

Vol. 3

NANKING, December 15, 1939

Registered at the Chinese Post Office as a Newspaper

No. 7

VOICE of NEW CHINA

A BI-LINGUAL FORTNIGHTLY

Incorporating the CHINA OUTLOOK

Aims of Japan in East Asia

A New Army for New China

America and Britain

German Naval Victory

China Mourns Wu Pei-fu

A Stern Warning to Britain

40 Cents
a Copy

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\$ 10
a Year

刊月半聲新華中
Voice of New China

Incorporating the CHINA OUTLOOK
Established in 1935

Published by The New China Publishing Company
8 Drum Tower Villa, Nanking, China
號八村新樓鼓 京南

Shanghai Agents

Chinese Commercial Publishing House, 304 Liza Bldg,
346 Szechuen Rd, Shanghai, China

P. O. Box 1522

二二五一箱信政郵 海上

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Subscription Rate \$6.00 per half year or \$10.00 per year
(Shanghai Dollars) in China, Japan and Korea, £1.00 per year in
Europe Africa, Australia US\$5 per year in North and South
America Postage included

Advertising Rates may be had upon application to the Publisher.
Contributions on topics of general interest are invited and if accepted
will be paid for at current rates. Articles submitted must be original

not yet published anywhere. The Editor does not bind himself, however
in the matter of returning rejected manuscripts

American Office World Wide News Association
20 West 43rd Street, New York City

Telephone Longacre 4500, Cable address Worldnews, N.Y.
Pacific Coast Office (World Wide News Association)
William C. Lyon, L.C. Smith Bldg., Seattle

Orders for advertisements and subscriptions in the United States may
be placed through the above office

Hongkong Office South China News Agency,
2nd Floor, 32 Hollywood Road

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Japan Maruzen Company, Ltd., 6 Nihonbashi Tori-nichome, Tokyo

Java Hsio Shen Hui Genteng Schout 16, Sourabaya

Australia Arthur Pon, 7, Ann Street, Surrey Hills, Sydney

Penang The Overseas Trading Syndicate, 2c, Burmah Road

Saigon Societe des Imprimeries et Librairies Indochinoises, 64-70
Rue Catinat

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IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

To The Great Indian People:

If you are seriously desirous of shaking off the yoke of British Imperialism and regaining your national independence, if you are desirous of being a respected member in the family of nations, the undersigned is ever ready to impart the necessary formulae to enable you to accomplish your objective

One of the first essentials for the recovery of Indian National Independence is the speedy expulsion of the British Imperialistic Army now in occupation of India. The Indian people should emulate the example of the Egyptians who had recently recovered their national independence by successfully expelling their British overlord and tyrant who had cruelly and unmercifully exploited the Egyptian people for many decades

Now is the opportune moment to act!

Your great leader Mahatma Gandhi has made an excellent beginning and this must be immediately followed up with deeds to crown his efforts with success

- (1) When India can no longer be exploited by rapacious Britain, the British Empire will perish forever
- (2) Vindicate what Macaulay said about the Indians "They (the English) had found no people (Indians) so thoroughly fitted by habit and nature for the foreign yoke" What an insult to the Indian people!
- (3) Emulate the Thirteen American Colonies which gave John Bull the "Order of the Big Boot"!
- (4) May the great Allah punish treacherous England!

JOIN THE ASIATIC LEAGUE TO OVERTHROW BRITISH IMPERIALISM!

L. K. KENTWELL,
Hon. Secretary,

NARAM SINGH,
Asst. Hon. Secretary and Treasurer

8 Drum Tower Villa, NANKING (CHINA)

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Editorial Notes & Comments

Aims of Japan in East Asia

Neither territorial gain nor material indemnity come within the scope of Japan's aims in China. This point has been stressed time and again by all the Japanese leaders, military, naval and civil.

Japan has set herself one supreme task, and that is the establishment of the New Order in East Asia. Her stern campaign to uproot anti-Japanism in China, to eradicate the bandit Chiang regime and the imperialistic exploitation and control of China by Europe and America, all form components of that supreme task. When these main aims have been accomplished, the New Order should strengthen the ties between China, Japan and Manchoukuo, and China will become a center of mutual prosperity for the East Asiatic races.

Consonant with these aims, Japan has consistently stressed that the creation of a new bloc in East Asia should not eliminate the rightful activities of Third Powers. This may sound a bit tiresome to some of our readers, but its sincerity cannot be doubted for one instant. Even as recently as December 4, Admiral Nomura, the Japanese Foreign Minister, reiterated Japan's intentions to respect American rights and interests in China, similar to statements to the same effect made by his predecessors as well as by other Japanese leaders. Admiral Nomura's declaration was made in a conversation with United States Ambassador Joseph Grew when the question of Japanese-American relations was discussed freely between the two diplomats. In the specific case of the United States, Japan has already made several settlements while a genuine effort has been directed towards the settlement of other pending incidents and cases. Similar remarks can be applied to cases affecting other Third Powers.

As large-scale hostilities are still proceeding in various parts of China, it is difficult to see

how Japan can possibly give sufficient attention to the settlement of cases affecting Third Powers and their nationals, especially when such cases arise out of incidents happening in an actual fighting zone. It would be just as pertinent to expect a settlement of cases affecting neutrals in the present European War, which naturally will not come up for settlement until hostilities cease. In fact, as we have stated in these columns previously, there are still outstanding cases from the last World War of 1914-1918.

Then why all this pother about Japan's so-called disrespect for Third Power rights and interests? The answer is fairly simple. Third Powers have up till the present had it all their own way in this part of the world, and in the past have trod rough-shod over the elementary and fundamental rights and interests of the Asiatic nations in order to gain their own ends. Japan, now a first-class power, chooses to act in her own national interests first, though without any intention of ignoring the rights and interests of other powers, and this has caused displeasure to those who once ruled the Asiatic roost. Furthermore, both Europe and America are judging Japan by their own standards. Instead of giving Japan credit for a genuine desire to afford protection to Third Power rights and interests, they have affixed their minds with the idea that Japan will ignore their rights and will possibly delay settlement of various cases and incidents. In this they are following their own habits and procedure. But Japan has proven otherwise. Perhaps this has brought about qualms of conscience among them, and instead of producing good reactions they seem to have suppressed their qualms and seize every opportunity of berating and irritating Japan. Such a policy will bring no good on those who persist in following it.

Japan has openly and solemnly declared her aims and she means to observe them, conditional only on the requirements of the New Order in

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East Asia which is absolutely necessary for the welfare and existence of both China and Japan.

* * *

A New Army for New China

On December 9 there took place at Kiangwan, in the northern suburbs of Shanghai, the ceremony of the inauguration of the newly-organized Central Military Officers Training Corps, in the presence of Mr Wang Ching-wei and other leaders of the Orthodox Kuomintang.

The occasion will probably go down as a red-letter day in the annals of New China as it marked the first concrete step taken to form a New Army for New China. The Central Military Officers Training Corps, comprising a large number of veterans as well as youth of leading Chinese families, will form the nucleus of the New Army which has been the cherished desire of Mr. Wang Ching-wei and other Chinese patriots.

For the orderly administration of the country and as additional security to preserve internal peace and order, a national army working in co-operation with Japan is a vital necessity. A good start has been made in the right direction and with goodwill and mutual trust, New China and Japan will work hand in hand to establish the New Order on a sound footing. Besides the preservation of internal peace and order, the New Army will, in co-operation with the Japanese forces, defend the integrity and territorial independence of the Asiatic continent and will resist any invasion by alien forces.

The creation of the nucleus of an army will also undoubtedly help materially to attract to Mr. Wang's cause many who believe that the only hope for the future of China is a decision to co-operate peacefully with Japan. How Mr. Wang will divide loyalties, and especially military loyalties, with the Chungking regime, remains to be seen. It is possible that a number of military commanders, but loosely attached to the bandit Chiang, may seek to change their loyalty on condition that the forces under their command are incorporated in the forces of the new Government when that is established. Already signs of defection have been noticed in the Southwest where Governor of Yunnan, Yung Lung, has repeatedly turned down offers from Chungking to proceed to the temporary capital of the Chiang regime to assume a nominally higher post. Governor Yung realises full well

that his departure from Yunnan will signalize his downfall and his power will be usurped by some Chungking satellite.

The recent Japanese victory at Nanning, the capital of Kwangsi province, has also brought reactions among the Kwangsi leaders, who are among the most powerful and loyal supporters of the Chiang regime. These leaders, including Generals Li Tsung-jen and Pai Chung-hsi, place the blame for the fall of Nanning on Chiang Kai-shek's shoulders, as they consider Chiang's decision to withdraw several divisions of useful Kwangsi troops from their native province directly responsible for the Chinese defeat. The Kwangsi leaders also sense that Chiang's decision was actuated not so much by military necessity as by a personal desire to have the Kwangsi leaders shorn of their military power.

Defection may also creep up in Szechwan which was the scene recently of a violent and bitter struggle between various Szechwan leaders and some of Chiang's personal followers over the question of the post of governorship of the province and mayoralty of Chungking. Chiang side-stepped this issue by assuming both posts himself, but this has not alleviated the dangerous situation.

Furthermore, there are a large number of the Chinese military leaders who are strongly antagonistic to the idea of co-operation with the Chinese Reds who, as a result of the Sian Affair of 1936, have obliged Chiang to give in to their demands and forced co-operation upon the Kuomintang. These leaders see only danger to China's future in continued collaboration with the Reds and on the least pretext will certainly break away from Chiang's fold.

In organizing the Officers Training Corps, Mr. Wang has therefore set in motion machinery which will bring in many new adherents to his cause, so that the newly-organized corps assumes not only a purely military importance but a political one as well.

* * *

America and Britain

Relation between America and Britain are not as cordial as British propaganda would like the world to believe. In fact, despite the outward show of cordiality (that emanating from Washington being probably part of the present

Administration's peculiar foreign policy) there is a strong under-current of feeling pervading the American public that Britain is still trying to get the United States to pull some of her chestnuts out of the present conflagration. Memories of 1914-1918 are still too fresh in the minds of the American public for a forthright pro-British public stand in the present European schemozzle, and the question of the unsettled British war debts remains a sore point in any discussion centering on the extension of support to Britain or the Allies in the present conflict against Germany. A large section of the American people are also under the strong impression that Britain, if she had been sincere, could easily have settled the war debt question by a voluntary surrender of her colonies in the Americas to the United States. Instead of that, Britain stated that such a step would be contrary to the British Constitution and that, in any case, the populations of the various colonies affected would first of all have to be consulted. Our personal experience of the sentiments ruling such colonial peoples is that they would gladly have relinquished their slavish allegiance to the British Crown in preference for American democratic rule.

Furthermore, the American people are not at all deluded as to Britain's real intentions in the present European war. They are convinced that it is not a war for national preservation, but, on the contrary, feel that it is simply a continuation of the old British imperialistic policy of aggression and expansionism. They also realise that by waging this war on Germany, Britain is perpetuating her traditional policy of continued imperialistic domination over various colored peoples, such as in India, Africa and Asia.

British propaganda to the effect that in the event of the defeat of Britain and France, the United States will become the next victim of the European dictatorships, leaves the American people cold. The United States exists in a truly splendid isolation, and, secure in her great power and natural advantages, is quite able to look after her national safety and resist any attempt to encroach upon her sovereignty.

The bitter lessons derived from the last world war has proven to Americans the folly of interfering in European affairs and conflicts, and it is hardly likely that a repetition of the 1917 folly will be perpetrated by either the present or any future Washington Administration.

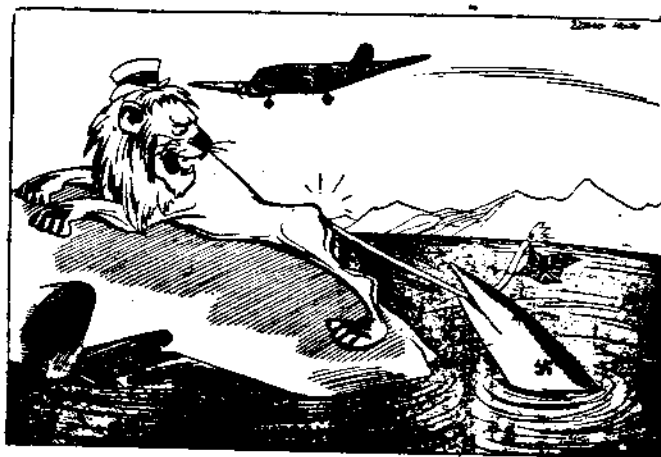
German Naval Victory

One of the most gallant actions in the annals of naval warfare was fought by the German pocket battleship, the "*Admiral Graf Spee*," off the coast of Uruguay, when she successfully resisted the combined attacks of the three British cruisers, the "*Exeter*," "*Ajax*" and "*Achilles*," and put the first-named out of commission, inflicting several hundred casualties.

The 10,000-ton "*Graf Spee*" although possessing larger caliber guns, was opposed by three cruisers whose tonnage was more than twice hers, and furthermore the British vessels had an edge of several knots in speed. Another factor to be borne in mind is that the German warship had been at sea for nearly four months, during which period she successfully eluded all attempts to locate her by the numerous ships of the British Navy.

Following the destruction of the "*Exeter*," the "*Graf Spee*" was obliged to enter the mouth of the River La Plata in order to exchange food supplies as, owing to the firing with gas shells, there existed the danger that the food on board might have been poisoned. A request was lodged with the Uruguayan Government for a stay of several days for taking on stores and effecting minor repairs caused by a few British shells, but the Government, under pressure from Britain and France, only allowed the "*Graf Spee*" the scant period of 48 hours wherein to perform the necessary work. If a further stay had been permitted, there is no doubt that the "*Graf Spee*" would have been enabled to leave port fully capable of dealing with any further action which the waiting British ships contemplated. Besides the "*Ajax*" and the "*Achilles*," there were several other reinforcements, including three Bri-

"Pulling the Lion's Tail!"



tish war vessels and the French battleship "Dunkerque," of 35,000 tons. The "Exeter" had been so badly damaged that she was completely out of action, and her commander was only interested in conveying his dead and wounded, amounting to over 300 killed and another hundred wounded, to a safe spot.

The world press was unanimous in lavishing praise on the splendid victory achieved by the "Graf Spee" over such great odds and it speaks volumes for the wonderful workmanship of German technical skill as well as of the high courage and morale shown by the officers and crew of the vessel.

We bow silently in memory of the Germans who lost their lives in that glorious encounter while tendering our felicitations to the German people for a great naval victory. "Graf Spee" has dispelled the myth of British naval supremacy once and for all time!

* * *

China Mourns Wu Pei-fu

With the passing of Marshal Wu Pei-fu at the comparatively young age of 61, China mourns the loss of a really patriotic son, soldier and statesman, with all the traditions of the old school.

Marshal Wu's death took place at Peking on December 4, following an emergency operation. Shortly before his death, the Marshal made the following statement to his son, Mr. Wu Tao-chih, who had been attending his father during his illness.

"I have been serving my country for over 40 years, and, realizing the duties of a soldier, have been firm in upholding the rights of the country, and in keeping intact China's territorial integrity. Since the outbreak of the hostilities, Chinese and foreigners alike have entertained great hopes in me, and have tried to persuade me to lead a peace movement. Were I able to recover from my ailment, I would continue to operate with people here and abroad in order to attain peace and harmony to lay the foundation of peace in East Asia. I have nothing to regret in my ambitions and beliefs, and I shall stick to them as long as I am alive."

Marshal Wu's death is an irreparable loss to the cause of peace in East Asia and it will be difficult to find another personage of his high standing to replace him in the moulding of New China. For several months past and up till the time of his death, despite adverse propaganda to the contrary, Marshal Wu had been earnestly trying to discover a solution and *modus vivendi* for the present Sino-Japanese incident. On principle, he had reached an agreement with the Japanese Authorities and was only biding his time for the right opportunity to emerge from his state of retirement in Peking to once more lead his nation to a new life.

Marshal Wu was not only outstanding in the military field, but his fame as a scholar, poet, calligraphist and painter was known throughout the country. Following his defeat by the Nationalist-Communist rabble under Chiang Kai-shek and his Red cohorts, Marshal Wu retired to Peking where he devoted his time to cultural and learned pursuits, occasionally issuing statements at rare press interviews giving his ideas for the betterment of his country. He was one of the few warlords to have kept his record untarnished by greed or personal ambition. He also bore the distinction of never having taken refuge, or resided, in a foreign concession, not because of any anti-foreign animosity, but simply because he was on principle arrayed against the unequal treaties and the illegal rights enjoyed by foreigners in China. He considered those rights as a flagrant breach of China's sovereignty. What a contrast to the behaviour of most of the other warlords and the later crop of Nationalist-Communist leaders of the Chiang, Kung Soong ilk!

