

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

By Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek

(Volume II)

蔣主席最近言論

第二輯

(中華民國三十四年十一月至三十五年二月)

(附英譯文)

蔣主席最近言論目錄

每册售法幣一千元



國際出版社印行

中華民國卅五年四月
蔣主席言論第二輯
每冊實幣一千
售元

蔣主席最近言論目錄

- 一．最高經濟委員會成立訓詞
- 二．告昆明教育界書
- 三．對北平美軍廣播詞
- 四．對北平學生訓詞
- 五．建國三十五週紀念詞
- 六．政治協商會議開幕詞
- 七．政治協商會議閉幕詞
- 八．上海民衆歡迎大會訓詞
- 九．新生活運動十二週紀念詞
- 十．對杭州士紳訓詞

．第一輯目錄．

- 對全國及世界廣播詞
- 對國防最高委員會中電臨時聯席會致詞
- 慶祝勝利典禮演詞
- 「九一八」十四周年紀念廣播詞
- 三十四年國際紀念廣播詞

．第三輯目錄．

- 國民黨六屆二中全會開幕詞
- 第四屆參政會第二次大會開幕詞（政治報告）
- 青年節告青年書
- 對第四屆參政會第二次大會
- 對重慶各界歡送還都大會訓詞
- 宴別成都各界領袖致詞

上海图书馆藏書



A541 212 0017 4143B

上海南京路
哈同大樓二〇號
國際出版社編印
電話二一四一五五

最高經濟委員會成立訓詞

民國三十四年十一月廿六日

本委員會的設立，有一個目標，就是實行民生主義，幫助人民使所有的力量，都放在今後偉大和平建設及發展的工作上。在我們開始工作的時候，我要坦白的向諸位說明，並由諸位轉達全國同胞幾句話，就是關於我們所面對着的許多經濟問題與復員問題，以及要解決這些問題，我們必須採取的行動。

我們不能因為國內的種種不安，而忽視我們同胞企求獲得一種較高生活水準的基本需要。在目前，我們的國家正臨到了一段驚濤駭浪的時期，這是在戰爭以後所不能避免的。在這個時期，人民的心里，感到不安及焦慮，確是很自然的，而且現在國內還不免有若干人，把黨派及個人的利益放在國家利益之上，並且猛烈的阻礙國民政府在收復各省區的復員工作，以及破壞各種經濟基礎。現在政府正在糾正這種情勢，我們要盡全力來恢復國內的秩序及安全，但是在同時，我們也要負起同樣大的責任來，幫助人民恢復戰時的損失及破壞，並改進他們的生活狀況。國民政府現在設立這個最高經濟委員會，就是因為認清了目前有立即採取一種健全的經濟設施的必要。我個人對於我國的經濟建設及發展，很願意親自負責，加以指導。

在進行工作的時候，我們必須把握住當前我們中國經濟情況的許多不良現象。以往八年抗戰，曾經嚴重的破壞了我們的經濟，這並不僅指城市的轟炸，以及房屋與工廠的破壞而言。在戰爭的期間，我們喪失了無數人民的生產力量，他們都被迫離開了農村，離開了城市。我們因為敵人的封鎖，海岸



也失掉了我們所需要的商業。在很多地方，日本會整個的或部份的拆掉我們的工廠。在另外的地方，他們並曾把我們民生工業改成了他們的戰時工業。所以現在要把這些工廠復員，使其生產我國人民所需要的東西，並不是一件容易的事。目前我國的工業，有的已在停頓的狀態，有的僅維持小量的生產，大多數的勞工，都失了業，造成普遍的困苦現象。

這種情形是不能讓牠遷延下去，我們第一件事必須要求人民重新得到工作，可是要想復興工業，使工人都得到工作，因為種種的困難，確是一個很複雜的問題。我國有很多地方都缺煤，我們現在的鐵路及公路設備，絕不能滿足運輸的需要。我們也沒有充份的有訓練的管理及技術人員，去接收並經營以前日本人所辦的事業，我們的國家萬政，因為戰費之浩繁，以及敵人之搜括，已受到很大的摧殘。我們必須把這些情形，都糾正過來，否則我們的工業，不能希望發達。

我們的農業，也是同樣的大受阻礙。我國並沒有充分的現代農業原料，例如肥料，殺蟲劑，與良好的種籽。也沒有充分普遍的現代耕種智識。專家們認為如果我們採取了這些新的方法，短期以內，收穫一定可以大增。另外一件重要的事，就是現在一般農民，都負擔了過重的地租田賦及利息。這種現象，使整個的我國農業機構，大為削弱。現在政府對於收復區的地租，規定減收百分之二十五，並且免徵田賦，就是要想糾正這種現象的第一步措施。我國的農民，也同城市裏工業方面的勞工，及管理人員一樣，都需要政府最有力的扶助。

在每次大戰以後，都要有一個時期的困苦及不安，就國家整個的來講，這是為爭取勝利及自由所付的一個很小的代價。但是我們必須承認，對於無數的人民，今年冬季就是一個嚴重的經濟難關，這個難關，需要我們人民拿出全部的毅力來應付。在這個時期，所需要的，就是一切公私生活都必須絕對的公正廉潔，這是我們歷史上一個重要的關頭，絕對不能容忍，緩慢，貪污，或自私自利的人來榨

取人民，以圖謀個人的富貴。這種人員，必須剷除並嚴加懲辦。

在這次抗抵之中，我國人民的英勇及堅忍，已經獲得全世界的讚賞。我現在可以向諸位說，並向全國同胞說，我們所受的痛苦，並不是徒然的。我並且可以告訴諸位，在我們歷史上，從來沒有過的一個偉大的經濟機會，就要展開在我們面前。這個機會，凡是我國同胞，都可以分享。就深信在未來的幾個月中，我們一定能够，並且必須努力在和平建設及發展方面，採取準備的步驟。這個步驟，可以直接引導人民得到一種比較滿意的生活。等到我們把一切基本的狀況改善，內部的不安平息，並將各種經濟的活動展開以後，各方面的工作機會自然增多，食衣住行的必需品，更可以價廉而豐富，現在沒有的物品及勞役，將來可以逐漸加多的供給予一般人民。

在進行這種重要的建設及發展工作的時候，本委員會必須認清，我國的問題決不能祇希望別的家來幫忙解決，我們必須自己幫助自己，我們的整個國家前途，繫於我們自己能發揮我們的建設力量。這種力量。是一個民族偉大的鎖鑰，我們所希望於我們各國盟友的，主要是在健全的基礎上獲得經濟的合作。

本委員會的任務，在立即給予人民以健全的幫助及指導，使他們能自己幫助自己，並採取適當步驟，以期早日得到經濟上的進步。本委員會對於政府各部會有關經濟事項之重要工作，應該密切聯繫。本委員會要考察各種事實，並且對於經濟政策方面各種問題，隨時加以切實而迅速的決斷，要注意並且督促政府有關各部會，迅速執行各項政策。這些任務，在有些方面很像戰時生產局在戰時所行使的各種職權，可是本委員會將要有更高的職權。

我們必須要明白，政府設立這個委員會，並非要想担任經濟方面一切事務性的工作和責任，反之，我相信各省市縣政府必須根據本委員會的大政方針，逐漸負起自己區域以內的經濟建設及發展的責

任。唯有這樣，纔可以使各個區域都得到最大的發展，而且，健全的地方行政，是建立一個強大的民主國家的基石。同時，這也是一種方法，可以使一個國家發展私人的才幹及經營能力，這種才幹及能力，是一個民主國家經濟進步的原動力。我國的地方政府，必須要自己站起來，凡是牠們能够自己作的事，不應當依賴中央政府去作，牠們必須在可能範圍以內，採取一切步驟，改善自己境內的人民生活水準，以及工作狀況，並且要對於當地的工作及其他經濟事業，畀予更多之扶助。同時，各地人民也應該信任有能力與忠於職務的地方行政長官，來解決其因地方情形而起的各種經濟問題。凡是無能或不忠於職責的地方長官，政府必隨時懲治，人民亦必須要有一個可以信賴的地方領袖，這個地方領袖，必須能刻苦耐勞，決心犧牲個人的一切，以完成其偉大的使命。

我主張本委員會應該用一切可能的方法，儘速完成一個全國性的運輸改善計劃，我們第一件事，要把現有的各種運輸設備，都使我能好好的應用，此後，我們還必須努力維持並擴展我們的設備，以達到更大更高的效率。我認爲加強我國的運輸，是我們推進經濟建設及進步的一切助力的基礎，我們所要特別重視的，是要把食糧及燃料運到缺乏的地區去。這個運輸計劃，不但要包括鐵路及海洋運輸，而且要包括公路之建築及車輛之獲得，使其能經常維持行駛。在此整個計劃之下：

進行公路建設方案

第一本委員會應即籌劃並進行一全國性之公路建築方案，我相信，這一個方案如果適當的實行出來，在數年之內，一定可以較低之代價，大量增加我國的經濟力量，在這一點，我要提起本委員會注意目前在我國有一百萬以上的日本俘虜，因爲缺乏運輸工具及盟軍最高統帥在日本所遭遇種種困難，這些俘虜之遣送回國，必須逐步實行，在回國以前，這些俘虜應該讓他們作些生產工作，藉此幫助恢

復一點他們所加予我國的損害。我堅決的向本委員會提出，我們在日本俘虜返國之前，要立即使用他們來幫助我國建築現代的道路，並建設整個的運輸系統。

實施增進農業方案

第二，本委員會應立即籌劃一個增進我國農業的切實方案，並付諸實施。這一計劃，當然要包括主要肥料，殺虫劑及改良種籽的增加生產，進口及分配以及灌輸農民之現代農業智識。本委員會也須立刻設法減低過高之地租及高利貸，並調整田賦，適合人民之支付能力，以改善我國農民的生活狀況。爲達到這些目的，政府已經訂定若干法規，本委員會必須負責加強這些法規，並監督其確實迅速的施行。我更進一步主張，本委員會應該籌劃一個長期的造林計劃，使我國農業區域的寶貴土壤，能以保持並可供給必要之木材，我國荒山上的造林，實在是非常重要的，並且要立即開始。

扶助工業生產方案

第三，本委員應立即擬訂方案幫助各種工業，增加生產，特利是生產各種必需品的工業，例如燃料，紡織以及建築材料。在達到這個及他經濟建設及發展的目的之先，最急要的是確定對外匯率，來穩定金融，必須儘早辦到。本委員會對於這一點，必須立即採取行動，爲進一步鼓勵大規模的工業上生產起見，政府在戰時所加於工業上的種種管制，應該立即撤銷，除非在某種情形之下，撤銷管制足以影響整個的國家經濟者，得視爲例外。關於合格的工業管理人員，技術人員以及熱練工人的募集，也是應該採取直接而有效的行動，以促成其事。根據我國支付能力而定之工業器材進口辦法，應由本委員會加以監督，藉以保證各種最主要之工業及公用事業，使能最先得到購買此項物資所需之款項及

運輸工具。本委員會對於工業之生產，應該加以指導，使在國內及國外有確定市場之物品能以生產，並減少不健全之生產。我國各銀行的利率及貸款政策，必須週全檢討並重新釐訂，以鼓勵工業生產。日本在戰時經營各種工業的真實情況，必須明瞭，並加以分析，在這一點上，我可以報告，經濟部方面對於日本在淪陷區內的各種經濟活動，已經搜集有很多寶貴的資料。

設法鼓勵對外貿易

第四，本委員會該設法，鼓勵我國的對外貿易，這應該是我們的主要工作，本委員會應立即擬訂計劃，鼓勵並幫助國外所需要的各種農工產品的生產，當然這種生產應不使我國因此缺乏其他主要物品，並不能蔑視我們勞工之應得之享受。由於發展對外的貿易，我國就可以獲得外匯，以購買更多必需並且不能在國內生產的機器設備及材料。

改善國內衛生狀況

第五，本委員會應該集中精力，以改善國內的衛生狀況，我們必須立即確定政策及方案，以謀各種衛生及防疫器材與設備的生產，進口與發展，與衛生方案密切有關的，還有關於改善住宅，義務教育及其他種種的方案，都是為建立人民經濟活動的強固社會基礎所必需的。

徵集經濟計劃資料

第六，本委員會應立即開始我政府各部會對地方機關，以及有關團體與私人徵集今後五年經濟計劃的詳細資料，這些計劃之中，有些應該儘先實行，有些可以稍後推動。我國目前是一個窮的國家，

不能希望在幾年之內，承所需要的改革一起都辦到，本委員會正應該負起責任，來分析有關各種經濟計劃的種種事實，並立即對於國家經濟最有價值的計劃，給予有效的鼓勵與幫助。在這些計劃當中，我主張特別應注重治河的問題，因為河流實在是我國一個最大的資源，健全的治河辦法，可以在幾年之內使我國得到急需的水災防制法，大的灌溉計劃，內河航運的增加，廉價的電力的來源，以及人民急需的娛樂設備。由於中央政府與地方政府的密切合作，本委員會不久當可完全並實行一個全盤的經濟建設與發展的計劃之下，人民所最迫切的需要，當首先予以解決。總括起來說，我希望本委員會能立刻有所行動，我希望牠能採取行動，以加強我國的運輸，增加其農業及工業的生產，發展其國外貿易，改良其衛生狀況，並使其在一健全之謀取經濟進步之計劃下，開始工作。

我們全國同胞，現在需要並且必須有一個對於民生主義懷抱信心的現實基礎，等到本委員會的工作獲有成果的時候，人民就會感覺到他們已經逐漸的得到較高的生活水準了。此外，他們也會看出，我國在國際間的威望，也一天比一天高了。只要國內能够有安寧的希望，我必盡全力，以達成這個安寧，那麼，本委員會經濟方面的成就，不久就會在我國歷史上展開一個偉大的時代。

我國人民經過了多年的窮困與戰爭，已經贏得了可以享受較高較美滿生活的權利，本委員會的同人，應該設法使這種較好的生活成爲事實，不是在很遠的將來，而是在最近的目前。本委員會的職責，在造速有效的工作，以滿足人民的需要。在此地此時，我們共同獻身於這個偉大的工作。

告昆明教育界書

民國三十四年十二月八日

昆明市發生學潮，學生課業中輟，已逾旬日，妨害青年學業，貽誤建國前途，輿念及此，痛心無已。我國抗戰八年，犧牲慘重，今勝利甫告實現，復興時機不可復得，正宜同德同心，積極踴躍，進行建國之工作，乃訛言流傳，波及學府，演成如此不幸之事件，此真所謂爲仇者所快而親者所痛也。學校爲社會之中心，學生爲建國之基幹，學校學生之一言一動，應爲社會之模範，亦繫國家之命脈，必當明辨是非，認清職責，重視課業，遵守紀綱，萬不可辜負國家作育之苦心，違反時代付與之使命。中正愛護青年，不啻自身之子弟，更不忍我純潔之青年學生，有自誤誤國之舉動。今日抗戰雖告勝利，然國事艱難，民生痛苦，吾人多數亦在必求維持一切秩序之安定，使復員建國不受妨碍，抗戰成果得以保持，否則將無以對抗戰殉難先烈之英靈，亦違背我學校師生艱苦轉徙擁護抗戰之初衷。中正維護教育，保持紀綱，皆屬責無旁貸，對於此次事件，必當根據是非與法紀，作公平負責之處置，決不有所偏袒，亦不有所姑息。惟我各校教職員對於學校對於國家亦均負有神聖之責任，應導學生於正軌，爲社會作表率，切不可任令罷課風潮再有遷延，造成學校與社會無政府無秩序之狀態，以貽國家之羞。目前一切問題，必以恢復課業爲前題，以正常手續爲解決，否則政府縱如何愛護青年，亦不能放棄其維護教育安定秩序之職責。切望我各校當局與教職員諸君，深體此意，對全體學生剴切勸導，務令即日上課，恢復常態，勿負余諄諄之期望，至深企盼。

