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# VOICE of NEW CHINA

A BI-LINGUAL FORTNIGHTLY  
Incorporating the CHINA OUTLOOK

Closer Nanking-Tokyo Collaboration

Abandonment of Extraterritoriality  
and Concessions?

Exit Shanghai's "Badlands"

The Netherlands East Indies

German-American Relations  
Deteriorating



British Invasion of Syria

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a Copy  
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L. K. Kentwell, B.A. (Oxon), LL.B. (Columbia University, N.Y.)  
Editor-in-chief & Publisher

T. Hsu - - - Chinese Editor  
J. Y. Tong - - - " "  
Pung Chun-kat - - - Contributing Editor  
Henry C. Chen - - - Asst. Chinese Editor  
J. M. Lee - - - Advertising Manager

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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 Barbarians 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

### Closer Nanking-Tokyo Collaboration

The visit of Mr. Wang Ching-wei to Tokyo, where he will be the guest of the Emperor and Empress, indicates the closeness of the tie between Japan and the Nanking Government and serves to contradict the assertions of those who have been suggesting from time to time that Japan might desert the Nanking Government in an attempt to woo the Chungking regime. It not only shows that the policy of Japan towards the Government in Nanking is definitely set but it is quite possible that it may prove a preliminary to the recognition of that Government by Germany and Italy and a number of minor States. It cannot fail, in fact, to have the effect of considerably strengthening Mr. Wang Ching-wei's position both in the eyes of the Japanese people and those of his countrymen who are prepared to accept his leadership. That it may lead to some considerable changes in the program of the Nanking Government, especially in the way of devoting more attention to the economic rehabilitation of China, is another possibility.

Only the other day a Japanese General remarked that the military phase of the conflict in China had now largely come to an end and that economic issues were becoming paramount. There can, indeed, be little doubt of the need for economic rehabilitation following up the military operations. Since he undertook the task which in the first place he designated a "peace movement" Mr. Wang Ching-wei has had an uphill task and a task which perhaps the majority of men would have refused to accept. He had to start from the beginning with everything against him except the willingness of the Japanese army that a lasting Chinese administration should be built up.

The victorious sweep of the Japanese army up the Yangtze Valley and through other parts of Central China had resulted in the overturning of almost all semblances of government; the

civilian officials of the Chiang Kai-shek regime almost invariably fled with the military when the latter suffered defeat and everything had to be built up afresh as soon as conditions permitted. From quite early days the hostilities assumed some of the characteristics of a civil war and the operations of the guerillas, who were often lawless men quite as prepared to commit depredations upon their fellow-countrymen as upon the Japanese, added to the general confusion. It was an exacting task to try to get some kind of order into the towns and countryside after the cataclysm but Mr. Wang Ching-wei stuck to his guns and today he can claim a good deal of success.

In making this trip to Japan, President Wang will have the opportunity of contacting personally Prince Konoye, Foreign Minister



*President Wang, visitor to Japan . . . will establish solid basis for future Nanking-Tokyo collaboration.*



Matsuoka and other Japanese Government leaders. He will also be able to gain insight into the present situation in Europe as first-hand information will be available through Mr. Matsuoka, whose recent triumphal visit to the capitals of Germany, Italy and Soviet Russia is still fresh in memory.

The near-success attained in establishing normal conditions throughout the territory under the control of the National Government requires renewed planning and fresh programs for the development of natural resources, re-establishment of industries, reconstruction of communications, and a general acceleration of all the latent forces which China possesses in such abounding quantity, to restore the welfare of the people and promote a new prosperity based on new conceptions.

All these gigantic tasks cannot be handled single-handed by the National Government, it is obvious, so that President Wang's visit to Japan will enable him to discuss in detail with Japan's leaders the various steps and measures required for the realisation of full Sino-Japanese co-operation in the accomplishment of these tasks. Up till the present, Sino-Japanese co-operation has existed in spirit but in actual working it has not been much developed and the few organizations which have been established under the name of Sino-Japanese co-operation cannot be termed the ideal which such men as Prince Konoye and President Wang have in mind. That ideal must not only be by word of mouth — it must be realised by dint of hard work between the two nations, each striving to speed progress in such a way that both nations will mutually benefit and thus attain the ideal in a concrete form.

The whole of New China awaits eagerly for the return of President Wang, with the knowledge that our great leader will leave no stone unturned to reach a complete understanding with the Japanese Government. Following the President's return there is little doubt that certain changes will be effected to enable the new measures, based on fuller Sino-Japanese collaboration, to move faster, and the people are fully prepared to undertake whatever tasks are imposed on them to cement that collaboration.

### Abandonment of Extraterritorial Rights and Concessions?

The recent announcement by both the United States and Britain that they would be

willing to relinquish their extraterritorial rights and concessions in China at the conclusion of the present war can only be taken at its face value. The news was received by the Chinese people with a great deal of sarcasm and the irony of the situation was reflected in several press articles.

The promises of both the United States and Britain certainly belie their actions, and as long as they continue to regard China as a semi-colonial nation, it is hard to conceive their giving up the special privileges which they now enjoy. If they were really sincere, there is nothing to prevent them from immediately ceasing to provide the Chungking regime with support, in the shape of funds and war material, and to recognise the National Government at Nanking as the *de facto* and *de jure* government of the greater portion of China, with whom negotiations could be initiated for the abolition of extraterritoriality and the retrocession of the concessions and the International Settlement at Shanghai.

Although Washington was the first to enunciate the promise of extraterritoriality relinquishment, London was not far behind — a faint voice which will, in future, more and more be an echo of the Washington loudspeakers.

Britain, however, discreetly avoided any reference of her concession at Tientsin, her powerful rights in the Shanghai Settlement, her crown colony Hongkong and her still-privileged position in various parts of China. Sincerity on her part would actually mean the retrocession of the Tientsin concession (in keeping with Sir Austen Chamberlain's policy in 1927 when the Hankow Concession was "retroceded"), unconditional surrender of her extraterritorial rights and the return of Hongkong to its rightful sovereign, China. Only by such far-reaching measures can Britain hope to retain some measure of consideration from New China.

As for the United States, where talk has always been big, there exists a standing insult and affront to the Chinese nation in the shape of the obnoxious Exclusion Act, by which Chinese are barred from entering the U.S.A. It is said that it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a Chinese to gain entry into America. America prides herself on her democracy, her sense of justice and equality, but nowhere else in the world has racial prejudice and discrimination been so

accentuated. Discrimination against negroes in the U.S.A. is too well known to bear repeating here. It seems that Democracy for the Americans is nothing but a cloak for Hypocrisy.

Unfortunately, the Chinese people and the Chinese Government are still too weak to bring pressure to bear on America to repeal the Exclusion Law, but this does not imply that the hurt is not felt deeply in this country and that when the opportunity arises retaliatory measures will not be taken.

The Americans pose as real friends of China and much ado is made over the "Bowl of Rice" dinners and campaign. It would be far better if they organized an "Anti-Exclusion Law" Campaign to erase this insult to Chinese nationhood. In the meanwhile, all talk of giving up extrajurisdiction from either Washington or London is received here with the proverbial grain of salt.

\* \* \*

### Exit Shanghai's "Badlands"

For nearly three years Shanghai's "Badlands" flourished, with gambling and other vices rampant. Dozens of dens of all sorts cropped up and flourished, and hope was nearly abandoned that any authority would be able to eradicate them. Then came the appointment of Mayor Chen Kung-po last November, after the assassination of Mr. Fu Siao-en. It was an outstanding case of "*Veni, vidi, vinci!*"

The Mayor took stock of the situation; he realised the terrible effect the gambling hells in the "Badlands" was having on the public, and he made a promise to tackle the problem seriously and eliminate this dark stain on a city which had always prided itself on being a "model settlement." The difficulties confronting the Mayor were innumerable, but he never faltered, and step by step he set the stage for the final ringing down of the curtain.

The most important measure leading up to the end of the "Badlands" was taken last February 1 when the Mayor signed the agreement which inaugurated the Special Joint Police Force in the Western Outside Roads Area of Shanghai. The new force commenced to function on March 15 under the leadership of Commissioner C. C. Pan, through whose sincere co-operation the cleaning-up of the "Badlands" became a reality. Last month, after a special meeting held in Nanking, the Mayor and Commissioner Pan returned to Shanghai and gave orders to the various gambling dens to close up on May 31.



*Mayor Chen Kung-po of the Shanghai Special Municipality . . . has kept his promise to clean up Shanghai's "Badlands."*

On June 1 only two gambling establishments under foreign registration were functioning — all the Chinese-owned dens had been closed down. On June 6, after repeated warnings, Commissioner Pan also closed down the two foreign establishments.

This means the exit of the "Badlands," and the inauguration of a new era, which, thanks to the untiring energy and determination of Mayor Chen Kung-po, all Shanghai will now enjoy.

\* \* \*

### The Netherlands East Indies

One of the richest colonial units in the "Old World Order," the Netherlands East Indies have been very much in the limelight on account of the protracted negotiations which have been going on there with the Japanese Economic Delegation. Situated in South Asia, these Dutch possessions are rich in oil, rubber, tin and other vital tropical products, most of which are necessary to Japan's existence, and which, through trade exchange with Japan, could flow to the various countries bordering the western Pacific in friendly commerce.



The negotiations with the Japanese Delegation have, however, reached a deadlock, and thus a serious situation has arisen. Moving behind the scenes, both the United States and Britain have imposed their selfish wants, and the exiled Netherlands authorities are so far lacking in commonsense that they fail to realise that sooner or later, even taking into account only the geographical situation of the Netherlands East Indies, these former Dutch possessions must be included in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere which Japan is determined to bring into existence for her own security just as much as for the future peace and prosperity of Greater East Asia.

Even reckoning on the extremely remote possibility of Britain and the Democratic front being able to force a stalemate in the European War, there can be no escape for the Netherlands East Indies joining in a consortium composed of the various nations situated on this side of the Pacific, designed to bring about stabilization in East Asia.

It is not impossible that the United States may risk a war in the event of an attack on the N.E.I. but such an act would be risky and foolish, especially as the N. E. I. are completely outside the orbit of so-called American 'influence' and are not vital to her existence, as they are for Japan's. The hope has been expressed that in spite of the deadlock some compromise still can be reached with Japan. Let us hope that such a compromise will be reached soon, as time presses and Japan's national existence demands an immediate solution to the question of vital supplies of rubber, oil, tin and other products which the N.E.I. can well afford to give Japan in exchange for Japan's manufactured products.

\* \* \*

### German-American Relations Deteriorating

Following closely on the heels of the Presidential order to freeze German and Italian credits in the United States, a bombshell was dropped by the Washington Administration when it announced that all German Consulates in the United States would be closed by July 10. This order also affects all German travel, information and unofficial news agencies (such as Transocean), but it does not imply breaking-off of diplomatic relations and the official German news agency, the D.N.B., is evidently unaffected by the order as well.

In the light of recent American policy, the Presidential action has undoubtedly been taken to prepare the American nation for a final showdown with Germany, by the severance of diplomatic relations.

There was swift response to the American action in both Germany and Italy, where measures have been taken to sequester all American property, and, in the meantime, there are reports that retaliatory measures of a sterner type are also being considered.

With such measures and counter-measures, it is hard to foresee any hope of improvement of the fast-disintegrating German-American relations. These relations are bound to worsen and war, declared or undeclared, seems to be but a matter of a short interval.

The American people will have to pay very dearly for Roosevelt's rashness in plunging his country to the verge of war simply to save the tottering British Empire, especially as there is no assurance that the United States will come out victorious in a struggle against a combination comprising three of the world's most powerful nations, Germany, Italy and Japan. America cannot expect any assistance from Britain which is even now hard put to defend her outlying possessions. On the other hand, Germany has control of practically the whole of Europe and daily is gaining more and more ground. The only two remaining powerful neutrals, the Soviet Union and Spain, are bound to Germany by ties of friendship and non-aggression pacts, and furthermore the natural resources of both these nations are at Germany's disposal.

From a purely idealistic and moral point of view, it is surprising that the American people can still shout that they are assisting Democracy when they assist Britain. Do they not realise that Britain's victory in the last World War did not bring any relief to the 350,000,000 Indians bound by the British Imperialistic fetters? Can they be sure that Britain will not repeat her infamies in the event of her emerging victorious in the present conflict—although such a possibility is very remote? A British victory would mean continued bondage and suffering for a great portion of the world's population; it would mean continued dissatisfaction and strife in the world; it would mean the destruction, once and for all, of all the ideals of Democracy which the Fathers of the American Revolution fought for; and, finally, it would mean reverting to an Old World Order under

the British flag, which would impose economic handicaps on all other nations and retard the natural progress of our civilized world.

Adolf Hitler is not an aggressor or a champion of imperialism. He is leading Germany and her allies in a glorious fight to eliminate the world of a tyrant which has been allowed to exist for over a century. He is leading not only his own country, but the whole world, including India, China, Africa and all other oppressed peoples, against the British tyrant which has exerted such an evil influence over our modern world.

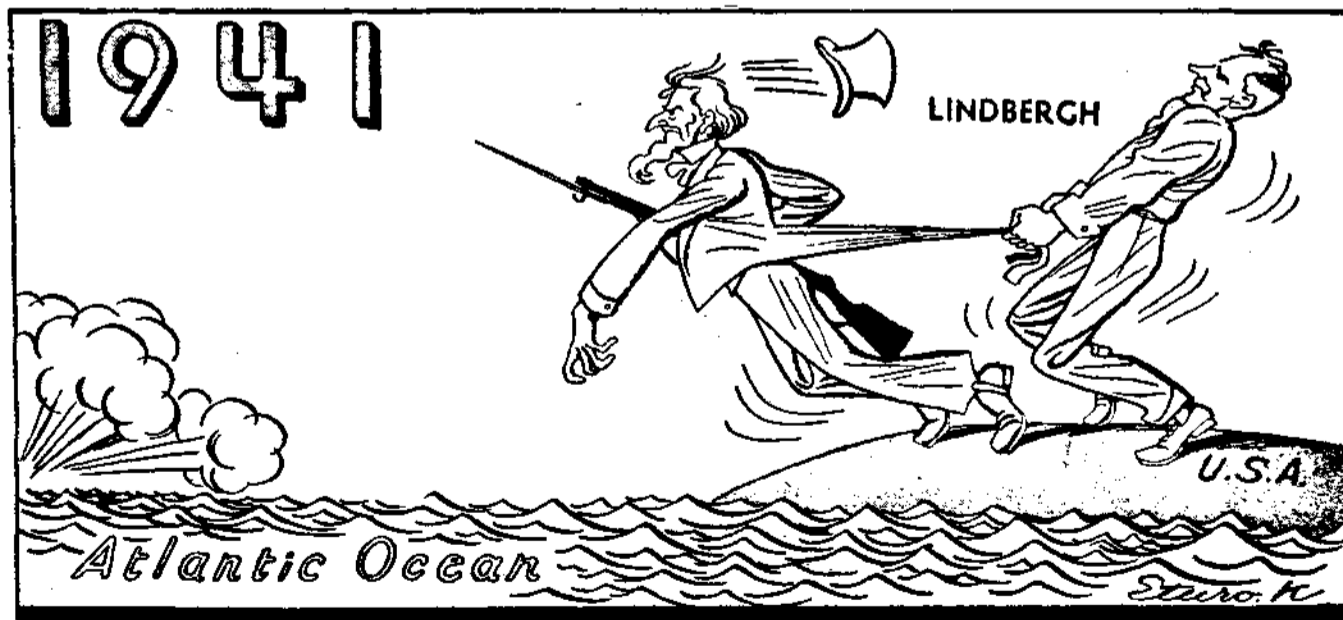
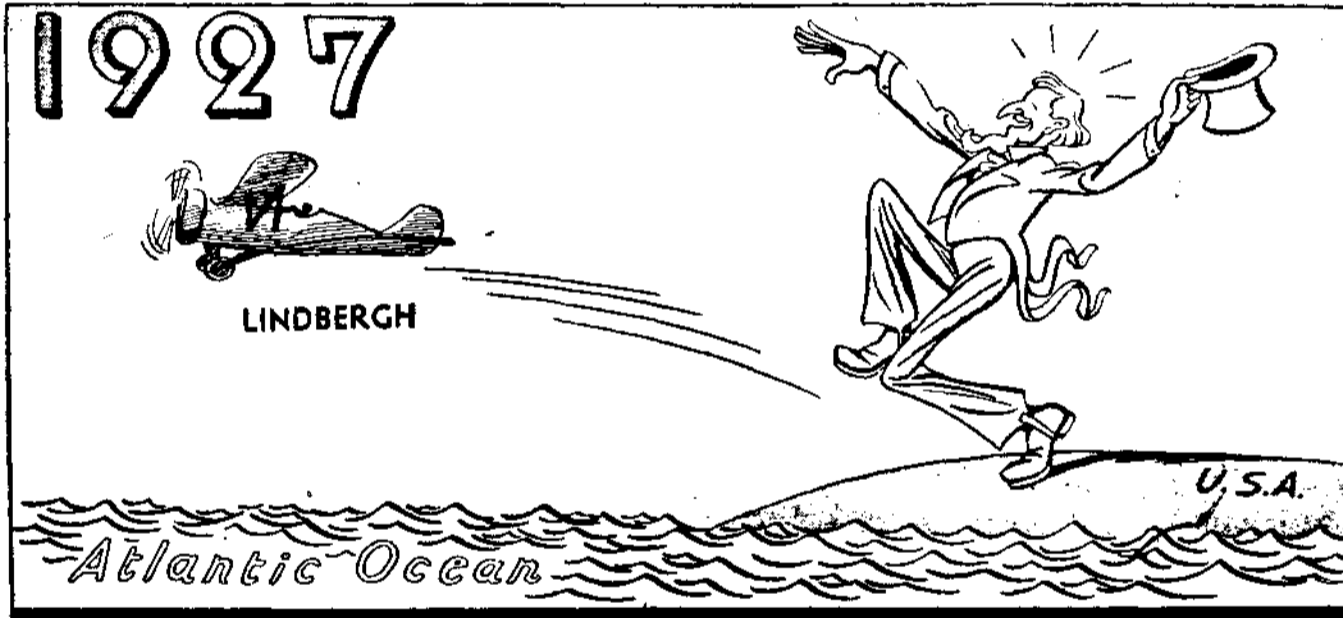
If the American people will but listen to the voice of reason and commonsense, instead

of being swayed by childish sentimentality, our harrassed world may still be saved. If they listen to the voice of their dictators, not only will the world be ruined but it will also mean the end of the United States.

