 50-kilometer front. After a battle lasting one week, with a generosity of artillery shelling never experienced before, the Axis troops gave ground, taking up positions east of Marsa Matruh. Again the Axis command disregarded the old logistic dogmas by keeping deep into the desert instead of using the much more comfortable coastal road. In this way the British fleet had no chance to intervene.

PLANS ARE CHANGED

On November 8 the Anglo-Americans landed in Algeria, and whatever the plans of the Axis High Command in Libya may have been they had to be entirely modified. The German Africa Corps and the Italian troops started to execute a withdrawal as skillful and bold from the military point of view as the previous advance. General Montgomery had little merit in forcing the retreat although he jumped to the pursuit hoping that the chance would finally arrive of destroying an enemy who, apparently beaten, came back each time stronger than ever.

The objectives of the two sides were now of the simplest. For the Axis they were: to retire through Libya to Tunisia, there to join the small forces brought there by air, to save men and material as much as possible, and to destroy what was left behind. For the British: to frustrate the Axis plan and destroy the enemy forces. The maneuver of falling back from El Alamein to the Tunisian frontier will go down in military history as one of the most perfect of its kind.

For about three months the powerful enemy armored forces again and again tried unsuccessfully to encircle the right wing of the Axis forces, sustaining heavy losses in the course of this. Moreover, the Axis rearguard stopped its withdrawal time and again to hit back at the enemy.

At the beginning of December the two opposing forces were once again—for the third time in this war—facing each other in the El Agheila/Marsa/Brega region. Land fighting was confined to minor actions, while the Axis aviation wrought havoc on the congested supply line of the Eighth Army.

The British press was demanding a twin offensive against the African Axis forces, from the east and from the west. But things were not going very well for the Allies in Tunisia; and in the east, General Montgomery, cautious before, was now overcautious in the ill-famed El Agheila region. The compromise between the British High Command and the English press was to order a "Free French" column, composed of mechanized units and a camel corps under the command of General Leclerc, to march north from Lake Chad. The "Free French" were probably very surprised at being asked to attack something that was not French.

On January 18, General Montgomery reported to Cairo that the vanguard of the French column had contacted the left wing of the British Eighth Army. The Axis troops continued their systematic withdrawal. Tripoli was evacuated on January 22; and at the beginning of February the fighting moved to the Tunisian-Libyan frontier, as the main Axis forces took up positions at the Mareth line, which they consolidated.

TURNING BACK TO NOVEMBER 1942

At this point we must return once more to the days early in November 1942. At that time General Alexander was piling up material for his offensive against Rommel. When news from La Linea announced two huge convoys, strongly protected, to be sailing east,
it was generally assumed that they were bound for Egypt. The French possessions in North Africa were basking quietly in the winter sun, outwardly obedient to the Vichy Government. Thus, when the two apparently Egypt-bound convoys started landing operations on the Algerian coast, it came as a surprise to the world.

A few hours after the Allied naval units put into the port of Algiers, Italian torpedo planes were already on their return trip, having bagged at least one cruiser. The Axis reaction grew stronger every hour, while the enemy retaliated on the Italian bases of Sicily, Sardinia, and southern Italy. An aerial-naval battle of the first magnitude developed all along the North African coast, even inside the breakwaters of the Algerian harbors, where submarines penetrated. Axis planes of every description hammered shipping, port installations, and airfields. In their coup de main the Allies were using their best ships—large-sized liners—and the toll of tons sent to the bottom increased rapidly. Every convoy was spotted, and every convoy was attacked. 827 Italian planes and an unknown number of German aircraft took part in the struggle.

NO WALKOVER

The enemy was shaken in his dream of an easy success when on November 15 he learned that the first Axis contingent of 238 men had been landed in Tunisia by planes. The first handful was rapidly increased by new sea- and airborne troops, which on landing did not lose any time in rushing at the enemy marching toward Tunis and Bizerta and snatching away before the very eyes of the foe the focal points of the Tunisian theater of operations. The first reports from this new battle front were most confusing. The easternmost point of the Allied landing seemed to be Bougie, 150 kilometers east of Algiers. From there the enemy was reported to be marching east in three main columns: one in the north not far from the coast, the central column following the railway Pont du Fahs/Tunis, and the third further south.

One week after the landing, the Axis command announced that Bizerta was in Axis hands; in London, Ivan Maisky, the Soviet Ambassador, declared that the North African landing could not be considered the second front it was claimed to be; and the Allied command estimated the Axis troops ferried across the Sicily channel at 14,000 men.

TUNISIAN MUDDLE

On November 24, General Anderson, commanding the British First Army, announced the beginning of a great battle for Tunis and Bizerta. But the great battle turned into a muddle on the second
day and paled out on the third. The Allied command postponed its attack and waited for reinforcements. The first real battle for Tunis and Bizerta started on December 3, when a British infantry and tank division, reinforced by an American motorized division, renewed the bid for Tunis along the Tebourba road. The Italo-German forces stopped the tank spearhead; their aviation blasted the road clean of enemy tanks as the land forces passed to the counterattack, occupying Tebourba, pushing further west and folding up the remnants of the three divisions on the lower spurs of the Atlas Mountains. The enemy also dropped a contingent of 600 paratroopers between Tunis and Bizerta, but the Italians captured 29 officers and 210 men and annihilated the rest. The Anglo-American indignation over the failure mounted, not so much in London—where they were accustomed to bad news—as in America, where the press stressed the need of a twin offensive. Christmas Day found the Americans in the hills north of Medjez el Bab, busy hurling counterattacks against the advancing Axis troops in a futile endeavor to stop them.

In the south, "Free French" troops recently detached to reinforce the battered Americans were hurled back from Pont du Fahs, while still further south the American troops were dislodged from Kairouan and pushed west up the lower hills of the Atlas range. The year closed with the British War Office admitting that the daring coup of the British First Army on Tunis and Bizerta had failed by a hair's breadth. Acting swiftly, the Axis had succeeded in three things: first in creating a bridgehead around Tunis; secondly in maintaining a corridor toward Libya; and thirdly, toward the end of January, in establishing contact between Marshal Rommel's army and the troops of Colonel General Jürgen von Arnim in Tunisia.

The beginning of 1943 found the Allied command in North Africa asking for more men, more weapons, and more planes, which had all to be transported in badly needed ships.

SUCCESSFUL DELAYING ACTIONS

The arrival of Marshal Rommel's troops in the Tunisian theater of operations compelled the Allies to revise their battle formation. The American Fifth Army now had to assume a new direction of movement, shifting the bulk of its forces toward the southeast in the direction of the Gulf of Gabes. The American Fifth Army was to advance from central Tunisia to the coast of the Gulf of Gabes and in this way to cut through the junction of Marshal Rommel with Colonel General von Arnim. The chief characteristic of the new Allied command, headed by General Dwight Eisenhower, was a justified caution in the face of a resolute enemy.

Once more the Axis interfered with Allied plans, when a sudden, vigorous Italo-German offensive in February led to the occupation of Gafsa, Sbeitla, Kasserine, and Feriana, with the Axis troops reaching the western extremity of Shott el Jerid. All the passes heading from the Atlas Mountains to the plains of central Tunisia were now occupied. Once again the key to the Axis success was quick decision and rapidity in striking. The American Fifth Army retired behind the Tunisian-Algerian border. Many prisoners and huge booty had fallen into the hands of the Axis, and the frustration of General Eisenhower's plan to establish contact between the Fifth and Eighth Armies was extremely important from a strategic point of view.

March began quietly. On March 11, Marshal Rommel was recalled by the Führer. The Americans were putting out feelers toward the regions occupied by the Axis, and in the south and north the First and Eighth Armies were preparing for a co-ordinated offensive. But General von Arnim was first. He attached the First Army and occupied Cape Serrat and Sedjenane, inflicting heavy losses in men and material on the enemy and relieving the pressure on Bizerta. In the south, the Italo-German forces upset the plans of the Eighth Army by striking hard at it before it in turn was ready. But in the central
sector the Americans had meanwhile received strong reinforcements. They returned to the attack with a big tank force. In order to avoid encirclement, the Africa Corps retired to the isthmus between Gabes and Shott el Jerid.

Masses replace strategy

Ever since the junction of the Africa Corps with the Axis armies in Tunisia toward the end of January, and particularly since the Axis victories in February, the Allied High Command had realized that it had a big fight on its hands with an enemy who used his small forces with admirable skill and to the utmost advantage. It was decided in future to avoid battles on an equal footing and instead to choke the Axis forces by pressing them with such overwhelming masses of troops and steel that all the skill of their commanders, all the courage and experience of their veteran soldiers, would be of no avail to them. Thus all through February and March large armies and armaments were amassed. Not only all of the British war effort was now concentrated in Tunisia, but that of the Americans as well.

At the end of March the Allies were ready. A gigantic struggle began to rage along the entire Tunisian front. Under the impact of terrific Allied artillery bombardments, and in order to forestall the threat of being cut off by the reorganized and reinforced American Fifth Army, the Axis forces withdrew to the north. The enemy advance was kept at a slow pace by brilliant counterattacks and defensive action on the part of the rearguards. On April 1 the Gabes isthmus was evacuated for new positions further north; Sfax was abandoned on April 11, and Sousse four days later. The enemy had by now accumulated an enormous superiority in men and material. The pressure exerted all along the front line was continuous, and fighting went on without respite.

The front was now reduced to a line running from Cape Serrat in the north through Bou Arada to the coast north of Sousse. During the third week of April, the left wing of the Axis was the chief target of attack. But the Italian divisions Pistoia, Folgore, and Trieste put up such a resistance that in the end the enemy had to desist from further attacks. The Allies gradually moved their center of gravity westward and then on to the northern sector.

At the end of April the entire front was aflame, with the Allies using fresh, strong tank and infantry forces, always trying to effect a break-through. But not until the enemy reached a superiority of seven to one in armored cars and three to one in artillery, without counting the superiority in planes, did he succeed in achieving the first break-through. On May 6 a strong enemy attack by massed infantry and tanks pierced the Axis lines on the road to Mateur and occupied the town. Tunis and Bizerta had to be evacuated on May 7. While the southern front still proved impassable to all enemy attacks, the Italo-German troops in the north fell back to an improvised line reaching from the Bay of Tunis to a point 25 kilometers east of Pont du Fahs. Two days later the enemy was able to break through this line and reach the coast southwest of Nabeul.

The Italian First Army, encircled east of Pont du Fahs, continued to fight tenaciously, counterattacking with indomitable courage. But in the other parts of the Tunisian front the Axis troops were compelled to cease fighting when their ammunition was exhausted. On May 11, General Messe, the commander of the Italian First Army, rejected a proposal to capitulate. But on the following day the situation became hopeless. Although the positions of the Italian army were still intact, its artillery fire slackened and then ceased for want of ammunition. All its material was destroyed. Any further sacrifice would have seemed useless, and the Duce ordered the Italian First Army, which had the honor of putting up the last resistance on African soil, to cease fighting.
To evaluate the significance of the three years of African war, we must consider them in the light of the strategic situation of the rest of the world. If the Allies want to win the war, they must fight decisive battles on the European Continent and in East Asia. In order to make Europe and East Asia impregnable to invasion, the Axis needed time, time to consolidate its great victories between September 1939 and June 1942. The task of gaining this time was entrusted to the Italian and German forces in North Africa. It was fulfilled by them against huge odds in an exemplary fashion.

THE SOUTHERN FLANK

The occupation of Tunisia by Allied forces has simplified the picture of the military situation in Europe. Just as there are no Allied troops on the European Continent (except at Gibraltar), so there are no longer any German or Italian armies beyond the borders of the Continent. The preliminaries are over, and the real battle can begin. The Allies no longer have any excuse for not attempting the establishment of a second front. They have 60,000 kilometers of Axis-controlled European coast line to choose from. This equals three times the length of the entire coast of Africa. The landing itself, of course, will be the least part of the enterprise. The Allies found this out at Dieppe. The real problem begins after a landing has been effected.

Whether, when, where, and how the Allies will try an invasion, we do not know. One possibility, however, is an attack from the south. The southern shore of Europe has so far been accorded little attention as, prior to the fall of Tunisia, an attack against it was most unlikely. The following article discusses not the problem of a second front in general but only this southern flank and the possibilities it offers for attack and defense.—K.M.

It has happened but rarely that Europe has been invaded from the south across the wide moat of the Mediterranean, which separates southern Europe from Africa and the Near East. In historic times such invasions took place almost exclusively across the two narrowest portions of the moat—the Strait of Gibraltar (16 kilometers wide) and the Straits linking the Mediterranean with the Black Sea (the Dardanelles, 1.3 kilometers, and the Bosporus, 0.66 kilometers wide at their narrowest points). One exception, the Persian landing at Marathon in 490 B.C., which was made from Asia Minor across the Aegean Sea, was a disastrous large-scale “Dieppe.” But most invasions of Europe across the narrows—by the Persians across the Dardanelles in 480 and 479 B.C., and by the Carthaginians via Spain in the third century B.C.—also ended in disaster. Only two invasions of Europe from the south led to important successes, and both were the result of dissension and treason on the European side.

INVASION AND TREASON

Roderick, the last king of pre-Moorish Spain, had ascended the throne in a struggle with his predecessor King Witiza. In 711, the friends of Witiza called upon Tariq, a Moorish general in North Africa, to aid them against Roderick. They provided him with ships with which he was to cross the Strait of Gibraltar, and thought that he would go home once he had done his duty. Tariq came. Roderick was overwhelmed by the combined forces of the Moors and the Spanish followers of Witiza but, instead of returning to Africa, the Moors remained on European soil—eventually occupying the entire Iberian peninsula—for almost eight centuries, down to their final expulsion in 1492. The name of Tariq still lives to this day in the name of Gibraltar (Gebel al-Tariq = Rock of Tariq).

At the eastern end of Europe’s southern flank, at a time when the Moorish control over Spain was on the wane, a child, John the Fifth Palaeologus, ascended the
thrones of the Byzantine emperors upon his father's death. His late father's friend was his unwilling and disloyal guardian and usurped the power. In the civil war which ensued, the usurper called the Turks from Asia Minor across the Straits to aid him in his war, also with the intention of sending them back after they had done their duty. But again things turned out quite differently. The Turks, once they had stepped on the soil of Europe, remained. Their power gradually grew until it included the entire Balkan peninsula and, at its climax, menaced the gates of Vienna. Even today, 600 years later, although expelled from most of the peninsula, they still hold Istanbul and a strip of land on the European side of the Straits.

PLANNING THE ATTACK

Although southern invasions of Europe have only succeeded across the straits at its eastern and western end, a study of the southern flank today must include the entire southern part of the Continent. The technical development of warfare has reduced the importance of distance. Furthermore, both Spain and Turkey, the guardians of the straits, have so far succeeded in maintaining their neutrality.

Perhaps it is necessary first to clarify a few much used terms in order to avoid misunderstanding. A "raid" is a landing effected with the intention not of staying but of withdrawing after having carried out certain limited tasks (e.g., reconnaissance or destruction). By "landing" we mean the mere setting foot of a group of soldiers on a hostile shore with the intention of staying. The accomplishment of a landing means very little, as was convincingly shown by the landings at Marathon, Gallipoli, and Dieppe. The word "invasion" should be used only in cases where a landing has been effected with at least several fully equipped divisions and where the landing force has succeeded in moving some distance into the interior of the enemy's territory. An example of a successful invasion is the German campaign in Norway in 1940. Finally, a "second front" is an invasion carried out by at least several armies able to establish a new front which would keep several enemy armies busy, as was the case in Salonika in 1918.

Let us try to put ourselves in the position of the Allied generals who are occupied with drawing up plans for an invasion of Europe from the south. They have tried to postpone as long as possible the evil day of invading Europe with all the terrible losses it will mean to them, and have let the USSR do practically all the fighting. In 1942 they managed to avoid any large-scale attempts at establishing a second front. But it is hard to see how they can afford to do the same in 1943.

After Norway, Dunkirk, Greece, and Dieppe, they know that in the invasion of a continent the advantages are with the defender and that the only factor in their own favor is that, as the attackers, they have the choice of the place of attack. Thus it is of extreme importance for them to find the right place.

Their problem is, to establish one or more bridgeheads on the European Continent which are strong enough not to be turned into a second Dieppe and whose supply with all the material needed for large-scale actions would have to be ensured. For months these officers have been sitting over maps of the Mediterranean and considering the pros and cons of attacks on the southern coast of Europe.

What has the study of their maps revealed to them?

SPAIN

The Iberian Peninsula occupies a special position in the considerations of the Allies in that here they already possess a bridgehead—their only one—on European soil: Gibraltar. In the months following Dunkirk it would have been an easy matter for Germany to make use of France's collapse and England's impotence to occupy Gibraltar by crossing Spain. Germany made no such attempt out of respect for the neutrality of friendly Spain and in the conviction that the
Spaniards themselves would not permit the use of Gibraltar as a jumping-off place for an invasion of Europe via Spain.

But will the Allies show the same respect for Spain's neutrality? Many indications make this appear extremely doubtful. In a lengthy article devoted to Spain appearing on May 30 in a Shanghai Soviet newspaper, the military expert of this paper threatened Spain with a renewed outbreak of her revolution: "Under the cover of outward calm, the fire of revolution is still smoldering in Spain. Money and arms could be the new spark for a new conflagration."
The author indicated that Spain can, in the easiest possible way, avoid this danger. She need only grant free passage to the Allies! In return for this she would even receive a nice reward: "The amount of half a billion dollars is spoken of, which, it is said, the Morgan group has offered Spain in the form of a loan and the supply of important goods for the Government."

The officers of the Anglo-American staff in North Africa are not likely to consider the question, whether an attempt at marching through Spain should be made, from a moral point of view but solely from a military one. Let us follow them in their thoughts.
Gibraltar is already overflowing with troops and arms. It would be a simple matter to transport the British First and Eighth Armies and the American Fifth Army—which have become available since the fall of Tunisia—to Gibraltar, either across the Strait of Gibraltar by infringing upon the neutrality of Spanish Morocco, or directly from Rabat or Oran. The effectiveness of a thrust into Spain from Gibraltar could be increased by simultaneously landing invasion troops at other points on the Spanish coast and perhaps also in Portugal. For such landings, the following ports with railway connections to the interior would fall under consideration: Bilbao, Santander, Gijon, La Coruña, Vigo, Porto, Lisbon, Cádiz, Alicante, Valencia, and Barcelona. Of these, the first three are dangerously close to the German submarine and airplane bases in southwestern France.

So far so good. On paper it seems an easy matter to land a million Anglo-American troops on the Iberian Peninsula. However, there are also other arguments which must be included in these considerations. In view of the small number of Portuguese troops, the resistance that might be offered by this country could probably be broken within a short time. But Spain has at her disposal a large army (according to figures based on
November 1, 1940, and appearing in the American World Almanac, 620,000 men) which, in the Spanish Civil War—a sort of dress rehearsal for the present world war—has acquired great fighting experience; not to mention the fact that German formations coming from southern France might possibly also take part in the battle. Furthermore, the bad impression has to be considered which an invasion of the Iberian Peninsula would create in wide circles of Latin America and the Catholic world.

Let us assume the most favorable situation for the Allies: the landings take place without a hitch, the Portuguese and Spanish resistance is overcome, and the Anglo-American armies advance toward the French border. It is here that they are faced by the greatest obstacle.

At this point Europe possesses a wall beside which the Maginot Line looks like a molehill: the mighty mountain wall of the Pyrenees which extends across a length of 435 kilometers and a width of 60 to 130 kilometers from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean. The central part of the Pyrenees, with its peaks reaching up to 3,404 meters, has an Alpine character. A few mule tracks lead through it, and these are only passable in midsummer, as deep snow covers the passes from September to June. Two railroads, Pau/Saragossa and Toulouse/Barcelona, have recently been built across this part of the mountains. Long tunnels had to be constructed at great altitudes for both these railways, tunnels that in war time could easily be destroyed. Only at the eastern and western ends of the range are there all-year roads. Here also are the main railroads—one running along the Atlantic coast and the other along the Mediterranean.

In the case of a battle in the Pyrenees, every advantage is on the side of the Axis. It possesses to the north of the mountains an excellent railway network based on the two trunk lines of Bordeaux/Narbonne and Bayonne/Perpignan. A glance at the map shows that the network of communications on the Spanish side is not so well developed. Spain has only 3.1 kilometers of railway per 100 square kilometers, to France's 11.3 kilometers. Incidentally, the railways of the Iberian Peninsula have a wider gauge (1,674 millimeters) than those of France and the rest of Europe (1,440 millimeters). This is another advantage for the European armies; the war in the USSR has shown that it is much easier to change a wide gauge to a narrower one than the other way round.

An Allied attack would probably follow the coast, and how greatly the defender has the advantage when fighting on a narrow coastal strip was shown by the battles on the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus. (There are many similarities between the Pyrenees and the Caucasus. Both extend from one sea to another; both are situated approximately on latitude 43°. The Caucasus, however, is even more formidable than the Pyrenees and about twice as long.)

Thus the Allied staff officers will have arrived more or less at the following conclusions.

The advantages of an invasion of Europe by way of the Iberian Peninsula are to be found (1) in the existence of the bridgehead of Gibraltar; (2) in the fact that the resistance there would probably be slighter than at the coasts occupied by Axis troops; and (3) in the fact that the occupation of the Iberian Peninsula and its long coast lines would facilitate the future battle against the U-boats.

Its disadvantages, however, are as follows: (1) the Allies would be faced by one or two new opponents who had hitherto been neutral; (2) they would still further damage their moral prestige by an attack on neutral states and would create a bad impression in Latin America and the Catholic world, especially in the Vatican; and (3), even if everything else went smoothly, they would only end by coming up against the wall of the Pyrenees.

SOUTHERN FRANCE

So the English and American officers turn to the ordnance maps of the south
of France. A landing here would mean outflanking the Pyrenees. The Mediterranean coast of France is connected with the rest of France by two wide gateways: the mighty valley of the Rhône and Saône between the Alps and the Cévennes leading to central France and linked by canals with the Rhine, and the valley of the Canal du Midi and the Garonne between the Cévennes and the Pyrenees leading to southwestern France.

The French Mediterranean coast is 618 kilometers long. France’s dense railway network, which permits troops to be moved quickly to wherever they are most needed, as well as her excellent road system, which includes many of the finest roads in Europe, offer the defender important advantages. From a strategic point of view, this coast can be divided into three sectors.

The first of these runs from the Spanish frontier to the mouth of the Rhône. This part of the coast is low and unbroken and consists largely of wide lagoons cut off from the sea by sand dunes. The only port in this sector is Sète, situated between a lagoon and the sea and forming the terminus of the Canal du Midi, which connects the Mediterranean with Bordeaux and the Atlantic via Toulon and the Garonne, leading through a famous and beautiful wine district.

The second sector runs from the mouth of the Rhône to the Gulf of St. Tropez. It is rocky, steep, and divided by a number of jutting capes into various good harbors and roadsteads, among which the main port of France, Marseilles, as well as Toulon, and the roadsteads of Hyères and St. Tropez, are especially suited for the berthing of large fleets. This strategically most important coastal stretch has without doubt been the one to be most heavily fortified during the months which have passed since the German entry into southern France on November 11, 1942, following the Anglo-American invasion of North Africa. Toulon, the main naval base of France, is situated in a sheltered bay and has always possessed powerful fortifications against attack both from the sea and the land.

The third sector of the French Mediterranean coast running to the Italian border is the French Riviera. That which has made the Riviera the most famous health resort of Europe renders it very unsuitable for an invasion: the great wall of the Maritime Alps, which rises up sheer from the coast without leaving any room for a coastal plain, makes it difficult for cold air from the north to invade the Riviera and for the enemies of Europe to invade the Continent from the south, and leaves no room for the formation of bridgeheads of any size.

These observations must force upon the Allied strategists the conclusion that, although a successful landing on the southern coast of France could offer their armies a chance to penetrate into France and thus into the heart of Europe through the two gateways on both sides of the Cévennes, the landing itself would entail exceptionally high military risks because of the shortness of the coastal strip which would be available for landings.

ITALY

When looking at the map of the Italian “boot,” the men who are considering its invasion will at first take only that part of the coast into consideration which reaches from the French border to the “heel” of the “boot.” This coast line can be divided into four sectors.

(1) Regarding the Italian Riviera, which extends as far as the plain at the mouth of the Arno, more or less the same can be said as about the French Riviera. Here, too, it would be a matter of landing on a coast without a coastal plain, with steeply rising mountains reaching right down to the sea. Of all possible landing places in the western Mediterranean, the Italian Riviera is the most remote from Allied bases, and the Allies would probably contemplate a landing here only in the assumption that they had already occupied Corsica and Sardinia. However, an accomplished
landing on the Italian Riviera would offer greater possibilities than one on the French Riviera. The Ligurian Alps and the Ligurian Apennines form a narrower mountain wall than the Maritime Alps, and immediately behind them there extends the plain of the Po, the industrial and agricultural heart of Italy. (From the coast of the Italian Riviera to the plains of the Po valley it is only 35 to 45 kilometers as the crow flies.) There are four railways connecting the coastal railway of the Riviera with the Po valley across the Ligurian mountains. Only the westernmost pass, on the line Ventimiglia/Turin, is more than 1,500 meters above sea level; the three others are all only between 450 and 600 meters high.

In the fighting during an attempt at landing, every advantage would be on the side of the defenders: they would hold a steep, strongly fortified coast against an enemy coming from the sea. They possess numerous airfields close by in the Po valley, where there are also large repair works, while the attacker would, in the most favorable circumstances, have his planes in Corsica—assuming that he had already captured this island—so that his planes would have to cover at least three to five times the distance to the battlefield as would have to be covered by the planes of the Axis. Finally, the Axis would have the support of Spezia, one of Italy’s principal naval bases.

(2) The Allied general staff has probably studied the sector between the mouth of the Arno and Naples with more interest. Although here, too, the mountains come close to the sea in many places, they are interspersed with three long, flat stretches of coast.

The plain of the Arno might tempt the invader with the advantage that it contains one of Italy’s important industrial areas (Leghorn, Pisa, Florence) and that an advance along the upper Arno would cut off all railways running from northern to southern Italy, with the sole exception of the railway running along the Adriatic coast. Furthermore, the distance from the valley of the Arno to the Po valley is only some 50 kilometers, and the Po valley must always be the chief goal of any invasion of Italy.

The long plain extending along the Mediterranean coast about 80 kilometers both north and south of the mouth of the Tiber is called the Maremma. A landing on the Maremma would place the invaders in the immediate vicinity of Rome but would not lead them to any important industrial area and would increase the distance to the Po valley to more than 250 kilometers.

A landing in the plain of Naples would have even fewer advantages. In it there is still less industry, the distance to the Po is increased to 350 kilometers, and the naval base of Gaeta is dangerously near.

(3) The sector reaching from Capri to the plain of Taranto would probably only receive passing attention on the part of the Allied officers. With the exception of a small plain in the triangle southeast of Salerno, the coast here consists of sheer mountain walls falling into the sea. This would render a landing very much more difficult. Besides, Calabria has little economic or strategic value, as the route from here to the Po would lead many hundreds of kilometers through rough mountains over poor roads and countless bridges. The only advantages of a landing in Calabria would be on the one hand that Sicily could thereby be cut off and on the other the possibility of getting to Apulia, the “heel” of the Italian “boot,” and thus to the Adriatic coast. However, if the goal should be Apulia, the Allied staff officers would be more likely to consider the question of a landing in Apulia itself rather than in Calabria.

(4) Apart from the Po region, Apulia is the only large plain on the Italian peninsula. It reaches along the Adriatic from the “spur” to the “heel” and is one of Italy’s most important industrial areas. A foothold in Apulia might attract the Allies because of the possibilities it offers for an attack on the great Italian naval base of Taranto from the land side, for
NATURAL BARRIERS IN SOUTHERN EUROPE

The wall of the Pyrenees: Pie du Midi

Along the Italian Riviera

Southern Italy: the town of Amalfi
ALONG THE COAST OF THE BALKANS

The Greek island of Lefkas in the Aegean

Sparta, with the Taygetos range in the background

Looking across the Bosphorus toward Istanbul
which they might believe Taranto, like most naval bases, to be insufficiently prepared.

But Apulia is further removed from the Allied bases than other coastal areas which might be considered from the point of view of landing. Even from Malta the distance is 550 kilometers, and Malta itself must be supplied over hundreds of kilometers of sea. From Africa (e.g., Benghazi or Tripoli) it is more than 800 kilometers to Apulia, and from Tobruk as much as 1,000 kilometers. Thus the Allied planes which must protect a landing would have such long distances to cover that light, fast machines could not participate unless they came from aircraft carriers. The airfields of the Axis, however, are right on the spot, while the warships from Taranto would also constitute a considerable danger to the landing forces.

THE ADRIATIC

It is hardly conceivable that the Allied staff officers would consult the map of the Adriatic Sea and its coasts very seriously. It is true that within the territory of what was formerly Yugoslavia there are still bands fighting against the Axis, while the Allies could not count on the support of actively fighting units anywhere else. But this advantage is very questionable in view of the small number of these guerrillas and the fact that they have been forced back into pathless mountains away from the coast.

In every respect, an attempt at landing on the Adriatic coast would offer only disadvantages. The Adriatic can almost be called an inland sea, something like the Black Sea, and it is entirely under Italian control. The entrance, the Strait of Otranto, between the “heel” of Italy and the western bulge of Albania, is only 70 kilometers wide and, of course, heavily mined.

Thus we can count on the maps of the Adriatic being returned to their shelves after a brief consideration and that instead the ordnance maps of Greece will be spread out on the table.

GREECE

The feelings with which the Allied officers, especially the Englishmen among them, contemplate the maps of Greece will hardly be very agreeable ones. For they will be involuntarily reminded of the ignoble events which took place here in April 1941, when, after London’s intrigues had succeeded in setting the Balkans on fire, British troops were swept out of Greece within a few weeks. At that time the British, as the “friends” of Greece, had no difficulty whatever in landing, as the German troops were then hundreds of kilometers away. Today the situation is quite different. There are German and Italian troops and airfields all over Greece; and, in the countless bays of her rugged coast, U-boats, mine layers, and speedboats are lying in wait for prey. But, above all, the island of Crete, which shuts off the Aegean Sea from the Mediterranean like a great bolt, is in German hands. And the Allies must be aware that the Axis has not allowed the two years during which it has now occupied Greece and Crete to pass idly, and that it has done everything to render a landing as difficult as possible.

Even so, there is not a coast in Europe on which a landing could not be carried out provided the invader is ready to pay the price. The trick is not in landing but in holding the point of landing and carrying out important operations from it. What would the advantages for the Allies be of a landing in Greece? Apart from northern Norway, no coast in Europe is further removed from the centers of Axis power. Greece, as well as her northern neighbors Albania and Macedonia, is among the least opened up parts of Europe. There is only one railway and hardly any good roads leading out of Greece to the rest of Europe. And the Peloponnesos has, since the construction of a canal through the five-kilometer-wide Isthmus of Corinth, become an island.

If there should happen to be, among the British officers studying plans for an invasion of Europe from the south, one who was in Salonika during the Great
War, he will probably support an invasion of Greece just as little as his colleague who became acquainted with Greece in April 1941. No doubt the Allied expeditionary force in Salonika played a certain role toward the close of the Great War. But there was no military problem in landing at Salonika, as the Greek Government had given the Allies secret permission to do so. Moreover, the troops which were at first employed in this landing did not have far to travel, since they had been withdrawn from the fiasco of Gallipoli, caused by Churchill’s demand for an invasion of Turkey at that point. In addition to this, the Allies controlled the whole of the Aegean Sea, as the Turkish fleet was in the Black Sea.

In spite of all these advantages in comparison to the present situation, the expeditionary force, which finally swelled to half a million men, remained idle in Salonika from October 1915 to the autumn of 1918, after an attempt to march up the Vardar valley into Macedonia had been warded off without much difficulty by the Bulgarians. For almost three years, the German joke that Salonika was Germany’s largest concentration camp of Allied armies, was justified, and not until the final phase of the Great War did these forces have an opportunity to take part in the fighting.

Today all the conditions for a repetition of the Salonika situation are lacking. In order to get there by land, the Axis resistance in Greece would have to be overcome; and the sea route to Salonika is dominated by the two chains of bases which the Axis possesses in the southern part of the Aegean. One chain extends from the Peloponnesos via the islands of Kythera, Antikythera, Crete, Scarpanto, to Rhodes (between the links of this chain there is never more than a maximum of 50 kilometers of open sea). Behind this first chain there is a second, even closer one, which runs from Attica via the Cyclades to the Italian Dodecanese. The countless islands of the Aegean Sea are, so to speak, so many unsinkable airplane carriers; and the transport of troops and arms through the Aegean would appear to be one of the most difficult problems, if not an insoluble one.

TURKEY

Apart from Spain, Turkey is the only neutral country on the Mediterranean, and hardly anyone would doubt that she ardently desires to maintain this neutrality. There has been scarcely a speech by responsible Turkish statesmen made during the last few years which did not emphasize this desire for neutrality.

It is not hard to understand this if we place ourselves in Turkey’s position. What could induce the Turks to support the struggle of the Allies against the Axis? There can be no doubt that Churchill did not fail to make attractive promises during his visit to Adana on January 31, 1943. But are these promises likely to make much of an impression on the Turks? The Turks remember all too vividly the promises made by London in a similar situation during the Great War to their Arabian fellow believers with regard to Palestine, and what the fate of these promises was. But even if the Turks should be inclined to take the British promises seriously, what would any acquirement of territory, which the Allies could offer them as a reward for their assistance, mean against the fact that a defeat of the Axis would entail the victory of Bolshevism over Europe? The Turks have proved during the last few decades that they are political realists. They know that, in the case of a collapse of the Axis, England and America would not be able to prevent the Bolshevization of Europe. They have seen the best proof of this in the handling of the Polish question by London and Washington during the last few months. Once the Bolsheviks have reached the Balkans, the Turks would be at their mercy; and the Anglo-Americans could no more save the Turks from the loss of the Dardanelles and the Bolshevization of their country than they are now able to help their Polish allies.

So it is certainly not in the interest of the Turks to be involved in a war against
the Axis on the side of the Allies. But here again, as in the case of Spain, we must reckon with the possibility that the Allies will not bother to consider Turkish interests.

On April 25 a Russian-language Soviet newspaper in Shanghai published a lengthy article illustrated with maps and entitled "The Second Front Will Be In The Balkans." In it, and more frankly than ever before, the passage of Allied troops through Turkey was not only demanded but regarded almost as a matter of course. "General Eisenhower should direct an offensive against the Balkans through Turkey," the author writes, and advises the Turks that "the very best thing for Turkey to do is to let General Eisenhower's army pass through Turkish territory." The author has even worked out how this passage is to take place. He suggests first transporting the British Tenth Army, which is in the Near East, through Anatolia to the Bosporus by means of the Turkish railways. This army is then, after having crossed the Straits, to occupy the Tchataldja positions (some 30 kilometers west of Istanbul). Simultaneously, the Allied armies in Tunisia should also be transported to European Turkey, either by land via Egypt and Syria, or by sea.

Again, as in the case of Spain, let us assume the most favorable situation for the Allies, namely, a rapid overcoming of Turkish resistance to invasion. Let us imagine that the Allied divisions are faced by nothing more than the geographical obstacles in their passage through Anatolia. The Allied forces nearest to the Straits are now in Syria. From Alexandretta to Haidar Pasha, the terminus of the Bagdad railway on the Asiatic side opposite Istanbul, is about 1,200 kilometers of railway, which is by no means equipped for heavy traffic.

While the Allied troops were thus being moved up, what would be happening on the European side of the Bosporus? Bulgaria considers herself at war with Great Britain and the United States (but not with the Soviet Union) since December 12, 1941. Before the outbreak of the European war, Bulgaria had a population of 6½ millions, which has meanwhile been increased to over nine millions through the regaining of southern Dobruja and parts of Macedonia and Thrace. According to the World Almanac of 1941, Bulgaria had on November 1, 1940, an army of 670,000 men. If this figure was correct at that time, it is sure to have been increased since then. And Bulgaria's peasant sons have proved themselves to be excellent soldiers in the various wars they have had to fight in the last sixty-five years. The above-mentioned article of April 25 in the Shanghai Soviet paper also counts on some 12 to 16 German divisions being thrown into the battle. This would mean that, without weakening other European fronts, and even after deducting part of the Bulgarian Army for purposes of occupation in the areas of Greece and what was formerly Yugoslavia, approximately 50 divisions would immediately oppose an Allied attack through Turkey.

Would these 50 divisions obligingly wait till the Allies were on European soil and had advanced to Adrianople and the Bulgarian-Turkish frontier? We do not know. But it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that they would reply to an invasion of Turkish territory by Allied troops with the occupation of European Turkey. The triangle formed by European Turkey between the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmora is about half as big as Denmark which, in 1940, was occupied within a few hours by a few German divisions. From the Bulgarian border it is only 125 kilometers as the crow flies to the Bosporus and not more than 60 kilometers to the Dardanelles.

Even if the Allies should actually reach the Tchataldja positions, there is, not far north of the Bulgarian-Turkish frontier, the range of the Balkan Mountains, which is crossed by a railway in one place only.

One advantage which a successful march into Turkey would give to the Allies is the short distance which their
bombers would have to cover to get to the Rumanian oil fields. Yet the distance from the Bosporus to Ploesti, the Rumanian oil center, is only 400 kilometers less than the distance that Soviet bombers now have to cover to Ploesti. This saving would hardly justify the breaking of Turkish neutrality, particularly as the war has demonstrated the difficulty of destroying oil fields from the air. Above all, the attempt to attack Europe from Turkey would require vast supply lines for the Allied forces, which would lead around Africa or through the still dangerous Mediterranean to the Near East and through Anatolia, while the European defenders are already on the spot and have their supply centers near at hand.

THE ISLANDS

The past course of the war allows one to conclude that the prime condition for a successful landing on a defended coast is the gaining of air supremacy over the landing area. Only if the attacker can spread out an air umbrella over this area will he be able to keep back the defenders and to reckon on the success of his landing. This air umbrella must consist chiefly of fast fighting planes, whose radius of action is limited and which must therefore take off from near-by bases. Such bases could be provided by airplane carriers. But (1) the Allies have only a small number of airplane carriers left, while hundreds if not thousands of planes are needed for an air umbrella protecting a large-scale attack; and (2) the large number of airplane carriers that have been sunk shows that they are comparatively vulnerable. Hence the Allied strategists must look for more reliable air bases and will for this purpose consider the islands of the Mediterranean.

Cyprus, Malta, Pantelleria, and the other islands in the channel of Sicily are the only islands in the Mediterranean under Allied control. The Balearies belong to neutral Spain. All other islands, including Corsica, which was occupied last November, are in Axis hands.

Regarding the two Balearic Islands of Majorca and Minorca, the same may be said as of Spain. Should the Allies decide to infringe upon Spanish neutrality they would no doubt also try to occupy the Balearics. It is also possible that they would not try to attack the Spanish mainland but still carry out an invasion of the Balearics. The islands have a favorable strategic situation in the western Mediterranean. They are off the eastern coast of Spain, from which the good port of Palma on Majorca is only 200 kilometers away; the southern coast of France is also not far off, the distance from Palma to Marseilles being 470 kilometers. In the Soviet article of May 30 from which we quoted before, the occupation of the Balearics by the Allies is regarded as more important than the occupation of Spain. An invasion attempt in southern France practically presupposes the possession of the islands. In an attack on the Balearics, the Allies would have the advantage that Algiers is closer to Palma than the nearest Axis bases in the south of France or Sardinia. The objections to an attack on the Balearics are therefore more of a political than of a military nature. That Spain is aware of the danger was shown by her despatching 6 destroyers to the islands on May 30.

SICILY

One of the chief goals of the Allied invasion of French North Africa was the reopening of Allied maritime connections from Gibraltar to Suez and the eastern Mediterranean. The control of both shores—the Sicilian and the Tunisian—of the 140-kilometer-wide narrows of Sicily enabled the Axis to paralyze Allied shipping through the Mediterranean to a large degree. With the occupation of Tunisia, the Allies now control one shore of these narrows. This has diminished the danger for their shipping but has by no means removed it. One can imagine that the naval representatives among the Allied strategists are very keen on directing the first invasion attempt at Sicily, in order to bring the northern shore of these important narrows under Allied
control. They could point out that the occupation of Sicily would mean killing two birds with one stone: in addition to giving the Allies better control over the channel of Sicily it would place them in a position in which they would only be 3.15 kilometers from the Italian mainland. The possession of Sicily and the establishment of Allied airfields there would enable them to increase the air terror on Italy and facilitate an invasion of southern Italy.

But other members of the war council are sure to raise objections to these ideas. Sicily is an island. Its island nature offers greater obstacles to the attacker, who is 140 kilometers away from it, than to the defender, who has only a few kilometers to cross in the Strait of Messina. The entire northern coast of Sicily and the northern half of its eastern coast consist of steep mountains, which would make landings very difficult. The only large harbor there is Palermo. The rest of the coast has a narrow coastal plain backed by not very high mountains. But it appears probable that this part has long been well fortified. Sicily has for years been an intermediate station on the way from Europe to the Axis troops fighting in North Africa and has consequently been strongly garrisoned and equipped with airfields. Moreover, the naval base of Augusta is not far off. From the point of view of communications, the interior of Sicily is comparatively little opened up. The main traffic is carried on by sea and in part by the railway which runs along the coast almost all around the island.

Even if the Allies should succeed, in spite of all these difficulties, in gaining a foothold in Sicily and, in the course of time, in bringing the entire island under their control, the gain would still be comparatively small. Sicily’s importance to European economics is negligible; for the island, which in the days of antiquity was the granary of Italy, is now barely able to feed itself. This is due mainly to the large increase in its population in the nineteenth century. (In 1936 its population amounted to over 4 million.) There is very little industry in Sicily, and its highly developed fishing industry has lost much of its importance as a result of the war.

The advocates of an attack against Sicily might claim that its occupation would facilitate an attempt at invasion on the coast of Lower Italy. But their opponents would retort that, as we have pointed out, Lower Italy is not a particularly valuable military goal, and they would add that the Axis could make up for the loss of Sicily and the control over the narrows of Sicily by an increased fortification of Sardinia, only 55 kilometers farther away from Africa than Sicily.

SARDINIA

Not long ago, the world was informed of the arrival of German troops in Sardinia. Without doubt, some members of the war council might say, the Axis is busy including Sardinia into the sphere of its armaments. In that case, would it not be wiser first to attack Sardinia, which is still in the early stages of being fortified, instead of Sicily?

The obstacles in the way of a landing on Sardinia are less serious than in the case of Sicily. Although most of the coast is also steep and rocky—with the exception of the Bay of Aranci there is no harbor or sheltered roadstead on the whole east coast—the island does possess a few flat stretches of country, especially the plain extending northeast from Cagliari. The Bay of Porto Conte in the northwestern part of the island, an excellent natural harbor, is especially suited for berthing a large fleet. But above all the Allies can count on Sardinia’s defensive measures being less developed than those of Sicily, since Sardinia was not included in the sphere of military preparations until much later.

Once a landing has succeeded in Sardinia, the supply line of the Axis would be practically as long as that of the Allies (Civitavecchia/Aranci 215 kilometers, Bizerta/Cagliari 235 kilometers). Corsica, which has only recently been occupied by the Axis and is also only an island,
could hardly be regarded as a supply base. Hence the opponents would try to interfere with each other’s supplies with submarines. The first Allied submarines have already been reported in the waters between Italy and Sardinia. The Axis has one advantage in that it surrounds Sardinia with airfields and air bases on three sides (southern France, Italy, and Sicily).

In itself, Sardinia is not very important. It consists mostly of mountains and is not very fertile at present, although in ancient times it held, like Sicily, an important place as a grain supplier of Rome. On it there are some coal and mineral mines. But its strategic value is outstanding. Situated in the center of the western Mediterranean, the island has in the last two thousand years been the apple of discord among many peoples—Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, Byzantines, Saracens, Pisans, Genoese, Spaniards, Austrians, and Savoyans. Just as the chess player tries to place his figure in such a way that it simultaneously threatens two opposing figures, so the transformation of Sardinia into an Allied stronghold would represent a threat to both the French as well as the Italian coasts.

Thus we can formulate the difference in the importance of Sicily and Sardinia for the Allies as follows. The occupation of Sicily would chiefly be of value for the opening of the Mediterranean as a route of communication for the Allies; thus it would constitute an alleviation of their tonnage situation rather than a base of attack against the European mainland. In the case of Sardinia it is the other way round: an attack from Sardinia—possibly via Corsica—would reach the Italian coast further to the north and in this way circumvent southern Italy, which from a military point of view is difficult and rather fruitless.

CORSICA

Corsica was occupied by Axis troops in November 1942. Among the large islands of the Mediterranean it is the most mountainous one and, like Sardinia, it possesses far greater strategic than economic value. It could serve as an important steppingstone, for it is only 12 kilometers from Sardinia and 85 kilometers from Italy; moreover, there are further steppingstones on the way to Italy, among them Elba. The only two small plains are on the side facing Italy, namely, the plain at the mouth of the Golo and the plain of Aleria. However, this eastern coast, which runs almost in a straight line, has only two harbors, Bastia and Porto Vecchio, while the jagged western coast has numerous bays and harbors which could shelter large fleets, among them St. Florent, Île Rousse, Calvi, Ajaccio, and Propriano.

CRETE

Among the large islands of the Mediterranean, Crete is the smallest:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Island</th>
<th>Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sicily</td>
<td>25,461 sq km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sardinia</td>
<td>23,833 sq km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corsica</td>
<td>8,722 sq km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crete</td>
<td>8,618 sq km</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(For comparison: Formosa 34,000 square kilometers)

On May 20, 1941, the world was electrified by the news that German parachute troops had landed on British-occupied Crete. A bare two weeks later, on June 2, the island was already firmly in German hands. Since then no effort has been spared to make Crete an Axis stronghold. The island is by nature ideally suited for this. The southern coast facing the enemy possesses no natural harbor—mountains rise here almost everywhere like a wall from the sea. The northern coast has a number of bays and an excellent natural harbor in Suda Bay, the only completely protected anchorage for large vessels. While the island possesses no railways, it is equipped with a network of strategic roads and many airfields. Similar to Corsica, Crete consists almost exclusively of mountains, and its largest plain, the plain of Messara, is not at the coast but in the interior.

Hence an attack on Crete from the south is extremely difficult and from the north only possible by way of the Aegean Sea, which is controlled by the Axis. The best method of attack against Crete
will probably always be the parachute. However, in the use of this weapon the Allies would not have the advantage of surprise which the Germans had.

THE AIMS OF AN INVASION

After having thus studied every possibility of an invasion against the southern flank of Europe, the Allied staff officers, or their superiors Churchill and Roosevelt, could set about deciding which of these possibilities they want to try out. For this purpose they must first make up their minds what they want to achieve by an invasion. There are three possibilities:

(1) They might hope after the landing to advance into the heart of Europe and to destroy the Axis by military means. In view of the high opinion the Allies have of the German fighting power, we can assume that they are not counting on this possibility. It is not for nothing that all their responsible leaders have spoken, even after the occupation of Tunisia, of the long duration of the fight ahead.

(2) They might intend chiefly to bind strong Axis forces by an invasion, quite apart from whether the attack would result in territorial gains or not. The constant cries for help from Moscow, at least those that are made public, all amount to demands that the Allies establish a second front in order to relieve the Red Army by drawing off strong German forces to the point of invasion. It can be assumed that Moscow does not, any more than London or Washington, expect that a second front would represent a decisive blow to the Axis; but Moscow expects it to relieve its own front. This entire scheme does not have much attraction for the Allies. In order to bind large Axis units, they would have to land on the European mainland and not only on one of the islands. They are aware of the fact that this would only be possible at enormous costs, and that the chances of marching into the interior of Europe from such a bridgehead would be very small. In other words, they would have to make up their minds to pay a high price without being able to count on presenting their nations with any concrete results. Could Roosevelt, after the battle for a bridgehead had lasted weeks or months and had cost several hundred thousands of American casualties, afford to tell his people that, although the territorial gains were negligible, American lives had purchased the Bolsheviks a breathing space?

(3) The Allies might plan an invasion similar to that of North Africa, viz., with slight risk, comparatively small losses, and spectacular successes on the map. The occupation of Spain or Turkey, or the capture of Sardinia, for instance, would be suited for this. They must, however, realize—and Moscow will not fail to point out repeatedly—that an invasion of this kind would no more constitute the desired relief for the Red Army than did North Africa; that such relief grows in the same measure as the risk and the losses of the Allies; and that after all the main idea of an invasion is the relief of the Soviet Union.

HOW MANY INVASIONS, WHERE, AND WHEN?

Once the Allied leaders have agreed on the goal of an invasion of southern Europe, they must decide whether they want to attack the European southern flank at one point only or at several simultaneously. Both methods have their advantages and disadvantages. The simultaneous landing attempts at several points would force the Axis to split up its defenses, among them its submarines and airplanes. However, the Allies themselves would also be affected by this splitting up of forces and, as a result of their tonnage shortage, they would be compelled to carry out each of the various attacks with comparatively weaker forces than if they only made a single attempt. Perhaps they might first attempt several landings, in order to bolster the most successful attempt at the cost of the others, or even later to abandon these other landings after they have achieved their aim of dividing the Axis forces. If the Allies should decide on a single
landing attempt, they could put all their strength into it, but they would, of course, also meet with a concentrated defense. Moreover, the bigger the fleet is that has to carry out a landing attempt, the easier it is to detect this attempt.

Having arrived at this point in their deliberations, the Allies must decide on the "where" of their landing or landings. In order to find some indications of the Allied decisions, we must investigate what preparations have become apparent so far. To begin with, there is the growing diplomatic pressure on Spain and Turkey and the militarization of the Syrian frontier and coast by the British, which point to the possibility that something might happen there, perhaps in the direction of the Dodecanese. Then there are, more concretely, the concentrations of Allied ships in Mediterranean ports and the air raids against the southern European front. A glance at our map shows that these air raids have been directed mainly against Sicily, Sardinia, and Italy. The occupation of Pantelleria and the other Italian islands in the Sicilian channel does not necessarily imply an impending landing on Sicily, as it may also be explained by the Allies’ desire for a better control over the channel. During the first part of June, Sardinia seemed to be closest to an invasion attempt. For many of the air raids on ports of the Italian mainland, such as Civitavecchia, Grosseto, and Leghorn, are really directed at Sardinia, as it is from these ports that the lines of communication run to the island. Since the middle of June, the main weight of the attacks has been directed at the regions around the Strait of Messina. However, all these actions may represent nothing but maneuvers of deception.

A final point to be settled by the Allies is the time of attack. The seasons themselves will make no particular difference in the Mediterranean. While on the Soviet front the Axis troops are exposed every winter to a climate for which the Red Army is better prepared, the Mediterranean climate permits normal warfare throughout the year. Although in various parts of the Mediterranean the rainfall is concentrated in the winter months, the difficulties arising from this cannot at all be compared with those offered by the Russian winter.

Hence the decision as to when the signal for the invasion should be given is likely to depend more on reasons to be found outside the Mediterranean area, perhaps on a certain co-ordination with the USSR, or on events in the Pacific, or the tonnage situation.

THE INVASION OF THE CONTINENT

The actual problem of invasion—and the Allied strategists know this—does not begin till the attackers have set foot on the European Continent. Then only will the superiority of the Axis, which would be fighting on its own continent against an attack coming from overseas and dependent on maritime supplies, be felt to its full extent.

It is not exactly known how many men and how many tons of material were employed in the invasion of North Africa in November 1942. Perhaps the figures of 140,000 men and one million tons more or less approach the truth. But the attack on North Africa can hardly be called an invasion in the proper sense of the word. It was only weakly opposed; and whatever opposition there was, was terminated within a few days by treason. An invasion of the European Continent would require many times those numbers. The huge convoys would probably be spotted by German and Italian reconnaissance planes long before they approached the coast. While the Allies were still out at sea, Axis submarines, and other units of the powerful Italian Navy would strike at the slow-moving transports until these came within range of the coastal batteries. Meanwhile, the mobile reserves behind the Axis front lines would begin deploying for action. They are so large that they will be able to take care even of major invasion attempts without the necessity of withdrawing forces from the Eastern Front. Entire air fleets could be thrown against
any endangered point within a few hours. From all sides, tanks would roll toward the threatened coast, and trains and trucks would move up new German divisions.

* * * * *

In discussing here in such detail the deliberations of the Allied command and the possibilities of an invasion of Europe from the south, we do not wish to create the impression that the Axis is limited to the defensive. This is not the case. The Axis is free to decide how it wishes to employ its southern flank. Thus, for instance, the strong position of the Axis in the eastern Mediterranean and its possibility of advancing via Cyprus against Syria are causing the Allies anxiety and forcing them to take countermeasures.

We should like to state here that we oppose the idea of considering Europe a “fortress.” The term “fortress” implies a very limited area which leaves no freedom of movement to the defender and restricts him to using up his stores of ammunition and food. However, the parts of Europe under Axis control (i.e., excluding the British Isles, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, and Turkey) cover some 4,500,000 square kilometers, that is, ten times the size of Germany in 1937. Here the Axis possesses many millions of experienced soldiers and, as a report from Berlin stated a few days ago, an army of about 150 million male and female workers. Here there are tens of thousands of factories working. Here is a close-meshed, efficient network of railways, motor roads, and waterways. Here from month to month the ideal of a new, united Europe is being consolidated.

This Europe is not a fortress but a fighting and working continent. What it means to fight this continent on its own soil has been experienced by the huge armies of the Soviet Union during the last two years and would also be discovered by the British and American troops if they should try to attack it.

A CHANGE IN METHODS

By A. V. DERINGER

Exactly two years ago, along the German-Soviet border, the largest land war in history began. The issue was Bolshevism, which had made the Russian people its tool and thrown a dangerous net over the world. In our article “The Red Road” (November 1942) we analyzed the first six phases of the history of the Comintern (Communist International) up to that time. The recent liquidation of the Comintern has opened a new phase, one which requires examining. This has been done by A. V. Deringer, an expert with years of experience in the struggle against World Bolshevism, who presents his views on three important questions: the attitude of Bolshevism and the Comintern toward war in general; their attitude toward the present war, and finally, the so-called dissolving of the Comintern.

—K.M.

The final aim of Bolshevism is World Revolution. This has been frankly said by its leaders many times (we quote one of many statements to this effect at the end of this article). The short cut, if not the prerequisite, of World Revolution is war. Itself born out of the chaos of the Great War, Bolshevism has always hoped to benefit, if not succeed in reaching its goal, by a new war. And the bigger that war the better. “In the case of a world war the World Revolution will break out sooner. No one will then succeed in stopping the spring torrent of revolution,” wrote the main organ of the Comintern, the Kommunistitchesky International in its issue No. 5 of 1939.

War was the means by which it was hoped to break up the “bourgeois-capitalistic” world and to create a “revolutionary atmosphere.” War was the outstanding issue in the minds of Bol-
shevist leaders. This was, for example, clearly stated at the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern, in 1928 (Vol. I, p.600, of the stenographic report): "All other problems are subordinated to the central problem . . . , the problem of war . . . . The Communists must strain every effort toward preparing themselves for the solution of this practical question."

Thus Bolshevism is in truth, as Lenin once stated in a solemn speech, "a war which we have declared on the whole world."

**WARS AND WARS**

However, not every war was welcome to Bolshevism. The ideal war for Moscow was what it likes to call an "imperialistic war," i.e., a war between several bourgeois or "Fascist" states without participation of the Soviet Union, a war in which non-Bolshevist states weaken each other, thereby promoting the above-mentioned "revolutionary atmosphere" within themselves.

But another type of war—in Moscow's terminology a "war of intervention against the USSR"—was the constant nightmare of the Bolsheviks.

The speeches, resolutions, and writings of the Third International show clearly that the Kremlin always regarded such a war as inevitable. "They [i.e., the capitalistic states] are systematically preparing for it. They are preparing for it with every possible means. They are preparing for it at every hour." These are the nervous closing words of the "Manifesto of the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern to all the workers of the world, to all peasants, to all suppressed colonial peoples, to all the soldiers and sailors of the capitalistic armies and navies."

Moscow courted the sympathy of foreign workers and peasants, not only in the sense that it needed this sympathy in order to prevent a war of intervention, but also in the reverse sense: the Comintern has fostered the myth of the war of intervention in order to conquer the sympathy of the foreign labor classes.

At the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Stalin said:

"We must not forget Lenin's words that, as regards our development, much depends on whether we shall succeed in postponing the inevitable war with the capitalistic world. This war can be postponed either until the proletarian revolution has matured in Europe, or until the outbreak of a revolution in the colonies, or also until the moment when the capitalists start a war against each other over the partition of the colonies.

The political changes in Germany in 1933, as well as the conclusion of the Anti-Comintern Pact, were regarded as serious omens of approaching decisions. The resolution of the Thirteenth Plenary Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Comintern contains the words: "This war must come, sooner or later."

Its nature is revealed to us by one Triandafilov in his publication *The Aims and Tasks of the Soviet State*, which appeared in the series "Instructions for Political Commissars in Wartime" (Moscow, 1935):

The war of the Communist State against any capitalistic state whatever will be of a class-revolutionary nature.

"**FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF WAR**"

This is not the place to study the methods by which the Red Army prepared its forces for this war. Instead, we shall follow another line of preparation which was carried on outside the purely military sphere.

In the book *On Guard for Our Country* by Rabinovitch (Moscow, 1936, p.170) we find the following quotation by Stalin:

The bourgeoisie can be assured that in the case of war our numerous friends, distributed all over the world, will attack its rear and help to complete the victory of the Red Army.

In the October 1934 issue of the large Moscow periodical *Voina i Revolutsia*, in an article on "The Nature of the Future War" by Amigarov, the functions of these "numerous friends" are explained more clearly:

A war of the capitalistic states against the USSR will impose upon the international proletariat, chiefly the class-conscious part of the laborers of those states that are waging war upon us, the functions of a landing corps of the Red Army, a landing corps destined to break up our opponents from within. In the history of war
A CHANGE IN METHODS

this will be the first case in which one of the belligerent powers has in all countries of the world, even the hostile ones, hundreds of thousands of supporters organized in the Communist Party.

"HOW DO YOU KNOW THAT, COMRADE?"

What distinguishes the Soviet theory of strategy is the plan to correlate the actions of the Red Army at the front with the organizing of armed uprisings and of civil war behind the back of the opponent, at his rear and in his own country. Before the present war a high Soviet officer once stated:

The future war will be lost by that country in which armed mass uprisings take place first. These revolts will take place first in the rear of those armies which are in retreat. For that reason the Red Army must always be on the offensive.

The achievement of these political goals is too closely connected with purely military problems for it to be dealt with quite separately. Hence the Red Army, especially its political leaders and the officers’ corps, was exhaustively trained for all problems arising from the employment of troops in the enemy’s rear or on enemy soil. This training was not limited to purely military aspects; it was also extended to fields which no other army in the world includes in this way in the sphere of military training.

This training was well organized and carried out under the supervision of a specially qualified teaching staff. The major part of these teachers had been prepared by spending many years abroad, so that each man knew every detail of the country to which he was assigned.

After a general survey of the geographical and ethnographical aspects of the country in question, there followed a detailed study of its domestic political situation. The subjects included: social tension, the attitude of national minorities toward the state, religious conflicts, etc. All these questions were not dealt with according to a fixed pattern or in passing, but traced to their very roots, so that the leaders of the Red Army who were thus trained would, even under changed conditions, be enabled to make their own decisions. And special attention was devoted to the possibilities of exploiting any sympathy for the Soviet Union that might arise among certain circles or sections of the people under every imaginable political constellation. Of course, particular attention was paid to the relationship between its officers and men.

"How do you know all that, Comrade?" was once the question asked by amazed Red officers when their instructor told them some astounding details about the internal events in a neighboring country. With an ironical smile, the instructor answered: "We know the names, the family affairs, and all details about the personal affairs of every single Polish officer from the rank of colonel upward."

Even though this observation may seem in itself unimportant, it is nevertheless characteristic of the manner in which this work was carried on.

When one asks as to the source from which the High Command of the Red Army is able to obtain such information regarding the internal affairs of foreign countries, one must bear in mind the close contact existing between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the Communist Parties throughout the world. Besides the actual Communist Parties, numerous associations and organizations all over the world—whether purely Communist, semi-Communist, or belonging to the so-called Popular Front—were, in one way or another, invisibly included in the vast network collecting news and information for the Soviet Union. And this was done under such skillful camouflage that to this day the world knows surprisingly little about it.

AID FROM THE ENEMY

In order not to be politically isolated in this inevitable conflict with the rest of the world, Moscow strained every effort to find allies. This seemed a bold and difficult undertaking after having at first hurled open challenges at the whole world and after having declared every country to be an enemy of the USSR.

"It is no Utopian scheme to force our enemies to help us in a very definite manner," the late Krassin once stated at a Party Congress. Such a policy, he
continued, “must be based on emphasizing the contrasts in the enemy camp, in stirring up greed, in inciting our enemies against each other; and all this on an international scale as well as within the borders of each country.”

Some concessions, mostly of a superficial nature, which had to be made, hardly affected the Comintern. After all, one of its most important rules says that its Weltanschauung and the program of the Communist Party are dogmatic, whereas, in the case of its strategy and tactics, there is no dogma but solely what serves the struggle.

Now began a tireless, all-embracing propaganda in the democratic countries which was not without success. In March 1939, at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR, Manuilsky, the Secretary of the Comintern and a member of its Executive Committee, announced the following figures on the growth of the Party during the preceding five years (Pravda, 11.3.39):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1934</th>
<th>1939</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>270,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>18,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>16,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>23,000</td>
</tr>
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At that time, the total number of registered members of the Comintern throughout the world, not including the USSR, amounted to 1,200,000. During the same period, the membership of the Communist youth organizations outside of the USSR rose from 110,000 to 746,000. Thus in 1939 the Comintern had roughly two million registered supporters outside of Russia. In addition to this, its direct influence also extended over four million members of Communist labor unions.

For the carrying out of its actions, the Comintern could dispose, in addition to its own Party organizations, over numerous other parties and groups in the democratic countries. As in the case of the Popular Front as such, the entire activity in these countries was for Moscow not an end but only a means.

The real aim was to harm or, if possible, even destroy those states which, as a matter of principle, were hostile to Communism and later openly admitted their ideological opposition in the Anti-Comintern Pact.

While the Comintern thus worked at its world-wide network, the Soviet Union was feverishly developed into the “Basis of World Revolution” with its armament industry and Red Army. At the Seventh Congress (1935), Stalin was already able to show the Communists of all the world quite a fair apparatus for subjecting the world by Communism.

A NEW SITUATION ARISES

The complete change in the political situation of the world arising from the signing of the German-Soviet Treaty of August 1939 as well as from the outbreak of the war in Europe was quickly taken into consideration by the Comintern. Some indications as to how this was done are offered by the German Government’s note declaring war on the Soviet Union. It contains the following passage:

Contrary to all obligations assumed and in gross violation of solemn declarations . . . attempts at subversive actions have been not only continued but even increased. Soon after the conclusion of the treaty, the Comintern resumed its activities in all fields. In order not to transgress the treaties openly, only the methods were changed and the camouflage carried out with more care and cunning.

Further details are contained in the report of the German Ministry of the Interior in the First Documents Concerning the Events Leading to the German-Soviet War:

In the areas occupied by Germany there were still some remnants of the former Communist organizations, which greatly facilitated the work of the Comintern there. Constant observation showed that the agencies of the Comintern in the European countries were again being greatly enlarged . . . . Thus there is a main agency in Stockholm. This is one of the most active and dangerous centers of the Comintern. Communist functionaries are employed here who have received years of training in Moscow . . . . By skillfully worked out courier routes, material, orders, and funds were constantly obtained from the Comintern instructors in Stockholm and Copenhagen. This activity was headed by the representative of the European bureau of the Comintern in Stockholm, the Communist member of the Swedish Parliament Lindroth . . . . Communist functionaries from the Protectorate [formerly Czechoslovakia] regularly visited the Lenin School in Moscow.
during the last few years, where they received a military-political training in the theory and practice of civil war and terrorism. The agent for this was the Tass correspondent Kurt Beer. In addition to this there was also a direct wireless connection with the Comintern in Moscow.

Besides the ship-sabotage groups formed by England by the order of the Secret Service, there also existed a more widespread terror organization established by the Comintern, whose main task it was to destroy the ships of the states allied in the anti-Comintern bloc. The Communist sabotage groups in Holland, Belgium, and France were headed by the Dutch Communist Jofesf-Rumbertus Sharp, who presided over the "Interclub" in Rotterdam and maintained the closest possible relations with the leaders of the Comintern organization in Scandinavia.

This ambiguous attitude on the part of the Soviet Union led to the outbreak of the German-Soviet war.

WHEN WAR CAME

On June 22, 1941, the crucial moment had come when the USSR became involved in war. Now the development was to take place "for the first time in the history of war" for which the Comintern had worked for so many years: the millions of supporters of Bolshevism were to rise in the enemy countries.

But nothing of the kind happened. In the Axis countries, Communism had been stamped out, partly by force but mainly through the appeal of the superior ideas of National-Socialism and Fascism. Those states which had once been the most pronounced exponents of the Popular Front in Europe, most of which had at the same time been allied to the Soviet Union, had undergone a thorough change by the time the war of Europe against the Soviet Union broke out. Czechoslovakia no longer existed. Most of the former leaders of the Popular Front in France were under arrest in Ryon and were awaiting their trial. The Red and "pink" functionaries of Spain, too, were scattered between Marseilles and Mexico. Almost the entire continent of Europe was closed to Bolshevist agitation. Hence Moscow was forced to seek for other companions with whom to establish a new popular front that corresponded to the changed conditions. This it did with its usual energy. In particular, the Kremlin turned its attention toward the USA.

"The United States of America is the worst enemy of the Soviet Union!" the first president of the Comintern had once exclaimed. This was in the days when America consistently refused to recognize the Soviet Union, in the days when the American Secretary of State, Kellogg, stated on April 14, 1928, in a solemn declaration:

Current developments demonstrate the continued persistence at Moscow of a dominating world-revolutionary purpose and the practical manifestation of this purpose in such ways as render impossible the establishment of normal relations with the Soviet Government.

In fact, the United States was the last of the great powers to recognize the Soviet regime, not granting this recognition until 1933, after F. D. Roosevelt became President. Under Roosevelt, Moscow's efforts fell upon fertile soil.

NEW FORCES AND SUPPORTERS

The lead among the new sympathizers of the Soviet Union has been taken by President Roosevelt and his wife. The First Lady of the USA is busy giving and visiting tea parties to which numerous students, delegates, and other representatives of the Soviet state are invited, not to mention the Red diplomacy. This indefatigable lady has also accepted honorary presidencies and sponsorships of all kinds of Marxist associations and organizations with many millions of members.

President Roosevelt himself makes use of every opportunity to express his sympathy and best wishes for his Red allies by participating personally in pro-Soviet meetings or, if this is impossible, by sending telegrams. Moreover, he lets deeds follow upon words. Thus it was owing to his personal intervention that the inhospitable gates of Atlanta jail were opened in order to give the American Communist leader Earl Browder his full liberty, and this three whole years earlier than was provided for in the sentence he was given for passport forgery. And General Eisenhower received orders from Roosevelt to the effect that all Communists should immediately be released.
from prison in whatever parts of Africa his soldiers might occupy.

On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union, Vice-President Wallace of the United States declared that, a quarter of a century before, the Communists had started an experiment "for the achievement of human welfare." He also expressed the hope that the Comintern would complete this experiment after the successful termination of the present war.

The member of Congress Martin Dies, who can hardly be accused of Fascist leanings, discovered on the basis of documents that in the highest places of the Federal Government in Washington there were more than 200 officials who were registered members of the Communist Party. United States radio transmitters reported in October 1941 that approximately 100 Government officials had been convicted of subversive Communist activities. Of these officials, 45 were employed in the War Department and 40 in the Navy Department.

The press, the radio, the movies, and the theater—all adjusted themselves to the newly awakened interest in Bolshevism and made every effort to satisfy this thirst for knowledge on the part of the public. Even in the US Army, books on the Soviet Union are so much in demand that many new Soviet works have been translated and published.

All doors hitherto closed to the Communists now opened wide. A particularly fertile field of agitation are the millions of underprivileged Negroes. The AFL, the largest American labor union, which had formerly avoided all contact with Communist organizations, was obliged to agree to collaborate with the USSR federation of labor unions. Mr. Carrey, boss of the electro-industry and radio workers' union, was expelled from office for submitting a bill which condemned not only Fascism but also Communism.

In return, the American Communists now began to speak a different language, which culminated in the grotesque phrase, "Communism is twentieth-century Americanism."

"ENGLAND FALLS IN LOVE WITH SOVIET RUSSIA"

These were the words with which the American weekly Life characterized the present attitude in London. It is a late love of old John Bull, who in former years had very different feelings for the present choice of his heart. We quote only two examples. In 1919 no other than the present Prime Minister of England exclaimed:

The Communists are doing satanic deeds. Hundreds of thousands of people are being tortured to death with cold-blooded cruelty. This cannot even be compared with the cruel persecutions of Christians in Rome. The Communists do not even condemn people to death—they simply annihilate them.

Regardless of this, the labor Government of our country stretches out both hands and heartily shakes the bloodstained hands.

Old spirit of proud Albion—where art thou?

And in 1930:

Communism is like a disease that approaches a weakened organism in order to destroy. What healthy organism would be prepared to undergo an experiment with a disease of that kind?

This would be equivalent to keeping a terrible cobra in one's house instead of a lap dog.

Life reports that meanwhile scarves bearing the hammer and sickle have become the latest fashion in England, and that the Soviet Ambassador has been made an honorary member of the exclusive St. James's Club.

Last year a Lenin monument was solemnly unveiled in the London district of Finsbury, the first of its kind in Europe outside of Russia. The British Ministry of Education is working at a great plan "for the deepening of mutual understanding between Great Britain and the USSR," in the course of which seminaries have already been opened for English schoolteachers to study the Soviet Union, while works by Lenin and Stalin are being translated and published for schoolchildren, and deputations of British youth organizations and universities are being sent to Moscow.

The British Communist Party, which a few years ago had to fight hard and
often unsuccessfully for any perceptible influence on British policy, began to harvest rich fruits as soon as the official alliance with Moscow was proclaimed. Not only the radio but also Reuter's agency began to report in detail on all measures and meetings of the Communist Party. The Communist leader Polit was even able, in an address over the BBC, to tell the British that it was time for them to stop only admiring the Soviets and that they should now try to follow their example. The lifting of the ban on the Party organs The Daily Worker and The Week contributed toward the general trend. Countless Bolshevist pamphlets, posters, pictures, books, and statistics are flooding England and increase Communist influence on the masses.

"Tremendous sums of money are being spent for Communist purposes in England, and nobody knows where the money is coming from," declared the Labor Press Service, an organ of the British Labor Party early in April. "When indulging in their propaganda activity, Communists are like busy bees. They can be met everywhere in the British armament industry, and their influence in Labor circles increases from day to day," the News Chronicle added at about the same time.

Exhibitions organized by the Soviet Ambassador are visited by the highest officials and leading members of society. The extent to which the Anglican Church, headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, has let itself be drawn into the great flood of propaganda is characterized by a caricature in the News Chronicle: an English clergyman is shown kneeling before a crucifix on an altar decked with the flag of Moscow with its Soviet symbols of hammer and sickle.

The War Ministry permitted military bands to play the International "wherever this might appear desirable or suitable." The leaders of the British armed forces were faced by the ticklish problem, on the one hand, of arousing in the men a friendly feeling toward their Soviet ally, and on the other, of guarding them against Communist infiltrations. Apparently this latter intention was sacrificed, for early in May the British Minister of War declared in the House of Commons that soldiers in uniform were allowed to attend Communist meetings.

The establishment of Soviet consulates at numerous places of the British Empire, which Churchill had to concede, was immediately utilized by Moscow for purposes of agitation, as became apparent from the complaints made by Dr. Malan, the South African nationalist leader. It was also recently discovered that the transfer of Polish refugees from the USSR via Iran to Africa is being used by the Soviets. By putting agents of their own among the refugees, they have managed to get them into Africa.

PLAYING WITH FIRE

Since the former European citadels of Leftism have by now almost all turned into the opposite, Moscow had to look for new bases among the few remaining neutral countries. The most important for this purpose was Sweden, chiefly because Sweden is the only state on the European Continent in which the Communist Party still exists and its publications still appear. The results of this activity became apparent in the last elections, held in autumn 1942, when the Communists doubled their votes.

The sensational arrest of the manager of the Stockholm Intourist Bureau brought to light an extensive Soviet espionage and propaganda organization in the Swedish Army. Soviet propaganda made skillful use of Sweden's neutrality and prospered under the ambiguous attitude of the Government.

Even in far-off Iceland, which had been occupied by USA forces, the communal elections in the capital also resulted in a doubling of the Communist votes so that the Communist Party became the second largest one in that country.

At the very gates of Spanish Morocco the Anglo-Saxon invaders of North Africa released all the Spanish Reds hitherto interned there, and the American Commander in Chief General Eisenhower gave
a solemn reception to the former Red Spanish chief Juan Negrín, who had arrived in Oran with American aid. Thus, by the common effort of the Anglo-American-Soviet allies, the Spanish Popular Front of the civil war is being re-established on North African soil. Even in South America, increasing symptoms of Bolshevization are to be found.

The Bolshevist internationalists have turned around and begun to appeal to the national, patriotic feelings of the various peoples. The main organ of the Comintern, the Kommunistlichesky International, for example, wrote in its issue No. 8 of 1941:

In all countries the Communists and Young Communists are at their fighting posts in the patriotic front of liberty of the peoples. The Young Communists of all countries are the most loyal fighters for national freedom . . . . In France the Communists and the supporters of General de Gaulle have already united their forces in many places. This is the correct path.

Additional proof of this collaboration of De Gaulle with the Communists was recently provided by the fact that De Gaulle sent to Moscow as his diplomatic representative Fernand Grenier, a former Communist deputy. For the benefit of the Balkan peoples, the Kremlin is meanwhile warming up the old Pan-Slavism.

**WHY WAS THE COMINTERN DISSOLVED?**

The more successful the Communists were at making use of the war situation in the countries of the anti-Axis camp for their own purposes, the more were those people seized by anxiety who in these countries, in spite of war and propaganda, had retained their common sense. They wondered whether this alliance with the USSR had not actually brought a "Trojan horse" with all its mortal dangers into their midst, the same Trojan horse which the Comintern leader Dimitroff recommended so eloquently at the last World Congress as the best method of infiltration. The discovery of the Polish officers' bodies in the forest of Katyn must have opened the eyes of many to the menace of Bolshevism and must have recalled to their minds the terrible list of Com-

munist outrages throughout the world—during the rule of Bela Kun in Hungary, during the Civil War in Spain, at the time of the Communist regime in Kiangsi, and in countless other parts of the globe. More and more people in the Allied camp had to ask themselves: "Are we doing the right thing?"

The result was that Roosevelt and Churchill began to seek for means to allay the growing apprehension in their own camp. The best solution was to get Stalin to make a great gesture. And Stalin was willing. After the terrible battles of the winter war, the Soviet Union was bleeding from many wounds, was suffering from starvation and a lack of weapons, and needed more urgently than ever the relief which a second front would offer. In return for aid, Moscow was not averse to making this great gesture in the form of the so-called dissolving of the Comintern.

**STALIN COULD AFFORD IT**

Stalin was all the more able to afford this since Bolshevism had for many years been setting up parallel organizations which, like the Comintern, embraced the revolutionary movements of the world, and which were not affected by the dissolution. Among these are:

- The Profintern (International of Professional Unions, i.e., trade unions)
- The Communist Women's International
- The MOPR (International Organization for the Aid of Workers)
- The VOKS (Society for Cultural Connections with Abroad)
- The League of the Friends of the Soviet Union
- The International League of Proletarian Atheists

In addition, Moscow had in the course of the last few years found an entirely new and promising weapon through the establishment of Communist "governments" which were maintained in the Soviet Union, outside of the countries "governed" by them, and were recognized by Moscow. Among these were the Finnish "government" of Kuusinen and the "governments" of other Baltic states. At present the Kremlin seems to be heading for the creation of a Polish and
A CHANGE IN METHODS

A Yugoslavian "government" on Soviet soil. These maneuvers have given Stalin entirely new possibilities, quite independent of the Comintern, of interfering in foreign nations.

Thus the publication of the proposal for dissolving the Comintern came about on May 22. This document is signed by the members of the presiding council of the EKKI. How tremendously the world has changed in the last few years can be seen from the fact that, with the exception of the Soviet Union, in none of the countries represented in the presiding council, such as Germany, France, Italy, Finland, Rumania, etc., do there still exist Communist Parties as political realities.

THE CONSEQUENCES

In the eyes of keen observers this dissolution entails a loss of face for Stalin. It shows that his position today is so bad that he is forced formally to give up one of the most important instruments of World Revolution. However, the dissolution does not mean any loss of actual power for him.

The Comintern had two main tasks to perform: on the one hand, to prepare the World Revolution by creating the "revolutionary atmosphere," and on the other, to keep the Allies at war against the anti-Bolshevik Axis powers. As to the first task, the present war itself is working largely toward it. For under the influence of the war—its deprivations and hardships, its chaos in the field of prices and wages, its destruction of the customary social and economic structure—discontent with existing conditions, in other words the "revolutionary atmosphere," is growing in the Allied countries. And as for the second task, the Communist Parties are, even without any formal connection with

CARTOON OF THE MONTH

By SAPAJOU

Riding the Trojan Horse
Moscow, still as capable of carrying this out as they were before May 22. The example of the USA has shown this.

The Communist Party of the USA resigned from the Comintern in 1940 in order to avoid possible dissolution on account of un-American activities, against which laws were then being passed in Washington. No special significance was attached to this resignation at the time, and even careful newspaper readers hardly remember it today. In spite of this step, the Communist Party of the USA continued to work tirelessly for Moscow’s aims.

This goes to show how little it matters whether a Communist Party belongs to the Comintern or not, as long as it represents the spirit of Moscow. “We cannot trust the temporary change of tactics of the revolutionaries,” the Journal de Genève stated on May 30, when announcing that the Swiss Communist Party would remain banned in spite of the disbandment of the Comintern, “for the only thing we know is that the final aims of the Reds have not changed.” The British Labor Party has taken the same skeptical attitude. In the motion, refusing a merger of the Labor and Communist Parties and adopted by a majority of 17:2 on May 28, the Executive Committee of the Labor Party stated:

The dissolution of the Comintern is by no means tantamount to the dropping of world revolutionary aims.

The fact that the so-called dissolving of the Comintern represents, not a change in Bolshevism, but solely a change in its methods, is even admitted in the statement of the presiding council of the EKKI published on May 22; and we cannot conclude our survey better than with the following quotation from it, which clearly proves the opportunistic character of the dissolution:

“The Communists always subordinated the methods of work to the political interests of the Labor movement in general, to the specific historical conditions, and to the tasks dictated by existing conditions.”

Dimitroff, Secretary General of the Comintern, at the Seventh World Congress in 1935 (Stenographic Record, p. 1846).

Britain and the United States cannot destroy Europe by Bolshevism, but their own peoples will sooner or later succumb to this world pest.”

Chancellor Hitler
in his proclamation of January 1, 1943.
DANCING, THE ART OF ARTS

By LILY ABEGG

It is one of the aims of our magazine to contribute toward our Western readers' understanding of the nations of East Asia. We believe that the following article will give a surprising new insight into the spirit of Japan from a little-known angle.

Dr. Lily Abegg, who has contributed before to this magazine, spent the first twelve years of her life in Japan and is now living there again. Her familiarity with this country, and the fact that she is a trained journalist of high reputation, make her particularly well qualified to write this article.—K.M.

SOME twenty years ago, a leading European student of the theater wrote that the sensation being created at that time in Europe by the Russian Ballet was nothing compared to the impression that the first Japanese theatrical troupe would make. What attracts this expert and many other Westerners to the Japanese theater is probably first of all the surprising discovery that there are still, in this world which we believe to know so well, highly developed forms of art about which Europe knows next to nothing. Japanese theatrical art is entirely different from our own, and this difference is to be found not least in the supreme importance attached in Japan to dancing and the whole play of gesture and movement. This highly developed play of gesture and the cult of the dance—which, in the Japanese theater, sometimes reduce the spoken word, the facial expression, and the ever-present accompanying music to something of almost secondary importance—seem to us wholly astonishing, indeed, a new revelation of art.

The question arises, why the theatrical art of Japan has nevertheless remained unknown in Europe. There are various reasons for this, the chief among them being that of cost. Naturally, the great Japanese actors, who are at the same time the most famous dancers, need an adequate background for their performances. This means taking along the entire stage settings, including the scenery; for a Japanese samurai cannot very well appear in a French château or a German feudal hall. The number of trunks needed by a Japanese actor for his many magnificent costumes would amaze his European colleague. In addition to the actors, the musicians, the narrators, and the stage hands would have to go along, and it is not difficult to calculate that the journey of such a troupe halfway around the world would require a considerable sum of money.

Beside these practical difficulties there is yet another serious one. Even if the European is capable of enjoying the performance with his eyes, he is seldom able to do so with his ears; for the European finds it hard and takes some time to get used to Japanese music and to the other accompanying sounds, as, for example, the barking cries or the clacking of pieces of wood. In view of this, the presentation of performances to a public that is totally unacquainted with the East would constitute a certain risk. This is also the reason why the exhibition of Japanese dancing alone, without the dramatic background of the theater, would, on the whole, hardly be effective, since in that case many aids toward conjuring up a Japanese atmosphere would be lacking.

PROFOUND MEANS OF EXPRESSION

In Japan one does not have to go to the theater in order to see dancing. Everyone who has been to Japan knows the geisha dances and may have seen
dance performances at sacred shrines or, in the summer, the Bon-Odori in the country. Those who have spent some time in Japan gradually begin to realize that dancing has an entirely different and far greater significance in this country than in the West, and that the Japanese possess in dancing a means of artistic expression which we in our Western world have never cultivated to a like extent. And finally we also come to comprehend the spiritual content of Japanese dances, whether in the heroic atmosphere of the Kabuki stage, in the meditative philosophy of the No plays, or in the intimate contact with Nature of the folk dances in summer.

It is this spiritual content which is the chief characteristic of Japanese dancing. Neither the brocaded and silken luxury of the Kabuki, nor the simplified, refined beauty of the No plays are an end in themselves: they are only the means for expressing ideas, feelings, and problems. In Japan a talented, differentiated people of culture has employed dancing as one of its chief means of expression, and hence it is hardly surprising that the achievements in this field surpass those of other peoples. If we can regard the advanced development of music as an outstanding mark of Western culture, dancing may be called the mark of Japanese culture. In Europe it is music which not only creates its own effects but has also taken possession of the stage and literature; in Japan it is the dance which has taken possession not only of the stage and literature but also of music. Music by itself is to be found more rarely than in the West. There are no concerts of Japanese music: music and dancing usually belong together.

**SYMPHONIES OF DANCING**

Where we compose or perform music to give expression to our feelings, the Japanese likes to express them through dancing. Of course, this statement must not be taken either as universal or absolute; for, after all, Japanese dancing is also accompanied by music. Moreover, the Japanese has, just like us, many other means of artistic expression, such as literature and painting. But this much can be said: Japanese music does not occupy the same place in Japanese culture as our music does in our culture. The high level occupied in the West by music is occupied in Japan by dramatic dancing, while the music itself is ranked lower. (Here we must emphasize that we are not speaking about quality but only about the ranking within each culture.)

Thus one might say that in Japan the No dramas take the place of our oratorios and symphonies. One could continue with such comparisons by placing the dances occurring in Kabuki beside the arias in our operas or beside the great monologues in our plays. The relationship between Man and eternity, the religious emotions and spiritual revelations which our great composers of past centuries have expressed in their music, are immortalized in Japan by dance dramas. The works of Seami, the great master of No whose five-hundredth death anniversary has just occurred, are just as significant for Japanese culture as the works of Bach are for ours.

In this short survey we cannot deal in detail with the No drama, about which incidentally, a great deal has already been written. Let us only say that in the No drama the emphasis is sometimes placed on the dance, sometimes on the music, and sometimes on the words. Always, however, the entire play of gesture and movement has been worked out to perfection. Hence it is quite impossible to gain an impression of this art simply by reading the No plays that are available in many translations. It would be exactly like reading the text of an opera without knowing the notes and the music. (This does not, of course, imply anything against the literary quality of the No plays.)

**THE CULT OF MOVEMENT**

To explain Japanese dances to someone who has never seen any is just as impossible as to speak about color to a blind man. But even Westerners who
ANCIENT DANCES IN JAPAN

Kagura dance performed by women at the Kasuga Shrine in Nara. The Shinto-Kagura dances are probably the oldest dances in the world still to be performed.

A scene from a No play. The leading part is that of an old sorcerer, played with a mask.

Bugaku dance at the famous Meiji Shrine in Tokyo. These dances, which were developed more than a thousand years ago under Buddhist influence from the Asiatic mainland, are always presented on a special platform.

Uzunon Ichimura XV, the 70-year-old President of the Japanese Actors Association.

In the photograph on the left we see him in a Kabuki play in the part of a handsome young samurai (left), with 74-year-old Kusairo Matsumoto VIII playing the part of a fierce warrior.
NATION OF ENTHUSIASTIC DANCERS

A rural New Year's dance performed by peasant women. As it is danced at the old (lunar) New Year, it also celebrates the beginning of spring.

Kikugoro Onoe VI, an outstanding dancer and actor, in two of his parts. Above we see him as Mat-samurai, the samurai in the play Tatakagi which is mentioned in the text. The photograph below shows him in a woman's part.

Bon-Odori dance performed in July at the festival for the souls of the dead. Here, in the mountains, it appears in the form of a round dance.

Awa-Bon-Odori dance procession in the streets of Tokushima, famous for its Bon-Odori. Although a number of the women participating in this particular dance procession are specially costumed, everybody can join in.
have often seen Japanese dances sometimes find it difficult to cure this blindness; for most of us are not accustomed to the language of dancing and so do not understand it. Like any other highly developed form of art, the understanding of Japanese dancing requires study; it requires devotion and interest.

If a people prefers dancing as a means of artistic expression, it must possess a pronounced feeling for the movements of the human body. The Japanese possess this feeling to the highest degree, but—in contrast to the Greeks, for instance—exclusively for gesture and movement and not for the human body as such. They are interested in the beauty of movement, not of the body. This explains why no dancer ever performs lightly clothed or half-naked: the costume is of great artistic significance for the emphasizing of gestures. For a Japanese dancer it is not especially important whether he has a good figure or not. The famous dancer Kikugoro Onoe VI with his rather stocky build and hint of a bull neck, looks in private life more like a successful businessman than a leading disciple of Terpsichore.

The cult of movement is still far more pronounced in Japan even in everyday life than in other countries, although modern times have effaced much of it. One cannot remain dignified when running after a tram. But in daily contact with the Japanese one is still struck by their superior bodily control. It is also significant that to this day the Japanese regard the movements of Westerners as hasty, uncontrolled, and ugly or even funny. They are guided in their judgment in this respect not only by ethical but also by aesthetic considerations.

MONOLOGUES OF GESTURE

On the stage, the difference between the Japanese manner and ours is especially apparent. In the well-known Kabuki play TeraKoya, a samurai replaces the son of his lord by his own son, so that the latter is killed as a hostage. The spiritual struggle and the suffering of this man and the final victory of feudal loyalty are expressed on the Japanese stage chiefly by gestures. In Europe this scene would doubtless have given occasion to lengthy monologues or dialogues about paternal love, loyalty, and the inexorability of fate. On the other hand, a Japanese Hamlet, for example, would never express his emotions by lengthy speeches; he would indicate the feelings of the famous "To be or not to be" mainly by gestures or perhaps even by a solo dance. One must remember that the best-known Japanese actors are also at the same time always the most famous dancers.

But it would be wrong to think that Japanese theatrical art is a kind of pantomime; for the actors also speak, only that these words are not of paramount importance. The Japanese stage presents real, pure theater, in that every theatrical means of effect is employed: magnificent settings, costumes, dances, gestures, music, singing, spoken words, and even a narrator who describes the happenings on the stage. The Japanese plays have actually little to do with literature, although there exist dramas of a high literary standard, such as those of Chikamatsu, known as the Japanese Shakespeare.

STAGE AND PROFESSIONAL DANCING

Although it is not always easy clearly to distinguish between professional and folk dancing in Japan, we can count among the professional dances those performed by actors and geishas as well as such religious dances as those in which leaders or semiprofessionals take part. Most of the dances, however, which are performed in sacred shrines or temples are folk dances, as they are executed by members of the respective communities.

In the performances of the Japanese stage, which used to last all day but which have now been cut down to four or five hours and which often include solo dances, one classical dance is always given, performed by one of the great masters, such as Kikugoro Onoe VI or Mitsuoro Bando V.

The geishas, next to the actors the main exponents of professional dancing,
generally perform the same or similar dances as their male colleagues, but in their ordinary kimonos instead of special costumes. Sometimes they also perform folk dances or some new popular dance or other, such as the air-raid precaution dance or the humorous dance of the soldier from Tokyo who returns from the front and tells of his deeds in the flippant Tokyo manner. The geishas usually perform in restaurants in private circles and appear on the stage only on special occasions. Thus, since the Meiji Period, it has been the custom in Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto for the geishas to perform spring dances in large theaters during the spring, such as the Miyako-Odori in Kyoto (usually known to foreigners as the "Cherry Dance").

Actors and geishas attend the same dancing schools, of which the leading ones date from the eighteenth century or somewhat later. Even the men first learn the women's dances because, so the Japanese say, it is then comparatively easy to learn men's dances. Instruction usually begins in early childhood, and at least fifteen to twenty years of practice are necessary before the actor can present a passable figure on the stage. The great masters Koshiro Matsumoto VIII and Uzaemon Ichimura XV, two of the most brilliant stars of the Kabuki stage, are both in their seventies, while Kikugoro and Mitsugoro, whom we mentioned before, as well as most of the other leading dancers and actors, are in their sixties. Ennosuke Ichikawa II, who is well over fifty, is still regarded as a "promising young star." In the case of classical lovers, the woman is usually played by a sixty-year-old man and the man by an actor more than seventy years old. Since the spectators attach little importance to facial expression and thus to the face itself, age is of no consequence: what is essential is the art of movement, which happens to be mastered best by experienced actors.

In order to enhance the theatrical effect and to efface individual features, the make-up is applied so thickly that one speaks of Japanese make-up masks. Real masks, however, are used only in No plays. The fact that no women appear on the classical Japanese stage can be traced to a ban that was lifted long ago; nevertheless, recent attempts to present actresses on the stage met with no approval. The Japanese claim that a female impersonator is more effective on the stage than a woman, as women are too small and their features too delicate. They add that woman's social position and education today are different from those of olden times, and that the type of modern, modest womanhood is not suited for representing the mighty heroines of old.

CLUBS RATHER THAN THEATERS

What we have just said does not apply to the No plays, the oldest and most distinguished branch of the art of drama and dancing in Japan. The No players, who were given the right five hundred years ago to wear two swords, have not since that time been ranked as actors but as knights. For that reason they were not allowed to perform in public for money, a tradition which, with few exceptions, has been maintained to this day. During the Tokugawa Period, the No stage developed into a kind of court theater. Nowadays, the No theaters are maintained by a fairly large circle of art lovers who, like the feudal princes of the past, take part themselves in the performances as amateurs. Thus it is said that the President of the Upper House, Count Yorinaga Matsudaira, is an enthusiastic and talented No actor. So the No theaters are not theaters in the real sense of the word but a sort of club which owns a stage.

Here again we have a comparison with the West. While Westerners meet in the evening to play chamber music, Japanese art lovers meet on the No stage. Benito Mussolini plays the violin for relaxation; the President of the Japanese Upper House, however, prefers to participate in the solemn gestures of a dance drama.

"CATCHING A BUTTERFLY"

In order to appreciate Japanese dancing, a certain knowledge of the movements is
necessary. Otherwise the symbolism of the dance remains unintelligible, and this symbolism is the very soul of Japanese dancing. There are definite, traditional movements in dancing which indicate riding a horse, falling off a horse, pouring tea, catching a butterfly, wandering, sowing, harvesting, fishing, changing clothes, opening a sliding door, fondling a child, chasing away a scoundrel, and the hundreds of other things there are in life. These symbolical movements must be practiced diligently in order to appear intelligible and beautiful at the same time. It is said of Kikugoro that he becomes furious when a dancer, in symbolically putting down a teacup, does not exactly take into account the height of the table. Both the teacup as well as the table are not actually there, but even so the dancer should know to a centimeter how high the table would be if it were really there.

Most of the Kabuki and geisha dances popular today were created a hundred to two hundred years ago by famous masters or re-created after still older models. To this day they are still danced just as they used to be, down to the last detail. The majority of the No plays, however, are five hundred years old, while the Bugaku plays which are sometimes performed at the Imperial Court or at some of the great Shinto shrines have even reached the venerable age of a thousand years. The traditions are passed on from masters to pupils, who are either the sons, adopted sons, or favorite pupils of their masters and who have the right, after the master's death, to assume his name. This is why the names of the members of old actor families are numbered like those of rulers. Thus, for instance, Kikunosuke Onoe, the son of Kikugoro Onoe VI, will probably assume the name of Kikugoro VII after the death of his father.

Now and then, however (except in the case of Bugaku), new dances are added which are composed by one or other of the great masters either by giving a new interpretation to an old theme or by taking a new theme.

THE WEST CAN OFFER LITTLE

The contents of the dances, which are taken from mythology, religious life, the world of fairy tale, history, or life itself, must be known in outline in order to be able to follow the performance. Of course, the Japanese know the themes, just as we know what Wagner's operas or Shakespeare's plays are about. But just as we go to famous operas and plays, not only because of their contents, but also to see famous artists in the main parts, so in Japan, too, the names of the actors and dancers represent a great attraction.

Ten to twenty years ago it was believed in Japan that the classical theater and the traditional style of dancing could not withstand the onslaught of modern times and would probably give way to Western music and drama or at least to new Japanese arts influenced by the West. This assumption proved to be false. Although the new Japanese arts, especially that of the movies, have developed considerably, the popularity of traditional art has risen again during the last few years.

Actually this conservatism of the Japanese is not surprising, for there is little or nothing that the West can contribute toward the development of their own particular forms of art. The Japanese drama and the Japanese dance are forms of art that appeal essentially to the eye, so that our forms, which are adjusted more to the ear, cannot offer them much inspiration. As much new inspiration as we can offer the Japanese in the field of music, as little can we offer them in the field of pure theater.

FOLK DANCES

The Japanese predilection for the dance is especially apparent in the sphere of folk dancing. As far back as we can see in their history, these people have danced often and enthusiastically. In many respects the folk dances are more interesting than the professional dances. Although in Japan, like everywhere else, the professional dances have their origin
in folk dances, they have on the whole undergone more changes as a result of the gradual cultural development and of new themes and forms inspired by foreign influence.

It is practically impossible to attempt a short survey of Japanese folk dancing, for one can actually make only one generalization, namely, that the quantity and variety of Japanese folk dances are simply overwhelming. A recent Japanese publication goes so far as to say that it is almost impossible to write a comprehensive work on Japanese folk dances, since the life of a man is scarcely long enough even to see only once all the different dances in the North, South, East, and West of the country. The wealth of Japanese literature on dancing which has been available for more than a thousand years usually deals with individual forms or schools of dancing only.

THE LIFTING OF A BAN

Four or five years ago, in view of the war situation, a certain propaganda began against public festivals and celebrations and thus also against public dancing in the open air. This was doubtless justified, for Japanese festivals have always been connected with considerable display: whole streets were decorated with red-and-white bunting, green branches, and innumerable lanterns, and special stands were erected for musicians and performers. Above all, the former wasteful luxury in festive lighting was bound to clash with air-raid control measures and the necessity for saving electric current.

In the summer of 1942, however, the Government partially relaxed its strict attitude by permitting folk dancing in the country. It did not wish in the long run to deprive the rural population, which has little other entertainment, of its traditional festivities, and the excellent harvest of last year provided a welcome reason for breaking this rule. The result was that all through last summer the country people danced—especially the Bon dances—with more enthusiasm than for many a year, and one could feel how much dancing is a real necessity to the Japanese.

AME NO UZUME'S DANCE

The history of the dance can be followed in Japan fairly accurately from the seventh century on, and for still earlier times there are definite indications to go by. According to mythology, the origin of dancing in Japan can be traced to the dance performed by the goddess Ame no Uzume to the accompaniment of gay singing and music on the part of the other gods in order to lure the Sun Goddess out of the heavenly cave, into which she had withdrawn in grief over a quarrel with her wild brother (the legend of the eclipse of the sun). The fact that dancing in Japan goes back to purely Japanese origins, which can be proved in various ways, is thus also confirmed by mythology.

Later on, manifold, strong foreign influences were added. But throughout the centuries the basic conception has remained Japanese, and all dancing themes and forms brought in from abroad underwent a change in the Japanese sense. When one looks today at the popular lion-mask dances—there have never been any lions in Japan—one would not think that these dances came from abroad more than a thousand years ago.

Numerous, still popular dances, are of a purely Japanese origin and thus go back to the times before the great invasion of Buddhist-continental influence in the seventh century. There are dances, such as the Yamato and Azuma plays, which have probably passed their two-thousandth anniversary and which have remained alive throughout all these years. Although they are, of course, no longer danced in exactly the same manner as in the most ancient times, their present form can be traced back to the eighth and ninth centuries. These as well as other ancient Japanese dances were originally dances of young villagers, of peasants, fishermen, and horse drivers. Besides these, there are probably just as old, sacred dance dramas called Kagura,
which have likewise retained their popularity to this day.

EARLY FOREIGN INFLUENCES

The greatest influx of foreign forms of music and dancing took place from the seventh to the ninth century. The most important influences came with Buddhism from China, Korea, Cambodia, India, Manchuria, and Tibet. While the Manchurian and Tibetan influences came indirectly via Korea and China, the majority of Indian and Cambodian dances came directly from those countries to Japan. Among others, a Cambodian teacher of music and dancing, who arrived in Japan with some Indian priests in the eighth century, spent a long time giving lessons in Nara, then the capital of Japan. It is believed that Greek motifs, too, reached Japan via India.

Under these foreign influences, new dances, usually grouped under the name of Bugaku, developed during the seventh and eighth centuries, dances which in part have remained unchanged down to present times. There is no doubt that Japan possesses the oldest preserved dance dramas in the world. Many of the motifs and forms still alive in Japan, which originated abroad, have long been forgotten in their countries of origin, so that the Japanese dances represent a rich source of knowledge for the ethnographer and the student of folklore. Chinese experts have had to refer to Japanese examples when writing the history of their own theater and dance of the Tang period.

The manifold later forms which have arisen since the tenth century, as well as the present-day dances (including the professional dances in the No and Kabuki style), have developed—partly under the influence of the addition of new musical instruments—from the above-mentioned old dance dramas (chiefly Kagura and Bugaku).

KAGURA AND BON

Today the best-known folk dances are: Kagura, Bon, harvest and fishing dances, and the lion-mask dances. All these terms are, however, only collective names; for in every district these dances differ, and in some the ancient elements are dominating while in others it is the later or foreign ones.

The numerous and varied Kagura dances which, by reason of their origin, are Shintoist, with a scarcely perceptible Buddhist influence, are now often danced in the adjoining halls of the Shinto shrines instead of in the open air. The male and female dancers usually wear sweeping, antique robes and move with slow, solemn steps, unless it happens to be one of the farce-like Kagura forms. Masks are often used. The performance of these dances is usually connected with certain feast days, but they can also be performed for special occasions. They may express harvest thanksgiving or serve to invoke rain or ward off threatening plagues. In southern Japan, for instance, there is a “Good-Weather Kagura,” which is danced when a ship is launched.

The Bon dances are the most popular of all folk dances. They made their appearance in the seventh century under Buddhist influence and are generally danced during the Buddhist festival for the souls of the dead in July. However, even at the time when they were being composed, these dances often merged with old existing Japanese dances, and their religious character was consequently usually thereby lost. In some places, the harvest dances, which are performed in August or September, are now also called Bon dances, although they never had any connection with the Buddhist festival of the dead. Even the traditional fishing dances of the coastal villages are sometimes included in this group. The number of these dances, so different in origin and character as well as in forms of dancing and musical accompaniment, is legion.

* * *

The pleasure the Japanese takes in dancing can be felt most clearly in summer at the Bon dances. They are always danced out-of-doors, and anyone can take part. Sometimes they are made up of special groups which, according to local
tradition, either dance at a spot near the village or form a dance procession through the streets. In some places costumes are worn or special uniform kimonos, while at others it is sufficient to tie a white cloth around one's head. Only Western clothes, as are now usually worn by men at their work, are regarded as unsuitable.

At the Bon dances, the atmosphere of Nature in summer is just as important as the dance itself. The dancers—often the whole village community—get into a kind of ecstasy, especially toward evening, an ecstasy arising from the rhythm of the dance and the all-penetrating presence of Nature. The dancer gradually forgets his own individuality and becomes a tiny part of his beloved Japanese countryside, with its fertile, familiar soil and its mysterious world of mountains, trees, and plants. In the hot summer nights, not only the living are present, but also the dead, who come for a visit during the days of the festival of the dead. In many places, lights and little fires are lit to show the spirits the way.

In Japanese dancing we can observe the same strange phenomenon as in all other spheres of Japanese life: side by side with progressing or newly added things there are always almost archaic remainders which have not progressed but yet have remained alive, sound, and significant. In all branches of cultural life there has, moreover, always been an essentially Japanese atmosphere which, in the course of time, has developed into the Japanese style. This Japanese style, however, has meanwhile soaked up so many other influences that Japanese culture, in spite of the uniformity of its essential atmosphere, presents a picture of overwhelming colorfulness and variety. This abundance of diverse themes and forms is to be found, perhaps more than anywhere else, in the sphere of Japanese dancing.

GERMANY'S CONTEMPORARY PAINTERS

By MAX LOEHR

People usually know more about the art of the past than about that of contemporary times. The art of former ages has long been systematized and evaluated; it is taught in school, and certain generally accepted ideas exist regarding it. But contemporary art is still so close to us that we find it difficult to see it in its right proportions. Yet it has much to tell us about our own times.

Dr. Loehr studied art at German universities and is now Director of the Deutschländ Institut in Peking. His article offers a small glimpse into a large topic. The examples were selected by him, not because of any outstanding value, but because they are typical and serve well as an introduction to the trends in modern art.—K.M.

MUNICH, the gay capital of Bavaria, has always been an important art center. Its famous Glaspalast (Crystal Palace) contained many an international exhibition of painting and sculpture—until, a few years ago, it fell victim to a devastating fire. But Munich was soon to be compensated for this loss: the German Government decided to present the town with a new, beautifully constructed exhibition hall, and on July 18, 1937, the first exhibition was opened in this "House of German Art." On the same day the doors of another exhibition were opened in Munich. This exhibition, entitled "Degenerate Art," had also been assembled by the Government and presented all those manifestations of painting and sculpture that no longer had any place in Germany. Here, perhaps for the first time in history, the State actively took a hand in this sphere of life. This event meant nothing less than that from then on the State exerted a decisive influence in all questions of art.

Let us outline in a few words the type of art that was branded here as degenerate. It included products of the
last three decades, especially of the period after the Great War. Of course, the convulsions of the Great War had somehow to find expression. If they had not become apparent at all in art, it would have only proved insincerity or indifference on the part of the artists. Decisive was the manner in which those artists expressed themselves. What is condemned in Germany today is not the compassionate attention paid to social misery, but the one-sided accentuating, even glorification, of all that flourished in misery, in paintings which are poor from the artistic point of view but rich in the invention of ignoble motifs. Condemned is also the tendentious treatment of themes directed against society, State, and the armed forces.

WHAT IS EXPRESSIONISM?

In the same exhibition certain other manifestations in German expressionism and its branches, which were formerly tolerated or even taken seriously, were now ruthlessly exposed in their unworthiness. Expressionism had completely overturned the customary ideas of painting of the nineteenth century, and for that reason there were many who did not understand it. The problems which it sought to solve had arisen in European painting subsequent to Cézanne and Van Gogh. They consisted chiefly of the following:

- Reduction of perspective depth in favor of surface effects;
- Emphasis on line, in contrast to impressionism’s alinear, disintegrating manner of painting;
- New color combinations with symbolic and decorative meaning;
- New subjects, in which can be recognized the desire to place the typical before the individual, the common before the accidental, the timeless before the momentary.

The real content of this strongly meditative art is its urge to grasp what is absolute. Consequently, more and more stress was placed on the invisible. The mental image of the world gradually shifted more and more from the visual to the thought structure, so that the final result was the loss of all that was concrete: a pure abstraction.

By this we do not mean to say anything against expressionism as such. However, these inclinations toward the abstract have facilitated the growth of a pseudoartistic production, since all former rules and laws seemed to have lost their validity in expressionism, which encouraged every dilettante to join in. As a result, a lot of worthless stuff was produced which, however, might have appeared to the unschooled or prejudiced eye as no less representative than real art. For the spectator required schooling to be able to judge here.

“If modern painting appeals only to a small, constantly narrowing circle of connoisseurs, this represents a turning away from the generally comprehensive subject,” wrote Oswald Spengler. The exhibition “Degenerate Art” was, sociologically speaking, a revolt against this state of affairs. With it an important attempt was made to confirm to the layman his right to a generally comprehensible subject.

NEW TRENDS

There were also strong forces within modern art itself which revolted against plunging into abstraction, where painting started a desperate race with music, as Wilhelm Pinder put it. A desire for new simplicity, for unadorned trueness to the object, for the resurrection of plastic values began to make itself felt. New roads were entered upon more or less simultaneously in Germany, Italy, and France, for which new names were not long in coming: in Germany “Neue Sachlichkeit” (New Objectivity); in Italy “Valori Plastici” (Plastic Values) and later “Novecento Italiano” (Twentieth-century Italian Art); and in France “Réalisme magique” and “Surréalisme.” All these trends, however, still contain some of that which they really set out to do away with, namely, an inclination for representing something unfathomable or even uncanny, something mechanistic or
primitive. In almost every painting of this kind there is something unreal that gives the spectator a feeling of dread or discomfort. It is to this that the Italian expression "pittura metafisica," metaphysical painting, refers.

In Italy the exponents of this trend, which is no longer regarded as representative, are allowed free rein and are even permitted to exhibit their works at the Quadriennale, the State exhibition in Rome, the more so as their influence is steadily decreasing. In Germany, however, this development is being, so to speak, accelerated by State intervention. This intervention consists in a selection being made. The decisive factor in this selection is the artistic level of the work. But the painting is also judged as to whether it is worthy of enduring as a document of present-day Germany. Thus the ever difficult question of judging and selecting paintings has now been placed on the same plane as that on which the basic standards of political life are valid. There can be no doubt that the renewal and clarification of values arising from the political sphere are not enough to produce new talents, but that a new balance between will and feeling on the one hand, and an appropriate formal expression on the other, has in most cases still to be found. Nevertheless, the beginnings are there, and in some cases even more.

Let us look at a few samples of what has appeared in the way of new painting during the last few years.

AN EXPONENT OF "NEW OBJECTIVITY"

First we have a work by Franz Lenk, Watering Can and Garbage Bucket, painted in 1927. This painting is a good example of what the exponents of "New Objectivity" wished to express. It is not a very impressive motif: a packing case, a tin bucket and watering can, a fence with barbed wire and, in the background, a ship. All in all a very ordinary, common combination which one might find any day in the corner of any back garden on the lower Elbe. From the purely formal aspect we notice the employment of simple geometrical shapes as a drastic means of order, and the stressing of verticals and horizontals parallel to the frame, varied by delicate displacements of the axes of the objects in the foreground. This gives their relative position a certain appearance of severity, of not being accidental.

On closer inspection we perceive that less obvious movements of lines are repeated, to balance each other and bring harmony into the coherence of the painting. Thus, for example, in the handle of the bucket and the branches in the flowerpot; in the piece of string hanging from the fence and—at right angles—the gangway of the ship; or in the ingenious way in which the up-and-down of the planks over the straight beam corresponds to the up-and-down of the outline of the ship over the pure horizontal of the waterline, which is emphasized in its horizontal character by the irregular shape of the barbed wire running above it. Even if one does not become conscious of such details of creative logic, they nevertheless have their effect upon the sensitive observer. They show that the picture has been executed according to a strictly planned structure.

The reason for the poverty and simplicity of the motif is to be found in the desire for form expressed by the composition. But are there not more pleasant, more meaningful objects? Why this almost offensive combination of lowly commonplaceness? It cannot be entirely explained. But there is at least one deep-seated reason for it: such things do exist. The painter takes the trouble to analyze them. He penetrates into a sphere hitherto without aesthetic attractions and is perhaps able to discover something worthy of being painted. Thus it gains a new, reconciling aspect. Something has been opened up which existed only as a thing without artistic value.

To this something else must be added: it requires more courage and greater ability to deal artistically with a subject that is not popular or beautiful in itself. All the art the painter unfolds in dealing
MODERN GERMAN PAINTINGS

“Landscape with Cows” by Georg Schrimpf

“Watering Can and Garbage Bucket” by Franz Lenk

This painting is an example of the “New Objectivity” trend in the middle twenties.
with this objective minimum is art that he has developed himself.

And finally the painting contains its measure of true symbolism. It touches upon certain forms of life, which are contrasted here by the garbage heap inside the fence and the barbed wire and the ship outside. Thus, by undue accident, narrow confinement has met with utmost freedom and movement. Looking at it from this point of view, we soon realize that a perhaps much prettier subject, such as a garden with a ship gliding by, would be incomparably more banal and characterless, that thus the minus actually represents a plus.

**LANDSCAPES**

Next we have a painting by Georg Schrimpf: *Landscape with Cows*. Schrimpf, who died several years ago, belonged to the leading postexpressionists in Germany. This picture of his shows the most simple structure, with broad expanses, carefully drawn horizontals, and smooth, firmly modeled outlines. The scene looks as if it had been tidied up. In that respect it is related to the landscapes of the Classicist period of the early nineteenth century. The painting is filled with a profound tranquillity, entirely without pathos. However, it is not prosaic but rather breathes a mood of gentle sadness.

Paul Tilly's *Reed Gatherer*, painted in 1938, expresses a somewhat similar mood. The picture is even more stripped and melancholy than the former one. The theme of "Man in Nature" has been reduced to a minimum. Simply presented, with impersonal restraint, it is yet genuine and has something to say. Just as in Schrimpf's work, we find a rejection of all that is pompous in painting, of scintillating brushwork, and dazzling color combinations. In every respect, the painting is simple and sincere. Subjects of this kind, showing the life of peasants, in a serious manner, without the peasant appearing—as so often in the nineteenth century—as a comical or monumentalized figure, but seen soberly and humanly, play an important role in recent painting.

**NEW INSPIRATION**

Among the frequent subjects of painting are the realities of public life. An unexpected artistic yield is presented by works dealing with the theme of the giant road construction in Germany. One example is Theodor Protzen's *Speedway Bridge in Württemberg*. It shows a construction site on the banks of a river in winter. The wooden scaffolding of the unfinished arches spans the valley in a mighty rhythm. In spite of the many carefully executed details, the formal emphasis is on the order created by the constructive coherence. The dreamlike tranquillity which the painting contains as a result of this order relates it to the much more idyllic subject of Schrimpf's *Landscape with Cows*. In spite of the technical theme, the painting of the bridge is not unromantic. Here engineering does not violate or destroy Nature but unites with it organically, as if the valley wanted the bridge.

That which is common to almost all paintings of recent years is their formal simplicity and precision, the distinct apprehension of the subject matter. The clarity which most of the present-day painters demand from their work is an ideal that has by no means always existed. In the picturesque painting of Rembrandt and the Impressionists there is often no actual drawing to be seen; their clarity is provided solely by the elements of color and light and is therefore a very limited one. Today, line and clear modeling are again strongly emphasized. And this means nothing less than a resurrection of the plastic spirit.
THE STORY OF MODERN CHINESE LITERATURE

By T. F. CHU

Chinese being one of the most difficult languages to read, few non-Chinese ever become proficient in it. Thus it happens that most of us live in China, passing Chinese bookstands every day, without being able to read a single sentence. As a result, modern Chinese literature—that mirror of modern China—is practically unknown to non-Chinese and, furthermore, it is very rarely translated into other languages. The following article attempts to give the non-Chinese readers of our magazine a survey of China's literature since the Revolution of 1911.

T. F. Chu (周重福), a son of Shanghai, has traveled widely in Americas and Europe. He has taught in several colleges and has written many articles on Chinese questions.—K.M.

THE development of Chinese literature in the last thirty years has been nothing short of extraordinary. The method of writing the language has been revolutionized, the literary style of over three thousand years thrown overboard, a new method of translation initiated, and the beautiful flower of new verse and prose has blossomed out in all the fresh splendor of a new age. The change has been so rapid and so complete that all this has happened within the living memory of many a man.

It is notable that, during the same period, Chinese literary thought has rushed ahead and, by skipping many a step, has caught up with the most advanced of current ideas. The story is so interesting and so unique that a full record deserves to be made, notwithstanding all the difficulties.

LITERARY REVOLUTION

To begin with, we must point out that by far the most important event was the literary revolution. Starting in 1917, this revolution followed closely upon the heels of the political one of 1911. The banner of revolt was raised by Hu Shih, with the able support of Chen Tu Hsiu (陈独秀) and Chien Hsüan Tung (钱玄同), through the medium of the New Youth Magazine (新青年). A manifesto was proclaimed, and a bold attack directed against the old literary style as a medium of expression. The propounders criticized the continued use of the Wen Li style—which is unintelligible when read out loud—now that all countries, including the newly converted Turkey, were using the living speech as the means of communication. They declared that the Wen Li style was dead for all practical purposes, like Latin and Greek, whereas the colloquial style was living, with new terms being invented every day for every new situation. There was no reason why we should forego on one which was alive and growing for another which was dead, a thing of the past. After all was said and done, they maintained that as the colloquial style was understood by everyone and the literary one by only a few, it went without saying that the colloquial style should be set up as the standard.

The method employed by Hu Shih and his colleagues for popularizing the colloquial style was eminently efficient. Believing that nothing is more convincing than a concrete example, they started off the movement by diligent application, namely, by writing countless articles in the new style. In the end, it was proved in black and white that the new style was capable of producing any kind of writing, whether in verse or prose.

By dint of indefatigable work, the whole student body was converted. After 1919, thousands of students followed in their footsteps with vigor and enthusiasm.
The large total of some 400 magazines appeared within a few years, all written in the new style. By 1921, the movement was so overpowering that the last stronghold of the old conservative camp, the Short Story Monthly (小説月報), and the other magazines published by the Commercial Press, were converted, thus compelling the public to read in the new style, whether it liked it or not. Soon after, even the Government was converted, and by 1928 none but new-style textbooks were used in all schools. The victory of the movement was complete.

TRANSLATIONS

In retrospect we find that the initial success of the movement was scored in the field of translation. Here the colloquial style is clearly superior, and consequently, during the first five years of the movement, the whole energy of output was concentrated in this field. The central motive power of this work was the Literary Guild (文學研究會), founded in 1920 by a group of Anglo-American returned students and others with a knowledge of English. The books they translated were mostly of the present generation, with just a sprinkling of classical authors. This was done to widen the horizon of the Chinese-reading public and to put them in close contact with the literary products of the modern world.

In technique, the method of translation was improved by a new style of Chinese, invented by Lu Hsun (魯迅) and Chow Tso Jen (周作人). This style, known as "Europeanized Chinese" (歐化語體), was better adapted to reproducing the original idea. The books translated include those of relatively unimportant countries, such as Iceland, Bulgaria, Armenia, and South Africa; and among the authors translated we find J. Aho, Meric-chakatika, A. A. Haronian, Ephthaliotis, and M. Pogacie. But, strange to say, the great bulk of the books translated by these Anglo-American returned students are of Russian origin, and the most-translated author is Ivan Turgenev, a man who did not write a word of English.

All in all, there have been some three hundred translators, including about one hundred and eighty one-book translators. Among the most outstanding ones are Wu Kwang Chien (伍光建), a translator of many books from English, and Kuo Mao Jo (郭沫若), who took great pains to reproduce the exact meaning of the original. Kuo's versions of Faust, The Jungle, and War and Peace will go down in history. Keng Chi Chih (耿濟之) made direct translations from Russian, and Tsong Hsien Ming (童寖民) from Esperanto. Li Tsing Yah (李青崖) translated the complete works of Maupassant, and Chao Chang Sen (趙景深) those of Chekhov. Chong Tsen Doh (鄭振鐸) translated many books by Rabindranath Tagore. Chow Tso Jen (周作人) and Wang Liao I (王力一) introduced a number of Japanese authors; and Wang Lu Yen (王魯彦) translated nothing but authors from little-known countries such as Estonia, Greece, the Ukraine, and Afghanistan.

Up to 1935, the proportion of books translated, according to a list selected for libraries by the Life Press (生活書店), was as follows:

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Many books were translated more than once. One man invariably translated the same book twice and marketed the translations through two different book companies. All in all, there are thirteen books translated three times, sixty-one translated twice, and one book, The Road Back by E. M. Remarque, translated as many as four times.

The following are the most-translated authors, arranged according to the number of books translated: Turgenev (22), Gorky (22), Maupassant (17), Tolstoy (15), Upton Sinclair (14), Chekhov (13), Tagore (12), Mushakoji (11), Dostoyevsky (11), Shaw (9), Anatole France (9), Kan Kikuchi (9), Andreyev (9), Galsworthy (8).
Thomas Hardy (8), Victor Hugo (8), Goethe (8), and Pearl Buck (7).

**ORIGINAL WORKS**

Not satisfied with mere translations, the promotors soon plunged into the work of original composition, so as to provide new mental food for the consumption of the Chinese public. The books produced were for the most part "with a purpose," together with those of mere popular appeal. Nevertheless, because of the want of authors, the works produced were few and far between during the first five years (1917-1922), hardly half a dozen books a month. But by 1922, as the movement gathered momentum, more and more original works were produced. The motive power for such an undertaking was now supplied by the Creative Society (创造社), founded by a group of Japanese-returned students. In contrast to the "gilded gentlemen" of the Literary Guild, the members of the Creative Society were uncouth, rustic students, hardened products of this hard age. New books were produced with a rush and a dash hitherto unknown. According to the figures of the China Year Book, the total number of new books produced in the years 1934, 1935, and 1936 were 525, 326, and 677 respectively. After 1937, most of the writers moved into the interior of China, and figures for book production became unavailable. But we know that the production has been considerably reduced.

The books published during the first few years took up the topic of love and marriage, of free love versus conventional marriage. Next, the attention was keyed to the problems of the poor, and "proletariat literature" became the vogue of the day. This continued for a good many years until the closing of the Creative Society in 1929. After 1931, Lin Yu Tang (林語堂) introduced a literature of humor and sarcasm by means of his magazine Lung Yu (論語), modeled after *Punch*. Soon after that, there emerged above the horizon a literature of racial self-determination and war. All the intelligentsia were rudely stirred up, and ceaseless agitation continued until the war itself put an end to all such activities.

**VERSE**

The writers of verse now had the first opportunity to free themselves of the tight shackles of the old form. The speaking language was brought into full use and all the latest foreign verse forms employed for a full display of the emotions.

Here again, Hu Shih was the first man to break the ice, although his little volume *Trial Efforts* (實試集), written during the years 1916 to 1920, still savors strongly of the old style. But Hu’s attempt was soon bettered by Kang Pai Tsing (康白情), then a student of the University of Peking, and his *Leaves of Grass* (草兒集) showed some of the possibilities of the new style. After Kang came Hsu Tse Mo (徐志摩), a graduate of Oxford, whose style was flowery and polished. His collection, with the queer title of *The Tiger* (猛虎集), is read and reread by all students of poetry.

Hsu was followed by Kuo Mau Jo (郭沫若), a Japanese-returned medical student who, in his volumes *The Goddess* (女神) and *Stars in Space* (星空), succeeded in producing poems filled with warmth and emotion. Another poet, by the name of Pai Tsai (白采), was clever enough to choose an untrodden path when he wrote a long epic in verse, *The Passions of an Invalid* (病者的愛), an unusual study of an abnormal mind. A Miss Hsia, writing under the pseudonym of "Icy Heart" (冰心), composed many little poems on mother love, Nature’s ways, and the innocence of children. Miss Hsia has the rare gift of transforming mere simplicity into beauty, and her poems are as refreshing as ice water.

The one characteristic of Chinese poetry is its brevity and conciseness. Verses are generally written in just a few lines in such a way that, even though the lines are finished, the idea still carries on. In this respect, Chinese poetry conforms very much to Edgar Allen Poe’s stipulation that "a poem should be written in a
limited number of lines, so that it may be read in an uninterrupted mood of increasing exaltation."

NOVELS AND PRESS

The chief product of the period was novels, short stories, and sketches. In 1918, Lu Hsun (鲁迅) started the ball rolling by writing the first example of the kind, entitled A Lunatic’s Diary (狂人日记). After that, Lu wrote very prolifically, running up a total of twenty volumes, representative of which are The Outcry (呐喊) and The Dilemma (彷徨). The former is a collection of short stories including The Story of Ah Q, which was translated into English. Lu’s style was most entertaining, sometimes bitingly sarcastic yet often relieved by humor. His Auto­biography was also translated into English. Lu was followed by Chang Tse Ping (張愛玲), who wrote many novels on the problems of marriage, triangular, and rectangular love. The novels were just what the public wanted but not the kind to be handed down to posterity. But Yu Ta Fu (郁達夫), a contemporary of Chang’s, is of quite a different caliber. He set down unadorned his life’s experience, and his novels, e.g., The Sinking (沉淪), Chicken Breast (鷄肋集), and Cold Ashes (寒灰集), treat of poverty, misery, and other vicissitudes of life that compel sympathy. He was not afraid to laugh at himself, and his humor was invariably inserted to emphasize the cruelty of this hard world.

At about the same time, a new development took place in the writing of dialogue in that Hung Ling Fee (洪靈菲) employed the Cantonese dialect instead of Mandarin. He was followed in this by other writers who also made use of various local dialects. Shen Tsung Wen (沈從文) described the contradictions of human behavior, and Mu Shih Ying (穆時英) added local color by making use of naïve conversations between country people. Miss Lu Ying (盧英) wrote bravely on the lives of married women, and Miss Ting Ling (丁玲) equally bravely on that of unmarried women. Lin Yu Tang amused the public with his humorous magazine, while Chou Tao Feng (鄭愁餘) caught the heart of thousands and thousands of students by the powerful sway of his Life Magazine (生活雜誌). Kuo Mau Jo wrote a vivid description of the first ten years of the Creative Society.

Miss Hsieh Ping Yung (謝冰姿) became famous overnight with her Journal of an Amazon (從軍日記), which was soon translated into English. The novels of Mao Dung (茅盾), one of which has been translated into German, and Pa Ching (巴金) are invariably long; whereas those by Shao Hsun Mei (邵洵美) and other writers of the New Moon Society (新月社) are always short. While the former group may or may not be novels of purpose, the latter are without exception tales of flesh and flirtation. A Trip to the Border (塞上行) by Fan Chang Chiang (范長江) written in 1940 is an excellent example of reportage, deserving all its popularity; while Pa Ching’s The Family (家), the most popular book at present, is but a poor imitation of an old pattern.

DRAMA

Compared with the other forms of writing, the dramas produced during the last thirty years are of no great consequence. Perhaps the main reason for this was the lack of response. However, the playwrights themselves were also to blame; they had no magic wand with which to transform the inert public. As a result, we find more enthusiasm than good plays. With regard to quantity, the plays published up to 1935 numbered 252, with 74 original works and 178 translations.

Among the foreign authors translated, none was as popular as Ibsen. For several years the study of problem plays was the prevailing fashion. After Ibsen, George Bernard Shaw, Oscar Wilde, and Maurice Maeterlinck also enjoyed periods of popularity.

It is enough to mention two of the enthusiastic Chinese dramatists: Tien Han (田漢) and Hung Sen (洪深), each of whom founded a school and devoted himself wholeheartedly to his work for over twenty years. Lately, however, one of their students by the name of Tsao
Yu (曹禺) has written a masterpiece entitled Thundering Rain (雷雨), the only modern Chinese play to have been translated into English. The play deals with the problems and struggles of the poor. With its pathos and fine climax, the play fully deserved its full houses. The most popular drama at present, however, Autumn Quince (秋海棠), is mediocre, being an odd mixture of classical and modern drama.

CHILDREN'S BOOKS

Children’s books, formerly neglected, have been produced on an unprecedented scale since the advent of the Republic. They are now written by such first-class authors as Lu Hsun and Chow Tso Yen. The stories are generally written with a moral to them but not fettered with religious beliefs. A few of them are saddled with instruction, whereas the majority of them are just sugar-coated fiction. For the most part the booklets are short stories and fairy tales, plus songs, plays, historical tales, and digests of popular literature. Within the short space of ten years there have been 823 in all. Among the authors who are not afraid of “writing down,” we might mention Miss Ling Lan (林蘭), who has the infinite patience to put into fluent writing the countless folk tales which are told, with slight variations, in places all over China. Li Ching Hwei (黎锦辉) is the author of many children’s songs and not a few children’s plays.

VICTORY OF THE NEW STYLE

According to the Life Press catalogue, the total number of original works, aside from children’s books, written in the new style up to 1935 was as follows:

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<th>Type</th>
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<tr>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>74</td>
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<tr>
<td>Essays and sketches</td>
<td>289</td>
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<tr>
<td>Novels and fiction</td>
<td>637</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,153</strong></td>
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We have traced the development of Chinese literature since the literary revolution. We have noted how the fore-runners, by means of indefatigable zeal and boundless energy, overthrew the reigning tyrant of the old literary style. We have noted how, by skipping many a step, they managed to bring the literary thought of old Cathay up to the high level of the rest of the world. We have also noted how they set out to open the eyes of the Chinese public, first by translation of modern foreign authors, and then by original writings of their own.

Since most of the old-style literary men have gone to their long journey, all books produced at present are in the new style. There is one noteworthy characteristic, namely, that all Chinese authors nowadays are young men of foreign education, whether Japanese, German, or Anglo-American. Chinese literature has thus been richly fertilized, and there is now hardly a single Chinese author speaking only his native language.

The new style is very pleasant to read when well written. In the form of “Europeanized Chinese,” however, it is sometimes too distorted, especially in translation by the so-called direct method, and its meaning not always clear at a glance. Personally, I often find it easier to read the original than the translation. But it will not be long before such defects are adjusted.

As a result of the war, everything is at present in a turmoil and literary production is at a standstill. But, as masterpieces are often produced during the aftermath of war, we have great hopes for the future. Just as Tu Fu (杜甫) and Pai Chü I (白居易) emerged in all their grandeur after the devastations of the Tang Dynasty, so we hope soon to have the pleasure of seeing the works of modern Tu’s and Po’s when this war is over. Lu Hsun is dead, but in the spirit of the youth of today he still lives. One thing is sure: if the new style is to stay alive, it needs the constant replenishment of literary fuel. Without it, the fire will never have a chance of bursting into brilliant flames.
STRANGE CONFESSION

By ELIN-PELIN

In the leading article of this issue we mention the chances of Bulgaria being drawn into active warfare. The picture of Bulgaria which the following short story, a masterly little sketch, presents, takes the reader far away from all war clouds.

The author, whose real name is Dimitr Ivanov, is a son of the common people of Bulgaria. As a village teacher he "lived among the peasants and, in the repression of self, found the power to create." The motives of his stories are as simple as folk songs and, like them, were born of the emotions of actual life. In 1940, at the age of sixty-two, he was elected President of the Bulgarian Writers' Association.

The borders in the text are copied from Bulgarian peasant embroidery designs.

—K.M.

VESPERs were over. Father Pavel's last Amen died away without finding an echo in the decrepit little monastery church. The three peasant women, standing in a solemn little group in the middle of the church, looked expectantly at Father Pavel. But nothing more came. The service was over. The three women made the sign of the cross and went to bend over the sickly youth sitting there in the pew, pale and motionless, and help him out.

At this moment steps were heard in front of the little church, accompanied by the short, rhythmic ringing of tiny bells. A tall, massive man planted himself in front of the entrance, almost filling the doorway. After having stood there for a while, he entered and stopped again.

"Good day all. Does the father confessor live here?" he asked in a deep, throaty voice, without addressing anyone in particular.

The three women and Father Pavel, who were on the point of leaving, turned toward the new arrival. What they saw scarcely bore any resemblance to a human being but looked much more like a huge, terrible bear that had torn itself loose from its chain. A shaggy monster stood there, with a great hat of goatskin, a large shepherd's coat, worn with the fur outside, and rough trousers of the same material which reached from the soles of his feet to his belt. Out of this shaggy mass of yellow goat's hair looked a coppery face with a bristling mustache and small eyes which gazed indifferently upon the world from the hiding place of their thick lids. In his fist he held a heavy stick taller than himself, and as he walked on he banged it onto the stone floor as if he wanted to plant it there.

"Does the father confessor live here?" he asked again, without turning to anyone in particular.

Father Pavel, who regarded the stranger over his spectacles with amazement, gestured with his hand toward a side door of the altar. There the aged father confessor, Father Nicodemus, was crouching on a low stool, having his nap. His big head had sunk onto his shoulder, and his white beard lay spread out like a napkin over the open book on his knees.

The astonishing fellow in his hairy clothes started off, lifting his stick and
stamping heavily toward the altar. At every step, little bells fastened to his feet trembled, and their eager tinkling seemed to be tumbling over the cold stone flags.

The three women, who had already intended to leave, left the invalid sitting in the pew and stayed on. Father Pavel crossed himself and smiled. Ts-inn, ts-inn, went the little bells, interrupted by the heavy knocking of the stick which preceded every tinkling sound.

Father Nicodemus awoke from his nap and lifted his head. At the sight of this terrifying mountain of a man approaching him, he started up so violently that his stool fell over backwards with a crash.

“Good day,” said the stranger as he came to a halt with a last heavy thud of his stick.

“Uncover thy head!” admonished the priest, as soon as he had come to himself.

The stranger lifted his great hand, pulled off his hat, and stuck it under his arm. His crushed mop of hair was threaded with white.

“Come closer!” the father confessor encouraged him, whereupon the visitor awkwardly came a few steps nearer and the little bells tinkled again.

“I have come to confess, as I was taught to do.”

“And where were you taught to do that?” Father Nicodemus asked, highly astonished.

“Up there, in the mountains . . .”

The man’s deep, rough voice echoed boominly in the little church. The few tiny candles that were burning began to flicker timidly in their holders.

“Do I have to pay something for it or don’t I have to pay anything?” he asked undeterred and put his hand into the opening of his coat to grope for his money. His hat, which had been gripped under his arm, fell to the floor and lay snuggled at his feet like a shaggy, faithful sheep dog.

“Don’t bother, don’t bother,” said Father Nicodemus, somewhat amused; but the other was not to be put off. He drew out a long leather pouch, laboriously unrolled it, and thrust his hand into its depths.

“I don’t know, brother, I do as I have been taught. I don’t live among people, you see. I live in the mountains. Up there where there is only forest, among the trees, that’s my home . . .” And he pressed a few coins into the priest’s hand.

Father Nicodemus looked up into his face and smiled dourly; but, in order to make an end, he reluctantly accepted the money.

“I’m a cattle driver, that’s what I am,” the voice boomed out again. “I grew up in the woods. That’s where I live and that’s where I’ll die.”

“Have you any children? Are you married?” the priest wanted to know.

“No, no. Just as you see me here, all alone, that’s how I am.”

“A cattle driver, did you say?”

“Yes, a cattle driver. For other people’s cattle. Not a single beast of my own do I have.”

With every answer the man gained confidence and his voice boomed out louder.

“Pst, you must speak more softly,” the father confessor reprimanded him.

“More softly? Whatever for? I haven’t got anything to hide! I haven’t killed anyone. We people in the woods always talk like that. And with the cattle I don’t talk any differently either. In the mountains there is so much space . . .”
“And what about church? Do you go to church regularly?”

“No. Ever since I was a child I have not been in a church. I can’t even remember the last time.”

As he could not persuade his confessor to lower his voice, Father Nicodemus made a sign to the three women and Father Pavel to go away. The women helped up their invalid and, holding him under the arms, led him away. Father Pavel extinguished the candles that were still burning and also prepared to leave. But, when he realized that it was pitch dark in the church now, he thought better of it and relit two thin candles. Then he finally left.

“For that reason, they told me, I should come here and confess and receive the Holy Communion.”

“How old are you?”

“That I don’t know, brother. Forty, perhaps. Fifty, perhaps. It might even be sixty. That is the way things are in the mountains: the years just slip away from under one, so that one never finds them again.”

“Come here.” The man moved closer, and the little bells tinkled very softly. “What’s that always tinkling at your legs?”

“Those are my little bells, those are.”

“What do you need bells on your legs for?”

The stranger smiled as serenely as an angel. The rays of the sun fell through the dusty window and kindled a gleam on the gilded icon wall which exactly resembled the smile of this man.

“What I need them for, you want to know. Well, when I walk around in the mountains, I feel sorry for the little animals, the ants, the bees, the glow-worms, all those dear little crawling souls. I feel so sorry for them. After all, I can’t always look where I walk, and then sometimes it happens that I step on one of them. But these bells, you see, they announce my coming from a distance, and the animals get scared and get out of the way, all by themselves.”

On hearing this, the aged father confessor felt weak in his limbs. Spellbound he looked into the eyes of the stranger, and he was touched to the heart by so much simple purity of soul which was reflected in the coarse, weather-beaten features.

This man is holy, thought Father Nicodemus, he feels pity for the little beetles, the ants, all the little creatures that no one else ever thinks about. How pure is his soul! Who knows, perhaps God has even sent a saint to test me, miserable sinner . . . .

And, full of reverent awe, Father Nicodemus turned toward the icons and timidly made the sign of the cross. The stranger moved slightly, the bells tinkled softly . . . .

“Thou art a righteous man, without sin art thou. Thy soul is pure and free of all guilt,” the father confessor said with a smile and sank his head onto his breast as if he wanted to say: I have known so many souls in my life, but never would I have believed that there could be one like this . . . . “Thou art without sin, altogether without sin,” he repeated.

“Well, of course, I should like to know how I could have sinned.”

“Tell me, how do you live in your mountains? Do you pray diligently to God?”

“Why should I need to pray much?” said the stranger after a moment’s thought. “I look at the wonders of God, and am amazed! After all, I live close to Him, right next door to Him, at the top of the mountain, right under the stars.
There is enough there to wonder at, I never stop being amazed.”

A holy man, a holy man, Father Nicodemus thought rapturously. “And otherwise,” he said aloud, “did you not perhaps once steal something? Or perhaps harm your neighbor?”

“I? No, brother, God forbid! Take what doesn’t belong to me? Do someone an injury? Oh, no!”

Holy man, holy man! thought the priest. “Or did you not perhaps once tell a lie?”

“I ask you, who should I lie to, out there in the wilderness? One can’t lie to a tree or to a rock. My cattle? Why should I lie to my animals? They are innocent beasts, they don’t even know what lying means. People must lie to each other, that I can imagine, there must be something in that. But where should I find a person to lie to, and why should I lie to him?”

A saint! A saint! Father Nicodemus’s soul exulted, and before the greatness of this holiness he felt himself grow as small as a fly. And only in order to fulfill the last of his duties, he decided as a formality to ask: “And women? Do you see a woman now and again?”

“Why, of course, brother,” smiled the righteous man good-naturedly. “That’s only natural. That is one of the things God has provided for in His wisdom.”

“What has God provided for in His wisdom?” the priest asked with surprise, rocking forward a little on his toes and opening wide his eyes.

“Well, what you just said, about women.”

“What? You say God has provided for that?”

“Of course! Who else?”

Strange, very strange, thought Father Nicodemus. And aloud he said: “Then you have associated with women? Even intimately? Have even had an affair?”

“But very, very seldom, I suppose?”

“Oh no, often, very often,” the stranger confessed with delightful frankness.

“But where do you find women up there in the mountains?”

“Why, they can be found anywhere, if one looks for them.”