蔣中正手啓

三十四年十二月七日。

對駐平美軍官兵訓詞

民國三十四年十二月十六日在北平美軍電台廣播

賈基將軍，瓊斯將軍，美國海軍陸戰隊第五團，第十一團，空軍第十二，第二十四大隊官兵們：今天本委員長代表中國軍民向我們盟國美國的軍民，致其熱誠友愛的祝賀。本人今天能和美國海陸空各部隊的諸位官兵見面，心裏覺得非常的快慰榮幸。美國第一師第五團的官兵，曾經參加過第一次世界大戰，著有光榮的戰績，而在第二次大戰期中，更表現了全體官兵的英勇，你們在太平洋中不斷和敵人艱苦作戰，從瓜達康納爾，新不列顛，而登陸琉球，攻入敵人的心臟，曾經給敵人以致命的打擊，空軍第十二第廿四大隊，曾經參加過解放菲律賓的戰役，後來協助陸軍登陸琉球，獲得光輝的戰果，今天在敵人無條件投降之後，貴軍即於今年十月初旬首先開到北平，使我國軍能如期接受敵軍投降，並積極辦理遣送敵國軍民回國事宜，今日本人能親自檢閱我們盟軍，尤其是軍容莊嚴，訓練精良的美國海軍陸戰隊，實在是無上的欣慰，正如見到我們同生共死患難的同胞手足一樣的快樂。我們於這次大戰期中，由於各盟邦共同一致並肩作戰，終於能夠將我們最頑強的敵人完全摧毀，使世界和平秩序，重行恢復，我們回想這一段寶貴的歷史，就可以確信，祇要我們全體盟邦能夠合作到底，就一定可以永保世界的和平，增進全體人類的福利，尤其是我們中美兩國，具有傳統的友好關係，在這次抗戰期中由於共同流血的結果，已凝結成了始終不可分割的友誼，相信在今後的國際社會中，一定更能夠相親相愛，互信互助，來分擔我們維護世界和平的責任。貴國總統兼陸海空軍統帥杜魯門先生，致力於促進貴我兩國合作，本人敬祝他身體健康，大業成功，現在聖誕即將到臨，我們都準備虔誠慶賀平和之主的聖誕佳節，特祝諸位官兵聖誕快樂。

對北平學生訓詞

民國三十四年十二月十七日在北平太和殿演講

革命之青年子弟，在敵偽荼毒壓迫之下，爲三民主義與民族的人格，堅苦奮鬥，百折不回。今茲抗戰勝利，余得與我革命子弟相見於北平，此不僅余平生最大之安慰，亦且爲中國歷史上最可紀念之大事。然此八年之中，已有無數青年，爲敵僞殘殺，虐待以死，余茲來平，已不克相見，感念何能自己；尙望我後死之子弟，負起責任，知恥奮發，努力自強，實現三民主義，以完成其未竟之志事。今當建國開始之際，我青年子弟，要勉爲總理之信徒，國家之主人，必依照余下列之提示，身體力行，始克達到目的。

第一，要發揮民族精神，恢復民族倫理。我中華民國，爲禮義之邦，我民族爲重視倫理之民族。其立國之精神，在於忠孝二字，凡我黃帝子孫，皆當忠於國家，忠於主義，孝於民族，孝於父母。此次我國之抗戰，賴我全國同胞，發揮忠孝之精神，殺身成仁，捨生取義，用能轉敗爲勝，轉危爲安。今後猶望我青年子弟，將此種精神，發揚光大，服從命令，嚴守紀律，在政府領導之下，建設我中國成爲自由獨立之國家。

第二，要研讀「中國之命運」，完成五種建設。余於「中國之命運」一書中，曾說明中國之建設，必須以倫理，心理，政治，經濟，社會五種建設，爲其基礎。而此五種建設，即要我革命之子弟爲其基幹。余今日即將此建國之責任，交付於吾革命之子弟，望我子弟自重自愛自立自強，以擔負此重

大之責任。

第三，要打破自私自利之觀念，養成親愛團結之精神。吾中華民族，過去之缺點，即在個人懷自私自利之心，而缺乏國家民族之觀念，故形同一盤散沙，招致敵人之侵略。今後要完成建國大業，則我全國同胞，必須集中於三民主義旗幟之下，相親相愛，團結一致，互助合作，奮鬥到底，乃克達成吾人之目的。

最後，望我青年子弟，明瞭強國必先強種之義，鍛練體格，注重健康，以期不愧為頂天立地之黃帝子孫，然後始能擔當一切困苦艱難之工作。至于汝等生活上之痛苦，與學校之困難，余時刻關心，已囑北平市教育當局，盡其職責，力求改善，務望我青年子弟專心向學，努力上進，以期不愧為健全的革命幹部，完成你們實行主義建設國家之使命。

中華民國建國三十五週年紀念詞

民國三十五年元旦對全軍民同胞廣播

全國軍民同胞們：今天是中華民國三十五年開國紀念日，也是我們抗戰勝利結束後第一度元旦。我們自九一八事變以來，在這十四年中間，都是在黑暗恥辱的環境下，來度此令節。七七抗戰以後八年之間，更是在生死存亡的戰鬥中度过此令節。現在我們抗戰已告勝利，日本業已投降，積年國恥已經消雪，我中華民國的全體國民，應該都可以仰首伸眉，稍紓喘息，來慶祝這一個歲首良辰。我們每一個同胞，當然是格外的歡愉，格外的欣奮。但是我們國家的處境，還是備極艱難。外患雖已攘除，內憂却更見嚴重。這幾個月以來，演變的經過，不容諱言的，使我們同胞，在重見天日之餘，心情上仍有重重的陰影。使我們八年餘流血犧牲所獲得的國家地位，與民族光榮，頓時爲之降低。而革命抗戰期中，軍民先烈的在天之靈，亦不能得到安慰。輿言及此，對於國家的現狀，真所謂一則以喜，一則以憂。但是我們可以確信，國家民族在抗戰勝利以後，必有光明的前途，而如何開拓這一個光明的前途，消除內部存在的殷憂，收獲真正勝利的果實，這是我們共同一致無可旁貸的責任。

現在縈繞於我腦際的，就是我們國父的遺教，如何完成：人民的要求，如何實現。我們國父最後的遺教，就是要和平奮鬥救中國，就是要完成三民主義新中國的建設。至於今日人民迫切的要求，可一言以蔽之，是求安定復興。人民的要求，和國父的遺教，是一致的。當此戰後滿目瘡痍，我各地同胞痛苦的待救濟，流離的待還鄉，失業的待復業，受殘破的待修整，被壓迫的待解放，但是簡單的說

，一切復員建設工作的前提，不外乎和平與安定。民心嗎，是我們國家民族的絕對需要，也是世界和平安全的最大關鍵。因之，我們首先急要的工作，就在于造成整個國家和平安安全的環境。惟有國內不再有變亂分裂的現象，而後纔有和平建設的可能；也惟有國內不再有擾攘紛爭的因素，而後國家的基礎纔能鞏固，人民乃得以安居樂業。我們今日在戰勝侵略痛定思痛之餘，一切政治上過渡期間的設施，容有未週，政府無不積極改進，決不因循苟且，貽誤國家復興的時機。但是最重要的，無過于確定整個的國是，使政府與人民皆有共同的軌轍可以遵循。如果國家天天在紊亂擾攘之中，人民日日感受惶懼不安的痛苦，則戰後的安寧建設，就無從着手。所以我在今天要將當前重要的國是，我們政府的決策，和我們人民的責任，乘此歲首更新的時候，簡單扼要的提出來，以明告于我們全國的同胞。

因爲今天是我们中華民國開國紀念日，所以我要首先提出我們國民革命的目的與經過，以明示我們今後努力的途徑。我們國民革命的最大目的，在於建立三民主義的新中國，而就其經過步驟來說，可以分爲三個時期：第一個時期是甲午以後，從己未以迄於辛亥。在這十八年期間，其目標在於推翻滿清的帝制，建立主權在民的中華民國。第二個時期，是由民國二年以迄於十七年的北伐完成。在此十六年間，其目標在於掃除軍閥割據的局面，實現國家的統一。第三個時期，是從民國二十年以迄於去年抗戰勝利。在此十四年間，其目標在於打倒日本帝國主義的侵略，掃除建國的障礙，完成獨立自由三民主義新中國的建設。這三個時期，對象各有不同，而革命建國的目的，則是一貫不變的。國父在世之時，親自領導全國同胞而奮鬥，國父逝世以後，中國國民黨的黨員，則秉承遺志而努力。其間障礙重重，內憂外患，錯雜相互，無不爲國民革命的時代偉力所摧毀。我們國父自甲午倡導革命之初，即認非推翻滿清專制，無以挽救中國的危亡，實現中國的民主。

國父祇知有救國建國的責任，從沒有自私自利的觀念，所以辛亥革命，一經成功，就讓政權於袁世凱。不意袁氏竊國，民國顛危，國民不能真正表達自由意志和力量，而造成軍閥的割據，於是有民國二年以後的革命。迄於北伐完成，乃始獲得中國的統一。但是日本帝國主義者嫉忌我們國家的統一，自始就勾結軍閥，製造割據，欲以分裂中國者，達成滅亡中國的目的。始則有九一八的侵略，製造偽滿傀儡；繼之以華北特殊化的要求。我國民政府深知日本帝國主義者一天不驅除，則國家就一天不能統一，民主憲政就無法進行。如此不特我國家民族的生存失了保障，而世界整個和平，也必受到威脅。我們七七抗戰，就爲了執行這一個神聖偉大的任務，而第二次世界大戰，也就因日本侵略而發端了。由此可知中國如果不能保持統一與獨立，即威脅着世界的和平。我們若不能順利完成建國方略與民主的建設，即不能建立強盛的中國，以自躋於世界現代國家之林。

現在日本帝國主義是已被打倒了，妨碍中國統一而阻撓中國民主的外在障礙，是已消除了，而我們中國以薄弱的國力，抵抗強敵武力到十四年之久，所遭受的破壞與犧牲，實已無可計數。國家的元氣，人民的生機，亦已不絕如縷。我們今天若再不乘此時機，積極復員，使社會秩序迅速恢復，使國家政治進入正軌，則國家就再無復興的機會了。我們今天真需要把握時機，鞏固國家的統一，實現全民的政治，以竟建國的全功。因此，我在去年勝利以後，曾經爲我同胞們鄭重提出復員工作與進行建設的重要。我並且特別說明，今後努力的重要，在於「國家統一與政治民主」。全國同胞們，果能細心體察我們國家的需要，便知道今天重要的國是所在了。

全國同胞們，我們民國成立至今，已經三十五年了，爲什麼還不能完成建國方略與全民政治，唯一的原因，就是由於我們國家不統一。而推原第二次世界大戰的禍因，實亦由於我們中國的不統一所

致。我們革命抗戰的目的，就是要打消侵略者分裂中國以淪亡中國的企圖。八年餘流血犧牲，也就是爲了要實現國家的統一，以保障民族的生存。所以我這幾年以來，屢次向國民懇切說明國家統一的必要。我會說國家的統一，是近代立國絕對必需的要素，而且必須國民全體的協力愛護，乃有堅實的保證。惟有統一的國家，纔能真正收穫勝利的成果；惟有統一的國家，纔能順利推行憲政，保障民主制度，發揚民意，集中民力，完成建國的大計。也唯有統一的國家，纔能順利推行各種經濟的建設，提高我們一般勤勞辛苦同胞的生活水準。更唯有統一的國家，纔能於戰後的新世界中，爲人類和平福祉而有所貢獻。而且就當前事實來說，我們更唯有共同維護國家的統一，纔能順利進行我們的復員工作。否則，如果軍令政令不能統一，交通運輸節節破壞，地方秩序到處騷擾，則國家的復員工作，必是處處受着阻撓，而人民最基本的安居樂業的要求，根本就無從談起。所以我們對於國家政事，無不可以虛心忍讓，無不可以推誠相與，而軍令政令的必須統一，軍隊必須一律歸還國家統轄，任何割據地盤，破壞交通，阻礙復員的軍事行動，必須絕對避免，則是解決目前紛爭不安的唯一先決條件。這是事實，也是真理。凡有愛國良知的人士，所不能不承認，不能不履行的。

明白了這一個重要前提以後，我要爲我同胞提出我們政府今年急須致力的兩項任務：

第一，我們要完成復員計劃，解除民衆痛苦，以確立建設的基礎。所以一方面要首先恢復交通，使人民得以還鄉，物資得以暢通，而後經濟建設的工作，得以開展。一方面要收束軍事，普遍解除日軍的武裝，遣送俘虜回歸日本，切實整編軍隊，儘速恢復地方的安寧秩序，禁止莠民惡霸的權取壓迫，使人民得以安居樂業。唯有如此，而後人民的生命財產，纔得有保障，復興建國的事業，纔得以進行，纔可以安慰抗戰中受苦受難流血殘廢的軍民，與犧牲殉職先烈的英靈。

政治協商會議開幕詞

民國三十五年一月十日

各位先生：今天政治協商會議開幕，本席代表國民政府向各位致誠摯之歡迎，同時也願乘此時機，陳述我個人對會議的期望，至於政府的方針，我在元旦廣播詞中，已經詳盡說明，不再重述。

今天到會的各位會員，有半數以上都會參加過歷屆的國民參政會，因此我在今天很自然的聯想到國民參政會的成就。參政會到今天，已是第四屆，而民選的成分，逐漸增加，現在由選舉產生的參政員，已佔總額三分之二。歷屆參政會對國家的貢獻，不一而足，而最重要的，就是共同一致擁護抗戰到底的國策。儘管參政員中間，在政治上的立場和見解，各有不同，而對於國家民族安危存亡所繫的根本大計，其主張則是全體一致，始終一貫的。我們所以能持久抗戰，獲得勝利，這是一種主要的力量。現在我們抗戰已告勝利，我們中國對這次世界大戰中的任務，正如其他聯合國一樣，要贏得勝利，並且要贏得和平。所謂贏得和平，就一般的說，是要確實保持勝利的成果，建立世界和平的秩序，永絕侵略戰亂的根源，而就我們中國來說，尤其要緊接着抗戰的勝利，以舉國一致的努力，排除萬難，以謀國內秩序的安定，和建國工作的進行。

本會議召集的目的，是邀集各黨派代表和社會賢達，來共商國是；我們所要商討的，是國家由戰時度到平時，由抗戰進到建國的方案，也就是怎麼樣集中一切力量，增強一切力量，以開始建國工作的問題。我們八年苦戰，死者為國犧牲，生者備嘗痛苦，唯一的目的，就是在保障民族的生存，排除建國的

障礙，以求得這一個復興建設的良機。現在抗戰既已勝利結束，建國工作就應該立即開始，我們中國必須實行三民主義，已為全國所公認，中國必須成爲統一民主而強盛的國家，是世界所切望。所以我們一方面要努力促成國民大會的如期召集，民主憲政的及早實施，同時我們要在國民大會召開以前，集思廣益，羣策羣力，來消除一切足以妨礙意志統一，影響安寧秩序，和延緩復興建設的因素，以充實我們建國的力量，加速我們建國的進行。政府召集本會議的旨趣，就在於此，本會議的使命與任務，也就在於此。

我們過去因爲進行着生死存亡的抗戰，一切的措置與法令，都着重於適應軍事的要求，抗戰結束以後，我們的工作應該「善後爲先，建設第一」。許多戰時法令，已經在陸續廢止或修改，今後政治上和社會上一切的設施，都要盡量納之於正常的軌轍，加強法治的精神，以立憲政基礎，參加本會議的各位先生，對於此點，一定是具有同感的。如有意見，深望盡量陳述，政府無不可以考慮採納，但是我們必須注意國家社會現實的狀況，總要使過渡期間，不發生困難或紛亂，使國家根本不至於動搖，以期順利推行憲政而使建國工作得以圓滿進行。

本會議雖然不是由人民選舉而產生，但各位先生熱心國事，關切民生，一定能體察人民真正的願望，認識人民迫切的要求。國父有言：「國家之基本在於人民」，所以人民的要求，與國家的需要，必然是符合的。依本席的觀察，今天我們人民最迫切的要求，是求安定，求復興，求國家的統一進步與繁榮，以增進他們的生活，最低限度也要求他們的生活有保障，使他們得以安居樂業，使他們的自由不受侵害。對於這一點，政府當然要負責盡職，以滿足人民的願望，解除人民的痛苦，保障人民的自由。同時本會議所要充分商討的，也就要以這些最迫切的要求爲基礎，來確定我們當前的國是。我們中國必須實現民主，這是我們國民革命一貫的宗旨，也是這次艱苦抗戰的目的。但在國民大會沒有召集，憲政沒有

實施以前，人民真正的意志，還沒有充分表達的途徑，我們大家的責任，却是十分的沉重。政府這次召集本會議祇有責任和義務的觀念，決沒有自私和得失之見；政府對於本會議的決定，只要有利於國家的建設，有裨於人民的幸福，有助於民主的推進，無不傾誠接納。同時我個人在會議開始的今天，要對各位貢獻下面幾點的意見。

第一，要真誠坦白，樹立民主的楷模。我們這一次會議，當然不是為各黨派解決自身問題的會議，而是為共同奠定建國基礎的會議。我們各人對於國事的見解，和政治上的主張，必不能絕對相同，或許有距離甚大，但我希望各位在鞏固國本的共同認識之下，都能充分坦白的提出主張，不必有所隱諱或保留。我們正可以藉此熱烈討論的機會，從各種不同的見解中，發現共同的途徑，從相互的諒解中，增進我們的合作精神。惟有坦白，纔見得真誠，也唯有犧牲成見，擇善而從，纔能成立合理而有益的決議，應主張的就積極主張，該讓步的應不惜讓步。我們要以這一次為民主精神的試驗，也要以這一次為養成民主風度的嚆矢，我們希望本會議能始終保持諒解與和諧，不希望發生任何停頓和波折。