\* \* \*

### British Invasion of Syria

True to her treacherous and traditional behavior, Perfidious Albion has rigged up suitable excuses to launch an attack on Syria, the Near East mandate of the former ally, France. This act will go down in history as another of



those acts which has placed England in the category of the world's worst monsters.

Defeated in a fair fight with Germany, fallen France sued for an armistice which



Marshal Petain . . . sent a message of encouragement to his troops in Syria to strongly resist England's latest act of perfidy and treachery.

Germany honorably granted. There has been nothing so far to denote that either France or Germany would break, or intended breaking, the terms of the armistice, but it was left to the fervid imagination of the English propagandists to dig up excuses to allow their armies in the Near East to launch a serious attack against unprotected Syria.

English vileness is fully revealed in the use of so-called "Free French" troops against their own flesh and blood on the Syrian front. Goaded by English promises, these "Free Frenchmen" have become so blinded by their own selfish interests that they are willing to shoot down their own countrymen, for what — simply because the English propagandists broadcast the "fact" that German air-borne troops have landed in Syria, preparatory to launching an attack on Iraq, Palestine and the Suez Canal. There were no "facts" to prove this, even at this late hour when the French and English troops have clashed on several fronts in Syria.

Whether English arms are successful or not, the outcome will have no bearing on Germany's eventual victory. Syria is but a temporary episode which will not, in any case, redound to England's prestige.

## Roosevelt and the "Freedom of the Seas"

Twenty-five years ago Wilson advocated eternal peace and the right of self determination of nations. He found sufficient fools in Germany who believed him and who were tricked by him. Today, however, the Germans are up to such stricks when his successor Franklin Roosevelt acts as high priest of civilization and humanity, states the "Voelkischer Beobachter" in its leader headed "The Freedom of the Seas."

The paper goes on to say that it would not have been at all necessary for Roosevelt's most intimate chums coming back to their advocacy of "the freedom of the seas" to simultaneously demand the revocation of the North American neutrality law. Besides it would have been clear to Germany that behind the battlegcry of the "freedom of the oceans" the agitation for war is hidden which the President carries out with all ingenuity. The "Voelkischer Beobachter" discloses how the Britons reversed the conception of the freedom of the seas by

declaring that their hegemony on the seas secured unhindered seaborne trade as they themselves would always represent "the liberty." Just like during the World War, the paper goes on, the Americans passed over in silence all British acts of force or even cheered them. They attained the point when arms are being sent to England, British men-of-war are being repaired in U.S.A. shipyards and gigantic credits support tottering England. But all this is not enough for them. They demand still more. They claim the authority to put U. S. A. ships at the disposal of England. That is the liberty as understood by them, namely, to recklessly take part in the business of the unscrupulous deliverers of arms. They do not care for the liberty of sending foodstuffs to starving allies of Great Britain who broke down. It is a guarantee that the freedom of the seas which so far has been only an unfulfilled demand or abused catchword will materialize at the end of this war.



## National Publicity Conference Opens in Nanking

After several weeks' preparations the first National Publicity Conference opened on June 1 at the Ceremonial Hall of the Mausoleum of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Father of the Chinese Republic, when all the members present paid their respects before his statue under the leadership of Mr. Lin Pai-sheng, Minister of Publicity.

The number of persons participating in the Conference was originally fixed at 160 but later, because applications for participation were received from all newspapers and news agencies in various localities, the number of seats was increased by 77 for observers in addition to the 145 seats originally determined.

Among the 236 proposals submitted to the Conference, 65 relate to publicity administration, 64 to publicity guidance, 56 to publicity enterprises, 28 to special publicity and 23 to international publicity. In addition to these proposals, over 200 reports have been received from the numerous publicity organs throughout the country.

### Minister Lin Pai-sheng Takes Publicity Delegates to Dr. Sun's Mausoleum

On the morning of June 1, Mr. Lin Pai-sheng, Minister of Publicity, took all the delegates to the National Publicity Conference to Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Mausoleum, where a solemn ceremony took place with Mr. Lin officiating. After paying respects to the likeness of the Father of the Republic on the slope of the Purple Mountain, the delegates sang the National Anthem, followed by the reading of Dr. Sun's will and the announcement of President Wang Ching-wei's precepts for the guidance of publicity workers. After this all the delegates went to the Sino-German Cultural Association for the Conference.

### President Wang Ching-wei's Precepts for the National Publicity Conference Delegates

For the guidance of the delegates of the National Publicity Conference held in Nanking, President Wang Ching-wei issued a set of twelve rules, among which the following are the more important: 1. In national reconstruction there must be one central thought with one central authority as the supreme guidance. 2. Let the three People's Principles be our revolutionary doctrine based on historical laws and scientific

knowledge and containing the essence of various schools of thought. 3. Nationalism should have the principle of Pan-Asianism as its outstanding feature. The independence and freedom of China and the permanent peace of East Asia cannot be separated while world peace should be established on that basis. 4. Let democracy be the principle for the political guidance of China who should adopt the best points of the Western democratic and totalitarian system without imitating their defects. 5. The Principle of People's Livelihood is to help China to extricate herself from the position of semicolonies and to save herself from the poison of Marxism. 6. The only means and ways for the salvation of our nation are Peace, Anti-Communism and National Reconstruction.

### President Wang Ching-wei's Speech to the National Publicity Conference

At the second session of the National Publicity Conference held at the Sino-German Cultural Association on June 2, a lengthy speech was delivered by President Wang Ching-wei in the presence of 141 members and 18 observers. The President in the first part of his speech points out the principal task of the Conference and in the second part expounds the theories and aims of the Peace Movement. The following is a summarized translation of the latter part of President Wang's address:

"China and Japan are natural friends, unnatural enemies; if there has been any conflict between these two countries, efforts must be made to readjust their relations again. This is the theory of the Peace Movement, as is already known to the general public. However, as to the realization of such a theory, many people are still doubtful and pessimistic. This is mainly due to the reason that from the beginning they have considered the restoration of peace and the realization of nation-wide peace too easy a task.

### Mutual Understanding

"The peace between China and Japan this time is very different from the usual peace concluded between two belligerents, because a state of hostility still persists during the progress of the Peace Movement. Therefore, though the Treaty concerning the Basic Relations between China and Japan has already been concluded, yet all the outstanding issues can only be resolved gradually in a spirit of mutual understanding

and mutual respect. As the present situation is so complicated, we can naturally visualize the difficulties and hardships in the future.

"Who knows most clearly the obstacles to peace? In my opinion it is Chiang Kai-shek himself. I can recall a heated debate between Chiang and myself when we were in Wuhan.

"During that debate he explained frankly the reason for his objection to peace, which is for his selfish ends only. However, we must struggle on steadily and gravely for the realization of peace despite all difficulties. From the very beginning, we have already recognized these difficulties, so it is unnecessary for us to doubt or feel pessimistic. Except for fighting on step by step, there is no other way open to us.

#### Japanese-American War

"Rumors about the imminence of a Japanese-American war have recently come from Chungking every day. But such propaganda is fundamentally erroneous. The Father of the Chinese Republic once said: 'We must seek to establish friendly relations between China, Japan and the United States through the maintenance of peace between China and Japan. Even though it cannot be realized at present, we must nevertheless try our best to maintain peace and order in the Pacific.

"As to the present internal situation in China, a triangular situation has unfortunately been formed with the Communists in the North-west, Chiang Kai-shek in the South-west and the National Government in the South East. But as a matter of fact, neither Communism nor the democracy advocated by Britain and America is suitable for China. The slogan of resistance employed by Chungking and the Communists is only a fallacious argument. Let us all be brave enough to explode this false argument and meanwhile improve our own strength. I am sure this triangular situation will be broken up and China can be united.

#### Present Grave Situation

"At the present time, we can only strive for the unification of our nation by pursuing a comprehensive scheme with one principle and one central force. The publicity workers should first realize the gravity of the present situation and the difficulty of their own work. They should fight to the end in disregard of all obstructions. When we realize the difficulties and yet still fight on, this is indeed the greatest

bravery. I believe Minister Lin has already acquired such a great courage and hope that you all will shoulder this tremendous task and recognize and overcome your own difficulties as bravely as the Minister. During this Conference, I hope you will bring up as far as possible the perplexing problems in your mind for a thorough discussion in order to enable you to carry on your work smoothly after the close of this Conference.

"I pay my respect to you all and wish you all good health!"

#### Mayor Chen Calls at S.M.C.

Returning the courtesy call made some time ago by Mr. Liddell, the new Chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Council, Mayor Chen Kung-po, accompanied by a few sub-ordinate officials of the Shanghai Special Municipality, went to the S.M.C. at 10 a.m. on June 9 and had a friendly talk with Mr. Liddell as well as the Vice-Chairman of the Council, Mr. Okamoto, and the Secretary-General, Mr. G. G. Phillips, during which various important problems were touched upon. The visit lasted for 45 minutes.

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## Unless Chinese Shake Off British, American Yoke, China May Become "Second India"

### "Chungking Reduced to Ruins"

Colonel Liu Tze-chiang, former head of the Chungking Military Council, who is a great admirer of Wang Ching-wei, gratified his long-cherished secret desire by succeeding, on January 14, this year, to withdraw from Chungking. Shaking off Chiang's pursuers in Kueichow and Yunnan provinces, at Lashio and Rangoon in Burma, he recently managed to return home to Canton.

Born in Suntso, south of Whampoa near Canton, in 1910, he joined the 19th Route Army in 1932 after graduation from the Nanking military academy. During the Nanking siege of 1938, his corps tried to defend the Kuang-hua gate. Although he was active on the firing lines, the first circular telegram dispatched by Wang Ching-wei late in 1939, advocating peace restoration, made Colonel Liu yearn for peace. He was looking for a chance to desert Chungking and rally to Mr. Wang's cause.

On the eve of his departure for Nanking to join the Wang regime, Colonel Liu expressed his conviction to Nippon newsmen who interviewed him as follows:

Q: What has promoted you to withdraw from Chungking?

A: I was long one of the bitterest opponents to Nippon. Upon perusing Mr. Wang's circular telegram in reply to the Kono Statement, however, I knew I had been wrong in advocating anti-Nipponism. Experience has taught me that Britain and America are aiding Chungking solely for the purpose of playing China against Nippon.

Have not Britons and Americans called us monkeys? Have they not expounded the yellow peril? Their fundamental conception of us Orientals cannot have changed any. Dr. Sun Yat-sen advocated pan-Asianism in order to save East Asia from Occidental aggression.

Unless the Chinese acknowledge their folly in acting as the tool of Britain and the United States, their country will degenerate into a second India soon. Convinced that rallying to Mr. Wang's peace move is the only way to save

China, I deserted Chungking against great hardships.

Q: How has Chungking been affected by Nippon air-raids?

A: Chungking is foggy from September to March. During this period, Nippon Wild Eagles seldom raid Chungking, but from April to August, Nippon Wild Eagles raid almost daily. Today, about two-thirds of Chungking have been reduced to ruins.

Low-ranking soldiers and citizens are the heaviest sufferers from the Nippon air-raids, whereas Government higher-ups have their villas 40 kilometers outside the city, to which they flee the moment the Nippon Wild Eagles raid Chungking. They have been courting the wrath of people on this account. The masses have transferred their property to suburbs. Chungking is a dead city now.

Q: What do Chungking authorities think of the China Emergency?

A: Chiang Kai-shek and his immediate associates are boasting continued resistance, but most others are pessimistic about the prospects. There are many who pin hope on Mr. Wang's peace moves, looking for a chance to desert Chungking. The trouble is that they cannot fly between Chungking and Kunming without Chiang's permission.

#### Central Party Headquarters Holds 58th Weekly Memorial Service for Father of Chinese Republic

The Central Headquarters of the Kuo-Min Tang held its 58th weekly memorial service in honor of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Father of the Chinese Republic, in its auditorium on June 9. Messrs. Chang Yung-fu, Wen Tsungyao, Pu Tung, Chow Hua-jen, Tai Tseh, Wang Han-Liang and over four hundred staff-members of the Central Headquarters and various Ministries and Commissions were present.

Mr. Wen Tsung-yao, President of the Judicial Yuan, presided over the ceremony and made a speech entitled "The Moral Integrity of The Father of the Chinese Republic".

## Shanghai Municipal Government Issues Official Statement on Restoration of Hospital Equipment

In Connection with the restoration of hospital equipment to the Chinese Municipal authorities by the Shanghai Anti-T.B. Association and the Children's Hospital, about which many misleading reports have been published in Shanghai newspapers during the past few days, the Shanghai Special Municipal Government issued the following official statement:

"The Shanghai Anti-T.B. Association and Children's Hospital did not obtain the right of using the equipment direct from the former Shanghai Special Municipal Government. Through the keeper of the said property they made arrangements to install the equipment in the hospital. Since that time more than two years have elapsed. In January, 1941 after Mayor Chen Kung-po assumed office, the above-mentioned hospitals were advised to make arrangements with the Municipal Government in connection with the use of the hospital equipment and at the same time they were told that the whole equipment should be returned to the government for its own use. With the kind assistance of the French Authorities a mutual understanding was reached at that time.

"Since then the Municipal Government has received no communication whatever from the above-mentioned hospitals until the French Consul-General replied to the Mayor's note to the effect that the said hospital had been duly informed of the removal of the equipment from the hospitals at the end of May. On June 6 the actual removing of the equipment began and it was discovered that the hospital management had made no preparation whatever for substitute during the period of five months.

"We regret, in this case, that the spirit of co-operation is not considered, which causes the hospital patients to suffer unnecessary inconvenience. Had the hospital management approached the Municipal Government at the beginning with the request for assistance, the present unavoidable situation could be avoided.

"On June 2 and 5, Mayor Chen Kung-po received two letters inviting him to tiffin at the American Club and on the 5th the removal of the Hospital equipment was mentioned."

A letter dated June 7 from the Mayor to Dr. L. S. Huizenga of the Hospital is as follows:

"Your letters dated 2nd. and 5th. are duly received and I shall be delighted to attend your party whenever you extend me such courtesy, but this time I am unable to give you a date until I return from Nanking.

"As to removal of the Medical equipment — for our own use — from your hospital, it is an act of necessity although it is regrettable to cause you inconvenience, still I can assure you of my willingness to render you assistance in any other form which would enable you to recover more or less from this loss".

### Cultivation of the "Clean Government" Spirit

The "New China Daily News" in a recent editorial says that China has for hundred of years suffered from the corruption of government officials. Unless there is a clean government, the country can never be expected to rise again as a great nation in the world.

The present situation in China with the Communists in the Northwest and the Chungking regime in the Southwest calls for the eradication of corrupt practices in order to lay the foundation for the Movement of Peace Anti-Communism and National Reconstruction.

The journal concludes by saying that with the reorganization and return of the National Government which marked a turning point in political and social awakening China should find it easier to stamp out the evil of corruption in officialdom and inculcate a spirit of clean government in all our fellow-countrymen.



## American Attitude Toward Chungking

(Translation of "Central China Daily News" Editorial)

As President Roosevelt in his fire-side chat on May 27 failed to mention Japan, Chungking, which depends solely upon America for support, has become very anxious over the situation. Chungking fears that America will reach a compromise with Japan and that itself will be "sold" at any time. Not long ago, Dr. Quo Tai-chi indulged in the use of such high-sounding terms as cooperation between Britain, America and Chungking. The cold American attitude toward the Far East as revealed recently by President Roosevelt has certainly caused great anxiety to the Chungking regime. Chungking's Publicity organs launched another campaign to tell America that the Far Eastern situation is more important than the European situation. It was exactly at that time reports arrived from Washington stating that the American Department of War would permit American pilots and mechanics to resign from their posts so that they might go to Chungking. The American Secretary of State, Mr. C. Hull issued also a statement saying that in the future "the United States will abolish the extraterritoriality in China". Because of these two reports, Chungking, which had been sadly disappointed not long ago, became very hopeful again and considered the reports a promise of America's substantial assistance. They say that from now on America will not sell out Chungking and as soon as aeroplanes and pilots arrive from America they will be able to launch a "counter-offensive" against the Japanese troops. Chungking's sorrowful countenance has changed immediately into a smiling face and fresh efforts are being made to flatter the United States. America's realistic policy toward Chungking makes the latter optimistic and pessimistic by turns. As a result, Chungking has to weep and smile alternately. This situation is proved by the reports of the past two weeks.

The American foreign diplomacy, according to the American statesman Mr. Hughes, "is based not on abstract concepts but on the realistic results of national interests . . . Statesmen who are shouldering the responsibilities of an Imperialist State cannot forget for a moment the demand and the objective of an Imperialist

State." The term "Abstract concepts" refers to the whole stook of flattering words such as "democracy," "freedom", and "justice" used by Chungking to please America. Having understood the real American diplomacy, one cannot help blushing on hearing such high-sounding terms used to describe the United States.

### America's Real Policy

With the understanding of America's real policy, one will see the childish expecttaions and the wishful thinking of those who advocate cooperation between Britain, America and Chungking. These people lack common sense America's first President Washington in his farewell speech laid down the foundation of the American policy. He said that the main object of America's foreign policy was to develop fully her trade and commerce and minimize as far as possible her political entanglements with foreign countries. In the same vein, President Jofferson said that America should develop trade relations with foreign countries but should "not conclude agreements of alliance with any country." Although the American foreign policy has changed many times in the past years, it has never deviated from this fixed principle. The American policy toward Chungking is no exception.

President Roosevelt's fire-side chat pointed out only that the United States would pay more attention to Europe because the threat from Europe has become more serious and imminent. However, America will not give up Chungking for the time being, as Chungking remains one of the markets for her munitions. America can still obtain much benefit from Chungking. However, it is fundamentally wrong to say that America will cooperate or conclude an alliance with Chungking. We can imagine easily the real purpose of the departure of American pilots for Chungking. America has no necessity to come into direct conflict with Japan and she is by no means suffering from an over-supply of pilots. But why does she permit her pilots to go to the Far East? A Reuter report from Washington gives us a very good answer to this question. The Reuter's despatch says that it is for "the purpose of protecting the supplies transported

along the Burma Road." So it is again for the interests of American millionaires!

Mr. Hull's promise of abolition of extraterritoriality reminds us of the same words used and the same promise made when China and the United States concluded the Sino-American Commercial Treaty before the establishment of the Chinese Republic. For forty years, America has failed to keep her promise. For the purpose of making Chungking subservient to herself, the United States has reiterated the promise, which serves as a bait. As a matter of fact, if America has really the intention to abolish extraterritoriality, she can do so immediately. Why should she attach to this promise a condition of time element?

### Palace of Soviets in Moscow

The Palace of the Soviets, now being built as a monument to Lenin, will be the tallest structure in the world when it is completed.

