

the organizing, uniting, and uplifting of a people completely enervated by three hundred years of idle peace, the majority of whom are entirely without education. It also means steering the ship of state through the sea of economic, political, and financial crises of our days with hardly any talent among his people to assist him and without natural resources to make him independent.

Japan's Southern Problems

In *Japan in the South Seas*, reprinted from the Melbourne Herald in the *Far Eastern Review* Japan's possessions in that part of the world are surveyed. Tribute is paid to her successful administration of the Nanyo Islands (Mariana, Marshall, and Caroline groups). The Japanese share in the rubber interest of Borneo, Sumatra, and Dutch New Guinea is sized up, the Japanese effort in Dutch New Guinea being of particular interest. There the Japanese have made an excellent start at exploring resources and opening up the country for cultivation. Details on Japanese fishing fleets in the South Seas are given according to Japanese sources.

Another of Japan's southern problems is touched upon by Ario Kasama, who writes on *Safeguarding French Indo-China* in *Contemporary Japan*. Old cultural relations are recalled. Of interest today is France's offer during the first World War to cede Indo-China to Japan in return for military help. The writer hails the occupation of French Indo-China by Japanese troops and sees in it a step toward the realization of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Great Britain and America are accused of always having obstructed Japan's moves and of denying her the rights they have established for themselves. Even before the war, because of Japanese goods making headway in world markets, the full force of capitalism was turned against Japan. Mr. Kasama is convinced that if the co-prosperity sphere can be translated into reality, everybody will benefit.

Japan's Domestic Affairs

In recent years life in Japan has undergone many changes. There is a cheering report on the reopening of *The Port of Tokyo* in the *Far Eastern Review*. It took an earthquake to open the eyes of the people of Tokyo to the inadequacy of their harbor facilities. The work of enlargement and reconstruction was resolutely undertaken and is now completed.

Autumn in Japan is a lively study, appearing in *Oriental Affairs*, of people and conditions in Japan as seen through British eyes.

Sumie Seo Mishima in her *Good-Bye to Foreign Friends*, appearing in *Asia*, is concerned about the exodus of foreigners, mainly British and American, from Japan. She deplores the loss of teachers and friends, and tells about the role played by foreign mission schools in Japan. After giving them full credit for their excellent record she thinks that now the time has come when the foreign school can no longer follow the quick changes in the undercurrents of Japanese life. Therefore girls who have gone through such a school, though equipped with a beautiful ornamental education, are not prepared for taking up the duties of a Japanese woman which involve hardships and drudgery. Although her foreign friends had to leave, Miss Mishima hopes that the Christian spirit will not die in Japan.

An entirely different note is struck by Charles Nelson Spinks who contributes *How the Japanese Are Becoming Less Japanese* in the same issue of *Asia*. He sees a change for the worse in the character of the Japanese people, which he traces back to the rapid modernization of the last few decades. The leaders in these years, he says, wanted only to build up industry and a strong army, never realizing what a tremendous influence these two forces would exercise on the life of the family and the shaping of the individual. Mr. Spinks thinks that Japanese women, who have always expressed the qualities of Japanese culture to a greater degree than the men, have withstood these changing influences better.—G.

JAPANESE MAGAZINES

For the better understanding of this review we call the attention of our readers to the article "Magazines of Japan" in our last issue.

Against Encirclement

The latest issues of the leading Japanese periodicals are mainly occupied with warnings of encirclement intentions by America and England, which have been intensified by the German-Soviet war and the sending of additional Japanese troops to Indo-China. They are also

concerned with the problems of the Asiatic continent and the Pacific area arising in this connection, and the possibilities of overcoming the present dangerous situation.

This situation is described in the following words in a leading article of *Kaizo* dealing with the Roosevelt-Churchill talks: "The con-

versations between Roosevelt and Churchill had the purpose of simply cutting off Japan in the north as well as the south. The important thing now is to anticipate with courage and determination the blow planned against us."

