

REGISTERED No. M 4345

MADRAS



REVIEW

A WEEKLY BULLETIN OF THE WORLD WAR

VOL. IV

FRIDAY, JANUARY 29, 1943

No. 20

Overwhelmingly OUR SHOW



SIR JAMES GRIGG

To-day we have news of the fall of Tripoli. To all intents and purposes this completes the destruction of the Italian Empire in Africa. Both Russian and British armies have had their dark days and their retreats. For both we believe that the tide has now firmly turned. We believe that both will bear their due share in the annihilation of the 'blatant beast' of the Axis.

For months past we have been filled with admiration and gratitude for the stupendous exploits of the Red Army. To-day we have special cause to extend to our own army that admiration and gratitude. For the destruction of the Italian Empire in Africa is overwhelmingly our show, ours and India's, and Australia's, and New Zealand's, and South Africa's, and of the inhabitants of British East Africa and British West Africa. Of course, we have had ungrudging help from American supplies and from American air forces in the latest stage, but nevertheless it has been overwhelmingly our show

SIR JAMES GRIGG, Secretary of State for War, in a broadcast from London on January 23

THE CASABLANCA CONFERENCE

“For ten days the Combined Staffs have been in constant session, meeting two or three times a day and recording progress at intervals to the President and the Prime Minister. The entire field of war was surveyed, theatre by theatre throughout the world, and all resources were marshalled for a more intense prosecution of the war by sea, land and air.

“Nothing like this prolonged discussion between the two Allies has ever taken place before. Complete agreement was reached between the leaders of the two countries and their respective staffs upon war plans and the enterprises to be undertaken during the campaign in 1943 against Germany, Italy and Japan, with a view to drawing the utmost advantage from the markedly favourable turn of events at the close of 1942.”

—*A Communiqué on the Churchill-Roosevelt Conference,
published on January 27.*

Liberation of France

“We have met, we have talked. We have registered our entire agreement on the end to be achieved, which is the liberation of France and the triumph of human liberties by the total defeat of the enemy.

“This end will be attained by the union in war of all Frenchmen fighting side by side with all their Allies.”

—*A Joint Statement of General Giraud and
General de Gaulle, issued at Casablanca.*

To the Troops !

You want to be amused ?

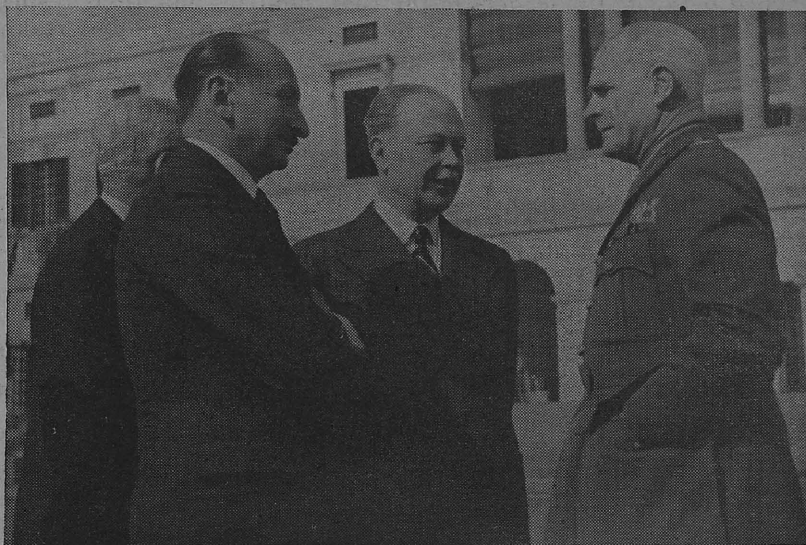
You want some light music ?

Well, tune in to *All-India Radio, Madras,*
211 or 60·98 metres,

Every Wednesday at 10 p.m.

CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
Running Commentary	3	-Rumania's War Weariness	15
"A Resounding Victory"	4-5	Preparing for "Blitz" on Germany	16
An Interview with M. Sarajoglu	9	Bombing of Berlin: Then and Now	18
Anglo-Turkish Alliance	9	New Status of China	18
Turkey's Foreign Policy	10	Reconquest of Burma	19
Rostov "Key to the Caucasus"	11	British Commonwealth: A Worldwide Society	20
Medical Supplies for Russia: Over £2,000,000 collected in Britain	12	Who should rule the Pacific after the War?	21
The Red Army Man	14	Diary of the War	23



The delegation of Turkish journalists was entertained to lunch by Field Marshal Wavell on January 20. Photo shows the Commander-in-Chief in conversation with Mr. Atay, the leader of the delegation (centre), and two other members.

Running Commentary

Turkish Delegation's Visit to India: History of Britain's Ally.

The Turkish Press Delegation, which is in India, has been visiting a number of important centres. At Nowshera a welcome address was presented to the delegation. In replying to it M. Sadek, one of its members, said that he was happy to find Muslims playing a prominent part in the war effort as faithful members of the British Empire, and emphasised the fact that Turkey was a firm ally of Great Britain. This gives us an opportunity to pay a tribute to a remarkable nation which

has remained a staunch neutral bulwark in the midst of warring nations. It may be said that Turkey is peculiarly fitted to be a bridge between east and west.

It was on October 29, 1923, that Turkey was proclaimed a republic and Mustafa Kemal popularly known as Kemal Ataturk ("father of the Turks") was elected by the Grand National Assembly to be its first president. He was the man who symbolised the spirit of new Turkey. He saw clearly the need

(Continued on page 6.)

“A Resounding Victory”



M. STALIN

FROM Russia continues to come news of great successes. The Red Army is moving forward, and the Nazi forces are withdrawing. In an Order of the Day, issued on Monday, to the Russian troops on the South-western, Southern, Don, Northern Caucasus, Voronezh, Kalinin, Volkhov and Leningrad Fronts, Premier Stalin, the Supreme Commander of the Red Army, says: "As the result of two months of offensive operations, the Red Army has broken through the defences of the German Fascist troops on a wide front, routed 102 enemy divisions, and captured over 200,000 prisoners and 13,000 guns. During this period, Soviet troops have advanced about 250 miles. Our troops have won a resounding victory. The offensive of our troops continues." M. Stalin has congratulated the Russian Commanders and troops on routing Hitler's armies. The immensity of the victory on the Russian front is likely to be blurred by the series of successes secured by the United Nations in North Africa. It is, therefore, of interest to examine the importance of the Red Army's great offensive along the 600-mile front, between Voronezh to the Kuban steppes.

BEFORE doing so, a reference to the raising of the seige of Leningrad is necessary. After 16 months of grim starvation, the heroic defenders of the great City were relieved, and only on January 19 they received their first normal ration of food. It was by the capture of the fortress of Schluselburg

on the southern shores of Lake Ladoga that the last obstacle across the rail communication between Leningrad and Russian territory to the east, was cleared. To the south-east of the City a part of the main Leningrad-Moscow Railway is still being held by the Germans, and this short stretch will have to be cleared by the Russians before joining up with the forces along the Lovat Valley, which are thrusting upwards in the direction of Staraya Rusa and the southern shores of Lake Ilmen.

After Leningrad—German Plan

IT may be expected, now that Leningrad has been relieved, that the Germans will hold on to Nevel and Novosokolniki which are the main Russian objectives in the central sector, because the German line of communication between Leningrad and the Ukraine runs through Nevel and because the direct railway line between Moscow and German-occupied territory to the west passes through Novosokolniki. If these two important railway junctions are captured, the easy movement of German troops towards Leningrad on the one hand, and towards the strong points east of Velikie Luki on the other, could be seriously hampered.

Threat to Rostov

COMING to the southern sector stretching from Voronezh in the north to the Northern and Central Caucasus in the south, we find that the resounding victory referred to by M. Stalin carries the Red Army nearer to its main objective, Rostov, which is the gateway to the Caucasus and the Ukraine. Rostov is now threatened from three sides—north, south and west. In the Caucasus sector, Armavir and Salsk, the objectives of the two Soviet forces in this area, have been recaptured. The threat to Rostov has greatly increased as the other vital railway junctions like Voroshilovsk and Voronezh have also been occupied by the Russians. On the lower Don front, the southward thrust from Kamensk is being reinforced by the westward thrust from Tsymlyanskaya. In the Middle Don area, the capture of Millerovo, Rossosh and Veluiki gives further strength to the southward drive for Rostov.