Work is proceeding briskly, reports Tass, the Soviet news agency. The foundation of the main building, consisting of two great ferro-concrete concentric rings, has been laid. Steel work is going forward.

The palace was designed by V. Gelfreich, Iofan and V. Schuko.

The architectural work is being carried on by Gelfreich and Iofan since the death of Schuko. Its site is on the left bank of the Moscow river.

### Prominent in N. E. I. Situation

Two headliners of the present N. E. I. — Japan economic situation, Mr. E. N. Van Kleffens, Foreign Minister of the Netherlands Government in London, seen shaking hands with Mr. Kenkichi Yoshizawa, head of the Japanese delegation to the N.E.I., in Batavia. The meeting of these two personages took place last month at the conclusion of conferences with local officials. Mr. Van Kleffens left Batavia for Soerabaya en route to London on May 8. Below a motorized unit of the N. E. I. Army is seen parading past Government House in Batavia in honor of the visiting officials.





## Singapore Air Strength Bolstered

### Defeat In Greece Has Repercussions; Bid Is Made For American Goodwill; U.S.A. Planes Arriving Incessantly

Singapore, Great Britain's largest naval base in the Orient, which is temporarily without a fleet, has become the base of an air offensive in case of a war with Nippon, according to reliable reports.

The British authorities are convinced that Nippon will attempt to snatch Singapore the moment the Nazis hurl themselves in "desperate" landing operations against the British Isles.

The fact that General Sir Robert Brooke-Popham was appointed commander-in-chief of the British Far Eastern forces proves that the British decided to relieve the warships by strengthening the air force there.

United States planes are coming into Singapore in an incessant flow, and at present at least 1,000 planes and 1,000 members of the ground force are at the British base. Almost every day about 12 American-made bombers fly in formation over the city.

#### Land Troops Reinforced

The land troops, too, are being reinforced. The Indians, who are made to sleep outside of sanitary buildings, have pitched tents in every available lot in the city. Some of these tents are seen on the cemetery.

Dance halls, cinema theaters, and cafes are literally filled with British troops, including Anzacs and Indians. Throughout British Malaya, every town and city has its quota of soldiers, most of whom are homesick Indians.

A considerable number of troops from New Zealand landed at the naval port, while 900 lorries were landed at the commercial port. The Indian soldiers are feeling very melancholy and are praying at temples for the day to go back to their country.

The Indians were brought to Malaya with the understanding that they would not be placed on the first lines and a comparatively easy life. But during the military exercises, they were

placed at the fore against the supposed "Japanese troops". It dawned upon them that they had been fooled. This was the cause of the uprisings along the Thai-British Malaya border.

#### British Defeats

The reports of British defeats in Greece and North Africa, and the annoying situation in the Near East for a time knocked the life out of the usually calm and proud Britishers. The British authorities had to threaten to arrest anyone who spread rumors of a possible British defeat.

Recently the British are feeling assured again with the newspaper promises that the United States will enter the war at almost any moment. It was a happy day and for the Britishers at Singapore when the first Clipper plane landed at Singapore.

Five British planes went out to welcome the American plane and Sir Robert was at the airfield with a big diplomatic smile to assure the Americans of British goodwill and gratitude.

Since the British will use planes against Nippon in case of war, they naturally expect the Nippon Army and Navy to reciprocate with the same method to a certain extent.

Most of the important buildings have been surrounded with concrete walls and board sandwiching sandbags. At short intervals, air-raid shelters have been constructed. The rich have private air-raid shelters. Furthermore the authorities have started distributing water and sand to each resident to use to fight incendiary bombs.

The Chungking military mission under the leadership of Shang Chen arrived at Singapore on May 10 and have been carrying on negotiations with the British authorities. This is regarded as one of the developments of Sino-British military co-operation.

## German Navy and American Convoys

The Reich's counter-action against any British-aiding vessel clarified in principle in Fuehrer Hitler's speech delivered in March. That the Reich would sink any such vessel without hesitation was the keynote of the declaration, says the "*Osaka Mainichi*."

Grand-Admiral Erich Raeder of the German Navy in his interview granted to Susumu Ejiri, *Domei* staff correspondent, on May 24, has further elucidated the immutable German determination in detail.

In short, the Grand Admiral has declared that the German Navy is resolved to "stop American convoys carrying contraband goods to Britain by force of arms if need be."

In fact, there should be no other method on the part of Germany than to take recourse to force in order to block hostile actions by American men-of-war.

The United States is committing a grave inconsistency in her attitude vis-a-vis her expressed neutrality when she tells the world that she cannot compromise her stand for the maintenance of the freedom of the seas, on one hand, and simultaneously that she intends, on the other hand, to carry out a convoy system extending as far as 2,000 miles from her shores. Whether it be the freedom of the seas or the inauguration of the projected convoy system, America thinks she will be able to realize them both, relying upon her "actual strength".

All the high-sounding contentions so far advanced in this regard are after all meaningless platitudes. Whether or not the United States will realize the aim of aiding Britain as she expects by the projected convoying system will be determined by the degree of America's actual strength.

If the United States elects herself to realize her British-aid objective by reliance on her own strength, it is quite natural—or rather the only counter-measure left for Germany—for the Reich to try to stop any hostile action by American warcraft and vessels by appealing to force of arms.

Germany has powerfully exemplified to the world a fraction of her actual strength in the German-British naval battle off the coast of

Iceland on May 24. The latest pride of the Reich Navy—the Battleship Bismarck—sank the battle-cruiser Hood, which was not only the largest battlecruiser of Britain but also of the world.

Furthermore, in this memorable engagement, the new formidable German battleship dealt a serious blow to one of brand-new 35,000-ton battleships of the King George V class and forced her to retire from the fighting front.

Although the age of the British battlecruiser may have already passed the 20-year mark, yet the fact that such a huge man-of-war as the 40,000-ton Hood was so unceremoniously sunk in only five minutes by the German new capital ship is, at any rate, a great blow to Britain. It is a spiritual blow to John Bull and, at the same time, must have given a great shock to the U.S. Government which had been warned by Fuehrer Hitler that he would sink every American man-of-war or ship engaged in aiding Britain.

Inasmuch as the brilliant German naval victory was scored at a moment when the British Navy was retreating from Crete, we think the American side has been impressed especially strongly by the redoubtable actual potentiality of the Reich Navy.

Notwithstanding this fact, will the U.S. Government recklessly venture to enforce the much-discussed convoy system, even at the risk of a frontal clash with Germany?

Do the American authorities still believe that the actual power of the United States is great enough for them to disregard German potentiality? We wonder.

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### Germany Entirely on Side of France

Germany is entirely on the side of France in the Syrian question. The German attitude is thereby based on the moral and ethical side of the problem. This statement was made in the Wilhelmstrasse in connection with the German attitude towards the latest British action.

The question whether the German attitude includes a military support, proved France has emphasized that she wanted to carry out the defense of Syria by herself.

## British Navy Speeds Away For "Dear Life"

### New Zealander, Peter Fraser, Sells Out His Kinsmen For A Baronetcy

The following, are some of the surprising words addressed by the New Zealand Prime Minister, Mr. Peter Fraser, to the battleworn relics of the New Zealand brigade, while they were resting and re-equipping at a desert camp, somewhere in the Middle East: "We must, and will, see that the men who proved more than equal, man for man, to the Nazi tyrant will have, when next they go into the fight, that adequate air support and ground equipment which will enable you to sweep the hordes of Nazis back where they came from. You have proved that parachute troops could be defeated and in so doing you have achieved a "great victory". After what you did in Crete, it is unlikely that any German parachutists will ever land in the United Kingdom. I wish to pay a tribute, and you will all agree it is well-deserved to the fleet under Admiral Cunningham. I can say that the risks taken by him were unprecedented".

If analysed carefully, the above speech is a striking indictment on the British R.A.F. which was very prudently omitted from any "honorable" mention. This valiant arm, in the traditional Dunkirk way, which is now a second nature to the British, whenever the going is tough, found discretion the better part of valor. In this they were encouraged by the thought that the men needing their protection were only descendents of their Botany Bay pioneers and Greeks.

The Royal Navy which is honored as "The Senior Service", could not be omitted from "honorable mention". It is true some "valiant" torpedoboats did actually "Nose in at dead of night", and these noble exploits deserve meritorious tribute. The British Navy stages a mass stampede and the Empire is asked to testify its admiration to hero Cunningham! Here we have an explanation for those exaggerations and those immunities from scratches of the epic "Matapan Battle" where the Italian light forces and fewer units went forth to meet the enemy, though knowing him to be superior, sank his convoys bearded him in his den at Suda and accepted battle in the certainty of being overwhelmed.

At Crete, the British Navy on the contrary, speeded away for dear life in a non-stop Marathon to Alexandria, leaving their dear colonials and allies behind in the best British style. Perhaps if the Crete garrison had been 100% English not half-castes, but pure English, with the public school tie and a Billingsgate or Oxford accent, then the British navy and the air force would have taken on some risks to save them. But how absurd of us to make such suppositions! If the British General Staff had found that the "most suited and convenient troops to send" were only English, they would have given Crete a wide berth. Italians can point out with pride to numerous episodes, such as the glory of the "Catalafimi", the small torpedoboat which at the beginning of the War fearlessly faced a flotilla of superior French destroyers, sank one and forced the others to

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turn tail, and the torpedoboat of Commander Minbelli, which recently, convoying German Alpine troops to Crete, saved its convoy by attacking an enemy squadron, sank a cruiser and obliged the others to flee. We can imagine the admiration of their German comrades for this brave action and we wonder if the same feelings are entertained by the New Zealanders, blood-stained and battered survivors of an ignominious flight, who were asked by their time-serving Premier to tribute a well-deserved admiration to the dauntless British fleet. We would also recommend the Crete squadron of the Royal Mediterranean Navy to adopt a new insignia with a pair of R.A.F. outspread wings on each side of their anchors. Sometime ago we wrote that the British were brave only when in a position of great superiority over enemies. We were then speaking of their army. Now this holds good even for the R.N. and R.A.F. We wonder if they will now have the courage to vaunt all their courage and bravado as before and to strut about with puffed chests like homing pigeons, after Crete.

Resuming Mr. Peter Fraser's speech, it

must be admitted that it is the height of irony to tell men in such a miserable moral and physical condition as his N.Z. refugees that they had achieved "a great victory". Mr. Fraser must be a champion leg-puller and comedian in private life. It is significant that when Mr. Fraser says that "We must and will see that you get adequate ground equipment and air support" he is only trying to fool his unfortunate countrymen into fighting again. Mr. Judas Fraser is trying to sell out his kinsmen for a knighthood or a baronetcy like Field-Marshal Jan Smuts K.C.B., G.C.V.O., XYZ.

#### Norman Thomas Warns U.S. Against War

Mr. Norman Thomas, Socialist Party leader and former candidate for the Presidency, asserted in a speech at Athens, Ohio, that if the United States enters the European war "we will find ourselves fighting the war alone...fighting Germany in the Atlantic and Japan in the Pacific." Mr. Thomas added that "if Mr. Joseph Stalin can remain aloof from the war, he may dictate the peace."

#### Vice-Minister of Police Addresses New Body



Mr. Teng Tsu-yu, Vice-Minister of Police of Nanking, who left for Shanghai today to inspect the Shanghai Western Area Special Police Force. Photo shows Mr. Teng, second from left, with G. C. Pan, Commissioner of the Western Area Police, on extreme left.



"Maidens in Uniform" of China

*Young girls of good families in North China are now being put to good use as police officers, especially for searching women. They are also proving helpful in taking care of children and in other jobs that can be handled efficiently only by the fairer sex.*



*Right: One of the girl officers is shown searching for contrabands and arms. In China, the women object to being handled by men.*



## JAPANESE AND CHINESE

### Cultural Relations of Two Peoples Pictured; Mutual Understanding Needed for Co-operation

By Yoshiro Nagayo

Japanese culture is said to be a synthetic variety of continental cultures, but our culture as revealed in our daily life and customs has become a culture possessing unique characteristics. Since the time of the establishment of the Empire of Manchoukuo and particularly since the settlement of Japanese on the Asiatic Continent, following the progress of the China affair, Japanese culture has become a national requirement. The enforcement of rules concerning the qualifications of those intending to go to the Continent has become very strict since last year. This, of course, is due to the necessity of preventing the outgoing of gold and the fall of the yen exchange value in foreign countries and also is a proper measure for facilitating real Sino-Japanese co-operation by checking the exodus of irresponsible persons who go to the Continent with get-rich-quick dreams by taking advantage of our victory. The inspection of persons intending to settle or travel should be even more strict, in view of the fact that many undesirable people are going in spite of the restrictions.

The majority of those going to China are not different from those who go to other countries as emigrants. But colonists who settled in Manchoukuo or Mongolia, having national policy consciousness and hopes, are quite different, particularly in their motives. Yet in unsettled times following military occupation, the deeper into the interior they go, the more profitable it is for them. So they follow the first line of action, but as early as the close of the Sino-Japanese war, such persons of low character had made a very bad impression on the Chinese. As Japan became greatest Power in East Asia after the Russo-Japanese War, they committed various acts of injustice and violence and created anti-Japanese feeling among the Chinese.

Of course what those irresponsible persons have done are minor questions. Though Japanese did call the Chinese some bad names, they were never guilty of erecting placards in parks saying, "Dogs and Chinese not allowed," as foreigners did. What they did was quite childish

as compared with the planned, wicked and nationalistic crimes committed on the Chinese by Western peoples. Yet the Chinese feel the childish blows more than wicked deep acts. Today we are reaping the fruits of the malicious acts those persons committed without any thought of the consequences. Fundamentally this is the reason that the anti-Japanese education and propaganda of General Chiang Kai-shek have so successfully won the people of China.

To speak frankly, China selected Japan in resisting "foreign barbarians," because of its strongly impressed idea that Japan is culturally inferior to China. Chinese who are capable of reflection will realize that the Chinese people are not behind any other people in the world in being cruel to smaller and weaker races. But since the Opium War, they have not held the white races in contempt. They realized that they could not compete with the white races, and also felt a respect for them, feeling that even if they were beaten they could endure the white races, while they merely use the Japanese for the sake of convenience. They bow down to the Japanese, only because military strength is behind us. What they really feel is that it is provoking to be defeated by Japan. Japan's true intention as regards co-operation with China is now gradually being understood by a few enlightened persons in China but even those few are still in doubt as to whether Japan can really be trusted.

Japan today, at any rate, is facing the need of political, economic and military co-operation with the Chinese and other neighboring peoples. For this object many of us have to go and settle on the Continent. But living among the Chinese is not easy. One reason is that our habits and customs of daily life are so different from those of the Chinese. This question naturally leads to the historical uniqueness of Japanese culture.

We have heard and read much about the low quality nature and social training of Japanese residing in North, Central or South China. Dishonesty and egoism of small capitalists and



merchants operating in China are injuring the feeling of Chinese who are connected with their enterprises or trade. Chinese are convinced that the Japanese are unworthy of trust. After all their ambition is small. When they amass fifty or sixty thousand yen, they return home and lead a comfortable life. Of course, such persons have no knowledge whatever of Chinese culture, traditions, history or customs, neither do they have any respect for those things. As they only wish to make Chinese bait for profit, they naturally incur bad feeling. They have no self-respect and are the sort who will never command good reputation in Japan. Yet the fact is such, that more than any other kind of people, are going to China. Herein lies the importance of the question.

Fundamentally speaking, for men to gain culture and respect for the culture, faith and customs of other races, to strive for mutual friendship, and to create in others confidence and good-feeling, the prerequisite is the possession of reserve sufficient to provide them with food, housing and clothing. If those who cannot enjoy food, clothing and a comfortable home are told to be moral or observe etiquette, they would probably answer, "If we are of such good standing as to think of such things, we would never come to Mongolia at the risk of our lives." Yet when such persons have the good fortune to make money in China, in culture and character they remain just the same. Furthermore, remembering that in the past they were trodden down by the upperclass, their avaricious desires become greater in antipathy against those who were better favored. That is human nature.

Tales told by soldiers who were in China for a long period say that such adventures are not all bad. But the free atmosphere dulls their moral conscience, and leads them into evils. Again even though they are comparatively restrained in their own districts, they become quite different persons, the moment they step out of their home-country.

It is said that Peking has a magical atmosphere for demoralizing other races that conquer the city. This has been demonstrated more than once in the history of China. In a place where debts can go unpaid under brutal force, it is only to be expected that emigrants would forget all moral obligations, sympathy and etiquette, as a practical problem. Yet it is impossible for Japan to send only those who are morally and socially well trained.

For the same reason Chinese who visit Japan find the Japanese in Japan are quite different from those they meet in China. They found the Japanese in China very different from those in Japan. An intelligent Chinese in Central China said, "I recognize the necessity of real co-operation between Japan and China for maintaining the independence and peace of East Asia, but I do not wish to become friends with some Japanese in China." He also said that the Chinese people are used to devastations and miseries caused by war, which they accept as something unavoidable, but they cannot bear being cheated in business dealings or made victims of private injustice.

Of course, there are many good Japanese in China, who are exerting themselves to build up a Japan-China friendship and who are respected by Chinese.

When the President of the North China Railway Company met a certain Chinese, the latter said, "The Japanese people should aid the Chinese in the gaining of more profit. British and American businessmen take 70 per cent of the profits and give the Chinese 30 per cent. That sounds as though the Chinese share is very small, but the fact is that Chinese can do work that deserves only 30 per cent. But when business is done in co-operation with Japanese, the agreement is fifty-fifty, but the actual profit given the Chinese is much smaller than the 70-30 percentage given by Americans and British, because the scale of business is much smaller. Then, too, Japanese will not guarantee even that small share. Japanese should learn the American and British way of doing business, if the Japanese and Chinese are to be brought into closer and smoother co-operation."

Then, the Railway President replied: "Outwardly, the Americans and British way seems to be more profitable, but their method has grown out of crafty exploitation. They do not consider the future of China, and they try to win the heart of Chinese by the operation of huge capital. But it is quite different with Japan, which has not so much capital as America and England. The profit we give may be small, but it is given under the spirit of common existence and common prosperity, and with a responsibility in sharing the same fate in the end."

The Chinese, then, understood. This has to be well appreciated by the entire Chinese people. But it is also necessary for us to put

into practice what we promise. To give Chinese comparatively good profit for the crafty object of exploitation has no moral value. But is the intention of Japanese capitalists or businessmen higher in moral sense than those of Americans or British? If it is of the same exploitative nature, though somewhat lower in degree, it would be better for the Chinese to gain greater profit. The wickedness of the Western mind does not make Japan pure. Even if the Japanese are sincere in sharing the future with the Chinese, that does not permit Japanese to allot to Chinese according to their own convenience. We must show concretely our wish to give equal treatment as far as possible. When the Chinese come to truly trust this intention of ours, they will become our friends for hundreds of years to come.

