

世界政治叢刊之二

大埔中學圖書館
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國際反侵略運動

援華反日特別大會

全部

決議案
圖書館

中國國際聯盟同志會譯印

漢口特三區洞庭街十七號

113113

反侵略運動之四大綱領

一、遵守修約尊嚴

二、縮減軍備及制止藉軍火工業而謀利。

三、鞏固國聯，俾以更有效之集體安全及互助組織防止戰爭。

四、在國聯組織內，設立一永久之機構，用和平方法，以改善

國際間定以引起戰爭之情勢。

國際反侵略運動

援華反日特別大會

決議案全文

楔子

本年二月十二日至十四日，國際反侵略運動大會（International Peace Campaign）直譯應為國際和平運動）在倫敦召集援華反日特別會議，情況至為熱烈，詳細情形，早已見諸報端。按國際反侵略運動，與國聯同志會素有密切關係，英國國聯同志會會長薛西爾爵士，國聯同志會世界總會會長羅林，俱為此會之主要發起人及支持者。該會之目的，在以和平運動之理想，傳播於世界各隅，並充實國聯力量，以保隙和平，現時已有四萬萬會員，五十三國單位，四十七國國際團體單位。是以此大會

議時，國聯同志會世界總會組有特別聯合代表團前往出席，本會亦曾推派王景春、劉錯，程滄波，梁鑒立等先生爲代表參加該團。茲該大會各小組委員會之全部決議案，業由各出席代表航郵到漢。本會鑒於此次會議之成就，在抗戰期中實有重大貢獻，而此項決議，在抗戰史上實爲一極有價值之文獻，爰特逐譯發表，以饜國內之有心人士。又國聯同志會世界總會於上述特別會議閉幕後，亦在倫敦開會予以響應，茲將其決議案一併譯出，附錄於後，藉資參考。

中國國際聯盟同志會謹識

中華民國二十七年三月十四日

一、大會宣言

吾人係由廿一國及廿五種國際團體派遣前來參加此次大會之代表，對於日本之以暴力攻擊中國，即曾被國聯諸會員國與夫全球各大國際團體斥為違反條約之行爲，深爲震動，因此發表下列宣言。

此次侵略，除使竭力復興古代文明之中國遭受破壞而外，并危及全體人類之幸福，吾人認爲日本上層軍閥所發動之侵略，欲求繼續維持，只能求助於吾人現時仍在供給中之軍用品及購買力，是以吾人所代表之政府，無論其甘願與否，誠負有直接之責任，吾人實拒絕作此種犯罪行爲中之從犯。

因此，吾人敦促各團體竭盡所能以援助中國，並停止援助日本，直至日本終止侵略及日軍撤退時爲止。

吾人尤須要求各國政府停止對日之合作，即不對日本供給軍用品，金融便利，以及購買力量。

吾人邀請全體愛好和平之個人及團體，參加此種公正之偉大運動，以挽救中國，并維持世界和平。

吾人願請日本人民表示不再擁護該國軍閥陷害彼等之行動，此種行動，實有害於日本之光榮以及真正利益也。

一一、工會委員會決議案

- (一) 本委員會一致宣言，對於國際反侵略運動大會所採之措施，表示贊成。
- (二) 參加此次國際反侵略運動大會之工會代表，宣佈彼等當盡力應用種種方法，援助在日本帝國主義侵略下之中國，彼等雖無權強使「世界總工會」肩負某種責

任，但彼等建議應以種種方法，抵制日貨之輸入及輸出，并設法拒絕製造，運輸，日本輸出及輸入之軍需品及其他一切貨物。

此種抵貨運動，「國際工會聯合會」早有建議，英法澳印等處碼頭工人，並已拒絕裝卸日本輸 或輸入之貨品矣。

「國際工會聯合會」之決定，無論其為何種行動，吾人俱當遵從，是以吾人深望國際反侵略大會，對於抵制日貨一事，組織大規模宣傳，以動員世界之輿論，庶各界人士，能步武「國際工會聯合會」之後，從事抵制日貨。

