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VOICE of NEW CHINA

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Incorporating the CHINA OUTLOOK



The New Order in Greater East Asia

Keeping America Out of the War

Retrocession of the Shanghai Settlement

Abdication of King George VI Imminent

Early Collapse of Chungking

British Defeat in Greece

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To The Great Indian People

Now Is Your Only Chance To Drive Out The English Huns

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

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

Now is the opportune moment to act!

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

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

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

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

(4) May the great Allah punish treacherous
England!

JOIN THE ASIATIC LEAGUE TO OVER-
THROW BRITISH IMPERIALISM!

L. K. KENTWELL,

Hon. Secretary,

GURDIAL SINGH,

Asst. Hon. Secretary and Treasurer

8 Drum Tower Villa, NANKING (CHINA).

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Editorial Notes & Comments

The New Order in Greater East Asia

It is becoming clearer and clearer that the New Order in Greater East Asia is not a mythological dream or a passing political whim but the concentrated determination of New China and Japan to bring about a radical change in the present East Asiatic set-up and thus pave the way towards the New World Order which aims at the Peace and Welfare of all Mankind.

Recent events have proven that the New Order in Greater East Asia is accelerating in tempo, what with the stabilization of conditions in the vast territory under the jurisdiction of the National Government, the successful Japanese mediation in the Thailand-French Indo-China conflict, and the conclusion of the Nippon-Soviet Neutrality Pact.

These basical accomplishments have laid a firm foundation for the New Order, but before the other ideals embodied in the New Order can be attained China must enforce the following:

Abolition of extraterritoriality;

Retrocession of all foreign concessions and settlements;

Complete elimination of British and American domination in China and other weak Asiatic countries; and

Guarantee of China's independence and territorial integrity.

There are several obstacles lying in China's path which constitute hindrances to the realisation of the New Order and which any self-respecting nation cannot tolerate. In no other civilized country are two essential governmental institutions, i.e., the Posts and the Customs, in the hands of aliens, but this is still the case in China.

The Chinese Post Office is controlled by a French Director-General, while the Customs is controlled by a British Inspector-General.

Without any personal reflection on the incumbents of these two important posts, it is needless to point out that these officials should be Chinese and not foreigners. It is a distinct violation of China's sovereignty to have foreigners in control of two such important governmental organizations. What would the British and American governments say or do if Chinese officials were placed in charge of their Posts and Customs? Such a situation could not arise, naturally, but why should China put up with this insult?

A leading Shanghai vernacular, the "New China Daily News," in a recent editorial, points out that it was a tragedy for the world when President Woodrow Wilson's famous 14 points proposed at the Paris Peace Conference were frustrated by the joint efforts of the British and



Matsuoka . . . his successful conclusion of the Nippon-Soviet Pact has paved the way for the strengthening of the New Order in Greater East Asia.

French delegates, thus sowing the seeds of all the horrors of the present world conflict.

It is a pity, perhaps, for Europe that the 14 Points were discarded, but it must be remembered that even had the 14 Points been adopted it was a certainty that neither China nor Japan would have obtained a fair deal, so that regrets over President Wilson's idealistic ambitions are a waste of time. China and Japan were relegated into the background after the conclusion of the last World War, but now, after a lapse of 22 years, these two countries have evolved their own program for the betterment and peace of the region bordering their countries. This program is no other than the New Order in Greater East Asia, which, it is safe to state, no Wilsonian theories could have possibly foreseen. It is specially adapted for this part of the world but it is also aimed towards contributing something in the forthcoming New World Order which Herr Hitler and Mussolini are fighting for in Europe.

Keeping America Out of the War

China has gone through practically four years of terrifying hostilities. The horrors of



Colonel Knox . . . advocates sending American warships to convoy vessels to the European war zones, thus endangering American neutrality and leading his nation to the brink of war.

war have touched nearly all of her provinces. When President Wang Ching-wei emerged with his Peace Movement and brought peace and order to millions of his countrymen, he earned the gratitude of the whole nation. Today New China can look forward to the future with calmness and hope.

This journal has been outspoken in its condemnations of certain American actions and policies, but it has also pointed out the traditional friendship which has existed between the peoples of China and the United States over a long span of years. It is with such sentiments, and with our own recent sufferings, that we regard with sadness the American scene. As we learn of the increasing war hysteria, fostered by President Roosevelt and his Administration, we entertain the gravest fears for the American people, who are being led along the path to disaster.

The fatal step has not yet been taken, and speaking in the cause of humanity and in the name of thousands of Chinese well-wishers we pray that the American people will awake from their nightmare and come to their senses before the juggernaut of war overtakes them. They have been blindly following President Roosevelt, believing perhaps that his leadership will save "Democracy for the World." But to "save Democracy" means to involve their country in a suicidal war, the outcome of which is very doubtful. It must be obvious that to save England is now too late; that victorious Germany cannot be dethroned from her leading position in the post-war Europe, and, finally, that any American attack on Germany will immediately bring Japan into open warfare on the side of her ally. The United States, in spite of her vast power and wealth, cannot fight a two-ocean war, and disaster will certainly overtake her.

If the American people, to ease their conscience, wish to extend aid to England, let them do so by all means, but for the sake of their future generations and for the sake of their civilization, let them "Keep Out of the War." Even if Britain should win, there will be no glory for America, and participation in active hostilities will mean the crippling of the whole nation and the loss of tens of thousands of precious young American lives.

Germany and Italy are fighting a bitter life-and-death struggle and will not fail to attack American warships or convoy vessels carrying

food and war material to England. The American people should realise that no amount of material assistance can evade the inevitable defeat which now faces England. Defeat after defeat is the sole result of England's foolhardy adventures, and daily her position is becoming more and more critical.

Let us quote the views of one of America's leading citizens and national heroes, Colonel Charles Lindbergh:

"It is not within our power in America today to *win the war for England*, even though we throw the entire resources of our nation into the conflict." Commenting on the convoy plan, he continued: "If we are to maintain the ability to defend ourselves in the future, we must not expose our fleet in European war zones and must stop sending most of our modern fighting planes abroad." Concluding, he said: "We must face the fact that England is in a desperate position. Up to date she has lost every major campaign in which she participated. Her geographical economic position is as great a disadvantage to her in this age of aircraft and submarines as it was an advantage to her in the era of sailing ships."

Colonel Lindbergh expresses the opinion and views of a vast majority of Americans and his words bear the stamp of responsibility and commonsense. Can they be ignored? If the United States wishes to save her people from the horrors of war; if she wishes to preserve her civilization, and if she wishes to play the most important role at the final peace conference

FLASH!

We learn from authoritative quarters that, following the successful tour of Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka, Japanese Foreign Minister, to Europe, official circles in Washington are eager to despatch a high official, possibly Mr. Cordell Hull or Colonel Stimson, to meet Mr. Matsuoka for a "heart-to-heart" talk aimed at the solution of all outstanding differences between the United States and Japan. It is reported that, in the event of Mr. Matsuoka's acceptance of such a meeting, the venue of the talk will be Honolulu.

table, then the words of advice from men like Lindbergh must be heeded and acted upon.

The people of China sympathise fully with the American people in their present quandary, but having undergone the horrors and suffering of war they appeal to all Americans to "Keep Out of the War" for the sake of Humanity and for the Peace of the world.

* * *

Retrocession of the Shanghai Settlement

Under the slogan "Help China" and in their anxiety to see a "victorious Chungking," Britain and America have again been advancing large loans to the Chiang regime in the so-called war of resistance against Japan. If these two Powers are so philanthropically disposed towards China, why don't they go a step further and as a genuine gesture of friendship agree to the voluntary abolition of extrajurisdiction and the retrocession of all concessions and settlements? In such an event, the Chinese people will be most grateful and their magnanimous action will be borne in mind in future negotiations for new treaties.

Such a possibility, however, is still in the realm of dreams, and if we recollect the "die-hard" attitude of the Shanghai Britishers and Americans we entertain little hope that there will be any voluntary relinquishing of the illegal rights to which they still cling.

We claim credit for being the first to advocate the jettison of the illegal and obsolete Shanghai Land Regulations (refer to "VOICE OF NEW CHINA," Feb. 1, 1941, issue). In that issue we demanded the abolition of the Land Regulations which had never received the official sanction of the Chinese Government. Furthermore, the Anglo-American vested interests in Shanghai have transformed the Land Regulations, originally devised to facilitate the purchase of land in the Settlement laid aside for foreign residence, into a "municipal code," by which they have illegally relegated to themselves rights which infringe on China's sovereignty and ignored all the precepts of international law in the bargain.

Even without delving into the question of infringement of China's sovereign rights, the questionable manner in which the Municipal Administration of the Shanghai International Settlement is run, is sufficient to demand the immediate liquidation of this Administration. Cha-

racterized by extreme extravagance towards the "Pivot Boys," who are paid princely salaries in pounds sterling or gold dollars, the Council blithely ignores the requirements of the vast community whose welfare it is supposed to guard, and all the while, the Chinese Community, whose contribution towards the Municipal coffers amounts to no less than 85% of the total income, remains disfranchised and without any say in the administration. The salaries of three of the leading "Pivot Boys," to quote an example, amount to nearly a million dollars per annum. The lucky recipients of these huge salaries are the Secretary-General, Mr. Godfrey Phillips; the Municipal Advocate, Mr. R. T. Bryan, Jr., and the Commissioner of Police, Major K.M. Bourne.

At the last Annual Ratepayers' Meeting held on April 17, the Anglo-American vested interests, with the assistance and connivance of their consular representatives, obtained the sanction of the ratepayers for the new Provisional Council, comprising sixteen members. The new set-up includes four Chinese, three American, three Japanese, three British, one German, one Swiss and one Netherlands councillors. Through the medium of this compromise, the Council hopes to avert the inevitable, viz., the coming abolition of the S.M.C., but we emphasize that compromise or no compromise, the days of the Council are definitely numbered. China is not prepared to wait for the procrastination and wiles of the Treaty Powers, and steps will be taken to abolish extrajurisdiction and with it all the illegal settlements and concessions.

Abdication of King George VI Imminent

As British forces overseas meet defeat after defeat, discontent at home is growing by leaps and bounds, and the uncensored news which leak out paint a gloomy picture of the internal situation. The government, faced with this desperate situation, have promised all kinds of reforms for the people, but it is too late to prevent the people of Britain from taking their own views into serious consideration.

Realising that his people have actually been held in bondage by the aristocrats and capitalists, and that democracy was only a catchword designed to delude the people, King George VI is reported to be seriously considering abdication in favor of a more representative leader, and the popular choice for this post is said to be Lloyd George, premier during the last war.

Royalty has lost its glamour for the people who are faced with extinction as a result of the devastating air-raids launched by Germany's powerful air arm, and no amount of sloppy appeals to their "patriotism" at the present juncture can awaken the people to resist. They are only interested in seeing the end of this terrible war which is laying their towns and cities in ruins, and which is bringing daily defeats to their inferior forces.

The memory of the defeats suffered in Poland, Norway, Belgium, France (the "glorious retreat from Dunkirk"), Greece and finally in Northern Africa, is seared in the minds of all Britishers, while the daily increasing losses of shipping, the destruction of large cities like Liverpool, Plymouth and Coventry, the decreasing rations of essential food, and the conscription of young women have all contributed towards the weakening of their moral. Their war of resistance against Germany is hopeless and they realise it fully, in spite of the magic words which Winston Churchill manages to conjure up every time he gets up in Parliament to deliver a speech.



King George VI . . . rumoured likely to abdicate in face of repeated British defeats.

They are told to wait for a glorious victory in the forthcoming "Battle of the Atlantic," but the result is a foregone conclusion — another British defeat will be registered, in spite of promised American aid.

Dissatisfaction is rising also in the Colonies. Australia has demanded an accounting of the Battle of Greece when thousands of her sons were placed in the front lines to be slaughtered by superior forces. Australia remembers a similar episode in the last World War, in Gallipoli, when thousands of Australians, and Irishmen, were forced to die for the foibles of an insipid leader who thought that the Turkish and German defences in the Gallipoli Peninsula could be penetrated.

And even at this late stage, when she requires every ounce of help from her subjects, England still discriminates against her subjects of "non-Pure" European descent. How can a nation which discriminates against her subjects hope to win a war? There is no feeling of patriotism in the breasts of her "non-pure" European subjects, — on the contrary they are rejoicing at the prospect of an early English defeat.

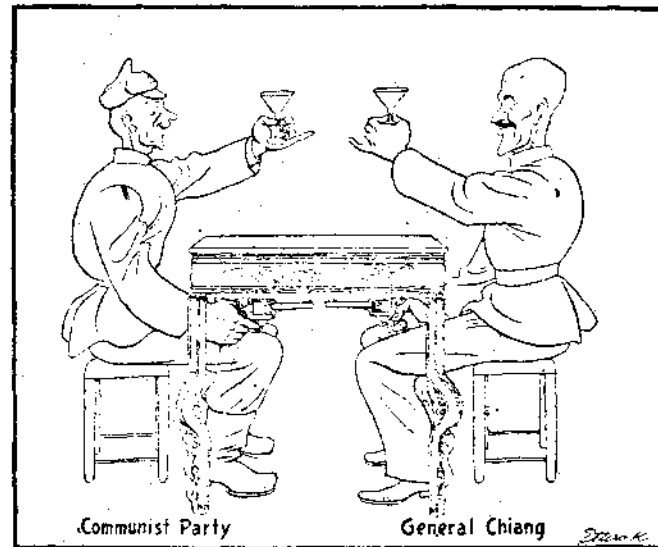
If King George wishes to keep his throne, he should at once sue for peace, as there is no other avenue of escape for him. The Axis Powers and Japan are invincible and unconquerable. The mere control of the coast of France, Belgium and Holland gives Germany the weapon to destroy Britain, and the recent German victories in the Balkans and Africa must be too obvious to those who still pray for a British victory with the aid of America.

There is a faint glimmer of hope for King George, and if he is willing to abdicate in favor of a representative and totalitarian form of government which will agree to negotiate peace with victorious Germany, England may be saved from total annihilation.

* * *

Early Collapse of Chungking

Simultaneously with the defeats suffered by his "friends" in Europe, Chiang Kai-shek has met with disastrous defeats at Foochow, Ningpo and other South China cities, thereby losing the last few "leaks" through which trickles of supplies were being sent to him from his democratic friends in Britain and America.



Bosom Pals - Chungking Version.

The "blitz" attacks launched by the Japanese Army at the various South China ports and cities have effectively bottled-up the Chungking remnants, and now there only remains the Burma Road through which Chiang hopes to obtain further supplies. Even then, the destructive activities of the Japanese Air Force have rendered the Burma Road a dubious means of supplies, and the authority of several neutral observers fully backs up this contention.

The conclusion of the Nippon-Soviet Neutrality Pact will also curtail, and perhaps cut off, supplies from Soviet Russia, so that the Chungking regime faces the early prospect of extinction. It is true that the United States Government has extended a further large loan, of U. S. \$50,000,000, but this loan may as well have been extended to a dead corpse, for all the good it will do to Chungking. In any case, American aid, as in the case of Britain, has come too late to extricate Chungking from the fate which she so richly deserves, and it is more than probable that Chiang Kai-shek and the members of the "Soong Dynasty" are even now planning how to make their escape from the mountain fastness which has imprisoned them in Szechwan for over two years.

* * *

British Defeat in Greece

As these lines were being written, the bell of fate has tolled out still another defeat for the British. Faced with superior mechanized forces, the British Expeditionary Force, comprising Australian and New Zealand troops, made a precipitous flight from Greece, suffering

Ambassador T'ang Appointed Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs



Ambassador T'ang

Indicating the special importance the National Government attaches to the promotion of closer relations with the Axis Powers the Central Political Council today appointed Ambassador T'ang Leang-li, concurrently Director-General of the International Publicity Board, to the concurrent post of Political Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs.

This appointment is especially important as Ambassador T'ang who is already well-known in Germany, which he visited in 1936 as Minister Plenipotentiary on Special Mission, is the originator of the Movement against American aggression in China. He is also known to have very strong and definite views on certain aspects of foreign relations as may be gauged from his numerous publications and statements.

Nanking Municipal Government Supplies Cereal Seeds Gratis

To push the work of reclamation and afforestation, the Nanking Municipal Government has distributed to suburban districts and villages cereal seeds amounting to about 16,132 piculs. It is learned that for each mow of land the seed in Indian corn distributed is two sheng.

enormous loss of men and equipment. Thus ended another of Winston Churchill's dreams or fantasies.

As the defeated troops retreated to the few remaining unoccupied Greek ports, German planes strafed the transports lying in the harbors and registered several direct hits causing many of the vessels with their human loads to sink.

With the Greek debacle a thing of the past, we may now expect a German thrust towards the Suez Canal and the Strait of Gibraltar, and judging from the trend of the war so far, we have no hesitation in stating that further British defeats are in the offing and the capture of Suez and Gibraltar is a certainty.

The deception of Yugoslavia and Greece by Britain and America in the cause of "democracy" will go down in history as a despicable betrayal of small nations to save the skins of Britain and America. Belgrade and Athens are in the hands of Germany and no amount of "democratic" action can help to save these unfor-

tunate dupes. The Greek campaign may also cost Britain the further allegiance of Australia.



Churchill . . . chalks up another "defeat" (in Greece) . . . time for him to resign.

BOOK REVIEW

CHINA AND JAPAN : Natural Friends — Unnatural Enemies

A Guide for China's Foreign Policy

By Sun Yat-sen

(Edited by T'ang Leang-li, Political Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, concurrently
Director-General of the International Publicity Board ; Published by the China United Press,
P.O. Box 2011, Shanghai ; Price : U.S.\$1.00 net.)

The works of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Father of the Chinese Republic, have become universally known as they form the basis of modern Chinese thought and government. Through translations practically all the extensive writings of Dr. Sun have been made available to foreign readers, but it remained for Mr. T'ang Leang-li, Political Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, and concurrently Director-General of the International Publicity Board, to undertake the arduous task of editing a series of speeches and documents delivered or written by Dr. Sun from time to time over the period 1914 to 1924.

These speeches and documents have been translated into English and published in a compact volume under the title "China and Japan — Natural Friends, Unnatural Enemies." As a guide for China's foreign policy, this volume will prove to the readers the farsightedness of the late Dr. Sun's policy, and although it is not claimed that the late founder of the Republic was possessed of seer-like qualities, still some of his prognostications bear the stamp of psychic vision. These remarks apply especially to those passages referring to Japan and Germany.

The greater portion of the work is devoted to the question of Sino-Japanese relations but there are also several sections dealing with the question of British imperialism and domination in East Asia. Interesting light is cast on the part played by China during the last World War, from which comparisons and parallels may be drawn with the present European conflict.

