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VOICE of NEW CHINA

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Incorporating the CHINA OUTLOOK

The Inevitable Collapse of Britain

Policy of the New Government

Japan and Russia

Britain's Treacherous
Betrayal of Poland

Chungking's Last Hope Gone

Germany's War and Peace Aims

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IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT To The Great Indian People:

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

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

Now is the opportune moment to act!

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

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

JOIN THE ASIATIC LEAGUE TO OVERTHROW BRITISH IMPERIALISM!

L. K. KENTWELL,
Hon. Secretary,

NARAM SINGH,
Asst. Hon. Secretary and Treasurer

8 Drum Tower Villa, NANKING (CHINA)

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Editorial Notes & Comments

The Inevitable Collapse of Britain

A dwindling sea supremacy, caused by the increasing daily losses of tonnage brought about by the intense activities of the Reich's U-boats, may well prove the forerunner of the collapse of the British Empire. The foundation of this empire has been laid on a once powerful navy, but since the beginning of September Germany, although possessing only a comparatively smaller navy, has taken the naval warfare to Britain's very front door and the daring U-boats have accounted for a large number of British war and merchant vessels. With her shipping and searoutes seriously threatened, the situation for Britain is dismal indeed.

Added to the woes brought about by Germany's powerful naval warfare, Britain faces the early loss of one of her most powerful and important bases — Gibraltar. Spain is a neutral in the present conflict but her sympathies are wholly with Germany, and furthermore there is the primary question of her own rights and interests. Sooner or later, General Franco's government will demand the retrocession of Gibraltar, and if Britain should refuse to return the fortress Spain will have no alternative but to take military measures to obtain what rightfully belongs to her and which forms part and parcel of Spanish soil. The end of Gibraltar as a British outpost will mean the severance of Britain's life-line to India and her possessions in the East.

The question of India also begins to assume a grave importance for Britain, with the Indians becoming restive at the false promises made by the present British Government at the outbreak of European hostilities. Such Indian leaders as Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru have made it quite clear to the British Government that the Indian people will not allow themselves to be fooled again into accepting the cunning promises of the British. They want full independence for India and are willing to lead their

people in a struggle for their rights. The events taking place in India during the past few weeks seem to indicate without any doubt that the campaign of resistance against British overlordship has already begun and is beginning to gather momentum. Competent observers predict the loss of India to Britain before the present European war lasts many more months.

Going further afield, we have in this portion of the world still another force opposed to British Imperialism — New China. The birth of a New China has been accompanied by the birth of a new national consciousness and pride, so that the existence of such British controlled territories as Hongkong and the Tientsin Concession on Chinese soil is not consonant with New China's aims. The early restoration of these illegal British holdings will sever Britain's bonds over East Asia and deal the British Empire another shattering blow.

Wishful thinking on Britain's part has presupposed the break-up of the close relations existing between Italy, Germany and Japan, but instead of a weakening of these relations it is more than probable that a military alliance will eventuate, aimed at the destruction of the last vestiges of power left in the fading British Empire.

Britain's partner in the present conflict, France, is not fighting for Britain but to save her own skin, and when the opportunity presents itself will shake off her temporary ally. This may sound rather far-fetched but it is well to remember that Britain and France were hereditary enemies for many centuries, and when France finally wakes up to the realization that she is simply fighting to preserve the British Empire she will soon leave Britain to her fate. The few points enumerated above are a fair indication of the seriousness of the situation for the British Empire which now faces ruin.

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Policy of the New Government

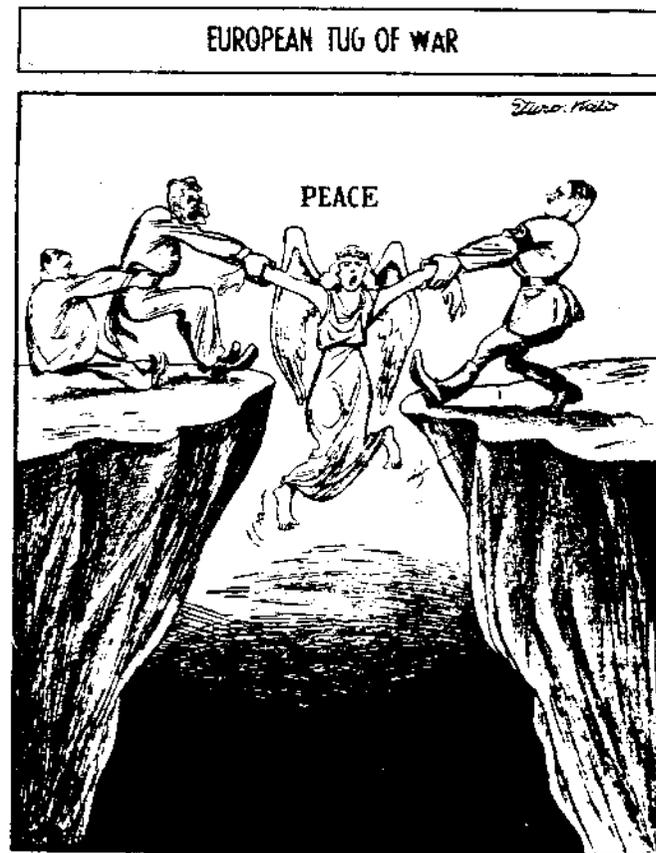
The question of policy of the new Chinese central government is naturally occupying the keen attention of all foreign powers, and there is much speculation regarding the course which Mr. Wang Ching-wei, as head of the new Government, will adopt.

Before going into the question of policy, it may be opportune to discuss, or mention, the question of sponsorship of the new government. There is no attempt on the part of Mr. Wang and his followers, just as there was none on the part of the Peking Provisional and Nanking Reformed Governments, to deny the fact that their regimes are being sponsored by Japan and that their existence depends on the good-will and cooperation of Japan. The nomenclature "puppet" has been freely used in describing the various bodies established in Japanese occupied territory, but it must be admitted by all fair-minded persons that, "puppet" or no puppet, it is absolutely necessary, for the bare preservation of peace and order at least, to have some Chinese officials to act as liaison between the Japanese Authorities and the Chinese people. Without such liaison, it is obvious that there will be untold unpleasant incidents arising as a result of language and other difficulties. In past issues we have brought this subject up and we reiterate that sufficient praise cannot be handed out to those brave and unselfish Chinese who have come forward and, at the risk of their lives, offered their services to ameliorate the acute conditions which have arisen as a result of hostilities.

The existing temporary, regional governments have not been able, neither did it lay in their sphere of duty, to occupy themselves with foreign policy, although certain organs of both the Reformed and Provisional Governments have created fundamental laws and policies for their successors to follow in this respect, the reason for this being that their *raison d'être* was first and foremost to ameliorate the lot of their countrymen in occupied territory and assist in bringing about that cooperation between the Chinese and Japanese people which Japan so earnestly desires. In their foreign relations, the Reformed and Provisional Governments have demonstrated a fairness and willingness towards all foreigners whenever the occasion arose.

Although it is still too early to outline with any precision the exact policy which the new central government will follow, it may be stated without any fear of contradiction that foreign policy will be based on a strictly "fair play" basis, and all Third Powers who are willing and sincere in assisting New China to regain her complete national independence, unfettered by unequal treaties, concessions and extraliquity, will be allowed to continue to trade unhampered in this country and their nationals will be given full freedom to reside and carry out their lawful pursuits throughout China. This is, of course, a broad and general idea of the policy which Mr. Wang's government is expected to pursue, other lesser questions being naturally subject to a full recognition of the principle we have enunciated above.

Foreign policy will also be subject to the requirements of the New Order in East Asia, which the new government will do its utmost to aid and not obstruct. In this connection, there are bound to be some difficulties with Britain and the United States, whose insistence that the China situation be regarded in the light of the Nine-Power Treaty may cause serious complications to arise.



As Japan has made it quite clear that previous treaties affecting both Japan and China cannot be allowed to remain as they are without revision, to conform with the epoch-making changes which have taken place in China during the past two years, and as New China's future lies along the same road as Japan's there is no alternative but for her to adopt a policy synonymous with Japan's. Therefore, in any attempt to gauge New China's foreign policy, it is necessary to survey the present tendency of Japan's foreign policy. In other words, the future destiny of both countries are bound so closely together that their respective attitudes towards Third Powers must follow a line of co-relation beneficial to their mutual prosperity and progress.

The foreign policy followed by the previous regime was one of dependence, not independence, on Third Powers, such an attitude relegating China to a back-seat and to a semi-colonial status, totally incompatible with national freedom.

* * *

Japan and Russia

All indications point to an early settlement of the differences between Japan and Soviet Russia, and the informal conversations held at Tokyo and Moscow augurs well for the future relations of these countries. A glance at the map would show that Japan and Russia are indeed very close neighbors and this fact alone should be a helping factor in the early adjustment of whatever differences still existing between these two great powers.

The most serious problem which faces any discussion between Tokyo and Moscow is undoubtedly the question of Soviet Russia's assistance to the Chinese Reds in their anti-Japanese campaign. Japan at present seems to indicate that she is willing to tackle this problem without allowing it to interfere in any general settlement, but at the same time the problem may vanish automatically should agreement be reached on more general points.

It is natural, however, that if Russia continues her policy of unrestricted assistance to the Chinese Reds future relations with Japan cannot be fundamentally settled, but there are indications that Russia will not continue such a policy.

In our opinion, both countries will have everything to gain in adopting a "good neighbor" policy and live in peace with each other. Russia can have her communism, within her own borders, without any fear of Japanese interference.

* * *

Britain's Treacherous Betrayal of Poland

Characteristic of British perfidy and treachery, the British betrayal of Poland will go down in the annals of history as one of the darkest blots against England. Unable to extend material assistance to Poland, Britain gave assurances of a guarantee which placed Poland in an utterly false position vis-a-vis Germany, and led to her complete annihilation.

In the light of what has transpired, we cannot be accused of reviling Britain without sound reason.

After the end of Poland, both Britain and France boastfully proclaimed that they would not rest until the *status quo ante bellum* had been restored in Poland, but it is obvious that the combined strength of Britain and France is insufficient to overcome Germany and Russia. The boast is, therefore, more than ridiculous.

Sentimentalists are apt to bemoan the partition of Poland, but they fail to recognize the fact that parts of Poland belonged to Germany and Russia before the infamous Versailles Treaty changed the map of Europe after the World War.

It is a great pity that so much poppy-cock is written over the conquest of Poland and that the general public knows so little of the real facts behind the scenes. The insistence of Poland, influenced by Britain and France, to retain Danzig, a purely German city, was the direct cause of the present conflict. How much better would it have been if Poland had given up Danzig and come to a peaceful settlement with Germany!

* * *

Chungking's Last Hope Gone

The brilliant feat of the Japanese Army in capturing Nanning, the capital of Kwangsi Province and a strategic center of the highest importance, has destroyed the Chiang regime's last hope of resistance.

Landing at Pakhoi, on the coast, on November 15, the Japanese forces pushed rapidly towards Nanning, and after a series of sharp

encounters with the Kwangsi defenders Nanning was entered and fully occupied less than ten days later, November 24.

With the capture of this city, the Japanese forces have cut off one of Chungking's main communication centers from the outside world. Until its fall, Nanning had been serving as the southern *entrepot* for war supplies coming from French Indo-China. Chungking is now left with only two nebulous routes, that between Indo-China and Yunnan over the Yunnan railroad, and the so-called "Red Route" in northwest China which embodies a still unfinished and skeleton network of motor highways. The Japanese foothold in Kwangsi will enable them to take steps to destroy the Yunnan route, leaving the doubtful Red Route as the sole means of communication with the outside world.

The fall of Nanning and the feeble resistance put up by the Kwangsi troops came as a great surprise, especially in view of Nanning's strategic importance. It can only be construed that Chiang Kai-shek was unwilling to risk more troops in what was a foregone conclusion, but there is also another point which bears reflection. Has Chiang come to the stage where he has despaired of being able to hold up the

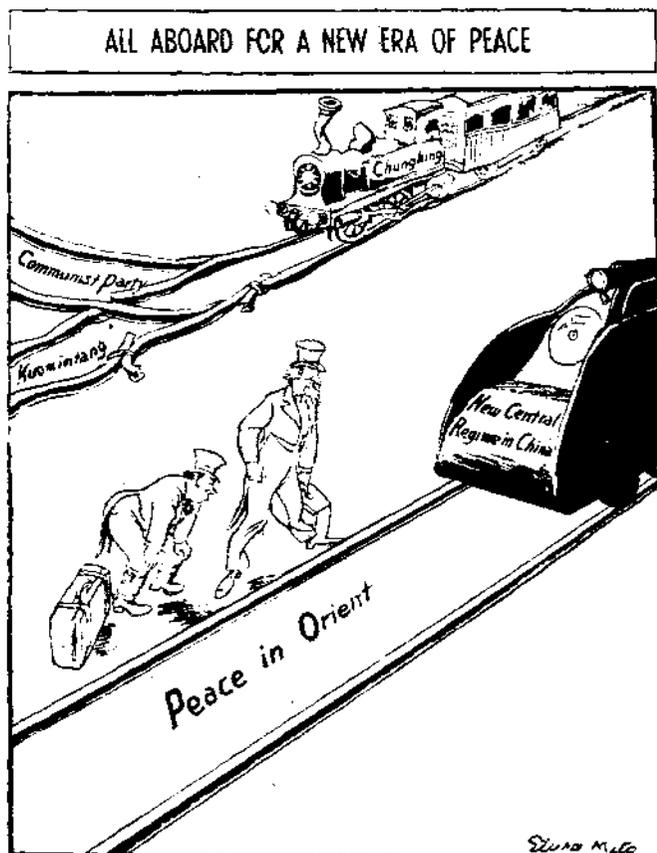
Japanese advance in the outlying provinces and is determined to strengthen his position in Szechwan so as to make it impregnable, within or without? There is also the question of Yunnan's allegiance. Recently, Chiang had been making overtures to the chairman of the Yunnan Provincial Government, Yung Lung, with a view to the latter taking up a nominally higher post at Chungking. The real motive, however, was to replace Yung Lung with one of Chiang's own satellites and thus ensure the allegiance of Yunnan Province. However, the plan did not work out, as Yung Lung has persistently declined Chiang's munificent offers. The fall of Nanning has had sharp reactions in Yunnan, and it is believed that Yung Lung may very possibly realize the danger of his situation and strive to reach an understanding with Japan. Should this come about, the encirclement of Szechwan, Chiang's last stronghold, will be complete and his end will soon arrive.

It will be interesting to watch the future diplomatic attitude of the Powers towards the Chiang regime. If they decide to keep up their farce of recognition, the situation will take on a superlatively ridiculous turn. Their continued aid, trivial as it is at present, can only be construed as mimical gestures towards New China and Japan, and the sooner they realize that their false promises to the Chiang regime are only working untold hardship and suffering for millions of innocent Chinese the better will it be for their future in this country. They cannot expect to reap a golden harvest if they are now sowing death, or at least providing the seed to the sowers.

* * *

Germany's War and Peace Aims

The German nation is determined to fight treacherous Britain until German victory is finally achieved. Germany's war is not an imperialistic campaign, but a crusade against an empire which stands for cruel exploitation of weaker nations, among whom may be notably mentioned China and India. Britain has also endeavored to fasten her imperialistic claws over Germany by illegally depriving the German people of their colonial possessions and territory which were parcelled out, under the terms of the Versailles Treaty, to such countries as Poland, Denmark, Belgium and Czechoslovakia (which no longer exists).



Germany is not fighting for herself alone. She is waging war against a world menace which must be destroyed once and for all, and it can be confidently expected that she will succeed. She can count on many potential allies, such as Italy, Japan and Russia, although up to the present she has shown herself more than powerful enough for the combined Anglo-French strength. Britain stands alone, unaided, an outcast in the family of nations, over which she has for so many decades wielded her evil influence.

