



3 2103 00330 4171

The background features a large, dark, irregular shape resembling a cloud or smoke plume. Within this shape, a light blue silhouette of a bomber aircraft is shown in flight, angled upwards and to the right. Below the main title, there is a stylized illustration of a Japanese city skyline with traditional pagoda-like structures. To the right of the skyline is a large, light blue, stylized flame or explosion shape. Inside this flame, the text 'MADE IN U.S.A.' is written vertically.

AMERICA'S SHARE IN JAPAN'S WAR GUILT

TAKE AMERICAN WAR PROFITS OUT
OF JAPAN'S AGGRESSION IN CHINA

AMERICA'S SHARE IN JAPAN'S WAR GUILT

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR NON-PARTICIPATION
IN JAPANESE AGGRESSION

8 West 40th Street

New York, N. Y.

Price: Fifteen Cents

First Printing
July, 1938

Second Printing
September, 1938

PRINTED IN U.S.A.



181

ACADEMY PRESS
112 Fourth Avenue
New York N. Y.

FOREWORD

A momentous issue of right and wrong confronts the people of America. Shall we continue to be partners with Japan in her unjustifiable invasion of Chinese soil or shall we refuse henceforth to furnish Japan with the materials of war? Japan is now dependent upon the United States for one-half of her war supplies.

We would not be accomplices in a crime in our local community. Why should we be accomplices in an international crime? Why should American iron, American steel, American oil, American copper, American chemicals, American aircraft and motor trucks be used to destroy and kill in China?

There are honest differences of public opinion on what American foreign policy should be and on the methods that should be followed in working for world peace. But would not the realization of our present aid to militarist Japan lead all groups in America to a common decision? Can we not say together—we will not underwrite Japan's cruel war? We refuse to be Japan's partner. We decline to help Japan build up a great military and naval machine by which she can dominate Asia and threaten America as well as the peace of the entire world. On the other hand we stand ready to give every possible assistance to both Japan and China in any programs of constructive economic development which will benefit their own peoples and the peoples of the world.

Upon such a platform we believe that all Americans who hate war and who wish to "engage actively in the search for peace" can unite. No further aid to Japan until she ceases her war of aggression in China and agrees to a just and peaceable settlement of all outstanding problems! This is definitely a *peace* policy, not a *war* policy. It is a road *from* war, not *to* war. We simply withdraw from our part in Japan's war upon China. We do what we can to hasten the end of hostilities. We act to bring an earlier peace in the Pacific. Whatever other nations may do, our consciences then will be clear.

This is not only an international issue but is very definitely a national question. The United States Government is being

forced to spend billions for the construction and maintenance of a Big Navy because of the menace in the Pacific. It is idle to pretend that our huge naval construction program is being pushed because of threats from European navies. The threat comes from Japan. Yet we are not only arming Japan for her aggression in China but also supplying a major share of materials for Japan's naval construction program, compelling Congress to enact such a measure as the \$1,150,000,000 Naval Expansion Bill—money that is urgently needed at home for flood control, public works, slum clearance, housing projects, social security, education, public health and the whole relief program.

The irony of it! We prepare to defend ourselves against those whose sinews of strength for expansion come from our own industries.

In this booklet the reader will find important and challenging facts which reveal America's role in arming Japan and America's share in Japanese aggression on the Asia mainland. It raises an issue that deserves the earnest consideration of every American.

The issue is clear-cut for those who oppose war and seek peace. Japan could not continue her invasion of China another six months or continue as a potential menace to the security of other nations without aeroplanes, munitions, trucks, scrap iron, oil, steel and other materials from the United States.

The time has come to present these facts to every man and woman in the United States. If the American people become fully aware of the part they are taking in the deliberate and frightful bombing of helpless civilians in China, the mad attempt to subjugate a great people, and the ambitious expansion of a militaristic power, there is little doubt what they will say or do. Americans will say, "Count us out." Americans will not give further aid and encouragement to the aggressor, actual and potential.

Not only must the information in this booklet be widely disseminated but the moral conscience of America must express itself. We are committing a great wrong. We are virtual allies of a nation whose military policy and methods have received world condemnation. We sympathize deeply with the deluded and misled people of Japan. We are their sincere friends. We entertain no hatred toward them. But we cannot condone the actions of their military party, and we must not economically support what we morally condemn. To be indifferent or silent

now, to acquiesce in an intolerable international situation, to think selfishly of peace as only an American problem, is to strengthen the forces of greed and lawlessness among nations and to increase the future perils to peace on the American continents.

Shall we say nothing and do nothing in the face of the known facts about our share in the guilt? Then we betray humanity.

If the people of the United States know the facts, if their consciences are deeply stirred, they will act and they will see that their government acts. Japan then can no longer look to America for the means of war. America then will cease to be a partner of Japan in her barbarous attacks upon China.

The United States can do its part by refusing to give economic support for war purposes to a country which is violating, as Japan is, a solemn treaty of peace with the United States.

China is making a magnificent struggle for liberty. The least we can do is to withhold aid from her enemy. The democracies can stop war from spreading only by refusing absolutely to support wars of aggression, only by refusing to share in their evil profits.

Let America act now and act quickly, for peace.

OUR ASSISTANCE TO JAPAN

"The lamentable fact is that today the aggression of Japan is being actively assisted by the efforts of men of our own nation and men of the other great democracy in the world—the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is not only being actively assisted, but our assistance is so effective and predominant that without it even today the aggression would in all probability be promptly checked and cease. . . .

"So I say that the first glaring fact which stares us in the face in our analysis of the situation is that China's principal need is not that something should be done by outside nations to help her, but that outside nations should cease helping her enemy. Given a situation in which the supply of munitions was only somewhat less unequal, China's bravery has already shown that Japan's task would be hopeless.

"In the light of these facts, the first question that I should ask of the American and British peoples is: Does the safety of the American nation and the safety of the British Empire require that we go on helping Japan to exterminate, by the methods she is daily employing, the gallant Chinese soldiers with which she is confronted—not to speak of the civilian Chinese population that she is engaged in terrorizing? Is the condition of our statesmanship so pitifully inadequate that we cannot devise the simple means of international co-operation which would stop our participation in this slaughter? I for one do not think so. I believe that it can be done, and done effectively, without serious danger to us."

—HENRY L. STIMSON,

former Secretary of State.

*Excerpt from letter to New York Times,
October 6, 1937*

WHAT GOVERNMENT LEADERS ARE SAYING . . .

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT:

"Without a declaration of war and without warning or justification of any kind, civilians, including women and children, are being ruthlessly murdered with bombs from the air. . . . The peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of humane instincts which today are creating a state of international anarchy and instability from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality."

—*From address of October 5, 1937,
on the World Political Situation.*

CORDELL HULL, *Secretary of State*:

"Respect for law and observance of the pledged word have sunk to an inconceivably low level. The outworn slogans of the glorification of war are again resounding in many portions of the globe. Armed force, naked and unashamed, is again being used as an instrument of policy and a means of attaining national ends through aggression and aggrandizement. It is being employed with brutality and savagery that outrage and shock every humane instinct.

"There is a desperate need in our country, and in every country, of a strong and united public opinion in support of a renewal and demonstration of faith in the possibility of a world order based on law and international cooperative effort. When such public opinion has developed and when the momentous issue of today—the fateful decision as to whether relations among nations shall be governed by armed force or by cooperation and order under law—is clearly understood and visualized, there will be no insuperable difficulty in finding acceptable ways and means of achieving the desired end."

—*From address at Nashville, Tennessee,
June 3, 1938.*

FRANCIS B. SAYRE, *Assistant Secretary of State*:

"When forces of lawlessness are abroad, supine inaction in effect means siding with the evil against the good; the strongest

encouragement which can be given lawless aggressors is to make it quite clear that they have nothing to fear from those with power to withstand them. The United States cannot afford to be a cipher at this crucial moment of the world's history. We must be resolute and prepared if necessary to withstand the aggression of the lawless. This does not mean desire for war. War is evil incarnate. But it means recognition of the fact that some things are worse than fighting if fighting be in defense of life or principles.

"I need scarcely add, in closing, that the general acceptance of a code of law and morality among independent nations can never be brought about through force, for this is essentially a thing of the spirit. The task of the law abiding now is to save the world from being delivered over into the hands of the lawless—to prevent the shipwreck and annihilation of what we have been toilingly building for centuries."

—*From an address before The American Society of International Law, Washington, April 30, 1938.*

STANLEY K. HORNBECK, *Adviser on Political Relations, Department of State:*

"Without the concept of justice, pursuit of national interests becomes simply effort toward national self-aggrandizement. Without regard for justice in pursuit of national interests it would be difficult indeed to conceive of peace as possible. . . .

"There is warrant for believing that the present disruption of international relations generally is due to a failure on the part of some nations to realize that in relations between and among nations national self-interest must, in the long run, be subordinated to the claims of justice. . . .

"To make principles effective in practice it is necessary that peoples be committed, by personal understanding and conviction, to them. . . .

"The first line of our national defense should be spiritual. It should lie in character. It should lie in concepts, beliefs, faith, conviction,—and in willingness to make sacrifices—if necessary even sacrifice of our own lives—in support of and in defense of these. . . ."

—*From address before the Chaplain's Association of the Army of the United States, Washington, May 17, 1938.*

WHAT MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ARE SAYING . . .

SENATE RESOLUTION:

*—Introduced by SENATOR KEY PITTMAN OF NEVADA; Passed
unanimously by the United States Senate on June 16, 1938.*

Resolved, That the Senate record its unqualified condemnation of the inhuman bombing of civilian populations.

SENATOR JAMES P. POPE of Idaho on:

AMERICAN AID TO JAPAN

“Mr. President, the American people are shocked at the continued Japanese barbarities in carrying out her campaign against China. Our Government has protested against particular acts of violence, and we have claimed damages for properties destroyed. America has joined other powers in these protests. It is as well, however, for us to recognize the bitter fact that it is America which is supplying 54.4 per cent of the materials absolutely necessary in order that Japan may continue her aggression against China. It is doubtful whether Japan could get these materials if we were not willing to supply them. I call your attention to the following table:

“United States’ share in Japan’s imports of essentials for war purposes:

<i>Commodity Class</i>	<i>Percentage (1937)</i>
Copper	92.9
Automobiles and parts.....	91.2
All oil	60.5
Pig iron	41.6
Other iron	59.7
Machinery and engines.....	48.5
Zinc	20.4
Total in aggregate.....	54.4

“The following table is still more conclusive in its proof of the fact that America is Japan’s best support in the war against China. The table shows the contribution of the nine principal countries towards Japanese aggression:

TABLE 3A
CONTRIBUTION OF NINE PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES TO JAPAN'S
IMPORTS ESSENTIAL FOR WAR PURPOSES—BY COUNTRIES
(Value in Thousands)

<i>Principal* Countries</i>	1937		1936	
	<i>Value**** (yen)</i>	<i>Share in aggregate** (%)</i>	<i>Value (yen)</i>	<i>Share in aggregate** (%)</i>
U.S.A.***	627,238	54.4	280,389	47.9
British Empire***	201,496	17.5	116,454	19.9
Dutch India	84,913	7.4	46,827	8.0
Germany	43,434	3.8	21,872	3.7
Belgium	23,473	2.0	7,447	1.3
China	20,099	1.7	17,668	3.0
Soviet Union	12,528	2.2
Norway	2,931	.3	759	.1
Switzerland	179	.0002	1,952	.3
Total	1,003,764	87.1	505,896	86.4

"The interesting fact remains that while the United States protests against the aggression of Japan in China, and while 95 to 99 per cent of the American people keenly feel the invasion of China by Japan, yet the United States, by furnishing the necessary war materials to Japan keeps her going in her war on China. I think it is clear that if it were not for the materials which the United States is furnishing Japan, this war of aggression would be seriously hampered. What we ought to do about it is another matter. Whether the Japanese embargo should be supported by the Government may be a question. At any rate, the American people ought to know that while they are longing for discontinuance of the aggressive war upon China by Japan, we are making it possible for Japan to carry on the war by the shipment of war materials to Japan."

SENATOR KEY PITTMAN of Nevada:

"I believe the people, the churches and the peace societies of the country have at last awakened to their duty in protesting

* Manchuria is excluded.

** Aggregate value of imports of 13 commodity classes: 1937—1,152,861,000 yen; 1936—585,015,000 yen.

*** U.S.A. includes Philippine Islands; British Empire includes Great Britain, Canada, Australia, India, Malay, and British Borneo.

**** Values for 1937 are approximate estimates.

against military wrongs and against violation of the peace treaties."

REPRESENTATIVE EMANUEL CELLER OF NEW YORK:

"Day after day the Japanese are mercilessly maiming and killing thousands upon thousands of women and children in China. The news despatches brand Japan as one of the most despicable and accursed of nations. We must wash away some of America's guilt. We are also guilty because, despite our Neutrality Act, we are supplying Japan with more than 50 per cent of her war supplies in the form of oil, machinery, automobiles, scrap and pig iron and such ingredients for her munition factories. American planes which dropped those bombs on Canton can only be flown with American oil which we are supplying. Surely this is one of the blackest pages in our American history."

SENATOR WILLIAM D. KING of Utah:

"It seems to me that there is at least a moral obligation if not a legal obligation resting upon the United States, to denounce the course of the Japanese Government in its invasion of China, its destruction of cities and towns and villages, its murderous assaults upon unoffending people, particularly women and children, and its application, under the name of war, of the most cruel, atavistic propensities, which found expression in the conduct of primitive races. The course of Japan is an anachronism. It belongs not only to the Dark Ages, but to the darkest and cruelest periods of human existence. We may not be justified in becoming a party to the conflict; we may not be warranted in trying to stay by military force the sanguinary and devastating course of Japan; but certainly we owe it to ourselves and to the future to lift our voices against the recrudescence of those frightful and tragic ancestralisms which it was hoped the world had abandoned and entombed in dishonored graves of the history of the past.

"I do not believe that a denunciation of Japan's course would lead to war. I cannot help but believe that if we and other civilized nations were to brand Japan as a treaty violator, as an outlaw, as a nation unworthy to be found in association with nations that love peace and seek justice, instead of that course being provocative of war, it would tend to modify the course of the Japanese Government and restore it, if not to complete sanity, at least to a condition in which there might be negotia-

tions looking to a termination of the frightful tragedy which is now destroying hundreds of thousands of human beings and devastating cities and towns and portions of a vast continent.

"I have referred to treaties existing between the United States and Japan. Certainly our Government should be interested in having treaties to which it is a party respected and its terms observed. It certainly cannot be claimed that the duty rests upon a nation party to a treaty to remain silent while other parties to the treaty flagrantly violate its terms. Our Government, as well as other governments, have interests in the Orient. China was a party to treaties with the United States and other occidental nations. These treaties were beneficial to China and were promotive of trade and commerce, helpful to the Chinese people, and more or less a benefit to those nations signatories to such treaties.

"Japan solemnly covenanted in the Nine Power Treaty to respect the rights and territorial integrity of China. She bound herself, as did other signatories to the same treaty, to respect Chinese territory and the rights of the Chinese people. It was not a unilateral treaty; it was a multilateral treaty, and each party to the treaty obviously had some obligations resting upon it. Japan has violated this treaty, as well as others. She has contemptuously disregarded the rights of other signatories to the treaty, and has invaded Chinese territory, and is waging one of the most aggressive and sanguinary wars of which the pages of history bear record. . . .

"I am repeating when I say we are warranted in prohibiting any further shipments of munitions and military supplies and commodities to be devoted to military purposes."

