

反扶日運動文件選輯

香港各僑團反對扶植日本工業復興運動大會

中華民國三十七年

高島



本會主席

香港中華廠商聯合會副理事長

徐季良

常務委員

香港中華廠商聯合會	徐季良
織布廠商同業公會	陳君冷
中國南洋經濟協會	蔡貞人
港菲出入口商會	黃長水
黃新彥	蔡星南
	莊成宗

委員

香港中華廠商聯合會	織布廠商同業公會
中國南洋經濟協會	九龍華商會
香港華商總會	港菲出入口商會
經濟記者聯誼會	蘇浙旅港同鄉會
惠陽商會	南北行公所
潮州同鄉會	織造總會
福建同鄉會	華洋百貨商會
大公協助會	
徐季良	趙耀華
千家駒	謝伯昌
李靄士	莊成宗
	義務秘書
	雷蔭蓀
	陳作新
	黃新彥
	韓穗軒
	蔡星南
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	周康仁

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序

徐季良

八年抗戰，勝利三載，凡屬國民，無不滿腔熱血，期望國家臻於郅治，然而財政困難，經濟崩潰，情形慘重，遠非吾人所能想像。茲幸幣制改革，初步成功，然非發展民族工業，樹立國民經濟，一時之苟安，吾人可決其非長治之良策！

吾人從事工業，歷有年所；吾人謹站在吾人之崗位，決不放棄吾人之責任。然而工業建設，千頭萬緒，尤其復員工作百孔千創，倘政府不爲吾人後台，支持奧援，則孤立寡助，來日大難，達成理想，殊非易易。乃自日本受降，麥帥總部成立，其所施行之扶植日本工業復興政策，竟不恤違背波茨坦宣言，妨害遠東盟國利益，而於我民族工業，尤爲備極摧殘，血氣之倫，莫不大加反對。

香港中華廠商聯合會等有見及此，爰於本年五月，徵求全港各界公意，一致認爲現行之扶植日本工業復興政策，妨害遠東和平，侵奪盟國利益，而於我民族工業，尤爲不利。乃於六月十九日，召集各界會議，成立本會，爲生存而奮鬥！

茲者，會務進行，已歷數月，經過情形，想爲各界所欲週知，爰將本會發表之文件，彙集成編，以供參攷，倘能引起不平的共鳴，糾正以往的錯誤，受惠者豈徒我華資工廠，亦國家民族之福利也。

三十七年八月二十二日

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本會成立經過

卅七年六月十九日下午二時，本會以籌備竣事，特假金陵酒家召開香港各僑團反對扶植日本工業復興運動大會，出席者有中華國貨產銷協會，雲浮會所，香港中華廠商聯合會，潮州同鄉會，港九電業工商聯合總會，南洋經濟協會，港九古玩傢俬工商總會，蘇浙旅港同鄉會，香港華商總會，大公協助會，港菲出入口商會，番禺會所，瓊崖旅港同鄉會，港九油漆業總會，九龍華商會，織布廠商同業公會，香港飲食業總會，東莞工商總會，惠陽商會，南北行公所，港九穀米零售商會，香港華商織造總會，九江同鄉會，香港印刷業商會，恩平同鄉會，潮商五助社，耀包商會，經濟記者聯誼會，織造業總會，西義船藝工會等各社團代表數百人，公推中華廠商聯合會，華商總會，織布廠商同業公會，港菲出入口商會，九龍華商會，南洋經濟協會，惠陽商會爲大會主席團，並以中華廠商聯合會代表徐季良爲主席團主席，南洋經濟協會代表韓穗軒爲大會秘書，行禮如儀後，首由徐主席致開會詞（另錄）繼由織布廠商同業公會代表陳君冷報告籌備經過，隨即討論會務進行，通過本會組織大綱（另錄）及大會宣言（另錄）後，即通過拍發致中英美政府電文及各地方團體快郵代電以表示本港民意，並依據組織大綱，公推中華廠商聯合會，織布廠商同業公會，港菲出入口商會，九龍華商會，南洋經濟協會，華商總會，惠陽商會，蘇浙旅港同鄉會，經濟記者聯誼會，潮州同鄉會，南北行公所，華洋百貨商會，大公協助會，華商織造總會，福建同鄉會等十五團體爲團體委員，徐季良、黃新彥、周康仁、千家駒、趙耀華、雷蔭蓀、蔡星南、謝伯昌、莊成宗、李富士、陳作新、胡士澄等十二人爲個人委員，組織委員會，負責會務。

徐主席季良之演辭

各界僑領，各位廠商同人，今日舉行之反對扶植日本工業復興大會，係由香港中華廠商聯合會，織布廠

商同業公會，南洋經濟協會，九龍華商會，織造業總工會發起，承蒙各界僑領，列位廠商踴躍參加，不勝興奮。

本人忝任中華廠商聯合會代理事長，中華廠商聯合會列名發起人之一，承諸位不棄，推任大會主席團主席，在宣佈開會理由之前，願先提出一點，鄭重聲明，現在反對扶植日本工業復興之運動，國內各地刻正風起雲湧，且牽涉國際問題，或者有人誤會，以為反扶日即反美，本人茲特鄭重提出，我人對中美並肩抗戰，剷除暴力之寶貴友誼，絕對珍重，我人祇是反對美國過度扶植日本，認為此種措施，係屬美國之一種錯誤政策，其後果不特危害中國，即對美國亦有不利，甚至足以威脅全世界的和平安定，我們為愛護我們的國家，為愛護我們的盟友，為愛護全世界人類，我們不能不盡我們的努力，去矯正美國的態度，這是我們今天開會最大的旨趣。

最近以來，麥帥總部迭以救濟日本為藉口，減輕美國負擔為藉口，積極扶植日本工業復興，而遠東各地之政府與人民間，又有不少迷惑於日貨價格低廉，貪求目前小利，大量銷售日貨，日本工業，乘此雙重有利條件，突飛猛晉，生產狀況，已超過自給水準，所製造之貨品，已大量向遠東各地拋售，本滿織布工業，首當其衝，停工過半，其他各業，更不堪問，我人戰勝之後，喘息未定，便已感受此戰敗國的經濟侵略，嚴重威脅，此誠非有血性有人性者能忍受。

我人為禮讓忠恕之民族，對於戰敗國之日本，絕無絲毫報復之念，所欲扶植者，為和平民主之日本，決非為極權國家之日本，美國現行對日扶植政策，將造成日本重建侵界經濟體系，成爲一極權國家，我人若再因循不加警覺，則不特香港工業前途，不堪想像，即全世界前途，亦不堪想像。

今日到會均屬本港僑領，充滿愛國家愛民族之精神，希望各本熱誠，提出具體有效方案共同討論，以達成本會任務，本人忝任主席團主席，謹向各位致其誠懇之厚望。

香港各僑團反對扶植日本工業復興運動大

會組織大綱

第一條

本大會由香港各僑團聯合組織之，定名為香港各僑團反對扶植日本工業復興運動大會

第二條

本會以喚起海外同胞及全世界正義人士共同維護波茨坦宣言，反對扶植日本工業復興超過自給水準，而防止日本侵略經濟體系之重建，解除中英民族工業之威脅為主旨。

第三條

本會主要任務如左

一、呼籲僑胞及全國民衆一致反對扶植日本工業復興，並提倡愛用國貨。

二、向各盟國當局請求制止扶植日本工業計劃及限制日貨之傾銷。

三、聯合海外僑團及盟國人士採取共同一致之行動。

第四條

本會會址暫借香港中華廠商聯合會為臨時辦事處。

第五條

凡本港僑團及工商界人士贊成本會宗旨者，均得參加本會共策進行。

第六條

本大會由各僑團推舉團體會員十五名，個人會員十二名組織委員會，由委員會公推七人為常務委員，處理一切事務及執行大會決議。

第七條

常務委員會互推一人為主席，負責召集委員會常務委員會及處理日常事務。

第八條

委員會下設宣傳委員會，聯絡委員會及總務財務兩組，各委員會設正副主任委員各一人，各組設主任一人，由常務委員兼任之，宣傳聯絡兩委員會無定額，由常務委員會聘請名流担任之，委員會視事務繁簡得僱用幹事若干人。

第九條

本會設秘書處聘請秘書一人，事務員二人，兼承委員會意旨以處理一切文書及不屬於各組事務。

第十條 本會經費由委員會向各僑團及熱心人士募捐。
第十一條 本會於達成任務後，經委員會議決即宣告結束，並將會務之經過及財務收支於本港報紙公佈。

香港各僑團反對扶植日本工業復興大會宣言

最近以來，美國扶植下之日本工業，突飛猛晉，已超過自給水準，侵襲遠東各地市場，我人於八年抗戰過程中，犧牲慘重，創痕未復，此日面臨經濟侵略之抬頭，既深惶悚，又感悲憤，不能不於此嚴重關頭，指陳利害，披瀝精誠，以喚起我海內外同胞及全世界人士予以正義同情。

我人於痛陳日本工業復興所加中英民族工業威脅之前，不能不重新提及波茨坦宣言之要點，波茨坦宣言中，盟國領袖明白宣示，「欺騙及錯誤領導日本人民，使其妄欲征服世界之權威及勢力，必須永久剷除」。宣言中更鄭重指出：「日本將領被允許維持其經濟所必需及可以償付貨物賠款之工業，而可以使其重新作戰之工業則不在內。」現在日本之和平民主基礎，尙未建立，盟國對日本之和約尙未簽訂，換言之，即盟國對日本之戰爭狀態，在法理上依然存在，而日本工業製品，已在美國全力扶植之下，突被經濟及賠款必需之限度，淹蓋本港及遠東各地之市場，我人深知縱此以往，日本以其本身低廉之工資，挾其向美國借貸之原料，將重建一經濟侵略體系，以遂行其大量傾銷之計劃，不特脆弱之中國工業，無力與之抗衡，即喘息未定之英國工業，亦將同受嚴重之打擊，試觀數月以來，日本製成品所加於本港廠商之威脅，即可充份證明，倘我人仍欲爲日本作曲諒之恕辭，謳歌麥帥總部辦整之政策，則中英工業永無甦生之望，而日本終將由工業復興之途徑建立一侵略世界之力量，已爲必然而無可疑之趨勢，我人竊願披瀝精誠以正告海內外僑胞及全世界人士者一也。

美國扶植日本之目的，在於建築其反蘇之堡壘，然我人披讀史乘，嚮者日本原以遠東之犬自視，英美屢受其愚，以爲可藉以限制蘇聯武力之東出，然其結果則日本勢力養成之後，首受其侵害者，爲中國，爲英美

，而非蘇聯，後之視今，亦猶今之視昔，我人逆料美國陸次德來栢計劃實施之結果。日本因將完成其工業復興之程序，進而成立重新武裝之國家，然欲以之與蘇聯抗衡，誠恐未必，而首受其經濟及武力侵略之衝者，將為中國與英美，蘆溝橋珍珠港之創痕，宛然猶在，大東亞聖戰之殘酷，記憶難忘，歷史覆轍方在重演，我人竊願披瀝精誠，以正告海內外僑胞及全世界人士者二也。

今日為日本工業復興辯護者，或者自謂基於人道之立場，不忍日本陷於飢餓，或因忽視日本現實之重要，未能深切了解遠東潛伏之危機，或則惑迷日貨價格之低廉，貪求目前之小利，此皆未讀日本工業復興計劃之數字，未明歷史演變之法則，缺乏遠大之眼光，我人苟一念八年抗戰中，我僑胞骨肉流離之慘痛，孤兒寡婦啼哭眼前，血河屍山，如在左右，則恐怖之念，油然而生，苟一念三年八閱月遠東各地淪陷之慘狀，拘囚屠殺，蒼狗人生，則悲憤之情，無可抑制，苟從人道主義之立場，為世界安全之久計，詎可再縱容日本經濟侵略之抬頭，聽其從容完成軍事工業之計劃，我人竊願披瀝精誠，以正告海內外僑胞及全世界人士者三也。

基於上述理由，我人絕對反對美國扶植日本工業復興之計劃，但應聲明者，我人對中美并肩抗戰，剷除暴力之寶貴友誼，異常珍惜，絕不因此而有所變易，我人之最大決心，為維護波茨坦宣言，防止日本經濟侵略體系之重建，尙期愛國同胞正義人士，一致奮起，共同努力，謹此宣言。