Another article on the same topic appears in *Nippon Hyoron*, entitled *The American-English Encirclement Front against Japan*. It is written by M. Ito, who has been occupied with this problem for many years and has often written about it in that magazine. He emphasizes that the American encirclement of Japan is nothing new, but that it has been prepared over a long period, starting with the acquisition of Alaska and the conquest of the Philippines up to the present inclusion of the Netherlands East Indies, Singapore, Chungking, and Russia into this front. Mr. Ito thinks that the Japanese people never properly realized this great danger before because of their good relations with America. Using Guam as an example he shows the change in these relations. While in 1938 Congress still unanimously rejected a budget item of 5 million dollars for the improvement of military establishments on that island in consideration of Japanese-American relations, this item was approved without debate in March 1941. After a detailed description of the various positions of the Anglo-American front of encirclement Mr. Ito comes to the conclusion that it is useless to lament over it. Japan should rather offer appropriate resistance.

How Strong is the Soviet Union?

In connection with the problem of encirclement there is, of course, great interest in Japan in the relative strength of this front. Among others *Kaizo* publishes an article by T. Masuda on the existing and projected Soviet heavy industry in the Far East. The author says that one should not underestimate the economic power of Far Eastern Russia. Even if the goal aimed at by the Bolsheviks cannot perhaps be reached to its full extent, much has been achieved in comparison to the former complete lack of anything in this area.

T. Arimura, also in *Kaizo*, deals with the Soviet military forces in the Far East. He does not believe the Russians as yet to be very strong there, but he warns that, as the leading power of the East, Japan must keep a sharp eye on the arming of Russia in the Far East and especially on the Russo-American relations.

How Strong is the USA?

Of even greater interest than the Russian war strength is, of course, at the moment the American. Several magazines contain articles on American war economy. Together with the American fleet the American air force, for obvious reasons, is a subject of great interest in Japan. The magazine *Bungei Syunzyu* publishes an article by M. Ida, *The American Air Force*. Ida sees the main importance of the American air force in the fact that the opponents of the Axis powers are gradually being equipped almost entirely with American aircraft.

He believes that a yearly production of 37,000 planes (21,000 for America and 16,000 for England) can be reached in America by 1942. Following a lengthy survey of the various models now being built and their performances, Mr. Ida is of the opinion that at present the American air force is not yet very powerful. A further proof for this, he says, is Col. Lindbergh's opposition to war, which is based above all on Lindbergh's exact knowledge of the weaknesses of the American air force. The main interest of Japan is concentrated on the twenty-one bases of the American air force in the Pacific and on the airplane carriers of the navy. The American navy at present has six airplane carriers, while twelve more are under construction or planned, so that within a measurable space of time the American fleet will possess 18 carriers with 2,500 to 3,000 planes.

Japan and the USA

Economic questions and above all problems of raw material have become especially urgent in connection with the deterioration of Japanese-American relations. In a general discussion by various big businessmen and economic scientists published in *Bungei Syunzyu* it is said that Japan should attack America at its weakest point. Just as Japan needs oil, America needs rubber. Japan should also not underestimate the importance of American-Russian co-operation. The possibility of bases for the American airforce in Siberia entails the possibility of American air raids on Japan; however, this danger would not mean much to Japan, so accustomed to earthquakes. Japan should now make every effort to get all her supplies from the Greater East Asiatic sphere. In payment of raw materials she could offer her large stocks of cotton textiles, for he who wants to take must also give.

After the War

In a lengthy essay in *Nippon Hyoron* entitled *Japan and the World Disturbances* the well-known writer T. Taira sees the root of the English power of resistance in the widely scattered possessions of the British Empire. In his opinion the present conflict is founded upon the fact that England—a European power, yet existing not in Europe only—had wanted to summon the forces of the whole world in order to dominate Europe. He deals with the changes caused by the present war, the weakening of England and her gradual separation from her world possessions. He maintains that the English motherland alone is no longer a world power, and that America is preparing to take over the inheritance. It is difficult to make any predictions, but a German victory in Europe and the formation of a greater European economic area with German industry as a center could be taken as certain. This area would also encompass Africa and would have trade with Asia and South America. Russia, after the destruction of her military power, would probably have to agree to co-

operating in Europe; her possibilities for development in Siberia are very limited. From the past developments of the war Taira draws the conclusion that Japan must reinforce her traditional position as a military and naval power in order to be able to meet the threat from the north and at the same time ensure her markets in the south. "As time progresses the China conflict emerges more and more as part of the world conflict, the solution in the north and the advance in the south proving their close connection."