To those foreigners who consider the presence of Mr. Wang Ching-wei and his fol-

lowers at Nanking as a *mesalliance* with Japan, the volume under review will provide more than adequate proof that the question of Sino-Japanese co-operation and alliance is not the result of a "brain-child" hatched by President Wang for the purpose of self-aggrandizement or a make-shift policy designed to fit the exigencies of the situation, but a vital and fundamental necessity to preserve Peace in this part of the world as well as to enable China to throw off the shackles which have bound her to Western Imperialism and Aggression for over a century.

The volume is one which should find a prominent place in all libraries and bookshelves as it provides the basis for an insight into China's future foreign policy as well as the future trend of events in this part of the world. Mr. T'ang is to be congratulated for this addition to his long list of literary successes, and the *China United Press* for an excellent specimen of the printer's craft in China.

* * *

The following is the PREFACE to the volume written by Mr. T'ang :

The principles which should govern China's reconstruction into a modern State were formulated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in the "*San Min Chu I*" and other treatises. In these works he brought together in an ordered whole the political philosophy which inspired him, and mapped out the general lines on which the future Chinese State was to be reconstructed. He left behind no such ordered body of teachings for the realm of foreign affairs. He had, however, very definite views as to what ought to be the fundamental aim of China in her foreign policy, views which he expressed in a

series of speeches and documents delivered or written from time to time over the period 1914 to 1924. Now for the first time the more important of these are here collected together in English translation with a view to making Dr. Sun's principles of foreign policy more readily available to the Western public.

If Dr. Sun Yat-sen had lived he might have revised some of the matter in these documents. Composed at intervals over a period during which events moved and circumstances changed at a rate hitherto unparalleled in world history, and in each case with a view to some specific occasion or crisis, these writings naturally contain much that is ephemeral, and cannot but bear traces of the conditions of the changing moment. There are bound, therefore, to be placed where criticism is possible, for Dr. Sun Yat-sen laid no claim to infallibility. Like any other great leader he was unorthodox in his interpretation of events and their significance. Thus it is undoubtedly possible for the philistine and the pedant to go through these documents, and, by the process of selecting just what suits his purpose, find material on which to base unfriendly and biased criticism of their content and so, by excluding reference to all else, of their author's judgment.

Penetrating in his analysis of facts and tendencies and astonishingly correct in his valuation and judgment of the ultimate course of events, Dr. Sun was not always too careful in his historical detail. His remarks on British India in the "*Vital Problem of China*" will, to be sure, not carry the approval of many British readers, while in another place he antedates by several years the adoption by England of a protective tariff and Imperial Preference. Yet, one cannot deny the profound truths which lie at the basis of his observations, while any mistakes in detail, which he may have made, do certainly not affect the validity of his main teaching. Thus not all the holes that can be picked by the pedants in his remarks on British India can alter the truth of his main contention that subjugated India, "Brightest Jewel in the British Crown," is the corner stone of the British Empire and the foundation of British power and wealth. Again, though he may lay himself open to criticism on some of his remarks on Belgium and Greece, the point that he was making, namely, that provided a nation preserves its spirit of independence it cannot be

destroyed, is one of the world's fundamental truths.

In the "*Vital Problem of China*" Dr. Sun makes what appear to be a number of incorrect assumptions and to argue therefrom to apparently wrong conclusions. His predictions as to what would happen in the respective cases of either the Entente or the Central Powers being victorious in the World War then raging, namely that China would be sacrificed either to Russia or Germany, proved, as it happened, to be incorrect. At the time Dr. Sun was writing, however, he had much justification for many of his observations. No more than anyone else could he have foreseen the collapse of Russia and later of Germany. Yet, reading his observations concerning Britain, Russia and Germany in the light of recent events and developments, one can again not but be struck by the correctness of his analysis and the far sightedness of his judgment. What he wrote in 1917 was, in a way, falsified by the events immediately after 1918, but has it not now been justified by the resurrection of Germany and Russia as the dominant Powers on the Eurasian continent? In any case, Dr. Sun's main purpose was to show the folly of China abandoning her neutrality in favor of the Entente Powers. Germany had already offered to hand back Kiaochow, an offer China had been obliged to decline because of foreign interference. By declaring war on Germany, China would only antagonize that country without the hope of much help from the Entente Powers. This was Dr. Sun's contention, and events proved him absolutely right. China, it is true, was not sacrificed to Germany or Russia, but she was sacrificed to the Entente Powers who, by virtue of a secret treaty, left Japan in possession of Kiaochow and much of what she had gained from the Twenty-One Demands.

Some time and space has been spent on making the above points, because it is undoubtedly on the apparent miscalculations in regard to the immediate future — as distinct from the logic of history — that opponents will seize in a preposterous attempt to discredit the whole body of Dr. Sun's works, and, as a consequence, the main theme which runs through all his teachings China's foreign policy, namely the necessity, indeed the ultimate inevitability, of Sino-Japanese co-operation, on the basis of equality and mutual respect, in the

work of bringing peace and order to the Far East, and restoring that part of the world to its peoples.

* * *

For it is the fundamental principle of China's foreign policy as laid down by Dr. Sun, one by which he consistently stood throughout his career, that Sino-Japanese relations must be based on mutual friendship and co-operation with a view to liberating the Far East of the domination of Western Imperialism with its economic exploitation of the people, and to found a New Order of things by which the Far East should have been returned to the peoples of the Far East. To quote from but one of his many pronouncements on the subject:—

“The relationship between China and Japan is one of common existence or extinction. Without Japan there would be no China, without China there would be no Japan. For the sake of establishing a lasting peace between the two countries no trifling cause should be permitted to disturb their friendship On the reconciliation with Japan depends the welfare of China, peace in the Far East, the very civilization of the world From the racial point of view China and Japan are brothers Under the principle of Pan-Asianism Japan and China can together develop the natural resources in the West of the Pacific, while under the Monroe Doctrine the United States can unify authority in the East of that Ocean.”

This is not to say that Dr. Sun was blind to Japan's faults, or ready to condone the injuries suffered by China at Japan's hand. There was no sterner critic of Japan's aggression in China than Dr. Sun, but even at the moment of greatest crisis, when Japan's behaviour was little better than that of the Western Powers in whose steps she seemed to be treading, he still refused to abandon his basic ideal of Sino-Japanese friendship. The passage quoted above was written in 1917, when the taste of the Twenty-One Demands was still bitter in Chinese mouths. Japan might momentarily stray from the paths of justice, but he could always hope for her return, always appeal from Japan badly-advised to Japan well-advised, and he always hoped and believed that such a Japan would ultimately reveal itself. He

might condemn Japanese policy and actions, but he was always ready to meet any signs of friendship half-way.

Despite disappointment after disappointment, during a period when almost every action of Japan seemed to rage her further away from China into the ranks of Western Imperialist aggressors, Dr. Sun continued to preach his doctrine of Sino-Japanese friendship. Time and again, actual events and developments were such as to seem to contradict every one of his hopes and theories. For long years too, after Dr. Sun's death the state of affairs continued. Japan seemed rather to be China's worst enemy than the best friend Dr. Sun had proclaimed it was her mission to be and that she would one day become. By every argument from existing events, Dr. Sun could have, on the surface, been proved wrong.

And yet how fundamentally right he has now been shown to have been, not only in his contention that China and Japan ought to be friends — that no-one could ever dispute — but also in his belief that one day they ultimately would be. It has been these teachings of Dr. Sun's, of Sino-Japanese friendship on the basis of equality and mutual respect, that has guided the present Peace Movement in China and inspired the whole career of Mr. Wang Ching-wei, the present Leader of New China and the Trustee of Dr. Sun's Revolutionary Heritage — condemning and opposing all that is hostile and unfriendly on the part of Japan, but ready always to welcome any change of heart on her part. Evidence that such a change of heart has taken place and that the mutual respect necessary to make a fundamental readjustment of Sino-Japanese relations possible has been created, came as early as December 1937 with the Trautmann Peace Proposals. China had proved herself a worthy foe whom Japan was willing to accept as a worthy friend on terms of equality. Every action of Japan since — the Konoye Declaration of December 22, 1938, the recognition of the legitimate Kuo-ming Tang as the dominant political party of China, followed by the reorganization of the National Government and its return to the Capital, the conclusion of the Basic Treaty for the readjustment of Sino-Japanese relations on November 30, 1940, — has served to confirm this. The teachings of Dr. Sun have in fact at last taken root on Japanese soil. Best evidence of all is supplied by the Konoye Declaration and the

pamphlet issued on April 29, 1940, by General Itagaki, former Minister of War and the Chief-of-Staff at the General Headquarters of the Japanese Expeditionary Forces in China, which is printed as a supplement to Dr. Sun's works in this volume. From these two pronouncements, one by the civilian leader of the Japanese Government and the other by one of the most prominent military leaders of Japan, we quote the following: —

"The spirit of Renaissance is now sweeping over all parts of China and enthusiasm for reconstruction is mounting ever higher Japan only seeks to render effective co-operation and collaboration between the two countries Japan not only respects the sovereignty of China but she is prepared to give positive consideration to questions of the abolition of extraterritoriality and of the rendition of Concessions and Settlements — matters which are necessary for the full independence of China." — (*From Prince Konoye's Declaration of December 22, 1938.*)

"The West wishes China to remain a colony of the Western Powers, in order that it may continue its exploitation for its own selfish gains; it thus fears accomplishment of the Chinese emancipation and independence through Japan's help

"When China becomes a united nationalistic country and determined to co-operate, Japan and China may become good, friendly neighbours. If the Japanese deceive the Chinese, following the Western example, by exploiting China as a colony, they are violating the Japanese character of reason and righteousness, throwing away their determination of not doing anything shameful before Heaven

"Permanent peace will come out of unselfish hearts. Anything gained by force will be lost in the same manner. But you can never lose what you have secured in accordance with reason and righteousness...

"We should respect the good qualities of the Chinese and have trust and faith in each other. Good relationship and mutual understanding between individuals cannot be based upon deception and fraud. The same is true with nations

"Most important it is to respect, understand, and honor the Chinese traditions and social customs. Japanese should be true Japanese and Chinese should be true Chinese. Between friends, tolerance and sympathy are most important. We cannot reap the best results if we force Japanese ways on the Chinese and interfere with China's internal politics. Promotion of co-operation means nothing if we treat the Chinese as puppets or despise their social customs. No matter how good our intentions are, you cannot get proper results in that way. So we must trust the Chinese to handle their own affairs and generously put our faith and trust in them." — (*From General Itagaki's Pamphlet of April 29, 1940*)

The above-quoted words are the words of Prince Konoye and General Itagaki, but the spirit that breathes in them is that of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The New Order in East Asia, based on Sino-Japanese mutual friendship and co-operation, is but the Pan-Asianism of Dr. Sun adapted to suit the circumstances of the age.'

* * *

The choice before the Chinese people and the followers of Dr. Sun Yat-sen is thus clear; that is, EITHER to abide by, and carry out, the precepts he laid down for their guidance, and support President Wang Ching-wei and the Peace Movement, which, carrying out the true principles and policies of the Kuo-min Tang as decided by its Founder, has already made no inconsiderable progress along the path leading to Dr. Sun's ideal of Sino-Japanese friendship and co-operation — on terms of equality and mutual respect for the creation of a Far East in which the people, rid of western imperialistic domination, shall be free to work out their own destiny — OR openly to renounce the Late Party Leader and Father of the Chinese Republic, as the apostates have denounced the Trustee of the Revolutionary Heritage, suppress the Kuo-min Tang, discard the San Min Chu I, burn the works of Dr. Sun, and dishonor the National Flag.

To pay outward reverence to the memory of the Father of the Republic but at the same time trampling under foot his dearest principles and precepts is worse than deception; it is blasphemy!

* * *

EPILOGUE

By *President Wang Ching-wei*

"For forty years I have devoted myself to the cause of the People's Revolution with but one end in view — to win for China national liberty and international equality." Thus declared Dr. Sun Yat-sen in his Last Will and Testament.

It is to Dr. Sun that the credit must indisputably go for assembling China's nationalistic ideas into a complete and rounded whole. National consciousness existed in China, as her history of the past 4000 years bears witness, from the time of her earliest existence, but it was Dr. Sun, whose life work it was, who took the nationalistic ideas of the past and, by combining them by a process of selection and mutual adoption and adaptation with modern conceptions, formulated for China the principle of nationalism, *Min Tsu Chu I*, to form a link between the present and the future. Not only did he formulate the theory, but he took the lead in putting it into practice. Almost his last utterance as he lay on his death bed was solemnly to reiterate it, bequeathing to his party-followers and fellow-countrymen the completion of the task which death prevented him from accomplishing.

This year is the centenary of the Opium War. In the hundred years since 1840 the imperialistic Powers, with economic and military might as weapons, have repeatedly tried to crush China's national consciousness. Their attempts brought suffering upon the Chinese people, but these attempts were not fatal, because the more the Powers tried to disintegrate and oppress, the more was China united.

The Communists, however, have introduced new tactics in exploiting the people. While proclaiming that the worker has no fatherland, they make use of China's national consciousness when shouting for the salvation of the country. They advocate the class struggle, while at the same time they call for a united popular front. The sufferings to the Chinese race caused by their intrigues take on an even more serious aspect when they are added to imperialistic attempts to crush Chinese nationalism. These intrigues, however, will not prove fatal. They can only delude the people for a time. Ultimately the people will awake to the fact of their deception, and, once awakened, they will not be deceived again.

At the time of Dr. Sun's death the true character of the Communist Party had yet to be revealed. Had he lived, the widespread infiltration of the Communists and the resultant split in Kuo-min Tang ranks in 1927 would have been prevented.

Dr. Sun's objective in bringing about the Revolution was to put an end to the ruthless oppression of China by the imperialistic Powers. He was born in 1866, twenty-six years after the Opium War. He started his revolutionary activities in 1885, forty-five years after the Opium War, and died in 1925, eighty-five years after the Opium War. When he was 23 years old, the Sino-French war of 1885 took place, and it was after China's defeat in that war that, so he declared, he made up his mind to work for the overthrow of the Ching Dynasty which had proved unable to oppose effective resistance to foreign aggression, and for the establishment of a republic.

Foreign aggression mainly took the form of economic aggression backed up by military forces. It was difficult for China to resist this aggression. Without nationalism, it was impossible to awaken the Chinese people, and without Pan-Asianism, it was impossible to awaken the peoples of East Asia, and so to combine their

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strength. Thus, after he had finished his lectures on the Three People's Principles on August 24, 1924, he lectured on Pan-Asianism in Kobe on November 28, of the same year.

In his Last Will he also stated: "My experiences during these forty years have firmly convinced me that to attain this goal we must bring about a thorough awakening of our own people and ally ourselves in a common struggle with those peoples of the world who treat us on the basis of equality." The phrase "those who treat us on the basis of equality" was interpreted by many as referring to Soviet Russia, but as a matter of fact Dr. Sun made no specific mention of any country.

The association of Japan with ourselves on a basis of equality is exactly the realization of the aim and hopes of Dr. Sun's Pan-Asiatic doctrine. Why must we, in addition to awakening our own people, ally ourselves with those who treat us on the basis of equality in a common struggle? Because imperialism, with economic and military strength as weapons, is now deeply rooted in China. The Red Indians in America, the natives in Australia and the Negroes in Africa have either been exterminated or enslaved. It is indeed fundamentally important for China to awaken her people and unite the people's strength in order to combat Imperialism. But merely to lay emphasis on this while disregarding the realities of the existing situation is not only insufficient, is also impractical. Formerly, a country seldom ventured to ally itself with another country, because by so allying itself it bound up its destiny with that of the other. For this reason most countries preferred to remain isolated. However, the world today is tending towards the formation of blocs or alliances, both economic and military. The fact that even powerful countries do not avoid alliances proves that weak and backward States who aim at reconstruction need all the more such an alliance or association.

This is the origin of Pan-Asianism. As has been said before the three native races in America, Australia and now Africa have been extinguished one after another and the fate of the Yellow race in Asia is at stake. After the Opium War, the foreign Imperialists encroached not only upon China but also upon Japan. Japan, however, has freed herself from foreign domination, thus regaining her liberty and

equality several decades earlier than China. As long however as imperialistic forces remain, Japan will always be exposed to the treat of being subjected to further aggression. From this point of view the destinies of China and Japan are identical. It is a pity that the two countries have overlooked this point and antagonized each other. Now that they have come to realize their past mistakes, and are exerting their respective efforts for a common destiny, the Pan-Asiatic doctrine is, 15 years after the death of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, revived with a bright future.

When China and Japan were antagonizing each other, it did seem that Nationalism and Pan-Asianism were not compatible with each other. But now, when China and Japan realize their common destiny, these principles are not only compatible but inevitable. If China cannot secure her independence and freedom, she will not be qualified to share in the responsibility of East Asia, and, if East Asia is not emancipated, there will be no guarantee for China's independence and freedom. Every Chinese should bear this in mind. As Japan expects China to shoulder her share of responsibility in East Asia, it follows automatically that she will treat her on a basis of equality. This has, since Prince Konoye issued his declaration, been Japan's immutable policy, fully supported by public opinion.

Shanghai Municipal Government to Become Special Municipality From June 1

According to instructions from the Executive Yuan and with the approval of the Central Political Council, all cities under the direct jurisdiction of the Executive Yuan will be designated as "special" municipalities for the purpose of distinction. Commencing from June 1, the Shanghai Municipal Government will be officially known as the Shanghai Special Municipality, it is learned.

D. S. T. Adopted by Central Authorities

It was resolved at the 46th meeting of the Central Political Council that for the period of May 1 to September 30 the Daylight Saving Time be adopted all over China,

The Fortieth Birthday of H.I.M. the Emperor of Japan

Marked with the traditional, solemn bowing ceremony, the fortieth birthday of his Majesty the Emperor of Japan was observed by the 100,000 odd Japanese residents in Shanghai all day April 29.

Ten thousand members of the Shanghai Japanese Young Men's Association turned out *en masse* at the Hongkew Park at 7 a.m. and bowed in the direction of the Imperial Household, located at Hibiya Park, Tokyo. The occasion was featured by a speech delivered by Mr. Tateki Horiuchi, Consul-General, exhorting the members of the Japanese community here to work together as never before in the fulfillment of the Imperial mission of China and the Chinese people.

Three cheers were given by the audience led by Rear-Admiral Seiji Takeda, for the prolonged life of the Emperor and unbroken prosperity of the Japanese people.