SENATOR ARTHUR CAPPER of Kansas:

"The people of this country are indignant, shocked, filled with righteous wrath over this inhuman and barbarous treatment of non-combatants. And I feel that the people of this country expect the Senate to vindicate the rising indignation against these nations which are running amok and threatening to plunge the world from civilization into the depths of barbarism. . . . It is the duty of the Senate to condemn treaty violators; to condemn the ruthless and wicked bombing of thousands of defenseless men, women and children; to make plain to all the world our abhorrence of such practices; and to disapprove the sale of American aircraft to countries which so flagrantly violate all the principles of civilized warfare."

SENATOR BENNETT CHAMP CLARK of Missouri:

"Does it not partake of a good deal of the nature of smug hypocrisy for the Senate . . . to deplore the use of bombs, particularly in the case of a certain Oriental nation, while we go on day after day selling for the profit of our own manufacturers and our own producers the materials out of which the bombs are made and the machines by which they are used?"

SENATOR ELBERT D. THOMAS of Utah:

"The spirit of America is for peace. The American people condemn war and they condemn a resort to war. . . .

"If the application of the Neutrality Act could by any flight of the imagination stop the fighting, we might be forgiven in attempting it. But it would not. It would be purely a unilateral action which would not affect the fighting one whit. Under the Neutrality Act both belligerents must be treated equally. By it, condemnation of both China and Japan would result. Impartial neutrality is a physical impossibility. If we do nothing, we help the stronger. If we act impartially, we still help the stronger.

"No one in America would want to see us allied with either of the combatant states; above all no one wants to see us aiding the stronger of the two. But an application of the Neutrality Act would do just that. If we should embargo the shipment of arms we would not in any way affect the ability of the state with plenty of arms from continuing the war. If we refuse to sell to only those who could not come to get our products—Japan only could buy our goods because no Chinese boat could get past the Japanese Fleet. The American people would not stand for taking sides in this way."

POLL OF CONGRESSIONAL SENTIMENT

WASHINGTON, June 21—Representative members of the Senate and House, polled by The Christian Science Monitor, show an entire willingness to support Secretary Hull's effort to apply a voluntary embargo on shipment of American aircraft to Japan, but an even greater desire to extend the embargo to a wider range of exports.

—*Christian Science Monitor.*

WAR MATERIALS FROM AMERICA TO JAPAN

The war picture, so far as raw materials for war purposes are concerned, is practically all Japanese. Scrap iron and steel is a major item, and in 1937 the Japanese bought from the junk yards of the United States 1,865,918 tons of old boilers, car wheels, stoves, automobiles and other wrecked objects made of iron or steel, for which they paid \$35,462,000. In the first five months of this year Japan's scrap iron and steel purchases have amounted to 690,000 tons, for which was paid \$11,632,000.

In these five months Japan's purchases of other raw materials have included 466,000 bales of cotton, the price of which was \$24,436,000; crude petroleum, 11,729,000 barrels, for \$16,464,000; automobile parts and accessories, \$1,935,000; steel ingots, sheet bars, etc., not containing tungsten, \$2,032,000; pig iron, \$2,166,000; motor fuel, \$1,935,000; gas and fuel oil, \$2,638,000, and lubricating oil, \$1,100,000.

When various other raw products, all of them essential war materials, are added, the total of such purchases for the first five months of this year amounts to about \$73,000,000. In the corresponding months of 1937 the total of these purchases was approximately \$102,000,000.

Japan's total import trade from the United States in 1937 was \$288,000,000 and of this it is a reasonable estimate that more than \$200,000,000 was for raw materials Japan must have in order to wage war against China. This year, it appears, the total raw material bill will be considerably less than in 1937, probably about \$150,000,000.

—*New York Times*,
July 24, 1938.

SOME QUESTIONS

The extent to which the United States supplies Japan with materials essential to her war of aggression, and the extent to which the Japanese military machine must depend upon America for these supplies are revealed in statements appearing elsewhere in this pamphlet. The probable effectiveness of a policy of non-participation in Japanese aggression and some of the practical problems involved in such a policy are also discussed.

Thoughtful consideration of so far reaching a matter inevitably raises some further questions. The purpose of this section is not to deal with these questions fully but to suggest some conclusions which seem reasonable in the light of recent history and of the facts now at our disposal.

1. Is the United States now neutral?

Public sentiment and official pronouncements would seem to put us on the side of China. But materially we are Japan's most important and most indispensable ally. Japan possesses a military-industrial plant capable of converting huge quantities of raw materials into implements of death. China does not. By furnishing the better part of the essential supplies for the maintenance and continued operation of this military machine, we are making it possible for Japan to retain the superiority in equipment which is her outstanding advantage over the defensive forces of the Chinese. By this means we are supporting Japan.

2. Would invocation of the Neutrality Act put the United States in a neutral position?

No. Invocation of the Neutrality Act would leave us in the position of supplying Japan with most of what she needs while selling to China none of the arms and munitions that are vital to her defense. It would therefore make us even more decisively an ally of Japan. For while an embargo would be placed upon munitions, Japan could still obtain here the raw materials and machinery which are vastly more important to her than munitions. Unlike China, she has a highly developed munitions industry and could continue to use American raw materials to equip her mechanized army. She has a large merchant marine for transporting these supplies.

The neutrality legislation was framed with a view primarily to the European situation before the outbreak of the conflict in

China; it has been found unsuitable for application to the situation which has developed in the Far East.

3. *Is it wise for us to do nothing?*

Without a more positive American policy, at least to the extent of withholding economic aid to Japan, the present conflict may continue raging for years, becoming the most stupendous in all history for its devastation and its toll in agony among millions upon millions of peaceful civilians as well as among courageous soldiers on both sides. The longer it continues, the vaster and deeper will suffering become and the more insuperable will be the problems which follow in its wake. To do nothing in the face of such a situation seems callous. But actually to continue support for the military machine which is responsible for this devastation is morally indefensible.

Through a more definite attitude, the United States, by refusing to support Japan's aggression, would make its enormous influence felt on the side of justice and of a new and better international order in the Pacific area—an order based upon mutual respect, justice, security, and peace.

A positive policy now would still leave the United States in a strong position to help in arranging a just peace when the war is ended. Japan's greatest external dependence is upon America. The resumption of trade and the reestablishment of friendly, cooperative, and mutually helpful relations between the two countries can be made contingent upon conditions of peace and security for all.

4. *What are the justifiable grounds on which the United States can withhold economic assistance to Japan?*

On humanitarian grounds the people of the United States can refuse to be party to a ruthless war of conquest over a great peace loving people, or to the utterly inhuman acts which this war has entailed. They can decline to furnish the oil, scrap iron, airplanes and bombs needed for the slaughter of soldiers and civilians who are struggling for national independence, and the money needed for purchasing these supplies elsewhere. They can show this much regard for a great nation whose citizens have traditionally regarded Americans as their best friends.

Where and how American goods shall be sold abroad is a matter for the American people to decide. While international

custom has prescribed that a recognized government in time of war may import war materials from friendly nations, Japan's claim to the benefit of this custom has been forfeited by her repeated violation and repudiation of treaty obligations to the United States, to China, and to the other signatories of the Kellogg Pact and the Nine Power Treaty.

Action by the United States, therefore, can be on grounds that America will withhold economic support for war purposes from any nation which is in process of violating a solemn treaty of peace to which it is a signatory with the United States. Such an action would be a logical and reasonable consequence of such treaty violation, not an unfriendly act taken on the initiative of the United States. It would apply in the case of the Nine-Power Treaty but not in the case of the Kellogg Pact, the terms of which prevent such implementation as the above.

The American people acting individually, in groups, and through their government can refuse to lend economic aid for war purposes to a nation which is in the process of violating a solemn treaty of peace to which the United States is a party. Japan is clearly violating such a pact (the Nine-Power Treaty) under which she bound herself with other signatories of the treaty to respect the territorial and administrative integrity of China.

On grounds of her own legitimate interests in peace and security in the Pacific area, the United States can decline to endorse or support a course of conquest by a regime which has steadily undermined the foundations upon which any just international order must rest.

5. *Do American interests and traditional policies warrant a policy of non-participation in Japanese aggression?*

For decades American Far Eastern policy has proceeded on the assumption that the best interests of China, of America, and of the world generally, would be served by a unified and independent government in China. It is clear, propaganda to the contrary notwithstanding, that an independent China will trade with the world, while a conquered China will trade almost exclusively with Japan. Maintenance of the right to participate in the trade of China on terms of equality with other nations is an affirmed and reaffirmed policy of the American Government.

Our Government has also repeatedly declared its interest in law and order, in peace and the maintenance of international obliga-

tions. These intangibles have figured especially prominently in our Far Eastern policies.

These policies reflect a concern not only with trade but also with the future of American security in case the great Chinese people become the pawns of another power. Some Americans fear the consequences of Japanese domination in China. The surest means for bringing this to pass is to continue supplying Japan liberally with the means for conquest. Some Americans, with less cause, perhaps, fear Russian domination in China. The surest road to this is for all the other powers except Russia to remain aloof while Japanese aggression in China continues. This would bring about a growing feeling among the Chinese people that they have nowhere else to turn but to the powerful neighbor on their north and west. Most congenial to the American outlook would be an independent China whose people are free to choose their own destiny. The stopping of American assistance to the Japanese military regime would be an important step in the direction of helping to maintain an independent China—a China ready and eager to cooperate with the United States of America.

From the standpoint of domestic interests, huge sums are now being expended upon naval armaments which would be unnecessary but for the potential threat of Japan to the security of all countries in the Pacific area. The burden thus levied upon American taxpayers is many times greater than any temporary losses involved in a cessation of our present war trade with Japan. It is inconsistent with our own interests to supply to Japan the sinews of war and then to spend huge sums in order to counteract the growth in aggressive power which we are helping to make possible.

6. Is Japan clearly the aggressor in the present conflict?

The fact that the conflict is being waged on Chinese soil is in itself an answer to this question, rendering hollow the Japanese militarists' claim of self-defense. Anti-Japanese feeling in China is a consequence of Japanese encroachments. By impartial third parties, Japan's aggression has been repeatedly recognized.

Since the occupation of Manchuria in 1931-32, which was stigmatized by unanimous vote of the League of Nations as an unwarrantable act of military force, Japan has steadily enlarged the scope of its encroachments on China. This process continued between 1932 and 1937, by dint of threats backed by military

force. Especially was this true in North China when Jehol, Chahar and East Hopei were successively drawn into the orbit of Japanese domination.

In July, 1937, despite all efforts by the Chinese Government, the Japanese military authorities used the manufactured Marco Polo Bridge "incident" near Peiping to start a general invasion of China. Once again the League of Nations has recognized the subsequent hostilities as a case of aggression by asking League members to render aid to China. Both now and in 1931-32, the American Government has adopted the same attitude as the League. In response to a recent Congressional request, the State Department included Japan among treaty-violating nations.

7. Is there a serious danger that the cutting off of economic assistance to Japan might lead to war?

Even before the outbreak of hostilities, Japan's economic condition was becoming serious. The present war, spreading over an enormous area and being waged against seemingly limitless man power and an altogether unexpected determination on the part of the Chinese people, is already placing the Japanese Government and military command in a desperate position; this is reflected in unprecedented efforts to break Chinese morale by means of aerial bombings and in a tightening of every control at home. Acute strain is becoming evident in Japan's financial and commercial structure, due not only to the war itself, but also to Japan's utter dependence upon foreign markets and foreign sources of supply. Japan, it seems, has already attempted more than her home economy can support.

Meanwhile, Japan's military leaders have had to face a disconcerting change in the balance of forces in the Pacific area. Japan's armament program after the invasion of Manchuria was matched by a growth in the Far Eastern defences of Great Britain, Russia, and France and in the naval power of America. Now that Japan's military strength is spending itself in China, the balance is turning against her. While she becomes weaker, these nations, whose interests are opposed to those of Japan in China, are becoming stronger. Among these nations none possesses greater resources, a greater industrial plant, and greater financial and commercial power than the United States.

Japan, meanwhile, is entirely dependent upon sources of supply which other nations, unsympathetic with her aggressive aims, can

control. Even her navy could not operate for long without replenishment of oil and other essential supplies from abroad.

It is believed, therefore, that a policy on the part of the United States of non-participation in Japanese aggression, while further weakening Japan's capacity for war, would bring to the Japanese an increased realization of the grave situation toward which their present course is leading. Instead of initiating a war, it is believed that this simple policy of non-cooperation would prove to be a curb, far more effective than verbal protests, to Japanese militaristic expansion, at a moment when such a curb can be applied with a minimum of cost to ourselves.

It is not likely that Japan's militarist leaders would be so rash as to attempt reprisals against the United States. They recognize that, if they cannot readily win a war against China in their own backyard, they cannot dream of wandering afield, when economically exhausted, in order to engage in conflict the strongest power in the world. War with the United States at this time would mean a certain end to their dream of becoming a great world power.

There is no historical support for the supposition that an American embargo on war materials to Japan would lead to war. An embargo by Russia and an effective stoppage of war supplies from France to Japan have not done so.

It is reasonable, moreover, to believe that a policy of non-cooperation now would involve far less risk of war than a continuation of the support which we are rendering to Japan.

8. Is it conceivable that an American policy of non-cooperation might lead to an invasion of the Philippines?

Japan has already learned that invasion means the surrender of trade with the invaded market and the antagonizing of the invaded population. Thus China, Japan's most important market, has been crippled for many years to come. The Philippines have become an export market more important to Japan than ever before since they yield revenues essential for the financing of the present war. It is most unlikely that Japan will want to sacrifice such revenues at her present critical financial juncture. Another factor not to be neglected is that Japan has political ambitions in the Philippines, and she knows that a physical invasion at this time would permanently alienate masses of people whom she is now trying to win for her position. Finally, even if

she were to be deprived of war materials from the United States, she would not be willing to lose the last cent derived from her enormous exports to this country; or from her commerce through the Panama Canal. Both exports to this country, and trade with Europe and Latin America through the Panama Canal, would naturally be closed to her once she did such a rash and provocative thing. In general, Japan realizes that in the present balance of world forces she is a world power only in the Far East and that, outside the Sea of Japan, the vast superiority of the western powers renders them immune to offensive action on her part.

9. *Why is there a danger that our continued support to Japan would lead to war?*

Because, by supplying Japan with over half of the materials needed from abroad for her vast expansionist program, we are contributing to an indefinite prolongation of the present conflict, with the continuous threat to international peace which this involves. We are making it more possible for the military rulers of Japan to continue their grandiose dream of complete domination in Asia, with enormous new resources and manpower under their control. We are making more possible an ultimate Japanese victory which, without our aid, could not be achieved.

A partial or complete victory for Japan in the end would produce an international situation more unstable than any which has heretofore existed in the Pacific area. It would further strengthen and consolidate the control which military leaders now have over the Japanese government and nation thus postponing any change in national policies which might result with the rise to power of more liberal elements. The great ballast for peace which exists with an independent China would be lost.

It is a foregone conclusion that the Japanese militarists, entrenched as overlords of Asia, would proceed to develop to gigantic proportions the military and naval power of the Empire. Now relatively weak they would then become genuinely strong. As a vast militaristic empire they would be capable of threatening the peace and security of the world for years—possibly generations to come.

If a Japanese victory is achieved and consolidated, the Empire will still be far from self-sufficient; there is little reason to doubt that the newly won strength will be used to back up fresh

demands for raw materials and markets and political controls in other areas where American interests are deeply involved.

A Japanese victory, moreover, would encourage and strengthen the hands of aggressive powers elsewhere. Instead of being discredited, aggression as an instrument of nationalistic policy would be further established. Its success in this instance would lend new impetus to the growing rule of force in the present-day world.

