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當代文獻第三卷合訂本目錄

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期次	題目	頁數	期次	題目	頁數
1	聯合國日三週年蔣夫人對美播詞	1	23	德國投降書全文	170
2	美財長莫根索對聯合國貨幣金融會議開幕講辭	4	24	杜魯門總統對日本國民警告書	172
3	華萊士副總統由亞返美廣播訪中蘇觀感演辭	11	25	歐洲勝利日蔣主席對國內外廣播演詞	174
4	孔兼部長祥熙對美工商界領袖演講中美經濟合作	23	26 } 27 }	美國務卿斯退丁紐斯向美民衆報告舊金山會議進展	176
5 } 6 }	蘇聯十月革命斯達林元帥之報告	27	28	杜魯門總統於聯合國安全機構會議末次全體大會致詞	199
7	法蘇協定全文	49	29 } 32 }	聯合國憲章	211
8	納爾遜使華報告	54	33 } 34 }	世界法院組織法	257
9	蔣主席招待盟邦官員茶會慶祝歐戰勝利演詞	62	35	杜魯門總統之美國獨立日聲明	278
10	蔣主席設宴招待盟國軍官致辭	67	36	中國戰區美軍司令魏德邁將軍之獨立日告美軍將士書	280
11 } 12 }	瑞美法比四使節呈遞國書頌詞暨蔣主席答辭	72	37	中英政府規定彼此領土內軍隊管轄權協定	283
13	中英公路開闢成功蔣主席對美英人民播講	90	38	美英中三國迫日投降公告	298
14	美英蘇三國克里米亞會議聲明		39 } 40 }	美英蘇波茨坦會議聯合公報	302
	中國對歐洲解放國家聲明書	98			
15	蔣主席向政協進會致辭	108			
16	杜魯門總統向出席舊金山聯合國國際機構會議之各國代表致歡迎詞	116			
17	美國務卿斯退丁紐斯在聯合國國際機構會議開會時演講	123			
18	宋外長在舊金山聯合國國際機構會議講演	127			
19 } 22 }	美國動員及重建局局長文生氏對美總統關於戰爭第二階段對日戰爭及復員之報告書	132			



MADAME CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S MESSAGE TO AMERICA ON UNITED NATIONS DAY

Broadcast on June 14, 1944, at Chungking

聯合國日三週年蔣夫人對美播詞

一九四四年六月十四日由重慶播講

On this, the Third Anniversary of United Nations Day, it would perhaps be well for us, the members of the United Nations, to reaffirm the purpose of our common fight against aggression, and to dedicate ourselves anew¹ to uphold the faith of those who have died and suffered for the great cause of human freedom.

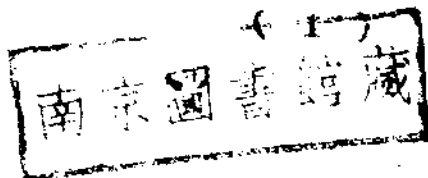
One member² of the United Nations, China in a few days will be crossing the threshold³ of the eighth year of resistance against Japan's wanton domination. What has sustained a military weak nation for so long?

As we retrace the steps whereby⁴ the United Nations finally came together to bind themselves in the resolve to liberate mankind in all parts of the world, we realize that nations and individuals can only withstand the shock and vicissitudes⁵ of inhumanities if their spirits are free and uncircumscribed. It is true that economic, political and military freedom play importance roles⁶ but to be effective they must be vitalized by freedom of the spirit.

在聯合國日三週年紀念的今天，凡我聯合國的全體盟友，自應重申吾人共同作戰抵抗侵略的目的。全世界已有不少人士，在這次爭取人類自由的戰鬥中而犧牲生命，而受苦受難，吾人尤應重新奉獻吾人的一切，以維護這一輩爲人類自由而殉難與受苦者所抱的信心。

我們中國是聯合國中的一員，我們即將踏進抵抗日本殘暴侵略第八個年頭。中國以武力薄弱的國家，而抗戰能支持到如此長久，原因在什麼地方呢。

我們追尋聯合國所以終於能團結一致，決心爲解放全世界人類而努力者，推求其發展的程序，我們就可以發現不論是國家或是個人，惟有精神保持着自由而不受束縛，即能抗禦任何不人道的打擊，克服任何的變動與艱難，所以經濟自由，政治自由，及軍事自由，誠然是重要。但欲其實現，必須先有精神的自由。



This, in its final analysis⁷ means that in the new world we want to create, men must be allowed to think and express their opinions and beliefs subject only to⁸ the dictates of their conscience so that in the process of reaching conclusions they will have the moral and physical courage to make decisions and take criticisms.

No man is faultless; no nation is perfect. To expect perfection from either is to court⁹ disillusion. But those nations and individuals who accept criticism as a starting point for soul-searching are treading the path of progress while those who curb freedom of thought and restrict freedom of speech are tyrants and enemies of mankind.

The totalitarian countries¹⁰ seek to crush all views contrary to the ideas of the dictators in an attempt to brutalize man's finer sensibilities and to foster slavish-mindedness. The result is what might be expected—intellectual sterility and spiritual stagnation.

The Democracies, on the other hand, allow and welcome freedom of discussion, for they realize that only through honest interchange of thought and diversity of views can ideas be enriched. Man must have scope and freedom to develop his inherent potentialities. Therein lies the path of progress; therein lies the hope of the world.

分析到最後，這就是說，在我們所欲創造的新世界中，人人皆有思想和發表意見及信仰的自由，惟自己的良心之所命。如此則在他們達到結論的過程中，他們就有精神及物質上的勇氣去自作決定，再接受批評。

沒有一個人是沒有缺點的也沒有一個國家是沒有短處的。欲期個人與國家一切皆臻於完美，是終不免於失望的。然而惟有能接受批評，而取為自我檢討的出發點的個人與國家，纔能夠走上進步的途程。反之，祇有人類的暴敵，纔會束縛思想及言論自由。

極權國家意欲毀滅一切反於獨裁者的思想，使人類優美的性質化為暴戾，使人類的心思趨於奴化。其結果當然是知識的沈滯，與精神的癱瘓。

至於民主化家，則是准許並歡迎自由討論，因為他們深知惟有真誠交換各人的見解與不同的觀感，纔能夠使思想愈臻於充實與發揚，人類必須有發展他天賦潛力的自由與機會。這裏面就包含着進步的途程，這裏面就包含着世界的希望。

ANNOTATIONS

(1) 副詞“重新” • When we have restored peace, we shall reconstruct the world

anew, 吾人於和平恢復後將重建世界。(2) 與“China” (subject) 同位。(3) 常與 at 及 on 合爲慣語 a. “at the threshold of,” “起始”, “進入”, “踏, 步入”。 We are at the threshold of a new world order, 世界正踏入新秩序。 b. “on the threshold of,” “行將”, “頻於”。 With the Allied invasion of Europe, the French people are on the threshold of liberation, 盟軍在歐登陸法國人民行將被解放。(4) 副詞 = “by which,” “所以”, “因此”。 No rules can be laid down whereby one can do that, 無固定規則可以使吾人爲之。(5) “變化”, “變遷”。 In inspite of vicissitudes of life, he is happy at heart, 彼飽嘗世變而衷心仍快樂。(6) “重要”, “佔重要地位”。 Weather plays an important role in war, 氣候對作戰甚爲重要之事。(7) “作最後分析”, “歸根結底”。 Nazism, in the final analysis, means the denial of freedom to individuals. 納粹主義歸根結底在否認人類之自由。(8) “服從”。 A man's actions are subject to mental social, and moral influences, 人之行動皆受心理上社會上及道德上影響支配。(9) “召”, “求”, To ride on a blind horse is simply to court danger, 盲人騎瞎馬爲禍由自召。(10) 指軸心國及附庸國。

U.S. SECRETARY OF TREASURY HENRY
MORGENTHAU, JR.'S ADDRESS BEFORE
THE UNITED NATIONS MONETARY
AND FINANCIAL CONFERENCE

Made at the Opening Session of the Conference on July 1, 1944,
at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, U.S.A.

美財長莫根索對聯合國貨幣金融會
議開幕講辭

一九四四年七月一日在美國布里敦森林會議席上講演

I accept the presidency of this conference with deep humility. For I know that what we do here will shape to a significant degree the nature of the world in which we are to live—and the nature of the world in which men and women younger than ourselves must round¹ out their lives and seek the fulfilment of their hopes.

Our agenda² is concerned specifically with the monetary and investment field. It should be viewed, however, as a part of the broader program of agreed action among the nations to bring about³ the expansion of production, employment and trade as contemplated⁴ in the Atlantic Charter and in Article Seven of the mutual aid agreements concluded by us with many nations. Whatever we accomplish here must be supplemented and buttressed by other action having

未來世界非僅為吾人自身生存所不可離之世界，亦即吾人後輩男女，求生活圓滿，希望實現之世界。明此一點，余固感吾人今日在大會所討論一切，對解決未來世界之性質，既重且大，因此余受命擔任大會主席，中心深為惶恐。

吾人議程特着重貨幣及投資方面。然此應視為聯合國間實踐大西洋憲章及美國與多數國家簽訂互助協定第七款所企求擴展生產，僱用及貿易共同行動廣泛程序之一部。本此觀點，吾人在此之任何成就，必將由其他行動予以補充及支持。

this end in view.⁵

President Roosevelt has made it⁶ clear that we are not asked to make definite agreements binding on any nation but that proposals here formulated are to be referred⁷ to our respective governments for their acceptance or rejection.

Our task, then, is to confer and reach an understanding and agreement upon certain basic measures which must be recommended to our governments for the establishment of a sound and stable economic relationship among us.

We can accomplish this task only if we approach not as bargainers but partners—not as rivals but as men who recognize that their common welfare depends in peace, as in war, upon mutual trust and joint endeavor.

I hope this conference will focus⁸ its attention, upon two elementary economic axioms. The first of these is this: That prosperity has no fixed limits. It is not a finite substance to be diminished by division. Contrarily, the more of it the other nations enjoy, the more each nation will have for itself.

There is a tragic fallacy in the notion that any country is liable⁹ to lose its customers by promoting greater production and higher living standards among them. Good customers are prosperous customers.

The point can be illustrated very simply from the foreign trade experience of my own country. In the

羅斯福總統明言吾人並不負擬定東縛任何國家之確定協議之責。但此次會議中所決定之建議，將送交各國政府，由其決定受拒。

因此吾人當前之任務，厥為商討聯合國間為奠立健全穩定經濟關係所必需向各國政府建議之種種基本措施，並在大會謀得諒解與協定。

如吾人能不以討價還價者地位，而以同行合股者地位相見，不彼此互視為敵對，但認清在平時一如在戰時，彼此之幸福端賴互信合作，則吾人於吾人之任務必有成就。

余盼此次會議以兩項經濟原理為中心：第一原理乃繁榮無固定之限度。此非可藉除法以減除之有限資產。反之，其他國家享受愈多，各國之本身收穫亦比例增多。

任何國家致力增高生產，並提高生活水準，則易於失去僱主之觀念，誠屬可悲之繆誤。良好之僱主乃繁榮之僱主。

關於此點，以美國對外貿易例證，極簡單明瞭。此次大戰爆發前十年之中，美

pre-war decade about 20 percent of our exports went to 47,000,000 people in the highly industrialized United Kingdom; under three per cent went to 450,000,000 people in China.

The second axiom is a corollary of the first. Prosperity like peace is indivisible. We cannot afford to have it scattered here or there among the fortunate or enjoy it at the expense of others. Poverty, wherever it exists, is menacing to us all and undermines the well being of each of us.

All of us have seen the great economic tragedy of our time. We saw a worldwide depression of the thirties. We saw currency disorders develop and spread from land to land, destroying the basis for international trade, international investment and even international faith. In their wake,¹⁰ we saw unemployment and wretchedness—idle tools, and wasted wealth. We saw their victims fall prey¹¹ in places to demagogues and dictators. We saw bewilderment and bitterness become the breeders of Fascism and finally of war.

In many countries, controls and restrictions were set up without regard to their effect on other countries. Some countries, in a desperate attempt to grasp a share of the shrinking volume of world trade, aggravated the disorder by resorting to competitive depreciation of currency. Much of our economic ingenuity was expended in fashioning devices to hamper and limit the free movement of goods. These devices are

國出口貨物售與高度工業化之聯合王國四千七百萬人民者，佔全數百分之二十，而售與中國四萬萬五千萬人民者，不及全數百分之三。

第二原理乃第一原理之推論。繁榮一如和平，不可分割。吾人不能任其分散於各地之幸運者之中，或以別人為犧牲，而享一己之繁榮。任何一地之貧窮，即威脅吾人之整體，並破壞我國之福利。

吾人皆曾目擊吾人時代之經濟上大慘劇，親見三十年代普遍全世界之商業上不景氣，以及遍傳世界各地之金融波動。此種波動不但破壞國際間貿易與投資，即國際間信賴亦遭破壞。此後即有失業窮困隨之而來，製造工具歸於無用，一般財富殆皆浪費。受此痛苦之人皆成為煽動家獨裁者之工具。此種混亂痛苦狀態因此使法西斯主義及大戰得形成機會。

當時有多數國家對金融施行控制與限制，漠視此舉對別國之影響。且有數國採取金融貶值競爭，力圖獲得其時已呈衰廢不振世界貿易之一部，因此使當時之混亂變本加厲。吾人經濟智力多用以廣擬策略，以阻止并限制貨物之自由流通。凡此策

economic weapons with which the earliest phase of the present war was fought by Fascist dictators. There is an ironic inevitability in this process. It is as dangerous as it is futile.¹²

We know now that economic conflict must develop when nations endeavor separately to deal with economic ills which are international in scope. To deal with problems of international change and of international investment is beyond the capacity of any one country or any two or three countries. These are multilateral problems to be solved only by multilateral cooperation. They are fixed and permanent problems, not merely transitional considerations of postwar reconstruction.

Throughout the past decade the government of the United States has sought in many directions to promote joint action among the nations of the world. In the realm¹³ of monetary and financial problems, this government undertook as far back as 1936 to facilitate the maintenance of orderly exchange by entering into a tripartite agreement with England and France under which they, and subsequently Belgium, the Netherlands, and Switzerland agreed with the U.S. to consult on foreign exchange questions before important steps were taken. This policy of consultation was extended in bilateral exchange agreements which we set up, starting in 1937, with our neighbors on the American continents.

In 1941, we began to study the

略，均爲法西斯獨裁者於此次大戰初期時用以作戰之經濟武器。此一過程勢必造成可笑之結果。此種結果之危險與其無效，乃屬同一程度。

吾人今日方知各國如擬個別處理國際性質之經濟弊端，勢必引起經濟糾紛。蓋處理國際匯兌與國際投資，實超出任何一國兩國或三國之力量範圍。凡此均係祇有多面合作，始能解決多面之問題。且皆爲固定與永久之問題，非僅爲戰後建設過渡期間所考慮之問題。

在過去十年中，美國政府曾從多方面，從事推進世界各國之共同行動。就貨幣金融方面而論，美國政府早在一九三六年已與英法兩國訂有三國協定，以求保持穩定交換之一切便利。其後又援此協定，與比荷瑞三國意見一致，先進行協商對外交換各種問題，然後採取重大共同措施。最後又推廣此種協商政策，對南北美各隣國，自一九三七年以來，先後成立雙重貨幣交換協定。

一九四一年吾儕即開始研究多面之基

possibility of international cooperation on multilateral basis as a means of establishing a stable and orderly system of international currency relationships to revive international investment. Our technical staff—soon joined by experts of other nations—undertook the preparation of practical proposals designed to implement an international monetary and financial cooperation. The opinions of these technicians as reported in a joint public statement which they have issued reveal the common belief that the disruption of foreign exchanges can be prevented and the collapse of monetary systems can be avoided and a sound currency basis for the balanced growth of international trade can be provided if we were fore-handed enough to plan together.

The consensus¹⁴ of these technical experts think that the solution lies in a permanent institution for consultation and cooperation on international monetary, financial and economic problems. The formulation of a definite proposal for a stabilization fund of the United Nations and Associated Nations is one of the items on our agenda.

But provision for monetary stabilization alone will not meet the need for rehabilitation of war-wrecked economies. It is not, in fact, designed toward that end. It is proposed rather as a permanent mechanism to promote exchange stability. Even to discharge this function effectively, it must be supplemented by many other measures to remove

礎，從事國際合作之可能性，藉以建立一穩定與有秩序之國際貨幣關係，並恢復國際投資。我技術專家（其他國家之專家亦參加）乃準備實際建議，以謀實現國際貨幣與金融之合作。自各該技術專家所發表之聯合公開聲明觀之，可見其共同信仰，即吾人各能未雨綢繆，共同計劃，則貨幣制度之崩潰可以避免，而國際貿易平衡發展所必需之健全貨幣基金亦可奠立。

各該專家一致之意見，即認為真正解決之道，乃在設立一永久性之機構，就國際貨幣金融與經濟問題從事磋商與合作。此次會議已將擬定聯合國與各參與國平準基金之明確建議一事列為議案之一。

如僅有貨幣平準，亦不足應付戰時殘破經濟制度善後之需要。實際上其初意並不在此，而在作為促進匯兌穩定性之永久機構。甚至為以有效方式執行此種任務計，必須另以其他方法消除世界貿易之一切障礙。

impediments to world trade.

For long-range reconstruction purposes, international loans on a broad scale will be imperative. We have in mind a need that is wholly apart from the problem of immediate aid which is being undertaken by the UNRRA. The need which we seek to meet through the second proposal on our agenda is for loans to provide capital for economic reconstruction, loans for which adequate security may be available which will provide opportunity for investment, under proper safeguards of the capital from many lands. The technicians have prepared the outline of a plan for an international bank for the postwar reconstruction which will investigate opportunities for loans of this character, will recommend and supervise them and, if advisable, furnish to investors guaranties of their repayment.

爲從事長期之建設，必須有廣大規模之國際貸款。吾人心目所想像之需要與國際善後救濟總署所從事之緊急救濟完全有別。吾人此次擬以議程中第二項建議所應付之需要，即係充作經濟建設費用之貸款。此種貸款將有充分之担保，並能在適當保障之下，俾來自各國之資本均有投資之機會。各技術專家業已草擬國際戰後建設銀行之計劃大綱。該銀行將調查此類性質貸款之機會，推荐及監督此種貸款，並向各投資人保證還款。

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

(1) “使圓滿”，“使完成”（與 out 連用）。The Principle of People's Livelihood aims at the rounding out of the material life of the masses. 民生主義之目的在使大眾有圓滿之物質生活。(2) “議事日程”。The secretary prepares the agenda of a meeting. 開會之議事日程由書記準備之。(3) “使實現”。Only continued and intensive bombing of Japan proper and of Japan's fleet will bring about its unconditional surrender. 不斷集中轟炸日本本部及其海軍爲迫使日本無條件投降實現之唯一方法。(4) “企圖”，“計劃”。He contemplates going abroad, 彼計劃出國。(5) “本此觀點”。It has been the political policy of the Kuomintang to turn China into a democratic government, and with this end in view, the National Government is contemplating the constitution to be adopted, 中國國民黨向爲主張使中國成爲民主國家，本此觀點，國民政府正計劃施行憲法。(6) 此假 object 即代表後面之“that”—clause。(7) “交議”，“發交”。The proposal has been referred to the committee for consideration. 計劃書已交委員會核議。(8) “集中”，“集中”。We should focus our thoughts on the reconstruction of a new China. 吾人

當集中思想建造新中國。(9)“易於”。(與 to 連用)。Every man is liable to error. 人人易於犯過。He is liable to catch cold. 彼易受感冒。(liable for — “應負…之責”。He is liable for the debt. 彼負債還債務之責)。(10)“蹤跡”。One student follows in the wake of another to join the army, 學生彼此效法從軍。Misfortunes often bring others in their wake, 災禍往往相繼而至。(11)“犧牲者” A man of integrity never falls a prey to bribery. 正直之人決不受賄賂之惑。(12) 兩特性相比。如：The mountain is as high as the sea is deep, 山之高度與水之深度正同。(13)“在…範圍之內”，“於…領域”。In the realms of science and philosophy, the moderns have not surpassed ancient Greeks, 於科學及哲領域，近代之人尚未超過古希臘人。(14)“一致”，“同意”。The consensus of opinion favours the revision of publication restrictions, 輿論一致贊同修改出版之限制。

VICE-PRES. HENRY A. WALLACE BROADCAST
SPEECH TO THE PEOPLE OF THE U.S.A.
AFTER HIS RETURN FROM CHINA

Made on July 9, 1944, at Seattle, Washington

華萊士副總統由亞返美
廣播訪中蘇觀感演辭

一九四四年七月九日於美西雅圖播講

Since I left the skies above America seven weeks ago, I have visited two great countries—the Soviet Asia and China. I have not stood upon the threshold of these countries like a stranger. I have been honored with the confidence of those who are working to shape¹ their countries' destinies. I have been privileged to look behind² the scenes.

Today I want to tell you something of my experiences of the past weeks. In the first place, I am today more than ever³ an American. The more I examine other countries, the more⁴ convinced I am that the American way of life is the best way for us. In the second place we can and should fit our own way of life to cooperation with other nations and other people whose way of life is different from ours but who need our cooperation quite as much as we need theirs and are not only willing, but are eager to cooperate with us. In the third place, I am convinced that the main area of a new develop-

余自七星期前離開美洲天空後，曾訪問兩大國家即蘇聯亞洲部份及中國。余並非一生客立於此等國家之門口而躊躇不前，余曾獲得決定其國命運者之信任，且獲有機會觀察一切事物之真象。

本日余願以過去數星期之經驗告知諸君。第一：余爲一美國人之自覺較前更甚，余愈考察其他國家愈感美國之生活方式乃吾人之最佳生活方式。第二：吾人且應以本身之生活方式適應與其他國家其他民族之合作。彼等之生活與吾人有異，然其對於吾人合作之需要，並不亞於吾人對其合作之需要，彼等不僅願意，且亦切望與吾人合作。第三：余深信此次戰爭之後，

ment after this war—new enterprises, new investment, new trade and new accomplishments will be in the new world of the north Pacific and Eastern Asia.

This will give to our Pacific coast an importance greater than it has ever had before and I am glad that, in returning from the Soviet Asia and China, Seattle is my port of entry. No city is more American in spirit and action than Seattle. But no city has shown itself more alive to the importance of our relations with other areas in the north Pacific. This spirit is well exemplified not only in your active peacetime trade with Asia, but also in the University of Washington where for several years you have worked on integrating⁵ the study of the languages, cultures, history, politics, and economies of the Pacific.

We will need all our resources of knowledge and all our American readiness to think out new ways of tackling new problems when we have won the war in the Pacific.

The day will come when the Pacific will be cleared of the Japanese, and our boys, coming home from Tokyo, will land at Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles. Then we will think more and more of our west as a link with the east of Asia. Those who say east is east and west is west and that the two shall never meet⁶ are wrong. The east of Asia, both Chinese and Russian, is on the move in a way which is easy for an American to under-

新發展之主要區域——新企業，新投資，新貿易，與新成就等等——將為北太平洋及東亞之新世界。

此種情況，將使吾人之太平洋沿岸區域較前更具重要性。余此次由蘇聯亞洲部份及中國返國，得以西雅圖為入國港口實甚欣慰。其他任何城市在精神及行動兩方面，其美國色彩均不比西雅圖更為濃厚。然任何城市在我國與太平洋其他區域關係之重要性方面，其表現亦不較西雅圖更為活躍。此種精神之優良表現，不限於諸君平時與亞洲之積極貿易，且亦表現華盛頓大學方面，蓋諸君在該大學從事太平洋語文文化歷史政治及經濟之全部研究已數年於茲矣。

吾人將需以本身之一切知識資源以及吾美國人之一切準備，想出新方法以解決吾人在太平洋戰勝時所發生之新問題。

終有一日太平洋上將無日人，蹤跡我英勇戰士自東京返國時將在西雅圖波特蘭舊金山與洛杉磯登陸，其後吾人對於我國之西部，必得更為注意，以為與亞洲東部之聯繫。彼輩言「東方自東方，西方自西方，二者永不會合」者，實為錯誤。亞洲東部之中國人與蘇聯人，均在前進之途程中。其方式乃親觀此等偉大區域實際情況

stand who sees these great areas at first hand for himself.

The rapid agricultural and industrial development of this great area means so much to the peace and prosperity of the postwar world that I am glad, on my return to America, to give my impressions of the manifest destiny of the west of America and the east of Asia.

Here in the northeast of the United States, we have been long held back by unfair freight rates and by the failure to develop the power inherent in great rivers. But more and more we are perceiving the importance of strengthening our west, and especially our northwest. Thanks to men like Morris McNary Bone and Roosevelt, development of the northwest during the past ten years has rapidly expanded. This expansion must continue to the limit of its possibilities. Our growth must not be merely in terms of ourselves but also in terms of Asia. A vigorous two-way trade with Soviet Asia and China will greatly increase the population and prosperity of our northwest.

All of this I knew in a theoretical way before going to Asia. After having seen as much of the industry and agriculture of East Asia as any American has seen in such a short time, I am more than ever convinced that we are entering upon what might be called the "the Era of the Pacific." One characteristic of the Pacific era will be the building of great airports in the parts of the world now very thinly inhabited.

之吾美國人所易了解者。

此一偉大區域在農工業方面之迅速發展，對於戰後世界之和平與繁榮，實具重大意義。余在返美之際，得有機會申述余對於美洲西部亞洲東部顯明共同命運之印象，實感快慰。

吾人在此美國之西北部份因貨運已不適當及未能發揮大河流之力量之故，長期間來均未獲進步。然吾人已逐漸感覺加強西部尤其西北部之重要性。感謝莫理斯麥克納利龐尼與羅斯福諸人之努力，過去十年來我國西部已有迅速發展。此種發展，必使繼續，以達其可能性之限度為止。吾人之發展，不僅計及吾人本身，且亦應計及亞洲在內。與蘇聯亞洲部份及中國之積極貿易，將使我西北部之人口及繁榮大見增加。

余在前往亞洲之前，已有理論方式獲知此等一切。然在以極短期間內盡量觀察東亞之農工業之後，余較前更相信吾人刻正進入可稱為「太平洋之時代」。太平洋時代之一項特徵，係在目前人口稀少之地面上建立巨大航空站。蘇聯在東亞開闢

The extent to which the Russians have already developed runways and servicing for airplanes in east Asia amazed me. We landed at perhaps a dozen airports in the Soviet the names of which no one in a thousand Americans has ever heard. It is quite possible that for 19 or 20 years after this war, the air route to Asia via⁸ Fairbanks, will not be a money-making one. But it is also certain that our national future requires that we, in cooperation with Russia and the Chinese, maintain such a route.

Soviet Russia, during the past 15 years, has more than doubled in population. It is quite possible that the next 50 years will see a further increase of more than 30,000,000 people. I am convinced from what I saw of the Amur River region that in the southern part of that area, there will be a great increase in population. Russia, as a result of her experience with this war, will certainly shift much of her industry east of the Urals. Most of the people who moved to Siberia with their factories will stay there. Everywhere, from Magadan on the Pacific Ocean to Tashkent in Central Asia, I found the Russian people producing to the limit in their factory and on their farm, about two thirds of the work on farms and one third of the work in factories being done⁹ by women.

I found American flour in the Soviet Far East, American aluminum in the Soviet airplane factories, American steel in truck and railway repair shops,

道建立飛機修繕設備之程度，頗令余爲之驚異。吾人曾在蘇聯亞洲部份之十餘處航空站降，落其地名美國人千人之中恐無一聞及。在此次戰爭十九或二十年間，經由阿拉斯加之腓爾班克斯至亞洲之航空綫，或非爲一贏利之航綫。且斷定就我國家之前途而言，吾人必須與中蘇兩國合作維持此來航綫。

蘇聯人口十五年一已增加一倍以上，今後五十年間，可能再增三千萬人。余深信自余在黑龍江區所見者而言，該區南部之人口勢將大增。蘇聯根據此次戰爭之經驗必將大部份之工業遷至烏拉山以東，其已隨同工廠遷至西伯利亞者，泰半均將留居該地，余曾見太平洋上之麥加達農至中亞細亞之塔什干間各地之蘇聯人民，在工廠及農場中之生產能力，已達極大限度。各農場三分之二之工作，與各工廠三分之一之工作，乃婦女所擔任。

余曾見蘇聯遠東部分有美國麵粉，蘇聯飛機工廠中有美國鋁，卡車及鐵路修理

American machine tools in shipbuilding yards, American compressors and electrical equipments on Soviet naval vessels, American electric shovels in open-cut coal mines, American core drills in the copper mines of central Asia, and American trucks and planes performing the strategic transportation functions in supplying remote bases.

While it is misleading to make any comparison between the huge Soviet industrial effort and amount of lend-lease aid we have been able to give the U.S.S.R., I am convinced from what I saw in Siberia and Central Asia that the lend-lease has helped the Russians in many difficult and even critical situations on the industrial front as well as on the military front.

On rich irrigated land in Central Asia a strong industry is being rapidly developed. At Tashkent, a city of a million people, I found experimental work in cotton which for its originality and practical effectiveness compares most favorably with the best in the United States. Modern industry is also flourishing at this ancient seat of eastern culture.

From Tashkent, my farthest point west, we turned east to Alma-Ata, my last stop before entering China. There I found not only excellent scientific work with apples but also the beginnings of a moving picture industry which may make Alma Ata the Hollywood of Asia, located at the foot of the Tien Shan (Heavenly mountains), a city blessed

廠中有美國鋼，造船廠中有美國之機械工具，蘇聯各海船中有美國之壓縮機及電器設備，在煤礦中有美國之電鏟，在中亞細亞之銅礦中有美國之鑽機，並有美國之卡車及飛機擔任戰略上之運輸工作，以供應各遼遠之基地。

以蘇聯之偉大工業努力，與吾人所能給予蘇聯之租借援助數量，作一比較，固屬錯誤，然余就個人在西伯利亞與亞洲中部之所見，深信租借援助曾在工業方面協助蘇聯人民渡過若干困難甚至危險之局面，一若其在軍事方面之協助然。

亞洲中部之灌溉沃土，正迅速發展龐大之種棉業，余在人口百萬之塔什干城發現當地之種棉試驗，其新奇與切實之處，實不下美國之最優良試驗。現代工業在此東方文化之古代中心，亦生氣勃勃。塔什干為余所至最西之處，

余旋自塔什干向東至阿拉木圖，亦即余進入中國前之最後一站。余在該處不但發現最合乎科學方法之蘋果種植試驗，且發現其電影業之發展肇端，阿拉木圖將由此成爲亞洲之好萊塢。阿城位於天山麓，

with superb climate—almost as good as that of Southern California.

China is totally different from the Soviet in Asia. While she is eager and anxious to enter into the machine age she has not yet been able to turn out, in either modern war materials or heavy goods, over a small fraction of her needs. This situation should not long continue. China with her 450,000,000 people and her great resources should sooner or later produce a large portion of her requirements in the way¹⁰ of heavy and light industrial goods and also consumer's goods.

But to modernize her industry and train her people, China needs help. We have thousands of technical and business men in the United States who are able to furnish that help. But business men particularly cannot be sure of one thing. They want to be certain before they lay the foundations and make the necessary outlay that there is no foreseeable likelihood of a conflict within China or between China and the U. S. S. R.

I am glad to say that I found among those with whom I talked an outspoken desire for good understanding; and personally I am convinced that China and the U.S.S.R. will take the necessary steps to ensure a continuing peace and promote cultural and commercial exchanges among nations of the Pacific to the benefit of all.

Asia is the center of the greatest land and population masses of the

氣候佳良，幾與美國加州南部無異。

中國與蘇聯亞洲部份完全不同，中國亟盼進入機器時代，然現代作戰物資或重工業品之生產，僅佔其所需要之一小部分。此種形勢，不應令其繼續存在。擁有四萬五千萬人口與豐富資源之中國，遲早應生產其所需輕重工業品與消費品之大部。

然中國欲其工業近代化，欲訓練其人民，即需獲得協助。吾美之技術人員與商人其有力作此項協助者，數以千計，然商人有一事不能確定，彼等在奠立基礎並籌劃其必要之經費時，先欲確定中國內部或中蘇間不至發生爭論。

余所樂言者，乃余於相與交談之人士中發現一種求取友好諒解之坦白熱望。余個人深信中國與蘇聯將為一切人類之福利而採取必要步驟，以保證持續之和平，並促進太平洋區國家間文化與商務之往還。

亞洲乃全世界最廣大土地與衆多人口

world. It is our business to be friends with both Russia and China, and exchange with both Russia and China goods and information which will raise the standard of all our peoples.

I found leaders in both Soviet Asia and China for the friendliest relationship with the United States and expressing the utmost confidence in the leadership of President Roosevelt. Living standards can be raised. Causes of war can be removed. Failure to concern ourselves with problems of this sort after World War I is costing us today hundreds of billions of dollars and a terrible toll of human life. To avoid the recurrence of the scourge of war it is essential insofar as the Pacific basin is concerned that relations among the four principal powers in the Pacific—China, Soviet Union, the British Commonwealth and the United States—be cordial and collaborative.

The postwar stability in China depends upon economic reconstruction—agricultural as well as industrial and reconstruction in China is dependent upon trade. It became clear to me during my visit to China that reconstruction is going to depend in a large measure on imports from abroad. It will require technical and material assistance from us given on a business-like basis.

We hear much about the industrial reconstruction of China. I found the Chinese anxious for industrialization. China should be industrialized. But any

中心，與蘇聯及中國為友，並與中蘇交換貨物及情報，以提高我一切人民之生活標準，乃吾人之責任。

余發現蘇聯與中國之領袖，均極願與美國保持極友好之邦交，彼等對羅斯福總統之領導亦表極大之信心，生活水準可予提高，戰爭之造因亦可剷除。吾人於第一次世界大戰後未能關切此類問題，結果使吾人今日損失數千萬萬金錢，並犧牲無數生命。為欲避免大戰災害之重演，就太平洋區域而論，太平洋區中國，蘇聯，不列顛聯合國及美國四大主要國家之和諧相處，並相互合作誠屬重要。

中國戰後之穩定，有賴於經濟（包括農業工業）建設，而中國之建設又有賴於貿易。余於訪問中國期內，獲悉中國建設將大有賴於國外運入之物品，此將需要吾人根據商業基礎予以技術及物資之協助。

關於中國工業建設一事，吾人頗有所聞。余發現中國人民亟盼中國成為工業化之國家，中國應工業化。但任何工業化必

industrialization must be based upon agricultural reconstruction and agrarian reform because China is predominately a nation of farmers. They are good farmers as I observed during my stay there but they need a break—a new deal.

China should make the necessary reform but we can help by furnishing technicians and scientific information and on a trade level by selling Chinese agricultural implements, fertilizers and insecticides. Ultimately of course China should make these products for herself.

China should be self-sufficient in foods but I can foresee that for many years the Chinese will continue to import food products from our West, wheat flour, fruits, for instance. In fact, it is not unreasonable to anticipate that with an increase in China's standard of living a healthy exchange of food products peculiar¹¹ to China and our west will develop and endure. Northwest lumber should play an important part in the China of the future as it has in the China of the past.

Industrialization of China will require machines and materials of which the machines are made. During recent years our west has been developing facilities for the production of steel and machinery. These will be in demand in China to produce consumer's goods which will be needed by the masses of East Asia.

Machines for land, sea and air transportation will also be needed. Our west is in a particularly strategic posi-

須以農業建設及土地改革為其基礎，蓋中國主要乃一農人之國家。余於訪華期內觀察所及，彼等乃良善之農民，但彼等需要一更生之機，此即新政是也。

中國應作必要之改革，但吾人可藉供給技術人員及科學知識予以協助，並以農業器具，肥料，殺蟲劑售予中國人民，以保持一貿易水準。然日後中國當能自造上述之產品。

中國在食糧方面應能自給自足，但余預見多年以內，中國仍將自我西部購入，如小麥，麵粉及水菓等食物產品。實際言之，吾人有理由預期中國生活水準抬高後，中國及我西部特有之食物產品之興隆交易，將展而持久，西北所產之木料應能於未來之中國有其重要之貢獻，一如往日其於中國所有之重要貢獻相同。

中國工業化將需要機器及製機器之材料最近若干年來我西部致力於擴充製造鋼料及機械之設備，中國為製造東亞大眾所需要之消費物品計，對此特感需要。

陸海空運輸機械將亦需要。而我西部則位於為東亞製造飛機海船及生產製造上

tion to produce for East Asia airships and seaships and the timber, steel, and aluminum of which they are made.

Trade is not a one-day at-fair—it is a swap,¹² sometimes direct, sometimes complicated. It seems evident that credits will have to be employed to finance the economic development in East Asia. But those credits must be repaid and the most satisfactory way to repay is with goods. So speaking¹³ particularly of China, we should plan to buy as well as to sell. Such typical commodities as wood oil, silks, tea, hides and metals which formed the bulk of China's exports to us before the war should form the basis of an expanding Chinese export to the United States after the war.

There is a great future for trade between East Asia and ourselves. To bring this to pass it will take only sympathetic understanding of each other's conditions and a far-sighted determination to make trade what it should be a mutually beneficial transaction.

Day after tomorrow I hope to report to President Roosevelt certain definite facts which I am not at liberty¹⁴ to discuss here. But I can say that everywhere I went in eastern Asia found changes. Even in Mongolia, one of the most remote regions in the world, I found that changes in the last 20 years have been very great. The United States, together with Russia and Great Britain, has a profound interest in the

述運輸工具所需要木料鋼料及鋁各原料最高戰略重要性之位置。

貿易非爲單方面之事務，此乃爲一種交易，有時直接有時複雜，吾人將賴信用資助東亞之經濟發展，似屬明顯，但信用賒貸必須還欠，而最滿意之還欠方式乃以貨物。以中國而論，吾人應買賣兩方面均有計劃，戰前中國對我主要輸出物品中桐油，絲，茶，獸皮及金屬等特產，應爲戰後中國對美擴大出口物品之基礎。

東亞與吾人之貿易有一偉大之前途，爲求此事之實現，則唯藉彼此狀況之同情瞭解及求取理想貿易之遠大決心，理想之貿易亦即互利之交易。

余盼能於後日向羅斯福總統報告若干確切事實，凡此事實余無於此提出討論之自由。但余可言余於東亞所歷之各地均見有迅速之變化，即於蒙古此世界最荒僻之地區。余發覺其過去二十年之變動至大。美國與蘇聯及大不列顛對於東亞迅速而和

rapid and peaceful changes of Eastern Asia to a more fruitful use of her vast natural and human resources.

Here is a great new frontier to which Seattle can furnish much in the way of leadership. Our scientists must cooperate with the Russian and Canadian scientists in learning how to lick ¹⁵ problems of the permanently frozen ground in Alaska, Canada and North Siberia. We must exchange agricultural and weather information. I have found a splendid disposition on the part of the Russian scientists to cooperate in agricultural matters and frank readiness on the part of the Chinese administrations to considering America's position as well as China's in discussing a future economic cooperation. This gives me a great hope for a long future.

The American business man of tomorrow should have a broad world outlook. I have the faith that American economic leadership will confer on the Pacific region great material benefit and on the world great blessing. The new frontier extends from Minneapolis to the West Coast of United States and Alaska through Siberia and China all the way to Central Asia. Here are vast resources of miners and manpower to be developed by democratic and peaceful methods—methods not of exploitation but on the contrary a more profitable method of creating higher living standards for hundreds of millions of people.

平之變動卒能更有效利用其廣大天然及人力資源方面深為注意。

此區乃西雅圖可能以領導形式予以大量協助之廣大新邊疆，我科學家通力合作以學習如何解決阿拉斯加，加拿大及西伯利亞北部等終年凍結地區內之種種問題。吾人必須交換農業及氣候報告。余已見及蘇聯科學家在農業問題上合作之卓越成績及中國當局於討論未來經濟合作時考慮中美地位之誠意準備，此使余對悠久之未來懷具偉大之希望。

明日之美國商人，應有廣大之世界觀。余懷有美國在經濟方面之領導，將予太平洋區域以廣大物質利益，並予全世界以偉大幸福之信念。新邊疆起自民尼亞波里斯至美國西海岸及阿拉斯加經西伯利亞與中國而至亞洲中部，該區蘊藏有將待以民主及和平方法開發之龐大礦藏，及人力之富源。——所謂民主和平之方法，並非剝削，而係與此相反為數萬萬人民創造較高生活水準之更有裨益之方法。

It was a wonderful trip. I am grateful to the President for giving me the opportunity to talk with people in every walk¹⁶ of life in Asia who are aiding us in winning this war. With victory we can continue to work together in peace. We want a higher standard of living in America. We want full production jobs for our boys who will come home and peacetime jobs for those who are now employed. Trade with Russia and China will help to keep factories in America busy in the days that lie ahead. We are on our way.¹⁷

余此行乃一驚人之旅行。余感謝總統予余以協助吾人致力贏取戰爭之亞洲各業人民傾談之機會，吾人於作戰勝利後。仍可於和平之日繼續通力合作，吾人需要美國擁有更高之生活水準。吾人需要作戰歸來之我國健兒，獲有充分之生產工作，現此被僱用之工人亦獲有平時之工作。美國與蘇聯及中國貿易將可有助於來日美國工廠之繁榮忙碌，吾人現正向吾人之前途邁進。

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

(1) 『定向』，『決定』。The weary farmer shapes his course homeward, 疲倦農夫向家中進行。(2) 『深知內幕』，『真相』。We must ask those who are behind the scenes in order to understand the situation clearly, 吾人須詢問深知內幕之人方可澈底明瞭目下之情勢。(3) 『較前』。The common war against Japan has more than ever increased the cooperation among the democracies on the Pacific, 對日共同作戰大增太平洋民主國家間之合作。(4) 第一“more,” 形容“examine,” 第二形容 past participle “convinced,” 皆為比較級疏狀字。與第一“more”前之“the”字為連接疏狀字，一方形容“more”一方與第二“more”前之“the”（為單純疏狀字）。第一“the more”—clause 為 subordinate clause, 其後為 main clause, “The”加一比較級之形容字或疏狀字，再有同樣構造置於其後時，則“the”……“the”皆為 adverbs, 前者為連接疏狀字，後者為單純疏狀字，整句為 complex sentence, 第一“the”—clause 為 adverbial clause. The higher the altitude (is), the cooler the air (is or will be), 高度愈高空氣溫度愈低。“higher,” “cooler”皆為比較級形容字。(5) 『(使)全部』，『完整』，Many suggestions are needed to integrate the plan, 為使此一計劃實現需要多方指教。(6) 係英詩人吉百齡詩，“East is East, West is West; the twain shall never meet.”(7) 『計及』，『關係』，Japan must be demilitarized in terms of world peace and general security. 為世界和平及廣泛安全計，須迫使日本解除武裝。(8) 『經由』，『道經』。We can go to the United States by air via South Africa, 吾人可由航空道經南非赴美國。(9) “being done”為“thirds”及“third”兩字（係“found”之 direct object)之 object complement. I find him doing the work, I find the work being done. (10) 『形勢』。I am ignorant in the way of business, 余於商業一途實為門外漢。(11) 『特有』。One habit which is peculiar to the Frenchmen is to eat their breakfast in bed, 在床上進早餐為法國人特有之習

慣。(12)『交易』，美俗語。(13)獨立用法，不指本句之 subject. Speaking of air and naval power, the United States ranks first in the world. 以空軍海軍而論美國佔世界第一位。“speaking”爲發言人啓語，與其他介紹用之 participial phrase 不同，不與本句主詞“the United States”發生關係，及形容全句(與動詞有關)。(14)『自由』。He is at liberty to go or stay. 行止聽彼自由。(15)『解決』——tackle。(16)『各行各業』。The defenders of Hengyang have been praised by men in every walk of life. 各界人士皆讚揚衡陽守軍。(17)『在途』，『在進行中』。China is on her way to industrialization. 中國工業化正向邁進。

DR. H. H. KUNG'S ADDRESS TO AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL LEADERS AND BUSINESSMEN

Made on the evening of July 27, 1944, at a dinner party in Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York, sponsored by the China-American Council of Commerce and Industry and eight other organizations and attended by 1,200 civic, business and industrial leaders.

孔兼部長祥熙對美工商界領袖演講 中美經濟合作

一九四四年七月二十七日在紐約中美工商協會及其他八團體所發起之
歡宴席上發表赴宴者皆美公民工商領袖共千二百人

This seems to me also a fitting occasion for me to say that the action of your government in abolishing extra-territoriality in China and in repealing the Chinese Exclusion Laws are welcome acts of friendship. The whole Chinese Nation was deeply touched by the whole-hearted reception you extended to Madame Chiang Kai-shek during her visit here last year. At this very moment the Japanese are launching another attack upon us in a final attempt to realize their age-long ambition of world domination by gaining control of the Asiatic mainland. We are determined they shall¹ not succeed.

The relations between China and the United States have always been cordial. While the war is going on, we are undergoing an industrial revolution which will gather force² and gain the

此似為適當之機會，余可說明貴國採取廢止在華治外法權，廢止限制華人移民律之行動，中國人民甚表歡迎，認為友好行動。去年蔣夫人訪美時，貴國之熱忱招待，尤使全中國人士深為感動。而在此刻，日本正對吾人發動另一攻勢，最後企圖藉亞洲大陸之控制，以實現其懷抱有年之支配世界之野心。吾人具有決心，日人決不能成功。

中美之關係由來和好密切，當戰爭正在進行之時，吾人方從事工業革命，一旦獲得勝利，則工業革命當更有力，推進愈

momentum³ when victory is ours. In this field, perhaps more than in any other, Chinese-American collaboration will assume greater importance. This does not say that China will follow the same lines of development as those of other countries. As an agricultural country, China will supplement the productive enterprises with her own, and so brisk trade will ensue.

In her industrial development, however, she will welcome the active cooperation of other countries. A generation ago Dr. Sun Yat-sen published the well-known International Development of China in which he expressed the desire to develop China's resources by international cooperation. It will bring about better understanding among the nations concerned. His far-sightedness is indeed amazing, and the National Government of China pledged⁴ itself to put the program into effect. You have in the past devoted more of your attention to the religious and cultural fields in China. In the post-war period there is every reason to believe that the United States will play a much larger part in the economic sphere.

As you will recall China is a signatory to the Mutual Aid Agreement. The Chinese Government has laid down the basic principles to carry it⁵ out. We have taken all these steps because we believe in encouraging international cooperation in the economic field. We earnestly believe these steps will quicken China's industrial development.

速。中美在此方面之合作，或將較其他任何方面更具有重要性。此非謂中國之發展將遵循其他國家（例如美國）相同之路線。中國為農業國，其生產事業可以補充他國，故活躍之貿易必將繼之而起。

惟中國在發展其工業時，歡迎其他國家之積極合作。二十餘年前孫總理曾發表其著名之「實業計畫」，其中說明藉國際合作以開發中國之願望，此可促成有關國家間之更大諒解。其見識之遠，誠足驚人。中國政府已決意力促其實現。君等對於中國之注意力，以前大部傾注於宗教及文化方面，而在戰後期間，則有各種理由可信美國在經濟方面定將益趨活躍。

君等當能憶及中國為互助公約之簽字國。中國政府已奠定立法之基本原則，並求其實現。吾人之所以採取凡此步驟，因係相信經濟方面之國際合作應予鼓勵。吾人深信凡此步驟將加速中國之工業發達。

China is going to be an open market with abundant opportunities. We feel certain that you will avail⁶ yourselves of these opportunities for you are our traditional friends. We are doing our share to facilitate and protect you in the interests⁷ of both parties concerned. It is indeed a two-way traffic.