快郵代電

海內外各團體暨各通訊社各報館轉全國同胞及海外僑胞公鑒：

查波茨坦宣言明定日本只准維持其經濟所必需及可以償付賠償盟國之工業水準，但可以使其重新武裝作戰之工業，不在其內。今美國竟先後提出史提克及德來柏計劃，將日本工業提高至超過自給水準，且資助鉅量金錢與物資，企圖建立日本為遠東工業中心，而使中國及其他亞洲國家為其原料供給地，影響所及，將使我脆弱之民族工商業首蒙禍害，勢必淪於空前悲慘之絕境。

邇來日貨湧出，泛濫東南亞各地，我國內及香港華僑之工業首受嚴重打擊，對南洋各地之貿易，日形減縮，香港棉織工廠停工減產者過半，各業工廠亦均受影響，瞻望前途，曷勝危懼。

德萊柏計劃倘再實施，則日本軍事工業必乘機擴展，此實為我國及整個世界安全之大患，如不及早防範，則侵略戰禍不難重演于異日。我國八年抗戰，數千萬生靈之犧牲，血跡猶新，創痕尚在，今竟又目覩殘暴之日本受我盟國之扶助，再踏上其復興之坦途，更進而摧殘我工商業，能不悲憤。望我國人一致奮起，力促政府速採有效政策，以制止美國錯誤政策之實施。防抑日本法西斯之復活，藉挽民族工商業之危機，而維世界和平之永固，附呈宣言，諸維公鑒！

致本國政府電

南京分送總統蔣，行政院長翁，立法院長孫鈞鑒：

美國破壞波茨坦宣言，積極扶植日本，使其工業生產超過自給限度，以遂籠絡日本，從而控制整個遠東之私圖，飲鳩止渴，莫此為甚，影響所及，使我脆弱之民族工商業首蒙禍害。

邇來日貨湧出，侵襲東亞各地，我國內及香港華僑工商業已受嚴重打擊，對南洋各地之貿易日形減縮，因而停工減產者不少，初步禍害，明徵已顯，瞻望前途，曷勝危懼！

抑尤有進者，德萊柏計劃之實施，日本軍事工業必乘機擴張，此實為我國及整個世界安全之大患。我人八年抗戰，數千萬生靈之犧牲，血跡猶新，孤兒寡婦，淚痕尚在。今竟又見殘暴之日本，受同盟國之扶助，再踏上其復興之坦途，更進而摧殘我工商業，能不悲憤，為此敬懇鈞座，速採有效對策，以制止美國錯誤政策之實施，防抑日本法西斯之復活，藉挽民族工商業危機，幸甚！臨電迫切，伏維鑒鑒。

再致本國政府電

總統蔣，行政院長翁，立法院長孫鈞鑒：

香港僑團反對美國扶植日本工業復興，前經電呈 鈞察，敝會認爲美國扶植日本工業之現行政策，已違背波茨坦宣言，超過自給水準，勢將重建日本侵略經濟體系，威脅中華民族生存，事實彰明，不容強辯，敬乞本國家堅定立場，提出嚴重抗議，並堅決主張此後一切有關日本工業重建計劃，概須提交遠東委員會公決，不能由麥帥總部強行專斷，民族工業，賴以保障，世界和平，賴以維持，國家幸甚，敝會幸甚，香港各僑團反對扶植日本工業復興大會叩。東。

致英國政府電

倫敦唐寧街十號英國首相艾德禮閣下：

美國積極扶助日本，使其工業生產越過自給水準，實違背波茨坦宣言之精神。

邇來日貨湧出，泛濫亞非各地，香港棉織工廠因受影響而停工減產者過半。各業工廠亦大受打擊，將來德萊相計劃實施。貴國棉毛織品之銷場，亦必大受攪奪，過去英日棉毛織品之競逐，其消長可資殷鑒，而初步禍害，已有明徵。

抑尤有進者。日本工業高度擴張，其軍事工業亦必潛滋暗長，是不啻助長其侵異野心之復甦，則戰禍不難重演于異日，香港與馬來亞三年八閱月之淪陷，人民創痕未復，殷鑒不遠。爲此敬懇對於美國現行之扶植日本工業政策迅予制止，對於日貨傾銷，速籌有效對策，則豈特香港工業與貴國產品銷場得以維持，而世界和平，亦深利賴也。

致美國政府電

美國華盛頓分送總統杜魯門，國務卿馬歇爾閣下：

查波茨坦宣言明定日本將被許維持其經濟所必需及可以償付賠償盟國物資之工業水準。但可以使其重新武裝作戰之工業不在其內，今貴國竟提出各種計劃，將日本工業提高至超過自給水準，且貸助金錢原料企圖建立日本為遠東工業中心，而使中國及其他亞洲國家為其原料供給地。邇來日貨湧出，侵襲東亞各地，中國內地及香港工業首受嚴重打擊。香港工廠因而停工者十居其七八，此即貴國積極扶植日本工業之初步禍害。抑尤有進者，日本首相及內閣因貴國之扶植，竟得意忘形，進而將日本工業全盤改變轉為重工業及化學工業，此種富有火藥氣味之軍事工業復興計劃，完全違反波茨坦宣言之精神，東亞大地，血跡猶新，孤兒痲婦，淚痕尚在，且將招致珍珠港事件之重演，願貴忠言：幸祈翻然改圖，遵守波茨坦宣言，限制日本工業復興，豈特香港工業得以維持，世界和平亦深利賴也。

致麥帥電

日本東京麥克阿瑟元帥閣下：

最近貴國積極扶助日本，破壞波茨坦宣言，實屬養虎為患之政策。目前日貨湧出，我國及香港工商業已大受打擊，而未來德萊柏計劃之實施，更超過日本自給之限度，其軍工業必乘時擴張，是不啻助長其侵略野心之復甦，珍珠港被襲，巴丹半島被圍，閣下曾身受其患，豈忘之耶？敝國人民有數十年被日侵略之痛苦經驗，迄今血淚未乾，難安緘默，願貴忠言，幸祈翻然改圖，豈特香港工商業之福，世界和平亦深利賴也。

致聯合國電

美國成功湖聯合國秘書長賴依先生閣下：並祈轉達安全理事會列位理事暨社會經濟委員會列位委員公鑒：

查波茨坦宣言明定日本只准維持其經濟所必需及可以償付賠償盟國之工業水準，但可以使其重新武裝作戰之工業，不在其內，今美國竟先後提出史提克及德萊柏計劃，將日本工業提高至超過自給水準，且貸助鉅量金錢與物資，企圖建立日本為遠東工業中心，而使中國及其他亞洲國家為原料供給地，影響所及，將使亞洲各國之脆弱的民族工商業首蒙禍害，勢必淪於空前悲慘之絕境。邇來日貨湧出，泛濫東南亞各地，香港工商業已受嚴重打擊，對南洋各地之貿易日形減縮，工廠因而停工減產者已逾半數，初步禍害，明徵已顯，將來德萊柏計劃如經實施，日本工業高度擴張，其軍事工業必亦潛滋暗長，是不啻助長其侵略野心之死灰復燃，則戰禍不難重演于異日。第二次大戰創痕未復，股鑿不遠。用進忠言，敬懇對於美國之錯誤政策，迅予制止，而謀世界和平之永固，幸甚幸甚！

致菲律賓濱議會議長書

在地理上，中菲兩國為近隣，在血統上，中菲兩國民族有分割不清的關係，在歷史上，中菲有傳統的友誼。最近對日抗戰，中菲兩國所受之損害大略相同，此段悲慘的事故，不易遺忘。日本雖已暫時戰敗，但將來有機會而不再作軍事侵略，則向缺切實的保證。美國曾援助我兩國戰勝日本而為我等所不能忘恩負義者，惟今日在和約未訂定之前，竟作扶植日本復興工業之舉，此養虎為患之錯誤政策，我等不能不提出抗議，因為其足以威脅國際和平也。吾人甚贊成 貴國駐聯合國大使勞苗羅前在紐約演說謂「輕信日本經宿而已變為民主及愛好和平的國家，菲律賓不能同意此種樂觀」。

我等希望在太平洋彼岸之國家能力使日本履行波茨坦宣言，限制其工業僅足以自給。抑尤有進者，日本

廉價貨物侵襲我等的市場，必須及早停止，否則吾人之生存又受其經濟之威脅矣。戰前之股鑑不遂，我國商人已在各地進行抵制日貨組織，以爭生存。甚望 貴國民衆能作同樣之舉動，因為招致前次軍事侵略一申悲慘之事故。萬不可遺忘也。最近日貨在東南亞各地傾銷，吾人已感受嚴重打擊矣。

茲奉寄抗美扶日宣言及議案以備參考。為中菲兩國共同利益計，甚望 閣下對此事有迅速之舉動，免貽遲來莫及之悔。

致澳洲外長函

澳洲外長依華特博士閣下：

吾人對於閣下以爲美國扶植日本實足以威脅澳洲與太平洋國家之卓見，深表贊同。由於日貨向本港及南洋傾銷之結果，本港之織布工廠被迫停業者已達百份之五十。吾人可斷言，如美國依其計劃扶植日本，則遠東國家必受日本嚴重之經濟侵略，進而擴充其軍事侵略。過去六十年來，中國曾被日本侵略而感受嚴重之痛苦，是以吾人對美國政府扶植日本工業復興之政策，至感不安。

吾人對於閣下所云，美國今日之政策，無異第一次大戰後所施於德國者，而結果德國賴以重修軍備，極表同意。吾人希望閣下從速正式向美國提出抗議。

香港華人工商業界已共同組織本會，呼籲反對美國政府及其人民扶植日本工業復興進而重整軍備之錯誤觀念。

茲將本會各項有關文件附呈台察，以表達本會之共同意見。並希時賜指導，以匡不逮，尤所感幸。

告美國民衆書

在第二次大戰中，吾人同屬盟友，並肩作戰，當時中國曾感受日本侵略之痛苦，是以對貴國政府現行扶

植日本工業復興，擴張武力侵略之錯誤政策，難安緘默，要求貴國人士，予以正義之反對。吾人深知貴國人士必將努力維護波茨坦宣言之精神，波茨坦宣言中，盟國領袖明白宣示，「欺騙及錯誤領導日本人民，使其妄欲征服世界之權威及勢力，必須永久剷除」，宣言中更鄭重指出，「日本將領被允許維持其經濟所必需及可以償付貨物賠款之工業，而可以使其重新作戰之工業則不在內。」吾人深知日本在短期內必不能變成一愛好和平之國家，在貴國佔領軍隊撤離日本若干年後，日本之動態，方能有正確之表示，相信貴國人士，亦必同此見解。珍珠港事變之前夕，日本猶與貴國政府在華盛頓進行外交談判，此種欺騙負信行為，貴國人士當能記憶。現在日本雖向貴國低頭，表示服從，一旦羽毛豐盛，則其侵略之故技，必將重演，可無疑義。是以吾人限制日本工業復興使遠東獲致和平保障之意見，貴國人士亦當有同感。

重建日本工業，使其超過自給水準，僅少數資本主義者暫可獲利，長此以往，經過一番劇烈戰爭之後，日貨必將利用其低廉之工資，而使世界經濟市場，發生擾攘。直接或間接，將使貴國之製造廠商與工人感受嚴重之後果。中國自遭日本侵略以還，傷殘慘重，迄今猶惴惴不遑。茲者，重建日本工業，中國必將首當其衝，豈美國意圖扶植日本工業復興，壓迫中國淪於經濟破產，而為他人之附庸乎？本港僅接觸低廉之日貨競爭，織布業工廠即有半數以上停業。

中國雖為戰勝國家，然較諸日本，尚覺不如，吾人並不因此而歧視日本之能在短期內恢復其經濟自給水準，但吾人對日本憑藉美國扶植後所產生之侵略力量，不能不予注視。現在日本之重建與復興，儼然如第一次大戰後之德國，此為必然之事實，貴國人士亦將坐視貴國扶植日本以恢復其侵略力量乎？

貴國政府重建日本之動機，或將以日本為遠東和平之堡壘，然貴國人士對第二次大戰時，日本雄據遠東所予盟國之印象，必須記取。日人常用種種欺詐手段以遂行其野心，日本之獲取自由行動，祇為時間問題。日本獲取自由行動之後，彼必切記現在之恥辱，重耀以往之戰績，有非吾人所能想像者。自九一八事件以迄珍珠港之役，日本均標榜反共，為欲所為，吾人實不敢保證日本不重施故技，而予中美兩國以嚴重之後果。

