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VOICE of NEW CHINA

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Incorporating the CHINA OUTLOOK

The Recognition of Nanking

Germany and U.S.S.R. at War

President Wang's Successful Mission

Mayor Chen's 4-Point Appeal

Japan's Foreign Policy

The American Puzzle

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L. K. Kentwell, B.A., (Oxon), LL.B., (Columbia University, N.Y.)
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To The Great Indian People

Now Is Your Only Chance To Drive Out The English Barbarians

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

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

Now is the opportune moment to act!

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

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

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

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

(4) May the great Allah punish treacherous
England!

JOIN THE ASIATIC LEAGUE TO OVER-
THROW BRITISH IMPERIALISM!

L. K. KENTWELL,
Hon. Secretary.

GURDIAL SINGH,
Asst. Hon. Secretary and Treasurer

8 Drum Tower Villa, NANKING (CHINA)

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THE RECOGNITION OF NANKING

Germany and Italy today formally accorded *de jure* recognition to the National Government of China at Nanking. Colonel Joachim von Ribbentrop, Reichs Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Count Galeazzo Ciano, Italian Foreign Minister, today formally notified the Foreign Minister, Mr. Hsu Liang, of the National Government of the steps taken by their respective Governments.

Acting on instructions from his home Government, Herr M. Gipperich, First Secretary of the German Embassy at Nanking, called on Mr. Hsu Liang at 5.10 o'clock this afternoon to notify the latter that Germany has recognized the Nanking Government.

Also, Marquis Francesco Maria Taliani de Marchio, Italian Ambassador to China, flew to Nanking from Shanghai, to inform the Foreign Minister of Italy's recognition of the National Government.

Immediately after notifying the Foreign Minister, Herr Gipperich accompanied the former to President Wang Ching-wei's official residence at 5.30 o'clock, making known to the Nanking leader the messages sent by Chancellor Adolf Hitler and Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop. The German official also conveyed the German Government's felicitations regarding the recognition.



The Italian Ambassador was met at the Nanking airfield by Mr. Hsu Liang, and the two then motored to Mr. Wang's residence, where the President was handed personal messages from Premier Mussolini and the Italian Foreign Minister, Count Ciano.

Exchange of Envoys

With mutual diplomatic recognition completed, it was expected that an exchange of Ambassadors will take place in the nearest future, thus bringing about the resumption of normal diplomatic relations between China, and Germany and Italy.

While no definite announcement has been made by either Berlin or Rome regarding the envoy likely to be accredited to Nanking, quarters close to the Nanking Foreign Ministry expected that the Marquis Francesco Maria Taliani de Marchio, Italian Ambassador now staying in Shanghai, will present his credentials to President Wang Ching-wei in the near future.

Ambassador Marquis Taliani, it was recalled, has not yet presented his credentials to Mr. Lin Sen of the Chungking regime. The German envoy, it was expected, will be either Dr. F. Altenburg, or Mr. M. Fischer, who recently returned from Japan.

Appointment of Nanking's Envoys to Berlin and Rome was the subject of important deliberations today during a meeting of the Executive Yuan of the National Government. Well-informed sources declared that Mr. Tang Leang-li, Ambassador-at-Large and Director of the International Publicity Board, will be accredited as first Nanking Ambassador to Rome.

Born in Java, and a graduate of London University, Ambassador Tang, though only 40 years of age, is regarded as one of the Nanking Administration's most promising and able diplomats.

The National Government's Envoy to Germany, it was expected, will be chosen from supporters of the Nanking Government who are now residing in Europe.

Meanwhile, formal recognition by Germany and Italy of the Nanking Government was highly welcomed in both official and unofficial circles here. It was pointed out here that this recognition has immeasurably strengthened the firm determination of the National Government to wipe out the Chungking regime and to bring about the establishment of a real and permanent peace.

Blow to Chungking

Formal recognition of Nanking by Berlin and Rome, it was pointed out significantly, will be a terrific blow to Chungking, more so because it comes on the heels of President Wang Ching-wei's historic trip to Japan, and Japan's generous extension of credits totalling Y.300,000,000 to the Nanking Administration.

Full diplomatic recognition of the Nanking Government by Germany and Italy, observers here declared, definitely foreshadows the participation of China in the Tripartite Alliance.

De jure recognition, it was added, also spells the death blow for the already tottering Chungking regime. It was pointed out that the Chiang Kai-shek regime is now nothing more than a small local administration with continually diminishing power. The Nanking Government, observers said, is rapidly pushing itself forward into the front ranks of the world Powers.

With the Nanking Government finding itself in a greatly strengthened position, not only in China, but in the world, it was predicted here that the Chungking regime would lose all semblance of a sovereign administration and be hopelessly tied to Great Britain and the United States.

Moreover, it was expected that with the formal recognition accorded by Germany and Italy, other nations would closely follow in their footsteps. The 200,000 Chinese now residing in Europe, it was freely predicted here, will fully support the Nanking Administration.

Should France accord diplomatic recognition to Nanking, it was believed that the thousands of Chinese in French Indo-China will come to support the National Government.

Support of the Nanking Administration by these Chinese, it was pointed out, would cause a stoppage of large remittances to the Chungking regime causing a further weakening of the financial structure of the Chiang Kai-shek administration.

The National Government, authoritative sources here stressed, will continue in the future the closest co-operation with Japan for the establishment of a New Order in East Asia. All pressure possible will be exerted on the Chungking regime to effect the realization of peace in East Asia.

Germany and U.S.S.R. at War

The unexpected has happened: Germany and Soviet Russia are at war. The vast armies of the two largest military powers in the world swung into action on June 22, with the superior military machine of the Third Reich taking the offensive and penetrating deeply into Russian territory within a few hours after hostilities commenced.

This new war within a war climaxed over a year's intrigue and stalling on the part of Soviet Russia who took full advantage of Germany's preoccupation in Western Europe to double-cross and hamper Germany, in league with Britain and the United States.

Commencing with the invasion of Finland, the Soviet successively annexed Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, not reckoning the huge slice of Poland which the Reich permitted her to occupy after the collapse of the Polish Government.

Far from being satisfied with these large territorial gains, the Soviet Union had sought further territory. During the recent visit of Soviet Foreign Commissar Molotov to Berlin, he had sought German acquiescence to permit the Soviet to launch a fresh attack on Finland as well as an attack on Rumania; the control of Bulgaria was also demanded, and the desire of the Soviet to occupy bases in the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus was also expounded.

Following these suggestions, Moscow concentrated large forces along the German borders, in conspiracy with Britain, thus threatening the German eastern flank. Coincidental with these moves, the Soviet consistently refused to honor her obligations covered under her treaty of non-aggression, friendship and commerce with the Reich, and a situation which increased in tensivity arose, culminating in the self-defensive action of the German Forces on June 22.

There has been a great deal of speculation as to the course of this new war, in which two powerful armies have clashed, but the victories achieved by the German forces in all the battles in which they have participated so far, since the outbreak of the European War, points to even greater victories for the Reich. The strength of the Soviet armies is not minimized, but Germany is far superior in the human element, in superiority of material and in organization.

Consideration must also be taken of the possible outbreak of internal disorders within



Stalin, the Kremlin Sphinx . . . his days are numbered.

the Soviet Union, the masses having groaned under the heavy yoke imposed by Stalin & Co. for nearly two decades and who are ready at any moment to break into open revolt against the Kremlin tyrants.

The successful conclusion of German military action, which is expected within two months at most, will finally destroy a regime which has infested the universe ever since the conclusion of the "last war to end wars," and the 170,000,000 population of Soviet Russia will be ever grateful to their deliverer, Chancellor Adolf Hitler, for having undertaken this sacred mission.

* * *

President Wang's Successful Mission

The recipient of signal honors at the hands of H.I.M. the Emperor of Japan and high government officials, President Wang Ching-wei of the National Government of China returned to the capital after a fortnight's visit to the neighboring Island Empire, bringing back with him the assurances of the Japanese Government and people of their utmost support of his regime, — political, financial and economical.

The voluntary loan of Y. 300,000,000 made by the Japanese Government is a visible mani-

festation of this support, and this "Oriental Lease-Lend Bill" is a pointed rejoinder to the loans which have been advanced by the United States and Britain to the tottering Chungking regime.

President Wang arrived in Kobe on June 16 together with a retinue of fifteen high Chinese officials, aboard the N.Y.K. ss: "Yawata Maru" which sailed from Nanking on June 14, two days previously.

The harbor was in holiday dress as all ships in port were decked out in fluttering Japanese and Chinese flags and pennants.

A brass band which struck up the Chinese National Anthem as the vessel drew up to Pier No. 4 went through the motions of playing, but the sounds were drowned out in a welcome roar.

The State visitor was greeted on landing by the personal representatives of Premier Prince Konoye, Foreign Minister Matsuoka, War Minister Lieut.-General Tojo, Navy Minister Admiral Oikawa, as well as Prefectural and Municipal leaders.

Three hundred and fifty representatives of the local Chinese colony, 600 Chinese school children were present at the dock, as well as General Nobuyuki Abe, former special envoy to Nanking who initialled the Sino-Japanese Basic Treaty last November 30.



Finance Minister Chou Fu-hai . . . gets windfall in the shape of Japan's Yen 300,000,000 loan to the National Government.

Dr. Chu Min-yi, Nanking Ambassador at Tokyo, and a number of other officials took a launch from Wada Point at eight o'clock to greet Mr. Wang as the vessel lay in quarantine, to best the official welcome by two-hours-and-a-half.

After landing, Mr. Wang's party was escorted to the Koshien Hotel in the Kobe suburbs, prior to entraining for Tokyo.

On June 17 President Wang arrived in Tokyo and immediately motored to the Kasumigaseki detached palace which had been specially prepared for his use. The President was received in audience by H.I.M. the Emperor of Japan on June 18.

When Mr. Wang and his party, motoring from the Kasumigaseki Detached Palace, arrived at the Imperial Palace shortly after 11.30 o'clock, His Majesty came forward to the car personally to greet the Chinese politician.

From the Palace entrance the visitors were conducted to the Phoenix Hall where they were welcomed by the Empress and where they received Imperial gifts. The Wang party was then presented to Princes and Princesses of the Blood, including Prince and Princess Chichibu, Prince and Princess Takamatsu, Prince Mikasa and Prince Kanin. Luncheon followed and was attended also by the Premier, Prince Fumimaro Konoye, and other ranking officials.

When Mr. Wang Ching-wei left the Palace about 1.30 o'clock in the afternoon, the Emperor again accompanied him to the car in order to see him off.

In his first statement issued after his arrival in Japan, President Wang on June 18 declared that the National Government is exerting consistent efforts to fulfil completely the terms of the Sino-Japanese basic treaty signed at Nanking on November 30, 1940. Several meetings were subsequently held between the President and Premier Prince Konoye, and on June 24 after a final meeting lasting nearly two hours, final touches were put on the agreement of opinion reached between the two leaders of China and Japan.

After an 8-day sojourn in the Japanese capital, President Wang commenced his return journey, stopping off en route at Osaka, where he was also feted and given an enthusiastic welcome by the populace of Japan's great industrial center.

Capping the successful agreement reached in Tokyo between the President and the Japanese

Government, the latter announced that Japan is advancing the National Government a loan of Y.300,000,000 to enable the latter to engage itself with progressive developments by putting such plans into practical operation.

The successful mission thus completed by our President marks a strong turning-point in the history of New China and henceforth the acceleration of progress will be even more marked. The people of China should recognise the benefits which the National Government has provided for them and they should therefore devote more untiring energy and loyalty to bring into reality the plans which will enable China to establish permanent Peace, Order and Prosperity.

Mayor Chen's 4-Point Appeal

Mr. Chen Kung-po, President of the Legislative Yuan of the National Government and concurrently Mayor of the Shanghai Special Municipality, has always been known to be a leader of high moral convictions and a person of determined and frank character. During his long and brilliant political and public career, he has always championed straightforward speaking and straight dealing. He is not a man to mince his words or to sidestep issues which require urgent and immediate remedy. Since the return of the National Government to Nanking, in his capacity as the leading official after the President, as chief of the Legislative Yuan and recently as Mayor of China's great metropolis, Mr. Chen has followed his traditional policy of frankness coupled with great moral courage.

Some time ago, he issued a statement in which he took his own countrymen who were slack to task. He counselled more self-introspection and a genuine spirit of patriotism. In similar vein, he has now tackled various questions affecting both China and Japan which require solution, "not only through verbal expressions but in deeds as well."

In a signed article which appeared in the special July number of the well-known Japanese magazine, "Kaire," commemorating the anniversary of the China Incident, Mr. Chen addressed to the Japanese people a four-point appeal designed to promote real Sino-Japanese co-operation.

In the article, Mr. Chen expressed the hope that Japan would clarify her China policies not only through verbal expressions but in deeds as well, if Japan really desired to overcome doubts



Mayor Chen Kung-po makes 4-point appeal to Japan for promotion of real Sino-Japanese co-operation.

still entertained by the Chinese as to Japanese intentions.

Such a doubt had been diminished to a great extent by Premier Konoye's announcement of December 22, 1938, which defines the limits of Japanese demands toward China, but the Chinese were still skeptical because the announcement had not been followed by adequate deeds, Mr. Chen declared.

Terms of the Sino-Japanese Basic Treaty had not yet been completely carried out partly because hostilities were still going on. At the same time many non-military questions should be solved quickly, thereby accelerating termination of the war, the Shanghai Mayor said.

He added that the solution was being postponed only in the interests of a minority of the Chinese people's progressive ideals.

"A most regrettable thing witnessed in China since the beginning of the hostilities is the fact that a section of the Chinese community has seen fit to revive the obnoxious habit of flattering the Japanese with the belief Japan does not desire China's progress."

Mr. Chen declared such practices proved one of the most serious hindrances to Japan's efforts for the restoration of peace and prosperity in a true sense.

He hoped, in his second point, that the Japanese would cultivate better understanding of Chinese psychology, pointing out that many Japanese still were under the impression the Chinese race was split ideologically.

Despite vast population and territory, Chinese never in their recent history lacked the ideal of national unity. It would be a gross

misconception if Japanese were to think; for instance, North China could be transformed into a "special area" because its political complexion differs from that of South China.

Pointing out that Chinese life throughout their land was seriously menaced owing to industrial decline, Mr. Chen in his third point wished the Japanese would bear in mind the livelihood of the Chinese masses, asserting that the Chinese would be unable to co-operate unless in the first place their substance was guaranteed.

Lastly, he warned the Japanese not to forget China, as a nation, was also intent upon achieving national progress.

It is fortunate for both China and Japan that there exists a leader of Mr. Chen's caliber, whose patriotism is fully associated with the true sense of co-operation between his country and Japan. With these sentiments uppermost in his mind and heart, there should be no surprise that he should indulge in plain language to bring about better relations between the two countries. His statements bear the stamp of sincerity and veracity and they should be thus received by the Japanese Government and people. The path of Sino-Japanese co-operation has not always been one of roses,— there have also been thorns. Sincerity and consideration, however, will eliminate these superficial and temporary obstacles or ailments, and if the utterances of men like Mr. Chen are given more thought and acted upon, there is no doubt that the complete co-operation and harmony required in Sino-Japanese relations will be fully realised.

Japan's Foreign Policy

The grave situation created by the Germano-Russo war has placed Japan in a position of great anxiety and perplexity. First and foremost Japan is allied to the Axis, while on the other hand she only recently concluded a treaty of non-aggression with the Soviet Union, supplemented by a trade pact.

The position is one in which hasty decisions cannot be taken, and the Japanese Government has so far shown that it will take its time before formulating her future policy.

Speculation has of course been rife as to what Japan will do next: will she side completely with her Axis partners and launch an attack on the Siberian coast, or will she ignore the Germano-Soviet conflict and pursue a southward expansion policy? These questions have

been perplexing the rest of the world, but the Gaimusho continues to keep a discreet silence, with the exception of a brief statement that Japan is concerned in the preservation of peace in the western Pacific and the settlement of the China Incident.

If and when Japan decides to participate in the German-Soviet war, it will only be after full consideration has been given to all the factors involved, and, perhaps, only after some amelioration has been reached in her strained relations with the United States.

The southward expansion policy will no doubt be pursued as this need not necessarily involve Japan in a war, her intentions having been made manifest on several occasions through official pronouncements that her actions in the Southern Pacific are purely economical, with the hope of bringing such countries as the Netherlands East Indies into a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

It must be fully borne in mind, however, that Japan's primary object is the full settlement of the China Incident and all other questions are subordinate to this vital matter. Speculation on other scores usually ignore this fundamental characteristic of Japan's present foreign policy.

It is, of course, impossible to predicate the future course of Japan's foreign policy, but we



Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka of Japan faces grave task as result of outbreak of German-Soviet hostilities.

can be assured that it will not be marked by hasty or unwise decisions or that the basic idea for the establishment of the New Order in East Asia will be ignored.

* * *

The American Puzzle

The present American political scene can best be described as a gigantic paradox. On the one hand we have such distinguished men like ex-President Herbert Hoover, Colonel Charles Lindbergh, Senator Burton Wheeler and newspaper magnate William Randolph Hearst, advocating a "stay-out-of-war" policy, while, on the other hand, we find responsible state ministers, beginning with the President-Dictator Roosevelt, Colonels Stimson and Knox, Cordell Hull, Harold Ickes *et al*, openly advocating American participation in the European conflict, and rendering open aid to the tottering British Empire.

Occasionally sober thoughts seem to break through the darkened American political horizon and there is a temporary lull in the war fever. An instance of this sobriety may be detected in the recent case of the sinking of the American freighter "Robin Moor." Instead of severing relations with Germany over this incident, the U.S. Government simply demanded monetary compensation for the loss of the ship and the lives so unfortunately involved.

The world at large will gain much if America keeps out of the war and discontinues her present aid to the so-called Democracies of Europe. American efforts would be much better conserved for the final conference at the conclusion of this tragedy which has engulfed the whole of Europe.



"FIREMAN SAVE MY WAR"

Japanese Navy's Co-operation with New China

At a luncheon given by the Chief of the Navy General Staff, Admiral Osami Nagano, and Navy Minister, Admiral Koshiro Oikawa, for Mr. Wang Ching-wei at the Navy Club, Admiral Oikawa declared:

"The Imperial Navy faces the alarming situation in East Asia with full confidence in its ability to discharge successfully its important mission to safeguard the stability and development of East Asia."

Adm. Oikawa also pledged the Japanese Navy's full co-operation with New China and thanked Mr. Wang for his sympathetic understanding of the Navy's mission as well as the vital necessity for co-operation between Japan and China.