As I talk to you now, I have in my mind a visual picture of China's economic development in the near future. In the field of economic development, you have taken the lead.⁸ Your expert knowledge and seasoned experience will be a great help to us. Your capital will help to finance various enterprises which we are to undertake. For a few decades to come, China will be a debtor nation. But I can assure you that China will honor her debts just as you have done.

In the post-war world, which is now rapidly emerging, a prosperous China will not only be a good market but also be a necessary condition for the maintenance of peace in the Far East. With closer cooperation between us, we can look forward with courage and confidence.

Politically we are also akin⁹ to each other. It can be said that the spirit of the Chinese people has always been democratic and tolerant. Fascism, Totalitarianism, dictatorship and other newfangled¹⁰ ideas are basically foreign¹¹ to the Chinese mentality. We are committed¹² to the republican and democratic form of government, and

中國將成爲公開之市場，具有豐富之機會。吾人深信君等當願利用此種機會，因君等爲吾人傳統之友人。吾人曾盡一己之力量，並爲雙方之利益，予君等以便利及保護。

當余向君等致詞時，余腦際即有一幅最近將來中國經濟發展之明顯景象。在經濟發展範圍內，君等在各方面將盡較大之責任。貴國專家之學識與經驗，大有助於吾人。而貴國之資本當協助吾人投資於吾人所從事之各種企業中。在未來數十年中，中國將爲一債務國，但余敢保證中國將尊重其債務，一似過去之所爲。

現在逐漸顯現繁榮之戰後世界中，中國不僅爲一良好之市場，且爲維持遠東和平之必要條件。中美間有更密切之合作後，吾人展望前途，當能具有勇氣及信心。

就政治方面言，中美亦彼此相似。中國之精神可謂自來民主而能忍耐，無論法西斯主義，極權主義，獨裁政治或其他任何新起之觀念，根本上皆與中國之精神相符合。吾人自行委身於民主及共和之政

we believe the Chinese people will work¹³ it out successfully. The United States and China now are the Allies to win the war. You are the arsenal of the Democracies. You have mobilized your production for the war. You may mobilize it again for the maintenance of peace. Our lofty ideal will bear fruit on the day when peace again descends among men.

府方式，吾人且相信中國人民當能成功。
中美現為盟邦，共求戰事之勝利。君等為
民主國之軍火庫。君等以為戰事動員生產
，君等或將為維持和平而再度動員。吾人
之崇高理想，待和平再度光臨人間時，必
能結實。

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

(1) 此處第三人稱 (they) 用 “shall” 係表示發言人 (we 第一人稱) 之意志，禁止之意。(2) “增加力量”，“更為有力”，“增強”。Public opinion will gather force after the promulgation of our constitution. 憲法頒佈後輿論即增加力量。(3) “推進加強”，“進行迅速”。The force of public opinion will gain momentum after the promulgation of our constitution. 憲政頒佈後輿論力量即將邁進。(4) “保證”，“決意”。Our government has pledged itself to promulgate the national constitution one year after the close of the present war 政府決意在抗戰結束一年後頒佈憲法。(5) 指 Mutual Aid Agreement。(6) “利用”。After the promulgation of the constitution, the people of China will be enabled to avail themselves—of the privilege to rule the country by themselves. 憲法頒行後中國人民屆時即可利用彼等民治權利。(7) “為……(之利益)”。Public opinion voices the general sentiment in the interests of the people. 輿論係為人民利益而發表一般人之感情。(8) “領導”。The intelligentia should take the lead in shaping a healthy public opinion. 知識階級當領導決定一健全輿論之形成。(9) “同類”，“近似”，“相似”。Public opinion is not akin to political instigation. 輿論與政治煽動不同。(10) “新起”，“新作”，“新奇”。It is not a newfangled idea for the people of China to rule themselves, 中國人民自治非新奇思想。(11) “不知”，“不符合”。The principles of a democratic form of government are not foreign to the Chinese. 中國人民對民主政治原理非為不知。(12) “委身”，“束縛”。We commit ourselves to a democratic form of government because it is the best. 吾人委身於民主政治蓋因民主政治乃最佳者也。(13) “成功”，“成就”。It remains for us to work out the true democracy. 欲使民主政治得有成就吾人實負其責。

GENERALISSIMO JOSEPH STALIN'S REPORT TO THE PEOPLE OF THE USSR

Rendered on the 27th Anniversary of October Socialist Revolution in USSR,

November 6, 1944

蘇聯十月革命節斯達林元帥之報告

一九四四年十一月六日蘇聯革命第二十七週年紀念日演述

Comrades:

Today the Soviet people celebrate the 27th anniversary of the triumph of the Soviet Socialist Revolution in our country. This is the fourth time that our country is observing the anniversary of the Soviet Revolution in the midst of the Patriotic War against the German fascist invaders. That does not mean, of course, that the fourth year of the war does not differ from the preceding three years of the war in its results. On the contrary, there is a radical difference between them. Whereas the preceding two years of the war were the years when the German forces were on the offensive, and when they advanced to the interior of our country—the years when the Red Army was compelled to fight defensive actions—and whereas the third year of the war was a year of radical change on our front, when the Red Army launched powerful offensive actions, smashed the Germans in a number of decisive battles, cleared the German troops out of two thirds of the Soviet

同志們：

今天，蘇維埃人民慶祝蘇維埃革命在

我國勝利的第二十七周年。我國在對德國

法西斯侵略者進行的愛國戰爭中間慶祝蘇

維埃革命的紀念日，這是第四次了。那自

然並不是意味着：戰爭的第四年和戰爭的

前三年，在結束方面沒有什麼差異。正相

反，他們中間有一種根本區別。在戰爭的

前兩年，是德軍採取攻勢，他們竄進我們

內地的年份——紅軍被迫進行防禦戰的年

份——戰爭的第三年，是我們戰場上發生

根本變化的一年，那時紅軍發動強有力的

攻勢。在若干次決定性的戰鬥中把德軍打

潰，把被霸佔的蘇維埃領土三分之二的區

territory and compelled them to pass to the defensive while the Red Army was still waging the war against the German forces singlehanded without substantial support from the Allies—the fourth year of the war has been a year of decisive victories over the German forces for the Soviet armies and the armies of our Allies, a year in which the Germans, now compelled to fight on two fronts, found themselves flung back to the German frontiers. The upshot¹ of this year has ended in the expulsion of German forces from the Soviet Union, France, Belgium and Central Italy and the transfer of hostilities to the German territory.

I. GERMANY IN THE VICE BETWEEN TWO FRONTS

The decisive successes of the Red Army in this year and the expulsion of the Germans from the Soviet territory were predetermined by the succession of shattering blows which our troops dealt to the German forces beginning as far back as last January and following then throughout the year under review.²

The first blow was struck by our troops in January this year at Leningrad and Novgorod when the Red Army broke up the permanent German defences and flung the enemy back to the Baltics. This blow resulted in the liberation of the Leningrad region.

The second blow was struck in February and March of this year on the River Bug when the Red Army de-

域中的德軍肅清，而迫使他們改取守勢，當時紅軍依然是獨力對德軍作戰，還沒有獲得盟邦方面的重大助援——至於戰爭的第四年，却是蘇軍和我們盟邦軍隊對德軍取得決定性的勝利的一年，是如今被迫在兩線作戰的德軍不覺已被打退到德國邊疆去的一年。結果，這一年結束時，德軍被逐出了蘇聯，法蘭西，比利時，和意大利中部，而把戰爭轉移到德國本土上去了。

一 德國被鉗牢在兩線中間

紅軍這一年決定性的勝利，以及德軍的被逐出蘇維埃領土，是由我軍早從今年一月間開始，而且接着就在檢討的這一年全期間使德軍所受連續不斷的粉碎打擊，而預先注定了的。

第一次的打擊，是由我軍於今年一月間在列寧格勒革諾佛哥羅德打中的，那時紅軍突破了德軍永備防線，把敵人逐退到波羅的海去。由於這一次打擊，列寧格勒州獲得解放了。

第二次的打擊，是於今年二月和三月間在布格河畔打中的，那時紅軍把德軍擊

feated the German forces and flung them beyond the Dniestre. As a result of this blow, Ukraine west of the Dniestre was freed of the German.

The third blow was struck in April and May of this year in the area of the Crimea when the German troops were flung into the Black Sea. As the result of this blow, the Crimea and Odessa were delivered from German oppression.

The fourth blow was struck in June of this year in the area of Karelia when the Red Army routed the Finnish forces, liberated Vyborg and Petrozavodsk and flung the Finns back into the interior of Finland. This blow resulted in the liberation of the greater part of the Karelo-Finnish Soviet Republic.

The fifth blow was struck in June and July of this year when the Red Army utterly routed the German forces at Vitebsk, Bobruisk and Mogilev; this blow culminated³ in the encirclement of 30 German divisions at Minsk. As a result of this blow our forces:

- a) liberated the whole of the Byelorussian Soviet Republic,
- b) gained the Vistula and liberated a considerable part of Poland, our ally,
- c) gained the Nieman and liberated the greater part of the Lithuanian Soviet Republic, and
- d) forced the Nieman and approached the frontiers of Germany.

潰，把它們逐退到聶斯德河那邊去。由於這一次的打擊，聶伯河以西的烏克蘭就從法西斯侵略者羈絆下解放出來了。

第三次的打擊，是於今年四月和五月間在克里米亞區域打中的，那時德軍被驅逐到黑海里去。由於這一次的打擊，克里米亞和敖德薩就從德寇壓迫下獲得解放了。

第四次的打擊，是於今年六月間在卡累利阿區域打中的，那時紅軍把芬軍打潰，解放了維堡利彼得羅薩佛得斯克，而把芬軍逐退到芬蘭內地去。由於這一次的打擊，將卡累利阿芬蘭蘇維埃共和國大部份解放出來了。

第五次的打擊，是於今年六月和七月間打中德軍的，那時紅軍在威得比斯克，波布魯伊斯克和摩吉萊去把德軍完全擊潰；這次打擊，在明斯克把三十師德軍包圍起來而大功告成。由於這一次的打擊，我軍（一）將自俄羅斯蘇維埃共和國全部解放，（二）爭取到維斯杜拉河，把我們盟邦波蘭頗大部分解放出來，（三）爭取到尼門河，把立陶宛到維埃共和國大部分解放出來，（四）強渡尼門河，逼近德國邊疆。

The sixth blow was struck in July and August of this year in the area of the Western Ukraine when the Red Army routed the German forces at Lvov and flung them beyond the San and the Vistula. As a result of this blow:

- a) the Western Ukraine was liberated, and
- b) our troops forced the Vistula and set up a strong bridgehead beyond it west of Sandomir.

The seventh blow was struck in August of this year in the Kishinev and Jassy area when our troops utterly routed the German and Rumanian forces. It culminated in the encirclement of 22 German divisions at Kishinev, without including the Rumanian divisions. As a result of this blow:

- a) the Moldavian Soviet Republic was liberated,
- b) Germany's Rumanian ally was put out of action and declared war on Germany and Hungary,
- c) Germany's Bulgarian ally was put out of action and likewise declared war on Germany,
- d) the road was opened for our troops to Hungary—Germany's last ally in Europe, and
- e) there appeared an opportunity of reaching out a helping hand to Yugoslavia, our ally, against the German invaders.

The eighth blow was struck in September and October in this year in the Baltics when the Red Army routed the

第六次的打擊，於今年七月和八月間打在西烏克蘭的區域上，那時紅軍在羅夫擊潰德軍，把他們逐退到桑河和維斯杜拉河那邊去。由於這一次的打擊：（一）西烏克蘭被解放出來了，（二）我軍強渡維斯杜拉河，在維斯杜拉河那邊桑多密爾以西構築起強固的橋頭堡壘。

第七次的打擊，是於今年八月間在基西尼夫和雅西區域打中的，那時我軍把德軍和雜軍完全打潰，這一役終於把二十二師的德軍在基西尼夫包圍起來，羅軍各師還沒有計算在內。由於這一次的打擊：（一）摩爾達維亞蘇維埃共和國解放出來了，（二）德軍的羅馬尼亞盟邦停止戰鬥行爲，並對德國和匈牙利宣戰了，（三）德國的保加利亞盟邦停止戰鬥行動，並且也對德國宣戰了，（四）爲我軍打開一條通往匈牙利德國在歐洲的最後盟邦去的道路，（五）已有機會向我們的盟邦和南斯拉夫伸出援助的手以對付德寇。

第八次的打擊，是於今年九月間在波羅的海區域打中的，那時，紅軍在塔林和

German forces at Tallinn and Riga and drove them from the Baltics. As a result of this blow:

- a) the Estonian Soviet Republic was liberated,
- b) the greater part of the Latvian Soviet Republic was liberated,
- c) Germany's Finnish ally was put out of action and declared war on Germany, and
- d) altogether 30 German divisions found themselves cut off from Prussia and gripped in the pincers between Tukums and Libava, where they are being hammered to a finish by our troops.

In October of this year the ninth blow was launched by our troops between the Tisza and the Danube in the area of Hungary; its purpose is to put Hungary out of the war and turn her against Germany. As a result of this blow which has not yet consummated:⁴

- a) our forces rendered direct assistance to our ally, Yugoslavia, in driving out the Germans and liberating Belgrade, and
- b) our forces received an opportunity to cross the Carpathians and reach out a helping hand to our ally, the Czechoslovak Republic, part of whose territory has already been freed of the German invaders.

Lastly, at the end of October of this year a blow was dealt to the German forces in North Finland when the Ger-

里加把德軍打逐，把他們逐出了波羅的海區域。由於這一次打擊：（一）愛沙尼亞德維埃共和國解放出來了，（二）拉脫維亞蘇維埃共和國大部份解放了，（三）德國的芬蘭盟邦停止戰鬥行動而對德國宣戰了，（四）三十師以上的德軍不覺已和普魯士隔絕，在圖庫姆斯和利巴之間被鉗牢了，如今正被我軍鎚打完了。

今年十月間，我軍在的薩河和多瑙河之間在匈牙利區域中發動了第九次的打擊：目的是要使匈牙利退出戰爭，並且要使她對德國倒戈。由於還沒有完畢的這一次的打擊：（一）我軍已給予我們的盟邦南斯拉夫以直接的援助，把德軍逐出面解放了伯爾格萊德，（二）我軍已有機會越過喀爾巴阡山，向我們的盟邦捷克斯洛伐克共和國伸出援助的手，捷克斯洛伐克的一部分領土已經從德寇羈絆下解放出來。

最後，在今年十月底，在芬蘭北部給予德軍一次打擊，那時德軍就被打出了貝

man troops were knocked out of the area of Pechenga and our troops, pursuing the Germans, entered the territory of Norway, our ally. I shall not give figures of the losses in killed and prisoners the enemy sustained⁵ in these operations, of the number of guns, tanks, aircraft, shells and machine-guns captured by our troops and so forth. You are acquainted with these figures from communiques of the Soviet Information Bureau.

Such are the principal operations carried out by the Red Army during the past year, operations which have led to the expulsion of the German forces from our country.

As a result of these operations, as many as 120 divisions of the Germans and their allies have been routed and put out of action. In place of the 257 divisions that faced our front last year, of which 207 were German, we now have facing our front, after all 'total' and 'super-total' mobilizations, only 204 German and Hungarian divisions, the German divisions numbering no more than 180.

It is to be admitted that in this war Hitler's Germany with her fascist army has proved to be a more powerful, crafty and experienced adversary than Germany and her army were in any war of the past. It should be added that in this war the Germans succeeded in exploiting the productive forces of practically the whole of Europe and the quite considerable armies

辰加區(巴薩摩)，我軍擊着德軍，進入我們的盟邦挪威的領土。我不要提出關於敵軍在這些戰役中所受到的關於陣亡與俘虜方面的損失數字，以及我軍繳獲到的大砲，坦克，飛機，機槍的數目等等。你們可以從蘇聯情報部公報中知道這些數字。

這便是紅軍在過去一年間所貫徹的主要戰役，這些戰役已把德軍逐出了我們祖國。

由於：這些戰役，已有一百二十師之多的德軍及其盟軍被打潰，而停止戰鬥行動了。去年有二百五十七個師面向我們的戰場，其中二百零七個師是德軍；經過了一切「總體」和超「總體」的現代戰鬥以後，我們現在却只有二百零四個德軍和匈軍向着我們的戰場了，其中德軍不過一百八十師。

不得不承認：在這次戰爭中，希特勒德國連同她的法西斯軍隊，已證明了是比過去任何一次戰爭中的德國及其軍隊更強大，更狡猾，並且更有經驗的敵手。應該再加上一句，在這次戰爭中，德寇順利利用實際上是全歐的生產力，以及他們附庸

of their vassal states. And if in spite of these favourable conditions for the prosecution of the war Germany nevertheless finds herself on the brink of⁶ imminent destruction, the explanation is that her chief adversary, the Soviet Union, has surpassed Hitler-Germany in strength. What must be regarded as a new factor in the war against Hitler-Germany in this past year is that in this year the Red Army has not been operating against the German forces singlehanded as was the case in the previous years but together with the forces of our allies. The decision of the Teheran Conference on a joint blow at Germany from the west, east and south began to be carried out with amazing precision. Simultaneously with the summer operations of the Red Army on the Soviet-German front, the Allied forces launched the invasion of France and organized a powerful offensive operation, which compelled Hitler-Germany to wage the war on two fronts.

The troops and navy of our allies accomplished a mass landing operation on the coast of France that has no parallel⁷ in history for scope and organization, and overcame the German fortifications with consummate skill.

Thus Germany found herself gripped in a vice between two fronts. As was to be expected the enemy failed to withstand⁸ the joint blows of the Red Army and the Allied forces. The

國家的頗大的軍隊。而如果說儘管有這些對作戰有利的條件德國依然不覺瀕於危急的潰滅，那麼，這一點的解釋便是：她的主要敵手蘇聯，已在實力上超過了希特勒德國。那必須視為在對希特勒德國進行的戰爭中過去一年間的一個新的因素，就是：這一年，紅軍已是像先前那幾年獨力對德軍作戰了，而是和我們盟邦的兵力共同作戰。德黑蘭會議關於從西邊，東邊和南邊給予德國聯合國一致打擊的決定。開始以令人驚愕的精確性貫徹起來了。和紅軍在蘇德戰場的夏季戰役同時，盟軍發動向法蘭西進軍，組織了強大攻勢戰，迫使勢軍在兩線作戰。

我們盟邦的陸軍和海軍，在法蘭西海岸上完成了集體登陸戰，在規模和組織上，都是歷史中空前無比的，而以圓滿的練習克服了勢軍的防禦工事。

由此可見，德國已不覺被鉗牢在兩線中間了，正如所預料的，敵人受不住紅軍和我們盟軍的聯合一致的打擊。在短促的

enemy's resistance was broken and his troops were knocked out of Central Italy, France, Belgium and the Soviet Union in a short space of time. The enemy was flung back to the German frontier.

There can be no doubt that without the opening of the second front in Europe, which holds as many as 75 German divisions, our troops would not have been able to break the resistance of the German forces and knock them out of the Soviet Union in such a short time.

But it is equally indubitable⁹ that without the powerful offensive operations of the Red Army in the summer of this year, which held as many as 200 German divisions, the forces of our allies could not have been coped so quickly with¹⁰ the German forces and knocked them out of Central Italy, France and Belgium.

The thing is to keep Germany gripped in this vice between the two fronts. That is the key to¹¹ victory.

II. THE GREAT EXPLOIT OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE IN THE PATRIOTIC WAR

If the Red Army was able to acquit itself successfully of¹² its duty to its country and drive the Germans from Soviet soil, it was because of the unreserved support it received in the rear from our whole country. 'Everything for the front' has been the watchword in this past year in the selfless effort of all Soviet people—

時間內，敵人的抵抗就被打破了，他的軍隊就從意大利中部，法蘭西，比利時和蘇聯被打出來了。敵人被逐退到勞國邊疆去。

毫無疑問，如果沒有開闢歐洲第二戰場，牽制住德軍七十五師之多，那麼，紅軍就不能夠在這麼短促的時間中打破德軍的抵抗，並且把他們打出了蘇聯。

但是，也同樣是不容置疑的，如果沒有紅軍在今年夏天強大的攻勢戰役，牽制住德軍二百師之多，那麼，我們盟邦軍隊也就不能夠這麼迅速地對付了德軍，並把他們逐出了義大利中部，法蘭西，和比利時。事情是要把德國繼續鉗牢在兩線中間。那就是勝利的鎖鑰。

二 蘇聯人民在愛國戰爭中偉大的功績

如果說紅軍能夠順利的貫徹了對祖國的天職，把德軍逐出蘇維埃國土，那就是因為它在後方獲得我們整個國家的，我們國家所有各民族人民方面的毫無保留的援助。「一切為前線」，已變成了過去一年間在所有蘇維埃人民——工人，農民和智識份子自我犧牲的努力方面，以及在領導

workers, peasants and intelligentsia,¹³ as well as in the direction activities of our government and party bodies.

The past year has been marked by fresh successes in industry, agriculture and transport and by further progress in our war economy, with the war in its fourth year our factories are producing several times motored tanks, anti-aircraft guns, mortars and ammunition than in its opening phase. In the rehabilitation¹⁴ of agriculture the most difficult period has passed. With the fertile fields of the Don and Kuban restored to our country and the Ukraine liberated, our farming is recovering rapidly from its grave losses. The Soviet Railways have such a strain that the transport of other countries would hardly be able to bear. All this indicates that the economic foundation of the Soviet state proved to possess an infinitely greater vitality than the economy of the enemy states.

The socialist system born of the October Revolution has lent our people and our army a great and invincible country. The Soviet state did not reduce the supply of arms and ammunition for the front as the war proceeded, but increases it from year to year. Today the Red Army has no less but more tanks, guns and aircraft than the German army. As for quality our war material is far superior to enemy armaments in that respect.

Just as¹⁵ the Red Army achieved military victory over the fascist forces

我們的政府的和黨的團體的活動方面的口號了。

過去的一年。已標誌出工業，農業和運輸業方面的新成就，標誌出我國戰爭經濟方面的更向前進步。隨着戰爭到了第四個年頭，我國的工廠製造着此戰爭開始的階段增多了好幾倍的坦克，飛機，大砲，迫擊砲和彈藥。在農業的復興方面，最困難的時期已經過去。由於頓河和庫班河流域豐饒的田土已重回我們祖國懷抱，而且烏克蘭已經解放了，我國的農業正迅速彌補了它所受的嚴重損失，蘇聯鐵路這麼緊張繁劇，別的任何國家的運輸業，大概都不會吃得消的罷。所有這一切，表明：蘇維埃國家的經濟基礎證明了具有比敵國經濟更大到不可限量的活力。

由十月革命誕生的社會主義制度，已經予我們的人民和我們的軍隊以一個偉大而所向無敵的國家。蘇維埃國家在戰爭進行期間，關於前線兵器與彈藥的供應，不僅沒有減少過；而且一年比一年增加。今天，紅軍已擁有決不比德軍少些，却比德軍更多的坦克，大砲，和飛機。就作戰物資的素質而言，我們的軍備更比敵人的軍備優越得多。

正像紅軍在長時間獨力奮鬥中對法西斯軍隊博得了軍事上的勝利一樣，蘇維埃

in its long and arduous single-handed struggle, so the workers in the Soviet rear won economic victory over the enemy in their fight against Hitler-Germany and her associates. The Soviet people have denied¹⁶ themselves many necessities and have consciously incurred serious material privations in order to give more for the front. The unparalleled hardships of the present war have not broken but further tempered¹⁷ the iron will and fearless spirit of the Soviet people. Our people have rightfully won the fame of a heroic nation.

Our working class is giving all its strength to the cause of victory, constantly improving the technology of production, increasing the capacity of industrial enterprises and building new factories and mills. The working class of the Soviet Union has a great labour exploit to its credit¹⁸ in the present war.

Our intelligentsia are striking out boldly in the field of technical and cultural innovation, successfully promoting modern science and displaying the creative spirit in applying its achievements to the production of munitions for the Red Army. By their creative work the Soviet intelligentsia have made an invaluable contribution to the enemy's defeat.

And the army cannot fight and win without modern armaments. But neither can it fight and win without bread and without provision. Thanks¹⁹ to

後方的工人，也在他們對希特勒德國及其伙伴進行鬥爭中，對敵人取得了經濟上的勝利。蘇維埃人民極力節制許多生活必需品，自覺地遭遇嚴重的物質上的貧乏，以便以更多的東西給前方去。現行戰爭中的無可比擬的艱苦，並不會打破，却更進一步鍛鍊了蘇維埃人民的鐵的意志與大無畏精神。我國人民已很正當地博得了英雄國家的美名。

我國的工人階級，正把所有的一切力量供獻給勝利的事業，經常改進生產技術，增加工業企業的生產能力，建設新的工廠和製造廠。蘇聯的工人階級在現今戰爭中，已博得偉大的勞動功勳而令人稱譽。

我國的知識分子，正在技術與文化革新方面，毅然別出心裁，順利地促進現代科學，表現創造精神，運用這一方面的成就，來為紅軍生產軍火。蘇維埃知識分子，由他們的創造工作，對於敵軍的敗北，已作了至為珍貴的貢獻。

而軍隊如沒有現代軍備，就不能打仗，不能致勝。但是，如沒有麵包，沒有軍糧，它也不能打仗，不能致勝的。

the solicitude of the collective farm peasantry, the Red Army experiences no shortage of food in this fourth year of war. The men and women of the collective farms are supplying the workers and intelligentsia with food-stuffs and industry with raw materials, making it possible for factories and mills producing arms and equipment for the front to function normally, actively and with a clear sense of duty to the country, our collective farm peasantry are helping the Red Army to achieve victory over the enemy.

The marvelous labour exploits of the Soviet women and of our splendid youth will go down forever in history; for it²⁰ is they that have borne the brunt of the work in factories and mills and on the collective and state farms. For the sake of their country's honour and independence, Soviet women, youths and girls are displaying valour and heroism on the labour front. They have shown themselves worthy of their fathers and sons, husbands and brothers who are defending their homeland against the German fascist fiends.

The labour exploits of the Soviet people in the rear like the immortal deeds of valour of our soldiers at the front are rooted in their fervent and life-giving spirit of Soviet patriotism. The strength of Soviet patriotism lies in the fact that it is based not on the racial or nationalistic prejudices but on the peoples' profound devotion and loyalty to their Soviet homeland and

由於集體農場農民的關心，紅軍戰爭的第四年度，也沒有感到糧食的缺乏。集體農場的男女，以糧食供應工人和智識份子，以原料供應工業，使為前方生產兵器與裝備品的工廠和製造廠，能夠始終正常開工。我國的集體農場農民們，積極地並且有明確的對祖國的義務感，正協助紅軍去對敵人爭取勝利。

蘇維埃婦女們和我們光輝的青年們的寶貴的勞動功績，必將在歷史中永垂不朽。因為就是他們，在工廠和製造廠中，在集體農場和國家農場上，負擔了工作的重荷。為了他們的國家的榮譽和獨立，蘇維埃婦女們，少男少女們，正在勞動陣線上表現剛毅勇果敢和英雄主義。他們已經表明了：對於正在保衛祖國而對德國法西斯惡魔奮戰的他們的父親和兒子；丈大和兄弟，他們是無毫愧色的。

蘇維埃人民在後方的勞動功績，正像我們的將士們在前方的不朽的剛勇勳業一樣，是生根在他們生氣蓬勃的蘇維埃愛國心的精神中。蘇維埃愛國心的力量，在於事實上不是基於民族的或民族的成見，而是基於人民對蘇維埃祖國的無限熱忱與效

on the fraternal partnership of the working people of all the nationalities in our land. Soviet patriotism blends harmoniously the national traditions of the people and the common vital interests of all the working people of the Soviet Union. Far from dividing them, Soviet patriotism welds²¹ all the nations and peoples of our country into a single fraternal family. This should be regarded as the foundation of the inviolable and ever stronger friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union.

At the same time the peoples of the USSR respect the rights and independence of the nations of foreign countries and have always shown themselves willing to live in peace and friendship with their neighbour states. This should be regarded as the foundation of the contacts growing and gaining strength between our state and the freedom-loving nations.

The reason why the Soviet men and women hate the German invaders is not that they are of different nationality but that they have brought untold calamity and suffering to our people and all freedom-loving nations. It is an old saying of our people that the wolf is not beaten for being grey but for devouring the sheep.

The German fascist chose the misanthropic²² race theory for their ideological²³ weapon in the expectation that by preaching bestial nationalism they would produce the moral and political conditions for the German in-

忠。基於我國所有各民族的勞動人民相親如兄弟的友愛，蘇維埃愛國心把蘇聯人民的民族傳統精神和蘇聯勞動人民的共同的生存攸關的利益，和諧地混合為一。蘇維埃愛國心，豈但不會使他們分裂，而且把我國的所有各民族和各民族人民都融化成為一個單一的親愛的大家庭。這應該認為就是蘇聯各民族人民間神聖不可侵犯的，而且起越過堅強的友誼的基礎。

同時蘇聯的各民族人民，尊重外國各民族的權利獨立，始終表示願意和他們的鄰邦在和平與友好中共處。這應該認為就是我們國家與愛好自由各國之間正在成長，日益有力的聯繫的基礎。

蘇維埃男女所以痛恨德寇並不是因為他們是不同的民族，而是因為他們以不可言狀的禍患與災難帶給我國人民，帶給一切所有愛好自由的民族。我國人民有一句古諺：狼被人打，正不是因為是灰色的，而是因為貪吃綿羊。

德國法西斯選中了嫌惡人類的種族論，作為他們的認識上的武器，一心希望着：他們憑藉宣講獸性的國地，他們就會為德寇對被征服民族的統治，造成了精神上

vaders' domination over the subjugated nations. Actually, however, the policy of racial hatred pursued by the Hitlerites has proved a source of weakness for the German fascist state internally and of its isolation internationally. The ideology and policy of racial hatred have been a factor in the disintegration of Hitler's brigand bloc. It cannot be regarded as an accident that not only the subjugated peoples of France, Yugoslavia, Poland and Czechoslovakia, Greece and Belgium, Denmark, Norway and the Netherland have risen against the German imperialists, but also Hitler's former vassals—the Italians and Rumanians, Finns and Bulgarians have done so.

By their savage policy those Hitler's clique have set up all the nations of the world against Germany and the so-called 'chosen German race' has become the object of universal hatred.

It is not only the military defeat that the Hitlerites have sustained in this war, but the moral and political as well. The ideology of equality of all races and nations which has taken a firm root in our country, the ideology of friendship among the people has emerged completely victorious over the Hitlerite ideology of bestial nationalism and racial hatred.

Today, when the Patriotic War is drawing to its victorious conclusion, the historic role of the Soviet people is revealed in its full greatness. It is universally acknowledged now that by

政治上的條件。然而事實上，希特勒分子所奉行的種族憎惡政策，已經證明了是德國法西斯國家在國內脆弱而在國際孤立的一種根源。關於種族憎惡的觀念與政策，已經成為希特勒強盜集團解體的一個因素。不僅法蘭西的和南斯拉夫的，波蘭的和捷克斯洛伐克的，希臘的和比利時的，丹麥的，挪威的和芬蘭的被征服的人民，而且連希特勒以前的附庸——意大利人和羅馬尼亞人芬蘭人和保加利亞人都已一致奮起，反對德國帝國主義了，這決不能認為偶然的。

由於他們的野蠻政策希特勒匪幫，已使全世界所有一切民族都起來反動德國，而所謂「天選的日耳曼種族」，已成為舉世憎惡的目標。

希特勒分子在這次戰爭中，不僅在軍事上吃了敗仗，而且在精神上與政治上也敗北了。在我國已經根深蒂固的關於一切種族和民族一律平等的觀念，關於各民族人民間的友誼的觀念，已經對於希特勒份子的關於獸性國魂和種族憎惡的觀念，取得完全勝利了。

今天，當愛國戰爭正接近勝利結束的時候，蘇維埃人民的歷史任務，已充分偉大地顯現出來。現在已舉世公認：蘇維埃

their selfless struggle the Soviet people have saved the civilization of Europe from the fascist vandals. That is the great service rendered by the Soviet people to the history of mankind.

III. THE CONSOLIDATION AND EXTENSION OF THE ANTI-GERMAN COALITION FRONTS; THE QUESTION OF PEACE AND SECURITY.

The past year has been a year of triumph for the common cause of the anti-German coalition, for the sake of which the peoples of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States have joined in a fighting alliance. It has been a year of consolidation of the unity of the three in powers and of coordination of their action against Hitler Germany.

The Teheran Conference's decision on joint actions against Germany and the brilliant realization of the decision are one of the striking indications of the consolidation of the anti-Hitlerite coalition front. There are few examples in history of plans for large-scale military operations undertaken in joint actions against a common enemy being carried out so fully and with such a precision as the plan for joint blow against Germany drawn up at the Teheran Conference. There can be no doubt that without the unity of opinion and coordination of actions between the three Great Powers, the Teheran decision could not have been put into effect so fully and with such a precision. Nor, on the other hand, can

人民，由自我犧牲的鬥爭，已從法西斯汪達爾人羈絆下把歐洲的文明拯救出來。那是蘇維埃人民人類歷史的偉大貢獻。

三 反德聯盟陣線的鞏固與擴大及和平與安全問題

過去的一年，是反德聯盟的共同事業勝利的一年，蘇聯人民，大不列顛人民，和美利堅合衆國人民，爲了這種共同事業，已一同參與戰鬥同盟。過去的一年，便是這三個主要強國團結鞏固而對希特勒德國的戰鬥行動協調的一年。

德黑蘭會議關於對德國共同一致作戰的決定，以及那種決定的輝煌實踐，便是反希特勒聯盟陣線趨於鞏固的顯著的指標之一。在歷史中，極少對共同敵人實行一致行動時的大規模軍事戰役計劃，像在德黑蘭會議中議定的對德國一致打擊的計劃，這麼充分地而且這麼精密地貫徹起來的。不容置疑：如沒有三個偉大強國之間意見的一致和行動的協調，德黑蘭決定的就不會這麼充分地而且這麼精密地付諸實施。而另一方面，也是毫無疑問的，德黑

there be any doubt that the successful realization of the Teheran decision was bound to serve for the consolidation of the United Nations front.

An equally striking indication of the solidarity of the front of the United Nations is to be seen in the decisions of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference on the post-war security. There are talks of differences between the three powers on certain security problems. Differences do exist, of course, and they will arise on a number of other issues as well. Differences of opinion are to be found even among the people in one and the same²⁴ party. They are all the more²⁵ bound to occur between representatives of different states and different parties. The surprising thing is not that differences exist but that there are so few of them and that, as a rule in practically every case, they are resolved in a spirit of unity and coordination among the three great powers. What matters is not that there are differences but that these differences do not transgress the bounds of what the interests of unity of the three great powers allow, and that, in the long run, they are resolved in accordance with the interests of that unity. It is known that more serious differences existed between us over the opening of the second front. It is also known, however, that in the end these differences were resolved in a spirit of complete accord. The same thing may be said of the differences at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. What is characteristic²⁶ about this conference is not

蘭決定的順利實踐，對於聯合國陣線的鞏固，必已有所貢獻。

在頓巴敦橡樹會議關於戰後安全的決議中，也可看出關於聯合國陣線鞏固的同樣顯著的指標來。關於某些安全問題，三國之間有些爭論的風說。爭論自然是存在的，關於若干別的問題也會引起爭論的。就連在同一政黨中的人事之間，也會有意見的衝突。在不同的國家和不同的政黨的代表之間，就更會發生意見的衝突了。令人驚奇的事情，並不是三個偉大強國間爭論的存在，而是爭論竟這麼少，並且實際上每一場合，總是以團結與協調的精神解決了。關係重大的，倒並不是有爭論，而是這些爭論並不會超過三個偉大強國的團結利益所許可的範圍，並且這些爭論畢竟依照那種團結的利益解決了。大家都知道，我們之間關於第二戰場的見解，曾經存在過更嚴重的爭論。然而，大家也都知道，這些爭論到底以完全和協的精神解決了。關於頓巴敦橡樹會議中的爭論，也可以這樣說。關於這一次會議的特色，並不是在那兒顯露若干爭論，而是關於安全問

that certain differences were revealed there, but that nine tenths of the security problems were dispatched at this conference in a spirit of complete unanimity. That is why I think that the Dumbarton Oaks Conference decisions are to be regarded as a striking indication of the solidity of the front of the anti-German coalition.

The recent talks in Moscow with Mr. Churchill, the head of the British Government, and Mr. Eden, the British Foreign Secretary, are to be reviewed as an even more striking indication of the consolidation of the United Nations front, as these talks were in an atmosphere of friendship and a spirit of perfect unanimity.

All through the war the Hitlerites have been making frantic efforts to cause disunion among the United Nations and set them at loggerheads,²⁷ to stir up suspicion and unfriendly feelings among them, to weaken their war effort by mutual mistrust, and, if possible, by ambitions like these on the part of the conflict between them as well. The Hitlerite politicians are easy enough to understand. There is no greater danger for them than the unity of the United Nations in the struggle against Hitler's imperialism, and they could achieve no greater military-political success than by dividing the Allied Powers in their fight known, however, how futile the efforts of the fascist politicians to disrupt the alliance of the great powers have proved. That means that the alliance between

題十分之九都已在這次會議可以完全一致的精神解決了。正因為這個原故，我想：頓巴敦橡樹會議的決議，當被視為關於反德聯盟陣線鞏固的一種顯著的指標。

最近在莫斯科大不列顛政府首長邱吉爾先生以及大不列顛外交大臣艾登先生舉行的會談，應該看做關於聯合國陣線鞏固的一種更加明顯的指標，因為這些會談都是在友好的空氣中，以完全一致的精神舉行的。

在戰爭的全期間，希特勒份子始終作狂妄的努力，拚命要使聯合之間分裂，使他們互相鬥毆起來，在他們中間挑撥猜忌懷疑的不友好的感情，使他們由於互相不信任。而且如果可能的話，更由他們之間的互相衝突，而削弱他們的作戰努力。希特勒的政客方面抱着這些野心，那是很容易了解的。對於他們，再沒有比聯合國在對希特勒帝國主義鬥爭中的團結更大的危險了，他們所能夠取得的軍事上——政治上的成功，也沒有比較使在對共同敵人作戰中的同盟強國分裂所能取得的成功更偉大的了。然而，大家都知道：法西斯政客們要想打破偉大強國的同盟，他們的努力已證明了是多麼徒然呀。那就是意味着：

the USSR, Great Britain and the United States is founded not on casual short-lived considerations, but on vital and lasting interests.

There need be no doubt that having stood the strain of over three years of war and being sealed with the blood of nations rising in defence of their liberty and honour, the fighting alliance of the democratic powers will the more certainly stand the strain of the concluding phase of the war. However, the past year has been not only a year of consolidation of the anti-German front of the Allied Powers, but also a year for its extension. It cannot be regarded as an accident that after Italy other allies of Germany—Finland, Rumania and Bulgaria—have also been put out of the war. A point to be made is that these states have not only withdrawn from the war but have broken with Germany and declared war on her, thus joining the front of the United Nations. That is certainly an extension of the United Nations' front against Hitler-Germany. Without doubt Germany's last ally in Europe, Hungary, will also be out of action in the near future. It will mean the complete isolation of Hitler-Germany in Europe and the inevitability of her collapse. The United Nations face the victorious conclusion of the war against Hitler-Germany. The war against Germany will be won by the United Nations—of that there can no longer be any doubt today.

To win the war against Germany is

蘇聯，大不列顛和美利堅合衆國之間的同盟，不是根據臨時的短命的考慮，而是根據生存攸關的永久的利益。

毫無疑問：已經支持了三年多的戰爭緊張局面，已經用了爲保衛自身的自由與榮譽而奮起的各民族的血膠固起來，民主強國的戰鬥同盟，更加必定無疑地支持得住戰爭結束階段的緊張局面，然而，過去的一年不僅是同盟強國反德陣線鞏固的一年，而且更是它的擴大的一年。那決不能認爲偶然的：隨着意大利之後，德國的其他盟國——芬蘭，羅馬尼亞和保加尼亞——也都退出戰爭了。要點是：這些國家不僅已經退出戰爭，而且已經和德國絕交，對她宣戰，就這樣子參加了聯合國陣線。那確實無疑的：就是對希特勒德國作戰的聯合國陣線的擴大。毫無疑問：德國在歐洲的最後一個盟國匈牙利，在最近將來也要停止戰鬥行動了。那就意味着希特勒德國在歐洲的完全孤立，她的崩潰不可避免性。聯合國正面向着對希特勒德國進行的戰爭的勝利的結束。對德國的戰爭，必將由聯合國取得勝利——於這一點，今天已不容再有任何懷疑了。

對德國打勝仗，就是完我一種偉大的

to accomplish a great historical task. But winning the war is not in itself synonymous with²⁸ ensuring for the nations the lasting peace and guaranteed security in the future. The thing is not only to win the war but also to render new war impossible, if not forever then at least for a long time to come.

After her defeat, Germany will, of course, be disarmed both in the economic and the military-political sense. It would, however, be naive²⁹ to think that she will not attempt to restore her might and launch a new aggression. It is a common knowledge that the German chieftains are already now preparing for a new war. History reveals that a short period of time—some 20 or 30 years is enough for Germany to recover from defeat and re-establish her might.

What means are there to preclude a fresh aggression of Germany's, and, if the war should start nevertheless, to nip it in the bud and give it no opportunity to develop into a big war? The question is the more in place,³⁰ since history shows that aggressive nations as the nations that attack are usually better prepared for a new war than the peace-loving nations, which, having no interest in a new war, are usually behind-hand³¹ with their preparations for it. It is a fact that in the present war the aggressive nations had an invasion army all ready even before the war broke out; while the peace-loving nations did not have even a fully adequate army to

歷史任務。但是，打勝仗，本身並不就是和確保各國在將來享受到永久和平以及有保證的安全的同意語。事情並不只是在於打勝仗，並且更在於使新的戰爭即使不是永遠，至少也要在今後很長的時期中成爲不可能。

德軍在敗北以後，自然在經濟的意義上以及在軍事——政治的意義上都要被解除武裝。然而，如果以爲她決不會企圖恢復她的力量而發動新的侵略，那就想得太充實了。德國的頭目現在就已經在準備一種新的戰爭，這是常識呀。歷史顯示出，經過二三十年的一個短時期，就儘夠德國從敗北中恢復過來，而再建她的力量。

什麼方法防止德國方面的新侵略呢？而如果戰爭要爆發，有什麼方法在它萌芽的時候就除掉，而使之沒有發展成大戰的機會呢？由於如下的事實這問題就更中肯了，因爲歷史表明了：侵略國既是攻擊的國家，對於一種新的戰爭通常總比愛好和平的國家準備得更好些，因爲愛好和平的國家對新的戰爭不感興趣，在備戰方面總是落後的。在現行戰爭中，侵略國甚至在戰爭爆發以前，就擁有一種完全準備好的侵略軍，而愛好和平的國家連足數動員

cover the mobilization.

One cannot regard as an accident such distasteful facts as the Pearl Harbour 'incident,' the loss of the Philippines and other Pacific islands, the loss of Hongkong and Singapore, when Japan as the aggressive nation proved to be better prepared for war than Great Britain and the United States of America, which pursued a policy of peace. Nor can one regard as an accident such a distasteful fact as the loss of the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltics in the very first year of the war when Germany as the aggressive nation proved better prepared for war than the peace-loving Soviet Union. It would be naive to explain these facts by the personal qualities of the Japanese and the Germans, their superiority to the British, the Americans and the Russians, their foresight and so on. The reason is not the personal quality but the fact that an aggressive nation is interested in a new war, being nations that prepare for war over a long time and accumulate forces for it, they are usually—and are bound to be—better prepared for war than the peace-loving nations which have no interest in a new war. That is natural and understandable. If you like this is a law of history, which would be dangerous to ignore.

It is not to be denied accordingly that in the days to come the peace-loving nations may once more find themselves caught off their guard by

的相當的軍隊都沒有，

像珍珠港「事件」，菲列賓及太平洋其他羣島的喪失，香港和新嘉坡的喪失之類討厭的事實，一個人決不能認為是偶然的？那時，作為侵略國的日本，已證明了對於戰爭的準備，比奉行和平政策的大不列顛以及美利堅合衆國都準備得好些。關於像在戰爭的第一年中烏克蘭，白俄羅斯以及波羅海各國的喪失這種討厭的事實，一個人也決不能夠因為是偶然的，那時作為侵略國的德國證明了對於戰爭的準備比愛好和平的蘇聯準備得好些。如果用日本人的和德國人的個性，用他們對英國人，美國人和俄國人的優越，用他們的遠見等等來說明這些事實，那就老實了。原因並不在個性，而在事實上，侵略國對一種新的戰爭感到興趣，他們這些國家長期備戰，為戰爭養精蓄銳，通常總要——而且不得不——對於戰爭的準備，比那對新的戰爭不感興趣的愛好和平的各國準備得好。那是理所當然的，而且不容否認的。不管你歡喜不歡喜，這總是歷史的定律，無視這種定律就很危險。因此，那是不必否認的，在未來的日子中，愛好和平的國家，

aggression unless they work out special measures right now which can avert it.

Well, what means are there to preclude a fresh aggression on Germany's part, and if war should start, nevertheless, to nip it in the bud and give it no opportunity to develop into a big war?

There is only one means to this end in addition to the complete disarmament of one aggressive nations: that is to establish a special organization made up of representatives of the peace-loving nations to uphold peace and safeguard security; to put the necessary minimum of armed forces required for the aversion of aggression at the disposal of the directing body of this organization and to obligate this organization to employ these armed forces without delay, if it becomes necessary to avert or stop aggression and punish the culprits. This must not be a repetition of the ill-starred³² League of Nations, which had neither right nor means to avert aggression. It will be a new special fully authorized world organization having at its command everything necessary to uphold peace and avert new aggression.

Can we expect the actions of this world organization to be sufficiently effective? They will be effective if the Great Powers, which have borne the brunt of the war against Hitler-Germany, continue to act in a spirit of unanimity and accord. They will not be effective if this essential condition is violated.

