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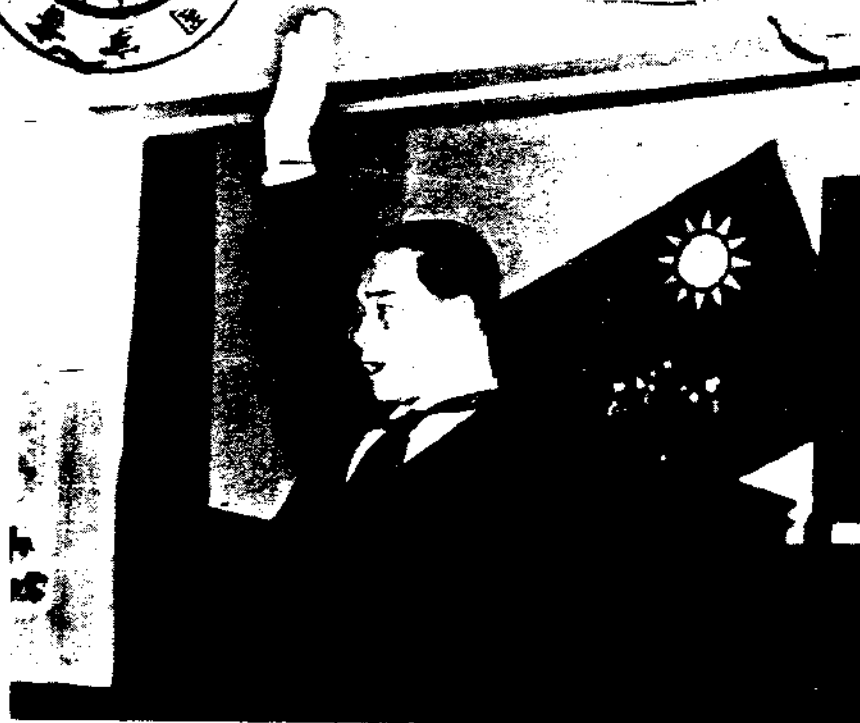
# VOICE of NEW CHINA

A BI-LINGUAL FORTNIGHTLY

Incorporating the CHINA OUTLOOK



Special Issue Dedicated to the First Anniversary  
of the Return of the National  
Government to Nanking



H. E. Mr. Wang Ching-wei, President of the National Government

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## To The Great Indian People

### Now Is Your Only Chance To Drive Out The English Huns

If you are seriously desirous of shaking off the  
yoke of the English Huns 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 un-  
mercifully 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 OVER-  
THROW BRITISH IMPERIALISM!

L. K. KENTWELL,  
Hon. Secretary,

GURDIAL SINGH,  
Asst. Hon. Secretary and Treasurer

8 Drum Tower Villa, NANKING (CHINA).

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## Editorial Notes & Comments

### NATIONAL GOVERNMENT'S FIRST ANNIVERSARY

Imbued with the firm conviction that the Peace Movement initiated by Mr. Wang Ching-wei, President of the National Government of the Republic of China, has been spreading rapidly throughout the length and breadth of the land, the populace of the Capital celebrated the First Anniversary of the return of the Government to Nanking with feelings of enthusiasm and joy. The celebrations were spontaneous and there was not a sad face among the Capital's half million inhabitants.

Similar scenes of rejoicing were witnessed throughout all the vast territory under the jurisdiction of the National Government, — from Peking to Canton and from Shanghai to Hankow millions laid aside their tasks to observe this significant anniversary.

Led by the President, the nation's leaders made reviews of the accomplishments during the past year over nation-wide radio broadcasts. There was no bombastic boasting, no loud shouting from the roof-tops. Underlying the reviews was a confident tone of steady progress towards the eventual goal: Realisation of the Peace Movement and establishment of the New Order in East Asia.

The path of the Government since its return to Nanking has not been a smooth one and difficulties confronted it at the very outset. The first obstacle to overcome was the attitude and mentality of the people. Led astray by the smooth-sounding phrases of the Chungking clique, the people had come to believe that salvation of the country lay in the futile campaign of resistance advocated by Chiang Kai-shek and his satellites. They had been blindfolded so effectively by Chungking that they failed to perceive their own sufferings and misery and the dangers to which their country was being exposed by the prolongation of the suicidal policy of enmity towards their neighboring country.



*President Wang . . . has brought salvation to his country through the Peace Movement.*

President Wang's Peace Movement was regarded with mistrust and those patriots who braved public opinion were put to scorn. But Mr. Wang Ching-wei and his faithful followers had embarked on their arduous task and they were determined to make the Peace Movement a living and throbbing reality. They were not under the spell of the false policy of resistance which Chiang Kai-shek has so stubbornly advocated. Chiang was and is actuated purely from selfish interests for himself and the corrupt "Soong Dynasty," whereas Mr. Wang only considers the welfare of the nation and his fellow countrymen. In this respect lies the great difference between the real patriot and the pseudo-patriot.

Eight months after the return of the Government to Nanking, the Sino-Japanese Basic Treaty was signed on November 30 last, this step marking a great stride forward in the fundamental objective of both China and Japan, the realisation of Peace. At the same time, the treaty of mutual recognition was signed with Manchoukuo, thus bringing about normal relations between the two sister-states after a lapse of ten years.

The treaty was a natural follow-up of the concordance of views and policy held by the National Government and the Japanese Government, but the outstanding fact was the complete

elimination of impositions of indemnity and territorial acquisition by Japan. In this respect, the Sino-Japanese Basic Treaty will go down in the annals of history as one of the most magnanimous gestures extended by a nation which, militarily, had been victorious all along. This magnanimity must be attributed to Prince Konoye, an outstanding statesman and Premier of Japan, who first enunciated the principle of "no indemnity and no territorial acquisition." Prince Konoye will always be regarded as a true and warm friend by the Chinese people.

In the field of reconstruction and rehabilitation of war-torn areas, remarkable progress has been achieved. Throughout the territory under the National Government's control, graphic proof of the work of reconstruction is visible on all sides,—cities which had been practically demolished during the intense fighting of the past three years have risen again under the energetic building programs initiated by the Government; railway communications have been restored to normal and regular schedules; telegraph and telephone communications are functioning as in the pre-hostilities period; agriculture has resumed its age-old function of providing food for the teeming millions; and in the field of industry, numerous factories and plants which had been temporarily under the control of the Japanese Authorities, have been restored to their Chinese owners, and, in many cases, rejuvenated by expert Japanese co-operation and Japanese machinery replacements.

While the work of reconstruction and rehabilitation proceeds apace, opportunities for new fields of endeavor have not been forgotten and with the new spirit of co-operation between Japanese and Chinese daily assuming more important dimensions, these new fields are likely to bring about such prosperity that New China's future is assured.

At this happy juncture when the National Government fully deserves the felicitations tendered by a grateful nation, one cannot help pondering over the sad fate of Chungking. The *braggadocio* which has kept alive the faint show of enthusiasm in distant Szechwan is beginning to pale, as Chiang's supporters in the United States and England find themselves more and more enmeshed in the toils they have weaved for themselves, and support from these sources (although termed in mighty millions of dollars) fails to reach Chungking. The Chiang regime have only the mountain fastnesses of Szechwan to thank for their existence, but even nature's boundaries will fail to stop the just Fate which will soon overtake them.

The National Government at Nanking, under the Presidency of Mr. Wang Ching-wei, has passed its first mile-stone, and though the road ahead is long and weary it will complete the work of establishing Peace in this strife-torn land. Let all true patriots and real friends of China pledge their support to the National Government and aid it toward the desired goal!

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### Shanghai Ratepayers' Annual Meeting

The tumult which has characterized the internal politics of the Shanghai International Settlement Municipal Council during the past twelve-month, and culminating in the Hayashi Incident, has finally brought about a novel and surprising change. We refer to the decision reached by the Consular Authorities of the three Powers with leading interests in the Settlement to permit changes in the present set-up of five British, two American, two Japanese and five Chinese Councillors, to four Chinese, three British, three Japanese, three American and three of other nationalities.

These changes have been broadcast by the British Community in Shanghai as a concession on their part, a grandiloquent and magnanimous gesture,—in reality, however, the gasp of a dying duck!

The annual meeting of ratepayers is sche-

duled to take place on April 17, at which several resolutions containing the various reforms have been proposed by different ratepayers, all of whom, however, happen to be Britishers. A glance at the Municipal Council notification publishing these resolutions will reveal the names of W. J. Keswick, Jardine's *taipan*, and G. E. Mitchell, Butterfield & Swire's *taipan*, these gentlemen sponsoring no less than six out of the total seven resolutions.

To the gullible the British gesture may seem to be a genuine effort to institute a more balanced administration in the Shanghai Settlement, but to us the gesture is nothing more than a forced measure of temporary appeasement, brought about by the general animosity directed against the monopolistic British hold over Shanghai. We are not alone in entertaining this opinion. We know of several decent Britishers who have long contested against the unfair

domination of the Settlement by a clique of British taipans. On March 18, our Shanghai evening contemporary, the "*Shanghai Evening Post & Mercury*," published a long and detailed article from the able pen of the well-known British barrister, Mr. R. G. McDonald, describing how a handful of British firms and two Britishers, Messrs. W. J. Keswick and G. E. Marden, practically control the votes of the Settlement. Even the British themselves are under the thumbs of the two persons mentioned, and, as Mr. McDonald states, "a British straw vote (for Council nominees) in nothing but a travesty of justice and the so-called spirit of Democracy."

The present cringing mentality of the British is well illustrated by the resolution proposed by Messrs. Keswick and Mitchell "that our esteemed fellow ratepayer, Judge Milton J. Helmick, be invited to take the Chair" (at the Annual Meeting on April 17.) Judge Helmick is an American and thus receives the dubious honor of being the first American to preside as Chairman of the Annual Ratepayers' Meeting. It is typical of the British that when they are in trouble they run to formerly despised people to assist them and to seek their protection, although what difference Judge Helmick's presence as Chairman will make it is difficult to tell, seeing that, in the past, all Council matters and decisions were planned, formulated and decided upon within the portals of the pestiferous Shanghai Club, over whose "golden portals" no Chinese is permitted to step.

The proposed new set-up of the Council may sound excellent to foreign ears but to the Chinese it is nothing but a case of "adding insult to injury." Although the Chinese Community of Shanghai provides over 85% of the Council revenue it has no say in Council affairs, and all Chinese are disfranchised. When the Council permitted the entry of five Chinese councillors, it was nothing but a gesture of appeasement and it did not in the least alleviate the lot of the disfranchised Chinese Community. On the contrary, by admitting Chinese councillors who were tied to big foreign interests, the Council insured themselves of a certain amount of Chinese support in an emergency. These Chinese councillors were in fact mere "running dogs" of the British taipans.

In the new set-up, the number of Chinese councillors, hitherto five, has been reduced to four. It is unnecessary to dilate upon this

insult, and there is nothing left but to commence a "war-to-the-death" campaign against the Settlement Council and eliminate this illegal body.

The forthcoming Annual Meeting may well be the last to be held under the Council's auspices, as the Chinese nation and people will no longer tolerate a situation in which their fundamental rights are trodden upon so ruthlessly. Unless the disfranchised Chinese are given equal voting rights as their fellow British and other foreign ratepayers at the Annual Ratepayers' Meeting of 1942, the life of the Council can be counted in so many days and months. This is not an idle threat but the serious consideration of a large section of the Chinese people whose sole wish is to see the end of all foreign settlements and concessions in China, and the termination of further Anglo-Saxon exploitation and domination.

\* \* \*

### Nippon-Thailand Understanding

That Japan has scored a signal victory over attempted Anglo-American manipulations in Thailand is generally conceded, and, furthermore, the conclusion of the peace treaty between Thailand and French Indo-China under the aegis of the Japanese Government has set a precedent in world diplomacy, which for well over a century had been dominated by Anglo-American diplomacy.

It goes without saying that both London and Washington had entertained hopes that their ministers at Bangkok would be able to sway the Thailand authorities to their way of thinking and to arrange the dispute between Thailand and French Indo-China in such manner as to redound to their benefit. But in this respect both London and Washington diplomatic quarters failed to take into consideration the most potent factor in Far Eastern politics today, the New Order in East Asia as sponsored by Japan.

Various connotations have been placed on the border dispute between the belligerents, chief among them being that the conflict had been engendered by Japanese intrigues in Bangkok, following the downfall of France. This, however, is far from the truth. Thailand had legitimate claims against French Indo-China, the territories in dispute being historically, racially and culturally part and parcel of the ancient kingdom of Siam.

France ceded to Thailand 69,420 square kilometers of territory in Cambodia and Laos at

the Franco-Thai peace conference at Tokyo after three months of undeclared war and 42 days of mediation by Japan.

Most of the territory retroceded by France is undeveloped jungle land. But, according to authoritative Thai quarters the province of Batambang, which is among the territories returned, produces a yearly average of 400,000 tons of rice — a welcome addition to Thailand's exportable surplus, which this year's drought cut drastically. Batambang Province is one of the richest in Cambodia.

Thailand also regained rich teak forests in the Luang Prabang and Pakse areas. Most of this land, however, is unexploited, especially in the Luang Prabang area in the north. Thai circles are confident that the development of the Luang Prabang forests will not be difficult. Teak logs could be floated down the Mekong River to Mongkai or Ubol, from where they could be shipped to Bangkok by train for trans-shipment to the world markets.

Heavy, unexploited jungle land is also found in the area south of Pakse. Without large expenditures of government or private capital the wealth within these forests will remain untouched. Thailand already had vast, undeveloped forest lands before the Tokyo peace conference. The present Government is developing highways and railroads in an effort to tap these areas.

In the region around Pailin in the south there are rich deposits of rubies and sapphires. Pailin sapphires are among the finest in the world.

According to the Tokyo agreement, French holdings in the ceded territories will not be interfered with. French companies will merely come under Thai law and will be permitted to continue their activities without any restriction other than those already existing under the laws of this country.

In addition to rice, forests and gems, the territory returned to Thailand by the Tokyo peace agreement abounds in wild game of all kinds. Herds of elephants tramp the Luang Prabang jungles and tigers, leopards and wild boars people the jungles south of Pakse. To a race of hunters this is no mean gain.

The Thailand Government expressed its grateful appreciation to Japan for "bringing to Thailand a square deal." The "Supab Barus," one of Bangkok's leading vernaculars, declared that Thailand's prestige has been restored in the eyes of European nations, while another

daily, the "Thai Mai," asserted that the treaty is most satisfactory, and that Japan is the most powerful nation in the East and can protect all other eastern nations against aggression.

Japan has gained a valuable friend in Thailand and undoubtedly the latter will grant facilities for bases in Thai territory when the day arrives to launch a campaign to reduce Britain's "Gibraltar of the East," Singapore.

\* \* \*

### Cleaning Up Shanghai's Vice Dens

Vigorous action against the various vice dens now operating in the Western Special Area is envisaged in the recent order issued by Mayor Chen Kung-po of the Shanghai Special Municipality to Mr. Pan Ta, Commissioner of the recently formed special police force in the area named.

Suppression has been ordered of all unlawful enterprises, such as gambling and sale of narcotics. The Mayor stated in the instructions that all the vice dens should not only be closed down immediately but should never be allowed to resume their business in the future. It may be noted that the suppression of gambling and other illegitimate enterprises in the Western Shanghai Special Area is one of the provisions stipulated in the agreement recently concluded between the Shanghai Special Municipality and the International Settlement authorities for the creation of the Joint Police Force.

In view of this stipulation, and also in view of another which provides for full co-operation between the Joint Police Force and the police of the Settlement in the arrest and apprehension of criminals, there should be little, if any, difficulty in carrying out the Mayor's orders. Mr. Pan Ta, the Commissioner of the new police, is an able and energetic official, and there is no doubt that he will be able to carry out the clean-up campaign within the near future. But a great deal depends on the sincerity of co-operation extended by the Settlement authorities. It is hoped that the latter will show a more sincere front than they have done in connection with the question of terrorism, which has been rampant in the foreign areas during the past three years.

\* \* \*

### The Balkan Powder Keg

The Yugoslavian *coup d'etat* came as a distinct surprise after the Government had

signed a pact with Germany allying the country to the Axis and the Tripartite Pact.

Yugoslavia's change of front can only be termed suicidal as Germany will not tolerate any pin-pricks in the Balkans which will hamper her military progress. It is no less surprising that such a small state should openly defy a powerful state like the Third Reich, and this can only be attributed to the intrigues which the British and American "special representatives" have been stirring up in various Balkan states during the past few weeks. We refer to the visits of the British Foreign Minister, Mr. Anthony Eden, and to that of Colonel Donovan, President Roosevelt's personal envoy to the Balkans and the Near East.

We can only conjecture that the Yugoslavian Government had been grossly misled by the British and American Governments as to what could be done in the event of a German invasion of Yugoslavia, but the Government must have been blind to overlook the crushing defeats inflicted on two much more powerful states than Yugoslavia, viz., Poland and France.

Yugoslavia has chosen the side of the decrepit Democracies, relying on the nebulous help which the tottering British Empire can hardly afford, and also, perhaps, on American financial and material assistance. But, even if such assistance were forthcoming, the fate of Yugoslavia is sealed, and no matter what sort of resistance her poor soldiers are asked to put up, the German armed might will crush them. They have been given a chance to remain outside the orbit of hostilities, and, instead, they have chosen to fight — a losing battle.

\* \* \*

### The Fall of Britain

For the benefit of the few optimists who still concede Britain a slim chance of emerging from the war victorious or, at least, in a victoryless draw, a few pertinent points should be presented, demonstrating indisputably the early collapse of the British Empire.

After eighteen months of warfare, suffering defeat after defeat at the hands of Germany, from the Norwegian debacle to the "glorious Dunkirk retreat," Britain has not scored any victory worthy of the name over her enemy, but she has lost over 5,000,000 tons of shipping (according to American sources), territory ceded to the

United States valued at more than £14,000,000, and, at home, daily increasing losses inflicted by the German air force on her main ports and munitions factories.

Unprecedented in English history, the Government recently ordered the mobilisation of women for war work, and men, well over the military age limit, have also been conscripted for active service.

The terrible losses suffered by British shipping has resulted in ever-increasing restrictions on essential foods for her population, while important raw materials from overseas also fail to reach their destination for the same reason. German superiority in the air and her control of the entire French coast, as well as that of Belgium and Holland, constitute a "ring of steel" which is slowly and surely strangling Perfidious Albion.

The British Navy has been rendered immobile in the Mediterranean and she is unable to send her warships to convoy merchantmen carrying important foodstuffs and raw material for her munitions factories. Fuehrer Adolf Hitler has resolutely declared that he will subjugate Britain this year, and the intensified German shipping destruction is unquestionably an expression of that determination.

While the United States has promised support, it must be borne in mind that such support is not in the nature of a gift. Uncle Sam is now proving to be John Bull's Uncle Shylock and for every cent worth of help extended from across the Atlantic England must pay dearly, morally and materially. In any case, whatever help the United States may be able to extend will be insufficient to stem the German tide which threatens at any moment to engulf England.

Englishmen and their few remaining supporters have recently congratulated themselves on their victories in North Africa, but they fail to perceive that their victories are merely empty ones and that the strategy of the Italian General Staff has led the British forces into a long, strung-out line, rendering such forces ineffective for the protection of the Suez, and at the same time immobilizing them for service on any other front. The Italian Army is the one to be congratulated on performing a valuable service towards the Axis, and assisting to bring about the speedy downfall of the British Empire.

### Japan, U.S.A. Mutually "Best Customers"

Senator Burton K. Wheeler, staunch foe of all-out American aid to Britain, issued a statement on March 20 that the U.S. naval cruise to Auckland disclosed the Government's intention to "protect the British Empire in the Orient" and charged there was no democracy in China.

The Montana Democrat said that such American action was the real purpose of the Lend-Lease Bill which, if known during the debate on the act, might have resulted in a different decision being reached by Congress.

The champion of isolationism said that he had received information during the debate on the Lend-Lease Bill that American armed forces were moving toward Singapore and elsewhere in the Orient, but the reports were not confirmed.

He added that while Americans were sympathetic toward the British and desired to aid

them, Americans would demonstrate against a plan to save British Oriental possessions.

Senator Wheeler attacked the entire basis of the United States' Far Eastern policy.

*He declared that there was no Democracy in China or any British possessions in the Orient except Australia. Americans, he added, should not be asked to fight on behalf of British exploitation of the Orient and Malayasia.*

"There cannot be any question that these cruisers and destroyers are being sent to reinforce the British at Singapore and other ports of the Orient," Senator Wheeler said.

"I never believed that there would be war between the United States and Japan unless we took the offensive or put ourselves in a position where an unfortunate incident would happen.

*"Japan is one of our best customers. We likewise are one of her best customers."*

### Mr. Elly Widler Vindicated

It is interesting to note that all charges which were framed by the American Trading Company and the Shanghai Municipal Police against Mr. Elly Widler, well-known Shanghai Swiss resident, have been dropped. Mr. Widler's assistant, Mr. Wilhelm Bender, who was illegally arrested by the police shortly after the "copper case" came to light, has also been unconditionally released. It is to be regretted, however, that the Swiss Consulate-General still maintains a stubborn attitude over the case, but it is understood that they will also shortly withdraw all judicial and other charges against Mr. Widler.

### Bases Accord Signed

The agreement for leasing of Atlantic bases to the United States was signed in London on March 26, according to Reuter.

### MISS LIBERTY . . . 1941 STYLE



( Drawn by Eturo Kato for the "Japan Times & Advertiser" )





*President Wang inspecting the military parade on the anniversary.*



*The President (center front row) photographed with high officials of the Government on the occasion of the anniversary.*

## Historic Speech Delivered by President Wang On Anniversary of Government's Return

### Comprehensive Survey of Political and Economic Achievements in all Fields

*Mr. Wang Ching-wei, President of the National Government of China, delivered an historic speech over the radio on March 30 on the anniversary of the return of the National Government to the Capital at Nanking. The full text of the speech is as follows.*

Today last year, the National Government, in accordance with a resolution of the Central Political Council meeting, returned to its Capital at Nanking, and announced the adoption of "Peace, Anti-Communism and National Reconstruction" as its fundamental administrative policy, and resolutely started its march towards the realization of peace and the enforcement of constitutional government.

Negotiations for the readjustment of Sino-Japanese relations were started following Japan's despatch of General Abe as Envoy Extraordinary and Ambassador Plenipotentiary, and of the People's Envoys to Nanking, to discuss in a frank and open spirit ways of co-operation with a view to wiping out the past differences between China and Japan, and opening a bright and great road for the future. On November 30 the Treaty concerning the Basic Relations between China and Japan was signed and the Joint Declaration by the Governments of China, Japan and Manchoukuo was issued at the same time. The contracting parties agreed to establish a New Order on an ethical basis, mutually to respect their sovereignty and territories, and to take mutually helpful and friendly measures, political, economic, cultural and otherwise, in order to attain their common objective of co-existence and co-prosperity and the regeneration of East Asia.