First Meeting of Central Reserve Bank

The first meeting of the Central Reserve Bank was held on June 2 at its Head Office here. Mr. Chow Fu-hai, Governor of the Bank, presided over the meeting attended by twenty-six leading officials of the Bank. In his opening speech Mr. Chow stated that though the Bank had been established only for five months its foundation had already been stabilized and public confidence secured. As to the new national currency, Mr. Chow revealed that a total of over \$40,000,000 is now in circulation. He also pointed out that the aim of this meeting was to discuss the problems pertaining to the Bank's future development.

The proposals received by the meeting were divided into several groups and examined by various Sections later in the afternoon.

Hearst Charges Administration With Responsibility for Loss of Submarine

William Randolph Hearst charged that the sinking of the United States submarine O-9 could be charged up to the policy of delivering good material to Great Britain and keeping inferior armaments for the United States.

In a personally written editorial published by the New York Journal-American, the noted newspaper publisher asserted that what had happened to the O-9 would be repeated a thousandfold if the United States continued to send its most modern equipment to Britain and retained only antiquated war materials in America.

President Wang Ching-wei Returns to Capital

Important Statement Issued

Having accomplished his mission to Japan, President Wang Ching-wei returned to the Capital by air on June 28, accompanied by Messrs. Lin Pai-sheng, Minister of Publicity, and Hsu Liang, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who also travelled in the special plane of President Wang. At the aerodrome, they were welcomed by a large gathering of government officials headed by Mr. Chen Kung-po, President of the Legislative Yuan and concurrently Mayor of Shanghai.

The following statement was issued by the President shortly after his arrival at the official residence:

"During my visit to Japan, I was treated by the Japanese Imperial family in a most hospitable manner. H.I.M. the Japanese Emperor was particularly solicitous over the friendship between China and Japan. This attitude of the Mikado impressed me so deeply that I can never forget it. As to all the leaders of the Japanese Government, from Premier Konoye to all the members of the Cabinet, they were very frank in discussing the general situation with us, and important problems were solved. The enthusiastic ovations extended to me by the Japanese people throughout the period from my landing in Kobe up to my departure from Nagasaki, have made an indelible impression on my mind.

"The attitude shown towards me by the Japanese Government and people indicates clearly how earnest they are in their intentions toward China. In his Declaration on December 22, 1938, Prince Konoye stated that what Japan desires is not the extinction but the prosperity of China in order to enable China to share with Japan the responsibilities for the establishment of a New Order in East Asia. In order to enable China to share such responsibilities, Japan will certainly not hesitate to give her the necessary assistance so that she may fulfil all the conditions of a modern nation. The spirit contained in this Declaration has remained unchanged up to the present moment. From the issuance of Prince Konoye's Declaration to the conclusion of the Treaty concerning the Basic Relations between China and Japan every-

thing has proceeded according to this spirit. The recent Joint Declaration issued by myself and Prince Konoye represents a further development in the same direction. The former Declaration of Prince Konoye was only aimed at assisting the National Government to re-establish itself. The lately issued Joint Declaration aims to increase the political, military, economic and cultural strength of the National Government so as to bring the present conflict to an early conclusion and hasten the realization of complete peace. Thus both China and Japan will be able to concentrate their physical and mental energy on the establishment of a new order of co-existence and coprosperity.

"There is no other way for China and Japan to protect East Asia except by forming an axis and working in collaboration. I will do my utmost to achieve this aim. After the publication of the Joint Declaration, I am all the more convinced that we have already sufficient grounds to expect that this aim will be accomplished. Hereafter I will devote all my efforts to the realization of the Joint Declaration. In the meanwhile, I will convey to my colleagues and fellow-countrymen the sincerity and expectations of Japan.

"Today I have just returned to my own country, therefore, I can only tell you the general results of my trip. The details, however, will be made known in future."

Ministry of Agriculture and Mining Planning to Create Model Farms

In view of the sky-rocketing of the price of rice which threatens seriously the livelihood of the people, the Ministry of Agriculture and Mining has evolved a plan for increasing the production of the staple foodstuff. The plan calls for the creation of 100 model farming districts, 30 of which will be managed directly by the Central authorities and the rest by Provincial and Municipal authorities.

In pursuance of this scheme, the Shanghai Bureau of Social Affairs ordered the administrative officials of Nantao and other districts to select suitable areas for the establishment of model farms.

Joint Declaration Issued by President Wang and Prince Konoye

Mr. Wang Ching-wei, President of the National Government and concurrently President of the Executive Yuan of the Chinese Republic and Prince Fumimaro Konoye, Premier of the Japanese Cabinet, issued the following joint declaration on June 23:

"With a view to settling speedily the present conflict and marching forward for the establishment of the permanent relationship between China and Japan, for the co-existence and co-prosperity as well as the regeneration of East Asia, we respectively made declarations sometime ago concerning the establishment of a new order in East Asia consisting of good neighborliness, anti-Communism and economic co-operation. The purposes of the Treaty concerning the Basic Relations between China and Japan and the Joint Declaration between China, Japan and Manchoukuo concluded on November 30 last, are no other than these.

"The meaning of the establishment of a new order in East Asia lies in the eradication of the evils of Aggressionism and Communism in East Asia and the building of states of mutual co-operation, co-existence and co-prosperity based on the original spirit of righteousness of East Asia. It seems that there are not a few among the people of China, who, though being

desirous of the regeneration of East Asia through Sino-Japanese collaboration, have not the confidence that such an expectation will be realized and continue to take an attitude of hesitation and vacillation.

"But the great task of the regeneration of East Asia can only be accomplished by showing as much evidence as possible that it is being gradually completed even at the present stage, thereby winning the confidence of the majority of people and striving forward for the realization of a complete peace.

"As a result of our conversation, the Governments of China and Japan pledge to put forth increasing efforts toward the above mentioned common goal. The National Government of China will endeavor to make its people understand that Sino-Japanese collaboration and the regeneration of East Asia are the common mission of the people of China and Japan, by presenting concrete facts of Sino-Japanese co-operation in political, military, economic and cultural spheres. The Japanese Government will also exert itself by extending increasing assistance to enable the National Government to demonstrate fully its free and independent authority and power, thereby sharing the responsibilities of the establishment of a new order in East Asia."

Assassinated by Terrorists

Mr. Chikayuki Akagi, Special Deputy Commissioner of the Shanghai Municipal Police, was shot and killed by four gunmen on June 17 while taking his wife to a hospital.



Respect for Legitimate Rights of Friendly Nations

Foreign Powers which failed to offer friendship to Nanking could not expect Nanking to accord full respect to their legitimate rights in occupied China, declared Mr. Wang Ching-wei, President of the Nanking Government, in a recent interview with foreign correspondents.

He said his regime was based on respect for the legitimate rights of friendly nations but "we wish to tell the world that if no friendship is offered how can we be friendly?"

Mr. Wang criticized foreign assistance to Chungking as delaying peace in China which was essential for proper protection of foreign interests.

He promised co-operation with the Axis together with Japan and Manchoukuo and intimated that he expected German and Italian recognition of the Nanking Government in the near future.

Chungking & Communists

Answering questions on Soviet-Nanking relations in the light of the neutrality pact between Moscow and Tokyo, Mr. Wang said: "For the past several years we have repeatedly pointed out that it is one thing to be anti-Comintern and quite another to be friendly with the Soviet Union."

He said he was convinced there was no real co-operation between Chungking and the Chinese Communists: although the two factions were continuing their resistance against Japan there was no evidence of what might be termed true collaboration.

He said the Nanking Government had adopted towards Chungking an attitude of "great expectation" in the hope that Chungking would eventually realize the situation existing in China and "make common cause in endeavoring to achieve the rehabilitation of China and reconstruction of East Asia."

Sympathy for India

Although there were now still a handful of ignorant persons willing to act as accomplices in sinister influences, the great majority of Chinese were gradually coming to recognize the necessity of peace between China and Japan and the possibility of its materialization, he added.

He expressed sympathy for Indian Nationalists and urged all Asiatic peoples to shake off foreign influences.

Hoover Urges Aloofness

Mr. Herbert Hoover, former President of the United States, in a nation-wide radio broadcast, reaffirmed and augmented his former pleas that America remain aloof from the War. He urged, instead, that the United States rearm and prepare for effective participation in an eventual peace conference.

Events of the past six weeks, including Russian entry into the War, plus proof that aerial power, under certain circumstances, "demonstrated superiority over seapower," constituted further reasons why America should remain aloof, Mr. Hoover said.

In addition to those reasons, said Mr. Hoover, the Axis would never be physically able to invade the Western Hemisphere provided America was adequately armed.

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Sino-Nippon Common Front

As the fruit borne of the visit in Tokyo of President Wang Ching-wei of the National Government of China, during which he has had candid conversations and exchanges of views with Premier Prince Fumimaro Konoye, Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka, and other high authorities as to the ways and means for expediting the construction of a New Order in East Asia, a joint statement in the name of Premier Konoye and President Wang was issued on June 23. This will no doubt greatly promote the relations between the two nations.

This joint statement is a development of the Konoye Statement, the tripartite declaration made by China, Manchoukuo, and Nippon, and the Sino-Nippon Basic Treaty which is based on the 1st Wang Statement. It is the result of Nippon's support to the Wang regime, the foundation of which has become more substantial and has been further vitalized by President Wang's visit to our nation. Simultaneously, it means that the Wang regime's collaboration with Nippon has likewise been promoted.

The New Order

The realization of a New Order in East Asia is the final goal of the solution of the China Emergency. Its substance consists of good neighborliness, joint defense against the menace of communism, and economic co-operation among the three nations of China, Manchoukuo, and Nippon. In order to establish such a New Order, it is hardly necessary to mention that we must create a state of mutual co-operation, co-existence, and co-prosperity on the basis of the morality inherent in East Asia by eradicating the evils of aggression and communism in East Asia.

In the course of the realization of this aim, total peace must be brought about between Nippon and China. At the present stage, the question of total peace is indeed a subject of profound concern for China and Nippon. How to bring about this Sino-Nippon total peace is the question of the hour.

Some time ago we advised in this column that such an expression as total peace should be dropped and instead we should rather proceed to the realization of regional peace. We meant that the Wang regime should make its political

influence penetrate into the regions under its administration and thereby build up perfect peace in the region, consolidate a firm area for Sino-Nippon collaboration, and acquire an area for a sound New Order in East Asia. We made the foregoing suggestion in the belief that it would be feasible at once through close co-operation between the Wang regime and Nippon, and hence it would be a practical method which would gradually attain results.

Unification of China

Though we must go after total peace, yet in seeking that objective, we think it would be advisable for us to render our utmost efforts first for the realization of regional peace and not to speak of anything else. It is because total peace can automatically be attained through the establishment of peace in a series of regions. By this method the unification of China by the Wang regime can be achieved. In other words, we believe that the peace movement launched by the Wang regime must be carried on until it embraces the whole of China. Consequently, we observe that instead of raising a shrill cry for total peace, the Wang regime had better drive home the need for regional peace which would be easier to understand by the minds of the people and endeavor to link China and Nippon by making a slogan of it.

Thanks to the visit of Mr. Wang and his suite to our country, Mr. Wang's views on total peace have fully been discussed. Its purport is of the same substance as the goal of our regional peace which we have been advocating right along. This point can clearly be perceived in the joint Konoye-Wang statement. To say the least, in clarifying what he means by total peace, which is apt to be misunderstood, his present visit to our nation must be said to be of great significance.

The China Emergency

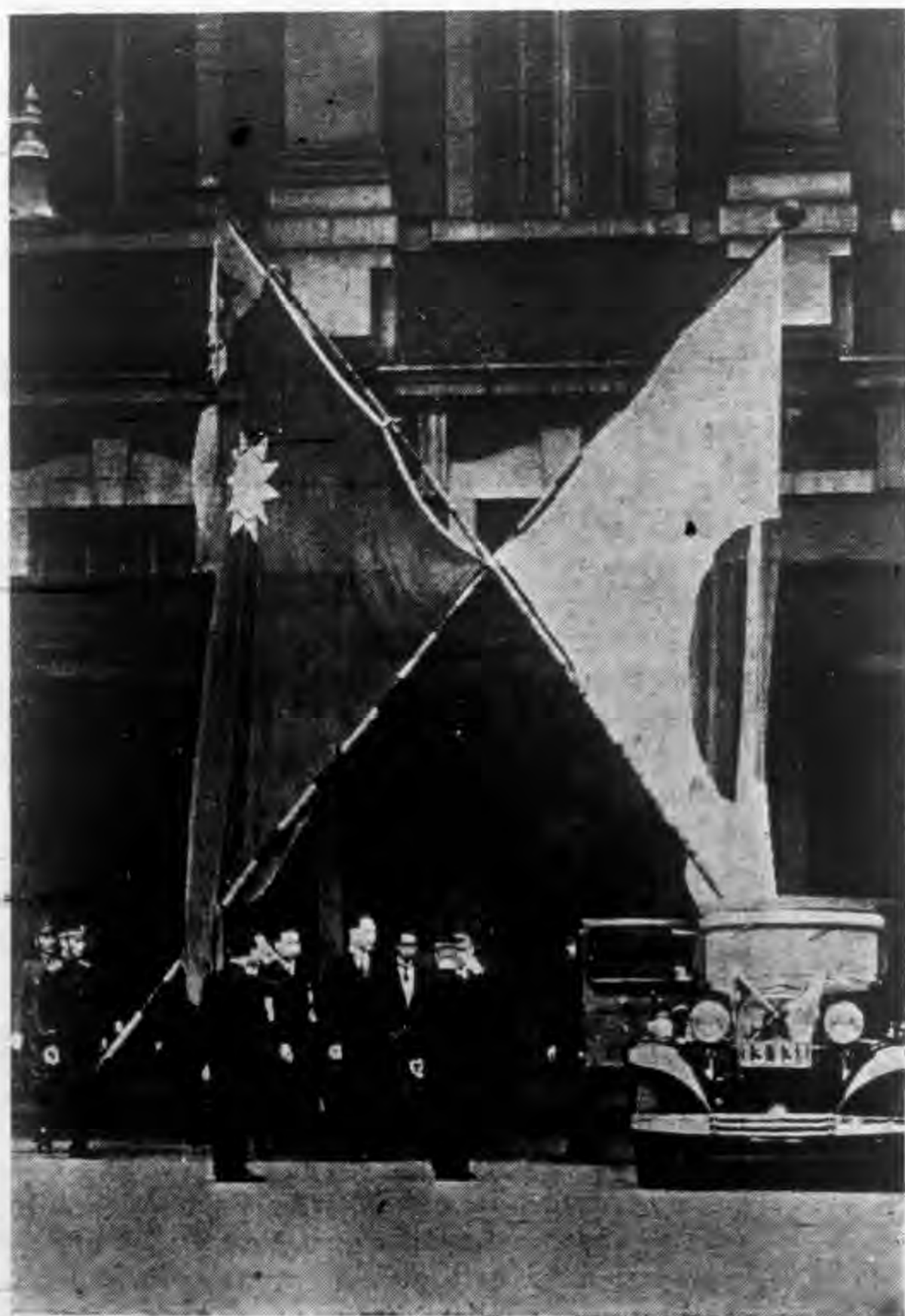
Under the circumstances, Nippon and the Wang regime, that are jointly endeavoring for the solution of the China Emergency, are also collaborators with each other and standing on a common front in all affairs. Such a gigantic task as the construction of a New Order in East Asia can never be achieved speedily. Neither is it a question confined only to the three powers

of China, Manchoukuo, and Nippon. For that sake, we must keep up the fight directly or indirectly in the midst of the unprecedented maelstrom in the international situation. Not only in the China Emergency, but also in a war which will be greater in magnitude and scale, China and Nippon must put up a common front. This point is of vital importance in the relations between the Wang regime and Nippon in the present stage. That is the first prerequisite.

Next, as regards the vitalization of the Wang regime, Nippon must by all means render the best possible aid and co-operate with Nanking by methods that will enable the Wang regime to assert its independent and free authority.

Once the two prerequisites are realized by both Nippon and the Wang regime and regional peace is achieved, the area for a New Order in East Asia will be set up in China. It will then naturally lead China and Nippon to the much talked about total peace.

To be sure, the joint Konoye-Wang statement is based on the conclusion derived from the parleys between the leaders of China and Nippon which have been held in Tokyo for several days. It declares the determination of the two nations to realize the two prerequisites to the people of the two nations as well as to the world. The immutable course of our nation in East Asia must be said to have been clearly shown. — ("O. M.")



When Pres. Wang Arrived in Tokyo

President Wang Ching-wei, of the National Government of China, is seen arriving at Tokyo Station on June 17. He was met at the station by a group of Japanese officials, including Premier Prince Konoye and Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka.

WORLD WAR IS SET OFF

Germany and the U.S.S.R. on Sunday, June 22, opened hostilities all over the frontiers. This must have shocked the whole world even more than the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact which was concluded on August 23, 1939.

The German Government announced that it would expose within 24 hours the documents substantiating the secret understanding which Moscow is said to have reached with London. It is reported that Fuehrer Adolf Hitler, upon declaring war against the U.S.S.R., pointed out what he regarded as various lawless acts perpetrated by the Soviets, bitterly assailing the Kremlin.

In that declaration, the Fuehrer laid special stress on the Soviet maneuvers to drag Germany into a protracted campaign, asserting that Germany could no longer tolerate such machinations on the part of the Kremlin. Meanwhile, the Kremlin also stated that the U.S.S.R. did nothing to merit such an attack from Germany, and that as long as she was unjustly attacked by Germany, the U.S.S.R. was compelled to strike back at Germany with all her might.

We have reasons to believe that Germany had been demanding a greater supply of commodities from the U.S.S.R. Well-informed quarters in third powers assert that Germany was asking the U.S.S.R. to furnish large quantities of oil and wheat in particular. Concerning this point, we may reserve comment pending the disclosure of details by either Government.

As long as Germany has now launched a military drive, she finds it necessary to attain the full benefit of the blitzkrieg. At present the situation is apparently favorable for Germany to launch a "swift blow for a quick finish," whereas the U.S.S.R.'s chief forte lies in a protracted war.

Regardless of whether a protracted war will benefit the U.S.S.R. or not, the Kremlin will do everything in its power to prolong the campaign, since it knows that the Red Army would be no match against the Wehrmacht in a blitzkrieg. The new war on the eastern frontiers unquestionably will bear vitally on the Anglo-German strife.

Concerning the New York dispatch alleging that the "Soviet Government announced that it has reached a complete accord with the British Government," neither side has thus far confirmed the news. Granting that such an accord was reached secretly, we need not be surprised at all.