Germany stands for peace, real and permanent, but what does Britain stand for? On November 26, the British Premier, Neville Chamberlain, declared "*Our war aim is to defeat the enemy*" In these words, the whole British mentality and outlook is summed up. Britain is not fighting for her rights, which were never usurped or touched, Britain is not fighting for a nation which had been unjustifiably attacked, and finally she is not fighting for any sacred cause. The only reason why she is at war is to "*defeat the enemy*" Why has Germany been singled out as the enemy? Did Germany commit any act disturbing to world peace? No, Germany only demanded her rights, and justifiably enforced those demands when she was not even given a hearing, when her demands were side-stepped, and when her whole national destiny was at stake.

No matter what excuses Britain presents to the world for her aggression, the fact that she is at war to "*defeat the enemy*" (which she herself created for her own imperialistic designs) is sufficient to condemn her in the eyes of the world.

The British Empire has stood too long. Its fall is bound to come soon, and all because perfidious Albion has never followed the axiom "to live and let live." Their own selfish interests first and last, and to hell with the rest of the world!

The torpedoing of the British cruiser "Belfast" which the "*New York Times*" reported recently, was confirmed by a report from a German submarine commander, the German high command announced in a bulletin on Nov. 24.

The submarine commander's report stated that he had torpedoed a cruiser of the "Southampton class" in the Firth of Forth.

NYK Vessels To Omit London

Nippon Yusen Kaisha vessels will no longer call at London, company officials announced following consultations with the Ministry of Communications.

The action followed a notification delivered by the British authorities to the London branch of the N. Y. K. advising the Japanese firm that the Port of London would be closed to incoming vessels as the channel had been blocked by the sinking of a British transport by German aircraft.

Liverpool will be the only port of call of N.Y.K. ships in Britain.

War Orders From Allies Are Held Up

A spokesman of Southern Californian aviation factories disclosed that British and French war orders were held up pending a ruling from the State Department regarding what constituted "cash and carry" under the new Neutrality legislation.

Representatives of five major aviation manufacturers are at present in Washington conferring with State Department officials.

Negotiations for Britain's \$24,000,000 order for 800 fighters from the North American Aviation Company are also reported to be in abeyance in New York pending a ruling.

Italian Press Reports Unrest in India

The Italian press published on Nov. 20 a report on the situation in India. Dissatisfaction in the Indian nation is steadily growing and national movements are held down.

Rome Denies Demarche To Reich

The Italian official Stefani news agency denied foreign reports that Italy made a demarche to Germany voicing interest in continued respect for the territorial integrity of the Low countries, Belgium and the Netherlands.

Friendly Diplomatic Gestures to America By Japan Are Urged

By Masanori Ito

Director "Of *The Japan Times & Mail*," Councilor of
the Domei News Agency

There can be little doubt that Admiral Kichisaburo Nomura was appointed Foreign Minister mainly, if not solely, to readjust American-Japanese relations by solving the various problems pending between the two countries. If he succeeds in doing so, he will have proved a successful minister for foreign affairs. He is one of the Japanese who really knows America and the Americans. During his long tenure as naval attache to the Japanese Embassy in Washington, he was closely associated with prominent men in political circles. The fact that he had a wide circle of friends and acquaintances in America stood him in good stead at the Washington Conference. Then, at the Shanghai affair that occurred a few years ago he played an important part in smoothing American-Japanese relations on the spot. In the light of these facts, his appointment to the present portfolio made a good impression upon the American public.

A Great Sailor

I myself came across Admiral Nomura three times abroad,—at Washington during the Great War, at Paris after the War and again at Washington when the Disarmament Conference was held there. He is fond of discussing questions concerning foreign policy, but his proclivity in this regard does not degenerate into disregard of naval affairs. He is a great sailor full of common sense. If, therefore, the portfolio of foreign minister is to be occupied by some one other than a career diplomat, Admiral Nomura is unquestionably one of the best men so qualified. In this respect, he can be said to be the right man Premier Abe got in the right place.

Admiral Nomura does not belong to the category of so-called sympathizers of America. Despite his long stay in America, he has not allowed himself to lose sight of common sense. For this reason, he can safely be entrusted with the task of improving American-Japanese relations without putting his country's policy at a disadvantage.

What is the first question that confronts us in pursuing our foreign policy in regard to

the United States? The public in general will probably think of negotiations for a revival of the American-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation. Strictly speaking, there are more important questions pending between the two countries. It is only as a means of resolving such important problems that the signing of a similar trade treaty is suggested. I may put it this way: relations between the two countries must be adjusted in order that a trade treaty of reciprocity may be concluded.

The American notice of the abrogation of the commercial pact was not motivated by mere consideration of interests, it was a question partly of foreign policy, partly of sentiments and partly of domestic policy. It does not necessarily stand to reason, in the circumstances, that the United States, as well as Japan, will profit by reviving a commercial treaty based upon the most favored nation clause. The trade question is not a sufficient basis on which to found American-Japanese negotiations, nor is there much prospect of success in sight. Adjustment of relations must of necessity form the basis of such negotiations.

Economic Sanctions Seen

It is not correct to say that the current American-Japanese economic relations are in a state of rupture, but it is patent that America has been out for economic sanctions of a sort. In other words, she is attempting an economic retaliation. She decided to abrogate the commercial treaty in retaliation for the losses suffered in China. For this reason, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to settle the commercial treaty question separately from others. Unless we are prepared to discuss the various concomitant China questions and to satisfy American claims to a certain extent, the forthcoming American-Japanese conference will prove more ticklish than the Anglo-Japanese parleys of August turned out to be.

America's complaints about Japan's actions in China are considerable. It is said that there are several hundred incidents in which, the Ame-

merican Government claims, American rights and interests in China have been hampered by Japanese actions. America has been pointing out that the rights and interests her people had acquired in accordance with the Sino-American Treaty were harmed, while Japan pleaded large-scale hostilities in China and guaranteed that America's rights and interests would be restored when the war ended. If there were anything like real friendship between the two countries, these would certainly be problems capable of being resolved. As it is, their settlement seems to remain very much in the future. This is due, no doubt, to suspicion and mistrust on both parts. If the two nations are bound by the bond of friendship, then there is no reason why the goodwill shown by one in the way of recognizing that a campaign is in progress in China on a large scale should not be requited by the other with payment of indemnities and guarantee of restoration of rights and interests. It follows therefore that steps must be taken to foster friendly relations between America and Japan in order to bring back commercial relations to normalcy.

Wholesale efforts should be put forth for improvement of American-Japanese friendship as part of national policy. Experience has shown how futile it is to send a goodwill envoy to America, or for that matter to any other country, at a time when an anti-Japanese move is in full swing there and the people at large of that country are entertaining the fear that their rights and interests in China have been jeopardized. What is needed more than anything else is diplomatic gestures of friendship made on the assumption that America will recognize that Japan is conducting hostilities in China on a scale unprecedented in her history, so long as her (American) rights and interests are guaranteed in as concrete a form as possible.

America Disgusted

The Anglo-Japanese conversations were a success, be it remembered, in so far as agreement was reached on the fundamental principles forming the background of the Tientsin issue. Unfortunately, however, the conference was deadlocked, halfway through, for a variety of reasons. But that does not alter the fact that the agreement reached constitutes one of the large foundation-stones for the structure of friendship. It is considered more difficult to arrive at a similar agreement on principles in our forthcoming negotiations with the United States;

for it was simply because of her disgust at the Anglo-Japanese agreement just referred to that America made up her mind to abrogate the commercial treaty with Japan and led Britain to suspend the Anglo-Japanese parley.

It will not do to remain indifferent to this task because it is not easy to tackle. It is high time the numerous incidents about which the American Government has made representations for the past two years and which are yet to be settled were examined and discussed at a conference by delegates of both countries. There can be no reason why America should feel glad to continue to be at daggers drawn with Japan. Her primary interest lies in European affairs, she is in a position to relegate Far Eastern affairs to a place of secondary importance. Naturally enough, she does not want to keep on grappling with imbroglios in the Far East.

America's reluctance to recognize that a *de facto* war is in progress in China is born of her insistence on the Nine-Power Treaty. When Hachiro Arita was foreign minister, the Japanese Government repeatedly enunciated its views on this treaty, but the American Government could not see its way clear to accept the Japanese points of view. The American Government and people are immensely dissatisfied with the restrictive views entertained by the Japanese Government regarding the principles of open door and equal opportunity specified in the Nine-Power Treaty. The State Department, being a puritanical stickler for treaties and principles, has been disinclined to approve Japan's continental policy ever since the days of Henry Lewis Stimson. Though not so nervous as Mr. Stimson, Cordell Hull, the present Secretary of State, is likewise inclined to brand Japanese military operations in China as an act of aggression.

The anti-Japanese feeling of the American public is much more intense than the Japanese at large imagine. It seems strange that Americans should feel hostile toward Japanese on China questions, but nevertheless it is unvarnished truth. There are Americans, it is true, who are definitely pro-Japanese, but then public sentiment is too overwhelmingly anti-Japanese to give them a chance of making out a good case for Japan.

As already stated, negotiations for a trade treaty with America must of necessity keep pace with those for improvement of American-

Japanese relations. And it is undoubtedly an important thing to conclude a commercial treaty. Common sense forbids us to think that our Government which is out to establish a Trade Ministry, even at the risk of causing domestic friction of vast dimensions, with a view to promoting foreign trade will allow our trade relations with the United States to remain in a regrettable state as at present.

Must Determine Causes

In holding American-Japanese talks, attention should be directed to the necessity of making up our minds to discuss, one by one, all the problems that determined America to abrogate the commercial treaty, so that we may be able to arrive at agreement accordingly. It is in the interest of both nations to re-examine the various American-Japanese issues in China. Thus far there has been little opportunity for discussing these questions with frankness. It would sound like sour grapes to say that Japan will not suffer heavy losses from the absence of a trade treaty between the countries.

There is no harm in emphasizing the importance of buying much from America and of selling as much to America. Some hold that such an attitude is apt to disclose where Japan's weaknesses lie, but such people must not forget that America welcomes frankness. An American-Japanese parley conducted with a frankness the Americans are so fond of will tell us what their misunderstandings are and what they want us to do. As evidence of our ardent desire for friendship with the U.S.A., we may go a step farther and propose that a non-aggression pact be signed between the two countries for the sake of peace in the Pacific. If this is achieved, all will be plain sailing.

French Ship Sunk In Atlantic

The Ministry of War announces that the French cargo-ship, the 6,000-ton *Baoule*, has been torpedoed in the Atlantic. Two men are reported killed and eleven other members of the crew missing. Thirty-eight survivors, including the captain, were rescued.

Two More British Mine Sweepers Sunk

The British mine sweepers "*Dolphin*" and "*Thomas Hankins*" of 276 tons each were sunk by German war vessels, according to a report received by the "*Corriere della Sera*"

Seven More Ships Go Down on British Mines

In addition to the Netherlands liner *Simon Bolivar*, seven merchantmen have been sunk by British mines off the East Coast, according to an official announcement. The Italian steamer *Grazia* struck a mine and sank within a few minutes. Five members of the crew were killed by the explosion, while sixteen others are reported missing. Twenty-nine members of the crew were rescued by two trawlers which rushed to the aid of the vessel.

Japanese in Shanghai Honor Admiral

A farewell party in honor of Rear-Admiral Yoshinobu Shishido, former Commander of the Japanese Special Naval Landing Party, was held at the Nippon Club on Boone Road under the auspices of the Japanese Residents' Corporation.

Rear-Admiral Shishido has been ordered attached to the Kure Naval Base.

THE NOBEL PRIZE-WINNERS

and the Nobel Foundation 1901 — 1937

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

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

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

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Start Of Reclamation Work in Sicily

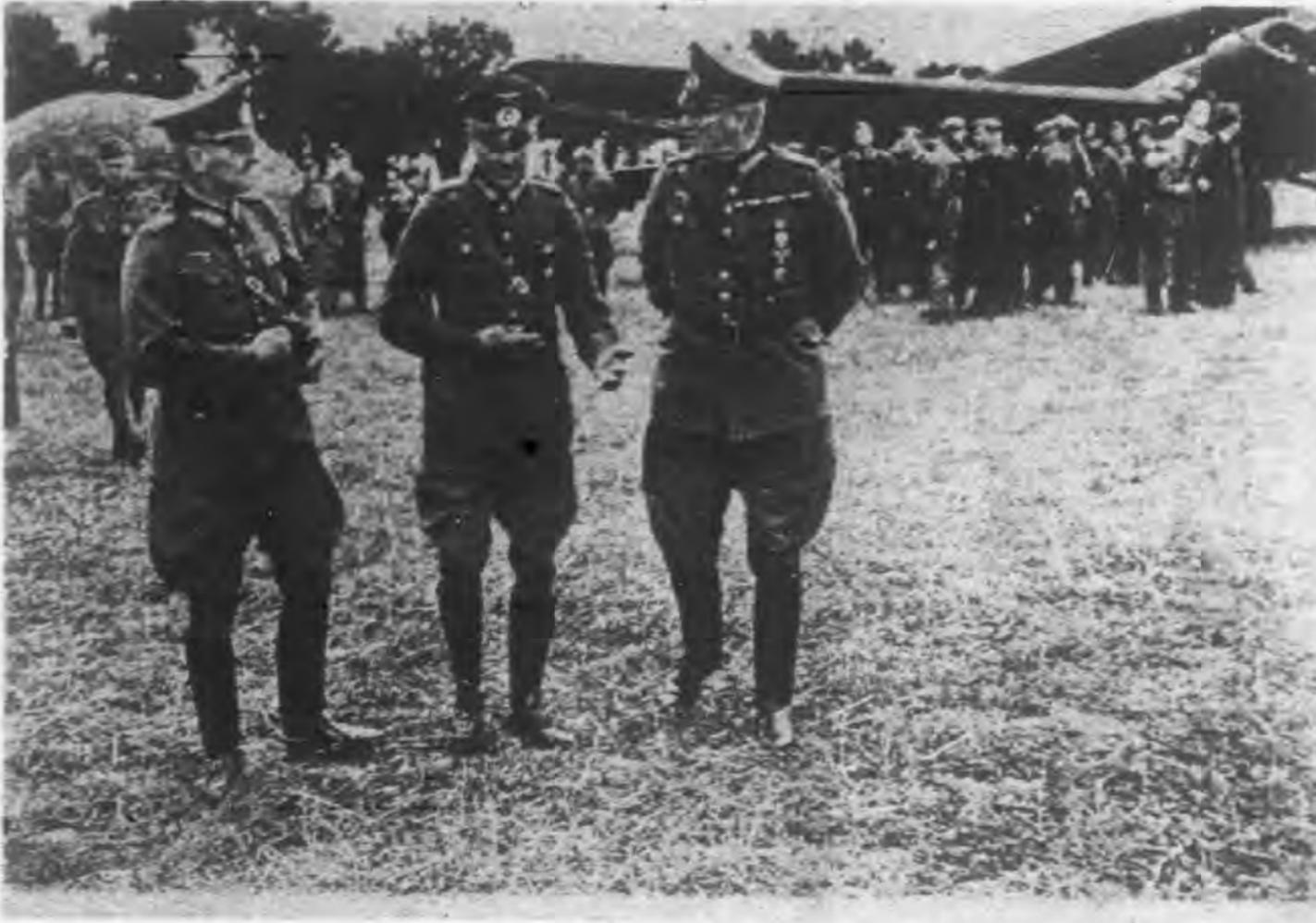


A large-scale ten-year plan for the break-up and development of land in Sicily is one of the major projects now being undertaken by Italy. Our photo shows Signor Starace, then Secretary of the Fascist Party, initiating the work at Palermo on October 21.

General View Of Tampere In Finland



On the left is a general view from the air of Tampere an important industrial town in Finland, now coming under aerial bombardment by the Russian air force. A broad esplanade leads through the town from Lake Pyhajarvi to Lake Nasijarvi. The pioneer of Tampere's industrial development was a Scotsman, James Finlayson, who founded a machine shop there in 1820.