This has ushered in a new era in the relations between China and Japan. Under the same basic spirit, Chinese comrades, going a step further, have sponsored the East Asia League Movement, with political independence, economic co-operation, military alliance and cultural interchange as its cardinal principles so that all the countries in East Asia may from their respective stands of liberty and independence, exert joint efforts to attain their common objective and welfare.

#### Constitutional Government

As to the enforcement of constitutional government, the basic principle lies in laying a

firm foundation for the country through the formation of a central force by enlightened people, regardless of their party differences. The Central Political Council was formed in such a spirit. Since the start of the East Asia League Movement, the various political parties, such as the Republican Party, the Headquarters of Asiatic Development and National Reconstruction, the Ta Min Hui and others have dissolved and joined the Kuo-min Tang in an endeavor to strengthen the central force and to facilitate the progress of political and economical reconstruction. In addition, a Committee for the Enforcement of Constitutional Government was established. The Committee has already deliberated the Draft Constitution of May 5, 1911, which has passed the committee stage and is now under general deliberation. In short, with the basic principle firmly established, questions concerning organization and others will be rationally solved and it is only natural that the enforcement of constitutional government will enlarge in scope side by side with the realization of peace.

The above passages are the fundamental policy of all reconstruction activities. I believe that the National Government will follow steadfastly the various successive steps in proper co-ordination. As to administrative achievements and the social condition, I shall be absolutely frank and not irresponsible. It cannot be said that during the past year no progress has been made in politics and economics, but a nation-wide peace has not yet been realized, a state of war is still continuing and all facts consequent upon the continuation of war are still present and there is a tendency that they are expanding in scope every day. Therefore restrictions and limitations are to be found in administrative efficiency and the betterment of economy and livelihood. This has been caused by the non-realization of a nation-wide peace. Who has obstructed the realization of a nation-

wide peace? It is the Chungking authorities. They clearly know the meaninglessness of resistance, fully realize the necessity for the early restoration of peace and even appreciate the fact that without anti-Communism there would be no peace and without peace national reconstruction would be impossible. But they could not forsake their personal interests, thus delaying the realization of a nation-wide peace. I cannot but tell the people of Chungking's guilt endangering the state and causing sufferings to the people.

#### Model of Peace

However, could Chungking constitute a lasting obstruction to the realization of a nation-wide peace? They certainly could not. The only way for us is to create a model of peace in places under the jurisdiction of the National Government. The National Government should, in accordance with the policy of Peace, Anti-Communism and National Reconstruction, concentrate its efforts to establish peace and to improve the economy of the society and the people. If peace in prescribed regions is successful, nation-wide peace will come automatically. This is what is meant by Mencius' remark that the people follow the government in the same way as water flows downstream. The Chungking authorities would be powerless to obstruct our efforts permanently. I shall make a brief description of the establishment of peace and the betterment of economy and livelihood. Before I start on these topics I shall bring up the following two points for discussions:

First, on April 26 last I made public my article 'The Spirit of Self-Reproach.' of the opinion that after the realization of a nation-wide peace, there would be numerous matters that require co-operation between China and Japan. If we do not have such a spirit of self-reproach, nothing could be done. This spirit is all the more necessary for the present, when a nation-wide peace has not yet been accomplished. The present state of peace and order and of economic livelihood is deplorable. Of course Chungking is responsible for such a state of affairs, but as the National Government has failed to cause Chungking to accept peace and jointly meet the national crisis, it can only establish peace and order and improve economy and livelihood within its own sphere of influence. There is no need for pessimism, nor any need for exaggeration.

"Secondly, in establishing peace and improving economy and livelihood, there are material as well as spiritual requirements. By material requirement we mean finance. The encouragement of honesty and cleanliness, the punishment of corruption, and the firm establishment of accounting system are of first importance. In various reconstruction activities, the importance angle must be emphasized so that not a cent will be wasted. Due consideration must be given to the spending of even one cent, in order that every cent is used most effectively.

The above two points constitute the basis of everything and from them, we may accomplish the following:-

#### Financial Measures

In the field of finance and economic, the following illustrations of the more important financial measures may be mentioned: (1) In the early days after the Return of the National Government to the Capital, the estimated monthly revenue was about \$16,000,000. Distribution was effected on this basis and with substantial readjustments by the Ministry of Finance, the financial conditions was than adequate, thus laying the financial foundation of the state. Business and other expenses have since increased steadily and seasonal differences have affected government revenue, as a result of which the monthly income could not remain on a steady level, but during the past year receipts and disbursements have been adequate, resulting in the further strengthening of the foundation. Since the beginning of 1941, the monthly expenditure has been over \$26,000,000 which, although showing an increase of over \$10,000,000 every month as compared with that at the time of the National Government's return to the Capital, has been amply met by virtue of the effective and cautious measures adopted by the financial authorities. There is even surplus financial strength to enable peace and reconstruction activities to proceed and surmount difficulties.

(2) The Ministry of Finance on November 1, 1940, convoked a financial conference for the consolidation of local finances. Over 40 resolutions were adopted which have since been carried into effect by the various provincial and local authorities. Local finances are therefore in the course of being readjusted. The book printed after the conclusion of the conference and describing the proceedings in great detail may be referred to. (3) The Central Reserve Bank which

had been under the preparation of the Ministry of Finance since last May was formally inaugurated on January 6 this year. Branches have been established in Shanghai, Soochow and Hangchow. The Bank issued new notes which are already enjoying great credit. Efforts for the readjustment of resources and stabilization of currency will be carried out step by step. (4) The customs, salt, and consolidation taxes, which constitute the three principal sources of revenue, have been carefully considered. Their rates of taxation will not be increased unless they are of a special nature and when such increases do not interfere with the livelihood of the people. For instance, transit taxes on vegetables and eggs have been abolished whereas tax rates on cigarettes, cigars, wines and beer have been increased, resulting in the increase of revenue and the lessening of the burden of the people. (5) Unlike indirect taxes, the payment of which can be shifted from one person to another, the come tax is direct tax and is considered to be a good source of revenue. The collection of this tax from public functionaries has already begun. When the opportunate moment arrives, income tax will be collected on business profits from stocks, bonds, etc., and from deposits. (6) Salt is a daily necessary. Although in China salt is produced from sea water, salt wells and salt fields, sea salt constitutes the majority of salt production. Damage to the equipment at the Haichow salterns owing to natural calamities has greatly reduced the salt output. The salterns are being repaired in accordance with fixed plans in order to increase salt production and to supply the needs of the people. Salt organizations in Kwangtung have been readjusted and have proved effective. Salt administration will be restored to its former status in the future so as to increase the supply of salt and lower its prices. (7) Concerning the abolition of miscellaneous and exorbitant taxes, the National Government announced at the time of its return to the Capital, that they would be abolished.

The above are merely illustrations. In short, the balancing of budgets is the most important key to financial administration and the consolidation of local finances strengthens the foundation of national finances. Therefore they first received the attention of the Ministry of Finance. The abolition of miscellaneous and exorbitant taxes and increase of salt output • are measures to cultivate the potentialities of

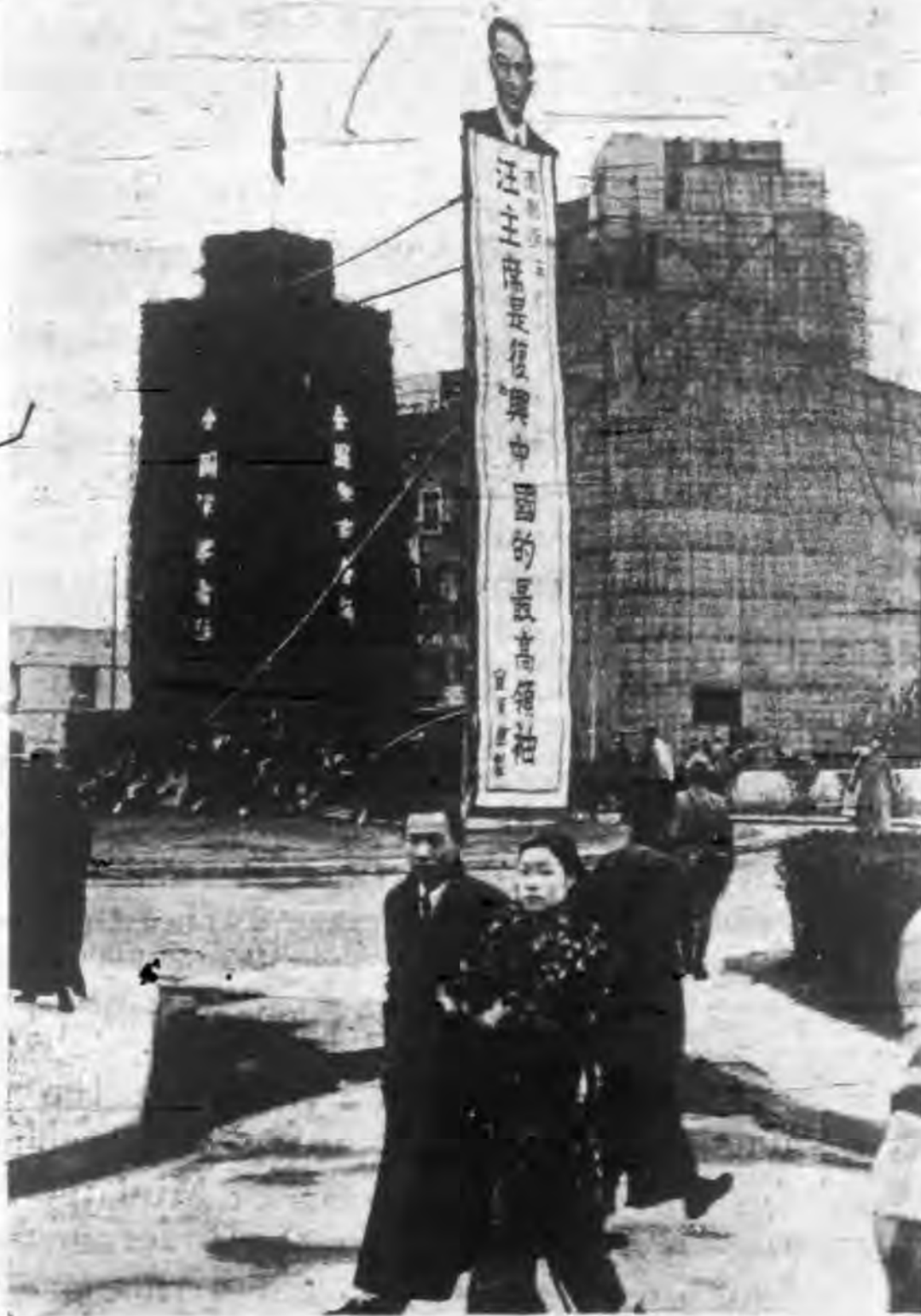
the people, who form the main body of the State. They provide the elasticity of the people's tax-paying ability. The establishment of a State bank is aimed at rendering currency more active. The regulation of economy and increase of tax rates are but temporary measures in order to make receipts and expenditures balance and more adequate.

#### Return of Japanese-Controlled Plants

In the economic field, the Japanese Army Headquarters on March 20, 1940, issued a statement promising the return of factories and mills under Japanese military management. In May last year the Ministry of Industry and Commerce established the Committee for the taking over of Japanese-managed factories which took over four factories in October last, four others in December, and six more in February this year, totalling 14 factories. They consist of three weaving and spinning mills, two dyeing and weaving mills, one flour factory, one cement factory, one machine-making factory, one woolen-weaving factory, and others. As a result of private negotiations between Chinese and Japanese factory owners, some factories have become partnerships and some have changed hands. The Japanese Embassy has informed the Ministry of Industry and Commerce that five factories have been relieved of military management. Among the factories are two dyeing mills, one flour factory and one paper factory.

In Kwangtung ten factories — Power company, water company, cement company, aerated water factory, weaving and spinning factory, acid-manufacturing factory, fertilizer factory, paper mill, and two sugar factories — have been taken over. All of them are enterprises owned by the Kwangtung Provincial Government or by the Canton Municipality. After the taking over of these factories, the Provincial authorities entrusted the power company, water company, cement factory and sugar factories to Japanese merchants for their management and operation. Negotiations are still in progress concerning het paper mills. Up to March 31, 1941, twenty-eight factories have been taken over, indicating our friendly neighbor's respect for China's sovereignty and her goodwill in assisting China to restore her economic prosperity and development. China should now redouble her efforts toward reconstruction.

(To be continued)



*Nanking Celebrates Anniversary*

*The capital was in festive mood on March 29-31 when the 1st Anniversary of the return of the National Government was observed by the whole populace.*



## Diplomacy During The Past Year

(Broadcast Speech made by Foreign Minister Hsu Liang  
on the night of March 31, 1941)

Fellow-Countrymen:

On March 30 last year, the National Government, in accordance with a resolution of the Central Political Council, returned to its Capital at Nanking and, at the same time, issued its Political Program. There are four headings concerning China's foreign policy. First, to adopt a policy of good neighborliness and through peace-diplomacy secure the independence and integrity of China's sovereignty and administration to enable her to share the responsibility for the establishment of permanent peace and the New Order in East Asia. Secondly, to respect the legitimate rights and interests of friendly Powers; to readjust Sino-Foreign relations; and to promote Sino-Foreign friendship. Thirdly, to unite with all friendly Powers for the purpose of counteracting the subversive and peace-disturbing activities of the Communist Internationale. Fourthly, to invite the participation of foreign capital and the technical co-operation of friendly Powers in the economic rehabilitation and industrial development of the country.

With the publication of the above, the Foreign Ministry has exerted its best efforts to carry them out. One year has elapsed and if we review our activities during the year, we are filled with two feelings. Our first feeling is that time flies so swiftly that although we have, during the year, not relaxed our efforts and although our activities have been compatible with the fixed foreign policy, yet what we have accomplished is still short of our estimated objective, such as the non-realisation of peace in East Asia and the late beginning of economic rehabilitation efforts. Whenever we think of these, we shudder at the immensity of our responsibility.

Our second feeling is that in reviewing our past we are encouraging ourselves for the future. Although we are not satisfied with our work for the present, we shall succeed if we keep on striving. There was an ancient adage to the effect that some people pursue their activities with composure, some with profit in mind and

some with a little compulsion, but all of them will succeed just the same. It is therefore plain that in learning as well as in transacting official business, there are easy times and hard times. Fearing no difficulties and advancing instead of retreating, we shall succeed one day. When we think of this, we are immediately in high spirits and all our fears and ideas of taking improper ease are wiped out. At the time of the first anniversary of the return of the National Government to its Capital, these two feelings are in the minds of all of us and we feel the immensity of our responsibility. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to make a report to you on China's diplomacy during the year.

### Activities of Foreign Ministry

By diplomacy we mean all the activities undertaken by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Having been in the Foreign Ministry since the return of the National Government to its Capital, I wish to make a summary of the activities of the said Ministry, confined, however, to its dealings with foreign countries and in a chronological sequence in order to save time.

The first comparatively important event after the return of the National Government to its Capital at Nanking was the reception and entertaining of the Japanese Special Mission sent to China for the occasion. With a view to expressing amity and friendly relations, the Japanese Government despatched General N. Abe, former Japanese Premier, as Envoy Extraordinary and Ambassador Plenipotentiary, who, in company with the People's Envoys, arrived in Nanking on April 22, 1940. Two days after their arrival, they paid a courtesy call on President Wang and on April 26 took part in the celebrations marking the return of the National Government. Those in charge of entertaining the guests had some difficult moments because at that time every enterprise was in its initial stage. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in conjunction with the Ministry of Publicity, the Aide-De-Camp's Office, and the Municipal

Government, formed a committee to share the responsibility of entertainment and reception compatible with international etiquette.

#### A State Mission

The organisation of a State Mission in return for the Japanese Mission's visit was the second event, which was linked to the first event. After receiving and entertaining the Japanese Special Mission, the National Government, in order to express its gratitude to Japan, organised a State Mission with Mr. Chen Kung-po, President of the Legislative Yuan, as Special Envoy; Dr. Chu Min-yi, the then Foreign Minister, as Deputy Special Envoy; and twenty-eight others as members of the Mission. They left Nanking on May 16, last year and arrived in Tokyo on May 23 last year. After interviewing the Emperor on May 23, they called on high officials and prominent persons in retirement and exchanged views with them. The Mission finished its visit on May 26 when it returned to China. All preparations pertaining to the State Mission were made with the assistance and co-operation of the Foreign Ministry.

The third event was the issue of a declaration on the withdrawal of foreign troops from China. During summer last year, the European Conflict spread to Norway, and with the subsequent involvement of Holland, Denmark, Belgium and Luxemburg, and Italy's declaration of war on France, the area of hostilities was widening every day. The various belligerent Powers maintained troops and men-of-war in China which were stationed in the same place. For instance, there were (and are) British, French and Italian troops whose presence in the same place might lead to untoward incidents. For this reason, a declaration was issued on June 13, stating that the National Government, in the interests of peace and order and the safeguarding of the lives and property of the people, requests all the belligerents in the present European Conflict to take appropriate measures, such as voluntary withdrawal of their respective troops and warships from Chinese territorial waters. The National Government at the same time solemnly declared that it would resolutely oppose any private and unauthorised transfer of the rights or interests in China of belligerents which they enjoy by virtue of treaties. Such a transfer, being in evident disregard of the sovereignty of China, would lead to serious disputes. The Chinese Government therefore declared not only its opposition to, but would

take effective measures in rectification and annulment of, such a transfer.

#### Spanish Economic Mission

The fourth event was the reception and entertaining of the Spanish Economic Mission. Headed by Lieut.-General Don Alberto Castro Girona and availing itself of its inspection tour of industrial and economic conditions in various places in East Asia, the Mission arrived in Nanking from Shanghai on August 2, 1940. Representatives of the Foreign Ministry, of the Ministries of Industry and Commerce, of Publicity, of Finance, and of Agriculture and Mining, and of the Nanking Municipal Government were at the station to meet the members of the Mission. They were well cared for and escorted to visit various places. Members of the Mission paid a courtesy call on President Wang Ching-wei on the morning of August 3 and left for Shanghai by plane the following day on their way back to Spain. In effecting post-war rehabilitation, we need foreign capital and technical co-operation. The Spanish Economic Mission commented very favorably on the results of its tour, but because of its short stay it could not have made a more comprehensive tour.

#### Lease of Liukungtao

The fifth event was the issue of a statement on the Expiry of the lease of Liukungtao (Liukung Island) by Britain. It will be recalled that in September, 1930 Great Britain, while returning Weihaiwei to China, concluded an agreement for the lease of some houses and land on Liukungtao for the use of the British Navy. The agreement was for 10 years and was to expire on September 30, 1940. It was reported that in March last year the British Government had the approval of the Chungking regime to extend the agreement. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs on September 28 last notified the British Ambassador (to China) that being unconsulted and uninformed of such negotiations the National Government could not voice its approval to such extension and therefore the privileges enjoyed by Britain in Liukungtao would, as a matter of course, be withdrawn. On September 29, 1940 the Minister of Foreign Affairs issued a statement concerning the matter, and had it published in the newspapers.

#### Sino-Japanese Treaty

The sixth event was the signing of the Treaty concerning the Basic Relations between

China and Japan. Following its return to the capital, the National Government strove for the readjustment of Sino-Japanese relations. Both countries despatched delegates to hold negotiations in Nanking. After numerous negotiations the Treaty was ultimately signed on November 30, 1940. Signed and published at the same time with the Treaty were the Annexed Protocol and the Agreed Terms of Understanding between the Plenipotentiaries of China and Japan concerning the Annexed Protocol. These were not only epoch-making but ushered in a new era concerning the general situation in East Asia. The true significance of, and the details concerning, the signing of the Treaty have been explained to the press by the former Foreign Minister, Dr. Chu min-yi. A reiteration of Dr. Chu's remarks would clarify matters.

Dr. Chu said: "Unfortunately hostilities broke out between China and Japan. It is regretful that the two countries have failed to prevent the hostilities and to solve them after their outbreak, causing the prolongation of the incident, to the great suffering of the people. This unfortunate incident had its origin in the lack of understanding and determination for sincere collaboration on the part of the majority of the people, although there were few who were prophetic and advocated amity. The non-establishment of clear relations between the two countries, resulting in numerous disputes and in a great deal of resentment among the masses, was another cause.

#### Bloody Warfare

"President Wang Ching-wei has instructed us that China and Japan should be friends and not enemies. After three years of bloody warfare, Japan has realised that should the foreign and military policies of China and Japan be made unanimous and should they, based on the principle of equality and reciprocity, effect economic co-operation, then China's strength and prosperity would be beneficial, instead of harmful, to Japan. So enlightened people of both countries realise the necessity for sincere co-operation between the two states. However, to build up friendly relations between the two countries and to lay the foundation for permanent peace in East Asia, it is necessary to eradicate the causes of past disputes, and to establish new relations in order to lay the foundation for co-existence and co-prosperity. Furthermore, in pursuing simultaneous efforts, China and Japan must have common objectives so as

to avoid conflict of interests. The so-called common objectives lie in the three principles of the Konoye Declaration — good neighborliness, anti-Comintern Front, and economic co-operation. Following the issue of the Declaration President Wang Ching-wei, braving hardships and unheeding difficulties, launched the Peace Movement. Japan, on her part, also surmounted one obstacle after the other in her march towards the three principles. It is therefore plain that the three principles constituted the origin, as well as the objective, of the Treaty. "After the return of the National Government to its Capital at Nanking, Japan despatched General Abe as Envoy Extraordinary and Ambassador Plenipotentiary to Nanking, first to offer greetings to the Government on the occasion of its return to Nanking and then to start negotiations (for the conclusion of the Treaty). Between July 5, when the first session was held, and August 31, when the negotiations were concluded, sixteen meetings had taken place in addition to numerous unofficial sessions. The weather was then very hot and although the delegates perspired profusely they never relaxed their efforts and both sides maintained their own ground as well as giving due consideration to the other side. As a result, in spite of debates and heated arguments, the atmosphere was all along calm and friendly. The Chinese and Japanese delegates had really a very unenviable time, because the former wished for a bright future while not forgetting the then prevailing situation, whereas the latter must pay due attention to public opinion at home while not obstructing the foundation of co-operation." The above remarks were made by Dr. Chu Min-yi and represented an accurate description of the negotiations, because, being a member to the negotiations, I was in a position to know the authenticity of such remarks which are quoted herewith for your information.