We have no means of ascertaining at this hour what mission Sir Stafford Cripps, British Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., has brought back to London. Even if Moscow had endeavored to lean toward London in the midst of the German demand for a greater supply of Soviet commodities following the highly successful German campaign in the Balkans, those who are familiar with the Kremlin would not have been a bit surprised.

Whether or not an anti-German encirclement was being concocted between the United States and the Anglo-Soviet bloc will have to be verified by later reports. It is noteworthy, however, that the attitude of President Roosevelt toward Germany has stiffened, particularly in the last several days.

The President has ordered the German consulates in the United States to be closed and has addressed a Congressional message couched in unusually vehement language in connection with the sinking of the American freighter Robin Moor, even risking German retaliation. Now that Germany has actually risen in arms against the U.S.S.R., what steps will the United States take in the war in Europe? Will the American masses dance to President Roosevelt's music by tolerating war participation?

Finland and Rumania consider themselves to have been wronged too much by the U.S.S.R. for forgiveness. Germany as usual has shown clever military and political strategy by arraying Finland and Rumania in the war jointly against Moscow.

Thus the European conflict has developed literally into a world war. We do not entertain the slightest doubt that our Government will act wisely by appreciating the serious effect the war will have on the East Asia situation.

("O. M.")

Hitler's Proclamation to the German Nation

The Outbreak of War Between Germany and the Soviet Union

The comprehensive and lucid review of the German-Soviet relations since the conclusion of the non-aggression Pact late in August 1939, given by Herr Hitler in his proclamation to the German Nation, reveals a development which by necessity led to the dissolution of the Pact and the breaking-out of hostilities between the two Powers.

The review shows that the Soviet Union, far from appreciating the Fuehrer's forbearance, saw in it an opportunity for presenting the Reichsgovernment with ever new and ever more uncalled for demands and claims which became increasingly extortionist as time went on. Eventually, the attitude of the Soviet Union became undisguisedly hostile and intolerably provocative. The gradual concentration of Soviet troops along the German border soon exceeded many times the forces agreed upon in the Pact. To mention just one example — there were in the Spring of 1940, as admitted by M. Molotoff, 22 Soviet Divisions in the Baltic States as against 5 Divisions provided for by the Pact of 1939.

Soviet Betrayal of Germany

That Moscow was largely responsible for the staging of the coup d'etat in Belgrad immediately following the signing of Yugoslavia's adherence to the Tripartite Pact has now been proved beyond doubt through documents already published by the Reichsgovernment. These and many other acts of the Soviet Government, all of which were enumerated and explained in the Fuehrer's proclamation, have violated flagrantly both the spirit and the letter of the Pact. It is not an unprepared and unsuspecting adversary that Germany is meeting today within the borders of the Soviet Union but a former ally has most coldbloodedly betrayed his partner in connivance with the latter's enemy, Great Britain. The removal of this ever growing threat to Germany's security thus became imperative and had to be undertaken without delay.

M. Stalin's treachery has brought about a situation which the British have been praying and hoping for ever since they declared war on Germany — namely, war on two fronts for Germany. The enthusiasm over this development which one might have reasonably expected in England, however, did not materialize judging by the broadcast that Mr. Churchill made following the outbreak of war between Germany and the Soviet Union. The multitude and variety of insulting vocabulary which the British Prime Minister managed to pack into his speech at the expense of intelligible facts and arguments surpassed everything that this adept of vulgar speech has ever produced. It has become a habit with Mr. Churchill to break down all accepted limits of verbal decency in regard to the Fuehrer, the German flag and

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through them in regard to every living German, whenever he finds that his schemes have miscarried. It can, therefore, be assumed that this latest one has suffered the same lamentable fate as its predecessors.

Washington's Embarrassment

Washington also seems to have been more confounded and embarrassed with the latest developments in Eastern Europe than confirmed in the course the United States ought to take. Having to raise the Soviet Union to the status of a democratic victim of aggression has stirred up a host of problems and perplexities which will hardly contribute to the unification of American public opinion. The government at Washington continues to juggle with fantastic figures of war planes, ships and other items of armament but the many difficulties of production, not to speak of delivery, continue to grow. An analysis of the conditions prevailing in the American armament industry, as published by the American press, shows that, although orders for war planes and a wide variety of war equipment are steadily mounting, there is no indication that delivery of these will keep pace with the growing demand anywhere in the near future. Labor trouble and shortage of certain

materials have prevented, so far, the organization of the war industry into a smoothly and efficiently working instrument of Washington's interventionists. It is not difficult to discover the bluff behind Washington's war propaganda which aims at embroiling more and more powers in the present war to serve the cause of American capitalistic imperialism.

The reaction of the European press to the German-Soviet clash indicates a growing realization that this conflict concerns all of Europe. This consciousness of European solidarity is unanimous in its support of the German drive against Bolshevism which for 20 years has hung as a dark cloud over the destinies of all European peoples.

No Hatred Against Russian People

The war which Germany is waging against Russia is not one against the peoples of the Soviet Union but a fight against the Government system and Bolshevism as a government creed.

The above statement was made by the Wilhelmstrasse spokesman when he explained the task of this war.



President Wang at Kobe

Mr. Wang Ching-wei, President of the Nanking Government, arrived in Kobe in the Nippon Yusen Kaisha liner Yawata Maru on June 16 and was greeted by a huge crowd. (Below) Mr. Wang is greeted by General Nobuyuki Abe in the saloon of the Yawata Maru. Note the Nanking Government flag in the background.

THE



TIMES

1784. An April storm is howling through the streets of London. John Walter, whose thoughts had been silently absorbed by the inclement weather, slowly addressed himself to his visitor: "I have given careful attention to the whole matter, Mr. Johnson, and I am prepared to buy your new printing process".

Henry Johnson had no great choice of investors interested in his invention. But this man, John Walter, of whose cunning he had been warned, was suddenly taking a lively interest in a technical matter of which he certainly understood nothing whatsoever.

"By means of your process, Mr. Johnson, you say that one is able to set up complete words at once."

Johnson nodded. "Whole groups of letters are already connected with one another when setting up logographic type."

"One could therefore bring out a newspaper far quicker than has hitherto been the case?" — "Yes . . ."

John Walter sat up. Once again he saw an opportunity of making good his otherwise bungled career. With trembling hands he signed the sales contract.

A few weeks later, in May 1784, John Walter informed Londoners that he had taken over the former royal printing house, near the Apothecaries' Hall, and there had opened up his logographic printing business.

At first it looked as if John Walter's speculation would prove a failure. The new printing process was not popular and Walter saw ruin staring him in the face. He refused obstinately to pay Henry Johnson the balance of the purchase price. While Johnson was appealing to court, Walter hastily used the money which he still owed, for publishing on January 1, 1785, his paper the "Daily Universal Register". That was the birth hour of "The Times".

1788. A loud knock at John Walter's door. His foreman entered with a wet copy of the newspaper in his hand.

"Have you set up the new title?"

The foreman nodded. "THE TIMES, Sir, according to instructions. Until this new title becomes more popular, we are still retaining the old one."

"The numerical series will not be interrupted", decided Walter. "Today it is January 2, 1788 and we shall continue with the issue number 940."

The foreman left, followed by an appreciative glance from John Walter. Success had been won! The new printing process made it possible for him to publish parliamentary reports — so essential for London business people — long before his competitors could do so. The Government began to take notice of his paper. Apart from the £300 per annum which he received in consideration of his paper's friendly attitude towards the Government he was receiving an excellent revenue from advertisements and articles which prominent people published and paid for in his paper. Why should he worry that such articles frequently represented selfish interests? If the Government failed to pay up, he would go over to the Opposition. If a prominent man of business, an opponent of Free Trade, did not pay the requisite price, Walter opened up the columns of his paper to other business people who thrived on Free Trade.

In 1812, John Walter, Junior, took over "The Times". After having completed his studies at Oxford he already in 1798, at the age of 22, had become a partner in this now important paper. In 1810, shortly before the death of his father, young Walter appointed Dr. Stoddart — the future Governor of Malta — as his chief editor. John Walter, Junior, soon discovered that the sales of his paper could only be maintained if a new printing press could be bought. Such a press would have to enable him to print far more copies than any competitor could print in the same time. Herr Koenig, a German inventor and engineer, he was told, had built such a press.

One clear November day in 1814, John Walter commenced negotiations with Herr Koenig respecting the purchase of his new press.

In the course of the negotiations, Walter took care that all the essential details of the press were carefully explained to him.

Koenig returned to Wurzburg in high hopes. John Walter, however, flagrantly ignoring all German patent rights, passed on the details of construction to a British engineer who was given the order for a Koenig press.

Now that a large edition of the "Times" was assured, John Walter was able to realize the second part of his scheme. He was urged on by words of his father, that the paper would one day become mightier than the royal sovereign. The "Times" now began a ruthless campaign in its leading articles against the Government and political conditions in the country. Not long afterwards, this paper had grown to become a dangerous political force.

John Walter frequently conferred with Dr. Stoddart, his chief editor. "Our attacks on political conditions must only go far enough for our reputation as an independent paper to continue to remain unimpaired. Broadly speaking, our policy must go hand in hand with that of England." Smilingly, John Walter replied:

"We must conduct ourselves patriotically, but not overlook the money to be made out of patriotism. I think, old chap, that the voice of the people will then assist in helping our paper forward."

1877. Mr. John Thaddeus Delane, third editor of the "Times", sat bent over his work. John Walter entered the office and laid his hand on Delane's shoulder.

"You are not looking too well, Delane. You should go to Nice. In Paris you could look up Blowitz whom we have appointed as our new correspondent."

"I don't like Blowitz, Mr. Walter. Up till now it has not been the policy of our correspondents to replace the supply of reliable and irrefutable news by political accusations and surmises. Blowitz's reports about alleged new German plans for an attack on France are sheer nonsense. I know this man Bismarck in Germany better. I have not long to live, Sir, but I have a legacy to bequeath to you, which must also apply to the future. I have made the "Times" a great paper with the help of truth and in doing so, never forget England. But England will be left helpless the moment we allow ourselves to be forced from the path of truth."

Shortly after the death of Delane, the "Times" began to deteriorate. At the time when George Earle Buckle succeeded Thomas Chenery in 1884 as chief editor, the paper had already started on its downward career and its circulation had decreased by half.

In 1894, John Walter's youngest son, Arthur Fraser Walter, took over the "Times". Under his direction, the paper inclined more and more to the degenerate tone introduced and sponsored in all leading articles and political reports by Blowitz, the Paris correspondent.

Blowitz was a Jew. Born in Bohemia, the whole of his venom was directed from early age against the German people. He came to France as a traveller's companion and subsequently became a teacher of languages at French girls' schools. He was soon discharged, however, for immoral conduct. His close association with M. Thiers, a French statesman, enabled him to become Consul at Riga. He was allowed to relinquish this post on being offered the position of "Times" correspondent in Paris.

Thiers knew very well why he kept Blowitz in Paris. No better and no more suitable man could be found who, for the sake of money, was prepared to uphold the French policy of revenge on Germany. When, a year after Delane's death, Blowitz was able to publish the Berlin Treaty before it had been signed, he had certainly — with the help of the French Secret Service — won his spurs for qualification on the staff of the "Times" with that "magnificent journalistic achievement". From that day onwards, his inflammatory articles, which furnished the basis for the Anglo-French Entente, found their way unhampered into the columns of a paper which was read at every Court and by all governments throughout the world, and until then had enjoyed a reputation for reliable information.

With the advent of Blowitz the hour had struck for the dissemination of a slow but ever-increasing virulent hatred of Germany as expressed in the columns of the "Times".

1908. The 62-year old Arthur Fraser Walter enters the large board-room of the "Times", accompanied by the newspaper king — the newly created Lord Northcliffe. Northcliffe lays down the policy for enlarging the "Times". "The price of the paper will be reduced to one penny to conform with the price of other papers. At the same time, its contents

will have to be more in line with the style of the big popular papers. In politics, as well, we shall deviate from our lofty standpoint. The Central Powers, particularly Germany, are the enemies of Britain. The Germans, we feel, work too much. We must reinforce the reputation of the "Times" with a stronger political tone. . . .

Truth and reality are just as much out of place here as they are in the case of an advertisement destined to crush the enemy.

I think that we shall have war in a few years and there is much to do until then."

From the day that Lord Northcliffe took over the "Times" the ring of conspiracy forged by that paper grew tighter and tighter around Germany. In Paris, the Dutch Jew Lavino succeeded Blowitz. In Berlin, George Sanders, another enemy of Germany, is at work as "Times" correspondent; in Vienna we find that arch-enemy Henry Wickham Steed and in St. Petersburg Mr. Braham assumed office after his order for deportation had been countermanded. All these correspondents, of whom not one would write a line friendly to Germany, sent their reports to Valentine Chirol, the former "Times" correspondent in Berlin who, now as head of the "Times" foreign political department, was assiduously occupied in poisoning opinion in England and throughout the world against Germany.

The "Times" now conducted a policy far removed from the policy laid down by Delane. This paper no longer played the part of a monitor of British hypocrisy but rather it has become the most staunch and universal champion of British cant.

At the result of this consistent and inexorable attitude towards Germany, this paper in August 1914 disseminated throughout the entire world its virulent anti-German articles.

That policy was continued during the hard years which Germany faced as the result of the Dictate of Versailles.

In 1929, the "Times", as the first British paper, was granted the right by the British Court of Heraldry to adopt a coat-of-arms.

In 1933, this paper had yet another opportunity of influencing British opinion in favor of a long-standing German desire for an Anglo-

German understanding. But the opportunity was allowed to pass. The "Times" paved the way for war. The resultant campaign of calumny and incitement against Germany was on a par with that during the Great War. We read in the columns of the "Times" the same demands for the destruction of the German people, for starving out the population, bombing their cities and the murder of German women and children.

The dawn of a new era will strike the hour of judgment for a newspaper that for decades past has been the mouthpiece of all the lowest British instincts.

1940/41. Sirens are screaming through the dark streets of London. German bombers are overheard on their mission of reprisal.

Shortly before dawn, a heavy German bomb hits the "Times" building. The mighty tower clock, as if struck by a monstrous fist, collapses and plunges downward with the falling masonry. These ruins bear witness to the accursed consequences of a destiny for which they themselves are solely responsible and beneath the weight of which the British Empire will collapse.

Residents In Philippines Are to Be on Short Rations

Mr. Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior told press correspondents that American residents in the Philippines may be forced "to go native" in their diets because of the shipping shortage in the Pacific.

Mr. Ickes was asked whether there was danger of food shortages in off-shore territories, and in reply the Secretary said that Americans in the Philippines have shown concern over this problem.

It was his impression, Mr. Ickes added, that the Filipinos could grow sufficient food to feed themselves, but pointed out that the deficiency in the Philippines was in imported food to which Americans and others have been accustomed.

The Secretary of the Interior, who has charge of the affairs of U.S. territories and possessions, indicated that no moves were contemplated to remedy the situation. Instead, he indicated, emphasis would be made on meeting shipping deficiencies for more urgent materials and products associated with national defence.

PRESIDENT WANG FETED IN TOKYO



President Wang Ching-wei and members of his suite were guests at an elaborate banquet given in their honor at the Imperial Hotel on June 23 by the Imperial Rule Assistance Association in Tokyo. Attending the fete were nearly 270 Japanese notables headed by Lieutenant-General Heisuke Yanagawa, Justice Minister and Vice-President of the Association, seen here reading the message of welcome.

President Wang in Tokyo



During his sojourn in the Japanese capital, Mr. Wang Ching-wei, President of the National Government of China at Nanking, attended various formal social functions. Here he is shown at a Japanese tea ceremony given in his honor at Tokyo's Gokokuji Temple. Mr. Wang is seen second from the left, with Dr. Chu Min-yi, Chinese Ambassador to Japan, second from the right.

President Wang Returns From Japan Visit



Completing his sojourn in Japan during which he conferred with various Tokyo officials on the current political situation and received numerous assurances of the desire of the Nippon Government to co-operate with the National Government of China in creating a new era of East Asia prosperity, President Wang Ching-wei returned to the capital on June 28. He is seen in the picture landing from a special launch after disembarking at Shanghai.

What Lies Behind German-Soviet Conflict?

Kremlin Refuses Berlin's Request Re Ukraine, Belief;
Successive Victories, New Auto Highways
Secret of German War Strength

By Katsuji Fuse

(Editorial Manager, The "Osaka Mainichi")

Fuehrer Adolf Hitler has declared war against the U.S.S.R. at last. The Soviet-German war, although it was long anticipated, shocked the whole world when it was actually set off.

In April this year Germany launched her characteristic blitzkrieg against Jugoslavia and Greece, crushing the two nations in a twinkling. Then after rapidly reducing Crete island, Germany has shown indications of closing in on Cyprus island, Syria, and the Suez Canal. While the world focused its attention on the Near East front, the Fuehrer turned north to strike a blow at the Northern Bear.

The Wehrmacht in the Balkans, leaving the patrol of Jugoslavia and Greece to the Italian Army, swerved sharply to the north. As the result, countless millions of Reich troops have swarmed to the Soviet frontiers extending some 2,500 kilometers from the Baltic in the north to the Black Sea in the south.

Fuehrer Hitler, besides gashing the Soviet belly, has induced Finland to dispatch powerful Army units to the shores of the Gulf of Finland, placing them in a position to menace Leningrad, the Soviet heavy industry center, in co-operation with the Wehrmacht, which also entered Finland.

Simultaneously with massing large numbers of troops on the Soviet border, Fuehrer Hitler is said to have pressed strong demands on the Kremlin. In regard to the question as to exactly what the Fuehrer demanded of Premier Stalin, conflicting reports have emanated from various sources.

It is not difficult to surmise that the German demands were centered on two points, namely (1) joint Soviet-German control over Ukraine grain and the Baku oilfields, and (2) withdrawal of Soviet maneuvers from Turkey.

The Kremlin consented to the second item, but apparently endeavored to find fault with Germany in regard to the first item. The Soviet

withdrawal from Turkey has made it possible for Ankara to conclude a treaty of amity with Berlin.

The Kremlin evidently imagined that by conceding to Germany regarding Turkey it could appease the German attitude toward the U.S.S.R. Here is where Stalin erred in his calculations regarding the German moves.

Now is the ideal opportunity for Germany to launch an offensive against the Soviet Union, as the year is about to enter its summer. Fuehrer Hitler is too shrewd to duplicate the example of Napoleon, whose Moscow campaign ended in a dismal failure because he launched it on the threshold of Russian winter. Fuehrer Hitler feared if he should allow the present season slip by he might never have another chance again. That is why he resolutely rose in arms on June 22.