Russian Strategy

THE strategy of the Soviet High Command seems to be directed towards cutting the Voronezh-Kursk railway. This will enable them to sever the southern German armies from the armies of the centre and encircle the enemy forces facing Voronezh. The threat to Kharkov, which is to the northwest of Rostov, is taking shape. The question is: Can the main body of the German troops in the Caucasus reach Rostov before the Russians close the bottle-neck? Already Hitler's southern front bases of Kursk and Kharkov are threatened from the new Russian positions to the southwest of Voronezh. The German High Command is very much concerned about its line of communications much further back on account of the threat to Kharkov, through which the main arterial line of communications from Germany now passes. Where are the Germans to concentrate their strength? If they do it too far forward, they risk another Stalingrad. If they do it too far back, their forward positions may be overwhelmed. They are in a dilemma.

M. Stalin's Exhortation

THE present tempo of the great Soviet offensive is such that the Germans cannot wholly retrieve themselves from their present plight. In his Order of the Day, M. Stalin has exhorted the Red Army forces to go "Forward—to rout the German invaders, and to drive them out beyond the limits of our country." Everything indicates that the exhortation of the Soviet leader will be carried out in a large degree by the Red Army.



RUNNING COMMENTARY

(Continued from page 3.)

for shaping Turkey into an independent national State. He abolished, in 1924, the Khalifate, the office of spiritual leadership over all Islam, which the Ottoman Sultan combined with his secular powers. The Kemalist revolution brought about great changes in Turkey's economic life. In 1933 Turkey launched its first five-year plan and in 1935 Etatism or State Socialism was officially adopted as a plank in the Government's programme. After Mustafa Kemal, the present President, Esmet Inonu, is successfully guiding Turkey in a policy of peace and growing strength.

During the last three years, Turkey has been observing a policy of neutrality with remarkable consistency. This policy rests on two foundations. First, Turkey mobilized her army when war broke out in 1939. Government increased the armaments and efficiency of the army. Turkey is the only neutral state in Europe, which has a large, highly-trained army numbering more than 1,000,000 men, which is powerful enough to sway the balance at any moment. Secondly, in spite of intense Nazi pressure, Turkey has managed to follow a foreign policy which is not unacceptable to any of the belligerents. But Turkey will fight when it is forced to. "We shall strive to keep out of the War," declared President Inonu on March 18, 1942, "but if that shall prove impossible we will fulfil our duty to our country with dignity." In spite of their best efforts, the Nazis have failed to divert Turkey from the path of neutrality.

* * * *

Turkey and the United Nations: A Neutral Bastion of Defence. Though Turkey is following this policy, her stand for peace has brought her into ideological friendship with the Democratic Powers. In October 1939, Turkey signed a treaty for reciprocal aid with Britain and France in the event of the extension of war to the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean. After the defeat of France, she retained her alliance with Britain. M. Sarajoglu, Prime Minister of Turkey, declared on August 5, 1942: "Our friendship with Britain is the fundamental factor in our political system."

As a neutral bastion of defence, Turkey has been of great value to the United Nations by holding back the disaster of war from the Middle East. Her neutrality helped the Allies to defeat easily

Nazi designs in Syria, Iraq and Iran and gave them invaluable time to build up their defences in lines of supply. The Allies have to a large extent saved Turkey by their policy of economic collaboration from the disastrous consequences of the inevitable war-time economic disintegration.

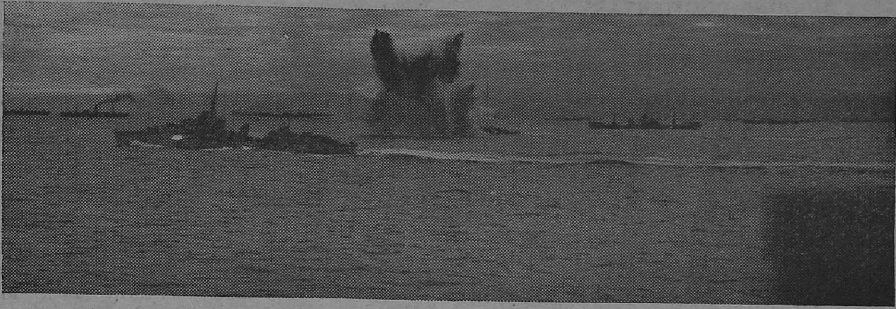
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Fall of Tripoli: Referring to the capture of Tripoli by the Eighth Army on Saturday morning (January 23), Mr. Cordell Hull, U.S. Secretary of State, declared that "the fall of Tripoli

to the British constituted one of the most overwhelming, outstanding and important victories of the War." Sir James Grigg, Britain's Secretary of State for War, described it in a broadcast as "an unparalleled feat of military organization that has flung so great a force at such speed so far across an inhospitable desert." This victory is a fulfilment of the pledge given by Mr. Churchill two years ago. The British Premier promised the Duce at Christmas in 1940: "We will tear your African Empire to shreds and tatters." The fall of Tripolitania's capital has taken place almost exactly three months since Rommel's forces stood at El Alamein hoping to drive on to the Suez Canal. General Montgomery launched his great attack on October 23, and for 90 days he continued the harsh and unrelenting pursuit of Rommel's forces. Tripoli marks the triumphant conclusion of the Eighth Army's 1,400-mile desert trek.

The fresh attack which General Montgomery launched at dawn on January 15 is likely to carry the war beyond Tripolitania into Tunisia. It was expected that the depleted Axis forces, the remnants of Rommel's original "invasion of Egypt" army, would seek some position in front of Tripoli to make a definite stand. But it didn't happen. It may be Rommel's plan to save what he can of his battered forces and take them to Tunisia so that he can link up with General Von Arnim's forces there.

The next stand of the Axis may be made inside Tunisia along what is known the Mareth Line, the artificial fortifications prepared by the French for the protection of Tunisia. Rommel will have to depend for supplies on Tunisia's two ports, Bizerta and Tunis, which have been receiving the special attention of Allied bombers. The final battle for ridding Africa of the Axis forces will be fought in Tunisia, and its progress will be followed with the closest interest.



BIGGEST ALLIED CONVOY FIGHTS THROUGH TO RUSSIA.—The biggest Allied convoy to Russia fought through a four-day attack by enemy torpedo planes and U-boats to deliver her cargoes at an Arctic port. The Commodore of this convoy was Rear-Admiral E. K. Boddam-Wetham D.S.O., and the escorting forces were under the command of Rear-Admiral R. L. Burnett, O.B.E., flying the flag in the cruiser H.M.S. SCYLLA (Cap. I. A. P. MacIntyre, C.B.E., R.N.). Photo shows a general view of the convoy showing a near miss on an aircraft carrier.

Food Problem : H.E. Sir Arthur Hope's Speech.

In the course of his address inaugurating the First Conference of the 91st Rotary District comprising Madras Presidency and Ceylon, His Excellency Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras, referred to the food position which had been engrossing the attention of most people and of members of the Government to the exclusion of almost everything else. His Excellency expressed the hope that the situation would get better and better and appealed to the public to do everything that they possibly could to discourage profiteering, hoarding and black-marketing—evils practised in wartime on a large scale. Let us briefly examine here how other countries have tackled this problem and what we in India should do to relieve the situation.

In his budget address to the American Congress, President Roosevelt said: "There is no easy, pleasant way to restrict living habits—eating, clothing, heating, travelling and working habits—of 130,000,000 people. There is no easy, pleasant way to wage a total war." In peace-time, the Americans as a class were generally better fed, clothed and housed than others, but war has changed their life and living conditions considerably. America has tackled the problem by enlarged controls, increased taxation, and intensified regulation of production and distribution. As regards Britain, she is the heaviest-taxed country in the whole world and has adopted a comprehensive rationing system, so that the price of victory may be fully and equitably paid. Russia and China, who have their enemies right on their own soil, are facing and surviving enormous difficulties.

Two Aspects of the Problem in India.

So far as India is concerned, she has a population thrice as large as America, very much more varied and more firmly attached to traditional habits, and the problem is not therefore easier. India has to face two alternatives. Either her social conscience has to assert itself in the matter of hoarding and private speculation, or entrenchments on the liberties of the individual by the Government must be accepted in a genuine spirit of co-operation. Our readers are aware that there has been some criticism of Government policy and an insistent demand for "better control." It may be pointed out that condemnation of the "bureaucracy" for not being able to meet such a situation amounts to nothing more than a practical plea for dictatorship. The situation in dictator-ridden countries is far worse and the remedies they have adopted are gruesome in the extreme. To relieve Germany of its food problem, Himmler, it is stated, has suggested the massacre of all Jews in Poland and elsewhere. Goering, it may be recalled, pompously declared, "Whoever starves in Europe, it will not be the Germans." On the other hand, the United Nations are dealing with the food problem in a humane manner: they are building up food stocks for the relief of the general famine which will otherwise be the consequence of the "New Order."