His death leaves a wide gap which will be hard to fill, but the leaders of New China, bearing in mind his illustrious example, will march forward confidently to build a New and United China.

* * *

A Stern Warning to Britain

The partial withdrawal of British gunboats and troops from China is not a sufficient gesture to impress on the Chinese people that Britain has changed her policy towards this country.

New China demands not only the complete withdrawal of all British forces and gunboats from China, but she insists that Britain should immediately relinquish her extraterritorial rights

and hand back her Tientsin Concession as well as the Island of Hongkong, which was stolen from China under the threat of superior naval forces.

New China has constantly before her mind the history of British intrigue and double-dealing in China, and will not tolerate suave British diplomacy any longer. The time has arrived for Britain to make good her lip-service by acts and deeds, failing which British economic and commercial interests in this country will be seriously jeopardized.

The continued assistance of the British Government to the bandit Chungking regime cannot be reconciled with any professions of goodwill which she may make towards New China, so that a prerequisite to any negotiations with New China must be based primarily on an immediate cessation of this overt assistance towards an outlawed regime.

New China is not begging Britain to reconsider her attitude, but she issues a stern warning that further ignoring of the Chinese nation's sovereign and fundamental rights will bring about dire results to British interests. The time will soon arrive when no further warnings will be issued and then it will be too late for Britain to mend her ways. Britain is no longer in a position to enforce her "gunboat policy" over China and the sooner she realizes the actualities of the situation the better will it be for her future in this country.

Hua Hsing Planning Branch At Pengpu

With Mr. Hsu Hsun-kung, manager of its Nanking branch, acting in a concurrent capacity of manager, the Pengpu branch of the Hua Hsing Commercial Bank will be opened on December 23, the institution's head office in Shanghai announces.

Two New Cities To Be Founded On Japanese Anniversary

In commemoration of the 2,600th anniversary of the foundation of the Japanese Empire the Japanese government has decided to found a new city each in Manchukuo and North China, according to the Yomiuri Shimbun.

Guerrillas Rounded Up Near Kashing

Japanese troops engaged in a mopping-up drive against the newly-organized Chinese 33th Division in the area south-east of Kashing entered Haiyen on Thursday morning.

Seven Japanese columns, engaged in this operation, began moving against the Chinese forces at dawn on Thursday from Kanpuchen, Siashih, Kashing, and Pinghu.

Three British Gunboats Go From Yangtze

Three more river gunboats of the British Navy are to be withdrawn from the Yangtze, and leave at an early date, adding their number to the five which left last October. This step has been taken in view of the decision by the British Government some time ago that present conditions on the Yangtze did not justify the retention of 10 gunboats between Shanghai and Hankow when military requirements elsewhere were more urgent and a considerable number of trained officers and men could be more usefully employed on active service.

Chinese Mail-Bags Opened in Hongkong

Britishers are opening Chinese mail-bags which are being sent to and from between Shanghai and Chungking and which for technical reasons are passing through Hongkong.

This was stated by travellers arriving in Chungking from Hongkong.

The report confirms the observations of foreigners living in Shanghai and Chungking who have repeatedly found that their mail had been opened.

In some cases mail had even disappeared although they had been in closed Chinese mail-bags.

India British Police Attacked By Rebels

Waziristan tribesmen in the Kurram valley fired upon a detachment of the British frontier police on scouting duty. Several policemen were seriously wounded.

The rebels released four of the recently kidnapped Indian policemen while still detaining in the Mahsud area the British major who was kidnapped at the same time.

"NEW ORDER" EXPLAINED

By Wen Tsung-yao,

President of Legislative Yuan, Nanking

The term "New Order" has been decided upon by the Japanese Government after minute study and careful consideration. It is intended to serve as the basis upon which peace in East Asia is to be built. Unexpectedly, its announcement has aroused much fear among the Chinese people as well as caused considerable misunderstanding among the Third Powers. If explanation is not made sooner, it is feared that it will turn out to be a hindrance in the endeavor to secure peace in East Asia. Hence this brief explanation, as given from my own point of view. With it, it is hoped to remove the fear among the Chinese people and the misunderstanding among the Third Powers.

Chaotic China

"New" is said against old "Order" is said against chaos. China, for 28 years, especially since Chiang Kai-shek came into power, has been chaotic in the extreme. With the Reds she first cooperated, then expelled them, and at last rejoined them. This is one instance of the chaotic state of affairs. With Japan she was friendly at the beginning, then turned against her and at last resisted her, and now the resistance has become a long-drawn out one. This is another instance. Her form of Government is supposed to be republican, but once it was headed by a president, then a Marshal, a chief executive, and at last a chairman in name and a chief-delegate in reality. And all these changes came about with all abruptness. Here again is another instance. As to national affairs, things which ought to be preserved are destroyed, matters of urgency are delayed while unimportant affairs are rushed to completion. Another instance again. Besides these, the ancient moral teachings of China are now vehemently discarded and then strongly recommended, so that China's cultural attainments dating back five thousand years are cast away or picked up at will and all at the whim and fancy of one or two individuals. Such is the chaotic state of China. If no attempt is made to start things anew, the world is going back to the dark ages and man would degenerate into lowly animals.

The Konoye Statement

Japan loves China. "New Order" is the sum total of Japan's endeavors to express her love of China. An analysis of it reveals the following facts. The Konoye statement regarding the joint anti-Comintern problem is to straighten out our confused relations with the Reds. The good-neighbor policy with declarations of not claiming indemnity and territory from China is to readjust our relations with Japan. Economic cooperation is to solve the confused state of our national enterprises. The declaration by the Abe Cabinet of giving whole-hearted support to our New Government is made with the hope of our setting up a real Republic and to extract ourselves from the present undesirable conditions. These, roughly speaking, are the substance and ideals of the "New Order". What harm can it do to China or to Third Powers? And what need is there to fear or to misunderstand?

The Chinese Mentality

A study of the Chinese mentality of fear might be construed as. However well the name "New Order" may sound, it will in reality mean the destruction of everything old in China besides depriving her of her territorial and sovereign integrity. It will mean the domination of China's financial resources by economic cooperation and extinction of Chinese ideals by cultural cooperation. The more one fancies, the greater the fear. This is so because the Chinese people have not listened attentively to the declaration of the Japanese Government that Japan has no territorial ambition in China and will not impair her sovereign integrity. Not only has Japan said it, she has actually returned the occupied territories to the Provisional and Reformed Governments. If it is the doubt of the Chinese people that the territories are returned only in name and not in fact then it can be asked that since Japan has had effective military control over the occupied territories, what has she to fear to occupy them permanently, and wherein lies her pleasure in effecting their return. Once returned and to occupy them

again would mean that Japan's magnanimity is not lasting, a thing which Japan does not want to do. Having occupied the territories and returned them is to establish the "New Order". For if the territories are not restored to China, the mind of the Chinese people will not be at ease, under which circumstance the "New Order" is impossible. And before China and Japan can become friendly to each other, there can be no lasting peace in East Asia. The particular condition which the Chinese people witness at present is that, as it appears to be, Japan is having a hold on everything in China. It naturally follows that the return of the occupied territories is only in name and not in reality. It should be understood that this is only a wartime situation. As soon as the unhappy conflict comes to a close and peace is concluded, it does not require China's asking before Japan effects a complete restoration, so as to thoroughly carry out her kind intentions in China.

Economic Cooperation

As regards economic cooperation, it goes without saying that with such enlightened people as the Japanese—both inside and outside of her Government—Japan certainly is aware of the fact that before cooperation could be expected, there must first be mutual interests. It is necessary that all gains and losses must be on a mutual basis then what Japan may propose to do will be taken up by the Chinese. If only one side is to profit, the Chinese will either stand aside with folded hands or go to extremes. It naturally is not the wish of Japan to monopolize the gains which are but small and pay heavily for the lengthening of the war. At present, however, there might be one or two things in which the basic principle of economic cooperation is not strictly adhered to. But it is due to the state of war, and thus escaped the attention of the Japanese Government. When the war comes to an end and when the Japanese Government is able to direct its undivided attention to this matter, things will surely be readjusted on the basis of absolute equality. And the economic cooperation of the present will be taken as a foundation upon which Sino-Japanese cooperation of all phases will be built in the long years to come.

Cultural Alliance

Speaking of cultural alliance, it is to mutually respect each other's cultural attainments and to mutually supplement each other's deficiencies. China as far as modern culture is concerned has

yet to learn from Japan. Since forty years ago China has modelled her reforms after Japanese examples, fearing only that Japan may not be willing to teach. As to China's hereditary culture, not only is Confucius worshiped by Japan and China alike, but the Japanese show more respect for Confucius than the Chinese. Even the sage Wang Yang-min, whose teachings are only respected by the Chinese on lips, is followed in Japan by actual practice. Supposing Japan should be given the chance to handle the education of the Chinese, besides science and technical instructions, she will teach China spiritually after Confucius for ancient philosophy and after Wang Yang-min for later ideals. Thus is it advantageous or destructive to China as far as Chinese ideals is concerned? China's territorial sovereignty has been subject to foreign conquest repeatedly as shown in Chinese history. The Manchus were her last conquerors. But have Chinese ideals been lost together with her territories? All things that are material are subject to possession, therefore they can be lost. Only moral ideals cannot be taken away, therefore, they cannot be lost. The fear of the loss of Chinese morals and ideals by the Chinese people shows their ignorance and lack of foresight.

The Form of Government

As to the form of Government, it is the desire of Japan to help China to become a true Republic. And it certainly is welcome by the Chinese. What makes me think so is the state of affairs that has transpired since 28 years ago. The more the changes the farther from order and stability. Whether a true Republic is suitable for China or can it be realized by China is the question. What I have in mind may not agree with the views of my countrymen. The fear that is being expressed is only due to considerations of the present. A farsighted study of the "New Order" will reveal that it is intended to remove such fears, not the cause of them. — The Chinese people need not and should cast-away their fears which will only bring about untoward difficulties.

Third Powers Misunderstanding

Misunderstandings by Third Powers have been very well expressed by the American Ambassador to Japan, Mr. Grew, recently in Tokyo. But still he lacked the true insight of the "New Order". Not only has Japan repeatedly declared that Third Powers' interests in China will be protected, which the Third Powers cannot plead ignorance of, but Japan has proved it by the

return of occupied territories to China. This is intended to clear the misunderstanding of the Third Powers. That is, by the return of the occupied territories, which are put under the control of the Chinese government. And unless the interests of Third Powers are denounced by the Chinese Government, they will naturally remain. If China wants to reclaim these interests, Japan cannot stop her. Likewise, if China does not want back these interests, Japan has no power to take them back for her. Therefore how long Third Powers can retain their interests in China depends on their attitude toward her. If Third Powers are ready to treat China on terms of equality and mutual respect as Japan does, then China will treat them as she treats Japan. Should they persist in treating China as their colony, then not only the New Government will disagree but even the Kuomintang-Communist Government will object, unless the latter expects certain help from Third Powers. In trying to preserve their interests in China, Third Powers should look to China as their opponent and not Japan, and thus do away with all misunderstandings. This may sound extremely ridiculous as Third Powers may think that China is already conquered and vanquished, and yet she pretends to have her own government. What absurdity! Here is where the Third Powers fail to understand Japan. As Japan is able to conquer China, what good is there for her to allow China to have her own government and foment unnecessary trouble. Since she has permitted China to form her own government, it follows that she will restore her sovereignty, contrary to the imagination of Third Powers. If the restoration is only in name and not in fact, it would mean that Japan is exposing her perfidy not only to China, but also to the rest of the world. Nor have Third Powers understood the ideals of China. China today is joined up with Japan in close cooperation. She has learned that Japan is her friend and not her enemy. Hence the appellation of traitors and puppets are simply ignored. If it is the aim of Japan to conquer China, then those who uphold the resistance theory will be more bold, while those who advocate Sino-Japanese amity will retire into obscurity. They would not wait for Third Powers to laugh at them or call them absurd. The Chinese people, having been impressed by the philosophy of "Better Understanding" of Wang Yang-ming, will not abstain from doing their duty towards the salvation of their country, or see the neighboring nations going to ruin with dis-

regard. Should there be nothing that can be done, then neither will they sacrifice themselves for no good purpose, nor will they stick to their positions without power to do things.

The "New Order"

The "New Order" as a whole, comprises numerous details too many to mention. One thing is certain that whatever it means to do will be done to the advantage of China and Japan alike, and no harm will be done to Third Powers. For when a new enterprise is carried out and proved to be beneficial to both, China's confidence in Japan is established, in like manner, anything else can be done. On the contrary, if a thing is done and proves to be harmful to China, China will not trust Japan. Whatever that is to be done in future will be doomed to failure. In the past, relations between the two nations have not been amicable, which ended up in the present struggle and resulting destruction. New ways are now found to re-establish order. And with the "New Order" as the goal, nothing can prevent it from making smooth progress. Moreover, everything done will not be beneficial to China alone. And, when benefits are mutual, Japan will surely not try to dominate and dishearten China. Until then the third party nations will see the advantage they can have in New China. Yet, China with her vast resources, affords plenty room for Sino-Japanese mutual prosperity without the need of depriving Third Powers of their interests in favor of Japan. Hence, it is definitely certain that the "New Order" will not injure the interests of Third Powers.

Kato Leaves For Peking

Mr. Sotomatsu Kato, Japanese Minister-at-Large in China, left here by plane for Peking.

He was expected to have an informal interview with Mr. Nelson T. Johnson, American Ambassador to China, in Peking. They were expected to discuss the proposed readjustment of relations between Japan and the United States.

Mr. Kato attended ceremonies commemorating the second anniversary of the capture of Nanking. The ceremonies included the unveiling of a monument dedicated to the Yanagawa Detachment which captured the city and memorial services for members of the detachment who were killed in the fighting. Both ceremonies were held at Chuhwatai.

Co-ordination of Aeroplanes and Warships



A good idea of how naval tactics have been altered since the advent of the aeroplane is afforded in this picture showing American sea-planes roaring overhead, the while heavy cruisers steaming in zigzag pattern to baffle "enemy" submarines and range finders.

Time Off from Fighting on Western Front



The occasional breathing space afforded to soldiers engaged in the present hostilities on the Western Front is like water to a thirsty soul and is made the most of by the troops. Here we see German machine-gunners resting in a position in front of the famous Westwall. The soldier at the left keeps smiling despite the war going on daily around him.

Chinese Prisoners Make New Year Rice Cakes



Chinese prisoners in a Han-kow concentration camp are preparing for the holiday festivities. In this photograph they are seen helping to make New Year rice cakes.

Making Rice Cakes to Usher in New Year



Japanese soldiers in Nanking are busy making rice cakes for the forthcoming New Year's festivities. Pounding rice for the cakes is a man's job, but women help in the actual making. Seen at left are members of the Japanese Women's Patriotic Society.

The Organization Of The New Central Government

Statement By Mr. Chow Fu-Hai

In an important statement published in the "Chung Hua Jih Pao" ("Central China Daily News" on Dec. 9, Mr. Chow Fu-Hai, former Minister of Publicity under General Chiang Kai-shek, dealt with the rumors concerning the organization of the new Central Government—which has been variously dated by the outside public for October 10, November 12, (1939 and January 1, 1940—and with the allegation that since nothing concrete in the way of an organized Government has yet come out Mr. Wang Ching-wei's Peace Movement and his efforts to reorganize the National Government are a failure. Clarifying the situation, however, Mr. Chow points out that the Movement led by Mr. Wang Chiang-wei does not primarily aim at the establishment of a new Central Government, the organization of which forms but one of the stages of the Peace Movement and one of the means to achieve National Salvation. For should Mr. Wang aim only at the organization of the new Central Government without any regard for the welfare of the country, his Government would have been already established long ago. Instead, Mr. Wang and his followers are determined to remain as political exiles rather than go as Presidents of the Yuan or Ministers to Nanking should in their judgment the establishment of the new Central Government be of no benefit to the nation. Conversely, should in their judgment the establishment of the Central Government be beneficial to the nation, they will not shirk their responsibilities just because of difficulties and the risk of the assassin's bullet. The various dates for the establishment of the new Central Government—on the National Day of the Republic, the Birthday of Dr. Sun, January 1, 1940—are simply conjectures; they have never been announced by any responsible authority. Mr. Chow relates that when last October he was in Japan, many Japanese leaders asked him about the date of the establishment of the Central Government. His answer was "The establishment of the Central Government is not a question of time, but a question of terms. If the terms are conducive to the salvation of the nation, then we should proceed immediately. Otherwise, we shall never

attempt to do anything of that kind." The same answer is now given to the compatriots, that is that Mr. Wang Ching-wei will only proceed with the reorganization of the National Government if the terms and conditions are satisfactory and conducive to the salvation of the Nation.