Immediately after the meeting, the members of the Shanghai Japanese Association paraded through the streets of Hongkew from Hongkew Park. The Japanese flag and special bunting and pennants bedecked the Japanese residences and shops in the streets, as large crowds milled about in gay mood to observe the day. With a Navy Band concert, fitting ceremonies were also held at the Shanghai Shrine, where, a tribute was paid to the memory of the thousands of Japanese residents here who fell in the Sino-Japanese conflict.

At the various schools, special programs were held in which the students and pupils sang and cheered for their ruler. It is understood that a number of athletic competitions between Japanese organizations were planned for the day.

Meanwhile, all the Military, Naval and Consular Offices were closed to public business during the day. Only a skeleton personnel in each of these Government bodies turned up to transact routine work.

The Nippon Club on Boone Road was the scene of gaiety when a dinner was held which was attended by important figures in the Japanese community.

In Tokyo

During his Majesty's absence ceremonies in honor of the Sovereign's were held at the Imperial Palace. Viscount Sadasuke Makino, Chamberlain, paid homage at the Imperial Sanctuaries.

Following his return from the Review, His Majesty received Prince and Princess Takamatsu and other members of the Imperial Household. Premier Prince Fumimaro Konoye led civil and military leaders who congratulated the Sovereign.

Under grey, grim skies, a portion of Japan's armed might on land was displayed before the Emperor, as the 124th Monarch of Japan observed his fortieth birthday.

The annual military parade, which had been held since 1872, was staged at the Yoyogi Parade Grounds as climax to the observance of the occasion with 30,000 men, 100 tanks and other mechanized units participating.

All Government offices, business firms and schools suspended work for the day and the plaza in front of the Imperial Palace was thronged with crowds which turned out despite leaden overcast skies to pay their respects to the Ruler.

The Emperor, the Empress and members of the Court held special Shinto ceremonies at three shrines within the Palace grounds, offering prayers to the Sun Goddess Amaterasu-Omikami and other deities.

The Princes and Princesses of the blood and high ranking Government officials also attended the ceremonies.

Communist-Bandits in N. Kiangsu Doomed

The troops of the first Army Corps who launched their offensive against the Communist-bandits in North Kiangsu on April 20, are advancing rapidly in all directions. Tungshu was taken over by the 7th Division on April 23 while two main detachments of the bandit forces were routed and put to flight. On April 27, another important city Puche, was delivered from the scourge of banditry.

Chungking-American Agreement and Japanese-Soviet Pact

The American-Chungking agreement for the stabilization of old *fapi* has been signed, according to reports to hand. In addition, another US\$50,000,000 credit loan will be concluded for the supply of war materials to Chungking under the provisions of the Lend-Lease Bill. Chungking and its newspapers, taking this excellent chance for propaganda, claim to be fighting side by side with Britain against the Axis and consider itself qualified as one of the employees of the United States.

As a matter of fact, no matter what agreement the United States may enter into and no matter what assistance America may give, Chungking is not qualified as her hireling. If Chungking wants to be qualified as a stooge for the United States, it must be able, at least, to help America to restrain Japan's activities in the Far East and to accomplish the mission which America expects it to carry out once a Japanese-American war breaks out in the Pacific. Has Chungking this ability? No.

As far as the United States is concerned, this is naturally a serious mistake. If America considers that a war in the Atlantic is unavoidable, she should face the actual developments in the Far East and assist the restoration of peace in East Asia, so as to "eliminate the smoke of gun-power there." Only by so doing will America be able to concentrate her attention on a war in the Atlantic. However, what she is doing at present is exactly contrary to this policy. If she believes that her assistance to Chungking will have the effect of allaying her anxiety in this part of the world as soon as war breaks out in the Atlantic, we would like to warn the American Government that this stupid policy will not only continue to disturb the peace of the Far East but destroy entirely the foundation of the friendship established in the past by the United States with the Chinese people.

American assistance to Chungking will not increase the latter's strength of resistance. This has been proved by the many loans already extended to Chungking by the American Government, because once Chungking's own fighting strength has been completely destroyed, whatever strong assistance it may receive will

not be able to save the situation. For instance, the British and American assistance to Yugoslavia and Greece is in several respects far in excess over the American assistance to Chungking. But what is the result? the fate of both Yugoslavia and Greece is sealed despite the much-vaunted assistance from Britain and America.

Since the conclusion of the Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact, the tense situation along the Manchoukuoan-Mongolian and Manchoukuoan-Soviet borders has been eased considerably. Without any cause of anxiety in Manchoukuo, Japan will certainly be able to intensify her military operations in China. Military successes of Japanese troops during the past ten days in different places are only the beginning of intensive operations. At the present time, since the prospects for the realization of nation-wide peace have lightened up, we cannot understand why Chungking still persists in a policy which will only cause all the Chinese people and territory to be reduced to ashes by Japanese guns. May be Chungking is very happy in the belief that the American loans for the stabilization of the old *fapi* and for the supply of arms and ammunition can check the Japanese advance. They fail to see however what effects the Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact will have on the Japanese military actions in China. They fail to see that the matter of the stabilization fund is but a reply of the United States to the Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact. If Chungking can sit down quietly and consider the present situation in China as well as the international situation without prejudice, it should be able to realize that the ambition of the United States in the Far East is only to create constant disturbances. Unfortunately, Chiang Kai-Shek and his satellites have been bought over with surplus funds by the United States!

However, we must not only not despair of the realization of nation-wide peace but become even more determined in our efforts. Chungking will ultimately be forsaken and despised by the people. The final success will be ours!—
(Central Press Service).

In Case of War Between Japan and America

(Translation of "Central China Daily News" Editorial)

The main purpose of the Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact is defensive in nature, as explained in these columns. But whether a Japanese-American war will be avoided or not is still open to doubt, because the British and American war preparations in the Pacific are very irritating to Japan. If one party is eager to avoid the war but the other tries all the time to push nearer and to war, an armed conflict will break out finally. This is exactly the situation as regards the relations between Japan, Britain and America in the Pacific. Can a Japanese-American war be avoided? This question is not very difficult for us to answer with more or less accuracy. The problem of whether Japan and America will fight with each other is similar to such a question as whether a hen will lay eggs or not. What we must pay due attention to at the present time is: If a war breaks out between Japan and the United States, what should China do?

Before the outbreak of the war in Europe, we advocated the policy concluding the Sino-Japanese hostilities so that China might be free to meet the international developments brought about by the European War. We maintain the same policy at the present time when a Japanese-American War is imminent. Before the outbreak of a Japanese-American war, we must adjust our domestic affairs or at least achieve military reconstruction, industrial rehabilitation, preservation of peace and order and improvement of livelihood in the peace zones. Only then, can China as an independent nation meet the new situation which will arise from a Japanese-American war.

If a Japanese-American war actually breaks out it will undoubtedly be a war for destroying the old order and establishing a new one in East Asia. Towards this war we must adopt a solemn and careful attitude; we cannot entertain any hope of depending upon foreign Powers or any expectations of an opportunist. On the Front of the New Order of East Asia, Japan is our friend and comrade in arms, who can fight side by side with us. We must understand, however, that the independence and freedom of a nation can only be secured through the struggle of her own people.

Such opportunists as those in Chungking, are of the opinion that the existence of our country and people can only be preserved by maintaining the present balance of power. This is wrong. We admit that after the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the situation created by the establishment of balance of power in the Far East, was for a time beneficial to China. But we must know that in that period we could barely maintain our existence but could not achieve our national regeneration. All these are our bitter experiences which we should not forget.

Furthermore, we must know that the balance of power in the Far East at the present time is a long iron chain, which binds us tightly. In this situation we may not suffer national extinction but we can never become a powerful nation or have a chance for national regeneration. For the sake of China's future, this balance of power cannot be permitted to continue. Therefore, we should not ignore Japan's efforts to destroy the old order and establish a new one in the Far East nor must we leave this most important task to others. We must, on the basis of our past experience, undertake resolutely our share of the responsibilities for establishing a new balance of power and a New Order of East Asia.

British Parliament Almost Destroyed

The House of Parliament was hit during a recent air-raid by a bomb, which crashed on the Speaker's house in the Inner Quadrangle, smashing a large water tank, it is revealed.

The House of Commons suffered more than the House of Lords.

All windows of the House of Commons Library were blown out.

The roof of the lobby of the House of Commons, which was hit in a previous raid, was again affected, but it is believed that the debating chamber escaped damage.

Speaker Captain E.A. Fitzroy was absent when the bomb struck. Neither House was in session, so there were no casualties.

It is recalled that the Parliament building was damaged by raids last autumn also.

England's Capitulation Inevitable

Churchill's Vague Promises of Wining the War "In the Future"

A recent speech by the British Prime Minister in the House of Commons was commented upon by informed German quarters, and the conclusion reached was that for Britain there remained but one choice: the time of her capitulation. No longer were there possibilities for Britain to assume the initiative in any manner promising success. Apart from the purely local advances made in Africa, Churchill's vague promises that the greatly strengthened British Army would "in the future" appear victorious on old battlefields and new, are taken in German circles as rather dangerous advances upon a very uncertain future. Britain is on the defensive and will remain on the defensive. She will have to decide—as her only remaining choice—up to what a degree of exhaustion she is prepared to go, and to what an extent she will permit her nerve-centers to be paralysed by the actions of the German armed forces. Then she will have to capitulate.

In Churchill's speech, he stressed that the danger of a German invasion was ever present. It would appear as though this danger is prying on the minds of British statesmen and the population alike, although it is left open whether its continued discussion is not rather meant for the benefit of the United States and with the motive of inducing that country to speed up its program of assistance. Churchill made several very interesting admissions in the speech. One of them was that "he was forced to confess that a danger had arisen again which he had thought to be definitely abolished over a year ago", and the other that he had to confess himself very unsatisfied with the capacity of British industry. This latter admission is the first official British confirmation of the heavy extent of damages suffered by the British industry through large-scale attacks of the German airforce.

Regarding the effect of the German counter-blockade on the situation of British shipping, Churchill stated that the losses suffered were very disquieting. He was not in a position to

even promise effective relief. He found himself in the position of a man who threw a boomerang and is experiencing the entirely unexpected of this weapon against himself.

Even the most conservative estimates must admit that Britain has lost 30% at least of her shipping, including all ships of formerly neutral and allied nations confiscated by the British Government. It is furthermore admitted that her shipping industry is paralysed. Not only has it been found impossible to carry through the ship-building programs as per schedule, but it is even difficult to carry out the most necessary repairs to damaged vessels, since the capacity of shipyards and dock has been so greatly diminished by German air attacks. Regarding the capacity of the armaments industry, it must be remembered that not only the lack of raw materials—sent to the bottom of the sea by the German patrol vessels on the Atlantic or the German raiders on the Pacific—but also the destruction of an increasing number of plants by German large-scale bombing attacks are responsible for its decline.

Historians of later decades—when studying the present situation in Great Britain—will never be able to understand how this could come about after a British Prime Minister (the late Mr. Chamberlain) had said in the House of Commons on February 22, 1939: "Our arms are so great that, without taking the Dominions into account 'Come the three corners of the world in arms—And we shall shock them'".— Or else, how a British Prime Minister could ever have spoken such words to a trusting nation, when he must have been fully cogniscent of the true facts!

Central Hospital in Nanking Crowded with Patients

Since its inauguration, the Central Hospital in the Capital has received an average of about 500 out-patients a day. Except for a registration fee of 10 cents for the first visit and 5 cents for each succeeding visit the patients are not required to pay any other charges.

"The Day for Driving Out Hitler is as Far Off as Ever"

American Participation Will not Change Situation

Expressing its dissatisfaction over the result of the Balkan War and attacking the British Government, a leading British daily declared: "After twelve months of struggle, we were humiliated again by the withdrawal of our troops. The day for driving out Hitler is as far off as ever; on the contrary, it is obvious that Hitler can drive us out." This is the best retort to the catchword "final victory."

In the past few years, the slogan "final victory" has been used to gloss over military defeat. There is a tendency to keep on shouting the slogan "final victory," notwithstanding territorial losses and national extinction. It is the order of the day to keep on fighting when it is already clear that the situation is absolutely hopeless. No one can tell when the victory will ever arrive. At the beginning of every year, many minds are obsessed with the illusion of victory, but in time it transpires that the year has brought nothing but defeats and sufferings, deaths and destruction. Those who have died, are no more, and victory has nothing to do with them. As for the survivors, they find it difficult to carry on, as "final victory" is as far off as ever. When there is no sure way of winning a victory, to indulge in talking of final victory is as dangerous as to go on gambling when one has already lost a lot of money. Thousands and thousands of gamblers lose their fortunes and properties of this psychology. When they have lost their money, they try to borrow from others in order to continue their gambling. They mortgage the estates inherited from their ancestors to continue the gamble. Unfortunately, many government authorities like the Chungking officials are acting in the same way as such gamblers. They cannot see the situation clearly, but hope for a "final victory". continue to sacrifice their beloved fatherland. They fail to see that the territory of their country is limited and that "final victory" is still far off.

A Farsighted Policy

Some people may say that we should adopt a far-sighted policy. If we cannot see the approach of the "final victory" in this genera-

tion, let us hope that it will come in some future generation. This sounds just as good as the religious advice, "Let us wait for the final judgment." However, it must be pointed out that such a belief is only good for religious purposes because it can persuade people to lead a righteous life, but in politics, it will cause bitter disappointment to the people and do serious harm to the nation.

Let us presume however that a "final victory" will be achieved some day, but we must know that if we win the victory, it will mean the other party's defeat. When we gain the "final victory", the other party will hope to win her "final victory" some other time. As a result, there will be revenge and revenge without any peace at all. These so-called far-sighted people may have thought of military successes for the nation but they fail to think of the entire human race.

American Participation

All those countries such as Poland and Greece, who are associated with Britain and who have fought shoulder to shoulder with her have been ruined. They have been hoping for the "final victory" when Britain wins the war. But Britain, herself, has already lost everything; she is approaching the day of bankruptcy. She has mortgaged a large part of her property and is waiting for America's assistance, thinking that such a policy may lead to a "final victory". Although the United States seems to be very active and eager to join the game, it is still doubtful that American participation in the war will change the situation. It is probable that with American participation, Britain will lose even more. It is also open to question, whether America will give anything to the countries, who have suffered heavy losses, when she wins. Can true leaders of a nation build their hopes on such hallucinations.

This is the situation both in Europe and in the Far East. No matter what may happen, America will not take any serious risk for the yellow race! - ("C.C.D.N.")

Axis Wages War to Liberate Nations Under the British Yoke

Ideal and Objective to Set Up New World Order

The use of slogans and ready-made expressions in current use with international commentators today might easily obscure the real meaning of the present war which the European Axis is waging against Britain. And, because the ideas underlying the policy of the Axis powers are new and comprehensive, the Anglo-Saxons are doing everything in their power to maintain a veil of more or less meaningless slogans. The most significant mis-interpretation publicised by the Anglo-Saxons is that Germany desires to conquer Britain, merely to effect a "change of the guard," that is, in order to occupy the position of world domination vacated upon a British defeat. Even to speak of a "new order," without defining this expression to a certain extent, is not wholly right. New order by itself would indicate something totally new brought about by doing away with the old. Were this the one and only meaning of the war, it would be only revolutionary. But such is not the case. A new order is being sought and has, partially, been achieved already. But it is not something artificially created; but something deeply rooted in the evolution of the peoples concerned. One might, therefore, with some justification, speak of a revision indicating a correction.

Most new political facts or dogmas are trimmed with hints at tradition. An outstanding example of this is the creation of the title of "Emperor" for the Kings of England. The title—or, to put it more correctly—the office of

Emperor has a deep significance for the people of Europe. It is no empty phrase but an organism which grew naturally from the European evolution. The times of Roman, Byzantine and Germanic Emperors were times of cultural peaks for Europe. And this office was degraded when Disraeli, the Jewish alien, procured the title of Empress of India," in order that the conquest of India should be sanctioned history. This conquest was undertaken, in the first place, by a group of unscrupulous merchants, who by means of more modern mechanical tools of war and by intrigues of a gigantic extension, subjugated a people of a much higher cultural standard than their own. But the term of "Emperor" for the new overlord, this cultural height is indirectly recognised.

But Britain, upon usurping the title of Emperor has neither in practice nor in theory succeeded in inheriting the European Imperial tradition. She has sent out a race of merchants to enlarge her territory which she immediately exploited to the full. No endeavours were undertaken to organise the life of the dominated peoples in accordance with their previous development.

The present war is being fought for the setting up of a new right power and possession. No longer must power and possession be dependent upon riches and gold. Thus—to revert to the example of the British Imperial title—the conquest of territories containing great riches cannot, in itself, be a justification of the assumption of an office or a mission. And most emphatically not in case this office or mission are assumed only to further materialistic and purely egoistical ambitions. This war, is being fought in order to depose a small governing-minority which is not conscious of its responsibilities—or which has flagrantly disregarded them—and to replace it, again by a minority, it is true, but by one which is imbued with a deep sense of this responsibility and which, for the past decades, has fought for their recognition. Again we must resort to a practical example. Should, by successful propaganda, all nations of a continent be induced to adopt a policy of

D.N.B. Nanking Branch Office

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over-population, they would soon regard themselves as lacking of space. This would not, however, be a justification for adventures of conquest upon other nations. Not the numerical strength and the material riches justify the demand for directing affairs in any one of the world's power spaces. Only qualities of character and culture, the prerequisites for a full recognition of responsibility, are a justification for attempts to change the existing order. But where such qualifications exist and where the faults of the existing order are realised, they

contain in themselves more than justification for attempts at a new order, they are coupled with the unavoidable duty to bring about such a new order.

This then is the meaning of the present war: a responsible minority, united in what is politically termed the Axis, has recognised the faults of the existing order. Imbued with responsibility and blessed with the necessary prerequisites they are engaged in a war of liberation which, when successfully concluded, will return to the nations their birthright.

Exhibition of Peace Movement Literature Held in Nanking

During the week of the celebration of the return of the National Government to its Capital at Nanking, an exhibition of valuable literature and photographs has been held under the auspices of the Ministry of Publicity, on the second floor of the Main Hall of the National Assembly in Kuo Fu Road. The exhibition is divided into two sections, viz., literature and photograph sections.

In the first section there are on display the original manuscript of President Wang Ching-wei's telegraphic message of December 29, 1930, his article on "the Spirit of Self-Reproach", and his letter to Mr. Lin Pai-sheng regarding the reopening of the "Central China Daily News."