第二，要大公無私，顧全國家的利益。我們的諒解與讓步，有一個共同的指歸，這就是國家民族的利益為先，而黨派或個人的得失為後。在國家民族整個的利益之前，所有黨派或個人部分的成見，應無不可以犧牲，無不可以讓步，為了成立有效的決議，有時候撤消我們的提案，比之堅持我們的主張更有偉大的價值，這樣纔見得我們謀國的公忠，纔能使這次會議有確實的成就。

第三，要高瞻遠矚，正視國家的前途。我們在舉行會議的中間，有三件事大家要牢記在心，（一）是抗戰期中軍民犧牲的悲劇，（二）是我們同胞流離痛苦渴望解救的迫切，（三）是我們國家過去蒙受憂患的深重，和民族前途安危禍福的不可預知。所以我們這一次會議，是要集中力量，而決不可以分散力量；是要造成團結，而決不可以破壞團結；是要扶助政府，增強政府，而決不是要削弱政府，是要開

開建國的前途，促使我們國家的進步，而決不可以使國家停滯在百事落後的地位，甚而至於造成國家的退步。只要這我們能認識幾個要點，而後我們國家乃可以邁進於民主建設的大道，爲世界友邦所尊重。各位先生，本席對於這一會議，是具有充分的信心。我深感我們過去國民參政會的精誠合作，已經贏得抗戰的勝利。我因此同樣深信，這一次會議的成就，必能推進建國的工作，保持勝利的成果，以贏得和平。世界輿論所屬望，人民殷切的祈求，都集中於我們這一次政治協商會議，敬以十分的誠意，禱祝本會議的成功。

（主席繼宣稱：）

現在我還要乘此機會，向各位宣布政府決定實施的事項：

人民之自由

人民享有身體，信仰，言論，出版，集會，結社之自由，現行法令，依此原則，分別予以廢止或修正。司法與警察以外機關，不得拘捕審訊及處罰人民。

政黨之合法地位

各政黨在法律之前，一律平等，並得在法律範圍之內，公開活動。

普選

各地積極推行地方自治，依法實行由下而上之普選。

政治犯之釋放

政治犯除漢奸及確有危害民國之行爲者外，分別予以釋放。

政治協商會議閉幕詞

民國三十五年一月三十一日

諸位會員，政治協商會議開會以來，經過廿餘天熱烈的討論，已經完成其應有的任務，今天宣告閉會了。本人以職務羈身，不能每次都來和諸位交換意見，甚覺抱歉。回顧這廿餘天中間，諸位會員無論在分組會商或全體大會，都能開誠布公，大家本着互尊·互信·互助·合作的精神，實事求是的尋覓各種問題合理的解決，使本會議始終在祥和協調空氣之中，獲得圓滿的成就，尤爲本會議最可寶貴的收穫。本人虔誠希望，這種公忠坦白的精神，能够永遠保持下去，大家不爭意氣，不重私見，只是一心爲着國家，爲着人民而共同協力，則本會議的一切決定，必可順利執行。今後無謂的政爭，必可政爭，必可澈底化除，和平建國的目的，必可迅速達成，對於未來憲政實施的前途，也必能因此而愈顯光明。這是今天閉會之頃，本人十分愉快的感想，應該特別提出來向諸位表示感謝。

原來我們國民革命的目的，是在完成三民主義的建設，造成獨立自由統一的民主國家，尤其要團結奮鬥來達成和平建國的目的。至於國民革命的對象，對外是在排除帝國主義的侵略，對內是在打倒封建割據的勢力。以往推翻滿清，掃蕩軍閥，和此次八年抗戰，兢兢業業，堅苦奮鬥，惟一的目的，無非是求獨立，求統一，先除去民主的障礙，以完成民主制度的實現。到現在，掃除革命障礙，奠立民主基礎的工作，已經初步成功，我們當前唯一重要的問題，只是如何確保統一，如何建立民主，換句話說，也就是如何實現三民主義的問題。我們要知道，必須有確實的統一，纔有真正的民主可言。

我相信，我們國內此後不會再有私有的武裝軍隊，分立的地方政權來妨礙政令的統一，否則無論如何高唱民主，而事實上所表現出來的，必是各行其是的假民主，甚至完全是反民主的行動。這樣的假民主，永遠不能走上民主憲政的大道，而且永遠要爲民主政治的障礙。因此，我們爲了要實現真民主，真統一起見，和平團結兩個條件，實在是我們當前最迫切的需要。

因國父臨終遺囑「和平奮鬥救中國」，我個人和中國國民黨的同志，始終是服膺這個崇高遺訓，除了對於割據的軍閥和侵略的日本不得不用武力對抗之外，其他對於國內一切問題，不論遭遇任何嚴重形勢，總是抱定忍讓爲國的決心，不惜委曲求全，尋求政治解決的途徑，縱使不得已而有軍事衝突，也只是被動的防衛，決不採取主動的行動。這因爲我們認定，我們的國力，民力，只可從安定中求保養，再禁不起任何戰禍的摧殘，所以每在危機一髮之間，都能化乖戾爲祥和，並且任何齟齬的意見，也都能融和一致，恢復到和平團結。已往這種經過事例，尤其是抗戰以來八年間的事實，國人皆所共知，毋待贅述，這就是我們今日所主張的統一民主和平團結的精神所在。而這次政治協商會議，就是一本統一民主和平團結的四大原則而進行，所以各種議案，都可信可行的決定。我要坦白的說一句，這實在是我們中國五十年來，國民革命精神所孕育陶鑄而成的結果，足使飽經憂患痛苦而急須休養生息的全國同胞，感覺到無上安慰。希望我們大家要把這四大原則永遠奉爲我們的信條，永遠照着這個信條共同遵守，共同努力，纔可安慰爲革命抗戰而犧牲的軍民先烈，纔不致辜負全國人民的期望。

本會議開會之日，政府即頒布全國停止軍事衝突，恢復交通的命令，政府代表與中共代表並公布了一月五日所協議的辦法，同時公布了命令內容的全部與其附屬規定的四項條款，以示一致遵行的決心。本會議開會的第二天，政府代表與中共代表並向會議詳細報告，因此，本會議就能够專心致志，

來研究關於和平建國與促進憲政的各種方案。本會議所決定的各項方案，本人雖然不能每次出席參加，但是時時刻刻都在注意和研究，覺得各項方案的內容，都是大家竭誠洽商的結果，我敢代表政府先行聲明，政府必然十分尊重，一俟完成規定手續以後，即當分別照案實行。本人認爲各案之中要算和平建國綱領爲各種方案的基木之中心，因爲此案從甲總則，乙人民權利，（丙）政治，（丁）軍事，（戊）外交，已經濟及財政，（庚）教育及文化，（辛）善後救濟，（壬）僑務等九章的各條規定，均屬異常完備，確合時代要求，充滿了統一性，充滿了民主性，實在是渡到憲政時期最適宜的綱領。我們有了這個綱領，由中央以至全國各地的政府，由各黨各派與社會領導人士，以至全國各地的同胞，都有了共同遵守的準則。尤其參加本會議的各黨各派，對於這個綱領，既是大家共同商討，共同議定，而且就要參加政府來共同執行，我們對全國同胞，必須守信義・負責任・自身先從事實行動方面，有切實遵行的表現，並且必須貫徹其全國性，使能普遍的實現。我以爲有兩件事，我們必須特別注意和鄭重聲明：

第一・本綱領既經規定「確保人民享有身體・思想・宗教・信仰・言論・出版・集會・結社・居住・遷徙・通訊之自由，」所有現行若干戰時法令，於此原則有抵觸的，中央當然要修正廢止。同時，我相信，中共軍隊駐在地之內，自必同樣遵守這個綱領，解除現有的一切限制。至於在教育文化方面，又規定了一「保障學術自由，不以宗教政治思想干涉學校行政」，這一條對於我國教育文化的發展與求學青年良好環境的養成，更是十分重要。今後自由的保障，全國無論任何地方，當然只有合於本綱領的一種法令，不應再有任何歧異和特殊的辦法，那麼，今後各個政黨的活動，以至對政治的競爭，儘可何照國家統一法令應有的合法權利和手續，公開組織，公開進行，決不應該再有使

用武裝暴動，或者在各地秘密組織的行爲，否則即是喪失政黨的木質，破壞了民主的精神，不但違反了本綱領，而且阻撓了憲政進程。我們如果要不愧爲民主國家的政黨，必須革除自民元以來所有政黨過去一切不良的現象，纔有建立現代國家的希望。

第二·本綱領（丁）項軍事一章，對於軍隊國家化的宗旨與規定，極爲切實，另外還有一個經過軍事組協商而更詳細的軍事方案，我想我們既然迫切需要和平與統一，則綱領的軍事部份，實爲鞏固和平，完成統一的最大要素。政府對於軍隊整編問題，早經有所決定，并在着手實施，目前軍政部林次長並已向本會議詳細報告，將來還要按照綱領與方案的規定，繼續推進。至於中共方面的軍隊整編，自然也要依照綱領與方案切實整編。本來軍政軍令的統一，爲立國必需的基本條件，這不僅全國飽經痛苦之同胞所一致要求，也是各黨派所一再聲明，認爲不可否認的原則。現在協商會議已有結果，綱領方面均經商定，我們當前最急要的任务，就是要使全國所有軍隊，不分黨派，不分地區，都能聽命於政府的指揮，以達到綱領所定軍令軍政和軍制統一的標準。這一點我敢確信是人同此心，心同此理，而決沒有例外的。惟有這樣確實做到，纔能符合建國的要求，纔能安慰人民的渴望，否則不僅大家參加政府沒有意義，而且和平團結也將沒有基礎，反而增加了國家的危機，與政府內部的糾紛，這當然不是國家民族所需求，也決非各位會員和各政黨忠誠謀國的本意。

上面所說的兩點，確是本綱領能否全面貫徹的試金石，果能澈底做到，則全國各地秩序立刻可以安定，復員工作亦可以順利完成，而不綱領其他的各章各條，亦無一不可迎刃而解，完滿實施，這是本會同人無可推諉的職責。今天我以最懇摯的悃忱，特別提醒大家注意。同時我個人誓必忠實信守這個綱領，更必督責我們各級軍政人員，恪切遵守，即使有時難免無心錯誤，或者督察不周，只要大

家說明指出，無論我本人或是我的部屬，都無不誠懇接受，切實改正，我常常說：「要求自由，必先了解自由的木質，不可只顧個人的自由，而侵犯別人的自由，崇尚民主，必先修養法治的習慣，不可專責別人守法，而自己則處處置身於法外」。我這幾句話實在是鑒於我國社會對於自由與民主觀念的模糊，和法治與守法意識的薄弱，認為社會沒有安寧，便是國家沒有基礎，人民不重法治，必使種罪惡借民主自由之名義而行，因之，我上面幾句話，實在是沉痛的呼籲。尤其近年以來社會上和教育界所表現的這種病態，更是深刻而顯著，長此不加改進，我們中國將無法自立於現代國家之林，諸位會員想必也同感。現在我們政治協商會議商訂了和平建國綱領，這一個綱領是以保障民主自由為職志，以建立和平統一的法治國家為目的，我們大家為求發揮本會議的實效，開創建國的規模，必須先從我們自身負起轉移風氣的責任，樹立守法的精神，以作全國人民的楷模，那纔可以完成我們對歷史時代的使命。

最後我要趁今天會議完成，大家聚首一堂的時候，將我多年來蘊蓄在心而沒有說的話，簡單的向各位申述。中正個人從幼年起對政治是不感興趣的。和平生的抱負事業，是祇知獻身於國民革命，以期救國救民。自辛亥革命以至於現在抗戰勝利，這三十五年之中，所有革命戰役，無役不從，艱難困苦無所不經，自省革命志願與應盡的革命義務，幸無隕越，對於國家和人民亦已盡了我一份子的天職，總可自慰。今天雖不能說國民革命已經完全成功，但是剷除革命障礙的工作，確已告一段落，自今日始，國家完全進入建國大業開始的時期了。可是我們國家當此元氣凋傷之後，國運前途的危難，德建國事業的艱鉅，只有比戰前乃至戰時更加嚴重，實在不勝臨淵履冰之懼。幸而此次政治協商會議訂定了和平建國綱領，及各種有關問題的方案，建國初基已具，憲政實施有期，今後各黨各派的中堅份

子，以及社會賢達，都將參加政府，共同負起對國家民族前途的大責。今後建國的重擔，既不是國民黨一黨的責任，更不是中正個人的責任，這一個重大的責任，要交託給各位同人和全國同胞來共同擔負。今後中正無論在朝在野，均必本着公民應盡的責任，忠實的堅決的遵守本會議一切的決議，確保和平團結的一貫精誠，督促我們國家走上統一民主的光明大道，以期報答爲革命抗戰犧牲的先烈，完成國父締造民國未竟的事功。同時要求各位同人爲國家爲人民共同努力，一本我們在抗戰時期共患難，同生死的精神，同德同心，精誠團結，來担负今後建國的重任。開關我們國家民族光明燦爛的前途。

對上海市民歡迎大會訓詞

民國三十五年二月十四日於上海跑馬廳

親愛的同胞們：

上海是中正的家鄉，中正離開家鄉已經有九年之久，在這九年餘的歲月之中，有整整的八年，上海被敵人所佔領，上海的男女老幼，遭遇敵人的殘殺和蹂躪，受過暗無天日的生活，中正無時無刻不在想念之中。今天勝利之後，中正回到上海，和各位同胞在跑馬廳見面，心中實在有無限感慨。今天到會的同胞，年長的就是中正的父兄，年幼的就是中正的子弟，現在我和我的父兄子弟，姑嫂姊妹相見的時候，有如家庭團聚的一樣心情，所以要貢獻幾句內心所發的拙詞，希望各位同胞，時刻銘心，共同一致的努力實行，中正個人一定以身作則，來作各位同胞的倡導。

大家都知道，八年以前，我們要像今天一樣，在跑馬廳開會，是一件不可能的事。為什麼大家現在能够在這裏自由的開會，為什麼我今天能够在這個地方和各位相聚呢？這就是由於我們全國同胞八年來艱苦抗戰的精神，引起了盟邦美·英·蘇·法以及其他各友邦對我們軍民的尊敬，獲得了盟邦的同情，因此取消了不平等條約，收回了各地所有的租界，我們中華民國的地位，亦獲得了獨立自由。但是各位要知道，現在租界雖已收回，不平等條約雖已廢除，然而我們今後要怎樣纔能維護國家的主權，要怎樣纔能保持我們所獲得的自由和獨立，這個保障和維護的任務，較之過去八年間爭取自由獨立的工作，更要困難，更要辛苦。我們今後要保障國家的獨立，民族的自由，必須要我們同胞下定決

心，要比抗戰期間更要吃苦，更要耐勞，再經過八年，方能確實保障這個獨立自由的基礎。中國國民黨自 國父領導國民革命運動以來，與我全國同胞共同奮鬥五十餘年，到今天已經達成了他國家獨立自由的目的，而中正個人，亦總算沒有辜負我們全體同胞的期望。但是今後這障礙個保國家獨立自由的責任，就在於我們各位同胞肩上了，所以我今天對我同胞要特別提醒的，就是今後建立國家保障獨立的責任，要由你們大家共同來擔負了。

但是我們如何纔能保障我們國家自由獨立的主權，而再不致於喪失呢？如何纔不愧爲一個自由獨立的國民呢？關於這一點，我今天要特別指示出來，亦就是我在開始所說，要你們大家時刻銘心，努力實行的，就是以下幾句話：我以爲，今後建國與保障獨立自由最重要的，就是要恢復中國固有的道德，發揮我們建國新的精神，實踐我們新的生活，來轉移麻木遲鈍的風氣，我們每一個同胞，一定要明禮義，知廉恥，負責任，守紀律。現在我們盟邦美·英·蘇·法等國之所以能成其強大，完全是由於他們一般國民道德高尚，對於國家能自動的負責任，守紀律，能公而忘私，能國而忘家。我們如要與各盟邦講獨立自由，立在平等地位上，我們就要像他們一樣的愛國，一樣的團結，一樣的道德，一樣的精神，更要比他們能吃苦，能耐勞。所以我們不只是一要學他們科學的物質文明，而且更要學他們的道德精神，處處能自愛，時時能自重，這樣纔能配得上做他們獨立自由平等的盟友，纔能立於現代國家社會之林。所以我們現在要提高國家的地位，鞏固獨立基礎，一定先要提高我們國民的道德，精神上有了立國的基礎，然後迎頭趕上，而輔以現代科學的智能，那我們建國的工作，就可一日千里的進步，我們中華民國亦就可以永遠確保自由獨立在世界之上了。

同胞們，我今天和各位見面，要說的話很多，而主要的祇有最後的四句，就是「明禮義，知廉恥，負責任，守紀律」，這四句話是我們作一個現在國民的基本條件，我希望上海同胞人人都能身體力行，來作全國同胞的模範，共同一致，完成我們建國的使命。