A sinner, a sinner is he! the priest thought with alarm, and suddenly he was seized by the terrible suspicion that it might be the devil who had stolen in in this guise to tempt him, Father Nicodemus. The very last trace of tenderness had been effaced from his features; now he looked hard and severe, a picture of holy wrath. “Tell me this instant where you find women in your wilderness!”

“There are some who come on their own.”

“And others?”

“Others ask me to their mountain huts.”

“A-ah. . . .”

“On one slope there is a widow who often asks me to come to her; she looks after me and even does my washing. And then there is another one who comes from afar. But I can’t tell you much about her. she is from other parts.”

“Is that all? Only those two?”

“Of course not, there are three or four other ones too.”

This was too much for the father confessor.

“That is sin!” he thundered, and trembled all over with indignation. Fanatical rage shone from his eyes.

“Sin?” repeated the stranger dumbfounded. “Well, how was I to know that? No one ever told me.”

“A great, an unpardonable sin!” shouted the priest.

“If that’s the way it is,” the black sheep said after a short silence with the same gentleness and simplicity, “well, then I’d better go.” And he bent down for his hat, picked it up, struck the
ground with his stick, and was ready to leave. "I didn’t know that, I really couldn’t have known that," he muttered. The little bells on his legs tinkled gaily as he moved away. But then he turned around once more and stopped: "Tell me, brother," he asked, "am I a man?"

"Yes, that you are, that you are," was the brusque reply.

"Then it is a sin to be a man?"

The impact of this logic took away Father Nicodemus’s breath. He did not even move when the stranger turned again to leave. The stick thudded heavily on the stone floor, the little bells tinkled gently like a soft request for forgiveness. But this only increased the zealot’s wrath, and he angrily shouted after the other:

"Listen, you, wait! Those bells, my friend, which you have there, you have no business to be wearing them! No business at all, none whatever!"

Whether the strange fellow no longer heard him, or whether he did not understand him, he calmly continued his lonely way and finally disappeared through the door.

Father Nicodemus remained behind in the darkness of the church, as if rooted to the spot. Outside, the regular steps, the thudding of the stick, and the cheerful tinkling of the bells, died away.

These bells, however, had the effect that Father Nicodemus continued to listen for them long, long after, till finally two trembling, wrinkled hands folded over a flowing beard and two withered lips began to murmur very softly.

"Father in Heaven," whispered Father Nicodemus, "forgive him, for he lives so near to Thy stars."
BOOK REVIEW

Zen in English Literature and Oriental Classics, by R. H. Blyth. (Tokyo, 1942, The Hokusaido Press. 446 pp. Yen 4.00)

"Zen is the most precious possession of Asia. But it is not Yes, and it is not No." This statement is arrived at by putting the first and the last sentences of the book together. It is at the same time a "definition" of Zen which the author would subscribe to without hesitation, because there can be no defining of Zen. Known answers to "What Zen?" or "Not Zen?" are "The tree in the garden," or what you will. As long as there is any urge for definition left in you, you may have a lot of things but no Zen. Therefore this book, written by one apparently thoroughly initiated in Zen, is not an attempt at describing what Zen is.

While from the intellectual point of view some previous knowledge is needed before taking up Professor Blyth's work, the reader will derive pleasure and profit from it even if he has never heard the mysterious word "Zen." In that case he must not try to understand what Zen is. He must be content with enjoying the quotations and texts and with getting acquainted with the author himself, a mind deeply versed in Western and Oriental wisdom, gifted with poetic and narrative power, and equipped with innumerable quotations from sources of all kinds. Then the unexpected may happen: just by following up the author's thought life, the reader may finally experience a sort of enlightenment on Zen and Eastern philosophy as a whole.

Professor Blyth rejoices over his release from the bondage of mere logic through Zen. Having had the veil torn from his eyes, he is convinced that he is now facing the real things—big or small—as they are: pathetic, happy, heroic, or miserable. "Buddha is the tree in the garden," or "toilet paper" (p. 110), as the Zen sages have it; in any case there must be no ideas, no words. It is better to think of Buddha as a mere Nothing, or as the next insignificant thing to hand, than to hanker after vain mind-pictures of Buddha or anything else. As a Chinese master says: "Fishes swim in the water, but do not think of it; birds fly in the wind, but are not aware of it." When such "directness" is reached, the thought-life will be sound and there will be Zen. So the author quotes Goethe in the original: "Alles Denken zum Denken hilft nichts; man muss von Natur richtig sein, sodass die guten Einfälle immer wie freie Kinder Gottes vor uns dastehen und uns zuaffen: Da sind wir!" Or Shakespeare: "This above all: to thine own self be true and it must follow as the night the day that thou canst not then be false to any man."

To Europeans, Zen may come in handy too: "It was the power of Zen that enabled Drake to finish his game of bowls and then defeat the Armada." There was no "stoicism" in Drake, as one might presume. He simply did not "think," i.e., his mind did not stop at mere thinking; there was no breach, but continuity; he was direct and natural, therefore he played and then fought, each at the proper time.

Another instance of how the author illustrates the Zen attitude as expressed in European literature is his remarks on Don Quixote. Blyth feels that he is the first to have explained this literary figure satisfactorily by having recourse to the Zen way of life as a means of comparison:

"This freedom of the mind, freedom of the will, consists in following one's instincts, disclaiming all causes and effects, all rationalizing, to act like life itself which lives the life of life.

"This is the point," replied Don Quixote, 'this is the essence of my manner of life; for a knight errant to run mad for some actual reason or other—there would be nothing worthy or meritorious in that! The perfection of it consists in running mad without the least constraint or necessity.'

But for all this talking and boasting there is nothing of egotism in Don Quixote. He is in a state of Muga (무가), a state in which he himself, is nothing; he seeks nothing for himself, his personality is always dissolved in the valor and glory of the action itself. So when Sancho says

"These are more than twenty and we only two. . . ." 'I am worth a hundred,' replied Don Quixote, and we feel that this is an understatement; he is worth more than a hundred in any combat.'

To use the words of a Zen classic, "We do Za-Zen, not to get anything, but to throw away all we have and to throw away even the idea that we are throwing something away."

This is but a tiny part of what Professor Blyth has to say about a great many subjects; but in meditating on his quotation of the Fifth Zen Patriarch we grasp a good deal of what he has in mind: "Perfect Enlightenment means spontaneous realization of your original Nature."

Professor Blyth taught at the Keijo Imperial University and was introduced to Buddhism through Abbot Kayama. The author himself makes the following personal comment: "[In writing about animals] I feel that I am speaking of my life-line, for I came through Buddhism to Zen by virtue of my love for them . . . which embraces without effort or self-consciousness the most snaggle-toothed dogs, slit-eared cats, snakes and so on." And further on: "When you love one person properly you love all. If you really love your own dog, you love all dogs, all living creatures."
BOOK REVIEW

Whatever, after reading the book, one may feel about Zen or the author's interpretation of it, the wealth of quotations and their explanation may open to many readers a new approach to the gems of Chinese, Japanese, and European literature. We may not learn to appreciate the "Zen" in Goethe or Shakespeare as Zen ("in so far as men live at all, they live by Zen. Wherever there is a parcell action, a religious aspiration, a heroic thought, a union of Nature within a man and the Nature without, there is Zen"), but we will appreciate them anew, and Cervantes, Dante, Wordsworth, and a bevy of outstanding Japanese and Chinese as well. The book must be praised as the ingenious and original effort of a great and generous mind.—P.

BRIEFLY NOTED

War Atlas. (Shanghai, 1943, Max Nössler & Co. 14 pp. CRB $100.00)

Song of Autumn. In the leading parts: Koo Yih-loo and Chen Ju-en-juen. Directed by Shu Sheh.

Cloud Over the Moon. In the leading parts: Wang Tan-fon, Gung Chiu-hsia, Chiang Wang, and Yen Djuen.

Up till now, all Chinese film stars with sufficient draw in themselves, unaided by strong stories or casts, have been women. Hence every Chinese picture is centered around a prominent actress. The above two recent films may be of interest as tentative experiments against this star system.

Song of Autumn, a young romance which ends in tragedy, features Koo Yih-loo, a capable leading man but no matinee idol, and Chen Ju-en-juen, a former child star, now in the "awkward age." In her first adolescent role she makes the sensational leap from babyish antics to illicit love and miscarriage. The picture has been duly publicized as the first Chinese film on the critical subject of adolescence.

The sophisticated comedy Cloud Over the Moon depends on the quantity of its minor talents for its attraction. It gives us the beauty of Wang Tan-fon, the singing of Gung Chiu-hsia, the acting of Chiang Wang, and the personality of Yen Djuen. Pushed to great extremes, its economy of specialization results in an unsettling patchiness. The lighting is good only when Miss Wang is the subject of photography; the sound effect is never at its best when Miss Gung is not singing.

Song of Autumn, in addition to being technically superior to the other, has a plot of the most prevailing type and so starts out with the advantage of feeling sure of its audience—young love, serious, violent, lyrical. What needs some explanation is the modern Chinese aversion to happy endings.

Fifty years ago, nearly all popular plays and novels ended in marriage—often in mass weddings. Tragic endings are especially scarce in the theater since plays are often performed at private parties, birthdays, or weddings, and a tragedy would be an ill omen to the occasion. Furthermore, Chinese fiction, held in disdain by the public, was meant to entertain, not to "hold up a mirror to life." A tragic ending creates a sense of want which may evoke a disproportionate amount of brooding on the part of the audience. This fear is justified by the lasting wave of depression following upon the popularization of the novel A Dream in the Red Chamber, in which the heroine dies and the hero becomes a monk. Millions of "red addicts" pined away in an imaginary world of delicate woes and picturesque diseases. The fashion has not yet passed in the interior of China.

With the renunciation of all traditions at the turn of the century, the Chinese were liberated from the marriage vows in the last act. Intoxicated with the new realism, authors and playwrights take care always to part the hero and heroine. The film-makers have grown so self-conscious about weddings that when a couple have to be married they are merely shown facing the dawn together, a wan smile on their lips.

The average Chinese audience denies a story depth and significance unless it is a tragedy or a satire. In these circumstances, those who work on a comedy cannot help feeling silly, which no doubt contributes much to their failure.

Although the Chinese in their present mood look down on laughter, the natural urge for it accounts for the superabundance of comic relief in their tragedies. As in Song of Autumn, the director often has trouble with the adjustment of mood. The hero leaves Shanghai to divorce his disreputable wife in order to marry his mistress. He returns in a bright, gay atmosphere, is teased and congratulated upon his prospective fatherhood. The comic interlude is too long-drawn-out to act as a dramatic complement to the shock of the denouement, in which he learns of his mistress's death.

The close mingling of tragedy and comedy occurs also in Cloud Over the Moon, but with different results.

The fact that the present world war is being fought out in virtually all parts of the globe has made it very difficult to follow events without maps covering the zones of military operations.

The publishers have rendered newspaper readers in East Asia a distinct service by offering this War Atlas, which contains ten multicolored maps of the most important war zones in clear offset print.

Drei Deutsche in Nippon (Three Germans in Nippon), by Erwin Jahn. (Tokyo, 1943, Hakushabisha Publishing Co. 77 pp.)

Readers of The XXth Century will recall Erwin Jahn's article "Three Men Who Were Right," published in November 1942. The author has now brought out an attractive booklet in German dealing in more detail with these three men, namely, Kämpfer, Siebold, and Balz.

ON THE SCREEN

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The close mingling of tragedy and comedy occurs also in Cloud Over the Moon, but with different results.
Here the comedy lapses so naturally into tears that we can consider the tragedy a mere consequence of thought—the basic comedy being thoughtless, nonsensical. The story concerns two sets of wife, husband, and secretary. One of the wives suspects her husband of being unfaithful. On the other hand, a secretary—an irreproachable spinster—is insulted by her employer's wife because of some slight misunderstanding. Weeping furiously, she resigns. These grievous episodes are by far the best managed in the picture.

The sole comic high light—some embarrassing complications about a fur wrap—is borrowed from the American film *Daytime Wife*. For the rest of the fun the film falls back on the henpecked husband who looks after the children, and the elderly flirt who overdresses in the style of Carmen Miranda—hardly a convincing figure in China.

Similarly, the wife-versus-secretary situation is still rare in China. Owing to the complicated nature of the language, Chinese secretarial work requires much literary and practical knowledge which, unlike shorthand and typing, is not within the reach of the average educated woman. The few women secretaries there are do not enjoy enough responsibility and intimacy to deserve the title of "office wife."

In contrast to *Cloud Over the Moon, Song of Autumn* presents the likely situation of the university boy in love with the waitress in the college restaurant. Like many other Chinese students, he is already married. While he goes to Canton to obtain a divorce, the waitress—sorely persecuted because she is pregnant—rushes hysterically into a storm, stumbles, and dies of a miscarriage.

The scenes in Canton are gratifyingly real because the faces are typically Cantonese and the wife's dresses bear noticeable touches of Hongkong fashions. The director has a strong sense of design. Alive to the pictorial and emotional values in such everyday objects as a calendar picture, an old-fashioned tasseled lamp, and a bed curtain, he uses them well in his sensitive portrayal of middle-class life—a field hardly explored by Chinese films, which are generally preoccupied with the more melodramatic stations of riches and rags.—Eileen Chang.

**DOCUMENTS**

*In a speech made on June 6, 1943, in Berlin, Reich Minister for Armament and Ammunition, Professor Dr. Albert Speer, rendered account of the present state of German armaments. Here follow some quotations:*

During the last few months America has published figures [on armament production] which claim an increase within a year of ten, twenty, and even fifty times the former production. When our own armaments were raised from peace level to war level, we also had productions which rose ten- and twentyfold within a short time. But, as our armament production has, since 1941, been at a uniform level requiring the full strength of our economic structure, it is no longer easy for us to achieve considerable increases. If increases of several times have been achieved in spite of this fact, these increases must be judged by entirely different standards as regards figures as well as value.

In short, the sober result of our tremendous efforts is more or less as follows.

(1) **Ammunition.** In May 1943 alone, more than 6.5 times as much ammunition was produced as the average monthly production of 1941, that is to say: in May we produced more tons of ammunition than in 1941 in six months. This result was achieved with only a 50-per-cent increase in workers, a 132-per-cent increase in crude steel, and 57 per cent less copper, and only 2 per cent more aluminum. Thus, with a fraction of additional labor and material, we produced several times the quantity of ammunition. For every ton of ammunition, we require today on an average only a quarter of the labor, less than half the pig iron, a twelfth of the copper, and a sixth of the aluminum . . . .

(2) **Arms.** The production of all guns, beginning with the 3.7-centimeter caliber, was increased by 400 per cent in May as compared with the average monthly production of 1941. Since 1941 the number of workmen has been increased by 43 per cent and the consumption of crude steel by 78 per cent, while the monthly consumption of copper has been reduced by half and that of aluminum has been decreased to almost one tenth . . . .

(3) **The Tank Arm.** . . . For obvious reasons, the main effort was devoted to increasing the production of heavy tanks, assault guns, tanks No. 4, and Tiger tanks . . . In May alone we produced more heavy tanks than in the whole of 1941 . . . .

One thing, however, is more important than the number of planes, arms, tanks, or ammunition produced: it is the improvement of existing weapons, made possible by the continuous application of our greater war experience, and the invention of completely new weapons. In the present war, which is so closely linked up with science and engineering, quantities cannot only be balanced by better quality but even defeated . . . .

We shall place at the disposal of the front new arms, new tanks, aircraft, and U-boats, in quantities which will enable our soldiers, with their supreme personal superiority in fighting against our enemy, not only to survive this struggle but to gain final victory. The front expects this from us—we shall fulfill this grave duty placed upon our shoulders. We pledge this to those who had to give their lives in this struggle. Their sacrifice will not have been in vain.
Index to volume 4 was bound into volume 5 at pages 77-80
THE SMALLER BATTALIONS

By KLAUS MEHNERT

In view of the long series of Allied defeats suffered in Norway, northern France, Greece, Malaya, the Philippines, and Burma, the political observer has had to ask himself again and again what hope could have induced the Anglo-Americans to continue the war. The last few months have supplied the answer to this question: it is the hope for superiority in numbers—numbers of men and material. Since the autumn of 1942, the Allies have endeavored to fight battles only in places where they have had overwhelming numbers of troops and armaments on their side, as, for instance, in North Africa, Guadalcanar, Attu, and Sicily.

We do not intend to examine here whether the Anglo-Americans actually possess a greater armament capacity or more able-bodied men than the Axis. Instead, we shall raise the question: Does a preponderance in men and weapons offer any justification whatever for the hope of final victory, or do the god of war really favor the larger battalions?

Next to George Washington, Abraham Lincoln is the best-known figure in the history of the United States. For the Roosevelt era before the outbreak of the present war it can perhaps even be said that Lincoln held first place in the esteem of the American people. His sayings were often quoted, for instance his famous words "government of the people, by the people, for the people" (quoted the more often, the less American reality corresponded to this ideal), or his pronouncement:

"I agree with you in Providence; but I believe in the providence of the most men, the largest purse, and the largest cannon."

This pun, with its linking of Providence with numbers of men, wealth, and armaments, could really stand as a motto for the America of 1943.

But let us be just and admit that Lincoln was not the first to put his trust in large numbers into words. "I have always noticed that God is on the side of the heavy battalions," declared a French statesman, Marquis de la Ferté-Imbault, to Queen Anne of France. In 1677 the Count de Bussy wrote in a letter: "God is generally for the big squadrons against the little ones." And about a hundred years later, Voltaire formulated the same idea with the words: "They say that God is always on the side of the heavy battalions."

To be sure, there have been many cases in history where the greater battalions defeated the smaller ones. The most important example, still fresh in all our memories, was the strangulation of Germany in the Great War, when almost the entire world had united against her and she herself was weakened from within by the influence of materialistic ideas. But there have also been countless cases in which the opposite was true. History has seen decisive wars and battles which were won by the smaller battalions.

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

Up to the sixth century B.C., the western part of Eurasia had been ruled by three great empires: Egypt, Assyria,
and Babylon. Suddenly, within a period of twenty-one years (546 to 525 B.C.), these states were swept off the map of the world and replaced by the Persian-Median Empire. The Persians and the Medes, two Indo-European tribes hardly known in history till then and overshadowed by the splendor of the empires in the valley of the Nile and in Mesopotamia, established under Cyrus the Great and his son one of the largest empires of all time, reaching from the Danube to beyond the Indus.

Only at the outermost rim of their dominion did a small state—no, even worse, a little conglomeration of tiny city-states—dare to oppose and provoke the mighty Persian Empire by wanton incursions, until the "King of Kings" decided to subject it once and for all. In 490 B.C. he sent out a great army against Greece which crossed the Aegean Sea in many ships. Part of this army landed on the coastal plain of Marathon. Even if all of Greece had moved against the Persians, she still would only have had the resources of a single one of the twenty satrapies into which the Persian Empire was divided. However, the Greek army that opposed the Persians at Marathon did not even represent all of Greece but only two of the city-states, Athens and Plataea. Yet it gained a glorious victory and threw the Persian landing corps back into the sea.

The subsequent encounters between Greeks and Persians were fought in the spirit of Marathon. At the pass of Thermopylae, Leonidas fought with a thousand men against the whole Persian army, consisting of tens of thousands of men, and at Salamis the Greeks defeated a Persian fleet at least twice as strong as their own.

How are these victories of the smaller battalions to be explained, this strange paradox—first the conquest of a huge empire by two young tribes, and then the defeat of this empire's forces by the army of two small Greek cities? We shall attempt an explanation later on in this article.

ALEXANDER AND THE ROMANS

With these victories against the vast Persian Empire, the Greeks had not only maintained their own national freedom: they had brought about a decision affecting the entire history of the world. To the west of Greece there was at that time nothing that could have resisted an expansion of the Persian Empire. A victory over the Greeks would have turned the Mediterranean into a Persian lake and given the development of the Occident a different turn.

This defensive victory of the Greek minority was even surpassed by the achievements contained in the aggressive victory of Alexander the Great against the Persian Empire a century and a half later. In the spring of 334 B.C. the barely twenty-year-old king crossed the Hellespont with 32,000 men on foot and 5,000 horsemen to invade the Persian Empire, which commanded hundreds of thousands of warriors. With his small host Alexander won the decisive victories of Issus (333) and Gaugamela (331 B.C.). At Gaugamela he was faced by an army perhaps twenty times the size of his own which, moreover, was equipped with such unusual weapons as scythed war chariots and Indian elephants. The superiority was so great that Alexander's army, although he had drawn it out as far as possible, extended with its right wing no further than the center of the Persian host.

A few years after Alexander had broken into the Persian Empire, he was the uncontested master of an empire that was larger even than the old Persian one. How was this possible? We shall return to this question later.

While the Alexandrian Empire arose within a few years through the genius of one man, the Roman Empire was the product of centuries of steady growth and of the genius of a whole people. But in one point the early history of both empires was similar: both were formed in the face of vastly superior enemies. Starting as a small, unimportant settlement whose territory was less fertile than that of other places of the same region,
Rome step by step gained hegemony first over Latium, then over the Apennine Peninsula, then over the western and later eastern Mediterranean, and finally over the entire Occident.

**PHARSALOS AND ACTIUM**

The long list of battles fought by the Roman armies on the hard road to power contains hardly anything that is equal in brilliance to the campaigns of Alexander the Great. Besides victories there were also many defeats. It is only due to a stubbornness and single-mindedness unique in history that this road led finally to the supremacy of Rome over the western world.

Even while the Roman Empire was still being formed, grave conflicts arose within the empire over the question of leadership. The two decisive battles in this struggle were both won by the smaller battalions. At Pharsalos (48 B.C.) Pompey had about twice as many foot soldiers as Caesar and seven times as many horsemen. But Caesar won the battle and became the sole ruler of the empire. Pharsalos meant the end of the Roman Republic and the beginning of the monarchy and thus represents one of the decisive events in the history of the Occident. Under Caesar's successor, Octavian, the struggle for sole domination was resumed. With a fleet inferior in numbers as well as in the size of its units, Octavian vanquished the power of Antony and Cleopatra at Actium (31 B.C.). This victory enabled him, who was soon to be known as Augustus, to establish a type of monarchy in Rome which was to survive for centuries.

**TWO HISTORIC DECISIONS**

In the days of Augustus, Rome was at the peak of her power. She knew no rivals in the Occident, and her battle-scarred, excellently armed legions extended the borders of the empire from decade to decade ever further into formerly unknown regions. Yet a battle took place in those years by which a people standing at the very beginning of its development and split up into many tribes dealt a heavy blow to the overwhelming power of Rome. In 9 A.D. the army of Quintilius Varus was annihilated in the Teutoburg Forest by Germanic warriors under Arminius the Cheruscan. This event prevented the Romanization of the territories on the right bank of the Rhine. In contrast to the Gauls, who had quickly become Roman after the campaigns of Caesar, the Germanic tribes were thus able to develop on their own and to assemble the forces which were one day to lead to the fall of the Roman Empire.

During the migration of peoples the Huns invaded Europe with huge armies and roamed throughout its lands without encountering much resistance. Only when they advanced further to the west, deep into France, were Attila's hundreds of thousands of men opposed by an army composed of Visigoths and Romans (451 A.D.). The battle, which has been named after the Catalaunian Fields, was fought with such terrible fierceness that, according to legend, even the fallen warriors continued to fight on as spirits. The wave of Hun supremacy was not only stopped but even forced to recede, and the victory against Attila contributed decisively toward saving Europe from the fate later suffered by Central Asia and Russia under the Mongols.

**CRESCENT AND CROSS**

 Barely two hundred years later, one of the most amazing developments in history took place: the ascent of Islam. In an unequalled march of victory the armies of the sparse, uncivilized population of the Arabian desert established a vast empire which has left its stamp on many regions to this very day. The foundations of the Mohammedan empire were laid within the ten years after the death of the Prophet in numerous battles in which the Arabs were always in the minority. In an incredibly short time the banner of the Prophet was carried across the whole of the Near East far into Central Asia, and later to the Pyrenees as well as the East Indian archipelago.
The counterblow against the rise of Islam came with the Crusades. In a previous article (July 1942) we related how the Christian expeditionary armies, moving against huge odds and thousands of kilometers away from home, invaded the richly populated, strong Mohammedan empire and, even after grave privations, were victorious against fresh and far superior armies, as, for example, in the Battle of the Holy Lance at the gates of Antioch in 1098, which opened the road into the Holy Land for the first Crusaders.

**Genghis Khan and Joan of Arc**

The next world power arose one century later from very modest beginnings, when the conqueror who was later to be known as Genghis Khan united several small Mongol tribes under himself. The Mongol storm broke when Genghis Khan led his warriors against the Chin Empire in 1211. In spite of the fact that this empire was far superior to his hordes in every respect—its civilization, its number of people, and the size of its walled cities—he weakened it to such a degree that he could take up his unique victorious campaign against the West. Here the Mongols were in the minority in most of the battles they fought. Among their enemies were many warlike tribes, such as the Turks of Central Asia, who were superior to them in numbers. And yet the Mongols were victorious again and again. Their horses carried them far into Russia and the Near East. And the result of these battles was the greatest empire that ever existed in Eurasia.

Among the longest and most bitterly fought wars in the history of Europe were the medieval conflicts between the French and the English. As a result of dynastic heritage, the English kings had at that time large possessions on French soil. This fact led to an almost endless series of wars which culminated in what is known as the Hundred Years’ War (1337 to 1453). For a long time the English were victorious, and at the beginning of the fifteenth century France lay prostrate, almost defenseless. In 1422 an English king was proclaimed King of France, while the French dauphin was a weakling. Large parts of France were occupied by the English. The English ruled in Paris. They laid siege to Orleans, the gateway to southern France, and the city was preparing to surrender. Then suddenly a peasant girl, called Joan, declared that she had been sent by Heaven to save France. She fought her way into besieged Orleans. Out of unpatriotic cowards she created an army with a fanatic will for victory, an army instilled with ten times its ordinary power and courage. Against English superiority she led this small French army from victory to victory. And although she was later taken prisoner and burned at the stake by the English, her spirit continued to animate the French army. The English were driven from the European Continent, only Calais remaining in their hands for some time. A development of historic importance had been concluded.

**Conquering the World**

During the next few decades the world experienced a wealth of important events when, in an explosive expansion, the Portuguese and the Spanish created enormous empires with the smallest battalions in history. Accustomed to the idea of armies of millions, we can scarcely conceive today how tiny in numbers the forces were with which those momentous decisions were brought about. With but a few ships, the Portuguese gained the victories of Diu (1509) and Malacca (1511) against vastly superior forces and seized control over the Indian Ocean, thus opening the gates to the riches of the East Indian archipelago. Thousands of miles from home—which at that time could only be reached by the immense detour around Africa—they sailed from victory to victory and turned the ocean from Morocco to the Moluccas into a Portuguese lake.

A few years later the Spaniards succeeded in similar achievements in the Americas. In August 1519, Hernando Cortes, leading a small force of 400 men on foot, 15 horsemen, and 7 small cannons,
started out from the coast of the Gulf of Mexico to conquer the Aztec Empire, then one of the most advanced states of the world, which had a population of perhaps five million inhabitants. In order fully to appreciate the boldness of this venture, one must bear in mind that Cortes began his campaign with no knowledge whatever of the country, its inhabitants, and their languages. On the way to Mexico he first defeated the state of Tlaxcala with its half a million inhabitants and tens of thousands of warriors. Then he conquered Mexico.

One might object that he succeeded in this more by cunning and brutality than by military achievements. However, he had enough opportunity also to prove the military ability of his small force. In July 1520 he was forced to retreat from the city of Mexico and to give battle at Otumba. Here his few hundred Spaniards, assisted by some native allies, fought against the combined armies of the Aztec Empire, which numbered tens of thousands. In this battle Cortes no longer had any cannons, not even muskets; many of his men were sick and exhausted by fatigue and hardship. Yet the victory was his, and soon afterwards he was the undisputed ruler of the empire.

Just as fantastic were the adventures of Pizarro who, in 1531, set out with an even smaller band—102 men on foot and 62 horsemen—to conquer Peru, then inhabited by six to eight million people. Here, too, the first successes were more of a political than a military nature. But here, too, the conquerors were not spared from battle. In 1535 almost the entire country rose against them. For five months a band of at most 200 Spaniards fought in Cuzco against the mobilized power of the Inca Empire. In writing of 200,000 Inca soldiers, the Spanish chroniclers were probably exaggerating. But, even if there were only 20,000, this meant that there were 100 enemies to every Spaniard. In spite of this, the Spaniards won, and transformed the empire of the Incas into a Spanish colony.

ONE AGAINST EUROPE

One of the most important developments in the modern history of Europe was the rise of Prussia, under whose leadership the German Empire was later to be
formed from the combined German states. Prussia is largely the work of the House of Hohenzollern, and it represented the crowning of many wars and of centuries of effort on the part of this dynasty when little Brandenburg became Prussia. One significant stage on this road was the victory gained by the Great Elector of Brandenburg in 1675 at Fehrbellin when, with 6,000 Prussians and 12 cannons, he defeated 12,000 Swedes with 38 cannons. By means of this victory over Sweden, which till then had been regarded as the foremost military nation of Europe, Prussia advanced from an indifferent little state to a larger state worth reckoning with.

Even more important was the reign of Frederick the Great and his Seven Years' War (1756-1763). The Austria of the Hapsburgs, which observed the rise of Prussia with deadly jealousy, organized a powerful coalition against Prussia with the express aim of the "total destruction of Prussia." The greater part of Europe had combined in this coalition, and among its members were Austria, Russia, France, Sweden, Saxony, Bavaria, Württemberg, and a number of smaller states. Prussia, on the other hand, with its barely 2½ million inhabitants, stood alone. Hanover, which had at first allied itself to Prussia, withdrew again early in the war; and England supported Prussia only with money. Year after year Frederick fought against these overwhelming odds. He gained a number of great victories, especially at Rossbach with 20,000 men against 50,000 Frenchmen and at Leuthen with 33,000 men against 60,000 Austrians; and he also suffered many a bitter defeat. In the end, however, he emerged victorious from this unequal struggle. Prussia had become a European power.

RECENT EXAMPLES

A few years after the death of Frederick the Great, this same Prussia failed miserably. In the struggle against the French Revolution, Prussia, England, Holland, Spain, and several smaller states had united in 1792 in a coalition of anti-revolutionary powers. This coalition was vastly superior to France, not only because all European powers except Russia belonged to it, but also because France herself was torn by civil war and hardly possessed any army at all after thousands of her aristocratic officers had left the country and joined the coalition. The mob which represented the revolutionary army was at first so useless that it ran away in panic from every clash with the coalition troops, even when it was superior in numbers, as at Tournay, where 4,000 Frenchmen fled from a small Austrian detachment. The French fortresses of Longwy and Verdun capitulated, almost without fighting, to the coalition army. But then came a sudden turn. After the Cannonade of Valmy in September 1792 the situation was reversed: the revolutionary armies not only drove the armies of the coalition out of France but even followed them deep into their own territory.

To give a final example of most recent times, we need only think of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. Today we are accustomed to regard Japan as a leading power. At that time, however, she was still in the early stages of her modern development. At the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, only fifty years had passed since the opening of Japan; only forty years since an English/ American/Dutch/French fleet had bombarded Japan, almost without resistance, and had even been paid an indemnity for that; only thirty-three years since the feudal system had been abolished. And this Japan, that seemed hardly to have outgrown the Middle Ages, took up the struggle against one of the largest powers of that time, against a country that possessed almost inexhaustible reserves of man power and resources as well as a great military tradition. After a series of glorious victories, Japan quickly forced the empire of the Tsars to make peace.

IT TAKES LEADERS

How were all these victories of the small battalions against the large ones possible? The answer cannot be formulated in one sentence. It consists of
many reasons, of which we shall present a few. They are to be sought partly in the nature of the leadership and partly in the nature of the peoples and armies so led.

One prerequisite for the victory of the smaller battalions is the genius of their leaders. A true leader needs far more than just the knowledge of military theories and practice; he has the courage to rely upon himself and to take the responsibility for his own decisions. Miltiades risked the battle of Marathon without waiting for the arrival of the Spartan army and without sharing with other leaders the responsibility for the decision to fight. A leader is so unshakeably convinced of his own superiority and that of his men that, even in the face of vast odds and the absence of any aid, he does not hesitate to strike at the enemy, as Cortes and Pizarro did or Frederick the Great at the beginning of the Seven Years’ War. This feeling of superiority grows from the leader’s faith in his mission, from his belief that he represents the “wave of the future.” It endows him with forces that, as in the case of Joan of Arc, border on the supernatural. It is these forces which in apparently hopeless situations do not allow him to lose courage, while his opponents, who do not possess such faith, are inclined to lose their heads, like Pompey who, although an experienced and victorious commander, turned to flight even before the battle was ended, or like Cleopatra and Antony who, thinking mainly of themselves, abandoned the main body of their forces in the midst of battle to seek safety in flight.

This faith in his mission often also raises the leader morally over his enemies. In Actium the nobler man defeated the inferior one; and Joan of Arc fought not only against the English army but also against the lack of morals among her own troops by proclaiming her struggle to be a pure and holy war. The true leader sets an example to his troops. He convinces his soldiers that their leader and they belong together. Alexander the Great was the first soldier of his army who shared with it all the dangers of battle and hardships of marching, while his opponent Darius had chiefly himself to blame for his defeats, as he was always the first to turn his chariot in flight. And how close Frederick the Great was to the hearts of his soldiers is proved by the countless anecdotes about his personal feats in victory and defeat.

**SOME OF THEIR QUALITIES**

One requirement of a successful leader is the faculty to discern every possibility offering itself and immediately to exploit it to his own advantage. Miltiades made the most skillful use of the topography of the coastal plain of Marathon in planning his battle. On the battlefield of Gaugamela, Alexander perceived that a gap had formed between the center and the left wing of the Persian army, and by quickly throwing a spearhead of his troops into this gap he split up the enemy’s front and thus brought about his own victory. At the beginning of the battle of Pharsalos, Caesar noticed that Pompey was massing his superior cavalry at the left wing in order to execute his decisive thrust with it. This gave Caesar a chance to prepare countermeasures which frustrated Pompey’s plan and turned it into a defeat. When the small Spanish band at Otumba, bleeding from many wounds, could hardly defend itself any longer against the hundredfold superiority of its enemies, Cortes suddenly recognized the commander in chief of the Aztec army some distance away. Cortes, accompanied by a few trusty men, fought his way through to the Aztec chief and killed him, thereby giving the battle a new turn.

In order to be able to beat his opponent, the leader must be able to guess the thoughts of his foe. Miltiades, who had previously participated in a Persian campaign in the Balkans, knew that the strength of the Persian army was the deadly hail of arrows released by its archers. In order to reduce the time during which the Greeks could be shot at from a distance with Persian arrows, Miltiades made the bold decision to lead his excellently trained men, in spite of
their heavy armor, to the enemy ranks at a run. Arminius the Cheruscan had also served in the army of his enemies and was acquainted with the Roman legions’ style of fighting. He could not hope to defeat the Romans with his inexperienced troops in an open battle. Consequently, he laid his plans in such a way that the battle took place in a forest area full of ravines that was unfavorable to the Romans.

LUCK

Finally, the successful leader requires that indefinable something that we call “luck.” Had Cortes not seen the enemy commander in chief in the midst of the battle’s tumult, probably not a single Spaniard would have left the battlefield of Otumba alive. Luck played an especially striking role in the case of Frederick the Great. Toward the end of the Seven Years’ War his cause looked very bad. Large parts of his small country were occupied by the enemy, who had temporarily even been in the capital. His only support outside of Prussia, the English statesman Pitt, had to resign from the cabinet; this opened the way to the separate peace which England, contrary to her agreement with Frederick, concluded soon after with France. Frederick could have made peace under inglorious conditions. But, although there was no one in Europe who still conceded him a chance, he continued to fight, and suddenly luck came to his aid. Tsarina Elizabeth, who hated him bitterly, died and was replaced on the Russian throne by Peter III, an ardent admirer of Frederick. Peter immediately concluded a separate peace with Prussia and, in addition to that, declared himself and his army to be allied to Frederick. Although he was murdered soon after, he had been on the throne long enough to have caused a complete reversal in the military position and to provide Frederick with the breathing space he needed for the victorious conclusion of the war.

THE SPIRIT OF THE FOLLOWERS...

Like the leader, so also must his people and his army be convinced of the necessity of the struggle and of victory, determined to maintain or fight for their freedom. They must be prepared to make every sacrifice needed and be filled with glowing patriotism and the clear knowledge as to the consequences of a defeat. And finally, they must be convinced that they are fighting for a good cause and that right is on their side. At Marathon, the Athenians were filled by a spirit which their great poet Aeschylus, who had participated in the battle, later put into the following words:

O sons of the Greeks! Fight for the freedom of your country! Fight for the freedom of your children and of your wives—for the shrines of your fathers’ gods, and for the sepulchers of your sires. All—all are now staked upon the strife.

In the same way, the Germanic tribes in the Teutoburg Forest and on the Catalaunian Fields, and the Japanese at Port Arthur and at Tsushima, were filled with the sense that the fate not only of their people but of every single one of them depended on the outcome of the battle. On the other hand, the Persian army, composed as it was of dozens of subjected tribes, lacked this sense. What did it concern these tribes whether the Persian king won new laurels on the far shores of Greece or not? Hence the only troops in the Persian army who really fought at Marathon and on the other Greek battlefields were the Persians, in the narrow sense of this word. It was impossible in the Russo-Japanese War for the Russian peasant to take a personal interest in the outcome of a war to which he had to be transported thousands of kilometers and in which he was supposed to fight for territories, whose names meant nothing to him, against a people he did not even know. The same Prussians who, under Frederick, had amazed the world with their achievements, failed a few years later when, without a leading idea of their own, they clashed with troops fired with the ideas of a great revolution.

In some cases the determination of the smaller battalions was born out of the courage of their despair. The Spaniards at Otumba and in Cuzco knew, like the Prussians under Frederick, that there
were only two alternatives: victory or complete annihilation. And when religious fanaticism is added—as in the case of the hosts of Islam or the Crusades or Joan of Arc—or a burning feeling of revenge, as that felt by Arminius's men against Varus for his infamous deeds, or by the Visigoths on the Catalaunian Fields when they saw their king Theoderic fall, then even a superiority in numbers cannot save the enemy from defeat.

...AND THEIR QUALITY

Very often in history the strength of the small battalions was to be found in the health and simplicity of their youthful power and in the softness of their opponents. The Greek historian Herodotus explains the victories of the Medes and Persians by many examples showing the contrast between the tough virility of these conquerors and the degeneration of their foes. Later the Persians themselves fell victim to this degeneration, and in the speech addressed by Alexander to his troops before the battle of Issos he could justly speak of Greek strength being pitted against Persian degeneration. This stern simplicity was also the secret of the astonishing superiority of the Mongols over their enemies who, in cultural and many other respects, were much further advanced. Under Genghis Khan's leadership, the Mongols lived their whole lives in and for battle and subordinated everything to the one goal: victory.

Often it was new methods of war or new weapons which gave victory to the smaller battalions. The archers of the Persian army contributed much toward the establishment of the great Persian Empire by employing their weapons in such a novel and skillful manner that the enemy had no chance to get close to them. It was only the armored Greek athletes in their close and deeply ranked phalanxes, which they drove like spears into the ranks of their foes, who put an end to this superiority. The muskets, cannons, and horses of the Spaniards provided them with weapons unequalled by anything the natives of America could produce. And while the Spaniards had developed the art of war into a science—which, for instance, stipulated that at all times only part of the soldiers should shoot while the rest should use this time to reload their guns so that no pause should occur—the enemies fought without any plan or system whatever, simply trying to crush the Spaniards with their masses. The importance of quality and battle experience in every single man was revealed by Caesar's veterans at Pharsalos, when they fought against opponents superior in numbers but inferior in quality.

Discipline has always been an essential factor on the side of victorious armies. The lack of discipline on the part of the Persian troops, who looted Alexander's camp during the battle of Gaugamela, contributed toward their defeat. On the other hand, the armies of the Mongols had been trained by Genghis Khan to iron obedience. In their battles we rarely hear of outstanding individual deeds but always of the excellent achievements of the army as a whole. Discipline increases in effectiveness the more it originates from the voluntary willingness of each man to subordinate himself to the whole, while it loses its value the more it is a product of mere drill or fear of punishment. This was shown by the wars of the French Revolution, in which undisciplined troops who were filled with faith in their cause were victorious over the disciplined but personally uninterested troops of the reactionary powers.

THE ENEMY'S WEAKNESS

The inner strength of the smaller battalions very often corresponded to the inner weakness of the larger ones. How often has it not happened in history that a state that was already ripe for decline was defeated by a young, determined opponent inferior in numbers? The tiny band of Spanish adventurers which, with Cortes, invaded the empire of the Aztecs, would, in spite of all superiority of the individual, have easily been destroyed if that empire had been sound and vital. But this state was populated, beside a
comparatively small number of ruling Aztecs, by a large majority of subjected peoples who, at the very time when Cortes appeared on the horizon, showed a growing restlessness toward the Aztecs. One of the main reasons for this restlessness was that the bloody human sacrifices demanded by the Aztec religion were assuming larger and larger proportions and swallowing up tens of thousands of lives every year. The Aztec ruler Montezuma, who had commenced his reign as a wise prince, lost himself more and more in luxury and bigotry. The necessary funds and human sacrifices had to be provided by the surrounding peoples.

At the time of the war against Japan, the Russian state, too, had become inwardly rotten. This was shown by the revolution of 1905, the curtain raiser to the gory collapse of the centuries-old empire of the Tsars twelve years later.

BLINDED BY THE GODS

The saying that the gods strike those with blindness whom they wish to destroy can frequently be applied to the rulers of states doomed to decline. The stupid mistakes which Darius constantly repeated in his war against Alexander the Great, and his habit of following incapable counsellors and shutting his ears to the capable ones, played into the hands of the Macedonian conqueror. Varus believed in his arrogance that the methods he had used as the governor of Syria against the population enslaved there for centuries could also be used against the free Germanic tribes. He failed to see that he was thus digging his own grave, and he was so blind that he did not recognize the transparent ruse with which Arminius lured him and his legions into the Teutoburg Forest.

In the case of Montezuma it was a blindness born of bigotry which contributed toward his downfall. He succumbed to a religious legend according to which the benevolent god Quetzalcoatl had once left Mexico in the direction of the rising sun with the promise to return one day. As this god was, according to Mexican tradition, of tall stature with a white skin and a heavy beard, Montezuma was inclined to see the returning god in Cortes, and this superstition robbed him of his power of decision and clarity of action.

So we see that the victories of the smaller battalions were not coincidences or freaks of history. They always occur when certain conditions, some of which we discussed here, are present. A study of history shows that, in the great conflicts between peoples, it is not wealth or numbers which are the deciding factor but the spirit animating the peoples; for the god of war does not count the men, he weighs their hearts.
BULWARK OF THE NORTH

By A. A. K.

The European phase of the present world war began exactly four years ago. It might seem strange that we should commemorate this day with an article on the role of Finland in the present war. For Finland was not involved until three months later and for some months conducted a war which at that time did not seem to be directly concerned with the world war as a whole. Today, however, we know that the Finnish-Soviet war of the winter of 1939/40 already represented a part of the world war, and that little Finland, a champion of new Europe, was then, as now, carrying on against a gigantic enemy a struggle which was an epic of heroism and patriotism.

The following article, representing the Finnish point of view, was written for "The XXth Century" by a Finnish officer now in East Asia who wishes to remain anonymous.—K.M.

Up to about 1500, a state of war between the Finns and the Russians was more the rule than the exception; and since that time there have been seventy-nine years of war against the Russians. In other words, since 1500 almost a fifth of all the years have been years of war between the Finnish and the Russian peoples. This astonishing fact can only be understood by a glance at the pages of history.

The original Finno-Ugrian tribes inhabited the heart of Asia, from the beautiful Altai range westward to the Urals, and were neighbors of the ancient Tungusic and Turkic tribes, to whom they were related by their language.

Some of these original tribes still inhabit these regions, as, for instance, the Voguls and Ostyaks (to whose language that of the Hungarians is more closely related than any other). Others migrated, generally toward the west. The warlike ancient Bulgarians moved into the Balkans, where they adopted the prevailing Slavic tongue of the original inhabitants. The Hungarians penetrated as far as the Alps. But the Finnish tribes migrated in a northwesterly direction until they gradually and peacefully populated the almost uninhabited forest, river, and lake territories of northeastern Europe between the Baltic and the White Sea. Here they split up into two branches, known today as Finns and Estonians.

RUSSIAN NEIGHBORS

Now the Finns became acquainted with the sea. They built ships and sailed and rowed all over the waters of northern Europe. Sometimes on their trips of piracy they got into fights with their new maritime neighbors, the Germanic vikings from Scandinavia. On other occasions the Finnish and Estonian sea rovers allied themselves with the Scandinavian vikings and undertook marauding expeditions with their little warships as far as Ireland in the west or went on peaceful trading trips along the great rivers of eastern Europe as far as the Black Sea in the south.

On these southern journeys the Finns made their first acquaintance with the Slavs, whose center of gravity then lay in the present Ukraine, later to shift northeastward. The Slavs expanded, conquering Moscow (then a small town belonging to a Volga-Finnish tribe), which was later to become the center of the Russian world.

Held back for some time by Genghis Khan and his descendants, the Russian flood started moving again from this center in all directions: westward as far as Poland, southward as far as Turkey, eastward across the Urals to
the Pacific, and northward to the Arctic Ocean. One people after another was subjugated—by cunning or by force—and superficially Russianized. In the field of culture, much was adopted from them by the Russians and from then on simply presented as “Russian” to the world. This process lasted for centuries and has continued up to present times, now under the cloak of Bolshevism—in the Baltic countries, Poland, and Bessarabia. That is why the present-day “Russian” people of more than one hundred and fifty millions is not a real “people” but a mixture of remnants of the most varied origin, remnants that have been pushed around during the course of time.

It was only in one direction that the Russians did not succeed in penetrating: northwest, toward the Atlantic. There stood (and still stand) the Finns, fighting now for more than eight hundred years, with greater or lesser success, sometimes overrun but never broken. Thus it is easy to understand that the history of Finland consists more than anything else of resistance against the Russian flood.

FINNS AND SWEDES

When Russian pressure began to be directed toward the Baltic, the friendly relations between the Finns and Swedes were strengthened. The Swedes, who had been Christianized earlier, brought the Christian faith to Finland. Early in the fifteenth century, most of the Finnish tribes were united under the King of Sweden as a separate dukedom, with rights equal to those of the rest of the kingdom. Thus it happened that, when the Russian attacks became more dangerous, the Swedish kings could often send aid and troops to Finland.

The lot of the older and at that time culturally more advanced brothers of the Finns, the Estonians, who lived south of the Gulf of Finland, was a different one. Hard pressed at first by the Danish vikings, the Estonians were then Christianized by force by the German Knights and later incorporated by Russia. Liberated in 1918 by the Imperial German armies and having later themselves fought with success against the Bolsheviks, the Estonians were overrun again by the Russians in 1940 and once more had to be freed by German armies. Today they are fighting shoulder to shoulder with Germans, Finns, and other Europeans against the common enemy.

Up to about the middle of the seventeenth century, the united Swedish-Finnish efforts succeeded not only in more or less restoring the Finnish-Russian border after every Russian invasion but even in pushing it eastward and thus rescuing a few more Finnish tribal fragments from the Russian sea of peoples.

In return for Swedish help, Finnish troops fought in the Swedish expeditionary armies campaigning in Central Europe. As a rule, approximately one third of these expeditionary armies was composed of Finnish troops. The Swedish-Finnish fleet, which gained absolute supremacy over the Baltic, was often to a large extent built and manned by Finns and led by Finnish admirals. And the Finnish cavalry was especially successful, showing the Central European armies for the first time since Genghis Khan how an attack at a gallop should be ridden.

When the native royal house of Sweden died out, it was replaced by foreign rulers with their foreign dynastic interests and feelings. Swedish as well as Finnish troops were sent again and again to shed their blood in far-off European countries for remote, selfish, and often fantastic dynastic interests. Stripped of defenders and adequate means, Finland was left more and more at a disadvantage toward the Russian aggressor and was plundered, burned, and laid waste. Finnish representations fell on deaf ears in the capital of Sweden, which felt secure in Finland’s rear and behind the Baltic.

UNION WITH RUSSIA AND SECESSION

Consequently, the Finns (under the leadership of the great-grandfather of the present Marshal Mannerheim) decided in 1809, when the greater part of the country was handed over again to the Rus-
sians by the Swedish king, to cut loose from Sweden and to accept the honorable proposal of the Russian Tsar to enter into a union with Russia as an autonomous grand duchy—the Tsar becoming Grand Duke of Finland—with its own Finnish government, its old parliament (Russia did not obtain her parliament until a hundred years later), its own laws, army, finances, and customs barrier against Russia. Finland also kept her own money, and the Finns did not acquire Russian nationality nor did any Russians acquire the Finnish one. Until 1898 this agreement was loyally adhered to by both sides; in that year, however, it was broken by weak Nicholas II under the influence of the Pan-Slavic movement. He ordered the Russianization of Finland after the Finnish military bodies had first been dissolved step by step. The instant the Tsar went back on his word, the Finnish movement of secession recommenced.

Finnish resistance was tremendously strengthened by the Japanese victories against the Russians in 1904/05. These victories were celebrated in Finland as days of national rejoicing, and since then the Finns have felt the utmost sympathy for Japan.

Then came 1914 and the Great War. Many young men, most of them students, were secretly sent to Germany in order to be trained in the German Army and on the battlefield. In July 1917 the Finns proclaimed their independence. Under the supreme command of Karl Gustav Mannerheim, then a general, the Finnish Army was reorganized and, with the aid of German troops under General von der Goltz, the Russians were driven out after bitter fighting lasting until the summer of 1918.

Three more wars were fought against the Russians in 1919/21 in order to liberate the Finnish brothers living in East Karelia under the Bolshevik yoke. But unfortunately the Finnish strength was at that time not yet sufficient. In the Peace of Dorpat, Finland had to be satisfied with Moscow's "guarantee" of national autonomy for East Karelia.

THE WINTER WAR OF 1939/40

Early in the morning of November 30, 1939, the Russians attacked Finland on the entire land, sea, and air front. After just having completed her short Polish campaign, Russia was able to throw the military strength of her huge population against Finland's four million inhabitants.

The Russians declared that the aim of this war was to conquer all of Finland and place her under a Red government. Russian radio speakers and newspapers announced that the Soviet motorized troops would be in Viipuri within a few days and in Helsinki in a week, and the Soviets deluded themselves to the extent that they expected the Finns to greet them with open arms. The Russian superiority was overwhelming, especially in technical respects and in the air, not only in general and throughout the country but right at the front. To give only one example: the Finnish Army had less than 20 tanks, while the Russians used about 1,000 tanks on the Karelian Isthmus alone. The season, too, was most favorable to the Soviet mechanized attacks: the roads, lakes, rivers, and marshes of Finland were already firmly frozen over everywhere, yet there was one month without snow to be expected for the main war theater, southern Finland.

South of Lake Ladoga, in the main direction Leningrad/Viipuri, the Russians attacked immediately with some 350,000 men. On the entire front, reaching to the Arctic Ocean, about 30 divisions, amounting altogether to about half a million men, were employed.

During the first month of war, however, one third of the tanks were destroyed, and not a single Finnish town, let alone Viipuri or Helsinki, was captured by the Russians in all of Finland throughout the whole war. Of course, the Soviet communiqués would report, for instance, "the Finnish town of Naatsi was captured today." Actually, however, Naatsi consists of two houses and seven barns. It is obvious that, after such official reports, even the most simple Finnish workman
no longer believes any Russian or Allied news. In fact, the Finnish newspapers still suggest that everyone should listen to enemy radio programs!

Still fresh in everybody's memory is the fact that the public opinion of the world, including that of England and America, was overwhelmingly on the side of the Finns, cheering their every victory against the Bolshevik hordes.

THEY MEANT BUSINESS

There can be no doubt that the Russian leaders, both political and military, had grossly miscalculated. They meant business—business of the bloodiest, quickest, and most brutal kind—from the very beginning. About this there can only be one opinion among those who really participated or among the governments of those nations which were in a political position to send their own observers to the front. After the first stunning reversals, when the first invasion troops with their radio-propaganda columns, military bands, portable pamphlet printing presses, and tons of giant Stalin photographs and placards, were stopped, surrounded, and annihilated by the Finns, the Russian command sent all available troops to the front, including special and elite troops from Moscow and Ukrainian military districts. On the Karelian Isthmus alone, 30 divisions were concentrated, an army as large as that at the disposal of the Russian commander in chief General Linievitch in the Far East during the final phase of the Russo-Japanese War. Often there were 400 cannons of all calibers massed on a sector of four kilometers, and 13 divisions on a sector of about 20 kilometers, firing up to 300,000 shells a day. The motto of the Russian leaders was to finish off those Finns as quickly as possible, no matter what the cost, before the countless rivers and marshes and the 60,000 lakes of Finland were freed from their cover of ice by the spring. More and more fresh troops were sent up from behind, and often there was no time or opportunity to evacuate the remains of those that had been used up at the front. Those wounded who could not get back to the rear by themselves were often left to their fate.

The Soviet Air Force also did its best, or rather worst, especially against the civilian population. About 300 heavy, 500 medium, and about 2,000 light bombers and pursuit planes dropped approximately 110,000 bombs onto the civilian population and fired on it with machine guns during the three and a half months of war. During these bombardments and attacks with incendiary ammunition, it was especially the small towns and villages built of wood which suffered.

THE MILITARY RESULTS

And the results? On the front stretching northward from Lake Ladoga to the Arctic Ocean the Russian divisions did not achieve a single success. The Finnish skill at fighting in the snow and especially in the forests was superior to the Russians with all their modern arms and mechanization. There are even some medieval chronicles which tell of successes gained by Finnish ski troops against Russian invaders. (The art of skiing was brought by the Finns from Asia, according to the discoveries made by
Field Marshal C. G. Mannerheim, Commander in Chief of the Finnish armed forces.

The Marshal’s uniform is brushed every day by Lance Corporal Nils Nicklen, who happens to be Europe’s best high jumper, having won the Finnish championship by clearing 2.05 meters.

In winter the Finnish Army must fight in forests buried in snow and in summer Finland’s thousands of lakes and rivers must be crossed.
A member of the "Lotta Svärd" working at the Helsinki office of this organization. The Lotta Svärd is a women's organization devoted to aid in every field. More than half of the members work in kitchens behind the front lines and at the home front.

One of the 112,000 "Lottas" giving a wounded soldier his first refreshment.

Finland—Nation at War

He gave his life—Gunnar Hockert, winner of the 5,000 meters at the Olympic Games in Berlin in 1936, fell in the fight for Finland's freedom in 1940.

Sergeant Major Paavo Nurmi. The man who once ruled the running tracks of the world is now an infantry instructor. He is but one of the many famous Finnish athletes now fighting for their country.
Fridtjof Nansen, the famous Norwegian explorer. In northern Scandinavia the Norwegians and Swedes took it over from the Finns. Skiing was then made internationally popular by smart Norwegian, Tirolese, and Swiss tourist resorts.)

One Soviet division after another, one tank brigade after another—among them the “pride of the proletariat,” the Moscow tank brigade, famous from so many Red Square parades—was stopped, encircled, and annihilated to the last man. The excellent and plentiful equipment in cannons, tanks, etc., was immediately put into use by the Finnish Army. Only on the Karelian Isthmus, where there was no possibility of encirclement for the Finns, did the Soviet troop masses succeed now and again, after incredible losses in lives and material, in gaining a little territory. However, they never succeeded in advancing far enough beyond the border to occupy even a single Finnish town.

By the end of the war some 200,000 Russians had fallen and about 1,500 tanks and 700 planes had been destroyed. Seven Russian divisions had been totally annihilated by encirclement, and vast quantities of the most modern equipment, cannons, automobiles, ammunition, etc., had been captured. Several other divisions were already encircled or nearly so. Spring had arrived with the thaw and the breaking up of the ice. And it was probably this last fact which induced the Russian leaders to offer a compromise peace.

COMPROMISE PEACE

The Finnish Government accepted peace mediation with a heavy heart. There was, it is true, more material than at the beginning of the war. Vast booty had been taken, and no Finnish material had been lost to the Russians. During the whole war the Finnish Army lost four cannons—and even these were booty previously taken from the Russians. But the losses in lives naturally made themselves felt. And, above all, Finland still stood all alone in the world against the Red giant. At three places along the eastern border, territory had to be ceded to the Russians. But no population was ceded; for no one wanted to remain there under the “liberators” and “bringers of culture”: they all moved away into Finland.

The Russians had gained a few areas whose inhabitants had left to a man before they arrived. But their greatest gain was the lessons they learned from the mistakes they had made in the conduct of the war. Of course, the Soviet propaganda declared that the Red Army had not tried hard enough and that in reality it was much stronger, better, and more modern. If the Russians tried to camouflage anything during and after that war, it was their weaknesses, not their strong points. One thing, however, is true: even during the war they already applied the new lessons they had learned, and immediately after the war they began with ruthless energy to correct their operative and tactical doctrines, training, and organization. For example, a special People’s Commissariat for the manufacture of trench mortars was established. As a result, the Red Army had changed completely eighteen months later.

THE PRESENT WAR

Since June 22, 1941, it has no longer been necessary for Finland to stand alone against Bolshevism. Today, most of the states of Europe have realized the danger threatening from the USSR and have undertaken the active and final removal of this danger.

At the beginning of this war the Finnish commander in chief, again Field Marshal Mannerheim, saw his first task in splitting up the Russian forces on the southern Finnish front into two. For this purpose the Russian positions along the new southeastern border were pierced, and the Finnish troops quickly reached Lake Ladoga.

The southern half of the Russian front was then rolled up for some distance toward the southwest. Later an encircling thrust was made to the Gulf of
Finland south of Viipuri and this key city taken by an attack from the rear. Simultaneously, a second thrust was made across the chain of lakes connected by the Vuoksi River, whereby this strong natural defense line was filled with one blow. Within a short time all the Soviet forces on the Karelian Isthmus were thrown back southward behind the permanent defense line of Leningrad. At about the same time the Germans closed in on Leningrad from the south.

To the north of the first break-through to Lake Ladoga the town of Sortavala was also taken by an encircling thrust and the Russians thrown back behind the old border.

In northern Finland, German troops advancing from Norway attacked simultaneously. Along the coast of the Arctic Ocean they succeeded in advancing halfway to Murmansk, the only ice-free ocean port in the entire Soviet Union. Further south they managed to penetrate across the old Finnish border halfway to Kandalaksha, an important town on the Murmansk railway and on the White Sea. These important German positions have since then been held securely against all Russian attacks.

**THE LIBERATION OF EAST KARELIA**

After having retaken the old Finnish territories on the Karelian Isthmus and north of Lake Ladoga, Field Marshal Mannerheim began at the end of the first year of war to liberate the Finnish brothers on the eastern side of the old border, in what the Soviets called "Autonomous Soviet Karelia."

In the south, several thrusts were made along the eastern shore of Lake Ladoga as far as the Svir River. This maneuver blocked the Murmansk/Leningrad railway and the Stalin Canal and secured the Svir River as a southern protection for the Finnish right flank. Then the railway Sortavala/Petrozavodsk (Finnish: Äänekoski), the only railway from Finland to the Murmansk railway south of Kandalaksha, was captured. After the occupation of this supply line, the conquest of Soviet Karelia was systematically continued and carried out, both southward and northward.

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The Finnish people and the Finnish Army are today more confident and determined than ever before. The greatest danger, the shortage of food (in normal times some 10 to 15 per cent of Finland's food is imported), has been removed by German and allied conquests in the Ukraine. On May 16, 1943, the Finnish Memorial Day, Finland's Premier Dr. Linkomies declared once again that Finland is ready and willing to fight to the last man against all enemies, and that she will not permit any nation to threaten her national existence.

"Bolshevism must be destroyed at all costs, and whoever fails to realize this necessity will face destruction for himself."
GEO-POLITICAL ASPECTS OF SOUTHEASTERN ASIA

By H. BÖRNER

Before the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War, the world was accustomed to regard southeastern Asia not as a whole but as a conglomeration of individual parts belonging to the British Empire, the USA, the Netherlands, etc. Today, however, the Rising Sun flag waves from Burma to the Solomons. The following article seeks to take account of this new situation by examining the whole of southeastern Asia from the scientific viewpoint of geo-politics. The author was a student of geography and history at the universities of Frankfurt and Innsbruck and is now living in East Asia.—K.M.

The group-life of the human race progressed from the family by way of the clan to the tribe, the principality and finally, during the last few centuries, the national state. The years after the Great War brought, with the experiment of the Geneva League of Nations, an unsuccessful attempt to go beyond the unit of the national state. Apparently the leap from the national state to a world-wide league of nations was too great. For that reason it was doomed to failure. Today the leap we are attempting is a shorter one. Historical developments are now pointing toward an intermediary stage between national state and league of nations. This stage is the continental Grossraum, an organic development proceeding from the national state.

ANCIENT BORDERS AND MODERN LIFE

This development does not aim at a new imperialism but at a union of all concerned after certain inhibitions inherent to the psychology of nations have been overcome. National traditions are not always an unmixed blessing: when it is a matter of merging into a higher unit and enmities of past times oppose this development, they sometimes prove to be a heavy burden. This is what Nietzsche meant when he said that the hard crust of the past made it difficult for new life to break through.

When one surveys the development of industry and commerce—which, free from human imponderables and unfettered by tradition, follow their own laws—it becomes obvious that they urgently demand larger fields of activity. As a result of technical progress, means of communication have grown by leaps and bounds. There is practically no limit to the size of areas that can be opened up by railways, steamers, airplanes, and motorcars. The customs borders of many countries, on the other hand, are still a product of the days of the mail coach. Mass production imperatively demands adequate facilities for mass distribution. But it also swallows up far more raw materials than formerly. The hunger for raw materials has become a characteristic of the twentieth century. In the days of free trade, it was of no importance who produced the raw materials. But since Versailles there are such things as lack of raw materials, "have" and "have-not" states, and the struggle for raw materials as one of the main driving forces of modern history.

NEW BASES OF RAW MATERIALS

As a result of the exhaustion of the mineral wealth in the old industrial areas, where mining has been carried on for centuries, more and more attention is being paid to areas which still contain ample unexploited natural wealth. These are the countries outside of the temperate zone. The subarctic territories present great difficulties to mining and agriculture because of their harsh climate, and their
exploitation is still a matter of the future. The subtropical and tropical zones, however, have already become indispensable to the people of the temperate zone. As a result of the rapid growth of their vegetation, they are far superior to the temperate zone. A forest which requires fifty years to mature in Germany matures in ten years in the tropics. The oil palm produces many times the yield of German oil plants; rice has the highest yield per acre of all grains; and sugar cane is far superior to sugar beets.

Until about a hundred years ago, the tropical parts of Asia, Africa, and America belonged to European nations. Europe was the factory of the world, to which the raw materials were transported to be turned into goods which were then sent out again all over the world. As a result of industrial migration, secondary centers of industry arose in North America and Japan which gradually grew in importance. It was only a natural trend to try and avoid having to transport the raw materials to Europe, only to have to buy them back again in the form of finished goods, and to attempt to exploit the advantage of far cheaper native labor. The adjustment to European technology and working methods was only a question of time.

SLICING UP THE GLOBE

If in our minds we prolong this economic development into the future, the result gained is that the American and Asiatic tropics achieve independence from Europe. The fact that political developments show a similar trend is speeding this up. It would appear that the future Grossräume are forming in the shape of strips running from north to south: Europe-Africa, East Asia-Australia, North America-South America. It is interesting that each of them extends across all the climatic zones, from the cold to the tropic, thus uniting all their best products for the benefit of the whole.

Looked at from another point of view, a central industrial area borders onto a foodstuff area with an agricultural surplus which, in the south, passes over into a tropical supplementary area: industrial Europe—agrarian eastern, southeastern, and southern Europe—Africa; the industrial areas of the United States—the prairie areas—Central and South America; the industrial state of Japan—the predominantly agrarian countries of Korea, Manchoukuo, and China, and the rice granaries of the south—the tropical island world.

This picture of the future is only the straight continuation of the development of the last fifty years. Of course, this development may be slowed up or even temporarily halted by opposing forces; but in the end it will prevail.

SEAFARERS' MEETING PLACE

The wave of European discovery and conquest flowed across India and southern Asia and finally, four hundred years ago, in 1542, touched Tanegashima off Kyushu. Today the pendulum is swinging back from its outermost point, Japan. Now this country is carrying its flag to the islands of southeastern Asia from the other side. Today, as then, the islands are still the most valuable of all possessions.

In bygone days there came from the west the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the British, and from the east the Spaniards—the predecessors of the United States—who conquered and administered the Philippines from Mexico. In these southern regions they found the Chinese and Arabs, who had arrived there before them. In the sixteenth century, the Japanese, too, had had a trading post, the Nihonmashi, in the city of Malacca. The fact that seven seafaring nations met here during the age of discovery and later, prepared not only for peaceful trade but also to fight for so profitable a trade monopoly, is a proof of the lure of these regions.

What was the geo-political significance of southeastern Asia in the pre-European days? First of all, to put it negatively, it was not its fragmentary land bridge that, like the steppingstones in a Japanese garden, connected Asia with Australia. Australia has had her own separate
development as regards flora, fauna, and man. To this day the barren northern shores of Australia have not enticed anyone from Asia. It was not until the last ten years that the airplane has been able to conquer Australia's northeastern coast. Even in the present war this coast has shown its defensive power. Moreover, the great mountain ranges pointing from China and Indo-China toward the island world have not aided communications in that direction.

THE ADVANTAGES OF ISLANDS

Instead, this significance is to be found in the very fact that the East Indian archipelago is composed of the remainders of a broken up mass of land. When this breaking up took place, thousands of islands were left standing, separated by as many inland seas. The breaking up of the land caused deep cuts and gashes, appearing as bays, which are now gradually being filled in by the rivers and form fertile alluvial rice plains.

Such swarms of islands with their connecting strips of sea—often so narrow that the opposite shore can be seen—lure men to take to the sea, to venture out into new territories. At the dawn of history they were often the nurseries of seafaring peoples. What southeastern Asia was to the Malays, the Inland Sea was to the Japanese and the Aegean Sea to the ancient Greeks. In southeastern Asia, as in Europe and Japan, the inland sea with its scattered groups of islands favored the growth of a uniform cultural sphere.

Added to these favorable means of communication is the favorable climate. The periodic monsoons and trade winds enabled the Malay to risk long voyages in his fragile outrigger without having to tack against the wind. But periodic winds also bring periodic rainfall. And the intermixture of land and sea favors a uniform climate which, moreover, is tropical owing to the latitude of those regions.

As the islands have a mountainous interior, the cultivated plains are at or near the coast, similar to the beehive structure of Japan. However, they are not isolated: as a result of favorable winds, good harbors, and short distances from the coast, they have grown together in a network. In this respect the short distances from the coast are the most important factor. For, as much as the rain and heat of the tropics promote growth, just as much do their jungles impede communications. The chief problem of the tropics is communications. The tropical island possesses the luxuriant growth of the tropics, enhanced by especially favorable rainfall connected with the nature of islands. Because of the short routes of transportation, the tropical vegetation is not a serious impediment to communications. Thus, in the early period of colonization, until about the middle of the eighteenth century, Cuba, Jamaica, Martinique, Haiti, etc., produced more colonial goods than all the rest of America put together; and the islands of Fernando Po and Réunion,
today almost unknown, were considered more valuable than all of Africa.

BARED CONTINENTS

Today man can, by dint of his advanced technology, open up an entire tropical continent. Nevertheless, the tropical islands are still superior to the continents in respect of intensity of utilization and cheapness of production, and thus the island world of southeastern Asia is superior to the massive blocks represented by South America and Africa. This explains the apparently so curious fact that, in the age of discovery, European nations seized upon the remote tropical regions of Asia and America instead of being satisfied with the near-by tropics of Africa.

At first Africa repelled all advances. Between Europe and tropical Africa there is the obstacle of the parched Sahara, the crossing of which was even more difficult in bygone days than it is now. The African coast was equally hostile. The history of the discoveries reflects this fact: of all continents, “darkest Africa” was the last to be explored, and that not until the nineteenth century. So it came about that Europe directed its attention first to the more remote tropics instead of the near-by ones. Instead of an organic expansion toward the south, into Africa, Europe acquired possessions scattered all over the tropics of Asia, America, and the South Seas before it seized Africa.

The favorable situation of southeastern Asia has been enhanced since the age of discovery and colonization. As a result of the growing speed of communications, southeastern Asia is moving closer and closer to East Asia and India, whose overflowing human masses are slowly beginning to find an outlet there.

Moreover, southeastern Asia is shifting from an outer position between two oceans into a central position. In this age of world communications the channels between the islands have become the contested sluices of world traffic between two oceans. The oil triangle of Sumatra/Borneo has enhanced the value of these straits in its capacity as a natural filling station.

THE POPULATION

The favorable situation of this island world is also revealed in its population. The inviting coasts facilitated the immigration of new races. Out of the jungle these races created relatively cultivated areas, which in their turn attracted the next wave of peoples, who forced back their predecessors into the mountainous interior. This process has been repeated many times up to this day, and every wave has given a new impetus toward civilization. The opposite example is Australia, where the inhospitable coast had a repelling effect so that, until the Age of Discovery, the country had no influx of superior races.

We find the following racial and cultural strata in the islands:

(1) Negritos (to use their ethnological collective name): dwarfish peoples; hunters and root collectors.

(2) Indo-Austronesians: no longer dwarfish but still small, with a primitive agriculture.

(3) Proto- or Original Malays: living, like the former, in the jungle but in large clearings. Some formerly head-hunters (Dyaks and Bataks).

(4) Later or Coastal Malays: the main part of the population, the most intelligent and, culturally, the most advanced. By intermarriage with the Dutch, a so far fairly influential class of Eurasians has arisen.

(5) Europeans: Europe’s brilliant cultural history has ineradicable blemishes to show during the age of colonization. This also applies to southeastern Asia. On the other hand, these negative qualities are contrasted by positive pioneer achievements. The European has laid out roads, railways, and plantations. He has opened up the country. In generations of research work, he has explored the best locations for tropical plants and the sites of mineral resources.
The ratio of Europeans to natives was 1:250 in the Netherland East Indies, 1:750 in French Indo-China, 1:1,000 in the Philippines, 1:2,000 in Malaya, and even lower in Burma and Siam. Without the visible witnesses of the European spirit, without roads, railways, factories, schools and hospitals, without the cultivation of the jungle, the European is, in the words of Lord Curzon, "only a flock of foam on an unfathomable dark ocean."

CHINESE AND JAPANESE

(6) Chinese: It is different with the Chinese. The transformation of the land, the construction of roads, railways, and mines, were planned by the European, but it was almost always the Chinese who did the heavy, physical labor. In the West Indies and the Mississippi region, negro labor had to be brought in with great difficulty. In tropical Africa and in South America, many a European plan remained on paper because of the chronic shortage of labor. Ford's vast project for rubber plantations on the Amazon, for instance, could not be realized for this reason. In southeastern Asia, however, the population pressure of overpopulated China and India has provided an abundant influx of labor.

It cannot be sufficiently emphasized what a tremendous advantage it is for a tropical region if it has a plentiful supply of acclimatized, intelligent workers at its disposal. But a coolie does not remain a coolie. He gradually climbs up the social ladder to the rank of artisan, shopkeeper, trader, banker, and even industrial magnate, a feat which is facilitated by the fact that the natives are usually inexperienced and inefficient in money matters. Even the Chinese shopkeeper influences economic life, for instance when he boycotts certain goods. Until recently, before the Government intervened, the Chinese wholesalers monopolized the rice trade in Thailand. The family and clan system of the Chinese sees to it that, where an individual has been successful, he is always followed by relatives from his native district, with the result that the Chinese proportion of the population is constantly on the increase.

The great Chinese migration can probably only be stemmed temporarily. In her rear China has Tibet and the Gobi Desert; beyond the Pacific there is no access; so the only remaining possibilities are the northern flank (Manchoukuo) and southern flank. One must also bear in mind that southeastern Asia, just like Manchoukuo, needs the working capacity of the Chinese. The future will show how the Japanese will deal with the problem of Chinese migration. There is no place in East Asia where they will not be faced by it.

The present proportion of the Chinese in the population of Malaya is 40 per cent. of Thailand 15, the East Indies 2, French Indo-China 1.5, and the Philippines 0.5 per cent. (The last figure is so low because of the strict control of immigration.)

(7) Japanese: This last and very powerful wave is still under way before our eyes.

PAST AND FUTURE ECONOMICS

In discussing the economic situation it is useless to consult the export and import statistics of the last few years before the outbreak of the present war. After the end of this war the economic situation of southeastern Asia will no longer be that of the past, when southeastern Asia was a specialized, highly developed supplementary region, a tropical garden for the economics of the world. The reproach made by Japanese economists that the white colonial governments had not fully developed the territories entrusted to them but had forced one-sided monocultures on them is quite justified. Tin, for instance, was thoroughly exploited, iron ore more or less ignored, oil only incompletely exploited, the cultivation of rubber forced, while that of rice was curtailed—often against the will of the population—and the production of cotton, etc., entirely neglected. Why? Because of the vast distances from England, Holland, France, and the United States, all those products of
southeastern Asia which could also be produced in the mother country or its vicinity could not compete owing to the high freight charges.

Japan will now reconstruct these areas to suit East Asiatic requirements and to harmonize with Japan and China. Owing to the comparatively short transportation in this sphere, a uniform development is actually possible. The monocultures will be curtailed and other products favored. In the article “The Capital” in the April 1942 issue of this magazine (p. 246), it has been shown what there is too much and of what too little in the East Asiatic sphere. It is easy to discover these surpluses and shortages but not so easy to alter this situation. The overproduction of rubber, tin, hemp, and quinine can be cut down only very gradually, if grave economic upheavals are to be avoided. Stocks of these products will accumulate. These stocks increase Japan’s war potential and will also strengthen her commercial position after the war, when all countries will experience a shortage of raw materials as a result of resurrected civilian requirements. In the long run, however, the revival of large-scale exports does not seem very probable. Just as Germany learnt from the blockade of the Great War, so the Anglo-Americans will remember the lessons of the present war. Every power will in future try to make itself safe from blockade and to produce all vital raw materials, especially those essential to its armed forces, within its own sphere.

INDO-CHINA

At those places where the parallel mountain ranges running from north to south in Indo-China diverge, the rivers were able to deposit great deltas. The alluvial plains have become the hearts of Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, and Tonkin. Well protected by mountains, open to the south, irrigated by rivers coming from regions rich in rainfall, they have become the natural rice granaries of the world. European economic genius has multiplied production by seed selection and the construction of dikes and irrigation systems. Moreover, it has left the native product and thereby maintained economic stability, in contrast to neighboring Malaya, where the natives can do nothing with the foreign production of rubber and are entirely at the mercy of the ups and downs of the world market.

Thailand is a few decades ahead of her neighbors in the formation of her class of leaders and intellectuals.

It is of the greatest importance that Japan now holds the key to these rice granaries. Her control of the rice countries is strengthening Japan’s position in Asia in the same way as her control of rubber and tin will reinforce her world position.

THE MALAYAN PENINSULA

As a result of its position between the oceans, the Malayan Peninsula is covered with dense rain forests. It also contains the richest tin deposits in the world. Tin was the driving force in its economic development. It was first mined in small quantities by the Chinese, but later on the European mining methods drew hosts of foreign laborers into the country—40 per cent of the population are Chinese, 14 per cent Indians—and opened up the country with roads and railways. This opening up of the country as a result of mining led to the idea of utilizing the road network and ample labor for planting *Hevea brasiliensis*, the rubber tree of the Amazon. In this way the major part of the peninsula was turned into a rubber forest crisscrossed by asphalt roads and railways.

This road network, probably unique in the tropics, aided General Yamashita in his blitz advance. This advance very likely signified the end of an epoch for Malaya. It is hard to believe that, on the one hand, the principle of “living space” can be carried out, and on the other, the whole world can be supplied with rubber as in the good old days of liberalism. Europe and America have possibilities of making themselves more or less independent of Malaya’s rubber and tin. A curtailment of production is
therefore likely, although it cannot yet be said how great this curtailment will be. The economic world crisis of 1930/33 established a precedent. Just as then, attempts will probably be made to get rid of part of the immigrant labor, to abandon monoculture, to cut down rubber plants planted in rice fields, and to resume the planting of rice. For the monoculture in Malaya went so far that all available land was planted with rubber trees and the natives had to be fed with imported rice.

Djawaw

Djawa is the pearl of the Sunda Isles. It alone has 42 million inhabitants, while all the other islands together—which the Dutch used to call the “outer possessions”—have only 18 million inhabitants. Djawa has 315 people per square kilometer, and there is no other agricultural country in the world, not even Japan, which is so densely populated. One of the reasons for this is Djawa’s extraordinarily fertile soils, consisting mostly of soft Tertiary rock and the ashes of 136 volcanoes, which weather rapidly and are the most fertile soils of all.

Another reason is to be found in the agricultural policy of the Dutch, as a result of which the population rose from 10 million in 1870 to 42 million in 1930, which in turn made possible a more intensive cultivation. This increase in population on a purely agrarian basis is probably unique in the world. Although similar increases of population took place in Japan and Germany, they were only made possible by the industrialization of these countries.

A third factor which has contributed toward this success is the multiplicity of the crops grown in Djawa in contrast to the monoculture of Malai. Generally speaking, the Sunda Isles become drier from east to west and cooler with higher altitudes. This means that there are double possibilities of variation—from wet to dry and from hot to cool. By suitable horizontal and vertical shifting, the best possible locations for many tropical plants could be discovered. So far, and in accordance with the changing demands of the world market, the following crops have been raised: coffee, rubber, sugar cane, tobacco, tea, cinchona, coconuts, teak wood, spices, and rice.

As a result of this versatility, Djawa has become the most highly developed tropical country in the world. The Great War, the inflations, the economic crisis of 1930/33, enforced one production curtailment after another, problems which could not be solved by the Dutch. The blessed land can yield much more and is, so to speak, waiting for the opportunity to produce to its fullest extent under Japanese leadership.

THE REST OF THE EAST INDIES

Sumatra is but a weak reflection of Djawa. Less fertile soil, a steep, inhospitable coast in the west, mangrove coasts in the east, and a swampy plain have, since ancient times, been less attractive to man than Djawa. Moreover, North Sumatra had first to be subjected in long-drawn-out colonial wars. It was for these reasons that the chief interest of the Dutch was concentrated on Djawa, whose production was for a long time sufficient for their demands. The actual development of Sumatra did not begin till after 1900 and offers many opportunities to the energy of the Japanese. The production of oil and the planting of tobacco, coffee, tea, etc., can still be increased.

Apart from its oil districts on the coast, Borneo has scarcely been opened up. Its capture by the Japanese was typical of this. After the occupation of the oil fields and a few ports, the campaign was ended. The interior of the island has hardly seen any Dutch; how were they to defend it?

Like Borneo, Celebes has only been opened up in spots. With the liberality of the owner of vast, rich territories, little Holland could afford to pick out the best bits from an area sixty times as large as herself and neglect entire regions out of which a conscientious colonization will be able to obtain great wealth.
The Lesser Sunda Isles become more and more dry toward the east. Maize replaces rice. As plantation colonies they are hardly to be considered.

The Spice Islands, or Moluccas, have lost much of their former glamour. A few tiny islands are quite sufficient to satisfy the world's requirements of nutmeg and cloves. The others are neglected, many of them being hardly explored.

THE PHILIPPINES

Split up into 7,000 islands, the Philippines possess centers of civilization as well as islands populated by primitive dwarfs, according to where the white man penetrated. As a result of their outer position on the edge of Asia they were hardly touched by the great religions of Asia—Islam and Buddhism—so that Christianity, brought in by the Spaniards from Mexico, found an open field. Missionization, education in Spanish culture, and the raising of the standard of living went hand in hand. To this was later added forty years of the materialistic civilization of the North Americans. The result of this mixture of Asiatic race, Spanish culture and religion, and American civilization is that the Filipino in his urban elements is superior to the Malays in spiritual and materialistic culture. His political will, too, is far more awakened, and he has proved his mettle as a soldier.

For the evaluation of the future of southeastern Asia it is important to know the reply to a question which cannot be answered yet: whether the Filipino represents the cultural vanguard of the Malays, i.e., whether all Malays are capable of the same progress, or whether the Filipino is only a particularly talented part of the Malayan race. Will the distant future see a Greater Malaya allied to its Japanese brother nation?

From a climatic point of view it is important that the northern part of the Philippines extends beyond the tropics and consequently possesses a subtropical dry season. This dry season is indispensable for the ripening of cotton. Hence the planned increase of cotton-growing at the expense of other crops promises great success in the northern part of the Philippines. The demand for cotton on the part of the Japanese cotton mills is tremendous, and it will provide very many people in the Philippines with work and bread.

JAPANESE EMIGRATION

One must not judge Japanese emigration by its numbers in Manchoukuo. The Japanese are, after all, chiefly a southern race from warm seas. For the Japanese, Hokkaido represents the northern limit to the most favorable region for their existence, and Manchoukuo is well beyond this limit. History teaches us that mass migrations have always moved toward adequate living spaces, better living conditions, and a higher standard of living, and that only a few idealists swim against the stream. This fact emphasizes the moral power of resistance and the heroism of the Japanese settlers on the Amur, but also indicates that mass migrations to the cold mainland are hardly to be expected.

The tough, industrious Japanese farmer has transformed subtropical and tropical deserts into fertile gardens as, for instance, in California, Hawaii, and northern Brazil. Now the Japanese emigrants have a chance of opening up and developing areas within their own sphere. Emigration to the South Seas has a great future, especially for peasants from the over-populated agrarian regions. As for the urban Japanese—one fifth of Japan’s population lives in cities of more than a million inhabitants—he is probably just as little suited for colonial pioneering as any of the other city dwellers of the world.

MINERAL RESOURCES

We have not said much about mineral resources yet. Here, too, conditions will be entirely changed. Hitherto, southeastern Asia has been only a supplementary area for the old colonial powers. Mining production was always subordinated to the interests of the mother country.
Consequently, only tin, which was scarce in Europe and America, was exploited to the full. Oil was only produced in such quantities as suited the policy of the great oil trusts. Coal of good quality is to be found near the coast in Tonkin, as is iron ore in Malai, the Philippines, and Hainan. In spite of the easy means of transport, the production before the war was ridiculously small. There are large deposits of copper and chromium ores which have hardly been touched yet. Now all these ores can be properly exploited, as the freight charges to the Japanese smelting furnaces are moderate, while to Europe and America they were too high. The mineral resources of southeastern Asia offer a profitable field for the Japanese.

JAPAN'S POSITION

Starting from the tropical experimental station of Formosa, Japan now dominates the entire East Asiatic garland of islands, having firmly anchored its two ends by means of the bridgeheads of Manchoukuo and Burma on the Asiatic mainland. What may have often appeared to contemporaries as a vacillation on the part of Japan between a continental and a maritime policy seems now, on looking back, to have been full of purpose.

Like a frigate of olden times, Japan has made use of the winds of world politics. With a favorable breeze she moved ahead on a straight course, in adverse winds she laboriously tacked back and forth. In spite of all changes in course, she gradually approached her distant goal—Greater East Asia. Even the Manchurian affair was but a milestone on the way, a movement to protect her rear and to safeguard her armament requirements before attempting the final step across the seas.

Japan stands in front of East Asia, from Sakhalin to the Andamans, as though with her arms outspread. It is the gesture of a true naval power, a gesture which may mean protection for a friendly China against foreign interference—or a threatening stranglehold for a hostile China. Today Japan can offer much to a friendly China and do much harm to a hostile China. Even without China, Japan now controls an area inhabited by 250 million people and holds all the trump cards that a dominating naval power can have.

At last Japan has found congenial regions in which her sea- and warmth-loving people can settle: islands washed by warm seas, and rich in rainfall and fertility. These regions are separated from the mainland by a corridor of water wide enough for the Japanese to feel remote from the mainland, yet narrow enough for them to feel united with the continent.
WHAT IS THE RED CROSS?

By ED. EGLE

Never before has a war involved such enormous areas and so many nations. Hence never before have such vast numbers of people benefited from the only organization that still works with all the belligerents to bring aid to the victims of war—the Red Cross. Yet while millions of people use its inestimable services, there are not many who know anything about it. We have asked the Delegate of the International Red Cross for China to explain to our readers what the Red Cross is and how it works. He has written this account with great restraint and impartiality, without mentioning any specific nations.

Mr. Ed. Egle is a native of Switzerland and came out to China thirty-three years ago. Up to the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War he was the Shanghai manager of the oldest Swiss firm in the East. Through his wide business associations, he has made many friends in Japan and all over East Asia. After December 8, 1941, he offered his services to the International Red Cross Committee in a voluntary capacity and was appointed Delegate for China. He intends to resume his business activities when the war is over.—K.M.

HENRI DUNANT AT SOLFERINO

It is a long road from the battle cry of Solferino on June 24, 1859, when 150,000 men of the Austrian armies flung themselves against Napoleon III’s advancing might of 200,000 fighters and when the plains and hills around Solferino were transformed within twenty-four hours into a quagmire of blood, with 40,000 wounded left to their terrible fate. Into this field of terror and desolation stepped Henri Dunant, then a young man thirty-one years old, descendant of a well-known Geneva family, who, since his youth, had followed in the footsteps of his parents in strict and practical application of Christian love and charity.

During those days Henri Dunant knew no fatigue in bringing aid to the wounded of Solferino; yet, with the assistance of only a small number of doctors and nurses and in view of the almost complete absence of medicaments and hospital accommodation, he could do very little indeed. Appalled by the terror, suffering, and misery he had witnessed, Henri Dunant returned to Geneva with the firm determination to devote his life and all his means to the creation of an organization which would in the future regulate the conduct of war, especially with regard to rendering the last honors to the dead on the battlefields, providing care for the wounded by neutralizing military hospitals, ambulances and their staffs, assuring humanitarian treatment to prisoners of war, and giving protection to noncombatants.

FIRST CONVENTION AND TEST

In spite of seemingly insurmountable difficulties, Henri Dunant succeeded by persistent efforts in enlisting the cooperation of other prominent citizens of Geneva; and so energetically was the pioneer work of this group pursued that a first convention could be held at Geneva as early as 1864, attended by representatives of many governments. The resolutions adopted at this convention referred mainly to the neutralization of the wounded and the protection of the medical and nursing staffs. Other governments were subsequently invited to adhere to the rules laid down by the Convention, and within a few years fifty-five sovereign states had deposited their ratification with the Committee at Geneva.

The regulations thus laid down received their first real test during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870/71, and it must be recorded to the credit of both belligerent powers that they scrupulously observed the provisions of the Conven-
WHAT IS THE RED CROSS?

tion to which they were signatories. After this positive demonstration of the practical application of the ideals fostered by Henri Dunant and his supporters, all civilized nations in every part of the world rallied to the call. National Red Cross Societies were founded in all countries, and a Central Organization was created at Geneva. It would take volumes to render an account of the work achieved since that time both by the National Red Cross Societies and the Central Organization. Many and lengthy conferences had to be held to amplify existing regulations and rectify errors and omissions. The work of the Committee at Geneva was especially tedious when it was necessary to obtain the ratification of more than fifty different governments to every amendment or new regulation before it could be made effective.

Henri Dunant died in Geneva on October 30, 1910, having sacrificed his health and business career for the realization of his ideal. The memory of this noble man will live forever through the great work which he created.

SWISS ORGANIZATION OF MERCY

The Red Cross organization of the world today consists of:

(a) National Red Cross Societies, such as the German Red Cross, Japanese Red Cross, American Red Cross, etc.

(b) The League of National Red Cross Societies with a Secretariat at Geneva.

(c) The International Red Cross Committee of Geneva.

The International Red Cross Committee is a kind of executive organ, whose activity comes to the front especially in time of war. The name “International Red Cross Committee” is somewhat misleading as it is purely a Swiss society, the Committee and all Delegates being of Swiss nationality; only the scope of the Committee’s work is international. The Committee and its Delegates are pledged to strict neutrality and are responsible in this respect directly to the Swiss Federal Council. About eighty per cent of the funds to meet administrative expenses are raised by voluntary subscriptions in Switzerland; the remaining twenty per cent are provided by National Red Cross Societies or by income from endowments. The Swiss Federal Government for the year 1942 made a special grant of three million Swiss francs to enable the Committee to carry on in the face of ever-increasing expenses caused by the expansion of the world war and the many new tasks placed on its shoulders; but even so the worries of the Director of Finances of the International Red Cross Committee were by no means at an end.

This may be better realized when it is known that the Head Office at Geneva operates at present with a staff of 7,300 assistants, maintaining in addition 54 offices abroad with 83 Swiss Delegates and approximately 8,000 helpers, mostly of Swiss nationality. It is a tradition with the Delegates that they give their services entirely free of charge, and most of the helpers lend their assistance in a voluntary capacity.

COUNTLESS INDEX CARDS

In order to convey to the reader an idea of the enormous volume of work handled by the International Red Cross Committee, some figures may prove of interest. At the Head Office in Geneva an index card is kept for every prisoner of war or civilian internee, on which are noted his name, nationality, age, place of detention, names and addresses of his relatives, and all other pertinent references such as sickness, hospitalization, death, etc. Although the number of these index cards has passed the six-million mark, it takes less than ten minutes to trace the record of any prisoner.

Needless to say, these index cards can only be established and kept up-to-date if the necessary information is supplied by the belligerent powers concerned who hold the prisoners. Every signatory power is under obligation to report to Geneva the names of prisoners immediately after their capture. Unfortunately, it
must be said that during the present war some of the belligerent powers have been very slow to co-operate. In some instances the names of prisoners have been reported a year or even later after their capture, and even today the Head Office lacks the names of tens of thousands of prisoners of war who were captured more than a year ago.

During 1942, over 230,000 telegraphic messages passed through the Head Office at Geneva, many of them containing more than 1,000 words (one message ran to 32,000 words!). During the same year, over three million letters were transmitted via Geneva to prisoners of war and civilian internees, while the number of civilian twenty-five-word messages which passed through the Head Office exceeded eight million.

TRAINLOADS OF PARCELS AND FOOD

Over two million comfort parcels were transmitted to prisoners of war. In order to handle this service, large “depots” had to be established at Cossonnay (near Geneva) and at Basel, and numerous long extra trains are operated through Switzerland in both directions. As connections between the continent of Europe and other continents could only be maintained via Genoa and Lisbon, a shuttle service has been established between these two ports; and although the International Red Cross Committee operates no less than fourteen steamers under its ensign on this service, as much as 15,000 tons of comfort parcels and relief goods accumulated at certain periods in Lisbon.

The International Red Cross Committee also undertakes relief work for the civilian population in areas devastated by the war, either with the co-operation of the respective National Red Cross Societies or independently if, for certain reasons, the National Society in question cannot function. The most difficult problem which the International Red Cross Committee was called upon to tackle was the situation in Greece and her neighboring islands, where thousands of inhabitants were literally doomed to starvation. The International Red Cross Committee at present supplies those districts with 15,000 tons of foodstuffs every month in vessels placed free of charge at the service of the International Red Cross Committee by the Red Cross Society of Sweden.

THE DELEGATES

The Delegates of the International Red Cross Committee are appointed by the Head Office at Geneva and must have the approval of the belligerent governments in whose territory they are called upon to function. The Delegates have the special duty of looking after the welfare of the prisoners of war and civilian internees. To this effect they must visit the camps and submit reports to the Head Office at Geneva.

The facilities granted to the Delegates of the International Red Cross Committee for the execution of their mandate vary considerably in different countries. Many belligerent powers allow the Delegates free entry to any camp and at any time, free intercourse with internees, free access to hospitals, etc., supplying full records as to the names of internees, transfers, and deaths. Other belligerent powers, however, impose rather severe restrictions in this respect.

WORK IN THE EAST

The civilian message service has proved a boon to a great many residents in China who have no other means of communicating with their relatives and friends in Europe, America, Africa, and British and American possessions. The fact that during the first ten months after the establishment of the Shanghai office more than 100,000 messages passed over its counters attests to the popularity of this service.

The application of the stipulations of the Convention of 1929 relative to the treatment of prisoners of war proved a rather thorny problem and exposed the Delegates of the International Red Cross Committee to much unfavorable criticism from all directions. When the regulations were framed, insufficient consideration had been given to the difference in
the way of living between European and Asiatic people. In the end, however, it was possible to compromise on these problems thanks to the understanding and liberal attitude adopted by the powers concerned, difficulties caused by military exigencies or other reasons being amply compensated for by privileges in excess of the obligations imposed by the Geneva Convention being granted to prisoners of war and internees by the detaining power.

**TASKS FOR A POSTWAR CONVENTION**

The rules and regulations at present in force concerning the humanitarian principles to be observed by the belligerent parties in the conduct of the war are based mainly on what is known as the "Geneva Convention of July 27, 1929." These rules were drawn up after many years of painstaking effort and the most exhaustive investigations. The protocol incorporates the principal stipulations of all previous conventions, modified and amplified as motivated by the experience gained over a period of more than sixty years, especially in the practical tests of the Great War of 1914-18. Nevertheless, it is evident that these existing rules will again require substantial additions and corrections when the Convention is rewritten after this war. Some points which appear to deserve particular attention are:

(a) A clearer definition of objects of war which may be attacked and destroyed. In the present war, no place appears to offer safety to the civilian population, a position in the front line of battle being about as safe as a civilian's residence. It is a sad and well-known fact that not even schools, hospitals, churches, etc., are immune from attacks against which the victims have no means of defense whatsoever.

(b) An elaborate code regarding aerial warfare.

(c) The stipulations of the Geneva Convention of 1929 provide that, if prisoners of war are transferred on land from one place to another, the transfer must be effected over territory which is not affected by operations of war, in order that the prisoners of war may not be exposed to danger. Unfortunately, there are no identical provisions regarding the transfer of prisoners of war by sea, and it has happened on several occasions during this war that ships carrying prisoners of war have been attacked and sunk by naval forces of the prisoners' own nationality.

(d) Until a few years ago it was a principle conceded by all civilized nations that operations of war should be confined to armed forces in uniform, and that the noncombatant civilian population should not be subject to attacks by armed forces. Our civilization has now produced new implements and horrors of warfare which have brushed aside formerly respected principles of humanitarian warfare. Not only are helpless men, women, and children being killed by deliberate armed attacks, but attempts have been and are still being made to force the enemy into submission through starving his civilian population.

(e) Some clear regulations appear to be necessary regarding the internment of noncombatant men, women, and children, as well as the confiscation of their private property by the belligerents. All these measures run contrary to the idea that wars should be conducted between uniformed armed forces only. At present, all steps of this kind taken by the belligerents appear to be based on the principle of retaliation and reciprocity, a state of affairs that can hardly be called satisfactory.

**UNWAVERING BEACON OF MERCY**

The ideal of service to humanity has always been and must forever be the leitmotiv of the International Red Cross Committee and its staff. There can be no discrimination between races, nations, and religions, since all human beings are children of the same Supreme Creator. Wherever heroes sacrifice their lives in battle for the glory of their respective countries, they leave behind mourning mothers, fathers, wives, relatives, and friends, whose heartstrings all respond to
the same emotion of sorrow, and all of whom, without distinction, are entitled to whatever modest comfort the International Red Cross Committee can provide to ease their anxiety and suffering. Even in cases where effective assistance cannot be given, kind words and practical advice can go a long way. Whatever the circumstances may be, every International Red Cross Committee worker must strive to see that any visitor leaving its office is at least a little happier than when he or she entered its doors.

The following excerpts are taken from the book "Henri Dunant" by Fernand Gigon, published in 1942 by the Ruscher Publishing Co. in Zürich and Leipzig. It is the life story of the creator of the Red Cross, Henri Dunant, the son of a wealthy merchant family of Geneva, went to northern Italy for quite other than charitable purposes: he wished to obtain certain commercial concessions in French North Africa from Napoleon III. By chance, his search for the Emperor took him to the battlefield of Solferino, where 40,000 wounded French and Austrians were lying in anguish.

But there was one man there who did not despair—Henri Dunant. Actually he had no business to be on the battlefield. It was surprising enough that he had not been arrested on the suspicion of being a spy. He took up the fight against suffering and misery. But he had to summon up all his courage, for he was shaken by revulsion and disgust. Contrary to all common sense, he took it upon himself to go from man to man. He allowed no doubts to rise in himself. Here were men who were suffering, who were perishing; he had to help them.

With the aid of a few sturdy men, Dunant organized a voluntary service. As soon as he had assembled one group, he sent it out and formed a new one. Everywhere he was the driving force, encouraging, strengthening with words of faith, infecting all with his energy. Noon went by without his finding the time to eat even a piece of bread. And yet he worked more easily. He no longer felt revulsion when he had to look at terrible mutilations. He acted with dreamlike confidence, almost in a trance.

This man in white was playing the role of a general. No one asked him by what authority he gave his orders. The devout ardor of his personality was transferred to the will of the others. He happened to hear that a few Englishmen, inquisitive tourists, had been arrested. Dunant hurried to them at once. They were released, and Dunant immediately enrolled them as helpers. He could use everyone.

Beginning in the early morning as almost the only man trying to alleviate the suffering of 40,000 wounded, Henri Dunant had more than 300 voluntary helpers by the same evening.

After having completed his work at Solferino, there was only one way in which he could free himself of the burden of his experiences: the writing down of all he had seen and felt. He returned to Geneva, left his papers about the concession in North Africa to collect dust in a drawer, abstained from all social contacts and entertainment, and began to write the book which was to become the book of his life, Un Souvenir de Solferino, in which he outlined the main problem:

"Should it not be possible in times of peace and quiet to found societies of aid whose purpose it would be to grant every possible care in war time to the wounded, and this, moreover, by means of volunteers who, filled with zeal and devotion, possess the necessary qualities for work of this kind?"

The International Red Cross Committee, keeping strictly to the basis of complete neutrality, must in time of war be the medium which bridges the gaps between the belligerent countries, to maintain the ties between families and friends living in different parts of the world. It must exemplify by its own conduct the spirit of universal tolerance and love, which alone can be the true foundation for the casting out of feelings of hatred and the restoring of sincere and lasting peace.

SOLFERINO, 1859

When the sun rose on Saturday morning over Solferino, it shone upon a scene of horror: ruined villages, destroyed harvests, piles of corpses, dying, wounded, mutilated, and thirst-crazed men.

A few ambulances were working, but their number was too small in the face of the magnitude of such misery. They were carrying wounded into a tent erected under a tree. The army surgeons worked ceaselessly, amputating, cutting, and sewing. Hundreds, thousands were hopelessly waiting for help. It was such a vast task that every effort seemed useless.

This man in white was playing the role of a general. No one asked him by what authority he gave his orders. The devout ardor of his personality was transferred to the will of the others. He happened to hear that a few Englishmen, inquisitive tourists, had been arrested. Dunant hurried to them at once. They were released, and Dunant immediately enrolled them as helpers. He could use everyone.

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THE FRONT INSIDE
By FREDERICK WIEHL

Roosevelt hopes to win this war by an overwhelming armament production. Hence he needs the wholehearted co-operation of American labor. Instead, a year and a half after America's entry into the war, the country was shaken by a violent labor conflict and gigantic strikes involving hundreds of thousands of men and the loss of millions of tons of coal. To people who do not know the workings of the political and economic machinery of the USA it was almost impossible to obtain a clear idea of what was happening from the brief telegrams published in the press.

Frederick Wiehl is an American lawyer and labor representative intimately acquainted with American politics. He is the author of the article "The Latest US Elections" in our January 1943 issue and of several books including "The Coming American Revolution."—K. M.

The United States is facing the dilemma of trying to carry out a gigantic armament program and at the same time preserving the standard of living, "the American way of life." Spokesmen for the Government have been intimating for some time that the armament program could only be carried out if many of the social benefits obtained by the workers were canceled. Spokesmen for the labor unions, on the other hand, maintained that the schedule of war production completely ignored the interests of the American working people, that it was based upon the assumption of practically forced labor and the desire of capital to make the biggest possible profits at the expense of labor.

Attacks on the 40-Hour Week

Some politicians, representing banking interests, demanded that the workers be faced with the choice of either accepting the present wage scales of an average of $160.00 per month or being conscripted into the army and ordered to continue their work at the soldier's pay of $21.00 per month. Such a move would gain for the enterprising bankers the cheapest form of labor ever known in the United States. But it would also result in such bitter opposition on the part of labor that the quality and quantity of products would sharply decline and the Government perhaps be overthrown.

One of the issues at stake is the 40-hour week with double pay for overtime, which has been the proud privilege of American workers for many years. In March 1943, Donald Nelson, Chief of the US War Production Board, issued a statement warning the leaders of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO, next to the American Federation of Labor, AFL, the largest labor organization in the USA) that labor must relinquish for the duration of the war "the privilege of getting double pay for working on Sundays or holidays" but that none of labor's essential rights would be taken away "unless the country's needs demand it." Nelson added that, if management and labor were unable to "sink their differences and forget their suspicions," public indignation would sweep aside both management and labor and insist on establishing rigid governmental control. From this it became clear to labor that the Government was prepared to step into the place of private management and thus nullify labor's previous successes.

A bill before Congress providing for (1) an abolition of the 40-hour week; (2) relinquishment of overtime pay; and (3) ending of the closed-shop system, increased the tenseness.

Labor Fights Back

William Green, President of the AFL, and Philip Murray, President of the
CIO, appeared before the Naval Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives and opposed any change in the present social laws. Green stated: "I ask the Representatives whether they would slap American workers in the face by granting their approval to a law tending to abolish labor regulations now in force." He further asserted that Congressmen should impart additional courage and determination to American manpower as a whole, and that voting for an amendment abrogating the 40-hour week would be an "extremely dangerous act" which would create a state of underhand war between employers and employees.

While the antiovertime bill was pending, Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of the US War Manpower Commission, ordered new, drastic restrictions on the freedom of movement of tens of millions of workers. According to this order, a worker cannot change his position without the permission of that Commission.

In protest against this and at the same time in order to secure an increase in wages, 58,000 soft-coal miners stayed away from work in a wage dispute which threatened to develop into a nation-wide strike. In other—notably the automobile and rubber—industries, strikes also flared up. John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America (UMW), said that, in the absence of new contracts—the old contracts between the UMW and the mine operators having expired—500,000 miners in the American coal industry would cease work at midnight on Friday, April 30, although both the AFL and the CIO had, under the impact of Pearl Harbor, pledged themselves not to strike during the war.

The War Labor Board referred the dispute to President Roosevelt when its orders to continue work without a new contract had been ignored by the mine workers.

SHIFTING THE BLAME FOR INFLATION

Prentiss Brown, Chief of the Price Control Board, declared that any increase in wages would raise prices, and that the inevitable consequence of this would be still further claims for increased wages and, in the end, a regular inflation. Thus the Government is trying to make labor appear responsible for the inflationary development and to ignore the fact that its excessive spending of Treasury funds is the true cause. In reality, the tremendous rise of prices and cost of living is the result of the Government's inflation of currency and credit to the extent of 200 billion dollars. The request of the workers for an increase in wages in order to meet the increased cost of living is not an act which produces an inflation but a necessary consequence of the Government's inflationary policy.

The present strike situation is therefore a nasty one both for the Washington politicians and the working people. It proves to American laborers the utter incompetency of the Roosevelt Government and suggests the necessity of their taking the whole governmental situation in hand. However, the relinquishment of sovereignty by the present Washington leaders will not be easy to accomplish but will require fierce and probably bloody struggles.

In these struggles, the Washington Government, the ally of American capital, has sought to win the favor of the American farmers. For example, Roosevelt made Henry A. Wallace, the representative of the farm bloc, Vice-President at the 1940 elections. The aim is to develop a pioneer movement of capital and farmers against the industrial workers. But Roosevelt is not unopposed in his attempt to win over the farmer. On April 28, Senators Taft, Reed, and Bankhead met to confer on a joint defensive stand to be adopted by the farmers "against encroachment by industry." Taft declared: "For the past twenty years, the farmer has got used to making sacrifices for the States. Obviously he has been selected to play the same role in the future, while industrial workers are to have all the privileges."

WAR CONTRACTS AND PROFITS

To understand labor's angry stand, the huge profits made by capital and their
origins must be taken into account. Roosevelt’s close co-operation with capital in the matter of armaments can be traced to a period before America’s entry into the war. Take the munition contracts issued by the Government in 1939 for warships, tanks, planes, and munitions. All these items, with the exception of warships, were being constructed—not for the United States—but for Britain under the Lend-Lease Act. and at a time when the national security of the United States was not at stake in a war. Most of the largest munition and armament contracts—running in some instances for a period of five years—were given to certain companies “by negotiation,” instead of by granting them, according to law, to the lowest competitive bidder after a public offering in which all qualified firms could bid. Roosevelt explained these irregular actions by saying that “this was no time for haggling about money when the fate of a nation [Britain] was at stake.”

After December 8, 1941, munition and armament contracts were issued at prices providing 100-per-cent and in some instances 200-per-cent profits, again without any competition in bidding and secretly to certain firms, most of which were expressly organized for the purpose of receiving the vast contracts and many of whose officers never did anything before except political work. These first contractors took their contracts and “subcontracted” them to legitimate manufacturers in such a way that the total cost of the subcontract work was less than the price the Government stipulated to pay in its contract to the politician-contractors. In some instances, the total cost of the subcontract work did not exceed 50 per cent of the amount the Government agreed to pay to the first contractors, leaving them a huge profit. After the subcontracts were signed, the bundles of contracts were taken down to Wall Street, where such banks as the Guaranty Trust Company, Bankers Trust Company, First National Bank and others, would accept them as collateral for a “loan,” whereby the first contractor got cash for his profit. The loan was really a purchase, and the bank took the place of the first contractor and pocketed a 5-per-cent discount profit. That put the bank in immediate contact with the Government. Now pressure on the part of all the lobbyists (i.e., men employed by various interests to influence members of Congress) of the Wall Street banking institutions was put on Congress to see to it that the “labor cost item” in each contract was not altered by wage increases. Soon most of the Congressmen fell victim to Wall Street’s generous lobbyists and forgot all about the fact that they were supposed to be the people’s representatives in the people’s Congress.

CARTOON OF THE MONTH

By SAPAJOU

The Modern Laocoön
A THOUSAND KAISERS

As soon as a first contractor had obtained his so-called loan in Wall Street, and had pocketed his profit in cash before even the first article was produced, he usually returned from New York to Washington by plane and split the cash with "the boys" of the Democratic National Committee. He often found that he was just in time to receive another big contract, this time perhaps for some tanks instead of warships.

Tanks, warships, planes—they are all the same to these American politicians; all they care is what profit there is in them. One case in point is Henry Kaiser, the boy-wonder of the American armament industry. Before the war, he was a second-class, unemployed salesman. Today, he occupies the whole third floor of the giant Empire State Building in New York and controls most of the shipbuilding in both the Pacific and Atlantic shipyards. He also manufactures a "Kaiser Super-Transport" plane weighing 200 tons—one of which seems to have been completed, although mass production is supposed to have been going on for over a year. In addition, there are his asphalt and cement companies for making cement ships, as well as tank factories and a daily increasing variety of other war enterprises.

Kaiser is only one: there are literally thousands of Kaisers all over America, some of a larger and some of a smaller caliber. Actually, most of them are mere figureheads who hold the munition contracts for the Washington Administration officials, pass them on to industry, collect the profits, and hand part of these over to "the boys." That, in America, is called "legalizing" the participation of Government officials in the spoils of the munition contracts.

The Kaisers of America and the system which makes them possible are the principal reasons why the workers refuse to subordinate their personal interests to war interests. They feel that if Washington officials can indulge in such profitable transactions—despite the war—then the workers can likewise indulge in a little extra wages, a little striking for "a few dollars" more a day. The workers argue that, if the taking of large profits by Government officials through "Kaiser contracts" will not hurt America's war effort, then a little graft for the workers will not cause America to lose the war either. There is at least logic in the viewpoint of the American workers, even though this viewpoint may lack common sense.

THE COAL STRIKE

Equipped with this background of facts concerning the basic struggle for money between capital and labor in America, we can understand the recent events and in particular the huge strike which involved over 500,000 coal miners.

We shall condense the events of the coal strike in a brief outline. As we have seen, John L. Lewis had warned the War Labor Board that, unless the mine operators signed a new contract with the United Mine Workers Union granting a $2.00 raise in the daily wage of each miner, the whole membership of that Union would refuse to work as from May 1. In pursuance of his war-time powers, however, President Roosevelt admonished the workers to continue to work, contract or no contract, otherwise the Government would seize the mines and operate them. But the workers refused to heed Roosevelt's warning, and by May 2 half a million miners were on strike. The worst labor crisis in the USA since the start of the war was on hand. The same day Roosevelt gave orders to Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes to take over the mines in the name of the Government, and to Secretary of War Henry Stimson to furnish military protection to all miners who returned to work.

Roosevelt also issued a statement to the press: "I now call upon all miners who may have abandoned their work to return immediately to the mines and work for their Government." A violent offensive of defamation was turned on John L. Lewis. Elmer Davis, Chief of
the War Information Board, for example, compared Lewis to German submarines with regard to the damage done to the Allies. Tension was further increased when on May 3 a bill was proposed in Congress, on the initiative of President Roosevelt, for penalties to be inflicted on workers engaged in strikes or organizations engaging in operations which slowed down production at war plants. Roosevelt also created a “War Mobilization Board” to handle “anti-inflationary measures,” one of which was to oppose miners’ wage-increase demands. Also on May 3, Lewis ordered the miners to return to work for a period of 15 days pending further negotiations with the Government, the new operator of the mines, for the $2.00 wage increase. The workers obeyed their leader slowly. On the first day only half of the strikers returned to work, while Paul McNutt, head of the War Labor Board, stated that every effort would be made to come to terms with Lewis before the end of the 15-day period.

TUG OF WAR

When no new agreement was reached by May 1, Lewis postponed the strike for another fortnight to give negotiations one more chance. But again nothing happened, and on June 1 the miners went on strike for a second time. Workers’ banners bore the slogan: “No contract, no work!” Roosevelt, in turn, threatened to impound the funds of the UMW to deprive the strike of a financial basis, and urged the workers not to strike, as a strike would be directed against the Government, since it had taken over operation of the mines. Now Lewis proposed a compromise: a 30-day truce to gain time for further negotiations, provided the miners were paid an increase of $1.50 a day during this period, and retroactive from April 1. But the War Labor Board flatly refused and ordered the negotiations for settlement of the strike to be suspended until the miners resumed work.

While Lewis declared that this order was an “unwarranted and illegal action” and in conflict with the Wagner National Labor Relation Act, which legalizes collective bargaining, Roosevelt again ordered the miners to return to work, threatening otherwise to use his powers under the Selective Service Act and cancel their special status as employees of a war-important industry which deferred them from military service and to make them subject to the draft as soldiers. At this moment, on June 4, Congress passed the Anti-Strike Bill, providing penalties against labor leaders for sponsoring strikes. Lewis thereupon requested the miners to return to work by June 7. It throws a revealing light on the attitude of labor in the USA that it was Roosevelt’s threat of military conscription which brought the miners back into the pits. Still some refused to obey, and Ickes ordered a fine of $1.00 per day for every miner who failed to work, retroactive from June 1, which caused a wave of resentment.

THE ANTI-STRIKE BILL

Meanwhile, the Anti-Strike Bill was placed on the desk of President Roosevelt for signature. He thus had three choices: to sign it, thereby making the bill a law; to veto it; or to leave it alone for 10 days after which it would automatically become law. Roosevelt chose to veto it. This meant that the Bill had to go back to Congress which, with a vote of two thirds of its members, could make it a law in spite of Roosevelt’s veto, failing which it would become null and void. The Bill was immediately repassed by Congress by the required two-thirds majority, the House vote being 244 to 108 and the Senate vote 56 to 25. Thus Congress overrode President Roosevelt’s veto and made the Smith-Connally Act a national law.

Of course, Roosevelt knew when he vetoed the Bill that Congress would pass it anyway. For he knew that 244 required votes were on hand, and he knew the names of all the Congressmen who comprised that 244. But he hoped that by vetoing it he might gain the favor of the miners, toward whom he could blame Congress as responsible for the Bill.
There never was any doubt about the Bill's passage. Let us look at the facts. The United Mine Workers of America had in its treasury, according to the last report, $2,250,000 to be used for strike financing, including bribes—much too small an amount for buying sufficient Congressional opposition to the Bill. On the other hand, the mining companies could easily afford to buy the 244 necessary votes of the Congressmen. The raise of $2.00 a day for each miner seems a small matter. Yet, when we consider that there are 500,000 miners, this amounts to a million dollars per day or, on the basis of a 5-day week, to 260 million dollars per year as an additional burden to the mine owners.

A SIMPLE MATTER OF FIGURES

With so much at stake, it is easy to comprehend that it would be preferable for the mine owners to buy the votes of 244 Congressmen than to lose everything. Anybody who has had some experience in this matter knows that many an American Congressman can be bought for $100,000. Often he is bought for as little as $500. But even if we concede that it would cost $100,000 to buy his approval vote on the Anti-Strike Bill, the entire votes of the 244 necessary Congressmen would cost $24,400,000 or only about 10 per cent of what the mine operators would lose in a single year if they were compelled to pay the $2.00 increase per miner in order to get him to go back to work. These hypothetical figures illustrate why the UMWA had to lose out on the vote to the mine owners.

One may ask this pertinent question: Why did the mine owners refuse to pay the $2.00 raise when they could have merely added that cost to the price of their coal and thus almost immediately made up for it? The reason is that the mine owners usually sell their entire output for a period of years at a fixed price per ton, and these contracts with steel mills and railroads cannot be altered. A further reason is that the mine owners usually assign these contracts to local banks for operating loans. If the cost of labor should rise, there would be no profit left in the contract for the mine operator and consequently no differential from which the bank might earn its discount. The lobbyists for these banks may therefore be added to the lobbyists for the coal-mine operators in calculating the size of the lobby fund used in the Smith-Connelly antistrike maneuver.

NOVEL PROHIBITION

The Bill has been passed, and open strikes may become scarce or even disappear. But the struggle has not ended. The consequences will undoubtedly be a "slow down" strike in which the tempo of the miners' axes will be reduced to a fraction of their normal speed. Undercover and secret methods will probably be adopted by the labor leaders for achieving their ends and the interest of the workers. As has been customary in the past, after the employers win a trick decision, they will be beaten, blackmailed and temporarily kidnapped whenever they wish to attend antilabor meetings; there will be "accidents" and sabotage in the mines. Congressmen who voted for the Bill will be handled roughly. These actions will continue until the decision is modified. In a word, the law prohibiting strikes may have a similar effect upon the workers in America as the Prohibition Act passed during the last war had in prohibiting the drinking of beer and liquor. Striking will be camouflaged and become the illegal fascination of the common people. Forbidden strikes will take the place of forbidden beer. Just as the Government could not stop illegal beer drinking, so it will be unable to stop illegal striking in the many and ingenious ways that the common people of America will devise.
THE ONE AND THE MANY

By ROBERT SCHINZINGER

The relationship between the individual and the community is one of the central problems of human life. If this is the case in normal times, how much more so in years in which historic developments demand supreme efforts from the individual and the community. A nation which has solved this problem for itself in an impressive manner is Japan. Anyone who has spent even a little time in Japan, or who only knows the country from books, is conscious of this. It is not easy to define this Japanese solution, for it has its roots in the sphere of philosophy and psychology and, in order to explain it, it is necessary to be thoroughly acquainted with Japan.

Dr. Schinzinger is a well-known German philosopher who studied under the leading philosophers of Germany at the universities of Berlin, Freiburg, Marburg, Hamburg, and Heidelberg. Moreover, he knows Japan, for he has been living there for twenty years. He is at present in Tokyo, professor at the Imperial University and teacher at the Peers' School.—K.M.

NOT far from my house there stands, surrounded by tall trees, the famous Nogi shrine. Every day I can see people of all ages, singly or in groups, making their way there and expressing their admiration for the General's great personality by bowing before the shrine. The veneration of heroes and the admiration of great personalities are deeply rooted in Japan and are not confined to national heroes. A Japanese doctor has even set up a shrine to Robert Koch in his private garden. It is a mistake to believe that the Japanese regards his foreign teacher only from the point of view of usefulness; the high esteem for the personality itself plays a very important part.

How can this be reconciled with the striking uniformity of Japanese life? Conventions, the radio, and the press are monotonous; and the national uniform, which is worn by many as an expression of the national spirit, can be regarded as a symbol of the general uniformity of life. Of course, it is also said that even in the United States, the paradise of individualism, a man who wears a straw hat out of season is in danger of being lynched. It may not really be as bad as all this. But anyone who preferred to follow his own sense of temperature instead of the calendar would certainly cause a sensation in Japan as well as in America.

"IT'S NOT IN SEASON"

On one occasion, when swarms of flies suddenly appeared in my home in the middle of winter and I asked for flypaper in a department store, I was given the significant reply: "Arimasen. We don't have any; it's not the season." That which is not fixed by habit does not exist. Make the following experiment: go into any restaurant and order something that is not on the menu, let us say hot tea in summer (black tea, of course). You will be told that from July 1 on only cold tea is served. You will not succeed in persuading the waiter or waitress to satisfy your individual desire for hot tea, even if you offer them a high price. Of course, they have black tea and hot water; there is also no lack of courtesy; but it is not on the menu.

Being the European individualist I am, I often forget that this very standardization and regulation of individual life by common conventions is a fundamental part of civilization. It is true that modern individualism developed in Europe in the eighteenth century in opposition to tradition and convention, that is, to overcivilization. However, this struggle ended not in anarchy but in the establish-
ment of new though freer forms. The eighteenth-century revolution was a bourgeois one: the middle classes demanded the right of free individual development, a right possessed at that time only by the aristocracy. The aristocrat was judged according to his personality; while the commoner was judged only according to his special achievements.

SUPPRESSION OF PERSONALITY?
The commoner's struggle for the right to be regarded as a personality was identical with Rousseau's cry "Back to Nature!" Unknowingly, I once offered the example of a Rousseauist in Japan by eating a banana on the street. To eat on the street is against all the rules of good manners in Japan. A student came up to me and said: "Professor, when I see you eating a banana on the street I have to think of Rousseau's 'Back to Nature!' " To this day I do not know whether he was admiring or censuring me.

The question is: how can an individual build up and maintain his personality if his life is confined in all directions by conventional etiquette? The Western observer's first reaction is usually a feeling that the free development of the personality is obstructed here by the restrictions of society. It would seem that feudalism and the totalitarian state suppress the free individual personality. We hear thousands of little examples of the kind I have given, about tea, flypaper, and bananas. But it is certain that a truly great personality is neither helped nor hindered by such little things. Indeed, I should say that it is just the great personality which does not need to maintain its individuality by an extravagant artist's bow.

EDUCATING THE MITSUIS
The attempt at introducing Western individualism and liberalism in Japan, which was recommended by many as the solution of the problem of personality, has created more new problems and confusion in Japan during the last half-century than it has solved old ones. A typical example of this is shown in an article by Baron Mitsui (Monumenta Nipponica, 1942). He writes about the history and the house laws of the Mitsui family. The very term "house law" is foreign to us in the Occident. The author shows how the education and career of the various members of the Mitsui family were fixed by the house law of their ancestors, and how through this the individuals received the best possible preparation for their great task of being leaders of the family and of the business. When, however, after the Meiji Era the business was reorganized into a modern concern, the individual members of the family came more and more to lose, in the anonymous mechanism of the vast concern, their position as leaders. When they were young, the sons were sent to England and America to be educated. They were given a complete, all-round education like aristocrats. Later on they were given representative positions, but they were no longer the real leaders of the concern. For that purpose, specialists were employed, who were connected with the house of Mitsui neither through blood nor any other personal bonds or vassalage. Thus, paradoxical as it may sound, the author shows how, with the advent of liberalistic and individualistic ideas, the members of his family were forced out of the leading positions because they had been educated as personalities only and not as business leaders. In contrast to this they had formerly, through a special training in the various branches of the business, been brought up to be leaders within this business.

TRAINING FOR TYPE
The objection might be raised here that this is a special case. However, I believe that it is essentially characteristic. The strength of the old Japanese educational system lay in the determination and exclusiveness with which an individual was educated into a type. The young knight was brought up to be a typical knight, the young merchant to be a real merchant. In the material with which his life provided him, he could prove his personality. The weakness of modern education lies in the fact that
the individual is to be educated into a personality, but that the historical and social conditions under which the personality is formed and maintains itself are disregarded.

We have spoken of many little things which hinder the free development of the personality in Japan. The removal of these obstacles is not sufficient to form personalities. But where the individual is educated toward concrete goals in a concrete situation, the basis for the practical forming and proving of the personality is given. Prior to the penetration of Western influence, education in Japan was class education. The young knight was educated to be a knight; he was provided with everything he needed later on in life to master any situation in which a knight might find himself.

Next to the knight, but far below him in the social order, came the peasant. Life itself trained him to be the typical peasant; he grew up in the circle of his family and was shaped by his traditional work.

The artisan, socially lower than the peasant but above the merchant, received his technical training and was at the same time educated in the specific ethics of the artisan by admonition and, even more, by example. Here we find the roots of Japanese applied arts in which many masters have distinguished themselves by their personality, while countless anonymous masters have passed on the traditions of their art.

The merchant, for his part, had his own problems. His calling was trade and the acquisition of money; for that purpose, the ethics of the knight or the artisan were of no use to him. Great personalities, such as the ancestors of the house of Mitsui, were great by the fact that they clearly recognized the special nature of their calling and, with this in mind, consistently directed their actions accordingly. They realized that, if a merchant wants to live like a knight or a monk, this must inevitably lead to the ruin of his house. In all these cases, the goal toward which the individual was educated was that of fulfilling a given task in a given historical and social environment.

THE BREAK-UP OF TRADITION

Since the Meiji Era, Japanese education has, very properly, overcome the one-sidedness of class education and set up national education as the superior ideal. It must be admitted, however, that it has not yet been grasped everywhere that national education is not the teaching of a special subject but the path and spirit of vocational training. The most difficult pedagogic problem in these modern times was the attempt to harmonize Japanese national education with the Western ideal of education toward the free individual personality. The main difficulty here lay in the fact that Western pedagogy itself did not see its own historical roots. That is to say, it regarded the conditions prevailing in eighteenth-century Europe as absolute.

Twentieth-century Japan was quite right in remembering her individual national conditions. Of course, it cannot be avoided in this respect that some pedagogues now regard these Japanese conditions as absolute and set themselves up as the standard of correctness for all nations and all times. On the one hand, these reformers would like to apply the Japanese national educational ideal to all nations, while on the other hand liberal reformers would like to apply the European educational ideal of the eighteenth century, as it is, to Japan. However, it cannot but lead to confusion if one picks out a phase of the historical development of one nation and sets it up as the absolute standard for another nation.

We often feel that many Japanese believe that in all things of the West there is no form whatever because there is no Japanese tradition or etiquette in them. Young people with excellent manners in Japanese surroundings and with the best taste in Japanese things often show a lack of good taste toward European things and act without "form" in European surroundings. A misunderstood individualism has produced a type that has given up its own traditions and has not found a new form.
THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY

A very high personal standard is needed to compensate for the lack of traditional form by courtesy of the heart and natural tact. If respect and a feeling of responsibility toward one's own work are added, which is quite often the case with artists and artisans, scholars and soldiers, then the possibility is also given for individual intuitive judgment. But when this high standard of personality is brought about neither from within nor by the ethics of one's calling, the average man without strong tradition is exposed to the influence of every new fashion and makes up for his own uncertainty by arrogance. This pseudo-individualism believes that it can safely do without the concrete historical and social conditions of its existence, and forgets that true personality does not develop in a vacuum but by means of its activity within and for the community.

If we now ask how the personality forms and maintains itself in the community of the Japan of today, we must bear in mind that in Japan the community is never an abstract idea of society but the concrete community of the family, the neighborhood, the guild, and the Japanese national organism (kokuhai).

Let us start with the family. First of all we must recognize that in Japan the family is not the same thing as the family in modern Europe or America. One of the greatest surprises I experienced in Japan was when I heard that the engagement of the daughter of a friend of mine was being celebrated without the presence of the fiancée. I discovered that an engagement in Japan does not mean that two young people announce the fact that they love each other and want to found a family. On the contrary, an engagement in Japan means that two old families decide that, for the continuation of one family, a daughter (or a son) of the other family be adopted. For this purpose, no kiss of betrothal and not even the presence of the bride is necessary. Only the seals of the heads of the families are required.

PERSONALITY IN THE FAMILY

Marriage and divorce are of concern chiefly to the head of the family who wishes to increase or decrease his family. Only after his thirtieth year is a young man allowed by law to introduce a bride into the family against his father's will. The fact that modern parents ask for their son's or daughter's consent to the marriage does not alter the fundamental "family law" character of the marriage.

The head of the family represents the whole family with all its branches toward the outer world. Up to a few years ago, only the head of the family had the right to vote. Within the family, the head of the family also has the last word, but the family council plays a very important part. (This must be a very old custom; for even in the ancient holy writings of Japan we read that the gods assembled in council.) It is here, in the family council, that the personality makes itself felt. The wife, of whom it is generally believed that she is suppressed by the husband, is often enough a decisive factor in this council, although it must be admitted that the young wife who cannot get her way in the family council is frequently forced to play her little diplomatic game behind the scenes. A strong personality, although limited in its freedom as an individual, can develop and maintain itself within the given community of the family—not by fleeing from historical reality but by mastering it.

This is not the place to discuss the family system as a source of economic strength; but we must mention one point which is essential to the problem of personality. Since the head of the family is in control of the family fortune, and since every member of the family who meets with misfortune finds refuge in the family, whoever acquires wealth immediately has a retinue of relatives, to care for whom is his moral obligation. From our Western point of view this seems to be an economic disadvantage; for, we say, who would strive for wealth if its acquisition immediately provides him with a crowd of relatives who do not allow him to enjoy his wealth?
THE ONE AND THE MANY

123

THE HARE AND THE CROCODILE

Such an objection reveals the vast chasm between our way of thinking and that of the Japanese. In so frugal a country as Japan the material enjoyment of wealth is limited. For its spiritual enjoyment, however, one of the conditions is the very fact that this wealth permits the establishment of a large household in which the size of the retinue of relatives and others is an essential factor.

The old Japanese fairy tale of the hare and the crocodile reveals the importance placed in ancient times on the size of the retinue: a hare who wished to cross over to a distant island challenged a crocodile as to who had the larger retinue. The crocodile immediately called all his friends together so that the hare, by pretending to count them, could walk across on their backs to the distant island.

A friend of mine once introduced a young man to me and said: "This is my student." What he meant was that he was paying for his entire education. Apart from moral reasons, his motive was also a social one. The merchant strives to rise out of his sphere into that of the aristocrat, whose honor is judged by the size of his retinue. Departure and arrival at the railway station are opportunities for displaying the size of one's retinue, which includes relatives, friends, and all those who are obliged by gratitude to perform this act of courtesy.

NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATIONS

The question of the retinue has already passed beyond the sphere of the family as such, or even of the clan. The neighborhood and the village community, for instance, have such close ties that when a soldier is called up they all go and see him off. The village shrine is the original center of this community; it is here that festivals as well as the departure of the soldier are celebrated in common. The corresponding unit in the city is the neighborhood and the district shrine. This urban neighborhood has been newly organized in the course of the present war. In the country it has never ceased to exist. The cultivation of the rice fields alone demands a common organization of irrigation systems. Where disputes arise between the village communities over waterways, this may sometimes lead to little feuds; and it is in cases like this that the community spirit of the village and an innate gift for leadership can prove themselves. The leader is simply there suddenly. It is not outside but within the community that the personality qualified to lead develops and proves itself. Here, too, there is a council; and in the council the personality makes itself felt.

As we have said before, the neighborhood groups in the city were newly organized for the concrete tasks of air-raid precaution, food distribution, etc. The common work for air-raid precautions within the neighborhoods has actually awakened a strong, genuine community spirit. Rich and poor live wall to wall in Japan, although shut off from one another and the outside world by high walls and barbed wire. The neighborhood associations, the tomari-gumi, have spiritually torn down these walls. If ever the air-raid-precaution system should be tested in an emergency, there is no doubt that the situation would also produce leaders who, because of their personality, would be acknowledged within the community of the neighbors.

THE POWER OF THE GUILDS

Stronger than the neighborhood organization in the city is the professional guild. It has been important since time immemorial and, what is more, in the concrete form of the kumi, the group consisting of members of the same city district. This is the concrete working community of the men; while, in the neighborhood organization, it is the women who play the leading part. In the kumi, the real public activity of the man takes place. The kumi makes possible and, at the same time, limits the activities of the individual. Those who exclude themselves are beyond the pale.

It is immaterial whether a guild is organized with rules and regulations or, like the guild of the cooks and amahs
working for foreigners, follows unwritten laws—in every case the real, tenacious cohesion of the professional community is one of Japan's most important economic factors. Even the control organizations of war economy could not function if they did not make use of these existing groups both large and small. Hence the art of leadership does not consist of issuing abstract decrees but of skillfully making use of the concrete, small professional communities and, in any case, of taking their actuality into account.

Even in student life the power of the guild can be seen. Universities and, in turn, their faculties, form units: pan-student cross-connections are almost impossible. Only for the purpose of great patriotic undertakings is it possible for a pan-student organization to be formed; but here again this unit is completely shut off from other professional groups, as in the national labor service, for instance. And in a train two students from different universities will hardly ever get into conversation.

"Not my girl!"

It can be said in general that anything that happens outside of one's home, one's family, neighborhood, and guild is entirely beyond the scope of one's responsibility. I once read a short story with my students in which a shoemaker is mentioned who rushes out of his house in order to help up a girl who has fallen down on the street and to take her into his house. My question: "If a girl should fall down in front of this school, would you rush out to help her?" Answer (with a smile): "No." "Why not?" "Not my girl!" In such cases, eager courtesy would be interpreted in Japan rather as impertinence, and thus many situations arise in public over which the differently brought up foreigner never ceases to be amazed. But now for another example.

From the window of a train I once saw how at a small station a railway employee who was going to the front was being seen off by his colleagues. There was no one connected with the station—from the station master down to the youngest ticket collector—who had not turned up or, if he was kept away by his duties, did not call out his banzai from the locomotive or the signal box. It was like one big family. In such moments it is evident that the personality has its existence and activity only within the community.

The largest community of all is the nation. The unity and solidarity of the Japanese people are known throughout the world; this needs no comment. Outside of Japan the Japanese has no home. The opportunity of making money and of enjoying his earnings in an unconstrained manner of living may keep a Japanese away from home for a time. But, wherever he is, he remains a stranger, and his home is always the country where his ancestors were born and where they died.

It is a different matter with those who were born abroad, the so-called "second generation." For them it is difficult to adjust themselves to the given communal relationships and ties of the old country. They have to learn anew to find the joy and suffering, activity and fulfillment of their personality in these communities. A community is an organic entity of life in which man grows up as in light and air. Outside of it he is alone, lost, a nothing, a piece of driftwood in the ocean.

When a Japanese soldier has been seen off by his family, village, and guild, he has in a way entered the narrow no-man's-land between life and death. He has left life behind him and has quietly placed himself in the shadow of death. He does not clamor for this hour, just as no one clamors for death; but once it has come he draws undreamed-of strength from the knowledge that he is going to war as the representative of his family, his village, his guild, and his nation. He feels his personality growing in the same measure in which he leaves behind all his individual interests.

**Expressionism and Personality**

The uniformity of everyday life combined with the strong communal feeling of the Japanese offers an extraordinary
contrast to the ease with which an American, for example, may express his personality from childhood onwards. Young Japanese are envious of the freedom and ease of Western manners and conventions. But we ask: Is the ease with which a person can express his personality equivalent to the strength and depth of that personality? No. We have an analogy in art. The expressionistic vogue permitted everyone to express his personality; no one asked whether there really was any personality worth being expressed. The comparison of expressionistic mass production with the severe art of olden times, which was dominated by a strict tradition, shows that good traditional form carries more weight than mediocre individuality. The great artist enhances his energy and talent in this very conflict with tradition. Finally he dares to break away. If he succeeds, he is acknowledged as a genius. That which in his case was freedom becomes the model and strict rule for the new generation. So greatly is the breaking away of the free personality from the fetters of tradition admired that this very personality becomes the involuntary founder of a school. We constantly find such examples in the history of Japanese art. A new manner of painting Mount Fuji, for instance, can be just such an unheard-of innovation.

All of Japanese culture is to be understood in this light, and in this light only. By means of highly developed forms of culture, strong tradition restrains the mediocre individuality and thus ensures a high general level of culture.

TRAGIC CONFLICTS

What if the breaking away is not successful? Then the individual must pay for his adventure. It is a tragic conflict, and only too often suicide is the unalterable consequence. Let us consider the example of unhappy lovers. If their love comes into conflict with the family, there is no other way out for the lovers than double suicide. This suicide is even respected by society; the unhappy young people are not denied tears of sympathetic understanding, and shinju (double suicide) is a favorite theme of the Kabuki theater. By their love-death they keep the freedom of their individual love and at the same time the laws of the community. The Western observer, it must be admitted, will see in this suicide the failure of the breaking away rather than a "solution" of the conflict.

So little does the Japanese lack the feeling for personality that one can even say that this feeling is more strongly and more inherently developed in his case than is usual in the West. When a Japanese makes a new acquaintance, he is able in prolonged silence to let that new personality have its effect on him. It is almost a sixth sense with which he slowly and intensively observes the stranger. An observation of this kind is to him far more important than an urgent business matter. The hasty manner in which the Westerner often thrusts his business into the foreground forms a striking contrast to the quiet reserve of the Japanese, who seems to use a business meeting only as an excuse for a pleasant chat. For the Japanese, the basis of the business is his correct estimation of the partner's personality. And this applies not only to business life.

The strong community spirit seems to leave no room for the development of individual personality; in reality, however, the functioning of the concrete communities is guaranteed, not by shrewd planning and strict organization, but by the intuitive act of fitting himself in on the part of the individual. While in Europe, where individualism has a great tradition, the emphasis today is on the awakening and deepening of the community spirit, in Japan the community is being safeguarded by the strengthening and deepening of the personality.
MAN-MADE CATASTROPHE

By ADALBERT EBNER

Approximately at the same time as the American press was expressing its triumph over the floods caused by the destruction of two German dams by Anglo-American bombers, the world learned that America herself was suffering from far worse floods in the Mississippi basin which had put more than a million acres under water and rendered 200,000 people homeless.

Dr. Ebner, whom our readers will remember from his article “Wood and Man” (November 1942), is a well-known forestry expert. In the following article he discusses the underlying causes of such natural catastrophes in America and elsewhere and shows us a dramatic chapter in the age-old conflict between Man and Nature. For reasons of space we have been compelled to publish his manuscript in a condensed form. —K.M.

FROM the world of mythology and legend we know that Greece was once a country of forests. We still find charm in the many tales of sacred groves. In the days of Homer, the mountains were covered by forests and fertile soil such as can still be found on a few small islands in the Aegean Sea. But all that has remained on Cyprus and Crete are bare mountain ranges and swampy river mouths. And likewise all of Greece is full of tragic stories of the exploitation of forests with ensuing erosion. Sheep came to graze where forests had once stood; and where the sheep found no more pasture, the destructive goats came and extirpated the last remaining saplings on the mountains. In Greece there are now more goats than people, and goats have always been the deadliest enemies of mountain forests. In the swamps of the plains which were formed by the erosion of the mountains, malaria rages. The mighty witnesses of ancient cultures must now be excavated from their coverings of sand and mud.

When, in the eighth century B.C., the Greeks began to settle in what is now known as Italy, they found richly wooded mountains and fertile plains. Sicily became the granary of Greece, and the mountains of Italy supplied the timber for Greece’s fleets. Among the early settlements, Sybaris was well known and enjoyed an unequaled prosperity for more than two hundred years. But by 510 B.C. the forests in the mountains had been destroyed, and the torrents of water coming from the stripped mountains could no longer be controlled. The Crati and Sybaris rivers carried more and more deposits into the plain, which turned into swamps and became a breeding place for malaria. For many centuries even the site of the city of Sybaris remained unknown: it had perished.