基於上述原因，吾人爲生存計，必須反對美國之近視政策，扶植吾人之近鄰——日本——爲一強大之國家。

致港府請求書

「呈政府協助當地工業訂定具體計劃，俾便加強力量，以抵抗日貨之競銷。」

在澳洲外長伊華特博士會對澳洲議院演說，略謂：「美國扶助日本工業復興之政策，可能有危害澳洲及太平洋諸國之安全。且美國今日之政策，實有類於第一次大戰扶助德國復興，而造成德國軍備之繼起。」菲律賓駐美大使勞苗羅先生在紐約發表演說謂：「菲律賓對於日本能於一夜之間變爲民主及愛好和平之民族，不予以樂觀之同情。又謂，在記錄上，日本侵略野心，經已勃發。」無論任何可欺的思想，不能抹滅。以上兩種宣言均足以表示太平洋民族對於美國扶助日本工業復興發生戒懼之心，此種復興，必使日本軍事侵略重復發生。回想遠東各國受盡日本蹂躪。尤其是香港在此次戰爭之損失，至爲重大。是以香港工商業界有認爲大聲疾呼，反抗美國錯誤政策，乃其神聖的責任。同時採取積極行爲，反抗廉價日貨在當地市場之競銷。

爲求行動有效，吾人一方面固當極力反抗美國扶植日本工業復興。同時，當盡其一切可能，使吾人與日本商業競爭立於不敗之地位。但如不得政府之扶助，吾人之努力實難收效。誠以當地工業所需之許多主要原料，均在政府控制之下也。政府對於當地之福利與繁盛，甚爲關切，敢作下列之請求：

(一) 對於盟軍總部提出抗議，請求依照波茨坦宣言之精神，嚴格統制日本貨物之出口。
(二) 採取下列有效方法，以保護當地工業：(甲) 對日貨進口，實施「限額制度」，如星架坡所採取者然。(乙) 恢復及放寬英屬各地之特惠稅制。(丙) 與東南亞諸國，尤其是荷印及印尼，訂立物資交換的商約，以利本港製品之輸出。

(三) 對當地工業界予以財政的援助：(甲) 使工廠設備現代化，以增加生產。(乙) 充實流動資本，以增加營業。(丙) 予以外匯之便利，俾得購買較廉之原料。

(四) 政府配給之工業原料，必須體諒現在之困難，予以減價。

(五) 減低工人食料配給之價格，以減輕其生活費，則工資可以減輕。

(六) 予當地工業家以技術之援助，如政府對於發展漁業所施行者。

以上諸點，皆舉其比較重要者而言。敬請留意，而加以迅速之行動。吾人熟知上述各事皆為政府力所能及者。然吾人並不因此而放棄本身之責任，對於自身之缺點，應加檢討，設法改良。吾人願盡力與政府合作，維持當地工業之繁榮。

茲特舉一例，以資證明：本港織造業所需協助者，首為無法獲得廉價棉紗之供應，以與其他各地之棉織品競爭。香港配給棉紗，每包價值港幣一千三百元，聞在上海之售價，不過一千元，日本棉紗成本，則僅七百元而已。

電前行政院張院長岳軍

東京中國代表團張岳軍先生助鑒：先生此次訪日，報章均謂先生使命係在視察美國扶植日本工業復興實況，提供政府決定對策，意義甚為重大，朝野莫不注目。查美國扶日，已超過自給水準，違反波茨坦宣言，倘不能及時糾正，勢將威脅中華民族生存，危害世界和平基礎。先生義主關揆，現膺使命，願盼本愛國愛民族立場，提供現實資料，剖陳當前險象，外以糾正盟軍當局之錯誤，內以促起我國政府之注意，藉挽狂瀾，而杜危機，不勝幸甚！香港各僑團反對扶植日本工業復興運動委員會主席徐季良叩。馬。

致顧維鈞大使函

自盟國勝利，麥克阿瑟總部在日本成立以後，一切設施，每多偏頗，十之八九，不依公意，近且濫背波茨坦宣言，過度扶植日本工業，長此以往，不特在復員中之我國工業，大受打擊，抑且足以恢復其經濟侵略

體系，危害世界和平，輿論嘩然，咸加指摘，本月九日，菲律賓駐聯合國大使 Mr. Carlos P. Romulo 曾對美國公民公開演說，抨擊美國扶植日本之錯誤。

我公代表國家，折衝壇坫，際茲嚴重關頭，敝會謹代表全港各業僑胞肅函奉達，附陳敝會宣言，及致美國公民書，暨菲律賓演駐美大使演辭各一紙，敬希

察，發表嚴正主張，糾正美國錯誤，民族工業，賴以生存，世界和平，賴以確保，臨書依馳，佇候明教。

致菲律賓濱中華商會電

峴里拉中華商會並轉華僑國貨入口商會均鑒：

據港菲入口商會函知貴會等組織委員會，抵制日貨，並嚴定罰則，以期根絕，具見熱誠，良用敬佩，敝會爲便利貴會工作，除請廠商會對製品出口，發給證書，以杜混冒外，相應電達，並希時錫南針，互相聯繫，擴大進行，藉收宏效。

香港各僑團反對美國扶植日本工業復興大會叩

香港各僑團反對扶植日本工業復興會「九一八」十七週年日爲

反對「農業中國工業日本」宣言

自「九一八」以還，迄今十有七年，敵寇投降，亦已三載，和會尙未召集，和約迄未簽訂，瘡痍未復，血淚猶新，乃最近報章又復競傳『工業日本，農業中國』之說，華盛頓經濟合作總署高級官員宣佈援華計劃之二億七千五百萬美元中，將有一部份用於向日本購買工業品，同時更指定中國須以煤鐵等原料輸日，美共

和黨議員楚德對記者發表談話，認爲日本工業水準應高過戰前，中國農業國地位須一百數十年後始能改變。諸如此類之論調，俯拾皆是。本會懲前毖後，鑒於民族當前之隱憂，實不勝其悼悚，願乘此「九一八」十七週年紀念日，爲國人略陳其危懼之感：

中國近五十年來之歷史，與日本之侵略政策不可分離，自甲午以來，中國即受日本之欺凌，國難重重，恥辱斑斑，日本之處心積慮，始終以亡華爲其國策，所謂『亡華』者，非必即謂將中國變爲彼之屬土，主要乃在將中國變爲彼之經濟上的殖民地，所謂『農業中國，工業日本』云者，即由中國以廉價原料供應日本，又復以日本之工業品向我傾銷，即使我永處於殖民地之農業國地位也。正以我不甘處於殖民地之農業國地位，故有八年之抗戰，犧牲無數人民之生命，幾經艱辛，幸獲勝利。抗戰之目的，在政治上爲求得中華民族之自由與獨立，在經濟上即爲擺脫『農業中國，工業日本』之殖民地地位，以爭取中國獨立富強之工業化的前途。不幸勝利以後，我以國事蠅蟻，致坐失戰後建國之良機，復由於美國忘却珍珠港事變之教訓，認敵爲友，扶日工業之復興，破壞波茨坦宣言之規定，致令日本之侵略死灰復燃，而『農業中國，工業日本』之口號，亦公然重見於報章之紀載，假令實現，則不惟我八年抗戰，等於虛擲，即世界無數軍民之犧牲，亦付諸東流。

本會乃爲反對扶植日本工業復興而成立，深感『農業中國，工業日本』之論調，實有關中華民族之生存，子子孫孫之幸福，絕不能默爾而息，故不得不大聲疾呼，以引起國人之注意。我人願正告美國：對於美國之其他世界性國策，我人不願過問，惟其扶植日本軍國主義之復興，甚至於不惜鼓吹『農業中國，工業日本』之謬說，是直以殖民地視我中國，則必遭中國四萬萬五千萬同胞之唾棄，本會代表香港工商僑胞，愛國不敢後人，誓當喚起全國人民及世界正義之人士，共同反對。同時我人希望此種正義之呼聲，獲得我政府強硬有力之支持，朝野一致之努力，以矯正美國之錯誤，挽救當前我國家民族及世界之危機。爰於「九一八」十七週年之日，披陳所見，尤望海內外賢達，一致努力，不勝幸甚！

「九一八」十七週年日快郵代電

南 京 分 呈

蔣總統，翁院長，孫院長鈞鑒：最近報章，謠傳「農業中國，工業日本」之說，華盛頓經濟合作總署高級官員宣布援華計劃之二億七千五百萬美元，將有一部份用於向日本購買工業品，而指定中國須以煤鐵等原料輸日。查我八年抗戰，犧牲重大，其目的在政治上為求得中華民族之自由與獨立，在經濟上為擺脫「農業中國，工業日本」之殖民地地位，以爭取中國獨立富強之工業化的前途。乃自勝利以後，美國妄行獨斷，違背波茨坦宣言，超過自給水準，扶植日本工業復興。竟企圖完成「工業日本，農業中國」計劃，敝會為愛護國家民族，爰於「九一八」十七週年之日，發出宣言，嚴正指出美國此種計劃之錯誤，以喚起全國人民之注意，敬懇本國家民族立場，向美國提出嚴重抗議，謹電上陳，伏維鈞察。香港各僑團反對扶植日本工業復興大會叩。巧。

香港各僑團反扶日會為堅持否決權聲明

最近報章盛傳，我國將來在對日和會上，是否我國亦將自動放棄否決權之運用，令人不無疑懼，本會一貫立場，為反對美國扶植日本復興超過自給水準，前於「九一八」十七週年紀念日，曾對「農業中國工業日本」之謬論詳加指斥，茲對此關係我國家民族前途之否決權問題特再鄭重一陳其利害：

按否決權為聯合國憲章主要精神之一，在安全理事會一章中規定：安全理事會在處理各項問題時，必須中、英、美、蘇、法五常任理事一致同意，始能生效。五大強國中任何一國之否決均可以將議案推翻，其所以有此規定，一以表示五強協議之一致性，為保證聯合國團結之基礎，一以避免在國際會議上以強凌弱，衆暴寡，秘密外交之覆轍，用意深遠，考慮週詳，實為前羅斯福總統偉大之設計。否決權之所以限於五大強國者，以在此次反法西斯之世界大戰中，中、英、美、蘇、法出力最大，犧牲最重，地位最重要，因之，五國之一致同意，實為保持國際和平之主要因素。

近五十年來，我國受日本帝國主義之侵略蹂躪，史所罕見，經八年之抗戰，軍民犧牲何止千萬，公私損失，不可勝計，幸獲最後之勝利，然而日寇投降，瞬已三年，在美國獨佔管轄下之日本，和約猶未簽訂，戰犯逍遙法外，賠償尚無着落，天皇依然保存，財閥未被整肅，軍火工業變相存在，美國扶日復興之聲洋溢耳鼓，在美國麥帥所支持下，日本軍國主義已如死灰之復燃，瞻念前途，不寒而慄。然吾人尙有一最後之武器可以運用者，即否決權是也。一旦和會召開，一切非得我之同意，不得決議，若美國甘冒天下之大不韙而有過度復興日本之建議，縱令取得和會中其他國家之同意，而我國可運用否決權以推翻之。否決權之重要遠過英、美、蘇、法、因英、美、蘇均國力雄厚，而我國則國勢凌夷，若并此否決權而自動放棄，則無異解除我在和會中最後之武裝，人為刀俎，我為魚肉，貽患無窮，噬臍莫及矣。

因此，本會特鄭重聲明：否決權不容放棄，尤不可輕易讓步，歷史覆轍不宜重蹈，民族利益不應犧牲，願號召國人，加以注意，共同努力，民族前途，實利賴之。

輔政司覆函

逕復者：前接 貴會七月二十二日來函，各情備悉，對於 貴會各項建議，政府業經詳加考慮，茲分別答復如后：

- (A) 對於請求麥帥總部限制日貨出口一節，政府感覺無法接納，因現在情形，日本必須輸出貨物以換取其主要糧食之供給，而目前供給其糧食之費用，大部份仍須由美國納稅人負擔。
- (B) 關於對日貨入口實施限額一節，政府認為無此需要，因日下運港之日貨，其數量與種類俱屬有限，且此種情形因滙兌困難必須繼續保持。
- (C) 本港出晶業經享有特惠稅權利，且與英國各地出晶所享有者並無異致，故對於額外之請求，政府實無法接納。
- (D) 關於建議本港與東南亞各國訂立物資交換協約一節，來函未有說明欲與何國訂約，及所欲交換者為何種貨物，故請 貴會於考慮決定後再行通知政府。
- (E) 對於建議由政府貸款興工廠，使能改善設備及充實活動資金一節，政府深感無能為力。
- (F) 對於工廠購買原料所需之外滙，政府一向已竭盡可能優先給與。
- (G) 凡政府所擁有之一切原料，政府一向皆以最低之價值配給。
- (H) 關於減低工人糧食配給公價一節，政府認為無法實行，因此事如實行，則政府之損失必致直接取自於本港其他居民，或提高其他居民之糧食配給公價，如此為利益一部份人而加重另一部份人之負擔，寧得謂之公道，矧工廠工人之所得之工資，實較一般人為優勝乎？且此事在實行方面亦異常困難，蓋實不知用何種方法，乃可確實證明某人有領取廉價糧食之資格也。

