(continued from previous page)

around the globe, the U.S. could get along without British bases. Britain, at the same time, is blocked in the Pacific without the right to land in Hawaii or to cross Alaska. England could and, if pressed, certainly would, offer rich inducements to France and Portugal in order to keep them from making deals with the U.S. that might undermine Britain's bargaining position.

#### Bargaining Assets of U.S.

Geography aside, the U.S. has some very important bargaining assets. After the war, it will have great numbers of transport planes to trade for bases or landing rights. Similarly, it will have food and other materials to trade. The U.S. now knows more about international air transport than any other country, having piled on top of Pan-American's excellent pre-war work the experience of its airtransport commands. Some countries will want to be main trade routes and will welcome most warmly the lines that can offer the best service. The U.S. is a great and rich trading centre, a source and a market which many nations will want to reach through air lines. They will, therefore, be eager to offer reciprocal flying rights.

The Soviet Union has permitted several foreign lines to come into Russia on a reciprocal basis. She herself has been a great internal user of air transport, leading the world in the amount of air cargo carried. Although some U.S. airmen feel that the Soviet Union will not permit such transit through her airways, others are optimistically projecting Far East routes through Siberia.

The Far East routes also land in Japan, which has always closed her sky to foreign transport planes. Air transport men expect that military defeat will open Japan's air and bases—and also Germany's—to her conquerors.

### Will Air-Transport Pay?

All these people want to get into the international air-line business because they think there will be money in it. Although this is certainly the most obvious of reasons, there is conflict of opinion over its application to the international air business. Some experts insist that there will be so little traffic that the only profits will come from government subsidy.

The most sober calculations are based on pre-war ship-passenger figures. This is a businesslike procedure, but it may be as dangerous to predict air traffic on the basis of shipping traffic as it once was to predict railroad traffic on the basis of stage-coach or canal-boat traffic. The speed and convenience of air travel will attract whole new classes of international travellers. This will particularly affect the U.S. because Americans have become the world's great tourists.

Estimates of air traffic during the immediate post-war generally agree with those made by Edward P. Warner, of the Civil Aeronautics Board. Mr. Warner figures that for the first year after the war about 600 people a day will want to fly the Atlantic between the U.S. and Europe. That means 300 passengers each way. To carry this load in 57-passenger planes, which will operate about two-thirds full, will require eight daily flights in each direction. They would not be non-stop flights because operating costs rise sharply when fuel for hops longer than 1250 miles has to be carried. Bigger planes could and eventually will go non-stop, but if the planes are bigger the

frequency of flights would be less. Warner believes that the public is more interested in the convenience of frequent flights than in the glamour of high speeds. Besides, high-speed planes would cost more. The nearest thing to an estimate of transatlantic fares has been made by Pan-American, which thinks it can carry passengers from New York to London for \$186.30 round trip—but not right after the war.

One thing is pretty certain. There will be all kinds of planes used—planes built for speed, for high altitude, for economy for cargo-carrying, for luxurious superfirst-class travelling.

So far as cargo is concerned, the whole picture is complicated by the fact that there is no U.S. plane now flying which was designed as a cargo plane. The present cargo planes are all converted passenger or military ships. At first only costly cargo which can pay a premium for quick delivery will be shipped by air. The most optimistic estimates of cost per ton still give ships a huge edge in economy, except, perhaps, for compact, highly valued items.

#### America Can't Pre-Empt

More than to any other nation the war has given the world's air to America. The hundreds of thousands of Americans who have learned to fly, the thousands of airmen to whom a round trip to India is almost as casual an event as a long weekend drive, the many men who have looked down at the passing oceans and continents and felt the round earth shrink in size—none of them will want to give up any of the air they have taken over. There is too much glory and excitement in it, too many rich prizes to be won through it, too many conquests to be gained in it.

But America, though it has become the world's greatest aerial power, cannot preempt the air. It cannot have all the planes and the bases and the trade. The U.S. cannot expect to be permitted into everybody's air without permitting almost everybody into its air. Up to now, all bargainings have started with everybody professing admiration for the open sky but sticking hard to the closed sky. It is time to admit openly that some kind of open sky is the more practical. Only under an open sky will international air-trade thrive.

## Feet on the Ground

It is a safe and comfortable thing to keep both feet on the ground and be very hard-headed about the post-war air. The experts can be conservative about the kinds of planes, the number of future air passengers, the comparative virtues of other forms of transportation. For the immediate post-war, this seems sensible. But the world must realise how small a suggestion of the awful might of air power this war has revealed, how small and foolish our present planes will seem in the eyes of history, how greatly airplanes will take over future travel.

The fact that so many people are fighting to get into the air and stay there is perhaps the healthiest thing about the situation. The conflicts show that the enormous importance of the air is really recognised. They may force the leaders of nations into facing the problem boldly. The least they can do is to force America's leaders to formulate and present a concrete policy before the huge question dissolves into a stupid debate of catchwords and a programme of makeshifts.



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