A similar process took place throughout the Italian peninsula. Ravenna, once the counterpart of Venice, is today six kilometers from the coast, and Adria, a harbor in the days of Emperor Augustus, is now separated by more than twenty kilometers from the sea. The deforestation of the southern and central Apennines began in ancient times, and the forests of the northern Apennines as well as of the eastern and maritime Alps disappeared during the Middle Ages when they had to supply the wood for the fleets of Venice and Genoa and the lumber for the fortifications against the invading Turks. However, modern Italy has energetically taken up the rehabilitation of areas destroyed by erosion, thereby setting an example to the world.

And so it was with Spain, Scotland, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Antioch, and Persia, all countries known to have been thickly wooded in ancient times. And in almost every case we have the same phenomenon: first deforestation, later followed by grazing sheep and, the final
destroyers, goats. China has two old proverbs which go right to the heart of the problem. One says: “Mountains exhausted of forests are washed bare by torrents,” and the other: “Mountains empty—rivers gorged.” The drought and flood disasters of China are tragic chapters in the history of erosion. The Yellow River alone carries 2.5 billion tons of silt out of the country every year, a quantity sufficient to cover 400 square miles with a layer more than six feet high. And finally, let us allow General J. C. Smuts to speak for South Africa: “Erosion is the biggest question before the country today, bigger than any politics.”

WHAT IS EROSION?

The term “erosion” covers two very different phenomena. The carrying off of land surface by running water, wind, waves, and moving ice is a normal process known as geological erosion. It is a natural process which, undisturbed and uninfluenced by man, shapes the surface of the earth. In a continuous geological activity, the elements are gradually leveling the surface of the earth. In this way, mountains are turned into valleys, plateaus, and plains, and form the lowlands, the deltas, and alluvial areas by secondary deposits. Normal erosion, with the aid of the weathering of rocks, contributes much toward the growth of plant life, since through it soil is formed and carried to and distributed over one place after another.

The covering vegetation does much to slow up this natural erosion. Dead leaves and branches lying on the ground form a sort of filtering layer which cleanses water and even retains some of it. The growing vegetation with its branches, twigs, and leaves bears the brunt of rain, snow, etc., and breaks their destructive force. The roots bind the soil and offer a support against the motive power of water, wind, and gravity.

Under this upper layer there is the topsoil, the actual vessel of fertility. It is crisscrossed with innumerable tiny capillary tubes which in turn store up water. Gradually this water is passed on to the subsoil, till it is finally collected in a stream of underground water. Under favorable conditions, Nature requires some 1,000 years or more to form two centimeters of soil. As a rule, however, this process takes much longer as, with the increasing thickness of the soil, the formation of new material takes place correspondingly slower. The carrying off of soil by geological erosion under the protection of natural vegetation, and the new formation of soil from deep-lying original substances, are, under normal conditions, more or less balanced.

MAN ENTERS UPON THE SCENE

An entirely different process takes place in erosion when man interferes and alters the natural balance between erosion and soil formation. Under these artificially created conditions, the soil is reduced incomparably faster than it can be produced. This terribly harmful disintegration of the soil usually occurs on fallow soil which has been stripped of vegetation by axe, grazing, fire, and plowing. With the increasing disappearance of the absorbing and fertile topsoil, the process of disintegration gains in speed. The force of the elements gnaws away at the substance of the earth until it has been completely disintegrated down to the bedrock.

As we have said, the erosion of the soil is closely related to the vegetation growing upon it and is influenced by the contour of the land. Here are a few examples to show how long it takes to carry off 15 centimeters of topsoil:

| Years | (a) Sandy loam with an 8-per-cent slope covered with natural alfalfa | 4,540 |
|       | agriculturally exploited (planted with corn) | 16 |
|       | fallow | 10 |
| (b) Loamy soil with a 16-per-cent slope covered with natural grass | 33,600 |
|       | agriculturally exploited (change of crops) | 40 |
|       | lying fallow | 7 |
| (c) Loamy soil with a 10-per-cent slope covered with primeval forest | 575,000 |
|       | natural grass | 82,150 |
|       | agriculturally exploited (planted with cotton) | 46 |
|       | lying fallow | up to 10 |
Other experiments have shown that land exploited by agriculture loses its soil 11,290 times faster, and loses 102 times more water, than when, under similar conditions, it is covered with timber. The comparative figures for natural grass coverage are 1,181 and 31. On fallow land, up to 68 per cent more water flows away and is lost.

FORESTS AND AGRICULTURE

We see that the forest is a blessing to a country when it is well distributed, well cared for, and well exploited. It protects fields and meadows, houses and villages, from the dangers of natural forces. It shields the soil from the destructive force of heavy rains and also from the slowly gnawing process of geological erosion. It helps to store up water, to cleanse and distribute it for domestic and industrial consumption. It helps to water the fields. It breaks the force of storms on wide plains and wards off dust storms. Its roots penetrate the earth of the mountains like a skeleton and hold it together. Its trunks hold up avalanches and bring wandering sand dunes to a stop.

Of course, a civilized country cannot be entirely covered with timber. However, it is important to have the timber distributed properly among fields and human settlements and especially to have those areas wooded which are most exposed to erosion, namely, mountains and the banks of many rivers. Thus the science of forestry is not only responsible for providing raw materials within the framework of a national economy but also determines the condition of the agricultural prosperity of a country. Perhaps the best living example of a lack of proper forestry and of the subsequent devastating erosion is the USA.

SETTLERS AND THE FOREST

The conquest of land and the exploitation of natural resources in America form one of the most interesting cases of human tragedy. The settling of the country and the opening up of its resources coincided with the great age of technical progress. Outward success and inner disintegration developed side by side like gathering thunderstorms. Out of the great sum of the clash of events we are only interested here in the part affecting forestry and, in a wider sense, in the results of soil exploitation and settlement.

The first settlers who came to America to clear the forests, to drive their plows across the earth, to build houses, to gather in harvests, and to exploit a country of unlimited size and incalculable riches, developed characteristics in the course of time which are now called typically American. Roads and railways have long since penetrated to the Pacific Coast, and the country has been opened up and taken possession of. Yet the people still live in the illusion of having a virgin country.

The entire agriculture is industrialized. There are practically no peasants, only farmers. They feel no bond to land and soil, a bond which is the very essence of peasant nature. They buy their bread and buy their flowers, because it is cheaper to buy them than to produce them on one's own land. They run their farms solely for the purpose of making money. Thus one year they only raise pigs, and in other years only corn, because these products happen to fetch the best prices. They completely lack the idea that their farm is a living whole, an idea which characterizes the peasant's attitude in old Europe. They work their land according to the "mining motive," exploiting it like a mine. The dollar is the dominating standard of success in the USA. Production is considered superior to social welfare, and temporary profits seem more important than the future of country, race, and people.

Penetrating everything there is the worship of the ideal of unlimited personal freedom. Any bond or obligation is rejected which might limit the individual's disposal of his own property, his land and his soil. The struggle with the virgin soil developed the characteristic of great energy in the American nation. In this respect, the spirit of the early
settlers, the courage to subdue Nature and to fight off its dangers, has led to an admirable trait. Such traits result in great progress; but, when they are employed at the wrong spot, they become destructive. Thus we can understand that these people, tireless but also insatiable, always began to exploit new regions as soon as the old land no longer seemed profitable or its flowering riches had been extinguished by ruthless exploitation.

THE FORESTS OF AMERICA

What are the forest reserves of the United States? In the main they consist of about 495 million acres, or one quarter of the area of the possessions of the USA on the American continent. This area is distributed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Land</th>
<th>Acres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commercial forests</td>
<td>495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm land</td>
<td>615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grazing areas</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on farms</td>
<td>379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not on farms</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towns, farm buildings, roads, etc.</td>
<td>696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Originally, about 50 per cent of the United States was covered with timber, with almost 822 million acres of commercial forests. As a result of settling and clearing, the forest land was reduced to one quarter of the total area. Even so, it is still as large as the total area of Spain, France, Italy, Germany, Norway, and Sweden put together.

As regards ownership of the forests, the forest possessions of the lumber industry form by far the largest share in the United States. With its 270 million acres, the lumber industry owns not only more than half of the entire commercial forests but also by far the best stands of timber. About 127 million acres are in the hands of farms, while the Federal Government owns 88 million acres and other public bodies (states, communities, etc.) only 10.6 million acres. The Federal possessions include 7.5 million acres of forest belonging to Indian reservations and which can hence be eliminated from our considerations.

The annual depletion of timber amounts to some 16 to 20 billion cubic feet. This figure includes annual cuttings as well as losses through fire, insects, fungi, and other destructive natural forces. The annual accretion, on the other hand, amounts to no more than about 8 billion cubic feet.

From the very beginning, the commercial exploitation of the American forests took place in the form of a lumber industry supported by private capital and not as a result of forestry planning for the perpetuation of America's timber resources.

WHEN THE LUMBER INDUSTRY BOOMS

The United States has developed the greatest lumber industry ever known to mankind. All the methods of modern technical progress were employed to produce constantly growing quantities with increasing speed. At the peak of the boom some twenty-five years ago there were 48,000 lumber mills cutting up 25 billion cubic feet of lumber for all kinds of purposes and 150 million railroad ties every year. The additional annual losses through natural forces and waste in cutting are estimated to have been about 10 billion cubic feet. Even now—at a time when the peak of production has long been past—the amount of lumber cut every year would be sufficient to pave a road 7 meters wide with a 2.5-centimeter-thick surface reaching from the earth to the moon.

It is due to the mighty lumber industry that so many people in America have their own houses, for almost all the houses in the USA are built of wood. It is also due to this industry that the Mississippi regions were able so rapidly to develop into the great agricultural area that they are; for, without the wood to build houses, barns, stables, carts, and tools, America could never have become so gigantic a producer of agricultural goods.

The lumber industry has also been of certain benefit where Nature faced man with unexpected problems. Vast timber
resources in a mighty primeval land were waiting to be exploited. When mature timber is not cut—and every tree has a limited term of life—its vital force decays, and baneful natural forces in the shape of insects and fungi start their work of destruction. Moreover, ruined timber stands of this kind easily fall victim to forest fires or storms and are thus entirely lost to human exploitation.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE

However, the drawbacks of the American method of exploitation are revealed by an abundance of alarming facts.

83 million acres of forest land are now lying devastated, no longer of any use whatever. Nine tenths of it are in the hands of private owners. Even now, 850,000 acres are being cut and destroyed every year, 95 per cent being in the hands of private owners. 36 million acres are cut every year and left in a condition giving rise to the gravest anxiety for the future. 95 per cent of all cut-over areas belonging to private owners are left to themselves without any provision for the future. Compared with this, the area of 135,000 acres of Federal timber land, on which at least the modest beginnings of a regulated exploitation have been made, seems very small.

According to a ten-year average, the United States is afflicted by about 51,000 forest fires every year which attack some 41 million acres of forest land. 98 per cent of all forest fires during the last few years occurred on privately owned land, and of the 191 million acres of forest land in private possession almost nothing has been protected against forest fires. About 76 per cent of all forest fires could be traced to human influence and were caused by thoughtlessness, camp fires, smoking, flying sparks, etc. Only 8 per cent was traced to lightning.

The lumber industry leads a nomadic life: it exploits, destroys and, after having extinguished the natural riches, moves on to new places. In 1850, for instance, 54 per cent of the total lumber cut was produced in the northeastern parts of the USA and only 6 per cent in the West, while in 1929 only 3.3 per cent was produced in the Northeast and 44 per cent in the West. Originally the New England states and the Lake states were the location of the forest reserves and lumber industry; now the northern Rocky Mountains, New England, and the Middle Atlantic, Lake, and Central states contribute only about 2 per cent of the total lumber production of the country. This figure is all the more astonishing as these states contain 35 per cent of the total commercial forests and 85 per cent of the second growth.

INDUSTRIAL SUICIDE

What are the further consequences of this nomadic life? A large lumber mill is built. A settlement forms around this mill, and trade and commerce prosper. But twenty years later towns of 6,000 inhabitants are abandoned again, their life vanishes, and their houses fall into ruin. Twenty years is the period that suffices ruthlessly to exploit the forest reserves. This situation entails grave social problems, which are apparent in the lumber trade itself. In many places the labor turnover in one cutting season (six to eight months) amounts to 300 per cent. In such circumstances a regulated family life is naturally almost out of the question and there is practically no basis for any cultural development.

As a result of its system of exploitation, the lumber industry itself is heading for disaster: indeed, it has already met with it. The industry's investments in machinery and equipment amount to some 10 billion dollars. Competition and the investment of such great sums for the means of production have, of course, increased the desire to expand production in order to ensure good returns on the capital invested. The consequences were a great increase in cutting, a decreased utilization of the cut timber so as to produce goods of a superior quality, more ruthless exploitation, and overproduction. Until recently, not more than 65 per cent of the goods produced in many regions of the West could be sold. The great
EROSION—
it's Ancient Effects
and Modern Causes

Remains of the ancient town of Khorsabad in Mesopotamia. They were excavated from under a layer of dust, five meters thick, carried there by wind erosion. The town has been buried for about 2,600 years.

Man destroying the intricate structure of forest biology with all the means of modern technology.

Forest fire—the great scourge of North America's primeval forests.
Man's ruthless exploitation eats deeply into a virgin forest on the Pacific Coast of North America.

Four Steps of Erosion

What was once a living forest has been turned into a scene of desolation by exploitation and fire. The disintegration of the soil begins.

A hillside stripped of its timber is being eaten away by erosion.

An abandoned American farm: erosion deposits in the plains have destroyed fertile fields and stifled the life of nature, settlement, and human beings.
American lumber industry is faced with total economic ruin. To this must be added that the large centers of consumption are in the East, where the timber reserves have long been used up, so that the places of production are separated by a whole continent from the main consumers, thus burdening the lumber with very heavy transport costs. As a final example of the system of exploitation of the lumber industry, let us quote figures of utilization. On an average, influenced by the distance from the forest to the finished product, 68 per cent of the timber cut is lost, while only 32 per cent reaches the stage of finished products.

As a consequence of this exploitation, many other tragic phenomena occur, although, from the purely economic point of view, they are of minor significance. The giant sequoia of California with its age of four thousand years will always remain one of the greatest natural marvels of the world. With their majestic beauty, these trees are among the oldest living things known on earth. About fifty years after their discovery they were practically exterminated, and only a few specimens in small groves have been preserved for posterity. Meanwhile, however, the number of visitors to these groves has increased to such a degree—in 1934 California had 18 million visitors to its forests!—that the ground under the protected trees has sunk three feet, which might even threaten the further existence of these giants.

Another example of the results of unlimited forest exploitation is the frightful decrease in the wild animal life of America. In spite of the efforts made on the part of the Federal Government through the establishment of wild-life reservations, the fact remains that 17 species of game have become completely extinct, while 52 species are almost extinct.

THE DESERT ADVANCES

However, the gravest result of America's exploitation is the tremendously increased rate of her soil erosion.

The annual soil erosion of the United States amounts at present to 3 billion tons of solid matter. The Mississippi alone carries an annual amount of 730 million tons of sediment to the Gulf of Mexico. This quantity represents only a comparatively small part of the actual erosion; by far the greater part collects at the bottom of rivers, in valleys, backwaters, and all low-lying parts of the country. This vast quantity of earth contains 92,172,300 tons of the five most important elements of plant nourishment, namely, phosphorus, nitrate, potash, calcium, and magnesium. 43,361,000 tons of this quantity consist of phosphorus, potash, and nitrate—the main ingredients of artificial fertilizers. It is estimated that an annual amount of 668,000 tons of artificial fertilizers (phosphorus, potash, and nitrate) with a sales value of $158,500,000, is put onto the fields in the USA. In other words, through erosion the soil is losing 60 times as much of these elements as is added by means of artificial fertilizers. And one must bear in mind that, while these elements can perhaps be replaced, soil and humus are irreplaceable.

No exact picture of the total damage done by erosion can be given as yet. Preliminary surveys have provided the following figures:

50 million acres completely destroyed. These are areas that were once fertile and that are now entirely denuded of vegetation. With the exception of tiny remainders, these areas are now depopulated.

50 million acres approaching the borderline of complete infertility. As regards vegetation and production they can no longer be taken into account.

100 million acres seriously damaged. At least a quarter of the valuable topsoil of these 100 million acres has already been carried off, often even more.

100 million acres damaged to such an extent by erosion that the soil must, in the long run, be considered as seriously threatened.

If we add up all the soil made use of by agriculture, pasturage, forests, etc., we obtain the following figures:

282 million acres can be regarded as completely or almost completely destroyed.

775 million acres have been seriously damaged by erosion.
1 billion acres are affected by erosion.
(For comparison: the total area of Germany in 1935 was 117.5 million acres, of which about 30 million acres are timbered.)

According to the present situation, serious measures for combating erosion must be taken on 75 per cent of the agricultural area in order to prevent further disaster. Unless drastic measures are taken immediately, the present agricultural area of 430 million acres will shrink to 150 million acres within the next 100 years. This acreage would no longer suffice to maintain the present requirements of America.

**DUST STORMS**

On May 12, 1934, a disaster occurred which was unknown since the white man had set foot on American soil: 300 million tons of earth were lifted into the air in the Great Plains and, in the form of dust storms, swept halfway across the country, darkening the sun in Washington and even drifting out into the Atlantic Ocean. Since that time these phenomena have been repeated. In 1937 a dust storm started in Texas and swept up into Canada. The razing effect of these storms is such that strong plants are cut off at the ground. About 10 million acres were devastated by dust storms, and still larger areas severely damaged by erosion and piled-up sand and dust. A new scourge had arisen for the land, and terrible economic, social, and spiritual suffering for the people affected. With fields destroyed, communications interrupted, machinery, rooms, and houses filled with dust, the cattle died of thirst and dust and people succumbed to dust inflammation of the lungs. The events were reminiscent of similar happenings in the border areas of the Sahara.

The dust storms are to be explained less by deforestation, for the Great Plains are poor in timber, than by the fact that the original cover of buffalo grass had been sacrificed to the plow. Land which did not yield the desired profits was abandoned and left fallow by the farmers, who opened up new land for their planting and moved farther and farther on. Heat and dryness impoverished the soil till storms carried it off in mighty clouds. The curse of exploitation could not be shown by a better example.

**EROSION DAMAGES**

According to very conservative estimates, the annual loss resulting from diminution in harvests caused by erosion amounts to 400 million dollars. The total losses will, within a few decades, reach the amount of 30 billion dollars, since the harvests on eroded soil are often no more than one thirty of the harvests on healthy, noneroded soil.

The effect of erosion is not only limited to the dissolution and devaluation of certain directly affected areas. Soil carried off by wind and water is deposited elsewhere. The extent of damage caused thereby cannot be grasped and can only be shown by examples. Low-lying areas along the banks of rivers which have been turned into swamps as a result of silt deposits amount to 17.5 million acres. The Ohio flood of 1937 deposited 70 million tons of silt which completely devaluated 425,000 acres of land worth $250 an acre.

Erosion is causing extensive damage to reservoirs, waterways, and harbors. Reservoirs fill up rapidly with silt and lose their value. The expanded surface of the water speeds up evaporation. In the USA there are 8,600 reservoirs with a total value of 2 billion dollars. They are of great importance for artificial irrigation and for the water supply in homes and industry. The reservoirs are threatened with destruction by erosion. In California a large number of reservoirs lost one third of their capacity as a result of the floods of 1938. In Virginia some reservoirs silted up to an extent of 80 per cent within a period of 20 years. In the southeastern parts of the States, 13 reservoirs which supplied important power stations lost their entire storage capacity within a few years.

Identical or similar phenomena are to be found in the case of rivers and harbors. The effect of erosion on routes of com-
Illunication is devastating. America has always been the country of good roads and railroads. Today, hundreds of thousands of miles of these costly constructions are seriously threatened by erosion. The washing out and carrying away of roads, railway embankments, and bridges, the filling up of drainage ditches, and the blocking of traffic, are among the immeasurable damage to be found here. Studies have shown that at least 40 per cent of all maintenance costs for communication systems—and these costs run into astronomical figures—can be traced to damage by erosion.

**FLOODS AND DROUGHTS**

Equally great is the effect of erosion on floods and droughts. There have always been floods, but their frequency, extent, and damage have increased incomparably. Today, as much silt and rubble collect in forty years as formerly did in the course of thousands of years. The former deposits consisted of fine, often fertile sands; today these deposits are in the form of coarse, useless rubble. The natural drainage systems of rivers and streams are already so silted up that they cannot even carry off the normal quantities of water.

Droughts, too, are closely related to erosion. As we have said before, the vegetation greatly influences the water reserves in the soil. Just as the artificial reservoirs silt up, so do the natural water reservoirs lose their storage and conductive capacity. The water stored in the soil is about 100 times the quantity of that on the surface. Not only does the process of silting decrease the storage capacity: it also makes the soil hard and impenetrable to plants. Thus the drying-out process has two effects. During the great drought of 1934, the underground water level in the Great Plains sank by 7 meters. Although part of this was due to the lack of rainfall, the main damage was caused by the silting up of the natural water channels as a result of erosion.

Heart-rending processes take place in the forest-pasture areas to the west of the Mississippi and along the Pacific Ocean. Originally a rich prairie land abounding in game and interspersed with trees and forests, these areas feed the water systems of vast regions and are responsible for the prosperity of their land, culture, trades, and settlements. In addition they originally fed 22 million domestic animals—cattle, sheep, goats, and horses. This was less than a hundred years ago. As a result of ruthless exploitation—overstocking with cattle, deforestation, and lack of care of the pasturage—the fodder supplied by these areas is now only just enough for 11 million animals. Consequently, the supply of meat and the production of wool have suffered drastically. The water supply for vast tracts of land has been jeopardized. 80 per cent of these areas is threatened by erosion, and the decrease in vegetation and water reserves is progressing rapidly.

If one has walked or ridden over the red earth of Arizona, New Mexico, or California, one can never forget this picture of wretchedness. The crust of the soil is fissured with cracks, some wide, some narrow; here and there juniper bushes and pine trees eke out a miserable existence; and the grass, with its roots already exposed to the air, fights for its bare life. A few drops of rain wash the loose dust into thick slime which at once eats its way deep into the soil, slowly coagulating in a deadly mush in the slow-moving, muddy rivers. And over the great expanses there are always towering masses of clouds indicating catastrophic downpours which, with their torrents, wash away tons of the loosely held earth.

**SOCIAL EFFECTS**

Moreover, such far-reaching problems do not affect only the soil, the forests, or agriculture: their force extends much farther. Where the timber has vanished, the soil lies fallow and is impoverished, and where the cultivation of wheat and corn has stopped, poverty begins. Taxes are raised for the survivors, public funds are strained, and migrations get under way.
Side by side with devastated forests, the abandoned farms have become a common sight. Numerous communities, counties, and regions are faced with bankruptcy. For a young country like America, whose prosperity depends on the strength of the soil, these are unimaginable disasters.

Attempts have been made temporarily to stem the disintegration and to postpone its effects by means of an unhealthy credit system. Continually deteriorating harvests have increased the demands for credits. The interest payments on these credits have again entailed an increased exploitation of the soil, usually leading to land expropriation, farm sales, dissolution of the soil, and impoverishment. Today 42 per cent of all farmers in the USA are tenants; in 1880 the figure was only 25 per cent. The average tenant farmer in the USA moves every 3 to 4 years. In many regions 50 per cent of the tenants sign leases for one year only. Such farmers are not concerned with the soil or its care and maintenance. Today, 45 per cent of all agricultural soil is worked by tenants. In a number of States, 30 per cent of the land belongs to credit associations. The farmer must pay his taxes from a dwindling income, till finally his farm falls victim to the taxes or to his debt with the credit association.

This example in agriculture is repeated in forestry. Soon the community begins to feel the consequences of erosion and exploitation. An impoverished forest owner or destitute farmer is a poor customer for electric power, for machinery, or other industrial products. Oppressed by his burden of taxes and heavily in debt, he takes no part in cultural or social evolution. His children lack proper education. Thus the entire economic, social, and cultural life disintegrates like the soil underfoot.

Now begin the dramatic migrations of the twentieth century. The emigration of the population of the Great Plains in 1936/37 stands as a living example of this human tragedy, a tragedy that cannot be expressed in a few words but that can be traced to the same origin: exploitation—erosion!

IS THERE A REMEDY?

America, the land of contrasts, also shows these contrasts in her processes of destruction and recovery. Generous and energetic as her people are in many of their dealings, they also present in many cases an exceptional attitude toward Nature. For example, the generosity of individual rich men and sometimes of the State has bequeathed to the nation its national parks with their some 11 million acres of surface.

In addition to the establishment of a Federal Forest Administration in 1902, all but six of the various states possess a similar organization. 25 colleges are endeavoring to educate young people in forestry. The Forest Products Laboratory in Madison, Wisconsin, is, with its 300 trained collaborators, the biggest and best-equipped institution of its kind in the world. Moreover, there are about 200 private or semipublic laboratories concerned with the study of wood and its uses. The Department of Agriculture in Washington, D.C., has formed its own Department of Soil Conservation. The founding of the Civilian Conservation Corps (the CCC) was originally intended for the restoration of America's neglected and ruined forests. Much was heard of the "Shelter Belt Project" which, however, was never executed and has long been forgotten again; its plans provided for the establishment of a forest belt reaching from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, which was to prevent the occurrence of dust storms.

The sum of these measures, however, strongly supported by immense financial means, attacked the task from one side only: that of finding a technical solution to the problems. Some of these solutions would be to find a technique of forest exploitation which is less destructive; a technique of wood utilization that solves the problem of waste; and a technique of combating erosion which builds up the soil again or at least halts its disintegration. We must add that all these measures are intended to be carried out in times of peace only, and that, with the
beginning of acute political tension, they were largely throttled. The outbreak of actual war has probably put a stop to nearly all of them.

**THE PROBLEM**

Then, several years ago, a new term appeared overnight: conservation. Conservation became a slogan which means everything and nothing. The hanging up of nesting boxes for birds, the planting of trees, the forming of associations to discuss Nature—all this was called "conservation." But conservation really means the bringing about of harmony between the Nature and the people of a country. When the land provides for its owner's welfare, when the owner tends the land, when both prosper as a result of this "comradeship"—then we have that which the New World would like to call conservation.

The basic wealth of a country consists of the fertility of its soil, water, the wealth of its flora, and the wealth of its fauna. In America, three of these fundamental values were destroyed for the sake of the fourth. Incalculable riches were lost because the relationship of these components to each other was disturbed. In its final and most profound sense, conservation is concerned with the correct correlation of all these parts that determine the well-being of the country. To achieve this goal several paths are open.

There are technical measures, such as the provision of technical aid (for instance, of plants for reforestation or machinery for harvesting) and theoretical instruction on the advisability of certain actions. There are laws and decrees. All these measures are important, but they do not determine the final success. True success can only be achieved by a different attitude on the part of the people, an attitude which arouses love and joy in the heart so that a man may tend his soil free of the prosaic thought of profit. Self-sacrifice is needed which, renouncing private profit and willingly limiting personal freedom, gladly undertakes those measures which will benefit the whole of the country and the nation and its unborn generations.

Are the Americans with their traditions of business egotism and "rugged individualism" able to achieve this kind of attitude? Perhaps, but only if they take over many of the ideas of the nations against which they are fighting the present war.

"In 15 decades, Americans have transformed a wilderness into a mighty nation. In all the history of the world, no people ever built so fast and yet so well. This will be a land of Liberty, they said in the beginning, and as they hacked the forest, drove their ploughshares deep into the earth, and spread their herds across the ranges, they sang of the land of the free that they were making...

Yet with astonishing improvidence, Americans have plundered the resources that made it possible to realize their dream."

*Hugh Hammond Bennett:*

APE AND MAN

By HANS WEINERT

Since prehistoric times man has been attempting to unravel the secret of his origin, and as long as man continues to exist he will continue to do so. One may doubt whether he will ever succeed, and whether he will ever come much closer to actual facts than he did in his old myths. Is not modern science’s explanation just as fantastic? And yet it is fascinating to follow the scientist as, with the aid of fossil remains and ancient bone discoveries as well as of the most modern archaeological and biological knowledge, he gropes his way along the long road from present-day man back to the very beginnings of organic life, giving us a breath-taking perspective of the place of man in this world. With every new scientific discovery, our conception of the origins of man are changed. In the following article we present the latest theory of a German scientist, Professor Hans Weinert of the University of Kiel, among whose many books “The Origin of Mankind” is the best known.—K.M.

The basis of our present attitude toward the history of man is the realization that the advent of man on the earth was neither predestined in any way nor, as a matter of fact, even necessary. The earth would circle around the sun as a planet even if man had not come to be on it, and just as this was the case before the advent of man, so it will continue to be after the last man has perished on earth. Today we are able to prove what manifold different circumstances had to occur in the course of the earth’s history in order to enable the development of the species “man.” Often it was a matter of “minor coincidences” that the route of development toward man was not closed for ever. And it is difficult for us to imagine that all these causes, which together resulted in the coming of man, could ever come about again. Hence it is by no means such a matter of course as many people believe that there are human beings living on other stars. Although we can reckon that, on those planets which have passed through a development similar to the earth’s, living creatures have developed, it is to be denied rather than assumed that such organisms have developed into the same forms as those living on the earth.

THE ORIGIN OF ALL LIFE

It goes without saying that, as long as the earth revolved as a ball of liquid fire around the sun, no life whatever was possible on it. The origin of life, or the determining of the border line between the inorganic and the organic, is a chemical problem. With few exceptions, all living organisms are today dependent on the carbon-dioxide assimilation of plants. Consequently, we can only assume that all life must have begun with this chemical process. Carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen are the basic elements of chlorophyll-like substances—such as the “leaf green” now contained in all green plants—and possess the prerequisite for assimilation, as long as the sun supplies the necessary energy by means of its light and heat.

All these conditions were present on the earth. We do not have to turn to cosmic rays or supernatural or metaphysical proofs for the origin of life. However, the carbon hydrates produced by assimilation as well as the albumen compounds built up with their aid could only occur and live within narrow limits of temperature. We have no reason to assume that this may once have been otherwise. Consequently, after water had precipitated on the hardened earth’s crust, this latter must have cooled off to such an extent that the most primitive processes of life were able to take place.

Since under normal conditions we ascribe the possession of chlorophyll to the plant world, life on earth must have
begun with an “original plant,” even if this “plant” consisted only of a tiny lump of chlorophyll. We do not know how far the plant world developed before the first animal grew from it. Actually, it is quite possible that animals grew from plants in more than one case, if we define the difference between plant and animal by the purely chemical difference of nourishment. For it was, of course, possible that plants which had not yet reached the stage of the cell or which consisted of a single cell or even several cells lost their chlorophyll and thereafter became animals by the fact that they fed on other substances.

**AMPHIBIAN ANCESTORS**

The present animal world, including man, must be regarded as uniform in its origin. It is not possible to imagine or prove a separate origin for man. The human body is so unmistakably that of a vertebrate animal that it is quite unnecessary to look for any relationship among the invertebrate animal families.

The hour of birth of the vertebrates—which developed from fishes—cannot be exactly determined. At any rate, the ancestors of man must also be sought among the fishes. For the time being, these ancestors had to live in the water. For, although various plant and invertebrate animals had at that time already conquered land, the vertebrates were bound to the water by the fact that they breathed through gills. Thus the problem of how these water vertebrates turned into land animals includes part of man’s origin. Sharklike species of fish may have been among our ancestors, until the first amphibians crawled onto land.

Perhaps it was the swampy forests of the Carboniferous which saw the first land vertebrates. And, since newts or salamanders were at that time the only vertebrates to move on land, man’s ancestors must also have lived in the form of these amphibians. The newts themselves developed from ancestors resembling pulmonate fish, but only as the result of their changing environment and their struggle for existence. As the water receded during the Carboniferous the animals were left on dry land, just as may have happened in many millions of years before them to innumerable ancestors of theirs and as is still happening today to their descendants. But at that time, in contrast to all previous periods, something new had occurred: among these animals there were fish which we have described above as “pulmonate fish”; that is to say, the air bladder, which they had once developed from a bulge in the front intestine for purposes of buoyancy, had, as the result of arteries developing along its walls, become able to breathe oxygen from the air. Thus these fish were able to cope with the change in environment by adjusting the function of an already existing organ, and thereby to avoid extinction.

**THE “UNHAPPY HUMAN SINNER”**

We must not imagine that Nature foresaw the receding of the waters. If at that time all fish had been left on dry land, without having the possibility of absorbing oxygen from the air in breathing, all fish would simply have died out, and man would never have developed. Nevertheless, the earth would have continued to exist, and there is not even any reason for us to assume that new fish would have developed from worms which, in their turn, could have become land vertebrates and finally human beings. This is what is so important for the correct understanding of the interplay of geological events and hereditary mutations: never is there a repetition of exactly the same conditions.
as a whole. And those animal species whose ancestors were able, millions of years ago, by mutation to produce something new, are not necessarily able to produce the same over again.

It was not the possession of lungs alone which enabled the newts to survive the receding of the waters. The first newts had something else which was indispensable for human development. Their physical build was so far advanced that it was possible for the people of 1726 A.D. to mistake the fossilized skeleton of a giant salamander for that of an "unhappy human sinner." The body of the first land vertebrates can already be divided into head, neck, trunk, tail, and limbs. And it was the limbs which, in addition to the lung, were the means by which the land vertebrates survived. If the fish had not already—again for another purpose—developed their two pairs of pectoral and ventral fins, the later pulmonate fish could not have developed into newts with organs of propulsion. As it so happened, however, the stranded pulmonate fish did not need to remain prone or to move around laboriously by crawling on its stomach: instead it could introduce with its legs what was for the vertebrates a new type of propulsion, one which today seems so natural to us.

It is not possible to tell from fossil skeletons when the amphibian newt developed into a reptile that was entirely independent of the water. For this step did not entail any essential change in the physical build. However, by means of internal fertilization and of the immersion of the embryo in the amniotic fluid—which latter replaced the familiar water environment—a new step had been reached, the first to deserve recognition as representing the true land vertebrate.

HAIR AND FEATHERS

As is the case in most mutations of species, the origin of the mammal within the entire genus of reptiles must be sought at a very primitive stage of development. All the manifold varieties produced by the reptiles in the course of the Mesozoic have nothing to do with the development of man. Even the one invention which was important for the development of mammals, namely, the covering of the body with an insulating layer of horn, was made at a primitive, premammal stage. In other words, the hair covering, the fur, of the mammals, was first developed by certain lizardlike reptiles. In this way, a serious limitation in the life of the reptiles was overcome; for all reptiles, whether lizards, snakes,
crocodiles, or turtles, are dependent on the temperature of their environment. The temperature of their blood corresponds to that of their surroundings, and their breathing is slowed down as soon as the lower level of temperature required for it is passed. Hence the warm Mesozoic offered ideal conditions for the reptiles in most parts of the earth's dry land, conditions which these creatures made use of by developing a wealth of multifarious varieties on land, in water, and in the air.

An insulating covering was invented once again by the reptiles during the Jurassic period and independently of the older development of a hair covering. Lizardlike reptiles gradually developed feathers from their scales and thus turned into birds. This feather covering gave them, just like the mammals, possibilities of life which were considerably less dependent on the surrounding temperature. This, however, is the only relationship that links the species of birds with the mammals; in every other respect they are the descendants of reptiles developed solely as flying creatures.

Throughout the Mesozoic we find fossil remains which must already be ascribed to mammals. Thus mammals must have developed from primitive, lizardlike reptiles in the early Mesozoic. While these mammals differed by their hair covering and the ensuing advantages of existence from their reptile ancestors, for a long time they departed very little from them in their physical build and their manner of existence. They must have been ratlike animals which, however, were not rodents but carnivora.

Victory of the Mammals

For a long time, many millions of years, the mammals were unable to play any important role on the earth. During this time they appear to have kept their original shape with slight alterations. The preponderance of reptiles during the entire Mesozoic has often been held responsible for the suppression of the mammal family; of course, nothing definite can be said in this respect. The fact remains that, with the dawn of the Cenozoic, the geological age which reaches up to the present day and whose first period is called the Tertiary, the reptiles largely disappeared from the earth and were replaced by the mammals.

In a wealth of forms which once again repeated everything that had already been invented by the reptiles, the mammals now populated the earth. It can be understood that one should speak of an explosive diffusion. For we must bear in mind that, at the beginning of this development, the ratlike animal form contained everything that developed, comparatively quickly, during the Tertiary period into what we now know as mammals. The subsequent periods, known as the Pleistocene, or glacial age, and the Holocene, or present period, have been of little importance to the development of varieties among the mammals—with one exception. Whether we consider a harvest mouse or an elephant, a bat or a buffalo, a tiny shrew mouse or a lion, a monkey or a giant whale—they are all mammals, mutations of the one, lizardlike form which came from the Mesozoic into the Tertiary. Our ordinary zoological knowledge is quite insufficient to embrace the manifold varieties of all the mammals which have developed since the early Tertiary, especially if we bear in mind that we neither know nor are able to reconstruct all those varieties which have meanwhile died out without leaving any descendants.

Broad- and Narrow-nosed Primates

But, again, all these manifold forms had nothing to do with the development of man. There is only one single branch which included our ancestors: the early primates, now represented by the lemurs. The only thing by which the carnivoralike lemurs remind the layman of apes is
their prehensile hands. The formation of this organ is, of course, linked up with their life in trees; at the same time, however, it is the necessary condition which has made possible the evolution of man as he now is. We must assume that the true ape developed during the early Tertiary. With this we have reached a period which enables us more exactly to determine the ancestors of man.

With the very first appearance of apes we are able to distinguish between two pronounced groups. The difference has a geographical basis. In America we find the platyrhiniens or broadnosed apes which, if we consider their entire development, have remained at a primitive stage and have never produced anything but American apes. It is only among the catarrhinian or narrownosed apes of the Old World that we find the ancestors of man.

Even the most primitive apes of the Old World present, in spite of their physical smallness, an exact anatomical pattern of man. The arrangement of the teeth is enough for systematic zoology to class man as a species of the catarrhinian ape. But the whole anatomical plan of the latter's body, with all its bones and muscles, its nerves and vascular system, and the entire arrangement of its intestines, is so very much the pattern for the human anatomy that it is impossible to imagine the existence of man as being separate from the development of true apes. Anyone who has ever wondered at the resemblance of apes to human beings would be even more amazed at this resemblance if he had the opportunity of observing the dissection of the body of an ape.

THE COMING OF "MANLIKE" APES

Nevertheless, the development from ape to man was no small step. Seen as a whole, the Tertiary was a warm period, and all the apes of the Old World are, with very few exceptions, tropical jungle dwellers. And the jungle, especially that of the tropics, is certainly no place for the development of man. As long as the Tertiary with its warm climate continued, therefore, there could be no thought of man, in spite of all the anatomical similarities between ape and man. The apes had time and space enough to spread; on the other hand, they did not live so untouched by the struggle for existence that they could simply become fixed in their forms. But everything they produced during this tropical Tertiary was only other apes. It is impossible to discern any necessary reason for human development.

Not until the second half of the Tertiary did there evolve new forms of apes, which have been termed without hesitation "anthropoid (manlike) apes." What is essential in the whole outward appearance of these apes is not only their similarity to man—this we have already observed with earlier apes—but their human form which distinguishes them from all other apes more than anything else by their size.

Like the primitive apes, the anthropoid apes once inhabited all three continents of the Old World. Today their representatives, the orangutan in Sumatra and Borneo and the gorilla and chimpanzee of the tropical jungle of Africa, are, geographically speaking, widely separated. The remains of anthropoid apes dating from the late Tertiary have also been found in India. Nevertheless, an anatomical division into two groups can be distinguished in the middle Tertiary, a division which was to become important for our own evolution. Asia produced a different form of anthropoid ape from the western part of the Old World, viz., Europe and Africa. Thus we are able to draw anatomical as well as geographical distinctions between early orangutans on the one hand and chimpanzee- and gorilla-like forms on the other. Orangutan fossils have been found, not only in the Sunda Isles—which once were part of the mainland—but also in India and in East Asia near Peking. The remains of chimpanzee- and gorillalike forms were discovered long ago in Europe; and a few years ago Tertiary remains of them were also found in their present home of Africa.
OUR CHIMPANZEE RELATIVES

The fact that these two groups of anthropoid apes, the eastern and the western, are not identical is important for our evolution. Many anatomical, embryological, physiological, and psychological comparisons prove that it is impossible to establish a genetic link between the human race, or individual parts of it, and the orangutan. On the other hand, the gorilla and the chimpanzee possess identical characteristics which distinguish them from the orangutan; moreover, these very characteristics which distinguish them from their ape-cousin link them to man. For this reason, we shall call gorilla, chimpanzee, and man the “summoprimates,” meaning the most highly developed primates now existing and a group of species related by common genetic characteristics.

Common genetic characteristics are not acquired by chance: they can only have been handed down as a common heritage by common ancestors. Hence there is no possible reason to doubt the common heritage of gorilla, chimpanzee, and man. However far removed man is from the animal world, the germ plasm has not let itself be induced by this to abandon or alter common genetic characteristics.

FLIGHT, DEATH, OR ADAPTATION

As long as the anthropoid ape could remain in the jungle, he remained what he was. What happened, however, was that, in certain parts of the earth, this jungle life did not continue without interruption. During the last phase of the Tertiary, changes of climate set in which finally led to the coming of the glacial period. The Tertiary gave way to the Pleistocene; and, except in the equatorial regions, the Pleistocene created greatly changed conditions of life. Approximately five hundred thousand years ago, the Northern Hemisphere of the earth cooled off to such an extent that jungle-covered areas lost their forests. As a result of the spreading of glaciers, which formed on the Scandinavian mountains as well as all other high mountain ranges, climatic conditions were created which rendered the former tropical jungles impossible for all of Europe and for the northern, interior part of Asia. This direct effect on the flora naturally also influenced the fauna dependent on this flora. Animals accustomed to the jungle had to adjust themselves to the new conditions.

There were three ways in which the animals accustomed to heat could react to climatic depressions. The simplest was migration to warmer zones; and it is important for the evolution of man that, owing to mountain barriers, a mere flight to the south was not without its obstacles. An enforced stay in unaccustomed surroundings could, furthermore, lead to extinction, a fate that is sure to have befallen many species. Of course, one must not imagine that all the individuals of one species or family were suddenly overtaken by death. At first, the deterioration in the conditions of life will have made itself felt by reduced propagation; then perhaps it followed that the young were affected to such an extent that they themselves never reached the stage of propagation. If the species were then also to be affected by diseases, etc., the last remainders of a surviving genus would actually disappear quite rapidly. Finally, there is a third possibility, in that, by mutation, a new form was created which could cope with the changed conditions.

EXCURSION ON HEREDITY

This, then, is the possibility which applies to our case. Our present knowledge of the laws of heredity teaches us that environment cannot create new forms simply by its effect on the body. The totality of all hereditary qualities must be so constituted that, by the mutation of individual genes, a change in form is achieved which is able to exist under the new conditions. For this reason, highly specialized species are little suited for such new forms; on the other hand, the step to the new form can also not be so great as to produce something entirely new. Thus it is by no means the geological circumstances alone which are responsible for the evolution of new species. There were glacial ages before,
connected with climatic depressions, which also swept away jungles from the earth; but no glacial period was able to turn a shark or a newt into man. A preliminary step, in physical as well as mental respects, had first to be reached from which a mutation to man, not an entirely new creation, was possible.

Thus, as long as Nature had not yet produced the anthropoid apes from the early primates, no influence of environment and no mutation of genes resulting from any other causes would have been able to evolve the form of man with all its physical and mental hereditary characteristics. Herein lies the value of our present knowledge of sumnoprimates, that it links animal species to man which, by reason of their common heritage, cannot be imagined individually or without man. Indeed, science has progressed one step further: not only do gorilla, chimpanzee, and man form a unity of species which later split up—how, we do not know—into the three species still extant; the same reasons that force us to recognize sumnoprimates have also led us to make another differentiation within this group. In addition to the hereditary characteristics common to all three, there are other hereditary traits which the chimpanzee shares with man but not with the gorilla. This discovery does not, however, mean that chimpanzee and man are more closely related than the two ape species. Gorilla and chimpanzee are so closely related that, from a zoological point of view, it would not be impossible to regard them as two varieties of one species. But, in spite of this close relationship—and this is a fortunate circumstance for research into the evolution of man—there are some hereditary characteristics which the chimpanzee can only have acquired after the gorilla had already branched off from it while the ancestor of man was still linked up with it. Thus we see that, at the end of the Tertiary, a form of anthropoid ape had been reached possessing every essential prerequisite for the evolution of a creature which could no longer simply be called an anthropoid ape.

DOWN TO EARTH

Fossil remains found in Central Europe have proved that chimpanzeelike anthropoid apes once lived there. It is possible that at first they lived in trees. Later, however, they moved down to the ground. It is certain that these apes did not descend from their trees for the fun of it; no ape accustomed to jungle life would do that. But when the climatic depression of the coming glacial period removed, so to speak, the forest from under their feet, this naturally affected them. We are unable to tell to what extent they died out. It seems very improbable that all anthropoid apes were able to migrate to the remaining jungles; for the whole long mountain range from the Pyrenees and Alps via the Caucasus right into Asia must have formed a barrier during the ice age which separated the anthropoid apes of the north from those of the south. Hence we can hardly assume that the African jungle chimpanzee was our ancestor. As the tropical jungles of Africa have undergone no important geological changes since the end of the Tertiary, the chimpanzees inhabiting them had no reason to give up their jungle life and to become human beings.

For a long time Central Asia was regarded as the original home of mammals and also of man. We can only say that there are neither positive indications nor logical reasons for this hypothesis. No fossil remains of anthropoid apes have been discovered in Central Asia; and, if we consider the geological conditions of those regions, we can hardly expect to find any there. For we cannot expect early man in a region which never had any primates or catarrhinian apes. It would be just as illogical to seek for the cradle of man in America or at the North Pole or in Australia.

MANKIND’S HOUR OF BIRTH

The question will always remain as to from what point of view we are to distinguish between man and beast. Although nowadays there is no longer any possibility of confusion, it is quite clear that, for long periods during the early
stages, it is difficult to decide whether we are dealing with manlike apes or ape-like men. The only thing we can do is to introduce artificial means of distinction which we shall regard as our standards. Probably the best of these arbitrary standards is the knowledge of the use of fire.

Today all human beings make use of fire, while no animals, not even the anthropoid apes, have learned its use. This does not mean to say that monkeys, like the carnivora, are not able occasionally to take advantage of a fire, either for warmth or for the easy acquisition of burned prey. But no present-day animal has realized that one can make use of fire according to one's own needs. This realization must have been reached at one time or another in the evolution of man, and we may well call this deed of Prometheus mankind's hour of birth.

We must not imagine that this event took place suddenly. It may have been a long time before the outstanding action of a genius appeared so convincing to his fellow creatures that its application could never again be forgotten. This conception of the first conscious use of fire as the hour of birth of mankind also fits into the geological conditions. Anthropoid apes accustomed to warmth lost their jungle, and Nature offered them the substitute of fire if they were capable of making use of it. This was possible under two conditions: first, there had to be a brain which was capable of grasping the idea and of realizing its consequences; and then there had to be hands which could follow up the idea with the deed. Only hands were able to seize a stick which had caught fire from natural causes, and to protect the fire and keep it going. And both these conditions were fulfilled by the chimpanzeelike anthropoid ape forced to live in unaccustomed, cold surroundings.

Of course, this idea is only the product of logical reasoning; we are unable to prove the actual facts of this process at any point of the earth. Yet it is by no means pure fantasy when we imagine creatures, which we still call anthropoid apes, sitting around a purposely kept fire and enjoying its warmth and the protection it offers against the dreaded wild animals; when we imagine them roasting their prey in the fire and appreciating the unusual flavor. We must add that we can only imagine social animals with a strong urge for imitation and a sense of curiosity living in this manner. And it is a well-known fact that chimpanzeelike apes are so inclined.

MAN, THE DOMESTIC ANIMAL

This short sketch of human evolution must suffice here, and we can only point out that all subsequent developments and events do not in the least contradict this conception. Everything else that distinguished man from the beast can be explained by the use of fire, whether it is the disappearance of the hair covering or the decrease in size of the canine teeth, which till then had served as the most important weapon. Clothes that could be changed and man-made weapons and implements indicate the beginning of the most primitive culture. The possession of fire and the making of tools forced early man to communicate about abstract matters too.

Thus the first hearth was the first sign of incipient domestication. Man became a “domestic animal” and subjected himself to all the consequences to which all domestic creatures are liable, also with regard to their hereditary characteristics. This means that the changed conditions of life of a domestic animal—which is more or less withdrawn from its natural environment and the consequent conditions of existence—provide more occasion for genetic mutation than is the case with wild species. Hence the manifold division of mankind into races and sub-races by no means conflicts with the unconditional assumption that the human race arose from a single common parent form.

NO MISSING LINK

The German scientist Ernst Haeckel came to the conclusion that, in his earliest stages, man must have been a sort of
ape-man or “pithecanthropus,” to use the Greek term he invented. Today we know that there were really such ape-men and that they have given us the final proof of the ape-origin of man. The remains of the Pithecanthropus erectus found in Java, as well as the numerous finds still being made of the Sinanthropus pekinensis, the “Peking man,” in China, show without any doubt whatever, like all later forms of primitive man, that they cannot be compared with any other anthropoid ape than the chimpanzee. In East Africa a new discovery has been added in the form of the Africananthropus njarasensis.

Thus there were once forms also bridging the physical differences between anthropoid apes and man. There is no longer a “missing link.” In spite of this, of course, every fossilized human remain is extremely welcome for the gaining of further knowledge. The earth still owes us many a witness to show us above all the transformation of the bones of the limbs. It is natural that the skull, containing as it does the brain, shows the gradual development better than the bones of the limbs.

WHAT LIES AHEAD?

How will the future geological manifestations of the development of the earth affect the existence of man? There can be no doubt that the earth will undergo further changes. The question is whether we have finally passed the glacial periods of the Pleistocene or whether we are living in an interglacial period soon to be followed by a new ice age. This “soon” may be no more than ten thousand years from now. From the point of view of historical periods, this may seem a very long time; from the point of view of geology or even that of the limited period of man’s existence, this is not much. However, an expansion of glaciers could be evaded by the human race, although not without considerable conflicts. But it is probable that, at one time, geological changes will take place which will have more far-reaching effects than a glacial advance which, after all, is an event limited to certain regions. And then it will be a question whether the highly specialized civilized man will be able by dint of his achievements to cope with such geological difficulties, or whether, on the contrary, the more primitive races will be better able to adapt themselves to the new environment and thus take the place of present-day civilized mankind.

But this does not exhaust the problems of the future. We can assume more or less with certainty that a time will come again in which plants will no longer be able to assimilate carbohydrates from water and air. Supposing that a future race of man were still to inhabit the earth at that time, the question would arise whether it would be capable of artificially creating the conditions for assimilation of carbon dioxide and albumen which Nature could no longer provide. It is hardly possible to give a positive answer to this question. Just as from the very beginning man could not exist on earth without plants and animals, it is useless to imagine a future race of men which is able alone to create the necessary conditions of existence.

The time which man has spent on earth since his origin is short in comparison to the course of earth’s history so far; and we may assume that the period of human existence ahead of us will again be but a brief segment of the time which is still allotted to our planet in the universe.
THE SURGE OF THE RENAISSANCE IN EUROPE

By BEATA VON ERDBERG

As the result of the existence of national states which for centuries have been fighting each other and jealously guarding their independence, the world has become accustomed at the mention of "Europe" to think, not of that which unites its peoples, but of that which divides them. Yet all through its history Europe has possessed a cultural unity.

The following essay combines a clear, sensitive presentation of one of the greatest cultural epochs of the Occident with a study of the Renaissance as a phenomenon which, although, modified by the various nations, prevailed throughout Europe. It is our hope that, when this war is over, a great European art will arise again which, like the Renaissance, will be filled with common ideas and yet enriched by the national individuality of the various European peoples.

Beata von Erdberg embodies a manifold European inheritance. Her father comes from Riga and played an important role in German education. Among her ancestors is a publisher of Goethe, a French Huguenot, and a Scotswoman. Her mother was Vice-President of the World Association for Adult Education. She herself studied at various German and American universities and did research work in history of art in Italy, France, England, and Holland. She has been living for some years now in East Asia.—K.M.

The change which took place in European thought and art about the year 1400 seems to us today so fundamental that we cannot but feel a complete break; nothing seems to fit into the picture of the Middle Ages any more. We begin a new era of history with the discoveries of new routes to the Orient and of a new continent across the Atlantic, with the Renaissance in the world of art and with humanism in that of thought and letters.

Today, the name "Renaissance" is a rather misleading one. What is important is not the rebirth of classical studies and subjects but the awakening of man's consciousness of his individual possibilities. Nevertheless, the Renaissance in the narrow sense of the word, namely, rebirth of the classical world, is important enough, even though it was limited to an exclusive circle of learned men; for it demonstrated to thousands of groping minds that the means of individual self-expression—bowing to the laws of taste only—had already been worked out by the Greeks.

GREEK ROOTS

It is to the credit of the ancient Greeks that they have time and again provided stimuli for the demands of a growing art: the Romans and the Near East shaped much of their art on the Greek pattern; during the Renaissance it gave Vignola his columns, Donatello and Verrocchio their youthful athletes, Holbein his cherubs, Cranach his seductive women, and Goujon his nymphs. All these men were different from each other, and their art is not really Greek; but they were united in the greatest difference of all—that between the preceding generation and theirs. When they looked around for a suitable vehicle by which to convey a new attitude toward life, art, and man, the Greeks did not fail them.

Of course, they adapted the given forms to fit their national character, the Italians and French in a different way from the Germans or Scandinavians. But they all recognized that the Greeks had taught balance in art, moderation, and the beauty of an organism. Every-
body could be a Greek after his own fashion, because their cult of the lovely and befitting form provides an inexhaustible store from which Carolingian art, the Renaissance, the early nineteenth century, and our own generation have drawn according to their needs in order to recover from artistic stagnation or turmoil. But none of these revivals ever gave us another Greece; they all bore the stamp of nation and era. If art is alive, it cannot but develop according to its own heritage, no matter what tricks it may learn to use; if it is dead, how can it revive the past?

The fifteenth century was very much alive, and it was no small help that the fresh torrent of spiritual activities, freed from the shackles of medievalism, could flow into a prepared and well-proven channel. But we must not forget that this channel had been sadly neglected for centuries; extensive restoration and widening were necessary, including changes which would adapt it to the new time and use.

EXPERIMENTS WITH BEAUTY

Italy, with her vividly remembered glorious past, with her ancient temple ruins and statues, with a language that had the greatest similarity to Latin, with her small courts of vainglorious tyrants and, last but not least, with the riches accumulated by skillful handling of the Oriental trade—Italy, then, was the country to set the pace for a new era. The Italians were in an experimenting mood; they experimented with philosophies, flying machines, literary styles, forms of government, and church façades. The results of such experimenting could be seen in every town. Even the casual passer-by could not but notice the expressions of all the arts promising mastery of subject and material, a prominent place for man himself, and unfailing formulas for all problems of taste.

And it so happened that many people from all over Europe passed through the Italian cities, came to Florence, Milan, Venice, Rome. Students flocked to the famous seats of learning at municipal universities or private academies. Mercenaries came to serve under some condottiere, famous for his munificence and luck in the constant petty wars of cities and dukedoms. Clerics of all nationalities had business in Rome; pilgrims came to worship and merchants to trade. Kings and princelings were eager to take a hand in the turmoil of Italian politics. If a city or tyrant sought their support, they and their retinue would be treated to a pageant of all that was of the most advanced and spectacular in this astonishing age and country.

ITALY KNEW THE ANSWERS

Had the phenomenon of the Italian Renaissance been nothing but a national speciality which could be cultivated and enjoyed on Italian soil only, travelers from abroad would have spread tales of wonder at home. Such tales might have inspired abortive attempts at imitation; but if these latter had not fitted in or succeeded, they would have passed like a fashion and left no trace. The Renaissance had a stronger effect, for what happened in Italian thought and art was the obvious answer to the doubts and needs of an age that had outlived the Gothic.

A style in art has only a measured span of life in which to develop and finally exhaust its possibilities. The Gothic style had reached the point of exhaustion. Artists in every country instinctively felt this. It was no longer enough to drive the pointed arch to the limit of its possibilities, to carve draperies in dazzling richness of shadow and line, to strew tiny figures in brilliant colors, like a handful of gems, over a manuscript sheet. It was not enough to strive in a workshop, to learn the craft and fill the orders, just like any other honest craftsman. The artist discovered himself behind his creation—himself as a creator, different from the craftsman, who could produce only life's necessities. The artist became a personality, whose name meant something, who carried his laws in himself.
THE END OF THE SOARING LINE

The Gothic style found its expression predominantly in terms of architecture. Here its rules were formed and here too its possibilities were exploited to the utmost: the negation of weight and the flaming, upward sweep of pure line. To go further in that direction than late Gothic had done would mean to sever the connection of the building with the ground, to start lines on their erratic way which could not possibly find a goal.

In Vienna, Reims, and York, we see the vertical line reigning supreme. Neither its mathematical principles nor its linear impulses had anything to do with the laws of natural growth; yet it was so convincing in its purity of purpose that no nation could withstand it, not even the Italians. The cathedral of Milan is Italy's outstanding Gothic building; but it is only skin-deep, for the church is broadly and safely anchored to the ground. The Italians had already recognized what all Europe was soon going to clamor for: the value of a solid base for a structure which could harmonize in proportion with the surrounding earth, grow like a tree with its roots in the earth and its branches spreading.

It is a wish inherent in all mankind to conform with the laws of natural growth. But man, on the other hand, also wishes to put the stamp of his mastery on Nature by disregarding her forms and substituting them by others which he finds new, interesting, and hence beautiful in a logical, abstract way. Primitive people file their teeth and extend their ear lobes in order to lift themselves above Nature's rules. Later they find symbols expressing the principle of beauty. Art has to reckon with both tendencies. Theoretically, the perfect work of art would be the one in which each modifies the other. Actually, the prevalence of the naturalistic or the abstract marks the changes of styles and their greatest creations.

MAN AS AN OBJECT OF ART

After centuries of abstraction in art, the will to be natural will again assert itself. The Orient found a safe and steady outlet in landscape and flower painting. But the West had chosen man as Nature's outstanding representative—a problematical choice, since the lines of his body are not easily generalized or adapted to linear decoration; furthermore, the uncovered human body had become the battlefield of moralists. The late classics had temporarily dropped man, because he was difficult to reconcile with the many foreign influences and hierarchic tendencies in art. With him was also dropped the sense of natural dimensions and organic growth. There began a search for new standards, which could be more easily formulated. Romanesque style contributed the rhythm of masses and of light and shade. The Gothic substituted this by the "one direction." In doing so, it moved farthest away from organic life—until a reaction was inevitable. The more extreme the expression of the abstract had been, for example, in architecture, the more revolutionary the changes were bound to be. Painting and sculpture could walk more leisurely into the new camp.

In late Gothic sculpture and painting we already find a relaxation in line, which is only natural after a period of such emotional strain. Although Riemenschneider and other masters of his period still used the Gothic line in drapery, their composition, background, and faces already showed a new conception of Nature, an interest too passionate to be content with symbols of life only. Monumental idealism made way for realism, which often appeared quite crude in its endeavor to assert itself.

Such changes go beyond national taste and faculties. Their cause, the Gothic style, had spread rapidly over Europe and gone through similar stages of development in all countries concerned. The reaction was bound to set in everywhere at about the same time, in about the same way—subject only to national modification.

In the process of changing thought and expression, the solutions offered by Italy were of vital importance to Europe. Yet
this fact does not give Italy the sole claim to all the glories implied in the name of the new age. It was not the fact that one country knew all the answers that made the Renaissance one of the most fruitful eras in European history—no, it was the fact that all Western nations asked the same urgent questions and turned this new movement into a big, surging wave which carried Italy on its crest.

ROME REBORN IN ROME

Architecture was the first to feel the change. A Renaissance of Roman architecture could happen only in Italy and nowhere else, not even in the South of France, where Roman relics abound. Only for Italians was the return to Roman forms a natural process; to them it did not mean dabbling in a foreign style. It was their own past. They used a style that had already been found to fit their landscape and temperament. As early as the twelfth century they had what has been called a proto-Renaissance. But French Gothic, brought to Italy by German architects, proved to be too international a movement to be ignored; thus the reawakening of classical architecture was postponed.

The great cathedrals of Europe had been built by nameless craftsmen, masters of a profession which they had studied in every technical detail. We can divine the genius behind their gigantic plans, but rarely can we isolate the personality in the building yard. The Renaissance crowned the work with its creator’s name: the individual, not his craft or workshop, is credited with the achievement. The structural technique of the Florentine Brunelleschi was still quite medieval, but he put it to use in the true spirit of the Renaissance. He refused to submit his plans for the huge dome of Florence Cathedral to a committee, afraid to share the glory of solving this difficult problem with anybody else.

THE LURE OF FAME

The idea of personal glory and posthumous fame is a classical one which had fallen into disuse in the Middle Ages, eclipsed by the glory of God. Now it proved its worth again as an instigator of great deeds. There is nothing like the striking façade of a new church or palace in the center of a busy town to remind people of the man who conceived such novel and noble forms. A mighty lord ordered a spectacular tomb as a memorial to his importance in life, but the artist had a good chance of turning it into a memorial to his own genius.

The artist was the first to leave the proven categories of professions by which the Middle Ages so definitely classified men. Since universal man was the ideal of the new age, many tried their hand at tasks outside their profession, and several did so with supreme success. Leonardo and Grünewald were engineers; Italy boasts of many artists whose sculpture was as superb as their painting. The architects were not necessarily trained as such; Brunelleschi was originally a goldsmith, Michelangelo studied to be a sculptor. They designed a building as they would design a picture—for its surface appearance. That is why many of the Renaissance buildings in Italy are interesting mainly as a solution of the façade problem—the show side. They give little indication of what they shield.

THE DEPENDABLE COLUMN

A code of principles and proportions governing classical architecture was laid down by Vitruvius, a Roman architect of the time of Emperor Augustus. His treatise on architecture was republished in Rome in 1486; in 1521 an Italian translation appeared. His ideas and his architectural principles reigned supreme for the next two hundred years.

Gothic buildings had expressed the fervor of their builders, the faith which could move stone to an ecstasy of rising lines. Renaissance buildings show the classical education of their architects, who combined the same two features which characterized so many of the successful tyrants of that stormy age: power—and the effective display of it, logically calculated.
Fig. 1. Self-portrait by Albrecht Dürer

RENAISSANCE ART
Fig. 2. Courtyard of the Palazzo Gondi in Florence. Designed after the Roman atrium, the open court is the representative and artistic center of the Palazzo.

Fig. 3. Ruins of Heidelberg Castle (1547). Renaissance castles were built on a larger scale than the old strongholds. Protective, practical, and representative units had to be welded together by the architect.

Fig. 4. Monument to Duke Albrecht of Prussia by Cornelis Floris of Antwerp, in Königsberg Cathedral. An elaborate architectural fantasy houses a set of statues which, although unrelated to each other, glorify the central figure by their austerity.
Of all the arts which strove to express the break with medievalism and mark the advent of an enlightened age, architecture was perhaps the most successful. History may tell us that sinister happenings occurred just as frequently behind the well-balanced façades of new palaces as in the old fortress-castles, that prejudice and disregard for another man's personal freedom were as rampant in one as in the other—but look at a Renaissance courtyard (Fig. 2): the graceful columns, the poised arches, the very candor of the proportions will say: It is not our fault.

BUILDINGS WORLDLY AND ENLIGHTENED

During the Gothic period only a few churches were built in Italy, and it so happened that the shortage was felt by the time the Renaissance set in. New churches sprang up everywhere. What an opportunity to show power and gain glory! In the same way as much church-building was not prompted by wholly religious motives, so the style of architecture was not a solely ecclesiastical one. On the contrary: a church was made up of the same Roman elements as a secular building. The effect is a very worldly one if we compare it with a Gothic cathedral. Instead of pointing to Heaven and leaving the petty world far behind, the Renaissance church candidly faces the hubbub of earthly existence, relying on the austerity of its proportions and the correctness of its detail to set it apart from ordinary structures.

No more spires with unchecked upward movement from a minimum of earthly base, but a carefully thought-out combination of squares, triangles, and semicircles; a balance of horizontal and vertical lines. No points—but, for height, an impressive dome. Its rational curves bind and confine what vertical tendencies there might have been. No line is left to stray, the impulse to rise is substituted by the majesty of self-contained space, by the sheer logic of the dome that encloses it (Fig. 5).

Such poised buildings made up of clearly defined details in natural and unassuming repetition seemed most restful to a generation that had become tired of being lifted off its feet all the time. In employing logically conceived details in the proper way, they experienced the highest form of freedom.

THE NORTH NEEDS CHIMNEYS

The climate of Italy favored the Renaissance palace façade, a rectangle unbroken by roof line or chimneys. In all northern countries the climate called for many chimneys and a more or less sharply pitched roof. If these features are absent, the building looks foreign to northern surroundings. For this reason the Gothic lingered north of the Alps until a satisfactory solution was found. Italian architects worked for French kings, French architects studied in Italy, but the classical style did not assert itself before the sixteenth century (Fig. 6).

The new trends in style were the same in the north as in the south: uniform, square windows in strongly accentuated horizontal rows; the pointed arch was abandoned; well-confined space triumphed over masses on the move. Gone was the dramatic teamwork between pillars and glass; the wall regained its proper place—the solid, dependable wall. It could be
countries took quickly to the separate parts and details of the classical style of building as presented by Italy, but climate and habit dictated less formal assembling of these parts. Flat roofs and open, arcaded courtyards suited the Spaniards well, but their temperament did not readily condone the austere simplicity of rusticated walls and discreet profiling. They borrowed more vivid ornamental details from an art working on a smaller scale: their Renaissance architecture took its motives from the goldsmith's art.

**GUILDHALLS AND RESIDENCES**

In the Germanic countries, those builders who managed to distinguish between the call of a new era and the fad for copying Italy were most successful when they followed the former. The builders of Heidelberg Castle (Fig. 3) kept a level, critical head, weighing locality and purpose against the lure of the modern. They were not carried away by the modern, they used it. The sixteenth, even the seventeenth century, was favorable to Renaissance architecture. Its ripest creations are found at a time when, chronologically speaking, they should already have "degenerated" into the baroque.

Germany had built as many and as huge cathedrals in the Middle Ages as she could possibly fill for some time to come. Nor was the unrest of the Reformation an incentive to ecclesiastical building projects. Thus German affluence experienced in Europe between the fifteenth century and the Thirty Years' War called for a more impressive and diversified urban architecture. Renaissance buildings spell wealth in an unobtrusive way, they give the impression of solid and dependable well-being, just the thing for castles, for town and guildhalls.

If the French Renaissance tried hard to follow Italy, the architects of Germany and the Netherlands would not be denied their own fancies. They shared this attitude with Spain, but the results were, of course, not the same. The Germanic
and for the residences of merchant princes (Fig. 8).

Wood was one of Germany’s natural resources. Its traditional use for house-building mellowed and Germanized the Renaissance forms (Fig. 9). It suggested color and dictated less plastic and more delicate ornaments than stone masonry would call for.

Elizabethan architecture in England also used a great deal of wood. In spite of Renaissance details, the outline with its quaint irregularity of roof and chimney is far removed from classical simplicity. This fruitful period of transition coincided with a tide of prosperity; rich returns from far-flung trade enterprises, and the secularization of wealthy church estates after Henry VIII’s fling at individualism, made it imperative for many a newly rich estate owner to build in order to impress. True Renaissance found its place in England even later than on the Continent. Only after it was well established in France and in the Netherlands did it cross the Channel in its modified Continental garb.

**THE LAW OF DEMAND AND SUPPLY**

The new wealth was found to be a mighty factor, influencing European culture in every country. Commercial wealth is a fickle blessing, and one must enjoy and show it while it lasts. Church and community continued to be the patrons of artists; kings and popes attached some of the greatest painters, sculptors, and architects to their courts and assured them of a sufficient income in return for the execution of whatever order it might please their lord to issue. Leonardo and Michelangelo both benefited from this medieval relationship; and they suffered from it too, because they belonged to a new age and a certain amount of freedom was essential to their work. The rich nobleman, the successful merchant, who ordered and bought on a smaller scale, but steadily, put the artist on a new footing. By following his own ideals, he could shape the taste of the public, that needed pictures to hang up, fountains for its gardens, silver to use at its banquets, and an epitaph in the city church to commemorate a private existence. Titian was the first artist to be

**Fig. 8. Armory in Danzig. Built in 1605 by Anthonis van Obbergen**

**Fig. 9. Hütte House in Höxter (1565)**
entirely independent of any patronage; he painted what he thought worthy of his brush, and he always found a buyer. For a man of his ability and reputation, that was an ideal arrangement—but there is still many an artist who would welcome the steady, if exacting, patronage of a duke or cardinal. And some of our art exhibits today might be less appalling if the Renaissance had not presented every painter with the freedom of using his oils on any dead fish that caught his fancy.

WHAT TO DO WITH A BARE WALL

The new style had changed the interior of churches considerably. There was no more relying on the play of shadows around the composite pillars, on the colored mystery of stained-glass windows, or on the fading away of high vaults. In classical architecture the window had not been an important factor, only a necessary break in the wall to admit air and light. It now went back to that function. Columns and pillars became as plain as those of the classical ruins; the decoration of cornices, capitals, and entablatures was dictated by Rome. But there remained the wall. Painting was the obvious solution to enliven its dead planes, as had already been done in Romanesque architecture. The ceiling too, whether flat or plainly cross-vaulted, would again yield to such embellishment. Beginning with Giotto, many painters struggled with the problem of fitting pictures—which ought to be composed within a frame—into huge and often irregular wall spaces, which limit but do not support the composition.

Romanesque wall-painting had thought in patterns rather than in pictures. Patterns can be adapted to any kind of background—vaults, triangles, niches, or semicircles. But the picture is cut out of real life and therefore requires a very definite border to show where its life ends and ours begins. In the Sistine Chapel, Michelangelo succeeded in giving each picture its depth, in isolating his subjects without disrupting the unity of the interior—a solution far superior to dissolving the wall into illusory archi-

Fig. 10. Holbein the Younger. First design for façade painting on the house "Zum Tanz" in Basel

tectural perspectives. Such architectural divisions as Michelangelo used strengthen instead of dissolving. But the latter method is easier, and we find it in great favor from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. Its effect is based on the skillful employment of a correct perspective (Fig. 10). This creates an illusion, not

for the spirit, but for those brain cells which register the pictures of reality. Linear perspective is one of naturalism’s most effective tools. The fact that today we regard the knowledge of it as indispensable to any artist, no matter what he creates, whereas the Middle Ages and the painters of the East did not bother to figure it out properly, shows how deeply we are steeped in the naturalist tendencies of the Renaissance.

FROM BUD TO FRUIT

To the sculptor, his old patron—the Church—offered two tasks: statues of saints and ornamental decoration in relief. The tasks were the same as in earlier periods, but the solutions were to be different. The sculptor, too, had to study the classical code of proportions to give the proper support to his compositions (Fig. 4). It was an age of resplendent accessories: pulpits, doors, fountains, tombs could be covered with a riot of ornaments
straight from heathen temples. Masks and garlands testified to the uncritical attitude toward anything antique and to the open joy in the blessings of this earthly life. Bud, leaf, and tendril had been the delicate subjects of Gothic carving; now it was the ripe fruit, the luscious success of the plant's flowering, the good gifts of the earth.

The same change is apparent in the ideal of feminine beauty, the Madonna. In the Gothic period, the ascetic ideals of early Christianity had dethroned the age-old precept “Be fruitful and multiply,” and put virgins and sexless angels in its place. But, with the Church, Heaven had also lost its predominant position and now shared with Mother Earth the credit for pouring out the gifts of life. Fertility, always of vital importance, was again granted an expression in art. The weightless, fragile virgins of Gothic paintings made way for blooming womanhood, for the Mother who understands not only God's mysteries but also the ways of men. Ethereal angels were relieved by the chubby cherub, of healthy weight and playful spirit, romping instead of floating, teasing instead of adoring.

**THE HUMAN BODY**

The master sculptors of the great Gothic cathedrals had found the one solution for the draped statue, standing alone and self-contained yet structurally bound to architecture and thematically linked to similar solitary spiritual giants. No innovation could better what they had achieved. But their fellow craftsmen struggled with the evasive curves of the human body every time Adam and Eve had to be represented, and with the problems of depth and simultaneous action whenever many figures were united in a narrative scene. The human body, with its infinite variations of movement, is the best vehicle for drama (Fig. 11). But, to be truly suggestive, not only the gestures but the very muscles that made the gestures possible had to be studied. If the mute figures of the artist's creation were to enact a scene convincingly, they had to be caught in perfectly natural movements, at the pinnacle of action.

The Greeks had made the human body the standard of beauty; the Church had promptly termed it a vessel of sin. But, even if the Church barred the nude body from the temple of art, it could never suppress the idea that it was something worth representing. The body could never again be relegated to the negligible part it plays, for instance, in Oriental art. There was always the doctrine that “God created man in His own image.” The representation of the many sacred personages did not entail any of the grotesque exaggerations, deformations, or animal admixtures found in other religions. Face and posture at least could be invested with a beauty that was essentially human and could be studied by looking at lovely specimens of mankind.

Humanism and the Reformation had broken up the spiritual unity of men. The individual, finding himself isolated and thrown back on his own resources, remembered the great advantage of having a body to carry and express his personality. Consequently, man now took pride in this possession. The discovery of Roman statues could never have caused the discovery of the body in the face of strong and unquestioned Church authority. But, with these bonds loosening, they helped immensely. They demonstrated how simple it was to arrange all conceptions of beauty around man. The universe once more revolved around man and his happiness.

As a creed this was so revolutionary that it could often be expressed only in terms of classical mythology, acted out by classical heroes, gods, and beauties. Yet the old gods were not entirely reinstated; the Bible held its place as the chief source of subject material, even if the Renaissance artists chose other subjects than did their forefathers. The inherent dogmatic value seemed less important to them than the obvious dramatic qualities that could be expressed in figures—preferably nude. One of the most popular subjects of the German Renaissance is the Fall of Man. No other period has given us so many Saint
Sebastians, Judiths (Fig. 12), and Susannas—simply because the subject called for a nude. For the same reason, the Judgment of Paris, Venus, and Lucretia are almost as popular.

SEEKING FOR PERSONALITY

Botticelli thought nothing of using the same model for Venus and the Madonna; both were invested with the realities of everyday and contemporary life and had come close to the painter—once out of oblivion and the other out of Heaven. His Madonna is not above bewilderment, nor is his Venus so very sure of herself—they are human (Figs. 13 and 14). When the monk Savonarola succeeded for a short period in throwing the pleasure-loving people of Florence into a frenzy of penitence, even Botticelli was induced to add his mythological pictures to the pyre of hair ornaments, toilet articles, mirrors, brocades, and games. Savonarola was overzealous when he thought of such poems and pictures as the outcome of heathenish, licentious minds. The artists were simply in search of humanity.

The Greeks would not have understood this. Their faults and enthusiasms were very much of this world; they did not have to look for humanity—they looked for the ideal type. In this the Renaissance artists would not follow their masters; they were after the thrilling variety of individuals. Filippo Lippi dressed his wife—a former nun with whom he had eloped—according to the latest fashion, and she became his Madonna; Raphael discovered the eternal Mother in the strong, kind woman of the people, his Madonna della Sedia; La Bella Simonetta, loved by a Medici and doomed to die of consumption, lent her melancholy beauty to Botticelli’s Venus and Mary. Leonardo tried to fathom a smile; Michelangelo built up a magnificent body, strong and harmonious as only Nature’s masterpiece can be. Yet there is no grand air to the face of his Pietà to satisfy the classical desire for dignity. It is dramatic and quiet at the same time, a combination which no generalization could achieve but which might grace an exceptional individual (Fig. 16).

In Dürer’s self-portrait we find all the characteristics of Renaissance man: the studied effect of one personality on his surroundings, the careful choice of rich details, the exploiting of such beauty as Nature has bestowed on the individual—but above all the man who can think out his own problems and shape himself accordingly (Fig. 1). No wonder Hutten exclaimed: “O century, O sciences, it is a joy to live!”

MEASURING BEAUTY

The artist had to work hard, study, and experiment; but he welcomed the chance. It was not always a simple matter. Signorelli secretly dissected corpses in order to find out how the muscles and sinews are placed. His pictures sometimes look more like anatomical demonstrations than illustrations of some happening (Fig. 15). Dürer, who studied a blade of grass, the petal of a violet, the fur of a rabbit, so minutely that not the least manifestation of natural growth could escape him—Dürer could not be satisfied with a face and a drapery. Questions of proportion were of the utmost importance to his mathematical mind. He measured and calculated, trying to catch beauty in numbers.

To the Italians, beauty came naturally; the north had been so long concerned with the beauty of the soul that an artistic appeal to the senses had to be arrived at by a very roundabout way. They started by faithfully representing what met the eye. Dürer and Cranach did not always choose the most beautiful models, and their relentless naturalism would not stoop to flattery (Fig. 19); but finally, with the help of the Italians, they discovered, which elements go to make a lovely form. They learned the secret of soft flesh over the correct bones.

When stone ceases to be stone, wood to be wood, bronze to be metal, and become skin, hair, or silk; when a figure convincingly expresses its faculty to move—then it cannot be part of architecture. No more rows of figures, alternating with columns to flank a cathedral entrance; the human form will no longer
The Renaissance RedisCOVERS the Human Body

Fig. 11. Lovers and Death, a woodcut by Burgkmair (1510). Greek figures against a perspective of classical buildings enact the timeless story of love and death at its most dramatic moment.

Fig. 12. "Judith," a small alabaster figure by Conrad Meit of Worms. The sword and head of Holofernes not only indicate Judith's identity but also provide an excuse and contrast for exposing the feminine body.

Fig. 13. Head of Madonna, by Botticelli

Fig. 14. Head of Venus, by Botticelli

Trachton says that the wistful face so often painted by Botticelli is that of the lovely Simonetta
Fig. 15. This drawing by Signorelli shows the contrast between the tense muscled of life and the relaxation of lifeless limbs.

Fig. 16. Head of Mary from the "Pieta" by Michelangelo. It is easy to express extreme feelings, but it takes a master to show profound sorrow by pose and restraint.

Fig. 17. View of Toledo, by El Greco (early 17th century). Instead of serving as a backdrop for human dramas, landscape develops its own drama with the dark clouds and greenish light of an approaching storm.

Fig. 18. A nymph from the "Fountain of the Innocents" in Paris, by François Goujon (1549). After drapery had been an end in itself for centuries, as a substitute for the body, it once again becomes form-revealing, an accent on a human figure.
lend itself to structural tasks. A niche, a pedestal, air, and space in which to move, has to be provided for a statue, which is as particular about its personal rights and individual glory as the artist himself (Fig. 4).

COLOR ON ITS OWN

The Middle Ages had thought in masses and movement. Its faith had moved mountains of stone; all details had been caught in the upward surge. The line was independent, it carried the figure, the composition. The Renaissance thought in color and balance, it weighed and measured, and found the golden mean, which prolonged forever the perfection of here and now. The eye of the individual is the arbiter of all art. How does it take in the contrast of dark hair, white skin, jewelry and silks, light and shadow on velvet or skin, the paling of colors at dusk? The colors of Vermeer have a soft glow that absorbs the line; Velasquez places the exquisite little Infanta, all flickering whites and pinks, against the shadowy depths of an interior full of silvery, fugitive tones.

The eye discovers not only the chiaroscuro and indirect lights of the interior but also the subtle shading of colors in the landscape. Nature gave occasional gifts to medieval man—a flower here, a tree there. Renaissance man sees it as a whole. Petrarch was the first to climb a mountain solely to enjoy the vast view; Pope Leo X used to go into the country just to feel Nature around him. The landscape is no longer the view through a window, or a garden enclosure, a bower for lovers. Width and depth challenge to be caught with all their fleeting charms, the moment wants to last (Fig. 17). Such pictures were not painted to order, nor would they exert any moral influence, nor did their subject matter illustrate a well-known truth. They were and are still bought by those who like them, by those who wish to borrow the painter’s eyes.

* * *

With the passing of the Renaissance one of the great circles in the history of European culture was closed. After the easy naturalness of the Greek ideal was lost, Europe turned to the solid satisfaction to be found in formality. Then it tried the power of sheer line and experimented with pigments as a jeweler might try the effect of different colored stones. The Renaissance brought back the realization that, just as man is the creative artist, so man is the chief standard and content of his art. Balance and measure give true freedom, because they are restful and self-contained.

But no experience is ever lost. The soaring strength of the Middle Ages fructified the mobile grace of Goujon’s nymphs on the Fountain of the Innocents in Paris (Fig. 18), no matter how classical they appear. No Renaissance in the narrow sense of the word could possibly have lived long. The infusion of Greek blood alone could not have kept it alive; it needed—and obtained—the heart-blood of the greatest artists of all nationalities, who exchanged, modified, sifted and enlarged the inherited and the newly acquired ideas.
SYNTHESIS

By E. SALVATORE

In times of war we usually think of science only as an aid to war. But it is necessary to turn sometimes to thoughts which reach beyond the war and what immediately concerns it. The following article encourages us to do this; for it deals graphically with a particularly important and successful field of modern scientific research.

The author's training has combined both the theory and practice of science. He began his career as a chemist in the capacity of assistant at the University of Naples, held various scientific positions, and finally specialized in the chemistry of cellulose. In this field he has been active in Italy, France, Argentina, Chile, and the Philippines. At present he is a consulting engineer and chemist in Tokyo. He is the author of many articles on scientific and industrial problems and holds a number of industrial patents.—K.M.

PREHISTORIC CHEMISTS

Many thousands of years ago, perhaps along the coast of Sicily or Africa, men sitting around a fire on a beach observed, on removing the ashes, some hard substance which had not been present on the sand before. This observation would have been without importance if this substance had not been very similar to those used at that time for knives, weapons, and ornaments. The repetition of the phenomenon must have suggested to the ancestors of modern chemists that it was not accidental, and that at high temperatures some correlation existed between ashes and sand. Intentional experiments established the necessary working conditions, and glass was finally produced under technical conditions basically not very different from those in a modern factory. A useful synthesis had been achieved.

Like glass, many other syntheses must have been carried out, especially during the Babylonian, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman civilizations. But the results were all the consequence of occasional observations of facts. Since the dominating aristocracies of those times were interested primarily in art, philosophy and history, technical studies had no academic character and were confined to the activities of the lower classes.

The alchemy of the Middle Ages brought only slight improvement to what had been performed before, since the "theory of transmutation," the "prima materia," the "elixir of life," and many of the other products of superstition and pseudoscience, as well as the magician's manipulations required by them, were lacking in any real scientific principle. Only with the announcement of the principle discovered by the brilliant Italian scientist Avogadro and the later establishment of a system of analysis at the beginning of the last century, did synthesis appear as a logical consequence of theoretical study. The principle of Avogadro led to the determination of molecular weights of elements and, indirectly, of atomic weights. Systematic analysis made it possible to look into the constitution of matter.

THE "FORCE OF LIFE"

The synthesis of urea, carried out by the German scientist Wöhler in 1828, reversed one of the most important theories of that time. It was believed that a mysterious force, the "vis vitalis," was necessary to produce substances of living bodies, the molecules of which are characterized by an enormous aggregate of atoms of carbon bound together with atoms of hydrogen, nitrogen, oxygen, etc. As this mysterious force was not at the
disposal of chemists, matter was divided into inorganic and organic substances, the latter belonging to the vegetable and animal kingdoms. Organic substances could, it was believed, be produced by Nature only. When Wöhler prepared urea from so-called inorganic substances, the difference between organic and inorganic matter began to disappear.

The synthesis of urea was followed by that of many other substances, among them indigo, artificial rubber, pharmaceutical products, etc. Year after year, the number of new products increased and, at present, totals more than 400,000 compounds. As no man, even one endowed with a prodigious memory, could remember all the chemical formulas and the main characteristics of this tremendous amount of compounds, dictionaries like those used for studying language have been adopted.

A large part of these compounds have never existed in Nature as, for instance, most of the modern dyestuffs and explosives, many products of the heavy-chemical industry, medicinal products such as antipyrine, sulfanilamide, Atebrin, etc., and the new elements, of which we shall speak later.

**FIVE SYNTHESES**

The beginning of the twentieth century is characterized by five principal groups of syntheses: the syntheses of ammonia, petroleum, rubber, resins, and artificial fibers. The astonishing results already achieved are of such importance that the world’s economic structure has been greatly affected by them. Of course, these groups of modern syntheses have been made possible only by the countless industrial syntheses developed during the last century, syntheses which no longer evoke our curiosity but without which our modern life, down to the most commonplace object, can hardly be imagined.

But to return to ammonia: there are two fields of human activity that require large quantities of nitrogen—war and agriculture. Before the Great War, the manufacturers of explosives obtained their nitrates from Chile, while agriculture had to rely on organic manure for the replacement of nitrogen in the soil. The exigencies of the last war forced German scientists to develop the process of obtaining nitrogen from the air. War necessity made it possible to build the costly plants and provide the vast energy required for this process. A secondary, but perhaps far more important result, was that agriculture now possesses an added, abundant source of nitrogen.

Much has been said and written in recent years about synthetic petroleum and rubber. We only wish to point out that, in contrast to the huge coal reserves of the world, the known resources of petroleum are, at the rate of prewar consumption, enough for fifty years only. In some of the modern processes of petroleum synthesis, even the most inferior grades of lignite can be utilized.

The significance of the discovery of synthetic resins in the present century has perhaps not as yet been fully realized, possibly because these materials are still considered as substitutes or imitations of ivory, horn, mother-of-pearl, ebony, etc. However, these products have long passed the stage of imitation and are entirely new compounds with special properties. They have found use in all provinces of our modern life, changing our traditions, habits, and standards of life. An innumerable quantity of machine parts has already been produced from them; and in some cases the solution of technical or mechanical problems could probably not have been achieved without these special new synthetics.

In the case of synthetic fibers, the earliest production, known as “artificial silk,” justly held the stigma of imitation, substitution, or adulteration. Gradually, however, as the properties of artificial fibers were improved, they were found very suitable for many purposes, and their use increased. The list of raw materials from which rayon, staple fiber, and artificial wool are produced includes cellulose, linters, casein and, more recently, coal. Although the great mass of fibers still comes from raw materials
known to our ancestors, the sale of rayon, "Nylon," "elastic glass," and similar articles is steadily on the increase. At present, the trend is toward reducing as much as possible the diameter of the basic filaments. In this way, a fiber should finally be obtained which is finer than silk or wool and consequently materials which will be lighter, more insulating, and softer than any textiles known at present.

WAR AND PROGRESS

The war, which is upheaving the world, has not only tremendously increased the output of the chemical industry in every country but has probably developed and enlarged new syntheses for producing those raw materials which, owing to blockades and other difficulties in transportation, cannot now be obtained from their old sources, or new materials useful in the conduct of war. Chemistry is now playing one of the most important roles, and the outcome of the war is very much dependent on the development of the chemical industry. In the present circumstances, modern research and industrial development are being kept as secret as possible. But whatever the character of the chemical development in every country may be, we may hope that, in spite of all the suffering the war will still bring and leave behind, chemical studies and their industrial application will alleviate our lives after the end of the war.

We know, for instance, that many products could not have been produced synthetically in normal times on account of the tremendous cost of the necessary machinery and the difficulties involved in the chemical processes. As such drawbacks must be overcome in war time, the postwar period will be able, under exceptional economic conditions, to utilize new plants and all the experience gained during the war. Even for certain specific products used only in war, there is always the possibility of their being used in peace time, as was the case after the last war. An example of this is phosgene, that very poisonous gas employed in the last war. It seemed at that time as if it would never be used again, whereas actually, on account of the ease with which it can now be produced economically, this gas has been employed since the last war in many industrial syntheses.

RADIOACTIVE ELEMENTS

We know since the beginning of this century that from the spontaneous disintegration of radioactive elements, during which alpha and beta particles are discharged, new series of elements are generated in which each element transforms itself into another, this again into others, and so on until a stable element is reached whose chemical properties are identical with those of lead but whose atomic weight differs slightly from that of common lead. The loss of alpha particles entails a decrease of the atomic weight, whereas the chemical properties of the element remain the same. On the other hand, the loss of beta particles does not cause a change of weight, but the chemical properties of the new element are affected. (For simplicity's sake we shall ignore the gamma particles.)

Among these series of radioactive elements, that of uranium is the most important. From uranium, through the loss of alpha and beta particles, radium is formed which, by further disintegration, forms G-radium, whose atomic weight is 206, but whose chemical properties are identical with those of lead, the atomic weight of which is 207.22. In this way we have passed from the radioactive element uranium to another which is no longer radioactive and which has been identified with common lead, except with regard to its atomic weight.

THE ISOTOPES

The fact that two elements "lead," with identical chemical properties but different atomic weights, could exist, was a surprise, since our conception of an element is that it consists of a material with a definite and absolutely constant weight. This extraordinary discovery led to the supposition that other elements
might also be composed of a mixture of different elements having equal chemical properties but different atomic weights, and experience has confirmed this. We know now that neon, whose atomic weight is 20.2, consists of three elements whose atomic weights are 20, 21, and 22. Chlorine, with an atomic weight of 35.46, consists of two elements whose atomic weights are 35 and 37 respectively. The former represents 70 per cent of the total. Tin (atomic weight 118.70) is formed by ten elements, whose atomic weights go from 112 to 124. Oxygen is formed by three elements whose atomic weights are 16, 17, and 18 respectively. And hydrogen, the atomic weight of which is 1.0078, consists of three elements whose atomic weights are 1, 2, and 3. The first of these represents 99.8 per cent of the total, the second 0.02 per cent, and the last only 0.0000001 per cent.

Elements with similar chemical properties but different atomic weights have been called "isotopes." The discovery of isotopes and of the possibility of separating them from each other allows us to change the character of some existing compounds. For instance, from the isotope of hydrogen, having an atomic weight of 2 (normal hydrogen has 1), scientists have prepared many compounds in their laboratories, such as heavy water, heavy ammoniac, heavy methane, and heavy benzol. The case of heavy water is, from a scientific point of view, especially interesting on account of water being the principal constituent of organic tissues. Its partial or total substitution by heavy water in living organisms has a noticeable effect on the phenomenon of life.

HEAVY WATER

The chemical formula of water is H_2O. This means that the molecule of water consists of 2 atoms of hydrogen and one atom of oxygen. In heavy water, normal hydrogen has been substituted by heavy hydrogen. The new water is therefore heavier than normal water. The different characteristics of normal and heavy water are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Normal Water</th>
<th>Heavy Water</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Density 4°C</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td>1.1066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boiling Point</td>
<td>100°.00</td>
<td>101°.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melting Point</td>
<td>0°.00</td>
<td>3°.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temperature of highest density</td>
<td>4°</td>
<td>11°.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt solubility in 100 parts</td>
<td>35.9 gr.</td>
<td>30.5 gr.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Heavy water is always contained in normal water, including sea water, to the extent of 0.002 per cent. It follows that in living organisms and in our own bodies heavy water must also be present in the same percentage. We do not know as yet what the effect of a total or partial substitution of normal water by heavy water in living organisms would be. At any rate, as it has been found that the activity of reaction differs greatly for these two types of water, it seems logical to suppose that life must be affected by this different activity. Biological research will solve this problem in the future.

If, in addition, we assume the substitution of the normal oxygen of heavy water by its isotope with the atomic weight 1 (the atomic weight of normal oxygen is 16), what would be the nature of such still heavier water be? And what would be its effects on living organisms? Perhaps we shall be able to obtain more resistant organisms, or more active, or longer living ones, characterized by some special qualities which we cannot yet visualize. The life of plants and even of animals may assume a new aspect.

As a result of the most recent research regarding matter, we have found that a new world is looming all around us, a new world which appears no less incomprehensible to our imagination than that which once surrounded primitive man.

PRODUCING NEW ELEMENTS

Until a few years ago it was believed that radioactivity and the disintegration of the atom were spontaneous phenomena...
that man could not provoke. In other words, it seemed certain that man could not transform one element into another. But recent discoveries have shown that it is possible artificially to induce radioactivity in elements which formerly were considered inert or which had no radiating properties. Moreover, it has also become possible to disintegrate atoms and consequently to transform one element into another known element or into a new one not yet listed among the known elements which constitute matter. This means, in a way, that man has already produced new matter, even though so far this has been done only in very small quantities.

Radio-sodium has been produced, whose radioactivity in regard to emanation of gamma rays is double that of radium. This new material is at present being carefully examined in order to make use of it in therapeutical applications. The element beryllium has been transformed into nitrogen, and that again into carbon. Aluminum has been transformed into phosphorus, and that again into silicon. New elements have been produced, such as the element ekarhenium and three others, the atomic weights of which are equal to those of the already known osmium, iridium, and platinum. Studies, discoveries, and syntheses have been actively carried out, leading to the conclusion that every element except hydrogen can be transformed into another known element or into a new one which has never existed before. Thus it is very probable that the new elements can give rise to a new series of elements different from those already produced, and so on. In order to understand how this work has been accomplished, we must consider the constitution of the atom.

According to Bohr, we may imagine the atom as a solar system in which a central nucleus represents the sun and electrons are the planets. The nucleus must be considered as a material mass which is always a multiple of that of the nucleus of hydrogen, while the electrons consist of electric charges only. As in other solar systems, the electrons inescapably rotate around the central nucleus on elliptical orbits which are defined by the speed of the electrons and by the attractions of the system.

Except in radioactive elements, all particles constituting the nucleus, as well as the whole atom, are in perfect and constant equilibrium by means of forces the immensity of which is far beyond our imagination. But when some cause disturbs this equilibrium, one or more of the above-mentioned particles are thrown out into space. The energy liberated thereby is greater, in comparison, than that of the biggest projectiles used in war. These atomic projectiles have been used for disintegrating the atoms of elements, for transforming them into others, or for producing new elements.

It has been said that Nature must have been a very skillful architect to have built up the immense universe surrounding us with the few objects which we call elements. But of late we have learned to carry out on a minute scale some of the work that accomplished by Nature. Of course, in doing this we use the same energy as that which accompanies matter, which matter, according to modern theories, does not differ in its essence from energy. Indeed, nowadays there is no theoretical difference between these expressions.

Recent discoveries have opened a window onto a new world, a world completely different from the one we knew a few years ago. Generally speaking, we were accustomed to consider the terms "world" and "matter" as one and the same. But "matter" no longer has the same meaning as before, nor, as a consequence, has "world." In trying to clarify the ideas of matter and energy, we found that matter and energy are one and the same.

It is impossible to say where the latest discoveries may lead man. But we can surmise extraordinary possibilities. For we know, not only that we can transform matter, as alchemists dreamed of doing, but also that we have begun to produce new matter.
EMPIRE IN THE ANDES

By CRIS NORLUND

Before our eyes new empires are rising, old empires crumbling. More than in less dynamic times have we become interested in the problems, laws, and lessons of empire-building, a topic to which the following article contributes some ideas. The emphasis in this article is placed not on the cultural achievements of the Inca civilization but rather on a lesser known aspect: the formation and organization of the Inca Empire.

The author, a young Dane, has contributed "Europe's North" (October 1942) and the translations of various Scandinavian short stories to this magazine. He studied anthropology for several years at the University of Copenhagen, in particular the development of early American civilizations.—K.M.

WHO WERE THE INCAS?

THOUSANDS of years ago, people, probably of Asiatic origin, crossed from Asia to Alaska and migrated to the Americas, where some of them settled as hunters and fishermen in the northern and northeastern parts of North America, while others moved down into the tropical and subtropical zones of Central and South America.

It was at the dawn of the twelfth century that a comparatively small Indian tribe, belonging to the Quechuan race, migrated from the Bolivian highlands into a smiling, sunny valley in which nestled an insignificant settlement called Cuzco. The immigrants, steeled and strengthened by their strenuous mountain life, quickly crushed the resistance put up by the farming inhabitants of the Cuzco valley and established themselves as masters of the town and surrounding land.

As to the earliest events, we can only guess at them, for no historical records have been preserved (for all their ingenuity the Incas had no writing system except an inadequate device of knotted cords called "quipu"). The numerous contradictory legends only present a picture strongly tinged by fairy-tale-like features. The present-day descendants of the Incas themselves have preserved a story about Manco Capac and his wife Mama Oello, who was also his sister, the custom of marriage between brother and sister being common with the later Incan emperors. These two are said to have originated the worship of the sun among their people, a worship which was later to become the uniting force among the many different peoples of the Inca Empire.

THE CONQUERORS

From now on the new rulers of Cuzco, who called themselves "Inca" (prince of the ruling caste), expanded their territory in all directions until, in the first half of the fifteenth century, the Incan Empire extended from southern Colombia through Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia to southern Chile, and its influence reached even further. A vast region composed of the most diversified forms of land, wild tracts with foaming rivers, large steppes where an icy wind chills the very marrow of one's bones, steaming jungles where the air hangs unirstirred for months on end, and fertile coastal plains where ripe maize colors the pleasant verdure. A territory peopled by different tribes speaking different tongues or dialects and worshiping different deities. The unification of such an empire was a gigantic task. It seemed well-nigh impossible to smelt such dissimilar fragments into a homogenous mass, but the Incas accomplished a master stroke and
succeeded in uniting this welter into a solid, loyal bloc.

Although originally a simple, hardy mountain tribe, the Incas possessed that talent for organization so vital for the creation of an empire. Moreover, their minds were always open to new impressions; and they understood and appreciated those social or cultural improvements met with among the conquered peoples which might be of advantage to themselves, carefully sifting these improvements and adopting what they judged beneficial while stamping out those less convenient traits which might lead to friction between conqueror and conquered or at least deprive the conqueror’s civilization of part of its vigor. The Incas also greatly enhanced their own strength by learning from their predecessors, who had long been extinct or trekked southeastwards but whose megalithic structures had been preserved. To this very day a lonely gateway at Tiahuanaco on the southern edge of Lake Titicaca raises its intricately carved portals as an imposing relic of pre-Inca days.

This structure, more than a thousand years old and one of South America’s oldest remains of prehistoric times, inspired an Inca emperor in the beginning of the thirteenth century to erect grand palaces for himself and temples for the worship of the solar disk. His buildings, which are still standing, show a striking accuracy in the construction of the walls: it is said that the blade of an ordinary pocketknife cannot be thrust between two of the blocks of which the walls consist.

**INCA COLONIAL POLICY**

Thus by studying and learning from past empires and contemporary subjugated peoples the Incas swiftly grew in power and extent, and the reigns of the first eight emperors were spent in enlarging the empire and consolidating their newly acquired lands. In the course of time they gradually assumed the character of a ruling caste rather than a conqueror people, as their name also suggests. Much of the speed with which the Inca Empire grew can be explained by their wise and generous policy toward the conquered peoples. It is, of course, possible that this policy was motivated by sheer selfishness and shrewd reasoning, but at any rate the subjugated peoples benefited enormously from the procedure. Although constantly at war with the barbarians lurking along the frontiers of their empire, the Incas usually tried to include them in their empire through peaceful channels. The one thing they demanded of any conquered or about-to-be-conquered tribe was its submission to the worship of the Sun and to the Inca monarch, whom they regarded as the earthly representative of the Sun. If this peaceful inclusion could not be achieved by diplomacy, war was inevitable. But during most of the wars the Inca rulers were willing to negotiate a peace, as their policy seems to have been faith in peaceful understanding for reciprocal benefit instead of a military threat overshadowing the progress and prosperity of the subdued peoples. One of the early Spanish chroniclers cites the words of an Inca prince: “We must spare our enemies, or it will be our loss, since they and all that belongs to them must soon be ours.”

Some of the policies employed by the Incas were quite remarkable. As soon as the imperial armies had entered a new territory, part of the population was evacuated to another, long-settled region which bore physical traits corresponding to those of the evacuees’ original home, while a group of inhabitants of this older province was moved to the new territory. By means of such skillful exchanges, the Incas secured the rapid adaptation of the new subjects to their status within the empire, because they were tutored by old, loyal subjects of the imperial crown.
LAND OF THE INCAS

Gateway at Titicaca near Lake Titicaca, a monument of pre-Inca days. The Incas greatly improved their own architectural methods after a study of the skillful stonework of this ruin.

A street in Cuzco. The lower part of the wall, of cunningly fitted stones, was reared by the Incas. The upper part is of later (Spanish) construction.

Cuzco, Peru, ancient capital of the Incas. It is the oldest city in South America.
The ruins of Machu Picchu, magnificent border citadel of the Incas. On the eminence on the right stands the temple of the sun. The roofs are gone because they were made of thatch.

INCA

BASTIONS

These well-preserved terraces fed the Inca city of Pisac, the ruins of which lie at the upper right. Similar irrigated hanging gardens supplied food for other cities, including Machu Picchu. The modern town of Pisac lies at the upper left, on the level floor of the valley.

The native and his llama. Both are burden bearers, but the man often has the heavier load, as his proud companion refuses to carry more than just so much.
The Incas themselves, being an almost deified caste, never participated directly in the colonization but left this to their older subjects and, with the exception of a provincial governor, they did not take any hand in the local affairs of the provinces, which were ruled by the curacas. These latter who, before the annexation to the Inca Empire had been tribal chiefs, were immediately sent to Cuzco, the glamorous capital, where they received an education based on the Incan conception of government policy, after which they returned to their own lands. By thus honoring the chiefs and giving them a position of the same rank as they had held before, the emperors wisely secured for themselves the gratitude and loyalty of the conquered tribal chiefs.

The large-scale evacuations were also effected in the case of uprisings which, however, seldom occurred; then the rebels would be moved to another geographically similar region to cool down among the faithful subjects of that area. The spreading of epidemics could also be checked to a certain extent by such measures. The Incas acquired an amazing knowledge of geographical factors and knew every detail of the topography of any tract within the empire, which was reproduced in plastic maps of colored clay.

COMMON LANGUAGE AND RELIGION

The conquerors did not interfere with local customs and usages, but upon capture of a territory they proceeded to establish their religion and language among the new afflux. These two measures were the most ingenious devices ever thought of by the Incas in their colonization policy. With noteworthy foresight they reasoned that nothing unites different peoples so closely as a common language and a common religion. No other conquering nations had so clearly understood the importance of this. In the ancient world, the Egyptian, Babylonian, or Persian languages had, each within its sphere of interest, concerned mostly the learned and the court circles; the subjugated nations of all these empires continued as a whole to speak their own tongues, thus preventing any approach—material or spiritual—to their conquerors from taking place. The Incas foresaw such an alienation, which might grow into a strong disruptive force of great danger to their sovereignty, and found the common language to be the convenient binding factor for the heterogeneous elements of which the empire was composed. The population of newly conquered regions was instructed in the Inca language—Quechua, the richest of the South American Indian dialects—by the older subjects of the empire; while the curaca, his sons, and other high-ranking personalities were invited to stay in the capital for a lengthy period till they mastered Quechua.

Simultaneously, temples of the sun were erected everywhere for the proper execution of sacrifices and rituals; for the Incas also realized the unifying force procured by a common religion. The ability of religion to amalgamate different peoples into an entity has been exploited by the Mohammedans, whose civilization was spread over vast territories stretching from Spain to northern India by the cohesive qualities of religion, and even today Islam is a mighty factor in the political life of North Africa and the Levant. But the Incas knew no civilization but their own, probably not even that of the contemporary Aztecs, and it is therefore all the more admirable that, uninfluenced, they visualized the importance of common language and religion. Although the worship of the sun was declared compulsory for all tribes within the empire, the various local deity images were not demolished or even scorned but were transferred to Cuzco, where they adorned the Incan pantheon in company with the minor gods of other conquered peoples. This merciful procedure is in striking contrast to the fierce methods of the Moors, for example.

EXCELLENT NATIONAL DEFENSE SYSTEM

The larger the empire grew, the safer did its center feel. Cuzco lay secure in
a fertile valley walled in on all sides by steep mountains, and the prosperity of the nucleus of the empire, i.e., Peru, increased with every year. But, in order to ensure this, the frontiers had to be constantly guarded against invasion attempts or looting raids staged by barbarian mountain or jungle tribes, who were eagerly on the lookout for the least slackening of the Incan defense system. The army of the Incas, which at the zenith of the empire totaled 250,000 men, was levied from each province but in various proportions, those tribes who led a strenuous mountain life and were thus physically stronger being tapped more than the less hardy coastal people. In the military school the candidates underwent a thorough physical and mental examination, whereupon they were admitted to the gymnastic exercises. After a long training in boxing, wrestling, running, etc., the new soldiers were sent out to fight: there was always need of them at some frontier or other.

The army could be moved and different sections quickly joined along magnificent paved roads which wound their way serpentlike through the mountains or, when conditions required, were converted into staircases crawling up the towering Andes. The news that barbarians had broken through the defense ring around the empire was brought to the capital by swift-footed messengers whose allotted running distance was of such a length as to allow them to move at top speed all the time; at the end of each lap was a relaying post where the quipu containing the dreaded news was immediately picked up by a fresh runner, thus saving considerable time. In the case of war it was very common to convey the news still faster by means of fire signals from one mountain peak to another.

In addition to these relaying posts, also used by marching troops for short rests, the roads were edged by silos and storehouses for food and equipment for the army on the march—an ingenious idea of the Incas, who thought that, since the clothes, arms, and food of the soldiers were produced by the peasantry, it was no more than natural that an army on the march should cross the countryside without in the least molesting the daily routine of the civilian population. This is yet another instance of the government’s tact, understanding, and appreciation of the peasant’s contributions to the imperial machinery.

If consideration was shown the peasants, measures were also taken to ease the life of the soldiers. As in the case of the couriers, each étape of the march was short enough to prevent the soldiers from becoming exhausted, and refreshment awaited the thirsty warriors at every resting place. Another means of relieving the soldiers stationed in the torrid coastal areas was to have a division posted at the coast for only a short period, after which it would be sent back to the mountains to recuperate while another took up the garrison in the lowlands. Mountaineers have very large lungs because of the thin air in the highlands and easily get out of breath in zones where the atmospheric pressure is greater. While some of the soldiers garrisoned in the lowlands were levied from the local people accustomed to the climate, the greater part of them—as of the whole army—consisted of mountain folk, as these usually make better soldiers.

RULERS AND RULED

The population of the Incan Empire could be divided into two camps: the subjugated peoples and their Incan rulers. The Incas were originally a mountain tribe with but little agriculture. They possessed herds of llamas which gave them wool for clothes, milk, and meat. Outwardly they were not in the least different from any other South American Andes tribe, but their higher intelligence and unique talent for organization were destined to secure them a dominant position.

Passing from the status of a people to that of a caste, they seized the power and held it, all Incas occupying high posts as governors, army leaders, priests, or courtiers. As only the Incas were accorded the right to polygamy, the royal
families grew enormously: but so did the empire, and there was no Inca without an office. No Inca occupied a small post, and no Inca paid taxes. The subjugated peoples were the taxpayers but, as money was unknown to the Peruvian civilization, all trade was carried on and all taxes were paid by barter. (Even today market women may be seen in remote villages bartering potatoes for llama haunches.) If the taxpayer was unable to pay in the form of field produce, he was consigned to a fixed period of manual labor on roads or irrigation terraces (which sheltered much of the cultivated patches of land) and in this way paid off his taxes.

**INTRICATE ADMINISTRATION**

An unusual feature of the system was that of dividing up the whole heterogeneous community into large and small units. The name of “Peru,” for instance, is an application used by the first Spaniards to visit that country, while the Inca Empire was known to the different Indian tribes populating it as “Taxantin-suyu” (four quarters of the world). This name originated from the idea of partitioning the empire into four provinces, each of which had its subdesignation and was intersected by one of the four roads that led to Cuzco, which city likewise consisted of four sections. Here, although different tribes from remote regions thronged the bustling streets or crowded temple yards, it was always easy to distinguish between them, because each tribe maintained its national costume—another consideration on the part of the subjugators—to smooth the abrupt transfer from wild mountainous freedom to tamed city confinement.

The supreme administrator of each of these four provinces was a viceroy, recruited from the Inca caste. He ruled jointly with a council composed of men from the various tribes inhabiting the province who were familiar with conditions within the different sections whence they hailed. The various departments of the council supervised the different sections of the administration like any other council: the Health Department, Food Department, Police Department, etc. It conducted all affairs pertaining to the province as a whole. The viceroy spent a large part of the year in Cuzco where, together with his three colleagues, he formed a sort of council of state to the monarch.

Next the empire was portioned out into bodies of 10,000 inhabitants each. Each of these bodies was ruled by a governor, also of Inca stock, whose office—like those of all Incas—was hereditary. Each governor was supreme in his sphere of activity but responsible to the emperor. The latter, however, devoted most of his time to religious ceremonies and to the army, whose commander in chief he was. Under the governor’s supervision stood the curaca, the former tribal chief, who had benefited from a thorough education in the capital, where his ability and loyalty had been tested.

Finally the nation was split up into bodies of 1,000, 500, 100, 50, and 10; each of these units was governed in small matters by a local person of authority whose duty it was to see to it that all the rest performed their daily tasks satisfactorily and that they prospered individually. The heads enjoyed certain privileges, for example lower taxes, but were, on the other hand, subject to severe punishment if they failed in their duties. Thus if a man stole some valuables out of sheer greed, he was, of course, punished; had he, however, stolen food because he was hungry, the supervisor of the unit to which the thief belonged was duly chastised because he was held responsible for the conditions which had forced the man to commit his theft.

Slight offenses were sentenced by the magistrates of each body, while the more serious criminal cases were turned over to the governor of the department or to the royal judges in Cuzco who, by royal decree, had to pass sentence within five days of the day on which the crime had been committed. To inquire into the welfare of the common people as
well as the conduct of officials, a committee traveled from time to time through the empire, recording the results of its investigations in quipu—the knotted-string system.

**OWNERSHIP OF LAND**

A people living in subjugation, even if a beneficial one, with neither trade nor money, the Incan imperial bloc had few laws except those pertaining to crime and property—the latter in the sense of land. From an economic standpoint the empire was divided into three parts of property: one belonging to the sun, one to the emperor, and one to the people. The lands of the sun supported the priesthood and temples with everything pertaining to the services, while the emperor’s property furnished him with his court pomp and the salaries for his high officials and military leaders. On the property of the common folk, each family was allotted its own land, on which its members labored for their own benefit, but they were also obliged to attend to the lands of the sun and the emperor. The size of the allotted area varied in proportion to the size of the family: when a child was born, the family’s area was enlarged, twice as much in the case of a boy as in that of a girl. At the end of the year a revision of the area would take place, and the lands were re-allotted for the coming year with due consideration for the family’s increase or decrease.

The llama herds of the Andes belonged exclusively to the sun and the emperor, whose officials supplied each family with wool—according to the number of household members—from which they made their clothes. Minerals and mines were the emperor’s private property and were supervised by local people familiar with the output of the mines within their district. At intervals, reports were made and statistics compiled to show the surplus of mine yields and agriculture. This surplus was then stored up in huge silos for preservation until adverse periods, when it was rationed out to the people.

**SOCIAL CONDITIONS**

Owing to the Incan colonial policy, the social and economic structure of the community prevented the individual from enriching himself by endurance and diligence or from ascending the social ladder. This fact in itself harbored the danger of indifference or sheer laziness permeating the mind. Why toil and sweat when you have nothing to gain by it? The more so a nobody suffered from any lack of essential commodities, thanks to the government’s foresight, which had the silos filled up to the roof in good years. The government adopted a patriarchal attitude toward the people which resulted in a far-reaching interference in the private sphere. The family, the community, the state, in other words the plurality, formed the essential unit in the Incan policy. Marriage was obligatory, for example, but nobody was allowed to marry or settle outside his district.

Eventually the Incan Empire reached a state of maturity and equilibrium which caused it to lose its earlier youthful strength. In the middle of the sixteenth century it succumbed to the onslaught of the dynamic, ambitious, and ruthless Spanish conquistadors. The empire of the Incas vanished, leaving to the world a material heritage of potatoes, maize, cocoa, and tobacco. But the ruins of its temples and palaces still testify to its glory, and in the pages of history it lives on as an example of wise and enlightened empire-building.
The Chinese are known to be great connoisseurs of life. In 4,000 years of history, they have developed the enjoyment of living into a fine art which even the less prosperous among them know how to practice. One phase is traced by the pen of Mr. Wu Ming (伍銘) and the brush of Sapajou in the following pages.—K. M.

IN spite of the fact that there are growing numbers of people in this country who have or pretend to have cultivated a fondness for Lipton’s tea—with milk and sugar added, of course—in preference to the much finer specimens of the beverage to be procured in their own country, the Chinese as a nation nevertheless remain unrivaled as the greatest tea drinkers in the world. Tea-drinking with the Chinese is indeed at once both an art and a science not likewise cultivated or even understood in any other country.

In the matter of wine-drinking, however, it is difficult to put the Chinese in their proper place. It cannot be said that individually there are among the Chinese no great drinkers, nor is it true that collectively the Chinese are rather inclined toward temperance. Wine-drinking, in point of fact, is quite common in the country, but the people are not conspicuously noted for it. One opinion, given by a literary man of the past and recently transmitted to the English reading public by a famous writer of the present, is that “great drinkers of tea are not fond of wine, and vice versa.” This theory is, however, not conclusive; for, although in support of it many instances have been given of connoisseurs of tea who drink little or no wine, there has been no evidence to show that, on the other hand, great connoisseurs of wine showed any aversion toward tea. From our way of looking at it, the trouble is that, of the two beverages, tea has been given a higher place of honor than wine, and matters related to the latter drink have paled into comparative insignificance in the face of the more important and perhaps less harmful beverage, tea.

IMPERIAL REVELERS

At any rate, wine came into Chinese life at a very early date. It is recorded that during the reign of the great Emperor Yu, who, in 2205 B.C., founded the first regular Chinese dynasty, the Hsia, there was among his court officials one I Ti, who succeeded in producing a kind of wine, which was offered to his imperial master. The great Yu tasted of this new beverage, and so greatly alarmed was he with the pleasure-giving qualities of
the wine that he, great sage that he was, exclaimed: “In after ages, there will be sovereigns who will forfeit their empires through overindulgence in this beverage called wine.” He immediately dismissed the poor official from his favor and himself abstained from further indulgence in the drink.

Unfortunately, the example of the great and wise emperor was not always or universally followed, and his prophecy was to come true—on more than one occasion. The first person who was to prove the truth of his words was one of his own scions, the last ruler of the great dynasty he founded. This sovereign, Chien Kuei, reigned from 1181 to 1766 B.C. and is now regarded as one of the most infamous characters in Chinese history. He “built terraces for which his people were forced to give their services, and his country’s wealth was fully exhausted; dug a canal which was filled with wine and lined its banks with distiller’s grain; and there indulged in pleasures of extravagance and waste.”

A revolution resulted in his abdication and the establishment of the Shang dynasty in 1766 B.C.

Of course, it must be assumed that the circumstances which led to the collapse of these dynasties were necessarily more complex than those described here. But it has been pointed out that indulgence in wine was the root of all subsequent evils, and that, in a word, wine was responsible for the downfall of the two infamous rulers. This lesson was not lost sight of by the founders of the Hsia dynasty (1122 to 255 B.C.), which succeeded the Shang. One of the first acts of the new dynasty was the issue of a ban against wine.

INCREDIBLE CAPACITY

Nevertheless, wine has come into Chinese life, and come to stay. Through the ages of Chinese history are to be found drinkers among all ranks and in all places. The greatest drinker in the country, from the viewpoint of capacity, appears to have been one called Chunyu Kung. In reply to a question from the Emperor about his wine capacity, he is stated to have said:

I am drunk after the first tou, but I may also not be drunk until after the full shih. . . . On the occasion of a feast in the presence of Your Gracious Majesty, with court officials around, I am filled with awe and, drinking with my body prostrate, I am fully drunk after the first tou.

When my father entertains a guest, and I wait on their table with reverence and respect, drinking to their health now and then with wine from the table given to me, I become intoxicated after about two tou.

On meeting a friend I have not seen for some time, and talking over old times over a friendly meal, I become less restrained, and it will take five or six tou of wine to get me drunk.

At a party of friends to which men and women are gathered to enjoy themselves with chatter and wine games, I feel a sense of elation in such jovial company and can drink at least eight tou of wine.

But when a number of close friends gather at a late hour for a party where all restraint is removed and male and female guests mingle freely and unceremoniously until far into the night, when my hostess sends away all her guests except me,
to stay over the night, I become filled with happiness, and can drink at least another shih.

Now one tou of wine is calculated to equal over twenty catties or three gallons, so that one shih would be some two hundred catties or thirty gallons. It seems incredible that such a quantity of wine can be consumed by anyone, and the literal accuracy of the report has thus been doubted. It has, however, been pointed out in support of the truth of this record that in ancient China wine-drinking was undertaken in a manner different from modern times. Instead of having wine prepared in liquid form for the table, distiller's grain was served, and the drinker had himself to squeeze the liquid out of the grain for his drink.

Thus one tou or shih of wine really meant that quantity of distiller's grain, so that consequently the capacity attributed to the great drinker is much less incredible. Indeed, in descriptions of wine in old Chinese texts one always comes across the term "extracting wine." One of the usual methods employed in wine-extraction was to cover the distiller's grain with reeds and then to squeeze the liquid out of the grain. For this reason, reeds were in ancient days an essential part of the paraphernalia used in the offering of sacrifices, they being as necessary as cups to the enjoyment of the wine offered in sacrifices.

WINE-BIBBING POETS

The most famous of all Chinese drinkers was, of course, Li Po, usually accepted as the greatest of Chinese poets. Indeed, both Li and Tu Fu, close friends in life and close rivals to the claim of first place among Chinese poets in posterity, were addicted to drink. But though there may be differences of opinion as to who was the greater poet, opinion is unanimous as to Li being the greater drinker. Indeed, it was Tu Fu himself who immortalized Li the drinker in the following well-known verse:

A gallon of wine Li Po drinks,
A hundred verses flow from his pen.
About the streets of Chang An he roams,
Tired, he makes the wine house his home.
Drunk, the Royal Barge he would not ascend,
Though to him they brought the King's command.
"Pray tell His Majesty this for me:
I'm drunk as a god, and as happy."

Li Po was subsequently known as the "wine god," or "wine immortal," and, as is well known, died the death of a poet and a drinker by jumping, after a heavy bout of drinking, into the water in pursuit of the reflection of the moon.

Another interesting poet-drinker was Liu Ling, who lived in the third century A.D., one of a group of seven hard-drinking scholars who formed a club called the "Bamboo Grove" and were subsequently honored as the "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove." Liu Ling appears to have been the greatest drinker among the group, if not the best scholar. He always went about with wine and had a servant accompanying him carrying a spade; for the servant had orders to bury him where he lay should he fall dead from excessive drink, which, fortunately, he did not. Chiefly because of his drinking, his marriage was not a successful one, and in one of his compositions Liu Ling proffered the advice that it behooves a gentleman to pay no attention to the words of a nagging wife, particularly, of course, if she insists on complaining against one's drinking.

We shall only refer to one more poet-drinker, Tao Yuan-ming, famous for his love of simple life and his mania for chrysanthemums. He had such a fondness for wine that, as an official, he attempted to plant all the government fields with glutinous rice from which wine might be made. After retirement, he gave him-
self up even more to drinking and was hardly sober for a day unless his own wine was exhausted or he had no friends who could offer him a drink. Visitors to his house, on the other hand, were one and all invariably entertained with wine. Once a friend made him a present of twenty thousand cash, which money he immediately turned over, in full, to his wine merchant as a deposit against future purchases. At another time, he was invited to a meeting of prominent scholars at a Buddhist monastery, and he accepted the invitation only on the condition that he would be permitted to drink wine in the sacred place.

**"HAVE A LITTLE DRINK"**

As on practically every other social issue, there are, generally speaking, three opinions on wine-drinking: in favor of total abstinence, of moderation, and of full indulgence. Apart from consideration of such dire consequences as the collapse of empires referred to in the beginning of this article, the case for supporters of total abstinence from drink was neatly formulated by a Chinese writer in the following epigram:

> A little drink avails one of nothing.  
> And what does excessive drinking avail?  
> When one has some proper business to attend to,  
> a drink interferes with his plans.  
> But where there was no trouble of any sort existing, a drink can be counted on to produce some trouble soon.

Moderation in drinking is, of course, sane advice and in keeping with the general principle of the Doctrine of the Mean. Moderation in drinking is, indeed, the advice of all sages and great scholars if they had occasion to refer to drinking, unless they themselves happened to be hard drinkers. The general consensus of opinion is that a little drink is a good thing, particularly to promote friendship and on occasions of festivity. There are special “occasions” when a little drink is in order, or even needed. The opinion of one writer on such occasions for a “little drinking” is as follows:

> When rare flowers blossom, have a little drink.  
> When a bosom friend calls and is making a short sojourn, have a little drink. When you propose to proceed outdoors during very cold weather, have a little drink. When you are very hungry, and the partaking of heavy food at once is inadvisable, have a little drink. When rare wine is available, have a little drink. Follow the above rules, and you have mastered the art of drinking.

**"LET US BE DRUNK"**

But the real drinker will not be satisfied with half measures and does not call it a day until his limit is reached, or until he is dead drunk. To get drunk, in the opinion of by far the majority of drinkers, is one of the greatest pleasures of life; and why should one start to drink at all if one fails to attain that state of blissfulness of being completely drunk? As one writer said:

> Wine may be compared to soldiers. A state may not have occasion to call on the services of its army for a thousand days, but it cannot afford to be without a standing army for a single day. Likewise a man may not taste of wine for a thousand days, but he cannot afford to remain sober on a single drinking occasion.

The pleasures to be derived from drunkenness have from time immemorial induced people to seek in the cup an escape from their moments of sorrow. Wine therefore affords people a means to tear themselves from their worries. We have the saying which states: “Be drunk but once, and a thousand sorrows are swept away.” There is also the well-known couplet which runs:

> We have wine today, let us be drunk;  
> The worries are for the morrow, let them then come.

One of the most famous poets composed a line to the effect that the “quality of a wine is measured by its ability to banish sorrow.” But such a desired result can only be obtained by getting completely drunk. Otherwise the very opposite may...
be achieved, as it is said of him who "tries to banish his sorrows with wine, but only finds more sorrows heaped upon himself instead."

THE WATER OF SHAO SHING

One of the reasons which tend to lower the prestige of the Chinese people as wine drinkers is the complete lack of variety in their wines. As a matter of fact, only two kinds of wine may be counted, that made from rice and the liquor distilled from kaoliang. There are also a number of "medicinal wines," which are merely wines to which certain medicinal preparations are added. The only variety is the place of origin of the wine, and certain wines are better than others because of the better method of production, greater age, or the better quality of ingredients available at the place of production.

Water, for instance, is one of the most important factors that go to make the quality of a wine, and it is chiefly because of the superior quality of the water that the principal wine-producing districts have come into existence. One of these districts is Ts'ang Chow, in Hopeh province, and there is an interesting legend attached to the special wine-manufacturing quality of the water there. As the story goes, toward the end of the Ming dynasty a wine shop in that city and bordering on the river was one day visited by three old men, who drank till they were drunk and left without paying for the wine. The next day the trio called again, and the wine-shop keeper, being of a genial disposition, did not refer to their irregular conduct on the previous day. This time, after getting drunk, the old men threw what was left of their wine into the river and left again without paying. The old men were not seen again, but from that moment the water in the river showed a change in quality and was found to be excellent for the making of wine.

Of an even better quality is the water of the Shaoshing district in Chekiang. For this reason Shaoshing wine has become the best and most popular in China and is virtually the standard alcoholic beverage in this country. When we think of Shaoshing, we think at once of its wine. When we talk of wine, we mean only that from Shaoshing. As wine matures with age, one of the best brands of Shaoshing wine is that known as "Maiden's Wine." This name is derived from the practice prevalent in the district of parents preparing a wine on the birth of a daughter and keeping it until her marriage, when the wine forms part of her trousseau. The wine thus attains an age of at least twenty years or so. The jar containing such wine is beautifully decorated, and hence the wine is called hua t'iao, which means "florally decorated." At present, however, the term hua t'iao is loosely applied to all the better varieties of Shaoshing wine.

GOOD HOSTS AND BAD WINES

Coming to the actual art of wine-drinking, we may, broadly speaking, consider the matter under two categories, that of drinking at a party or feast and that of drinking for the drink alone. A Chinese wine party, whether held in a restaurant or at home, is conspicuous by the abundance of noise. This is due to two reasons. First, it is the prevalent practice of the host to force his guests to drink as much as they can be forced to do and, more often than not, beyond their capacity. The second cause lies in the popularity of that Chinese wine game of finger-guessing, in which two persons put out a certain number of fingers at each other, at the same time shouting out what each guesses to be the total number of fingers put up by both.
Various people have from time to time voiced their disapproval of both these practices. A host naturally wants his guests to enjoy his party, and in persuading them to have more drinks he is considered to have acted out of a proper sense of duty. But when the action is carried to such a point as to make a guest get drunk and suffer therefore, the good motive becomes a bad one. Another explanation given—we do not know whether in good faith or in jest—for this behavior of a host is that he has no good wine to serve and is attempting to coax them to drink the inferior one offered. For would it be necessary to force one to drink the wine that is really good? As one writer puts it:

One of the calamities of life is to be present at a feast where the wine served is so bad as to taste like poison, while on the other hand the host is so sincere and respectful that you simply have to sit through the party and accept his kind offers to partake of more and more of the wine.

THREE GHOSTS

As to guessing fingers, the game as usually played is very rough and can sometimes become dangerously uncomfortable for one who happens to have the two opponents of the game sitting on either side of him. Then again the method of award, or penalty, is unfair, as it is the custom for the loser in the game to take a drink. Now the wine is something offered by the host to his guests and, in theory at least, is something pleasant. As such, it should be given as an award to the winner and not as a "penalty" to the loser, which would imply a slight on the quality of mine host’s wine.

Before leaving the subject of wine parties, it is appropriate to relate here a little legend which sets out to explain the vociferous nature of such gatherings. According to this story, when Tu Kang (the popularly accredited Chinese inventor of wine) first produced his drink, he had a group of friends to sample his achievement. While the latent qualities of the beverage were generally acknowledged, it was felt something was still wanting. Somebody proffered the suggestion that human blood might be added. Taking the advice, Tu Kang went out, met a scholar, and killed him outright for his blood, which he added to his wine. There was an improvement, but perfection was yet to come. Next he went out and met a ferocious pugilist whom he likewise killed, and whose blood also went into the mixture. Yet another person, a poor and shivering beggar, was similarly sacrificed for his blood. And the wine was perfected! But the ghosts of the three martyrs could not forget their contribution to the product and still continue to hover over wine parties. The scholar appears first, and under his influence the party usually starts in a gentle leisurely manner, with everybody remaining most polite to everyone else. Next comes the pugilist, and the influence of this ghost accounts for the vociferous and quarrelsome nature of the party as the feast progresses. Finally the beggar appears, and the guests, drunk and their vigor spent, become exhausted, spiritless, and shivering.

THE WINE SHOP

Wine-drinking, however, only forms a part of a wine party or feast. There is still the other part of feasting, namely, eating. It is difficult to say which is the more important. Some think that there is wine at a feast because the food is too good to be eaten without wine, while others think that the food is there because the wine is too good to be drunk without food. Whether the wine or the food is the principal object of a person attending a feast depends, of course, on whether he is a connoisseur of wine or an epicure—and it is possible in some cases that he is both. But the real drinker, the man who drinks wine for the sake of wine and of drinking, does not get real
satisfaction from a feast. For him it is the wine shop where he can satisfy his thirst without having to bother about food and ceremony and hosts and finger-guessing contestants.

Now by a wine shop we do not mean a restaurant. It is true that many wine shops, in an effort to keep up with the times, have developed their business and are not much different from restaurants catering both to the wine drinker and the eater. But there are still many wine shops of the old school which have held fast to their traditions and remained loyal to their clientele of drinkers. In this connection it has been remarked that the Chinese counterpart of the Western bar, or public house, is the teahouse. This statement is true in that the teahouse is to the Chinese what the public house is to the English. But this does not alter the fact that there are also places in this country where one can go for his daily pint.

We have said that the real drinker always goes to a wine shop. More than half of the customers of any wine shop are friends of old standing ranging from ten to thirty years. So loyal are these drinkers to the wine shop that, if they have occasion to give a feast, they have wine brought from their own wine shop, even though better wine may be procurable from the restaurant where the feast is given.

These wine shops of which we speak are spread over the whole city (we are talking of Shanghai, of course) and are almost identical with one another. They are not much to look at, and there is none of the modern decoration and air-conditioning systems of the fashionable Cantonese or Szechwanese restaurants. In front of the shop is the counter where wine is sold to those who want to buy some for their home or for a party in some restaurant. Bottles and jars are everywhere in evidence. Then there is the stove where wine is heated—and the heating of Shaoxing wine, incidentally, is an art cultivated by the keepers of a wine shop in a way unrivaled by those of restaurants. Behind is the parlor and principal hall where drinks are served. The furniture is old-fashioned and, more often than not, dilapidated. In some houses, a similar hall is kept on the upper floor, where more tidiness is in evidence. But, curiously enough, the best wine shops (by which we mean those establishments whose wines are considered the best) usually only keep a drinking parlor on the ground floor. Where both floors are open for drinking, the acknowledged drinkers always prefer the lower floor, which is always the less neatly kept of the two.

A SOLEMN ROUTINE

To such a wine shop the Chinese wine drinker goes in the evening—at any time from four in the afternoon to nine at night—coming from his office or from his home. The waiter comes and lays the drinking paraphernalia on his table, no questions being necessary, as he is an old customer and his particular variety, his capacity, as well as the way he wants his wine heated, are already well known. He does not need much food to go with his wine—for he comes here to drink—and may take some beans or ground-nuts, or some slices of the lotus-plant root (which is the best thing to eat with wine in summer). These are the few things available in the wine shop—if it is really an orthodox and, for that reason, a first-class one. If none of these things is to his liking, he may buy something from the hawkers who flit in and out of wine houses, carrying baskets of foodstuffs for sale. In this connection, one of the things which are growing popular
with wine drinkers in wine shops is the potato chip, which illustrates the ingenuity of the Chinese in incorporating a foreign commodity into their own life.

Other drinkers will be coming into the wine house. The faces are mostly familiar to one another, and the same are to be found there almost every day. Acquaintances may have been struck up, and it is also possible that two persons sitting at adjacent tables in the wine shop for about ten years do not know each other beyond their respective identities. There may be a little casual conversation, but no serious matters will be discussed. Occasionally, fast friendships may be made in the wine shop.

But the main object of the visit to the wine shop is to drink. Other matters are but incidental. Wine is priced by the catty and is served in pewter jugs by the half or quarter catty, so that the proper temperature of the wine may be preserved. The average capacity of an ordinary drinker is about two catties, but it is not at all uncommon to see people finishing five catties at a sitting and being none the worse for it. When the drink is over, some food may be ordered from a near-by restaurant, or the drinker may go home for his dinner. Or, if he happens to come at a late hour, he may have already had his dinner at home. He then pays the bill or, if he has an account, has the amount entered in his passbook and leaves the wine shop a happy (and sometimes drunk) man—to come again the next afternoon.

IMPORTANT NOTICE TO OUR READERS

Owing to the heavy increase in the prices of paper and printing in Shanghai, and in an endeavor to keep the price of our magazine within reasonable limits, we have decided to publish our regular edition as from October 1 on a different quality paper, i.e., the best grade of Swedish imported common printing paper. A limited edition will be published on white bond paper and will be available at a special price.

We shall continue to reproduce our photographs in both types of issue on the same quality art paper as used at present.

Starting with the October issue, the rates will be as follows:

**Regular Edition**

Shanghai, Central, and South China: Single Copy C.R.B. $15.00—Annual Subscription C.R.B. $180.00 (including postage. 2½%, Retail Sales Tax extra)

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THE WINDOW

A NEW SET

Poland has become the touchstone of Allied solidarity. The example of the Polish question has revealed to the world with particular clarity how divergent are the war aims of the nations fighting on the Allied side and to what extent the wishes of Moscow, the Poles, and the Anglo-Americans cross or even exclude each other. If in the following pages we discuss the Polish émigré government, it is not because we concede any importance to the European émigrés, but because the development of this government is indicative of the political game in the Allied camp, where one partner, the USSR, expects to swallow Poland in one way or another, while the Anglo-Americans wish to preserve her as a barrier against Soviet expansion.

When the Polish Premier, General Sikorski, who had incurred Moscow's displeasure by his attitude toward the Katyn murders, lost his life in suspicious circumstances on July 4, the path was freed for a new cabinet. Who are its members? We have asked the author of the article "The Tragic Road of Poland" (June 1943), who is well acquainted with the leading Polish figures, to analyze this new émigré government.—K.M.

Let us begin with the three most important results of our examination of the composition of the new Polish cabinet:

(1) Although this so-called cabinet contains a few well-known personalities with political experience and a certain professional competence, there is not a single outstanding head, not a single political authority, with recognized qualities of leadership. Thus the cabinet does not include General Kazimierz Sosnkowski. General Sosnkowski is probably the most capable officer among the followers of Marshal Pilsudski. He is the man who loyally shared Pilsudski's detention in the fortress of Magdeburg during the last few years of the Great War and on whom rested the hopes of the Polish officers' corps after the death of the Marshal. His quiet reserve and his military ability were far more esteemed than the amateurish, politically ambitious manner of General Rydz-Smigly, who surprised everybody by being appointed Pilsudski's successor and who, in the decisive year of 1939, failed utterly, first in the political sphere and then on the battlefield. General Sosnkowski, who was the only Polish commander to reveal great ability during the Polish campaign of 1939, when he defended Lemberg, has now been condemned practically to insignificance. Although he is Commander in Chief of the Polish Army, the greater part of this army is in the Near East, while his activities must be carried out in London.

ANTI-PILSUDSKI AND LEFTIST

(2) Like its predecessor, the new cabinet is pronouncedly anti-Pilsudskiist. Its leading members belong to the "Morges Front," called after the little place on the Lake of Geneva in which stood the villa of the pianist Paderewski. It was here that during the thirties the Polish anti-Pilsudski elements collected, divergent as their individual interests and party inclinations may have been, to collaborate in utterly fruitless political opposition work under the personal authority of Paderewski and Sikorski, both of whom are now dead. It is not to be expected that the new "Morges Front" cabinet will be able to produce any better results without Sikorski.

(3) The key positions in the new cabinet are occupied by men who may be called leftist. But this fact in itself is not enough to permit the conclusion that the cabinet is for that reason regarded with more favor by Moscow.

THE MEN

Premier Mikolajczyk, Vice-Premier in the Sikorski Cabinet, is a peasant from Galicia. He was at one time the secretary of the peasant leader and former Premier Witos, who was persecuted by Pilsudski and had to go into exile. Mikolajczyk later belonged
to the left wing of the agricultural People's Party. He is a man inclined to compromise and cannot be denied a certain peasant shrewdness.

His deputy in the cabinet is Kwapiszki, a member of the Polish Social Democrats and former Lord Mayor of the large industrial city of Lodz (now called Litzmannstadt). In this latter capacity he showed considerable administrative talent, and he is superior to Mikolajczik both in knowledge and character.

The agricultural People's Party has two more representatives in the cabinet. Stanislaw Kot, who, according to some reports, has been made Minister of the Interior and, according to others, Minister of Information, belonged to this group's right wing, which was for co-operation with the Pilsudski Government; he knows the Soviet Union quite well, since he represented his Government there up to September 1939. Karol Popiel was Acting President of the People's Party and a crony of Witos; he has been given the high-sounding office of "Minister for the Preparation of the Future Administration of Poland." A Marxist has been appointed to the office of Labor Minister: Jan Stanczyk was a labor leader in Upper Silesia.

The new Foreign Minister Count Romer inclines politically toward a small but socially influential party group, the Christian Democrats. In 1919 he took part in the Paris peace negotiations and in the signing of the Treaty of Versailles as secretary of the Polish Foreign Minister. Later he was made Minister to Portugal, Ambassador in Tokyo (1937), and finally Ambassador in Moscow, from where he was expelled after the rupture of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Poland which followed the discovery of the Katyn bodies.

The Minister of Education, the Catholic priest Zygmunt Kaczynski, was also a member of the Christian Democratic Party; in prewar Poland he was known as the editor-in-chief of the Catholic Press Correspondence (KAT). The political affiliations of the Minister of Finance, Dr. Ludwig Grosfeld are unknown here; he was a professor of national economy at the University of Cracow.