10. *Would a stoppage of American economic aid to Japan be effective?*

Some essential materials, as indicated in articles which follow, can be secured only from the United States. Particularly important among these are machinery and machine tools, special steels and lubricating oils which are necessary for the operation of industries—especially heavy industries—with standardized American equipment. If the entire supply of other materials from America were cut off, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to get anywhere near sufficient quantities from elsewhere. Germany and Italy could not supply Japan with what she needs, even if they wished to do so. Purchases from Russia and France are already checked. In Great Britain, public opinion would render exceedingly difficult any governmental policy which appeared to run counter to that of other powers in the Far East, particularly if the United States were to stop furnishing economic aid to the Japanese for the duration of the war.

In the total complicated balance of forces which exist in a major conflict, a stoppage of American economic aid to Japan now, would count heavily on the side of restraint for aggression.

11. *What positive results may reasonably be expected from a policy of non-cooperation with Japanese aggression?*

A more speedy end to the war; an end to Japanese expansion at the expense of the Chinese and of other peoples; a reduction of the tax burden levied upon the American people for naval armaments; a probable change in the Far Eastern balance of power whereby China would emerge independent and free to cooperate with other powers; a discrediting of the military regime in Japan and the rise of a now repressed liberal element to a new degree of influence; a general discrediting of military aggression in this day as a means to nationalistic expansion; an earlier begin-

ning of reconstruction in China and Japan; and an earlier restoration of peaceful trade and international security in the Pacific area.

12. *Would American industry and commerce sustain serious losses by an embargo on munitions and war materials to Japan?*

It has been stated that the two industries most affected would lose the equivalent of approximately a week's work during the year through a cessation of the Japanese war trade. This is a price that would have to be paid as our contribution toward peace and toward our own future security. Compared with the loss in trade which has already taken place and which will increasingly occur in the Orient as a result of continuance of the war, this loss is small. Compared to the price we are now paying through taxation for the expansion of naval armaments in the Pacific, it is also small.

It is to be hoped that the United States will be willing to sacrifice that minute portion of its prosperity which now comes from traffic and connivance in the suffering and sorrow of innocent civilians, and that those who now benefit from such traffic will be willing to take a longer and larger view of their responsibilities and opportunities. It is to be hoped that, where possible, means may be found to compensate for losses incurred.

A great future compensation will come with the resumption of peaceful trade and with the expansion of investment and market opportunities which friendly relations with an independent China will insure. Moreover, resumption of peaceful trade would restore our Japanese market for cotton, lumber and other commodities which, unlike the trade in war essentials, are permanently important to us, and which Japan has curtailed in order to be able to continue buying military necessities.

13. *Would a stoppage of economic aid to Japan tend to engender hatred for the Japanese people?*

There is a widespread and justified appreciation for many admirable qualities of the Japanese people. It is in no spirit of hatred for them that a policy of non-cooperation with Japanese military leaders is being discussed. To the contrary, there is a realization that the war which these leaders have engendered is extremely burdensome to the common people of Japan, and that it is to their interests that the conflict be brought to an early end.

The cessation of economic assistance, now, would not be an injury to the Japanese people but to the capacity of military leaders to continue waging aggressive war in China. The people of the United States may well look forward to the time when the Japanese *people*, the civilian population, in control of their own destinies, can face their very difficult problems of internal reconstruction. When such a time comes, it is to be sincerely hoped that the United States will be ready to furnish liberal aid and cooperation.

14. *What would be the effect of such a policy upon the people of China?*

It would check the injury to the Chinese people which is inherent in our economic assistance to their aggressors. It would re-establish the faith of the Chinese in the goodwill and integrity of the American people. The failure of the United States to take any positive action in connection with the present desperate conflict has been and is being interpreted in China as evidence of American weakness and insincerity. On the one hand we, individually and collectively, protest our friendship for the Chinese people and our allegiance to principles of international peace and justice; on the other hand we continue to supply to Japan enormous stores of materials which are converted into implements of death in order to line our own pockets by this doleful traffic. The Chinese have traditionally liked and respected America; mutual bonds of friendship have prevailed. A policy of non-cooperation with Japanese aggression now would serve to restore and strengthen this relationship.

15. *How would such an embargo affect the world economic situation?*

By helping to bring the war to an end, it would make possible an earlier restoration of international economic relations with which the interests of the United States are inextricably interwoven.

16. *How would such an embargo affect the international political situation?*

As a contribution toward an ending of the present conflict, it would also be a positive step toward paving the way for a peace in which aggression would be outlawed. We would be doing our part now in a more courageous and realistic way toward laying new foundations for world peace.

17. *What can America's contribution be toward the establishment of a new era of international cooperation in the Pacific area?*

A negative contribution can be that of firmness in refusing to provide further assistance to Japan for her invasion of China. In a definite way this would help to restore the prestige and sanctity of international obligations.

More positively, the people of the United States have it in their power to inject into international relations in this area a new and broadened perspective based upon equality and mutual advantage for all nations. They can think and work in behalf of a new Pacific order in which justice rather than force will prevail. The negative and positive contributions are necessary to each other.

Specifically, the United States, when the opportune time comes, can participate in liberalizing international economic relationships, in laying the groundwork for a new economic stability and security, in favoring political adjustments which permit to the Chinese people a chance to work out their own destiny, in building a new machinery for peaceful change and developing means for preventing the violent overturn of this machinery, and in reducing thus the haunting fear of new, destructive wars. Only on such foundations can a new era of international peace, prosperity and goodwill be inaugurated.

WHAT EDITORS AND WRITERS ARE SAYING . . .

U. S. ON THE SIDE OF LAW AND ORDER

"Though the United States has lived for two years under a Neutrality Act which expresses its wish to remain at peace, the American people are not neutral now in any situation involving the risk of war, nor will they remain neutral in any future situation which threatens to disturb the balance of world power. . . .

"In the case of China's fight for self-existence against Japanese aggression, American sentiment is tapped by loyalties which come readily to the surface. We sympathize instinctively with the underdog. We cherish a special and long-standing friendship with the Chinese people. We resent the ruthlessness of Japan's attack. We are not ashamed of a frank commercial interest in desiring the continuation of the Open Door.

"These considerations are responsible for the fact that American opinion has willingly supported Mr. Roosevelt in the maintenance of the elaborate fraud that no "war" exists—since a finding that "war" is actually in progress would compel us to invoke sections of the Neutrality Act which would react to the disadvantage of China as against Japan.

"This is the first consequence of American unneutrality in the Far East. But something more decisive is involved in this dispute. We have cast our choice of sides in this dispute. We have cast our influence in advance of an ultimate decision on the soil of China, against any possibility that Japan will profit from this adventure with our approval or support.

"We will not recognize as valid Japan's claim to one square foot of Chinese territory conquered by force of arms. We will not facilitate, through such recognition, the development of a new code of property rights which would encourage the investment of foreign capital. We will not permit our own capital to go to the aid of Japan in making her conquest a paying venture. The American banker or the American industrialist who dared to propose American participation in any plan to develop the resources of China under Japanese administration would find the opinion in this country overwhelmingly against him. To that extent at least, we have aligned ourselves with China in her present struggle. . . .

"There is reason to believe that . . . an effort to repeal the Neutrality Act will succeed in reaching its objective when Congress reconvenes. Certainly that result is greatly to be desired, not only because it would liberate the foreign policy of the United States from the effects of a law which attempts to prescribe a fixed course of action in every possible emergency, regardless of when and how that emergency may arise and what its effect on our own interests may be, but also because repeal of the law would at least permit the material resources of the United States to count on the side of international law and order. . . ."

—From editorial, "*A Way of Life*,"
June 15, 1938. *New York Times*.

MUST AMERICA ABET BOMBING?

"For several days this newspaper has run quotations in this space reporting the results of civilian bombing in China and the share America has in it through the supplying of war materials, particularly aircraft. Our purpose has been to widen and clarify an appreciation of this relationship. Our hope has been that when clearly seen this role would be rejected by the moral sense of the American people. We believe it is so rejected. But there remains the task of making that moral rejection effective and dissolving America's partnership with bombers.

"Three principal ways of proceeding present themselves:

"1. Governmental pressure. Secretary Hull has voiced the hope that American aircraft manufacturers will refrain from shipments to Japan. The June figures on plane exports may show how effective this plea has been. But the survey made by the *Monitor* discloses a marked silence on the part of several big plane manufacturers as to their attitude and action. Despite the highly commendable sentiments of some plane makers the impression remains that those who are doing a good business will not be stopped by intimations of State Department wishes.

"It should be noted that Mr. Hull's statement was not a direct or formal request made to plane manufacturers but a hope expressed in the press. Judged by past experience much more definite pressure will be required if the United States is to cease being Japan's chief aid in the bombing business. State Department hints of a similar kind did not prevent America being a supply base for Italy in Ethiopia or both sides in Spain.

"2. Governmental embargoes. Without action of Congress any embargoes would have to be applied under the Neutrality Act and would shut off supplies to China as well as Japan. The State Department makes a good case to show that they would injure the aggressee more than the aggressor. Those who are not concerned about which is the aggressor and are determined only that America shall have no part in war make a good case for embargoes to end supplies to both sides.

"3. Voluntary measures by individuals and groups. The most effective moves of this kind have been taken by dock workers and sailors who have refused to handle war supplies for Japan. On Friday the *Monitor* carried an account of the resolution adopted by the Waterside Workers' Federation in Melbourne, refusing to load tin clippings which might be used for "war and the ruthless slaughter of non-combatants." Similar action has been taken by other dock workers in Australia and England.

"In the United States there have been only sporadic efforts of this kind, and they have not been effective in stopping American supplies for Japan. So far as we have heard there has been no movement among stockholders or employees of aircraft companies to curb this business. Others who have neither profits nor wages to lose should be slow to take a holier-than-thou attitude. They might offer to share the sacrifice by some form of compensation for orders rejected.

"There is also the argument, 'If we don't supply them somebody else will.' But that will not be persuasive with men and women who are deeply moved by a moral revolt against being accessories to civilian bombing. And if the moral position becomes clearer, hands will cease to carry out an evil the heart condemns. Despite all the obstacles there can be no doubt that if conscience becomes sufficiently awakened it will find ways to stop American aid to civilian bombing. Effective action by private and governmental agencies awaits only such awakening."

—*Christian Science Monitor.*

DISASTROUS DEFEAT IN FOREIGN RELATIONS

"It would be the most disastrous defeat in the history of America's participation in world affairs if, just as we are coming within reach of the evolutionary, non-revolutionary liberation of China foreseen by John Hay and guarded as an article of faith in our Far Eastern policy ever since, we should bring it to abor-

tion by lending our money, our industry, and our political influence to the uses of Japan."

—OWEN LATTIMORE,
Atlantic Monthly, July, 1938.

MEANS CAN AND MUST BE FOUND

"The time has come for a fresh address to the question of selling war materials to Japan—either munitions or materials essential to munitions. For one thing, no legal rationalizing, no philosophical detachment can blur the realization that the United States is and has been for a year accessory after the fact of a war of invasion, a war carried on with a maximum of cruelty, in violation of every article of even the elastic moral code of war. Nor does acquittal at law absolve America from responsibility for the result. Moreover, in supplying Japan with the means of attempting to conquer China, America has been conniving at its own detriment. What has happened to foreign interests at Peiping, Tientsin, Shanghai, foreshadows the fate of American interests in the event of Japanese victory. Furthermore, with the rapid exhaustion of Japanese reserves Japan becomes increasingly dependent on American sources of supply and by so much vulnerable to American decision on continued purveyance. Increasingly, then, America becomes Japan's armoury, for the forging of weapons in the long run directly against itself. It should renounce the role.

"The mechanism of the law is an obstacle. Official embargo may still not be practicable. But it is necessary to begin to canvass possibilities for bringing about a cessation of the flow of materials to Japan without contravening the law or definitive new legislation. Provisions for licensing arms shipments offer one means. The kind of pressure that can be levied by the government to prevent loans to foreign governments is another, if levied in the matter of sales of munitions or materials for munitions. There is still a third. The same end can be achieved as a matter of reprisals.

"There has been ample ground for reprisals in the past. There will be others in the future. Japan already stands as violator of contractual obligations to the United States. Japan has broken the Nine Power Treaty and the Kellogg Pact. Japan has committed open offenses such as the sinking of the Panay. It is within the right and the power of the American government on the occasion of every derogation of American rights or offense

against American persons or property to declare by executive order or congressional resolution that in reprisal therefor the export of some commodity will be forbidden. If the Japanese refuse to permit Americans to return to Nanking, as it actually does in complete violation of all treaty rights, America retaliates by shutting off the supply of copper. If Japan refuses to evacuate American property such as hospitals, colleges and missions—as it does—America shuts off the supply of iron. If Japanese officials announce that extra-territorial rights are not valid for Americans in zones under Japanese occupation, thus unilaterally abrogating treaties *between China and the United States*, America shuts off the supply of automobiles. If Japanese military refuse to permit Americans to return to their places of business in the Hongkew and Yangtzepoo districts of Shanghai, as they do, the supply of something else is shut off. There will be ample opportunity. The offenses of Japan, offenses under international law, are infinite. It is necessary only to read half a dozen issues of the North China Daily News. The dossier of the Department of State must be of prodigious thickness. The means are less important than the end, which is that America must cease being the provisioner of the Japanese army in an aggression abominable in itself and working toward America's injury. The means can be found and they must be found. And organized efforts must be made to find them and to have them put into effect."

—NATHANIEL PEFFER, *Amerasia*
(from August issue by permission).

AMERICA'S GIFT TO AGGRESSORS

"At first American business asked for prepayment in full before accepting orders (for munitions to Japan) but when the depression deepened, the 'cash with order' policy was modified. Orders were accepted on the basis of 40 per cent down and the rest on delivery. Now there is talk of a \$50,000,000 credit to Japan for purchases here.

"Meanwhile Japan's war orders which brought a measure of prosperity to the war traders have resulted in a great decline in cotton sales, evening out the score for business as a whole. Of one thing there can be no doubt, however, and that is the United States is an important factor in keeping the Japanese Juggernaut rolling."

—H. C. ENGELBRECHT, *The Nation*.

AMERICA MAKES INVASION POSSIBLE

"An arms embargo against Japan would have almost immediate effect. Washington's tender consideration for the murderous Japanese is unjustified. The American Government not only supports the aggressor but makes the continued invasion possible. Military experts in Europe and the United States have declared that Japan would have to withdraw her troops from China if American imports to Japan were stopped."

—LUDWIG LORE, *New York Post*.

OUR NATIONAL STAKE IN CHINESE RESISTANCE

"We cannot pretend to be uninterested in the creation of a Japanese empire which might extend from Siberia to Singapore. We have, over and above our abstract sympathies, a great national stake in the Chinese resistance. For we know quite well that only the Chinese can hope to stop the Japanese in Asia, and what we can do to encourage them, short of war, we shall be disposed to do."

—WALTER LIPPMAN, *New York Herald-Tribune*.

THE WORLD AND THE VICTOR

"The world, then, has these possibilities to face. Which would be the better victor, speaking for the world, Japan or China? It seems to me immeasurably to the benefit of the human race that China be victorious. . . . If Japan wins, she will become not only a first class power but a superpower, holding in her hands the Orient. Her swollen pride will immediately lead her to further conquests. She will think of territory and of power unmatched since the days of the Roman Empire. The victory of Japan will mean a great deal more than the victory in this war. It will mean the triumph in the Orient of the imperialistic and fascistic ideas of a militarist nation. It will mean that the world must immediately see to it that armament is matched for armament to an even greater extent than now, for further wars will be inevitable. . . . The kind of thinking the Chinese have done for centuries has produced a human being less dangerous to society than the one produced by Japanese thinking. If Japan wins, let the world prepare for further strife and aggression or, if not these, at least for constant conflict. If China wins, we may hope for peace."

