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第三期

# VOICE of NEW CHINA

A BI-LINGUAL FORTNIGHTLY  
Incorporating the CHINA OUTLOOK

The Nippon-Soviet Pact

Chungking's Loss Is Nanking's Gain



Shanghai Special Municipality's  
Achievements

Roosevelt Deceiving The American  
People

Italy's War Aims

The Yanks Are Not Coming

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## To The Great Indian People

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

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

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

Now is the opportune moment to act!

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

(1) When India can no longer be exploited  
by rapacious Britain, the British Empire will  
perish forever.

(2) Vindicate what Macaulay said about the  
Indians: "They (the English) had found no  
people (Indians) so thoroughly fitted by habit and  
nature for the foreign yoke." What an insult  
to the Indian people!

(3) Emulate the Thirteen American Colonies  
which gave John Bull the "Order of the Big  
Boot"!

(4) May the great Allah punish treacherous  
England!

JOIN THE ASIATIC LEAGUE TO OVER-  
THROW BRITISH IMPERIALISM!

L. K. KENTWELL,  
Hon. Secretary,

GURDIAL SINGH,

Asst. Hon. Secretary and Treasurer

8 Drum Tower Villa, NANKING (CHINA).

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## Editorial Notes & Comments

### The Nippon-Soviet Pact

Successfully crowning his triumphal tour of Europe, Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka, the Japanese Foreign Minister, witnessed the conclusion of his conversations with the Kremlin in the signing of a Neutrality Pact with Soviet Russia an hour before the stroke of midnight on April 13.

The first reaction registered after the news of the Pact was made known was the great consternation raised in the anti-Axis camp. Disappointment, surprise and alarm were among the mixed feelings in Britain. To the United States, the Pact served as a stern warning for her to keep her hands off Asia and to mind her own business. It was also a deathblow to Britain's further exploitation and domination of Asia.

We have consistently urged in these columns the conclusion of just such a pact which Mr. Matsuoka has successfully negotiated, pointing out that in view of the success attending the negotiations which brought to an end the Changkufeng and Nomonhan Incidents, the Fisheries Question and the Border Demarcation, there was no reason why the foreign offices of the two countries should not pursue negotiations still farther afield to try and discover a solution for more fundamental problems.

Physically, the two countries have been enemies ever since the Czar exhibited ambitions to obtain an ice-free port on the East Asiatic coast-line. Psychologically, Japan's ideals have been dead set against the Marxist doctrines expounded by the Comintern which at one period was so closely related to the Soviet Government. Since the official alienation of the Soviet Government with the Comintern and repudiation of the latter's foreign or overseas activities, countries which, otherwise opposed to Communism, desired to stabilise their relations with Soviet Russia found the course clear of the one

obstacle which had until then stood in the path of rapprochement.

Thus it came about that the Nazis and Fascists, whose doctrines are just as opposed to Communism as is Japan's ideology, found no difficulty in forming pacts with Soviet Russia. The path for such rapprochement, as that reached between Japan and Soviet Russia on April 13, has also been smoothed by Russia's tacit agreement to become part and partner in the New World Order, of which Germany, in Europe, and Japan, in Asia, are the leading proponents.

The Neutrality Pact negotiated by Mr. Matsuoka does not, therefore, come as a surprise to the Axis Powers and adherents of the New World Order, but it certainly took the breath away of the anti-Axis camp.

The conclusion of a neutrality pact between Soviet Russia and Japan should have a salutary effect upon the situation in East Asia, and may have other repercussions of importance. By this instrument, the Soviet and Japanese Governments pledge themselves to maintain peaceful and



"A long trip, but a worthwhile one . . ."  
(Drawn by Eturo Kato).

friendly relations with one another and mutually to respect the territorial integrity of one another's territories while in the case of either becoming the object of belligerent actions on the part of one or several Third Powers, the other will preserve neutrality throughout the whole duration of the conflict. The pact is for five years in the first instance. Simultaneously with the pact there was signed an important declaration by which the U.S.S.R. pledges herself to respect the territorial integrity of Manchoukuo while Japan likewise pledges herself with regard to the Mongolian People's Republic, that is to say, Outer Mongolia, which is virtually part of the Soviet Union. Whether or not the signing of the pact will mean that Soviet assistance to the Chungking Government will be stopped or reduced cannot as yet be ascertained but it is probable that the pact is the beginning of an altogether fresh page in the relations between Moscow and Tokyo. There can be little doubt that recent American pressure upon Japan is partly responsible for the denouement. As we pointed out some time ago in these columns, ever since Washington adopted a distinctly anti-Japanese attitude there has been a powerful movement in the U.S.S.R. towards a better understanding with Japan and we may regard it as a basic principle of Soviet policy that the United States should keep its hands off Asia.

The tempo of Japan's southward expansion program will undoubtedly receive a great fillip from the conclusion of the Neutrality Pact with Soviet Russia, as Japan's hands will be very much freed in regard to the defense of her northern frontiers, especially those adjoining Siberia in Korea and Manchoukuo.

The conclusion of peace between Thai and French Indo-China has removed one of the obstacles in Japan's southward path, and now that anxiety in the north has been allayed, a greater impetus south will soon be witnessed. In fact, the day is not far off when Japan will launch a devastating attack on Britain's Far Eastern stronghold, Singapore, the outcome of which will most assuredly be in Japan's favor.

Increased American activities on this side of the Pacific will also be capably handled by Japan's invincible navy.

Viewed from all angles, the Nippon-Soviet Pact has most assuredly rendered a great service toward the firm establishment of the New Order in East Asia, and Japan is to be

congratulated on achieving a diplomatic victory of the utmost importance to the future destiny of Asia.

### Chungking's Loss Is Nanking's Gain

Realizing the futility of further resistance and seeing the success achieved by the National Government during the past year, a total of 25,000 soldiers belonging to Chungking's 89th Army, the 117th Division and the Shantung-Kiangsu Amalgamated Army announced their decision to join the Peace Movement a few days ago under the leadership of General Pan Kan-cheng, Deputy Chief of Staff of the 89th Army and concurrently Chief of Staff of the 117th Division, and General Liu Hsiang-tu, Commander-in-Chief of the North-Western units of the Shantung-Kiangsu Amalgamated Army. Soon after their arrival in Nanking the two generals interviewed President Wang Ching-wei to report to him the actual conditions of their respective troops as well as to receive instructions.

Besides issuing a circular telegram announcing their decision to fight for peace, Generals Pan and Liu have also wired Chiang Kai-shek and other Chungking leaders to call their attention to the glorious future of Sino-Japanese co-operation and to urge them to give up their stupid policy of resistance. In an interview granted to a group of pressmen on April 13 at



Chiang Kai-shek . . . daily losing more supporters

the Central Hotel the two generals stated, "As we are military men, we know that militarily it is absolutely impossible for Chungking to defeat Japan." They emphasized that only peace could save China while endless resistance would only lead China to national extinction. As to the problem of how to struggle for peace in future, they expressed their firm determination to devote all their efforts to the work of military reconstruction.

This surrender follows the recent surrender of General Li Chang-kiang in the latter part of February with 30,000 troops (refer to "VOICE OF NEW CHINA," March 1 issue) and several other surrenders of varying other Chungking forces with their commanders.

In connection with these wholesale desertions from the Chungking ranks, the following editorial from the well-known Shanghai daily, the "Shanghai Times," sheds interesting light on Chungking's press-gang methods:

"The statement of Mr. Chen Kia-keng, former President of the Federation of Singapore Overseas Chinese Merchants, that out of 250,000 youths pressed for service in the army of the Chungking regime no less than 100,000 managed to escape, is a remarkable sidelight on the methods adopted for recruiting an army which is supposed, if we are to believe the speeches emanating from time to time from Chungking, to be fired with patriotic enthusiasm for the deliverance of the country. Chungking has from the first used the press-gang with the result that there have been enormous numbers of desertions. The idea seems to have been that a system of conscription based on European conceptions ought to be put into force in China but, either wanting the means or the will, Chungking was unable to carry out the plan properly and "conscription" simply came to mean the press-gang. It is clear that recruiting on these lines will never supply Chungking with an army of real value and that the trouble most of the time has been that the enthusiastic patriots alleged to be in the army are simply not there, while men picked up forcibly in village streets or off their farmlands have no heart in the business. At the beginning of the Sino-Japanese hostilities, when there was fighting going on around Shanghai, the case was materially different and numbers of patriotic young Chinese, often, we fear, untrained in the art of war, joined the Chinese troops and in

many cases gave their lives for what they believed was China's cause. Since the fall of Nanking, however, Chungking's regular army has attracted few such youths and, the Communists, whatever their other faults, have been able to claim most of the enthusiasts."

\* \* \*

### Loss of Revenue to National Government

According to recent press reports from Shanghai, large blocks of valuable properties on Nanking Road have been recently sold or transferred without payment of transfer tax to the National Government, especially in the case of the Liza Building and the Continental Emporium.

In view of the non-compliance with Chinese law, such sale or sales of any property or properties of the late Silas Hardoon's estate will not be recognized as valid by the National Government of China.

\* \* \*

### Shanghai Special Municipality's Achievements

Characteristic of his untiring energy and determination, the activities of Mr. Chen Kung-po, Mayor of the Shanghai Special Municipality, to lift the Chinese people out of their lethargy and the hard plight in which they find themselves, have elicited the admiration of Shanghai's vast population, both Chinese and foreign.

During the period of less than six months since he took over the post of Mayor of China's metropolis, Mr. Chen has taken swift action to eliminate all vice dens which are detrimental to the health and well-being of the community, and his infectious energy has lent impetus to the program of reconstruction of areas devastated by the hostilities.

Not a day passes without some noteworthy progress being registered, and the Civic Center at Kiangwan is one of the busiest hives of activity in Shanghai.

Hospitals and medical facilities for the public have been reorganised; the educational program has received special attention; establishments for the poor have been inaugurated; highways and waterways in the municipal area have been respectively repaired and dredged, and placed under proper control; war refugee

settlements have been constructed; food supply control and commodity price regulations have been instituted; a sum of \$20,000,000 has been collected to establish a public organization for the purchase of the staple food of the community, rice; and last, but not least, vice dens have been eliminated.

In all the departments and bureaus of the Municipality: Social Affairs, Education, Health, Public Works, Land, Revenue, etc., the guiding hand of Shanghai's able and energetic Mayor is felt.

The Mayor's path has not been an easy one, and he has been beset by difficulties due to the complex nature of Shanghai's various interests. Furthermore, it must be borne in mind that Shanghai is still in a virtual state of emergency and conditions are far from stabilized. But the key-note of success being Sino-Japanese co-operation, and with the assistance of the Japanese Authorities in Shanghai, we feel certain that the next six-month period will witness further vast improvement under Mayor Chen's able guidance.

\* \* \*

### Roosevelt Deceiving the American People

In his attempt to deceive the American people into aiding Britain in the war against



Roosevelt . . . promised to keep the U.S.A. out of the war, but Mars seems to control the reins.

Germany, President Franklin Roosevelt is not meeting with the success he anticipated.

The numerous strikes in essential industries, especially the bituminous coal strike of 450,000 miners presents a serious situation and is a reply to Roosevelt's deception of the American people. The strikes have reduced the output of steel by 10% while other industries have suffered to the extent of 50%. Even the gigantic syndicate of General Motors and the Ford works, which have generally escaped labor disturbances, have been affected by strikes. Labor disturbances have, in fact, reached out in all fields of American industry, and it is evident that the American laboring class are thus demonstrating their unwillingness to become party to the inevitable involvement of their country in the European War.

The Lend-Lease Bill is proving to be a boomerang and it is high time for the American nation to take immediate action against Roosevelt's dictatorial power which is heading the country into a conflict which does not concern her in the least.

Roosevelt's actions can only be compared to a gigantic swindle which he has perpetrated on his people. The main plank in his platform for re-election was "I kept America out of the war." This strategy worked and he was returned to the White House as America's first third-term President. He promised the people peace, but since his third election his actions have brought the country perilously to the brink of war against the Axis. His most recent decision, to convoy war supplies to Britain with American war vessels, can only be construed as an act of war, and as the days pass he seems to be aggravating the U.S.A.'s relations with the Axis Powers to such an extent that open conflict may break out at any moment.

As a reflection of the attitude of the American masses towards the conflict, it is interesting to recall the recent statement made by Mr. William Allen White, universally known publisher and peace advocate: "The only reason I am in this organization (White's Committee) is to keep this country out of the war." Mr. White also declared his strong opposition to the convoy proposal of sending American ships into the war zone.

\* \* \*

## Italy's War Aims

"To remain outside the war," Mario Ap- pelius, the well-known Italian author, writes, "would have been equal to Italy's committing suicide." Having entered the conflict on the side of her ally, Germany, to rid Europe and the world of the unjust British domination, it is interesting to recall Italy's war aims.

The war aims of Italy are of a moral, a political and an economic nature. These aims, the immediate realisation of which is a task foremost in the mind and desire of every Italian, are:

1. Italy must have free outlet from the Mediterranean to one of the world's oceans,
2. The well-known historical rights of Italy, which every Italian knows from the first day of his school-life, must be realised,
3. Italy demands a higher standard of living for her increasing population by expansion of her economic sphere.

Each of these aims would, alone, already have been ample justification for participation in the war. The demand for an outlet from the Mediterranean, not controlled by foreign powers, is a moral demand. After her successful campaigns against Abyssinia and Albania, imperial sentiments filled the Italian people. When



*Mussolini . . . did not err and the tide of victory is now sweeping his way.*

war broke out in 1939, they had to realise that Britain, by maintaining control of the exits from the Mediterranean, held 45 million Italians prisoner. Italian trade was destroyed long before Italy became a belligerent power.

The achievement of the second point— which would include realisation of all aims of the historical unification policy of Italy— has been amply demanded and explained by Italian men of letters and politicians since beginning of the century.

Regarding the third point, which is of a social-political nature, Italy sees the war as means to create a solid foundation for her economic life, thereby raising the Italian standard of living in accordance with Italy's position as third-largest European power.

### Board of Supervisors of Central Reserve Bank Holds First Meeting

The Board of Supervisors of the Central Reserve Bank of China held its first meeting on April 2. The Supervisors present at the meeting were Messrs. Chen Chun-pu, Ho Ping-Hsien, and Lo Chun-Chiang, while Mr. Yang Shu-ping, Chief Auditor and Secretary to the Governor of the Bank was also present. Mr. Yen Chi-heng acted as recording secretary. Mr. Lo presided over the meeting, which after some discussion adopted the following resolutions:

- (1) That Mr. Lo Chun-Chiang be the Chairman of the Board of Supervisors; (2) That the estimates of the expenditures for the bureaux, divisions, and departments of the head office and the branch offices in Soochow, Hangchow and Shanghai for the first half of the year 1941 be approved and (3) That the revised Regulations governing the Meetings of the Board of Supervisors be approved.

The meeting adjourned after two hours of discussion.

### U.S. to Take Over Axis Ships

President Roosevelt said that he would make a request to Congress for authority to take over Axis ships. The President said that the United States could seize Axis vessels without ceremony if she were at war. After a lengthy pause, President Roosevelt added slowly, "but the United States is not at war."

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

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

(Continued from last issue)

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

The Ministry of Industry and Commerce is now handling the following matters: (1) The registration of factories. In order to have a clear idea of post-hostilities industrial conditions, the Ministry has served notices on the various provincial and municipal authorities to enforce registration in accordance with regulations promulgated by that Ministry. (2) Investigations of factory conditions. In addition to making investigations by the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, notices have been served on the various provincial and municipal authorities to conduct separate investigations in order to serve as references in devising regeneration and reconstruction schemes. (3) The drafting of plans concerning the development of industries, including the revival of the weaving and spinning and of flour producing industries. (4) The drafting of temporary regulations on the subsidising of reopened factories. (5) Revision of regulations governing the control of small-scale silk factories. (6) The reopening of the Bureau of Standards and the opening of inspection offices in the various provinces and municipalities. The registration of inspectors and the drafting of various regulations. (7) The re-registration of technicians to be undertaken jointly by the Ministry of Industry and Commerce and the Ministry of Agriculture and Mining. (8) Increase of duties of the various commercial administrative organizations such as the Bureau of Trade Marks, the Bureau of Goods Inspection and others. As a result of past year's efforts at consolidation, the Bureau of Trade Marks and the Bureau of Goods Inspection have been restored to their pre-hostilities status. The two bureaux taking charge of the sale and transportation of tea and silk are progressing smoothly

and have proved to be of great help to the export of tea and silk. (9) The reopening of the various commercial organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai and Nanking. The Ministries of Industry and Commerce and of Agriculture and Mining have jointly urged the reopening of the various business guilds in order to strengthen the organization of the business establishments. (10) Preparations for the opening of a Foreign Trade Board. For the purpose of exercising control over foreign trade, of balancing China's international payments and receipts and of strengthening the foundation of the new legal tender notes, the Ministry of Industry and Commerce has drafted plans preparatory to the establishment of a Foreign Trade Board and a Foreign Trade Company. (11) The re-registration of business concerns and the re-examination of certified accounts.

#### Agriculture and Communications

The above are illustrations concerning the activities of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce. The Ministries of Agriculture and Mining, of Communications and of Railways are also energetically pushing forward their affairs. Among the outstanding achievements in the field of communications during the past year is the taking over of the postal right and post offices are now under the direct control of the Ministry of Communications. On September 23, 1940, postage charges were increased throughout the country at the same time. Postal savings will soon be restored in Kiangsu, Chekiang and Anhwei. A clear demarcation of old and new accounts will be made. The post offices will accept savings accounts which will be under the close supervision of the Ministry.