Food Shortage : Three Causes and a Two-fold Solution. Let us examine the causes of food shortage in India. Mischief-mongers suggest that the presence of a million armed men—who after all are defending India from the enemy

who is at the root of all the trouble—has by itself seriously jeopardised the living conditions of 380 million civilians. This is absurd. Equally absurd is the statement that exports to the still more hard-hit Middle Eastern countries, which have now been very much reduced, is the main cause for the present situation. What then are the real causes? Firstly, India is not at all getting her former supply of foodstuffs from outside because of Japan's occupation of certain countries. Secondly, all shipping space is urgently needed for war-tasks of every kind and it is difficult to get shipping facilities for import of foodstuffs from other countries. Every ship diverted to take extra food to India means one less to feed Britain and supply Russian and other fronts. The third and most important factor which is responsible for the present situation is the unreasoning panic which has followed upon military dangers of last year. It is this unreasoning panic which is responsible for all the hoarding, profiteering and black marketing.

In a recent speech in Calcutta, Mr. Lalini Ranjan Sarkar, Commerce Member of the Government of India, has referred to two aspects of the solution to the present problem. The first is, more food crops should be grown and the maximum quantity of supply from various producing centres should be obtained. Secondly, the available supply should be distributed equitably. So far as the first is concerned, some appreciable progress has been made, to which reference was made by Sir Jogendra Singh, Member for Education, Health and Lands, Government of India, at a press conference in New Delhi about two weeks ago. He said that the last season's goal of an increase of 7.6 million acres under rice and millet had probably been achieved.

Fighting the Hoarder and the Profiteer.

As regards the second aspect of distribution, this depends on the proper utilization of restricted physical means of distribution. It is gratifying to note that the important step of granting priority to food wagons has been taken. A perhaps more important factor is the co-operation of all sections of the public concerned in the marketing of grain and on the steadiness and good sense of the consumers. In fact both aspects of the solution to the problem involve public co-operation. Without such co-operation, no Government in the world can defeat the hoarder and the profiteer. What is required is a return to confidence

and to reasonable ways of buying and selling and a readiness to accept, where necessary, changes in diet such as Britain and America have willingly undergone. These are essential for the successful working of any scheme initiated by the Government. Mr. Amery's statement in the House of Commons on the food situation in India indicates that His Majesty's Government and the public of Great Britain, a country which throughout the war has accepted increasing shortages and changes of diet as the necessary price of victory, have genuinely realized India's difficulties. Government will shortly take important steps to deal with the situation, and the public should effectively co-operate with them.

The Calcutta Raid and the Berlin Canard. Japanese planes raided Calcutta on the night of January 15. This was the first attack of this year. But it is not surprising that Berlin should have ante-dated this raid by 11 days. In a Hindustani broadcast on January 6, Berlin said:

“On the night of January 4, Japanese planes intensively raided the port of Calcutta, including the harbour installations and military objectives. Heavy damage was caused. The Howrah factory (*sic*) was completely destroyed, while huge fires were started in oil depots. The Howrah Station and military barracks were also bombed. Several British navigation premises were severely damaged. One vessel was sunk while a gun-boat was left ablaze in Diamond Harbour. . . .”

In its home broadcasts and in English, Berlin described this raid as ‘the heaviest of all’ and gave further details of damage and disaster. It said fourteen British aircraft were shot down for the loss of four Japanese planes. From start to finish, this broadcast was a complete fabrication. As every one knows, there was no air raid by Japanese planes on Calcutta either on January 4, or on any other date between December 27 and January 15.

As regards the raid on January 15 itself, it was on a small scale and it could not do anything serious as against Calcutta's strong defences. The raiders were forced to drop their bombs almost harmlessly outside the target-area. A single R.A.F. night-fighter brought down three of the Japanese planes in four minutes. This gives an idea of the strength of Calcutta's defences.

An Interview with M. Sarajoglu



M. SARAJOGLU

I was received by the Turkish Prime Minister, M. Sarajoglu, who saw me in his private study in the building of the National Assembly, cables the *Daily Telegraph* Ankara correspondent.

Despite his heavy burdens I had an opportunity of a long talk in which he discussed latest political and economic developments as they affect Turkey.

The following are the impressions which emerge from this conversation. It can now be definitely stated that Turkey's strategic position has improved. To achieve this, the army has been kept mobilized even though it has imposed great strain.

It is now clear why the Government was compelled to apply drastic measures such as the recent heavy profits tax to put the finances of the country in order. But great help has been received from Britain within the framework of signed agreements.

Turkey has received materials from Britain continuously in amounts varying according to Britain's own requirements. Imports have, especially in the last two months, increased considerably and reached a steady flow. Until recently, supplies from the United States came through Britain which, before America entered the war, had undertaken guarantees for Turkey.

Now without any solicitation the United States Government has offered materials directly through the medium of Lease-Lend. This development is highly gratifying to Turkey.

As regards the food situation, Turkey will still need help though in decreasing measure during 1943 until the harvest is gathered.

Shipping is a difficult problem. Turkey can send occasional ships to the Suez but no further. The Government has tried to obtain neutral ships but this has proved impossible. It now hopes that the United States will provide the necessary tonnage.

While relations with Britain and America thus continue to be highly cordial those with Russia are not less satisfactory. At the same time Turkey desires to continue her policy of co-operation with the Middle-East States. She believes that this policy runs parallel with that of Britain.

It is difficult to formulate judgment while the war goes on but Turkey would welcome any suggestions for a renewal of co-operation among the Balkan States.

Anglo-Turkish Alliance

By F. R. ATAY

[Mr. Atay is the leader of the delegation of Turkish Journalists now visiting India.]

THE third anniversary of the signing of the Anglo-Turkish Treaty of Alliance gave occasion to cordial demonstrations in the Turkish and British Press and Radios. When one looks back on the three-year old history of this alliance, its basic quality cannot escape the eye: the British and the Turks have used this alliance not as an instrument to spread and to intensify the tragedy of war, but as a means of saving further peoples and countries from suffering and destruction. We are certain that there no longer is a single

Englishman or Turk endowed with enough commonsense who still discusses whether it would be better for Turkey to enter or to remain outside the war.

When the British and the Turks signed this Treaty of Alliance, the directing principle of their foreign policy was the preservation of peace. The two Presidents whom Turkey has had at her head since the Treaty of Lausanne have each in turn repeatedly emphasized in every speech that the Turkish people have no other aim than to further the cause of their

independence and of their industrial and economic rehabilitation and prosperity. From the foundation the New Turkey to September 1939, our desire to safeguard peace and to avert war by reciprocal agreements and treaties has dominated both our national and international policy. Nor have the British Government ever clandestinely or overtly approached us with a view to making us their accomplices in any war of aggression.

MILITARY POLITICAL PRECAUTIONS

The desire for defence does not confer immunity from aggression. It is necessary also to take military and political measures of protection, and to exchange guarantees with neighbouring and other concerned countries within the bound of common danger and interests. We neither desired the outbreak of the Second World War, nor had we anything to gain by it. We neither wish to intervene in it, nor do we perceive any gain for ourself, in such an intervention. Those who believed that her alliance with Britain would drag Turkey into the war were those who doubted the sincerity of Turkey's claim that she had no territorial desires or demands, and who were under the delusion that once Turkey became involved in the war Britain would be pleased to see the immediate spreading of the war to the British spheres of security in the Near and Middle East.

The relations between the British Empire and the Ottoman Sultanate passed through contrasting phases. In some cases, the British Empire fought side by side with the Ottoman armies because the territorial integrity of the Sultanate was of vital importance for Britain. In other cases, exactly the opposite happened. But ever since the British Empire saw no need to fear a free, national and strong Turkey which had established herself on the 100 per cent Turkish territories of Thrace and Anatolia, no cause remained to disturb or cloud the friendship and faith between the two countries. Furthermore, it is impossible that Turkey should have but friendship for those who consider a free and independent Turkey necessary for world order and who have no designs on her rights.

We are a people frank of speech and soul. We have a very old history, full of honourable memories, and a traditional nobility of ethics. Those who have faith in us will never have cause to regret it. Nor does Turkey doubt the sincerity of the word given by those countries which, relying on Turkish uprightness and gentlemanliness, have extended to us their hands.

It is our hope that the Anglo-Turkish alliance now entering upon its fourth year will continue to be as beneficial as before—*Ulus*.

Turkey's Foreign Policy

ONE of the prophecies which have been made at about this time every year since the beginning of the war is the prediction that Turkey will be involved in the war by the next spring, cables *The Times* Ankara correspondent.

The reasons advanced in support of this belief change from one year to another which must be very baffling to those who are unfamiliar with the intricacies of Turkish policy. Yet the diversity and the complexity of the cause which might eventually place this country in such a position as to leave to it no alternative to drawing the sword and fighting are no more than a direct and almost logical consequence of her geographical position which dominates and dictates the requisites of her foreign policy.