可能再度被人侵略，除非他們現在就擬出能夠避免侵略的特別措置來。

有什麼方法防止德國方面的新侵略呢？而如果戰爭要開始了，有什麼方法在萌芽的時候就破除掉，而使他沒有發展成大戰的機會呢？

除了完全解除侵略國武裝以外，並無別個方的可以達成。這個目的，就是：建立一種由愛好和平的各國代表構成的特別組織，以維持和平並保障安全；將阻止侵略所必需的最低限度的武裝力量歸這種組織成領導機關自由調遣，授權這種組織，如果爲了避免和阻止侵略以及膺懲罪犯而成爲必要時得立刻運用武裝這種力量。這不得再蹈倒覆的國際聯盟的覆轍，國際聯盟既無有權力也沒有方法去避免侵略。那將成爲一種新的特別的，享有全權的世界組織，掌握着維持和平與避免新侵略所必要的一切手段。

我們能夠期望這種世界組織的行動具有充分的效果嗎？那會有效果的，如果在對希特勒德國進行的戰爭中首當其衝的偉大強國，繼續以一致而和協的精神採取行動的話。那會沒有效果的，如果這個重要條件被違背了的話。

Comrades, the Soviet people and the Red Army are performing successfully the tasks that have confronted them in the course of the Patriotic War. The Red Army has done its patriotic duty with credit and has freed our country of the enemy. Now and for all time our land is clear of the Hitlerite pollution. For the Red Army there now remains its last final mission: together with the armies of our allies to consummate the defeat of the German fascist army, to finish off the fascist beast in its own den and hoist the flag of victory over Berlin. There is reason to expect that this task will be performed by the Red Army in the none too distant future.

Long live our victories Red Army!

Long live our glorious Navy!

Long live the mighty Soviet people!

Long live our great Homeland!

Death to the German-fascist invaders!

同志們，蘇聯人民和紅軍正順利地完成着他們的愛國戰爭的他們當前的任務。紅軍已光榮地履行了它的愛國的天職，已把我們的國家從敵人的羈下解放出來。如今我們的國土已把希特勒齷齪東西永遠掃蕩乾淨了。對於紅軍，現在還剩下來的最後使命就是和我們盟邦的軍隊一同，使德國法西斯軍隊完全敗北，在法西斯野獸自己的巢穴中去把它決定掉，而在柏林升起勝利的旗幟。有理由可以預料在不很遠的將來，紅軍就會完成這種任務的。

我們的勝利的紅軍萬歲！

我們的光榮的海軍萬歲！

強大的蘇維埃人民萬歲！

我們的偉大的祖國萬歲！

殺死德國法西斯侵略者！

ANNOTATIONS

(1) “結局”，“結果”。What was the upshot of the quarrel, 前次爭吵之結局為何者？(2) “在檢討中”。The situation under review covers the past three months, 目下所檢討者為過去三個月之局勢。(3) “達到極點”，“大告成功”。His success culminated in winning a world-wide reputation, 其成功之至極為博得全世界盛譽。(4) “完成”。The work of the Revolution is not yet consummated, 吾人革命工作尚未完成。(5) “所受”。The enemy has sustained heavy naval losses, 敵人海軍近日所受損失甚為重大。(6) “瀕於”，“將”。Japanese militarists are on the brink of destruction, 日本軍閥將至覆滅之期。(7) “相同”，“可比”。I doubt there is any parallel to his skill in music, 余不信彼之音樂技術有人堪與比擬者。(8) “抗拒”。Bismark had warned that Germany could not withstand hostile attack from two sides, 卑士麥早已警惕德人謂德國無力抗拒敵人兩方進攻。(9) “無疑”，“確鑿”。His manners are an indubitable proof of his felony, 彼之行動為彼罪行之確鑿證據。(10) “抗衡”，“應付”。Japan little knew that China could have

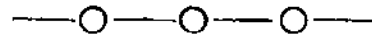
coped with her so long, 日本不知中國能應付彼輩如此之久。(11) “鎖鑰”，“關鍵”，“祕訣”。I have found a key to the mystery, 余已得此疑團之關鍵。(12) “盡職”。He acquitted himself well of his duty, 彼克勤厥職。(13) “知識份子，知識階級”。The intelligensia is the leading group in any community, 知識階級爲一切社會之領導集團。(14) “復興”，“善後”。The return of commodity prices to normalcy is the first requisite to the solution of the problem of rehabilitation, 物價恢復原狀爲復興之惟一條件。(15) (Just) “as.....so.....” “正如”，爲相關連接字。Just as leaves are to trees, so are lungs to men, 葉之於樹猶肺之於人體。(16) “犧牲”。We have denied ourselves almost all comforts for winning the war, 吾人爲爭取勝利幾犧牲全部快樂。(17) “鍛鍊”。Our people have been tempered in self-sacrifice for winning the war, 我國人爲爭取勝利受有自我犧牲之鍛鍊。(18) “令人稱譽”。His behaviour is much to his credit, 彼之行動令人稱譽。(19) 卽 “Thanks are due to.....” (20) 強調 “they,” 故 “It is they who....” (21) “融化”，“合—爐而冶之”。The war of resistance has welded all our people together to fight for national existence, 抗戰使我國人融洽爭取國家生存。(22) “縱惡人類”(與 philanthropic 相對)。The lust to fight is essentially misanthropic, 好戰之心實爲殘害人之事。(23) “意識上之”。All human actions are ideological, 人類動作皆爲表意識者。(24) “同一”。They gave one and the same answer, 彼等予同一之答案。(25) “更爲”，“益爲”。A diligent student is all the more diligent when awarded with a prize, 勤學學生得獎勵後則更爲勤學。(26) “特性”，“特色”，“特點”。The habit of drinking tea is characteristic of the Chinese people, 飲茶習慣爲中國人之特有。(27) “相爭”。The labourers and the capitalist are at loggerhead, 勞工與資本家相爭。(28) “同義”。To love is not synonymous with to be loved, 愛人與爲他人所愛義意不同。

THE FULL TEXT OF THE FRANCO-SOVIET ALLIANCE TREATY

Signed in Moscow on December 10, 1944.

法蘇協定全文

一九四四年十二月十日在莫斯科簽訂



The Presidium ¹ of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Provisional Government ² of the French Republic, determined ³ to prosecute jointly and to the end ⁴ the war ⁵ against Germany, convinced ⁶ that once ⁷ victory is achieved the reestablishment of peace on a stable basis and its prolonged maintenance in the future will be conditioned upon the existence of a close collaboration between them and with all the United Nations, having ⁸ resolved to collaborate in the cause of the creation of an international system of security for the effective maintenance of general peace and for ensurance of the harmonious development of relations between the nations, desirous ⁹ of confirming the mutual obligations resulting from the exchange of terms of September 20 th, 1941 concerning actions in war against Germany, and that ¹⁰ the conclusion of alliance between the USSR and France correspond ¹¹ to the sentiments and interests of both peoples, demands of war requirements of peace and economic reconstruction in full conformity with the aims which the

蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯盟最高蘇維埃主席團，和法蘭西共和國臨時政府，決心共同並徹底從事對德戰爭，相信一旦獲得勝利後，基於鞏固基礎的和平的重新建立，與在將來對和平的永恆的保持，將以兩國間以及與一切聯合國的密切合作的存存在為先決條件，雙方既決意在創立國際安全事業中為有效的保持着普遍的和平，為保證各國間邦交和諧的發展而合作，暨願望履行因一九四一年九月二十日關於進行對德戰爭事互換條款而產生的雙方互定的義務，既認為蘇聯與法蘭西間建立同盟是適合兩國人民的意志與利益，是適應戰爭的需要，是完全符合聯合國的共同目標，蘇法兩國政府就

United Nations now themselves ²¹ decided ¹² to conclude a treaty to this effect ¹⁴ and appointed ¹³ their plenipotentiaries: the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics-- Vyacheslay Mikhailovich Molotov, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs the USSR; the Provisional Government of the French Republic, Georges Bidault, Minister of Foreign Affairs; who after the exchange of their credentials, found in due form, signed the following:

Article 1: Each of the High Contracting Parties shall continue the struggle on the side of other party and on the side of the United Nations until the final victory over Germany. Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes to render the other party aid and assistance in this struggle with all means at its disposal.

Article 2: The High Contracting Parties shall not agree to enter into separate negotiations with Germany or to conclude without a mutual peace treaty either with Hitler government, or with any other government or authority set up in Germany for the purpose of the continuation of the support of the policy of German aggression.

Article 3: The High Contracting Parties undertake also after the termination of the present war with Germany to take jointly all necessary measures for the elimination of any new threat coming from Germany and to obstruct such actions as ¹⁵ would make possible any new attempt at aggression on her part. ¹⁷

Article 4: In the event either the High Contracting Parties finds itself involved

決定訂定具有這種旨趣的條約，並指定雙方的全權代表，蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯盟最高蘇維埃主席團全權代表蘇聯外交人民委員部長維雅提斯拉夫，米凱洛維奇，莫洛托夫，法蘭西共和國臨時政府全權代表，法外交部長喬治比杜爾，兩方互閱全權證書，均屬妥善後，遂簽

訂下列條件：

第一條：締約國的每一方，應站在對方以及聯合國方面繼續作戰，直到最後戰勝德國為止。締約國的每一方保證在這鬥爭中用自己所

能自由處理的一切方式，給予另一方以援助。

第二條：締約國雙方，保證決不單獨跟希特勒進入談判，如沒有獲得互相同意，決不跟希特勒政府，或跟爲了繼續或支持德國的侵略政策而在德國成立的任何其他的政府或當局，締結任何休戰或議和條約。

第三條：締約國雙方並保證在對德國進行的現行戰事結束後，共同採取一切必要的措置，以消滅任何來自德方的威脅，並當阻止德國方面的可能造成任何新的侵略企圖的這樣的行動。

第四條：倘締約國的一方，一旦捲入了對

in military operations against Germany whether as a result of aggression committed by the latter or as a result of operation of the above Article 3, the other party as once render it every aid and assistance within its power.

Article 5: The High Contracting Parties undertake not to conclude any alliance and not to take part in any coalition directed against either of the High Contracting Parties.

Article 6: The High Contracting Parties agree to render each other every possible economic assistance after the war with the view to facilitating and accelerating reconstruction of both countries and in order to contribute to the cause of world prosperity.

Article 7: The present treaty does not in any way affect the obligations undertaken previously by the High Contracting Parties in regard to the third states in virtue of the published treaties.

Article 8: The recent treaty whose Russian and French texts are equally valid, shall be ratified and ratification instruments shall be exchanged in Paris as early as possible. It comes into force since the moment of exchange of ratification instruments and shall be valid in the course of 20 years. If the treaty is not denounced by either of the High Contracting Parties at least one year before the expiration of this term, it shall remain valid for an unlimited time, each of the Contracting Parties being able to terminate its operation by giving a notice to that effect one year in advance. In confirmation of which the above Plenipotentiaries signed the present treaty and affixed their seals to it.

德國的軍事行動中，不管是由德國的侵略而引起

起的或由於上述第三條而引起的，締約國的另

一方面應即刻盡力給予對方以一切援助。

第五條：締約國每一方保證決不締結針對着締約另一方的任何同盟，也決不參加這樣的任何結合。

第六條：締約國雙方同意在戰後互相給予一切可能的經濟援助，藉以便利並加速兩國的再建，同時並對於世界繁榮的事業有所貢獻。

第七條：現行條約決不影響締約國先前依照已公佈的條約，對第三國保證履行的義務。

第八條：現行條約的俄文本和法文本，具有同樣效力，當於可能最短期間內提交批准，當儘可能從這在巴黎交換批准證件，現行條約一經交換批准證件，立刻生效，繼續有效時間為二十年，倘若在所說的二十年終了時，締約國的一方沒有在滿期前一年聲明廢棄本約，那末本約有效時間當無限延長，締約國的每一方可停止本約的效力，惟須於一年將此意通知對方，雙方全權代表在這個條約上簽字蓋印以昭信守，本約在莫斯科訂，分繕兩份。

Done in Moscow in two copies.
December 10, 1944. On the authorization
of the Pr sidium of the Supreme Soviet of
the USSR Molotov, on the authorization of
the Provisional Government of the French
Republic Bidault.

一九四四年十二月十日，蘇聯最高蘇維埃主席
團授權代表莫洛托夫、法蘭西共和國臨時政府
授權代表比杜爾。

Annotation

「1」與「2」爲全句（全約）之主詞爲 compound subject, 「3」爲形容(1), (2)之第一個 participial phrase. 「4」“to the end”爲 prepositional phrase 作 adverbial phrase 用與 “jointly (adverb) 同爲形容 infinitive “to prosecute”, 雖前者爲 phrase, 後者爲 word, 但兩者文法上之功用相同（皆爲 adverbial modifiers）故可並用，例：He spoke well (simple adverb) and to the point (prepositional phrase 作 adverbial phrase 用)，彼發言既妙且中肯。依同理 simple adverb 可與 adverbial clause 平行伴用，例：He appeared suddenly (simple adverb) and when he was wanted (adverbial clause)，彼猝然於需要彼時來到。因此 adverbial phrase 與 adverbial clause 亦並用，He appeared in the nick of time (prepositional phrase 作 adverbial phrase 用) and where he could show himself best (adverbial clause)，彼於適當之時來此能使彼一現身手之地。由此類推凡在文法上構造不同而功用相同之任何詞類（如 adverb 作 adj. 用可與 adjective 並用）或構造（如 prepositional phrase 作 adjective 用， participles, appositives, infinitive, 或其 phrases）皆可並用。如行文時，堅持字與字並用，phrase 與 phrase 並用，clause 與 clause 並用，則文字必刻板無疑。「5」“war”爲 infinitive “to prosecute”之 object. 「6」爲形容(1), (2)之第二個 participial phrase 與(3)平行。此 participle 有 appositive clause “that Nations”，乃 “convinced 之第一個 “that”-clause. 「7」“Once”爲 adverb 代 conjunction, 即 “when once” 或 “if once” 之省略，形容 “will be conditioned”。例：Once you begin (=When once you begin), you are sure to get on well, 汝一經開始必進行順利。「8」爲形容(1), (2)之第三個 participial phrase, 與(3), (6)平行。(9)爲形容(1), (2)之第四個 phrase, 爲 adjective phrase (根據(4)之理由)與(3), (6), (8)平行伴用。「10」爲(6)“convinced”之第二個 “that”-clause, 與(6)中之 “that”-clause 平行。「11」即 “should correspond”。「12」“themselves”爲 subjects (1), (2)之 intensive, 例：I myself did it, 我本人爲之。「13」爲 subjects (1), (2)之第一個 verb. 「14」“合此旨趣”。Pres. Roosevelt was convinced that all discussions on postwar peace and security should be started before the end of the war,

and he has called many conferences on international problems to that effect, 羅斯福總統認為戰後和平及安全計議應於戰爭結束前舉行, 彼所召集關於國際問題之會議適合此旨趣。[15] 爲 subjects (1), (2) 之第二個 verb, 與 [13] 平行, compound verb. [16] 係 relative pronoun = "which"。[17] "on...part", "...方面"。China has done well on her part in saving world - peace, 中國方面對拯救世界和平已盡其能矣。(18) nominative absolute phrase (即 noun 或 pronoun 十 participle—"each" 十 "being"), 屬於 "remain" 例 It being late at night, I came back, 時已夜深, 余遂回。

RONALD NELSON'S REPORT ON HIS MISSION TO CHINA

The report was submitted to Pres. Roosevelt on December 20, 1944

納爾遜使華報告

一九四四年十二月二十日向羅斯福總統提出

The main effort in China to date¹ has been concentrated on measures of immediate benefit to the war effort. During my visit to Chungking in September I was disturbed by a relative lack of constructive war effort. This situation I am glad to report has been largely corrected. The Chinese Government is now throwing its weight into the job of winning the war. In my many talks with Chinese leaders in November questions were put aside by mutual agreement.

Your appointment of General Wedemeyer to the command of the China theater, your subsequent appointment of General Hurley as Ambassador and the arrival of the American war production mission in China laid the ground work for a number of significant measures since put into effect:

Firstly, active steps were taken to check the Japanese advance.

Secondly, the Chinese War Production Board was established and is functioning.

中國之主要努力，截至目前為止，皆集中於直接有益於作戰努力之步驟。九月間余赴重慶時，因其比較缺乏具有建設性之作戰努力，頗為憂心。但余現樂於報告，此種情勢現大部分已經校正。中國政府現正致力於獲致勝利之任務。余十一月間曾與中國各領袖作多次談話，藉彼此同意解決甚多問題。

總統之任命魏德邁將軍為中國戰區美軍司令，及嗣後任命赫爾利為駐中國大使，與美國戰事生產代表團之到達重慶，俱為以後實施若干意義重大之措施奠定基礎。

(一) 業已採取積極步驟，以阻止日軍之前進。

(二) 中國戰時生產局業已建立，刻在工作中。

In September I obtained the enthusiastic agreement of the Generalissimo to create an agency in the Chinese Government to plan and coordinate Chinese war production and related economic activities. Following your approval in our Washington conversation of November 2, I returned to China with a small group of men who have had long experience in American war production. Our first step was to work with a group of Chinese officials headed by Dr. Wong Wen-hao, Minister of Economics, to draft a basic law for a Chinese war production board. This law which grants very wide power was immediately approved by the Generalissimo and has since been passed by the Executive and Legislative Yuan. We worked closely with Dr. Wong on organization and policy, participating in working up firm ordnance requirements for the Chinese army, and aiding in winning cooperation for the Chinese Government from leading industrial groups.

For the first time the Chinese war effort is now coordinated. Two members on the staff of the American War Production Board have remained in Chungking to act as my deputies in further advising the Chinese War Production Board on problems of policy and operation. Excellent arrangements also have been made for close liaison, between the Chinese War Production Board and the United States Army Ordnance Department, represented in

余於九月間獲致蔣委員長之熱烈贊同，在中國政府之中，創設一機構，以設計並調整中國之戰時生產及其有關之經濟活動。自十一月二日，余在華府請示商談之際，獲得總統之核准後，即率領少數人員返歸中國，彼等皆在美國之戰時生產方面有久長經驗者。吾人之第一項步驟，為與由中國經濟部長翁文灝領導之若干中國官員合作，起草一中國戰時生產局之基本法，此項法律賦予廣泛之權力，但為蔣委員長所立即贊同。嗣後由行政院及立法院先後通過。吾人於組織及政策方面，與翁文灝博士密切合作，協助為中國軍隊加緊軍火之生產，並協助中國政府，使其獲致重工業界之合作。

中國之作戰努力，已首次獲得調整。美國戰時生產局中之兩幹部人員，現已調至重慶，充余之副手，在中國戰時生產局對政策及實施問題，充任顧問。同時並已採取良好措施，使中國之戰時生產局與美兵工署方面保持密切之聯繫，美兵工署

Chungking by officers of high ability.

Thirdly, an American technical production mission has begun work in China.

By arrangements with the Foreign Economic Administration, on my return to China in November, I brought with me six American production specialists, five of whom are experts in steel production and one in alcohol production. These highly qualified men immediately began to visit Chinese industry and to study production methods there. They all work with Chinese plant managers and government officials over a period of three months with a view to increasing output, improving quality and reducing costs. Attention was focused at once on measures to obtain immediate increased production of certain items needed by the Chinese armies.

Fourthly, war production requirements have been financed.

The four Chinese Government banks have contracted to lend ten billions (Chinese National currency) to the Chinese War Production Board to finance essential production. Urgent need for additional working capital in many Chinese industries also made it necessary that the Chinese Government banks reduce interest rates for war production to a point where management would once more find it possible to borrow capital and borrow it quickly. With the approval of the Generalissimo I put the issue² before the newly ap-

在重慶之代表，爲才能極高之軍官。

(三) 美國技術生產代表團，已在中國工作。

與對外經濟局商榷後，當十一月間余重赴中國時，偕美國生產專家六人同行，其中五人爲鋼鐵生產專家，而一人則爲酒精生產專家。此數位資格優良之人員，立即前往參觀中國工業，研究其生產方法。彼等將與中國之工廠經理及政府官員合作，以三個月爲期，目的在增加生產，改良品質，並減低成本。注意力立即集中於中國軍隊所需之若干品類上，以獲致其中生產之立即增加。

(四) 戰時生產之需要，亦經設法供給資金。

中國政府所設立之四銀行，亦曾約定以法幣一百億元借予中國戰時生產局，以供主要生產事業所需之資金。且因中國若干工業須增週轉資金，故四行亦須爲戰時生產將其利率減少至一種程度，俾借方再度感覺其可以借入資金，並能迅速借得之。經 蔣主席許可後，余曾將此問題向新任之財政部長提出，並參加中國戰時生產

pointed Minister of Finance and participated in negotiations among the Chinese War Production Board, Ministry of Finance, and the four Government banks. The bankers agreed to reduce interest rates on loans for war production purposes to less than half the previous customary rates. The time necessary to negotiate a loan has been reduced from four or five months to a few days. Complicated red tape³ in granting and servicing loans has been sharply cut.

Fifthly, additional transportation facilities have been allocated to China.

Sixthly, shifts have been made in the Chinese Cabinet with a view to strengthening war effort.

On November 27, the Generalissimo announced a number of important cabinet changes. Following on the heels of the cabinet reorganization and closely related to it came important changes in the Chinese system of military supply and far closer cooperation between the Chinese and American high commands. Conversations between the National Government and Communist leaders looking toward war cooperation also benefited.

Seventhly, moves have been made to bolster the Chinese civilian morale.

The establishment of Chinese War Production Board and the arrival of the technical mission had immediate effect on the morale of the Chinese civilian. These were the first constructive economic achievements which the country

局，財政部，及四行之歷次會談。銀行方面，同意將所有為戰時生產用途之貸款利率減至其已往通常利率之一半。商借款項之時間，亦已由四五個月減至數日。綜之，所有關於貸款之一切官場手續，均已大為減少。

(五) 增加之各種運輸設備，已分配於中國。

(六) 中國政府人事已有所更動，藉以增強作戰努力。

十一月二十七日，蔣主席宣布政府人事中若干重要之變動。緊接政府改組以後，及與之有密切關係者，即為軍中供應制度之更革，及中美兩國統帥部更密切之合作。中國國民政府與共產黨領袖間着眼於軍事合作之商談，亦有所裨益。

(七) 業已設法加強中國人民之民氣。

中國戰時生產局之設立及技術代表團之到達中國，對於中國人民之民氣頗有直接影響，此乃中國期望已久之首次具有建

had seen for a long while. During November I discussed morale problem with the Generalissimo and he stated that he would personally assume the responsibility for strengthening morale. With the same purpose I accepted an invitation to address the presidium and resident members of People's Political Council in Chungking—the Chinese nearest approach to a representative legislative body. Taking need for cooperation within China as my theme I also talked before the Chinese American Institute of Cultural Relations as well as to leaders of Chinese industry and finance. Before I left Chungking I attended a joint meeting of the Chinese War Production Board, Ministry of Information and American OWI⁴ to discuss the possibility of reaching Chinese workers with inspirational and educational material. A cabled report from Chungking states that such material is beginning to be actively used in factories.

In addition to the improvement in the military situation we can look for far-reaching gains on the economic front as a result of action taken this autumn in China. The 1945 schedule of the Chinese WPB⁵ for production of key items is to double the program previously prepared by the Chinese ordnance department and increased production rates will be felt within a few weeks on the fighting fronts of China. Schedules for production of alcohol used entirely as liquid fuel are

設性之經濟的成就。十一月間，余曾與蔣主席討論民氣問題，渠并表示渠將親自負責增強民氣之工作。余又為同一宗旨，接受國民參政會主席團與駐會委員之邀請，出席演說。余在中美文化協會及向中國工業及金融界領袖發表演說，亦以中國內部必須合作為主題。在余離重慶以前，曾經參加中國戰時生產局，中國宣傳部與美國戰時情報局之聯席會議，討論以各種鼓勵與教育性質之材料，送達中國工人之可能性。頃據重慶來電稱：此項材料現正開始在各工廠內積極使用。

除軍事局勢已有改善外，吾人可以希望由於今秋所採行動之結果，在經濟方面亦將有宏大之收穫。中國戰時生產局一九四五年關於主要項目之生產計劃，乃依中國兵工署前所擬定之計劃加倍生產，而此增加之生產率，不出數星期，即可在中國各戰場發生作用。至於完全用作液體燃

similarly double the rate planned prior to the arrival of our mission. By the spring of 1945 I expect the rate of China's total war production should be at least double the November rate.

The expected opening of the Ledo-Burma Road in February and the opening of the Calcutta-Kunming pipeline which will be the longest in the world will greatly strengthen the supply situation. Increased and coordinated production plus improved transportation will make itself felt in an accession of strength of the entire Chinese economy. Better distribution of regional local production and less scarcity of manufactured products will be the forces operating to check inflation. Over a period of time technological improvement in an expanding economy will mean a greater productivity of the industrial worker, higher real wage levels, larger purchasing power and tax returns and more government funds with which to tackle urgent problems such as increasing per capita⁶ agricultural output in China.

A feeling that Chinese economy is being strengthened and that the country's productive ability is growing will do more than any amount of propaganda to raise the morale of the Chinese people and hearten them for sustaining an intensified war effort, and a growing confidence in national future will make⁷ for greater governmental effectiveness and stability as will⁸ the experience gained in war production

料之酒精之生產計劃亦係將余未到中國以前計劃之速度，加倍生產。余盼在一九四五年春季時，中國全部之戰時生產，至少應倍於十一月間之生產率。

在二月間可望開通之中印及滇緬路，及世界最長之加爾各答與昆明間之油管暢通，均將大有助於增加中國之供應情形。增加與有聯繫之生產，以及改善後之運輸，將可增加全部經濟之力量。各區各地生產最佳之分配，以及製成品缺乏情形之減少，均將成爲制止通貨膨脹之力量。相當時期內，在一發展之經濟中之技藝上之改善，結果將爲勞工生產力之增加，真正工資水準之提高，購買力與稅收之增加，以及政府辦理各項急要事項（例如增加中國每人平均生產之農產品）所需經費之增加。

至於感覺中國之經濟情形正在增強，及中國生產力正在增長，將較任何宣傳更能提高中國人民之民氣，并加以鼓勵，俾能支持一加緊之作戰努力，人民對於國家前途之信心日益增長，將使政府之效能隨之增加，而其在表現合作之利益與技術之

and planning which is teaching the advantages and the techniques of cooperation. The Government should also benefit from its closer relations with industry, in time a heightened status of Chinese industry under the WPB will tend to exert a liberalizing influence. Under that influence there is more likelihood that moderate elements in the Kuomintang will continue to gain power adding to the chances of genuine cooperation between the National Government and Communists. Such cooperation available will be of historical importance both in speeding the progress of the war and in strengthening the basis of the peace.

The success of China's venture in a planned war production if properly followed on through American Government and business channels will make for close postwar economic relations between China and United States. China has the capacity and desire to develop herself industrially with American aid. If that aid is realistically planned, if financial arrangements are put on a sound basis, China should, soon after war, begin to replace Japan as the leading industrial nation of the Orient. In that event a market of enormous size should progressively open up American export industries.

I believe, too, that with American guidance China's development can be turned into peaceful and democratic channels eliminating much of the fear of war which has for so long shaped

戰時生產與計劃中所獲得之經驗，亦有同樣之效果。政府亦將因與工業界發生更密切之關係，而獲得利益。將來在戰時生產局之下，中國工業界地位提高以後，自擬發揮一種自由化之力量。此種合作，一旦實現，必將具有歷史上之重要性，一則可以加速戰爭之進展與增強和平之基礎。

如中國在有計劃之戰時生產方面，係由美國政府與商界之適當協助而告成功，則中美兩國戰時之經濟關係，將更形密切。中國有在美國協助下而自行發展其工業之能力與願望。如此種協助係以現實之眼光加以計劃，而其經費之籌措，亦係置於健全之基礎，則中國在戰事甫告結束後即可開始代替日本為東方之主要實業國家。果爾，則美國之出口貿易亦將因有廣大之市場而逐漸發展。

余且信在美國協助之下，中國之發展，可以轉入和平與民主之途徑，而消除自來左右東方及南太平洋政治態度之恐懼戰

political attitudes in the Orient and the South Pacific. | 爭之心理。

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

(1) 『至今』，『截至目前為止』。I have not received any letter from home to date, 截至現在為止余尚未接家書。(2) 『問題』。Who knows what may be the issue if they two do not agree. 如彼兩人不能同意無人可知未來之問題。(3) 『官場手續』，『官樣文章』。I have a horror for red tape. 余最惡繁文縟節。(4) 美國戰時情報局, American Office of War Information之縮寫。(5) 戰時生產局 War Production Board 之縮寫。(6) 每人平均。(7) 『增加』，『增進』。The Franco-Soviet alliance makes for peace. 法蘇協定增進和平 (make 與 for 伴用又作『轉向』解：He makes for the door. 彼向門口前行。又作『結局』解：It makes for his advantage. 此事結局於彼有益。(8) 因省主動字故置於主詞前，即 “as the experience will make for.....”

PRES. CHIANG'S SPEECH AT V-E DAY RECEPTION OF ALLIED OFFICERS AND ENVOYS

Made at a tea-party, May 12, 1945

蔣主席招待盟邦官員茶會慶祝歐戰勝利演詞

一九四五年五月十二日下午五時演講

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen:

In the history of mankind there have been few moments as inspiring as the present hour. We are gathered here to-day to celebrate a victory which for centuries to come will be hailed as one of the greatest feats of arms—a victory which has been secured at a frightful cost of blood and treasure and for which posterity will forever remain grateful to those gallant men, both living and dead, whose heroic efforts and tremendous sacrifice have made it possible.

In the period from the Mukden Incident to Japan's treacherous attack on Pearl Harbour, the fortunes of the civilized¹ were at their lowest ebb.² While the fury of Japanese aggression went on unchecked in the Far East, Hitlerite Germany had almost conquered the whole of Europe. Even two years ago, after the Nazis had sustained crushing defeats on the Eastern front

自人類有史以來，足以令人興奮之日誠鮮有如今日者。吾人今日相聚一堂，共祝歐洲之勝利，此勝利在未來世紀中，必被認為最偉大戰蹟之一。此勝利之取得，實已付出無限碧血與財富之驚人代價，而使此勝利成為可能之各國大無畏之戰士，或存或歿，所作之英勇努力及重大犧牲，必將為後世之人所感激懷念，而永不能忘者也。

自「九一八」，遼寧被日本侵略以來，以至珍珠港被攻之時，世界文明之劫運，蓋已達其極端。當遠東方面日本侵略者之焰猖兇未戢之際，希特勒統治下之德國，幾已征服全歐，即近在兩年以前，納

and in North Africa, they were still dreaming of final victory along with their evil accomplices. But today, the Nazi regime is³ no more. The Third Reich—the handiwork of Hitler and his murderous gang who in their twelve years' reign of terror did not hesitate to violate every law of humanity and justice—has been thoroughly beaten and has unconditionally surrendered to the conquering Allies. Freedom and independence are now again restored to the suffering peoples of Europe who have long been praying for the day of deliverance from Nazi domination and tyranny.

All the Allied nations have played a great role in the accomplishment of this sacred task. For the valiant peoples of the European countries—France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Greece, Yugoslavia and Denmark—who for six long years suffered so much from Nazi oppression and whose stubborn resistance to the invaders greatly contributed to the achievement of the common victory, we have the profoundest sympathy and admiration. The world must pay the highest tribute to three mighty Western powers of the democratic camp. In the summer of 1940, when Nazi Germany was at the height of her power and was lording⁴ it over the entire European continent, Great Britain was practically the sole standard-bearer of the democratic cause in the West. Through their valour and

粹黨徒雖已在東歐及北非戰場遭受慘重之挫敗，然彼等及其萬惡之夥徒，固未嘗放棄最後勝利之迷夢，但時至今日，納粹政權已不復存在，十二年來希特勒及其殘暴之同黨施行恐怖政策，不惜蔑視人道，摧毀正義，今則手創之第三德意志已被澈底擊敗，而向戰勝之同盟國家無條件投降，歐洲飽受痛苦之民族遂得重獲其自由與獨立，彼等欲自納粹壓迫與暴政之下獲得解放，朝夕祈盼，為日已久矣。

全體同盟國家對此神聖任務之完成，均曾作偉大之貢獻。在歐洲方面，法蘭西，比利時，荷蘭，挪威，捷克，波蘭，希臘。南斯拉夫，及丹麥各國之英勇人民六年以來，無不呻吟於納粹鐵蹄之下，然其對於敵寇堅強抵抗，久而不屈，卒有大助於共同勝利之獲得，吾人實不能不表無限同情與欽仰之忱。對於民主國家陣營中之西方三大國家，舉世之人，尤須向其表示最高之讚佩。一九四零年夏間，當納粹德國軍力最盛雄視歐陸之際，大不列顛帝國幾為民治主義在西方之唯一鬥士，英國人民因其無上之勇氣與至大之決心，不惟在其歷史中最艱險之時期，安然

determination the British people not only successfully weathered the terrific storm in the darkest hour of their history, but also gave unbounded inspiration to all other freedom loving peoples. Like the proverbial phoenix,⁵ Britannia⁶ has risen again with greater strength and splendour.

Equally remarkable is the indomitable spirit displayed by the Soviet people whose stout resistance stopped the Nazi war machine at the very gates of Moscow and whose armed forces in an invincible counter offensive steadily drove the Germans back along a bloody path of three thousand miles until it culminated in the capture of Berlin, the citadel of Nazism. Incomparably brilliant are the battles of Leningrad and Stalingrad, and the heroic exploits of the Red Army will be forever recognized as a most glorious page in the history of the world's wars of emancipation.

To the United States, the Arsenal of Democracy, the world owes an everlasting debt of gratitude for the invaluable contribution to the Allied victory over Hitler's barbarous legions. Besides the enormous quantities of vital war materials supplied to her allies through the Lend-Lease arrangements, she has sent millions of intrepid troops—the cream of her army—to bear the heavy burden of fighting as the backbone of the Allied forces against the Axis aggressors on the Western front. At this moment of the successful termination of the European conflict,

過危難震撼之關頭，並給其他愛好自由之民族，以無限之感激，有如古代神話中所傳述之鳳鳥，大英帝國今已轉危為安，獲得再生，且國大倍增，光輝燦爛，更甚於前矣。

同樣可欽佩者，即蘇聯人民所表現之英勇意志，其堅忍不拔之抵抗，使納粹武力挫頓於莫斯科之門前，而其軍隊銳不可當之反攻，則有三千英里之血路將敵人步步驅回，直至納粹主義之中心堡壘——柏林——為蘇軍攻克，尤以列寧格勒及史達林格勒兩戰役更為輝煌無比，而紅軍之英勇戰蹟，實在世界解放戰爭歷史上，造成永垂不朽最光榮燦爛之一頁。

對於民主主義兵工廠之美國，全世界人類誠應永誌銘感，美國對盟軍戰勝希特勒野蠻部隊之貢獻，實不可以估計，除由租借法案供給盟邦以巨量戰爭所必須器材外，美國並派百萬精華英勇之軍隊，在歐西戰場作戰毅然負荷其主力戰重任。其對我聯合各國毫無吝惜之協助，及其積極之參戰，尤使我聯合各國在歐戰勝利之

therefore, the United Nations must pay a special tribute to all the people and armed forces of the United States for their unstinted assistance and their active participation in the war.

It is only fitting and proper that we should pause here to honour of our great struggle for the democratic cause, President Franklin D. Roosevelt. His vision and courage have been an indispensable beacon of light not only to the American people but to the people of the whole world. It is indeed a sad fact to be lamented by all the United Nations that this unexcelled leader of men and defender of justice, who has done so much for the liberation of Europe, has not lived to this day to witness the victory which he knew was fast approaching. With President Truman, his illustrious successor, we deeply regret his passing at the present moment when the United Nations are making joint efforts to lay a firm foundation for lasting peace and to realize the noble ideals so staunchly upheld by him.

The present hour, however, is not yet the time for complete rejoicing. While we are gathered here to celebrate the victory in Europe, I feel certain that the United Nations are not unmindful of the fact that the war against Japan, our common enemy, is still going on. The United Nations especially cannot forget that Japan, the arch-criminal of this war whose invasion of Manchuria on September 18,

今日，不能不對美全國軍民表示崇高之敬意。

吾人此時誠應向民主主義之偉大門爭領導者——已故之羅斯福總統——致敬。羅總統高瞻遠矚，英勇豪邁，不但為美國人民亦為全世界人民所不可缺少之明燈，此卓越超羣之人類領袖及正義之保衛者，為歐洲解放盡力如此之多，而竟不能待至今日親見其所預料即將來臨之勝利，實為我聯合國家共同悲痛之一事。當此聯合國正在共同努力奠定永久和平之堅固基礎，而實現羅總統所堅決維護之理想時，吾人亦如其偉大之承繼者——杜魯門總統——對於羅總統之逝世，實同深悼念。

然而，諸君，今日尙未至盡情慶祝之時！吾人在此慶祝歐洲勝利，但吾深信聯合各國仍未能片刻忘懷，對我共同敵人——日本——作戰尙在進行之中！我聯合各國更不能忘却，此次戰爭戎首即在十三年以前之九一八，陷害我人類於前浩劫之罪魁——日本——今日猶掙軋於東方

1931, was responsible for plunging humanity into the throes of an unprecedented holocaust, is still desperately trying to hold her position on the Asiatic mainland and in her home islands; nor can the peace-loving people of the world forget that the Chinese people have been fighting this deadly enemy—Japan—against overwhelming odds for eight long years and have not yet been liberated. So while we rejoice here with all free nations at the liberation of Europe, we must rededicate ourselves to the fulfillment of the pledge made by the United Nations and the attainment of the goals they set before themselves at the beginning of this war. With unwavering determination and redoubled efforts on our part and with the cooperation of our gallant Allies devoting their entire armed might to this common struggle, we are confident that in the not far distant future Japan will meet the same fate of Hitlerite Germany and will not be permitted to escape the retribution she fully deserves.

To victory in Europe and the joint victory of the United Nations!

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

(1) "the civilized," 分詞形容詞作詞名用指“國家”，複數，如 I help the poor 中 the poor 指“people,” 複數，相同，(2) "at a low ebb," “勢衰”。In an age of war, culture is naturally at its lowest ebb, 在戰爭時代文運衰弱自為不堪。(3) 此“is”等於“exist,”“存在”。(4) “lord it over,” “雄視”，“威凌”。He lords it over the class, 彼勢壓全班。(5) 英神話中之鳥，於壽命終了時，自築一巢而伏其中，再獲新生命，又一說謂此鳥於將死時投身火中，又變為雛鳥，故 phoenix 為比喻雖經變遷，生命不斷之義。(6) “Britannia” 為詩歌用字，“不列顛聯合王國” The United Kingdom of Great Britain.

大陸乃其本國之三島。全世界愛好和平之人類，亦必不忘我中國人民在最艱困苦之情形下與此窮兇敵寇——日本——奮鬥已歷八年之久，而猶未解放，是以當吾人與所有自由國家慶祝歐洲解放之此日吾人誓必貫徹我聯合國之盟約與當初作戰之目的。吾人既具百折不回之意志，又有盟約各國集中全力，共同奮鬥，深信在不久之將來，日本定必遭逢與希特勒德國相同之命運而不能逃避其所應得之膺懲也。

敬祝歐戰勝利！聯合國共同勝利！

PRES. CHIANG'S ADDRESS AT NEW YEAR'S
DINNER IN HONOUR OF ALLIED OFFICERS
IN CHUNGKING

Delivered on the evening of January 5, 1945

蔣主席新年設宴招待盟國軍官致詞

一九四五年一月五日下午七時發表

Gentlemen:

The first thing that I should like to say this evening is to wish you much happiness and every success in 1945. The Chinese people, as you know, has been noted as a nation of great mixers for whom friendship is the most treasured of all treasures. Has not Confucius himself, at the very beginning of his Analects,¹ said that to welcome a friend from afar is the greatest of all pleasures? This is typical of the Chinese national character. And that is why it gives me so much pleasure to welcome you on the present occasion.

Gentlemen, you have come to this country at a moment when we are being engaged in a life-and-death struggle, and you share in all the hardships incidental to² such a struggle. The fortitude and patience that you show in the midst of physical and spiritual trials constitute an encouragement to the Chinese people, stimulating them to greater

諸位：

在這個新歲開始的時候，我今天招待

諸位，首先要敬祝諸位新年愉快和成功。

我們中華民族一向以來是樂羣而尚友的民

族，我們的先聖孔子在他著作論語中第一

句話就是「有朋自遠方來，不亦悅乎！」

最足以代表我們民族性，今天諸位的蒞臨

，給我以無限的愉快。

諸位在中國抗戰期間來到我國，和我

們共艱難，並且鼓動我們軍民的精神，向

克服困難而努力。諸位中間更有多數是實

際參加了我們戰時的工作，作種種有價值

的貢獻，有時候還不惜冒個人極大的危險

exertions and causing them to remain undaunted in the face of the worst difficulties. Many of you have taken an active part in our war efforts and made invaluable contributions to the common cause. You have not spared yourselves even though grave personal dangers might have been involved. I wish to take this opportunity to express my own appreciation of the services you have rendered. At the same time, I wish also to convey to you the everlasting gratitude of the Chinese people. While you are staying here, I wish to make you as comfortable as possible. But due to circumstances of war, there might be much to be desired³ in the daily amenities of life. I regret that things are as they are,⁴ and that they are not better. But if we take stock of⁵ the present international situation and contemplate our achievements as well as the future prospects of victory, we shall no doubt be pleased to think that each one of us has contributed in his own way something towards the final outcome, and that our temporary tribulation is but a necessary prelude to⁶ the grand consummation.

The year 1944 was a momentous year in all theatres of war. In Europe, it was the opening of the second front, initiated by the landings in Normandy and followed by successive advances until the Allied lines cut into German soil. The progress made by Soviet troops in Eastern Europe is equally

。這不僅我個人所感佩，我也要代表我們

中國將士和人民表示永矢勿諼感謝。諸位

留居此間，我們深願使諸位感到安適，然

而由於戰時的環境所限，諸位在日常生活

上仍不免有很多缺乏，這是我很覺得歉然

的。我想我們祇要對世界大局作一個瞻望

，對於當前已經實現而此後將繼續實現的

勝利前途，作一檢討，那我們個人一時的

艱苦，就可以得到安慰。

去年這一年真是世界上重要的一年。

在歐洲久已盼待的西戰場，終於由法國北

部登陸的成功而實現，我們盟軍接着進行

敏銳的攻勢，步步進逼，攻入了德國的本

brilliant. The upshot of it all is that most of the countries once under Nazi domination are now liberated or in process of gradual liberation.

When we turn to the Pacific, we find that our achievements are just as imposing. After three years of active preparation, the mighty American Navy is bestriding this vast expanse of water and knocking at the very gates of the Island Empire, whose name is Japan. The American Army has advanced 5,000 miles from Hawaii to the Philippines, and the American Air Force is striking with increased tempo⁸ at the Japanese home-land. Our enemy is getting what he so amply deserves.

Last year, here in China, our feelings were somewhat mixed. On the one hand, we suffered reverses in certain areas, leading to much anxiety and serious searchings of heart. But the China Expeditionary Forces in western Yunnan, in conjunction with troops under the able command of General Sultan in northern Burma, have scored a series of victories, annihilated the enemy on the Burma-Yunnan border, and are being engaged in recovering the vital line of communication with the outside world. It is expected that this line will be in operation again in the near future.

However, let us not blind ourselves to⁹ the realities of the situation. We must remember that the task lying before us is just as difficult as ever. The recent Japanese offensive in China and

士，東歐方面，蘇軍繼續前進，也獲得輝煌的成就，凡是曾被納粹蹂躪的國家多數或已經獲得解放，或在解放中。

至於太平洋方面，更有偉大的成功。

美國強大的海軍，經過三年的時間，已經跨越了廣闊的太平洋而從海上直叩日寇的大門。美國陸軍由夏威夷進展了五千英里而攻擊菲律賓，美空軍更復以不斷加強的力量與日寇本土以襲擊，「即以其人之道還諸其人之身」。

在我們中國過去這一年，乃是得失互見的一年。我們若干戰區遭受了挫折，引起了嚴重而緊張的局勢。但是我們在滇西的部隊，配合着在索爾頓將軍指揮下的緬北部隊，正在節節勝利，殲滅滇緬邊境的敵人，收復我們交通路線，這在不久的期間，就可以完全成功了。

然而我們當前的工作依然是十分艱鉅的。日寇在去冬向我們中國的進犯，以及納粹德軍最近的反攻，證明吾人尚需作最

the present German counter-offensive in western Europe both tend to show that before the enemy is finally liquidated, more will have to be demanded of us than before. We must not relax our efforts. We should know that in such a world-wide war involving dozens of nations, certain weaknesses are likely to expose themselves in one way or another, but we must not allow our enemy to take comfort in such thoughts and exploit them to his own advantage.¹⁰ The point that I should like to drive home¹¹ is that, though China has been in the war longer than any other nation, she does not for a moment think of avoiding her responsibilities. On the contrary, she proposes to do her full part, to contribute everything that she has in order to realize the objectives which we hold in common.

There is another point that I must emphasize. When we think of the eventual victory and the subsequent day of peace, I cannot help feeling that the one sure foundation of lasting peace lies in friendly cooperation among members of the family of nations. I believe that the traditional ties of friendship, together with our relations as Allies, will always stand the test of time after they have been forged on the anvils of blood and fire. They will be strong, powerful, and indestructible. Gentlemen, let us drink to our everlasting friendship and to the coming victory of the Allied Nations.

堅苦的戰鬥，纔能擊潰敵人，我們不可絲毫鬆懈我們的努力，更必須知道像這麼區域廣大而參戰國如此衆多的大戰，在戰爭中間是免不了有很多的困難的。因此我們格外要共同奮鬥，不使敵人作苟延殘喘的妄想。我們中國雖然在這次作戰中，戰鬥時間最長，困難最多，但是我們必定竭盡我們的一切，貢獻最大的努力，來完成我們與盟邦共同作戰的責任。

更有一點，要告訴諸位的。我們瞻望着將來大戰勝利和平恢復的時候，更覺得惟有國際間深密無間的友好合作，纔是永久勝利與永久和平的保證。我確切相信我們的盟誼和友誼經過這一決大戰中血與火的鍛鍊，將無比的堅強，決沒有任何力量能加以摧毀。現在請大家同舉一杯，祝我們的友誼永久不渝，祝我們聯合國共同勝利。

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

(1) "The Confucian Analects," 論語。(2) "附帶", "因……而發生"。He suffered great losses, incidental to the war, 彼因戰爭致有重大損失。(3) "much to be desired," "頗有不周", "多有期待"。As to his manners, there is much to be desired, 彼之禮貌頗有不周之處。("Little, or nothing, to be desired," "毫無遺憾", "至為完美"。His book leaves nothing to be desired—little to be desired, 彼書至為完備)。(4) "Things are as they are," 此兩 "are" 作 "exist" (存在) 解。Although we all know that things are as they are but not as they should be, yet we must not be contented with realities but should make improvements, 吾人雖深知現狀如此而非理想者, 然吾人不可以現實為滿足而應力圖改善一切。(5) The shop owner takes stock of his goods, 估計店主估計其貨物。Now, let us take stock of our eight years of resistance and see what we have got, 吾人對八載抗戰且作估計以視吾人所得為何。(6) "預兆", "先聲", "先驅", "初步"。The American landing on Luzon is a prelude to the Allied landing on China, 美軍在呂宋陸為盟軍在華登陸之先聲。(7) "在……(過程)中" The house is in process of construction, 房屋在建築中。(8) ("調子", "拍子" 轉為) "聲勢", "力量"。1945 witnesses Allies' assault on the Nazis with increased tempo, --九四五年盟軍增強進擊納粹國家。(9) "不知" Let us not blind ourselves (Let us not be blind) to our faults, 吾人不可不知吾人之過失。(10) "有利", Your good advice proved to his advantage, 汝之良言於彼有益。Our ability must be used to the best advantage, 我等之才能須善用之。(11) "認靖", "明白"。(又用 "bring home") He told a story to the audience to drive his idea home, 彼述一故事使聽眾明瞭其意見。

THE ADDRESSES OF THE SWEDISH, AMERICAN, FRENCH AND BELGIAN ENVOYS AND PRES. CHIANG'S REPLIES

*Exchanged on the occasions of the former's presenting their letters of
credence, the Swedish Minister on Dec. 20, 1944, the American Ambassador
on Jan. 8, and the French and Belgian Ambassadors on Jan. 9, 1945.*

瑞美法比四使節呈遞國 書頌詞暨蔣主席答詞

瑞公使於一九四四年十二月二十日，美大使
於一九四五年一月八日，法比大使於九日先後呈遞國書

(A) THE SWEDISH MINISTER MR. SVEN ALLARD'S ADDRESS:

Monsieur le President:¹

I have the honour to place in Your Excellency's² hands the Letters by which His Majesty³ the King of Sweden accredits me as his Envoy Extraordinary⁴ and Minister Plenipotentiary near the Government of China.