#### The Joint Declaration

The seventh event was the publication of the Joint Declaration by the Governments of China, Japan and Manchoukuo. It is a well known fact that Manchoukuo has been established for nearly 10 years. President Wang-Ching-wei once remarked: "We were brothers in the past, are brothers today and shall be brothers in the future, if we could co-operate wholeheartedly side by side towards bettering the welfare on the two countries and of the two peoples and safeguarding permanent peace in



East Asia." In this spirit, the National Governments, after signing the Treaty concerning the Basic Relations between China and Japan, signed the Joint Declaration by the Governments of China, Japan and Manchoukuo in the hope that the three countries would respect one another's inherent characteristics and closely co-operate with one another as good neighbors under their common ideal of establishing a New Order in East Asia on an ethical basis, constituting thereby the mainstay of a permanent peace in East Asia and with this as a nucleus contributing toward the peace of the world in general.

The eighth event was the despatch of Special Envoys to Manchoukuo on a good-will visit. Following the publication of the Joint Declaration by the Governments of China, Japan and Manchoukuo, the National Government, with a view to strengthening the friendly relations between China and Manchoukuo despatched me as Special Envoy and General Pao Wen-yueh as Deputy to Manchoukuo. We, accompanied by members of our entourage, flew to Manchoukuo on December 20, 1940, arriving at Hsinking in the afternoon of the same day. On the next day we paid a courtesy call to the Palace where we signed our names on the signature book for distinguished guests, and interviewed prominent Manchoukuoans and Japanese. On December 23 we interviewed Emperor Kang Teh of Manchoukuo and presented our credentials. The Emperor received us with great honor and upon the completion of our mission, we flew back to Nanking on December 24, 1940.

#### Chu Min-yi as Ambassador

The ninth event was the despatch of Chinese Ambassadors to Japan and Manchoukuo. After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese Conflict, the Chinese Ambassador was recalled and only an office has been maintained in Tokyo. Upon the signing of the Treaty concerning the Basic Relations between China and Japan, the National Government appointed Dr. Chu Min-yi to be Ambassador to Japan who assumed his post at the beginning of February this year. In Manchoukuo there was originally a Chinese Trade Commissioner's office, but with the publication of the Joint Declaration by the Governments of China, Japan and Manchoukuo, which resulted in the firm establishment of relations between China and Manchoukuo, Mr. Lien Yu, Supervisor of the Control Yuan, was appointed as China's first Ambassador to Man-

choukuo. Mr. Lien assumed office towards the latter part of February this year.

#### Restoration of Consulates

The tenth event was the restoration of consulates in Japan, Formosa and Korea. With the exception of the Chinese Consulates-General at Taihoku, capital of Formosa, and at Seoul, capital of Korea, all other consulates were closed as a result of the outbreak of the present hostilities. After its return to the Capital, the National Government restored the consulates at Hsin Yi Chou, Fusan, Yuanshan, and Jenchuan. After August last, the Consulates-General at Kobe, Yokohama, and Taihoku and the consulate at Nagasaki were reopened to facilitate overseas affairs.

The eleventh event was the taking over of archives of the Foreign Ministry. After the outbreak of the current hostilities, a part of the Foreign Ministry's archives were lost but were returned through the intervention of the former Foreign Ministry. A part of the archives which have been kept in a secret place will shortly be shipped to Nanking, to be arranged in order and for reference.

The twelfth event was the taking over of all cultural material in Nanking, Shanghai and Hangchow. After the outbreak of the current hostilities all such material has been in the custody of the Japanese authorities. The Japanese Embassy has now turned over such material to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The material includes (1) Books, magazines, publications and pictures gathered in Nanking, Hangchow and Shanghai; (2) Archives in Nanking; (3) Cultural samples in Nanking and Hangchow; (4) Ancient buildings in Nanking which include; (1) The Observatory on Purple Mountain in Nanking; (2) The Observatory and seismograph at the Polaris Pavilion; (3) The premises of the former *Academica Sinica*; (4) The premises of the Geological Research Institute under the former Ministry of Industries; (5) The premises of the West Lake Museum in Hangchow under the former Chekiang Provincial Government; and (6) the premises of the branch provincial library of Chekiang at Kushan, in Hangchow. After the return of the above material and equipment, the Government established a committee for their custody.

#### Peace in East Asia

I have thus far described twelve events which have been undertaken by the Ministry of

Foreign Affairs since the return of the National Government to Nanking and which are compatible with the political program of the government. However, I feel regretful that with the passing of one year, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has only accomplished so little. Peace in East Asia has not yet been established and the international situation is worsening every day. Shouldering heavy responsibilities, we shall proceed along the lines of the political program and under the instructions of President Wang Ching-wei in order to surmount difficulties. We hope that today next year I shall be able to submit a more comprehensive and satisfactory report to you. Such a report will not only please you, but also myself.

I wish to impress on you one thing. Every one knows the importance of diplomacy, but diplomacy must be backed by the people, especially by their understanding. Clean administration is most important. If these requisites are incomplete, not only will there be no diplomatic successes but no diplomacy at all. If Germany did not have a clean and good government and powerful armament, her Foreign Minister would not have achieved such good results. Undertaking the heavy responsibility of diplomacy, I have been worried as to how I could, after this huge calamity, mend the situation and have a clear conscience in the meantime. My own sacrifices are trifling but for the sake of the country and for that of East Asia, I hope my fellow-countrymen will offer me their advice and exert joint efforts to pass the crisis. This country is now at the height of its difficulties. All patriots should assist the government. Should this be the case, you shall not be disappointed today next year.

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#### Gandhi's Secretary Arrested Again

Mr. Gandhi's secretary, who was recently released from jail is reported to have been arrested under the Defence of India rules.

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#### France's Surrender

When France surrendered to Germany, she did so to save herself from further devastation by admitting her defeat. From that day, the course of the French national policy has been made very clear. If this necessity faced by France is understood by all, there should be no agreement about what she should do.

## General Hata Interviewed

General Shunroku Hata, commander-in-chief of the Nippon Expeditionary Force, in his first press interview since arriving at his post, declared that the duty of the expeditionary force was the same as before, namely, the destruction of Chungking's anti-Japanese strength.

He also said that, within his authority as commander-in-chief of the Expeditionary Force, he would co-operate with the National Government for its strengthening and development.

The interview was given on March 18 at the newly-built official residence of the commander-in-chief at the foot of Wutai hill.

General Hata said: "I have come to Nanking for the first time in two years. The city has been reconstructed greatly, when compared with my last visit here as the highest commander of the Nippon forces in Central China. I was surprised to find an animated atmosphere prevailing in the city.

"I met President Wang Ching-wei for the first time and felt assured, realizing the firm determination and serious attitude of President Wang and other leaders of the Government, toward the creation of new China.

"Now in Nippon the entire people are participating in the drive for Assisting the Imperial Rule. In parallel with the people at home, Japanese in China must collaborate with the Imperial forces, I think.

"Concerning the circumstances at outposts, I am quite a stranger. I will try to study them. Also I expect to make an inspection to the first line in various places."

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## A Valuable Guide Book

The International Publicity Board of the Ministry of Publicity are to be congratulated on their publication of a neat guide book for the capital. In the brief span of 34 pages, the Board has managed to bring together all the essential information required by visitors to Nanking, including chapters on the capital's history, historical relics, travel facilities to and from the capital, communications, public health work, education, municipal affairs, as well as a neat sketch map of the city with the well-known spots clearly marked.

## President Wang's Statement at Press Interview of Chinese and Foreign Journalists

( Nanking, March 22, 1941 )

One year has elapsed since the return of the National Government to its Capital at Nanking. At the time of its return, we mentioned the realisation of peace and the enforcement of Constitutional Government as the two great objectives of our efforts. Regarding the enforcement of Constitutional Government, the Committee for the Enforcement of Constitutional Government has been handling the matter and the Draft Constitution has entered the stage of general consideration from that of separate deliberation. As to the realisation of peace, the past has been devoted to the signing of the Treaty (concerning the Basic Relations between China and Japan) and the future will be devoted to its implementation.

Viewed from history and geography as well as from the current situation, there is utter necessity for China and Japan to have peace, which is understandable to all. Is there any possibility for peace? Many assume an attitude of watchful waiting which could only be removed by our presenting concrete facts of peace. As both China and Japan have, with the greatest sincerity, concluded a treaty in defining the basic relations between them and correcting the misleading ideas of the world, they should naturally redouble their efforts in the implementation of the Treaty in order to strengthen the belief of the two peoples and to promote the realisation of a nation-wide peace. These represent the direction of our efforts following the conclusion of the Treaty and that of our efforts in the future.

### Peace Proposals

In my Peace Proposals of December 29, 1938, I said: "In view of our proximity, good neighborliness and an amicable relationship between China and Japan is but natural and necessary. The present deviation from what should be the normal condition needs a thorough re-investigation, and either party should try to understand its own responsibility." After the return of the National Government to its Capital, I published my article "The Spirit of

Self-Reproach" on April 26, mentioning self-reflection and responsibility, in order to encourage my comrades in the peace Movement. I have all along entertained the belief that self-reflection is the foundation of mutual conciliation and mutual understanding and responsibility is the pre-requisite of sincere co-operation. There is no other way for China and Japan if they wish to become mutually helpful companions impossible for one to be without the other.

The domestic and international situation of the past year has given further evidence that Peace, Anti-Communism and National Reconstruction represent the only important way for China to maintain her independence and existence. In the prolongation of hostilities, it is superfluous to describe the sufferings of the people on the Chungking side. Officers and men desert their posts, youths stand helplessly at the cross-road, production sharply reduced and commodity prices steadily rise. Advocates of resistance rely on the following arguments to prolong the hostilities.

First is the so-called United Front. As a result of the destruction of the revolution by the Communist-Party during the years 1924 to 1927, there is no room in China for the Communist Party.

Utilising the Sian Incident, the Communist Party, on the pretext of a United Front, carried into effect sovietisation efforts and the "scorched earth" policy in order to effect, so to speak, its rebirth. The Communist strategy of association today and overthrowing tomorrow is known to all. The New Fourth Army incident was only to be expected. Although the Chungking authorities are trying to arrive at a conciliatory settlement, it would be to their regret if the seed of trouble is not removed once for all. The officers and men, called by the Communist Party as "friction experts," and the people suffering slaughtering and plundering in the hands of Communists have exhausted their patience.

#### The European Conflict

Second, the so-called international assistance, The outbreak of the European Conflict has crushed such themes as the formation of an international front. As a result, the Communist Party strongly advocated association with Soviet Russia and tolerance of Communism and the Anglo-American clique favored reliance on Britain and the United States, all arguments showing, internally, the irremediable rupture between the Kuo-min Tang and the Communist Party and, externally, the conflict of Soviet Russian and Anglo-American interests. They have utilised Chungking because they wanted to deal with Japan. As a matter of fact, an extension of Soviet influence in East Asia would not be in the interests of Britain and the United States and deeper reliance on Britain and the United States by Chungking would not be liked by Soviet Russia. Such potential inconsistencies would one day reveal themselves. Whither would Chungking go when that day arrives? Chungking's mentality today may be likened to the following. It may think that if the European Conflict is protracted, it may follow suit and drag on. Or should the European Conflict become worse and should a war start in the Pacific, it might take advantage of the situation and survive.

However, it should be noted that if those having ample resources are not in favor of prolonging a conflict, how could Chungking prolong the present hostilities. Does Chungking think that should it be lucky enough to become one of the combatants in case of a Pacific War, it would be qualified to participate in dividing the spoils of such a war? Aside from the possibility of victory or defeat, if Chungking is unable to offer resistance itself, how could it help others to fight? As to the other countries, if they cannot help Chungking now, when there is no war, how could they help Chungking if in the future they themselves were involved in war? It is customary for advocates of resistance to assume dreams as hope and to take hope as reality. The more they dream, the greater will be their disappointment. How idle and dream-like such mentality is!

#### Principle of Co-Existence

I do not wish to predict on the future of the European Conflict. What I wish to say is that the cause of war lies in the inability of men to live side by side. So, to establish a new order for the maintenance of permanent peace,

the principle of co-existence must be taken as the foundation. I made remarks of this nature, which have ample evidence today, as early as the conclusion of the Great War. Under the old order, the Imperialists sacrificed others in order to maintain their own existence. Before the outbreak of the present European Conflict the Imperialists, in order to defer their own fighting, first put East Asia on fire so as to sacrifice the territories and peoples of other countries. When the time arrived that a war in Europe could no longer be avoided, it sacrificed Czechoslovakia, Poland, Finland, Holland, Belgium and France and is now maneuvering its intrigues to lead the torch to the Balkans and to the Near East in order to save its own land from danger. To sacrifice others in securing its own existence, in war or in peace, is the special characteristic of the old order under the Imperialists. In the establishment of a new order, such characteristics must be eradicated.

You have asked questions concerning the reconstruction policies of the National Government with reference to politics, economics, culture and military affairs. These have been concretely expressed in the Political Program of the National Government. You have also witnessed the achievements (of the Government) during the past year, for which I shall make a separate statement when the Government celebrates the first anniversary of its return to Nanking. For the present, I shall dwell on some of the most urgent matters now receiving our attention.

#### Political, Economic Reconstruction

(1) Concerning political reconstruction, a great deal has yet to be accomplished because of the hostilities. The discouragement of dishonesty and punishment of greed and corruption are urgent steps for reforming the government. At this time last year, I made a broadcast speech to the effect that unless one can endure hardships there will be no honesty and unless there is honesty there will be no bravery. Civil servants should be honest and brave and share the enjoyments and sufferings of the people. Unless they have the spirit to die and live together with the masses, they will not succeed in accomplishing their important mission of returning the National Government to the Capital. Today I expect the same spirit from the civil servants. They must strive for these principles in order not to belittle the significance of our celebrating the return of the National Government to its Capital.

(2) We shall continue our efforts towards economic reconstruction in strengthening currency, readjusting commodity prices, reviving rural districts and replenishing the people's food supplies. The inauguration of the Central Reserve Bank was not only for finance but also for the development of currency and economy. Many people criticise the exchange of old and new legal tender notes at par. The inflation policy of Chungking, using notes in exchange for the blood of the people, has caused increases in commodity prices. We have noticed the destitution of the people. We have decided on the policy of exchange at par out of consideration for the people, who have suffered great sacrifices because of the war and have in their possession only the paper money which Chungking has abused. We would rather shoulder additional responsibility in order to enable the people to tide over the present crisis and not to cause them to suffer further losses. The continued indiscreet issue of notes on the part of Chungking shows clearly who is paying attention to the welfare of the people.

Various complicated reasons have affected the question of prices and of food supplies, such as guerilla disturbances, vicious inflation, cornering of markets by unscrupulous merchants and extortion by bad elements. In short, this is not only a question of distribution but of production also. Unlike increase in production which is the permanent remedy, regulation of distribution is only a temporary measure. We should proceed towards both objectives before a fundamental solution is possible. We shall not attempt to compare our prices with those on the Chungking side in order to comfort ourselves, but shall, realising the fact that sufferings are everywhere, do our best to relieve the people.

#### Field of Culture

(3) In the field of culture, both China and Japan, since the eastern extension of European influence, have been bewildered by the material civilisation of Europe and forgotten their original Oriental Culture, culminating in the formation of an unbridgeable gap between the ideals of the two peoples. This has been one of the reasons to cause the East Asiatic peoples to be hostile to one another. For the sake of permanent peace between China and Japan, they should effect a fundamental psychological change of the two peoples and to exert the

greatest efforts in education. I mentioned something concerning education in my Peace Proposals of December 29, 1938.

Henceforth all youths must be given accurate publicity so as to enable them to know the close relationship between the regeneration of China and that of East Asia and also the fact that aggression and Communism are the greatest enemies of China and East Asia. They should also be given strict organisation and training in order to qualify them to shoulder the responsibility of reconstructing a new China and a new East Asia with perseverance and courage. When I talk of Oriental culture I do not mean "back to the old" but the maintenance and aggrandizement of the Oriental sense of morality which, in conjunction with modern sciences and if applied to Peace and Reconstruction and not to war and destruction, will be useful in the realisation of co-existence and cosmopolitanism.

#### Building An Army

(4) The objectives of building an army are two-fold. On the one hand, the guarantee and exploration of peace and on the other hand, the mopping up of guerillas and bandits and the maintenance of order. In military reconstruction, attention must be paid to the equipment as well as to the morale. Troops must not only be made up-to-date, but also spiritually they should become the potential force of the state and not that of an individual. Therefore, military training and political training are parallel in importance in military reconstruction.

We realise that because of our feeble ability we have not achieved much, during the year since our return to the capital, in politics and social affairs. It is regrettable that there are still quite a number of people who fail to have clear vision of the prospect of the Peace Movement and that several countries still lack understanding on Sino-Japanese co-operation. While commemorating Comrade Tseng Chungming's death yesterday I said that many people had taken me as an explorer. The signing of the Treaty concerning the Basic Relations between China and Japan resembles the discovery of a light-house in the sea. If we continue our march, we shall, I am sure, reach our final objective of a nation-wide peace and permanent peace as directed by that light-house.

## China's Richest Man: T.V. Soong, Former Finance Minister

One of Triumvirate of the "Soong Dynasty" Was  
Poor Man Only Ten Years Ago

Graft Methods so Thorough, Like  
"Quicksilver" Spilt on Ground

By Henry C. Chen

Our sages in ancient times had the strongest dislike for unscrupulous and corrupt officials, especially for those who were in charge of the country's finance. It is said in the book of Great Learning: "He who is at the helm of affairs of a country and yet pursues after riches is certainly a mean man." Again it is said: "It is preferable to have thieves rather than corrupt officials in a country." Unscrupulous officials have been compared to locusts in a paddy field or termites in timber. If such officials are allowed to remain, the downfall of the country can surely be expected.

### Nepotism Bribery Rampant

Looking at T.V. Soong, the former finance minister of the "Soong Dynasty," we find this person a n'er-do-well rascal, an undesirable character, and still more ill-intentioned in all his doings. Being the brother-in-law of Chiang Kai-shek, Soong was placed in his important position. Depending on him as he would on his right arm, Chiang vested in him excessive power and authority. With his ascent to power, Soong conspired with his adherents in all sorts of shady deals and did all he could to enrich himself. He exploited the nation as he would fish in a pond by draining out the water. Bank notes were issued without limit and were spent like water. The people had lost all confidence in government bonds. The State Lottery was a pure swindle. The takings in hard cash from the people were then shipped abroad to enlarge the hoardings of his crowd. Foreign exchange as well as the financial market were monopolized and controlled for the benefit of the "Soong Dynasty." Key positions in the ministry were all held by his personal favorites and relatives. These men are given lucrative posts with chances of self enrichment. If an outsider happens to be holding a position of any importance, say, that of a directorship of some tax bureau, it goes without saying that he has paid an adequate price for it.

Nepotism, selling of official positions, and bribery have brought the laws and morals of officialdom to a state of utter deterioration. And yet nobody raised a finger against such maladministration. Nobody dared to do so. Under such circumstances, T.V. Soong was able to make himself a very important person. He became haughty and arrogant to the extreme. The mere mention of these things makes one's heart bleed.

### Soong's Enormous Fortune

In the major items of government expenditure, T.V. Soong had his share of "squeeze." In every purchase of arms and aeroplanes, he had his commission. These extra incomes were numerous and unaccountable. At last he became so enormously rich that not a single official or warlord who made a fortune for himself since the Republic, could compare with him — Soong's private fortune is estimated to be worth CS\$700,000,000, in the vaults of foreign banks. He now lives temporary in retirement in the British Colony of Hongkong.

His methods of graft were so thorough that it was "like quicksilver spilt on the ground; it leaves no crevice unentered," as the Chinese saying goes. It is quite impossible to name all the cases of avarice and greed, for those already known to us are too many to mention.

### Burning of Nanking Mint

One case, unthinkable yet of an extraordinary nature, happened in 1930, when T.V. Soong purposely had the Nanking Mint set afire. The whole plant was burnt down and the machinery destroyed. The reason why he did this was to create a chance to order new machinery and extract a commission therefrom. The aeroplanes bought by him for Kiangsi in 1932, and those bought for Chekiang in 1933, it is known that not one passed a satisfactory test in actual flight. He bought these rotten planes simply because he

could pay less and squeeze more. But on finding out that it was impossible to cheat the whole nation, he resorted to another mean trick, by making the worst of it all at no expense to himself. He secretly ordered someone closest to him to set fire to the aerodromes containing the aeroplanes in question and burnt them all. Thus he cleaned the uncleanable slate by smashing it to pieces. The result was only the sacrifice of the unfortunate few who were in charge of the aerodromes. His crafty and rapacious ways of doing things were indeed wanton and without match, ancient or modern.

#### The Sian Incident

Thus, while the country was verging on bankruptcy, the fortunes of Soong continued to increase, until he became the richest man in the country. In the Sian Incident in 1936 when Chiang Kai-shek was forceably detained by Chang Hsueh-liang, not one of the government leaders dared to proceed to the place to effect a mediation. But T.V. Soong volunteered to make the trip and he flew to Sian to the rescue of Chiang. What made his self-imposed task successful was because the private fortunes of Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-chen, the men behind the Sian Incident, were placed in the hands of T.V. Soong, who had been entrusted to transfer their money abroad for safe custody. It was on this account

that his words carried weight with Chang and Yang; not that he had the exceptional quality of a mediator.

#### Squeeze in Military Expenditures

According to reliable reports recently received, the military expenditure of the "Soong" regime from 1927 to 1930 amounted to 800 million dollars, of which only 600 millions were accounted for, the rest, 200 million, going to the pocket of T.V. Soong. What a colossal swindle! Only ten years ago he was a poor man, but now he is the richest man in the country. His name is known to old and young, foreigners and Chinese alike. No matter whether a man knows what kind of a person T.V. Soong is or is not, he certainly knows that he is the richest man in China, or the country's living God of Wealth. This article is a dissertation on T.V. Soong, but Chiang Kai-shek and H.H. Kung, the two brothers-in-law, are even richer than Soong.

Now that the downfall of the "Soong Dynasty" regime is imminent, and the war of resistance is at the end of its resources. T.V. Soong will no doubt soon seek permanent refuge in Europe or America, where he could enjoy his ill-gotten wealth. But God forbids those who rob their country to enjoy comfortable and long life. It behoves us only to watch what sort of ending a man like Soong will have in the near future.

## OUR "THANKS" TO MR. ROOSEVELT

Discussing the aims and results of the so-called American assistance to other countries during the past, "*The New China Daily News*" in a recent editorial under the above heading declares that the speech of President Roosevelt made on the night of March 15, in which he praised and encouraged Chungking's endless resistance and announced America's continued assistance to that regime, filled almost every Chinese with a feeling of deep gratitude. He encouraged the internecine warfare in Europe, and the conflict in Asia. Therefore we want to express our "thanks" to him in these columns.