A survey of the problems facing Turkey, arising out of the various aspects of her position in regard to other countries, is enough to explain the reasons which in the past have very nearly brought her to the verge of war and may crop up in the future.

AN EXTENSIVE COASTLINE

Thus, one, as a Balkan country and member of the Balkan entente Turkey was and is directly interested in what happens in

that peninsula; two, she is a member of the Eastern (Saadabad) Pact—which was recently prolonged for five years—and therefore she is concerned directly with everything which affects Persia, Iraq, Afghanistan and indirectly with the fate of the Arab countries; three, she possesses an extensive coastline in the Mediterranean and consequently, the safety and mastery of the eastern part of that sea cannot leave her indifferent; four, the same applies to her as regards the Black Sea; five, Turkey is entrusted with the guardianship of the Straits under the Montreux Convention and she is committed to maintain the freedom and security of that great waterway; six, Turkish territory lies on the historic route which was followed by all those—whether the more recently by the Ottoman Sultans who Phalanxes of Alexander the Great, the Roman Legions or the Crusader Knights—who came from Europe for conquest in Asia; and, seven, in the other direction that same routes has been trodden by the Asiatic warriors who invaded Europe like the Xerxes and his Persians in the classical times and might inspire imitators in our times.

This enumeration shows clearly how at some time or the other during the last three years German military or political actions



Sikhs and Sappers and Miners enjoy a cup of tea from the waggon presented by the Tea Marketing Board to the Southern Army.

very nearly involved Turkey in the war. Those who believe that even now Turkey may be implicated in the war base their belief alternatively on the fifth or the seventh of the abovementioned contingencies—namely, that she may be attacked by Germany in order to prevent, either, passage through the Straits of Allied supply ships going to Russia or the use of Turkish territory by the Allies for an invasion of the Balkans or both.

TURKEY UNMOVED

Echoes from Berlin indicate that both those possibilities are in the minds of Germans and a recent article in the *Volkischer Beobachter*, which addressed a stern warning to those countries who might be willing to serve as a spring-board for the Allies, was obviously meant for Turkish ears.

All this speculation about her future prospects, however, leaves Turkey unmoved. Through her most authoritative statesmen she has never ceased to reiterate her firm determination to continue to remain neutral, and in order to prove her sincerity and good faith towards the belligerents on both sides, she has been striving to keep a fair balance between them by trading with both and by signing various, if somewhat involved, economic agreements. Turkish political circles are of the opinion that they have thus furnished enough evidence of their peaceful intentions to allay any apprehensions that this country might let herself be dragged in the war. Moreover, those same circles think that Germany possesses at present neither the freedom of initiative nor the resources necessary for a war against Turkey which would result in adding at least one million first rate soldiers to the forces of her enemies.

Rostov “Key to the Caucasus”

By MAJOR PHILIP GRIBBLE

ROSTOV, the “key to the Caucasus” was occupied by the Germans on November 23, 1941.

By November 29, Timoshenko's armies had moved southwards from the Donetz and reoccupied the city. On the previous day, Don Cossacks entered the suburbs of Rostov from the south. Von Kleist's army was pursued to Taganrog and expelled from the Donetz basin.

By July 24, 1942, Rostov was again in German possession.

At first sight it appears remarkable that this key centre should have changed hands three times with no more than two or three days' local resistance. Has Rostov become the Russian Benghazi?

In November, 1941, the Germans took Rostov with relatively light forces, which were forced to withdraw under threat of subsequent

encirclement. Last July it had been expected that Russian resistance in the Donetz basin covering the approaches to Rostov could be successfully maintained. But, as with the Germans in the previous autumn, the Russians, now under threat of encirclement owing to the enemy's rapid advance down the Moscow-Rostov railway south of Rossosh through Kantemirovka, Millerovo and Kamensk, in their turn withdrew.

Now the Russian threat to Rostov comes from the direction of the previous German threat down the railway through and around Kamensk, supplemented by a second thrust seven miles north of the confluence of the Donetz and the Don, where the Russians are striking westwards at Kransi Sulin, 35 miles north of Rostov on the Moscow-Rostov railway and 15 miles south of the last east-to-west railway.

If this point is reached, the only rail communication with Rostov remaining to the

Germans would be from the west through Taganrog.

South of Rostov the situation of the Germans in the North Caucasus largely reproduces conditions under which the Russians were forced to withdraw from the Donetz-basin last summer.

Rostov is a well-protected bottleneck unassailable by the Russians except from the north and south. The Don delta protects it from the west. In the east on both sides of the Don as far as the junction of the Sal, marshlands stretch in two strips four to eight miles wide. There is no road parallel to the Don to the south of the river. The railway, from Salsk and Tikhoretsk outlines the southern approaches.

It seems probable that Timoshenko's successful offensive in November 1941, may soon be imitated—*News Chronicle*.

Medical Supplies for Russia Over £2,000,000 collected in Britain

By HENRY ROVICH

THE growing aid rendered by the public abroad to the Soviet Union in its struggle against Hitlerite aggression is particularly expressed by the increase registered in shipments of medical supplies received here. Beginning with August 1941, when the first ship with medical supplies sailed for the Soviet Union, aid in this field has been steadily on the upgrade. Many of the parcels received contain canned goods, chocolate, egg, powder and other foods.

In the store-room of one war hospital in the rear I visited recently I saw piles of warm woollen sweaters and gloves from England; warm underwear from the United States; woollen socks and scarves from Canada; enamelled hardware from the American Red Cross; soft, fluffy woollen blankets from the Argentine and many other useful articles.

HIGH QUALITY

Army Doctor of the First Rank, Professor Rafael Colonzko, chief of the hospital, had high praise for the quality of the medical instruments received.

"Portable X-ray apparatus from England," said the professor, "used for examining the wounded without shifting them from the wards are of great help to our surgeons."

To gain some idea of the general scope of the medical aid rendered the Soviet Union by

foreign countries, I interviewed P. K. Divakov, Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Society.

VALUABLE ARTICLES

"For obvious reasons," said Divakov in answer to my questions, "it is not expedient to publish summary figures on this point. I am at liberty, however, to say that the medical supplies and instruments we receive total 220 items, and include sulphamide preparations, caffeine, X-ray apparatus and other extremely valuable articles."

Returning to the scope of international medical aid to Russia, Divakov said that the number of organizations conducting this work at present is quite large. He mentioned the British Red Cross, the Committee of Aid to the U.S.S.R. headed by Mrs. Churchill, the Trade Union Committee, the British Miners' Federation, the Anglo-Soviet Medical Committee headed by Dr. A. V. Johnson, and many others in Great Britain.

"I am informed," he said, "that these organizations have collected more than £2,000,000 for medical aid to the U.S.S.R."

In the United States this work is being done by a host of public organizations which collect funds, purchase supplies, hospital equipment, etc., and ship them to Russia.

"Judging by information at my disposal," Divakov added, "many public organizations in Australia, Argentina, Uruguay and China are doing the same."—Condensed from *Moscow News*.

FROM THE WESTERN DESERT



Col. L. E. Hobbs, left, Major-General L. H. Brereton, commanding United States Middle East Air Forces, and General Strickland, who commands the fighters of the United States Air Forces, rest in the shade of a building at Gambut after they had entered Libya.



Photo shows men of a Home Counties Regiment with men of the Highland Division. The Home Counties men are machine gunners, and have been covering the Jocks in recent actions.

The Red Army Man

By WALTER GRAEBNER

LIKE the Russian people as a whole, the Red Army man is good-natured, unsophisticated and intelligent. He makes friends easily and, if he likes a person, he will give him his last piece of bread or his last pair of socks.

He is slow to anger but once he gets mad there is no stopping him. Now the full flood of his fury is loosened against Nazis. However, he has no wish to destroy German culture or take reprisals, when the chance comes, for atrocities committed against Russians.

The Red Army men maintain that all they demand is the destruction of Fascism and its leader; but if German people, as distinguished from Nazis, try to obstruct Russians in their war on Fascism then they too will have to suffer.

The Red Army soldier is on an average about 5 feet 8 inches in height and weighs about 11 stones six pounds. Many of them shave their heads. They have good appetites but when necessary—it often is they can fight like tigers on black bread and water. In camp, before going into battle, they sing endless songs to the music of balalaikas. Nearly all soldiers carry something to read, often cheap paper editions of war thrillers, sometimes classics like "War and Peace" or volumes of Pushkin. Though they do not talk a great deal about politics, they are avid readers of *Pravda*, the official mouthpiece of the Communist Party.

WELL-EQUIPPED

The Red Army man is as well equipped as any soldier in the world. His uniform is made of pure wool, his heavy leather boots would last a civilian a lifetime. In winter, every man is given a greenish felt valenki to replace his boots, quilted pants and vest and a heavy woollen overcoat and plenty of warm blankets.