* * *

The Fuehrer's bold stroke has served to confirm the public belief in the latent fighting strength of the Germans. During the past 20 months since the outbreak of the war, they have conquered every one of the eight nations against which they rose in arms.

Even though the German casualties are reported to have been extremely slight, they are said to have exceeded 200,000. By subduing the eight countries, Germany has placed vast territories under her control, for whose defence she probably finds it necessary to station a considerable armed force.

Yet the fact remains that Germany can spare a terrifically large Army including a highly efficient mechanized corps for launching a fresh campaign against such a large country like the U.S.S.R. The seemingly unlimited power of Germany should be regarded as the world's greatest question mark.

Personally I would name two keys to the solution of these questions. First, Germany has been emerging greater from every campaign she has launched since September, 1939. Wherever the Wehrmacht went, it was invariably crowned with success.

Every victorious campaign has given Germany tens of thousands or hundreds of thousands of war prisoners and enormous trophies of war. Yes, Germany has been fattened like a rolling snowball.

Second, I would unhesitatingly single out the Hitler Super-Highway. In every neighboring country she subdued, Germany has utilized the war prisoners for constructing extensions to the super-highway in the occupied areas.

This super-highway is said to be one of the most powerful new weapons introduced by Germany in the present war. The completed network of this highway is said to be equal to the addition of 20 new Army divisions.

When the super-highway is extended throughout the occupied areas, its value probably surpasses 100 divisions, for the network has eliminated the necessity of stationing large troops for patrolling the occupied areas. As long as a powerful mechanized force is massed at a point it can be mobilized to any distant point on short notice.

That is one good reason why the Fuehrer has been able to concentrate at any fixed point three times the enemy strength or more, and that is also the reason why Germany can wage a war against the Soviet Union in the midst of a fierce strife against Britain.

* * *

I have always contended that Europe in recent years has become a stage where leading statesmen are matching their wits.

In fact, it was one of the conclusions I reached upon returning home from my extended sojourn from Europe last year. The game of wits between Fuehrer Hitler and Josef Stalin has been one of the outstanding features in European diplomacy today.

When Fuehrer Hitler launched the blitzkrieg in the Low Countries and France last summer, the U.S.S.R. annexed the three Baltic states, namely Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania; regained Bessarabia from Rumania, and snatched Bukovina.

Not to be outdone, the Fuehrer advanced three divisions into Rumania. The Kremlin dictator at this juncture dispatched Foreign Commissar Vyacheslav Molotov to Berlin to pay court to Fuehrer Hitler.

When Yugoslavia effected a coup d'etat late in March this year, the Kremlin concluded a non-aggression pact with Belgrade. This has eventually aggravated Soviet-German relations to their present status.

I consider it a glaring mistake for Mr. Stalin to assume the chairmanship of the Council of People's Commissars (corresponding to premiership in other countries). Mr. Stalin by his very nature is a statesman of the "behind the scenes" type. As such he stands in a class by himself.

As a mere secretary-general of the Communist party, he has wielded great power, mowing down opposition after opposition relentlessly. His main forte is to pull wires behind the scene and to make others dance to his music.

As a man to appear in the limelight he has not the supreme touch, or let us say the personal magnetism which the Fuehrer and Il Duce possess to a marked degree. Another reason why he has preferred until recently to lurk behind the scenes was that, any time his foreign policy went wrong, he had the advantage of not assuming responsibility.

Take his policy of leaning toward Britain and France and of utilizing the League of Nations for example. He used Maxim Litvinov, then Foreign Commissar. The moment he saw fit to change his policy, however, he discarded Litvinov like a worn-out pair of shoes. Now that he is the Premier I do not believe he can very well pretend ignorance.

In assuming the premiership has he not more to lose than to gain? Upon seeing Germany rise in arms against the U.S.S.R., I am convinced more than ever of his disqualification as a statesman appearing in the limelight.

Hata Host to Wang

General Shunroku Hata, Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Expeditionary Forces in China, last evening was host at a dinner party given in honor of President Wang Ching-wei, on the occasion of the latter's return to Nanking from Japan.

Revision of the Nine Power Treaty and the "Open Door"

By Tsurumatsu Okamoto

(Assistant Editor, "The Tokyo Asahi")

It is repeatedly suggested that Japan is about to propose the revision of the Nine-Power Pact. This is a very sensible suggestion since the pact is now a dead letter and is no longer applicable to the real conditions in China. It may be recalled that in August, 1917, Japan sent the Ishii Mission to Washington in order to smooth strained relations between Japan and the United States which had been caused concerning the interpretation of the "open door" policy with the consequence that the United States gave recognition of Japan's special interests in China.

The Ishii-Lansing Notes stated that the Governments of the United States and Japan recognize that territorial propinquity creates special relations between countries, and consequently the Government of the United States recognized that Japan has special interests in China, particularly in the part to which her possessions are contiguous.

Of course the two Governments meant by these Notes to adhere to the principle of the "open door" and equal opportunity for commerce and industry in China. With the signing of the Nine-Power Treaty of Washington, however, the Notes were cancelled on April 14, 1923. From the side of Japan this replacement of the Ishii-Lansing Notes by the Nine-Power Treaty was a reverse of her position in China, for her special rights in China were not recognized in the Treaty.

It is easy to explain how Washington succeeded in forcing Japan to sign the Treaty. It was when the World War was at its height, and the Allied cause assumed the gloomiest aspect that Japan dispatched Viscount Ishii to gloze over matters regarding the disputes over the interpretation of the "open door," and Japan succeeded in inducing Washington to recognize Japan's special interests in China.

The Nine Power Treaty, on the other hand, was thrust upon Japan when peace was restored in Europe, and Washington took a common front with Great Britain in isolating Japan through

the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The signing of the Nine-Power Treaty meant a great diplomatic triumph of the Anglo-Saxon nations, for the "open door" policy, which the Treaty stressed, practically amounted to giving the two nations monopoly or at least the lion's share of the trade in China. It implied nothing else but "spheres of interest" for the two greatest commercial nations.

It will be seen that different international situations, more especially European situations, accounted for the production of different treaties relating to China involving Japan and the United States. When the Nine Power Treaty was signed the U.S. and Great Britain had no longer any concern over Europe, since Germany had been driven out of the international arena of politics. In short, Japan yielded to the force of circumstances, but her discontent remained dormant ready to be actively expressed at the first opportunity. One of Japan's objections was that whereas the Ishii-Lansing Notes recognized her special interests, and more especially those created by territorial contiguity, the Nine-Power Treaty disregarded any geographical considerations which should have occupied an important position in any treaty to be applied to the Asiatic continent just as the "open door" policy of the U.S. would find an exception in her Caribbean European policy. It was quite natural that in less than a decade conditions revealed the Nine Power Treaty to be an instrument impotent to preserve peace in the Far East.

The Kuomintang Government elated at the success of her diplomacy in the form of the Nine Power Treaty, and too eager for her rights-recovery movement, attempted even to encroach on Japanese interests in Manchuria, hence the Manchurian incident.

The Manchurian incident of 1931 and the Sino-Japanese hostilities of 1937, revealed that the Nine Power Treaty could hardly ensure the peace of the Far East. The reason is that the

treaty was based on a misconception of the democratic powers that the Kuomintang government alone was qualified to unite China. At that time the Kuomintang itself was split by quarrels of conflicting elements within itself.

Thus the Nine Power Treaty cannot assure the permanent peace of the Far East and the treaty therefore should be subjected to scrutiny and revised to conform to the needs of the time. As Germany was excluded when the original treaty was made this wrong should be rectified in a new treaty.

When Lord Charles Beresford visited Shanghai in 1901, he remarked that the "open door" was of no use unless the room inside is in order. It cannot be said that the Kuomintang Government put the room in order so that the door might be opened to entertain guests. It may be asserted that the Ching Kai-shek government had nearly succeeded in effecting unification of China, when Japan interfered, but it must be remembered that the unification of China under Chiang Kai-shek was being effected at the expense of Japan. In short Chiang Kai-shek succeeded in using the Japanese bogey as the instrument for uniting the nation, with the ultimate object of driving Japanese rights and interests out of China.

The Nine Power Treaty failed to satisfy Japan, because instead of recognizing special interests in China, which should be accorded her on account of her geographical propinquity, it accords equal treatment to all powers concerned, Oriental and Occidental, irrespective of geographical conditions, and this equal treatment, be it remembered, simply meant favorable treatment for the Anglo-Saxon powers.

As long as China's international situation remained just as it was when the Nine Power Treaty was signed, Japan might have been expected to adhere to it, but to-day the situation has completely altered. Germany which was left out in the cold when the Nine Power Treaty was drafted has been resuscitated to such an extent as to be able to assert her part in international affairs. Japan is not asking too much in seeking a new interpretation to the "open door" of China by fundamentally revising the Nine Power Treaty.

Japan will be quite willing to observe the "open door" policy, not in the sense the U.S.A. would interpret, but in a new sense of the term more in conformity with the existing situation.

Even in the Ishii-Lansing Notes Japan's special rights were recognized. Now that enormous sacrifice has been made by Japan, thanks to the anti-Japanese campaign of the Kuomintang Government, Japan's position in China may be said to have undergone a complete change. Japan claims her special position in China as the unique pacifying factor in the Far East. In short, Japan demands certain exceptions to the "open door" policy just as the United States enjoyed exceptions to her professed "open door" policy in Philippines and Hawaii. In May, 1873, the U.S. contracted a treaty of reciprocity with the Hawaiian Islands in which the U.S.A. enjoyed special rights not to be claimed by other nations under the most-favored nation clause. Again, in 1898, the U.S. agreed to give Spain equality of treatment in Philippines ports for ten years, but she erected the tariff in November, 1901, and thus offended against the spirit of the "open door" declarations. These actions on the part of the United States were, however, quite reasonable in view of the paramount interests she possessed in these Islands even before they were annexed to her.

Of course, the conversion of China into a second Manchoukuo is not the real intention of Japan, since China proper and Manchoukuo cannot be regarded as being on the same plane owing to differences of historical as well as geographical conditions. What Japan would accept as the basis of harmonious collaboration with the powers is an "open door" policy which has some exceptions by way of recognizing special rights for Japan. Japan is not yet in the mood to attend to the grievances of third power nations in Shanghai and elsewhere in view of the fact that life and death struggles are still in progress. Indeed, it would be no wise policy for third powers to lodge sharp protests with Japan at this juncture against what these powers may regard as deviations from the "open door" policy. The "open door" is a product of the preceding century when China was regarded as a Western semicolonial land for the exploitation of the Occidental powers. Protests based on such an obsolete and time-worn diplomatic policy can only irritate the feelings of the Japanese nation.

Of course ousting of third power rights and interests is not intended by Japan, and at this same time ousting of Japan's special rights in China through the so-called "open door" policy is not to be tolerated.

Will Not Britain and America Fish in Troubled Waters?

(Translation of "Central China Daily News" Editorial of June 29.)

The outbreak of hostilities between Germany and Soviet Russia has changed the situation of the entire world. Many countries now have to re-orientate their attitudes completely or partly to meet this new development. The European War, which has been regarded as an Imperialistic war, will henceforth receive a new name. The Communists will most likely cease to call the war on the western front "an Imperialistic war" and the war on the eastern front "an anti-Imperialistic war." The Communists in America will, in particular, make a radical change in their attitude. Before the conclusion of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, the Communists supported the so-called "Democratic Front". However, as soon as the Pact was announced, the European War was condemned as an Imperialistic war and the workers in America even started to obstruct by strikes the American Government plan of building strong national defences. Now that the Soviet-German war has broken out, will these Communists support the Lend-Lease Bill or continue to attack it? This is a problem which should be solved by the American laborers immediately.

However, the problem which deserves the closest attention of the world is the attitude of Britain and the United States. It is true that after the outbreak of the war between Germany and Soviet Russia, Mr. Churchill in a speech made clear the position of Britain and declared that Britain would fight on against the Reich. Later on, Mr. Eden, British Foreign Minister, declared that in the light of the present situation, Britain would give all-out aid to Russia. President Roosevelt stated also that America would assist Russia as far as possible. Not only this, the American Department of Treasury cancelled the order for the freezing of Soviet credits in America, so that Russia might purchase whatever they want in the United States. It appears that Britain and America have joined hands in giving full assistance to Soviet Russia, and will not take a "wait-and-see" attitude as Russia did during the Anglo-German war with the object of fishing in troubled waters.

As a matter of fact, the statements of the British and American government officials are mere gestures. If we analyse the activities behind the scenes, we can see that the real attitude is entirely different. Britain and America cannot exist side by side with Soviet Russia. At the beginning, Britain and America failed to induce Germany to attack Russia. On the contrary, Soviet Russia succeeded in inducing Germany to attack Britain and France. This represented a serious defeat on the part of Britain and America in international diplomacy. Now, the lost opportunity has come back again, and it is only natural for Britain and America not to miss this opportunity. While they do not desire a German victory over Soviet Russia, they do not want to see an overwhelming Soviet victory over Germany either. The situation in Europe as well as in the entire world after a Soviet victory is something of which Britain and America cannot bear to think. According to their conjectures, the war between Germany and Russia will end in a victory for the former. If Germany wins the war, she will renew her attack against Britain with the help of the newly-acquired resources of Russia. By then, the German forces will not only be strengthened, but will be in a position to wage a prolonged war. In order to meet this situation, British and America are trying to speed up their preparations when Germany and Russia are engaged in a life-and-death struggle. The longer Germany and Russia keep on fighting, the better can Britain and America prepare themselves. However, it is very doubtful whether Russia can fight very long for these two "democratic" countries. As the probabilities are that Soviet Russia cannot keep on fighting for a long time, Britain and America will at least pretend to give Russia some assistance so that she may not collapse too soon. Such assistance from Britain and America will not assure a Soviet victory in her war against Germany. If the truth were known, Britain and America hope that Soviet Russia will collapse and collapse completely at the time which they believe to be most appropriate for their purpose. By that time, Britain and

America will have to deal with Germany only, and they will have no more threat of Communism. What Britain and America fear most at the present time is a minor victory for Germany and the surrender of Soviet Russia. In such event, the German strength will be greatly increased, and behind Germany, there will still remain the military power of Soviet Russia for them to deal with in the future.

In the British Parliament, there are many people who advocate negotiation of peace immediately with Germany. This policy, of course, will not be accepted by the British Government at the present time. Once Britain negotiates for peace, the fighters in Soviet Russia will be greatly affected. Soviet Russia may negotiate for peace also, long before Britain and Germany come to any understanding. If peace is concluded between Germany and Soviet Russia in this manner, Britain will be confronted with a more serious crisis, and there will be no more chance for Britain to compromise with Russia.

America has signified her intention of assisting Soviet Russia. In what manner will America assist Soviet Russia? This has not been decided. In a press interview, President Roosevelt refused to answer such questions as "Will the Lend-Lease Bill apply to Soviet Russia?" "Will America consider Soviet Russia a country closely related to the national defence of America?" "Will Soviet Russia have to pay cash in purchasing goods from the United States?" As President Roosevelt declined to answer these questions, we can see the real attitude of Britain and America toward Soviet Russia. It is quite easy to imagine what tactics Britain and America will adopt in dealing with Soviet Russia.

Siberian Bases for U.S.?

Mr. Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State, categorically denied the "*Herald-Tribune's*" Washington report that defence strategists had urged the Administration to seek conclusion of a deal with the Soviet Union for the use of Siberian bases.

When asked about the report at yesterday's press conference, Mr. Welles said that he had not heard a word regarding the story, and could not conceive that there was any truth in it.

A Survey of Japanese-American Relations

Commenting on the delicate condition of the Japanese-American relations, the "*New China Daily News*" says that the responsibility for this delicate situation rests with America, not Japan. To use China for the maintenance of the lull in the South Pacific is the Far Eastern policy of realistic America. "To help the German tactics against Britain, it is necessary for Japan to put a great restraint on the United States in the Pacific, but, although Japan has made quick naval preparations she cannot be fully confident of success. Therefore, it is not best policy for Japan to wage a war against America at the present moment," opines the daily.

The policy generally advocated in Japan is to conclude the Sino-Japanese hostilities before launching her southward drive, asserts the "*New China Daily News*."

It is quite true, as some people believe, that Japan will have already advanced southward when she has taken Hainan and controlled Thailand and French Indo-China. To put it more specifically, it is only by military occupation of Burma, Singapore, and the Netherlands East Indies that Japan can be said to have really pushed southward and only then will the situation be intolerable to America. But no proof has yet been found that Japan will act in this way," states the journal. "For this reason, despite the possibility that Japan and America may start fighting on account of China and N.E.I. such a war really hinges on the American participation in the war." Concluding, the paper asserts that "only when the United States fights in both oceans will Japan decidedly carry out her southward drive. Such is the situation of the Japanese-American relations."

Japanese Government Decides to Loan China Y.300,000,000

The Ministry of Publicity issued the following communique on June 28:

"The Japanese Imperial Government, responding to the wishes of the Chinese National Government, has decided to loan to China three hundred million yen. In connection with the loan, the Yokohama Specie Bank will be responsible for its execution."

The Decline and Fall of the British Empire

By Robert Briffault

(Continued from last issue)

(CHAPTER SEVEN, continued)

England and Europe

On the Side of Abuse and Reaction

England's policy outside Europe when, as most frequently happened, she was not herself the aggressor, has likewise been automatically on the side of abuse and reaction. Thus, in the American Civil War, English intervention immediately rushed to the assistance of the slaveholders and the reactionary South, which could not have sustained the bloody struggle against progressive forces, and would probably have hesitated to undertake it, without the active economic and material support of England, who to this day glories in her sympathy with feudalism, slaveowning, and obscurantism.

The record of English foreign policy may be searched in vain for a single instance in which it has been influenced, let alone determined, by a motive of a generous character, such as the support of the weak against aggression, of liberty against oppression, or of mere justice and respect for international law. On the rare occasions when, as in the World War, England has happened to be on the side of relative right, her participation in its defence has been determined by her interests and not by moral considerations. When those interests have not been directly involved, England's recognition of the justice of a given cause has never gone beyond Platonic expressions of sympathy. But whenever practical interests have not happened to coincide with equity, England has been consistently and invariably the defender of vested interests and established power, however flagrantly oppressive, aggressive, and unjust. England can always be trusted, if in nothing else, to be the determined supporter of reaction.