The result of the "assistance" which the United States has extended to various countries since 1800, to cover up her intentions to seek markets, raw materials, naval bases and colonies, has been nothing but war. The newspaper cites important events to prove the point:

(1) Assistance given to Cuba in 1805

resulted in its becoming an American protectorate.

(2) Assistance given to the Hawaiian Revolution resulted in the full occupation of the islands in 1898.

(3) Assistance was given to the Anti-Spanish movement in 1893 in the Philippines. In 1898 the Philippine Islands with 160,000 Chinese residing there were proclaimed an American dependency.

Moreover, the World War of 1914 and the World War of 1939 have been the products of American assistance.

The newspaper in conclusion says that Roosevelt II made the speech of March 15, because he feared that China's Peace Movement might result in the complete withdrawal of Japanese troops from China, thus closing the door for an American invasion from the South Pacific into the Asiatic Continent. "Thank you, Mr. President!" is the closing sentence.

## "Important Principles of Sino-Japanese Co-Operation"

*A Radio Broadcast by Publicity Minister Lin Pai-sheng*

Mr. Lin Pai-sheng, Minister of Publicity, was the first speaker at the Central Radio Station on March 26, eleven hours after the station was taken over by the Broadcast Reconstruction Association. The subject of his speech was "The Important Principles of Sino-Japanese Co-Operation".

"After the publication of President Wang Ching-wei's Peace Proposal on December 29, 1938," commenced Minister Lin, "my fellow-countrymen cast one eye on the resistance and another on peace, wondering which is the better road to be followed by the country and the people. Since the return of the National Government to its Capital, however, the eyes of my fellow-countrymen have been rivetted more closely on the Peace Movement, being eager to know what we can do and whether there is any actual hope of peace. Now the Government has return to its Capital for almost one whole year; though we do not want to claim that we have achieved much progress, I can tell you on my own responsibility that in view of the facts which have occurred during the past year, we firmly believed that peace and co-operation are both necessary to China and Japan and are quite feasible".

The work done by the Ministry of Publicity in the past year was reported by Minister Lin in the second part of his speech. After this he went on to review the negotiations carried out between himself and the competent Japanese authorities regarding the restoration of the broadcasting enterprises. He declared that the present radio stations in Nanking, Shanghai, Hankow, Soochow and Hangchow were all built after the war by the Japanese who according to Minister Lin are so kind and generous as to hand over these stations to the Chinese under the form of depositing and leasing. This constitutes a most convincing reply to those who are clamoring that Japan has no sincere intention to restore anything to China.

As to the important principles for co-operation between China and Japan, Minister Lin expounded two points, viz., sincerity and recognition of a common goal. President Wang

Ching-wei's teaching of "Once a common goal is established between China and Japan, the foundation of co-existence and co-prosperity will be secured," was quoted by Minister Lin in support of his argument.

"From today you will be able to hear all the news from the Central Government nightly," continued Mr. Lin. "You will hear not only speeches and comments on peace, but the facts of peace also. However, what we hope for most is that there will be not only speaking or listening, but constant efforts to carry out actual work.

"My fellow-countrymen!" the Publicity Minister said at the end of his speech, "peace between China and Japan is necessary and possible. Let us all try to realize peace and struggle for national reconstruction, so that the flower of peace may ripen into the fruit of national reconstruction!"

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## Life History of Chancellor Adolf Hitler Indissoluble With National Socialist Movement

Climbs Political Ladder From Worker To Chief Of  
Modern German Reich

Received Iron Cross In December 1914 For Great Bravery

A son was born to the Austrian customs official, Alois Hitler, and his wife, Klara, (nee Poelzl) on April 20, 1889. Adolf Hitler first saw the light of day in the little village of Braunau-on-Inn, not far from Salzburg, Braunau, the remote small town on the former Austro-German frontier, belonged up until the end of the 18th century to Bavaria, and had already once been the focal point of German history. In 1806, a time of deep oppression, Johann Philip Palm, a Nuremberg book-dealer, and a man of great moral courage, was shot here on the order of Napoleon as a brave rebel against foreign tyranny.

Back of the old city gate of this town is the birth place of the Fuehrer, the "Gasthof zum Pommern". His parents were children of peasants, and their ancestors before them were also peasants from Ostmark province. The father immigrated to Vienna in his early youth. There he learned how to be a shoemaker and through diligent study and high ambition he became a public official.

### Hitler Writes of Father

A few years after the birth of Adolf Hitler, the father was transferred to Passau in Germany. His family remained behind. They stayed on a small farm in the village of Hafeld east of Braunau. Shortly afterward, the father was retired, and he then farmed this property himself. In "Mein Kampf", Adolf Hitler writes of his father: "When he retired at 65, he could not have endured to spend his retirement in idleness. He bought a farm near the market town of Lambach in Upper Austria, worked it, and so after a long career of hard work, he returned to the life of his ancestors."

It was in this atmosphere that the boy spent the first years of his life, played his childish games and grew in rural freedom and lack of restraint. He attended the public school

and afterward the Real-schule, or high school, at Linz, in whose immediate neighborhood, in the village of Leonding, the father had obtained a small house in the mean-while and settled in it. It was the wish of his parents that he be a public official like his father. But the instinct of the boy was against this.

### Attends Real-Schule

Slowly his talent formed the will to follow art. His determination was to become a painter of pictures. When 13 years old, he lost his father. His mother was opposed to his wish to be an artist, but later assented to take him away from the Real-schule and let him attend the academy, especially as a lung weakness made it seem impossible for him to enter the civil service.



Chancellor Adolf Hitler . . . savior of his country and sponsor of the New World Order.

All these resolutions, however, were ended by the death of the mother, who passed away in 1906. Now he was dependent upon himself and had to earn his own bread.

He soon packed his few possessions and went to Vienna to start the struggle for existence. He wrote of this period in "Mein Kampf": "A suitcase with clothes and underwear in my hands, with an unshakable resolve in my heart, I went to Vienna. What my father had succeeded in doing 50 years ago gave me the hope that I, too, would be able to conquer my fate. I wanted to be 'some one', to accomplish 'something'—under no circumstances to be a civil servant."

Only a few months before his mother's death, he had been summoned to Vienna for the entrance examination of the academy. And then came bitter disappointment, for he was refused admittance. According to the judgment of the director of the academy, his talent lay not in the field of painting but of architecture. This is how he happened to become an architect.

#### Earns His Frugal Bread

The road was hard. Still he would not be daunted. As a construction worker, sometimes in other work, later as a draughtsman, he earned his frugal bread. The young intellectual had Marxist-organized workers as his comrades, but he did not hold with their Marxist mottoes—instead they aroused in him scorn and fury.

Under pressure from above, he was forced to give up his work. Through the terrorism of the Red Trade Unions, he was once again without employment, and learned the practical side of the social question. But he was also well-versed in it theoretically.

Adolf Hitler read a great deal, and seriously, during those years that he himself calls the "years of learning and suffering in Vienna". He perused newspapers, and treatises from cover to cover going hungry to buy them out of his pitifully small salary.

#### Germany's Political Problems

He recognized the pernicious result of Marxism and the Jewish influence upon the German people and evolved a philosophy and world political ideology which became the granite foundation of his belief, and which he did not have to alter, but only to enlarge during later years. His only pleasures at that time were architecture, his books and now and then attending a Wagner opera.

Early in 1912 he moved to Munich, earning his living by selling the pictures he painted himself. He closely studied the political occurrences of the day. With dismayingly precision, he followed the political problems of Germany from day to day. He enlarged his knowledge of Austro-German politics and the encircling of Germany through the Entente.

When the World War broke out, his resolution had long been formed. With gun in hand, he would fight for Germany and be ready to die for the Fatherland of his choice. He appealed to the King of Bavaria on August 3 for permission enabling him, an Austrian, to fight on the German side. His wish was granted.

#### Receives Iron Cross

He entered the Bavarian infantry regiment "List" as a volunteer. After a short training period, he crossed the Rhine, was on the Western Front, experienced all the horrors of war in Flanders Fields, and held on fast until the end of the war. In December 1914, he received the Iron Cross for great bravery in the face of the enemy. In October, 1916, Adolf Hitler, the dispatch-runner, was seriously injured by a grenade splinter. He was scarcely well when he was back at the front again.

In the Somme offensive in the spring of 1918, he was decorated with the Iron Cross, First Class, through having taken a French officer and 15 men prisoners. As dispatch-runner on the Ypres front in October, 1918, he got into a yellow gas bombardment. With the last ounce of strength left him he got the message through to his troop. Then darkness.

He was blind and had gas poisoning. They brought him to the hospital at Pasewalk, where medical skill was able to restore his eyesight. There in the hospital, ill in mind and body, he lived through the November Revolution.

#### "Mein Kampf"

First he was tempted to succumb under the might of circumstances, but rebellion and shame burned within him more even than his smarting eyes. And then his defiance of old awoke: He would struggle once again for his country, this time against the criminals and the authors of these vile deeds. In "Mein Kampf" he closes the chapter that describes the hardest period of his life with these words, "I was determined to become a politician."

At the end of November he entered his reserve battalion. The system of having revolutionary soldier-leaders did not please him. He seized the opportunity of going to the camp at Traunstein and remained there until its dissolution.

In March, 1919, he was once again in Munich. Eisner was shot, the communistic government cried out. He lived in the barracks for lack of any other place to live. He was suspected by the spies of the Red Central Committee because of his disputes with his fellow soldiers. He was to be arrested. He drove his captors off with his carbine. But he could not stay on there, he had to disappear. He was able to return first when General von Epp removed the bolshevistic specter by force and marched into Munich.

He had his first active political assignment when he was given command of the Inquiry Commission concerning the revolutionary events in the 2nd Infantry Regiment. A few weeks later he received the order to take part in a course which was to educate the members of the army to civic thought. Here he heard a lecture by Gottfried Feder and was stirred by it very deeply.

#### German Workers Party

He was called to the 1st Bavarian Fusilier Regiment, Number 41, as an "instructing officer", with the duty of instilling the meaning of Fatherland into the soldiers infected by the revolution. In connection with his official duties, he came to the gathering of a little group which had been formed already before the war as the "Deutsche Arbeiterpartei" (German Workers' Party),

He found here much idle talk, little truly positive, but nevertheless it was a union of men with good faith and clear determination who wanted to build with a movement that shall be more than a political party in the old sense of the word". Two days he considered what to do.

#### Enters NSDAP

Then he made the most "important decision of his life", and became a member of this organization. It was the hour of birth of the N.S.D.A.P. (National Socialist German Workers' Party).

From the humblest beginning, he evolved with untiring effort the National Socialist German Workers' Party, which is the cornerstone of the Third Reich.

In 1933, he finally received the Chancellorship of the German Reich from the hands of the great Field Marshal of the World War, and in these few years he has led Germany to undreamed of greatness and unity.

His life history until he became Fuehrer and Chancellor of the great German Reich is indissoluble with the National Socialist movement and its rise, for which he struggled tirelessly, and it is written forever in shining letters in the Book of German History:

"His life history subsequent to September 3, 1939, will be written after the successful conclusion of the war against Great Britain."  
(Editor's Note)

### The Five Meditations of Buddhism

*Buddha said*

The first meditation is the meditation of love in which you must so adjust your heart that you long for the weal and welfare of all beings, including the happiness of your enemies.

The second meditation is the meditation of pity, in which you think of all beings in distress, vividly representing in your imagination their sorrows and anxieties so as to arouse a deep compassion for them in your soul.

The third meditation is the meditation of joy in which you think of the prosperity of other and rejoice with their rejoicings.

The fourth meditation is the meditation on impurity, in which you consider the evil consequences of corruption, the effects of sin and diseases. How trivial often the pleasure of the moment and how fatal its consequences!

The fifth meditation is the meditation on serenity, in which you rise above love and hate, tyranny and oppression, wealth and want, and regard your own fate with impartial calmness and perfect tranquillity.

#### Stukas Drive Convoys From Mediterranean

One result of the activities of German stukas (dive bombers) in the Mediterranean has been the British Admiralty order re-routing all British convoys which formerly were to have traversed the Mediterranean Sea around the Cape of Good Hope. Also British naval units in this sea have found it necessary to sail in pairs and in larger formations.

## Britain's Desperate Efforts to Get Support

### British Propaganda Meets Defeat Everywhere Except in America

When Great Britain started the present conflagration by declaring war on Germany on September 3, 1939 and after she was followed six hours later by France—both purposing to act in fulfillment of their self-undertaken obligations towards Poland—three countries, Poland, Great Britain and France, were standing in one camp, one country alone was standing in the other, Germany.

How was it in 1914 to 1918?

When that war started, there were four countries on the Allied side, namely Serbia, Russia, France and Great Britain, and on the other side there were two, Austria-Hungary and Germany. The latter were joined as the war progressed by Bulgaria and Turkey, but the Allies were joined by one country after the other until the "Allied and Associated Powers" who had declared war on Germany and Austria-Hungary numbered 26 altogether.

How different are things going this time!

Poland was defeated in a campaign of only eighteen days with Great Britain and France, her guarantors, nowhere in evidence, and Poland has ceased to exist since. France, beaten in a campaign lasting for six weeks and forsaken by Great Britain in the "glorious retreat from Dunkerque," signed a separate armistice with Germany on June 22, 1940, and is trying to find her position in the "New Order" of Europe.

#### Britain's Isolation

Less than ten months after Great Britain started this war, Great Britain stood alone and Great Britain still stands alone. Not that Great Britain chose this "splendid isolation" of her own free will. Just the contrary, her efforts to collect another bevy of "Allied and Associated Power" have been frantic and even hysterical. They started long before this war.

Where these efforts succeeded, Germany acted, as in the case of Czechoslovakia, the result being the extinction of that state. Where these efforts threatened to succeed, Germany acted as in the case of Holland and Belgium. Where these efforts, to say the least, endangered

the object countries' strict neutrality as in the case of Denmark and Norway, Germany acted by taking over the protection of these countries for the duration of the war.

Whilst Great Britain worked for enlarging the theater of war by all—and some very crooked—means, Germany acted with methods appropriate to each case, in order to keep as many countries out of the war as possible.

In the case of Russia it was a non-aggression pact, signed in Moscow on August 24, 1939, whilst British and French commissions trying to win over Russia to the other side were still waiting in their hotel rooms in Moscow to be received by the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

Germany's trusted and faithful ally, Italy decided to give up the state of non-belligerency on June 10, 1940, and entered the war on Germany's side, proving herself a brave and very useful partner, as expected when the alliance between the two countries was concluded on May 12, 1939.

Working in the interest of peace, Italy and Germany co-operated in order to eliminate many causes of friction between several Balkan states. Both succeeded, with friendly advice and, where necessary, by acting as mediators and arbitrators in their task and were thus depriving Great Britain of a number of opportunities for intrigue and for creating a new theater of war in the Balkans.

#### Three Power Pact

But the most valuable instrument of German peace policy became the Three Power Pact which was signed in Berlin on September 27 1940, between Germany, Italy and Japan. His Majesty the Emperor of Japan graciously issued an Imperial Rescript on that occasion and formulated as the ideal of the contracting powers "to give proper status to all the States and to give rest to the minds of all the people in the world" and declared himself greatly satisfied with the Three Power Pact as a right step in the right direction towards the still remote goal.

This Three Power Pact has proved itself very attractive. It has been joined on November 20, 1940, by Hungary, on the 23rd of the same month by Rumania, on the 24th by Slovakia, on March 1, 1941, by Bulgaria. Whilst Great Britain has lost her only two Allies, Germany has won seven new ones. Their reasons and their intentions have been formulated by the Reich's Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop on the occasion of Bulgaria's adherence to the Three Power Pact as follows:

"These States wanted, by concentration of the power represented by them to prevent Britain from harnessing more States to her war-chariot. These States wanted to bring Britain back to her senses and to induce her to make peace, by concentrating all their political, military and economic forces." The Minister continued:

"The aims and policies of the Tripartite States were, are and remain the same, that is, the realization and safeguarding of the right to live for their peoples in their natural spheres—spheres which are corresponding with the national strength against such nations which, although living in abundance, are incapable of making good use of the space at their command, but which, however, grudge the same to the young peoples."

#### Successful German Diplomacy

The activities of German diplomacy have been most successful and most spectacular on the continent of Europe from which British influence has been excluded once and for all. A territory of more than 1 million square miles with a population of around 250 million has been definitely severed from Great Britain. Its surplus products go to Germany and its needs are met by Germany and other industrially developed countries inside the "New Order" of Europe, making all British attempts at a blockade of Germany utterly ridiculous. And behind this purely European territory stand the vast resources of Russia and nearly the whole huge Asiatic continent. A farce like Great Britain's blockade of Germany has never been played before.

On the other hand, there is this little island Kingdom of Great Britain and North Ireland, comprising 94,277 square miles depending for 68 percent of foodstuffs to feed a population of 47 millions on imports from overseas, with an

industry which depends on 73 percent of the necessary raw-materials—with the exception of coal—on imports from overseas too. And German surface warships, raiders, and submarines, speed-boats and bombing planes are attacking all shipping to and from the British Isles and British shipping as far as the Australian and Indian waters with rapidly increasing results,—and the real war against these British Isles and their sea-born traffic is still in the offing.

The desperate efforts of Great Britain to get some support, any support from this side or from that side, from any side indeed, are quite understandable under these circumstances. But British propaganda has met defeat everywhere with the one exception—the United States of America. And this happened just in the one country where after the war of 1914 to 1918 the most violent reaction set in against British propaganda held responsible for the United States entry into that war, and where the severest condemnations of such propaganda were published. And still this same country has embarked on a course which, if logically pursued, must land the United States in an absolutely unnecessary war, the outcome of which does not seem to augur too well.

#### Dying Social, Economic System

The explanation for this, at first glance, strange fact as well as for the stubborn attitude of Great Britain, is that the present-day rulers of both these great countries are not led by the interests of their own people, but are subservient to extra-national influences who cling to the opportunities for personal enrichment which a dying social and economic system gave to them for a century. Preservation of the status quo, preservation of the balance of power with an unseen power keeping the balance, these are the ideals of a world opposed to the young and vigorous nations of this world of ours filled with all the enthusiasm of revolution. But they as the defenders of the "status quo" will never succeed. They are bound to die, and die they will. And with them they will draw into the abyss the trusting people who accepted their leadership only too willingly, being misled by an unscrupulous press.

Life itself is on the side of Germany, Italy, and Japan, the Axis Powers, and of the ever growing number of those who understand the trend of events towards a better organized and a more enlightened world, a world where the

common good is the standard and not the private privileged status of an individual or a class. A new order is about to be established. "Proper status of all the States", that was the formula chosen in the Japanese Imperial Rescript. "The right of nations to live in natural spheres corresponding to their national strength", that was the formula chosen by the Foreign Minister of the Reich. Based upon such convictions the Three Power Pact of September 27, 1940 stipulated:

Article (1) Japan recognizes and respects the leadership of Germany and Italy in the establishment of a New Order in Europe".

Article (2) Germany and Italy recognize and respect the leadership of Japan in the establishment of a New Order in Greater East Asia".

The result achieved by Japan in ending the much advertised "crisis in the Far East" by mediating cool-headedly between Thailand and French Indo-China has shown her ability for such leadership in the Far East, and the way in which Germany and Italy have mastered the European diplomatic situation has shown that they are the given leaders in the establishment of a New Order in Europe.

From the establishment of both New Orders, in Europe as well as in Greater East Asia, Great Britain and the United States of America are naturally excluded as strangers to these spheres. They are still there only as representatives of the old and antiquated ideas of "balance of power" and "the white man's burden," but they are bound to forego these ideas, once and for all, or to die with them in the very near future.

#### President Wang Ching-wei Feted by Admiral Shimada

President Wang Ching-wei was the guest of honor at a luncheon given by Admiral Shimada, Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Fleet in China, on March 17 on board the flagship 'Idzumo'. Present on the occasion were also Ambassador Honda and many Chinese high government officials.

In return for the courtesy of the Japanese naval chief, the President invited him to a dinner party in the evening. Messrs. Liang Hung-chih, Wen Tsung-yao, Hsu Liang, Lin Pai-sheng and many other Chinese and Japanese high officials were also present. President Wang and Admiral Shimada both delivered speeches during the banquet.

## Indian Troops On Thai Boarder Mutiny

Indian troops landing at Penang, Malay peninsula, have mutinied against their British commanders and bloodshed on a large scale is continuing between the Indians and the British, according to information reaching Bangkok from the British Malaya-Thai border.

Due the strict censorship by the British authorities in British Malaya, details regarding the mutiny are not available as yet, but it is believed a considerable number of Indians are involved in the uprising.

The Indian troops have been showing considerable reluctance to go to the Thai border in order to fight for the British, especially against the Thailanders, it is said.

The recent broadcasts from London and New York have made them fear that a southward march of the Nippon troops is imminent and that firing on the British Malaya-Thai border may occur any moment.

Originally seeing no reason why they should die for the British cause, and with the broadcasts causing them to believe that only hardship, privation and death awaited their push into Thai, anti-war sentiment has grown among the Indian rank and file.

Anti-war sentiment is reported to be rapidly spreading throughout the non-British troops as well as the civilians in Malaya.

Having had the bitter experience of an Indian occupation of Singapore during World War I, the British authorities in British Malaya are said to be disturbed over the latest situation.

#### Nanking Central Authorities Celebrate First Anniversary of Re-Establishment of National Government

The Central authorities held impressive rites in celebration of the return of the National Government to its Capital on March 30. Flags were seen flying everywhere and throughout the day the masses were in a jubilant, holiday mood.

All the high officials of the various Yuans, Ministries, Commissions Departments were present in the Auditorium of the National Government Building. At about 8.30 a.m. the President arrived and made a long radio speech which was broadcast over a nation-wide hook-up.

After the ceremonies, President Wang reviewed the troops in the Central Police Academy.

## CULTURAL REGENERATION

(Translation of "Central China Daily News" Editorial)

Cultural decline is a fact which cannot be concealed any longer. Since the outbreak of the "war," the cultural circles as a whole have not been influenced by the main current of thought as they have been obsessed by the ideology of dictatorship. Nor has cultural life developed in accordance with objective social environment. As a result, the cultural activities in the past three years have reached a very low level.

The main characteristic of China's culture is "the idea of national independence and emancipation" and this is what has dominated China's cultural life in the past hundred years. Since the Opium War of 1840, this "Thought of national independence and emancipation" has been repeatedly and clearly explained by our late leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, in his lectures of *Min Tsu Chu I*. By the time when China's culture had developed to such an extent as to produce the May 4 Movement, an unprecedented revolution took place in China's culture. The growth of public opinion under this cultural movement has engendered great strength. Briefly, this can be said to have gone through the following stages: (1) In the Revolution of 1911, this movement was directed against the activities of an external ruling class. (2) The success of the Northern Expedition represented a successful opposition of this movement against the militarists and success of the strength of the people in unifying the nation. (3) The resistance campaign of 1937 represented an extremely abnormal development of the national consciousness. (4) The Peace Movement shows that the consciousness of the people has been once again placed on the normal and right track.