In 18 months of war, the Russians have learned a lot about fighting. Their greatest strides were probably made in developing individual initiative and self-reliance. The Red Army's plan from the very beginning of the war was to fight delaying actions which would be more costly to the enemy than to itself and then, after the punch had gone out of the German fist, to turn its full offensive power on the Reichswehr.

For her winter offensive, Russia undoubtedly has millions of trained troops which have been in field reserve east of the Volga. In the

northern half of Russia, the Red Army is far stronger than it was last spring because the Germans attacked nowhere along the whole front and the Soviets moved practically nothing to the south to support Marshal Timoshenko at Stalingrad.

Recognising long ago the possibility that Baku might be taken or the Volga cut, the Soviets laid in several years of oil supply for the armies in the north. Industrially, Russia is not as strong as she was at the start of the war because of the disastrous losses of plant and sources of raw materials like iron and coal in the Don basin and other areas and because of their tremendous loss of manpower. Nevertheless, Russia is probably stronger now in relation to Germany than she was a year and a half ago. Almost every day the Soviet Press announces the opening of a new factory at some place in the Urals or Siberia, and trains are jammed with workers and technicians moving east.

SCIENTIFIC PLANNING

Though Russia's agricultural position is desperate and will get worse, it would be hopeless this winter had not her Government introduced science and the machinery of planning under collectivised and State farm systems. Farm output of the Soviet Union has increased between 50 and 100 per cent since Government control went into effect. The increase, of course, has been more than offset by the German thrust into the Ukraine and Kuban.

Without strength behind it, even the toughest and the bravest army would fold up. The big reason why Russia has been able to bear nearly the full weight of the Wehrmacht for 18 months is that almost her whole economy has been utilized for military rather than civilian requirements.

Russia's war effort is almost incredible. A large proportion of shops have been closed and those still functioning are practically devoid of goods. The best stocked and busiest of all stores are bookshops, but they deal mostly in old volumes. Probably fewer than 10 out of 1,000 civilians have been able to purchase a new item of clothing for a year. All over Russia, men, women and children are wearing shoes that in England or America would long since have passed from the master to the servant and to the junk heap. Probably over 95 per cent of all food consumed in the Soviet cities is rationed but a small percentage is sold in the open market.



The Northern Caucasus. German soldiers surrendering to Red Army men.

WOMEN AND THE WAR EFFORT

Women do everything that men do, no matter how strenuous the task may be. Their replacement of men in factories, on farms and in other industries is far more complete than in Great Britain which has made a concerted drive in that direction. Russian women drive street cars and locomotives, dig defence lines, lay railroad tracks, build highways and bridges, sweep streets, cut timber, make munitions and machine-tools, operate tractors, harvest grain, and serve in hundreds of different capacities in the army, naval and airforce. Hard work has made them tough and brawny.

Unlike the American and British women in industry, the Russian women look as if they belonged there. The Russian women also have

time to bear babies. Moscow's streets are full of mothers with infants.

Food supplies for a large part of the general public have dropped below the irreducible minimum necessary to maintain the health of the nation. Undoubtedly the position will become worst this winter and by next spring many believe that it will be grave for those Russians not engaged in war work. Most of the available means of transportation are needed to haul supplies to the various fronts. Food for civilians comes second in Russia to imports from America and Britain. Food also takes second place to munitions. It is known that owing to a shortage of ships, Stalin had to make a choice between wheat and weapons. He chose weapons—*The Daily Mail*.

Rumania's War Weariness

INFORMATION from reliable sources indicates that Rumania has some 30 Divisions fighting in Russia and that her losses there now amount to between 350,000 and 400,000 men.

With a bare four Divisions at home, the country has reached a point at which it is humanly impossible to supply further manpower for the fighting line and it can be regarded as fairly certain that this was one of the pleas put forward on her behalf at the recent conference at Hitler's headquarters, cables *The Times* correspondent on the German frontier.

Very heavy losses have been suffered by the Rumanians in the Stalingrad area; for instance, five whole Divisions were lost in the fighting north-west of the town during the week after the opening of the offensive there

on November 22. The losses included General Lascar, General Masarini and General Sion; the first was killed and the fate of the other two is unknown. Rumania's financial and economic experts who attended the conference had a similar tale to tell. Rumania must no longer be regarded as a potential source of supplies except in the case of petroleum production which in 1942 was possibly slightly higher than in 1941. The big draw in the Rumanian manpower has, however, affected the agriculture of the country to such a degree that there has been a serious deterioration in the food situation during the last few months.

The mission, probably, has pointed out again that Rumania's sacrifices are proportionately far more than her Balkan neighbours.

Preparing for "Blitz" on Germany

By GORDON YOUNG

THE return to London, as Vice Chief of the Air Staff, of Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Tedder, Air Officer Commanding, Middle East, may have vital effect on our air force policy in 1943. This has been made clear not only by the talk he gave to war correspondents when he said farewell on January 9 but also by a remarkable authoritative statement on air force policy issued in the Middle East.

Sir Arthur described air war as a "separate war though linked to those on land and sea." He added: "It is only by the realization of this fundamental fact that we will stop the war going on for far longer than it need."

This declaration which re-opens one of the war's greatest controversies is amplified by the statement issued in the Middle East.

This emphasizes that "Command of the air determines what happens on land and on sea whereas armies and navies cannot affect command of the air. Air supremacy will win the war."

The statement argues that the Empire air forces have now grown equal in status with the land and sea forces and are commanded "by men who have specialized in air work for over a quarter of a century" unlike the Axis air forces which are ruled by soldiers.

It urges that its importance as a service should be related to the fact that the war will be won by air supremacy. "The air striking force in the Middle East has pointed the way to the future of the Royal Air Force. The desert squadrons have not blazed but blasted the path to ultimate determination of what the air force can and must do . . ."

A SEPARATE OFFENSIVE ENTITY

"The essential lesson learned in the Middle East is that an air force is a separate offensive entity, striking at the enemy in co-operation with the army. Today, because of that lesson Britain alone of the embattled nations, can look to a striking force in the air unshackled and untrammelled by parochialism and preconceived ideas and free from glib phrases like 'air support' and 'fighter assistance'—an air force which commands the air."

"From being a puny shrunken limb, the air arm has grown in the Middle East to a vigorous strong flail smashing at the enemy with determination and untiring effort. Clearing the skies of opposition, it has gone on to administer punishment on the Axis ground forces where such attacks would most benefit the army, not by chance or luck but by planning. The enemy has been driven back in a series of well-timed blows from the two forces until Tripoli is threatened.

"The cobwebs have not been shaken away from the old ideas of air support—they have been blown away, shattered by the guns and bombs of the air striking force."

Many commentators point to the fact that Sir Arthur Tedder is on his way to London with this statement in mind at a time when an improvement in Europe's weather may open up the way to mass air force activities. Sir Arthur Tedder had a plan for the Middle East. They are saying that he now has one for Europe too.

Sir Arthur Tedder has always been looked on as the man primarily responsible for the remarkably close co-operation between the Middle East air forces and the Eighth Army. Thanks to that co-operation, military commanders were able to get close air support on demand within minutes instead of hours—as was the case in previous campaigns. The Royal Air Force is the only separate air force among the principal belligerents. United States aviation is divided between the army and the navy as is the Russian; Germany's three services—the Wehrmacht—are welded together under one supreme command.

It has been rumoured that Sir Arthur is returning home to take charge of that part of our air force—fighters and light bombers—which would be used to support the Anglo-American army invading Europe.—*Sunday Express*.

AIR-SEA RESCUE SERVICE —REWARDS

[G.O. No. 4127, Public (War), dated
30th December 1942.]

The Governor-General in Council is pleased to sanction, as a war-time measure, the grant of a reward to private individuals and/or bodies for the rescue of Air Force flying personnel, force landed or shot down into the sea.

2. The reward will be paid through the local civil authorities on the following scale:—

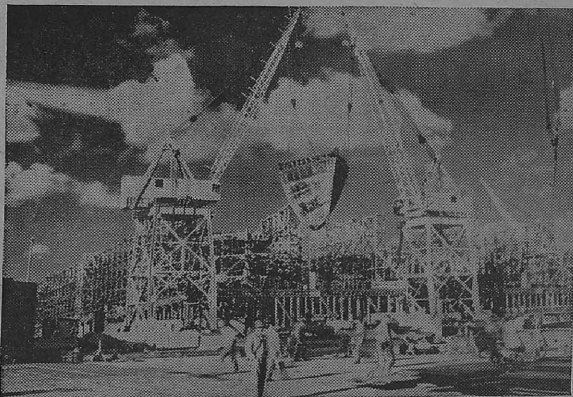
	Amount of reward.
	Rs.
For each person rescued alive.	100
For each dead body recovered.	50

"MIRACLES" IN U.S.A.