國際反侵略運動大會所作大規模之宣傳，可依下列諸方策行之，如此則工會方面可盡其重 之助力。

一、登記各項組織中贊助抵貨運動之人員，使彼等成爲宣傳抵制日貨運動之積

極份子。

二、分別向各該政府投遞函件及明信片，請其採取有效行動。

三、促成一種有千萬人士簽名之請願書。

四、促成工會及其他報章雜誌長期揭露反侵略運動及經濟抵制運動之工作。

五、在工會及其他可供利用之建築物內，設法陳列經濟抵制之標語，並邀請一切贊助此項運動之人士，在其私宅內採取同樣辦法。

二、消費者委員會決議案

本委員會主席，係國聯同志會世界總會會長羅林，

消費者委員會深覺消費者抵制日貨之運動，必需立即加以組織，不可遲延，其理由有如下述：

一、國際間普遍抵制日貨之運動，能發生直接效果，足以削減日本之購買力。

二、此種抵制日貨之運動，能影響各國政府，即促成各國政府以官方力量抵制日貨，或禁止日貨入口。

三、此項抵貨運動，實給予各國民衆以一良好之機會，使彼等得以充分表示對於集體行動之希望，與夫擁護法律之熱忱。

欲謀此項抵貨運動之順利進行，參加國際反侵略運動大會之各國代表，務須分別在其本國國內盡力組織進行，並力求其適合各國國情，其尤須注意者，有下列諸點：

一、A. 調查並製造各種統計表格，指示日貨輸入各國之情形，並示以辨別日貨之方法。

B. 請求當局製定法律，嚴令各國輸入之貨品，必須註明原來出產處所，以

杜冒充贗混之弊。

二、印刷多種宣傳小冊傳單等，分發各種消費者，勸告彼等勿購日貨。

三、將各大商號公司拒絕售賣日貨者，製成名單，印刷後散發各界，俾衆週知。

四、向各國婦女界或婦女團體特別提出呼籲，勸告彼等勿購日貨。

五、此外爲適應各國之國情起見，亦可分別採取其他各種方法，當進行之時，得互相交換情報，以供參考。

四、合作社委員會決議案

一、合作社委員會暨決敦促全體合作社社員，拒絕購買日貨，本委員會對於各地合作組織之已經設法防止購買及儲存日貨者表示贊成，並請其他一切合作組織，

仿效此種行動，但本委員會深信必須一切私人商業經濟組織及一切消費者，共同採用抵制之辦法，然後始可收得實際效果。

合作委員會籲請一切消費者，尤其籲請加入國際反侵略運動之份子，祇在採上述辦法之合作社中購買貨物。

二、本委員會敦促一切合作社，使用最有教育意義之辦法，說明普遍施行抵制之價值，使一般人明瞭此種辦法係抗議日本之侵略行動，及擁護每一民族在本國領土內應有享受和平生活之不可侵犯權。

三、本委員會敦促一切合作社在其國內及國際上層組織中，造成一致行動，停止供給及購買日貨，為合作社消費之用。

四、各合作社社員及各該組織，應運用全力，促成其本國政府採取下列行動：

A. 禁止國民輸入及輸出一切日本貨物原料及資本。

B. 供給中國以國聯盟約內所規定之一切可能援助，俾該國得以保衛其自身之權利。

C. 對於各種國際組織，（諸如國際合作社同盟，國際聯盟，國際反侵略運動大會，及其他同性質之團體）以共同力量，促成此次戰爭終止之運動，應以全力擁護之。

五、議會委員會決議案

議會委員會贊成以個別抵制辦法，對各國政府表示輿論之力量，使其瞭然于全球人民，對於中國無辜遭受慘酷之侵略，同感忿激。

但議會委員會認為阻止日本侵略之唯一辦法，厥為以政府力量，絕對禁止運輸

貨物及貸款予日本，本委員會并認爲凡有決心擁護國際法規之政府，實有立即採用此項辦法之義務。

各國之議員決定在各該議會內，以不斷之努力，鼓動此項政策之實現，并將竭力號召廣大之選民，作彼等後盾。尤有進者，各國議員決定對於日本所扶持之任何傀儡政府，反對作法理或事實上之承認，對於任何壓迫中國政府接受之解決辦法，有違中國領土完整及主權者，亦拒絕予以承認。

六、技術委員會決議案

一、本委員會自統計數字中考察日本之進出口貨物，及其財政上之需要後，認爲大英帝國，美國，荷屬東印度，法國，蘇聯，能以經濟抵制方法，阻止日本侵略之成功，實爲不可爭辯之事實。吾人深信，若上述諸國一致行動，拒運軍需品赴日

，不與日本以財政上之便利，不購日貨，則必能壓迫日本，使之屈服，而於諸國本身，并無嚴重之危險。此種情形，足以表明一般人民實能採取有效方法，以保衛和平。吾人以爲，如諸國對於侵略國加以援助，則在道德上爲殘忍行爲，在政治上爲自殺行爲。自榮譽及謹慎觀點而言，對於美國前國務卿史汀生先生，所謂「吾人參加屠殺」之舉，實應中止。

二、私人之抵制。吾人建議一種私人之抵制日貨運動，即吾人拒購自日本運來之原料及製造品，此種抵制運動，削減日本國外資財，自能減小其購買軍需品之能力，（英國國聯同志會及援華委員會，曾編印日本輸入大英帝國主要貨品一覽表，頗堪注意，吾人甚望國際反侵略運動大會，能爲每一國家分別編製此種一覽表）。

三、私人之停止通商。吾人建議以私人之行動，禁止軍用品輸往日本，包含卡

軍汽車及一切軍需品，如鐵鋼錄以及各種金屬物，棉花，尤以石油及其製造物，最為重要。

吾人承認私人抵制運動之效力，甚屬有限，在某種情況下，尙盼製造家及實業界，予以合作，然不賴政府之助力，而限制日本軍用品之輸入，其最佳之希望，端在運輸業工會贊同之方法，拒絕起卸，輸往日本，或由日輸出之貨物，

四、石油之停運，將已精鍊或未提鍊之石油，停止運往日本，實為最重要之舉。據吾人所知，美國及荷屬東印度，輸往日本之石油，約佔日本石油進口總額百分之八十，其進口數額，以一九三七年中之首十個月，與一九三六年中之同一時期相較，一九三七年增多百分之三十六；吾人深知日本海軍方面石油之積貯，足敷相當之長期應用，然吾深信，若美國及國聯各會員國停止供給其石油，則於六個月之內

，其陸空軍將失却活動之能力，吾人觀察如邀請荷蘭參加此種停止通商運動，則荷屬諸油礦，如被攻擊時。太平洋諸列強，應協助其作海軍方面之防禦，

五、財政上之不合作。吾人認為在財政上不與日本合作，不與日本在商業上作信用往來，不貸與日本外債，實為至要之事。

吾人建議，凡參加國際反侵略大會諸團體，俱應共同遵守此原則——即「不承認」持侵略而造成之局勢，務須對於侵略者拒絕貸款及信用往來，始克如願，此種行動之意義，務須使各國國會議員瞭解之。