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Three German army leaders who were instrumental in planning and carrying out the German campaign in Poland. From left to right: General Halder, chief of staff of the German army; General von Brauchitsch, commander-in-chief of the German army; General Keitel, chief of staff on all German fighting forces and closest adviser of Hitler on all military questions. The picture was taken in the Fuehrer's headquarters on the Eastern front shortly before Hitler returned from a visit to the front-line.



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Streets and squares of the Reich capital were crowded when Berliners assembled in front of loudspeakers to hear Chancellor Hitler's latest speech in the Reichstag.



China Is Treasure Land Of Raw Materials

Her Rich Natural Resources Sufficient To Cover Own And Japanese Requirements If Properly Exploited

China is one of the largest countries in the world, its area extending to 4,000,000 square miles and the population amounting to 450-million. The country, however, is still in the early stages of economic and cultural development, having failed to keep pace with modern civilization, while administrative leaders have lacked real ability. Although the country is richly endowed with natural resources, these have not been developed. As a result the general situation in China is characterized by a strong color of feudalism, hardly going beyond the pastoral stage.

Japan, on the other hand, is short of industrial resources, being one of the "have-not" countries.

As a natural outcome of the contrasting conditions prevailing in these two countries, much has come to be expected of the operations on the industrial resources in China in the future—after the present armed conflict is ended.

As a matter of fact, the first step has already been taken for exploiting the natural resources in some parts of the occupied areas in China. So far, however, little has been accomplished, such operations having been restricted by other considerations, e.g., problems concerning traffic and communications as well as the maintenance of peace and order. Real work can only be done after lasting peace is restored between China and Japan.

Meanwhile, much is said about the industrial resources of China. And no one, at present, has any definite idea as to the actual state of affairs in this country.

Difficulties have hitherto accompanied any attempt at conducting thorough-going investigations. Many reports have been made public, but they are either incomplete or inaccurate.

It is surmised, meanwhile, that there must be in China a considerable quantity of virgin resources still unknown to outside world.

This article proposes to give an outline of the natural resources in China, based on figures

already made public by various quarters with reference to possibilities of what can be done about it, so that it may serve to give a rough idea as to the probabilities of the future as well as the basic terms regarding the economic development of this country

This study is made in the light of bloc economy. That is, China is viewed as an extension of the Japan-Manchoukuo bloc, or rather, as a link constituting the Greater Asiatic Economic Bloc.

Three Features Of Resources

Viewed from the standpoint of Asiatic bloc economy, the natural resources of China are characterized by three features, viz.

(1).—The rich and diverse supply of raw materials in China will make the tripartite economic bloc, with Japan and Manchoukuo included, substantially self-sufficient in raw materials. Complete self-sufficiency in China, for that matter, is not altogether out of question, provided proper operations on the Chinese industrial resources are conducted.

(2).—The supply of heavy and chemical industrial raw materials is so abundant in China that it is more than sufficient to cover the needs of Japan and Manchoukuo. If Japan were to become an influential world unit in the domain of heavy and chemical industries, China's part as a member of the Asiatic economic bloc is of vital importance.

(3).—The geographical situation of China is such that it affords such a desirable footing for Japan's economic and political advance to the Asiatic continent that the development of the industrial resources in China would constitute the first step toward the establishment of the Asiatic economic bloc. China's natural resources should be exploited, not only to feed the manufacturing industries in Japan, but also to stimulate positively the establishment of key industries in China.

It is worthy of note, too, that North China assumes greater importance in the formation of the Asiatic economic bloc be-

cause it is through this section that Japan and Manchoukuo come into direct contact with China.

Japan's policy of industrial development in North China, consequently, presents different aspects from that in Central China.

* * *

A general account of the natural resources of China and the existing state of affairs of the operations thereon follows:

COAL: Estimates on the volume of coal deposits in China vary extensively. It ranges from 21,200,000,000 tons to 996,600,000,000 tons. Irrespective of this wide difference in the estimates, it is generally believed that up to 70 per cent of the total deposits is in North China, with the largest proportion thereof in Shansi province. This fact illustrates the overwhelming importance of North China as the coal producing center.

Despite the enormous estimates of the coal deposits, the total production in China is relatively small, though here again North China is responsible for 70 per cent of the output of the country.

The Tatung coal of Shansi province is of fine quality. It has already found its way to Japan. So far, however, the volume is far from sufficient to alleviate the acute shortage of coal in Japan under the emergency requirements.

That the coal mining industry in China is still in an early stage of development is attributed to the fact that there is no major demand for it in that country as the other key industries are still in the elementary stage. Too, dumping of cheaper foreign coal on the Chinese market is affecting the industry.

There are a number of reasons why Chinese coal cannot compete with the foreign supply in China. Prominent among these are:

(1).—The industry is run on a small scale as the capital and technique available are inadequate.

(2).—Cost of transportation is high due mainly to the fact that communication lines are limited.

(3).—The tax burden is heavy, boosting greatly the cost of production.

IRON: There are no authentic reports on the iron deposits in China. According to the 5th

Report of Iron Industry in China, however, the general distribution of the deposits appears to be as follows: (unit, 1,000 tons).

Districts	Estimated		Total	Percentage
	Definite deposits	further deposits		
North China	141,509	33,095	174,604	54
Yangtse Valley	102,220	9,580	111,800	35
Southeast				
Maritime districts	30,488	6,024	36,512	11
Total	274,217	48,699	322,916	100

As is evident from the foregoing table, North China is richly favored with iron ore. The operation of iron mines there, however, is far behind that of Central and South China. The iron ore production in North China amounts only to about 200,000 tons a year, or only 14 per cent of the total output of China.

Iron mining in North China is now conducted by old-fashioned methods. (That in Central and South China, also, is not highly mechanized, for that matter.)

Before the outbreak of the China Emergency, the total production of iron ore in China amounted to about 1,300,000 tons a year. More than one half of this was exported to foreign countries, mainly Japan.

Hua Chung Mining Co.

To stimulate iron mining in the Yangtse Valley region, the Hua Chung Iron Mining Co. was established in Shanghai, under the joint investment of China and Japan. This company is capitalized at Y10-million. It proposes to turn out 1,000,000 tons during the first year and to increase its output to 5,000,000 tons in five years.

Much is expected of the future activities of this new concern which, by the way, is about the first Sino-Japanese company to operate on the natural resources of China in the central part of that country, under the new regime.

Japan lacks iron supply. In 1936, Japan required 5,080,000 tons, of iron ore, but the domestic supply in that year totaled only 1,250,000 tons, the remaining 3,830,000 tons being imported. The percentage of import against the total requirement corresponded to 75 per cent.

Of the foregoing heavy import of iron ore from abroad, the supply from China amounted to 1,250,000 tons, constituting 33 per cent of the

total import and 25 per cent of the total need of Japan. The entire volume was imported from Central and South China.

It is in consideration of such facts that the activities in the future of the Hua Chung Iron Mining Co. are viewed with much expectation.

As for the iron mining in North China, there are many difficulties attending the undertaking due to the lack of transportation facilities. Nevertheless, much is also expected of the development of iron mines in North China, prompted by the necessities along the national policy of Japan. North China's position as a member of the economic bloc concerning iron will rapidly grow in importance.

PETROLEUM Regarding the petroleum deposits in China, it is estimated at 1,375,000,000 barrels, or only 2.5 per cent of the entire deposits of the world, according to a survey made by an American geological institute.

It is not known, however, how reliable this survey is. Moreover, it is reported that new oil fields have been discovered in Shensi and Szechuan provinces in recent years. It is, therefore, also said that the petroleum deposits in China may prove larger than believed at present.

As far as the five provinces of North China are concerned, however, not a single drop of petroleum has so far been found.

— China has hitherto met her domestic petroleum needs entirely through imports.

SALT China has immense salt resources, the production being made at sea, and in lakes, wells, and hills. The annual output is enormous. A considerable volume is already being exported, but the production can further be increased.

Of the five provinces of North China, Shantung is the most important salt production center. Its supply is next only to Kiangsu, Kiangsi, and Szechuan provinces in volume. Hopei province is also an important salt producing center in North China.

China's total production of salt amounts to 36-million piculs a year of which 30 per cent is turned out in North China. The maritime districts of Shantung and Hopei provinces yield sea salt, while Shansi and Suiyuan provinces produce lake salt. The lake salt production is much less than that of sea salt, but it covers the need in the remote inner parts of the country.

The sea salt is produced all over Shantung and Hopei provinces because of the favorable geographical and climatic conditions. It is already being shipped to Japan, known as Shantung salt and Changlu salt, through the Hsiang Chung Co.

MINERALS The mineral deposits in China are considered to be rich in variety as well as in volume. According to investigations made by the geological department of the Industry Office of the Kuomintang government, the estimated deposits of such minerals as Manganese, Tungsten, Antimony, Aluminum, and fluor-spar ores are as follows (Unit, 1,000 tons)

Items	Deposits
Manganese:	22,500
Tungsten	949
Antimony	3,677
Bauxite	68,000
Alum stone	179,333
Aluminum contained in bauxite and alum stone	11,600
Fluor-spar	450

RAW COTTON The raw cotton production in China corresponds to 10 per cent of the world total, China standing third in the world ranking of the raw cotton producing countries.

Raw cotton in China is produced mainly in the valley irrigated by the Yangtse and Huang (Yellow river). The unit-area output in the Yellow river valley (North China) is larger than that of the Yangtse valley and the output is also larger, varying from 35 to 50 per cent of the total production of all China.

Annual Cotton Crops Differ

There is a wild difference in the annual production of raw cotton in China from one year to another, depending largely on the natural conditions of the year. Generally speaking, however, both the acreage and production are on the increase.

Together with the quantitative increase of production, efforts are also exercised for the qualitative improvement of the industry. There are two kinds of raw cotton in China, one from the native seed and the other from American seed. In recent years, the cultivation of the American growth is steadily increasing because this kind yields better, while the demand for the native kind is decreasing, especially in the export to Japan.

Cotton-growing is active in North China because the climate and soil conditions are favo-

rable. The dry districts in North China resemble the cotton producing centers of the United States in climate and geographical conditions. This is another reason for the advance of cotton from American seed in this part of China.

Another important thing about the raw cotton cultivation in North China is that it is about the only agricultural product which farmers of North China may turn out as an international merchandise. In fact, the growing of cotton has a significant bearing on the relief and rehabilitation of the Chinese farmers in North China.

Too, viewed from the tripartite economic bloc of Japan, Manchoukuo, and North China, the arrangements of having raw cotton cultivated in North China on a large scale to exchange for soya beans and other kinds of food products of Manchoukuo seems plausible.

There is, therefore, every reason for Japan to encourage raw cotton cultivation in North China by giving technical and economic assistance to facilitate larger production and qualitative improvement. Japan will thus be assured of the raw material supply and can incidentally help enrich the living conditions of the Chinese farmers in North China through large Japanese purchases of the cotton. Moreover, the Japanese purchase of raw cotton increases the purchasing power of these Chinese farmers in North China, which in turn helps to enlarge the market for Japanese industrial manufactures for export.

As for the inevitable wane of the cereal production in North China resulting from the concentration on raw cotton cultivation, there is Manchuria to fill the want with her abundant supply of cereals.

WOOL Mongolia and the Yellow river districts constitute the wool production center in China, in addition to such remote regions as Tsinghai and Kansu provinces. Sheep raising is seen in such Central China provinces as Szechuan and Chekiang, but the scale is small.

In the light of the tripartite economic bloc, the wool production in North China is of special importance.

The raising of sheep and goats in Manchuria and Mongolia has hitherto been going on mainly to obtain food and skins. As a result, little attention has been paid to the quality of wool. The Mongolian and Manchurian wool is generally of low grade, being stiff and lacking luster. The wool obtained in these districts has been used

for weaving carpets and mixed Kashmir. Besides, it has sometimes been used to produce such thick woolen woven goods as serge.

The experiments conducted by the Kanegafuchi Cotton Spinning Co. in recent years have proved, however, that Chinese wool can be used for high-grade woolen goods. The prospects of sheep raising in North China, therefore, have become suddenly brighter, although much depends on further technical improvement.

OTHER AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

Included among the principal agricultural products besides raw cotton in China are wheat and rice. In North China, one may mention wheat, barley, kaoliang, millet, corn, and soya beans.

As for the live stock raising, the animals are employed to help tilling the land. Wool is about the most important raw material produced in North China for modern manufacturing industries, although a considerable volume of hides and leather is being exported as a result of raising oxen, horses, donkeys, pigs, goats, sheep, etc. Japan, too, imports a large quantity of hides and leather from China as a whole.

* * *

What should, and will, Japan do in dealing with the foregoing industrial resources of China, in the light of formation of the Asiatic economic bloc? This is a problem of which the solution can be found in the law governing the promotion and activities of the North China Development Co. and the Central China Reconstruction Co.

Salient features of the law in question include

(1) — The two aforementioned companies will not be directly engaged in any industrial enterprises in North and Central China. They are to function as holding companies. It is to avoid the evils of monopolizing such enterprises.

(2). — All the industrial enterprises in which these two companies will invest, and which they will control, are designated. That is, free competition is permitted to all the rest of the industries.

(3). — In North China, the holding company is to stimulate the development of key industries whereas in Central China the company is to invest in the recovery and expansion of public utilities and communications enterprises. There is a marked difference in the policy between the

two companies, revealing that more urgent need is found in North China to make the region a link of the tripartite economic bloc.

It is also revealed by the law in question that all the industrial enterprises should be conducted by the Chinese, in principle, to develop their industrial resources, while Japan will furnish them with necessary capital and technique with proper control.

Through the medium of these two companies, Japan proposes to expedite the industrial development of North China and to assist economic rehabilitation in Central China. This difference in the business policy of these two companies has evidently resulted from the varying state of affairs in these two districts.

It is surmised that Japan proposes to utilize as much native capital as possible and also not to provoke their anti-Japanese sentiment as far as possible as is evidenced by the fact that the industrial monopoly is avoided to some extent, leaving breathing space for freedom of industrial competition.

It remains to be seen how far the Japanese government policy to form the economic bloc will succeed. One may safely say, however, that this is an appropriate one as a bloc policy, in consideration of the fact that the supply of accumulated capital in Japan is limited.

British Working Class Dissatisfied

The "*Manchester Guardian*" in an article calls attention to the fact that the imperialist idea as represented by the present British Government and which has its most notable expression in the Government's unsuccessful India policy is almost unanimously repudiated by the British working class. Persons who had been in touch with the working people during the past weeks were well aware of the dissatisfaction aroused by the Government's refusal to grant India a full Dominion status.

Germany's Food Supply Well Regulated

Speaking on Germany's food policy in war time. Dr. Moritz of the Ministry of Food said, that the recognition of the totality of modern war had led Germany to prepare for it not only with the army and navy, but also with the administration and trade and industry. A fundamentally different basis thus had been established from the very beginning as compared with the World War.

Vladivostok As Base For Nazi Sea Raiders

The Rome correspondent of the "*Nichi Nichi Shimbun*" chain of newspapers reported that an agreement was understood to have been reached by Germany and the Soviet Union by which the Siberian port of Vladivostok would become a base for Nazi sea raiders in the Pacific.

The correspondent said that the pact, reportedly made at secret sessions, was understood to also stipulate that Russia would sell Germany one-half of the Soviet's present force of submarines at the Siberian port. The Japanese Foreign Office apparently, however, was not alarmed by the reports.

Heavy Chinese Influx North of Creek

Chinese residents who have returned to their former domiciles north of Soochow Creek in the Japanese Defence Sector numbered 352,393 persons on November 20, the rehabilitation section of the Japanese Resident Naval Officer's Office has announced.

Japanese residents in Shanghai on the same date totalled 61,585, according to Consular Police figures.