With regard to telegraphic enterprises, the Ministry has, in co-operation with the Ministry of Publicity, taken over and reorganized the broadcasting stations in different localities. With reference to navigation, in addition to consolidating the Shanghai Bureau of Navigation, the Ministry of Communication has, considering the present state of navigation, restored the Bureau of Navigation in Canton and other places. In the meantime, the shipping guild is being consolidated in order to lessen the burden of shipowners. China has suffered more in railways than in highways. Since the return of the National Government to the Capital, the Chinese and Japanese authorities have negotiated sincerely concerning the railway enterprise. They have agreed on the principle of government ownership and operation, but before the realization of a nation-wide peace and in the continuation of the state of war road adjustment will be made only when circumstances permit.

Agricultural and mining enterprises are under the consideration of the Government because they greatly affect people's economy. Although various Ministries of an economic nature have their special duties, they are nevertheless closely related to one another and may be considered as an integral whole.

Recently the Executive Yuan has established a National Economic Council, with the President and the Vice-President of the Executive Yuan as Chairman and Vice-Chairman respectively, and the Ministers of Finance, of Industry and Commerce, of Agriculture and Mining, of Communications, and of Railways as members. In case of necessity the other Ministers may attend meetings of the Council. The establishment of the Council is aimed at the betterment of the present economic situation and the implementation of economic plans. On the part of China, economy must be developed in order to augment the wealth of the people and that of the state. On the part of China and Japan, economic co-operation is necessary in order to promote the prosperity of East Asia. The immensity of responsibility warrants intensified efforts.

#### The Rice Question

Another important topic may be mentioned here. It is the rice question. Every one knows that food is the life-line of the people and that China is an agricultural country. However, the rice supply was insufficient even before the outbreak of the present hostilities.

According to figures released by the Customs, the importation of rice showed yearly increases which were further aggravated by the outbreak of the hostilities. Famines are unavoidable after wars. Because of the mobile warfare and the misapplied 'scorched earth' policy of the guerillas, bandits and Communists, rice production has been steadily decreasing. This, coupled with difficulties in transportation, has caused the steady increase of rice prices. The situation has been rendered more acute by the unscrupulous issue of notes by the Chungking authorities and by the speculations of merchants in Shanghai. The fundamental remedy lies in the clearing of bandits and Communists, in the stabilization of rural districts, and in the encouragement of agriculture or farming, by scientific as well as political method to increase production.

The establishment of the food management committee was a temporary measure, aiming at stabilizing food prices and distributing food supplies. It has devoted its whole efforts since it started to function October last year. Price increases have been caused mainly by attempts at cornering the market. In Nanking, Chinkiang, and their vicinity, rice prices are influenced by prices in south Anhwei and Wuhu. In Soochow, Changchow and other cities, rice prices are affected by fluctuations in Shanghai. As a result of various devices, the price connection between Shanghai and the interior is gradually loosening and therefore rice prices in Soochow and Changchow are lower than those in Shanghai. The food management committee has paid special attention to the price of Wuhu rice and has worked out measures for the concentration of foodstuffs. It has urged the foodstuffs guild to organize a joint office and, under one organization, decide on the minimum prices and centralize all purchases, prohibiting free buying. Although because of scarcity the prices of rice have recently gone up, yet they have not been allowed to exceed the \$70 limit. The Government, on the other hand, has bought rice and cereals to augment the supply. As a result of these efforts the prices of rice in Nanking, Chinkiang and other cities have more or less remained under the official prices. If no control had been exercised, the price in Wuhu would probably have exceeded \$100 and that in Nanking and Chinkiang considerably higher. The above passages describe the government's efforts in preventing the cornering of the market. As

to the distribution of supplies, the rice and cereal output last year was poor. In Kiangsu, Chekiang and Anhwei as well as Nanking and Shanghai where peace and order has been restored, the rice output was only over 24,000,000 piculs, whereas the requirement was over 29,000,000 showing a deficit of over 5,000,000 piculs. Although the people in various places eat cereals side by side with rice, the deficiency was still considerable. The food committee has been doing its utmost to remedy the situation and, with the assistance of our friendly neighbor, has recently bought an ample supply enough to last until the harvest of the new rice crop. The purchased foodstuffs are now being shipped to Nanking, Chinkiang Tanyang, Nantung, Hangchow, Wuhu, Pengpu and other places. Efforts are being continued in an endeavor to tide over the present food situation. In short, the rice question is a very important and critical one which is taking the energy of the government. During the summer months last year, civil servants contributed part of their salaries to subsidize cheap sale of rice while the Ministry of Finance, facing financial stringency, raised huge funds to purchase rice and grains, a fact known to all. I shall not go into details concerning this topic, but shall promise that the Government would assume full responsibility to solve the question.

The mission of the food management committee is only of a temporary nature. As to fundamental solutions, it is not only the responsibility of the Ministry of Agriculture and Mining but also that of the Executive Yuan and of the National Government. We must always remember that food is the life-line of the people and that China is an agricultural country. To turn China from an agricultural state to an industrial country, great agricultural improvements must be first effected. This is the starting point of all economic policy and we must do our utmost.

#### "Other Miseries"

Although the rice question has caused sufferings to the people, we must not forget other miseries. After its return to the Capital, the National Government, in view of the immensity and wide area of famine, established a National Relief Affairs Commission to shoulder relief work. During April and May last year, when there was a shortage of rice and when the government was facing financial stringency, appropriated \$1,000,000 for cheap sales of rice

in Kiangsu, Chekiang, Anhwei, Kwangtung, Shanghai and Nanking. Actually \$1,240,000 was appropriated. Other relief measures in Kiangsu, Cheking, Kiangsi, Hunan, Hupeh, Honan, Nanking and Hankow cost the government a total of over \$3,000,000 during the year. In the Capital the National Relief Affairs Commission, in conjunction with the various Ministries and Commission and local bodies, undertook winter relief measures, raising a fund of over \$700,000 and benefitting over 160,000 people. They also exercise control over other relief activities, having in their care over 2,200 persons and during the winter months, over 3,400 people were receiving benefit from it. Railway accidents, bandits and fires also receive the attention of the Commission. It is regretful that difficulties in communications have left much to be desired. The above description concerns only relief funds. In addition, there is a sinking fund of \$540,000. If financial conditions permit, the fund will be increased every month.

Water conservancy is also important. The reverse of conservancy is flood. The Commission of Conservancy has been incessantly repairing the dykes of the Yangtse, of the Grand Canal and of the Huai River in order to prevent dyke breaks. It is also making preparations to repair the breaks of the Yellow River, at Chungmou. A committee has been established by the National Government to take special charge of the Yellow River breaks. The river bed from Chungmou to Litsin, over 1,000 li in length, needs repairing, otherwise the river water, unable to reach the sea, would inundate everywhere it passes.

#### Progress of Publicity

Culture is closely related to economy. In my Peace Proposals of December 29, 1930, I said that 'In laying the foundation for permanent peace between the two countries, China should decide on a definite educational policy.' In the Treaty concerning the Basic Relations between China and Japan signed on November 30, 1940, there are solemn stipulations regarding cultural harmony, creation and development. It is only natural that to change facts it is first necessary to effect a psychological reconstruction. Since the return of the National Government to its Capital, the Executive Yuan has, in addition to the Ministry of Education, established the Ministries of Publicity and of Social Affairs, which were, before the present hostilities, subordinated to the Central Executive

Committee of the Kuo-Min Tang. The Ministry of Social Affairs handles social affairs as well as social movements which bear close relationship to education and publicity. The Ministry of Publicity permits the people to know, understand and carry out the principles and policies of the Government. It has also a very close relationship with social education. The joint efforts of the three Ministry have resulted in considerable achievements, following during the year, in the field of culture. The illustrations concerning achievements in the field of publicity may be mentioned: (1) The readjustment of news agencies. In May last year the China United Press and the China News Agency were amalgamated into the Central Press Service, which has since been the sole State organ in the unification of news measures. The Chung Lian Sales departments was changed into the Central Book and Magazine Company and the newspaper liaison office was taken over and reorganized into the Central Newspaper Agency in order to assist in the issue, advertisement and development of the papers and to effect the rationalization of the newspaper business. (2) The taking over of the News Censorship Office in Shanghai. As a result of

this, the Ministry of Publicity exercises the right of news censoring. (3) The establishment of the Movie Censorship Committee. (4) The regulation of the Chung Hua Movie Company. (5) The establishment of the China Broadcasting Reconstruction Association and the taking over of the broadcasting stations in different localities. (6) The readjustment of publicity organizations in different places and the enactment of regulations governing the organization of provincial and municipal publicity organizations and of those governing publicity meetings. (7) The training of skeleton-publicity personnel. The Central Publicity Training Institute has begun its second term of training. In short, publicity organizations have come into being one after the other and the scope of publicity activities have steadily expanded during the year. Those needing negotiations and readjustment have all been satisfactorily settled.

Worthy of particular mention is broadcasting. The broadcasting station in different places were under the management and operation of the Japanese authorities following the outbreak of the present hostilities. They have spent considerable sums in equipping them. In placing all machinery and equipment unconditionally at the disposal of the China Broadcasting Reconstruction Association, in the form of lease or safe-keeping, our friendly neighbour shows us that she is sincere in her respect for our sovereignty and in co-operation with us in the field of publicity. I think that if we strive on tirelessly, a great deal will be accomplished in effecting psychological reconstruction so as to make it the psychic foundation for the new relations between China and Japan and the New Order in East Asia.

### Nanking Municipal Bank Inaugurated

The Nanking Municipal Bank received deposits totalling several millions of dollars within the brief space of a few hours after its inauguration on April 4. It is learned that Japanese assistance has contributed in a great measure to the successful inauguration of the bank. Major-General Harada, chief of the Japanese Special Service in Nanking, rendered valuable assistance in finding premises for the accommodation of the bank.

In the evening Mayor Tsai Pei gave a dinner party to a number of personages including Major-General Harada.

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## Struggle on With Patience and Courage

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During the first year after the reorganization and the return of the National Government to Nanking, the continued resistance of Chungking prevented nation-wide peace from being attained. The hostilities continued and as a result the abnormal situation has further developed making it impossible, for the government to increase its efficiency in political administration and to improve the economic life of the people, as stated by President Wang Ching-wei. In the Peace areas, however, progress was achieved in various fields of activity during the past year and the foundation of national reconstruction through peace has been laid.

Now, just after the first anniversary of the reorganization and return of the National Government to Nanking, there are two points for us to realize, two points which should receive the special attention of the entire nation.

(1) As nation-wide peace has not yet been attained, which is unavoidably a serious obstacle to the reconstruction of our country, we cannot wait until nation-wide peace has been established in order to start our work of reconstruction. We must immediately set an example for reconstruction through peace.

(2) The establishment of models for peaceful reconstruction will make it possible for the eventual development of partial peace into nation-wide peace.

In the future, our efforts should be centered on the following tasks:

(1) Psychological reconstruction. President Wang said "We should not be pessimistic nor should we boast of ourselves." Mayor Chen Kung-po said we must correct the habit of being elated with pride or gloomy with disappointment. What President Wang and Mayor Chen said are important instructions to the comrades of the Peace Movement. All of us must have a fresh spirit, a solemn attitude, a strong will and a correct foresight so that we may surmount all difficulties. Mistakes of the past must be corrected. Further achievements must be made in the future. We must have the spirit of revolutionary fighters.

(2) Military reconstruction: Peace model cannot be established on paper. It can only be

built by actual work. If we cannot make it possible for the people to live in peace and work in security, we cannot be said to have succeeded in our mission. To make it possible for the people to live peacefully and work in security, we must have a new army, modernized and mechanized. In addition, our army must have the revolutionary spirit as well as modern knowledge. When the foundation has been laid for military and police reconstruction, we shall be able to preserve peace and order in the peace zones and carry out further tasks of national reconstruction.

(3) Economic reconstruction. China's history of political thought tells us that after a war, it is most important to have a simple political administration and light punishment so that the people may enjoy repose and the nation may be regenerated. According to this principle, we should reduce the burdens of the people in our economic reconstruction work. We must collect what the government should collect in the form of taxes and our expenses should be rational and reasonable. Every cent must be spent for a useful purpose. As President Wang said the regular accounting system should be introduced universally. In our reconstruction work, we must do what is most important first. We must pay special attention to the interest of the nation and the people. We must eliminate all the bad habits of "squeeze" and corruption so that every cent will be spent on the most important tasks. This is the ideal political structure which we must establish in this country. We shall be confronted with very serious difficulties but we have a bright future. Fighters of the Peace Movement as well as the people of the entire nation must rise up and with strong determination march on under the leadership of Mr. Wang Ching-wei. — (C.C.D.N.)

### Shanghai Municipal Government to Install Special Anti-Opium Section

The Shanghai Municipal Government is planning to establish a special section in the Police Bureau with a view to the suppression of the evil habit of smoking opium. This section will investigate and register opium addicts. The plans have been submitted to the Executive Yuan for approval.

## Chungking Regime's Bombings & Assassinations

The hiring of assassins to murder political opponents is a most despicable and shameless act. Especially brutal or inhuman is it to slaughter plain citizens in broad daylight when attempts on the lives of political opponents for the purpose of preserving personal rights and interests have failed. It is a disgrace to humanity! The existence of such murderers . . . in China is the greatest shame to the Chinese nation!

Assassinations and dark intrigues occur under two political conditions, viz. (1) rule of force by dictatorship and (2) reaction of a declining political power.

The Chungking regime answers fully to the description. Chiang Kai-shek's words and actions show clearly that he has the ambitions of a dictator. Large numbers of shameless politicians and writers are still "supporting," "boasting," and "shouting" for Chiang Kai-shek. On the other hand, because of the growing terror of Communists, the Blue Shirts have started to massacre the people. If Chiang and the Communists, continue to indulge in such truculent activities, they will only show themselves to be the political blacksheep that they are, while murders, dark plots and continued acts of terrorism will only hasten the collapse of the little that is left of their political power. In the meantime, the progress of the Revolutionary Movement will not be the least affected.

As we have said long ago, the comrades of the Peace Movement cannot be threatened by bayonets or bombs. We have been trying to explain to the people a new political ideology in an effort to awaken their political consciousness under the most difficult circumstances. We have been striving to win the war of concepts and ideas in order to give a fresh impetus to our Revolutionary Movement. Chungking's remnant political power is still supported by the British and American Imperialists as well as the agents of the Third Internationale in China. The Chungking authorities do not think of the interests of their own country and people, and will never realize their own mistakes. In the face of this painful situation, we feel it incumbent upon ourselves to redouble

our efforts. As Mr. Wang Ching-wei said: "We cannot depend upon the awakening of Chungking to carry out our work. We have to depend upon our own blood to complete the work of our Peace Movement". In the present situation, Chungking's vexations have been manifesting themselves in their political machinations. The cruel acts of terrorism directed against us have only served to consolidate our will-power and self-confidence.

The secret plots which have recently been discovered in Nanking may be taken as an unmistakable sign of Chungking's impending collapse. The laying of bombs in places where large numbers of people were to assemble indicates clearly that the intention was not to kill one or a few particular individuals but large numbers of common folk indiscriminately. This will never be forgotten by the people. Such acts of savagery, which show a complete disregard of humanitarian principles and political ethics, were perhaps intended to strike terror into the hearts of the lower classes. But fear is not the same thing as obedience; it will only produce deep hatred. Such acts of moral depravity have disclosed Chungking's weaknesses. Never in history has there been a despotic king or autocrat as cruel-hearted as Chiang Kai-shek. In Russian history, we read about the "Red Sunday" when large numbers of people were killed but this failed to stop the success of the Russian revolution. Chungking must realize that their efforts to establish a dictatorial form of government against the interests of the nation can never be accepted by the people. To send a few assassins to throw one or two bombs in the cinema theatres of Nanking will only hasten the downfall of Chungking. From the Nanking bombing incidents, we can prognosticate as follows: (1) that the terrorists are unable to do anything and are forced to perpetrate the most depraved action of killing innocent people. This shows that the Blue Shirts and the Communists are fighting their last battle before their death (2) Chungking's life has almost reached its end. Political weaknesses and inhuman actions will hasten its downfall. (3) Facts have proved that the idea of continued resistance is not correct and is losing ground day by day.

We regret that our people have fallen victims to Chungking terrorists. We would like to offer the following three suggestions for the elimination of the Blue Shirts and the Communists: (1) We must redouble our efforts to recover the settlement and concession of Shanghai, because these places are the bases of Chungking's terrorist activities. As the Shanghai Municipal Council has not the power to wipe out these terrorists, let us take over the work (2) We want all the people to rise up and assist the government in preserving peace and

order, and in suppressing the Blue Shirts and the Communists. Only through the self-defense of the people can we stamp out political intrigues. (3) We must intensify the ideological struggle. We must push our reconstruction work so that the ideology and the facts of Peace may be propagated to every part of the society. It is only then that Chungking's dictatorial rule with its compradore ideology and inhuman conduct will completely collapse. This will be the end of the Chungking regime, of the Blue Shirts and the Communists.— ("G. C. Daily News").

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### Ambassador Tang Leang-li Issues Statement on the Japanese-Soviet Pact

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In connection with the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese Pact, Ambassador Tang Leang-li, concurrently Director-General of the International Publicity Board, has issued the following statement:-

"The conclusion of the Russo-Japanese Neutrality Pact on April 13 brings up the anti-Communist program of the National Government of China and the question of future Sino-Russian relations, it being generally assumed that the anti-Communist platform of the Peace Movement is incompatible with friendly relations between China and Soviet Russia. At the outset it must be made clear that Communism or the Comintern and Soviet Russia are, whatever their historical origin, at the present moment, two entirely different things, and there can in practice thus be no incompatibility between anti-Communism and friendly relations with Soviet Russia. Fascist, anti-Communist, Italy was, after she suppressed Communism at home, the first to consent to make friends with Soviet Russia; Germany, the buttress of anti-Communism, also consented to a close co-operation with Soviet Russia, without forsaking her policy of anti-Communism, the success of which, in fact, predicated the German-Soviet co-operation. Present-day Japan's attitude is similar.