### Culture and Thought

We want specially to examine the culture and thought after the outbreak of the "war" in 1937. In the early stages, China was dominated by emotion rather than by reason. Everybody acted in accordance with his feelings and did not think for himself whether "resistance" was the only solution for "national independence and emancipation" or not. The "resistance" was dominated by the ideology of the so-called "compradore" class. The agents of the British

and American imperialists and the Soviet Union have forced the people to fight against the Japanese. Evidently this has not served the best interests of China. If this resistance is carried on, the Chinese nation can never become independent or be emancipated. This is very clear to everyone.

"The independence and emancipation of the nation" cannot be realized by "resistance." The nation needs the guidance of a higher ideal to bring about "independence and emancipation" and that is the Peace Movement. The Peace Movement is opposed to Imperialism. In the past three years, it has fought against the compradore class according to democratic principles and against the conservatives in a scientific spirit. All its efforts in the cultural field can easily be seen by our people.

Now, China's cultural circles are weak and will soon reach a stagnant stage. Cultural workers in the areas where resistance is still in progress, are carrying on their work as if they were the cheer teams of a football match. They keep on shouting without knowing what they are shouting for. Activities of the cultural workers in the areas under the control and influence of the Peace Movement have only just begun. The work is not fully developed and it is up to us to strengthen and improve it.

Important tasks for cultural regeneration can be discussed under two headings: (1) To reconstruct our culture, we must have large numbers of cultural workers who have the correct understanding of the present situation to shoulder the responsibility and we must im-

### D.N B. Nanking Branch Office

A Nanking Branch office of the Deutsches Nachrichtenburo G m b H, Berlin (German News Office) has been established 12 Tze Pei Shih, Nanking.

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mediately organize the major organizations of the cultural circles. (2) We must expand the field of cultural struggle. This struggle is not to be fought by guns or cannon, but by careful explanation to the people so that they can see the needs of China in the present crisis. As soon as this work is carried out successfully, nation-wide peace will be attained through proper exercise of political authority.

Cultural reconstruction is one of the most important tasks in the program of national reconstruction. So long as the culture dominated by the dictator is permitted to exist China is heading only for destruction. As China is suffering seriously from poverty, we have now nothing left but national consciousness—a desire to avert national extinction. We must cultivate this national consciousness so that it may grow and expand. We must guide it carefully so that it will not go astray. We must work with courage and foresight. This is the key to China's regeneration.

## Picnic Party Held by Ministries of Foreign Affairs & Publicity

A picnic party was held in a forest at the foot of the Purple Mountain yesterday under the sponsorship of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Publicity. Hundreds of Peace workers who have struggled hard to further the Peace Movement during the past year, were invited to join the party.

## London Announces Weekly Shipping Losses

The Admiralty announced on March 18 that British and Allied ships sunk during the week which ended at midnight on March 9 totalled 98,832 tons and included 25 ships.

Twenty ships, totalling 84,244 tons, were British and five ships, 14,588 tons, were Allied, making the total of British, Allied and neutral losses for the war 5,061,089 tons.

## Signing Lend and Lease Bill



One of the most important events of the current decade and perhaps the turning point in the tide of the world conflict, took place in the White House on March 11, when in the presence of newspaper and motion picture cameramen President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the far-famed Lend and Lease Bill. Photo shows the President signing the Bill while motion picture cameramen photograph the event.

## Journalists' Club Thanks President Wang for Charity Donation

A letter was addressed to President Wang Ching-wei by the Journalists Club in the Capital to express its deepest gratitude for the President's donation of \$1,200 to a charity performance sponsored by the Club a few days ago. It may be noted that all the donations and admittance fees collected by the Club for the performance are to be used for relief purposes.

## Nanking Radio Station Taken Over

The Nanking Radio Broadcasting Station was taken over by the Broadcast Reconstruction Association on March 26 under the auspices of Mr. Wei Nan-lun and several other committee members of the Association, when its name was changed to *Central Radio Station*. Mr. Wang Ying-kang was appointed Director of the Station.

## German Invasion Said Planned for May

Germany will attempt a land invasion of Great Britain some time in May, Major-General Seifuku Okamura, Military Attache of the Japanese Embassy at Berlin who arrived at Tokyo recently declared.



## French Colonial Policy in Indo-China One of Extortion and Oppression

### Natives Frequently Rose Against French Misrule

### French Indo-China Has Richest Untapped Resources of Any Overseas Territory

The French colonial policy, supposed to be based on the principle of assimilation, has made an exception in the case of French Indo-China, where France considers nothing but the interests of the mother country, unmindful of the interests and welfare of French Indo-China.

In 1858, a French fleet stormed Tourane in Annam and later captured Saigon. In 1862, the King of Annam, unable to keep up resistance, ceded three provinces of Cochín-China. It was not long before France acquired control of entire French Indo-China.

The French policy toward the inhabitants of French Indo-China has been extortionate and oppressive throughout. The natives, accorded extremely discriminatory treatment, are in effect hardly more than mediums for French exploitation. They are, in fact, "slaves" serving the French.

Even those highly educated are given the pettiest positions. The successive kings of Annam have suffered the most humiliating maltreatment. In 1883, King Sze Teh, fourth monarch of the present dynasty, died of a broken heart due to French oppression.

The members of the Grand Council of French Indo-China are mostly French contractors, whose sole aim is to enhance their personal interests. By far the greatest part of the natives, are simply utilised for providing the living comforts of the few Frenchmen residing in the colony, according to a noted American colonial expert.

The French investments in French Indo-China are estimated at around 8-billion francs, only half of which amount is expended for developing resources, the rest being taken by contractors as commissions.

#### Richest Untapped Resources

French Indo-China has one of the richest untapped natural resources of any overseas territory. Yet, despite the fact that the French

have neither the enthusiasm to develop them, they are most unwilling for foreigners to touch their resources. As long as they themselves obtain enough from the land, they do not care a farthing how backward French Indo-China is.

In case industrial development does not net them enough revenue, they levy direct taxes on the natives. In Tongking, males above 18 are required to pay a poll tax of 2.5 piastres each. The natives are paid only from 7 to 10 cents for a day's labor of 12 hours

• For a married couple to pay a poll tax of 5 piastres is a very heavy burden, because it means the wages of two months' continuous labor. When a family includes old people unfit for labor, the financial burden is that much heavier, for the colonial government makes no allowances for the physically unfit

For centuries natives have been accustomed to making their home brew, using the refuse as feed for pigs. The colonial government has established a monopoly liquor concern in Tongking where it has been forcing liquor of questionable quality on the natives. "Moonshiners" are severely dealt with.

The liquor monopoly policy may work in highly civilized countries, but not in a primitive colonial possession. It will have enough bad effects to offset a benevolent administration.

#### Natives Rise Against French Rule

No matter how docile the French Indo-China natives may be, they cannot bear oppression indefinitely. Of late, they have risen against French rule in many parts of the country. As yet they lack horizontal liaison, but when they establish it, the French will find them more than they can handle. The French have been doing their best to hide France's capitulation from the natives. How long they can keep the natives in the dark remains to be seen.

As fate has overtaken *la belle France* in her partnership with Perfidious Albion and has collapsed, it is hoped the same fate will soon liberate the natives of French Indo-China from further French domination and cruel exploitation and the blessings of the New Order of East Asia will be extended to their country under the leadership of Japan. The dawn of a new era is awaiting at the threshold to welcome the natives of French Indo-China into the fold of free and independent peoples of East Asia.

### Lieut-Col. Akiyama Vists Newspaper Censorship Office

Lieut-Col. K. Akiyama, Chief of the Shanghai Press Bureau of the Japanese Military Forces, visited the Shanghai Newspaper Censorship Office of the Ministry of Publicity on the afternoon of March 27. Mr. Liu Shih-ke, Chief of the Censorship Office, entertained the visitor, and they exchanged views on the subject of censorship.

### 10,000 Students Take Part in Celebrations

At 8 o'clock on the morning of March 30, about 10,000 students took part in the celebration of the first anniversary of the return of the National Government to its Capital in the Main Hall of the National Assembly on Kuo Fu Road. After listening to President Wang's broadcast speech, Mr. Fan Chung-yun, President of the Central University, delivered a speech on the national policy of Peace, Anti-Communism and National Reconstruction.

Following the celebration the students joined in a mass parade in the city.

### Staff Cars Ambushed on North-west Frontier

Six Indian officers and one of other rank were killed, and five British officers and two other ranks were wounded when three staff cars were ambushed on the Bannu-Mirali road on the North-West Frontier on March 18.

## Memorial Service for 72 Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs

In the Central Kuo-min Tang Headquarters at 9 o'clock on the morning of March 29, the National Government held an impressive memorial service for the 72 Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs. President Wang Ching-wei gave an address in which he emphasized the spirit of self-sacrifice of the Martyrs who died for their country in Canton 30 years ago. His speech summarized is as follows:

Those who took part in the abortive revolution included some members of the Revolutionary Party, returned students, well-known scholars and high officers in the New Army in Canton. They were all brave men ready to die for their country. According to the original plan of the Revolutionists, attacks were to be launched simultaneously at three places. Somehow the secret leaked out. In two places the plan failed to materialize. It was realized that militarily it was advisable to start the Revolution anew by preparing for it slowly but steadily in Canton.

It was the belief of our comrades that revolutionists must never do anything contrary to the spirit of sincerity; they would face death unflinchingly rather than betray their comrades

so that they might spread the spirit of revolution and awaken the general public by means of self-sacrifice, which is the distinguishing characteristic of all revolutionists. Knowing as they did that they need not sacrifice themselves at that very time, they nevertheless gave up their lives in the hope that spirit might be taken up by the masses and their surviving comrades. Without that pure spirit of self-sacrifice, it would have been impossible for them to do so.

The life of an individual is limited, but that of a nation is eternal, if every citizen devotes his life to his country and passes on the noble spirit of self-sacrifice to his posterity. We should know that the spirit is precious, because it can create matter. We want not only the spirit but also its power to create material welfare. The spirit that can create material welfare is more precious. During the present national crisis, therefore, all of my comrades should exert their mental and physical efforts, no matter what sacrifice they must make, and they should struggle to pave the way for a glorious future of national recovery and national reconstruction.

## Britain Wants A Just Peace?

The British Ambassador to Washington, Lord Halifax, achieved a new high in hypocrisy the other day when he told newspapermen in the American capital that "Britain is willing to include Germany in the post-war setup if she is willing to co-operate sincerely with us." Britain, he added, did not desire a vindictive peace.

"We would like to see world economics so ordered as to relieve the anxiety of all nations over inability to obtain raw materials to facilitate exchange of goods and other services," the former Foreign Secretary declared. "We do not want to see a vindictive peace."

These are pious-sounding terms from a man who has made a life-long practice of meaningless utterances couched in honeyed words and deceptive terms. Hypocrisy is an art with Lord Halifax, a highly developed art mastered only after many years of assiduous study and practice.

The British Ambassador, sitting in Washington with his fingers on the pulse of the American people, apparently feels that the demand for some outline of the British Government's war aims can no longer be ignored. London continues to evade the issue of what England hopes to achieve; but the American people, realizing that they are being pushed ever closer to the brink of war, are growing restive and suspicious. They want to know what there is about the British Empire that is so worthy of saving, even at the risk of going to war. To stifle this clamor, Lord Halifax has indulged again in ambiguous phrases and artful evasion.

Britain, said Lord Halifax, was willing to include Germany in the post-war setup if the latter is willing to co-operate. But he didn't say what form that co-operation must take. There was talk too in the World War about co-operation after the war; but that co-operation meant only servitude and dependency. The British assured the United States in 1917 that Britain wanted a just peace, not a vindictive peace. But Versailles showed what Britain meant by justice and altruism. Germany would be allowed to co-operate—as a vassal state, subject to orders from London.

The unequal distribution of raw materials is one of the fundamental causes of wars—of this war, of past wars and of the wars to come. With one-quarter of the world's entire territory under her rule, Britain could easily have solved the problem of distribution of essential raw materials. But that was not her desire. The industrialized British Isles were the manufacturing center; and the Empire was the reservoir which fed the machines of England for the benefit of England—and no one else.

England fought dozens of wars to secure that Empire and that ideal position. She is fighting the present war to maintain that strangle-hold on the riches and the territory of the world. If Britain wanted a new order in world economics "to relieve the anxiety of all nations over inability to obtain raw materials," the current war probably would not have to be fought. It was England's attempt to cut off Germany from the necessary sources of raw materials that brought about so much bitterness and the realization among the German people that the old order would sooner or later result in the complete impoverishment of the Reich.

For Germany is highly industrialized, but her sources of raw materials were taken away from her by the England which seeks a "just peace."

Britain declared war on Germany in 1914 and 1939 because she fears Germany as much as she hates Germany. Warring on any nation able to outdo the British by work and thrift is a British characteristic so marked in their history that it may be fairly called British policy. There is not an industrious, progressive nation in all the world, including the United States, that has not been at one time or another a target of this British policy. And since the development of newspapers, it has been British policy to use part of the gains from one war to spend in publicity abroad to buy allies for their next war, the way they bought America's entry against Germany in 1917, and hope to buy again against Germany in 1941. The British Ambassador's sanctimonious words sound good, but they have a familiar ring about them. How badly the world will be fooled remains to be seen. ("S.N.E."),

## The Decline and Fall of the British Empire

By Robert Briffault

(Continued from last issue)

### ( CHAPTER FIVE )

#### Gentlemanly England

##### " Old School Tie "

But the unspotted "old school tie," like the feudal caste exclusiveness which it revives, is intended to set a pattern to a nation of gentlemen. Expanded and adapted to the wider scope of an aristocratic-burgher society and translated into the language and financial purposes of patriotism, the *esprit de corps* of the old aristocratic rulers and of public-school cricketers, finds expression in the basic formula: "England, right or wrong." The cynical immorality of the maxim, boldly setting, as it does, the interests of English property and the share market above the eternal verities of moral truth, is only apparent, for nothing in the education of Christian gentlemen can lead them to suspect any divergence between the interests of the City and the moral purposes of universe. In the scheme of English public-school education a transvaluation of all values is effected, more sweeping than that of Nietzsche. For all values, moral, esthetic, intellectual, are reduced to one single category: there are things which are done and which are English, and things which are not done, and which are un-English. The latter epithet covers, with that restrained understatement which is peculiarly English, all the terms of invective included in the minatory litanies of the Catholic Church in pronouncing anathema. The withering condemnation of the term "un-English" scorches with its frigid fire all things that are not of good repute on the playing fields of Eton, and all "ideas" pregnant with the pestilent germs of un-English thought.

By that simple scale of values all judgments, sentiments, emotions, of the English mind are standardized. By it English opinion is formed without the aid of tedious and uncertain processes of thought. By it literary and artistic evaluations are unerringly determined. With a faultless flair, English criticism and "public taste" scents out, in whatever thicket of specious disguises they may lie concealed, the

secret tracks of un-English sentiment and automatically claps on all such offensive literary expression the extinguisher of deadly and dignified silence.

One of the most remarkable and sudden transformations in literary history reflects the change which took place in the English mind about the time of the passing of the Reform Bill.

##### English Literature

The English literature that followed, in the nineteenth century and after, might be that of another people and another race. It had previously been human; it suddenly became English. There was, up to the end of the eighteenth century, nothing to forebode the change of which modern English literature was the outcome. It is more than doubtful whether Fielding, Smollett, Sterne, Swift, Defoe could have found a publisher in the Victorian age. An English parson violently denounced only the other day Goldsmith's play. *She Stoops to Conquer*, as immoral, and declared that its performance ought not to be permitted. "English literature," Andrew Lang remarked, "had been at least as free spoken as any other from the time of Chaucer to the death of Smollett. Then, in twenty years at most, English literature became the most pudibund, the most respectful of the young person's blush, that the world has ever known." Nor has its respectful attitude been by any means confined to consideration for "the young person's blush." English literature, since it became a mirror of the transformation which England herself and the English mind underwent at the beginning of the last century, has respected every prejudice, priggery, patriotic and moralistic fiction, superstition, and pretence of the public-school age, and of synthetically conditioned and complacent English gentlemen. In an article on Balzac, probably the greatest novelist of all time, Professor George Saintsbury has the following

exquisite remark: "He produces as a rule in his readers the sensation familiarly described as 'uncomfortable'. "Balzac, in fact, was a realist, not in the sense of any research, as in Zola, of the less pleasant aspects of life—on the contrary, Balzac was a romantic and a humanity-loving realist—but in the sense that his characters are real men and women and the life which he so masterfully describes is real life. But one may safely venture to assert that in the whole of English nineteenth-century creative literature will not be found one work, one page, one sentence that may produce in the English reader the "uncomfortable," sensation of contact with reality. Like the synthetic world of respectability around him, the English gentleman required that his reading should be "comfortable," that it should not produce any unpleasant jar in the standardized scheme of values and outlooks so skilfully fashioned by all the educative influences which had molded him. The Victorian age of English literature, prolonged in the restrained public-schoolboy emotions of Galsworthy's novels, and in the somewhat infantile sentimentality of Mr. J. B. Priestley, poured a stream of gooey molasses of moral purpose iridescent with the purple asphyxia of synthetic sentiment and emotion. Yet in the didactic survey of English literature the eighteenth-century novel is discreetly disposed of with chronological catalogue notes, and the young idea is enthusiastically invited to pasture at leisure in the mush of Victorian glory, where Thackeray and Dickens are enthroned above the swamp of sticky three-volumed gentility. Neither Thackeray nor Dickens ever drew a human being or a situation that was not falsified by moral purpose or the social outlook of an artificial age. The nearest that Thackeray ever came to offering the presentment of a woman was in *Becky Sharp*; and he is under the obligation of apologizing profusely for doing so and of assuring the reader of his moral reprehension. The "great Victorians" were the English contemporaries of Balzac, Stendhal, Flaubert. But they were insulated from them and from all "uncomfortable" realities by an ocean of moral pretense and entirely factitious sentiment far more protective than any silver streak.

What is termed "Victorianism" did not, however, come in with Queen Victoria, nor did it go out with her. The following pearl of criticism is not from a Victorian, but from Mr. Basil de Selincourt in a last year's *Observer*.

"The novel," says Mr. de Selincourt, "is a special English responsibility, since, despite all distortions of hypocrisy, the English race has realized and established a pattern of sexual happiness which has not otherwise existed in the world." Mark the "responsibility" — but comment is silenced before the serene pearls which alone English oysters can exude. "Victorianism," despite all misrepresentations of it as a transient affliction now happily supplanted by bright young people, will not pass away except with England and her public schools. Another among the most distinguished contemporary English critics remarks thus concerning Mr. Somerset Maugham: "Like so many men whose education is part English and part Continental, he never succeeded in achieving that serenity of spirit and mind which is one of the blessings of an undefiled English public-school education."

#### "Provincial" Mind

Those blessings are what imparts to the English mind the peculiar segregated, almost provincial, character commonly mistaken for the effect of geographical insularity. It is not, however, the outcome of aquatic, but of cultural and psychological, barriers. The simple reduction of all values, intellectual, moral, religious, to the common denominator of things English or un-English, that is to say, things conducive to the pecuniary and mental comfort of English gentlemen, and things prone to disturb their sense of pecuniary and mental stability, inevitably narrows down the scope of the English mind.

The public school are not the sole, though they are the most important, means by which the English mind is clipped down to a uniform standard. The rounded system of mental mutilation includes other, indeed all, English institutions.

The gentlemen's agreement between the aristocracy and the pious moneyed bourgeois placed the Church of England upon an altered footing. The parson crept out of the servant's hall to which Georgian realism had relegated him and took supreme charge, not of the public schools alone, but of the national mind, in a manner which the Inquisition of Catholic Spain never achieved. "The first half of the nineteenth century," states a historian, "was theological." But there is little apparent justification for the chronological qualification of the statement, and any difference in degree between the period

mentioned and subsequent English times is at most relative. On picking up at haphazard a number of The Times Literary Supplement, eleven out of thirty-eight entries for reviews are found to be theological, and among the rest theology reappears in the form of science, social science, travel, biography, art, and archeology. English Coddery is a phenomenon which stands alone in the modern world and has to be accepted without discussion, like the ears of donkeys. Nowhere is the necessity of religion so real as in England. Without religion it would not be possible to clothe the purposes and interests of the City of London in the language of moral edification, nor should English public school-boys act exclusively from moral motives. Without religion English hypocrisy would not be possible.

The revival of the Church of England was necessary, not only as a bulwark against Liberal Nonconformity, but as part of the system by which, in industrial England, the feudal structure was preserved. That preservation rendered an ecclesiastical and episcopal establishment indispensable. It likewise required the sanctification of monarchy. Without monarchy and an episcopal established Church—two aspects of the same institution—there should be no House of Lords, and the entire fabric of commercial and industrial England built upon feudal foundations would collapse. Liberal financial interests, however Nonconformist in their tradition, are no less deeply bound up than the die-hardest aristocracy with the preservation of that medieval ritualism, which imparts to Bank of England notes a guarantee of security and stability at least equal to that derived from the gold reserve. Before the Reform Bill anything resembling the neurosis of English Basileolatry was even more completely unknown than Victorian Goddery in England. Carlyle describes how he happened to come upon King William IV riding in a glass coach through almost empty streets to get himself crowned at Westminster, and how the ludicrous spectacle caused the philosopher to laugh till it hurt. The English populace though little at the time of throwing rotten eggs at sacred Majesty. Indeed, the whole hysterical idolatry of royalty is a product of the democratic age. There is nothing paradoxical in the fact, for the chief function of monarchy is to serve as an invaluable bulwark against democracy.

(To be continued)

## Gen. Nishio Reports to Emperor

The progress of the Japanese campaign in China was reported to the Throne by General Toshizo Nishio, former Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Expeditionary Forces to China, on March 17 when he was received in audience by the Emperor immediately after his arrival.

General Nishio who has been appointed member of the Supreme War Council, returned to the capital from the China front on March 17. He was met at Tokyo Station by a large number of high-ranking officers and officials including War Minister Lieutenant-General Hideki Tojo, General Gen Sugiyama, Chief of the Army General Staff, and Mr. Li Shao-keng, Manchoukuoan Ambassador to Japan.

General Nishio, was later entertained by the Emperor at a luncheon, which was also attended by Marshal Prince Kotohito Kanin, Marshal Prince Morimasa Nashimoto, General Prince Yasuhiko Asaka, General Prince Naruhiko Higashikuni, General Sugiyama, General Count Hisaichi Terauchi, and other members of the Supreme War Council.