Film Showing Japanese Naval Maneuvers Screened in Nanking

A film showing the Japanese naval maneuvers on the 2600th anniversary of the founding of the Japanese Empire was screened in the Main Hall of the National Assembly on the morning of April 17 under the auspices of the Japanese naval authorities. This performance is of special interest in view of the growing tension of the situation in the Pacific. Invitations to attend the show were sent to various educational institutions in the Capital.

British Treasures Being Hidden



The bombing of different cities of Britain by the German air raiders and the destruction of many priceless treasures and historic buildings compelled the British authorities to take the precaution of placing as many as possible out of reach of Nazi bombs. Many famous statues were removed from their positions and one of these, the statue of King George, III, is shown being transported by truck from the Pall Mall.

President Roosevelt and Henchmen Again Making Speeches

Old "German Bogey" Whipped up Again to Frighten American People

The collapse of Britain's Balkan adventure poses a new problem for President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who appears to be in quite a quandary as to what to do next. There is no doubt that Mr. Roosevelt, like Mr. Churchill, had expected that the Balkan war would last at least until the summer was over, thus giving the President time to work up a war fever among the people of the United States. However, the lightning thrusts of the German army have upset his calculations, and Mr. Roosevelt is now faced with the problem of driving the American people to war much against their will.

The President realizes that there is no time to lose. Either the United States goes to war now, or the British Empire will collapse in the near future. The war in southeast Europe has proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that Britain is no match for Germany, regardless of the number of her allies. The German armies have swept everything in their path in a steamroller drive, permitting neither difficult terrain nor torrential rains to hold up their advance even momentarily.

The Balkan war, aside from being a crushing military blow, has also been a major catastrophe to British morale. The British public had been told how eager the British army was to come to grips with the Germans. Volumes of newspaper copy had been released telling the people how anxious Britain's army was to avenge the debacle at Dunkirk. The end has proved to be another Dunkirk, but on a more disastrous scale. The equipment of another army has been lost, but unlike Dunkirk, most of the British Expeditionary Force has been lost too.

In less than three weeks, the Balkan war, on which Britain had counted so heavily, is virtually ended. There has been no sapping of German strength; but the disaster to Britain is of such tremendous proportions that Mr. Winston Churchill dares not talk about it in the House of Commons.

So what is Mr. Roosevelt to do now? He wants America to go to war; but the people do not want to fight England's war. Furthermore, the country is not prepared for war, and will not be ready for some time to come. At the same time, unless the United States intervenes immediately, the early collapse of England is inevitable. The President is desperately trying to convince the American people that they must fight Britain's war, and he is hysterically warning them of the German "menace." The old German bogey is being whipped up again to frighten the American people into going to war against their will and contrary to their own sound judgment. . .

However, Mr. Roosevelt is proceeding cautiously. Until and unless his campaign make some headway, he is not risking plunging the nation into war. So while England cries piteously for warships to fight off the German U-boats, Mr. Roosevelt sends them 20 small torpedo boats useful only for coastal defense work. When Mr. Winston Churchill begged for destroyers a few weeks ago, Mr. Roosevelt sent him two antiquated Coast Guard cutters.

Germany's successes have convinced Mr. Roosevelt that it is absolutely essential to have whole-hearted support from a European war. The latest Gallup Poll in the United States still shows that the American people are against going to war, and do not even want to risk going into war by having United States warships convoy supplies to Britain. A war against Germany is the most tremendous task that can be wished on any people, and Mr. Roosevelt knows that unless the people want that war and want it badly — there is no chance whatever of success.

Therefore, the President and his henchmen are again making speeches, telling the American people short stories about the German "menace." They must scare the American people, and do it quickly and effectively. But it cannot be done soon enough.

Hua Hsing Commercial Bank Readjusts Organization

Mr. Washio, Vice-Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Hua Hsing Commercial Bank has made a statement concerning the future of the bank. According to Mr. Washio, since the Central Reserve Bank of China took up the duties of issuing notes, the Hua Hsing bank has become purely commercial in nature. Therefore, in the constitution of the Hua Hsing Bank some changes have been introduced to meet the new situation while the scope for commercial transactions has also been enlarged.

The new Board of Directors consists of Messrs. Liang Hung-chih, (Chairman) Washio, (Vice-Chairman), Shen Er-chang, Ebihara, Tai Ke-hsieh, Okazaki, Liu Ju-hsiang and Nishi, while the Board of Supervisors consists of Messrs. Chen Jih-ping, Liu Hsing-Chen, and Kanbe.

Convoy Clarification Expected On May 4

Final clarification of the question whether and up to what point U.S. warships will escort merchantmen destined for Britain is expected on May 4, on which day the President is to make a speech on the occasion of the inauguration of the rebuilt house in which Woodrow Wilson was born in Staunton, Virginia, it was stated in informed political quarters in Washington.

Message from Stalin to Matsuoka

M. Josef Stalin, Secretary-General of the Communist Party, and M. Viacheslav Molotov, Foreign Commissar, jointly replied to messages of felicitations sent them by the Foreign Minister, Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka, on April 25 when the Japanese-Soviet neutrality pact came into effect, it is announced.

Beautiful View Once Enjoyed by Chiang Kai-shek



Shown above is a picturesque part of the Fenhua River, as viewed from the Wenchang-ke, the famous villa in which Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek used to seek relief from the cares of heavy official duties in Nanking before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese conflict. The villa is perched on a verdant hill by the Fenhua River in Kikow, 30 kilometers southwest of Ningpo, which was recently occupied by the Japanese forces. Numerous books on politics, economics and history, including a history of the Meiji Restoration in Japanese, were found in the villa, which is now well preserved from any destruction by the Japanese troops.

Losses of British Navy Since September 1939 :

Courageous	Undine	Delight	Ivanhoe
Royal Oak	Grenville	Hostile	Inoeen
Oxley	Daring	Oswalo	Thames
Mohawk	Sphinx	Orpheus	Phoenix
Jersey	Blanche	Odin	Narwhal
Gipsy	Rawalpindi	Spearfish	Dundee
London	Honter	Arandor Astar	Kittiwake
Acasta	Hotspur	Empress of Britain	Penzince
Sturdy	Haroy	H 49	Kingfisher
Duchess	Alfridi	Empress of Japan	Warwick
Whirlwind	Eskimo	Rainbow	Venetia
Fraser	Eclipse	Exmouth	Cornwallis
Acheron	Rajputana	Jaguar	Southampton
Kelly	Bittern	Laurentic	Gallant
Thunderbolt	Wakeful	Triad	Almeda Star
Lightning	Valentine	Caledonia	Hyperion
Cossack	Whitley	Saguenay	Triton
Dundalk	Wessex	Montrose	Vandyck
York	Dunoon	Swordfish	Snapper
Glasgow	Effingham	Rangitane	Dainty
Thistle	Glorious	Transylvania	Huntley
Coventry	Basilisk	Dunvegan Castle	Voltaire
Calypso	Keith	Esk	Active
Abbeydale	Orama	Express	Squall
Gurkha	Grampus		
Grenade	Ardent		
Glowworm	Carinthia		
Tarpon	Escort		
Sterlet	Orazen		
Seal	Salmon		
Viceroy	Shark		
Viscount	Anoania		
Starfish	Lancastria		
Seahorse	Curlew		
Regulus	Wren		

1 Battleship	29,150 tons
2 Aircraft Carriers	45,000 tons
8 Cruisers	58,830 tons
53 Destroyers	74,350 tons
25 Submarines	27,140 tons
18 Auxiliary Cruisers	329,200 tons
10 Escort Vessels	24,460 tons
150 Trawlers etc. not listed above	75,000 tons
Total:	<u>663,130 tons</u>

End of Mad British Venture in Balkans

Fond Farewell Accorded B.E.F. As it Flees for Safety

The mad British venture in the Balkans is coming to an end, an end as inglorious and ignominious as any that has sullied the pages of British military history; for while the British armies have suffered defeats in past wars, they at least went down fighting. But in Greece, the British Expeditionary Force has culminated a period that has been distinguished by disgrace and dishonor. The retreat from the Balkans is the biggest and blackest blot on the escutcheon of the British Army.

Never before has any army made such a spectacle of itself as has the British army in Greece. Landed long before the hostilities started, this force already is in mad retreat—before having once engaged the enemy in a major battle. It has given the lie to the British Government's pledges of unlimited assistance to its allies. It has proved once again, that a British pledge is not worth the paper on which it is written. For the British Expeditionary Force in the Balkans was sent there to help Greece and Yugoslavia; and it has not raised a gun to aid either. Instead, the B.E.F. is proving a liability to the beleaguered Greeks, because the latter are now being called upon to fight a rearguard action to cover the flight of their much-vaunted comrades.

The British and American press carried numerous columns on the enthusiastic welcome accorded the B.E.F. when it arrived in Greece. Descriptive accounts gave a vivid picture of Greek maidens strewing flowers on marching Tommies as they passed beneath the balconies of the fairest girls in Greece. Greek soldiers on leave from the front were said to be like "delighted children" when they beheld the parading British forces. Greek wives and mothers accorded the British soldiers a welcome befitting a returning prodigal. The B.E.F. was the proof of Britain's intention to fight to the bitter end—side by side with the soldiers of Greece.

Once again the British are passing through the streets of Greece . . . not in orderly parade this time, but in pell mell flight from the advan-

cing German forces. But from the balconies of the Greek maidens of Piraeus no longer come garlands of flowers but a stream of invectives and epithets—hoots and jeers. For they are saying farewell to an army in retreat, an army that is running away without having fought a battle. They are bidding a bitter adieu to an army in disgrace, an army that has betrayed the people of Greece.

Press reports from Piraeus state that "violent incidents occurred Sunday at Piraeus during the operation of re-embarking the British Brigade. While troops were marching through the streets to the port of Piraeus, large crowds lined the streets, hooting and booing the Britishers; and when the crowd became menacing, the police were obliged to disperse them."

Added to the bitter disillusionment of the Greeks is the cold contempt of the German forces which have pursued the British from the fjords of Norway to the fields of Flanders and the mountains of Greece without having once been able to engage them in a major battle. The German High Command has had much praise for its enemies, but for the British there is nothing but caustic comment.

According to the *United Press* reporting from Berlin yesterday, "military circles praised the Greek troops but caustically compared their situation with that of the Norwegians last year when the latter were betrayed by the British.

"While brave bands of Greeks were fighting for their lives in Epirus," the Germans said, "180 miles to the south the British again were taking to their ships. The British participated in the Battle of Greece exactly four days, and we shall learn from history later, how many units of this British army did not even see fire."

And that is the fond farewell accorded to the British Expeditionary Force as it flees for safety. It is a fitting climax for the disgraceful policy of the British Government in getting others to do the fighting for Britain. (N.E.)

British Balkan Debacle Makes Roosevelt Embark on Campaign of War Hysteria

American People Refuse to Fight for Preservation of British Empire

Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt's rather hysterical warnings to the people of the United States indicate that the President is determined to plunge the nation into war regardless of the cost or the prospect of success. Following the British debacle in the Balkans, Mr. Roosevelt has embarked on a new campaign of war hysteria in the States; and recently he stretched his imagination to the point where he saw German troops in Greenland. Louder and louder are his ravings about aggressive German "designs" on the Western Hemisphere, and more and more urgent are his pleas to the American people to prepare for war, "to defend democracy."

To intelligent Americans, Mr. Roosevelt's almost continuous stream of war talk must be amazing and alarming. It makes no sense, for it is obvious for all to see that whatever danger that exists today, as far as the United States is concerned, was created by Mr. Roosevelt himself. It was who decreed that American neutrality must be abandoned; it was he who personally undertook a campaign of slander and insult against the Axis Powers; and it is he today who is talking about sending United States warships into belligerent waters, carrying the war to the Axis.

But despite all the President's efforts to frighten the American people into a war-like mood with fanciful tales about the German "menace," the great majority of Americans are well aware of the President's designs. They know he wants them to fight England's war; and in a hundred and one ways, they have demonstrated the fact that they are opposed to going to war again in an effort to preserve the British Empire.

However, a crisis is fast approaching, because Mr. Roosevelt personally has dedicated the youth and wealth of the United States to the cause of Britain; and he is becoming alarmed and exasperated over the adamant refusal of the American people to believe his stories, and take up the war cry. He sees Britain today punch-drunk and reeling under the sledge-like blows of the German army, navy and air force. He

knows that Britain cannot survive much longer; and he is aching to plunge the United States into war before England collapses.

In the characteristic style of his one-man democracy, President Roosevelt steadfastly refuses to reveal his intentions to the people or to their elected representatives in Congress. Mr. Roosevelt is running a strictly one-man show that will brook neither advice nor criticism. The President demands that the people listen to him and believe him; but whether they agree or not, will not deter him from his self-appointed task.

Yesterday's news dispatches said that Mr. Roosevelt had extended the American so-called "neutrality patrol" two-thirds across the Atlantic. His naval spokesman, Admiral Harold R. Stark, expressed the wish that the American patrol could extend 3,000 miles out. In other words, the President would have the "neutrality patrol" extended to the very shores of England. Since the war will not come to America, Mr. Roosevelt is bringing America to the war.

Berlin hitherto has treated President Roosevelt's hysterical war-mongering with the cold contempt it deserves. Germany has no quarrel with the United States, and seeks none. However, since Mr. Roosevelt has made it so clear that he is determined on war, the Axis capitals have finally broken their silence, and in equally unequivocal terms, they are making it clear that if Mr. Roosevelt looks for trouble, he most certainly will find it.

If U.S. warships ever undertake to convoy war supplies to Britain, they will be sunk. If U.S. merchantmen attempt to bring war supplies to Britain with or without naval escort, they will be sunk. Mr. Roosevelt may rant and rave all he pleases. That is his privilege; but if he commits an act of war against the Axis, there can be but one reply. Force will be met with force. The initiative is entirely in the hands of Mr. Roosevelt. If war must come, the American people must realize that it was decreed by their President, and by their President alone.— ("S. N. E.")

THE PEN AND THE SWORD

By Morie Marique

Few men in Spain or even in the world, can speak with greater knowledge of Franco's cause than Millan Astray, once commanding officer and subordinate of El Caudillo, who has been on intimate terms with him for twenty years. His book *Franco, El Caudillo* (M. Quero y Simon, Salamanca, 1939), is really exceptional. It is not merely a chronicle but a moving psychological study. The author writes in the same vivid style of speech which he always uses. No one is more picturesque than Millan Astray, the valiant, disabled general who has lost an eye and an arm, who has been a professor at the Military School of Saint Cyr and Saint Maixent in France, and a lecturer in North and South America.

His judgments of El Caudillo are really a testimony born of his knowledge of the deeds and the doer. Who can speak more intelligently about Franco's life in the Tercio than the founder of that organization? Who can speak better of his bravery than a brave man? Who can speak with more knowledge of the character of Franco than Millan Astray who has been commanding officer, fellow soldier and subordinate of El Caudillo? Who can speak about his intelligence if not a professor and fellow student?

Throughout the book, which is largely made up of article and speeches, Franco is described with loyalty and sincerity. Franco was the superior pupil, the tactician, the strategist, the professor, the man of State, the hero, the good man. . .

"Franco was the commanding founder and organizer of the First Infantry of the Legion, which from the first moment was the best of all."

"From the first moment Franco's military and genial personality is outstanding as much in the command of his Infantry as of the entire Legion." Since then, Major Franco, despite his youth and modest position, became the counsellor of the Generals who use him of his personal intervention as chief of a combatant unit, employing him in all difficult cases which he solved with complete success." "Franco was the one who solved the difficult moments in the

reconquest of Melilli." "Franco is the counsellor of Primo de Rivera and Sanjurjo in the extraordinary operations in the seizure of Alhucemas, which completely changed the direction of the war in Spain's favor."

"Franco, in the organization and debut of his Infantry Corps, in its life and activity, marked it with some of his typical characteristics: a courage and combativeness typical of the legion, a capacity for uninterrupted work from morning to night, a steely, persistent energy which has no fluctuations or weakenings at any moment."

"Franco, with his Infantry, then with the Legion, and later with his columns never had the slightest accident and he always won." "During the long years spent in Africa, from First Lieutenant to General, the current phrase used by the Roman Legion when the battle was dubious was: The matter is put into the hands of the 'triarance.' In Morocco, if they were

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not present in such cases, Franco was called and then would be said: 'It is already in the hands of Franco.'" His name was the synonym for success in difficulty or in danger.

The author continues: "Franco distinguished himself by always offering his body to the bullets, for he never hid behind parapets." "General Franco has earned his promotions through military deeds."

The Popular Front took over the authority in Spain and unchained the fury of burnings and assassinations and Franco "from that very moment decided to put himself at the head of the redeeming forces of Spain. "Naturally, Goded and the rest of us around him had him implicitly and definitely as our leader." "Franco was in Canarias; he was the ready-made leader of the Movement." This was sufficient for the people to repeat, full of love, faith and enthusiasm, the noted Moroccan phrase: "Franco is here. Victory is ours."

The Movement was started and El Caudillo was calm and confident. Immediately upon his arrival at Tetuan by plane, he went to church.

"He is deeply religious. In his intimate conversations, ever since I have known him, his main theme is his country and the army." "He does not drink alcohol, does not smoke, he is very serious and austere with regard to his food, room and his wearing apparel." "His mind is open to all ideas exposed to him but he is not influenced by anyone." "He is energetic without being irritable, he speaks sparingly, has an extraordinary mind and is very pleasant to converse with." "His social and family life is a model of virtues."

"He speaks with most enthusiasm and faith about future, greatness, independence and social justice of Spain for the modest working classes." "His love for the humble includes his soldiers with equal intensity and among these he has a singular gentleness directed towards the blind of the war. He says: 'I have a great affection for those blinded in the war.'"

"For the good of Spain and of Franco his private life is so pure and Christian, so strict, simple, and gentlemanly that with profound conviction and having the honor of knowing him I assure you that as you all know he is a model of good conduct and virtues."

This is the judgment of Franco, El Caudillo by one of the men who know him intimately, General Millan Astray.

Britain Loses Last Chance to Foist "Assistance" on Turkey

Although the Turkish press for general reasons is still trying its best to minimize the extent of the British catastrophe in Greece, it is nevertheless realised in Ankara that the British defeat in the Balkans has had a crushing effect on British prestige in Turkish parliamentary circles.

The conviction prevails that Britain has furnished the world with another most impressive demonstration as to the value and effectiveness of her assistance.

This feeling is all the more pronounced in Turkish parliamentary circles in view of the fact that during British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden's last visit to Turkey, British spokesmen and propagandists did their utmost in praising the assistance which Greece was receiving from Britain, describing this assistance as a model example of British willingness to support any country deciding to join its ranks.