The new Minister of War, Dr. Marian Kukiel, is, in spite of his title of General, also more of a scholar; he was a teacher at the Polish War Academy and as such mainly a theoretician. Since all military leaders with practical experience now available to the Polish émigrés—with the exception of aged General Haller—are former members of Pilsudski's Legion, Dr. Kukiel was apparently chosen as a counterweight to Sosnkowski.

The remaining three Ministers hail from the rightist opposition. Professor Wacław Komarnicki, a former member of the Vilna law faculty, who has now been appointed Minister of Justice, belonged to the radical right wing of the National Democrats. Marian Seyda, who was made "Minister for the Preparation of the Peace Conference," is a National Democrat from Posen who used to belong to the small Polish delegation in the old Prussian Parliament of the days before the Great War and who is known to be a great Germanophobe.

Finally, Henryk Strasburger was appointed "Minister for the Polish Interests in the Near East," obviously to maintain connections with the Polish army there. Strasburger is perhaps the most outstanding personality in this cabinet. A descendant of a Polonized German family from the province of Posen, he is a Germanophile like Seyda. He was able to prove his hatred for the Germans during his years of office as Polish General Commissar in Danzig, where he was responsible for many grave conflicts. Later, when his friends had obtained a lucrative sinecure for him in the Association of Polish Industry, he became an active member of the Polish Western Regions Association, which tried to sabotage Pilsudski's policy of co-operation with Germany. His reappearance shows that neither the Poles in London nor the British have learned anything.

Let us summarize as follows. In comparison to the old cabinet, the new one represents a certain shift to the left. It seems very doubtful, however, whether the Bolsheviks look upon it with much more favor than upon its predecessor; for, compared with the Bolsheviks, these leftist Poles are still very far to the right. In view of the fact that the leftist members of the new cabinet represent the peasant and labor elements in Poland, one might even regard the new composition as a timid Polish counterstroke against the Bolshevist claim that the first cabinet was too closely affiliated to the old ruling class of Poland and against Moscow's ensuing efforts to form a Soviet Polish government and army on Russian soil. At any rate, the conflicts in the Allied camp have not been reduced by the new cabinet.—H.M.
THE WINDOW

WAR AND PEACE IN SOUTH AMERICA

In the columns of this magazine we have followed the course of events in Latin America since the Rio Conference in January 1942 (viz., in the issues of March, May, June, July, November 1942, and April 1943). Here we present a new roundup. It reveals the background for the policy of Chile and Bolivia toward the Axis and discusses the recent sensational events in Argentina.—K.M.

On January 20 of this year Chile broke off her relations with the Axis powers, and on April 8 Bolivia declared war on them. Everybody who is in the least familiar with South America knows that there was nothing in the relations of these two states with the Axis to warrant this step, and that it was exclusively the result of pressure from Washington. A closer examination reveals the curious fact that the instrument employed by Washington to coerce Chile and Bolivia was the same for both nations—the old border conflict at the northern end of Chile.

AN OLD STORY

The conflict between Chile and her two northern neighbors, Peru and Bolivia, has its origins in the forties of the last century, when saltpeter deposits were discovered in the desert strips of the Atacama and Tarapacá regions. Situated mainly between 25 and 23 degrees southern latitude, these areas were at that time regarded as belonging to Peru and Bolivia. The first, however, to begin to exploit the rich saltpeter fields were the Chileans. The dispute developing among the three republics over the title to these fields was settled in 1866 by a compromise which fixed the Peruvian-Chilean border on 24 degrees southern latitude, so that Chile obtained Atacama while Tarapacá fell to Peru. In 1873 the Peruvians concluded a secret offensive treaty with Bolivia; and in the following year Chile, owing to the pressure exerted on her by Argentina, saw herself obliged to surrender to Bolivia the greater part of her rights obtained by the treaty of 1866.

Not satisfied with this, Bolivia, supported by Peru, made further demands, whereupon in the beginning of 1879 Chilean troops suddenly occupied Antofagasta, the principal harbor of the Atacama area. In the ensuing war between Chile and the Peruvian-Bolivian forces, Chile overcame the Peruvian Navy, defeated the Peruvian-Bolivian troops at Tarapacá and Tacna, and sent her own troops into the heart of Peru where, after landing in the vicinity of Lima, they annihilated their opponents in two battles. The Peruvian hopes that the USA would come to her assistance remained unfulfilled. A treaty was not concluded until 1883. By the stipulations of this treaty, Chile obtained the two disputed areas of Atacama and Tarapacá; as for Tacna, Chile was to retain this province pending the decision of a plebiscite to be held later on. In 1884, Chile concluded an armistice with Bolivia, who undertook to recognize the Atacama area as belonging to Chile.

The final regulation of the ownership of these various provinces along the above-mentioned lines did not take place until peace was signed in 1905. Bolivia acquired the right of free transit of her goods through the harbor of Arica in Tacna province. But the dispute between Peru and Chile over the possession of Tacna province continued. The attempts of the USA to terminate this dispute by means of plebiscites under the chairmanship of General Pershing in 1920 and 1925/26 failed. In 1929, Peru and Chile finally agreed of their own accord: Peru obtained Tacna and Chile Arica, with the provision that equal rights were granted Peru in Arica harbor. The Bolivians remained as before without access to the sea.

OUTBIDDING EACH OTHER

It was not long after the Rio Conference that the press reported border incidents between Bolivia and Chile. It also became known that Peru was emphasizing her requests for the return of the disputed Arica region by strong troop concentrations. It is a well-known fact that the Peruvian Army as well as her Air Force and Navy are commanded by North American officers. Moreover, an imposing North American military commission arrived in Bolivia shortly after the Rio Conference. The Peruvian Army was receiving equipment from the USA even
during the conflict between Peru and Ecuador.

Under such conditions of military inequality, and lacking modern weapons, Chile could not hope to offer any effective resistance in the event of an attack on the part of her northern neighbors. Only the USA would have been in a position to check Bolivia and Peru. Hence Chile’s politicians concluded, though unwillingly, that it was necessary for Chile to abandon her policy of neutrality and break off relations with the Axis in order to be able to appeal to Pan-American solidarity and obtain the support of the USA. In taking this step the Chilean Government acted in contradiction to the many reasonable voices in the country which expressed their opposition to the breaking off of relations. We refer in particular to the open letter in which the prominent former President Alessandri described this step as a serious blunder.

Bolivia now became apprehensive of losing Washington’s support in her border claims on Chile. In an effort to outdo Chile, Bolivia therefore declared war on the Axis powers on April 8. According to all that has meanwhile transpired, this political move on the part of President Penaranda of Bolivia appears to have been successful. It seems that the negotiations which were recently conducted by the Bolivian Undersecretary of State in the Chilean metropolis have come to a favorable conclusion. It is reported that the basis for an understanding has been created concerning the harbor question.

CHILE THE LOSER

As late as the middle of May, Prime Minister Fernandez of Chile declared that every attempt to raise the northern frontier question would be rejected most energetically by the entire Chilean nation. But five weeks later a report from Washington—as yet unconfirmed—was spread according to which Chile is said to have expressed herself prepared to relinquish one of her harbors in favor of Bolivia. It is not known whether this report refers to concessions in the area of Arica or to the harbor of Antofagasta further south, which is connected with Bolivia by a railway line constructed by Chile. A compromise solution suggested by Brazil, who offered Bolivia a free port in Santos, was not regarded as satisfactory by Bolivia. A glance at the map is enough to show the justification of Bolivia’s claim that Santos, situated on the Atlantic, 2,300 kilometers from La Paz, cannot replace one of the near-by Pacific ports of Antofagasta, Arica, or Mollendo (in Peru) for her purposes. Moreover, there is no direct railway between Bolivia and Santos, as a section of 600 kilometers is still missing in this line.

One must know the Chileans, who take such immense pride in their military past, in order to be able fully to assess the magnitude of the sacrifice which the yielding in this ticklish question would mean to them. The day on which Chile—apart from Argentina, the most highly developed South American republic—is forced to relinquish one of her harbors to Bolivia may well go down as a day of national mourning in the history of the country. But the feeling of hatred engendered by such a concession will probably be directed less against Bolivia—on whose mostly Indian population the Chileans look down anyway—than against the powerful state in North America whose Machiavel-
The reason for Bolivia's taking first place in Washington's favor during this maneuver is to be found in Bolivia's tin, which is of enormous importance to the war economy of the USA and on which the USA is to a great extent dependent since the loss of Malai and the East Indies to the Japanese.

The next step on Chile's road of humiliation is already to be discerned. It was recently reported that the USA intends to convert the Easter Islands, which belong to Chile, into an air and naval base for the "protection of Chile." Chile realizes the futility of opposing the wishes of the USA under present conditions, and that she would only run the risk of being faced with yet greater difficulties which might possibly bring about repercussions within her country. It is well known that the movement of leftist and radical elements has been gaining the upper hand in Chile for some time; and we may add that the Spanish Reds who immigrated to Chile a few years ago have had no inconsiderable share in this development.

"PERSUADING" THE LEADER

The situation in Argentina appears in quite a different light. Here, in contrast to the above-mentioned three countries, it is for the USA not so much a matter of economic and military interests as a question of prestige. With the eyes of all Latin American countries fixed on this most powerful and highly developed of the South American republics, it is not surprising that the USA should view this state's firm policy of neutrality with displeasure and endeavor to shake it by all available means. In May, the well-known American periodical News Week wrote that the United States was exercising a violent economic boycott against Argentina because this country refused to break with the Axis. Though Washington denied the existence of a blockade against Argentina, the weekly went on to say, it actually existed on account of the informal export priority system. Orders from Argentina were simply put at the bottom of Washington's lists.

In spite of its absorption in military events, the world sat up when on June 6 an entirely unexpected revolution took place in Argentina. This revolution was almost bloodless. President Castillo fled; and after General Rawson, the leader of the revolution, had enjoyed the new office of provisional president for one day only, General Ramirez, the Minister of War of the old government, became head of the government and commander in chief of the armed forces.

PALACE REVOLUTION?

What is the significance of these events? A review of press reports reaching us here in East Asia indicates that, prior to the outbreak of the revolution in Argentina, apart from leftist circles, all authoritative government quarters and all influential parties advocated the maintenance of a strong policy of neutrality and the rejection of Bolshevism. Consequently, it was at first assumed that the revolution had been instigated by the USA with the object of putting friendly elements at the helm. But subsequent developments revealed Washington's undisguised disappointment, which was expressed directly after the coup d'etat; this, and the fact that the new government was very quickly formally recognized by the Axis powers, indicated a rather different state of affairs. On June 9 the Mexican press already displayed an unfriendly attitude toward the Ramirez government. Furthermore, the background of the revolution is strikingly revealed by the fact that Dr. Nikolaus Repetto, leader of the Argentinean Socialists, who at that time was staying in New York, called the revolution in Argentina a "palace revolution," and not the expression of the wish of the people, pointing out that General Rawson who had resigned was a Conservative with strong sympathies for the USA, while the new president, Ramirez, was close to Castillo.

It was not long before the new president declared that he was determined to uphold the neutrality of his country and that he would not permit any interference in Argentinean affairs. Concerning the foreign policy of his country, Ramirez stated before representatives of the press: "As regards Europe our policy is one of neutrality. But we also aim at increasing collaboration with the USA." In a recent interview granted a Chilean paper, President Ramirez declared that all rumors abroad according to which he intended to break off diplomatic relations with the Axis were entirely unfounded. On July 13, the Argentine police ordered the disbandment of three pro-Allied organizations, including the Democratic Federation for Help to the Free Nations.
The domestic situation in Argentina seems already to have improved somewhat during the new president's term of office. The population has noted with satisfaction that the Government has not only decreed reforms but is carrying them out with the aid of special commissions. Several price- and rent-control measures have already been successfully effected.

PRESSURE AND "ADVERTISEMENTS"

We do not wish to offer any hasty evaluation of future political developments in Argentina. We only wish to express the hope that Argentina may continue to maintain her independence, knowing full well that this will be no easy matter. For, although rich in all kinds of natural resources, Argentina is also suffering economically from the effects of the war, though not to the same extent as her neighbors; and the USA will continue to exert every means of economic pressure in order to bring this country, too, into her power. The propaganda machine of the USA is playing an important role in Argentina. Nelson Rockefeller himself, the "Director of the United States Co-Ordination Board for Inter-American Relations," made the sensational revelation that the USA has included in her current budget the imposing figure of 14 million dollars for "advertisements" in the South American press. A recent report that Washington was planning the establishment of a "United States Department for Ibero-American Problems" has also caused considerable speculation in South America.

In the estimation of the situation in Argentina one factor should not be left out of consideration, viz., that England has considerable capital investments in Argentina. According to Sydney Campbell, Reuter's financial editor, these amounted to about £428,000,000 at the end of 1939. This fact is important in that England will, for this reason, desire that the developments in Argentina take a peaceful course and that North American influence does not become too strong.

* * *

The realization seems to be gaining ground in the Ibero-American countries that, with regard to their economic difficulties, deliverance cannot be expected from the USA, since the latter has enough troubles of her own to look after. Hence it is interesting to observe the growth of a trend directed at a politico-economic union of the South American states and expressing itself in various new commercial and economic agreements. In order to solve its economic difficulties, South America is being forced to become as self-sufficient as possible, as the assistance of the USA, in which such great hopes were placed at the beginning of the war, has become more and more unreliable. In the field of politics, too, there appears to be a clear recognition of the dangers threatening the internal structure of these countries, particularly in the form of Communism, which presents a serious menace to Latin America with its large proportion of uneducated laborers.

Generally speaking, it can be said that resistance has been growing stronger against all influences which might further the deterioration of the South and Central American states. Thus, with the exception of three countries—Cuba, Mexico, and Colombia—all the states have refused to take up diplomatic relations with the Soviets, despite Washington's repeated recommendations to this effect. The dissolving of the Third International has been received with skepticism in almost all these states. All this goes to show that the Ibero-American organism still possesses powers of resistance against hostile bacilli.—W.S.
THE MARCH OF WAR

THE INVASION OF SICILY

On May 13, 1943, the fighting on North African soil had come to an end. According to a statement by Winston Churchill made on June 8, the British First and Eighth Armies had lost 35,000 men in the course of the fighting in Tunisia (not including that in Libya), and on May 28 Washington announced the American losses to have been 18,600. The actual losses of the Allies were probably much higher.

ALLIED PREPARATIONS

After the elimination of the Axis bridgehead in Tunisia, the Allies, constantly prompted by Moscow, prepared for the much-talked-of invasion of Europe. Air raids on Italy and her islands, which had been carried out regularly since early this year, grew more violent in a sudden crescendo, while the Anglo-American losses, especially in multiengined bombers, mounted correspondingly. A map in the July issue of this magazine (pp. 24/25) shows the cities and districts chiefly affected. Sicily, Sardinia, and southern Italy were the main targets, and such places as Palermo, Messina, and Naples experienced weeks with one or more attacks each day.

By the end of May the small islands in the waters between Sicily and Africa had become the main objectives, and after violent attacks Pantelleria, Lampedusa, Linosa, and Lampione were occupied on June 11, 12, 13, and 14 respectively.

Meanwhile, Axis reconnaissance planes reported concentrations of warships, transports, and landing vessels all along the southern Mediterranean coast from Gibraltar to Syria. The Allied Mediterranean fleet was bolstered by a number of units comprising American warships and aircraft carriers. It was estimated that some 44 infantry divisions, 15 to 20 tank formations, and 2 air-borne landing divisions were concentrated, while ample supplies were stored in all important embarkation ports. The Allied press mentioned a force of one million men ready to be unleashed. Early in July, Sicily seemed the most likely object of an invasion.

THE AXIS POSITION

Since the Axis command had to post the troops available in the Mediterranean area not only in Sicily but along the whole length of the European southern flank (as described in detail in our last issue), only a limited number of these troops could be employed for Sicily. The Axis also had another reason for limiting the number of troops on Sicily: if the Allies were to decide on a large-scale attack on Sicily—for which there were many indications—by making use of their superior naval and air fleets, this island might become a trap for the Axis troops should the enemy succeed either in capturing Messina by land or in gaining air supremacy over the Strait of Messina.

In every invasion attempt the Allies had the advantage of being able to choose the place and time and concentrate their forces in one or two spots, while the Axis had to spread its troops along 60,000 kilometers of coast line. This made the defense of islands such as Sicily and Sardinia a precarious matter. For while on the Continent, troops could be rushed to the points of invasion with comparative speed and safety, the situation was less favorable in the case of islands in view of the Allied superiority in ships and planes. The Axis command was fully aware of the fact that it would be extremely difficult to hold Sicily against an all-out Allied attack. Hence the task of the Sicilian defense, if it were unable to throw the invaders back into the sea, was to make the Allies pay such a heavy price in men, armament, and ships that the enemy’s eagerness to continue this kind of warfare would be seriously affected.

The number of Axis troops stationed in Sicily at the moment of invasion has so far not been divulged. At any rate, the figures of 300,000 Italians and 100,000 Germans mentioned by the Allies seem grossly exaggerated. At a time when the Allied forces
landed on Sicily were believed to be 11 divisions German sources declared the defenders to be outnumbered. This would put the number of Axis troops on the island at less than 11 divisions.

Given the number of troops available for Sicily and the fact that the length of Sicily’s coast is 1,115 kilometers (three times the distance from London to Paris), the Axis was confronted by the task of employing its forces to the best possible advantage. It could either post its troops at various sectors along the coast, thereby running the risk, however, that the landings might take place at other points, so that the necessary regrouping of forces would cost a lot of time; or it could concentrate its troops in the interior of the island in order to throw them from there at maximum speed against the enemy wherever he might have landed. Events have shown that the Axis command decided in favor of this second method. The coast itself was occupied only by weak coastal units, consisting mainly of second reserves, while the units concentrated in the interior waited until the center of gravity of the Allied attack had been ascertained and could be opposed with full force.

THE LANDING

When on July 9, at 10:20 p.m., the port of Syracuse on the east coast of Sicily was shelled, the Axis command ordered a general alert throughout the island. In the early hours of the following day, parachute formations were landed in the sparsely populated southeastern corner of Sicily. Immediately afterwards, naval and air attacks were directed against comparatively long stretches of the eastern, western and southern coastline. Bombs and broadsides from naval guns swarmed with vessels of all sizes and description. According to Roosevelt’s speech of July 28, 160,000 men with 14,000 vehicles, 1,800 guns, and 800 tanks were carried to Sicily in 3,000 ships.

Thanks to the vigilance of the Axis forces and the population, most of the enemy troops who had landed by parachute were annihilated—some 8,000 men within the first 24 hours. The Allied attempt quickly to expand the bridgeheads toward the interior by linking up the forces landed from ships with those landed from planes was thus frustrated. Likewise the footholds which the Allies had gained on the west coast between Marsala and Cape Feto were cleared by immediate counteraction on the part of the coastal defense. On the other two sectors—the Licata/Gela area of the south coast and the southern third of the east coast—the invaders also met with stubborn resistance. But, by reason of the enormous weight of their superior naval and air forces, they managed to hold their bridgeheads and slowly to press inland, while the operative reserves of the Axis rushed up to oppose them.

THE BATTLE BEGINS

Reinforced by new divisions, the British Eighth Army under General Montgomery made some territorial gains from its three bridgeheads in Pachino, Syracuse, and Augusta, where four divisions had been landed originally. The right wing of this army aimed north, while the left flank drove toward Ragusa to effect a junction with the newly formed American Seventh Army under General George Patton. Of this army, three divisions including some Canadian units had originally landed between Licata and Cape Scaramanía, mainly in Licata and in the Bay of Gela. On July 12 and 13, additional divisions were put ashore. By July 23 German sources claimed that a total of six American and five British divisions had disembarked.

From the strategic point of view, it was obvious from the outset which part of the island would seem the most important to both sides—the northeastern corner, roughly forming the triangle Cape Orlando/Catania/Messina. It was clear that the Allies would try to reach Messina as quickly as possible to cut off the rest of the Axis forces on the island and that the Axis, on the other hand, would make its main stand here.

The task of reaching Messina—the most important object of the entire Sicilian campaign—was entrusted to the right wing of the Eighth Army, which latter was considered the crack force among the invading troops. As soon as it had been disembarked, the Eighth Army started on its race toward Catania, the gateway to the narrow coastal corridor leading to Messina between the sea and the giant massif of Mount Etna (3,279 meters high). The other Allied divisions pressed north more slowly. Attempts to speed up the advance by the employment of paratroops in the rear of the defenders failed, as they were wiped out.
The most violent fighting broke out when, on July 13, the British reached the plain (about 15 by 20 kilometers in extent) lying to the south of Catania. As the Axis forces, with the Hermann Goering division as their backbone, slowly withdrew northward, the Eighth Army found itself in the flat plain fighting against an enemy entrenched in the mountains bordering it on the north. The British attacks became costlier every day and practically came to a halt by July 25.

Shielded by the forces at Catania, Axis troops meanwhile evacuated the western part of the island, withdrawing to the north-eastern triangle. The Americans followed the retiring enemy and proudly announced great victories. Real fighting, however, did not begin for them until they reached the line San Stefano/Agira, approximately on July 26. By the end of July the struggle for the strategic triangle had begun.

HEAVY LOSSES AT SEA

The resistance of the Axis was not confined to land fighting. From the outset Italian and German planes and submarines attacked and destroyed many Allied war ships, transports, and landing barges off the Sicilian coast. On July 13 and 14 alone, 5 destroyers were sunk and 8 cruisers heavily damaged, apart from the damage sustained by some smaller warships. The Allied air fleets were also engaged by Italian and German airmen and antiaircraft units. In spite of the great numerical superiority of the Allied air forces, a large number of enemy fighters and bombers were brought down.

THE MEN IN CHARGE

The Allied operations are under the supreme command of General Eisenhower, whose second-in-command is General Alexander. The Allied air fleets are directed by the British Air Marshal Sir Arthur Tedder, to whom the British Air Marshal Sir Arthur Coningham and Vice Air Marshal Sir Hugh P. Lloyd as well as the American Lieutenant General Carl Spaatz and Major General James Doolittle, (who commanded the US bomber attack on Japan on April 18, 1942) are subordinated. Naval operations are being conducted under the command of the Admiral of the Fleet Sir Andrew Browne Cunningham; the American naval forces are headed by Vice-Admiral Henry Hewitt.

Except for the Italian commander of the Sixth Army, General Guzzoni, no names of Axis generals have been announced so far.

* * *

In his speech of July 28, President Roosevelt declared that the Allies had been planning a whole year for the Sicilian campaign. If such a well-prepared attack against one of the most distant outposts of Europe, has not, after three weeks of fighting, produced any greater results than those described above, then Europe can face future invasions with calm confidence.
BLOOD LAIRS

By LARS HANSEN

The following short story is an excellent example of modern Norwegian literature. It has the flavor of that wild harshness of nature and climate against which the Norwegians must battle all their lives, more so than most other Europeans.

The author, Lars Hansen, was originally a skipper of the Arctic waters, dealing in furs and fish which he picked up in Spitsbergen, Greenland, Iceland, and the settlements of northern Norway. About 1923 it occurred to him to put down some of his experiences in writing, and he was so successful that he became a professional writer. He has published many stories and several books whose plots are laid in the icy wastes of the Far North.

This story was translated from the Norwegian by Cris Norlund, the author of "Europe's North" (October 1942).—K.M.

ONE morning Anton Jakobsen went out to examine the fox traps and the spring guns which had been put up for bears. Traps and spring guns were placed on capes and headlands below the steep fjeld and in conspicuous places scattered all over the miles of desolation which characterize the west coast of Spitsbergen. They had put up so many traps and spring guns that a man had to be swift-footed if he wanted to examine all of them in one day, and then only when the ground was perfect for skiing.

Anton had covered about half his round when he came upon a spring gun. In some inexplicable way the gun went off when Anton was about to change the old bait for a new one—the gun went off, and the Remington bullet went through his thigh.

It was about six hours' march at top speed as the crow flies to reach the house.

When the gun went off Anton did not fall; but he knew what had happened. It was cold, and he knew that when it is very cold a wound will not bleed as much as in hot weather. He had a bit of rope and, being an old-time sailor, he laid a lashing around the wound. The bullet had passed through the limb about eight inches above the knee. The bone had not been hit: but, judging from the path of the bullet, he realized that it had gone through the muscle. When he put on the lashing he used his ski stick in the same way as a sailor uses a spike to tighten a rope's end. After that, when he saw that the blood no longer ran as freely as before, he set out on his way back.

The first hour passed, the second too. At short intervals he threw a glance across his shoulder at his ski trails. Alongside these lay a thin dotted streak of red blood which stood out against the glaring white snow. How often he had followed a similar track—a trail of blood from a bear which had also had a bullet through its body! He could not forget the one a week ago which had had a bullet through its belly into the lung and out again on the other side. He had tracked it for nine hours. He had seen its prints in the snow where it had lain, and there had been a big clump of frozen blood. Then it had risen: he recalled how the bear had staggered and swayed before it could break into a regular jog trot.

Now he felt that he himself had to rest. But then he remembered the bear
again—how he himself had thought that, when it was so bad that the bear must lie down, he knew very well that it did not have much time left, that a rest for the bear meant a loss of its strength, so—

The sweat streamed down his face; he clenched his teeth; he swayed and fell prostrate in the snow. He lay there thinking of the bear: it had not fallen, it had lain down. Strange—when he lay like this he felt nothing, only a violent throbbing in his thigh; it throbbed as if someboby stood beside him beating a hammer against the bandage. He moved his arms, he stretched. Then it flashed through his mind that he had calculated how many times the bear would have to lie down before he could reach it, dead or alive. And now—now this was his first "blood lair." This is what they called the places of rest of a bear which had been hit by a spring gun. Many of the bears which had got a bullet through their body had never got allY further than their first blood lair, but a few of them had trotted on, and one had even had twenty-six blood lairs before Anton had found it, and still it had been so much alive that he had had to beat the life out of it with his ski stick.

Anton got to his feet again and said aloud: "If that bear could manage twenty-six blood lairs, I should be able to manage ten, and then I'll be home."

And then he walked—but he had to strain his will to the utmost not to fall. He gained ground step by step. He had to. After half an hour he threw aside his rifle, it had grown too heavy. In throwing it aside he fell in the snow with a shriek. He screamed, but in his scream were words, for he shrieked: "Blood lair number two already—it mustn't happen."

And by dint of his staff and his arms he got up. Disgraceful—it seemed to him as if the other foot were bad too, but it could only be his imagination, because, after all, it had not been damaged. Strange—in spite of all his efforts he could not help looking back. That cursed red blood line kept following him. But there was no blood lair this time, only prints appeared where his two hands had gone through the snow as well as a print of the ski stick which had dropped out of his hand. There was also a clear print of the rifle running across the print of the stick.

With a grin he drove his rifle butt-end down into the snow. In the barrel he placed the cleaner and pulled one of his extra woollen mittens down over it so that Oskar could find the rifle when he came this way. Now he had to go on, dragging his legs through the snow.

The pain was so frightful that his face was completely distorted. He assumed that his leg was beginning to freeze hard. He had often noticed, when he had found bears which were not yet dead, that one of their paws—the one nearest the bullet hole—was sometimes frozen as hard as a piece of wood. No doubt the same thing had happened to his own leg now; but as long as he succeeded in dragging it along, it would remain where it was. And if he could not stand it any longer he would take his long knife and cut off his leg at the knee. For he knew that, when he had cut off a bear's stiffly frozen paw, no blood would run unless he chopped it off too high.

He walked on. He knew the way, he knew precisely how far he still had to go; and while walking he tried to calculate whether he could get home without any further blood lairs.

He wondered whether the bad foot and the good foot left similar prints in the snow, ski trails of the same depth. He looked back, but forgot to look at that which he had turned his head to see. For what he saw, or rather what he did not see, led his thoughts in another direction. There was no longer any blood in the tracks. How could this have happened? It could only be that everything was frozen. He tore off his mitten and squeezed the wound. Out of the wound, or rather from between the tatters where the bullet had left the flesh and where the hole was large, came a thick reddish fluid. He saw it was
frozen blood, and when he took a lump between his fingers it melted into blood—red and fresh. The pain had now spread to his whole body except the damaged thigh and leg.

He pressed on, walking for dear life. The air was motionless. There was a full moon, and the scene was as bright as at noon, so that he could follow a direct course toward the house. He wondered if he could manage to climb the small hill which he had to cross to get home.

He could, of course, walk through the cleft to avoid the hill; but, in the first place, that route would be longer, and secondly there had been snow slides in two places which would probably cause him difficulties, because he would have to count on using only one foot. So he headed for the hill. The house stood not far off on the other side, a few hundred meters off on the headland, and he hoped that, if he managed to reach the top of the hill, Oskar would see him and come to his rescue.

He staggered on. He could feel his wounded leg now and then. That is to say, when he had to put his weight on it and it then slipped into a wrong position, he would scream with pain. Once he shrieked so loudly that he frightened himself. It was as if he were torn out of his half-consciousness by the noise in the midst of the stillness. He reeled. The ski on his foot would not steer any more. It was only his eyes which told him, because his nerves felt nothing. He was only certain that he was walking—walking bent nearly double.

He reached the hill and tried to climb it by placing his skis athwart with his good foot first. He lifted it a step, but his frozen leg would not follow. He bent down and with one hand grasped his leg below the knee and lifted it. Leaning on the ski stick, he placed his damaged leg with the ski right beside the good one. In this way he managed to get halfway up before he toppled over. He was turning giddy, everything went black before him, but in spite of this he flung himself in such a direction that he lay with his head above his body and legs. He was given just seconds to think clearly, and during these few fragments of time he managed to fall the right way. Had he fallen head downwards he would never have been able to get up again.

This, then, was to be blood hale number three.

He lay there, groaning. He was in a rage, he cursed, pronouncing his horrible maledictions on life in general and the winters of Spitsbergen in particular. Without standing up, he began to move uphill by means of his hands, his stick, and his good leg, inch by inch, foot by foot. In this way he reached the top. A sickly smile passed across his face. He saw the house. He dared not rest, because now he was perspiring, and to rest now meant death. If he surrendered now, he would never wake up again. He knew that. He recalled how he had found Ole Andersdal three years ago. Ole had been sitting there fast asleep in the snow, but when he stepped up to him he had found he was merely a frozen block of ice. Remembering this, he got up and set off, leaning on his stick. In another five minutes he was far across the plain and quite near the house.

He shouted—but nobody answered. He walked up till he was standing outside the door. He shouted again, but nobody came out. So Oskar had not yet returned.

WHEN Oskar came home a few hours later, Anton was in bed. The stove was lit, the coffee had been made. Oskar stepped up to him, but Anton had fainted in bed. Oskar realized at once that there must have been an accident, for Anton himself had cut open his clothes and bared his thigh and leg. From the water on the floor Oskar concluded that Anton had tried to thaw up the frozen muscle. So well are these people acquainted with arctic conditions that Oskar, when he saw how things were with his friend, ran outdoors with a bucket in his hand. Returning with it full of snow and ice,
he took a bag and emptied the contents of the bucket into it, using it as a dressing for the naked bleeding thigh.

A few moments later Anton woke up. "Was it a spring gun which went off, Anton?" asked Oskar.

"Yes, is the thigh very much torn up?" Anton answered.

"I don't know, your leg is still frozen, and we must let the ice melt first before we can tell anything. In fifteen minutes or half an hour we shall see. Well, Anton—here is some hot coffee. How you ever managed to heat up the stove—I must say, Anton, you're a lion—it's not everyone who could have done that."

He went out once more and came back with a bottle of 96-per-cent brandy, the last of six bottles. Anton lay quiet, looking up at the ceiling; his eyes were big, blue, and shining. Oskar said:

"When you feel the pain coming on in your leg, let me know, though I guess I don't have to ask you to, because you'll probably roar like a wounded tiger. You bet it's bad, but then I'll give you a fine treat of 96. I suppose you haven't been really tight since we went to Tromsø, but now you are going to be—you can be sure of that!"

He talked and talked, and while he did so, squeals and weak screams came from Anton, who tried to swallow the contents of a big iron mug, strong black coffee in which there was a full tumbler of 96-per-cent brandy.

The next day came. Anton was in bed, and he was still there after two months. During this period Oskar Haugan had attended to all the fox traps and spring guns. On the wall were twenty-eight blue foxes and thirty-nine white foxes, stretched and dried; in addition there were twenty-three bears lying in brine. Anton looked bad. He did not seem the old Anton—he himself said that he did not feel well.

Oskar always left his Remington rifle by the kitchen range. One day as he was skinning a fox out in the corridor, he thought he heard something moving about in the next room. He opened the door and saw to his surprise that Anton had crawled out of bed and was standing with the rifle in his hand. He rushed in, tore the rifle out of his friend's grasp, and said:

"So that's the way things are with you? Poor Anton—no, no—don't cry, everything may still be all right."

Anton was unable to get back to bed and Oskar had to help him. Then Anton said: "Oskar, take a look at this leg of mine: it is black, and you know it got gangrenous long ago. It's putrefying—I can't stand the stench—and now that you have prevented me from putting an end to it, what are you going to do?"

Oskar looked him straight in the eyes: "Anton, we have no right to take our own lives. There are two things we might try: one is to cut off your leg—I can do that, and then carve out all the putrid flesh—but then you'll die, I'm afraid. Or I can try to go to Bellsund. There is a doctor there. But that is a trip that might cost me my life. But that, however, is of minor importance, but who is to take care of you while I'm away? The trip can't be done both ways, even with a fine skiing ground, in less than four days, and you—you will be dead by the time I get back with the doctor."

A little farther south in the same district was a hut in which one of our best-known wintering men lived all by himself. His name was Petter Trondsen. Oskar told Anton that he would go to Petter and ask him if he would go for the doctor or if he would stay with Anton and look after him while he went himself. Anton had no objection to that.

Oskar removed the rifle which he did not take along with him, placed food and drink on the table, moved the latter up to the bed in order that Anton might reach the food and left.

The trip took him over steep fjelds, and at intervals he had to make detours across the pack ice of the bays. He reached Petter's house in ten hours.
Petter was in and, after he had heard Oskar's explanation of what had happened, he said: "I'll go for the doctor, and if I don't come back, then look me up when spring comes around and bury me—what's left of me. I'll go up through the valley here and follow the fjeld eastward until I have crossed the Sørfjord at Bellsund."

Petter Trondsen trudged off between snow heaps. On his back he carried a bag of food, and over his shoulder hung his rifle.

It caused a unique sensation in Bellsund when a strange, frost-covered, bearded skier entered the settlement asking for the doctor. The latter was told the whole story. At first he refused to go back with Petter, because nothing could be done about a man who had been in bed for two and a half months with a battered thigh affected with gangrene, and that to such a degree that it stank of putrefaction. However, he was a medical man and keen on his job. He finally agreed to come along.

After a good meal, the doctor and Petter put on their skis and, in spite of the fact that Petter had had a march of thirty-six hours, the doctor could hardly keep up with him.

On his back Petter carried the doctor's instrument case containing instruments and bandages, as well as his own rifle and the food bag which had been filled in Bellsund with provisions for Anton. All these things together made up quite a heavy load.

The doctor, who was not exactly a brilliant skier but, on the other hand, a young, vigorous, and brave fellow, tried to follow Petter. But this proved to be impossible, for coming down hills and knolls the doctor invariably tried to slow down. Either he sat on his skis and steered with his feet or he used his two sticks as brakes so that veritable snow clouds whirled about him and a deep furrow was to be seen where he had dashed downhill. Then Petter Trondsen took hold of him and explained to him that, if they were to reach their goal in time, he must not be afraid: "Come on, man, don't ever hesitate to follow my track, and remember that if you drop behind too far and happen to meet a bear you have no rifle."

From that moment on the journey went splendidly; and by the time they got through to the house where Anton and Oskar were waiting for them, the doctor was quite a good skier.

When the doctor got a look at the leg he said: "Well, things are none too good here," and Petter said: "Phew! It's rotten—completely rotten!"

The doctor started his work of amputating the leg with the assistance of Petter Trondsen and Oskar, and after four hours the chopped-off leg was carried out into the corridor by Oskar, who covered it carefully with snow and ice for preservation until summer. When spring came around again and Anton and Oskar were called for, Anton had taken to a wooden leg with which he tottered down to the boat that took him on board the waiting ship.

* * *

The following summer I went for a trip to the Fløифield which is situated above Tromsø about 2,000 feet above sea level. The young people of Tromsø go up there on Saturday evenings when the weather is fine and the midnight sun illuminates the fair Nordic summer nights. A crowd of lads and lasses wound their way up the fjeld path singing and laughing.

When they reached the summit I saw Anton Jakobsen and Oskar Haugan among them—Anton on two legs. Good gracious! He walked up to me, greeted me, and said:
“Do you think that there has been anybody up here before with a wooden leg? This leg of mine, which cost me 2,000 kroner, why, it’s the best leg I’ve ever had, far better than the one I lost, because it won’t ever be affected with gangrene and it can easily stand a Remington bullet.”

And with a beaming face both he and Oskar told me that now they were going to spend another winter in Spitsbergen, and this time they were to be given their equipment by the fur dealer Claus Andersen. It was a well-known fact that people traveling for Andersen were equipped in such a way that, even if the trip should last two years, there was nothing to be feared.

THE THREE SAPPERS
A TRUE STORY
By KARL SPRINGENSCHMID

The second of the two short stories published in this double issue has just reached us from Germany. Although it has the German-Soviet front for its background, it is not a war story in the ordinary sense of the word. An example of the broad humor of the front, it shows one of the other sides of war.

As regards the author, we know nothing about him except that, like the three sappers he describes, he is one among millions of German men fighting on the Eastern Front.—K. M.

THOSE had been hard days in the forests around Lake Ilmen. For three weeks the regiment had been in battle. But now another division was at the front, and the regiment was going to the rear for a spell of rest.

The clouds hung low over the forests. Rain was pouring down. After the long, tedious march, the men were dead tired. Sapper Hotter, “Mine” Hotter, slept as he stood leaning against a tree, while the other two men were putting up the tent. Hotter could sleep in peace, for there were no more mines around here. In his company it was said that he could “smell” the mines. His nose was long enough, all right. But where nobody else saw or even suspected anything, he would suddenly pull back the others, creep forward, and dig out the nicest mines, as if he had buried them there himself. It was not only his nose, it was also his fingers. He had fingers, they said, as sensitive and skillful as those of a midwife. No one would have credited that coarse lumberman with such a fine touch; what he needed for the mines he had probably learned at home with the girls.

Lance Corporal Knapp was more for rough things. Blasting was what he liked. It wasn’t a real war for him unless there was something he could blow up: bridges, pillboxes, houses, trees, barbed-wire entanglements, fish out of the water, stones out of the ground. “Blow it up!” was his slogan. At the moment, however, he was kneeling on the floor of the forest like any ordinary soldier and was pulling his end of the canvas so tight that the third man, Federspiel, was almost circled under the tent post.

“What’s the hurry?” yelled stout little Federspiel, trying hard to keep his balance and stretch the canvas on his own side. In contrast to the other two, Federspiel was an all-round sapper, always there, always useful. He liked a well-built tent. So he finished up by digging a small
trench around the tent and carefully placing pieces of turf on the lower edge of the canvas. "Hey, Hotter," Knapp then called out, dragging him away from his tree, "the hotel is ready—the 'Green Sapper,' with central heating provided by ourselves and with running water in every room if it keeps on raining like this!"

Without waking up properly, Hotter staggered into the tent, and drew up his legs a bit. Now the three of them lay down in that ingenious jigsaw figure that had been tested in many a long tent night. Federspiel crawled to the back of the tent in such a way that Knapp could place bis broad back in front of him while Hotter wound bis long shape around Knapp's back. Chest and ribs of the one were already so adjusted to the back and seat of the other that the third had no trouble at all in tucking away his arms and legs. It looked as if that which was lying in the tent were a single creature, so perfectly did each part fit into the other.

The rain drummed down on the tent and provided the right music. As they lay down, they fell asleep. Hotter immediately began his nightly routine of sawing wood. His profound bass snore had become part of the sappers' sleep.

Suddenly a heavy hand shook the side of the tent, and a voice rang out, an unmistakable voice, the voice of the sergeant: "Hey, you fellows, you'll have to dig the garbage hole!"

"The garbage hole," mumbled Hotter between snores, without waking up.

Not until some time later did he suddenly pull himself together. He opened his eyes, reached across Knapp for Federspiel, got him by the hair and said hollowly:

"Federspiel, hey, what about the garbage hole?"

But Federspiel was already dead to the world, and so was Knapp.

The rain came down incessantly. Outside, on the highway, tanks rumbled, assault guns roared past, infantry sang as it marched, and the war went on. Only in the little tent the sappers slept as if their sleep were to last to the end of all time.

But suddenly little Federspiel started up. He did not know how or why, but he was suddenly awake and said with a loud, clear voice to himself: "The garbage hole."

He turned his head around and looked at the two others, Hotter with his angular limbs and Knapp filling half the tent, as they lay there, sleeping and snoring, so that the tent seemed to contract and expand with every breath.

Good old Federspiel was seized with pity at this sight. "After all, the poor devils," he said pensively, "sleep is the finest thing a sapper can have." And with that he raised himself, carefully lifted his left foot, thrust it across Knapp, put it down somewhere between Hotter's limbs, got up, and crawled out into the open.
All around him in the green forest were snoring tents. Federspiel took rake, ax, and spade, and walked around the sleeping company toward the edge of the forest. There he began to dig the hole, six feet long, four feet deep, and three feet wide; just as it should be.

Then he crawled back over the two men in the tent and lay down again in his place. "Nothing like sleeping," he said to himself, "after one's done one's job properly." So he laid his head into the crook of his arm again and slipped over into that other world where there is no barbed wire, no mines, and no concentrated blasting charges.

Suddenly Hotter sat up and looked around. There was something that wouldn't let him sleep. He pondered for a while and groped his way along the previous day. But everything he found there was in order. He had collected and exploded all seven of the mines and had marked the cleared mine field in the captain's map. Then they had marched and marched and had finally arrived in this forest, where orders had come that the company could rest and put up tents. Then he had lain down, and then—now he had it!

"The garbage hole, my God, the garbage hole!"

The three of them could have done the job in no time. But when he looked at the other two, Federspiel in the corner and huge Knapp beside him, as they were lying there sleeping like angels, he was seized with pity. "Poor devils," he thought, and got up. He took spade, ax, and rake, went to the river, and dug the hole, six feet long, four feet deep, three feet wide.

Then he crawled back to his place, lay down around the others, and hurried to catch up with them, for in sleeping they were very fast.

So far, all was clear; for the cause that woke up the third man, Knapp, was not the conscience of a good sapper but plain hunger. When he grasped what had woken him up, he remembered the garbage hole. He looked at the other two and mumbled: "You poor devils, you. So the company hasn't got its garbage hole yet."

For a while, he sat thinking and shook his head vehemently. But then, when he could find no peace, he crawled out of the tent, walked through the forest and, in the alder thicket some distance away from the company, dug the hole.

On the following morning, when after long hours of sleep the call for grub came—the one call that brought all the men in the tents onto their feet like one man—something happened that the seventh company had not seen during the whole of the war: the sergeant stood there beaming like the morning sun.

When the three sappers arrived, first little Federspiel with his shock of blond hair, behind him Knapp, broad enough for three, and followed by lanky Hotter, they had all three to face the sergeant. "I ordered one garbage hole," he said with a chuckle, "and you have dug three. That's plenty!"

The soldiers all around roared with laughter. But the three sappers did not yet quite understand what the sergeant meant.

"You?" Federspiel asked Knapp. "Yes, me!" said Knapp. "And me too!" said Hotter.
BOOK REVIEW

Deutsche Luftfahrt (German Aviation), by J. H. Rathje. (Shanghai, 1943, Max Nössler & Co., 106 pp.)

This bilingual (German and Japanese) book deals in a clear, easily comprehensible manner with the development of German aviation from its early beginnings to this day, and it is a pleasure to study the little work with its fine photos, maps, and sketches.

All the forms of aircraft—planes, gliders, and airships—are briefly described, as well as their respective developments. The author—an expert—explains air navigation, blind flying, and blind landings according to the various systems. Another chapter describes flying at high altitudes with all the difficulties resulting from cold and lack of oxygen for both pilots and motors. Naval aviation has not been forgotten: there are interesting details about catapults and about the methods used to get seaplanes on board a mother ship in rough weather. Besides several technical chapters, there is one dealing with the pioneers of German aviation and revealing the silent heroism that has made German aviation what it is. Finally, the author also reviews the German Air Force and its most successful types of planes, once again showing himself to be an expert.—P. S.

Quand la Chine s'ouvrait.... (Charles de Montigny, Consul de France), by Jean Fredet. (Shanghai, 1943)

How shall we describe this book: as a historical study of the earliest relations between the European powers and China; as the thrilling biography of a versatile man; as the panegyric of a French patriot; as the dramatic epic of an outsider in his profession; as a description of Chinese officialdom and social conditions a century ago? All these descriptions apply to the book, and yet they do not exhaust it. Thus the work also deserves the attention of such circles as are not especially interested in China.

The central figure of the book, the first French consul in Shanghai, has found a biographer worthy of him. Just as this latter is versatile and by no means only a historian, so Montigny was open to all the phenomena of life. Born of French émigrés in Hamburg, he returned to France and took part in the French campaign in Spain and in the Greek war of liberation. Not until he was forty did he enter the French diplomatic service. He was appointed French consul in Shanghai, where he spent the longest and most important part of his career, interrupted only by special missions to Siam and Indo-China.

The main part of the book deals with his manifold activities in Shanghai. His post demanded a pioneer nature, and he possessed all the qualities it required: he had courage and enterprise for the numerous journeys made for the protection of the scattered missionaries; he was inured to hardships; he displayed diplomatic skill and knowledge of human nature in his dealings with Chinese officials; dignity and reliability assured him the respect of his foreign colleagues; and all this was based on a boundless national pride. He was an exemplary representative at his post. But because of this very versatility and his stubbornness in the pursuit of what he judged to be right, he was not always popular with his superiors and even met with hostility. This was perhaps not only to be explained by the fact that in his professional training he was an outsider. On the other hand, it was this lack of professional prejudice that accounted for his success in direct negotiations with the Chinese and his expert knowledge and appreciation of China and her people.

Excellent notes and references in the appendix give added scientific value to this conscientious work. Clear, accurate printing and some good illustrations enhance the reader's pleasure in the book.—K. B.

Kleiner Deutsch-Japanischer Sprachführer (German-Japanese Pocket Phrase Book). (Shanghai, 1943, Max Nössler & Co., 99 pp.)

The publication of this handy booklet reflects the increasing interest taken in the Japanese language by Germans living in East Asia. Although it is specially arranged for residents of Shanghai—who will find not only a list of street names but also the right phrase in case of an air-raid alarm or a blocked road—it will also prove useful to Germans elsewhere in East Asia. General colloquial expressions, salutations, transportation facilities, war and politics, the weather, figures and prices, and a great many other subjects, are conveniently treated from a multitude of angles so as to offer a real help in case of language difficulties. There are many topical phrases, as, for instance: "I have left my inoculation certificate at home," or "What is wrong with my blackout arrangements?"—K. F.

Sinologische Arbeiten (Sinological Works). (Peking, 1943, Deutschland-Institut, 170 pp.)

To commemorate the tenth year of its existence, the Deutschland-Institut in Peking has issued an illustrated double number of its periodical Chung Te Hsüeh Chih under the title of Sinologische Arbeiten. It contains the following scientific essays written by German sinologists living in Peking:

Zur Komplilation und Überlieferung der Ming Shih-lu, by Wolfgang Franke;

Bulhuri Omo. Die älteste Fassung der mandjurischen Stummessnse, by Walter Fuchs;

Neue Typen grauer Shang-Keramik, by Max Loehr;
BOOK REVIEW


Untersuchungen über den Aufbau der chinesischen Kultur. II Lokalkulturen im alten China. Teil 2: Die Lokalkulturen des Südens und Ostens. In our review appearing in the May 1943 issue, the third sentence of the second paragraph should read: "It might be a good idea to start with the chapter Conclusion," which clearly and concisely. . .

RECENT JAPANESE PUBLICATIONS

Torahiko Tatsuhiho, by Joji Taubota.

A Record of the Wide Plains, by Seiichiro Sakai. (Tokyo, 1943, Rikugensha, 245 pp., Yen 1.50)

Joji Taubota’s Torahiko Tatsuhiho is, in a word, a wholesome family novel, as is the case with almost all of his works. His theme is the world of children and the complicated world of grownups as reflected in the eyes of children. His pen comes alive when he writes about children, their joys and their sorrows. His works are loved by children and grownups alike. The story of this particular book is very simple:

The mother of the brothers Torahiko and Tatsuhiho and their younger sister Miyoko dies. Their father is called to the colors and is later killed in battle. Alone, the three children fight their way through the rough seas of their unfortunate life. They meet with kindness on the part of their cousins and with unsparing love on the part of a teacher in a girls’ high school. The sincerity of the author prevents the story from becoming merely sentimental.

Seiichiro Sakai, the author of A Record of the Wide Plains, joined the Japanese forces in Malai as a staff member of the Army Press Section at the outset of the Greater East Asia War. His book, however, pictures army life as experienced by Corporal Ino (probably the author himself) from the time when he was attached to a garrison on the Soviet-Manchoukuo border in the autumn of 1937. Since there is no gunfire to be heard throughout the novel, it describes, as it were, a war without fighting. But the absence of actual fighting only serves to render the life of the garrison troops even more rigorous. In the severe cold—more than 30 degrees below zero in this snowy border area—we see the strain on the soldiers defending the border and the strict training and maneuvers they have to undergo every day.

One day some small units belonging to the garrison forces return after having completed their operations on the North China front. Corporal Ino welcomes them, imbued with a sense of respect for those who have seen actual fighting and have faced the manifold dangers at the front.

On a cold, windy day, Lieutenant Kishi appears, who has been attached as an officer to the company. As I was standing before his men, he shouted: "I am not a learned man. But I know how a man should behave. There is only one thing I have to say: an order must be fulfilled unconditionally. Those who do not obey my orders will be beaten. Understand? That’s all."

Ino and his comrades were frightened. But, although Lieutenant Kishi was extremely strict, he was also unexpectedly kind to his men on such occasions as New Year holidays. He treated his men to a drink and sang with them. Ino was gradually attracted by Lieutenant Kishi’s character.

One day Lieutenant Kishi ordered his men to shovel some snow away, but his command was not fully carried out. Lieutenant Kishi thereupon lined up his soldiers, had them announce their rank and name in a loud voice, and beat their faces one by one. After this impressive, formal scene, he said:

"Are you really soldiers of the Imperial Army? If you are ordered to shovel snow, you must do so even if you freeze to death. This is the traditional spirit of the Japanese soldier. Wash your rotten hearts right now. With your cleansed hearts, rewash the whole of Japan!"

Soon the soldiers began to long for action. Ino is reminded by a pamphlet sent to him by his wife of his old error of believing in materialism when he was a boy. The pamphlet analyzed the China affair and urged the renovation of Japan herself as a prerequisite for solving the China affair. Upon reading this, Ino felt as if he had received a blow in the face. He made up his mind to become a worthy soldier and asked Lieutenant Kishi to teach him the way for a soldier to live. Lieutenant Kishi said:

"I believe it is enough for us to act in accordance with the august command of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor and offer our lives. I am always ready to die for the Emperor. That’s all. That is the only belief by which I live."

At Changkufeng the Soviet and Japanese forces had an armed clash. Ino’s detachment received marching orders, and the faces of his comrades shone with eagerness. Freight cars packed with soldiers rolled toward the northern border. White flowers were blooming in the wide plains. Ino thought he would be glad to die under his commander Lieutenant Kishi.

The novel shows us the Japanese intelligentsia awakening with the dawn of Japan. The China affair was an awakening to Japan. With the China affair, Ino, a Japanese who once believed in materialism and put up a portrait of Hegel, returned once more to the battlefield of the Japanese spirit. We see a symbol of Japan in the figure of Lieutenant Kishi in A Record of the Wide Plains.—Tsunio Narasaki.
MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS-IN-LAW

The jealousy between mothers and daughters-in-law is more of a problem in China because here the mother's claim on her son is recognized by society. A boy is tied down by a family and handicapped in his developments even before he marries. When he does, the wife's position is almost as difficult as that of a concubine. On the other hand, the socially acknowledged status of the mother in the life of the married son makes it easier for the mother and daughter-in-law to behave according to a set pattern and thus renders their relations less strained and awkward than in the West. A woman in love gladly subordinates herself to her husband's mother in an effort to fit herself into every cranny of her husband's life. Fragile Yuan Mei-yuen in The Soul of Liberty repeatedly tries to attch herself to her mother-in-law: "Let me stay with you. I shall willingly serve you like a horse—like the cattle in the field."

The film Two Generations of Women, starring Violet Koo, puts forth the situation more crudely. There the mother can find nothing objectionable in the daughter-in-law except that she takes up too much of her son's time and thought. The film suffers because the scenario reads as if it were written by a sulky boy of seventeen.

In another film, called Mother, Violet Koo, this time unhampered by poor dialogue, scores a triumph under the excellent direction of Shu Shih who, like Wang Ing, the director of The Soul of Liberty, was formerly an actor and now gives his films a rare touch of intimacy.

Mother goes to the root of the trouble by trying to educate the parents in the education of children. Rebellious against the family system, the film swings to the other extreme. With a puritanical distrust of blood relations, it denies the social worker love and marriage and private motherhood because millions of children need the attention of one disinterested mother.

Whether the panacea of modern psychology offered by Mother would work any radical change in Chinese domestic ethics is another question. The important thing is the awakening of the Chinese mind to the obligations rather than the privileges of parenthood. The mother in Mother is fully conscious of her responsibilities; in The Soul of Liberty, she feels them only in relation to the family dead; in Two Generations of Women she shamelessly hoards up man power in accordance with the proverb: "Rear a child to guard against old age: store up cereals to guard against a famine."—Eileen Chang.
DRAMA IN ITALY

By KLAUS MEHNERT

To a world which, close to the fourth anniversary of the war, had grown accustomed to more or less stabilized political and military fronts, the recent events in Italy have provided as great a sensation as any period since the beginning of hostilities. At first it was impossible to gather what had taken place, as the only news—and even this very scanty—was issued by the Badoglio Government. The days since September 8, however, have brought some clarification, although there are still many inconsistencies and gaps and Mussolini has not yet given his own account of the events. Yet it is possible to combine the many small, often disjointed, fragments of news, which the world has been given, into a plausible mosaic.

JULY 25, 1943, will go down as one of the important dates in Italian history. We have two versions of the events: the reports of Stefani, the official Italian news agency (at that time controlled by the Badoglio Government), on the meeting of the Grand Council of Fascism; and a DNB telegram of September 9 regarding the events in the royal palace. Some additional minor points were provided on August 11 by Ryosuke Hida, Domei staff correspondent in Berlin. According to these accounts, this is what happened on that fateful day.

STEFANI VERSION

At 5 p.m. on July 24 a meeting of the Grand Council of Fascism, attended by Mussolini and twenty-seven other members, took place at the Palazzo Venezia. Premier Benito Mussolini made a report on the country’s political and military situation. Thereupon Dino Grandi, the President of the Chamber of Fasces and Corporations, submitted to the members of the Council a motion signed by nineteen of them and proclaiming a necessity for “immediate resumption of all state functions.” The motion also requested that “the Crown, the Grand Council of the Government, Parliament, and the Corporations, be given tasks and responsibilities as fixed by our constitutional stipulations,” and concluded with the declaration that the Grand Council of Fascism “asks His Majesty the King to take over supreme command of the land, sea, and air forces, in accordance with Article 5 of the Constitution of the Royal House of Savoy.” Dino Grandi’s motion was approved with nineteen votes to seven and one abstention. The meeting ended at 3 a.m. On the strength of this decision Mussolini handed in his resignation to the King, who then entrusted Marshal Badoglio with the post of Prime Minister.

DNB VERSION

After a session of the Fascist Grand Council, Mussolini called on King Victor Emmanuel III at the King’s private residence on July 25. During this conference, Mussolini asked the King for full powers to institute severe proceedings against the sabotage of war efforts systematically carried out by certain Italian circles; against the desertion of generals and high officers of the armed forces which had been particularly noticeable in Sicily; against the lack of comradeship shown by superior Italian officers toward the men and noncommissioned officers; and against the corruption existing in the Army and in the war economy. But the King did not consent to this, and he
finally told Mussolini: "I must inform you that your successor as Prime Minister has already been designated, in fact has taken over office. This man is Marshal Badoglio. Put yourself at his disposal." As a matter of fact, Badoglio had already assumed power in the country while the conversation was taking place; and on leaving the Villa Savoia Mussolini was seized and taken in an ambulance first to the Carabinieri Barracks on the Piazza del Popolo and later to other destinations.

WHICH TO BELIEVE?

There is practically no collection between Stefani's version of the events and that of DNB except that they are supposed to have taken place within the same twenty-four hours.

Stefani, no doubt at Badoglio's orders, made a special point of stressing the fact that the change of government in Italy was not a coup d'état. If this were so, why was Mussolini never heard of again till he was freed by a daring German action? Why did Mussolini leave a post he had held for twenty years, a party whose building up had been his lifework, without a single word of his own? The only statement ever made about him by the Badoglio Government was that he remained a knight of the Annunciata Order, which tells us nothing.

Thus the evidence we have up to the present seems to support the DNB version, which describes the events of July 25 not as a normal constitutional change in government but as a coup d'état.

The next question is: Why was Mussolini forced out of office and imprisoned? On August 1, Stefani declared that the reason for the downfall of Mussolini's Government was not the war itself but the way in which it was prepared and conducted. This would mean that Badoglio, in agreement with the King, intervened in order to improve the conduct of the war. According to DNB it was just the other way round: it was Mussolini who asked the King for greater powers for that very purpose.

If Badoglio's version were correct, one would expect him to use his powers after July 25 to improve the conduct of the war. Did he do that?

THE END OF THE SICILIAN CAMPAIGN

In our issue of August/September of this year we traced the development of the Sicilian campaign up to the end of July. After that time it became increasingly clear that the real burden of the fight was being borne by German units. Even the official Italian war communiqués had in many cases more to report about the activities of German troops than of their own. Pressed by a force immensely superior on land, at sea, and in the air, the German defenders fought a heroic delaying and rearguard battle, while the Italian forces, with few exceptions, did not measure up to their task.

The number of Germans in Sicily probably never exceeded 40,000 men. Against them were assembled 6 Allied panzer divisions, 4 panzer brigades, 18 infantry divisions, one marine landing division, and 2 air-borne divisions. Hemming them in from the sea was a huge Allied fleet. Since early in August, men and material were being withdrawn from the Axis fighting lines and ferried across the Strait of Messina to the mainland. The front line was shortened day by day and was at the same time thinned out, leaving at last only a screen of small rearguards. While troops and all the heavy equipment were transported across the strait, these men held the enemy at bay with machine guns. Finally, on August 17, they themselves took to the boats with all their comrades (including 4,500 wounded) and of all equipment. The Sicilian campaign was over, and the battle for the Italian mainland had begun.

On August 29 a minor landing attempt was made on the coast of Calabria, but the British troops who succeeded in setting foot on land were wiped out or
captured. A major landing of the 8th British Army followed on September 3 on the coast of Calabria facing Sicily, north of Reggio and between Melito and Cape Spartivento. The weak German forces withdrew, and Villa San Giovanni, Reggio, and Melito were occupied by the British. Other landings followed on the night of September 3 near Ceramida and on September 8 in the Gulf of Eufemia.

WHAT PROBABLY HAPPENED

From this account we see that the war effort of the Italian armed forces after July 25 deteriorated from day to day and ceased completely within five weeks. It is true that the Italians did not show much fighting spirit during the first two weeks of the Sicilian campaign (July 10 to 24) either; but after the coup d'état they showed even less and finally none whatsoever. Thus there is nothing to support Badoglio's claim that the change in government was directed against the poor conduct of the war on the part of the Fascist Government.

The decisive argument against Badoglio's version is, of course, the fact that on August 3, a few days after his assumption of power, he initiated negotiations with the Allies for an armistice. Is it likely that the King and Marshal Badoglio would have removed Mussolini for his poor conduct of the war if a few days later they were going to begin peace talks with the enemy? It would seem rather that the development was somewhat as follows.

On July 19, Hitler and Mussolini met in North Italy. They knew by then what the rest of the world was to learn only later—that the Italian troops in Sicily were almost bereft of all morale. Entire units surrendered without resistance, and almost all the real fighting was being done by a few German divisions. Mussolini decided to take radical measures in order to eliminate those circles in the Army which were responsible for this state of affairs. When he returned to Rome and demanded additional powers, the King and Marshal Badoglio carried out their coup.

BADOGLIO'S INTERNAL CHANGES

Some indication of what Badoglio was aiming at can be found in the domestic policy followed by his government during its first few weeks of office as successively revealed by his own Stefani service. In trying to understand the meaning of his measures, it must be kept in mind that at that time all Badoglio's actions were influenced by the desire to keep Germany in the dark as to his true intentions. Hence he had to proceed very cautiously, probably postponing the bulk of his measures to the moment when he could drop his mask.

On July 25 the Fascist Militia, an armed force independent of the regular army, was put under Badoglio's command and a state of emergency declared. Then at its first meeting, held on July 27, the Badoglio Cabinet decided on the following measures:

(a) dissolution of the Fascist Party; (b) abolition of the law of December 9, 1928, concerning the Grand Council of Fascism, which was the supreme organ of the Fascist regime; (c) suppression of the Special Tribunal for the Defense of the State, instituted by the law of November 25, 1926; and (d) liberation of all political prisoners. During the same meeting it was decided to suggest to the sovereign the closure of the thirtieth Legislature and the dissolution by royal decree of the Chamber of Fasces and Corporations, instituted by the law of January 19, 1939.

In many other respects, too, the Badoglio Government showed its hostility to Mussolini's work. To mention only two examples:

(1) The Minister of National Education warned editors of schoolbooks that the councils of professors who were charged with choosing textbooks for the new scholastic year would not take into consideration books containing "tendentious interpretations of facts and historic events, or exalting principles that are incompatible with the new Italian situation." As far as history books were concerned, only texts dealing with events up to the end of the last world war would
be permissible. The "School Charter," in existence since 1939, was abolished.

(2) Even more obviously incriminating for the exponents of the previous regime was the appointment of a special commission with the task of investigating the increase of movable and immovable property of persons who held public positions or took part in political activity between October 28, 1922 (the day of the March on Rome) and July 24, 1943. The public was invited to co-operate in this work by reporting to the police or financial authorities those Fascist officials who have amassed property or money for personal use during the past twenty years. All promotions which took place after October 28, 1922, were to be investigated, and property acquired by officials after that date to be examined.

During the following weeks many Fascists were arrested throughout Italy, and the former Secretary General of the Fascist Party, Ettore Muti, was shot "while trying to escape."

THE NEW MEN

Another indication of Badoglio's plans was to be found in the composition of his new cabinet. Marshal Pietro Badoglio himself has been a professional soldier since 1888. When Mussolini's March on Rome took place, Badoglio was not in favor of it; however, he did not actively oppose it, and in 1924 he was sent for some months as Ambassador to Brazil. Later he was Governor of Libya. When Italy entered the war in June 1940 he was Chief of the General Staff, a position from which he resigned in December of the same year.

Some of the members of his cabinet are:

Foreign Minister: Raffaele Guariglia, a career diplomat since 1909 and, under Mussolini, envoy to various capitals.

Minister of the Interior: at first Bruno Formaciari, then Umberto Rocci, a career administrator both before 1923 and under Mussolini.

War Minister: General Antonio Sorice, Chief of the War Cabinet from 1936 to 1941.

Minister of War Production: General Favagrossa; held the same position with the previous Cabinet.

Navy Minister: Admiral Raffaele de Courten; previously Inspector of Submarine Armaments and for several years naval attaché in Berlin.

Finance Minister: Domenico Bartolini; formerly Inspector General of the State and Senator since 1939.

Minister for Exchange and Currency: Dr. Accanfora; previously one of the Managing Directors of the Bank of Italy.

Corporations (later Industry, Commerce, and Labor) Minister: Dr. Piccardi; an expert who has held several important positions in the same Ministry.

Minister of Education: Leonardo Severi; formerly an official in the same Ministry.

Minister of Popular Culture: first Guido Rocco, then Carlo Galli; a career diplomat since 1904.

Minister of Justice: Dr. Gaetano Azzariti; formerly Chief of the Legislative Department of the Ministry.

The choice of these men is characteristic of Badoglio's policy. On the one hand, practically all the new ministers had been members of the Fascist Party and had served during the Fascist regime, mainly as career men, in various capacities in the administration; on the other hand, some of the most important portfolios, such as those of Foreign Affairs, Interior, and Popular Culture, were put in the hands of men who had been largely active before the advent to power of the Fascist regime. Compared to the cabinets of Mussolini, the members of Badoglio's had an unusually high average age. With the exception of Piccardi, who is under forty, Sorice, who is about forty-six, and Guariglia, who is fifty-three, all the other members are about sixty or over. The Marshal himself is seventy-two years old. Thus it appears that Badoglio tried to get men for his cabinet who outwardly did not represent an open break with the preceding twenty years of Italian history but who could nevertheless be counted on as being in favor of pre-Fascist Italian conditions.

A CHANGED PRESS

In one field Badoglio's principle of turning to men of the pre-Fascist era was particularly noticeable: that of the press. On August 3, Stefani remarked: "Slowly, but ever so surely, all the principles of the old regime are being either revised or eradicated," adding that "men who have remained faithful to liberal ideas are replacing former newspaper editors."
As a matter of fact, quite a number of newspaper publishers and editors of pre-Fascist days had already been restored to their old positions. Among the newspapers that were thus placed once again in the hands of their former liberal or conservative owners and editors were the Giornale d'Italia, the Messaggero, and the Corriere della Sera. Furthermore, Dr. Roberto Suster, who had once before been the Berlin correspondent and the editor-in-chief of the Stefani news agency, reassumed this latter position in succession to Senator Manlio Morgagni, who committed suicide after July 25.

Three leftist sheets, which appeared (or reappeared) on July 26, were prohibited three days later. They were: the Mondo, directed by its former manager Bonomi, who had once before been the Berlin correspondent; La Riscossa, with veiled communist tendencies; and the 25 Luglio, a new periodical. But a dispatch from Rome dated August 29 announced that the socialist newspaper Avanti, which was issued in Milan before the beginning of the Fascist regime, would shortly be published again in Italy, and the Popolo di Roma declared on September 1 that the Communist Party had been recognized de facto. On the other hand, Mussolini's Popolo d'Italia, Farinacci's Regime Fascista and the Roman daily Tevere disappeared completely.

The fundamental lines of the press policy of the new regime had been given in a press dispatch from Rome of July 30 as being: no reviews of the past and no attacks on Mussolini or Fascism. In spite of this, quite a few of the reorganized Italian newspapers came out with sharp accusations, direct or indirect, against the previous regime. Here are two examples:

"The Chamber of Fasces and Corporations," wrote the Messaggero, "had destroyed all the relations between the people and the representatives of the nation and had no stability . . . . The experiences of the past twenty-one years will help avoid past errors."

The Tribuna warned its readers that "the legitimate joy of the Italians at having recovered their individual and collective dignity must not distract them from reality." The paper expressed the opinion that "Italy will give the world testimony that she can emerge from an error of more than twenty years," and concluded one of its articles by stating that "the Italian people is being given an ethical policy from which it had strayed, the dignity which it had lost, the spiritual values which can be repressed but not killed."

Badoglio's press was far more outspoken than Badoglio himself. While the new Prime Minister was choosing his words very carefully, realizing what was at stake for his undertaking and willing to go to any lengths to camouflage his real intentions, the press clamored more openly from day to day for the destruction of everything Fascist, be it only the names of the streets.

BADOGLIO NEGOTIATES WITH THE ALLIES

While all these internal changes were of paramount importance for Italy, the world at large was primarily interested in the foreign-political course which Badoglio intended to take. In his very first proclamation of July 25 the new Prime Minister had declared: "The war continues. Italy is gravely affected by the invasion of her provinces and the destruction of her cities; but, jealously preserving her thousand-year-old tradition, she will keep the word she has given." This seemed perfectly clear, and everybody who read these words must have taken them to mean only one thing, namely, that Italy would continue the war on the side of her Axis partners.

Yet a few days later armistice negotiations were started between the Badoglio Government and the Allies. According to a report from London (September 13) these negotiations began in the first few days of August when Italian diplomats approached British representatives (August 3) in two neutral countries, acting on instructions from the Italian Government and declaring themselves to be authorized
to discuss the possibility of an armistice. They were told that the terms were unconditional surrender. It is very likely that Badoglio’s readiness to surrender was the reason for Churchill’s hurrying to Quebec, where he arrived on August 11. The negotiations took some time, which probably explains the length of Churchill’s stay in America.

In the middle of August an Italian general presented himself to Sir Samuel Hoare, the British Ambassador in Madrid. He stated that he had come with full authority from Marshal Badoglio to say that, when the Allies landed in Italy, the Italian Government was prepared to join them against Germany. He, too, was told that the Allies demanded unconditional surrender. The armistice was signed in Sicily on September 3, in the presence of Generals Eisenhower and Alexander for the Allies and General Castellano for Badoglio, but without any Soviet representatives taking part.

The Allies announced that the USSR had been kept informed about the negotiations and that the armistice had the approval of the Soviet Government. But while England and America loudly celebrated Italy’s surrender, the Soviet press kept its customary reserve about the success of the USSR’s allies. Indeed, through the mouth of its most influential paper, Pravda, it claimed most of the credit for the Soviet Union by declaring on September 10 that the surrender of Italy “is connected in the first place with the heroic struggle of the Red Army on the Soviet-German front.”

THE ARMISTICE

The thirteen conditions of the armistice, which were later published by Reuter’s news agency, stipulate the unconditional surrender of Italy and her armed forces and, as shown by Article 12, her complete enslavement:

(12) Other conditions of political, economic, and financial nature with which Italy will be bound to comply will be transmitted at a later date.

In this Article the Badoglio Government agreed in advance to whatever measures the Allies might wish to take in Italy. In addition to this, the armistice includes several unusual clauses:

(2) Italy will do her best to deny the Germans facilities that might be used against the United Nations.

(6) Immediate surrender of Corsica and all Italian territory, both of islands and mainland, to the Allies for such use as operational bases and other purposes as the Allies may see fit.

(9) The guarantee by the Italian Government that if necessary it will employ all available armed forces to ensure the prompt and exact compliance with all provisions of this armistice.

(13) The conditions of the present armistice will not be made public without prior approval of the Allied Commander in Chief.

This means that Italy agreed not only to desert her ally but also to fight against him, indeed, even to keep him in the dark about this fact until a moment to be chosen by the enemies.

We do not know whether there are not further secret clauses. But even so the armistice of September 3 shows what surrender to the Allies means. This becomes particularly clear if we compare the salient points of this armistice with those of the armistice concluded between Germany and France at Compiegne three years ago (see p. 77 of the issue of July 1942 of this magazine.)

From the moment he was appointed Prime Minister up to September 8, Badoglio carried on a game that has few parallels in history. Publicly, the new government professed its loyalty to the Axis. On July 28 the Italian Embassy in Tokyo issued a statement declaring that the change in government did not in any way affect the international relations of the country, especially those concerning the war objectives of the Tripartite powers; and similar statements were made by all Italian missions abroad. That this pretense was kept up by Badoglio’s Government to the last moment and even for five days after the signing of the armistice is shown by the documents published by the German Foreign Office on September 12 and reproduced in our appendix. In the desire for camouflage, Badoglio even went so far as to permit the terrible loss of life in Naples resulting from the Allied terror raid of September 6.
DRAMA IN ITALY

GERMANY ACTS

Yet in spite of this endeavor to deceive Germany as long and as completely as possible, the Germans naturally began to smell a rat after the coup d'état. At first they were willing to give Badoglio and the King the benefit of the doubt, in spite of many suspicious indications later mentioned in a declaration of the German Government of September 9. After more than three years of warfare on the same fronts against common enemies and under common commanders, it was hard for German officers even to contemplate the possibility of Italy's treason. Nevertheless, they felt obliged to prepare for any emergency and to rely less and less on the support of the Italians.

When on September 8 the treason became known through the announcement made on the part of the Allies, the Germans—in spite of the sickening sensation they must have felt—instantly snapped into action. In reading the measures taken by the German High Command during the first forty-eight hours after the publication of the actual surrender, and particularly of the Führer's speech of September 10 (reproduced in part in our appendix), one is conscious almost of a feeling of relief that the intolerable suspense was ended. The situation had finally become clear. The Badoglio Government had no longer to be taken into consideration. Many Italians, too, must have welcomed the end of this period of camouflage. Now they had a clear choice between Badoglio and the Fascist National Government, the formation of which was immediately announced in northern Italy.

The Germans acted with extreme rapidity and their customary precision. All northern Italy, large parts of central Italy, and all Italian airports, were taken under German military control. Half a million Italian troops in these areas as well as in other parts of Europe were disarmed unless they declared their willingness to continue the war on the side of the German Army. Warships which tried to flee to the Allies were attacked, some being sunk. German troops upset Allied plans when they dealt heavy blows to the invaders in the plain of Salerno. Mussolini was freed and issued his first orders of the day (see our appendix), which breathed his customary energy and personal vigor.

The King, Badoglio, and their clique completed the full measure of their despicable deed: within a few hours after the publication of surrender they fled into the hands of the enemy, sending their families and belongings to Switzerland and leaving their country to reap the terrible harvest of shame and dishonor which they had sown.

How are we to evaluate these extraordinary events which we have briefly summarized here?

In one of his works, Machiavelli quotes a Bourbon prince of the sixteenth century as having once said that there had never been an example in history of the House of Savoy completing a war at the side of that ally on whose side it began that war—except when it found enough time to change fronts twice. It would, however, be wrong simply to consider the Italians as being constitutionally traitors.

It is true that in 1914 the Italians did not enter the war on the side of their allies Austria-Hungary and Germany; but they had an excuse in the wording of their treaty of alliance, which required that Italy be consulted by her allies before they went to war and that Italy join them only if they had been the object of attack. Technically this was not the case, as Germany and Austria-Hungary had been maneuvered by their enemies into a position in which they had to declare war. But even though, legally speaking, Italy no longer felt bound to her alliance. Germany and Austria-Hungary deeply resented this and considered it as treason when Italy ended up by fighting against them.

However, Italy's about-face in the Great War cannot be compared with the one in the present war, which is an absolutely clear case of treason in partic-
ularly disgraceful circumstances. This time, the obligations of Italy were perfectly clear and unambiguous. They are laid down in the Three Power Pact of September 27, 1940 (valid for ten years) and, more specifically, in the Three Power Alliance of December 11, 1941 (valid for the duration of the Three Power Pact), of which the first two articles read:

(1) Germany, Italy, and Japan will jointly fight this war forced upon them by the United States of America and Britain, with all the means at their disposal, to a victorious end.

(2) Germany, Italy, and Japan pledge themselves not to conclude any armistice or peace, either with the United States of America or with England, without previous complete mutual agreement.

HOW COULD IT HAPPEN?

During the last twenty years, Benito Mussolini has been trying to bring about in Italy what no other Italian had attempted before. The Italian people are admired in the world for their immortal contributions to European language, painting, music, architecture, and law; but it has been much ridiculed for its poor showing on the battlefield and for its lack of industrial enterprise. Mussolini tried to make this people into a nation of warriors and workers.

In 1922 Italy had been at her lowest ebb. Under the leadership of that same King Victor Emmanuel and lured on by British promises, she had entered the Great War against her own allies. She had suffered many defeats. At the peace conference her gains in return for the loss of 600,000 men were meager; and out of general discontent, high cost of living, and heavy debts, chaos had grown and in its wake a very acute danger of Bolshevism. When the King and his circle proved unable to master the situation, Mussolini stepped in. In loyal co-operation with the King, Mussolini restored order, won the confidence of the majority of the nation, and built for Italy a position such as she had not enjoyed since the fall of the Roman Empire.

But the last few months may have indicated that Mussolini had overreached himself and that his nation did not measure up to the demands which his political course made upon it. The strain of two minor wars (Abyssinia and Spain) and one great war seems to have proved too much.

There have always been malcontents in Italy who opposed the Fascist regime. They were to be found among the intellectuals, who desired the return of liberalism; in court circles, who looked down on the upstart Mussolini; and among the generals and high officers, many of whom were hostile to Fascism and fought in the war with indifference, trying even to infect the soldiers with their defeatism. All these people wanted to turn back the wheel of history, to restore pre-Fascist conditions, in which they had had more to say. In their shortsightedness, they felt closer to the Anglo-Americans than to the Axis. They were even willing to sell out to Roosevelt and Churchill, blind to the consequences this would entail for them and their country.

For a long time they found little support among the
masses, who were the beneficiaries of Mussolini's social policy. But during the three years of Italy's participation in the present war, dissatisfaction increased. The Italians found war a terribly grim business. It brought them little glory, many defeats, considerable losses in men and territory, and relentless terror attacks from the air. In this situation the enemies of Fascism found many opportunities, particularly after July 25, to slander Fascism and to point to it as the culprit of the misfortunes of the last three years.

WHAT THEY FORGOT

People are quick to forget, and many Italians forgot that Italy's entry into the present war had been approved by their King; they forgot that the army which had suffered these defeats was not an instrument built by Fascism but was directly under the Crown; they forgot that the Italian Army was, to a great extent, the result of Badoglio's work, who had been its Chief of Staff three times, in 1919, 1925, and from 1933 to 1940—that means, at the time of Italy's entry into the war—and that consequently it was he who was largely responsible for the poor military preparation of the Army.

Badoglio had acted with considerable shrewdness. By presenting his coup d'état as a normal change of government brought about by the alleged resignation of Mussolini, he achieved the smooth and rapid dissolution of the Fascist Party and all its organs; and by declaring that the war would continue, he rallied the majority of Fascists to his policy, appealing to them to concentrate on the war instead of discussing internal politics.

Of course the Italians want peace. There is no nation on earth today that does not wish for the return of peace. There may even be occasions when the inhabitants of a bombed city, senseless with fear and horror, want peace at any price. And it is quite likely that there were many people in Italy whose first reaction to the news of surrender was: peace at last!

But this was a terrible self-deception which, as Badoglio must have foreseen, could only last for a few hours. It was shattered to bits by the firm determination of Germany not to be drawn into the chaos but to erect a new and more consolidated front.

We do not deny that Italy's military prospects at the end of July were not very bright. She was facing a military crisis and had to expect that part of her territory would be turned into a battlefield, that many of her cities would be bombed, and that the road to final victory on the part of the Axis powers still was a long and hard one. But today the Italian people are infinitely worse off.

Not only will Italy remain a battlefield, will bombs continue to fall on her cities, but, owing to the actions of men whom she allowed to rule her, she has earned the contempt of the world. She has lost her fleet and her Army; she has lost her control of the Adriatic, of Dalmatia, Albania, and the Dodecanese; she has lost her spheres of influence in the Balkans and other parts of Europe; and—worst of all—she has lost control over her own fate. All these losses are hers unless the loyal, virile elements of Italy who are now gathering around Mussolini are strong enough to wipe out the shame of the last few weeks by deeds.

As we go to press, the Italian people behind the protective wall of German divisions are being profoundly stirred. The fata morgana of a peace by surrender has vanished. Italy's entire future is at stake. Salvation cannot come from men who have committed treason and fled to the enemy. Only the path of honor and loyalty can lead to victory. For this path, which has been chosen by Italy's allies—Germany and Japan—there can be no more shining symbol than the courage, spirit of sacrifice, loyalty, and initiative which on September 12 snatched Mussolini from the clutches of the enemy and won the admiration of friend and foe.
SUCCESS OF TWO MISSIONS

By E. OBENAUS

In the years after the Great War the main subject of all historians was the study of the events leading up to that war; in the same way, thousands of books will appear during the next few decades dealing with the antecedents of the present war. Even now, while the war is still raging, there is already a copious literature on this theme in the form of documentary publications, diaries, memoirs, reports of personal impressions, etc. Much of this is, of course, propaganda. Yet to those who read them with care there appear certain outlines which will remain valid even to the historians of later and more objective times.

To commemorate the fourth anniversary of the outbreak of the present world war we are publishing the following article. From the wealth of material, the author has selected the roles of two men who, during the critical years preceding the war, were the ambassadors of the two Anglo-Saxon powers in Berlin.

The author has been the manager of the German bookstore in Shanghai since 1925. His private interests have always been in the line of history, and he has closely followed world politics from the vantage point afforded by Shanghai. This article is based throughout on official documentary publications such as the German White Books, the British War Blue Book, as well as "Ambassador Dodd's Diary" and Sir Neville Henderson's "Failure of a Mission."—K.M.

WILLIAM E. DODD, HISTORIAN

At twelve o'clock on June 8, 1933, at the office of William E. Dodd, professor of history at the University of Chicago, the telephone rang. "This is Franklin Roosevelt; I want to know if you will render the Government a distinct service. I want you to go to Germany as Ambassador."

Professor Dodd was at that time sixty-four years old and had been professor of American history at the University of Chicago since 1908. His last three years of study, which he ended in 1900, had been spent at the University of Leipzig. Among his colleagues he enjoyed a high reputation; he had been elected President for 1934 of the American Historical Association, the highest honor that can be awarded to an American historian. The main subject of his studies was one of the most delicate themes of American history, the southern states of America, and he was in the midst of completing his lifework, The Old South.

Dodd's long-standing connections with the Democratic Party had resulted in his book Woodrow Wilson and His Work, published in 1920, which was followed in 1924/26 by his publication of The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson. For years he had been a member of the outer circle of the leaders of the Democratic Party in the USA, although he could hardly be regarded as one of its master minds.

What had moved the President to offer Professor Dodd the post of Ambassador to Berlin, one of the most important in the Foreign Service of the United States, in times of such political tension?

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF WILSON

In 1933 Roosevelt had assumed the Presidency during one of the most serious crises in the history of America. Hundreds of banks had closed their doors because of insolvency, and the capitalist system of America was on the verge of bankruptcy. The number of unemployed amounted to well over ten million. Agriculture was also faced by ruin. As there was a prospect of complete domestic collapse any day, it was advisable for Roosevelt for the time being to maintain
a certain reserve in matters of foreign policy. His actual foreign-political goals were only to be revealed during the course of his unprecedented long period of office. Although their attainment was skillfully adapted to reigning conditions, their main outline remained unchanged. They represented a continuation, indeed, a repetition, of the Wilsonian policy, which sought to place the United States, i.e., her ruling financial circles, in a leading position in the world of politics and economics. Under Wilson, Roosevelt had been given his first government post, that of Assistant Secretary of the Navy, which he occupied from 1912 to 1920; the political aims of his former chief have always remained an unalterable ideal to him. The fact that Wilson did not achieve his aims has been a constant spur to Roosevelt's ambition.

To President Wilson's political friends and to American high finance, the Great War had represented the biggest business since the American Civil War (1861/65). It is understandable that these same circles, led by the banking house of J. P. Morgan & Co., insisted on America's participation in the Great War on the side of the Allies in order to prevent the loss of the huge credits granted to the Allies through a possible defeat of the latter. The Nye Investigation Committee, appointed by the American Senate in 1936, clearly proved the responsibility of Morgan and his friends for America's entry into the Great War. The result of the war was that the American State became the creditor for about ten billion dollars' worth of Allied loans.

But when the war was over, the American people had no longer any desire to continue Wilson's world policy. Moreover, it soon turned out that the debtors, even those who were willing to, were not able to pay their debts; nor did they permit America to exert any noteworthy influence on world politics on the basis of these debts. 1932 saw the cessation of reparation payments on the part of Germany and of the Allied loan and interest payments to America. This sealed Wilson's venture, a venture which proved so costly for the American people.

Soon after the Great War, Roosevelt developed infantile paralysis. He fought a grim battle against this disease. In those years of enforced leisure, he dreamed of his future political activity. In his mind's eye he already saw the American people marching under his leadership at the head of the nations.

**IN DEFENSE OF CAPITALISM**

After his short period of office as Governor of New York, the inner circle of the leaders of the Democratic Party succeeded in having Roosevelt elected President of the United States. A glance at the contribution lists for the election funds of the two great parties of America shows that the supporters of both are recruited from the same circle of American high finance which the American Ferdinand Lundberg calls "America's 60 Families" in his penetrating study of American capitalism in the book of the same name. The camouflaged interests of these sixty families—this has also been shown by the painstaking work of the Nye Committee—represent the main obstacle to an analysis of the actual trend of America's domestic and foreign policy.

President Roosevelt, too, himself of wealthy descent and related to some of the richest families in the country, knows really only one goal, the salvation of American capitalism. But even he could not avoid the necessity of incisive political and economic reforms. These reforms, known collectively as the "New Deal," have given the sick American nation numerous medicines and drugs, which were applied with the utmost consideration for its capitalistic central organs. But they were unable to bring about a fundamental recovery during Roosevelt's first two periods of office. In spite of the fact that 19.5 billion dollars had been spent since 1933 on work projects for unemployed, the number of unemployed in 1939 was 11.7 million. Similarly poor results were achieved by the majority of the measures—among them such absurd
ones as plowing under cotton, burning wheat, etc.—undertaken by his administration for the purpose of re-establishing prosperity. Consequently, one thing seemed to become clearer and clearer every year to the circle around Roosevelt: nothing but the business ensuing from a war of even greater dimensions than the Great War could rehabilitate American capitalism.

Moreover, a new war of this kind represented the only chance of making good Wilson's failure and of setting up the long-dreamed-of leading position of America in the world. Germany and Japan appeared to be the most suitable opponents, first of all because they would not subject themselves to American capitalism, and secondly because the greatest number of allies, meaning debtors who would eventually become vassals, could be mobilized against them. In addition, British propaganda throughout the world was already being skillfully directed against these two nations; and against Germany the Jews were ready to offer all possible support. The various stages of Roosevelt's foreign-political activity clearly point in this direction.

**PREJUDICED IDEALIST**

As we shall see, the choice of Dodd as Ambassador to Berlin was one of the early determining moves in the President's efforts to maneuver the American people into a new war. Dodd's personality and character contained an ideal combination of traits which made it possible ostensibly to send him to Germany as the symbol of a friendly policy and yet from the very outset to prevent a *rapprochement* between Germany and America. The more sincere the efforts on the part of the Ambassador for preserving peace could be made to appear to the American people and the world in general, the more easily would it be possible to drive the Americans into the war when the failure of these efforts was suitably represented to them.

It is a well-known fact that the winning party in the United States elections usually rewards large contributors to its party election funds by giving them diplomatic posts abroad. The list of contributions toward Roosevelt's election was headed by Bernard M. Baruch, the Jewish stockbroker and Wall Street operator, who had already headed the list in Wilson's days and had been rewarded by Wilson with the all-important post of Chairman of the War Industries Board; Roosevelt has made him one of his closest advisers. But in view of Roosevelt's pretended renouncement of "dollar diplomacy" during the early years of his presidency, none of the large contributors to the party funds could be considered for the Berlin post. Professor Dodd's contribution to Roosevelt's election fund in 1932 had been $25.00. The character of the modest donor, a combination of extreme thrift and financial integrity, seemed to offer a guarantee that he would not succumb to the temptation of reviving trade between Germany and America as a representative of economic interests or in return for "personal obligation."

In this respect Dodd was the opposite of Walter Hines Page, the American Ambassador in London before and during the Great War. When President Wilson offered the latter the position of Ambassador in London in 1913, he first refused it because he could not support himself in proper ambassadorial style. At Wilson's request, Cleveland H. Dodge, one of the chief shareholders of the National City Bank and a munitions magnate, thereupon placed a yearly sum of $25,000 at the disposal of the Ambassador out of his private purse, thus practically making him his employee.

No less important a factor in Roosevelt's choice was Dodd's dogmatic aversion to National-Socialism. In view of his doctrinal, although purely idealistic democratic conceptions, this dislike could be regarded as unalterable. Those circles in Washington and throughout the country which were not averse to a *rapprochement* with Germany were sure not to find any support of their plans in Dodd's reports from Berlin.
SUCCESS OF TWO MISSIONS

SEEKING FOR THE PAST

From his student days in Germany, Dodd still possessed some connections with German academic circles. He spoke German well and had a certain knowledge of conditions in Germany, although his American democratic ideas usually caused him to interpret them wrongly. As a friend and biographer of Woodrow Wilson, he could, moreover, be presented in Germany as a kindred spirit of the author of the Fourteen Points with their semblance of justice and benefaction to mankind.

As a member of America’s intelligentsia, he could be convincingly entrusted with the mission of seeking connections with the “older cultural elements” in Germany, to use Dodd’s own words. Behind this phrase was hidden the hope of finding liberal and reactionary circles in Germany which could be useful to American purposes.

While the Professor was expected naively to play the part of an ambassador of good will in Berlin, the close circle of friends initiated into Roosevelt’s actual political aims and their diplomatic exponents in London, Warsaw, Paris, and Moscow were to shape the world’s political situation according to the wishes of the Roosevelt party.

The resumption of political relations with Moscow which, because of America’s general aversion to Bolshevism, was by no means popular, was Roosevelt’s first unmistakable step toward his true foreign political goals. In October 1933 he wrote an extremely cordial letter to Kalinin, whom he addressed as “Dear Mr. President,” which contained the following sentence: “I shall be glad to receive any representative you may designate to explore with me personally all questions outstanding between our countries.” The difference between this diplomatic overture and Dodd’s mission in Berlin is significant. It clearly shows how Roosevelt acts when he is really suing for amity with a foreign power.

THE HISTORIAN ACCEPTS

On that memorable day in the life of Professor William E. Dodd, June 8, 1933, it was only two and a half hours after the sensational phone call from the President that the telephone rang in the White House. After having conferred with Mrs. Dodd, their daughter Martha, and the university authorities, Professor Dodd notified the President that he accepted the post of Ambassador to Berlin. Some months earlier he had expressed his preference for a diplomatic post in Holland, as that would have allowed him to continue the writing of The Old South. But apparently the President had his own ideas as to what post Professor Dodd would be able to render his country a distinct service.

After some studies at the State Department in Washington and conferences with political and economic leaders, among them a number of prominent Jews, he embarked on July 5, 1933, on the Manhattan. On July 13, Dodd arrived in Germany, and on August 30 he presented his credentials to President Hindenburg. The short speech he made, containing the conventional avowals of his good will, cautiously mentioned the “German people” as the object of his mission and the intellectual life of Germany as being of great interest and importance to the people of the United States, thereby discreetly indicating his rejection of the policy of the government to which he was accredited.

THRIFTY AMBASSADOR

That was the beginning of Ambassador Dodd’s four years of activity—described in detail in his published diary—in Berlin’s diplomatic world, for which he developed a growing dislike. He hated its social life as being a pure waste of time. The expenditure which this life involved, especially on the part of states which all had large debts in America, was singled out for his wrath. While the lives of millions of people, the fate of the fortunes of entire nations, depended on his activities, he fought for every mark
which he, the Ambassador of the richest country in the world, had to give to a doorman, chauffeur, or servant. With all due respect to his homely thrift, would it not have been better in those critical years to have had a man at the Berlin post whose entire interest was devoted to the bringing about of friendly relations with prominent circles in Berlin by social and other means?

In the early part of his diary he recorded with satisfaction every exceptionally cheap and plentiful meal, together with the name of the restaurant; it never occurred to him, however, to draw any conclusions from this as to the food situation in Germany who, according to American ideas, had been driven by Hitler to the brink of starvation. At the first few diplomatic banquets which he attended, he counted the servants, courses, and wineglasses and calculated the cost with amazement. And, last but not least, he counted the minutes before he could be home again, to drink a glass of milk and go to bed with a book about his beloved Old South. Absorbed in his memories of the glorious days of the Cotton Kingdom and of the barbarous march of General Sherman during the Civil War, he never thought of comparing that war, which brought destruction to the Old South and capitalistic exploitation to all of America, with the National-Socialist revolution which, after a minimum of sacrifice, brought a maximum of reconstruction to Germany by which the entire nation benefited.

Instead of bearing in mind the Fourteen Points of his hero Wilson, Dodd kept his eyes fixed on the 440 Points of the Versailles dictate, which represented a complete reversal of the Fourteen Points. With utter lack of understanding he observed how Adolf Hitler broke the majority of the shackles imposed on the German people at Versailles and attempted to approximate the European situation to Wilson’s professed ideals.

With his conception of the life of a diplomat, it is hardly surprising that Dodd was unable to make friends among the influential foreign diplomats in Berlin. It is characteristic of him that his sole close contact was with Luis Zulueta, also a university professor, who represented the Spanish Republican Government in Berlin. The other diplomats apparently did not take Dodd quite seriously. Great Britain was represented in Berlin by Sir Eric Clare Edmund Phipps, a first-class career diplomat. Dodd always regretted not being able to get on a more friendly footing with him. Phipps doubtlessly saw through Dodd’s mission, for the phrase Dodd usually heard from this best-informed of foreign diplomats in Berlin was that “he knew nothing.”

WITNESS OF ENCIRCLEMENT

In spite of his personal isolation, even Dodd was able, through the many channels of information at his disposal, to obtain confirmation that the policy of encirclement against Germany which England and France had resumed was progressing. As early as June 30, 1934, he remarked in his diary: “England and Holland are on the best of terms,” and drew from this the conclusion that “this means, if true, the complete encirclement Germany has ever known.” In many other respects, too, Dodd is one of the most unimpeachable witnesses of the Allies’ aggressive policy of encirclement.

Among his non-German connections in Berlin, Dodd mentions the Soviet Ambassadors Khinchuk (1930/34) and Suritz (1934/37). Khinchuk impressed him as being “not a Communist though he fights valiantly for the cause”; and Suritz was in his eyes “a very agreeable and clever man, but a Communist.” It is indicative of Dodd’s strong prejudices that, while he did not seem to mind contacts with these representatives of the Bolshevist regime—whose utterly undemocratic attitude had induced the democratic American people to reject for more than fifteen years any contact whatever with the USSR—he sought as much as possible to avoid the leading men in the government to which he was accredited. He limited himself to a minimum of relations with those men of the Foreign Office who were in charge of
affairs concerning the USA. Dodd was forced to admit that these men showed him particular cordiality and helpfulness.

PAYMENTS AND INCIDENTS

His ambassadorial activities were restricted chiefly to sterile work of two kinds. While the adjustment of the Allied war debts had, after early modest efforts, been quickly filed and forgotten by the Roosevelt administration, it was Dodd’s chief task to press for the payment of interest and amortization on the part of Germany. This task involved negotiations with Hjalmar Schacht, then the President of the Reichsbank. The latter attached the utmost importance to a normalization of German-American economic relations and was prepared to pay—but in the only currency in which Germany could pay, namely, work. Schacht was always urging him to take the products of Germany’s labor, engineering, research, and science in payment. But Dodd, against his better judgment, was forced to insist on cash. He had no instructions to consider exchange of goods, from the surplus of which Germany might have been able to pay off her debts. American and German industrialists and businessmen, who had advantageous offers to make for German-American trade, passed in and out of his office; but they made no headway.

The other sphere of his activities was determined by the attitude of some of his compatriots in Germany. Every minor incident in which an American citizen was involved, usually as a result of an indiscretion or of refusing to conform to the laws and customs of the country, was for Dodd an inexhaustible source of petty diplomatic actions at the German Foreign Office as well as of reports to Washington. Nowhere is there to be found any constructive idea for the improvement of German-American relations.

During his four years of office and even during his two visits to America in this time, Dodd’s contacts with Roosevelt and with the State Department were extremely loose. The State Department seemed hardly interested in Ambassador Dodd and his work, and it certainly made no effort to use him for an improvement of German-American relations.

As for Dodd’s hopes to contact the “older cultural elements” in Germany, these bore no fruit. It is true that some of his former teachers and co-students, who belonged now to the older generation, were not the staunchest apologists of National-Socialism; but on the whole he found them to be loyally devoted to their country, although nursed in the ideas of imperial Germany and not sharing to the fullest extent the National-Socialist conceptions of state and people. Strangest among his and his family’s social contacts were those with the Hohenzollern family, against whom the democratic powers had gone to war in 1914.

IN AID OF JOURNALISTS

It cannot be denied that Dodd took trouble to explore the attitude of the man in the street, only that he did this rather superficially. To give an example: on Sunday, August 13, 1933, the Dodd family was motoring to Leipzig and stopped over at Wittenberg, the town of Luther. An entry in Dodd’s diary runs: “Noticing a Nazi parade, I happened to catch the expression of an onlooking policeman. It was not approving.”

We must refer to another body representing the United States in Germany which, we believe, was there on a far more important mission than Dodd himself: the American journalists. These excellently trained and very talented men were an important instrument for shaping the opinion of the American people along the lines of Roosevelt’s policy. Day and night they supplied carefully selected and made-up material for America’s Jewish-influenced press and radio, in order to prepare the American people for a new crusade against Germany.

These journalists, too, had little contact with Dodd and did not think much of him. On the other hand, Dodd had an envious respect for them. No information or atrocity story they brought him was too stupid to win his attention.
And even when one of these stories had been exploded as a huge fake, Dodd, the former President of the American Historical Society, did not deem it necessary to issue a proper denial.

**A MISSION FULFILLED**

Hence it is easy to understand that, by the beginning of 1937, the German Government was starting to lose patience with Dodd’s sterile handling of his office. Dodd himself had on several occasions already made it clear that he felt himself to be at a lost post and was not averse to resigning. And, in spite of the fact that the American depression continued unabated even under the New Deal, Roosevelt’s foreign policy had advanced far enough for him to be able to consider recalling Dodd. He had served his purpose.

The decision of the Berlin diplomatic corps in 1937 to visit the National-Socialist Party Rally in Nuremberg in a body determined Dodd to make a trip to America in order to avoid taking part and also to clarify his position in Washington. On August 11 he was received by President Roosevelt, who asked him to return to Berlin for another few months. It was agreed that he should retire on March 1, 1938. But on November 23, shortly after his return to Berlin, Dodd was surprised to receive a telegram according to which he was to resign between December 15 and 31. This in spite of the fact that Dodd had explained to the President that March 1, 1938, would be the best date, partly on account of the weather for the crossing and partly for political reasons. What particularly annoyed Dodd was that his wife had just spent $1,000 on new furniture, which should have entitled his family to the use of them for at least another few months.

After a practically unnoticed departure from Berlin, Dodd arrived back in America on January 8, 1938. Fate was to grant him only a short term of further activity, in which he was unable to complete his writing of *The Old South*. On February 9, 1940, he followed his wife, who had died shortly before, into the grave.

Soon after, his son and daughter showed a strange haste in publishing his private diary, which Dodd himself had probably not intended for publication. In the history of diplomacy it is a very unusual occurrence for the confidential and private notes of a diplomat on his mission to be published within so short a period after his recall. Even beyond his death, Roosevelt abused the upright old professor for his own ends. The world will probably never know whether the diary was published in its original version or whether here and there it underwent a revision.

Dodd was succeeded in January 1938 by Hugh Robert Wilson, a colorless personality. His recall soon after, by which Roosevelt wished to dramatize his rejection of the German policy toward the Jews, failed in its purpose of intimidation. As regards Roosevelt’s true policy toward Germany, he no longer needed the smoke screen of Dodd’s activity. His “quarantine” speech, the Lend-Lease Bill, and many similar steps, clearly marked the road he had taken; and popular sentiment in America had been conditioned to accept with resignation the inevitability of an armed conflict with a nation with which, so the Americans were told, even so pro-German and sincere a man as Ambassador Dodd had not been able to bring about friendly relations.

**SIR NEVILE HENDERSON, DIPLOMAT**

For England, too, the filling of the post of Ambassador to Berlin had become a question of greatest importance since Hitler’s coming into power. In 1935, after a ten-year period of cabinets supported by Labor and the Liberals, the Conservative Party, whose inner circle has always in the end decided the fate of England, had once again seized the reins of government. But the hour for the die-hards of Churchill’s type had not come yet. As in America, the economic and social uncertainty in the country, as well as the divergent tendency of the
William E. Dodd, professor of history at the University of Chicago and US Ambassador to Germany 1933-37. He hated the expenses and social obligations of diplomatic life.

Sir Nevile Henderson, career diplomat and British Ambassador to Germany 1937-39. He always wore a dark-red carnation in his buttonhole.

TWO AMBASSADORS TO GERMANY

56, Wilhelmstrasse, Berlin, the German Foreign Office. Behind this unpretentious facade, old traditions were maintained and new policies born.
SOME OF OUR CONTRIBUTORS

T. F. CHU
"The Story of Modern Chinese Literature"

ARKADIUS HARTMANN (Max)

Dr. LEMAR HENNIG
"The American Theocracy"

WERNER JAHNKE
"Beyond the Indo-Burmese Border"

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G. H. SCHWABE
"The Blood of the Earth," etc.

T. TAKASAKI
"The Birds Ought to Know"

WILHELM WEIS
"The First Reich"
various members of the Empire, made it necessary for the Government to apply a large measure of restraint in domestic as well as foreign policy. Stanley Baldwin owed the overwhelming victory of his Conservative Party in 1935 to the failure of the previous governments in these questions, to his promise of redress, and to his word of honor that no great armaments would be undertaken in England. But his party had not changed its attitude toward the social problem, which was as pressing in England as in all other countries. The Conservatives had always shown consummate skill in avoiding this question and in closing their eyes to even the worst abuses of English capitalism and rural feudalism.

THE INNER CIRCLE

Although outwardly he was at times only loosely connected with the Conservative Party, Winston Churchill always belonged to its inner circle by reason of his mentality. Moreover, he was also its main exponent in its uncompromising attitude toward the social question. Even when he ran for the parliamentary by-election in the Abbey Division of Westminster early in 1924 in opposition to the Conservative Party, he stood as an "independent and anti-Socialist" candidate, who wanted to join with conservatives to stop the march of Socialism.

For their obstinate refusal to make concessions in questions of social justice England's leading circles had found in the early thirties a very useful explanation which was proclaimed by Churchill. Science, he said, had for the first time presented the opportunity of solving the social problem and bringing about a far higher level of well-being and culture for everybody than was ever possible before. There was only one thing obstructing this process: the policy of the "aggressor states" which threatened the peace of the world.

The eyes of England's ruling class were, indeed, turned with apprehension toward Germany. There Adolf Hitler had, within a few years, built up a sound system of social adjustment, although on coming into power he had been faced by a practically ruined agriculture and industry as well as by seven million unemployed. More and more voices were to be heard in England calling attention to the success of Hitler's policy, the recognition of which might have brought about a rapprochement between Germany and England, a rapprochement for which Hitler had always striven.

And this was not the only reason for anxiety. London had watched with consternation while the outlines of a newly organized Europe began to become apparent which was determined to bury the disputes that for centuries had been kept alive by England. This would have meant the end of the British policy of the European balance of power and, according to Tory ideas, the decline of the British Empire.

Opinions in England's inner circle were still divided on the situation. One wing, in particular the circle around the Marquis of Londonderry, thought the only way to save the Empire was to come to a far-reaching understanding with Adolf Hitler. The great majority of the British people desired peace and had voted for Baldwin's Conservative Party because of its promise of peace. Baldwin's and Chamberlain's official attitude did, indeed, seem to represent a policy of peace. Had England's policy ever appeared as anything else? For the majority of the Tories, however, the road to a true understanding with Germany was impossible. They fought appeasement and, through their main representative Churchill, raised the cry for a preventive war.

FIGURE OF LEGEND

Churchill's prestige among the people had fallen considerably since the Great War. Both his attempts at being elected into Parliament as an independent member failed, and at one time his political life seemed to have come to an end. Nevertheless, the Conservative Party did not drop him; on the contrary, in 1925 they placed him in one of their safest rural election districts, Epping. Since that time, Churchill has been conveniently returned to Parliament at every election as a true Conservative in every respect.
His attitude as the new Honorable Member for Epping was in no way different from his former ideas as an independent. It has always remained in complete accord with that of the inner circle. Thus it was possible that, on the day England declared war on Germany, on September 3, 1939, he was immediately reinstated in his old post of First Lord of the Admiralty, from which he had been dismissed in disgrace during the Great War.

These facts cannot be changed by the legends which have been circulated about him both in the last and present wars. He was always a lonely man, these legends say, who was alone in seeing things as they really were. Alone he stood against the whole Empire. While the people of the Empire were, according to legend, thinking only of peace and benefiting mankind, Churchill had realized that Hitler was, in spite of all the affection heaped upon him by the British, a wicked man. Thus he swam, brave and alone, against the broad current of the policy of his party (which, nevertheless, kept on having him re-elected in Epping). Indeed, before this technique of the Tories even the game played by Roosevelt with Professor Dodd pales in comparison.

**THE GAME BEGINS**

On May 9, 1938, the hour had come for the inner circle of the Conservative Party, in spite of the policy of appeasement ostensibly being continued, to express through Churchill what was really in their minds. Churchill's speech of that day in the Free Trade Hall in Manchester was nothing more or less than a clarion call to war against the Germany of Adolf Hitler. The public was presented with all details of the new plan of encirclement against Germany which had been initiated some years before by the Foreign Office. "I shall be told," said Churchill, "But this is the encirclement of Germany." I say, "No, this is the encirclement of an aggressor." There could be no doubt whom the Tories and Churchill regarded as the aggressor—Germany. (To give an example: in the mutual assistance pact of August 25, 1939, Great Britain guaranteed Poland's borders. When Polish-German hostilities began, England promptly declared war on Germany. But when the Soviet Union swallowed up half of Poland, London made no move whatever to regard this as an act of aggression in the sense of the pact.)

Comfortably seated at the upper end of the richly served Empire table and with no scruples concerning what was being served to the English masses seated at its lower end, Churchill directed his wrath against those nations which attempted to replenish the table of their own country, scantily provided for by Nature, by their industry and inventive spirit and in such a way that even the last of their countrymen might find a place at it where he could eat his fill.

Churchill directed all his energy and countless speeches at:

- Sabotaging all disarmament, which had been solemnly agreed to in Versailles.
- Vast rearmament, in spite of Baldwin's promise to the contrary.
- The encirclement of Germany, if possible with the aid of Russia.
- Guarantees to every possible state in Europe and military conventions.
- Sabotaging all measures aimed at the humanization of international relations and warfare, such as Hitler's attempt to prohibit by a general convention the bombing from the air of civilian populations.

Furthermore, he aimed at making Germany appear in the eyes of the world as the aggressor and destroyer of all social and human rights, in order to convince England and the world of the justice of a war against her.

**A FORCE BEHIND THE SCENES**

Although Neville Chamberlain's Tory Cabinet was, by force of circumstance, still conducting a policy of appeasement, on which Churchill vented all his scorn and cynicism, the Conservative Party had created for itself a strong position at
another focal point of the Government. For it had made Sir Robert Vansittart, who during the Great War had already been an important exponent of the anti-German policy, Permanent Undersecretary at the Foreign Office in 1929. Although Vansittart was not much in the public eye, he was actually the driving force in the British foreign policy, whatever changes were made in Foreign Ministers. In order to make Vansittart's position even more secure, he was given early in 1938 the post—especially created for him—of Adviser to the British Government. In this capacity he was directly under the Foreign Minister and, having been freed of all administrative duties, was supposed to devote himself entirely to the great questions of foreign policy.

Vansittart's desire to destroy Germany was hidden behind the manners of a perfect gentleman of exceptional charm and intellectual polish. In Berlin, Sir Robert had some time previously placed his brother-in-law, Sir Eric Phipps. Now, however, the latter's unconciliatory rejection of National-Socialism compromised Chamberlain's policy of appeasement as well as Vansittart's policy of maneuvering Germany into the position of an aggressor nation before the eyes of the world. It was not easy to find a successor to Phipps, as it was a matter of finding an ambassador who was officially to act according to Chamberlain's policy of appeasement but actually to carry out the orders of Vansittart and Churchill.

THE RIGHT SCHOOL TIE

The brilliant choice fell on Sir Nevile Henderson, a career diplomat with years of experience in the British Foreign Service who also belonged to the inner circle of Tories. He had previously been Ambassador in Yugoslavia and, from 1935 to 1937, in Argentina, both important outposts of British imperialism in Europe and America. Compared to Professor Dodd's complicated and stubborn nature, Sir Nevile was an ideal specimen of the right people from the right school with the right tie. The eccentricities of his personality were limited to a taste for unconventional pullovers and other amusing trifles with which the society columns of the English press could so pleasantly be filled as a distraction from the actual spirit of the English ruling class. In reality he felt a supreme contempt for everything that took place outside of London and the country seats of his Tory friends. But it was part of his stock in trade to have at his command an agreeable phraseology and to be prepared at any time to show friendly but noncommittal recognition for the achievements of other nations. In January 1937, Henderson received the telegram appointing him to Berlin.

In his memoirs, which he published under the title of Failure of a Mission, he declared with well-bred modesty that he felt himself to be inadequate for this important post. But he consoled himself with the thought "that it could only mean that I had been specially selected by Providence," and set out for Berlin. For his voyage from Buenos Aires to Europe he took along two copies of Mein Kampf to study on the way, one complete and one abbreviated, and sharpened his wits on comparing their differences.

PROTESTATIONS OF GOOD WILL

In Berlin, Henderson harmonized with Chamberlain's utterances in emphasizing his desire for sincere collaboration with the National-Socialist Government. He was given a very friendly reception. In Germany there was a strong desire for an understanding with England, as long as England was ready to show her willingness by deeds. What the true meaning of his friendly attitude toward the German Government was, Sir Nevile was careless enough to express himself in his memoirs:

Many may regard my persistence as convicting me of the lack of any intellectual understanding of Nazi, or even German, mentality. That may be true; but even to-day I do not regret having tried to believe in Germany's honour and good sense. Whatever happens, I shall always persist in thinking that it was right to make the attempt, that nothing was lost by making it, but that, on the contrary, we should never have entered upon this war as a united Empire and nation, with the moral support of neutral opinion behind us, if the attempt had not been made.
Thus his task was to see to it that Germany would obviously be in the wrong if it came to a war between the two countries.

With Henderson in Berlin, Sir Robert could serenely allow Chamberlain to continue his efforts at peace, for the blowing up of which at the proper moment the mines were already laid. He must have smiled with satisfaction over Henderson’s dispatches from Berlin, which were already in perfect shape to be filed for the British documentary publication that was to prove Germany’s guilt in the coming war. For these dispatches mentioned nothing but the ceaseless efforts on the part of Sir Nevile at coming to an understanding with Germany and maintaining peace. Sir Nevile played his part with the routine of a great actor who plays Hamlet’s madness for the hundredth time without going mad. He played it cheerfully till the bell rang for the new act.

PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS

Tensely the inner circle watched the political developments in Europe. The Saar, Austria, and Sudetenland were incorporated into the Reich. Bohemia and Moravia placed themselves under the protection of the Reich. On March 15, 1939, the very day on which the Protectorate over Bohemia and Moravia was established, Chamberlain dissociated himself in the House of Commons from the Czechoslovakian rump state guaranteed at Munich:

In our opinion the situation has radically altered since the Slovak Diet declared the independence of Slovakia. The effect of this declaration put an end by internal disruption to the State whose frontiers we had proposed to guarantee . . . and His Majesty’s Government cannot accordingly hold themselves any longer bound by this obligation.

Conveniently enough, this declaration of the Prime Minister before the House of Commons is not contained in the British Blue Book concerning the outbreak of hostilities.

The Memel question was solved peacefully. The domestic pressure on Chamberlain was increasing. Only one problem arising from the Versailles Treaty remained to be solved peacefully—the German-Polish one. Then the most important consequences of the lost war would have been wiped out for Germany, and Germany would stand greater than ever, with no enemies at her borders. Could England permit this?

THE POLISH ISSUE

At the beginning of January 1939, Adolf Hitler had, on the occasion of a visit of the Polish Foreign Minister Beck to Berchtesgaden, proposed to the latter a far-reaching clarification of all German-Polish disputes. Poland which, during the Czechoslovakian crisis, had closely co-operated with Germany and had profited from this, seemed to be well on the way to an understanding with Germany. The war party in England heard of this with horror. Henderson wrote from Berlin during those days:

If we have to do so [fight Germany], I trust that the cause may be one in which the morality of our case is unimpeachable, the honour and vital interests of Britain so clearly at stake, as to insure us the full support of the united British people, of the Empire and of world public opinion.

The Polish question was the last chance for finding a reason for war against Germany that would seem plausible to England, the Empire, and the world. It could not be allowed to pass. The success or failure of Henderson’s mission depended on it. And in the case of Poland the cards were not unfavorable for England.

In his memorandum of March 25, 1919, Lloyd George, then Prime Minister, had stated:

I cannot conceive any greater cause of future war than that the German people, who have certainly proved themselves one of the most vigorous and powerful races in the world, should be surrounded by a number of small states, many of them consisting of people who have never previously set up a stable government for themselves, but each of them containing large masses of Germans clamouring for reunion with their native land. The proposal of the Polish Commission that we should place 2,100,000 Germans under the control of a people which is of a different religion and which has never proved its capacity for stable self-government throughout its history must, in my judgment, lead sooner or later to a new war in the East of Europe.

Lloyd George was right. The history of German-Polish relations since Versailles
represents a series of Polish measures of oppression against the German minority. All peaceful attempts of the German governments before Hitler at alleviating the lot of the German minorities in Poland had been unsuccessful. The League of Nations, which was supposed to protect the interests of the minorities in Poland was, long before Hitler, in possession of piles of complaints on the part of the German minorities which contained irrefutable material on the Polish terror. But no aid was forthcoming. So Hitler tried by means of an agreement with Marshal Pilsudski on January 26, 1934, to achieve a normalization of German-Polish relations. The Marshal’s death in 1935 led to a revival of Poland’s policy of chauvinism. This made itself felt in renewed persecution of the German minority and in a deterioration of German-Polish relations, in spite of all efforts on the part of Berlin and the Polish Foreign Minister Beck.

ENGLAND’S LAST CHANCE

This was the situation which prevailed when Hitler had his talk with Beck in January 1939. Adolf Hitler proposed as a basis for a lasting understanding and for the removal of the minority problem the return of the German city of Danzig, which Versailles had made a “Free State,” to the Reich, and the right to build an extraterritorial motor road and railway through the Polish Corridor. In return Hitler offered to guarantee Poland’s borders, to respect Poland’s justified rights in Danzig, and to aid her in her desire to possess a common border with Hungary. Beck returned to Warsaw to submit these proposals to the Polish Government.

On March 16 a decisive change in the official attitude of the British Government took place.

The day before, as we have seen, Chamberlain had declared that the “internal disruption” of the Czechoslovakian state had rid Britain of any further obligation. But on March 17 Chamberlain made a fighting speech in his native Birmingham which showed an entirely different attitude and in which he promised to do the utmost to resist the German challenge. How is this change to be explained? Only the future opening of the archives will give a documentary answer to this question. However, to us the answer seems clear even now: the war group within the Conservative Party realized that, with the solution of the Czechoslovakian issue, only one question remained over which public opinion in part of the world might be sufficiently aroused against Germany—the Polish question. There was no time to lose. Using Chamberlain’s resentment over the form in which the Czech crisis had been liquidated, the Tory inner circle pushed him into a new course.

The events of the next few days show that everything had been prepared in advance. On March 21 a British memorandum was handed to the Polish Foreign Office suggesting a British/Polish/French/Soviet declaration according to which these four powers were “to consult immediately among themselves concerning measures to be taken with a view toward offering common resistance. . . .” Greatly encouraged by this attitude of London’s, Poland five days later rejected Hitler’s suggestions made in January and renewed on March 21, the same suggestion which, prior to London’s interference, Foreign Minister Beck had considered a basis for Polish-German negotiations. Again five days later, on March 31, Chamberlain made his well-known statement according to which Great Britain promised to lend the Polish Government all support in her power if the Polish Government found the independence of Poland threatened and “considered it vital to resist with their national forces.”

Two weeks earlier, on March 15, Sir John Simon, Chancellor of the Exchequer, had declared in the House of Commons:

> It is really essential that we should not enter into any extensive general and undefined commitment with the result that, to a large extent, our foreign policy would depend, not on this country, this Parliament and its electors, but on a lot of foreign governments.”
Sir John warned that these countries "might involve us in the greatest possible military excursion, although it is quite certain that the judgment of the democracy in this country would not support it."

Now Chamberlain had, by his guarantee to Poland, done exactly what Sir John had warned against—he had handed a blank cheque to the Poles. The American historian Frederick L. Schuman, a violent antagonist of Hitler Germany, wrote: "The government that had refused to defend the Czech democracy now undertook to defend the anti-Semitic and half-Fascist Polish state. The government that had given Hitler a Sudentenland . . . now undertook to deny him Danzig and the Corridor which had for centuries belonged to Germany."

How is this to be explained? Again we maintain: no matter how illogical and incongruous—this was the last chance to find a plausible casus belli.

With Great Britain's guarantee in her pocket, Poland felt that she could safely terrorize a million Germans within her frontiers and prepare openly for war.

THE END OF A MISSION

Meanwhile, the British Government had recalled Sir Nevile Henderson to London, allegedly to receive his report but actually to let German-Polish relations stew in their own juice for a while. Had the British Government really intended to work for the maintenance of peace, it would in no circumstances have been able to do without the presence of its ambassador in Berlin during those fateful days. However, London seemed satisfied with Henderson's mission as it had been carried out so far. The world and the British people had been amply shown how much good will had been displayed in Henderson's mission, and it was now only a matter of staging the final showdown.

On April 25, 1939, Henderson returned to Berlin with the announcement in his pocket that the British Government intended to submit a law on military training to Parliament, the same Parliament in which it possessed a comfortable majority of more than two hundred by reason of its election promise not to rearm. In view of military conditions in England, this measure corresponded to a partial mobilization and was, of course, by no means intended to alleviate the tense situation.

Now there was only one thing lacking: the participation of the USSR in the coalition against Germany. The next few months were to be filled with attempts to secure it. Henderson innocently described these attempts as follows: "Clearly the Russian negotiations were a form of encirclement [of Germany], but in no offensive sense and solely as a means to resist aggression."

England's hopes for a pact with Stalin collapsed dramatically and humiliatingly on August 21. Thirteen days later, England declared war on Germany. During these fateful days all the threads of British policy ran through Henderson's skilled hands, which guided them with a masterly touch.

On September 4, Henderson and his staff left Berlin. Sir Nevile was never to see Germany again. Shortly after completing his memoirs, Failure of a Mission, he died.

Had his mission really been a failure? Hardly. Sir Nevile had played a clever game which had suited his masters just as well as had the services which Professor Dodd had unwittingly rendered his own master.
GOOD EARTH?

By PAUL WILM

Hardly a year passes but that we read reports in the press about famines in one part or another of China, where millions of people are reduced to starvation. During the last few months, reports of this kind have come from various parts of China. The Government as well as numerous semi-official and private organizations seek to alleviate the suffering of those afflicted. But the question remains: how is it possible that in a country like China, whose subtropical climate in many places allows of two to three harvests a year, famines can occur? Are they inevitable, or could China's harvests be increased? To this and many other questions the following article provides some revealing and practical answers.

The author studied agriculture at the University of Halle in Germany. He has been living in China since 1924 and is an expert on Chinese agricultural problems. At our request he has condensed a vast topic into the limited space of a magazine article.—K.M.

 Именно если только рассмотреть восемнадцать провинций Китая, как мы это делаем в этом исследовании, Китай является одним из самых больших обитаемых участков земли. Ещё его великие размеры (3,7 отделенных квадратных километра) только только 20 процентов (около 740,000 квадратных километров) составляет земля. В то же время более 400 миллионов людей живут в Китае. Имеется сравнительно небольшая сельскохозяйственная земля на душу населения, даже в спаде от размера страны; но не так, как в Японии, где условия еще хуже.

И В ЧАШЕ ЕЩЕ ДЕВЯТНАДЦАТЬ ПРОВИНЦИЙ КИТАЯ, как мы это делаем в этом исследовании, Китай является одним из больших обитаемых участков земли. Ещё его великие размеры (3,7 отделенных квадратных километра) только только 20 процентов (около 740,000 квадратных километров) составляет земля. В то же время более 400 миллионов людей живут в Китае. Имеется сравнительно небольшая сельскохозяйственная земля на душу населения, даже в спаде от размера страны; но не так, как в Японии, где условия еще хуже.

Thus we see that South China is especially badly off, as there are twice as many people here to the square kilometer of cultivated land and the cultivated land makes up no more than 8 per cent of the total area.

The fertility of the surface of the earth shows tremendous differences, and it is obvious that conditions in as extensive a country as China are not uniform. There are many factors that influence the
fertility of a region. The most important of these are soil and climate. With regard to both these, China is divided sharply into a northern and a southern half. (This division is shown on our map by a heavy black line.) That which characterizes the northern part is a soil of good quality but unfavorable climatic conditions as regards precipitation. In Central and South China, conditions are reversed: the climate is the favorable factor, while the quality of the soil, with few exceptions, leaves much to be desired.

To take the climate first: China's conditions of temperature are very favorable:

**CHART III**

**ANNUAL MEAN TEMPERATURE**

IN CHINA (black) AND ELSEWHERE (white)  
(in degrees centigrade)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Temperature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moscow</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berlin</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bucharest</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peking</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaifeng</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanghai</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chengtu</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hankow</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foochow</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairo</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swatow</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rio de Janeiro</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The temperatures in China strike a happy medium. Even in North China, winter wheat can be harvested as early as the beginning or middle of June, which makes it possible to plant another crop of maize, soybean, or millet in the same year. Such valuable subtropical crops as cotton, groundnuts, sesame, kaoliang, and sweet potatoes can also be planted in North China. In Central and South China conditions are even more favorable.

The same cannot be said with regard to rainfall, China's eternal anxiety.

Although Chart IV seems to indicate that China can also boast of a happy medium in respect of rainfall, a glance at Chart V is enough to reveal the outstanding difference between rainfall in China and, for example, in Germany.

**CHART IV**

**ANNUAL RAINFALL**

IN CHINA (black) AND ELSEWHERE (white)  
(in millimeters)

**CHART V**

**RAINFALL IN NORTH AND SOUTH CHINA AND IN GERMANY**

While in Germany the precipitation is spread more or less equally over the whole year, China has dry and rainy seasons. In North China the rainy season is particularly short in comparison to the dry season. Hence large quantities
of water fall here on extremely dried-out soil. While the Great Plain of North China—covering the greater part of Hopeh, Shantung, and Honan provinces—has a fair annual average of 450 to 600 millimeters of rain and the coastal areas of eastern Shantung and northeastern Hopeh a good average of 620 to 670 millimeters, these areas suffer from the facts, first that the rains are concentrated in a very short season and secondly that pronounced deviations of the various years from the theoretical average figure are the rule, so that often two to three years with an average of only 250 to 400 millimeters are followed by years with 700 to 1,000 millimeters.

**TOO LITTLE AND TOO MUCH**

On the whole it is good for the crops if the main precipitation occurs at the time of greatest growth; however, spring should not—as in the case of North China—be almost without rain in many years. Years with scanty spring rains are years of drought, even if they turn later into years of flood. These latter mean a double catastrophe for large parts of the Great Plain. For instance, in September 1939, a drought year, the overflowing of several rivers caused one of the greatest floods in the history of Tientsin.

While in North China there is not enough water fully to develop the fertility of the soil, conditions in Central and South China are reversed. In many cases, such vast quantities of water fall from the skies that the soil’s nourishing substances are washed away. Like the dry climate of North China, the rainy climate of Central and South China is not only a phenomenon of the present times: the same conditions existed long before man appeared and began to cultivate the soil. This means on the one hand that the soils manifest the influence of the rainy climate in their natural condition, i.e., they consist mainly of badly leached, noncalcareous and therefore strongly acid laterite, and on the other that the fertilization of such soils is very difficult, since rain continues to wash out the nourishing substances. A pronounced rainy climate has a particularly unfavorable effect in a mountainous country, such as is represented by the areas under discussion. Here, because of the sloping nature of the mountains, the rains cause the direct erosion of fertile particles of soil.

Because of these fundamental differences, we shall call North China "Dry China" and Central and South China "Wet China."

**VAST UNCULTIVATED AREAS**

If only 20 per cent of the surface of China is cultivated, vast areas must still be lying fallow. Could they not be cultivated? There have been many discussions on this question. We are of the opinion that the possibility of extending the cultivated land is comparatively slight. China is a country of mountains. Those who live in Shanghai or Tientsin or whose only idea of the interior is that gained along the railway line Shanghai/Nanking/Peking think of China as consisting mainly of flat plains. A glance at a contour map or journeys by air over South, Central, and West China tell a different story. Approximately only one sixth of the total surface of China proper is level land, while five sixths are mountains, which do not offer favorable surfaces for agriculture.

There are few countries in the world where man works as hard as in China to make use of the most unlikely mountain slopes for agriculture by terracing them. In many places, however—especially in Central and South China—precipitation is so heavy that the good earth of the terraces is constantly carried off by
erosion, so that only a shallow and badly leached topsoil remains. Hence agriculture is limited mainly to plains, basins, and river valleys, which are to be found least in South China. The more level the terrain, the higher the proportion of cultivated land. In some districts of the Great Plain, the Yangtze Plain, and the Red Basin of Szechwan this proportion is as high as 85 per cent.

In these favorable territories the remaining 15 per cent consists of areas occupied by farm buildings, villages, roads, paths, graves, and watercourses. In the Great Plain, taken as a whole, about 54 per cent of the total area is cultivated. Here, too, all land that can be cultivated without special means is made use of; but there are large barren areas in the form of broad river valleys covered with sand, undrained lowlands, and a saline coastal strip. Perhaps these territories offer considerable possibilities for obtaining new agricultural land, possibilities which we shall discuss later.

It has often been suggested that the removal of graves from the fields would increase China’s agricultural soil. John L. Buck, in his Land Utilization in China, for instance, has calculated that this measure would produce a gain of 2.5 million acres or 1.1 per cent of the present cultivated area. On the other hand, a measure of this kind would break with old customs and could only be carried out very gradually and probably only in such places where the graves can be moved to untillable land.

Nevertheless, the exploitation of large parts of those surfaces which are not arable, namely, the steep mountain slopes, is quite possible, not by agriculture but by forestry. There are numerous indications to show that China will make use, although perhaps only slowly, of her possibilities in this field. Although the small Chinese farmer is interested only in arable fields, the leading classes, who are already convinced of the necessity for reforestation, will begin and succeed in this great work. The successes achieved by the Japanese and their co-operation will act as a great stimulant.

GOOD EARTH, BUT...

North China is famous for its predominating type of soil, the loess, which was deposited in a mighty layer in Kansu, Shansi, Shensi, and western Honan by dry storms which carried it from the Ordos Desert, the western Gobi, and the Tarim Basin during long periods of the Pleistocene. Approximately 30 per cent of the agricultural soils of North China are pronounced aeolian loess soils, while another 50 per cent or so—i.e., the majority of the soils of the northern part of the Great Plain—also contains loess as an important ingredient. The remaining 20 per cent consists of primary and secondary weathered soils to be found, apart from the mountainous areas of the western provinces, mainly in eastern Shantung and northeastern Hopeh.

The quality of the North China loess is often regarded as exceptionally good, which is not the case. It is fairly good, but by no means as rich in plant-food elements as the “Black Earth” of the Ukraine and large parts of Siberia. In comparison to this most fertile soil, the North China loess is poor in organic matter and nitrogen. As a result of a continuously arid climate over long periods of time, no vegetation could develop on it except for a sparse steppe flora; consequently, no humus could form. However, the loess soils are usually deep and easy to till. Their most outstanding characteristic is, as a result of their high calcium content, their porous nature and capillarity, which give them their water-retaining and water-raising power. Without these latter, the entire loess plateau would, in view of the scarce rainfall in these areas, be condemned to complete infertility.

The western part of the Great Plain consists mainly of secondary alluvial deposits of quite good quality with a pronounced loess content. This part is also favored by the fact that it is at a higher altitude and for that reason suffers less from floods. The eastern part consists of primary maritime deposits. Al-
Fields and canals near Soochau (Kiangsu). Almost every inch of ground in the rich lower valley of the Yangtze is cultivated. But only about 30 per cent of China's cultivated area can boast of soils of similar good quality; and only 20 per cent of China's total area can be cultivated at all.

GOOD EARTH

INDEED, BUT . . .
. . . FAR MORE POOR
SOIL AND BARREN
MOUNTAINS

Landscape north of Kunming
(Yunnan). Cultivated moun-
tain area in South China, with
irrigated terraces (Class D), Wet
China, of our article and unir-
rigated fields (Class E).

Cultivated loess terraces in southern Shanxi (Class
E of Dry China). The mountainous nature of the
country is typical of large parts of China.

Yangtze gorge near Ichang (Hubei). Part of the vast
mountain tracts of Central China which do not permit
any cultivation whatever.
though the soils are composed of finer particles, they have too high a salt or alkali content. In addition to this, the Great Plain is crossed by strips of pure sand soil, the result of deposits by certain rivers. The proportion of pure sand soils in the plain is estimated at 10 to 15 per cent, that of soils more or less intermixed with sand at 25 to 30 per cent.

The qualities of the weathered soils of the mountainous parts of North China are, on the whole, inferior, since they are usually very thin as a result of strong erosion. In the rolling country of eastern Shantung and northeastern Hopeh, however, good, deep chestnut-earth soils are to be found, especially in the low-lying parts. Seen as a whole, the soil conditions of North China are not bad.

. . . NOT ENOUGH WATER

The best of soils would be infertile if they were situated at the North Pole or in the Sahara. Only about 11 per cent of Dry China's cultivated land, namely, the coastal regions of eastern Shantung and northeastern Hopeh, has a fairly favorable rainfall. On the other hand, the good quality of the soil of approximately 80 per cent of the cultivated land does not have its full effect as a result of the rain- and snowless winter and the frequent lack of the necessary rains during the months of March, April, May, and June. It is clear that, in these circumstances, irrigation plays an important part. Wherever water is available for irrigation in North China, it is possible to develop the activity of the soil to the full. It is only the influence of man, especially his use of water and fertilizers, which has transformed the irrigated areas of North China into the richest of the whole region.

However, no more than 8 or 9 per cent of the cultivated land of Dry China is irrigated; and it is not so much man as Nature who is to be blamed for this low proportion. Although existing possibilities in this respect may not have been fully exhausted, there is only a limited supply of suitable water for irrigation. About 75 per cent of North China's irrigation comes from wells and only 25 per cent from rivers. Most of the rivers of North China, especially the Yellow River, are of little use for irrigation because of their low level in spring and their high content of sediments. The latter is the reason for the difficulties in the maintenance of the irrigation ditches. Often the canal systems are destroyed to such an extent by floods and changes in the courses of the rivers that they are entirely deprived of their usefulness. In the remote loess provinces, moreover, it is possible only in times of peace, order, and prosperity to organize the community work needed for the construction and maintenance of large-scale irrigation systems.

As regards wells, only parts of the Great Plain and of the low-lying basins of the Wei and Fen Rivers possess a favorable subsoil water level of 3 to 10 meters and good water. In many cases the subsoil water level is considerably lower or—and this applies to the entire eastern half of the Great Plain—the subsoil water is brackish, i.e., like the soil itself it contains excessive amounts of salts or alkalis.

PERFECT CONDITIONS IN WET CHINA

The alluvial soils of the various river valleys and deltas of Wet China are the most fertile soils of the whole country, surpassing even the best soils of Dry China in quality. They are to be found above all in the wide plain at the mouth of the Yangtze, in the valley of the middle Yangtze with its tributary valleys, in the Chengtu plain in Szechwan, and in the Canton delta. Here there is only little leaching action, since the soils are level and consist of particularly fine sediments. Moreover, the fields are generally planted with rice during the period of greatest precipitation, which means that they are under water and that hence the falling rain cannot directly attack and wash away the soil elements. The fine sediments also form an almost nonporous layer underneath the topsoil of the rice fields which prevents further leaching.

In the case of a large part of the alluvial soils of Central and South China,
**TABLE I**

Rough Classification of China's Cultivated Land

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Type of Land</th>
<th>Conditions</th>
<th>Yields in Quintals per Hectare</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage of Cultiv. Area</td>
<td>Wheat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>low and high</td>
<td>average</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Irrigated gardenland, mainly in the vicinity of cities</td>
<td>Very rich soils produced by continuous heavy manuring and excellently regulated water supply</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Irrigated cereals- and cottonland</td>
<td>Rich soils produced by intensive manuring and well-regulated water supply</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Unirrigated land of the coastal regions receiving fairly well-distributed rainfall in spring and summer</td>
<td>Soils of moderate and good quality, moderately manured</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Unirrigated land of the North China Plain</td>
<td>Good and moderate soils, but suffering generally from insufficient rainfall in spring and early summer and partly from floods in late summer</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Unirrigated land of the Loess highland</td>
<td>Good soils but insufficient rainfall</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

WET CHINA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Type of Land</th>
<th>Conditions</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Percentage of Cultiv. Area</td>
<td>Wheat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>average</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Best paddy fields of the alluvial plains and river valleys of South China</td>
<td>Very rich soils (naturally and produced by heavy manuring); best climatic conditions allowing two rice crops per year</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Good paddy and dry fields of the alluvial plains and river valleys of Central China</td>
<td>Rich and very rich soils (naturally and by heavy manuring); good climatic and water conditions but partly suffering from floods and slight droughts</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Unirrigated productive upland fields</td>
<td>Fairly good and only slightly leached soils receiving moderate rainfall</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Upland paddy fields of Central and South China</td>
<td>Leached soils where plant foods are largely washed out. Fields at high altitudes suffering frequently from lack of paddy water</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Unirrigated poor upland fields of Central and South China</td>
<td>Badly leached and eroded soils where plant foods are continuously washed out by heavy rains</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* First Second Crop

(•) no cultivation of any importance
the natural plant-food content is already quite high; in addition to this it is often supplemented by floods and the ensuing deposits of fine-particled river mud. It is an interesting fact that the rivers of Central and South China carry proportionately far less sediments than those of North China, but far more fertile ones. The Yellow River, which carries more sediments than any other river in the world, transports vast masses of silt and sand but very little colloidal clay; on the other hand, the Yangtze carries little sand only and mostly mud and clay rich in plant-food elements; while the rivers of the Canton delta deposit the finest and most fertile sediments.

In Central and South China the fertility of the soil—which, to a certain extent, is constantly renewed by weathering and the decomposition of plants—is transported by rivers from extensive mountain regions into valleys and to the coast, where it forms limited areas of the utmost fertility. Seen as a whole, this process represents a tremendous waste on the part of Nature, since it deprives large areas and only builds up small ones. The natural plant-food content of even the best alluvial soils would, however, soon be exhausted in view of the intensity of Chinese agriculture if man did not renew this content by continuous manuring.

MAN'S CREATION

The areas of medium and slight yield in Wet China consist chiefly of the rice fields at higher levels. These were created with painstaking labor by man, and their fertility is maintained and increased with the same painstaking labor. The most difficult task here is the construction of irrigation systems and the terracing. The fields often suffer alternately from too much and too little water. The soil consists of coarser particles than the alluvial soils; hence it is subject to more or less strong leaching. Only after long periods of tilling do these soils form a waterproof subsoil, thus slowly gaining in fertility.

Large parts of the alluvial soils, especially of those in Central China, are subject to frequent floods. Although their natural plant-food supply is thereby increased to a certain extent, their yield suffers considerably as a result of the destruction of harvests.

As for the rainfall in Wet China, it is far more reliable than that of Dry China. Years of drought are rare, although in some years the intensively cultivated hill districts of Szechwan suffer from dryness and those fields in Central and South China which are at a high altitude do not get enough water.

RICH AND POOR LAND

In order to be able to evaluate the natural situation of China’s agriculture as a whole, it is necessary to obtain an idea of the extent of the various classes of agricultural areas. Table I represents an attempt at dividing up the cultivated land according to the quality of the conditions of growth. In the case of the latter, it is not a matter of natural factors alone but of conditions that are also strongly influenced by man. In a country where Nature and man have for so long shown such close co-operation, it is difficult to separate the two.

The quality of the conditions of growth is revealed in the crop yields. For that reason we have attempted to determine the approximate yields for the main groups of cultivated land in China. This is an extremely difficult undertaking, for there are hardly any two fields with the same conditions of growth and the same yields. Moreover, every year brings different weather conditions. Our table can only serve as a very generalized picture; it cannot lay claim to great accuracy, especially with regard to its figures. Table I shows, in addition to the natural situation and the conditions of growth created by man, the yields of some important crops.