Mr. Chow then turns to the question whether the establishment of the new Central Government would be advantageous to the country. Some people assert that since the Chungking regime cannot be overthrown, the organization of another Central Government will merely transform China into a second Spain. The answer is that if Chungking could really obtain the final victory which has been so much talked about, or be in a position to negotiate peace, then they would not establish the new Central Government. There is however no possibility of either. "I am not saying that General Chiang Kai-shek is entirely selfish or does not understand the merits of peace and demerits of war. One thing I do say is that because of his position and environment, he cannot negotiate for peace. His statement that Japan must withdraw her troops from China before China will ever negotiate peace with her is one which General Chiang himself could not possibly have believed in, for I give him more credit for his intelligence. The withdrawal of Japanese troops from China before the peace negotiation would mean that China had won the war. So we have to establish the Central Government to take the responsibility of negotiating peace which the Chungking regime is not in a position to do."

Mr. Chow is confident that the establishment of the Central Government under Mr. Wang Ching-wei will benefit the nation and at least will not harm China. It will certainly secure for China far better terms of peace than we can ever hope for. Mr. Wang's courage and sacrifice to the cause of peace have won the sympathy and support of the Japanese people in whose eyes Mr. Wang is their friend, in addition to being a great patriot. In this psychological background the terms upon which Japan would be prepared to make peace will naturally be much more favorable than they can possibly

offer to the Chungking regime. Of course, both China and Japan must be prepared to give and take. Japan must not expect too much from China, demand from her as a victor would demand from a vanquished. Both nations must pay due regard to each other's difficulties and in a friendly spirit discuss the various problems on the basis of equality. No terms can be accepted should they impair China's sovereignty and independence.

It is Mr. Chow's opinion, based upon his personal experience during the diplomatic negotiations, that the Japanese Government and intellectuals were sincere. There have been numerous points of contentions, arguments have been serious and often heated, on several occasions neither party saw fit to give in. Much time was wasted of various differences of opinion expressed at the peace parleys. But Mr. Chow said "The present situation is that Japan hopes for the early establishment of the Central Government. If they are insincere, they can just trick us into forming the Government by apparently conceding to us all our demands, but reversing their attitude as soon as we have formed the Government. The fact that they hope for an earlier date and are yet very particular about the terms indicates that they are at least sincere."

On the question of safeguards for the execution of the terms of peace by Japan, Mr. Chow said. "If the war of Resistance can end in final victory, the question of guarantee hardly arises. As it is there are two courses which can be adopted. First, there may be an international guarantee taking the form of mediation by Britain and America. Secondly, by the consolidation of Chinese military strength. Neither can be effective especially in view of the futility of the League resolutions and the Nine-Power Treaty in the settlement of the Sino-Japanese conflicts. Mr. Wang and his comrades do not care for their personal safety, their principle interest is the welfare of the nation. Should the terms of peace be not carried out by Japan after establishment of the Central Government, Mr. Wang and his comrades will have no hesitation in withdrawing en bloc. This is our determination and at the same time our guarantee." If Japan is unwilling to cooperate with Mr. Wang in a spirit of sincerity, with whom could she possibly cooperate in order to secure the permanent peace in East Asia? Puppets cannot secure the support of the Chinese public,

their cooperation with Japan cannot in any way contribute to the solution of the Sino-Japanese dispute. Even from the viewpoint of the Japanese, the execution of the peace terms is not only a moral obligation but also a proper procedure in the establishment of Sino-Japanese permanent friendship.

Mr. Chow admits that the present re-adjustment of the Sino-Japanese relations may result in some sacrifice on the part of China. In the first place, China has lost the control over things. What she can only strive at is to get back what she has lost, she has nothing to give in return. Therefore even should the establishment of the Central Government not directly benefit China, it can certainly not harm her in her prevailing conditions. The business of the nation is not a child's play. The merits and demerits of forming a new Central Government have been carefully considered and the conclusion reached that the organization of the Central Government is the only way to life, the only way by which China will be able to recover, instead of increase, her losses. Unless China were revived, her course would be death and national extinction. But if the terms obtained do not jeopardize the existence, independence and freedom of China and can be executed even step by step, then the aim of the war of Resistance has been reached. This will enable Mr. Wang and his comrades to bring back the Chungking regime to the fold of the Central Government and achieve the unification and consolidation of the Chinese Republic once for all. A hearty welcome will be accorded to anyone who sincerely believes in the Peace Movement and Sino-Japanese cooperation. Six months ago, whoever dared dream that the Nazis and Communists would join hands. Now they are in unison. "As we are all Chinese working for the welfare of China, we should sink our differences and effect a reconciliation. Differences in political opinions must not be vitiated by personal grudges. Many of our people, in Hanoi, Shanghai, Hongkong, have been assassinated by special agents sent by Chungking for no other reason than their political views. On our part, we have never retaliated by sending our agents to Chungking to assassinate our political opponents. The only thing we have done is to take precautionary measures solely for self-protection. Many of Chungking's agents however have joined the Peace Movement. This fact alone should rouse Chungking from their slumber. If all of us consider only the

interests of the nation, I do not believe that we as a nation can be permanently divided."

In view of the fact that peace negotiations are still in progress, the allegation that the organization of the new Central Government has ended in failure and the negotiations reached a deadlock as imagined and desired by the Chungking and other rumor mongers is therefore devoid of foundation of fact. "The organization of the Central Government is beneficial to the nation, it will be successful and the date of its establishment is not far distant. All compatriots should unite in support of the new Central Government in its holy mission to secure the salvation of China," thus concludes Mr. Chow Fu-Hai in one of the most important statements made on the burning question of the day.

Italian Paper Warns Against Misunderstanding Of Italy's Policy

Headlines in English papers, such as "Wave of Indignation in Italy" or "Italian Warning to Russia", according to the editor of the *Telegrafo* seem to indicate that it is believed in England that certain sympathies of the Italian people for Finland might be constructed as the basis for an anti-Russian Italian policy.

The paper adds "If such hopes are entertained in certain English quarters it is our duty to point out that they are absolutely without foundation". Italy cannot be taken by surprise through such manoeuvres, but knows from experience since 1914 that her world policy must be based on her own interests, without letting herself be influenced by moral tenets or sentimental ideas of foreign propaganda.

The paper continues that Italy at her own cost learned that certain countries preaching morality, when the booty was divided, were solely guided by realistic axioms and power politics.

Italy recognizes too plainly that the misinterpretation of Italian public opinion is only to serve as a means to hitch Italy to the chariot of the Allies.

British Auxiliary Cruiser Sunk By German Sub

The British auxiliary cruiser "William Humphries" has been sunk by a German submarine, it was reported by the "*Giornale d'Italia*". It was sunk by gun fire, the report added.

German Air Force Superior to British Fleet

The well-known American war ace and director of the Eastern Air Lines, Eddie Rickenbacker, declared in an address to the Engineers Association of Philadelphia that the German Air Force is superior to the British Navy and could destroy the latter whenever the German Command considered it proper.

The real beginning of war could be reckoned with, he said, when the diplomatic fronts of both sides had been consolidated.

This moment had not yet come but when it does the most important towns of the belligerent countries would be levelled with the ground in a very short time.

French Troops Will Leave Tientsin

Following the withdrawal of part of British garrison forces in North China, French troops also were expected to evacuate before the end of the month.

Most of the French colonial infantrymen and part of the artillery forces will leave on December 20 for an undisclosed destination by way of Chinwangtao. Tank corps and motorized units will be withdrawn.

Japanese Launch New Fighting Ship

H.I.J.M.S. Hashidate was launched at the Sakurajima Dockyard of the Osaka Iron Works, in the presence of Vice-Admiral Juji Kuwabara, of the Bureau of Naval Construction, who represented Vice-Admiral Zengo Yoshida, Minister of Navy.

Mr. Saburo Kokkaku, President of the iron works, cut the ropes, sending the warship down the ways to the Aji River.

Goodwill Plane

The Japanese goodwill plane Yamato arrived in Canton from Hanoi.

Homeward bound after a goodwill flight to Thailand, the plane left the Indo-China city for Canton. The plane left Bangkok on Monday and stayed three days at Hanoi.

A take-off for Taihoku, Formosa, is scheduled for 9 o'clock this morning.

Japanese Leaders Visit Wang Ching-wei



Mr. Wang Ching-wei, who will be the central figure in the projected new Central Government was visited recently by Mr. Fusanosuke Kuhara, president of the Seiyukai Political Party of Japan; Mr. Kenkichi Yoshizawa, member of the House of Peers; Mr. Teiichi Nishikawa and Mr. Koroku Oguchi, members of the House of Representatives. Seen in the photograph are: (left) Mr. Nishikawa, Mr. Oguchi, Mr. Kuhara, Mr. Wang and Mr. Yoshizawa.

Back in Japan from Travelling Abroad



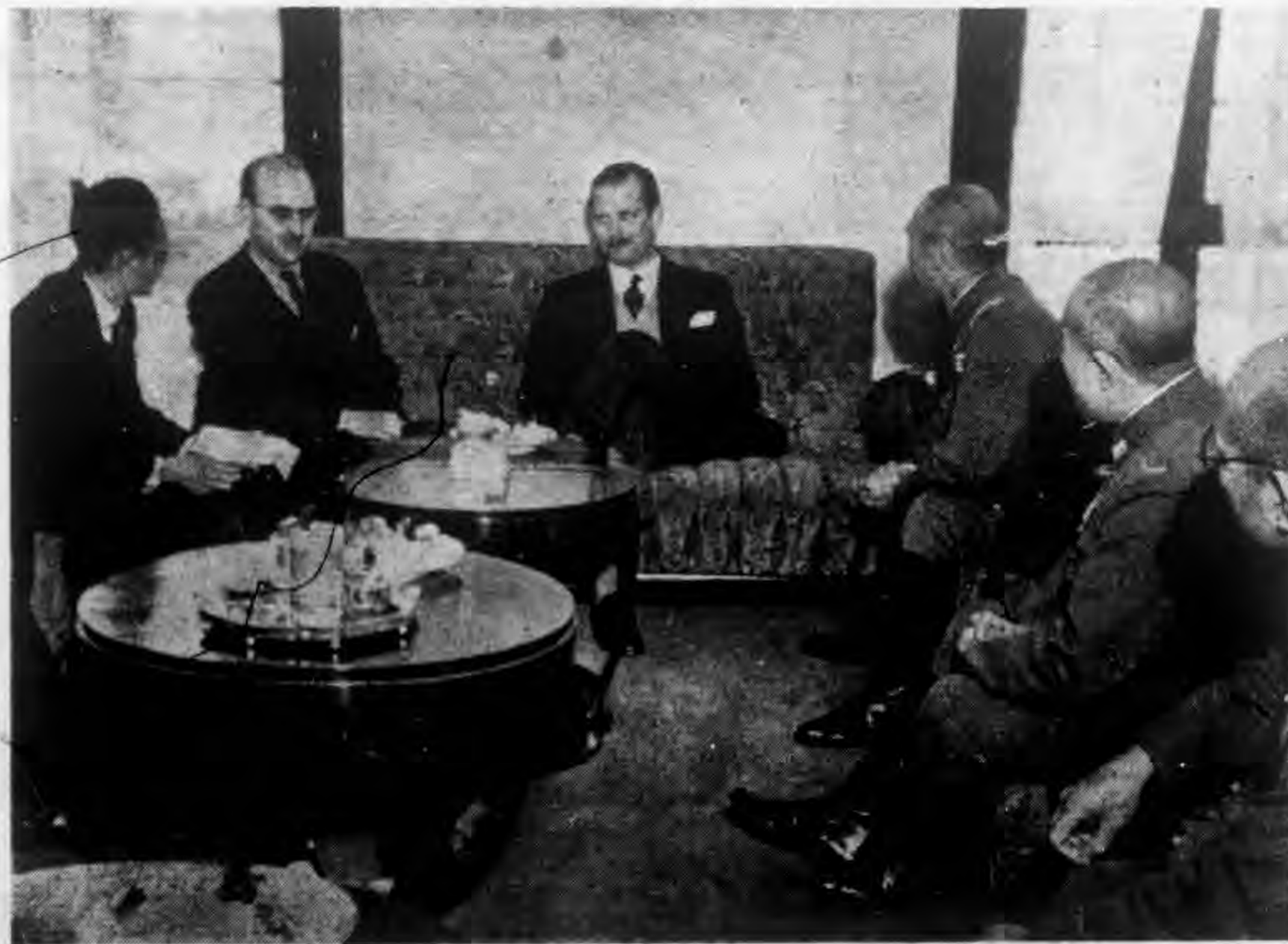
Home after five months' travelling in Europe, Admiral Mineo Osumi, member of the Japanese Supreme War Council and former Navy Minister, was guest of honor at a reception given on December 4 by Vice-Admiral Zengo Yoshida, Navy Minister. Seen in the photograph are, left to right: His Excellency Giacinto Auriti, Italian Ambassador; Vice-Admiral Yoshida; His Excellency Major-General Eugen Ott, German Ambassador; and Admiral Osumi.

War Plane Fitted With Skis For Winter Use



Designed for use in the Finnish offensive against "Old Man Winter," this Soviet plane is equipped with skis. The photograph was taken in Moscow and the new invention is widely used by the Red Army.

Consuls Call on Japanese Commander-in-Chief



Mr. John Alexander, British Consul, and Mr. J. Hall Paxton, American Consul, paid their first formal call on General Toshizo Nishio, Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Forces in China, at his Nanking headquarters on December 15. Seen in the photograph are: (left to right) Mr. Paxton, second from the left; Mr. Alexander and General Nishio.

Inauguration of the Central Military Academy

Officers Under Training Addressed by Mr. Wang Ching-wei

Mr. Wang Ching-wei, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, officiated at the inauguration of the Officers Training Class of the new Central Military Academy at Kiangwan on Dec. 9. There were about one thousand officers present, divided into two classes. In addition to Chairman Wang, inauguration ceremony was attended by General Yeh Peng, the Dean of the Academy, Messrs. Chen Kung-Po, Chow Fu-Hai, Tao Hsi-Sheng, Chu Min-Yi, Lin Pai-Sheng, Kao Chung-Wu and some two hundred foreign and Chinese guests. Mr. Wang delivered an address of which the following is a brief summary -

"Last August the Sixth National Congress of the Kuomintang, in its Manifesto, proclaimed the principles of 'National Reconstruction through Peace and Anti-Communism.' with the view to establishing permanent peace in East Asia, exposing the sinister designs of the Communists and accomplishing the reconstruction of the Chinese Republic on the basis of the 'Three People's Principles. In order to carry out its mission the Congress called for the establishment of the Central Political Council, the organization of the Central Government, and, in addition, the establishment of the Central Military Academy. Soldiers should be calm in the midst of defeat. Japan, realizing that the demand for territorial cession and indemnity for war costs could only sow the seeds of a future war of revenge, has chosen not to adopt the attitude of the victor, as we can see from Prince Konoye's Declaration. We, on our part, have responded with the Peace Movement. The principles of the Konoye Declaration have not only been upheld by both the Cabinets of Baron Hiramuna and General Abe, but by all influential Japanese circles. For Japan has realized her mistakes and wishes now to rectify them. She has solemnly undertaken to respect China's independence and national freedom, for she wishes to share the responsibility with us in establishing peace and creating a New Order in East Asia. Not only victorious Japan, but we who have been militarily defeated, should also realize and rectify our mistakes. The armed comrades especially will, in the present pre-

carious situation, bear a heavy responsibility in putting into practice the principle of 'National Reconstruction through Peace and Anti-Communism.' The Central Military Academy is the foundation of a modern army in a modern State and must not allow itself to be utilized as an instrument to establish a personal dictatorship."