In neutral diplomatic circles in Ankara it is frankly stated that after the catastrophe suffered in Greece, Britain has lost every chance of impressing Turkish statesmen and politicians with a view to inducing them to throw in Turkey's lot with the British on the basis of more promises of assistance.

Minister Hsu Liang Speaks on Soochow Trip

Upon his return from a trip to Soochow sponsored by the Ministries of Publicity and Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hsu Liang, Minister of Foreign Affairs, expressed the opinion that Soochow is not only a beautiful spot but also the seat of the Kiangsu Provincial Government. Soochow has not suffered much devastation during the hostilities, so it is easier to restore prosperity in that city than in other places, Mr. Hsu said. Industry in Soochow is showing signs of prosperity, according to the Minister.

Eire Not To Change Neutral Policy

Eire would not give up or lease ports, Mr. Frank Aiken, Eireann Defence Minister, told a meeting held in Boston under the auspices of American friends of Irish neutrality.

There was no chance of Eire changing her neutrality policy unless she were attacked, he asserted.

The Decline and Fall of the British Empire

By Robert Briffault

(Continued from last issue)

(CHAPTER SIX, continued)

Servile England

The conditions of industrial slavery in England set the pattern of all subsequent industrial slavery in the capitalist age. They continued in all their primal horror until the middle of the nineteenth century. Improvement began to take place when expanding industrial enterprise passed from a stage of individual ownership to one marked by the greater prevalence of joint-stock companies. Curiously enough the conditions of employment became more humane as the unseen employer became more impersonal. In the earlier stages of industrialism, enterprises had mainly been conducted by private owners or firms, who were in perpetual fear for their engaged capital and were often at their wits' ends to raise ready money. With the development of banks and the spread of the habit of investment in industrial shares, together with the enormous growth of returns, anxiety to keep down wages to the barest minimum and to extract the last ounce of labor out of workers became less acute. The condition of the workers thus improved through no effect either of benevolent legislation intended to that end or of any action on their own part. It thus came about that, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the period of England's full-blown industrial hegemony, it could be claimed that the standard of living of English workers was better than in most Continental countries.

Repressive legislation gradually relaxed. It was of no small importance to industrial interests, in their struggle against the privileges of the old landowning rulers of the country, to obtain the enormous electoral vote represented by the working masses. The liberal courting of that source of political power dates from as early as the time of the first Reform Bill. Like the French liberal bourgeoisie at the time of the revolution, the English bourgeois industrialists enlisted the co-operation of the workers by the use of misleading vocables such as "the people" and "liberty." Had the fighting for which every

preparation had been made in 1832 become necessary, it would have been, in England as in France, the "people" who would have done the actual fighting for bourgeois "liberties." The English industrial liberals went, however, somewhat farther than the French bourgeois in obtaining the assistance of the "people." They made specific promises to them, such as manhood suffrage and the abolition of the means tests. As soon as the political power they desired was obtained through the passing of the Reform Bill, they coldly turned on the "people," advocated repressive measures in the interests of "law and order," and completely set aside their promises.

Beginning of Trade Unions

It was largely as a result of the general rage and indignation caused by that first barefaced breach of faith that the earliest attempts at organized self-defense arose among the English workers. The tentative beginnings of trade-unions date from that time. The Chartist movement aimed in its demands at nothing more than had been formally promised by the bourgeois liberals on their first accession to political power. Those beginnings of servile revolt in England were for the most part utterly blind, uncomprehending, and lacking in organization. They were put down by ferocious repression.

English trade-unionism was naturally the oldest organized labor movement in point of date, England being the oldest industrialized country. That it is the senior labor movement is, however, a very different thing from its being, as English radicals are prone to suggest and assume, the leading one. It did not, in point of fact, develop, with varying fortunes, until the period of greatest English prosperity, in the second half of the last century, and did not attain to full organization or real importance until the last decade, with the formation of a parliamentary labor party. The English labor movement is, of all workers' organizations, that

which has throughout its existence been most closely linked with parliamentary politics. The aims of English trade-unions, which consisted, during the greater part of the movement's history, of small bodies of single trades having little or no relation with others, and no inkling of co-operation with them, were specific concessions dream and ideal of English trade-unionism was the eventual coming to power of a Labor government. That consummation was regarded by the English trade-unionist workingman as the realization of Utopia in this world, the final goal of all conceivable aspirations. The approach to that Utopian dream was gradually effected by close alliance with bourgeois liberalism, whose own political interests came to be largely dependent upon the workers' vote—hence the coming into existence of a parliamentary Labor party automatically brought about the disappearance of the parliamentary Liberal party.

Labor Leaders

The Lib.-Lab. combination dates from the earliest phases of the English Labor movement. The latter had thus from the first a marked character of collusion with those very interests—of the industrial capitalist classes—against which the trade-union organization was intended to defend the workers. In that political atmosphere a class of "labor leaders" arose who were to a far greater extent politicians than labor leaders. Capitalist owners found it an enormous advantage to deal, in any conflict and negotiation, with such professional labor politicians, having personal interests and ambitions, than with the workers themselves. They thus found it very much to their interest to favor trade-unionism, which supplied an admirable means of managing the working masses. The ruling interests were the first to impress constantly upon the workers that their first duty lay in loyalty to their unions and to their "leaders." The English Labor movement became in fact one of the most effective instruments against anything savoring of the nature of revolution. The efficiency of that anti-revolutionary instrument became so perfected through the gentlemanly solicitude shown by every reactionary for the economic comfort, social advancement, and entertainment of "labor leaders" and the tactful fostering of their influence in any delicate situation that the English Labor movement is now more practically efficient as an instrument of undefiled reaction than anything devised by the crude methods of the Communists.

The great English Labor movement, the dean and leader, as it still imagines itself to be, of workers' movements, was at various times exposed to becoming infected by lesser working-class movements on the Continent. But the danger was never real. The perfection with which the conditioned English mind, be it that of a worker or an intellectual, is protected from the un-English mental stuff known as "ideas" secured its immunity. "I say with confidence," Disraeli could justly declare in the House of Commons, "that the great body of the working class of England utterly repudiate such sentiments. They have no sympathy with them. They are English to the core. They repudiate cosmopolitan principles, they adhere to national principles."

Nevertheless the English workers did, in the first decade of the present century, become infected with foreign ideas imported from less happy lands where the admirable English trade-unions organization had assumed the degenerate form of combinations actually intended to defend the workers' lives and livelihood. The heyday of English monopolies had passed, and English capitalist enterprises were compelled to have recourse to ever more strenuous exploitation and wage cuts in order to safeguard dividends. Strikes resulting from the growing misery of the men were becoming frequent. In those conditions, syndicalist ideas from France, and the doctrines of the I.W.W., disseminated by Tom Mann, defiled the purity of the workers' national principles. The quite un-English notion appeared to dawn for the first time in their minds that the vital interests of the working classes and those of the ruling classes were not identical. The suggestion was made that their petty trade-unions were utterly futile and out-of-date, and that only combined action on the part of an organization including all workers could hold out any hopes of effective resistance to exploitation.

Trouble Cut Short by War

There is no telling to what serious trouble such un-English ideas might have led had their germination not been fortunately cut short by the outbreak of the war. The supposed menace of Social Democracy in Germany had been an important factor in hastening that outbreak. In like manner the momentous decision of English rulers to participate in the conflict was made easier by the opportunity it afforded to create a diversion from the dangerous spread of elementary intelligence among the workers. The further

effects of their incipient education were conveniently postponed to the postwar age.

The peculiar nature and character of "revolutionary" England, as represented by the English Labor movement, may best be gauged by a consideration of the most daring deed of that working-class movement — the General Strike of 1926, the nearest approach to action taken by the English people since the days of the Civil War. One is left in doubt whether to regard it seriously or as a joke, whether to weep or to laugh. By both the ruling classes and the workers, but more particularly by the former, the performance was regarded with comic seriousness. In the eyes of Mr. Winston Churchill, Baldwin, Joynson-Hicks, Neville Chamberlain, and Company, England stood for nine days on the brink of red revolution — or at least so they found it expedient to declare. As a matter of fact, the actual decision to stage the mock revolution was not taken by the trade-unions, but by Mr. Baldwin and his government. To the dismay of the Trades Union Council, the unions had voted to support the coal miners, who were driven desperate by a long-protracted course of sham negotiations, trickery, and bad faith, and whose refusal to accept further wage cuts had been met on the part of the owners by a lockout. But it was understood that the whole matter was in course of being adjusted by more negotiations, conferences, and trickeries between the T.U.C. and the government, and there appeared to be every hope that the miners' inadequate supply of bread was about to be made up by a fresh supply of promises. The Miners' Industrial Committee secretly offered to Baldwin, who openly acted for the owners, extreme concessions, including the acceptance of wage cuts which had not been accepted by the miners. The T.U.C. helped to their utmost power the perpetration of the betrayal of the men, and after abject conferences with the government, retired to their quarters to await the answer, beguiling the tedium of the vigil by singing "Lead, kingly light."

But Baldwin and his honest gang of gentlemen decided that it would be more satisfactory to settle the whole matter once and for all with machine guns, if need be, instead of by constitutional methods. They believed in direct action. A pretext was found in the refusal of the printers employed by the *Daily Mail* to set up a leading article which, it appears, surpassed even the sheet's own record of cirulence, reactionary

rage, and incitement to violence. The printers' action was clearly an act of sedition. When the cringing Labor "leaders" again timidly knocked at No. 10, Downing Street, the door was banged in their faces.

The General Strike

The General Strike, already voted by the unions, automatically began. Mr. Winston Churchill, who prides himself upon the felicity of his literary style, showed that he could outdo the *Daily Mail* in scurrilous mordacity, and issued a *British Gazette* illustrated with cartoons from *Punch*, picturing a hardfaced John Bull intimating with stern and dignified righteousness to the workers of England that he would stand no nonsense. Regiments of the Guards in full battle kit, and accompanied by long lines of sinister armored cars marched through the City, the heart of patriotic England, to the wild enthusiasm of cheering stockbrokers.

The workers meanwhile also turned out and organized — football and cricket matches. They cheered the police for abstaining, for the instant, from knocking them on the head. The manifestation, both among the workers and the general public, of the admirable "good humor" characteristic of the English people elicited general comment. It would not be hard to find a less euphemistic expression to describe the attitude. British Labor showed that it could, in the words of Mr. G. D. H. Cole, "run a revolution in the spirit of a friendly game of cribbage."

Labor Leaders Lied

Despite that inane "good humor," the general stoppage was thorough and complete. Indeed, the Labor "leaders" of the executive Trades Union Council terrified lest the General Strike should be successful, were amazed and distracted at its disciplined extent. They at once set to work to find some means of calling it off. "Is the strike collapsing?" one of them was asked by a reporter. "No." "Is there any indication that it is likely to collapse?" "No." "Then, why do you wish to call it off?" "Because it is going too far." The *Daily Herald*, the organ of the T.U.C., encouraged the workers thus: "Trust your Leaders! Never was this more necessary than now. It is indispensable to success. Heed none who speak ill of those in command." Those in command began by writing a letter of humble apology to Mr. Baldwin for the action of the *Daily Mail* printers, repudiating it. They published in

their special strike newspaper, the *British Worker*, an emphatic denial that any "official or unofficial overtures have been made to the Government by any individual or groups of individuals, either with or without the sanction of the General Council." They lied. MacDonald inadvertently stated at the same time to an American journalist that "he was keeping in continual touch with the Government, and was hourly in conference regarding the settlement of the strike." Sir Herbert Samuel daily joined the "leaders" in friendly conference, assisting them with his advice. The Trades Union Council were, to their regret, unempowered to call off the strike without first conferring with the representatives of the Miners' Federation. The latter were as yet insufficiently versed in the methods of English politics. After coldly questioning the embarrassed "leaders," the miners reaffirmed in a written statement their men's determination to carry on the strife. Again the "leaders" took occasion to lie. They published the statement in their strike paper, omitting the sentence in which the resolution of the miners was reaffirmed. They were resolved to call off the General Strike at any cost. In their parleys with Sir Herbert Samuel, the representative of the Government, they sought to obtain some crumb of assurance or guarantee that might serve at least to save their faces before the workers. They were told that the Government would accept nothing but unconditional surrender. Knowing this, they betook themselves to Downing Street, the general stoppage being now more complete than ever and the workers' "morale" and confidence being greater than on the first days of the strike. Before admitting the "leaders," Baldwin left them standing for half an hour on the door mat, and sent a subordinate to ascertain whether their business was unconditional surrender. This being admitted, the "leaders" were introduced before a full meeting of the cabinet of all the reactionary talents. They endeavored to obtain at least some sort of verbal assurance that there would be no victimization. Baldwin bluntly replied that he would give no sort of assurance or commitment of any kind. Once more the "leaders," in hurriedly calling off the strike, lied. The betrayal was announced under the heading "General Council Satisfied that the Miners Will Get a Fair Deal." The lie was repeated in various forms — "The Unions can be satisfied that an honorable understanding has been reached"; "It was part of

the understanding on which the General Strike was concluded that there should be no victimization of either side," etc.

Victimization

No sooner was the strike called off than the Government and owners, flushed with victory, began to indulge in an unparalleled orgy of victimization. Reinstatement was refused, blacklegs were engaged, wages were cut down more drastically than had been originally proposed. Whereupon Neville Chamberlain, then Minister of Health, prevented Boards of Guardians from taking any steps to afford any relief to the wholesale distress and misery that covered the land. The miners were literally starved into submission.

The foregoing facts concerning the British working classes' quite unimportant single experiment in revolutionary action are here recalled solely with a view to a better understanding of the peculiar character of "radical" sentiment in England.

Law of Revolution Hold No Good in England

It is a general historical law that popular revolutionary action, even when resulting in defeat, is never in vain. It forms part of the education by experience which is the only effective form of social education. Revolutionary action, however abortive, sows the seed of increased strength and clarity for the next effort, and renders it inevitable. But the law does not hold good of England's peculiarly English revolutionary action. In his admirable book on *The Post-War History of the British Working Class*, Mr. Allen Hutt concludes with the declaration that "The General Strike has made a united working class." It emphatically did not, but produced on the contrary the exactly opposite effect. It broke utterly what spirit the English working classes had ever shown before and during the General Strike. It led them to repudiate the clarity of ideas which had, for a moment, enabled them to contemplate such action. Indifference and apathy succeeded to the momentary clarity which those ideas had imparted. Trade-union membership dropped by leaps and bounds. What unity had been achieved was again completely rent in a return to petty groups and the pursuit of petty aims. Those effects were not the transient immediate effects of defeat. They have continued to this day, and the British working classes have reverted to the good old English

traditions of their fragmented and futile trade-unionism and impeccable servile constitutional loyalty.

Far from being ignominiously discredited by their unqualifiable conduct, the egregious "leaders" have become more firmly consolidated in their power than ever before. From the General Council of the Trades Union, they have been raised to these MacDonald Labor governments whose record is notorious. From being the servile tools of the governing classes, they now outdo the most unscrupulous of their political employers in their no longer disguised promotion of reaction.

Unity of Working Class Against Labor

Of that "unity," both national and international, which is the first requirement of any Labor social action, and which Mr. Hutt says was brought about by the General Strike of 1926, the British Labor party has, ever since, been the consistent and most determined opponent. The Socialist party has repeatedly sought to realize the modest aim of "unity within the framework of the Labor Party and the trades unions." Such indecent attempts were virulently denounced by the labor "leaders," who admonished those "who are tempted to prefer a spurious unity with small forces outside the Party to a real unity with great forces within it." The *Daily Herald* described the Socialist and other radical parties insidiously seeking to bring about unity of the working class as being "lined up against Labor," and encouraged the workers to "place Party loyalty in the forefront of their political activities." The upshot of those attitudes was that in January 1927 the Socialist League was expelled from membership of the Labor Party.

Mr. Josepe Jones, one of the strikebreaking leaders of the 1926 General Strike, and now President of the Mineworkers' Federation, reputed to be the most militant body of workers, recently addressed the annual conference as follows: "In the times through which we are passing danger of a stoppage in the industry should be avoided at all costs and consequently it is better to raise no issues or adopt any program which may lead to such a result. Today the strike weapon is out of date. Direct action is a positive danger to the development of democratic and constitutional procedure." The statement was received without a murmur of dissent. The newspaper from which I take the account of the meeting, the *News Chronicle*, is

regarded as an organ of "Left" English opinion. It comments on the statement with warm approval. It shows, the editorial comment states, "how far workers and employers have traveled since the grim struggle of 1926 . . . it says much for the leadership of Mr. Joseph Jones and his colleagues that they have secured recognition of this truth. . . . It is strongly rumoured that before the end of the year Mr. Jones will be appointed to the reorganised Coal Commission which will control the mining industry." He has been appointed, and will, I should say, undoubtedly be knighted.

So wholehearted has been the support afforded by the British Labor party to the reactionary National Government that the leaders of the workers of Great Britain have merited again the warm, if dishonoring, praise of *The Times*, and of Sir Samuel Hoare. "The wise attitude adopted by the Trades Union Congress over the Spanish crisis," said the latter worthy, "shows that in the ranks of Labor there is a solid force of patriotic responsibility," and he thanked the "responsible leaders of Labor" for giving the government "invaluable help."

(To be continued)

Serajevo Murder Monument Removed

The stone monument erected by the Serbs in glorification of the murder of the Austro-Hungarian throne successor in 1914, at Serajevo, was removed when the town was captured by the Germans.

General von Vidtinghoff ordered Lieutenant Mittelmann, who as one of the first German soldiers had reached Serajevo to take the monument to the Fuehrer's headquarters on April 20. The monument which is a testimony of Serbia's criminal homicide at the outbreak of the World War will be transferred to the Zeughaus in Berlin.

All British Girls Born in 1922 Must Register

All British girls born during the year 1922 must register with the authorities in the United Kingdom, it was announced in London.

The registration is in order that they may be drafted for some form of emergency service.