His Majesty the King has instructed me to express on this occasion his sincere wishes for your personal welfare and the prosperity of the Chinese nation.

The love of liberty and the attachment to democratic principles and national institutions are common to⁵ our two peoples. Being desirous of further strengthening the ties⁶ which

(甲) 瑞典駐華公使亞勒德頌詞：

主席閣下：

本人今日得向閣下呈遞瑞典君主任命

本人為駐紮貴國特命全權公使之到任國書

，至感榮幸。

本人奉本國君主之命，敬祝閣下政躬

康泰，貴國國運昌隆。

中瑞兩國人民同為愛好自由及珍視民

治主義與本國典章制度之民族。瑞典政府

為增強貴我兩國之聯繫，並為中瑞友誼建

unite our two countries and of laying a solid foundation of friendship between Sweden and China, the Swedish Government is ready to do everything possible for the development of the commercial relations between our two countries. For the same purpose, my Government is prepared to relinquish its extraterritorial rights in China and conclude with your Government a treaty which will cause the mutual relations between our two countries to be based on the principles of perfect equality.

It is a great honour for me to be chosen for this high mission. The joy I have had of finding myself in the midst of a glorious old culture which has been an object of various studies of Swedish science and among a people whose wisdom, courage and spirit of independence have won the admiration of the entire world will be an unfailing source of inspiration to me in the efforts that I shall have to make for the faithful fulfilment of my mission. Permit me to count upon⁸ the friendly cooperation and the full support of Your Excellency and the Chinese Government.

THE PRESIDENT REPLY:

Monsieur le Ministre:⁹

It is with great pleasure that I receive from Your Excellency's hands the Letters by which His Majesty the King of Sweden accredits¹⁰ you in the capacity of¹¹ his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary near the

立穩固之基礎起見，準備全力發展兩國間之商務。基於同樣的理由，本國政府，願即放棄在華治外法權，並與貴國政府締結條約，俾兩國關係得以確立於完全平等原則之上。

本人奉派負此崇高使命，洵屬莫大之光榮。中國悠久燦爛之文化，素為本國科學界研究之對象。中國人民之睿智勇毅與獨立之精神，亦為舉世所共仰。本人此次躬臨貴國，得與貴國人士相聚，無任愉快。本人今後為求完全使命而作之一切努力，亦必因而獲得無限之鼓勵也。閣下暨貴國政府若能惠予友善之合作，與充分之協助，誠本人所至盼者也。

主席答詞：

公使閣下：

閣下受貴國君主之命，榮任瑞典駐華

特命全權公使，茲承親遞到任國書，接受之餘，無任愉快。

National Government of the Republic of China.

I am very appreciative of the remarks you have made and should be much obliged¹² if you would be good enough to transmit to His Majesty the King of Sweden my heartfelt thanks for his cordial sentiments.

It is true, as Your Excellency has well said, that the love of liberty and the attachment to democratic principles are common to our two peoples. The Chinese nation, who is always ready to defend liberty and justice and has a profound admiration for the great contributions which the Swedish people have made to the maintenance of democratic institutions, fully shares the ardent desire of your Government to further strengthen the traditional ties of friendship between our two countries. My Government is convinced that the distance which separates China and Sweden can never impede the development of our commercial relations. I have learned with great satisfaction that your Government is prepared to relinquish its extraterritorial rights in China and to conclude a new treaty with us on a basis of equality and reciprocity. This far-sighted policy of the Swedish Government will doubtless have the most happy effect on the friendly relations between China and Sweden.

I am particularly happy that the Swedish Government has chosen as its representative for this high post such a

閣下頃間所言，辭意懇切，本主席深為感荷，祈向貴國君主代達本人誠摯之謝忱。

中瑞兩國人民均為愛好自由及珍視民主主義之民族，誠如閣下所言，中國人民素以保衛自由與正義為天職，且對貴國人民維護民主制度之種種貢獻，素表欽佩，故對於貴國政府圖謀增強中瑞傳統友誼之熱烈願望，深具同感。貴我兩國雖距離甚遠，但本國政府深信兩國間商務之發展，決不因是而受其阻礙。閣下頃言貴國政府準備撤銷在華治外法權，並願訂立中瑞平等互惠新約，聆悉之餘，欣慰莫名。貴國政府此種賢明之政策，必能對於中瑞兩國之友好關係，發生極佳之影響，蓋無疑義。

貴國政府此次遴派深切了解中瑞文化關係，聲名卓著之外交家如閣下者，担任

distinguished diplomat as Your Excellency who possesses a profound knowledge of the cultural relations which unite our two countries.

Your Excellency may count on my full support and that of the Chinese Government in the accomplishment of your high mission.

In expressing my most sincere wishes for the prosperity of your country and the personal welfare of His Majesty the King of Sweden, I wish you, Monsieur le Ministre, a very happy sojourn in China.

(B) AMERICAN AMBASSADOR,
GEN. PATRICK J. HURLEY'S
ADDRESS:

Mr. President:

In presenting my credentials as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America together with the letter recalling¹³ my predecessor,¹⁴ I am instructed by the President to express to Your Excellency his warm personal friendship and the fervent hopes of the American Government and people for the freedom, peace and prosperity of China.

At a time when Japan and her Allies were all but succeeding in their schemes of world conquest, America warned in no uncertain¹⁵ terms that America upholds the principles of "inviolability of territorial integrity and sovereignty of each and all nations,"¹⁶ and "non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries."¹⁷ The unflinching re-

駐華公使，本主席至為快慰。

本主席及中國政府自當予閣下以充分之協助，俾能完成崇高之使命。

今藉此機會，敬祝貴國君主政躬康泰，貴國國運昌隆，並頌閣下旅社綏和。

(乙) 美國駐華大使赫爾利將軍
頌詞：

主席閣下：

本人茲向閣下呈遞本國總統任命本人為美利堅合衆國駐中華民國特命全權大使之到任國書及前任大使辭任國書，至為榮幸。本人奉本國總統命，敬向閣下表示其個人熱烈之友誼，暨美國政府及人民對貴國自由和平及國運昌隆之切望。

當日本及其聯盟國家征服世界之策略或將成功之際，美國曾明確警告彼等，美國決定擁護「國際間領土完整及主權不可侵犯」暨「不干涉他國內政」之原則。是項詞句所表示絕不畏縮之決心，即為本

solution expressed in those words forms at once the basis of our conflict with Japan and of our enduring friendship for China.

China and America both "respect the right of all people to choose the form of Government under which they shall live."¹⁸ Our two countries are united not only by the mutual observance of lofty standards of international behavior, but also by common ideals of government. It is a source of profound gratification to all Americans that in the Three People's Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Father of the Chinese Republic, we find with a different background and philosophic approach the same underlying ideals expressed by a great American¹⁹ at a period when my own country was writhing in the turmoil of civil war. Both during and after the war America and China will be held closely together by the common democratic objectives of "government of the people, by the people and for the people."²⁰

I am entering on my new duties in China at a critical period in her history. After suffering more and longer than any other nation from the effects of total warfare, China fights on and is indomitable. My country remembers how against overwhelming odds China fought virtually alone for long years for the eternal principles of Justice and Freedom. I come as envoy to China with respect and admiration for a valiant people, of whom Your Excel-

國與日本衝突及本國與貴國悠久友誼之基礎。

中美兩國均「尊重各民族有權自由選擇其所屬政府之方式」，貴我兩國之聯合，不僅由於互相遵守國際行動之崇高標準，且因在政治上具有共同之理想。吾人所深為欣慰者，即在中華民國國父孫中山先生所著之三民主義中，吾人發現雖貴我兩國聯之背景與哲理出發點不同，而當美國正在內戰擾攘之時，有一美國偉人，亦曾發表同一之基本理想。在戰時及戰後，貴我兩國定能因「民有民治民享」之共同民主目標而密切聯合。

本人在華接任新職之時，適逢貴國歷史上危難之秋。貴國受全面戰爭之影響，其所遭遇之艱苦實遠較任何他國為重且久。然現仍繼續抗戰，百折不回，本國人民所深念不忘者，即貴國為萬世不易之正義與自由之原則，與極端優勢之敵人，曾在實際上單獨作戰，達數年之久。本人奉命使華，對於英勇之中國國民，景仰與讚美

lency is the inspired leader. The forces of China and America are attacking the enemy with the splendid unity and precision that comes only when two nations are united together because they are fighting for the same just principles. The traditional friendship between our two countries has never been more secure than it is today.

The powerfully armed and relentless invader who sought to subject the peace-loving people of many nations to his will is now falling back in defeat. There are anxious days and hard battles ahead of us, but the purpose of the enemy to subjugate China has failed. The war is not over but victory over the enemy is certain and out of this holocaust America sees emerging a free, united and democratic China.

In this fateful time I deeply appreciate the honor of representing the President and the Government and people of the United States in China. In the discharge of my duties I bespeak²¹ Your Excellency's support and that²² of the Chinese Government and People.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY:

Mr. Ambassador:

It gives me great pleasure to receive from Your Excellency's hands the letter accrediting you as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, together with the letter of recall of your distinguished predecessor. I deeply appreciate the

交併。而閣下實爲此英勇國民之卓越領袖，中美兩國軍隊，現正以澈底協調與準確之步驟，攻擊敵人，惟有兩國聯合一體，方能致此。蓋貴我兩國實爲同一公正主義而奮鬥也。貴我兩國之傳統友誼，再無較今日更爲鞏固者矣。

殘酷不仁之侵略者，恃其強大裝備，以圖屈服許多愛好和平之國家，已呈崩潰之象。現雖尚有焦慮之日及艱苦之戰鬥在吾人之前，而敵人征服中國之目的，則業已失敗。戰爭雖尚未結束，而戰勝敵人，則已確定無疑。美國已於此偉大犧牲中，見一自由統一及民治主義之中國逐漸出現。

際茲嚴重而有決定性之時會，本人代表美國總統政府及人民奉使駐華，實感莫大之榮幸，尚祈閣下暨貴國政府及人民惠予協助，俾得執行本人之職務。

主席答詞：

大使閣下：

茲承閣下以美利堅合衆國特命全權大

使資格，親遞到任國書暨前任大使辭國書，接受之餘，無任愉快。復承貴大使轉述

warm and cordial sentiments you have just expressed on behalf of the President and the Government and people of the United States. Please be good enough to convey to your President the deep feelings of friendship cherished by the Chinese Government and people toward our American ally, as well as my high esteem and friendship for him personally.

Together with the other United Nations, your country and mine are engaged in the most stupendous armed conflict in human history. Our common objective is not only the defeat of the ruthless and predatory enemy, but also the firm establishment of the basic principles of justice and freedom which alone can effectively insure a lasting peace for the world. We are proud to be associated with the American people as loyal allies fighting for a noble cause and we have unstinted admiration for the great role your country has played, and is still playing, in making possible the favorable turn of events in this global war.

The traditional friendship between the United States and China, rooted in the democratic ideals of the two peoples and their respect for each other, has been strengthened by the ordeal we have undergone together in the war against the aggressors. However²³ long and hard the path ahead of us may be, I am fully confident that our close collaboration will inevitably bring us complete victory. I am further con-

貴國政府及人民之熱情厚意，至為感荷。

尚希以本國政府及人民對於美國盟邦所具

同樣誠摯之情緒及本主席個人對於貴國總

統所抱之欽仰與友誼，轉陳貴國總統。

貴我兩國協助其他聯合國家，現從事於人類史中最劇烈之鬥爭，吾人之共同目標，匪特為擊敗殘暴不仁之敵人，實並欲為全世界確立正義與自由之基本原則，蓋此乃持久和平之唯一有效保障也。吾人將與美國人民並肩作戰，為其忠實之盟友，為崇高之主義而奮鬥，深以為榮，蓋貴國對於目前世界戰局之好轉，曾作偉大之貢獻，現且有加無己，吾人誠不勝欽佩之至。

中美兩國之傳統友誼，乃基於兩大民族所共有之民主理想，及彼此間之互相尊重，現因同經反侵略戰爭之嚴重試驗，而大為增強。無論前途如何艱險，本主席確認貴我兩國之密切合作，必能使吾人獲致完全之勝利。且在戰事進行之際及和平恢復之後，吾人若能繼續合作，以維護

vinced that our continued collaboration in the upholding of our common ideals, in war as well as in peace, will not only prove beneficial to ourselves, but will be a vital factor contribution to the welfare of humanity as a whole.

Your Excellency mentioned a while ago that in the Three People's Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen are found the same underlying principles expressed by President Lincoln at the time of your Civil War. It is our common hope and belief that both during and after the present world struggle America and China will be held closely together by the same democratic objectives of "government of the people, by the people and for the people." The Three People's Principles have been the source of inspiration for all progressive movements in China during our generation. These ideals have given us the spiritual strength to pull through²⁴ many a dark crisis in the past. They form the firm basis upon which we have formulated our program of resistance and reconstruction a program which we are determined to carry out at all costs.

I am very much pleased that your Government has chosen such a distinguished statesman and soldier as Your Excellency to be its Ambassador to China. Your arrival in China as a personal representative of your great President and your subsequent appointment to the present high post have been most gratifying to the Chinese people. I warmly welcome Your Excellency today

共同理想，不惟中美兩國人民受益無既，即對於全人類幸福之促進，亦必為極重要之因素，此亦本主席所深信者也。

閣下頃間曾言孫中山先生之三民主義

，實包含林肯總統於貴國南北戰爭時所昭

示之基本原則。誠如閣下所言，吾人所

共信之民有民治民享之民主目標，在戰時

及戰後，必能使貴我兩國之關係益增親密

。本人願向閣下鄭重說明，三民主義乃現

代中國一切進步事業之泉源，吾人因而獲

得偉大的力量，以克服過去種種之難關。

此種民主主義乃吾國抗戰建國綱領之堅強

基礎，吾人不惜任何代價，誓將竭其全力

，以求此綱領實現。

貴國政府遴派聲譽卓著之政治家兼軍

事家如閣下者為駐華大使，本主席深感欣

幸。閣下原任貴國偉大總統之駐華私人代

表，現復榮任大使，中國人民至為欣慰。

閣下對於敝國素表同情，誠為中國之至友

as a sympathetic and staunch friend of China and I wish you a happy sojourn in this country. Your Excellency may rest assured that in carrying out your high mission you can always depend on the hearty support and co-operation of my Government.

(C) FRENCH AMBASSADOR GEN.
Z. PECHKOFF'S ADDRESS:

Mr. President:

No greater honor could have fallen to me than this which permits me today to meet Your Excellency again on the occasion of the presentation of the Letters by which General Charles de Gaulle, President of the Provisional Government of the French Republic, accredits me to reside near the Government of Your Excellency in the character of ²⁵ Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of France.

This honor, Mr. President, I feel more for France than for myself on my return from a journey that took me as far as our liberated capital, across a heroic and devastated country that is now free and beaming with pride. In the course of my sojourn in Paris, amidst the great enthusiasm in which are forged the new destinies of our country, in that atmosphere of confidence in the war effort which must lead the Allied nations to victory, and in the renewal of public faith which France knows she can place in herself, I did not cease to think of your great and unhappy nation

。本主席敬向閣下表示熱烈之歡迎，並祝閣下駐華期間，旅居安善，敝國政府自將予閣下充分之協助與合作，俾能完成閣下崇高之使命，此本主席可為保證者也。

(丙) 法國駐華大使貝志高將軍
頌：

主席閣下：

余蒙法蘭西共和國臨時政府主席戴高

樂將軍任命為駐華特命全權大使，本日

向閣下呈遞到任國書，得以重觀威儀，實

為無上之光榮。

法蘭西人民，尤感莫大之榮幸。余此

次回國，曾至業已解放之敵國京都，所經

各地，因其英勇抗敵，滿目瘡痍，然而已

獲自由而恢復其固有之尊嚴。余在巴黎小

住期間，置身於敵國再造新國運之熱烈情

緒之中，目觀敵國人民對於同盟國家克敵

制勝之作戰努力，充滿堅定之信心，復觀

法國國民業已恢復之自信，遙念偉大而不

which is still defiled by the enemy after eight years of struggle and heroic fighting.

Many and precious²⁶ are the experiences and contacts which bind me to the great country that Your Excellency, with an invincible will of resistance, is guiding towards better and happier days of peace. The affectionate sympathy I entertain for the Chinese people and the understanding I have acquired of their resources, of their energy and of their patriotism convince me that the vicissitudes through which you are guiding them with such a firm hand and devotion, will contribute to their future grandeur and further consolidate their union with a national victory. After gaining an intimate knowledge of this nation, with which France is bound by a traditional friendship, I have felt deeply their spiritual kinship and natural inclinations which have fashioned in the past our relations of the future. The tests of war and sacrifices we have gone through together, have furthered and will continue to further this harmony which is already assured. An unshakable determination to fight the same enemy has reunited us in the Far East, where we will fight by the side of our Allies in the final battle that must transform this world into a lasting abode of peace and justice of which the late President Sun Yat-sen has already laid the foundations.

The certainty of a complete victory

幸之貴國，經八載之英勇鬥爭，尚在敵人侵凌之中，余固未嘗片刻忘懷也。

余在貴國所獲得之豐富經驗，及與貴國人士之頻繁接觸，至足珍視，並已使余與偉大之中國，發生深厚之友誼。閣下現方以堅強不屈之抗戰意志，領導貴國人民，向和平康樂之途而邁進。余對中國人民，素抱親切之同情，且其才智毅力，及愛國熱誠，余亦知之甚悉。從而深信閣下堅決忠貞之精神，必能引導中國人民，安全度過種種世變，而抵於光明燦爛之境界，并藉全民抗戰之勝利，而增強國家統一。中法兩大民族，向有傳統之友誼，余對貴國既已獲得明確之認識深感貴我兩國間，無論在精神方面，或就心理上之自然傾向言之，均屬志同道合。目前之友好關係，蓋已鑄定於昔年矣。吾人於共同作戰及種種犧牲中，所經歷之考驗，必能繼續促進貴我兩國之協調，而使其日益穩固。中法兩國對於打擊共同敵人，深具有不屈不撓之決心，故能在遠東方面團結一致，而與盟邦協力作戰，此最後之決戰，必能使之孫逸仙總理業經奠基之持久和平與正義之世界，終於實現也。

吾人之完全勝利既經確定，余敢以充

permits me, Mr. President, to envisage²⁷ with confidence the task that has been given to me. France will soon be able to build for peace, and in her reconstructed house all her friends will have their place. In the making of treaties which are to define our future relations with China, I know I can count upon the friendliness, the correct judgment and the high qualities of the President of the Chinese Republic. Already, since the liberation of France, numerous exchanges have been re-established in the intellectual as well as the economic domain. I propose, with Your Excellency's support, to devote all my efforts to developing them in the spirit of mutual assistance and co-operation, which must form the basis of Franco-Chinese relations. I have no dearer ambition than that of seeing our two countries derive from the further strengthening of their friendly ties the greatest mutual benefits in the material as well as moral sphere. China and France are two ancient and highly cultured countries which have been created to love and understand each other.

Permit me, Mr. President, in presenting these Letters which are to usher in²⁸ happy and amicable relations, to express to Your Excellency the personal wishes of General Charles de Gaulle, as well as those of my own, for the success of the Chinese army, and for the welfare of your great nation.

分之信心展望所負之使命，法蘭西不久之將來，必能建立和平，且在重建和平之大廈中，一切友邦均將得其應有之地位。異日議定新約，以謀確立中法兩國之關係時，余深信必能仰仗閣下之友誼，明斷，與崇高之品德也。自法蘭西解放以來，貴我兩國在文化與經濟方面之多種關係業經恢復，余願藉閣下之協助，以互助合作之精神，力謀此種關係之發展，誠以中法二國之關係，必須以此種精神為基礎也。本人最大之願望，在於加強貴我兩國之友誼，務使雙方在物質及道德方面互享最大之利益。中國與法蘭西均屬文明古國，互相瞭解，互相親愛，乃其天職也。

值茲呈遞國書，以謀增進兩國間友好關係之際，余謹以戴高樂將軍及本人名義，奉祝閣下政躬康泰，貴國軍隊抗戰勝利，貴國國運昌隆。

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY:

Monsieur l'Ambassadeur:

It is with great pleasure that I receive from Your Excellency's hands the letters by which His Excellency the President of the Provisional Government of the French Republic accredits you as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of France to China.

I am particularly happy to greet you as the first French Ambassador to China following the liberation of your country, from which you have just returned and of whose magnificent spirit you have given me so eloquent a description.

When France was occupied by the enemy four years ago, the Chinese people, though they were themselves subjected to the ordeal of a relentless struggle against aggression, were deeply sensible of the injustice inflicted upon your great nation.

But we always had the conviction, which has now been confirmed by subsequent events, that Eternal France would soon resume her due place in the world. It is in the interest of future peace that France, though battered and devastated, occupies the place to which she is entitled by virtue of²⁹ her past, her civilization and the contribution which she will not fail to make to the progress of humanity.

This conviction has already become

主席答詞：

大使閣下：

閣下受貴國臨時政府主席之命，榮任

駐華特命全權大使，茲承親遞到任國書，

接受之餘，無任愉快。

閣下為貴國解放後之首任駐華大使，頃承見告此次返國後所目覩之各種戰後情形，藉悉貴國人民熱情充沛，發奮圖強，本主席能於今日對閣下親表歡迎尤為欣慰。

回憶四年以前，當貴國被敵人佔領之際，中國人民雖正從事於極端艱苦之抗戰，然對於貴國所遭受之侵略暴行，未嘗不深表同情。

且吾人深信永存不滅之法國，必能於世界中恢復其應有之地位，此種信念，現已獲得事實之證明。法國雖於兵燹之後，瘡痍未復，但因其過去之歷史與文化及其將來對於人類進步所可能之貢獻，現已享其應有之地位，此實大有裨益於未來之和平。

吾人之信念已成事實，法國之得有今

a reality and it is particularly to General de Gaulle that France is indebted.

I rejoice over your new appointment which is a tribute to the qualities you have shown in the course of the last two years as Chief of the French Mission and Delegate of the French Committee of National Liberation. I am convinced that the future will bring you all success in the accomplishment of the more important duties you have assumed, and I have no doubt that the ties which unite our two countries will yet be further strengthened.

It is in this spirit that I assure you, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, that you can rely on my support as well as that of my Government.

(D) BELGIAN AMBASSADOR
MR. DELVAUX DE
FENFFEL'S ADDRESS:

Mr. President:

The King, my August Sovereign, enduring to the very end the many sacrifices that a profound political wisdom as well as a love for his people had induced him to accept, is now kept in a hard captivity by the enemy. In his absence and in his name, His Royal Highness³⁰ le Comte de Flandre, Regent of the Kingdom, has appointed me as the King's Ambassador near Your Excellency.

I thus come to China again after an absence of more than seven years, which were for this country of peace

日，誠不能不歸功於戴高樂將軍。

閣下此次榮膺新命，實為兩載以來。

閣下在軍事代表團團長及法國民族解放委員會代表任內，聲猷卓著所應得之酬庸。本主席至感欣慰，閣下今後必能續獲成功，以完成目前所負更重大之使命，貴我兩國間之友誼，亦必日益增強，此乃本主席所深信者也。

本主席即本此意，敬向閣下保證本人暨本國政府將予閣下以一切必要之協助。

(丁)比國駐華大使德爾福頌詞：

主席閣下：

本人之君主，比利時國王，基於遠大之政策，與愛民之赤誠，不惜忍受種種犧牲，堅持到底，卒為暴敵所俘，蒙塵未返。在其返國以前，敝國攝政查理親王殿下，代表本國君主，任命本人為國王之特命全權大使，駐紮貴國。

本人此次重來貴國，距首次旅華，已逾七載。在此七載中，愛好和平而具有高

and culture seven years of war and terrible trials. I should like to pay a sincere homage to³¹ the heroism displayed by the people and Armies of the Republic of China. But now there is already appearing on the horizon the dawn of peace, which we hope will come soon and which, established according to the precepts of justice and the solidarity of mankind as well as the lessons of the past, will also be durable.

I have often wondered what is the secret of this profound force of China, which had already filled me with such an ardent admiration during my first sojourn in this country. It finds its origin, I believe, in the millenary internal discipline, the reflected consciousness of human heart and the filial piety which she learned from those illustrious sages who have long enjoyed universal fame. My country, small as³² it is in size, is nevertheless great, not only because of the achievements of some of its sons and daughters but also because it constitutes one of the active centers of the civilization of Western Europe, which is the masterpiece of Greek and Roman disciplines, renovated and animated by Christianity. The occidental civilization and that of China are both essentially and magnificently humane, because they have been made with intelligence and moderation; they have been parallelly developed. Though their direct relations date back³³ about two thousand years or more, yet they

尚文化之貴國，竟飽受戰禍及可怖之災難，本人謹向貴國軍民之英勇精神，表示誠摯之敬意。茲者，和平之曙光，業已呈現於吾人之前，吾人深盼其早日來臨，若能依據正義與人類團結之原則，及以往所得之教訓而建立之，則和平自能持久也。

中國有一深厚而潛伏之力量，常令余驚異不置，頗欲探究其祕奧之所在。此種力量，本人首次旅華時，即已欽羨無已。本人深信此種力量，實發源於貴國數千年來固有之禮教，人心之良知及名聞世界之中華聖哲所訓示之孝順大道。敝國之版圖雖甚狹小然亦不失其偉大，蓋不僅若干男女國民曾建有輝煌之功績，且敝國嘗萃希臘羅馬教育之精華，渥受基督教義之薰陶，遂蔚成西歐文化活動中心之一。中西文化同為智慧及中庸之道之產物，故均以仁愛為主，而平行發展。此兩種文化之發生直接關係，雖遠在二千餘年之前，仍能各

have gained very much to intensify and multiply themselves, for these two civilizations have been made for understanding and enriching each other with new assets without effecting their originality.

In our present century when the industrial and commercial progress tends to ameliorate considerably the material condition of all peoples, China and Belgium, in strengthening their relations which have been so close in the past, can make their contributions to the task of international solidarity in which each nation is called upon to participate while laboring for the well-being of its own people.

The kind reception extended by the Authorities of the Chinese Republic to my compatriots and myself incites me to augur an intellectual, political and economic union between our two nations who are both dedicated to the cause of justice and peace and cherish a deep sympathy for each other. This is the hope I wish to express to Your Excellency in presenting the Royal Letters by which I have been accredited near Your Excellency in the capacity of the Ambassador of His Majesty the King, my August Sovereign.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY:

Monsieur l'Ambassadeur:

It is with great pleasure that I receive from Your Excellency's hands the letters by which His Royal Highness the Regent of the Belgian Kingdom has,

自分途邁進，發揚光大，蓋於相互瞭解及相輔爲用之中，并未失其固有之創造力也。

二十世紀中工商業之突飛猛進，已使各民族之物質環境爲改善，中比兩國現正加強其過去已臻密切之關係，必能對國際團結之促進，作繼續不斷之貢獻，此乃貴我兩國於各謀本國人民福利之際，所不能不盡之職責也。

中比兩大民族同爲正義和平之事業而努力，彼此互抱深厚之同情，鑒於貴國政府當局往日所予敵國人士及本人之優遇，今後貴我兩國間之文化政治及經濟關係，必能日益增進，蓋可預卜，此則本人敬向閣下呈遞到任國書之時，所亟欲表示之熱烈願望也。

主席答詞：

大使閣下：

貴國攝政查理親王殿下代表貴國君主

in the name of the King, your August Sovereign, appointed you as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to reside near the National Government of the Chinese Republic.

I am very appreciative of the remarks just made by Your Excellency, which are full of wisdom and truth. The noble culture, the highly developed industry and the immortal deeds of the great men of Belgium, which have long been an object of admiration to the Chinese people, have not only made us fully appreciate the greatness of the Belgian nation, but have also contributed to the strengthening of the cultural ties between our two countries.

I fully share³⁴ Your Excellency's observation that the civilization of the West and that of China are essentially humane. Our greatest sage Confucius, has well said that he who is humane is always courageous. In defending peace and justice and bearing the heavy sacrifices during their heroic resistance against the ruthless aggressor your people have shown themselves worthy of their most noble traditions. It is a source of great encouragement to the Chinese people that all the efforts and sacrifices made by your people have at last been rewarded with the liberation of your country.

Your Excellency has well said that the dawn of peace is already in sight. I am convinced that with the will to victory of all the United Nations we shall be able to achieve in the near future the

任命閣下為駐華特命全權大使，茲承親遞到任國書，接受之餘，無任愉快。

閣下頃間所言，具有真知灼見，本主席深為贊佩。貴國文化之崇高，工業之發達，與其偉人之勛績，夙為本國人民所欽仰，不僅足使吾人充分了解比利時之偉大，抑且使貴我兩國之文化關係，日臻密切。

閣下以為中西文化皆以仁愛為主，本主席深具同感。本國之至聖先師孔子有言曰：仁者必有勇。貴國人民為保障和平正義，而遭受鉅大之犧牲，予殘暴之侵略者以英勇之抵抗，乃此種崇高傳統精神彌可珍貴之表現。本國人民目覩貴國人民之努力與犧牲，終因國土之光復，而獲其應得之報酬，誠感莫大之激勵。

閣下謂和平曙光業已在望，本主席亦深信由於全體同盟國家克敵制勝之堅決意志，吾人必能在不遠之將來，達成共同鬥

final triumph of our common cause, thus enabling us to establish for all mankind a just and durable peace. The Chinese people are determined to play their due³⁵ part in striving for international solidarity and we hope, in close collaboration³⁶ with your country, to bring about the greatest contribution to this effect.

The Chinese Government and people rejoice over the present appointment of Your Excellency, who already knows our country. Entrusted with the high mission of strengthening the friendly relations between our two countries, Your Excellency can count on my full support and that of the Chinese Government.

爭之最後勝利，此一鬥爭，將使吾人能爲全人類建立公正持久之和平，殆無疑義。中國人民誓將盡其職責，以致力於國際團結之促進，甚願與貴國密切合作，爲實現此項目標，而作最大之貢獻。

閣下對於中國情形所知甚深，此次榮膺新職，肩負增進中步邦交之崇高使命，中國朝野同深欣慰，本主席及本國政府，當予閣下以一切必需之協助，俾能完成崇高之使命。

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

(1) 法語 Mr. President 稱呼，過去國際外交上言詞及文字皆用法語，此處稱呼用法語，爲國際外交習語之餘跡。(2) 尊稱，“閣下”(3) 對君主尊稱，“殿下”，“陛下”。(4) “專使”，廣義名詞包括外交專員，特派員，代辦，公使大使。(5) “同爲”，“共同”。The love of peace is common to all peoples, 所有世界民族皆同好和平。(6) “聯繫”。“關係”。There is a strong tie of friendship between the two, 彼二人中有強固友誼聯繫。(7) “懇允”。Permit me to say, ……啓者……(8) “信靠”。May I count upon (on) your help, 余可信靠君之助我否？(9) 同 (1)。(10) “授命”。He is the Swedish Minister accredited to China, 彼爲授命來華之瑞典公使。(11) “以……資格”。He attended the meeting in the capacity of (=as) government representative, 彼以政府代表資格列席。(12) “感激”，I shall (should 更客氣), be obliged if you will (前面用 should 則此處必用 would 更客氣) do me this favour, 倘蒙賜惠，曷勝感激。(13) “召回”，“取消”。It is provided in Dr. Sun's 5-power constitution that the people have the right to recall an official, 國父五權憲法中附有人民罷免官吏權之條文。(14) 指前任美駐華大使高思。(15) “no uncertain” 兩反面字係強調正面 certain 之義。(16)，(17) 引羅斯福總統對納粹及日本全世界挑戰時之聲明。(18) 引大西洋憲章語文。(19) 卽林肯。(20) 引林肯

Gettysburg 講演。(21) “預期”，“預定”。In the course of his conversation, he bespeaks the success of his plans, 彼於談次預定其計劃必成功。(22) 代替 “support.” (23) = “Although the path ahead of us may be long and hard,” 退讓語法 (concession), 強調 “long” 與 “hard.” (24) “克服”，“勝過”。In wartime, we have many difficulties to pull through, 吾人在戰有甚多困難須克服。(25) = “in the capacity of,” 見 (11)。(26) 倒裝，因 subject, “experiences” 及 “contacts” 有 modifier. 原有自然次序為 “The experiences and contacts are many and precious.” (27) “展望” - “預見”。After the reopening of the Burma road, we envisage the strengthening of our troops, 中印路打通後。吾人對我軍力之充實可以料見。(28) “導入”，“引入”。“踏進”。The reopening of the Burma road will usher in a new phase in our war with Japan, 中印路打通後吾人對日戰爭將進入新階段。(29) “因為” (preposition phrase). He is entitled to it by virtue of his position, 彼因地位關係，有此特權。

PRES. CHIANG'S MESSAGE TO THE AMERICAN AND BRITISH PEOPLES ON THE OPENING OF THE INDIA-CHINA ROAD

With Ambassador P. J. Hurley's and General A. C. Wedmeyer's speeches appended

Broadcast on January 28, 1945

中英公路開闢成功蔣主 席對美英人民播講

附錄美大使赫爾利及魏德邁將軍演辭

一九四五年一月二十八日播送

(A) PRES. CHIANG'S MESSAGE:

We have broken the siege of China. Even in time of peace, the construction of a road from India to China would be an extraordinary engineering achievement. The achievement is all the greater, when it is remembered that a road of a thousand kilometers was built over the most difficult terrain, and under treacherous weather conditions, while fighting against the enemy had to be carried on at the same time. Now the road becomes the main artery of an important base for the United Nations, from which shattering blows against Japan will be delivered. In other words, it is a token of victory and of relief from tyranny, which will have the effect of a powerful tonic¹ on the spirit of our army and our people. To the mili-

(甲) 蔣主席詞：

我們中國三年來所遭受的封鎖，現在終於被我們打破了。中印公路的工程，即使在平時完成，也是一個極偉大的奇蹟。何況當此戰時，在一千公里長距離之間，一面要節節打破敵寇堅強的陣線，一面還要對最惡劣的氣候和最險峻的地形作各種不可克服的鬥爭。這一種工程的完成，就是我們聯合國在東方大陸上戰勝日寇的基礎，也是我們中國排除日寇桎梏的象徵。而對於我全國軍民乃是一種極有力的精神鼓勵。就敵國日本來說：這是他們的軍

tarists of Japan, it will be an omen of defeat.

For generations to come, China will pay reverence to the memory of all those who gave their lives for this immortal deed. Every Chinese will be as grateful as I am to the gallant officers and men of our Allies, American, British and Indian, for their great and glorious share in the accomplishment of this feat of arms. We shall never forget the hardships they suffered and the sacrifices they made, so far from their homes, in Burma's savage hills and fever-infested jungles, to break the blockade of our country and to throw our arrogant enemy back on his haunches. Our people in the enemy-occupied areas will hear of this, as they will hear of the mounting losses which the United States forces are rapidly heaping upon Japan just over our horizon, and they will know that the hour of their deliverance is at hand!

During the years that China stood alone in her resistance to invasion, Japan's thwarted militarists told their people that "if the Burma Road were closed, if this country were cut off from the material and moral support of our friends in the West, our courage would collapse and we should² throw ourselves upon Japan's scant mercies. When they took Rangoon, they again boasted to their people that China was cut off and would have to yield. But neither China was cut off from the support of our

關整個失敗的先聲。

對於爲完成這一個不朽功業而犧牲生命的中國將士，我們中國同胞必將世世代代表示崇敬。我和我們中國同胞，非常感激我們盟國——美國，英國，印度各地英勇的官兵。他們對於這個功業都有重大的貢獻。我們永遠不會忘記他們所經歷的艱苦犧牲。他們離鄉背井，在緬甸一帶叢林瘴氣之中，排除萬難，英勇奮鬥，打開敵人對我國的封鎖，把狂妄的敵人擊潰。我淪陷區的同胞一定會聽見了這個消息而興奮。同時美國軍隊正在我國的外圍和中國海面給敵人以突飛猛進的打擊，使他遭遇更嚴重而加速的失敗。淪陷區的同胞一定可以推想到他們恢復自由的時間快要到了。

當中國單獨抵抗侵略的前幾年，日本軍閥向他的國民宣告說：如果滇緬路被封鎖，西方各國便不能給予中國以物資的援助，中國人民的勇氣必消失，中國人民便要束手無策。所以當仰光淪陷的時候，他便向日本國民誇說：中國將因此而投降。但事實上我們中國從沒有與外界完全隔絕，中國也從沒有絲毫因此而氣餒，仍然屹立不搖的與敵寇作殊死戰。同時我們盟邦

Allies, nor did China humble herself. At the same time, over the rugged mountains of the Himalayas, in defiance of Japan's marauding aircraft, came winging the courageous and skillful American airmen, who continued to bring supplies into China in an unending stream.

Now comes this caravan rolling into China over areas which the Japanese thought just yesterday to hold in everlasting fief.³ For this turn of events, we and our Allies have paid no⁴ small price. But we have proved to the enemy that neither the will-power of China, nor the will-power of her Allies to win the war can ever be shaken. Let our soldiers fight together with the Allied forces for the final and total victory. From now on, I am sure they will have greater faith in what I have often said: that is, while we adhere to righteousness, justice and the Three People's Principles, no⁵ enemy is invincible, and no difficulty is insurmountable. Let them fight on with the same determination and fortitude as they have shown in the past fourteen months in Burma and Yunnan.

In conclusion, let me name⁶ this road after General Joseph Stilwell in memory of his distinctive contribution and of the signal part which the Allied and Chinese forces under his direction played in the Burma campaign and in the building of the road.

美國航空人員，本着他們勇往無前的精神，利用他們科學的技術，一面抵抗着日本空軍的攔擊，一面克服了喜馬拉雅山的天險，終究維持了中印交通，源源不絕的向我們中國接濟物資。

現在在這條新開通的公路上，將有無數的車輛絡繹不絕的往來。這條路所經過的地方，敵人在不久之前還夢想着他們是可以永久佔領的，而現在則成爲我們輸入作戰物資攻敗敵寇的大動脈了。我們中國官兵和美國盟軍，爲了掃除中印公路上敵寇的障礙，已經付出了重大的代價。但我們已使敵人領略我們戰鬥的威力，使他們知道中國與盟邦的戰勝意志是不可動搖的。我願我中國將士再接再厲，與盟邦軍隊並肩作戰，以獲得最後全面的勝利。我們中國將士從此必更深信我所常說的，祇要我們本着公理正義與實現三民主義的精神，就沒有什麼困難不可以排除，亦沒有敵寇不可克服的道理。務當本着以往十四個月在滇緬作戰堅決勇敢的精神，繼續奮鬥，以達成我們抗戰的使命。

最後我還要提及的，就是對於我們盟軍戰友和史迪威將軍統率我們中國軍隊在緬甸作戰與開路的功績，因之，我們今日命名這一條中印公路爲史迪威公路，以垂永遠的紀念。

(B) AMBASSADOR HURLEY'S

SPEECH:

We are grateful to the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek, for the honor he has just conferred on⁷ America by naming the land route into China, the "Stilwell Road" in honor of General Joseph W. Stilwell. We join the Generalissimo in paying homage to⁸ All Our Allies and especially to the Chinese civilians, Chinese soldiers and Chinese generals who, together with American soldiers, led by Joe⁹ Stilwell and Dan Sultan, with the ever present support of a fighting air force led by Claire Chennault, have fought and worked long and hard and successfully to re-establish land communications with China. Japan had succeeded in blockading China both on land and on sea. China was accessible to¹⁰ the world only by a hazardous air route flown by American airships, carrying American war supplies to China.

The opening of the Stilwell Road re-establishes ground transportation to China. It is not, of course, comparable to the American achievement in building a "bridge of ships" across the Atlantic, through the German blockade, to carry food and clothing for civilians and war equipment and war supplies and millions of American soldiers to save Britain. The opening of the Stilwell Road is not comparable to America's achievement in building

(乙) 赫爾利大使演詞：

蔣委員長為紀念史迪威上將之榮譽起見，已命名通華之公路為史迪威路。茲代表美國向蔣委員長表示謝忱，並向全體盟友尤其中國全體人民士兵及將領致敬，蓋史迪威將軍及索爾頓將軍所部之美國士兵以及陳納德司令統率之空軍，業經長期努力及順利之戰爭，始重建通至中國之交通路線。日本曾水陸封鎖中國，致使中國與世界各處僅以空軍相通，而危險非常，美國仍以空軍武器接濟中國。

開闢史迪威路重通中國之陸路運輸，此舉自不能與美國建造「輪船之橋」橫渡大西洋並通過德國之封鎖線運輸平民給養戰士之軍備及百萬以上之勇士拯救英國相比。史迪威路之開通，更不能與美國造艦成功相較，蓋其已使聯合國重建海上

battlecraft which have enabled the United Nations to re-establish the freedom of the seas. The Stilwell Road is a symbol of America's unselfish purpose and of her loyalty to her Allies. Less than 3% of American Lend-Lease has come to China. However, I wish to say to my fellow Americans that for the Road, for the air route, for the supplies and for the efforts of American soldiers, Chinese everywhere are expressing their ever-lasting gratitude.

The Generalissimo and General Wedemeyer are now collaborating to strike more effectively and to destroy the Japanese forces in China. The forces of MacArthur and Nimitz have defeated the Japanese in battle after battle in the Pacific. The imperialistic designs of Japan to dominate other people and other nations have failed. There is a growing opinion that the last battle and the final victory of the United Nations will be the defeat of Japan on the soil of China.

There will be hard battles and anxious days before the final victory but China will fight on. The people of China are inspired by the ideal of a "government of the people, by the people and for the people." They are inspired by the principles of the Atlantic Charter; they respect "the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live." They recognize the principle that governments derive their just powers from the con-

自由。此路象徵美國對同盟國之忠實及無私。美國租借物資運達中國者不足百分之三，然余務須向我同胞聲明者，即爲此路爲空運爲租借之物資及美國士兵之努力，中國人民隨處表示求遠不忘之謝意。

蔣委員長及魏德邁將軍現正配合更有效之連擊，消滅在華之日軍。麥克阿瑟及尼米茲上將之軍隊，於太平洋上已多次擊敗日寇。日本帝國主義統制其他人民及種族之計劃，業經失敗。輿論日增聯合國之最後決戰及最後勝利將在中國大陸進行擊敗日寇。

最後勝利到臨之前必有艱苦戰爭，而中國必繼續作戰。中國國民已接受「民有民治民享」之理想，並已接受大西洋憲章之原則。彼等尊重各民族自擇其政府之方式權利。彼等承認政府係由其人民之同意而得其正當之權利。中國爲自由正義而戰

sent of the governed. China fights for freedom and justice. With the unconquerable spirit and the idealism of 450 million Chinese, under the heroic and brilliant leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, America sees emerging from this war a free, united, democratic and happy China.

(C) GENERAL WEDEMEYER'S
SPEECH:

A strong and relentless enemy has maintained a land blockage of China for more than two and one-half years. This blockade has finally been broken. A road now bridges the last and most difficult gap between China and the great arsenal of the United States.

The strongest proponent of a land route to China has been General Stilwell. He conceived the plan and fought it through the council rooms. He planned the military operations which have made the road a reality. General Daniel Sultan ably assisted General Stilwell in preparation of these plans and jointly with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek directed the operations which have led to the opening of the road. This contribution to the overall war effort is a living tribute to these three great leaders and to the brave men serving under them.

The opening of the land route to war-torn China represents the consummation of a courageous campaign waged by the heroic Chinese Army in India under the command of General Sun Li-

。因四萬萬五千萬人民不可征服之精神及理想，在蔣委員長英明領導之下，美國眼見此次戰爭中將有一自由團結民主及安樂之中國出現。

(丙) 魏德邁將軍演詞：

二年半來強暴而頑固的敵人，對中國的大陸封鎖終於被毀破了。現在中國和富於生產的美國間，最艱困的一隅，也可以有陸路溝通了。

主張打通陸路最有力的一個人要算史迪威將軍。他籌謀了一個計劃，說服了很多反對的人，還計劃作戰去實現這條路。索爾頓將軍對這些計劃曾予以很大的幫助，同時與蔣委員長合同指揮作戰，一直到這條路開放。這條路對於整個戰局的影響，足以表彰這三個偉大的領袖，和在他們指揮下的許多人。

對於苦戰困守多年的中國，這條路的開放，表示英勇的中國駐印軍在孫立人將軍指揮下完成了他們戰事的一個段落。是

jen. Equally important were the valiant efforts of the Chinese Expeditionary Forces, under General Wei Li-huang. These Chinese forces were effectively supported by American, British and Indian air and ground forces.

Supplies to strengthen China's sinews of war will become available to her beleaguered forces in ever-increasing quantities. This does not mean, however, that immeasurable quantities of war material or sorely needed civilian supplies will pour into China from the great productive centers of the United States, until a seport is open the logistic support that America can give to China will in no way be comparable to that support¹¹ she has given to the British and to the Soviets. The opening of the road does mean however that another battle of communications and supply against Japan has been won by the Allies and that heavier and more decisive blows from China can be added to those now being delivered against the enemy from many other directions.

Thousands of people, civilians and soldiers alike have labored under difficult conditions and fought against an implacable enemy in order that a life-line to China might be re-established. The completion of this land route in addition to being a tremendous engineering feat, will be a strong factor contributing to ultimate victory.

The opening of the road has significance beyond its immediately military

有衛立煌將軍指揮下的中國遠征軍，在有効的美國英國印度的陸空軍協調下，也有一樣的重要和有功勞。

加強中國作戰的物資在數量上不久就要大大的增加。可是這並不是說，美國的軍用品和民間消耗品便可以無限量的運到中國。在中國大陸沒有取得一個海港以前，美國對中國物資上的授助，是不能夠與美國對英國或對蘇聯所供給的物資量作比較。不過，這條公路開放的意義，就是證明了同盟國家對日作戰，在運輸交通方面，已經獲了一個很大的勝利。從此以後我們對敵人可以從中國方面發動更強大有力的攻擊，去響應其他許多方面發動對敵人的攻擊。

千千萬萬的人，不管是平民或者是軍人，在艱難困苦的情形下，對付一個頑固的敵人，目的是重新打通一條生命線。這公路的完成，不獨是工程上的一個偉蹟，也是最後勝利獲得的一個重要因素。

這公路的開放除了目前的軍事以外，

use in defeating the Japanese. It is a monument to the singleness of purpose and unwavering friendship of our two great nations.