六、各國實施抵制或停止通商之結果，或致發生失業及經濟損失種種問題，本委員會以為如此等國家增高對華之貿易，鼓勵對華商業上之信用往來，則必可減少彼等所受之損失，本委員會尙憶國聯大會曾有決議，籲請各國政府盡力以種種方法

，援助中國，是以吾人奉勸諸國，此種援助，宜以貸款，信用往來，及供給軍需糧食諸方式出之。

七、此種私人抵制之行動，若逐項單獨觀之，似覺效力過弱，不足予侵略者以充分之打擊，然倘將所有各種私人抵制及停止通商綜合觀之，則其效力亦殊強大矣。

八、須努力促使各國政府採取行動，蓋惟有如此，始克發揮充分之效力也。

九、國聯會各會員國，應宣言遵照國聯盟約，凱洛格公約，共同制止侵略者，無須任何非國聯會員國之聲明參加一致行動為條件，蓋唯國聯會諸強國表示彼等願盡力保障世界和平，而非僅為自身利益打算，然後美國人民，始有參加制止侵略之希望也。

十、每一國家，均宜設一技術顧問委員會，以備各國反侵略運動分會之諮詢，各國技術顧問委員會，宜保持密切聯絡。

七、宗教倫理委員會決議案

緒言。

宗教倫理委員會，對於抵制日貨問題，加以考慮，深信此舉足以表示吾人對日本侵略蹂躪中國之重大罪惡，不願參與而為共謀犯之意。以純粹基督教之立場而言，抵制日貨，並非自私，或故意引起仇恨之舉動，反之，其目的，其精神，可表示基督教徒對於中日情勢所取之態度，此乃對宗教界人士之呼籲，蓋此舉實為任何人能力所可達到者，縱使經濟上時或不免遭受損失，然努力向前，具體目的，終有達到之一日。

同時，本委員會甚望此種抵制日貨之運動，不僅在私人團體間實行，更應擴大而為國家的國際的運動，各國政府，俱應盡力不扶助戰事之進行，另一方面，更進而採取種種財政上經濟上之方法，以削減日本在華行兇作惡之能力。

本委員會甚望大會，將上列所述諸端，設法告知各國，庶各國人民俱能瞭解抵貨之意義，同時，本委員會深信應引用各種方法，表明抵制日貨之精神與目的，并非對於日本人民有何深仇宿怨，而僅係對於侵略戰爭之反對，與夫對於世界和平之努力而已。

決議一。

- 一、務當盡力擴大，並支持消費者抵制日貨之運動，
- 二、自輿論上宣傳，使各國政府瞭解抵制日貨運動，蓋為大規模與日本不合作

運動中之一部份，務須致力進行。

三、盡力勸告一般居心良善，而無種族或宗教上特殊成見之人民，使彼等在抵制日貨之運動中，克盡其各個人之責任。

四、務須表明此種抵制日貨運動，并非反對或仇恨日本之一般人民，反之，就事實而言，實為援助彼等之最佳方法。

五、舉行此種抵貨運動時，定有一部分人士蒙受不良之影響而致失業，關於此輩失業者，凡屬參加抵貨運動之人士，俱應設法負責救濟之。

決議二。

各教堂代表，宜加以組織，以與各地教堂之主持者從事接洽，請求彼等專門舉行「中國禮拜日」。如此，即可為各教堂抵貨運動之發軔。

決議三。

參加大委員會者，有甚多之宗教團體，此等宗教團體中，在中日俱各有其教友。是以吾人首願聲明，吾人對於增進各國教友間情誼之責任，固未嘗疏忽，然而擁護正義及遵守國際間義務之責任，亦不容忽視者也。

夫應用經濟方法，如抵制日貨之舉，於實行之時，固不免遭受痛苦與損失，然吾人深信，吾人只須忍受少許之痛苦與損失，即可減低現時中日雙方所遭受之無限痛苦，并可使此種不幸之戰爭狀態，早日結束。蓋此種不幸之情勢，實為全世界各界人士所痛心者，而本委員會之設，其目的乃在增進世界各民族之友情及推廣上帝之天國也。

八、援華委員會決議案

建議。

援華委員會向大會提出下列關於合作方法之建議：

- 一、交換各種宣傳小冊，幻燈片，傳單，用以募集款項。
- 二、關於各種有效之募款方法，應交換情報。
- 三、籌組各種「國際日」，各抱有某種確定之目標，例如，為遙遠之省份受空襲而籌設病院等等。
- 四、向各國紅十字會建議，請求彼等立即在醫藥上援助中國。

五、如國際反侵略大會，及參加該會之各團體，加入「國際調整委員會」，則上述各種方法之實行，當大見輕易。「國際調整委員會」目下正在着手進行組織之中，其目的乃在各種情報與運動之調整，庶對於援華物品之募集與散發，能力求其圓滿。

進行，據聞此項「國際調整委員會」，當僅就人道主義範圍內之工作致力，至於其他各項工作，則聽由參加該委員會之其他團體担任之。

九、宣傳委員會決議案

關於如何獲得最完善之辦法，以悅服成千成萬之人士參加經濟抵制運動，此項問題，可分為下列三大要點，加以討論，則最為便利。

一、宣傳材料。

二、宣傳方法。

三、宣傳媒介——標語、傳單、小冊、報紙、集會、影片、廣播。

茲先論第一點，即何種動機及理由最為重要。其中首須着重者，即社會上各個份子，對於種種驚人之罪惡及恐怖行為，應負責任，任何人購買日貨，即不會將殺

人利器供給劊子手，以屠殺無數之男女老幼，大多數人士本已深感此種恐怖，但同時亦覺自身無能為力，於是對於彼等所無法消弭之慘痛狀態，竟掩耳不加聞問。經濟抵制即係使男女老幼中之每一份子均能從事一種行動，任何人不採此項行動，則此人必須分擔犯罪之責任。在此種道德呼籲之外，尚可從私人利害方面作有力之提示，即任何人倘對他人所受之侵略拒絕予以阻遏，則最後此人本身亦必遭受此種侵略之災害。