British Ship Sunk by Raider Off Africa

The British steamer *Africa Shell* (3,584 tons) has been sunk by German raider 180 miles north-east of Lourenco Marques, according to an official announcement. The crew is reported to have been allowed to land, but the captain was taken prisoner. No exact information is available as to the identity of the raider.

Hitler Receives Military Chiefs

The Fuehrer received at the Chancellery the high commanders of the German army, navy and air force.

The meeting was also attended by a number of other high officers.

After reports were given by Colonel-General von Brauchitsch for the army, Grand-Admiral Raeder for the navy and Field-Marshal Goering for the air force, an extensive informal discussion of current military questions was held.

On the basis of experiences gained in the course of the campaign on the eastern front, the Fuehrer gave instructions for their guidance in the conduct of future operations.

French Military Attache Makes Call



On Nov. 25, Colonel Yvon, French Military Attache, paid an official call upon Lieutenant-General S. Fujita, commanding the Japanese Army Forces in the Shanghai Area, at the latter's temporary headquarters in the Civic Center. Photo shows the French visitor taking his departure.

Pressmen Meet New Japanese Army Commander



Lieut.-General Susumu Fujita, newly appointed Commander of the Japanese Forces in the Shanghai area, met Shanghai pressmen at his temporary headquarters in the Civic Center on Nov. 15 afternoon. The photograph shows Lieut.-General Fujita shaking hands with Mr. C. M. McDonald, correspondent of "The Times," London.

Naval And Military Chiefs Meet



Commander Camicia, of the Italian Navy, on Nov. 25, called upon Lieut.-General S. Fujita, commanding the Japanese Army Forces in the Shanghai Area. Photo shows the Italian visitor being greeted by the military commander at the latter's temporary headquarters at the Civic Center.

Tokyo Army Academy Graduates Hold Reunion



Distinguished graduates of the Military Academy, Tokyo, held a reunion on November 16. Guest of honor was General N. Abe, academy graduate who recently became Premier of Japan. Seen in the front row of the photograph are: (left to right) Lt.-Gen. N. Kawamura; General I. Matsui, former Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Expeditionary Force to Central China; General N. Abe, Premier; General S. Araki, former Minister of Education; and General N. Hayashi, former President of the Academy.

Anti-British Press Campaign Strong

The violent anti-British outbursts in the German press continue unabated. In a synchronized manner, the various newspapers underline that Germany was attacked by Great Britain and that thus, she is not only waging a war against der Fuehrer but also against the whole German people.

The "Rote Erde" wrote "We shall fight to the end and Germany will not rest until England has lost her power. Great Britain will always be anti-German and wishes to destroy us for ever. With a people like the British, no peace will ever be possible. Great Britain could have had peace, but refused always. She must, therefore, accept the destiny which is being forged for her. We are preparing for her what she has been wanting," the "Rote Erde" concluded.

Anglo-Japan Talks In Abeyance

Official negotiations between Great Britain and Japan regarding Tientsin are still in abeyance, declares the Diplomatic Correspondent of "The Times"

There have been exchanges of views of an informal character, he adds, not committing either government.

Referring to the silver reserve — which is being held by British banks in Tientsin — the correspondent says that the British Government is prepared to accept any solution to which the Chinese National Government will agree, but they are not prepared to take over Chinese property and to deal with it without the consent and approval of its owner.

Japan-India Trade Pact Being Studied

The present Commercial Pact between Japan and India was restudied by representatives of the two countries at New Delhi at a conference a communique issued said. Concrete subjects will be taken up at the next meeting for the conclusion of a new pact, it was stated.

The third Indo-Japanese conversations on a new commercial pact began on October 30 and entered formal negotiations on November 10.

Loss of British Ship Confirmed

The British radio service confirmed that the British steamer "Sussex" (11,000 tons) hit a mine and sank.

American Threats Belittled

America's "traditional psychology" opposed to meddling in affairs outside the United States provides "an additional possibility" of bringing about a correct American understanding of the new situation in East Asia, Mr. Suma told Japanese newspapermen in a Shanghai press interview.

While the American attitude towards Japan was "almost threatening" the "isolationist frame of mind" of the United States public precluded a worsening of the present American-Japanese relations, Mr. Suma said.

"It is true that the United States is greatly concerned with what Japan intends to do in China, but this does not mean that the Far Eastern policies will not undergo any change."

The point of view expounded by Mr. Joseph Clark Grew, American Ambassador to Japan, in his recent conversation with Admiral Kichisaburo Nomura, Japanese Foreign Minister, did not seem to be "so uncompromising," according to the Japanese Foreign Office spokesman.

While Japan was determined to deal with the current China conflict "from her own point of view and with her own resources," Mr. Suma stated, the Tokyo Government was "quite willing to adjust relations with any country."

Mr Suma Calls on Wang Ching-wei

Mr. Yakichiro Suma, Chief of the Information Bureau of the Tokyo Foreign Office, who is visiting in Shanghai, called on Mr. Wang Ching-wei, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Reformed Kuomintang, at his residence on Yu Yuen Road in Shanghai.

Mr. Suma and Mr. Wang exchanged opinions on China's political questions.

Mr. Suma was the guest of honor of Dr. Chu min-yi, Secretary-General of the reformed Kuomintang Central Executive Committee and right hand man of Mr. Wang, at a dinner party.

Present were seven other Japanese diplomatic officials, including Mr. Akiyoshi Tajiri and Mr. Ken Tsurumi, Secretaries of the Japanese Embassy.

Another British Ship Strikes Mine

According to reports received from London the British steamer "Hookwood" (926 tons) sank after having struck a mine.

Part of the ship's crew was saved.

Japanese Press Criticises British Blockade Measure

The Japanese press continues to criticise sharply the new blockade measures planned by Britain.

The "Yomiuri Shimbun" accuses the British Government of having their promises to neutral countries given after the outbreak of the war and declares that the new measures planned by England must be regarded as completely illegal.

After referring to the serious consequences which the new British measures will have for Japanese industry the paper appeals to the Japanese Government to take countermeasures.

The "Tokyo Asahi Shimbun" stresses that England which lodged numerous protests in Tokyo during the past two years because of alleged violations of British interests is now planning to violate openly the rights and interests of neutral countries.

The paper says that Japan can under no circumstances tolerate England's attitude towards the trade of neutral countries.

The paper stresses that maintenance of Japan's trade with Germany is absolutely necessary for the liquidation of the China conflict and she warns England that the new British blockade measures may compel Japan to modify her policy of non-intervention in the European conflict.

The paper says that it will be practically impossible for Japan to adhere to a policy of non-intervention if the forecast measures should be carried out by England and France.

"Mangalore" Sank Off East Coast Of England

Reports from London state that the British steamer "Mangalore" sank off the east coast of England after hitting a mine.

U. S Control Wartime Export

Bill is being prepared by the United States War and Naval Departments providing for State control for the export of a number of war materials, it is learned in well-informed circles in Washington.

This Bill is to be submitted to the January session of Congress. The number of controlled articles is said to be thirty.

Deutschland sinks Rawalpindi

A Forty-Minute battle was fought between the 16,697-ton armed British merchant cruiser Rawalpindi and the German pocket-battleship Deutschland before the Rawalpindi was sunk with over 250 officers and men on board, the Admiralty announced on Nov. 27. The Rawalpindi was suuk off the south-east coast of Iceland, the Admiralty said. At 3 40 p.m., the announcement continued, the Rawalpindi sighted the Deutschland signalled the Rawalpindi to halt, it said, and fired a warning shot across her bows.

When the warning was rejected, the Deutschland fired a salvo of 11-inch guns from a 10,000-yard range at the Rawalpindi, which replied with all four starboard 6-inch guns. The Deutschland's third salvo destroyed the Rawalpindi's lighting system and ammunition supply, the announcement said, and the fourth salvo demolished the wireless room.

Large British Tanker Sunk

The 10,525-ton British tanker James J Maguire was sunk off the east coast of England last week, belated reports disclosed. The ship was the third Allied ship of more than 10,000-tons to be sunk by German mines or naval action in the past week.

Admirals Call Upon Lt-Gen. Fujita

Rear-Admiral William A. Glassford, Commander of the United States Navy Yangtze Patrol, called on Lieut.-General Susumu Fujita, Commander of the newly-created Japanese Army Shanghai Area Command, at the latter's official residence in the Civic Center. The visit was a return call for that paid upon Rear-Admiral Glassford by Major-General Shozo Sakurai, Chief of Staff of the Shanghai Area Command, when he announced Lieut.-General Fujita's formal assumption of duty.

Rear-Admiral R. V. Holt, Commander of the British Yangtze Flotilla, also called on Lieut.-General Fujita returning a call made by Major-General Sakurai.

King George Signs New Blockade Order

A London despatch reports that the order in council concerning the extension of the British blockade to German exports was signed by King George at noon on Nov. 27.

The provisions of the new order were published on Nov. 28.

British Mines Danger to Shipping

Three more vessels struck mines and sank in a British minefield to the east of the British coast where the Dutch steamer "Simon Bolivar" sank.

The three ships were the British steamer "Black Hill," 2,492 tons, the Swedish steamer "Borjesson," 1,586 tons, and the Italian steamer "Grazia," 5,857 tons.

No definite news was available as to the number of victims of the catastrophes with the exception of the "Grazia."

Japanese in Shanghai Organize To Curb Prices

For the purpose of curbing the constant upward trend of commodity prices which has been marked since the middle of October, the Japanese Residents' Corporation will organize a Commodity Sales Guild for the benefit of the 60,000 Japanese residents in Shanghai.

The projected guild will purchase daily necessities, especially groceries, direct from producers and manufacturers, dispensing with middlemen, and sell them at prices near cost. This was expected to check profiteering.

The decision to form the guild was put into effect after the commodity question was studied by Mr. Masusaburo Amano, President of the Residents' Corporation, and other Japanese leaders.

British Control Measures Arouse Indignation

Britain's announcement that United States merchant vessels, prior to their departure from United States ports for neutral countries in Europe, would be subjected to control for contraband by British officials has aroused indignation in political circles in Washington.

The Isolationists particularly object to this system and, as Transocean learns, they are contemplating energetic action at the coming session of Congress.

It is reliably learnt that their argument will be that England could never enforce on the United States the so-called "navicert system" unless the United States Government agreed thereto.

In this connection the isolationists declare that it is the task of the United States Government to find a way out of the dilemma caused

by President Roosevelt's interpretation of the Neutrality Act.

In the opinion of these circles the difficulties of the United States Government appears to be that England is determined to carry out blockade measures energetically or block waters and ports in the so-called war zone to United States shipping.

Should it unfortunately happen that a United States freighter be sunk in the war zone, these circles declare, the United States Government would find themselves in an extremely difficult position as by the extension of the neutrality legislation on the one hand and by tacitly agreeing to the British blockade measures on the other the Government would be responsible for such a development.

It is believed in political circles that the Government are contemplating to exercise corresponding pressure on shipping companies to accept Britain's naval certificates.

According to the isolationists this would, however, be tantamount to a violation of neutrality and would be regarded as such by Germany.

Japan Lodging Vigorous Protest

The Japanese Government is lodging a protest with the British Government against trade reprisals planned in retaliation against the German mine campaign.

The Japanese Ambassador in London, Mr. Mamoru Shigemitsu, according to the Foreign Office spokesman, was instructed "to lodge a vigorous protest with the British Government in connection with Great Britain's contemplated retaliation to seize German exports on the high seas as reprisal against Germany's unrestricted use of mines."

British Destroyer Sunk by Mine

The British Admiralty announced that the British destroyer "Gipsy" struck a mine and sunk off the British east coast.

About 40 of the crew were drowned and 21 injured.

The ship was launched in 1935. She had a displacement of 1,335 tons and a speed of 35.5 knots.

She was equipped with special mine laying apparatus. Its work during the last few weeks was confined to mine laying only.

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社址：南京鼓樓新村八號
總主筆及發行人——甘德雲

▲日本在華之使命▼

日本于中日事變爆發之初，即已清楚確定其在華之使命，使命為何，乃助中國擺脫其半殖民地之桎梏，而拯之於為歐洲帝國主義猛烈進攻前之犧牲者也。

日本神聖之使命，一言以蔽之，即東亞新秩序之建設，且已具下決心，對其負起之任務，循序漸進，不作分寸之變更。

新秩序之建設，乃有利於中日兩國，中國人民，須知日本所戰者，非以中國人民為對象，乃以打倒自私自誤國之蔣政權為目標，蓋因蔣氏錯誤之政策，此兩大同文同種之鄰國間，本當局同趨於和平進步之途者，今則發生種種誤會也。

為自身之安全與福利計，日本必思所以救中國於其目前不健全之狀態中，蓋治外法權及外國租界，正如石輪懸頸，使中國不能作任何復興民族之舉動，新秩序之目的為解除此種束縛，故治外法權與租界有取消之必要。

歐洲戰事，使歐西各國，不能兼顧遠東時局，故而可說歷來對華不稍鬆懈之侵略，有暫時和緩之現象，結果新秩序得藉之而作極大之進展，故若予以良好之機緣，則日本善意之計劃，大有實現之可能。

但最近美國之態度，則使事態相當黑暗，自羅斯福總統斷然取消一九一一年日美商業航行條約後，華盛頓方面，充滿反日情緒，因歐洲之暫時離開場面，美國竟而一改其向日對遠東之中立及不干涉政策，而趨向於牽入目前遠東混亂之時局。

美國固有顧問遠東時局之自由，如其顧問而近於干涉，及阻礙日本神聖之使命者，則日本將被逼而採取自衛之態度，不但為其自存，

抑亦為保護東亞共同之福利也。

繼日美商航條約之取消而起者，有美國對日禁止輸出之威脅，若干反日派議員，則屢次對日本大施攻擊，目前之日美惡感，正不知將伊於何地，如美國人民而不改其反日態度，則日趨深刻之敵愾，將無法可以改善矣。

美國有特殊之地位，足以對遠東實施其有益事態之勢力，倘若堅持其目前之反日政策，則不過取已往英帝國主義之地位而代之耳，雖如此者，日本亦決不變更其建設新秩序之固定政策，美國而能早日覺悟此點，則於太平洋上將來之和平，實大有裨益也。

▲中國之新政權▼

在全體民族擁護之下，中國新政權之產生於南京，而以汪精衛先生為新政權之領袖，不久將為已成事實。

日本之決意於新政府成立後，立即承認之，使其成功更有把握，再則日本已屢次聲明不干涉中國內政，及同時組織中日經濟合作協會，實現中日滿三國之密切經濟合作，尤足以使汪政府之立場益形堅強，而中國之永久和平更有辦法。

新政府成立之後，對於現有之國際條約，將加以特別注意，而採取適當手段，取消治外法權及外國在華租界，因其對於中國民族之進步，有極大之妨礙也，此種障礙為中國百病之根，新政府如不能設法鑷除之，則中國仍將掙扎於外人桎梏之下也，然而此項政策，並非謂排除一切外國在華之利益，各國之能尊重中國自主獨立，及承認東亞新秩序者，將無毫末之損也。

在華外人之中，亦有若干方面，直至最近，對於中國之將來仍抱悲觀者，多數則已漸明瞭有汪精衛先生出而領導新政府，必能使中國日趨和平，而外人亦得在華安居樂業。

不幸外國一般自是者，及失意份子，每每對人作惡意之宣傳，若非此者，則利害是非，當為一般人所極能了解，但虛構之宣傳，不能永久之效用，不久將有不受永久蒙蔽，而能見到東方之真情者，羣集華夏，共享正在開始中之黃金時代也。

吾人之作是言也，或將謂爲過於樂觀，或爲受命之宣傳者，然而，然乎否乎，日後自有公論，同時吾人對於事態之進展，較之外界所見，可說稍爲明瞭，故而關於此點敢作樂觀也。

▲寇爾大使與共產黨▼

在現代強權政治反覆無常之中，任何變化，不足爲奇，故而英大使最近在重慶訪問若干共產黨領袖之消息傳來，吾人目不爲之稍瞬。

以對中國所遣之大使而出此舉，則不能不有所指摘，已往吾人已屢次向英政府提議，召還寇爾大使，蓋其身爲一國之代表，而不能以適當之方法，盡其所負之責任，況不論其個人之願之與否，當以重慶爲其駐在地，在該處彼自極受歡迎。