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### 警政部公布拘捕渝中行職員之經過

渝方恐怖份子，對中央儲備銀行迭施暴行，社會秩序為之不安，為促使渝方悔悟，并保障租界治安計，警政部於日前，特將在滬之渝方中國銀行職員，予以拘捕，目的完全出於自衛，警政部發言人為，此事件特發表重要談話如下：

「此次吾人拘捕渝方銀行職員，乃係不得已之措置，一個月前，渝方恐怖分子，以手槍與炸彈破壞中央儲備銀行，李部長曾發表嚴正談話，警告渝方，不得再有此種殘殺同胞傷害國家事業之犯罪行為，並呼籲中外公正人士，保障人類正義，與社會安全，共同制止渝方此種犯罪行為之繼續與加厲，不幸負責方面，未能以事實與行動接受，此警告與呼籲，渠等迄未明瞭吾人之所以避免報復者，一由於吾人認暗殺為不可饒恕之罪惡，二由於渝方在滬殘餘力量，不及吾人什一，故求避免，因制止渝方暴行而引致上海之毀滅，以至今日，中央儲備銀行職員，政府官吏與運同志之慘遭渝方之暗殺者，前後相繼不絕，其程度之嚴重，已危及一般上海市民之安全，租界當局，迄未能作有效之措置，社會人士，迄未能有共同負責之對策，而渝方與不正當外人勾結之宣傳機關，則在日益鼓勵恐怖政策，吾人之嚴正，成為片面之約束，吾人之寬大，被渝方視為可乘之弱點，吾人乃被迫採取此不得已之措置，於數小時內，拘捕渝方銀行職員一百廿八人，無非欲使渠等服務之銀行與渠等之家族明瞭，同屬國家產業機關，同屬無辜之從業員，彼此有其不可分離的命運，並以此使一般市民明瞭，固屬中華民國人民，有其共同的要求，亦有其連帶的保障，並以此使租界當局，明瞭不幸事件之因果所在，與租界當局應盡能盡的責任，吾人非如渝方之嗜殺人，孤人之子，寡人之婦，吾人之意不在報復，而在

於自衛，並為一般市民謀安全，一俟渝方悔悟，在租界內之治安確立，吾人當立即恢復被拘捕者之自由，今渠等雖遭拘禁，吾人決保障其生命，並顧及其日常生活之安適，吾人並警告渝方能明瞭對渠之被拘捕有其責任，而對渠等被拘捕後之命運亦有其責任，同時凡在滬之渝方金融機關之負責人員，及中交農等之從業員，為自身之安全計，渠等亟應迅向渝方呼籲，尅日停止在滬之一切暗殺等卑劣行為，倘渝方此項無恥的卑劣暴行，仍不斷行使，吾人為自衛及保障上海之秩序計，將對上述金融機關之全部人員，一律予以同樣之處置，莫謂言之不預也。

### 出版法

(續)

三十年一月廿四日修正公布

第十條 第九條所定應聲請登記之事項有變更者其發行人應於變更後十日內按照登記時之程序聲請變更登記

前項變更登記之聲請如係變更新聞紙或雜誌之名稱或發行人者應附繳原領登記證按照第九條之規定重行登記

第十一條 第九條及第十條之登記不收費用

第十二條 新聞紙中專以發行通訊稿為業者地方主管官署於必要時得派員檢查其社務組織及發行狀況

第十三條 有左列情形之一者不得為新聞紙或雜誌之發行人或編輯人

- 一，國內無住所者
- 二，禁治產者
- 三，被處徒刑或一月以上之拘役在執行中者
- 四，褫奪公權尚未復權者

第十四條 有左列情形之一者得禁止其為新聞紙或雜誌之發行人或編輯人

- 一，因違反第廿一條之規定受刑事處分者
- 二，因貪污或詐行為受刑事處分者

第十五條 新聞紙或雜誌廢止發行者原發行人應按照登記時之程序聲

定義，曰回向東方，請舉魯陽揮戈之神話，謹獻祝詞曰，如日再中，又徵文公復興衡國之故事，申獻祝詞曰，定之方中，回向東方，此物此志也。

### 我國駐日滿兩大使館慶祝還都紀念

我國駐日大使館，三十日上午十時，舉行慶祝國府還都一週紀念大會，到大使館館員，旅日華僑，及日方代表等六十餘人，行禮如儀後，由陳公使致辭，三呼中華民國萬歲；反共和平萬歲後，舉行茶會，舉杯祝中國前途無量，茶會將畢，李滿洲國大使及頭山滿翁亦到，至十一時半始散會，又於下午六時，在大使館舉行慶祝晚餐會，招待留日學生。

我駐滿大使館，三十日亦在此間同治街，大使館內，舉行國府還都一週年慶祝典禮，到全體館員，及各方代表，典禮開始於上午九時，全體肅立，唱國歌，向國旗及總理遺像行三鞠躬禮，大使致詞，遙向主席致敬，三呼中華民國萬歲，禮成，攝影後，以茶點款待來賓。

### 日松岡外相抵柏林

日外相松岡洋右廿七日在此間宣稱日之立場與德立於同一方面，美應注意東京與柏林間之進展，松岡氏未抵柏林之前，曾在火車內對美提出勸告，勸美對渠此次聘問柏林羅馬應予密切之注意，松岡氏於廿七日下午六時到達安霍德勒車站，柏林對日外相作盛大之歡迎，汽車所經街道滿擠千萬官商人民，由身着制服之勞工領袖領導松岡之汽車直駛貝爾利字宮，渠將住居該處，松岡在赴旅舍途中，國粹黨衝鋒隊控制羣衆並分發日德國旗，德外長里賓特洛甫其他德高級文武官員，日大使大島及其他外交團體，均至車站相迎，德熱烈招待外賓此爲首次。

### 日方歸還京滬杭史蹟文物管理權

三月廿七日下午五時，外交部，日本大使館共同發表如下之聲明

，此次基於中日新約定之趣旨，經兩國關係當局之協議，決定將事變以來方日本方面苦心整理保存之左列史蹟文物，移管於中華民國政府

、南京革命紀念塔 南京明孝陵

南京紫金山天文台 北京北極閣舊氣象台及地震計

南京前中央研究院房產 南京前實業部地質調查所之房產

杭州前浙江省立西湖博物館之房產

杭州前浙江省立圖書館孤山分館之房產

在南京，杭州及上海保管中之圖書雜誌及其他出版物

在南京保管中之檔案 在南京及杭州保管中之學術標本類

在南京保管中之故物

右列各項物件，因事變後管理者之逃避，以致破損散佚，日本軍於戎馬倥傯之際，或修理破損之史蹟，或蒐集整理散佚之文物史料，因是幸免戰禍之影響，今得見移管，實爲維持增進光輝燦爛之東方文化所至堪同慶者也。

京杭兩地，夙爲我國文化中心，史蹟文物保存特豐，惜自事變以還，兵災匪禍，散失極多，幸賴日軍所到，本於戰事停息之餘，隨處檢拾保存，不致全部毀損，現日方鑑於中日國交，已步入正軌，爲實踐新條約之精神，特決定將京杭兩地文化古物及文化建築，移歸我方管理，計此次歸還我方管理之文物，除建築物外圖書標本古物等如左

圖書部份：

(上海) 六〇、〇〇〇冊 (杭州) 二〇、〇〇〇冊

(南京) 八〇〇、〇〇〇冊 合計八十餘萬冊

標本部份：

(南京) 地質標本五、五〇〇點 動物標本三、五〇〇

植物標本二、〇〇〇點 考古學標本二、三〇〇箱

其 他 三〇〇箱 古 物 一、二四〇箱

故宮故物三、五三七箱 (由北京故宮博物館運至南京朝

天宮保存者)

(杭州) 文化關係物品二、〇〇〇點

自然科學關係物品一〇、〇〇〇點



鄂理延帖純，Re-Orientalism，直譯為重行審定方向，大旨以為近數十年，中國事業模仿泰西，以致轉失其故步，今幸迷途未遠，人窮反本，亟應從新審定其方向，歸回世界上固有之地位，恢復歷史上過去之光榮，恰巧中國為東方文化之代表國家，鄂理延帖純本義為東方，因太古初民衣日出，以定四方，東方實居四方之首，引伸即為審定方向，而睿字冠詞，則含有歸回恢復及重與再諸義，合為一新名詞，不啻明白指示中國今後改造進行之方針也。

於此又憶及二十年來為倡道復興中國固有文化所遭受之非難與抨擊，反對者唯一之口實，即曰復古是開倒車，乃求退步，非求進步也，余嘗大膽置辯曰，復古便是維新，特引中西歷史兩實例以證明之，一，日本明治維新，當時所揭槩者，非王政復古乎，二，歐洲中世紀黑暗時代，其一線曙光，非所謂文藝復興乎，二者展以復古為口號，而皆得革新之結果，蓋人類進化，為螺旋向上式，歷史雖有循環之形似，決無重複之可能，故任何運動，皆進步非退步也，一張一弛，時乃天道，古人所謂如張弓，如囊籥者，意在斯乎。

吾人試就中國近數十年，及身親見親聞之事，檢討過去，把握現在，希望將來，本重行審定方向之旨，分析述之。

一，檢討過去，此數十年，中國紛紛擾擾，所為何事，當光緒末年，聯軍內犯，外交軍事，滿盤皆輸，政治經濟，相形見絀，於是始有君主立憲運動，其時心目中模範國乃英與日也，然而君憲不成，革命已起，於是又有民主共和運動，其時心目中模範國乃法與美也，然而革命雖成而未成，軍閥官僚，益趨腐化惡化，於是又有共產主義運動，其時心目中模範國乃蘇俄也，然而中共之暴行，第三國際之毒計，使聯俄者轉而拒俄，容共者轉而清共，於是又法西斯蒂主義運動，其時心目中之模範國乃義與德也，然而蔣氏利用之獨裁專制，卒禍國家，試一回想，民憲在英日成功者，而在中國則失敗，共和在法美成功者，而在中國則失敗，共產在蘇俄成功者，而在中國則失敗，獨裁在義德成功者，而在中國則失敗，豈非以歷史地理民族之不同，而運

地未必果良乎，又一回想，中國初學英日而失敗，繼學法美而失敗，繼學蘇俄而失敗，繼學義德而失敗，世界各大強國，通行各種政體，均已一一試驗無遺，何以偏獨遺忘本國固有之政教制度，而不肯一顧乎，豈中國四千年來，當英，日，法，美，蘇聯，義，德尚未強盛以前，本無典章文物之可言乎，因偏學他國而皆遭失敗，遂謂走頭無路，死心塌地束手待斃，豈非自暴自棄，奴隸根性之表現乎，一，把握現在，現在固四大集團，分離對峙之世界也，此四大集團，自第一次歐戰之末而萌芽，至第二次歐戰之初而樹立，今則益趨明顯而漸底完成，一曰英美集團，是帝國主義資本主義之壁壘，以維持舊秩序為職志者也，一曰德義集團，是法西斯蒂納粹主義之前鋒，以建設新秩序為標榜者也，一曰蘇聯集團，是共產主義，第三國際之本營，以縱橫捭闔為能事，以挑撥破壞為慣技者也，一曰東亞集團，是黃色人種，共存共榮之防線，以解放亞洲各民族之壓迫，維持亞洲各國家之獨立為號召者也，中國今日既不能獨立創造別一集團，又不能超然脫離所有集團，然則就歷史，地理，血統，文化等等天然關係之立場，究應加入何一集團乎，此豈非不卜而可知，不謀而可決者乎。

一，希望將來，進行方向既經重行審定無訛，此後唯賴同志者最大之決心與努力而已，然將來之目的究何在，是可分三步言之，第一步，當先取得中國本身之獨立與自由，從白人帝國主義，資本主義掙扎擺脫出來，解除次殖民地之桎梏與羈縻，由犬馬回復到人道生活，由奴隸回復到主人地位，外與歐美澳各民族各國家平等，內則本集團中各民族各國家平等，第二步當聯絡本集團中各民族各國家，本互助互惠之原則，謀政治經濟之合作，外交軍事之同盟，血統文化之溝通，務使本集團各單位，如兄弟姊妹之休戚與共，手足骨肉之痛癢相關，第三步，當領導全世界人類，挽回物質文明霸道主義之劫運，體驗道家清靜不爭之教義，激發釋氏慈悲救度之精神，實現孔子天下一家，四海兄弟之大同思想我中國人對此所負責任，較之本集團中其他民族國家尤為重大，從前種種譬如昨日死，此後種種譬如今日生，茲當國府改組週年紀念，特為睿鄂理延帖純名詞，下一漢譯之

候，我對於歸來南京同志，下一個很嚴厲的批評，因為我當時看見大家的神氣，好像意氣不可一世，志驕氣盈，我心裏想我國固敗於盧溝，而同時也敗於淺薄，我何嘗不知道，許多人心裏這樣想，「日本不是和我們講和平嗎，和平便是朋友了，一切的事實，不必再調整，似乎原狀立刻恢復，一切軍事狀態應該立刻解除」，然而大家當時沒有想到，國府剛在還都，基本條約還沒有簽定，這個淺薄的觀念，不禁令我對於前途發生無限的憂慮，今年一年過去了，志驕氣盈的神氣似乎減退許多了，可是相反的又生出一個淺薄的觀念，那就是志類氣餒，以為這種現狀繼續也不想管了，大家也看慣不異了，大概各人心理也在想，「前途大概就是這樣罷，想也是沒有用了，做也是沒有用了」，或為着這種觀念，更令我對於前途發生無限的憂慮，復興民族的大業，豈是容易的事，古語有云，「創業固艱難，守成亦不易」，復興民族，決非志驕氣盈的人所能擔負，也決非心類氣餒的人所能擔負，這樣觀念不正確，怎麼能復興中國，更怎麼能擔負安定東亞大任，我希望同志們對於觀念上應該重新檢討，自己來矯正。

### 第二態度還沒有正確

今日同志間的態度，大有民國十五年師出長江怨念無盡的神氣，那年我在江西，曾憤慨作了一篇「回到黨裏去」一文，我還記得會說過，「革命是人人應盡的天職，尤其是每個革命黨應盡天職，現在軍隊到了長江，大家便志得滿意，文人同志沒有一個不想起碼當縣長，武裝同志沒有一個不想起碼當上校，革命快失敗了，我當以身作則，檢去一切職務，而回到黨裏去」重新檢討，重新訓練，到了國府還都，同志間的態度，比民十五六更嬌縱了，文人同志，起碼簡任，武裝同志，起碼想將官，民十五六年，那時還算軍事將次成功，而今日同志倒忘記了國家早瀕危難，這樣的態度，真使我失望和心痛，參加和平，誠然是一種救國工作，但救國是人人應盡的天職，更是每個革命黨的天職，而且救國剛剛開始，我試問參加和平的同志們，國家已經完全救了沒有，人民痛苦已經完全解除沒有，國家尚在危急，人民尚在倒

懸，我們自問有什麼勞績，有什麼權利，可以要求國家給予我們優厚的待遇，我希望同志們對於態度上也應該重新檢討，自己來矯正。

### 第三行動還沒有正確

還都以後，同志間苦鬥的固然不少，但行動放逸的實在太多，我耳聞目見的，好像國家昇平，人民安樂，幾乎不知道國家有什麼變故，我不是一個主張絕對苦行者，但同志中應該知道，無衣無食的就和平區內還有，幾千萬乃至二萬萬人，我們難道就充耳不聞，閉目不視，我也知道放逸行動，有許多原因，有些由於安樂，也有些由於煩悶，今日的局面那能說安樂，自然多數因於煩悶了，可是救國救民，不是煩悶可以想出方法的，也不是放心逸性就可以解憂的，參加和平運動的多數是有為的青年，應該把有用的時間，多用於研究的工作，國家已沒有多少人才，各人應該急作儲才的準備，否則坐荒歲月，國家豈不是更感孤危，我希望同志對於行動上也應該重新檢討，自己來矯正。

此外還都以後，還有一個最大缺點，那就是威不能樹，恩等於零，正合着「寵之以位，位極則賤，錫之以恩，恩極則慢」，政府最大的作用，最重要是發動，和鞭策，無發動則無方針，無鞭策更不能實現政策，威不能樹，則發動鞭策展不能言，我希望今後政府，宜以威濟恩之窮，更以法補仁之缺。

今日還都紀念，似乎我不應該說許多批評的說話，但我想，我不說，恐怕沒有人肯說了，我不說恐怕沒有人願說了，我不文過，不飾非，更不忘危，不忘偉，坦率向諸同志直告，便大家在慶祝之中，本着自省自責精神，作一次自我的大檢討。

### 回向東方

江亢虎

河山再造，日月重光，國府改組還都，忽忽已一周年矣，夫改組有革故鼎新之意，還都有光復舊物之意，而周年又有貞下起元，否極泰來之意，於此憶及十年前在美洲講學時，曾有鑄西文新名詞，曰容

種，無非表示睦鄰友好的善意期望中國的復興，這是我們所深深感奮的，最近更將廈門鼓浪嶼金門島等處海軍所管理的官署學校醫院電報局飛機場圖書館等建築物，合計二百三十四所，交還廈門特別市政府管理，定於本日舉行，以表示對於國民政府還都週年紀念之慶祝，這更使我們對於中日合作共保東亞，感到極大的興奮。

最近國民政府有清鄉委員會之組織，因為清鄉工作，政治約佔十分之六七，軍事約佔十分之三四，非合行政院與軍事委員會兩機關之力，不能勝任愉快，我們相信清鄉委員會成立後，對於確立治安，定然有所貢獻。

最近軍事委員會召開全國軍事會議，聚南北各省軍事當局於一堂，對於建軍之目的，遠大是國防，切近是確立治安，必更能認識清楚，而勇猛精進。

綜合以上所述，還都以來，對於改善經濟生活，文化生活，及確立治安，都已有一些成就，於此有須注意的，這一些成就，不是那一部那一會所能單獨得來的，行政，立法，司法，考試，監察各院雖各有權限，而其脈絡無不息息相關，中央與各省市雖相隔遠，而身臂相絡，沒有一件事不互相呼應，而全國擁護和平反共建國的民衆，也沒有一件事不是甘苦相共，憂樂相關，所以這一些成就，實在是政府人民齊心努力所得來的，當然我們不能以這一些成就爲滿足，然由此一些成就，可見和平反共建國前途已現出一線光明，由此一線光明，努力不已進步不已，則全面和平必能實現，反共必能貫徹，三民主義的中華民國之建設，必能完成，東亞的永久和平，共存共榮，必能達到，我們惟有以全部的心力，貢獻於國家民族，以完成此重大的使命。

## 一年來的自我檢討

陳公博

還都一年以來，說起滿意的話，我們已經盡了我們應盡的力量，並且還做了許多事，說起不滿意的話，我們似乎還可更加盡些未盡的

力量，沒有做而且做而未畢的，還有許多事，我一年之中，差不多沒有一日不自問，中日和平已經全面實現了嗎，中國的國家前途可以樂觀嗎，我們對於解除民衆的痛苦確有把握嗎，誠然，在一年的短短時期，不要說經過幾年事變，而且事變還沒有結束，不容易做到以上幾件大事，就是承平無事，一向沒有事變，也不容易做到以上幾件大事，不過在自我的檢討，終是雖然問心無愧，然而問心總是不安，所以說滿意，我的快樂終比別人少，而說到不滿意，那我的煩憂就比別人多了。

一年以來，和平理論終算確立不移，和平運動終算邁進不息，國家的自由獨立，終算得了保障，東亞的安甯大任，終算已經分担，我們本着這個基本觀念，往前努力，終不會錯的，終會有結果的，百年大計，終會由此確立的，中華民族，終會由此復興的，不過前途是有困難的，而且困難或者會出乎我們想像之外的，一年之中有不少同志興奮，也有不少同志憂抑，然而我個人始終還保持一貫的態度，那就是沈着和冷靜，我沒有到南京之前，我已想到種種困難，因爲在長期事變之後，要恢復治安，解決民生，並非是一蹴而至的事，就使沒有牽制，沒有障礙，一心一意的建設，也非是一蹴而至的事，在一塊青草地地上要建築一座比較穩固的屋宇，是一年幾個月能做到的嗎，何況還要掃除瓦礫，清理殘穢，才可以從新建築屋宇，那更不是一年幾個月能做到的事了，因此同志中有時非常興奮，我只有沈着，同志中有時非常憂抑，我祇有冷靜，因爲困難我早在意中，興奮只是一時，而憂抑也未免近於無謂，這是我的一貫態度。

然而外在的困難，我是怕的，一個人只需要決心，只需要努力，外在的困難是不足畏的，而且很容易克服的，我所怕的不是外在的困難，而是內在的缺點，因爲有了內在的缺點，必將增加外在的困難，而且會引致外在的困難，我本着不飾非不文過的精神，自我檢討之後，我指出我們內在的缺點。

### 第一觀念還沒有正確

和平理論是正確了，而觀念還沒有正確，我還記得去平還都的

則警務之急，惟在確立治安，本來確立治安是警察的責任，但是目前確立治安的責任，軍隊不能不分担，因為事變以來，共匪假借抗戰名義，想把整個中國化為第三國際侵略東亞以至侵略世界之地盤，三年有半以來，無日不汲汲於擴充自己的軍隊，所謂游擊戰焦土戰，無非以人民為食糧，來養肥自己的軍隊，這種殘民以逞的不正當武力，只有為國為民的武力纔能打破他，重慶當局不足以語此，只有由我們担任起來了，以軍隊來做摧陷廓清的工作，以警察來做細針密繆的工作，兩者並用，匪共纔能肅清治安纔能確立，去年十一月三十日簽訂中日基本關係條約時，附屬議定書第一條，明白規定，「於兩國間恢復全面和平戰爭狀態終了時，開始撤兵，並應伴治安確立，二年以內撤兵完畢」，我們看了這規定，便可知道，我們今日，第一步，要將和平區域內匪患肅清，第二步，要將和平區域擴展起來至於全國，必須這樣，中國纔保得住，必須這樣，中國纔能得到獨立自由，所以中國建軍之目的，就遠大說，是國防，就切近說，是確立治安。

軍事委員會便是基於此目的而成立的，委員長由國民政府主席兼任，所統屬的，有參謀本部，軍事參議院，軍事訓練部，政治訓練部，軍政部，海軍部，航空署等，還都以來，軍事建設集中於此，如今將其概略舉例如左：

關於陸軍方面的，(一)國內各處部隊受和平反共建國的感召，先後來歸的，計有二十個師，六個獨立旅，三個獨立團，共計人數，約二十萬餘名，其武器裝具，均配備齊全，飭由方面軍總司令，及各綏靖總司令，各綏靖主任，分別統率，擔任清剿匪共事宜，(二)最近李長江率部三萬餘來歸，亦經特派為第一集團軍總司令，其部隊正在改編中，(三)華北現有七個集團軍，計轄三十個團，約五萬人，分任華北治安肅清匪共之責，(四)江蘇，浙江，安徽，湖北，廣東暨南京上海漢口各省市，武裝警察，次第成立，合計不下二萬人，其他地方自衛團隊，尚不在內，(五)陸軍軍事教育，業經分別舉辦中央軍校，廣州武漢分校，及軍士教導團，現正加緊訓練，儲備建設新軍下級幹部