The shallow preconception that the Chinese are a crafty race, always bargaining and calculating, has caused a serious gap between the two peoples. Their profit calculation is more far-reaching than ours, and they cannot be easily misled by profit in sight. If they know that trusting the Japanese is profitable, they will trust us to the end. But when we betray that trust, no more dealing is possible.

Those who understand the Chinese say that the Chinese are most bold and courageous. They will put out such a large sum of money that Japanese will hesitate to invest. This comes from their gambling instinct. If any Japanese swindles in such large sums as the Chinese put out willingly, what will become of the ideal of common prosperity in East Asia?

Thus training in social morality becomes important, for that has been one of the weak points of the Japanese. In this training both Westerners and Chinese are traditionally well advanced. It is of course mere morality and superfluous decency, consisting sometimes of hypocrisy. But what counts most in human intercourse is decency. The Japanese people, not having been in the stern struggle of international dealings, are children not knowing the value of social etiquette and manners. One may say that formality is meaningless, and sincerity is valuable, but it cannot be denied that ill-manners and discourtesy reveal a lack of culture.

There may be some reason for saying that there is neither shame nor reputation for one who fights for what he wants, even though he must go without food. But it will be to their

disadvantage to be sneered at by others. If they wish to be proud, they should become proud of their culture.

All faults of the Japanese are due to two causes. The first is the national poverty of a have-not country; the second is the special culture and unique customs that had been made so different from foreign cultures and manners during the isolation period of more than 200 years during the Tokugawa era.

There can be mentioned various similarities between the Japanese and Chinese. For instance, both use the same Chinese characters, the same kind of chopsticks, the same calendar based on the climatic seasons of the Yellow River region, and belief in Buddhism and Confucianism, and also observe similar annual events. Yet by nature the gap is wider than that existing between Chinese and Western peoples. The Japanese people had many opportunities to come in contact with other races in the early days, but later they closed their doors to that opportunity. This isolation led to the formulation of the pure Japanese culture, but at the same time, it made the people unable to understand the psychology or sentiment of other peoples. The strong attachment to traditional culture cannot be readily removed. The Japanese have no experience of having been invaded by other people, but they can be assimilated into other races. As a seafaring people, they possess an adventurous nature, but at the same time, because of the long cultural tradition and history, they have become a people who are most unfit for settling on the Continent.

Compared with the Japanese, Occidental peoples having a very cosmopolitan nature, because they have vied with one another in the past for many centuries, have the same cultural origin, have intermarried and had international associations, but even stronger than all this is the force of Christianity. Christianity possesses the strongest inspiring force of all religions. The activities of the Jesuits, for instance, greatly aided the colonization policy of Western countries. All governments utilized Christian missionaries, who went to any country, however remote, where they found their places of work and death. They had the ability to become acquainted with the new land and people. They followed the customs of the natives, and ate their food. Their adaptability was surprising. These foreigners gained successful results in

exploiting the natives, because they stayed at such places until their death, while the Japanese cannot.

Of course the unpreparedness, lack of skill and immaturity of the Japanese are due to the rapid changes that have been caused in the country since the Meiji Restoration. We are not at all used to international experiences, and when we have to deal with foreigners, we are lost just like children pushed into a grownups' company. In this regard, we are no equal for the Chinese. It was really since the Manchurian Incident that Japanese have come into the international life. Whenever new culture came to Japan from other countries, it was always at the moment of disturbance or unrest in the country. It was so at the time of Empress Regnant Suiko and of the Meiji Restoration. Therefore, the people had no time to examine the foreign cultures they were adopting. Some became worshippers of foreign countries while others were nationalists and attacked the foreigners. Yet in 10 or 20 years out of this confusion came order and progress.

Today Japan is passing through a transit period on the way to a new world order. Only a few years have passed since the Manchurian Incident, but the people have shown a remarkable progress in the training for international life. Lafcadio Hearn said that individually the Japanese seem to be small, but as a race they have a great future. Those who view Japan politically, particularly with the old world conception, are generally pessimistic. But those who realize the world mission of Japanese culture are holding a view that Japan's destiny will not end here.

The Japanese race is a strange composite of many different races, and in one sense is an old-man who has already passed the decaying period of culture that once prospered, while in another sense it is a boy who was reborn at the Meiji Restoration. The aged, anxious, wrinkled old face and the young, bright face appears alternately. In thought, too, the two conflict. The next generation or the generation after will be a new Japan quite different from the present.

The advance of Japanese culture to foreign countries cannot be stopped, but it will be affected by international features that it will naturally adopt. The outstanding feature of the nationality of the people is sincerity and

straightforwardness, and Japanese culture is also born in that characteristic. Japan is today a new boy. How far can he progress in the world tournament against the experienced grown-ups?

It depends on the training for advancement of the people's character. To advance their character is a task that will take a hundred years. While the people's character is low, it is impossible to expect the advance of national strength or the progress of culture. At the same time, the advance of national strength cannot be expected, when the progress of culture is disregarded.

The Japanese seem to be somewhat tired after the long, hard training, but that is unavoidable. It is necessary to recover from that fatigue, and to save the very life from the effects of this fatigue. Culture must become one with the racial life, in order to prevent the fate that befell France. The common sense, practical nature of the Japanese, I expect, will be the safety valve for preventing such a catastrophe. True civilization must save the country from the fate of too much civilization for the people. In this time of emergency, the Government authorities must give consideration not to allow the people to become tired, as tired people are in danger of becoming despondent, losing their health and lowering their standards. To prevent such possibilities is the urgent task of politics and culture.

### Dual Authority

Expressing the opinion that China cannot be regarded as divided into a "Free China" under the Chungking regime and the occupied territories under the National Government, the "Kuo Min Hsin Wen" wrote in an editorial that the Peace workers are endeavoring to change the the occupied areas into the free territories gradually. But the stumbling-block to the efforts for the attainment of complete peace is the existence of dual authority of the National and Japanese Military Force in China, states the Journal. Scientifically, no two things can occupy the same space at the same time.

The daily in conclusion says that the problem of the dual authority which exists in the present transitional stage must be settled before peace may be restored in various areas and the peaceful territories placed under a unified control in order to secure peace on a nation-wide scale.



## America Feels Imminent Danger Of Direct Attack by Axis Powers

### Failure of American War Material Shipments to Reach England

### Germany Has No Territorial Aspirations in Western Hemisphere

The United States of America and its President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, have claimed for themselves lately a large portion of the world's attention. The climax came with the President's "fire side" talk which was delivered on May 27, after several postponements for which no reasons were given. This climax was followed by a distinct anti-climax which caused disappointment and bewilderment as it raised the question in the minds of many—what does America intend to do?

For many weeks members of Mr. Roosevelt's cabinet, Senators, Representatives and other more or less qualified Americans have filled the ether or the columns of the Press with declarations and statements brim full with promises, enticements, threats or invectives, depending on whom they were addressed to. From these the following points, having been repeated most frequently, seem to represent the essence of what Roosevelt-America thinks, feels and wants to do.

(1) The allegedly imminent danger of a direct attack by the Axis Powers, following the collapse of British resistance, calls for the proclamation of an unlimited national emergency in the United States. (2) The deliveries of war material to England under the "Lend and Lease" Bill must be given adequate protection to assure their safe arrival. (3) The United States, having been declared the "Arsenal of the Democracies" must, in ever increasing measure, supply the victims of aggression, wherever they may be, with the essential means for the successful continuation of their struggle for freedom, and (4) The people of the United States must realize that their President's program calls for very substantial sacrifices on their part which they, however, must make cheerfully, as otherwise the "American way of life" will succumb to the concerted attack of America's many and powerful enemies.

It can surprise no one who has observed and understood the methodical campaign of molding public opinion in America by the Washington Administration to make it accept the latter's interventionist policy, that the American political leaders are prepared to go any length in their assertions, no matter how fantastic and easily refutable they are.

It has been stated time and again that an attack on the Western Hemisphere and, therefore, a threat to the "American way of life" has never been intended by the Axis Powers and that such an attack lies far beyond that is practicable and realizeable.

Mr. Roosevelt and his henchmen have declared that the *failure of American war material shipments* reaching England indicated that the United States had been deprived of the freedom of the sea and that, therefore, the United States Government would not only be justified but compelled to take any measure that would retribute that "freedom". But what does "freedom of the sea" actually mean to Washington?—nothing but domination of the sea by America!

Having pledged his word in his election campaign to keep the American people out of war and having, even today, the majority of public opinion against a direct intervention, Mr. Roosevelt had to resort to proclaiming a national emergency, in order to have a free hand in putting the country on a war footing. The statements made by the Fuehrer and Grand Admiral Raeder have left no doubt as to how far Germany is at all inclined to tolerate the war-inciting and hate-provoking activities of the United States Government. No person of only average intelligence and free from malice can still maintain that Germany has *any aspirations* in the Western Hemisphere and is threatening or will threaten its freedom and independence.

Germany has always respected the Monroe Doctrine and asks no more of the United States in return than abstention from interference outside the Western Hemisphere, especially in the European Continent.

The memory of the disastrous effect of American attempts to settle the affairs of Europe after the World War is fresh. Having been betrayed once, the people of Europe have lost all faith in promises emanating from across the Atlantic. How little, if anything, is left of the four essential "freedoms" in America, supposedly the home of these ideals, which Mr. Roosevelt promises to establish in Europe with the help of the whole weight of American material wealth, can be judged by the public defamation to which dissenting American patriots are subjected and by the suppression of labor demands with the help of the nation's armed forces.

The foreign policy of Mr. Roosevelt has been characterized so far by a crudeness and amateurishness that has never been surpassed. The catastrophic effect that this policy will have on the life and liberty of American, is a matter which concerns the American people alone. The world outside the United States, however, cannot be expected to accept the manifestations of American imperialism meekly and unprotesting. Germany has set out to give the Continent of Europe peace, security and justice as she and the other people of Europe peace, security and justice as she and the other people of Europe conceive them. Europe has never asked for and will never accept either American counsel or American help, least of all will Europe be impressed by the bluster and froth of irresponsible American politicians.

And now the Administration in Washington is trying to deceive the world about the real productive capacity of America's armament industry and economy in general by indulging in a sort of political poker game (according to Walter Duranty this is an American national game). Not only has the United States failed, so far, to come anywhere near the British expectations for the supply of war material but it has also been unable to maintain domestically the normal standard of living of its citizens.

Labor trouble and all sorts of production and supply "bottlenecks" have prevented the armament industry from living up to the deliveries which were so vocally promised. The

entire shipbuilding industry, even in combination with that of Great Britain, will not be able to replace more than 50%, at the most, of the tonnage sunk. The announcement of the construction of 200 new freighters which has been fully exploited by propaganda, has been followed by the revelation, little known to the general public, that the completion of this program cannot be expected before the end of 1942, at best. Not before the end of the current year, will the first of these ships be ready for launching.

Two commodities most intimately linked up with the every-day life of all Americans are already getting scarce milk and automobile fuel. Rubber, tin, aluminium and others will shortly be added to this list. Wheat, maize and cotton prices have advanced 23%—28%, while the price of lard has risen as much as 50% because of large sales to England. The burdens that are in store for the American taxpayer can only be guessed. So far 30 billion dollars have been allotted to rearmament and the operation of the "Lease and Lend" Bill. These are just a few items, picked out at random, which show how much America has already done, how much has had to leave undone and what effect Mr. Roosevelt's policy is bound to have, in an ever increasing measure as time goes on, on the life of the American people.

### For Nippon-China Amity

Takako Yamagishi, 35, who has rendered great service in Shanghai during the past two and a half years for the promotion of friendly relations between Nippon and China, returned to Nippon on May 20 and recently obtained a donation of Yen 300,000 to be used for the development of her newly-purchased 10,000-tsubo farm at Pootung, Shanghai, from a certain business leader in Tokyo.

Miss Yamagishi, who is the elder sister of 2nd Lieut. Hiroshi Yamagishi, who figured in the May 15 incident, is called "Madam Yang Chia-hsiang" by the Chinese. She is the chairman of the Chinese Women's Co-operation Association which she established.

Miss Yamagishi also established the factory which manufactures woolen goods and various kinds of embroidered articles. She is the founder as well as the instructor of the primary school and the Nippon language school for Chinese of all ages from 3 to 60 attached to the factory.

## "DEFEAT IS BITTER!" – CHURCHILL

### Brunt of Fighting Has Fallen Heavily on Anzac Troops

If words could win wars, the Axis Powers would have been doomed the day Mr. Winston Churchill assumed office as Prime Minister of Great Britain, for here is undoubtedly the greatest living exponent of English rhetoric. Beside Mr. Churchill, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt is a mere novice in the art of speech-making, and the United States President is considered quite a speaker.

We are filled with admiration over the adroitness with which Mr. Churchill handled a very delicate situation in the House of Commons when the Prime Minister made his first public statement since the latest British debacle on the island of Crete. Mr. Churchill parried criticism, he glossed over losses, and he stuffed his audience so full of words that the M.P.'s practically forgot what they had come to hear or to say. As it was, no one had a chance to get a word in edgewise.

#### Loss of Crete

The Prime Minister blamed the loss of Crete on insufficient anti-aircraft artillery, inadequate aerial strength and lack of mechanized equipment. He stressed the overwhelming superiority of German equipment, and spoke so lengthily on the subject of German strength that when he was through, the House was glad that inadequate measures had been taken for the defense of Crete, which Mr. Churchill previously had announced would be "held to the death". Parliament was grateful for the loss of Crete, because holding Crete might have meant losing the British Isles. Mr. Churchill, in effect, scared the criticism out of Parliament with his recital of German strength, and the House was happy that British soldiers and British planes had been kept at home to protect Englishmen, while Australians and New Zealanders were privileged to go out and die without the benefits of adequate aerial, naval and anti-aircraft protection.

The Prime Minister did not touch on his previous statement that Crete would be defended to the death. It was not necessary after German power had been instilled. So another crisis has been averted, and Mr. Churchill's Cabinet may continue losing the war for Britain.

"Defeat", said Mr. Churchill, "is bitter. But to explain defeat is more bitter. There is no use in trying to explain defeat. Some people do not like defeat and do not like explanations however plausible or elaborate. The only answer to defeat is victory. If the Government in wartime gives the impression that it cannot in the long run procure victory, who cares for explanations? It ought to go; that is, if you are quite sure you can find another which can do better".

And having said that, Mr. Churchill contentedly sat back in his chair of office. He was quite sure that no one could lose a war better than he.

But the Prime Minister could not easily avoid the question that has been raised in Australia and New Zealand in regard to the dispatch of Anzac troops to all the most dangerous fronts without adequate support; and in his "frank and open" manner, he replied to criticism.

"One thing I regret very much", he said, "is that the brunt of this fighting in the Middle East should have fallen so heavily on the splendid Australian and New Zealand troops. Mr. Churchill may have regretted that, but it certainly is not deterring him from continuing to place the brunt of the fighting on Anzac soldiers.

However, the Prime Minister assured his audience that since the beginning of this year there actually have been "almost as many British as there are Australian and New Zealand troops engaged in all operations in the Western Desert, in Greece and in Crete".

"Almost" is not quite equal; and Mr. Churchill cautiously refrained from making any comparison between the population of the British Isles and the combined population of Australia and New Zealand. Since Britain's population is about eight times that of the Anzac Dominions, even an equal number of British soldiers in the field would have represented one eighth of the Anzac effort. ("N.E.")



## " Britain Has Got to Go On! "

### Food from U.S.A. Urgently Needed

"Britain has got to go on," said Lord Woolton, "and for that, we must have healthy people to carry on."

Britain's ambitious program to starve the people of Germany into submission has proved a very disastrous boomerang; and instead of the German people going hungry, the British find themselves in the humiliating position of having to beg not only for arms, but for food as well. As usual, the United States is expected to make up for England's shortage; and in a direct appeal to American women and families, Lord Woolton, Minister for Food, last week urged American women and families to cut down their consumption of milk and cream — perhaps through a "creamless day" each week — so that British children can keep healthy.

With typical British indifference to sacrifices on the part of other people, Lord Woolton has asked the American people to contribute still further to England's lost cause. Only a few days before Lord Woolton made this appeal to America, President Roosevelt's National Nutrition Committee had reported that forty five million Americans were undernourished — that 40 per cent of the nation's families was on "a slow starvation diet."

We do not know whether the British Food Minister was aware of this deficiency in the United States, but even if he were, it probably would have made no difference. It is customary for the British to ask others to make heavy sacrifices for the sake of Britain; and they do not hesitate to ask for further sacrifices when England's welfare demands it.

Lord Woolton also revealed that eggs, dried fruits, canned salmon, canned meats, cheese and sugar were other items of which the British were in urgent need; and he apparently expects the United States to provide that too. There is nothing the British do not expect Americans to do to save the Empire.

#### The Lend-Lease Bill

Mr. Charles A. Lindbergh, famous American flier and leading isolationist, last week warned the American people about Britain's intentions. He pointed out that Britain's policy

has followed a set pattern. He told an audience in Philadelphia that Britain first had said: "Sell us arms, and we shall win." President Roosevelt responded, and amended the Neutrality Act to enable America to sell munitions to Britain. Then the Britain said: "Lend us arms, and we shall win." Again the United States Government responded generously with the Lend-Lease Bill. But that was not enough, so the British said: "Bring us arms, and we shall win." Whether or not Washington will chance that remains to be seen. However, Mr. Lindbergh warned his audience that the next appeal would be: "Fight for us, and we shall win." That is the outline of Britain's policy; and to the appeals listed above might be added: "Feed us, and we shall win."

How far the Roosevelt Administration will go in response to Britain's unending stream of appeals is uncertain. As we pointed out a few days ago, Mr. Roosevelt's fireside chat was not informative and did not commit him to any definite course of action. The speech was primarily intended for home consumption and to test reaction in the United States. Apparently the reaction has not been very favorable. One of the Administration's spokesmen, Senator Claude Pepper, suggested that the Senate declare a vote of confidence in the President. Other Administration leaders, sounding out the feeling of Congress, decided not to risk it, fearful lest too much opposition would reveal the lack of popular support for the President's announced policy.