Conservatism

It is usual to refer to that fundamental character of English policy by the term "conservatism." But the euphemism is incorrect. Her interests has not been in the maintenance of the *status quo*; it has not been

"conservative." It has been throughout her political international career reactionary in the fullest connotation of the term. She first came upon the scene of European politics as the champion of absolutism and feudalism. She has consistently supported monarchy as such. She refused to recognize Peter of Serbia, not on the ground of the bloody palace revolution which brought him to the throne, but on the avowed principle that monarchy is sacred. When the last Czar of Russia was deposed in a revolution which as yet appeared to have but a constitutional monarchy as its goal, and before Bolshevism had appeared on the scene, England, alone of all "democratic" countries, received the news with frigid displeasure, and Mr. Bonar Law moved in the House of Commons a vote of condolence with the deposed Czar. A letter recently appeared in an English paper in which the writer objected to Franco being designated as a "rebel." He argued that the Spanish republicans were the rebels because they had brought about the abdication of Alfonso Bourbon-Hapsburg. On the other hand, Louis Napoleon was hailed as a "savior of society" because he had destroyed the French Republic.

English foreign policy enjoys the advantage of a unique continuity of aims and methods. The modifications of direction attendant of changes of ministry or of party in power are relatively insignificant. A Tory government's policy may be vigorously denounced by his Majesty's Liberal or Labor opposition. But no sooner is that opposition at the helm than the head winds of denunciatory eloquence drop out of its sails, and the ship of state proceeds undeflected upon its traditional course. Gladstone, shortly before taking office in 1880, had indulged in an eloquent moral denunciation of the Hapsburg empire, challenging anyone to point to any good it had ever done in the world. By the time the Austrian ambassador had received his instructions and called to protest in the name of his offended government, the

orator was established in Downing Street. He smilingly pointed out to the protesting Austrian that at the time the diatribe had been launched, he (Gladstone) "had been in a position of greater freedom and less responsibility." The phrase has become a classical formula of English political verbiage in similar situations. Whether a Gladstone or a Disraeli, a Palmerston or a Derby be in power does not materially affect the course of English foreign policy. Gladstone in power carried on rather more recklessly and aggressively the imperialist policy of Disraeli. The Tory minister had secured the Suez Canal shares; the Liberal leader secured Egypt herself for the empire, by means the crookedness and brutality which excited universal indignation. He initiated the attack on the Boer republics, curtly declaring that England's authority over them would never be relinquished. The first act of the first English Labor government was to defend vigorously abroad the interests of the City.

The present particularly infamous reactionary policy of England is commonly set down to the Tory government in power. But that policy was initiated under a Labor government. It was Ramsay MacDonald who put forward in 1924 the plan of a western four-power pact which was carried out the following year by Austen Chamberlain, and is today the declared aim of Neville Chamberlain. This was written in 1938. The long series of active condonations of systematic breaches of the League of Nations Covenant was initiated, not by a Tory, but by a Liberal, the Congregationalism lawyer, Sir John Simon.

The Present Reactionary Policy

The "responsibility" which every English government, whatever may be its shade, assumes on taking office is to the pecuniary interests which are above and behind any party. The principle, more clearly understood in England than in any other country, is expressed by the formulas "Country above party," "England first," and "England right or wrong." "England" in those declarations of principles held to be so sacred that no government, however pink, could conceive of the depravity of ignoring them, is understood to mean the financial interests of the City of London. In the indirect phraseology which is the great literary achievement of English politics, that power behind the throne is referred and deferred to as "public opinion." And the

public opinion evidenced by any part of the population of England with whom anyone dressing at a good tailor's is likely to come in contact is the exact reflection of the reactionary politics of Punch and of the Daily Mail.

There undeniably exists in England another sort of public opinion. But that is not the "public opinion" referred to in political formulas, for every government, be it Tory or Labor, knows that it can with absolute security contemptuously defy it. In other democratic countries, such as France or the United States, the defense of the interests of bourgeois capitalism can only be maintained by measures of repression similar in character to those employed in Fascist states. The danger of resistance, whether active or passive, on the part of social opposition is never entirely absent. Not so in England. Truly disloyal public opinion holds out no danger there. In so far as it is such public opinion directs its activities into the innocuous channels of eloquence and the beatific contemplation of perfectly harmless constitutional and parliamentary action. England is the only country in which the establishment of Fascism is highly improbable, for it is quite superfluous. The English mind has been "fised" and neutralized by the entire course of English mental and political development.

Liberalism and Christian Religion

Opposition to feudal reaction has developed in England in indissoluble conjunction with religious Nonconformity. It has assumed the form of Liberalism, which is a variety of the Christian religion. All mental social revolt in England has a moral and elevated character. His Majesty's opposition to feudal reaction has consisted in the delivery of moral eloquence in Biblical language. The seditious meetings of Welsh miners are opened with the singing of Psalms. Mr. George Lansbury pays a visit to Signor Benito Mussolini and speaks to him — about God. Social opposition is Christian, turns the other cheek and resists not evil. It is safe! The sole thing required of the rulers of England to adapt their policies to the Nonconformist conscience is to word them in the language of lofty moral sentiments.

English foreign policy is "the great task committed to us by Providence"; it is the duty imposed upon our imperial race to police the world and accord the benefits of the "sympathy, tolerance, prudence, and benevolence of our rule,

it is the disinterested and impartial discharge of a heavy responsibility which has been laid upon us by God, and for which we are answerable to Him." The elevated moral language in which the "practical" aims of English policy have been couched since the passing of the Reform Bill was primarily intended to conciliate the Nonconformist conscience and His Majesty's opposition. It has answered that purpose satisfactorily. Like all people unaccustomed to the cerebral irritation of "ideas," the great English public is deeply affected by noble sentiments. Any indignation which the purposes and results of English foreign policy may arouse among the English themselves obtains all the assuagement it requires so long as it is permitted to find vent in the expression of noble sentiments. Such assuagement is termed liberty of thought. It is entirely devoid of the dangers with which

"ideas" are fraught. Being moreover exceptionally immune from the more concrete effects of English foreign policy, the English public is better prepared than Continental population to react to elevated sentiments.

But the insistent moral elevation of English political purpose, while originally intended for home consumption, and despite the additional fulsomeness which it may be thought by some to impart to a rascality which is not peculiar to it, has been found to serve its purpose abroad more effectively than the hollow phraseologies of traditional diplomacy.

English diplomacy has acquired a reputation for cleverness. Whether that reputation is merited will be presently considered. Their first result achieved by England's subtle so-called "balance of power" policy, was the World War.

* * *

Chapter Eight IN A CHANGED WORLD

On emerging from her life-and-death struggle with the opponent she herself had helped to raise to power, England stood in a changed world. Not only had she lost the economic monopolies which had constituted the concrete foundations of her power, but she was called upon to adapt herself, if possible, to the conditions of an entirely new environment. Like many individual survivors of the war, England had to begin her career anew.

So profound was the change that to the surviving generation, old and young, history appears to be sharply divided into two distinct periods: the postwar world and the already old-fashioned and seemingly remote prewar ages. The distinction between the two is so all-pervading and manifold that it appears illusive and hard to pin down. To many English survivors of the older generations the world appeared to have grown un-English, or, in other words, to have degenerated. But the causes of such transformations of the times, more often felt than distinctly apprehended, which were wont to be vaguely set down to some mystical Zeitgeist, are to be sought in definite political and social changes.

Stripped of camouflage, deliberate reticences and obscurities, the course of political history in postwar Europe is fairly simple and logical.

The Post-War World

The war was brought to an abrupt conclusion by the German revolution. Had the normal military course been followed and had the Allies invaded Germany the probability would have been that a Soviet government would have become established there. Berlin was at the time in the power of the Spartacist Communists under Liebknecht. A new desperate resistance would in all likelihood have been set up by popular armies in conjunction with those of Soviet Russia, and possibly of Austria and Hungary. The revolutionary movement would have been strengthened and extended by the need of united resistance to foreign invasion. To crush that resistance would have amounted to beginning a new war, the issue of which could not have been confidently foreseen. Even the danger of fraternization on the part of the French troops could not be excluded.

(To be continued)

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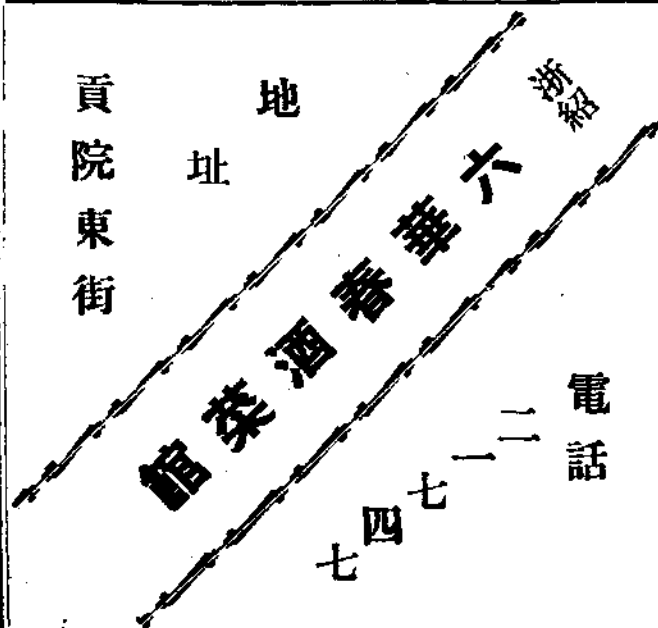
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全體職員齊集禮堂(三)湯市長，歡迎湯兼市長到府，四，全體肅立，五，向國旗及國父遺像行最敬禮，六，全體職員向新舊市長致敬一鞠躬，七，交接印信，八，傅市長致詞，九，湯市長致詞，十，省府代表訓詞，十一，各機關來賓致詞，十二，禮成，十三，奏樂，十四，湯兼市長率領全體職員歡送傅市長離府。

渝國民參政會參政員陳慶綸毅然來歸

渝方國民參政會參政員陳慶綸氏，係蘇省江甯人爲回教中傑出人才，事變以前曾任漢口市百貨業同業公會主席，市商會主席，暨常務委員監察委員等職，在漢市經營實業甚多，并手創私立初級商業學校，私立商人補習學校，七七事件發生以後，又出任武漢各界抗敵後援會常務委員，因回教關係故與渝參謀本部參謀副總長白崇禧有往還比及武漢三鎮失陷，渝國民參政會西移，陳氏隨同退往重慶，數度參與會議，三載以來深觀渝蔣徒擁民主虛名，實施獨裁專政，憑藉參政會名義控制民意，尤復高唱「抗戰必勝」「建國必成」等虛偽口號欺騙民衆，造成法幣貶值物價高漲，陷全國同胞於萬劫不復之地，陳氏目擊心傷，因是毅然脫離重慶，轉輾經由滇港來滬，比及返歸和平區域，始知重慶方面之反宣傳，全爲昧於事理，抹殺事實之愚民政策，乃將渠在渝經歷過程躬赴政警署，自白希望留渝受欺同志，相率幡然來歸，同在汪主席領導之下，努力促成全面和平，茲探錄陳氏之自白原文如次：

慶綸前以服務漢口市商會獲選國民參政會，且曾一度入渝參與會議，故對該會內部情形知之頗詳，蓋參政會徒挾民主虛名而務獨裁之事實，政府藉參政會以控制民意同時爲調協各黨派間之紛爭工具，然則參政會既爲各黨派鎔冶之組合，故內部意見紛歧內鬩頗烈，尤以國共之鬥爭幾不容如水火，抑且各參政員均以誤會爲政治鬥政，掠取官祿之場所，故結黨納朋，標新立異，其複雜混亂之鬥爭狀態，固未嘗

一念本身爲代表民意之人物，然此中亦不乏有識之士，惟格於輿情之統制，每籍口不言，即目擊抗戰之非策，亦相戒慎言恐橫戮殺耳。

近年來戰爭之結果，已如強弩之末，而過量之通貨膨脹致物價高抬，即白米五百元一担，亦幾不可得，人民飽衣足食者百不一二，考其原因，則不外爲法幣貶值及生產者之銳減，消費者之遽增，以是哀鴻遍野，餓殍塞乎溝壑，而咨嗟嗷嗷於街頭巷尾者觸目皆是，然獨夫卒以一介私慾不顧民怨震沸，猶兢兢於政治領導之鞏固，慶綸目覩如斯情景勢所不忍「抗戰必勝」「建國必成」此類口號，尙復有何人肯信，是以慶綸脫離重慶轉輾來滬，冀所以閉門養晦以刷前非及見和建之理論與夫實施情形，則知重慶之反宣傳均爲昧於事理之理論，而今日真正能作我國之國策者厥爲和建大業，且赤子之心人皆有之慶綸乃毅然來歸，希能竭盡棉薄能追隨主席領導之下，秉承大業努力復興國家工作，亦所以贖前愆追來者之義，茲蒙當局優渥不念前疵允慶綸此後能忠誠和建工作，此誠國家厚待亦哀哀，諸公之幸德甯無使人抱憾無涯耶，最後余惟敬希留渝同志及早幡然相率來歸莫再因循徒供獨夫馳驅救國，固不可得且因阻撓和運之故，勢將轉成國家民族之罪人時亟矣志士乎罪人乎端決乎此頃刻間矣。

主席暨中央當局一本不咎既往來者可諫之博大胸懷慶綸之厚被接待者即爲一最雄辯之事實佐證，留渝之諸同志乎盍亟來歸，盍極來歸陳慶綸六月十四日。

中華新聲半月刊 第六卷 第八期
 中華民國三十年七月一日出版
 編輯人 甘德雲
 發行所 南京鼓樓新村八號
 印刷所 同上

貴陽，昆明，蘭貢，新加坡，香港，歷時約四閱月，而抵達他的故鄉廣州，數日前，由粵抵滬轉京，記者曾往訪晤於中山北路某旅館，從談話中看出劉上校參加和運的決心，尤其是他脫走時的歷險經過，頗堪動人，爰為略記如左。

一顆熱血的心 當記者走進他的房間時，這位青年將校，含笑起立，熱烈地握住我的手，他有一副很結實的身體，態度溫雅，活潑端莊的臉龐上，配着一副烏溜溜的眼睛，彷彿燃燒着青年人沉毅堅定的熱情，寒暄一番，並說明來意之後，這位青年將校，就滔滔不絕地講着他離開重慶參加和運的決意，關於此點，他說，他已經寫了一篇很長的文章「告全國青年書」，即日內將發表，所以我們的話鋒，就轉到他脫走時的冒險情形，筆者用很注意和好奇的心理，傾聽着他的報告，他說，「渝方給我的待遇，的確不薄，可是，爲了國家民族的前途，目觀無底抗戰的一條死路，怎麼可以糊塗混下去呢，我認爲和平才是光明的大道，才下了決心，才有勇氣離開重慶，明知道脫走是一件有生命危險的冒險行爲，我全憑着這一顆熱心的心啊」。

他們要的是錢，我決定從重慶脫走，因爲沒有錢，我暗中變賣了我所有的一切，假了公幹的理由逃出來，一路在公共汽車上，提心吊胆，生怕重慶特工份子發覺，每次上車，絕對不進車站，等汽車離站後，我就在遠處截住，招呼上車，祇要多給賣票人一些錢，將近到車站時，就先下車，逃避監視者的視線，我已經化裝商人模樣，很少有人注意我，不久我混到了昆明，熟悉地方情形的人告訴我，這樣在交通機關做事的人待遇低，物價貴，但是他們還是狂賭大喝，全憑納賄舞弊，偷汽油，要是一個陌生，在途中來往，至少你身上要帶一些上等香煙，（價錢很貴）碰到檢查的時候，你就謙恭送他幾包，裝着一個土頭土腦有錢的人，說幾句客氣話，無形中可以佔到不少便宜。

那時，從昆明到緬甸，是要護照的，限制非常嚴格，我想盡了方法，總是領不得，最後，我決定多化一些錢，去和這一批公務人員接近，天天和他們聯絡，請請客，等到混熟了，我就要求給我弄一張護

照，說到緬甸去販貨，他們以爲我是一個簡單的商人，終於給我達到了目的，統統在昆明請客送禮，足足化了一千多塊錢，有錢能使鬼推磨，他們這一批人，要的就是錢哪。

樣樣都味道好 一到了新加坡，錢快完了，可是我非常興奮，因爲我已經脫離了危險，我已經自由，我嗅到了和平的氣息，目觀一般華僑，熙熙攘攘，聽到了不少傾向和平的言論，一方面看到國際間的緊張局勢，內心是感奮極了。

終於我經由香港到了廣州，我會到了父母和弟弟，天倫重聚，恍如隔世，當我在香港住在一個小旅館裏，我看到了香黃芬芳的芒果，我每天狂啖廿餘枚，茶房真見了咋舌，我的肚子也吃壞了，我爲了這個熱帶特有的產物，沉醉我到了廣州，我又狂啖龍蝦和牛肉，我覺得什麼都有好的滋味，我變了很饞嘴的老饕，我雖然不是爲貪吃這些東西而離開重慶，可是在重慶怎樣可以吃到這些美味呢，除非你是一個達官顯宦。

今後獻身和運 留戀家鄉苟安自誤，當然不是我脫離重慶的初衷，我爲爭取個人的前途，爲了獻身和運，我終於北上抵滬，再來到首都，雄偉的紫金山，依然英姿挺秀，繁榮蓬勃的市容，已逐漸恢復舊觀，舊地重游，真是說不出內心的愉快與興奮，我誓以此身，今後在汪主席領導之下，努力和平反共建國運動。

渝方青年將校的脫逃來歸，這是偏安一隅的蔣政權，行將崩潰的喪鐘，當筆者提別劉上校踏出大門的時候，這樣強烈地感念着。

杭市長湯應煌氏就職典禮

新任市長湯應煌氏，於廿日上午十一時，在市府大禮堂，舉行就職典禮，三元坊路上警衛森嚴，該府大門口，懸搭松柏彩牌樓一座，燦爛奪目，上書杭州市政府成立三週年紀念，湯市長就職典禮，禮堂正中交叉青天白日滿地紅之國旗，中設演講台，台上左右各置美麗鮮花，台前二旁置中日長官及來賓席次，儀式爲，一，奏樂；二，市府

東西二洋的航運，除利用蘇彝士運河外，還有東與西二航路可通，但是自從運河竣工後，航程縮短了不少，所以自一八七〇年後船舶通過的數量逐日增加，而近年以來通過的船舶，反而日漸減少，這可以表示由於國際經濟狀態的反映。

通過運河的船舶，以英國為最多，其次當屬義大利，根據一九三八年之統計數如下：

國名	船舶隻數	單位千噸	百分數
英國	三〇二八	一七三五七	五〇·四三%
義國	九八四	四六二六	一三·四四%
德國	四九九	三一三五	九·一一%
荷國	四七六	三〇二八	八·八〇%
法國	二六〇	一七四八	五·〇八%
挪威	二九五	一四八四	四·三一%
希臘	一九九	七九〇	二·二九%
日本	一〇〇	六七五	一·九六%
丹麥	九六	四八八	一·四二%
美國	六九	三八八	一·一三%