彼之久居上海，實非南京維新政府所歡迎，而其戀戀於上海之公共租界，其唯一理由，不過利用其特殊之地位與方便，以聲援消滅中之蔣政權耳。

但寇爾大使於其最近在重慶時，訪問共產黨各領袖，則似乎與其他曾受欺蒙者同出一軌，彼於蔣介石漸失信任，而對十年來禍國殃民之共產黨，則竟肯破格相就，足見其人之爲毫無宗旨之政治家，當今歐洲全部，正受赤魔之威脅，英國自亦不在例外，乃寇爾爵士則向衆口吐罵之共產份子，和顏致敬，英倫人士，或將謂之爲「怪事」，吾人則曰可厭。

在寇爾爵士以爲履行其爲英國駐華大使之職務，事實上則不過爲蔣政權之走狗耳，寇爾之爲大使，中國之大部份已不予以承認，故英外交部能從早撤換之，則英國在華之將來尙有可爲。

關於寇爾大使之訪問共產黨領袖，尙無官方之報告，故其真實意義，在現有情形之下，只能作一種推想，但不論其目的何在，其行爲究屬不當，況此後英政府對華之政策，將因而引起極大之懷疑，新中國對於任何方面皆無所畏懼，如有陰謀勾結發現於其國土者，必以相當手段肅清不法份子，如共產黨有所陰謀，則尤將嚴厲處置之。

中國十餘年來無日不思撲滅共禍，而英國現在雖口頭對華親善，

實際上則由其大使活動，造成中國未來之禍患。

▲英德兩國實力之比較▼

英國之海上交通，因德國潛艇之加緊活動，已受嚴重之威脅，事雖不可否認，但海相邱吉爾則僅於其最近在下議院發表之演說中，略加承認耳。

不列顛之不復能稱霸海上，已成爲一致公認之事實，大量水雷之佈置以及潛艇之襲擊，已使英國之商船戰艦，同受嚴重之損失，英國船隻炸沉之消息，幾乎無日無之，英國政府雖屢次發表公報，謂此次英國海戰中之損失，較上次大戰中極爲微小，然而此種比較，在目前似屬爲之過早，其損失之所以較小者，乃德國潛艇之威力，尙未十足運用之故也。

英國之生命線即其艦隊，一旦英國之海軍而被毀滅，則英國將淪爲三等國矣，英國海軍部曾發表云德國潛艇祇有六十一艘，半數已被毀滅，此則不過英國海軍方面之幻想耳，聯軍所宣稱之德國潛艇半數已被毀滅，實乃無法可以置信，至於德國潛艇之確數，則爲極端之秘密，惟有德國最高海軍當局始得知之。

近因英國之加緊封鎖德國輸出，德國頗有採取報復之勢，故大規模之潛艇戰事，有隨時發動之可能，實行潛艇戰略之結果，將使英國船隻受到更大之損失，而使之於不久之前絕跡於海上，海戰得到勝利之後，德國對於其他方面之戰事，更有勝利之把握矣。

英國此外之弱點，即其不能事實上對蘇俄宣戰，而蘇俄之態度，則於其處置波蘭問題中已可見之，且在其與德國瓜分波蘭之中，表示其與德國之絕對妥協。

如英法兩國果有其誇大之實力，則早可攻破齊格飛防線，而侵入德國矣。

英國之崩潰非不可能，且或竟將實現也。

關於此次歐戰中英德兩國之實力，茲舉中立方面之測驗再申述之，此種有趣之測驗，乃載於日本著名之雜誌文藝春秋中，題爲「英國

海上之威權是否可以搖動。該雜誌於發表上述論文之前，曾向日本若干海軍將官徵求意見，其結果則一致以為戰事延長，則英國海軍之地位非常嚴重，此輩海軍專家，並云西方各國之海軍，並非如外界所想像者之堅強，植村海軍少將以下若干海軍軍家，均以為此次戰爭中德國戰略之地位，遠勝於一九一四年，蓋德國此次祇需要在一處戰場作戰，而此戰場則有堅強之齊格飛防線為之保障也。

以經濟方面論之，德國今日之地位亦較優於上次戰爭中，據日本海軍專家之觀察，以為德國潛艇及空軍之優越，必能使英國之海上活動大受威脅，而其海上之霸權不能永保安定。

在事實上北海已在德國統制之下，加之地中海之統制權，則在與德國友善國家之手中。

故日本海軍界眼光之中，上列種種事實，以及遠東方面政治軍事之壓迫，均當視為對英永久之威脅也。

▲英法撤退在華駐軍▼

英法兩國之迫於環境而撤退在華駐軍，使中國人民為之感嘆，蓋此項軍隊自一九〇〇年拳匪之亂後，盤據中國境內，如蚯蚓之入土無法驅逐之也，今日以新興之中國而得友邦日本之協助，終於克復外來之侵略者，而作最後之清算矣。

撤退外國駐軍，首由華北開始，據可靠消息，上海外軍亦將隨之撤退，據聞法國當局已作撤退此間法軍兩營之預備，此舉實行之後，英軍亦將起而效。

撤退外軍之先聲，為揚子江英國砲艦之調往他處服務。

此類現象，均為新中國之佳兆，自蔣政權失敗以來，不出兩年，而新中國已能為歷來前政府所不能為，蔣介石政府惟能作虛偽之進步，粉飾太平，而不能對外國駐華之軍隊戰艦，作有辦法之抗議。

在蔣政權時代，關於取消不平等條約，收還治外法權，及各國租界之呼聲，亦時有所聞，但每有所舉，輒因蔣孔宋一黨之貪受外國賄賂，忍送中國主權而作罷。

在王正廷博士為蔣政府之外交部長時，因其經手與各國簽訂之條約獨多，故有條約製造者之雅號，其所簽訂之條約大多以收還中國已失權利為目標，但回顧王氏努力之結果，則未見中國有任何權利之收還，亦未見因其所訂條約之結果，而使中國在民族間得到自力更生之機會，然而王氏之簽訂如許條約，雖為其片面之努力，仍不失為王氏之功績，惟以其個人之失職或缺乏進取之毅力，故未能實現其所訂之條約，而中國乃依然掙扎於外人束縛之下，未能擺脫英國以及其他各國之拮据。

但也吾人所欲抨擊者非王氏也，乃蔣政權及「宋朝」耳，將來國民革命之真正內幕史實列入傳記時，吾人將見蔣介石宋子文孔祥熙三大罪魁勾結之事實矣，此三人者與國際財政家密切聯絡，不惜斷送中國之自主獨立，而得滿其個人之慾壑，其無恥不忠之罪惡，今已明如天日，故其禍國之罪，實萬世莫追也。

新中國已培養新興之人才，以忠信為根本，以復國興邦為目標，外國在華駐軍之撤退，乃其努力之第一步成功。

▲收還天津租界▼

據非可靠之消息，天津英租界之收還已討論終了，惟移交之日期尚未確定耳。

此次天津英租界之收還，令人追思英國史上最黑暗最卑鄙之一章，當英國與中國開始交往之初，英國以侵略手段用「砲艦政策」，割據各地租界以後，因其採用此種政策，產生對華種種不平等條約，使中國淪為半殖民地地位，而受所有二三等強國之蠶食，蓋皆英國為之前驅也。

天津英國租界收還後，上海，廈門，廣東之租界亦將相繼收還，且收還香港之將為新中國與英國談判標題，亦正大有可能，蓋新中國欲達到完全自主，必以解除百年來所受之束縛為己任，收還香港亦以此種立場為出發點。

于一九二六——七年國民革命期間，英國曾作合理之步趨，而交

還漢口，九江，重慶之租界，但此後又一變其政策，而以鞏固其所餘之地盤爲目的，今日英國如能爲他國樹立良模，放棄在華租界，則新中國必能以道義相報也。

解決遠東問題的關鍵

中華

近來對於遠東問題，各方雖逐漸都把中國問題作爲中心，但是大家都在不知不覺中，犯了一個嚴重的錯誤，他們忘記了要把中國作爲解決問題的一個主要份子，而只是把中國當作了問題。

蔣介石依恃國際援助，與希圖在國際調解之下，解決中日間的戰事，顯然的，故意的把中國不當作一個主要份子，而希圖藉此以掩飾其抗戰不能到底的行動。

日本之企圖與英美談判，藉以解決中國事變，也不把中國當作一個解決遠東問題的主要份子，這種觀念的糾正，只是近衛聲明以後的事，新的決心與對策，還在形成中。

英美過去之因淪陷區域內權益被侵害，而向日本抗議，向日本談判，與夫美國與英國之一再向日本暗示關於遠東的條約，不是不可以修改，只是修改須經國際談判，而不使用武力，也在事實上，陷於與日本單獨討論遠東及中國問題，而忽略中國所佔的地位之錯誤，美國最近之廢止商約，與聲明如在華權益不能得到保障，商約重訂，則不可能，亦似乎把遠東問題，與中國問題解決的責任，課之於日本，中國反成爲旁觀者。

英美在這些交涉中，因爲他們無力去設法把中日戰爭作一結束，然後以中國作爲一個主要份子來解決中日問題，所以他們使不自然的陷於消極的抗議，與不承認既成事實，及枝枝節節的解決些小問題。

美國大使格魯最近在日本發表的演說，一破美國過去所一再聲明的準備參加討論遠東新均勢的任何會議的決意，而只是消極的，公然的對於日本日東亞新秩序發生懷疑，繼此而來的美日談判，格魯並沒有提出關於中國問題，甚或美日問題的根本解決方案，只是零零碎碎的提出了許多小懸案，格魯的演說，在反對日本的國度中，引起了好

感，格魯的說話，則在重視美國的國度中，引起失望，由於前者，重慶又忘記了利用這一局勢來求取中日間的和平，而更增加其依賴國際援助，以繼續抗戰的觀念，英國利用這一機會，迅速了解天津間的許多問題，天津英兵撤退，祇是其一部份，存銀問題又上了議程，其他的秘密討論自在一般人意料之中，張伯倫對日記者的談話，正是實情，哈立法克斯的演說與談話，祇是外交辭令，由於後者，使人們感到美國之對日態度強硬，還只是一種姿態，這種強硬，在美國自身，還沒有以實力作後盾的意向，在對日本的影響方面，也決不會使日本沒有妥協的可能，甚或使日本按照蘇聯所希望的，向前走去，在國際間，美國也似乎不願意因自己強硬，而令別國早些收穫自己的成果。

在這些談判中，英美方面，依然是採取所謂現地解決的方針，而沒有把中國作爲一個重要份子，沒有想先解決了中日間的戰事，然後並根本的解決中國與遠東問題。

最近因爲和英美談判的教訓，日本從近衛聲明以來的新觀念之形成而爲政策與決心，乃更積極與明朗，這在日本確實是一種進步。

在這期間，與中國問題有關的國家，都應有下列覺悟：

(一)中國六十年來的民族主義的自然要求，必須予以滿足。

(二)中國獨立自由的必然願望，必須完滿達到。

反乎這兩點的任何解決，不會令中國人心悅誠服，只知有英美與蘇俄，而不知有中國之存在的蔣介石，不會成功，只知有日本，不知有中國之存在的任何中國，不會成功，不利用第三者的地位，使中日戰爭停止，迴避根本問題，而只是與日本談判在華權益問題的英美，也不易達到目的，至於日本，要是忽略了中國的願望，使中國處於困難，則日本亦必處於同樣困難。

英美與遠東，中國問題的解決，必須中日問題，先有一解決，方能實現，這一責任，蔣介石始終在規避，和平運動者，就在根據前述兩點覺悟，不避艱險的奮鬥着，我們不會忘記中國的存在，我們不能忘記中日間的戰爭應先停止，我們更不能於以中日合作爲基礎以外，忘掉了英美過去對華關係與其今後應佔的地位。

名詞不可不慎

溫宗堯

名詞所以表示心理及其作用，故用一名詞，而吾之心理及作用，完全表見於數字之中，聞吾所用之名詞，即知吾之心理及作用之所在，同時對我發生好感或惡感，因而發生從我遠我之作用，如影之隨形，如響之之應聲，百無一爽者，故名詞之選用不可不慎，在解決中日事變之今日，積極的能選用可以安慰人心之名詞，以求得羣衆之好感，而發生從我之作用，固當務之急矣，即不可得，凡可引起羣衆之惡感，而發生遠我之作用，一切可以刺激人心之名詞，皆當盡力避免，勿使人心多一激昂，和平添一障礙，亦當務之急也。

名詞之可以刺激人心，增加惡感者多矣，其尤刺激人心者，莫如統制兩字之名詞，在戰爭期中，誠不免有統制之事實，自不能避免統制之名詞，然必其事與戰事有至切之關係，而後用其名詞，以行諸事實，且必須附載戰事停止，即行解除之文，使人心瞭然此爲政府不得已之舉，且爲一時的，而非永久的，則人心雖受痛苦，亦可樂從，倘其事非戰事必需，而輒用統制之名詞，在用語者固有甚嚴之界限，認爲但統制此一事，而非一切事皆當統制，而羣衆不能盡曉，則認爲一事既可統制，一切事皆當援例而統制，人民已有之業，不舉以歸人，則自毀以讓人專營，是全國無不破之產矣，在此人心懷疑恐怖之時，愛兩國者方愁解釋疏通之無效，若復授之以口實，則蔣介石與共產黨又從而利用，以爲煽惑之資料，使統制兩字，等於萬磅之炸彈，可炸和平爲粉碎，延戰事於無期矣。

或曰經濟合作之名詞，既足安慰人心，偶用統制之名詞，未必違於予人心極大之刺激也，是又未知凡物之性，和平者爲峻烈者所掩，先食之以糖，而繼食之以蜜，人不覺前糖之甜，惟覺後蜜之辣，先食以蜜，後食以之糖，人亦惟覺前蜜之辣，不覺後糖之甜也，合作猶糖也，統制則蜜也，即有合作事實，以表示合作之爲真而非假，繼之以統制，人亦但覺統制之可怕，不覺合作之可親也，况且合作尙未表見於事實，遽示之以統制，人尙能望未來有糖之爲甜，而忘現在嚼蜜之

爲辣乎，不談合作，專談統制，人猶希望將來容有合作之日，而姑忍受現在之統制，以待出地獄而登天堂，先談合作，後談統制，人則以爲合作其名，統制其實，合作特以欺人，從此永沉地獄，人心由絕望而橫決，以後即以真正合作爲補救，其尙能補救乎，故合作之兩字，萬不能對抗統制之兩字，統制不惟可以抵消合作，且可誣毀合作，經濟合作，乃日本政府鄭重聲明，表示親善中國，結束戰事，促進和平之極濃厚廣大之名詞，凡親日者，當宜揚之，使中國人知感，其可誣毀之使中國加怨乎。

或曰統制之事業，皆有中國資本在焉，是名統制，而實合作也，是又未知資本爲對一事業之資本，統制則爲保全一事業，而妨害其他同樣之事業，不許自由，乃至不許生存，假使其事業爲國有，則雖統制爲一部分人之害，所得利益，直接歸之政府，間接仍用之人民，是不利於一部分，而利於全部，是可行者也，若爲一公司之事業，乃許其統制，剝奪多數人之利益，且摧毀已成之事業，以培植一公司所得利益，則全爲一公司股東私人之利益，而公衆無與焉，即使股本全爲中國之資，試問中國人有以如此統制爲請者，任何事業，政府其能許之乎，不能許中國人者，乃獨許之日本人，得利則爲中國之股東平分，天下之怨怒，則全集於日本股東，日本人特以統制爲營業上之便利，而不知統制乃大傷中國人之感情，中國人知之而不爲之言，其何以對愛我之日本乎。