This may be a straw in the wind; but it indicates, nevertheless, that Mr. Roosevelt is not entirely sure of his ground; and war is an exceedingly risky proposition unless a nation is completely and unanimously behind those who call for war. England is not likely to obtain much additional help from the United States for some time to come. The Administration requires more time to build up sentiment for war. Meanwhile, however, it is not unlikely that the 45,000,000 undernourished Americans will have their ranks swelled as the Government puts into effect the machinery to further starve Americans for the glory of the British Empire.

## Forty Per Cent of American Families on "Slow Starvation Diet"

### U.S. National Nutrition Committee's Findings

"President Roosevelt's National Nutrition Committee," said this United Press cable, "recommended immediate action to improve the health of 45,000,000 undernourished Americans necessary for total defense. *The Committee said that 40 per cent of the nation's families were on a 'slow starvation diet'.*"

A United Press dispatch from Washington, dated May 27, is of more than passing interest. It gives an interesting sidelight on conditions in the United States, the richest nation in the world, whose generosity toward Britain is nothing short of prodigal, and whose government is more concerned with the welfare of England than the people of America.

The story is brief, but it tells volumes. A Government which has billions to lavish on Britain permits 40 per cent of the American people to go hungry. A Government which will pay farmers to plough under their crops and slaughter their pigs in order to keep prices up, has given no thought to the hungry millions of the underprivileged.

#### Dictatorial Powers

But not that the time has come for all good Americans to go to the aid of Britain, Mr. Roosevelt's government is preparing to fatten the people for slaughter. After going hungry for years, forty five million Americans will be fed by their Government, because they are needed for cannon fodder. It is a sad corollary to the workings of Mr. Roosevelt's one-man democracy. One wonders whether these forty five million Americans would prefer to continue on their "slow starvation diet" rather than to be fattened for the kill; but apparently they will be given no choice in the matter. Now that the President has proclaimed a state of unlimited emergency and has assumed dictatorial powers, these hungry hordes probably will have to eat whether they like it or not, or face prosecution for sabotage.

Those millions of Americans who watched with hungry stomachs while countless tons of food were burned ploughed and under, who looked on idly and uncomprehendingly while their Government gave to Britain billions of dollars than could have insured them from hunger for decades to come, must find their gratitude for food touched by more than a measure of bitterness and irony when they realize that they are finally being looked after only because they are needed to aid Britain's cause.

#### U. S. New Conscript Army

An article appearing in a recent issue of the American magazine *Collier's Weekly* also contained some interesting facts. In a survey on the state of health of America's new conscript army, the magazine revealed that more than 60 per cent of the conscripts were undernourished, and thrived on camp fare because they could not afford meat more than once a week in civilian life. The article explained this high percentage of under-nourished youths by pointing out that most of the conscripts were taken out of the poorer walks of life. These men were often unemployed; and even when they did find employment, they were engaged in jobs non-essential to national defense production, and hence were not entitled to exemption or deferment.

A good part of the American people, it seems, were therefore on a peace-time system of food-rationing, not because there was no food to buy, but because they had no money with which to buy it. Their government, though, had billions to give away to England.

But there will be no more starvation in the United States, because England needs men . . . and probably women and children too. And realizing England's need for American toil, sweat and tears, President Roosevelt is finally feeding the American people, so that when the call comes he may present to England, healthy young Americans to serve the Empire's cause.

## The Decline and Fall of the British Empire

By Robert Briffault

(Continued from last issue)

(CHAPTER SEVEN, continued)

England and Europe

### England's Horror for "Ideas"

And yet — such are the paradoxes presented by every national policy—in apparent, contradiction with the "practical" character of English foreign policy, its repudiation of general principles is overridden, and frequently vitiated to its own detriment, by a general principle.

England's circuitous efforts to undermine and weaken the power of Bourbon France were a contributing factor in bringing about what she regarded as a far more serious danger. The French Revolution appeared at the time as the major social cataclysm of history. The French bourgeoisie, who during the very period of England's overseas expansion at their expense had conceived an enthusiastic admiration for the political institutions which had developed in England, were moved to adopt them as the pattern of their political ideals. The declared aim of the French revolutionists, as of most of their successors in nineteenth-century liberal revolutionary movements, and more recently Spain, was to establish a monarchical constitution "after the English model." Such a purpose filled the English ruling classes with a horror and panic fear which their French admirers found it difficult to understand. England is usually not understood by foreigners. The simple French liberals did not apprehend the fact that the development of English institutions was the practical result of conflicts of interests in specific circumstances, and had nothing to do with theoretical principles or abstract ideals. They could not conceive that England's representative government was not in the least representative; that England was governed by a ruling class more tenaciously jealous of its powers and privileges than any Bourbon. All that they could perceive, viewing things as was their habit from a theoretical point of view, was that in England alone of all countries, the power of the king was limited by restrictions imposed mainly through parliamentary assemblies. When, with the help of England, the Bourbon King, the

Austrian Queen, and the aristocracy strove to resist by force and foreign invasion the establishment of an English constitution in France, the revolutionists were compelled, thanks to England, to give up the idea and to turn their thoughts instead to republican conceptions.

### English Liberties "Practical"

What the French liberals, and what modern Americans who marvel at the English horror of republics, fail to understand is that English liberties are "practical," and not theoretical. The vague and elastic term "practical" is one of those euphemisms of which the English language is largely made up. In English politics the term "practical" has reference to due consideration for the concrete and immediate pecuniary interests of the ruling classes. The converse notion is expressed in English by the term "ideas." Protection against "ideas" is obtained in the scheme of English culture by the achievement of a detached, impartial, judicial attitude, free from bias, and the balanced judgment which is commonly associated with mental vacuity. That impressive intellectual attitude robs "ideas," which are *ex hypothesi* of little "practical" importance, of their dangerous character. Their high reputation for judicial balance and disinterested impartiality leads English governments to be ever ready to proffer advice and services to arbitrate in disputes between foreign nations, devising "practical" solutions to their difficulties, that is, solutions wholly in accordance with English interests.

To bear those fundamental conceptions in mind is necessary in order to understand the frenzied horror and panic which seized the English ruling classes on the outbreak of the French liberal proposal to establish an English constitution. It was even greater, for it was the first major shock which the English mind sustained from "ideas," than the horrified feelings aroused in our own time by the Russian Revolution. The Jacobins, like the Bolsheviks, menaced the English, whose intellectual and



social purity had been so judiciously preserved, with wholesale infection from a pestilent flood of the most virulent "ideas." Not only had the foreigners totally misconceived the nature of the English constitution, but "French ideas," as they were called, threatened to convert the perfectly safe and practical compromises of English "liberties" into theoretical principles—specific "liberties" being in danger of becoming transformed into an ideal of "liberty." With a sure instinct, the rulers of England perceived then as now that there is no telling to what depths the mind can sink once it has been started on the slippery path of "ideas." "What are called liberal ideas," it was pointed out in the House of Commons, "paves the way to Jacobinism and Anarchy." If commoners revolt against the authority of a divine throne and a privileged ruling class, what is to prevent the servile masses from applying the same subversive ideas to the privileges of the propertied commoners? Once introduce logical ideas into politics and the whole fabric of the social order, civilization itself, may sink into the mire, to be "trampled under the hoof of the swinish multitude."

#### Effect of French Revolution

We now know that the panic of the English ruling classes grossly exaggerated the danger. It always does. The English rulers' fear of seeing the guillotine set up in Westminster was somewhat hysterical and native. Their fear of the logic of ideas was nevertheless broadly justified. The French Revolution was an important factor in giving rise to the English revolution which compelled the aristocratic ruling classes to share political power with the commoners. And although "practical" England succeeded in bringing back a Bourbon king to Paris, she did not, and could not, perform the impossible task of arresting the logic of "ideas." Revolution broke out again and again ever after. England, which rose to unmatched power on the crest of the liberal revolutionary wave against which she struggled, was fated to live throughout her brilliant career under the perpetual menace of the dangerous ebullition of ideas, until today, at the close of her career, she finds herself still engaged in fighting social revolution grown to far more dangerous strength and maturity.

The simple, direct, "practical" aims of English foreign policy—the promotion of the interests of English property—thus became complicated by another purpose, directly connected, it is true, with the primary purposes of

all national policy, but generalized and theoretical in its scope instead of being particular and concrete. By a poetic paradox English policy, characterized by its "practical" outlook and its intuitive horror of theoretical generalizations, became itself fundamentally influenced by a generalized theoretical principle. Not only had the English people to be protected against ideas which might hold dangers subversive of the established order, but that danger was to be combated in whatever quarter of the world it might arise. England became not merely the model of liberal institutions, but also the consistent supporter and promoter of all reactionary tendencies and forces wherever a disposition to establish such liberal institutions might appear.

#### England Helped Put Down Liberalism

After organizing and financing every force of absolutism and reaction against the French Revolution, after her long struggle against the military dictatorship which began as an armed diffusion of "French ideas," and despite its later transformation, was instrumental in that diffusion and in shaking, as never before, every throne and established power in Europe, England, as the influential inspirer of the Congress of Vienna and the Holy Alliance, helped to put down liberalism in every quarter. The heroic Nelson had crushed the liberals in Naples by a reign of terror, massacred the intellectual leaders, hanged his old friend and companion in arms, Admiral Caracciolo, to the mainyard of his flagship, while the English national hero rowed round the picturesque gulf in the company of Lady Hamilton, to the sound of mandolins and amid the floating corpses of his victims. England afforded the French and Spanish Bourbons every assistance while they smothered in like manner liberalism in France and in Spain. When the turn came for Greece to cast off the Turkish yoke and establish a constitutional government, a romantic enthusiasm was inspired in England by classical school memories, and Byron enrolled volunteers to help Greece fight for freedom. But the liberal government of Canning adopted a policy of rigorous "nonintervention," which obstinately defied public sentiment and was characterized by Lord Erskine as "lowering to the country, a disgrace to Christianity, and a discredit to mankind." The English government argued that the integrity of Turkey must be maintained as a safeguard against Russia, and, offering to arbitrate between the contending parties, secured the suzerainty of Turkey over Greece. England

organized an international naval control to maintain "nonintervention," and it was only through an accident, and in disregard of the orders of the dismayed British government, that the battle of Navarino took place and the Turkish fleet was sunk. The British government apologized to Turkey for the "untoward event," and the British naval contingent was ordered to withdraw. After Greece had obstinately fought for two years for her independence, despite England's efforts to stop her, the "noninterventionist" British government intervened in the final settlement to deprive Greece of the fruits of her victory by securing the richest province, Thessaly, for Turkey.

#### England's Support of Oppressors

Obvious "practical" considerations determined a more liberal attitude towards Belgium's struggle for independence and secured Belgian "neutrality" under English guarantees. But while the liberal Palmerston had a great deal to say about the support of liberalism and the defense of small nations when English practical interests at Antwerp and on the Belgian coast were at stake, he severely abided by the policy of "nonintervention" when Italy, under the leadership of Mazzini and Garibaldi, struggled against foreign rule, and when reaction gained the upper hand and the Italian fight for freedom was slowly crushed, the British government remained a "passive spectator." Lord Derby arranged to sell Italy to Austria and to put down the liberals. He strove to break up the alliance of France with Savoy, and to prevent the expulsion of the Austrians and the unification of Italy. It was only alarm at Louis Napoleon's schemes of French influence in Italy which led, in the final stages of the struggle, to a relaxation of England's support of the oppressors. The expression of popular Platonic sympathy with Italian liberation was permitted, and Garibaldi was feted in London. But when the Italian popular hero clumsily declared at a public banquet that he was "the friend of the working classes in every nation," he was immediately and mysteriously whisked out of the country.

The first, and only, occasion when truly cordial relations of sympathy became established between England and France was when the adventurer, Louis Napoleon, provided with English money, overthrew the republic by a particularly bloody and treacherous Putsch, and established by terrorism a regime of repression

which would today be termed Bolshevik. England's hearty friendship for the "savior of society," only cooled off towards the end of his spell of power when growing forces of opposition and indignation induced him to seek safety in the semblance of liberal reforms. England's lively sympathy towards the French adventure did not prevent her from assisting the development of Prussian power, which she had consolidated at the Congress of Vienna by forcing upon Saxony Anschluss with Prussia. She supported Germany against Austria and Schleswig-Holstein, and Queen Victoria declared that "any encouragement to Denmark would be fatal." Immediately after Sedan there was a considerable movement among English liberals to afford active assistance for the defence of the French republic, and it was pointed out that the hegemony of German militarism might become a danger to England. The plan was more seriously contemplated by Gladstone, then Prime Minister, than is revealed history. Had that intention been followed up, the war of 1914-1918 would, in all probability, not have taken place. But the Tories resolutely opposed such contemplated action, and Queen Victoria said that, were any step taken in the direction of assisting the French republic against Germany she would abdicate.

(To be continued)

#### Recreation Ground to be Laid Out in Capital

Preparations for laying out a recreation ground in the Capital are now being carried out rapidly by the China Athletic Association with the assistance of the government authorities. This new recreation ground will serve as a suitable place for various kinds of athletic activities for the citizens in the Capital. The construction work is expected to commence very soon when the required funds are obtained.

#### Fight to Finish

The Labor Party voted 2,430,000 against 19,000 to fight the war to a finish, after Major Clement R. Attlee, Lord Privy Seal, told the party conference that the British Government unanimously opposed a negotiated peace.

Laborite Shinwell, addressing the conference, said: "Unless we speedily repair our vessels damaged by enemy action and replace those lost, I doubt whether victory is within sight."

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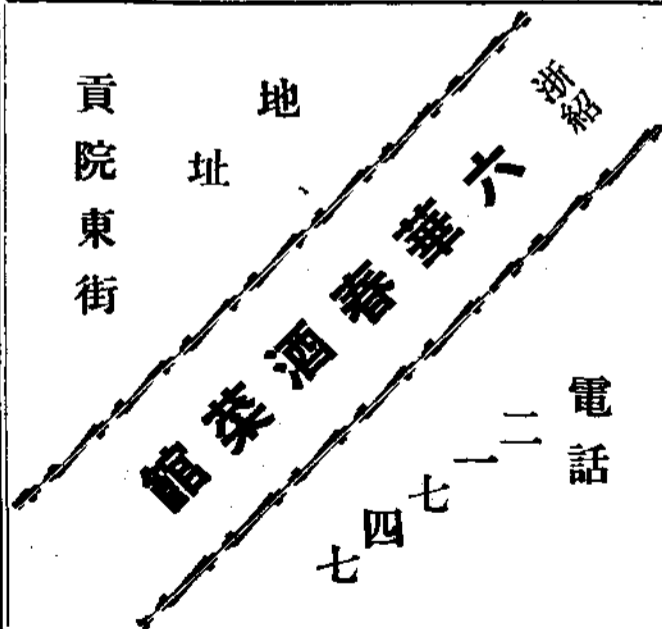
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署即切實執行，故所有大小賭博，均已嚴加取締，而僅存之六國等賭場，亦統限於即日關閉，均已見諸事實，具有三年歷史之滬西賭風，至此方告肅清，此點特警總署固已煞費力量，但蒙各方面之協助，殊為感激，今後對於轄境內之治安等設施，自當更予推進，務使中外市民，安居樂業云，特警總署總署長為明瞭各賭場，是否實行一律關閉，乃於卅一日晚，偕同副總署長克里沙等，親往各賭場四週巡查，見各賭場確已關閉，方始返署，中央社記者亦曾前往六國華僑聯僑等賭場視察，見各賭場均已拉上鐵門，門口冷落，已非往日車水馬龍之情形。

### 在漢被捕藍衣份子効忠和運

上月十九日，本市警察局在漢口俱樂部捕獲之藍衣社重要份子何錦軒等六人，經該局一再審訊結果，供稱其計劃暗殺之對象，為湘鄂贛三省財委會主任委員石星川，社運指導委員會湖北省分會主任委員方煥如，武漢統稅總局長劉丹忱，因渠等防範周密，致未得手，現該犯等，經警局施以感化，自知抗戰政策錯誤，願投身和平運動，以為國家民族效力，本市警察當局，並將破獲本案經過及審訊情形，備文送呈市府當局，依照該局所頒布之工作人員獎懲條例，請市府當局獎賞此次破獲案件之工作人員。

### 蘇北耆紳擁護和建國策

蘇北耆紳陳春等，頃上電 汪主席致敬，表示擁護國策，原電如下：「南京國民政府汪主席鈞鑒，竊維共和締造開四千年民族之光榮，禍亂相尋，困億萬兆生靈浩劫，慨自軍興數載，難及萬方，火熱水深，民窮國破，長此不已，後患何堪，惟我鈞座，望隆中外，學貫古今，痛切時艱，知相持之失計，毅然變法，謀全面之和平，德薄懷柔，化干戈為玉帛，恩同遐邇，躋黎庶於春台，先總理大亞細亞主義，從茲實現，數千年文明華胄之古國，賴比復興，景仰雲霓，歡騰草野，蘇北為滬甯之邊圍，實淮海之名區，富庶殷繁，幅員廣袤，自

總司令李長江氏，註節斯士，愛民猶子，常敷肉骨之仁，疾惡如仇，困致鯨鯢之戮，縱橫戎馬，師武穆以治軍，撫輯羣氓，似文忠之濟物，天生李晟，以衛社稷，民歌召子，永意甘棠，運籌則策決機宜，剿匪則身先士卒，以故有戰必克，無役不從，義旗所指，妖瘴潛消，且也慈善為懷，不惜麥舟之贈，痾瘵在抱，常分鶴俸之廩，一路福星，萬家生佛，頌聲載道，羣欽大樹之助名食德無涯，竊願陽春之永駐，乃者和平易職，闔閭無驚，元氣保存，頓免摧殘之危，生靈無恙，竟消塗炭之憂，感德酬功，近故無匹，此固鈞座德威所感召，要亦蘇北民衆之大幸也，雁南等，望治心殷，匡時力乏，國慶得人，邦多君子，惟有竭盡愚誠，擁護國策，努力更生，願盡匹夫之責，廣施化雨，欣看改善民生，謹電致敬，虔叩 鈞安，蘇北民衆代表陳春，張雁南，顧天官等叩冬。

### 中儲蘇支行即日開幕成立

中央儲備銀行南京總行，以蕪湖為皖南重鎮，輔翊京畿，市面復興，工商奮幸之區，有添設支行之必要，爰派劉濬為蕪湖籌備專員，開劉專員於月前來蕪後，即積極從事，勘覓行址，茲已勘定中二街，中央分社東隔壁為行址，即日鳩工，加以修葺，俟工竣后，再行定期，正式開幕云。