新生活運動十二週紀念詞

(民國三十五年二月十八日通電)

新生活運動促進總會並轉各省市分會，各機關團體暨全國同胞公鑒：新生活運動自倡導推行以來，於今十有二年，其主旨在以食衣住行之整潔簡樸，迅速確實爲起點，革新個人之生活，改造社會之風尚，進而求國家民族之進步。蓋爲吾人全體有健全之身心，然後大木確立，乃能因應時代之演進，而不虞落後，面對複雜之事物，而肆應恰當，此中樞所深信不疑者也。今當抗戰勝利之後，建國工作，應即開始，我民族已步入另一偉大之新時代，瞻望將來，光明無限，而艱互正殷，必須一致發揮堅毅宏偉之建國精神，始足以完成建國大業。所謂建國精神，就心理而言，則必須對於建設三民主義新中國，有崇高之信念，堅定之意志與熾盛之熱誠；就行動而言，尤應如中正去年雙十節所言，務須日新又新，爭取時間，事事精確，步步踏實，以實現新運三大要點。而此種建國精神之養成，亦惟有每一國民，均於日常生活之淺近處，亦即最根本處，隨時檢點，不斷改進。我宜同胞以篤實踐行有秩序有規律之新生活，勉爲有志氣有精神之良好公民，勿苟且偷安，勿舍難就易，勿散漫自私，勿見利忘義，務使小而一家，大而全國，皆有蓬勃之氣象，力掃因循頹廢之積習，而後建國工作，乃能隨抗戰勝利復員完竣，而積極開展，以安慰爲革命抗戰而犧牲之先烈。更有進者，新生活運動實踐之要義，不僅在求個人之自覺自治，我國同胞彼此之間，尤須有廣泛而親切之合作，互相砥礪策勉，提攜共進，更應針對以往之失，特別着重於農村衛生條件之普及，與民族體質及生產能力之提高，然後表裏充

實，根基鞏固，以往散漫貧弱之病態，得以根本革除，而我同胞乃能具有堅強之精神力物質力，與夫一體關係之團結力，以適應偉大之時代，負起建國之使命，乃能確保我國家民族之獨立自由，使我中華民國成爲受人尊敬之現代國家。回溯抗戰八年，犧牲慘重，勝利成果，得之不易，值此生機，正宜加緊奮發，明自助人助之理，植自力更生之基。國於大地，必有與立，立國之道，不外力行與自強，凡我同胞，應知新生活運動實爲民族復興之運動，建國一日未成，此義一日不廢，務必明禮義，知廉恥，負責任，守紀律，振衰起敝，貫徹始終，尤其各機關團體與社會領導人士，更須以身作則，推己及人，使此一運動，始終發揚光大，庶不負中正歷次諄諄之屬，望共勉之。中華民國三十五年二月十八日，蔣中正。

對杭州士紳訓詞

(民國三十五年二月廿二日招待會)

中正和我們浙江的父老及親愛的同志今天還能在杭州會見，實在是感慨無窮。大家都知道東南各省以江浙淪陷最先，人民痛苦最深，中正廬墓圯墟所在，自然是時刻系念。惟此次來到杭州的主要目的，乃在檢閱東南的青年遠征軍，至於慰問故鄉的同胞，原想等到政府還都復員工作告一段落的時候，再和各位父老親友約會，但在這兩天之中，中正經過各地，到處看到全市同胞環繞歡呼親愛熱烈，心中十分感動，乃特邀請杭州各界同胞的代表茶敘，聊表感激悃忱，并藉此機會爲本鄉同胞貢獻幾點意見，以答愛護的盛意。

我們浙江可以說是中國民族主義的發祥地，自從宋代憑藉浙江作爲抵抗異族侵略的根據地以來，千年之間，每當國家危急存亡之時，民族運動必先湧雲起，愈到後來，愈顯光輝。到了此次抗戰期中，我們浙江全體同胞更明白了民族大義，公爾忘私，國爾忘家，在流離顛沛之餘，仍能輸財輸力，在敵僞極端壓迫之下，始終堅忍奮鬥，百折不回，作精神上之苦鬥，對於國家民族的貢獻，實在偉大。這固然是得力於浙江傳統的精神，亦可以說是由於各位父老同志倡導的力量，中正今天謹代表政府對各位致其誠摯的慰問。

惟其我們浙江在過去民族運動史上有這種光榮的歷史，在此次八年抗戰期中有這種艱鉅的成就，所以國家對於我們浙江的期望格外的殷切，而我們對於國家的責任也格外的重大。我們每一個同胞，

都應該先天下之憂而憂，後天下之樂而樂，在全國同胞沒有求得安樂以前，我們浙江同胞不應該想到自己的安樂；在全國同胞的痛苦沒有解除以前，我們浙江同胞更應該竭其全力來解除他們的痛苦。必須如此，纔不辜負我們浙江過去光榮的歷史，纔不失爲中華民族精神堡壘的浙江。浙江是中正生長之地，在座的各位都是中正的父兄親友，中正今日與各位相見，沒有其他的禮物贈送我們的親友，只有將這一片報國愛民的赤忱，與各位父老昆弟互相勉勵，就是我們大家要以已飢已渴之心，來拯救我們同胞，來復興我們民族，要以天下國家爲己任，來確保抗戰的勝利，完成建國的使命。我相信我這點誠摯的願望，一定會被各位父老親友所嘉許，所接受的。

現在我們的抗戰是得到勝利了，但是各位必須預想到今後建國的困難，全國同胞都必須認識建國工作是一件艱鉅無比的工作，我們必須在整個國家民族的前提下，精神比抗戰時期更要振奮，工作比抗戰時期更要努力，尤其是生活比抗戰時期更要刻苦忍痛，必須咬緊牙關，埋頭努力，如此，再過八年之後，或許我們能從殘破的舊社會之中，建立起一個新的國家，乃能自由獨立生存於今日的世界。總之，我們這一輩子的同胞，必須知道我們既然遭逢了這個時代，吃苦耐勞，乃是我們的本分，我們必須刻苦努力，來求得國家民族和世代子孫的平等，在我們這一代的本身，是不必再想我們的生活，有什麼優裕的享受，我們的工作待遇，有什麼更好的奢望，我們這一代的人必須下定決心，爲了完成艱鉅的建國工作，在這三十年內，必須時刻準備過最痛苦的生活，担任最煩劇的工作，才能使得我們子孫免於奴隸牛馬的慘境。但有一點可以告慰於各位的，就是今後我們物質上儘管窮困，而我們精神上却是十分愉快的，我們生活上雖不免窘迫，而我們意志上却是十分自由的，決不致再被敵寇蹂躪摧殘，過奴隸牛馬的生活了。各位如果想到國家民族的生存，子孫後代的幸福，則我們物質上一時的

痛苦困窮，又算得什麼呢？臥薪嘗胆的故事，於今全國的同胞，家喻戶曉，而且我們抗戰的勝利都是遵藉於這個傳統精神爲基礎的，可是大家要知道這個臥薪嘗胆的越王勾踐，就是我們浙江的先哲，我希望浙江以及我們全國同胞都不忘我們先哲這種堅苦卓絕雪耻圖强的精神，共同一致，苦心戮力，百折不回，堅忍不拔的來建設我們中國成爲一個富強康樂的現代國家，實現我們總理所昭垂偉大的三民主義，庶不愧爲民族主義發祥地的浙江，這是中正所貢獻於我全浙同胞的一點，亦是對我全浙同胞惟一的期望。甚盼我今天在座的各位父老親友領導全體同胞團結奮勉，克盡厥職，完成使命。恭祝各位康健，恭祝抗戰勝利。

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES By Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek
(November, 1945 — February, 1946)

Volume II

CNC\$1,000.00

CONTENTS

1. Fundamental Policies of Economic Reconstruction *	1
2. Admonition to Educational Circles in Kunming	9
3. Address to the United States Armed Services in Peiping	11
4. Address to Students of Peiping.	13
5. 1946 New Year's Message *	16
6. Political Consultative Conference Inaugural Speech *	28
7. Political Consultative Conference Closing Speech	34
8. Address to Shanghai Mass Rally	43
9. On New Life Movement	46
10. Address at Reception Given to Hangchow Civic Leaders	49

* These translations are according to the versions released by the Central News Agency.

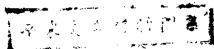
CONTENTS OF VOLUME I

1. Broadcast Speech to the Chinese Nation and the World.
2. Address at the Joint Meeting of the Supreme National Defence Council and the Standing Committee of Central Kuomintang.
3. Address on Victory Day.
4. Broadcast Speech on the 14th Anniversary of the Mukden Incident.
5. National Day Broadcast Speech.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME III

1. Inaugural Speech at the 2nd Plenary Session of the 6th C.E.C. of Kuomintang.
2. Closing Speech.
3. Inaugural Speech at the 2nd Plenary Session of the 4th People's Political Council.
4. Message to China's Youth on Youths' Day.
5. Political Report to the People's Political Council.

Compiled & Published by
INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS
220 Hardoon Building, Nanking Road
SHANGHAI, CHINA



A541 212 0017 4143B

FUNDAMENTAL POLICIES OF Economic Reconstruction

(Speech made at the inauguration of the National Supreme Economic Council on November 26, 1945.)

The Supreme Economic Council has been established for the one purpose of aiding the people and bringing every possible effort to bear on the huge task of peacetime reconstruction and development which lies ahead.

As we begin work, I want to speak frankly to you and through you to all the people of China about the economic problems we face and the action we must take to meet those problems. We must not allow internal disturbances make us lose sight of the basic need of the Chinese people for a higher standard of living than they have now.

At this moment, as we all know, there are some people in China who place partisan and personal interests above national interest and who have gone so far as to interfere violently with the efforts of the National Government to establish order in the liberated provinces.

The Government is acting to correct this situation. We shall spare no effort to bring internal order and security to the nation. But, at the same time, we shall fulfil our equally great responsibility to help the people to repair the ravages and dislocations caused by war and to improve the conditions of their livelihood.

In creating the Supreme Economic Council, the National Government recognizes the paramount importance of sound, immediate economic action in China. It is my intention to assume, personally, the general direction of China's economic reconstruction and development.

In approaching our work, we must come to grips with some hard and unpleasant truths about China's present economic position.



The relentless war we had to fight over eight years has seriously injured our national economy. I do not refer only to the bombing of cities and the destruction of homes and factories. During the war years, China lost the productivity of millions of people driven by the enemy from farms and towns. We lost our foreign trade which the enemy's blockade kept from our coasts.

In many places the Japanese, wholly or partly, dismantled Chinese factories. Elsewhere, they made our industries part of their war economy so that it is not easy to convert those factories to the production of goods needed by the Chinese people.

Today, most of China's industries are at a standstill or producing relatively little and a large number of industrial workers have been thrown out of employment resulting in widespread distress.

This is an intolerable situation. Our first concern must be to get our people back at work. But the problem of reviving industry and thus creating jobs for workers is complicated by a number of serious difficulties. Many parts of China lack coal. Our present railroad and highway facilities are inadequate to meet transportation requirements. We do not have enough trained industrial managers and technicians to take over and run industries which the Japanese have been operating and the finances of the nation have been badly dislocated by the great cost of war and abuses of the enemy. Until we correct these conditions our industry cannot flourish.

Our agriculture likewise is greatly handicapped. China does not have enough modern agricultural materials such as fertilizers, insecticides and good seeds nor enough widespread information about modern methods of farming. Expert opinion agrees that our harvests could be greatly increased in a short time by the application of such methods.

Also of prime importance is the fact that many farmers of China are now paying excessive land rents, taxes and interest rates—a condition which gravely weakens the entire agricultural structure of China. A 25% reduction in land rents and exemption of land tax, already granted to liberated provinces, are only the first steps which the Government must take to correct this condition. The farmers of China, like workers and industrial managers of our towns and cities, need

the most vigorous cooperation which the Government can give them.

After every great war, such as we have fought, there is a period of hardship and uncertainty. For the nation as a whole this is a small price to pay for victory and freedom. But we must recognize that our many individual Chinese this winter will be a time of severe economic strain.

It is a time that will require all the courage of my people. It is a time for high standards of integrity both in personal and public life. This is a crisis in China's history and China can now least of all tolerate corrupt officials or self-seekers who exploit the people in their attempts to gain personal wealth and power. Such men must and will be eliminated from public service and severely punished for their crimes.

Throughout the war, the people of China have won the applause of the world by their bravery and endurance. I say to you now and to all the people that our suffering has not been in vain. I say to you that a greater economic opportunity than we have ever known before in our long history will unfold for China—an opportunity in which all people can share.

I am convinced that in the months ahead this nation can and must vigorously take preparatory steps in its peaceful reconstruction and development—steps which lead directly to a more satisfying life for the people.

As we improve and the basic conditions in the country are restored to normalcy and our economic activities expand, employment will increase in every field. Food, clothing and housing will become more plentiful and cheaper and many goods and services now not available will reach the people on an increasing scale.

In undertaking the all-important work of reconstruction and development, the Council must recognize that China's problems cannot be solved entirely by the aid of other nations. We must help ourselves. Our entire national future hinges on our ability to tap within ourselves forces of constructive energy which are the key to the greatness of any people. What we seek from our friends abroad is primarily economic cooperation on a sound business basis.

The main function of the Council is to provide immediate and sound aid and guidance for the people in helping themselves

—in taking steps which lead to early economic progress. The Council will coordinate the work of those ministries of the government which have important influence on economic matters. It will examine facts and make clear-cut and rapid decisions on questions of economic policy. It will follow through and expedite the execution of its policies by the Government ministries concerned. These functions are in some respects similar to those which the War Production Board exercised during the war but the Supreme Economic Council will operate at an even higher level of authority.

It must be understood that in creating the Council, the National Government does not intend to assume detailed administration of the nation's economic life. On the contrary. I believe that provincial, district and municipal governments must increasingly accept responsibility for economic reconstruction and development in their own areas in line with the broad policies and programs of the Supreme Economic Council. That is the only way by which any area can achieve maximum development.

Moreover, sound local administration is the key-stone in the building of a strong, democratic nation. It is the means by which a nation can tap well the springs of individual initiative and progress in democracy.

The local governments of China must stand on their own feet. They must not depend on the National Government for work they can do themselves. They must take every measure within their means to improve the standard of living and the working conditions of the people in their areas and must give more cooperation than ever before to aid local industries and businesses and other economic organizations.

The people must look primarily to able and honest local administrators for the solution of those economic problems which arise out of local conditions.

Where local administrators are not able and honest, Government will replace them with men who are. The people must have local leadership on which they can depend—men who will work hard and ready to make any personal sacrifices to do their full part in the great tasks which confront us.

The Council will deal with those matters of economic policy which concern the nation as a whole. I ask the Council

to begin its work by putting into effect several specific economic programs urgently needed by China.

I recommend that by all available means the Council should establish as soon as possible an intensive nationwide program to improve transportation. The first task is to put into good operating conditions those transportation facilities which we have. From that point on, we must work vigorously to maintain and expand our facilities at a far higher level of efficiency than at present.

I consider the strengthening of Chinese transportation to be the foundation of all our efforts toward economic reconstruction and progress. Special emphasis must be placed on the movement of food and fuel into areas of China where shortages of these essentials of life exist or impend.

The transportation program should comprise not only railroads and ocean and river shipping but also construction of adequate highways and acquisition of motor vehicles to the extent that they can be operated and maintained. As part of this overall program, the Council should develop and undertake at once a nationwide road building program.

I believe that such a program properly carried out could in a few years add great strength to China's economy at relatively low cost. In this connection, I call to the attention of the Council the fact that there are now in China more than 1,000,000 Japanese prisoners. Owing to the shortage of transportation here and problems confronting the Supreme Commander for the Allied powers in Japan, the return of these prisoners to their homeland will be a gradual process.

Meanwhile, the prisoners should be put to productive labor in which they can help in some degree to offset the great damage inflicted on China by them and their country.

I strongly suggest to the Council the prompt use of the Japanese prisoners pending their repatriation to assist China in building modern roads and in the reconstruction of our transportation system as a whole. I recommend that an intensive program for strengthening Chinese agriculture be promptly developed and put into effect by the Council.

Such a program will, of course, include increased production, importation and distribution in China of essential fertilizers, insecticides and improved seeds and free instruction of Chinese farmers in modern agricultural methods.

The Council must also act at once to improve the condition of the rural masses of China by eliminating excessive land rents and interest rates on loans and through adjustment of taxes to accord with the ability to pay. Laws aimed at those goals are already on the books of the National Government, but during the war it was not possible to enforce them.

The Council must assume the responsibility for strengthening these laws.

I further recommend that the Council should undertake a long short range program of reforestation to help preserve the precious soil of China's agricultural areas and provide the needed lumber.