—PEARL BUCK, in *Asia Magazine*.

IF CHINA WINS, AMERICA WINS. WHY ARM JAPAN?

"That the inhumanity of Japan's monstrous aggression in China is abhorrent to every self-respecting man and woman is clearly evident in the world reaction to the undeclared war now raging on Chinese soil. But there is still doubt in many minds as to what is the real significance of China's fight. China is fighting not only a defensive war to retain its national integrity; it is fighting to preserve for us and the rest of the world an Open Door to legitimate trade and commerce with its four hundred million people.

"The American people must recognize the fact that if Japan gains its objectives in China the doors of the Far East will be shut tight. American high standards of living depend to a large degree upon a world open to all on a free and equal basis. In supplying Japan with large quantities of its munitions requirements, we become a silent partner in a war against China which is fighting to preserve its independence. A victory for Japan would destroy the national integrity of China, and thus violate the very basis of our whole Far Eastern policy. On the other hand, a victory for China would maintain what America has stood for in the Far East for half a century. Why then do we aid Japan to make a victory for China difficult if not impossible?"

—PHILIP J. JAFFE,
Managing Editor of "Amerasia."

AN UNSAVORY ALLIANCE

"The renewed bombing of open Chinese cities following the establishment of a Cabinet in Tokyo dominated by extremists calls for a re-examination of the undeniable facts of American aid to the Japanese war machine. The extent of American economic participation has hitherto been generally underestimated. A recent careful study of the Japanese economy, the most exhaustive yet attempted, shows that in recent months the United States has supplied no less than 54.5 per cent of the war materials essential to the Japanese invasion of China. Only in very small part have these consisted of actual munitions of the type covered by the Neutrality Act. The one exception is in the field of aircraft. The United States contributed \$1,000,000 worth of planes and parts to Japan in April alone.

Far more important, however, from the standpoint of Japanese military efficiency are the huge shipments of American scrap iron, oil, copper, and machinery. Before the war Japan's imports

from the United States consisted primarily of raw materials for its textile industry—cotton and wood pulp. In the past year these commodities have practically dropped out of the picture as Japan has concentrated on primary military necessities. April saw 40 per cent of our petroleum exports and 40 per cent of our copper exports go to Japan. Many of the American airplanes used in bombing Chinese cities can only be flown with American high-grade gasoline. Scarcely a week passes without the shipment of three or four cargoes of scrap iron and steel from New York alone. The development of Japanese heavy industry for war purposes has also brought a tremendous increase in the purchases of iron and steel products. In 1937 Japanese steel imports from this country rose to nearly a million tons, an eighteen-fold increase over the previous year. Machine exports, which are the foundation of Japan's future strength, have likewise skyrocketed. Last year contracts were signed for the sale of three complete continuous sheet-and-strip mills, the most efficient equipment of its kind to be found in the world.

"The most effective weapon for destroying America's partnership with Japan in the rape of China is the consumers' boycott. Japan cannot buy if it cannot sell, and the United States still absorbs some 25 per cent of Japanese exports. The boycott is unquestionably growing in scope and effectiveness. Reports from New England, the South, and the Middle West testify to its increasing popularity. It is in large measure responsible for the 45 per cent decline in imports from Japan in the first four months of this year as compared with the corresponding period of a year ago. Silk, the most crucial of these imports, dropped 31 per cent in quantity and 40 per cent in value in the first quarter of the year.

"The refusal of longshoremen and sailors to load or carry war supplies to Japan offers another promising method of stopping American aid. If carried out by the United States alone, the effect would be unimportant, since Japan could shift most of its orders elsewhere. But the longshoremen of England, France, the Scandinavian countries, and Australia have already indicated their willingness to participate in united labor sanctions. There are strong intimations that some of the American unions are already prepared to tie up shipments of war materials if they can be assured of general support, and the resolution adopted by the executive committee of the Federal Council of Churches last week indicates that this support will be forthcoming. But it is important that

neither longshoremen nor hosiery workers should be asked to bear the brunt of the responsibility. The rank and file of the people who hate war must share the burden to the extent of providing a peace chest for persons thrown out of work by either form of boycott. If this is done adequately and efficiently, there is no reason to fear that labor will not do its part. The price is a trivial one if it severs this country's unhappy alliance with the war-makers."

—*The Nation.*

DEATH IS A COMMODITY

"Some American oil companies are sure missing a good bet. They ought to advertise: "Whose oil is used in Jap airplanes bombing Canton? Ours. Whose gasoline? Ours. Buy from us and know you're buying a tested product."

"Yessir, let's be generous with recognition. Let's give every seller of scrap iron a medal (appropriately made of scrap iron) with this motto on it: "Death is a Commodity."

"Let's no longer criticize United States munitions makers, for they can prove they have been fair—that is, they've sold to both sides. The nationality of the corpse never interests them; it's just his killer's credit rating.

"Brother, remember what a good time you had in your old jallopy you drove in 1930? Those Sunday drives? The picnics? Pretty mean of me to bring that up. But the scrapped brake-drum of that old pleasure boat just finished off a mother and her five children in Canton, China, two days ago. How's your family?"

—CAL TINNEY, *Columnist.*

JAPAN'S GHASTLY TACTICS

"In taking steps to discourage the sale of airplanes to Japan, because of the campaign of frightfulness waked by that country against the helpless populations of Canton and other Chinese cities, Secretary Hull will have the warm approval of the great majority of Americans.

"It is apparent that mere verbal protests by the United States and other nations against the bombing of undefended cities, whether in Spain or China, have no immediate effect. Certainly the Japanese warlords have not been deterred by such protests

from continuing to vent their sadistic fury on Canton, where the death toll from repeated air raids now runs into many thousands. More drastic measures are obviously called for to give point to the civilized world's disapproval of such ghastly tactics.

"The United States and other nations that have expressed their deep disapproval of air raids on civilian centers would be open to charges of hypocrisy if, at the same time, they should continue to send to the offenders the means whereby such outrages can be committed."

—*Washington Post*.

OUR STRANGE NEUTRALITY ACT

"Our strange neutrality act continues to breed strange consequences. . . . As *The Nation* wisecracked, it is admirably designed to keep up out of the last war. The President was dissatisfied with this act at the time of passage, but he didn't put up the fight against it that he might have. We wish he had; wish it more as the effects of this law become more grotesque. . . .

"Altogether, our Neutrality Law is building toward a terrific blowup in our faces. We'd better repeal it as soon as we can, and drop these well-meant but futile efforts to outguess the future."

—*New York Daily News*.

* * *

America—Japan's arsenal.

* * *

WHAT CHURCH LEADERS ARE SAYING . . .

THE JAPANESE TURN TO AMERICA FOR SINEWS OF WAR

"An observer with considerable first-hand knowledge of China writes from Hankow that the Japanese would like to quit but cannot do so without losing face. Japanese officers, he says, are refusing to obey their high command and materials of war coming from Japan are said to be below par, due presumably to the fact that the country lacks raw materials. It is stated further that they would have been compelled to withdraw from China were it not for the materials they have been receiving in increasing amounts from the United States. We shipped them \$85,000 in arms in October last year, with the amount steadily rising until in February we shipped them \$1,184,000 worth.

"The Japanese militarists had planned for a two months campaign, believing they would be able to conquer China in that time. Sufficient oil had been stored to carry on for that period. When the supply was exhausted they turned to us and got 25 million gallons. The next month they got 105 million gallons and the next 337 million gallons. One steel company alone shipped them 844,000 tons of steel in four months. We shipped them more iron in the last four months of 1937 than in the previous six years. Shipments of scrap iron tripled in a year. First we demanded cash, on the theory that otherwise we would become involved in the war. Our money-makers then decided that it would be safe to ask for but 40% payment in cash; now there is talk of a huge credit pool so that we can continue to send the instruments of war to Japan with no cash payments. All of which is done in spite of a so-called policy of neutrality. . . .

"People say it does no good to write letters to the President; to Secretary of State Hull; to Congressmen; to Senators. It does. The Senate's Civil Liberties Committee received its appropriation to carry on its work last week, largely because of letters requesting it. No shipments of the instruments of war, and the materials out of which munitions are made, to Japan would stop their aggression in a short time. Present your demands to your servants in Washington and thus help save China for the Chinese."

—WILLIAM B. SPOFFORD, *Chairman,*
Church League for Industrial Democracy.

SHRAPNEL WITH AMERICAN MARKINGS

"... Our missionary workers have even taken from the body of a slain child on a Shanghai street a piece of shrapnel that bore marking showing that it had come from American scrap iron. Stop this trade! It is slaughtering innocent Chinese."

—MRS. VINCENT T. SHIPLEY, *Chairman of the Women's Committee of the Presbyterian Foreign Missions Board.*

OUR MORAL JUDGMENT IS NULLIFIED

"For nearly a year the conscience of thoughtful Americans has been uneasy, to state it mildly, over the present relation that exists between the United States and Japan.

"I am confident that the great majority of American citizens consider the so-called "undeclared" war between Japan and China to be an unprovoked and brutal war of aggression on the part of Japan. I believe that our country as a whole condemns Japan.

"And yet we continue to sell Japan scrap iron and other commodities for the manufacture of guns and bombs, and Japan pays us through our purchases of her raw silks and other goods. As a result, our moral judgment which condemns Japan for this war is practically nullified by our trade with her."

—THE RIGHT REV. ALEXANDER MANN,
Bishop of Pittsburgh.

A PLEA FOR ACTION

After the 150th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States ended its sessions with condemnation of the "needless destruction" of lives and property of non-combatants in China and with informal endorsement, through thunderous applause, of a plea to stop shipments of scrap iron from this country to Japan, Rev. Dr. Charles W. Welch of Louisville, the Moderator, said:

"Don't go back to your Presbyteries with big chests, bragging that you are Presbyterians. You are not until you have put into practice what we have resolved to do in this General Assembly."

CYNICISM, COWARDICE, IRRESPONSIBILITY

"America's peace efforts have been ineffective because they have been in terms of cynicism, cowardice and irresponsibility, instead of terms of expectation, courage and honorable action. They have been war-evading rather than peace-making.

"America is in the position of saying to Japan, 'We hate and despise what you are doing in China. You have broken faith with us, and are undermining world security on which our own well-being depends. But as long as you can pay us we will continue to sell you what you need, and can't get anywhere else, in order to go on doing it.'

"Japan has invaded China not at all because China lacks good government and unity, but because China's remarkable progress in both good government and unity, since 1933, constituted to the Japanese military mind an alarming threat not only to Japan's imperialistic ambitions on China's mainland, but to Japan's dominance in the Far East."

—REV. E. W. LUCCOCK,
Pastor of Shanghai Community Church.

THE GUILTY AND THE INNOCENT

"Sooner or later the American public must realize that it can not remain indifferent to acts of international outlawry; that it must join with other nations in making some distinction in the treatment accorded to the guilty and the innocent. This need not involve the obligation to make war upon the guilty; but it may well involve a determination to cut off all trade relations with a state which violates its international obligations."

—*Committee on International Law and Organization and Joint Policy Committee of the Catholic Association for International Peace. Rev. R. A. McGowan is Chairman of the first, and Prof. Charles G. Fenwick is chairman of the second committee.*

EMBARGO AGAINST THE AGGRESSOR

"The World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches shares the well-nigh universal condemnation of Japan in their aggression in China, believing that the difficulties

might have been adjusted by peaceful means, in accordance with the Nine-Power Treaty and the Briand-Kellogg Pact, to both of which Japan, as well as China, is a signatory. . . .

Since the present neutrality legislation permits no distinction between the victim and the aggressor and tends to quarantine the peaceful nations rather than war, we believe that the present law should be amended so as to provide that, when a nation has violated a treaty to which the United States is a party and opportunity for peaceful settlement has been refused, the President shall have the power to lift the embargo from the nation agreeing to accept a peaceful settlement and to apply it only against the aggressor."

—*World Alliance for International
Friendship through the Churches.*

PENALTY NECESSARY TO PREVENT WAR

"Benedict XV in his great Letter to the Warring Powers, in order to reinforce a program of arbitration, of disarmament and of supremacy of moral right over military power, recommended that penalties be imposed on any government that refuses to submit a national dispute to arbitration or to accept a decision once rendered.

"A penalty short of war is necessary to prevent war. The penalty that is immediately effective in case war threatens or has been declared is the economic penalty of boycotting the nation which refuses arbitration or arbitral decision. If the nations were in earnest to stop a war this would probably be the action decided on in the international consultation which both major parties have agreed should be the settled practice of our country when war threatens anywhere. But unless the United States agrees to a boycott policy beforehand, the air cannot be cleared of fears because there would be no certainty of any effective peaceful action whatsoever. Indeed, unless a different policy is agreed on beforehand, the nations might after consultation even leap to the ultimate sanction of war."

—*From statement issued by the Reverend Dr. John A. Ryan, Social Action Dept., National Catholic Welfare Conference; Prof. Parker T. Moon of Columbia University, and Prof. Charles G. Fenwick of Bryn Mawr College.*

ARMS EMBARGO ON JAPAN ASKED BY METHODISTS

Foundry Church Acclaims Plea

"A congregation of 800 men and women in the Foundry Methodist Episcopal Church yesterday rose in dramatic acclamation of a resolution calling for embargo on shipment of war materials to Japan. The action followed immediately the Rev. Frederick Brown Harris' stern condemnation of Japanese "ruthlessness," delivered from his pulpit.

"The resolution and its reception are unprecedented in the 123-year history of the Foundry Church," Dr. Harris said. . . .

"It is just as incongruous to maintain relations with Japan," the cleric said, "as it would be to entertain the Cash kidnapper in our homes." He praised the "bravery" of President Roosevelt's Chicago speech calling for a quarantine of aggressor nations, but said the speech had not been translated into policy "because public opinion has not been mobilized behind it."

"Dr. Harris quoted with approval Theodore Roosevelt's statement that he put only one thing before peace—righteousness.

"'It is unthinkable,' he concluded, 'that a Christian nation should stand silent while these wanton attacks continue.' . . .

"The text of the resolution adopted by the congregation is as follows:

"'Whereas Japan has day after day ruthlessly bombed the undefended city of Canton, resulting in more than 8,000 dead and wounded non-combatants and untold destruction of property, and has announced through Government spokesmen its intention of continuing such action.

"'Be is resolved that the Government of the United States immediately adopt the policy of non-participation in aggression by planning an embargo on exports to Japan of munitions and war materials, including oil, gasoline, pig and scrap iron, airplanes and airplane parts, machinery and engines, copper, automobiles and auto accessories and chemicals."

"'Dr. Harris told *The Post* he would join a delegation from New York, representing Nation-wide church, peace and labor

groups, in calling at the White House today to urge 'concrete action' against Japan."

—*Washington Post*,
June 12, 1938.

THE PRICE OF OUR FAILURE

"The tragedy is that while the peace forces divide, the fascist war-makers unite. And all the world prepares and thus helps to make more certain the war which their aggression promotes. The price of failure to achieve unity to withhold war supplies from the war-makers is an inevitable universal conflict."

—*The Methodist Federation for Social Service.*

PEACE WOULD BE SERVED

"The tragedy now taking place in China is bound to affect world peace and the spread of the Christian gospel. It is impossible for one to be neutral in the presence of this brutal aggression. Despite my love for both countries, I have been unable to reach any conclusion except that Japan is the aggressor without any valid excuse whatever. To withhold support both in finances and munitions from the Japanese would greatly serve to bring peace in China and restore to power in Japan a liberal and internationally-minded leadership."