HENRY J. KAISER, U.S. Builder, did these "impossible" jobs:—He built Boulder Dam 18 months ahead of schedule. He built a giant cement plant for Shasta dam in six months. He turned ship-builder, produced Victory ships in 10 days, and recently under 5 days for a world's record. To-day,

Kaiser is starting on his biggest job; producing giant seven-engined cargo planes. Photo shows Henry J. Kaiser, holder of the U.S. Maritime Commission records for ships per yard, ships per way and average time per ship, telling members of the U.S. Senate about his plans for giant cargo-carrying flying boats.

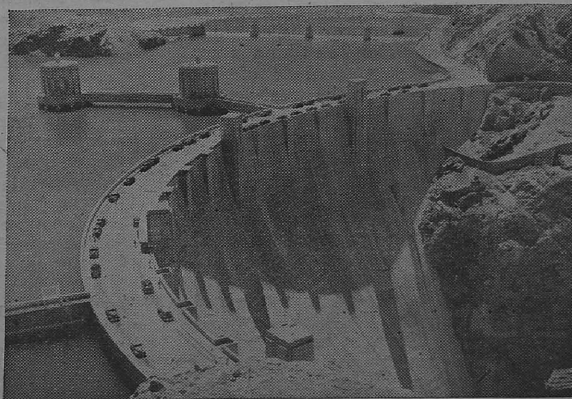


In his new West Coast shipyards, attacking a brand new job, Henry J. Kaiser set out to beat the estimated construction-time of 105 days per ship. The man who had never even seen a ship launched before 1940, was soon building freighters in

sixty days, then thirty, finally less than five days—a world's record. This photo shows a ship under construction by the new assembly method, in one of the Kaiser yards.



The highest dam ever built by man, Boulder Dam, saves the turbulent waters of the Colorado river for irrigating thousands of acres of desert land and for turning electric generators to supply power for the U.S. war effort. As President of the Six Companies that built Boulder Dam, Henry J. Kaiser got his start as a mass-production and engineering expert, began his climb to fame by accomplishing the seemingly impossible feat of completing the dam 18 months ahead of schedule.



Bombing of Berlin: Then and Now

THEY came back from Berlin—back from the volcano of flak and waves of M.Es.—with the job well done. I saw them coming in at the bomber station. They were content.

Flight Sergeant Eddy, a bomber wireless operator—it was his 62nd trip. He had seen Berlin before in November 1940.

“That time we went over in old Hampdens,” he told me. “Altogether we dropped thirty tons of bombs before we left and we saw a few scattered fires. Last night it was different—a whole lot different. They shot a volcano at us but we dropped hell on them. Before we left, Berlin was ablaze. No scattered fires this time but a sheet of flame.”

Flight Sergeant Lou of Ottawa, Canada, pilot of “H. for Harry” told his story. “The 8,000 lb. ‘cookies’ we gave Berlin are like nothing else in the Bomber’s belly. They hit like lightning and branch out like flying mushrooms. I should not have liked to be underneath them,” he said.

Flight Lieutenant Eddy, Captain of another Lancaster, said: “We did not take the Germans unawares last night. That did not keep us from dropping our load. Flak was thick and fighters thicker. But we went through on schedule.”

The Lancaster was enthusiastically praised by the crews. Pilot Officer Albert, Captain of one of the Lancasters, said: “It is a great machine—and can do almost everything except sing. I don’t think there is a bomber to equal it anywhere.”

Many of the crews who took part in the week-end raids have recently been over Italy. “A great load of bombs”—official description—was dropped by a strong force for the second night in succession. Our losses (22) were heavy compared with Saturday night but in contrast to the calm, cloudy conditions which prevailed then, our bombers on Sunday, flew most of the way to Berlin in bright moonlight.

The pilot of one Lancaster who had dropped an 8,000 lb. bomb on Berlin was attacked on the way home by a Junkers-88. His rear and mid-upper gunners returned the enemy’s fire and the fighter turned on its back and went down.

Another Lancaster was attacked twice, first, by a FW-190 and then by a JU-88. Both were driven off. The Captain of a Halifax said: “What made things rather baffling was that the whole landscape looked different because the ground was covered by snow.”—*News Chronicle*.

New Status of China

BY the new treaties with China, Great Britain and the United States formally and finally relinquish their extraterritorial rights. The abolition of these rights is no more than a stage which China would in any event have reached sooner or later, writes *The Times*.

The policy followed by Great Britain and the United States and other countries for some years had as its aim the freeing of China from unequal treaties. The war has consummated the policy. But so long as China is not in physical possession of the whole of her national territories, including the treaty ports in which the discarded rights were exercised, the recognition of her inalienable sovereignty inevitably lacks full substance. Victory, then, is the immediate task.

The fighting spirit of the Chinese, which has been so steady under major setbacks and grievous sacrifices, will be reinforced and refreshed now that her full and untrammelled rights of nationhood have been acknowledged by Great Britain and the United States. In a larger sense still, China is now offered a guarantee that with victory she will take her part as a great power in undisputed and

unconditional enjoyment of her just rights in shaping and sustaining the coming New Order in Asia.

A RESPLENDENT DESTINY

A resplendent destiny is opening for her, based on a firm reality and born of her manifold sufferings. It has long been foreseen and is now explicitly recognized in the new treaties that in the resettlement of Asia, China must have a pre-eminent place. Her record in war, no less than her national culture, requires it.

From the fastness of Chungking, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek maintains the fight with means that are woefully inadequate but with a faith that is superb. Neither blandishments nor bludgeonings have brought the acceptance of that illusory structure which the Japanese call “co-prosperity.” The Chinese who have long and bitter experience of Japanese methods know well the extent of social and economic ruin which the Japanese “co-prosperity” brings to those within its clutches. In place of this ruthless and self-seeking conception, the United Nations have the duty to base future settlements in the Pacific on broader and more honourable lines.



His Highness the Jam Sahab of Nawanganar recently visited the "Baroda" Squadron at an R.A.F. Fighter Station in Great Britain. Here he is seen inspecting the guard of honour. His Highness arrived in India on Sunday, January 24.

Reconquest of Burma

WHILE all goes well with our land and air attack on Japanese forces in Burma, the recent warning by General Irwin, Commander of India's Eastern Army, against expectation of swift or major results from the advance of his columns upon Akyab sets in its true proportions the supreme value to all Allies of recovery of the whole of Burmese territory, observes the *Daily Telegraph*. The unbroken success of our advance upon Akyab has been, and will probably continue to be slow because British and Indian troops are fighting through some of the most difficult country in the world—steep mountains covered by dense tropical jungle intersected by creeks and swamps.

When Akyab is captured, its occupation will not, so far as can be judged, open the way to further advance. Its possession is, however, an indispensable preliminary to decisive operations. At Akyab the Japanese have a useful port and a good air base only 350 miles from Calcutta. So long as they are there, the Allies lack, in spite of the good work of Admiral Somerville's forces, that command of the Indian Ocean which, as Field Marshal Smuts has remarked, dominates the war in the Far East. Until General Irwin's forces have a firm hold on Akyab and the Arakan coast, the way is not open to Rangoon, and Rangoon—we have proved in the past and the Japanese confirmed last year—is the door to the whole of Burma.

GOOD REASON FOR CONFIDENCE

General Irwin looked forward at Christmas to the day when the great armies of India

would be provided with all the means to set them in motion. Urgent demands of other fronts last year delayed their complete equipment, but since the movement on Akyab began, there has been an intensification of air attack on Japanese positions and vital communications which promises well. Enemy air forces apparently lack the strength to react effectively. However much we may discount reports that Tokyo has found it necessary to diminish the drafts of troops sent to Burma, there is good reason for confidence that heavy losses of aircraft over Guadalcanar and Papua have limited the number of planes which the Japanese can put in the air over Burma.

Japan's land forces in Burma, however, show as desperate a determination as at Buna. The topography of Burma, in its natural obstacles and in its lack of roads and railways, offers great advantages to stubborn defence. It is therefore to be expected that reconquest will be a hard task. This has long been realized in the councils of the Allies, but they are not less well aware of the fact that the possession of Burma is the key to victory in the East. When the Japanese have been driven out, a wide breach will open in their line of conquests. British, Indian and American forces and supplies can pour into China and bring the threat of attack near to Japan herself. The task of reconquest may be long, but the time is now at hand when the Allies can unite upon it adequate forces in all three elements—air, land and sea. The result of a campaign of such combined strength is not doubtful.