Politics and Morals

The prominent writer and former professor of the Imperial University of Tokyo, M. Royama, publishes in *Chuo Koron* an article entitled *The Moral Foundations of World Politics*. He writes of the decline of former international morals and demands a new code of political morals as a basis for international relations. He demonstrates the impossibility of really close relations without such a moral basis by the example of the German-Russian pact, which was determined solely by strategic, political, and economic necessity. As an example of an actual policy of morals he presents the Tri-Partite Pact. He calls it a friendly alliance between three nations, all three animated by the desire to create a new world order in accord with the Japanese "Hakko Ichiu" principle of world order and world peace ("eight corners of the world joined under one roof") and the Imperial Edict at the conclusion of the Tri-Partite Pact. This spirit of the Tri-Partite Pact should be made the basis of a new code of morals in world politics. Mr. Royama sees the task of the new world order in creating a union of nations on a moral and cultural basis going beyond agreements and armed force.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE PACIFIC

Since the early days of Russian history the pendulum of Russian imperialism has swung back and forth between the east and the west. Serious obstacles in westward expansion and reverses along her western borders usually led to increased pressure towards the east and vice versa. Will the defeats of the Russian armies in the present war with Germany and the loss of her western territories bring the Russians with renewed pressure to the borders of the Chinese and Japanese empires? This question is of particular interest to Japan and is examined by Ichiro Inokuti in an article entitled *The Soviet Union and the Pacific in Taiheiyō*.

Mr. Inokuti, a graduate and later an instructor in the Department of Political Science of the Tokyo Imperial University, has been since 1938 a member of the Institute of the Pacific in Tokyo. The organ of the institute, *Taiheiyō* (The Pacific) in its last issue published both Mr. Inokuti's article and an essay, *Pacific History*, by the editor of *The XXth Century*. Because of its special interest we present the

translation of the last part of Mr. Inokuti's article in full.

"In spite of her vast territory stretching across two continents from Siberia to Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union has actually only a short coastline to defend: the shores along the Gulf of Finland and the Black Sea, and a thousand-mile stretch between Vladivostok and the estuary of the Amur river. An oceanic mode of living in the real sense of the word can be found only in her territories along the Gulf of Finland. This indicates the continental nature of the Soviet Union, and explains why her sea-power has hitherto been weak. In fact, the history of the Russian navy is not much more than a succession of tragedies such as the Crimean War against Britain and France, the battle against the Japanese navy in the Straits of Tsushima, and her struggle with the German navy during the World War. On each occasion Russia lost her command of the sea.

Time and again, beginning with Peter the Great, Russia has made attempts to strengthen her navy or build a new fleet. In the recent past the Soviet Union made an entirely new plan for the establishment of a fleet, the actual construction of which began upon completion of her first Five Year Plan, when she made her initial appearance in the theater of international politics. In 1938 Mikail L. Kalinin, Chairman of the Soviet Presidium, stated that the Soviet Union's technical achievements in warship building must reach world standard and even surpass the British.

The type of warship on which the USSR concentrated her efforts was the submarine. Her aim was to build a really first-class submarine fleet. At a Convention of the Communist Party held in November 1936, Feodor Orlov, Naval Commissar, claimed that Soviet submarines were the best in the world and revealed that the Soviet navy had 150 submarines of various types.

In January 1941, the total number of Soviet submarines was estimated at 225. According to the *Izvestia* of February 23, 1941, the Soviet Navy had 350 submarines. Whatever the correct figure, all indications point to the fact that a large submarine fleet is stationed in Arctic and Far Eastern waters. According to the *New York Times* of September 19, the Soviet submarine fleet in the Far East consisted in January 1941 of 60 old-type "Shark" and 42 craft built within the last three years. Since then additional submarines have been assembled from hulls and engines shipped through Siberia.