區區統制兩字，立可破人之產，毀人之家，且可引起全國人之恐怖，實非日本政府皇皇以求解決中日事變之道也，蓋解決中日事變，首在收拾中國人心，故有不要求割地賠款不侵犯主權之宣言，用以安慰中國人心，而示日本決無絲毫爲利之心，至深切著明矣，故宜慎選極和平之名詞，以避中國人之刺激，不宜用極峻烈之名詞，以引起中國人之恐怖，因以障礙和平，延長戰事也，中日真能親善，實行合作，不待統制，所以共榮之途自多，日本實達必鑒及之，而信區區之心，爲極親於日本也。

中日經濟合作的基礎

行 宣

上次同各位講的，是「中日政治合作的要件」，今天同各位講的是「中日經濟合作的基礎」，這兩個題目，分開來說，固然各有各的意義，而合起來說，却有聯帶的關係，試以最通淺的理論來講，中國今日所爭的，是政治上平等的和，所謂平等的和者，在主權上，我們要做到獨立行使的地位，在領土上，我們要做到絕對的完整，在國家基本工作上，我們要做到自由運用的程度，這些通淺理論，我們上次已約略同各位講過了，今天說到中日經濟合作的基礎，在互相的關係上，我們是不能忽略這些條件的，他的理由，有如下列三點：

(一)由兩國親善的程度來說，中日兩國國交的親疏向背，並不全在政治的巧妙運用，而乃在國民的經濟生活，換句話說，政治的親善，必以經濟的互惠為要件，在政略上，容有出於一時的偽詐權謀，但絕不能永久繼續，而經濟的互惠，則為兩國永久結合的基礎。

(二)中日兩國，在生活習慣以及思想信仰各方面，皆具有自然合作的可能，這自然合作的條件，要想把他運用起來，我們以為政治的力量，僅居少數，而經濟的力量，實居多數，即是說，苟能運用經濟力量，求兩國永久合作，則兩國的感情日密，苟不能運用經濟力量，而只憑政治力量，則兩國的感情，或許會由濃厚而仍疎遠下去。

(三)現在歐洲大戰，一時尚無和平希望，說不定還有三五年的支持，我們在這個時候，應該早一點確定我們中日的經濟政策，倘若把這個機會錯過，則將來歐洲交戰國的國力回復，仍必挾其政治經濟的雄厚勢力，向遠東侵略。

政治與經濟的關係，既然講過，接着我們要講到中日經濟合作的基礎，這個問題，看起來好像很大，實則並很簡單，我們在前面已經提到互惠兩字，所謂互惠者，即是說，中日間的經濟合作，要與中國人有益，也要與日本有益，將來中國經濟情形有進步，或而日本經濟情形有進步，日本固不會妨害中國的進步，中國也不能妨害日本的進步，還須抱互惠兩字，促兩國經濟的相互繁榮，由此觀之，所

謂中日合作的經濟政策，不過是互惠兩個字而已，這一點中國人固然辦認得很清，日本也辦認得很清。

問題既已辦清，我們可以回過來再講互惠兩字，中國之所有者，廣大的農工資源，是低廉的廣大勞工，中國之所無者，是開發資源的人才，和開發資源的資本，日本之所有者，是資本及人才，日本之所無者，是資源及勞工，這種事實，是中國幾十年來所共認的，也是日本幾十年來所共認的，中國在這幾十年之間，也曾和歐美資本主義國家，發生經濟和技術上的合作關係，但其最後的結果，他們是片面的得了權利，我們是片面的盡了些義務，而且因合作而變為獨佔，由獨佔而變為經濟侵略，這幾十年的經濟侵略歷史，已昭昭在人耳目，言之徒令人寒心而已，至于癥結所在，則是未能做到互惠兩個字而已，現在我們如果轉過方向，來同日本合作，則最低限度，也可說最高限度，必能因互惠的關係，因而敦厚兩國友誼，而達到永久和平的目的，方今世界大勢，凡國與國間的結合，以經濟相聯合者，最為堅固，蓋利害既同，苦痛相感，其相輔相佐之念自大，其團結力及基礎自然強固，我們願以十二分的熱誠，希望中日兩國產業界者：

(一)中日間的互惠經濟，是應乎自然之勢的。

(二)中日間的互惠經濟是使兩國結合，更為實際確實的。

(三)中日間的互惠經濟是足以抵抗外來經濟侵略的，日本是希望開拓中國的無盡的富源，中國是希望借重日本的智力人力，這兩個希望綜合起來，便是互惠合作的基礎。

我們應一致擁護新中央政權 大民會

新中央政權的產生，必定要獲得廣大羣衆的擁戴，在這裏我們可以分兩方面來說：

(一)對外——我們曉得重慶政府已是日暮途窮了，由領導全國的地位，一變而為偏安一隅的地方政權，而且受共黨的挾持，已不能行使其職權，祇是借着國民黨的招牌，却持全國無辜人民的生命財產，為他們少數人爭權奪利，現在頭腦稍微清楚點的人，便立刻能夠辦明

，重慶政府目下已失領導全中國的重心，與中央政府的資格，蔣介石已不配代表全國的人民向外交涉，今日的國民黨是需要能繼承孫中山先生大亞細亞主義，促其理想實現的汪精衛先生，出負領導的重任，革除聯俄與依賴英法的惡習，從新向和平與亞細亞救國的途徑奮鬥，方纔能將被蔣共姦污下的國民黨恢復了清白，改善了國民黨已經被蔣共破壞的聲譽，而從新以最適合時勢的姿態，出來收拾這破碎的局面，以善鄰友好，共同防共，經濟合作的原則，博取東亞和平與民衆的推崇與擁戴，然後，新中央政權才能有主張，有立場，在世上取得平等的地位與自主的行動。

(二)對內——新中央政權在國際間要求得地位的增高與聲譽，博得國內外人士的同情，大家並應一致的明白和平救國的眞諦與需要，並且一致的要信任汪精衛先生的人格，經驗，學識，足能率領正統的國民黨同志，各黨各派以及無黨無派的志士仁人，聯合起來以大公至正的精神建設新中央政權，以此爲根幹而達到和平與亞細亞救國的最高目標，這是民衆之間，已經有一個共同的不可磨滅的信仰，既有共同的信仰，則是新中央政權對內的條件俱備，同時也可以說是和平運動已經博得了成功的主要因素。

前面說過，「新中央政權的產生，必定要獲得廣大羣衆的擁戴」，這就是說，羣衆是不分國界的，對外要取得人家的擁戴，對內要獲得民衆的擁護，內外的條件具備，新中央政權才能取到立場，抓到力量，完成目的。

現在我們要研究，蔣政權爲什麼失去了中央政府的意義與地位，爲什麼失去了正統國民黨的資格，爲什麼對外喪失了主張與行動的自由，而聽命於第三國際白色帝國主義的指揮，簡單的說，蔣政府過去既以能任意駕馭民衆，是因爲他已由孫中山先生一手奮鬥之後，接受了傳統的勢力及地位，他雖然並沒有遵照孫先生的遺志，大亞細亞主義的最高理想努力去做，而且處處背道而馳，幹着掛羊頭賣狗肉的勾當，可是他一向探取脅利誘的手段，掛着國民黨的招牌，行使天子以

令諸候的辦法，掩護罪惡行爲的推進，手無寸鐵的老百姓苟無相當的力量與堅強的組織，視此怪狀又有何辦法對付，只得暫時屈於威勢，唯命是聽了，同時呢，白色帝國主義的心理，是希望中國愈趨愈妙，也樂得把蔣介石把持下的國民政府尊崇得像個金影玉琢的泥菩薩，現在蔣政府既然在實際上早已失掉人民的信仰與同情，在形式上又僻處川中一隅，無怪乎失去中央政府的意義與地位，失去了正統國民黨的資格，對外呢，過去帝國主義對蔣政府是取玩偶的態度，現在是以蔣政府爲破壞東亞新秩序的大半，而立於命令指揮的地位，蔣政府對外已沒有立場沒有地位，更談不到自由，綜合起來說，蔣政府目下對內喪失中央政府及正統國民黨的地位與資格，對外喪失立場地位與自由，兩個最主要的條件皆不具備，而尤奉之爲政府，那還成何體統。

蔣政權既然因爲對內對外的條件喪失而不能奉之爲政府，既以新中央政府的建立，就是以一種合理的組織，走上了時代的新階段，崛起而代替蔣政府的地位，現在我們鑒於蔣政府失敗的原因，必須要檢討，在新中央政府成立的前夜，究竟對內對外的條件完備了沒有，我們的回答是一個政府對內的條件是要博得人民的信仰與擁護，共同向一個理想的目標邁進，對外的條件是要有立場有地位，而這立場與地位無疑需要國內民衆對政府的主張信念共同予以擁護，既以我們可以具體的說，對內的條件不但和對外的條件是平行的，並且還是對外條件決定的因素，而把兩者的基本因素歸納起來，則無疑是需要民衆對於政府的主張澈底了解同情和擁護不可，汪先生以和平救國實現大亞細亞主義爲最高理想，以此爲出發點從事聯合國民黨同志及各黨各派以及無黨無派諸同志共同建設和平救國中心勢力的新中央政權，目前雖然已博得國內民衆廣大的擁護，以及日本的贊助與協力合作，這是很可喜的現象，但是我們決不敢遽下斷語，說對內對外的條件已完備，我們爲希望新中央政權成立的兩個條件更增加它的完備性，必然要代表全體民衆呼籲，「一致擁護汪精衛先生等人和平救國的主張，一致擁護復興中國建設東亞和平的新中央政權」。

我的和平鬥爭

周佛海

我現在獻身於和平運動，今後將爲復興中國而奮鬥，爲奠定東亞永久和平而努力，爲開拓中日兩國共存共榮的大道而勇往邁進，我決心貢獻我的一切，犧牲我的一切，以實現我的理想，和完成我的使命。

自從海禁開通以後，中國的政治運動，雖然取種種形式而表現，但是最後的目標，都是在國家生存與獨立，我個人一生的努力和奮鬥，雖然也分了幾個不同的時期，取了幾個不同的路徑，但是最後的目標，也是在國家生存與獨立，我現在略述幾十年來爲國家生存與獨立而奮鬥的大潮流和我個人在這個大潮流中間的一些努力。

在西方東漸的時候，中國和日本同樣的受着西洋勢力的壓迫和刺激，同樣的因爲這種壓迫和刺激，而發奮圖強，以謀國家的生存和獨立，日本的這種運動，在尊王攘夷的口號之下，表現爲明治維新，而完了偉大的事業，中國雖然一直到了現在，還沒有完成這個時代的使命，但是爲了實現這個目的，也盡了各種努力，我們可以把這些努力，分做幾個時期。

第一、個時期，是富國強兵的運動，在太平天國消滅和捻匪肅清之後，所謂清室中興諸名臣，如曾國藩，左宗棠，李鴻章等，都以爲西洋比我們中國優勝的地方，不過是堅甲利兵，和輪船火車，祇要中國也有了這些東西，中國立刻就可以強起來，所以他們當時的努力，是向西洋購買新式兵器和戰艦，以練成新式的海陸軍，他們不僅設立製船廠，兵工廠，而且努力敷設鐵路，建立電報，總而言之，他們對於交通，通信，以及軍事設施，盡了很大的力量，拿現在的名詞來說，他們所努力，是物質建設，他們以爲西洋只是物質文明比我們好，其他文物制度，還是我們自己的好，因此，他們祇舉全力謀物質建設，而沒有注意政治制度和社會風俗的革新和改良，而且物質建設，也沒有得到多數人的了解，受了種種障礙和牽制，沒有充分實行他們抱負的機會，於是富國強兵運動，就此失敗了。

第二，是變法維新運動，康有爲，梁啟超等，以爲單是物質建設，不足以使國家強盛，一定要把不合理的法律和制度，加以改革，使他們近代化，中國纔能成爲近代的國家，他們以爲明治維新，最重要的，是廢藩置縣，確立憲政等內政上的改革，所以他們主張以清室爲中心，厲行變法維新，以倣效日本的維新運動，不幸他們的運動，爲慈禧太后及一般守舊大臣所阻撓，終歸失敗了。

第三，孫總理中山先生所領導的革命運動，孫先生革命運動，在康梁的變法維新運動以前，早已發生，而且不斷的在發展，不過因爲中國人民知識幼稚，所以一直到辛亥武昌起義，革命纔告成功，但是滿清雖然推倒了，民國雖然成立了，第一因爲袁世凱的稱帝，第二因爲北洋軍閥的循環內戰，致使革命目的，仍舊不能達到，所以孫先生以「革命尚未成功，同志仍須努力」，兩語來勉勵同志，這就是表示革命運動，雖然不能說是失敗，至少可以說沒有成功。

第四，新文化運動，上面所述的富國強兵運動，變法維新運動，以及革命運動，都沒有成功，於是有識之士，研究這些運動之所以不成功的理由，就發現他的根本原因，完全在思想方面，湊巧這個時候，世界大戰告終，德國和俄國的革命完成所謂 Democracy 和 Bolshevism 等自由和解放的思潮澎湃於世界。於是有識之士，以爲要改造中國，須從解放思想下手，因此，打倒舊禮教和推翻傳統思想，以吸收新思想的所謂新文化運動，就此產生，而且迅的發展了，但是這個運動的結果，舊的文化雖然破壞，而新的文化却未能建立，致演成思想界的大混亂，固然，這個運動，也有不少的就，但是他的主要目的，由解放思想，而革新政治，由革新政治，而復興國家的這個主要目的，都沒有達到，於是新文化運動，也尤失敗了。

第五，國民革命運動，自從中國國民黨於民國十三年改組以後，國家的一線生機，就寄託於國民黨了，當時有志之士，以爲北洋軍閥的封建勢力，如果不打倒，國家就不能統一，國家不統一，則國家生存與獨立，就得不到保障，因此，國民黨在對抗共產黨的社會革命而

提倡國民革命的時候，就得到了大多數人民，尤其是青年的擁護，因為國民革命運動，得到大多數人民的擁護，所以國民革命軍的北伐，在很短時期內，就統一了中國，在北伐完成，中國統一之後，本來是中國努力建設的很好的機會，但是因為國民黨本身派別之爭，又演成不斷的內戰，使國民革命運動，也告失敗。

據上所述，我們知道中國生存獨立的大運動，雖然屢次失敗，但是失敗之後，每每立即取着新的形式而表現，沿着新的途徑而推進，因為國家是要生存，是要獨立的，這個生存和獨立的迫切要求，無論遇着甚麼障礙，受了甚麼打擊，都要突破難關，打破障礙，而得到滿足的，所以中國現在的情形，雖然極端的困難，但是我相信數十年來各種運動所匯成的國家的生存獨立運動這個大潮流，一定可以衝破千山萬峽，而達到目的地的，在國家求生存和獨立這個大運動中，前幾個階段，不幸我沒有機會參加，因為我現在這有四十三歲，武昌起義的時候，我還在鄉村一個小學校裏念書，等到一九一八年到日本留學的時候，就漸漸加入這個偉大的運動了，我是一九一七年六月到東京的，當時正是 Democracy 等潮流，衝入東亞的時候，我受了這個刺激，一方面準備入學試驗，同時對於吉野造作，室伏高信，山川均，堺利彥各位先的著作，感覺非常興趣，在課餘之暇，很熱心的閱讀，一九一九年秋天，我便考入了第一高等學校，為中國人所特設的預科，在預科一年中間，雖然忙於學校的功課，但是只要有空功夫，還是很熱心的閱讀關於新思潮著作，因此，對於社會主義，便漸漸感覺興趣了，我因為想找個清靜的地方好讀書，所以在一高預科畢業，要分發的時候，我便志願選了鹿兒島的造士館，就是七高，一九二〇年到了鹿兒島，這一年中間，我不僅讀了很多的社會主義的書籍，而且常常做論文，送到上海各雜誌社去登載，因此，我的名字便漸漸為人所注意起來了，我的父親早故，只有老母在堂，所以一九二一年的暑假，我便決定回湖南去望母親，到了上海，因為湖南有內戰，道路不通，於是就在上海留下，在上海我便認識了當時主辦「新青年」的陳獨秀，