New Military Academy Founded In Shanghai

First steps towards the creation of an army for the projected Central Government of China under Mr. Wang Ching-wei were taken with the inauguration of a Central Military Officers Training Corps of 1,000 men.

Ceremonies which took place near Shanghai marking the opening of the academy for the training of officers included a review of troops by Mr. Wang, director of the academy who will be the central figure of the proposed new central government of China.

Among those attending the ceremonies were Mr. Chen Kung-po, one-time Minister of Industries and Railways of the Chinese Government, Gen. Pao Wen-yeh, an outstanding Manchurian officer and agent of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang at Gen. Chiang Kai-shek's headquarters, Gen. Yeh Peng, former Wuhan garrison commander, Mr. Chou Fu-hai, Mr. Chu Ming-yi and Mr. Tao I-tseng, all of whom have joined the ranks of the National Salvation Through Peace Movement started by Mr. Wang.

Japanese Foreign Trade Improved

Japan's foreign trade during the first ten days of December showed a favorable balance of Y.5,558,000, according to figures released by the Ministry of Finance.

Exports totalled Y.95,553,000 and imports amounted to Y.89,995,000.

A favorable balance of Y.670,223,000 has been recorded thus far this year.

A Chapter From The History Of "Humanity"

The Methods Of "Clive Of India"

Characterised By Systematic Treaty-Breaking

Not one of the vast spaces which now make up the British Empire has been acquired by the British through dynastic marriages or similar methods of a peaceful transfer of sovereignty. On the contrary, the Colonial history of the British people abounds in sanguinary conflicts and is characterised by systematic treaty-breaking—a procedure in the exercise of which they were far superior to the harmless natives with whom their dealings were concerned. The examples illustrating the unscrupulousness with which they treated the so-called "Colonial" peoples are innumerable, and it must suffice for our purposes to describe just one of them.

British Ill-treat Indians

Bengal, the country watered by the Ganges River in Northern India, used to be one of the wealthiest and happiest countries in the world. The inhabitants were averse to war and were content to subsist on the products extracted from the fertile soil with which bounteous Nature had endowed their country. Strife and discord were unknown until the English and French invaders started to build their factories, churches and fortified settlements and to make themselves feel at home in their luxurious country-houses by the river mouths. The country was so rich and the ease with which its wealth could be secured was so great that the English and French settlers speedily lost all sense of proportion. They installed themselves after the manner of slave-drivers and treated the highly civilised members of the Hindu race as though they were bush-niggers.

British Intrigues and Treachery

The pacifism of the inhabitants went so far that they looked upon the philosophical contemplation of transcendental problems as their greatest joy and the highest aim of life. But for all that they knew how to defend themselves against the increasingly harsh demands made upon them by the victorious British. At the time with which we are here concerned, the Nawab Surajah Dowlah was the soul of their resistance. For months he vindicated the freedom of his country against its oppressors and inflicted serious losses

upon their soldiery, but in the end he had to give in to their superior numbers. When the knowledge of his revolt reached the English, they immediately equipped a fleet and an expeditionary force whose commander was Lieut.-Colonel Robert Clive. He embarked his troops on the shores of the Gulf of Bengal in a December night of the year 1756, established a fortified camp and there gave protection to the fugitive Governor of Calcutta and a number of employees of the East India Company, including young Warren Hastings. The latter had already found out through his personal intercourse with the nawab's courtiers that Surajah Dowlah's position was by no means sure and that there were some ambitious members of his entourage who were ready to work for his downfall. Hastings soon realised that these circumstances could be exploited to the great advantage of his country.

It may be said in general that it has always been one of Britain's principal weapons to bribe some prominent rival of their enemy, to make him commit high treason and then to recognise him as the legitimate ruler of the conquered country, subject—of course—to their overlordship. In the case here described the newly-appointed nawab had to pay £800,000 into the British exchequer as the price of their recognition and another £300,000 into the private pockets of Robert Clive who had meanwhile been raised to the rank of Governor-General. When Shah Alum, the son of Surajah Dowlah and his rightful successor, tried to regain his honors and dignities, Lord Clive came to the aid of the usurpator with a large British army. Surajah Dowlah had meanwhile been murdered and his son was decisively defeated. For this service the Governor-General exacted an annual payment of £30,000 from his tool, which he evidently looked upon as quite compatible with his official position. In this way Bengal was added to the oversea possessions of His Britannic Majesty by intrigues and counter-intrigues, and the person who perpetrated this outrage was not mistaken in his belief that his countrymen would "generously" forgive him for the private advantages which he had assured for himself by so doing.

Serious Rioting In India

Serious rioting broke out in the Indian town of Jubbulpore in the Central Provinces, according to reports reaching Kabul on Dec. 13.

Police opened fire on the natives. More than a hundred Indians were killed or seriously wounded.

Martial law has been proclaimed in Jubbulpore and British troops are being rushed up to reinforce the garrison there.

France Adds Another Meatless Day To Calendar

In France "Meatless Monday" and "Beefless Tuesday" now have a companion in "Meatless Friday", which was proclaimed on Dec. 10, in the French Official Gazette.

The meat scarcity in France was caused chiefly by the slaughtering of cattle immediately after the outbreak of the war when many farm hands were called to the colors, reports from Paris indicated.

Bremen Reaches Germany Safely

The German army high command announced: "The North German Lloyd liner "Bremen" returned from overseas to her home port. The German navy had taken measures necessary to protect the ship while German planes safeguarded her from the air. In the North Sea a British submarine, which tried to attack the liner, was forced by a German plane to dive so low that an attack was prevented."

More British Troops Leaving Tientsin

Additional British garrison units will withdraw from Tientsin. They will join another British unit which left Tientsin for Chinwangtao on Sunday. They will then depart for an undisclosed base in British territory.

A company of East Surreys was scheduled to arrive in Chinwangtao aboard a British steamer to replace the evacuating garrison forces, according to the dispatches.

"Soldier-Poet" Is Mourned



Mr. Wu Chi-chung, in mourning at his Peking home for his distinguished father, Marshal Wu Pei-fu. Marshal Wu known as the "soldier-poet," died in Peking on December 4. He was 61 years of age.

"Manchester Guardian" Questions British Claims

The "Manchester Guardian" expresses doubt about the British Admiralty's claim that three German submarines had been sunk.

The paper writes that in judging reports about the sinking of submarines it must be taken into consideration that the British censorship authorities do not guarantee the correctness of the report given to the British public.

The task of the British censor is merely to prevent the publication of reports which are likely to be of advantage to the enemy.

In this connection the paper points to the report about the sinking of a submarine in the Bristol channel and the landing of the surviving crew which have never been confirmed.

British Freighter Sinks

The freighter "Navasota" of the British Royal Mail Line, 8,795 tons, foundered in the Atlantic, it became known in Amsterdam.

The Ineffectiveness of Guerrillas

Guerrillas have been particularly ineffective against positions such as the Japanese troops erect around mines and factories. Likewise, it is notable the Japanese-controlled railways have been running almost without interruption during recent months.

Japanese army leaders appear less concerned with the guerrilla problem and claim to have evidence that the guerrillas are losing their enthusiasm.

"In most places," said one Japanese commander, "the guerrillas do not attack the Japanese if the Japanese do not molest the guerrillas. Thus in many places there actually is an undeclared truce in which the guerrillas are still receiving supplies from Chungking despite their inaction."

Authoritative quarters revealed the Chungking government recently issued a decree cutting off the supplies of certain guerrilla units unless they used what already was on hand.

The Nipponese policy toward the guerrilla bands in most sectors appears to be one of "non-aggravation", which the Japanese hope will lead eventually to disintegration of the roving irregular Chinese forces.

The experts regard this as confirmation of their theory that "guerrillas do not win many wars".

Britain Hides Losses From Submarines

Assertions in the British press that various British and neutral ships struck mines or rammed each other while sailing in British convoys were branded as "propaganda dished up to conceal the success of German submarines", the newspaper "B.Z. am Mittag" said.

Recently this newspaper printed a report that the Norwegian steamer Realf and the Finnish steamer Mercator had been lost at sea. British newspapers hurriedly announced that they had struck mines. The crews of these two vessels have now arrived in Bergen and made statements which indicate that their vessels were torpedoed while sailing in a British convoy. The Mercator, these sailors said, was sunk six miles off the north coast of Scotland before the very eyes of a large British naval force.

Another instance cited by this newspaper was the loss of the British steamer Chancellor. Although British reports claimed that it collided with another vessel, in reality it was torpedoed while sailing in a British convoy by a German submarine.

Allied Shipping Losses Believed Greater Than Admitted

At the conference of the American Management Association held for the discussion of insurance questions, many delegates expressed the conviction that the actual losses of Allied shipping were far greater than admitted.

New York insurance circles point out that in the World War the full extent of Allied shipping losses was not revealed until after the war.

Soviet Recognizes Slovakia

Soviet Russia has recognized Slovakia. This fact is revealed with the arrival in Moscow of Dr. Joseph Tiso, the first Slovak Minister to Soviet Russia.

THE NOBEL PRIZE-WINNERS

and the Nobel Foundation 1901 — 1937

Edited by
T. W. MAC CALLUM M. A., and STEPHEN TAYLOR, R. P. D.
with an Introduction by
Professor GILBERT MURRAY, Oxford University

Published by
The Central European Times Publishing Co. Ltd.,
ZURICH 1, Stadelhoferstrasse 26

An account of the outstanding achievements of the laureates, indeed is in itself practically a history of modern physics, chemistry, physiology, and medicine, it unravels before us the most eminent creations of international literature while the story of the peace movement which owes its most powerful incentive to Alfred Nobel is thereby illustrated and explained.

This book is the only one in the English language which besides containing a detailed life-story of the founder of the prize Alfred Bernhard Nobel (1833-1896), deals comprehensively with his testament, the history of the Foundation, the erection and nature of the Nobel Institutes, the nationality of the prize bearers, the finances of the Foundation, and with all the personalities that have been awarded the Prize, their biographies, portraits and signatures and the description of their work and their achievements.

It has been published first in 1938, printed on first class featherweight woodfree paper, with some 200 whole page portraits on woodfree art-printpaper, running in all to about 700 pages. The binding is in keeping with the contents, being wholly of linen with gold lettering and with a silver-foil wrapper.

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Italians Oppose Allied Blockade

Grand Fascist Council Decision
Welcomed By Newspapers

In a lengthy commentary on the order of the day issued by the Fascist Grand Council after its night session, the paper Tribuna stresses that Italy is by no means willing to accept Britain's "absurd and impudent" argument that the neutrals must regard the losses suffered during the war as their contribution to the victory of the "just cause" of one of the belligerent groups.

The paper goes on to say that Italy's "armed neutrality" was by no means incompatible with the German-Italian alliance and that the course which the war had taken so far completely con-

firmed this view. Italy's attitude was by no means to be regarded as "neutrality" since Italy reserved for herself complete freedom as to her future decisions and actions.

The Giornale d'Italia also warmly welcomes the resolution of the Fascist Grand Council, declaring with reference to the protection of Italy's maritime trade that the Italian interests and Italy's prestige as a great power would be safeguarded with the greatest determination.

Italy recognized that war necessitated certain measures but at the same time international law should be respected. The belligerents as well as the neutrals should do everything to isolate the conflict and to avoid provocations that might lead to further conflicts.

Japanese Premier Makes History



Japan's "Flying Premier," General Abe, photographed at Haneda Airport Tokyo, on his return to the Japanese capital from a round trip by air to Osaka. General Abe is the first Japanese Prime Minister to travel by plane.

Admiral Yarnell Shows Way to China Peace

Rear-Admiral Harry E. Yarnell, former Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Asiatic Fleet, in an address before the Students Association, said that there were three vital factors that must be recognized in any settlement of the present Sino-Japanese conflict.

These factors he declared to be, first: a stable, independent China; second: subordination of the power of the Japanese army and navy to the civil government; and third: the assurance to Japan that there will be no discrimination against her goods and no denial to her access to raw materials.

British Admitted Losses Believed Incomplete

British mercantile marine losses for the week from November 19 to 25 were officially announced in London as being 11 vessels. Netherlands shipping circles opine the list is incomplete in so far as a number of vessels already reported as lost are not mentioned. On the other hand there are the names of ships mentioned in the list whose loss so far had not been known.

Soviet Press Ignores League

The decisions reached by the League of Nations were completely ignored by Soviet newspapers.

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歡 迎 外 埠 分 銷 定 價 格 外 克 己

大 陸 西 餐 館 中山路一二七號華僑路口
西 菜 專 家

太 平 洋 酒 菜 館 夫子廟
中 西 筵 席

大 三 元 酒 菜 社 夫子廟
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北 馬 應 龍 眼 藥 南京朱雀路八一號
鎮江中山路三九二號

專 治 沙 眼 及 一 切 眼 疾
功 效 奇 速
舉 世 共 知

南 京 大 戲 院 地址夫子廟新姚家巷
本院新排韓信出世，由乞食深母起至斬蕭何止，
全劇分爲三本，請注意公演日期

中 央 大 戲 院 地址淮海路十五號
(預告) 連臺好戲「樊梨花」公演在即

國 民 大 戲 院 地址楊公井 地點適中
開映世界名貴鉅片

世 界 大 戲 院 地址新街口
按期排演「火燒紅蓮寺」

首 都 大 戲 院 地址夫子廟
院內設備，有口皆碑。
每日開演世界聲白歌唱鉅片

惟鄭參議蘭溪等建議，促進樹立中央新政權一案，竊自七七事變以來，民苦戰禍，滿目瘡痍，為恢復和平，奠定國家統一基礎，亟應樹立中央新政權，俾與我友邦提攜共進，以完成建設東亞新秩序之使命，武漢湘贛人士，義不後人，惟茲事體大，究應如何促進，又非集思廣益，不足以昭慎重，相應提請大會公決，當提經本府第一次定期會議決議，原則通過，並決議辦法二項：(一)以書面建議省市兩長，分向關係方面商洽，(二)推舉原提案人起草公函，並由連署人及譚戴丙參議參加意見，秘書長修正文字，再提會討論通過，旋准原提案人送達建議全文內開，(一)請省市兩長，與關係方面接洽，鄂湘贛三省民衆，應有中央政權參政代表若干人，蓋中華民國約法憲法，明文規定，主權在五色旗幟下政府進行有十八年之歷史，故新中央政權樹立，應有全國各省區市縣人民代表為組織之主體除共產黨偽國民黨外，凡贊成以和平親善建設新中國之人民，不分黨派區域，皆應有代表參加，鄂武漢為國民首義之區，湘鄂贛為全國中心之地，當僑共之前線，于理于勢，皆應有相當參政員額若干名，其產生代表方法仿民國之成例，或省市政府推選，或由省市組臨時議會推選，其在敵方區域，或以舊有法定團體人員推選，或組臨時團體推選，務須普遍無遺，方顯舉國一致之精神，而證僑共叛國之罪狀，組織中央政權之領袖人物，無論何人決不可以某一黨派或若干區域政權，擅行代表，全國民意，致啓敵方輕侮，而失全國期望，且顯違背國法輿情，毀棄五色旗之光榮歷史，而行一黨專政，實為七七事變之主因，若有全國民衆依法組織之政府，決不致有聯共抗日之奇變，前車已覆，後轍當鑒，切盼省市兩長喚起各方注意，(二)武漢區域湘鄂贛三省，與偽政府及敵軍最為接近，舉凡防禦招撫之種種協助，友軍綏靖地方事宜，應有適當特殊之組織辦法，以應環境蓋武漢區湘鄂贛三省各地方，多在戰區前線，友軍雖有嚴明之紀律，民衆雖有單壹之感情，而火中經過駐屯區域廣泛，時間較長，往往事態發生有非尋常所可思議者，欲求軍民之便利融洽決非普通尋常之行政機構法所能解決加以匪共流弊者之圖擾後方間諜宣傳防逆經緯萬端，瞬息千變，非有特殊健全之機構，超越尋

常之職權穩健靈敏之人材，熟練二三年來，情形之補助，洞達三省風俗人情之職司，決不能應付武漢區湘鄂贛現時之環境，因迫事急，現有中央政府，因應早有組織辦法，未有中央政府尤當先事網羅，或立即授權地方，從速組織政治機構云：復提經本府臨時會議決，照原文通過各等語，紀錄在卷，除分函外，相應錄案函達，即希查照辦理為荷，此致湖北省長何，武漢特別市市長張，議長石星川，副議長雷壽榮。