In the following discussion of the various classes we have endeavored to demonstrate as far as possible the individual influences of Nature and man. The latter’s influence is studied in order to find out to what extent the natural
conditions of growth have been made use
of by the Chinese and whether noteworthy
possibilities of increasing the yields have
remained unexploited.

80 PER CENT UNFAVORABLE

It can be said more or less with cer-
tainty that approximately 80 per cent of
the cultivated land of Dry China is
subject to an unfavorable natural situ-
ation. This is true of all unirrigated
regions of the loess highland and the
Great Plain. In spite of good soils, an
average annual crop of only 3 to 7 quintals
of wheat, 7 to 9 quintals of millet, or 8
to 10 quintals of maize is harvested here
per hectare (1 hectare equals 2.471 acres).
Man is hardly responsible for this low
yield. Although the Chinese methods of
agriculture are simple, they are based on
centuries of experience. Indeed, the
limited yields of North China are pre-
ponderantly due to the unfavorable con-
ditions of rainfall.

It is hardly possible to achieve sub-
stantially higher yields from these soils
by other methods of tillage or the in-
creased use of fertilizers. Deep plow-
ing is sometimes recommended, but this
measure would only show some success
in those rare years with an especially
favorable distribution of rainfall. In the
other years it would lead to the complete
drying out of the topsoil by destroying
its capillarity. The most important
method of cultivation in Dry China is
frequent shallow hoeing, which exerts the
most favorable influence on the water
economy of the soil. The value of this
measure has been clearly recognized by
the Chinese and, owing to their wealth in
population as well as to their industrious-
ness, it is carried out in an exemplary
manner.

Modern plant breeding would also
hardly be able substantially to raise the
productivity of the areas suffering from
lack of precipitation. Although the exist-
ing varieties of wheat, millet, kaoliang,
and soya do not represent supreme
breeds, they are age-old agricultural
plants in China which have been subject
to centuries of selection by skilled farmers
and are adapted to existing natural con-
ditions to a very high degree. It is im-
possible for wheat to provide large yields
in the dry areas of the loess highland and
the Great Plain; its chief quality must
be drought resistance, and in this respect
the local varieties seem to have reached
a high level. The many different varieties
of millet existing in North China show
great drought resistance as well as fairly
good yields. The present varieties of
kaoliang fulfill the double requirements of
drought resistance in the spring and wet
resistance in summer to a remarkable
extent.

The D and E areas of Dry China are
fertilized exclusively with local manure.
Although the crops here probably extract
slightly more plant food from the soil
than is added by manuring, a constant
renewal of mineral plant food doubtlessly
takes place during the arid seasons by
means of water rising up from the subsoil,
so that on the whole the plant-food con-
tent of these soils has probably remained
constant.

SPRING RAINS—HIGHER YIELDS

Class C, which makes up about 11 per
cent of the cultivated area of Dry China,
provides far better harvests, although the
quality of the soil is inferior. This is
due, on the one hand, to a better dis-
tribution of rainfall and, on the other,
to intensive cultivation. Fertilizer di-
integration far more rapidly and
re more
better utilized here than in the dry
areas of Classes D and E. Consequently, not
only locally produced manure is used but
also commercial fertilizers, chiefly oil
cake, i.e., the oil-press residue of soybeans,
peanuts, cotton seed, and sesame. In
recent times chemical fertilizers have
been employed more and more. This
latter fact seems to indicate that the
yields have by no means reached their
top limit and that these limits are
imposed mainly by the lack of fertilizers.

It is to be expected that, with an
ample future supply of low-priced ferti-
lizers, the yields of these areas will be
further increased. Maize, a plant which
did not become popular in China until
recent times, finds very favorable conditions of growth. By breeding and distributing improved, high-yield seed, a considerably increased exploitation of the natural situation should be possible.

NORTH CHINA'S RICHEST AREAS

Classes A and B represent the most fertile areas of North China. Yields of 30 quintals of wheat, millet, or maize are not rare. With the best possible water supply and intensive manuring, the local species provide top yields of 36 quintals of wheat, 38 quintals of millet, and 46 quintals of maize. On an average, however, such yields are not achieved, either because there is not quite sufficient water for irrigation, or—and this is more often the case—because there is not enough manure available. Even so, the results are very good if one compares the yields with those of other countries (Chart VI). One must also bear in mind that on 60 to 75 per cent of the irrigated area two full crops are harvested, which often amount to an annual total yield of some 40 to 50 quintals of grain per hectare. In the case of Classes A and B, Nature and man have provided the best possible conditions of growth. Nature provides good soils, excellent conditions of temperature, and suitable water for irrigation. The Chinese farmer makes use of the water, cultivates the soil diligently, enriches it—as far as he is able to—with plant food, chooses the most suitable plants to raise, and confers the best possible care on them. Through him the irrigated areas of North China have been rendered far more fertile than they were in their natural condition.

MORE IRRIGATION NEEDED

The extent of such excellent areas as Classes A and B is not very large. Of the approximately 30 million hectares of cultivated land in Dry China, only 2.5 million hectares can be irrigated so far. Consequently, the average yield of the total area is but slightly increased by the existence of these two classes, as can be seen from Table I.

Naturally an extension of the irrigated areas would represent one of the most promising measures toward increasing the productivity of the total area. Although the possibilities in this direction are limited, they are hardly exhausted. At the present moment, thousands of additional wells are being built and several river irrigation projects have been started in the provinces of Hopeh, Honan, and Shansi with the energetic support of the authorities. Perhaps pumping methods will one day be developed which would make it possible to lift the fresh water of the second subsoil water level, 90 meters below the surface, at the necessary low cost. In that case, large parts of the eastern half of the Great Plain could probably also be opened up to irrigation.

The second most important possibility for increasing the production of Dry China would seem to be the amelioration of the undrained parts of the Great Plain and the new coastal strips. Extensive lowlands suffer during the rainy season from floods or excessive dampness. Unfavorable natural conditions must be conquered by the construction of drainage ditches, dikes, and pumping stations. In this respect, too, much is already being planned and done.

TOO MUCH RAIN IN HALF OF WET CHINA

Approximately 46 per cent of the cultivated land of Wet China suffers from unfavorable natural conditions. Excessive precipitation and the ensuing erosion and leached soils are the chief drawbacks of the areas classed under D and E. It is hard to answer the question, whether a more intensive utilization of Class E and an increase of its yield might be possible, or whether it might be feasible to cultivate parts of the untilled mountain areas of Wet China. Experimental stations devoted entirely to the study of these areas may one day develop methods of counteracting the leaching process by applying lime and manure in repeated small quantities or by giving preference to certain crops or by the cultivation of suitable leguminous plants as natural fertilizer. They may also be able one day to recommend the cultivation of certain
The soils of Class D represent improved soils of Class E. The methods of improvement consist mainly in the laying out of rice fields, which in this case necessitates laborious terracing and the construction of complicated irrigation systems. Wherever there is enough water, this measure is the most successful imaginable and can hardly be improved on. After long cultivation the fertility of the poor soils is raised by the formation of a water-resistant subsoil of fine sediments. In general, however, increased manuring is required here in order to achieve the same yields as in the valleys, for it is impossible sufficiently to prevent the loss of plant-food elements during persistent heavy rains. Hence the locally available quantities of manure do not suffice for the production of good yields. On the other hand, the employment of expensive commercial fertilizers such as oil cake and artificial fertilizers is more or less unprofitable because of the losses through washing away. Only the provision of very cheap fertilizers would alleviate this situation. We might also mention that a large part of the uncultivated mountain areas provides manure for the soils of Class D, as the grass and shrub vegetation of the former is used as fuel, whose ashes, containing considerable quantities of potash and phosphoric acid, are employed as manure.

LESS RAIN—BETTER YIELDS

Of the unirrigated areas of Wet China only small parts, about 8 per cent of the cultivated land, show favorable natural conditions. The majority of these are at the higher levels of the hilly Red Basin of Szechwan, whose only slightly leached "red earth" provides a good soil, while well-distributed rainfalls and the best possible conditions of temperature make for excellent climatic conditions. Other areas belonging to this class, although of slightly inferior quality, are to be found in Central China, chiefly north of the Yangtze in northwest Hupeh, northern Anhwei, and northern Kiangsu.

Although much less frequently than those of Dry China, the unirrigated areas of the Red Basin suffer in some years from drought. The average yields of Class C are very satisfactory. Nevertheless, it is quite possible for the favorable natural situation of these areas to be even better exploited by the breeding of special high-yield varieties of wheat and maize and by the provision of additional cheap fertilizers.

RECORD AREAS

The alluvial land of Central and South China which we have classed as A and B reveals an exceptionally high fertility in its yields. It offers favorable growing conditions for rice, and this plant probably shows the highest yield among all grains. In addition to this, a large part of the rice fields of this area provides a second crop of winter wheat or rape seed or legumes averaging about 16 quintals per hectare. The climatic conditions of South China permit two annual rice crops on Class A, but the yield of the second crop is generally lower than that of the first, as both the temperatures as well as the water supply are often somewhat unfavorable in autumn. The record yields shown in Table I can be achieved only with the first crop.

The average yields of the alluvial soils are considerably lower than the top yields, one reason for this being that—especially in Central China—extensive areas suffer at times from floods. Another reason is that a lack of fertilizers prevents the favorable natural situation from being exploited to its fullest extent. It is true that the fields are very intensively fertilized with excrement and, in addition to this, with oil cake of all kinds; but two full crops a year withdraw large quantities of plant-food elements. Moreover, the local oil-cake production and the imports of oil cake from other areas are subject to great variation. Up to the outbreak of the present war, artificial fertilizers were being used to a growing extent in the areas of Classes A and B, whose yields were considerably increased thereby. It is interesting to note that throughout China it is the most fertile
regions which are the most extensively manured. This means that the original plant-food content of these soils has become insignificant and that their fertility is not based on this content but on the favorability of the other conditions of growth and on the intensive cultivation and manuring by man.

CHINA'S YIELDS COMPARED TO THOSE OF OTHER COUNTRIES

Table II presents a survey of the total agricultural production of China. Since no exact statistics are available, these figures are only rough estimates based on various publications.

### CHART VI

#### AVERAGE CROP YIELDS IN CHINA AND ELSEWHERE (in quintals per hectare)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crop</th>
<th>Average yield</th>
<th>Production (in 1,000 tons)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice (rough)</td>
<td>27,788.9</td>
<td>78,797.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>22,520.1</td>
<td>51,929.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>5,493.4</td>
<td>14,066.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>5,773.7</td>
<td>8,812.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millet (husked)</td>
<td>8,053.3</td>
<td>11,385.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>6,729.0</td>
<td>11,384.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soybeans</td>
<td>7,409.7</td>
<td>11,590.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Legumes</td>
<td>15,867.4</td>
<td>21,266.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>3,057.6</td>
<td>3,187.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesame</td>
<td>1,162.0</td>
<td>1,816.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groundnuts (shelled)</td>
<td>1,857.8</td>
<td>2,519.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton Seed</td>
<td>1,651.7</td>
<td>2,463.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton Linen</td>
<td>1,651.7</td>
<td>1,495.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweet Potatoes</td>
<td>5,866.5</td>
<td>26,088.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables</td>
<td>473.3</td>
<td>680.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others*</td>
<td>1,567.2</td>
<td>2,354.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(* Oats, buckwheat, hemp, linseed, tobacco, opium, tea, sugar cane, flax, Irish potatoes, alfalfa, Atriplex Siamensis, fruit, mulberry, tung-oil tree, bamboo, and others of minor importance.

(**) This figure contains rice as "husked" product (78% of rough rice).

It is not, however, the average figures of the total area but the yield figures of the various classes that do proper justice to the Chinese farmer. And these latter figures reveal amazing yields, not only for soils that are by nature particularly rich, but for such areas as have been made fertile through the work of man. The same farmer who achieves an average yield of only 9 quintals of maize on the unirrigated land of North China achieves 26 quintals on irrigated land; he obtains 16 quintals of rice in the high-lying rice fields of Wet China in comparison to 35...
quintals in the plains. China's top yields of 38 quintals of wheat, 40 quintals of millet, 48 quintals of maize, and 78 quintals of rice (unhusked) per hectare are only slightly below the top yields of other, highly developed agricultural countries.

* * *

If we add up the various classes in Dry and Wet China and divide them into good and poor areas, we arrive at the following figures:

**Proportion of good areas:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>39.6 per cent</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Proportion of poor areas:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>31.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>28.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>60.4 per cent</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures refer to the percentage of cultivated land only. But, as we mentioned at the beginning of this article, the proportion of cultivated land in the total area of China is very small, since vast regions are of a quality considerably below that of Class E.

Thus the Chinese people do not live in a land of milk and honey, as do the Americans, the New Zealanders, the South Africans, and other, more fortunate peoples. On the contrary, in view of the population of more than 400 millions, the nature of this land requires the application of the greatest possible diligence and the exploitation of every imaginable means of increasing its productivity. The fact, however, that all possibilities have not yet been exhausted can be shown by the example of Japan. Although the agricultural achievements of this country remained considerably behind those of China in past centuries, Japanese agriculture has, in the last few decades, in many respects overtaken that of China and is now leading in the agriculture of all subtropical zones. This example shows that, where all efforts are concentrated and all modern achievements are utilized, the limits of possible yields can still be somewhat extended.

The agriculture of Europe and America is little suited to being set up as a model for Chinese agriculture. Its natural and economic foundations are far too different for this. Like the agriculture of China, that of Japan does not employ machinery to any noteworthy extent; it manages without large-scale cattle raising and places its emphasis on the growing of grain. Nevertheless, it is highly developed. With the aid of the most thorough scientific research it has studied its soils and takes them into account in every respect by choosing the proper types of crop, supplying the necessary quantities of fertilizers, rotating crops with legumes for the purpose of fertilization, improving seed, combating insect pests and diseases, etc.

While the main achievements of Chinese agriculture have been brought about by the individual farmer, in Japan the State plays an important role as the agent of initiative. In China, too, only the government can protect the country against floods, carry out large-scale amelioration, the drainage of undrained lowlands, the damming of reclaimed land at the coast, and irrigation projects, and maintain the necessary research institutes.

The higher the level of an agriculture, the nearer do the yields approach their utmost limits, and the greater are the efforts needed further to increase the yields. The level of Chinese agriculture is not a low one; hence it is impossible for an increase of China's agricultural production to take on fantastic dimensions. The living space of the Chinese people has, therefore, to be regarded as a very limited one which does not allow her to be self-sufficient. For China, as for Japan, the creation of an East Asiatic Grossraum entailing the co-operation of all peoples within this sphere is, therefore, an absolute necessity.
THE RACE FOR JAPAN

By ADOLF FREITAG

Today, when we see Japan as one of the leading powers of the world, it is hard to realize that no more than ninety years have passed since the first arrival of Perry's "black ships" in the bay of Yedo. It is an irony of fate that three of the four powers which were then so insistent on Japan's taking part in world politics—the United States, Great Britain, and Holland—have lost all of their rich possessions in East Asia under the blows of that same Japan whom they had drawn into the international play of forces against her own will.

The author, a German historian now living in Japan, has once more brought to life the period of Japan's opening up.—K.M.

On a sunny day in the year of 1640, seventy-four persons were put to death on a small island in the bay of Nagasaki, and their ship, with all that was on it, was burned. On the evening of the same day, Japanese officials erected a notice board on the place of execution, facing the sea. On it was written: "As long as the sun shines, let no foreigner dare to enter Japan. This ban is irrevocable for all time!"

In this way the relations between the West and the island empire of the East had come to an end after approximately a hundred years. The reason for this was that the Japanese statesmen decided to put a stop to the interference of individual Westerners in Japanese domestic affairs. Only the Dutch received permission to carry on a very modest trade with Japan.

The Japan of the next two hundred and ten years has often been compared with that beautiful princess of the fairy tale who, in a magnificent castle behind a barrier of thorns, lies in a deep sleep, waiting for her deliverer. But it is only the Westerners who speak of sleeping Japan. In actual fact, the Japan of the late Tokugawa Period was, in spite of sheathed swords and the blessings of peace, filled with movement and restlessness. In spite of the constriction of all life in rigid forms, it was a time of profound social upheavals. New ideas were being born, ideas which have lost none of their effect in the Japan of our day and which are being strongly encouraged. For the ruling shoguns, the Tokugawa family, the maintenance of outward peace was, in these circumstances, the prerequisite of their rule. As soon as their power of seclusion and defense toward the outer world weakened, their domestic power was bound to totter and collapse.

THE COMING OF THE RUSSIANS

The first thrusts at the Japanese islands were to come from the north. Within an incredibly short time the Russians had crossed the wildest parts of Siberia and reached the coast of the Pacific. From the islands off this coast they turned their eyes toward the south, toward the country of whose wealth and sunny climate they had heard so much. As early as the first half of the eighteenth century the Russians began their voyages to Japan. Indeed, an event of momentous consequences for the future! Two nations had met: for better or for worse, they were never again entirely to lose contact.

The sudden appearance of these aka hito (red men), as they were first called in Japan, was quite a shock to the Japanese. They were immediately aware of the special nature of the Russian voyages to Japan. Had they been undertaken to open up a trade route to the islands? Doubtless. But they certainly also represented an attempt to advance the
territorial borders of the empire of the Tsars to Hokkaido. Consequently, the Japanese guards on Hokkaido were forthwith reinforced and the coasts fortified.

The first large-scale expedition was organized by the Russians during the reign of Catherine II. Scholars and merchants set out on a warship under the command of the Finn Laxmann. The vessel called at Hokkaido, but after months of waiting the Russians were only advised to proceed to Nagasaki. That, the Japanese said, was the only place where, according to law, contact with foreigners was permitted.

The next enterprise was of a more serious nature: Japan was to be included in the world-encircling communications of the Russian America Trading Company. In 1804 the well-known circumnavigator of the world Krusenstern took the Russian plenipotentiary Rezanov to Japan, this time straight to Nagasaki. Although Rezanov was allowed to hand over his imperial message, he also received a negative reply: "Any relation between you and us is impossible. Hence it is our will that your ships henceforth avoid our waters!" We are told that the Japanese permitted Rezanov to come ashore, but that, in their annoyance at his overbearing behavior, they assigned to him as a dwelling, not a temple compound, but a shed in which fish had recently been dried. The result was a kind of state of war in the northern waters. In order to force the Japanese to comply, the Russians took measures of reprisal and plundered Japanese settlers on the northern islands. The Japanese, in turn, gave chase to Russian ships and in 1811 managed to take a Russian captain prisoner. This man was Captain Golovnin, whose interesting book about his imprisonment in Japan attracts many a reader to this day.

The Russian attempts had been repulsed. But the excitement in Japan over these attempts did not die down so quickly. Questions regarding the northern border have always found a wide echo in Japan. When it was reported that shipwrecked Japanese were forced to give Japanese lessons in Russia and that, moreover, a school for the study of Japanese had been established in Irkutsk, all this seemed to the Japanese to point to dishonest intentions on the part of the Russians. There are not a few Japanese books from those times dealing with the empire of the Tsars, and we know that even high government officials discussed the pros and cons of reciprocal communications. But decades were to pass before the Russians could again turn to Japan.

WHERE WERE THE DUTCH?

During all this time the Dutch were living in Japan, familiar with the ways of dealing with her people. If anyone were not they qualified to take a leading part in the opening up of the country? They had been allotted the island of Deshima in the bay of Nagasaki to live on, and it was here that during the Tokugawa Period a very peculiar bit of interstate communications took place. With every ship from Batavia the Dutch on Deshima received renewed instructions "by all means to maintain the friendship of the Japanese by means of great modesty and humility." They followed these instructions loyally and, as a result of the endless limitations, privations, and humiliations they were forced to accept, they lost the esteem and respect of the ruling class of Japan, which despised money. Nevertheless, other seafaring nations and merchants of those times would gladly have been in their shoes. This is indicated not only by examples from China—Canton, for instance, where for some time the Europeans carried on their business under similar conditions—but especially by the repeated attempts, mainly on the part of the British, to supplant the Dutch in Nagasaki.

Let us relate one of these attempts. During the Napoleonic wars the Dutch on Deshima remained entirely without news from the outside world. Then suddenly, in July 1813, two ships appeared in the bay. They were English, passing themselves off as Dutch. Now the dismayed Netherlanders learned that their country had become French and
that all their possessions in the East had passed into English hands. Sir Stamford Raffles, the new master of Java, demanded that Deshima be handed over. The Dutch manager, Doeff, did not hesitate for a moment. He refused stubbornly, and he remained firm when the British returned one year later to repeat their request, this time more positively and threateningly as well as with attractive promises. Finally, in the summer of 1819, after nineteen years of seclusion on a reclaimed, walled-in little island 200 meters long by 70 meters wide, the seven Hollanders left Deshima, the only place in the world where the Dutch flag had waved throughout all these years.

PEEPHOLE TO THE WORLD

Through Deshima, this little window in the west, a thin but ceaseless stream of knowledge flowed in from the Occident and flowed out from Japan. There were enough Japanese willing to risk life and liberty in order to become acquainted with the Western spirit and sciences. But official Japan also had an interest in the Hollanders: they had orders to submit annual reports on world events to Yedo and, in addition to this, to report important matters without delay. Thus Perry's expedition as well as that of Putyatin were reported in advance by them. The Japanese officials possessed a good general knowledge about world affairs and the world itself. Much to Perry's amazement, for example, they pointed without hesitation to New York on a globe, as well as to various European states named by Perry.

The Dutch also made two attempts to persuade the shogun to give up or at least modify his policy of seclusion. But, in view of the position and standing of the Dutch in Japan, these attempts were doomed to failure. Unheeded was the letter sent by the King of Holland to Japan in 1844. "This, O high and mighty ruler," wrote the Dutch sovereign, "is our friendly counsel: moderate the strictness of the law against intercourse with foreigners, so that happy Japan may not be devastated by war."

ENGLAND AND FRANCE

Where, in this race for Japan, were the two powers whose lust for overseas conquests and whose resulting rivalry since the eighteenth century determined the fate of vast territories outside of Europe? It was this very rivalry that shackled the strength of England and France, so that only weak radiations of this strength reached the islands in the utmost east. An early English attempt, made in 1673, throws an interesting light on the situation of that time. Equipped with royal authority, the Return arrived in Nagasaki and requested that trade relations be taken up. This caused the Dutch some anxiety, since the Japanese decree of exclusion was originally directed only against the Portuguese and Spanish. So they hastened to throw suspicion on their rivals. As a result, the English were given the following reply: "We have given careful consideration to the letter of your King. But you may not trade here, as your King is married to the daughter of the King of Portugal. Depart, and do not return!"

Thus there are only records of a few English whalers driven by storms into Japanese ports, until the growth of the British colonial empire and the increasing traffic in the China Seas brought about a change. As we have seen, the attempts to take the place of the Dutch failed; and, although the British ships grew bolder and bolder, ordinary efforts on the part of the Japanese authorities were always enough to repulse them. In 1846, a French squadron found a ready ear for their request for good treatment for shipwrecked mariners; but further requests were ignored. For the time being, both powers were more interested in the events in China. Their hour in Japan was to come later.

AMERICA ON THE PACIFIC

For the European states, Japan was beyond their maritime route to the East. For the United States, this was no longer true. With the growing population on her West Coast, the USA became a nation
on the Pacific. Rapidly increasing numbers of American whalers and China traders ventured out onto this ocean. Did they not need ports of call and refuge in the vast expanses of this sea? Indeed, the new steamboats were absolutely dependent on a coaling station between San Francisco and Shanghai. The Japanese islands were suited for this purpose, and America was ready to act.

In Washington, the idea soon arose of sending special envoys to Japan, and all missions sent off during the thirties and forties of the last century to look after American trade interests in the East also carried instructions for Japan. They never got there. After the signing of the treaty with China, however, America would accept no further delay. In 1846 Commodore Biddle with his two warships lay for ten days in vain off Urage. The letter he carried from President Polk was not accepted. Time was pressing. Were other states to get in ahead of America? There was already some definite news that Tsar Nicholas had lately been taking a renewed interest in Japan. At the end of 1851, one Admiral Perry was entrusted with this difficult task, and his fleet was now on its way to Japan.

**Perry's Arrival**

On a hot July day in 1853, four American warships sailed into the bay of Yedo and cast anchor in front of the little town of Urage. The commander of this fleet was Matthew Calbraith Perry.

Who was this man Perry? The world was soon to know. There have been few undertakings of this kind which, in big and little things, in merits and in blunders, in preparation and execution, were stamped to such an extent by the personality of their leader as the undertaking with which Perry had been entrusted by America.

Perry had made a careful study of all available reports on the Land of the Rising Sun and had come to the conclusion that its isolation from the world, far from being founded in its national character, had been forced upon it. He was convinced that the right treatment would lead him to his goal and that his own country was qualified to open up Japan to the rest of the world.

"It seemed to me to be the only possible policy, not to deviate from my intentions and rather to take upon myself the reproach of stubbornness than that of complaisance," he said. The diplomat Perry was backed up by the squadron commander Perry. He refused to go to Nagasaki and sailed even farther into the bay. As a rule, the Japanese let no one ashore, while they themselves investigated every nook and cranny of the foreign ships. Perry, however, drove off all visitors and permitted only the highest-ranking of the negotiators to come aboard. He himself remained at first invisible. He explained his attitude later by saying: "I always kept away from subaltern officials by letting those people know that I would associate only with princes of the empire." The President's letter was handed over with great ceremony. When Perry announced that he would return for the answer in spring, the Japanese wanted to know whether he would return with all his ships. "Certainly with all four, probably with more," was his reply. With his ships stripped ready for action, he sailed out of the bay. Nobody doubted that he would return.

**Putyatin's Fleet**

This was on July 17. Less than three weeks later the Dutch reported to the Governor of Nagasaki: "A Russian fleet is approaching Japan. Its task is to follow the movements of the American fleet."

Even before the message could be relayed to Yedo, four foreign ships arrived at Nagasaki (August 20, 1853). It was the Russian fleet which, after a voyage from Kronstadt (near St. Petersburg) lasting almost a year, had finally arrived in Japan. Putyatin, the chief of the squadron, immediately asked for permission to hand over a letter from the Tsar addressed to the "Prime Minister of Japan." (President Fillmore's letter had been addressed to the "Emperor of Japan.")
"The excitement in Nagasaki," one report says, "at the arrival of the Russians can hardly be described." The Governor was exceedingly embarrassed. He had not as yet received any exact reports as to what had happened to the Americans in Urage. What attitude was he to take? Plead with the Russians to turn back? Use force in case they refused? Instructions from Yedo were slow in coming.

Meanwhile, the conduct of the Russians had removed many obstacles. Reciprocal calls and hospitality became the order of the day. Both sides, it is true, had taken precautions against surprise attacks, and the tedious question of etiquette entailed a certain amount of dissonance in the relations. Even quite harmless questions were regarded with suspicion. "How many inhabitants are there in Nagasaki?" a Russian officer asked one day. "Sometimes more, sometimes less," the Japanese official replied diplomatically, and both laughed heartily.

But within the Russians were by no means happy. The Crimean War was already casting its shadows ahead and surprised both parties in the midst of negotiations to which the Japanese had finally consented. No agreement was reached for the time being about the northern border. However, Putyatin was given the promise that, should Japan actually open her ports one day, Russia would be the first to enjoy this privilege. Then the Russian fleet had to hurry off to the north.

**RELATED COUNTERMEASURES**

Once or twice only in her history had Japan been threatened by foreign enemies, and these occasions were being remembered now that the armed emissaries of two mighty empires stood at her gates, spreading confusion and dismay.

No one can maintain that all this came as a surprise to the shogun government. It was well informed about the change in affairs in its neighboring countries, and the letter of the Dutch king had, after all, specified the danger as long as ten years previously. Nevertheless, nothing had been done to improve the neglected defenses of the country. In Urage, for instance, one of the main fortresses in the bay of Yedo, there was, at the time of Perry's approach, only enough ammunition for ten cannon salvos. Now, during the short breathing space granted by the Americans, the government went to work. Cannons were repaired, troops called up, keels laid for larger ships, and the Dutch were asked for the necessary books.

Too late! The government went about all these measures in a halfhearted way. Perry's letter had been accepted to gain time. But then the Russians came. There was a clash of opinions in Yedo. Assuming that the border questions were settled, what disadvantages could there be in trade relations with the Russians? Then they might even be willing to help drive off the Americans.

Too late! An obsolete regime was undermining its own foundations in its feeling of impotence. The shogun acquainted the great of the land with Perry's demands and requested their attitude. The daimios snatched at the chance, hitherto denied them, of freely expressing their opinion. The cry "Hail the Tenno! Out with the foreigners!" was their reply. This now became the battle cry of all those who were anti-foreign, but also of all those who—becoming bolder and more numerous now—rose in bitter hostility against the shogunate. Domestic opposition had found a dangerous rallying point.

**PERRY TRIUMPHS**

But let us return to Perry. Only a few days after the departure of the Russians from Nagasaki (February 13, 1854) he appeared for the second time off Uraga. He had nine of his "black ships" with him. With this proud squadron he sailed even closer this time to the capital of the shogun.

His first question was about the Russians. Their presence in Japan had caused him all the more anxiety in China since he had rejected Putyatin's proposal for united action in Japan. Moreover, France and England were also making preparations to send expeditions to Japan,
For these reasons he had shortened his stay in China.

The Japanese agreed to negotiate, and Perry crowned his second visit with the treaty of Kanagawa. It was the first treaty concluded by the island empire with a foreign power according to international usage. The signing took place on March 31, 1854.

Perry’s name was echoed around the globe. His was the victory and glory, and it had been a bloodless victory. But let us not be deceived; it was the success of a man of war rather than of a man of peace. There can be no doubt that Perry would have used force if the negotiations had come to nought. He himself repeatedly mentioned acquirement of territory in such a case, as well as a hundred war-ships which he could assemble. After the first favorable beginnings, Perry advanced the goal of his negotiations further than provided for by the President’s letter. In order to enjoy its victory to the full, the American squadron, on leaving, sailed to within sight of wildly excited Yedo. In his diary, Well Williams, Perry’s interpreter, comments: “If a man is a commodore, he can do as nobody would in order to show that he can do as he likes.”

AND THE OTHERS?

It was not the Russians who opened the series of Perry’s fortunate successors. While Putyatin was lying impatiently at the mouth of the Amur, the British Admiral Stirling arrived in Nagasaki in September 1854. “I am looking for the Russian fleet!” was the excuse he gave for his intrusion. The Japanese, quick to recognize the importance of firm agreements with belligerent states, concluded the Anglo-Japanese treaty of friendship a bare four weeks later. It was not until the end of the year that Putyatin risked a voyage to the south with only one ship, and soon after Russia was also among the treaty powers. She was followed by the fourth and, for the time being, last nation, the Dutch, who had every reason to wish to improve their humiliating position.

The Russian agreement deserves a moment’s attention. First of all, there are the circumstances in which it was concluded, which deserve to be told. This time Putyatin had gone to Shimoda on the Izu peninsula. The day after his arrival, an earthquake and, in its wake, a huge tidal wave, afflicted the little town and its harbor. Putyatin’s only ship was rendered entirely unseaworthy, and five hundred shipwrecked Russians were now on land. Out at sea, the enemy was cruising. And the Japanese? Who was to prevent them from treating the Russians as troublesome intruders? Nothing of the kind occurred. On a remote piece of land the Russians began the construction of a large schooner. The Japanese not only helped them at it, they also asked them to build a second boat for themselves.

As recently as the spring of 1942 we were reminded once again of this first Russo-Japanese agreement of 1855. For it was during last year that Japan abrogated the remains of what were known as the “perpetual leaseholds” in the ports of Kobe and Yokohama, a system based on the principle of extraterritoriality. This principle, which was to have such momentous consequences and which was to be so bitterly fought over for so many years, was first laid down in the Russo-Japanese treaty of 1855. Perry had not demanded it.

* * *

Thus the first step in the opening up of Japan had been made. Although Japan’s attitude toward the outer world had been clarified, it was by no means settled. Now the curtain rose on a new phase. It includes the twelve years from the arrival of the first American consul, Townsend Harris (1856), up to the entry of Emperor Meiji in the capital of the shogun (1868). It is characterized by vehement struggles for domestic power. The foreigners and their treaties were the objects over which these struggles flared up, spread, and finally died down. Then only did Japan truly enter upon the stage of the world, and after only a few years more she was to become one of the world’s leading powers.
BOOKMAKING IN CHINA

By HEDDA HAMMER

BOOK-collecting in China is as much an esoteric hobby of the educated man of leisure as the purchase and study of old paintings and specimens of calligraphy. In the Chou dynasty the philosopher Mo Ti was constantly accompanied on his travels by five cartloads of books; and Confucius himself says that he thrice wore out the thongs binding his copy of the Book of Changes. Fortunately today we need not bother with Mo Ti's string of carts nor Confucius' cumbersome strips of wood tied together with rawhide.

In ancient times, notations of events and oracles were scratched with a stylus on tortoise shells or on the scapular bones of some of the larger animals. But with the introduction of the hair writing brush, entire volumes of connected argument could be written—with varnish for ink—on slips of bamboo or on wooden plaques. These slips were one to two inches wide and up to a foot in length, the characters being written from top to bottom in one or two columns. The whole was bound with thongs through holes punched at the top. This accounts for the troubles the wandering scholars had to deal with in their studies.

With the advent of the Han dynasty we find the use of silk, and later of paper, for the copying of books. These writings were kept like the present-day scrolls—long rolls which took up far less room than the older books but which were awkward when it came to rapid reference. According to the famous Japanese bibliographer Shimada Fumi, the Chinese of about the Sui and Tang dynasties discovered that reference to books could be greatly facilitated if the long rolls were folded back and forth, much like the present ubiquitous fan, to form a flat book which could be opened anywhere at the will of the reader. This style of binding, called “whirlwind leaves,” remained the common one for several centuries and is still sometimes used for Buddhist sutras. Also—typical of Confucian conservatism—the candidates for degrees under the old examination system were presented with blank examination books folded in this way.

Painters say that the life of silk is measured in decades but that of paper in centuries, for silk will rot and tear and is practically impossible to repair while paper can be patched and touched up time and again. So we find a gradual abandonment of silk in favor of paper.
Toward the end of the T'ang dynasty a new process gave a great impetus to the book trade, namely, the invention of block-printing. This process had gradually evolved from the use of carved seals in Han times, when an inked seal was pressed onto paper or silk in lieu of a signature. The next step was the method of “rubblings” or “squeezes,” where a replica of a stone inscription was taken by dabbing an inked pad over a moist sheet of paper that had been laid on the inscription and gently brushed into all the hollows of the stone.

With the imperial patronage of Buddhism from Northern Wei times on, we find a rapid spread of this faith and a demand for the reproduction of pictures for the use of the faithful. Rubbings helped to answer the demand; but it was soon discovered that an even better process was to carve the picture and its accompanying text in reverse on wooden blocks, after which the block could be inked, a sheet of paper laid over it and, with a stroke of a flat brush, a black-and-white reproduction made. This last development took place toward the end of the T'ang dynasty and, of course, necessitated a radical change in bookbinding. Although a long roll could be printed, its cumbersome length made the process awkward, to say the least.

Readers had likewise noted that with long use the whirlwind leaves tended to wear out along the folds. The result was that works were printed in separate sheets, one sheet to a block. These sheets were then folded in down the middle and placed back to back to form the “butterfly binding.” When a fairly heavy paper was used, these sheets could be pasted along the front edge, leaving the back like the former whirlwind books. But with thinner paper these books had to have a cover which was pasted to the rear folds, forming a book more like modern Western ones.

Then the printed sheets could be folded backwards along the middle and the whole book stitched with thread along the back, giving us the modern Chinese block-printed editions.
The blank space down the middle of the page was soon put to use and today forms an important part of the book, both because it is used for reference by the reader and because it contains valuable information for the collector. This column is called the "block's heart" and is usually divided into three parts, each separated by a black mark called "fish tail." Each block for the whole of an edition must have these fish tails in exactly the same position.

Above the first fish tail we find the title of the work, sometimes followed by the number of the particular chapter. Below we usually get the title of the particular chapter, and just above the next fish tail the pagination, which starts afresh for each chapter. The space below this second fish tail is reserved for the name of the publishing house.

As a general rule, all of this printing appears half on the recto and half on the verso side of the leaf, but occasionally one finds the verso half of the block's heart reserved for the block-cutter's notation. This notation included the surname of the workman, the number of characters in the text proper and, if there is a commentary included, the number of smaller characters, for the workers were paid according to the number of characters cut and not according to the number of blocks. Since the block's heart must be regular throughout the work, a collector can easily judge whether a work is all of one edition by simply looking at the edges of the closed book. If the black marks are regular, he can feel fairly certain that he is dealing with a single edition.
With the introduction of stitching in the early Ming dynasty, readers had still to contend with Confucius' problem—this time, however, that of the threads wearing out. This was remedied toward the end of the dynasty by the use of "enclosed corners"—small pieces of colored silk wrapped around the corners between the last stitch and the edge of the book, top and bottom, thus taking part of the strain from the last stitches.

In connection with these enclosed corners, an interesting story is told of a famous connoisseur of paintings who was asked to judge the authenticity of an alleged early Ming painting. He was quite satisfied that the style of the brush strokes indicated an early Ming sketch of a semisylyan scene containing in the middle foreground the

In the south it is necessary to insert at the front and back of each volume, just inside the covers, a sheet of orange-colored paper impregnated with poison in order to stop the progress of bookworms—not of the scholarly sort—which are expected to die after eating through it and before they have gone far enough to damage the text. Indeed, it is not unusual to find a book so bound that has a small wormhole in the cover and another in the bright orange sheet of medicated paper, while the text remains uninjured. But occasionally you will come

abode of a scholar-recluse; but of course it might have been done by a later artist who copied the earlier style. The latter hypothesis proved correct, for the connoisseur noticed that the second floor of the recluse's home was an open study, and that many of the books on the shelves were bound with enclosed corners. Hence the painting was obviously a much later product than at first supposed.
across such a book harboring (and feeding!) whole colonies of worms that have been unethical enough to eat their way in through the unprotected back of the book.

The cover itself is of heavy paper folded double or, in cheap books, of single paper faced with lighter paper. Then holes are punched for stitching with an awl. The number of stitches depends on the size of the volume, but there is no place for individual fancy in the way it is done. Consequently, the outside of Chinese books is quite uniform, with the exception of those with silk-reinforced corners as mentioned above.

Hence a Chinese scholar would find it difficult to keep track of even a modest collection of a few hundred volumes, all of which look very much alike, with some minor variations in size and perhaps color of bindings, and none of which can be identified short of opening each volume separately. Moreover, works that normally occur in tens or even hundreds of volumes would soon be hopelessly mixed and scattered. The bookseller himself can give no help here, but he will gladly act as agent for another guild, whose workmen will first write identifying titles and even whole tables of contents along the bottom of each volume, and then make to order neat little cases of pasteboard covered with cloth that will hold five or six volumes together.

Of these cases, or 4ao, there are several varieties. The ordinary ones fold around the stacked volumes, leaving the top and bottom open—and these are the most practical where the books are to be piled flat one
on top of the other, as it leaves the titles written on the bottoms exposed for quick reference. A more expensive variety encloses the stack of books on all sides, offering complete protection. For larger works, perhaps the ideal method is to keep them in wooden boxes, which are divided into small compartments to facilitate the removal of single copies. Camphor wood is the best material for these boxes, as it affords almost absolute protection against worms. The title of the work is carved in large ornamental characters on the removable side. Such boxes are neither the most convenient nor the cheapest containers for books, but they are practically a necessity in those parts of China where damp climate combines with voracious bookworms to make life unbearable for the fastidious collector of rare volumes.

A recital of these complicated operations and a résumé of their long evolution can only give a vague idea of the richness of culture connected with this esoteric art. Esoteric art it is, even though modern techniques and styles have invaded its field. Esoteric it will remain until the last block-print is thumbed beyond repair.

Removing the panel from a box. The base board under the stack is of camphor wood. Note the antique characters on the panel.

The proprietor of the bookshop relaxes. Titles and bargaining prices are written on printed slips for ease in locating a desired work.
DIET AND DENTAL DECAY

By DR. JOSEF ESCHLER

If a large number of people were to be asked what kind of professional treatment they had most frequently undergone, the replies would undoubtedly show that our teeth require more attention than any other part of our body. Many people who do not go to see a doctor for years nevertheless go regularly to their dentist. Why is it that, of all the organs with which we have been equipped by Nature, our teeth are the ones to fail us most often?

An interesting reply to this question is given by Dr. Escher, an outstanding German dental specialist who is at present in Tokyo for the purpose of research. He received his scientific training at the German Karl University in Prague as well as at numerous institutions and clinics. Incidentally, Dr. Escher also played a leading part in the struggle of the Sudeten Germans for their inclusion into the German Reich. He was a political leader of the Sudeten German Party; in September 1938 he was condemned to be shot by the Czech military authorities but was freed by the Munich agreement. His scientific publications, numbering more than thirty, deal chiefly with bone histology and the maintenance of teeth.—K.M.

The word “caries” means decay and is used in medicine for diseased conditions of bone and teeth in which these otherwise hard organs become soft and disintegrate.

The causes for this decay, however, are different in the case of bones and teeth. In the case of the former, caries is caused by cells which eat away the bone, so that the bone is replaced by a soft, cheesy tissue liable to inflammation. Dental caries arises from other causes. Here we do not find any body cells eating away the tooth; moreover, this is impossible since those parts of the teeth which are attacked by caries project freely into the oral cavity, and their exterior surfaces are formed not by cells but by cell-less, hard tissue: enamel. On the whole, the ideas of the old German scientist Miller are still valid, namely, that dental caries is caused by chemical- parasitical, essentially bacterial processes.

The hard-tissue substances of the teeth, the enamel as well as the dentine, gradually soften through the effect of acids and bacteria. In their place there remains a soft mass consisting of bacteria, food particles, and the remaining softened enamel and dentine substances—which is then slowly washed away. Finally, when the crown of the tooth has thus decayed and the caries has started to affect the root, the whole tooth is lost.

A DISEASE OF CIVILIZATION

Dental caries is caused by many factors, some of which play a big role and some a lesser one. Faulty diet has long been blamed as being one of the main reasons for the tremendous spread of dental decay which, during the last few centuries, has assumed the proportions of a world-wide disease.

The study of the teeth and skulls of our ancestors, especially those made by the German scientists Euler, Greth, etc., as well as various experimental studies, have greatly contributed toward faulty diet nowadays being regarded as a very important if not the most important factor for this disease. Indeed, in view of the good condition of the teeth of ancient man and the rare occurrence of dental caries, Euler considers the changed diet caused by the cultural and technical developments during the last centuries as the chief factor.

The Norwegian Toverud and others have offered many examples which prove that not until the last few decades, simultaneously with the construction of roads, the improvement of communica-
tions, and the progress of engineering, did dental caries appear, together with civilization, in certain remote localities.

For civilization has changed man's diet. The modern cooking stove and baking oven, finer grinding of wheat, polishing of rice, baking of white bread and cakes, etc., made their triumphal entry. All these things which are generally considered to mean great progress represent, however, a certain drawback, at least with regard to the health of human teeth. Teeth were created for chewing; they are meant to be used to masticate food. But what did the above-mentioned progress lead to?

The original primitive fireplace gradually developed into the modern gas or electric stove or large coal range. All food must now be cooked until it is soft; otherwise it is unpalatable to modern man. It need hardly be emphasized that long cooking destroys the vitamins and minerals. Of course, we do not mean to imply that the cooking stove should be done away with. But we do recommend the sparing use of the flame, which otherwise destroys the most valuable substances. Many kinds of vegetable and fruit can be eaten raw; others can be made palatable by steeping them in boiling water or parboiling them.

WHITE BREAD: ENEMY NO. 1

Another technical advance is represented by the mills, baking ovens, and bakeries. The early stone mortars developed into mills equipped with intricate machinery, with the express purpose of removing as much bran—and with it vitamins and minerals—as possible from the grain. Of course, it is easier to make cakes and white bread, preferred by so many people, from such white flour than from the darker flour that has not been ground so fine. And bran is considered just about good enough for fodder. Although bread becomes darker through a larger bran content, it also becomes more nourishing and—what is more important—contains substances essential to the building up of the human body. It is significant that the German authorities have in recent years prohibited the fine grinding of flour.

The mill was followed by the baker and his oven to make the nice white flour even more palatable. But by this process additional essential body-building substances, vitamins and minerals, which even the fine flour still contained, were lost.

We know for certain now that all these processes of modern food preparation destroy substances which are essential to the forming of hard teeth. As the hardness is the result of good calcification, one might assume that the plentiful addition of calcium salts in various forms such as Kalzana, Calcipot, Calcium Sandoz, etc., to the diet should suffice for the formation of hard, well-calcified teeth. However, in order for the human body to benefit properly from these calcium salts, other substances are needed. On the other hand, the age at which calcium and such other substances are given plays an important part.

FILLINGS DO NOT CURE

As can be seen from Fig. 1, the teeth are formed in the jaw. They are formed here by cells; the enamel, for instance, the hardest and outermost layer of the crown by the ameloblasts (enamel-secreting cells) which, however, perish just before the teeth break through the gums. Thus enamel can no longer be produced once the crown has appeared in the oral cavity, and hence can never be replaced after having been destroyed by caries. The dentine under the enamel also cannot be
replaced after it has been destroyed by caries. Thus a hole in the enamel and in the dentine will always remain a hole. If it is not treated, it will become larger; but in no circumstances will it ever become smaller, much less be filled in by enamel and dentine, in contrast to the healing of wounds, which latter takes place by new tissue being formed and the defect being filled in by this new tissue. Hence we are forced to fill in defects in the tooth by artificial means such as fillings, inlays, crowns, etc., in order to prevent the caries from spreading.

But can this be called curing? For first of all we are even obliged to enlarge the hole in order to provide a durable foundation for the filling or the crown. Then we stop up the hole with a foreign substance that is often harmful to the tissue exerting a very unfavorable influence on the cell activity in the nerve of the tooth and sometimes entailing the destruction of the cells. Indeed, we are not even able to remove a simple inflammation of the nerve—an inflammation that can be cured everywhere else in the body while the tissue is maintained or replaced—without removing the nerve itself and replacing it by an artificial disinfecting substance. Sometimes the most minute damage by substances which apparently do not harm the tissues may still cause serious physical defects after a number of years. We need only mention the focal infection caused by nerve deadening.

What, after all, is a filling or a crown, however skillfully made, but a diminutive prosthesis, with all its advantages and disadvantages? The purpose of this short digression is only to emphasize our further remarks on the significance of a correct diet for the maintenance of sound teeth.

WHEN TO BEGIN

How can dental caries be prevented or at least reduced to a minimum! Since it is a general belief that, the harder a tooth is, the greater is its resistance, people hope to achieve such hard, caries-resistant teeth by feeding children sufficient calcium. How often do we hear from mothers that their children have been fed calcium since birth or since they were weaned. And when we ask what quantities of calcium have been fed every day, we are told incredible amounts, as if fifty per cent of the human body were composed of calcium. In most cases it is added to the diet in its purest form, a mixture of calcium carbonate and phosphate of lime. This is done in the assumption that this pure calcium is used by the body entirely to build up bones and teeth. Yet at the age of five or six the child sometimes has not a single sound tooth in its mouth. This fact, in turn, is often the cause of increased doses of calcium, and the mothers are surprised that the teeth continue to get worse in spite of this. Thus the reason is not a lack of calcium alone, but of other substances which are able to deposit the calcium at those places of the body—especially the bones and teeth—which require it. The fact that the feeding of calcium is often not begun until some considerable time after birth is an added reason why so many children suffer from caries.

Knowing how and where the teeth are formed, we must make every effort at the first indication of the forming of teeth, not only to prevent a lack of calcium in those cells, but also to provide the necessary means that allow the body to absorb the available calcium. Fig. 2 shows that the first indications of the calcification of the milk incisor teeth appear in about the sixth month of pregnancy. During the eighth month of pregnancy, the crowns of the milk molars also begin to calcify. Thus it is necessary to begin at least at this period of the child's development to provide sufficient calcium to enable the teeth-forming cells to pass it on to the hard-tissue substances of the teeth. But it is advisable to start the feeding of calcium even earlier.

CALCIUM IS NOT ENOUGH

However, as we have said before, this calcium alone is not enough to build up
hard enamel, produced by the simultaneous feeding of calcium and vitamins, thus represents at least a certain guarantee for the maintenance of sound teeth.

BIRTH AND ITS EFFECT

The most threatened tooth, the one that most frequently suffers from caries, is the first permanent molar, which appears at the age of five or six. It adjoins the milk teeth, and for that reason a caries of the milk teeth often causes contact caries of the permanent molar. If only because of the possibility of contact caries, decaying milk teeth should not be left without treatment.

However, in our opinion there is an added factor, not to be underestimated, which is responsible for the pronounced tendency toward caries of the first permanent molar. Fig. 2 shows that the milk molars and the first permanent molar are at the stage of strongest development at the time of birth. Since birth means a tremendous change for the child in its nourishment—while the child obtained its nourishment in prepared form from its mother up to the time of birth, it must now suddenly rely upon itself and extract the various substances from its food—even a small deficiency of the substances needed for the calcification of bones and teeth will make itself felt especially in the above-mentioned three teeth. The fact that the food substances are not fully made use of by the child can be seen from the loss of weight that always takes place in the first two weeks of life. Thus for this reason, too, it is absolutely necessary for the mother to take sufficient quantities of vitamins and calcium before birth so as to provide the child with a certain reserve for its first few weeks of life.

The more the child’s food consists of substances which easily produce hyperacidity of the blood, the more calcium and vitamins should be given. The chief of these substances are carbohydrates and cereals rich in carbohydrates, such as corn, oatmeal, and rice. Thus when babies are fed cornflour, porridge,
and rice, calcium and vitamins should be added to the diet to provide a certain balance, i.e., to provide the blood with sufficient substances which can be mobilized to prevent the formation of acids.

**WHICH VITAMINS?**

Let us say a few words as to which is the most important vitamin for the formation of so-called hard teeth, and which food items contain the necessary vitamins and calcium.

The formation of the teeth is perhaps the best example of the necessity of almost all the vitamins. It is a well-known fact that an infant cannot be brought up, without falling ill, if one or the other vitamin is lacking. For the absorption of calcium and for the strong mineralization of the enamel, Vitamin D is the most important. But closely bound up with it is Vitamin A, which is needed for the best possible absorption of calcium by means of Vitamin D. Both these vitamins are contained together in natural fish-liver oil. Next in importance is Vitamin C, which is needed especially for the calcification of the dentine. The B vitamins, on the other hand, are of minor importance in the formation of the teeth. Moreover, they are contained in almost every item of diet.

Vitamin D is probably the rarest of all, since it is to be found only in butter, milk, egg yolk, mushrooms, and fish-liver oil. Sometimes it is also found in dark-hued fruit. Vitamin A is plentiful in egg yolk, milk, butter, and fish-liver oil. Nor must vegetables be forgotten, which contain an abundance of Vitamins A and C. Raw egg yolk is one of the most important carriers of vitamins. Vitamin C is contained in large quantities in almost all vegetables and fruit, especially in lemons, parsley, oranges, lettuce, radishes, all kinds of berries, and raw potatoes.

The calcium content of the various foodstuffs differs greatly according to region. Among those richest in calcium are cheese, milk, lemons, oranges, nuts, and lettuce. Nevertheless, it is always advisable to add small quantities of calcium preparations even to a diet consisting of the above-mentioned items.

**DOGS AND SUGAR**

Quite often the feeding of sugar is regarded as a cause for dental caries during the development of the teeth. Although experiments on animals cannot always be applied to humans, they still permit certain comparisons. Japanese scientists have been able to produce advanced dental caries in dogs by adding small quantities of sugar to their diet. The German scientist Harndt, on the other hand, was able in his counter-experiments to show, if not the opposite, at least that the addition of sugar to the diet is of no important influence on the development of dental caries. All the puppies of these sugar-fed parents had normal teeth, even when they continued to be fed with sugar long after birth.

In our opinion the cause for these contrasting results is to be found elsewhere, at any rate not in the fact that the feeding of sugar alone results in a reduced mineralization of the teeth. For the other influences of environment which affected the dogs in both cases were entirely different. Above all, the remaining diet differed entirely. While the dogs in the German experiments were fed veal bones in addition to their sugar, the Japanese dogs were fed with a mush of rice containing a little vegetable and cut-up meat. This brings us to another important point of diet and its significance for dental caries.

**DANGEROUS CREVICES**

The veal bones gave the dogs an opportunity to masticate properly; at the same time they provided the necessary calcium and vitamins. In the case of the Japanese dogs, these items were missing. Moreover, a mush diet is one of the factors causing caries, especially when the mush consists of carbohydrates, as is the case with rice mush. Mush obviates mastication. Furthermore, particles of the mush very easily remain at certain places in the teeth, where the activity of the ever-present bacteria cause them to
decay. Especially in the case of human teeth there are numerous such places predisposed to caries. If, on the other hand, we are forced to chew hard foods, these places are automatically cleansed in the course of mastication.

The places most predisposed to caries are fine crevices on the chewing surface, the surfaces where the teeth adjoin, and the places just above the gum. Here soft particles are deposited and remain; they form a fertile soil for bacteria. The acids thus formed, together with the activity of the bacteria, then destroy the enamel and finally attack the dentine. The energetic chewing necessitated by hard foods cleanses these places and removes such remaining food particles.

All this goes to show that small additions of sugar during the development of the teeth, i.e., up to the age of twelve, have no harmful effect on the degree of calcification and the hardness of the teeth as long as the main diet contains sufficient vitamins and calcium and is otherwise healthy. A local effect of sugar on the teeth does not take place until they have come through, especially, as is usually the case, when the sugar is added to a mush diet or is taken in the form of soft confectionery, which, although satisfying the appetite, lacks calcium and vitamins. Sugar forms lactic acid, which, in conjunction with bacteria, decalcifies the enamel and dentine and causes caries. To this must be added that mushy food and soft bread and cakes require no mastication; instead of the surfaces of the teeth being cleansed by chewing, food particles are left behind, especially such food particles as form a favorable soil for bacteria. Incidentally, instead of sugar it is better to use honey for sweetening, as it contains vitamins and because it produces formic acid, which has a germicidal action.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CHEWING

Thus, in our efforts to prevent dental decay, we must first emphasize diet factors which are especially important during the development of the teeth. The cells which build up enamel and dentine must receive sufficient calcium and vitamins to enable them to form hard, well-calciﬁed enamel and hard, faultlessly calciﬁed dentine. And secondly, there are the exterior influences which are responsible for the development of dental caries. Among these we have mentioned mushy food rich in carbohydrates for infants, and cakes and confectionery for older children and grown-ups. In Germany as well as in other countries, school dental care has produced good results with the morning snack provided for the children. The children eat their snack together, and it consists mainly of hard brown bread, butter or vitaminized margarine, milk, and fruit. This common meal has several purposes. The hard bread is intended to force the children to use their teeth properly. The food cannot be swallowed as can mush, soup, or soft bread, but must be properly chewed. The jaws are strengthened; in this way, a kind of morning gymnastics of the masticating and facial muscles is achieved which has a beneﬁcial effect on the position of the teeth and the shape of the jaw. At the same time the teeth are cleansed better than with a brush, or rather the food particles have no chance to be deposited at the caries-disposed spots. Moreover, the prolonged, thorough chewing stimulates the saliva; remaining food particles are washed away, the well-masticated food surrounded with plenty of saliva and thus the carbohydrate-splitting effect of the saliva ferments exploited to the utmost. Well chewed is half digested! In addition, brown bread still contains sufﬁcient vitamins and, above all, the important minerals. The fact that the children eat together should also have a favorable effect on children who are slow at eating and chewing.

Of course, the effect of mechanical cleansing provided by the hard brown bread can also be produced by any other hard food item. Among them, those are the most preferable which also contain vitamins, such as apples (eaten raw with the peel), raw carrots, kohlrabi, rusk's and similar hard bakery products (such
THE DENTIST NEEDS YOUR HELP

Thus diet has throughout life, indeed, even long before birth, an influence, often still underestimated, on the hardness of the teeth and their resistance against caries. Not only the type of food or the substances added to the diet are important, but also the preparing and the consistency. It is not enough to pay attention to one factor only. If a child, though stuffed with calcium preparations and vitamins, is fed a lot of cakes and sweets instead of at least some hard foods that have not been deprived of their most important substances, its teeth will always be threatened by caries.

So we see that it is not within the power of the dentist to exterminate caries. All his efforts at maintaining the health of the teeth are in vain unless every single individual does his share. In the whole wide field of public health there are probably few similar examples to show how, by following simple rules of diet and living, a person may contribute to such an extent toward his own health, the health of his children, and thus of his nation.

SAILORS IN CONVOYS

By ALBERTO Da CRUZ

Every day we read in the newspapers about the grim struggle taking place between the Allied merchant fleets and the Axis U-boats. Many are the accounts of this struggle seen through the eyes of the pursuer—the U-boat. But we hardly know anything about how this struggle looks through the eyes of the crews of the pursued Allied freighters. In the following article we present an account of this duel as it appears to them. How the material for this article was collected is told by the author, a young Portuguese journalist in Shanghai.—K.M.

WHEN the war broke out in the Pacific almost two years ago, it performed a bloodless operation in segregating for the duration a few hundred Scandinavian sailors from the sea. The war cut a swathe through their ranks, and to many of them it meant waking up one Monday morning and realizing that Shanghai was to be their enforced home for as long as hostilities might last. A few accepted this uncertain period of idleness as a blessing to restore them from war wrecks to a sounder balance of mind, but many inwardly resented being deprived of their natural element, the sea.

I am staying in a place where a number of these sailors have made their home. It has not been hard to get to know them well, as sailors are the friendliest people alive, if you understand their moods and leave well enough alone. They represent most of the northern European countries whose young men have taken to the sea, and almost all have seen war service in one way or another before being stranded so unexpectedly in Shanghai.

They are all neutral merchant sailors who are not connected with the Allied navies. From the way they express their dislike for navies in general you feel that there is too much rivalry between them to make mutual fellowship possible. Even the long partnership of danger that followed the outbreak of the war in Europe has not brought about a relaxing of this somewhat instinctive dislike. These merchant sailors appear to have a notion that too much credit is given to the navy when they, too, have met with considerable hazards in the course of their war-time duty.

They are a bunch of hardy fellows who have been through it all. The interval between the outbreak of the European
war and the Pacific hostilities has provided them with a moment in their mercantile careers which they say they will never forget. Their lot in peace time is comparatively easy, but in time of war it becomes a very serious business. All the elements of danger are there to confront them, all the perils, risks, and uncertainties which are interwoven so intricately into the complex pattern of total warfare.

WHY THEY DO IT

These hundred or so stranded Scandinavians live in scattered parts of the town, but the bonds which tied them formerly have not been broken, and whenever they meet today all talk is centered on their exploits immediately preceding the Pacific war. The convoy service, about which so little is known in this part of the world, is what they enjoy talking about. Discussion on any subject will ultimately end with a heated debate on the merits of the convoy system. For, they say, the duties of merchant sailors in time of war are almost exclusively confined nowadays to taking part in convoy sailings. Only in a few instances do skippers of small hulks get leave to sail from port alone, as a current idea prevailing among shipping circles centers on the greater protection afforded ships when they sail in groups.

At first I was surprised to learn that neutral seamen were openly working for belligerents, but I was told that in many instances the seamen had no choice. It was always a case of working, or else. The importance of keeping the Atlantic trade lines active without interruption to maintain the life of the British Isles has imposed upon the British Admiralty the task of recruiting all available seamen; and when coaxing is not enough, other persuasive measures are resorted to. High bonuses and really flattering pay have so far made it possible for ships to sail out of British ports on schedule.

CUMBERSOME NECESSITY

Immediately after the outbreak of the European war, when the depletion in the ranks of the British merchant marine was beginning to leave its mark on the war efforts of the nation, it was seen that merchantmen would have to sail in convoys, thus going back to the days of Nelson. It was an expensive, cumbersome method, and it made severe calls upon escorting destroyers, which could ill be spared. The entry of the United States into the war resulted in an urgently required augmentation of the destroyer force. German submarines based in home waters, in spite of everything, soon made the Irish coast an unhealthy zone for the ships of both nations, and imposed upon the British Navy another large and worrying area. The united naval forces of the two countries could not achieve an adequate protection of the merchant ships, which were exposed to systematic destruction.

The purpose underlying the convoy is to conduct a group of merchantmen safely in and out of the dangerous zones immediately surrounding the harbors, before which lurk the submarines. Once well out to sea they are left to their own devices, unless a number of vessels have the same destination, when a small escort may be asked for. There are divided opinions upon the wisdom of this latter precaution, since it seems obvious that with a crowd of vessels the U-boat finds an easier target.

PRELIMINARIES TO A CONVOY

To take a convoy out of harbor, therefore, without the most adequate protection, is to invite attention, and every possible precaution is taken. Hours before the sailing of the convoy, which is kept a strict secret among the skippers, dozens of small craft go outside the harbor and attempt to make the surface too lively for the lurking submarines. Above them in the sky airplanes cruise, spotting in the deeper water, while further out a destroyer patrols.

There are more preliminaries than these before the convoy can sail. There is the education of the sailors themselves, and a fearful task it is. For several days the ships will run into harbor to gather there for instructions, back from
the various ports where freights have been taken aboard. The collecting and dispersal of convoys involve considerable risks, and much confusion at times. You heard, for instance, of a ship from America with a cargo of flour and steel rods. The flour was at the bottom of the hold, and the rods on top. The ship was destined for Liverpool and Cardiff. A blunder somewhere resulted in the ship running into Liverpool, to find that her bottom cargo, flour, was to be unloaded there, her steel in Cardiff. Much language on the part of the skipper did not alter things. The port officer remained adamant. So she sailed again to get rid of her steel, and to return with her flour to Liverpool. On the coastwise route she was sunk, and both cargoes and the ship were lost.

The first task in educating the sailors of the convoy is to collect them from their camouflaged ships as they lie in port. In choppy weather this is no light task, in addition to which the reluctant skippers are convinced that it is all tomfoolery. They think they can sail their ships better than any "damn naval officer." Some dozen of them, representing a few nationalities, are herded in a small room belonging to the Senior Naval Officer’s headquarters. He must have a gift for languages, and a particular gift for an unofficial but international language understood by all these men.

THE HATED MAN

Poor fellows, they are full of anxiety. They come from British, American, Scandinavian, and South American ships, with crews gathered everywhere. They drive despair into the heart of the ablest commander afloat. And yet this miscellaneous fleet has to be marshaled and made to sail with absolute precision, or the consequences would be unpleasant.

The ships, of course, are as diversified as the crews. Old ships and new ones, with high hulls and low hulls, ships of seven knots up to twelve, with crews from ten to forty, with masts of all heights and guns of all sizes, have to be reduced to a dead level. The dead level is determined by the maximum speed of the slowest boat, and her skipper, as a result, is a hated man. Again and again through the instructional lecture he will remind the Senior Naval Officer that, at her best, his ship can only do seven knots, and he isn’t even sure about that.

The lecture finished, they are given sealed orders, not to be opened unless one of them falls out of the convoy. They have to steam up and weigh anchor at noon. The little skipper again reminds the Senior Naval Officer that his ship can only do seven knots at her best, while the skipper of a fourteen-knotter scowls at him; he will be imperiled because of that miserable little coffin-hulk.

ORDER OUT OF CHAOS

And so, true to schedule, they weigh anchor at noon. Out of harbor a destroyer will herd the ships on each side and another destroyer acts as whipper-in. The fishing boats have been busy all morning keeping the waters choppy; above, planes are on patrol. But within the harbor there is grief, and gnashing of teeth, and language. Getting that convoy out is a terrible business. The Senior Naval Officer hops up and down the bridge of his pilot boat. He looks like a schoolmaster with a birch, and the things he says about some of those skippers who are doing strange things with their ships! For getting a convoy under way involves terrific strain. When a battle fleet puts out to sea, the commodore leads captains who know what he wants, who command crews that obey instantly, who handle ships equipped with every device to assist seamanship. But the poor merchant skipper is usually in charge of an old hulk that should have been scrapped long ago, with a crew gathered from all quarters of the globe, surly and slow, and with engines credited with perhaps twelve knots at the insurance company but only capable of eight in practice.

And there are other difficulties. She carries a British gunner and a British signalman. It is here that the Scandinavians complain most arduously against the policy
of the British Admiralty for its unsystematic mixing of experienced seamen with beginners, and allowing favored officers the key positions which rightly belong to more experienced men. The signalman was perhaps measuring cloth in a draper’s shop six months before; it is now his business to wag it systematically at the end of a stick, but he is very nervous, and the signal from the commodore comes too quick, so the unhappy skipper gets a very jumbled message whose instructions he cannot understand. The gunner, too, is new and nervous. At the slightest suspicion of anything queer he will begin shooting wildly. He will do his best, but in the hottest moment of combat it is not rare that the other ships of the convoy bear the brunt of his activity, and he is not helped by an excited crew bawling at him from all quarters at the last moment.

OUT TO SEA

The Senior Naval Officer gets the ships into formation, big and little, six abreast. But they may not sail yet, which creates trouble. The big ship can scarcely keep steam down, against which it is sternly warned, since steam will tell the submarines outside that they are sailing; but on the other hand, the little fellow who can only do seven knots at his very best has stoked up to bursting point in his endeavor to be ready for that start. The Senior Naval Officer gives his signal for them to weigh anchor, and a curt query flies to each laggard. As they all turn into position with uniformity, he is mollified. Then slowly they move toward the harbor mouth like an army on the march.

Here the trouble really begins. At sea all the ships of the convoy will maintain a set distance apart, but in leaving harbor they must reduce this distance, and the ships proceeding abreast must close in to pass the mouth. The skippers always have a dread of collision. They do not like those ships closing in on each side; the proximity of neighbors ahead, on the port, starboard and astern, try them sorely. In addition, they have the anxiety of watching the commodore’s signals, of maintaining correct lengths and speed. But all is attempted. They clear the harbor mouth, the gray cliffs fall behind, before them is the open sea, suddenly gleaming.

Soon they are well out. The engines of the convoy purr like fire-warmed cats. The sea in their wake is marbled with the wash from the propellers. The day slips from the world with imperceptible stealth. A veil of dusk falls over the troubled waters, a last gull screams and flies westwards, silhouetted black against a crimson streak of sky; a desolation greater than that of the desert is wrapped around them. They creep into a shadowland—beyond them is a dark sea of peril.

THE WARDROOM

Life on a merchant ship stripped for action, as were these merchantmen perforce, does not offer the amenities of a battle cruiser or of a ship in peace time. The space is confined. A crew of from ten to forty, with a correspondingly small executive, offers little diversity. If you cannot get on with the favored officers, who are always in your way in the stuffy wardroom, then life is hell. There are moments when the Scandinavians in the convoy are ripe for murder. It is only the thrill of danger that compensates, the greater activity, pay, and risks undertaken that draw them to this branch of the Allied services, they say.

The hatchway is a glorified coalhole, but clean and polished. When you descend you find yourself in a small, low room, lit with electric lights, in an atmosphere compounded of tobacco smoke, cooking, and anthracite. The pictorial decorations are in keeping with wardroom traditions; alluring hours from the crayon of a famous artist reveal their charms through diaphanous drapery, flanked by appealing pages of charmingly lewd French magazines. A row of books shrug their ragged backs at one. A gramophone lifts its adenoidal voice above the purr of engines. Among the general litter—for wardrooms of merchantmen in the convoy service are
privileged in their untidiness—there is perhaps a bundle of old newspapers sent by kind but misguided people who think seamen will find them absorbing. Soon you know everyone, not only by face but by nature; and, gradually, too, all the peculiarities of their progenitors are revealed.

But it is night now, and there is not a light, scarcely a movement, except of the black sea racing by, swirling onwards, cuffed with foam. The engines hum, driving the convoy through the impenetrable darkness. Under the covers of the trained torpedoes you can feel the cold war heads. Beneath each gun and tube a recumbent figure betrays itself with sonorous breathing.

DETECTION!

The men are sleeping at their stations. Silently, stealthily, the ships proceed, when suddenly bells shatter the silence. The sleeping, motionless figures and the subdued guns are galvanized into furious activity. The illusion of having entered a mine field—an illusion that is somehow more tolerable than the U-boat—is dispelled by the sound of torpedoes ramming into the sides of ships. What the men had dreaded is happening. They have been detected, after all.

Several hits, several flashes, and a frantic, agonizing confusion reigns. The escaped oil from the tanks covers the sea, the men struggle in it, and suddenly there is a sheet of flame as it takes fire. The destroyers, which have swerved from their course to avoid being hit, have recovered from their shock and give chase. But, their work completed, the U-boats have submerged. As depth charges are assiduously dropped with the uncertain prospect of hits, the convoy breaks up and the ships scatter to proceed alone. The sealed orders are then opened and read. A complete change in plans takes place. The wounded are treated, the dead taken care of, many are rescued from the flaming wrecks, and dawn, a faint blue streak, glimmers on the horizon. There are moans and groans, men collapse and ships are blown up, but the public knows nothing. A heavy veil enshrouds this service, and the neutrals whose lives are sacrificed are regarded as negligible ciphers.
THE MARCH OF WAR

AMERICAN CASUALTIES

About a year ago, official United States war casualty lists began to appear in local newspapers. These lists were published by the US authorities, at first rather irregularly but during the last few months at regular intervals. We have compiled a chart on the basis of these lists showing (I) total casualties, (II) the Army casualties, and (III) the losses suffered by the Navy, including marines and coast guards. (The Army losses include some 12,500 Filipino Scouts.) We have entered the casualty figures under the dates of dispatch by the news agencies; in the beginning they represented the losses sustained up to a time about ten days to a fortnight prior to the date when the report was called. In recent months, however, the figures have included losses up to the date on which they were published.

The figure of September 14, 1943, is composed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dead</td>
<td>19,721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wounded</td>
<td>26,765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>32,154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prisoners</td>
<td>23,933</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 102,573

A glance at the three curves shows one suspicious fact: with a single exception the curves rise so steadily that they appear as straight lines rather than curves. If the figures announced by the American authorities corresponded to the actual losses, the curves would show steep rises in periods of heavy fighting and flat stretches during calmer times. We have marked on the chart the main battles on land and sea. With the sole exception of the period in November 1942, these battles are not reflected in the curves: the mighty sea battles in the South Pacific can be traced just as little as the change between lull and active fighting in Tunisia and the battle of Sicily.

One might almost think from these curves that the US Office of War Information had received orders to add an average of 1,100 casualties a week, without regard to the actual losses.

There is another factor which deserves attention. Time and again the United States Government has either issued false
statements concerning losses or delayed the publication of the actual losses for many months. The most striking example is Pearl Harbor.

**PEARL HARBOR LOSSES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Published at first</th>
<th>Admitted on December 6, 1942</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sunk: 2 battleships</td>
<td>sunk: 5 battleships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 target vessel</td>
<td>1 large floating dock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 destroyers</td>
<td>3 destroyers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 small tankers</td>
<td>2 auxiliary units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>damaged: several units</td>
<td>damaged: 3 battleships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 cruisers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 auxiliary vessels</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here are some instances of delayed admission:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel</th>
<th>Lost</th>
<th>Admitted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aircraft carriers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yorktown</td>
<td>June 10, 1942</td>
<td>Sept. 17, 1942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wasp</td>
<td>Sept. 15, 1942</td>
<td>Oct. 26, 1942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hornet and 10 other warships</td>
<td>Oct. 26 to Nov. 30, 1942</td>
<td>Jan. 11, 1943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroyer Duncan</td>
<td>Oct. 12, 1942</td>
<td>Nov. 28, 1942</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another case of this kind is that of the aircraft carrier *Langley*. Japanese naval headquarters had reported it sunk on January 8, 1942. Washington never admitted the loss; but on November 21, 1942, a report came from America that the keel had been laid for a new aircraft carrier to be named *Langley*. This, of course, was tantamount to an indirect admission to the loss of the original *Langley*.

All these false statements and delayed admissions throw a somewhat unfavorable light on the reliability of the American casualty lists, particularly in view of the fact that these lists have never been retroactively altered when losses were belatedly admitted.

However, the strongest argument against the reliability of the US casualty lists was furnished this summer. The figure published up to July 4 was 91,644; that up to August 20, 98,024. This would mean that the total casualties of all the US armed forces on all battlefields had, in these seven weeks, amounted to 6,380.

During this period there was the Sicilian campaign (July 9 to August 17) which, according to President Roosevelt's own words in his message to Congress of September 17, cost the Americans 7,545 casualties. In the same period, many terror raids were made on European cities by American air fleets, in the course of which hundreds of US planes, many of them multiengined bombers, were destroyed with their crews being either captured or killed. And finally, during these seven weeks very heavy fighting occurred in the Solomon Islands, beginning with the American landing on Rendova on June 30 and lasting all through July and August. Imperial Japanese Headquarters announced on August 25th that American casualties on New Georgia Island alone—not counting losses at sea or those suffered from illness—were estimated at about 10,000.

If we consider that the Sicilian campaign alone, even according to American figures, surpassed by more than 1,000 the total casualties admitted for this period; and if we add to this the casualties suffered in air raids on Europe and in the land, sea, and air fighting in the Solomons, we see that the actual figure of casualties must be many times that admitted by the Office of War Information. And we have no cause to regard USA figures published for other periods of this war as being any more reliable.

The reason for withholding the truth from the American people is not far to seek. Roosevelt, who is aware of his responsibility for involving the American nation in war, wishes to create the impression that the war is being fought at a small cost, in order to prevent the Americans from losing whatever war spirit they may have had in the beginning.
THE WINDOW

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE—TODAY

In the Great War one year and seven months passed between America's declaration of war and the Armistice. But almost two years have passed since Pearl Harbor, and as yet there is no end in sight. How is the morale of the American nation bearing up? Her human losses, with which we have dealt in another section of this issue, have not yet been great enough to affect it. But war also demands material sacrifices. The amount of these sacrifices is less important for the morale than the spirit in which they are borne. One man may cheerfully work for victory on no more than a minimum of existence, while another man's morale may be seriously affected when he has to forego meat once a week. It all depends on the outlook.

Although we do not know much about America today, we do know that there is no other nation where material values have been more highly extolled. Hence Americans are bound to be harder hit by material sacrifices imposed by the war than people who are more determined by spiritual considerations. In fact, we believe that the fate of the American standard of living, or "way of life," has a powerful influence on the war. The time may come when the palpable loss of their standard of living due to the war will loom larger in the American mind than the vague gains promised by victory.—K.M.

AMERICA is a rich country and proud of this fact. Yet its wealth is unequally distributed, and since the founding of the Republic the gulf between rich and poor has widened immeasurably. While J. P. Morgan and his banker friends were sitting on the sunny side of life, sharecropper Johnny Brown was eking out a miserable existence of slow starvation by back-breaking labor. To Clark Gable and Joan Crawford, riding along the highways in swanky automobiles, life looked brighter than to the farmer and his family trekking in a rattletrap Ford from the Midwestern dust bowl in search of land not devastated by drought and sandstorms, or to the hillbilly in his Tennessee mountains who could neither read nor write and had to bear all the hardships of a primitive life.

Yet, on the whole, while the number of underprivileged Americans ran into many millions, the majority of US citizens, compared to people in a corresponding position elsewhere in the world, were well off. For theirs was a continent with tremendous natural resources, with no political or economic boundaries to impede the development of an increasing agricultural and industrial production. While the vast oceans on both sides of the USA became the most effective barriers to any potential enemy, her own aggressive imperialism pushed beyond these oceans to add the riches of other continents to her own. Taxes were low or nonexistent. There was no compulsory military service. The government hardly ever interfered with the activities of the individual.

SEEKING FOR PROSPERITY

Franklin D. Roosevelt's first election in 1932 and his New Deal marked the turning point in the traditional American way of life. In order to recapture "prosperity" with its attending material benefits after years of economic depression, the new President had Congress enact a multiplicity of measures which whittled away much of what had been regarded as part and parcel of American life. Individualism had to give way to collectivism. The Administration began to interfere directly in economics. The Federal Government and the states initiated public relief works of gigantic proportions which were financed with the taxpayers' money and abused for political ends. Tendencies toward a planned economy were coupled with experiments in social reform. Military draft laws were introduced. One by one typical American conceptions disappeared.

Many Americans have been maintaining for the past ten years that more harm than good was done by the President's measures. Many of these latter were ambiguous in aim, lacked co-ordination, and were carried out
for show rather than with a clear plan. It is true that some signs of recovery were felt in the end at the price of a vastly multiplied public debt. Even so, US statistics shortly before that fateful day of December 8, 1941, revealed the number of those excluded from the American standard of living still to be no less than 45 million.

Nevertheless, most Americans were still materially well off. It needed the war into which the President plunged his country to destroy what was left of the American way of life.

"LESS MEAT AND MORE PATRIOTISM"

It seems amazing that foodstuffs should run short in a country which used to produce large agricultural surpluses. Yet this is what happened. At first, of course, only such commodities as sugar or coffee were affected, in which the USA has always been dependent on imports. (Sugar rationing was introduced in May 1942.) In October 1942 it became obvious that meat supplies were insufficient. New Yorkers were asked to adjust themselves to a weekly meat ration, and restaurants in the metropolis introduced meatless Tuesdays. In December the Secretary of Agriculture, Claude Wickard, announced that bottled, canned, frozen, and dried fruit and vegetables belong into the category of goods of which there is a shortage compared to an average of 46 pounds a year for each person in prewar years, only 33 pounds would be available in 1943.

Early this year all the large cities began to suffer from acute shortages in many foodstuffs. Numerous packing plants, butcher shops, and restaurants had to close down for lack of supplies. Mrs. Roosevelt told the press that White House lunches and dinners would be served without butter. Next we read of a shortage of potatoes. Then came the "victory sausages," which were made hardly more palatable by the slogan that they contained "less meat and more patriotism." The production of America's beloved ice cream was reduced in favor of butter and dried milk. It was disclosed that the fishing catch of 1942 had sharply declined in comparison to the already reduced catch of 1941. This would affect the civilian population all the more as 60 per cent of the canned-fish production had been reserved for the armed forces. On March 29, butter, cooking fats and oils, oleomargarine, lard, salad oil, cheese, meat, and canned fish were rationed. In comparison to 1941, meat allotments to the markets were cut at first by 35 per cent for beef and veal, 30 per cent for lamb and mutton, and 25 per cent for pork; but, according to subsequent reports, actual deliveries were much smaller, so that many people, especially in the large cities, were unable to obtain even their rations. Butchers were offering horse, rabbit, beaver, squirrel, porcupine, whale, and alligator meat, and even rattlesnakes had to contribute their lives to the war effort. Lest they make the filmgoers' mouths water, Hollywood producers have been asked not to show the galloping cattle herds that used to add excitement to the Wild West thrillers of the good old days.

Reduction of Food Supplies in 1943 as Compared to 1942

(Compiled by The Nation, May 1, 1943)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of reduction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresh Milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canned Milk and Milk Powder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ice Cream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canned Fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruit Juice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Department of Agriculture has calculated the wheat harvest for 1943 as 14 per cent lower than in 1942, largely owing to the floods in the Mississippi valley. Of the reduced supplies of food, the percentage going to the general public is steadily being lowered. According to the Lend-Lease administration, only 70 per cent of the food production will be available for civilian consumption, while 13 per cent is going to the armed forces, 10 per cent to Lend-Lease recipients, and 2 per cent will be reserved for "special needs." The situation is further worsened by the existence of black markets which, despite the threatened penalties, will absorb a large percentage of these reduced supplies.

SHORTER SHIRT TAILS

In the field of manufactured goods, Mr. and Mrs. America are also facing a reduction of articles for sale. At the outbreak of the war, retailers, wholesalers, and factories were still well stocked to carry the public over a certain period. Meanwhile, how-
ever, people are beginning to feel the pinch. Shirt tails have been cut, ladies' underwear standardized, and the making of extra long nightgowns and fancy pajamas prohibited. Women find dresses restricted to certain standard patterns, while men are limited to single-breasted suits. Shoes are of poorer quality, as the best leather is reserved for the armed forces, and they are rationed. Wooden soles are already being used.

The manufacture of refrigerators, reading lamps, sewing machines, phonographs, radio sets, cameras, vacuum cleaners, washing machines, musical instruments, etc., has been banned, and some of them may be sold from stock only against special license issued by the authorities.

**Estimated Reduction of Manufacture in 1943 as Compared to 1942**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of Reduction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen Utensils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electric Appliances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electric Bulbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio Tubes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stoves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Boilers and Heaters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electric Radiators</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Especially hard hit is the fair sex that used to indulge in a sophisticated change of personality by choosing from a large variety of hues and scents to capture the fancy of unsuspecting males. Face powders, lipsticks, nail polishes, perfumes, creams and other beauty preparations have been cut down considerably in number and quantity. Men are just as badly off as regards drinks. Of a total of 123 distilleries producing alcohol for the manufacture of whisky and other alcoholic beverages, only 18 may continue in business. The remainder has had to adjust production to war needs. No wonder that the Governor of Ohio, under the slogan of "Whisky only for Ohioans," has bought up 38,000 barrels of Kentucky whisky in order to forestall a shortage in the future, this whisky being sold only to inhabitants of the state against official license. Since May 1942 newspapers have grown smaller in volume and size. They are restricted to two editions daily, instead of the former eight or nine.

**AMERICA MUST LEARN TO WALK**

But it is in the field of transportation that the war has most thoroughly revolutionized American life. Before the war, 29 million private cars, taxis, and lorries—more than those owned by the rest of the world together—sped over the far-flung network of America's highways. Rubber was easily available from East Asia, and gasoline supplies seemed inexhaustible. But times have changed. East Asia's rubber is remaining in East Asia. Hence the USA is forced to preserve rubber stocks and even collect used rubber goods and tires for regeneration.

In May 1942 gasoline rationing began in 17 eastern states and was later extended to other states. Up to April of this year, 17,000 tank stations had been closed down, and another 20,000 are expected to follow suit before the year is out. The purchase of new cars has been made subject to a special permit, which is only issued if the absolute necessity for the use of a car is proved. The decrease in motor traffic is more than just a personal inconvenience. The economic system of the country, the going to and from work, for example, was based on it. In a city of the western states which is more or less typical of the whole country, 80 per cent of the workers traveled to their jobs in private cars.

You are mistaken if you think that Mr. and Mrs. America might just turn to the good old bicycle as we have done in Shanghai. Even these are reserved for people occupied with war-important work. Travel by rail has likewise been curtailed, and the 300 private air lines have been put under army control.

The standard of living has also deteriorated in the way of personal services. Launderies have reduced operations on account of the labor and fuel shortage. Last winter many apartment houses and offices were insufficiently heated as a result of a lack of coal and oil, and the chances are that conditions in the coming winter will be worse.

**PRICES AND TAXES UP**

Prices are steadily rising. The news reports on the cost of living in USA are contradictory. This is not surprising, as the methods of calculation differ. According to a statement by Miss Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, the cost of living for American workers rose by 22.8 per cent between December 8, 1941, and March 15, 1943; while an announcement of the Department of Commerce put the increase in the cost of living at 25.5 per cent up to the end of 1942. If black-market prices are taken into account as well as official ones, the increase is considerably higher. It must also be considered that the price level began to go
up long before the USA joined in the war. The wholesale price index since August 1939 had risen by 32 per cent up to September 1942 and by 40 per cent up to the end of that year. The latter two figures are all the more interesting as they show an accelerated upward trend despite the Anti-Inflation Act which came into force on October 12, 1942.

On the other hand, taxation is an increasing burden on the people, especially on those in the lower income brackets. The reduction of the taxable income to $12.00 weekly has hit 16 million wage earners who had previously been exempted from income-tax payments and who, in contrast to the big corporations, have no chance to circumvent them. Since January 1943, the so-called "victory tax" of 5 per cent has been imposed on some 44 million taxpayers, with an extra 10 per cent being deducted as a compulsory subscription to the war loan. Five months later, taxes were raised again, 20 per cent of salaries and wages being retained by employers for transfer to federal revenue offices. There is talk of further tax increases. Indirect taxes have also mounted.

END OF INDIVIDUAL INDEPENDENCE

The Administration struck at the very roots of the American standard of living when it froze wages and decreed that no worker might change his job without special permit. Workers and employees engaged in plants manufacturing for civilian consumption, however, have been compelled to give up good positions and either to accept jobs in the war industries or to join the armed forces. Moreover, the 40-hour week has been abolished and the 48-hour week introduced in many districts.

Many small traders and manufacturers have been forced to give up their business altogether and exchange their independence for employment in war-important enterprises, or at least to reduce their activities for lack of labor or supplies. The Administration has given preference to the large corporations in placing war orders. Early in 1942 it was calculated that no less than 90 per cent of all armament orders had gone to 56 concerns.

The large demand for labor has, of course, brought many people out of the ranks of the unemployed back to work and pay. While the former beneficiaries of the American standard of living have suffered, many of the down-and-outs have risen above starvation level, one of the few bright spots in an otherwise dark picture. Moreover, an increasing number of women are engaged in war work; the same is true of youths, who are earning easy spending money.

THE RETURN OF AL CAPONE

The sharp increase in female labor is bound to have grave consequences on the morals of the nation and thereby on the American way of life in general. Children are neglected by their parents and left to their own devices. Minors have taken to murder, robbery, and burglary; girls in their teens have turned prostitutes. FBI statistics reveal, for instance, a 55-per-cent increase in delinquencies of minor girls during 1942 as compared with the preceding year; and during the current year a further rise has been noted. The facility with which youths can make money nowadays will exert a demoralizing influence and will make it difficult for them to adjust themselves to normal conditions once the war is over.

Add to this the growing crime wave amongst adults. Gangsterism has been re­suscitated on a big scale. The black markets are flourishing. Criminals and bootleggers engaged in this trade are just as ruthless and brutal as they were in the heyday of prohibition. One well-known gang bought up no fewer than nine canneries, the production of which went mostly to the black markets.

Al Capone is back in business, too. He has his men buy up factories and shops and has organized a huge black-market trust. In New Jersey and New York alone he is said to have sold more than 5,000 tons of meat in one month at a "very satisfactory" price. Early this year Chicago housewives spent approximately one million dollars every week on the black market. At Pittsburgh it was estimated that 3 out of every 10 pounds of meat originated from clandestine abattoirs. An investigation of 500 tank stations on the East Coast showed that 70 per cent ignored the price regulations. Ration tickets are stolen and sold at high prices. Time cites the example of the Northrop Aircraft Factory, which takes recourse to the black market in order to obtain meat for the workers' canteen. 75,000 employees of the Douglas Aircraft Works receive their daily meals in the plant from black-market supplies. Hoarding is done on a gigantic scale. As Senator Byrd recently wrote in the American Magazine: It is enough for a druggist to say that razor blades will be rationed, and crowds will start storming the shops to hoard razor blades.
THE REASONS

What are the reasons for the general decline in the standard of living, which must have shocked many Americans? Although the USA had for some years been preparing for war, the sudden entry into it disorganized the country's economy. About 10 million men were drafted for military service. Millions of others flocked to the basic and armament industries. 3 million farmers and farm hands alone, or about one quarter of agricultural labor, left the fields. The internment and mass transfer of Japanese nationals contributed to the labor shortage on the West Coast.

Furthermore, the tremendous demands for raw materials on the part of the armament industry, and the strain on the transportation system, made it necessary to lower civilian consumption. Motor trucks are growing scarce owing to the rubber and oil difficulties. Hence the railroads have been overburdened, little being done for replacement of wear and tear in the rolling stock. Merchant ships are being put to military tasks and frequently sunk.

The fact that many who have long been unemployed have found work and are thus able to buy more than while they were on relief also means that the number of actual consumers has grown, and the shrinking supplies have to be divided among more people.

Then there is the appalling inefficiency of a top-heavy bureaucracy, which has permitted production and especially distribution to run into a muddle of gigantic proportions. In the August issue of the Reader's Digest, Louis Bromfield quoted one leading personality in the US food industry as having said that, if Dr. Goebbels had been sent to the USA on a special mission to upset the food production of the country, he could not possibly have done a better job than the present Washington authorities.

The fixing of price ceilings for agricultural products has induced farmers either to evade them by selling on the black markets or to neglect fields and gardens for better-paying work. Fertilizers have run short, and bad weather and floods early this year have also affected the yield. The black markets and the belated rationing of commodities have led to hoarding on the part of those with higher incomes, which was facilitated by official announcements as to what goods would be rationed next. Production has also been reduced by strikes and slowdowns which, even if directed against war industries, will always hit the civilians in the end.

THE EFFECT

All this is unlikely to keep the fire of enthusiasm burning which may have swept the country at the outbreak of war. The nation whose administration has pursued an aggressive policy, ostensibly for the preservation of the American way of life— with the accent on its pleasant and agreeable material side—is in for a great disillusionment. Even those who have found work and pay after years of penury will have little pleasure in earning money without being able to buy the things they have missed for many years, except on black markets at excessive prices, while the cost of living and taxes are going up. Certainly they do not like to see their wages fixed when prices for daily necessities are rising. They will feel annoyed at not even being able to obtain the rations to which they are entitled, while others can get everything they want because they can afford it. Americans would probably not mind a rationing system if it were carried out with a sense of social justice; but inequalities such as they are found in the USA cannot but weaken the morale of the people.

The amount of money spent by the Administration on the war has increased the nominal income of the nation tremendously. Even after deducting taxes and war loans, in 1943 every American had $4.00 to spend for every $3.00 which he had two years ago, i.e., an increase of 33 1/3 per cent. Even though much of this is absorbed by rising prices, the mounting circulation of money, coinciding as it does with a decrease in the production for civilians, has resulted in inflation. This, in turn, is affecting the cost of war materials, which again will cause the public debt to rise more rapidly. The Administration, fearful of the wrath of public opinion, is hesitant to tell the people the naked truth, namely, that the war demands many more sacrifices in the standard of living. It is still upholding the pretence that Americans can afford to take things easier than other people, lest the Roosevelt regime be defeated in the next election.

As the American people approach the second anniversary of the war, and become aware of their declining standard of living, they must be asking themselves: Shall we ever see the American way of life again?—K.F.
When the steamer on board which Reino Koljonen had sailed from Newcastle approached the Finnish coast, and the low hills, luminous in the glow of the setting sun, raised their soft crests on the horizon, his heart throbbed so violently that it almost hurt.

Twelve years had passed since last he had seen the coast line of his country as he did now—only that then the hills in there had grown smaller and smaller, finally to disappear into the sea, while now they were getting bigger and bigger and coming closer all the time. Then it had been a sad, apprehensive farewell; now it was home-coming, after turbulent, toilsome years with much adversity and struggle in the distant lands across the sea.

Reino had been only fifteen when his mother took him away from home. He had not then fully understood why he and his mother had to leave, although he could not help feeling that relations between his mother and father—or rather his stepfather, for Osmo Peltola was his mother's second husband—were not quite what they should have been. Reino had never known his real father, who had died when Reino was a baby. Later, in America, where his mother settled with a sister of hers, she had told Reino the circumstances which had compelled her to leave their home and country.

Osmo Peltola was a hard, selfish man. Soon after her marriage, Reino's mother had already been made to feel that her husband regarded her only as a sort of servant whom he could treat as he pleased. With all her might she had tried to bring their matrimonial state into a more harmonious groove, but in vain: conditions only got worse as time went on and no children were born. The idea that the farm and all his property would, at his death, go to a son who was not his child, engendered a certain cruelty in the mind of this egoistic man, a cruelty which Reino was often made to feel. Finally there was nothing left for Reino's mother, but to leave, if she did not want to let herself be entirely broken and deliver her child up to a tyrant's caprice. She and the fifteen-year-old boy emigrated to America.

The memory of his mother made Reino Koljonen forget his surroundings for a while—the hills which were now cloaked in a blue-gray haze, the sea around him, and all the twinkling stars of heaven. She had not had an easy time. Her whole life had been a hopeless struggle against heavy odds. After three years in Quebec, she had died.

Since then Reino had wandered about in the States and Canada. Open-air life appealed much more to him than life in big cities. He was a typical nature-
lover; for no less than five and a half years he worked at the sawmills up in the forests of Northwest Canada. A lonely life it was, devoid of all the amusements and distractions which townspeople know and are so fond of. But he liked his way of living, and for a couple of years he shared the solitude with a countryman of his, Kaarlo Antikainen, who was the same age.

Kaarlo, whose looks bore a striking similarity to Reino's, was hardly the type of person with whom Reino would have associated under more home-like conditions; but the loneliness, and their distant mutual native land, made them confide in each other. When Kaarlo Antikainen had gone away after a while, Reino felt very lonesome and had already thought of returning to civilization. But Kaarlo suddenly turned up again. Their former friendship continued for some months—then Kaarlo disappeared again, and this time he did not come back.

Reino stayed in Canada for another year; then he could not stand it any longer and went down to the States. And there, at one of the Finnish Consulates, he learned that the Finnish authorities had been looking for him for some time, as he was the sole heir to the deceased Osmo Peltola.

And now—now he was home again!

His whole being trembled with joy as he walked up through the valley in the sparkling morning sunshine. He sang. He now saw the world of his childhood as the Biblical emissaries must have seen the Promised Land. More beautiful than in any of the dreams of his exile were the green slopes, the emerald lake, the heath-covered plains, the forest, and the hills. And there, straight ahead, lay the dear old village—and the farm, his childhood home!

A cloud passed over his face for a moment. Now he came to think of it, it was not there, between the solid log houses, that his happy memories belonged. There Osmo Peltola, his stepfather, had ruled. There his mother had suffered and struggled until life grew too difficult for her. And he himself, hadn't he always been afraid in the shadow of home? Only when he had been outside in the open air, on the hill slopes or on the banks of the lake, where he was free and where his friends were the birds in the sky, the bushes and the flowers, and the big boulders in the rushing waters of the river which he had known one by one and now recognized, only then had he felt happy and carefree.

There was the school—over there near the pine forest, just like in the good old days. No, not quite! Something was missing, or rather somebody: the school-master Rinne's daughter, the blonde, curly-haired little girl who used to run about in the courtyard in front of the house. Where was Orvokki Rinne now, he wondered? She must have married long ago. Perhaps she was far away.

He and Orvokki had been such playmates! In spite of the fact that she was a girl and three years younger than he, he had always played with her a lot more than with anybody else. They had been in love with each other, in the manner of children. She was always the fairy princess, and he the prince; and when they sat at the edge of the lake, building castles in the air and making plans for the future, it was always a future together—they could not even imagine any alternative but that they would "belong to each other" when they grew up. Their parting, the day before he left with his mother, had been rich in both tears and promises. She promised faithfully to wait for him until he came back. And he—well, he was to work and toil, grow rich, and then return to take her away from the village.

Reino Koljonen smiled sadly. Both had, of course, forgotten their promises. After all, they had only been irresponsible children. But, nevertheless, there was something sweet and tender in these thoughts, something pure and innocent which had become estranged in his later life when the gold dust had been blown off the wings of his child-mind.
He had almost reached the village. From the farm, which was to be his as soon as he had proved who he was, men and horses were flocking out through the gate to begin work in the fields.

"Good morning," greeted the returning wanderer, lifting his cap.

"Good morning!" rang out the answer of those riding past as they turned to look after the stranger.

Reino rolled the courtyard and entered the kitchen, where the servants were busy clearing up after breakfast. They looked at the newcomer with inquisitive eyes.

"Can I see your master?" asked Reino.

One of the maids indicated by a nod that he could open the door at the end of a passage leading from the kitchen.

"Come in!" thundered a commanding voice as he knocked at the door.

Reino entered. In the center of the room stood a man with his hands in his pockets. Reino was speechless, he stared at the man completely unable to utter a word. It was impossible for him to do the least bit of thinking, his feet seemed rooted to the floor.

The man was Kaarlo Antikainen.

"Well, sir? What do you want?"

Not a muscle moved in his face.

"Kaarlo! You?" finally burst out of Reino; the unexpected situation in which he found himself continued to be so confusing that he could not make head or tail of it.

"Kaarlo, you say? You must be mistaken, my good man! I am not Kaarlo. My name is Reino Koljonen. I am the owner of this farm."

"You? You're crazy! What does all this mean?"

Kaarlo Antikainen laughed gruffly. "Are you really too stupid to grasp it? I am Reino Koljonen. On my return to Finland a long time ago, I verified my identity satisfactorily, and I have taken over the legacy which, according to the will of my stepfather, Osmo Peltola, is my legitimate property!"

For another moment Reino stood quite motionless—then he leaped toward the other man: "Thief! Swindler!"

"Cool down!" Kaarlo Antikainen hastily retired behind the table. "Do you think you'll get anywhere by force? Take it easy—or I'll have a few of my men take care of you!"

Reino had stopped again. He saw that the other was right. Force would not help, it would only make things worse. The whole situation became clear to him in a flash. Over there, in Canada, he had initiated Kaarlo Antikainen into conditions at home down to the minutest detail. In the long, lonely evenings he had told him all about the events of his childhood, about relationships and friendships—he had disclosed everything without a thought of deceit. And then Kaarlo had left. At some consulate or other he had learned about the death of Osmo Peltola and the search for his stepson. He had made up his mind to risk the bold coup. He and Reino bore a sufficient resemblance. Who, after he was able to prove his identity satisfactorily, would ever think of exposing this identity to doubts and investigations? In order to obtain the necessary documents, he had returned to the remote place in Canada where Reino was living and had committed his theft without the slightest difficulty.

And now?

"You knew how to listen, Kaarlo."

"I always have been able to use my ears and eyes. But why talk about things of the past which cannot be altered?"

"You think I shall let you remain here on the farm posing as Reino Koljonen?"

The other shrugged his shoulders. "As a stranger without a name in this part of the country you ought to be wise enough not to try the impossible. What proof have you that is better than mine? And don't forget, mine has been officially recognized! Use your common sense!"
Go back to America. I am willing to help you with money—I am not going to be stingy or narrow-minded."

Reino stared in front of him as if it was impossible for him to understand what the other said. Then he burst out laughing:

"No, friend Kaarlo, you are not going to win this game that easily!" he exclaimed, suddenly serious again. "And I won't let you win it at all! The truth has always been stronger than falsehood when the time was ripe. The truth will defeat you yet. Nothing else will testify in my favor, the sky, the earth, the hills, the forest, and the lake here in the district of my childhood will take on voice and say which of us is Reino Koljonen and which is a ruthless liar and swindler!"

Kaarlo's eyes flickered with sudden fear, his face turned gray, but he pulled himself together and shouted: "So, you are trying to scare me, eh? Get out of here—or you'll have to sleep in the constable's jail tonight!"

As if in a drunken stupor, Reino walked back toward the lake where the constable's farm lay. All sorts of thoughts whirled in his head. What a homecoming—what a terrible shock! What was worst was not that somebody had stolen his property but that his name, too, had been taken from him, that in some way he didn't exist at all.

He suddenly noticed somebody walking toward him. It was a young woman in a simple, light-colored dress. Golden hair shone from under her bonnet, two limpid blue eyes were looking at him. He stopped.

"Orvokki!"

She, too, had stopped. Not fear, but a speechless bewilderment, a complete helplessness, showed in her pretty face.

"Don't you recognize me?" he finally said.

She did not answer, just went on looking at him.

"I am Reino. I have come back. I know what has happened. Don't you see it's me?"

She stepped back when he approached her. Her eyes were full of tears. "But—but it can't be!" she stammered. "Reino Koljonen has been home for more than a year! And you—you?"

"You are—his!" He nodded in the direction of the farm. She shook her head, still staring at him. "No, but he wants me to be—he always reminds me of the promise I gave him as a child."

"It was to me you gave your promise, Orvokki! It was you and I who played by the river!"

"But he, too, has told me everything just as it was then—everything! I don't understand. There is something about him which isn't like the Reino I used to know—but how could I doubt? I thought Reino might have changed during all these years."

"Orvokki—do I look like the Reino whom you remember?"

She looked him straight in the eyes. A faint blush spread over her smoothly rounded cheeks.

"Yes!" she answered softly. "But still—first he came—and then you! One of you must be able to bring the proof."

"I shall produce it!"

An idea had suddenly struck him. He saw the proof in his mind's eye, it couldn't fail, it was bound to break down all doubts.

"I'll tell you everything later, Orvokki," he went on, taking her weakly resisting hands. "Are you going home now?"

"I was on my way home." All of a sudden she started and looked up the hill where a horseman appeared. "It's him! Oh, what is he up to now?"

"The same thing as I. He is on his way to the authorities. He will try to get in ahead of me and render me harmless."

"I'll rely on you!" she said softly. "You are Reino."
“Well, go home now—and look out for what’s going to happen. When you see a crowd of men coming from the valley along the river, go to the old quarry at the waterfall. We’ll meet there.”

“Reino!” The name came from her lips without any hesitation. “What are you going to do?”

“I’ll provide the proof. Go now, Orvakki. He mustn’t see us here together.” He pressed her hands and walked on.

Some minutes later the rider, Kaarlo Antikainen, passed him at a brisk trot.

“Yes, go ahead, hurry!” nodded Reino. “You’re still ahead of me—but just wait!”

When Reino reached the constable’s house, the district judge and a couple of policemen had just arrived. Strange rumors had already spread all over the countryside, and people stood about in crowds discussing the event. Reino felt immediately that the mood of the gathering was decidedly against him, that they considered him either an unusually bold swindler or a lunatic. Kaarlo Antikainen was explaining matters to the judge—an explanation which had been considered thoroughly in all details—for of course he had reckoned with Reino’s turning up some day or other. He turned the whole affair upside down, stating convincingly enough that this man who now stepped forward to claim the inheritance had ample reason to think him—“the legal heir and owner”—dead and gone somewhere in Canada. By means of partly stolen and partly spurious papers he now wanted to take possession of fortune and property.

After having been kept under strict surveillance by the two policemen for about an hour, Reino was called into the room where the case was being examined. All eyes were turned on him. Who was this man?

“I know my position in this case,” he began. “I realize that my papers prove nothing, as this man”—he pointed to Kaarlo Antikainen—“also has in his possession documents which verify his identity as Reino Koljonen just as well as mine.”

The judge made an impatient gesture and was going to interrupt.

“I know of only one thing,” Reino continued, raising his voice, “which can prove who’s who. And this proof is so unequivocal and convincing that it will leave no doubt whatever in the minds of any of the men present here.”

“Then produce it!” came the voice of the judge after a short interval of silence.

“Yes, I shall do so—but then it will be necessary for all the people here to follow me, for the court must sit somewhere else, namely, at the spot where it is to be shown which of us is Reino Koljonen and which a ruthless swindler!”

A little while later, the men of authority and a crowd of people from the village walked up through the valley along the river. They passed the bridge leading across to the school building and the houses at the edge of the forest, and farther on toward the waterfall and the old, long-abandoned quarry.

Finally, they reached the place right below the thundering cataract. The crowd halted and looked at Reino in inquisitive anticipation. What was his intention?

Turning to the grave-faced men, Reino immediately began to speak: “Here the evidence is to be procured. Here the one who calls himself Reino Koljonen is to prove that he really is that man, thus delivering the other up to sentence and punishment!”

Kaarlo Antikainen’s face had suddenly turned gray.
Reino continued: "The real Reino Koljonen often crossed the river at this spot as a boy. Only very few people knew the path between life and death here. Sometimes a little girl stood on the other bank—Orvokki Rinne was her name—anxiously waiting for the boy. Now, too, she is waiting for him! You who call yourself Reino Koljonen and have taken over his inheritance and property"—he had turned directly to Kaarlo—"you shall have the right to cross these eddies first—across to her! If you know the way, you are the one you pretend to be—and I am the swindler."

"He is right!" The old bailiff, one of the few people Reino still recalled, stepped up closer to Reino. "I have seen the boy Reino Koljonen do it—I once even spanked him for his foolhardiness. It is true what this man says: only a few people knew the way across the river here—and the boy Reino was one of them. Indeed, here is the proof!"

A murmur of approval swept through the gathering. They looked at Kaarlo—but the latter had recoiled in intuitive horror. His eyes wandered across the roaring, rushing waters—his eyes shone with the fear of death.

"I won't do it!" he stammered hoarsely. "After so many years! Nobody can expect that!"

"If you won't, I will!" Reino laughed into his face. "Only one of us can do it!"

And suddenly a loud shout rang out in the midst of the confusion. Everybody turned around to the bank of the river. Reino had pulled off his shoes and socks and was already working his way through the foaming waters.

Cautiously, but with sure, unswerving steps, he fought on, now winding around a gurgling whirlpool, now making an abrupt turn upriver close in on the thundering masses of falling water. It was a crossing of life and death—but he knew the way!

A last leap through the seething water, and Reino was safe on the other bank, where Orvokki awaited him with outstretched arms.

"Reino," she whispered, flinging herself into his embrace, "I knew it—I never doubted!"

They turned to the bank and looked across the river. The two policemen were holding Kaarlo Antikainen, who tried to tear himself loose from their grip. The next moment he lay on the ground, overpowered, a prisoner of the law.
BOOK REVIEW

The China Annual, 1943. (Shanghai, 1943, The Asia Statistica Co. 1,296 pp., 6 colored maps, 1 supplementary colored folded Map of China)

The publishers of the new inaugural issue of The China Annual are to be congratulated on having undertaken so difficult a task in the midst of a great war. The lack of a reference work of this kind during the last few years has made itself strongly felt. And it must be emphasized that the new Annual leaves nothing to be desired in comprehensiveness.

Since it is an inaugural issue, it is to be understood that a few of the chapters have been compiled only up to 1940 or 1941, and it is to be expected that future issues of the Annual will—in spite of the handicaps imposed by the war—be brought entirely up-to-date. Such important sections as, for instance, “Laws and Regulations of the National Government,” are, however, thoroughly up-to-date. In this connection, the reader’s attention is drawn to Ambassador T’ang Leang-li’s Foreword to the volume.

Quite aside from its value as a reference work, the book makes interesting reading to the thoughtful observer. Most striking of all is the fact, to be gleaned from such chapters as “Railways,” “Transportation,” etc., that six years of war have not been able to check China’s steady progress. There are many other interesting chapters, among them “The Chinese Abroad,” “National Defense,” and those chapters dealing with the Chinese borderlands Sinkiang, Tibet, Mengchung, and Outer Mongolia.—V.

China. 12 Vorträge über Geschichte, Kultur und Kunst (China. 12 Lectures on History, Culture, and Art), by Carl Emso Vissering. (Tientsin, 1943, published by the author. 191 pp. and 10 plates)

The author has set himself a huge task; that of presenting his reader—who is presumably unfamiliar with the development of China—with a general idea of her culture and achievements, the historical events which made these possible or hampered them, the toiling masses and their preferences, the great men and their ideals. C.E. Vissering has picked out the highlights of four millennia. His book is like a good movie which has been cut so carefully that only the most effective and guaranteed nonboring passages remain.

To have been started as a series of lectures is quite a handicap to any book. It seems to be the vogue now to publish lectures in a more lasting form. If the lectures are good according to all the special demands made on the spoken and heard process of information, the book will often not satisfy the leisurely scrutiny of the reader. The eggshells of its career stick to it; in this case, the connection between chapters is not always convincing; and repetitions—so important in lecturing—are tiresome to the reader. Mr. Vissering’s book on China gives us the immediate impression that his lectures were all that could be desired in fluid, clear simplicity and picturesque speech: not too many dates and names, a bit of everything to paint a situation, and a shifting of subjects so as not to tire the listener.

The book was not written by a sinologue; this fact will endure it to many a reader. But the sinologues of the last few decades have made some important discoveries, which are available to those interested. The picture they now draw of the early periods of China’s history is different from what we believed to be authentic twenty years ago. Thus, by devoting only a few lines to the Shang dynasty, the author has deprived the reader of a balanced share in all that recent publications have taught us about this important phase of Chinese culture.

Balance should be a determining factor in a book like this. The author has succeeded admirably in maintaining it, giving just the right proportion of historical facts, anecdotes, poetry, and local color. Although the thrilling picture of the Mongols’ place in world history is something we would only reluctantly give up, the lengthy account of the Mongol conquests should, in the interest of the title, have been cut; it tends to overemphasize their importance in the history of China proper. The last few chapters show the author at his best, with facts and the characters of the chief actors as well as the continuity of events all duly considered.

The enthusiasm with which Mr. Vissering approaches “China,” the personal touch revealed in his choice of examples, convince the reader more painlessly than lengthy tirades on comparative merits. This is, of course, even more infectious when one hears him lecture. He loves China, and the glow of his affection cannot but fire the imagination of the reader who meets China for the first time through him.—Eleanor Consten.


The publication of this very useful booklet, based on Japanese in Thirty Hours by E. Kyüoka, is an added proof of the growing interest being taken by Germans and other foreigners throughout East Asia in the Japanese language.
**ON THE SCREEN**

**On With the Show.** In the leading parts: Li Li-hwa, Yen Djuen, and Wang Tan-feng.

**The Call of Spring.** In the leading parts: Liu Chuen and Hu Foong.

Much of the box-office appeal of *On With the Show* depends on its promises of sophisticated sensuality; yet the film is curiously naive. Li Li-hwa (her photograph appeared in Vol. IV, p.141, of this magazine) takes the part of a beautiful and oratorical waitress in a restaurant picturesquely old-fashioned in the European style. Making her first appearance on a cart loaded with hay and farm produce, Li Li-hwa sings and recklessly throws apples to street children. With her songs, her charms, and the aid of the Takarazuka dancers, she finally raises enough funds to found an orphanage.

Justifying the entertainment by the worthy cause of charity is one of those usual attempts to assuage the demand for an immediate purpose in art. However, *On With the Show* fails to please everybody all round. Mosquito papers, by far the most favored reading matter among certain urban sets, have contributors who suspect that they do not like *On With the Show* because of its moralizing. They cannot help complaining that Li Li-hwa shows her famous legs only once, and then half buried in furs.

In Chinese eyes, the Takarazuka dances are expressive only of the splendor of youth, health and intelligent discipline. To the average Chinese, the fascination of ballet lies chiefly in its difficulty. They also find the traditional Japanese dances hard to understand on the screen without the help of the symphonic colors of costumes and background. But on the other hand the audience laughs heartily at the practical jokes the hero and heroine play upon each other—Li Li-hwa fries some bad eggs for her admirer and he sends her an empty cup of ice cream. Also well received are the Chinese Laurel and Hardy who mess about in the restaurant kitchen. *On With the Show* is a success with the public in spite of its banal situations, its structural weakness, and its apparent clashing of adult and infantile interests. The last-mentioned shortcoming may be disregarded, because modern Chinese of all ages are like children in their fondness for birthday cakes, with or without dancers swirling around one as in the charity performance in *On With the Show*. The whole picture is modeled on the Hollywood series of *Gold Diggers* and *The Big Broadcast* and is meant to “feed the eyes with ice cream and seat the heart in a sofa”—to quote the phrase a Chinese critic once applied to these American extravaganzas.

**The Call of Spring** presents a far more serious problem. With the modern, Westernized stage as its background, it is written, directed, and enacted by Liu Chuen (also portrayed in Vol. IV, p.145, of this magazine), the idol of girl students. *The Call of Spring* finds an enormous following among the young intelligentsia and is formidably advertised as “recommended by the critical public.” In the role of an actor, Liu has the opportunity to do bits as Romeo and as Armand in *La Dame aux Camelias*. In another “play within the play,” Liu makes a convincing old man, but an Occidental one who digs his thumbs into his waistcoat pockets à la Lionel Barrymore. The hero of the picture writes plays with the help of coffee, and the camera dwells with genuine delight on the glittering coffee-pot. When in distress, he gets drunk in a bar. When he falls into poverty, he works as a coolie in a park, his overcoat shabby but shapey like that of a smart foreign tram; his life in the park seems a perpetual picnic with lots of time for brooding by the campfire.

It is appalling to reflect that, in the imagination of young Chinese intellectuals nurtured on a quarter of a century of foreign films and fiction, there is so little room for anything really Chinese. The transformation has clearly gone past the stage of “fundamentally Chinese, functionally Western,” the slogan invented at the beginning of this process of Westernization.

The unanalytical acceptance of foreign romances—reality twice removed—results in much posturing. In modern Chinese art as well as life, the expression is often affected when the emotion is genuine. Liu Chuen is doubtlessly sincere in *The Call of Spring*, especially in his passionate exposure of greedy theatrical managers. The hero acts always in accordance with the new sense of propriety. Accidentally crippled, he feels he stands in the way of his wife’s happiness. He leaves the scene. In a tragic little note he gives her his blessing and asks her not to look for him, as it would be futile. A glance at the personal column in Chinese newspapers (“Since you disappeared, mother refuses to eat or leave her bed. Grandmother had her heart attacks. Whole family daily washes face with tears. Return at once!”) shows us that Chinese under thirty are prone to walk out of their homes because of abstract principles, domestic disputes, failure to pass examinations, the incompatibility of cultural atmosphere, etc. Perhaps no other work has influenced the average educated Chinese of this century so much as Ibsen’s *A Doll’s House*, and in this, as in everything else learned from the West, the Chinese are more impressed by the bleak beauty of Nora’s gesture than by the underlying thought.—Eileen Chang.
Freed from the heavy burden of long anticipation, the moment has now come for me when I can speak to the German people again without having to take refuge in deception before myself and the public.

Italy's collapse was to be expected for some time, not on account of a lack of appropriate means for a more effective Italian defense or a lack of German aid, but rather on account of the failure or even the evil intentions of those elements which have brought about the capitulation as the crowning act of their methodical sabotage. For what these men have been striving for years has now been accomplished, namely, the defection of the Italian Government from Italy's ally, the German Reich.

When Britain and France declared war on Germany in September 1939, Italy was in duty bound by her treaties with Germany immediately to declare her solidarity with Germany. It is known that Mussolini was, in accordance with these treaties, determined to order immediate mobilization. But the same forces which today have brought about the capitulation succeeded in autumn 1939 in preventing Italy's entry into the conflict. As the leader of the German nation, I appreciated the extraordinary internal difficulties faced by the Duce, and neither then nor later did I urge Italy to fulfill her obligations. On the contrary, I left it entirely to the discretion of the Italian Government to decide whether or not it wanted to enter the war at all and if so to choose the moment most favorable for Italy. In June 1940 Benito Mussolini succeeded in bringing about an internal situation which permitted Italy's entry into the struggle on the side of Germany. The Polish campaign had already been decided, as had the campaigns in Norway, against France, and against the British armies on the Continent.

Nevertheless, I had to thank the Duce for an attitude which, as only I knew, could be maintained only under the greatest difficulties arising, not from the Italian people, but solely from certain circles. Since that time Germany and Italy have stood together in battle and have shed their common blood on many a battlefield. The Duce and I have not for a moment doubted that the outcome of the struggle would decide the existence or nonexistence of our nations. For that reason Germany has given her ally the utmost possible aid.

Chancellor Hitler ended his speech as follows:

In view of the events in Italy the measures ordered for the protection of German interests are very severe . . . . The example given by Yugoslavia's betrayal has provided us a useful lesson and valuable experience. Italy's fate, however, may also be a lesson to us never to abandon the commandment of national honor, not even at a time of greatest distress and utmost danger, but to remain loyal to our allies and conscientiously to fulfill our duty.

The Almighty will finally award the laurel of victory, and with it the gift of life, to that people which, in the eyes of Providence, has passed its test. This must and will be Germany.

GERMAN FOREIGN OFFICE PUBLICATION OF SEPTEMBER 12, 1943

On September 12 the German Foreign Office published the following facts concerning the assurances given by the highest Italian authorities to Germany, up to the moment of the publication of the surrender, to the effect that Italy would continue fighting on the side of Germany.

(1) On September 1, 1943, a discussion took place between Foreign Minister Guariglia and the German Chargé d'Affaires in Rome, Minister Dr. Rahn. The German Chargé d'Affaires reported the same day by telegraph as follows:

"During today's discussion Signor Guariglia declared: 'The Badoglio Government remains determined not to capitulate and to continue the war at the side of Germany. I shall use my utmost influence with military quarters in Italy that this determination be translated into action and lead to a still closer and more consistent military collaboration.'"

(2) On September 3, the German Chargé d'Affaires reported: 'Marshal Badoglio asked me today to come and see him. He explained to me that in view of enemy landings in Calabria he greatly desired to assure me that, in spite of the recent convulsions, the nation and the Army were firmly in the hands of the Government. He requested me to have confidence in him and added: 'I am Marshal Badoglio, and I shall convince you by deeds that it was not right to distrust me. Naturally, the longing for peace is strong among the people, particularly among women, but we shall fight and shall never capitulate.' Badoglio took leave with the obvious effort of creating an impression of reliability and honor.'"

These words were spoken by Marshal Badoglio on the very day on which he signed the capitulation of the Italian forces.

(3) On September 4, the German Chargé d'Affaires had an interview with General Ambrosio, Commander in Chief of the Italian defense forces. The German Chargé d'Affaires reported as follows:

"General Ambrosio complained that German quarters no longer showed him the confidence due to the German-Italian comradeship-in-arms. He
emphatically stressed his firm and sincere desire for the common continuation of the war. He requested me to ask German military quarters to intensify the friendly exchange of ideas. This unusual step on the part of Ambrosio left the impression with me that he wanted to convince us of his determination for a common continuation of the struggle."

(4) On September 8, Minister Dr. Rahn, the representative of the Reich, was received by King Victor Emmanuel for his first official visit. In the telegraphic report of the meeting the Minister said:

"On the occasion of my first visit today, King Victor Emmanuel dealt first with the general military situation. He said that he followed the battle in the East with great attention, that he admired the fighting spirit of the German troops, whose soldierly tradition, organization, and armament had, unfortunately, never been achieved by the Italian Army.

"As to the situation in Italy. he expressed hope that the Reich Government had meanwhile convinced itself of the good will and loyalty of the Badoglio Government and the Italian Army, and that the loyal co-operation which had recommenced in the past few days would yield military results. Italy, the King said, would never surrender. He was convinced that some minor inconveniences would be removed within the next few days. Badoglio, the King pointed out, was a brave, old soldier who would succeed in checking the pressure exerted by leftist circles, which, after twenty years of elimination, thought that their hour had come. In conclusion, the King reaffirmed his determination to wage battle on the side of Germany until the very last."

These declarations were made by the King on September 8 at noon. The same day, in the afternoon, the Americans announced the capitulation of the Italian armed forces, concluded on September 3.

PREMIER MUSSOLINI'S ORDERS OF THE DAY OF SEPTEMBER 15, 1943

Order I. To all comrades throughout Italy! As from today, September 15, 1943, I resume the chief leadership of Fascism in Italy.

Order II. I herewith appoint Alessandro Pavolini to the post of temporary Secretary of the Fascist National Party, which as from today will be called the Republican Fascist Party.

Order III. I herewith order all military, political, administrative, school, and all other authorities which have been deposed by the capitulation of the Government to resume duty in office immediately.

Order IV. I order the immediate re-establishment of all Party offices under the following conditions:

(a) The German armed forces fighting the common enemy on Italian soil are to be assisted as comrades.

(b) The people must give immediate and vigorous moral and material assistance.

(c) The attitude of Party members during the coup d'etat of the Government and the period of capitulation and dishonor is to be examined. Cowards and traitors are to be punished severely.

Order V. I order the re-establishment of all formations and special detachments of the voluntary militia for national security.

JOINT JAPANESE-GERMAN DECLARATION OF SEPTEMBER 15, 1943

The Government of the Empire of Japan and the Government of Greater Germany jointly and solemnly declare as follows:

The treachery of the Government of Marshal Badoglio affects in no respect the Three Power Pact, which remains in force without the slightest change.

The Government of the Empire of Japan and the Government of Greater Germany are determined, jointly with all measures at their disposal, to carry on the war to a victorious conclusion.
LUNCH AT SPASSO HOUSE

In the fashionable Arbat quarter of Moscow there stands a palace known as Spasso House. It had been built in flamboyant style by the Russian millionaire Vtorov, who was murdered by his illegitimate son during the early part of the Revolution. This was a great day for the newsboys. Instead of calling out “Nikolai Vtorov murdered!” they yelled “Nikolai Vtoroi [Nicholas II] murdered!” and sold their papers like hot cakes. The Bolsheviks confiscated the palace and celebrated their annual reception on the anniversary of the Revolution there, till they placed it at the disposal of an American millionaire, William C. Bullitt, the newly appointed American Ambassador, as his private residence.

It was here that I met Mr. Bullitt for the first time, when he invited me to lunch shortly after his arrival in Moscow. I found in him an enthusiastic admirer of the Soviet state. He was inclined to see everything through rose-colored glasses, far more positively than the Bolsheviks themselves, who in private often enough expressed sharp criticism. From me, too, he only wished to have his own opinions confirmed. When I said anything negative, he argued heatedly against this.

At that time the Soviet Union and the USA were experiencing their diplomatic honeymoon. A few months previously, on October 10, 1933, President Roosevelt had surprised the world by writing a letter to Kalinin, president of a state which had not yet been recognized by the USA. In this letter Roosevelt suggested that a Soviet representative be sent to Washington for the purpose of discussions. Only too pleased, the Kremlin had dis-
patched its Foreign Commissar, Litvinov, and on November 16, 1933, Roosevelt announced the recognition of the Soviet Government.

Alexander Troyanovsky became Soviet Ambassador in Washington. In 1902, at the age of twenty, he had joined the revolutionary movement and was rewarded for his services to the Bolshevik Party with the post of Ambassador to Tokyo in 1927, and now to Washington.

GLAMOUR BOY IN MOSCOW

Roosevelt appointed a personal friend Ambassador to Moscow. At that time Bullitt was forty-two years old. During the Great War he had held a job in the State Department, and in 1919 the State Department had sent him on an information trip to Russia, from which he had returned with strong sympathies for the Bolsheviks. During the ensuing twelve years or so he had led the life of a millionaire without any fixed occupation. The post of ambassador in 1933 was the reward for personal services he had rendered Roosevelt.

David R. Francis, the last American Ambassador in the Tsarist Empire, had been a typical American businessman, a successful grain dealer and banker, of whom even his own Secretary of State said that "he had too keen a scent for commerce to make an ideal diplomat." Bruce Lockhart tells the following story of him.

Ambassador Francis was a kind old gentleman, who was susceptible to flattery and swallowed any amount of it. His knowledge of anything beyond banking and poker was severely limited. He had a traveling spittoon—a contraption with a pedal—which he took with him everywhere. When he wished to emphasize a point, bang would go the pedal followed by a well-aimed expectoration. One afternoon Norman Armour, the secretary of the American Embassy, suggested a visit to the Moscow Opera House, where Eugene Onegin, the immortal work of Russia’s greatest poet, Pushkin, with the music of Chaikovsky, was to be given.

"Governor," he said, "would you like to go to the opera tonight?"

"Nope," was the reply, "I think I’ll play poker."

"Do come, Governor," said Armour. "You really ought not to miss it. It’s Eugene Onegin."

"Eugenny what?" said the Ambassador.

"Oh! you know," replied Armour, "Pushkin and Chaikovsky." There was a crash from the pedal of the spittoon.

"What!" said the Ambassador ecstatically. "Is Pushkin singing tonight?"

William C. Bullitt, the first American Ambassador to the Soviet Union, was no "Babbitt" like Francis. He was a real man of the world and during his first year there one of the most popular diplomats in Moscow. Everyone knew him and his luxurious Cadillac. The Soviet newsreels showed him often, and the newspapers reported on his trips and especially on his journeys in his own plane, which was piloted by a very good-looking young American. He was the only diplomat with any personal contact with Stalin.

In his striving for popularity he went much further than any other foreign diplomat. Himself an excellent horseman, he and his military attaché, Lt. Col. P. R. Faymonville, taught a cavalry detachment of the Red Army how to play polo. His magnificent parties were very popular, especially when he showed Hollywood films, which were otherwise prohibited in the Soviet Union, thereby giving the proletarian dignitaries an opportunity to catch a glimpse of the sinful delights of the outside world. The fact that he had married the widow of John Reed, the American communist poet and writer, surrounded him with a special nimbus in Soviet eyes.

IDEOLOGICAL FOES

All the other great powers had recognized the Soviet Union some ten years previously. Why had Washington hesitated so long, and why had recognition
come about so suddenly in the autumn of 1933?

There is a curious parallel that strikes one here. A hundred and fifty years earlier it had been just the other way round. At that time the Tsarist Government had been the only great power which refused to recognize the Government of the United States. Not until 1809, thirty-three years after the Declaration of Independence, had recognition been granted. Another twenty-three years were to pass before the first trade agreement between St. Petersburg and Washington was concluded, after negotiations had collapsed, and even diplomatic relations been temporarily disrupted, as a result of the arrest of the Russian Consul General in Philadelphia on a charge of rape.

The reasons which caused Washington to refuse recognition of the Soviet Union for sixteen years were to be sought chiefly in the absolutely opposed political and economic ideology of the two states. While the Soviet Union, the champion of Bolshevism, collectivism, and atheism, was seriously worried that America might become the leader of a hostile capitalist coalition, the USA, the outstanding exponent of capitalism and individualism, looked with suspicion toward the cradle of world Bolshevism and the home of the Third International.

The many outrages of the Bolsheviks and the reign of terror of the Cheka; the defamation of religion and the destruction of the Church; the brutal liquidation of the well-to-do class; and the dreadful acts of violence committed by the Red Guards in the Ukraine, Poland, Rumania, the Baltic States, and Finland—all this filled America with horror and disgust. When the American Government took military steps against the Bolsheviks, it did so with the overwhelming support of public opinion behind it.

The two attempts at intervention—from Arkhangelsk into northern Russia (August 1918 to June 1919) and from Vladivostok into Siberia (August 1918 to April 1920)—were miserable failures, politically as well as militarily. The Bolshevist regime remained; indeed, it was strengthened by the arousal of national instincts against foreign invaders and even infected the American soldiers with its ideas. The Bolsheviks never forgave the Americans for their intervention. What particularly annoyed them was that it stood in complete contrast to the attitude of the Russian Government during the Civil War in the United States, when, as opposed to England and France, Russia had taken political sides with the northern states.

WHO OWES WHOM?

To these ideological contrasts was added a very material point of dispute in the form of the debts problem. The United States had given loans to the pre-Bolshevist Russian governments which had not been repaid. Moreover, American citizens had suffered losses as a result of the Russian civil war and expropriations carried out by the Bolsheviks. Washington calculated its total claims on Moscow, including interest, to be some 800 to 900 million US dollars.

The Bolsheviks replied to this with two arguments: (1) they refused to pay the debts incurred by the governments opposed and overthrown by them; (2) they presented a counterclaim for damages caused to Russia by the American intervention troops, a figure amounting to about 500 million dollars.

Consequently, the sharp rejection of the Soviet Government which Secretary of State B. Colby pronounced in the famous note of August 10, 1920, addressed to the Italian Ambassador, remained decisive for Washington's attitude and was reaffirmed in similar official pronouncements on the part of the Secretaries of State Hughes (1923), Kellogg (1928), and Stimson (1930). Up to Roosevelt's time, all the US Governments agreed in that they refused to recognize the USSR.

HELL AND THE USSR

The only thing that appeared to be in favor of the resumption of diplomatic
relations was the claim of numerous American manufacturers, especially the representatives of export interests, that the nonrecognition was interfering with business. One of these businessmen expressed this view in the words: "It is the duty of the US Government to maintain representations wherever American interests are at stake, even in hell, where there are probably quite a lot of Americans, or even in the Soviet Union."

These men bewailed the decline of American exports to the Soviet Union in the very years in which the world economic crisis was hitting business. Soviet propaganda skillfully used this fact to make the recognition of the Soviet Union by Washington seem desirable to American business circles. But this argumentation was a fallacy. For what the Bolshevik propagandists, as, for instance, the staff of the Amtorg (the Soviet trade organization in America) did not say, and what the Americans did not realize, was that the decline of the American exports to the Soviet Union had nothing whatever to do with recognition or non-recognition but was purely a consequence of domestic economic developments in the Soviet Union.

A glance at our chart shows that America made large exports to Russia during two periods: (1) during the Great War—chiefly armaments, and (2) during the first Five Year Plan, when the Soviet Union imported vast quantities of machinery in order to build up its own heavy industry. The moment, however, the Soviet Union began to produce its own machines with this imported machinery, its import requirements declined. It was then that an economic development began which was devoted entirely to self-sufficiency and which, though causing the standard of living of the population to drop heavily, turned the Soviet Union into an industrial country with a vast armament potential. Although US exports rose slightly after the recognition, they remained—with the exception, of course, of the years since 1942, on which no figures have been published—far below those of the years of the first Five Year Plan, which preceded recognition. The Americans took Germany's policy of self-sufficiency very much amiss and declared over and over again: "You can't do business with Hitler." In reality, the efforts at self-sufficiency on the part of the USSR are far more pronounced; and as late as 1937 American trade with Germany was three times as great as that with the Soviet Union.

Thus it was a deep-rooted ideological contrast combined with no prospects of improved economic collaboration which explained nonrecognition. The fact that recognition was finally effected in spite of all this is mainly the work of one man—Roosevelt.

PACIFIC RIVALS

Since the Manchurian incident of 1931 and especially in the winter of 1932/33, relations between Washington and Tokyo had deteriorated considerably. In March 1933 Japan resigned from the
League of Nations. London's attitude proved a disappointment to America. So Roosevelt was on the lookout for another counterweight against Japan. Relations between Moscow and Tokyo also being strained at that time, the Soviet Union appeared to Roosevelt as a suitable ally in East Asia.

This meant a complete change in the Pacific sphere. During the nineteenth century, Americans and Russians had been serious competitors here. The Russians possessed Alaska and were moving into California. It was against them that in 1823 President James Monroe proclaimed his famous doctrine which closed the door of the American continent to non-American states. The sale of Alaska to the USA in 1867 seemed to bring about a clear separation: Russia on the Asiatic continent, the USA on the American.

But now American imperialism began more and more clearly to encroach upon the Asiatic continent. In contrast to Monroe's closed-door doctrine for the American continent, in 1899 the US Secretary of State John Hay proclaimed an open-door doctrine for East Asia. This brought the USA into conflict with Russia, who considered herself an Asiatic power. In their hostility toward Russia, the Americans celebrated Nippon's victories in the Russo-Japanese War almost as their own. And yet this war represented the turning point in the relations between America and Nippon.

ROOSEVELT I CHANGES THE COURSE

In my book The Influence of the Russo-Japanese War on World Politics (Berlin 1930) I have told in detail how doubts appeared in America, at first in the mind of President Theodore Roosevelt, as to whether Japan might not become a far more dangerous enemy to America in East Asia than Russia was. In a letter written during the summer of 1905, Roosevelt gave vent to his anxiety for the first time:

I should be sorry to see Russia driven completely off the Pacific coast and driven practically east to Lake Baikal... My move [during the negotiations in Portsmouth] is really more in the interest of Russia than of Japan.

At about the same time, Theodore Roosevelt told a European diplomat of his fears that, if Japan were to obtain an indemnity, she would use it for the expansion of her fleet. In view of these considerations, he threw his weight into the Russian side of the scale in the final negotiations for the peace treaty of Portsmouth. For the first time in the history of diplomatic relations in the Pacific sphere, the possibility of a serious clash between Japan and the USA had made its appearance, and from year to year Japan, in the eyes of America, developed more and more into Enemy No. 1 in East Asia. During the time of the common intervention in Siberia, the contrast between the two powers had already taken on such dimensions that it often seemed as if the American regiments in Siberia considered the Japanese allies as their enemies rather than the Bolsheviks. In her conception of a Greater East Asia, Japan rejected the Open Door Doctrine as an instrument of outside interference and was about to replace it by an East Asiatic Monroe Doctrine.

ROOSEVELT II AND HIS FRIENDS

On January 30, 1933, only a few days after Roosevelt's inauguration, Adolf Hitler had come into power. Very early Roosevelt became inwardly opposed to Hitler; and in the same degree in which the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Germany progressed, while his own measures of a similar nature in America remained without success, so President Roosevelt's hostility grew. He was fully aware of the fact that England and France alone were not able to keep down rising Germany, and that the main thing to be striven for was a two-front war—in other words, the participation of the Soviet Union—against Germany.

The well-known journalist Walter Duranty later told us in Moscow that in July 1932 he had had lunch with Roosevelt, who was then still Governor of the State of New York. Roosevelt had al-
ready shown an unusual amount of interest in the Soviet Union and had labeled as "nonsense" the prejudice against the USSR shown by the then Republican Government. The capitalist Roosevelt considered the Russia of the Bolsheviks more attractive than the Germany of Hitler, just as Woodrow Wilson had tried his hardest to win over the Bolsheviks as allies against the Germany of Wilhelm II. In this respect Roosevelt agreed with a large number of American intellectual and Jewish circles. Many years before the recognition, Moscow was already teeming with American tourists, who were led around by the Intourist organization and influenced by figures and catchwords. Many of them remained to become better acquainted with the land of their dreams. The editorial rooms of the Moscow Daily News, whose editor-in-chief was at that time Borodin, known for his activities in China, always housed a number of Americans who earned the money needed for a lengthy stay in Moscow by taking on jobs as translators or reporters. On their return to America they would write books and make lecture tours, as, for instance, Anna Louisa Strong, who had been converted to communism by Borodin in China. There were many links especially between Jewish circles in the Soviet Union and in America, and Americans of Jewish descent usually felt much more quickly at home in Moscow than others.

HORSE TRADE

Walter Duranty, who accompanied Litvinov to Washington in 1933, later had the following to say:

Before leaving Berlin Litvinov had said to the American newspaper men there that as far as he was concerned all outstanding points between the USA and the USSR could be settled in half an hour. This was an incautious and undiplomatic remark, not merely because it happened to be true, but because Washington had staged a somewhat elaborate comedy, the prime purpose of which, I imagine, was to convince the American public that a patriotic and tenacious Administration would fight to the last ditch to extract from the Bolsheviks the uttermost farthing of concession. Within certain limits, as I well knew, Litvinov would have allowed the Americans to "write their own ticket" after the half-hour's discussion to which he referred in Berlin. As it was, the agreement reached after ten days of apparently laborious negotiations, did not overstep those limits anywhere save in one case, for which there existed a precedent.

I "covered" the story of the negotiations from the only angle which seemed possible to me, that is as a "horse trade," which was prolonged somewhat unduly, I hinted, by artful fencing between two shrewd dealers, but whose result was more or less a foregone conclusion.

In other words, Duranty believed that the whole game was "fixed". In order not to endanger the recognition, Roosevelt and Litvinov left the question of debts aside for the time being. But they concluded a number of agreements which, among other things, provided for non-interference in the domestic affairs of the other country.

These were the events which preceded Bullitt's arrival in Moscow.

THE HOUSE WITH THE CORINTHIAN COLUMNS

Where a few years before there had been Mokhovaya Street, known to all intellectually-minded visitors to Moscow by its numerous bookshops, the Soviets had built a magnificent avenue. Anyone walking along it in 1933 was struck by a new building which differed in style from other new erections in Moscow. While the latter were modernistic, this one showed a tendency toward classicism. Its façade was divided up by eight semicolumns with huge Corinthian capitals, copied exactly from a Florentine design. This building, resembling a western European bank more than the latest product of Bolshevik architecture, had been completed shortly before and was to serve as a modern apartment house for thirty of the most important "specialists," i.e., the new Soviet aristocracy. But while the thirty specialists were still looking forward to moving into this luxurious dwelling, the problem arose of housing the American Embassy and its staff. As in the days before the Great War St. Petersburg had been the capital of the Russian Empire, there had never been an American Embassy building in Moscow which could have been made use of now. In their delight over the recognition, the Soviets gave the Americans the specialists' house.
HEATING AND EATING

The house with the Corinthian columns became the center of American life in the Soviet Union. A stream of visitors from the USA—journalists, businessmen, and tourists—passed through its doors every day to have its visas checked in its offices or to be served cocktails in its apartments. Without number are the stories of what happened in this house, stories which will provide future memoirs with human interest.

There was, for example, the marvel of its heating system. In the whole of the Soviet Union this was the only modern apartment house supplied with running hot and cold water. The day after the Americans moved in, the heating worked perfectly. But one fine day there was only cold water in both taps. A flood of American protests descended upon the Russian janitor. The latter passed them on, suitably reinforced, to the stokers. There was great excitement, for the technical prestige of the Soviet Union in the capitalist world was at stake. The stokers developed a notable activity, and the tenants were promised hot water within half an hour. The promise was kept: within half an hour both taps produced boiling hot water, and the tenants had to wash with soda water.