，並增強軍事力量。

關於海軍方面的，(一)造就人材，中央海軍學校，由水巡學校改組而成，第一期學生，乙種十一名，已畢業練習中，甲種三十五名，行將畢業，第二期學生，一百四十一名，已修業一年，第三期學生，招考在即，練兵內分水兵，輪機兵，看護兵，軍需兵，管鵠兵，及特修各科，已畢業四期，共計一千三百六十餘人，(二)建造艦艇，除舊有艦艇海綏靖江綏靖及接收之永橫，命名為海興外，另造江平級炮艦十二艘，江一號級砲艇十八艘，改裝測量艇和風，江風綏和靖平等四艘，接收威海衛時，友邦又贈還永翔軍艦，命名為海祥，另有砲艇四艘，(三)設立要港部，及基地部隊，南京為首都所在地，特先成立南京要港部，統轄長江下游各基地隊及駐泊艦艇，以供衛近畿，沿江要點，如南京江陰均成立基地隊，無錫閔行均成立基地隊，威海衛為華北海疆要衝，建設基地部以統轄華北砲艇隊及青島，烟台，海州，石島，石臼所各基地隊，(四)測量水路，設立水路測量局，專司測量水路，及繪製海圖事宜，並設水路士官技術養成所，以造就測量人材。

關於空軍方面，自還都以後即有譚世昌駕機來歸，飛行及機械人員來歸者，前後已有數十人，關於設立航空學校建設航空根據地，培養航空人員，亦正在積極籌備進行。

於此有須特別提出的，在全面和平尚未實現的時候，有許多人以為國府在軍事方面必不能得到友邦的援助，而其實則大不然，友邦方面無時不盼，國府自己能有充分的力量，來保障和平，展拓和平，早日結束事變，共同致力於保衛東亞的重大使命，所以對於國府的建軍，在人才技術上，在武器補充上種種援助，不遺餘力，凡來歸國府的軍隊，無不以友誼相待，海軍於去年國府還都以後，即將永綏軍艦交還，並於去年中日基本關係條約簽訂以後，又將永翔軍艦及其他同春等艦艇共九艘，以及劉公島練兵營舍，青島，芝罘，石舊所，連雲港等處派遣隊兵舍交還，對於廣東江防艦隊亦有同樣的援助，凡此種

担任確立治安的責任，是內政部、警政部、司法行政部和軍事委員會。

先就內政部來說，還都以來，曾召集民政會議，督促各省取消各縣自治會維持會或縣政府籌備處等名目，恢復原有縣制，督促各省對於任免各縣縣長，應依照法定手續辦理，訓練縣政人員，添設現任縣長訓練班，以期地方行政，逐漸健全，其關於衛生行政方面的，成立杭州蕪湖蚌埠各處省醫院，擴充中央醫院設備，並時撥鉅款，籌建第二中央醫院，修訂中央醫院及防疫科衛生實驗科暨省縣醫院組織規程，修訂醫師藥師助產士暫行條例，修訂護士中藥西藥藥商各規則，衛生訓練所先後成立護士班，及助產士班，其餘如辦理土地徵收，調查土地登記，徵集各省市縣圖誌，審核上海市建設計劃，調查名勝古蹟古物，推進褒揚善行，審核內政各項統計，頒發各種內政調查表式，繪製各種統計圖表，都在積極進行。

再就警政部來說，還都以來，鑑於確立治安之重要，特設警政部，成立以來，調整各地警察機構，召開全國警政會議，整理各地警察人事，調訓各級幹部，俾警察效率得以增進，協助司法行政部，收回上海第二特區地方法院，設立全國感化院，恢復京滬滬杭甬鐵路警務處，均是榮華大者，還有一件，是加強警察與特工之團結，因為匪共及和平盜賊，對於和平運動，種種破壞，無所不用其極，因之不能不嚴密防範，以期消弭隱患，惟是手段雖然嚴密，用心却極其仁慈，所拿獲的犯人，只要真心悔過，無不予以自新，這是人所共見的事實。

再就司法行政部來說，一年以來，工作推進，約舉如下：(一)管轄區域之擴張，除蘇，浙，皖，冀，魯，晉，豫七省各級法院，自還都以來，即隸屬於國府外，粵鄂兩省的，亦相繼恢復或改組，又鄂省高院暫兼理湘，贛兩省司法，上海第二特區法院暨所亦於去年十一月改組中央，統計管轄區域十一省，及上海第二特區，共有檢察署及檢察分署各一所，高等法院九所，高等分院五所，地方法院四十三所，監獄十七所，看守所四十三所，平均每月處理民刑訴訟等案件一萬六

千餘件，(二)法院之調整，為符合法院組織法，將江甯地方法院仍改為首都地方法院，並將其組織大綱加以修訂，崑山等七處地方法院恢復為地方法院，浦東滬西兩分院歸併於上海地方法院，以符舊制，(三)減輕人民訴訟負擔，凡以前各法院疊部核准加征之訟費，依職權送達裁判正本之抄錄費等，概經時令禁止征收，(四)司法人員之訓練，司法行政部附設之法官訓練所，本年已有書記官班及監獄官班受訓學生畢業，當即依據畢業考試成績，分發各法院任職或實習，事變後，武漢設有司法訓練所，有法官班受訓學生一班，因該所之存在不合體制，已令本部法官訓練所派員到漢舉行畢業及甄別考試，及格者分別派往各法院任職或實習，不及格者調京繼續受訓，武漢司法訓練所即予裁撤，(五)監督所屬，為防止人民蒙受審判上不公允之待遇，司法行政部特公布收受人民遞遞書狀辦法調查細則，收效甚宏，同時嚴令各級法院，不得濫予羈押人犯，(六)辦理赦免減刑，關於赦免案件，早已辦理完竣，計被赦者七百八十名，減刑案件亦即將辦理完畢，接最近統計，被減刑者三千八百四十八人，(七)司法統計表冊關係重大，以前之司法統計表冊，率係歷年湊編而成，未免繁簡失當，格式差異，有重複的，有錯誤的，現已將月報年報各種統計表冊，均予修訂公布。

軍事方面：至於軍事委員會之工作，因關係秘密，有許多不能公開報告的，本來革命目的，在於國防，中國自今以後，要根據中日基本關係條約，及中日滿三國共同宣言，結成東亞軸心以保衛東亞的和平，進而保障世界的和平，這是建國之目的，同時也就是建軍之目的，本於這個目的，中國軍隊的精神要從新振作，自從鴉片戰爭以來，中國軍隊不知道愛國的不用說了，知道愛國，而不知所以愛之之道，則名為愛國實則誤國，我們應該知道，沒有東亞，斷不會有中國，我們更應該知道，如果不和東亞先進國結合一致，則保不住東亞，也保不住中國，所以愛中國與愛東亞是一條心的，這是建國的新精神，也就是建軍的新精神，將來一切國防計劃，都從此點出發，至於目前，

事設備，武漢上海兩地，亦正在籌擬促進公私立大學，事變前，各大學校之濫設，今後一面復興，一面并預防濫設，以期養成深造的人才，再就生產教育之提倡來說，事變後第一難題，厥在社會困窮，實為教育上最應注意之點，故對原有之中學制，正在力圖根本改進，尙未改進以前，先竭力提倡生產教育，除編譯「學徒教育」「青年學校」「生產教育」各書，以促進各界注意外，並由中央創設國立第一第二職業學校於首都，並規劃第三國立職業學校於上海，一面更督令各省市地方限制普通高級中學，而多設職業學校，現在如蘇州，杭州，崑山，蚌埠，滁縣各地方均有公立職業學校，其他私立職業學校亦均聞風興起，雖成效尙待切實推進，然生產教育之基礎則已稍稍樹立，從來教育通病，在製造高等游民，今後擬竭力矯除，以宏教育之實效，而適合社會之要求，即在社會教育方面，亦已以推進生產技能與公民訓練補習之學校為中心事業，再就文化機關之新設與恢復來說，除中央大學已經恢復外，其他文化機關，如中央圖書館，不獨可集中文獻，且為社會教育之中心，如編譯館，不獨可出版教科書以外之參考書籍，且可集中一部份學者研究學術，均於還都後次第恢復，事變後，各中等學校最感困難者，為理科設備，現在首都已有國立理科實驗所之設立，更鑒於各地方學校理科設備之困難，即在該所內，籌設一標本製造所，以廉價分給各地方，此亦可告慰於國人的。

關於社會事業及社會運動方面，國民政府還都之始，為申應時代之要求，針對現實之需要，於行政院之下，增設社會部，使之執行社會政策，掌理社會行政，其性質略同日本之厚生省，英法德之勞工部，蘇聯之勞工委員會，與德國之失業部，法國之公共訓練部，意大利之法團部，亦復相似，成立以來，關於社會政策之施行，社會事業之推進，與夫人民團體之指導監察，民衆之組織訓練，皆能於其中斟酌緩急，次第推行，舉其簡要者，如勞資糾紛之調解與消弭，勞資協作之促進，社會福利事業之倡辦，公益救濟事業之改進，合作事業之改善與推廣，合作人員之征集與訓練，各種人民團體之整理，民衆組織工作之行銷，及各省市社運分會之設立等，尙能把握現實，切實工作

，該部為新創之行政機構，綜其任務，在將一切社會問題覓取合理解決之道，使人民受其福利，社會趨於健全，并納人民之思想行動於正軌，使之與國策吻合一致，共集於和平反共建國旗幟之下，一啟為復興而努力。

最近有一事，應該提出特別報告，日本大使館通知外交部，將此次事變中，在南京，杭州，上海等處所蒐集保管整理的文化資料及設備移交中國，其中資料部分，(一)南京杭州上海保管之圖書雜誌及其他出版物及圖畫，(二)南京保管之檔案，(三)南京，杭州保管之學術標本類，(四)南京保管之古物設備部份，(一)南京紫金山天文台，(二)南京北極開氣象台及地震儀，(三)南京前中央研究院之建築，(四)南京前實業部地質調查所之建築，(五)杭州前浙江省立西湖博物館之建築，(六)杭州前浙江省立圖書館孤山分館之建築，以上各種資料設備，不惟不罹兵燹，並且經日本方面加以整理，其中有因此而殉職者，而且連同附加的物件及設備一併移交，有愛惜中國文化，防其散失，謀其復興之熱忱，實在令人感佩，現在組織文化保管委員會慎重接收，并繼續努力謀其發展，以期毋負在東方文化上互相協力之意。

內政方面：關於僑務，注重使華僑明瞭和平反共建國之大義，於宣傳教育社會運動各方面，都有相當努力，華僑與祖國安危休戚，息息相關，從前被重慶方面矇蔽住了，如今宣傳與事實日益證明，將來必能以其力量，貢獻於和平反共建國運動，關於邊疆，注重在腹地與邊地之休戚相關，及國內民族之協和，其於和平反共建國運動，關係亦至重要。

以上所說，都是關於改善經濟生活與文化生活，如今就於確立治安，也敘說幾句。

確立治安，與改善生活，互為因果的，治安愈確立，生活愈改善，同時治安愈改善，生活也愈確立，因為治安確立，人民始能安居樂業，從事經濟的開發，生活改善，除了極少數的搗亂分子之外，誰也不願做社會的盜賊，所以國民政府還都以來，對於兩方面同時並進。

為中央報業經理處，以補助各報發行上廣告上設備上之發展，并以謀報業經營之合理化，(二)為上海新聞檢查所之接收，由宣傳部直接行使新聞檢查權，(三)為電影檢查委員會之設立，收回電影檢查權，(四)為中華電影公司之調整，(五)為中國廣播事業建設協會之設立，接收改組各地電台，(六)為各地宣傳機構之調整，制定省市宣傳處組織規程，省市宣傳會議組織通則，頒佈施行，(七)為宣傳幹部人員之訓練，中央宣傳講習所業已舉辦至第二期，綜合言之，一年以來，宣傳機構，逐步確立，宣傳工作，逐步推進，其有需交涉調整者，亦皆已圓滿解決，就中尤以廣播事業一項，各地電台，原為事變後日本方面所經營者，機件設備，耗費不貲，今以寄附或借讓方式無條件供協會使用，在在均足以見友邦尊重我國主權之決心與宣傳合作的誠意，我以為這樣努力不懈的做去，對於改造心理，以為中日兩國新關係及東亞新秩序之心理的基礎必有巨大的效果，關於教育方面先就教育方針來說，教育之真價，首在教育方針，是否能獨立自主，關於此點，一般人必以為和平區內之教育，必關獨立自主性，然我們以實際一年間經過，敢向國人切實證明此種揣測，實為錯誤，現在試舉幾個例如下：(一)各大中小學校學生，還都以來，即已一致恢復唱國歌，(二)國民政府所實行之學制，在維新政府時期，曾偶改為日本之五年制，然現在已恢復三三制，(三)中小學校教科用書，可由教育部自行編撰，除反日排日資料，已由我們改換着善鄰友好資料外，其他開發國家與民族的意識的資料，仍自由編配，毫無窒礙(四)各學校課程，於外國語一科，加授日語外，其他與事變前，一無所異，(五)訓育方針，在此一年中，曾由教育部召集各省市教育當局，詳加討論，擬訂方案，友邦方面，從無絲毫干涉，(六)學校內之軍訓，以及童子軍教育，亦已次第恢復，(七)體育一科，由教育部頒發國民體操圖說，各省市已通行，總之，以往一年間的教育方針，除反日排日一點，已與友邦方面約定，彼此改採互尊互親之方針，一切俱保持獨立自主之精神，豈電所說「中日兩國壤地相接，善鄰友好有其自然與必要，歷年以來，所以背道而馳，不可不深求其故，而各自明瞭其責任，今後中國

固應以善鄰友好為教育方針，日本尤應令其國民放棄其侵華侮華之傳統思想，而在教育上確立親華之方針，以奠定兩國永久和平之基礎」，還都以來，我們對於這一點，實已努力做到，而日本方面對於我們之援助及不干涉，是令我們十分感奮的，再就國民教育之實際來說，亦在著著推動，雖各市縣地方破壞之後，地方教育費苦無所出，然中央以左列各種方法補助之，(一)補助大量之教育經費，蘇浙皖三省京滬兩市中央負擔之補助教育費，年達三百萬以上，(粵鄂兩地及北方，俱能就地自籌)，(二)由中央直接培養師資，各地方中小學師資，事變後，質量兩有問題，而各省市，未能恢復師範學校，遂在首都地方創設國立師範學校，以圖師資之補充與改進，(三)事變後各地私塾林立，實為補助國民教育之有力旁枝，中央對各地私塾，非但不加取締，且採扶持輔導方針，俾分針普及教育之勞(四)於正常小學及私塾外，中央對於各地方已經恢復之民衆教育館，更督促其以實施補習教育為中心工作，中央並編發民衆讀本，俾各地方大興民衆學校，中央且更創立一補習教育新體制，以達提高國民教育，及補助職業技能之兩目的，(五)另對教育學術團體，獎進其協助推進國民教育工作，如中國教育建設協會之舉辦多數簡易小學，中國兒童教育協會之舉辦兒童學校，與婦女慈儉學會之舉辦兒童學校等，中央均與以精神物質兩方面之提倡，即在宗教團體所立學校，中央亦採不干涉主義，而設法命其自動改進，因上種種設施，雖不敢謂文盲已經掃除，然正在向掃除文盲方面邁進，以植立事變後復興之基礎，則可舉以告諸國人的，再就高等教育之復興來說，事變中損害最甚者，實為高等教育，因之恢復工作，亦大不易，因為校舍與物質，兩俱無存，然各地方公立中學，已如雨後春筍，則中學畢業生不能不有升學地點，且為國家造就專門人才計，高等教育之復興，亦甚急要，因之除廣東大學繼北京大學而恢復外，中央且於還都以後，即着手恢復中央大學，四月間即成立中央大學復校籌備委員會，七月廿五日正式復校，設置文、法商、教育、理工、農、醫藥等六學院，此外另設文實兩先修班，師範農業專修科等之培育從學人數計達六百餘人，第一年即撥經費百萬元，從

價尚不至與上海相等，糧委會復注力於蕪湖米價，特訂征集米穀辦法，督飭糧食公會組織聯合辦事處，在一個機構之下，限定價格，集中收買，不准各方自由競收，最近米價雖以貨稀見漲，尚未容許突破七十元之關，一面由政府購備米穀，盡量補充，故京鎮一帶米價尚能保持官定之限價，假如不加統制，恐蕪湖市價早達一百元，而京鎮一帶亦已超出百數十元了，以上所述，是防止競買居奇，至於調劑盈虛，上年米穀歉收，各地匪患未靖，專就蘇浙皖三省京滬兩市已經恢復秩序之地帶而論，其產米總額，僅兩千四百餘萬石，按其消費，需二千九百餘萬石，不足五百餘萬石，近來各地人民雖大半兼吃雜糧，但約計所缺尚多，業經糧委會努力補充，並承友邦竭誠贊助，近已購備五分之四，足敷維持至新穀登場之需，現已陸續分運南京，鎮江，丹陽，南通，杭州，蕪湖，蚌埠等處，接濟民食，一面仍在繼續搜購，總使青黃不接之時期，民食得告無虞，要之米的問題，誠然是當前最嚴重的問題，政府竭其全力從事應付，去年夏間，公務員捐薪以助平糶，財政部並於萬分拮据之中，籌措巨款，以添購米糧，這是外間所知道的，至於其中繁雜曲折，一時未易盡說，只能概括一句，政府必盡全力以負全責而已。

糧食管理委員會的使命，不過治標而已，至於治本，則不但是農礦部的責任，而且是行政院的責任，並且是國民政府全體的責任，我們時時刻刻想着「民以食為天」，「中國以農立國」，中國想由農業國進於工業國，必須在農業上有大大的改進，這是一切經濟政策之出發點，我們只有盡力從事。

中國今日人民痛苦固在米的問題，而其他痛苦亦須顧及，國府還都以後，鑑於各地災情之重，災區之廣，設置振務委員會，担任振災的工作，當四五月間，正是青黃不接糧食騰貴的時候，於財政拮据之中，撥振款一百萬元，辦理蘇浙皖粵四省及京滬二市平糶，先後實撥一百二十四萬餘元，首都及江浙兩省會又加辦急振，動支二十六萬餘元，及至新穀登場，又即籌辦冬振，除四省二市外，兼及贛湘鄂豫四

省及漢口市，計共八省三市，實撥振款一百三十八萬餘元，此三項施振，連同其他零星振濟，一年間支撥振款計達三百萬元，（其中國府於正款之外加撥四十萬元）首都方面由振務委員會與各部會地方機關團體協力辦理冬振，集款達七十萬元，受振者十六萬餘人，並直接管理救濟事業，經常收容二千二百餘人，冬振期間會達三千四百餘人，此外江浙兩省覆車慘劇及匪災火患，亦盡力施救，略同義振團體，所可惜的是各地方交通未盡暢達，每為人力所不及，以上所述限於振款，而振款之況，還有救災準備金五十四萬元，以後如果財政狀況許可，還要逐月增加的，此外水利關係亦極重要，水利的反面即為水災，水利委員會不斷的培修江堤運堤淮堤海塘，以防潰決之禍，而籌堵黃河中牟決口，則尤為重要現已由國民政府特設籌堵委員會專司其事，而中至以東至利津，約長一千餘里之黃水入海故道已多淤塞，如果不從事疏浚，以利宣洩，則魯豫等省，此堵彼決，為患無窮，這亦當深切注意而慎重從事的。

以上所述，是經濟生活方面。

文化方面：與經濟生活相輔而行的，是文化生活，廿七年十二月廿九日，我在監電委員會經鄭重提出，要在教育思想上確立方針，以奠定兩國水久和平之基礎，去年十一月三十日，中日基本關係條約裏，對於文化之融合創造及發展，尤有鄭重的規定，改造事實，應從改造心理著手，這是必然的，這都以來，除行政院原有教育部外，新設宣傳社會兩部，這兩部在事變前，是設在中國國民黨中央執行委員會裏的，這都以來，改設在行政院裏，社會部除社會事業外，并致力於社會運動，其於教育宣傳，關係極深，宣傳部將政府的主義政策宣傳於社會民衆，使之了解，使之奉行，其於社會教育關係亦極深，三部合力的結果，一年以來，於文化上已有不少的貢獻，關於宣傳方面的重例，約舉如下（一）為新聞報道機構之調整，首於去年五月合併中聯社中華社，成立中央電訊社，為代表國家統一新聞電訊之唯一機關，次即改組中聯社出版部為中央書報發行所，接收報業聯絡室，改組



遵之宣告，五月間工商部成立，日本軍管理工廠接收委員會，去年十月收回四廠，十二月收回四廠，本年二月收回六廠，共十四廠，計紡織廠三，機器染織廠二，麵粉廠水泥廠製造機器廠毛紡織廠橡膠廠軌花廠紡織印染整理廠織衫廠銅廠各一，又中日廠商自行協議，或合辦，或收買，經日本大使館函知工商部解除軍管理五廠，計機器鍊染廠漂染廠麵粉廠紗廠造紙廠各一，又廣東方面所收回的，計有電力廠，自來水廠士敏土廠飲料廠紡織廠硫酸廠打田肥料廠各一，糖廠二，此十廠均粵省省營或市營事業，其中電力廠自來水廠，士敏土廠糖廠飲料廠收回後，由省府仍委原經營日商暫代經營，紙廠還有若干交涉事宜，綜計業已收回工廠，至三十年三月止，共達二十有八廠，凡此都是友邦尊重中國主權，援助中國恢復經濟繁榮並謀其發達的善意表示，中國應該更加奮發，從事振興，現時工商部所著手辦理者，舉例如下：(一)因爲要明瞭戰後工業現狀，特咨行各省市政府，依照部頒工廠登記規則，舉行工廠登記，以資考核，(二)全國工廠狀況，除由工商部直接調查統計外，並咨行各地方政府分別調查，以供擬訂復興計劃之參考，(三)關於發展工業金融，復興紡織工業，復興華中麵粉工業等，均已擬有具體計劃，(四)草擬「協助工廠復興暫行辦法」，(五)修改管理小型製絲工廠法，(六)恢復全國度量衡各種章則，(七)整理技師技副登記證，已由工商農礦兩部會同擬辦，(八)增進各商業行政機關之工作，如商標局，商品檢驗局，茶葉絲繭兩運動管理局等，經一年來之整頓，商標商檢兩局工作已漸恢復戰前常態，兩運銷管理局亦已漸入正軌，對於茶絲之出口有所裨補，(九)關於商業團體如京滬兩市商會，已經工商社會兩部予以整理，并有兩部令飭從速恢復各同業公會，使各種商業團體之組織日益健全，(十)籌設國際貿易局，爲謀統計對外貿易，以謀平衡本國之國際收支，及鞏固新法幣之基礎起見，工商部已擬訂方案，準備從新設置國際貿易公司，統籌辦理此項統制事宜，(十一)整理公司商號登記及查驗會計師證書，以上所述，只是關於工商部分之舉例，農礦，交通，鐵道各部分亦在同樣積極進行，一年以來，交通工作之足述者，郵政方面首先收回郵權