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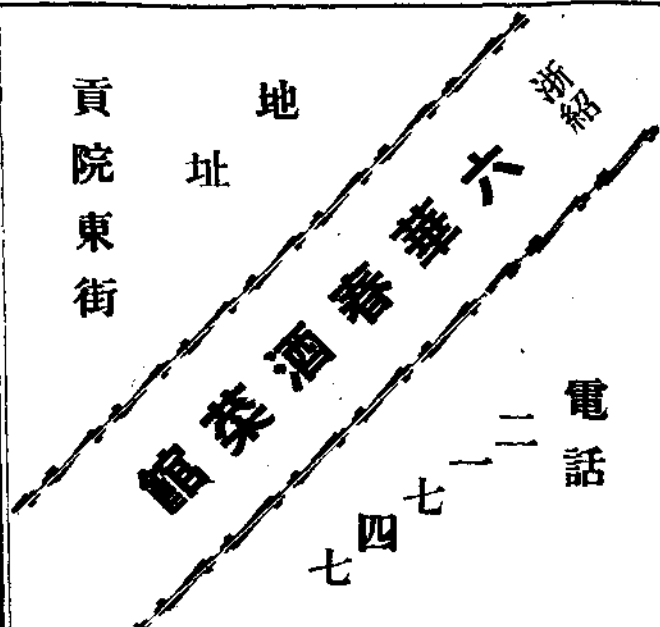
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許張兩董履歷：茲採錄新董履歷如下：許建屏，五十二歲，浙江嘉興縣人，美國米西根大學學士，曾任工部局顧問（二年）工部部簡任秘書，上海交易所監理官，財政部總務司司長，中央儲備銀行調查處處長，張德欽，五十歲，江蘇寶山縣人，美國林肯及佛遜大學法理學博士，業律師職務，曾任工部局華委二年，納稅會常務委員四年，及中央政治委員會財政專門委員，邊疆委員會常務委員，浙江省政府委員，兼財政廳長等職。

日供給我國大量米糧

我國民食供給問題，前由政府設置糧食委員會，專司其事，該會鑒於去年收穫歉薄，供不應求，預計至新穀登場，尚嫌不敷，前經決定購辦米穀，以資補充，惟因價格運輸以及資金等各項問題，諸感困難，旋商得友邦軍部，使館，及各有關方面，允予協助，並承本大使特派日高公使等，專誠赴東京，請由友邦政府，助成其事，業已邀得一致贊助，圓滿成功，在秋收以前，民食可告無慮，茲因日高公使等一行，業已回抵南京，適糧委會主任委員梅思平氏，亦由杭州履兼浙省主席新任返京，爰於十八日，前赴日本大使館，訪問本大使，表示感謝，並請轉向機關各方，代致感忱，按友邦方面，對於我國民食，關懷備至，今果達到完滿之解決，獲有大量廉價之米糧，源源供給，裨益民生，良非淺鮮，於中日合作前途，收效尤為宏大焉。

中日人民租賃或買賣財產等情

須向連絡官及外事室申請登記

中日邦交，自經雙方政府以平等互惠原則，加以調整後，原極親

睦，但為欲達到永久親睦起見，故於各縣政府內，設立外事秘書，在友邦則設連絡官事務所，專一調整中日間一切人民合作事宜，惟近有少數日人，在本縣境內，自由租賃家屋，及隨意買賣情事，甚致對本縣商人，有強迫行動，似此行為，不獨違反互惠原則，抑且妨害兩國邦交，當由縣府與梅本聯絡官協商制止辦法，決定此後凡日本商民人等，欲向中國人民租賃家屋，買賣物資，均須先向連絡官事務所，及外事秘書室，聲請登記，由縣府及連絡官許可後，方能締結契約，否則決予查究制止，是日縣府已布告全邑人民週知。

京滬間增開飛龍號特快車

華中鐵道公司，近因客貨運量激增，每日乘客之平均數，在開辦當時僅一萬〇一百七十人，至本年三月，增加至五萬人，貨運方面，亦較前大為擁擠，為圖旅客商家之便利計，決定自五月一日起，在上海南京間，增駛特快車一次，滬杭線增快車一次，貨車亦有增加，因自五月一日起，行車時間亦將修改，計上海南京間，除現走之天馬號外，更添特快「飛龍號」，（上海下午三時四十分開，南京下午四時開）蘇滬間，增加區間車，來回各一次，又津浦線南下旅客，當日可改乘「飛龍號」赴滬云。

滬社運分會調查商務書館工潮

公共租界河南路二二一號商務印書館，及靜安寺路，福建路，印刷裝訂廠等職工一千五百餘人，為要求改善待遇未遂，於前日（廿二日）起發生罷工風潮，該職工等曾絕食四十八小時，復為館方嗾使警捕，強迫逐出，事態更趨擴大，茲悉昨日仍繼續優待，資方竟將鐵門緊閉，拒絕各方調查，社運會上海市分會，對於此項風潮，關係文化至鉅，頗為重視，頃已派員調查真相，以便向雙方勸導，俾得早日解決。

支既能相抵，那末高昂也等於不高昂了，我國的情形則顯然不同，尤其是佔大多數的薪水階級們，收入依舊，或者更不如前，而支出則較以前增加十餘倍，誠想這問題，嚴重不嚴重，所以穩定物價是一件救濟民生第一件事，關於這點，我想在下一節，加以說明。

穩定物價，首先要注意的當推民食問題，民食問題，在南京過去一年裏，曾遭遇了數次的恐慌，使商市與民生都起了很大的騷動，其次是鹽荒問題，以及日常生活的必需品，這種種問題，政府方面固然應當絕對負責，可是人民方面也有相當的責任，尤其是對於奸商的檢舉與制裁，有賴於人民的力量，更多於政府。

救濟民生：第三救濟民生，民為邦本本固邦寧，一切政治上的不安定，無非是人民生活不安定的反映，生活無保障，或竟無法生活，那末人心自然浮動，管子說，「衣食足而禮義興」孟子也說，「人無恆產，斯無恆心，苟無恆心，放僻邪侈，無不為矣」這是說人類的生存慾望，是由於天賦的，「如果生活有保障，或者無法生活，那末即使親如父母，也不能保證他兒女不避而走險，舍生以守法，忍死以從命，決不是一般常人所能做到的，所以在現在這種救死不遑，千鈞一髮的生死關頭，任何良好的政治設都將無從說起，由此可見民生這問題的如何重要了。

救濟民生，我們以為應當從兩方面入手，第一係屬於消極方面的從事於生活障礙的掃除，第二是屬於積極方面的社會福利事業的建設，就第一方面稱，所有社會上土豪劣紳，地痞流氓，奸商惡霸，及一切病民的設施與制度，都要儘可能的趕緊掃除，就第二方面講，所有一切經濟扶助事業，職業指導事業，醫藥保健等事業，婦孺救濟事業，合作事業等等，都要儘可能的趕緊創辦，其他如災厄保險，勞動保險，以及低工資的確定，因利制度的確立等等，都是根本的辦法，在這裏兄弟可以報告大家一個好消息，就是救濟民生這問題，已經成了當今行政上一個中心目標，為加緊實現這目標，除行政機構中，已有不少的組織，舉辦各種不同的救濟事業外，更集合全國人力物力，

成立中國社會事業協會，總會設於南京，所有種種社會福利事業，先從南京這個中心做起，逐步推展到各地去。

安定秩序：第四安定秩序，兄弟將要安定秩序，放在最後一項講，並不是說安定秩序，這件事，沒有其他三項重要，而正是繁榮與復興南京市的最基本的工作，因為一切設施，都要在社會秩序安定的狀態下，才能按部就班，漸次進行，而所謂秩序，有廣義和狹義兩種，狹義的秩序，僅僅指人民的律動而言，而廣義的秩序，則舉凡社會上一切文物制度，無不包括在內，和我們常聽說的東亞新秩序，却偏重於狹義的秩序，這種狹義秩序的維護者，就今天的南京言，是軍警與友邦的部隊，以及法律與道德，我們一定要使每一個南京市民，都能安居樂業，都有確實的保障，安定秩序的目的，才算達到。

以上關於繁榮與復興南京的幾項重要工作，已經有一個簡單的說明了，無疑的這是一個非常困苦艱難的工作，同時這個偉大的責任，當無要我們中國官民，自己擔負起來，過去一二年間，南京市政府的進步，誠然很大，並且很快，在這裏，我們不得不竭誠感謝友邦人士多方面的協助，今後我們更盼望友邦更多更大的幫助。

上海租界工部局公布華董華委名單

公共租界納稅華人會，於十四日舉行代表大會，除依法選出執行委員，主席及代理主席，常務委員等之外，對於華董華委問題，亦有決定。

華董華委決定：(甲)關於華董，留滬舊董，袁履登，奚玉書二人，仍請繼續擔任，尚有二席，另選許建屏，張德欽二人擔任，(乙)關於華委，許曉初，許冠羣二委，仍請繼續擔任，其餘四席，選定周邦俊，潘三省，謝仲復，邵樹華四人擔任，(丙)地皮委員，仍請金宗城，繼續擔任，前項名單，業由納稅會於十五日備函，正式通知工部局，代理主席陳濟成，十六日并到工部局，拜見費利薄，凱自威諸氏，面洽一切。

工部局已接受：茲悉，十七日工部局已有覆函，致納稅會代理主

，這又是我們共同的最高目標，我們唯有集中全國人力物力，排除萬難，齊向這目標邁進，南京是我們首都所在地，所以復興中國自應先復興南京，另一個說法，南京市之繁榮與復興，是復興中國的中心，同時我們在南京服務，我們大家生活在南京的懷抱裏，我們對南京市的繁榮與復興問題，自然是特別關心，所以兄弟今天特別提出這個題目，來向大家談談。

講到戰後建設，可以分兩個階段，第一期的工作，不外恢復秩序，和撫輯流亡，這還屬於消極的整理，第二期的工作，則重在繁榮市面，和安定民生，漸由消極而趨於積極，由簡單而進乎複雜，關於第一期工作，進去一二年間，經市政當局，以及各有關方面的努力，差不多可以說已經告初步的完成，今天所要談的，乃是屬於後一期的工作，關於這一點，當然是頭緒紛繁，不過歸納起來，最重要的項目，總不外乎，第一是繁榮工商，第二是穩定物價，第三是救濟民生，第四是安定秩序，現在簡單的分別說明一下。

繁榮工商：第一繁榮工商，經濟是社會的血液，是社會一切活動的總泉源，要充實社會經濟，必定先要繁榮工商，南京在事變以前，工商業已發展到了相當繁榮的程度，這當然與人口有大關係，那時南京人口，超越百萬以上，因為從業者消費者的衆多，工商業自然而然的就隨之繁榮了，同時在另一方面，因為工商業的欣欣向榮，人口也愈聚愈多，所以人口的增加與工商的繁榮，是相互為因，相互為果的，事變時，人民多逃亡他處，留京的不足三萬人，自去年國府還都，地方秩序漸次安甯，民衆陸續歸來，據首都警察廳今年三月份人口總調查的結果，戶數已達十四萬戶餘，人口則已超過六十一萬的數字，在實際上，南京的一切都顯露着活躍的姿態，過去的瓦礫荆棘，漸漸地消失在朝野的熱忱和努力裏，而工商業也無疑地正在蓬勃進展中。

其次是交通與運輸問題，過去的事實告訴我們，工商界最感覺苦痛的的就是物未能盡其用，貨未能暢其流，而其大原因，則在於關係

方面內加緊統制，當然在這全面和平尚未成功，軍事狀況，依然存在的今日，物資統制，事實上還須存在，不過就繁榮工商一點而論，我們自應以最大努力，可能爭取範圍內的最大便利，這是就運輸方面講，至於交通方面，關係工商繁榮也很大，一個很偏僻的存在，因為一條汽車路或電車站的通過，因而促進他市面的繁榮，中外古今有不少的實例，可以證明，這大的一個南京市，而市場的集中僅僅是很少的幾個地方，這是市內交通不發達的原因，所以要繁榮南京工商業，對市內交通網的布置，也是件必要的事。

總之，繁榮南京工商的條件，當然還有許多，而發達的過程中，偶有磨折，那也是常有的現象，或者也可以說正是加緊其前進的一個刺激，但聽其自然生長，我們覺得非但不夠，並且是不應當的，我們一定要依照上面所講的，全體一致努力，期於最短時期內，達到繁榮工商復興南京的目的。

穩定物價：第二，穩定物價，大戰之後，必有大凶，因為生產之減少，加以交通梗塞，運輸困難，所以大戰後物價的高漲，原屬必然的現象，不過各國因為戰時準備的充分，戰後救濟的得法，所以問題不大嚴重，我國現在的情形，物價較事變前飛達十倍左右，實在是駭人聽聞的事，這是我們當前最嚴重的問題，如果我們不能設法使物價穩定下來，前途真將不堪設想，推考我國物價，所以這樣飛漲的原因，最注重的，是一，滄方無限制的發行紙幣，形成通貨膨脹，以致法幣跌值，二，淪陷區內受焦土戰游擊戰的影響，生產力大事減少，三，運輸受統制關係，異常不便，以致一牆一隔，其價倍蓰，四，商人囤積，居奇待善價而沽，所以我們要穩定物價，一定要先考察某一項，東西價格飛漲的原因，然後對症下藥，施以適當的對策，一方面從根本上消除，其飛漲的原素，一方面治標的施以相當救濟。

從前我們每聽到或看到外國生活的奇昂，什麼理一次髮要一兩塊錢，包一客飯要幾十元錢等等，而認為駭人聽聞的，現在這些事都現實的輪到我們頭上來了，並且有過之而無不及。

可是外國生活程度的高昂，比例地他們的收入也同樣的增加，收

常費由五月份起支，此為本會籌備經過之大概情形，此次接收之文物，在學術上有鉅大之價值，今後希望中日人士對此項文物詳加研究，發揚東方之文化，本人願與諸君共同努力，尚望不吝教益為幸。

伊東說明保管經過：旋由伊東文化局長報告中支建設資料整備委員會業務概況，甚為詳盡，其次即由日高公使述其所懷，大意謂「戰爭對於古物之保存，實為一艱巨之工作，因此令人想到新城博士，當時之工作是相當困難，現在新城博士業已逝世，政人對其生前所為，實深敬佩，並致哀悼，即所內各職員專家之埋首整理，此種精神，敵人亦深為感謝者也，至於吾人為何要致力於貴國文物之保護，此則因保存中國之文化，即是保存東亞的文化，將來東方文明之發揚，端賴於此也，此次日本政府交還國民政府之文物，其意義最異常明顯，此則已毋庸贅述，惟敵人所希望者有兩點，（一）希望國民政府接收後，妥為保護，不使散佚，（二）保存之文物希望將來能得到世界各國來研究，藉以發揚東方之文明，末了，敵人更希望貴國文物之資料日漸增多其數量，文化事業日漸發達」等語，旋由徐委員長宣布接收手續及日期，其詞如後：

接收手續處理辦法：「此次友邦中日合作之精神，與復興東亞整個文化之見地，將會費長時間所蒐集整理之圖書檔案樣本，及代保管之古物天文氣象儀器等等，隨同前中央研究院地質調查所天文氣象台許多之房屋器具，一併交還我國，以上種種，皆與文獻學術有關，而進一步說，且與國家民族發展前途，有莫大之聯繫，故吾人今日，祇有以十二分誠意，來接受并感謝，頃日高公使，所述交還旨趣，又伊東文化局長，所報告業務概況，整委會任事諸君，熱心毅力，聆悉之餘，均足令人增其感激，政府已專為保管上項交還文物，特設文物保管委員會，其組織條例，經已頒布，委員暨專門委員，亦經派定，本人承乏委員長一席，原以責任重大，恐不克勝，但因自外交部與友邦接洽以來，均躬與其役，為完成終始計，祇可勉為其荷，現與友邦有關方面，議定接收手續及日期，俟友邦解除敵產手續完畢，再行核定，大抵先接收房地，以後將天文氣象儀器圖書檔案標本古物，以及

用具等，按日由雙方負責者，按冊按件點收，如屬圖書檔案之類，即由圖書專門委員會負責，標本古物之類，即由博物專門委員會負責，天文氣象儀器等等，即由天文氣象專門委員會負責，其餘房地器具，則由委員會秘書處共同負責，接收完畢，即須開始保管，故本委員會，擬定在五月一日，正式辦公，好在所有圖書檔案標本古物，早經分類編目，井井有條，友邦原有諸專家，及在事者，皆仍舊允留幫忙，可稱事半功倍，至杭州上海兩處圖書館，亦定在月底前往接收後，即交由省市政府接辦，此間會務，俟部署稍定，一面即舉行公開展覽，再請各機關團體蒞臨指導，一面并編製目錄及刊物，發表公告，因本委員會組織，固為行政機關，而實含有社會專業性質，一切願與公眾共謀其福利，區區之意，謹代表本委員會一說明之。

末由審計部次長王修致詞，詳述新城博士生前對於吾國古物之如何注重，如何保護之事實，直至四時許，始於攝影後禮成散會。

南京市之繁榮與復興

京市黨部委員蕭一誠廣播

自從汪主席領導和運，由萌芽期而開展期，以至於今日，客觀事實的演進，不論是國際的與國內的，都一件件證實了，我們已一天天進於成功的階段，尤其在國府還都後的這一年間，由於全國朝野的努力，對於和平區域的整理和建設，更顯着長足的進步，惟「和平」才能「反共」，惟和平反共才能建國，這個和平反共建國策的一貫性，與連鎖性，在過去的宣傳工作，也就是總理所說「以先覺覺後覺」喚起民衆的工作，我們確已盡了我們的最大努力，而在全面和平，尚未告成的今日，將來自然仍須大家繼續努力，不過過去的宣傳，是理論的闡揚，今後的宣傳，却需要事實的表現，這就是說過去是口頭與文字的工作，今後則更須着眼於社會國家的建設與復興。

要復興中國先復興南京：大應應當還記得今年迎歲時，汪主席就昭告全國上下，規定今年為「復興年」，三年的兵燹，烽火所及，只落得焦土一片，人民流離，重談建設，要談復興，真是談何容易，但是

，余深覺在中國目前情形之下，金融應該超政治的，益在局勢混沌之中，我人應着眼於社會福利及民生計，金融牽涉政治關係，則社會福利不可保，而人民痛苦亦將隨之增加矣，還都一年以來，余對中中交農在滬之分行，不僅無加害之行動，直至最近止，且無絲毫加以壓迫之意志，此係衆所同知之事，實對於舊法幣始終認爲係人民之財產，始終無加以妨礙或破壞之企圖，新法幣發行之後，准許舊法幣同時流通，且規定新舊法幣等價行使，凡此種種，目的均在安定金融，維持市面，關於新法幣之推行，始終取穩健緩進政策，因此且受同志中之批評，以爲過於消極，即如上海一隅，爲日動員一二千人赴各大公司強制通用，非不可能，同志中多有如此建議者，且有願負此項推行之責者，其熱心固可佩，然因與余之穩健政策不符，均婉言却之，凡此均足徵明余不願市面動搖，金融紊亂，而滬方則於和平之金融界中，迭施擾亂，我中央儲備銀行，自暴徒侵入投彈後，迭受侵害，因此犧牲者三人，負傷者二人，日前張永綱同志，本爲暴徒狙擊受傷，入院踞腿，對此已成殘廢之人，尙欲置之死地，殘酷如此，豈人類所應爲，在中儲行員被狙擊，中儲被投彈以前，四行在滬者，曾有一次遭同類之事乎，若輩非安全經營其業務乎，故今後四行行員是否安全，四行是否須撤退，上海金融市場是否紊亂，請國人以此詢諸滬方可也，一切責任，均應由滬方負之，吾人不願妨礙四行同人之安全，而滬方必欲置之於不安全之情形中，吾人無意強迫四行撤退，而滬方必欲造成非撤退不可之局勢，吾人不願破壞，且努力維持金融之安定，而滬方必欲使上海金融日處於狂風暴雨之中，是是非非，豈人心之中竟無公道耶，至四行之撤退問題，並非重要，蓋四行分行在上海金融界早已失其重要性，吾人固無意強迫其撤退，假使情勢不許其繼續營業，對於上海金融，決不致發生搖動，中央儲備銀行固有充分之能力及準備，足以維持並鞏固上海金融也，聞四行同仁不滿滬方所爲，多有辭職者，對於此類金融人才，固無意強迫其參加和運，但如果有願意服務