Some unexpected guests from the States had been asked to have lunch with one of the American diplomats at his flat. The food problem was always a difficult one, especially when there was a hurry, so the hostess told the Russian cook to prepare a meal from her stock of canned goods. At first everything went perfectly. But then a dish was served which was unfamiliar to the hostess: a kind of large white dumplings in a cream sauce. Everyone took some. But, try as they would, they could not get at the dumplings either with their forks or with their knives. Suddenly the hostess gave a little scream: she had recognized the dumplings to be tennis balls, of which she had several tins in the storeroom. The cook admitted that even after long cooking the dumplings had seemed tough to her; but she had not been very surprised, for she had already had to serve the most curious things out of tins to her American employers.

UNSETTLED DEBTS

Troubles of this kind were by no means the only thorns in the lives of the American diplomats. This they were to find out—especially Bullitt himself—as soon as their work started in earnest. Aside from countless minor problems, two main sources of conflict gradually outlined themselves, one economic and the other political.

After more than a year of bargaining, first in Moscow and then in Washington, the United States had reduced her claim on the USSR to 150 million dollars. But the Russians wanted to pay only 100 million dollars and, moreover, only if they got a new loan from America with which they could pay this amount. Washington could not agree to this, for in April 1934 the Johnson Debt Default Act had been passed, which prohibited defaulting nations from floating new loans in the USA. On January 31, 1935, Secretary of State Cordell Hull saw himself forced to issue a declaration to the press that, as a result of the Soviet Government's attitude, the economic negotiations had arrived at a deadlock.

This did not suit Roosevelt in his plans. His hostility toward Japan was growing more acute. Notwithstanding all predictions to the contrary, Germany was becoming sounder and stronger every month. So the negotiations with Moscow had to be continued. On July 3, 1934, a trade agreement was signed by Litvinov and Bullitt. But the debts problem was still unsettled. Therefore the Johnson Act remained effective toward the Soviet Union. The latter was forced to continue to pay in cash, i.e., to make up for its negative trade balance by gold shipments to the USA.

LITVINOV'S PROMISES . . .

Even more serious was the conflict arising in the political sphere. Unexpectedly, and for the first time since 1928, a world congress of the Communist In-
ternational met in the evening of July 25, 1935 (described in more detail in our article "The Red Road," November 1942). While Litvinov, presiding over the League of Nations meeting in Geneva, represented the Soviet Union with a jovial smile and in a bourgeois black suit, the true face of Bolshevism was revealed in the sessions of the "general staff of the World Revolution" in Moscow. American Communists also took part in these sessions and distinguished themselves by serious attacks on the domestic affairs in the United States.

On November 16, 1933, as a condition for recognition by the USA, Litvinov had, in the name of the Soviet Government, given a written promise:

to permit in its territory neither the formation nor the presence of any organization or group and to prevent the activity of any organization or group of or representatives and functionaries of any organization or group which has as its goal the overthrow or the preparations for an overthrow or the violent change of the political or social order of the United States or any of its parts, territories, or possessions. (Translation from the Russian text.)

Awful as the style of this sentence is, the legal experts of the State Department rubbed their hands in satisfaction over it. For its wording seemed to them to leave not even the smallest loophole for further revolutionary activities on the part of the Soviet Union in the USA. Consequently, the Comintern Congress came like a bucket of cold water. The Americans felt themselves to have been grossly betrayed in their confidence, and on August 25 Ambassador Bullitt handed to the Foreign Commissariat an extraordinarily sharp note of protest.

... AND THEIR MEANING

It is worth while going into the particulars of this incident, for it shows the American attitude as well as the Soviet tactics and is typical of thousands of similar cases.

Two days after the receipt of the American protest, the Vice Foreign Commissar sent the following reply:

I deem it necessary to point out with all possible emphasis that the government of the Soviet Union has always treated all obligations undertaken by it with the greatest possible respect, and this applies, of course, also to the reciprocal undertaking of noninterference in domestic affairs provided for in the exchange of notes of November 16, 1933, and dealt with in detail in the negotiations between President Roosevelt and Foreign Commissar Litvinov. Your note of August 25 contains no facts whatever which represent a violation of the undertaking on the part of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, it is doubtless nothing new to the government of the United States that the government of the Soviet Union can undertake no obligations with regard to the Communist International and has, moreover, not undertaken them. For this reason the claim that the government of the Soviet Union had violated the undertakings contained in the note of November 16, 1933, cannot be deduced from the obligations undertaken by the partners to these negotiations. I cannot, therefore, accept your protest and am forced to reject it.

Thus the Foreign Commissariat had slipped through even the fine net of the declaration of November 16, 1933. The latter had, indeed, not contained a single word about the Comintern. A meeting was called at the White House, and Cordell Hull stated publicly that a heavy blow had been dealt the structure of friendly relations between the two countries. But then nothing more happened. Roosevelt wished on no account to see a breach with Moscow; and, as was confirmed many years later (February 3, 1940) by Secretary Hull, no protests concerning Soviet interference in American domestic affairs were thereafter presented in Moscow. Washington had resigned itself to their futility.

BULLITT'S FAREWELL

One positive result had been forthcoming from this conflict: in the eyes of the world, Moscow's idea of noninterference had become perfectly clear. After this exchange of notes, even the most naïve observer could no longer separate the Soviet Union from the Comintern. Distrust in the fine phrases of the Soviet Government had increased considerably, and in 1939 this fact was to have repercussions of world-wide significance in Poland's attitude toward the Soviet Union.

For this development, too, there is an interesting parallel to be found in the past, when conflicts on questions of principle arose between the Tsarist Government and the American Republic. At that time the Russian authorities
were conducting an anti-Jewish policy and passed laws against the entry into Russia of Americans of Jewish origin. In doing this they pointed to the fact that America was also discriminating against certain nationalities, as, for instance, Asians, in her immigration policy. The Jews of America mobilized American public opinion against this with such success that in 1911 the House of Representatives demanded the abrogation of the Trade Agreement with Russia and achieved this by 301 votes to 1.

The conflict of 1935 had no such drastic results. Roosevelt and the Jews in his environment as well as those in the Foreign Commissariat in Moscow saw to it that no break occurred. But the conflict was not entirely without consequences. Ambassador Bullitt left Moscow soon after.

Before he went he invited me for lunch. He let me know that he wished to discuss my trip to Soviet Central Asia and the Jewish problem with me. We were alone, and I found the Ambassador a changed man. I cannot remember ever having heard a foreign diplomat speak so bitterly or so negatively about the Soviet Union as Mr. Bullitt. One of the things that had personally embittered him was that his best Russian friend, whom he had known for years in America, had been arrested. When I told him about the industrial possibilities of Kasakhstan he would not believe me. He borrowed a book which I had brought along containing details and statistics on the participation of Jews in the various Party, state, and other organizations of the Soviet Union from the beginning of the Revolution up to 1935. He saw in it a confirmation of his own impression of the great role of the Jews. The book evidently interested him very much, for I never got it back.

HOLLYWOOD IN MOSCOW

A film was recently produced in Hollywood dealing with the mission of Ambassador Joseph E. Davies, who did not arrive until one year after Bullitt's departure as his successor in Moscow. Aside from the fact that Walter Houston plays the part of Davies, we know nothing about this movie. But we feel sure that this mission will in times to come supply much effective material to comedy writers. With Mr. and Mrs. Davies, two of the most typical representatives of American high finance moved into the capital of the proletarian world revolution.

Mrs. Davies, the former Marjorie Post Close Hutton, was, at the time when her husband was sent to Moscow, one of the nineteen American women possessing fortunes of more than 25 million US dollars; for she is not only a member of the fabulously wealthy Hutton family but is also the Postum Queen (Postum is one of the best-known health beverages in America). At the Davies wedding, the house was decorated with 5,000 chrysanthemums costing $6,000 that had been dyed blush pink (at a cost of $2,000) to match the icing on the 300-pound wedding cake. When the couple moved to Moscow they took along several carloads of specially prepared foods, refrigerators, and several hundred quarts of frozen cream; and when they undertook a trip through the USSR in the summer of 1937, they had two tons of frozen foods sent from America for provisions on the way. This was the couple who represented the United States at the capital of a people the overwhelming majority of which lived in abject poverty and constant fear.

HOW AMBASSADORS ARE MADE

When Davies departed on June 5, 1938, for his new ambassadorial post in Brussels, fourteen months were to pass before the new Ambassador, Laurence A. Steinhardt, arrived in Moscow with wife, daughter, and a little black Scottie called Bipso, on August 8, 1939. Mr. Steinhardt, himself Jewish, had been for thirteen years a member of the extremely rich Jewish law firm of Guggenheim, Untermyer & Marshall in New York. In this capacity he had made so many business trips that on his journey to Moscow he crossed the Atlantic for the seventy-
third time. Before his appointment to Moscow he had been Minister in Sweden and Peru.

It is a well-known fact that ambassadorial posts in the USA are a part of the "spoils system." According to the motto, "To the victor belong the spoils," whichever party happens to be in power may occupy all important political posts in the country with its supporters. Many of these posts represent juicy sources of income from which fortunes can be made. The ambassadorial posts, however, at which expenditures are usually higher than the salary, frequently go to men who, like Francis, Bullitt, Davies, and Steinhardt, have so much money anyway that they are not interested in any additional revenue. Davies and Steinhardt belong into the highest group of the Roosevelt plutocracy: Mr. and Mrs. Davies held fifth place with $26,500 in the subscription list for Roosevelt's election funds for 1936, and Steinhardt seventeenth place with $10,000.

Men of this kind have, at the outset of their diplomatic activities, no idea of the duties of an ambassador. This is one of the reasons for the vacillation and inconstancy of American foreign policy, which depends on the whims of whoever is president and his inexperienced ambassadors.

THE EMBASSY STAFF

To a certain extent this disadvantage is made up for by the fact that the remaining personnel of an American embassy usually consists of career men. Of those in Moscow, a large number had been specially trained for Russia. To those who had believed that, after sixteen years of disrupted relations, Washington would have trouble in finding suitable men for Moscow, the excellent training of the senior officials whom the State Department dispatched to Moscow came as a surprise.

In the years after the Great War, Washington trained diplomatic specialists for four territories: Japan, China, the Near East and, after 1927, Eastern Europe. For all other territories a general diplomatic training was considered sufficient. The young men who applied for a career in Eastern Europe usually had several years of Russian studies at American universities behind them. Many of these universities possessed outstanding experts such as Professor Samuel Harper (Chicago) and Professor Robert J. Kerner (California). If the applicants were accepted as attachés, they were sent either to Berlin or Paris for a three-year course of old Slavic, two modern Slavic languages, and Eastern European history and geography. During this period they were paid their full salary as well as the costs of their studies. Only after this did their service in Eastern Europe begin, those destined for the Soviet Union being sent first to Riga. From the early twenties up to the recognition, Riga had been America's window into the Soviet Union. At the US legation in Riga there was a special Russian department employing two or three senior officials and five or six clerks.

The young American diplomats who, after so long and careful a training, moved into the house with the Corinthian columns in Moscow consequently possessed a knowledge of Russia far superior to that of the average foreign diplomat. Some of them, like my friend George Kennan, represented more the scholarly than the diplomatic type. Kennan spoke excellent Russian and had steeped himself so intensively in everything Russian that he knew more about Russian history and literature—he was an expert on Chekhov—than most of the Soviet officials he came into contact with. An equally good knowledge of the country was displayed by his colleagues Loy Henderson and Charles E. Bohlen.

LUCKY UMANSKY

The Soviets made fewer changes in Washington. Troyanovskiy was not recalled until December 10, 1938, when he was replaced by his counsellor. In this way Constantin Umansky became one of the youngest ambassadors. He owed his career to his Jewish cleverness and to the fact that he was a protégé of
Litvinov’s. In Moscow he had been one of the best-known Soviet officials among the foreigners, for he had been for many years the head of the press department of the Foreign Commissariat, which made him the chief censor for the foreign journalists. In this capacity he was constantly at odds with the American correspondents, since it was their job to unearth scoops, while it was Umansky’s task to prevent any but the Soviet version of all events from being disseminated abroad. The non-American foreign journalists always got along better with Umansky, as the emphasis of their work was on articles, and only telegraphic news was subject to censorship, articles sent by mail not being affected.

Later too, in America, Umansky did not make himself very popular, as can be seen from the following extract from an article published on November 13, 1939, by the North American Newspaper Alliance Inc. and printed in a large number of dailies:

Ambassador Umansky is a small, sleek, natty man with an amazingly insinuating manner and such a display of gold teeth that his ready smile seems almost ostentatious. No one excels him in the peculiar Communist trick of intellectual acrobatics, by which realism and idealism are exquisitely blended, and the most ardent American liberals are made to feel that a blood purge is a small thing between friends . . . . As press censor at the Soviet Foreign Office he had been cordially detested by every Moscow correspondent.

In his career Umansky was favored by luck. While many of his colleagues and friends were liquidated around him in Stalin’s purges—among them his closest collaborator, the assistant censor Mironov—his own star rose higher and higher. Indeed, even when, a few months after his appointment to the post of Ambassador, his protector Litvinov fell into disgrace as a prelude to the German-Soviet pact, Umansky’s position was not changed in the least. Of course, he too was closely watched. The man entrusted with this task was supposed to have been Dmitry Chuvakhin who, though speaking hardly anything but Russian and a few Central Asiatic dialects, became Umansky’s counsellor.

Seen as a whole, the relations between Washington and Moscow throughout these years left much to be desired. There were a few events of positive propagandistic value, as, for instance, the flight of a Soviet plane from the USSR across the North Pole to Vancouver (June 18, 1937); Roosevelt’s war-mongering “quarantine” speech (October 8, 1937), which was received in Moscow with great satisfaction; and the ostentatious parties given by the Davies’s. But they were outweighed by many unfavorable circumstances. Economic relations did not come up to expectations. The number of American technical specialists working in the Soviet Union was constantly diminishing.

More than anything else it was Stalin’s purges and trials which during the years 1936-38 gravely compromised the Bolshevik regime even in the eyes of many of its American friends. The fact that Stalin barbarically destroyed almost all the original leaders of the Soviet state and, in addition, hundreds of thousands of people who had till then been considered good Bolsheviks—not to mention
countless other people—cost him the sympathy of all Americans with the exception of a small group of Communists who were prepared to follow him through thick and thin. The newspapers of America were at that time filled with articles and open letters in which Americans, who had hitherto been enthusiastic supporters of the Soviet Union, publicly dissociated themselves from the Bolsheviks.

But there was one man who did not let himself be swayed by this development: Roosevelt. Undaunted, he kept his eyes on his goal of uniting all possible forces, including the Soviet Union, against the Germany and Nippon he hated so much. He worked with a long view. He often put up with insolent treatment on the part of Moscow and refused to let himself be influenced by the preponderantly anti-Soviet feelings of his compatriots. In 1938, at a time when all America was outraged at the Bolshevik terror in the Soviet Union, Roosevelt was the only head of a nation to send a cordial telegram of congratulations to Kalinin on the occasion of the twenty-first anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Even Roosevelt's patience seemed at an end when the most unexpected news of the year 1939 became known: the pact between Berlin and Moscow. Roosevelt must have considered this pact as one of the most serious political blows in his entire career. And as he had been the main champion of collaboration with Moscow and had exposed himself to violent opposition in the USA on that account, he was forced now to be particularly loud in his attacks on the Soviet Union. The next two years offered plenty of opportunity for this.

The Soviet occupation of the eastern parts of Poland and the incorporation of the Baltic states, both in conjunction with brutal terror against the population of these areas, as well as the City of Flint incident at the end of October 1939, roused a storm of indignation in the USA. Next to Germany, the Soviet Union and especially Stalin himself were at that time the main objects of attack of American cartoonists.

In Washington, Roosevelt had done everything in his power to bring America one step nearer to war. He had called a special session of Congress to alter the neutrality law, which prohibited the export of arms to belligerent nations, and to introduce "cash and carry." Immediately before the decisive vote in the House of Representatives, Molotov made a speech in the Supreme Soviet on October 31, 1939, in which he called Roosevelt a meddler in international affairs and protested against the lifting of the arms embargo. He said:

It can scarcely be doubted that the effect of this decision [to lift the arms embargo] will not be to weaken war and hasten its termination but, on the contrary, to intensify, aggravate, and protract it. Of course, this decision may insure big profits for American war industries, but, one asks, can this serve as any justification for lifting the embargo on the export of arms from America? Clearly, it cannot.

This interference on the part of Molotov in the discussions of the American Congress caused great indignation there. The arms embargo was lifted, and Congress demanded the recall of Ambassador
Steinhardt. Of course, Roosevelt had no intention of doing this. He publicly censured Molotov for his "bad manners," which was gleefully lauded by the Americans as a slap in Molotov's face. The New York Times called Roosevelt's action "apparently without precedent in modern United States diplomacy," but in actual fact it meant nothing.

THE CRISIS AT ITS HEIGHT

The peak of tension came four weeks later when on November 30 the Red Army invaded Finland and bombed Helsinki. The Finnish-Soviet War represented the most serious strain ever placed on American-Soviet relations. As early as December 2, Roosevelt issued a public statement:

The American Government and the American people have for some time pursued a policy of wholeheartedly condemning the unprovoked bombing and machine-gunning of civilian populations from the air. This government hopes, to the end that such unprovoked bombing shall not be given material encouragement in the light of recent recurrence of such acts, that American manufacturers and exporters of airplanes, aeronautical equipment, and materials essential to airplane manufacture will bear this fact in mind before negotiating contracts for the exportation of these articles to nations obviously guilty of such unprovoked bombing.

This so-called moral embargo was applied to a number of war-essential goods and raw materials such as tin. As time went on, the list of these goods grew, because the Soviet Union always seemed to find ways of circumventing the embargo. Thus, for instance, the embargo was extended to pewter, babbitt, and solder in April 1940 because the Soviet Union was buying large quantities of these materials in order to extract the tin contained in them. At the same time, the Finns were granted credits by the US-Government-controlled Export-Import Bank and Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Later they received arms, planes, and other war material. America's public opinion was unanimously on the side of Finland. The Communists hardly dared utter a word. Many leftist intellectuals with Soviet sympathies turned vociferously against Stalin. "The USSR has joined the forces of international anarchy and criminality," wrote Professor F. L. Schuman, one of the most outspoken anti-Fascists, on December 7, 1939, in The New York Times.

But however much the foreign-political attitude of the Soviet Union hindered Roosevelt in the prosecution of his policy toward Russia in the eyes of his countrymen, we feel sure that a future opening of the archives will reveal that even during this time Roosevelt did not lose sight of his real goal, that of winning over the Soviet Union for the fight against Germany. He probably consoled himself with the thought that the differences between Hitler and Stalin which had been bridged by the pact of August 1939 continued to exist and would one day lead to an open break between the two. In January 1941 he lifted the moral embargo.

"A GIFT FROM GOD"

If Roosevelt were to name the five happiest days of his life, I venture to predict that he would include June 22, 1941. When he learned that Germany and the USSR were at war, his thoughts were probably similar to those which his friend, Joseph F. Davies, put into the words: "This is truly a gift from God.

What Roosevelt had been working for patiently since he had entered the White House, the aim for which he had suffered much criticism at home and many annoyances abroad—the inclusion of the
USSR in the line-up against Germany had finally materialized.

Two days later, the President pledged all possible aid to the Soviet Union and as a first step freed 40 million US dollars in frozen Russian credits. Yet he was still cautious and refrained from giving any loans. His reserve was partly due to his regard for the Americans’ old hostility toward the USSR and partly to the fact that during those summer weeks of 1941 the German armies were winning huge victories and seemed on the way to a swift termination of the war. If the USSR could not hold out, there was no point in giving it large loans.

As long as it did not cost him anything, Roosevelt was willing to go to any lengths to show his sympathy for the USSR. There was, for example, the Neutrality Act in its revised cash-and-carry form. Under this act the President must issue a proclamation as soon as he or Congress “shall find there exists a state of war between foreign states.” In this proclamation he must name the belligerents and prohibit American ships from carrying arms to their ports. If ever there existed a state of war between two states, it was between Germany and the USSR after June 22. Yet on June 25 the President declared through Under-secretary of State Sumner Welles that he did not intend to issue a neutrality proclamation; this meant that US ships were to be allowed to carry arms to Vladivostok and Siberia.

PLENTY OF NICE WORDS

Next Roosevelt sent one of his closest friends, Harry Hopkins, head of the Lend-Lease Administration, as his personal representative to Stalin. On July 30 Harry Hopkins, according to his own words, gave to Stalin the highly unneutral message “that the United States considers those who fight against Hitler to be of the right party in the present conflict and that we intend to render assistance to this party.” While Hopkins was negotiating in Moscow, Ambassador Umansky and Lieut. General P. I. Golikov, Deputy Chief of Staff of the Red Army and head of the Soviet Purchasing Mission in the USA, found a warm reception at the White House.

During their Atlantic meeting in the middle of August, Roosevelt and Churchill sent a joint letter to Stalin (reprinted in The XXth Century of October 1941, pp.77-78) which was full of encouraging but empty words. Again a few weeks later W. A. Harriman—close adviser of the President and US Lend-Lease expediter in London—went with Lord Beaverbrook to Moscow. His party included Rear Admiral William Harrison Standley (USN ret.) and Ambassador Umansky, who had been called home. Harriman was carrying a message from the President to Stalin. The contents of the message were ascertained by Germany and published by DNB on October 8 during Harriman’s stay in Moscow. It promised: “We are going to find ways and means of procuring the necessary materials and equipment to crush Hitler on every front, including that of the Soviet Union,” and ended: “I assure you of my utmost determination to render the necessary material assistance.”

MARK SULLIVAN PROPHESIES

In addition, Harriman had been asked by Roosevelt to take up the question of religious freedom in the USSR, as Roosevelt disclosed on October 3, 1941. Roosevelt was anxious to remove some of the strongest objections felt by Americans toward the USSR, the two biggest being the suppression of Christianity by Stalin and the existence of the Third International. Mark Sullivan, one of America’s best-known writers, commented in the New York Herald-Tribune that Harriman had come to Stalin with the Bible in one hand and billions of dollars in the other. Sullivan expressed his confidence that Stalin would take the hint and replace the famous communist slogan “Religion is opium for the people” with the new one “Religion is a stimulant for the dictator who finds himself in trouble” and that soon he would be singing “Onward, Christian soldiers!” Some of the events
William C. Bullitt, first US Ambassador to the USSR. Son of one of Philadelphia's first families, he is a millionaire whose fortune came from coal. A Democrat, he was employed in the State Department under the Democratic Administration of Woodrow Wilson, was out of office during the following years of Republican rule until the victory of the Democrats under Roosevelt brought him the ambassadorial post in Moscow.

Roosevelt's Ambassadors to Stalin

Laurence A. Steinhardt, US Ambassador to the USSR from 1939 to 1942, sitting in the American Embassy in Moscow with plenty of fresh air due to a German bombing attack.
Harry Hopkins, one of Roosevelt's most intimate friends, during his visit to Moscow in July 1941. He is seen in the company of Sir Stafford Cripps, at that time British Ambassador to Moscow, and Cripps' dog, Joe. Cripps is said to have named his dog after Joseph Djugashvili-Stalin. American journalists who prefer not to mention Stalin's name in public usually refer to him as "Uncle Joe," just as they call the dreaded members of the GPU the "YMCA boys."

Links between Washington and Moscow

Assistant Foreign Commissar M. M. Litvinov, best known of the Soviet diplomats. During his career he has twice been demoted. In 1939 he lost his job as Foreign Commissar to make way for the German-Soviet agreement, and in 1943 he was recalled from his ambassadorial post in Washington. He was born with the name of Moses Finkelstein.

Constantin Umansky made his career as Litvinov's protege. His lucky star has never failed him yet. Even after his recall from Washington in 1943 he was not purged, as were many recalled Soviet diplomats before. Instead he was made Ambassador to Mexico, in which capacity he is allegedly in charge of all Soviet envoys in the New World.

W. A. Harriman, outstanding American capitalist, legatee of a great railway fortune, one of the leading stockholders of Time Inc., No. 39 on the list of contributors to Roosevelt's election fund of 1936, for some time Lend-Lease expediter in the British capital and, since October 1, 1943, replacing Rear Admiral William Harrison Standley, Roosevelt's Ambassador to Moscow.
which have taken place in the USSR during the last few months have proved that Sullivan made a remarkably correct forecast.

Yet while many gestures of friendship were made from Washington to Moscow, the actual assistance rendered was negligible. The US Treasury still refused to grant any long-term loans. When on August 15 Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau advanced 10 million US dollars to the Soviets, these had to be repaid in gold within ninety days. So as to take from this transaction any character of a loan, Morgenthau even went so far as to declare: "This is not a loan but a purchase of gold," a fine example of hairsplitting.

ENTER THE SECOND FRONT

A change in attitude came early in November. First, it became clear that Germany would not be able to finish the war during that year; a protracted war was ahead. It appeared likely that the Red Army would be able to remain in the field for a long time to come and that its willingness and ability to fight would depend to a considerable extent on aid from America, for which the Soviets were unable to pay in cash. Secondly, Stalin's dissatisfaction with the absence of any real aid from Great Britain and America became obvious. The recall of Ambassador Umansky for his inability to secure it had been one of the first indications. But that was nothing compared to Stalin's speech of November 6. Here for the first time Stalin brought an issue into the open which has remained one of the paramount political problems of this war and the chief source of friction between the Allies—the Second Front. Stalin said:

What are the reasons for the temporary military misfortunes of the Red Army? One of the reasons is the absence of a Second Front in Europe against the German-Fascist armies. The truth is that at present on the Continent of Europe there are no armies of Great Britain or the United States which could fight against the German-Fascist armies. Therefore, the Germans are not compelled to divide their forces and to carry on a war on two fronts in the west and east. This means that the Germans, considering their front in the west to be safe, are able to move all their armies and the armies of their allies in Europe against our land.

In this speech Stalin asked for the opening of the Second Front "in the immediate future." On the same day Litvinov, Moscow's most experienced diplomat, was appointed Ambassador to Washington, doubtless with orders to urge the earliest possible establishment of a Second Front and to bring about effective deliveries of supplies. By a whim of fate, Litvinov was to present his credentials to Roosevelt at the very moment at which, following upon Pearl Harbor, US Congress was voting war against Japan.

ROOSEVELT FINALLY ACTS

The Allies have never been able to free themselves from the nightmare of a German-Soviet reconciliation. Hence President Roosevelt acted very quickly. On November 7, at a White House Conference, he handed a letter to Edward R. Stettinius, then Lend-Lease administrator, in which he wrote:

I have today found that the defense of the Soviet Union is vital to the defense of the United States. I therefore authorize you to take immediate action to transfer defense supplies to the Soviet Union under the Lease-Lend Act.

It became known on the same day that the amount to be loaned to the USSR was one billion US dollars which was to be returned in the period between the fifth and tenth years after the payment. On June 11, 1942, a more detailed master Lend-Lease agreement was signed in Washington by Hull and Litvinov, which provided for continuance of aid to the USSR and, moreover, for mutual collaboration in establishing postwar economic relations. Finally, early in October, Sumner Welles, Litvinov, and a member of the British Embassy in Washington, signed a protocol in Washington covering the delivery of arms and war material to the USSR by the USA and Great Britain. The value of actual deliveries has never been announced. However, the Soviets have on many occasions indicated that it is far below their expectations.
The change in the person of the Soviet Ambassador was followed by a change on the American side. Ambassador Steinhardt was recalled on January 8, 1942; and on February 9, 1942, the new Ambassador, Rear Admiral W. H. Standley, who had been with Harriman to Moscow, was appointed. At the time of his appointment the Rear Admiral was already seventy years old and more of a sailor than a diplomat.

**Many Visits—No Alliance**

The most important contact between the two governments was the visit of the Soviet Union's Number Two, Foreign Commissar V. Molotov, to Washington from May 29 to June 4, 1942, where he stayed as a guest of the President at the White House. On his way to Washington, Molotov had stopped over in London to sign an Anglo-Soviet treaty providing for mutual military assistance for a duration of twenty years, that is, even after the conclusion of the present war. It was expected that this treaty would be followed by a similar arrangement between the USSR and the USA. This, however, was not the case. Political circles in London expressed the view that, out of consideration for American public opinion, Roosevelt did not feel that he could grant Stalin's vast territorial desires in an open treaty. He probably reassured Molotov orally—or possibly in a secret agreement—as to his sympathy toward Stalin's plans in Eastern Europe. But to this day the two countries are not bound by any alliance.

During the next few months there were three visits to the USSR of high American representatives. On August 4, 1942, Major General Fullett Bradley of the US Army Air Force arrived in the USSR. He was followed shortly after by W. A. Harriman, accompanying Prime Minister Churchill, and, in September, by Wendell Willkie. All three bore personal messages from Roosevelt to Stalin. Simultaneously, there was a constant stream of prominent Bolsheviks going to America and of more Americans going to the USSR. This frequent exchange of visits was not a proof of cordial relations but rather a sign that many problems had constantly to be discussed between the two powers. Eliminating minor issues, the three most important problems were: (1) and (2) two wishes of the USA—in Europe and in East Asia, and (3) a serious complaint on the part of the USSR.

**American Desires**

(1) There is much indirect evidence that Roosevelt, in his blind hatred for Germany and his desire to keep the Soviets in the war against Germany at the cheapest possible price for himself, has promised Stalin a free hand in Eastern and Central—if not in the whole of Continental—Europe. For, after all, what does Europe mean to a man like the American President? Yet, for purposes of camouflage, Roosevelt is anxious to create the impression that, in the case of an Allied victory, the Eastern European states will be restored to their former independence. The President desires that for the time being the Bolsheviks say and do as little as possible to shatter these illusions. Hence he was much annoyed by the conflict between the Polish refugee government and the Soviets, which reached a climax when, on April 11, 1943, the discovery of the mass murder of thousands of Polish officers in the forest of Katyn was made public by the Germans, thereby leading to a complete break between the Sikorski government and Moscow. It was probably in this connection that, in May 1943, Roosevelt sent Joseph E. Davies to Stalin with a personal message in a sealed envelope, the contents of which were allegedly not even known to Davies himself. Subsequent indiscretions make it appear probable that this letter included two requests to Stalin: to be more careful in discussing postwar plans in Eastern Europe, and to disband the Third International—both in order to facilitate the work of the American propaganda machine. If these were Roosevelt's requests, Stalin has fulfilled one of them promptly. Davies arrived in Moscow on May 19. On May 22 the proposal for dissolving the Comintern was published.
It was different as regards the other question. Stalin's conflict with the Polish refugee government continues in spite of Sikorski's death, and that with the Yugoslav one has even increased. Stalin has made no bones about the fact that, at least in Eastern Europe, there is room for only one conception: his own.

(2) The United States has so far found it impossible to attack Japan from the north. In almost two years since the start of the war, she has achieved nothing in the North Pacific beyond the recapture of Attu and Kiska. In order to reach Japan from the American air bases on the Aleutians, an immense distance—notorious for its fogs—has to be covered by American planes. Hence Roosevelt would like very much to obtain bases for American planes—and perhaps even for ships—in Kamchatka and in the Soviet Maritime Province. He thinks that, if Stalin expects him to open a Second Front against Germany, Stalin should help America by opening a Second Front against Japan. But so far Roosevelt has found no response. Japan and the USSR are adhering strictly to their Neutrality Pact of April 13, 1941, and Stalin, his hands full with his fight against Germany, is happy that his Asiatic frontier has remained in peace.

WHERE IS THE SECOND FRONT?

(3) The problem of the Second Front stands out as the chief issue. Since Stalin stated it for the first time on November 6, 1941, no day has passed on which the Soviet Union has not reminded its allies in one way or the other of the urgent need for a Second Front. In particular, the two Soviet Ambassadors in Washington and London, Litvinov and Maisky, have been voicing this demand on innumerable occasions.

The hopes of the Russian people were raised high when on June 12, 1942, after Molotov's visit to Washington, the White House announced: "The two governments arrived at a full understanding with regard to the creation of a Second Front in Europe in 1942."

All through their defeats and retreats in the summer and autumn of 1942, the Bolsheviks consoled themselves with the thought that a Second Front was bound to come at any moment. But as week after week passed without anything happening, the demands for the Second Front increased in vehemence. On July 22, 1942, Litvinov called on Roosevelt in this connection. When Harriman was in Moscow in August, Stalin put the same request before him and Churchill. And on August 12, Ambassador Standley told foreign correspond-
ents in Moscow: “I am aware of the existence of some disappointment among the civilian population that a Second Front has not yet been opened.” But all that Stalin got was the attack on Dieppe on August 18 which ended after a few hours as a complete failure. And as the German armies were rolling toward the Caspian Sea, the discussion over the Second Front increased in bitterness.

STALIN RE-ENTERS THE DISCUSSION

The excitement reached a new peak when, on October 4, 1942, Stalin wrote a letter to the American newspaper correspondent Cassidy in Moscow (reprinted in the November 1942 issue of our magazine, p.370). In this letter Stalin said that according to Soviet opinion the establishment of the Second Front was extremely important and that Allied help for the Soviet Union had so far not been very effective. He demanded “that the Allies fulfill their obligation fully and punctually.” From October 8 a Second Front song, entitled the “Song of Solidarity,” was included in the English-language Soviet broadcasts.

Stalin was still more outspoken on November 6, 1942, one year after he had first launched the campaign for a Second Front. He started his speech with almost identical words as the year before, and he came to the same conclusion:

How is it to be explained that the Germans succeeded after all in this year in taking the initiative of military action and in having serious tactical successes on our front? It is to be explained by the fact that the Germans and their allies could gather all their free reserves, throw them on the Eastern Front, and establish in one direction a great superiority of forces . . . . But why could they gather all their reserves and throw them on the Eastern Front? Because the absence of a Second Front in Europe made it possible for them to carry out this operation without any risk to themselves . . . . Let us assume that a Second Front had existed in Europe as it existed in the first World War, and that this Second Front had diverted, let us say, 60 German divisions and 20 divisions of Germany’s allies. What would be the situation of the German armies on our front then? It is not difficult to guess that their situation would be deplorable.

Stalin then proceeded to point out that, during the Great War, out of 220 divisions Germany had kept 85 (including her allies: 127) divisions on the Russian front. In the autumn of 1942, on the other hand, Stalin claimed that, out of 256 German divisions, 179 (including the forces of Germany’s allies: 240) divisions were to be found on the Eastern Front, viz., about twice as many as in the Great War, while the British troops in North Africa faced only 4 German divisions.

DECEIVED DECEIVERS

A few days later, on November 11, one of the strangest utterances ever to have been made by a responsible statesman came from the lips of Churchill when he explained the failure of establishing a Second Front in 1942. He admitted that the Soviet Government had been given a document which made it clear that an Allied landing was to take place on the European continent in 1942. But, he added, “the communiqué which spoke of a Second Front in Europe during 1942 was meant to deceive the enemy . . . . It is perfectly justifiable to deceive one’s enemy even if at the same time your own people are misled.”

One can easily imagine the reaction of the Soviets to these words. Nor were they any better pleased when, on March 9, 1943, Ambassador Standley publicly protested that the Soviets were ignoring the aid which America was extending to them. The Admiral’s recall became only a matter of time. It finally came about when he left Moscow on September 20 and W. A. Harriman was appointed his successor on October 1.

Neither the invasion of North Africa nor the terror raids on Europe, neither the conquest of Sicily nor the landings in Italy, were considered a Second Front by Moscow, for none of them fulfilled Stalin’s definition of a Second Front, namely, that it should force Germany to withdraw 80 divisions from the Eastern Front. On the contrary, on September 16 Pravda declared that since August of this year new German divisions had arrived on the Eastern Front from the west. Just before Badoglio’s surrender, the new and authoritative Soviet magazine War and Labor Class published an article which reiterated all the Soviet
arguments in favor of an immediate Second Front. It openly accused the Allies of bad faith when they point to the Atlantic Wall as preventing their landing. “The Atlantic Wall,” the article said, “exists only in the imagination of those who want to believe in this fiction.”

But Roosevelt knows that the Atlantic Wall is no fiction. He realizes the tremendous difficulties involved in an attack on the Atlantic coast of Europe after having seen how hard the fighting is even in Italy, where the large Anglo-American forces have so far faced only a handful of German divisions. And so he postpones the Second Front from month to month.

**STALIN’S OWN WAR**

A sign that, in spite of an agreement in principle, there are many difficulties on the road to concerted Allied action was the recall of three ambassadors: Maisky from London, on July 28, 1943; Litvinov from Washington, on August 21, 1943; and a few days later Bogomolov, Soviet Ambassador to the refugee governments in London. Two men, both in their thirties, whose names hardly anybody had heard before, were appointed their successors: Feodor Gusev, former envoy to Canada, to London; and Andrei Gromyko, former counsellor of the Embassy, to Washington (August 2 and 22).

But the clearest proof of Stalin's independent attitude toward his allies is the fact that, in spite of numerous invitations and hints, he has so far refused to meet Roosevelt and Churchill in a common conference. As long as the Russian people are carrying the main burden of the war he apparently sees no reason for such meetings. He is fighting his own war.

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The relations between the United States and Russia/USSR have shown one curious feature ever since the birth of the American Republic up to 1941. Save for a few months of the Russian Republic in 1917 (between the abdication of the Tsar and the coming of the Bolsheviks) the two countries have represented opposites, even extremes, in the political and ideological arena. Their occasional co-operation always took place against the background of deep mutual suspicion and aversion and was only possible because it was directed against a mutual enemy—in the nineteenth century this was Great Britain. Incidentally, their antagonism toward Great Britain has remained strong enough for them to consider the progressive weakening of the British Empire a most desirable by-product of the present development.

Since 1941 the situation has radically changed. While we do not doubt that all real Americans are just as hostile toward Bolshevism today as they have ever been, Roosevelt and his friends have succeeded in the present world conflict in lining up the USA and the USSR in the same camp. It is true that in the long run it will be difficult if not impossible to preserve a common policy. Both aspire to world domination: Roosevelt through dollars, Stalin through soviets. Both wish that the other come out of the war greatly weakened, if not completely exhausted, for both want to be the unscathed spectator who will finally dictate his own terms to the world. But these divergencies have so far been overshadowed by the agreement in Moscow and Washington on one point: to destroy Germany at all costs, be it even at the expense of all Europe.
MENGCHIANG—A COUNTRY IN THE MAKING

By ALFRED LUECKENHAUS

Mengchia is one of the least-known regions of the world. Yet there is hardly a part of East Asia whose very name evokes such a feeling of romance and such a desire for more knowledge about it. So we hope that our readers will approve if we devote part of this number to Mongolian topics.

The first article takes us to present-day Inner Mongolia: Mengchiang. Alfred Lueckenhaus was formerly a German newspaper correspondent in London, New York, and Tokyo and is now correspondent of the German DNB News Service for North China, Mengchiang, and adjoining territories. He is the author of the article “The Changing Empire” published in this magazine in December 1942 and has recently paid an extensive visit to the new state of Mengchiang. He was given the opportunity of inspecting many industrial, cultural, military, educational, and other establishments; of studying actual conditions at the front lines; and of talking with many political and military leaders of the country. His article does not deal with Mongolia’s romantic past, but with her remarkable development during the last few years.—K.M.

The saying that the least-talked-about women are the ones with the best reputation is applied to countries, then the autonomous state of Mengchiang must be a country with virtues second to none. Very little has been heard or said about Mengchiang, the land of the Mongols, since its foundation more than six years ago. And yet there are not many new countries which have so little reason to hide their achievements. In fact, its development toward political maturity and economic prosperity is quite remarkable, particularly in view of the fact that, during the few years of Mengchiang’s adolescence, the United States and England pursued a policy which kept the flame of unrest in East Asia alive.

THE ORIGIN OF MENGCHIANG

Mengchiang, whose territory of approximately 500,000 square kilometers roughly comprises former Inner Mongolia, is about as large as Germany. The foundation was laid in 1937 when, with the help of the Japanese, some of the Mongol leaders, headed by Prince Teh Wang, grasped the opportunity to satisfy their people’s craving for their own state, after several former attempts had failed. The name of “Mengchiang” was introduced at that time. It is a Chinese word, meng meaning Mongol and chiang border-land.

When Mengchiang began life as a state, it consisted of a federation of three autonomous governments. They were the United Mongolian Leagues, with Houho (formerly Suiyuan) as their capital; the government of Chinpei or North Shansi (capital: Tatung); and finally, the government of Chanan or South Chahar (capital: Kalgan).

At the beginning of 1943, however, the administrative system of the Mengchiang government was completely reshuffled. Mengchiang now ceased to be a federation since, in order to simplify the administration, the governments of North Shansi and South Chahar were abolished. Both territories became ordinary provinces, Tatung Province replacing the North Shansi government and Hsuenhua Province taking the place of the South Chahar government. Kalgan may now be regarded as the capital of Mengchiang and the seat of the administration, although the affairs of the Mongolian Leagues are for the most part still directed from Houho, which is more centrally situated and which the Mongols would like at some future date to make Mengchiang’s real capital. In May of this year, as a provisional war-time measure, a special
"western administrative area," consisting of Paotow city and the rural districts of Saratsi, Kuyang, and Anpei, was established in order to consolidate conditions in the areas bordering on China's northwestern territories as speedily as possible.

ITS PEOPLE

The meaning of Mengchiang's existence and the role it has assumed in the current war can be aptly described in the words of Wu Hao-liang, head of Mengchiang's political council or, in Western terms, its Prime Minister. When talking to the author some time ago, he said: "To materialize the Mongol people's ideal of becoming once more a strong, unified Mongolia, and to help Japan win the Greater East Asia War as a prerequisite of the new order in this part of the world—these are the two most important tasks Mengchiang is now facing." The Mongols, he added, hope one day to regain at least some of the former Mongolian Empire's splendor. Viewed in the light of Japan's Greater East Asia policy, which naturally embraces strategical considerations, the Japanese policy in Mengchiang is, in Premier Wu's opinion, in conformity with the aspirations of the Mongol people.

The Mongols are at present building their own house with the advice and active support of the Japanese. According to estimates given the author by official Japanese sources, there are approximately 6 million people living in Mengchiang, of whom less than 240,000 are pure Mongols. Most of the others are Chinese peasants and townspeople, including several hundred thousand Chinese Mohammedans. In addition to the Mongols living in Mengchiang, there are, according to official Japanese statements, 1.3 million Mongols in Manchoukuo and another 900,000 in Outer Mongolia.

Six years ago the political and economic setup of Inner Mongolia was far from
satisfactory, mainly owing to the intrigues of international diplomacy and the non-existence of a strong central government with well-prepared plans of policy and construction. By now a far-reaching and impressive change has taken place, and relations between the composite parts of the population have noticeably improved.

Let us first examine the political and military situation of Mengchiang. It is a remarkably quiet and pacified territory. Only three small communist groups of altogether several thousand men are still trying to disturb public life in Mengchiang, one group somewhere north of Kalgan, another north of Houho, and the third south of Tatung. In addition, feeble forces of Chungking regulars are still holding out west of Paotow and south of the Yellow River. The railway line between Kalgan and Paotow is now rarely exposed to hostile action. Trade is brisk. One day, immediately behind the foremost lines, I noticed a donkey caravan laden with valuable goods which had just arrived from northwest China. Donkeys were being used instead of camels, which at this time of the year shed their hair and so cannot be employed for long trips in the burning sun.

With Outer Mongolia, however, there is no longer any caravan traffic at all. The Soviets have hermetically closed the entire frontier. The three caravan routes which formerly connected Mengchiang with Outer Mongolia are all closely guarded. Impassable no man's land now lies between.

VISIT TO THE FRONT

When I visited the westernmost front lines, the exact location of which naturally cannot be revealed, the only sensation was the complete absence of any fighting activity. Calm reigned along the entire sector, and the opposing Chungking troops did not show the slightest desire to fire even a rifle shot. When, in rare instances, Chungking forces make an exception to the rule and try to attack, Mongol and Chinese formations of the rapidly growing Mengchiang army are quite able to cope with the situation. Indeed, larger and larger parts of the front are being taken over by Mengchiang troops at their own desire.

When calling on a fort occupied by a Mongol formation, we met a Mongol company commander who, together with some fellow officers, had been cited recently by the Japanese commander in chief for special bravery and had, in addition, been awarded a high medal by Mengchiang's Minister for Public Safety. Mongol recruits, we were informed by a Japanese instruction officer, already possess two important prerequisites for warfare in this part of the world: their horsemanship and their marksmanship. They do not use field glasses, as their eyesight is remarkably good. What they still need in the early part of their training is to learn the importance of co-ordinated action. They have been taught how devastating and demoralizing for the enemy a bayonet attack can be if it is carried out with force and determination. The Mongols now generally prefer bayonet attacks to shooting assaults. Although without fear when facing the enemy, they were as shy as children when they faced a German journalist for the first time in their lives. A Mongol detachment stood smartly at attention when the visiting party left and, after having fallen out of ranks, they smilingly returned the German salute with which they had been greeted.

Late in the evening, when the party had returned to their quarters, the escorting officer, a middle-aged Japanese lieutenant of the reserves, turned up with a violin under his arm to play Schumann's Träumerei and other pieces for the benefit of the German guests.

MENGCHIANG'S ECONOMICS

What have they achieved in the economic field in Mengchiang where they count the present year as that of 738 after Genghis Khan? A fair distribution of agriculture and industry is generally recognized as the most ideal condition for the soundness of any country's economy. There are few countries where the possibilities for materializing this ideal are as great as in Mengchiang. While its
northern half still consists mainly of pastures and steppes, agriculture and industry are predominant in the south. Roughly speaking, the dividing line runs from Dolonor in the east to Wuyuan in the west. It is south of this line that most of Mengchiang's industries are now being developed. Here not only coal (Tatung) and iron-ore deposits of almost unlimited quantities are to be found, but also graphite, quartz, asbestos, mica, and other materials.

In surveying the present situation, it should be borne in mind that, in view of the still unfinished war, military necessity obliges the authorities to concentrate on war-industrial tasks rather than on peace-time planning. Once the war is over, a readjustment of the present industrial policy may be expected. At present, the exploitation of all mineral resources is strictly controlled by the state. In due course pig iron will be produced, although for export only, since the construction of further processing plants is not envisaged, at least not for the time being. Light industries in particular will be further promoted, since foreign currency is available now in sufficient amounts to pay for the import of raw materials, chiefly iron, steel, and machinery from Manchoukuo and Korea.

THE TATUNG COAL FIELDS

While the blueprints are thus being drawn, a review of the situation on the spot revealed that no time is being lost in preparing for the execution of the plans. The general manager of one of the biggest coal mines in the Tatung district informed me that the total deposits of coal in Tatung, extending over an area of 1,870 square kilometers, are estimated at no less than 29.3 billion tons. The coal district around the city of Tatung, situated on both sides of the Kalgan/Taiyuanfu railway, is roughly 110 kilometers long and 70 kilometers wide. The Tatung coal can be found in two seams, one being from 100 to 150 meters below the surface, the other at a depth of about 400 meters. The seams are from 2 to 20 meters thick, that is, thicker than in most of the European or American coal fields.

Both as regards quantity and quality, the Tatung coal may be compared to the Pennsylvania coal in the USA, the general manager explained. The upper seam, which at the moment is the only one being "scratched," consists of soft coal with a heating value of 7,000 calories. Part of it is already oxidizing and may therefore be used like charcoal. As to the rest, it serves various industrial purposes. The upper seam is so near the surface that no accidents caused by the explosion of coal dust or for similar mining reasons have ever occurred; nor is there any danger of inundation by underground water. As a matter of fact, the conditions of production are much better than in most coal fields. The deposits are so rich that neither wood (of which there is a scarcity) nor stone is needed to support the ceiling below, because sufficient coal can always be left standing to do the job. The lower layer which has not yet been touched can also be used for coking purposes. It is mixed with kaolin, the raw material for the manufacture of porcelain. The miners hail mainly from Shantung and Hopei. Their efficiency would be much greater but for their disastrous habit of smoking opium.

Six years ago there existed in this district three mines; four have been added since. Only 20 per cent of the Tatung coal production is being consumed in the country itself. Mechanical production has been introduced, some of the machinery and pit installations being of German manufacture. A big-scale mining plan aiming at an annual output of 30 million metric tons is already under way. An entirely new settlement of clean dwelling houses for mining officials, of schools for overseers of mines and other engineering personnel, of administration buildings, etc., has been erected on the site of some of the districts during the last two years. A hospital and a Shinto shrine for the Japanese staff living there could also be seen. The only question still causing something of a headache is that of transporting the coal production
to the seaports and the centers of coal consumption, but it is being vigorously tackled now.

The deputy governor of Tatung Province, Yujiro Morii, emphasized that the pacification of this territory was making rapid progress. Interviewed by the author and commenting on Germany's policy in the occupied territories of Europe, Morii agreed that to win the good will and the co-operation of the population for the attainment of the new order should and would be the principal ambition of both Japan and Germany.

PROBLEMS OF THE LAND

Agriculture is extending over ever larger areas where not long ago only nomads used to live. The remaining pastures for the grazing herds, still plentiful, have been divided up in such a way as to avoid enmity and clashes between the various nomad tribes. During my entire trip I found sufficient food everywhere, and the surplus goes to neighboring territories, particularly to North China. The price level for foodstuffs and various other commodities is low compared with that of some of the areas surrounding Mengchiang.

The lack of water for irrigation purposes constitutes one of the most important agricultural problems at present. There is a scheme to utilize the waters of the Yellow River by way of canals still to be built; but the materialization of this plan cannot be expected in the near future, because the task is too stupendous to be carried out under war-time conditions. Meanwhile, many new wells are being drilled. Cattle-raising is also receiving constant attention. Fresh blood is being introduced to improve the existing breeds. For the prevention of cattle diseases there is a very modern laboratory in Mengchiang. There are also up-to-date dairies, for some of which German dairies have served as models. Wheat, millet, kaoliang, chiaomai, potatoes, and tobacco are the main agricultural products.

Most of the agriculture is carried on by Chinese, and efforts to settle some of the Mongolian nomads and to train them in agricultural methods have so far been unsuccessful. However, the nomads are by no means a problem since, as we have stated above, there is still ample grazing land, permitting the nomads to be useful suppliers of hides, camel hair, furs, etc., which they trade for articles of daily use.

Looking far into the future, the Japanese have caused the Mongol Government to carry out a systematic policy of forestation, not only along the railroads but also in the interior. More than 500,000 trees were planted this spring. In view of the scarcity of water and of the progressive erosion, the inauguration of this policy was an urgent necessity. According to expert opinion, the Gobi Desert may one day extend beyond its present boundaries unless drastic countermeasures are taken. Billboards and newspaper articles as well as public lectures constantly remind the inhabitants of the vital importance of forestation.

COMMUNICATIONS AND EDUCATION

Mengchiang enjoys good communications with the adjoining countries of the Greater East Asiatic sphere—railroads, air lines, telegraph, telephone, and mail service. In the country itself, many new roads have been added to those already existing. Faraway Paotow now boasts asphalt streets. Plants for generating electricity are on the increase. There are also factories for manufacturing cement, cigarettes, etc. A newspaper with modern rotation machines and circulating throughout the country appears daily in three languages: Japanese, Mongolian, and Chinese.

In the field of education, schools and other institutions of learning have been founded during the last few years. Here, Mongol children are given every facility for making good their formerly neglected mental or vocational training. While in Houho, I visited a Mongolian middle school which was originally founded by Prince Teh as a Mongolian academy, receiving its present character three years ago. It is the only school of its kind in
For the 214 Mongolian pupils (including 30 girls), there are eight Mongolian and five Japanese teachers. Only graduates of primary schools are admitted after passing an examination; but, since the standard of education in Mongolian primary schools is still comparatively low, one preparatory year is necessary for the newly admitted pupils.

**MONGOL MODEL SCHOOL**

Boys attend the school for four years and girls for three. The latter are then qualified as teachers for girls' schools. The male pupils, all wearing uniforms, are under strict military discipline. Their working schedule includes eight hours each a week for learning Japanese and Mongolian, six hours for mathematics, three hours for natural sciences, two hours each for geography, music, drawing, and history. The history lessons naturally center around Mongolian history, with Genghis Khan as the country's principal idol. Pictures of this historical figure can be seen in almost every schoolroom, just as they are to be observed in every office of the Mengchiang administration. The afternoons are usually reserved for the pupils' physical training, which in winter consists mainly of military drill and in summer of agricultural work under the guidance of an experienced farmer.

During the first two years of schooling, the teaching language is Mongolian, and after that both Mongolian and Japanese. The reason is that the Mongolian language still lacks many words needed for the higher-grade faculties such as the natural sciences, algebra, etc. While the director of the school is a Mongol, his second-in-command is Japanese. The promotion of the pupils' sense of duty and of personal initiative is one of the principal items in the educational system of this school. The pupils have their own music corps. On festive occasions, they carry with them their own flag which combines the Mongol colors and the Rising Sun. The school also owns a wealth of sporting equipment including kendo sticks (for Japanese fencing), tennis rackets, skating shoes, etc.

**LAMA REFORMS**

In religious matters, too, the Japanese have taken a hand by appointing Buddhist experts from Japan in order to help Lamaism to put through certain reforms which many young Mongol lamas themselves regard as indispensable. In the first place, there is a tendency to revitalize Lamaism by reducing the number of lamas. It is estimated that there are no less than 20,000 Lamaist priests in Meng-chiang. Even from an economic point of view, this large figure is considered neither justifiable nor in the interests of Lamaism.

There are also plans to train and educate Lamaist novices in the country itself instead of in Tibet, as was hitherto the case. It is intended to found schools for this purpose with money raised in Meng-chiang. The determination of the young Lamaist generation to put necessary reforms into practice is being met by the Japanese Shingon sect, a Buddhist sect with rites similar to those of Lamaism. It is this sect which has offered its co-operation to the young Lamaist movement. Circles interested in the reform plans hope that it will be possible to employ all Lamaist priests in useful trades who have turned out unworthy of their mission. That it is deemed desirable that Lamaist priests should also be good Mongol patriots goes without saying. The question of finding a hatutatu (supreme lama of Mongolia) recognized by all lamas plays an important part in connection with the plans to reform Lamaism in Meng-chiang. There is a boy of thirteen years of age who, in the opinion of many reformers, seems to possess all the necessary qualifications. He is the object of highest respect among the Mongol people and resides in Meng-chiang's Silingol League.

**TRAINING THE ARMY**

The fact that a highly efficient Meng-chiang army has been established, trained, and advised by the Japanese, but under the supreme command of General Li Shou-hsin, has contributed in no small degree toward enhancing the national
The people of Mengchiang, although still under Japanese guardianship, are now enjoying the very things to which Roosevelt is only paying lip service, namely, freedom from want and freedom from fear. They have every reason to look to the future with full confidence and to continue their preparations for Mengchiang’s role of becoming a useful member in the society of East Asia’s states. This may be regarded as the underlying idea of Japan’s policy in Mengchiang, where the Japanese Army authorities have recently handed over to the civil government all administrative affairs of a not strictly military character. It is perfectly natural that Japan’s policy should also serve the interests of Japan herself; but the beneficiaries of this policy will at the same time be the people of Mengchiang and, in the last analysis, the community of East Asia’s nations.

LAMAISM IN MONGOLIA

By HERMANN CONSTEN

No other religion has given rise in the mind of the average person to such fantastic ideas as has Lamaism; partly because it is indeed a strange religion, and partly because the literature on this subject is either incomprehensible to the layman—being written for the specialist only—or the product of an adventurous and wild imagination, appealing to the reader’s desire for excitement rather than his thirst for knowledge. The following pages give the layman a factual and interesting account of Lamaism in Mongolia, of its development and present state, followed by a brief summary of the so-called “direct way” of Lamaism.

The author has lived many years in Mongolia, where he has personally known many of the high lamas and Khubilgans; he has mapped Outer Mongolia and has published a book entitled “Weideplätze der Mongolen” (Mongol Pastures). The photos he supplied for this article have never been published before. As there is no standard transcription of Mongol words into English, the author has used the most common forms.—K.M.

Some centuries after the death of the Buddha, there occurred a split within Buddhism into two branches, Mahayana and Hinayana. The difference between these two, as described in The XXth Century of March 1942 (p.178), is mainly to be found in the fact that in Hinayana the ultimate goal of the individual’s efforts is the attainment of liberation—Nirvana—for himself. In Mahayana, on the other hand, the saint is supposed to renounce his right to enter
Nirvana—which he has gained in many hardships and sacrifices through countless former existences—in order to help other creatures to reach the same goal. He becomes a Bodhisatta, a being who has reached the penultimate state before Full Awakening.

Mahayana Buddhism quickly merged with pre-Buddhist religious ideas and practices, many of them of a very primitive kind, and developed a huge pantheon of gods. As it expanded northward to the tribes of Central Asia it adopted many of their crude paraphernalia of witchcraft and sorcery. The merging of an already corrupted Mahayana Buddhism with the native Tibetan religions, the Bon religion, and Shamanism (Bon probably means doctrine; shamans are the medicine men in Central and Northern Asia) is what is commonly known as popular Lamaism.

THE PIous QUEENS

About 632 A.D., King Srong-Tsan-Gampo of Tibet (629-650) sent one of his viziers to India to fetch sacred books and ritual pictures and to arrange an alphabet for the Tibetan language. This the vizier did, bringing back with him a degenerate form of Mahayana Buddhism and inventing an alphabet for the Tibetan language on the model of a North Indian alphabet. To the Mongols this Tibetan writing is the holy script of their church, which every lama must know.

The Chinese emperor T'ai Tsung (627-649) gave a princess in marriage to the mighty Tibetan monarch, who had erected a huge kingdom in Central Asia. The princess joined a previously acquired Nepalese wife of Srong-Tsan-Gampo in her enthusiasm for Mahayana Buddhism, an enthusiasm which was also shared by their king. Owing to the influence of these two women the newly imported Buddhism gained ground in Tibet—slowly but steadily, in spite of the opposition of Bon Shamanism and the warrior caste which clung to the old faith. Both queens play an important part in Lamaist iconography up to the present day and are said to be reincarnations of the goddesses White Tara and Green Tara.

BAD TIMES AND BAD SAINTS

For some time after the death of King Srong-Tsan-Gampo, the new creed declined. A revival came under one of his successors, who summoned the famous Tantrist Padma Sambhava from India. Only after his arrival in Lhasa in 747 can we really speak of Lamaism as a separate Buddhist faith.

Padma Sambhava was one of the worst criminals among the many shady characters which the corruption of Buddhism has produced. He was an adventurer rather than an apostle, a bragging quack doctor and magician. He was also a true priest of the demons. He would never pass up an adventure or love affair—preferably with a princess—or refrain from murder for selfish or political reasons. Finally, one of the queens, who was an ardent adherent of Shamanism, succeeded by a Potipharian intrigue in chasing him and his closest collaborators out of the country.

But Padma Sambhava had succeeded in corrupting Lamaism by mixing the questionable traits of a degenerate Indian religion and demonology with black magic of the worst kind and a bit of renunciation of the world for decoy. All this was permeated by the practices of the native shamans. Buddhism is hardly the name for this queer form of religion, even if it is constantly on the lips of the lamas.

MAGIC AND EROTIC

Tantra is a term used in India for certain magic scriptures and magic practices largely connected with sex. The adherents of Tantrism believe these to have been transmitted to one of the patriarchs of their sect by Maidari (Pali: Metteyya; Sanskrit: Maitreya; Chinese: Mileifo), the coming Buddha. To the Tibetans and Mongols, Tantra means all literature on magic. Such books teach the Dharanis—mystic formulas which are supposed to have the power to conjure a god. A Dharani contains especially powerful magic syllables, called Mantras. After either meditation or self-induced ecstasy brought about by Dharanis,
mystic gestures (Mudra) and music, a Tantrist lama claims to be able to conjure a deity and receive from him the desired magic faculties.

In its earliest stages, Tantrism was permeated by Shaktism, a religion of the Indian aborigines which had entered into the Aryan cults. Shakti (or Sakti) is the female principle, the personification of the fertile mother of the world. The erotic elements were stressed in this cult. This appealed to the adventurers who corrupted the Lamaist mode of thought.

As the worship of mighty female deities penetrated the cult, it became a matter of course that the Bodhisattvas were paired with their female energies, the Shaktis. Thus the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara (Chinese: Kwan-yin) was supposed to have created for himself a female energy, the goddess Tara, out of his tears. The representation of a Shakti in drastic embrace with her Bodhisattva is an outstanding feature of the secret teachings of Tantrism. Such erotic groups, the plastic representation of which we observe with astonishment in all lama temples, are called Yab-Yum by the Mongols. Yab meaning "Father" and Yum the "Chosen Mother."

The word "lama," from which the religion derives its name, is a honorific title for fully ordained monks. In the early stages of Lamaism in Tibet we can distinguish White Lamas, Black Hat Lamas, Red Cap Lamas, and—later—Yellow Cap Lamas. The first three were in reality offsprings of the Bon religion and sacrificed humans, a practice which we also find with the early Tantrists. The main representatives of the Red Cap Church were the Sakya Lamas. In spite of their vows of chastity, these lamas married, in order to have a son who could become their successor. The abbots bequeathed their power and position to their sons, and thus the Sakya hierarchy gained dynastic powers, while the actual royal power withered and finally crumbled in the blasts of the Mongol invasion under Genghis Khan.

Genghis Khan tolerated practically every form of religion except Islam. He himself remained faithful to Shamanism, but through his conquests the hitherto Shamanist Mongols came in contact with Tibetan Lamaism. In 1244 his grandson summoned the head of the Red Cap Lamas, so that he might cure him of a severe illness. During his stay in Mongolia this learned man made an attempt to adapt the Uigur writing to the Mongol language. But only a later Red Cap Lama succeeded.

"DIRTY RUFFIANS"

In the year 1261 Kublai Khan summoned the abbot of a Red Church monastery in Tibet to Khanbalik, as Peking was then called. Marco Polo gives us a description of the Lamaist Tantrists, who had come from Tibet and Kashmir to live at Kublai’s court. He describes them as a lot of ruffians, dirty and with matted hair. To augment their evil magic powers, they devoured the roasted flesh of executed criminals. But, according to Marco Polo, the magic powers of these Red Cap Lamas seem to have made the greatest impression at court. Any beverage desired by the Khan, wine or fermented mare’s milk, would fill the cups without human aid, and these would then float over a distance of ten feet into the outstretched hand of the Great Khan.

Though Kublai tolerated all creeds—his mother and one of his queens were Nestorian Christians—he himself fell for the Red Church. Lama monasteries were erected in Peking, the dilapidated Buddhist ones on the sacred mountains of Wutaishan were repaired for Lamaist use. The Kandjur, the collection of Tibetan sacred scriptures (108 volumes containing 689 works), was now translated into Mongolian. But this translation is hardly ever used today; the Tibetan edition constitutes the basic selection of sacred books and is found in every temple. Under Kublai’s successors, lama temples sprang up like mushrooms, filled with countless vagabond mendicant monks, who fleeced the population like veritable racketeers. Yet it was a former Red Cap Lama who put an end to the Mongol rule over China by forcing the last Mongol emperor to retreat to Mongolia. This
Fig. 1 "Om A Hum," a Dharani (magic formula) in Tibetan letters, cut into a mountain near Urga and filled in with white

LAMAISM

Fig. 2 The mummy of the famous Jonsun Lama in the Cho-ge Lama; Khara. He was a Tibetan and the teacher of the last Khutuktu of Urga, whose portrait is seen at the right

Fig. 3 Tsagan Sigurtei, the "Goddess with the White Umbrella," a three-headed, eight-armed form of the goddess Tara which, with the White and the Green Tara, forms a trinity. Her white umbrella wards off all evil.

Note the "Eight Offerings" on the altar.
Fig. 4 Prayer wheel inscribed with the magic syllables "Om ma ni pad me hum" ("O Jewel in the Lotus!")

Fig. 5 A ritual vessel (Gabala) made out of the skull of a man who allegedly never smoked, drank, or loved. This makes it worthy of being used in the cult of the Tantra form of the Tara. (From the author's own collection)

Fig. 6 Lamas at work constructing a Mandala for a festival of Manla, the Buddha of medicine. The intricate design is made with different colored rice flour. The colors are applied from a copper horn which must be held in the left hand. The flour is made to flow out of the horn by means of a rasping action by the right hand
ex-lama founded the national dynasty of the Ming in 1368. The Mongols, after returning to their steppes, temporarily reverted to Shamanism.

"THOU SHALT NOT KILL"

The sorely needed reformation of Lamaism in Tibet was brought about by a Red Cap Lama, Tsongkhapa (1357-1417), a man of great learning, noble ideals, and a pure life.

Tsongkhapa's church is called the Yellow Church because he reintroduced the yellow beggar's robe of original Buddhism and the high, curved cap, also yellow, in order to distinguish his followers from the other lamas. He reinstated the mendicant orders with strict Buddhist discipline; he demanded celibacy and chastity. He gave the monk's life the original stern routine and discipline. He condemned black magic and all its rites and abolished the witchcraft of Tantra practices. He also abolished blood sacrifices of any kind as being contrary to the Buddha's foremost commandment: "Thou shalt not kill."

Legend narrates: During a dispute between the head of the Sakya Lamas and Tsongkhapa, the former, in the heat of the discussion, seized and crushed a louse. Tsongkhapa flung at his adversary: "Be silent! I hear between your fingernails the agonized cry of a dying creature." At this the Sakya Lama professed himself vanquished and acknowledged the new church.

If Tsongkhapa demanded much from his followers in the way of discipline and renunciation, he also lifted the Yellow Lamas high above the laymen. They ranked with the gods, and their church now ruled Tibet. Unfortunately, the high ideals of Tsongkhapa did not reach the masses, although they are still observed by all true Yellow Lamas. His third successor—the first rightfully to bear the title of Dalai Lama—was again an accomplished deceiver and conjuring magician. The hoof prints of his horse formed a Mantra, the six sacred magic syllables "Om ma-ni pad-me hum" (O Jewel in the Lotus!).

After the visit of this successor to Mongolia, a prince of Eastern Mongolia decreed the abolition of the Shamanist practice of blood sacrifices. No more living creatures—women, slaves, horses, dogs—were to follow the deceased into his grave to serve him in another existence. Such sacrifices should be replaced by presents to the lamas, whose duty it was, in return, to pray for the salvation of the deceased's soul and for his well-being in the other world.

When the Dalai Lama returned to Tibet, he left as a compensation the incarnation of the Bodhisatta of Wisdom in Mongolia, who is reborn in the Dorgkor Khutuktu, the highest Lamaist functionary of Inner Mongolia. Thus, with the help of the idea of the migration of souls, the new Mongol Church could be effectively linked with the mother church in Tibet.

GODS IN HUMAN FORM

The Aryan peoples of pre-Buddhist India already believed in the transcendent power of the Karma, i.e., the result of our deeds, which leads to rebirth. Lamaism evolved the doctrine of the Khubilgans. These are alleged reincarnations of a Buddha or of one of the many Bodhisattas, gods, or goddesses in Lamaism's well-stocked pantheon. Venerable dignitaries of the church, even famous princes or heroes, may reappear as Khubilgans. Some of these were given the title of Gegen by the Chinese emperor.

Some female deities are reborn in a female and a male Khubilgan simultaneously, the best known being the White Tara. She was reborn in the reigning empress of Russia; at the same time her male reincarnation appeared among the Mongols. If a Tsar ruled Russia, the female incarnation was found among a tribe in Tsungaria. This mystic connection of Lamaism with their imperial house was no small political aid to the Russians in their penetration of Central Asia and Outer Mongolia.

When a Khubilgan dies, his soul is supposed to enter a child born forty-nine days later. After about a year has
elapsed, the lamas set out in search of his reincarnation in a district designated by the dying Khubilgal as the place where he will reappear. They test every child of suitable age by showing it a number of articles, one of which belonged to the holy man. If the child grasps and holds this one article, it is thought to have recognized its former possession. Several such applicants are then brought before the high lamas for final decision. The chosen Khubilgal receives a careful, solely ecclesiastical education. Every day he hears tales of his deeds in former existences, until he becomes thoroughly familiar with the personality he is supposed to be. If he turns out badly, he is often quietly poisoned and another baby chosen. This may not always be simple. Some of the inferior Gegens, called Werewolf Khubilgans, know how to protect themselves. I have known such reincarnations to play an important part in Outer Mongolia by reason of their ruthlessness. The number of acknowledged Gegens varies, even in official lists. About two hundred, who enjoyed a greater or lesser degree of veneration, could be counted in Outer and Inner Mongolia around 1920.

In order to connect the Mongolian grasslands even closer with the Tibetan Yellow Church, one Dalai Lama was reborn in a Mongol prince. He was educated in Mongolia up to his fourteenth year by the Dongkor Khutuktu and then brought to Lhasa. For him, too, the Mongols desired a substitute, which they obtained in the reincarnation of the famous Tibetan historian Taranatha. He is the highest dignitary in the Lamaist hierarchy after the Dalai and the Panchen Lamas. This reincarnation resided from that time on in Urga (Outer Mongolia) and is called Maidari Khutuktu. The last Maidari Khutuktu of Urga was blind, but a great libertine and drunkard, aside from being married. In the course of the adventures of the Russian Baron Ungern-Sternberg, who planned a Mongol-Tibetan ecclesiastical state, he fell into the hands of the Soviets, when they occupied Urga, and died soon after.

The Soviets, of course, did not allow the installation of a successor. The reincarnation—a Tibetan like his predecessor—has been living in Lhasa for many years, but his identity and whereabouts are kept a secret.

**ATHEIST, MONOTHEIST, POLYTHEIST**

Fundamentally, the higher lamas, especially the mystics, are atheists, for the Buddha denied the existence of a world creator or eternal ruler of the universe. Aside from the Buddha—who is not and never claimed to be a god in the ordinary sense of the word—they acknowledge no divine principle, no superior, grace-dispensing god. Yet as a follower of the Buddha the lama is monotheist; as a worshiper of the countless forms of divine apparition he is polytheist.

The mystics believe in the unreality and transitoriness of all existing forms. They believe and teach Voidness. They believe that the individual does not contain an ego but is merely a bundle of processes activated by the thirst for sentient existence. Since it is composed entirely of matter, the individual perishes in death. But all those processes which we can group under the three headings of speech, thought, and action give each individual a certain character. The fruition of these three manifestations is the deed, its moral outcome is called Karma. They believe in the transcendent powers of the deed, i.e., the Karma alone survives death.

The thirst for new life leads to rebirth in a new form, determined by Karma. The new individual, bearing within himself the characteristics of his own making in past lives, now harvests the results of his former deeds: he is burdened with his Karma as with "original sin."

To escape from this circle of rebirths into Nirvana, to reach the "not returning to life" by the extinction of all desires, the Buddha taught the Noble Eightfold Path. Meditation and instructive devotion are employed to attain this end.

From the adoration of the Buddha, there developed—starting with the cre-
mation of the Buddha’s corpse—the cult of relics, the stupa, and later on the pictorial representation of the Buddha, of his mythical precursors, and of Maidari, the Buddha-to-come of the next world period. Those who wished to devote their entire life to their liberation joined a monastic order or entered a convent.

The Bolshevization of Outer Mongolia has destroyed its monastic life; the lamas scattered or became soldiers. The following statements about monasteries and their lamas, as far as Outer Mongolia is concerned, therefore refer to things of the past.

TEMPLES ON WHEELS

Outer Mongolia was divided into four Aimaks (dukedoms), these in 86 Koshuns, and these in several Sumuns according to their size. Each Koshun had at least one monastery of the Khüür type, and each Sumun one called a Sumän. A third category comprised independent monasteries called Khits.

Before the Mongols erected permanent temples they had transportable temple yurts; even their main temples were on wheels. Oxen or camels pulled them across the steppes. If camp was pitched on a grazing ground, lamas and laymen erected their tents in a circle around the temple. A camp of this kind was called a Khüürä. One of the most famous Khüürä was that of the Maidari Khutuktu. When, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, he settled down beside the Tola River, where Urga, the Ulan Bator (Red Hero) of the Soviets stands today, his group of temples retained the name Khüürä. This example was soon followed by other migrant temple yurts. Their lamas lived in the vicinity of the now permanent “camp,” called Da Khüürä (great camp). They founded cities and cultural centers; but the name Khüürä stuck to this type of monastery.

Sumän, a designation found in great numbers on maps of Mongolia, means nothing but temple. They are temples of fixed location in the steppes, but in their immediate neighborhood no monks live in yurts or cells. Their lamas live on their own. They lead a nomadic life with their families on the surrounding grazing grounds. The Sumun, an organized administration unit of a hundred to a hundred and fifty families, is responsible for the upkeep of its temple.

Only on great festivals are the desolation and solitude of the temple dispelled by yellow-capped lamas riding up in noisy groups. The rats scatter when the heavy red doors squeak and swing open. Small lamps light up the swept and dusted altars. They throw flickering lights on forgotten Buddhas and grimacing demons. The popular festival on horseback is on. Only for the prostrations do the visitors climb out of the saddle. When the festive noise has ceased, when the lights have gone out, when the recitative prayer with the shrill voices of the novices and the deep heavy bass of the lamas is no longer heard or the dull sound of the drums and the shrill trumpet of the World Elephant, when the victorious wrestler and the winning race horse have returned to camp and herd—then the Sumän lies once more forsaken and solitary. Only hares, marmots, and antelopes hear the tinkling of the temple bells in the evening wind. Rats and mice return to the temple; they skip over the altars and the blessing hands of the Buddha and play around the skull crowns of the Terrible Ones. In the night the howling of the wolves is answered by the war bark of distant dogs.

Nunneries are also found in Mongolia, though they are not numerous. Lamaism despises women as being the source of life and all the sufferings of a renewed existence. But it allows women to retire from the world and become nun (Fig. 10), or remain in the world and be faithful lay members. A woman’s saintly life would be rewarded by rebirth as a man—the next step toward salvation.

TRADE PROFITS AND NO TAXES

Monasteries were founded with the help of princes and nobility. This prestige established Lamaism firmly in the social system of the Mongols. Shamanism was almost completely crowded out. Prom-
inent among all monasteries were the imperial ones, founded and kept up since Kang-hsi's time by the emperors of China. Their influence was ever on the increase through such temples depending on them. Nor was there ever a shortage of monks, because — following a practice introduced by Kang-hsi — every first-born son of a Mongol became a lama. In this way Chinese diplomacy simply and effectively checked the danger of a strong Mongol warrior caste.

The lama was put on the same social level with the nobility. He, too, was exempt from taxation. His influence on the leaders and — using their prestige — on the blindly believing people was strengthened by the doctrine of reincarnation. The sons of princes and noblemen became pupils in the monasteries; some of the pupils became abbots; the dead abbots were reborn in a child of the nobility. If a monastery is lucky enough to harbor a famous and popular incarnation, its prestige grows. His family will shower it with presents in herds and Shabinars. These are slaves of humble origin, who are presented to a monastery with their family and belongings as serfs. They formed a special class of Mongol people, were immune from ordinary taxes, and owed allegiance, service, and obedience to their monastery only; they felt it an honor to be part of its big community. The Khutuktu of Urga reigned over more than 20,000 Shabinar families. Strictly regulated tributes from these serfs guaranteed a minimum of existence to a monastery. The rule over them, as well as the administration of the monastery itself, lay in the hands of its secular revenue office.

Prince, nobleman, and lama fostered trade, and the Shabinars were indispensable to trade. The monastery was not only a center of Lamaist cult but also of secular trade. With the help of their Shabinars and the herds given to them, they carried on a well-organized transport business in gold, silver, tea, hides, camel hair, antlers of the maral stag, etc., and guaranteed against the loss of wares. The Shabinars convoyed such caravans. They would often be granted a certain percentage of share in the profit in return for the sumpter animals supplied by them; or they might even undertake the whole transport as a transaction of their own, if they paid the monastery a carefully calculated sum for this privilege.

BENEVOLENT AND TERRIBLE GODS

Most monasteries are built of unbaked bricks and wood, surrounded by a stone wall or board fence. The style is a mixture of Tibetan and Chinese, or purely Chinese for imperial foundations.

On entering the temple one faces the main image set up against the back wall, for instance a statue of Tsongkhapa, or, more often, a trinity, varying according to the deity to whom the temple is dedicated. It is often a trinity of Tsongkhapa and his two favorite pupils, similar to the group of the Buddha with two disciples; or three forms of the goddess Tara (Fig. 3).

The figures of deities are of two kinds: the benevolent and the wrathful. The former sit with legs folded on the lotus throne or riding animals. Figures of famous incarnations sit in the meditation posture of the Buddha. The hands hold emblems or form one of the mystic finger positions called Mudra. The coming savior Maidari is often of huge size; he stands erect, with folded hands. Ariabolo (Sanskrit: Avalokitesvara; Chinese: Kwan-yin), with an aureole of a thousand hands holding emblems and dispensing blessings, is often found in Mongol temples, but not as commonly as in China.

To the wrathful group belong the Dokshit, the Terrible Ones. They defend the teachings of the Buddha against his en-
emies. These many-headed gods are almost always portrayed in a state of sexual excitement, alone, or with the Yum on their folded legs, or dancing with their Yum. A typical example of the fury of such figures is Yamantaka, who may be found in practically every Mongol temple and countless small bronzes, for this nine-headed god with thirty-four hands and pendants of skulls has tamed the god of death. His sixteen feet trample on a man, bull, elephant, donkey, camel, dog, sheep, fox, and several birds. He, too, embraces his Yum.

The Heroic Dokshit and the Terrible Dokshit resemble each other closely, as if the sickening imagination of Lamaism had at last spent itself in these horrors of distorted human musculature. The former trample on demons or animals, the latter ride on their respective mounts: horse, mule, elephant, or tiger. Among the Eight Terrible Ones there is one female deity, Lhamo. She is the guardian of Lhasa and sits sideways on a mule led by an elephant-headed witch by reins made of living snake. Another witch drives it over a field of blood and bones.

A detailed description of all the terrible aspects given to Buddhas and Bodhisattas would fill volumes. Visions and sexual inhibitions have contorted the artistic imagination and given these gods all the ugliness of exaggerated monstrosities, in order to make them able protectors of the Buddha’s faith against imaginary enemies.

OFFERINGS AND THE MAGIC CIRCLE

The long table which serves as an altar stands before the main gods on the north wall. The gods face the southern entrance doors. Before them are placed the Eight Offerings:

1. Wheel: it leads to boundless perfection, symbol of Buddha’s teaching.
2. White conch shell: symbol of conversion and happiness therein.
3. White umbrella: it destroys wicked desires.
4. Pennant of salvation, in the shape of a round tent: red, yellow, and blue.
5. Two goldfish: they swim in the river of wealth and bliss.
6. Knot of happiness: symbol of the soul that has attained perfection.
7. White lotus: it is free from pollution and impurity, a symbol of Nirvana.
8. Vase of holy water: it contains all wishes.

Another group of symbols lined up on the altar are the Seven Precious Things. They are also regarded as offerings, though they really are the attributes of the Seven World Rulers, each of whom reigned in one world period as the secular counterpart to the Buddha. Between these objects are seven more offerings, bowls with saffron water, flowers, incense sticks, food, etc. In their midst stands the lamp with its eternal light and a receptacle for incense and its ashes. For different prayer services other offerings are added, e.g., a Mandala, a mirror, and sour milk—the latter in memory of a maiden who refreshed the Buddha with this beverage during his struggle for enlightenment under the Bodhi tree.

The Tantra Mandala was originally a magic circle outlined on the graveyard in order to conjure and hold some terrible god in it. This circle was then considered the abode of the deity and his or her retinue. As such it is subdivided into circles and squares filled with the symbols of the inhabiting deities. For special festivals such Mandalas are “built” with infinite labor and skill out of colored rice powder, in the temple of the god thus honored (Fig. 6). But there are also more durable Mandalas, temple fixtures painted, printed, or fashioned out of wood or metal. Following ritual rules, grains of rice are scattered on it, and by
lifting it the lama offers up to the deity the whole world thus represented.

One of the most important instruments in Tantra rites is the magic dagger, Phurbu, with which the Mandala is outlined. It is often simply called the “Nail,” as it nails down the conjured deity in the circle. It is three-edged; the handle is often a thunderbolt and—for conjuring purposes—the head of a three-eyed demon with a crown of skulls.

Nobody to Pray to

Early Buddhism had no prayer in our sense of the word. It did not acknowledge any gods, so there was nobody to pray to. The Buddha had entered Nirvana and terminated his existence. One could not pray to him either. The knowing may not molest the “completely extinguished” with profane requests. In prayer they should and would only achieve the purification of their hearts. Thus Mongol or Kalmuck Lamaism has no word for supplicating prayer because their prayers are not requests addressed to a certain god but rather avowals of faith, hymns of praise and glorification of the supreme Perfect One, recited in order to attain spiritual realization of a Buddha or Boddhisatta.

The temple’s daily community prayer (Khural) is usually only attended by the lama pupils of from six to eighteen years of age. The higher lamas stay away from this regular service. The pupils, if they desire to become fully ordained monks, have to learn by heart all the commonly used Khurals. Like most religious books in Mongolia, these are in Tibetan, either handwritten or block-printed. Mongolian texts are rare and used only in a few monasteries. Some lamas know by heart the whole prayer service of thirty-nine Khurals, each lasting about an hour or even longer.

Three older lamas should always be present at the daily prayer service. One of them watches over the behavior of the pupils; if they fool around and play, he brings them to order with scolding or whipping. During prayer the lama pupils, or—in a great Khural—the fully ordained lamas, sit in a straight row in front of their prayer benches, their legs crossed under them. The position of hands, feet, and lama cloak must not deviate from strict rules, and they must be clean. It is forbidden to indulge in any nonsense, to laugh, chatter, quarrel, cough, spit, or blow the nose loudly. During recess, tea and food are passed round; the lama must not smack his lips or make any other sound while eating or drinking; he may not lick his cup, smoke, or keep his cap on his head. He must look straight ahead. He cannot leave without permission. Punishment is meted out to him who does not clap his hands at the correct moment during the prayer, or is late in beating the drum, blowing the conch shell, etc. The prayers should be intoned in a soft voice.

The ordained lamas join in the prayer on special days of fasting and prayer, or at festivals. One of the greatest holidays, not only for the lamas, but for the entire Mongol population, is the New Year festival, Tsagan Sara or “White Month.” It is celebrated at the beginning of spring, from the first to the sixteenth day of the first month. The sixteen-days’ service consists of a special New Year’s prayer and fifteen daily prayers in commemoration of the Buddha’s fifteen wondrous spiritual victories over the Brahman

The Seven Precious Things: The wheel as symbol of perfection in prayer; the magic gem which fulfills every wish; the queen jewel who rules by her beauty; the dignitary of the world ruler; the jewel elephant, symbol of the boundless extent of Buddhist teaching; the precious horse, symbol of succor in all needs; the general of the world ruler whose sword annihilates all scheming against the faith.
adversaries of his new faith. There are also prayers in honor of the guardian deity of the temple.

Another great festive day is that of the procession in honor of Maidari, the Coming Buddha, when huge carts with large figures are pulled around the temple by pious laymen and lamas (Fig. 12). Still another festival with impressive prayer service is the Tsam, a ritual of exorcism (Figs. 13 & 14), known as the “Devil’s Dance” in Peking.

PRAYING IN RELAYS

Then there are the so-called “eternal prayers” (Gürüm). Relays of lamas pray from sunrise to sunset, from sunset to midnight, from midnight to sunrise, and so on, without the slightest interruption during replacement. Other eternal prayers are said if a prince or Gegen, a rich Mongol or his herds, is stricken with illness. Such special services can be quite expensive. There are Gürüm to ward off evil from a newly contracted marriage and to correct a woman’s sterility. Others can grant more sons than daughters; others break the power of a wife over a henpecked husband.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CORRECT PROSTRATION

The lay Mongol ordinarily saves up the performance of his religious duties for a great festival Khural. But he may not take direct part in the prayer service or even enter the temple during it. He may only go around the temple from left to right and prostrate himself before the entrance. Every phase of this prostration has its special significance for the liberation of living beings from the circle of rebirth. He folds his hands in front of his chest as in prayer, lifts them over his head, opens them and folds them before his forehead, opens them again and lightly strokes mouth and chin. With hands folded before his chest the Mongol then kneels and throws himself flat, arms outstretched, face down, so that all limbs touch the ground. He rises making the same gestures in reverse order. Lamas and pilgrims often perform hundreds of these prostrations. Involuntarily they do them rhythmically—excellent gymnastics for the average Mongol, whose sole exercise otherwise is riding or wrestling, the only popular sport.

Pious Mongols make pilgrimages to their temples, sometimes miles from their yurts. Every three steps they prostrate themselves, and it may thus take them weeks to complete the trip. If the prostrations are not correctly executed, the pilgrim will be reborn as a camel; or, if the forehead is not properly pressed to the earth, the culprit is reborn in one of the hells where he hangs head downwards over scorching fires. With each prostration the Mongol prays for the disappearance of all sin, and that he as well as every living creature—not excluding lice and fleas which might be bothering him at the moment—may attain Buddhahood. A drunken Mongol, dirty and clumsy but with the seriousness of the intoxicated, who—scared by the consequences of any incorrectness—tries properly to execute the prostrations in order to free himself and all creatures from rebirth and become a Buddha: that is indeed a grotesque spectacle.

But if such attempts at religious practices by uneducated and mentally incapable Mongols seem ridiculous, a nightly prayer service is truly imposing, especially when one enters the temple from the terrible cold of a dark winter night in the steppes. In front of every high lama, a fire of horse- or camel-droppings glows in a pierced iron receptacle. Its smoke weaves veils around the statuary, throws shadows over the gilded faces of the quiet Buddhas and Bodhisattas, and makes the grimaces of the many-headed Terrible Ones in their Yab and Yum dance seem even more horrible.

WEDDING, BIRTH, DEATH

Aside from these festive meetings there are, of course, other prayer forms and formulas, like the Yöröl (wishful prayers). One of these is the above-mentioned prayer for the liberation of all creatures. There are also Yöröls as blessings.
Then there are wedding Yorols. While bride and groom sit on the threshold of the yurt, the Yorols of those deities are read in whose years the bride and groom were born. This ceremony also reveals a remnant of Mongol matriarchy, which still lingers in practice if not officially: the highest of the lamas present undertakes the “veneration of the bride”; he recites the wedding Yorol, which is called the “lineage of the bride.”

Another Yorol manifests primitive superstition. It is a protective prayer for the friends and relatives of a deceased against the harm his spirit might do them. A Yorol is recited during the first bath of the newborn, which is often the one and only bath a Mongol ever gets. Of course, a people of riders like the Mongols also have Yorols for their horses, for protection and blessing in the race and for the winning horse.

Death, too, has its Khural with Yorols. A lama must come at once if he is called to a deathbed; not to come would be worse than murder. The lama enters the yurt without addressing or even looking at anybody. He sits down by the side of the patient and does not move until the dying person has become accustomed to the sight of him. Then he places his prayer book on the head of the sick person. Every fully ordained lama always carries this book with him under his left arm; with it he usually dispenses benedictions to laymen by placing it on the head of the applicant. The sick person now knows that he is about to die and listens eagerly to the death prayer by Padma Sambhava, which every lama must know by heart in Mongolian and Tibetan. It is a guide to the other world, mixed with Yorols, which gives much-needed advice to the soul: how it is to behave before the different-colored, luminous emanations of Buddhas, gods, spirits, and nongods, and how to pass through all temptations. One of the Yorols which the soul must recite in the other world runs as follows:

O you Buddhas of the five varieties and all other mighties who appeared before me, you who possess the five kinds of wisdom—when I am reborn in the material world, deign to elevate me, and save me from the steep rocks of intermediate births.

The lama also reads three prayers of penitence on behalf of the dying, in order to calm his soul, for they contain the oath of Maidari Buddha to protect the soul from rebirth.

“I BELIEVE IN THE LAMAS . . .”

The most important prayer for everybody is the profession of faith, with which every sacred act begins. It begins:

I believe in the most holy and holy lamas, who serve as the base of all virtues, which come from the body, as well as those coming from the tongues and the thoughts of my relatives, my forebears, all living beings which live in heaven, and all Buddhas of the ten corners of the earth and the three periods. I believe in the lamas . . . who act as prototype, root, and basis of the Khutuktu . . . I take my refuge in Buddha, I take my refuge in the holy teachings, I take my refuge in the order [of lamas] . . . .

There is another prayer which plays an important part in the life of every Mongol and which he must know by heart, as the Christian knows the Lord’s Prayer. It is the Miktskin prayer, a short, pious wish which must be uttered before entering a temple: “May I join in a worthy manner the gathering of lamas, the precious things, the teachers of religion, and the leaders on the road to Nirvana.” This prayer is written or pasted on a revolving stand in front of the temple door (Fig. 9), so that those who cannot recite it by heart—either because they are too stupid or too young—may recite it mechanically by revolving the contraption. This is probably the origin of the prayer wheel and other devices of mechanical praying.

PRAYERS WHOLESALE

The prayer wheel supplies Mongols and Tibetans with prayers wholesale. It is a hollow cylinder closed top and bottom, with a central axis around which it revolves when set in motion by pushing a handle at the bottom (Fig. 4). It is filled to capacity with printed or written prayer formulas, as, for example, the well-known Om ma-ni pad-me hum; or it may contain sacred sutras and books, or even entire religious encyclopedias. These prayer wheels come in all sizes,
PILGRIMS,
MONKS,
AND NUNS
Fig. 11. The Khubilai Manjushri Lama, who resided in the Manjushri Khat near Urga.

Fig. 12. The carriage (float) of Mandari in the Mandari procession, Urga.

Fig. 13. Two dancing skeletons in the Tsam (known in Peking as the "Devil's Dance") at Manjushri Khat.

Fig. 14. Dance of Yamatitaka, "who puts an end to death," in the Tsam at Manjushri Khat.
from the tiny hand implement, set in motion by a flick of the wrist and kept going by the centrifugal force of small balls suspended from chains, to the giant drum turned by water. It requires a certain bodily exertion to set even one of the medium-sized prayer wheels in motion (Fig. 7). But, having done so, the entire contents of the cylinder are put down to one's credit, as if one had read and recited them personally one by one. Even wind and water may be pressed into service—water to turn the huge prayer wheels, wind to flutter the squares of cloth printed with prayers, many of which are joined and hung under the eaves of temples.

POWERFUL SYLLABLES

Related to prayers are the Mantras, mystic formulas without evident meaning. A Mantra is spoken at the beginning or in the middle of a Dharani. The lamas believe that the recitation of a Mantra such as Om ma-ni pad-me hum is extremely effective. Whoever understands these sacred, secret syllables and applies them correctly can bring about supernatural effects and conjure gods, spirits, and demons for service and succor, the Mantra being the "absolute, the eternal word."

Short Mantras of this kind are often represented in symbolical diagrams, and only the initiated can understand their meaning and effect. One of the oldest and most mystic is the Namchuwangdan. A wealth of writings has been devoted to this mysterious sign of the Ten Powerful Forms; all kinds of religious, astrological, even medical ideas have been superimposed in a vain effort to explain it.

The Namchuwangdan is used as an amulet and talisman; it protects house, hearth, and all belongings. We find it in almost every monastery of the Red and Yellow Church on doors and entrances in its ritual colors of blue, green, yellow, white, red, and black. It is printed or painted on prayer flags, carved in wood or chased in metal on book covers or amulet boxes. The frontal niche in the bulging part of the bottle pagoda often contains the Namchuwangdan in its ritual colors, on a lotus, against the background of a blue fig leaf with golden veins. Tantra calls it the "Viscera of the Earth Woman."

MASTERS OF THE DIRECT WAY

So far we have described the popular forms and cults of Mongol Lamaism. But the description would not be complete without adding something about other lamas in Mongolia. Although they are not numerous, they exist. In fact, if Lamaism were only all that we have said thus far, the natural question would arise as to how it is possible that such abject superstitions have acquired such dominion even over the educated few of Tibet and Mongolia.

Lamaism being derived from the teachings of the Buddha, there have from its very introduction into Mongolia been lamas who, disdaining popular renown or influence, devoted their lives exclusively to the attainment of the Noble Eightfold Path. These are recluses, living in complete retirement in the Khits (monasteries of recluse) far out in the steppe, on a sacred site or mountain. They are hermit lamas—Dajanchis.

An earthen wall usually encloses a small temple and a few yurts inhabited by the Dajanchis, a small number of superior Lamaist officials, lower, servile lamas, and monastery serfs (Shabinars). They live in a brotherhood without personal property. Their task is to supply the Dajanchis with the little food they require. A Khit has almost no income. There is no temple or prayer service. What is required for the modest upkeep is supplied by the Shabinars.

The Dajanchi lives in voluntary seclusion. He devotes himself solely to Samadhi. This is more than just meditation, which all lamas practice from time to time. Not every lama may enter a Khit, and few are eager to become "Masters of the Direct Way," though simple meditations are at times executed by every superior lama. In Mongolia there were hardly a hundred Dajanchis, who strove to grasp the mystic meaning of the void
through the practice of Absorption. This leads them to the limits of existence—nonexistence; and many a Dajanchi has thus passed away. A lama may not enter a Khit before completing his thirtieth year and not after his fortieth year. He must have studied at one of the great, famous universities of Lamaism, i.e., at Lhasa, Kunbum, or Urga. He must have mastered the highest knowledge of Lamaism, the science which teaches the essentials of wisdom in order to attain utmost cognition. This is achieved by a systematic study of the Kandjur. The lama entering a Khit must prove the extent of his knowledge in a short examination before the head of the monastery, who is not himself a Dajanchi. The choice of a teacher for the newcomer is left to chance. The first Dajanchi to awake from his Samadhi takes him on as his pupil. He guides him through a number of progressive absorptions. These recluses give up every sort of work or activity, every friendship and conversation with other lamas, except with their teacher. Even with the head of the monastery they only exchange a few words when absolutely necessary.

**MASTERING DESIRE**

During Samadhi, "the mood of non-thought-formation," the lama sits erect on a cushion in his simple yurt, an emaciated ascetic in the deathlike immobility of deepest absorption. His attitude is that of a Buddha. In his waxen hands he holds nothing but a rosary, but he does not move it. His sharp features are quiet and expressionless. His eyes are fixed on space. Not even the intake of the breath stirs the withered body.

Four degrees of common Lamaist meditation within the world of forms lead to four others in the formless worlds. From here, only the Masters of the Direct Way go on to a ninth degree. Practicing Samadhi, the lama is beyond consciousness and without perception; he rises into the Sphere of the Void. In a "meditative abstraction" that goes beyond mere meditation, in an "ecstatic equilib-rium" in which not a single thought may be formed, powerful visions are created. "Nonmeditation plus nondistraction is the state of Samadhi. The lama is on the verge of form-destruction, or eternal rest, called Nirvana. But as his span of life has not yet been exhausted, the adept returns from this ninth stage into life until, at his death, he is forever freed from all forms of existence.

There are 116 progressive methods of practicing Samadhi, of which some help master the desires of the world. Some of these methods, when described exoterically, may horrify the reader. One of them shows the lama his own body falling apart in festering pieces; the skeleton bursts and splits, until all is finally consumed by a great flame. This Samadhi is a success if the Dajanchi sees rising out of his own skeleton a star with twenty-five to forty golden balls, and when a pearl appears on his forehead. In other terrifying Samadhis, the meditator finds himself amidst the devastating conflagration of the universe; horrible wild animals surround him; enormous, grimacing demons threaten him; snakes and dragons twist around his body—all projections of his own mind.

Another method serves as a protection against mental derangement. It is the Samadhi of the concentration on the Buddha. For seven days and seven nights the Dajanchi concentrates on the august image of the Buddha in the pure light of its beauty. He concentrates on this image and retains it in his mind to the exclusion of all else. First he concentrates on his forehead, from which flow an endless number of Buddhas, who then float back from all distances into his forehead. Then he concentrates on his heart. Again Buddhas appear, with thunderbolts of sapphire in their hands. Saints in the colored lights of their aureoles hover around these Buddhas, the last of whom stops before the Dajanchi and rests his staff on the meditator's heart; all the Buddhas and saints return into the heart. Concentration will cause Buddhas to emerge from all poses and return into them. Then the Dajanchi
concentrates thoughts and images on his navel. The navel extends, bursts, and out of it grows a wondrous lotus flower with golden leaves on a sapphire stem. A Buddha in all his glory is seated in the center of the blossom. Out of this Buddha’s navel another lotus flower grows with another Buddha and so on until there are lotus flowers and Buddhas all around. Gradually they all return in reverse order into the lama’s navel. In the Buddha Samadhi, the Dajanchi sees the earth as a transparent golden mirror, and feels himself getting as clear and transparent as the earth. When a Dajanchi dies, he is able to disregard the tempting or terrifying visions coming to meet him. Those with which he is already familiar through his Samadhis will have no power to detract him from the straight path to salvation.

MEN ABOVE GODS

The attraction of Lamaism for those who enter its order is not difficult to understand. No other highly developed religion grants its initiated servants quite that degree of power over men and gods, especially the gods. Theoretically, there is no limit to what the lama can do, because he forces the gods to perform miracles for and through him, according to the beliefs of the superstitious.

In Mongolia I have actually seen feats of magic and the control of forces unknown to us which science would have a hard time explaining. The superior lamas of the old school have always studied tirelessly and with the strictest spiritual discipline. Their knowledge, not only of texts and doctrine, but often also of men, medicine, and the affairs of the world, is remarkable. Western science will do away with many superstitions but will also destroy those realms of wisdom which no outsider has yet been able to contact, much less to enter.

To the average lay Mongol the existence of such powerful learning is known but not comprehended. He is content with the colorful outward manifestations, which to us seem extremely crude, even gross. Regarded critically from his point of vantage, it would seem a poor religion that cannot defend itself without terrorist gods who threaten its enemies with a cruelty condemned by the most fundamental morals. Only the altruistic efforts of the Bodhisattas to save all living beings, in which man joins in his prayers, commends the faith and gives it an ethical base of universal appeal:

\[ \text{सर्वमन्यां} \]

BLESSING TO ALL
THE THIRTEEN DAYS BEFORE THE WAR

By ERICH OETTINGER

On the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the present world war we published in our last issue an article entitled "Success of Two Missions" which uncovered some of the background of this war. As a supplement and conclusion we now present an article which grippingly condenses into a few pages the dramatic events of the last thirteen days before the outbreak of the war on September 3, 1939. The author, a well-known German writer on politics, has used as his material the entire available pertinent literature, including the official documentary publications. With all its dramatic presentation, his work is faithful to actual historical facts.—K.M.

Monday, August 21, 1939

O NCE again the scorching, war-heavy heat of summer hung over Europe. It was August 21, 1939, and in Berlin the International Archaeological Congress, with representatives from thirty-four foreign countries, was in session. In its efforts to make use of even the most modest opportunity for Anglo-German understanding, the Berlin Committee of the German-English Society had invited the English archaeologists to an informal gathering at the Hotel Esplanade. Among the guests there were representatives of the German Foreign Office as well as members of the British Embassy, including the third secretary, young Mr. Ross. The President of the Society, who had left the room for a moment, returned to the gathering and, not without signs of agitation, said: "Gentlemen, I have just heard a special announcement on the radio. The agreement with Russia has been settled!"

"Splendid!" exclaimed Mr. Ross and slapped his knee—for he thought the President referred to the planned pact between Britain and the Soviet Union. "But with Germany," replied the President, who perceived the misunderstanding. "We have concluded a nonaggression pact with Russia! Foreign Minister Ribbentrop is flying to Moscow tomorrow to sign it." The gathering broke up soon after.

Tuesday, August 22

The news of the pact struck the whole world like a thunderbolt. The new policy of encirclement against Germany had suffered a serious defeat. On August 22 Sir Nevile Henderson, British Ambassador to Berlin, received news from London that Prime Minister Chamberlain was sending a personal letter, written as a result of the new situation, which Henderson was to hand over without delay to Chancellor Hitler, who was staying in Berchtesgaden. How far away were the days of Munich! Poland had been mobilized since March, and England was rearming at top speed. On his way to the airfield, Henderson suddenly turned to the interpreter from the Foreign Office who was accompanying him and said with a bitter smile: "What a joke! We have a military mission in Moscow, and you make the agreement!"

Wednesday, August 23

While Ribbentrop was arriving in Moscow, Sir Nevile Henderson's car drew up at the Berghof, Hitler's residence at Berchtesgaden. The Führer sat down with Sir Nevile and the accompanying representatives of the German Foreign Office at the great window of the reception room looking across the mountains to Salzburg. Without much preamble, Henderson handed over the Prime Minister's letter, of which the Führer already possessed a translation and to which he said he would give a written reply. Thereupon the wily diplomat said:

"I hope a solution of the critical situation can be found; Britain fully appreciates the fact that German-British co-operation is necessary for the welfare of Europe."
The Führer replied that this should have been realized sooner. Had it not been for Britain, he would have come to a peaceful understanding with Czechoslovakia in 1938 and the same would have certainly been achieved now with Poland in the Danzig question. Today in Poland the Germans were being ill-treated in every possible way, and this because Britain had given Poland a blank cheque. He then described how, at that very spot several months before, Colonel Beck, the Polish Foreign Minister, had seen possibilities for a settlement on the basis of the German proposals, a settlement that had been made impossible by Britain’s interference. The Führer went on to say that, at the least attempt on the part of Poland to take further action against Germany or against Danzig, he would immediately intervene and, furthermore, that a mobilization in the west would be answered by a German mobilization.

"Is that a threat?" Henderson asked.

"No, a protective measure!" replied the Führer, continuing to speak of the British Government’s determination to destroy Germany. Sir Nevile protested that Britain did not want to destroy Germany. He argued that it was merely the principle of force which she had opposed, in reply to which the Führer asked whether Britain had ever found a solution for any of the idiocies of Versailles by way of negotiations. Henderson had nothing to reply to this, and the Führer stated that, according to a German proverb, it takes two to make a friendship. With these words he stood up.

By making his letter a personal one, Chamberlain had chosen an outwardly cordial form for his communication. Its contents, however, lacked any understanding whatever for the German point of view; indeed, it could almost be regarded as an effort at intimidation. The letter made it quite clear that England would permit no adjustment of the Eastern problem among the Central and Eastern European powers alone but insisted on having a hand in this adjustment although she had no direct interests in these Eastern regions. While the Polish terror, which had already been lasting for months, was increasing in vehemence every day, the British Prime Minister had no other suggestion to make than to arrange for a truce during which steps could be taken to examine and deal with the complaints of the minorities. This, he hoped, would lead to the establishment of suitable conditions for direct negotiations between Germany and Poland.

During the early part of the afternoon the Führer dictated the final sentences of his reply:

The question of the treatment of European problems on a peaceful basis is not a decision which rests on Germany but primarily on those who since the crime committed by the Versailles dictate have stubbornly and consistently opposed any peaceful revision. Only after a change of spirit on the part of the responsible Powers can there be any real change in the relationship between England and Germany. I have all my life fought for Anglo-German friendship; the attitude adopted by British diplomacy—at any rate up to the present—has, however, convinced me of the futility of such an attempt. Should there be any change in this respect in the future nobody could be happier than I.

At 4.15 p.m. Henderson received the Führer’s reply from his own hands at the Berghof. After glancing at the two pages, Sir Nevile folded the document and placed it in his inner pocket. He took his leave and turned to go.

"Is there no way of averting this tragedy?" he asked.

"That is entirely up to your Government," replied Adolf Hitler.

While the Führer’s reply was being transmitted to London, Polish antiaircraft guns near the borders of Danzig shot at the German passenger plane Marschall Bieberstein. On the same afternoon another German passenger plane was shot at by Polish antiaircraft batteries and a Polish warship. On the following day there was a similar incident with the German passenger plane D-AHHH. Perhaps the Poles suspected Foreign Minister Ribbentrop of being in one of these planes.

Friday, August 25

Hitler had returned to Berlin during the night, and the news from Poland was
getting more and more serious. Numerous Polish divisions had appeared on the German frontier, and the ring of Polish troops around Danzig was tightening. The persecution of the German minority became more violent. In Kattowitz control had passed overnight into the hands of groups of Polish terrorists. All able-bodied Germans were led off into the interior. At Bielitz there had been shooting which resulted in eight dead and seven seriously wounded. The list of officially reported serious incidents on the German-Polish frontier between August 25 and 31, 1939, compiled by the German Foreign Office on September 1, includes forty-four items. The stream of Germans escaping from Polish terror by secret routes into Germany was swelling hourly.

Henderson was informed that Hitler wished to receive him at the Reich Chancery at 1.30 p.m., where he was met by the Führer in his study in the presence of Ribbentrop. The Führer told Henderson that he desired to make a move as regards England which should be as decisive as the move which had led to the recent agreement with Russia. Before revealing his plan, however, he referred to the fact that both Prime Minister Chamberlain as well as Lord Halifax, the Foreign Minister, had on the previous day made speeches to the effect that Germany wished to conquer the world. This assertion, he said, was ridiculous—the British Empire embraced 40 million square kilometers, Russia 19, America 9 1/2 million, and Germany less than 600,000 square kilometers. It was quite clear who wanted to conquer the world.

He then dealt with the Polish provocations. The German-Polish problem must be solved and would be solved—but once it was solved he would be ready to approach England with a generous and comprehensive offer of a pact of friendship and reciprocal guarantee. He then handed the British Ambassador a memorandum which contained in rough outline his proposal, according to which the solution of the German-Polish conflict and a basic agreement between Germany and England would preserve world peace. The Führer requested the Ambassador not only to telegraph his proposal to London but to fly there himself in order to leave nothing undone to impress the British Government with the urgency of the German proposal. On the morning of August 26, Henderson flew to London.

But in the evening of August 25 the British Foreign Minister and Count Raczynski, the Polish Ambassador to London, concluded an agreement of mutual assistance, of which Article 1 ran as follows:

Should one of the Contracting Parties become engaged in hostilities with a European Power in consequence of aggression by the latter against that Contracting Party, the other Contracting Party will at once give the Contracting Party engaged in hostilities all the support and assistance in its power.

The fact that the words “European Power” referred exclusively to Germany was revealed on October 19, 1939, by the written reply made by Mr. Butler, British Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in answer to a question asked by a Member of Parliament, whether the obligations of mutual assistance contained in the Anglo-Polish pact were to cover the case of aggression made by non-German Powers, including Russia:

No, Sir. During the negotiations which led up to the signature of the agreement, it was understood between the Polish Government and His Majesty’s Government that the agreement should only cover the case of aggression by Germany; and the Government confirm that this is so.

Was the conclusion of this agreement already the reply to Hitler’s generous offer? The latter must in any case already have arrived in London by telegraph. Even so, Berlin did not give up hope that, in spite of the signing of the Anglo-Polish pact, the new situation created by the Führer still left a possibility of understanding open, the more so as Henderson stayed in London for two days and did not return to Berlin till the evening of August 28.

Monday, August 28

It took some time to translate the reply of the British Government to the Führer’s proposal of August 25 and to his letter of August 23, so that it was 10.30 p.m.
before Sir Nevile could hurry over to the Reich Chancery. In his pocket he carried the document that was to determine the fate of the world for a long time to come. The Führer read the reply and observed that he must study it carefully and would give the Ambassador a written reply the next day.

The gist of the British Government’s reply was, apart from some general phrases regarding the praiseworthy reasons which spoke for the Führer’s offer, that England had under all circumstances to honor her word given to Poland (several hours after Hitler had made his proposal!). Thus the responsibility for the coming developments—which had obviously already been discussed with the Poles in London and Warsaw—was for the time being shifted entirely onto the Poles. Nevertheless, this formulation needed some attenuation, and so the document contained the new and constructive-sounding suggestion that Germany and Poland should open negotiations and goes on to say:

[His Majesty’s Government] have already received a definite assurance from the Polish Government that they are prepared to enter into discussions on this basis, and His Majesty’s Government hope the German Government would for their part also be willing to agree to this course.

So now suddenly the Poles, via London, declared themselves prepared to negotiate. Were they really serious, or was it simply a new diplomatic move to shift the responsibility for coming developments onto Germany? After all, was there not a Polish Ambassador in Berlin in the person of Lipski? But although, on the day after having handed over the memorandum of his Government containing the rejection of the German proposals (March 27, 1939), Ambassador Lipski had promised to do everything in his power to overcome the difficulties, he had in the meantime not made the slightest overtone for direct negotiations.

The Führer was faced by the alternative of war or peace, with all that this meant. But with brilliant penetration he found for this complicated, or rather artificially complicated situation an immediate solution by reducing it to its elementary facts: he was ready to negotiate with Poland; but, now that it was a matter of hours, not at the snail-like tempo of a League of Nations, but at once. If they really wanted to negotiate, they must be prepared to leave at once for these negotiations. The sufferings of the German population in Poland must not continue a moment longer than was absolutely necessary.

Tuesday, August 29

In the late afternoon of August 29 the British Ambassador once again faced the Führer and Ribbentrop in the Reich Chancery and glanced through Adolf Hitler’s reply to the British Government’s counterproposal. He read:

For the rest, in making these proposals the German Government have never had any intention of touching Poland’s vital interests or questioning the existence of an independent Polish State. The German Government, accordingly, in these circumstances agree to accept the British Government’s offer of their good offices in securing the despatch to Berlin of a Polish Emissary with full powers. They count on the arrival of this Emissary on Wednesday, August 30, 1939.

Sir Nevile was taken aback at this unexpected turn in his mission. The hidden rocks in the British Government’s note had clearly been avoided. He asked: “If such a Polish plenipotentiary did come [why “if,” when the British Government claimed already to have Poland’s assent to enter into discussions?], will he be well received? Will the discussions be conducted on a footing of complete equality?”

He received an affirmative reply. The discussions were to be held quite openly; but there must be no delay.

Wednesday, August 30

Another sunny August day dawned on Europe. The millions of people who started it like any other day had no inkling that the political developments in Berlin, London, and Warsaw were rushing toward fateful decisions. With growing anxiety, Hitler and Ribbentrop waited for Poland’s reply.

They could well imagine what the atmosphere in the Polish Foreign Office was like. Since his visit to Berchtesgaden
the Polish Foreign Minister Beck had, against his better judgment, fallen more and more under the pressure of the Army and of public opinion, which was led by Poland's Anglo-Francophile press. The pacts with England had once again caused Polish nationalism, to which Poland owed her repeated resurrection, to degenerate into blind chauvinism. In spite of his insight into the situation and his distaste for the development striven for by the militarists, Beck, who lacked true inner firmness, let himself be borne along by the course of events.

Thus it is hardly surprising that the Führer and Ribbentrop waited in vain for news from the Polish Government. The day wore on...noon...afternoon...four o'clock...five o'clock. No news. Then, at last, a telephone call from Warsaw at 5.30 p.m. It was the German Chargé d'Affaires in Warsaw. The official on duty at the German Foreign Office took down the message: "Notices ordering a general mobilization have been posted in Poland since 4.30 p.m. The first day of mobilization is August 31." The Polish Army had been mobilized for months—but there had not yet been this general mobilization. Now it had occurred; and this was Warsaw's answer to Hitler's offer to negotiate with Poland.

What was the attitude taken by Poland's friends, France and England, toward the situation? The night before, Monsieur Coulondre, the French Ambassador in Berlin, had telephoned to his Foreign Minister in Paris that he agreed with the British Ambassador in that Poland should appoint an emissary in order to "show her good will in the eyes of the world." But at the same time he had added that a journey of Foreign Minister Beck to Berlin would entail serious disadvantages, for the world would regard it as a German success and as a concession on the part of Poland.

And as for England: just before midnight on August 30, Henderson arrived at the German Foreign Office. He had intended to be there at 11.30, but at the last moment a dispatch from London had arrived which had to be decoded. Ribbentrop received the Ambassador in the presence of Ministers Dr. Kordt and Dr. Schmidt.

Sir Nevile handed over a memorandum of the British Government and added that he had been instructed to discuss two further points orally. He began by stating that reports were current to the effect that the Germans in Poland were in part themselves responsible for their persecution.

Ribbentrop objected strongly to this remark. Germany, he said, was aware only of acts of provocation committed by the Poles, but Polish propaganda appeared to have done its work with the British Government. He refused to discuss this matter at all with the British Government.

The British tactics were obvious: the persecution of Germans in Poland gave the German Government an indisputable reason for demanding rapid action and negotiations; in order to prevent early negotiations, the British had at first represented the accusations as being "exaggerated," and now that they could no longer be denied before the world, they were declared to be self-incurred. (In his memoirs, Henderson himself later admitted: "I have no doubt in my own mind that the complaints of the Germans in Poland probably had the greater foundation in fact.")

The Ambassador then came to his second point. He told the Foreign Minister that the British Government found it difficult to advise the Polish Government to accept the procedure adumbrated in the German reply. Translated from the language of diplomats into that of clear facts, this meant no less than that the British Government were against negotiations being conducted in Berlin. This was in complete contradiction to the British Government's declaration of August 28, according to which they had obtained the Polish Government's definite consent to negotiate. In order to gloss over this fact, Henderson produced a new proposal: that the German Foreign Minister should
adopt normal contact, i.e., that when the German proposals were ready the Polish Ambassador be invited to call and to hand him the proposals for transmission to his Government with a view to immediate opening of negotiations.

This new move of delay caused Ribbentrop to remark bitterly that British intervention had so far led to only one tangible result, namely, general mobilization on the part of Poland. Midnight had passed without an answer having been received in Berlin from the Polish Government. The question of a possible proposal therefore no longer existed. Nevertheless, Ribbentrop then read out to the British Ambassador the proposals the German Government had been willing to offer Poland. The most important of these were:

The Free City of Danzig to be returned forthwith to the Reich.

A plebiscite to decide whether the Corridor was to become part of the Reich or remain with Poland.

Gdynia to remain Polish, but to have, like Danzig, a purely commercial character.

Should the result of the plebiscite be in favor of Poland, Germany to be given an extraterritorial traffic zone to secure Germany’s unrestricted communication with East Prussia.

Should the result of the plebiscite be in favor of Poland, Poland to have the same right of building an extraterritorial road and railway connection to secure her free access to her port of Gdynia.

**Thursday, August 31**

It was 2 a.m. Henderson had returned to his Embassy and had telegraphed the report of his interview with Ribbentrop to London. The situation was most uncomfortable for his mission, since a further prevention of contact between Poland and Germany would, as a result of Polish terror and the Polish mobilization, lead to the outbreak of a war for which England would bear the entire responsibility. So Henderson asked the Polish Ambassador Lipski to call on him, hoping thus at the last moment to assume the appearance of a rescuing mediator.

In the early morning hours of August 31 he explained to the Polish Ambassador the German proposals for German-Polish negotiations. “In themselves and at their face value, these proposals were not unreasonable and might well have served as a basis for negotiation,” Sir Nevile later wrote in his memoirs. He suggested to Lipski that the latter might recommend to his Government that they propose at once a meeting between Field Marshals Smigly-Rydz and Goering. Lipski agreed.

At the same hour at which the Polish and British Ambassadors were having their conversation, an attack was made by Poles on the German frontier guard on duty at the customs house near Gleiwitz.

At 6.30 p.m. of the same day, Ambassador Lipski appeared at the German Foreign Office. After a moment’s wait in the reception room he was asked into the Minister’s study. It was not yet too late, but any hopes which the German Foreign Minister may have had were dashed when Lipski declared: “Your Excellency, I have an oral communication to make. The Polish Government have received from the British Government the news of the possibility of a direct discussion between the German Government and the Polish Government. The Polish Government are weighing the proposal of the British Government favorably.”

“Your Excellency,” the German Foreign Minister inquired, “I herewith ask you expressly: are you empowered to negotiate?”

Europe’s fate, indeed, the fate of the world, depended on the answer. It was: “No.”

The uncompromising nature of this reply seemed incredible to Ribbentrop, and he made one last effort by asking: “Your Excellency, are you able to discuss the matter with me?”

And again Lipski answered: “No, I am without plenary powers to do so.” This ended the conversation.

In the evening of August 31 the German proposals which the Poles had not wanted to hear were broadcast. Toward 8 p.m., the German broadcasting station at Gleiwitz and the customs house of
Hoffinden were attacked by Polish insurgents and temporarily occupied. Later in the evening the customs building at Neukrug was attacked by thirty Polish soldiers armed with machine guns and rifles. At other places two German customs officials were fatally injured and one seriously. But the Warsaw radio station reported at 11 p.m.:

Words can now no longer veil the aggressive plans of the new Huns. Germany is aiming at the domination of Europe and is cancelling the rights of nations with as yet unprecedented cynicism. This impudent proposal shows clearly how necessary were the military orders given by the Polish Government.

Friday, September 1

The limit of endurance had been reached. England's and Poland's attitude was clear. On the morning of September 1, the Führer issued a proclamation to the armed forces in which he said:

The Polish state has refused the peaceful settlement of neighborly relations which I have striven for; instead of that, it has appealed to arms. The Germans in Poland are being persecuted by bloody terror, driven from their homes and fields. A series of border infringements, intolerable to a great power, has proved that the Poles are no longer willing to respect the German frontier. In order to put an end to this lunacy, I have no other choice than to meet force with force from now on.

At the same hour the German armed forces, taking over the active protection of the Reich, marched into Poland. At a meeting of the Reichstag on the same day, Hitler explained in detail the reasons for his decision.

The British Foreign Office wired new instructions to Henderson, on the basis of which he requested another interview with Ribbentrop. Meanwhile, the word went out at the British Embassy to "Burn! Burn everything quickly!" Soon from the chimneys of the first of Britain's diplomatic representations on the Continent rose the smoke of burning codes and secret documents. Without waiting for Henderson's meeting with Ribbentrop, most of the members of the British Embassy appeared with their luggage at the Hotel Adlon just around the corner from the Embassy.

At 9.30 p.m. Henderson stood before the German Foreign Minister. He handed him a communication from the British Government which culminated in the statement that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom would without hesitation fulfill their obligations to Poland unless the German Government were prepared to give His Majesty's Government satisfactory assurances that the German Government had suspended all aggressive action against Poland and were prepared promptly to withdraw their forces from Polish territory.

Ribbentrop stated in reply to this that it was not Germany who had attacked Poland, but that on the contrary it was Poland who had been provoking Germany for months. Then he remarked that if the British Government had been as active vis-à-vis Poland as they had been vis-à-vis Germany, a settlement with Poland would have been reached long ago. The Führer had waited a whole day beyond the time limit set—Poland had only replied by new and grave provocations.

Sir Neville had no arguments to bring forward against this. His mission, that of preventing an understanding between Poland and Germany and of bringing about war, was completed. He left. It was his last interview with Ribbentrop.

At the last minute Mussolini intervened in the course of events. At 1 p.m. on August 31 the Italian Foreign Minister Ciano had informed the French Ambassador in Rome that, if England and France agreed, Mussolini would invite Germany to a conference on September 5. On the following morning at 10.20 a.m. the French Government accepted this proposal for a conference, although the German troops had by this time already been forced to cross the Polish frontier.

Saturday, September 2

On September 2 the Führer declared his agreement to the proposal, if the British communication of September 1, which had been followed by a French one in the same vein, was not to be regarded as an ultimatum. Mussolini confirmed that it was only in the nature of a warning. But at 5.20 p.m. Lord
Halifax telephoned the French Foreign Minister Bonnet: England would only agree to the proposal of a conference on condition that Germany withdrew her troops. How did Lord Halifax imagine this to be possible? How would he then prevent the Poles from falling upon the helpless German minority again? But his condition was only a new move to torpedo Mussolini’s last attempt at peace.

Sunday, September 3

At 4 a.m. on September 3, instructions were received at the British Embassy to the effect that Henderson was to call on the German Foreign Minister at 9 a.m. Upon contacting the German Foreign Office, he was informed that Minister Dr. Schmidt had been empowered to receive any communication at the hour indicated.

The interview took place in the study of the Foreign Minister. “I have a communication from my Government to convey,” Henderson informed Dr. Schmidt. Dr. Schmidt presented his plenipotentiary power to accept the document. The communication of the British Government again demanded the suspension of all aggressive action against Poland and the withdrawal of German forces from Polish territory and ended with the words:

Unless not later than 11 a.m., British Summer Time, today 3rd September, satisfactory assurances to the above effect have been given by the German Government and have reached His Majesty’s Government in London, a state of war will exist between the two countries as from that hour.

That meant in two hours. Henderson knew that he would receive no reply and took formal leave of Dr. Schmidt. At 11 a.m. the British Government informed the German Chargé d’Affaires in London that a state of war existed between Great Britain and Germany.

The French Ambassador Coulondre had, on his Government’s instructions, acted in the same way as Sir Nevile Henderson. He had presented a similar ultimatum that expired at 5 p.m. on this Sunday, September 3, and to which he, too, received no reply. France, having utterly renounced her political independence, let herself be dragged without resistance into this British war.

The war had come. The wave of immeasurable suffering that was to engulf all mankind had started on its way.
SOUTH AFRICA

By GUSTAV ARNOLD

Since the year 1942 brought a comparative stability to the fronts of the present war, the regions echoing with the thunder of cannons are the constant centers of public interest, while the rest of the world has been forced into the background and is mentioned only from time to time in press dispatches. Newspaper readers were reminded of South Africa by the recent elections for the South African Parliament as well as by the recurring domestic unrest reported from that country.

The following article presents a picture of this large and important part of the British Empire and its attitude toward Great Britain and present world developments. The author lived for many years in South Africa.—K.M.

WHEN we hear the word “Africa” we usually think only of tropics, deserts, kraals, and such things. South Africa differs considerably from this conception; for, with few exceptions, that country is blessed with a climate which, with its comparatively cool summers and mild winters, can be regarded as almost ideal. The temperatures of the hottest months (January/February) are approximately equal to the summer temperatures of central France, and those of the coldest (June/July) to the winter temperatures in Gibraltar. In the interior, in the Transvaal, for instance, frost and snow are not unusual during the winter. The best proof of the quality of the South African climate is supplied by the descendants of the settlers who immigrated centuries ago: they are a robust, healthy race, and many excellent sportsmen are to be found among them.

COUNTRY OF HIGH PLATEAUS

South Africa has largely to thank its high tableland for its favorable climate. About two fifths of the country lies more than 1,200 meters above sea level, and only a narrow strip along the coast lies lower than 300 meters. From there the land rises rapidly to the high ramparts of the mountain ranges which separate the coast from the interior. The most important of these ranges is the Drakensberg (Dragon Mountains) between the Transvaal and Natal. It represents perhaps half the length of a mountain chain that stretches almost unbroken through 1,200 miles from the Cape to the northern Transvaal, and includes the highest peak of South Africa, the Mont-aux-Sources (3,280 meters).

The main scenic charm of South Africa is to be found in its unlimited expanses, enhanced still further by the brilliant clearness of the atmosphere. It is not as rich as many other countries in grandiose or impressive natural beauties in the usual sense; it is always the limitless vastness, hardly broken by human habitations, kraals, or Boer farms, which gives the stamp to the South African scene.

LAND OF BIG GAME

Little has remained of the former wealth of game in South Africa. When the Dutch East India Company sent the surgeon Jan van Riebeeck in 1652 to Table Bay in order to establish a “Tavern of the Seas” for vessels on their way to and from India, lions were still prowling around Table Mountain; hippopotami floundered in the coastal rivers, and rhinoceros were not uncommon. And less than a hundred years ago there was still an abundance of antelopes, gazelles, zebras, elephants, and buffaloes. Today South Africa has little to offer the big-game hunter. Only in the game preserves, which are under the protection of the Government, has this animal world been preserved.
Cape Town backed by Table Mountain (right). The clouds bellowing around the summit of Table Mountain are known to Cape Town people as the Tablecloth.

**SOUTH AFRICAN SCENES**

Native women carrying wood and a baby in Swaziland, a native territory under British protection.

Giraffes and other game wander undisturbed in the Kruger National Park, where they may be hunted with camera-only.

Native kraals, or huts, on a German farm in Pretoria. In the native reservations the kraals are not kept quite as spick and span.

Just ordinary ricksha pullers waiting for a fare in Durban. The Zulus love to deck themselves out in fantastic array.
A diamond sorter in Kimberley looking at 18,500 carats' weight of gems. Most of the world's diamonds are now produced in the vast pit of the Premier Mine (see photo at right), which yielded some 6½ tons of diamonds in a quarter of a century.

Modern pyramids. Miles upon miles of mine dumps surround the Rand gold fields. This is the waste, running into millions of tons of fine white sand, left from the gold-extracting processes.

Weighing gold ingots at the Rand refinery. The bars these men are handling are each valued at US $25,000.

Diamonds and Gold

The city that grew on gold, Johannesburg, 50 years ago a frontier mining camp, now a great center of business.
The largest of these preserves is the Kruger National Park. The term "park" is slightly misleading, for this park extends along the eastern border of the Transvaal, covering an area of more than 8,000 square miles, almost that of Belgium. This unique reservation for the fauna of Africa and the law of the jungle is among the greatest sights in the world. Motoring for days one enjoys the most varied African scenery—grassland, veld, and jungle—as well as an animal world of unimaginable variety. Although, of course, the game lives here in complete freedom, the animals are well aware of their protection and are so accustomed to automobiles that they continue to lie or graze right beside the road. Usually they do not run away until one leaves the car. With the exception of certain places and rest camps, this is prohibited and, moreover, not without danger, especially when there are lions or, even worse, lionesses with cubs in the vicinity. As a rule, however, even these beasts are peaceful. It happens quite often that a lion lies across the road having a nap, and no amount of honking will disturb it. Humorously inclined tourists have been known to attempt to impress the lion by throwing empty tins or whisky bottles at it; but some of these wags fared badly, for the light metal body of a car offers little protection against the paw of an enraged lion.

Sometimes one feels transplanted into prehistoric times in this wonderland when, for instance, the antediluvian shapes of an elephant herd appear in a broad, bush-covered valley, grazing peacefully as if there were no such things as man or gunpowder. One may meet a black rhinoceros; in the rivers one can see crocodiles and hippopotami; and as one drives along one passes endless herds of buffalo, zebra, gnu, wildebeest, and many species of antelope. Here and there giraffes appear on the horizon, looking very comical with their curious shape and gait. One sees wart hogs, hyenas, jackals, and many other strange animals.

The beautiful highways, of which there are some 1,000 kilometers throughout the park, do not in any way conflict with the natural character of the preserve or with the untouched beauty of this bit of old Africa, the old Africa that did not vanish until the first diamond was discovered in 1867 on the Orange River.

**DIAMONDS**

This first diamond was discovered by the children of a Boer farmer, and with the discovery South Africa suddenly emerged from its shadowy existence as a remote farming country into the bright light of world capitalism. By 1870 there were already 10,000 diamond diggers working on the fields around Kimberley, the center of the diamond finds; and in fifty years this number had increased to 15,000 very highly paid white people and about 60,000 natives. Most of the diamonds are found in alluvial deposits, and only in rare instances is the blue ground containing diamonds mined in shafts.

The total value of the diamonds obtained so far in South Africa amounts to about a billion and a quarter US dollars. The famous Premier Mine has produced some 6 1/4 tons of diamonds in about a quarter of a century, including the famous Cullinan, the largest diamond ever discovered. (Its longest dimension was 4 1/2 inches, its shortest 2 inches, and it was cut into nine large stones and scores of smaller ones.) Those to benefit most from this wealth were the British. In 1871 they took the territory from the Boers, compensating the Boer Republic with £90,000 for a district which was to yield hundreds of millions.

**GOLD**

However, the Boer Republic's fatal wealth was not exhausted with the diamonds. In 1886 one George Walker, out for a stroll, stubbed his toe against a gold-bearing outcrop of what proved to be the greatest gold deposit in the world, the famous main reef of the Witwatersrand, better known just as "the Rand." The ensuing mining activities drew the
attention of the British to this region too, and in the Boer War (1899-1902) the remains of the Boer Republic were destroyed and the country annexed. Mankind has this war to thank for the British invention of concentration camps, where 120,000 Boer women and children were imprisoned, 23,000 of whom perished there.

The center of the Rand is Johannesburg, "the golden city," which developed in half a century from a poor mining camp to the great city it is today. Superficially, Johannesburg with its skyscrapers and streams of cars makes an impression of a supermodern city of American stamp. But on closer acquaintance one soon discovers that it is, after all, nothing but an overgrown mining camp which, with its incongruous mixture of tin shacks and skyscrapers, can be regarded neither as cultivated nor beautiful. Nevertheless, Johannesburg is today one of the most important financial centers of the world and the economic hub of the Union. Although it is South Africa's youngest town, it is its most populated one. There are about 205,000 whites living in it and some 180,000 colored inhabitants. Amounting to about 20 per cent, the Jews provide a notably high proportion of the white population.

The Rand extends over 125 miles from east to west. This comparatively small strip of land has, since its discovery, produced about 350 million ounces of gold, with a value of some 4 billion US dollars. At times, half the gold of the world was being produced here. This success was only made possible by large-scale industrial mining and the employment of the most modern mining technique, which left no room for any gold-digger romanticism.

DISEMBOWELING THE EARTH

The gold-bearing strata usually go down vertically to a depth of 3,000 meters below the surface. So far, however, the shafts have not penetrated to this depth yet. Nevertheless, the Robinson Deep Mine, for instance, has already penetrated as far down as 2,500 meters. The method employed nowadays is to drill the main shaft vertically into the earth and to bore horizontal galleries every 75 to 90 meters, which are then in turn connected with each other. It is in these galleries that the main work is done, namely, the blasting out of the gold-bearing rock. Transported to the surface, this rock is sorted. Then, by means of mechanical and chemical treatment, approximately 96 per cent of the gold is extracted. But the gold content of every ton of rock mined is comparatively tiny. On an average, the mines reckon with 8 grams of gold per ton of rock, which means that about 125 tons of rock must be mined and treated in order to obtain only one kilogram of the yellow metal. Hence, with the above-mentioned quantities of gold being produced, vast masses of rock must be removed from a relatively small area. This has resulted in the entire Rand being undermined in every direction by galleries and shafts, the total length of which has been estimated at more than 4,000 miles, or the length of the entire African continent. The city of Johannesburg itself is built over just such a maze of underground passages, and earth-quakelike tremors caused by the collapsing of old, abandoned galleries are a common occurrence.

PYRAMIDS OF THE 20TH CENTURY

Another result of this disemboweling of the earth is the huge dumps—yellowish-white mountains of washed-out quartz sand—which begin at the very edge of the city and extend across the whole gold-mining area. Since the sand contains certain chemicals, no vegetation can possibly grow on these mining dumps. Moreover, the winds carry these poisonous remains like desert sand all over the surrounding country, so that even the more distant environments of the mine fields make a rather desolate impression.

A South African statistician, asked to give some approximate idea of the dumps' tonnage, replied: "Would you prefer it in ocean greyhounds or in Egyptian pyramids? I estimate that about
12,000 Normandies would more or less equal the dumps' tonnage. Or, shifting the comparison, that tonnage would be approximated by aligning across the Rand 110 replicas of the Great Pyramid."

If the Rand's gold mines crumbled to nothingness, leaving only the dumps, some writer of a millennium hence might conceivably describe them as "those mighty works, reared perhaps as defenses or patriotic monuments by the ancients of the twentieth century."

A lucky circumstance for the gold production at Witwatersrand must be mentioned here, namely, the fact that almost simultaneously with the discovery of the gold fields, the large coal deposits near the Rand were unearthed in 1887. These coal deposits were of special significance for the gold mines in that wood or other fuel is not available in these regions.

BLACK AND WHITE COUNTRY

Diamond production and, to an even greater extent, gold mining are dependent on the availability of cheap labor. Because of the comparatively small gold content in the rock which, moreover, must be mined at such tremendous depths, there would, indeed, be no profit in gold mining if it could not rely on cheap labor. An early experiment with imported Chinese coolies proved a failure. In 1860, in order to meet the labor shortage occasioned by slave liberation, South African planters began to import Indian coolies on the indenture system. These, however, are only employed with success in agricultural work, so that cheap labor for the mines and industry can only be provided by the natives. The demand for labor by far exceeds the supply, with the result that the labor shortage represents an unsolved problem in South Africa's economy. Although, as we have shown, the main emphasis of South Africa's economy is at present placed on mining, its agriculture is nevertheless still an important factor in its economy as well as in its population policy.

One South African agricultural activity, that of ostrich farming, was injured, curiously enough, by the coming of the automobile. When the open touring cars came in thirty years ago, women started wearing small, windproof hats, and that was the end of the ostrich-feather fashion.

To what extent the life of the individual is determined by the vastness of the country is best shown by the fact that its area of 1,222,268 square kilometers is inhabited by 7,900,000 negroes and only 2,100,000 white people (1939), so that there are less than two white people to every square kilometer. This proportion becomes even more striking when one bears in mind that 60 per cent of the white population lives in the towns and only 40 per cent, i.e., about 840,000, in the country. Accordingly, the farms have, in European or Asiatic eyes, the dimensions of small kingdoms. Cattle-raising is the dominating activity. The two Karroo plateaus, where it sometimes does not rain for seven years, support one of the world's great wool-raising industries. Irrigation, the Karroo bush, and boreholes where steel windmills whirl, combine to sustain millions of sheep. In the Cape Province there are huge orchards; the Union also produces sugar, maize, etc. Most of the farmers are Boers; but one can also find some of Huguenot descent, as well as many of German origin who have often been in the country for several generations but have still retained their German customs and language.

THE NATIVES

Just as in mining and industry, in agriculture, too, labor is supplied almost exclusively by the natives. As far as they have not been spoiled by urban influences, the Bantu are, in their childlike simplicity and perpetual gaiety, an agreeable race. As farm hands, house boys, chauffeurs, etc., they often still feel a patriarchal bond with their masters.

As time goes on, the native question is becoming more and more difficult for the Government. What one witnesses nowadays in kraal life is the working out of an administrative system based on "scheduled native areas" (reservations),
which are to be found throughout the Union. Operating downward from hereditary chiefs, their headmen, and the latter’s representatives in each family or clan, this patriarchal system aims at conserving with a minimum of interference that which is best in Bantu law and tradition. But the number of these reservations is quite insufficient.

Moreover, the negroes are being de­tribalized to an increasing extent in that they take up work on farms or in the cities, where they form a restless prolet­etariat. Communist influences have made themselves felt in the cities among the miners and industrial workers. The development of negro unions as well as the dissolution of the old patriarchal tribal organization through itinerant labor are mainly responsible for the change in the attitude of the natives.

THE BOERS

As for the relations between the British rulers and the former masters of the country, the Boers, these can also by no means be called consolidated. Here the English have met with their equals, for their art of assimilation has failed completely with the Boers. The colony established at the Cape by the Dutch (or Boers, as they were later called) in 1652 was given to England in 1814, in the Peace of Paris. As a result of ceaseless conflicts between the Boer population and the English administration, the Great Trek took place twenty-five years later, a mass emi­gration of the Boers in a north­westerly direction. The new territories settled by them were in the course of time organized into the Boer states of the Orange Free State, the Transvaal, and Natal. In 1843 the British annexed Natal. Further decades of conflict between them and the Boers culminated in the Boer War of 1899-1902. Defeated, the Boers had to acknowledge British sovereignty in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

Today the Boers still represent by far the greatest part of the white population of the Union. Moreover, they are all the more entitled to be regarded as the source of South Africa’s social and national strength since they represent the agricultural element more than anything else.

To this day, public notices, railway timetables, etc., are printed throughout the Union in two languages: English and Afrikaans, the South African derivative of High Dutch. In fact, from the lower school grades up to the highest courts of law, the Union is officially bilingual. Whence arose Afrikaans? The early Cape Dutch brought over Holland’s language, but not its literature. Their intercourse with natives necessitated a simplification of the complex High Dutch, while by degrees English, French, Bantu, and Malay words were absorbed in what developed as a domestic and rustic patois. Today Afrikaans, while lacking literary evolution, is spoken

In 1910 the British colonies of Cape Colony, Natal, Orange Free State, and Transvaal joined together to form the Union of South Africa. On December 17, 1920, the League of Nations assigned to the Union of South Africa the mandate over German Southwest Africa. Its incorporation into the Union is being propagated by Prime Minister Jan Smuts. The territory of the Union includes two Native Territories, the homes of the Basuto and Swazi peoples. Neither Bechuanaland nor the two Rhodesias belong to the Union, Bechuanaland being a British protectorate, Southern Rhodesia a self-governing colony, and Northern Rhodesia a Crown Colony.
exclusively by about one fifth of the Union’s European-descended peoples, and so widely has it diverged from its root tongue that Hollanders can with difficulty understand a language which branched off from theirs some two centuries ago.