臨時政府財政充裕

財政總長汪時璟播講

臨時政府財政部總長汪時璟，十二日夜，廣播臨時政府成立以來，二年間財政情況之際，言及中國聯合準備銀行之最近聯銀券發行額已達三億六千三百萬圓，以此與本年度上半年六月末，當時之二萬萬六千四百萬圓比，係增加一萬萬圓弱，再與十月中旬之三萬萬二千八百萬圓比，則為三千四百萬圓之增加，而顯示臨時政府治下之聯銀券普及，亦即治安恢復之左證也，尚有對於聯銀券而應賦與之貿易通貨之權能之匯兌集中制之實績，自本年三月以後，迄十月三十一日止，集中英貨百九十六萬三千五百五十九鎊，美貨二百三十一萬一千一百八十五金圓，合國幣四千萬圓餘，其成績良好，實出意外，作為貿易通貨之聯銀券機能，愈亦強化。

成立以來已歷兩載之臨時政府財政基礎，因統治地區擴大，治安得以確保，而漸趨鞏固，於十四日臨時政府二週紀念典禮之前，汪時璟財政部長，十二日在廣播電台廣播政府成立以來二週年中之財政狀況，民國二十七年一月以降，至本年九月末之一年，又九月中旬，計歲入二億七千八百餘萬元，歲出一億七千餘萬元，歲入有一億七千餘萬元之剩餘，以此歲收視之，則現在臨時政府治下，不過河北，山東，河南，山西四省而已，而有如此巨額財政之收入，可證明臨時政府之充實，歲出則建設費，及治安費，約佔總額三分之一，在華北建設事業之進行，顯然為增進民衆福利，行政費約佔三分之一，包括對新民會及新民學院經費，政府聯合委員會經費，經濟協議會經費等等，及電氣電信公司，交通航空等各公司之出資，顯示經濟文化方面建設之進展云。

國家的軍隊之基礎，打破個人獨裁的支配，以完成和平反共建國的使命。

吳佩孚逝世

因患牙病而急轉症狀之吳佩孚至四日下午已陷於危篤，雖經侍診醫師施盡手術，仍難見效，延至下午七時終於不救逝世，享年六十有八。

吳佩孚自一九二七年在武昌方面為革命軍擊敗後，曾一度入川，後卜居於北平，最近因患牙痛，曾由日籍及華籍醫生診視，及至四日，病勢轉惡，遂決定行拔牙手術，不料其血液中毒過甚，為時業已無及，按吳佩孚為山東蓬萊縣人，於一八七二年，至一八九八年，卒業於北洋武備學堂，歷任陸軍第三鎮管帶，第六協統領，至民國成立後，任第三師第六旅旅長，袁世凱帝制自為雲南揭竿而起時，吳氏率兵往討，至曹錕被任為直隸督軍後，吳即繼任第三師代理師長，至討平張勳之帝制運動後，吳氏真除為第三師師長，其後北洋政府曾命往討西南政府，吳氏頓兵衡陽不進，且發和平通電，因有南北和平會議之成，翌年被任為直隸魯豫三省巡閱副使，至一九二一年晉授為兩湖巡閱使，至一九二二年，被任為陸軍部長，但吳氏拒不接受，一九二三年授孚威上將銜，翌年，曹錕任總統，吳氏被任為直隸豫魯巡閱使，至一九二四年，奉直戰爭發生，吳氏被任為直軍總司令，後因馮玉祥倒戈相向，遂告失敗，至一九二六年，奉命為討赤軍總司令，但於一九二七年為革命軍所敗，嗣後即隱居不出。

建設東亞新秩序案

日興亞院通過基本原則

日興亞院第三次會議，十一日上午十一時起，在首相官邸舉行，計到委員長阿部首相等各委員，關於十一月十八日第二次會議席上，興亞院總裁提出之確立東亞新秩序基本思想，及其他關於經濟文化問題之諮問案，在特別委員會會議審議之經過，由各特別委員長予以報告

，對此由兩三委員提出質問，結果滿場一致通過答覆案，下午有華北喜多，華中津田，蒙疆酒井，廈門水戶各連絡部長官，柴田青島出張所長等，說明現地情況，後以此為中心而作懇談，至下午二時散會。

又答覆案預定立即在興亞院作慎重研究後，各種方策，即予以逐次實行，關於基本問題之建設東亞新秩序之答覆，基調如下。

(一)東亞新秩序，乃東亞共同防衛，排除帝國主義之傾向，樹立亞細亞協同體制，與發揚東亞文化為其根本要素，期實現中日滿連環關係，又將在東亞樹立之新經濟體制，排除歐美帝國主義的榨取支配，同時日本抑制自己利己的獨佔活動，拯救列強殖民地貪慾的修羅場之中國，使為諸民族共營之樂土，成為東亞新經濟之眉目，按名符其實，具備近代獨立國家之資格，使中國為東亞軸心之一柱石，為進行分担新秩序無缺憾之要件，日本因此不惜全面的支援與協力，然東亞新協同體制，決非排除好意之第三國正當之國際活動，對東亞之文化的，及經濟的發展，予以好意之協力者，並不加以拒絕。

(二)在完成中國事變中，日本之龐大犧牲，日本所要求者，並非為賠償及領土，實為建設東亞新秩序，根據中日滿三國之融合合作，而建設東亞新秩序，實為恢復日本建國之理想精神，此所以首先施行於東亞大陸之原因，為欲使新秩序確立之基本思想明朗，故政府訓令諸文武官員，由國內教育言論機關，學術思想文化團體之活動，及各種國民之行跡，使浸潤透徹於國民各層，對外亦講求各種方法，而闡明之結局，應施行如三國國民運動之方策云。

武漢促立中央政權

武漢參府第一次會議中，決議案，為鄭蘭溪參議提出之促進樹立中央新政權，當經全體通過，並公推鄭等五人，起草公函，轉請省市兩長官接洽辦理茲悉該函已於當日起草完畢，特於十七日中午，召開臨時會議，經文字修正即將分送何省長與張市長具體辦理，內容分為兩項，言簡義深，不啻一篇湘郵雜誌三省參與中央新政權重要宣言，含有歷史性之公牘，茲將全文披錄於左。

，實現東亞永久和平，擁護中國國民黨之和平運動，打倒媚共挾民之獨裁政權，和平奮鬥建設中國，打倒篡黨賣國的共產黨等標語，於十時正典禮開始，全體肅立唱黨，對總理遺像行最敬禮，任主席朗讀總理遺囑，全體教職員學員一同宣誓，全體學員向汪團長行最敬禮，對教育長副教育長行鞠躬禮，繼由汪團長中執會代表陳公博，軍事委員會代表鮑文樾，教育長葉蓬等九人，相繼致訓詞，最後於葉蓬教育長領導之下，汪團長以下，一齊高呼和平反共建國，三民主義萬歲等口號，十一時，於奏樂聲中閉幕，閉會後，以汪團長為中心，陳公博，周佛海，褚民誼，鮑文樾，陶希聖，高宗武，以及教職員學員，一同攝影紀念，汪氏旋即返愚園路私邸，教職員等一行，旋於別室共進午餐，并紀念此光榮之一日。

汪氏訓詞

汪主席在中央陸軍軍官訓練團開學典禮訓詞云，中央陸軍軍官訓練團，在這國家民族危急存亡的時候成立，是極有意義的，今年八月，中國國民黨第六次全國代表大會宣言，揭出和平反共建國口號，所謂和平，不只是中國的和平，而是東亞的和平，不是一時的和平，而是永久的和平，不是屈辱的和平，而是合於正義的和平，所謂反共是反對共產主義，及其陰謀擾亂，不問國際形勢，及外交政策如何，反共的意義，永遠不變的，因為共產主義與三民主義，絕不同容，所謂建國，詳細些說，是完成三民主義的中華民國之建設，中國國民黨第六次全國代表大會，認定了時代的使命，揭出這個口號，由這個口號，而連合各黨各派，籌備成立中央政治會議，籌備成立中央政府，在這種工作進行中，成立中央陸軍軍官訓練團，是要集合武裝同志，來共同擔負這個時代的使命，各位武裝同志，必須知道在這兩年有餘的中日戰爭中，中國是戰敗了，古有言，敗的時候，顯出將才，因為有如此將官，才能臨敗不亂，擺而言之，不獨軍隊為然，好的國民才能臨敗不亂，第一要承認敗，向來兩國戰爭，最不幸的亡國，用盡了力量之後，只有再謀恢復，其次是割地賠款，保全國家於將亡，然後再慢慢的復仇，這種做法，是循環不已的，日本看透了這一着，不以戰

勝國自居，所以才有去年十二月二十二日的近衛聲明，這是和平運動的嚆矢，今年六月，兄弟在東京晤見平沼首相，聽他說過，上次歐洲大戰，因為凡爾賽條約種下了第二次歐洲大戰的原因，我們東方民族，要擺脫這種功利思想，為東亞的和平，奠定穩固的基礎，現在阿部內閣，也是如此，不但政府中人為然，即朝野有志之士，相與談論，大都坦白的說，做成中日兩國此次不幸的戰爭，中國也有錯處，日本也有錯處，中日兩方都應該同時認識，同時改正，各位武裝同志想想，日本是戰勝國，他能認識錯處，改正錯處，他要在不損害中國獨立自由的基本原則之下，與中國成立和平，使中國能夠分擔東亞和平與秩序之責任，日本是戰勝國，能夠如此，我們應該怎樣，我們應該以十二分勇氣，來認識錯處，改正錯處，和平反共建國，實行起來，不但中日以前的糾紛可以消除，並且以後可以在共同目的之下，共同前進，從此中日兩國不會再有戰爭了，從此中日兩國，共同擔負東亞和平與秩序之責任，其目的何等光明正大，固然進行的時候，不免有相當困難，相當阻礙，但我們要以十二分的勇氣，向着這共同的目的而共同前進，以上是武裝同志當前的重大使命，為達到這重大使命，各位武裝同志，不可不牢牢守着「智深勇沉」四個字，智勇是軍人所需要的，但是智欲其深，勇欲其沉，因為國際的形勢，國家的環境，國民的需要，沒有深切的智識，是不能認識清潔的，而當國家民族危急存亡的時候，用得着古人所為操心危慮患深，決不是浮囂虛矯，所能擔得起責任的，各位武裝同志，必須牢牢守着這四個字，因為各位武裝同志，目前的環境是很艱難的，背上的責任是很重大的，必須牢牢守着「智深勇沉」四個字，動心忍性，增益其所不能，然後各位武裝同志，才能完成這時代的使命，最後有一句話，中國整軍經武，有幾十年了，我們知道中國的老百姓，是很苦的，由老百姓出來擔負軍人的責任的人，即各位武裝同志，也是很苦的，然而為什麼直到現在，中國的軍隊還不能成為現代國家的軍隊，還不能脫離個人獨裁的支配呢，這是很可痛心的，我以十二分的熱誠，盼望中央陸軍軍官訓練團的成立，我更以十二分熱誠，盼望中央陸軍軍官訓練團同人建立一個現代

新中央政府成立後中國法幣制度問題

關於新中央政府成立以後之法幣問題，今日中華日報有見解發表，全文甚長，今摘其重要諸點如下，我們的具體見解是法幣無可維持的，可是我們決不擊法幣，而且要防止現狀下的法幣跌值，法幣制度將來是要修改的，可是當前只是要把法幣所代表的國民經濟和重慶政府分離，和從糾正中國的國際關係當中去決定法幣制度的修改，或竟重新來創造法幣，是中英關係的象徵，也可以說是中英關係的總合表現，可是中英的關係，並不能適應英美日在遠東的勢力對比的現狀，與遠東不能適應他國走上現代國家的運動規律，所以要爆發的，而且已經爆發了，這可知道法幣的問題，且不是等到跌值了才發生的，不過到了跌值之後，連法幣之純貨幣的資格作為價值的尺度交換的媒介與清帳的手段，這三個機能都成問題了，就這意義來說，現成的法幣，當然也是無可維持的了，可是法幣，不僅是被重慶政府利用以為抗戰的支持，同時法幣是國民經濟的血肉合為一體的打擊，法幣就是打擊國民經濟必須避免的，而且我們反對重慶，也絕不是要打擊抗戰的力量，只要把抗戰的力量，用到和平建國上去，我們怎可打擊法幣呢，相反的我們正十分痛惜重慶政府，弄到法幣如此狂跌，在法幣沒有與國民經濟分離以前，凡中國人民都應防止法幣狂跌的，重慶政府雖然也在防止，但他的辦法是榨取國民經濟與舉借外債，這種只有破壞法幣社會基礎，更損國際的關係，我們的辦法呢不同，是把國民經濟和無意抗戰分離，阻止重慶政府不能浪費和舉借外債，免得我們子孫手上的產業被抵押光了，趕快以和平收復淪陷，到安守秩序，使生產力得以重建，這才是防止法幣狂跌的有效辦法，至於法幣將來應如何變更，此刻還難說定，所能告大眾的，是中國必須有統一的貨幣的，國際關係必須和諧合作，不是被支配或寄託在國際資本相互傾軋之上的，這一步必須從政治運動入手，必和平實現了，統一的獨立自立的國家建立起來了，統一的貨幣制度自主的貨幣制度將為自的然產生。

中央陸軍軍官訓練團創立紀念

汪精衛氏於上海近郊外，創設之中央陸軍軍官訓練團，頗具有重要性，故團長由汪氏自兼，人格陶冶，最關重要，教育長為前武漢警備官陸軍上將葉蓬將軍充任，現時第一期學員，遠及四川雲南陝西各地，聚集而來，關於思想體育，從來之經歷等，均經嚴密之區別，結果約一千名准許入學，此等學員，計分四大隊，內一大隊為政治大隊，基於和平反共建國之思想，實施完全政治教育，為將來新政權成立時之中堅少壯官員，各學員均有中學畢業以上之學力，修業期限為三年，此外其他三大隊，注重政治教育，固不待言，但尤著眼於軍事訓練，經二年之訓練後，將為新政權隸屬下軍隊之少壯幹部，如任汪氏之侍衛隊等，由彼等學員之第一期訓練團入團者言之，彼等均有經歷，軍官階段，故彼等對和平建國所抱絕對之信念，洋溢於各人眉宇間，訓練團之將來，吾人寄予無限之期望。

開學典禮

向新政權樹立一路邁進之汪精衛氏，為養成新政權之柱石，強有力之軍隊起見，特計劃設立中央陸軍軍官訓練團，於九日上午十時舉行盛大開學典禮，記者於市府警察大嚴密警戒下，乘車馳抵滬郊某地之訓練團時，即遙見校園內所建之柱上，高揭和平反共建國之大旗飄揚空中，校門前懸大型彩牌樓，上書中央陸軍軍官訓練團開學典禮，并站有近代化武裝之學員，在賊處放哨，記者不禁肅然起敬，寬廣之校內，已建有校舍數棟，教職員與學員，往來頻繁，於九時半，國民黨中執會主席，兼中央陸軍軍官訓練團團長汪精衛氏，中執會常務委員佛海，陳公博，高宗武，及中執會秘書長褚民誼，宣傳部長陶希聖等諸要人，於樂聲中蒞臨，汪團長身著樸素之黑色西服，精神奕奕，在軍樂聲中，在陸軍上將前武漢警備司令官現任訓練團教育長葉蓬將軍指揮下，對一千餘員之第一期訓練團學員，舉行莊嚴之閱兵式，告終後，汪團長一行，及教職員學員，同赴禮堂行開學典禮，禮堂正中，懸總理遺像，其下張黃色玄地之和平反共建國之幕，四壁遍貼陸鄰親善

行大亞細亞主義內在的一大阻力，這些阻力不能消滅，大亞細亞主義，還是無法實現，要想消滅這些阻力不能消滅，大亞細亞主義，還是無法實現，要想消滅這些誤解，在我們看來并不甚難，茲單從中國這方面來說，中國目前的敵人是白色帝國主義，而中國永久的朋友，却是日本，中國以一國的力量，要想謀求解放運動，固不可能，即以中國一國的力量，對某白色帝國主義的一國謀解放，在勢也不可能，其方法只有與日本聯合，以兩國的力量，而謀中國的解放，然後中國才能解放，東亞前途，才有希望，而我們所說的大亞細亞主義，也才有初步成功的把握，目前中日之間，誠然各有各的誤解，但我們以為這些誤解，并不是無法解決的，大家倘能共懸一個遠大目標，共同向這目標走去，即是枝節上少有摩擦，這是不生關係。