"Soviet Russia has acknowledged the realities of the New Order in East Asia as she has acknowledged that Communism is an internal problem for such countries as Italy,

Germany and Japan to be dealt with in accordance with their respective domestic policies. China expects Soviet Russia to take the further step and respect China's right to deal with the problem of Communism in accordance with China's established national policy, without interference, overt or covert, in one another's affairs. In this way the foundation of friendship and co-operation of the Powers concerned may be established as the basis of a Eurasian Peace Axis for the benefit of peace in Asia, Europe, and the world in general."

### The Monroe Doctrine

America enunciated her Monroe Doctrine because she was wise enough to know that most European nations were more ambitious than they were reasonable. It has been proved ever since its enunciation that the Monroe Doctrine, which stands for regionalism, is a very efficient and reasonable check to limit international unreasonableness.

Why is it wrong for the Japanese to aspire to enjoy regionalism in East Asia when America herself has enjoyed it for more than a century? Why should America enjoy freedom to meddle in this region when she does not tolerate any meddling in her region? Yes, which is more unreasonable: America or Nippon?

## The Yanks Are Not Coming

(Note: Britain today is struggling desperately to keep the war going, with the hope that American aid to Britain might ultimately turn the scale in favor of England. The British Government also has pinned its hopes of victory on eventual American participation in the war. President Roosevelt has pledged himself and his country to Britain's cause, but what the United States can do for Britain—and when—is succinctly revealed in an article appearing in a recent issue of the American news weekly, LIFE, which is herewith reproduced.)

Last week Sir Walter Layton of the British Ministry of Supply, back from a visit to the U.S., told his own people that American arms production will not get rolling at full speed until the spring of 1942. This estimate is backed up by the best business judgment in the U.S. and it is a sad truth for Britain. For if one thing is certain about Hitler's war plans it is this: he will not wait until U.S. arms production hits its stride before he makes a gigantic effort to knock Britain out. Most shrewd observer predict this effort before next summer.

This desperate estimate of the British position was behind the various proposals that filled the air last week for doing something more to help Britain quick. Plan No. 1 is for the U. S. Navy to help convoy ships to Britain, thus providing adequate protection, now lacking. Plan No. 2 is to buy or confiscate the 66 German, Italian and Danish merchant ships now lying in U.S. ports and turn them over to Britain. Plan No. 3, first mentioned last week, is to declare Eire out of the war zone, thus allowing U. S. ships to carry arms and guns to her ports. None of these plans meet Britain's main need for more arms than U. S. industry can produce, but they might conceivably turn the balance if the balance were very close.

The salient fact about all these plans is they are not really "short of war." Germany refers to the present volume of American material and moral aid to the British as "pinpricks." But Germany has made clear that any attempt to convoy ships to England would be regarded as an act of war, and warships engaged in convoy would be sunk on sight. Last week the Berlin press warned that arms or food shipped to Eire in U.S. bottoms would be regarded as ultimately destined for England, and that Germany would take any necessary steps to prevent these ships from reaching their destination.

The old distinction between "Isolationists" and "Interventionists" is no longer valid for

most Americans. A large majority in the country stands for full aid to Britain—but every effort to keep out of war. The proposals now under discussion reveal the new division of opinion. It is between a policy of all aid short of war and a policy of further aid which runs the risk of war.

While the country waited for the President to speak, the no-risk-of-war-party still held the fort. A No Foreign War Committee got off to a whirlwind start under the direction of Verne Marshall, editor of the Cedar Rapids Gazette, who lined up Colonel Lindbergh as a backer. The *Saturday Evening Post* published an article charging that the Administration had tried to shut up Lindbergh last autumn by dangling before him a proposed post of Secretary for Air.

But the greatest boost for the no-risk-of-war party came from the head of the help-Britain movement, William Allen White. In a statement to the Scripps-Howard newspapers, Mr. White declared that "the only reason I am in this organization is to keep this country out of war." White's Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, he said, opposed the convoy proposal, proposed sending U.S. ships into the war zone, opposed repealing the Johnson Act—all aims generally ascribed to it. Mr. White's motto: "*The Yanks Are Not Coming.*"

### D.N.B. Nanking Branch Office

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

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## Dismembering of the British Empire

### Participation in the War by Yugoslavia

(Translation of "Central China Daily News" Editorial)

The foundation of German domination of the Balkans was laid when Bulgaria and Rumania joined the Axis. However, this work will be completed only when Yugoslavia, Greece, and even Turkey free themselves from the bondage of Britain thoroughly and definitely. As long as German domination in the Balkans cannot be completed, there will be no way to destroy British naval forces in the East Mediterranean, and as a result, the center of war between Britain and the Axis has been shifted from the British Isles to the Balkans.

Originally, under the control of the Prince Regent, Yugoslavia had obtained the assurance of the Axis Powers to preserve her independence and freedom. When Yugoslavia joined the Tripartite Pact, Japan, Germany, and Italy promised that Axis troops would not be sent across the Yugoslav territory either on foot or by train. After the conclusion of the last world war, the Versailles Treaty and French patronage enabled Yugoslavia to grow into a second-rate Power in Europe. The question as to what is the best way to deal with Nazi Germany, who has proved herself invincible, in order to preserve the national independence and freedom of Yugoslavia has indeed been the main pre-occupation of the more prudent or sensible statesmen in Yugoslavia ever since the outbreak of the second European War. That Yugoslavia did not join the Axis when the war threatened to spread to the Balkans but decided to do so on March 25 showed clearly that all what the Yugoslav Government did up to that time was aimed to preserve her own independence and freedom. Unfortunately, the results, achieved with so much difficulty, were spoilt by the 17-year old king and the hot-headed military leaders.

German troops have now begun their march towards Yugoslavia. It is difficult as yet to predict the result. But one thing is certain, and that is that Yugoslavia has been drawn into the

war. It is inevitable that the people of Yugoslavia will suffer again the bitter experience which they tasted once before in the first world war. Why has Yugoslavia chosen to act in such a way? Why should she follow in the foot-steps of Greece by becoming another vanguard of Britain and America and fighting for others? This is much to be regretted.

The German attempt to dominate the Balkans is for the sole purpose of dismembering the British Empire. If the Balkan States could help to establish a new order of Europe under the leadership of Germany their territories would not be liable to German occupation. Come what may, Germany is determined to obtain the complete domination of the Balkans. The dispatch of German troops to Yugoslavia and Greece at the same time aims mainly to stop the Greek troops from taking any further actions in Albania and to force the Greeks into submission so that the Aegean and the Adriatic Seas will be controlled by Germany as bases for the struggle in the Mediterranean. The German attack on Yugoslavia and Greece will greatly affect the war in the Balkans and the Mediterranean. If German troops enter Albania from the north, establish close contact with the Italian troops and reach the border of the Aegean Sea by way of Bulgaria from the south, the contacts between Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey on land will be cut off. Then Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey, who are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the British troops, will be defeated one by one by the Germans.

Meantime, the German offensive in the Balkans will also affect the Anglo-Italian war in Africa. It will offer the Italian troops an excellent opportunity for a counter-attack. If the Italian troops take this opportunity to destroy the British forces in Africa, Britain will be confronted with another serious crisis in the Mediterranean.



## Emperor of Japan at Horse Show in Tokyo



"Horse Day" was observed on a large scale in Tokyo on April 7. The day honors dead military horses and is held every spring. The Emperor Hirohito attended the show in Tokyo, and is seen in the above photograph inspecting the animals.

## Radiophoto of Historic Pact Signing



This radiophoto of the signing of the historic Neutrality Pact between Soviet Russia and Japan was transmitted from Manchouli to Tokyo and flown to Nanking. The pact was signed in Moscow's Kremlin on the afternoon of April 13. M. Viacheslav Molotoff, Soviet Foreign Commissar, is seen signing the agreement while on his left stands Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka, Japanese Foreign Minister. Standing behind Mr. Matsuoka is M. Josef Stalin. The Neutrality Pact was signed by M. Molotoff and by Lieut.-General Yoshitsugu Tatekawa, Japanese Ambassador to Moscow.

## Chungking Generals Go Over To Nanking Government



For the second time this year, a large force of Chungking troops has changed its allegiance to the Nanking Government. Revealed on April 13 was the fact that Major-General Liu Hsiang-tu, Vice-Commander of the 117th Division (left) and Major-General Pan Kan-cheng, Acting Commander of the Chungking 89th Army (right) had recently surrendered to the National Government at Nanking with 25,000 officers and men under their command. They are here seen being interviewed by the press in Nanking. Both have pledged allegiance to Mr. Wang Ching-wei's peace movement.

## Japanese Minister to Spain Presents Credentials



Mr. Yakichiro Suma, newly appointed Japanese Minister to Spain, presented his credentials in Madrid on February 20. Mr. Suma, who was attached to the Japanese Embassy in Shanghai for several years, later went to Washington, D.C., as Counsellor of the Embassy. Most recently Mr. Suma served as spokesman of the Japanese Foreign Office. The new Japanese Minister to Spain is seen in the center of the picture.

## Abdication of U. S. Congress

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The great Abraham Lincoln laid down the rules for a perfect democracy when, in his immortal Gettysburg address, he spoke of a "government of the people, for the people and by the people." No one has been able to achieve a perfect government, but many American Presidents conscientiously have tried to follow the tenets of Lincoln. They have tried to guide the American people along the paths best suited for their uncertain steps; for the United States is young, and its people, though strong and virile, are inexperienced and helpless when entangled in the net of international politics. The American people are prone to think with their hearts rather than with their heads,

George Washington realized the political shortcomings of his people, and warned them against "entangling European alliances." He knew that Americans were no match for politically-minded Europeans; he knew that the American people would come out on the short end of any deal with an Old World power.

America faithfully followed the advice of Washington until 1917. The United States fought not only to keep out of European affairs, but also to keep European affairs out of the United States. The United States Government established the Monroe Doctrine, and washed its hands of Europe, until 1917.....In that fateful year Woodrow Wilson discarded the teachings of Washington and Lincoln. He set out to make a name in history; and 250,000 American boys paid the price for Wilson's ego. They were told that they were fighting to make the world safe for democracy, that it was the war to end wars; and no price was too great to pay. America went into another war of Britain's making; and to this day, the American people are still paying for that tragic mistake. For the world was not made safe for democracy; nor did that war end wars. It had merely preserved and enriched the British Empire, and had laid the foundation for the present, bigger war.

To-day, in Wilson's place is a man with greater ego and greater ambition. He is Franklin Delano Roosevelt, America's first third-term President and embryo dictator. He is the shrewdest politician America has yet produced.

Under Roosevelt the American government has lost its democratic character. A dictatorship has been set up, only slightly camouflaged by a Congress shorn of its most vital powers. Under Roosevelt the American people are being led to war; and they are being deceived into thinking that it is their will. It is a greater fraud than that perpetrated by Wilson, because at that time Congress could have voted to keep the United States out of war. Today, Congress will not be consulted.

Roosevelt pledged himself and his party to keeping America out of war unless attacked. He did that in order to secure his re-election. He no longer speaks of keeping America out of war unless attacked. He has taken the offensive and is doing the attacking. He has pledged himself and the people of the United States to the preservation of the British Empire, well knowing that such a course requires herculean efforts and tremendous sacrifices, sacrifices far in excess of money, ships and munitions. He has called it a battle for democracy; and to preserve British democracy, he has abolished American democracy.

With his tongue in his cheek, Roosevelt has told the American people that they are solidly behind him and his plans. But the American people do not know what his plans are. He claims to have received a mandate from the American people to guarantee a British victory, regardless of the cost; but the American people have not been consulted with regard to the cost. He has committed numerous unneutral acts tantamount to acts of war, and claims it to be the will of the American people. But the latest Gallup survey in the United States, completed last Friday, reveals that 83 per cent of the American people are unalterably opposed to America's entry into England's war. In 1939 President Roosevelt secured the defeat of the Ludlow Amendment requiring a national referendum to decide the question of war or peace. In 1941 he secured the abdication of Congress on the same issue. The "government of the people, for the people, and by the people" indeed seems to have perished from the earth.

(S. N. E.)

## The German Expeditionary Force in Africa

General Rommel, in command of the German Africa Corps, is the tenth officer of the German Army to be decorated with the Oak-Leaves to the Knight Cross of the Iron Cross. At the time various newspapers and newsreels showed German Army Units on African soil. Both pictures and newsreels showed the new equipment of these German soldiers, obviously adopted to conditions of desert warfare, with sun helmets, light uniforms and light boots. Some soldiers were to be seen in shorts. A part of the modern equipment was also clearly visible and it was easy to visualize that this German Africa Corps constitutes a corps well prepared for all contingencies of modern colonial warfare.

The world was informed of the presence of the vanguard of this German Expeditionary Force in Africa for the first time when German Army Reports recently mentioned small but successful engagements between our armored patrol tanks and British desert tanks. Since the British offensive has come to a standstill the activities of the German Africa Corps have been mentioned repeatedly. Of course, British official

reports for the time being are rather reticent on the subject.

As will be readily realised, large-scale operations require adequate preparations. However, the German Africa Corps has now become a military fact and, for the first time in 20 years, German soldiers are again on non-European soil. Automatically one remembers the troops of General Lettow-Vorbeck in East Africa. However, at that time there did not exist a friendly and allied country between Africa and Germany. Our warriors on African soil pursued their task with the feeling of an unlimited remoteness. Possibilities of supply and relief were practically non-existent. Today all this is vastly different. There is now no enemy-country between Africa and the Reich. There is only the ocean and this does not separate the two countries. It is quite apparent how much nearer the German Expeditionary Force in Africa is to the Reich at war, working at capacity towards its successful conclusion. Allied Italy in whose territory these operations are being pursued strengthens this situation considerably.

\* \* \*

## United States' Two-Ocean Policy

The war turns on the "two-ocean" policy of the United States writes the *Kuo Min Hsin Wen* in a recent editorial. Britain and America have divided the power of dominating the seas between themselves. Britain maintains and concentrates her power in the Mediterranean, while the U.S. takes up defence duties east of the Suez and west of Gibraltar. That Greenland has become a protectorate of the United States and that Singapore may be used by the American navy indicate a transfer of the domination of the seas, continues the journal.

The newspaper thinks that Europe's leading position in the economic and political affairs of the world has gone with the sea power even before the end of the war and that the war in Europe is gradually losing its importance as a deciding factor in the world war. As soon as America is in full control of the oceans, the battles in Europe will hardly be of any importance, according to the journal.

"What American is going to take over is

not merely Britain but all of Europe. Formerly it was a British Europe that controlled the world; in future the world may be controlled by America under the leadership of the United States. Before the transfer of world control the United States wants to see to it that Germany will not conquer Europe which may mean the conquest of the world by Germany," says the paper. The *Kuo Min Hsin Wen* then proceeds to explain a contest in the Pacific is still far off. It points out that Germany has only just started the work of dominating the East Mediterranean, that Gibraltar still remains intact, that the Balkans are far away from the Suez, and that joint defence work in the Pacific among America, Britain and Holland has not yet been completed.

In conclusion, the paper opines that America has always carried out her designs according to schedule, and she has gradually been gaining sea power outside Europe as a result of her aid to Britain.

## Singapore Chinese to Evacuate

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Supporting the cause of the new National Government at Nanking, a section of the Chinese community at Singapore is secretly planning an anti-British movement, according to a statement by six Chinese who landed on Aih sien coast of Hainan island on March 28 after fleeing from Singapore.

The six Chinese returned to Hainan island, their native place, by a junk, accompanied by 16 women and nine children below nine years of age.

Replying to inquiries by authorities in the region of Aih sien coast, the evacuees from Singapore said that they proceeded to Hong-kong by a British steamer toward the end of last January. Subsequently, visiting Siying on the coast of Kuangchow bay, included in French leased territory there, by another British vessel on February 7, they awaited a chance to return to Hainan island from Siying across the Hainan strait.

Describing the situation at Singapore prior to their withdrawal thence, the Chinese evacuees reported as follows:

"Defense forces at Singapore have been reinforced several times since the outbreak of the European war, while military establishments for joint use by British United States fleets have been increasingly constructed. Barbed-wire entanglements and underground batteries, meanwhile, are built on the coastal district of the Malay peninsula. Waters in the vicinity of Singapore are completely mined.

"In the residential district of Singapore, dugouts have been established at several places. Air-defense maneuvers and blackouts are conducted almost every day.

"Singapore authorities are collecting Chinese labor by circulating exaggerated reports on the possibility of Nippon's southward advance.

"The Chungking regime's consulate has sponsored anti-Nipponese speeches and similar demonstration marches with a view to gathering contributions to the war fund of the regime. The marches are participated in by pupils of Chinese primary schools.

"Singapore has a population of 520,000, including 400,000 Chinese. All these Chinese desire to return to their native places in Kwangtung and Fukien provinces in view of the increasing danger of war in the region of Singapore.

"Authorities have obstructed their withdrawal from Singapore in consultation with the consulate by means of seizure of property and arrests.

"The remittance of money to their native places is restricted by authorities in apprehension of the possibility that the money will be sent to the new National Government at Nanking."

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### East Asia Buddhist Association Hold Prayer Meeting for Peace

The Main Hall of the National Assembly was the scene of a general meeting held by the East Asia Buddhist Association on the afternoon of April 8 with Dr. Chu Min-yi in the chair and under the auspices of the Sino-Japanese Cultural Association, the Central China Religious Alliance, and the Nanking Sino-Japanese Buddhist Alliance.