**THEY LOVE FREEDOM**

The will to freedom and the national ideas, as well as hatred for the British rule, have never died out among the Boers. They had cried more and more loudly for a free, independent South Africa. The strength of this movement became most apparent in 1938, on the occasion of the centenary of the Great Trek when a large part of the Boer nation left its old homes in organized wagon trains to flee from British oppression and seek for new land elsewhere. How much must these people have loved their freedom that they preferred to leave their fields and homes rather than live under foreign rule! When in 1938 a hundred years had passed since this exodus, the Boers once again—in ancient costume, with ancient weapons, and in the historic trek wagons drawn by oxen—traveled the same road for many months as their forefathers had done, from Cape Town to Pretoria. This journey, leading for a thousand miles through what had once been free Boer country, was one long solemn demonstration against the injustices suffered at the hands of the British.

In the hearts of all Boers lives the undying memory of the heroic battles fought by their ancestors for freedom and land. To this day, these people have not given up their struggle for the country which their fathers once colonized and made fertile in hard pioneer labor and with many sacrifices in lives—deeds and sacrifices which are commemorated all over the country by stone monuments as well as by South Africa’s place names. Moordrift (Murder Ford) and Weenen (Weeping) tell their tale of massacre. Biblical consolation breathes in Bethlehem, Carmel, and Bethany. Many a town’s name-ending “fontein” commemorates the slaking of thirst at a spring; and touchingly suggestive of hardships endured and past is the oft-repeated “rust” (rest) in such names as Rustenburg (Place of Rest) or Rust-en-Vreede (Rest and Peace).

**JAN CHRISTIAAN SMUTS**

Since the Great War the political struggle in South Africa has been embodied in two men: Jan Christiaan Smuts and James B. M. Hertzog. Smuts, now seventy-three years old, was right when he once called himself “the worst-hated man in South Africa.” In London and Washington, Smuts has a great reputation. But the nearer one gets to his South African home the more critical are the voices one hears about him. There he is considered a conceited egocentric with a thirst for power who, thrice in his lifetime, completely reversed his political attitude.

In his younger days, Smuts was an enthusiastic supporter of Cecil Rhodes, that prototype of a British imperialist. In 1895 he changed over into the camp of the Boers and became an equally enthusiastic supporter of the Boer leader Kruger. His rise in politics was a rapid one, and at twenty-eight he became State Attorney of the Transvaal Republic. In his hatred for the British he outdid most of the other Boers; and in a report to Kruger he suggested that the way to defeat the English was by attacking not directly in South Africa but in the weakest parts of their Empire, by sending agents to India and Ireland and to every point where they could find English subjects dissatisfied with English rule and prepared to rise against England.

In the Boer War which broke out shortly afterwards, he took up arms against the British and fought in the same ranks with Hertzog, who was at that time a judge in the Orange Free State. After the Boers had accepted defeat, Smuts changed over into the British camp. Considered a traitor by the majority of the Boers, he now became the chief representative of British imperialism on the African continent. In 1907 he was rewarded with the position of Minister of Education in the Transvaal
and was later given other leading positions. It was at that time that he started a conflict with the Indians living in South Africa (they were led by an unknown Indian lawyer named Gandhi) as a result of which he had Gandhi and other prominent Indians arrested.

Smuts was one of the driving forces that united the four old states—Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Orange Free State, and the Transvaal—in 1910 under the name of the “Union of South Africa.” Within the Union, each of these four provinces now has its own provincial capital and administration. The country as a whole is governed by two capitals, Cape Town being the legislative center, Pretoria the administrative one. Representing the Crown is a governor general, appointed in London. For his efforts, Smuts was rewarded in 1910 with three portfolios in the first Union Government.

JAMES B. M. HERTZOG

After the death of Kruger, Hertzog gradually became the leader of the Boer nation. In all his views he contrasted sharply with Smuts. While the latter endeavored to bring about a fusion between the Boers and the British, Hertzog was every inch a Boer, who regarded the British as “foreign adventurers” and said of them that they were “like dung against a kraal wall that the next fall of rain will wash away.” Hertzog organized his own party, known as the “Nationalist Party,” among whose leaders there was also a young preacher, Dr. Daniel F. Malan. He demanded the creation of a republic independent of England.

When in 1914 the South African Union joined England in her war against Germany, Smuts and his followers had first to wage a war against the Boers in their own country. Not until the domestic opposition had been quelled in its own blood in a regular civil war did hostilities begin against the small German detachments stationed in German Southwest Africa and German East Africa.

SMUTS’ MILITARY FIASCO

In February 1916, Smuts himself was appointed a general and commander in chief against the German troops in East Africa. He conducted an extremely inglorious campaign, committing every imaginable error. With his large army consisting of 12,000 white South African troops and strong Indian and negro detachments, receiving a steady stream of supplies and replacements, he was unable to do anything against 600 Germans supported by 6,000 loyal native soldiers known as “Askaris.” In Lettow-Vorbeck, Smuts had a real general for an enemy who, thrown entirely on his own resources, carried out an exemplary campaign and was still undefeated with his little band when the Armistice came in 1918. When 12,000 sick and wounded South African soldiers filled the hospitals of the Union by the end of 1916, without anything having been achieved against Lettow-Vorbeck, Smuts was recalled and went to London to represent South Africa in the Imperial War Conference. By behaving more British than the British he managed to make a great name for himself in London, and his faults were overlooked. Thus, for instance, his counsel was chiefly responsible for the fact that the British Army carried out its great Flanders offensive in 1917, which ended in a disaster and gave it a few thousand yards of territorial gains at the cost of 400,000 casualties.

SMUTS OUT—HERTZOG IN

On his return to South Africa, Smuts met with rejection on all sides. He was considered a Britisher and no longer a South African, much less a Boer; and it was only with the aid of the British votes that he became Premier. His greatest enemy was still Hertzog, who exploited every single one of Smuts’ mistakes, for instance his disastrous handling of the strikes of 1922. (He allowed them to develop into a regular revolution, which he was then only able to suppress with the aid of bombers and 20,000 soldiers.) In the elections of 1924 Smuts was defeated. Hertzog replaced him as Premier, and Dr. Malan took over the post of Minister of Education.

In his arrogance, Smuts was convinced that South Africa would not be able to
get along without him. But he was mistaken. Hertzog did his job splendidly. The country, which had been run down under Smuts, prospered again, and Hertzog was re-elected in 1929. After almost ten years, Smuts could no longer bear to be out of power. In 1933 he joined the cabinet headed by Hertzog. Soon after, Hertzog's Nationalist Party and Smuts' South African Party were combined in the United South African Party, known for short as the "United Party." Dr. Malan, who was against joining Smuts with his British affiliations, separated from Hertzog and organized his own party under the name of the "Nationalist Party." The coalition, with Hertzog as Premier and Smuts as Deputy Premier, continued to exist up to the outbreak of the European war.

HERZOG OUT—SMUTS IN

But when England declared war on Germany on September 3, 1939, a grave conflict arose again. Smuts insisted on the Union's entry into the war against Germany, while Hertzog demanded neutrality. When on September 7, 1939, the South African Parliament decided with a majority of thirteen to break off relations with Germany, Hertzog resigned. Smuts became Premier and, in addition, was honored with the title of field marshal for the services he had rendered England. He immediately resumed his British imperialistic policy, and with such vehemence that the neighboring Portuguese colonies became seriously alarmed about their further existence.

Hertzog and Malan now joined forces again; and, when Hertzog died in November 1942 at the age of seventy-six, Dr. Malan became the driving force in the camp of the Boers, supported by N.C. Havenga, who took over the leadership of his party.

In the spring of 1943 the Union's Parliament was composed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Party (Smuts)</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationalist Party (Malan)</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Order Group (Oswald Prow)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afrikander Party</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominion Party</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor Party</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ossewa Brandwag (Dr. van Rensburg)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority in support of Smuts' Government was based on his own party and the entirely pro-English Dominion Party. The parties of the opposition are Boer-nationalist or, like the New Order Group and the Ossewa Brandwag, sympathetic toward National-Socialism.

VIOLENT OPPOSITION

Since the Union's entry into the war, the opposition has been conducting a bitter struggle against the Government and against further participation in the war. It spoke against the sending of South African troops to the Egyptian-Libyan war theater. In its ranks there are many who are hoping for an Axis victory, from which they expect South Africa's independence from the British Empire. Dr. Malan has let no opportunity pass to speak for a separate peace with the Axis powers.

The elections of July 28, 1943, were won by Prime Minister Smuts, who used all the powers in the possession of a war-time premier to achieve his victory. The parties supporting him obtained 106 seats, the opposing parties 42 seats, in the Parliament which is to meet for the first time officially next January. But the country's domestic rift has not been healed by this. It frequently flares up into acts of sabotage such as burning of public buildings, cutting of power cables, bomb explosions, and riots. Lack of shipping space in the Allied camp causes the people of South Africa to feel the consequences of the war with increasing intensity. The more doubtful they become as to whether this war really concerns them, the less willing will they be to shoulder its burdens. For the Boers who have fought the British for many generations, the preservation of the British Empire, already creaking in all its joints, is hardly a very inspiring aim for which to make sacrifices.
THE NEW PHYSICIAN IN GERMANY

By DR. J. W. WIRTZ

Many people seem to think that scientists have their laboratories in ivory towers and pursue their abstract work in a rarefied atmosphere untouched by the events of the times. This idea is not true even in normal times, for even then there is a close reciprocal exchange between political life and the sciences. It is still less true in times of great upheaval such as we are experiencing now.

The author, himself a National-Socialist doctor, participated in the early phases of the present war in Europe and is now practicing in Japan. He shows the profound change in the conception of the physician's calling which has taken place in Germany as the result of the National-Socialist Revolution.—K.M.

FROM ancient times to this day, the European physician has drawn his strength from the primeval feeling for divine order and Olympian harmony. All the peoples of Indo-Germanic origin have had this feeling for an order which is being perfected in the world, a feeling which is a fundamental element of culture common to them all. From this feeling of the world being a complete whole, a cosmos, they also tried to create their social order. It is to this conception that the physician owes the esteem and place he enjoys among the people. The Greek Hippocrates, the Roman Galen, and the German Paracelsus can be considered as factors of order in that they held themselves responsible for every threat to the health of the people. They were healers, scientists, and educators, and they demanded influence on legislation affecting health.

"VICTIMS OF ENVIRONMENT"

The physician of the liberalistic era was of an entirely different type. Here the physician was considered the guardian of the individual's personal welfare. Humanitarian principles were the criterion. This degenerated into incurable lunatics being surrounded by comforts of which they were usually not in the least aware. Even the criminal was, according to liberalistic ideas, nothing but an unfortunate "victim of his unfavorable environment." Punishment and elimination were considered inhuman: the criminal was to be reformed by sympathetic care. He was to be pitied, since Nature had dispossessed him, or, to use another phrase: "The murdered, not the murderer, is guilty." Prisons were turned into educational institutions with libraries and movies.

I recall a remarkable case that took place in the twenties. A notorious inerveterate thief was serving his sentence in a Dresden prison. His wife (a former prostitute) and eight children were being supported by public funds. This woman addressed a letter to the public prosecutor with the request that her husband be given short leave from the prison as otherwise she would be in danger of committing adultery. As grotesque as it may sound, the public prosecutor, enmeshed in the prevailing ideas of liberalism, granted this request. The German nation was soon supporting a ninth child of this corrupt heritage and voluntarily burdened itself with the future crimes of this depraved family.

In those days of unemployment, many a healthy, conscientious laborer could not only not marry—much less think of providing his nation with healthy children—but he often could not even satisfy his hunger, and this although he was capable, industrious, and willing and would have been glad to work.
THE "RIGHT TO ONE'S OWN BODY"

The liberalist-humane Zeitgeist regarded the fundamental innocence of the sick person for his sickness as a moral obligation for the physician to provide all possible aid. For the very fact of having been born gave every individual an undisputed claim to the greatest possible enjoyment of life. The "right to one's own body" was proclaimed. The "nation" in the sense of a biological existence, of an actually existing entity, was unknown. It was regarded as an accidental group of human beings living under a commonly recognized social covenant and was conceded no claim to care or rights. The individual embodied the life of the nation and expected all enjoyment of life for himself. And the physician was his health solicitor.

The idea of the clan had long lost its vitality; now even marriage as a biological form was questioned. The consequences of the "right to one's own body" rapidly led to radical antibiological, anti-Christian, and antinational trends, enthusiastically defended by the democracies and most sharply formulated by communism. The liberalistic physician, trained in the materialistic ideas of the natural sciences, demanded the unlimited right for himself and his patients to do what they liked, what from their point of view seemed advantageous or agreeable. Abortion was purely the affair of the pregnant woman. The aim of sexual life was not the biological maintenance of the species but a matter to be decided by each individual for himself. The State was not to oppose the manufacture and sale of contraceptives: on the contrary, it was to support this in a suitable manner. It was the task of medical science to look for the best and most harmless means. Furthermore, the State was not to oppose such pleasures as the individual could procure at his own risk, even if they undermined his existence. The State should only reduce the individual's risk. This attitude led, for example, to opposition against the drug laws.

Man was declared to be a product of his environment. It was the duty of the physician to use all available means to bring about such an environment as would provide the individual with the best possible conditions of existence. He had this duty even if such an environment had always to be so artificial that expenditure and success were out of all proportion. A "nation" had been transformed into a sum of egoistic individuals divided into classes according to material possessions. In an attitude of hostility, the underprivileged forced the capitalists to provide social measures. Thus the compulsory savings institutions were to be the source to which the sick member had claim. It was not long before the savings institutions became powerful financial institutions which degraded the "patients" to business partners. The medical profession became a trade in which there were rich people and proletarians. The conception of guardian of the biological-cosmic order seemed to disappear entirely. That idea which had still been a driving force for Paracelsus threatened to perish. National-biological and superindividual aims could no longer be discussed. It was an undisputed matter of fact that the common weal was the sum of the welfare of each individual.

HEALTH A MORAL DUTY

National-Socialism has changed the position of the doctor so fundamentally that a doctor with a National-Socialist training and one with a liberal training have very little in common beyond their factual medical knowledge. With the stipulation that the common weal is more important than the welfare of the individual, a complete change in evaluation has taken place. The "people" is no longer just the sum of the individuals, but a primary entity whose individual members are joined biologically. The aim of medical science is to serve this actual entity of the nation, and its goal lies in the future: a healthy future of the nation is to be secured by seeing to its health in the present. Health is regarded as a moral ideal, indeed, almost as
a moral duty. You have the duty toward your nation of being healthy! Every member of the nation has, above everything else, to seek to be healthy, not only because it is advantageous to himself, but because it is indispensable for the nation. National health is the necessary basis on which everything else must grow which we treasure.

Our view is thus extended beyond the present. The inclusion of the science of heredity has also shifted the scientific emphasis. The individual is now considered the temporary embodiment of a hereditary stream which flows from the past into the future. The differences in the cultural value of the various hereditary streams, and the limited possibilities of individual development innate in them, make selection and elimination a duty. A human being cannot become something that he or his environment would have him be but only that of which his hereditary, limited characteristics make him capable.

The biological value of a people is to be found, not in a few record achievements on the part of its individuals, but in the breadth of its culturally valuable hereditary streams. The fostering of such values means the recognition of super-individual organic forms such as clan, family, motherhood, tradition in the sense of acknowledging achievements and talents, encouraging capable people and families of many children. By capable we mean not only the intelligent and mentally advanced but also those of true and loyal character.

DANGEROUS DISCOVERIES

Scientific medical research has remained free in its essence. It is free to choose which of the problems of the bottomless well of the dark unknown it wishes to tackle by scientific methods. However, the new scientific results, instead of being freely available to anyone, should now be controlled by the State. Only that which is advantageous, healthy, and valuable to the future of the people should be made available to the public.

A few years ago a German scientist succeeded in preparing a hormone which, taken in tablet form, renders conception entirely impossible for a period of about three weeks. One can easily imagine what an upheaval such a “harmless” contraceptive would create, and what possibilities of profit are apparent in such an invention to people trained to think in terms of capitalism. American circles offered the inventor the sum of two million dollars for the patent. The inventor, however, recognized the danger for a people that would be exposed without protection to this preparation, and handed his work over to the German Government.

At the Women's Clinic of the Munich University, work was concluded some time ago that had been devoted to the examination of methods of disinfection in vaginal operations. The behavior of the scarred passages of birth during subsequent births was studied. The compilation of about 500 births, whose conceptions had probably taken place during the time of treatment, revealed that by far the majority of the babies born were boys. This striking fact led to further examinations, which revealed that the disinfectants used created a biological environment to which the sex-determining spermatozoa reacted differently. Consequently, it would be possible considerably to vary Nature's sex ratio of about fifty per cent boys and fifty per cent girls. In view of the individual's preference for male descendants, the survival of a people could definitely be imperiled. Hence the discovery was not made available to the public.

Both these examples show that freedom of the sciences should not be allowed to mean freedom for every publication. The vitality of a people is what counts. If a people's biological substance is threatened, it is attacked in its innermost core. On the other hand, a healthy people is healthy for that very reason that it uses all its powers—to which also belong the sciences—in order to secure the best possible conditions for its life and its future.
NEW METHODS OF DISEASE COMBAT

The measures against widespread diseases should be inspired by a more purposeful and more farsighted determination than in liberal times. When it is a matter of the common weal, individual considerations must give way. In carrying out measures of sanitation, a nation can force its individual members to obedience.

Widespread diseases such as tuberculosis can be fought successfully only when all parts of the nation can be reached in the same way. The scientific possibility of an early diagnosis does not necessarily mean a practical benefit for everyone. At the stage when a case of tuberculosis does not yet show any clinical symptoms but when it can already be proved by modern methods, and when above all there are good prospects of a cure, the afflicted used to be discovered by the doctor only by chance, for the very reason that they were still without disturbing symptoms. As long as the individual physician saw his entire task in alleviating the suffering of the individual patient, there was still a wide gap between scientific possibility and practical benefit. In order to bridge this gap, Germany has introduced compulsory examinations.

ON THE TRAIL OF TUBERCULOSIS

Today every child that has reached its tenth year must pass a clinical and X-ray examination. The latter is carried out by a method employing small films. Such a film costs about 4 pfennigs and, since it is as small as a Leica photo, can easily be kept with the index card of the child. In this way the problems of film-developing, storage, and cost have been solved comparatively easily. When the examining specialist discovers a definite case of tuberculosis, the child is assigned to a clinic corresponding to the degree and type of its affliction. In suspected cases the diagnosis is determined by the examination in a diagnostic clinic, of which there are 56 all over Germany and in which serological and X-ray specialists work with all the modern methods of diagnostics. Every certain case of tuberculosis is sent to a therapeutic clinic suited to its degree, while a “search organization” is employed to discover the source of the infection by examining the environment of the patient, i.e., his parents, brothers and sisters, and school or working associates. The people thus found or suspected to be infected with tuberculosis are also sent to a diagnostic or therapeutic clinic. These institutions are equipped in such a way that their patients, who must usually spend a considerable time there recovering, can continue to train for their vocations: there are trade schools and workshops attached to the clinics.

As a result of these examinations always being made at the beginning of puberty—at the age of ten—and at its end (in the case of boys when they enter military service and in the case of girls when they join the labor service), the age most threatened by tuberculosis can easily be surveyed. Those hereditary branches of the nation which are inclined to tuberculosis can be discovered with comparative speed; and, by means of warning against or prohibiting of marriage in serious cases, the dangerous amassing of tubercular inclination can be prevented, the spread of the disease stopped, and a possible isolation of those threatened carried out.

Practically all of us are, at one time or another, infected by tubercular bacilli. The infection can only become a real tuberculosis when it meets with a suitable disposition, which is due mainly to a specific hereditary constitution. We can influence this specific constitution in so far as we can prevent an amassing of the tubercular inclination whenever we are aware of the hereditary streak of this inclination in both marriage partners.

These two pillars—emphasis on the selection of tuberculosis-resistant hereditary branches and the earliest possible discovery and care of the diseased by compulsory examination—will give future generations an improved biological basis.
REINSTATING THE DISABLED

The fight against rheumatism is similarly organized. Rheumatism costs the German nation about three times as much as tuberculosis (because rheumatic people very often become incapable of work and must draw pensions). With regard to those disabled by accident or war the aim is not material compensation by a pension, but to render the maimed capable of participating again in that most valuable commodity that the nation has to give—work and achievements within the entity of the people.

The accident victim is cared for in a clinic, where he is placed as soon as possible in a workshop equipped with simple tools and materials. Here he practices the first movements required for his work. Later on, games and athletics with their competitive spirit are added as a second factor of recovery. And finally he is sent to a "retraining workshop," such as have been organized for every profession and attached to corresponding large concerns. There every effort is made to re-employ him in his old profession, or at least in his old professional environment; and experienced foremen, collaborating with the doctor, determine the nature and extent of his work. Everything is done to avoid changing professions. The training for an entirely new profession would be expensive and usually means a mental and emotional burden for the patient. Everything—medical treatment, necessary operations, the exercising of motions in the hospital workshop and in athletic competitions—is aimed at rendering the patient fit for his job again. All this applies, of course, to war invalids, too.

HEALTH AND HEREDITY

Behind all these phenomena of medical activity concerned with the people as a whole there stands the new conception of illness. While materialism declared that health was the abstraction of the sum of all that was vital, we have found our way back to Hypocrates' conception that illness is a derangement of an ordered harmony. We say that a creature is the more ill the more it requires an artificial, unbiological environment to be able to exist. Creatures which can only live in artificial environments and which pass on such a form of life through heredity have lost their natural right to propagation. We have learned to let diseased hereditary streams die out. It is from this spirit that the most vehemently discussed medical deed of National-Socialist Germany—the laws concerning hereditary health—has sprung. If the nation comes first, the physician's main task is not in giving first place to the suffering and danger of the individual but in doing everything to provide future generations of his nation with as broad as possible a basis of health. Those who suffer from a hereditary disease are prevented from passing on this diseased stream. The unfortunate individual is not to be morally condemned: he will be given as favorable a situation in life as can be justified.

Thus the physician is once again regarded as being responsible for the health of the nation. The medical scientist is trying to solve every problem resulting from this with the methods of his science and to place the suitable results at the disposal of the practicing physician. The living blood, the biological substance of our people, has been placed in the hands of the physician as the deepest source of his achievements. It is only from the distance of future generations that the activities and value of this profession can be judged.
THE WINDOW

THE NORTH AMERICAN PRESS

By ALFRED LUECKENHAUS

In 1941, there were in the USA roughly 2,000 daily newspapers, of which 120 to 150 might be called publications of the first rank. Their total circulation at that time numbered well over 35 million, but it may be assumed that the war with its stimulating effect on newspaper readers has caused a further increase.

North American press opinion essentially reflects the opinions of the ruling class. It is centrally directed by a majority of the leading organs, which are either controlled, maintained, or owned by those in power. From 65 to 75 per cent of all American dailies are either affiliated with or stand close to the Republican Party, while most of the remainder may be considered as organs or mouthpieces of the Democratic Party. There is no labor press worth talking about. In questions of domestic policy, the Republican press was very critical of the Roosevelt Administration until the fall of 1937, when Roosevelt embarked on his policy of intervention abroad (“quarantine” speech in Chicago, October 4, 1937). Almost from that day on, the Republican press, with certain but noteworthy exceptions such as the Chicago Tribune, concentrated on foreign issues in support of the new course chosen by the Government.

All the important news as well as all the essential views emanate from two main centers of distribution: Washington, D.C., the national capital, and New York, the financial capital of the USA. Since the war started, this tendency must have become even more accentuated than before.

NEWSPAPER CHAINS

A remarkable development of the American press is that of the newspaper groups or concerns. There are now approximately fifty such groups, the combined circulation of which makes up nearly 40 per cent of the total of all American dailies; but while most of these groups are sectional, only the following two may be said to have attained national scope: the Hearst newspapers, owned by William Randolph Hearst and composed of 25 dailies in 17 cities, and the Scripps-Howard chain, controlled by Roy Wilson Howard and composed of 24 papers in 23 cities. Both these groups call themselves politically independent, there being, as far as is known, no political affiliations and no financial control from outside, unless the control exercised by the advertisers is included.

Before the war, the Hearst newspapers, in their editorials if not in their news columns, were strongly isolationist, and almost every day they condemned the foreign policy of the Administration in leading articles supposed to have been written by the publisher himself. William Randolph Hearst, despite the huge aggregation of newspaper and magazine properties he controls, is not primarily a newspaper publisher. His main financial interest is in the form of large share holdings in some mining companies. Subsidiary financial interests exist in the form of real estate, hotels, etc. The Scripps-Howard group, on the other hand, which is run purely as a business enterprise, was noncommittal in its editorial attitude but later followed the trend of developments. Of the other newspaper concerns, only the Frank E. Gannett group and the Jewish Paul Block group need be mentioned.

NEWS AGENCIES

In the USA there are three big news agencies: the Associated Press of America (AP), the United Press of America (UP), and
the International News Service (INS). The Associated Press is a co-operative society of about 1,600 newspaper publishers, founded for the purpose of saving expenses. It supplies all the news it collects free of charge, and its expenses are covered by annual payments on the part of the members of the association, who also act as correspondents of the head office of the AP in their respective districts. The AP is not supposed to make any profits. In view of the fact that it has to supply newspapers of all political shades, the AP had to observe strict impartiality in presenting the news—particularly domestic news. Until the present war broke out, it succeeded in doing so, to a certain degree, even in the foreign field. Until December 8, 1941, the AP had exchange arrangements with Reuter's, Havas, DNB, and Domei, but the latter two dropped out with the beginning of the Greater East Asia War. These arrangements provided for the exchange of the respective national news services free of charge. The AP correspondent in Berlin, for instance, had all the rights of a regular subscriber to the DNB News Service, and vice versa the DNB correspondent in New York to the AP News Service. Last year the General Manager of the AP, Kent Cooper, was appointed chief of the American War Censorship Bureau.

In contrast to the AP, the United Press—serving more than 1,000 newspapers in the USA and foreign countries—and the less important International News Service are run on a strictly profit-making basis. For this very reason, their presentation of news has always been of a more sensational character. In view of the strong competition offered by the highly efficient organization of the AP, both the UP and the INS resorted to a policy of making “scoops” at any price. Accuracy and reliability of the news as presented by them thereby suffered. The International News Service is a Hearst subsidiary and supplies Hearst papers as well as an unknown number of other newspapers.

FEATURES AND COLUMNISTS

New York, where the afore-mentioned news agencies have their head offices, also harbors most of the “feature syndicates,” which either specialize in certain subjects or supply principally foreign material to medium-sized newspapers which cannot afford their own correspondents abroad. In addition, a number of important papers maintaining large staffs of foreign correspondents operate syndicated news services which are used extensively by other papers. The largest services of this kind include those of *The New York Times*, the New York *Herald Tribune*, the Chicago *Tribune*, the Chicago *Daily News*, and the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*.

New York is also the seat and spiritual center of most of America’s well-known columnists. While it is correct to assert that with the spreading of straight news you can misdirect public opinion in any given direction either by omitting important facts or by distorting the truth, it is even more correct to say that political story writers, if they happen to be unscrupulous, may exert a disastrous influence on the life of a community. There is no other country where the press is organized in such a way as to allow a handful of columnists a vital share in forming an entire people’s political outlook and mentality. People like Dorothy Thompson, Mrs. Roosevelt, and Westbrook Pegler, as well as Walter Lippman and Walter Winchell (both Jewish), greatly assisted the Roosevelt Administration in bringing about intervention abroad. On an average, each one of approximately fifteen or twenty columnists with nationwide publicity supplies either daily or three times a week between 100 and 600 newspapers with comments on various subjects, mostly on foreign affairs. Dorothy Thompson’s column, called “On the Record,” is regularly read three times a week by about 8 million readers of 200 newspapers (the figure fluctuates). In her writings, Dorothy Thompson is highly emotional. She has been called the Madame Tabouis of the United States. With her French colleague, she shares her hatred of National-Socialism, her sympathy for Jews and Jewish ideas, and a certain share of responsibility for the present war. Her influence on American women—who, after all, spend more than 70 per cent of the nation’s income—should not be underrated. According to *Time*, Dorothy Thompson is infallible to America’s womanhood, particularly in small towns and in the country, not so much because of her writings but because of what she is. For them, she is the typical modern American woman as they would like to see her: emancipated, successful, an outstanding figure living in one of the most exciting periods of history and interpreting to millions of people the world’s events.

Walter Lippman is another star in the firmament of American columnists. Having
once been Assistant War Secretary, he claims to be an expert on questions of war and strategy. Under the cloak of his expert knowledge, he advocated—prior to America's entry into the war—that the American zone of safety be extended further and further east until it finally reached right into the declared zone of operations of the German Navy. He advocated this, he said, because he wanted to "protect America's neutrality."

The political and financial affiliations of the more important of America's newspapers are as follows:

The New York Times: circulation 475,000; publisher A. H. Sulzberger; general manager Colonel Adler (both Jewish); independent Democratic. Staunch supporter of Roosevelt's foreign policy. The Jewish Lehman family (ex-governor of New York State Herbert Lehman is one of the principals of the banking firm of Lehman Brothers) is closely connected with this paper by one of its subsidiary companies supplying newsprint. The New York Times caters for America's intelligentsia. It is read by financiers, businessmen, and the upper middle class all along the Atlantic shore of the USA and further west. It maintains one of the largest foreign news services of any newspaper in the world. A number of members of the editorial staff as well as some of the more important foreign correspondents are British subjects. Prior to the outbreak of the European war, for instance, Duranty, Birchall and Gedye, all three Englishmen, were correspondents of The New York Times in European capitals. "All the news that is fit to print" is its slogan. Its editorial as well as its news policy are strictly biased in all questions of foreign policy despite the fact that it is the war communiques of the Axis and other pronunciamentoes of Germany and Japan in full. The New York Times is undoubtedly the most important of all American newspapers, although not quite as important as the London Times whose name sake it is.

New York Herald-Tribune: circulation roughly 360,000; publisher Mrs. Ogden Reid; Republican. The Reids have close family connections in England, and in their political outlook they are more English than the English. The Chase National Bank group of New York, in which the Rockefellers have an interest, is known to have money invested in this paper. According to Ferdinand Lundberg's America's 60 Families, the Herald-Tribune must be regarded as a newspaper under strong Morgan influence. It is due to the hospitality which Mrs. Ogden Reid has given her in the Herald-Tribune that Dorothy Thompson attained a nation-wide reputation as a columnist. The Herald-Tribune was the first American newspaper to demand war on Germany. It is read by the upper strata of society, by well-to-do Americans of English ancestry, by manufacturers and industrialists, and by the leading members of the Republican Party.

The New York Sun: circulation 310,000; Republican; publisher W. T. Dewart; editor F. M. O'Brien. The executives are understood to have obtained the money to buy the paper in the form of a loan, a large part of which is still said to be outstanding, from the Guaranty Trust Company. Of all the New York evening papers, the Sun is the most serious-minded. It does not practice "yellow journalism," that is, it does not reflect on the character of prominent people for the sake of sensationalism. Those who influence the policy of this paper are said to have connections with the Catholic Church, although it is not a religious newspaper. Bought on the streets, it is read on the way home by about the same class of people as those who subscribe to The New York Times or the Herald-Tribune.

The New York Post: circulation 225,000; the oldest daily in New York, Democratic, exclusively under Jewish influence. Formerly owned by David Stern, it is now in the hands of the President of the American Zionists. It indulges in wild, irresponsible sensationalism and does not hesitate to invent the most gruesome atrocities which are supposed to have happened abroad, particularly in Germany. In presenting domestic news it is vulgar and obscene. This may suffice to characterize the class of readers for which this paper caters.

The New York World-Telegram: circulation 430,000; a Scripps-Howard newspaper; chief columnist Westbrook Pegler.

The New York Daily News: the largest American newspaper, with a circulation of almost 2,000,000; tabloid; politically nondescript; publisher Joseph Medill Patterson of a famous newspaper family to which also belongs Robert H. McCormick of the Chicago Tribune. In 1936, Patterson was a New Deal supporter. Prior to the war, it advocated a sober course in foreign affairs, but it would be going too far to call the paper isolationist. Society gossip and so-called "human interest stories" (love affairs, gruesome crimes, trials of famous people, sporting events, etc.) account for the huge circulation figures, which on Sundays even pass the 3-million mark. Publisher Patterson coined the following self-explanatory sentence: "The Daily News was made 'with naked legs,' but after having reached a sufficiently high circulation we covered them up."

P.M.: Editor Ralph Ingersoll; a New York tabloid appearing, as is indicated by its name, in the afternoon. The fact that it contains an unusually large number of photographs has led to the popular misconception that the letters of its name stand for "Picture Magazine." Founded in 1940 in support of Roosevelt's foreign policy, it has since changed hands several times. Wildly aggressive and abusive, with no particular regard for the truth, it appeals to the worst instincts in people of low educational standard and hence enjoys a considerable circulation.

Journal of Commerce: circulation 17,000; publisher Alexander R. Sharton; a commercial paper originally founded as a semireligious newspaper in 1827 by Arthur Tappan.

Wall Street Journal: circulation 25,000; a financial paper; editor W. H. Grimes.

The Washington Post: circulation 130,000; independent, but with strong leanings toward Roosevelt's foreign policy; publisher Eugene Meyer, a Jewish banker and industrialist. The
Post is almost the only important paper of the American capital. The early editions of The New York Times and the New York Herald-Tribune are supplied to Washington readers well in time for breakfast.

The Chicago Tribune, with its circulation of 1.000.000 the second largest American newspaper, publisher Robert R. McCormick, an outstanding figure in the American newspaper world because of his independence. During the election campaign in 1936, the Chicago Tribune was violently anti-New Deal, and four years later just as violently opposed to Roosevelt’s re-election for a third term. In the critical period preceding this war this paper, which circulates all over the Middle West, fought an almost solitary battle against America’s involvement in a war overseas. Lately, Robert McCormick has been demanding the incorporation of the British Empire in the United States. There are two principal reasons why McCormick has been able to swim against the stream: the disinclination of large parts of the people in the Middle West to fight against Germany, and the financial and consequently the spiritual integrity of the Tribune organization. As a result of his “America first” policy, McCormick has even increased his circulation. Politically the paper may be called independent Republican.

Chicago Daily News: circulation 450.000; independent but very pro-Roosevelt; publisher Colonel Frank Knox, now Secretary of the Navy; Morgan, via the Steel Corporation, exercises an influence on the Chicago Daily News. The paper’s general attitude is characterized by the fact that its publisher Knox, a member of the Republican Party whom Roosevelt took into his Cabinet to give it the appearance of a coalition government, is personally responsible for the many German-American incidents which he provoked in order to bring about an armed conflict.

Christian Science Monitor: place of issue Boston; circulation 120.000; distributed not only in the USA but in many foreign countries as well. Published by the Christian Science Publishing Society; prefers, however, not to be called a religious newspaper. During the events leading up to the present international crisis, this paper published carefully worded leaders and leaderettes, intermingled with quotations from the Bible, condemning “aggression” and “international brigandage,” but without ever being specific. Regular readers of Monitor never had any doubt, however, that these camouflage attacks were meant to hit the Axis powers. Editors: J. Roseoo Drummond, Roland R. Harrison, Albert F. Gilmore, and Frank L. Perrin.

The Los Angeles Times: circulation 200.000; independent Republican; editor R. W. Trueblood. Like all papers on the Pacific coast, the Los Angeles Times has always taken a bigger interest in East Asiatic than in European affairs. No details are available as to the financial control of the paper.

The San Francisco Examiner: circulation 160.000, one of the first Hearst papers.

The St. Louis Post Dispatch: circulation 240.000, independent. Its late publisher Joseph Pulitzer Sr. (Jewish) can claim the right to be the inventor of “yellow journalism,” with which he acquired a large fortune. He donated part of this money to a fund out of which annual rewards are paid to the best journalistic achievement of the year.

PERIODICALS

What has been said of the financial and political affiliations of North America’s daily press also applies to the great variety of American magazines and periodicals. The number of quarterlies, monthlies, and weeklies appearing in the USA, with or without illustrations, is larger than that of any other country, and the circulation of some of the periodicals is well above the million mark. The Reader’s Digest, with its more than 4 million copies, has the largest circulation of any magazine in the world.

There are scores of cheap picture magazines, cheap in price and cheap in contents. An example of this group is Liberty (circulation 2.300.000) which, besides short stories and light articles, has in each issue one or more political “features” of a vulgar nature. There are, however, also a lesser number of high-class magazines and periodicals catering to people with a mind of their own. Although these magazines are, as a rule, also cheap in price, they are more cunning or more intelligent—as the case may be—in the field of political propaganda.

The main principle on which the picture magazines base their policy and to which they owe their popularity is the outworn belief that the camera cannot lie. But photographs can lie just as much as written or spoken words, even if they are genuine snapshots. The selection of pictures, for instance, always gives the editor an opportunity to express his bias; and good and bad photos can be taken of men as well as of events, just as the cameraman sees fit. Moreover, pictures can also be faked.

Besides the picture magazines, there are many periodicals containing articles and short stories only. A majority of the more important ones deal prominently with international affairs.

In contrast to the daily press, most of North America’s magazines and periodicals have, for the better part of the last five years, been engaged in helping the Roosevelt Administration on its road to war.

Here are some of the more important publications:

Fortune: circulation 150.000; publisher Time Inc.; editor Henry R. Luce. A very high-class monthly published in New York and dealing with political, economic, and social matters.
Industrialists, big-business men, financiers, social reformers both amateur and professional, etc., are its principal readers. Scientific in presenting its views but not without occasional gibes at totalitarianism. Strong leanings toward America’s plutocracy. Also conducts polls along the lines of the Gallup polls.

Time: circulation 750,000; publisher Time Inc.; editor Henry R. Luce. The oldest publication of the Luce concern. Luce is a college friend of one of the Morgan partners, and his magazines are financed largely by the Morgan circle. Luce’s wife, the authoress Clare Booth, entered Congress some time ago. Time is a news weekly whose chief characteristic is an intelligent though rather flippant presentation of the world’s news in condensed form. Its political leanings are Republican (Wendell Willkie was “discovered” by Luce and some of his friends), though it has always faithfully supported Roosevelt’s foreign policy.

News-Week: circulation 100,000; publisher Malcolm Muir, New York. A competitor to Time, also financed by Wall Street interests.

Life: circulation 2,800,000; publisher Time Inc.; editor Henry R. Luce. A weekly picture magazine, it is the most successful of the Luce publications. Popular in its make-up and priced at ten cents, it presents the latest events in excellent photos printed on first-class paper. Similar in policy to Time, it staunchly propagates the American people’s mission to impose upon the rest of the world what they call the American way of life.

Look: circulation 1,800,000; editor Vernon Pope. A fortnightly picture magazine popular among lower-class people. An outspoken opponent of the “have-not” nations. One of its regular contributors is Dorothy Thompson.

The Saturday Evening Post: circulation 3,200,000; published in Philadelphia. Read by the middle classes and farm population throughout the country, it contains chiefly fiction and a few articles of popular interest, as well as one short political leader. Republican and isolationist in its editorial policy, it never failed prior to the war to castigate Roosevelt’s foreign policy. When war finally broke out, it announced to its readers that its views remained the same but that it would do nothing to hinder America’s war effort.

Collier’s Weekly: circulation 2,800,000; editor William L. Chenery, a typical American interventionist. A competitor to The Saturday Evening Post and similarly priced at 5 cents. Political editor Walter Davenport, a man with close relations to Wendell Willkie.

Reader’s Digest: circulation over 4,000,000; editors DeWitt Wallace and Lila Acheson Wallace; published by the Reader’s Digest Association Inc., at Pleasantville, N.Y. Having made a huge success of reprinting condensed articles of “lasting interest” from other magazines, the Reader’s Digest has in recent years begun to publish original articles devoted mostly to crusades of political and other nature.

Atlantic Monthly: circulation 100,000; editor E. A. Weeks, Jr.; published in Boston. A literary, political, and economic magazine of high standard. “You Can’t Do Business With Hitler” and similar articles characterize the attitude of this periodical before the outbreak of war.

Harper’s Magazine: circulation 100,000; editor Lee F. Hartman; published in New York. Very similar in type and standard to the Atlantic Monthly, though perhaps slightly more conservative.

United States News: circulation 110,000; editor David Lawrence; published in Washington. A weekly record of government and state activities.

Current History and Forum: circulation 75,000; published in New York. A very pro-English semimonthly whose motto, seven months prior to Pearl Harbor, was “America will win this war.” Hendrik van Loon is one of the chief contributors. The honing of British politicians has always been one of its main preoccupations.

Foreign Affairs: circulation 15,000; editor Hamilton Fish Armstrong; published by the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. (New York). A quarterly review which before the war contained contributions from many nations, although those presenting the viewpoint of the “have-nots” were very few. The broad hospitality boasted of by the editor in introducing contributors has for the last five years been nothing but a myth.

The Nation: circulation 37,000; editor Freda Kirchwey. A liberal weekly with socialist leanings, devoted to current affairs.

New Republic: circulation: 30,000; editor Bruce Bliven. A pro-Soviet weekly dealing with political and social questions. Like The Nation, it often contained articles by prominent American foreign correspondents who wished to reveal interesting facts that did not suit the policy of the journals employing them.
The search for suitable material for each issue’s short story of the nations is one of the Editor’s most pleasant tasks. However, to find a Swedish short story proved to be quite difficult—surprisingly so, considering that Sweden was the home of August Strindberg and Selma Lagerlöf. We have read dozens of modern Swedish stories, but we have not been able to find a single one worth translating. Perhaps this reflects Sweden’s endeavor to keep away, as far as possible, from the issues of our time. The world is in flames and the destiny of mankind in the balance. Yet Sweden tries to live as if these were not the “roaring forties” but 1910.

In order not to omit Sweden from our series, we have had to seek beyond her frontiers. Håkan Brunberg is a “Finlander,” i.e., a Swede from Finland. During the last few decades, Finland has taken an active and courageous part in the life of our age, and her writers—whether of Finnish or Swedish stock—have outranked those of Sweden. This does not mean that the following story is political in any sense. It is humorous and light with an unmistakable punch.—K.M.

The Grönfeldt family had bought a dog. Actually, it was Mrs. Grönfeldt who had bought him. Mr. Grönfeldt didn’t like dogs, but he had the privilege of paying for the beast. He cost a tidy sum, for he was a noble dog with genealogical table and tree. His official name was Rudolf von Aspenäs of By, but Mrs. Grönfeldt called him “darling,” “my little angel,” and quite a few other nice attributes. The neighbors called him a mongrel and a bastard; Mr. Grönfeldt just “you hell of a dog.”

Of all these pretty names he obeyed none. Rudolf, as we shall take the liberty of plainly calling him, resembled a bottle brush. And those parts of him which didn’t look like a bottle brush didn’t look like a dog anyway. As regards his character, there wasn’t much to brag about. In spite of his distinguished ancestors and blue blood he was a real tyke in his way of going about things, and he hadn’t the faintest idea of proper dog manners. He “went out for a walk” on the parquet floor of the drawing room. He was possessed of an inextinguishable love for dunghills and garbage heaps; he would wallow in them and later pick out some comfortable armchair where he would doze off. In this way he provided the Grönfeldt home with some fine outdoor odors.

After a fortnight or so in the bosom of the family, he had consumed an incredible amount of divers items not usually considered part of a dog’s diet, scratched holes in the brocade of the upholstered furniture, gnawed some mahogany chairs asunder, and done a few other things in the same line.

A well-developed inclination for anger, coupled with a magnificent lust for murder, was a pronounced feature in Rudolf. He specialized in cats, whose necks he crushed before they had time to blink their eyes. When the town had been entirely cleansed of them, he took to postmen and messengers, whom, however, he was content just to taunt in passing. He would even chew parts of Mr. Grönfeldt.

Mr. Grönfeldt hated the hound passionately. He would have given much to get rid of him, but as he was not master of his own house he dared not lay hands on the creature. However strange it may seem, Mrs. Grönfeldt worshiped the dog, so Mr. Grönfeldt had to put up with things and suffer in silence.

Rudolf proved an expensive pet. Mr. Grönfeldt soon found himself obliged to pay the majority of doctor’s and tailor’s bills in town. The office messengers had
found in Rudolf a good, cheap method of getting new clothes: it required only energy and a little courage.

Once Mr. Grönfeldt nearly succeeded in getting rid of the monster. One day when he came home from office the parish constable was waiting for him. He was, curiously enough, waiting on the roof of the house. Beneath him, the "darling" patrolled on stiff legs, snarling. "Take away your damned dog," spat the constable, crimson with anger, "or I'll shoot!" Mr. Grönfeldt quickly sought protection behind the nearest tree, for he had no desire to be shot. "Take away the dog, or I'll shoot him!" repeated the constable. Mr. Grönfeldt drew a sigh of relief when he heard that the threat was aimed at the dog. "Please do," he said mildly and crawled out from his hiding place. The constable waited no longer but took aim and fired. There was a bang and, although the dog was not hit, Mr. Grönfeldt was. He got the bullet through his foot. As for the dog he rushed up with his hair bristling, for he was an intelligent animal.

After this unfortunate accident Mr. Grönfeldt was forced to spend quite some time in hospital. The parish constable had to stand the expenses, and that, of course, was a little balm on the wound.

Some time after Mr. Grönfeldt had recovered, a great event was to take place in the town. A world-famous artist, who was visiting the country, had notified the municipality of his intention of honoring the place with a concert. It was indeed an occurrence of major proportions. For days beforehand arrangements were made to welcome the famous man in a worthy manner. At public expense, the houses on those streets down which he was to pass were freshly painted; gates of honor were erected; and flags, flowers, and garlands adorned streets and squares.

People by the thousands thronged the town to hear the famous artist. Special trains were run, for the stream of travelers was enormous.

When the time set for the opening of the concert approached, the hall was packed to the last seat with an expectant, festively dressed audience. When the divine personage appeared on the stage, a roaring wave of applause rose toward him which would not be calmed down. Dark, tall, and impressive, he stood there bowing—the man who had brought a whole world to its knees. When the applause finally died away it was replaced with a few minutes of utter silence. Then he raised his violin to his shoulder, and a cascade of notes filled the air.

The bewitched audience held its breath in ecstasy. There was something intangible, something supernatural in his playing. But suddenly a strangely discordant, jarring note mingled with the melody. It was a moaning that rose and fell, ending at last in a long-drawn-out, abysmal howl. Then it stopped as suddenly as it had started—only to start again in another key. Mr. Grönfeldt began to perspire. There was something ominous, foreboding, something all too familiar in the sound. He had heard it too often not to be able to recognize it. There could be no doubt that it was the unspeakable Rudolf sitting somewhere in the hall competing with the violinist. It was not only Mr. Grönfeldt who recognized the sound. Everywhere in the hall people whispered: "That's Grönfeldt's beast of a dog!" Night after night they had been forced to listen to the same diabolical concert.

The violinist had not immediately heard his competitor's efforts, but when the latter struck up an étude in a minor
key with a scream that sounded like a siren, he couldn't help hearing it. His playing first grew a little vague and then stopped completely. Grönfeldt's dog, on the contrary, did not stop but carried on with the étude to the bitter end. Great commotion... explanations... apologies... and then a feverish search for the dog. It could not be found anywhere. It must have sneaked out of the hall. The concert could continue.

The violinist seemed somewhat agitated and nervous but began to play. Everything went fine for a while, but then the trouble started again only with the difference that this time it was twice as bad. The artist stopped his performance for the second time, and now he was seriously angry. They all did their best to soothe him and get hold of the dog. They succeeded more or less in the former but failed completely in the latter: the dog was as if swallowed up by the earth.

For the third time the interrupted concert was resumed while the audience sat on tenterhooks. There it was again! This time the virtuoso flung his fiddle away and rushed out. Mr. Grönfeldt also rushed out: he was afraid of being lynched. Thus ended the concert. Rudolf got the last word—or rather note. (He was found later, by the way, sleeping on a drum under the stage floor.)

Mrs. Grönfeldt had been out of town for a few days, a circumstance which permitted Mr. Grönfeldt to lead a freer life. He spent his evenings in jolly company in the various pubs of the town. On the last night of freedom he staggered home somewhat overmuch refreshed. After undressing he turned to his bed, only to find it occupied: Rudolf lay there snoring. Mr. Grönfeldt swore, for he knew there was going to be trouble. To disturb the brute when it pleased him to sleep was exceedingly dangerous. If it hadn't been for the fact that Mr. Grönfeldt had a considerable quantity of alcohol in him, he would most certainly have refrained from any attempts at conquering the bed. Now, however, he felt courageous and, what was more, he was furious. "Get up, you infernal beast!" he shouted. "Get out of my bed, or I'll teach you a lesson!"

The dog, unaccustomed to such rough language, looked at him in astonishment. Then he snarled threateningly. Mr. Grönfeldt's courage fell a few degrees, and he looked round for some weapon. His eye was caught by the tongs in front of the fireplace and, armed with these, he made an attack. The bedside lamp suffered from the first blow; the second maneuver hit the chamber pot. It never came to a real battle, however, as Rudolf had slipped under the bed, whence he made a well-aimed attack on his enemy. Mr. Grönfeldt found himself forced to retreat hastily, and at the last minute he found refuge on a table. Rudolf, the wretch, returned to the bed, where he lay down and resumed his interrupted sleep.

Mr. Grönfeldt now decided to employ another method. "Don't be naughty, daddy's own doggie, that's daddy's bed," he coaxed. Useless: whichever way he tried, it was as if he spoke to the wall. He began again: "Little darling, come to daddy, and you shall have a little—a little—brandy." (That was the only thing he could think of in such a hurry.) Rudolf did not seem interested in brandy, or in Mr. Grönfeldt either, for he went right on sleeping. This was too much for Mr. Grönfeldt, and he completely lost his temper. Mad with rage he flung his shoe at the dog. Crash!—the big mirror had cracked. The dog barked. The neighbors upstairs stamped on the floor in a frenzy.

Mr. Grönfeldt, however, did not yet consider the game lost. Where the lion skin does not suffice one must resort to the fox skin, he thought, and decided to capture the bed by cunning. He had a brilliant idea. If he rang the doorbell the bastard would surely rush out to see who it was. Then the thing was to be quick about it and hurry in and bang the door while the dog was still outside.

Everything went according to Mr. Grönfeldt's calculations up till the moment when he was to hurry in. For some
Some days later the Grönfeldt family went abroad. The dog was left in the care of a neighbor who promised to look after him and not let him stray. The Grönfeldts were away for some months. When they came back they were greeted by the astonishing news that their dog Rudolf had given birth to seven puppies.
ON THE SCREEN

CHINA: EDUCATING THE FAMILY

New Life. Directed by Kuo Li-hun. In the principal parts: Huang Ho and Wang Tan-fung.

Chinese films show at present a tendency to re-explore the favorite subjects of the so-called "literary movies" of the early and middle '30s, a period of intellectual vigor despite its bigotry, its touchiness, and its tiresome grandiloquence. Many of its literary and cinematic themes have survived the mood.

New Life deals with the eternal phenomenon of the demoralization of rural-innocence as typified by the country boy studying in a big city. Though designed to "expound the spirit of education and show the right track to the young"—to quote the advertisements—the film seems distrustful of the popular interest in such a mission and compromises by a lengthy account of the fall prior to the ultimate redemption. A sense of unreality results from the curiously fuddled money values: the $600 given the boy to buy books with enable him to live in luxury in a semidetached mansion with servants, perpetual parties and all; and a gold-digging society girl agrees to marry him on the strength of another $2,000—fabulous calculations even for the economic standards of ten years ago.

Unlike its predecessors, New Life makes a courageous if rather messy attempt to grapple with the question, whither lies the path of the hero after his repentance. New Life is definite where earlier films give only a vague sense of New Year resolutions. New Life presents the ideal modern young girl, played by Wang Tan-fung, who befriends the hero for mutual improvement of knowledge and refuses his love on the grounds that this is no time for romance. After graduation she teaches in a school in the interior and becomes an extremely decorative dean with a big bow in her hair. Under her influence the hero joins a body of colonists on their way to some barren borderlands. Totally unpremeditated, his salvation suggests only the call of romantic distance and would seem to imply that in the immediate surroundings nothing can be done—which is rather unpractical advice to the average able-bodied, well-intentioned young man.

New Life is less positive in putting forth another interesting proposition, namely, that elementary education for the masses is of more pressing concern than advanced studies for the privileged few. The hero's father refuses to help a neighbor's boy through primary school because he needs every cent he has to see his own son through college. Then, disgusted to learn of his son's misdemeanor, he dedicates himself to public works and finds a village school for the benefit of all. Here the veiled disapproval of modern universities appears to be limited to an attack on their contaminating environment.

The Fisher-Girl. In the leading parts: Chou Shwen and Koo Yih-loo.

As an educational treatise, this film faces a dead end because it has chosen an art student for its hero. Western art in China is still at the stage of a pastime for rich dilettanti. Practically all professional artists paint in the traditional style. The hero alienates a sensible audience when he imagines it to be possible to earn a living for two with his respectable nudes.

The creator of the fanciful fisher-girl has presumably never seen a fish swimming except in a goldfish bowl, but he tells the story with rare sweetness of style and remarkable incidental touches which throw light on the Chinese nature. The fisher-girl apologizes to the art student that she is unworthy of his attentions, and he replies with much heat, "I don't like educated women." And yet with all his Rousseauistic admiration for the child of nature, he cannot resist the temptation to teach her to read and write. The Chinese agree nowadays that women, too, should be educated, but they prefer to educate their wives themselves, directly or indirectly. In the best-selling novels a man who sends a poor girl to school has irrevocably committed himself, even if he stoutly denies that she is of any interest to him except as a deserving student. The "View Matrimony" advertisements in the personal columns often include the phrase "willing to help pay school fees."

The fisher-girl, then, is educated purely for the benefit of her tutor; and likewise the art student's education leads him nowhere. On her account he breaks with his father, falls into poverty, and is saved by another girl, a rich adorer who, however, proceeds to poison his relations with the fisher-girl. But the beautiful buyer of souls has a timely attack of conscience which brings about the reunion of the lovers.—Eileen Chang.

GERMANY: ARMAMENTS

An insight into some of Greater Germany's 3,500 war plants was offered to Shanghai's movie-going public when leading theaters recently presented a film based on newly arrived German press notes and documentary pictures. The film showed the production of weapons for the Wehrmacht, including excellent shots of immense workshops filled with the thunder of giant hydraulic hammers, the roar of furnaces, and the screeching of lathes. Giant guns were seen to be assembled with ease. The production of shells and bombs was shown from the raw shell ingot to the finished product—endless rows of shells and bombs. A moment later one was in the midst of a tank plant, where a tank turret was being rapidly mounted by overhead assembly and where rows of finished tanks left the assembly lines. Then again there were streams of trucks and field guns—the daily output of the respective factories—exciting scenes of submarine launchings, and the mass production of airplanes.

Every now and then one saw glimpses of German workmen, experts checking newly constructed parts and handling presses and complicated machines with ease and skill. Spectators were particularly impressed by the combination of mass production and highly skilled precision work shown in this film which convincingly demonstrated German productive strength and technical ingenuity.—A.R.
THE SUMMER WAR

By KLAUS MEHNERT

The First Front—this is how we called the German-Soviet front in our first analysis of the war in Eastern Europe (August/September issue 1942). We believe that, in view of the number of troops and weapons involved, it still merits this appellation. Our last review of the events on this front ("The Winter War," May 1943) took us as far as the end of March of this year. The following pages deal with the period from April 1 to November 1, the last four months of which saw one of the most interesting and most bitterly fought campaigns in modern military history. We have used all available material from German as well as Soviet sources.

100-DAY PAUSE

March 29, 1943, the day on which Berlin announced the completion of the German counteroffensive in the area between the Dniepr and Donets Rivers, may be regarded as the end of the winter war of 1942/43. On reading the daily communiqués of the following hundred days issued by both opponents, we find that, with the exception of the Kuban bridgehead, they speak only of local fighting.

The reason for this comparative quiet is to be sought in the fact that, after the enormous efforts of the winter, both sides needed breathing space to regroup their armies and to withdraw those bodies of troops which had been particularly active. The Russians had also to reconstruct the routes of communication in the areas reconquered by them and destroyed by the fighting. Added to this, there was the famous "General Mud," who during the spring thaw paralyzed the front for several weeks lasting into May. The fighting during the months of April, May, and June was directed only at local aims—to remove an enemy wedge here, to conquer a dominating hill there, or to destroy an enemy bridgehead. It could be called a sparring for position.

The only large battles were those in the air. The ether was filled with the constant roar of planes out to collect information concerning the troop movements and military preparations of the enemy. Moreover, both air forces carried out a number of large-scale attacks. The Soviets attacked German military centers in the occupied territories, especially Oryol on May 7, which latter attack, however, was repulsed before it came to anything. On June 2 and 3 the Germans raided Kursk, the center of the Soviet offensive preparations; on June 4 and 6 the automobile- and tank-producing town of Gorki on the middle Volga, each time with 1,000 planes; and in the middle of June the industrial towns of Yaroslavl and Saratov on the Volga.

THE LESSONS OF TWO SUMMERS

During these hundred days, millions of people all over the world were wondering what plans might be being forged by the two belligerents for the summer of 1943. Would Germany attempt a great offensive, as in the summers of 1941 and 1942? Or would the Russians follow up their winter offensive by a summer offensive? Or were both parties so exhausted by the winter that the summer would pass without any large-scale fighting?
There was only a handful of men at the Führer's headquarters and in the Kremlin who knew what was going on in the minds of the leaders at that time. Today, however, we can attempt to reconstruct these considerations on the basis of the events of the last few months.

At the Führer's headquarters there were three possibilities to be weighed: a new offensive, a holding of the front line, or a withdrawal. Although the summer offensives of 1941 and 1942 had brought vast gains in territory, they had not resulted in the Red Army's annihilation; and the course of the war had shown that final victory over the Soviet Union required not so much the conquest of its territory as the destruction of its armed forces. The German High Command had, in the case of a new German offensive, to reckon on the Soviets repeating the tactics of the previous summer, when they withdrew into the depths of their almost limitless expanses before the German thrust and did not give battle until, as was the case in Stalingrad, the German lines of communication were stretched to breaking point. Moreover, the Soviets could stand losses of territory in the summer of 1943 better than in 1941; for meanwhile they had removed a large part of their industry—formerly located in the Ukraine and in European Russia—so far to the east that it was beyond the grasp of even the most extended German offensive.

Weighty reasons spoke against holding the front line as it had developed after the conclusion of the winter war. During the Great War it had been possible more or less to stabilize the Eastern Front with the aid of a narrow system of trenches. First of all, the front (from Riga to Rumania) was incomparably shorter than the present one; secondly, the Russians, though superior in numbers, possessed hardly any armament production of their own; and thirdly, a revolution was brewing in Russia. Under present conditions, with the weapons of 1943 and on a front of almost 2,000 kilometers (Leningrad to Novorossysk), trench warfare is out of the question. During the first two summers the German armies had balanced the quantitative superiority of the Reds in men and material by snatching the initiative through incredibly bold and powerful offensives thereby depriving the Soviets of their advantage of numerical superiority.

THE THIRD POSSIBILITY

In our issue of May 1943, when discussing the plans of the German High Command in the autumn of 1942, we had already reached the conclusion that it would be to Germany's advantage to conduct the war against the Red Army nearer to the centers of Europe's armament production. In the article "Another General" (December 1942) we showed how every added 100 kilometers of distance immensely increase the task of supplying the front. In the case of the Eastern Front, it was not only the length of the lines of communication that had to be considered but also the menace to them represented by the Red partisans.

These partisans are, to a large extent, regular Red troops who, in spite of their civilian clothes, are equipped with modern arms, often supplied from the air, and lurk behind the fighting German armies. And although the Soviet "statistics" were no doubt extremely exaggerated when at the beginning of July they boasted that, during the course of the first two years of war, the partisans had derailed 3,000 trains and destroyed more than 3,000 bridges, even the German reports show that the safeguarding of the extensive routes of communication has entailed considerable effort and losses. Incidentally, the struggle against the partisans was entrusted largely to volunteers corps—e.g., units of the Vlassov army or Cossack formations—who had joined the Germans and who in turn were aided by the population.

But, quite aside from the partisans, the vast occupied territories of the USSR required large numbers of garrison troops. Even if we count only 100 German soldiers for every 100 square kilometers of occupied area, this would have meant in June 1943
well over half a million garrison troops only, not to mention railwaymen, administration officials, etc.

Moreover, long before the world had any intimation of the coming treachery of Victor Emmanuel, indications were amassing at the Führer's headquarters that Italy and her forces could no longer be fully counted upon. The possibility of a considerable change in the war situation on the southern European flank had to be taken into account. The loss of Italy and an attack on the Balkans would be hard to cope with if the main force of the German Army stood as far away as on the Kuban River and only some 300 kilometers from Moscow. The threat of a Second Front in western Europe also made it undesirable to keep the First Front almost 3,000 kilometers from the menaced coasts of France.

Finally, it was clear that in the face of a determined Red offensive the front could only be held at the cost of great sacrifices on the part of the German Army.

Thus the weighing of the various possible methods of conducting the war during the summer revealed the advantages of taking the front back. The vast numerical superiority of the enemy would be offset by employing the wide spaces of Eastern Europe for a war of movement; troops would be economized by sacrificing territory; part of the army could be withdrawn from the front to be used as the nucleus of a new army now in the process of formation; and a heavy toll could be exacted from the attacking enemy for each kilometer gained.

IN THE KREMLIN

At the same time, the discussions in the Kremlin proved the necessity of a large-scale offensive. Although the Soviets could, as they have proved, get along industrially without the areas occupied by Germany, they had not been able in their agricultural production to make good the loss of the Ukraine, the most fertile area of the Soviet Union. (According to Soviet figures for 1938, the Ukraine, which covers only 2.6 per cent of the total area of the USSR, supplied 34 per cent of the Soviet grain production.) In spite of large food shipments from the USA, the food situation in the USSR had deteriorated alarmingly and made the reconquest of the Ukraine a question of life and death.

Hence with the approach of summer two complementary plans crystallized in the Führer's headquarters and in Moscow: the German willingness to withdraw, and the Soviet necessity of advancing.

From the middle of May onwards, the Germans reported having observed large Soviet concentrations of troops and material in the areas of Kursk and Tula/Kaluga and concluded that the Red Army was preparing a major offensive from there.

THE STARTING-PISTOL OF BELGOROD

The statements of the German and Soviet High Commands and military commentators on the outbreak of the summer campaign of 1943 are still very contradictory. On looking back on the first week of July in the light of the material produced by the last few months, developments seem to have been somewhat as follows. (See map on page 375.)

At that time the Eastern Front consisted of five overlapping wedges. The German front protruded far to the east at three points (between Lakes Ladoga and Ilmen, around Oryol, and between Belgorod and Taganrog), and the Soviet front protruded far to the west at two points (around Velikiye Luki and around Kursk). We know today that the Red Army had concentrated strong forces along the entire front; but it was the wedge of Kursk which had been made its real fist of attack. Here, under cover of a defense zone 40 kilometers deep, the Reds had amassed almost half a million men and thousands of tanks and other war material, while further east an additional large army of reserves stood waiting. To all appearances, the thrust from the Kursk area was to begin simultaneously with the Anglo-American attack on Sicily.
The German High Command anticipated the Soviet attack by an offensive of its own. Its object was, first, the annihilation of the Red troops concentrated in the Kursk bulge; secondly, a disruption of the entire Soviet plan of offensive; and thirdly, the gaining of time for bringing in and transporting away as large as possible a part of the Ukrainian harvest and for thoroughly carrying out the scorched-earth policy for which the Soviets had set an example in 1941 and 1942.

After German troops had on July 4 occupied a hill in the vicinity of Belgorod which commanded the surroundings, the storm broke on the morning of July 5. A German panzer army, including for the first time large numbers of the “Tiger” tanks, made a mighty thrust northward from Belgorod in the direction of Kursk. It broke through the Red defense zone and forced the Soviet Command to order the Red armies standing in the western part of the Kursk bulge and facing west to turn around and attack the German spearhead. At about the same time, another thrust with smaller forces was made by the Germans from the Oryol area southward, also toward Kursk. On the rolling plain between Belgorod and Oryol there now developed the mightiest tank battle of the present war. The daily Soviet losses in tanks reached the record figures of 530 and 667 tanks on July 15 and 22.

THE BATTLE OF KURSK

While the German press showed great reserve in commenting on this attack, and the German communiqué of July 6 spoke expressly of a “local offensive action,” Moscow and the Anglo-American press sought to make it appear as the German summer offensive and to impute fantastic goals in order afterwards to be able to announce its “failure.” But although everything indicated the limited nature of the German action, the losses it caused to the Red Army were tremendous. The German spearhead thrust into an area overflowing with men and material, and for the first week (July 5 to 12) the German communiqué reported the capture or destruction of 1,640 tanks, 1,400 cannons, and 1,221 planes, while the number of Russian prisoners was 28,000 and that of Russian planes, while the number of Russian prisoners was 28,000 and that of Russian dead and wounded many times that number. When the German spearhead reached its northernmost point, some 60 kilometers north of Belgorod, most of the Russian forces assembled in the Kursk area had been thrown into the battle and had largely been scattered by the terrific impact of the German attack.

If we assume—with justification, we believe—that the Soviets had planned to start their attack from the Kursk area simultaneously with the landing in Sicily, i.e., on July 10, the German attack anticipated the Russian offensive by five days. The annihilation of a Red army at the point of attack retarded the Red thrust toward Kiev to the beginning of September and gave the German High Command two precious summer months.

“ELASTIC DEFENSE”

In an effort to save at least part of their Kursk armies and their summer plans, the Soviets started a whole series of relief offensives along the entire front. They showed extraordinary mobility, frequently changing the center of gravity of their attacks in order to give no respite to the Germans and hoping perhaps to find a weak spot somewhere. The German High Command met all these attacks with its “elastic defense.”

The German Blitz campaigns of 1939, 1940, and 1941 had proved that the losses of the attacker whose armored divisions sweep through the defender, isolating him in individual groups and then destroying him, are much lower than those of the defender. But this applies only to a Blitz war. Otherwise the old rule still holds good that an army attacking a well-defended area over an extended period suffers far higher losses than the defender resisting him from his fortifications.

Even more unfavorable does the situation become for the attacker when the
defender employs elastic tactics. These tactics avoid clinging to any one point, only holding it long enough to inflict high losses on the enemy at comparatively low sacrifices on the part of one’s own troops. As long as his own fortifications are intact and offer adequate protection, the defender repulses the enemy’s attacks. When his defense works are destroyed in the course of the battle, he moves back to new, intact positions, thus forcing the enemy to start his exhausting efforts all over again. When the Soviets—this is happening again and again—concentrate hundreds of batteries in a small area in order to plow up a certain German sector with a hailstorm of shells and thus to open up a path for their attacking tanks and infantry formations, the Germans can do one of two things. Either they can patiently bear the barrage and attempt to repulse the ensuing attack with the surviving soldiers. (This is what usually happened during the Great War, especially along the Western Front, where there were no large areas available for maneuvering.) Or, and this is part of the elastic tactics, they can withdraw from the threatened sector when the barrage begins, so that the enemy’s fire goes into empty positions and the following waves of tanks and infantry men have no advantage of the previous artillery preparation but meet with an opponent who, having withdrawn in time from the area of bombardment, is intact when the attack reaches him.

The six months of fighting on the Kuban bridgehead (April 4 to October 8, 1943) prove that the German soldier could have held the various sectors of the front much longer if his leaders had demanded it of him. But they did not demand it, because they were conducting the summer war according to a different plan.

There are two conditions required for the employment of elastic defense: first, large areas in which it is possible to retreat dozens or even hundreds of kilometers without inviting catastrophe; and secondly, an excellently trained army that does not allow months of retreat to deteriorate into panic and flight or is affected in its morale. Both these conditions were present for the German High Command on the Eastern Front.

FIVE RED RELIEF OFFENSIVES

In order to relieve their armies which were being hammered by the Germans in the Kursk bulge, the Soviets initiated five great relief offensives within the space of two weeks:

Starting Dates of the Soviet Relief Offensives in July 1943

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oryol</td>
<td>July 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuban</td>
<td>July 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mius</td>
<td>July 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Donets</td>
<td>July 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velikaye Luki</td>
<td>July 22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Oryol

Our map shows that the German position in the Oryol area jutted out far toward the east. Hence the Soviet High Command endeavored by an attack from the north and the south at the narrowest part of the bulge to cut off the German army at Oryol and to inflict upon it a second Stalingrad. The battle of Oryol represents the first of several attempts made by the Red Army in the summer and autumn of 1943 to encircle a German army. In spite of tremendous efforts and sacrifices, it was no more successful than the subsequent ones, as the Germans advantageously employed their elastic tactics. The Soviets finally took recourse to frontal attacks from the east, so that the battle raged on all three fronts of this German outpost. In the very first days as many as 22 infantry divisions and 9 armored brigades of the Red Army were already involved, and during the following weeks new divisions constantly replaced those that had been bleached white. The Soviets threw altogether 11 armies into the battle for Oryol which, according to German claims, suffered total losses amounting to 700,000 dead, wounded, and prisoners.

During the entire battle the German troops kept the railway line Oryol/Bryansk open. When the Red armies finally entered Oryol on August 6, the German soldiers had left and the Soviets
captured little beyond an empty pile of debris. By August 15, the Germans had evacuated the whole bulge of Oryol and taken up positions in the Bryansk area. (An attack made on Bryansk from the north by the Reds in July had, apart from the occupation of Kirov, led to nothing.)

**Kuban**

The relief offensives on the Kuban will be dealt with later.

**Mius**

The Red relief offensive at the Mius front (the Mius is a small river flowing into the Sea of Azov at Taganrog), which ran in an almost straight line from Gorlovka to Taganrog, was carried out in two great thrusts on July 17 and 28. Its aim was to outflank the Donets Basin (Donbass), with its great industrial centers, from the south. The first attack was made by an army of 180,000 men and 800 tanks. On August 2, after having lost about half of their troops and 90 per cent of their tanks, the Reds had to give up. The front line remained the same as before the attack. It did not suit the plans of the German High Command to retreat at that time: the sector had still to be held in order to complete the destruction of the Donbass and bring in the harvest of the Ukraine. Taganrog was not evacuated until August 30.

**Middle Donets**

Here the Soviets possessed two bridgeheads on the right (western) bank of the river from the time of their winter offensive. Their bridgehead at Balakleya threatened Kharkov from the south, and that at Izyum was a threat to the Donbass from the north. Although they battered the German positions for weeks, the Reds were unable to get anywhere. The only thing they succeeded in was the forming of two further small bridgeheads, that of Slavyansk on August 8 and of Chuguyev on August 12.

**Velikiye Luki**

The large-scale Red offensive started here on July 22 with two armies was directed westward at Nevel and southward at Smolensk. Although the fighting continued here almost without interruption, the Russians were unable for two months to gain any territory whatever. At this point, at which the Reds stood further west than anywhere else, the German High Command did not employ elastic tactics. It wished to prevent an advance of the Reds in the direction of the Gulf of Riga and firmly ward off all Red attacks.

**THE FIRST RED BREAK-THROUGH**

Exactly a month had passed since the beginning of the German panzer thrust toward Kursk. In place of the battered original army at Kursk, the Soviets had brought up a new one and began an attack toward Belgorod on August 4. This attack led to the first of the two break-throughs which the Soviets succeeded in effecting in the course of the summer of 1943. On August 5 they entered Belgorod, and within a week they advanced as far as Akhtyrka, a distance of 125 kilometers. During this week they captured an area about as large as the bulge of Oryol, an area extending between the towns of Belgorod, Krasnopolye, Akhtyrka, and Krasnokutsk, and reaching as far as the outskirts of Kharkov.

The German armies in and around Kharkov found themselves in a critical position. In Krasnokutsk the Red troops stood 80 kilometers to the west of Kharkov. Had they succeeded in making a turn toward the south, Kharkov might well have been cut off. But the break-through was immediately and completely intercepted. Part of the Soviet spearhead was surrounded and destroyed; the rest got stuck. Our map shows that in the following twenty days from August 11 to 31 the Soviets were only able to gain a strip along the western and southern fronts of the Belgorod/Akhtyrka wedge. The break-through had come to nothing, and the danger of Kharkov being cut off had passed. The evacuation of Kharkov could be carried out in perfect order by August 23.
The next offensive which the Soviets started from the Vyazma area on August 7—westward toward Smolensk and southward toward Bryansk—met with stubborn German resistance and hardly progressed at all. Up to the end of the month it gained only a narrow strip—Dogo-roboj, Yelnya, and Jizdra.

The position on September 1

If we look at the developments of the summer war up to September 1, 1943, that is after almost two months of the most violent fighting, we see—a glance at the map is enough to show this—that, apart from the two areas of Oryol and Belgorod/Akhtyrka/Kharkov, the Soviets only made a few small territorial gains along the entire front between Dogorobuj and Taganrog. At three places—near Velikiye Luki, at the sector RylskjSumy, and in the Donbass—the front did not change at all.

It is an obvious conclusion that, as long as the German High Command deemed it necessary, it was quite able to withstand the Soviet offensive, taking the front as a whole. By a skillful employment of elastic tactics, it had achieved three things with a minimum of German losses: it had inflicted tremendous losses in men and material on the Soviets; it had gained two months in which to carry out a scorched-earth policy and either transport industrial equipment from areas behind the front to the west or destroy it; and it had afforded the Ukrainian peasants enough time to gather in the harvest and start with their cattle on the westward trek.

In the southern Ukraine and in the Crimea, the grain harvest starts in the middle of July. With each degree of latitude toward the north, the harvest begins a little later owing to the harsher climate. However, in the actual grain area between the Black Sea and Chernigov harvesting is completed by the end of August. If the Soviet war communiqué of September 10 mentions the capture of 400 freight cars loaded with grain at Slavyansk, i.e., the easternmost point of the German front, we can be sure that at that time many thousands of carloads of Ukrainian grain were rolling westward to Europe, far beyond the grasp of the Soviets.

A month of evacuation

On September 1 began the large-scale German withdrawal. During the first two weeks of September the Donbass was evacuated, the front being taken back to the line Lyubotin/Berdiansk, which shortened it to two thirds of the length it had had on September 1. At the beginning of September, after a delay of two months, the great thrust of the Red armies from the Kursk area in the direction of Kiev also finally began. This thrust, which in two weeks brought the Red armies from the line RylskjSumy to Nejin (210 kilometers), was the second and last successful break-through of the Soviets in the course of the summer campaign. It gave them considerable territorial gains—the whole triangle east of the line Bryansk/Nejin/Poltava—but nothing else. The Soviets were just as little able to exploit it as, one month before, the break-through of Belgorod/Akhtyrka. In no case did it lead to the encirclement of German units.

Elsewhere the front of September 15 hardly differed from that of September 1. The German defense positions of Nevel, Smolensk, Bryansk, and Poltava/ValkjKrasnograd had withstood all assaults.

How little the Soviets were able to make use of the break-through of Sumy/Nejin can be seen by a comparison of the course of the fronts of September 15 and October 1. Our map shows that during this period the Germans took back the entire front from Velij to the Sea of Azov in an almost uniformly wide strip. Thus during the second half of September the Soviets did not succeed in effecting a single deep break-through, and on October 1 the front, though 100 to 125 kilometers further west, ran practically parallel to that of September 15.

At the Kuban Bridgehead

At about this time the evacuation of the German-Rumanian bridgehead at the
mouth of the Kuban River took place. When the European armies withdrew from the North Caucasus area in January 1943, they retained a bridgehead of some thousands of square kilometers. It covered the swampy lowlands of the Kuban and the mountainous Black Sea coast situated between the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea. During February and March, the Reds had concentrated strong forces which, starting on April 4, 1943, they hurled against the comparatively small German-Rumanian army in five great offensives. The dates are:

- First Kuban Battle: April 4 to 7
- Second: April 14 to 17
- Third: April 29 to May 10
- Fourth: May 26 to June 4
- Fifth: July 16 to August 12

The forces used on the Soviet side were immense. The fifth offensive was begun with 17 infantry divisions, 2 armored brigades, and 3 armored regiments. In one day (Sunday, August 8), a single German division was attacked by 742 Red planes. The German and Rumanian troops were supplied by sea and air as well as by a cable-car line built by German sappers across the Strait of Kerch.

As long as the German armies were still fighting in the Donbass, the Kuban bridgehead had to be held in order to prevent a Soviet offensive in the Crimea, in the rear of the German southern army. But once the Donbass had been evacuated, there was no longer any reason not to evacuate the Kuban. The evacuation began on September 13 and was completed by October 8. Three days later Berlin announced that in the course of six months the recapture of the bridgehead had cost the Soviets 21 infantry divisions, 12 infantry brigades, and 12 tank divisions, and that in dead alone (335,000) they had lost more than the entire German-Rumanian army on the Kuban had numbered.

BATTLE ON THE DNIEPR

On October 1 the front stood out more clearly than it had for over a year. It ran in an approximately straight line from Nevel via Gomel to Loyev, from where it followed the Dniepr as far as Zaporozhye and thence along the German barrier position to Melitopol. On the whole, the two armies were separated between Loyev and Zaporozhye by the Dniepr. However, the Germans still had four bridgeheads on the left bank of the Dniepr—opposite Kiev, at Dniepropetrovsk, and Zaporozhye.

Throughout the month the battle raged along the line of October 1. The main endeavor of the Soviets was to encircle the German armies in the great Dniepr bend, that is, in the triangle Kiev/Kherson/Zaporozhye. For this purpose they wanted, first of all, to encircle Kiev from the northwest by attempting to break through the “wet triangle,” which lies between the confluence of the Pripiat and the Dniepr. Up to November 1 they had not succeeded in this, although they lost large units in this battle which were cut off here by the Germans and annihilated.

Secondly, the Red armies attempted to crush the German armies in the Dniepr bend by forming strong bridgeheads on the western bank of the river. During the first half of October they succeeded in gaining their most important bridgehead south of Kremenchug, and during the second half of the month another one south of Dniepropetrovsk. But the Germans prevented the expansion of these bridgeheads toward Krivoi Rog, and October came to an end without anything of importance having occurred in the Dniepr bend.

Thirdly, the Reds desired to close in around the Dniepr bend from the south. They attempted to achieve this goal by making frontal attacks on the German barrier position of Zaporozhye/Melitopol. From the second half of September onward, they hurled countless divisions against the 110 kilometers of this front. But it was not until October 14 and 15 that the German High Command, faithful to its principle of sparing its own troops, evacuated the two pivots of Melitopol and Zaporozhye, thus opening to the Red armies the road into the steppe between the lower reaches of the
Dniepr and the Black Sea. After the occupation of Zaporozhye the Soviets were in control of the entire left bank of the middle Dniepr.

In the northern part of the front the Reds, in spite of extremely bitter fighting which began on October 5, also made only minor territorial gains, capturing Nevel and Liozno.

Thus the front of November 1 showed only negligible changes compared to that of October 1. The great movement of withdrawal carried out by the German Army during September had for the time being been halted.

**THE MEN IN CHARGE**

As far as can be gleaned from the army communiqués, the three commanders of the German Eastern Front during the past summer were Field Marshal Georg von Kuchler for the northern sector, Field Marshal Günther von Kluge for the central sector, and Field Marshal Fritz Erich von Manstein for the southern sector. The defense of the Kuban bridgehead was under the command of Colonel General Ewald von Kleist.

The Soviets have divided their armies between Velikiye Luki and the Caucasus into nine “fronts,” as they call them, which—going from north to south—are commanded by the following generals: General Yeremenko (Kalinin Front); General Sokolovsky (Western Front); General Popov (Bryansk Front); General Rokossovsky (Central Front); General Vatutin (1st Ukrainian Front); General Konev (2nd Ukrainian Front); General Malinovsky (3rd Ukrainian Front); Colonel General Tolbukhin (4th Ukrainian Front); Colonel General Petrov (Northern Caucasus Front). Over them are “for the co-ordination of the fronts as representatives of the Supreme Command” (in the words of the Soviet communiqué) the Marshals Vasilevsky, Voronev, Jukov, Timoshenko, and Air Marshals Golovanov and Novikov.

**SOVIET FIGURES ON PRISONERS**

The Soviet and Allied press has frequently ridiculed the German claim that the front was being taken back “according to plan.” But the Soviets themselves have given daily proof in their reports on the course of the summer war that the German withdrawal was actually a planned movement. We shall see this on subjecting the Soviet war reports, including the daily official army communiqués issued by the Soviet Bureau of Information, to a threefold analysis under the headings of : German prisoners, Soviet civilians, and scorched-earth policy.

On comparing the course of the two summer campaigns of 1941 and 1943, which were conducted in the area between Velikiye Luki and the Black Sea, one is struck especially by one fact: in contrast to the German offensive of 1941, with its numerous successful battles of encirclement (shown in the map we published on page 110 in our issue of August/September 1942), the Soviet High Command did not succeed even once during the summer of 1943 in encircling German units. The Reds succeeded neither in achieving the breakthrough from Velikiye Luki to the Gulf of Riga (380 kilometers), which had been hoped for in the Allied camp and which would have cut off the German armies in Estonia and at Leningrad; nor in encircling Oryol; nor in cutting off the eastern Ukraine by a thrust from Kharkov to the Dniepr. Not once were the German lines ruptured, not even when they were as dangerously extended as after the Sumy/Nejin break-through in mid-September.

The Red Army lacked neither troops nor weapons for the carrying out of such large-scale, bold operations and for encircling action; but it did lack the proper leadership. Added to this was the fact, known already from the Great War, that the Russians are not able to carry out wedge attacks with the same determination and success as the Germans, Russian wedges being notoriously susceptible on their flanks. Moreover, the German Command did not once lose sight of the developments as a whole, did not allow its actions to be dictated by the enemy and, in critical moments, possessed the
A comparison of German figures of Soviet prisoners taken in the first four months of the summer campaign of 1941 with Soviet figures of German prisoners taken in the first four months of the summer campaign of 1943 shows that the Soviets lost 36 times as many in 1941 as did the Germans in 1943.

necessary power of decision and the reserves to deal with major threats. After the Soviet break-through from Belgorod to Akhtyrka, for instance, it saved the situation by mighty thrusts into the southern flank of the Red wedge and by throwing into battle an air fleet of more than 1,000 machines a day (August 11 to 16).

Even according to Soviet figures, the number of prisoners taken by them is in no relation to the size of the territorial gains. The Soviet communique of November 5 claims that during four months (July 5 to November 5) the Red Army has taken an average of 790 prisoners and 18 tanks a day. This communique expressly states that “more than half of the prisoners were wounded.” If we take “more than half” to mean 60 per cent, we find that the Soviets have only been able to capture a daily average of 316 unwounded German soldiers in a campaign which has brought them hundreds of thousands of square miles of territory. This astonishing fact supplied by the Soviets themselves—who, we can be sure, have published the maximum figures—allows but one conclusion: the German armies withdrew with unbroken morale and in complete order. For what the figures of prisoners look like when an army does not retreat according to plan has been shown by the millions of Polish, French, and Red prisoners and the huge quantities of booty taken during the German campaigns of 1939/41.

EMPTY LAND

In the Soviet telegrams reporting on the situation in the recaptured territory, we frequently read statements such as the following:

“After our entry into Jizdra we found after long searching a few dozen inhabitants of the town.” (Jizdra had a population of 15,000 before the war.) Or: “One day after our entry into Karachev no more than 150 inhabitants could be assembled.” (Karachev had a population of 30,000 before the war.) On September 1, Tass reported that the Red units reoccupying Kharkov had been greeted by 25,000 inhabitants, and on November 11 that Kiev now had a population of a little over 100,000. (Before the outbreak of the war, the two cities together had 1.7 million inhabitants.) The army communiqué of September 21, reporting the capture of 270 towns and villages in the Gomel area and 250 in the Poltava region on the previous day, simultaneously announced the “liberation” of 100,000 and 20,000 Soviet civilians respectively. And compared with the communiqués on other days, these figures are exceptionally high. As a rule, the figures of “liberated” Soviet citizens amounted to only a few hundred or a few thousand.

What has happened to all the other people who used to live in these densely populated, rich areas? The number of civilians evacuated by the Soviets in 1941 was not large on account of the speed of the German Blitz advance. On an average, the civilian population during the German occupation probably amounted to some 65 to 80 per cent of the prewar population. (For example: according to a Japanese correspondent, Kiev still had a population of 600,000 in the winter of 1941/42.) The fact that it dwindled to only a fraction by the time the Reds returned means that the majority moved off with the German troops.

Of course, the Soviets claim that the Germans forced the civilian population to evacuate. But we believe that even without compulsion there were reasons enough for the people to evacuate. This applies especially to the population of the Ukraine, which has always been more opposed to Bolshevism than the Great
Russian population. (It is revealing to note that in the example given above, the number of people “liberated” in the 250 places of the Ukrainian Poltava zone was only 20,000, while in the 270 places of the Gomel area, which does not belong to the Ukraine, it was 100,000.) People who had been living for two years without the terror of the GPU and the political commissars had no desire for the restoration of the Bolshevik regime, all the more so since they could well imagine what would happen to many of them as soon as they fell into Bolshevik hands. Those who during the German occupation had continued to carry on their work and had co-operated with the German authorities had to count on being accused of treason. They had to look forward to a fate similar to that of those inhabitants of Krasnodar who, according to a Tass report of July 19, were executed on the town square, in the presence of 30,000 workmen and peasants (assembled especially for this purpose), “for treason during the time of occupation.”

The fact that the majority of the Soviet civilians were able to evacuate in time, in spite of the rapid advance of the Reds, especially during September, is a further proof that this evacuation was executed by the Germans well in advance.

“SCORCHED EARTH”

The Bolsheviks were the first to carry out the scorched-earth policy in Europe in the summer of 1941, and were proud of it. Let us recall the appeal made by Kalinin, the President of the USSR, shortly after the outbreak of the war and broadcast to the entire population of the Soviet Union:

When the enemy advances, everything of value must be destroyed. One must not let oneself be disturbed by the thought that those are values created by us. There is no room for pity or regret in such cases. To destroy everything, to leave nothing behind for the enemy, that is true patriotism!”

This is what Italian correspondents had to say on November 1, 1941, regarding the results of the Soviet scorched-earth tactics:

In every sector occupied by the German Army, towns and villages have been razed to the ground by the Soviets before their retreat. In Lemberg, Przemyśl, Nikolayev, and Kiev there remains nothing but a mass of ruins.

Villages through which [we] passed are no longer villages but mounds of ruins.

Before leaving [Kiev] the Soviets cleared the city out from top to bottom. For a few days . . . mines exploded every minute. Flames seemed to be sweeping over the whole city.

The German Army has now employed the scorched-earth policy learned from the Reds, and countless Soviet war reports agree that they have done this with unparalleled thoroughness. Of course, it is impossible to tell afterwards what destruction is due to fighting and Soviet bombs and what is the result of “scorched earth.” But the Red press frequently contains admissions that everything of military use in the widest sense of the words—railways, bridges, dams, power plants, coal mines, etc.—has been demolished; and we constantly find sentences such as the following:

Of the 43 sugar factories in the Kursk and Sumy districts, only one has remained.

The less heavily damaged coal mines of the Donbass will probably not be able to resume production till 1944, the more seriously damaged ones not till the end of 1945 at the very earliest.

In Jizdra nothing at all has remained—not a single wall, not a single chimney, not a single foundation. It looks as if a hurricane of fire had passed through here with unimaginable vehemence.

The district around the station of Smolensk looks as if it had been hit by a gigantic hammer.

What is decisive is the fact that the Soviets themselves always emphasize that this destruction was carried out according to plan and without interference. Soviet telegrams report, for example, that the Germans fiercely defended the town of Stalino in order to gain time for its complete destruction; that they tore out rails and took them away (e.g., on the Kharkov/Lyubotin line); indeed, that they even removed telephone and telegraph wires from the posts and carried them off.

Any European believing in the future of a united, sound, and prosperous Europe must suffer at the thought of the destruction of objects of material and cultural value during the present war. Although as a Frenchman or a German he will mourn more than anything else the destruction taking place in his own country, as a European he will also
The demolition occurring in the other parts of his continent. Those who have not abandoned the hope that the European part of the USSR will, in spite of twenty-six years of Bolshevist rule, one day again join hands with instead of fighting against Europe, must regard the destruction entailed by the war in these territories as a loss not only for Ukrainians and Russians but for all Europeans.

Supplies Across the Wastes

For the Soviets the scorched-earth policy has brought with it not only serious damage to their national economy but also extremely unfavorable consequences for their conduct of the war. During the first two summers of the German-Soviet war, the Red Army had the advantage of being able to withdraw into a territory whose entire system of communications as well as all its inhabited places and industrial plants were intact; while with every kilometer which the German armies advanced, more land laid waste by the Soviets was put between the front and the German supply centers.

In the summer of 1943, however, it was the Soviets who advanced into a region of desolation. And if, as we have seen, they considerably slackened the speed of their advance after October 1, the reason is to be found not only in the German resistance, in the rain and mud of autumn, or in the presence of the Dniepr, but also in the great difficulties the Soviets encountered in supplying their troops after crossing the wide belt of desolation left behind by the German troops. Considerable time is required for restoring the lines of communication of this territory sufficiently for the needs of the front. Even the people to do the work of reconstruction must first be brought into those areas. Meanwhile, the German air force has organized train-hunting units, whose special task it is to destroy the railway lines restored by the Soviets and the trains moving on these lines.

In the coming winter, the consequences of the scorched earth will make themselves felt more than ever, as the Soviet armies have been deprived of the shelter which they were accustomed to have in the territories hitherto held by them.

The Red Reserves

On the day war broke out with Germany, the Soviet Union had, including the Baltic States and the Polish regions occupied shortly before, a population of about 190 million people. But by the autumn of 1942, as a result of the abandoning of vast areas with scores of millions of inhabitants and the loss of millions of casualties and prisoners, it had lost a large part of this number.

The world has been wondering with amazement whence Stalin has been able to obtain the vast quantities of men with whom he has for the last year been conducting offensives whose losses are the highest ever known in history. In view of the significance possessed for the further course of the war by this "miracle" of Soviet reserves, we must say a few words on this subject.

The lower the standard of living maintained by a population, the higher is the percentage of conscription on which its government can count, and vice versa. To give an example: in a primitive negro tribe the entire adult male population can go off to war, but in a highly developed country, say in the USA, a large percentage of the male population must necessarily be excluded from conscription since it is required for maintaining the extensive and complicated apparatus of economies, administration, culture, entertainment, etc. This gives us the first answer to our question as to where the Reds find their reserves: the Soviet Government benefits by the low standard of living prevailing in its country.

Furthermore, the Soviet Union is far more ruthless in its conscripting methods. It calls up younger men than any other army; it is employing a growing number of women among the fighting troops; and by placing even children in factories—in contrast to other belligerent states—it frees adults for military purposes. (So far the Soviets have carefully tried to
avoid one mistake: they have not combined soldiers inferior either physically or in training—such as very young or very old ones—in large units but have always distributed them among good troops in order merely by their numbers to swell the quantitative superiority of the Red infantry.) The Soviets are also said to have imported a large number of Chinese laborers.

And finally, the collectivization of Soviet agriculture carried out fourteen years ago has now proved itself to have been a measure of military importance, facilitating as it does the conscription of the peasant population for the army or for industrial purposes. If, for instance, 100 able-bodied men are called up out of 150 working in a village consisting of small farms of the pre-collectivization type, this village suffers more than a large agricultural enterprise would at the loss of two thirds of its able-bodied men. For in the latter case the work can be more easily distributed among the remaining hands.

One thing is certain: neither British nor American troops have so far been used on the Soviet front. In September 1943 there was a controversy between the Soviets and their allies on this point. When the Anglo-American press wrote that the Soviet Union was to blame for the fact that no Allied troops had appeared on the Eastern Front, the most outspoken Soviet periodical, War and the Labor Class, retorted sharply that the contrary was the case. The Soviets, the paper declared, had proposed to the Anglo-Americans that the latter should fight shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army, but the only answer had been an offer in the autumn of 1942 to station British air formations in Baku and Tiflis. This offer had been rejected by Moscow because "there were no Germans to fight against in these places." (The Soviets still do not like to hear the words "Baku" and "British" in conjunction; for they remember only too well how after the Revolution of 1917 the British occupied the oil fields of Baku for two years and shot twenty-six Soviet commissars.)

**WHAT THE SOVIETS PAID**

Four months after the commencement of the summer war, Berlin published figures which reveal the enormous price the Soviets have had to pay for the territory they have recaptured.

**Soviet Losses from July 5 to November 5, 1943**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dead</td>
<td>1,300,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wounded</td>
<td>1,570,000</td>
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<td>Prisoners</td>
<td>130,000</td>
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<td>Tanks</td>
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<td>Cannons</td>
<td>9,529</td>
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<tr>
<td>Airplanes</td>
<td>10,255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machine Guns</td>
<td>14,499</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of Soviet prisoners taken seems small compared to the millions of prisoners taken in the summer of 1941; but it is large if one bears in mind that this time it was the Reds and not the Germans who were making the offensive. Its relative size is explained by the fact that on several occasions strong Red spearheads were cut off by the German armies and encircled. This is what happened, for instance, to two divisions at Izyum in mid-August, to the Fourth Guards' Tank Corps northwest of Kharkov toward the end of August, and to two divisions in the "wet triangle" in mid-October.

As regards the number of wounded and dead Soviet soldiers, we must remember that for four months the Red Army ceaselessly hurled division after division into the fire of the German positions, and that the elastic tactics employed by the Germans entailed a maximum of losses for the attacker. The October battles caused particularly heavy losses to the Reds. According to German calculations, they suffered during this month 340,000 casualties on the front west of Smolensk, and 400,000 casualties on the Kiev/Melitopol front.

After the occupation of every major town, the Soviet press publishes the names of those divisions which have particularly distinguished themselves in capturing it. The length of these lists (23 divisions, not counting many other units, in the case of Smolensk alone) shows the enormous size of the Red forces hurled against the German defenses.
TANKS

The exceptionally high figures of tanks destroyed which the German troops achieved during the first few weeks of the summer war can perhaps partly be explained by the fact that at that time the Red Army threw a comparatively large number of American tanks into battle. These tanks did not stand up well to the German antitank defense, while the Russian models made a better showing.

Since the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, the Soviets have been using three main types of tanks. The KV-1 (named after Marshal Klim Voroshilov) weighs 43 tons and has a 76-mm cannon; and the KV-2 weighs 52 tons and has a 15-cm gun. (Both types are naturally also equipped with machine guns.) At the outbreak of war, the KV-2 had the heaviest gun of any tank in the world. Their size made the KV's slow, so that they offered easy targets for the German antitank fire. Consequently, the thickness of their armor was increased more and more until it was said to have reached 200 millimeters, i.e., almost that of a battleship.

The Soviets call their medium-sized tank the T-34. It weighs only 26 tons and originally had an armor-plating of 60 millimeters. But it also carries a 76-mm cannon and with its 70 kilometers an hour is far superior to the KV as far as speed is concerned. For the battles of this summer its armor was increased in thickness.

The German armies had begun the war in the east with fast tanks of medium weight; but when in the course of the war the Soviets used more and more heavy equipment, German industry also began the production of heavy tanks, known as the “Tigers” and “Panthers.” No details are known to us concerning these two types, both of which were used for the first time in large numbers during the summer, proving more than a match not only for the T-34 but also for the KV types. According to Japanese reports, they seem to weigh about 50 tons and to be equipped with 88-mm cannons similar to the antiaircraft guns which have proved so effective in the battle against the Soviet tanks.

HOW TANKS AND PLANES DIE

Not only the German tank arm, but the entire German Army has had its part in the destruction of the Soviet tanks. The Luftwaffe has contributed its share through the employment of its antiaircraft weapons and its “tank busters,” planes specially built for combating tanks. Many Red tanks have fallen victim to the excellent, constantly improved antitank cannons (known as “Pak”) and to the mines laid by German sappers. But above all, the German infantryman has developed countless methods of fighting against tanks. In the “dead angle,” in which none of the weapons of the tank can reach him, he works his way up to the monster. Through the smoke of smoke grenades or of burning bundles of straw soaked in gasoline, or by closing up the apertures with mud, grease, paint, or rags, he deprives the tank crew of its vision. He throws bundles of hand grenades at the vulnerable spots of the tank. With an ax or crowbar he bends the barrels of its machine guns. He puts wood or sand into the mouths of the barrels, so that they burst at the next shot, or he sets fire to the tank with incendiary bottles.
This collaboration of all available weapons in the hands of men who in more than four years have become masters in the art of waging war explains the huge number of destroyed Soviet tanks. The high Red losses in tanks are probably also responsible for the fact that, according to German reports of the last few weeks, the Soviets have shifted the emphasis in their attacks from tanks to artillery.

Looking at the figures of Soviet planes shot down, one cannot but ask oneself how it is possible for the Soviets to lose eight, ten, or even fifteen times as many planes as the Germans every day. But for this, too, there is an explanation. The Soviet war industry is apparently able to produce at least as many planes as are being lost on an average. But it can only do this by sacrificing quality to quantity. The majority of the planes used by the Soviets have only one motor, and the percentage of planes built of wood is constantly mounting. Such hastily produced machines are shot down by hits which would be easily survived by planes built of better material and equipped with more than one motor. Furthermore, the high number of planes shot down makes it necessary to replace pilots at such a rate that they can be given only insufficient training.

Seen as a whole, however, the firing power of the Red Army has increased since the beginning of the war. The employment of infantry has been reduced comparatively, while that of artillery, tanks, and planes has been increased. The same naturally applies also to the German Army which, moreover, possesses a number of new, very heavy weapons such as the "fog thrower," a single one of which has the firing power of six heavy field howitzers.

HOW MANY GERMAN DivISIONS?

A favorite pastime among politicians and journalists in the Allied camp is to calculate for each other's benefit the number of divisions Germany has at her disposal. The Anglo-Saxons try to make out that the Germans do not have so very many troops in the east, because they must station a large part of their forces in the west; while the Soviets are intent upon showing that almost the entire German Army is on the Eastern Front, because the military actions of the Anglo-Americans have so far not resulted in any relief for the Soviet front. Stalin, who should know better than Churchill or Roosevelt, declared in his speech of November 7, 1943, on the occasion of the twenty-sixth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, that the number of German divisions—not counting Finnish, Rumanian, and other divisions—had increased from 179 in the summer of 1942 to 207 in the summer of 1943. Including the non-German divisions, he calculated the European forces on the Eastern Front to be 257 divisions. Stalin's claim that the number of German divisions on the Eastern Front had been increased by 28 within a year was a slap in the face for all those Allied commentators who had celebrated the Anglo-American offensive in the Mediterranean as an important relief action for the Red Army.

THE EASTERN FRONT AND THE WORLD

The withdrawal of the German front in the east has had repercussions in the whole world. First of all, it has considerably increased the prestige of the Soviet Union and of Stalin in the eyes of the British and Americans, because these have let themselves be persuaded by the Soviet and their own propaganda that this withdrawal represented exclusively an overwhelming Red victory and not a planned move on the part of the German High Command. This was clearly revealed in the Three Power Conference held at the end of October in Moscow, after which the Anglo-Americans ceased to lay claim to any influence in Eastern and Central European affairs.

Furthermore, the approach of the Red Army has made a profound impression on the peoples of Europe. As long as the Eastern Front was deep in the heart of Russia, many people did not feel the
Bolshevist danger to be a reality, and the anti-German reactionary forces of Europe deluded themselves with the hope that they could choose between a Europe led by Germany and one led by the Anglo-Americans. The advance of the Bolsheviks, together with the diplomatic retreat of the Anglo-Americans in Moscow and their poor military showing in Italy, has helped to demonstrate to all Europe that the choice lies only between a Europe led by Germany or one plunged into chaos by Bolshevism, and that the only thing standing between them and Bolshevization is the victory of German arms.

Indeed, we believe that even the British, whose traditional enmity toward Russia and suspicion of her expansionist ambitions have only been temporarily silenced by the common war against Germany, would have much preferred the German and Soviet armies to bleed to death on the line Oryol/Taganrog than for the battle fronts to have moved several hundred kilometers nearer to Central Europe and the Mediterranean.

Japan, a country allied to Germany and maintaining good relations with its neighbor the Soviet Union, has been watching developments on the Eastern Front with special interest. Her attitude has been formulated in a leading article appearing this summer in the Mainichi Shim bun:

From our own personal standpoint we regret deeply that our neighbor, Russia, is fighting at the side of the United States and Britain against Germany and Italy. On the other hand, we believe it unfortunate that our allies, Germany and Italy, are unable to direct their full strength against the anti-Axis Powers, Britain and the United States, and are now directing not a little valuable strength against Russia.

THE BALANCE

During the course of the summer war up to November 1943, the Soviets have gained a large territory important for its rich mineral resources and fertile soil. Under the conditions of war and in view of a possible military reversal, it is doubtful whether the Soviets are willing and in a position to restore the industrial production of this territory, all the more so since during the last few years they have strongly developed their industrial areas further east. And as for the bountiful soil of the Ukraine, which is always ready to produce grain, the shortage of man power, machinery, seed, and cattle will considerably delay the resumption of agricultural production.

Only the future will show whether this territorial gain—and the gain in prestige associated with it—has been worth the terrible price in Russian blood the Soviet Union has had to pay for it. In the dilemma of having to choose between the sacrificing of territory or men, the German Command unhesitatingly decided to spare the most precious thing Germany has, the lives of German men, even if it had to sacrifice an important territory in doing so. It did not make the error of holding the front under all circumstances in a mistaken conception of prestige: relying on the excellent fighting morale and maneuverability of the German Army, it conducted a difficult defensive war which made the greatest demands on its leadership and men. Hundreds of thousands of German soldiers owe their lives and sound limbs to this decision.

In addition to this, the taking back of the front has greatly alleviated the German supply problem and enormously aggravated that of the Red Army. But, above all, it has forced the Red Army to pay so high a price for its territorial gains that, on final analysis, the balance of this summer is not nearly so favorable for the Soviets as it appears if one only looks at a map.

WHAT NOW?

The battles of the summer of 1943 are already part of history, and the question now being asked by the whole world is: What will happen now? Does the German High Command intend to stabilize the front somewhere in the vast tract between the present battle line and the German frontier? Has an "East Wall" been constructed?

We do not know the answers to this question. But it seems to us that it
would be contrary to German military conception to build a "Maginot Line": on the one hand, because the German High Command proved by its own success in 1940 how little a Maginot Line is worth and, on the other, because, relying as it does on the superiority of the German soldier, it prefers a war of movement. Hence we cannot agree with those people who have declared that the German Command has fixed the Dniepr, or the Dniestr, or the Carpathians, or whatever else has been mentioned, as the final limit of its movement of withdrawal. Rather do we believe that the German Command intends to retain full liberty of action and to make its decisions on the basis of the prevailing situation.

For some time now the Allies have taken a malicious pleasure in trying to tell Germany that the German Blitzkrieg strategy has had its day. They are wasting their time: the German High Command realized this, like so many other things, long before the Allies. Its present strategy has shown, to the Allies' surprise, that it has quickly adapted itself to changed conditions, and that in addition to the Blitzkrieg it also has other military methods of warfare at its disposal. It adopts whatever method seems most suitable to the pursuance of its one aim: that of winning the war. Since the autumn of 1942, if not earlier, the German Command has been reckoning with a long duration of the war. Hence its decision temporarily to conduct the war defensively in 1943 was made with the object of meanwhile laying the foundation for future war actions by a mobilization of man power and resources on the largest possible scale.

CARTOON OF THE MONTH

By SAPAJOU

Allied Dreams
The Summer War of 1943 on the Eastern Front up to November 1

The approximate course of the front on the 1st of each month is shown by a thick red line, on the 15th of each month by a thin red line. The line for July 15 has been omitted as it is practically identical with that of July 1.

A glance at this map is sufficient to reveal one of the main features of the summer war: the withdrawal of the German front was carried out primarily during September, viz., only after the stubborn defense of July and August had given the German High Command enough time to evacuate troops, war material, population, and industrial equipment. During October, the withdrawal once again slowed up.
THE ECONOMICS OF TOTAL WARFARE

By A. A. MAGNUS

The greater part of the population of our planet is at present living under conditions of total warfare. Every day they experience its consequences, yet probably few have reflected on what this means to the structure of economic thought. Dr. Magnus, whom our readers know from his contributions “Three Conceptions of Economics” (July 1942) and “Japan Finances the War” (October 1942), has in the following article tried to form a coherent theory of economics as they are emerging in total warfare in all participating countries. In doing this he has, for the sake of simplicity, concentrated entirely on the economic side, purposely omitting the implications of total war to be found in the spiritual or political spheres.—K.M.

MAN must be fed, housed, and clothed. For this purpose he must work and have the material with which to work. Work and material must be properly co-ordinated. Man co-ordinates them by budgeting. The study of how in the course of history man has shaped his budget and how in any given circumstances he can theoretically shape his budget, is the science of national economy or, if you prefer, social economy. Both these terms represent a wealth of thought and scientific dispute, which latter is entirely justified in view of the complexity of the subject matter. Without touching upon such controversies, we shall attempt to study the essential economics of total warfare.

Let us take an example of actual economics. The teacher performs work by passing on knowledge to the student. The student works in the afternoons in the office of a manufacturer of chemical fertilizers. In this way he completes his budget for his living expenses at the university, since the monthly allowance from his father, a manufacturer of bicycle lamps, is insufficient. The fertilizer factory supplies chemical fertilizers to the farmer. The farmer supplies wheat to the grain dealer. The grain dealer supplies it to the flour mill. The mill supplies flour to the baker. The baker supplies bread to the teacher. This is only one of the countless circles that go to make up economics.

DEMAND—THE DRIVING FORCE

The example just used shows the possible contributions of individual economic subjects according to their capabilities. But the transition from one step to the next is by no means hard and fast. The baker could just as well supply his bread only to soldiers, and the teacher would be left empty-handed. The links of the chain appear firmer when, instead of following the circle of supply, we follow that of demand. The teacher needs bread to be able to work. The baker needs flour to carry on his trade. The mill needs the grain, the farmer the fertilizer, the fertilizer factory the student, and the student the teacher. Thus demand, or the consumer, is the actual driving force of economics.

Now there are various ways in which the driving forces can be co-ordinated. The individual consumers can be independent in their budget and work and voluntarily co-ordinate themselves. For instance, the baker calculates that he has to supply so and so many loaves in order to be able to support his family out of the profits; at the same time he calculates how many loaves he would be able to sell as a result of his skill in organizing. The quantity of flour which he must obtain is somewhere between this minimum and maximum. This type of economics is called in theory “free commerce.” It is actually an extreme, inasmuch as it represents the one extreme of
a variable quantity. For the degree of independence is variable. The individual may strive to be as independent as possible; but, because of the difficulties of human communal life, he will always be limited in one way or another by control on the part of the authorities.

BETWEEN TWO EXTREMES

In studying the possibilities of such control, we arrive at the other extreme of the various forms of economics, which we may call "centralized economics." In a centralized economy in its most extreme form, there is no room for independent budgeting. From the topmost organ of planning down to our baker, all economic activities run according to fixed rules. The baker has to buy so and so much flour and must deliver bread to so and so many customers. He must make a fixed profit which enables him to obtain fixed quantities of food, living quarters, and clothing to take care of the needs of his family budget.

Actually, however, the economic order in the various budgets within a nation is directed either more toward free commerce or toward centralized economies. In total warfare, the tendency is toward the latter; in peace time toward the former.

But before we go into this in more detail we must touch upon a technical question. How does the consumer distribute his requirements, and how does he obtain the fruits of his labors so that he can be a consumer? The fact that direct barter is possible has been shown at the peak of inflation times, when money had lost its function as a standard of values. This condition is hardly ideal, for very often it is impossible properly to divide the goods to be bartered. That which represents the standard of values and makes a proper division possible is in normal modern times money. Money is a means of communication, just like railways, shipping, teletype machines, and short-wave telephones. For steamers and trains to move, there must be steam in the boilers; for telephones and short-wave radios to function, they must be supplied with electric current. For money to be able to circulate, there must be a corresponding supply of goods wherever the currency is valid. In the same way, the functioning of all these means of communication is dependent on the existence of other technical appliances such as safety valves and fuses.

THE DEMANDS OF DEFENSE

So far we have limited ourselves to discussing the supply of goods of daily consumption. However, there also exists a second large circle of demand, equal in importance to the first one, arising from the fact that human beings are constantly threatened by each other. Hence they have combined into clans, tribes, nations, and still larger alliances. The size of these combinations depends on the technical development of the means of defense. Man can no longer provide alone for the necessary means of defending himself. The age of the stone ax is past, and since man has left the jungle and has taken up agriculture and cattle-raising he has been forced to rely on units larger than the family, in other words on the community.

The organization of defense has always been the state's most important task, and its political and economic organization is determined by the requirements of defense. Thus the feudal system of the European Middle Ages or of the Tokugawa Shogunate corresponded to the possibilities offered by those times for ensuring defense and feeding of the population. The mercenary system of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was closely connected with the invention of gunpowder and the mercantile system. In view of the improvement of the manufacture of arms, the next step was due chiefly to the capitalistic system of production, which permitted the manufacture of such quantities of arms that it was no longer possible to pay for enough mercenaries to carry them. The result was general conscription. The method of defense of a vast naval power makes possible still another form of economics.
The latest advancement of technology is characterized by the extension of the field of battle by another dimension, the air, and by the increase in the production of steel, which has enabled the large-scale employment of tanks. One might also summarize this advancement as the combustion-engine age of war. In this age, material plays a role of increasing importance, which in turn necessitates a growing number of laborers to produce this material. The consequence is that the laborer has been placed on an equal footing with the soldier as a combatant. This form of war was named “total war” by a military writer shortly after the Great War.

WAR AND EMPLOYMENT

Even in times of peace, the supply of consumers’ goods is influenced by the safeguarding of the means of defense. How, then, is consumption affected by the burden of ensuring this defense?

We can deal with this question either from the viewpoint of the budget of the entire nation or from that of the individual budget of each member of the nation. The development of the budget of Japan from 1931 to 1942, which we have discussed in detail in our article “Japan Finances the War” appearing in the October 1942 issue of this magazine, furnishes an excellent example of the former, i.e., a national budget. Hence we shall proceed at once to the study of the effect of war and war preparations on the budget of the individual.

How does war affect employment? To return to our manufacturer of bicycle lamps: after the outbreak of war, he has adjusted his production to the manufacture of searchlights. Not only has he been able to keep most of his workers: he even employs three times as many as before. Where do the workers come from? From some metal works or other which hitherto produced for export and were not able to readjust themselves in time, or from workshops hitherto producing luxury goods. But is it so easy to obtain workers?

When war breaks out, war orders increase and yield profits which fall like spring rain onto the economic system of a country. Some of the profits are used to expand war-important plants; but others might be used, for instance, to purchase a hotel and to expand it. Our bicycle-lamp manufacturer will at any rate increase his son’s allowance so that the latter will give up his job at the office of the fertilizer factory in order to devote himself entirely to his studies or to join the Army. The fertilizer factory in turn must look for a successor. While some of the workers are conscripted into the army and are thus eliminated from the process of production, the demand for labor rises. This situation might lead to difficulties if there were sufficient raw material to maintain full production. Most countries, however, are forced to curtail many processes if only because of a shortage of raw materials, which in turn releases workers. In England, for instance, there was considerable unemployment in 1939/40 for this very reason.

In view of the vast number of readjustments, it is difficult for the individual manufacturer to gain a clear idea of the labor market. Consequently, all producers in possession of raw materials try desperately to attract workers even at increased wages. Thus, in order to prevent production nonessential to war and to stabilize wages, even the most liberal country is obliged to take recourse to regulating the labor market. Germany had a considerable advantage over other countries in this respect, for she had already carried out a regulation of the labor market to combat unemployment, and this system could simply carry on. Moreover, all necessary preparations for the eventuality of war had been made, so that the outbidding of wages that occurred in America was impossible in Germany.

Japan was in this respect in a somewhat different position. She had had the advantage that, starting from 1937, she could very gradually adjust her peace-time industry to war requirements. The
export industry was already at a standstill and supplied the workers needed by the expanding armament industry. But even so there was a demand for labor, and wages gradually increased.

**REVISED THEORIES**

There is a psychological factor whose influence on the increasing demand for labor must not be underrated. Many social economists presuppose that man instinctively works at that place where, with equal conditions, he will earn the highest income. Hence they believe that, where more money can be made, more work will be done. There seems to be a different rule, however—chiefly in hot climates—something to the following effect. If a man can, as a result of increased wages, satisfy his regular requirements by working shorter hours, he has more free time to enjoy himself or to rest. Why, then, work more, or why go regularly to the factory, especially when there are less and less goods to be bought? To work hard in order to buy savings bonds is a rather remote idea for people who have little sense of time and are not much accustomed to thinking in terms of the future.

Let us digress here slightly. During the economic world crisis, the price of raw rubber dropped to one third of its level prior to 1929. The rubber market collapsed, and the Dutch East Indies studied the possibility of regulating production in order to stabilize the rubber price. The result was the following discrepancy. The plantation owners increased production when prices rose and curtailed production when prices fell. The natives, however, who tapped the rubber in the jungle increased production when prices fell, for that was the only way of obtaining the money they were accustomed to spending. On the other hand, they decreased production when prices rose.

The rubber plan had to be based on these contradictory attitudes. Both groups acted from selfish motives, but the problem was not to be solved by simply adjusting prices. Classic economic theory reckons with self-interest as with a natural force. It cannot be blamed for this, for it was faced by a plethora of economic observations and sought for some principle to explain human actions and to make them calculable. In the two hundred years since Adam Smith's time, doubts have arisen as to the general validity of self-interest as an explanatory principle. We do not know yet where the theory of "common interest goes before self-interest" may lead us as a new explanatory principle of correct national economy. But one thing is certain: with the present dense population of the earth and at the present level of technical knowledge, ungoverned self-interest leads to such disasters of overproduction that public interest, representing common interest, will always have to intervene.

To direct war economics by means of self-interest is a hopeless task, as soon as even a single opponent—such as now the Russians—work on another principle. It remains to be seen how long the United States will be able to organize employment on the basis of income. When the point is finally reached at which not enough people are prepared to work because money no longer attracts them, only such possibilities remain as the mobilization of moral forces or even compulsion.

**EFFECTS OF TOTAL MOBILIZATION**

At the beginning of 1943 a new phenomenon of total warfare made its appearance in Germany. Until then it had been sufficient to have war-essential workers on a combatant footing. Now, however, it became necessary to take people away from jobs which had hitherto been regarded as war-essential. Our baker, for example, who supplied the teacher, may have had a comparatively old-fashioned bakery where much of the work was done by hand. During the period of unemployment this had actually been an advantage; but now the baker had to close down, and the teacher's bread was supplied by a huge bread factory where everything is mechanized.
The baker is now employed in an ammunition factory or in an airplane-assembly plant, while his former employees are now soldiers.

How is the problem of wages handled in this case? Many, many small factory owners, tradesmen, and artisans all over the world are sacrificing their independence and becoming wage or salary earners. The sole compensation offered them for the lowering of their social standing—quite apart from their lower income—is the promise of postwar restitution of their former position. It is here that we once again come up against the spiritual attitude. Modern war demands from the working individual sacrifices which go far beyond anything known during the wars of the last hundred years. We shall see later that the compensation for work may scarcely surpass the minimum requirements for maintaining the strength necessary for work. Hence it is nothing but moral forces which determine the quantity and quality of production. This is one of the strong points of such nations as Germany and Japan and a notable weakness of the United States.

**BRAINS REPLACE RAW MATERIAL**

The degree of personal obligation and the centralization of labor control are greater than during the first world war and may be regarded as especially characteristic of total war. In contrast to this, the nationalization of raw materials is nothing new. The confiscation of foodstuffs is an age-old characteristic of war, and the requisitioning of raw materials is known to us from the Great War, although better preparation and administration are typical of total war. Of course, those countries hitherto poor in raw materials have a head start, because this lack forced them to budget and allowed them to accumulate administrative experience.

Thus the question of raw materials turns out to be a question of human quality: what is needed is talent for organization, inventive power, reliability, and adaptability. Without these, the raw-material wealth of America, of southeastern Asia, or of Russia is worthless.

We might even go so far as to say that modern war no longer deserves the term of "war of raw material." Every child knows that a lot of raw material is required. The possibilities of obtaining the raw material, however, are, as a result of the progress of chemistry, less dependent on geography than formerly and have increased to such an extent that man once again occupies the foreground. A shortage of natural mineral oil is no more of a disaster to the Axis powers than is the shortage of natural rubber to the Americans. Invent, invent—that is the modern problem of material.

**REVERSED TRENDS**

The fact that the question of material has changed in appearance was already to be seen in the period of peace between the two world wars. At that time the problems of overproduction appeared probably for the first time in the history of mankind with such gravity. One need only recall the overproduction of shoes in the United States which went far beyond any possible consumption. Here, in the case of too much, the same urge for government control arose as in the case of too little in the Great War. The art of government control is in the process of becoming a science of its own, whose chief problem is the proper utilization of free initiative. If the human forces hiding behind self-interest in the shape of personal talent, personal ambition, ambition for one's family, are eliminated, then the economy of a nation is robbed of incalculable assets.

In Germany a tendency has been discernible since 1942 to revert control from the state to economic groups. These groups are given free rein to use their expert knowledge of conditions to guarantee certain quotas of production. A similar trend has been noticeable in Japan, too, since the beginning of 1943. Here the main controlling bodies have in some cases been accorded supreme authority, as, for instance, in the distribution of railway discounts by the mining-control body, or in deciding over applications of one factory for the use of patents belong-
The question of material has retreated behind the question of human qualities, one of which is also the art of directing communications. But the question of material is independent of the problem of financing, to which we shall now turn.

**WHAT IS NATIONAL INCOME?**

While the procuring of raw material is a technical problem which by far outweighs the question of cost, the procuring of money in a modern war is no longer a technical but an economic problem. The experiences of the Great War have taught us that the question of cost in this case is a very important one. In other words, the procuring of money must not become too expensive to the state.

In order to make the importance of this decisive point clear, we shall have to discuss national income as such. Assuming that the country has a national income of say 50 billion dollars in a given year, what does this national income represent? Naturally, we must oversimplify the picture. We shall start with the production of the individual worker. He produces something that represents a certain value in money as pointed out earlier in this article. The value of an hour of his working time depends on the goods he produces. If the labor of an entire national economy is effectively employed, the value of the goods produced by an hour of work is high; in the case of inefficient organization it is low. The intelligence of the engineer and the merchant is the multiplicator for the laborer's working hour. If we assume the value of the product of one working hour to be say one dollar, a 10-hour working day would represent 10 dollars and 25 working days a month 250 dollars. Part of this amount goes to the worker as wages; the rest is distributed over raw material, technical and business management, organization, and interest.

The quantity of available working hours is the fundamental item in calculating a national income. To continue with oversimplified figures: if in our country X there are 10 million industrial workers, 3,000 working hours per annum per worker would give us 30 billion working hours. If the working hour yields one dollar, the share of industry in the national income amounts to 30 billion dollars. The remaining 20 billion dollars are produced by agriculture. This figure is lower although the number of workers employed is larger than in industry, for the yield of each working hour is smaller. The distribution of the work over the year is unfavorable, and the number of working hours in agriculture comparatively low. All this is, of course, only a very rough approximation; for in our calculation the work of the family, especially of the housewife, cannot be taken into account.

**THREATENED STABILITY**

In calculating the national income, we assume that in the course of the whole year the one dollar will always have the same value. Now we must ask: what are the conditions under which this value remains constant? The theory of money teaches us that the value of money, or rather of the monetary unit—regardless of whether it is of gold or paper—depends on the relationship between the total quantity of goods and the total quantity of money within the territory in which the currency is valid. Thus, in order to retain the stability of the currency, the relationship between the quantity of goods and the quantity of money must be kept stable. To return to our example: one dollar retains its value if, with a national income of 50 billion dollars, there are also 50 billion dollars' worth of goods produced in that year.

Although in war time these 50 billion dollars are actually earned and the goods also produced, the people are not able to buy 50 billion dollars' worth of goods. What could I do with one of the searchlights produced by our bicycle-lamp manufacturer, even if I were able to buy it? Thus we are faced by the situation that, although 50 billion dollars are earned, say 20 billion dollars' worth
of the goods produced cannot be bought. As a result, the purchasing power of these unemployed 20 billion dollars scrambles for the remaining purchasable goods to the value of 30 billion dollars. Thus the equilibrium is disturbed: 50 billion dollars purchasing power, and only 30 billion dollars’ worth of goods. On top of all this, the quantity of goods is even more restricted by the above-mentioned regulation of the supply of raw material. The 50 billion dollars of income exert a terrific pressure on the value of the few purchasable goods and force up prices. This is the problem of war financing, which applies with equal ruthlessness to all countries.

**REMOVING SURPLUS PURCHASING POWER**

In attempting to remove this pressure, the authorities speak of “skimming off purchasing power.” There are only two possible ways: either an immediate removal of this surplus of purchasing power, or the diverting of this purchasing power into a canal leading into the future. The first consists of taxes, the second of loans. Taxes radically remove purchasing power. They demand from the worker the clear realization: I work, but I cannot buy goods for my own requirements from my pay; instead I buy arms and donate them to my country. Because of England’s extreme clearness of thought in monetary matters, this country was able during the Great War to levy taxes from its citizens which covered 50 per cent of the cost of the war. In Germany it was only possible to cover 25 per cent. In the present war, National-Socialism has succeeded in almost achieving England’s rate. Indeed, in some cases it was possible to finance even more than 50 per cent of the war costs by taxation.

If taxes are raised beyond this level, the present limit to human willingness for sacrifice is apparently exceeded. The individual always needs certain reserves of money beyond the bare requirements of existence. Hence the governments say to their subjects: “Give us the other 50 per cent we require for financing the war on credit; we will pay you back the money in 12 or 15 or 17 years. After the war we shall see to it that it will not be you who will have to provide for the interest on this money by taxes but that the beaten enemy will pay this interest. Thus it is in your own financial interest to win the war.”

**WAR LOANS AND THEIR DANGERS**

There are many different types of propaganda for these loans and many different facilities; but the meaning, from an economic point of view, is always the same: burdening the future. It is important to keep this burden as light as possible. There are three dangers to be considered here:

1. Nonpayment of taxes and loans.
2. Granting of excessive prices for armaments on the part of the state.

(1) If the individual does not pay taxes or take out loans but remains in the market with his money, he increases the pressure of the quantity of money on the limited quantity of goods. Through many thousands of minute channels the general price level is then raised. This rise can only be postponed, but not done away with, by the subsidizing of productions whose cost is rising. As a result of the increase in prices, the inherent value of the loans so far subscribed sinks, which does not encourage the subscriber. The situation of those who have a firm income worsens, and finally wages are forced upward. The following year the national income has increased, for the yield of one working hour has risen from one dollar to one dollar twenty. Perhaps part of this increase represents real goods; but the major part is only the inflated monetary expression of an unchanged production.

In the latter case, the whole picture of economics that can be expressed in money becomes more and more distorted. Rents remain unchanged, bread and rice remain cheap; but all other prices that cannot be fixed are increased. Of course,
there is no difference in the way a cannon shoots whether it has cost 100,000 dollars or 120,000 dollars. Production is absolutely unaffected by questions of money: labor and material are on an entirely different plane in a total war. The price figures only take on importance at the time of demobilization—but, after all, it is for postwar times that war is being waged. For that reason we shall have later on to go into the time after the war.

It might be suggested that, if it is a matter of keeping only so much money in circulation as corresponds to the value of available purchasable goods, the government could force people to subscribe to loans. The result of such a measure, however, is usually a devaluation of the loans. The appeal to the individual's sense of duty, even in the form of moral pressure, has proved more favorable to the market value of the loans, whose transferability can, moreover, be slightly reduced by compulsory registration of large transfers.

**INTERNAL COMPETITION**

(2) The danger that the value of each working hour be inflated can be prevented by seeing to it that the state does not pay too much for its armament supplies. For this reason the price calculation for government orders is subject everywhere to strict control. But as there is usually an urgent demand on all sides, so that supplies are always slightly behind the demand, the individual officer placing an order may sometimes grant higher prices in order to get an earlier delivery, perhaps earlier than one of his colleagues. Thanks to her political leadership, Germany has achieved an unprecedentedly low quota of increase in prices.

(3) Money is required for the payment of taxes and for subscribing to loans; but the money market houses yet a third guest. Side by side with the state stands the entrepreneur, who does not manufacture war material but builds plants in which war material can be produced. Thus, in addition to the 20 billion dollars required for war-material production, our country has also to provide a large amount, say 5 billion dollars, for expanding its industrial capacity, so that actually a total amount of 25 billion dollars must be provided by the population through savings.

**SAVINGS AND PRIVATIONS**

A huge savings program of this kind cannot be carried out without organization. The state must unite all banks and financial organizations into a finance-control body and exert a planned control of investments in industrial expansion and national loans. So we see that, side by side with control of the labor market and of raw-material supplies, there must in total war necessarily also be control of investments. Germany has been a pioneer in all such matters and is ahead of other countries in experience.

In our country X, 25 billion dollars are thus diverted—skimmed off from the national income of 50 billion dollars, and prices should remain stable if the remaining purchasing power of 25 billion dollars were balanced by available goods of the same value. One might say that, with 25 billion dollars for consumption out of 50 billion dollars income, the individual would be able to consume 50 per cent of his earnings. But this is not true, for he must pay additional taxes which the state requires for other than armament expenditure and which must be deducted from this 50 per cent. Although the small consumer does not have to bear the same proportion of taxes and loans as the armaments manufacturer and his employees, total war does not leave him much more for his individual consumption than what is absolutely necessary for maintaining existence—neither in Germany nor Japan, neither in Russia nor England. Beside this bare maintenance of existence, the reward for his work is the knowledge of having done everything humanly possible for the future of his children.

**POSTWAR PROBLEMS**

After the war, the country will have a vast heavy industry, airplane, shipbuild-
Now comes the final astounding conclusion: that country which emerges from the war with the smallest amount of war loans round its neck has, from an economic point of view, been most successful. For, no matter what shape its currency takes on, its budget remains least burdened of all, and its funds can serve other purposes, whether it be the providing of employment, the furthering of foreign trade, or the carrying out of cultural tasks. A country with heavy national debts easily gets caught in the mill of devaluations in which France, for instance, gambled away her war gains of 1914/18 by a stupid financial policy. America, too, is still acting thoughtlessly. The great race for a sound financial policy with regard to the future is being run between Germany and England, and Germany with her scarcely increased price level is well in the lead.

Let us summarize the characteristics of the economics of total warfare:

The economic organization represents a centrally guided economy to an unprecedented extent. A reversed trend is already discernible in that the governments are once again resorting to the sense of duty of private business groups.

Labor is not only regulated as a market but has become a national duty in the public interest. In addition to this, labor has been rationalized to such an extent that plants of a low degree of effectiveness are being shut down in favor of those with a higher one. As a result of technical developments, the question of quantity has become one of quality.

Financing is no longer a technical question, as can be seen from the disappearance of the gold problem. (Not only Japan is closing down her gold mines but also America.) The quantity of money is no longer a problem: it is only a question of employing money economically.
SOYA

By KYUSHIRO NAKAYAMA

The soybean and Manchoukuo are almost synonymous. Indeed, the soybean represents the essence of the wealth of this country with its great future. However, Professor Nakayama shows us, as the result of his original historical studies, that the soybean was used long before anyone knew anything about Manchuria.

Professor Nakayama, who has reached the venerable age of seventy-five years, is Vice-Principal of the War Academy in Beijing. Fifty years ago he studied Chinese literature at the Tokyo University, and since then he has devoted himself to the study and teaching of Oriental history. He has also worked at the Universities of Berlin and Munich. K.M.

In olden times, the soybean was generally cooked for food, while the soya plant was dried for fuel. However, the development of modern science and industry has opened up great new fields for this product. The oil extracted from the soybean has become an important ingredient in the manufacture of food, paint, and fats. Soybean refuse in its unprocessed form is valued as a fertilizer. In pulverized form, soya is used as the raw material from which various foods, tonic medicines, plastics, and substitute wool fiber are manufactured. As long as there is an abundance of soybeans, we shall never lack food and clothing.

Most recently, paper as well as cloth, crepe, and other refined products are being produced from pulp made from the soya plant. When Premier Chang Ching-hui of Manchoukuo visited Japan, he had the honor of taking, as one of the gifts from the Imperial Family of Manchoukuo to the Japanese Imperial Family, some crepe made from...
soybean pulp. Soon the public will probably be wearing garments made from
the soybean and its plant, and it will be reading books and magazines printed on
paper made from the plant. It is even expected that soybean pulp will shortly be
used for the manufacture of noninflammable photographic films.

Yet while we consider the present usefulness and the still more brilliant
future of soya, we should not overlook the fact that this plant has a venerable
history. To prove this, I should like to make the reader acquainted with a histo-
torical fact which I believe I was the first to discover.
Among the historical classics of ancient China, there is a book entitled Ch'ün Ch'iu Ku Liang Chuan (春秋鼓铸傳), which records the story of the Ch'ün Ch'iu era. In this document we read that, some 2,600 years ago, i.e., about 650 B.C., Prince Huan of Chi, who reigned over the greater portion of what is today Shantung Province, subjugated the district of Shan Jung (山陽) and took back to his country as war booty something

... in winter the frozen surface of the Sungari River is made use of to move the heavy sacks by small sleighs.

High silos made of matting, a jumble of carts, and the hubbub of voices of men bargaining and unloading their sacks, characterize a soybean collecting center, of which there are hundreds in Manchoukuo.

Not sand dunes but mountains of soybeans.
called *jung shu* (并不意味). This *jung shu* was popularized in his own domain and eventually spread all over North China.

Shan-Jung is the territory which now forms the southwestern part of Manchoukuo and extends toward Shan-hai-kwan into North China. The Chinese character shu (并不意味) having stood for "beans" in ancient times, *jung shu* consequently means "beans produced in Shan Jung." (The character ton (并不意味) now used for "bean" was originally the term for a certain instrument used in the celebrations in memory of the ancestors. It was not until about the Han Dynasty, some 2,000 years ago, that this character began to be used for "bean." )

Probably there were beans native to China in the old days. But the fact that the importation and spreading of the *jung shu*, the Manchurian soybean, is recorded as a praiseworthy accomplishment of Prince Huan, should be noted as an example of how war and conquest may be accompanied by an exchange of civilization. Thus one of the results of war has often been the interchange of culture and the dissemination of the arts and sciences.

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The soybeans are repacked into standard export sacks and made ready for shipment by rail.

One of the many important products made from soybeans: piles of oil cake ready for shipment.
FRANCE AND EUROPE

By VALENTIN BUISSON

In spite of its swift collapse in the summer of 1940, and in spite of the sad spectacle offered by its domestic developments since then, the French nation is and always will be a part of Europe. Europe has much to thank the French people for in the past and likewise expects much from it in the future. France's greatest weakness today is her spiritual uncertainty and disunity, which are in part the result of her inability to get out of the rut of tradition-bound, outdated thinking onto a new path more in harmony with reality.

Convinced that a study of France's relations to the rest of Europe will contribute toward clarifying her present position, we are now publishing an article written by a Frenchman living in East Asia. Like many of his countrymen, the author seeks for the reasons of the collapse of yesterday because he hopes to find in them pointers for the policy of tomorrow, and because he is concerned for France's future. He writes under a pseudonym.—K.M.

If we observe the foreign policies of the five leading European powers during the last few centuries, we arrive at the following picture.

Russia's traditional foreign policy was that of expansion, with Moscow as its center, and always in the direction of least resistance, a policy which has led from a small principality ruled by Ivan the Moneybag (early fourteenth century) to the largest country in the world under Stalin.

In the case of Germany, on the other hand, no clearly defined foreign policy is discernible, since up to recent times there was no unified German state. The Germany of the Middle Ages, now known as the First Reich, vacillated in its foreign policy between expansion toward the east and campaigns in Italy. The subsequent dissolution of the First Reich into countless small states rendered any German foreign policy impossible, although some of the dynasties, such as the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns, conducted their own dynastic foreign policies. During this time it remained the most important—although for long periods unacknowledged—goal of the Germans to form a united nation along the lines of other European states. This goal was not reached until modern times, under Bismarck and Hitler. It is only now that one can speak of a truly German foreign policy which, during the last few years, has inscribed the foundation of a united Europe on its banners.

The development in Italy was similar to that in Germany. Here, too, the goal of a united and independent state was not achieved until 1810. Only since then can we discern a real foreign policy, a policy directed at turning the Mediterranean into the mare nostrum and creating a colonial empire in North Africa.

The Tudor kings of England, who laid the foundation for England's overseas expansion, introduced a policy toward Europe which has since become the maxim of British statesmanship: the balance of power, in other words, the attempt always to see to it that no single power achieve hegemony on the European continent but that the various camps always be more or less in a state of balance. This policy permitted England to devote herself without serious interference to the building up of her world empire. Whenever there was a threat of the establishment of a European hegemony, England threw her weight into the scales to restore the balance. In pursuit of this policy England has fought against every European power: Spain, Hapsburg, Russia, Germany and, most often of all, against France.
CLASSIC FORMULA . . .

France pursued the same policy toward Germany as England toward Europe. Since the days of Cardinal Richelieu, France saw in the Westphalian Peace (1648), which ended the Thirty Years’ War, an ideal solution to the German question, a solution which became the classic French foreign policy:

Germany territorially and politically disintegrated, each of her hundreds of principalities jealously guarding its “liberties”; her emperor elected by a committee of princes, some of whom could be influenced from outside; and the French kings as protectors of this “German liberty,” the liberty of the German princes to further their own interests at the expense of the Reich—in short, a balance of power between the various German states which would make the unification of the Germans into one powerful state impossible.

France dreaded Germany’s unification with a morbid fear. It is true that the French Revolution of 1789 temporarily replaced the classic French policy by advocating the principle of nationalism and self-determination for all nations. In his St. Helena will, Napoleon I recommended sticking to this policy; and Napoleon III followed his advice when he gave support to Italy in her unification. But he returned to the classic policy in 1866 when Prussia undertook the unification of Germany. Italy paid for France’s support by handing Savoy and Nice to France. Bismarck refused to pay for French consent with German territory: he paid with the war of 1870.

Had the foreign-policy principle of the French Revolution been followed consistently, it might have spared France and Germany, and Europe as a whole, a good deal of misery. But this policy has always been opposed by those attached to the classic system. In 1866, 1870, 1914, and 1939, the classic principle prevailed.

... AND “IDÉE FIXE”

Between 1870 and 1914, France energetically denied harboring seventeenth-century aims against her neighbors and accused Germany of being the aggressor. During the Great War, however, the French again openly glorified the policy and aims of Cardinal Richelieu. Jacques Bainville’s Histoire de Deux Peuples, written in 1916, enjoyed tremendous success and went into well over three hundred editions. It has remained the popular political bible of the French, a bible of Richelieu’s political faith in which republicans and monarchists believe alike. It is significant that in 1935 Bainville was elected a member of the Académie Française. Maurice Barrès, another writer and member of this august body, calls this policy “France’s eternal thesis” or “idée fixe.” France was inundated with literature and pamphlets by which the French people were made to forget their revolution and familiarized once more with the policy and aims of their former monarchy and the meaning of the Westphalian Peace. To perpetuate or renew this state of German disunity has been the aim of French diplomacy for hundreds of years. To counteract it and to unify the Germans, was, of course, the aim of the leading German powers—principally Austria and Prussia.

What effect did this situation have on France’s attitude toward the rest of Europe?

The French Drang nach Osten has been noticeable in European history since the sixteenth century, and this Drang was still very much alive in 1939. Yes, France, too, has her “urge toward the east,” an urge toward German territory. Seen from the point of view of former centuries, this French urge must be considered just as natural as the German one. To conquer was then the noble occupation of kings. But this does not change the fact that the French Drang toward German territory and, simultaneously, the French “no” to German unity, must be considered as one of the main causes of the wars between France and the Germans and of the continual unrest in Europe. If, in these circumstances, France has in modern times suffered invasions, she has not much
FRANCE AND EUROPE

FRANCE AND ENGLAND

Britain’s “balance of power” doctrine embraced the whole European continent, including France. The British policy allowed Germany to unite as a counterbalance against united France, but only as long as Germany did not transgress the proportions tolerable to England within this law of balance. This policy was not directed against Germany alone: it was directed against any power on the Continent which aspired to unite Europe under its leadership. That should have been a warning to France.