(I) 關於能否給予工廠技術援助一節，政府現在考慮中。

(J) 關於購買巴西棉花一節，政府必須慎重將事，因港巴兩地雖價格差異，但如此未必即能保證本港工廠獲得價廉之棉紗應用，蓋滙兌上實有諸多困難也，惟此事可行與否，政府仍在調查研究中。

政府尚有一點意見，本港工業界欲澈底解決其自身之困難，則非徒然從事於保護政策所能為力，長遠之計，實為提高出品水準，與尋求生產方法之合理化，若是則本港出品，庶能與外貨爭衡於各地矣。此致香港各僑團反對扶植日本工業復興運動委員會

對日和約問題座談會紀錄

時間：十月廿二日下午三時

地址：大華飯店

主席：蔡貞人

出席者：徐季良、蔡貞人、周康仁、趙耀華、范祖光、章乃器、林煥平、千家駒、鄭森禹、梁純夫、蔡北華、黃新彥、馮蒼我、黃長水、許讓成、陳文川、韓穗軒等。

主席致辭：今天的座談會蒙諸位專家撥冗參加，非常榮幸，此次為討論對日和約問題，這是一個非常複雜與廣泛的問題，頗難全盤作詳盡的發揮，故擬將日本未來工業水準問題，作為討論中心，希望諸位先生發表意見時比較的偏重於這方面，現在先請于先生對工業水準問題作一報告。

千家駒：我對日本問題根本是個外行，不過最近本會曾舉行日本經濟復興調查，我是參與這項工作的，從盟總官方所發表的統計，我們知道戰後日本工業恢復的速度，是非常可怕的。這是盟總官方的統計，是一種帶件，不公開發表的，它的可靠性應該沒有問題。根據盟總的統計，如以一九三〇——三四年的工業生產為基準年，當為一百，則戰後日本工業恢復率，截至今年六月底止，礦業生產指數增為一〇一·一，即突破了基準年度，其中煤指數為一〇七·三，褐煤(Lignite)超過基準年的二·二倍多，指數為二二六·八·六，鐵砂為一七〇·三，五金指數為五六·五，去年僅為三四·五，增加了百分之六四，(其中銑鐵為五八·五，原鋼為五四·〇)機械工業達六四·四，化學工業為七三·八，紡織工業二一·九，糧食、飲料、烟草為五三·七，今年七月止共造船一二三、八四〇噸，平均較去年增加了百分之九〇，由此可知日本之工業生產恢復極為迅速，尤以重工業為甚，如礦業生產，甚至超過戰前水準。

其次，日本至今年七月止，已擁有紗錠三百二十八萬枚，開工的爲二百二十萬枚，平均二四人有一紡錠，五年計劃完成後預定至一九五三年增加爲五百三十八萬枚，平均一四人可得一枚，而麥克阿瑟與史梯克等竟主張恢復至戰前最高水準的一千二百萬枚，據估計我國最多只有四百五十萬紡錠，平均每百人才得一枚，印度三萬五千萬人才有一千萬紡錠，每三五人才有一枚，日本有二百萬紗錠即可自給，故即以恢復得最慢的紡織工業來說，這也超過了它自給標準。

其三，生活水準與工業水準是不同的，後者較爲固定，前者殊無一定的標準。美國人提出恢復日本的生活水準，顯然是有陰謀的，其目的在藉口恢復日本人的生活水準，以無限制提高其工業水準。

其四，戰後日本人民生活的窮苦，這是事實；但這並不是工業水準恢復得不够快，而是日本獨佔資本家實行饑餓輸出及剝削工人的結果。如爲改善日本人民生活，則日本應須全力復興民生工業，而不是和今天這樣全力的提高鋼鐵、動力、機械、化學等重工業，及非民生工業，因爲日本人民所迫切需要的是糧食與衣着。即以紡織工業而論，生產非爲消費而爲輸出。又以生產量來說，棉紗產量以今年六月份成績計，每人每年應得棉布三·七二九磅，按戰前平均每人每年亦不過消費四·三磅，故目前生產已接近國內消費水準。但日人說去年平均每人僅分配得一磅，在「輸出第一」之下，今年五月間棉紗輸出額爲生產量的 $\frac{1}{3}$ ，分明爲爭奪遠東市場，而非爲本國人民生活之改善。

最後，目前日本工資遠較其他各國爲低廉，據統計，今年六月，礦工工資平均每月僅得五、六七九日元，製造業爲四、一四五日元，機器業爲四、〇二三日元。以四百元比率合美元不過十元多，伸港幣不過四五十元。張家說日本因工資高，商船缺乏，這與事實是不符的，以上材料可供大家討論時參攷。

蔡貞人：戰後對日本工業水準問題，先後有五個計劃是值得我們重視的，在大家發表意見之前，現在先提出來簡單報告，供諸位參攷：

(一) 鮑萊賠償計劃：一九四五年擬定，以一九二六——三〇年工業生產水準爲戰後日本生產標準，對

決定賠償程度，主張工業水準削減 $\frac{2}{3}$ ，基本工業保留。

(二) 遠東委會決議案：一九四六年通過，係根據鮑萊計劃而制定，以一九三〇——三四年工業水準為標準，削減鮑萊賠償的百分之三五——四〇。

(三) 史揣克報告：一九四八年三月發表，把過去所提出的工業水準改為生產水準，賠償額僅及鮑萊的百分之卅，主張日本工業恢復至一九三〇——三四年生活水準的程度，工業水準則以一九三四——三九年為考慮的標準。

(四) 德萊柏計劃：德萊柏是美國陸軍部次長，一九四八年三月率領一個政府和工業界合組的團體赴日，擬定這一個計劃，完全推翻了過去一切賠償計劃，全部保留日本工業基礎。

(五) 經濟復興五年計劃：一九四八年二月十七日片山內閣發表，由一九四八至五二年把日本工業提高至基準年的一百四十五。

其次，我們應加以注意的，是遠東委員會的組織，這個機構是從莫斯科四國外長會議產生，由中、蘇、英、美、法、澳、紐、印、荷、菲、加十一國組成，為管制日本最高權力機關，盟總應受其指揮，遠東委員會之下，設一理事會，由中美英蘇四國所組成，其權限規定：麥帥對日政策之執行，日本統治機構之變更及改組須經理事會之同意，在這裏，我們應特別指出的，是盟軍總部現在一切措施，無一是經遠東委員會同意，換言之，便是並無取得合法的根據。

章乃器：過去上海工商界對日和約的問題曾有過兩次座談會，討論相當詳盡，不過這一問題相當廣泛，我僅提出幾個問題來供大家考慮：

(一) 和會的早開晚開，和約的早訂晚訂，何者有利問題。當然主觀上和會應該早開，和約及早簽訂是最好的，可是在目前東西集團尖銳對立的形勢之下，和會的儘早召開，相信只是爭論一場，不會能如期完成和約的，但就是這樣亦是有收穫的，因為在會中可以把有關日本問題的文件、政策及目前美國獨佔管制實際

情況公開提出來，促使世界人士的注意，使人們瞭解目前麥帥所做遠超過其權力，如此使美國的扶植有少顧忌。晚開的話，在主要國家相互間關係有相當諒解的情勢下召開，如歐洲五國和約一樣，可能獲得迅速與較滿意的和約簽訂，不過，同樣亦存在着不好的方面，因為按目前麥克阿瑟獨斷的管制之下，一意孤行寬容戰犯，積極的扶植反動勢力，加速日本工業的復興，造成既成事實。如此在和約未訂以前已經直接的最先的威脅到我國的安全。

(二)關於和約內容中日本工業水準問題，我認爲應以下列三個前提條件爲依歸：

(1)日本民主問題：例如天皇制度的推毀，財閥的解散，戰犯的懲處，這是日本真正民主化的先決條件，如果日本政治民主化了，工業水準稍稍提高一點，我認爲是不怕的。

(2)我國本身獨立強盛，則日本工業水準稍高也不要緊，因和約之外，我們還可以與日本訂一個商約以保障我國幼稚的工業。

(3)盟國長期有效的管制日本問題，如能真正由盟國長期作有效的管制，則恢復日本的工業純粹爲日本人民生活的改善，亦不成問題。

這三者是決定日本工業水準的前提條件，離開了這來談日本工業水準問題，一切將成爲紙面文章，毫無結果，等如過去對德國問題一樣。

鄭森禹：我很同意章先生的意見，日本工業水準的規定，是離不開日本民主化的，否則一切將變成空空的。今天的討論提綱內提出：日本民主化及解除武裝與賠償問題，這些均牽涉及日本工業水準問題，正如章先生所說，日本民主化是決定日本工業水準的前提條件，武裝的解除亦關聯到工業恢復，賠償問題是接觸到日本工業如何合理的處置與分配等問題。現在擬把關於日本工業水準問題分三方面來討論：

(一)軍事工業與和平工業的區別，和平工業可以復興，但軍事工業絕不應令其復興，但這二者是不容易截然劃分的。美國人已利用這點，把二者混淆不分，把軍事工業認爲是日本人現在所必需的，故須迅速的

復興，大大的發展，而和平工業為次要的，反有意的把恢復的程度放低。

(二)在和平工業中又須區別為日本人民生活所必需及超過必需的。至必需程度以及超過必需程度如何的決定，這是要嚴格的區分，否則即使是和平工業如超過了必需的標準亦將帶上侵略性的。五年復興計劃對外貿易強調重工業原料的進口，輕工業成品的輸出，以換取重工業的原料，這完全在和平工業的幌子下建立重工業的基礎。

(三)工業水準與生活水準的問題：美國人強調生活水準，並把它與工業水準混同，以利於日本工業的擴展，事實這是完全兩回事，例如日本在一九三〇——三七年工業水準提高了三倍，而同時期生活水準消費額只提高了百分之。五年計劃擬定至一九五三年工業水準數基準年提高了百分之，而生活水準反預計減低百分之，這可見兩者是不一樣的。

其次對於工業水準我認為不能硬性限於戰前水準的那一年度，那是會上當的，因為戰前在軍國主義的控制之下，每年均是着重於重工業的增強，亦即是軍事工業擴張，輕工業逐漸縮退的，重工業中化學工業為製造火藥毒氣而生產，造船即是軍艦的製造，金屬工業中即飛機的生產。故如固定於戰前那一年即是准許其恢復戰前侵略工業的重建。戰後我們主張凡是與軍事工業有關的工業均應消除，在國內剝削廉價勞動，從事生產以向外傾銷的工業應減產，一切生產的應以適應日本人民生活需要為標準。而其生活標準的決定原則為：

(A)不能超過遠東其他國家的國民生活水準。

(B)假如超過，應於其國內自行解決，不能以提高國民生活水準為辭而向外尋求解決。但這又不能離開日本政治經濟民主化問題，只有此民主化以後，日本人民生活才可能真正的改善與提高，如日本糧食經常感到不足，須以輸出紡織品以換取，可是這並不是絕對糧食缺乏，而主要根源是由於土地問題沒有獲得合理的解決，農業生產小農制仍佔優勢，在封建土地制度剝削之下，農業生產力非常落後，農民購買力極端的薄

弱，形成農村的貧乏化，耕地沒有儘量的開墾。均是造成糧食不足的主因。

(四)日本貿易問題：這是與他自己解決提高生活水準密切相關的，一切生產以增進人民生活為前提而不以剝削低廉的勞動力，從事生產進行對外傾銷，防礙其他國家的生產。如此貿易問題可在有無相通的原則下取得合理解決，故日本的對外貿易的發展應當有條件的，而不能由它自由伸張。美國的亞洲馬歇爾計劃就是以發展日本向外傾銷的工業及軍事工業，實現資本美國，工業日本，原料與市場中國及亞洲其他國家的一種企圖。這種企圖必須堅決的反對，糾正日本此種貿易的目的，使其輸出的以交換真正和平工業的原料。