Among the prominent men present on the occasion were Dr. Kiang Kang-hu, Acting President of the Examination Yuan, Mr. Chao Cheng-ping, Minister of Education, Mr. Tsai Pei, Mayor of Nanking, Mr. Hidaka, Counsellor, Major-General Harada, Chief of the Japanese Special Service, and Mr. Shimizu, Secretary of the Japanese Embassy, as well as representatives of the Japanese Buddhist Church, the Peking Sino-Japanese Buddhist Alliance and the Tsingtao Religious Alliance.

After the prayer for peace, it was resolved to establish the Chinese headquarters of the East Asia Buddhist Association. Speeches were made by Messrs. Chao Cheng-ping, Dr. Kiang Kang-hu and Mr. Hikada.

Following the meeting special messages were despatched to President Wang Ching-wei, Prince Konoye, and Chiang Kai-shek. The main theme of the messages was repentance, peace, and the New Order of East Asia.

## Turning Point of The War

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A few days ago the opinion was offered that British propagandists made a mistake in releasing so much encouraging talk about the Balkan war being the "turning point" in the present European war. It was contended that the hopes held out to the British people that Germany's unbroken series of victories would be ended in Southeastern Europe would prove to be a dangerous boomerang.

The events of the past few days have borne out this contention. The Balkan campaign may have been the turning point of the war, but it has meant only the breaking of the temporary stalemate following the capitulation of France. Never before, not even after France's collapse has the outlook been so dark for Britain. The war in Southeast Europe has proved a major, debacle from the British point of view. The smashing German successes have been even more tremendous in scope than any achieved by German armed forces in previous campaigns. In a few days the German Balkan Armies have accomplished what it took them nearly a year to do in the World War; and on every front the German advance continues.

Yugoslavia already has been knocked out of the war as an effective organized fighting force. The Greeks are being battered and hurled back at every point. The costly Greek advance into Albania has been rendered futile by the onrushing German forces who are sending the Greeks rushing back into Greece from their salients in Albania. Greek soldiers who died to make possible the temporary victories against the Italians have died in vain, and the blood of other Greek soldiers is coloring the soil of Albania as their comrades retreat in haste. Never before has the futility of fighting England's war been emphasized more strongly, for both the Greeks and the Yugoslavians had for their guidance the horrible example of Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France.

Yugoslavia and Greece already have begun disintegrating. Croatia has proclaimed independence from Yugoslavia, and Macedonia likewise has been reported seceding from Greece. There is a realization in these countries that the Balkan war should not have been fought, and saner elements in both countries are doing what they can to salvage something from the wreckage that was their country.

Meanwhile, the culprit responsible for the extermination of these two Balkan states continues to urge further resistance, but to date the British Expeditionary Force landed in Greece 40 days ago remains comparatively inactive. There have been skirmishes between the German forces and the B.E.F., but the latter assiduously has refrained from engaging the Germans in a major battle. It seems the British are looking for another Dunkirk, and are fearful lest they should not find one.

In London, optimism has turned rapidly into darkest despair. An International News Service dispatch from the British capital Saturday said, "A pall of gloom hung over London with the news of Hungarian intervention in the Balkan war, and the spectre of invasion again haunted England. Neutrals here believed that if the present tide of battle continues, Germany may within six months try an invasion of England, regardless of cost. . . ."

"The British Admiralty made no secret of the seriousness of the shipping situation. . . . It was no secret that the shipping situation is serious, bombing losses severe, the food outlook unfavorable, and diplomatic activities none too successful. . . ."

At this point in the American news agency's report, the British censor clamped down with his blue pencil.

There is the turning point of the war, the turning point to which the British had looked forward so hopefully. It has boomeranged as predicted; and the Balkan turning point has become the Balkan debacle.

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### Southseas Commercial Bank for Nanking

Testifying to the growing enthusiasm among overseas Chinese for the Movement of Peace and National Reconstruction, a number of Chinese business magnates who have returned to China from abroad, are planning to establish a Southseas Commercial Bank in Nanking to help to accelerate the economic recovery of the Capital. All preliminary arrangements have been completed, and the bank will be inaugurated by the end of this month.

## Britain's Gloomiest Outlook

Britain today is gazing on the gloomiest outlook that has faced her since the collapse of France last summer. The picture indeed is even darker than it was in June 1940, and there are no silver linings in the dark clouds that hover over England.

The Balkan war on which the British Government had counted so heavily to relieve German pressure on the British Isles has proved a complete fiasco; and even in London, sober-minded observers recognize in the Yugoslavian, Greek and British defeats in Southeastern Europe all the components of a complete debacle. The German armed forces again have demonstrated that they are the complete masters of the technique of blitzkrieg tactics; and in a few days the Reich's forces have swept through large parts of both Yugoslavia and Greece, pushing aside all opposition without diminishing the speed of the general advance on all fronts. The Yugoslavian capital has been occupied, captured in exactly one week. Hundreds of thousands of Greeks and Serbian soldiers have been taken prisoner; and Allied resistance in the Balkans shows all the elements of complete collapse.

The unwillingness of the British Expeditionary Force to put up a fight against the advancing German forces undoubtedly is a disappointment to the British people. Great things had been promised them in Southeastern Europe. British officials had assured the public that the Balkan campaign would prove to be the turning point in the war, and that Germany would be halted there, and the initiative taken from Berlin and placed in the hands of the British. But the British retreat in Greece continues. Sporadic skirmishes are taking place in Grecian hills, but the main British army continues its endless retreat. The B.E.F., far from garnering glory, is covered with ignominy. In its headlong flight the British army even blew up bridges and trapped its Greek allies, just to assure the safe retreat of the main British force. There has been nothing for the British to be proud of, and much of which to be ashamed.

Meanwhile, in Africa Britain's troubles are multiplying. The net results of Britain's costly campaign against the Italians in North Africa have been nullified by the amazing advance of combined German and Italian forces which have swept through to the borders of Egypt in an unbelievably short time. The threat to Egypt and the Suez Canal which the British eliminated at such great cost, has been replaced; and this time the presence of large numbers of German troops and mechanized forces makes the menace to Britain's Suez lifeline much more pregnant.

Benghazi, Bardia and Tobruk — much-acclaimed milestones in Britain's counter-offensive against the Italians — have again fallen to the Axis forces. Britain's strength in Africa has diminished to a point where London no longer can hope to stage another offensive to clear out the enemy. Britain's only hope is to be able to stem the advance and successfully protect the vital Suez Canal. But her chances of doing so are exceedingly slim.

The capture of six British generals in Africa (London has admitted the capture of four thus far) indicates that the Italo-German drive was so rapid that British General Headquarters was taken by complete surprise, and that the British High Command was captured in its entirety before it could evacuate the area. No other explanation can account for the capture of so many ranking officers in a single engagement.

Reports from the African front also tend to give credence to stories concerning the use of German tank carrying planes. Hundreds of miles of burning desert sands have been covered within a few days, and it is difficult to understand how the tanks could have traversed these areas unless they were taken there by means other than their own power. In effect it seems that the British were completely surrounded and forced to capitulate, there being no avenue of retreat. All in all, reports from the various war fronts definitely indicate that Britain is unable to cope with the new weapons devised by the Germans; and the collapse of British resistance on all fronts appears to be a definite forerunner of a complete British collapse.

## Yugoslav Politicians Become Pawns in the British Game

### Germany Prepared for All eventualities

The British press — and, curiously enough, the press of the believed-to-be “neutral” USA too — has been jubilant since, in the early morning hours of March 27, a coup d’etat overthrew the legitimate government of Yugoslavia. The hope was expressed quite unreservedly that the new government, nominally headed by the 17 years old King Peter II, would withdraw Yugoslavia’s signature to the protocol signed in Vienna on March 25 by which Yugoslavia, represented by the Premier, M. Zvetkovitch, and the Foreign Minister, M. Cincar-Markovitch, adhered to the Three-Power-Pact concluded by Italy, Germany and Japan on September 27 1940, thus following the example given before by four other nations comprising 40 millions, namely Hungary, Rumania, Slovakia and Bulgaria.

On the very day of the coup d’etat the Right Hon. Winston Churchill, British Prime-Minister, promised the new government unconditionally that the British Empire and its Allies would make common cause with the Yugoslav nation, and they would continue to march together, until complete victory had been won. Mr. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, first third-term President of the United States and now invested with dictatorial powers, also hurried to express to the new Yugoslavian government his congratulations and his hope that Yugoslavia would dishonor the word she had just pledged, in which case the United States would be only too glad to let her have all the — in fact, very questionable — advantages of the Lease-and-Lend Bill which became law on the 11th of March.

#### Extending the War

But the British hopes of extending the war area — so unselfishly shared by the President of the United States — were not as rapidly realized as expected. A week passed without the new Yugoslavian government renouncing Yugoslavia’s adherence to the Three-Power-Pact. It was too much occupied with problems of home politics which naturally play a very great role in a state of such a complicated structure as Yugoslavia is, being racially divided among Serbs (46%),

Croats (28,5%) and Slovenes (8,5%), with strong minorities of Germans, Hungarians, Albanians, Bulgarians, Turks and others, the Germans alone numbering 600,000 in a population of altogether hardly more than 15 millions. The people of Yugoslavia are — moreover — confessionally divided into Greek-Orthodox (49%), Roman-Catholics (38%), Mohammedans (11%) and adherents of other creeds. The weakness of the new government was clearly demonstrated by its inability to curb anti-Axis demonstrations and bodily attacks not only on Germans and members of the German Legation, but also on the Swedish minister who was attacked and wounded solely because he spoke German in public. The new government also was unable to stop the activities of unruly elements in the Serb population who attacked German property and endangered even the life of German residents and of citizens of German descent, so that a general exodus of these started shortly.

The German government watched the situation very closely and showed great forbearance and magnanimity in leaving the new Yugoslavian government time to consolidate itself — if possible — and to make up its mind. But it was clear from the beginning that Germany would not remain inactive for ever.

Germany was forbearing because it was all too obvious that — after dismal failures in Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria (to name only these countries) — British diplomacy had concentrated all efforts on Yugoslavia in order to counteract Germany’s hitherto successful efforts to appease the Balkans and to keep its countries out of the war. The anti-Axis movement — in German opinion — was not a genuine one, but was “Made in England”.

#### The Pied Piper

Nevertheless, the Yugoslav politicians who — for reasons well-known to themselves — became pawns in the British game will have to take a lot of responsibility personally if their action throws their country into a war which their more prudent predecessors had decided to



avoid. Germany is prepared for all eventualities and the example of a number of countries from Poland to France shows what happens to those who listen to the pied piper of bygone days and who do not understand that there are common interests of the people of the great European continent in which no outsider will be allowed to meddle.

From a most authoritative German side it has been declared that the real war against England has not yet begun, neither at sea nor in the air, and that the German military forces will know how to find and how to fight British land forces wherever they may be.

Germany quite understands that British statesmen in this their dark, but not yet darkest hour, try everything and anything in order to secure support from abroad; that they write off valuable assets; sign British possessions away; and humiliate themselves to gain the aid of a nation of 7 millions here and of an unstable state of 15 millions there, whilst they — themselves only 48 millions strong — face a highly organized combination of more than a hundred and fifty millions and a coherent and extremely productive hinterland on the European continent alone, not to mention Asia.

Germany finds it more difficult to understand the attitude of the U.S.A., or rather that of their President. It is up to the American people where they will allow their President to lead them to in foreign politics after his complete failure in leading them in home politics, vide the hoarding of gold and silver in a world which has learned to get along without specie, the destitution of farmers who are, after all, the backbone of each and every country, the ten million unemployed, the social unrest and the many strikes.

#### Visit of Matsuoka

Much more important, in German eyes, than Britain's efforts to extend the area of war or ephemeral successes on secondary theaters of war or the fancies of the U.S.A. President are the results already achieved by and still to be expected from the unique visit of the Japanese Foreign Minister M. Matsuoka to Moscow, Berlin and Rome, a voyage on which he embarked on March 14th and which has not yet been ended. It is too early — and probably much too early — to forecast these results, but a few quotations from Mr. Matsuoka's utter-

ances on the occasion of his journey may not be amiss.

In his first message to the German people after his arrival at Berlin on March 27, Mr. Matsuoka said: "The hearts of our people beat for the German nation in the gigantic struggle is at present being waged and they are praying that the strength and the courage of the brave German nation may lead to the quick victory of its cause."

And commenting on the meaning of the Three-Power-Pact at the banquet given to the Japanese Foreign Minister the same evening, he called this pact "a community of fate" and proceeded: "It is in its conception a pact of peace because it aims at preventing an extension of the war."

With these words Mr. Matsuoka has given a masterly short interpretation of the aims which governed Germany, Italy and Japan at the conclusion of their pact and which have been subscribed to by Hungary, Rumania, Slovakia, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. On the other hand, the statesmen of Great Britain did their utmost to achieve the opposite, the extension of the war to as many regions as possible. And they were not scrupulous in the choice of their weapons: sabotage and dynamiting in the case of Rumania, threats of air-bombing in the case of Bulgaria and fomenting a revolution in Yugoslavia.

The fate of a system working with such means to uphold a tottering antiquated social and political structure is doomed and the future belongs to those nations who believe in the future and not in the past, who work for upbuilding a new order and not for preserving an order which long has ceased to be an order.

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### Children's Asylum to be Established in Capital

A new asylum for children will shortly be established in Nanking by the China Social Affairs Association.

In the meantime there are many poor children who can not afford to acquire good education. In the new asylum they will be trained according to the principles of Peace, Anti-Communism and National Reconstruction.

## THE POSITION OF TURKEY

After two years of diplomatic maneuvers and when every country had decided who should be her friends and who her enemies, the first world war broke out when the fuse of Balkans was set on fire. This was what happened twenty-five years ago. At present, the fuse of the Balkan tinder-box has been lighted again but the Balkan States have not yet decided as to who are their friends and who their enemies. This is the difference between the first and the second world war.

It is difficult for a weak nation to remain neutral. Hitler even said: "If a country is not a friend of the Axis, she is an enemy of the Axis." The Balkan States can only choose their own policy according to their own observations, and, as a matter of fact, both Germany and Britain want them join their own camps.

When they saw the defeat of Poland, Belgium, Denmark, Norway and France, Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia joined the Axis one by one and signed agreements with Germany and Italy. Both militarily and diplomatically, Germany has been successful in defeating them separately. The German influence has nearly reached the eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea and the Near East where lies the most important communication line between Britain and her colonies and the most important route by which the United States sends supplies to Britain. Naturally Britain cannot let her enemies occupy this area and therefore she has sent troops to East Africa and induced Yugoslavia to withdraw from the Axis.

The authorities of the Balkan States more or less changed their attitudes toward Germany, when the latter refrained from taking any military actions in Southeast Europe and when the British troops scored some minor victories in East Africa. This has offered Britain an opportunity to induce the Balkan States to join her own camp and to bring about the *coup d'etat* of Yugoslavia on March 26. Germany was then forced to resort to military actions to solve the situation. Those who will suffer from the military operations are the weak States in the Balkans, who can not make up their minds. The military operations in the past few days have proved the ineffectiveness of British assistance

while the United States being too far away from the scene of the hostilities cannot render timely assistance in the form of arms and ammunition.

Whether Germany will solve the Balkan situation rapidly or not can only be decided after some more battles. Now, attention has been turned to Turkey. Up to the present time, Turkey has maintained her neutrality. This neutrality, however, is limited in duration and soon she will have to make up her mind as to which road she should take.

When Germany declared war against Yugoslavia and Greece, the German Ambassador to Ankara guaranteed that German troops would not be sent to attack Turkey. Now, Turkey has made strong representations to Germany, and Germany has accepted her demand for the withdrawal of the German troops stationed on the Turkish border. This shows clearly that Germany hopes that Turkey will keep out of the war. Britain and Turkey are allies. Britain hopes and prays that Turkey will attack Bulgaria so as to assist Yugoslavia and Greece in the present hostilities. But Turkey has remained neutral because she has to consider carefully her own position. Turkey must watch the attitude of Soviet Russia and has not even up to the present time decided on what she must do. Soviet Russia cannot forget the plan of the Imperial Russian authorities to obtain an outlet to the sea by way of the Black Sea the Dardanelles Straits. Soviet Russia feels the same threat to herself no matter what attitude Turkey may adopt, pro-British or pro-German, and therefore she has maintained silence in the Balkan war. Her attitude toward Turkey has become most mysterious.

Time is limited. Turkey is forced to reveal gradually her own position. She must consider her historic relations with Britain, her geographic relations with Soviet Russia and her own destiny under the new order of Europe. However, recent developments must be considered by Turkey in deciding her own attitude. In the short period of four or five days the German troops have completely surrounded Yugoslavia while the British troops in East Africa have retreated and a *coup d'etat* has broken out in Iraq. Turkey must consider the military and

Germany as well as what assistance Britain and America may give and what effect such assistance will produce in the Balkans. Meanwhile, seeing the consequences of the Soviet-Yugoslav non-aggression pact, Turkey should understand what will be the consequences of her own non-aggression pact with Soviet Russia.

Reports were received on April 12 from

Ankara to the effect that Soviet Russia would take a surprising action in the near future in connection with the Germany military operations in the Balkans. This surprising action as published by the press has turned out to be Soviet supply of more gasoline to Germany. The Soviet attitude is so unpredictable that Turkey will do well to exercise the utmost cautionsness. — ("C. C. D. N.")