，直接由部方指揮監督，並統一郵政管理，於去年九月廿三日，全國同時增加郵資，毫無畛域之分，至蘇浙皖區儲金業務，最近已到期恢復將原儲新儲劃分清楚，交各地郵局兼理，由部改訂規章，嚴密監督，電政方面，與宣傳部協力接收改組各地電台，航政方面，除整理上海航政局外，並審察航務實況，恢復廣州等處航政局，同時積極整頓船業公會，以減輕船戶負擔，道路方面，鐵路損失，較公路爲重，還都以來，中日雙方，開誠商榷，鐵道事業，仍本於中國之旨趣，以國有國營爲原則，惟在全國和平尚未實現，戰爭狀態仍在繼續的時候，只能與可能範圍內，加以調查，農礦事業，對於國民經濟關係至大，亦正在計劃進行中，經濟部門，雖各有專司，然其性質是互相關聯的，並且是整個的，最近行政院有經濟委員會之組織，以院長爲委員長，副院長爲副委員長，財政，工商，農礦，交通，鐵道五部部長爲委員，其他各部會長，有必要時，亦得出席，此所以謀整個經濟現狀之改善，與整個經濟計劃之進行，專就中國來說，是要發展經濟，以充實民力，充實國力，就中日兩國關係來說，是要實行經濟提攜，以共謀東亞之繁榮，責任之大，所當并力以赴的。

民食方面：於此還有一件重大的事，要特別提出報告，就是米的問題，「民以食爲天」，「中國以農立國」，這是人人知道的，然而事變以前，中國的米就不夠吃，海關統計米的入口數目字，年年增加，事變以後，情形就更嚴重了，「大兵之後，必有凶年」，這是不可避免的事實，何況加以匪共的游擊戰焦土戰，以致生產日以短少，交通日以阻塞，米之一天一天的貴起來，更是勢所必至，加以重慶當局濫發紙幣，上海奸商投機漁利，一般人民更是慄慄不可終日，治本的方法，只有清除匪共，安定農村，並用種種科學方法政治手段來獎勵農業，增進生產，至於治標方法，則只有先從事於平定米價，調劑盈虛了，糧食管理委員會之設置，即是担負此緊急的使命的，自上年十月開始工作以來，即注全力於此，其工作經過概況如次：米價之漲，多半由於就買居奇，京鎮一帶，米價向以皖南蕪湖爲標準，蘇常一帶，向隨上海租界而上下，近經種種設施，上海與內地漸將脫離聯繫，故蘇常米

而首鼠兩端，時而盲人瞎馬，一意冥行，以致全面和平，遲遲至今不能實現，這種誤國殃民之罪，我不能不訴之於國民的，然則重慶當局，果能始終爲全面之障礙嗎？這是決定不能的，我們今日唯一方法，是就國民政府力所能及之地，先做出一個和平的模範來，根據着和平反共建國的方針，聚其全力於確立治安，改善社會人民經濟生活，只要局部和平能得做好，全面和平，自然到來，這正是孟子所謂民之歸之，如水之就下，決定不是重慶當局所能始終加以障礙的，如今日就確立治安，改善經濟生活兩者，作一些簡單的敘述。

在敘述前：先有兩點要注意的：

第一，去年四月廿六日，我曾發表罪己的精神一篇論文，我以爲實現全面和平以後，中國與日本合作的事情很多，我們如果沒有這種精神，無論那件事情，都無從做起，在今日全面和平還未實現的時候，則這種精神，更應該時時刻刻提撕警覺，現在治安狀況，經濟生活狀況，是很痛苦的，這種痛苦，固然是重慶當局給予人民的，然而國民政府既未能使重慶方面接受和平，同紓國難，則只有於可能範圍內，確立治安，改善經濟生活，做得一分是一分，用不着悲觀，更用不着誇大。

第二，確立治安，改善經濟生活，需要精神，也需要物質，所謂物質，就是財政，勵行廉潔，嚴懲貪污，確立會計制度，是第一要著，並且對於各種建設，都應該採取重點主義，以期無一錢的濫費，尤其每用一錢，必先計較，務使用之於最緊要最有效果的所在，以上兩點，是一切的根本，我們由之所能做到的事，約略如下：

先就財政：經濟方面來說，財政方面，最重要者，舉例如下：

(一)關於歲入歲出事項，在國府還都之初，每月預計收入約一千六百萬元，即就此分配支出，經財政當局切實調整，尚能實際適合，財政基礎，遂以樹立，惟嗣後事業費，及其他必要支出，陸續增加，又以季節關係，收入不無淡旺之分，未能按月絕對平衡，但一年以來，均差足供給支應，基礎益形鞏固，近自三十年度開始，每月約需支出二

千六百餘萬元，較之還都時，雖已月增一千餘萬元，而財政當局，所採取之穩健有效步調，非但財力得有餘裕，且能使和平建設事業，邁進直前，打開種種難關，(二)關於召集地方財政會議事項，財政部去年十一月一日，曾召集整理地方財政會議，通過議案四十餘件，已由各省市切實執行，地方財政，漸已趨入調整之境，所印會議彙編，頗爲詳盡，足資參證，(三)關於開辦中央儲備銀行事項，財政部於上年五月間，所籌備設立之中央儲備銀行，業於本年一月六日正式成立，現在上海分行，蘇州，杭州支行，亦已相繼開業，發行新幣，已着備用，此後調整物資，平衡金融，皆當逐步推進，(四)關於增加稅率事項，關，鹽，統三稅，本是財政上大宗收入，均經加以慎重考核，非有特殊性質，不妨礙民生的，絕不輕率增加稅率，例如菸酒蛋類，免除轉口稅之類，增高捲烟雪茄洋酒啤酒等稅率，先後實行，於增加收入之中，仍寓有減輕負擔之意，(五)關於開征所得稅事項，所得稅係向納稅者直接征收，較間接稅之得以轉嫁者不同，爲財政上之良稅，現在對於公務員薪給報酬所得，業已實行課稅，其他如第一類營利事業所得與第三類之證券存款所得，俟屆適當時期，亦擬着手開征，(六)關於整理鹽場事項，鹽爲人民食用所必需，我國鹽產雖有海鹽，池鹽，井鹽之別，而以海鹽產量爲最多，海州鹽場，自事變以來，表鹽設備，量歲天災之損失，產鹽數又驟減，現正依照計劃，實行恢復鹽場，增加產量，以供民食，廣東省之鹽務機關，並已調整稅額，收效頗大，鹽政設施，將來自不難逐漸恢復，使鹽之供給充裕，售價低廉，(七)關於廢除苛雜，苛捐雜稅，擾害民生，國府還都之始，即宣布明令，切實廢除，以上七端，不過舉例，總之，歲出入之平衡，實爲財政行政最要之樞紐，而地方財政之整理，又爲國家財政之基本，故財政部首先注重及此，國之本在民，廢除苛雜，增加鹽產，雖所以培養元氣，而國民担稅能力之伸縮性，亦即寓於其中，至若國家銀行之設立，重在活動金融，調節經濟，增稅等項，則不過財政政策一時之效用，藉以謀收支雙方之適合而已。

經濟方面，去年三月二十日，日本軍總司令部已有軍管理工廠資

圓滿結束之後，日本駐蘇代表與蘇俄外交當局之談判，雖少有所聞，但漁約之解決，對於未來情形之良好，已有預兆矣。

爲兩國計，尤爲全世界計，日本與蘇俄當力謀接近而爲善鄰，達此之捷徑，或者爲不侵犯條約之訂立，日蘇間最複雜之問題，如松花江航行問題，劃界問題，漁業協定，及薩加林油區，均已圓滿解決，可見兩國間根本上已無若何隔膜，而可更加接近，互相諒解，以取得商業上之實益也。

松岡外相之聘歐，途次必將作莫斯科之行，在蘇俄之首都與史太林及莫洛托夫作一度晤會，必能使兩國達到更深刻之諒解也。

### ▲與工部局作清算▼

年深月久，以傲慢腐敗之機關如工部局者，而能容其存在，愈使吾人詫異。

寄生於中國國土之上，享受世所未聞之權利，而工部局乃反置中國人之福利於不顧，在上海之中國人，既無平等之權利，又無一些之特益，事事退居人後，其所受之待遇，尤不如南美洲之墾荒奴隸。

工部局已屢接警告，使之改善其行爲，以增進供給其稅收百分之八十五之華人之福利，但工部局則置若罔聞，在地皮章程掩護之下，盡其詐僞之能事，同時則趁火行劫，予「泊來」英籍職員以駭人優厚之俸給。

所謂地皮章程，在任何理想之下，不能作爲地方政治之立法，稍有理智者，人同此言，而工部局則繼續擴充其所規定之精神上利益，而堅持不肯改良，地皮章程乃陳古之廢物，上海而欲發展，與世界大都市並列，則地皮章程，非廢除不可。

### 國民政府還都一年

汪精衛

三月三十日於國府大禮堂廣播訓詞

去年今日：國民政府本於中央政治會議的決議，還都南京，宣布以和平反共建國爲施政根本方針，向着實現和平實施憲政奮勵邁進，

關於實現和平，承友邦日本派遣阿部大使，及國民使節前來南京，開誠商榷，中日兩國，彼此協力，掃除過去糾紛，開闢將來光明大道，於是中日兩方，遂開始調整邦交的交涉，到了十一月三十日，中日調整邦交基本條約成立，中日滿三國宣言同時發表，彼此相約，建設以道義爲基礎之新秩序，互相尊重其主權及領土，並於政治經濟文化等各方面，講求互助敦睦之手段，以期達到共存共榮，復興東亞之共同目的，中日兩國關係，從此遂開一新紀元，中國同志，更本於此基本精神，進而發起東亞聯盟運動，標舉政治獨立，經濟合作，軍事同盟，文化溝通，四大綱領，要使國家於東亞之諸民族，皆得各本於自由獨立之立場，向於共同目的共同努力，以新致共同幸福，關於實施憲政基本精神，在於全國有力之士，不分黨派，團結一致，造成中心力量，以奠定國本，中央政治委員會，即是由於此基本精神而發生成長的，及至東亞聯盟運動發起以來，國內各黨派，如共和黨，興亞建國運動本部，大民會等，皆相繼爲發展的解消，並且相繼加入中國國民黨，以期中心勢力得所增進，政治經濟一切建設，推動更見，此外更有憲政實施委員會之設立，其第一步是將五五憲草，重加審議，現在分組審議，已經竣事，正從事於聯合審議，總之，基本精神既已確立，則機關組織各項問題，自能爲合理的解決，憲政實施，伴著和平實現，而日益擴展，有必然的。

以上所述：是一切建設的基本方針，我相信國民政府，祇有本於此方針，并力前進，絕不會有所參差，至於一般施政以及社會情形是怎樣呢，我決不肯說一句客氣的話，也不肯說一句諛卸的話，一年以來政治經濟，各種情形，不能說沒有一點進步，但是全面和平沒有實現，戰爭狀態仍然繼續，因之隨著戰爭狀態，而發生之事實，仍然存在，甚且日益擴大，所以在施政上，無論是行政的效率，以及經濟生活的改善，都受着限制與束縛，不能有充分的發展，這都是全面和平沒有實現的緣故，然則爲全面和平之障礙的是誰呢？是重慶當局，重慶當局明知抗戰下去了無意義，明知和平之當及早恢復，甚至明知非反共不能和平，非和平不能建國，但是因爲撇不開個人權利之私，時

國之未來政策有關，松岡外相之將與德外相里本特洛甫確切討論一旦德美決裂日本所當採取之途徑，尤在意料之中，德美衝突，自美國國會通過租借法案，而發表美國之將以戰艦護送運糧軍火食料至英之船隻後，已成爲不可避免之事實。

日德意三國對此情勢，政策已是一致，如以松岡外相之聘歐，不過爲一種國際之應酬，一如若干民主方面所想像者，則此種心理，適足以代表當時捷克，波蘭，腦威，荷蘭，比，法，自取滅亡之心理，今日之英國，亦正如是，松岡外相之應付嚴重事態，已有身歷其境之經驗，在日內瓦英法統制下之國際聯盟會中，彼亦身爲衆矢之的，然而彼則對假仁假義之出席代表，以激烈痛快之言辭，揭穿其種種陰謀後，率領全體日本代表，退出會場，自此以後，對於世事之演進，更加密切注意，且於心更以爲日本而欲進步，必須採取堅決之態度，並變更其政策，務使不受英美集團之牽制。

日本在三國聯盟中之責任，以極端清晰，如松岡外相而以爲有聘問德意之必要，則無非欲明瞭其同盟國今後之政策耳，此行之結果，必有深遠之意義，而於三聯盟國，必大有裨益焉。

### ▲巴爾幹與德國合作▼

布加利亞之加入軸心聯盟，爲德國最近在巴爾幹積極外交活動之結果，而爲軸心國之又一勝利，此次德國之勝利，亦爲對英外交戰爭之勝利，即英外相艾登最近在希臘土耳其活動之失敗也。

布加利亞之加入軸心，在軍事上雖無重大之影響，要亦可以觀測巴爾幹之傾向於何方矣，土耳其與南斯拉夫雖仍嚴守中立，土耳其之願與布加利亞訂立不侵犯條約，亦已證明其不欲爲英國所利用，而對加入軸心之國家，予以牽制，德國之外交勝利，因此簡接亦可視爲對土耳其之勝利，德國與南斯拉夫之談判，正在進行之中，不久此巴爾幹國家，亦將決定加入軸心矣。

希臘問題，尙待解決，意軍在阿爾巴尼亞聯絡上及地理上之困難

，一至德國能在希臘之後方，加以壓力，則亦不難解除，德國一經對希臘開始軍事行動，則阿爾巴尼亞前線，迅將瓦解，其夾攻之結果，必能使希軍全線崩潰也。

### ▲上海又有恐怖事件▼

上海租界中之恐怖份子，最近又極形活動，三月四日，蘇浙皖稅務局科長盛銘，爲暴徒狙擊身死，此外又有兩南京國民政府人員，亦相繼遇害，盛氏自其愚園路寓所，登汽車到局辦公時，突有暴徒三人，攔住去路，其中一人，出槍向之開放兩響，一中頸部，一中胸部，盛氏當場身死。

第二被刺者，爲潘樹冬氏，潘氏爲汪主席衛隊長，是日潘氏正乘人力車行經公共租界之愛文義路，突有暴徒向之狙擊，潘氏不知受傷之重，乘原車至新開捕房報告後，即投寶隆醫院求治，因彈入頸骨，重傷身死。

第三遇刺者，爲道理事陳錫恩氏，道理事會爲擁護汪主席和平運動之有力組織，陳氏在其法租界寓所遇刺，頭部爲利斧砍傷三處，其塔上前擱救，腿部被擊一槍。

三案之發生，僅在兩小時之內，可見此種對南京人員之謀殺，完全出於預謀，兇手之被捕者，祇有陳案中之一人，其餘盡逃法網，租界捕房，至今尙一無補獲。

上海恐怖事件之連續發生，又可見租界當局與上海市府，有加緊合作之必要，英法兩租界，至今對於肅清恐怖情形，不肯出其全力，因此重慶暴徒，仍能隨時加害於擁護和平運動者。

租界當局之當於陳市長全力合作，而消滅此種惡魔，此其時矣，如其不能爲力，則國民政府將不得已而對此情形，作斷然之處置，以保以所屬人員之安全。

### ▲日蘇關係良好▼

日蘇兩國未來之關係，近來各方頗多推測，尤爲在日蘇捕魚協定

## 中華新聲半月刊

社址：南京鼓樓新村八號  
 總主筆及發行人——甘德雲

### ▲世界之無上獨裁者▼

美國國會自通過租借法案之後，於有意無意之中，為世界造成一個無上獨裁者，即羅斯福大總統是也。

美國會之此舉，不但是非常之步驟，亦創下一個富有危險性之先例，其眼前之結果，即將引起世界大戰，危及世界文明，甚至美國自身之安全。

租借法案之通過，曾經激烈之爭辯，亦有許多事實，證明大部份美國人民之極端反對，蓋美國必將因此而捲入目前歐洲之惡戰也，但是一連三任之羅斯福總統，終獲勝利，此美國獨裁者，亦即世界之無上獨裁者，與其在國會中之隱瞞，不願激烈之反對，將此法案通過，其情形與羅斯福之不顧全國反對而中止一九一一年日美通商航行條約相同。

羅斯福似乎拋却一切理智，妄想美國與危壘之英國聯合，即能勝過日德意三國及其聯盟者之武力，美國金元之勢力，不足以阻當德國在歐洲之猛力攻勢，而過份自誇之美國海軍，則將遇其勁敵，即無敵之日本海軍。

羅斯福魯莽行為所造成之危機，實非筆墨所能形容，美國獨裁者之自殺政策，更非言辭所能盡責，一言以蔽之，美國在其中立地位，在國際公法上，尚未為交戰國之一，而其自陷之深，直可認為已加入歐洲戰爭矣，且其助英之情況，尤足以招致軸心國之對之公開攻擊。

英國非出自願之放棄其西半球勢力，給羅斯福以更進一步之機會

以鞏固其獨裁政策，亦使美國勢力自紐芳蘭伸張至福克蘭羣島，此種計策，因數年來二十世紀美帝國主義在南美之急進，當然引起南美各共和國之懷疑，在英國之放棄其西半球勢力之前，南美各國對於英國之行爲，尚能平心處之，因英國之目的，僅限於經濟商業耳，自此種地盤圈入美國後，加之以美國武力推進之威脅，目前之南美各共和國，為自衛計，將被逼而採取積極之步驟，以應付美國今後在西半球之行動。

美國之干涉太平洋局勢問題，極其淺顯，如將擾及西太平洋，則不論其出於預謀，或出於偶然，日本已有充分之預備，相與周旋，而對侵入者加以驅逐，且日美一旦在太平洋上發生衝突，新興之中國，以其無限之人力財力，將與日本共同作戰，以保衛東亞。

一世紀前，一八二三年，美國門羅大總統，首倡門羅主義，歷任總統，均守之為美國外交政策之基本原則，及至晚近，而門羅主義之尊重，幾乎等於不成文之法律，自其創立以來，門羅主義則屢受英國之反抗，今次世界之戰禍，亦為其決心阻止此主義之實現所造成。

但是民族之企望，如天時之不同，二世紀前美國政府所認為神聖不可侵犯者，至今日而不過視為爭權奪利，稱霸世界之途徑耳，今美國之舉止，已與英國同出一軌，門羅主義已失去創造者當初之本意，今日美國政府之伴為保持門羅主義，乃籍之以作強詞耳，美國道德標準上之驚人變化，負其責者，厥惟一人，即羅斯福總統，「世界無上獨裁者」頭銜之潛稱者是矣。

### ▲松岡外相之聘歐▼

日本外相松岡洋右此次歐洲之行，其意義之非為一種強身旅行，不難測料，況其行也，正在此世界多事之秋乎。

華盛頓及倫敦方面雖有種種觀測之發表，其中大多純屬幻想，松岡洋右身為軸心聯盟一強國之外相，其聘問柏林羅馬，必然與三聯盟

## 國民政府還都初週紀念

國民政府還都南京，轉瞬一年，首都五十萬人民，鑑於汪主席所倡之和平運動，全國已紛紛響應，故而當此一週紀念，無不歡騰慶祝，其他在南京政府統治下各地，自北京以至廣東，自上海以至漢口，亦同時休假，祝此盛典。

自汪主席以次，政府各領袖，均發表一年來之回顧，由無線電向全國廣播，凡所論述。既不誇大，亦非高調，惟對一切走向目的之進步，作忠實而有信心之陳述，所抱目的均為和平之實現與東亞新秩序之建設。

國府還都以來，一切經過，非常困難，其最初所必須克服者，即人民之心理與態度，蓋經蔣介石及其同黨之甘言誘惑，人民幾乎相信救國之道惟有抗戰耳，其惑之深甚至不知其自身所受之痛苦，及反鄰自殺政策所致於國家之危機，對於汪主席之和平運動，則極端懷疑，凡有真誠愛國者干冒輿情，則皆受人辱罵，奈汪主席及其忠實同志，則不為蔣介石抗戰政策所惑，誓以堅決之態度，實現和平，蔣介石之所欲者，惟為謀其自身及宋朝之利益而，汪主席所關懷者，則為國家人民之福利，真心愛國者與虛偽愛國者之分別，亦即在此。

國府還都八閱月後，中日基本和約于去年十一月三十日簽字，此則為走向中日實現和平之共同目標，一長足之進步，同時中日滿三國發表互相承認之共同宣言，而確立十年來中滿兩國之關係。

此次之和約，乃中日兩國政策一致之必然步驟，而和約之特點，則為日本之絕無賠款土地之要求，此則為有史以來戰勝國寬大條約之創見，亦為日本近衛首相之大德，蓋首倡不賠款不割地者，為近衛首相也，國人對之，自將久誌不忘，而以為中國之真誠友人。

至於戰區之復興工作，則已有顯著之進步，事實俱在，毋庸贅述，三年來毀於戰火之城市，在政府復興計劃之下，紛紛重新建設，鐵路交通，電報電話，無不恢復至戰前狀態，農業方面，亦能盡量產生，以供民食，工業方面，凡曾為日軍佔領之工廠，均已交還國人，且有許多工廠，更得日本技術之合作，及日本機器之添置，而益加改良，除復興建設之外，新興之事業，有日本之合作，亦將大有發展，故而新中國未來之繁榮，已可必矣。

當國人之祝此大典而向政府致賀之際，難免馳思重慶方面之黑暗情形，英美兩國雖欲助蔣，然其自顧尚且不暇，而其號稱若干億之金錢援助，尤難送達重慶，故而此遠據川邊一隅之局勢，意志已日趨薄弱，若無川省之高山峻嶺為之保障，重慶政權實難生存也，然而雖有天險可恃，亦終難保其命之不絕也。

汪主席領導下之南京國民政府，已閱一週矣，前途雖尚多棘刺，然而全面和平必能實現，凡吾愛國同胞，及中國之真誠友人，皆當努力擁護，以助政府完成其大任。

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# 中華新報

中華民國三十年四月一日

本報已申請登記

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