We Americans hail the courage of China and the vision of her great leader, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. We confidently face the problems that must yet be solved, knowing that the mutual trust and respect between our two countries remains the basis for a lasting peace between China and the United States.

還有更深的意義。牠象徵着我們兩大民族意志的一貫和友誼的不可動搖。

我們美國人對中國偉大領袖蔣委員長
的剛毅和遠見，表示敬意，深信目前各種
難題，一定會迎刃而解，中美間的互相信
任，互相尊敬，一定是中美永久和平的基
礎，

ANNOTATIONS

(1) “救助” “鼓勵”。Charity is no tonic to paupers, 慈善不能鼓勵甘心貧窮之人。(2) 本句為虛擬語氣，所有動詞皆為 subjunctive mood, “courage” 第三人稱用 “would collapse,” 而 “we” 第一人稱故用 “should throw,” 皆為對未來之假定（無意志作用，如為意志語氣則為 “it, she, he would,” “we would”）。(3) “封地”，“采邑”，轉為“封閉之地”。(4) “no small” 為強調語氣即“狂大”之意，故聖保羅講演詞中有云 “I am a citizen of no mean city”。他如 He is no smoker, I am no athlete 等。(5) 同(4)。(6) “name after,” “依……命名。The child was named John after his uncle, 此兒依叔父命名約翰。(7) “授”，“予”。A benefit (degree, favour, gift) was conferred on him, 彼授得恩典。(8) “致敬”。We should pay homage to those who gave up their lives for the country, 吾人當向為國損軀義士致敬。(9) “Joe,” “Dan,” “Claire” 他皆親暱之稱呼。(10) “通”，“達”，“易於接近”。The temple is accessible to all pilgrims, 一切香客皆能入此廟。(11) 其後之 “which” 省略，即 “that support which she has given.”

THE STATEMENT OF THE "BIG THREE" CRIMEAN CONFERENCE

Held by Pres. Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Marshall Stalin from February 4 to 11, 1945, at the Summer Palace of former Czar Nicholas II at Livedia, in the Crimea.

(Appended with the statement on their policies regarding the liberated states of Europe.)

美英蘇三國克里米亞會議聲明書

羅斯福總統，邱吉爾首相，斯達林元帥於一九四五年
二月四日至十一日在克里米亞前俄沙皇夏季行宮舉行

(附三國對歐洲解放國家政策之聲明)



The defeat of Germany

We have considered and determined the military plans of the three Allied power for final defeat of the common enemy. The military staffs of the three Allied nations have met in daily meetings throughout the conference. These meetings have been more satisfactory from the point of view of the war effort of the three Allies than ever before. The fullest information has been interchanged. The timing, the scope and the coordination of new and even more powerful blows to be launched by our armies and air forces into the heart of Germany from the east, west, north and south have been fully agreed and planned in detail.¹ Our combined military plans will be made known only as we execute them, but we believe that the very close working partnership among the three staffs

關於擊敗德國問題

吾人已考慮并決定關於三大盟國最後擊敗我共同敵人之軍事計劃，三國軍事首長於會議期中，亦曾逐日會商。自任何一觀點言，歷次會議，均極滿意。三國軍事力量，由此獲有空前之密切協調，三國會相互交換最充分之情報。我陸空軍自東西南北四面，向德心臟發動新而更有力猛擊之時間，範圍，與協同配合，已商得完全之同意，且計劃周詳。吾人之聯合軍事計劃，唯於吾人執行時始得透露，但吾人愈信

attained at this conference will result in shortening the war. The meetings of the three staffs will be constituted in the future whenever the need arises.

Nazi Germany is doomed. The German people will only make the cost of their defeat heavier to themselves by attempting to continue a hopeless resistance.

The occupation and control of Germany

We have agreed on common policies and plans for enforcing the unconditional surrender terms which we shall impose together on Nazi Germany after German armed resistance has been finally crushed. These terms will not be made known until the final defeat of Germany has been accomplished. Under the agreed plan, the forces of the three powers will each occupy a separate zone of Germany. Coordinated administration and control has been provided for under the plan through a Central Control Commission consisting of the commanders of the three powers with headquarters in Berlin. It has been agreed that France should be invited by the three powers, if she should so desire to take over a zone of occupation, and to participate as a fourth member of the control commission. The limits of the French zone will be agreed by the four governments through their representatives on the European.

It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and nazism and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world. We are determined to disarm and disband all German armed forces, break up for all

出席此次會議三國人員之極密切工作合作，將可縮短戰爭。三國人員未來於任何需要時，將繼續進行會商。

納粹德國之命運業已決定。德國人民企圖繼續作毫無希望之抵抗，結果唯有損失更重，代價更大而已。

關於佔領及管制德國問題

吾人就共同政策及執行無條件投降條件方面，已獲協議，凡此均將於德國武裝抵抗崩潰後，加諸於納粹德國者。條件內容於完成最後擊敗德國以前，不予宣佈。根據協議計劃，三國武力將於德境各別佔領區域，協同之管制步驟，計劃中亦有規定，即由中央管制委員會控制是也。委員會有三國最高軍事統帥參加，總部設於柏林。三國同意法國願意於德國獲有佔領區，並參加中央管制委員會為第四會員國家，故法國將獲三國之邀請。法國佔領區之範圍將由有關四國政府，派駐歐洲顧問委員會代表決定。

吾人確定之目標，乃毀滅德國軍事主義及國社主義，並保證德國將永不再能擾亂世界和平。吾人決解除并解除德國一切武裝部隊，一

time the German general staff that has repeatedly contrived the resurgence of German militarism, remove or destroy all German military equipment, eliminate or control all German industry that could be used for military production, bring all war criminals to just and swift punishment and exact reparation in kind² for the destruction wrought by the Germans, wipe out the Nazi laws, organizations and institutions, remove all Nazi and militarist influences from public office and from the cultural and economic life of the German people and take in harmony such other measures in Germany as may be necessary to the future and safety of the world. It is not our purpose to destroy the people of Germany, but only when nazism and militarism have been exterminated will there be hope for a decent life for the Germans, and a place for them in the community of nations.

Reparation by Germany

We have considered the question of the damage caused by Germany to the Allied nations in this war and recognized it as just that Germany be³ obliged to make compensation for this damage in kind to the greatest extent possible. A commission for the compensation of damage will be established. The commission will be instructed to consider the question of the extent and methods for compensating the damage caused by Germany to the Allied countries. The commission will work in Moscow.

United Nations conference

We are resolved upon the earliest pos-

勞永逸永遠根除彼一再企圖復活德國軍事主義之德國參謀本部，遷移或毀滅德國一切工業設備，管制德國一切可能用作軍事生產之工業，提審所有戰爭罪犯，迅速予以懲處。並德國之毀滅暴行，索取實物之賠償，消滅國社黨，國社黨法律，組織及制度。消除公務機關內及德人文化及經濟生活中一切納粹及軍事方面之勢力。此外，並於德國施行未來和平及世界安全所需之其他措施。吾人之目的，並非毀滅德國人民，但唯於國社主義及軍事主義根絕後，德國人民始有安居樂業并於和諧世界中佔一地位之望。

關於德國賠償問題

吾人已考慮德國於此次戰爭中，所予盟方損失之問題，並認德國應於極大可能範圍內，對其所作之破壞，付出實物之賠償。賠償損失委員會，即將成立，該委員會將受命考慮德國所予盟國損失之賠償程度及方式，委員會將於莫斯科執行工作。

關於聯合國會議問題

吾人決定於及早可能期內，與我盟國共同

sible establishment with our Allies of a general international organization to maintain peace and security. We believe that this is essential both to prevent aggression and to remove the political, economic and social causes of war through the close and continuing collaboration of all peace-loving peoples. The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks. On the important question of voting procedure, however, agreement was not there reached. The present conference has been able to resolve this difficulty.

We have agreed that a conference of the United Nations should be called to meet at San Francisco in the United States on April 25, 1945, to prepare the charter of such an organization, along the lines⁴ proposed in the informal conversations at Dumbarton Oaks. The governments of France and China will be immediately consulted and invited to sponsor invitations to the conference jointly with the governments of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union as soon as the consultation with China and France has been completed the text of the proposals on the voting procedure will be made public.⁵

建立維護和平安全之一般性之國際機構，吾人
僉信藉一切愛好和平人民密切而繼續之合作，
以阻止侵略，並消除戰爭之政治，經濟，及社會
之各種肇因，乃屬必要。凡此基礎，已於頓巴
敦橡樹會議奠定，然表決程序之重要問題，於
該會議中猶未獲致協議，此次會議已能解決困
難。

吾人同意聯合國會議，應於本年四月二十
五日於美國舊金山舉行，由該會依據頓巴敦橡
樹會議之非正式會所商會建議之議案，擬商國
際組織之憲章。中國政府及法國臨時政府，將
即被邀與美英蘇三國政府會商，並共同召集聯
合國會議，一俟與中法兩國會商該事，表決程
序之建議即將公佈。

Statement on the Liberated State of Europe

三國對歐洲解放國家聲明書



The Premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the President of the United States of America have consulted with each other in the common interests of the peoples of their countries and those of liberated Europe. They jointly declare their mutual agreement to concert during the temporary period of instability in liberated Europe the policies of their three governments in assisting the peoples liberated from the domination of Nazi Germany and the peoples of the former Axis Satellite States of Europe to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems.

The establishment of order in Europe and the rebuilding of national economic life must be achieved by processes which will enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of Nazism and Fascism and to create democratic institutions of their own choice. This is a principle of the Atlantic Charter; the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live, and the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those peoples who have been forcibly deprived of them by the aggressor nations. To foster the conditions in which the liberated peoples may exercise these rights, the three governments will jointly assist the people in any

蘇聯人民委員會長，不列顛聯合王國首相，及美國總統，曾為三國人民及被解放歐洲國家人民之共同權益，相互會商。三國領袖宣布，三國政府於解放歐洲猶未穩定之過渡期間，諸商贊同自納粹德國統制下之歐洲解放之人民，及前軸心附庸國家人民，藉民主方式，解決其迫切政治及經濟問題政策之協議。歐洲秩序之建立，及國民經濟生活之重建，必須藉足使解放國家消滅納粹主義，及法西斯主義最後形跡，並建立本身自擇民主制度之程序而獲致。憲章之本義，乃一切人民均有選擇自願於其領導下生活之某種形式政府之權利，憲章之原則，乃使被侵略國家剝奪主權及自

European liberated state or former Axis Satellite state in Europe where in their judgment conditions require:

(a) To establish conditions of internal peace;

(b) To carry out emergency measures for the relief distressed peoples;

(c) To form interim⁸ governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of governments responsible to the will of the people;

(d) To facilitate where necessary the holding of such elections.

The three governments will consult the other United Nations and the provisional authorities or other governments in Europe when matters of direct interest to them are under consideration. When, in the opinion of the three governments, conditions in any European liberated state or any former Axis satellite state in Europe make such action necessary, they will immediately consult together on the measures necessary to discharge the joint responsibilities set⁹ forth in this declaration.

By this declaration, we reaffirm our faith in the principles of the Atlantic Charter, our pledge in the declaration by the United Nations, and our determination to build in cooperation with other peace-loving peoples of all mankind.

In issuing this declaration, the three powers express the hope that the provisional government of the French Republic may be associated with them in the procedure suggested.

主政府之人民重獲主權及自主政府。三國政府

為造成被解放人民行使上述權利之狀態，一致

願對彼等所認需要：一建立和平狀態，二執行

賑濟難民之緊急措施，及三改組政府組織，使其

一切民主份子，均得參加，並保證及早經由民

選選舉，對人民意志負責之政府之任何歐洲被

解放國家，及前軸心附庸國家之人民加以協助。

三國政府將與其他國家，及歐洲臨時政權

或其他政府，於考慮及彼等直接權益時，相互

諮商。三國政府認為任何歐洲被解放國，或任

何前軸心附庸國之狀態，需要採取上述行動時

，三國即將與其諮商卸除此一聲明中所規定共

同責任之所需措置。

吾人藉此聲明，重申吾人對大西洋憲章原則，及吾人於聲明中保證與其他愛好和平國家為全人類和平安全自由及普遍幸福，在法律約束下，建立世界秩序一點之信心。

三國發表此一聲明時，深盼法國臨時政府

，能與彼等共同致力完成上述任務。

Poland

A new situation has been created in Poland as a result of her complete liberation by the Red Army. This calls¹⁰ for the establishment of a Polish provisional government which can be more broadly based than was possible before the recent liberation of western Poland. The provisional government which is now functioning in Poland should therefore be reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad. This new government should then be called the Polish Government of National Unity. M. Molotov, Mr. Harriman and Sir A Clark Kerr are authorized as a commission to consult in the first instance¹¹ in Moscow with members of the present provisional government and with other Polish democratic leaders from within Poland and from abroad. With a view to the reorganization of the present government along the above lines, this Polish provisional government of national unity shall be pledged to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot. In these elections all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates.

When a Polish provisional government of national unity has been properly formed in conformity with the above, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic, which now maintains diplomatic relations with the present Provisional Government of Poland, and the Government

關於波蘭問題

蘇軍整個解放波蘭後，新形勢已隨以產生

，此需建立基礎較西部波蘭被解放前可能建立

者更廣大之波蘭臨時政府，由是現在波蘭執行

職權之波蘭臨時政府，乃應沿更廣大之民主基

礎改組，容納波蘭國內外之民主領袖。此一新

政府，應稱之為全國統一之波蘭臨時政府。莫

洛托夫，哈里曼及卡爾，受命以委員資格，首

於莫斯科，與目前波蘭臨時政府人員及波蘭國

內外其他民主領袖進行會商，藉此根據上述方

式改組目前之波蘭政府。此一全國統一之波蘭

政府將保證儘速根據普遍選舉及秘密投票方式

舉行自由選舉。

全國統一之波蘭臨時政府，符合蘇聯政府

及英美政府之意見而建立時，三國政府將與全

國統一之新波蘭臨時政府建立外交關係，並特

of the United Kingdom and the Government of the United States of America, will establish diplomatic relations with the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity and will exchange ambassadors by whose reports the respective governments will be kept informed about the situation in Poland.

The three heads of the government consider that the eastern frontier of Poland should follow the Curzon line with digressions from it in some regions of eight kilometers in favor of Poland. They recognized that Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the north and west. They feel that the opinion of the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity should be sought in due course on the extent of these accessions and that the final delimitation of the western frontier of Poland should thereafter await the peace conference.

Yugoslavia

We have agreed to recommend to Marshal Tito and Dr. Subasic that the agreement between them should¹² be put into effect immediately, and that a new government should be formed on the basis of that agreement: We also recommend that as soon as the new government has been formed it should declare that: - the anti-fascist assembly of national liberation (avnoj) should be extended to include members of the last Yugoslav Parliament (skupschina) who have not compromised themselves by collaboration with the enemy, thus forming a body to be known a temporary parliament; and the legislative

派大使（按蘇聯現與目前之波蘭臨時政府保持

外交關係）。各國政府，根據大使報告，獲悉

波蘭國內之情形。

三國政府領袖考慮後，認為波蘭東部邊疆，

應以寇松線為根據而於若干區域，減短五至八

公里，使波蘭感受其惠。彼等承認波蘭於西北

兩面，必須獲得廣大之領土讓予。彼等並認應

於相當時期內，徵詢全國統一之波蘭臨時政府

。關於讓予土地範圍之意見，並認波蘭西部邊

界之最後定界，應待和會討論。

關於南斯拉夫問題

吾人同意建議狄托元帥及蘇伯西奇總理，

彼等所商之協議應即付諸施行，並建議，新政

府應根據其協議而成立之。吾人建議新政府成

立後，應即宣布：第一，民族解放委員會範圍應

予擴大，容納未與敵人合作之南斯拉夫最後議

會之議員，由是臨時議會乃告建立；第二，民

acts passed by the anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation will be subject to subsequent ratification by a constituent assembly. There was also a general view of other Balkan questions.

Meeting of Foreign Secretaries

Throughout the conference, besides the daily meetings of the heads of governments, the foreign secretaries and their advisers have also been held daily. These meetings have proved of the utmost value and the conference agreed that a permanent machinery should be set up for regular consultation between the three Foreign Secretaries. They, will, therefore, meet as often as may be necessary, probably about every three or four months. These meetings will be held in rotation in the three capitals, the first meeting being held in London after the United Nations Conference on world organization.

Unity for peace as for war

Our meeting in the Crimea has reaffirmed our common determination to maintain and strengthen in the peace to come that unity of purpose and of action which has made victory possible and certain for the United Nations in this war. We believe that this is a sacred obligation which our governments owe to our peoples and to all the peoples of the world. Only with the continuing and growing cooperation and understanding among our three countries and among all the peace-loving nations can the highest aspiration of humanity be realized - a secure and lasting peace which will, in the words of the

族解放委員會大會所通過之立法案，將民選之國民大會予以批准。三國對其他巴爾幹問題之觀點亦屬如此。

關於三國外長會議問題

外長會議期內，三國政府領袖及外長，除每日會商外，三國外長及其顧問，每日尚舉行單獨會議。凡此會商，均極具效用。會議同意永久性之機構應予成立，三國外長可藉此時作固定性之會商，三國外長於必需時可常相會商，約每三四個月會晤一次，此類會議將輪流於三國首都舉行。首次會議定於聯合國家商討世界組織之會議舉行後於倫敦舉行。

關於和平團結問題

吾人爲和平而團結亦如爲作戰而團結，吾人於克里米亞舉行之會商已重申吾人於未來和平期中，保持及增強使聯合國家於此次戰爭中可能並注定獲勝之目的與行動之共同決心。吾人僉信，此乃我各國政府對於我人民及全世界人民之神聖義務。我三國間，及全體愛好和平國家間，唯賴繼續增長之合作與了解，大西洋

Atlantic Charter "afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want." Victory in this war and establishment of the proposed international organization will provide the greatest opportunity in all history to create in the time to come the essential sanctions of such a peace.

憲章所載將保證普世人民自由生活，不受恐懼，不感缺乏之安全及持久和平，此一人類最高志願始能實現。吾人認爲此次戰爭之勝利，及擬議中國際機構之建立，將予吾人於未來若干年內，建立此一和平主要情況之機會。簽字：邱吉爾，羅斯福，史達林。

Annotation

- (1) “詳細”，“周詳”。 Tell me what you saw in detail, 請將君所目觀情形詳細告我。
- (2) “實物” (與“金錢” “in money” 相對)。 The services of all government functionaries in China in ancient times were paid in kind, 中國古時之官吏俸祿皆係付以實物。
- (3) 卽 “should be”, 此爲表示命令，決議之 Subjunctive mood 用法。 The commander ordered that the gates of the city be shut. They pupose that the representative should be elected at the next general meeting.
- (4) “依據”，“遵循”。 A constitution drafted entirely along the lines prescribed in San Min Chu I will suit China best, 依據三民主義所擬之憲法最適國情。
- (5) “公佈”。 All the documents concerned with the negotiations between the Government and the Chinese Communist leaders have been made public, 所有關於政府與中共磋商之文件悉已公布。
- (6) “附庸”，“附從”。 The moon is satellite of the earth, 月爲地球之陪星。
- (7) “剝奪”。 He is deprived of all the rights of a citizen, 彼之公民權利一概被剝奪。
- (8) “臨時”，“暫時”。 The People's Political Council is an interim parliamentary organization, 國民參政會乃暫時之議事機關。
- (9) “陳述”，“規定”。 They all agreed on the conditions set forth in the contract, 彼等對契約中所規定之條件皆表贊同。
- (10) “需要”。 The enforcement of this law calls for compulsion, 實行此法律需要迫力。
- (11) “最初”，“第一”，“首先”。 In life one's failure in the first instance discourages one most, 人生第一次挫折打擊最大。
- (12) 決定語之 subjunctive mood 用法，見(3)。

PRES. CHIANG'S ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE
THE PREPARATORY COMMISSION FOR
INAUGURATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOV'T

March 1, 1945

蔣主席向憲政協進會致辭

一九四五年三月一日

Honorable Gentlemen:

You will recall that in 1936 the Government decided to summon a National Assembly on November 12, 1937, for the inauguration of constitutional government and the termination of the period of political tutelage under the Kuomintang. On July 7, 1937, Japan suddenly made war on us, and the plan had to be shelved. However, the determination of the Kuomintang to realize constitutional government remained as strong as ever. Had¹ it not been for the recommendation of postponement by the People's Political Council, the National Assembly would have been convened during 1940 in accordance with another Government decision. This year, on the 1st of January, on behalf of the Government, I announced that the National Assembly will be summoned before the close of the year, unless untoward² and unexpected military development in the meanwhile should intervene.

The Kuomintang is the historical

各位先生：

中國國民黨繼承國父遺志，努力國民革命，以實行憲政，完成建國為最大目標。七七抗戰發生以前，政府原已定於二十六年十一月十二日，召集國民大會。不意日寇發動侵略，因此不能不延期召集；但國民黨實施憲政之意願，依然日益加強。第六次中央全會，經決議於二十九年十一月十二日召開國民大會，終以戰爭擴大，當時參政會同人主張緩開，乃又因而延期。於是在前年有憲政實施協進會之設立。本當於本年元旦，復代表政府宣佈本年內在軍事形勢許可之下，即可召集國民大會，制頒憲法，以符國民黨建立民國還政於民之宗旨。

就中國國民黨既往的歷史觀察，以實

party of National revolution; it overthrew the Manchu dynasty; it destroyed Yuan Shih-kai who would³ be emperor; it utterly defeated the militarists that succeeded Yuan Shih-kai; it brought about national unification; it achieved the removal of the unequal treaties; and it led the country in the eight-year-old struggle against Japan. It is we who are the party of liberation and progress. In summoning the National Assembly and returning the rule to the people in conformity with the sacred will of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Kuomintang is performing its historical role.

We must emerge from this war a⁴ united nation. Only a united nation can effectively perform the task of political and economic reconstruction to raise the lot of our toiling masses, and handle the problems of external relations in a new uncharted world. Before the Japanese invasion, we were a united nation. Today, but for⁵ the Communists and their armed forces, we are a united nation. There are no independent warlords or local governments challenging the central authority.

I have long held the conviction that the solution of the Communist question must be through political means. The Government has labored to make the settlement a political one. As the public is not well informed on our recent efforts to reach a settlement with the Communists, time has come for me to clarify the atmosphere.

As you know, negotiations with the

行三民主義，領導國民自求解放，以達到國內各宗族及國際之自由平等爲目的。辛亥以來，本黨領導國民，推翻滿清專制政府，消滅陰謀帝制之袁世凱，以及打倒繼續袁世凱而興起的一切軍閥，及至民國十七年，中華民國完成統一；最近八年以來，不避任何犧牲，備歷險阻艱難，領導全國，抵抗日寇的侵略，同時並積極準備實施憲政的工作。凡此事實，均明示中國國民黨是一個以解放中國，扶植民權，爲其歷史使命的革命政黨。

我們要在這一次神聖抗戰中，完成一個永久統一的國家。惟有統一的國家，才能順利推行各種經濟建設的工作，以提高我一般辛苦勞動同胞的生活水準。而且更惟有統一的國家。才能於戰後的新世界中，爲人類和平福祉而有所貢獻。我們在日寇開始侵略以前，本是一個完整的統一國家。到現在，除了共產黨與他們的軍隊不受中央命令而外，還是一個完整統一國家；此外，並沒有不奉中央軍令的軍隊亦並沒有不奉中央政令的地方政府。

本席迭次宣示，中國共產黨問題，是一個政治問題，應用政治方法解決。近來外面對於中央竭誠寬容力謀解決的經過，尚有未明者，因此不得不將重要的經過，加以說明。

這幾年來，中央與共產黨的會商，已

Communists have been a perennial problem for many years. It has been our unvarying experience that no sooner is a demand met than fresh ones are raised. The latest demand of the Communists is that the Government should forthwith⁶ liquidate the Kuomintang rule, and surrender all power to a coalition of various parties. The position of the Government is that it is ready to admit other parties, including the Communists, as well as nonpartisan leaders, to participate in the Government, without whatever relinquishment by the Kuomintang of its power of ultimate decision and final responsibility until the convocation of the National Assembly. We have even offered to include the Communists and other parties in an organ to be established along the lines of what is known abroad as a "War Cabinet." To go beyond this and to yield to the Communist demand would not only place the Government in open contravention of the Political Program of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, but also create insurmountable practical difficulties for the country.

During the past eight years, the country has withstood all the worst vicissitudes of military reverses and of unbelievable privations and has ridden through the storm for the simple reason that it has been led by a stable and strong Government. The war remains to be won the future is still fraught with⁷ perils. If the Government shirks its responsibility and surrenders its

有多次。每次均是懸而不決，而在我們所得到的經驗，都是一個要求方纔容納，立刻就來一個另外新的要求。共產黨最近要求是要中央立即取消黨治，將政權交給各黨各派組織的聯合政府。而在我們政府的立場，是準備容納其他政黨(包括共產黨)與全國無黨無派的有志之士參加政府，類如外國的戰時內閣之組織。但在國民大會召集以前，政府不能違反建國大綱，結束訓政，將政治上的責任，和最後的決定權移交給各黨各派，造成一種不負責任的理論與事實兩不容許的局面。

八年來在抗戰的進行中，國家屢遭軍事上的失利與經濟上的壓迫，我們所以能渡過危險，實由於我們一個隱固安全而負責的政府領導着的緣故。現在戰時仍極嚴重，前途尚有不少的艱險，國民政府將一切政權或責任交給於各黨各派，則中央政

power of ultimate decision to a combination of political parties, the result would be unending friction and chaos, leading to a collapse of the central authority. Bear in mind that in such a contingency, unlike in other countries, there exists in our country at present no responsible body representing the people for a government to appeal to.

I repeat, whether by accident or design, the Kuomintang has had the responsibility of leading the country during the turbulent last decade and more. It will return the supreme power to the people through the instrumentality of the National Assembly, and in the meantime it will be ready to admit other parties to a share in the Government, but it definitely cannot abdicate to a loose combination of parties. Such a surrender would not mean returning power to the people.

We must emerge from the war with a united army. The Communists should not keep a separate army. Here allow me to digress⁸ a little. The Chinese Communist propaganda abroad has tried to justify this private army on the ground⁹ that if it becomes incorporated in the National Army it will be in danger of being destroyed or discriminated against. Their propaganda also magnifies out of all proportion the actual military strength of the Communists. To you I need hardly say that Government forces have always without exception borne the brunt of Japanese attack and will continue to do so. Today

權勢必日日在風雨飄搖之中，其結果必使抗戰崩潰革命失敗，將使國家引起可怖的變亂，而陷民族於萬劫不復之境地。因為我國情形與他國不同，在國民大會召集以前，我國便無一個可以代表全國人民，使政府可以徵詢民意之負責團體。

我國自民國二十年九一八東三省被日侵略以來，此十餘年無日不在危疑振撼，狂風暴雨的危舟中行進，中國國民黨已負起了偉大艱難領導全國的責任。所謂還政於民，就是交於這樣巨大的責任於全體人民，故必須經過國民大會的這個機構，始可有所託付。但在目前狀況之下，亦準備其他黨派參加政府組織。

其次，說到軍權統一問題。凡是一個獨立統一國家決沒有軍權不統一的，尤其是對外抵抗侵略的時候。如果是真正愛國愛民的政黨，決不會有妨礙軍權的統一，以削弱國家抗戰力量，而幫助了敵人的侵略。我們在抗戰時期中更應集中一切力量，驅逐敵人。所以必要軍權統一。共產黨不應有獨立的軍隊，這是很明顯的道理。現在共產黨在各國的宣傳，要是他們的軍隊，如果一旦歸中央統一，便不免要被消滅或被歧視；而在國外亦不免有未明事實的人，受這種宣傳的蠱惑，甚至誇張共產黨的軍隊力量，與事實皆不符合，有時且與他們所宣傳的幾乎完全相反。抗戰以來

with the whole-hearted cooperation of our Allies, powerful armies are being equipped and conditioned to assume the offensive. We are synchronizing our efforts with those of our Allies in expelling Japan from the Asiatic mainland.

The Government has not hesitated to meet the issues raised by the Communists squarely. During his recent visit the Communist representative Mr. Chow En-lai was told that the Government would be prepared to set up in the Executive Yuan a policy-making body to be known as the wartime Political Council, to which other parties, including the communists would have representation. In addition, he was told that the Government would be ready to appoint a commission of three officers to make plans for the incorporation of the Communist forces in the National Army, composed of one Government officer, one Communist and one American provided that the United States Government would agree to allow an American officer to serve. If the United States Government could not agree some other means of guaranteeing the safety of the Communist forces, and non-discrimination in their treatment, it could doubtless be evolved.

The Government has gone further. To meet any fear the Communist may have, the Government has expressed its willingness for the duration of the war to place an American general in command of the Communist forces, under my over-all command as Supreme Com-

，八年之中，始終負作戰責任的，大家都知道，實際上是政府所統率國軍，現在已有盟國的通力合作，政府已準備極強大的軍隊與配備，以進行反攻，並配合盟軍共同作戰，以驅日寇於亞洲大陸之外。

本席對於共產黨的要求，已曾明白答復。最近政府曾對共產黨代表周恩來說：政府準備在行政院內設置戰時政務會議，為行政院決定政策之機關，將使共產黨及其他黨派人士參加。政府並準備組織一個三人委員會，辦理整編共產黨軍隊為國軍的一切事宜。三個委員中，一位代表政府，一位代表共產黨，一位是美國軍官。如美國政府同意，固然最好，即美國政府不能同意派人，我政府亦必用其他適當方法，担保共產黨軍隊整編後的安全，及與其他國軍享受同等待遇。

此外，本席還提出一種辦法以為共產黨對於其軍隊的整編，既不免有無端的疑慮，政府願意在抗戰期中，如美國政府同意時，可將共產黨軍隊，在最高統帥節制

mander, again if the United States Government could agree to the appointment of an American officer. The Communists have however rejected all these offers. If the Communists are sincere in their desire to fight the Japanese alongside us and our Allies, they have indeed been given every opportunity to do so.

Since the commencement of the latest phase of the negotiations with the Communists in November last year, the Government mindful of the necessity of avoiding mutual recriminations if parties to a dispute are sincere in their desire for a settlement, has made all efforts to prevent newspaper attacks against the Communists. For this reason only the Communist version of the difficulties is being heard. The Communists have made use of the negotiations to launch a whirlwind campaign of publicity, both at home and abroad, defamatory of the Government and the Kuomintang. At the very moment that the delegates were sitting down to the conference, ridiculous charges were made that the Government was conducting negotiations with the Japanese. I consider it beneath my dignity as head of the State to answer those charges.

No one mindful of the future of our four hundred and fifty million people and conscious of standing at the bar of history, would wish to plunge the country into a civil war. The Government has shown its readiness and is always ready to confer with the Communists to

之下，指派一個美國將官直接統率。不意上面這兩種提議，皆已遭受共產黨拒絕。以共產黨如果真心誠意願與國軍及盟軍聯合作戰，在政府實已將公允可能的方法坦白誠意提出了。

抑又有須申述者，自從上年十一月中央與共產黨開始會商以來，中央深信各方意見有爭執時，果為誠意謀取解決，便不應互相攻訐。因此竭力勸告國內輿論，不應有攻擊共產黨的論調。乃不意共產黨即藉此次商談機會，在國內外廣事宣傳，並且對政府及國民黨肆意抨擊。因之國內外人士所聽聞者，祇為共產黨片面之詞，且在雙方會商之時，竟造作各種極可笑的流言，如謂政府已在同日寇洽商和平等語。本席在代表國家的人格與地位，認為此種誣蔑之言，實在不值一駁。

凡我國人，莫不關心於四萬萬五千萬同胞未來之前途，亦莫不深明其本人對於其後世繼起者應盡的責任，決不願重觀國家發生內戰，亦必能深悉政府歷年來委曲求全的事實，準備隨時與共產黨商議一個根本解決的辦法，政府所提出的辦法，如

bring about a real and lasting settlement with them.

I have explained the Government's position on the Communist problem at length, because today that is the main problem to unity and constitutional government. I now turn to the concrete measures which the Government proposes to take to realize constitutional government which I wish to announce briefly:

1. The National Assembly to inaugurate constitutional government will be convened on the 12th of November this year, the 80th birthday of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, subject to¹⁰ the approval by the Kuomintang Congress which is due to meet in May.

2. Upon the inauguration of constitutional government, all political parties will have legal status and enjoy equality. (The Government has offered to give legal recognition to the Communist Party as soon as the latter agrees to incorporate their army and local administration in the National Army and Government. The offer still stands.)

3. The next session of the People's Political Council with a larger membership as well as more extensive powers will soon be sitting. The Government will consider with the council the measures in regard to the convening of the National Assembly, and all related matters.

I am optimistic of national unification and the future of democratic government in our country. The torrent

此寬大，也已盡量替共產黨着想了。

本席所以不厭求詳，反復說明中共問題者，實在因為中共問題懸而不決，是目前抗戰與一切建設的障礙。至於實施憲政問題，政府得依下列步驟，促其早日實施。

(一) 預定於本年十一月十二日，國父八十誕辰召集國民大會，以實現憲政，一俟五月間國民黨代表大會通過，即可正式決定公佈。

(二) 自實施憲政之日起，各政黨均有合法的平等地位（政府前經向中共宣示，祇須共產黨願將其軍隊及地方政府的組織交歸政府，即可承認共產黨的合法地位，此項宣示，仍為有效）。

(三) 國民參政會將於近期內舉行第四屆集會，此屆參政員人數，及參政會職權，均較以前增大。政府擬在此屆參政會集會時，將召集國民大會辦法，及其他憲政問題，提出參政會審議。

本席對於抗戰勝利，與吾國民主政治的前途，均甚樂觀。現在一般輿論，要求

of public opinion demanding national unity and reconstruction is mounting ever stronger and will soon become an irresistible force. No individual or political party can afford to disregard this force any longer. Let all of us, regardless of party affiliations work together for the twin objectives of our people—national unity and reconstruction.

全國軍事與政治的統一及建設，日益增強。此種輿論，為全國民心所向，將成為偉大澎湃而不可抑止之力量。深信全國任何團體，任何個人，終必遵循這種輿論的要求，共謀抗戰勝利與建設成功之實現。我憲政實施協進會負有促成憲政，以鞏固國家統一與永久福利之責任，故特為各位先生鄭重言之。

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

- (1) subjunctive mood 省略 “if,” 即 “If it had not been.” 同此 “If he were a King” 省略為 “Were he a King;” “If I were to go” 為 “Were I to go;” “If I should see” 為 “Should I see.” (2) “不便利”。An untoward event has caused the trip to be cancelled. 旅行因不幸之事發生故而取消。(3) 此處之 “would” 為 “wish to” 之強調。(4) 凡名詞，形容詞之第一字母為 “u” 而為長音，冠詞用 “a”，故 “a university,” “a unique character.” (5) “But for,” “設非” 為 prepositional phrase, 其後祇用 noun, 其句中之動詞或用 indicative mood, 但多用 subjunctive mood, 視其所陳述者為近事實或懷疑，本句可伸為 complex sentence 用 subjunctive verb, 如，if it were not for the Communists, we should be a united nation But for his illness, he would have come = If it had not been for his illness, he would have come. 同 “But for” 又有 conjunction phrase “But that,” 其後則為 clause 而動詞必須用 indicative mood (現在與過去均可)。如 But that he is ill, he would come = If he were not ill, he would come. But that he was ill, he would have come = If he had not been ill, he would have come. (6) “立刻” When he has made any decision, he carried it out forthwith. 彼一有決定即實行。(7) “帶有”，“滿有”。This plan is fraught with mischief. 此一計劃備有弊害。(8) “離開本題”，He often digresses from his point. 彼之言論常涉及本題以外。(9) “因為” 為 conjunction phrase. He declined the invitation on the ground that he is indisposed, 彼措辭因病婉謝邀請。同義有 preposition phrase “on the ground of” 其後祇用 object, 上句為 complex sentence, 今用此 prepositional phrase 則變為 simple sentence, 如：He declined the invitation on the ground of indisposition. (10) “視……為定”。This plan is subject to changes. 此一計畫尚待改變。

PRES. HARRY S. TRUMAN'S WELCOME ADDRESS TO THE UNITED
NATIONS CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATION IN SAN FRANCISCO

*Delivered by radio from Washington, D. C. on
the night of April 25, 1945.*

杜魯門總統向出席舊金山聯合國國際機構
會議之各國代表致歡迎詞

一九四五年四月二十五日夜由華盛頓播講



The world has experienced the revival of an old faith in the ever-lasting moral force of justice. At no time in history has there been a more important conference, nor a more necessary meeting, than this one in San Francisco which you are opening today. On behalf¹ of the American people, I extend to you my most hearty welcome.²

President Roosevelt appointed an able delegation to represent the United States. I have complete confidence in its chairman, Secretary of State Stettinius, and in his distinguished colleagues, former Secretary of State Hull, Senator Connally, Senator Arthur Vandenberg, Representative Bloom, Representative Eaton, Governor Stassen and Dean Gildersleeve. They have my confidence. They have my support.

In the name of a great humanitarian, one who surely is with us today in spirit—I earnestly appeal to³ each and every⁴ one

舉世今已感及對永恒正義精神力量誓有信

念之復活有史以來從無任何會議有若諸君今日

舉行之舊金山會議之重要及需要者。余謹代表

美國人民向諸君敬致衷心之歡迎。

羅斯福總統生前派定一才力卓越之代表團

，余對代表團團長美國務卿斯退丁紐斯及其卓

越之同僚、前國務卿赫爾、參議員康納利、參

議員范登堡、衆議員白魯姆、衆議員伊登、明

尼蘇達州州長史塔生及吉爾德斯里弗教務長、

完全信任、彼等獲有余之信任及余之支持。

余茲以偉大人道主義者之名義（吾人今日

自必具有此種精神）、向諸君熱誠呼籲、超越

of you to rise above your personal interests and adhere to⁵ those lofty principles which benefit all mankind.

Franklin D. Roosevelt gave his life while trying⁶ to perpetuate his high ideals. This conference owes⁷ its existence in a large measure to the vision and foresight and determination of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Each of you can remember the other courageous champions who also made the supreme sacrifice, serving under your flag. They gave their lives so that others might⁸ live in security. They died to insure justice.

We must work and live to guarantee justice—for all of you who participate¹⁰ in this conference are to be the architects of a better world, and in your hands rests¹¹ our future. By your labor at this conference we shall know if the suffering humanity is to achieve a just and lasting peace. Let us labor to achieve the peace which is really worthy of their great sacrifice. We must make certain by your work here that another war will be impossible.

We who have lived through the torture and struggle of two world conflicts must realize the magnitude¹² of the problem before us. We do not need farsighted vision to understand the trend¹³ in recent history. Its significance is all too clear. With ever-increasing brutality and destruction modern warfare, if unchecked, would ultimately crush all civilization. We still have the choice between the alternatives of continuation of international chaos or establishment of a world organization for the enforcement of peace.

個人之利益，而皈依彼惠及全人類之崇高原則。
羅斯福總統窮其畢生精力，致力促使其偉

大理想垂諸永久，此一會議之誕生大部份有賴

羅斯福總統之高瞻遠矚及其決心。諸君亦可憶

及在君等所舉之旗幟下作最大之犧牲之其他英

勇戰士，彼等為他人安全生活而犧牲其一己之

生命，彼等以死保證正義。

吾人必須以工作及生命保證正義。參加此

次會議之諸君，皆為較好世界之建築者。吾人

之前途均繫於諸君之手，吾人藉君等集會之辛

勞，將知痛苦之人類是否能致力建立一公正而

持久之和平，吾人且致力建立一不負彼等偉大

犧牲之和平。吾人必須藉諸君在此之工作，確

使另一大戰不能再起。

吾人飽經兩次世界大戰之痛苦及爭鬥必須

認清吾人當前問題之重大，吾人無需遠大眼光

以了解近代歷史之趨勢，其重要性實極顯明、

現代戰爭苟猖獗如故，其日趨增強之殘暴及毀

滅力，終將毀滅我整個文明。吾人於國際騷亂

繼續蔓延及為保證和平而建立世界機構兩者之

中，無選擇餘地。

It is not the purpose of this conference to draft¹⁶ a treaty peace in the old sense of¹⁸ that term. It is not our assignment to settle specific questions of territories, boundaries, citizenship and reparations. This conference will devote its energies and its labors exclusively¹⁷ to the single problem of setting up an essential organization to keep peace. You are to write the fundamental charter.

Our sole object at this decisive gathering is to create a structure. We must provide a machinery which will make future peace not only possible but also certain. Construction of this delicate machine is far more complicated than drawing boundary lines on a map, or estimating fair reparations, or placing reasonable limits upon armaments. Your task must be completed first.

We represent the overwhelming majority¹⁹ of all mankind. We speak for the people who have endured the most savage and devastating war ever inflicted upon²⁰ innocent men, women and children. We hold a powerful mandate from our people. They believe we will fulfill this obligation. We must prevent, if the human mind, heart and hope can prevent it, and stop the repetition of a disaster from which the world will suffer for years to come. If we should pay merely lipservice²¹ to inspiring ideals, and let violence overcome justice, we would draw down upon us the bitter wrath of generations yet²² unborn.

We must not continue to sacrifice the flower of²³ our youth merely to check the madmen, those who in every age plan for world domination. The sacrifices of our

此一會議之目的不在草擬舊金山所謂之和

約、解決領土、邊界、國籍及賠償等特殊問題

、概非吾人之責。舊金山會議將集中全力專心

處理建立主要機構、以維和平之問題、基本憲

章將出自諸君之手。

吾人於此決定性會議之唯一目標，乃建立一個機構。吾人必需建立一個機構、不僅使未

來和平成爲可能而且一定。此種微妙之機構之

建立、較在地圖上劃界線、估量合適賠償、及

適量限制軍備等事遠爲複雜、君等之工作必須

先行完成之。

吾人係代表人類之大多數人民、吾人係爲

遭受最野蠻殘暴之戰爭之無辜男女幼童發言。

吾人自民衆方面受有重大之託付、彼等相信吾

人可完成此項任務、如人類之心思及希望能阻

止、則吾人必須阻止將使人民再受多年之災難

之重演。如吾人對崇高之理想徒託空言、而聽

任殘暴壓倒正義、則現未誕生之後代子孫、必

將痛罵吾儕。

吾人慎勿再以青年之精華盡犧牲於阻止此等永遠計劃支配世界之瘋狂人之工作。吾人今日青年所受之犧牲、必須藉諸君之努力、建或

youth today must lead, through your efforts, to the building for tomorrow of a mighty combination of nations founded upon justice for peace. Justice remains the greatest power on earth. To that tremendous power alone will we submit. Nine days ago, I told Congress and the United States, and now I repeat it to you:

Nothing is more essential to the future world than continued cooperation of the nations to muster the force necessary to defeat the conspiracy of the Axis powers to dominate the world. While these great states have the special responsibility to enforce peace, their responsibility is based upon the obligations resting²⁴ upon all states, large and small, not to use force in international relations except in domination of law. The responsibility of great states is to serve and not to dominate the peoples of the world. None of us doubt²⁵ that with divine guidance, friendly cooperation and hard work, we shall find an adequate answer to the problem history has made out before us.

Realizing the scope of our task and the imperative need of our success, we proceed with humility and determination. By harmonious cooperation, the United Nations repelled the onslaught of the greatest aggregation of military force that was ever assembled in the long history of aggression. Every nation now fighting for freedom is giving according to its ability and opportunity.

We fully realize today that victory in war requires a mighty united effort. Certainly, victory in peace calls for, we must conceive an equal effort. We learned

未來基於和平正義之各國偉大之聯合、正義仍為世界上最偉大之力量、我人僅屈服於此項偉大力量之下、余今將九日前告美國國會及國人者敬告諸君。

對於世界之前途未有更重於各國繼續合作、集中必要之力量、以擊敗軸心國家支配世界之陰謀。各大國具有實現和平之特別責任、其責任以一切大小國家之義務為基礎。除維護法律外、不得在國際關係中使用武力、大國之責任為服務而非支配、世界之各民族、吾人絕不懷疑、吾人可藉神聖之指導、友好之合作、及艱苦之努力、而使歷史所給與吾人之問題獲得適當之答案。

鑒諸吾人工作範圍之廣泛及迫切需求成功、吾人以謙和及堅定之步伐前進、在密切合作之下、聯合國已抵抗此次侵略史上最龐大之軍事侵略、每一與國現正為自由而貢獻其一切能力及機遇。

吾人今已澈底了解、欲謀軍事勝利、必須堅強之聯合力量。誠然、吾人必須想像和平之勝利亦需同等力量。過去吾人早知單獨生存為

long ago that it is impossible for one to live into himself. This same basis principles applies today to all the nations. We were not isolated during the war. We must not become isolated in the peace. In order to have good neighbors we must also be good neighbors. That applies in every field of human endeavor.

For lasting security, men of good-will must be united and organize. Moreover, if our friendly policies should ever be considered by belligerent Leaders as merely an evidence of weakness, the organization we establish must be adequately prepared to meet any challenge.

The differences between men, and between nations, will always remain. In fact, held within reasonable limits, such disagreements are actually wholesome. All progress begins with differences of opinion and moves forward as differences are adjusted through reason and mutual understanding. The essence of our problem here is to provide a sensible machinery for the settlement of disputes among nations. Without this, peace cannot exist.

We can no longer permit any nation, or group of nations, to attempt to settle their arguments with bombs and bayonets. If we continue to abide²⁶ by such decisions, we will be forced to accept the fundamental philosophy of our enemies, namely, that "might makes right." To deny this promise, and we most certainly do,²⁷ we are obliged to provide the necessary means to refute it.

We must, once and for all²⁸ reverse the order, and prove by our acts conclusively,²⁹ that right has might. If we do not want

不可能，此一基本原理，對今日各國同樣適用。在戰爭中吾人未曾孤立、在和平時吾人亦不可孤立。爲求獲得友好之鄰邦計，吾人本身先須爲他國之友好鄰邦、此對人類任何活動均屬適用。

爲求持久之安全、具有善意之人類、必須團結組織。抑有進者、吾人之友好政策、如被好戰鬥之領導者認爲示弱的明證，則吾人所創立之組織必須充分之準備、以應付任何挑戰。

人與人間之異見、與國與國間之異見、將永遠存在、事實上如能將此種異見抑制於合理範圍以內、亦不無補益。一切進化、皆由意見之參差而來、然後由於理性與雙方諒解而獲得調和、吾人計劃之要旨、乃在建立一合理之機構、以解決國際間之糾紛、無此機構、則和平不能存在。

吾人已不能再容任何一國或任何集團之國家、企圖以炸彈或槍砲解決其糾紛、吾人若繼續遵從此種決定、則吾人將被迫接受敵人之基本哲學、乃所謂「強權即公理」者是也。爲否認此種前提計、吾人大都確保如此、吾人必須備有必需之方法、以駁斥之。

吾人必須以一勞永逸之方式變更其順序、並以吾人之行動斷然證明「唯公理始有權力」

to die together in war, we must learn to live together in peace. With firm faith in our hearts to sustain us along the hard road to victory, we will find our way to secure peace, for the ultimate benefit of all humanity. We must build a new world—a far better world—on which the eternal dignity of man is respected. As we are about³⁰ to undertake our heavy duties, we beseech Almighty God to guide us in building a monument to those who gave their lives so that this moment might come. May We lead our steps in His righteous path of peace!