(五)管制問題，應由四大國平等的共同作有效的管制，澈底消滅其軍國主義。

(六)日本民主化的問題：首先須完全肅清天皇、財閥、軍閥等一切反動勢力。民主化才能真正的實現。

林煥平：日本民主化問題是最值得重視的，日本工業水準，根本就是日本的政治制度問題，政治問題解決，濟問題亦隨之獲到合理的解決。因此不應該強調了經濟問題而忽略了政治問題。

根據波茨坦宣言，對日和約應由四國（中蘇英美）外長會議起草，交由十一國（中、蘇、英、美、法、荷、加、澳、紐、印、菲）組織的遠東委員會討論通過，而四國應保有否決權，今天這原則仍應堅持。關於和約內容之議定，下列幾個問題是應該提出作考慮的：

(一)日本民主化問題，這是保證日本能在國際大家庭和平共處的基本條件，由此即使是軍事工業亦可轉變為和平工業的，日本的民主化之基礎為：(1)推翻天皇制度，因為這是軍閥主義侵略主義帝國主義三位一體的一切侵略勢力的基礎，故必須根本廢除，而後由日本人民自己抉擇何種國家制度。(2)清除財閥，這是有濃厚的封建性與侵略性的大獨佔資產階級，應予澈底的消滅，波茨坦宣言亦明白的指出，必須消滅日本的財閥，可是現在美國所做完全相反，公開的主張保留日本的財閥，說這是對日本經濟復興有利的，我們應堅決的反對。(3)實施耕者有其田的土地改革，現在日本的土地依然是集中，天皇和他的家族就是大

地主，戰後曾頒佈「土地調整法」，是希望地主的土地賣給農民，取回一定的地價，這完全是官樣文章，土地關係還是原封未動，農民生活依然無絲毫的改善。因此要使土地改革真正的實現，必須在政治民主化的前提下才有可能。

(二)日本工業水準問題，這問題主張從幾方面去考慮：(1)工業水準與生活水準須嚴格的區分。(2)生產量與生產技術問題：一九二八年(即鮑萊主張的標準)為日本生產額最高的年代，而一九三〇—三四年(史揣克的生活標準)為經濟恐慌侵襲時期，雖然生產量不大，可是生產技術遠較一九二八年時候高的，因此考慮日本工業水準不能光着眼於生產量的高低而忽視了生產技術。

戰前日本以輕工業為重心，戰後無論從生產的實況，美國人的願望，或日本的五年計劃，均是以重工業尤其是軍事工業為重心，五年計劃預定至一九五三年，農村業僅較基準年增加了20%，而重工業竟提高了百分之四十五。製造飛機的鋁預定一九五三年出產九萬三千一百公噸，為一九三五年產量的廿倍多，為德意日三國戰前產量的總和，這不是為了侵略為什麼呢？鋼鐵工業中，以最大的久保田鐵工廠生產成績而言，今年一至五月產量較前增加了一倍，大阪鐵工廠去年九月至今今年六月產量增加了二—三倍。

(三)日本貿易：戰前輸出入合計十五億美元左右，據五年計劃規定，未來輸出要增到十六億四千六百萬美元，輸入增到十六億五千七百萬美元，兩共合計三十三億餘美元，較戰前增加了一倍多，最近又將輸出提高到十八億美元以上，這對我國及遠東各國工業是有絕大影響的，故必須合理的限制。

(四)賠償問題：美國會先後發表了三個賠償方案(1)鮑萊賠償方案，規定賠償額為六十四億美元。(2)史揣克報告，將賠償額縮減為四億一千二百萬美元，(3)德萊柏計劃，竟把日本賠償額削減為一億六千五百萬美元，更滑稽的並規定我國在上海台灣等地接收的敵產，亦應折算作為賠償部分。由此說來，我國將來反要賠償日本了，這不是大笑話嗎？

一九四六年五月，規定作為賠償應拆卸的工廠共一千零九十個工廠，麥帥指定歸中國、英國、荷蘭

、菲律賓、我國佔領區，其中在已拆卸的十七個海軍工廠中，我國纔獲得值六千萬美元的設備，中央社報告說僅值一千七百萬美元，據說即此中國仍無能力負擔運費。

(五)戰犯懲處問題：天皇即是頭號的戰爭罪犯，因為他有最高權力，發動侵略戰爭是經御前會議決定的，天皇就是主席，故首先就應把他懲處，而美國公然的把他列為戰犯，在第一級侵略罪犯東條土肥原等二十八名中，有一名病死，一名發神經，故僅剩二十五名，在審判法庭自一九四六年五月三日至一九四八年四月十六日止共開庭審了八百一十八次，傳證人約二千人，親自到庭作證者四五二人，積累了五萬多頁的記錄文件，花費了二千多萬美元，迄今尚未宣判，戰犯們在獄中生活逍遙自在，享受優裕，而且東條二百餘萬言的供辭，竟在國內銷售了二三百多萬本，這不與希特勒我的奮鬥一樣嗎？在戰時他還不是民族英雄，在審判庭上他竟成爲民族英雄了。波茨坦明白的規定須嚴懲戰犯，可是在美國控制下的國際法庭竟公然要把宣言加以再討論，這些是何等笑話的事。

(六)否決權問題：和約由四外長起草，及否決權的保留已經有國際法的根據，不應再加討論，可是美國偏偏節外生枝，再三提出來企圖加以修改與破壞，否決權的重要性是因為它是維護大多數國家本身利益，防止強國控制聯合國或和會唯一的武器，美國獨佔的管制日本，有計劃的扶植，陰謀造成既成事實，實現工業日本，農業中國的企圖，此是與我國家民族利益絕對衝突的，假如喪失了否決權，在遠東委會爲美國所控制的現狀下，又將會重演第一次大戰後的巴黎和會，強國犧牲了我國而遷就日本的歷史，故此我國必須堅持否決權的存在，適當地運用。

梁純夫：我只談談和約的一般問題：日本已投降三年，而和會未開，和約尚未起草，證之歐洲五國和約簽訂的史實，和會召開後經一年多之討論才訂立和約，和約簽訂後又一年才澈退佔領軍，因此即令現在馬上召開和會，日本也要在兩年後才有希望恢復正常狀態。按理說，日本人必定希望早日簽訂和約，但是近來日本輿論竟表示願意和會再拖下去，并不欲美國澈退佔領軍，這是一件值得我們注意的事情。

一般知道對日和會還未召開，是因爲各大國間對程序問題未獲得協議。去年七月間美國會主張在美國召開和會，但聲明四強沒有否決權，和約由十一國起草。英國同意此主張，惟將和約起草者由十一國改爲十二國（加上巴基斯坦），蘇聯認爲這是美國片面的決定，事前未得四強同意，并主張和約應由四國外長會議起草，并有否決權，我國當時提出一種折衷意見，主張保留否決權，和約則由十一國會議起草，最近王世杰出席聯合國大會前却又透露中國有放棄否決權之意。

對日和約的起草應由四國負責，國際雖無成文法規定，惟根據國際慣例及實際情況，是有例可沿的，歐洲五國和約即由四國起草，再經廿一國會議補充意見，而後交四國外長會議作最後決定。五國和約簽訂後一年來，表現如此處理方式並無不妥之處。五國中除意國外，餘四國均迅速踏上復興的途徑，戰勝國方面亦能維持其本身的利益，故對日和約應依循此途徑。蘇聯主張對日和約應由四國起草，這並不等於四國獨佔包辦，因爲和會中還有各種小組委員會和一個諮詢及情報委員會，由其他各國參加，各小國意見可充份的反映上去，然後作最後的決定。其它各國的利益是不會被犧牲的。

其次否決權問題，是一個事實問題。如果四國沒有否決權，和會的情形就將如華盛頓的遠東委員會和東京的盟國對日委員會一樣，一切都由美國決定了。

這裏我們且談談管制日本的機構。管制日本的機構共有三個：

- (一) 在華盛頓的遠東委員會。
- (二) 在東京的盟軍對日委員會。
- (三) 麥克阿瑟的盟軍總部。

遠東委員會由十一國組成，雖然是一個對日管制的最高決策機構，但是它的一切決議須通過美國政府，交由美國海陸軍聯合參謀部審查後，再訓令麥克阿瑟的盟軍總部執行。麥克阿瑟只向美國政府負責，而不向遠東委員會負責。因此美國政府對遠東委員會的共議無形中有一種否決權。例如遠東委員會曾決定維持日本

的工業水準於一九三〇——三四年的水準，并嚴格限於日人生活所必需的和平工業。但這項議被美國政府擱置起來，再自行另定日本的復興計劃，如斯揣克計劃，德萊柏計劃，以及日本五年經濟計劃等，竟超過了一九三〇——三四的水準百分之五十至六十，并特別扶植日本的重工業和化學工業，其中多非日人平時生活所必需。

東京的盟國對日委員會由中、美、英、蘇四國代表組成，盟軍總司令（即麥克阿瑟）兼美國代表，并任主席，本來的任務是盟軍總部執行遠東委員會的決議和波茨坦公告的原則，但麥克阿瑟只執行美國的政策，從來不考慮其他國家代表的意見，因此這個盟國對日委員會只成一種裝飾品，最近每次開會二十七秒鐘便結束，大家只簽簽到罷了。

剛才各位說到日本工業水準問題須與日本民主化問題一起解決，但照美國過去這種管制政策，日本很難希望民主化。要使日本民主化，必須變更目前這種美國單獨決定的管制政策，要先從管制機構的民主化做起。不然的話，即使對日和會馬上能够召開，美國也還有兩年以上的時間單獨管制日本，扶植日本，到那時候，日本的五年復興計劃已完成一大半，整個局面也就很難挽回了。因此我認爲，對日和會應早日召開，而管制的改變應列爲和會的首要議程。

蔡貞人：今日各位所發揮的偉論，都很寶貴，敝會非常感謝，日本要使其民主化，是今日各位一致的主張，管制日本，尤應求民主化，此前提如不實現，則一切均無從談起，遠東委員會地位必須提高，作用必須加強，對日的決策不應爲美國單獨採持，日本工業水準亦不能固定的限制於戰前那一年的標準。而應以日本人民的生活需要，應使不超過遠東其他國家人民生活水準爲限。賠償問題我們必須爭取，使日本實踐波茨坦宣言，否決權要堅決的保持，以維護國家民族利益，和約應由四國起草，和會應提早召開，這些都是我們今天討論一致的意見。

因爲就擱各位時間太多，座談會暫時在此結束。以後再另定時間，以聆諸君的偉論。

- (h) Cheaper rations for industrial workers is not practicable as it would involve either a direct subsidy or higher prices for other consumers. To benefit one section of the community at the expense of others in this way would not be justifiable, particularly as industrial workers are better paid than many others. It would also involve serious practical difficulties in deciding who are eligible and ensuring that they and they only got the cheaper rations.
- (i) The possibility of providing technical aids is under consideration.
- (j) Exchange difficulties require Government to be cautious in buying Brazilian cotton and the difference in price is not such as to be likely to result in any reduction in the cost of yarn. But the possibilities are being examined.

I am to add that the only adequate long term solution of the difficulties of industry in the Colony is not protection from competition but the improvement of the standards of production to enable them to compete successfully with foreign rivals in this and other markets.

Colonial Secretariat,

30th. September, 1948.

Gentlemen,

I am directed to refer to your letter of the 22nd. July, 1948, and to inform you that the points which you presented therein have received careful consideration and Government's views on the suggestions which you made are as follows:-

- (a) Government is unable to accept the suggestion that an approach should be made to S. C. A. P. to restrict Japanese exports. Japan must export to pay for its essential food requirements which are at present being paid for to a large extent by the American taxpayer.
- (b) No quota for the importation of Japanese goods into the Colony is considered necessary. The flow of goods from this source is small and the range of commodities is limited, and is likely to remain so on account of exchange difficulties.
- (c) Local industrial products are already entitled to Empire preference on the same basis as other members of the Commonwealth and more favourable conditions cannot be expected.
- (d) As regards the suggestion that barter agreements should be entered into with countries in South East Asia, you are requested to state which countries you have in mind and what commodities you consider should be the subject of such agreements.
- (e) Government cannot consider financing industry either to modernize their equipment or to provide them with working capital.
- (f) The purchase of raw materials already receives priority for whatever foreign exchange is available.
- (g) Raw materials in Government's hands are already allocated at as low a price as possible.

actions on the part of the U.S.A. may well account for the appearance in the press of the slogan "Agricultural China, Industrial Japan". If this should materialise, not only would our eight years' War of Resistance be entirely in vain, but also the lives of countless number of soldiers and civilians, sacrificed to no purpose.