倘若中日以外的各國對日本已無誤解，中日之間，也都誠然合作，然則中國在大亞細亞主義之下應該做些什麼事情，日本在大亞細亞主義之下，又應該做些什麼事情，這留待下次播講再為說明。

和平反共與「民德」

大民會

今天向大家廣播的中心意義，便是要把和平反共與「民德」三個救國基本條件放在一起說，使大家明白一個具體和整個的意義，換句話說，就是想給大家曉得這三者的關聯性。

時至今日，凡是愛國的人都明白，和平運動就是救國運動，而和平的手段呢，則無疑是反共，和平與反共的意義和關聯性，人人都明瞭的，孫中山先生的「和平奮鬥救中國」的遺言，到了現在就變成了「和平反共救中國」的定則了。

近衛的三原則和汪先生的點電發出後，和平的聲浪越播越遠，各處相繼通電擁護和平，到了現在，和平運動已有了不可動搖的勢力基礎，我們曉得和平是一種理想，是一種目的，要達到這種理想和目的就必須具備兩種手段，屬於破壞性的手段是反共，屬於建設性的手段則是我們的民德主義，說到這裏，和平反共與民德三者的整個意義和關聯性，已經很明白了。

和平運動的機運在日下已經成熟，換言之，也就到了手段實施的階段，當然，在沒有建設以前是必要破壞，於是反共的怒潮便很快的激起了，最近國共延安會議的破裂，六中全會期中的摩擦，淪府元老派像戴季陶，于右任，居正等人，都在和共黨勢不兩力，由此看來，淪方一部分的人物，也逐漸恐怖到共黨的陰謀而引起反共的信念和決心，早幾天浙江主席黃紹雄會下令逮捕共產黨員，和陳立夫通電各省取締共產行動，這都代表中國覺悟的人一天一天的多起來，日下中國已到了非反共不能生存的階段。

前面說過，反共是破壞的手段，民德主義是建設的手段，固然建設要在破壞之後，可是我們要加速其成效，就要在已經破壞完畢的地區實行建設，實行倡導民德主義，民德主義是我們大民會四大綱領最重要的一條，也就是大民會的中心主義，中國從前不但在事業上遭受共黨的破壞，就是在思想上，也經過外界不少的毒害，既以中國的人民，失去了本身的思想信仰，失去了一個民族的靈魂，既以弄到國家積弱不堪，而且更因思想上做了人家的俘虜，既以行動極易受他人的誘惑，以至於目下戰爭的被人現持而不得自主，歸根結蒂的說來，禍源病根還是在於我們同胞思想和信仰的淪亡，現在，大民會要以對症下藥的辦法，下決心替民衆解脫痛苦，建立我們的思想和信仰，就始終不懈的倡導民德主義，民德主義攻擊的對象是甚麼呢，就是西方傳來的許多社會主義等毒素，社會主義和唯物論等學說，近世幾乎覆亡了我們傳統的固有道德，摧毀了我們固有的東方文化，民德主義既標榜的意義是甚麼呢，就是恢復我們固有的道德忠，孝，仁，愛等等，建樹起東方的國民精神，統一全國民衆的思想和信仰，既以說，民德主義是對症下藥的救國主義。

中國因受了共黨的劫持，所以不能和平，中國民衆因受了邪說異端的誘惑，既以不能全體了解和平，要達到和平的目的，第一是打倒阻礙和平的共產黨，第二則是倡導統一思想，建立國民精神的「民德主義」，這是達到和平救國最高目的既不可或缺的兩種手段。

優勢，盡量壓制亞洲各民族的生存，他們所憑藉的理由，是說白色人種，是世界上優秀的民族，生活于亞洲上的各有色人種，是世界上的劣等民族，這種侮蔑的論調，固然已有好多事實足以打破而有餘，但我們生活于東亞上的各民族，非一致團結，勇往邁進，不足以打破白色人種的種族差異觀念，而中日兩大民族，實為團結東亞各民族之兩大柱石。

(一)我們既然承認中日兩大民族是團結東亞各民族之兩大柱石，當然這兩個民族，便是大亞細亞主義的首先實行者，但日本政府，一方面表示尊重中國主權，一方面又說對於中國政治有指導的精神，這兩種表示，是不是有些衝突呢，這個問題，不但中國人士，有的在懷疑，即是世界其他各國人士，也有些不能明瞭，他們所以懷疑或不能明瞭者，是因為對於主權兩字，尚不能得其真義所在，依照我們的意見，主權與統治權不同，凡是一個獨立國家，有主權亦有統治權，凡是一個半獨立國家，是只有統治權，並沒有主權，日本政府不曰尊重中國統治權，而曰尊重中國主權，自是以獨立國家，看待吾人，視此則所謂政治上的指導云云，不過是技術問題，并不是干涉，也并不是領導，這一點既能清楚，當然可以說中日兩國，同是實行大亞細亞主義的柱石，而這個首先實行的責任，既不是中國一國所能負擔，也不是日本一國所能負擔，這兩個問題，既然講清，接着便轉入本文，我們這裏要一致認清，實行大亞細亞主義，是一件艱鉅的工作，在中日兩國之間，也有許多誤點，未加以善意矯正，中日以外的許多國家，為什麼要阻撓呢，最簡單的理由，不外以下三點：

一，他們處心積慮，惟怕中日兩國的聯合，好像是說，中日分開便于他們有利，中日聯合便于他們有害，因為害之所在，他們當然極力阻撓中日的聯合，而大亞細亞主義的實行，遂受了障礙。

二，日本既然有指導中國政治之責，則在國際政治的地位上，自然特為優越，同時且將藉其優越的政治地位，使他們在華的實權，排之使去，這種觀念的存在，也是使大亞細亞主義的實行，受了阻撓。

三，中日既然聯合，則在經濟方面，自無密切的互惠提攜，而在實行的方法上，也許會有關稅同盟之類的出現，如此做去，日本將整個壟斷中國的市場，他們為着自己的利益打算，當然也表示阻撓，而同時對於大亞細亞主義的實行，也受了障礙，他們何以有這三種誤解呢，第一是由于誤解了日本的真意，第二因誤解了日本的真義，遂發生恐理，他們從現在起，應該自動的認清，一，中國問題的不解決，即大亞細亞主義將無法實現，日本在現在的地位，是以處理中國問題為惟一國策，處理中國問題的要點，是使中國脫離一切政治經濟的壓迫，適于自由生存，二，白色人種白種的將自己所佔領的地域，分為歐美菲澳四部，而加以封鎖，彷彿在說，這些地方，已經是白色人種的天地，我們為有色人種的生活起見，當然有權認為亞洲者係亞洲人的亞洲，亞洲人在亞洲之上有保持其優越生存的地位，三，我們亞洲人種的團結，是以和平的方法，達到自然聯盟為目的，我們的出發點，是在于自衛，而并不在于侵略他人，我們固然而絲毫排斥他人的意思，但我們也有權為自衛而抵抗一切外來的阻礙。

以上是說實行大亞細亞主義外來的阻力，其次要說到中日之間，何以尚有許多誤點未能矯正呢，關於日本方面賢達之士，已經有許多自動說出，我們這裏，不必再去列舉，關於中國方面以為直到現在，尚有好多人對日本懷疑，而懷疑之點，也不僅僅是一兩項，茲舉其重要者言之。

(一)輕蔑的念頭，這個意義甚為簡單，用不着加以解說。

(二)恐懼的觀念，這是說中國一般人，這個恐懼心理的存在，當然對中日合作前途上發生不利影響。

(三)嫉妬的觀念，這是說兩大民族的壤土相接，絕不能兩強共存，換句話說，非此民族為彼民族所併，即彼民族為此民族所併，也即是說，日本的強盛，便是中國的衰亡，以此之故，當然只有抗日，并希望以抗日來圖存。

(四)中國人的甘受白色人種的離間而不能盡行了解日本，却是實

謂六中全會，東施效顰，一意孤行，事事仰共黨之鼻息，仍復靦顏宣稱其國共加緊合作，抗戰到底，以求最後勝利之自欺欺騙民衆之濫調謔語，盲人瞎馬，不自知其危險，在獨裁者處理國事，猶如賭博，其視國家猶如個人財產，不惜爲孤注之一擲，非至傾家蕩產，片瓦無存不肯罷手，然而吾民何辜，受此荼毒，當武漢淪陷，近衛聲明之時，汪主席曾在渝向蔣痛陳利害，至再至三，終於不納，始赴河內發表電，倘使彼時蔣能幡然覺醒，使時局急轉直下，則本黨不致分裂，和平早已實現，當可與民休養元氣，徐圖建國復興，則自南昌失陷以來之大小各戰，軍民之傷亡，物質之損失，與夫全國民衆直接間接，亦受生活上之痛苦，均可避免，今南甯又告不守，犧牲之慘重，使歷年之建設，毀於一旦，甯不可哀，自古有戰必有和，除非全國領土淪亡淪盡，遠如阿比西尼亞，近如波蘭，始無和之可觀，我所恃者，地廣人衆，得天獨厚，倘使如波蘭之小邦，經過兩年半之戰爭，失去十餘省之土地，則吾人早已爲亡國之奴，向有何和平之足言，然而廣土衆民，界足恃乎，蔣介石欲以空閒換取時間，實行「拖的政策」不戰亦不和，蓋明知失地不能收，反攻無力，暫圖苟安，以求僵持，其心目中，所希望者，無非國際調停，國際援助，今事實已昭告吾人，調停不能，援助無望矣，且自歐戰發生，國際形勢演變，與我愈益不利，而空閒有限，時間無窮，試觀今日之域中，重慶政府權力所及之省份，至陝甘新已爲共黨盤據外，僅餘川滇黔與西康西藏數省，尙稱完整，倘不幸對方軍事行動，進展不已，而此數省再復不保，將退無可退，若就以往之軍事失敗以計算之，則空閒已縮至最短，而其所能保持之時間，亦至暫矣，思慮及此，心胆爲寒，倘果不幸而言，則其後不忍想像矣，汪主席及諸同志所倡導之和平運動，在雙方澈底覺悟之後，以求東亞永久之安甯，一切糾紛，根本解決，今不能以軍事收復失地，惟有政治外交方法，以期故國重光，更生復興和平運動，肇始於近衛之聲明，發動自彼，可知彼方須要和平之迫切，與吾相同，若我方提出片面的求和，始足以喪權辱國，夫近衛聲明，不以戰勝國自居，善鄰友好，而尊重我之主權獨立，是吾國抗戰之目的已達，一切當依其

所聲明以爲談判之基礎，而求合理之解決，且吾人主張之和平，乃屬於永久的，非如歐戰後之凡爾賽條約以致循環報復無已，若必戰至土地盡失，國不成國，而後言和，始爲恥辱，須知失地愈廣，則和平之工作進行愈感困難，今於南甯之失陷，吾人哀痛之餘，愈覺和平工作有迅速普遍之必要，重慶政府在蔣獨裁之下，理智傷失殆盡，偏安之局，決難久持，可斷言也，試就軍事政治外交諸端，力以檢討，便已洞若觀火，自歐戰發生，英法無暇東顧，蘇聯號稱扶助弱小，瓜分波蘭之後，且進而侵略芬蘭，今已正式接戰，美國與日本，雖各爭霸於東亞，但其國內對於軍火之大宗貿易，利之所在，不甘放棄，故商約之續訂與否，尙在未定之天，所謂國際援助者安在，且美俄水火，日俄方圖棄嫌修好，重慶之外交，親俄親美，左右爲難，莫能自主，再就軍事言之，所謂湘北勝利，徒事擴大宣傳，盡人皆知，兩年以來，日言反攻，不持實際，未能克一名城，而失地日多，國境日蹙，自南甯淪陷，港口盡失，此後軍火之來源，成爲嚴重問題，又况共產猖獗日甚，陰謀益著，川滇軍人未盡就範，其不變生肘腋者幾希，故就全盤局勢加以檢討，今日獨裁者已處於楚歌四面，日暮途窮之境矣，雖要偏安，其何可得，所望渝方之忠實同志，盱衡全局，挽回危機，勿俯首聽命於獨裁者與共黨之下，而知所以自愛，勿任聽國家命脈，斷送於一人之手，而力圖挽救，吾人本既往合作之精神，仍希忠實同志，安然過來，相於聚首，精誠團結，共商國是，使本黨分而復合也。

大亞細亞主義下中日所負的使命 行 宣

我們在未講本文之前，尙有兩個問題，必須先爲說明：

(一)我們何要以要拿大亞細亞主義，做中日兩國合作的目标呢，這兩個問題，誠然有若干人士，已經詳密的討論過，但核心所在，却始終沒有人過過，依照我們的意見，我們所以提倡大亞細亞主義者，最扼要的一點，是爲的亞洲各民族自由生存的問題，近百年來，亞洲各民族的生存，發生甚麼問題呢，一言以蔽之，白色人種，利用一時的

這種顧慮，只要是愛國的中國人，當然是應該有的。

如果以事實來表現條件不可割，日本有誠意，誰不願意中國的統一，至於汪先生所領導的同志，當然不會因為個人的祿位權利，而不歡迎兩個政府的統一的，現在聽說有些人埋怨汪先生的門關得緊，甚至說他的左右，尤其是鄙人包圍先生，閉塞賢路，這種推測，真是太無價值，我們認為參加和平運動，主張中日合作，乃是義務，乃是責任，決不是權利，這種神聖的義務和偉大的責任，當然歡迎許多人來負擔，那裏是少數人所能完成，所以重慶方面，只要是和我們主張相同的人，我們是極端歡迎的，民國十六年，有南京和武漢兩個國民政府的對立，民國十九年，也有北平和南京兩個國民政府的併存，後來都統一了，雖然過去是純粹的內政問題，現在有外交的關係，情形不完全一樣，但是政治的演進，是千變萬化的，半年以前，誰都夢想國社黨和共產黨會合作，但是德蘇居然攜手了，國與國之間，尚且如此，同是中國人，難道會永久不化除成見嗎，不過我所希望的，就不要把政策的異同之爭，變成個人的恩怨之爭，人生數十寒暑耳，一棺付身，萬事皆了，大家為甚麼不以國家為重，能流為個人的意氣之爭，說到這裏，不禁要說幾句題外的話，我們的特務同志和重慶特務份子的爭鬥，是我們極痛心的事，我們是主張中日和平的，現在和平沒有成功，自己却先互相殘殺起來了，這那裏是我們願意的事，這個責任，重慶是要負的，我們沒派一個人到內地去謀殺任何人，但是重慶却派人到河內去暗殺汪先生，派人到香港，上海是暗殺我們的同志，我們的行動，是完全出於自衛的，重慶的這種行動，除却爭意氣以外，我不知道大局究竟有甚麼好處，萬一汪先生不幸，就遭暗算，他的同志，只有加緊努力，實現他的主張，和平運動，決不會絲毫停頓，其他任何人被暗殺，更不成問題，所以重慶即使能夠暗殺一兩個人，除却逞一時之氣，快一時之意外，於事有甚麼好處，不僅如此，重慶派來暗殺我們的人，都先後參加和平運動，而為我們的重要幹部了，僅就這一點，也足以促重慶方面的大澈大悟，所代這種個人意氣之爭

，實在太無意義，太無價值，只要大家都以國事為重，意氣為輕，我不相信對立的局面，是會永久延長下去的，即使有少數的人，徒逞私人的意氣，在時代的要求和民衆的指摘之下，他們是不會長久存在的，所以我對於中國將來的統一，不僅不絕望，而且不悲觀，這個觀察，不僅根據哲學的推測，而且是根據科學的分析的。

以上把各種懷疑，都加以解釋了，最後說到中央政府，甚麼時候可以成立，中央政府，不如重慶所宣傳，是失敗了，也不像外間所宣傳，是停頓了，既沒有停頓，更沒有失敗，我們正在積極的進行着，就是正在和日本談判條件，前面曾經說過，如果條件不能保證中國的獨立和自由，我們是不會幹的，我們的目的，是要把快陷於萬劫不復之境的中國救起來，如果條件不能使我們達到這個目的，我們何必組織新中央政府，難道真的要漢奸嗎，但是條件是不是能圓滿，我是當交涉之衝的人，我深知雖然還有兩三個具體問題，雙方意見，還沒有完全一致，但是雙方都是友好的精神來研究，所以意見的漸漸接近，乃至於完全一致，不單是有可能，而且為期也不遠了，只要條件全部談判完成，中央政府，就可立即組織起來，以擔負實行這些條件的神聖使命。