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編輯人 甘德雲  
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還都以來，對我之友好善意，更謀兩國親善關係之增進外，並就兩國間各種協力問題，與友邦當局交換意見，預定十六日在神戶登陸，十七日晨抵達東京，十八日以元首資格，拜會日本天皇，十九日以後，以行政院長資格，與內閣總理，外務，陸軍，海軍，大藏各大臣會談。

主席此次訪日，隨行者有行政院周副院長佛海，外交部徐部長良，宣傳部林部長柏生，全國經濟委員會陳秘書長君慧，外部周次長陸庠，行政院秘書長常燕，中央醫院院長羅廣霖，財部參事彭盛木，總務司長楊惺華，外交部秘書王懷份，亞洲司長薛逢元，專員汪錦之，王思貴，宣傳部參事鍾任壽等十餘人。

### 汪主席對全國宣傳會議所頒

#### 「宣傳工作人員訓練條」

- (一) 認識建國，必須以一個主義為中心思想，以一個中心勢力為最高領導。
- (二) 認識三民主義，係根據人類進文之歷史律例，與融合近代科學智識結構而成的革命原則，惟有三民主義始能包含各派社會思想之優點，而免除其謬誤。
- (三) 認識三民主義中之民族主義，係以大亞洲主義為重要內容，中國之獨立自由，與東亞之永久和平為不可分，而世界之永久和平亦必於此求得其基礎。
- (四) 認識三民主義中之民權主義，於歐美歷來之民治制度，及最近民生之極權制度，均已極其精華防其流弊，尤為中國今後政治制度不易之方針。
- (五) 認識三民主義中之民生主義，為使中國脫離次殖民地地位，及消弭馬克斯共產主義流毒之最良方藥。
- (六) 認識和平反共建國主張，為當前救國救民的唯一南轅，和平反共建國之途徑，是于和平中謀建設，決非於和平中圖苟安。
- (七) 認識東亞聯盟四大綱領，政治獨立，軍事同盟，經濟合作，文

化溝通，為東亞民族共同生存共同發達之基本原則。

- (八) 要有誠明堅毅的精神。
- (九) 要說老實話，負責任。
- (十) 要有犧牲的決心，遇變不亂，臨難不苟。
- (十一) 要深入民衆，做領導的工作及推動的工作。
- (十二) 要以條理的宣傳，代替空洞的煽動。

中華民國三十年六月一日 汪兆銘

### 滬西賭場封閉情形

中外矚目之滬西禁賭問題，現經滬西特警總署署長潘達氏，切實執行當局訓令，業經將各種賭博，嚴加取締，雖僅存之六國等較大之賭場，卅一日起，亦一律限令關閉，至此滬西賭風已告完全肅清，茲將各情分誌如后：

警政部電令 滬市滬西特警總署署長鑒，頃奉行政院行字第二一〇五號訓令開，查滬西禁賭，載在協定，應即實行，仰該部迅即辦理，具報等因，奉此，陳呈復并電滬市警察局知照外，亟電仰遵照迅辦具報，警政部長李。

滬市府訓令 查滬西特警總署組織章則，經正式簽訂，內有特別附訂一次，即滬西特警總署組織成立，執行職務時，遵守中華民國之法律，境內不容有不正當營業，如賭博與販賣及供人吸食鴉片毒品等之存在，又在滬西特警總署成立時，同時對於一切不正當營業，先行勒令停止，如將來企圖復設者，應即取締，現在該總署已告成立，所有管轄區域內之不正當營業，應即遵照章則內特別限訂條文，即日勒令停止，即使將來企圖復設，亦應嚴加取締，合行令飭該總署長，即便遵照辦理，情形詳細具報此令。

總署長談話 卅一日往訪滬西特警總署潘達氏，叩以禁賭經過，據稱，特警總署成立後，本人為尊重協定，對於禁絕滬西賭博，即抱最大決心，同時陳市長，警政部長李部長，對於禁絕一切不正當營業，尤為關注，三令五申，訓令特警署遵照辦理，此項訓令抵滬後，特警



裁政權共產主義與侵略主義的貓爪下，解放出來，撕破抗日排日的面幕，恢復其純潔本質，用之於建設獨立自由的新中國，用之於建設共存共榮的新東亞。

第四，我們要打倒個人獨裁的政治，國父主張訓政，主張民主集權，主張以黨治國，這是由軍政到憲政必經的階段，是以主義治國，不是階級治國，不是黨人治國，尤其不是以個人獨裁的治國，然而自從前年期國民革命打倒了軍閥之後，新軍閥承襲舊軍閥的衣鉢，逐漸走上了個人獨裁的路，在個人獨裁之下，只有以人治黨，以人治軍，以軍治黨，以軍治國，結果便是以個人獨裁治國，黨早已不放在他的眼裏，更無所謂黨義與黨治了，在個人獨裁之下，只有一個獨夫，剛復自用，暴戾恣肆，陽假集權之名，陰行獨裁之實，人民早已不放在他的眼裏，更無所謂民主了，十餘年來，國內戰事，綿綿不絕，對外戰爭，繼之而起，原因雖多，而窮其究極，不能不說是拜獨裁之賜，誅鋤異論，是獨裁者之所為，壓迫民衆，是獨裁者之所為，豔電以後，奉承英美，惟恐不備，究忍共匪，惟恐不周，防範非嫡系軍隊，惟恐不嚴，殺和運同志，惟恐不狠，也都是獨裁者之所為，因此我們所反對的是制度，是主張不是任何個人，我們只有責備他好，絕不會希望他壞，而到了今日，如果獨裁者還不澈底覺悟，以國家民族為重，則一切的一切，都是要向獨裁者做最後一次清算的。（未完）

### 日軍報道部長率領將校等謁汪主席

十二日下午三時，日軍報道部長岩崎部長，率領日軍宣傳關係將校等四十餘人，晉謁汪主席，主席設茶點招待，並即席演講，題為「全面和平與強化國民政府」，首先說明東亞新秩序與東亞舊秩序的分別，造成及維繫東亞舊秩序的惡勢力，一是百年來的歐洲經濟侵略主義，一是近代二十年來的共產主義，我們今日必須把這兩種惡勢力推倒，建立以東亞道義精神為基礎的新秩序，自從日本提出建設東亞新秩序的口號之後，在中國方面，贊成建設新秩序，反對侵略主義，反對

共產擾亂的，就拋棄抗日思想，與日本合作，而維持舊秩序的，也就與經濟侵略主義及共產主義勾結，成為實現全面和平的障礙。

次說近衛聲明中，有經濟提攜一頁，經濟提攜就是基於平等互惠原則，有無相通，長短相濟的，這與英美主張的門戶開放，機會均等，剛剛相反，門戶開放機會均等，不過是經濟侵略的另一名詞而已，現在中國西南有一種惡勢力，與經濟侵略主義相勾結，西北有一種惡勢力，與共產主義勾結，全面和平之未能實現，就是因為有這種惡勢力障礙着，強化國民政府，是要使國民政府有掃除這些障礙的力量，也就是培養建設東亞新秩序的勢力，來肅清擁護舊秩序的舊勢力，本於此種見解，來強化國民政府，方是有意義的。

再次說，中國國內，甘心維護經濟侵略和共產主義的，還是少數，強化國民政府，不但是使國民政府有力量，打倒這些少數的和平障礙，而且要使大多數的人，對於建設東亞新秩序得到一種信念，明白這種事實，這樣，可以使大多數人信仰和平，傾向和平，參加和平，大多數人既信仰和平，傾向和平，參加和平，則全面和平，自然就實現了。

最後說，國民政府的強化，一方面固然有賴於先進國日本的協助，另一方面，也必須國民政府同人的自力奮發，所以國民政府同人，時時刻刻鞭策自己，時時刻刻信仰友邦，建設東亞新秩序，已有先進國提倡奮鬥於前，又有和平同志接踵奮起於後，一面喚起人民的信仰，一面打倒少數的和平障礙，我們相信，全面和平的實現，是為期不遠的。

主席演講約經一小時，聽者咸為感奮，至下午四時，始各告辭而退。

### 汪主席乘八幡丸訪日

十四日下午一時，國民政府行政院宣傳部，發表公報如下：  
國民政府主席兼行政院院長，十三日下午五時赴滬，十四日上午十一時十分，乘八幡丸出國訪日，此行目的，除答謝友邦自國民政府

，茲當閉幕之際，特綜合大會經過，略申數語，作一總結。

關於思想指導者 統一意見，集中力量，是推進革命不可缺少之前提，也就是和平反共建國運動必備的要件，怎樣才能夠統一意見，集中力量呢，第一要在一個領袖領導之下，第二要以一個主義為中心思想，第三要精誠團結，樹立一個中心勢力，我們有沒有這三個條件呢，有的，自從革命以來，國父孫先生是我們最高的領導者，國父歿後，繼承遺志，始終站在時代的最前線，率領同志向前猛進的，則是汪先生，數十年來，各派思想，議論紛紛，而能保持革命的本質，取得民衆之信仰與擁護的，則是三民主義，雖然在革命屢次蹉跎與挫折之中，有的無知誤解，背着三民主義的招牌，送入孔廟，有的故意曲解，竊取三民主義的軀殼，葬在列甯的墳墓，又有的存心利用，掛起三民主義的匾額，走進軍閥官僚的政身的死屍隊裏，什麼一民主義者，二民主義者，新三民主義者，以人治軍，以軍治國主義者，不一而足，然而這一切都無損於三民主義之本質，三民主義是一個鬥爭的革命主義真理，愈鬥爭愈昌明，有了領袖，做我們的導師，有了主義，做我們的中心思想，剩下的問題，就是要一切愛國家愛東亞的志士，精誠團結，在一個領袖統率之下，在一個主義領導之下，來強化中心勢力，救國家救東亞的中心勢力。

事變以來，一般牛鬼蛇神，又在扮演其亂叫亂戰的醜劇，我們於此，不能不做一番清整理論的工作，不能不做一番觀念鬥爭的工作，擺在我們面前，有四個敵人的堡壘，要我們衝鋒的。

第一，我們要粉碎共產黨的所謂新三民主義，新民主主義，他們呢，只有聯俄聯共的三民主義，纔是革命的三民主義，呸，他們要甘心做第三國際的走狗，便厚着面皮去投身賣黨，不要污辱了國父遺教，不要污辱了三民主義，他們說，過去是以資產階級為中心之舊民主主義革命，現在是以工農及小資產階級聯合陣線為主力之新民主主義革命，將來是以無產階級為專政之共產主義革命，呸，什麼聯合陣線，骨子裏就是你聯他搶大擦小擦，什麼新民主主義，骨子裏就是割據地

方，招兵買馬，等到羽毛已豐，收起擁護的口號，一聲打倒，就要了所謂抗戰最高統帥的命，什麼工農聯合，骨子裏就是窩藏盜匪，嘯聚流氓，奸淫擄掠，殺人放火，無所不為，然而經過了十六年以來，他們叛背革命，犧牲工農痛苦的經驗，再不會有一個真正的工人，上他們的當，再不會有一個真正的農民，受他們的騙的。

第二，我們要剷除買辦洋奴的國際依存主義的劣根性，這些人用買辦的手段，來辦理政治外交，其實他們根本，就不知道什麼政治外交，只知道倚靠英美，完全忘記了自己國家的立場，忘記了自己國家在東亞的地位，是最不長進的，民國以前，是這些人在作怪，所以弄到人民心理始而仇外，轉而懼外，又續而媚外，民國以後，又是這些人在作怪，所以無論對內也好，對外也好，總是求神拜佛，這邊看看阿甲的顏色，那邊看看阿乙的面孔，一相情願的跌在英美侵略主義者的懷抱，任其指氣使，方寸異己，殘殺同胞，到了蔣家天下宋家財產的時候，朝着英美紳士，那一副足恭面貌的神情，尤其可憐，九一八以來，什麼反對直接交涉啊，訴諸國聯啊，國際援助啊，都是這種洋奴心理表現，在侵略主義的一羣中間，那是一個國家，不是為着自己利害打算，那裏還會在路見不平，拔刀相救的人，那裏還會有非親非故，解囊相助的人，基瑪爾說過，「他們要我們亞洲人流血，流到夠為止」，怎樣才能算流到夠呢，我們亞洲人還有一滴血未流盡，他們也不會以為是夠的，我們只有從血泊中醒覺起來，肅清國際依存主義的劣根性，做一個中國人，做一個東亞的中國人。

第三，我們要糾正排日抗日的思想，使民族意識恢復其純潔的本質，隨着國民革命的發展，民族意識逐漸養成，這是國家元氣之所在，也就是建設新中國，建設新東亞的根本，然而這些年來，一般民衆純潔的民族意識，被共產黨所歪曲，被獨裁者所濫用，被英美侵略主義者所利用，不用之於救國，而用之於禍國，不用之於建國，而用之於毀國，不用之於提攜合作保衛東亞，而用之於自相殘殺，斷送東亞，事之可痛，莫逾於此，我們今日必須把崇高偉大的民族意識，從獨

勇氣，來打破這種虛偽的論調，指出「共產黨自從開戰以來，就沒有抗戰過，只是藉了名義，在擴充軍隊」，最近中條山一役，大公報說是因為共產黨不合作，這段消息，真如其說的「肉麻當有趣」，不過是淪方的解嘲，其實，這種謊話，又騙得了那一個稍有頭腦的人呢，我們拿出勇氣，一方面粉碎他們虛偽的論調，一方面努力充實自己的力量，一定可以打破三分的局勢，完成統一」。

末了，主席訓勉全體宣傳工作人員說，「我們今日只有抱定遠大的計劃，拿定一個主義，立定一個中心勢力，而以與謀全國的統一，我們担任宣傳工作的人，要認識時局的嚴重，知道工作的困難，艱苦卓絕的奮鬥到底，兄弟認為無論那個時候，都應當說老實話，負責任，把時局的嚴重，工作的困難，檢討清楚，明明知道是艱難的，我們也要做，從前拿破崙說，字典上無難字，這是勇氣，現在我們改變一句話，字典上有難字，知道難而仍去做，這才是大勇，所以我們要鼓起良心上的勇氣，來克服處境的艱難，這就是全國和平運動同志應有的抱負，應有的魄力，尤其是做宣傳工作的同志，要能夠以「誠明堅毅」的精神，來負責任，這樣，和平運動必定普遍，而迅速的統一全國，今天所說的話，綜合起來，和平理論是正確的，和平理論的實現，雖然很困難，然而一定是可以做到的，我們要切實守着一個主義來做目標，而從切近處一點一滴做起，以期和平運動於整個完成，這種重大而又繁瑣的工作，全靠我們認識時局的嚴重，國家的危機，並且認識工作的困難，鼓起所有的勇氣，才能擔當，我們很相信宣傳部林部長，是有勇氣的，我們同時相信全國宣傳工作同志，都本提起這種勇氣，這種從良心上發出的勇氣，來擔當艱鉅的時局，認識自己的困難，並且一定能夠克服這種困難，在此次宣傳會議中，兄弟希望各人把所懷疑的，所担心的，都發表出來，越發表的多，大家越有方法來解決，會議不是敷衍的，不是空談的，而是要把許多困難複雜的情形，披露出來，坦白的虛心的，商量的，求得到切實的解決的方法，會議之後，各位回到自己的崗位，根據所商量的方法去做，這

樣，這次宣傳會議，一定得到很大的效果，這是兄弟所希望於全國宣傳會議各位的，末了兄弟致敬於各位，並祝各位先生健康。

## 現階段宣傳的奮鬥

林柏生

六月四日在全國宣傳會議閉幕詞

各位同志：此次全國會議，集合宣傳行政人員，以及海內外宣傳活動幹部同志，檢討過去工作狀況，商榷今後宣傳方策，到會人員總計二百二十六人，除平日服務中央的外，大部份是在各地工作，與二萬萬以上的民衆朝夕相處的，從各位的報告及意見，可以見到各地的現狀以及一般民衆的心理，所以此次會議的結果，也可以說是全中國大多數民意之總表現，此外還有日人在我國境所辦報社代表，踴躍參加，足見友邦人士，對於我們為愛國家愛東亞而展開之和運宣傳，深具熱情，至可欣感。

大會開幕之日，既奉 主席手頒十二訓條，翌日復蒙 主席親臨訓話，剴切曉諭，俾全體同人，今後工作，知所遵循，我們惟有矢忠矢勤，努力前進，期毋負最高領袖之責望，溫院長就時事問題，對信條中說老實話一條，反覆闡明，策勉我們，這是宣傳人員所最應注意之一點，切望諸同志奉為南鍼，牢記勿忘。

大會期間，又承日方土橋參謀副長，日高公使，岩崎陸軍報道部長，間海軍報道部長，蒞會講演，對於東亞大局，對於兩國和平之必要，對於友邦斂致和平之決心，及助我完成其現代獨立國家之建設，以分坦東亞責任之至意，懇切至意，懇切說明，益堅我們對於中日和平共保東亞之信念，謹於此深致謝忱。

此次大會，工作報告共四十六件，提案共二百五十件，其中關於宣傳行政者六十八件，關於宣傳指導者六十三件，關於宣傳專業者共五十六件，關於特種宣傳者三十二件，關於國際宣傳及華僑宣傳者二十五件，臨時提案六件，皆已一一付之縝密之審查，經充分之討論，為鄭重之決議，今後對內對外宣傳，都有具體的方案，與實施計劃了

始因爲得太容易而樂觀，自然會因爲眼前的困難而轉到懷疑，甚至陷於悲觀，主席舉出種種事實，證明這種懷疑與悲觀的心理是錯誤的，「並不是用理論來解釋，叫人家不要懷疑，不要悲觀，而是用事實來證明，使大家用不着懷疑，用不着悲觀」，並指出「此次中日和平，與普通媾和情形不同，普通兩國媾和，總是先停戰次講和，然後簽訂條約，恢復邦交，此次和平，日本一方面與國民政府締結條約，一方面與重慶繼續戰爭，中國一方面有國民政府與日本締結條約，一方面有重慶與日本繼續戰爭，這就是說，一方面是在和平運動進行中，一方面是在戰爭狀態繼續中，在這種矛盾狀態之下基本條約，是所以確立和平之基礎的條約，原文已經全部公布了，至於目前各種問題，則不能不對準遠大的方針，而謀現實狀態之逐漸改善，其最要方法，是彼此開誠公布，本於互相諒解，互相尊重之精神，隨時隨地互相協力，以謀解決」，主席對此，更就糧食問題，經濟問題，治安問題等等，指出政府過去及現在之努力，所已獲得之解決與進步，及今後繼續努力所可獲得之解決與進步，「如果因爲有戰爭狀態之存在，和平不能即刻全部實現，便放着手不做，這更無從使和平運動，得到萌芽，連這一點的解決與進步，都做不到」，「因爲現在是一面戰爭，一面和平，所以事實的進行，如此複雜，如此麻煩」，君以爲一講和平，立刻就所以實現，這種見解，是太幼稚了，和平還不知要經過許多艱難困苦，我們時時刻刻預備犧牲，預備碰着困難，要實現和平，正所謂操心危，慮患深，以爲和平是很容易的，就是自己當初打錯了主意，對於和平的困難，知道得最清楚的是誰呢，據兄弟想，是蔣介石，在武漢的時候，有一天，兄弟與蔣介石辯論，那天蔣發熱，睡在床上，我們因爲德大使要來調停，不可錯過機會，所以從詳討論，但是說到末了，他在床上跳起來，赤裸裸地說，打仗丟了一塊地方，再丟一塊地方，丟到最後一塊，我們還是有自由的，打仗只剩了一隊兵，我們還把握得住，如果和平，一隊兵也把握不住了」，當時兄弟聽了十分悲憤，兄弟問他，「我們是否爲了自己的便宜，是否爲了自己把握得住