。吾人若不欲於戰爭中同歸於盡、則必須學習和平相處、吾人因心中具有堅定之信念、以支持吾人在達到勝利之艱難路途上邁進、故吾人將發我謀得和平之途徑、以爲全人類獲致最大之利益。吾人必須建造一新世界——更佳之世界、——使人類永久之尊嚴、於此得被尊重。

。吾人以行爲擔負吾人重大之責任、故祈求全能之上帝、引領吾人、爲彼等犧牲性命、冀使此等時刻可能來到之先驅、建立一不朽之紀念。

。吾人之主宰必能引領吾人之步伐。踏上和平之正直途徑。

Annotation

(1) “代表” • He speaks on your behalf, 彼代汝等致詞 • (2) “向…致” • In token of your birthday, I extend to you my congratulation, 茲值閣下壽辰, 余向閣下謹致賀忱 • (3) “以…名義” • He appealed in the name of justice, 彼以公平名義而呼籲 • (4) “each and every”, “每個”, 強調語 • (5) “依附”, “皈依” • In formulating his Three People Principle, Dr. Sun adhered to the philosophy of the Confucian school, 國父於其學說中皈依孔門哲學 • (6) 爲“while he was trying”之省略, 因子句中之 subject (此處爲“he”) 與主句“Roosevelt”相同, 故略 • (7) “蒙”, “惠及” • I owe you my success, 我之成功實爲君之恩惠 • (8) “多爲” • His success is in a large measure the result of application, 彼之成功多爲勤勞之結果 • (9) “might” 係 subjunctive verb (過去式) 表明目的 • He comes that (so that, in order that) he may see you, He came that he might see, 彼此行之目的爲探望汝 • (10) “參加”, “參與” • He participates in the movement, 彼參加此項運動 • (11) “繫於” • The future of our country rests in your hands, 國家前途繫於君等之手 • (12) “重大” • We realize the magnitude of this problem, 吾人認識此一問題之重大 • (13) “趨勢”, “趨向” • The modern political trend is toward democracy, 民主爲近代政治趨勢 • (14) “選擇”, “取捨” • We had no alternative except to fight, 吾人除從事戰爭外, 無他途徑 • (15) “起草” A committee was elected to draft the constitution and bye-laws of the society 會員選擇委員會起草會章 • (16) “in the old sense of the term” 在“以往所謂(起草和約) • War, in the old sense of the term, was the business of frontline combatants, 戰爭照舊日解決僅爲前線戰士之事 • (17) “完全” • He worked

exclusively for other, 彼完全爲他人工作。 (18) "are to write", 有大勢所趨, 責任之意。 (19) "overwhelming majority", "絕大多數"。 He is supported by an overwhelming majority, 彼得有絕大多數之支持。 (20) "加於" Great was the pain inflicted upon him, 彼受痛苦極大。 (21) "lip service", "空言", "齒惠"。 We have been given lip service, but not real help, 吾人所得者爲口惠, 非實際資助。 (22) "yet", "未"。 His spirit will live through all time yet to come, 彼之精神在未來將永遠存在。 (23) "the flower of youth", "青年之精英"。 War has crushed many a flower of your youth, 戰爭摧殘吾人之少年甚多。 (24) "基於", "根據"。 His action rests upon the decision of the government, 彼之行動遵奉政府決定。 (25) "doubt" 複數, "none" 作 subject 用時, 或指複數, 或指少數, 故動詞依之決定。 (26) "遵從", "遵守"。 All the members of the club should abide by its regulation, 吾人之俱樂部會員應遵守規則。 (27) "do" 替代 "deny this promise"。 (28) "once and for all", 或 "once for all", "祇此一次", "一勞永逸"。 Now I explain this to you once and for all, 余現向君作最後一次之解釋。 (29) "斷然", "完全"。 The problem is conclusively solved, 此一問題之決定各方皆顯到。 (30) "are about to", "即將" = "are going to"。 此爲一種 prepositional phrase 表示在最近之將來發生之事, 其後不能置以未來時間語句。 He is going soon (即去), He is about to go, (瞬間即去, 更快)。

U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE EDWARD R.
STETTINIUS, JR.'S ADDRESS AT THE OPEN-
ING SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS
CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATION

April 25, 1945.

美國務卿斯退丁紐斯在聯合國
國際機構會議開會時演講

一九四五年四月二十五日

Fellow delegates of the United Nations Conference on International Organization:

President Truman has spoken of the grievous loss which came to America and to the world less than two weeks ago. This conference of the United Nations to prepare the charter of a world organization has come about² through the vision and the courage of one man above all others³ — Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Many of his last hours were spent on preparations for this moment—for a moment which, in the wisdom of God, he could not live to see. We are met here at the time and at the place which he proposed. We have met to carry forward the great purpose for which he spent his strength—up-building the structure of a lasting peace after victory in this war. We

聯合國國際機構會議代表先生：

不及二週以前，杜魯門總統曾談及美國與世界遭受悲慘之損失。此一準備世界機構憲章聯合國會議，係由故總統羅斯福超人之眼光與勇氣所促成。故總統在將逝世前之大部分時間，皆用於此一會議之準備工作，而今渠為上帝所召，已不克目擊此一會議之開幕。吾人現在渠所議定時間與地點在此舉行會議。吾人現聚集於此，即欲向羅故總統奮鬥之目標邁進，亦即在戰爭勝利後，建立永久之和平機構。吾人

have lost a wise and valiant leader, but the purpose lives on, in this purpose the United States is more resolute than ever.

All America⁴ spoke through Franklin D. Roosevelt when he said: "The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man, or one party or one nation. It cannot be an American peace, or a British, a Russian, a French, or a Chinese peace. It cannot be a peace of large nations—or of small nations. It must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world. There can be no middle ground here. We shall have to take the responsibility for another world collaboration or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict."

All America also spoke through President Truman just now, when he said: "With ever increasing brutality and destruction, modern warfare, if unchecked, would ultimately crush all civilization. We still have the choice between the alternatives—the continuation of international chaos, or the establishment of a world organization for the enforcement of peace."

In their purpose to build an enduring structure of world peace, the people of the United States believe that they are firmly united with all the other United Nations. They are united with the large countries which, of necessity,⁵ have had to bear the main burden of winning victory over our common enemies. They are united with the smaller countries, so many of which have suffered the agony

現雖失去一賢明與英勇之領袖，但其目標現猶存在，在此一目標之下，美國較前此更見堅定。

羅故總統發表如下演講，實代表全美國人民發言，渠稱：「世界和平機構，非一人一黨或一國之工作，亦非美國之和平或英蘇法中一國之和平，更非大國或若干小國之和平。和平必須依賴全世界之合作力量，在此無折衷之餘地，吾人必須負起世界合作之責任，否則吾人勢將負起另一世界大戰之責任。」

此外，杜魯門總統現所發表之下列演講，亦實代表全美國人民而言，渠稱：「近代戰爭之殘酷性與破壞性，如不予以制止，則最後將毀滅所有之文明，吾人現在二者之間，尚有選擇餘地，即吾人將使國際混亂繼續存在，抑建立促進和平之世界組織。」

關於羅故總統與杜魯門建立持久世界和平機構之目標，美國人民相信渠等與其他聯合國現已密切聯合，美國人民現已與若干大國結合，各該國已須負起戰勝共同敵人之主要責任。美國人民現亦與若干小國結合，此若干小國在戰前因不能把握時

and destruction of conquest because of the failure of peace-loving peoples to unite in time against aggression before this war.

The vital national interests of each of the United Nations require that all of the United Nations work together to make peace and freedom secure. No one of the large nations, no one of the small nations can afford anything less than success in this endeavor. Each of them knows too well what the consequence of failure would be. It⁶ is, therefore, with this strong bond of compelling mutual interest that this United Nations conference begins. It is with this clear understanding of what the realities demand of us that we fortify our high vision of a permanent structure of organized peace.

A great American, Cordell Hull, who devoted many years of his life to the task before us, expressed to me only Sunday his profound faith that the difficulties and the labors of the conference will be crowned with⁷ success. We all hope that Cordell Hull's improving health will permit him to take part in the conference later on.

To us, who are Americans, it is a hopeful symbol that this conference has met in San Francisco. In our history⁸ the west has always meant the future. San Francisco is a place toward which many generations of Americans have turned their eyes. With faith, American pioneers opened a new path westward across a wilderness. With cour-

機，防止侵略，故遭受被征服之苦楚與破壞。

為謀聯合國中每一國家之主要利益計，必須所有聯合國共同努力，以確保和平與自由。任何一大國或任何一小國，勢非謀得此項努力之成功不可，任何一國皆深知失敗將召致何種結果。因而此次聯合會議，即賴相互利益堅強聯繫而開其端。吾人因明知現實所需於吾人者，究為何物，乃能鼓勵吾人對建立持久和平機構之崇高之憧憬。

美國之偉大人物，前任國務卿赫爾，在吾人之前，曾以多年時間致力此項工作，並於本月二十二日向余表示，此一會議之困難與艱苦之果厥為成功。吾人皆深盼赫爾先生健康之進步，將能使渠參加本會議之工作。

此一會議，在舊金山舉行，自吾美人觀之，實一有希望之象徵也。在美國歷史上所謂「將來」者，往往指「將來」而言，舊金山即為許多年代以來美人轉注之所，具有信念之美國開拓者，曾向西橫跨原野開闢一新途徑。渠等以勇氣應付與

age, they met and conquered every danger along the way until they reached the promised land they sought. Since then Americans have always thought of California of San Francisco, as a place where hopes come true,⁹ where all purposes can be accomplished.

Now the deepest hope and highest purpose of all mankind—ending peace—is here committed to¹⁰ our hands. We, too, are pioneers on a new road. There will be many obstacles and many dangers. We, too, must call upon the courage and the faith of those who came to California before us—across a wilderness to the shores of this great ocean named for peace. We approach our task humbly, but with united resolution.

The prayers of the people of the world are with us. They are spoken in many tongues and in the words of many creeds. But they are as one voice, rising from the tragedy and suffering of war, in the prayer for lasting peace. Thus fortified and with the guidance of Almighty God, we must and shall fulfill the purposes for which we have come together.

克服沿途之每一危險，直至渠等抵達彼富有希望之地點為止。嗣後美國人民即認為加利福尼亞州與舊金山為實現希望與完成目標之區。

人類最深切之希望與最崇高之目標——持久和平——現正在此間付託吾人之手，吾人亦為新途徑之開拓者，將來必有許多障礙與危險。吾人亦必須具僅曩者抵達加利福尼亞州者橫跨原野至太平洋沿岸之勇氣與信念。吾人必須謙遜而堅定之態度，從事吾人之工作。

全世界人民之禱告者，現與吾人同在一處，渠等之語言與信仰，雖屬不同，但渠等於悲慘及苦難戰爭中，祈禱持久和平，則係衆口一聲。吾人在萬能上帝庇護與指導之下，必須且必將實現本會議之目標。

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

- (1) “Jr.” 為 “Junior” 之縮寫，為 “Senior” 之對。此為英美一種稱呼，“Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.” “即”小 “Edward R. Stettinius,” 謂為 “Edward R. Stettinius,” 之子(或弟)。(2) “促成”，“造成”，“產生”。How did it come about? 此事如何產生。(3) “超過他人”。He is quick-witted above all others. 彼有超人之睿智。(4) “America” 代 “Americans,” 以地代人。All China grieves to hear the sudden death of President Roosevelt. 全中國人民聞悉羅斯福總統遽而溘逝不勝悲哀。(5) “必然”，“不得已”。As it rained, the picnic party was of necessity postponed. 郊遊因天雨不得不延期。(6) “It” 即強調其後之短語，“with this strong bond of compelling mutual interest.” (7) “收……佳果”，“成功”。His efforts were crowned with success. 其努力獲得成功。(8) 美國之開發係由東而西，當東部事業機會既少，美人轉向西方平原發展，故西方在當時美人視為完滿成功希望之地。(9) “證實”。His vision has come true. 彼之幻想已成事實。(10) “委託”，“付託”。He has committed the whole work to us. 彼將此事完全委於吾人為之。

DR. T. V. SOONG'S ADDRESS TO THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

*Delivered before the first business session of
the conference, April 26, 1945.*

宋外長在舊金山聯合國國際機構會議講演

一九四五年四月二十六日對該會第一次全體大會講演



I wish, first of all, to speak of China's regard for the memory of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and I do this with deep emotion. To us he was not only the first citizen of the United States but also an inspired leader of the world. Passionately devoted to the cause of peace and justice among nations, his vision, his statesmanship and courage have brought the victory of the United Nations within sight.

He embodied the ideals and hopes of peoples everywhere. He was rightly regarded as the leading proponent and architect of a durable system of peace, which was to crown our joint efforts in the present struggle.

Only a fortnight ago, he was still actively guiding the work and preparation for this great conference. Although he has left us, his work will continue to guide us. In tribute to his memory and in recognition of all² he has done for us, let us concert our efforts and complete the important task ahead in the fullest measure.³

China, perhaps more than any other

余謹首先代表中國，向已故羅斯福總統致追念之意，在吾人心目中，羅總統不僅為美國第一名之公民，抑且為世界有靈感之領袖，彼以熱烈之情緒，為國際謀正義和平，其高瞻遠矚與夫政治家風度及魄力，已使聯合國之勝利在望。

彼實兼有全世界各民族之理想與期望，且被公認為持久和平體系之創議人與締造者。此一和平機構，將使吾人在此次戰爭中聯合努力得以完成。

不過二星期之前，羅斯福總統尚致力於此次重大會議之指導及籌備工作，彼雖長逝，但其事功將繼續領導吾人。為紀念羅斯福總統及承認其為吾人所完成之一切工作，吾人應集中力量，努力完成前途之重大任務。

中國之瞭解本會議必須成功，或遠較他國

nation, understands the necessity for the success of this conference. For it is now universally recognized that when the Japanese invaded Manchuria in 1931, to deprive China of 30,000,000 of her people and the rich natural resources so essential to her future industrial development, the Second World War had started.

Twice in our generation it has been necessary to mobilize world's resources of men and material to arrest tyranny and to preserve freedom. Twice in our generation we have had to learn by bitter experience that in an interdependent world, war can not be localized, or peace isolated. Twice in our generation we have lost lives in tragic numbers and treasures in prodigious volume that could have been saved if peace-loving nations had united when peace was first threatened, instead of waiting until aggression had engulfed half of the world in flames.

In 14 years of savage warfare since 1931, China has endured every misery that the aggression of a major predatory power can impose. We sought, by all means which were then available in the existing state of international organization, to obtain redress. Inescapably we learned that there was no hope of ultimate safety for any nation without a really effective system of collective security. Therefore, at the very inception⁵ of the idea of United Nations, President Chiang Kai-shek advocated an early setting up⁶ of an executive council of the United Nations, since without such authority a new world order cannot function.

Let us face the hard facts that a long

爲甚，蓋至今日，世界各國，已普遍承認，當

一九三一年日本侵略東三省剝奪中國三千萬人

民及其未來工業發展上必須之天然資源時，第

二次世界大戰即已開始。

在吾人之一代中，必須兩度動員世界人力

及物資，以遏阻專政，而保障自由，在吾人之

一代中，已兩度從艱苦之經驗中，明瞭在一互

相倚賴之世界中，戰爭決不能局部化，和平亦

不能孤立化，在吾人之一代中，已兩度犧牲鉅

額生命及財產，如愛好和平之國家，能於和平

初受威脅而勿待全世界半遭侵略時，即起而聯

合，當可避免此項犧牲。

自一九三一年以來，經十四年之野蠻戰爭

，中國已忍受一大劫掠國家在其從事侵略所能

給予痛苦，吾人曾極力尋求當時存在之國際機

構中所有之一切方法，以謀補救。吾人難免明

瞭，如無一實際有效之集體安全制度，則任何

一國之最後安全即無希望，故蔣主席於初有

聯合國之觀念時，即已主張早日組織一聯合國

執行委員會，蓋無此種機關，則世界新秩序即

不能發生作用。

在全世界建立一有效之法治以前，吾人均

effort is required of all of us before the effective rule of law is established in world affairs. China know it by outer experience that the rule of law was to have been defended by the old League of Nations. But it was disregarded, as we learned to our loss, despite the most solemn covenants entered into by solemn would-be defaulters. Why did the collective security under the League finally fail to point that none of the belligerents, who were permanent members of the League's Council, was involved in the covenant at the outbreak of this terrible war? Because much of the real power in the world was not present in the League. The United States was not a member. The Soviet Union's voice was not always heeded. China was only occasionally represented on its council. Meanwhile Japan, Italy and Germany were allowed simply to resign after committing acts of aggression with complete impunity.⁵

Today, it is different. Today, victory is the result of the cumulative efforts of collective security in action. Germany and Japan are to be kept powerless to do any harm. The United States and the Soviet Union are now among the chief partisans of the new international order, and their overwhelming strength will be joined with that of other powers to back it. So its authority will be upheld by all the powerful nations of our day. To insure the fulfillment of our aims for an effective international organization, we must lose no time. We must not leave this conference without having arranged for setting up a new international organiza-

須長期努力。中國由於艱苦之經驗，認為法治原應由舊國際聯盟予以保障，但吾人蒙受損失後，始知彼行將不履約者，雖曾締結最神聖之盟約，竟輕視法治。國際聯盟之集體安全最後失敗時，何以竟至各交戰國皆聯盟理事會永久理事，而在此可怖之戰爭爆發時，無一受聯盟盟約之干涉。蓋世界實權大部均不在國際聯盟掌握中，美國非國際聯盟會員，蘇聯之意見又不常得各國之重視，而中國則僅偶爾得參加理事會，反視日本、義大利、德意志彼等實行侵略以後，亦只任其脫離聯盟。

今日之情形則大不相同，今日吾人之勝利，係在集體安全之行動中集合努力之結果。德日兩國此後將受管制，使不能再為為害之力量，美國與蘇聯現為新國際秩序之主要份子，彼兩國之超人力量，將與其他各國合力以為新國際秩序之後盾，是以此新秩序之權威，將由吾人今日所有強國所擁護。為保證實現吾人以設立有效國際機構之目的，切不可坐失時機。吾人在未能決定設立新國際機構之辦法前，

tion.

The council will have to deal with security arrangements as varied as the requirements of the situations that are to be met. There will be problems of how security forces are to be maintained,¹⁰ of manpower, industrial organization, military equipment, and security bases under the designs of the United Nations, and also of vital problems of economic recovery and development on which the life of every nation depends.

If there is any message that my country—which has been one of the principal victims of aggression, and the earliest victim—wishes to give to the conference, it is that we must not hesitate to give a part of our sovereignty to the new international organization in the interest of collective security. We must all be ready to make some sacrifices in order to achieve our common purpose among nations, no less than among individuals. We must forthwith¹¹ accept a concept of liberty under law.

We, the Chinese delegation, come from the part of the world with teeming populations whom the cataclysm of this war has stirred to the very depth of their souls. They have witnessed the rise and fall of mighty empires. They have been guarded by the precepts of their philosophies against the depth of villainies perpetrated by the exponents of brute force. They have appreciated fully the majestic surge of power of free men joined in comradeship, and they now strive ardently to attain the common goal of human liberty within the commonwealth of free people.

不能離開本會議。

會議之理事會，須處理視各種情形所需之

種種安全措施，例如如何維持安全力量，工業

組織，軍事配備，以及聯合國所計劃下安全基

地等問題，與夫各國生命所繫之經濟復興與發

展等重要問題。

中國為主要之被侵略國家，且為首先被害

之大國，倘我國有何語奉告國會，即為吾人為

維持集體安全起見，應決不猶豫，以吾人主權

之一部份，貢獻與新國際機構。吾人必須準備

作若干犧牲，俾得完成各國共同目標，亦不亞

於完成各國之共同目標。然吾人嗣後必須接受

在法律下享受自由之概念。

吾中國代表團來自世界上人口繁庶之區，

戰爭之狂流已激動彼等心靈之深處，彼等曾目

觀若干強大帝國之興亡，彼等曾受彼等之哲學

成律之保護，以抵禦提倡勢力者之卑鄙行為。

彼等亦完全了解自由人民在同志精神下連結而

成之偉大力量，彼等現擬在各自由民族所組織

之協同體內，竭力達到人類自由之共同目標。

Annotations

(1) “完成”，“成功”。His labour was crowned with success, 彼之努力獲得成功。 (2) “承認”。The government gave him a prize in recognition of his services, 政府承認之勤勞予以獎金。 (3) “充分”，“盡量”。China has contributed to the winning of lasting peace in the fullest measure, 中國對獲取永久和平已作充分貢獻。 (4) “阻止”，“阻礙”。Opium-smoking arrests the growth of the body 吸食鴉片阻礙身體之發育。 (5) “發端”，“開始”。We had known, at the inception of hostilities, that it was to be a long-drawn war, 戰爭開端吾人固早知其為一持久戰。 (6) “setting up” 為 verbal noun. (7) “to have been defended” 係完成式之 infinitive, 表明動作發生在本句動詞所代表動作之。 (8) “with impunity” “免受懲罰”，“無害”。The woman mocked at him with impunity, 婦人對彼嘲笑而無害。 (9) “趕快”。We must lose no time in our national reconstruction program, 吾人必須迅即實行建築計劃。 (10) “are to be maintained”, “應…維持”。 (11) “立刻”，“即刻”。Having been decided upon, the plan was carried into effect forthwith, 該計劃經決定後立即實行。 (12) “狂流”，“劇變”。It requires a cataclysm to make him change his mind, 欲彼改變心意非有劇變不可。

FRED M. VINSON'S REPORT TO TRUMAN ON
PROGRAM FOR VICTORY IN "THE WAR:
PHASE TWO"

May, 1944

美國動員及重建局局長文生氏對
美總統關於戰爭第二階段對日
戰爭及復員之報告書

一九四五年五月

Nation Is Warned to Expect No Early Relief From Shortages

Army's Plans to Discharge Men Who Have Most Credits Disclosed;
Goods Production Limited Until Pacific Task Is Over

Washington, May 9 (AP).—Following is the complete text of a report, "The War: Phase Two," transmitted to President Truman today by Fred M. Vinson, Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion:

Letter of Transmittal

Office Of War Mobilization
And Reconversion
Washington D. C.

The President,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President: I submit herewith a report entitled "The War: Phase Two." This report has been prepared at my request by the Office of War Information in collaboration with other government departments and agencies. It is designed to answer specific questions which will be uppermost in the mind of the public after the defeat of Germany.

The report attempts to outline, in simple terms, the military and industrial effort which will be required to defeat Japan; the amount and rate of reconversion, our foreign commitments for relief and rehabilitation; the Army's plans for redeployment of troops and partial demobilization. In sum, it attempts to

give a picture of the conditions under which the American people will live during the second phase of the war against the forces of evil.

Any report which undertakes to forecast events is subject to error, and this report is no exception. Nevertheless, it is based on the best judgment in government of the demands upon the nation for the war against Japan.

Sincerely yours,

FRED M. VINSON,
Director.

THE WAR: PHASE TWO

Just how big is the job of crushing Japan? What changes and adjustments must be made in America to accomplish that defeat? How many men must remain in our Army and Navy? How many men will be drafted? What will civilian life be like in this second phase of the world's greatest war? How many jobs will there be? What quantity of consumer goods? How soon can men be released from the armed forces? How many? On what basis?

There are questions which must be answered if the people are to know the size of their task. To the extent that such questions can be answered without giving the enemy valuable information, and always stressing that changes in military and other conditions may abruptly modify any forecast, this statement outlines the situation for America.

TEN BASIC POINTS

Governing the answers to all these questions are these ten controlling statements of principles and facts:

1. War against Japan probably will grow in severity over a prolonged period. Unconditional surrender of Japan, as of Germany, is our goal, and

第二次世界大戰第二階段

粉碎日本工作究爲何等之大？美國必須有何種更變與調整始可達到擊敗日本之目的？我國須維持陸海軍人數多少？將來仍須徵發多少？在此一世界最激烈戰爭之第二階段中，我國平民生活將爲何似？能有多少數目之工作？消費貨物之數量爲何？參加武裝部隊之人，最早於何日可退休？退休之人數多少？依何種根據退休？

倘使我國人對彼等任務之輕重有意求得明瞭，則以上諸問題須有答案。本報告對美國當前情勢作概括之陳述，以求得到上列問題之答案，而不至使敵人獲得珍貴情報爲度，但未嘗忘懷軍事以及其他條件立時有改變任何預計之可能也。

基本十要點

下列所陳述之十大原則與事實，對上述所有各問題之答案發生控制作用：

一、對日作戰有長時間變本加厲之可能。吾人對日本之目標爲無條件投降，一如吾人對德國者然。美國設不能達到勝利

it is hardly likely that Japan will yield her home islands to occupation by our forces short of successful and complete invasion. Experience has shown that any effort to predict definitely the duration of war usually fails. All our effort toward war, and toward production, will be needed up to the last instant.

2. Demobilization of such men as the Army can spare will begin promptly. Because of shipping limitations, it will take about a year to complete the release of men eligible for discharge. The Navy does not plan to demobilize until Japan has been defeated.

3. As a result of lessening pressure on the European war front, cuts in war production began some time ago. During the next six months, war production cuts will be of the order of 10 to 15 per cent of the current rate.

The Navy's small production cuts have been already scheduled. Greater cuts may be expected during the first six months of 1946, after the long pipe lines to apply the war in the first six months of the Far East have been filled. Even then, munitions production in the first six months of 1946 will maintain a level not far from two-thirds of that previously required by the two-front war. In addition to our own needs, we must continue to send lend-lease war essentials to our Allies who are fighting with us against Japan.

4. High production still required for the Japanese war will require that

的完全的攻登日本本土，日本決不讓步使美國部隊佔領其本土。過去之經驗指示吾人準確預斷戰爭時間之企圖常為無效。吾人對日戰爭以及對生產之努力，即在最後一刻皆為需要。

二、我國陸軍多餘兵之復員可迅速開始。因有運輸上限制關係，吾人對合格遣散員兵之退伍工作，所需時間，約達一年。我國海軍非俟擊敗日本之後，將不作減縮計劃。

三、吾人之軍用品生產，因歐洲戰事之和緩，在若干時間以前業已減工。在未來六個月內軍用品之停工將為目前速度之百分之十，依次達百分之十五。

海軍方面小量之生產停工已作有決定。吾人在一九四六年上半年，俟為應付此六個月遠東戰爭之長距離油管盛滿汽油後，可望有大量之減工。即在彼時，吾人對一九四六年上半年之軍火生產將須維持以前兩面戰爭所需要之生產約達三分之二之水準。除吾人本身之需要外，吾人須繼續運送根據租借法案之戰爭主要物品，供給與我對日共同作戰之盟邦。

四、目前因對日作戰仍為必需之高度生產，將需要目前從事軍用品生產之工人

a great part of those now employed in war production stay on the job. The total number of persons unemployed, many of whom will be only temporarily out of work between jobs, probably should not exceed more than 2,000,000 to 2,500,000 persons at the end of the next twelve months, as compared with a present total of about 1,000,000. There will be several local unemployment problems, side by side with actual man-power shortages in areas where war production remains at a high peak. Strict man-power controls will continue to be necessary, especially in such areas. Nationally, the situation should not be acute.

5. Subject to the over-riding priority of war production, some reconversion will take place immediately. The pace will be accelerated as the requirements of war permit. Reconversion planning must proceed vigorously, but we cannot have complete reconversion until final victory.

6. Military requirements for food will not decrease, and relief needs will be greater. Domestic demand for food will continue at high levels. As a result, no early general improvement in the civilian food supply situation can be expected. Food production must be continued at record levels.

7. The structure of many government controls over industry must be maintained to insure war and essential civilian production. Within this structure, restrictions will be relaxed

繼續服務。失業工人之多數為臨時停工中間時期失業，在一年後所有失業工人之總數與目前總數一百萬人左右之數目相較，總數不至超過二百萬人，或二百五十萬人。若干屬於地方性質之失業問題將與軍用品仍維持最高點地區人力缺乏一事，同時存在。嚴格之人力控制必有繼續之需要，尤以上述地區為然。以全國而論，情勢不至敏銳化。

五、若干限度之工廠復員可立即實行，然此則受軍用品，生產越軌性質優先原則之支配。復員計劃須積極進行，但吾人非俟獲得最後勝利之後，不能有全部復員。

六、軍隊方面對食物之需要將不減少，救濟之需要將更形增加。國內食物之要求將繼續保持高水準。其結果，對平民食物供應情形之任何改善皆為無望。因此目前對食物生產必要仍持最高紀錄之水準。

七、多數之政府對工業控制機構必須保持，使軍用品及平民主要生產得有保障。在此種機構之下，凡在不能對戰爭努力發

gradually wherever it is possible to do this without damage to the war effort. Transportation restrictions, for example, must continue in full force, but generally speaking, materials and man power no longer pre-empted for war will be freed for civilian production.

8. One major home-front battle that will continue to demand strongest public support is that against inflation and rising prices. Restraint in buying, observance of price control and rationing regulations remain the top of the list of civilian responsibilities. A wage stabilization policy must be maintained to prevent inflationary price increases and to avoid a post-war deflationary trend which might destroy wage standards.

9. The necessity for raising vast sum of money through the sale of war bonds and by taxation for financing the war with Japan will remain undiminished for a considerable time. Taxes and war bonds also are essential factors in price control.

10. The paramount command is: Win the war! Victory over Japan comes ahead of every other consideration. The war will be shortened and peace speeded, lives will be saved, our men will come home sooner, if every one dedicates himself to this main objective.

THE JOB OF CRUSHING JAPAN

Q—Can Japan be expected to surrender unconditionally?

A.—Unconditional surrender and

生障礙之情形下，一切限制皆逐漸放鬆。

例如交通上之限制必須完全繼續，但廣泛言之，物資與人力如不為戰爭預為準備時，始可解限供應平民生產用。

八、吾人對於通貨膨脹及物價上漲之重要後方奮鬥，尚繼續要求全國最堅強之支持。購買之約束，價格限制及定量分配規則之遵守，將仍為最重要之平民義務。工資穩定政策必須保持以防止通貨膨脹性質之物價上漲及避免戰後貶值趨勢致損害工資標準。

九、發行戰時公債及增加賦稅藉以籌募巨款為對日作戰之用，其必需性將在相當之時期內不至減低。捐稅及戰時公債且為控制物價之主要因素。

十、吾人最高之命令為獲取戰爭之勝利！對日作戰之勝利先於其他一切之考慮。如每一美國人民皆致力於此一主要目標，則戰爭將縮短，和平加速來臨，無數生命將得救免，吾人之武裝同胞必提早回國也。

粉碎日本之工作

問：吾能否企望日本無條件投降？

答：無條件投降及侵佔日本乃作戰之

occupation of Japan are primary war aims. But the Japanese "will fight to the bitter end," says Under Secretary of State Joseph Grew, for ten years Ambassador to Japan, Iwo-Jima's toll of 20,000 American casualties for 23,000 Japanese dead is an example of the to-the-death tenacity which may be expected in key positions.

It is difficult to estimate how long it will take the Allies to defeat Japan. No prediction can possibly take into account the accidents and fortunes of war. The only certain forecast is that the harder we and our allies hit Japan, the more quickly we apply our maximum pressure, the sooner the war will end and the smaller the cost will be in American and Allied lives.

Japan has two great strengths: (1) The willingness of her soldiers to die to the last man rather than to surrender; (2) Her geographical positions: She is hard to get at. Our nearest large harbor is in the Philippine Islands, 1,700 miles from Tokyo. (Okinawa, only 325 miles south of Kyushu, has anchorages but no harbor facilities of importance.) Tokyo is 1,500 miles from Guam and Saipan, which are 5,000 miles from Hawaii, and Hawaii is as far from San Francisco as London is from New York.

JAPAN'S STRENGTH

Q.—What is Japan's armed strength?

A.—Japan has an army of 4,000,000 men, less than a fourth of them in the south of Formosa and China. She has

主要目的。但副國務卿格魯氏曾充駐日大使十年以上，嘗謂日本人民決抗戰到底。硫磺島一役美軍傷亡二萬人始換得日軍二萬三千人，此為以後爭取主要陣地時可料到之先例。

同盟國擊敗日本需要多少時間一點，此時難作估計。蓋任何預言皆無從計算戰爭上之意外與幸運也。惟一有把握之預斷為吾人與盟友打擊日本愈烈，吾人運用吾人極大壓力愈速，則戰事結束愈速，美國及盟邦死亡損失亦愈小也。

日本有兩大力量：（一）日本軍隊寧願戰至最後一人亦不投降，（二）日本位置使他國不易達到其本土。吾人離日本之最近海港在菲律賓，離東京一千七百哩。（硫磺島在九州南祇三百二十五哩，雖有停泊處，但無重要港口便利）。東京距關島及賽班均為一千五百哩，此兩地離夏威夷為五千哩，而夏威夷距舊金山如倫敦距紐約相等也。

日本之力量

問：日本之武裝部隊力量如何？

答：日本有陸軍部隊四百萬人，其中在台灣南部及中國者為四分之一弱。此外

several millions fit for military service not yet called up. So far, we have not come up against the main strength of the Japanese Army.

Although the Japanese fleet has been crippled, it can still strike damaging blows in waters protected by land-based aviation. Her air force is still a powerful defensive factor. Until our recent bombings of Japan became frequent, Japan was producing planes faster than we could destroy them. In one recent raid over Tokyo the Japanese were able to put 650 fighter planes in the air against our Superfortresses.

Q.—How strong is Japan's industrial position?

A.—Government experts have estimated that Japan is capable of maintaining a large production in almost every category of war equipment and military supplies. Although Japan has suffered spectacular military reverses, a large portion of the war machine with which Japan began the war remains intact. The reduction of Japan's industrial potential will require a great intensification of our heavy air attacks.

Japan has many critical war materials on the home islands. In Korea and especially in Manchuria, an important and integral part of Japan's inner zone, Japan has a large industrial plant and important raw materials. She also has stock-piled large quantities of key materials, enough for at least a year of full-scale war.

ALLIED ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Q.—How has Allied warfare wea-

有數百萬適合軍役而未徵發之男子。至目前為止，吾人尙未趕上日本陸軍主力。

日本海軍雖業遭打擊，但在陸上基地空軍保護下，仍可在海面從事破壞性之襲擊。直至吾人最近轟炸日本艦隊增加後，日本製造飛機數量始較吾人毀滅其飛機數量爲少。在最近一次吾人襲擊東京時，日本竟能派遣戰鬥機六百五十架升空與吾人之超級堡壘抵抗。

問：日本現在之工業地位如何？

答：我政府專家估計日本對任何種類之戰爭用品及軍事上供應品均可保持大規模製造力。日本雖迭經慘敗，然日本在戰爭開始時所有之戰爭機構之一大部份仍爲完整。爲減削日本工業上之潛力起見，吾人需要加強吾人對日之空軍之嚴重襲擊。

日本本部藏有多種主要戰爭原料。日本在高麗及其內線中重要且爲其內線不可分離之東北四省，亦有一大規模之工業製造廠及重要原料。此外並儲存大量主要原料至少足以支持一年之全面戰爭。

盟軍之成就

問：盟軍對日作戰以來已削弱日本若

kened Japan?

A.—We have crippled her navy, reduced the size of her air force, and destroyed the perimeter defense of the empire. Our present positions in the Philippines and Okinawa blockade her supplies from the south. Our bombers are increasing the force of their assault on her heavy industry. Since Pearl Harbor we have sunk or damaged more than two-thirds of Japan's merchant fleet, and have severed her outer lines of communication. However, as we get closer to the homeland the remaining merchant fleet may be adequate for the shorter lines of communications.

Even blockading Japan from the mainland, a difficult task, would not starve out the Japanese. These people thrive on less poorer food than Americans.

ALLIED REQUIREMENTS

Q.—What forces will the Allies require to compel Japan's unconditional surrender?

A.—Our experience in Europe has generally demonstrated the need for joint operations of land, air and sea power. Only such coordinated action can compass the defeat of a strong and determined enemy. Germany was subject to years of the most intensive bombing ever known, but it was certainly necessary for our ground forces to battle it out with the enemy yard by yard and mile by mile to win our victory. This experience has been duplicated in the Pacific.

何?

答：吾人業已殘破日本海軍，削弱其空軍，摧毀其外圍防禦。吾人目前在菲律賓濱及硫磺島之地位斷絕其由本島以南運往之供應。吾人之轟炸對日本之重工業正加強予以摧毀。自珍珠港迄今吾人業已擊沉或毀壞日本商船約三分之二以上，並切斷其對外交通線。雖然如此，當吾愈接近日本本土時，日本之剩餘商船對其短距離交通，或仍為有效。

吾人切斷日本對亞洲大陸交通之艱難任務即使成功，亦不能使日本人民斷絕食糧，蓋彼等藉以支持食糧之質量，較美國人民所需要者為低劣。

盟軍之需要

問：盟軍需要多少軍力始可強迫日本無條件投降?

答：吾人在歐陸作戰之經驗業已廣泛示明陸空海軍聯合作戰之需要。惟有此種配合作戰始能擊敗有堅強決心作戰之敵人。德國受數年之空前強烈轟炸始告敗北，但同時吾人之地面部隊曾需要每碼每哩與敵肉搏始獲得勝利。此種作戰情形在太平洋上業已重演矣。

To mount the climatic phases of the war against Japan and to occupy conquered territories, the Army plans to maintain total forces of 6,968,000 men for a year after the European victory. This requirement, as well as that of the Navy, has been calculated by the joint chiefs of staff, using the same precise methods that were used to calculate the requirement for our successful campaigns in Europe, Africa, and our advances in the Pacific. The Army's present strength is about 8,300,000 men.

The Navy will reach its currently authorized strength of 3,389,000 by June 30, 1945. The Marine Corps has reached its authorized strength of 478,000 and the Coast Guard is virtually up to its authorized total of 173,000. Almost our entire Navy will be sent to augment the forces already operating against Japan. The British have thrown forces into Burma and a portion of their fleet is fighting beside that of the United States. Great Britain, France, the Netherlands and China, among others, have pledged their full assistance in combat and in all forms of co-operative efforts in the war against Japan.

It will take time to bring our own maximum forces to bear. The task of transporting them will be tremendous. The maximum use of both ships and planes will be made to bring this force to bear against Japan with all possible speed.

Some of our forces will be started

爲克服對日作戰之氣候上各種情形，以及固守已佔領之土地計，美國陸軍方面計劃在歐洲勝利後一年內，須保持有六百九十六萬八千人之實力總數。陸軍上之需要，一如海軍之需要，係由聯合參謀部所估計者，其根據爲吾人在歐洲非洲及在太平洋進攻勝利各戰役所施用之同樣精確估計方法。日本目前陸軍力爲八百三十萬人。

美國海軍在一九四五年六月三十日以前可達到目前規定之三百三十八萬九千人。海軍義勇團已達到四十七萬八千人，而海岸保衛隊爲十七萬七千人。吾人幾次派遣吾人海軍全部以增強已在對日作戰之軍力。英國已派遣軍隊至緬甸，其海軍之一部已在與美海軍並肩對日作戰。此外有英法荷中四國已申言以全力協助吾人對日積極作戰，並在對日作戰上共取各種合作行動。

使吾人可以最大數量軍力應付敵人尙須在相當時間之後。運輸部隊之任務將極繁鉅，吾人將用最高額之船隻及飛機以極大速度運輸此龐大軍力對日作戰。

吾人之部隊若干部份因可立即開始派

on the way almost at once, but re-grouping, re-equipping, re-training and re-deploying our armies will require many months, since men and material must be transported to the far Pacific.

Transportation is a key problem in the Pacific. It is doubtful whether much of the merchant shipping now operating in the Atlantic can be shifted to the Pacific because of the millions of men and large quantities of equipment which will have to be moved out of Europe. It is anticipated that the shipping situation will be tighter than ever for many months, because of military requirements in the Pacific, re-deployment of troops, return of men for demobilization and shipment of supplies to liberated areas.

DEMobilIZATION-DRAFT-RECRUITMENT

Q.—What are the plans of the armed forces for demobilization?

A.—Prosecution of the war against Japan must take precedence over all other considerations, but men and women who can be spared from the Army will be demobilized. The Navy does not plan to demobilize until Japan has been defeated. The Army expects to reduce its strength by 130,000 in the first year after the defeat of Germany, but this will have to be done slowly at first because first priority on shipping must be assigned to the men and material going to the Pacific.

The soldiers to be released through the cut in the size of the Army will be selected from among fathers and those

赴前線，但因軍隊與軍需既須運往太平洋之極遠地帶關係，吾人部隊之再編，重為配備，重新訓練，重新佈置等事非數月不可也。

運輸為吾人在太平洋作戰上之一主要問題。因吾人有數百萬軍隊及大量配備必須由歐洲撤退關係，吾人能否將日前在大西洋上服務之若干商輪派往太平洋尚屬疑問。吾人預料在未來數月內之輸運情形將較以往更為緊張，蓋因有太平洋上之軍事上需要，軍隊之重新配置，退伍回國軍人，及運送供應品至被解放區域種種情形也。

復員。徵發。補充

問：美國之海陸空武裝部隊之退伍計劃為何？

答：繼續對日作戰雖高於其他一切之考慮，然服務陸軍方面之男女如無需要將可復員。但海軍方面非俟日本擊敗後不作復員計劃。陸軍方面希望在擊敗德國後之第一年內可減少十三萬人，但此在初期須從緩實行，蓋因派往太平洋之軍隊與軍需對輸運有第一優先權也。

因陸軍減縮將准予免役之軍人應由有兒女及服務時間最長，服務最為熱烈之員

who have had the most extended and arduous service. It is the Army's intention to release additional men by holding selective service calls at a level above that necessary to replace men lost through battle and normal attribution.

The Army will at the same time continue to release men because of sickness, wounds, age and other factors which prevent their effective use in service. It is expected that discharges of this kind, plus those made through the cut in the strength of the Army, and the excess of draft calls over replacement needs, will result in release from the Army during the next year of about two million officers and men.

Nearly all soldiers will be demobilized from the service through the Army's separation centers and Army hospitals, in this country, and as close to their homes as possible.

HOW DEMOBILIZATION WORKS

Q.—How will the Army select those men and women in its service who will be demobilized?

A.—The selection will be made through the application of fair and impartial standards based on the views of the enlisted personnel themselves. These standards provide consideration for each enlisted man or woman as an individual. The adjusted service rating score will be computed with an allowance of the following credits:

Service credit—Based upon the total number of months of Army service since September 16, 1940.

兵中選出。陸軍部主張舉辦選擇兵役之徵求，其數額水準在能足以補充因戰役或正常情形下死亡員兵數目以上，由此可增多遣散員兵人數。

陸軍部同時繼續遣散因疾病負傷年老及因他種關係服役不能發效用之員兵。吾人可預計除因有此類情形被遣散之外，更有因減縮軍力被遣散之員兵，以及超過補充需要所徵發之員兵，其結果在明年一年中陸軍部將遣散之員兵共約二百萬人。

所有行將復員之軍人將盡數在國內並盡量在接近其家庭各地所設之遣散站或陸軍醫院遣散之。

如何施行復員

問：陸軍部將如何選擇復員之男女員兵？

答：此將依照根據服兵役者自身意見所厘定之公平標準准予申請。此類標準對服役男女個人狀況規定予以考慮。調整兵役計算法將酌量下列成績計分：

服役功績——根據自一九四〇年九月十六日起在陸軍服役月數總數。

Overseas credit—An additional credit based on the number of months served overseas.

Combat credit—Based upon each battle participation star, and each award of the following decorations: Medal of Honor, Distinguished Service Cross, Legion of Merit, Silver Star, Distinguished Flying Cross, Soldier's Medal, Bronze Star Medal, Purple Heart and Air Medal.

Parenthood credit—Credit for each dependent child under eighteen years up to a limit of three children.

The Army has a somewhat similar system for officers. However, because of the character of their duties, the element of military essentiality will play a larger part in the decision.

After the scores of all enlisted personnel are known, the War Department will determine a "critical score." The "critical score" is that score at or above which an individual will be considered for demobilization.

Three factors may delay the separation of an individual who is a member of an organization which is being retained in service; (1) the lack of a qualified available replacement with a score below the critical score, (2) the operation of military necessity, (3) the possession of a special skill needed in the Japanese war. In all cases, however, enlisted personnel with scores who are held in service will be released as rapidly as circumstances permit.

國外功績——根據在國外服役月數予以特別記分。

作戰功績——根據下列參加每一戰役之星章及獎章：榮譽章，優等服役十字章，勳章，銀星章，優越飛行十字章，士兵獎章，銅星章，紫心章及航空獎章。

子女獎助——凡有子女在十八歲以下不能謀生之父母，對其每一子女予以記分以三人為限。

陸軍部對軍官亦有大致相同之規定，但因軍官職守之不同，軍事上重要性為決定軍官獎賞之較大因素。

在所有服役軍人計分揭曉後，陸軍部即作決定分數。此決定分數即為每一軍人有此分數或有更多分數取得有復員考慮資格之分數。

下列三種因素可使一身充留用服役機關份子之軍人展期遣散：(一)無分數少於決定分數之合格接替者可覓致時，(二)軍事需要性之運用，(三)具有對日戰爭所必需之特別技能。然遇情勢許可，在一切情形下，凡服役得有分數者皆得從速復員。

Separate critical scores will be computed for enlisted personnel in the Army Air Forces, the Women's Army Corps, the remainder of the Army. These separate scores are intended to insure equality of treatment for personnel in all branches of the service. Since the critical scores will be applicable throughout the world, it should be recognized that it will be manifestly impossible to separate individuals in the sequence of their scores. To appreciate this fact, one need only to consider the difference in the time required to move personnel between Europe and the United States, or the Pacific and the United States.

In addition, married members of the W.A.C. will be released, upon application, if their husbands have been demobilized or discharged from the armed services. Also enlisted men over forty-two, who apply, are being released by the Army.

SERVICE MAN-POWER NEEDS

Q.—Why not meet our immediate Army needs in the Pacific with men in the United States who have not yet seen overseas service?