總結的說，組織中央政府，是於國家有利益的，組織中央政府，一定是成功的，組織中央政府，為期是不遠的，全國的同胞，一致起來擁護新中央政府完成他的神聖使命。

重慶偏安局勢檢討

褚民誼

中日事變迄今，已兩年五個月，其間有可以轉變國策更生之機，而乃由於重慶政府之為蔣所獨裁，而蔣又受共黨脅持，本黨忠實同志，不能自由伸展主張，忠於謀國者，竟至無能為力，遂使大好時機，輕易消逝，不特未有轉禍為福，甚至執政者，舉棋莫定，徬徨於國際陣綫英美法俄之間，無所適從，依然作其乞援之迷夢，而不知清醒，自國共發生摩擦，毛澤東發表宣言，宜可以毅然決然，排除羈絆，而為壯士斷腕之舉，乃獨裁者，計不出此，變本加厲，召集其御用之所

，明天說下樣，我們的幹不幹，不是個人出處問題，乃是國家的利害問題，我們不輕易上樣，同時當然也不會輕舉妄動的隨便下樣，但是等到我們盡了心，竭了力，忍無可忍，爲無可爲的時候，汪先生是會領導他的同志，勇退的下樣的。

以上是說組織中央政府於國「有利」，就是退一萬步說，至少也於國「無害」，因爲如果組織了中央政府，會使中國比較現在喪失更多，犧牲更多，那當然是有害的，我們現在姑且不說因爲新中央政府的產生，會使中國喪失較少，犧牲較少，但是絕對不會因此喪失更多，犧牲更鉅，如果喪失和犧牲，都不過和現在一樣，新中央政府的成立，那裏會使局面比現在更壞，換句話說，照目前的狀態看，新中央的產生，那裏會於國有害。

如，我們在重慶統治的範圍之內，樹立起中央政府，和共產黨在重慶統治的西北，樹立起西北邊區政府一樣，或者會使局面，比現在更壞，或者足以促成重慶的崩潰，但是我們現在要組織中央政府的地位，是已經丟掉了兩年的地方，我們不在這些地方組織新政權，不會使抗戰勝利，同時也不會因爲我們在這些地方組織新政權，就會使抗戰失敗，抗戰的失敗，抗戰之得不到最後勝利，另有其他的原因，和我們組織中央政府，沒有甚麼深刻而密切的關係，不待說，將來中央政府成立之後，是有許多人民和軍隊來歸的，表面上這似乎是撤重慶的台但是這乃是人心思和和將士厭戰的表現，這種根本的精神的原因，會使軍隊和人民，傾心於新中央政府的，如果蔑視了這種一般的心理，而歸咎於新中央政的組織，那便是抹煞事實的議論，因爲如果人民不思想和，將士不厭戰，新中央政府，是不能取得一般的同情的，然則在現在這樣事實和心理的狀態之下，組織中央政府，於國家有甚麼害處。

再從對外的關係來說，我前面說過，這次調整中日關係，我們是不能不多少吃點虧的，但是我們進一步來研究，事實上，我們是送東西出去，還是收東西回來，老實說，我們是收東西回來的，固然，這些東西，原來是我們的，但是現在已在人家手中了，如果我們不能以

武力把日本軍隊驅出中國，這些東西，仍舊在我們手中，我們實在沒有把日本軍隊驅出中國的把握，那末，這些東西，永久就會在他們手中，我們現在却要從他們手中，把這些東西拿回來，雖然在事實上，沒有全部拿回來的可能，但是總是要努力越多拿回越好，所以與其說我們送掉多少，不如說我們拿回多少，我們假定今後不能因爲中央政府的成立，而拿回一些東西，但是至少決不會因爲中央政府的成立，比現在還要更送得多，因爲東西本來已在人家的手甲了，而我們是一無所有，沒有東西可送，所以中央政府的成立，即使於國無益，那裏會於國有害，最大的限度，也不過和現在一樣。

我們不是以國事爲兒戲的，我們曾經再四考慮組織中央政府的得失利害，我們深覺組織中央政府，是必有所得，是必然有利，最低限度，也是萬無所失，必然無害，不戰不和的局面，是沒有生路，只有死路的，我們組織中央政府來調整中日關係，是從死路之中，打開一條生路，如果這條生路打通，我們就可以達到生的目的，萬一此路不通，至多也不過仍舊死而已矣，決不會在死之上，再加一層死，本來也就要死的，如今也不過一死而已，我們深思熟慮的研究了利害得失之後，纔決心準備組織中央政府，我們沒有喪心病狂，那裏願意犧牲國家的利益，來爭權利，逞意氣。

中央政府成立之後，兩個政府的對立，一個時候是難免的，但是如果我們所得的條件，不妨礙中國的生存，獨立和自由，而這些條件又能逐步的切實實行，我們抗戰的目標就已達到，抗戰的原因，就已消滅，抗戰的原因，既然消滅，誰還願意去打無意義的仗，誰還願意去爲無謂的犧牲，不待說，在短時期內，因爲重慶方面的言論統制和暴力壓迫，人民不能認識事實，不能了解真相，不敢發表真正的主張，不敢採取正當的行動，但是過了相當的時期，等到人民了解了真相之後，他們的輿情，無形中是會逼着重慶政府和中央政府合併，而使中國統一的，我是從重慶出來的，我深知除掉極少數的人員外，大多數軍政當局，誰不希望和平，他們所願慮的是條件太苛刻，日本靠不

也決不會有誠意的。如果日本有誠意，那末，在重慶不肯議和的現在，新中央政府來和日本議和，我們何必多顧慮，多懷疑，固然，我對於日本將來實行條件，不是絕對樂觀的，我前面說過，日本當局和有識之士，是有誠意的，但是日本除却上級當局之外，還有各級人員，除却有識之士外，不明白的人還多，將來執行條件，全在他們，他們有無誠意，我現在不能確實的答覆，如果他們沒有誠意，將來履行條件，是要遇着許多難關或阻礙的，至少一定會使人感覺得不痛快，不過只要他們的高級當局有誠意，一定可以督促他們中下級人員去實行，只要有識之士有誠意，一定可以教育一般不明白的人民使他們明白，所以關於這一點，我也不是絕對悲觀的，自從甲午戰爭以後幾十年的血債，要一筆來勾銷，真是談何容易，這種劃時代的歷史事業，不是一件簡單的事，當然有許多困難，要我們去克服，有許多障礙，要我們去突破的，那裏能夠看見前面的險阻艱難，便望而却步呢。

再說我們有甚麼力量，保障他們履行條件，抗戰如果能得最後勝利，那是另一問題，我現在要問假使重慶來議和，會有甚麼力量來保障，我想不外兩種，第一，是托英美法來調停，用國際力量來保障，第二，整理和充實軍備，用軍事力量來保障，這兩種保障，都是靠不住的，國際的力量如果有效，國聯歷屆關於中日關係的決議，老早應該生效用了，九國公約老早應該把中國救起來了，如果要靠國際的力量，來保障日本履行條件，不是欺人，便是自欺，三國干涉遼遼的事，是不能重見於今日的，軍事力量，也夠不上保障，拿軍事力量來保障，不外說日本如不履行條件，我們再來打一仗，現在因為打了仗，纔來講和，如果再打一仗，還是要打敗仗，如果日本沒有誠意履行條件，當然他們也是不惜再戰，不怕再戰的，所以以為只要我們有了軍事力量，便不怕日本沒有誠意，便可保障條約的履行，那也是靠不住的。

然則我們一點都沒有保障嗎，我覺得我們所有的保障的力量，超過國際的援助，還勝於百萬大軍，這個力量，便是精神的力量，便是決心。

汪先生所領導的同志，是不計個人的利害得失的，是以國家的利害為轉移的，如果上檯之後，日本不能履行條件，我們會全部撤退的，「條件不履行，我們就不幹」，這乃是我們的決心，這乃是我們的保障，這個保障的力量，是非常偉大而雄厚的，有人說，你們上檯之後，恐怕就想不幹也不可得，這話我不相信，幹的自由，也許不充分，不幹的自由，我們是充分的，固然，在沒有撤兵之前，我們是在日本的勢力範圍之內的，但是我們只要有不怕死的決心，我們是充分有着不幹的自由，最大的限度，也不過把汪先生以下的同志，全部捉去殺死，如果我們怕死，我們也就不會離開重慶了，老實說我們這般革命黨徒，都是窮光蛋出身，決沒有患得患失的觀念，我們都是劫後餘生，雖不敢說視死如歸，至少人家是不能以死來威脅或挾制的，所以如果日本不履行條件，我們是決心拂袖而去的，這個決心，汪先生和他的幹部，都是很堅強的，我相信日本決不會這樣沒有誠意，萬一如此，我們便自認瞎眼，向他們說一聲「撒約拉拿」，叫他們另請高明去合作，日本如果有心有力來滅亡中國，那是另一問題，如果既無此心，更無此力，就不能不和中國合作，要和中國合作，就不能不使中國國民相信日本有誠意，相信日本不是帝國主義，相信日本尊重中國的獨立和自由，汪先生和他的同志是拚着生命出來主張中日和平中合作的，汪先生和他的同志，是誠心誠意的要實行中日合作的，像這樣具有堅強信念和充分誠意而且拚着生命來為中日合作而奮鬥的汪先生，日本尚且不能和他推誠合作，以後還有誰相信日本的話，還有誰敢同日本共事，如果到了這個情形，日本怎樣辦，是不是去找一般失意之徒，無聊之輩，來替他們作爪牙，為他們供驅使，如果這樣，這般人是不是能得國民的信仰，能使國民的擁護，如果不能，他們是不是有力量和日本協力，來解決中日的糾紛，來收拾目前的時局，如果不能，日本還有甚麼路可走，所以站在日本的立場上說，忠實的履行條件，不僅在道義上應該如此，就是在利害關係上也應該如此，因此，我深信我們這種精神上的保障，比較百萬大軍的刀量要大得多，不待說，將來不如意，不愉快的事，必定很多，我們決不是今天說不幹

的，同時，中國也不要忘記喪了許多師，失了許多地，實際上是打敗了仗的，如果打敗了仗，還一點點虧都不肯吃，和平也是沒有希望的，日本不要以戰勝國自居，就是不要向中國要得太多，不要使中國吃虧太大，中國不能不以戰敗國自處，就是不能不多送給日本一點，不能不多吃一點虧，如果日本能以軍事力量，完全滅亡中國，或者中國能夠以軍事力量，把日本軍隊驅出中國，那乃是另一問題，如果兩者都不可能，上述的精神，中日雙方，都要具有，然後和平纔能成功，纔能永久的，我們的折衝，便是根據這種精神，而以日本向我們要求的時候，他們常常爲我們設想，如果我們接受了這個條件，新中央政府是不是還站得住，是不是還可以見諒於國人，我們拒絕日本的要求的時候，我們也常常爲他們設想，如果連這一點我們都不答應，日本的國民，是不是會反對他們的政府，是不是要使他們發生內政問題，像這樣一方面爲自國打算，同時互相爲對方設想的精神，假使東京和重慶講和，一定是不會有的，如果沒有這樣的精神，講和的條件，一定要比較苛刻，中國的損失，一定要較多較大，因爲一個是以友好的精神來交涉，想從這個交涉中，得到公平的和平，一個是以仇恨的精神來交涉，想以交涉的條件作報復的手段，這個區別很重要，只要是冷靜觀察的人，一定可以認識的。

我們因爲以上述友好的精神來折衝，所以雖然常常也逢着難關，遇着暗礁，但是都不是沒有方法去解決的，現在雖然還沒有達到最後決定的階段，但是就交涉經過的大體說，雖然還不能令我們十分滿意，但是恐怕不是重慶政府交涉時所能得到的，日本雖然略有所得，中國雖然準備略有所失，但是中國所準備的失，決不致妨礙中國的生存，獨立，和自由的，談判的條件，雖然在最近的將來，還不便全部公佈，但是我可以負責的保證，除非中國真正得到最後勝利，就是重慶來講和，至多也不過只能得到這樣的條件，恐怕連這樣的條件也得不到，這決不是欺人之談，我們對於歷史，要有交代的，我們不是喪心病狂，難道願意天下後世的人，爲我們鑄鐵像嗎。

我相信一定有人說，條件雖然很好，但是等到你們上檯之後，有甚麼方法，保證日本有誠意，有什麼力量保證日本能實行，這個願慮，當然是應有而必有的，不過我覺得這也不是毫無把握，至少比最後勝利的把握要多得多。

據我半年來實際的體驗，我覺得至少日本的當局和在野有識之士，是有誠意的，別的不說，就是就這次條件的會談來說，也是一個證明，前面已經說過，這次會談，是以友好的精神來會商的，但是雙方關於利害所繫，得失所關的地方，爭執依然很烈，雖然爭到最後，雙方都以友好的精神，尋覓公平的解決，但是爭執的時候，雙方都絲毫肯放鬆，因此要耽擱了許多時間，我就是從日本爭執得很厲害之中，看出日本將來能夠實行的誠意，這個理由很簡單，就是，本來預備不實行的事情，何必費氣力去爭，反過來說，就是因爲將來不能不實行的，所以現在不能不認真的爭，就日本現在的情形來看，是希望中國的中央政府早日成立的，如果他們沒有誠意，儘管我們現在要甚麼，他們答應甚麼，我們怎樣說怎樣好，把我們早點騙上檯，等我們上了檯，他們再來變臉，這樣做法，有何不可，但是他們現在並不如此，因爲雙方都很認真，所以就不多要時間，因爲多要時間，他們希望早日成立的中央政府，就不能不因此延遲下去，他們一方面希望中央政府早日成立，一方面條件又要認真商討，因爲要認真的商討條件，寧肯讓切望早日成立的中國中央政府延遲，可見得這次所談的條件，他們是準備將來實行的，決不是現在拿來騙我們上檯的把戲。

我覺得我們不應該根本懷疑日本完全沒有誠意，如果要根本懷疑，只好一直打下去，永久不來講和，如果終有一天要講和的話，我們便一方面不要使人懷疑我們的誠意，同時我們也不要懷疑人家決無誠意，至於說由新中央政府來講和，恐怕日本人沒有誠意，難道由重慶政府來講和，日本便立即變成有誠意嗎，我們決不是和重慶政府爭着講和，如果重慶政府能夠講和，乃是我們馨香禱祝，求之不得的事情，我現在只說，如果根本懷疑日本完全沒有誠意，那末，只好一直打到底，新中央來講和，他們固然沒有誠意，重慶來和議，他們

們只是爲取得政權而組織中央政府，再說得露骨一點，如果我們只是爲個人權利而組織中央政府，我們犯不着這樣的慘淡經營，艱難締造，老早已加入既成之局，樹立起中央政權了，我們堅決的主張和立場，乃是，如果中央政府的樹立，於國家沒有利益，我們情願終生亡命，決不冒冒失失的隨便上槓，但是反過來說，如果於國有利，我們是不避艱險，不辭危難，要挺起身來，用負這個責任的，外面所傳雙十節，總理誕辰，以及明年元旦，都不過是揣測之詞，實際上並沒有這種決定，我十月間赴東京的時候，日本各方面，都以中央政府成立的時期問我，我答覆他們說，一中央政府的成立，不是時間的問題，乃是條件的問題，如果條件足以救國，我們就立即着手組織，否則，我們是水遠不會組織的，我告訴日本友人的這幾句話，現在再拿來告訴我們的同胞，這乃是汪先生的主張，這乃是我們的立場。

我們先來檢閱組織中央政府，是否於國有利。

有些人說，你們的和平運動，我們是同情的，但是爲什麼要組織中央政府，重慶政府，既然不能消滅，你們再來一個中央政府，不是要把中國變成一年以前的西班牙嗎，不是要把外戰變成內亂嗎，不是上了日本人以華制華的當嗎，這些話驟聽起來，似乎有理，其實不然，如果，抗戰的前途，確能得到最後勝利，我們是不應該組織中央政府的，如果重慶當局，能夠開始停戰，和平的交涉，（第三國調解或直接交涉，暫置不論），我們的中央政府，也不應該樹立的，但是最後勝利，是絲毫沒有把握的，這個道理，我在「回顧與前瞻」和「中國國民黨過去的功罪和今後的地位」兩文中，已經說得很詳細了，一個國民，那裏有不情願，不希望自己的國家打勝仗的呢，但是事實究竟是什麼，希望是不能變更事實的，重慶講和，現在也是不可能，如果說蔣先生祇顧私人的權位，完全不顧國家的利益，我是不相信的，如果說他不明白和戰的利害，我是更不相信的，但是他的地位，他的環境，不容許他講和，所以他唱出要日本先撤兵，然後再講和的一種連他自己暗中都要好笑的超常識的議論，翻閱從古到今的中外的和戰的歷史，都是先停戰，再議和，然後再撤兵的，從沒看見先從撤兵做