### Japanese Foreign Minister on Historic Journey



The history-making visit of the Japanese Foreign Minister, Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka, to the Axis capitals and Moscow was eagerly followed by the eyes of the world, since on it hung portentous significance. The top photograph shows Mr. Matsuoka in Berlin on March 26 when he reviewed crack Nazi troops drawn up in his honor in the famed Unter den Linden. Bottom: Mr. Matsuoka seen on his arrival in Moscow on his way to Berlin.

## The Decline and Fall of the British Empire

By Robert Briffault

(Continued from last issue)

(CHAPTER FIVE, continued)

Gentlemanly England

### "Patriotic Loyalty"

Royalty, Church-of-Englandism, and the public schools are the interlocking parts of a system which fastens on the English mind a conditioning control more effective and more complete, because more subtle and insidious, than any crude regimentation of totalitarianism. That mental conditioning renders the overt establishment of totalitarianism in England superfluous and improbable. By its means the ruling interests of Property are invested with a religious character and moral value which it would be blasphemy to doubt, while religious and moral values are, on the other hand, reduced to terms of loyalty to the interests of Property. It is therefore not surprising that English patriotic sentiment differs wholly in quality from its cruder homologues among other nations. Their patriotism is lay and secular. English patriotic loyalty is a moral and religious sentiment which is proof against the heaviest increase in the income-tax. Failure to feel patriotically constitutes a turpitude which strikes at the moral nature of man. That any Englishman should deviate from the straight path of religious reverence towards the interests of the owners of English property is so inconceivable a moral depravity that even the most abandoned intelligent pauses before burdening his conscience with such iniquity. That foreigners should occasionally fail to think of England with that deep reverence which the subject calls for is an inevitable consequence of the moral darkness in which they dwell. But the most abandoned Englishman, be he a Communist even, is held back by that still small voice which checks every man on the edge of the abyss of crime and saves him from analyzing too closely the objects and motives of English policy.

The Church of England is primarily "of England," and only by logical derivation of God. The distinction constitutes no difference, God being, *ex officio*, a member of the English government.

Religion as a whole is but a form of loyalty to the interests of English property. Cecil Rhoades, who typified enterprising English patriotism, gave to the traditional policies of Chamberlain governments an alternative formulation. The great predatory imperialist was, we are told, "full of reverent admiration and devotion to our Saviour, whose divinity he said it was not necessary to prove—the life was enough—a perfect example for all time of what you would call a great English gentleman." "The view is confirmed by the Bishop of Portsmouth, who recently stated that "the first public-school man was born in Nazareth, and his name was Jesus Christ; the second was his disciple, St. Paul."

Such grave declarations could emanate from English minds only. It would be extravagant to suggest that they represent the views of all Englishmen. They are cited in an English liberal publication for the entertainment and exhilaration of its readers. But they are, in substance, exactly matched in the editorial and other columns of the same publication.

### Opposition Is "Loyal"

What is peculiar to England is not the ferocity, or the unscrupulousness, or the mental limitations of its reactionaries. Raving reactionaries are to be found everywhere. But there are everywhere else minds capable of throwing off the conditioning effects of reaction, and of being completely disloyal to it. Not so in England. His Majesty's loyal Opposition is—loyal. And not official parliamentary opposition alone. There are rebels in England, in revolt against the fictions of the conditioning English fabric whereby loyalty to that fabric is secured. But their revolt stops short of ultimate logical conclusions, because to go one step farther would be un-English. The acute remark of the distinguished critic of Mr. Somerset Mougham, who detects that the novelist's mind is marred by not having been afforded wholly and solely "the blessings of an undefiled English public school

education," is entirely correct. Whenever, in contemporary English thought, any evidence is forthcoming of actual contact with realities, of logical honesty undeflected by moralistic or merely patriotic sentiment, it will invariably be found that it emanates from some person whose Englishness is not strictly "undefiled." culprit is either an Irishman, or a Scotchman, or an Australian, or his Englishness has been contaminated by too protracted a residence abroad. Such slaves of their natural rational faculties cannot breathe in England.

They who dwell in England, even though they have not enjoyed the blessing of an undefiled English public school education, absorb those blessings unremittingly at every pore. Into the English soul those blessings enter with every human intercourse, with every printed word of the newspaper press, of all English literature posterior to the battle of Waterloo, with the polished voices of B. B. C. announcers and lecturers, with the censored lines of stage actors and the patriotic jocularities of variety-show humorists, with the homilies of parsons, with the pronouncements of politicians, tory or radical, in Mayfair or in Bloomsbury, in the City or in Kensington, in the language of Oxford or of Billingsgate, with every sound and every sight that impinge on the senses, till the conditioned mental faculties, cut off from all breath of reality and natural reason, are choked in the mephitic atmosphere of the fatitious gaseous concoction.

Hence it is that English loyalty and complacency are not only unique in their placid delirium, but in the unanimity with which they are manifested. So that any doubt cast on their being well founded must needs, Burke notwithstanding, indict the whole nation.

#### Veneer of Hypocrisy

The hypocrisy which was at one time the butt of English gentlemen's scorn was adopted by them. Not only was it necessary in order to protect gentlemen's private lives from the vulgar and prurient curiosity of peering tradesmen's wives, but, even more, that a moderating control might be exercised on the subversive tendencies of liberalism by assimilating, in their linguistic vesture least, the objects of English policy to the high moral ideals of democracy. That hypocrisy thus extended far beyond the "pattern of sexual happiness with has not otherwise existed in the world," to all political outlooks and actions, and indeed to every operation of the English mind. Doubtless that simulation of virtue and dissimu-

lation of rascality was, in some of the earlier stages of its development, conscious and deliberate, as are, according to the Lamarckian view, all organic characters in their incipience. But with the perfecting of the conditioning system, of the standardized manufacture of English gentlemen in the public schools, what at one time was necessity became nature, and English hypocrisy became so exorbitant, so certifiably monstrous, as to transcend the definition of the term.

The worst, the most abominable thing about the English is that they are nice. With the unaffected confidence of true comradeship they will bare to you their inmost mind by confiding without disguise their views about the weather and the latest score in the test match. The charm of that spiritual confidence is the mark of that freemasonry and teamwork spirit which in English public school education reproduces the traditions of solidarity of the ruling class.

But the function of that solidarity, so charmingly and irresistibly manifested in the decency of English personal behavior is precisely to promote the effective operation of a collective behavior which repudiates any distinction of right or wrong in the pursuit of its purpose. Edmond de Goncourt remarked that the English, taken individually, are decent, while, collectively,

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they are scoundrels. The paradox is in truth the key to that perplexing dualism of the English character which baffles many an observer. A writer in a recent paper informed its readers that the first impression on personally meeting Mr. Neville Chamberlain is one of surprise at the discovery that he appears human. Incredible as the information may sound, there is no reason to doubt its accuracy. There is no incompatibility between the humanity of English gentlemen and the rascality of England. Were the English Jesuits, they would say that the end justifies the means. But the English are not Jesuits. To suggest, as has frequently been done, that the dualism, or duplicity, of the English mind arises from its being divided into conscience-tight compartments,

is not accurate. There is no occasion for such hermetic partitions where all values are simplified by reduction to the one uniform standard of what, in strict accordance with the interests of the English ruling class, is by them accounted of good repute. Alien to the English mind as is mere abstract logic, the felicitous combination of high purpose and base cunning, of good intentions with unscrupulous will to evil, follows logically from all the principle of public-school education and its repercussions throughout the mental world in which moves all English thought. Far from its being the effect of any dualism, it is, on the contrary, from its serene and harmonious uniformity that is derived the fundamental dishonesty of the English mind.

## CHAPTER SIX

### Servile England

"The greatness and empire of England," Disraeli said, "are to be attributed to the ancient institutions of the land. Throughout the somewhat haphazard growth of those ancient institutions no account whatsoever was taken of the "villeins," as they were at first called, the "lower classes," or "common people," as they were later spoken of. When the eighteenth-century Whigs enlarged upon England's "admirable "liberties," and her "glorious constitution," it did not even occur to them to give a thought to the conditions of the "lower orders." The French Anglophiles, who were inspired by the complacent enthusiasm of English liberals, scarcely noted any more clearly than did their English inspirers the fact that the "liberties" of the glorious English constitution were entirely confined in their scope to the well-to-do classes. Voltaire, one of the ardent admirers of those "liberties," did, however, note that a yokel who repeated the paeans of the "gentry" on the subject was next seen by him behind the bars of a prison where he had been lodged after being seized, as in an African slave raid, by the press gang, to serve in His Majesty's Navy. In old agricultural England the general condition of the field laborers under the paternal despotism of the resident squirearch, while the slightest breach of the latter's privileges was ruthlessly punished by hanging or by selling the culprit for five shillings to overseas planters, did on the whole compare favorably with that of the Continental peasantries, albeit the contrast set forth by Arthur Young rested upon a considerable amount of misunderstanding.

#### Changing Conditions

Conditions became entirely changed with the development of industrialism, when the simple yokels were driven off the land into the pens of the factories. As early as 1795, James Fox was able to declare in the House of Commons that "we are reduced to such a point of misery that not one man in ten is able to earn sufficient bread for himself and family." It may be stated without fear of exaggeration that never in any part or period of the world has there existed such a mass of utter degradation and inconceivable misery as England had to show during the first sixty or seventy years of industrialization. Bondslavery in the ancient world, the penal galleys of old or more recent times had never afforded such a spectacle of wholesale horror. Bondslaves were valuable property and their lives were protected; there were no women or children in the galleys. The factories and mines of England, at the time when she was rising to undreamed-of heights of economic wealth and power, were worked with the cheapest labor obtainable. Child and female labor was used by preference wherever possible. Families were bred with the express intention of increasing by a few pence the miserable pittance constituting family wages. Almost as soon as they could totter, children were enslaved to the machines by the side of which they lay down exhausted after working sixteen or eighteen hours or more. The working herds were regarded as living machines existing solely for the generating of physical labor at the lowest cost. They were worked to death. The supply was unlimited.

Animals, possessing a market value, were treated with a greater degree of consideration.

It is a notable fact that the living hell of those conditions scarcely excited any comment or attracted attention in moral and religious England. The "humanitarians," the "philanthropists," appeared to be totally unconscious of the monstrous atrocities which filled the land. Wilberforce and Clarkson who, fired with religious zeal, devoted their lives to the cause of emancipating the Negro slaves in West Indian plantations, were wholly uninterested in the thousandfold greater horrors of the slavery at their own doors. They were quite unmoved by it, and regarded the condition of the working classes as perfectly natural and normal. Owen, Cobden, and Bright lived in a theoretical dreamland and were concerned with the production of more wealth. They viewed an unspeakable hell, such as had never before been seen on the earth, and remained absolutely unconcerned, while they delivered in noble language lofty sentiments about "freedom" and social organization. Owen was concerned with "co-operation" for the more effective productivity of labor. Cobden and Bright appealed for a wider franchise which should elect to Parliament "liberals" and "radicals" to bring about legislation favoring trade and a greater production of wealth. At most, "machinery" was deplored as the cause of misery and the decay of agriculture.

#### Brutalized Workers

The brutalized workers were scarcely better able than the liberal discourses to understand their position. They broke at times into blind revolt, but only when maddened by hunger and despair. Repression was ruthless. Any form of combination among the workers for the purpose of bargaining over wages was set down as a form of criminal "conspiracy" and "sedition." The Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800 were designed to extend to the utmost the powers of repression. The mere suggestion of combined action or conversation between workers as to their conditions was treated as a sedition act. In 1834, for example, seven laborers found guilty of the crime of conspiring by agreeing not to accept a lesser wage than six shillings a week were condemned to be deported to Botany Bay. "Order" was maintained among the workers by military force; barracks were constructed in the industrial centers to keep permanent garrisons on

the spot. The new system of Yeomanry or Volunteers, professedly established by Pitt in view of a danger of invasion, was in reality organized with the object of overawing the workers and coping with any revolt on their part. It was in fact an early form of assault troops. The ruling classes armed themselves against the workers.

( To be Continued )

### Chiang Kai-shek's Resistance ?

So long as Chiang Kai-shek has not fully realized that China's real salvation lies in Peace, the disbandment of the New Fourth Army cannot be regarded as any new awakening on his part. It proves only that Chiang Kai-shek's resistance is not the kind of resistance advocated by the Communists. Chiang Kai-shek's resistance is but part of America's national defence, while the resistance of the Communists represents part of Soviet Russia's national defence. Neither is China's true policy. China's only road to salvation lies in Peace and Anti-Communism. The Chinese people must settle accounts with the Communists who are carrying on the war of resistance for Soviet Russia and with Chiang Kai-shek who is carrying on the war of resistance for America, the most dangerous of the Imperialist countries. — (*"The People's Tribune."*)



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中央復興市的經濟，穩定市的金融，期以首都的推動為全國地方之發軔，同時因為事變以遠，本市建設，多所破壞，物價日昂，民生益艱，市民經濟生活，自應有適當的調劑，方足以解除市民當前的痛苦，與奠定本市社會經濟的基礎，本市在民國十七年間，曾由政府創設南京市民銀行，代理市金庫，經理市政府的一切收支，及市公債的還本付息，并辦理普通銀行一切業務，該行至民國二十五年，各項存款與放款，總數約達三百萬元，其中最重要的，為襄助市府之建設，與活動市工商業之經濟，現在市銀行仍須繼續此種使命，漸趨本市於現代都市之列，這是鄙人深自勉勵，謹以奉告諸君的，本行籌備以來，承各方的盛意，予以十二分的協助，鄙人當此開幕之日，代表全體同人鄭重致謝，至於籌備的經過，當有總經理向諸位報告，茲不贅述，但本行開幕伊始，此屬草創，鄙人暨同人等，得感才翰任重，時虞隕越，惟有希望同人一心一德，實事求是，抱「深己裕羣」的精神，謀本行業務的發達，更希望各界隨時策勵，一致輔助，使本行所存的期望，早獲厥成，無任感盼。

旋由總經理國珍報告籌備經過，略謂，今天本行開幕，承蒙中外長官及各界來賓，蒞臨指導，不勝榮幸，茲將本行籌備經過情形，簡略報告於下，京市自蔡市長就任以來，關懷民瘼，鑒於地方經濟金融枯竭萬狀，深知欲復興市面，推行建設，輔助工商，安定民生，勢非籌設完善之市金融機關，以資調節不可，故於去年八月間，組織南京市銀行籌備委員會，派財政局局長充任主任委員，派國珍充任副主任委員，並聘請銀行專家多人，為本會委員，共同研究籌備進行事宜，本行組織章程，依據國府頒佈之省市銀行暫行條例訂定，業經呈准行政院，並咨准財政部備案，在籌備期間，關於本行資金之籌集，各種章程之擬訂，及本行行址之覓定，歷時數月，頗費周折，幸得有機關及各友好盡量協助，故進行甚感順利，自中央儲備銀行成立以來，全國經濟金融已入正軌，蓋由中央銀行業務，係以國家及全民之利益為目標，可謂為全面性之金融中樞機構，而南京市政府設立本行之

原意，亦以謀全市市民之福利為目標，本行董事會已於三月十九日成立，國珍猥以菲材，謬荷董事會及蔡市長寄重，深知責任重大，隕越堪虞，嗣後自當秉承董事會意旨及市民需要，努力進行，同副設立本行原旨，並希各界來賓，時加指導，無任感禱，本行今日開幕，地方偏窄，招待恐有未週，尚希多多原諒是幸。

電汪主席：國民政府主席汪鈞鑒，本行謹於二日開幕，恪遵政綱，以謀本京之經濟復興，與經融安定，使市民經濟生活，於此獲得正常之調劑，培等仰秉容謨，竭誠推進，願效攘流之力，用襄泉府之供，通惠攸資，繁榮是企，勉副鈞座利用厚生之至意，謹電致敬，伏維鈞察，南京市銀行董事長蔡培，董事陳允文，蹇先聰，胡泰年，陳華柏，蔡侃，傅仲紱，監察薛光鉞，張心蒲，余樸，經理蔣國珍，副經理須振椿同叩冬。

### 梅省主席赴杭履新

浙江省主席梅思平氏，自奉國府特命後，以中央政務繁劇，甫於前日乘滬杭早車蒞浙，省府各廳處長委員，社運浙分會，振務浙分會，高等法院，糧食管理處，杭州市政府，及其他各機關主任長官，均率領所屬全體職員，浙江省黨部，杭州市黨部各委員，率領所屬全體工作同志，暨全市各民衆團體，與友邦各機關長官，均前往車站歡迎，旗幟招展，行列整齊，車站前後，萬頭攢動，情況熱烈，梅主席於軍樂悠揚聲中，含笑下車，神采奕奕，與歡迎者一一握手，緩步出站，即登汽車，逕至省政府稍事休息，各廳處長委員，各機關主任長官，省市黨部各委員，及友邦各機關官長，先後皆謁訪候，經梅主席分別接見，略與寒暄，旋即出禮堂，對省府全體職員訓話，語極懇摯，且多勗勉。

梅主席發表談話如下：本人此次奉命兼主浙江省政，自維樁薄，已覺力不勝任，加之中央職務繁重，更有不能兼顧之虞，所幸省府各委員，均已駕輕就熟，地方行政，亦已漸入軌道，本人雖不能常用駐

客們的乘坐，而担負起交通上重大的任務。

成豐堰電廠，原來直轄於建設委員會，裏面的機械，都是向德國定購，當時由西門子洋行承辦，前後費時三載餘，方始完工，在中國，這是一所最大的發電廠，依照原來的計劃，該廠發電量，可以供給江浙兩省各縣城鎮的電燈和電力，內部工程的偉大，可想而知，在事變前，因為無錫常州一帶，是工業區域，所以西自丹陽，東至蘇州，南到宜興，北達江陰，這些地方的電力，都由該廠所供給，常錫一帶農村的屏水設備，所以能夠完全利用機械，也就靠該廠的發電力量充足，雖然沒有達到預期的目的，可是成績還不能算壞，現在該廠由華中水電公司所經營，把機械重加修理，恢復發電，不過爲了燃料的關係，成本較昂，而發電數量，也稍稍減少，目前該廠的當局，正在擴充發電路線，作者看到許多工人，忙着架設電線，樹植桿木，和改裝方棚等等，證明了核廠的前途，也在積極地開展。

