PREFACE

THE LECTURES in the pages which follow were delivered on the Los Angeles campus of the University in the spring of 1939. Planned by the Committee on International Relations with a view to bringing to student attention, well ahead of the development of acute crisis, the basic problems of the whole Asiatic continent, they have more than justified the Committee's hopes and expectations. The Committee regrets that, through circumstances beyond its control, it proved impossible to include in the 1939 series, as an initiation into the mysteries of Levantine politics, an inaugural lecture on Egypt, Iraq, and Iran. This lacuna is the more regrettable because the treatment of Arab and Iranian nationalism would have contributed much toward the understanding of a region which, no less than Chungking, Kunming, or Singapore, is at the forefront of strategy and politics in the Near East. As this volume is the definitive record of lectures actually delivered, rather than a compilation *ad hoc*, the book is issued in the full consciousness that its scope is unfortunately curtailed. Notwithstanding this difficulty, the lectures are now offered to a wider public, in the political climate of 1941, essentially in the form in which they were delivered. To compensate for various delays in publication, the individual authors were given ample opportunity, in the spring of this year, to revise their manuscripts. Few indeed were the changes! This fact attests, not the obstinacy of professors in clinging to petrified viewpoints, but the clarity of their perception and perspective, which intervening events

have only served to confirm. Because the manuscripts themselves evidence the high accuracy of the original analyses of the problems treated, the Committee on International Relations takes peculiar pride in presenting the finished offering to the public at this time.

At the moment of writing, events have not as yet brought India into the actual arena of hostilities. Nevertheless, India remains a tremendous factor in the deciding of the way along which the future of civilization will travel. The careful survey of India's internal problems, of her complex social and institutional structure, given by Professor Klingberg brings into clear relief the role which India is predestined to play in the evolution of Asia. To disclose the basic pattern of Indian nationalism and show its vitality and congruity with the behavior of comparable movements elsewhere in Asia; to depict the impending convergence of the forces of aggressive imperialism in southeastern Asia and the Middle East; to forecast so candidly the eventual emergence of latent trends in Indian polity; to reveal, well in advance of war, the formula of crisis behavior on the part of India—this is surely no mean accomplishment in such small compass; it attests to perspicacity of a very high order.

Indo-China has been less fortunate than India: her territory has suffered a dual invasion, and she has undergone a partition ill concealed by the smokescreen of Japanese mediation. In the Treaty of Tokio and its three annexed protocols of May 9, 1941, are found the terms of the "settlement" that has validated the claims of Thailand and given material satisfaction to Japan. How weak the territorial structure, how

frail and precarious the hold of France on Indo-China proved to be, occasion no surprise to the reader of Professor Knight's discussion. Here are depicted with clear and uncanny foresight the unsubstantial character of French colonial control and the ineluctable consequences of an impossible policy of autarchy-at-long-range. Professor Knight seems to have realized in advance, as did few of his countrymen, how sorry would be the role which Indo-China would inevitably play in the impending tragedy. Behind the imposing façade of publicized French activity he has found in reality little of constructive achievement. In the halcyon days from 1934 to 1939 it was not easy to be frankly skeptical and doubting, but events have confirmed to an astonishing degree, and so made particularly timely, Professor Knight's diagnosis and prognosis of Indo-China's ills.

At a time when the visible, terrifying, mechanized war machines seem to be the prime movers in civilization, when, to use Mussolini's favorite phrase, "it is blood that moves the wheels of history," it is extremely valuable to have the inner workings, the invisible mechanics and hidden dynamics of power, exposed to the public view. This Dr. Kawai has done with high fidelity and extreme precision in his analysis of the working forces involved in the ever-shifting struggle for power behind the throne in Japanese politics. American readers, whether they be student or lay, will find the dynamisms in Japanese political life that ended the golden glow of the "Shidehara decade" (which, incidentally, coincided with our own "gilded decade") convincingly portrayed and realistically treated. It is clear that the "new order" which has

now been vouchsafed a decade in which to intrench itself in Greater East Asia will not easily let go, and that considerably more than the one-time magic abracadabra of phrases, as found, let us say, in the Washington treaties of 1921-22, will be required to dislodge it. But Dr. Kawai has done more than reveal deep anchorages and inward strains; he has furnished a number of clues to the internal play of Japanese politics and done much to explain why continuing crises are perennially settled by "impossible" compromises which produce in turn an Ugaki, a Nomura, a Konoye as the dominant spirits in the shifting, short-lived coalitions which successively govern Japan.