—BISHOP ARTHUR J. MOORE,
Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

A TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

"Because of Japan's continued war upon China, thus violating her agreement with us in the Pact of Paris never to resort to war as a means of settling disputes and her violation of the laws of humanity by bombing helpless civilians in undefended cities like Canton and her announced intention of continuing to do so, I earnestly request you to do all in your power to have an embargo placed upon the export to Japan of munitions and all other war materials as a protest against her international lawlessness. You will have the overwhelming support of the American people in so doing."

—CHESTER A. SMITH, *Chairman of the Commission on Social Service, New York Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*

WHAT CHINA'S LEADERS ARE SAYING . . .

WITHHOLD MILITARY SUPPLIES

"China is fighting the battle of the United States and Great Britain because she is fighting not only for her national salvation but also for the maintenance of respect for treaties.

"Disturbance of peace in the Far East must necessarily affect American and British interests considerably.

"But what is more important than their national interests is the joint responsibility of America and England, as civilized nations, to uphold justice and the principles of humanity.

"Since hostilities began we have received the sympathy of various nations and we are grateful to America and England for their share of sympathy and assistance. Our people, however, regret to observe that the caution now exercised by the British and American Governments only tends to increase the menace to the cause of peace. What China expects mainly from America, England and other countries is that they give material assistance to China and withhold military supplies from Japan. Only by such measures can aggression be curbed and the civilization of mankind maintained."

—GENERAL CHIANG KAI-SHEK.

JAPAN WOULD BE HALTED . . .

"If the United States and Great Britain would stop supplying Japan with war materials, the Japanese aggression in China would be halted within a few months."

—MADAME SUN YAT-SEN.

WHAT JAPANESE OFFICIALS ARE SAYING . . .

WHAT WAR IS

"War is the Father of Creation and the Mother of Culture. Rivalry for supremacy does for the state what struggling against adversity does for the individual. It is such impetus, in the one case, as in the other, that prompts the birth and development of Life and Cultural Creation."

—*Pamphlet published from Press Bureau of Japanese War Office.*

ABSURD RESOLUTIONS

"We must request the League to study the situation still more. Such absurd resolutions as that condemning Japanese airmen for bombing defenseless cities may not be passed hereafter. But Japan is not a member of the League and what the League does or says politically is no concern of ours. No resolution or action of the League will cause Japan to swerve from her course."

—*Japanese Foreign Office Spokesman.*

AMERICA'S MORALITY

"We Japanese have no fear of any change in America's foreign policy for Americans have no real morality but only pious phrases. What Americans *have* means so much more to them than what they *are* that they will continue to sell to Japan whatever Japan has the money to pay for, regardless of what Japan does with it after she gets it."

—*Japanese representative.*

FROM THE JAPANESE VIEWPOINT

"America's attitude towards the China incident is fair and just."

—FOREIGN MINISTER KOKI HIROTA.

WHAT OTHERS ARE SAYING . . .

A TELEGRAM TO THE PRESIDENT

"In the name of humanity I implore you to take drastic measures to save Chinese non-combatants. The world looks to you as champion of the handicapped and the defenseless. You will justify America as the friend of mankind by placing an embargo on all war materials to Japan."

—HELEN KELLER, *noted writer and lecturer.*

BOYCOTT THE AGGRESSOR

"The best method of preventing these nations from killing defenseless women and children is for the masses of the people to boycott as far as possible . . . that aggressor nation."

—ADMIRAL RICHARD E. BYRD, *U. S. N., retired.*

A MESSAGE TO ROOSEVELT

Everyone I meet seems to be in sympathy with the Chinese—no one seems to have a good word for the Japs. Yet we supply Japan with most of the things necessary to kill and maim the Chinese to whom we, as a nation of citizens, extend our sympathy. Japan continues to violate our rights and do everything in its power to insult us and then says to the Secretary of State, "Sorry, so sorry."

Why does Japan apologize? Because Japan and the Japanese know that without the things they get from us they wouldn't last a month in China. Mr. Roosevelt said, "I hate war." There are more people on relief now than in 1932. The Japan-China war has started since then and it certainly hasn't put our millions of unemployed back to work, so our whole existence doesn't depend on Japan. Why not embargo war materials and stop the war in China? It's a perfectly simple and easy way for a peace loving nation to achieve the desired result and honor and peace at any price. If we don't do it now, we'll have to fight for it later. I'd rather see our people on relief than dead on any battlefield!

—ERNEST G. JARVIS, *President, Niagara Falls Smelting and Refining Corp.*

JAPAN AMOK

"Japan should be considered as having run amok just as a madman and she should be treated as such. What to do? Quarantine her in the same sense that President Roosevelt used the word in his Chicago speech."

—GROVER CLARK, *late Professor of Government at Denver University, noted authority on Far Eastern affairs.*

THE A. F. OF L. ATTITUDE

"... Because the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor abhor war and regard it as a primitive, brutal and uncivilized process for the settlement of disputes which arise between nations, labor believes that it should utilize the one means at its command to not only voice its protest against war, and particularly against unjustifiable warfare, but for the definite purpose of helping to speed the termination of the shocking, horrible conflict raging in China.

“ . . . We realize that unless the democratically governed people stand together refusing to sell arms and munitions or to make loans to any country violating international peace and law, the other countries, whose interests lie in aggression and arbitrary rule, will make common cause with Japan, and protests of individual countries will be useless.”

—WILLIAM GREEN, *American Federation of Labor*.

DAILY SHIPMENTS OF MATERIALS TO JAPAN

“Daily from Baltimore, San Francisco and elsewhere go forth thousands of tons of scrap iron and other raw materials for Japan. Scrap iron to be used for war mechanism, artillery and bombs—bombs which fall on helpless civilian populaces like Canton and Suchow. And why do such conditions exist? How long do you suppose Japan could carry on her military invasion of a poor and helpless people if it were not for the raw materials which we ship her?”

—BENJAMIN R. STICKNEY, JR.

OUR HANDS ARE STAINED WITH CHINESE BLOOD

“When we trade with Japan we help pay for this invasion of China. Our hands that buy and sell are stained with Chinese blood.”

—E. STANLEY JONES, *Noted American missionary*.

GIVE AID TO CHINA

“If we want to sell war materials, let us sell them in wholesale lots to China so she may be more able to defend herself against her barbaric enemy who stops at nothing short of outrage to gain her unrighteous ends. . . . It is high time that all our people should vigorously protest against any aid to Japan.”

—H. B. BRADFORD.

DISGRACEFUL TO DO NOTHING

“I strongly urge immediate adoption of a policy of non-participation in aggression stopping Japan's merciless slaughter of non-combatants. Can not something be done by the United

States to put an embargo not only on airplanes but on gasoline, oil, automobiles, iron, copper and chemicals to Japan. It is disgraceful for the United States to do nothing."

—EDGAR H. RUE, *Secretary, American Committee, Institution for the Chinese Blind.*

How Australian Longshoremen Feel and Act . . .

MELBOURNE, Australia. — The Australian Trade Union Movement was on record today with its affiliates of waterside workers, as opposing the loading of war supplies to Japan.

They have implemented their resolutions with dockside action and dockside workers are now refusing to load war supplies destined for Japan.

"Being opposed to war and the ruthless slaughter of non-combatants arising therefrom," states the resolution of the Australian trade union movement, "we are compelled by conviction and conscience to refrain from loading metals or other products likely to be used in the manufacture of munitions by belligerent nations."

After the Sydney branch of the Waterside Workers' Federation refused to load war materials for Japan on the grounds that "If we hold back the weapons, we hold back the crime," shippers began to send cargoes to Melbourne for loading.

However, the Melbourne branch of the Federation followed the lead taken at Sydney and likewise refused to handle war goods to Japan. Shippers willing to supply Japan with war supplies have been unable to fulfill their contracts with the Japanese munitions factories.

—*Dispatches appearing in the Christian Science Monitor.*

* * *

War in China—Made in Japan.

* * *

WHAT RESOLUTIONS ARE BEING PASSED . . .

Resolution adopted by the National Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Assembled May 10-17, 1938, at Kansas City, Missouri:

RESOLVED, That the General Federation of Women's Clubs in convention assembled, May, 1938, support in principle Congressional legislation to implement the aforesaid non-recognition policy of the United States by empowering the Government of the United States in consultation with other states signatory of the Kellogg-Briand Pact to withhold from the violating state any financial transactions which shall enable it to prosecute the war or to consolidate its gains; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the General Federation of Women's Clubs advocate that whenever the Government of the United States shall find, after consultation with other states signatory of a treaty, that a state is invading another state in violation of the treaty it may be authorized to employ against the invader economic measures, not including war but including prohibitions of loans and credits for war purposes or for consolidation of its gains, and to place embargoes on munitions of war or other material, except food stuffs, as may be used directly or indirectly in the prosecution of the war.

* * *

A PROGRAM FOR WOMEN

In an attempt to make greater progress in the promotion of peace, the Conference recommends to its member organizations for urgent consideration the following subjects judged by the delegates to be, at present, the most essential points of its program:

For Legislative Action:

1. Revision of the neutrality policy of the United States through legislation designed to keep our country out of war and to permit cooperation with other nations to prevent war. . . .

d. The embargo (including munitions, credits and essential war materials) may be removed by the President from a nation which, as the result of consultation (with other nations signatory to the Pact of Paris), is agreed to be the victim of aggression.

—*National Committee on Cause and Cure of War,
“Program for 1938,” member organizations being:*
American Association of University Women
General Federation of Women’s Clubs
National Board of the Y. W. C. A.
National Committee of Church Women
National Council of Jewish Women
*National Federation of Business and Professional Women’s
Clubs*
National Home Demonstration Council
National League of Women Voters
National Women’s Christian Temperance Union
National Women’s Conference of American Ethical Union
National Women’s Trade Union League

* * *

Action taken by Executive Committee of the Federal Council
of Churches of Christ in America, June 3, 1938.

The Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America makes vigorous protest against the continued bombing of the civilian populations of China and Spain. We request that our Department of International Justice and Good Will transmit this action to the President and the Secretary of State.

We also respectfully call upon the Christian bodies in other lands to take similar action.

War cannot be refined of its savage cruelty. There will be outrages against God and humanity as long as there is war. Despite this fact, the Christian Church cannot but lift its voice in protest against the barbaric practices of bombing civilian populations. To do otherwise, would be to stultify its conscience.

At the same time we are humiliated by the fact that Americans are supplying a substantial portion of the essential war materials that make such outrages possible.

We deplore the practice of making profit from the blood and tears of the innocent. To surrender such profit would involve sacrifices by various commercial, financial, labor and transportation interests and by other sections of the population, but we urge that such sacrifices be made for it would go a long way towards restoring a sense of morality in international affairs.

* * *

Resolution adopted by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in session at Birmingham, Alabama, on April 30, 1938.

WHEREAS, it is a matter of common knowledge that the territory of China has been invaded by the armed forces of Japan, and

WHEREAS, it is reliably reported that materials of war and other supplies purchased in America are being used in inflicting great suffering and loss of life and property upon the people of China,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that we call upon the President and Congress of the United States to take such action as may be necessary to prevent the material and financial resources of the government or citizens of this country from being used either directly or indirectly to aid Japan in her war of aggression upon China.

* * *

Resolution presented to President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Cordell Hull by delegation representing 124 religious and peace societies, June 13, 1938.

WHEREAS, Japan has ruthlessly bombed day after day the undefended city of Canton, killing and wounding over 8,000 civilians and causing untold destruction of property, and has announced through its government spokesman the intention of continuing such action,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the government of the United States put into effect a "Policy of Non-Participation in Aggression" by placing an embargo on exports to Japan of munitions and war materials, including oil, chemicals, copper, gasoline, pig and scrap iron, airplanes and airplane parts, machinery and engines, and automobiles and automobile accessories.

* * *

Two resolutions passed at the Conference for Boycott of Japanese Goods, held in Boston, Mass., on May 15, 1938, attended by 109 delegates representing membership of 323,718 persons in trade unions, and religious, fraternal, peace, social and racial organizations.

WHEREAS, there exists in the Orient a state of war in which the Japanese nation has become an aggressor upon the territory of the Chinese nation and has slain multitudes of unarmed and defenseless Chinese people, including many women and children,

WHEREAS, the continued exportation to Japan of materials capable of being used in the support of this aggression constitutes a direct aid by the American people in such aggression,

WHEREAS, the Neutrality Act, so-called, fails utterly to distinguish between nations guilty of aggression and those whose defenseless people are left to the mercy of unjustified and unprovoked invasion, thus punishing the innocent as much as the guilty,

AND WHEREAS, the effect of the Neutrality Act cannot possibly be sufficient to insulate the United States from war should the same break out on any extensive scale, but the Act tends to make it difficult for this nation to take part in any preventative measures designed to forestall such outbreak,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the President, the State Department, the Maritime Commission, and all other executive and legislative agencies of the United States government, be called upon to take any available steps through regulation of ports, adjustment of financial and tariff relations, or otherwise, to end the exportation to Japan of materials of war and all materials of general economic use, and to reduce all imports of Japanese surplus goods,

BE IT ALSO RESOLVED, that the Neutrality Act, so-called, be amended in such way as definitely to distinguish between the aggressor nation and the nation subjected to such aggression, to the benefit of the latter, and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that copies of this resolve, together with an organization roster of this conference, be transmitted to the Senators and Congressmen from Massachusetts, the President, the Secretaries of State, War, Navy and Labor, and to the Chairman and Clerk of the Joint Committee on Constitutional Law of the Massachusetts General Court with the request that the latter Committee take cognizance of the conference's action through a Memorial to Congress; and that copies be sent to the press.

Second Resolution

WHEREAS, the present policy of the United States Maritime Commission permits the loading and shipping of war materials to Japan in Maritime Commission ships, and,

WHEREAS, the policy of the consumers' boycott opposes the giving of such material aid to an aggressor nation,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that this conference calls upon the United States Maritime Commission and President Roosevelt to discontinue the policy which thus permits the giving of aid to an aggressor through the use of government-owned ships to carry goods to Japan through conditions more favorable than those otherwise to be secured, and particularly to discontinue the policy of shipping war materials in government-owned ships.

* * *

Resolution adopted at the Annual National Convention of the Young Women's Christian Association, 1938.

WHEREAS, our concern for the people of both Japan and China would lead us to seek means of terminating the current war in the Far East, and

WHEREAS, the United States' position as a major consumer of Japanese goods and as an exporter of war materials to Japan makes it a strategic country at this point,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the Young Women's Christian Association, in Convention assembled, commend and encourage efforts to curb shipment to Japan of materials which will be used directly by Japan in pursuing its military invasion of China. . . .

* * *

Resolution passed by 2,000 persons attending meeting outside the Japanese Consulate-General in New York City on June 17, 1938, protesting the Japanese bombings of Canton.

WHEREAS, the United States Government has branded Japan as the aggressor nation in the present Sino-Japanese conflict and has repeatedly protested against the merciless bombings of undefended Chinese cities, the brutal slaying of Chinese non-combatants and the destruction of American missions and hospitals, and,

WHEREAS, the Japanese armed forces have repeated their mass murders of the civilian population in China and other brutal acts, disregarding the basic principles of those standards of humane conduct which have been developed as an essential part of modern civilization, and,

WHEREAS, American raw materials are being used to manufacture Japanese guns, tanks, armored cars, flame-throwers and other weapons of war, American bombing planes are being used to carry American-made bombs for the destruction of Chinese

civilian populations, American shells are loading the Japanese guns and American credits are helping to finance Japan's aggression in China,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that this meeting goes on record as deploring the American policy which makes it possible for certain American interests to profit from the blood and tears of the innocent victims of Japanese aggression,

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that this organization urges the Government of the United States to enact legislation to prevent the material and financial resources of this country from being used either directly or indirectly to aid Japan in her conquest of China,

AND BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that this meeting expresses its solidarity with seamen, longshoremen and all other workers and labor organizations which refuse to handle munitions, war supplies and raw materials destined for Japan, and throw its moral support behind financial, industrial and other interests which refuse to lend money, extend credit or sell war materials to Japan.