自蘇彝士運河竣工後，已奪去了繞道南非好望角航路重要地位，如大米，小麥，及其他原料等，從亞洲生產地由此運河運往歐洲，不僅費用低廉，而且航程迅速，因為運河運輸的便利，印度經濟早已步入了國際市場，又一九三五年時英人曾由伊拉克加瓦克油田建設石油輸送管，直達地中海海岸等處，每年輸送約四百萬噸，固輸油管的便利，影響運油船通過運河的數量已見減少，僅一九三五，一年中就減少了一百萬噸，但是在另一方面，通過的數量反而增加，就是安古洛伊明公司運油船在一九三八年載油四百三十餘萬噸，由波斯灣繞阿拉伯及紅海及紅海經蘇彝士運河而至歐洲，（英國是主要消費地）因石

油可以經過運河源不絕的運往歐洲，所以歐洲利用率有顯著的增加，這可視為運河含有國際性的又一個例證。

從歐洲方面由地中海經過運河南駛的船舶，所載貨物大多是屬機械，肥料等，總計有七百七十七萬餘噸，（一九三八年統計），亞洲方面經紅海由南往北輸送的貨物，總計較前者約達三倍，共二千一百萬噸，（一九三八年）其中五分之一石油與其他礦物油，（八三%由波斯灣一七%由荷屬東印度輸出）其次為植物油及製油原料，（二五〇萬噸落花生及大豆由中國滿洲輸出）所餘的物品如穀類、礦石、橡皮、茶葉等，依此可知運河成了東西洋間主要的連絡地，東洋價廉與產量豐富的原料或半製品運往歐洲，而歐洲方面再將製成的物品運來東方。

最後談到關於運河公司管理的問題，不幸的埃及雖然耗費了許多的勞力與金錢，因為王室出賣了公司股份後，成了以資奪主之勢，前次大戰以後，運河實際上的支配權早已落入英國的手內，而使埃及淪為被保護國的地位，這不幸的遭遇可以說是因為蘇彝士運河在他領土內才發生這樣的結果。

當運河開始動工的時候，法蘭西人作為羅塞甫努力的後援，他們認購的股數，超過了總股份的半數，運河的營業日趨繁榮，他們除應得的利息以外，並佔有多數董事的席位，又可獲得多量的報酬，許多有名的政治家與現任的軍人因股東的資格被選為公司的董事，而得到鉅額的政治資金，因此足使法蘭西政治腐敗，也可以說有關於這次抗戰的失敗。

蘇彝士運河公司股數八十萬股之中，英國政府佔有三十五萬餘股，購入時價格為三百九十八萬磅，至一九三八年時價竟超過了四千萬磅，（一九三五年最高價漲至八千四百九十九萬磅）截至一九三八年公司所分配的紅利總額已達五千六百萬磅的驚人鉅數。

渝方青年將校劉自強訪問記

渝方軍政部毒氣科長劉自強上校，本年一月間，從重慶脫出，經

蘇士運河岸發現，他們會砲擊運河內行駛的貨船與軍艦，並且攜帶了渡河用的材料，打算佔領運河河岸的伊斯邁利亞，這計劃結果完全失敗，因為那土耳其軍隊，在沙漠行軍時，已消耗了不少的精力，而且又沒有接濟與後援，祇得慢慢向北撤退，敵兵是由澳軍與印度軍組成的英軍，是相當有力的部隊，兩軍發生勇猛遭遇戰後，土軍節節後退，英軍才確保巴勒斯坦及西奈等地中海岸基地，不得埃及與阿拉伯發生動搖。

蘇蘇士運河，是包圍在軍事行動困難的沙漠中，並且氣候奇熱，實在是不易攻取的地方，如果得到了該地，號令埃及與東北非洲一帶及巴勒斯坦阿拉伯等地是最好的地位，不僅軍事上，就在政治上經濟上，也是極關重要的，現在把這重要地位的當然是英國了。

蘇蘇士運河，又是英國與殖民地印度運繫的通路，最近英國首相邱吉爾曾在五月七日英國議會上悲痛的演說中，說道：「英國如果失去地中海與蘇蘇士的支配權，這次的戰事無疑的要得到慘敗的結果，」依此可知蘇蘇士運河在戰略上是何等重要。

英國能夠代替拿破崙破崙以來法蘭西在埃及的勢力，就是英國十九世紀前半世紀與土耳其外交的勝利，當時法人羅賽甫用法國與埃及所出的資金，開始開鑿運河時，英人曾設法妨礙，不使他建設成功，他們不願利用法人的資本經法人的手來完成這偉大的事業，直到運河竣工的時候，運河公司的資金，已完全用盡，在這窮困的環境下，不得已而準備出賣，到了一八七五年五月，猶太人首相德勒斯勒利遣派洛查理特男爵，赴巴黎接洽收買該公司的全部財產，未能商妥，同年十一月間，因為埃及王室財政發生破綻，英國利用這機會，經過短短的一個夜晚以四百萬磅的代價購買到手，英人在該公司獲得了三十二名董事中的十名，並添置副社長，及倫敦事務所，（這新設的事務所比較巴黎總公司還重要），常務席上，亦特准英董事出席，更於一八八二年籍彈壓排外運動之名，出兵埃及，以後便在該地永遠駐兵，從那裏開始英國獲得了名與實的蘇蘇士運河支配權。

在一八九二年美西戰爭的時候，西班牙艦隊通過蘇蘇士運河來太

平洋作戰，以後因英方妨礙而通行困難，戰艦不得不駛返本國，所以不及救援，菲律賓因而失陷於美軍之手，一九〇四年巴爾奇克艦隊一隊會通過運河來攻擊日本，在次歐洲大戰勃發時英國即開始在運河內外搜捕德方船舶，這次大戰，英又施故技，封鎖運河，不使敵船通過，由此看來，蘇蘇士運河早已不能算是世界的運河，而成了英國私有的通路了。

英為防備敵軍由海陸兩面攻襲運河起見，就在地中海上亞歷山大，海發與尼克西亞（塞浦路斯島）等三海軍根據地構成一個三角形陣，其用意不外是保護運河的安全，得以統治埃及，東北非洲，阿拉伯，以及伊拉克各地，如此又可與印度殖民地取得連絡。

R. J. Lynch 所著 *The Traffic du Canal de Suez* (1933) 曾評論如果將世界尤其是亞洲澳洲之農產物之生產及其價格加以研究，就可以明瞭船舶及貨物利用運河運輸，與世界經濟情勢是完全並行的，所以運河是含有國際性，下面所載的運河中船舶通過量就是個很好的例證：

年	船數	單位千噸
一八七〇年	四八六	四三六
一八八〇年	二〇二六	四三四五
一八九〇年	三三八九	六八九〇
一九〇〇年	三四四一	九七三八
一九一〇年	四五三八	一六五八五
一九一五年	三七〇八	一五二六六
一九二〇年	四〇〇九	一七五七五
一九二五年	五三三七	二六七六二
一九二九年	六二七四	三三四六六
一九三二年	五〇三三	二八三四〇
一九三三年	五四二三	三〇六七七
一九三五年	五九九二	三二八一
一九三七年	六六三六	三六四九一

個原則底下，我們要消滅一切小組織，再不許有意氣之爭，其次要認定觀念的鬥爭之目的，是要喚起民衆，爭取民衆，要在一個中心勢力領導之下，團結民衆，不要分裂民衆，要拿敵人的主張來做鬥爭的對象，不要拿民衆來做鬥爭的對象，要用我們正確的主義，來打擊敵人，不正確的主張，使民衆從敵人的主張支配底下解放出來，走入和平反共建國的陣容，不要用民衆打擊民衆，用民衆打擊民衆，是共產黨分裂民衆，摧毀民族團結力的手段，絕對要不得的，又次要認定這是和平反共建國運動最大的障礙，把一切力量去打擊他，對於那些獨裁者所箝制的，爲共產黨所脅迫的人們，要了解他們反共的內心，要同情他們所處的境遇，對他們甯以最大之忍耐爲最大之期待，使他們終能掙脫獨裁者與共產黨的魔手，參加和平反共建國的陣容，總之，我們要以條理的宣傳，使民衆了解救國建國的，便向和平反共的大道上來，禍國毀國的，便向抗戰降共的那裏去，本年中國國民黨中央宣傳部，在上海舉行宣傳會議的時候，我曾經說過，當日的會議是和平反共建國運動宣傳戰的誓師典禮，那時候我們總動員第四戰線的鬥士，來促進國民政府之改組還都，奠定和平反共建國運動的基石，這一次會議，是和平反共建國運動宣傳戰第二次的總動員，我們要動員全部的力量，保障和平，拓展和平，我們要動員全部的力量，肅清匪共，確立治安，我們要動員全部的力量，直搗割據西北的共匪巢穴，撲滅偏安西南的抗戰政權，我們要動員全部的力量與友邦日本排除國際侵略勢力，與國際擾亂勢力，共保東亞。

今天是六月四日，距離第四周年的七七，只有三十三天，想起四年以來，兩國將士與人民，受了無量的犧牲，流了無數的鮮血，誰爲之，孰令致之，我們不能讓兩國人民的犧牲，無所補償，我們不能讓兩國將士的鮮血，付之白流，我們對於兩國因事變而戰死的英勇將士，致其最深的敬意，對於兩國遇難民衆，致其最深的哀悼，我們必須從血泊中深切反省，由內心的自責，挺身起而負責，由誠意的互諒，努力作到互讓，同志們，國父遺教指示我們中日合作，共保東亞的

大路，最高領袖已揭起和平反共建國的大纛，領導着我們在這條大路上前進了，我們要統一意志，集中力量，在最高領袖統率之下，猛向着敵人的陣線衝鋒，建設一個獨立自由的新中國，建設一個共存共榮的新東亞。

蘇彝士運河

家潛譯

蘇彝士運河是由於法蘭西人羅塞甫極力主張，而開鑿成功的，在當時曾有一段使我們不容易忘掉的歷史，就是拿破崙一世遠征埃及的故事，當西歷一千七百九十八年四月拿破崙會利用英國艦隊防備不週的當兒，統率着法蘭西強有力的艦隊，由地中海海岸馬賽出發，佔領了地中海中途的馬爾他島後，就在埃及北岸登陸，不料因法國艦隊在阿甫奇爾灣戰敗，地中海的海上權，完全被英國所奪，因爲這個緣故，法軍不僅與本國的連絡被切斷而陷於絕境，而且他爲了打開這個難關，改變了戰略又企圖遠征西奈半島，又因英艦隊在阿自克包圍戰一役，充分援助土耳其軍隊的彈藥與食糧，法軍不幸仍未能達到目的，翌年不得已而逃回到法國，爲這次的失敗，給了拿破崙一個深刻的教訓，就是他了解如果沒有得到地中海海上的霸權，埃及作戰是非常困難的。

這次北非的戰爭中，德義聯軍侵入里比亞後，曾屢次威脅埃及，但是在這利比亞大沙漠作戰中，後方的接濟須要實行與海上連絡，這事是異常苦痛的，在這沙漠圍繞中的埃及與蘇彝士作戰的艱難困苦，在第一次世界大戰時，早已體驗到，就是前次大戰勃發的當時，在一九一四年八月的時候，傳有地中海內德艦兩艘，有攻襲蘇彝士的企圖，然而並沒有實現，以後纔知道這兩艘德艦是駛向達爾達內爾斯海峽，英軍得到了確實的報告後，這恐慌不安的情緒，才因而消滅，以後曾經過了幾次壯烈的海戰，地中海海上的霸權，落入了聯軍手內，因此德軍軍隊不能再從海上攻襲蘇彝士了，不料在一千九百十五年二月，有二萬精兵與九個砲兵隊組成的一隊土耳其軍團，由德籍參謀將校參加指揮之下，由巴勒斯坦經過愛德台荒野，短短的數日內已在蘇

自由，過去報紙，雜誌，電影公司，廣播電台，不為不多，然而太散漫了，太傾向於個人自由主義的色彩了，個人企業，自由競爭的結果，少數成功的，未必有所獲益，大多數失敗的，則徒蒙以害，而亂整個國家利益打算，更是利少害多，與其如此，為什麼不把人力物力，集中起來，做一個通盤計劃，各種事業，都確立一個合理化的體系，都有一個中心，分門別類，加以強化，這並不是說，個人對這文化宣傳事業，沒有創辦的權利，但必須牢牢記着民族利益，高於一切的原則，把所有的力量，貢獻於國家，所有計劃，以及人力物力之運用，都應該配合在一個，以國家民族為本位之合理化的體系之中，這樣，分而言之，是各盡所能，合而言之，是共同奮鬥，只有這樣，才不致重蹈資本主義社會，個人自由主義的覆轍。

第三，是染了官僚主義的習氣，政府與輿論界之間，沒有建立是緊密的關係，輿論界與人民之間，也沒有建立好緊密的關係，這都御軍閥時代所留下來的惡現象，政府固然是軍閥官僚政策所弄玩，輿論界也免不了官僚紳士的習氣，由前一點，輿論界對於政府不是做好了用的工具便是處在對立的地位，由後一點，輿論界對於人民不是作了人民的尾巴，阿其所好，便流於偏激，名為輿情，其實不足以代表輿情，這絕不是有組織的國家所應有的現象，有組織的國家，必須政府與人民打成一片，而居間為之溝通的，則是輿論界，過去之所以未能作到這一點，固然不能把責任完全推在輿論界身上，軍閥官僚政客之蔑視輿論，愚弄輿論，首尸其咎，我們今日要糾正這個毛病，則担任宣傳行政的人員，首先要打破這個官僚的主義習氣，時時刻刻，把自己的心情，和輿論界的心情，民衆的心情，合在一起，使政府對於輿論界，盡其扶掖指導的責任，輿論界對於政府，也盡其支持督促的天職，輿論界對於民衆，盡其推動的責任，民衆對於輿論界，也盡其愛護的天職，這樣，政府與輿論界打成一片，輿論界與民衆打成一片，政府與民衆自然而然的也就打成一片，以所有力量，向共同目標而同前進了，本來服務政府的民衆公僕，都應該有這樣的精神，而我們

担任宣傳行政的人員，尤其應該有這樣的精神，我們要打破官僚主義，必須從宣傳行政人員首先做起，以上三點，為了建立新中國文化宣傳事業的新體系第一要打破殖民地地位，第二要打破個人自由主義的傾向，第三要打破官僚主義的習氣。

本此精神我們在新聞事業方面要確立一個代表國家，代表民族的計劃新聞制度，整個報業經營，須在這個制度之中，通盤調整，以謀其合理化的發展，通訊機構則強化一個代表國家的電訊社，以為中心，而以各地地方通訊社，為其衛星，其他電影廣播等事業，也都應以此為其經營之準則，庶幾人力物力有最大之運用，無絲毫之浪費，而整個宣傳事業，在整個國家機構中，就成為一個有機化的體系，目前因為人力物力之所限，以及其他種種原因，這個計劃，自然不是朝夕間所可做到，然而我們不能不以此為目的，一步一步的努力去做。

關於宣傳戰略者：國父說，「主義是一種思想，一種信仰，和一種力量，大凡人類對於一件事，研究當中的道理，最先發生思想，思慮貫通以後，便起信仰，有信仰，便發生力量，所以主義是由思想再到信仰，由信仰生出力量」，宣傳者的責任，就是要堅守着自己所信仰的主義，在廣大民衆中間，展開觀念的鬥爭，由思想做到信仰，由信仰生出力量，要執行這鬥爭的工作，就不能不講求宣傳的戰略，本於戰略來運用，每一個時期，每一個時期，每一個地方宣傳的戰術。

就對外來談，我們首先要認定誰是我們同甘苦，共安危的盟友，一方面堅守着國家民族的立場，一方面隨時隨地替盟友的利害打算，互相的理解，增進一分則彼此的合作，緊密一分，也就是共同對付敵人的力量，加強一分，其次要認識誰是我們唯一的敵人，集中力量去應付他，又次要認定誰是可能的同情者，誰是可能的中立者，努力去把握着他們，使敵人孤立，萬萬不可今朝聯此，明天倒彼，舉棋不定，自招怨尤。

就對內來說，我們首先要認定誰是革命的中心勢力，一切都應以強化中心勢力來做前提，一個領袖，一個主義，一個中心勢力，在這

植工商，以及撫輯流亡，使之各歸故鄉，重安生業，凡此種種，中央對之，早具有勵行的決心，不過，在目前，全面的和平，在渝方盲目的固執下，實現尚是有待，是以第一步工作，當是確立和平區域的治安，因為一作到此點，凡是生活在和平區域裏的，都可以獲得安居樂業的保證，與渝方勢力控制下那種民怨騰沸的情形，兩兩對照，事實的促使，全面和平的拓展必可早日完成，此即為清鄉的真意義。

而在今日，清鄉的實施，尤屬刻不容緩，因為渝方為了掙扎其殘餘的生命計，不惜倒行逆施，所謂遊擊隊之流，隨之也就變本加厲，窮鄉僻壤，無不有他們的蹤跡，殺人放火，姦淫擄掠，種種的不法行為，令人髮指，受此影響，於是各地農村的生產，無不陷於停頓，糧食遂成爲一個嚴重問題，中國以農立國，國家經濟的基礎，泰半寄託於農村，今日農村，既因匪共的跳梁而荒蕪，直接間接就造成國民的貧困，此種根本癥結的掃除，捨清鄉工作外，實無他途。

但是一談到此問題，就不禁要令人迴憶過去的剿共軍事，在戰前，共匪之所以經了十數年的痛剿，依然能夠流竄數省，終至死灰復燃者，不是當時的軍事力量應用不夠，而是政治的力量，沒有配合得當所致，這足爲前車之鑑，是以今日欲談清鄉，軍事力量固屬不可缺少，而政治力量亦屬重要，必須使之配合得宜，雙管齊下，這就是說，以軍事力量掃除治安上的障礙，而以政治力量樹立建設的基礎，必如此，然後清鄉工作，才能收獲理想的效果。

而在另一方面，從事清鄉工作者，尤應以愛護人民爲前提，務須把良民和匪共分別清楚，以免連累無辜，激起人民之反感，同時，開始清鄉工作的時候，民衆的合作，是絕對不可缺少的，所以肩負清鄉之責者，就應廉明自守，仁愛爲懷。