無錫原來是工業地帶，從車上遙望，城裏城外的烟突林立，高聳在雲際，使人們感到新中國的工業前途，發現了一線曙光，但是八一三的炮火，燬壞了僅有的工業區域，幾十萬工人，也驟然失去了工作，這都以後，一部份工廠，已經復業，一部份日軍管理下的工廠，也由工商部交涉收回，使無錫的工業，得到了復興的機會，作者在車上所看到的，有幾家沿鐵路工廠，如麵粉廠絲廠等等都已開業，隆隆的機聲，震動了旅客的耳鼓，而且那幾家工廠，還在積極興建房屋，預備擴充範圍，其他較遠的地方，也可以看到烟肉裏冒出的白煙，再加上車站的貨物，堆積如山，從這些現象之中，可以看出無錫的工業，不久當可以回復原來的狀態，蘇州的車站，在京滬線中，是最大的車站，而且蘇嘉路和京滬線的交叉點，旅客和貨運，都很忙碌，車站房屋，在事變時被燬，現在鐵路當局爲了發展業務，除了在西面添造許多房屋，東面加建幾十間貨棧之外，車站房屋和月台等，也在積極改建，動工到現在一個多月，已經完成了十之六七，再有一個月，就可以全部工竣，到那時候，予交通上當然有很大的便利，作者因爲

在蘇州下車，還順便觀察蘇州城內外的工商業，蘇州最大的工業，爲美輪紗廠，該廠在不久以前由友邦交還，正在着手籌備開工的事宜，此外中華榮生兩家火柴廠，也已經復業，至於織綢廠方面，因爲原料的缺乏，不能夠盡量發展，目前蘇州織綢廠，一共有二十多家，最近由工商部努力疏通原料來源的結果，綢廠業也呈現着活潑氣象，恐怕不久的將來，也可以收到相當的成績，沿京滬線的農村，除了極少數被燬的房屋之外，已不再看到戰爭的殘跡，各處的農田，在常州以東的那些小麥都已長成，金黃的菜花，也和碧綠的麥苗相輝映，至於荒蕪的土地，南京附近還能看到一些之外，在常州以東，已是完全沒有，而且土地肥沃，農作物的發育較快，今年小麥收數，當有大量的增加，在糧食恐慌的時代，倒也能使得一般人們聊以自慰了。

### 南京市銀行正式開幕

南京市銀行籌備已來已歷數月，一切就緒，爰於二日上午八時舉行開幕典禮，來賓前往道賀者，有內政部長陳羣，交通部長諸青來，水利會委員長楊壽楨，邊疆委員會委員長羅君強，及各院部長官暨各界來賓等數百餘人，由董事長蔡培親自招待，並款客以啤酒冷餐等食，茲將各情擇要誌下：

職員人選：董事長蔡培，董事辜先聰，陳允文，蔡侃，陳華柏，胡泰年，傅仲敏，監察張心蒲，薛光鉞，俞樸，經理蔣國珍，副經理須振椿，襄理，蔡有定，蹇乘淵，出納課長副理須振椿兼，金庫課長襄理蹇乘淵兼，會計課長襄理蔡有定兼，營業課長盛鼎和，文書課長周倬。

蔡培致詞：今日爲南京市銀行開幕之日，承各院部會及友邦各機關代表暨中外來賓貴賓參加，不勝榮幸，鄙人謹以至誠致謝忱，國民政府，關於經濟方面，有兩個最大的施政目標，一爲復興經濟，一爲穩定金融，現在中央儲備銀行成立，已將四月，整個經濟與金融，已在復興穩定的大道由努力邁進，市銀行的產生，係格遵政綱，輔助

中，度他們辛苦而帶有愉快的生活，一個個男男女女的面部，呈現着希望的微笑，當火車隆隆地駛過，他們不約而同抬起頭來，噓出一口氣，來調劑他身心的疲勞。

從火車裏向外望，沿途的農村，已帶有活潑的春意，籬邊池畔，柳樹吐出嫩綠的新葉，柳條在春風中盪漾，粉紅色的桃花，與綠柳相掩映，再加上田疇裏的春苗，宛似一幅天然的錦繡，旅客們坐在車子裏，也於身心爲之一快，尤其在都市裏久居的人們，平日不容易享受到這樣的陽春美景，惟有山野農夫，纔能審情地享受，反而使得一般旅行的人們，從內心發生了無上的羨慕。

由首都附近，到鎮江爲止，本來在這些土山，以前，這些地方大都荒蕪，近年來經營局的提倡，已經由附近民衆，種植些樹木或桑苗，和用荒地，來增加一些生產，現在，由棲霞山以東，那些土山上，多數已種植桑苗，爲了改進蠶桑的生產，這桑苗的栽培，也漸漸的成了現代化，那除草施肥等等，都改用了新法，遠遠望去，一排排整整齊齊的桑苗，已在吐出嫩綠色的桑芽，到龍潭附近，沿山脚一帶，都是磚瓦窰和石灰窰，裊裊的黑烟，從窰頂上直透空際，似乎在告訴每一個旅人，偉大的復興工作，也像黑烟一樣，在向上開展，而擴大到每一個空間。

龍潭的水泥廠，在江南一帶，原是最大的工廠，每年生產的水泥，供給京滬沿線各地方建築上的需要，雖然不敷甚鉅，但是他的數量，也很可觀，倒也挽回了不少的漏卮，事變以後，該廠一度停頓，目下已經正式復業，高大的烟肉，聳立在山麓，搬運水泥的工人，也非常忙碌，在龍潭車站到工廠門前，本來有一條小鐵路，預備裝運貨物的，現在大概爲了營業上的發展，從廠門口起，一直向東，加鋪一段，把小鐵路延長到東南山麓，而且在那邊又蓋造了許多廠房，雖然工程還沒有完畢，然而那些築路的工人，和建築工人等等，也都在極緊張的狀態下工作，這些，無疑是新中國經濟復興的先趨，作者看到了這種情形，內心的愉快，已經隨着微笑而流露。

鎮江附近，和高資下蜀一帶，磚瓦石灰窰，更是隨地皆有，在火

車裏向山脚上看去，一座磚窰，真有些像蜂房般密布，那些土山上，幾乎全部種植了桑苗，望去已經很少空隙的地方，由此證明了年來的蠶桑事業，有了長足的進步，在車站附近的山頂上，有一所蠶桑講習所，房屋異常寬大，四周都栽種桑樹，供給學生們的實習，山麓有一個很大的標語，也和南京挹江門裏面所見的相仿，完全用石塊鋪砌而成，「努力建設東亞新秩序」九個大字，使得每一個火車裏的乘客，都能夠留下一層深刻的印象。

鎮江在從前，未做省會之先，本來是南北孔道，運河由浙江到運裏渡江，因此，商市非常繁盛，現在，省會遷往蘇州，鎮江的市面，多少受到一些影響，只是在很短時期中，又恢復了他固有的繁榮，鐵路當以鎮江爲樞紐，所以在很短時期中，又恢復了他固有的繁榮，鐵路當局，爲了發展貨運，把南門車站到渣滓車站一段，改鋪了雙軌，還加蓋了些房屋，當作者經過的時候，路工們正在努力趕築中，預料不久即可完工，這在經濟方面，也是值得注意的一端啊。

沿着京滬線過了丹陽，已經是一片大平原，高高低低的土山，不復呈露在眼前，在車裏向外望，所見到的，只是些，原野，那田塍上，池塘邊，原來有不少柳樹松柏等等，因爲事變以後，被遊匪們及當地的無智愚民所砍伐，剩餘的只有一段段樹根而已，近來那些，松柏之類，已由當地政府的提倡，稍稍補植，不過看上去還是可憐得很，最高的也不過三四尺，最低的祇有尺許，柳樹比較容易生長，所以那些樹根上，多已長出新枝，迎風搖曳，在點綴着大自然界僅有的風景。

常州附近的鐵路工廠，和戚墅堰電廠，本來是京滬線上重要工業的一種，事變時曾受到極大的破壞，近年來由中日當局，積極恢復，在合作條件之下，把他擴展得很快，目前鐵路工廠佔地甚廣，共有廠房二百餘間，縱橫的鐵軌，密布得像蛛網一般，許多被毀的車輛，正在加工修理，還有一部份是專造新式車輛，作者路過的時候，曾經看到新近完工的客車，共有二十多輛，停在鐵軌上面，裝配零件和油漆，不久的將來，這二十多輛新客車，就可以分配到各線，供給旅



潘幹丞叩。

致重慶政府電 重慶政府主席林，軍事委員會委員長蔣鈞鑒，中日作戰，四載於茲，致生民於水火，陷國族於危亡，乃我諸公不覺既往之非是，益受英美之蠱惑，堅持抗戰，睥睨和平，接近蘇俄，仇視友邦，相圖束髮從軍，垂三十年，本總理和平奮鬥之遺訓，誓為救國救民以馳驅，深願我中日兩大民族，放棄敵視態度，真誠調整國交，攜手聯盟，奠定東亞大計，精誠合作，努力祖國復興，此不僅四億五千萬同胞所翹企，亦中日兩大民族前途所依歸，謹電，劉相圖叩。

呈蔣委員長韓主席電文：重慶軍事委員會委員長蔣，江蘇省主席韓鈞鑒，竊自七七事變以後，河山改色，生靈塗炭，共黨復乘機蠢動，民怨沸騰，自汪主席貽電，提倡和平救國主張發表後，全國響應，靡不擁護，幹丞忝為國民，獻身社會，自當愛國愛民，目睹蘇北軍政，既於國家無益，且復徒苦人民，擁護和運之意益堅，拯援人民之心更急，茲已代表蘇北民衆，呼籲和平，俾得早見天日，耿耿此心，伏乞垂察，潘幹丞叩。

## 開封鄭州間中牟決口

黃河中牟決口，經中央政治委員會第四二次會議通過，中牟決口委員會組織條例，設置委員會，籌辦堵塞工作，以後人心大為安堵，查中牟決口，在開封與鄭州之間，二十七年六月七日間，日軍擬由開封進攻鄭州，重慶為阻日軍前進，罔顧數省人民之生命財產，不惜決堤放水，此事猶在吾人記憶之中，現在開封固屬國民政府版圖，鄭州則仍在重慶方面之手，故堵塞工作之進行，異常困難，所以中央當局，為顧念國家民氣，故中政會第四十二次會議決議文中，仍不惜盼望重慶誠意合作，可見當局之苦心，中牟決口堵塞能否有效，實與全面和平及重慶能否誠意合作有關，並非單純技術問題，記者為明瞭真相，特走訪華北政務委員會建設總署督辦兼籌堵黃河中牟決口委員會主任委員殷同氏，殷氏適以公畢，於六日上午十時，由京乘機飛返北京，行前蒙於延見首都飯店，關於中牟決口問題，作如左之談話：

黃河泛濫為災，史不絕書，自唐帝堯八十載癸亥，至清咸豐五年乙卯，計四千一百三十年，河之大徙，凡六次，而隨決隨堵者，更不可勝計，二十七年六月間，重慶為阻止日軍前進，先後將黃河中牟，及中牟以北之三劉營潰決，以致大水氾濫，災禍遍及數省，三劉營，因工程較小，業於二十八年，由建設總署集工堵塞竣事，惟中牟決口，因工程較大，迄未堵塞完竣，故河水漫溢，一入溝河，一入賈魯河，中樞當局，為體念民生，已籌組堵塞黃河中牟決口委員會，其暫行組織條例，業經五日第四十二次中政會議通過，即可成立，將來工作之第一步，先履勘及測量中牟決口附近情形，及實地調查黃堤破壞情形，同時，技術人才之訓練，亦甚重要，逐步推進，黃河泛濫，庶可避免，惟中牟決口在開封與鄭州之間，乃鄭州仍在重慶之手，如吾人塞之，重慶決之，殊難見效，所以吾人於此，仍望重慶放棄成見，予以局部合作也。

## 京滬沿線各城鎮新興氣象

還都以後南京，早已顯示了一派昇平景象，六十萬市民，在最高當局領導之下，度他熙熙攘攘，安居樂業的生活，可是也有一部份距離首都較遠的地方，那些鄉村民衆，還在遊匪的蹂躪之下，過他們水深火熱般的生活，因此，在和平旗幟下的戰士們，大家不約而同的鼓起餘勇，咬着牙根，來向前奮鬥，挽救這廣大而奄奄待斃的民衆。

這一次，作者乘了休假之暇，作一次短時間的旅行，在京滬沿線一帶，看到了不少新興的氣象，很值得把他介紹給讀者，作為我們今後努力的對象。

在首都下關車站，沿鐵路向東，一直過了和平門，兩旁的田畝，本來有許多荒地，現在為了糧食的缺乏，當地的農民，也知道積極增加生產，因此，沿途的農田，現已種植大麥小麥，一派青綠的麥苗，遠祇有五六寸高，不過內中有許多水田，至今仍未種植，如果能夠全部開墾，至少也可以增加一部份雜糧的生產，那許多農民，在兩後初晴的朝陽之下，一批批到田裏去做除草的工作，在大自然的美麗景色

業已同意，目下正積極作成條文，料最近可全部圓滿告終，(三)與蘇聯調整國交，正順利進展中，目下漁業條約通商貿易協定，正進行交涉中，關於後者，雙方意見漸趨一致，料不久當可成立，(四)美國成立租軍法，以賭國運，逐步援助英國，目下美國是否用該國軍艦護送援英物資問題，紛紛議論，此點我方須深加注意，(五)與越南之經濟交涉，大體經過，甚為順利，交涉當可成功，與荷印之交涉，因對方屢持通商論，故繼續談判中，(六)英美兩國，對於日本之警戒的壓迫，在漸次增強中，一方日本與德義之關係，因松岡外相之訪問，益趨緊密化，(七)日本之前途，極為廣大，第一，日本國體為世界無比，縱遂如何難關，國民之團結決不崩潰，第二，日本之地理的地位，偏在於東亞，遠離世界大戰之中心，而擁有強大精銳之武器，有睥睨太平洋之概，然日本因受天然地利之惠，此後縱遂如何難局，前途有無限之幸運。

### 渝軍幹部潘幹丞劉相圖兩將軍相率來歸

汪主席領導之和平反共建國運動，自國府遷都年餘以來，積極建軍，確保地方治安，調整金融，改善民衆生活，凡百事業，朝氣蓬勃，業已奠定東亞和平百年大計之穩固基礎，無底抗戰之黑暗前途，即渝方軍人幹部中，亦頗不乏覺悟者，本年二月間，軍事委會第一集團軍總司令李長江，率部三萬餘來歸後，予渝方軍隊以重大影響，在財政枯竭外援斷絕之情勢中，一時人心惶惶，士氣渙散，抗戰機構，早瀕崩潰絕境，全面和平，不難逐步實現，最近渝方有力軍隊蘇北八十九軍副參謀長，兼一百一十七師參謀長潘幹丞，魯蘇聯軍西北集團總指揮劉相圖，又率領所部精銳勁旅，共約二萬五千人，毅然來歸，潘劉兩將軍，業於九日，由防地抵京，曾晉謁汪主席，報告此次參加和運決心，及所部近況，請示一切，面領機宜，潘劉兩將軍，不日即將返還防次，暫用江北暫編國防軍第一集團總司令，暨魯蘇聯軍西北集團總指揮名義，收編各部隊，十三日下午一時，潘劉兩將軍，特偕中央飯店，招待首都中外記者團，發表談話，並公布通電七則，昭告全國

朝野，其涵義至為重大，茲將各情分錄如次：

潘劉兩氏略歷：(一)潘幹丞將軍，現年四十一歲，浙江饒縣人，東北陸軍講武堂十四期畢業，民國十五年，在奉天任排連營長，十七年在武漢任前十九路軍團長，廿年任蘇北稅警團參謀處長，廿七年在八十九軍副參謀長兼一一七師參謀長，(二)劉相圖將軍，現年四十六歲，河北雄縣人，保定講武堂畢業，民十年，在吳佩孚麾下任排連營長，十七年任革命軍第二集團軍參謀處長團長，廿六年，任二十六路軍參謀及直屬兵站站長，二十七年，任第三路軍參謀長兼第一旅旅長。

率部毅然來歸：潘將軍為蘇北八十九軍軍長李守維將軍之重要幹部，深明戰略，驍勇善戰，李將軍依之如左右手，八一三時，曾任渝方團長，在大場鎮率部作戰，撤退後，乃輾轉至蘇北任八十九軍重要職務，數年來深感抗戰無望，故此毅然率領該軍一一七師及三三師之部隊，約一萬五千人，參加和運，劉將軍與潘將軍係屬知友，曾參加台兒莊有名戰役，願感抗戰無望，乃隱退上海，旋至蘇北與渝方韓德勳將軍合作，但與韓意見不合，被韓解除全部武裝，二十八年冬，再至上海，獻身和運，二十九年三月間，乃至蘇北開始工作，最近始率八十九軍一一七師約一萬人來歸，由於兩將軍之密切合作，故能獲得此次圓滿結果，預料渝方軍隊，勢將開風響應，相率來歸，完成全面和平，當在不遠。