於國民政府之財政金融機關者，不僅當以原薪原級任用，且當量才擢升也。云云。

友邦交還代管文物

因戰爭而散佚之我國文物，此次友邦方面，本中日合作之精神，將所代管之古物，天文，氣象儀器，圖書，檔案，標本一併交還吾國，此中雙方會經數度接洽，結果因意見之一致，進行至爲順利本月(廿一日)下午二時雙方即在雞鳴寺路一號中支建設資料整備事務所舉行文物交還接收公布典禮，當時計到外交部長徐良，內政部長陳羣，教育部長趙正平，宣傳部長林柏生，以及保管委員會委員薄侗，陳柱，暨本京各機關代表等，日方則有日高公使暨陸海外各界代表等約二百餘人，宣布開會後，全體即行入席，席係就該所草坪上臨時架棚而成，中懸兩國之國旗，其前即爲主席桌，全體入席後，當由主席徐良報告接洽之經過，其詞如下：

外長報告接收經過：「當中日事變之時，日本政府鑒於吾國文物乏人保管，深恐受戰事影響，致遭散佚，曾費鉅大資力，組織中支建設資料整備委員會，暫爲保管，備歷艱辛，新城博士爲此犧牲性命，始克完成使命，因此燦爛文物，得以保存，國民政府對於日本政府之一片熱誠，深表謝意，自國府還都後，雙方經數度之接洽，承日高公使伊東局長清水秘書官等之竭力協助，進行及接收，極爲順利，主席先指派陳羣趙正平及本人爲接收委員，在陳部長公館召開籌備會議二次，決定接收手續及組織文化保管委員會，上月廿五日第五十二次行政會議議決，派本人爲文物保管委員會委員長，薄侗，陳羣，趙正平，陳柱，丁默邨，林柏生，陳君慧，樊仲雲爲委員，並由行政院呈報中央政治委員會於上月廿七日下午五時由外交部與日本大使館發表文物交還接收共同聲明書，本月十五日第五十五次行政會議議決通過文物保管委員會組織條例，並派委員趙正平兼圖書專門委員會主任委員，委員陳柱兼博物專門委員會主任委員，委員陳美兼天文氣象專門委員會主任委員，至於開辦費及經常費，議決由總預備費項下撥給，經

斯科簽字之日蘇中立條約，與三國條約並不矛盾，反之，有加以擴充及充實之功效，外相之言曰：「余已完成渡歐使命，於今日平安歸國，俗語有云，百聞不如一見，在東京時，許多似解非解之事，一朝親至彼邦，均頓時澈底了悟，際此非常時期，此行對於我國外交之運用所得，當非淺鮮，關於日德義三國同盟，在柏林時曾與希特勒元首，戈林上將，里賓特洛甫外長，及其他要人會見，在羅馬時，又親謁義皇愛德華，與墨首相及齊亞諾外長重溫舊交，三國同盟條約，經此會見，令人發生注入新生命之感，在莫斯科時，與莫洛托夫外長，長談數次，開誠公布交換意見，又與史丹林氏會見二次，得有坦白交換意見之機，對於日蘇國交，自必發生良好之影響，日蘇條約在五日前中，彼此同意交涉，進入最後階段，時一切均由史丹林書記長與余當場決定，余茲欲為國民告者，處此世界空前危局，列強之巨頭，凡百國事，莫不親自處理，此事足供國人參考之處良多，目前國際情勢，千變萬化，我人自應深謀遠慮，然若托名審慎辦事，實則遷延時日，猶豫不決，則不僅不能扶翼自運，積極開拓國運，即退而自守，亦將不可能，其次余更欲一言者，此次日蘇條約，對於日德義三國同盟，絲毫不發生影響，毋甯日蘇條約已使三國同盟目的之一，確實達成，故可謂三國條約之補充，日蘇條約訂立後，日德義三國間毫無諒解，德義兩國均歡迎此約之成立，故此約與三國同盟條約，中日條約，及最近之秦越調停，堪併稱為表示我國八紘一字精神之一麟半爪，將我國之和平政策，昭示於世界，任何多疑之人，由此當知日本真意之所在矣，若尚有人對我國之真義抱疑念，則此人必屬故意曲解，不足與共談世界大事也，最後，余此次親赴蘇聯，目覩彼邦全國一致向充實實力之途猛進，以對付非常時局，深望我國國民，亦一心德，為國努力云云。

曾豈凡團長發表考察日本空軍感想

軍委會航空署，為視察日本航空軍事設施，曾組織中國赴日航空視察團，由該署首席參事曾豈凡率領，於上月廿一日，由滬飛東京，

在日考察共三十二日，於本月二十日始返國，據曾氏談此行視察感想如下：

「自國府還都以後，關於復興軍事大業，為海陸空軍負責當局之努力中心，本人服務空軍，對我國空軍之設施與推進，自應積極籌劃，全力以赴，所以早欲與日本軍事當局而商，復興中國空軍之一般具體辦法，期以完成共同担負新東亞大局之安全，此番幸得日方之協助，率同中國航空視察團一行人員，於三月十九日，由南京起程，廿一日由上海飛抵東京，於二十日返國，往返旅程，計共三十二日，大半時間，係逗留東京，因便與彼邦陸海空軍部接談故也，旅日時荷蒙彼邦陸海空軍當局，暨其他機關團體之熱誠歡迎，及厚意款待，衷心至為感謝，本人對日本國情，夙有相當了解，故洽商復興中國空軍問題，多能顧及雙方立場，暨現實環境，虛心坦懷，交換誠懇之意見，結果頗為圓滿，實可藉此以奠定中日空軍合作之基礎，為東亞前途幸福，不勝愉快，日本為輕重工業先進之國，曾分別參觀陸軍飛行學校，海軍航空部隊，及飛機製造廠，發動機製造廠等，各項設施，多匠心別具，可見彼邦科學進步之一斑，參觀所至，悉蒙各主管親為引導，並參觀範圍多超出吾人意料之外，此點尤為感佩，其對空軍組織，力求簡單，訓練着重精神，良以現代戰爭，殊非祇技術與物質二項之問題，尤須具有不移之意志，與必死之精神，方克應付萬難，茲彼邦當局，更傾力引起全國人士，對航空專業之認識，見地之明，殊足欽敬，且彼邦人民，又能悉體政府意旨，崇尚國家權益，絕不顧及個人私利，萬民向歸，團結一心，此種精神之偉大，誠使人肅然起敬，現在對復興中國空軍問題，日本當局，既有表示，且期頗甚殷，故將來之成功，須視吾人如何努力也。

周財長對渝方四分行停業事意見

國府財長周佛海氏，於十八日由京來滬，記者因中交農滬分行停止營業，特晉謁周部長，叩詢政府方針，承蒙發表談話如下：

余之財政金融改良，在迭次聲明及談話中，均已闡明，無待重述

但比韋爾斯更的積極的，便是國務院顧問霍培克，他雖是一顧問，可不是一個閒職的顧問，他是國務院內排日強硬派的急先鋒，在赫爾的背後牽線，實際上執行羅斯福政府的遠東政策。

霍培克是一個在華宣教牧師的兒子，曾於一九〇九年應中國政府的招聘，擔任中國各地的大學教授，達四年之久，其間悉心研究東洋學素有遠東通之稱，年一九二八年到一九三七年十年間，他任遠東局長之要職，史汀生為國務卿時代的遠東強硬政策，大概我們尚能記憶，可是史汀生主義的幕後人，便是霍培克，他是一個現實主義者，並且是一個極力主張援華論，大海軍論，維持在華門戶開放和機會均等的人，而對於東亞新秩序的建設，則反對甚力。

羅斯福的皇太子 美國現政府內尚有一個極堪注目的人物，那是麥克納脫，他的綽號叫「羅斯福的皇太子」，他做些什麼事情，不得而知，他是一個印等安納州鄉下律師的兒子，在小學時代，一面讀書，一面做報童，在中學時代，是一個有名的棒球投手，到了大學時代，擔任過校刊的編輯，學生會會長，和級長，可說是一個活動份子。

麥克納脫當過印第安納州大學的教授，法學院院長，其後於一九二七年被任為美國在鄉軍人團的印第安納州司令，一九二八年被選為全美在鄉軍人團總司令，旋得一般在鄉軍人的擁護，遷任為印第安納州州長，在任四年，事實上為全州的獨裁者，擅行全州官吏的任用罷免權，併統制一切，所以有人送給他一個「印第安納的希特勒」的綽號，自稱為民主主義國的等國，而有這樣獨裁者的出現，未免大殺其民主主義的風景，可是在他秉政的四年中，印第安納州的經濟，很是安定，所以拿他無可如何了。

麥克納脫卸任州長後，赴菲就任駐菲最高專員之職，他反對菲律賓的獨立，曾向大總統進言延期獨立，據說最近增派航空母艦和潛水艇至馬尼拉，以及增強陸軍駐屯軍，也是出於他的獻策，他今年四十七歲，年富力強，野心勃勃，去年美國大總統選舉時，他曾經說過「如羅斯福不出馬，我將起而代之」，從幾方面觀之，他具有酷似羅斯福的特長，所以給他「羅斯福的皇太子」的綽號，可稱允當。

海軍將星們 最近美國大唱共主戰論，而其推進力，厥為海軍部，以前亞細亞艦隊司令官亞納爾上將為急先鋒，他在中國事變發生之際，對於遠東事態，還有相當的認識，自前年夏卸職返美後，態度驟變，常以「速以實力去阻止日本的對華行動，日本國內，非常貧弱，國民并無戰意，如果美國出以壓力，任何事情，日本都能聽從」的言辭，遊說美國各地，他當過是三年的亞細亞艦隊司令官，自以為美國有數的遠東通，而且關於太平洋的實地作戰知識，在美國海軍部內，可說是無出其右，所以日前仍歸復現役了。

現任亞細亞艦隊司令是和亞納爾同期出身的赫德上將，他不是像亞納爾那樣的有着外交家典型的人物，而是一個冷靜沈着的武人，前次大戰中，他任美國潛水艇司令，活躍於西大西洋，也做過亞細亞潛水艇司令，所以對於太平洋西兩洋的海上地理，非常熟悉，他在海軍部內稱為潛水艇戰術的權威。

新任美國聯合艦隊司令兼太平洋艦隊司令的梅爾上將，也是主戰派的倡導者，他在海軍部內稱為具有砲術鬼才的傑出作戰家。

現任美國海軍作戰部長斯達克上將也是一個大海軍擴張論者，本來東西太平洋之分，是以太平洋中一百八十度的子午線為界限，日美兩國海軍相約，均不得越過此線，但去年他就任太平洋巡洋艦司令官在太平洋大演習時，竟違約越過此線，他具有軍政方面的才幹，手腕非常靈敏，去年夏天美國議會中通過的，所謂斯達克擴軍案，以及去秋議會中通過的兩洋艦隊案，都是他的主張，他和金梅爾上將都是本年六十歲，距六十四歲的停職年，尚有幾年，他和金梅爾一樣，在前年六月間，追上許多先輩躍級而進由巡洋艦司令一躍而為作戰部長，可說是高速度榮達者中的第一人。

松岡外相返抵東京時發表聲明

今日飛返此間之松岡外相，於下午六時，在外相官邸，接見中外記者，發表聲明，外相於此聲明中，表示與德義等軸心國家巨頭會見之結果，對於三國條約今後之運用上，將發生重大之影響，而在美

，政治經濟等焦點，注重於促進武器之造能力，其機關屬國防生產管理局，總統為謀其活動，收得充分之效果，要求授予廣汎之權限，是之故，美國之政治體制，勢將加強獨裁性，此乃可避免者。

委諸國防生產管理局之最大任務，厥在如何謀生管理與勞動問題之調和，一切非謀國防之利益不可，在勞動問題上，物資統制上，或其他政治的經濟統制上，總統實有為非常決意之必要，其原因在強化包括援英之龐大國防，自不待言，是以實施租軍法援助英國之羅斯福總統，今後將成為事實上之獨裁者，與希特勒等英雄踏上同一之道路，於其統制之下。

又據美國公債法，政府有建設，並管理軍需品生產工場之權利。又依據擴充陸海軍軍備之各種法令，政府有與民間公司，進行契約折衝之權限，自去年七月二日以來，關於輸出限制，亦授與大總統以絕對之權限。

此外大總統根據產業復興政策，實施初步所規定之銀行關係各種法令，大總統對金融證券界，得享有廣泛之命令權，更基於美國水力電氣法，關於水力電氣之統制管理，亦得發動絕對權限。

美國主戰派剪影

澤田謙作朱旭摘譯

羅斯福大總統 現在美國國內分成二派，一派就是爲了貫徹帝國主義的干涉主義而不辭一戰的所謂主戰派，另一派就是反對干涉歐洲和遠東事件的所謂孤立派，美國現政府的首腦部盡屬主戰派，而其首領當然就是現總統羅斯福了。

講到羅斯福，他的性格是愛漂亮的，相當積極的，好冒險的，所以很傾向於黷武主義，他從小就想進海軍學校學海軍，因爲家長的反對，不得已而入哈佛大學讀書，可是他的侵略主義的根性，却一向沒有去掉，我們還記得當他三十歲年輕的時候，在威爾遜大總統之下，當過海軍次長，極力主張大擴充海軍，他的叔叔斯奧杜羅斯福，便是美國大海軍的開山鼻祖，所以他的思想，在血統關係上，也是很有因緣的。

羅斯福系出名門，少爺脾氣十足，會患小兒癱瘓病，他的性情隨着年齒的增長而越發來得事肆自負了，叫他來統率大海軍，可說是運命的惡戲，好像拿刀給小孩子玩一樣，實在是危險到了萬分，如果戰亂普及於全世界，人類的慘運向前展開的話，那末後世的歷史一定會將這罪過加在他的肩上。

內閣三要員 現任國務卿赫爾，他的出身和羅斯福大總統完全相反，係貧苦人家的兒子，從小就勤習苦學，由律師而州會議員，由下院議員而上院議員，可說是從勞苦中掙扎出來的一個人，所以不像羅斯福那樣有天馬行空之概，而是一個謹慎自領的人，他既不是個才氣極盛的雄辯家，也不是一個有筆如刀的文章能手，他能夠得到民衆的信望，全憑他自己的事業成績，不是靠了他的一張嘴一枝筆，以他這樣的性格，對於奔馬那樣的羅斯福大總統，恰好是一個極適宜的補助者。

至於陸長史汀生和海長諾克斯本來是屬共和黨的，茲已賣身於現政府而各就新職，他們都是多年的主戰論者，前者係法律家出身，後者係新聞記者出身，他我二個人的性格和議論的方式，是完全相反的，可是都是激烈的主戰論者。

韋爾斯及霍培克 國務副卿韋爾斯係荷洛頓和哈佛出身，是一個貴族外交官，由於他的謙遜和勤勉，得以漸露頭角，他和羅斯福大總統的關係，非常密切，羅斯福喜歡聽他的詳細報告，并樂於同他在一起，所以他時常出入於白宮，他的聞名於世界，由於這次歐戰發生後的不久，歷訪歐洲大陸，和慕索里尼，希特勒，張伯倫等諸巨頭會談而起，因此大家都當他爲羅斯福的和平特使，但不久就證明他并不是這樣的一個人物，他曾經服務於東京的美國大使館，說過「日美之間，沒有一個不可以拿外交拆衝來解決的問題」的話，一度似屬對日緩和派，而和赫爾國務卿處於對立的樣子，不知怎麼態度驟變，一下子投到主戰派的陣容裏去，并且還大唱排擊東亞新秩序，由於太平洋的沒有和平安定的保障，所以美國海軍應留駐於太平洋的論調。

歐洲戰爭之發展如何，爲更適應事態起見，正準備欲將約五十條之大總統命令公布之」云云，由此可知美國蒙罩民主主義之假面具，趨於獨裁主義化，此事已明若觀火矣。

(二) 國防生產管理局

美國國防生產管理局，曾說明與羅斯總統以根據美國憲法而可委任之一切職權，此種職權，實屬廣汎，假如全部一經發動時，則美國防生產管理局長克莫森及其幕僚，已在事實上，可執行美國產業界之獨裁政治矣。

此觀之現在美總統羅斯福，所享有之各種職權，亦可明瞭，於非常時之名目下，使大總統可以發動此種職權，其一切幾盡置。

(三) 勞動之國家統制

目下美國，因國防總動員所感缺少者，即統制物資及價格之權限，及勞動管理之權限二種，但勞動關係，曾於三日對從事建築陸海軍根據地之政府雇傭者，決停止工作八小時制度，最後，終於因在產業復興政策之根本上，加以重大之變更後，而爲問題解決之發軔，美政府之勞工政策，關於政府事業之部份中，完全放棄產業復興政策之形式，但徵諸其後之經過，總統對此方面之政策，不僅漸趨於積極，即資本案方面，亦乘非常時期，以強化國防之緊急爲理由，急謀奪回勞工團體之特權，結果，必以某種形式確立政府之勞動支配，預料於非常時期名目下，勞工方面將遭敗北。

即工作八小時制度，大總統若利用非常緊急時期之例外規定，則或非不得延長工作時間。

此時資本案，必需付出極高率之時間外津貼，此點於進行國防計劃中勞資問題，必趨於重大化，此後羅斯福總統，關於實行國防總動員，亦獲得所缺少之兩種權力，勞工管理及統制物資，而事實上美國若至實施戰時經濟之獨裁制時，其媒介爲國防生產管理局，此不能忽視促進國防與獨裁。