A.—Almost every soldier in this country, except those who have already been overseas or who are physically disqualified, already is embarked for foreign service. At the present time about 1,400,000 are in training to go overseas. Most others capable of serving overseas are engaged in essential jobs and will go overseas as soon as

關於服役陸軍航空隊，陸軍婦女服務隊，以及陸軍其他部份之人員，另有計算決定分數辦法。此等計算法對所有服役各部門之員兵予以平等待遇之担保。決定分數既實用於散在世界各部之美國軍人，故軍人之復員決不能根據分數計算之先後，此理正為明顯。吾人僅需思及由歐陸運回軍人返國或由太平洋返國所需之時間上差別，即可明瞭不能依照計分先後分別遣散之事實也。

此外，陸軍婦女服務隊之已婚隊員有因其夫業已復員或革退申請脫離得准予脫離。又四十二歲以上服役軍人申請退役者立即准其脫離陸軍。

當前作戰之人力急需

問：吾人為何不徵發居在國內而未曾參加國外作戰之人以應陸軍部太平洋方面當前之急需？

答：除居在國內而業已參加國外作戰之軍人或體格不合者外，所有美國軍幾全數從事國外作戰服務。目前有一百四十萬人正受訓練赴國外。其他能赴國外服務但

they can be replaced by overseas returnees or limited-service men. However, only part of the needs of the Japanese war can be met from the ranks of men now in the United States.

Q.—How will troops be redeployed to the Pacific?

A.—Because of the urgency of the military task, large numbers of troops will go direct from the European theater to the Pacific. This number will include many service units needed to prepare the harbors, bases and airfields essential to sharply expanded combat operations. Other troops will go to the Pacific by way of the United States and will have an opportunity for furloughs before proceeding to their new destination. More than half, including the great bulk of the combat units, will go by way of the United States.

Q.—Will the draft continue?

A.—Yes. Selective service calls will continue to be large. Deferrals for men under thirty will continue to be relatively few and will become fewer as more veterans return to industry and the farms. The exact size of the calls that will be required to meet the needs of the Army and Navy cannot be calculated at this time. Release of men with long and hard service will require a higher level of calls than would be necessary if no effort were made to spread the burden of military service among as large a proportion of the population as possible.

大半皆從事重要工作，一俟彼等得有歸國軍人或限制服務軍人遞補時，彼等即將赴國外服役。然對日作戰之急需，其能由居在國內之人可策應者僅為一部份耳。

問：吾人將如何在太平洋上重行配置部隊？

答：因軍事緊急關係，吾人部隊將直接由歐洲戰區至太平洋。此數目中包括需要準備之充分擴張作戰之用之港口，基地，飛行場之各種服務單位。其他部隊將由美國派赴太平洋，因此彼等在未達到新目的地之前將得有休假機會。在半數以上將由美國前往，此數包括作戰單位之大部份在內。

問：吾人將繼續徵兵乎？

答：然。選擇兵役之徵求將大規模繼續之。三十歲以下男子緩役相對的極少，俟久經戰役士兵還返農工後，緩役者將更少。目前對陸海兩部所需要招募之確數尚無從估計，如吾人不有從全數人口上盡量施行比例分佈兵役之企圖，則遣散服役長久與勤勉之士兵所需要接替之招募在事實上必為更多。

OTHER UNIFORMED SERVICES

Q.—Will recruiting for the women's services be continued?

A.—Yes. The W.A.C. is below authorized strength, and recruitment must continue. Likewise enlistment of Waves must continue in order to meet the Navy's need for hospital corpsmen and for replacements. The other services—the Marine Corps Women's Reserve and Spars—will require replacements. The Army will continue to recruit nurses. The Navy will also continue to recruit nurses, but only to meet a small monthly quota for replacement purposes. Veterans' Administration, which now has 4,150 nurses, needs 3,000 more before July 31, 1945.

Q.—Has victory in Europe decreased the need for merchant seamen and officers?

A.—No. The need for seamen and officers will continue until at least six months after the end of the war in the Pacific. Repatriation of American troops, movements of supplies and equipment and transport of rehabilitation supplies will continue to engage most of the United States Merchant Marine for perhaps as long as three years after the end of hostilities with Japan.

The United States will need 115,600 additional seamen and officers by Jan. 1, 1946. These men are expected to be obtained as follows: Men to be recruited by War Shipping Administration, through seamen's unions, and ship

其他武裝部隊

問：婦女隊將繼續徵調乎？

答：然。目前婦女服務隊較規定之數目為少，故勢必繼續徵調。同時須繼續徵調洗衣隊以應海軍醫院服務隊及補充之需用。其他如婦女海軍服務後備隊亦需要補充。陸軍部將繼續招募看護。海軍部亦然，但僅需足以應付每月少數補充之數。長久服役管理現有看護四千一百五十名，但在一九四五年七月三十一日以前需增加三千名。

問：歐洲方面戰事勝利是否業已減少商輪海員？

答：否。商輪海員之需要，在太平洋戰爭結束六個月以後，仍為需要。美國軍隊之遣還，供應品配備之運送及善後供應品之運輸，將需用美國大部海員直至對日戰爭結束三年後為止。

在一九四六年一月一日以前美國將需增用十一萬五千六百商輪海員及水手。此數可望由下列來源招募：由戰時輪運局招募，由海員公會招募，及各航線共三萬六

lines—36,200; new men to be recruited and trained—79,000, almost all of whom are to come from W.S.A. training schools.

PRODUCTION AND JOBS

Q.—What effect does the end of the war in Europe have on production?

A.—War production must continue at a very high rate. Even six months from now, war production will almost equal the rate of 1943. It is not simple to shift from a two-front to a one-front war. To date our fighting in the Pacific has constituted only the preliminary battles to the main attack upon Japan. The main battles lie ahead. Warfare in the Pacific will accelerate and production must keep pace.

Actually, some categories of production will increase, some new items will be added and the emphasis will be shifted in other programs. Some items will be cutback. V-E Day production cutbacks have already largely been authorized or have been taken in anticipation of the final collapse of Germany. In the next three months there will be a net total decline in war production which will run between 10 and 15 per cent, as compared with current levels. From that point, larger cuts cannot take place until the long pipe lines to the Pacific have been filled. Thereafter will continue so great as to necessitate the maintenance of production at not far from two-thirds of the schedules of the first half of 1945.

Q.—How will production cutbacks

千二百名，此外招募訓練新海員共七萬九千名，後者將全數由戰爭服務訓練學校招致之。

生產與工作

問：歐洲戰爭之結束對美國生產發生何影響？

答：戰時生產必需高度繼續。甚至在今後六個月內，戰時生產幾與一九四三年之速度相等。從兩面陣線戰爭改爲一面陣線戰爭，非爲簡單之事。截至目前爲止，吾人在太平洋之戰事不過構成對日戰爭初步戰役，主力戰爲期尙遠。太平洋戰爭將變本加厲，生產勢須迎頭趕上。

在實質上言之，若干種類之生產將爲增強，若干新項目須增加，生產重點之所在，因有新計劃勢將隨時轉移，若干項目因而行將減縮。因歐洲戰爭勝利而減縮之生產大都合乎規定，或係預測德國之最後瓦解所定者。在今後三個月內戰時生產之總淨額之下降將爲目前水準之百分三十以至十五。在此點以後直至太平洋油管裝儲完備爲止，不能有更大之停工。在彼時以後將繼續增加以保持生產離一九四五年上半年生產速度三分之二。

問：戰時生產停工將如何分配之？

be distributed?

A.—Cutbacks will be spread as evenly as possibly. However, the changed nature of the Pacific war will affect differently the output of different industries, different areas and different plants. In general, it is planned to cut back production first in tight labor areas, so that work opportunities may be equalized. This will not always be possible, because cutback replacements may be decided for other than manpower reasons, such as, when a particular plant is able to produce only a particular item, it might not be cut back no matter where located.

Q.—How are plants and workers notified about cutbacks?

A.—The procurement agency which issued the original contract will notify the production readjustment committee of the War Production Board, which includes representatives of all interested government agencies, that cutbacks of a certain amount are necessary and will recommend the plants to be cut back.

All agencies concerned review the cutback plan, after which the local representative of the procurement agency, in co-operation with the local termination committee, gives notice to the manufacturer. Simultaneously labor is notified. The termination committee is made up of local W.P.B. and W.M.C. representatives and those of the procurement agencies.

Before notifying management and

答：戰時生產停止製造將平均分佈。

然太平洋戰爭性質之改變對各種不同之工業，各種不同之地區，各種不同之工廠將有各種不同之影響。廣泛言之，現在計劃生產停工先在勞工密集地區開始，因此工作機會方可平均化。惟此事不盡為可能，蓋因戰時生產停止之補充非完全因根據人力一項決定，如一特殊性質之工廠僅能生產一特殊性質之物品，不論其在何地，或不得停工生產也。

問：關於停止生產，工廠與工人如何得知？

答：原訂合同之徵求機關將對戰時生產局包括所有有關政府機關代表人所成立生產調整委員會通知停工量多少，同時提出某某工廠停某生產。

所有有關機關先檢討停止計劃，後由地方徵求機關之代表人與地方終點委員會同通知製造商。同時勞工方面亦受通知。終點委員會由戰時生產局，戰時製造廠及徵求機關之代表人組織之。

地方終點委員會在通知廠方及勞工以

labor, the local termination committee determines whether there are other war requirements for the facilities and man power being released by the cutback in production.

CHANGES IN PRODUCTION

Q.—What additional civilian production will be permitted immediately?

A.—Essential civilian items are needed in larger quantities, including such items as oil drilling equipment, locomotives and freight cars, trucks utilities and farm machinery. In addition, certain consumer items such as refrigerators and washing machines, will be started immediately in moderate quantities. Many minor electrical appliances and other durable and semi-durable goods will start, or expand production.

Not all factories now producing for war will have to make extensive changes in machinery or methods to produce for civilian consumption. Actually, a very large majority of all so-called war production plants can continue to work with the same, or similar machines, and in similar ways. In some cases where specialized equipment is used, physical reconversion will be necessary.

RELAXING CONTROLS

Q.—How will production of civilian goods get started?

A.—The W.P.B. will release its controls as quickly as possible. Some can be removed entirely, others may be released on a local basis in the light of local needs for war production. Among the steps which W.P.B. has already

前須決定某一工廠因戰時生產停工得以恢復原來生產之工廠方面一切設備與人力是否有他種方面之戰時需要。

生產之變更

問：何種民用生產即可准許增加？

答：主要民用物品需要增加數量，此類物品包括開鑿油井設備，機關車，貨車，卡車，衛生用品，農業機器，此外如冰箱，洗衣機器等類消費物品即可開始製造相當之數量。若干次要之電氣器具以及其他耐久性或半耐久性之物品即可開始生產，或擴大生產。

目前所有製造戰爭用品之工廠為製造民用消費用品起見，在機器及方法上不全數需從事大規模之更改。就實質而論，目前所稱為製造戰爭用品之工廠，其中有極大多數能用同樣機器或同樣方法繼續開工。僅在若干用專門設備之工廠始需要實質上之重建。

控制之解鬆

問：民用物品之生產將如何着手？

答：戰時生產局將控制生產將從速弛禁。若干之控制將完全取消，其他之控制視其帶有戰爭物品生產之地方性質者，將根據其地方性質解除之。戰時生產局對此

taken, or will take in the near future, are:

1. Restoration of the complete operation of the spot authorization plan for approving civilian production through district and regional offices of W. P. B.

2. Revocation of a number of orders which at present restrict or prohibit the manufacture of certain minor durable and semi-durable consumer goods, or that limit the use in such articles of materials which now are no longer critical. Gradual revocation of these orders has already begun.

3. "Open ending" the controlled materials plan (C.M.P.) so that copper, steel and aluminum, now channeled entirely by allotments to war production, may be released also to civilian manufacturers for purchase in the free market in such quantities as are no longer needed for war or essential civilian purposes.

4. Removing or "rating floors" from a number of items now under W.P.B. orders to permit delivery or production of these items without a special W.P.B. priority.

5. Positive priority assistance for smaller manufacturers and veterans in obtaining needed materials and components so that each will have a fair chance to get his share.

The war-time economy has closed many businesses. Wherever possible small business will be given the first chance to reconvert.

所已採取或在最近之將來將取之步驟有：

(一) 恢復由散佈各地區之戰時生產局辦事處准許民用生產之隨地授權制之完全作用。

(二) 取消若干現行之限制或禁止製造次要耐久性或半耐久消費用品之多種命令，并取消限制使用目前已失重要性物品之法令。此類法令之取消業已逐步開始。

(三) 普遍結束完全控制之物資制，因此可使原有分期劃歸製造戰爭用品之鋼，鋼及鋁，解除控制，并由民用品製造商在公開市場盡量購進軍用品製造已不需要而為民用生產上重要之數量。

(四) 取消或分級限制目前受戰時生產局命令拘束之若干種類物品，使此類物品不視為有戰時生產局之特別優先性質，得由廠商交貨或製造。

(五) 對小製造商及衰老軍人予以積極優先扶助，使彼等能獲得需要之物資及帶有聯帶性質之材料，由此每人有公平機會取得所需之物資。

商業經營因戰時經濟政策而停閉者甚多。在可能情形下，小規模商業將予以首先重建之機會。

It is expected that two to three million tons of steel will be released during the first quarter after V-E Day, about 500,000,000 pounds of copper and brass, and around 150,000,000 pounds of aluminum probably production during the same period.

READYING FOR RECONVERSION

Q.—How quickly will it be possible to start civilian production in those plants where war orders have been canceled and which must be reconverted?

A.—The length of necessary time will vary with each individual plant according to the amount of change-over needed for its new products, and its ability to get delivery of materials and components. Government agencies already have in operation procedures for prompt settlement of canceled contracts, and for clearing government-owned equipment and surplus inventories, out of facilities no longer needed for war production. Both are geared to give manufactures full and rapid freedom of action in converting to civilian production, within the limitations of supplies of material and man power.

In general, a war producer whose contracts have been canceled will receive reimbursement for all costs incurred by him, which were necessary for the performance of the war contracts, plus a reasonable allowance for profit. Expenses of reconversion, however, may not be charged to the government as part of the liquidation costs.

Basic plans for handling all such

在歐洲戰爭勝利後之開始三個月內。

鋼之解禁可望有二百萬至三百萬之數，在同一時期內約有生銅及熟銅五萬萬磅，錫一萬五千萬磅可解禁。

重建之準備

問：對業已取消戰爭用品生產限制命令而必需重建之工廠，如何使其能迅速從事民用生產？

答：每一工廠有特殊必需之時間，不能劃一，要皆視其對新生產所需要之還原份量及其對購進物資與有聯帶性質材料之能力而定。政府機關業已施行迅速解決已取消合同辦法，并已施行清理戰時生產所不再需要事業中政府所有之設備及多餘財產。此類設備及財產之清理皆能予製造商在物資與人力供給限制下，對恢復其民用生產進行上得有充分及隨時之自由處理。

廣汎言之，以前被取消合同之戰爭用品製造商對其為履行其製造戰爭用品合同所費一切款項將得政府之補償外加一合理利得款額。然製造因恢復原狀之耗費不能盡向政府視為其清理費用一部份而索取。

關於應付上述情事基本辦法業已厘訂

matters have been worked out and information on them is available to all war plants from their contracting agencies. Funds for settlement for all contracts have been set aside from the sums originally earmarked for the whole contract.

Q.—How much is reconversion expected to cost?

A.—Total reconversion of all plants now producing for war is expected to cost not more than \$3,000,000,000. Manufacturers and other businesses of the nation are estimated to have reserves of more than \$20,000,000,000. Smaller manufacturers, who may not have their proportionate share of this big reserve, have access to special financing. The government is prepared to supply them from funds owned them under their contracts in anticipation of full settlement, and also has set up procedures to provide guaranteed interim financing loans on request.

THE MAN-POWER SITUATION

Q.—What effect will shifts in war production have upon national man power and employment?

A.—The vast majority of the 52,000,000 civilian workers are in jobs which will continue during the first six months after V-E Day regardless of cuts in war production. Of these, nearly 43,000,000 are in agriculture, trades and services, transportation, plants manufacturing civilian goods, in business for themselves. About 9,000,000 are in munitions plants, a large

，各製造戰爭用品工廠可由其簽定合同機關覓得此等之詳情。政府對清付所有合同之基金業已在清付整個戰時用品生產合同專款項內劃撥備用。

問：恢復原狀需要費用多少？

答：恢復目前所有製造戰爭用品工廠費用之總額不多於三十萬元。美國全國製造商及其他商業據估計有二百萬萬元以上之準備金。小規模製造商在巨額之準備金中不能照比例享有其應得之部份者，可得政府之特別資助。政府準備由其對此等廠商所預先準備悉數清償根據合同所欠彼等之基金內供給此類小製造商之準備金，並已規定辦法彼等如申請準備金時可得有有保障之臨時投資貸款。

人力之情況

問：戰爭用品生產之變更對國家之人力與職業之影響為何？

答：民用生產工人全數五千二百萬人中之大多數將保持其工作，此等工作在歐洲戰爭勝利後之開始六個月內不因戰爭用品生產之停止而繼續存在。上列數目之工人約有四千三百萬人從事農業，各種行業及服務業，交通，製造民用商品之工廠或私人經營。約有九百萬人在軍火製造廠服

proportion of which must continue munitions production for the war against Japan.

During the next six months, probably about one and a half million workers will lose their jobs. A larger number than this will be out of war work, but they will continue in the same jobs, producing for civilian consumption—for example, steel plants for tanks will continue producing steel for items such as refrigerators. Also, in the next year, about two million men are expected to be demobilized from the Army. During the following six months, perhaps another three million workers will lose their jobs.

But reconversion, expansion and the needs of many industries, such as transportation, retail trades and services, textiles, agriculture, lumber and public utilities, which are now short of workers, should provide jobs for most of those who will lose them through cutbacks. The tremendous backlog of civilian needs and purchasing power will stimulate both old and new enterprises.

Unemployment, therefore, much of which will be temporary, is not expected to total more than two and a half million at the end of the next twelve months, as compared with the present total of about one million.

Shutdowns probably will cause some serious local unemployment, chiefly in one-industry towns where everybody works at the war plant. Where neces-

務，此中有一大部份須繼續為對日戰爭而製造軍火。

在其次之六個月內，約有一百五十萬人失業。從事戰爭工作失業之人數將為更多，但彼等將保持其執業生產民用消費用品，例如煉鋼廠將繼續生產為製造冰箱之用。在第二年有二百萬人由陸軍復員。在此後六個月內約另有一批三百萬人失業。

但因工廠復員，擴大生產，及多數工業，如交通，批發業及服務業，紡織業，農業，木業及公用業，目前均缺乏工人，對減縮失業者應可予以工作。民用需求及購買力之巨大反動皆可刺激新舊經營。

大半屬於臨時性質之失業因此在對日戰爭勝利後第三年年底與目前失業者一百萬人相較，可望不至超過二百五十萬人之總數。

軍用品工廠之停閉，可能產生相當嚴重之地方失業，全體工人在軍用品工廠工

sary, the United States Employment Service of the W.M.C. will supply information as to where workers are needed and will assist the worker in obtaining employment.

Women may be affected more seriously by cutbacks than men, especially in those plants which rely now largely on woman power. But re-employment records show that many women who are released when contracts are canceled have not tried to get new jobs.

HELP BETWEEN JOBS

Q.—What help is available for displaced workers?

A.—For one thing, unemployment compensation is available to released workers in all states. The maximum payments vary from \$15 to \$22 a week, the number of weekly payments from about ten to twenty. Workers may obtain unemployment compensation by reporting to the local United States employment service immediately. If users cannot refer them to new jobs, it will set the wheels in motion for the payment of unemployment compensation.

Q.—What does a veteran do to get his job back?

A.—If he held a position other than temporary, usually he need only to apply to his old employer, who in accordance with the selective training and service act will re-employ him in his old job, or in a position of like seniority, status and pay. If any questions arise, his local selective service board will

之僅有一種工業城市。尤爲如此。在需要時，美國職業介紹所對需要工人地方及需要工作之工人，均可供給情報。

婦女受戰時用品停工之影響將較男子爲大，尤以專賴女工之軍用工廠爲然。但因取消合同而遣散之多數婦女重求執業之記錄示明彼等並未企圖覓得新工作。

先業就業期間之救濟

問：取消工作之工人如何得到救濟？

答：對此問題之一辦法爲各州所有工人皆可獲得失業補償費，其最高額爲每星期十五元至二十二元不等，可領十星期以至二十星期。工人於報告地方之美國工人職業介紹所時比卽領得此項失業補償費。如僱主不能介紹彼等得有新工作，則立卽實行支付失業救濟補償費。

問：長期服役軍人如何取得其固有之工作？

答：——長期服役軍人在投軍前曾有非臨時性之工作，通常僅需向其原僱主請求，僱主依據選擇訓練兵役服務法案應再給予其原有工作，或予以同等優先地位及工資之其他位置。如有問題發生，地方選擇

advise him of his rights and assist him in establishing them.

Up to the end of the war in Europe, more than 2,000,000 men had been discharged from the armed services. Of these, something more than a third had asked for their old jobs back. Most of them found their own jobs. A veteran seeking a new job may go to the United States Employment Service local office and ask to see the veterans' employment representative.

If a veteran is cut of work and the U.S.E.S. is unable to find him a job, he can obtain an unemployment allowance. Under certain conditions he may be eligible for a readjustment allowance of \$20 a week, for from four weeks to a total limit of fifty-two weeks, depending on his length of service.

If a veteran wishes to obtain specific detailed information about his government insurance, medical benefits, education, he should apply to the nearest field office of the veterans administration.

CIVILIAN LIFE

Q.—Will the war-time restrictions on civilians—rationing, lack of household appliances, price control and wage control—continue?

A.—These are war measures, and they must be continued as long as the war-created needs exist. They will be relaxed just as soon as materials, facilities and man power can be released from war production.

The irksome controls are designed not only to direct our resources to war,

兵役部將告知其權利，並協助其謀生。

自此次世界大戰開始直至歐洲戰爭結束為止，由武裝部隊遣散之士在二百萬名以上，其中有三分之一以上曾獲得其原有工作，大半係本身覓得者。凡長期服役軍人可赴美國職業介紹地方分所覓求工作，並請求與長期服役軍人職業所之代表晤談。

如有一長期服役軍人失業，而美國職業介紹所不能代彼覓得工作，彼則可領失業津貼。在某種情形下，可得每星期二十元之調整津貼，可繼續領四星期至五十二星期之久，視其服務期間長短而定。

長期服役軍人對其政府保險，醫藥福利及教育欲知其詳細情形者，可向最近長期服役軍人部隨軍分部詢問。

平民生活

問：平民之種種戰時限制，如物品之定量分配，家庭用具缺乏，物價限制，工資限制，將繼續存在乎？

答：此乃戰時辦法，戰爭所造成之需要一旦存在，限制勢必繼續存在。當一切資源，工具，人力能脫離戰時生產時，限制立即弛鬆。

上述不得已之種種限制設立之原意，

but to protect consumers against a rising cost of living and to make sure that every one gets a fair share of scarce goods.

Q.—Will food ration continue?

A.—Yes. For three reasons: (1) Total food supplies available for civilians, the military and other uses, this year are expected to be 5 to 10 per cent less than last year. At the same time, total requirements are 5 to 10 per cent greater, and will remain high. (2) We have just as many soldiers to feed as before V-E Day. They must be fed, whether they remain in Europe, or return to the United States, or are transferred to the Pacific. Moreover, we are helping to feed millions of persons other than our own soldiers in Europe. (3) Supply lines to the Pacific are longer than to Europe. More food will have to go into these supply lines. We will be feeding more men in the Pacific.

Point values of rationed food, as in the past, will be raised or lowered according to the supplies of rationed food available. The established system of making red and blue points good on the first of each month will continue, as will the plan of expiration dates for ration stamps.

OUR FOOD SUPPLY

Q.—What foods will be scarce?

A.—Meat is the most serious shortage; sugar is next. But butter and other fats and oils also will be scarce. Supplies of meat are expected to be 26 per cent less than the estimated require-

非僅為吸收資源為作戰之用而已，且為保障消費者免受生活費用高漲之影響，並制定每一平民可公平獲得其份內之稀少物品。

問：食物之定量分配將繼續存在乎？

答：然，其理由有三：(一)民用軍用以及其他用途所有之食物供應，據預料較去年短少百分之五至百分之十，而同時食物之需求則較去年多百分之五至百分之十，且有繼續高度需求之勢。(二)吾人今日所必需供給食糧之軍人數目與歐戰勝利以前之數目正相等。不論彼等之甯在歐洲或回國，或派赴太平洋，彼等非有食糧維持生活不可。此外吾人除供給吾人在歐洲之士兵外，且正從事救濟歐洲被解放之數百萬人民。(三)吾人對太平洋之供應綫將大於對歐洲之供應綫。吾人將有更多之食物運至太平洋供應綫，供給太平洋方面人數更多之士兵。

食物定量分配分點制將一如過去，將按照可得到分配之供應隨時升降之。早已實行每月一日有效之紅藍點制，將與滿期分配券辦法同樣繼續實行之。

吾人食糧之供應

問：何類食物將為稀少？

答：肉類將有最嚴重之缺少，其次為糖。但牛油，其他脂肪類及油類亦感稀少。在明年之第三個三個月中，肉類之供

ments for the third quarter. Supplies will provide military requirements plus quantities for home consumption at a level for the quarter equal to an annual rate of about 115 pounds per capita. This is at an annual rate of about 35 pounds less than the average which Americans ate last year and 10 pounds less than was consumed in the average pre-war year. There will be a little more meat in the last quarter due to the seasonal increase in livestock marketing. But there will be a corresponding increase in requirements.

Sugar requirements are much greater than the available supply. There is no prospect that the victory won in Europe will reduce the sugar demand—rather the need of liberated countries will increase it—and there is no immediate way of increasing the supply significantly. The present sugar ration totals 17.1 pounds per person this year for home use—the rate now has been cut to 15 pounds per year—excluding ration board allowances for home canning which are 70 per cent of 1944 totals.

Butter production will be about 600,000,000 pounds short of requirements. This will be almost seven fewer pounds of butter this year than in pre-war years for every man, woman and child in the country.

There is a worldwide shortage of other fats and oils. The smaller quantity available in this country is due largely to the decline in lard produc-

應預料少於所估計需要之量之百分之二十六。此等供應對軍用之需要加入國內消費量在內，在此三個月中可達每人每年一百一十五磅之水準。此數量與去年美國人民所食肉類平均每年定額相比少三十五磅，較戰爭前一年平均消費少十磅。在明年最後之三個月內，肉類因冬季牲畜交易之增加，將略增多。但同時需要亦隨之增加。

糖之需求將更大於可得之供應。吾人歐洲之勝利不能對糖有減少需求之望，歐洲被解放民族之需要反增加糖之需要，而又無特別方法立即增加供應。目前國內本年糖之定量分配總額為平均每人為十七磅點一。此數業已減少為每人每年十五磅，此為除去分配部為國內製罐頭用等於一九四四年百分之七十之儲備。

牛油之生產較需要約將短少六萬萬磅。此蓋謂美國每一男子，女子，兒童今年所得之牛油將較戰前少七磅。

關於其他脂肪及油類之短少將為普遍全世界之情形。美國所短少油類脂肪主要因為豬油生產之衰落。本年可有一切能食

tion. The quantity of all edible fats and oils available this year is 1,800,000,000 pounds less than the estimated American requirements.

Supplies of cereals, except rice, are adequate. Supplies of fresh and frozen fish are large. Domestic supplies of fresh vegetables are entirely adequate and prospects, based on commercial and Victory-garden production, are that this situation will continue. The outlook for fresh fruit is that supplies will be almost as large as last year. Civilian supplies of eggs will be about the same as the record totals of last year. Supplies of fluid milk are of record size, and are more than a fourth larger than before the war.

Q.—Will we continue to feed liberated people in Europe?

A.—Yes. We are sending somewhat more food to Europe this year, including relief distributed through military channels.

Fats and oils are the most important group of foods we are sending abroad, because fat is both indispensable and a cheap supplement to the large amounts of cereals which will be sent because they are relatively abundant. Supplies of meats, cheese, condensed, evaporated and dried milk, sugar, rice, and desirable types of beans are so short that they can be supplied to meet only the most urgent needs.

GOODS FOR CIVILIANS

Q.—Will supplies of clothing begin

之脂肪與油類之量較，去年估計美國整個需要少十八萬萬磅。

穀類之供應除米外尙可應付。新鮮及冷藏魚類之供應將爲甚大。供應國內之新鮮蔬菜完全可以應付，根據私人經營及勝利農場之生產情形而論，此種情勢可望繼續。新鮮果類之前途示明將與去年產量相同。民用雞蛋之供應亦將與去年最高產額相等。流質牛乳亦將維持最高產額，較戰前增加四分之一。

問：吾人是否繼續供給歐洲被解放人民食糖乎？

答：然。吾人今年運往歐洲之食物似爲較多，包括由軍事機關所分配之救濟食物在內。

脂肪與油類爲吾人運往國外最重要之食物品類，蓋因脂肪爲不可缺少之物，同時因相對豐富關係而運出之大量穀類須以此爲副食品也。肉類，牛酪，煉乳，蒸汽乳，乳粉，糖，米，及佳良豆類之供應短少以至祇能達到即應付最緊急需要之限度。

平民用品

問：服裝之供應可迅即增加乎？

to increase soon?

A.—The joint O. P. A.-W. P. B. clothing program should increase production of low-cost items of clothing to meet at least minimum demands. However, certain textiles still needed by the military will not be released in any large amounts until after Japan is defeated, and military needs for some textiles suitable for the Pacific theater will be even higher.

The new O. P. A.-W. P. B. program is designed to channel most of the available materials of all kinds—cotton, wool rayon—into lower priced clothing items sorely needed at present. What is left can be made into any material a manufacturer may wish to produce. But supplies of luxury materials—heavy rayon—satin, upholstering, brocades and similar textiles—will be strictly limited, probably until after the defeat of Japan.

Nylon and silk stockings are made of war materials and cannot be expected in any large quantities until well after final victory.

Shoes must continue to be rationed, for lack of leather, but shoe needs of the nation will be met by the production of non-rationed shoes made from fabric and with non-leather soles.

Q.—When will it be possible to buy new equipment for the home—radios, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, furniture?

A.—Some of the appliances should be available in limited numbers within

答：物價調整局及戰時生產局之聯合

服裝計劃生產低成本之服裝，以便至少能應付最小限度之需求。但多種衣料為軍用所需者，俟擊敗日本後，始可解限，而太平洋戰區適宜之衣料，其需要將更增高。

物價調整局及戰時生產局之新計劃在求各種可能得到之物資，如棉花，人造羊毛暢銷成為目前極感需要之低價服裝質料。其他所有質料可由製造商製成任何質料。但帶奢侈品性質之質料，如厚質人造綢緞，製沙發椅墊用之厚布，花邊及其他同類質料之供應將嚴加限制，或至日本戰敗後為止。

人造絲及絲襪之質料皆為製造軍用品之物資，在最後勝利多時以後始有大量供應之望。

因皮革缺乏之故必須繼續限制，全國對皮鞋之要需將以製造纖維質製成不用皮後跟之不受限制之皮鞋應付之。

問：何時始可購買家庭之新設備，如無線電收音機，洗衣機器，真空打掃器，傢具？

答：若干種類之用具在一年之內應可

a year. Washing machines, refrigerators and other everybody needed items will undoubtedly go into production first. Some household needs, such as electric irons and stoves, have been produced in limited quantities during the last two or three years and production probably will be stepped up in three to six months—as skilled man power and materials permit.

Provision must be made to see that the most essential civilian needs, such as those of hospitals, are filled first. If there are any appliances left over they will probably be sold without rationing. Some civilian radios should be available within the year, but present plans indicate a tight situation.

Some items of furniture will continue to be available, but shortages of lumber and heavy textiles may limit production. Generally, as soon as materials are available for civilian production, furniture again will have metal fittings and hardware as on pre-war models.

NEW AUTOMOBILES

Q.—When will it be possible to get a new automobile?

A.—A few cars may be coming off the assembly lines in six to nine months, but it will be a long time before they are produced in really large quantities, and there cannot be enough to meet pent-up civilian demand in less than three years. O.P.A. will see that the most essential users get the first available cars under the present rationing

少數供應。洗衣機器，冰箱及每人必需之物品自應首先製造，此殆無疑問者。若干家庭需用之物如熨斗，火爐，在二三年以來已少量製造，此類物品之生產在三個月至六個月內可趕造以應需要，惟此須視熟練工人及物資之限制為定。

平民需要最主要之物受有規定，如醫院所需要物品應先製造。如此類重要民用品有餘額時可悉數出售不受限制，本年內若干數量之無線電收音器可以製成，但目下計劃呈現緊張情形。

若干品數之傢具將繼續可以購得，惟因木材及厚質布料之短少將限制生產。廣泛言之，俟民用生產之資源獲得時，傢具比即裝有戰前樣式所存之金屬配件。

新 汽 車

問：何時可獲得新製汽車？

答：在六個月至九個月內分共使用之汽車將有少數之生產，但真正大量之生產尚需甚長時間以後，非俟二三年後目前受限制之民用汽車需求不得有足數應付。物價調整局將根據目前限制辦法使最重要

program.

Spare parts to keep present cars rolling will continue to be produced at a very high rate. Last year the W.P.B. programmed the manufacture of \$750,000,000 worth of auto and truck parts. Cars at present average nearly eight years of age, trucks nine years, and many will have to last three to four years longer. Greatest parts shortage is in batteries and tires. Need for care was never greater than today.

Q.—Will there be more gasoline for civilians?

A.—Best estimate is that there will be from 100,000 to 200,000 more barrels of gasoline daily for civilian use, an increase of 8 to 16 per cent. Any such increase, however, may be temporary. Added gasoline supplies will be divided among "A" and commercial card holders. It may be possible to increase the mileage allowed to some "B" card holders who can show need. But, in view of the military demand in the Pacific, the best estimate is that gasoline rationing must be continued for some time.

Q.—Will there be more coal, home heating oil and kerosene?

A.—Coal mines now have the smallest labor force in forty years and it will become smaller. Despite the overtime that the miners are now working, they cannot produce enough coal to meet fully our tremendous war and civilian requirements. There will be even less coal than there was last winter.

之用戶可首先購得汽車。

使目前所有汽車能供用所需要之零件將繼續有高度之生產。戰時生產局去年更計劃製造價值在七萬萬五千萬元之汽車及卡車零件。目前平均使用八年之汽車，使用九年之卡車將再延長使用三四年之久。汽車零件之最大需要為電池及車胎。注意使用汽車之切要無有過於今日者。

問：平民將可得更多之汽油乎？

答：最精確之估計為每日平民用之汽油由十萬桶增至二十萬桶，增加百分之八以至百分之十六。汽油之增加屬臨時性質。增加之汽油為供給持有甲等及售油商購油證者分用。持有乙等購油證之人民如能證明其需要可增加其里程油量。但為計及太平洋軍用汽油之需要，最準確之估計為汽油之定分量配仍須繼續相當時間。

問：煤及增加房內溫用之油及煤油將有增加乎？

答：目前煤礦工人實力為十年來之最小者，然仍得為更小。雖目前礦工工作時間延長，面對吾人之極大軍用民用所需要之汽油仍不能充分供應。今後出產之煤量甚至較去冬為小。至於房內增加溫度之油

As for home heating oil and kerosene, the best we can hope for is that civilians will have as much as last year. This hope hinges upon the continued breaking of production records.

NEW HOMES

Q.—Will it be possible to build new homes soon?

A.—Home building already is under way on a limited scale where necessary to relieve congestion, but only where man power and materials can be spared. Many kinds of building materials will probably remain in short supply for some time. However, returning veterans are given priorities for home building; priorities also are granted in cases of hardship. Restrictions on home building will not end until man power and materials are generally available. At least 250,000 homes and apartments are expected to be built during the next twelve months, although the figure might be as high as 400,000. Essential repairs can be made now.

Q.—Will surpluses of war goods be available to civilians, thereby helping to supply the demand for new civilian goods?

A.—Surpluses will be sold mainly through dealers and distributors, not to individual consumers. An exception to that rule is provision for direct sales to veterans who wish to buy surpluses to establish themselves in business, the professions or agriculture. While total surpluses are expected to run into many billions, surplus consumer goods are not

及煤油兩物，吾人所能希望最多能有去冬數量。此一希望視能否打破產油記錄為定。

新住宅

問：不久即可建築新住宅乎？

答：在必需減低人烟稠密之地，有限制之住宅建築已在進行中，但此僅限於人力物資有餘之地。多種建築用之材料將在相當時間內或僅有少量之供應，然回國之長期服役軍人將予以建築住宅之優先權，遇有受災難情形者亦予以優先權。不俟人力與物資普遍獲得時，住宅建築之限制將不停止。在今後十二個月內可望有二十五萬之住宅及公寓築成，惟此數目可增至四十萬。住宅之重要修理目前已可着手。

問：平民可否購得過剩之軍用物品，因此可調劑新民用物品之需要乎？

答：此項過剩物品將由批發商及推銷商購入，但不直接售與各區消費者。但此有一例外，即規定對長期服役軍人有意謀生從事經營自由執業及農業者，可直接購買。軍用物品剩餘總額為數將有數十萬萬

likely to amount to enough to compete seriously with new production. Instead, they should serve a useful purpose in filling civilian needs for many items that will be difficult to obtain before manufacturing gets into full production.

Q.—When will it be possible to get better home services?

A.—Delivery service on groceries and other items, and department store deliveries of packages below present weight and size limits may show some improvement near the end of the first year after V-E Day. Shortage of trucks, parts, tires, gasoline and especially of man power will continue to limit delivery service. Where man power is locally available, some limitations may be relaxed.

Repair service on refrigerators, stoves, etc., should be improved as repair parts and skilled mechanics become more plentiful.

Some improvement can be expected in laundry and cleaning services in localities where labor is freshly available. These facilities, too, will depend upon new equipment to reach their pre-war standards.

TRANSPORTATION BURDEN

Q.—Will the load on transportation facilities be lightened now?

A.—No. The transportation requirements of the shift to the Pacific war will add to the problems of the already overburdened railroads. Large quantities of supplies must be carried to the Eastern ports for the liberated

元，過剩消費物品之總額或不至足以與新生產發生競爭。反之，過剩物品對民用所需物品未達到充分生產前可作有用之補充。

問：何時能得有家庭服務業之服務乎？

答：雜貨及其他物品之送貨服務業，在目前限制重量及大小包裹之百貨商店送貨業約在勝利後第一年年底將有增進之勢。惟卡車，零件，車胎，汽油及人力之特別短缺情形下，送貨業將仍有限制。在各地能獲得人力時，若干之限制可解除。

冰箱，火爐等物服務業，因修理零件及熟練工匠充足時應有改進。

洗衣業，打掃業之在新增勞工甚多之地可望有改進。然此等地點亦賴有否新設備始可達到戰前標準。

交通負擔

問：交通工具之負擔即將減輕乎？

答：否。轉運太平洋戰爭之交通上將需要增加業已過分擔負之鐵路甚多之新問題。大量供應品將必須運往東部海港為被解放國家及美軍佔領地區之用。對日戰爭

countries and American occupation forces. At the same time, the Japanese war will call for increased rail shipments of men and materials to the West, a long haul over the few Western railroads at a time when grain shipments may be reaching their peak volume.

Present government controls on civilian freight traffic must continue. The total freight tonnage will increase slightly, but the shift of the main current of traffic to the West may add as much as 10 per cent to the present heavy load in that area. It will be necessary to make greater use of water carriage to shorten railhauls. Lack of pipe lines and waterways to the West Coast will require maximum use of railroads to haul petroleum products for the Japanese war.

Q.—Will passenger travel become easier?

A.—No. Trains will be crowded because of the heavy movement of troops. Pullman space will be difficult to obtain. The ban on conventions will continue and promoters of amateur and professional sports will be expected to continue their pledges of minimizing travel. Further curtailment of passenger service may be necessary. Present priorities on airplane travel will have to be continued.

All efforts for most efficient use of trucks and buses must continue. The shortage of tires, batteries and gasoline will not allow the unrestricted use of private motor cars.

需要增加由鐵路運送軍隊及物資至西部。

在糧運達最高峯時，西部僅有之少數鐵路將有長時間之運送。

目前政府所施行之國外民用貨運控制必須繼續。貨運總量將更有增加，但主要運輸方向之轉移對該地帶目前所有負擔之增加或達百分之十。為縮短鐵路運輸起見，吾人須增加更大之水運。西部海岸油管及水運之欠缺將需要鐵路運送為對日戰爭用之煤油物品。

問：客運將可較前便利乎？

答：否。火車因有大量軍隊之運送勢必擁擠。設備精適之臥車或客車不易供應。對集會之旅行限制將繼續存在，一般推進黨餘或職業性質運動之人將作保證減少至最低限度。進一步限制客運或為必需。目前特許之航空旅行之優先權必須繼續之。

所有對卡車，公共汽車，最高效率之利用必須努力繼續。車胎，電池，汽油短缺，不許可私人汽車之無限制使用。

HOLDING DOWN INFLATION

Q.—Will wartime inflationary pressures continue after V-E Day?

A.—Yes. They will be serious. Purchasing power will continue to exceed supply. Total income will continue to be high.

Price and rationing controls, wage controls, high taxes, and continued war bonds sales will be essential in keeping consumer buying within bounds. People will be encouraged to buy only what they need and to keep up their war bond purchases.

O. P. A. will continue price ceilings on items now available and will establish prices on newly manufactured goods. These will be continued to prevent inflationary tendencies. Production of more civilian goods will not, for a while, make price control easier.

Q.—Will wage controls be lifted?

A.—Removal of wage controls at this time would be certain to increase the cost of producing goods. Producers would have to charge higher prices to cover their costs of production. This would cause the cost of living to go up. As the cost of living rose, wages would have to be raised again. Such a merry-go-round of wage and price increases not only would fail to help workers, but would be a sure way to bring on a collapse after the war. Both prices and wages must be stabilized as long as this danger exists. Stabilization does not mean that wages will be frozen. Unfair wage rates will be adjusted; sub-

抑制通貨膨脹

問：勝利以後戰時之通貨膨脹辦法將繼續乎？

答：然。此等辦法將為嚴重。購買力將繼續超過供給。收入總額將繼續維持高度。

物價及限價之控制，工資控制，重稅及繼續舉辦之戰時公債券續銷售在在使消費者在相當範圍以內使用其購買力。吾人鼓勵人民僅購買其必需之物品，並鼓勵其繼續購買戰時公債券。

物價調整局對若干目前有銷售之物品將繼續限價，對新製造之商品亦規定價格，此皆為防止通貨膨脹趨勢之法。在短期內，純為平民用品之生產將不能使控制順利推行。

問：工資控制將解除乎？

答：目前取消工資限制定能增高生產商品成本價格，且可使生活費用上升。如生活費用上升，則工資又必須提高。此種反復輪流之工資與物價之增高，不僅對工人不能有所資助，且可招致戰後之經濟危機。戰爭之威脅一旦存在，物價與工資二者必須保持穩定狀態。穩定政策非指工資凍結之意。不公平之工價定額將受調整，

standard wages will be raised.

The War Labor Board has the power to set floors under wages as well as ceilings over them. This power can be used when it appears that wages are likely to be forced downward rather than upward, and every attempt will be made to prevent drastic and unwarranted wage cuts.

Q.—Will wages be lowered for displaced war workers who take new jobs in plants producing civilian goods?

A.—While a given plant cannot reduce wage rates for a particular type of work without War Labor Board approval, some workers will move to other factories at a rate lower than their war plant job paid. Some increases in wage rates can be adjusted for a shorter work week, but it will not be possible to assure every worker that his take-home pay will remain unchanged as war production declines.

Q.—Will the forty-eight-hour work week continue after V-E Day?

A.—In many industries and communities, yes. As victory over Japan draws near, workers in consumer goods industries may return gradually to the forty-hour week. War industries will, however, remain on the forty-eight-hour schedule, except possibly in construction of merchant ships in which the emergency program runs out December 31, 1945, or in those war industries which have taken a heavy cutback and where pay rates are high.

標準工資必須建立之。

戰時勞工委員會有權對工資定最低及最高之數目。如工資可能被迫下降而不上升時，此權亦可使用之，並實行各種企圖防止過分及不許可之減少工資情事。

問：遣散之人從事生產民用品新工作者得受較低之工資乎？

答：某一工廠不得戰時勞工委員會之許可不得減少工價定額，同時若干工人有從代價較高之戰用品工廠轉往其他代價稍低之工廠工作。比戰時生產較短之每週工作時間與工資定額之增加兩者間之差略，將易為調整，在戰時生產衰落之下，每一工人不能有固定之維持家庭之工資。

問：歐洲戰爭勝利以後，每週四十八小時工作時間制仍將保持乎？

答：在多種工業及社團中，大抵如此。當對日戰事勝利來臨時，從事製造消費物品之工人可逐漸恢復每週四十小時工作制。但戰用品之工業將保持四十八小時制，除在建築商船之緊急計劃可能超過一九四五年十二月三十一日之規定時間，或重大減工之軍用工廠付高工資者亦然。

OTHER CIVILIAN RESPONSIBILITIES

Q.—Will there be an early reduction of taxes?

A.—This matter will be decided by the Congress, but it has been recommended that no general reduction in taxes be made until after Japan is defeated. New tax programs are being planned for the post-V-J Day period to stimulate reconversion and new enterprises.

Q.—Is it necessary for censorship to continue?

A.—Yes. Censorship must remain until all danger to our security has passed, and this will not be until American lives no longer are in peril. However, with the combat zone narrowed to the Pacific-Asiatic area, some censorship modifications are in order. International mails and cables may be expected to move more freely outside the battle area.

Q.—Will it be necessary to continue saving used fats, paper and tin cans?

A.—Yes, all these materials will be needed for the victory over Japan. There is a worldwide shortage of fats that must be partially made up by kitchen fats collections. Paper will be even more necessary in the packaging of material for use in the Pacific, where the climate is hard on food, clothing, munitions and other war equipment. As for tin, our former major supply source is still in the hands of the enemy, Japan.

Q.—Will it be necessary to continue

對人民之其他責任

問：賦稅可望早日減低乎？

答：此將由參院決定，但有人主張不俟日本擊敗以後不能普遍減低。戰後之新稅則正在計劃中，以鼓勵恢復原狀及新經營。

問：新聞信件之檢查必須繼續乎？

答：然。不俟吾人安全之威脅消除，檢查將繼續存在，不俟吾美國人人生命上之危險消滅，此為不可能之事。但作戰區域縮至太平洋與亞洲地帶，若干之檢查變更將次第辦理之。在戰區以外之國際電信可望早日自由遞送。

問：用過脂肪品類，廢紙及製造罐頭用之錫將需求繼續保有乎？

答：然。凡此一切之材料皆為對日戰爭謀取勝利所必須之物。全世界普遍短少脂肪，其中一部份必須由廚房中採集之。在太平洋氣候對食物，服裝，軍火以及其他戰爭設備有極大影響之地，紙為包裝用物品所中更為必須者。至於造罐頭用之錫，吾人敵人日本正握有吾人以前之重要供應地。

問：公債之勸募有繼續之必要乎？

bond campaigns?

A.—Yes. The seventh loan will go on, and there will need to be, at least, an eighth loan. We must put into the war with Japan every man and every piece of equipment which can be effectively utilized. There will continue also to be a great need to divert cash purchasing power from the retail market in order to keep the maximum curb on inflation.

Q.—Will normal foreign trade become possible now?