，把握不住，就把國家斷送呢，丟剩一小塊地方，就算有自由了，丟了的地方，又怎樣呢，丟了的地方的自由，你就不打算嗎，剩下一小塊，倒想自由，不向國家的生命，只問自己的自由，只問自己統制得住，或統制不住，這樣可以嗎，那天幾乎決裂了，後來同座的人，打一個圓場，說別的話便完結了這一場的辯論」，由此我們知道最知道和平困難的，無過於蔣，但是我們應該知道，甯避困難呢，還是要努力保住國家的生命呢，現在國家的危殆，人民的痛苦，到了這個地步，如果不打開一條和平的出路，不喚起全國同胞，有一分的力量，做一分的工作，連剛才說的那一點點的進步，都不會有，所以和平運動，就遠大來說，和平理論，一點沒有可以懷疑的地方，從和平理論之實現來說，如果當初以爲容易實現，現在便會悲觀，灰心，懷疑，如果當初認定和平原不是容易的，現在就用不着懷疑，只有勇往前進，只有一步一步的往前進，一點一點的向前做，除此之外，沒有第二條路可以走，我們今日用不着悲觀，用不着懷疑，遠大的前途，有遠大的計劃來做，眼前是做得一點是一點，負起責任，拿出力量，同心協力的去做，眼前一點一點做到了，自然一步一步的可以走到遠大的前途了」。

次就太平洋形勢，指出重慶方面，天天在宣傳日美戰爭，犯了三個錯誤，第一，希望別人打戰，已是道德上不應有之惡賊心理，第二，究竟日美戰爭之可能性，及其情形如何，重慶方面連一點常識也沒有，第三，日美戰爭對重慶只有害處，沒有好處，并提示國父遺教，是「要由中日之和平，進而謀中日美之友好，即使現在因事實而隔絕，我們也應該本着冤仇宜解不宜結的格言，以謀太平洋安甯與秩序之維持」。

又次就目前國內形勢，對共產黨之在西北勢力，蔣介石之在西南，及我們國民政府在東南，有形成三分局面之勢，在思想上，物質上，加以檢討，指出「共產主義及英美自由主義，不適合於中國國情，彼此攜手，不過借著抗戰兩個字，來欺騙民衆，我們要拿出十二分的



會場佈置 大會會場設中德文化協會大禮堂，門外有松柏牌樓一座，並懸有巨幅漫畫及標語，會場正中設主席台，兩旁為副主席及秘書長席，主席台前為出席代表席，後三排為列席代表席，左上角為來賓席。

主席致詞 全體代表依次就座後，首由大會秘書長報告，應到出席代表一四三人，實到一四一人，列席代表全體報到，並宣讀各地賀電，嗣由主席林宣傳部長致開會詞，作政治報告，闡明和平運動之歷史的意義，要旨謂，和平運動為國民革命之再出發，故和平運動之前途必為成功，而西北割據，西南偏安必歸於覆滅，中國革命必與世界局勢相配合，世界舊秩序在崩壞之過程中，東亞和平軸心之建設，亦即所以求國民革命完成之途徑，以此觀點指示和運之必成，更就目前現狀指示實現全面和平之路，第一在於強化和平基礎，開展和平領域，第二須要做到確立治安，改善人民生活，才能保障和平，進而擴展和平，最後言及為和平運動擔任宣傳而犧牲，以及一般為和平運動所犧牲之諸先烈時，沉痛激昂，聲淚俱下，全場人員，莫不深為感動。

臨時動議 主席報告完畢後，華北政委會情報局新聞檢查所范劭揚提議，「國民政府 汪主席為國宣勞勳導和運，豐功偉績，薄海同欽，全國宣傳會議，應上電主席致敬，經議決，通過，並推定代表晉謁汪主席致敬」當經推定孔憲鏗，林文龍，顧士謀，華允琦，鄭啓東，古詠今，趙慕儒，金雄白，汪正禾，臧任壽，秦墨晒，莊泗川等，由孔憲鏗領導，於下午三時晉謁主席致敬，旋蘇會員成德提議呼口號經過，請主席領導，高呼剷除共產思想，中日和平成功，汪主席萬歲，中華民國萬歲等口號。

報告事項 宣傳部國際宣傳局，華北政務委員會情報局，廣東省宣傳處，南京特別市宣傳處，江蘇省政府宣傳委員會，浙江省政府第四科，安徽省政府宣傳科，湖北省政府宣傳科，上海特別市宣傳科，漢口特別市宣傳科等，均由書面報告。

分組審查 大會提案二百餘件，經大會決定，分五組審查，各負

責召集人選如下，第一組(宣傳行政)梁秀予，林文龍，第二組(宣傳指導)郭秀峯，金雄白，第三組(宣傳專業)褚保衡，顧士謀，第四組(特種宣傳)章乃淪，華允琦，第五組(國際宣傳及華僑宣傳)明淦，馬典如，分組審查地點，第一三組在中德文化協會舉行，第二四五組在宣傳部舉行。

大會上電主席致敬，原文如左：

國民政府主席汪鈞鑒，邦基再奠，萬姓蒙麻，和運方興，百廢待舉，鈞座旋轉乾坤，宣勞黨國，施先憂後落之仁，行解慍釋懸之政，此次宣傳會議，集全國宣傳幹部人員在京舉行，討論強化宣傳之計劃，共謀統一推進之方針，聞此開幕之日，倍申景仰之誠，率頌十二訓條，誓當忠誠擁戴，肅電致敬，伏維垂察，全國宣傳會議主席林柏生，暨全體出席代表人員同叩。

款宴代表 全國宣傳會議第一日下午七時，國民政府宣傳部長林柏生氏，假座中德文化協會大禮堂，款宴大會全體會員，賓主入席後，首由林部長起立致詞，希望全體努力，預祝大會美滿成功，詞畢由華北政務委員會情報局長林文龍起立致答詞，旋即開始進餐，斯時室內燈光燦爛樂聲悠揚，即席並由宣傳部遠東劇團表演歌舞，及「啞夫人」話劇，以娛嘉賓，賓主暢談歡洽，觥籌交錯，迄九時半始散。

### 國民政府主席在宣傳演講會訓詞

二日晨九時，汪主席親臨全國宣傳會議訓話，於指出此次會議重大意義，與重大使命之後，首述「和平理論扼要來說，中日兩國，只宜為友，不宜為敵，即使兩國關係，發生了什麼糾紛，亦應本於冤仇宜解不宜結的精神，使關係由惡轉而復歸於好轉，此為一般人所明白認識的，毋待贅言，惟對於和平理論之實現，有些人不免懷疑與悲觀，這種懷疑與悲觀之所以發生，大機有兩種原因，其一，把和平恢復看得太易了，絕沒有想到恢復和平，要經歷許多階段，其二，把全面和平，看得太易了，絕沒有想到和平障礙，是怎樣的頑固存在着，其

率國父遺教，對此戕害國家民族的鴉片，也抱着最大的決心，以期逐漸肅清，因此，今年的紀念六三，意義尤覺重大，決不是回憶一次，就算了事，我們非但深深地紀念着過去，同時須堅毅的勉勵着現在，期進入光明燦爛的將來。

鴉片足以戕賊個人的健康，影響社會的生計動搖國家的根本阻滯民族的文化，爲禍之烈，令人寒心，林公遺訓云：「鴉片之毒，甚於洪水猛獸，天下萬世之人，斷無有以鴉片爲不必禁者，此禍不除，十年後無可用之兵，可籌之餉」，實在是確切的名言，在歷史上我們可以看到不少的先烈，一個民族的滅亡，往往不是單純的爲武力或政治的力量所征服，而是由於這民族本身墜落腐敗的結果，反之，如有潛在的力量，能夠發奮圖強的民族，只可看作暫時的打擊，無論摧殘破壞到什麼程度，這民族終究是能復興的，而鴉片的危險，實遠勝於一切，我們民族能否復興，只要看我們能否下最大決心，振作精神，修明內政，增強國力，最重要的，就是看我們能否剷除烟毒的禍害。

過去的禁烟計劃不能貫徹，其癥結所在，大抵不外以下數端：第一是缺乏堅決的信心，因爲歷來禁烟總未能徹底做到，尤其是軍閥時代，所謂禁烟，不過是剝削民脂民膏的政策，而辦理禁烟事務的人，亦無不藉此營私舞弊，致令一般人民對於政府禁烟政策一時不能恢復他們的信心，總以爲政府無非「寓禁於徵」藉此斂財，這實在是絕對要不得的錯誤心理，如果這種錯誤心理不能打破，禁烟是永遠不會成功的，第二是缺乏埋頭苦幹的精神，過去主辦禁烟機關，都是有名無實，或始嚴終懈，所以毫無成績可言，中國人做事做不通的時候總是喜歡歸咎於環境困難，其實這正是證明他自己沒有力量去改造環境，排除困難，而爲環境所屈服，所以我們今後的禁烟，如果仍舊和以前一樣，不能抱定一貫的政策，奮鬥到底，那就一切都沒有辦法了，第三是缺乏合作的精神，我們知道任何社會問題，都不是獨立的，片面的，而是關涉於整個社會的，鴉片問題當然不能例外，我們把普通吸煙的緣因調查一下，大抵不外以下幾點：（一）社會衛生環境的不良，（二）

（一）社會衛生環境的不良，（二）以鴉片爲治病的藥劑，（三）工作狀況過於惡劣，（四）受人家的引誘，仔細分析起來與社會各方面有關係的，因此，禁烟一事，決不是局部的，片面的努力可以成功的，必須社會全體動員，彼此通力合作，向一個目標堅決的共同努力，才可以收效。

煙禍的蔓延，一半是社會促成的，社會對此沒有心理上的裁制，因此，吸者不復以爲恥，鴉片的存在，固然是國民和政府的恥辱，亦即是社會的恥辱，所以禁烟是三方面的責任，主要的是人民自己具有決心，社會及政府的力量，尚在其次，本會希望全省民衆自今天起一致起來協助政府禁烟，更要緊的，就是做成社會心理上的制裁，以永絕其根源。

總之，鴉片爲國家民族的大敵，禁烟是全國家全民族的責任，禁烟已抱不達目的不止的決心，本會尤堅決具此宏願，希望由今天的紀念，更增加人民及政府對於禁烟的興奮，全省民衆都來幫助政府肅清這危害國家民族的魔鬼，以造成江蘇全省的榮譽，以造成中華民國的復興，這是本會今天所熱烈期待於全省民衆的，全省民衆其努力爲之。

### 全宣會議開幕

六月一日之晨八時，全國宣傳會議全體出席列席人員，在大會主席林宜傳部長率領之下，齊赴紫金山麓，恭謁國父陵墓，並在靈堂內舉行開幕典禮，儀式簡單隆重，情緒熱烈緊張，當全體會員趕抵陵墓，拾級步登靈堂前廣場後，旋即列隊肅立於國父遺像之前，在鏗鏘之樂聲中，齊唱國歌，向國父遺像前行最敬禮，林主席繼之恭讀國父遺囑，並呈獻花圈，行禮如儀畢，行政院秘書長陳春圃氏，宣讀國府主席手頒宣傳工作人員訓練條，（另錄）全體人員屏息靜聆之餘，成大感動，繼之相率而左行一鞠躬禮，遂向主席致敬，旋即趨至紀念碑前攝影留念，趕返城內中德文化協會舉行會議，茲將各情分錄於后：

不篤敬，每遇一件交涉，明明可以地方事件了之者，而詭推為中央事件，明明是一件很小事件，可以立刻解決者，而故意把他遷延下去，這是自己先不能正，那能怪人家呢，孔子曰，夫人必自侮也，而後人侮之，國必自伐也，而後人伐之，就是這個道理，倘若當時辦外交的人，稍稍留意及此，以正己的精神，適用和平的外交，國家大事，當不至如此。

兄弟是喜歡研究老子哲學的，現在把老子中有關政治的話，再提出來，同各位談談，在一般人的觀念，以為老子是主張無為的，是清心寡欲的，是消極的，這種觀察，未免陷於皮相，要知道老子不是主張無為，而是主張無不為，一般人只看了他「無為」的兩字，而沒有注意到他無不為的主張，倘若真的無為，如何能為人君南面的術呢，關於這一套理論，我因為時間關係，不能多所闡述，且就其中扼要之點，隨便提出如下的幾點，向各位講講，老子曾提到一個道字，老子之所謂道，與儒家所說的天道，並不是一件事情，蓋老子之所謂道，乃形而上的意義，以為天地萬物之生，必有其生之總原理，這個總原理，便謂之道，道既是生之總原理，當然不是無為了，所以他說，道常無為而無不為，不過老氏所謂無不為，仍主張要法自然，與儒家所說的法後王，當然大不相同，這是第一點，我們要認清的，老子既然主張法自然，所以對於處世方面，也是主張法自然的，他曾說過，取天下常以無事，又曾說過，見小曰明，守柔曰強，又曾說過，天下之至堅，馳聘天下之至堅，又曾說過，天下莫柔弱於水而攻堅強者，莫之能勝，把這些話總括起來說，都是法自然的意思，我們如果把老子翻開來看，這類的語句，真是不勝枚舉，老子為什麼主張法自然呢，他自己曾說，「我無為而民自化，我好靜而民自正，我無事而民自富，我無欲而民自樸」，這裏所說的人民，自化自正，自富自樸等等，是把法自然三字，不但可以適用於處世方面，而且可以適用於政治方面了，這是第二點，我們要認清的，法自然是道理，兄弟已經說大概，但人生而有欲，這是一般的狀況，老子對於欲字，又怎樣去處理呢，

這個問題，看來好像於政治沒有什麼關係，實則這個問題，在政治上，很占重要地位，因為一切政治活動，其直接間接，皆與欲字有些關係，在一般政治學者，皆主張用種種方法，達到滿足希望，那裏知道滿足欲望的方法愈多，欲愈不足滿足，而人的受害，也必定愈深，所以老子的主張，與其用種種方法，以滿足欲望，不如根本上寡欲，欲愈寡我們愈可滿足，而我們的受利，也愈多了，所以老子說，物或損之而益，又說，夫惟無以為生者，是賢於貴生，怎樣才可以寡欲呢，在老子一部書上，所說的語句很多，譬如說，聖人之治虛其心，實其腹，弱其志，強其骨，又說，不欲以靜，天下將自定，這些都是寡欲的方法，不過老子所謂寡欲，又不是佛家所說的絕對無欲，他雖主張寡欲，但實其腹，強其骨，仍然是必要的，正因為我們自己能夠實其腹，強其骨，所以我們「能己已與人己愈有」，否則我們那裏能夠做了呢。

把前面的話總括起來說，我們所主張的和平人格，要先從正己做起，我們要實其腹，強其骨，我們更要明瞭柔與弱的妙用，這是兄弟一點意見，向各位簡單報告的。

### 江蘇省教育實施委員會 為六三拒毒紀念告民衆書

說親愛的江蘇同胞們：

今天是紀念禁烟先哲林文忠公一百零二年前在虎門焚燬烟土的一日，我們追想林公當日大無畏的精神，和不屈不撓的毅力，真覺得無限的欽敬，可是我們回顧到近百年來煙禍蔓延的日甚一日，又不禁感到太對不住我們的先哲了。

鴉片輸入中國，實遠自唐朝，有清一代，因中外交通的發展，輸入漸多，為害漸著，道光十九年，林公則徐奉派到廣東，查辦鴉片案件，在廣東搜出英商烟土兩萬餘箱，翌年六月三日，悉數焚燬於虎門，因此引起鴉片之戰，直到最近而流毒愈深，國府自改組還都以來，

質，一用於那威而告厥成功，今再用於克里特，使用於克里特而再成功者，即將三用於英倫三島，是英人縱自詡有優越之海軍足以保護其心臟，然飛將軍自天而下，海軍之勢力，亦將有等於無，是英人既未能將德傘兵完全在克里特殲滅，則恐不轉瞬又將見之於英倫三島，爲克里特之續也，然而以目前戰爭狀態言，英人在克里特固無力將德傘兵殲滅也。

在此尚未將來之問題，德人是在再試用於英倫三島，英人是在以不能保衛克里特，暫亦不能保衛英倫三島，均可存而不論，而德人占奪克里特後，英人在東地中海之勢力，固已可全部解體，而亞非二洲之殖民地，決難再得爲英人所有，伊拉克之戰事，在英國雖尚未至敗北，或有好轉之希望，然克里特而陷落，則伊拉克亦迎刃而解，英人無能爲力，故克里特一役，實即可謂英帝國之生死戰。

克里特又名干地亞，面積三千三百六十平方公里，爲希臘屬島中最大之島，居地中海多島海及伊奧尼亞海之間，距非洲里比亞之睡那，只有二百里，距杜布魯克，只有二百五十里而與亞力山大里利，只有四百五十里，波特薩伊海，只有五百五十里，其與達達尼爾，更只有三百五十里，德人占領此島後，其南向可由睡那，杜布魯克，及亞力山大里亞以直趨埃及，東則直趨馬爾泰，扼住西地中海咽喉，以威脅直布羅陀，而東則與伊拉克及敘利亞遙爲聲援，可直拊海發，貝魯特，及巴勒斯坦，以席捲小亞細亞各地，而威脅印度，故克里特島而一入德人掌握，則英人四肢，已可餘其二，凡地中海及紅海中之英海軍，無復有立足之地，不特英倫三島失守，而英帝國之運命，已告崩潰矣，英人對此，所以不辭前仆後繼，必欲以死力與德人掙扎者，殆亦知克里特一失，將影響英帝國整個之運命，不得不爲此大犧牲也，然而其成效又果何如乎。