Treating an altogether different aspect of the Far Eastern problem from the standpoint of one not only intimately conversant with the aspirations of Chinese nationalism, but deeply grounded in the history of Japanese territorial expansion, Professor Mah, in his treatment of Sino-Japanese relations, follows worthily in the tradition and the fine line of high scholarship of the late Professor Yoshi S. Kuno. Sedulously buttressing his interpretations of events from the highest impartial sources, Dr. Mah presents his views with conviction and with a wealth of irrefutable authority. These are not the musings of effervescent and romantic Chinese nationalism; here, of a verity, is the quintessence of objective scholarship and balanced interpretation.

No treatment of the vast new life that has been surging through Asia in the years since the First World War would be complete without an overview of that tremendous stretch of territory—Asiatic Russia—for which war and revolution

opened up unexpected and far-reaching social change. Thus the survey of Soviet Russia and Asia by Professor Kerner fittingly links the developments in the Levant with those in the Middle and Far East. With sharp strokes he depicts the continuity of a long historical process and the violent breaks with the traditional pattern. He sets in juxtaposition the "religious political imperialism" of the Tsars and the "mystical social imperialism" of the Bolsheviks, only to find that they are analogous significant dynamisms of two assertedly antithetical regimes which paradoxically operate in a strangely parallel fashion! Soviet policy was indeed at the crossroads on the very day when Professor Kerner delivered his lecture. While he hoped for an evolution of Soviet foreign policy which would strengthen the system of collective security then so sadly in need of reënforcement, he was not oblivious of the other alternative, involving "some measure of accommodation with both Japan and Germany"—witness the Soviet-German pact of August 23, 1939, and that between the U.S.S.R. and Japan on April 6, 1941—to which the equivocal policies of the "nonaggressors," as Stalin so contemptuously called them, conduced. Indeed, one has but to substitute the word "Axis" for "Anti-Comintern" in the text, as has already been done in the strange play of politics, to see that the idea of "an agreement to distribute territories and sources of raw materials on a world-wide scale . . . by a close coördination of aggressive moves in various parts of the world" was implicit in the world situation of May, 1939; that it has become a concrete reality the stirring events in Iraq and Syria, indicative of Soviet participation in the redistribution of that quarter of the world, are already witness today.

In dealing with "The Future of China" Professor Steiner brings into vivid relief his impressions of the vigor and capacity for resistance of the Chinese as he actually observed these qualities in their midst. Fearlessly he paints a picture of renaissance China "standing up in her shaken depths" and exhibiting magnificent qualities of endurance which, with the passing months, continue to call forth American admiration. In making, in 1939, so strong a statement as that "unless she forges strong ties with powerful allies, she [Japan] has no chance for ultimate victory in whole or in part," Dr. Steiner knowingly incurred a great risk, yet his candid conviction with respect to the long-run victory of the Chinese merely anticipated by a biennium the confident and unequivocal pronouncement of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek on May 12, 1941, to the effect that China, even if given only material and economic aid, can defeat Japan single-handed—so great has been the reserve of Chinese resistance and so great the exhaustion of Japan. In Dr. Steiner's pages basic knowledge and conversant interpretation have combined to bring unusual perspicacity and precision.

Whether the Renaissance of Asia will end in a redistribution of power among the strong in that continent and in Europe, or will lead to a definitive establishment of national rights among the nascent peoples, rests, in the last analysis, upon the power of resistance of Britain, China, and their allies to the outthrust of totalitarian power toward Asia.

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