羅斯福總統，爲何要創設此種俱有廣泛權限之國防生產管理局，

實因去年度強化國防計劃，在實際上頗爲遲延，此爲不可漠視者，據總統計所示，去年十二月前，英美兩政府向美國各工廠定製軍需品之數量，大致如下：

- (一) 飛行機，五萬架。
- (二) 飛機零件，十三萬具。
- (三) 大炮，四萬二千尊。
- (四) 塹壕炮，一萬三千尊。
- (五) 炮彈，三千三百萬發。
- (六) 自動步槍，四十萬支。
- (七) 步槍，一百三十萬支。
- (八) 各種軍艦，三百八十艘。
- (九) 商船，二百艘。
- (十) 軍役，一百二十萬套。

上列數目，保定貨量，實際上之承包數量較之尤少，因之美國軍需品工廠，均陷於非常混亂狀態。

今試舉一例，本年一月以前，每月計劃生產飛機一千架之某飛機工廠，現在之生產能力，已減少三成，僅能造飛機七百架，又根據陸軍擴充計劃，爲收容訓練部隊而建造之兵舍，計容三十師團兵士，昨令所完成者，不過可容十三師團兵士，總之，各方面之生產能力不足，實出人意外，國防委員會，過力遊說，促進生產，各部門均答以勞動力不足，要求政府確立適當之勞動政策，於是國防生產管理局，即在此種情形下設立者，對於解決勞動問題，具有異常努力之性格，以貢獻強化總統之獨裁權。

(四) 希特勒與羅斯福

美國現在，勢必以強化國防爲最高目標，此在德國已由希特勒元首，於過去八年間予以完成，美國將在今後二年間，完成此事，羅斯福所取之道，乃藉口國家之非常時期，要求授予一切權限，逐步實現確保其物裁政權，租軍法案成立後，美國已成爲民主主義國之兵工廠

我們必須注意到國共磨擦的趨向白熱化，寇利把這個消息帶到紐約時，曾引起羅斯福對重慶獨裁政權的不滿，但事實終於是事實，國共在皖一帶的下級衝突，把一點抗戰最後的希望也埋掉，從蔣介石的解散新四軍到共黨參議員拒絕二屆參政會間，蔣介石幾乎違反安西事變時所給共黨的諾言，而再來一次剿共，最近有人從內地來，證明重慶已把兵力屯駐在陝南和長江下游，有軍事剿共的準備，一方面周恩來的奔波，完全露出了新官僚的無能、毛澤東的十大要求，正使獨裁者感覺苦痛，看來蔣介石的買辦政治，永遠不能跟第三國際合作，渝共的走到極端，亦有火併之事，但重慶要是真的以軍事行動對付延安，便明顯的表示上獨裁政權的壽終正寢，因為，（一）將與蘇聯開翻，失去西北僅存的國際物資供給線，（二）美國已經警告蔣介石，如果重慶因反共而和平，則美國便要放棄重慶，支持另一個抗日政權，所以渝共衝突的尖銳化，是現階級重慶政權最後進退的焦點，獨裁者的苦悶使我們感到可笑復又可悲。

重慶的環境是如此，它的本身又如何呢，獨裁政權的先天不足和後天失調，使抗戰哲學家有不變的「宿命論」的看法，也使我們感到其死亡的來到，抗戰的意識形態的沒落，財政的枯竭，和金融的紊亂，雖然最近一年來戰爭漸由軍事轉向經濟建設，但重慶的隕落是一個不可挽回的命運。

重慶的財政收入，已經減低到不夠支出的十分之一，海關的繼續失陷，使重慶現在僅僅保持了長江上游的幾個海關，其他，天津，上海，廣州，已均在國民政府之手，其次鹽稅，可以說已等於零，統稅則江浙工業區盡遭炮火摧毀，而內移的工廠又寥寥無幾，所以我們從財政的觀點上看，重慶的壽命更不長。

通貨膨脹所造成的後果，是要促同胞完全餓死，但重慶政權除開濫發紙幣，狂銷公債，盡量借進外債外，可說毫無辦法，連年生活費指數的增高，法幣購買力的低落，和軍費支出的浩大，恰成一個正比，我們知道法幣的壽命短促，也便是重慶政權壽命的短促，尤其廿八年以後，和華北、華中貨幣鬥爭的失敗，外匯平準基金將枯竭，此際一

班國際資本主義的走狗，正在高唱「金融券」的怪調子，但金融決不是少數獨裁者的交易事業，全國同胞如果還要活下去的話，便要想辦法去阻止。

我們必須還要提到的，便是重慶高唱人雲的鞏固經濟建設，開發「西南西北」這個口號，實在夠現着深度的經濟恐慌，幾年來無聊的經濟學家，天天在喊「資金內移」，這當然的針對着上海鉅量的游資而言，但資本家的目的，是追求容潤，決不願意受獨裁政權的軍火工業的支配，無數短視病的資本家，祇願在上海投機外匯而不肯到西南去，更加以抗戰區內技術的低落，訓練工人的缺乏，物資運輸的艱難，只有使工業隕滅，而不會促成發達，重慶沒有辦法，只好利用四行在上的吸收這批游資，所以說重慶將要撤退上海的四行，我們覺得還不可能，銀行的撤退，便表示「資金內移」化為泡影，「開發西南」也就完結。

重慶的政治，金融，財政，產業各部門，均已達進崩潰之途，國際援助亦不過徒勞夢想，在這種狀態之下，重慶還能支持多久，只有天曉得。

獨裁化之美國

中央社

（一）加強大總統之職權

美國促進國防之中心，為加強大總統之職權，並政治之獨裁化。美政府，為統制非常時局生產之分配起見，羅斯福總統對於政界，外交界，財界之獨裁權，不可不謂已經有顯著之加強。

例如，以經濟界而言，美國確立戰時經濟體制之骨幹，假定斷為因設立國防生產管理局而成功，亦非過言，但此在為對英援助，會有加強生產力擴充必要之現今美國，因經濟之統制，美國國民生活之一切，即有為軍需生產品作犧牲之虞，同時大總統又將頒布各種命令，而將美國之政治形態在事實上趨於獨裁化，度亦不能絕對避免，此事於羅斯福總統在一月廿一日會見新聞記者團時，曾聲稱，「美國將見

▲意大利之戰爭目的▼

意大利著名作家瑪利歐埃貝斯云，「意大利如不參加戰事直可等於自殺」，既已加入，而與德國並肩作戰，以毀滅英國在歐洲及全世界之統制地位，意大利之戰爭目的，乃可作為有趣味之陳述。

意大利之戰爭目的，包含道德政治及經濟性質，迅速實現此種目的，已為每個意大利人民之願望。

一，意大利必須有自地中海自由出入世界海洋之一之門戶。
二，意大利每個人民在其上學第一日即知之歷史上意國應有之利益，必須實現。

三，意大利需要伸張其經濟勢力，使激增中之意大利人民，得到較高之生活程度。

此項目的之一，在意大利，已有參加戰事之充分理由，要求地中海不受外力統制之門戶，乃道德上之要求，自對阿比西尼亞及阿爾巴尼亞作戰爭利之後，意國人民之帝國思想統溢，至一九三九年戰事發生，乃發現英國因控制地中海之門戶，而使四千五百萬之意大利人民，等於囚犯，意國之商業，在其參戰以前，早已毀滅矣。

實現目的之第二點，即意大利歷史上之統一政策，乃意國一世紀來文人政治家同聲之要求。

至於第三點，乃係社會政治性質，意大利以此次之戰爭，為其建築經濟生活之堅實基礎之方式，使意大利人民之生活，提高至為世界第三強國應有之程度。

重慶還能支持多久

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美國的態度好像十分強硬，他援助民主治國的法案，居然把重慶也讓了進去，這是給行將沒落的重慶政權以一個麻醉劑。

重慶自己不尋求途徑，倒是靠着英美資本主義和蘇聯新官僚階級的支持，繼續在苟延殘喘的拖下去，毛澤東曾經誇大狂的對民衆發空頭支票，「我們是從戰敗到退守到勝利」，這便是重慶和共產黨全部

勾結的金科玉律，也是以「空間」換取「時間」的抗戰哲學，一方面，蔣介石的「磁鐵戰」和「積小勝為大勝」，確定了抗戰建國的全部命運，前線不夠和日軍接觸，日放棄「空間」，換取「時間」，日本軍隊不去，便無條件的偏安，蔣介石要拖，共產黨要拖，但是國家民族是至高無上的，我們絕對不許國家民族的叛徒來無底的摧殘，我們自己已有力量，應該站在國家民族的本位上來幹。

在太平洋局勢的推移中，重慶政權的存在是被動的，美國的支持重慶，不過是叫它做一枝太平洋戰爭的前哨隊，隨時隨地可以加以放棄，重慶政權的命運，實在是徘徊於苦悶絕望之中，因為美國本身也正轉輾在火藥氣味的恐怖之下，援助民主治國，實是暴露了羅斯福說不出的隱痛，最近有位美國記者，到重慶去跑了一次，回來後寫了一本「今日之重慶」，內稱重慶政權的致命傷，在於缺乏空軍，希望美國以大量飛機援助，但大家要考慮一下，美國現在正跌落在一個勞資糾紛的漩渦之中，罷工的浪潮愈蔓延，生產力愈將降低，這是證明美國人民還缺乏戰爭心理，當然不會全跟着羅斯福走，美國現在在遠東，只有一個動作，便是支持重慶使它拖下去，一直拖到美國在太平洋上動員完成以後。

重慶呢，應該立刻覺悟，除開依賴英美和蘇聯外，本身還有什麼呢，英國支持重慶到什麼時候，我們雖然不敢說，但日蘇中立簽訂之後，希望蘇聯替重慶仗義打日本，已是歸於泡影了，主戰者要馬上明瞭目前國家民族迫切的需要是什麼，假使一意孤行，則病入膏肓，將加速的從沒落跑到崩潰上去，共產黨的陰謀和殘暴，已經證明它是借了「抗日戰爭」的招牌，而幹階級鬥爭，亦化中國的工作，他們是人類有政治以來最下等的敗類，正如汪先生說過，「共產黨是以當搗亂為天性的，主戰也搗亂，主和也搗亂」，重慶的事人要是明瞭了這點，自然會覺悟所謂淪共聯合陣線，是共產黨騙人的話。

重慶政權在這樣一個風雨飄搖的情境中，究竟還能支持多少時候呢，我們可從幾方面來說一說。

國，惟有和平，長期抗戰，自取滅亡耳，至於兩將軍今後如何爲和平努力，則云，將決心致力軍事建設。

在此次劉潘兩將軍率部來歸之前，於二月間，有李長江將軍率所部三萬人之歸順（見本刊三月一日期），及其他若干重慶將領之投誠。

關於重慶軍隊之相率離叛，上海泰晤士報曾有社論，顯示重慶強迫軍役之方式云。

「據新加坡中華總商會主席陳嘉庚所稱，被重慶政權強迫服役之二十五萬青年中，逃脫者不下十萬餘人，如吾人相信重慶方面之宣傳，謂受訓之新兵全係出於愛國之熱忱，則陳氏之所說，已將實情揭穿，重慶自始即以強迫方式，迫令人民從軍，結果乃有多數離叛之發生，在意義上，似乎中國是依照歐洲制度，實行徵兵，然而因爲無辦法或是無毅力，重慶不能實行其計劃，而所謂「徵兵制」，僅存強迫軍役之意義，如此練成之軍隊，對於重慶毫無實益，而每每發見之困難，即真正之愛國軍隊絕無，而府強制服役之販夫走卒，鄉民農人，則根本無心作戰也，中日戰事開始，在上海一帶作戰之時，情形迥然不同，彼時許多愛國青年，甚有未經軍事訓練者，本其愛國之熱心，參加作戰，爲國犧牲，自南京淪陷之後，爲重慶軍隊所吸引之青年及共產黨，其中可稱爲真正熱心者，爲數極少」。

▲上海特別市政府之政績▼

上海特別市陳公博市長，拯救中國人民於艱難困苦中之努力，苦幹決毅，已得上海中外人民之同聲讚頌。

陳市長自蒞任以來，不及六月，毒害人民身心之魔窟，已迅速禁絕，其精神毅力，在復興戰區計劃之推進上，尤有極大之影響。

進步之足以記述者，無日無之，江灣之市中心，已成爲上海之活躍中區。

醫藥及公衆衛生事業，已有良好之組織，教育計劃，已在積極進行之中，貧民救濟機關，相繼成立，公路水道，均在修浚之中，難民收容區，亦已築成，食糧統制，及物價調整，亦均規劃就緒，集團購

辦食糧之資金，已集得二千萬元，最後尚有魔窟之禁絕。

在市政府之各部各局中，不論社會，教育，衛生，工務，土地，稅務，無不有陳市長精明強幹之指導。

陳市長之政途，既因上海情形之複雜而有種種困難，况乎現在之上海，尚未脫出事變以來之緊急狀態，但是成功之關鍵，則在中日合作，有陳市長之指導，而得日本當局之合作，在未來之六月間，上海必將有更大之進步也。

▲羅斯福欺騙美國民衆▼

羅斯福之欲欺騙美國人民，以助英戰德，已不能得到其理想上之成功，美國重要工業之工潮，尤爲四十五萬煤礦工人之罷工，不但造成一種嚴重之局勢，亦可以作爲對羅斯福欺騙人民之答覆，工潮結果，使鋼鐵出產，減少百分之十，其他工廠之產量減少至百分之五十，即通用汽車，及福特汽車廠，向來不爲工潮所波及者，此次亦受嚴重之影響，由此可知美國工潮之狂瀾，已使任何工業，難以幸免，亦可見美國之勞工階級，已表示其反對美國參加歐戰矣。

租借法案，已成爲美國之迎風自睡，故而羅斯福之獨裁權力，足以使美國捲入事不干己之戰爭者，有立即打倒之必要。

羅斯福之行爲，直可視爲對美國人民之大規模欺詐，當其候選爲連任總統之時，其演說辭中之焦點，爲「余將不使美國捲入戰禍」，此種策略，竟獲成功，乃重返白宮，而身爲美國之第一任總統，羅斯福曾對其人民保證和平，然而自第三任當選以來，徒使美國瀕於戰禍耳，其最近之決定，使美國兵艦運戰具至英，又何異於戰事行爲，美國與軸心國間之聯繫，無日不在益加惡化之中，至此而戰事已可一觸即發矣。

爲反映美國民衆之反戰心理，最近美國白威廉愛倫氏，世所稱爲提倡和平之出版人云，「余所以加入此種組織（白氏委員會）之理由，是欲使美國避免戰事也」，白氏對於美國兵艦之駛入戰區，亦表示其極端反對。

中華新聲半月刊

社址：南京鼓樓新村八號
總主筆及發行人：甘德雲

▲日蘇協定▼

日外相松岡洋右聘歐途中，在莫斯科與蘇俄當局之會談，於四月十三日午夜之前一小時，成立日蘇中立條約，而得到顯著之勝利。

日蘇訂約消息傳出後，最初之反響，即反軸心陣線所起之恐慌，英國在慌亂之情緒中，更顯出失望與驚惶，對於美國，該條約可以作為一種警告，使其退出東亞，莫管他人閒事，亦可以作為對英國在亞洲侵略統治之致命傷。

本刊曾屢次鼓吹此種條約之訂立，指出日蘇間張鼓峯，諾門漢事件，及漁約，劃界等等問題，既已圓滿結束，兩國之外交當局，大可更進一步，而謀根本問題之解決。

在體質上，因帝俄在東亞海岸，有取得不冰港口之野心，而成為日本之敵，在心理上，日本之主義與共產黨所宣揚之馬克斯主義，一度曾與蘇俄政府不可分離者，極端反對，自蘇俄政府在外交政策上，正式與共產主義脫離後，各國之欲與蘇俄穩定其邦交者，不復再有阻礙矣。

因此納粹主義與法西斯主義國家，其反對共產正與日本相同，已毫無困難，與蘇俄成立條約，日蘇條約之成立，更因蘇俄之同意參加世界新秩序，而途徑益加明朗，況德之在歐，與日之在亞，同為推進世界新秩序之領袖。

松岡外相所訂立之日蘇中立條約，因此對於軸心國家，及附和世界新秩序者，本不足驚奇，然而對於反軸心陣線，則實足以令其咋舌。

日蘇條約之訂立，對於東亞局勢，必有良好之影響，及重要之變

展，由該條約，日蘇兩政府乃互相保持友好之聯繫，尊重雙方之土地完整，如一國而成為第三國家軍事行動之目標，則其他一國，在戰爭期內，保持中立，該約以五年為期，訂約時蘇俄並簽定重要之宣言，尊重滿洲國之領土完整，日本同時亦保證實際上已屬蘇俄之外蒙古人民政府之完整，條約簽定後，蘇俄對於重慶政府之援助，是否行將終止或減少，尚難確定，然而在莫斯科與東京之關係上，必然將揭開一頁新歷史也。

最近美國對日之壓力，無疑是條約促成之一種原因，本刊屢已論及，自華盛頓堅持反日以來，蘇俄國內即有有力之動態，欲與日本取得諒解，觀於此，吾人可知使美國退出東亞，已為蘇俄政策之基本原則矣，日本之南進政策，因日蘇條約之成立，必然得到一種極大的助力，蓋日本今後在其北境，西伯利亞，高麗，滿洲國一帶，可無後顧之憂矣。

越泰和約成立，在日本之南進上，又消去一種障礙，而今後顧之憂亦去，南進政策，不久定有加緊之可能，日本之進攻英國東方根據地，新加坡，為時已在不遠，且其結果，必將有利於日本，以任何一點論之，日蘇條約對於東亞新秩序之確立，有極大之助力，而日本對於東亞前程上，得此外交上之勝利，尤堪慶賀。

▲重慶之所失即南京之所獲▼

渝方有力軍隊，蘇北八十九師副參謀長，兼一百十七師參謀長潘幹丞，魯蘇聯軍西北集團總指揮劉相圖，覺悟抗戰機構早瀕崩潰絕境，全面和平，不難實現，乃率領所部精銳勁旅，二萬五千人，毅然來歸，潘劉兩將軍抵京後，進謁汪主席，報告參加和運決心，及所部近況，並請示機宜。

潘劉兩將軍除發出通電，以其為和平奮鬥之決心，昭告全國外，並致電蔣介石及其他重慶領袖，啓示中日合作未來之光明，並勸告其放棄抗戰政策，四月十三日在中央飯店招待記者，兩將軍稱：「我等份屬軍人，故知重慶欲在軍事上戰勝日本勢所不能」，並極言欲救中

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中華民國三十年五月一日

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