* * *

Stop Making Uncle Sam a Partner in Aggression!

* * *

Resolution presented by the National Maritime Union of America
to the C. I. O. conference in Atlantic City, N. J., October 12, 1937.

WHEREAS, The present invasion of China by the Japanese Military Machine without a declaration of war is an open violation of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact and of the Nine Power Treaty, and

WHEREAS, We believe this invasion not only contains the germ of a new world war, the burden of which must be borne by the workers throughout the world, but is, in its essence, an attack on democratic institutions and a violation of democratic principles, and . . .

WHEREAS, The Maritime Workers, many of whom are affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization, have signified their indignation at being forced, by the very pursuance of their livelihood, to carry munitions and war materials to the

Japanese Militarists for use by them in their attacks on the Chinese people, and

WHEREAS, In a communication to New York Maritime Council, dated October 5th, R. Walton Moore, Assistant Secretary U. S. Department of State, declared that the Department would be glad to accord a hearing to any parties or organizations interested in presenting their views on our foreign policy as regards the Japanese invasion, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the accredited representatives of unions affiliated with the C. I. O. gathered in a national conference, demand of the Federal Government that it immediately take steps to enforce an economic embargo on Japan and to forbid the export to that country of munitions, war materials, or any and all goods which might be used by the Japanese Military Machine in the furtherance of its present attempt to subjugate the Chinese people, and be it further . . .

RESOLVED, That the Federal Government of the United States forbid the importation into this country of any and all goods manufactured in countries or territories controlled by the Imperial Japanese Government, and be it further . . .

RESOLVED, That we call upon all Labor Organizations of the United States and all civil and peace organizations to join with us in our demand on the State Department.

* * *

Resolution presented to Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, by New York and Washington peace delegations on June 13, 1938.

WHEREAS, The United States Government has designated Japan the violator of treaty obligations to the United States in the present Sino-Japanese conflict and has repeatedly protested against the merciless bombings of undefended Chinese cities, the brutal slaying of Chinese non-combatants and the destruction of missions and hospitals, and

WHEREAS, The Secretary of State, the Hon. Cordell Hull, has expressed the government's disapproval of the export sales of American planes which could be used for bombing civilian populations, and,

WHEREAS, Not only American airplanes but also American airplane parts, oil, aviation gasoline, pig and scrap iron, ma-

chinery and engines, copper, war chemicals and even actual bombs are being shipped in large quantities to Japan, making possible the continued bombings and attacks on Canton and other Chinese cities,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That we urge the Secretary of State to extend the application of his disapproval and to discourage the export to Japan of all these munitions and raw materials, so that American action will have the greatest possible moral and material effect in compelling the Japanese to cease their present atrocious tactics of destroying whole civilian populations.

The delegations included:

- Rev. Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Pastor of Foundry Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington, D. C.
Rev. Wilbur LaRoe, Jr., Chevy Chase Session, Washington Presbytery (Chairman, Committee on Civic Affairs, Washington Federation of Churches).
Mr. Olin D. Wannamaker, educational executive and lecturer, New York City.
Rev. H. W. Burgan, Pastor, Hamline Methodist Episcopal Church and Chairman, Committee on International Goodwill, Washington Federation of Churches.
Rev. E. H. Pruden, Pastor, First Baptist Church, formerly on faculty of University of Shanghai.
Rev. J. H. Hollister, Pastor, Chevy Chase Presbyterian Church.
Mrs. L. E. Gilbert, Women's Guild, National Memorial Baptist Church.
Philip J. Jaffe, Managing Editor, *Amerasia*, New York City.
Mrs. Dean Burke, Washington Boycott Committee.
Miss Mary Ross, Berkeley Branch, American Association of University Women (unofficial).
Mrs. Philip Reno, Washington Women's Trade Union League.
Mrs. J. Austin Stone, National Women's Trade Union League (Legislative representative for peace projects).
Dr. R. Morris Paty, Jr., Southern Methodist Mission Board.
Robert Norton, Committee for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression.
Mrs. Eleanor Fowler, Washington Labor Peace Committee and American League for Peace and Democracy.
Mrs. Edwin S. Smith, American League for Peace and Democracy.
Miss Ellen J. Rider, Federation of Churches.
Arthur Clarendon Smith, Washington Committee for Aid to China.
Mr. E. H. Leaf, writer, former North China Manager, United Press Association.
Miss Lillian M. Elkin, Washington Labor Peace Committee.
Irving Aronoff, Memorial Day Youth Peace Parade Committee, representing 104 youth organizations.

* * *

Support a Policy of Non-Participation in Aggression.

* * *

MEMORANDUM TO THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE
WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS—YASSAR COLLEGE, AUGUST 1938.

Approved by the American Youth Congress at Berea, Ohio, July 2-4.
(Commission on Political and Economic Organization for Peace.)

"War is not inevitable" was the declaration of the first World Youth Congress at Geneva in 1936. Today we must modify this statement to read that "War is not inevitable if the peace loving peoples of the world compel their governments to unite against aggression."

The menace to world peace at the present moment arises not out of the strength of the foes of peace. The enemies of peace are weak, weak in integrity and material resources. Unite the peoples and, through them, the governments who aspire toward peace behind a common international policy of defense against aggression, and the spectre of world war which today horrifies the civilized world will fade.

Wars can be prevented if it is understood that:

1. Peace must be organized internationally. Aggression is not the private concern of the invader and the attacked but of all countries.
2. Nations should not merely re-affirm their support of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact to renounce war as an instrument of national policy but will make this affirmation vital by refusing to supply violators of the Pact with any goods necessary for the waging of the war. . . .

The Congress also voted against participation of American athletes in the World Olympics at Tokyo in 1940 and approved plans for a nation-wide campaign to aid in the raising of relief funds for Chinese youth.

* * *

Oil for the Death of China!

* * *

WHEREAS, For the last eleven months the Imperial Japanese Government has been waging an unprovoked and aggressive war of conquest against Democratic China, and

WHEREAS, During this period the innocent and defenceless Chinese populace has been bombed and shelled unmercifully by the Japanese army and navy, and

WHEREAS, Many of the planes, their parts and accessories, bombs, oil to run the planes, have been manufactured in the United States or assembled and manufactured in Japan with materials bought in the United States,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That we condemn these inhuman acts and whole-heartedly support the State Department's protest to Japan, the Pittman Resolution of the United States Senate, the condemnation of American munitions manufacturers by Cordell Hull, who sell planes to Japan, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we support:

1. An official government embargo on shipments of war planes, their parts and accessories, to Japan.
2. An immediate embargo on the shipment of oil, scrap iron and other raw materials of war to Japan.
3. A boycott of articles manufactured in Japan, the sale of which in the United States finances the export of war materials from the United States, and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, That this resolution be communicated to:

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.
Hon. Key Pittman, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, D. C.
Douglas Aircraft Corporation, Santa Monica, California
Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, Burbank, California
Northrup Corporation, Inglewood, California
Vultee Aircraft, Downey, California

* * *

Democracies Can Act!

* * *

JAPAN'S PARTNER

JAPANESE DEPENDENCE UPON THE UNITED STATES

BY ELIOT JANEWAY

(Reprinted by permission and through courtesy of Harper's Magazine)

The Japanese government is engaged in a war in which it would be helpless without necessities—oil, steel, munitions, and various commodities—which it imports from the United States. At the same time the Roosevelt Administration has embarked on the biggest naval program ever undertaken by our government at any time, and one of the chief reasons for it is a fear of the Japanese. How does it come about that our government prepares to defend us against persons who would be no threat if American industry did not help them to become one?

This year's great war games in the Pacific are more secret and mysterious than for many years. This year's Congress is being asked to vote a naval appropriations bill that will land America right in the middle of the arms race. . . .

. . . It is Japan, not Germany or Italy, which figures as the possible attacker in the popular mind and in the Navy Department's plans. It is because of Japan that our enormous new battleships will slide down the ways in 1942 and 1943. There it is, the smoke of the "China incident," slowly creeping up from the horizon, a cloud by this time a little larger than a man's hand, and our uneasy people find in it a warning that sometime, from over the world's shoulder, the Japanese guns and battleships may turn against us.

Meanwhile what is Japan doing? That is a fair question because it so happens that she is doing more than bombing Chinese cities. Japan too has plans for 1943. Her immediate problem is of course to supply the armies that are pushing into China; but the program she has publicly announced, and upon which she is now spending every last cent she can find, is not designed merely to supply shells and tanks to her infantry or bombs to her airmen. Japan is beginning a second industrial revolution, the most immediate and obvious results of which cannot be achieved before the early 1940's. . . .

. . . Surely if Japan's new industries are to serve her . . . we can only be delighted at the prospect of Japanese peasants

living an easier life. But this, alas, is not the case, and it seems probable that the Japanese peasant will ride on the new railroads only in troop trains, and will come to have a close acquaintance with automobiles only if he is mobilized into a motorized unit of infantry.

Japanese living standards are falling, not rising, as the blueprints for this program are approved. The textile industry—Japan's greatest employer of labor and producer of wealth—is seeing more and more of its plants close, as foreign exchange to purchase cotton and wool abroad becomes rarer and rarer. Heavier and heavier are the tax burdens falling upon the peasants, and the Finance Minister can only express sympathy for their decreasing incomes but can offer no hope of easier circumstances. The Japanese government itself has sent a good part of the gold reserve which nominally backs its currency out of the country to pay for imports needed for the war.

Not only are these plans being formulated at an inopportune moment, if these new industries are to serve any peacetime commercial purposes, any solvent domestic market, but the development of them is to take place under the ægis of the government. This may not seem remarkable, or out of place. Other governments than that of Japan are taking a hand in industrial planning. But in Japan the government means the Army. Only one point need be cited for proof. The Japanese Army and Navy between them account for seventy-nine per cent of the expenditures under the 1938 budget, a budget that has quadrupled in the seven years since the Manchurian conquest of 1931. Japan's plans for industrial expansion are plans for industrial armament.

This expansion is not confined to Japan proper. Second only to the Mitsui combine in national power is the Manchurian Heavy Industrial Development Co. Ltd., headed by Yoshisuke Aikawa, which is the monopoly for expansion in Manchukuo—in equal partnership with the government (*i.e.*, the Army). The Japanese Army owns large interests in many key industrial ventures, notably the South Manchurian Railway, and is in effect one of the Empire's most important property-owning bodies. . . .

. . . It is certain, . . . no matter how long Japan expects to be formally fighting in China, that the northern provinces are to be incorporated into Japan's long-term plans and to play their part in strengthening her in future campaigns for future prospective conquests. Here the Manchurian Heavy Industrial De-

velopment Co. has its twin in the Kochu Koshi, which is breeding a swarm of "development companies" as subsidiaries. The pattern is identical with that of Manchukuo. Here again is a monopoly company operating in partnership with the government, headed by a friend of the Army, and engaging in long-term Army-inspired projects. . . . North China, still a battlefield, is already, in the War Ministry's careful blueprints, an interrelated part of the cherished plan for Japanese self-sufficiency.

II

It will be worth while to examine a few of these industrial schemes and so get some picture of the immense reorganization and expansion which the Army hopes will make over Japan. By 1941 the steel industry is expected to be turning out twice as much as at present. But not only is Japan's capacity for making steel to be doubled; much of this new capacity is to be for specialized steel, so that Japan can thriftily turn out high-grade steel for machinery, and low-grade steel for office buildings. . . . The United States' capacity, although enormously greater, is almost altogether occupied by filling orders for industry. But Japan's steel will be steel for the Army, whether it goes directly into shells or less directly into machinery to make light tanks. Japan has no need of steel mills to turn out wire for farmers, or light steel strips for refrigerators; for she has no one to buy either wire or iceboxes.

Central agent in the steel program is a government corporation, the Japan Iron Manufacturing Co. . . .

The automobile industry too is facing four years of rapid expansion under government regulation. The present session of the Japanese Diet has included automobiles in the articles important from the standpoint of national "defense" which are subject to complete government control. The purpose of increased production is of course obvious—and is not for growing sale to civilians. . . . Japan's automobile factories, unable to create demand in civilian circles, are working on special orders—for the war. For some time now the Japanese automobile industry has been concentrating on cars using Diesel motors—heavy, expensive, economical only on very long hauls, and thus badly adapted in every way for use by Japan's citizens, but extremely well adapted to the needs of armies pushing into China's interior. . . .

The other method of transport at the Army's disposal, the railroads, is making almost as much trouble. The government authorities used to be of the comfortable opinion that they had plenty of cars and locomotives to handle both peace- and war-time shipments. But they are now finding 100,000 tons of freight going unhandled every day for lack of transport facilities, and new railroad equipment is vital. To complicate the problem are the 1,200 miles of railroad taken over in North China which—perhaps simply to confuse the future conqueror—were built on three gauges, wide, standard, and narrow. So orders are being placed under Army supervision—for 500 locomotives, 1,000 passenger cars, and 10,000 freight cars. The steel is being obtained from our old friend, the Japan Iron Manufacturing Co.

. . . Military expansion for steel, automobiles, and railroad equipment depends on military expansion of the machine-tool industry which fashions steel into parts for these basic steel-using industries. We have the government's guarantee that the machine-tool business can depend on at least two years of military expansion after any need for it in China is over. Is any other evidence needed to show that North China is just another step in what Japan regards as her imperial progress?

Oil is notoriously the weakest link in Japan's economy. Obviously, as this program of industrial expansion goes into effect her fuel requirements will increase. Now unless something is done to permit Japan to lay her hands on oil that is exclusively hers, this whole complicated program will be jeopardized. But Japan's oil deposits are negligible, as are those of Manchuria and North China. Japan, however, is not going to drill for oil, but to manufacture it. She is planning to spend the better part of a billion yen on a project for liquefying coal. . . .

Two commercial commodities have been included in this self-sufficiency program for military reasons. Japan's cotton goods industry needs, when working at top speed, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ million bales of cotton a year. China produces about $3\frac{3}{4}$ million bales, most of it in the North. Japan plans to increase this output by persuading the peasants to give up growing food crops and confine themselves to cotton culture, depending on food imported from other regions. Pulp output, used by her rayon industry, is also to be increased.

For Japan is anxious to maintain her position as a textile exporter, even though at present she is starving out many of her

small textile manufacturers. Textile exports bring her foreign exchange which can be used for the import of goods which her ambitious program demands.

III

Now this is important to notice because it is the first admission that this enormous program, so calmly discussed in Japan, is not self-inaugurating and self-perpetuating. It is dependent on imports. So vital are the imports that the government has had to include in its plans two industries, only minutely concerned with the Army, because they make these imports possible. Steel, automobiles, railroad equipment, machine tools, oil, the plans are snugly and snugly laid for expansion in these fields on a huge scale. But here is the catch. Not only a prostrate China is to contribute to the program. So is Somebody Else, the nation which sells industrial equipment to Japan.