Reforestation of China's denuded hills is of prime importance to the nation and should begin without delay. I recommend that the Council organize an immediate program to assist Chinese industry to increase production with special reference to industries which supply materials. As a prime requisite to this end and to other undertakings in our economic reconstruction and development it is urgent that a stabilization of Chinese currency relative to foreign currencies be achieved at the earliest possible moment. The Council must take prompt action in this connection.

In order to further encourage larger industrial production, Government controls imposed on industry during the war should be removed at once except in those cases where such removals would clearly impair national economy.

Direct and vigorous action should be taken to speed up recruitment of qualified industrial managers, technicians and skilled workers to replace Japanese personnel who have been operating Chinese industries. Imports of industrial machinery and equipment adjusted to China's capacity to pay, should be supervised by the Council so as to assure that the most essential industries and public services will be given first claim on funds and purchase of such goods.

The Council should give guidance to industry in producing goods which have assured markets in China or abroad and eliminating unsound production. Complete factual information on industries which the Japanese operated during the war must be obtained and analyzed.

In this connection, I am glad to advise that the Ministry of Economic Affairs has already obtained much valuable data

with regard to Japanese economic operations in areas they formerly occupied.

I recommended that the Council act to encourage expanding foreign trade for China. This should be a major element in our activities. The Council should promptly establish a program to encourage and assist within China the production of agricultural and industrial products which are wanted in foreign markets wherever this can be done without depriving Chinese economy of essential commodities and without exploitation of the low cost labor in China. Through the sale of her products abroad China can obtain foreign exchange with which to buy much needed machinery, equipment and materials which she cannot as yet produce herself.

I recommend that the Supreme Economic Council give concentrated attention to measures for improving the standards of health within China. We must promptly establish policies and programs for the production, importation and development of goods and services essential to sanitation and combating diseases. Closely related to the health program must be programs for improved housing, free public education and other elements necessary to provide a strong, social base for economic activities of the people.

Finally, I recommend that the Council begin at once to obtain from the ministries of the government, from local authorities and qualified groups and individuals throughout China, detailed information on economic projects considered of prime importance over the next five years.

Some of these projects will have to be given precedence over others. China today is impoverished. She cannot and will not for years to come be able to make all the improvements necessary. It is the Council's duty to analyze the facts relating to proposed economic projects and give prompt and vigorous encouragement and assistance to those projects of greatest value to the national economy as a whole.

Among those projects, I urge that special emphasis be given to harnessing China's rivers which are one of her greatest potential resources. Sound river developments would in a few years provide China with urgently needed flood control, great irrigation projects, large increase in river navigation, important new sources of cheap electric power and valuable recreational facilities for the people.

By close cooperation within the National Government and with local authorities, the Council should soon be able to develop and put into action a full-scale balanced program of economic reconstruction and development for China in which the first needs of the people will be first served.

I look to this Council for prompt action. I look to it for action that will strengthen China's transportation, increase her agricultural and industrial production, develop her foreign trade and improve her standards of health and of economic progress.

Our nation now is passing through a period of alarms and uncertainty—inevitable aftermath of war. The people want and must have a realistic basis for confidence in the future. As work begins to yield results the people will become aware that they are at last on their way to higher standards of living. Moreover, they will have the knowledge that China's prestige among the great nations of the earth is steadily rising.

Given internal peace which I shall strive with all my power to preserve, the economic achievement of this Council can soon open a way to the greatest age of China's long history.

The people of this land through all the challenging years of poverty and war have earned their right to a better and fuller life than they have ever known. We in this Council must make that better life a reality not at some time in the distant future but in the year immediately ahead.

The business of this Council is to act promptly and effectively to serve the needs of the people. Here today we dedicate ourselves to that great work.

ADMONITION TO EDUCATIONAL CIRCLES IN KUNMING

(On the occasion of the students' strike in December, 1945.)

With the outbreak of the student trouble in Kunming, the studies of students have been interrupted for more than ten days. Such a development obstructs the studies of our youth and undermines the future of national reconstruction. I am greatly pained at the thought.

During the eight years of the war of resistance, our country underwent tremendous sacrifices. Now that victory has just been achieved, the opportunity is here for national rejuvenation as will not appear a second time. It is therefore incumbent on us, with single purpose and unity, to exert in a positive manner efforts for the promotion of the work of reconstruction.

Unfortunately, seditious rumours have spread to even our educational institutions, leading to such an unfortunate development—an incident which will certainly be pleasing to our enemies and deplorable to our friends.

An educational institution is a central unit of our social system, and the students constitute the backbone of a nation in reconstruction. Each single word and act on the part of our students in schools must be held exemplary to society, and indeed on the students hinges the destiny of the nation. It is imperative for them, therefore, to differentiate clearly between right and wrong, to recognize their responsibility, to attach importance to their studies, and to observe discipline. Assuredly they must not fail the State which has taken so great pains for their education, nor must they commit themselves to acts which are contradictory to the mission bestowed on them by this epochal era.

Personally, I hold our youth as dearly as if they are my own children. I cannot tolerate to see our innocent young students acting in a manner as to ruin themselves and their country. Though victory has been won in the war of resistance, difficulties still confront the State and the people are still living in pain. The majority of our people must therefore

work for the maintenance of the stabilization of order, so that the work of national restoration and rehabilitation may not be obstructed, and the fruits of victory may be preserved. Otherwise, how may we explain ourselves before the hallowed spirits of the martyrs who sacrificed themselves in the war of resistance? At the same time we would also be acting in contravention to the original determination of the staff and students who laboured under such great difficulties in moving the institutions into the interior.

I cannot shirk my responsibility both in protecting our educational institutions and in preserving discipline. In respect of the present Incident, I must effect a just and responsible disposition based on the facts and on disciplinary considerations. I shall not be partial, nor shall I shield any guilty party.

The faculty staffs of the institutions, however, have also a sacred duty to perform to the institutions and to the State. They must lead the students along the proper tracks and be an example to society. They must not allow the students' strike to drag on further, which would create a state of anarchism and lack of order in the institutions and in society, and bring about a bad impression on our country.

The resumption of classes must constitute immediate necessity in the present issues, which are to be settled according to proper procedure. Otherwise, however anxious will the Government be in its protection of the country's youth, it cannot abandon its responsibility of affording protection for the country's educational activities and of preserving order.

I sincerely ask of all school authorities and the faculty staffs to take this to heart, and to persuade in an earnest manner all the students so that they may attend classes immediately and restore normal conditions. It is my fervent hope that my sincere expectations will not be disregarded.

Signed CHIANG CHUNG-CHENG.

December 7, 1945.

ADDRESS TO UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES IN PEIPING.

*(Broadcasted over the U.S. Army Station after a Review
of U.S. Marines at Peiping, December 16, 1945)*

General Rockey, General Jones, officers and men of the 5th Regiment, and the 11th Regiment of the United States Marine Corps, and of the 12th and 24th Squadrons of the United States Air Force:

In my capacity today as Chairman of the National Military Council, I address, on behalf of the Chinese services and people, the most enthusiastic and friendly congratulations to the services and people of our Ally, the United States. I feel both gratified and honoured to be able, today, to meet the officers and men of the various units of the United States land, naval, and air forces here.

The rank and file of the 5th Regiment of the United States 1st Division already participated in the World War I when they registered a glorious record. During the World War II, they have further manifested their courage. Your continuous and difficult struggle against the enemy in the Pacific, attacking him from Guadalcanal, New Britain, until you landed at the Ryuku Islands to pierce into the very heart of the enemy, dealt him a fatal blow. The 12th and 24th Squadrons of your Air Force participated in the campaign for the liberation of the Philippines, and later assisted your land forces in their landing at the Ryuku, with the most glorious war achievements.

On the unconditional surrender of the enemy, you were the first to arrive at Peiping in early October, and facilitated the acceptance of the enemy surrender according to schedule by the troops of our Government, as well as the active preparation of the repatriation of the enemy troops and civilians.

It is a matter for the greatest gratification that I am able today personally to review our Ally's troops, especially the United States Marine Corps with their stern military discipline

and their excellent training. My joy is the same as seeing my own compatriots and brethren who share with us life and death, tribulation and suffering.

During this war, through the concerted efforts of all our Allies fighting shoulder to shoulder, we have succeeded finally in the complete destruction of our most stubborn enemy, so that world peace and order are being restored. When we recall this precious chapter of history, we may firmly believe that if only all our Allies will cooperate to the last, world peace will most assuredly be permanently preserved and the welfare of humanity as a whole promoted.

Particularly China and the United States, between whom there exist traditional friendly relations, have through the shedding of common blood during this period of the war of resistance, wielded a friendship that will be inseparable. I believe that in the international situation henceforth, we shall be able to maintain the brotherly and loving bonds, the spirit of mutual confidence and mutual assistance, so as to share our responsibility for the preservation of world peace.

President Truman, who is also the Commander-in-Chief of your land, sea and air forces, is dedicating his efforts for the promotion of cooperation between our two countries, and I sincerely wish him good health and success in his great task. Christmas is coming, and we are all preparing to celebrate the birth anniversary of the Lord of Peace. I wish you all a merry Christmas.

ADDRESS BEFORE PEIPING STUDENTS

(Delivered at the Tai Ho Hall on December 17, 1945).

Under the injury and oppression of the enemy and the puppets, our revolutionary youths, for the cause of the Three People's Principles and the upholding of our national morale, struggled resolutely and bitterly, forging ahead in spite of their numerous setbacks. Now that victory has been achieved in the war of resistance, and I am able to meet in Peiping our revolutionary youths, the occasion is not only one for the greatest gratification in all my life, but is also an important event worthy of commemoration in China's history.

During the past eight years, however, numerous youths have been put to death through the slaughter and maltreatment of the enemy and puppets. On my arrival in Peiping, I cannot see them any more, and my thoughts for them are interminable. I only hope that those of our youths who are still alive will shoulder their responsibility, and with a sense of regard for virtue, stimulate themselves into efforts for the augmentation of their strength for the realization of the Three People's Principles and the completion of the unfinished task of the departed.

At the present moment when the task of national reconstruction is being commenced, our youths, if they are to become disciples of the late Leader, Dr. Sun, and the masters of their country, must abide by the directives enumerated by me here, and to carry them out energetically in person, when only will they attain their objective.

In the first place, it is necessary that we manifest our national spirit and revive our national morals. The Republic of China is a country where the virtues of ethics and righteousness are held esteem; the Chinese people are a race who attach due importance to morals. The spirit on which our nation is founded consists of loyalty and filial piety. All the descendants of our great [Emperor Hsien Yen] Huang Ti

must be loyal to the State, loyal to their ideals; they must also be filial to their racial entity, and be filial to their own parents.

On this occasion of China's war of resistance, that we succeeded in turning defeat into victory, in converting danger into safety, was entirely due to the ability on the part of the whole of our people to manifest the spirit of loyalty and filial piety, so that they were prepared to sacrifice their lives for the attainment of the virtues of benevolence and righteousness. Henceforth, I expect our youths will develop and magnify the same spirit, obey orders, observe discipline, and under leadership of the Government, dedicate themselves to the construction of China into a free and independent nation.

In the second place, it is necessary for you to study and digest "China's Destiny", and to devote efforts for the completion of the five phases of reconstruction. In my book, "China's Destiny", I explained that China's reconstruction must be based on moral, psychological, political, economic and social reconstruction. For the effective application of these five phases of reconstruction, our revolutionary youths must be made to constitute the backbone of the nation. Today I hand over to our revolutionary youths the heavy responsibility of national reconstruction. I hope our revolutionary youths will be self-esteeming, self-loving, self-supporting, and self-strengthening, in order to be able to shoulder this heavy responsibility.

In the third place, we must abandon all considerations of selfishness and self-profit, and cultivate instead the spirit of love and unity. The past fault with the Chinese people was the existence among individuals of the spirit of selfishness and self-profit, and the lack of the conception for the state and race as an entity. Our people were thus compared to a tray of sand, and became the target of the enemy's aggression. Henceforth, in order to consummate the great task of national reconstruction, all our compatriots must be gathered under the banner of the Three People's Principles, be brotherly and loving towards one another, be united, assist and cooperate mutually, and struggle to the very last, when only will our objective be reached.

Finally, I ask of our youths to understand the truth that that a strong nation is dependent on a strong people. They must attend to their physical training and to personal hygiene so as to stand on the globe as worthy descendants of the great

Huang Ti, and be able to discharge all kinds of hard and arduous duties.

As to your difficulties in regard to livelihood and school facilities, the matters have occupied my constant attention. I have instructed the Peiping educational authorities to exert their best efforts as duty bound for the improvement of conditions. I earnestly hope, therefore, that our youths will devote their full attention to their studies, and to strive for upliftment so as to constitute in a wholesome manner the cadre of our Revolution, and to consummate your mission of carrying out the national principles and completing the work of national reconstruction.

35th Anniversary of the Founding of the Republic

NEW YEAR MESSAGE

(Broadcast speech made on New Year's Day, 1946.)

Fellow Countrymen:

Today is the 35th anniversary of the foundation of the Chinese Republic and also the first New Year's Day since the successful conclusion of the war of resistance. You will remember that ever since the Mukden Incident, we have passed all New Year's Days during the past 14 years under hard and humiliating circumstances. It was especially so during the eight years since the Marco Polo Bridge Incident when we were being engaged in a life-death struggle.

Now that the war has ended in victory with the surrender of Japan and our national humiliation has been erased, we ought to celebrate this particular New Year's Day with justified pride. Each one of us certainly feels extraordinarily happy and buoyant.

As a matter of fact the country is still facing a rather difficult situation. Though foreign aggression has been repelled, internal trouble is becoming ever more serious. It must be conceded that developments in the past few months caused much anxiety to the people at large just at the moment when they are beginning to see the dawn of a new day, and, that position and the honor of the nation which we have attained by more than eight years of bloodshed and sacrifices are being jeopardized by recent events.

What is more, the departed souls of soldiers and civilians who willingly gave up their lives in the course of the revolution and war of resistance can find no comfort in such prospects.

When I come to think of the position in which the country has been placed, I am in a certain sense, happy and yet in another sense, anxious.

However, we are confident that after the victorious conclusion of the war of resistance a bright future is in store for both the country and the people. Now it is incumbent upon

the Government and the people to make the most of it to dispel the existing internal anxiety and reap the real fruits of victory.

The thought that is uppermost in my mind for the moment is this: We must see to it that Dr. Sun Yat-sen's teachings be carried out into practice and that the people's aspirations be realized.

Dr. Sun's last injunction about saving China means that a new China is to be reconstructed according to the principles of the *San Min Chu I*.

The people's most persistent aspirations today are stability and reconstruction which agree perfectly with Dr. Sun's injunction.

Following upon the ravages of war, those of you who suffered will have to be relieved of your sufferings; those who wandered to distant districts will have to return to their native homes; those who have lost jobs have to be re-employed; those whose property has been destroyed must have their homes repaired; those who have been oppressed have to be liberated.

But the first prerequisites of a return to normalcy and reconstruction are peace and stability. These are not only absolutely needed by the Chinese nation; they are also the main conditions upon which world security depends. Hence, the most urgent task to which we should address ourselves is to create conditions of peace and security throughout the whole country.

The possibility of peaceful reconstruction is conditioned upon the absence of signs of internal rebellion and dissension. Solidarity of national edifice as well as the happiness, prosperity and peace, are conditioned upon the absence of elements of internal strife and conflict.

At the end of the war with the sufferings of the last few years vivid in our minds, we are conscious that there might be room for improvement in the various transitional political arrangements. The government is determined that improvements are to be made and not to dilly-dally lest the opportunity for national reconstruction be lost. But over and above everything else we must arrive at a common understanding vis-a-vis national problems so that there will be a common path for both the Government and people to follow.

If the country should be in a state of perpetual strife and chaos and the people should suffer from constant anxiety and fear, neither peace nor reconstruction will be possible. That is why I should like to take the opportunity on New Year's Day to explain briefly to my fellow countrymen the most important current national problems, the policy of the National Government and the responsibilities of the people.

Today being the anniversary of the foundation of the Chinese Republic I wish first of all to refer to the objective and history of the National Revolution in order to indicate what path we should follow in the years to come. The greatest object of the National Revolution is to create a New China according to the principles of the *San Min Chu I*. Its history may be divided into three stages. The first stage comprises the 18 years between 1894 and 1911 when the object was to overthrow the oppressive Manchu Imperial Regime and establish a Chinese Republic recognizing the sovereignty of the people.

The second stage comprises the 15 years between 1914 and 1928 when the object was to put an end to the regime of warlords who entrenched themselves in their respective provinces and achieve national unification.

The third stage comprises the 14 years between 1931 and 1945 when the object was to resist Japanese imperialist aggression to clear away the obstacles to national reconstruction and realize the creation of an independent and free China founded on the principles of the *San Min Chu I*.