和主辦「解放與改造」的張東蓀，又為陳獨秀的介紹，認識了當時第三國際駐遠東代表 Coombs，當時中國社會主義的思想，還沒有具體的組織，Combs 勸我們組織共產黨，幾個人談了幾次，張東蓀因為不贊成，沒有加入，於是我們七八個人，便決定組織共產黨了，到了秋天，因為學校開學，我便回到鹿兒島，一九二二年的暑假，我又到了上海，共產黨的組織，發展得真快，已經有上海，北京，長沙，廣州，武昌，濟南六個黨部了，於是便在上海開一個代表大會，出席的人，有毛澤東，譚平山，張國燾，陳公博，李達，和我，另外還有已死的李人傑（即李漢俊）和鄧仲夏，還有現在成為「托派」劉仁靜，陳獨秀因為在廣州有事不能離開，所以沒有出席，當時第三國際代表除 Coombs 外還有 Wang，我因為和毛澤東同鄉，所以二人同住在一間私立女學的樓上，一連開了六天會，最後一天，為法國巡捕所包圍，幾乎全部都被捉去，第二天，我們便都到嘉興，雇了一隻船，開到南湖中間，開最後一次會，結果推舉陳獨秀為委員長，我為副委員長，張國燾為組織部長，李達為宣傳部長，在陳獨秀沒有回上海之前，我便代理委員長，中國共產黨，便這樣向一隻小船中，正式成立，現在回顧起來，真和做夢一樣，當時萬萬想不到我們幾個年青的學生，會鬧出這樣的大亂，念幾年來，流了多少血，死了多少人，燒了多少鄉村，破壞了多少城市，損傷了國家多少元氣，都是我們幾個青年學生，種下的禍根，成現在想起來，真對不住國家，對不住人民，國家現在弄到這樣危險惡劣的情形，我們不能單責軍閥和官僚，當時在嘉興南湖的小船中的幾個青年，也要負很大的責任的，我因為急於回鹿兒島，所以電催陳獨秀來滬，當時美國正在召開華盛頓會議，第三國際在伊爾庫次克，召開一個弱小民族會議，以對抗華盛頓會議，因此，中國方面，也要派代表出席，我於陳獨秀返滬之後，便親自冒着危險到當時軍閥勢力最大的長沙，武昌，安慶，蕪湖，和南京五處，去秘密活動，召集代表，在我離開長沙十二小時後，我故鄉的當時的當局，便派兵捉我，我在長沙勾留了四天，得到毛澤東的援助，在長沙

召集了十幾個青年，送到上海轉赴西伯利亞，我到了長沙不能回家看母，當時非常難過，在武昌等地，也找了許多代表，長江一帶，由我召集送到西伯利亞的，約有五十人左右，這些人中間，有三十多人，更到莫斯科去留學，以後回國後，便成爲共產黨最堅強，最有力的幹部，我這段特別描寫得詳細，是表示我犯下的罪惡，實在太大，雖然在短短的兩三個月中，我已種下了十幾年大災禍的根源，我對不住國家，尤其是對不住我的故鄉湖南，但是當時我的信念，以爲只有這個辦法，纔能保障中國的生存和獨立，所以不畏危險，不辭犧牲，去追求我的理想的實現，回到上海之後，我便立即把經手的事務交清回鹿兒島上學，但是學校已開學一個多月了，回到鹿兒島之後，便被刑事尾行了，我的擔任教師，也向我警告了，於是我便規規矩矩做了一個很純良的學生，當時中國的同學，並不知道我在上海和長江一帶活躍的情形，因爲我對他們是保守秘密的，但是刑事都知道了，日本的警察，辦得真不錯。

一九二三年，畢業了第七高等，我因爲仰慕河上肇先生，便進了京都帝大，當我初到京都驛的時候，京都的刑事，老早已在車站上等我了，在京都三年，常常麻煩京都的刑事，我實在非常抱歉，但是連我自己，都出於意外，我的思想，因爲研究河上先生的著作，和聽了他的講義以後，竟完全變了，這個理由，說來很長，此地不必詳述；簡單的說，我的結論，便是在產業不發達的中國，在勞資階級的對立沒有尖銳化和深刻化的中國，在無產階級沒有發達成熟的中國，在內受封建軍閥的統制，外受帝國主義者侵略的中國，絕對不能行共產主義的社會的革命，我因爲思想上發生這樣變化，所以在京都三年，只是在教室聽講義，和進可愛的圖書館，漸漸的和實際行動，疎遠起來了，以後國民黨在廣州開了第一次代表大會，黃埔軍官學校，也成立了，我接得戴天仇先生的電報，就到廣州，參加了國民革命的實際工作。

當時第三國際代表，是有名的 Bohn，我和他說，共產黨的任务是社會革命，國民黨的任务是國民革命，中國現在所需要的，是國民

革命，而不是社會革命，因爲中國現在要以整個民衆的力量，打倒封建軍閥，要以整個民族的力量，抵抗帝國主義的侵略，中國現在並不需要農民對地主和無產階級對資本階級鬥爭，所以共產黨應該放棄階級鬥爭的工作，以全力來參加國民黨的國民革命，我和他辯論了幾次，我深知第三國際，是以蘇俄爲本位，而不是以中國爲本位，他們是要以中國爲他們的思想的殖民地 and 主義的殖民地，於是我便正式提出退出共產黨，當時周恩來聽見了這個消息，深夜一時半，跑到我的家裏，勸我不要退出，談了兩個鐘頭，終不能變更我的決心，於是我便脫離了共產黨了。

我自從參加了國民黨，從事國民革命以後，逐漸得到蔣介石先生的信任，他的許多講演，命令和電報，都是我起草的，我在十幾年之中，曾經擔任軍事教育工作，軍隊政治訓練工作，黨務工作，和行政工作，我一直到離開重慶的時候止，是蔣先生的忠實部下，就是現在，我雖然對於他抗日容共的政策不贊成，但是他對於我個人的私思，我是感激的，道義上，對於他個人，我仍是尊敬的，我脫離了他，是我很忍痛的事，同是也必定是他很痛心的事，他萬萬想不到我會有這樣的非常舉動，他對我是十分信任的，他部下的秘密組織，我不單是參加，而且是負責的幹部，普通所謂 C. C. 團和藍衣社，都是錯的，這兩個名詞不知道在甚麼時候，在甚麼地方，忽然產生，且至於流行，本來黨務人員所組織的團體，叫做「三民主義青年團」，並不是 C. C. 團，黃埔學生所組織的是「復興社」，其外圍團體是「力行社」，不是所謂藍衣社，青白團的最高幹部，陳果夫陳立夫等九人，其中一個便是我，以後青白團舉出五人，復興社舉出四人，組織聯合最高幹部，我也是其中的一人，青白團和復興社的下層同志，常常因爲工作關係，發生摩擦，我因爲曾經做過中央陸軍軍官學校政治部主任，又做過國民革命軍總司令部政治部主任，黃埔學生，有些是我的學生，有些是我的部下，他們對於我的感情還好，所以我常常努力和兩方感情，我之所以寫出這些事情，是表示我脫離重慶，是一件極不容易的事，

在蔣先生看來，實在是一種叛逆行爲，事實上，我對他個人，實在也難免叛逆的責任，不過國家的生死存亡，比個人的毀譽榮辱，要重要幾萬倍，所以我甘願受人家唾罵和指摘，我毅然不顧一切，向我的所信邁進，關於我脫離重慶，主張和平的原因和經過，在九月號中央公論所載的「追憶與前途」的一文中，已經詳細說明，現在不必重述，簡單的說，我的一生努力，都是想在國家求生存獨立的大運動上，多少盡一點個人責任，在二十一、二歲的時候，因為認識不足，以為共產革命，可以得到中國的生存和獨立，所以獻身于共產運動，以後知道中國需要的是國民革命，只有國民革命才能使中國生存和獨立，所以遂獻身于國民革命，現在，從中國本身情形，日本對華的政策，以及國際的形勢，三方面觀察，深知抗戰到底，一定足以亡國，只有和平，纔能使中國生存與獨立，所以又獻身于和平運動，我十幾年來的努力，雖然取了各種不同的途徑，我十幾年來的生活，雖然像戲劇似的變化，但是我的最後目標，乃同國家生存和獨立，一切變化，一切途徑，都是以這個最後目標爲鵠的。

湖南人的性質，是不幹則已，一幹就要拚命的幹，我是湖南人，當然不能例外，年青的時候，從事共產運動，成是不顧一切的幹，參加國民革命的時候，也是以全力去工作，今後從事和平運動，當然也是不顧一切危險和犧牲，拿出全副的精力和才智，去完成我應負的使命，不過我的目的，是在求中國的生存和獨立，我愛日本，但是我更愛中國，如果日本要威脅中國的生存或侵犯中國的獨立，我是隨時可以和平運動，轉向抗戰運動的，一個人只要不怕死，無論在甚麼環境都是不會受人脅掠的，我深信日本尊重中國的獨立，所以犧牲性一切，獻身於和平運動，但是如果有一意外的場合發生，我個人也有個人的打算，拿着血和淚去應付一切，世界上還有甚麼可怕呢。

中日合作的前途，當然還有數多暗礁，因爲自從甲午中日戰爭以後兩國間的歷史，是充滿不愉快的事實的，日人輕蔑中國，中國人民畏忌日本，都是不必隱瞞的事實，要把幾十年傳統的心理改變過來，

當然不是短時期內所能成功的，但是我們不必悲觀，不宜悲觀，兩國有識有志之士，應該以極大的毅力，極大的努力，分別教育其國民，使他們消滅傳統的心理，以新的精神，協力合作，去開拓共存共榮的新天地，我個人雖然力量微薄，但是決心在汪先生的領導之下，以最大的努力，向着我們目標前進。

中日和平與中日文化合作

褚民誼氏演講

本月二十日上午九時，中央秘書廳舉行總理紀念週，由褚秘書長民誼領導禮後，除對時事有所報告外，并即席演講，題爲「中日和平與中日文化合作」茲誌其演詞如下。

上月舉行紀念週時，余對中日經濟合作問題，曾演講一次，主張必須真正互惠平等，始可達到真正之和平，永久之安甯，否則即不免成爲變相的經濟侵略，和平仍難保持永久，殊違吾人之所主張，今幸中日雙方，已有澈底之覺悟，自近衛聲明以來，其內閣雖迭經改組，而政策始終未變，且與和平之途愈近，在我國則基於獨立自由，向善鄰友好經濟合作之途邁進，惟經濟合作，雖屬急務，而文化合作，尤爲重要，吾人殊不宜忽略，後者之一問題，顧與中日各方賢達之士，共同商榷，中日此次事變，其原因雖有種種，而最大之原因，實由於以前雙方教育方針之錯誤，自甲午以來，中日兩國積不相能，故多摩擦之事，於是中國之教育，以排日爲急務，雖三尺童稚，亦知日本爲中國之大患，恐其滅亡我國家，同時日本國內之教育，則以侵華爲首要，處心積慮，由來已久，故此大變，乃兩國教育自然之趨勢，多年醞釀而成種因，結果無可避免，吾人從事和平運動，應先認清此次事變癥結之所在，而謀根本改善之方策，是則對於兩國教育方針之改革，實屬當務之急，日本因吸收西洋物質文明，銳意興革而致強盛，中國國體之變更，受日本維新之影響，亦復不淺，故當鼎革之前後，我國有志之士，大都集於彼邦，研究新學，而以吾黨同志爲最多，余

於日俄戰爭之時，即已留學日本，余於此有一感想，覺留歐美歸國者，均自成一派，而表同情於其留學之國家，獨留日歸國者，對於日本鮮有好感，其故可思余爲此率直之言，均係既往之事實，爲兩國今後永敦睦誼起見，希望中日負責教育者，有所憬悟，變更方針，以期兩國文化教育互相提攜，共向光明之途前進，中日號稱同文同種，在理中日文化之合作，關係應較各國更爲密切，願乃適得其反，由於已往教育方針之錯誤，文化之不合，致釀成此次事變，發生東亞空前未有之浩劫，吾人痛定思痛，非謀澈底改革不可，其改革之方法，非雙方僅僅改革教材課本，應適求文化之合作，使兩國人民，交往頻繁，基於平等互惠之立場，彼此共守，使文化事業與日俱增，庶兩國人民，情感融合，則自然趨向於和平，而達到善鄰友好之目的，試觀歐洲法比兩國，邊壤相接，亦屬同文，茲二國家，真能親善，今東亞惟中日兩國，猶能獨存，宜如何互相提攜，共存共榮，吾人追念既往，昭示來茲，覺惟中日文化真誠合作，庶幾正本清源，始能奠定東亞永久和平不拔之基也。

美孤立派議員波拉

主締日美新商約

據華盛頓方面二十四日消息，孤立派參議員波拉今日向新聞記者作公開之聲明稱，彼將於下屆議會中力爭與日本訂立一更新之「合理貿易協定」，因此項驚人之聲明，預料下屆議會中波拉與羅斯福政府間將有一番激烈之爭執，波拉以其素願爲主旨，聲稱彼完全贊成與日本締結新商約以代替數月前美政府聲明廢棄，行將於一九四〇年一月二十六日滿期之一九一一年日美商約與航約，波拉之聲明，事實上有雙重意義，一方面孤立派領袖公開表示國務院顯已決定於日美商約屆滿之後，不再作續之議，故彼等意圖力爭一新商約之成立，另一方面更明示，華盛頓政府對於日美貿易協定停頓之計劃，須待日本修改關於中國門戶開放之「東亞新秩序」後，始有絡繹商討之可能，據華盛

頓政界人士稱，日本亦將對美國在華商業權益，予以尊重，波拉議員宣稱，除非有極充分之理由，美國不能損失現在每年與日本四萬萬美元之貿易，彼謂彼對於合理之貿易協定之成立，願貢獻其力之所及者，務底於成，彼完全贊成與日本達到如此合理之條件與諒解，波拉對於新協定之結構，仍以爲日本對華建設「東亞新秩序」，美國政府不予以認可，但波拉繼謂，如日本發言人所稱，苟有任何政治問題，參入新協定之完成者，則此類政治問題，須由日方提出，而不在于美國方面，波拉於指述日本現爲美國商品第三位之消費者，而與日本之貿易，可以發展因歐戰而停頓之航業，故新協定之締結，得以純粹之商業立場目之，彼繼稱，「吾人之貿易安全，隨在皆遇威脅，而其中一部分尤缺乏健全之理由」，於是坦白表示彼對於美國在華權益之毀損，尤以天津之最近事件，並不認爲新商約之嚴重障礙，波拉以爲日本對於外國權益之干預，在新商約之締結上至多影響其早日之實現，而並無若大之關係云。

日本民衆擁護和平運動

日本國民對於中國之和平運動，漸見關心，此次由東亞青年協會，東亞解放社聯合發起，得國民新聞社之後援，開中國和平運動批判演講大會，爲日本國民對於中國和平運動最先之應聲，該會於十一月八日在東京丸之內，蠶絲會館四樓大禮堂舉行，由日本言論界知名之士，發表其對於中國和平運動之意見，大體均爲和平運動，爲收拾事變所必要，爲中國改組中央政府以爲和平運動之中心，尤不可緩，與會者二千餘人，均表同感，當演說至精警處，滿場鼓掌之聲不絕，茲略記各人演詞之大要於次。

上午六時開會，首由國民新聞編輯總務木原通雄氏，然開會之辭，謂中日事變乃是東洋之內亂，汪兆銘氏所領導之和平運動，是使中國脫出歐美勢力之羅勒，而歸復於東洋一種努力，讚，和平運動所具有在東亞及世界上的偉大之意義，次由日本青年，外交協會總幹事原