從事經濟抵制運動之每一份子，對於如何答覆某幾種反對方面之理由，必須非常熟練，反對之理由主要者如下：

- 一、經濟抵制足以陷日本人民于飢餓。
- 二、造成本國內失業問題

三、使運日貨之碼頭工人運輸工人，以及國內極度窮困迫而購買廉價日貨之窮人，均增加格外之負擔，對於上述各項理由，有一簡單之答復，即戰事倘繼續延長，則全球人類，無論其為日本人中國人歐美人，其全體所蒙受之災難，必較經濟抵制所生之暫時負擔超出千萬倍。如有人認為單純之個人行動，在經濟上不能發生效力，其答復亦極簡單，經濟抵制，如能使侵略者原有之困難更增加稍許，則其結果縱令不能圓滿，亦足以阻止侵略。且各個份子之私人行動，如能相當普及，殊可以壓迫政府，採取行動，吾人須知促成政府行動，尤其是斷絕商業往來，乃私人施行經濟抵制主要目的之一，此層極為重要。再者經濟抵制，并非仇視日本人民，反之，此種運動之目的，係使日本人民與其他國家之人民同護拯救，關於此點，亦須予以着重。

對於每一國家，應使其明瞭多數國家均正在合作之中，以免各國以為僅由該國單獨負此重担，各種集會中，如有外國人士參加，必能有助於此種事實之說明。

關於第二點，即如何表明各種理由一事，宣傳部份，與技術部份應有密切之合作，技術部份可依照各種羣衆之需要，分別編製統計方面之數字，拒絕運貨之新聞，有關戰爭之事實，以及其他種種材料。本委員會認為中國政府對於供給材料，地位最爲便利，尤以發表新聞爲然，因此本委員會敦促中國政府設立一與「西班牙通訊社」相彷彿之中央通訊機關，並敦促中國政府派遣特別代表團，前往施行經濟抵制之各國，至於如何促進一種機構，使其仿效英國「普通新聞社」(General News Service)地址在倫敦九十號)之辦法，分發名作家在報章雜誌上所發表之論著，此事亦有相當之重要，拒運日貨之新聞，以及工人甚至甘願因經濟抵制而受犧牲之新聞，各團體

贊助此種拒運之決議，凡此皆係最寶貴之宣傳材料，一切有關中國救濟工作之新聞，亦應作同樣之利用。技術部份，應供給材料，提出阻止對日援助金融之最善辦法，并須時時說明日本之信用將愈趨低落，在戰爭中投資者，將來必至損失其資財，法國方面建議全球，各施行經濟抵制之國家，應編製一種統一之標語，由全球愛好和平之城鎮，在同一時間內張貼於各牆壁上，以作同樣之呼籲，此項標語，并可貼廣告板上，由男女廣告員負於身上，在各種拒賣日貨之店舖門外遊行，其意義應與罷工時之糾察員相似。上述二項宣傳方法，如能與普及全球之「援華週」相呼應，其效力必更大。國際反侵略運動英國分會，正籌備於二月十九日至廿七日舉行該項「援華週」即請各方予以注意。

關於挨戶宣傳時，應使用何種傳單小冊及其他印刷物，此事須請宣傳家襄助，

現時國際反侵略運動大會中，設有此種專門組織，可供各方接洽。

全體從事宣傳工作者，應特別盡力設法熟諳已有之各種材料，若干方面，均備用各種小冊及標語，其引用最多者爲『派太平洋新聞社』（地點在紐約 Rockefeller Center）所出之材料，本委員會認爲各種報紙亦可印一參加經濟抵制運動之廣告券。

在討論宣傳方法時，宣傳之基本政策，雖不在討論範圍之內，但本委員會深盼常務委員會能發表一種有關政策聲明，即希望政府斷絕對日之商業關係。

吾人深覺有一共同顧慮之點，其意義非常重要，即宣傳工作如不能大規模進行，則其結果或至收害多而收利少，此次之規模，必須與一九三五年英國舉行和平投票時相等而後可。

附錄

國聯同志會世界總會決議案

國聯同志會世界總會之理事會，於一九二八年二月十四日在倫敦開會，作如下之決議。

一、關於援華者

本理事會將日本企圖征服中國一事，由法律，道德，政治，經濟等方面研究，認爲此舉對於世界其他各國，殊爲一種嚴重之威脅。

在國聯及美國一致斥責日本之侵略行爲以後，而比京之九國公約會議，竟未能採取一種共同行動，以制止此項侵略，本理事會深引爲憾。

本理事會認爲此種損失，實代表某數國家缺乏國際間有連帶關係之觀念，以致使世界文明陷于危機。

本理事會籲請國聯各會員國，分別發表聲明，表示其願以外交財政經濟等項方法，例如斷絕商業關係以制止日本之侵略，並互相担保以共同行動，促成上述各項方法發生效力。

本理事會要求國聯各會員國之政府，應立即依照國聯之決議，予中國以各種可能之援助，以加強其抵抗力量，並供給糧食及藥品，以救濟中國之難民。

一一、關於對日經濟抵制者

本理事會對於某教國之國聯同志會，及世界上其他某數團體之發起拒絕購買日貨，深表贊同。

本理事會深信拒買日貨運動，終能擴大，使各國政府重視全球輿論之力量。

本理事會敦請各國國聯同志會，積極參加此種運動，並請總會秘書處盡力予以一切可能之合作。

Demande qu'en attendant et sans retard les Gouvernements des Etats Members de la Société des Nations donnent suite a l'invitation qu'ils ont votée a la Société des Nations de fournir a la Chine tout l'appui possible dans sa résistance a l'agression et en contribuant au soulagement des populations civiles par des fournitures de vivres et de médicaments.

