

(Nanking, Oct. 1)

The war continues in four phases: the northern campaigns, the Shanghai struggle, wide-thrown air attacks, the blockade and coastal operations.

During September the Japanese forces in North China have been increased to more than 300,000 men, with complete equipment that is most elaborate in motor transport. They have pressed on vigorously in the northwest to take much of the Peiping-Suiyuan Railway and the margins of Inner Mongolia, besides wheeling into northern Shansi. However, they have extended their lines too rashly, and have undergone a serious blow from the Western flank in which a detachment of the former communist army aided. It is hoped by military experts that these highly mobile forces may increasingly trouble the Japanese communications and secondary bases. Meanwhile the northern fronts on the Peiping-Hankow and Tientsin-Pukow Railways have been seriously mismanaged by the Chinese generals. Important and strongly prepared positions at Paotingfu and at Tsangchow were lost far too readily, through lack of coordination and determination. Though not the major line of defence, these were significant and costly enterprises.

Shantung stirs uneasily, but has seen no major action. The Japanese apparently hope to save their great property interests, centered in Tsingtao; and likewise to bait Governor Han Fu-chu with the precarious prize of heading a new and subservient state in the North, an undertaking thus far unsuccessful. There is some direct evidence and a good deal of politico-military analysis to show that the Japanese generals desire to push southward to grasp the Lung-Hai Railway (Sian-Loyang-Chengchow-Hsuehowfu-Haichow). But that is far ahead of actuality.

At Shanghai the Japanese have at last pushed the Chinese away from the left bank of the lower Whangpoo, using a series of landings from the Yangtze to force the establishment of a new line running roughly north from the center of Shanghai. But the Chinese are still in the North Station and remain in force on the Footung side, actually building new redoubts this week on the point opposite the Consulate-General and the anchorage of the flagship. The Japanese strength is now 120,000, but has been unable to make any large advance against the more numerous and very tenacious Chinese infantry, despite a 20-to-1 superiority in artillery and in the air plus the daily aid of more than 40 warships. Neutral experts count observed casualties at Shanghai to be 27,000 Chinese and 10,000 Japanese, a figure admittedly too low. No prompt change is to be expected unless the Japanese bring much greater forces for direct attack or for new landings, neither of which courses seems to offer great attraction at this moment. But to secure this creditable military showing, China has paid heavily in her best troops and best efforts generally, to say nothing of disastrous industrial and property loss.

The air attacks will have been so widely publicized in all countries save Japan, that we do not try to recount them here. (For example, the great raid in Nanking on Sept. 25 gave marvelous opportunities to photographers of Fox, Universal, and Paramount, who were momentarily in the city. We cannot tell in just what form the reels may reach you, but we do know from eye-witnesses that they got direct views of modern bombing in the spectacular instances of the power plant and the Central Hospital. The more common cases of crumbled and flaming hovels are not likely to appear before your eyes, and certainly not the vile wounds of jagged bomb-fragments in unnumbered humble bodies).

We do not care to spread atrocity stories, nor to assert that all evil is on one side. But the importance of this new type of



warfare to the whole world is so great, and the assertions in Tokyo of absolute purity are so sanctimonious, that we who are in the country where the bombs fall must report what we and reliable friends have seen and know to be true. In many of the raids not a single soldier has been hit and not a single military establishment touched. In a number of cases planes have machine-gunned open streets in cities and villages. That is savage terrorism; and, it is to be feared, points the main tendency of present-day warfare. Actual military damage and injury to communications has in a few raids proved considerable, though far less than the enormous cost of the air enterprises to the Japanese. A German expert has calculated that the property damage to Nanking thus far is below the value of the bombs alone. In another locality I have seen a main bridge intact after fifty bombs fell around it in repeated attacks. We wonder almost equally at the destructive power of the high explosives and at the ability of men to carry on some sort of work by continual resort to dugouts and by persistent, courageous maintenance and repair of essential services. But what kind of life lies before this tortured and torturing humankind?

The "peaceful" blockade is less spectacular but far more effective than air raids. It has frightened off foreign shippers of munitions and essential materials; destroyed the entire industry of Chinese shipping and all that complex of livelihoods that depends upon it; grievously injured the fishing industry; critically reduced a major element of national revenue, the customs duties; cut down the vital export trade by preventing transport to the few harbors accessible to foreign ships. The practical effects of the complete possession of Tientsin, the special naval surveillance of Tsingtao, the bombardments from sea and air at Canton, Hainan Island, Swatow, Amoy, Foochow, and Haichow, the terrible destruction and continuing war at Shanghai, all are astringent to even the modicum of foreign commerce permitted under the declaration of blockade. To this observer, the economic plight of Shanghai and its destined results seemed more dismal than the military conflict in that area. Naval and air operations in the whole region of Canton and along the Yangtze, besides continual bombing of all the railways and some of the canals, are extensions of the same policy of strangulation.

We must leave for other occasions such subjects as the limited but real hope for supplies from abroad, the national morale, finance, the adaptation of the government system to war conditions, international aspects of the struggle, the aims and outlook of Japanese policy in their significance for China, the preparation of Japan for possible war with Russia, the condition of industry and of education in this country. If this paper is unintelligible, please realize that part of it was written below ground and before the command "All clear!" was sounded. War is a fearful nuisance to war correspondents, often interrupting their work

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