British Commonwealth : A Worldwide Society

MR. HERBERT MORRISON, Home Secretary, speaking at Newcastle recently answered critics of British colonial policy and outlined likely future developments. The following is *The Times* editorial comment :—

Mr. Morrison's speech was marked by the same balance and breadth of view, by the same mixture of idealism and practical common sense and by the same absence of political dogmatism as his speech at Swindon three weeks ago. At Swindon he was discussing economic and social development in this country after the war. But he recognized, as everyone must do, that prosperity and security in one country depend on the achievement of prosperity and security in the rest of the world.

In his Newcastle speech, he was concerned with the contribution which the British Commonwealth of Nations can make to that end and especially with positive aspects of colonial policy—the development of those great territories which have not yet attained complete self-government and assistance which must be afforded to enable them to stand upon their own feet and play a part in the world corresponding to their resources and capacities.

Again, as three weeks ago, he gave to public opinion the kind of lead for which the country has been waiting. He crystallized many ideas upon which discussion of these matters has led to a general, if vague, agreement and indicated the lines upon which opinion in many different camps is converging to shape a definite policy to-day. More than ever the British Commonwealth has something to give to the world which the world urgently requires. Without it, as Mr. Morrison said, the world would lose a great factor of stability and progress just when these things will be most needed.

STATUS OF COLONIES

He was at pains to clear up the misconception, widespread abroad, that hard and fast barriers had been set between the status of self-governing Dominions and the status of Colonies. The Dominions constitute a family of adult nations, each with its own environment, problems and interests and freely acting together in matters of life and death importance. But each achieved full self-government by practical working out of democratic principles expressed in the demand and capacity for self-government and the willingness of the mother country to grant it fully and freely. This principle of growth is still active; and the trend is always towards freedom.

Mr. Morrison is not one of those who are inclined to apologize for the Empire or belittle its glories. On the other hand, he does not pretend that our colonial record has been without blemish.

On the whole, however, we have set an example of humanity, decency and fairmindedness which the enlightened world has been glad to follow. What, however, is still more significant is the general recognition that more is needed in the future. Debates in both Houses of Parliament, especially in the House of Lords, have shown a practically unanimous consensus of opinion that not nearly enough has been done to develop the economic side of the Colonies and to raise the economic and social standards of the population. The fault has not been so much in the local administrations which have been hampered by lack of means and lack of interest at home.

POSITIVE POLICY OF ADMINISTRATION

There has been, at any rate, a beginning of improvement in this respect during the last few years. But, as Mr. Morrison contends, a fuller understanding and keener realization are needed almost everywhere of the conditions implied in the positive policy of administering the Colonies for the benefit of their own people. Colonial partnership is, however, a conception which cannot attain full fruition within the framework of the British Commonwealth alone.

To the development, economic and political, of her dependencies Great Britain has responsibilities of her own which she cannot shirk. She must frame her own policy to discharge them to her own satisfaction and to the benefit of all. But—and this was the point which Mr. Morrison rightly emphasized—the British Commonwealth is a worldwide society; and international co-operation on a world scale is a condition of its survival. No limited or restrictive system can be adequate for its need. The door is wide open for what Mr. Morrison called "some wider pooling of the tasks and responsibilities with others" who may be ready in their turn to share the burdens as well as benefits. For the peoples of the Commonwealth, as for the people of this country, any policy of securing exclusive advantages for themselves would defeat its own ends. It is the strength of the Commonwealth that its long-term interests are the long-term interests of the whole world. Care for those interests as well as for those principles of progressive growth towards the wider freedom on which the Commonwealth rests, lead inescapably to thinking in terms of still broader partnerships.



A photograph of Madras Sappers and Miners taken on the occasion of a recent visit of H.H. the Maharaja of Mysore.

Who Should Rule the Pacific After the War?

By SIR FREDERICK WHYTE, K.C.S.I.

[*'Freedom Forum,' the Saturday-night discussion in the BBC's North American Service, is six months old. The Forum, headed by Sir Frederick Whyte—first President of the Legislative Assembly of India and at one time Political Adviser to the National Government of China—has mainly concerned itself with Anglo-American and European problems. But now it has turned its attention to the Pacific.*]

SOME six months ago Freedom Forum held its first discussion at the microphone of the BBC. It was designed to give listeners in lands overseas the chance of hearing a group of men in London thinking aloud on the problems of our time. And so it ranged freely and widely over the face of the globe, but paying most attention to post-war questions in their British aspect. Now it is six months old; and as I am in some sense its parent I can tell you that it is going strong. I know that it has made many friends and hope it will make more.

So to-day is our twenty-sixth meeting. Here round the table are Harold Laski, one of the Forum's original members, learned, lively, stimulating, provoking; next, Tahu Hole, from New Zealand, well-known 'down under' as a political journalist; next to him Mr. Boissevain, Netherlands Consul-General

in Shanghai, straight from Japanese internment in that great metropolis of Far Eastern trade; next again, Arthur Mann, the London voice of the Mutual Broadcasting System of the United States, bringing the fresh incisive tones of America to this microphone miscellany; and finally myself as ringmaster of the circus of debate.

FAR EAST AND NEAR NORTH

And now come down with me to that secure cellar where Freedom Forum is now assembling to discuss the future in the Pacific. After a try-out of each voice, to make sure that it is tuned to proper microphone pitch, I open the session with the question: 'Who is to rule the Pacific in future?' Answer: not Japan anyway; nor, indeed, any other Power by itself; for this great ocean is too wide, too full of many interests to be the playground of any one Power.' And just as I am about to

show that it includes everything from Vladivostok to Singapore and from Chungking to . . . Laski chips in to declare that the Pacific and the Far East are not apart from the rest of the world, but that we are all part of 'a single civilization.' And Hole puts in a pertinent reminder for Australia and New Zealand that the place we call the Far East is to them the Near North, coming very near to them in these days, bringing a new association between these Dominions of the South Seas and America.

Thus the discussion opens in a free give and take; and Arthur Mann, taking up the word 'association,' wants to know how we are going to organize the post-war association of all the peoples concerned. What can we learn from the way the Washington Treaties of 1922 worked or didn't work? 'Up to you, Boissevain,' says the Chairman: whereupon our friend from the Netherlands recalls that his country signed the Washington Treaties and declares that the war has emphatically shown the mutual interdependence of all the regions of the Far East. 'For us, in the Netherlands East Indies, our growth and our comfort depend on peaceful relations and in trade co-operation with all. We want organized co-operation.' Whyte: 'Well, we had it in the Washington Treaties: perfectly good in themselves but why did they break down?' Laski: 'Why? Of course, because they were just pious principles, without sanctions; Russia wasn't in; and Japan felt frustrated; and America . . . Whyte: 'That's up to you, Mann.' Mann: 'Yes, America's got to be in on that. And I don't want to start with naval ratios this time. Nor do I want the new arrangement to be just a big bluff.' Hole: 'Big bluff or not, the new scheme must be one in which the small Powers must have an equal voice with the big ones.' 'Sure,' says Boissevain. 'We Netherlands are with you Australians on that.'

ALL OR NONE!

Here Laski interrupts (*Freedom Forum* lives by free interruption all round the table): 'Say, Hole, havn't we got the right germ of the new thing in the present Pacific Council? Re-shaped a bit for work in peace?' Hole: 'Admirable idea: we in the Dominions aren't going to let that Council go after the war.' Whyte: 'So what we make for war is going to serve us in peace. You agree, Boissevain?' Boissevain: 'I do indeed! And I guess that means that we've answered our own question: "Who is to rule the Pacific?"' Whyte: 'Yes, it's all or none! So far so good. But, let's go a step further, and rough out the lines of policy in things like trade, tariffs, emigration and the rest. And here I pass the buck to you, Boissevain, for the Netherlands have a pretty clean record in that.' Boissevain: 'Thank you for that! The Netherlands have always tried to keep trade free from restrictions, and we would say

that the more freedom of this kind the better for our new system. Control? Yes, but intelligent international control.'