II. LE BOYCOT

Le Conseil

Salue avec satisfaction l'initiative prise par certaines Associations de l'Union et certains autres groupements dans le monde entier en vue de refuser l'achat de marchandises d'origine japonaise,

Exprime sa confiance que ce refus de l'achat de marchandises japonaises prendra une extension assez large pour convaincre tous les Gouvernements de la force de l'opinion publique en ce domaine,

Invite les Associations a collaborer activement a ce mouvement, et charge le Secrétariat de l'Union de leur prêter tout le concours souhaitable,

APPENDIX
UNION INTERNATIONALES ASSOCIATIONS
POUR LA SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS
CONSEIL GÉNÉRAL

Résolutions adoptées à Londres, le 14 février 1938

I. LA CHINE

Le Conseil général de l'Union des Associations pour la S.D.N.,

Considérant la grave menace qu'à tous les points de vue, juridique, moral, politique et économique, l'entreprise de conquête du Japon sur la Chine fait peser sur les autres États du Monde,

Regrette profondément que, même après la condamnation unanime de l'agression japonaise par la Société des Nations et par les États-Unis, les nations représentées à la Conférence de Bruxelles n'aient pas réussi à adopter une action concertée en vue de mettre fin à l'agression;

Considère que cet échec implique, de la part de certaines nations, un défaut du sentiment de solidarité internationale qui expose la civilisation à la ruine;

Fait appel aux divers États Membres de la Société des Nations pour que chacun déclare publiquement sa volonté de mettre en œuvre les mesures diplomatiques, financières et économiques, telles que l'embargo, propres à arrêter l'agression japonaise à condition, que soit assurée une action collective suffisante pour rendre ces mesures efficaces.

The poster could also be used by sandwichmen, the sandwichmen being men and women of all professions parading outside of shops and stores that refuse to boycott Japanese goods, i.e., acting in some degrees as pickets. Particularly would both forms of propaganda be effective if carried on in connection with a world-wide aid China Week, attention being called to the one being organised for the 19th.-27th. of this month in Britain by the British I.P.C. Committee.

The type of leaflet, pamphlet, literature, for use in house-to-house canvass should be very carefully devised with the help of publicity experts, whose services are now rendered available through the professional section of the I.P.C. (R.U.P.).

All propaganda workers should take special pains to familiarise themselves with material already in existence. Both pamphlets and posters are available in many quarters, those particularly cited being those of the Transpacific News Service, Rockefeller Centre, New York City. It is suggested that newspapers can be induced to print coupons constituting a boycott pledge.

While policy was not within the scope of propaganda method, properly speaking, hope was expressed that the General Commission would make a pronouncement of policy looking to Government embargo.

One general consideration is felt to be vital. Unless propaganda is on large scale proportions it may do more harm than good, a scale that is comparable in scope to that achieved by the Peace Ballot in 1935.

tions. The latter can furnish statistics, news of such action as strikes, facts of the war, etc., to put into proper form for public consumption. It has been suggested in this connection that the Chinese Government is in the best position to furnish the necessary material, particularly in respect of press news. The Commission urges that the Chinese Government be requested to establish a central news agency comparable to the 'Agence Espagne'. The Commission also urges that the Chinese Government be asked to send special delegations to boycotting countries. Importance is attached to the development of machinery for the distribution of periodical articles by eminent writers along the lines of the General News Service 90, Hanson Street, London.

News of strikes against the handling of Japanese goods and the degree to which workers are prepared to make sacrifices for the boycott is itself first-class propaganda material, as are also resolutions approving such strikes; all the work of Chinese relief should be utilised in the same way.

The technical sections should furnish information as to the best means of preventing financial aid to Japan, and the point constantly made that Japan is bound to become increasingly bad security, and that those who invest in war will lose their money.

One suggestion, coming from France, is that an identical poster for all the boycotting countries of the world should be devised: the same appeal being made at the same time on the walls of all the cities and villages of all the peace-loving world.

- (3) Imposes special burdens as, e.g., upon dockers and transport workers who refuse to handle Japanese goods, and upon the poorest classes at home, who are compelled to buy goods which are dearer than Japanese.

The short answer to all these objections in that if the war goes on, the sum of misery imposed upon the peoples of the world—Japanese, Chinese, European, American—will be immensely greater than that occasioned by the temporary burdens of the boycott. Similarly with such arguments as that no purely individual action can be economically effective. It should be made clear that if the boycott adds appreciably to the difficulties of aggression even withing being 100% effect, it may suffice to stop aggression and that individual, non-governmental action will, if sufficiently widespread, compel governmental action. It is of the utmost importance to realise that one of the main purposes of the individual boycott is to secure governmental action, particularly embargo. Emphasis should be laid on the fact that the boycott implies no hatred of the Japanese people, but that its purpose is to save them as much as others.

It is important also to make clear in each country that other countries are co-operating, in order to answer the argument that "Britain alone is carrying the burden". The presence of foreignspeakers at meetings would help to cover this point.