呈汪主席電文：國民政府主席汪鈞鑒，中日作戰數載於茲，民窮財困，危亡堪虞，幸我鈞座發奮圖強，呼籲和平，薄海同欽，相關不才，忝列戎行，輒深景仰，今後願率所屬歸兒，誓為和平奮鬥，謀取中日合作，實現東亞聯盟，謹佈微忱，伏乞鑒察，職劉相圖叩。

國民政府主席汪鈞鑒，回憶粵錫迄今，寒暑易易，河山改色，生靈塗炭，言念及此，實為痛心，我主席發奮圖強，倡和平之先導，為救國之根基，挽狂瀾於既倒，登斯民於衽席，黨國利賴，倉生幸福，幹丞深蒙愛護有餘，電望永耀，誓竭忠誠，盡忠職守，謹肅電呈！

器擴英集，早在美國議會通過，惟關於物資輸送，德希特勒元首曾通告羅斯福總統謂德國若見載運援助物資赴英國之輪船，不論是否有護航隊同行時，立即將其擊沉，美國事實上為求英國之優勢，在美國國防尚未完成以前，必希望英國繼續存在，故將供給英國以大批之武器，然因焦慮船隻數量之減少，必先輸送船隻至英，繼之，護衛商輪之海軍力，英國亦必仰美國之援助，倘此項問題，不得解決，則武器援英案將根本失其意義，所以護航問題，可謂美國是否參戰之關鍵。

護航問題：美衆院外交委員會，通過武器貨英案，而送交衆院時唯一之修正案，即議會不將使用美海軍護衛商船之權限，賦予大總統，但政府方面則以為使用海軍力之權限，不俟武器貨英案之成立，已在大總統之統帥權中，史汀生，諾克斯兩部長亦不否認出讓軍艦以使用於護航之事，美政府認為必須使用美國海軍以輸送援英之武器，足以證明其將堅持此項方針實行，八日該案遂附加有名無實之修正，通過衆院移送參院，預料美海軍之護航，或將運用此避免參戰之式。

甲，出讓艦艇與英國。

乙，船員亦作為義勇軍。

丙，根據美加防協定，首先對加拿大實行此種方式。

丁，物資由中立國愛爾蘭輸入。

戊，倘美海軍與德海空軍之衝突不可避免採取不擴大之方針。

大西洋之波濤：無論採取上項何種方式，美德兩國，將入交戰狀態，事實上實無疑義，但美國若採取不擴大之方針，則或將不致發生參戰狀態，此舉例如日德義同盟第三條成為問題解釋而為參戰時，在客觀情勢上，仍有兩種解釋之餘地，預料或將有此可能，如再進一步，則大西洋方面，將發生全面之交涉狀態，其可能性頗大，尤其因美國憲法上之規定堅持不宜戰之不擴大方針概為困難，德國因此目下對於作戰不宜戰者，則不致成為問題，此時，德方成為問題者，不在宜戰而在三國同盟之發動如何，因其足以決定開始正式之第二次世界大戰與否，此種危機與德軍登陸作戰，英國屈服，何者將先發生，如德

軍登陸作戰發生因援英之參戰危機將告和緩，此時勢必引起太平洋之全面危機。

太平洋危機之焦點：美國參戰之危機，由日本方面觀察確立東亞共榮圈（包括荷印）乃日本之存亡問題，美國阻止日本南進之意，實較援英問題為少，於此情形下日本將如何以進行南進政策，此乃極微妙之問題，總之此種事態，將與歐局同時進展，倘發生某種偶然之事態，則亦不致引起日美兩國海軍之大戰，倘日美關係獨立觀察或將尖銳對峙至於開戰，似為期尚遠，惟決定之要素，潛伏於東西兩面，雙方有不可分之關係，故前途亦不容樂觀，然美國主戰派之金蘭爾將軍就任太平洋艦隊司令官後美國海軍首腦部多為主戰派，此亦為決定美國參戰情勢之重要因素。

美德兩國對立：關於輸送援英武器，不久之將來，美德兩國勢必發生武力衝突，殆無疑義，但於形式上美國尚有種種辦法，使不直接入於交戰狀態之餘地，再由三國同盟觀之，英國希望美國在形式上盡量保守中立，美國之情形亦正如此，故美國或將繼續保持不參戰狀態，惟隨時均有步入全面交戰狀態之危險，若一旦大西洋，發生全面之交戰狀態或將波及太平洋大西洋方面之危機，即在援英輸送問題，太平洋方面乃在荷度，太平洋之危機雖不如大西洋之迫切，但亦不能開全無實現之可能，縱合以上數點，若在時間上加以考察，情勢將如何演變，預料今夏秋之間危機或將發生，若今秋不發生，則來年必不可免。

## 日大橋外務次官詳述國際大勢

日大橋外務次官，於地方長官會議第三日，在外務省所管會議席間，說明現下全般之國際情勢，如次：

（一）淪方因物資不足及其黨之摩擦，遂陷於相當苦悶，與共黨間之關係，擬含糊一時，依賴英美，此後仍圖繼續抗戰，因此彼等乃力圖改善其主要命脈，演繹路進行計畫，連接緬甸與雲南鐵道，最近美總統特使曾赴淪，調查援淪辦法，（二）調停泰越國境紛爭問題，大綱

去，把儒學教授皇免稚郎子，但日本國人求學的機運，很是不容易出現，王仁是漢高祖的子孫，生長朝鮮，留居日本不歸，後來子孫世承其業，爲日本文學侍從之臣，居於河內，稱西文氏，同時尚有弓月王者，史稱爲秦大子技蘇的子孫，他率領一百二十餘縣的人歸日本，居於太和，他的部民能養蠶，善織絹帛，仁德天皇愛之，賜姓秦氏，到了宏略天皇時代，秦氏部民滋生至一萬八千餘人，因命弓月王之孫秦酒大率領他們養蠶，因此日本的蠶大爲發達，天皇大喜，賜酒公姓大秦。

其次再據日本古代傳說，略有和中國類似者，例「古事記」日本書紀「神代卷的化生神話，便含有中國盤古傳說的性質，梁任昉的述異記說：「盤古氏天地萬之祖也……昔盤古氏之死也，頭爲四岳，目爲日月，脂膏爲江海，毛髮爲草木」，古事記伊邪那岐神拔十拳劍，斬迎具土神，死時，他的頭，胸，腹，陰和左右手足，成爲八柱山神的神話」，在死屍化生山岳一點和盤古傳說類似，再伊邪那岐命神洗左眼成天照大神，洗右眼成月讀命，洗鼻成建速須佐之男命之神話，和盤古傳說目爲日月相似，天照大神是日神，月讀命是月神，關於這類神話，果然不足置喙，可是中國盤古的傳說，和日本化生神話之間，很類似的，好像也有一脈的連絡，這都根據日本文學家青本正兒的理論，再在我國歷史上的考查，同屬黃種，地理環境又是相似的，同時民族血統也是一樣，所以國民思想，意志也有其互相類似的原因。

日本惟古女天皇十五年，我國隋煬帝大業三年，天皇遣小野妹子到我國來求佛經，第二年，隋煬帝遣文林郎裴世清，陪同小野妹子赴日，日皇大喜，造新館在難波（大阪）設儀仗以迎之，待遇極爲優渥，同年九月，小野妹子第二次來我國，日本學生高向玄理第八人，跟了來留學，習法律，政治，文學佛學各科，小野妹子東還，八人仍留居我國，玄理留居我國凡三十二年，到了唐初，他們暫陸續歸國，孝德天皇時，玄理，僧旻都充顧問，助天皇變法，定年號叫大化，就是日本史上的「大化革新」（唐貞觀十九年）政府制度，多採中國唐代制度，改革封建而集權於中央，改世襲職爲流官，定冠位，制朝儀，置八

省，其後每屆遣唐使來的時候，必有許多學生跟着來留學，如舒明天皇時代，兩次共派二百四十餘人，最多者爲天正天皇時代，凡五百五十餘人，其吸收我國文化至爲迅速，然而能融會貫通，造成一種特殊式的日本文化，所以社會的進展也很迅速。

在唐末遣唐使停派以後，我國還有遊學的僧侶去，在宗教以外，帶去不少宋代著作，作輸入文化的媒介。

## 美國能否參戰

美國能否參戰，今日已成爲全世界注目的焦點，際此疑問尙未解決之時，吾人不妨將美國參戰之意味，加以檢討，美國參戰的方式，約如下述：

- (一) 美國對德或對日宣戰。
- (二) 美國不宜戰以武力與德國或日本入於全面交戰狀態。
- (三) 德義或日本對美宣戰。
- (四) 德義或日本不宜戰以武力與美國入全面交戰狀態。

然則就根本而言，美國如不能使英國勝利，則勢必後悔千年，同時必希望阻止日本勢力之伸長，如情形允許，更擬立於戰爭圈外，等待他國因戰爭國力消耗將盡時可以袖手旁觀，增加本身實力，以提高將來在國際上之地位，故決不希望參加戰爭，而且美國國防計劃，正開始進行，海軍方面也沒有達到絕對的優勢，空軍，陸軍亦不如軸心國之堅強，因此從事戰爭實屬不利，依數年來國際情勢之演變，美國國防計劃必需完成，更因國內傳統的對外不干涉，基督教和平主義，及民主主義之苟且偷安，勞動階級之反戰空氣等強力反戰勢力，阻力甚大，相反的方向時間之變化，於此作用反作用之中可以決定美國是否宣戰或入於交戰狀態。

援助英國：問題最主要之焦點，即爲援英，德方對英登陸作戰，不論今年中是否實現，英國現在德機及潛艇進攻之下，倘無美國之援助必漸趨於衰弱以英國自身力量欲圖挽回德英間之平衡絕無希望，武

由兩國文化從事者來分担，誠屬義不容辭之舉，其實，在今日，中日文化也只有在這運動中奮勇邁進，才能保持有遺未失去的光輝，從而我們兩大民族，在這運動展開歷程中，更應該立下重建東亞文化的決心，並選擇一個正確的共同的方向。

中日關係之重要，國父孫先生早就告訴我們，他說：「日本與中國之關係，實為存亡安危相聯者，無日本即無中國，無中國即無日本」又說：「日本與中國，以種族論，實為兄弟之國，我國中國國民，想同日本國民聯絡一氣，用兩國國民的力量，共同維持東亞大局」，現在汪主席也昭示我們，「中日義應為友，不應為敵」，可見中日間應走的大道是怎樣了，同時也足以證實中日兩國的命脈是絕對連繫的，不能須臾相離的，誠有緊密攜手親善合作的必要。

不幸中日兩國關係，由於過去雙方認識的不足，與政策的錯誤，歷年以來未獲調整，以致兩國在邦交上充滿了陰霾，始終處於對立的狀態：先則釀成一二八戰爭，接着發生二十六年七七的蘆溝橋，乃至八一三的上海事變，當時戰事雖已降臨，但也未嘗沒有可以解決之道，乃因蔣政權被共黨威脅，更加着第三國的從中慫恿，以最後勝利之迷夢，寄託於國際之援助，遂致鑄成莫大的禍端，擾攘數年，雙方蒙受巨大損失，陷入同文同種自相殘殺的深淵，將士奮鬥犧牲，人民流離顛沛，演變為歷史上空前未有之浩劫。

其實，中日兩方，都知道中國的最後勝利是沒有希望，而日本欲達其征服目的，亦不可得，戰則兩敗俱傷，和則共存共榮，雙方賢智之士，都明瞭過去大家走錯了路，無論勝利或失敗，戰爭終究痛苦，從痛苦中迸出來的教訓，便是中日兩方，亟應明白利害關係，站在同一求生的陣綫上，共同努力，以保留日後復興東亞的餘地。

於是日方有近衛公一再說明一日本之意，不在中國之滅亡，而在中國之興隆，期於中國分担東亞新秩序之責任，我國則有汪主席領導之和平運動，與日本善鄰友好，共謀興隆，為要達成此項目的，至此東亞聯盟運動便由此產生了。

現在東亞聯盟中國總會在汪先生領導之下已於二月一日宣告成立，這確是富有歷史意味的盛舉，聯盟宗旨是為謀中國民族之復興，對內造成和平之革新力量，對外期達民族之獨立自由，根據大亞細亞主義，主張東亞之結成，共謀亞細亞民族之發展，其條件為政治獨立，經濟合作，軍事同盟，文化溝通四大綱領。

至於東亞聯盟運動的推進，實肇端於國父孫先生革命的體系，中國革命之目的，在求中國之自由平等，及聯合世界上以平等待我之民族，共同奮鬥，中日兩國同處東亞，同受歐美列強之壓迫，總理初創革命的時候，早具這種卓見，所以告訴我們說：「中國革命之成功，有待於日本之諒解」這句話的意義，當然也是很重要的，我們既屬同文同種，利害又復相關，所以有互相結合之必要。

在聯盟綱領中的文化溝通，我以為也是最主要的課題，因為中日不幸事件的展開，其基因可說由於共黨左翼文化勢力，和歐美資本文化思想的麻醉所致，所以在「軍事至上，勝利第一」的口號下，文化界首先被利用，首先被犧牲，七七事變以前，政府採用暴力壓抑的手段，激化抗日思想，於是文化界遂走入歧途，盲目發揮謬誤主張，在基本思想上，當然不能獲得正確的理論，「抗日文論者」對於中國與日本的歷史關係，未能切實瞭解，對於中國與日本將來之前途，更未能認識清楚，文化上的愚民政策，是政治上壓迫使然。

中國文化在東亞和世界上都有超特地位，而日本文化也有特殊的地位，所以中日兩國必須要有文化的結合，以謀東亞文化之發揚，積極方面還要在兩國教育上樹立強有力的團結，以謀彼此合作。

其在文化溝通，尤以語言為合作上之基本條件，倘使語言和文字溝通，則可以免除隔膜，解除一切阻礙，所以假使從語言和文字上致力，中日就可有更進一步的聯繫。

說到古代，在漢朝時候，日本就開始和我國交通，那時輸入的文化，當然祇是物質方面，到了西晉時候，日本應神天皇時代，百濟國王遣其臣阿直岐人貢日本，阿直岐通中國文字，應神天皇請他教皇子，阿直岐回國後，即介紹百濟博士王仁進論語十卷千字文一卷到日本

仇敵，種種的因素，遂使盧溝橋鎗聲一起，戰爭便瘋狂了整個的東亞，日本以爲中國只要重兵壓境，立即可以瓦解，而中國則以爲日本經不起戰爭的拖延，國家經濟便要崩潰，雙方的揣測都成爲莫須有，而戰神却不肯即時就走了。

無論勝利或失敗，戰爭究竟是一種痛苦，從痛苦中迸出來的覺悟，才是真正的覺悟，於是在日本有近衛的聲明，在中國有汪先生的和平運動，這兩位領袖的毅然興起，並不是偶然的，更不是一己的，實在是代表整個國家民族的意志和要求，所以僅僅一年餘的時日，而和平的光芒，已照徹了整個東亞，現在全面和平雖然還沒有成功，可是我們正在爲此而鞠躬盡瘁，並且更進一步，不但努力於和平，更努力於中日修好，努力於攜手合作，努力於建設新東亞，爲要達到上項目的，我們於是提倡「東亞聯盟」，以東亞民族的誠意結合，東亞民族的全體力量，爲東亞的前途，爲各自的前途而努力。

「東亞聯盟」是東亞的兩大民族——中國和日本，以及新興的滿洲國，互相結合，在政治上，尊重各自的獨立自由，在經濟上，有資源的供給資源，有技術的供獻技術，有資本的出其資本，有人力的出其人力，共同開發各個所有的富源，發展各個的工商業，以及一切經濟上的事業，以充裕東亞的財富，在文化上，本來同一源流的三個國家，一齊努力發揚王道的精神，實行忠恕的道理，把東亞固有的文化，發揚而光大之，在軍事上，合力抗禦外來的勢力，尤其是蘇聯共產主義的勢力，我們不再做歐美帝國主義的牛馬，把縱橫於我們境域以內的白人勢力，一掃而廓清之，於是東亞才算是我們東亞人的東亞，我們三個國家，以兄弟的親睦，保持永久的和平，一新東亞的面目，「東亞聯盟」是同時出發於中日人士間的同一大主張，是雙方經過三年餘的痛苦戰爭以後的由衷的覺悟與要求，不過「東亞聯盟」的全功，還有待於雙方人士和全體民衆的努力。

中日人民互相仇視的心理，已經積有相當長久的期間，現在是受了戰爭的刺激，一舉而反覆過來，但我們的希望和努力，是要這一種

崇好棄仇的心理，不會是暫時的而是永遠的，此次日本既不以戰勝爲自居，而對中國有所苛刻的要求，中國也不因戰敗而自餒，決意跟着先進的日本，共同負起建設新東亞的重任，這是自有戰爭以來未曾成聞的現象，這種和平，才是真正的和平，才能永無報復與防範的心理，我們中國的民衆，必須切實明白這一個重要的意義，切實了解「東亞聯盟」並不是一時利害通同的協調，而是永恆和平進步以及福利的結合，孫總理所昭示的，以及現在汪主席所諄諄告誡我們的中日關係的重要性，我們應認識其先見之明與眼光之遠大。

我們二十餘年來爲歐美帝國主義所利用，盲目地和兄弟之邦的日本爲仇，而揚揚得意以爲在發揚民族精神，其實正是在受歐美帝國主義的任意宰割而不自知，日本就是對於我們的好意的幫助，而亦爲猜忌疑慮所籠蔽，在過去的日本呢，亦不免受着西方帝國主義的影響，只想向外發展，徒然引起中國的反感，但是現在日本人已從根本上覺悟了，已表示萬分願意的扶助中國，以共同建設新的東亞，那末，我們以愛好和平的中國民衆，爲了自己的以及東亞共同的利益，難道竟不由衷共鳴麼。