If you are beginning to have a grim suspicion that Somebody Else is the United States—which is boycotting Japanese goods, fearing Japanese aggression, building battleships to defend herself against Japan—you are quite right. You will have heard of our scrap iron shipments to Japan. We are still selling her scrap. More important, we are selling her steel, finished and semi-finished, ready to be processed by her factories into armaments. We are selling her gasoline to fill the tanks of the airplanes that bomb Chinese cities. And most important of all, from our own standpoint, we are selling her the machine tools and metal-working machinery which she is to use in revolutionizing her economy on to a base more nearly comparable with our own. In the 1890's there was a bit of excitement in England over the fact that England was exporting textile machinery to countries, including Japan, though no one thought much about her then, which were substantial markets for English textiles. Little attention was paid to the outcry, and the trade continued. What Japanese textiles subsequently did to English markets is a matter of economic history. Well, that took over forty years and there was never any question of war between England and Japan, nor were the machinery exports for armament use. This, then, is a very minor analogy to what we are doing at present. The great triumph which has made the United States the most powerful industrial nation in the world has been the development of mass production—for peaceful purposes. We are selling Japan the means of mass production for war.

But before we begin to talk about the machinery we are selling Japan for future use it is worth while to put down something of what we are selling Japan to-day for immediate use. For this forms, indirectly, part of her expansion program too. Her program, as we have seen, is based upon the complete control, for her own purposes, of North China. We are helping her to conquer North China by selling her the vital raw materials she needs for armaments.

Steel first of all. In 1937 Japan produced 5.3 million tons of steel. Well over one-third of that steel was made from American raw materials, scrap and pig iron. Besides raw material for her furnaces, the United States sold her 1,000,000 tons of new iron and steel in various unfabricated forms. This was quite an increase from the 1936 figure of 54,000 tons. And Japan bought 75,000 tons of American pig iron alone during the first two months of 1938, and is ordering 100,000 tons more. The same huge rate of increase is continuing in the purchase of steel. Our exports to Japan and Manchukuo in January 1938 were three times what they had been a year ago. A very important point to note in connection with Japan's purchases of steel here is that much of it is specialty steel already alloyed with expensive special metals—copper, nickel, aluminum, chromium, and so on—which Japan is thus spared from buying, and, indeed, which she is still unable to process adequately for modern engineering and armament use. Even so, she bought more than twice as much refined copper from us in 1937 as she did in 1936.

Japan's oil self-sufficiency program, you will recall, will not be completed until 1943, and even then will give her at best but two-thirds of her gasoline requirements, and 45 per cent of her heavy oil needs. During 1937, when this program was merely so many figures on paper, Japan bought 34,000,000 barrels of oil abroad. By October she had already bought 23,000,000 barrels of it from us. This includes special aviation fuel, produced in commercial quantities only by America. This anti-knock gasoline, high in octane content, is the only fuel which will permit some of the American engines which Japan has been buying to develop their full power. Because of its anti-knock qualities too, it lengthens the life of engines, thus saving Japan's under-capacitated engine shops much replacement work. So essential is oil to Japan, and so precarious her present shortage, that Tokyo taxis are being prevented from cruising in order to conserve her gasoline supplies.

But even more important than the crucial oil and steel supplies for immediate use that we are sending Japan is our part in aiding Japan to complete her expansion program. Her expansion program for the steel industry calls for an increase of 2.3 million tons of rolled steel (finished steel rolled from steel ingots). In 1937 Japan contracted for the purchase of three modern American rolling mills having a combined capacity of some million and a quarter tons—almost half of the increase called for by Japan's five-year program. These are the famous new automatic continuous sheet-and-strip mills made only in this country, which eliminate 80–85 per cent of the labor usually needed for rolling steel and which complete the complicated process at the rate of about 1,800 feet a minute, ten times as fast as the old-fashioned mills through which steel was rolled by hand. The steel thus turned out lends itself particularly well to automobile production (another vital part of Japan's expansion program) and, by their labor-saving devices, these mills will ease somewhat the serious Japanese shortage of skilled workmen.

It is not only steel rolling mills which we are selling Japan, but high-speed metal-working machinery of all kinds. We sold Japan \$34,000,000 worth in 1937, more than she had bought from the whole world in 1936, and about two-thirds of her 1937 imports. But machinery imports are much more important than their dollar value would indicate; each machine in its lifetime produces goods worth many times the value of its purchase price. Moreover, the high-speed production and standardization of operations which efficient machinery makes possible is something that cannot be measured in dollars or tons. It is the very basis of mass production and the enormous efficiency that that implies—for peace or for war. Japan's automobile industry, for instance, is faced at present with a confusing variety of machinery and parts: standardization is admittedly its principal problem. Aikawa stated, as we have seen, that two years would be necessary for the installation of modern, high-speed standardized equipment in his Manchurian automobile and aircraft plants. It is because he must have standardized and efficient machinery, and because such machinery for automobile production is made only in the United States, that he is coming here shortly to spend \$300,000,000—almost a third of the total cost of the Manchurian development program—on American equipment—if his sales talk about profits to be made in the development of Manchukuo persuades American industrialists to advance the \$300,000,000 Mr.

Aikawa needs. And if Japan begins to standardize her auto, her steel, her engineering industries on the basis of American designs, she cannot later turn to those of another country; if she did she would simply continue the same old confusion caused by diverse types of machinery, some of them interlocking, others not, which she is trying to get rid of now. Parallel to her auto-equipment buying, purchases of American locomotives and freight cars will facilitate the completion of Japan's continental railway program. Twenty per cent of the new rolling stock Japan needs will be bought here.

Japan's textile exports have traditionally been the most important way in which she has financed whatever purchases of capital goods she has had to make. But textile exports depend upon raw material imports, notably of cotton. Last year, when Japan found that the China incident was developing into something very much like a full-fledged war, she was forced to curtail these imports, sacrificing her cotton textile industry and its exports (its export revenues as well, it may be added) to her need for materials of war. The immediate drop in export revenues, and thus in foreign exchange, forced her to resort to large-scale shipments of gold which cut deeply into her scanty reserves. Altogether she shipped \$250,000,000 in gold to the United States in 1937; and some \$25,000,000 more has arrived in California so far this year, with more promised. Furthermore, she is now debating whether or not to ship every last remaining ounce of gold to us, since her need of manufactured imports is much more vital to her than the farce of a gold foundation for her paper yen.

These gold payments went for armament necessities and for machinery needed by the expansion program. They did not go for cotton. Thus was set in motion the vicious circle which has closed her textile factories, despite her recognition of the importance of export revenues to her present solvency and future plans. By heroic measures, she succeeded since the current cotton season began in August in cutting down her lint takings here to a third of last year's volume. In spite of this, however, she ended 1937 with the enormous trade deficit of 636,000,000 yen. This appalling figure frightened her into cutting down her cotton imports by an additional 180,000,000 yen in January and February, so that her trade deficit for these months was reduced by 75 per cent.

But the unfortunate result was that she found herself without sufficient cotton goods on hand to fill export orders previously

undertaken. To fill these orders, she has had to purchase finished cotton goods here, an unprecedented step; and, however reluctantly, to resume her raw cotton purchases here. And as soon as she resumed her cotton purchases she was compelled to resume her gold shipments as well, to the dismay of what is left of conservative opinion in Japan. But sad as the result has been for Japan, it has been sadder for us. Cotton is the Achilles' heel of our economy. Japan's inability to purchase her normal quota of our cotton has had a most depressing effect on the cotton market and, therefore, on Southern purchasing power. And her orders to our steel and machine-tool industries have been far from making up what her boycott of our cotton has cost us. Similarly, Japan's inability to supply her rayon industry with pulp has hurt our West Coast lumber mills, which suffered a panic last summer when the outbreak of war left them with huge unexportable surpluses on hand. The Japanese purchases that have been outlined here, vital as they are to Japan, were sufficient in 1937 to provide our steel and oil industries with a week's work apiece, no more. They are essential to Japan but unimportant to us, and the long-term program of armament expansion growing out of the war in China which they are making possible has ominous political implications for the United States.

Well, there is the story, a very simple one. Japan is the one nation in the world whose aggression we fear. Japan is the unashamed attacker of a country with whom we sympathize, whose magnificent defensive stand we admire heartily. In this attack have occurred atrocities—the bombing of universities, for example—which shock the world.

American industry is selling Japan the goods which permit her to do this and to rear grandiose schemes for continuing to do this on a scale so huge that all western Asia will be reduced to the level of the Japanese subjects in Korea. Seventy-five per cent of the gasoline Japan used last year, gasoline for tanks and bombers and warships, came from the United States. One-third of the steel she made last year, steel for shells, bombs, dum dum bullets, was made out of American raw materials.

Here, then, is the paradox. The Japanese menace is made possible by American exports. Because of the Japanese menace our government is building battleships with money which might otherwise go for housing or to ease the tax burden of our people. What is to be done about this situation is up to the American people. Here are the facts.

JAPAN'S NEW NEED: AMERICAN STEELS, MACHINES AND OILS

BY ELIOT JANEWAY

(Reprinted through courtesy and permission of Asia Magazine)

It must have been a good five years ago that some one discovered Japanese purchases of American scrap iron. Ever since that time—and particularly since the beginning of the Japanese campaign in China last year—the United States has been collectively shaken, every now and then, by a spasm of conscience over the scrap iron which is mysteriously being transmuted, under Nippon's cherry blossoms, into bombs to kill Chinese babies. Cartoons decrying this trade, and the trade in oil to turn the wheels of Japanese automobiles, the propellers of Japanese airplanes, and to push her battleships through the Yellow Sea, have become familiar. But the typical American reaction has been the thought that, after all, Japan would make such purchases from Germany or England if she did not make them from the United States; and the trade has gone on.

I want to talk now about a trade with Japan which could be carried on by the United States alone, which no one has cartooned, and which is qualitatively of such vast importance that, without it, the probability is Japan's economy would break down.

This is the trade in machinery and in lubricating oils. Japan is buying from the United States machinery which her German ally and her British ex-ally do not make at all, or do not make in a quantity or quality able to challenge American products. It is true that Japan could buy elsewhere some—but not so much—of the scrap iron and crude oil which bulk so large in her imports. But, now that she has begun to deal in and to depend on American machinery, American machine tools, special American steels, lubricating oils and so on, she *cannot* turn away—unless she starts to build up her heavy industries all over again, and her engineering processes from the bottom, and on a less efficient basis. For Japan has begun to modernize and integrate her industry with the aid of the United States. One of the most important parts of integration on a mass production scale is, obviously, standardization. Because she is using American models now, she must continue to use American models. And in addi-

tion, and in explanation of her natural impulse to turn first to the United States, is the fact that German and British industry, old and expert as they are in engineering skills, do not use those skills in the efficient mass production way which is so typically American, nor are they at present able to employ those skills on engineering goods for the export market. It is in any case absurd to think of Japan's dividing her economy into two or three compartments, modeled by engineering imports from different nations. Since her main line of mass production development in the heavy industries is American, she must either complete her program under American auspices or at great expense scrap the better part of her American engineering models and start all over again on a German or British basis.

Japan's increasing imports of American machinery show how thoroughly her quantitatively larger imports of raw materials are, and will be, influenced and controlled by the machinery which must process them. Thus a qualitative problem has arisen beside her older problem of obtaining raw materials. They must be raw materials of a suitable quality and kind.

Now just what is the importance of machinery to a country? Let us take a very simple case. Japan is capable of turning out 5,000,000 tons of steel a year, when she is buying scrap and pig iron abroad (that is, in the United States) freely. That sounds impressive, but actually it is just a first step. For steel is just so much raw material for modern industry, able to do nothing but rust in a mill yard unless it is handled further. If it is to be useful to modern industries, it must be turned, ground, cut, shaped, welded, treated to resist heat and acid, to cut other steel, to endure enormous pressures and great speeds. In the past five years, machine tools for making machinery out of steel have been speeded up as much as has been the making of the steel itself. Ever more efficient tools have been developed to handle the growing output of the steel mills. Thus, if Japan is to use the steel, she must import the tools, or she will find herself producing steel she cannot process. And to produce and process steel at this pace she is calling upon the engineers and chemists and plants of Detroit and Pittsburgh. So American machinery, in effect, rules the greatest of Japan's empire-building industries.

These empire-building and controlling industries have changed with the empire itself. Japan first of all built up her strength as an island empire. The industries she developed were, naturally, shipping and shipbuilding, and light goods for export, such as

textiles, just like that other island empire halfway across the world, which has prided herself on her textile exports and her sea-going tradition. But now Japan is becoming, and desiring ever more to become, a mainland empire. Her problems are changing. Control of her tens of thousands of square miles of backward territory, peopled by unwilling subjects, raises new questions of continental transportation and communication. It is the United States and not England which has developed the technique of handling industries such as railroad, automobile and aircraft building on a mass production scale, and it is therefore to the United States that Japan has turned for aid in the solution of her new problems; and particularly for the machinery to set American-style assembly lines in motion. It is very evident that an assembly line industry, importing its machinery or at the best the machine tools that make its machinery, is qualitatively dependent for its very life on the engineering skill ten thousand miles away that determined the position of each screw in a certain machine and decided that it should operate at four hundred and fifty revolutions per minute.

Because of this long-distance dependence, Japan needs machinery that is well built and sturdy, since she herself is not equipped to duplicate or repair it. In any case, she must mortgage her industrial future to the nation that supplies her, since replacement must be made frequently. Auto-making machinery, for instance, is subjected to great pressure and must be replaced every three to five years. And there is always the chance of an accident which will hold up an assembly line until repairs—which Japan is ill equipped to take care of—can be made.

Thus far we have been going on the assumption that these complicated machines are imported to handle the 5,000,000 tons of steel which Japan produces yearly. But this is hardly true. For the steel which Japan turns out is, for the most part, heavy and brittle, unsuited for use in high speed and high tension machines and motors. So Japan imports not only American tools but also new American steels alloyed with aluminum, nickel, chrome and other metals, and much lighter and more durable than the typical Japanese product. Railroad equipment is one of the chief products which Japan must turn out. It is obvious that light steel cars, which are yet strong enough to carry a heavy load, are advantageous.

In the aircraft industry this special steel is not simply advantageous; it is indispensable. *The American Machinist*, a trade

paper, mentions casually the composition of steel used in an airplane propeller made by a famous American manufacturer. The propeller is forged from a special alloy of aluminum and steel which has been heat-treated until its tensile strength has become sufficient to enable it to withstand a strain of 55,000 pounds per square inch. It must be able to stand such a strain if it is to serve the powerful engine that drives it. Japan is buying such engines in the United States, and she is purchasing also the machine tools designed to make these propellers. But even when she has installed them she will still have to come to the United States for the aluminum steels out of which the propellers are made.

For in Japan steel is still just steel, while in the United States steel is bought according to specification. The consumer tells the manufacturer what he wants to use his steel for, and the manufacturer melts it accordingly. Japan is finding it as necessary as does the United States to use special, efficient steels for special purposes. She is, for instance, and very immediately, planning to motorize her infantry. She wants thousands of fast, sturdy autos, trucks and tanks, with which to send her troops into China's vast interior. There are no service stations in Shansi, and, if each part of the cars Japan gives to her soldiers is not strong and reliable, the Japanese advance will end only in a bogged down mess of broken cars surrounded by guerrilla snipers. Now, if you want to cut teeth in automobile gears at a mass production clip, the cutting tool you use will have to be fashioned precisely to cut five one thousandths of an inch deep, and at the rate of 425 feet a minute. But no ordinary steel can be handled in this fashion and survive to function as a gear on an automobile. Accordingly, Japan is making her gears with American machine tools. The steel and the tools are useless if they are not used together, the steel because an old-fashioned tool cannot cut it, the tools because they will destroy a less strongly fashioned steel. And still Japan has not remotely begun to approach the American standard of efficiency which grades all steels meticulously according to the uses their compositions permit them to be put to.