於此，我人更希一般民衆，明瞭政府進行清鄉的真意，此一工作的展開，它的結果如何？不僅是關乎民衆切身的利害，也繫乎國運的安危，凡我民衆，應一致奮起，與政府合作，作政府的後盾，使清鄉的目的，早日完成。

現階段宣傳的奮鬥

(續)

林柏生

六月四日在全國宣傳會議閉幕詞

關於宣傳專業者 一個現代獨立國家，要有足以代表國家，代表民族的本位文化，宣傳專業，是文化上最重要的部門，也就必須依着這個原則，謀其合理的發展，過去與宣傳有關之各種專業，固有相當的發展，可是就整個體系，加以檢閱，實在太紊亂太薄弱了，其原因有三：

第一，是受了殖民主義的支配，中國處在次殖民地的地位，因之文化宣傳專業，也就免不了受着殖民主義的支配，其最顯著的，例如新聞電訊網，握在英美侵略主義者手中，他們又有領事館的掩護，以及郵電之便利，就算報社爲中國人所自辦，而消息來源，大都仰給於他們，甚至國內消息，亦爲他們所操縱，起初一般閱者，要想知道消息及其內容，不能不靠所謂外電，外訊，外論，久而久之，便只有相信外電，外訊，外論，連本國人自己可靠消息和言論，也不相信了，國際依存主義者的洋奴，心裏之所由形成，這也是一大原因，至於電影事業，美國片子佔了絕對多數，國產片子，尚在幼稚時代，更不必說，其他事業，也都有類似的情形，我們今日要使中國從次殖民地的地位，解放出來，就要使這種有關文化宣傳的事業，首先從次殖民地的地位，解放出來，必須文化宣傳專業，站在國家民族的地位，得到獨立自主的與發展，一般國民心理，才可以脫離國際依存主義支配，而純潔的民族意識，才能得到正確的發揚。

第二，是中了個人自由主義的流毒，本來報人，文化人，有所謂自由職業者的徽號，可是，這自由兩個字，很容易引起極端個人自由的觀念，個人自由主義，是資本主義社會象徵，資本主義裏許多罪惡，都由此而起，在組織嚴密的有機化的社會裏，是再不容有這種觀念存在的，尤其是在國家民族拚生死存亡的時候，民族利益，高於一切，統一意志，集中力量，爲第一個要件，我們只有犧牲個人的自由，來換取國家的自由，國家民族的自由，尚且不保，那裏談得到個人的

汪先生爲防中日兩國全面衝突於未然，曾苦心孤詣地努力過，汪先生身中，現尚留有幾個子彈，這是證明 先生是開始真理者的紀念物，汪先生抱因愛中國，不得不與日本結合的信念，這是絕對正大的，這是繼承貴國 國父孫先生大亞洲主義之正統，且和日本建設東亞新秩序之思想符合，我們抱有覺悟，決在道義日本之良心上，擁護汪先生正大的信念，并盡全副力量，強化立於此信念上的鄰邦政府，我們冷靜地從客觀的立場說，日本對於中國，有三種方法，第一，用日本的實力侵略中國，要求賠款割地，第二是和第三者共同分割中國，這二種方法，是自昭和九年（按自民國二十三年）以來，各國擬把中國化爲殖民地的所謂帝國主義的政策，第三，則和以上兩種方法相反，不僅承認中國爲獨立國家，并推而加以協助強化，和此強化的中國作全面的提攜，以此爲軸心，解放東亞各民族，確立永遠和平的方法，三種方法之中，前兩者是霸道的方法，即是眼前容易實行，且犧牲較少的功利的方方法，那麼我們爲什麼避易就難，而採取不易爲平常人所理悉的第三種方法呢，這是因爲日本國家的道義性，嚴肅地命令這廢傲，世界歷史的本流，也明瞭地加以保證，昭和十二年九月四日第七十二屆議會開會時，天皇陛下所頒詔書中，曾育「依帝國與中華民國之合作擔，確保東亞之安定，舉共榮之實，乃朕所夙夜軫念者」，及「我軍人之致其忠勇，旨在促中華民國之反省，從速確立東亞和平」等語，此爲事變期內我國臣民應存之服膺之信念，日本以此道念自律，並依此道念，支持 汪先生，排擊內外一切不逞之挑戰者，夫中日兩國，爲東亞兩大鄰國，休戚相關，這是和地球的存在相同，絕對不能動搖的天命，又隨文化之發達，東亞共榮圈內各國家之逐漸增深其有機的關係，已是不容爭論的，親日和平，才是中國立國之基礎，所謂抗日救國論之前途的毫無建設性，也是一點也沒有疑義的，但在中國的指導者中，至今仍有不願傾聽親日和平正論人士這是我們和汪先生均認爲遺憾的，我們不忍在世界形勢的變化，較流水尤爲迅速的今日，仍抱時代錯誤之念，使我東亞長此置於內亂狀態，故嘗希望

重慶勢力的反省覺悟，但我們行動的根本是正義，我們決不能棄道義而就功利，更不能離永久的真理，求一時的苟安，去秋成立的中日基本條約和中日滿三國共同宣言，實爲道義及真理的具體標準，至於如何收拾中國民心，使中國民衆早離水火而登衽席則是中國國內的問題，我們決定信賴 汪先生，諸同志應有的援助合作，在現在的世界及時代，——即要求建設新秩序，否定舊體制的時代，若有民族欲不作犧牲，坐待未來的繁盛，真是太昏聩了，我們當然擬儘量縮少戰禍，中日兩國決不是他國的工具，中國和日本都應各有其意志，中日兩國，本來可以依自己的意志和或戰，假若不能，一定是因受了第三者的牽制，真正的獨立國家，必具有自身的目的的，我們確信，真正獨立的中國，已因 汪先生的出生入死而重生，雖新中國的前途，不是康莊大道，以太平洋爲中心的日本的周圍，也未許樂觀，但歷史的真理，常先經過許多曲折，終必達到目標，但真理的難關，任是如何艱險，祇以一個，若因過遠而迷途，乃其志向還沒有堅定之故，自 汪先生出任國事，我們已明白認識中國問題的癥結，是在什麼地方，日本決不會中途而廢，我們的前途，是充滿着光明的，謹以此言，贈 汪先生一行。

清鄉與全面和平

南京新報

事變以還，受了淪方游擊戰術的遺毒，於是，在龐大的和平區域裏，到處隱藏着殘餘的反動武力，尤以赤匪的騷擾爲尤甚，彼輩橫行鄉里，魚肉人民，交通爲其破壞，糧食爲其封鎖，遂造成民不聊生的局面，我國政府爲貫徹救國救民的目的，從而力謀迅速完成全面和平起見，特組織清鄉委員會，從事掃蕩此種「流寇式」的反動武力，并定自今日起，開始舉行清鄉宣傳週。

我們知道，和平運動的終極目的，原是在一片焦土中，重建一個新的中國，對外方面，在求中國的自由平等，對內方面，在謀建設與復興，爲期完成此種使命，整理稅則，減輕人民負擔，復興鄉村，扶

之障礙，以開始建設東亞新秩序的工作，我們知道，在全面和平沒有實現的期間，中國以內還駐有多數的日本軍隊，還不斷的向重慶方面繼續戰爭，在這期間，說到怎樣強化國民政府，是一件極困難的事，但是雖然困難，爲早日解決事變，促成全面和平起見，爲使中日兩國早日能將其心力物力都用在建設東亞新秩序上面起見，強化國民政府，使能與日本協力，完成這種任務，實在有其必要，不能不盼望日本於可能範圍內，在政治上，經濟上，予國民政府以更大之援助，這固然是爲中國，同時也是爲日本，爲東亞。

所謂強化國民政府，其作用不只是對於以上兩種惡勢力之掃除，尤在於一般人心之感化，我們常常說，要達到全面和平，必須先從局部和平做起，這就是說，國民政府要先就力所能及之地，在政治上，經濟上，做出一個和平的模範，奠定一個和平的基礎，使全國的人都曉得和平不只是理論，而且是根據理論而發生的事實，那麼，對於和平便漸漸的發生信任了，和平的領域自然便漸漸的展拓起來了。

我相信，中國全體民衆，除了少數甘心作兩大惡勢力的擁護者之外，大多數都是希望和平的，對於中日親善，東亞復興，具有同感，只是被眼前的環境脅迫住了，雖然有這種希望，却是不敢相信這種希望之會成爲事實，我們如果不斷的提供和平的事實，以取得其信任，則其傾向和平的熱心與勇氣，必然日日增加，全面和平，必須於最短期間歸於實現，所以國民政府同人，時時刻刻於檢討本身責任，增進本身力量之外，仍然不忘記喚起重慶方面參加和平的工作，不但沒有忘記，而且從過去到現在以及將來，都向各種方面用不斷的努力，以期他們早日參加，使全面和平得以早日完成。

於此有當鄭重提出的，和平的展拓，不只求數量之多，而尤求質量之純，換句話說，和平之基本目的，是在實現大亞洲主義，建設東亞新秩序，儘管和平的數量日有增加，而和平的質量，只有因增加而愈益陶鍊，決不因增加而歸於稀薄，甚至變質，要而言之，行將沒落之經濟侵略主義，斷不能使其垂間而復活，詭變多端之共產主義，斷

不能依其投機而得售，這是我們所應當共同注視而不可輕忽的。

以上所說，是我從開始和平運動以來所抱持的一貫信念，今日得有機緣，披露於親愛的日本國民諸君之前，是我莫大的榮幸，我謹以至誠，祝諸君的健康。

我自從到東京以後，拜訪天皇陛下，聆悉對於中日親善之崇論，中心感奮，匪可言宣，連日與近衛總理大臣閣下，協議結果，已於昨日發表共同宣言，今日以後，一切努力，當本此共同宣言而期其實效，今晚向諸君廣播，除了申述我的信念之外，還要對於諸君熱烈的期待，懇篤的同情，強力的援助，從衷心表示感激，我不但感激，並且慚愧，論到感激，這樣的隆情厚誼，是我一生所永遠不能忘記的，論到慚愧，我在過去的努力，還沒有成績可言，如何便受諸君這樣的隆情厚誼，我只有將諸君的隆情厚誼放在心上，帶回國去，把諸君的隆情厚誼，普及於全國同胞，俾全國同胞知道諸君對於中日親善，具有這樣的期待，同情，援助，我相信，全國同胞一定深深感動，一致與諸君攜手，共同前進，以完成此東亞復興之重大使命，諸君，現在國際情形，是有變動的，而中日兩國結成親善關係，共存共榮，以復興東亞，却是永遠不變的，諸君再會，我謹以至誠，祝諸君健康，並且高呼，日本帝國萬歲，中華民國萬歲，中華民國萬歲。

日首相廣播詞

近衛首相廿四日晚之廣播演說，題爲「歡迎 汪主席閣下」，原文如下：

汪主席閣下，此次來到日本，訪問我國皇室，同時和國朝野，開誠布公，討論東亞的將來，我和日本國民，敬表滿腔之感謝，我們不僅在禮儀上歡迎鄰邦政府主席的 汪先生一行，我們並且承認半生來冒幾多的艱險，不顧一切迫害，於熱血的實踐及行動中，爲中國自身，因是真正的愛國者，真正的愛中國，故也愛日本，愛東亞全體的東亞復興的偉人 汪先生爲我人的知己感到非常感激，在過去十年內，

已不是兄弟鬩牆的時候，中國應該立刻回復自己之本來面目，根據東方的道義精神，打破經濟侵略主義，共產主義兩種壓迫、連環交織而成立的舊秩序，建設獨立自由，共存共榮的新秩序。

然而中國度量力，不能不有所躊躇，因為這責任太重了，加以目前的環境，如此艱難困苦，中國不能不考慮到，雖欲担負這重大的責任，而自己的能力是否担負得起，所以再聽到日本的近衛聲明，中國纔知道這種考慮，日本已經代為解決了。

近衛聲明的最大意義，便是只要中國有決心，有誠意來參加建設東亞新秩序的責任，日本便不吝加以援助，完成中國建設，為現代國家所必須的條件，日本所以有此決策，是因為中日兩國，如果同心同德，向著建設東亞新秩序的前途而邁進，則其結果，不但中日兩國永久和平，而且可致東亞於復興，不但中日兩國如此，中國對於滿洲國，從前與日本抱着不同的見解，如今合中日滿三國都向着建設東亞新秩序的前途而邁進，正所謂安則俱安，危則俱危，從前不同的見解，一轉瞬間，便化為一致了。

要而言之，中國自此以後，有了兩種新的認識，其一，是認識建設東亞新秩序與孫先生的大亞洲主義是若合符節的，其二，是認識建設東亞新秩序與完成中華民國之建設是相輔而行的，中國不能得到獨立自由，則無分建設東亞新秩序的能力，同時，中國之完全獨立自由，必有待於建設東亞新秩序之成功。

自此以後，中國人向來根據於民族主義而發生的愛國心，與根據於大亞洲主義而發生的東亞觀念融合為一，中國自此之後，不再遊移，不再徐徬歧路，愛中國，愛日本，愛東亞，從精神方面來說，憂樂相共，甘苦相同，從物質方面來說，有無相通，長短相補，日本在東亞已立於先進國的地位，中國當勉為後進國，以與日本共同負擔建設東亞新秩序的責任，最近中國發起東亞聯盟運動，標榜政治獨立，軍事同盟，經濟合作，文化溝通，為四大綱領，其根本精神，悉在於此，我現在雖然還不敢說代表中國全體民衆的意見，因為現在還沒有實

現全面和平，然而我敢說，這是代表中國最覺悟的多數民衆的意見。

去年的一年，根據以上的原因，而締結中日基本關係條約了，今年的一年，是開始條約的實行，我如今來到東京，與親愛的日本國民諸君相見，是代表全中國最覺悟的多數民衆，本於愛中國，愛日本，愛東亞的意義，來與諸君握手，來與諸君開誠相見，諸君啊，全中國最覺悟的多數民衆，都已準備着十二分的決心，和十二分的勇氣，來追隨日本國民諸君之後，以不斷的努力，掃除經濟侵略主義與共產主義，建設以道義精神為基礎的東亞新秩序，諸君握手罷，握着手往前進罷。

於此，不能不想到所謂全面和平了，全面和平之真價，不只在息戰，而在中日兩國能將其心力物力都用在建設東亞新秩序上面，所以全面和平能早日達到，便是中日兩國的心力物力能早日用於建設東亞新秩序的上面，為什麼全面和平到今日還不能實現呢，因為有妨礙建設東亞新秩序的惡勢力存在，這便是上頭所說的經濟侵略主義的勢力，和共產主義的勢力。

說到經濟侵略主義的流毒，百年以來，深入於人心了，直至最近，還有一部分中毒的人存在，西南受其利誘，繼續無意義之戰事，說到共產主義，原是有階級觀念，沒有祖國觀念的，然而詭變之術，層出不窮，最近改變階級鬥爭的口號，為民族統一陣線的口號，利用抗戰把持西北的地盤，日夜企圖由此地盤展拓起來及於全國，這兩種主義，本來極不相容的，現在却在抗戰的招牌之下，互相勾結起來了，這兩種勢力，是由舊秩序包孕滋生出來的，當然擁護舊秩序，而妨礙新秩序的建設，全面和平之未能實現，國民政府同人，德薄能鮮，我們時時刻刻不忘自責，然而這兩種勢力，根深蒂固，除了互相勾結之外，還內外勾結，以造成全面和平之障礙，使建設東亞新秩序之工作，無從開始，這實在是一個最大的原因。

因此之故，日本近來有強化國民政府的口號，國民政府為什麼要強化呢，國民政府要有力量的確能打破以上兩種惡勢力，掃除全面和平

遠找不出結論，要打破這個循環論，必要雙方拿出「罪己的精神來」，先責備自己，然後責備他人，大家都本着一個「誠」字，盡其在我，則這種循環論不打破了，我們相信因 主席之訪日，必能打破此種期待實望的心理，彼此各盡所能，以最大的努力，使國民政府之健全發展，有飛躍的進步。

第四，去年中日簽訂基本條約，中日滿三國同時發表共同宣言，東亞軸心，因而結成，這為東亞史的一個新紀元，亦為世界史的一個新面目，中日滿三國，有其地理人種文化的天然條件，聯合陣線，共同建設東亞新秩序，這是歷史所賦予的重大任務，歐戰以來，歐洲舊秩序，日趨崩壞，新秩序的建設，亦在開始，歐亞新秩序的建設，亦即世界舊秩序的打破，世界新秩序的形成，此為不可遏止的潮流，亦世界史的必然發益，但在世界舊秩序中佔有優越地位的國家，還在汲汲然於世界舊秩序的維持世界新秩序建設的破壞，東亞新秩序之建設，將來不知須經過幾許困難，始能克底於成，現在太平洋的波濤，瞬息萬變，東亞人為建設東亞保衛東亞，不能不有最大的決心與勇氣，中日為東亞兩大國家，對東亞大局，舉足輕重，我們又相信，因 主席之訪日東亞軸心必益加強固，而東亞新秩序之建設，亦必有加速的進展 主席訪日，對中國自身，對於中日關係，對於整個東亞，都有重大的意義，所望全國同胞，對此有深切認識，整齊步調於最高領袖領導之下，加緊向復興中國復興東亞的大道邁進。

汪兼院長廣播詞

親愛的日本國民諸君 我今日能在貴國首都向諸君說話，心裏不出的感動。

第一，我在三十八年前，曾在貴國留學，雖然時間不久，並且我的資質素鈍，對於貴國語文，不能精進，然而我的一點點知識，都是那時候良師益友所給予的，我畢生不會忘記，如今舊地重來，看見諸君，恍如重逢當日良師益友一般說不盡的心中愉快。

第二，在十七年前的十一月，中華民國國父孫先生，曾於神戶作生平最後一次的演講，題為「大亞洲主義」，那時候我雖然沒有跟隨左右，但在此大足登貴國口岸的時候，想起孫先生對於中日兩國及東亞前途遠大的眼光，和正確的見解，不幸有志未遂，未及他生前實現其抱負，而輿志以歿，真不由人不萬感交集。

第三，在兩年前的六月，我曾經來貴國首都一次，那時候是從重慶，河內，由河內經上海來的，為着收拾事變，重新建立中日親善關係，復興東亞，與貴國政府當局，交換意見，那時候因種種關係，未能與各位相見，到了今日，却有這樣的機緣，聚首一堂，實在覺得慶幸，然而想起事變尚未收拾，全面和平尚未實現，於慶幸之中，不能不感到自己責任的重大，負荷的不易，尤其是自從神戶登陸，以至到着東京，數日以來，備受貴國朝野陸軍的款待，使我於感激之中，發生慚愧，論到感激，這樣的隆情厚誼，是我一生永遠不能忘記的，論到慚愧，我在過去的努力，還沒有成績可言，如何便受貴國朝野這樣之厚待，我只有對於現在及將來，加倍努力，以期有以告慰，以上幾種感想，綜合交送，覺得有幾句肺腑話，要向諸君披瀝。