要一反中國的積弱，以圖存於世界，惟有與現在以兄弟待我的先進友邦——日本，以及跟在我們後面的新興滿洲，拋棄合作，以達到共存共榮，要我們東亞不再爲白種人所把持蹂躪，也惟有中日滿三個東亞的國家認真的永遠的聯盟起來，共同建設，共同抵禦，才能發揮無敵的力量，才能得到永遠的福利。

「東亞聯盟」的需要在此，「東亞聯盟」的意義也在此。

## 東亞聯盟與中日文化

南京市黨部執委徐公美廣播

前些日子，我們曾經指出，東亞聯盟運動，乃是中日文化一條新的出路，因爲中日兩國文化，在歷史上是互有淵源的，現在中日基本關係條約既經簽訂完成，那麼文化溝通的任務，這付沉重的担子，將

利而買兇暗殺陰謀不遂，至於明目張胆屠殺到一般民衆，尤其是豺狼不如的獸行，這是人類莫大的恥辱，中國今日而有這種人，真是中國莫大的恥辱。

暗殺和陰謀，是於兩種政治形態之下發生的，一種是獨裁者的暴力政治，另一種，便是沒落中的政治狀態必然的反應。

重慶政權恰如此，蔣介石的言行充分表示了獨裁者個人權利的慾望，我們還看到重慶一大批無聊政客文丐，至今還在大唱其捧，拍，吹，搗，的調子，另一方面，藍衣社，共產黨的恐怖浪潮，屠殺到一般民衆，這種行爲，十足證明了獨裁政權的暴戾與沒落，蔣介石共產黨，這樣窮兇極惡的幹下去，除開表現了他的暴戾苦悶外，對國家民族來講，我們覺得這一羣只是政治上的敗類，對其本身來講，暗殺陰謀，和不斷的恐怖，只有加速其殘餘力量的崩潰，而革命運動的進展，是絲毫沒受到影響的。

我們早就說過了，站在和平運動一邊的同志，不是槍桿和炸彈能威脅的，我們是在艱難困苦的環境中，向全國同胞闡述新的政治意識，由觀念鬥爭推動革命的進展，重慶的殘餘政治力量，至今仍有英美侵略主義及第三國際在華代理人，在支持着，他們不爲國家民族着想，他們到底不會覺悟，我們痛心之餘，只好加緊我們的努力，正如汪先生說過的話，「不靠重慶的覺悟憑我們自己的熱血和平運動也幹得成功的」，在這種場合下，重慶的苦惱，便表現出它的政治陰謀而恐怕陰險和惡毒的手段，反更鞏固了我們的意志和信心。

最近，南京的陰謀案件，暴露着重慶在壽終正寢前的迴光反照，在民衆聚集的地方，放炮炸彈，很明顯的，他們所要殺的不是什麼個人，而是一般民衆，這點，民衆是永遠不會忘記的，這種缺乏人道觀念，缺乏政治道德的獸行，他們或許以爲可以使社會的下層感到害怕，但害怕決不是服從，而是進一步的痛恨，這種卑劣的行動，實在是重慶自己在把弱點露出來，我們翻開歷史看看，專制的君皇，和苛酷的獨裁者，都沒將介石那樣很心，俄國在羅曼諾夫皇朝的末代，

曾炸毀皇權歷史的「紅星期日」，但這樣屠殺民衆，俄國的革命一樣成功了，重慶的當事人，應該立刻明瞭，主觀的獨裁意識，和不顧國家民族的行爲，同胞是不會接受的，要是因此便遣使暗殺人員，跑到南京來以手榴彈的威力，而破壞娛樂場，而屠殺民衆，只有加深民衆對陰謀屠殺的痛恨，加速重慶的沒落，所以，由這次南京的炸彈事，想到我們對重慶政權的未來，可以分析出幾個趨向，（一）恐怖人員的無能，以至幹出卑劣而不顧人道的案件，這是表示藍衣社，共產黨，在日暮途窮的掙扎中，（二）重慶的壽命，已瀕於最後一息，政治上的弱點，和不人道的企圖，將加速其崩潰的過程，（三）事實證明，抗戰意識的不正確和逐漸消失。

我們對於被害的民衆，深致其惋惜，對於根絕藍衣社，共產黨的恐怖陰謀，更願提出三點意見，請大衆予以注意和討論，（一）我們必須加緊努力，收回上海租界，因爲上海租界，至今還是重慶暗殺組織的據點，工部局既然無能肅清，則讓我們去幹，（二）我們要求一般民衆，一致起來協助政府，確立治安，肅清匪共與藍衣社，以民衆的自衛，使陰謀行爲無隙可乘，（三）加緊觀念的鬥爭，加緊建設的努力，使和平的意識，和平的事實，普遍到社會每一角，使重慶的獨裁政治，買辦意識，和非人道的種種醜惡行態，完全崩潰，這是重慶政權的殞滅，也就是藍衣社共產黨的殞滅。

### 對於東亞聯盟的認識

南京新報

孫總理說：「中國與日本之關係，實爲存亡安危兩相關聯者」，已昭示我們以中日關係之重要，現在汪主席也一再對我們說：「中日應爲友，不應爲敵」，更明確的說明了中日間所應走的大道。

中國和日本，無論在歷史上或地理上，都有其不可分解的聯繫，這是盡人皆知的事實，可是過去雙方都走錯了路道，日本，因國家勢力的膨脹而不得不向外發展時，不幸而以中國爲其發展的對象，中國，長久喘息於歐美帝國主義的壓榨之下而不能反抗時，尋仇的怨忿，就趁這關係近，適逢其會的中日間的種種矛盾，促成了雙方的關

英國也。

英國人民及其少數之擁護者，最近慶祝其在北非之勝利，而不知此種勝利，全屬空洞，意軍當局在戰略上，已引英軍深入非洲內地，使之不復能保衛蘇彝士運河，同時亦牽制其在其他戰線上之活動，意軍對軸心之功績，實堪慶賀，而英國之滅亡，則將因之而愈速也。

### 關於內政外交的記憶

黃天衢

國民政府改組還都以後，宣擾經年的內政外交問題，算是有了解決辦法了，在這一年當中，倡導和平諸政府領袖，堅忍卓絕，艱苦支撐，自不待言，其中特別勞苦功高的陳公博先生，不消說是出類拔萃吧。

只就精神方面着眼，政府沒有改組以前，中國人民，不問是在國內還是在海外，對於這回「打好仗講和平」的光榮還都，史乘上找不到幾許先例，而能否達到完滿結果，却又有許多懷疑，然而陳先生把握住十三年的改組經驗，證明發生效果，以後持着這回改組的信念，更可以放手做去，前者聯俄，後者和日，無非是尋求與國的一貫政策，求所以自由平等博愛，這些政策，是時代的產兒，富有創造性，因此，毫不計較到個人的利害和得失，甚至個人的歷史或犧牲，悉置之度外，毅然踏上了他所認識的康莊大道，隨着汪先生向前邁進，由於有為的精神，得到政府的信任，才能接二連三把立法院長，赴日答禮專使，廣東省政府主席，上海市長那般任重而道遠的職務，一個一個擔負起來，他如中國國民黨中央執行委員會常務委員，軍事委員會常委兼政治訓練部長，中央政治會議當然委員等職，姑且不論，只有以下一個問題。

為甚麼他肯這樣負責任呢？

原因：大概是在革命過程中，常常發現多得很多的野心國家，憑藉了個人的威力，利用中國人民的幼稚思想，尤其是民權思想太過薄弱，使主義終至免不了橫遭挫折，但是，陳先生以為這種困難，必須克服，必須排除，務使以後永無同樣再起的艱巨，三民主義和政策，就

自然而然的貫徹了，這大概是陳先生的意志，也是中國國民黨的最終目的，更是中國人民全體的期望。

怎樣恪守總理遺教，陳先生是很堅定着去幹——和平，奮鬥，救中國——唯主義不是坐而言，便且起而行，所謂精神，就在那邊產生很大的力量了。

事實呢，今日的中央政府各部門的機構，跟中國戰後的文化經濟狀況……切於要求的組織法，早已創制成就了，那麼，和平基礎是一天比一天鞏固下去，這是第一點。

在赴日答禮一行，聽說是和日本政府討論東亞長治久安問題，旁及世界人類文明進展等細綱，撮為中心課題，語備週詳，未幾，從日本歸來了，中日和約簽字了，一切建設，包括「對內實施憲政，對外實現和平」表示樂觀，這是第二點。

還有一層，廣東人民，以前遭遇着戰爭，無擬是悲涼憤懣，大有「壯者散於四方，老弱轉乎溝壑」的景象，一聞陳先生蒞省，人人延頸以望，先生到了，相與歡呼，因此，治安也在短期內確立，各種事業，欣欣向榮，差不多比戰前一般，這是第三點。

一直到現在，最可注意的還算是四月十二日上海各報登載：「在跑馬廳前國際飯店，陳市長分別宴請各國駐滬領事，作陪人物有市府秘書長胡澤吾等，席間賓主聯歡，情形融洽」那些事實，這一起應酬，究竟是外交性質呢還是內政措施，此處不容輕下斷語，而其帶着時局的和個人的嚴重性，却是無人否認的，這是第四點。

從第一個敘述以至第四為止，處處都是顧國計念民生的車載斗量，政治作用，不但是為國宣勞有了「康深政治」主張，便且一言一行予天下共見共聞，這種精神，夾着「彰明較著」的事實，難道我們自動向上，要求解放的中國國民，關於這些內政外交加緊的，不可磨滅的成績，一點兒沒有感動嗎？

### 炸彈屠殺和重慶政權

(中央社)

為政治鬥爭而買兇暗殺，已是一件最卑劣無恥的行為，為個人權



法國所交還之土地，大部係未經墾植莽蕪之地，但據泰國負責方面所稱，其中 Balamang 一省，每年產米四十萬噸，因本年之旱災，對於泰國剩餘糧食之出口不無小補。

泰國所收還之土地中，亦多產木之區，惟大部未經開發，泰國當局相信開發採木事業，並不困難，所產木材，可由泐江順流而下，再由盤谷運銷世界各處市場，南部叢林之地，亦有未開發者，如無政府或私人大量投資，則其中富源將仍棄於地，泰國本多森林之地，目前政府正修築公路鐵路，以企發該地之富源，南部 Pann 一帶，尤多寶石鑽礦，品質之佳，世所聞名。

除米，木材，寶石之外，泰國收還之土地中，在 Paks 之森林中，尤多虎，豹，熊，等野獸，在 Luang Prabang 則多象羣，對於狩獵之民族，利益非淺也。

泰國政府對於日本極表感激，盤谷 "Supab Barus" 報云：泰國在歐洲國家之眼中地位已經增高；"Thai Mai" 報云：此次和約非常滿意，日本實為東方之強國，而能保護其他東亞民族，不被侵略。

日本亦取得泰國之好感與友誼，一旦日本與英國開戰，以消滅新加坡「東方之直佈羅陀」，泰國必能以境內之根據地供日本之用。

### ▲肅清上海之罪惡窩穴▼

陳公博市長最近已命滬西警務處長潘達，肅清滬西特區中之罪惡窩穴，陳市長不但命令賭場煙館立即停閉，而且不許將來再有開設，在滬西警權協定之中，禁止滬西一帶之非法營業，本有條文規定，加之有與租界警察合作，會同捉拿罪犯之條文，實行陳市長肅清罪惡之命令，當在不難，潘警務處長精緻強幹，肅清運動，不久定能見諸事實，然而成功之關鍵，還須視租界當局之能否誠意合作，希望租界當局對於此事，較之對於三年來之恐怖問題，作更誠意之努力。

### ▲巴爾幹之火藥桶▼

南斯拉夫之政變，發生於該國加入軸心之後，實屬駭人奇事，至

其變更陣線，惟可視同自殺，蓋德國必不容忍，巴爾幹方面發生任何枝節，以阻礙其軍事之進行，以南斯拉夫一小國，敢與德國抗衡，其間無非有英美之勾結，英外相艾登，及羅斯福代表杜諾文上校，在巴爾幹及近東之活動，非無因也。

南政府殆被英美引入歧途矣，一旦德國進攻南斯拉夫，英美將如之乎，南斯拉夫豈未見較之遠強之法國與波蘭，與德國一戰而敗乎。南斯拉夫之願與民主國家聯繫，乃依賴英國所不能供給之援助，或是美國之經濟與物料之援助，不過雖有此種援助，以南斯拉夫而欲對德作戰，結果難免一敗，南斯拉夫既得避出戰局之機會，不知利用而竟欲一戰，其敗必矣。

### ▲不列顛之滅亡▼

為少數樂觀者希望英國仍有一線之戰勝希望，或戰至不分勝敗之結局，有種種不可否認之事實，顯示英國之必敗者，不得不為之指出。

戰事十八月來，自腦威一役以至「鄧寇克之榮譽撤退」，無戰不敗，損失船隻，據美國方面統計有五百萬噸之多，土地之割讓於美國者，值逾一千四百萬鎊，國內受德機空襲之損失，日益嚴重，政府最近命令動員全國婦女，參加戰事工作，男子之超過服役年齡者，亦須一律入伍。

英國船隻之損失，使重要之食物愈受限制，外國輸入之原料，亦不能按時運到，德國空軍之威力，及法國全部海岸與比國，荷蘭之盡入德國控制，對英已成不可逾越之「鋼圈」。

在地中海之英國艦隊，已不敢越電池一步，運輸糧食及軍需原料之護航問題，極感困難，希特勒年內滅英之宣言，於其加緊毀滅英國船隻之中，已可見其決心。

美國雖有盡量援助之諾言，英國仍須付給相當之代價，現在之美國，已為英國之大債主，由大西洋上送來之資助，英國將付極貴之物質與道義上代價，總之美國之一切援助，不足以阻止德國之隨時毀滅

## 中華新聲半月刊

社址：南京鼓樓新村八號  
 總主筆及發行人——甘德雲

### ▲上海納稅人年會▼

一年來上海公共租界工部局內部行政之漫無章則，造成了日人林氏之大鬧會場案，最後又起了一個驚人的新變化，就是公共租界裏三大權益國的領事，通過將向來的公部局董事三英人二美人二日人五華人的名額，改爲四華人三英人三日人三美人及小國籍二人。

此種變更，在上海的英僑方面，一時同聲宣揚，爲係彼方之讓步，仗義慷慨，衆喻同歸之一種表示，然而事實只是烏死之哀鳴，四月十七日舉行之年會中，將有納稅人所提之種種改革方案，提付公決，而提案之納稅人，則都係英籍，試觀公部局之公報，便知提案一共七樁，其中六樁係出於凱自威(怡和大班)及彌契爾(太古大班)二人。

對於易受蒙蔽的人們，此種表示，或許是認爲調整工部局行政的誠意努力，但是吾人所見者，只不過是工部局因各方攻擊太烈，而則此出於不得已之讓步耳。

此種觀念，並非吾人所獨有，據吾人所知，正直之英國人士，對於少數英國大班之處事不公，亦往往有不平之鳴，三月十八日，上海大美晚報登載上海英籍名律師麥唐納著文一篇，詳述少數英國行家，及凱自威與馬騰二人之操縱租界納稅人選舉，即其他英籍僑民，亦都在二人掌腕之下，麥唐納云「英僑草選董事之舉，不過是假作公正，虛表民治精神耳」。

凱自威與彌契爾在四月七日年會上，推舉美國檢察官海爾密克爲主席，於此又可見現在英僑之逢迎心理，海爾密克爲美國人，此次之被推爲納稅人年會主席，實美國獲得此種可變榮譽之第一人，英人每

遇困難之時，往往不惜奔向其素來輕視之人，求其保護，然而向來工部局之一切事務，既是在華人許不入內之上海總會預先議定，推海爾密克爲主席，又何爲哉。

工部局的新形勢，外人聞之當然悅耳，但在華人則是「恥上加辱」，上海華人，雖繳納工部局捐稅百分之八十五，不得參預工部局之行政，亦無任何權利，當時工部局之容納華董五人，亦不過一種和緩政策，對於華人之實益，絲毫無補也，反之，因華董之維繫於外人權利，遇有事故，工部局反而保證得到一部份華人之護助，此輩華董，實外人之走狗耳。

在新形勢之下，向來之華董五人，已減爲四人，如此之侮辱，不得不有所呼喊，對工部局作「殊死戰」，而消滅此非法之團體。

此次之年會，或許爲在工部局庇護下會議之最後一次，中國人民已不能容忍其基本權利再受無情之蹂躪矣，如在一九四二年之年會上，而華人不得與外人平等之選舉權，則工部局之壽命，屈指可計矣，此則爲多數中國人民收還租界，制止盎格魯撒克遜之侵略之決心，而非虛示威嚇也。

### ▲日泰諒解▼

日本在泰國對英美操縱之顯著勝利，已爲各方所公認，越泰在日本政府屏障之下簽訂和約，打破一世紀來英美統制之世界政策，而創下外交史上第一個先例。

倫敦與華盛頓方面，當然希望其駐在曼谷之公使，能左右泰國當局，使越泰糾紛之解決，能爲英美之福，惟英美之外交當局，則未慮及今日遠東政局之重要因素，即日本所倡之東亞新秩序也。

越泰之邊境糾紛，論者所具意見不一，其主要原因，大多以爲法國戰敗之後，日本乘機挑撥，使越泰發生磨擦，然而非也，泰國對越南所要求之土地，在歷史人種，化上本爲泰國之領土。

經過三月不宜之戰，及四十二日之日本調解，在東京會議上，法國以六萬九千四百二十平方幾羅米突之越南邊境土地讓與泰國。

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# 中華新報

中華民國三十年四月十五日

本刊登請已刊本

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