Though the objectives of the three stages differ from one another the ultimate aim of revolutionary reconstruction is common to them all. When Dr. Sun was among us, he personally led the Chinese people in the struggle; when he was gone, members of the Kuomintang obeyed his teachings and continued the struggle. It will be recalled that all obstacles, including internal conflict and foreign aggression, were successively overcome by the momentous force generated by the National Revolution.

When Dr. Sun first initiated the Revolutionary Movement in 1894, he insisted that China could not be saved and the Chinese Republic could not be realized without overthrowing the Manchu Dynasty. He was so conscious of the respon-

sibility to save the country and bring about reconstruction and was so unselfishly self-effacing that as soon as the 1911 Revolution succeeded, he transferred all powers to Yuan Shih-kai. Unfortunately, Yuan Shih-kai betrayed the country and jeopardized the Republic. The people were unable to express their wills freely, nor make their strength felt.

There followed the period in which warlords entrenched themselves in their respective provinces. This situation gave rise to a series of revolutionary movements which began in 1913 and culminated in the successful conclusion of the Northern Expedition in 1928, resulting in the unification of the whole country.

But the Japanese imperialists looked at China's unification with ill-concealed jealousy. They pursued the consistent policy of playing off warlords against one another and encouraged them to carve up the country into spheres of influence, hoping thereby to split China into tiny fragments and realize their grand design of overthrowing the whole nation in the end.

They began by the Mukden Incident which eventually led to the creation of the bogus "Manchukuo". Then they demanded that North China be regarded as a special preserve. Under such circumstances, the National Government realized that the country could never be unified and constitutional democracy could never make any headway if the Japanese imperialists were not expelled. It meant not only that the existence of the Chinese nation was being endangered but also that world peace was being threatened.

- The Chinese war of resistance was undertaken because we wanted to fulfil the sacred trust reposed in us. Thus, World War II began with the Japanese aggression. It is, therefore, clear that if China is unable to preserve her national unity and independence, it will constitute a threat to world peace. If we cannot successfully put the "Plan of National Reconstruction" into operation and accomplish the work of democratic reconstruction, we cannot hope to make China into a strong country capable of taking her rightful place among the modern nations of the world.

It is true that Japanese imperialism has been laid low and external obstacles to Chinese national unity and democracy have been removed. But the scale of destruction and sacrifice

incidental to the 14 years of resistance to a great power with whatever strength and resources we had at our command was staggering.

What we need today is to take advantage of the opportunities that offer themselves in order to return to normalcy so that order may quickly be restored and China may enjoy once more peace and stability in which national reconstruction may be undertaken. We must lose no time to consolidate national unity and achieve constitutional democracy so as to put finishing touches to national reconstruction. That is why I insisted with so much emphasis immediately after the victory over the enemy on the importance both of the return to normalcy and of constructive undertakings; I also carefully explained to my fellow countrymen that the points of emphasis henceforth will be national unification and political democracy. If you will but consider the needs of the nation, you could readily see what are the most important political problems of today.

Fellow countrymen, why is it that having had the Republic for 35 years we are yet unable to put the "Plan of National Reconstruction" into operation and accomplish the work of democratic reconstruction? The only reason is lack of national unity. You must remember that the cause of World War II was also to be found in the lack of national unity. The aim of our war of resistance was to put an end to the design of the aggressor who would split China into fragments and then erase our national existence. We fought eight long years just because we wanted to preserve our national existence and unity.

Hence, in the last few years I repeatedly emphasized the necessity of national unity in my speeches. I said that national unity was an indispensable element to all modern nations and that it could only be effectively preserved by the wholehearted cooperation of the entire citizenry. It takes a unified country to reap the fruits of victory, it takes a unified country to successfully practice constitutionalism, guarantee the operation of democratic institutions, give scope to the popular will, rally popular support and accomplish the work of national reconstruction. It takes a unified country to put schemes of economic reconstruction into practical operation without a hitch and raise the standard of living of the working masses.

Lastly, it takes a unified country to make any contributions to the promotion of peace and human welfare in the post-war world. Furthermore, as far as actual conditions are concerned, we must work with each other in the closest cooperation to preserve the national unity in order that the work of returning to normalcy can proceed smoothly. Otherwise, if there is more than one supreme authority who can issue military and administrative orders, if means of communication and transportation are destroyed here and there, if local order is everywhere disturbed, then the work of returning to normalcy for the country as a whole will be constantly interrupted and a happy and prosperous life for the people will never be realized.

There is no matter of the state that we cannot concede and discuss with an open mind, but the authority to issue military and administrative order must be unified, all troops must serve the state, and the carving up of spheres of influence, the destruction of communications and obstruction of the work of returning to normalcy must be avoided. These are constitutionally the prerequisites to a solution of the current conflicts and disturbances. They are the realities and facts; they are also the truisms which all patriotic individuals have acknowledged and put into practice.

Having explained the important prerequisites, I should like to tell you the two urgent tasks which the National Government proposes to undertake this year.

First, it is proposed that we accomplish the plan for returning to normalcy and relieve the people's sufferings in order to build the foundation for reconstruction. Therefore, we must first restore communications so that the people can go back home and goods can flow freely from place to place, thus enabling the work of economic reconstruction to be started.

On the other hand, we must wind up military matters, disarm all Japanese troops everywhere, repatriate Japanese prisoners of war, effectively reorganize and restore local order and tranquility as much as possible and prohibit bad elements in society from oppressing the people and making illegal extortions, thus enabling them to lead a happy, prosperous life. Only in this way can the life and property of the people be protected, the work of national revival and reconstruction be proceeded and the masses of people who suffered so much during

the war as well as dependents of those who have sacrificed their lives in the war be comforted.

Secondly, it is proposed that constitutional democracy be put into operation at the earliest possible time and that the right to rule be given back to the people in order to realize internal popular sovereignty. The Government has repeatedly made its position quite clear with reference to this point.

The ultimate aim of the Chinese National Revolution is popular sovereignty, and convocation of the National Assembly in order to give back to the people the right to rule is only a necessary procedure to be followed in the task of national reconstruction.

It will be remembered that a year ago I stated that the National Assembly will be convoked prior to the end of the war. Then on March 1, 1945, I formally told members of the Association for Promotion of Constitutionalism that it will be convened on November 12 of the same year. But difficulties were encountered in carrying out this decision because of the divergent views held by the People's Political Council and persons with other party affiliations. The date for convoking the National Assembly had again to be postponed.

At last the National Government has promulgated a mandate fixing May 5, 1946, as the date of its convocation. This momentous and necessary step must never be postponed again. In order to enable the popular will in the post-war period to be universally expressed, the Government is ready to increase the number of delegates to the National Assembly so that leading personages of society and representatives of other political parties may take part in its deliberations. Now it is little over four months hence that it will be held.

In order to further promote internal stability and strengthen the political machinery at the center the Government is ready to invite, before the convocation of the National Assembly, leaders of society and representatives of other political parties to take part in the Government either in policy-making councils or in the executive branches.

The Government attaches no other condition to the arrangement except that those representatives of other political parties who are going to take part in the Government must not maintain autonomous armies serving as instruments for forcible

seizure of power. For it is obvious that if troops other than the National Army be allowed in the country, it is tantamount to an "imperium in imperio" and the country can never be unified. If two separate armies with distinct characteristics and obeying different orders be allowed to exist under one government, it would be tantamount to the creation of another government.

In such case the government could never be stable; nor should it be expected to work in hearty cooperation with other elements in the country and be strong.

With two rival armies or two rival governments in one country the government machinery is bound to disintegrate and the country bound to be faced with the gravest danger or even total extinction. Such a situation could never be allowed to arise. Both for the sake of national unity and maintenance of political cooperation such a situation could not be tolerated.

Today, for the interest of our country and our people, we must have real unity through complete frankness and sincerity instead of having mere lip service. We must achieve thorough cooperation instead of only cooperation in formality and in name. It is of utmost importance that our country should not be obstructed in discharging its responsibilities. The fact that in the last few years when the war of resistance was going on there were autonomous armies in China has been a great loss to the country.

Now that the war has ended in victory it is most important that we create a situation fitting for peace and security and concentrate all our strength in order to commence the work of national reconstruction. Therefore, having the Government exert its utmost to broaden its basis and having all troops under the command of the state and obey government orders is what every really patriotic individual should advocate and put into practice.

The above points are what the National Government proposes to do. We insist that the suffering of the people in the post-war period must not be allowed to be intensified, the national edifice must not be allowed to be weakened, the fruits of victory must not be allowed to be destroyed and the work of returning to normalcy and reconstruction must not be allowed to be delayed. We will go to any lengths in order to preserve

internal peace; we will exert any effort in order to restore social tranquillity; we will not shun any obstacles or difficulties in order to promote the early realization of constitutionalism; we will use every possible means in order to solve internal conflicts.

Everything can be tolerated if it does not involve relinquishing the revolutionary responsibility, impairment of the national unity, change of the fundamental laws and undermining the government foundation. It is to be earnestly hoped that all of you will differentiate clearly between right and wrong, have a precise understanding of merits and demerits of the case, reflect on the dangerous position of the country and the sufferings and humiliations of the last hundred years, and realize that the present opportunity for national revival and reconstruction must not be allowed to slip away.

You must study the facts and know them from the letter A to the letter Z. and then you will not be swayed by unfounded rumors and lose faith in the nation's future and give up your duty to the country. I hope from the bottom of my heart that you will exert your utmost efforts in helping the work of returning to normalcy, the work of democratization and construction in accordance with the principles of the *San Min Chu I*.

At the same time you must rally to the support of the Government in its effort to carry out the policies of democratization and national unity, supervise its military and political undertakings, denounce corrupt and law-breaking officials, so that all corrupt practices will be eliminated and the country will march on the road to genuine peaceful reconstruction.

Being a follower of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, father of the country, in the revolutionary work, my aim is to save the Chinese nation and resist the oppressor. Internally, I wish to maintain national unity; externally, I wish to achieve world peace. I have devoted everything that I am to the country and have banished all thoughts of life or death and of success or failure.

Now that victory has come my aims have been realized.

Considerations of personal glory and gain are not in my thoughts. Today I have nothing else to pray for except that all of you will realize the difficulties that beset the country, appreciate the heaviness of the burden you have to bear, one

and all will be inspired by a sense of duty and determine to be new men from now on, so that you may carry forth the torch of the National Revolution which has been burning for the last 50 years and that the sacrifices of the soldiers and civilians in the last eight years may not have been made in vain.

The National Assembly will be held next May, the Constitution will be put into effect, the people will be given back the right to rule, and our popular sovereignty ideal will be realized.

After the National Assembly has been held the grave responsibility of looking after the welfare of the nation and of helping to preserve world peace will be entrusted to the entire citizenry. I earnestly hope my dear fellow countrymen will bestir and prepare themselves in time in order to accept this sacred but difficult responsibility.

The question hereafter is: Are we going to put finishing touches to the National Revolution and accomplish the work of national reconstruction according to the *San Min Chu I*, or letting the work of the National Revolution and the war of resistance remain unfinished? Can we always preserve national unity and peace or are we to lapse into a condition of internecine warfare so characteristic of the early years of the Republic? Can we reconstruct a new China, democratic and free, in accordance with the principles of the *San Min Chu I*, or shall we continue to remain in the position of a sub-colony as we have been in the last 100 years? Can we really be a liberated people or shall we continue to be harassed by dangers, sufferings and humiliations?

Is China to be an important factor in the maintenance of world peace or is she to be an international riff-raff of no account? This responsibility is going to fall on your shoulders. When the Constitution has been put into practice the fate of China and the fortunes of countless future generations are not to be borne by the Kuomintang and the National Government only but will be determined by the people at large who are the masters of the country. It is not far distant from May now. I hope the determination to give back the rights to the people to rule and Dr. Sun's desire to realize the principle of popular sovereignty according to the *San Min Chu I* will redound to the everlasting benefit of the nation. This is what we should try to do while there is yet time to do it.

Fellow countrymen, the war of resistance has deprived us of much vitality and delayed much of the work of national reconstruction. We must look around and see that the present world is one of rapid progress. So is the present age. We reflect that China is backward in many respects. If we look back at the history of the last 100 years, we will find that the country was in the position of a sub-colony and the people were laboring under heavy oppressors and living like slaves and animals.

The Sino-Japanese War of 1894 and the Boxer Uprising of 1900 almost precipitated the country into the darkest abyss. Fortunately, Dr. Sun was there to lead the Revolutionary Movement and the people throughout the country rallied to the lead.

With the victorious outcome of the war of resistance the country is now able to be equal and independent with other countries as the result of the abrogation of the unequal treaties, and the nation is now liberated and free. Furthermore, our allies are willing to help us in national revival work. Such opportunities are entirely unprecedented; they are golden opportunities of national resurrection and reconstruction. They must be seized and not allowed to be lost.

Many things remain to be done. They have to be undertaken by means of savings that you are able to make and the labor you are going to put into them. Everybody must be frugal and place public interests over and above private ones before the work of economic reconstruction and other constructive enterprises can proceed according to schedule and reconstructive plans in the liberated areas can be put into practical operation. Thousands of soldiers and civilians have laid down their lives in the course of the war, but they were unable to see with their own eyes the coming victory. However, we are privileged enough to witness the end of 50 years of national humiliation and the revival of the national humiliation and the revival of the national fortune. How fortunate we are!

Fellow countrymen, let me congratulate you on your good luck and at the same time I wish to send you a New Year's gift in the form of two old proverbs: "Earn your own reward" and "He who helps himself will be helped by others." I look forward to seeing you accepting with youthful spirit this incomparably difficult task of postwar reconstruction.

Fellow countrymen, let us cheer in unison: Welcome victory: return to normalcy and do reconstructive work! Strengthen the national unity: practice real democracy: long live *San Min Chu I*: long live the Chinese Republic.

POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

INAUGURAL SPEECH

(January 10, 1946)

Opening Remarks.

I have the pleasure to inform you gentlemen that the arrangements for cessation of hostilities have been agreed upon and the cease-fire order is to be issued immediately.

The text of the address:

Gentlemen, on the occasion of the first meeting of the Political Consultative Conference today, I wish to extend to you the warm welcome of the National Government and at the same time to explain to you what I expect of the conference.

I will not repeat that I have said about the Government's policy as contained in my New Year's broadcast because it has already been fully amplified there. Since the great majority of you gentlemen, have taken part in the successive sessions of the People's Political Council I am naturally reminded today of its achievements.

The People's Political Council, as it is constituted at present, is the fourth of its kind. Its elective elements which now form two-thirds of its total membership have been ever on the increase. Numerous are its contributions to the country, the most important of which is the unanimous support it gave to the national policy of resisting the enemy to the bitter end.

Though its members may differ from one another in political views, they are unanimous in rallying to the support of those fundamental principles on which the safety and existence of the nation depend and they hold tenaciously to them from first to last. The fact that we have been able to come out victorious from the war of attrition is mainly due to the strength which we derive from this source.

Now that the war has ended in victory, it cannot be over-emphasized that China's mission, just like that of the other United Nations, is not only to win the war, but also to win the peace. By the latter phrase is meant, generally speaking,

the effective consolidation of the fruits of victory, the establishment of a peaceful order throughout the world, and the elimination for all time to come of aggression and armed conflicts, and specifically with particular reference to China, the maintenance of internal peace and stability and the carrying on of the work of national reconstruction.

Immediately after the successful conclusion of the war, with the unanimous support of the whole nation and in spite of all the difficulties that we may encounter, the Political Consultative Conference is called to discuss problems of national import with representatives of all political parties and prominent social leaders.

What we have to consider here is the fundamental plan that will lead from war to peace and from resistance to reconstruction. In other words, the problem before us is how to begin the work of national reconstruction by the concentration of all the strength we have and even increasing it.

In the course of the eight years of war, the sole aim which inspired the dead to sacrifice their lives for the state and the living to go through thick and thin, has been the preservation of national existence and the elimination of all obstacles to constructive efforts in order to provide an opportunity for national revival and reconstruction.

Now the war having come to an end, the work of reconstruction should begin at once.

That we should put the principles of the *San Min Chu I* into practical operation is the unanimous opinion of the whole nation. That China should become a united, democratic and strong nation is the sincere wish of all the peoples of the world. Therefore, we must see to it that the National Assembly be convened according to schedule and that constitutional democracy be ushered in at an early date.

At the same time, we must, before the convocation of the National Assembly, try to eliminate by means of consultation and concerted endeavors, all factors that are likely to impair the unity of nation, influence adversely social peace and stability, and delay the work of national revival and reconstruction, so that our reconstructive efforts may be strengthened and their tempo accelerated.

Such is the motive which has inspired the Government to convoke the Political Consultation Conference and such is its mission.

Hitherto, in view of the life-and-death struggle in which we have been engaged, all measures taken and all laws and orders proclaimed had to stress the meeting of military requirements. Now at the end of the war, our work should be based on the principle of rehabilitation and reconstruction first.