Our Association, formed exclusively for the purpose of opposing the promotion of the revival of Japanese industries, deeply feels the grave danger that threatens the existence of our nation and the welfare of our children in such talks as "Agricultural China, Industrial Japan". Refusing to remain silent and inactive by holding our peace, we, therefore, voice loudly our protest in the hope of arousing the attention of our people.

We wish to inform the U.S.A. candidly that we do not want to interfere with other U.S. policies of global nature. But the U.S.A.'s act of fostering the revival of militarism in Japan together with the unhesitating manner in which she has been advertising and advocating the "Agricultural China, Industrial Japan" fallacy, regarding China in the light of a mere colony, will assuredly meet with the bitterest wrath and strongest opposition from the 450,000,000 brethren of our country.

This Association, representing the industrial and commercial Overseas compatriots in Hongkong, does not want to be behind others in matters calling for patriotism; and we will not remain silent until we have called up the people of the whole Chinese nation and all the peoples of the world who uphold truth and righteousness, to rise up and join in our opposition. We hope, at the same time, that our own Chinese Government will give us its firm and effective support in response to this just and uprighteous call of ours.

situation.

The history of China during the last fifty years is inalienable from the aggressive policy of Japan. Ever since the 1894 Campaign, China has been the victim of Japanese threat, insolence, bullying and aggression, with national misfortunes piling on one another and national disgrace written all over her. To conquer China has always been the patiently nurtured Japanese national policy. "The Fall of China", interpreted according to the Japanese conception of the term, does not necessarily mean the annexation of China, but, significantly, the reduction of China to the status of a colony with her economy completely under Japanese control-which, in effect, amounts to nothing more or less than what has been termed "Agricultural China, Industrial Japan". In short, China is to supply Japan with cheap raw materials and Japan to sell to China her industrial products, turning China, thus, permanently into an agricultural colony to Japan's advantage.

It was China's aversion and defiance to be colonized that led to the eight years' War of Resistance in which millions of lives had been sacrificed. Fortunately, after much hardship and adversity, victory was won. The object and aim of China's War of Resistance was, politically, to gain national freedom and independence, and, economically, to deliver herself from the yoke and colonial status of "Agricultural China, Industrial Japan", in order to struggle and eventually win for herself an independent, bright and prosperous industrialised future.

Since victory, unfortunately, internal troubles in China obstructed her from seizing the excellent opportunity offered for national reconstruction; while the U.S.A., forgetful of the lesson taught her by the Pearl Harbour Incident, regarding her enemy as a friend and violating the terms set down in the Potsdam Declaration, aided Japan in her industrial revival, re-kindling, thus, the fire of Japanese aggression. Such

DECLARATION

by

The Anti-Promotion of Japanese Industrial Revival Association on the 17th Anniversary of the Mukden Incident protesting against the Slogan of "Agricultural China, Industrial Japan"

Seventeen years have now elapsed since the Mukden Incident. The enemy's surrender which took place three years ago, has now become a thing of the past. The Japanese Peace Conference has yet to be called, let alone the signing of the Japanese Peace Treaty. With wounds yet unhealed and the blood on our bodies and the tears on our faces fresh and wet, memories of the horrible past are still too bitter and vivid to be forgotten. Yet, scanning over the latest news, one is astounded by the prevalent talk of, and frequent reference to, "Agricultural China, Industrial Japan." A high official of the Washington Economic Co-operation Bureau recently announced that a part of the proposed US\$ 275,000,000 American loan for China would be utilised for the purchase of industrial products from Japan. It is also stipulated with binding effect that China is to export to Japan raw materials such as coal, iron ore etc. In a press interview, U S Senator Judd, Republican, remarked that while he considered Japan's post-war industrial output should be made to surpass the pre-war standard, he did not think any fundamental change or improvement in the agricultural position of China possible before the lapse of several decades or, perhaps, even a century. Such talks can be heard everywhere. Taking, therefore, the past as a guide and a warning to the future, and envisaging the hidden danger before us, we, members of the Association, fearful and worried, wish to seize this opportune date of the 17th Anniversary of the Mukden Incident, to represent to our compatriots the danger and insecurity of our present

ling Area. For many items, even though the prices may be a little higher, we still prefer to obtain Empire products provided we are not at too much disadvantage in competition in international markets.

In conclusion, may we thank the Government in advance for whatever aid it will be kind enough to give us in tiding over the present crisis caused by the dumping of cheap Japanese goods in markets which are usual outlets for Hong Kong products.

We have the honour to be
Sir,
Your obedient servants,

Group Members.

Chinese Manufacturers' Union, Hongkong,
Hongkong Cotton Weaving Manufacturers' Association,
South Seas Economic Association,
Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Hongkong,
Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Kowloon,
Philippines-Hongkong Import and Export Association,
Wai Yang Merchants Association,
Kiang-Su & Chekiang Association,
Economic Reporters' Association,
Nam Pak Hong Association,
Chiu Chow Association,
Textiles Manufacturing General Association,
Fukien Association,
Chinese & Foreign Products Commercial Association,
Tai Kung Cooperative Association,

Elected Members

Chiu Yiu Wah, Lui Yum Suen, Chin Ka Kui, Chong Sing Chung, Chow Hong Yan, Choi Sing Lam, Robert Der, Lee Ois, Chan Chok San, Wong San Yin and Woo Sze Ching.

The Anti-Promotion of Japanese
Industrial Revival Association,
C. I. Hsu

Chairman.

local allocation will be reduced in price to meet requirements arising from the present situation.

5. That cheaper rations of foodstuffs will be given to industrial workers to reduce their cost of living and consequently the cost of labour.

6. That technical aids will be given to local manufacturers in something like what Government has done for fishery.

The above points represent some of the more important ones to which particular attention is here called on and which prompt action needs to be taken. We are quite sure that all of them are within easy reach of Government. We must, however, make it clear that by requesting Government aids, we have not the slightest intention of shifting our responsibility and that we are not blind to our short-comings for which remedies have been urged on fellow-members. We want to co-operate to the best we can with Government in the maintenance of local industrial well-being.

As a concrete example, let us point out what needs to be done for the textile manufacturers. In the first place, they have not got supplies of cotton yarn in competitive terms in comparison with prices prevailing in other places. The allocation of 20 counts cotton yarn in Hongkong is more than HK\$ 1,300 per bale whereas in Shanghai, the cost price is about HK\$ 900, and in Japan, about HK\$ 700.

For cheaper supplies of cotton yarn, it is imperative that foreign exchange be given for the purchases of cheaper raw cotton. We understand that the prices of Brazilian raw cotton and Indian raw cotton are about the same; but the former is much better in quality and gives, consequently, a better product. It is hoped, therefore, that Government will give every facility to local manufacturers to enable them to buy raw cotton from Brazil.

It is not our wish, unless compelled by circumstances, to look for raw materials from other places outside of the Ster-

Japanese in the recent war, we Chinese merchants and manufacturers in Hong Kong cannot help make it our sacred duty to voice the strongest protest against the mistaken policy of the United States Government, and to take vigorous action against the invasion of cheap Japanese goods into local markets.

To be effective, we must oppose vigorously on the one hand the revival of Japanese industries with American aid; and leave no stone unturned, on the other hand, to strengthen our own position against Japanese competition. However, we cannot accomplish our purposes without Government support, since essential factors for industrial requirements are under Government control. Knowing how anxious Government is to maintain local welfare and prosperity, we beg to present the following points:-

1. That representation will be made to the SCAP for strict control of Japanese exports in conformity with the spirit of the Potsdam Declaration.

2. That effective measures will be taken for the protection of local industries:

- a. Establishment of a "quota" system as in Singapore for the importation of Japanese goods into the Colony.

- b. Procurement of Empire Preference for local industrial products.

- c. Conclusion of trade agreements with Governments in South-Eastern Asia, particularly Dutch India, for the barter of goods and raw materials.

3. That financial aids will be given to local manufacturers for

- a. The modernization of equipments to increase productivity.

- b. The fluidity of running capital to increase the Volume of businesses.

- c. The facilitation of foreign exchange to get cheaper raw materials.

4. That raw materials in the hand of Government for

been made under the guise of anti-communism, and there is no guarantee that this will not be repeated with equally disastrous results to both China and the United States. For this reason and for our survival, we must oppose the short-sighted policy of the American Government in restoring a strong Japan as our immediate neighbour.

Petition to Hong Kong Government

The undersigned beg to petition the Hongkong Government to support the efforts of local manufacturers in their struggle for existence against the crushing effect of the re-emergence of throat-cutting Japanese competition. We submit herewith our views to the Government for sympathetic consideration. We earnestly hope that concrete measures will be taken to strengthen our endeavours in maintaining the economic welfare of the Colony.

The Australian Minister for External Affairs, Dr. Evatt, has told the Australian Parliament that the United States' policy of rebuilding Japan could result in a potent menace to Australia and the Pacific nations; and that the American policy was similar to that she followed in Germany after World War I, which resulted in German rearmament. The Philippine Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr. Romulo, made a speech in New York in which he said "The Philippines do not share the optimism of those who believe Japan could be transformed overnight into a democratic and peace-loving nation." and "aggression is written clear and large over Japan's record and no amount of wishful thinking can quite obliterate it." The above two statements show unmistakably the apprehensions of the Pacific nations regarding the United States' policy of reconstructing Japanese industry, which will ultimately lead to the revival of Japanese military aggression. Recalling the devastation of the Far Eastern countries in general, and the ravage of Hongkong in particular, by the

ers can see the gravest consequences of such a policy. China is still suffocating under the blanket of ruin spread by the recent Japanese aggression. The Chinese people will surely be the first to suffer from the revival of Japanese industries, and the invasion of Japanese goods. Will the Americans help the Japanese to realize what they have failed to accomplish by war, in reducing China to the status of an economic vassal? The first dumping of Japanese cheap products here in Hong Kong has already caused at this early stage the closure of 50 % of the weaving factories in this colony.

Although we are worse off than the Japanese in spite of the fact that we are one of the victors, we do not grudge them their swift recovery to the point of economic self-sufficiency; but we cannot help anticipating with alarm the resurgence of Japanese aggressive power, which will manifest itself as soon as Japan has made full and sufficient use of American aid. That the reconstruction of Germany after the First World War may be repeated in Japan after the Second World War with similarly disastrous consequence is not only a probability, but a certainty. In view of this fact, can you look with complacency upon the revival of Japanese aggressive power through American aid?

The motives of the American Government in building up Japan, may be to utilize her as a bulwark against the possible ambitious actions of certain rival nation in the Far East; but the American people should remember what Japanese predominance in this part of the world meant to the allies in World War II. The Japanese may profess one thing but mean another to suit their own ambitions. Sooner or later, Japan will have freedom for independent action. When that time comes, by glorifying past conquests and brooding over recent defeats, the course of action she may take will in all likelihood be another "surprise". From the Manchurian incident to Pearl Harbour, Japanese aggression has always

An Open Letter to The American People

As your traditional friends and former allies in the recent war, may we appeal to your impartial judgment against the mistaken policy of your Government in promoting the restoration of Japanese economic power, and consequently military power of aggression, upon which, we cannot look without apprehension when we recall the sad history of our relations with Japan in the last sixty years. We are sure you will support us in upholding the Potsdam Declaration which stated that "There must be eliminated for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest" and "Japan shall be permitted to maintain such industries as will sustain her economy and permit the exaction of just reparations in kind, but not those which would enable her to rearm for war." You, as well as we, distrust the quick conversion of the Japanese into a peace-loving and democratic nation. This conversion can only be judged many years after the withdrawal of the American occupation forces. Had you not been given a false sense of security by their negotiations in Washington, the disaster of Pearl Harbour would not have taken you by surprise. To-day they submit to you, but to-morrow, they may turn around and repeat their aggression in the form of another surprise, as the cunning character of the Japanese cannot be changed in a short time. You will agree with us when we say that the limitation of Japanese industrial expansion is the best safeguard for peace in the Orient.