In respect of the second question of how to prevent the arguments, there should be close co-operation of the propaganda and the technical sec-

in the boycott can be most usefully approached by being clear upon three main questions:-

- (1) What to say.
- (2) How to say it.
- (3) Through what medium—poster, leaflet, pamphlet, Press, meeting, film, wireless (Radio).

As to the first question, what motives, arguments, reasons are the most important? The first fact to emphasise is the responsibility of the individual for the crimes and horrors that appal him. Every time he buys a Japanese article he is furnishing the war-maker with the means of slaughtering countless men, women and children. The mass of folk have felt the horror deeply, but have also felt that they were helpless, and inclined in consequence to shut their ears to cries of misery they could do nothing to alleviate. The boycott furnishes each man, woman and child with the means of doing something. If he does not do it, he must share the guilt. This moral appeal can be reinforced by a powerful appeal to self-interest: if he refuses to stop aggression upon others he will ultimately become the victim of such aggression.

The answer to certain counter-voicing arguments must be made familiar to every worker in the Boycott Campaign. The chief of such arguments are:-

- (1) The Boycott helps to starve the Japanese people.
- (2) Causes unemployment at home.

8. Every effort should be made to secure the action by the governments which alone can be fully effective.

9. We recommend that all members of the League should declare their intention to act together in accordance with the principles of the Covenant and the Kellogg Pact, to restrain the aggressor, without making the action conditional upon a prior declaration by any non-member State. When the great Powers in the League have made it plain that they are willing to use their power as a contribution to the defense of the world's rules of peace-keeping and not solely for defense of their own national interests, then, only then, we may expect quick development of a situation in which the generous American people will give its full support to the world's effort to "quarantine" the aggression.

ADDENDUM. The Technical Commission recommends that an Advisory Technical Committee should be established in each country, to advise the National Committee of I.P.C. on technical points: and that these Committees should maintain contact with each other.

(9)

RESOLUTION OF THE PROPAGANDA COMMISSION

Chairman—Sir Norman Angell

This Commission resolves as follows:-

The problem of discovering the best means of persuading tens of millions of people to participate

were withheld. We observe that, in inviting the Netherlands to participate in such an embargo, the Pacific Powers concerned should be prepared to contribute to the Naval defense of the oil-fields if attacked.

5. Finance. We emphasise the great importance, especially for psychological reasons, of a ban on all credits to Japan, e.g. in London.

It is also of the first importance that no loan should be granted to Japan.

We recommend that the organisations affiliated to the I.P.C. should be invited to support this principle—that wherever the doctrine of “non-recognition” of conquest is applied, that doctrine should carry with it a refusal of loan and credits to the aggressor Power. Such action should be recommended to the members of each Parliament.

6. In the opinion of the Technical Commission, the unemployment and economic losses that may result from the boycott and embargo can be reduced if the countries affected will increase their trade with China, and will for this purpose encourage export credits to her. The Commission, — recalling the Resolution of the League Assembly which invites the Governments to give every assistance to China—urges that this assistance should be given forthwith in the form of loans, credits and supplies.

7. We recognise that unofficial action, if considered item by item, may appear too weak to afford any substantial pressure on the aggressor. But we emphasise that the effect of all the forms of unofficial boycott and embargo combined promises to be very powerful.

Britain which has been published by the British League of Nations Union and the China Campaign Committee. We advise that similar lists should be prepared by the I.P.C. in each country).

3. Unofficial Embargo. We advocate unofficial action to stop exports to Japan of munitions, including lorries and motor vehicles, and all war supplies, including iron, steel, nickel and other metals, cotton, and especially petroleum and its derivatives.

We recognise, however, that unofficial action for this purpose can only be effective with narrow limits. In certain cases, the co-operation of manufacturers and business houses may be expected. But the best hope of restricting Japan's imports of war materials without governmental aid is offered by the action of the transport workers in refusing to handle and transport shipments destined for (or coming from) Japan, in accordance with methods approved by the Trade Unions.

4. Oil. We emphasise the cardinal importance of stopping exports of crude and refined oil. We note that exports of oil to Japan from the United States and the Dutch East Indies, which represent 80% of Japan's imports of oil, were during the first ten months of 1937 36% greater than the corresponding exports in 1936. We realise that the naval stocks in Japan may be adequate for a fairly long period; but we believe that the needs of the Army and Air Force under war conditions are such that her war operations would be paralysed within, say, six months if supplies from the United States and from the countries members of the League

tions which participate the responsibility for other forms of activity which they may be able to undertake.

(8)

RESOLUTION OF THE TECHNICAL COMMISSION

1. The Technical Commission, after examining the statistics of Japan's exports, imports and financial needs, affirms as an incontestable fact that the British Empire and the United States, together with the Dutch Indies, France and Russia, have the economic means of preventing the success of Japan's aggression. We are convinced that if our countries will act together in refusing war supplies, financial facilities and purchasing power to Japan, they can compel Japan to come to terms; and that they can, acting together, achieve this without grave danger to themselves. Here is a case in which the peoples can do something effective for the defence of peace. We believe that it is morally atrocious and politically suicidal for our countries to maintain this aid to the aggressor. Both honour and prudence demand that we should stop what Mr. Stimson has justly called "our participation in this slaughter."

2. Unofficial Boycott. We therefore advocate an unofficial boycott of Japanese goods, i.e. refusal to buy raw materials and manufactures imported from Japan. Such a boycott, by diminishing Japan's foreign assets, will automatically reduce her power to buy war materials. (We draw attention to the list of principal Japanese imports into Great

(7)

RESOLUTION OF THE AID TO CHINA COMMISSION.