勝氏，講東亞解放之現實問題，謂若不撤除世界的人種的差別，則世界將無和平，故東亞的和平運動，及中國的和平運動，其實質是在從歐美白種人的桎梏之下，求黃種人的解放。

其次由東京帝國大學前教授山政道氏，講「事變之理與新中央政府」，從各方面對於該問題的本質，作詳細的分析探討，略謂汪兆銘氏和平運動之方針，與近衛聲明的事勢處理及國交調整相一致，以及兩者之間互相具有深信，故實可以對世界各國發表聯合宣言，以表示中國並非在戰敗國之地位，而實是與日本相平等的，其次日本對於新中國之外交政策，並不要求中國作任何犧牲，同樣也不能許第三國有此要求，在經濟關係上，希望有真理的合作來矯正現在所有不合理的情形，應該為東亞永遠的將來着想，以互惠主義及民生主義為基礎而共同協力，在此基礎之下，對於英美及其他各國有理解的協力，自然不加拒絕的，又關於外交政策，應排除同盟外交及孤立外交，而取乎定外交，氏自脫離東大後，此為其在東京第一次之演講，聽眾極為銘感。

其次由室伏高信氏講演，謂日本國民絕對支持汪兆銘氏領導的和平運動，最後由九州帝大教授中次磨氏登壇，氏最近曾往上海，親見汪兆銘氏，故對中國之和平運動知之較詳，所謂亦是中國之和平運動為中心，將中國之和平論予以分析，並說明本年二月和平運動成為具體工作之情形，謂汪兆銘氏應響近衛聲明而起，且曾到日本來過，今在上海等待日本之回答，而日本之國民，對此關於東亞百年大計劃之事，並不關心，對日本國內之冷淡，痛加譏刺，並希望一般國民作慎重之研究，再對於實際問題，如在華北，華中，華南的經濟合作，及關於金融法幣諸問題，加以指摘，傾倒其蘊蓄，謂日本國民現在不應在細微之問題下作對立，應該有確切不論之見解，以支持汪兆銘氏所領導的和平運動。

汪與王梁開始會議

中央政權即將誕生

中央政治會議亦將成立

新中央政府樹立工作，與軍勢力之破壞，日軍之活潑作戰共同進展，其預備工作，略告完了，最近將入實現之階段，汪精衛，王克敏，梁鴻志會議，業已開始，此會議以後工作，當頗順利之進展，到達光輝之成立，於新政權成立之前，大體經如次之過程：

(一) 巨頭會議由於本會議，新政府成立母體之中央政治會議之構成，將首被決定，廣續決定中央政府組織之一切要綱，關於地方自治政權之組織權限，亦將見諸諒解締結。

(二) 中央政治會議之構成，大體以純正國民黨，臨時維新兩政府，各黨各派，無黨無派之比率代表，其選出方法，新國民黨由汪精衛氏自身，臨時維新兩政府，由百腦之申請而詮衡，至於各黨各派無黨無派，由汪精衛氏之直接交涉而決定代表。

(三) 中央政治會議之議題，由於巨頭會議，加以檢討，其意見有一致之可能性，蓋對於一頭專政之排除，與善鄰之保維友好共同防衛，經濟提攜等之新中央政策之基本的方針，已無任何異論之餘地，關於中央政府之名稱，首都，組織，大綱，國旗，國政，運用之基礎等，亦交換意見，有達到諒解之模樣，因此議事將於政治會議中一瀉千里。

(四) 既成政權之對中央政府態度，既見決定，所餘問題，在於如何處理名稱，組織變更後之地方政權之權限，施政之特殊性，惟於華北蒙疆地域，視為將照應因近衛聲明被確認之日本之希望，而講究適應現地之措置。

(五) 由於中央政治會議巨頭會議而見諸其構成運用方法內定之中央政治會議，汪精衛氏與關係代表間之商議業已完了，漸次由於其主

而將某地舉行，於該會議中，將決議因巨頭會議而見諸內定之新中央政府樹立之一切具體措置，政綱，政策，宣言機構，主要人事，國旗地方政權之組織權限等，政府新組織之中央政治委員會之構成，亦被供諸議題，登用各方面之有能人材。

(六)中央政府之成立，由於中央政治會議，組織準備見諸完了後，中央政府，當速即成立，事變以來，處於混沌中之中國，茲當受惠更深之空氣，以日本及滿洲國為善鄰，而向東亞新秩序建設邁進。

黃將軍通電舉兵實行擁汪反共

為汪氏最初反共實力軍隊

黃大偉將軍於十五日上午零時在廣東省澄海縣舉兵蹶起，佔領縣城，遂即向各方面通電，其兵力約有三萬，同時該縣城有力人士龍年氏，組織和平建國同盟菊花會，並發言呼應。

自汪精衛氏發出第一次和平通電迄今，已有十一個月，其間和平救國之聲浪，猶如怒濤，壓臨中國全土，今次復有廣東粵東地方以及華南方面一帶負有盛名之前廣東軍軍長黃大偉將軍與其一黨，已為汪派之一翼，予蔣政權以痛擊，作為最初之反共實力軍隊，業於十五日上午零時，於澄海組成建國軍，該軍立即對全國發出宣言通電，作為汪派最初之軍隊，負華南之希望，而強力的開始矣。

黃大偉總司令略歷：一，前清廩生，住經心書院，屢考優等，一，由湖廣總督張之洞，選派前往比國學習陸軍砲兵科，畢業回國後，民國元年任南京臨時總統府參軍湖北都督府軍事顧問，一，民國二年黎副總統派赴歐洲各國考察軍事政治，民國五年任黎大總統府侍從武官，授陸軍中將，一，民國六年，廣州護法之役，孫大元帥特任為大元帥參軍長，一，民國十年任粵軍第一路司令，一，民國十二年孫大總統特任第一軍軍長，一，民國十三年黎大總統特授為偉威將軍，駐防漳州時，以第一軍軍長，兼任閩粵邊防軍總指揮，一，旋因國民黨

改組容納共產即辭職赴滬，隨往九江廬山粘嶺，多年不問國事。

須磨氏訪汪精衛先生

據同盟社本埠消息，日外務省情報部長須磨氏，於十七日下午四時赴滬慰問汪氏私邸，訪問汪兆銘氏，懇談約一時半左右，當會見時，須磨情報部長，將阿部首相，近衛樞相及陸相所囑託之「日本政府決基於近衛聲明，對在汪先生領導下而將來改組之新中國中央政府，始終加以全面支持，故根本絕對不與重慶政府談判交涉，以期澈底一等意旨，傳達汪氏後，汪氏即答稱，略謂「余對日本朝野諸君之積極支持，表示感謝，中日兩國在此事變中，均蒙受相當犧牲，故余決意改組中央政府，以謀中日問題之解決，並答日本朝野諸君之熱望，余之不惜自身艱險，毅然離出重慶，蓋即深信中日有充分和平之可能，又至於第三國間之關係，則較之與日本之提攜者，尤為切要，故余將盡力調整與第三國之關係，然而如斯則非先與日本提攜不可，余深信中日提攜有充分把握」云，繼之，須磨情報部長將關於三民主義及最近美國之形勢等問題，與汪氏坦白交換意見，至五時半辭去。

黃浦浚疏可恢復

關於西報所載日偽企圖改組溶浦局消息，據該內部人員云，此項消息，係由日方所傳，是否可靠，不得而知，但局方與日方之談判者，為要求發還被扣之挖泥船等，亦以黃浦疏濬工作，停頓已越兩年，目前江邊淺灘，逐漸向江中伸張，若不急加疏浚，航行當更困難，現在無法進行者，即全部工用船隻被扣，無法進行，故亟希望日方當局發還，予以早日進行疏浚，以利往來浦江中之航行，而防陸上水漲之危險云。

停頓行將兩載之黃浦浚疏工作，據悉經上海領事團與日當局頻頻談判之結果，可望於下月一日起，恢復進行，該溶浦局，「復興」鉅型

挖泥機，戰前原有渣浦局化鉅大代價向德國訂購，其機身之大，佔世界第二位，詎運滬不久，適中日戰事爆發，旋為日本所扣留，致淤疏工作停頓兩年，吳淞及黃浦之河床，日益見淺，本市馬路，每於大雨後，積水泛濫，即航行方面，亦殊蒙影響，較大之船隻，因河床日淺，致無法駛入黃浦停靠，改泊吳淞口外，並悉渣浦局或將改組，由稅務司羅福，港務長杉山，與江海關監督李健南任理事，並由日人任其他職位，幫同協助淤浚工作云。

滬西越界築路問題

雙方諒解即將妥協

久懸未決之滬西越界築路問題，自經上海傅市長迭次與工部局折衝之結果，該項交涉，前途有急轉直下之勢，蓋市政府與工部局間，均各自認明立場，互相諒解，並由三浦總領事及領袖納羅尼等，從旁斡旋，因此進行頗告順利，自工部局總董樊克令於上月底，與傅市長會商各懸案要求諒解後，不久即由工部局提出折衷方案，內容大致，對越界築路之警權問題，有所商議，市府方面乃就該項方案，向工部局提出對案，先由口頭折衝，而進一步作書面上之研究，頃悉工部局當局，已將該項對案，分繕多份，由中外各董事及專家從事研究，歷時匝月，現已大致就緒，不久當可獲得妥協，而由雙方成立臨時協定，聞市府當局，始終抱不辱主權之原則與之折衝，並對警權及其他各項問題，不圖苟安一時，而作整個解決。

建設天津大都市

將開始動工

擬於五年內完成

關於包括大沽之天津大都市建設計劃，最近因調查已告完竣，故

今後將積極着手準備事宜，預定天津設立工程局設立後，即將在大沽設置該工程局大沽施工部，自昭和十五年度起，以五年計劃，投總工費五千萬元，正式着手工事，現大沽方面已勘定土地主要區劃，低窪處正雇工鋪填中，而天津方面，亦已着手填埋特三區一帶低地，現在二米半乃至三米五十之低窪箇所，苟以白河泥土鋪埋，則平均為五米五十，昭和十五年度內，特三區全部低地，大約可以埋定填埋，即天津特三區及特四區總計面積為一百五十萬坪（每坪為六尺見方），大沽則為三十萬坪。

華興商業銀行

代理國庫後各項辦法須知

- (一) 簽發支票機關，以兩院八部為限。
- (二) 各院部附屬機關經費，均由院部總領分發。
- (三) 關於省市縣補助費交付金，以及向來直接向財政部領款之獨立機關經費，均由財政部總領分發。
- (四) 各機關簽發支票，應按照每月核定貨幣種類，配搭成數，據實填列，所有折合手續，概由國庫辦理。
- (五) 所有各機關專用支票，由國庫印製，交由財政部分送各機關備用。
- (六) 每月總預算書，應加蓋部印，送交華興銀行存照，一面節抄各機關項目部分，函送各該主管機關備查。
- (七) 財政部支付通知書，須憑各機關請款單核明填發。
- (八) 在試辦期內，各機關須隨時與財政部，財政部並隨時與華興銀行聯絡辦理，如發見有窒礙之處，由各機關提出意見，交財政部彙案修改。

請 看

大 正 論 言 通 靈 息 消
廣 最 路 銷 實 翔 載 紀

而 具 有 最 大 廣 告 効 力 之

◀ 新 申 報 ▶

館 址 上 海 乍 浦 路 四 五 五 號

事 務 所 上 海 南 京 路 哈 同 大 樓 二 一 六 號

電 話 一 九 一 〇 七 號

歡 迎 外 埠 分 銷 定 價 格 外 克 己

大 陸 西 餐 館 中 山 路 一 一 七 號 華 僑 路 口

西 菜 專 家

太 平 洋 酒 菜 館 夫 子 廟

中 西 筵 席

大 三 元 酒 菜 社 夫 子 廟

中 西 筵 席

北 平 馬 應 龍 眼 藥 南 京 朱 雀 路 八 一 號

鎮 江 中 山 路 三 九 二 號

專 治 沙 眼 及 一 切 眼 疾

功 效 奇 速

舉 世 共 知

南 京 大 戲 院 地 址 夫 子 廟 新 姚 家 巷

本 院 新 排 韓 信 出 世，由 乞 食 漂 母 起 至 斬 蕭 何 止！

全 劇 分 為 三 本，請 注 意 公 演 日 期

中 央 大 戲 院 地 址 淮 海 路 十 五 號

(預 告) 連 喜 好 戲「樊 梨 花」公 演 在 即

國 民 大 戲 院 地 址 楊 公 井 地 點 適 中

開 映 世 界 名 貴 鉅 片

世 界 大 戲 院 地 址 新 街 口

按 期 排 演 一 火 燒 紅 蓮 寺

首 都 大 戲 院 地 址 夫 子 廟

院 內 設 備，有 口 皆 碑。

每 日 開 演 世 界 聲 白 歌 唱 鉅 片



華興商業銀行

(納繳已業額全) 圓萬千五金本資

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號九至八九三六四 號〇九三六四 號三至一九二六四話電
(九六三九) 號掛報電文華 號三九二三第箱信政郵海上

號二至〇八四二二話電 角路雀朱路康建 行分京南

號一至〇〇三話電 號六七一街前觀 行支州蘇

號二至一 七一話電 號九三三路民新 行支州杭

THE HUA HSING COMMERCIAL BANK

Capital (fully paid up) H H \$50,000,000

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Tel 300-1

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339 Sing Ming Road
Tel 1701-2



LLOYD TRIESTINO

ss. CONTE ROSSO

will leave Shanghai on Sunday, December 3, at 11 a.m.
from Shanghai & Hongkew Wharf for

BRINDISI, VENICE AND TRIESTE

via Hongkong, Manila, Singapore, Colombo, Bombay, Massaua, Suez
and Port Said

Tenders conveying passengers on board will leave Customs Jetty
on Sunday December 3, at 9 a.m.

No visitors will be allowed on the tender nor on board unless
in possession of a special pass issued by our Office

Hand packages only will be accepted by tender

Heavy luggage must be sent to Messrs. Marden & Co., Ltd., Race
Course Market Godown, Corner of Myburgh and Burkill Roads, where it will be
accepted during office hours, from December 1 to December 2 at noon the latest.

No nailed cases will be accepted unless escorted by a Customs Permit,
obtainable through Messrs. Marden against payment of a small fee.

For Further Particulars Apply to

LLOYD TRIESTINO

TELEPHONE 16885

26 THE BUND, SHANGHAI

TELEGR. LLOYDIANO

中華民國二十八年十二月一日

中華民國維新政府政綱

- (一) 實行一權憲法之憲政制度取消一黨專政
- (二) 切實反對共產化不致危及東亞以定國本而清亂源
- (三) 外交以平等為原則以不喪權為宗旨保護中日民族以鞏固東亞和平並適應世界現勢確保締約各國之永遠勝算
- (四) 各省及屬縣民宜速選復其故業並在非難區域設立保安組織訓練鄉勇
- (五) 救濟失業開辦救濟工業之振興農產物之改善在國家指導之下得吸收海外資本並與友邦經濟力謀提攜
- (六) 扶助已成之工商企業及金融組織使其穩固發達增加國富
- (七) 本中國固有之道德文化吸收世界之科學知識以養成理智精神體力強健之國民從前之塔斯曼有任選舉說皆須根本廓清
- (八) 財政收支適合以減輕人民負擔為首務凡徵收進支國庫利定前不致之課稅苛細之捐稅凡為民害者悉予廢除
- (九) 人才容選使學者得充分效力國家官公同使國大得隨時批評政治
- (十) 新憲官吏貪污腐化者逐逐沙汰併時時檢閱以肅吏治

目 要 期 本

- 日本在華之使命
- 中國之新政權
- 寇爾大使與共產黨
- 英德兩國實力之比較
- 英法撤退在華陸軍
- 收還天津租界

中華新聲半月刊

第三卷 第六期