Much of Japan's 5,000,000-ton steel capacity must, therefore, be written off as useless in the face of her railroad, automobile and aircraft program. If Japan hopes seriously ever to turn her feudal peasant land into a power comparable to America's industrialized might, she must start from the very beginning to dupli-

cate America's industrial plants. She has, during the past year, begun to purchase modern mills for rolling steel in the most efficient way. And, because of this, she has been forced to increase her purchases of machinery to process this new steel. During 1937 she spent as much on machinery as she spent on her much heralded purchases of scrap iron, and she has bought so far this year at the record rate of \$3,000,000 a month.

But the purchases of machinery in which her purchases of steel involve her have forced Japan also to pay tribute to another industry, unimportant in the extreme as far as quantity is concerned, but qualitatively, again, absolutely necessary once modern industrial methods begin to be followed. This is the American method of lubrication—developed to its height in the machine shops of Cleveland and Youngstown. All of the complicated and expensive machinery Japan imports is fitted with oil pumps, designed to force just the right grade and kind of lubricating oil between metal surfaces at just the right speed, and thus, by preventing friction, to lengthen the life of the tool or the engine. And so Japan must acknowledge the hold over her economy of yet another unique American product, which hardly shows up as a significant item in her list of imported goods and yet without which an integrated modern economy would be out of the question. The steel takes the tools, and the tools take the oils, and Japan must come to the United States for all three.

Every day Japan's war in China makes her need of this American equipment more urgent. The railway problem is typical. Because of a car shortage, 100,000 tons of freight remain unhandled every day. Japan plans to build 500 locomotives and 7,000 freight cars. But her 24 plants dedicated to this purpose must remain idle until the lathes and other machine tools she has ordered abroad, principally in America, arrive. Meanwhile she has placed emergency orders for 20 per cent of this program in America, abandoning hope of supplying them herself. . . .

And so the story, all through the industrial economy that Japan is striving so desperately to modernize and to integrate, is of dependence on American products, on unique American skills, on goods which America alone is producing in quantities sufficient to export. For light, durable steels in mass production quantities; for railroad, automobile and aircraft manufacturing equipment made from these steels and by these tools; and, finally,

for the high-powered fuel needed to run her new American aircraft engines, Japan can go nowhere else. And each of these products is useless without all the others.

What Japan is aiming at—and indeed what these American products are alone designed to serve—is an interdependent, mass-production economy. But what Japan is necessarily and inevitably involving herself in is an economy integrated toward continued imports from one country, interdependent indeed, but far from independent of that country's good will. And that economy is virtually subject to the control, no matter how little her publicists and generals may know it or care to admit it, of the quantitatively small, but qualitatively all-important engineering goods which that country sends her.

SHIPMENT OF STEEL AND SCRAP IRON TO JAPAN

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF HON. BYRON N. SCOTT
OF CALIFORNIA IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WEDNESDAY, MAY 18, 1938

(Excerpts from Congressional Record)

Introduction to article, "AMERICA CAN HALT JAPAN"*

BY PAUL G. McMANUS

Mr. Scott. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article by Paul G. McManus:

The difficulties the Japanese have been encountering in their war against China spotlights what singularly few people seem aware of: That the United States is in the strategic position of being able to cripple Japan's war machine by suddenly cutting off the supply of scrap needed in steel production. This may be illustrated by citing figures for Japan. In 1937 she produced

* For the balance of a closely reasoned article, see *Congressional Record* for May 18, 1938. Space prevents quotation in full.

roughly 5,300,000 tons of steel. In the manufacture of this tonnage over 2,000,000 tons of scrap were used, of which the United States supplied 1,900,000 tons. Thus one-third of the raw material used in Japan's steel industry in 1937 was derived from American scrap. It can readily be seen that sudden stoppage of this flow would adversely affect Japan's ability to produce steel.

The foregoing represents the opinion of no individual. The figures cited are based upon official export statistics compiled monthly by United States Government bodies. The paragraph as a whole is quoted almost literally from a recent speech by E. W. Pehrson, of the Metal Economics Division of the United States Bureau of Mines, before the trade organization of used-material dealers. It constitutes the most direct statement made, since Japan invaded China, of the vital role played in Japan's war economy by American industry.

AMERICAN EXPORTS BOLSTER JAPAN

BY T. A. BISSON

(Reprinted through courtesy and permission of Foreign Policy Association, Inc.)

During recent weeks the new military-fascist members added to Japan's Cabinet have demonstrated how the war in China should be conducted. Not content with an intensified drive on the central China fronts, they have instituted a ruthless bombing of Canton which has piled up a total of at least 8,000 casualties, mostly civilian non-combatants. Laying claim to "military necessity," Japanese officials have spurned protests against this barbarity, declared that the air raids would be continued "with even greater vigor," and acted on this declaration. By June 12, as a result, Canton was experiencing its fifteenth successive day of aerial bombardment.

Military inefficiency rather than military necessity—if the realization that a desperate case requires desperate remedies be accepted—lies at the root of this latest exhibition of Japanese "frightfulness." For months Japan's naval planes have been bombing the tracks, stations and bridges of the Canton-Kowloon Railway in an effort to disrupt the munitions shipments which are reaching Hankow via Hongkong and Canton. Japanese

planes have been virtually unopposed in the air; nevertheless, they have failed to interrupt railway traffic. Heroic Chinese repair crews quickly restored tracks or bridges where the raiding planes scored direct hits. Hoping to demoralize the Chinese defense, the new Japanese leadership deliberately resorted to an indiscriminate bombing of Canton. The doubtful efficacy of this weapon has again been illustrated in south China; latest reports indicate that the Canton-Kowloon Railway is still functioning and that munitions trains are still passing north to Hankow.

The raids on Canton are not the responsibility of Japan alone. Americans should face the fact that this country is participating *de facto* in the destruction wrought at Canton. The high-test aviation fuel, which the United States is supplying in large and increasing quantities to Japan, makes this country a participant in the Canton bombardments; so, also, does the \$5,670,237 worth of American aircraft and accessories sold to Japan since January 1938. As pointed out in the *Washington News Letter*, these facts led Secretary Hull on June 11 to reveal that the State Department was taking measures to "discourage" sale of American airplanes to Japan. Airplanes, however, constitute but a small portion of the war materials which American concerns are supplying to Japan. High-grade steels with specified alloys, special types of machinery and machine tools, and certain fuels and lubricating oils—these, and other products, are available to Japan in large quantities only in the American market. When scrap and pig iron, refined copper, petroleum, automobiles and accessories, non-metallic metals, and numerous lesser items are added to the list of American exports to Japan, the full picture becomes apparent. A scientific study of this subject, to be shortly published by the Chinese Council for Economic Research at Washington, D. C., estimates that during recent months Japan has secured 54.4 per cent of its war imports from the United States.

It is clear that Secretary Hull's private warnings to a few American airplane manufacturers do not constitute an adequate answer to the question raised by these facts. The United States, as the chief source of supply of Japan's war materials, has become a silent partner in Japanese aggression. It is not enough to say that this country is also supplying munitions to China. Nor does application of the Neutrality Act commend itself as the proper answer to the situation that has developed. As early as last September the American government explicitly ranged itself

with the League in condemnation of Japan's bombing of open cities in China; in more recent declarations, the State Department has implicitly branded Japan as the aggressor in the current Far Eastern hostilities. Something more than words is required, however, if the United States is not to be accused of transparent hypocrisy. In order to enforce a policy of non-participation in Japanese aggression, the American government must levy a strict embargo on sales of war materials to Japan. At the same time, the Chinese government should continue to enjoy every facility for the purchase of the munitions which it needs to protect China's national existence against an unjustified and ruthless assault. Only thus can the deeds of our government be squared with its words. This policy will demand a price from certain vested American interests, but that price will be cheap compared with the war which looms on the horizon if Japan ever establishes itself effectively in China.

Despite Japan's recent military gains, there is no reason to believe that the Chinese cause is hopeless. Rising waters and breaches in the dikes of the Yellow River have mired the Japanese advance along the Lunghai Railway, and Chengchow is apparently still in Chinese hands. Time is being given for the Chinese forces to reform their lines for the defense of Hankow. Withdrawal of further American aid to the aggressor at this crucial moment would condemn Japan's desperate eleventh-hour offensive to defeat.

* * *

Japan furnishes the pilot—America furnishes the airplane, gasoline, oil and bombs for the ravaging of undefended Chinese cities.

* * *

Stop Economic Aid to Japan . . .

WHAT ORGANIZATIONS CAN DO

The active support of organizations throughout America is needed in order to make effective an embargo upon war supplies from the United States to Japan.

Any or all of the following suggested activities can be carried out, beginning at once, by organizations, national or local, with or without the cooperation of other bodies:

1. Take the stoppage of military supplies to Japan as a leading issue in connection with organizational publications, correspondence, meetings and conferences. Arrange for special gatherings and radio addresses when possible.

2. Send copies of all actions taken by large or small groups to President Roosevelt, to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, to members of the Senate and House Committees on Foreign Relations, to Senators and Congressmen of your state, and to local newspapers.

3. Write individual letters to any or all of the above protesting against American aid to Japanese aggression and requesting that official action be taken to prohibit the export of war supplies to Japan.

4. Form local committees (civic leaders, ministers, members of women's organizations, labor organizations, and peace groups, and other public-spirited citizens) to call on Congressmen, Senators and Congressional candidates, informing them of the opinion of local groups, and urging them to take a position with regard to the issue.

5. If the legislature in your state is meeting this autumn or winter, attempt to secure passage of a Memorial to Congress urging congressional action for withholding munitions, other war supplies and financial aid from Japan for the duration of the war, or withholding economic aid for war purposes to countries which are in process of violating peace treaties with the United States.

6. Express your moral support to industrialists, merchants, and other individuals and to labor and other organizations refusing to cooperate in the manufacture or shipment of supplies for Japan's war machine.

7. Designate one or more persons active in the organization who can devote his time and effort during the summer and autumn to the embargo issue, who will keep in touch with all branches of the organization, with other organizations, and with the American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression.

WHAT INDIVIDUALS CAN DO

The actions of individuals are no less significant than those of organizations. To any who feel strongly with regard to the question of American support for Japanese aggression, the following activities are suggested:

1. Send letters to President Roosevelt, Secretary of State Cordell Hull and to Senators and Congressmen from your state, as suggested in third paragraph above.

2. Write the editor of your local newspaper, stating your position and suggesting that the paper lend its editorial support to the policy of non-participation in Japanese aggression.

3. Order and distribute further copies of the pamphlet, "America's Share in Japan's War Guilt." Keep your own copy in circulation among friends.

4. Send for additional postcards for distribution among those who may write letters to the President, the Secretary of State, and Congressmen.

5. Discuss the question with friends and think of further means toward ending America's support to Japan at this time. Send your ideas and suggestions to the Secretary, American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression.

6. Promote and cooperate in such organizational activities as are suggested above.

American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression . . .

A growing realization that the United States is, in effect, an ally of Japan for her program of conquest in Asia has led to the spontaneous organization of the American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression.

Neither widespread sympathy for the Chinese people in their courageous struggle for freedom nor protests over inhuman warfare and the violation of treaties can atone for the positive support which we are lending to the Japanese military machine.

This Committee's reason for existence is to help in bringing the essential facts to the attention of the American people, co-operating with other individuals and organizations that are working to this end, and to investigate ways and means whereby the stoppage of war credits and essential war supplies to Japan can be made effective for the remainder of the present conflict in China.

Significant facts with regard to American aid to Japan will be placed before commercial, industrial, financial, labor and transportation groups. On grounds of both moral responsibility and far-sighted self-interest, the case for non-participation in Japanese aggression will be presented, and public opinion will be invited to lend its support to all who voluntarily sacrifice a share in "profits from the blood and tears of the innocent" in China.

The Committee will endeavor to help in crystallizing public demand and support for governmental executive action designed to check the flow of American credits and war materials to Japan. Study is being made of the forms of effective executive action possible under existing law. Contact will be maintained with the governmental departments concerned.

The Committee will also work toward securing the enactment of a measure at the next session of Congress prohibiting the extension of economic aid for war purposes to a country which is in process of violating a solemn treaty of peace to which the United States is a party.

To insure the more complete effectiveness of any action taken in America, the Committee will collaborate with organizations

in other countries which are working to halt shipments of essential war materials to Japan. Through this means, international action by peoples and governments will be sought.

The central and single aim of the Committee is expressed in the phrase "non-participation in Japanese aggression." Doctrinal isms, domestic issues, and the European situation, however important, are beyond its scope.

Members of the Committee regard this program as a constructive effort in the direction of international peace and justice. They desire the well-being of the people of Japan as well as of all other peoples in the Pacific area. They desire peace and justice for all concerned. They feel, at the same time, that before any just settlement and lasting peace structure can be achieved, Japanese military aggression must be checked. They believe that for this a policy of non-cooperation by the powers together with continued Chinese resistance will be effective, and that the urgent and crucial need of the moment is to withhold economic assistance for war purposes from Japan.

Starting in a small way, this Committee has received an immediate response on all sides. This has led to a more inclusive organization which is still in process as the movement to check the flow of war materials from America to Japan gains rapidly in momentum. The contents of this booklet suggest the contacts which the Committee has made to date and the extent to which the movement has already grown. It is expected that formal organization of the Committee will be completed and announced in the near future, with outstanding citizens among the sponsors.

Far more important than this Committee, however, is the movement of which it is but a part. Not one but scores of organizations and thousands of individuals must unite in common effort in order to make this movement effective.

In cooperation with individuals and organizations throughout the United States, furnishing and receiving suggestions and information, the American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression is ready to do its part.

NATIONAL BOARD

INITIAL MEMBERS

- Dr. Edward H. Hume, *Director of Christian Medical Council for Overseas Work.*
- Miss Josephine Schain, *National Chairman, National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War.*
- Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, *Union Theological Seminary.*
- Mrs. Lincoln Steffens (Ella Winter), *Executive Board, League of American Writers.*
- Mr. Roger S. Greene, *lately Acting Director of Peiping Union Medical College and former Consul-General at Hankow.*
- Miss Helen Keller, *author and lecturer.*
- Mr. Louis D. Froelick, *formerly Editor of ASIA Magazine.*
- Mr. T. A. Bisson, *Research Staff, Foreign Policy Association; Author, "Japan in China."*
- Mr. Philip J. Jaffe, *Managing Editor, Amerasia.*
- Mr. Maxwell Stewart, *Associate Editor, The Nation.*
- Mr. Eliot Janeway, *economist, writer.*
- Miss Margaret Forsyth, *National Board, Y.W.C.A.*
- Dr. B. A. Garside, *educational administrator.*
- Mr. George Fitch, *Secretary of Y.M.C.A. in China (on leave).*
- Mr. Olin D. Wannamaker, *educational executive and lecturer.*
- Rev. Dr. Frank W. Price, *Nanking Theological Seminary (on leave).*
- Rev. Dr. E. W. Luccock, *Pastor, Shanghai Community Church (on leave).*
- Mr. Earl H. Leaf, *writer, former North China Manager of United Press.*
- Mr. Edgar H. Rue, *Executive Secretary, Institution for the Chinese Blind, Shanghai.*
- Mr. Chester A. Smith, *Chairman, State of the Country and Social Service Committee, New York Methodist Conference, 1937-38.*
- Mr. Harry B. Price, *Professor of Economics, Yenching University, Peiping (on leave), SECRETARY.*

Membership as individuals

Initial contributions have made it possible to print the first issue of this booklet and to begin the setting up of an office. For the broad program of work needed in order to make effective the stopping of economic aid to Japan, additional contributions will be necessary. Donations sent to the Secretary, American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression, 8 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y., will be gratefully acknowledged and conscientiously applied to the enlarging work of this Committee. Make checks payable to *American Committee N.P.J.A.* Contributors and others interested will be invited to cooperate in the efforts of the Committee and they will be kept informed with regard to further developments.