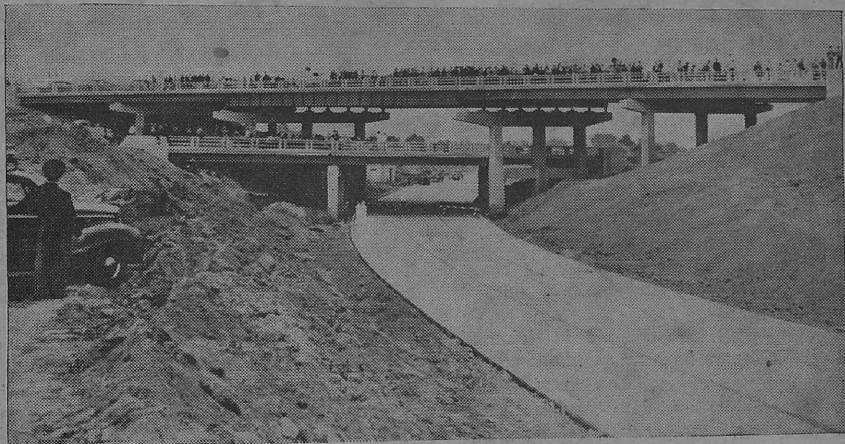
Mann: 'Can I butt in, please? We used to talk about the Open Door in China; but that door only opened one way. We want it open both ways; and the Chinese will ask how we are going to open our door to them.' Whyte: 'Racial equality, you mean. Agreed in principle; but the open door should cover other things too. There has been new industrial growth all over the East which will affect the historic policies of the older countries.' Hole: 'You've hit the nail on the head, Whyte; and the new war industries of Australia will seek their outlet when peace returns: they will be new competitors in the international field.' Mann: 'Ho, ho! That's going to give our high-tariff boys back home in the United States something to think about.' Whyte: 'High tariffs? Are we going back to that?' Mann: 'Well, protection's not dead yet.' Whyte: 'No; the old Adam dies hard.' Laski: 'And this old Adam has a long pedigree. Alexander Hamilton began the tariff business and sold the idea to Friedrich Liszt, the German economist, who sold it to Bismarck, who paved the way for Hitler.' Whyte: 'Hamilton seems to have been a very prolific ancestor. I bet he never thought that when he married Betsy Schuyler . . . Laski: 'No; but he wasn't faithful to her, and Hitler is the result.' Whyte: 'Hear the words of Laski writing *Tariff History Through the Looking Glass!*'

A CHANGE OF OUTLOOK

At this point *Freedom Forum* lost the thread for the moment in laughter and cross-table chaff; but as the pleasant uproar subsided, the voice of the Chairman was heard saying: ' . . . it all means a change of outlook. But we've got to give scope to new productive capacity.' Laski: 'Well, Whyte, I'm not in the least abashed by being called Alice in Wonderland. And I'm going to suggest that we can find the new openings for new productive capacity by a development policy for backward countries—China, India, Africa—raising their standard of life and purchasing power by capital investment.' Whyte: 'Back to our old friend the Economic Hinterland, in fact.' Laski: 'Precisely.' Boissevain: 'And the whole policy following the Atlantic Charter and the spirit of Lease-Lend. I would welcome that.' Mann: 'Looks to me as if we'd need a World Economic Conference in permanent session.' Laski: ' . . . a very useful thing in the post-war world.' Boissevain: 'Yes; and if we don't find new outlets in Laski's Economic Hinterland we shall just be digging our own industrial graves if we go on encouraging new industrialization all over the world.' Mann: 'I guess Russia's not a bad illustration. This Five Year Plan business was making the Soviet Union an expanding market for British and American industry even before

the war.' *Boisserain* and *Laski* (in chorus): 'In fact, no country was ever harmed by the expanding prosperity of any other.' *Whyte*: 'And the key to the whole problem is just what you call expanding prosperity, promoted by a general plan and pursued by the ordered energies of nations united in peace as they have been in war. . . . But I see the clock is pointing its warning finger at me; and that means time's up, gentlemen!

We've ranged far and wide, though we began in the Pacific and the Far East. Significant, isn't it, that wherever and however we begin, we have to take everything, back to its true setting in the world picture. *Laski* was right when he said that there is neither East nor West now, but one civilization. And so we see that we've reached a stage in the story of mankind when war is really civil war which seeks to break up our unity of purpose and to turn us back from our true goal.'



SUPER-HIGHWAY AT U.S. BOMBER FACTORY.—Lined up on the tri-level super-highway inside the Willow Run bomber factory, crowds watch Under Secretary of War, Mr. Robert Patterson, dedicate the highway network. The high-speed roads connect units of Henry Ford's bomber plant in Central United States.

Diary of the War

ENGLAND AND GERMANY

23rd Jan.—The Royal Air Force carried out a large offensive sweep over France and northern Belgium.

A German-Japanese economic agreement was signed.

24th Jan.—The Royal Air Force attacked the Ruhr. Commandos raided Laerвик on the Norwegian coast.

25th Jan.—The submarine base at Lorient was attacked by the R.A.F.

26th Jan.—The Royal Air Force bombed the docks at Flushing.

27th Jan.—Sir Kingsley Wood, Chancellor of the Exchequer announced in the Commons that the war cost Great Britain about 14 million sterling daily.

28th Jan.—American aircraft raided Wilhelmshaven.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE ATLANTIC

22nd Jan.—Admiral Sir Percy Noble, Chief of the Admiralty Delegation in Washington, said that the submarine menace was "most grave" and must be beaten before the war was won.

25th Jan.—Vice-Admiral Percy W. Nelles, Chief of Naval Staff, Canada, said: "We have reason to believe that German submarine strength is increasing." The secret of killing the U-boat, he said, was more escort vessels, closely co-operating with more aircraft.

26th Jan.—Mr. J. G. Winant, the United States Ambassador to Great Britain, in a speech at Baltimore before the Council of the State Governments, said: "I believe that Great Britain is more efficiently and effectively organized, armed and equipped both on the military front and on the civil front than at any time since the war began."

INDIA, BURMA AND CEYLON

22nd Jan.—Chittagong was again attacked. Two enemy planes were destroyed.

23rd Jan.—Donbaik in Arakan was bombed by the Royal Air Force.

24th Jan.—The Royal Air Force attacked Heho aerodrome in Burma.

24th Jan.—The Royal Air Force raided Rangoon.

27th Jan.—A Royal Indian Navy ship on patrol in the Mayu river area in Burma rammed and sank an enemy coastal craft.

ITALY, AFRICA AND THE MEDITERRANEAN

22nd Jan.—The fall of Tripoli was imminent. Homs and Tarhuna were occupied by Allied forces.

23rd Jan.—Tripoli fell into the hands of the Allies. Rommel withdrew into Tunisia.

24th Jan.—U. S. bombers raided Bizerta.

25th Jan.—Zuara was violently bombarded by British naval and air forces.

Two Axis ships were sunk between Tunisia and Sicily.

26th Jan.—U.S. troops raided Maknassi and Bizerta. Zuara harbour was bombed.

27th Jan.—Zuara was occupied by Allied troops. Rommel crossed into Tunisia.

28th Jan.—Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt completed a 10-day meeting in Casablanca. They reached complete agreement regarding the offensive programme of 1943.

General Giraud and General de Gaulle also met at Casablanca and announced an agreement.

Allied troops regained positions in Ousseltra Valley.

RUSSIA AND FINLAND

22nd Jan.—The Russians captured Voroshilovsk.

23rd Jan.—The Russians captured Salsk.

24th Jan.—The Russians took Armavir.

25th Jan.—In an Order of the Day issued by Stalin, he said: "Forward—to rout the

German invaders and to drive them out beyond the limits of our country." The Order added: "The Red Army has broken through the defences of the German Fascist troops on a wide Front, routed 102 enemy divisions and captured over 200,000 prisoners and 13,000 guns."

26th Jan.—The Russians reoccupied Voronezh. It was revealed 70,000 Germans were captured in the Caucasus in 11 days.

28th Jan.—The Russians opened a new offensive in Rzhhev.

VICHY AND OCCUPIED COUNTRIES

25th Jan.—The Vichy French police arrested 6,000 people in Marseilles "to safeguard order in the city."

26th Jan.—A state of siege was proclaimed at Marseilles.

THE FAR EAST

22nd Jan.—United States planes bombed Japanese positions at Munda on New Georgia Island.

Major-General Alexander Patch of the United States Army assumed command of the United States forces stationed in Guadalcanar.

23rd Jan.—United States aircraft raided Ambon. A Japanese cruiser was set on fire.

24th Jan.—Four Japanese ships were sunk in Rabaul.

25th Jan.—Fighting ended in Papua.

26th Jan.—Japanese bases in New Guinea were bombed.

27th Jan.—Japanese bases in Hupeh were attacked by the Chinese.

The Japanese base was destroyed in the Kolombangara Island in the New Georgia group.

Allied aircraft attacked shipping in Rabaul harbour.

28th Jan.—A Japanese ship was set on fire in Rabaul.

A Japanese airfield in Ballale Island was bombed. American aircraft raided Wake Island.

HIT THE OCTOPUS ON THE HEAD

"I cannot feel happy about the idea that Japan is to be defeated island by island, tentacle by tentacle. The tentacles will wither when the Octopus is hit on the head, and if he is to be hit on the head, my belief is that Burma must be captured, the gateway to China re-opened, and Japan attacked on a grand scale developed from as near as possible to the Sino-Japanese frontier. Secondly, Japan must ultimately be attacked at her centre from China by air and from the Pacific by air and by sea."

—Mr. MENZIES, former Australian Prime Minister, in a broadcast on
January 22 from Sydney.