SUGGESTIONS:

The Commission calls the attention of the Conference to the following suggestions regarding co-operation:

- (1) Exchange of pamphlets, lantern slides, and posters to be used to raise funds.
- (2) Exchange of information regarding methods which have proved effective in raising funds.
- (3) The organisation of International Days with a definite object, as for example, the provision of ambulances for distant provinces undergoing air raids.
- (4) Simultaneous representations by all organisations for aid to China to the national Red Cross sections in their respective countries, asking them to undertake medical aid for China immediately.
- (5) Finally, all these methods would be greatly facilitated if the International Peace Campaign and the organisations affiliated to it adhered to or participated in the International Co-ordination Committee, which is in the process of being organised, with the object of co-ordinating information and activities, so as to collect and distribute as effectively as possible gifts and material aid for China. It is understood that this International Co-ordination Committee will function solely in the humanitarian sphere, leaving to the different organisa-

c. To urge all men and women of good will without distinction of race or creed to face their individual responsibility in these matters.

d. To urge that it should be made clear that this boycott is not directed against the people of Japan, but is, in fact, the best method of helping them.

e. To urge the duty of all people taking part in the boycott to assist those thrown out of work by such a boycott.

2) The Commission resolves that deputations of church people should be formed to approach the leaders of churches and similar bodies with a view to their calling for a special "China Sunday" in the churches, thereby inaugurating a church campaign in this matter.

3) This Commission, representing among others many religious bodies which have membership in Japan as well as in China, wishes to affirm its primary duty of strengthening all bonds of fellowship between nations, but also the duty of upholding justice and the due observance of international obligations.

In accepting the necessity of using economic means such as a boycott of Japanese goods, they would state their belief that in doing so they would, though inflicting some suffering, greatly lessen the immense suffering now being inflicted on both sides, and help to bring to an end a state of war which is a denial of all for which this Commission stands, the brotherhood of man, and the furtherance of the Kingdom of God.

further appeal to religiously minded people that it is an action within the scope of all, whether as individuals or as religious societies, giving opportunity for financial sacrifice and work for a concrete end.

At the same time the Commission is convinced that the moral implication of this act is that the boycott of Japanese goods should lead on to national and international action, not only on the part of great bodies of responsible people, but also by governments withholding the means of making war and taking such other financial and economic measures as may weaken Japan's ability to carry out her present evil aims.

This Commission would urge on the Assembly to pass on to the Religious and Ethical sections of the I.P.C. in the various countries where those sections are organised, the duty of bringing the above considerations to the attention of the peoples in their respective countries in order that they may be encouraged to face the implications of their responsibilities. As the same time the Commission is convinced that all possible measures should be taken to make the spirit and intention of this movement on which will not be of hate against the Japanese people but as expressing our settled will to frustrate wars of aggression as a vital step towards world peace.

RESOLVED:-

1) a. To use such influence as it has to support a consumer's boycott on the widest possible scale.

b. To press the view that this should be part of a wider campaign for complete non-co-operation with Japan by all governments.

method of arresting the Japanese aggression, and that it is the duty of governments which are resolved to uphold international law immediately to implement such a measure.

The M.P.'s of different countries resolve ceaselessly to agitate for such a policy in their respective Parliaments, and to do their utmost to mobilise the great mass of the electorate behind them. Further, the M.U.'s pledge themselves to oppose any recognition, *de facto* or *de jure*, of any of the puppet governments set up by Japan, or any settlement forced upon the Chinese Government which violates the territorial integrity or the sovereign rights of China.

(6)

RESOLUTION OF THE RELIGIOUS AND ETHICAL COMMISSION.

Preamble.

The Religious and Ethical Commission has considered the question of a boycott of Japanese goods and believes it is a measure which, as far as it goes, gives practical expression to the plain human moral revulsion against complicity with so overwhelmingly an evil act as the invasion and over-running of China by Japan.

From the purely Christian standpoint, such a measure may appear open to objection, and it is inevitably open, as all political acts are, to selfish and deliberately hate-engendering abuse. On the other hand, in aim and intention, as in the spirit of it, it can and should express a consistently Christian attitude towards the needs of the situation both in China and Japan; and it contains the

- plies and purchases of Japanese goods for co-operative consumption.
4. Individuals and their organisations should support all efforts to induce their national government:—
- (a) To prohibit their nationals from all importation and exportation with Japan, of all merchandise, raw materials and capital;
 - (b) To furnish to China, in order to permit her to defend her rights, every possible aid contemplated by the Covenant of the League of Nations;
 - (c) To support the fullest international action to secure the cessation of hostilities through the International Co-operative Alliance, the League of Nations, the International Peace Campaign and all other organisations having the same objects.

(5)

RESOLUTION OF THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION

The Parliamentary Commission supports the policy of the individual boycott as a means of showing governments the strength of public opinion and the indignation which is felt by the peoples of the world at a brutal and unprovoked act of aggression of which China is the victim.

The Parliamentary Commission considers, however, that a complete governmental embargo and the refusal of all credits is the only effective

(4)

**RESOLUTION OF THE CO-OPERATIVE
COMMISSION,**

Chairman—Mr. May.

1. The Co-operative Commission strongly urges all individual co-operators to refuse to purchase Japanese goods; it expresses its approval of the action of those co-operative organisations which have taken steps to prevent the sale and stocking of these goods, and calls upon all co-operative organisations to follow that example; the Commission, however, declares its conviction that the boycott will not be really effective until it is applied by all private economic and commercial organisations and by all consumers.