France’s ambition for her own security, well-being, and aggrandizement was dictatorial preponderance on the Continent. This automatically made Britain her enemy. Did not Clemenceau say to Lloyd George soon after the Great War: “Half an hour after the Armistice I already had the impression that you had again become the enemy of France,” to which Lloyd George replied: “Has this not always been the traditional policy of my country?”

Thus the community of interest between France and England was very limited and existed only during the brief stretches when their roads happened to run parallel. In all other cases the belief of France that she and England had the same aim was unjustified optimism; it was a belief in the possibility of squaring the circle.

There was another difference between London and Paris. As a continental power, France had to fight her wars with her own sons. Consequently, she welcomed any nation contiguous to Germany for permanent alliances, while Britain chose her allies only when the necessity arose. Britain always remained the master of her alliances; France often became their slave. During Napoleon’s times and before, Prussia was good enough to fight for England against Napoleon; in 1914 and 1939, France was good enough to fight against Germany, to bleed herself white and, finally, in 1940, to collapse for the same old England. All wars fought between France and England after England had been driven out of France in the fifteenth century were caused by the British “balance of power” policy. Up to the Napoleonic wars, France exhausted her man power and creative powers in wars against England. When, toward the end of the nineteenth century, England believed that Germany was upsetting the balance of power, she began to enlist allies against Germany. The most important of these was France.

In Britain it was the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII (1841-1910), who was the motive force behind the group opposing the rise of Germany. Married to a Danish princess, he wanted his mother, Queen Victoria, to intervene against Prussia in the German-Danish war of 1864; and as early as 1866 he explained to the French Ambassador in London that an entente between France and Britain would serve the best interests of both countries. Queen Victoria refused to please her son, but she died in 1901 and Edward became King of England. Still, it was not altogether smooth sailing for him. The French Republic was anti-German all right, but at the same time it had not forgotten the history of its relations with England. Her colonial program had made France particularly anti-British.

COLONIAL POLICY

After 1871, Republican France at first properly estimated her own forces and knew well that national aspirations must in the first instance be backed by one’s own national strength and creative genius. Thus France had first of all to reorganize herself and hope to recover her strength by creating a great colonial empire, in particular in North Africa. This diversion from the Continent toward colonial fields was exactly what Britain did not like. She was afraid of French colonial ambitions. If King Edward could direct France’s interest away from Africa to the Continent, she would cease being a
rival in the colonial field and would become England's ally. After a lengthy and thorny struggle, Edward VII partially succeeded; but he did not live to see how the seed he had sown ruined France—and finally threatened the British Empire.

In those days, France still had many men of the highest integrity, men who knew England well and who preferred to go their own, a French way. Furthermore, great national hopes were placed in colonial expansion. The creation of a colonial empire gave France a new impulse after her defeat of 1871 in the Franco-Prussian War and became the Third Republic's object of national ambition and pride.

Because of French colonial ambitions, France and England were frequently at loggerheads. On one occasion it was over Newfoundland, on another over the New Hebrides or Siam. In those years France had not given up her hopes for Egypt, and Morocco was not yet French; Britain still hoped to complete her hold on the Mediterranean by the occupation of Egypt as well as of Morocco with its Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts. Thus there was friction time and again. As late as in February 1887, Lord Salisbury wrote to the British Ambassador in Paris: "It is difficult not to wish for another Franco-German war to finish with this endless bother."

During the latter part of the last century, relations between France and Britain were so strained that part of the British ruling class considered France the more dangerous rival and was prepared to make permanent arrangements with Germany, even at the cost of concessions to Germany in the Middle East and North Africa. Bismarck declined this British offer because he would not tolerate the idea of Germany acting the undignified role of a counterweight against France or any other country for England. Aware of historical realities, he demanded only the recognition of Germany's right to live a national life in security. He refused to wage a preventive war against France when it became clear that the Third Republic was looking for revenge and was again basing its policy on Richelieu's legacy. He also refused to become Britain's tool and to spill German blood in support of Britain's ambitions.

In the years after Bismarck's dismissal, England gradually came to consider Germany as her enemy No. 1. Of course, a nation regarded by Britain as her enemy always has the alternative of voluntary submission. But whoever refuses to submit at the given moment—be it Spain, France, Holland, or Austria in former times, or Germany in our time—calls down upon himself the curse of righteous British indignation. He is mercilessly persecuted for wanting "world domination" and as the "disturber of world peace."

"ENTENTE CORDIALE"

As soon as Great Britain had made up her mind that Germany was the chief enemy, France was automatically expected to become Britain's ally.

During a dinner in Marlborough House on February 28, 1902, Joseph Chamberlain had his first intimate discussion with the French Ambassador Cambon on the possibility and necessity of an alliance between the two countries. But France had not yet then wholly forgotten her bitter political defeat at Fashoda in 1898 (see our issue of December 1942, page 380) and was in no mood to play the role of the dupe in Britain's game. When Edward VII arrived in Paris on an official visit in May 1903, the Parisians still greeted him with "Vive les Boers! Vive Marchand!" (Marchand was the name of the French commander at Fashoda.) Nevertheless, the foundation was laid during this visit for negotiations between the two powers.

Strange as it may seem today, the French politicians, blinded by their desire for revenge against Germany and for hegemony in Europe, fell into the British trap. In June 1903, Lord Lansdowne initiated the parleys with Ambassador Cambon in earnest; and, after very difficult and protracted negotiations, an accord on all outstanding colonial disputes.
was reached in 1904. In it Britain declared that she had no interest in Morocco, and France definitely lost Egypt, which she had made accessible to Britain at great cost in lives. France also lost the Suez Canal, which she had built.

In 1898 Fashoda had made the French forget Alsace-Lorraine for a while; in 1904 the Entente Cordiale made the French forget Fashoda and revived their desire for Alsace-Lorraine. Now France turned once more fully and actively to her classic continental policy. The Entente Cordiale was a misfortune for France. From then on, her foreign policy was determined in London. British propaganda entered the country freely. The chances of coming to reasonable terms with the German neighbor dwindled. France had to train African natives to fill up her divisions, to consolidate the *pax britannica*.

If the Entente Cordiale had any meaning at all for France, it was the reconquest of Alsace-Lorraine, the conquest of the left bank of the Rhine, and the dismemberment of Bismarck's Reich. Britain on her part wanted by means of the Entente Cordiale to safeguard her nineteenth-century world order, to establish her position as supreme arbiter on the Continent, and to further her designs beyond the seven seas on her march to undisputed world hegemony and world exploitation. The Entente Cordiale was the beginning of a gigantic encirclement of Germany, with France and her Russian ally as Britain's swords which were to destroy Germany. For this we have the testimony of Lord Rosebery, for years Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister of the British Empire (and son-in-law of a Rothschild). These are the words with which David Lloyd George begins his six volumes of memoirs:

> In the year 1904, on the day when the Anglo-French Entente was announced, I arrived at Dalmeny on a couple of day's visit to the late Lord Rosebery. His first greeting to me was: "Well, I suppose you are just as pleased as the rest of them with this French agreement?" I assured him that I was delighted that our snarling and scratching relations with France had come to an end at last. He replied: "You are all wrong. It means war with Germany in the end!"

All the world knows that a war followed upon the Entente Cordiale. If Britain managed to make the world believe that this war was a German war and that Britain only entered the war to save Belgium, France, civilization, and democracy, it shows that the British statesmen before the Great War were cleverer than those after that war, and that the German statesmen had not learned much from Bismarck.

For reasons of camouflage, to make the world believe that this war was not her war, Britain entered the war too late to stop the German advance through Belgium in 1914. Not until August 15 did the British land about five divisions at Dunkirk, Calais, and Ostend, while France had mobilized seventy divisions and Germany had put seventy of her divisions into the field on the western front. By January 1918, the French Command was still unable to obtain approximate figures of the forces Britain intended to send to France. By that time, twenty-nine nations had declared war on Germany and her allies. France had put her all into the struggle. Not until the spring of that year, when an Allied defeat seemed possible, did Britain send all available forces to France.

When Germany was finally brought to her knees, where did Britain's allies find themselves? Russia was a prey to Bolshevism, Italy was on the verge of a revolution, and France was bled white and exhausted (how exhausted, 1940 has shown). So the peace turned out to be a British peace and not a French one.

**DISAPPOINTMENT**

What had most Frenchmen, not to speak of Clemenceau and Poincaré, expected as compensation for France's sacrifices during the four years of an unprecedented war?

In his *Intimitées de la IIIe République*, Ferdinand Bac describes a visit he made at the beginning of 1918 to the former French Ambassador to Berlin, whom he found marking a big map with a red pencil. The Ambassador said to Bac:
"The news from the front is good, in October the war will be over. One must start thinking what our conditions must be. . . . With Alsace-Lorraine we have the left bank of the Rhine, the Germany of the Carolingians. Poland will be given Silesia. The Reich of Emperor Wilhelm must be dismembered. Hanover must return to England, and the Russians will get East Prussia. We will restore the small northern German states with Dresden as the capital; we will make a South German Federation of Austria, Bavaria, Baden, and Württemberg, with Vienna as the capital. In other words, we will return to the time before 1866. . . . In France I am republican, but to have peace we must restore the hundreds of small German principalities."

This is, no doubt, the meaning which most Frenchmen had seen in the Entente Cordiale, the meaning of Richelieu's classic policy.

Britain had good reason to be satisfied with the settlement of the Great War: Germany had no more navy and no more colonies; to keep her away from world politics would now be easy. France, on the contrary, without the left bank of the Rhine under her permanent control, with Germany undivided, with a devastated country, with delusive reparation promises and heavy war debts, was not satisfied. In the distribution of colonial spoils she had been largely cheated; and for what she had received in the Middle East, Britain caused her as much trouble as possible. Britain wanted the Middle East for herself and wished to get France out of Syria. (Churchill finished this job in 1941 by occupying Syria and Lebanon.)

France was now faced by the choice either of continuing her classic policy toward Germany or of finding a basis for European solidarity by coming to terms with the fallen enemy. The German statesmen, from President Ebert to Hitler, tried hard to come to an understanding with France. But, as Bruce Lockhart says in his Retreat from Glory, anyone in France daring to suggest a policy of reconciliation with Germany was considered a traitor. It is pathetic to read the interview Bruce Lockhart had with the German Chancellor Stresemann on April 13, 1929, in Berlin, six months before Stresemann died, and in which Stresemann said "that there were no Germans who would fight for the return of Alsace-Lorraine, but there was not a German from the ex-Kaiser to the poorest Communist who would ever accept the present German-Polish frontier. With a rectification of the Polish frontier Europe could save peace for a hundred years."

**ONE MORE "NO"**

And Hitler? He too tried to do away with Versailles by peaceful means. Notwithstanding the disappointment he suffered at the Disarmament Conference of 1933 and his firm attitude toward the League of Nations, he made great efforts to arrange matters by negotiation. To this end he submitted a memorandum to Britain in December 1933, asking her to forward it also to France. In this memorandum Hitler proposed the limitation of Germany's armed forces to fifty per cent of the French effective in men and material; the control, it was proposed, to be international and reciprocal. A somewhat different Italian memorandum supported the German note.

The German memorandum was undoubtedly a proposal for total revision of Versailles, inclusive of the territorial clauses. France was therewith confronted with a grave and far-reaching decision. She had the choice either of taking Germany's proposal into consideration, with the possibility that she would have to give up Richelieu's legacy, or of rejecting it and reaffirming that legacy. On April 17, 1934, about four months after she had been approached, France rejected the German proposals and thereby manifested her decision to uphold her postwar foreign policy and the European status created by the dictates concluded after the Great War.

After his victory in the Saar plebiscite, Hitler declared that, for the sake of peace, Germany was willing to renounce all further claims on Alsace-Lorraine and on any other territorial changes along her western border. Had France reciprocated the offer by a likewise voluntary acceptance of her Versailles boundaries as final, and without mental reservation, such a deal, voluntarily arrived at, would have closed a thousand-year-old
bad chapter of Franco-German and European history and would have given Europe a long period of peace. When France continued to stick to the "Westphalian idea," Germany rearmed without the consent of France and the others and gave preference to cannons instead of butter. To the last, Hitler tried to come to terms with France. But by then Britain had taken the lead, and France had become "a back number and unworthy of support," as the British Ambassador, Sir Nevile Henderson, said to Dodd, the American Ambassador, in Berlin on June 23, 1937.

**COLONIZED COLONIZERS**

How did France hope to carry out her classic policy? Marshal Pétain has stated more than once: "We lost the war because we have not enough children." Hence, feeling too weak herself to control the development of Europe and to suppress the rise of young, strong ideas, France had to put her trust in others. She organized colonial armies with which she hoped to replace those missing children and to regain her seventeenth-century grandeur.

Apparently our leaders never realized that an army of primitive colonials could not replace her missing children and give France the necessary prestige for a hegemony on the Continent. They did not realize that, even with the colonial army of one million men which Marshal Foch promised to enlist after the Great War, they would not be able to impose their will and conditions on the German people for any length of time without endangering their own race and national existence. Having embarked on a policy of force, force had to be obtained from wherever it was obtainable and at any cost.

Henry Champly, in his book *White Women, Colored Men* (1936) says in despair: "We are being colonized by our colonials, by colored men." Champly is deeply concerned about the future of our race. He is afraid that France will soon belong to the half-breed races, and he appeals to the French women to save the French race. But the remedy Champly proposes is in itself a half-breed one, a mixture of arrogance and decay. Obviously believing that it is too late for a complete cure, afraid of the drastic Moscow remedy of "complete mixture" or the radical Berlin "pure Aryan" remedy, and believing in the superiority of the so-called "democracies," he proposes a slow process "of adaptation, of alloy, of alliance" with colored races. In other words, the Moscow prescription applied in small doses.

**THE WEB OF ALLIANCES**

As the negroes of the French Empire were obviously not enough to support France's European claims, she had to look for allies. She drifted back to the same system of alliances which had precipitated the world into the Great War, only in a manifoldly exaggerated form. A system of alliances always creates countermeasures and makes wars unavoidable. In this particular case, the French alliances practically sabotaged the League of Nations, the real purpose of which was supposed to be the bringing about of co-operation among the nations on an equal basis, with fairness and justice for all. Furthermore, the French system of alliances was, from the beginning, not an altogether one-sided business: France's allies also expected something in return. Feeling their combined might, they became arrogant. Finally, the time came when they grew unmanageable and imposed their will upon their partner. In 1939 it was largely owing to the Polish attitude that the French and British negotiations with the Soviet Union failed, a fact which greatly contributed to France's catastrophe a year later.

A system of alliances is the vicious circle in politics. Besides causing herself and others a good deal of trouble by her alliances, France was compelled on the fateful third of September 1939, whether she liked it or not, to follow Britain and to declare war on Germany at a time when she was in no way prepared for war. Nominally, her obligation resulted from her alliance with Poland; in reality,
France had lost her independence and become a sort of British dominion on the day she signed the Entente Cordiale.

As France’s system of alliances meant nothing but the encirclement of Germany, and as it was generally felt that encirclement is in itself a form of aggression, this system was ennobled by the new name of “collective security.” Collective security was defined by Lord Lothian in his speech in the House of Lords on March 2, 1937, when he said:

"The argument that the nations which are satisfied with the status quo, the nations which want to prevent any alterations, should enter into something like a military alliance in order that they may be overwhelmingly and collectively stronger than any nation that seeks to alter the status quo, is nothing but the modernization of what in my view has been the fatal policy which has been maintained by the French Government since 1920."

It is noteworthy that France’s net of alliances was to a large extent spun around the Germany of Weimar, long before Hitler became a factor in German politics, indeed, even before Mein Kampf had been written. But after Hitler’s advent to power, renewed diplomatic activity became noticeable between France and her satellites.

**THE CHOICE**

What did France choose? The impossible. In the forlorn hope of winning a “Westphalian Peace” after all, France declared Versailles to be the public law, the international order, the Magna Charta for the coming centuries. Minor changes, to which France yielded under pressure, were too insignificant to improve the situation created by her policy. Reconciliation was rejected.

In pursuance of Richelieu’s legacy, in order to triumph completely over one of the most vital forces on the European continent and in the world, France hoped not only to perpetuate the status created before Hitler became a factor in German politics, indeed, even before Mein Kampf had been written. But after Hitler’s advent to power, renewed diplomatic activity became noticeable between France and her satellites.

**The French System of Alliances, 1919/39**

Each line indicates a treaty, the dates showing when these treaties were concluded. All countries included in the French system of alliances are shown in black.
by Versailles but also to obtain what Versailles had withheld from her. This is what one finds when analyzing the French postwar foreign policy; this alone was to all appearances the French postwar "idea."

Would history have blamed France for her policy if she had had the might, the moral power, and spirit on which such a policy must be based? Probably not. Because this policy ended in failure, most Frenchmen believe that their government's policy as such was right, but that the execution was wrong. A few of us, however, realized long ago that the policy was wrong because it was based on a moral and physical might which France no longer possessed.

Under such conditions alliances become mortgages with all the risks of foreclosure involved, especially if one has overcharged one's assets. France and her continental allies could not impose their will on Germany without Britain. And Britain, after the Great War, wanted peace for the consolidation of her gains and a Germany strong enough to counterbalance an aggressive France. Only when Germany again grew stronger than the British idea of balance permitted and when she refused to be governed by London, did Britain change her postwar policy and concentrate her enmity against Germany.

In the early thirties, Lucas Dubreton wrote in the Crapouillot:

What we know is that since 1918 we had to be content with the most disagreeable things from our British neighbors, that they always did their best to fetter, to obstruct, or to minimize us. One must be naive to be surprised at that: never has England given a sign that she would leave the supremacy, or even the superiority on the Continent to any one nation. Since then the British have received several shocks, and this may bring us once more to a time in which they will again be more polite and friendly toward us.

Dubreton was right. In August 1934 Baldwin stated in the House of Commons that Britain's frontiers were not the white cliffs of Dover but the Rhine. In June 1936 Duff-Cooper, Minister of War, told the French: "Your frontier is our frontier!" And on July 27, 1938, Lord Halifax declared: "The friendship existing between both countries no longer depends on written agreements but is based on common thoughts and aims." London had again taken over the direction of France's foreign affairs.

One may wonder how France could ever have been fooled into the Entente Cordiale and into fighting for England during the Great War. But that France, after all the experiences made during the Peace Conference at Paris and afterwards, followed a policy which again played into the hands of the British and made France fight England's war, was more than foolish: it was criminal.

Lord Lothian, a man who knew much about the world between the two world wars, wrote a sentence on January 31, 1935, in The Times, which brilliantly illuminates the situation of this period: "War comes far more frequently from inability to change out-of-date political arrangements in time than from direct aggression."

For her inability to change out-of-date political arrangements France has had to pay a terrible price. Britain pushed her aside and occupied the place of the spider in the web France had woven. France herself became only one of the many flies entangled in the web which England now proceeded to use for her own policy, a policy which led in 1940 to the collapse of France.

Only a complete change of the antediluvian mentality of Europe and of the traditional political maxims of Britain and France, an all-round spiritual rebirth, can save Europe and her civilization from complete ruin. This warning was distinctly written on the wall in 1918. To have deliberately ignored this warning, to have broken faith with humanity at Versailles, not to have paved the way leading toward a new Europe, are the mortal sins of the Allies after their victory. The final result could only be frightful destruction.

"Nothing is settled finally until it is settled right!" said Abraham Lincoln. The time has come again for France to settle matters right. Will she do it?
THE ADLON BAR GANG

By CARL FLICK-STEGER

The author of this article, at present in charge of one of Shanghai’s radio stations, has been a journalist and writer all his life and is the author of several books. During the critical years of 1930 to 1936 he was the Central European correspondent for the Hearst Press and Universal Service and later foreign editor of “The Philadelphia Inquirer.” He has seen history in the making and knows how to tell his experiences in a manner which brings historic events and names from the elevated and sometimes obscure level of editorials and history books onto the plane of human interest.—K.M.

THE GANG ON PARADE

LUNCH-time in the Adlon Bar always witnessed a parade of many of Europe’s No. 1 foreign newspaper correspondents. Fritz, the bar’s chief of staff, was a marvel at calling everybody by his right name, anticipating everyone’s order, never obtrusive but always on hand when needed. From one o’clock on, Fritz flitted about, juggled trays piled with edibles and drinks amidst clattering dishes and the hubbub of conversation, until the lunch hour gradually faded out into silence again. One or two groups of correspondents remained to shoot craps or play poker. Thereafter outbursts such as, “Try to beat that!” or “How do you like them apples?” intermixed with guffawing were all that interrupted Fritz’s afternoon nap.

Suddenly ambitious Lithuanian-born Otto Tolischus stalked in. Fired by the INS, Otto had a tough time in New York until he fell back on his feet as Berlin correspondent No. 2 of The New York Times, a job he owed exclusively to the kindness of Karl H. von Wiegand, Hearst’s veteran peer of American journalism.

“Well, what’s new?” Otto honked in a voice suggesting the advisability of a nose operation, his round fish eyes full of brisk expectancy.

“Not a thing stirring,” drawled Louis Lochner, who had just sent off an exclusive story whose repercussions were going to keep Otto up all that night, although Otto didn’t know it yet. Twenty odd years in Berlin as chief correspondent of the Associated Press had made Louis ruthlessly egoistic.

Then red-faced jovial Guido Endris ambled in. Swiss-born Guido, Otto’s boss, was one man everybody liked. For more than twenty years, newspaperdom in Berlin without Guido Endris would have been as unimaginable as Unter den Linden without the Brandenburger Tor.

“What do you think of them shoes, fellers?” he rasped, holding out one foot. “Just bought ’em, ain’t they swell?” A low chorus of mumbled assent followed although nobody took his eyes off the dice or the cards. Everybody knew all about Guido’s strange hankering. Thirty-one pairs of shoes already filled his wardrobe, and it was said that at night he would line them all up in a row on the floor and spend hours meditating over them. “Other people collect stamps and butterflies and I collect shoes, so what!” was his candid explanation.

Regular lunchers at the Adlon were also red-haired, wiry H. R. (“Knick”) Knickerbocker, son of a Texas preacher, winner of the Pulitzer Prize, then with the New York Evening Post until it folded up, and thereafter Berlin correspondent of INS; and spinster Sigrid Schulz, the only American woman correspondent in Berlin. In the early days of 1933 a neophyte in one of the Berlin ministries got enthusiastic over her apparently
German name and her naturally blond hair and, much to the surprise of everybody and above all of Sigrid herself, gave her unusual boosting until an older hand in the Ministry read up some of the stuff she was sending her newspaper, the Chicago Tribune. Thereafter she fell back into the disfavor which she unquestionably merited. Sigrid just couldn’t get used to a political situation that did not produce at least one cabinet crisis per month.

As for the Chicago Daily News correspondent, tall, sour-faced Edgar Mowrer, his stay in Berlin came to an abrupt end shortly after 1933. Somehow I can’t get away from the conviction that Mowrer intentionally brought about his expulsion from Germany in order to boost the sale of his book, Germany Puts the Clock Back. His publisher had probably advised him: “Your manuscript isn’t bad. But in order to make a best seller out of it, you’ve got to get into the headlines somehow. Get yourself kicked out of Germany, that’ll give your stuff the necessary punch and make a martyr of you.” Anyway, officialdom in Berlin soon got wise to that trick. Later, instead of expelling journalists, they were side-tracked and ignored with the usual result that their own management soon recalled them simply because they weren’t able to come through with any more news.

Two other frequenters of the Adlon Bar, even though they were not foreign correspondents, belonged to the “gang.”

The one was blustering Douglas Miller, the American Embassy’s counsellor of trade and economics, a proficient debater on the subject of why America was the world’s only country that knew how to do business. One day early in 1933 he complained to me with considerable bitterness that Congressman Samuel Dickstein was misusing the whole consular and embassy staff to get all his Jewish relatives out of Galicia in order to provide government jobs for them in Washington. However, this did not prevent Doug later on from writing his widely read book, You Can’t Do Business With Hitler. Maybe he couldn’t, at least not the kind of business he wanted to do. Incidentally, I understand his net profits out of that book have already passed a quarter of a million US dollars.

The other outsider, Rumanian-born “banker” Frank Lane, was repeatedly caught cheating at dice and poker. His speciality was finding ways and means of smuggling foreign currency out of Germany. He and Doug Miller were the thickest of friends. Official data which has meanwhile been published by the Reich Government on the financial activities of Douglas Miller in Berlin would appear to have made his friendship with Lane only natural. Anyway, the last I heard of Lane, he was serving a term in a United States penitentiary.

During 1933 shifty-eyed Quentin Reynolds arrived from New York one day to do some special writing for the INS. His girl friend was Martha Dodd, daughter of American Ambassador William E. Dodd, when she wasn’t out with the Soviet diplomat Vinogradov, who is now Stalin’s Ambassador to Turkey. Her father was a man without means, so she had to work for a living. What was more convenient than to work for a German newspaper? She became a staff member of the Berliner Lokal Anzeiger, which did not, however, prevent her from lambasting Germany when publishing the diary allegedly compiled by her father and a book of her own.

Quent Reynolds spent a delightful six months gourmandizing in Germany, largely at the expense of the Reich Government. He was wined and dined and junketed around, accepting all invitations with a slick Irish smile. And after leaving Germany glutted with good German food and all of thirty pounds heavier in weight than when he came to Berlin, he wrote a story for Collier’s Weekly in which he tried to tell the American people that Germany was living on dog meat. Quent, as I knew him then, was ready to write anything if you paid him enough for it. Nevertheless, he’s a wizard at writing sports stories, a speciality which he has mastered to perfection and should have stuck to.
A diversion from politics was always welcome. Such a relaxation was the Tempelhof Airfield where facetious Sefton Delmar of the London Daily Mail, always full of monkey tricks, kept us all in a roar while we waited for another round-the-world flier to arrive from his hop across the Atlantic. And when he finally did swoop down from the clouds, the attempt at interviewing a dazed, fagged-out pilot who hadn’t slept for twenty-four hours and was almost completely deaf from the roar of his motor was a problem in itself. Such interviews were generally written before the plane zoomed into view.

Less fun for Hearst’s correspondents was the sudden appearance of famous songstress and movie star Marion Davies. God help Hearst’s man if the music hall Marion condescended to appear in wasn’t jammed to the doors and there weren’t at least a dozen curtain calls (“and never mind what the show costs”). The aged “chief” had no mercy for those who aroused Marion’s displeasure.

Any other time of the day it was strictly business when we met to interview the chancellors and cabinet members of many nations and the great and the famous in all walks of life. But when one o’clock came all was forgotten, and the walls of the Adlon Bar re-echoed once more with the laughter and mirth of genuine relaxation. Fritz and his bar will always be remembered by every foreign correspondent who worked in Berlin.

“I SAW HITLER”

Hefty, broad-shouldered Dorothy Thompson is the prototype of the emancipated insurgent American Amazon, and I don’t think Edgar Mowrer was so wrong when he remarked to me one day in Berlin that she had nerve enough to demand the American presidency. But she certainly knows how to tell a story in a style that is inimitable. One evening she, Walter Duranty (New York Times correspondent in Moscow, on vacation in Berlin), and I happened to meet in the Adlon Bar. Dorothy evoked roars of laughter as she recounted in the funniest American slang weird experiences in Moscow. Walter Duranty, in a polished English accent, continued with a tale depicting his vermin-ridden Moscow apartment, the impossibility of getting a daily hot bath, the steam heating that never functioned, and the house elevator that made its last trip back in 1917. “Why, you can’t even buy a razor blade in the bally hole,” Walt complained.

As usual, the conversation finally turned toward politics and, since it was impossible to talk about the political situation in Germany in 1932 without talking about Adolf Hitler, we finally reached the popular subject that dominated every European café, restaurant, and club meeting in those days: “What’s your opinion about Hitler?”

Duranty made an effort to be fair, Dorothy got furious. She never could tolerate contradiction. Poor husband Sinclair Lewis—no wonder he disespoused her. The tirade that Dorothy let loose against Hitler was about the most vicious outburst I had ever witnessed. She ended it with, “Well, I’m seeing him tomorrow morning.”

My last-minute efforts to prevent the interview were unsuccessful. Punctually at the appointed hour that morning Dorothy’s beefy contour hove in sight. Four seconds after Adolf Hitler had walked into the room, Dorothy “knew” that “this man would never become Chancellor of Germany.” That, at least, was the opening sentence of her widely read “I Saw Hitler” interview that later appeared in pamphlet form in millions of copies and many languages. As a prophet, Dorothy wasn’t so hot.

“GET IT FIRST BUT FIRST GET IT RIGHT”

A few weeks after Hitler came into power, lanky Edward Deuss, Berlin correspondent of International News Service, sat crouched over his typewriter one morning, putting the finishing touches to what he considered to be about the best story he had ever turned out. Ed smiled,
lit a cigarette, then yanked the story out of the machine and yelled, "Max, get London."

Fifteen minutes later the office boy Max was shouting the story through the telephone to London, and another fifteen minutes later another office boy in New York rushed into the cable editor’s office of INS with a couple of yards of fluttering paper tape bearing the following cable from Berlin: INTERNEWS NEW YORK DEUSS STOP MURDERED JEWS BEING BURIED WEISSENSEE JEWISH CEMETERY DAILY STOP POWERFUL STORMTROOPER CAR UPDRIVES CEMETERY ENTRANCE STORMTROOPERS OUTJUMP CAR HURL BODIES MURDERED JEWS IN GUTTER THEN SHOUT TO GATEKEEPER QUOTE BURY THE BASTARDS UNQUOTE CAR RACES OFF RETURNS FEW HOURS LATER WITH MORE JEWS. The cable editor rubbed his hands. Now there at last was a story. Almost every New York evening paper front-paged it with a screeching barmer headline, and street sales soared to a new high.

I asked Deuss that afternoon if he was sure his story was sufficiently watertight to weather the storm that was sure to break loose. "Aw, shut up and mind your own business," was his reply. But when, on the afternoon of the following day, Chancellor Hitler referred to the story in a Reichstag world-wide radio hookup speech in terms so unequivocal that the innocent heaved a sigh of relief, Deuss began to get nervous.

Then he suddenly decided to do what any cub reporter would have done before firing off a story loaded with so much dynamite: he hurried over to the Jewish cemetery in Weissensee to try to pick up something he would be able to stand on. True, he found a number of newly shoveled graves, but that wasn’t enough. So he slipped five marks into the Jewish gardener’s palm. The gardener thereupon showed him a few more new graves. Ed gradually talked himself into interpreting these as adequate evidence that his story was true.

The climax came on the morning of the next day when Deuss was summoned to Prussia’s 1933 Minister of the Interior Hermann Goering.

"Tell me, Herr Deuss, are you absolutely certain that your story about those murdered Jews is true?" Goering quietly inquired in a deep, almost fatherly voice.

"Absolutely certain, Herr Minister," Deuss snapped back.

"Did you actually see any of those murdered Jews you wrote about?"

"No, I didn’t exactly see them," Deuss replied with a hesitant quiver in his voice. "But I—er—well, I saw the newly dug graves where the murdered Jews are buried, and—so—"

"Where did you see them?"

"At the Jewish cemetery in Weissensee."

"All right, we’ll all motor over to the Weissensee Cemetery right away," Goering replied, rising to his feet. "You, Herr Deuss, will point out to me the graves containing the murdered Jews, and I will have those graves opened at once. If your story is true, well, then you win. But if your story should turn out to be a fake, I’m afraid . . . ." The stern gleam in Goering’s eyes and his firmly set jaw sent a slight chill up Deuss’s spine.

"But Herr Minister—er, I am—er—that isn’t fair," Deuss gasped. "Of course I—I didn’t look into the graves, but—"

"No, nor did you see any of those supposedly murdered Jews either, but you didn’t hesitate to write about them, did you?" Goering answered in the same quiet voice.

Deuss finally admitted that he had bought the story from one of the countless peddlers of "confidential information" who were responsible for much of the "inside story" stuff that left Berlin in those days. He refused to accompany Goering to the cemetery and was thereupon politely ushered out of the office.

The next afternoon Deuss received a letter from the Ministry of the Interior requesting him to sign an attached state-
ment. This statement declared the murder story to be untrue and added that the undersigned, Edward Deuss, did not object to having this statement published in all German newspapers.

Deuss was beginning to get rattled. For over an hour he paced the floor of his office, frantically debating in his mind what to do. He couldn't possibly risk being expelled from Germany for sending a story that was a proven fake. Finally he typed out a message to the New York office in which he was foolish enough to ask the general manager for permission to sign the statement. New York's reply was instant: "YOU CAN SIGN ANYTHING YOU WANT AS FORMER CORRESPONDENT OF INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE."

As he left the Berlin office for the last time, he suddenly caught sight of a card nailed to the wall over his typewriter. Strange that he had never seen it before, although it had been there for years. It bore in big type William Randolph Hearst's advice to his correspondents: "Get it first but first get it right."

Deuss pounded the pavements of London for months. The last I heard of him was that he had finally landed a small job with the British Ministry of Information.

SERBIA'S KINGS DON'T DIE IN BED

Autumn in Vienna is almost as delightful a season as spring-time. I had lunched on the Cobenzl with my trustiest pipe line in the Bundeskanzlei and made a detour through the beautiful Wiener Wald on the way back. Then I ambled over to John Gunther's apartment for tea. As usual his place teemed with visitors. Roy Panton, Vienna correspondent of the London Daily Express, was the center of attraction that afternoon. The night before his car had run over a pedestrian. Fearing that the police might discover how drunk he was when the accident happened, he abandoned the unfortunate victim, raced home, and went to bed to sleep it off before the police arrived. Meanwhile passers-by who had remembered his car number took the poor pedestrian to the hospital.

John Gunther, always looking for a laugh, thought it was a great joke the way Panton led the Viennese police by the nose. Mrs. Gunther took a more feminine attitude, pitied the pedestrian, and threatened to write a story for the London News Chronicle whose Vienna correspondent she was, to let the world know what a depraved crowd Vienna's foreign journalists were. Mrs. Panton, Russian by birth, insisted in broken English that a drunkard like her husband would have been hanged and quartered in Russia in the days when her father was one of the myriad generals which that great empire evidently once possessed. Incidentally, it cost Panton a lot of bribes and an expensive lawyer to prove finally that the accident was the pedestrian's fault.

Back in the Bristol Hotel, I glanced at the evening papers. There was nothing stirring. My calendar revealed an early dinner engagement with the Yugoslav press attaché on board a newly arrived Serbian Danube barge. These barges were remarkable vessels, built in Germany (free of charge, as reparations deliveries), all-steel, with powerful motors, cozy dining room, electric kitchen, and spotlessly clean cabins. Serbian officers commanded the barges.

In the act of boarding a taxi I was called back to the hotel. London was on the line. "King Alexander of Yugoslavia has been assassinated in Marseilles. Proceed to Belgrade at once. Hire a plane if necessary." That was the sensational message London relayed to me from New York.

Belgrade is bad enough when everything is normal. But when Serbia mourns, all visible life in Belgrade is blotted out. They cling to tradition, these tough, sinewy Serbs, although rarely if ever do their kings die in bed.

I booked a room in the Srpsky Kral, reputed to be Belgrade's only hotel without bedbugs. Every other day they take the beds apart and blow hot steam
into their joints to hold off the continuous onslaught of vermin.

Celebrities were flocking in from all over the Balkans, and next morning the hotel porter informed me that I would have to share my double room with someone else. I could take my choice from among a Montenegrin field marshal, an Albanian general, or the Vienna correspondent of the London Times, Clarence Gedye. That choice was easy. I like French perfume when it's on a charming woman, but these perfumed Balkan generals . . . .

My roommate Gedye spoke very little and drank excessively. In the early morning hours he would stagger noisily into the room, fumble with the lamp, and go through the motions of reading in bed, although he almost immediately began to snore terribly. I invariably had to get up and turn out the light he had left burning. Otherwise he was good company and once told me more about his well-known book written right after World War I, in which he presented the German side of the war in a very fair-minded manner.

The days dragged on, but the warship carrying Alexander's bomb-torn body had still not arrived in Split. The hotel bar was our main hang-out, and we tried to kill time as we could after we had eaten up all the oysters in town and motored out to beautiful Oplanec to see the tombs of the other murdered kings. The bar was mainly populated by Serbian secret police of the Edgar Wallace type. When we entered the bar, each of them was deeply absorbed by the newspaper held before his eyes. Closer scrutiny, however, revealed their eyes to be rolling in all directions while they strained their ears to catch every word we spoke. Our every move aroused suspicion.

One day Panton, our chief buffoon, decided to give them something to do. He sneaked up to his room, wrapped one of his roommate's shoes in a lot of stiff packing paper, and then came rushing down to the bar with the bundle held out at arm's length, yelling at the top of his voice, "Help, help, a bomb, I found it under my bed!"

Considerable excitement followed and caused us a great deal of fun. One of the stooges dove for the telephone to call the fire department, another one scrambled upstairs to get fingerprints, while a third ran out on the street to call more police. The brainiest of the lot came limping in with a pail full of water into which the "bomb" was immediately submerged. (Serbs are old hands at handling bombs.) After a brief period of tense waiting, the package was carefully unwrapped by a bomb expert who had meanwhile arrived. Finally the water-soaked shoe appeared. Thereafter relations with our secret-agent bar neighbors cooled off noticeably.

The following evening I was sitting in a quiet corner of the bar playing chess with witty, quick-thinking Vernon Bartlett, the London News Chronicle's special correspondent, when Ward Price, sleek and monocle-eyed as usual, glided in. He spotted me, took me to one side, and asked if I would do him a favor. He had a dinner engagement with a beautiful Serbian princess, but a sudden invitation from a Yugoslav bigwig unfortunately prevented him from keeping the date. Would I take her off his hands? As a matter of fact, that excuse ought to have made me suspicious. But a dinner in the company of a charming princess was enticing, considering how rare the sight of a woman had become in mourning Belgrade. I consented. But after speaking with the girl I quickly changed my mind and managed to pass her on to Panton, for she was neither a princess nor beautiful nor a Serb. To be exact, she hailed from northeastern Berlin and was unquestionably a member of the world's oldest profession.

The next afternoon I was privately informed that Hermann Goering was arriving by plane. I crossed the Danube and motored out to the airfield. A number of strongly perfumed, medal-bedecked Serbian generals were already waiting. On one side of the airfield, nine French fighter planes were drawn up in line.
Their pilots had requested direction half a dozen times during their flight from Paris and even missed the field by miles, so the Yugoslav radio operator told me. "Goering's plane asked for direction in Budapest once," he smilingly added. "Since then we have heard nothing more from the machine. It ought to be here now."

Just then a big red-and-white Ju-52 shot over the field with a roar, circled round it once, and then landed without a hitch. Goering stepped out. At that time France still held a complete monopoly over all Balkan air lines because French planes were considered the best in the world. The French pilots scowled as Goering strutted by. No wonder.

On the following morning Alexander's body finally arrived. From then on we all had plenty to do. One difficulty confronting us was that of getting our calls through in time to Berlin, Paris, and London. The only one who didn't complain was Panton. Later we found out why. He had secretly distributed a dozen or so boxes of chocolates among the operators in the telephone exchange. All of his stories reached London first.

The funeral of King Alexander was impressively solemn and harrowing. Somehow his death seemed to symbolize more for Yugoslavia than merely the passing of another murdered king. From Belgrade to Oplanec, a distance of about ten miles, the road was lined on both sides by burly Yugoslav soldiers standing rigidly at attention. As the funeral cortège moved slowly by, tears rolled down their sun-tanned cheeks. I had never seen soldiers cry before.

THAT HECTIC YEAR 1934

It was a cold, murky day in February when the news of the Socialist revolt in Vienna reached Berlin. I tried to contact my boss, Hearst's chief European correspondent Karl H. von Wiegand, who was marooned in Paris by a general strike that had disrupted all telephone and telegraph service. The night train that thereupon rushed me to Vienna was suddenly brought to an abrupt halt early the next morning. I poked my head out of the window and heard the staccato of machine guns and the occasional booming of artillery. Hastily grabbing my belongings I jumped from the train and joined the rest of the passengers trudging alongside the tracks.

On a small near-by hill overlooking Vienna's outskirts I saw John Gunther, William Shirer, and the American military attaché eagerly watching Major Fey's artillery blow huge holes into the brand new million-dollar Karl Marx Building, a workers' apartment house of enormous dimensions. From the windows of the building came bursts of rifle and machine-gun fire. Then from across the tracks where our train was standing bullets also whizzed, forcing us to seek cover.

Two days later the story was over. We were just lolling around in the bar of the Grand when in puffed red-faced Hudson Hawley, Berlin's INS correspondent, successor to Deuss. We tried to tell him it was all over, that the story was licked clean, but that didn't bother Hudson. He grabbed a taxi and disappeared. Where he went I don't know but of course he saw nothing because there was nothing more to see. Later I read his story. It was the most dramatic depiction of house-to-house fighting I had ever seen. I nearly wept when I read it although I knew it was all his imagination. Incidentally, he beat us all with the play his story got in New York.

At the Café Louvre, Vienna's "Adlon Bar," I had a date that afternoon with one-eyed Bill Shirer, the Chicago Tribune's Vienna correspondent. It was the customary Café Louvre afternoon séance with crystal-gazer Janos Fedor presiding. Others present were Gunther, Panton, and Gedye. Fedor was a clever, analytically-minded Hungarian Jew. shaggy haired and with an austere air that at first glance commanded respect. When he parted his lips to speak, a hush came over his circle of followers, who absorbed his words as if coming from an oracle. Fedor is credited with having supplied most of the raw material for John Gun-

Bill Shirer was a quiet, hard-working reporter who always imagined that he was being shadowed by some sort of sinister forces. Before he said anything he looked stealthily about him and then dared not raise his voice much above a whisper. His one eye always troubled him ever since losing the other when he plunged into a ski stick on the snow-covered Semmering. His thick glasses and an everlasting scowl gave him a gloomy air. Two years later when I went to Philadelphia as foreign editor of the Inquirer, Arno Dosch-Fleurot, INS's Paris correspondent, succeeded in selling Bill Shirer to New York as my successor in Berlin.

Six months later I was winging my way back to Vienna. In Prague the wobbly old Fokker came down with a bump and, when it rose again, H. R. Knickerbocker and I were its only passengers. I munched Knick's sandwiches while he smoked my cigarettes. We both got to the Bundeskanzlei in time to see Major Fey and his collaborators leaning over the balcony's balustrade, negotiating with the other half of the Austrian Government standing on the sidewalk below. Violent gesticulations accompanied their excited shouts. It was a scene for Franz Lehár.

That night, all telephone and telegraph wires having been cut by the government, John Gunther volunteered to take us over to Bratislava in his eight-cylinder Ford. Through pitch-dark sidestreets and past heavily armed Heimwehr guards, John carefully piloted us out of Austria's capital. Other occupants of the car were Knickerbocker, Fedor, Gedye and Panton. The Czech frontier guards didn't want to let us pass so we all chipped in and gave the leader a generous tip.

In Bratislava we found telephones of the kind they used before the automobile was invented. It was a nerve-wracking ordeal first to get a connection and then to hold on to it. On the way back the Czech of before humbly informed me that Czechs don't take tips and would I please take back the money we had given him. I finally took it, and while the car moved on I counted the money. Half of it was missing.

Two days later we stood in the stately old St. Stephen's Cathedral, jammed in among a multitude of Vaterländische Front Austrians listening to beautifully sung chorals. Chancellor Dollfuss' funeral would have been much more impressive if it hadn't been turned into a political demonstration bristling with so many sub-machine guns, rifles, and pistols.

The next evening I planned to relax and see Lohengrin in Vienna's magnificent opera house with its world-famous singers. But before getting that far, Berlin came through with the flash that Hindenburg was dying.

No night plane was available so we made a dash for the Westbahnhof, where the station-master had assured our hotel porter that the night express would be held up till we got there. (In Vienna that sort of thing was possible.) Five minutes behind schedule the train rolled out. We cut across Poland and arrived the next afternoon in Freystadt, East Prussia, about a mile from Hindenburg's Neudeck. Sleepy little Freystadt had become the world's center of interest and was buzzing with excitement. Its population had been doubled overnight by newspaperdom's celebrities who were pouring in from everywhere. We were quartered in private houses. I slept in the parlor of the village schoolteacher's home, while Jules Sauerwein, the Paris Matin's famous savant, was quartered in the sitting room.

The aged field marshal did not die until ten days later, so that we had plenty of time to tour Freystadt's environs and go swimming in the famous Mazurian lakes, at the bottom of which lie thousands of drowned Russians.
IN PARIS WE PARTED

On June 13, 1940, the German Army rolled into Paris. Our unit, bearing the awe-inspiring name of Kriegsberichterstaffel des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht (War-Reporter Unit of the German Army’s High Command), was quartered in the Hotel Scribe, just around the corner from the Place de la Concorde.

Almost every one of Paris’ No. 1 foreign correspondents had made a dash for dear life when the German Army moved in. They had benevolently left their office assistants behind to be slaughtered by the Huns. Either the chiefs had a very bad conscience, or they’d fallen for their own propaganda. Anyway, the abandoned assistants weren’t slaughtered. On the contrary, I for my part was ordered by the German High Command to grant American correspondents all possible aid. At first they were scared and suspicious, but when they saw we were sincere they gradually warmed up, and in the end they were glad they had stayed. From then on Paris stories (and there were plenty of them) bore their by-line and not their chiefs’.

Meanwhile, eminent Demaree Bess, Triton among the minnows, imagining himself to be in a predicament, dared not leave his hotel room. A couple of months before the Maginot Line caved in, he had written an article for The Saturday Evening Post (whose correspondent he was, after leaving The Christian Science Monitor) containing a few things about Heinrich Himmler that now troubled his conscience and made him fear for the worst. We contacted Berlin via the German Embassy and made inquiries. A week later Demaree Bess was invited to Berlin, where he was flabbergasted to learn that Heinrich Himmler himself had magnanimously arranged the invitation. Bess was free to write anything he pleased. He thereupon toured all occupied territories from Narvik to Warsaw, The Hague, and Brussels. His brilliant series of observations appearing in America’s biggest weekly aroused the interest of the world and went a long way to clarify misconceptions among the ill-informed.

I had the privilege of being included among the few who were permitted to see the body of the field marshal at Neudeck estate before it was placed in the casket. There lay Germany’s grand old man, in a simple brass bed surrounded by the Spartan simplicity characteristic of the old Prussian officer. A luster of exalted sublimity seemed to hover over the mortal remains of this great man. The deeply grooved features of his magnificent head were as if hewn in stone.

That night when Freystadt’s church bell struck twelve a mighty cortege began to move. At its head was the coffin borne on a gun carriage. Thousands of somber-faced soldiers carrying torchlights followed with measured tread. At daybreak the solemn procession reached the mammoth Tannenberg monument within whose granite walls Field Marshal von Hindenburg was interred.

Back in Berlin, I was informed that Randolph Churchill, son of Winston, had called up and was staying at the Bristol. Young Randolph blew into town every six months or so and was excellent company, as keenly interested in politics as he was in night clubs. But the stories he wrote for the Daily Express were full of rare words no newspaperman ever uses, savoring of an Oxford education but a puerile mind.

Several weeks after Randolph had left for the French Riviera, Knickerbocker began pulling wires to get an interview with the Fuhrer. Then Knick did what any newspaperman can only do once: he double-crossed the man whose hospitality he had accepted and maliciously misquoted the Fuhrer’s words. For a couple of days Knick got into the headlines, but no serious-minded newspaperman had much respect for him after that, for he had violated the fundamental ethics of the guild. The Reich Government did not do him the favor of expelling him. However, from then on he found Berlin’s doors locked. He finally moved to Paris and was never seen in Germany again.
At the American Press Club the story was told amidst roars of laughter of how Dorothy Thompson and H. R. Knickerbocker had raced head-over-heels out of Paris when it suddenly became known that the Germans were at the city’s gates. Dorothy and Knick, it was said, seriously believed that the German Blitz was carried out with such haste mainly in order to take them prisoner and bring them back to Berlin.

As time went on, I could feel that the originally friendly attitude of the Paris foreign correspondents was being adversely influenced by a mysterious source. It turned out to be fifty-year-old masculine-voiced Anne Morgan, spinster sister of John Pierpont Morgan. I called on her one morning in the office of her charity decoy where she directed the succoring of young French girls (providing they were pretty). Cigar-smoking Anne swaggered up and down spouting bombastic nonsense in a gutteral voice. She evidently feared that a Franco-German reconciliation might endanger her brother’s future profits and even terminate her voluptuous pastimes as well. But she was by no means impolite, offered me a good cigarette and even a chair, but that was about all.

One evening, while I was dining in the basement of the Scribe, the whole Berlin gang marched in, led by blond, blue-eyed Lieutenant Carl Bömer, the Propaganda Ministry’s brilliant foreign-press chief. Pierre Huss of INS (Hawley’s successor) spotted me in a flash and dragged me into the bar. Others in the group were William Shirer (now with CBC), Carl Oechsner, Louis Lochner, Otto Tolischus, and James Kirk (NBC).

A few days later we met in Compiègne to cover the Armistice story. In Compiègne’s vast forest, amidst giant trees, stood a microphone that was hooked up directly with Berlin, from there (by short wave) with New York, and then (by cable and long wave) with every American home. Bill Shirer took the lead, talked his piece through the mike and, through a censorship freak, was the first to break the news of the Armistice’s signing to the American public. He got profuse congratulations from New York that night although he didn’t know why until weeks later. Kirk followed with his tale, and then it was my turn.

Night was falling as I signed off while the famed wagon salon which saw the conclusion of two truces rolled slowly out over newly laid tracks on its way to Berlin.

* * *

Today the Adlon Bar gang is no more. Ward Price after returning to London got into trouble for being too pro-German. Vernon Bartlett entered politics and became a Member of Parliament. Roy Panton was too slow in getting out of Copenhagen and was interned on a small Danish island. One day a short-wave radio station was discovered in his isolated domicile. Since there was reason to believe that a British plane had parachuted it into his backyard, he was taken to a spot less dangerous.

Dorothy Thompson, William Shirer, Louis Lochner, and John Gunther can be heard over American radio stations any night telling the world “what American commentators say.” H.R. Knickerbocker is cleaning up considerable cash lecturing to gullible American audiences, while Douglas Miller has made a State Department career. Pierre Huss was last heard from as a war reporter in North Africa. In Shanghai I was surprised to find Karl H. von Wiegand living in the same hotel I had put up in; and in Tokyo, two summers ago, I suddenly discovered Otto Tolischus standing next to me in a crowded hotel elevator.

Practically every one of the Adlon Bar gang, whether they hold a rifle, pound a typewriter, or stand before the microphone, is now fighting for his or her respective country in a war that knows no compromise. And I am afraid it will be a long, long time before the walls of the Adlon Bar echo again with the mirth and laughter of former enemies reconciled.
A PARADISE LOST
By WALTER J. KAHLER

The recent events in the Lebanon have again called attention to the Near East and its restless population. The following article takes us to Mesopotamia, the heart of this area.

The author is one of those travelers who spend their whole lives on the move from one place to another, and who, when one meets them in some remote corner of the earth, can tell one with the same matter-of-factness about their experiences in Tibet, on the Congo, or in the Cordilleras.

Aside from many other travels, he has made four great journeys during the last ten years: by car from Lapland through all the latitudes to South Africa, and from Berlin to India; on foot with native bearers through southeastern Asia; and on horseback across South America. The war has put a temporary stop to his travels, and he is now living in Tokyo.—K.M.

WHEN, coming from the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, you have crossed the range of the Lebanon Mountains and climbed the Anti-Lebanons on the other side of the valley which is the continuation of the deep Jordan Depression, you see below you the Syrian Desert, an absolutely flat expanse spread out like a tablecloth thousands of miles eastward to the Persian Gulf.

This desolate piece of country, known as Mesopotamia, looks back upon an ancient history. Countless tribes and races have crossed it in the course of the centuries. Jews, Hittites and Ammonites, Persians and Greeks, fought on its soil; Romans, Egyptians, Tartars, and Saracens struggled for possession of this country to be used as a steppingstone for further conquests. All these peoples have left traces of their cultures. Assyria and Babylon are strewn with the remains of former cities, of temples, towers, and palaces. Babylon, where Nebuchadnezzar lived, the city of the hanging gardens; Ur of the Chaldees, Abraham's birthplace, where once stood the temple of the moon god; Kish, the first Babylonian capital after the Flood; Ashur, Erbil, Niniveh, and many other sites of the past, are now among the favorite hunting grounds of historians and archaeologists.

PALMYRA, ECHO OF THE PAST

Once upon a time, on the western edge of the Syrian Desert, there lay, like a port on the sea, Tadmor, also known as Palmyra, the capital of the Palmyrian Empire. It was a station on the ancient transcontinental trade road which carried the goods passing between the Roman Empire and the distant lands of the East. Long camel caravans came from Central Asia and crossed the desert in order to transport the wares of the Orient to the ports of the Mediterranean: slaves, perfumes and spices, cotton, handwrought products of copper and brass, tea, porcelain, paper, precious stones, carpets, and bales of silk.

In Tadmor the camels were watered and the caravans supplied with guides and mounted guards to protect them against predatory nomads, who from time immemorial regarded the plundering of travelers as their traditional business. Here agreements were made with the influential sheiks through whose territory the caravans had to pass. It was the same system that is still used here today and which is known as rifaq. Each tribe has its territory within which it demands tribute from all travelers. In the district of Deir ez Zor, for instance, one must pay about £1 per head not to be molested.

The high income from the duty exacted in Palmyra for the passage of goods enabled this town to develop into a splendid metropolis. Wide streets flanked by columns and statues were constructed, the most magnificent of which led directly to the temple of Baal.
Yet the history of the Palmyrian Empire is a short one. After the murder of King Odenathus, a vassal of Rome, who had expanded the empire to the borders of Egypt and had united all of Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia under his scepter, his ambitious wife Zenobia risked repudiating her allegiance to Rome. Fortune did not favor her. Tadmor was stormed in 272 A.D. by Emperor Aurelian's troops and burned down to its foundations. The beautiful queen was taken prisoner and led through Rome in a triumphal march. Since then the remainders of the walls, houses, and columns of the town have been covered up by sand. Even the name was forgotten until in 1678 merchants from Aleppo rediscovered Palmyra. Today the place is nothing but a small, miserable, dusty cluster of mud huts and a passport office for the border traffic with Iraq. The actual border between Syria and Iraq is 200 kilometers further east in the desert and is simply marked by a signboard.

TRACKS IN THE DESERT

There are two bus lines crossing the desert between Damascus and Bagdad: a Syrian one and the Nairn Transportation Company, whose luxurious motor coaches are equipped with Pullman compartments, washrooms, telephone, and a refreshment buffet. They cover the distance of 870 kilometers in about twenty-four hours, with a short stop midway at Rutbah Wells.

The authorities at Damascus are very strict about not allowing single cars to start out alone into the desert, for there have been several cases of lonely drivers losing their direction and getting lost in the desert. But as we were asked to pay £5 for the privilege of swallowing the dust of other cars, we chose the route via Palmyra. Here, too, there is no actual road, but one cannot get lost as long as one follows the telephone lines. Moreover, there are several stations of the Iraq Petroleum Company interspersed at distances of about a hundred kilometers along this route where one could find help in case of need.

Early in the afternoon we reached "T 3," the first of these pumping stations, whose round, aluminum-painted oil tanks we had seen shining from afar. As everywhere else where Europeans live in solitude, the people here were very glad to have visitors. It meant a break in the constant monotony and provided an excuse for an extensive dinner and countless glasses of whisky. The guest room to which we were shown was furnished like a first-class hotel room with a private bathroom, electric light, radio, telephone, and several electric fans. The quarters of all the employees were furnished with the same comforts. Besides a correspondingly high salary, this is the only means of keeping the employees at the stations, which lie like little islands in the vastness of the desert.

MODERN HERMITS

The considerations determining the construction of the living quarters were heat in summer, cold in winter, and flies all the year round. For these reasons the rooms face north and south, the roofs are almost as thick as the walls, and all windows are screened. Everything is done to make the occupants' stay as agreeable as possible. The wide avenues connecting the whitewashed houses with the pumping plant are tarred to keep off dust and are planted with young acacias and casuarinas, which in a few years will provide welcome shade. There are ice-making, mineral-water, cold-storage, and central-heating plants; a laundry, bakery, canteen, and a well-equipped hospital, which has mostly to deal with trachoma and other diseases of the eye. There are even vegetable gardens, chicken, geese, pigeons, and rabbits. The artesian well supplying the water needed for the whole station is 200 meters deep.

The technical equipment of the stations consists of an engine room containing three five-hundred horse-power motors which supply the power for three large pumps. Each of these sets in turn runs day and night without stopping for three weeks. Then it is cleaned and prepared.
for its next turn. The pump house in which the oil is forced on under great pressure into the main pipeline is separated from the engine room by a gas and waterproof wall.

These costly and strategically important plants supply the fuel for the entire British Mediterranean fleet. In order to protect them from sabotage and damage, each station, consisting of about a hundred acres, is surrounded by a high wire fence. The staff of some seventy native workers and their families live outside. In addition to this, the plants are protected by a small fort, in which the employees can find refuge with their families in case of disturbances. These small fortresses, some 75 by 55 meters in size, have bastions at two of their corners; they are equipped with a wireless station, telephone, water tanks, an electric generator, as well as food, weapons, and ammunition for two weeks. Company police patrols equipped with planes and machine guns are on the move day and night to keep a constant watch on the entire line with its length of about a thousand kilometers. A number of emergency landing fields along the line serve the same purpose.

WHERE NOAH BUILT HIS ARK

Troublesome swarms of flies and a disagreeable alkaline odor announce that you are approaching Hitt. The odor comes from the asphalt beds found here, as well as near Qaiyarah, sixty kilometers south of Mosul. The presence of pitch always indicates the vicinity of oil deposits, and at Qaiyarah German oil experts had discovered oil even before the Great War. The asphalt is to be found in these beds in a semiliquid state.

The presence of salt and asphalt in the environment of Hitt was known as long ago as in Biblical times. The ancient Babylonians already used pitch to impregnate their bricks to make them more durable. People from Ur and Babylon went on foot to Hitt, where they built boats, loaded them with salt and pitch, and made their way home in them on the Euphrates.

The history of Hitt is closely connected with the story of the Flood and Noah’s ark. Tales of a great deluge that covered almost every country are to be found in the legends of many races, even among those that had nothing whatever to do with Mesopotamia. Hence it is a moot question, whether the event mentioned in the Scriptures was limited to the great valley between the Euphrates and the Tigris. However, it is not impossible, since in those days Mesopotamia was the center of the inhabited world.

Noah, too, had come to Hitt to fetch pitch. The Bible tells us that it poured for forty days and forty nights. This may be somewhat exaggerated; but it is quite possible that exceptionally heavy rains fell in the Kurdish-Armenian mountains which caused the Euphrates and the Tigris to overflow their banks and flood all Mesopotamia, drowning the greater part of the population. Noah had probably just completed his ark. He salvaged his domestic animals and waited till the Deluge subsided.

The fact that a deluge of extraordinary proportions once took place in Mesopotamia has been proved by archaeologists. In the course of the excavations of the ancient Chaldean city of Ur, north of Basra, a shaft was sunk nineteen meters into the earth. The individual layers through which this shaft passes clearly show the sequence of the cultural periods. In the uppermost nine meters, eight different periods are discernible. Then comes a layer of sand, two to three meters thick, in which no traces whatever of human activity have been discovered. This layer obviously represents the sediment of the Deluge. Under it there are again several layers which, like the topmost eight layers, contain the remains of houses, fragments of pottery, and other objects of daily use.

During the excavations in Niniveh, the capital of the ancient Assyrian Empire, a large library of some twenty thousand earthenware tablets was discovered under the ruins of Assurbanipal’s palace. In deciphering them, some were found which told of a great flood disaster.
These tablets with their cuneiform writing, the majority of which are now in the British Museum, are among the oldest documents of literature ever to have been found. The rudiments of this form of writing were invented as early as about 4500 B.C. by the Sumerians, a non-Semitic race which had immigrated from the east, apparently from the regions north of the Indus, into Mesopotamia. The characters were engraved with a flat style on soft clay tablets, which were then hardened by baking in an oven.

**Cradle of Mankind?**

The Biblical theory, according to which Mesopotamia, "the country of two rivers," is the cradle of the human race, has found some support through neolithic finds, which archaeologists estimate at being twenty thousand years old. The early history of the country saw three different races: the Semitic Akkadians, who ruled Mesopotamia from Babylon; the Sumerians in the southern alluvial plain of the Euphrates and the Tigris, whose oldest capital, excavated by German archaeologists, was Uruk, the Erech of the Bible; and the Elamites in the eastern mountain country, whose capital was Susa. These three peoples fought for two thousand years for supremacy until Hammurabi mounted the throne of Babylon about 2000 B.C. This was the beginning of the Babylonian-Hittite-Elamite period, which lasted until about 600 B.C., to be followed by the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods. After that, Parthians, Romans, Arabs, and Turks ruled the country. But the struggle for this hotly disputed region continues to this day.

**The Curse of Oil**

The presence of coal, iron ore, copper, and other important ores is always a misfortune for countries which are not strong enough to defend themselves. But the greatest misfortune to such a country is oil. It is the liquid gold toward which all the great powers of the world turn their eyes.

The soil of Iraq, Arabia, and Iran is especially rich in deposits of this coveted substance. Indeed, the subterranean mineral-oil deposits of these countries are among the richest in the world. Thus
it is not surprising that the interests of the three allied powers, Russia, England, and America, clash in this territory. Within the last seven years, the Standard Oil Company of California has built highly modern refineries on the pearl-fishing island of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf which produce about a million tons of oil every year. Slightly to the north of this island, too, in the small independent state of Kuwait, oil has been discovered, as well as in Saudi Arabia, where an American oil company made the first drillings in 1936. Among the richest wells are the oil fields near Dizful in southern Iran, 250 kilometers northeast of Basra. One of the most modern refineries is to be found here. The oil is carried by a pipe line to the port of Abadan on the Persian Gulf, where it is loaded into tankers.

These rich fields, so far in British hands, at present form the focal point of American interests. The United States, upon whose abundant oil production motorized war has already made such great demands that private consumption has had to be curtailed even in the oil-producing states, is now trying to force England out of this territory on the pretense that she urgently requires these wells for the supplying of her motorized troops in the Near East and North Africa, since the overseas supply by tanker has become too risky on account of the German U-boats. Once American interests have obtained a foothold in the Iranian oil territory, they will not let themselves be forced out again by England when the war is over.

THE FIRES OF GEHENNA

The high mountain walls of the Taurus and Zagros, whose snow-covered peaks provide a dramatic background in winter to the monotonous plains of Mesopotamia, form the natural borders of Iraq toward the north and the east. At the foot of these rugged mountains lie the two old towns of Erbil and Kerkuk, both surrounded by high walls. Like all historical sites in Iraq, they too stand on hills consisting of the foundations and remains of long-vanished cities.

Kerkuk is one of Kurdistan’s chief market places. Within its walls there stands an ancient mosque said to contain the grave of the prophet Daniel. Not far from the town there is a field, about an acre in extent and called “Jehennum” by the natives, in which, since the memory of man, tongues of flame have leaped up from the ground. This field is the “Gehenna” of the Bible, where, according to legend, Daniel’s three friends Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego were thrown into the eternal fire, the “fiery furnace.” Today this region presents a fantastic spectacle, especially at night, for here burn like giant torches the gases escaping from the smokestacks and water coolers of the oil plants.

The first experimental drillings, which led to the discovery of one of the most productive oil fields in the world, were made here in October 1927. The first drilling had just been started and the surface of the earth hardly pierced when a mighty jet of the coveted liquid spurted high up into the air. This happened so unexpectedly that hundreds of barrels of oil were lost before the gusher could be brought under control. Ten years later, thirty-two wells were already being worked. In the years 1937–39 the total annual oil production of Iraq averaged 4½ million tons.

In Kerkuk the oil undergoes a preliminary refining and is then pumped through two pipe lines to the ports of the Mediterranean. For 255 kilometers these two pipe lines run side by side; after crossing the Euphrates they separate. The northern arm leads for 650 kilometers via Palmyra to the Syrian port of Tripoli. The French used to get a quarter of the total yield, but after the collapse of France the British blocked this pipe line. The other arm goes via Rutbah Wells and through Transjordania to the port of Haifa in Palestine, 800 kilometers away. Through this arm, 900 tons of oil an hour are pumped to Haifa, where it is refined and loaded into tankers.

Work was begun on these pipe lines in 1931. Huge trench-digging machines laid a trench seventy centimeters wide
Temples, columns, and gates bear witness to the past glory of Palmyra, which in Roman times held the key to the trade route between Europe and Asia.

Camel and donkey skeletons with their necks bent backwards with thirst are a grim reminder of the dangers of desert travel.

High walls and barbed wire surround the pumping stations of the Iraq Petroleum Company. The author's car has been stopped at the entrance while he is being questioned by the guards.
The vast throne room of the ruined palace at Ctesiphon. Built only of brick, it has withstood the ravages of many centuries.

Entrance to the holy grave-mosque of Kadhimain near Bagdad. It is covered with designs executed in colored glazed tiles, and the great dome over the main prayer hall is plated with pure gold. Infidels are strictly prohibited from entering the mosque.

A troop of Arab desert cavalry enjoying themselves over a cup of coffee and a pull of the narghale.
and two meters deep across the desert and the Lebanon range. The pipe line required no less than 150,000 lengths of pipe; 12,000 Bedouin laborers were employed on this job for four years; and the total costs amounted to some ten million pounds sterling.

THE BIRTH OF IRAQ

When, after the Great War, the old Ottoman Empire burst into fragments, one of which was Mesopotamia with its oil areas of Mosul and Kerkuk. England saw to it that the League of Nations handed over the mandate of this strategically highly important bit of country to her. The newborn political child that had been brought into the world by Versailles was baptized Iraq according to an ancient geographical term. The country covers approximately 350,000 square kilometers—the borders with Saudi Arabia and Transjordania have not yet been definitely fixed—and feeds a population of 3½ millions. In compensation for this loss, Turkey was granted a royalty on the oil production for the next thirty years.

With the birth of Iraq, England started a new game of “divide and rule” on the chessboard of her Near East policy. There was one man above all whose increasing power and popularity among the Arabs was a thorn in the side of England: ibn-Saud.

KING OF THE WAHABITES

Abdul-Aziz ibn-Saud was the ruler of Nejd and the head of the independent tribe of the Wahabites. The Wahabites are the Puritans among the Mohammedans who look down disdainfully on the less orthodox Moslems and on the coastal Arabs who have been softened by European influence. Fanatical champions of their faith, they adhere strictly to the laws of the Koran, eschewing alcohol and even tobacco, to which all other Arabs are addicted. They permit no infringement of their dogma, are wholly intolerant of other faiths, and abhor deceit, lies, and adultery.

Ibn-Saud rules this fanatical tribe of desert dwellers with great skill. In spite of his sixty years of age he shows a surprising youthfulness. Before him, Arabia was a land of constant insecurity. Attacks on caravans and pilgrims, theft and murder, were the traditional right of all Bedouins. Ibn-Saud has done away with all this. He has suppressed tribal feuds and punishes vendettas as murder. He is fighting corruption and controls prices. Indeed, he has even succeeded in settling nomads who have been accustomed to moving around all their lives from country to country. Crime has become rare since ibn-Saud rules in Nejd, and believers can now make pilgrimages to Mecca unmolested for the desert is patrolled by reliable police troops. In addition to these, ibn-Saud has created an infantry and camel cavalry such as Arabia has never known. It is said that he can put 300,000 well-equipped and well-mounted fighters into the field. His army even possesses airplanes.

INTRIGUES AND HEADACHES

During the Great War England began all kinds of dangerous experiments in the Near East without apparently taking future consequences into account.

Colonel Lawrence had succeeded through skillful diplomacy and by means of his personal popularity among the Bedouins in obtaining for the Allies the support of King Hussein ibn-Ali of the Hejaz against the Turks. England thereupon spread propaganda among the various Arab tribes for the purpose of setting up her protégé King Hussein as a second caliph to replace the Sultan of Turkey. By this means England hoped to split the supporters of Islam into two camps. She furthered the Pan-Arabian movement and was greatly surprised when in 1920 this movement turned into a large-scale revolt in Iraq, which cost hundreds of Tommies their lives. The British garrison in Bagdad was seriously imperiled by the nationalist rebels, and it was only through the support of the pro-English Nakib of Bagdad and of
Sayid Talib, the most influential man in Basra, that England was able to master the situation. In giving their support, these two men assumed that the Nakib would become the head of the new Iraqi national state, while Sayid Talib would receive the post of Minister of the Interior; for England had promised that the Iraqi people would be allowed to choose its rulers from among its own ranks.

However, when Winston Churchill became England’s Minister for the Colonies, the British policy toward Iraq was suddenly reversed. In spite of all the warnings on the part of Sir Percy Cox, then High Commissioner for Iraq, Churchill declared at the Cairo Conference in March 1921 that England had decided to make Faisal, Hussein’s son who had fled from Syria, king of Iraq. No one can maintain that this choice was a particularly happy one, for Faisal was for the Iraqians not only a foreigner but, being a Sunnite, belonged to the orthodox branch of Islam, while the majority of the inhabitants of Mesopotamia were Shiites and, as such, his declared enemies. (See “Islam and Society,” page 388, December 1942 issue of this magazine.)

The rumor soon spread in Iraq that England intended to frustrate the coming national election; and Sayid Talib declared openly in an after-dinner speech that the people would never recognize Faisal as their ruler. Sayid Talib was promptly arrested and exiled to Ceylon. A sham election was held among the various sheiks at which no one, not even the Nakib, dared to vote against Faisal. A few weeks later Faisal landed in Basra; his reception among the population was a very cool one.

The Iraqi people have never forgotten this fraud. King Faisal died a mysterious death in Bern on September 8, 1933, on his return home from England.

The administration of Iraq has provided Great Britain with many a headache. On several occasions there were revolts lasting for many months. After much fruitless negotiation, England had no choice but to bribe the independent Bedouin sheiks by considerable sums of cash to keep their tribes quiet. This is an expensive method if one recalls that in 1921 the British control of Mesopotamia cost English taxpayers ten million pounds in subsidies and in the following year eight million pounds.

In 1932 the efforts at independence on the part of the population were at last crowned with success. On October 3 of that year Iraq was accepted in the League of Nations and recognized as an independent state. England withdrew her High Commissioner but reserved the right of maintaining military bases in Baghdad and Basra for the protection of her air line Cairo/Karachi. Naturally London also supervises the Iraqi Government’s foreign policy, so that de facto there has been little change from the country’s former status as a protectorate.

EX-PARADISE

Mesopotamia is known to us from the Bible as the Garden of Eden. I find it difficult to understand that Adam and Eve could discover no better place in the world to spend their honeymoon; for, apart from the Kurdish Mountains and the Zagros range in the north, which forms the border to Iran, Iraq is the flattest, most monotonous, and most desolate land one can imagine. Through this wilderness flow the two rivers Euphrates and Tigris with their brown, muddy waters, till they unite in a delta in the swampy alluvial plain of Shatt el Arab. Their banks are lined with reeds and dusty date palms, which serve as a hiding place for the scanty wild life such as jackals, wolves, hyenas, partridges, and waterfowl.

But in olden days this may have all been different. The soil itself is very fertile and offers all that is needed for luxuriant growth. The only thing lacking is regular irrigation to turn Iraq once more into a flowering garden. But since the Mongols destroyed the ancient irrigation system during their invasion in the thirteenth century, the greater part of Mesopotamia has, as a result of its
subsequent rulers' neglect, remained a desert. Each of the ancient Babylonian dynasties had contributed its share toward improving the irrigation systems. The largest of these was the Nahrawan Canal, whose trenches watered more than 340 kilometers of the land. Today one can hardly recognize this canal in the narrow depression in the earth.

Now the only means of irrigation are the ancient Persian naouras, huge water wheels of about ten meters in diameter, to which are fastened a number of earthenware jugs. At every turn of the wheel these jugs fill with water which they discharge into ditches that distribute the precious moisture to the thirsty fields. Day and night these heavy wheels turn on the banks of the rivers and fill the air with squeaking and creaking.

The population is distributed according to the fertility of the soil in the different areas. In the northern zone there are about seven inhabitants to the square kilometer; in the central desert zone hardly two; while the greatest density of population—about fourteen to the square kilometer—is to be found in the delta area of the Euphrates and Tigris.

DATES AND THE WEATHER

The most important plant, which is the main source of food for the entire population, is the date palm. There are over 30 million of these throughout the country, more than half of which grow in huge plantations in the delta region of Shatt el Arab. Cultivated with the utmost care, there are about sixty different species of date palm in Iraq. The tree reaches a height of 25 meters, and the fruits grow in great bunches weighing from 20 to 25 pounds. Male and female blossoms do not grow on the same tree. Hence the fertilization of the blossoms is done during April by hand and, moreover, still in exactly the same way as is depicted on the ancient Babylonian relief sculptures of Niniveh. While the bunches of fruit are growing, they are protected by little bags from wasps and other insects. The harvest takes place in October. For home consumption the dates are dried for a month in the sun. For export—Iraq supplies about eighty percent of the world's requirements in dates—they are packed while still fresh or pressed into large square blocks.

In addition to the cultivation of dates, there is also agriculture on the lower reaches of the Euphrates and the Tigris. The main products are wheat and barley, also rice, which thrives in the hot, damp atmosphere of the Persian Gulf; other products are cotton, some flax, jute, Japanese peanuts, and maize. Tobacco, tomatoes, onions, melons, pumpkins, and many varieties of fruit are also grown. There are two harvests a year, in April and in the autumn.

Iraq's climate shows great contrasts. During the winter months the thermometer sometimes drops below freezing point, while in summer the temperature often rises to over 50 degrees centigrade in the shade. Spring and autumn are short. The rainy season, with an average annual rainfall of 170 millimeters at Bagdad and 420 millimeters in the Mosul area, lasts from December to April. From time to time very sudden cyclone-like hailstorms sweep across Mesopotamia, representing a serious danger to navigation on the Euphrates and the Tigris.

SONS OF THE DESERT

The sparse vegetation which in spring covers the steppes with friendly green before the scorching heat of summer dries up every living plant, as well as tamarisks and shrubs on the river banks, provide fodder for the herds of the Bedouins and seminomads who go to make up a large part of the population of Iraq.

The life of these tanned sons of the desert, their customs and their clothes, are the same today as in the days of Abraham. There are only two implements of civilization for which they show an irresistible craving: modern military rifles, for which they willingly pay several camels apiece, and luxurious, high-powered American automobiles, which every rich self-respecting sheik possesses.

The wealth of the nomads is counted according to their cattle: sheep, goats,
horses and, above all, camels, with which they move around the country as the pasture varies. What is most important to them is the watering places in the desert. Disputes over the use or possession of such wells have often led to bloody feuds between the various tribes. Around the watering places there is always lively traffic, for they are the goal of all caravans. Sometimes there are more than a hundred camels waiting there for a drink, and the little Bedouin girls with their herds of goats often wait a long time for their turn, for camels are always given preference.

The home of the Bedouin is the “house of hair.” This tent is composed of handwoven rugs made of black goat hair and camel wool which are held together by ropes and pegs. Similar rugs serve as walls. An ordinary tent is about ten meters long and is set up with its back wall to the wind. In winter the heavy fabric keeps out the wind; in summer the side walls are dispensed with, thus providing plenty of air while the roof gives protection against the hot rays of the sun. A curtain decorated with geometrical designs or stripes of brown camel hair and gray or black goat hair on a white ground of sheep’s wool divides the tent into two parts. The mahram is used by the women and the family, and cooking utensils as well as bedding and saddles are kept there. The more open es shiyg is the “parlor,” in which the husband receives his guests. The home of a sheik corresponds to his wealth in that it is longer and has several “rooms.” In the tent of state there is room for several hundred visitors.

THER THEIR CLOTHES AND THEIR FOOD

The garments of the Bedouins consist of a white cotton shirt reaching down to below the knees. Over this comes the kibr, a white or striped robe of wool or silk that is open in front. It is held together by a wide leather belt and a shoulder strap. The most important garment, however, is the aba, a dark cloak made of camel or sheep’s wool. It is rainproof and keeps the wearer warm. At night the nomad rolls himself up in it. A square piece of cloth folded into a triangle protects head, eyes, and mouth from cold, sand, and the sun. A double cord of black goat hair keeps it in place. Sandals made of untanned camel hide complete the apparel.

The women also wear a shirt like the men, but in their case it is dyed a simple indigo blue. They take pride in loading their heads and chests with coins, clips, brooches, beads, and other ornaments, and their arms and legs are also often decorated with numerous silver bracelets.

The Bedouins usually marry within their tribes. The women are bought for a number of camels or goats or a certain quantity of silver. The price is fixed according to the looks of the girl, her working capacity, and her skill in weaving.

The laws of the Bedouins are as old as the Bible. They recognize no borders and no authority, acknowledging only the laws of their own tribe. Each tribe is headed by a sheik, whose word must be obeyed by all. Physical labor and agriculture as carried on by the villagers and fellahs are looked upon with disdain. Instead, the nomads regard it as their sacred right to waylay caravans and pilgrims crossing their territory or to grant them safe conduct against a corresponding toll.

Their food consists mainly of camel’s milk, mutton, rice, and dried dates. All this is fished out of a large common bowl with the fingers and, formed by the hands into little balls, pushed into the mouth.

BY ROAD OR RAIL

Iraq’s means of communications are hardly developed at all. The desert is crossed only by caravan trails. Toward the south there is something like a motor road between Bagdad and Basra on the Persian Gulf; another such road leads via Khananquin to Kermanshah in Iran. A single shower of rain, however, is enough to turn the dusty mud roads into such a morass that they may become impassable for weeks. The two roads
leading to the oil territories of Kerkuk and Mosul are in a better condition.

Until recently, the railways consisted of the lines Bagdad/Basra, Bagdad/Khanaquin, Bagdad/Kerkuk, and Bagdad/Baiji. The final link of 350 kilometers from Baiji via Mosul to Nisibin, connecting up with the Turkish Taurus Railway, was completed in the autumn of 1940, so that one can now travel on the “Bagdad Railway” from Berlin to Basra with two changes, at the Bosporus and in Bagdad. Another project that is to connect Mosul and Kerkuk with Tabriz via Erbil/Rowaduz is under construction.

FAIRY-TALE PALACE

Not far from Bagdad there is one of the most famous monuments of vanished culture: Ctesiphon. At a distance one can already see the vast hall of the old palace rising above the plain, a miracle of architecture from the days of the Sassanids, the Persian kings who ruled before the advent of the Moslems. The mighty vault of the roof reaches up to a height of thirty-three meters above the ground. Built of brick, with no supports or groins, it has withstood the storms of sixteen centuries. According to legend, the façade of the palace was richly decorated with gems. In the center of the hall, resplendent in the light of golden lamps and candelabra, stood the jewel-studded throne, on which King Chosroes sat in audience, surrounded by his ministers and soldiers. Behind him a magnificent carpet hung down from the ceiling, a treasure of incalculable worth, depicting a landscape. On a golden background, the paths were woven in silver; the meadows were done in emeralds, the rivers in pearls and flowers, trees, and fruit in other colored gems. When the Arabs looted Ctesiphon, this gorgeous specimen fell into their hands. Nothing has ever been heard of it since.

The brilliance of the days of fairy tale has long vanished. Pigeons and bats now live in the nooks and crannies of the old ruin. But the monumental construction of the throne room still arouses the awe of present generations.

SACRED SITES OF ISLAM

Today Iraq, with its black, white, and green flag with a red trapezium and two white stars in it, is an avowedly Moslem country and possesses several Shiite sanctuaries such as Najaf (30,000 inhabitants), which contains the grave of Ali, Mohammed’s son-in-law, and Kerbala (65,000 inhabitants) with the grave of Hussein, Ali’s son. During such religious festivals as, for instance, that of Muharram on June 8, the day on which Hussein fell in battle at Kerbala in 680 A.D., thousands of pious pilgrims from Persia, Afghanistan, and even India flock to these sacred places of Islam. Old people and invalids do not shrink from the most arduous journey in order to die in the holy city. Many people bring the bodies of deceased members of their family there, for paradise is assured to all those who lie buried in sacred earth.

In contrast to the mosques of North Africa and Arabia, those of Iraq and Iran are gorgeously decorated. The minarets and domes are covered with light blue, yellow, and green glazed porcelain tiles, while the interior of the buildings is decorated with mosaics and mirrors, with gold, silver, and precious stones. The domes of the sacred grave-mosques of Najaf, Kerbala, and Kadhimain, however, like those of Meshad and Qum in Iran, are plated with pure gold. The golden cupolas shine far across the country in the rays of the sun and transplant the onlooker into the fairy-tale atmosphere of the Arabian Nights. Infidels are strictly prohibited from entering these holy places, and caution is also advised in taking photographs.

Other important cities in Iraq are Samarra (30,000 inhabitants), Kadhimain near Bagdad (65,000), the lagoon city of Basra, five kilometers from the Persian Gulf (60,000), Mosul (85,000) and, last but not least, the capital Bagdad with its 300,000 inhabitants.

HARUN-AL-RASHID’S RESIDENCE

Bagdad was founded in 762 by Abdallah-al-Mansur, the “Victorious.” Under
the government of his splendor-loving nephew Harun-al-Rashid (786 to 809) the city developed into a metropolis of world renown. Arts and literature flourished, and Bagdad soon outshone Babylon and the former capitals of Mesopotamia. In the following centuries, however, its influence declined again. During the Middle Ages, Mongol hordes descended twice upon Bagdad (1258 and 1401). Tamerlane indulged in his favorite pastime here too by erecting before the gates of the city a tower made of the heads of 90,000 massacred citizens. In later times the population was decimated by disease and floods; and when in the spring of 1917 British troops under General Maude marched into Bagdad nothing was left of the glamour of its past but dusty alleyways, swarms of flies, and the "Arabian nights," for during the summer months the heat in the capital of Iraq is so oppressive that life on the streets does not begin until evening.

Then all the alleyways are filled with a colorful mixture of races, with Armenians, Arabs, Persians, Jews, Indians, Afghans, Levantines, Negroes, Kurds, and Bedouins, some of whom can be distinguished by their headgear. Then all the cafés on the roofs of the houses overflow with people smoking narghiles, drinking tea, and playing dominoes.

There is a single wide road that crosses Bagdad from one end to the other. Rashid Street was cut straight through the middle of the city by the Turks during the Great War in order to provide a route of transport for the trucks and heavy weapons of their army. But aside from this Bagdad has remained purely Oriental. On the banks of the Tigris the old-fashioned Persian water wheels still squeak day and night; and on the dirty brown water of the river, queer circular tubs float which are typical of the traffic on the Euphrates and the Tigris. These *guffas* measure about six meters across. They are made of willow and woven reeds, covered with hides, and caked with pitch. Together with sailing vessels with a forward-slanting mast, they represent the most popular means of transport for people, domestic animals, and the produce of the country.

The dominating colors of the celebrated city are dusty gray and muddy brown. The majority of its two-storied houses are built of adobe bricks. Gray dust lies on the flat roofs and covers the streets and the dry palm fronds which are moved by no breath of air. Against this monotonous background even the myriads of flies seem quite decorative. The only touches of color are provided by the slender columns of the minarets and the domes of the mosques which, with their pleasing designs of glazed colored tiles, look like huge cloisonné bowls turned upside down.

When evening falls and the slanting rays of the sun are reflected from the brilliant mosaic of the mosque cupolas, turning the gray of the houses to rust and crimson; when the moon rises and pours its silver light over the blackness of the Tigris—that is the atmosphere which revives in many a visitor the stories of the life of splendor at the court of Harun-al-Rashid, stories into which Scheherazade, the Arabian teller of tales, wove all the colors of her Oriental imagination. But in the morning everything is gray again.
DEMONS AND FAIRIES
By EILEEN CHANG

A rough survey of current Chinese thought would force us to the conclusion that there is no such thing as the Chinese religion. The Chinese intelligentsia has always been staunchly atheistic. We are not prepared to estimate how much Buddhism influenced the outstanding philosophers of China, but it is plain that, in spite of its sweeping historical onslaught, Buddhism leaves little lasting impression on the average educated man. It is doubtless owing to this agnostic tendency that Chinese literature is pervaded by a great sadness. It finds joy only in materialistic details, which explains why traditional novelists dwell so tirelessly on the unabridged items in meals and love-making (complete menus are often given for no specific purpose). The details can be gay and distracting whereas the theme is invariably pessimistic. All generalizations on life point to nothingness.

Poets and thinkers all over the world are aware of this sense of futility; what differentiates the Chinese from the rest is that it always comes as a first revelation and stays in that stage. One Chinese after another sees the withering of a flower and shudders at the impermanence of life, but none ventures any further from that point. The thought of inescapable doom does not drive him to despair, to slackness, to gluttony or excessive sensuality, which to the European may seem the logical reaction.

An educated Chinese does not believe that man personally is heading anywhere in particular on his journey through time, and the same applies to the human race. What, then, is the point of existence? He would counter that we exist, whether there is a point or not. It matters little what we do with ourselves but, since life is best enjoyed when properly lived, it is for our own happiness that we should behave ourselves—by which is implied the fulfillment of domestic and social obligations. Anything beyond that is left a blank—not a vaporous mass of mystical possibilities, but the absolute arresting of thought, the severe white space in the upper portion of a Chinese painting, the indispensable blank without which the picture would lose its balance. Both in art and life, the most difficult thing is to know when to stop, and the Chinese pride themselves on the virtue of restraint.

Of course, the lower classes cannot maintain themselves in this rarefied atmosphere of polite lack of interest. However, what to them passes for religion is only an accretion of disjointed superstitions—the belief in fortunetelling, ghosts, fox fairies, vegetarianism, etc. The only idea which seems to be shared by the educated and uneducated alike is ancestor worship, and on the part of the intelligentsia this is pure sentimentality untinged by any religious significance, in other words, the mere extension of filial duties beyond the grave.

The Chinese Wish

But if we probe deeper into the matter we find a religious background common to all. The only difference in its effect upon the learned and the vulgar is that the former believe more than they profess and the latter profess more than they believe. Much of this vague psycholog-
The setting consists of Buddhism which, mingled with Taoism and the astrology and fairy tales of the later form of Taoism and soaked for centuries in the Chinese mind, becomes something radically different from what it was originally. The superstitions of the lower classes are fragments detached from the vast structure which is rarely if ever viewed as a whole, being too much taken for granted. The superstitions, then, are not superstitions, since they are intelligently related to a philosophical interpretation of the universe.

Whether this philosophical system may be recognized as a religion depends upon the degree of sincerity to be found in its followers. Chinese farmers generally think they believe but dare not commit themselves to a positive answer if hard pressed. As for the intelligentsia, they are telling the truth when they pronounce themselves disbelievers, and yet surreptitiously this religious background colors their thought and actions because it is what they would like to believe. Nowadays even the most pious would concede that much in religion is wishful thinking. It may interest us to examine the Chinese wish.

**Buddhist Hell in China**

The Chinese have a Taoist heaven and a Buddhist hell. All souls depart to hell after death to be judged there, so that it is not simply the abode of the damned in the Christian sense. The Shadowy Region, though first conceived as a land of eternal twilight, is often pictured as a normal city in which the chief attraction for tourists is the prison house with its eighteen floors of torture chambers. It is not uncommon for the souls of living men to issue forth from their bodies during sleep and wander into hell, where they meet old acquaintances who show them all the sights.

The physical aspects of the ghost vary in different accounts. The more academic view, based on the theory that a ghost is nothing but condensed breath, the gaseous essence of a disembodied personality, has it that a ghost looks like a black or gray silhouette, and that, susceptible to the wind, it wears away with the passage of time, so that old ghosts are smaller than new ones. However, popular imagination tends to make the ghost a realistic parody of the deceased.

Arrested by the ghost police, the souls of the deceased are tried in a court presided over by the king of hell and an elaborate bureaucracy chosen from among competent ghosts. In exceptional cases of marvelous virtue the acquitted prisoners climb heavenward on a golden ladder. For the sinners who stay to suffer, the method of torture varies with the nature of the offense. Bribery and corruption, for instance, are punishable by the drinking of melted copper.

**Transmigration of Souls**

The middling people transmigrate. The circumstances and incidents in the next life are determined by the person’s behavior in the last. A good man is born into a rich family. If he has been good but not unblemished he is born into a rich family as a girl—women’s lot being harder than men’s. If he has behaved badly he is born into the poorer classes or the lower species of the animal kingdom. Butchers turn into pigs. One who died with debts unpaid becomes a horse or a cow to work for the debtor. (Hence the Chinese exclaim in gratitude: “I’ll become a cow or horse in my next life to repay your kindness.”)

Before they leave, the souls are forced to drink the enchanted soup of forgetfulness which obliterates the past. They are driven up a great spiked wheel at the top of which they look down in terror and, goaded from behind, fall down—the earthly midwives’ hands. While the belief in transmigration is common in many lands outside China, perhaps nowhere else is it so clearly visualized. Babies have blue birthmarks on their buttocks because they hesitated to jump off the wheel and were sent toppling off by a kick. Mothers dandle them and reproachfully ask: “Were you so unwilling to come?”
LEGAL COMPLEXITIES

The punishment of sins may be carried out in hell, or in the next life, or in this life, in which case an impious son would himself be provided with trying children, and a woman who whips slave girls on the back would suffer from a painful skin disease on her own back. Sometimes the retribution takes place simultaneously on earth and in hell. A visitor to hell may see a lady of his acquaintance being whipped on the back; he learns upon his return that she has contracted a skin disease and concludes that her soul must be mysteriously present in two places.

Again, the legal process of arrest and trial is not always observed. In numerous cases when one person misuses another, causing the death of the latter, the court may forego the formalities and give the offended party the satisfaction of catching the criminal himself. The ghost takes possession of the man, who exposes his secret guilt in the voice of the deceased, and then commits suicide. Another way, still less constitutional, applicable only to outrageous offenses, is by thunder. The Thunder God strikes down the wicked with a blow, and on the charred back is written an account of the crime. Specimens of “thunder writing” have been collected and published in book form.

Not being stereotyped, the administration of justice in the underworld leaves much room for conjecture and free interpretation. Hence the Chinese theory of poetic justice is faultlessly constructed, easy to prove, impossible to disprove.

There is nothing obscure about the Chinese supernatural. The jurisdiction of the Dark is an exact counterpart of Chinese jurisdiction at an advanced stage of civilization, only that it is a perfected counterpart. However, because of its human basis, the institution is not infallible. Before being taken to hell, souls of the dead often undergo preliminary trials at the city temples, the branch offices of hell. Deceased governors of good repute are appointed city gods to preside over the local courts, and they are open to corruption. The head office in hell, though more conscientious, occasionally makes a mistake in its records and arrests a man before his time. After much delay, when the matter is straightened out, the man has to “borrow a case to come back to life,” his own body being in an advanced stage of decomposition.

WHY SUCH INTEREST IN THE COFFIN

Since transmigration ensures the independence of the soul from the body, which is only transitory, the corpse plays no part in Chinese theology as it does in Egyptian theology. It appears strange, therefore, that the Chinese should place such importance on the corpse. Whatever the trouble and expense incurred, the coffin of one who died thousands of miles away from home must be brought back to the family graveyard. The better a Chinese coffin is, the heavier. Designed to be carried by any number of men from four to sixty-four, the coffin in a house on fire presents an extremely painful dilemma, in which the right thing for the family to do is to stay and dig a hole in the ground and push the coffin into it at the risk of being burned to death. Warm, dry graves are usually insisted on; the offspring would be shattered to find parental graves wet and windy, peopled by white ants. Hence the growth and elaboration of geomancy, the study of the influence on filial fortune of the conditions and surroundings of the ancestral grave.

The preoccupation in parental remains can be explained by the abnormal development of filial sentimentality in China. The Chinese demand that filial affection be a grand consuming passion, and since it is the only legitimate passion it achieves heroic proportions. A study of the behavior of model sons who, with the fervor of cannibalistic self-sacrifice, cut pieces of flesh from their thighs to make a medicinal soup for sick parents, shows them to be people madly in love. It is only to be expected that they should be hypersensitive about the post-mortem comforts of the parents.
There remains the baffling phenomenon of the Chinese who attends to his own coffin with tremendous care. He is perhaps dictated less by self-love than by practicality and farsightedness. Habitants of an agrarian society store up the necessities of life as a matter of course. It is often said of a rich Chinese that "the rice rots in his granary." In a more spacious era than the present, coffins and burial clothes number among the household goods a Chinese would not neglect to store up in making provisions for the days to come.

The attentions paid to the physical welfare of the dead are not entirely uncalled-for, because the souls on trial may be indefinitely detained in hell before they pass on to another life. A controversy was once waged over the question, whether souls on the loose are attached to their tombs or to the ancestral tablets. The fabric of the Chinese religion has many loose threads which sometimes get joined. For instance, determinism and the theory of Virtue Rewarded seem contradictory, but later they are harmonized by the introduction of the last-minute amendment which alters predetermined circumstances on the strength of some good deed. Old men fated to die without an heir are provided with sons; dull scholars pass examinations; men on the brink of death have their lives prolonged for ten or twenty years, and so on.

**NATURAL AND UNNATURAL DEATH**

The Chinese have marked gradations of feeling toward different kinds of death. A standard phrase in funeral announcements illustrates the ideal end: "Died of old age, in the main bedroom." This implies that the deceased was the head of a household, properly attended to, properly mourned. The Chinese sense of propriety does not rule out the decorative coffin with the scene "Lue Pu flirting with Sable Cicada" carved at its head, or the funeral orchestra which plays "Oh Susanna, Don't You Cry."

The Chinese speak of the dead as having "vanished as a fairy," or "gone west" (to India, the native land of Buddha) and refer to the coffin as "the vessel of longevity." Glossed over by such euphemisms, natural death becomes more or less acceptable, while accidents and suicides, among other forms of unnatural death, are still abhorred. One who dies a violent death is deprived of the right to transmigrate until somebody else dies in the same manner to take his place. Eager for life, the ghost tries to tempt others to suicide. Whenever anyone feels depressed, the ghost smells him out as a possibility. If it has previously taken its own life by hanging, it dangles a loop before the prospective substitute, who sees, framed in the loop, the picture of a lovely garden. He sticks his head in for a closer look, and the rope tightens. With regard to accidents, if a car has crashed at a certain street corner, other cars crash regularly at the same spot. Another example is the swimming beach at Kiaochow, on the outskirts of Shanghai, which is well known for its annual cases of drowning. The ghosts seem governed by instincts like spiders and beasts of prey.

**SUBHUMAN SWINDLERS**

The Chinese associate the supernatural with the lower forms of life. The fox fairies, the spirits of flowers and trees, are some of the subhuman beings aiming at human form—the most enviable state of existence as it is the most complete and satisfactory. Discontented with their poverty and ignorance, enterprising animal and vegetable spirits are driven to thieving. They usually come to men in the form of beautiful women, to suck up the essence of life.

The human world and that of the ghosts and goblins, superimposed upon each other and occupying the same space at the same time, make up a very crowded universe. Snobbish supernatural beings come to plague people out of luck—those who are either physically or morally debilitated—but always keep clear of the fortunate, the upright, and those with official rank. Men live under the terrific combined pressure of the censorship of
human society plus that of the underworld plus that of the hosts of covetous spirits who take advantage of the slightest weakness. However, a thinking man has nothing to fear from the spirits because theirs is a weaker, dimmer, more diluted form of existence. Stories tell of deceased husbands who pathetically try to prevent their wives from remarrying, and always ineffectively. On the other hand, the life of the spirits is more monotonous and limited than men's, though perfected in certain aspects.

THE TAOIST HEAVEN

The Taoist heaven is only Taoist in that, despite accounts of palaces of jade and jasper, there prevails an atmosphere of clean white emptiness, symbolic of the “Do Nothing” policy of Lao-tse. The rest of the lore is all based upon an accumulation of aboriginal beliefs. The Jade Emperor rules directly over a huge celestial bureaucracy, and indirectly over earth and hell. He also holds feudalistic sway over various divine localities. The talented beauties of the earth are eligible for the position of girl attendants in the divine court if they die young. A celestial maiden who accidentally breaks a vase or giggles during a ceremony is sent down to earth to love and suffer and provide material for popular legends, which generally represent the brief absence from eternal bliss as being enjoyable.

Intense specialization among the heavenly bureaucrats gives us the Literary God, the Military God, the Money God, the God of Longevity, etc. To every city there is a City God, to every village a Field God, to every house two Door Gods and one Kitchen God, and to every lake and river a Dragon God. In addition to these there are the Jobless Fairies.

BLASPHEMY TOLERATED

For all its structural grandeur the Chinese heaven is painted in paler tones and with a less sure touch than the Chinese hell because it has less to do with the vital concerns of humanity. However, if the Chinese never take heaven literally they can induce in themselves a state of faith whenever it suits their purpose. A plain example of their tenacious imagination can be drawn from the commercial radio broadcasts. Lovers in a Shao-shing Opera (a form of local drama) tearfully bid each other good-by for the thousandth time, and when the girl pauses to take breath the announcer intervenes: “Mr. Wang of 2172 Bubbling Well Road orders half-a-dozen bottles of Hongkong Foot Cure.” Apparently the interruption does not break the spell.

Because of the Chinese lack of susceptibility to anticlimaxes, their religion can stand any amount of blasphemy. The title “Jade Emperor” is also a playful synonym for “wife,” especially a domineering one. The line of demarcation to be found between faith and fancy is very thin. Among the deities we see Queen Wang Moo, monstrously ugly when she first appeared in Chinese myths but later glamourized and turned into a beautiful old lady; and the Flaxen Maid, one of the Eight Immortals. Both are often present in birthday-party decorations but never seriously worshiped. The Chinese find no objection to these merely ornamental figures associating on equal terms with the Goddess of Mercy, whereas no Christian can imagine Santa Claus in company with his God.

SALVATION MINIMIZED

The Chinese salvation varies with the individual. For those content with an eternal chain of humdrum lives, it is comparatively easy to do the right thing since there is no right beyond the harmony of feeling and reason, and that should be plain to all. One only has to “carry out what the heart is at peace with.” Theoretically the Chinese agree that the intention matters more than the consequences of the deed, and yet with characteristic inconsistency alms are openly solicited and given for purely selfish ends—to “manufacture blessings” for the donor. Beggars reassure you that “not one copper will fall on empty ground.”

Those who are distressed with life as it is and wish to mold it to their hearts’ desire, resort to the Buddhist formula of
wisdom arrived at through silence, solitude, inaction. The principle affects the Chinese roughly in two ways. The more passive among the faithful—old ladies mostly, and women on whom fate has been unduly harsh, widows and wives cold-shouldered by their husbands—believe in shutting themselves up in a simply furnished room, where they quiesce in the heart by copying Buddhist classics which they do not try to understand. Seclusion eliminates the possibility of doing evil, and the negative good thus achieved ameliorates the circumstances in the next life, where they may expect a better chance of worldly happiness. As they usually find a complete withdrawal from life impracticable, generous concessions are made. Take vegetarianism, for instance, which not only eliminates the sin of killing but also has positive value when pushed to the extreme of abstaining from all cooked food—food contaminated by smoke and fire. A man who lived on a diet of fruits would grow white hair all over his body and leap off as a fairy ape, thereby gaining immortal life. However, Chinese vegetarians cling with such delight to butchered meat that they have invented "vegetarian ham" and "vegetarian chicken" and, best of all, the system of "flowered vegetarianism" (opposite of "plain vegetarianism") observed only on the 1st and 15th of the month, or on all days in the month with a 3 or 7 in the number, or on the divine birthdays only. Thus pious Chinese shuffle their feet in and out of the world, trusting that the clerk in hell will faithfully record every millimeter of the retreat.

ATHLETIC SALVATION

As for the young men of action, these withdraw from life temporarily to achieve knowledge and power so that they return to the world stronger, purer, and capable of setting things right. They sit still for hours, their minds a vacuum. At dawn and midnight they do deep-breathing exercises to imbibe the essence of the sun and moon and help develop "the great outpouring air" of the superman. To the Chinese, gymnastic exercises always have some subtle moral significance associated with "building up the breath" or "training the breath." The skill of the boxer and the inward peace of the hermit are complementary.

This belief in the athletic way to salvation is typified by Chinese adventure stories, the equivalent of the boy-scout tales of the West. Extremely popular among adolescents and a considerable percentage of grown men, these sagas deal with knightly reformers who first learned boxing, archery, and military tactics in the mountains. The theory that to improve life one must first be detached, is in a more practical form universally accepted in China.

BOHEMIAN FAIRIES

Not content with improving upon life, some aim above the human estate. Most men would rather be fairies than gods because the status of a Buddhist deity, usually the reward of toilsome saintliness, entails a tremendous amount of work and responsibility as a dignified member of the celestial bureaucracy. A kindly mayor automatically becomes a god after his death if the citizens build a temple to him in gratitude. Exceptionally chaste women, like the one who chose to be bitten to death by the mosquitoes of a neighboring swamp rather than spend the night under the same roof with a stranger, usually have temples erected to their names; but whether they continue to enjoy the solicitous attentions of the population depends entirely upon whether they do their duty by the locality in respect to the crops, the weather, the answering of private prayers.

The more enviable fairies, of Taoist origin, lead Bohemian lives replete with the kind of pleasures advocated by Lin Yu-tang. The normal process of attaining fairyhood demands half a century or more of ascetism in the Indian style, though without any mortification of the flesh. Miraculous short cuts are provided by alchemy, by friendly aid from the upper quarters. A fairy disguised as an itinerant monk or Taoist priest comes among men to pick out those with "the root of wisdom." After the exchange of
one or two ethereal epigrams, the new convert disappears together with the redeemer. Fifty years later an old acquaintance of the chosen may meet him at the foot of a mountain, his beard as black as ever.

Again, a man may join the fairies through sheer luck. The fox, self-educated in magic and theology, learns to mold its breath into a shiny ball which it is in the habit of tossing about on moonlit nights. If a man catches hold of the ball and swallows it quickly, the fox is done for. Animals which aim at immortality must first pass through the human stage and, as they have a longer distance to go than men, they are often robbed on the way of the fruits of their labor.

Sheltered and leisurely, the fairies are chiefly occupied with the mild pursuits of chess-playing, music, travel, and drinking, which in the East is considered more a cultivated pastime than a vice. They exist on a different plane of time, one day in fairyland being equal to a thousand years on earth. It has been argued that on the part of the fairies this speaks only of a benumbed consciousness.

THE "EARTH FAIRIES"

As the fairies have no sexual or family life, men who wanted the best of both worlds created the amphibious species of "earth fairies," a comparatively late invention. The "earth fairies" are no different from ordinary millionaires except for the additional blessing of immortal youth. Tucked away in an untrodden hill or valley, their abode is a Mohammedan paradise with more privacy to it. An occasional contact with humanity increases the enjoyment of the superiority of their position. Stories are told of how a man sailing across the Tung Ting Lake sees on a pleasure boat a former friend who has married into a family of "earth fairies." He is invited on board where he is magnificently entertained and loaded with presents upon departure. Directly he steps off the vessel, the all-girl orchestra strikes up the drums to invoke a mist, into which the pleasure boat dissolves, never to be seen again.

Fairyhood leaves a Chinese alone to enjoy his riches, free from all claims upon him by members of his family and clan. Though pleasurable in this respect, this irresponsible state of existence deprives him of the opportunity of practicing his art of living with people, in which the Chinese excel. Everybody loathes to give up his speciality, however irksome its exercising may be to him. Hence we observe the twofold reaction of desire and distaste in the Chinese attitude toward fairyhood.

LOVE OF REPETITION

The Chinese heaven, treated with less respect than their hell, is in fact superfluous. Hell is good enough for the majority. If they have behaved tolerably well they may look forward to an infinite succession of slightly variegated human lives, in which they fulfill predestined connections, unwittingly sow seeds for future attachments, tie knots of hatred and have them unfastened—the delightfully giddy mating of cause and effect. The Chinese have taken a fancy to life in this particular aspect, and once the Chinese find anything to their liking they keep to it. The film The Opium War has now been made a Peking Opera and, like the novel Autumn Quince, will soon appear as a stage play, a Shao-shing Opera, a farce, a long ballad in the Shanghai dialect; and the identical audience will faithfully go to see it in every possible form. The sustained repetition in Ravel's Bolero is always present in classical Chinese music, whether the subject be "Autumn in the Hang Palace" or "Wild Geese Alighting on Level Sand." The steadfast rumination of a recurrent theme never comes to a climax and stops only to begin anew as another composition.

Human life, possibly unsatisfactory when taken by itself, has nothing wanting when viewed as a chain of such lives. This can find a parallel in none of the later imported religions. Thus against the high-pressure missionary enterprises
of the different forms of Christianity the native creed is able to hold its own, without any counterattack, unsupported by large capital, without any spokesman, propaganda literature, any consciously created atmosphere of peace and beauty, or even any classics to fall back on (Buddhist classics, never popularized, are as good as nonexistent).

MENTAL HAZINESS A VIRTUE

However, we have not yet settled the question as to whether the Chinese religion is a religion in the full sense of the word. The lower classes regard piety as the logical choice, because, if they believe in hell and conduct themselves accordingly, and later find it all lies, no harm is done, whereas the atheist runs the totally unnecessary risk of damnation. This explains the traditional Chinese toleration and respect for other religions. If they antagonized the Christians and then found themselves in a Christian hell, the situation would be embarrassing indeed.

And again, the Chinese have an aversion to precision, comparing it to "playing the guitar with the bridges glued." An intelligent scholar "likes to read but does not try to understand thoroughly." But, however much mental haziness is taken as a virtue, in religion there are bound to be critical moments which force one to answer yes or no.

THE ULTIMATE TEST

When a man has lost everything, what is it that raises him from the vale of despair and urges him on to another future? In China, such cases do not exist. Although the Chinese are known to be diligent followers of the motto, "having eaten the most bitter of bitter things, you can then be a man above other men," if they fall down after a dizzy climb they never rise again. The one quality they admire effusively in foreigners is perseverance. Every other day in the Chinese newspapers Edison and Franklin reaffirm that "failure is the mother of success." The modern Chinese prize this pugnacity above all else because they feel it lacking in themselves.

When a Chinese gives up he may not have lost confidence in himself but he suspects that what he is driving at is not coherent with the general trend of incidents, that it is not timely though it may be good. Heaven is never on the side of a defeated cause, however worthy, and in this the Chinese heaven as conceived by the intellectuals coincides with the modern idea of nature rather than the benevolent Christian God. Here we see how the scholarly view influences the popular religion in which one is invariably punished for a crime—that is, interference with the natural course of life—but not necessarily rewarded for isolated goodness.

THE CHINESE IN DESPAIR

Too readily compliant, the Chinese have no sportsmanship to speak of. In a race, when one person has reached the goal, all the others stop running. Foreigners find the Chinese exceedingly annoying in their ability to dismiss whatever they cannot do with a single smart phrase.

After his downfall the great man retires to a farm and puts his hopes in his son. If he has no farm to retire to and no son to lean upon, he abandons what he does not possess to become a monk, a Taoist priest, or a hermit. Although nowadays even hermitage is costly, retreat is not impossible for a coolie, a cobbler in the street, so long as the heart is kept vacant and aloof.

We wonder why suicide as a means of escape seldom occurs to the very poor in poverty-stricken China, arguing that death must be preferable to the incredible wretchedness of the beggars or coolies. In the case of absolute destitution, the reversion to bestiality, reason gives way to pure instinct; but with the Chinese the desire to survive at any cost is reasoned and deliberate in addition to being instinctive. They say, "a good death is not as good as a bad life." Of course, there are limits to everything. Spectators frankly look upon that station of life with abhorrence, as being a hell on earth, and are only reconciled to it by the
belief that the beggars are suffering for sins committed in some other life. It is doubtful, however, whether such an explanation makes life more bearable to the beggars themselves. Then is there no religion for the beggars?

**LIMITATIONS OF THE HUMAN SCOPE**

The beggars are not human, because to the Confucian, humanity has a very limited scope. The most important prerequisite for the human status is personal connections, and even those are narrowed down to the set pattern of the Five Relations (those between lord and subject, parent and child, husband and wife, brothers, friends). Confucianism is not practicable among the very poor since it presupposes the possession of a little money or land with which to support a family and answer to the exactions of society. As the beggars cannot afford families or any human relations except the demoralizing one of exploiting other people’s pity, they become religious outlaws.

The poor must be distinguished from the destitute. The poorer classes of all nations are known for their religious zeal, because the promises of future felicity alleviate present discomforts so that they are more disposed to believe. The Chinese poor cannot be more credulous than the rest of their compatriots, since the Chinese as a race can charm themselves into believing anything. If the Chinese proletariat seems more religious than its betters, it is due to the overcrowded state of existence, which involves more human relations, restrictions, and responsibilities than usual. They experience the closely watched conditions taught by our religion in an intenser form than those whose wealth entitles them to greater freedom and independence.

Dying men are also beyond the pale of human sympathy, for the egotism induced by pain causes a severance of human relations. Death-bed psychology is as yet unexplored in China. All literature touching upon the subject of death deals exclusively with the reaction of the onlookers; hence we see much of the grotesque or plainly farcical, like the ghost policeman named Impermanence, a tall clown in white, with a high hat labeled “look upon me and prosper.”

* * *

Seriously interested neither in the source nor the end of existence, the Chinese have hitherto resisted the general movement of all civilizations toward the “why” in life. According to the Chinese, preoccupation with things outside the human scope gives opportunity to the supernatural spirits to make their influences felt, and such communication is dangerous aside from being unpleasant. Men all over the world refrain from thoughts of death if they can help it, and the Chinese can. They concentrate on the small illuminated area of life as they see it. We must own after all that the Chinese religion is no less a religion because it has effect only within the scope outside which we find nothing but a vague comprehensive sadness. All is vanity or, as the singsong girl phrased it in the Peking Opera “The Courtyard of the Black Dragon”:  

I wash my hands and clean my nails,  
To sew shoes to be trodden in the mud.
THE MARCH OF WAR

SOUTHERN ITALY

(August 29 to November 15, 1943)

FIRST LANDING

At the end of August the Allies made several vain attempts to gain a foothold on the Italian mainland, all of them on a minor scale. But in the early morning hours of September 3, an invasion with major forces began. After a violent artillery preparation and under strong naval and air protection, one British tank division and one Canadian infantry division of General Bernard Montgomery's Eighth Army were landed between Villa San Giovanni and Reggio Calabria. Subsequent landings near Ceramiida, Palmi, and—on September 8—in the Gulf of Esteria, brought the Allied forces in Calabria up to four divisions, which continued to receive reinforcements. The few German defenders fought a gallant rearguard action calculated to slow up the enemy's advance. They blew up roads, laid extensive mine fields (which caused the British severe losses), and succeeded in evading all efforts at encirclement.

SURPRISE AT SALERNO

On September 8, the American Fifth Army under General Mark Clark, including also the British Tenth Army Corps as well as some Canadian troops, started large-scale landing operations in the Gulf of Salerno. The announcement of Badoglio's surrender on the following day made it clear that the Allied High Command expected to exploit the situation to the fullest. Naples was to be occupied, and further large contingents were to be landed there, while a quick thrust in an easterly direction toward Potenza and a junction with the Eighth Army were to cut off the German formations in Calabria. But, apart from the fact that the advance of the Eighth Army was much slower than expected, a big surprise was in store for the Allies in the fighting around the Gulf of Salerno.

The Allied landing fleet was subjected to heavy attacks by the Luftwaffe. But, under cover of the guns of strong Allied naval forces and in spite of heavy losses, seven infantry and tank divisions of the Fifth Army were put ashore during the first three days. The British troops formed a bridgehead in the Salerno area and tried to enlarge their foothold in a northerly and westerly direction. American and Canadian divisions took over the eastern shore of the gulf and advanced to the heights south of Eboli, where in two days of heavy fighting they attempted to break through to Potenza. However, by September 13 they had been weakened to such an extent that they were forced to abandon their original plan and to limit themselves to defense.

It was at this moment that the German Command struck back. Just as the invaders were beginning to entrench themselves, German tank and mechanized forces rushed down on a broad front from their hillside positions. In a brief but bitter engagement they split the enemy into small groups which were put to rout. Large quantities of arms and equipment were left behind or thrown away. In outflanking maneuvers some of the enemy groups were isolated and thousands of men taken prisoner. By wresting Battipaglia from the invaders, the Germans also drove a wedge between the Anglo-American groups in the Salerno and Eboli areas.

In the Salerno sector, the British troops fared no better. Their push toward Vietri and then in the direction of the Nocera plain was stemmed by a powerful counterattack from two directions which threw them back to the coastal strip of Vietri. Although further landings were carried out on the western end of the Sorrento peninsula, the advance along the coastal road to Amalfi and a tank thrust from Salerno toward the north failed to relieve the British.

While all this was going on, the Eighth Army was feeling its way northward along the western coast of Calabria. Further to
In order to speed up help for the battered units of the Fifth Army at Salerno, the Allied High Command decided to dispatch part of General Montgomery’s forces by sea. During the night of September 17, about one and a half divisions of tank and motorized units were landed in the area of Paestum and Agropoli. Another tank brigade embarked to strengthen the troops in the Salerno sector. Then the Germans, after two weeks of fighting and after having united with their comrades who had been engaged in Calabria and Apulia, began to detach themselves. The front, which had run from Salerno in a southeasterly direction, was taken back on the left wing, with Salerno as the pivot.

In the two weeks’ battle of Salerno, three German divisions, some of them of Sicilian fame, stood up against forces vastly superior in number and enjoying complete naval supremacy. The 36th US Infantry Division was practically wiped out. The employment of Allied parachutist formations, which was attempted by the British near Castellammare and by the Americans in the Vesuvius area, ended in their annihilation. Anglo-American casualties numbered at least 10,000 killed and wounded. The Germans took 4,429 prisoners and destroyed or captured 153 tanks, as well as a lot of other equipment. Between September 8 and 17, units of the German Luftwaffe and Navy sank 3 cruisers, 2 destroyers, one torpedo boat, 15 landing boats, and 9 transports, apart from an even larger number of vessels they damaged.

**TOUGH GOING**

At the beginning of October, General Montgomery’s forces had advanced to a line running roughly from Manfredonia to Bovino, while in the west the fighting centered around Avellino and Mount Vesuvius. On October 2, Naples was evacuated by the Germans after they had blown up all installations that might be of use to the enemy and had rendered the harbor unfit as a naval and military base.

Since then it has been tough going for the Anglo-Americans, as the defenders have made full use of the extremely mountainous terrain, where small detachments in well-camouflaged positions are able to inflict serious losses upon an enemy plodding along.
roads exposed to flank attacks from steep heights. Although far inferior in numbers, the Germans did not confine themselves to warding off the Allies: they often made counterattacks or launched surprise thrusts. Every strategic point was transformed into a hedgehog position and tenaciously defended. The Allies have, therefore, been compelled to undertake the wearying business of removing one obstacle after another without being able to start the expected large-scale operations.

The valley of the upper Volturno River—continued in a northwesterly direction by the valley of the upper Garigliano and Sacco Rivers, with Cassino as its gateway—is of particular strategic importance since it forms the main road to Rome. (The widening coastal strip leading to Rome is impracticable for a large-scale advance, as the Pontine Marshes form a natural barrier across this strip.) Hence, at the time of going to press, the fighting for access to this road is especially violent. Our map shows the inconsiderable Allied advance between October 15 and November 15.

In view of the Allied naval superiority, it is remarkable that, with the exception of a major landing maneuver at Termoli on October 5 and of some minor ones northwest of that city and north of the mouth of the Volturno River at a later date, no amphibian operations were attempted during the period under review. A squadron of warships which tried to bombard the port of Gaeta on November 1 was driven off by German coastal defense guns.

On the Allied right wing this lack of amphibian maneuvers is probably due to their lack of sufficient shipping and to the fact that the eastern shore of the Adriatic is under German control. Such operations are, therefore, threatened by attacks from air bases on the Dalmatian coast. Moreover, judging by his African campaign, General Montgomery is averse to starting any large-scale operations without superior numbers in men and material, which he is at present engaged in assembling before venturing to smash through the Sangro line.

On the Allied left wing, the US Fifth Army is now facing strong defense positions in the mountainous terrain running from Formia to Isernia. To break through this line would demand great sacrifices. On the other hand, the outflanking of these positions by means of an amphibian enterprise is more likely to be attempted, as the Anglo-Americans have bases on Sardinia and Corsica to protect naval operations in the Tyrrhenian Sea. Hence large-scale landings similar to those in the Salerno area may be reckoned with.

**GERMAN DEFENSE PREPARATIONS**

While the battle on the Italian peninsula was going on, the German positions in central and northern Italy were being consolidated. All Italian armies were disarmed, the lines of communication secured, and all important passes and tunnels in the Alps taken over by German troops. Italian formations in the occupied territories were likewise replaced by German or other Axis troops. The resistance offered by some Italian formations was quickly broken. The strategically important islands of Corfu at the entrance to the Adriatic and of Rhodes in the Dodecanese group were secured, and the British who, with the connivance of the Italian commanders, had occupied various other islands in the Aegean, especially Kos and Leros, were either wiped out or taken prisoner.

On the other hand, the naval superiority of the Allies in the Mediterranean necessitated the evacuation of the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, all troops together with their entire equipment being ferried across to the mainland.

The treason of King Victor Emmanuel and his Government made the period under review a most critical one for the German forces in Italy. But, without a moment’s hesitation, the German High Command mastered the dangers threatening from outside as well as lurking in the rear of the German divisions. Central Italy is being defended by a large army under Field Marshal Kesselring, only a small part of which has been sent into battle as yet; while in the north another army under Field Marshal Rommel is guarding Italy’s most important agricultural and industrial centers. This as well as the numerous deeds of individual bravery—outstanding among which was the rescue of Mussolini by a handful of Germans from a mountain top 2,100 meters high—have shown German morale to be unbroken and have caused the Allied High Command to desist from boldly exploiting an opportunity on which many Anglo-American hopes rested. As General Sir Harold Alexander phrased it in a communiqué: “All roads lead to Rome, but unfortunately all these roads are mined and their bridges blown up.”
FORTUNE AT MR. SNÓKSDAL’S DOOR

By GUNNAR GUNNARSSON

The following tale in our series of short stories of the nations comes from a little-known country: Iceland. This lonely volcanic island, situated as far north as the Bering Strait, has hardly more than 100,000 inhabitants; yet it has developed its own culture. Populated more than a thousand years ago by vikings from Scandinavia, it lives its own life. The narrow confines of this life as reflected in our story are to be explained by the smallness of the remote community of the Icelanders. All the more worthy of recognition is the fact that a son of Iceland, the author of this story, has found an entry into the world’s modern literature. Many of his works have been translated into other languages, especially his great novel “The History of the Borg Family.”

Our story was translated from the Icelandic, which is closely related to Danish, by Cirs Norlund.—K.M.

In common with women and other supernatural beings, Fortune demands that one believe in her. The threshold of unbelievers she passes with an indifferent air—however respectable they may be. Take the case of a young clerk in the town of Reykjavik with a monthly salary of 50 kroner. His original name was plain Jón Jónsson but, realizing what our times demand of a man who wants to keep up with them and make a place for himself, he had it changed and promoted to the more fashionable-sounding J. J. Snóksdal (which, literally translated, means: valley of snakes).

However, whether you sign your monthly cheque Jón Jónsson or J. J. Snóksdal, the money neither grows nor shrinks for that. Nobody will deny that J. J. Snóksdal is a portlier name than Jón Jónsson. But portliness obliges. And costs money. Just these last few days the increased stateliness had cost Mr. Snóksdal a round of seltzer-champagne. Hence on this last day of the month he had a debt of five kroner, in addition to his other monthly obligations. His salary, by no means elastic, did not allow for this additional amount. Whichever way Mr. Snóksdal manipulated the figures on a scrap of paper with his private account, he couldn’t get away from the horrible fact that he was in arrears and had no reserves to resort to. Mr. Snóksdal was deeply depressed. From now on he would have to sneak about with downcast eyes, in constant fear of suddenly coming face to face with a creditor’s piercing look. Poor Snóksdal—I beg your pardon—Mr. Snóksdal already began bitterly to repent his extravagance with that seltzer-champagne. He vowed that it should never happen again. This would be his only, his last step in the wrong direction. All praise to Mr. Snóksdal: he was an honest man—to his sweaty fingertips.

But even honest men may have slight attacks. Not of dishonesty, of course, never dishonesty. At most a bit of carelessness.

On his way home, Mr. Snóksdal entered a bookshop to buy ten öre’s worth of notepaper—possibly to be able to continue his hopeless arithmetical problem at home—and his eyes fell on a list of names which, among many distinguished personalities, contained two names of which he took special note. The list was displayed with reference to a gala dinner on the following evening in honor of a citizen of great merit. Anybody eager to part with a ten-kroner note could take
part in the banquet. Perhaps Mr. Snøksdal thought that the beautiful girl in the shop did not serve him with enough respect; perhaps it was the two above-mentioned names which decided the matter—at any rate, the devil took possession of him: with careless dignity he leaned against the wall and, in elegant flourishes, added his name, "J. J. Snøksdal," to the list. After which he nonchalantly paid with two ten-kroner notes and, without checking the 9 kroner and 90 öre he received in change, left the shop.

Out in the street he couldn't help feeling a little dizzy. The light from the setting sun shone so strangely, so vaguely. The houses stood out, one by one, clearly as if he were seeing them for the first time. The people he met appeared far away and alien, and yet so near and familiar. Everything seemed as if it had been lifted up into a higher sphere. He felt like a man who all of a sudden has got a long-needed new suit of clothes and in overweening lordliness has thrown the old one out of the window. In other words, he tasted a bit of the joy of sinning. But simultaneously he had a very unpleasant feeling of not standing quite firmly on his legs. Well, it was done and could not be altered. For a moment, however, the thought ran through his mind that he ought to go back to the shop and explain his action as a misunderstanding. But that would be too humiliating. There is an absolute limit to the moral courage of even an honest man. So Mr. Snøksdal went on.

As he was walking like this, a sensible thought suddenly emerged out of the chaos in his brain: What was he to wear for the dinner tomorrow night? He felt he had to go in dinner clothes; but he had none—and where could he borrow some? His mind ran over one well-dressed friend after another—that one and that one had dinner clothes, he knew. But—could J. J. Snøksdal borrow a dinner suit? Instinctively he answered his question with an emphatic no! Ought he to go there in borrowed feathers? No, absolutely not! He had, then, to buy a dinner suit. He could, he imagined, get one cheap from the tailor who usually made his annual suit at the price of 60 kroner. Mr. Snøksdal distractedly turned down the street where the tailor lived. But then it occurred to him that he would be late for supper, so that he took the road to the eating place which, by some miracle, was able to supply him with breakfast, lunch, and supper for 30 kroner a month. He had rented a room next door for 10 kroner a month. That came to 40—which was more than he had. Ten öre were lacking. And, furthermore, the money he had was to be spent on something else. Then there was a petty debt. Well, now he was in a mess, and he had to brave it out.

And then it became clear to him that the whole thing was, in fact, right and fitting—he was simply doing a business transaction. He had borrowed his own money for two days as trading capital. Why, everybody knew that trading capital was something required for any sort of business. And as regards the business, the point was this: at the dinner he was bound to meet Björn Tettúrsson, Reykjavik's great tycoon, and it was exactly that man he needed—it was he whom he must get hold of. What good would it do a poor ragged clerk to look up Björn Tettúrsson at his busy office? No, Tettúrsson must be driven into a corner. If it didn't happen now, and if it didn't happen this way, it would never happen at all. Well, he was sure to manage it. And anyway, there was no other way out.

He told his landlady—and he was not free from admiring himself a bit, how boldly he could tell a white lie when it was imperative—that she would get her money the day after tomorrow. So that was fixed. And he went to the tailor's and found a dinner suit which, with a few changes, would fit him like a glove. He gave the tailor 25 kroner on account and signed a contract. Then that was fixed.

It was fantastic how easily everything went today. Mr. Snøksdal didn't give his petty debts a single thought. He had completely placed his trust in the
idea that the day after tomorrow he would fix the whole thing. How the money was to be procured, he fortunately dismissed from his mind. He had once—in his former capacity of office messenger—got a little glimpse of Tettúrsson's huge safe. With the correct idea that for the moment the most important thing was to keep his heart at its normal level, he gathered a few friends for a seltzer-champagne bout.

The following day turned out to be one of the longest in J. J. Snóksdal's life. He did his work at the office without full consciousness. He felt as if he were at the end of a long and not too reliable string, swimming about in dark depths. Poor Snóksdal—on this day he was no hero and looked precisely what he was: a little office clerk with a salary of 50 kroner and, on top of that, in financial embarrassment.

But in the evening, at the gala dinner, he seemed again to have undergone a strange change—a change which is sometimes brought about by a new dinner suit. In short, from head to foot he was Mr. Snóksdal. People who knew him only as a poor clerk were amazed. Wherever a few stout and well-to-do citizens put their heads together, the conversation was more often than not about Snóksdal. “What's this about Snóksdal?” “How has he made money?”

Snóksdal, whose nerves were like taut harp strings, did not take long to find out that he was attracting attention and making a hit. Mr. Snóksdal was not accustomed to being taken for someone of importance—not in these circles. To tell the truth, it went to his head. He overlooked people to whom he usually bowed respectfully. When politely addressed, he answered haughtily. But there was something attractive in his youthful arrogance: he was so happy to discover that he possessed a sense of humor. He became witty, even a little malicious. In short, he was no longer his own self. He bragged without giving offense. He behaved as if the others
were his equals—or perhaps even less. Björn Tettúrsson was the only person toward whom he showed an undisguised respect. And he really did succeed in making a certain impression upon Tettúrsson. He felt it himself. Later in the evening, when Tettúrsson was alone for a moment, he stepped up to him and addressed him with a frankness said to be characteristic of superior minds—and which, at least, is natural among equals:

“You know, I have been wanting to make your acquaintance for some time.”

Tettúrsson was somewhat startled. “Oh, really?” he answered looking at the other.

But Snóksdal’s self-confidence was not shaken. “Yes,” he answered in a manner as if it were really he who decided the matter. “After all, you have the money and the power in this blessed town. And money is the point. Personally, I haven’t got any.”

He laughed—and Tettúrsson was kind enough to join in his laughter. “I can imagine,” he said with good-natured sarcasm. “But you seem to be doing all right without it.”

Of course, it was meant as a joke. Mr. Snóksdal pondered for a moment.

“Well,” he finally began, “sometimes one has to be content with the hope of getting that which one doesn’t have. And what’s the use of hanging one’s head?”

He didn’t know that now he had Tettúrsson where he wanted him. The latter did not show it either. He thought that there seemed to be pep in the lad. He liked that sort of people—had secretly helped several of them along the first difficult part of the road. He decided to sound him a little.

“Well, then, what do you intend to use the money for?” he asked kindly but with a note of casualness which was meant to prevent Mr. Snóksdal from immediately soaring up on wings of hope.

“As a matter of fact, I haven’t even considered that,” answered Mr. Snóksdal—suddenly desperately honest now that he thought all hope was lost. “I only figured that once I had the money I would surely make it breed.”

Tettúrsson laughed—and decided that this man was either an exceptional fool or something quite out of the ordinary. It went against his principles to lend money to a man who didn’t know what he would use it for. Well, he didn’t know him. Perhaps the boy was too smart to let the cat out of the bag. At any rate, he couldn’t help liking him.

“Look me up at my office tomorrow. We might talk it over further,” he said, cordially shaking the other’s hand as he left him.

Fortunately, having been in so exalted a state the whole evening that it would have taken a miracle to surprise him, Mr. Snóksdal didn’t gape. But this, indeed, exceeded his boldest expectations. His dream had come true, the connection had been established. It was almost impossible to believe!

The rest of the evening he behaved so modestly, without, however, losing his high spirits, that more and more guests took a liking to him. He even had a conversation with the queen of his heart. She was exuberant—and he overwhelmed. He dared not openly accept all that she so willingly gave him. And yet he had courage enough to admit to himself that he was not indifferent to her. He could have gone still further. The young lady was on the point of completely falling for him, and he could have proposed on the spot. He would hardly have been turned down, although she was not entirely satisfied with him. Why didn’t he make just one attempt to get her out into the corridor and kiss her!

In short, he had an evening of good luck. And was almost irresistible. Even his sudden modesty was charming, now that he had manifested his arrogant superiority sufficiently. Of course, he was aware of the fact that he took them by storm. But to what extent, he had no idea. And even if he had understood
it, it is doubtful whether he would have been bold enough to take advantage of it.

When, on the following day, he arrived at Tettúrsson's office, he had, I'm sorry to say, already descended several steps on Fortune's ladder which he had so boldly climbed on the preceding night—but he still had his feet on the rungs.

He had considered the matter and reached the conclusion that he had to be cautious. Above all, cautious. For the moment he would be content with asking Tettúrsson to lend him—say 1,000 kroner. On the threshold of the office the 1,000 dwindled to 500. And when, after a not very successful conversation, he finally got out his request, it was for—50.

These he got. From Tettúrsson's pocketbook.

He did not get anywhere near Tettúrsson's safe that day. And when, with a few awkward words, he left the office, he had a definite feeling that he never would. Yet J. J. Snøksdal wasn't really dissatisfied. With the rest of his salary, he had 55 kroner in his pocket and could thus balance his budget.

Nevertheless, there was a little stinging pain in Mr. Snøksdal's heart when, after leaving Tettúrsson's office, he met the girl of his dreams. He greeted her humbly and despondently, the poor shabby office clerk he was once more. She looked at him with big eyes full of astonishment and hardly returned his greeting. He saw clearly, much too clearly, how the soft smile on her lips tightened into a hard, disdainful expression. At that moment he wisely dismissed every thought of ever winning her.

J. J. Snøksdal remained in a state of happy ignorance that Fortune—whose garment he had only glimpsed—he didn't believe in her. In common with women and other supernatural beings, Fortune demands... Oh, well, that's where I started.

ON THE SCREEN
JAPAN: FILMS FOR EXPORT

Since last year, official as well as film circles have been making extensive studies on the problem of exporting Japanese films to the occupied territories in southeastern Asia, French Indo-China, and Thailand.

A series of inspection trips to the southern regions by various leaders of the film industry has resulted in the formation of a definite opinion, viz., that it is unnecessary to produce special films conforming to the standard of the native inhabitants. In other words, films of a high standard produced for Japan are equally suited for the south. Of course, subtitles for the benefit of the native audiences have to be added, or men employed who explain the film by means of a running commentary.

At present the choice of films to be exported to China and the southern regions has been entrusted to a committee of the Board of Information consisting of officials and civilians. Out of some twenty dramatic films released from April to August of this year, the following five were selected:

Sugata Sanshiro (reviewed in June 1943); Boro-no Kesshita (Forlorn Hope on a Watchtower); Singapore Sokogeki (General Offensive Against Singapore); Wakaki-Hi-no-Yorokobi (The Joys of Young Days); and Malai no Harima (Tiger of Malai).

In addition to these, several cultural shorts and war-record films have been selected, such as:

Rikugun Koku Senki (Army Air Force War Record); Kaigun Senki (Navy War Record); and more recently Tairiku Shinsenjo (New Battlefields on the Mainland), which deals with the Chekiang-Kiangsi campaign of May 1942.

Boro-no-Kesshita (Forlorn Hope on a Watchtower), a Toho film directed by Tadashi Imai.
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J. J. Snøksdal remained in a state of happy ignorance that Fortune—whose garment he had only glimpsed—had turned her back on him because he didn’t believe in her. In common with women and other supernatural beings, Fortune demands . . . Oh, well, that’s where I started.

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Boro-no-Kesshitai (Forlorn Hope on a Watchtower), a Toho film directed by Tadashi Imai.
In the leading parts Minoru Takada, Setsuko Hara, and Shinkun.

This is the best among the five films chosen for export. It took a year and a half to complete, and location shots were twice made on the Manchoukuo-Chosen border. The film describes a border incident occurring several years ago when bandits driven out of Manchoukuo still lurked in the mountains along the Chosen border. It emphasizes the spirit of self-sacrifice and the sense of duty of the border police. Minoru Takada and Setsuko Hara play the parts of the chief of police and his wife, while the famous Chosen star Shinkun takes the part of a police subordinate.

In the performance of his duty, the policeman Li (played by Shinkun) is fatally shot by a bandit at a small restaurant. The film climaxes with a breath-taking scene of a bandit assault on a police fort. Fighting against heavy odds, less than ten policemen put up a gallant resistance, aided by the Chosen villagers. Just at the moment when the entire group are about to commit suicide, reinforcements arrive, and the bandits are annihilated.

Although the climax still leaves something to be desired, the set of the big fort built on the spot has a fresh, natural color that appeals to the audience. The background of Chosen’s snow-covered mountains is very beautiful. Setsuko Hara in her part of the police official’s wife shows some of the duties that befall a woman in such a position by acting as midwife at a childbirth in the village and by looking after the family affairs of her husband’s subordinates. Two minor Chosen actors acquit themselves well as lovers. It is probably the first time that a Japanese film using so many Chosen actors has been such a success. Director Tadashi Imai has made a name for himself by this production.

Singaporo Sokogeiki (General Offensive Against Singapore), produced by the Dai Nippon Film Manufacturing Company; directed by Koji Shimah.

With the support of the military authorities on the spot, fighting scenes were recorded by cameramen of the producing company who spent six months in Malai in 1942. The film is good when the camera follows the Japanese forces marching south along the Malai Peninsula, and shows us the magnificent scenery and local color of those regions. Especially effective are the scenes of the battle at Bukit Timah and those of the many British prisoners of war. However, a commonplace story and too much sentimentalism rather spoil the film. Moreover, it pales in comparison to the record film ‘Malai Sendri’, which was shown last summer.

Malai no Harimao (Tiger of Malai), produced by the Dai Nippon Film Manufacturing Company; directed by Seijin Koga. In the leading part: Koji Nakata.

Location shots for this film were made by the same cameramen who made those of Singaporo Sokogeiki. The hero of the picture, Yutaka Tani, nicknamed the “Tiger of Malai,” actually existed and was the owner of a barber shop at Kota Bharu. Before the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War he had been the leader of a group of natives engaged in a war of revenge against the British. His career as a picaroon began when his little sister was killed by Chinese rioters in 1932. With the outbreak of the war he abandoned his life of a gang leader and co-operated with the Japanese forces. He was killed in action.

The film more or less follows his actual life. The story begins in 1931. He was persuaded to enter upon his new life by a Japanese member of the special service corps of the Japanese armed forces. The two climaxes of the film are Harimao’s revenge, when he shoots a member of an anti-Japanese secret society, and the scene where he prevents the blasting of the great Perak River dam by British forces. With several of his subordinates, Harimao manages to penetrate deeply into enemy territory and is fatally injured.

Koji Nakata’s appearance as Harimao was convincing, but his acting was not perfect, partly owing perhaps to the not very subtle directing of Seijin Koga.

Hana-Saku-Minato (Port of Blossoming Flowers), a Shoichiku film directed by Keisuki Kinoshita. In the leading parts: Chikoko Higashiyama, Eitaro Ozawa, and Chishu Ryu.

Here we have something fresh and light, an ironical comedy with a romantic atmosphere. One of its strong points is its interesting story.

Two swindlers come to live on a small island off Kyushu. They start a scheme to mulct the inhabitants by offering shares for the establishment of a company for the building of wooden ships and manage to collect thousands of yen from influential persons. On the island there once lived a shipbuilder named Watase, who had left for the south when his business failed. A man of noble character, he was respected by the villagers, and the proprietress of the hotel was in love with him. The two swindlers claim to be the children of this Mr. Watase and cleverly deceive the hotel proprietress. The irony is, however, that they begin to regret their conduct because they meet with so much friendliness on the part of the people of the island.

Then the appearance of Mrs. Watase and her young children finally upsets their scheme. But, affected by the atmosphere, they have by now taken a real interest in shipbuilding. December 8 comes, and fishermen are attacked by enemy submarines. The building of wooden ships has now become a matter of urgent necessity. This last part is perhaps not quite as convincing as the rest of the picture, which is definitely a success.

The acting is good, and the director, Keisuki Kinoshita, whose first picture this is, shows such spontaneity and sensitiveness that his future seems very promising.—Hideo Tsumura.