自從「建設東亞新秩序」的口號，從日本方面發表以後，中國方面，在茫茫之前途，看見一道曙光，自從近衛聲明發出以後，中日兩國，已有了提攜之方法，向着這一道曙光而前進了。

建設東亞新秩序之意義，一方面在廓清百年以來西方經濟侵略主義之流毒，一方面在防遏二十餘年來共產主義之狂瀾，這重大的責任，在東亞向來是只有日本獨力擔負，中國雖有孫先生的大亞洲主義，然而後死的同志，還未能一致努力以求其實現。

這一次中日事變，雖然有種種原因，然而中國若一反省，為什麼不能廓清經濟侵略主義之流毒，而聽其將中國陷落到次殖民地的地位呢，為什麼不能防遏共產主義之狂瀾，而聽其陷全國人民於塗炭呢，中國於深切反省之後，不能不深切之自己責備自己的。

所以聽到日本提出建設東亞新秩序之口號，中國立刻覺悟到目前

努力當然更大，所以，我們說，中日條約不過是奠定了中日親善關係的礎石，是中日關係改善的起點，我們的路程還遠，我們的工作，還甚艱辛，在惟恐中日不自相殘殺，以獲漁人之利的英美侵略主義，和惟恐中國不亂以遂其趁火打劫的共產黨，以及爲英美侵略主義及其產黨走狗的重慶政權，眼看着中日兩國關係好轉，當然急得手忙腳亂，極盡其破壞的能事，不過我們可以告訴他們，這一切的一切，都屬無用，僅顯露其日暮途窮之慌亂醜態罷了，中日關係的好轉，是基於國父孫先生的遺教，是具有最崇高的理想的，這種理想，只有一步一步的實現，絕對不是陰謀家之所能轉動，主席爲中華民國的元首，主席的意志行動，是整個國民的總代表，以元首的資格訪問鄰邦，正是兩國親善的鱗象徵，也正是兩國國民意志的總交流，我們相信因爲主席之訪日，必能加速掃除兩國殘餘的誤解，加緊促進兩國的親善關係。

第二，中日兩國關係的改善，有賴於兩國國民加深對和平運動的信仰，有賴於兩國國民對中日關係基本觀念的確定，有賴於兩國國民掃除過去的誤解與誤會，但同時亦有待於事實之證明，中日條約是規律兩國關係的最高原則，也是改善兩國關係的最高標準，循是而進，必能達到圓滿結果，這是兩國所信守不渝的，主席訓示我們說「去年爲條約之簽訂，今年爲條約之履行」，條約的履行，並不是出發於權利義務的功利觀念，而是努力於改善中日關係不可缺的實踐，假使不從事實改善中日關係，而單是從事觀念上的改變，這是不夠的，目前本多大使歸國途中，在上海發表談話也說，「日本按照以前簽署之中日國交基本條約之規定，非真摯的進行具體的國交調整不可」，可見兩國有識之士，都抱着同樣的感覺，現在戰爭還在繼續，一方面和重慶作戰，一方面履行條約，其中的困難，我們是十二分瞭解的，我們是希望條約的履行，自然有一定的分寸，我們現在一方面，努力於局部和平的確保，一方面努力於全面和平的開拓，爲的就是要從局部條約的履行，達到全面條約的履行，我們從局部履行條約做起，由局

部解除人民的苦，增進和平的幸福，在事實上做出一個好榜樣來，叫全國國民知道和平不單是理論，且是事實，這樣始能加速全面和平的實現，在中國的期望，固是如此，就是最近日本國內的朝野言論，亦是如此，我人相信因主席之訪日，必能加強友邦對此之認識與決心，而使中日條約更迅速的履行，中日國交更迅速的調整。

第三，全面和平的實現，是我們現在努力的最大目標，重慶方面能夠徹底認識時局，猛醒過來，參加和平，不但不我們所反對，正是我們開始和平運動以來日夕所盼望的事，可恨重慶甘心做了英美帝國主義的尾巴，失了自主的能事，他的一舉手一投足，都惟英美的馬首是瞻，不但不翻然覺悟，反極盡阻撓和平，破壞和平的能事，這是最痛心不過的，吾人的和平運動，自始至終，是基於一貫的堅定的信仰，重慶參加和平固好，就是阻撓和平破壞和平，我們亦一樣向我們的目標前進，以我們的力，斬致全面和平的到來，所以我們對重慶無時不存盼望之心，但無一刻稍存等待之意，我們始終堅信全面和平，要靠我們的努力而實現，並不是垂手等候他人的轉瞬而獲得，所以和平運動是鬥爭的，是革命的，現在全面和平實現的根本條件，就是和平運動力量的增強，也就是國民政府的強化，我的強是敵的弱，我的弱是敵的強，在任何鬥爭過程，都是如此的，強化國民政府自然是國民政府自身生存發展的必然需求，亦是實現全面和平的不二途徑，在中國方面，也許還是一部分人存着這樣的心理，不錯，國民政府是必須強化的，但現在一切都在戰時狀態中，有許多事情，都無從幹起，眼睜睜的一味在期待日本，在日本方面，也不免有部分人這樣想，不錯，根據中日國交基本條約，有許多事情，是要陸續移歸中國幹的，但是中國還不夠力量，怎好輕於放手呢，亦眼睜睜的一味在奢備期望中國，結果必是互相責望，互相期待，放下手來等待，這兩種心理都是要不得的，須知中國的自強與日本的協力，是有相互關係，中國自強，而後取得日本的協力，日本的協力，力可增加中國的自強，如果始終期待人家，不自己責成自己，必陷於一種循環論，翻來覆去，永

然資源，亦將為德國之用。

從理想道德之觀點論之，美國人民之援助英國，而猶狂呼援助民主，實堪驚異，美國人豈不知上次大戰之後，英國戰勝之餘，猶不肯解放受英國桎梏之三萬萬五千萬印度人民，美國人能信任今次戰勝之後，英國不重行其過智乎，雖勝利未必也，英國之勝利，將使全世界大部之人民，繼續受其束縛，亦將使世界不平之爭，繼續不息，而當初美國革命之民主真諦，將盡被毀滅，最後，且將使世界舊秩序在英國旗幟之下復活，使世界各國，皆受其經濟壓迫，而阻礙世界文明之自然進步。

希特勒非侵略者，亦非擁護帝國主義者，彼領導德國及其聯盟者，光榮作戰，以毀滅百年來世界上之惟一惡霸，彼所領導者，不僅德國耳，全世界被壓迫之民族，如中國，印度，非洲均一致響應，打倒在現代世界中，發揮其惡勢力之英國。

美國人民如能聽從智理，而不為幼稚之熱情所衝動，則世亂尚可挽救，如惟其獨裁領袖之言是從，則不但世界將遭毀滅，美國亦無生存之理也。

▲英國進攻敘利亞▼

不義之英國，本其奸詐之天性，又藉辭進攻敘利亞，該地為其昔日聯盟之法國在近東之代管領屬，在歷史上，此舉將為英國所以成爲世界惡魔之又一史實。

法國與德國戰敗而作城下之盟，德法之間，自是並無分裂之情形，亦無破壞盟約之意向，然而英國之宣傳者，乃故作幻想，牽強藉辭，使其近東軍隊，進攻不設防之敘利亞。

英國之卑鄙手段，在其使所謂「自由法蘭西」軍隊，在敘利亞前線殘殺其同胞，已顯示無遺，「自由法人」受英人之恐，竟而盲目自私，不惜自相殘殺，所爲者，不過英國宣傳所稱，德國傘兵在敘利亞降落，預備進攻伊拉克，巴力斯坦，及蘇彝士運河之「事實」，然而英法軍隊，在敘利亞前線衝突數小時之後，此項消息，尙無「事實」之證明。

英國軍隊之勝敗，與德國之最後勝利略無關係，敘利亞不過爲臨時之局幕，不能藉之以恢復英國之威信也。

主席訪日之意義

郭秀峯

主席於本月十三日，由南京出發，十七日安抵東京，今天以元首資格拜會日本天皇，十九日以後，以行政院長資格，與日本內閣總理大臣及外務，陸軍，海軍，大藏各大臣會談，此行海不揚波，政躬安泰，這是首先要向全國國民告慰的。

大家也許要問，主席是一國的元首，以一國元首之尊，訪問鄰邦，在過去國際習慣上，不是很少麼，是的，不錯，不過也並不是從來不曾有過，在今日更不乏其例，例如，目前希特勒訪問義大利，於拜會義皇之後，即與墨索里尼首相會談，就是最顯着的例子了，主席是中國的革命領袖，在過去爲革命事業，出生入死，百折不撓，此次和平運動，主席所朝夕盡瘁以求之者，是中國的獨立復興，中日兩國的親善合作，東亞的永久和平，如果對於此能有一點一滴的貢獻，主席必殫精竭慮悉力以赴，世俗的煩禮俗儀，非所語于，革命領袖當不拘泥。

主席此次訪日的意義何在，這也是全國國民所急須明瞭的。

第一，中日兩個國家，義應爲友，不宜爲敵，這是國父孫中山先生的遺教，亦是中日關係的基本原則，可是不幸得很，自事變發生以後，中日兩國兵連禍結，打得不可開交，可是亦慶幸得很，自從和平運動展開以後，兩國有識之士，從深重的痛苦中，對中日關係得了新的認識，所以有去年中日條約之簽訂，根據互尊領土主權的原則，重新確定了兩國之基本關係，而中日國交，亦由惡轉而至好轉了，但好轉並不是親善關係之已經圓滿，中日條約不過是規律兩國關係的原則，循這規律，而達到兩國圓滿的親善關係，還靠兩國朝野上下不斷努力的，普通的國交改善已是如此的了，何況中日兩國由抗戰而和平，由做敵人而做朋友，此種轉變所經歷的困難當然更多，所須要我們的

非不感其所受之侮辱耳，時機一至，必有報復之方法。

美國自認爲中國之真正友人，大事宣傳「一碗飯」聚餐運動，此種精神，能以組織一個「反對移民法案」運動，豈不更嘉，於茲英美所傳來之放棄治外法權消息，當然不能盡信也。

▲上海之「夕土」已成過去▼

三年來上海之「夕土」中，賭博盛興，傷風敗俗之營業，滋長蔓延，當局之能肅清之者，幾無人在，去年十一月間，傅筱庵市長被刺後，陳公博院長乃兼任爲上海市長，陳市長之受任此職，實抱有「我來，我見，我勝」之精神。

市長將情形考察之後，便覺「夕土」賭窟害人之深，乃決意將此模範市之污點，嚴厲肅清，當前之困難極多，然而市長不屈不撓，逐步進行，達到最後之一幕。

肅清「夕土」之最重要步驟，爲二月一日，滬西警備協定之簽訂，三月十五日，特警在總局長潘達達領導之下，開始工作，由潘局長之熱誠合作，肅清「夕土」，終成事實，上月市長與潘局長在南京舉行特別會議之後，即返滬發出命令，命各賭場於五月三十一日一律停閉。

至六月一日，僅有外國賭場兩家照常營業，中國賭場均已停閉，至六月六日，潘局長於屢次警告之後，將兩家外國賭場，亦行封閉。上海之「夕土」，於是乃成爲過去，而新時代亦隨之開始，上海今日之進步，誠不能不感謝陳市長之毅力與決心也。

▲荷屬東印度▼

世界舊秩序中最富饒之殖民地，荷屬東印度，因日本經濟代表團在該處談判之進行遲遲，又爲世人所注目，荷屬東印度，在亞洲之南部，豐產油，錫，橡皮，及其他熱帶產物，多數目爲日本生命上之必需，能與日本通暢貿易，則此類物品，可以藉友好之通商，輸出至太平洋西岸各國。

日荷談判固入僵局，而造成極嚴重之局勢，在幕後活動之英美兩

國，但求滿足其私心之慾望，而遂放留此之荷蘭當局，更不知在地理上言之，此荷蘭之屬地，已遲早終須劃入東亞共榮圈內，此共榮圈則爲日本謀其自身安全，及東亞未來之和平繁榮，而決心創造者也。

即使英國與民主陣線，能使歐戰陷入僵局，荷屬東印度，亦難免將加入太平洋上各國組成之經濟集團，以安定東亞也。

進攻荷屬東印度，則美國將不惜一戰，此固非不可能，然而究屬魯莽之舉，因東印度根本不在美國勢力圈內，而其對美，更不若其對日之有生命之需要也，故願談判雖入僵局，日荷仍能得到一種諒解，且願諒解之從速成就，因日本之民族生存上，需要橡皮，油，錫等供給問題之迅速解決也，況東印度極有將此種物產與日本交換商品之餘力乎。

▲德美關係惡化▼

美總統之下令凍結德意在美資金，又繼之以華盛頓當局發表七月十日封鎖全美德國領事館之驚人消息，凡德人之旅行，情報，私家通訊社，（例如海通社）均將受其影響，但外交關係，並非因之斷絕，而德國國家通訊社，亦不在禁例。

最近美國政策之表現，總統之此舉無疑的欲預備斷絕邦交，而與德國作最後之清算。

德意兩國對美國此舉，已有迅速之反響，將沒收所有美國在其國內之財產，而同時並有消息，謂更嚴厲之報復手段，已在考慮之中。德美之冤怨相報，已使迅速體解中之兩國國交，無改進之希望，關係之惡化，必日甚一日，戰事，宜與不宜，似乎已僅爲極短之時間問題矣。

美總統之狂浪行爲，使美國僅爲欲救英國而捲入戰禍，必使美國人民付極大之代價，况美國之與日，德，意三大強國爲敵，其勝利尤無把握，英國之助力，更無希望，因英國自身已無保全其領土之能力，至於德國，則幾已控制全歐，佔領土地日有增加，餘留之蘇俄與西班牙兩大中立國亦與德國關係友善，且訂有不侵犯條約，此兩國之天

▲中日加緊合作▼

汪主席此次訪日，爲日本皇室貴賓，顯示日本與南京政府間聯繫之密切，亦推翻日本將放棄南京而擁護滿洲之謠傳，此行不但爲日本對南京政策固定不變之徵示，亦許爲德意及若干其他國家承認南京政府之先兆，並且在事實上，使中日兩國人民，更見汪主席立場之鞏固，在南京政府之行政方案上，或許將有某種變化，尤爲對中國經濟復興之加緊注意。

數日前，日本某軍事家云，事變中之軍事方面，大致已告結束，現在經濟問題，已將次着重，當然軍事之後，必須有經濟復興之需要，汪主席自從發起和平運動以來，已負起或許爲多數人所不願負之重大責任，最初實現和平之時，幾無一事一物不感棘手，所得者，惟有日本建設中國，穩定政府之善意耳。

日軍在華中風雲席捲之勝利，使中國政府，支解無狀，蔣政權之民政機關，無不隨戰敗之軍隊而撤退，所有一切，莫不隨情勢之許可而重建，在戰事發生不久之後，軍事形勢，頗呈內戰之特徵，盜匪組成之游擊隊，不惜以對日軍之暴行，對其國人，而使情勢益加紛亂，欲在戰事輔停之城市鄉村間，成立一種秩序，大非易事，然而汪主席決意苦幹，至今日而有極大之成就。

汪主席此次赴日，將與近衛首相，松岡外相，及其他日本政府要人把晤，且將由松岡外相處，得到歐洲最近之形勢，因松岡外相，訪問德，意，蘇俄之所見，猶歷歷在目也。

南京政府，恢復統治區內原來狀態之將近成功，需要重新計劃開發天然資源，復興工業，建設交通事業，以及普遍推進中國擁有之龐大潛藏資源，使人民得以重享福利，根據新見解以造成新繁榮。

此巨大之責任，顯然非南京國民政府所能隻手獨擎，故而汪主席此次訪日，與日本領袖，詳細討論中日合作，共舉大業之種種方式與步驟，中日合作，至今僅是精神上存在，而實質上尙少成就，所有少數以中日合辦名義組織之機構，不能視爲近衛首相與汪主席理想上之

產物，此種理想，不僅限於虛言，必須兩國合力苦幹，共同推進，使雙方共獲其利，而達到理想之具體實現。

新中國期待汪主席平安歸來，知主席此行，必能與日本政府，得到圓滿諒解也，主席歸國之後，必然有種種改革，使新方案藉更充分之合作，而有更迅速之進步，人民願各盡其職，使中日合作愈趨堅實也。

▲治外法權與租界果能放棄乎▼

最近英美兩國所表示之歐戰事結束之後，放棄在華之治外法權與租界，不過一種空頭票面之價值耳，國人得到此項消息，無不視爲滑稽之談，報紙之評論，亦多譏諷其說。

英美兩國之諾言，顯然表示其言行之不能一致，因其一日視中國爲其半殖民地，即一日難望其放棄現在所享受之特殊權利，如果出於至誠，則何不立即停止其對重慶政權經濟軍火之資助，承認南京政府爲統治中國大部之事實上合法政府，而與之談判交還租界與取消治外法權之手續。

華盛頓首作放棄治外法權之諾言，倫敦緊跟而有同樣之表示，倫敦微弱之聲調，不久且將成爲華盛頓揚聲器之回聲矣。

但是英國則小心避免提及其在天津之租界，在上海公共租界中之勢力，及其殖民地香港，與在其他中國各處之有利地位，如英國而有誠意，則當交還天津英租界，（根據一九二七年漢口租界收還時張伯倫所發表之政策）無條件放棄其治外法權，將香港交還中國，能如此，則英國尙能有得新中國優遇之希望。

至於美國，則向來擅唱高調，其對中國人民，則有禁止華人入境之惡意侮辱，中國人之欲赴美國者，誠如俗語所謂駱駝穿過針眼尤難也，美國以其民治精神，公道平等自誇，然而世界上種族歧視，未有較美國爲甚也，美國之虐待黑奴，世所共知，無用多述，故而美國之所謂民治精神，純係一種假面具耳。

所惜中國政府人民，尙無實力足以推翻美國之移民法案！不過並

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中華新報

中華民國三十年七月一日

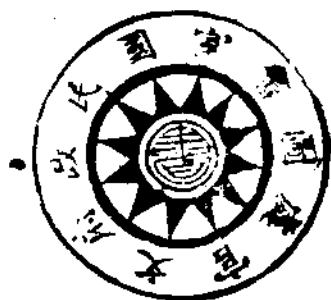
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