The disposition of Soviet men-of-war indicates that the hostilities in 1939 between Soviet Russia and Finland led the former to search for an outlet to the Atlantic. As a result of that war, Russia seized Petsamo, strategic port in northern Finland, where the Soviet naval power was concentrated to exert pressure on Norway in an effort to get

even closer to the Atlantic Ocean. Such action on the part of the Soviet fleet reveals nothing but Russia's long-cherished desire to obtain a foothold on the Atlantic coast. She also shows her desire for the open sea in the Far East in the form of the establishment and strengthening of naval bases on the coast of the Maritime Province, and the mass production of small-type war vessels and aircraft on the Pacific coast.

At present the USSR is working on six projects to increase her naval power in the Far East. They are :

1. The construction of a naval base in Possiet Bay in order to give additional support to Vladivostok.

2. The improvement of Sovietskaya Gavan (opposite Sakhalin) where a floating dock capable of repairing a 5,000 ton ship will be set up. A railway between Khabarovsk and Komsomolsk on the lower Amur has been under construction and is perhaps already completed.

3. The improvement of the harbor of De Castries Bay (opposite North Sakhalin) and the construction of a canal between this port and Mariinsk on the Amur for better connection with Komsomolsk.

4. The improvement of port facilities at Nikolayevsk (on the north bank of the Amur river at a point 25 miles from its estuary). Arrangements have been made to dredge the Nikolayevsk harbor, which was the base of Russia's Far Eastern fleet between 1855 and 1872.

5. The development of Petropavlovsk, strategic port on the eastern shore of Kamchatka, where the initial stage in installing extensive facilities for ship repairs has been completed. The port will be used as a base on the Arctic navigation route. In view of the fact that it is an ice-free port facing the North Pacific and that it is close to the Commander Islands in the Bering Sea, designated in 1930 as a prohibited area, the Soviet authorities rank the port high in geo-political value. Moreover, a railway line said to be under construction on the western coast of Kamchatka will skirt the Sea of Okhotsk. The Soviet Union evidently plans to make the Sea of Okhotsk a *mare nostrum*.

6. The improvement of port facilities at Nagayevo on the Tayuskaya Bay (on the northern shore of the Sea of Okhotsk). The harbor facilities there have been improved to protect ships from strong wind and dense fog. It is said that as many as four 3,000 ton ships can be docked at the pier.

Needless to say, airfields have been or will be established in the neighborhood of the above-mentioned bases. Judging from the types of warships the Soviet navy now possesses, it is obvious that these bases will be used as submarine bases. There is therefore every likelihood that the activities of Soviet naval power will be extended to the entire Pacific, whereas operations of the Russian Far Eastern fleet during the Russo-Japanese War were limited to the Japan Sea.

In 1939 Papanin, who was in charge of the exploitation of the Soviet Arctic, professed that the Arctic route, through its connections with the Baltic and the Sea of Okhotsk, would make it possible to transfer warships from one part of her territory to another in the shortest possible time, should the country be attacked in the east or the west. However, the gigantic struggle between Soviet Russia and Germany has resulted in the destruction or damaging of a large number of Soviet warships in the Gulf of Finland. The only remaining gateway to the Atlantic, the Stalin Canal between Leningrad and the White Sea, having apparently been blocked, the Soviet navy has lost the advantages thus far gained and is imprisoned in the Kronstadt inlet as in 1917.

Meanwhile the situation mentioned above gave birth to a phenomenon which calls for our attention. As pointed out by Papanin, the Moscow Government knows the strategic value of the Arctic route as a back-door lane connecting the Baltic Sea and the Far East. Although Soviet Russia's attention to the Pacific area has probably been deflected by the confusion caused in her nerve-center due to the German advance in European Russia, we must carefully keep in mind the following problems:

(a) Relations between the British sea forces and the Soviet naval bases of Polyarnoye (25 miles north of Murmansk) and Molotovsk (near Archangel on the White Sea).

(b) The connection with the American air force through the Arctic air line.

(c) Relations between the American and Soviet naval forces with the Aleutian Islands as a point of contact.

With European Russia, particularly Moscow and Leningrad, as her geo-political center, Soviet Russia had been exerting pressure in two directions: towards the southeast (the Caspian Sea area, Iran, and India) and towards Siberia. But, under the German advance, this two-way pressure is bound to undergo changes in its function. These changes must be followed closely, as they will influence the future of the North Pacific."—S.M.