起，最後纔做到停戰的，如果日本真的於停戰議和之前先撤了兵，那豈不是中國打了勝仗嗎，還要什麼和平交涉呢，重慶既然在這種超常識的空氣之下，那裏還準備議和呢，重慶既然沒有勝利的把握，又沒有議和的準備，我們就不能眼睜着中國就這樣淪亡下去，而不組織中央政府來擔負這個和平的使命了。

我們深信組織中央政府，擔負和平的使命，於國家是「有利」的，最少的限度，確實是「無害」。

爲甚麼說有利，因爲由汪先生所領導的中央政府來議和，可以得到較好的條件，我們當然知道國與國之間的關係，要憑利害，是不能以對人的好惡爲轉移的，但是人類總是感情的動物，感情的作用，並非完全不能影響國與國之間關係，汪先生這次犧牲一切，挺身而出，爲中國挽救危亡，同時爲日本解決困難，這種偉大的精神，是可以使日本人感動，我兩次到東京和半年來和日本友人接觸的結果，深知汪先生的和平運動，對於日本精神的影響，實在很大，日本民族，是富於感激性的，這是日本民族性的優點，我們應該認識的，他們既然是富於感激性的，所以他們以爲中國，爲日本，爲東亞，不顧生死，出而主張和平的汪先生爲對手來議和，和以與他們惡戰苦鬥了兩年以上的重慶政府爲對手來講和，心理上，情緒上，是完全不同的，因爲有這個不同，所以他們對於重慶政府所要求的必多，對於新中央政府所要求的必較少，這從日本民族的特性來看，一定是不會錯的，這還是從理論來說，根據我的體驗，事實也是如此，我是奉命任外交折衝的，我以前雖然沒有辦外交的經驗，但是我深感覺這次我們和日本折衝，和普通的外交，完全不同，普通的外交，是只替自己打算，不爲對方設想的，這次我們的折衝，固然雙方都爲自己的國家打算，但是同時雙方都互相爲對方設想，我在交涉之初，就對日本同志表示，我們此次交涉，雙方都要有種特殊精神，就是日本不能以戰勝國自居，中國不能以戰敗國自處，如果日本站在戰勝國的地位，自己爲刀鋸，而以中國爲魚肉，我們是受不了的，如果我們受不了，和平是沒有希望

雲南省對蔣之關係也，然而計劃終於失敗，雲龍堅持拒絕蔣氏之誘惑，南甯之陷落，將在雲南發生天銳化之反響，蓋雲龍或將感覺其地位之危險，而思於日方取得諒解也，固如是者，則四川之包圍，即將完成，而蔣氏之巢穴不久當見傾覆矣。

此後各國對於蔣政權之外交態度，乃可供作極有趣味之觀察，如各國堅持其承認與不承認之妙談，則局勢之變遷將使之非常可笑，至其對蔣之援助，則雖已極微，終不能不視為對日本與新中國之惡意舉動，如能從速了解其對蔣之種種虛偽諾言，徒使中國無辜人民受無限之痛苦，則各國將來在華，尚有可為，幸自勉之，而莫助桀為暴也。

▲德國和戰之目的▼

德國之與英國作戰也，已非得到最後勝利不止，德國非為帝國主義侵略之戰，乃為解放被侵略之弱小民族，如中國印度者而戰也，英國帝國主義本其侵略之目的，乃思置德國於其勢力之下，藉凡爾賽條約非法奪取德國之殖民地，而分給於波蘭，丹麥，比利時，捷克斯拉夫等小國。

德國乃為自身作戰，乃與必須毀滅之世界惡魔作戰，故其勝利必有把握，德國復有強大之聯盟國，如日意俄等國，在目前之戰事中，德國已能發揮其武力之足以對抗英法兩國而有餘，英國則孤立無助，在世界民族中，於數十年來受其惡勢力之左右者，已摒棄之矣。

德國之目的，為和平為真正永久之和平，英國之目的固何在哉，十一月二十六日，英首相張伯倫發表云「吾人戰爭之目的乃為克敵」，于此簡單之數字中，英國之心理與觀念，已顯示無遺，英國非為其權利而戰，蓋英國之權利從未有入侵略之也，英國非為其國家受非法攻擊而戰，亦非為有任何神聖之使命而戰，其作戰之惟一理由乃欲「克敵」耳，然則何以以德國為敵乎，德國曾否有擾亂世界和平之行爲乎，未也，德國乃欲取得其固有之權利，而因其要求之不達目的，致其民族前程受危險，乃以力取之耳。

英國此次戰爭中之侵略行爲，不知將以何稱設辭掩飾之，其自己為帝國主義企圖而發明之「克敵」而戰，已足以為世人吐罵之口實。不列顛帝國享日已久，有已無人，理當滅亡，自身之利益為英人最重要之目標，他人之有無，於我何有哉。

特 載

關於組織中央政府

周佛海

一般傳聞，先說中央政府，定於雙十節成立，以後又說十一月十二日總理誕辰，一定實現，現在又說明年一月一日，必可成功，但是雙十節過去了，總理誕辰也過去了，中央政府並沒有成立，現在，一月一日，也漸漸的快到了，中央政府的成立，還沒有一些動靜，於是種種的懷疑和揣測，到處都可以聽得見，大家都以為汪先生組織中央政府的計劃，終於失敗了，汪先生的和平運動，不能成功了，於是反對和平的人，就幸災樂禍的歡欣鼓舞，贊成和平的人，也就垂頭喪氣的悲觀絕望，汪先生的組府計劃，真的失敗了嗎，汪先生的和平運動真的不能成功嗎，組府計劃，就是這次運動的最後目的嗎，組織中央政府，於國家有利嗎，這些問題，都有研究清楚的必要，現在特述個人的所見。

汪先生這次所領導的運動，當然不是以組織中央政府的本身為目的，組織中央政府，不過是和平運動的一個過程，不過是救國的一種方法，組織政府的本身，決不是目的，如果汪先生祇是以組織政府為目的，而不顧及國家的利益，老實說，我們老早已上了彀了，那裏能等到今天，還在任人家的揣測和懷疑，我們也曾聽見許多故意捏造的謠言，有些說，因為既成政權的反對，所以汪先生不能上權，有些說，因為日本的不同意，所以中央政府不能實現，但是我們敢放肆的說，如果我們只是為組織中央政府而組織中央政府，換句話，如果我

完全自主之目的，而無不平等條約租界及治外法權等之對華束縛者，當可繼續在華自由居住，經營其合法之事業，此點當然不過為汪政府政策大意之簡述，次要問題，當然亦以承認上述原則為主旨。

外交政策，尤須適合東亞新秩序之需要，新政府之對於新秩序則將竭力助成，而不加阻礙，因此與英美兩國之堅持以九國公約之立場觀察中國事件者，將來必有若干困難之發生。

至於日本，則已明白表示中日兩國舊有之條約，久欠修改，已不適用，況欲適合新中國兩年來對時代之一切變化，與夫新中國將來與日本之輔車相助，已非採取與自身同一之政策不可，故欲測度中國之外交政策，當以日本之外交政策為借鏡，換言之，兩國將來之命運，有密切之關係，故其對第三國之態度，亦趨向共同，以利兩國之繁榮進步。

歷來政府之外交政策，為依賴，非為自主，此種態度，乃使中國退化落伍，淪為半殖民地，於民族自由之宗旨，絕不相合。

▲日本與蘇俄▼

日俄兩國間之摩擦，觀之局勢，均有早日解決之趨向，東京與莫斯科間之非正式談判，對於兩國未來之關係，有極良好之影響，以地理言之，日俄兩國乃關係密切之近鄰，即此一點亦當為解決兩國間一切糾紛之助力。

在今日東京與莫斯科談判中之唯一嚴重問題，厥惟蘇俄之繼續援助中國共產黨以抗日，目前日本似有以不牽連大局之方法解決此問題之傾向，但若整個問題解決之後，則此事自亦消滅於無形，然而如俄國不改其援助中國共產黨之政策，則日俄間未來之關係根本無法解決，幸而俄國已有改變其政策之表示矣。

據吾人之觀察日俄兩國如能採取睦隣政策，和平相處，則兩國均蒙其利，蘇俄實行其共產主義於其國內，日本決不加以干涉也。

▲不列顛義負波蘭▼

不列顛之陷落波蘭，乃其背信負義之特徵，將於歷史上傳為英國

之一極大污點，英國既不能予波蘭以物質上之援助，乃屢申其担保之說，使波蘭於其對德問題中，完全不能足蹈實地，而終受滅國之痛。觀之事態之經過，吾人之責備英國不得為之無故，在波蘭亡國之後，英法兩國乃大言必將波蘭恢復戰前狀態而後已，但英法聯合之實力又不能戰勝德俄，故此大言不諱實屬可笑。

神經系之觀察家，對於波蘭之被瓜分，每代為悲傷，不知事實上在凡爾賽條約重劃歐洲地圖之前，波蘭之一部，本屬德國，而其他一部則屬俄國也。

關於波蘭被滅，哀悼之文字雖多，而事實之記載卻少，至外間不明真相，大屬可惜，波蘭惑於英法兩國之勢力，堅持不肯放棄純屬德國之但澤市，而引起此次之戰爭，如波蘭而能放棄但澤，使成爲德人安居之地，則事態豈不大較良好乎。

▲重慶已失其最後之希望▼

日軍之神速攻陷廣西南甯，而佔領此極重要之軍事據點，已將蔣政權抗戰之最後希望毀滅無餘，日軍於十一月十五日在北海登岸後，即向南甯進攻，與廣西軍隊激戰數次後，不出十日即攻入南甯，而于十一月二十日佔領之。

自日軍佔領南甯之後，重慶與外界之重要交通中心，已被切斷，南甯在陷落之前，乃為自安南方面輸入軍火之要道，重慶現在所餘者，惟迷離恍惚之兩條路線耳，一為由安南至雲南之雲南鐵路，一為西北方之所謂「紅路」，乃尚未完成之公路網，日軍在廣西立足後，即能毀滅雲南路線，而使極成問題之紅路，為重慶對外之惟一交通線。

南甯之陷落與廣西軍隊抵抗之薄弱，以南甯地勢之險要論之，實可驚異，其惟一原因，無奈為蔣介石之不願使其軍隊再作無爲之犧牲乎，尚有一點亦屬可能者，其蔣介石之已知其不能與日軍對抗於外省，而將集中其實力於四川以困守乎，再則雲南對蔣之態度亦極可疑，最近蔣介石已向雲南省主席龍雲表示，邀其入川，而予以名義上極為重要之位置，事實上乃欲使雲龍離滇，而以蔣之親信代之，以保全

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總王筆及發行人——甘德雲

▲不列顛難免崩潰▼

因德國潛艇之大施活動，使英國船隻損失之噸數，日益增加，其海上霸權之逐漸消削，大有為不列顛帝國崩潰之先聲，不列顛之建國，本基於其曠昔強大之海軍，但自九月以來，德國雖以比較弱小之海軍敢向英國挑戰，且其神勇之潛艇，已擊沉不少英國商船戰艦，英國之航運與水道在嚴重威脅之下，其處境自然感覺非常焦慮。

英國一方於海戰中困苦應付德國之強敵，一方又有失去直布羅陀堅強衝要之根據地之危險，在此次歐戰中，西班牙雖保守中立，但其對德則有絕對之同情，加之問題根本上有關其自身之權益，不久法朗哥政府必將正式要求收回直布羅陀，如英國不允交還此要塞，則要班牙將被逼而以武力收回此理當屬彼之西班牙領土也，直布羅陀一失，則英國與印度及其他東方屬地間之生命線即告斷絕。

印度問題之於英國，已日趨嚴重，印度人民對於英政府于歐戰初起時所作之虛假諾言，已有堅決反抗之意，印度領袖如甘地及那羅等，已明白表示印度人民之不願對於英政府狡滑之諾言，再予置信也，彼等所欲者，乃印度之完全自主，且將以全力領導印度人民爭取其應得之權利，數週來印度事態之進展，皆足以表示其反抗英國奴化政策之開始猛進而無疑，據有經驗之觀察家之預言，英國將於歐戰延長之數月間失去印度。

再進而論之，則在東方猶有英帝國主義之敵人——新中國——在焉，與新中國同時產生者，有新興之國民自覺與精神，故英國統制下之香港與天津租界之存在，與新中國之目的不能符合，此種英國對華非法箝制之取消，將使英國失去其在遠東之統制，此則為英帝國之又

一重大打擊。

英國之妄想曾以離間日德義三國之密切聯繫為妙計，然而三國間之關係，不但未經減弱，且軍事同盟，大有實現之可能，同以打倒不列顛餘留之威力為目的。

英國此次戰為中之伙伴法國，非為英國而戰也，乃欲保其自身耳，機緣一至，即將與其暫時之聯邦決絕，此說驟聽之，似屬無稽之談，然而莫忘英法兩國乃數百年來之世仇，一旦法國覺悟其所戰者，不過為保全不列顛帝國，則法國必將脫離英國而坐觀其成敗，上述各點，皆所以指示不列顛帝國今日處境之危險。

▲新政府之政策▼

新中國中央政府之政策，當然為各國所極端注意，而新政府領袖汪精衛先生將來所採取之方針，外間已有種種之猜測。

在討論政策問題之前，新政府之發起人問題，或可作一及時之討論，汪先生及其同志，一如北京之臨時政府與南京之維新政府，均不欲否認其政權之成立，為日本人所提倡，而依中日之親善合作為其生存之道，傀儡之名稱，對於淪陷區域中日本人所組織之機關，用之極廣，然而平心論之，傀儡與否，在淪陷區域中之必需有中國官吏，聯絡日本當局與中國人民，以維持和平秩序，若無此種聯絡，則因言語之不通以及其他困難而發生之不幸事件，不知將有萬幾，關於此點，本刊早已論及，我人所欲重新稱道者，乃若干忠勇為國之人士，不畏刀鋸而出而改造戰後之環境。

現有之臨時地方政權，未能負起外交之責任，亦無處理外交之權力，雖維新臨時兩政府均有確定機關，訂立關於外交方面之基未法規，以備今後從政者之歸依，理由所在，蓋以改善民生，助成中日合作為前提也，至於對外關係，維新臨時兩政府均於遇有事故之際，表示其對外人之公正與誠懇。

目前如欲述說新政府政策之究竟為何，為時雖屬過早，但言外交政策之將以公平為原則，則可不虞有誤也，第三國之能助新中國達到



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中華民國二十八年十二月十五日

中華民國維新政府政綱

- (一) 實行三民主義之憲政制度取消一黨專政
- (二) 以實力解決爭端使爭端不致波及中東而足以造成中東之混亂
- (三) 外交以下等為原則以不使淪為半自治地位中東時局以鞏固東亞和平並維護世界和平保衛海峽之安全為方針
- (四) 各省人民應迅速復其故業並在非戰區區域設立保安組織勤練武裝
- (五) 救濟失業問題以資生業之振興農作物之改良在國家指導之下發展邊疆外食水之與友邦經濟力謀提攜
- (六) 扶助已成之工業並發展新工業使其可因時而增加產量
- (七) 本中國固有之道德文化吸收世界之科學知識以養成理智高尚體力強健之國民在抗戰之烽火教育性靈學說皆須根本革命
- (八) 財政課收支適合以減輕人民負擔為首要之責以增進全國福利為前不為之之設分額之捐稅凡為民者務應免除之
- (九) 人才台進使學者充分致力國家之公共福利國人得隨時批評政治
- (十) 嚴懲官吏貪污廢行不職嚴禁任何阻礙民權之舉動

本 期 要 目

- 不列顛難免崩潰
- 新政府之政策
- 日本與蘇俄
- 不列顛義勇波蘭
- 重慶已失其最後之希望
- 德國和戰之目的

中華新聲半月刊

第三卷

第七期