To rebuild Japanese industry beyond the point of self-sufficiency may bring temporary benefit to a few unscrupulous financiers; but in the long run, it will surely cause havoc in International economy through throat-cutting competition, as a result of the exploitation of cheap labour. Directly, or indirectly, the majority of American manufacturers and work-

**To Dr. Herbert Evatt,
H. E. The Australian Minister for External
Affairs, Canberra, Australia.**

Dear Sir,

We fully subscribe to your view that the United States policy of rebuilding Japan could result in "a potent menace" to Australia and the Pacific Nations. As a result of the recent dumping of Japanese goods here, and in the South Sea regions almost 50 % of the weaving factories in this colony have, been forced to close down. We are sure that if American aid to Japan as contemplated is fully materialized, all countries in the Far East would be adversely affected by the invasion of Japanese goods. Economic aggression will undoubtedly lead to military aggression. Since China has suffered so greatly from Japanese aggression in the last sixty years the Chinese people cannot but view with great alarm the mistaken policy of the American Government regarding the revival of Japanese industrial power.

We concur heartily with your words to the effect that the present American policy is similar to that she followed in Germany after World War I, which resulted in German rearmament. We hope that you will make formal protest to the American Government before it is too late.

Chinese industrial and commercial organisations here in Hongkong, as those elsewhere, have joined together to form a temporary association for the purpose of voicing their protests to the American Government and people against their short-sighted policy of aiding Japanese industrial and consequently military expansion.

We beg to enclose herewith printed matters voicing our opinion on the subject under discussion. We hope that you will kindly furnish us further guidance.

there is yet no guarantee that she will not return to military aggression when the first opportunity presents itself. It is no small surprise to us all that before the Peace Treaty is written, the United States has made preparation to restore Japanese industries and consequently military power, upon which neither you Filipinos nor we Chinese can look on with complacency. In spite of the fact that the United States have helped us to win the war, we both must protest against such a mistaken policy which will assuredly jeopardize future peace. We fully agree with the statement made by your ambassador to the United Nations, Mr. Romulo, to the effect that "the Philippines do not share the optimism of those who believe Japan could be transformed overnight into a democratic and peace-loving nation".

We hope that all the nations on this side of the Pacific will be able to make successful joint-efforts in carrying out into effect the terms of the Potsdam Declaration that Japanese industries would be strictly limited to self-sufficiency. More over the invasion of Japanese cheap goods into our markets must be stopped by all means in the earliest stage, otherwise economic threat to our existence will arise again. In order to forestall the revival of Japanese economic power with American aid, we have organized our merchants everywhere to boycott Japanese goods just as we had done before the war. We hope that you will do likewise, for we are sure that you as well as we cannot forget the sad events leading to the recent invasion of our countries. We have already felt serious effects from the recent dumping of Japanese goods on the markets of South East Asia.

We are enclosing herewith some of our resolutions and declarations with regard to this matter for your perusal, knowing that you fully share our hopes and fears. For your interests as well as ours, we hope that you will take action before it is too late.

material with the intention of building up Japan to be the industrial center in the Far East and thus converting China and other Asiatic countries into supply bases for raw materials. The inevitable result of this would be a death blow to the industries of all the Asiatic countries outside of Japan. As a matter of fact the outpour of Japanese goods in recent months has already inundated the market in South-east Asia and dealt a severe blow to Hongkong's industry, and commerce between Malaya and other South Sea regions has shown a gradual and daily decline. More than one half of the factories in Hongkong have been forced either to close down altogether or to reduce their production. When the Draper Plan is put into effect the Japanese industries will be boosted to a still higher level and her armament industries will be built up in secret, thus causing the revival of Japanese ambition to renew their aggressive attempts and bringing about a state of war in the not too distant future. The World has scarcely yet recovered from the Second World War and it is horrible to think of a third one. We hope therefore that you, as a symbol of world peace, will use your effort to put a stop to this mistaken policy of the United States in order that world peace may eventually be achieved and maintained. Please also forward this message to the Security Council and the Social and Economic Council.

**To The Chairman of the Senate,
Manila, Philippine,**

Dear Sir,

Geographically the Philippines and China are immediate neighbours, racially, the Filipinos and the Chinese are inseparably related, and traditionally, both have been good friends. In the recent war against Japan both have suffered almost to the same extent, and such tragic events cannot be easily forgotten. Although Japan has been temporarily defeated,

**To General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme
Commander of Allied Forces in Japan,
SCAP Headquarters, Tokyo, Japan.**

The recent American policy of actively building up Japan in contradiction to the Potsdam Declaration is nothing short of bringing up a tiger. The present outpour of Japanese goods has already hit a severe blow on industry and commerce in China as well as in Hongkong. The carrying out of the Draper Plan in the future will exceed greatly the standards of self-sufficiency of Japan with the consequent result that the Japanese armament industry will be expanded and the amplification of renewed Japanese aggression will be evoked. The Pearl Harbour Incident and the Bataan tragedy in which you yourself had bitter personal experiences seem to be too recent to be forgotten. As to us Chinese, we had the painful experience of being continuously invaded by Japan for the last sixty years and we cannot remain silent while the blood and tears of our fellow countrymen are hardly dry. We cannot help voicing our protest but hope that you will change the present occupation policy in Japan. This is essential not only for the maintenance of industrial production in Hongkong, but also for the maintenance of world peace.

**To Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-general, United
Nations, Lake Success, New York, U. S. A.**

According to the Potsdam Declaration Japan is only allowed to maintain an industrial level sufficient to meet her minimum economic needs and to pay indemnities to the Allied Nations, but such an industries level does not include the revival of her armament industrial. The Strike and Draper plans endorsed by the American government this year actually raise the industrial level of Japan to a point surpassing the standards of self-sufficiency. The United States Government has furthermore loaned to Japan a huge amount of money and

allowed to maintain an industrial level sufficient to meet the needs of her own economy as well as the payment of indemnity to the Allied Nations, but not sufficient to enable her to rebuild her war industries. Your Government has now put forward various plans for bringing the industrial level of Japan to such an extent as to exceed the prewar standards of self-sufficiency, and has also lent money and material to Japan with the intention of building her up to be the industrial center in the Far East and thus converting China and other Asiatic countries into supply bases of raw materials. The recent outpour of Japanese goods has scored a severe blow on East Asia, with China and Hongkong taking the first impacts. On this account 70 to 80 % of the industrial plants in Hongkong have been forced to close down, a fact which shows the first disastrous effects of the American policy of actively building up the Japanese industry. Unfortunately the present cabinet of the Chinese Government in Nanking under Dr. Wong, following your line of building up Japan, made the further proposal of converting Japanese industries so as to lay the chief emphasis on heavy industries and chemical industries. This will naturally lead to the revival of armament industries in Japan, something smelling strongly of gunpowder and in complete contradiction to the spirit of the Potsdam Declaration. The firm earth of Eastern Asia still has the stench of blood fresh from the Second world War while tears are scarcely dry on the cheeks of orphans and widows. We have great apprehensions that another Pearl Harbour Incident is not far off, and therefore cannot help voicing our protest here with the hope that you will change your Japan policy and limit the industrial level of Japan to that fixed by the Potsdam Declaration. This is essential not only to the maintenance of industrial production in Hongkong, but also to the maintenance of world peace.

Declaration and to appeal to the better sense of our patriotic countrymen, and of the people of the world for united action against the re-establishment of a system of economic aggression in Japan.

**To The Rt. Hon. Clement Attlee, Prime
Minister, 10 Downing St., London.**

The American Plan of actively building up Japan to put her industrial production above the standards of self-sufficiency is in direct contradiction to the spirit of the Potsdam Declaration. The recent outpour of Japanese goods has already inundated the market of Southeastern Asia. The cotton mills in Hongkong are badly hit and 80 to 90 % of such mills have already been forced to either cut down production or close down altogether. Other industries are also adversely affected. If the proposed Draper Plan is put into operation, British textile export trade will suffer greatly from Japanese competition. Prewar experiences in this respect should serve as a warning to British exporters and such bad effects are already beginning to be felt.

Furthermore, after Japanese industries are built up with American support, her armament industry will naturally be secretly expanded. This means that aggressive ambitions of Japan will be revived and another war is likely to break out in the future. The loss of Hongkong and Malaya to the enemy for three years and eight months during the Second world War makes one apprehensive of such a future. We implore you, therefore, to take effective steps against the dumping of Japanese goods at once. This will not only be beneficial to Hongkong industries and the British export trade, but will also contribute to world peace.

**To President Truman and Secretary of State
Marshall, Washington D.C., U.S.A.**

According to the Potsdam Declaration, Japan is to be

industrial rehabilitation and become again a militarised nation. But whether she would measure her strength with Russia is extremely doubtful. And, in any case, the first victims of her economic and military aggression would again be China, Great Britain and the U. S. A. The wounds we received from the Lukouchiao and the Pearl Harbour incidents are still before us, and the brutality of the Great Sacred East Asia War cannot have so soon escaped our memories. It behoves upon us to see that history does not repeat itself.

Those who advocate and make justification for the revival of Japanese industries do so either on humanitarian grounds in that they cannot bear the thought of leaving the Japanese to their starvation, or as a result of their overlooking the importance of the realities which are fraught with latent danger, or of being blinded by the attraction of the cheap Japanese goods, or from a desire for some paltry gains. It may be assumed that they have not read the full details of the Japanese Industry Revival Programme, understand much less the law of historical evolutions, and, in general, have shown a deplorable lack of foresight. If we who survive the eight years of war, but stop for a moment and recall the hardship, deprivation and sufferings of our people, the breaking-up of thousands and thousands of homes and families, the cries and moans of orphans and widows, the sight of otherwise peaceful countrysides strewn with corpses of men and women, we cannot on any humanitarian grounds or under any pretexts, allow the resurrection of the Japanese economic power, which can only mean the prelude to the re-establishment of her industries for military ends.

The stand we make against any American aid to the promotion of Japanese industries does not, however, in any way jeopardise the friendship we cherish of the American people, who fought with us shoulder to shoulder against the common foe. Our aim and intention is to uphold the Potsdam

has yet to be drafted and signed, a state of war between the Allied Nations and Japan still legally exists. And yet, with the aid of U. S. A., Japan has been turning out industrial products far exceeding her economic and reparation needs and the influx of her goods into Hong Kong and other Far East markets has begun to assume more and more aggressive proportions. With the advantages of cheap manual labour and adequate supply of raw materials from U. S. A. on a loan basis, Japan will soon be able to build up again a strong aggressive economic system and carry out effectively her dumping policy. Before the onrush of such competition, not only will the backward and feeble Chinese industries be unable to put up any fight, but the British industries which have hardly recovered from the shock of the last war, would also be dealt a staggering blow. The extent to which the Chinese manufacturers in Hong Kong have suffered from the overflow of Japanese goods in the local market has amply borne out our point. If we tolerate the expansion of Japanese industries by trying to find or invent excuses for it, or extol the arbitrary policy pursued by the SCAP, the hope for any revival of British and Chinese industry will forever be destroyed. The tendency will be that Japan will build herself up again into a great aggressive power through the revival of her industries.

The object, as we see it, of U. S. A. in lavishing aid on Japan, is to create a bulwark in the Far East against possible Soviet ambitious action. Britain and U. S. A. fostered the same idea before the last war. They gave every chance to Japan, who styled themselves as the Watch-dogs of the Far East, to build herself up into a great power. The results, as history shows, were disastrous to China, to Britain and U. S. A., but not to Russia. If the plans laid down by Mr. Draper, Under-Secretary of War for U. S. A., were carried out, our prediction is that Japan would complete her programme of

common consideration and deliberation in order that the aim and object of this Association may eventually be attained.

Thank you.

Hong Kong Chinese Anti-Promotion of Japanese Industrial Revival Association Meeting Manifesto.

That Japanese industries, sponsored by U. S. A., have been allowed to grow and expand beyond the point of self-sufficiency to encroach upon Far Eastern markets can not be viewed with unconcern. With the memories still fresh in our minds of the eight years' war of resistance against the aggressor Japan and of the stupendous sacrifices our country made towards the final elimination of that aggression, we, with wounds still bleeding, are again today confronting the resurgence of an aggression from the same source, which threatens to destroy the economic structure of our country. The menace is real and the situation critical and serious. It is with this realization that we try, in the following paragraphs, to bring home to one and all the significance of this economic aggression and the reasons why we protest against its encouragement.