The Co-operative Commission appeals to all consumers, and particularly to the members of the various groups affiliated to the I.P.C., to reserve their purchasing power exclusively to those organisations which put these measures into operation.

2. Urges the Co-operative Societies to make the utmost educational effort to demonstrate the value of the general application of the boycott as an instrument of protest against Japanese aggression and in support of the inviolable right of every nation and people to live at peace within its own territory.
3. Urges all co-operative societies to secure the collective action of their national and international organisations in order to stop all sup-

for collective action in support of international law.

RECOMMENDS the National Sections of the I.P.C. and the delegates of the international associations represented at the Conference to appeal to the National Sections of the I.P.C. in each country to organise such boycott in the manner most suitable for each country concerned and in particular by

(I) a. The preparation of lists showing what Japanese goods are chiefly imported into each country and enabling them to be identified; and

b. Demanding legislation requiring all goods to be marked with the country of origin;

(II) The publication and distribution to consumers of propaganda pamphlets, literature and pledge forms not to purchase Japanese goods;

(III) The publication and distribution of lists of firms which refuse to market Japanese goods;

(IV) The organisation of a special appeal to women and the women's organisations in each country;

(V) The adoption of such other measures as may be found practicable in the various countries and the interchange of information for this purpose.

(3) By securing a mass petition signed by many millions.

(4) By securing regular publicity in Trade Union and other newspapers and journals for the work of the Campaign and the boycott.

(5) By arranging for the exhibition of boycott posters in all Trade Union and other available buildings, and by inviting all supporters to do the same in their houses.

(3)

RESOLUTION OF THE CONSUMERS' COMMISSION

Chairman: Henri Rolin, President of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies

The Consumers' Commission

CONSIDERING that the boycott of Japanese goods by consumers must be immediately organised in view of

1. The direct effect produced by international boycott of this nature upon the purchasing power of Japan
2. Its effectiveness as a method of influencing governments in the direction of an official boycott of and embargo on Japanese goods.
3. The opportunity it gives to the masses of each country of demonstrating their desire

Not being qualified to impose responsibility on their Central Trade Union organisation, they suggest that every avenue be explored as to the possibility of the boycott of all goods coming from or going to Japan, and of the refusal to manufacture, transport or handle all goods, including war materials going to or coming from Japan:

EMPHASISE that this boycott has been recommended by the International Federation of Trade Unions, and that British, French, Australian and Indian dockers have already refused to load or unload cargoes from boats coming from or going to Japan:

CONSIDERING themselves bound by the decisions of the International Federation of Trade Unions in any action that they undertake, they propose that the International Peace Campaign organise, with the support of its whole movement, propaganda and general activity for the boycott of Japanese goods in order to mobilise world public opinion to second effectively the action undertaken by the international Trade Union Movement:

This action of the International Peace Campaign could be conducted along the following lines, in which the Trade Union movement can play a particularly important part:

(1) By enrolling the support of the members of all the organisations as active propagandists for the idea of a boycott of Japanese goods.

(2) By securing joint action to send letters and post-cards to their Governments demanding governmental action.

In particular, we demand that our governments stop co-operation with Japan by withholding war supplies, financial facilities and purchasing power.

We call upon all peace-loving people and organisations to join in this great non-partisan effort to save China and defend the world's peace.

WE appeal to the Japanese people to show that they do not support the action to which they have been committed by their military leaders, — an action which must prove injurious to the honour and real interests of Japan.

(2)

RESOLUTIONS OF THE TRADE UNION COMMISSION

RESOLUTION I

The Trade Union Commission unanimously declares its agreement with the action to be taken by the I.P.C. in conformity with the general resolution adopted by this International Assembly.

RESOLUTION II

The delegates of the Trade Union organisations participating in the International People's Assembly called by the International Peace Campaign.

DECLARE their readiness to give support by every means in their power to China, the victim of imperialist aggression on the part of Japan.

(1)

DECLARATION

STOP JAPAN'S AGGRESSION

WE, The members of this Congress, drawn from 21 countries and 25 international organisations;

PROFOUNDLY MOVED by Japan's atrocious attack upon China, which has been condemned as a violation of treaties by the members of the League of Nations, by the United States, and by great International organisations throughout the world.

DECLARE THAT this aggression, besides destroying the peace of China who was devotedly rebuilding her ancient civilisation, imperils also the security and welfare of all peoples.

RECOGNISE THAT the attack begun by Japan's military leaders can only be continued with the aid of war materials and purchasing power which our countries are still supplying: so that our countries, willingly or not, now have a direct share in the responsibility: WE REFUSE TO BE ACCOMPLICES OF THIS CRIME.

WE THEREFORE call upon our organisations to do everything in their power to aid China, and to withhold aid from Japan, until the Japanese invasion is ended and the Japanese forces withdrawn.

**OBJECTIVES OF THE INTERNATIONAL
PEACE CAMPAIGN**

- (1) *Restoration of the sanctity of Treaty obligations.*
- (2) *Reduction and limitation of armaments by international agreement, and suppression of profit from the manufacture of arms.*
- (3) *Strengthening of the League of Nations for the prevention and stopping of war by the more effective organization of Collective Security and Mutual Assistance.*
- (4) *Establishment, within the framework of the League of Nations, of effective machinery for the remedying by peaceful means of international conditions that might lead to war.*



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RESOLUTIONS


Adopted By

THE CONFERENCE FOR AID TO CHINA AND
BOYCOTT AGAINST JAPAN

Called by

THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE CAMPAIGN

February 12-14, 1938, LONDON,



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