Many wartime regulations are being gradually repealed or revised. Henceforth, all political and social measures must follow the normal procedure as much as possible and the rule of law must be enforced in order to lay the foundations for constitutionalism.

I am sure that each of you feels the same way as I do. I sincerely hope that you will give full expressions to your views. The government is ready to consider and adopt them. But we must be realistic and give adequate consideration to existing national and social conditions. Our aim should be to avoid bottlenecks or confusion during the transitional period, and to guard against shaking the foundation of the nation so that constitutionalism can proceed smoothly and the work of national reconstruction can be carried out satisfactorily.

Though the membership in the Political Consultation Conference is not the result of popular elections, I am sure that with your zeal for the national welfare and your interest in the people's livelihood, you are able to appreciate their real aspirations and know what their most urgent needs are.

As Dr. Sun Yat-sen has well said, "The people formed the real foundation of the nation. Their needs and those of the nation must necessarily coincide."

Personally, I am of the opinion that the most urgent needs of the people today are stability, rehabilitation, and the unity, progress and prosperity of the nation which will eventually result in the betterment of their living conditions.

Their minimum demand is that there should be adequate guarantees to enable them to lead happy and prosperous lives and to prevent their liberty from being encroached upon.

You may rest assured that the Government will do its duty to satisfy the people's aspirations, relieve them of their sufferings and protect their liberty. These will form basis of our discussions here in the Political Consultative Conference and they will serve as the promises on which our national problems of the moment will be predicated.

That democracy must be realized in China is not only the object of the national revolution but also the aim of the war of resistance. But, before the convocation of the National Assembly and the practical operations of constitutionalism, the real wishes of the people cannot be adequately expressed. Heavy, indeed, is the burden that we are shouldering. The Government has called the Political Consultation Conference out of a sheer sense of duty. No selfish considerations or other ulterior motive are allowed to enter. It is ready to accept all the decisions of the Conference if they are beneficial to national reconstruction and tend to promote popular welfare and can help in the democratization of the country.

I wish to avail myself of this opportunity today to recommend: Firstly we be sincere and frank and set a standard for democratic practice. We should know that we are assembled here not for the partisan interest of the different parties concerned but to lay a common basis for national reconstruction.

I know that several of our views on national problems and our political outlooks cannot be identical. They may even be quite the contrary. Nevertheless, I hope you will be inspired by the common conviction that the national foundation *must be solidified, and will thus frankly state your views without the least equivocation of mental reservation.*

We should make use of enthusiastic debates in order to clear a common way of approach from among the many dissimilar ways of looking at things. We should try to be cooperative through mutual understanding. Sincerity is seen to best advantage against the background of frankness. Reasonable and useful decisions can be arrived at only by discarding one's prejudices in favor of what is evidently better. We should learn to stand boldly for what is right and to yield where we should yield.

The present conference will be an acid test of our democratic spirit. It will also be the beginning of a democratic tradition. We hope that it will remain in an atmosphere of harmony and mutual understanding from the beginning to end without any delay and interruption.

Secondly, I would recommend that we be selflessly generous and place the national interest before everything else. We should maintain a spirit of conciliation and be ready to make

concessions because we are animated by a common purpose, namely, to place national interests above partisan or personal interests.

All partisan and personal bias should be sacrificed and given up in favor of national interests. Sometimes it would be infinitely better to withdraw our own proposals than to stick to them in order to arrive at an effective *modus vivendi*. In this way we can show our loyalty for the national cause and at the same time make the present conference a real success.

Thirdly, I would recommend that we take the long view and have a right conception of the nation's future. As we meet here, we should remember and never forget three things: the heroic sacrifices of both soldiers and civilians in the course of the war, the urgent desire of our fellow countrymen for relief from their present sufferings, and the sorrows and tribulations of our country in the past as well as the uncertainty of our national fortune in the future.

Therefore, the purpose of the Political Consultation Conference is to concentrate every ounce of energy and not to dissipate it, to promote unity and not to destroy it, to assist and strengthen the Government and not to weaken it, to clear the ground for national reconstruction and promote national progress and not to make the country remain in a state of stagnation and backwardness or even to retrograde.

If we remember these few essentials, our country will be on the road to democratic reconstruction and be a respectable member in the family of nations.

Gentlemen, I have much confidence in the outcome of the present conference. I feel that if the cooperative spirit prevailing in the People's Political Council has enabled us to come out victorious from the war, it is equally certain that the result of the present conference will enable us to push forward the work of national reconstruction, consolidate the fruits of victory and win the peace.

The Political Consultative Conference is being watched by public opinion throughout the world. It is also the object of the Chinese people's prayers. I wish it every success from the

Concluding Remarks
bottom of my heart.

I wish to take this opportunity to further inform you gentlemen what the Government has decided to carry out:

Freedom of the People : The people enjoy the freedom of person, creed, speech, publication, assemblage and association. The existing laws and regulations will be either repealed or revised on the basis of this principle.

Authorities other than the judiciary and police shall cause any person to be arrested, or punished.

The Legal Status of Political Parties : All the political parties shall be equal before the law, and may operate openly within the law.

Popular Election : Local self-government will be actively promoted in all places in China and popular election will be held from bottom up in accordance with the law.

Release of Political Prisoners : Political prisoners, except traitors and those found to have committed definite acts injurious to the Republic, will be released.

ADDRESS AT THE CLOSING SESSION

of the

POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

(January 31, 1946)

Gentlemen:

The Political Consultative Conference, after more than twenty days of intensive discussions since its opening, has successfully completed its mission, and is being closed today. Owing to pressure of duty, I was unable to be present with you at each meeting for exchanges of views, a matter which I greatly regret.

Recalling the events of the past twenty odd days, members have been able, both in the meetings of the sub-committees, and at the plenary sessions, to uphold the spirit of mutual respect, mutual confidence, mutual assistance, and cooperation, and attended to the rational solution of all problems in a matter-of-fact manner, thus enabling the Conference to accomplish satisfactory results in a pleasant and harmonious atmosphere throughout the course of the Conference. This is certainly the most precious achievement of the Conference. I sincerely hope that this spirit of loyalty and frankness will be upheld permanently, so that everybody will not argue over personal grievances and will not attach undue importance to private views, but instead wholeheartedly cooperate in the interests of the State and the people. In this way, the decisions of the Conference will be smoothly put into effect. Unnecessary political quarrels will be wholly eliminated. The objective of the peaceful reconstruction of the nation will be achieved with speed. The future for the enforcement of constitutional government will be rendered more glorious. At this moment of the closing of the Conference, I am most happy over this thought, and I must specially thank all members on this account.

The objective of the People's Revolution is the completion of the work of realising the Three People's Principles, the creation of an independent, free and united democratic nation, and more especially must we be united in our struggle for the successful consummation of the goal of the peaceful reconstruction of the nation. As to the objective against which the People's Revolution were directed, externally it was the expulsion of imperialistic aggression, and internally it was the overthrow of the feudal influences that maintained the disintegrity of the nation. In overthrowing the Manchu dynasty and ridding the country of military warlords in the past, and in the present war of resistance lasting eight years, efforts have been exerted with care and deliberation in the determined struggle for the sole objective for independence and unity, for the removal of the obstacles to democracy so that democratic rule may be realised.

At the present moment, work connected with the removal of obstacles to revolutionary progress and the laying of democratic foundations has been attended with initial success. The one important problem before us is the safeguarding of our unity and the establishment of true democracy, in other words, the realisation of the Three People's Principles. We must know that only with actual unity will there be true democracy. I believe that henceforth within the country there will be no more private armed forces and independent local authorities which undermine administrative and military integrity. Otherwise, however loudly may we proclaim democracy, the facts shown will amount to independent acts which are pseudo-democratic acts, will never lead us onto the path of democracy and constitutionalism, and will instead constitute permanent obstacles to democratic government. Consequently, for the realisation of real democracy, peace and unity are the two conditions which represent our most imminent needs.

The Father of the Republic, on his death-bed, left a Will which included the injunction: "Peace, Struggle, Save China." Both I myself and all comrades of the Kuomintang are steadfast in our loyalty to this behest precept. Excepting in dealing with wardlords undermining national integrity and with the Japanese aggressors, when force had to be employed against them, in the disposal of all domestic issues, however grave the

situation confronting us, we have always upheld the determination to tolerate and give concessions in the interests of the nation, and never failed to devise means even to our own disadvantage in order to seek a settlement politically. Even when an armed conflict could not be avoided, we have only taken passive defence measures, and never resorted to initiative action. This is because we fully realise that the strength of our country and our people must only be nourished under stable conditions, and cannot bear to suffer further destruction in war. Consequently, whenever the situation seems to hang on a thread, the crisis could be overcome and all dissensions could be turned into harmony and peace and unity restored. Instances of this nature, particularly facts in the course of the eight years of the resistance war are known to all in the country and do not need reiteration. Herein lies the spirit of unification, democracy, peace and unity which we propound today. And indeed the present Political Consultative Conference has been conducted under the principles of unification, democracy, peace and unity, and for this reason we believe that the various resolutions adopted can be depended upon and carried into practice. I may speak more frankly, and say that the present achievement is the result of China's national revolutionary spirit, nourished and matured in the course of the past fifty years. It will give endless satisfaction to the whole people who have been subjected to the maximum amount of tribulations and sufferings and are in need of rest and recuperation. I hope therefore that we shall all uphold the four principles mentioned as our lasting precepts, and forever abide by these precepts jointly and exert efforts in unison. Then only shall we be able to comfort the spirits of the military and civilian martyrs who made the supreme sacrifice for the revolutionary war of resistance. Then only shall we live up to the expectations of the whole of our people.

On the inauguration of this Conference, the Government immediately promulgated orders for the cessation of hostilities and the restoration of communications. Representatives of the Government and of the Chinese Communist Party also jointly published the agreement reached on January 5, at the same time making public the full contents of the orders issued, as well as the four annexed conditions, to show the country their unanimous determination to comply with the agreement reached.

On the second day of the Conference, the representative of the Government and that of the Chinese Communist Party made detailed reports on their negotiations. Consequently, the Conference has been able to devote its full attention to the study of the various formulae relating to the peaceful reconstruction of the nation and the promotion of constitutionalism. With reference to the various formulae decided by the Conference, though I have not been able to participate in all their discussions, I have always given them my closest attention and am of the opinion that they represent the results of sincere consultation among all parties concerned. I take it upon myself to speak on behalf of the Government and say that it will fully respect these decisions which will be carried out as soon as the necessary formalities have been complied with.

Of the resolutions adopted, I consider the one on the administrative program for the peaceful reconstruction of the nation to constitute the central theme on which all the other decisions have been based. The provisions of this program in regard to (a) general principles, (b) the people's rights, (c) political affairs, (d) military affairs, (e) foreign affairs, (f) economic and financial affairs, (g) educational and cultural affairs, (h) rehabilitation and relief affairs, and (i) oversea Chinese affairs, have been most complete. They meet the needs of the times, are filled with the spirit of unity and of democracy. The program is a most appropriate one for the transitional period leading to constitutional government.

With this program, the Central Government and all local authorities throughout the country as well as social leaders and the whole of our people will have a criterion for common observance. Particularly in the case of the various parties participating in the Consultative Conference, since the program has been decided by their joint participation and as they will be participating in the Government to carry it out jointly, they must keep their faith before the people and shoulder their responsibility by making manifestations of active compliance with the decision through positive acts. The national character of the decision must moreover be fully upheld and the realisation of the program rendered universal throughout the country. In this connection, there are two matters which call for special attention and which I must declare with special emphasis.

In the first place, as the program provides that "the people's freedom of person, thought, religion, faith, speech, publication, assembly, union, residence, travel, and communication shall be safeguarded," all the various existing wartime laws and orders which are in conflict with this principle shall necessarily be revised or revoked by the Central Government. At the same time I believe that in areas garrisoned by the Communist troops, the program will be adhered to in like manner, and all existing restrictions removed. In the field of education and culture, provision has also been made to the effect that "freedom of academic activity shall be protected, and religious faith and political ideology shall not be made to interfere with school administration." This article is particularly important in China's educational and cultural development and in the cultivation of a wholesome environment for the young students. Now that the people's freedom is protected, everywhere in the country there shall be only one kind of legislation which shall be in keeping with the program and no discriminatory or special measures whatsoever shall continue to exist. Accordingly, henceforth activities of all political parties, including their struggle for political power, may be publicly organised and publicly carried out in keeping with the rights and formalities as are necessarily provided in the unified laws of the country. There shall therefore be no further resort to armed mass risings or to secret organisation in various parts of the country. Otherwise, the true nature of a political party will be lost, and the spirit of democracy will be undermined. Not only will the provisions of the present program be violated, but the progress of constitutional development obstructed. If we are to live up to the name of political parties in a democratic nation, we must do away with all the improper features formerly existing within our parties, when only may we hope to build up a modern state.

In the second place, the section of the program dealing with military affairs contains most accurate principles and provisions for the nationalisation of the army, while there is a more detailed decision on military matters which have been arrived at after consultation by the military sub-committee. I am of the opinion that as we are urgently in need of peace and unity, the section dealing with military affairs in the administrative program should constitute the most important

factor for the consolidation of peace and the consummation of unity. The Government has already decided on plans for military reorganisation which are already being carried out. Vice War Minister Lin Wei had reported before the conference in detail on work already carried out, and in future the provisions of the present program as well as the resolution on military construction will continue to be conformed with in further reorganisation activities. The reorganisation of the Communist troops will therefore also have to be positively undertaken in accordance with the administrative program and the resolution on military construction, so that administrative and military integrity will be achieved, which is the indispensable basic condition for national existence. For this not only represents the unanimous demand of the whole people of the country after long suffering, but is also a principle which various parties have repeatedly declared to be irrefutable. Now that the Consultative Conference has produced results, and the administrative program has been agreed upon, our most imminent task is to render all armed units in the country, irrespective of their party affiliations, and the locality of their garrison, to subject themselves to orders of the Government, so as to realise the objective provided in the program in regard to the unification of military orders, military administration, and military organisation. On this point I am sure that we are all agreed without exception. Only by actually doing so shall we meet the demands for national reconstruction, and live up to the expectations of the people. Otherwise not only will the general participation in the Government on the part of all parties be without significance, but peace and unity will also be deprived of its foundations. On the other hand, the nation's danger and internal conflicts within the Government will only be aggravated. This will assuredly be contrary to the needs of the nation and the people, and prove contradictory to the original intentions of members of this Conference and various political parties in working loyally for the interests of the State.

The two points I have elaborated above constitute the testing stone for the full enforcement of the administrative program. If they will be carried out to the full, then order throughout the country will be stabilised, and the work of the reconversion will be smoothly completed. Other sections and

articles mentioned in the program will also present no difficulties in complete fulfilment. It is a responsibility which members of this Conference cannot shirk. With the most earnest sincerity, therefore, I bring them out before you specially for consideration. On my part I pledge myself to adhere faithfully to the program now passed, and to supervise over military and civilian authorities of all grades to conform with it fully. Even when there may be occasions when there may be instances of inadvertent errors or neglect in the absolute control of my subordinates, I ask of all of you to point out such irregularities, and both myself and my subordinates will sincerely accept such censures and take steps for the rectification of mistakes.

I have always stated: "To achieve freedom, we must understand the true nature of freedom. We must not only pay attention to our own freedom to the neglect of other people's freedom. In holding dear democracy, we must first cultivate the habit of obedience to the law. We must not merely call upon other people to abide by the law while we place our own selves beyond it." These words of mine have been spoken because of my realisation that in our society, the conception of freedom and democracy is often ambiguous, while the appreciation of the rule of the law and the readiness to abide by the law have not been strongly founded. I consider that without social stability, the State is without firm foundations. When the people do not appreciate the rule of law, all crimes will be committed in the name of democracy.

Accordingly the words I have quoted above constitute a painful appeal. Especially in recent years, the unsatisfactory situation to which I have alluded has been most deeply marked in our social order and among our educational circles. If improvement is not effected from now on, China will be unable to place herself in the family of modern nations. I am sure members of the Conference share my view. The Political Consultative Conference has agreed upon an administrative program for the peaceful reconstruction of the nation. This program has been drawn up with the objective of safeguarding democracy and freedom, the goal of the construction of a peaceful and unified State under the rule of law. For the manifestation of the positive effects of the Conference and the creation of exemplary efforts for

national reconstruction, it behooves us to take personal responsibility for the improvement of national morale, the establishment of the spirit abiding by the law so that we may set ourselves as examples to the whole country when only will we be able to fulfill our historical and epochal mission.

Finally I shall take this opportunity of our being assembled here today on the successful conclusion of the Conference, and reveal in simple words what has been innermost in my heart for the many years gone-by but what has not been made public. From my youth I entertained no interest for politics. My life-long aspiration and work has been the dedication of myself to the People's Revolution with the objective of saving the country and the people. During the 35 years from the October Revolution of 1911 up to the present victory in the war of resistance, I have participated in every revolutionary engagement and gone through every hardship. I feel that I have lived up satisfactorily to my revolutionary aspirations and discharged properly my revolutionary responsibilities. I have done my personal duty to the State and the people and I find some satisfaction over this thought.