Before commenting on the possible averse effects of the revived Japanese industries on British and Chinese industries, let us first of all be reminded of a few important points contained in the Potsdam Declaration. In that Declaration, the leaders of the Allied Nations, in clear and unequivocal terms, solemnly declared: "There must be eliminated all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest" and "Japan shall be permitted to maintain such industries as will sustain her economy and permit the exaction of just reparations in kind, but not those which would enable her to rearm for war." While the basis on which Peace and Democracy is built is still lacking in Japan and the Peace Treaty

Japanese goods, and, for the sake of some paltry gains, have already begun buying Japanese goods in colossal quantities.

Taking advantage of this doubly profitable state of affairs, Japanese industry shoots itself forward by leaps and bounds. Japanese production today has already passed beyond the self-supporting margin and Japan can well afford to export enormous quantities of her newly manufactured goods to different Far Eastern Countries. Hongkong's weaving industry, being the first to receive the staggering blow, has been obliged to suspend operation of more than half of the total number of its looms. The position of other industries is equally deplorable.

That we should again fall a victim to the serious threat of a defeated nation's economic aggression while we are still panting for breath after our hard-earned victory, is indeed beyond the tolerance of any man who has feeling and a warm heart within him.

Being fundamentally a modest, polite, honest, forgiving and peace-loving people, we Chinese have never entertained any vindictive or spiteful feeling towards defeated Japan. But what we are desirous of helping is a peace-loving and democratic Japan and most certainly not a totalitarian Japan. The policy that is being pursued by the United States to assist Japan's revival will help Japan reconstruct her aggressive economic organism and rebuild herself again into a totalitarian nation. If we still remain insensible to and heedless of the menacing significance of the situation, not only the future industry of Hongkong is gravely at stake but the future of the world also is unpredictable.

All of you present here today are Overseas Chinese leaders in some trade or profession in Hongkong and are, without question, replete with the spirit of patriotism. I earnestly hope, therefore, that everyone of you will make your best endeavours to offer some practical and effective suggestions for

meeting is held, I wish first to draw your attention to a certain point on which I would lay particular stress. At present, this "anti-promotion of Japanese industrial revival" campaign is finding fervent and ready response, like a rising wind and gathering clouds, over the whole of China, dragging into it questions and problems of international magnitude. Thus it is quite likely that people may be mistaken about our real motive and inclined to think that anti-promotion of Japanese industrial revival and anti-Americans is one and the same thing.

Thus, very carefully, I wish to emphasise again that there is nothing we honour and treasure more than the cordial friendship between the United States and China, who have been allies in War and in the eradication of brutal aggression. What we do actually oppose is just that in trying to assist Japan in its revival, the Americans are doing the thing to excess and beyond reasonable bounds. From the way we look at it, such policy on the part of the Americans is a fallacy.

The ultimate result will not only be endangering the position of China but also detrimental to the interests of America. Worse still, it may even prove a menace to the peace and security of the world some day.

For the love and protection, therefore, of our own country, our allies and the human race all over the world, we have no alternative but to exert our best efforts to correct the attitude of the Americans. This, thus, is our main object in having this Meeting held to-day.

Very recently, making 'preservation of the Japanese from starvation' and 'to reduce America's heavy burden and responsibilities' its pretexts, the SCAP put in its extensive efforts to promote the revival of Japanese industries. At the same time, the Governments and peoples of various Far Eastern Countries, tempted and deceived by the cheapness of

General Committee.

10. Expenses: The expenses of the Association are to be met by the donations and contributions collected by the General Committee from the different Overseas Chinese Groups and enthusiastic supporters of the cause of the Association.
11. Dissolution: When the work of the Association is completed and its task performed, the dissolution of the Association will be declared after a resolution to the same effect shall have been passed by the General Committee. Publications will also be made in the local press making known to the public the work that has been done by, as well as the total receipt and expenditure of, the Association.

SPEECH

Given by Mr. C. L. Hsu
at the opening of

The Anti-Promotion of Japanese Industrial Revival Association.

Leaders of Overseas Chinese in different trades and professions, fellow Members of our Union.

This meeting, held under the name of "Anti-Promotion of Japanese Industrial Revival Association," is sponsored by the Hongkong Chinese Manufacturers' Union, Hongkong Cotton Weaving Manufacturers' Association, South Seas Economic Association and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Kowloon. I feel animated and exultant, indeed, to find all of you participating in this meeting, to give it your ardent support.

By reason, perhaps, of the fact that I am the Acting Chairman of the Chinese Manufacturers' Union and also one of the sponsors of this Association, I have been done the honour (unduly, perhaps), of being appointed Chairman of the Association for which I cannot but feel deeply grateful.

Before, however, announcing the reasons for which this

- aims of this Association are welcomed to become its members to participate in the planning of its campaign.
6. Members of Committee: Twenty seven members of the Association, comprising of 15 Group Members representing local Overseas Chinese Groups, and 12 Individual members, are elected to form a General Committee seven members of which are elected as Standing Committee whose duties are to take charge of all the businesses and carry out the Resolutions of the Association.
 7. Chairman: From among the members of the Standing Committee, a Chairman is elected. His duties include works such as the convening of meetings of the General and Standing Committee and management of daily businesses of the Association.
 8. Committees & Sub-Committees: Set up under the General Committee are the following:- a "Propaganda" and a "Liaison" Committee, a "General Affairs" and a "Finance" Sub-Committee. Each of the two former has a "Head" and an "Assistant Head" over it, while over each of the two latter, there is just a single "Head" without an assistant. Each of the above four posts is taken up by a member of the Standing Committee. The personnels of the Propaganda and Liaison Committees are not fixed in number and the responsibility of engaging men of good social standing for these services rests with the Standing Committee. The number of executives to be employed is to be determined by the General Committee which will base its decision on the amount of work that has to be coped with.
 9. Secretarial Duties: A Secretarial Department is set up by the Association in which the services of an Honorary Secretary and two paid clerks are engaged. Their duties consist of the handling of documents and correspondence as well as all the businesses of the various Committees and Sub-Committees, in accordance with the instructions of the

The Anti-Promotion of Japanese Industrial Revival Association's Organization Programme.

1. Organization: This Association, known as "The Anti-Promotion of Japanese Industrial Revival Association, Hongkong," is organized by the joint-efforts of the Hongkong Overseas Chinese Groups.
2. Object of the Association: The object of the Association is to summon all Overseas Chinese Compatriots and peoples of the world to join in a united front to uphold the Potsdam Declaration and oppose the promotion of the Revival of Japanese Industries beyond the self-subsisting margin in order to prevent Japan from re-building herself up into an economically-aggressive power which must necessarily prove a great menace to both British & Chinese industries.
3. Main Duties of the Association.
 - (a) To call upon and appeal to all Chinese in China as well as Overseas to unite together and unanimously oppose the revival of Japanese industries and, at the same time, encourage and promote the use of National products.
 - (b) To petition to the Allied Authorities to take effective measures to curb the promotion of Japanese industries and restrict the sale of Japanese goods.
 - (c) To call together all Overseas Chinese groups and peoples of the Allied Nations to adopt a common and unanimous course of action.
4. Address of the Association: The Chinese Manufacturers' Union has very kindly lent this Association the use of its Office in China Building, 2nd Floor, as the Associations' temporary Office.
5. Membership: All local Overseas Chinese groups as well as people of all trades and professions in sympathy with the

South Seas Economic Association, Secretary of the Association.

After the Inauguration Ceremony had been performed, the Chairman, Mr. Hsu, delivered his Opening Speech, (see separate page attached) and Mr. Chan Kwan Lang, representative of the H.K. Cotton Cloth Manufacturers' Association, reported on the work done preparatory to the inauguration of the Association. This is followed by a general discussion on the procedure of the Association's business. After having passed the Association's Organization Programme (see separate page attached) for adoption and the Association's Declaration (see separate page attached) for publication, the meeting went on to pass the motion for the despatch of cables to the Chinese, British & U.S.A. Governments as well as airmails to various groups & Societies in different parts of the World to give them some indication & idea of the feelings of the People of Hongkong.

Also, in accordance with the Organization Programme, the following 15 groups, the Chinese Manufacturers' Union, Hongkong Cotton Cloth Manufacturers' Association, Hongkong-Philippines Import & Export Association, Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Kowloon, South Seas Economic Association, Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Hongkong, Wai Yang Commercial Association, Kiang-Su, Chekiang Association, Economic Reporters' Association, Chiu Chow Association, Nam Pak Hong Association, Chinese and Foreign Products Association, Tai Kung Co-operative Society, Textiles Manufacturing General Association, Fukien Association, and the following twelve persons, Mr. C. L. Hsu, Dr. Wong San Yin, Messrs. Chow Hong Yan, Chien Ka Kui, Chiu Yin Wah, Lvi Yum Suen, Choi Sing Nam, Robert Der, Chong Sing Chung, Li Ois, Chan Chok Sun & Woo Sze Ching, were elected Group Committee Members & Individual Committee Members respectively for the purpose of organizing a general Committee to be responsible for the businesses of the Association.

THE FOUNDING OF THIS ASSOCIATION

At noon, on the 19th of June, 1948, the Inauguration Meeting of "The Anti-Promotion of Japanese Industrial Revival Association, Hong Kong," was held at the Kam Ling Restaurant. The several hundred persons who participated included representatives of Local Industrial, Commercial, and Social groups such as the Chinese National Products Production and Consumption Co-operative Society, Wan Fow Club, Hongkong Chinese Manufacturers' Union, Chiu Chow Assn., Hongkong & Kowloon Elec. Affair Labour & Comm. Assn., South Seas Economic Assn., HK. & Kowloon Curios & Furniture Labour and Comm. General Assn., Kiang-Su, Chekiang Assn., Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Hongkong, Tai Kung Co-operative Society, HK-Philippines Import & Export Assn., Poon Yue Club, Hainan Assn., HK. & Kln. Paints & Lacquers General Guild, Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Kowloon, HK. Cotton Cloth Manufacturers' Assn., HK. Chinese Restaurant & Eating House Merchants Assn., Tung Koon Labour Assn., Wai Yang Commercial Assn., Nam Pak Hong Assn., Textiles Manufacturing General Assn., Kow Kong Assn., HK. Printers' & Publishers' Assn., Yan Ping Assn., Chiu Chow Merchants Co-operative Society, Gunny-Bags Assn., Economic Reporters' Assn., HK. Weaving & Knitting Labour Assn., Sai Yee Shipping Guild, etc., etc.

The Hongkong Chinese Manufacturers' Union, Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Hongkong, The Hongkong Cotton Cloth Manufacturers' Association, Hongkong-Philippines Import & Export Association, Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Kowloon, South Seas Economic Association, and the Wai Yang Commercial Association were elected the Presidium of the Association, with Mr. C.L. Hsu, Representative of the Hong Kong Chinese Manufacturers' Union, being elected Chairman of the Presidium, and Mr. S.H. Han, Representative of the

THE ANTI-PROMOTION OF JAPANESE INDUSTRIAL REVIVAL ASSOCIATION

Chairman

C. L. Hsu

(Vice Chairman, Hongkong Chinese Manufacturers' Union)

Members of the Standing Committee

C. L. Hsu

(Hongkong Chinese Manufacturers' Union)

Chan Kwan Lang

(Hongkong Cotton Cloth Manufacturers' Association)

Choi Ching Yan

(South Seas Economic Association)

Wong Cheung Sui

(Hongkong-Philippines Import & Export Association)

Wong San Yin

Choi Sing Nam

Chong Sing Chung

Members of the General Committee

Hongkong Chinese Manufacturers' Union

Hongkong Cotton Cloth Manufacturers' Association

Hongkong-Philippines Import & Export Association

Textiles Manufacturing General Association

Chinese & Foreign Products Association

Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Hongkong

Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Kowloon

South Seas Economic Association

Economic Reporters' Association

Wai Yang Commercial Association

Kiang-Su Chekiang Association

Tai Kung Co-operative Society

Nam Pak Hong Association

Chiu Chow Association

Fukien Association

G. L. Hsu

Wong San Yin

Choi Sing Nam

Robert Der

Chiu Yiu Wah

Chan Chok Sum

Li Ois

Chong Sing Chung

Woo Sze Ching

Chien Ka Kui

Lui Yum Suen

Chow Hong Yan

Honorary Secretary

S. H. Han

永之先生

于方未峰，特將此書留
藉作參考。政研所已併入華大
研究班，改為政治研究院，方新
幕今已撤及，特告。由政
報社

李亞中 啟
3/8/48

SELECTED ARTICLES

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