概自二百年來，英人恃其海軍之力，以擴張殖民地，並掠取殖民地之資源，更以殖民地之資源，維持其帝國之軍力，二者固交相爲用，今則自北大西洋一役，而美海軍之威望失，且以德潛艇政策及空軍轟炸戰略之再接再厲，英海軍已漸呈竭蹶，故即在克里特一隅，亦不

得不將海軍撤退，一任德軍由海登陸，而克里特再不幸陷落，則亞非兩洲之殖民地，已將有全部崩潰之勢，百餘年英人所恃以稱雄者，今皆失其所恃，其運命固可不言而喻矣。

## 和平建國與平人格

趙正平

在內政部縣政人員訓練所講詞

各位同學，兄弟因爲教育部的事情很忙，所以在接到陳部長的邀函之後，並沒有預備講什麼，直到臨講的前幾分鐘，才把個人所要說的話，加以約略整頓，正因此事前沒有預備，當然在說話的程序上，及理論的關係上，不免有些凌亂，好在各位都是學養有素的人士，藉這個機會，把個人所得的一點信念，說出來供各位參考，也是一件榮幸的事情，各位之中，有的是現任縣長，有的是將來準備做縣長或縣佐治人員，在職務上儘管有大小之別，但爲行政界服務的目的，並沒有兩樣，這目的是什麼呢，即和平建國四個字，講到和平建國，當然是千頭萬緒，但據兄弟個人意見，人格兩字，最關重要，孔子曾經說過，子率以正，孰敢不正，又說其身正，不令而行，其身不正，雖令不行，這幾句話，都是告訴我們從政的人，應該正己做起，而這正人先從己做起的語句，在儒家書中，舉不勝舉，與其說孔子是主張人治主義，不如說一切政治的推動，若沒有正己的人負起責任，實在也不行不通，各位都是現在或將來負地方政治責任的人，這一點，非切實注意不可，但正己與政治有什麼關係呢，孟子是儒家的正統，他曾說過，仁君莫不仁，君義莫不義，君正莫不正，一正君而國定矣，由此看來，足見得治國不是一件難事，只要負政治責任的各級領袖，能夠以身作則，同時，對於一般民衆，勞之來之，匡之直之，輔之翼之，以同情的意識去感召廣大的民衆，這種偉大的力量，與其感召的迅速，簡直不可思議，爲什麼能夠感召呢，因爲全國的人們，無論在朝在野，各人的行動，無論爲公爲私，皆有政治的影響，我們若能深察普通人格中之相互關係，當知其言之不可更易，可惜我們中國過去辦理外交的人，不明白這種道理，自己先站不起來，而言說不忠信，行又



## 因大西洋海戰及克里特爭奪

## 悲英帝國之命運

英國自近二百年來，其版圖日開，其威望日降，世界任何各國，莫之與京；然自一九一四年歐戰以來，雖當時獲得勝利，而已漸呈外強中乾之象，東有日本，西有美國，駭駭乎已有代之而與之勢，然而英帝國之威望，仍然勉強維持，除日本及美國外，均尚唯英國之馬首是瞻，歐洲一切風雲，其支配權隱然仍握於英國之手，良以海軍強盛，殖民地偏於五洲，縱陸軍及空軍未必取得優勢，而以此二大原因故，尚可顧盼稱雄。然而今則二者皆呈崩潰之象，岌岌乎將告失墜矣，則英帝國之所以能維持與英帝國者，已不復存在，不特四肢解體，即心臟亦將不保。其運命固甚可悲也。

英國之海軍，素以優越稱，在第一次歐戰前，恆以二國標準主義，故海上戰爭，莫之與敵，然自歐戰而後，以美國海軍之逐年擴張，英國已不能再取二國標準主義，然以視德法義等歐洲各國，猶是居於第一位也，蓋以此龐大之海軍，故能保持心臟與四肢之聯絡，不問在大西洋中，在地中海中，均可取得控制權，苟殖民地發生事故，即可互相呼應，不至首尾不能相顧。然今則因形勢日非，不特有疲於奔命之勢，且以在巴爾幹地位之失墜，伊拉克戰事之勃發，克里特德兵之從天而下，土耳其及西班牙態度之依違，德法合作之協定之成立，而地中海之控制權，更有千鈞一髮之危險。不僅此也，德義兩國海軍，其數質均不足以敵英，此不特英人以此自詡，即德義亦以是揣揣，德人之所以不能飛渡英倫海峽以直薄其心臟者，正以英國海軍之勢力超出於德義兩國之故，然此次北大西洋海戰，以全世界會稱第一載重四萬二千噸之霍特號，竟為德國載重三萬一千噸之俾斯麥號所擊中，而英國於一九三九年所下水三萬五千噸之喬治五世號新銳之主力艦，亦遭受重創，是英國所自恃無恐自詡無敵之海軍，其力量亦已暴露於北大西洋一役矣，英國海軍，除霍特號已遭擊沉，喬治號已受重創，

外，其新銳之主力艦，尚有四艘，為育克號，比特號，薩洛號，威斯特號，皆為三萬五千噸者，足以傲於德義，此次擊沉德艦俾斯麥號，即為新主力艦之威斯特號，然以全世界獨一無二之霍特號，尚不難於一轉瞬間，為德艦擊沉，則其力不如霍特號，正不易預言，況德國在一九三七年，亦曾造有四萬噸之主力艦兩艘，據聞今已下水，是已足凌駕英國之四艘，而與俾斯麥號同等者，尚有鐵爾必茲號，至潛水艇之勢力，更優於英國，。是即捨去陸空力不談苟以海軍言，英國之是否能自詡無敵，足以催德敗籌，仍握有大西洋及地中海之水上控制權，即英人亦未敢自信也。

英國海軍之實力，誠超過德義兩國之總和，然德人亦深知其故，故專用潛艇及空軍以催毀英國海軍之實力，計自開戰以來，英國海軍之喪失者，其數已可驚人，即最近克里特島一役，英海軍已喪失二十五艘，餘可概見，今北大西洋一役，最大戰艦，更一沉一傷，是其海軍之力量，是否能始終對德義保持優越，正不可知，萬一不幸而不能保持之優越力，則英人所自恃無恐，足以爭取最後勝利者，即永無實現之日，而英帝國之命運，亦從此沒落，不特殖民地無從保持，即英倫海峽，亦將為德兵飛渡。蓋國英之所恃者，祇為海軍，海軍既不足恃，則尚有何者足恃，瞻望前途，誠不勝其危懼矣。

英帝國之稱雄於世界，除海軍龐大為其一原因外，更有廣大之殖民地，以榨取資源，供其經濟上之發展，故其殖民地苟一日不喪，英帝國即一日可保持其強盛。德兵自云越英倫海峽直攻英倫三島，計劃未成後，即轉用其鋒，以謀先支解其四肢，是亦一種擊破英帝國之方法，此次克里特島之爭奪，其關係當較任何地爭奪為重，使德人而來占領其地，則與地中海之勢力，英人已全然喪失，非洲之埃及，亞洲之印度緬甸等地，皆可轉入於德人掌握，英人所用盡心力以開鑿之蘇彝士運河以溝通歐亞非三地之聯絡者，亦將為德義所有，英國之四肢，雖未盡被解，而已左右手喪失，其心臟之英倫三島，縱或兀然無恙，然已陷於窘迫而死，然德軍兵之下降克里特，其中更含有試驗性



成濟陳長員委會員委務僑

陳委員長 江蘇嘉定人年四十八歲曾任中國公  
學大學部校長中國公學商學院院長滬江大學教授上  
海中學校長上海幼稚師範校長上海大中小學聯合會  
主席上海市教育協會主席上海各大學教職員聯合會  
常委上海中等學校教職員聯合會常委上海私立學校  
聯合會會長上海綢業銀行行長上海難民救濟協會主  
任委員上海慈善團體救災聯合會分會常委各省水災  
救濟會常委節約救難會常務委員等職現任中國國民  
黨中央委員國民政府僑務委員會委員長上海公共租  
界華人納稅會代理主席中日文化協會理事江蘇旅京  
同鄉會常委等職。



流庭何長次務常部鑛農

何會長 陝西乾縣人年四十七歲。東京帝國大  
學經濟學士歷充討賊聯軍總司令部科長。討賊聯軍  
副司令部參議。河北省政府秘書。天津特別市政府  
秘書、顧問。天津特別市警察局顧問，太原綏靖主  
任公署參議。冀察政務委員會參議。北京特別市政  
府顧問。北京實報社社長，北京地方維持會委員。  
北京特別市警察局顧問。天津特別市總務廳廳長。  
臨時政府行政部參事。臨時政府行政委員會參事。  
國立北京師範學院日文系主任。現充東亞文化協議  
會常任理事。日華經濟協議會專門委員。國民政府  
農鑛部常務次長。中央農業實驗所副所長。憲政實  
施委員會委員。東亞聯盟中國總會文化委員會副主  
任委員。華中棉產改進會副會長。



略之實力，一無結果。

在陳公博市長指導之下，警權問題，已於二月一日簽約收還，第二即捐稅問題，其重要正與警權問題相等，現在亦在討論之中，市政府與工部局已會議兩次，雙方代表，進行頗感順利，但數日前權威方面所傳出之消息，則云工部局堅持收稅人員一部份之委任權。

此種困難，自陳市長之決心收還越界區內中國主權，必能順利解決，蓋收稅權利，當然祇能屬於中國也，捐稅問題解決之後，越界築路將復歸中國管理，而若干年來之不平，將終於糾正矣。



越文鮑長部部政軍

鮑部長 字志一北平市人年四十九歲保定陸軍軍官學校第二期步兵科畢業北京陸軍大學畢業歷充陸軍第三，四，方面軍團司令部中將參謀長東北陸軍講武堂中將教育長東省特別區警務處處長國民政府參謀本部次長軍事委員會第二廳副廳長軍事委員會北平分會上將委員兼兼辦公廳主任軍事參議院上將參議國府還都任軍政部政務次長代理部務中國國民黨中央執行委員會委員中央政治委員會軍事專門委員會主任委員國民政府軍事委員會常務委員三十年三月特任軍政部部長。



松毓趙長部部鑛農

趙部長 貴州人年四十三歲

中國青年黨中央政治行動委員會

委員長中國青年黨中央檢審委員

會委員長農鑛部部長

於五月廿四日，紛紛發表謂，決解中國事變之關鍵，在重慶武裝抵抗之全部毀滅，並須對蔣介石軍隊繼續痛擊。

日本報紙對日軍之戰勝衛立煌軍隊，殺傷俘獲長官多人，竭力頌揚，並指出日軍在山西湖南前線，繼續為中國內地及西北軍需來源之阻礙，浙江廣東之勝利，亦使蔣介石給養斷絕，讀新聞則以為蔣介石之抗戰實力，因日蘇條約，越泰條約之訂立，日本在東亞之地位益形鞏固，而迅速消失，且作結論云，日本必須對重慶繼續痛擊，因日蘇中立條約成立之後，重慶仍然依賴美國之援助也。

馬淵大佐之反對以外交方式解決中國事變，則有另一有力報紙之贊同，其所論謂以外交攻勢阻斷蔣介石之外國援助，在毀滅重慶權，為次要問題，日本當集中全國之實力，解決中國事變，不與歐戰相關也。

日日新聞則云，最近重慶之失敗，可見其軍事，政治，經濟，因日軍優秀之戰略而類於崩潰。

數說三年來重慶之失敗，或許覺得單調，不過國際形勢，在此期間，頗有對蔣介石有利者，但是最堅決之樂觀者，及對重慶最熱烈之擁護者，亦當明瞭目前英美對蔣介石之援助，至多不過延長數月之抗戰耳，此後中國歷史上之最大悲劇，必然閉幕。

日軍之連續痛擊，使重慶之機構，不久將失其黏着性而瓦解，此抗戰中最可慘之一幕，即中國數百萬人民所受之痛苦，如蔣介石再有其延長抗戰之接濟，則人民之苦況，必無改善之機會，然而崩潰之預兆，已極明顯，重慶最近，又在考慮遷都內地，以免轟炸之危險，正如吾人三年前所預料者，重慶遷都之計劃，目的正在西藏，新首都之在考慮中者有二處，一為西康東部之康定，一為西康東南之西昌，此項消息，乃前美國大使約翰遜歸國，路經香港時所發出者。

蔣介石及其同黨之沒落，已有明切之徵兆矣。

### ▲英國海軍之大敗▼

德國三萬噸戰艦俾斯麥克號，在格林蘭相近，擊中世界最大之戰

艦，英國四萬二千噸之荷特號，將其炸沉於大西洋中，而報復十八月前，史比號在南美，以寡敵衆，被擊沉沒之仇。

俾斯麥克隨後之為大量英國海空軍所擊沉，乃另一事也，因俾斯麥克號，擊沉荷特之外，尚有英艦數艘，為所擊傷，總計雙方損失，勝利尚在德國。

德國之海軍，遠小於英國，然而仍能藉其潛艇空軍之助，與英國海軍爭海上之霸權，最近潛水艇在阿非利加西岸，擊沉滿載貨物之商船十四艘，而在最近克利德一戰，英國之戰艦運輸艦為德國海空軍所擊沉於地中海者，為數甚多，結果英國人作「榮譽之撤退」，其中最精彩的一幕，即世界最大戰船荷特號之沉沒。

俾斯麥克之沉沒，當然是非常可惜，尤其是在建立奇勳，擊沉荷特號及其他英國大戰艦數艘之後，而俾斯麥克之作戰精神，不屈到底，實為海軍戰史光榮之一頁，其忠勇之將士兵卒，與船俱亡，全世界當無不表示其敬意者。

荷特號沉沒之五月二十四日，適為英國慶祝帝國之日，於此最後之帝國日，而對不義之英國作此警告，誠屬相宜矣。

### ▲上海西區之捐稅問題▼

循環不絕之上海越界築路管理問題，此次又因界內之捐稅權而起爭執，越界築路之歷史，乃英國勢力藉上海工部局之名，對中國主權最放肆之侵略，因地皮章程第六條富有彈性之解釋，五十年來租界外人，藉辭原來租界不敷外人居住經商之用，任割中國土地，其另一理由，為欲在租界四週築一保衛圈，以作防守，而增進租界之衛生狀態，因據工部局所稱，外人屢受各種瘟疫之傳染也。

原來之租界，及以後中國政府所承認之擴充，即以現在外僑之衆，亦足敷應用，乃外僑惟利是圖，容納中國居民，大都且非上海本地人民，售給以外國註冊之產業，出租房屋，並收取極高之保護費，因此租界才呈擁擠狀態，而工部局不得不用不正當手段，擴充租界。

越界築路，亦由此產生，以前中國政府之抗議，因無抵抗外國侵



## ▲日本地位之鞏固▼

日本站立在大東亞之門戶，爲其適當之保護人，無畏無敵，惟有擊退對其本國及鄰國攻擊者之整備。

日本在其大東亞勢力圈保護者之地位上，向未有對他人侵略之企圖或計劃，其唯一目標，乃在保持此勢力圈內之和平，其他國家如有侵略行爲，足以擾亂東亞之和平，而將東亞牽入目前之歐戰者，則日本將以全力自衛，亦將以全力保衛其鄰國。

世界各國至今尚存之誤解，乃不明日本在華之真意旨，而責之爲侵略者，但至目前和平勢力在國內漸漸伸張，而中日合作之真精神漸漸明顯，雖最苛刻之論者，亦難以否認目前一切事實之表現，而誤解日本之真目標矣。

日本犧牲千萬生命財產，以達其在華之目標，即消滅反日政策，而建設中國之和平秩序，目的既達，乃更進而建設東亞新秩序，使其榮圈內，享永久之和平。

一世紀來英美帝國主義侵略之所獲，今日正在絡繹消失之過程中，日本因其在此過程中所佔之地位，而被視爲侵略者，日本在華之作戰，非爲對華，乃對一世紀來束縛中國之國家也，因此英美以其利益之受到威脅，乃盡力阻撓日本，妨礙其建設東亞新秩序之進行，且以爲日本與重慶作戰四年之後，其國力必然消削至不能抵抗所謂民主國之聯合行動。

關於日美開戰之謠言，大多爲英國方面所煽動者，在無線電及報章上，無日無之，此種無稽之談，無非欲使日本恐懼，豈知非但無益，而日本已充分準備對任何一方之敵人迎頭痛擊，其訓練有素，而有四年作戰經驗之陸軍，必能擊退一切攻勢，其實力日增而未受戰事損失之海軍，必能應付一切海上之威脅。

民主國錯誤之估計，其結果將在此次之歐戰中見之，對於日本勢力，尤其是日本海軍之評判，亦同樣錯誤，英美兩國注重海上實力，

而以爲兩國海軍聯合必能在太平洋上戰敗日本，此實大誤也，日本除其海軍之外，有一道天然之屏障，自其本國之南端至澳洲之北岸，幾成一直線，此即所謂太平洋壁壘，敵人之欲攻入此線者，直同飛蛾之撲火耳，對日本實力作明白之估計，尤其是在美國，當使美國領袖傾向對日作戰者，有所顧慮，因日本之地位非常鞏固也。

## ▲羅斯福重要之宣言▼

羅斯福總統之演說，其發表時之一種神秘空氣，及發表前之數次展期，使盎格羅薩克遜民族引領期待者，對於局勢却未有任何變化。演說辭中，無一點非爲羅斯福及其密切合作者前此所曾經發表者，其中值得吾人注意者有五點。

(一) 羅斯福竭力表示其不但爲美國之發言人，亦爲整個西半球，自加拿大至阿根廷之發言人，以造成一種印象，即彼之論調，亦係根據南美各拉丁民族政府之意旨。

(二) 在希特勒統治下之歐洲，所有工會，均成爲歷史上之古物，勞資間之談判，全屬虛偽，此種說法，加之以威脅，乃欲使美國工人，放棄其反抗態度，而受政府的裁制。

(三) 重述阿查爾斯(Azores)，綠島角(Cape Verde Islands)，及法屬非洲均爲保衛西半球之軍事要隘。

(四) 最坦白之發表英美兩國之造船業，即使合併，亦不能補充戰艦商船之損失，同時此中亦含有一種意義，即羅斯福或任何人之不知如何，始能在大西洋之戰爭中得勝。

(五) 將中國與上述之軍事要隘，相提並論。

總之，此次演說，所提及者，反不若其所盡力避免者爲重要，亦並未言及羅斯福，及其心腹之作戰決心，雖不增強亦未減弱，但在另一方面觀之，羅斯福總統乃戰略家，在此，可見其留下容納美國輿情之餘地矣。

## ▲重慶必須根本毀滅▼

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# 中華新報

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