Though I cannot say today that the People's Revolution has been brought to its successful end completely, the work of removing the obstacles of the Revolution has certainly reached the stage of accomplishment. From now onwards, the country enters completely upon the stage of the great task of national reconstruction. At a time, however, when the vitality of the nation has been so greatly sapped, the danger confronting the future of the country, and the difficulties attending the task of national reconstruction, are only greater than they were before or even during the war. This thought makes us realise the highly dangerous situation before us.

Fortunately, the Political Consultative Conference has now decided on the administrative program for the peaceful reconstruction of the country and other measures relating to relevant matters. The basic foundations of national reconstruction have been laid, and constitutional government will be enforced soon. Hereafter, the gem of all political parties and prominent social leaders are to participate in the Government to share jointly the heavy responsibility of steering the ship of state. The responsibility for national reconstruc-

tion hereafter does not rest upon the Kuomintang alone, much less upon me personally. It is being turned over to you gentlemen and to the whole country to be borne jointly. Hereafter whether in office or out of it, I shall fulfill my due responsibility as a citizen, and loyally and determinedly abide by all the decisions of this Conference, to ensure the continued prevalence of the spirit of peace and unity. I shall do my share in directing our country along the glorious path of unity and democracy, in order to discharge our obligations to the martyrs who made the supreme sacrifice for the revolutionary cause, and to complete the unfinished task of the Father of the Republic who founded it. At the same time I ask of all you gentlemen to exert common efforts for the State and the people. Let us all uphold the same spirit of sharing all hardships and even life and death such as prevailed during the war of resistance, and with unity of strength and of heart, sincerely cooperate in shouldering the present responsibility of national reconstruction, to pave the way for the glorious and brilliant future of our State and our people.

Note:—For full reference, see "Political Consultative Conference, "Part I and II.

SPEECH AT SHANGHAI MASS RALLY

(At Race Course, February 14, 1946)

My dear compatriots:

Shanghai is my native place. I have left this native place for nine years. For fully eight out of these nine years, Shanghai was under the occupation of the enemy. Shanghai's population, male and female, young and old, were subjected to the slaughter and oppression of the enemy, and went through a life of darkness and without sunlight. I have never ceased to think of them.

Today, after victory, I return to Shanghai to meet you all at the Race Course here, and it makes me hard to express my feelings. Of my compatriots who are here today, the older ones are my elders and elder brothers, the younger ones are my juniors and my younger brothers. As I meet my elders, my brothers and my juniors, both male and female, I feel like being in a family reunion. I wish therefore to express a few words from the bottom of my heart, and hope that my compatriots will remember them always and exert efforts unitedly for their execution. I on my part will set myself as an example to lead my compatriots in their execution.

We all know that eight years ago it was impossible for us to hold a meeting at the Race Course as we do today. How is it that we are able to hold a meeting here freely, and how is it that I am able to meet you all here today? It is because the spirit with which our compatriots throughout the nation have been taking up the war of resistance under all difficulties during the past eight years has inspired among our Allies, the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and France, and our other friendly powers, a respect for our servicemen and civilians, and obtained for us the sympathy of our Allies. The Unequal Treaties have accordingly been abrogated, the concessions restored, and independence and freedom achieved for China.

But you must all know that though the Concessions have now been retroceded, and though the Unequal Treaties have

been abolished, what we must do in order that our national sovereignty may henceforth be preserved, what we must do in order that the freedom and independence we have acquired may be maintained. The task of such preservation and maintenance, however, is more difficult, and more irksome than the work carried out during the past eight years of our struggle for freedom and independence. In order to safeguard hereafter the independence of our State and the freedom of our people, it is necessary for my fellow countrymen to be fully determined to bear greater hardships, to endure greater tribulations for another eight years when only the foundations of our independence and freedom will be securely preserved.

The Kuomintang of China, ever since the leadership of the National Revolutionary Movement by the Father of the Chinese Republic, have carried on the common struggle of the Chinese people for more than fifty years, until today when the Party has successfully consummated its objective of achieving for the nation independence and freedom. I myself may consider that I have not failed the whole of my fellow-countrymen in their expectations of me. Henceforth, however, the responsibility for the preservation of the nation's independence and freedom rests on the shoulders of my fellow countrymen. For this reason what I have to emphasize before you today is that you will all have to share the responsibility for the building up of the nation and the preservation of its independence.

What must we do in order that the freedom, independence and sovereignty may be safeguarded and not lost again? What must we do in order to live up the name of citizens of a free and independent State? In this connection what I wish to specially point out to you today, and what I just now called upon you to remember always in your hearts, are the following words:

I am of the opinion that the most important condition for national reconstruction and the preservation of our independence and freedom is the restoration of China's old virtues and the manifestation of a new spirit for national reconstruction. Let us put into practice the tenets of the New Life Movement in order to reform our stagnant and passive modes of living. Each and every one of our countrymen must take cognizance of the rules of propriety and righteousness, embrace the virtues

of integrity and sense of shame, bear responsibility, and observe discipline.

That our Allies, the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and France have become strong powers is due to the high moral standards prevailing in all their people who are spontaneous in bearing their responsibility to the State, in observing discipline, in subordinate selfish interests to public interests, and in being ready to sacrifice family interests for those of the country. If we are to talk of independence and freedom and be on an equal footing with our various Allies, we must also be as patriotic, as united, as morally uplifted, and as spirited as their people. We must moreover be prepared to suffer greater hardships and undergo greater tribulations. We must not only learn from them their scientific and materialistic civilisation, but also their spirit of morality, so that everywhere we may exhibit a sense of self-love and a sense of self-importance. Only then may we be qualified to be considered their independent, free and equal Allies, and be able to hold ourselves in the midst of modern states and society.

Accordingly, if we are to raise the status of our country, and to consolidate the foundations of our independence, we must first raise the moral standards of our people. When the spiritual foundations for national existence have been established, we may forge ahead, and supplement such achievements with modern scientific knowledge and capabilities. Our work in national reconstruction will then progress by leaps and bounds, and the Republic of China will forever be ensured of freedom and independence in the world.

My compatriots, as I meet you today, I have a lot to say, but the most important of all that I have spoken are these: Take cognizance of the rules of propriety and righteousness, embrace the virtues of integrity and sense of shame, bear virtues of integrity and sense of shame, bear responsibility, and observe discipline. These four conditions constitute the basic requirements for modern citizenship. I hope everyone of my compatriots in Shanghai will be able to carry them out into practice and set themselves examples for the whole country, so that unitedly we may successfully discharge our mission of national reconstruction.

ON THE NEW LIFE MOVEMENT

(Statement issued from Nanking on February 18, 1945, on the eve of the 12th Anniversary of the Movement)

To the New Life Movement Promotion Association and its branches in the provinces and municipalities; all governmental organs and public organizations; and all our compatriots throughout the country:

Twelve years have elapsed since the launching and promotion of the New Life Movement. The objects of the Movement is the utilisation, as the starting point, of such habits as cleanliness, simplicity, speed and accuracy in personal conduct connected with food, clothing, residence and travel, so as to improve living habits, elevate social morale and thereby work for the progress of the country and the people as a whole. For it is necessary that all of us be sound in mind and in body, when only the basic foundations for national progress may be consolidated, and we may cope with the changing conditions of the times without being left behind, and face the complicated world situation with confidence, never faltering in our faith in our established central policies.

Now that the war of resistance has been successfully concluded, the task of national reconstruction must be commenced immediately. A new era of greatness is now in store for our people. But as we look into the future, though unlimited light is before us, there are yet difficulties of immense proportions ahead, and the unanimous manifestation of a determined and noble spirit is necessary for national reconstruction so that the task may be successfully consummated.

In speaking of this spirit for national reconstruction, psychologically we must entertain a lofty confidence, an unshakable determination, and enthusiastic zeal in the building of a New China of the Three People's Principles. In regard to practical action, I would repeat my words spoken on October 10 last year* when I asked of my people to renovate them-

* See previous issue, August—October, 1945.

selves daily and unceasingly and win time, attending to every task with precision and accuracy, and taking each step soundly and solidly, so that the three major demands of the New Life Movement will be met.

The cultivation of this spirit for national reconstruction rests on the ability of each citizen to review from time to time and improve unceasingly on the aspects, which are also the fundamental ones, of his daily life. Our compatriots must honestly enter into a new life of order and discipline, pledging themselves to become good citizens with a noble purpose and spirit. They must not adopt a *laissez faire* attitude, avoid the difficult for the easy, become selfishly disunited, or abandon virtue in face of profit. From the small environs of a home to the whole country as a single entity, a spirit of upliftment must be cultivated, and the established evils of dilatoriness when only the work of national reconstruction may be positively developed in the wake of victory in the resistance war and the completion of the task of reconversion, and the spirits of the martyrs of the revolution and the resistance war may be comforted.

Moreover, the significance of the practical application of the New Life Movement does not merely lie in the self-awakening and self-conduct of individuals, but that among all our compatriots there must be greater and closer cooperation, mutually criticising and encouraging one another, and joining hands in working for common advancement. Past mistakes must especially be rectified and particular attention paid to the universal provision of public health facilities in the rural districts, and the elevation of the physical well-being and productivity of the people. Then only will the nation be strengthened both from within and without, the basis of its progress consolidated, and the former faults of disunity, poverty and weakness be radically removed. Our compatriots will then be endowed with both physical and spiritual strength, and an inseparably united national power to cope with the needs of the present great age and to carry the mission of reconstruction to its successful end, and ensuring the independence and freedom of our people, turning the Republic of China into a modern state winning the respect of the world.

Reviewing over the past eight years of the war of resistance, we made tragic and heavy sacrifices, and the fruits of

victory have not been achieved with ease. The present opportunity must therefore be grasped with the redoubling of efforts, having due regard to the truth that we must first help ourselves to win the assistance of friends, to lay the foundations of our national rebirth with our own strength.

Every nation on earth must possess the qualities for its existence. The principles for national existence cannot exceed the bounds of industry and self-strengthening efforts. All our compatriots must realize in the New Life Movement a movement for the regeneration of our people. As long as the task of national reconstruction is not yet completed, this principle holds good. We must therefore embrace the virtues of propriety and righteousness, uphold integrity and the sense of shame, bear responsibility and observe discipline, so that we may be delivered from our state of depression, and work out to its end our established objective. Leaders of various organs and organizations and social celebrities must especially hold themselves examples and extend the application of the Movement from themselves to other people so that the New Life Movement may from beginning to end be fully developed, and my repeated injunctions in connection with its promotion may not be in vain. I ask of you all to share the responsibility jointly.

ADDRESS AT RECEPTION GIVEN TO HANGCHOW PUBLIC LEADERS

(February 22, 1946)

I am filled with mixed feelings at being able, today, to meet here in Hangchow the elders of Chekiang Province and my dear comrades. We all know that of the southeastern provinces, Kiangsu and Chekiang were the first to fall into enemy hands, and in these areas the sufferings of the people had been the great. My own home, and the resting place of my dead ancestors are located here, and naturally I give it my constant thoughts. My present visit to Hangchow, however, has been for the inspection of the Youth Expeditionary Forces now stationed in the Southeast. As to bringing comfort to my compatriots in my native province, it was my original design that when the restoration of the Government to the Capital has been made, and the work of reconversion has reached a suitable stage, I would come again and arrange for a meeting with you all. During the past two days, however, everywhere I go, I have been surrounded by the enthusiastic applause of compatriots of the whole city, and I am greatly moved. I have therefore invited representatives of various classes of the Hangchow public to this reception to express to them my gratitude, and to utilise the opportunity to contribute some views before my fellow provincials, in return for the kindness they are showing me.

Our Chekiang province, we may say, is the cradle of Chinese nationalism. From the time in the Sung dynasty when the Chinese people relied on Chekiang as the base for the repulsion of an alien invasion, all through the one thousand years since elapsed, on every occasion when the country was facing a crisis, a national movement was initiated here and rose to greater and more illustrious proportions with the passage of time.

Especially during the present war of resistance, the whole people of our Chekiang fully recognized the spirit of National-

ism, and were prepared to place public interests above personal on national interests above family ones. In spite, of the fact that they had been turned homeless and destitute, they contributed both their financial and manual resources to the country. Though under the most severe oppression of the enemy and puppets, they remained from beginning to end confirmed in their faith, and carried on undauntedly their spiritual struggle. They have certainly contributed immensely to the state and the nation. While this was partly due to the traditional spirit of the people of Chekiang, yet the leadership of our elders and comrades had also greatly to do with it. In behalf of the Government, I bring to you all the kindest thoughts.

Because, however, of the glorious historical role assumed by Chekiang in the nationalist movements in the past, and its tremendous achievements during the past eight years of the war of resistance, the country expects all the more from Chekiang, while on our part we feel an especially heavy responsibility towards the state. Each and every one of us, therefore, must bear the anxieties of the our people before others, and seek enjoyments only after other people. When the whole of our compatriots throughout the nation has not obtained comfort and ease, we who are of Chekiang must refrain from thinking of comfort. When the whole of our compatriots throughout the country have not have their sufferings relieved, we who are of Chekiang must exert our total efforts to help in their relief. Then only may Chekiang live up to its past glorious history, and then only may Chekiang be truly considered the spiritual fortress of the Chinese people.

Chekiang is the place of my birth. All who are present here are my elders and my brethren and friends. In meeting you today, I bring you no other gift than this zeal for patriotism and love for our people, and I wish to be mutually encouraged with my elders and brethren thereon. That is to say, we must all uphold the spirit of sharing hunger and suffering with all in order to save our compatriots, to regenerate our people. We must fulfil our duty to the country and the people, to consolidate the victory of the war of resistance, and to consummate the task of national reconstruction, I believe this sincere aspiration of mine has the endorsement and the acceptance of you all.

We have won victory in the war of resistance. But we must now foresee the difficulties in the work of national reconstruction hereafter. All of our compatriots must realise that national reconstruction is attended with incomparable difficulties. Working under the prerequisite of the interests of the whole nation and people, our spirit must be more greatly stimulated than during the war, our efforts must be greater than during the war, and in our daily life we must endure greater hardship and suffering than during the war. We must tighten our belts and devote entire efforts to our task. Thus with the passage of another eight years, we may possibly succeed in creating, out of the dilapidated social order of today, a new nation, which will be free and independent and take its rightful place in the modern world.

Generally speaking, we of this generation must realise the fact that living in this age, endurance and perseverance are our lot. It is for us to strive energetically to win equality for our country, our people, and our descendants. During our own lives, let us not hope that we shall live in luxurious enjoyment, or that our work will be given excessive compensation. We of this generation must be determined to complete the formidable task of national reconstruction. During the next thirty years we must be prepared to suffer the greatest hardships and to tackle the most difficult tasks, so that our descendants may be spared the tragedy of becoming slaves and living the lives of animals.

There is, however, one gratifying point which I can tell you. Hereafter we may suffer material inconveniences, but spiritually we shall be very happy. Our living conditions may be attended by hardships, but ideologically we shall be a completely free people. We shall never suffer oppression and destruction at the hands of an enemy aggressor, and live a life of slaves and animals. When we think of the existence of the state and the people, and the happiness that will be enjoyed by our descendants, what does it matter if we undergo temporary material hardship and suffering?

The story of enduring hardship to the extent of sleeping on a bed of firewood and tasting the bitterness of the gourd is universally known throughout the country. It was on the basis of this spirit of endurance that we have won victory in the war of resistance. And we must know that the man

who slept a bed of firewood and tasted the bitterness of the gourd, King Kou Tsien of the State of Yueh, was none other than a revered leader of our province of Chekiang. I hope that all my compatriots of Chekiang as well as of the whole country will not forget such a spirit of determination to avenge a wrong and to seek national upliftment as displayed by that great leader of the past. Let us be united, resolved, undaunted and determined in the task of constructing China into a modern state of wealth, strength and prosperity, so as to realise the illustrious Three People's Principles enunciated by the Father of the Republic. Then may we truly live up to the tradition of Chekiang as the cradle of nationalism, This is the only contribution I have to make to the people of Chekiang and my sole expectation of them. I earnestly hope that the elders and friends present here today will lead the whole of our people in the province to unity and greater efforts so that our task may be completed and our mission fulfilled. I wish you all good health, and I congratulate our nation on its victory in the war of resistance.

蔣主席最近言論

(第二輯)

CONTENTS

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

By Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek

VOLUME II

(NOVEMBER, 1945 - FEBRUARY, 1946)

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I

With Chinese Texts

CONTENTS OF VOLUME III

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS

CNC \$ 1,000.00

Abroad US \$ 1.00

220 Harbin Building, Nanjing Road
SHANGHAI, CHINA