A.—Not generally for all areas of the world. War-time restrictions on commercial export-import business, necessary to control the flow of essential supplies, so that they could be used with maximum efficiency, will be removed gradually, but normal export and import trades will not be possible before the end of the war with Japan. In accordance with the London agreement of principles, of August, 1944, enunciated by the State Department and the British Foreign Office, the United Nations' control of merchant shipping for military purposes will continue until cessation of hostilities or six months after the defeat of Japan. This is a continuation of the combined Shipping Adjustment Board's work, expanded as necessary to control merchant ship tonnage of the world up to V-J Day and for six months thereafter.

We will continue to send lend-lease goods to our Allies, but in reduced amounts. All lend-lease is limited strict-

答：然。第七次公債將繼續，至少將需要辦理第八次。吾人必須將可能有效利用之每人及每一設備投入對日作戰中。在批發市場內將有轉變現款購買力之重大需要以保持對通貨膨脹之最高度限制。

問：正常之對外貿易目前有無可能？

答：對世界所有各地帶不能普遍。戰時對進出口貿易商業之限制實為控制主要供應品暢流所必需，於是方可以最高效率利用之，但此等限制將逐漸取消，惟在對日戰爭結束以前，正常進出口貿易為不可能之事。根據美國國務院及英國外交部在一九四四年八月所發起之倫敦所議定之原則，聯合國為軍用關係對貨運之控制，在戰爭停止或日本戰敗六個月後將繼續存在。直至對日勝利之日並在六個月之後，聯合調整輪運委員會之工作有繼續並擴充之必要。

吾人將繼續運送租借法案物品至同盟國，惟數量有減少耳。一切租借皆嚴格

ly to aid in the prosecution of the war. Allied nations will be able to get from us some supplies and machinery for rehabilitation of their industries, within the limit of available supplies in the light of demands of the armed forces and our domestic civilian economy, and subject to the working out of mechanisms for financing the purchase of such supplies.

限制為協助繼續作戰之用。同盟國家能獲得為恢復工業用之若干供應品及機器，然此範圍須視武裝部隊之需求，吾人國內平民經濟上可能而定，並須視其購買此類供應品投資機構之組織為何而定。

THE MILITARY SURRENDER OF GERMANY ANNOUNCED BY GEN. DOENITZ

Made to the Western Allies and Soviet Russia on May 7, 1945

at Rheims, France

德 國 投 降 書 全 文

一九四五年五月七日杜尼茲於法國里姆向聯盟國呈送

Firstly: We the undersigned,¹ acting by authority of² the German High Command, hereby surrender unconditionally to the Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force, and simultaneously to the Soviet High Command, all forces on land, sea and in the air, who are at this date under German control.

Secondly: The German High Command will at once issue orders to all German military, naval and air authorities, and to all forces under German control to cease active operations at 11.01 Central European time, on³ the night of May 8th and remain in positions occupied at that time. No ship, vessel or aircraft is to be⁴ scuttled or any damage done to their hull, machinery or equipment.

Thirdly: The German High Command will at once issue to the appropriate Commanders and ensure the carrying out of any further orders issued by the Supreme Commander of

(一) 簽署人奉德國軍事之命，願以其目前節制之海陸空軍向盟國遠征軍最高統帥及蘇軍統帥部作無條件投降。

(二) 德國軍事當局願立即通知海陸空軍及受其節制各部隊，自五月八日下午十一時零一分鐘（中歐時間）停止戰鬥行為，並停留原地，所有船隻飛機不得加以破壞，亦不得損傷所有船身及其他裝備。

(三) 德軍事當局，願通知各軍官，切實遵守盟國遠征軍最高統帥部及蘇軍統帥部之命令。

the Allied Expeditionary Force and by the Soviet High Command.

Fourthly: This act of military surrender is without prejudice to⁵ and will be superceded by any general instrument of surrender imposed by or on behalf of the United Nations and applicable to Germany and the German armed forces as a whole.

Fifthly: In the event of⁶ the German High Command or any of the forces under their control failing to act in accordance with this act of surrender, the Supreme Command of the Allied Expeditionary Force and the Soviet High Command will take such punitive or other action as they deem appropriate.

(四) 本軍事投降書，並不妨害一般投降協定，且可以一般投降協定代替之，此一般投降協定係由聯合國方面所加於德方面得通用於全體德軍者。

(五) 倘德國軍事當局及其部屬不遵守此項協議，則盟國遠征軍最高統帥部及蘇軍統帥部得予以懲處，或採其他適當之行動。

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

(1) "The undersigned," "簽字人"一短語在正式公文契約以及正式函件中常用之，係代替姓名之稱呼。(2) "By authority of," "奉命"。(即授有某種特權之意，"by order," "奉命令" 於行使命令之場合，如軍隊，適用)。He spoke by authority of the government, 彼奉政府命而言。(3) 特指之時日用 "on," 如：普通早晚之 "早" 爲 "in the morning," "上月一日早晨" 爲 "on the morning of the first of last month." (4) "or" 所聯之名詞係選擇意味動詞用單數。(5) "to" 與後面之 "by" 共一 object, "instrument"。(6) "In the event of," 係複式 preposition, 即 phrase preposition, "倘若"。In the event of the absence of the president, the vice-president will take the chair at a meeting, 倘正會長不到會，副會長於開會時充任主席。

PRES. HARRY S. TRUMAN'S STATEMENT OF WARNING TO THE JAPANESE PEOPLE

Issued on May 8, 1945

杜魯門總統對日本國民警告書

一九四五年五月八日發出

Nazi Germany has been defeated.

The Japanese people have felt the might of our land, air and naval attack. So long as¹ their leaders and their² armed forces continue the war, the striking power and intensity of our blows will steadily increase and will bring utter destruction to Japan's industrial war production, to its shipping, and to everything that supports its military activity.

The³ longer the war lasts the greater will be the suffering and hardships which the people of Japan will undergo—all in vain. Our blows will not cease until the Japanese military and naval forces lay down their arms in unconditional surrender.

Just what does the unconditional surrender of the armed forces mean for the Japanese people? It means the end of the war. It means the termination of the influence of the military leaders who have brought Japan to the brink of disaster. It means provision for the return of soldiers and sailors to their families, their farms, and their

納粹德國已被擊敗。

日本人民已感覺我海陸空軍各攻擊之

威力，彼等之領袖及武裝部隊既繼續作戰，吾人之攻擊力量打擊之猛烈程度，自將逐漸加強，使日本之戰時生產，船隻以及支持日人軍事行動之其他一切均遭毀滅。

戰事拖延越久，日本人民所受完全無謂之痛苦磨折越深。吾人之攻擊非使日本海陸軍拋棄彼等武器作無條件投降時不止。

武裝部隊之無條件投降，對日本人民有何意義？無條件投降，蓋表示戰事之結束，表示致使日本瀕於危境軍事領袖勢力之消滅，亦表示陸海軍人員得重返彼等之

jobs. It means not prolonging the present agony and suffering of the Japanese in the vain hope of victory. Unconditional surrender does not mean the extermination or enslavement of the Japanese people.

家園，重操彼等舊業，日人今日因妄想勝利而蒙受之痛苦，將不致再得延長，但無條件投降并非消滅或奴化日本民族之謂。

ANNOTATIONS

(1) "So long as"="while," "既"。So long as he is our friend, he will stand by us, 彼既爲吾人之友，自支持吾人。(2) 凡 article, a 或 an 和 the, 以及 possessive noun 用於第二個名詞之後係指前後兩字非一體。如係兩人則各用一次，如：He bought a book and a pen (兩物)。He is a poet and critic (一人)，He brought his wife and maid-servant, 錯誤，因"maid-servant"與"wife"係兩人，應再用 his 一次，"his wife and his maid-servant," 否則"夫人而兼女僕"矣。(3) "The.....the"非 article. 在此種用法時，第二"the"字爲 adverb of degree or extent, 第一"the"爲 adverbial conjunction, 與第二"the"字相聯，第二"the"—clause 爲 main clause.

PRES. CHIANG'S V-E DAY MESSAGE

Broadcast on May 8, 1945

歐洲勝利日蔣主席對國內 外廣播演詞

一九四五年五月八日下午九時半播講

The war in Europe is at an end.¹
This time it has ended in total victory in the heart of an aggressive Reich.

Only total victory can bring complete liberation to the oppressed peoples in Europe, and can enable the Germans to free themselves from the grip of Nazism.

We Chinese share with² our whole hearts in the inexpressible satisfaction which this news gives the civilized world. What saddens us is to find that President Roosevelt, who has done so much for the liberation of Europe, is no longer with us, to witness the victory. But his ideals and leadership are certain to inspire our Allied forces to continue the fight until the unfinished task and responsibility of the United Nations is completed. The whole stupendous weight³ of humanity will now come down upon Japan in the Far East, and bring to her as swiftly as it has come to Germany the conviction

歐洲戰事現在已告結束了。

這一次歐洲戰局結束，乃是盟軍深入德國心臟所得到的勝利，這是一個澈底的勝利。

惟有澈底的勝利，纔能使被侵略的歐洲人民得到普遍的解放，亦惟有這樣澈底的勝利，纔能使德國人民從納粹主義的桎梏中解放出來。

這消息使一切反侵略國家及全世界文明人類感到不可言喻的快慰，中國人民更有熱烈的同感，我們所引為遺憾的，是羅斯福總統的於歐洲的解放盡了最大的努力，可是他不及與我們共見今日盟軍的凱旋，但是他的理想，他的人格，一定能鼓勵我們盟國的軍隊，繼續奮鬥，以完成聯合國未完的責任和工作，從此世界整個的正義力量，在東方亦將以雷霆萬鈞之勢，像擊滅德國一樣的迅速，加諸日本的身上，使這個發動侵略者，認識罪惡的報

that the wages of sin is death.

The defeat of Japan is inevitable. But their masters are promising the Japanese people that they will escape the bitter penalties of defeat if they will fight on for twenty more years. The Japanese must now be undeceived. Henceforth, the Allies will be able to employ all their forces in smashing Japan. By so doing,⁴ victory in the East can also be speedily and completely achieved. This will shorten the period of suffering and save hundreds of thousands of lives.

I appeal to our Allies for such an effort. And I promise on behalf of⁵ China that she will do everything within her power to discharge her share of the responsibility as worthy ally.

酬，只是自己的毀滅。

日本的失敗，已毫無疑義了，可是他們仍然高唱着「繼續作戰二十年」的口號，他們希望延長戰事，以逃避他們得應的懲罰。日本人民所受的這種迷惑，必須迅速予以打破。從今日起，盟邦的軍隊，當然能以所有的力量，進攻日本，如此，則東方戰勝，也必然的可以迅速的徹底的實現。如此，便可減少人類苦痛的歲月，與許多生命的犧牲。

我今天要求我們各盟邦來作這樣的努力。我同時代表中國向各盟邦保證，凡屬中國所可貢獻的，中國必盡其所能，貢獻一切。我們必盡到共同作戰的職責，無愧為聯盟國的一員。

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

(1) "at an end," "結束"。The vacation is now at an end, 假期已滿(但: the vacation comes to an end)。 (2) "share with," "共享", "同感"。I share with you in this thought, 余對此想念如君正同。 (3) "weight," "力量" "壓力"。He feels unhappy under the weight of unfavourable environment, 彼因感環境不良之壓力不快於心。 (4) "By so doing" (即 by doing so 之倒裝), "so" 指前句所述之事。He makes his young son to work for him; by so doing, he neglects his son's education, 彼令其幼子為其工作, 由此忽略其子之教育。 (5) "on (in) behalf of," "代表", "代"。He does that on my behalf, 彼代表余為此事。

U. S. SECRETARY OF STATE EDWARD R.
STETTINIUS, JR'S REPORT TO AMERICANS
ON THE PROGRESS OF THE SAN FRAN-
CISCO CONFERENCE

Broadcast on the night of May 27, 1945

美國務卿斯退丁紐斯向美民衆報告
舊金山會議進展

一九四五年五月二十七夜廣播

The United Nations Conference on International Organization is now in its fifth week.

I feel that the time has come for me as Secretary of State and chairman of the United States delegation, to report to the American people and to our armed forces throughout the world on the progress we have made here in San Francisco.

You will recall that last fall, at Dumbarton Oaks, conversations between the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China resulted in proposals for an international organization to maintain peace, which later were supplemented at the Crimea Conference.

The Dumbarton Oaks proposals were submitted to all the United Nations, and their representatives were invited to come to San Francisco to prepare a charter based upon them.

When this charter—or constitution—is completed, it will be submitted for

聯合國國際機構會議，現已進入第五週。

余以美國務卿及美國出席會議代表團首席代表資格，深感此時應向吾美同胞及全球各地吾美將士報告吾人在舊金山會議之進展。

諸君尚能憶及去秋頓巴敦橡樹會議時，美英中蘇會談結果，曾建議建立維持和平之國際機構。此項建議，在克里米亞會時，曾加以補充。

頓巴敦橡樹建議案，旋送達各聯合國，各聯合國代表亦被邀請前來舊金山準備草擬根據該建議案而成之憲章。

此憲章完成後，即將送達各聯合國批准。

ratification to the member nations.

Once¹ the required number of member nations have ratified the charter, the world organization will come into being.²

Gathered³ here in San Francisco are delegates from almost 50 nations—men and women of different races and religions, accustomed to different geographical environment. Yet we have come together with the same great purpose in view⁴—to form a permanent organization to preserve peace throughout the world.

After years of war, the sound of open debate in a world assembly on the issues of peace has an unaccustomed ring.

But we are working for a peace which is democratic as well as strong, and it can be developed only in the give⁵ and take of frank and vigorous discussion.

After one month of work, I can now report to you my confidence that we will succeed in writing a strong and democratic charter solidly based on the Dumbarton Oaks with which we started.

It will be strong in the power to prevent aggression and to develop the economic and social conditions which will reduce the excuses of war.

It will be democratic in the encouragement which it will give to peoples⁶ everywhere to extend the application of equal justice in the world and to promote and protect human

一旦聯合國會員國批准者之數目足額之後，世界組織即將成立。

現會集於舊金山者，幾有五十國之代表其中包括不同種族與宗教，及慣於各種不同地理環境地理環境之男女。但吾人在此咸具完成永久組織以保全世界和平之同一目標。

經過數年之戰事後，在世界大會中，為和平問題而作之公開爭辯，實屬新奇。

然吾人現正為民主與健全之和平而努力，而此項和平，唯有熱誠之討論與予之取之精神始能發展。

經此一閱月工作後，余現可向諸君報告余之信心者，即吾人將能草擬一健全之民主之憲章。此項憲章將切實根據吾人當初所擬之頓巴敦橡樹建議案。

此一憲章之力量，能防止侵略及發展，可以免除戰爭原因之經濟與社會狀態。

此一憲章，亦將以民主方式鼓勵各地人民擴大世界正義之實現，并促進保護人

rights and freedoms.⁷

At the very outset of our work, we were confronted with a number of urgent problems. There was the question of seating⁸ the Byelo-Russian and Ukrainian republics and the Argentine and the further problem of how Poland could be represented. These questions involved important issues affecting both the conference and the United States foreign policy.

At the Crimea Conference the Soviet Union directed our attention to the grievous injuries sustained by the Byelo-Russian and Ukrainian peoples, in their long and gallant struggle against the common enemy, and requested that these two republics be given membership in the proposed world organization.

President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill supported this request.

The United States delegation fulfilled this pledge in the opening days of the conference.

The conference voted to admit Argentina. The wish to make clear that the vote of the United States in favor of seating Argentina did not constitute a blanket endorsement of the policies of the Argentina Government.

On the contrary, with many of these policies both the government and people of the United States have no sympathy. We have in no way⁹ abandoned the principle for which this country has always stood.¹⁰

權及自由。

吾人工作剛開始時，曾遭遇若干急待解決之問題，此即白俄羅斯及烏克蘭共和國與阿根廷之是否出席聯合國會議及波蘭如何能出席大會等問題。此等問題，涉及影響大會及美國外交政策之其他重大問題。

克利米亞會議時，蘇聯曾促吾人注意白俄羅斯及烏克蘭兩共和國之人民於英勇長期抵抗公敵時所遭受之慘痛犧牲，並要求此兩共和國應於擬議之世界安全機構中獲得其席位。

前總統羅斯福及邱吉爾首相，均竭力支持此項請求。

美國代表團於大會開幕數日內，曾履踐此項保證。

大會又表決允許阿根廷出席大會。余願聲明美國投票贊成阿根廷與會，并非美國完全贊同阿根廷政府所持政策之謂。

相反，美政府及美國人民對阿根廷所持之若干政策，毫無同情。吾人決不放棄我國經常所持之原則。

We steadfastly adhere to those principles of morality and decency which were the basis of our foreign policy under the leadership of Franklin Roosevelt and Cordell Hull.

During the war the paramount aim of our policy in this hemisphere has been to eliminate the Axis penetration and unite all the Americans in the struggle against the evil forces which have attempted to destroy liberty and free institutions throughout the world. We recognize that the people of Argentina have been traditionally democratic in their ideals and good friend of the peoples of the United States.

The Mexico City Conference last March opened the way¹¹ for Argentina to return to her traditional policies and restore the unity of the Americans.

After that conference Argentina took the first steps in this direction. She declared war on the Axis and committed¹² herself to the democratic and peaceful policies of cooperation agreed upon at Mexico City by signing the final act of that conference.

As a further step in this process the American republics felt that Argentina should be admitted to the San Francisco Conference.

By voting to admit Argentina in these circumstances, the United States, however, has by no means changed its positions that Argentina is expected to carry out effectively all of her commitments under the Mexico City Declaration. On the contrary, we consider

吾人將永遠堅持前總統羅斯福及前國務卿赫爾領導下而為吾人外交政策基礎之道義與正常之原則。

此次戰爭中，吾人於西半球所持政策之永久目的即在消滅軸心國家之侵入，並聯合所有美洲人民對抗企圖毀滅全球自由及自由機構之暴力。吾人承認阿根廷人民具有傳統之民主思想，且為美國人民之良友。

今年三月中舉行之墨西哥城會議，已為阿根廷恢復其傳統政策，及為恢復美洲各國團結開放途徑。

會後不久阿根廷即向此方向作初步之工作，即立向軸心國家宣戰，並簽署墨西哥會議之規約，使其接受會議中所決議之民主和平合作政策。

其後美洲各共和國感覺阿根廷應出席舊金山會議。

美國之投票贊同阿根廷與會並不能改變美國之立場，此立場即希望阿根廷有權實行墨西哥會議宣言中所賦與之一切義

that her admission to the San Francisco Conference increases here obligation to do so.

We expect the Argentina nation to see that this obligation is fulfilled.

Poland is a united nation, and should be here. But there are two Polish governments to the Provisional Government of National Unity and the Warsaw Provisional Government. The Soviet Union requested that Poland be¹³ represented at the conference by the Provisional Government in Warsaw, which is not recognized by a majority of the United Nations, including the United States.

Last February it was agreed at Yalta that the Provisional Government now functioning in Warsaw should be reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad.

This new government, it was agreed, should then be called the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity.

The Yalta agreement on this matter has not yet been carried out. The United States took the position that Poland could be represented only by a Polish Government formed in accordance with that agreement, and Warsaw Provisional Government was not admitted to the Conference.

It is a matter of deep regret to the United States that the people of Poland who have suffered so terribly and fought so bravely during the war, are not re-

務。吾人認爲允許阿根廷出席舊金山會議，反增加其遵照上述立場而爲之義務。

吾人深望阿根廷注此種義務之履行。

波蘭爲聯合國之一，應參加大會，但

現有兩波蘭政府，全國統一之臨時政府，

及華沙臨時政府。蘇聯申請華沙臨時政府

代表波蘭出席大會，而華沙臨時政府未得

大多數聯合國承認包括美國在內。

去歲二月雅爾達會議，會議決刻在華沙之臨時政府應依更廣寬之民主立場，實行改組，使波蘭國內及國外之民主領袖，均得參加。

此新政府當稱爲全國家統一之臨時政府。

但雅爾達協定關於此點之決議，並未履行。美國之立場爲波蘭僅能由一與該協定相符之波蘭政府代表之，故華沙之臨時政府，不得參加舊金山會議。

波蘭人民在此次大戰中受有如此之痛苦，且抗戰如此之英勇，今竟未得參加會議，美國引爲極大遺憾。然波蘭政府之改

presented in our deliberations. The reorganization of the Warsaw Provisional Government has been disappointing.

It is the intention of the United States to avert all its influences, in collaboration with the Soviet Union and Great Britain, toward fulfillment of the Yalta agreement on Poland.

I wish to make it¹⁴ absolutely clear that the primary objective of the United States foreign policy is to continue and strengthen in the period of peace that wartime solidarity which has made possible the defeat of Germany.

This is as true of our relations with the Soviet Union as¹⁵ it is of our relations with Great Britain, China and France.

There have been differences between¹⁶ us. There will continue to be differences, but the effectiveness of our wartime collaborations has demonstrated that our differences can be adjusted.

It is our purpose to seek constantly to broaden the scope of our agreement and to reach a common understanding on those matters where it does not yet exist. We have the right to expect the same spirit and the same approach on the part of our great Allies.

Let me give you an example of our collaboration at the conference. When Mr. Molotov came to the United States, he planned to stay only a few days because of the heavy burden of his responsibilities in Moscow. He stayed here for over two weeks.

組事，已使人失望。

美國之心意，在用其一切力量與蘇聯英國合作，實行雅爾達協定，關於波蘭之決議。

余今希極力表明一點，即美國外交政策之主要目標，係為在和平繼續與加強曾使擊敗德國成功之戰時團結。

美國對蘇聯之關係如此，與英中法各國之關係亦然。

吾人之間，會有異見，將來當亦繼續難免，然吾人戰時合作之有效程度，業已表現吾等之異見，可予改正。

吾人之目的，在求不斷擴大吾等協定之範圍，並對尚未發生之種種事端，能有共同諒解。吾人有權期待吾人之偉大盟國方面，能有同樣之精神與進行方式。

舊金山會議中國際合作之表現。余可舉例以明之。莫洛托夫甫抵美國之時，渠以國內尚有重大責任，原擬僅留數日。但以後竟留此逾兩週之久。

The reason that Mr. Molotov stayed longer than he had planned was this. The United States delegation wanted to make some important changes and additions to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals at San Francisco. The changes we had in mind reflected not only the views of the United States delegation, but those which had been expressed before the conference by other United Nations, particularly some of the powers. We felt that we were able to submit these as the unanimously agreed amendments of the four sponsoring nations. Not just as our own, they would have an important, indeed a decisive effect, on the whole work of the conference and the speed with which agreement on a charter could be reached. So Mr. Molotov stayed on and worked with Mr. Eden, Mr. Soong and myself on the United States proposals.

They had important contributions of their own to make. I read it as a great achievement and a good omen for the future that agreement was reached on the exact text of those important amendments by all four nations within a very few days.

When Mr. Molotov came to me to tell me that his government agreed with us on the text of the last two remaining amendments, he expressed again the importance which his government attached to the successful establishment of the world organization and his satisfaction with the results of our collaboration toward making the charter of the

渠之所以較預定計劃留此爲久，蓋因美國代表欲在舊金山會議中，對於賴巴敦橡樹建議案提出一部重要修正及補充。吾等所欲提出之修正，不僅爲美國代表之意見，且亦代表其他聯合國，尤其大國等在會議中之意見。吾等認爲吾等對於修正意見之提出，當能代表邀請國協同一致之意見。吾等修正之建議，對於舊金山會議之整個工作及草擬一致同意之憲章之速度，實有一重大而具有決定作用之影響。以此之故。莫洛托夫先生遂繼續留此，并協同艾登先生，宋子文先生，及余本人共同討論美國之建議。

此前修正建議之本身，即具有極重要之貢獻。而對於重要修正意見之原文，四強竟能於短短數日之內，取得完全之同意，實爲一大成就，且爲來之一大吉兆。

迨莫洛托夫先生告余，蘇聯政府對於最後一條之修正意見完全同意時，渠又重申蘇聯政府認爲世界安全機構如能順利建立，實極重要，而渠個人對於吾等僉能合

organization better and stronger than it otherwise¹⁷ would have been.¹⁸

It was only after this agreement had been made complete that he said he felt it was appropriate for him to return to the important work which was awaiting him in Moscow.

The unanimity of the sponsoring powers on these amendments has had the decisive effect we expected it would have on the work of the conference. They have met with general approval among other nations at the conference, and have greatly eased and speeded the task of the working committees.

After submission of the joint amendments of the four sponsoring powers, together with the amendments submitted by other United Nations, the conference entered its working committee stage.

One of the first committee decisions was formally to extend to France the fifth permanent seat on the Security Council which had been contemplated for her at Dumbarton Oaks.

I am happy to say that France now sits in the conference committee of five with four sponsoring nations.

The United States welcomes this important step in the return of France to her rightful place in world affairs.

During the past fortnight, general agreement has been reached on a number of other important points.

Agreed¹⁹ upon, these form the basis of proposals which are now being drafted, section by section,²⁰ into the

作，以使此世界憲章更超完美有力，亦極表滿意。

直至此種協議完全成立後，渠始表示

國內尚有要公待理，此時似宜言歸矣。

四邀請國對於修正意見之完全一致，對於舊金山會議之工作，實具有決定性之作用。此種作用，固為吾等所預期者，修正意見在與會之其他各國中，亦均獲一致之贊成，並使各委員會之工作，得以迅速順利進展。

四強聯合之修正案，以及其他聯合國之修正案，經提出後，舊金山會議遂進入各委員會工作之階段。

委員會重要決定之一為正式延請法國為安全理事會常務理事，此項決定在頓巴敦橡樹會議中，原即有此計劃。

今法國果能與四大邀請國同列，余實不勝欣慰。

法國今能重返其在國際中應有之地位，此種重要決定，美國無任歡迎。

過去半月內，若干其他重要之點，曾獲一致協議，

而為目前逐段擬納入憲章之各項建議之基礎。

charter.

I wish to point out what I consider to be the most significant of these changes. The Security Council would be given additional power to settle a dispute in its early stages and to stop preparations for war long before war actually begins.

The relationship to the world organization of regional security arrangements, like that contemplated in the Act of Chapultepec for the Western Hemisphere, has been clarified by another provision.

The United States shared in the desire of the other American republics to maintain the Inter-American system within the framework of the world organization.

We also agreed that the world organizations must be supreme in matters of enforcement.

World peace in the world organization must therefore have the right and the power to prevent or suppress aggression anywhere and at any time.

This conviction was embodied in the proposal put forward.

At the same time, that proposal strengthened the rule of regional organizations in the peaceful settlement of disputes. It reemphasizes the inherent right of self-defense and extends that right to a group or nations so that an armed attack against one of them can rightfully be regarded as an attack against all of them, until the world organization has taken effective action

余願指陳余所認為之最重要之改正，

安全理事會可獲額外權並於初期階段解決爭端，並於戰爭實際爆發以前，阻止作戰之準備。

區域安全規劃與世界組織之關係（亦如西半球汎美協定中所規定者），業有另一條款予以闡明。

美國亦如其他美洲共和國，希望在世界組織範圍內保持汎美體制。

吾人並同意世界組織在實施辦法方面，必須擁有最高權威。

是以世界組織內之世界和平，必須有權力於任何時間阻止或壓制任何一地之侵略。

此一信念，已見諸所提建議之中。

同時該項建議增強區域組織於和平解決爭端中之地位。該項建議重予強調自衛之天賦權利，並將該權擴伸及於若干國家，足以對其中某一份子之武力攻擊，即將被視為對全體之攻擊，此權在維繫至世界組織採取有效行動恢復和平為止。

to restore peace.

The Inter-American system is thus brought within the larger framework of the world organization.

The United States intends to negotiate in the near future a treaty with its American neighbors which will put the Act of Chapultepec on a permanent basis, in harmony²¹ with the world charter.

The steps by which a final resolution of this problem was achieved offer a good example of the advantages of effective collaboration. The original United States proposal was partly based on separate amendments previously proposed by France and Australia. It was submitted simultaneously to the large powers and to the other American republics. Mr. Eden and his British colleagues offered opinions which strengthened and clarified its meaning. A later suggestion from the Soviet Union resulted in a further improvement. Because many nations collaborated on this problem, we have emerged with a far better solution than any nation produced alone.

Another amendment re-affirms that the responsibility for standing guard over the enemy powers shall be carried by the nations which defeated them. But for the first time it specifically opens the way for the world organization itself to assume this responsibility later on.

In the meantime the automatic operation of treaties directed against a

汎美體制乃由是被置於世界組織之更大範圍之中。

美國擬於最近期內與其美洲鄰邦協商一項條約，該約將置汎美協定於一永久基礎，而與世界憲章和諧一致。

此一問題最後決議，賴以獲致之步驟，提供有效合作利益之一良好例證，美國原來建議一部份係基於法國及澳洲前提之單獨修正案，該項建議同時提交各大國及其他美洲共和國，艾登及其同僚曾提供意見，其意義乃經增強，并經闡明。其後蘇聯所作之建議，亦有助於美國議案之進一步改進，由於多數國家於此問題共同合作，吾人乃創出遠較任何國家單獨建議為佳之解決方案。

另一修正案，重申監視敵方之責任，責概由擊敗敵方之各國肩負。但該案首次特殊提示世界組織本身於日後肩負此一任。

同時允許自動運用條約，對付敵國重

war of aggression by enemy states is permitted. This is in accord²² with the aims of the United States toward Germany as affirmed in the Crimea Declaration.

It is our intention to continue collaboration to the fullest extent²³ with our Allies in order to achieve first, the utter destruction of German militarism and the Nazis and second, the absolute assurance that Germany shall never again be able to threaten its neighbors or disturb the peace of the world.

Our policy toward Japan is directed to the same end.

Before leaving the discussion of the Security Council, I want to refer the question of voting procedure in the council. The conference has not yet taken action on this matter.

The Crimea proposals require that the five permanent members must agree to any enforcement action. There would be a similar requirement on action for the peaceful settlement of disputes, except that a party to a dispute must refrain from voting.

This requirement, however, does not apply to the right of any nation to bring a dispute before the council and full discussion of the merits of its case. It applies only when the council makes any decision involving positive action. This provision has been criticized both here and elsewhere as giving a privileged position to the large nations. For without their strength and their unanimous will to peace, the council will

新發動侵略，此與克里米亞宣言所確定

之美國對德目的符合一致。

吾人願與我盟國繼續全面合作，以達

到下述兩項目標，第一，澈底毀滅德國軍

事主義及納粹黨。第二，絕對保證德國將

永不能威脅其鄰邦或擾亂世界和平。

吾人對日政策亦持同樣目標。

在結束關於安全理事會之討論以前，

余願一提安全理事會中之表決程序問題。

會議對此猶未採取最後行動。

克里米亞建議案規定五常任理事對任

何強制行動必須獲致協議。關於和平解決

爭端之行動可能亦有同樣規定。惟爭端當

事國必不能有權表決。

然此項規定，並不適用於任何國家以

爭端提諸理事會之權利。此僅於安全理事

會作其涉及積極行動之決議時適用。此

項規定，業引起此間及其他各地之批評，

認爲此予大國以一特殊地位。然如無大國

be helpless to enforce its decisions. And it must be remembered that any action taken by the council toward settling a dispute may ultimately lead to necessity for enforcement of action if peaceful methods fail.

But, it²⁴ is objected, what happens if one of the five permanent members embarks²⁵ upon a course of aggression and refuses to recognize the machinery of world organization? How can an aggressor be restrained if his own contrary vote prevents the Council from involving force against him? In such an event, the answer is simple. Another world war has come, vote or no vote and world organization has failed.

But I think we should not be too deeply concerned with the kind of question Franklin Roosevelt always characterized as "iffy".²⁶ Five great nations have come here to form an organization—not to conspire for war.

Twice in the last 30 years they have fought side by side as Allies—not as enemies. Their intentions are honorable and their necessities for peace are fully as urgent as those of any other nation large or small. To assume that they seek to violate pledges rather than to enforce them is to oppose the existence of any organization for peace and to resign the world to an endless succession of war.

Another important matter before the conference has been the establishment of the trusteeship system, under which dependent areas may be placed

之力量與其保持和平之一致意志，則理事會必不能實現其決議。尤有進者，倘和平方法失效，則理事會所決定之解決爭端之行動，最終或有採取強制手段之必要也。

或謂五常任理事國之一，倘有侵略行徑並拒絕承認世界組織之機構，則結果又將如何？倘有一侵略國焉，其本身所投之反對票足以阻止理事國對其採取武力強制手段，則吾人對於該侵略國究有何種遏制辦法？果有此事發生，吾人之答覆至為簡單，即不論投票表決與否，另一世界大戰即行發生，而世界機構即宣告失敗是也。

然余認為吾人不應過於憂慮故總統羅斯福氏所稱爲「假想」之問題。五大國來此開會，乃欲組織一和平之機構，而非陰謀作戰也。

過去三十年中，五大國會兩度以盟國（非敵國）關係，而並肩作戰。渠等之意旨，至可尊敬，渠等對和平之需要亦與任何大國或小國同感迫切。如假定渠等寧願破壞各項保證，而不實行各保證，實等於反對任何和平機構之存在，而聽任世界受連續戰爭之破壞也。

會議中另一重要事項，即建立國際託治制，使附庸地可依照以後之協議，受託

by later agreements.

This subject was not discussed during the Dumbarton Oaks conversations. The United States Government felt that it was of utmost importance that such a system be provided for in the charter. I think I can now say that as a result of this American initiative, the charter will provide for an effective trusteeship system. It will not be all that we desire but it will offer a real opportunity for progress to the peoples.

In all discussions on trusteeship, the United States has continued to stand last for provisions which will offer full, safe control by the United States—within the trusteeship system but on conditions satisfactory to us—of those strategic points in the Pacific which are necessary for the defense of the United States and for world security.

And we have stood with equal firmness for a trusteeship system that will foster progress toward higher standards of living and realization of human rights and freedom for dependent people, including the right to independence or another form of self-government, such as federation—whenever the people of an area may choose—when they are prepared and able to assume the responsibilities of national freedom as well as to exercise its rights.

The United States has demonstrated this long standing policy in the Philippines. It looks²⁷ forward to the time when many other now dependent peoples may achieve the same goal.

治制度之處置。

頓巴敦橡樹會議未曾討論此項問題，美政府認爲此項制度在憲章中加以規定，至關重要。余現可告諸君者，即此事經吾美倡議後，憲章對一有效之國際託治制，將予以規定。此項制度，固不能盡滿吾人之意願，但該制度將予各民族發展之真正機會。

美國在討論國際託治制時，曾不斷堅持條款中應規定美國對於太平洋上若干爲美國國防及世界安全所必需之戰略據點，應由美國完全控制。易言之，控制方式可以不離託治制之範疇，但其條件必須能爲吾人所滿意也。

吾人對於國際託治制中可能促進殖民地人民較高生活水準，以及實現人權與自由之規定，亦採取同樣堅持立場，即於殖民地人民準備與可能擔負國家自由與行使其職權時，予以獨立之權利，或成立其他其本身所欲之形式之自治政府，如聯邦等。

美國在菲律賓曾表現此一貫之政策，吾人希望頗多現屬於附庸地之人民，在將來可能完成此同一目標。

The provisions which are being made in the charter for the advancement of dependent peoples and for the promotion of their rights is of the greatest importance. Together with the measures to strengthen the Economic and Social Council, they will help to bring the world organization closer to the needs of the peoples of the World. They will provide means by which nations can work more effectively together for that economic and social development without which lasting peace is impossible.

We must realize that our most important task in the next decade is not likely to be the enforcement of peace but to prepare an economic and social basis for peace. If the work of the Economic and Social Council is well done, it will have gone far toward eliminating in advance²³ the causes of another world war a generation hence. This is the objective of the second group of new proposals put forward at San Francisco.

These new proposals state clearly that justice and international law, together with equal rights and self-determination of the peoples, shall be the guiding principles of the new world organization. They embody a complete statute of a new permanent court of international justice. They stipulate that international cooperation in the protection and promotion of individual human rights and freedom for all, without distinction as to race, language,

憲章中附庸地人民發展以及促進渠等權利之規定，至為重要。該項規定，除加強經濟與社會理事會外，並將協助世界機構使更能適合全世界附庸地人民之需要，該規定將擬定各項方法使各國能為經濟與社會之發展，共同有效工作。缺乏此項經濟與社會之發展，永久和平實不可能。

吾人必須體驗者，即吾人在未來十年之最重要工作，非強制實現和平，而為奠定和平之經濟與社會基礎。如經濟與社會理事會之工作能順利進展，則未來一世紀中另一世界大戰之原因，將能預先予以消滅。此乃向舊金山會議所提第二批新建議之目標。

此等新建議表明正義與國際法以及各民族之平等權利與自決，將為新世界組織之指導原則。其中包括有新設國際永久法院之全部章程，並規定世界組織之根本目標，乃以國際合作保障並提高各種人權以及一切人類之自由，而不在種族語言宗教

religion or sex, as a fundamental purpose of the world organization.

They give the assembly of the world organization sweeping power to recommend measures for the adjustment of any situation which is likely to impair general welfare—and this includes violations of the purposes and principles of the organization.

They provide for a commission on human rights which will have the power to work out an international Bill of Rights which can be accepted by member nations as part of their fundamental law, just as we in the United States have a Bill of Rights in our constitution.

The four freedoms stated by our great President Franklin D. Roosevelt—freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear—are, from the point of view of the United States, the fundamental freedoms which encompass all other rights and freedoms.

Freedom of speech, for example, encompasses freedom of the press, freedom of information and freedom of communications.

Freedom from fear encompasses protection from persecution and discrimination of all men and women, and the prosecution of their equal right to enjoy all other fundamental rights and freedoms.

Freedom from want encompasses the right to work, the right to social security and the right to opportunity for

或性別各方面有所歧視。

建議案使世界組織之大會有絕對權力可以提出種種措施，以調整可能損害全面福利之任何情勢，其中包括違反世界組織之宗旨與原則在內。

建議中復規定設立人權委員會，在擬訂國際權利法案之權力，此項法案可由委員國採用以爲其根本法之一部份，一如吾美國之憲法中，包括有一項權利法案者然。

我偉大之羅斯福總統所申述之四大自由——言論自由，宗教自由，免於匱乏之自由，免於恐懼之自由——自美國之觀點言之，實爲可以包括其他一切權利與自由之根本自由。

例如言論自由，可以包括出版自由，新聞自由與通訊自由三者。

免於恐懼之自由，包括不受迫害以及一切男女之歧視，且可以保障彼等之平等權利，以享受其他根本權利與自由。

免於匱乏之自由，包括工作之權利，社會安全之權利，以及獲得上進機會之權利。

advancement.

The United States Government will work actively and tirelessly, both for its own people and through the international organization for peoples generally, toward promoting respect for and observance of these right and freedoms.

The charter will also be strengthened by naming the Economic and Social Council along with the General Assembly and the Security Council as principal organs of the world organization.

We have provided that the views of non-governmental international organizations dealing with labor, agriculture, finance, trade and others matters—all²⁹ of them having as their ultimate objective higher living standards and full employment be represented.

I must emphasize, however, that the Economic and Social Council is essentially a coordinating and recommendatory agency. It cannot interfere with the domestic affairs of any member nation. Its hope for success lies in the cooperation of the member nations—in their willingness to participate effectively in those organizations which will be affiliated³⁰ with it.

There are, I am sorry to say, people who seem to think that our American economy can function in a vacuum, completely without relation to other national economies; and that by some miracle³¹ we can hope to achieve prosperity for ourselves without taking into

美國政府將以積極不倦之努力，爲其本國人民以及——經由國際組織——爲全世界之人民，促進對於此等權利與自由之尊重。

吾人並將設立經濟與社會理事會，與大會及安全理事會同爲世界組織之主要機關，以加強憲章之力量。

吾人已規定凡屬處理勞工，農業，金融，商務及其他問題之非政治國際組織，以提高生活水準，及充分就業爲最終目標者，其意見均可獲得表達。

然余必須申明一點，即經濟與社會理事會本質上爲一種聯繫與建議機關，不能干涉任何會員國之內政，其成功之希望，繫於各會員國之合作，即彼等須自願積極參與附屬於該理事會之各組織。

余所深感遺憾者，乃有若干人士似認爲吾美國之經濟，可以在真空之中存在，完全無須與他國之經濟發生關係。且吾人以某種奇蹟可望獲致本身之繁榮，而無須

account the economic conditions of or neighbors.

After the defeat of Japan, millions of young men and women will return home to take their proper places in agriculture and in our enormously expanded productive system. We shall not be able to provide jobs for them if we have not helped through the Economic and Social Council to create those world-wide conditions under which other nations are able to purchase much greater quantities of our goods than ever before and we are able to cut more from them. We must choose between a constantly expanding economy throughout the world of mass unemployment in our own country. Full participation in the Economic and social Council provides us with our greatest opportunity to break, once and for all,³¹ the vicious circle of isolationism, depression and war.

I look upon this charter as, in the deepest sense, a compact between peoples reached through their governments. Certainly the American delegation's part in the work of this conference has been carried out in the closest possible relationship with the American people. We have been in constant touch³¹ with consultants representing 42 non-governmental organizations widely representative of American life. Through their suggestions they have made valuable contributions to the charter. I hope and believe that we can build upon this

顧及鄰國之經濟情況。

日本失敗之後，數百萬青年男女將返回國內，在農業以及大見擴充之生產體系中，取得其適當之地位，吾人如無經濟與社會理事會之協助，造成一種世界情勢，使其他國家能較前多購吾人之貨物。吾人亦能向彼輸入購貨物，則必不能供給彼等以工作，吾人必須在全球經濟之不斷擴展，以及我本國之大量失業兩者之間，選擇一途。吾人如全力參加經濟與社會理事會，必能獲得最大之機會一舉摧毀孤立經濟不景氣與戰爭之惡性循環。

余期望項此一憲章以其最深刻之意義而言，成為各國人民經由其政府成立之契約。美國代表團在此會議中之工作，自然係在與美國人民取得可能最密切聯繫之下進行。吾人經常與代表四十二個非政府組織之顧問經常接觸，彼等可以廣泛代表美國生活之各方面，彼等於提出建議之際，已對憲章作極有價值之貢獻，余希望且深信吾人在未來期間，可藉此試驗而獲益。

experience in the future.

I also want to say a few words about the American delegation.

This delegation has carried out all its work in a splendid spirit of non-partisan cooperation. Each member has borne, with high distinction, a full share of the grave responsibility which is upon us all. Each has been guided only by the higher interests of our country as an inseparable part of world community.

The delegation includes four outstanding members of Congress, two from each party—Senator Tom Connally of Texas, Senator Arthur Vandenburg of Michigan, Representative Bol Bloom of New York and Representative Charles Eaton of New Jersey. The delegation also includes two representatives of the public—Dean Uirginic Gildersleeve and Commander Harold Stasen, who is on leave³³ from active duty in the Navy.

Our senior delegate, Cordell Hull, has unfortunately been unable to attend the conference. But we have been in daily communication with him and have leaned heavily upon his wise counsel and guidance. It was Cordell Hull's achievement at Moscow in 1943 which made this conference possible.

The charter which is written at this conference, must be ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate, and must be whole-heartedly approved by the American people if the world organization is to succeed. The important part

關於美國代表團，余亦願略贊數語。

代表團已以超黨派合作之光明正大精

神從事一切工作，每一代表均充分擔負其

一部份重任，其行動悉以促進吾國在世界

社會中之利益為準。

代表團中有卓越之國會議員四人，每

黨各二，即參議員康納利，范登堡，眾議

員白魯姆與伊登是也。代表團尚有民衆之

代表二人即吉爾德斯里弗女士與史塔生中

校是也。史塔生係在海軍中服現役請假與

會。

我高級顧問赫爾不幸無法與會，然吾

人每日均與彼通訊，並甚有賴其睿智之建

議與指導。此一會議所以能獲舉行，全賴

赫爾一九四三年在莫斯科之成就。

本會議擬訂之憲章，必須由參議院

三分之二通過，且必須獲得美國民衆之衷

心讚許，世界組織方有成功之希望。我趨

played by our widely representative and non-partisan American delegation should assure the kind of charter that will win this approval. We have carried one step further here the policy of close cooperation with Congress which was initiated by Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hull. Our purpose is to provide that continuity and strength of foreign policy which has been so difficult to achieve in the past history of our country.

Finally, I wish to report that we have been in daily touch with President Truman. He has been fully informed of every step in the work of this conference. As Chief Executive of the United States he has guided our course. His leadership has been essential to our progress.

Our remaining work here in San Francisco moves ahead steadily. Since the committees have already approved most of the important provisions of the charter, we shall be principally occupied during the next few days with drafting those provisions into charter language. The various drafts will then go to the four commissions for approval and finally to the plenary session of the whole conference. Our work will then be concluded. I hope we shall finish during the early part of June.

I have no doubt that the final charter prepared here will offer great hope for lasting peace. But I cannot speak so surely when I try to answer the question: Will it work?³⁴ Will it

黨派且能代表各方面之美國代表團，所從事之重要工作，應保證憲章能獲讚許。羅斯福與赫爾所創與國會密切合作之政策，吾人已在此間將其推進一步。吾人之目的乃使我國過去歷史中極難建立之外交政策，能獲持續與加強。

最後余希望報告一點，即吾人每日均與杜魯門總統通訊，會議工作之每一步驟，渠均完全知曉；且以美國行政首長之地位，領導吾人之方針，其領導實為吾人進展之重要條件。

我等在舊金山之未了工作，刻正逐步推進。各委員會已通過憲章中之大部份重要條款，因此吾人在未來數日內之主要工作，將為以此等條款起草為憲章之文字，然後各草案即將交回大組委員會通過，最後提付會議之全體大會，其時吾人之工作，即將結束。余希望吾人將於六月初完成工作。

余確信此間起草之最後憲章，將予永久和平以極大之希望。惟余在回答下列問題時，余不能言之十分肯定，即：該憲章

keep the peace? For that depends upon the will to peace with which nations of the world support the charter and build strength into the world organization. We can do no more at San Francisco than to establish the constitutional basis upon which the world can live with our war—if it will. Our own foreign policy will play a great part in determining the achievement of these ends.

What then are the major considerations which must govern our foreign policy?

First: We must carry the second phase of the war to final victory and see to it that Germany and Japan never wage war again.

Second: We must maintain and extend the collaboration and community of purpose now existing among the great nations which have fought this war together. The interests of the United States extend to the whole world. We must maintain those interests in our relations with other great powers and we must mediate between them when their interests conflict among themselves. In both cases our own interests as well as theirs require that agreements be achieved and the solidarity of the great nations be preserved.

Third: We must seek constantly to make our full contribution toward the establishment in practice of the supremacy of justice and of fair dealing for all peoples and states large and small.

可實行乎？該憲章能保持和平乎？此須視世界各國以擁護該憲章及建立世界組織力量之和平意願而定。吾人在舊金山會議中所能為者，為建立憲法基礎，使世界各國如有此意願，即可生活在無戰爭之狀態下，在決心完成此等目的之際，吾人之外交政策，將有舉足輕重之地位。

然則何者為決定吾人外交政策之主要考慮因素？

第一，吾人必須進行等二階段之戰爭，以達最後勝利，並使德國及日本無法再從事戰爭。

第二，吾人必須保持及擴大共同從事此次戰爭之各大國間現有之合作與目標一致。美國之利益已擴展至整個世界，吾人必須在吾人與其他大國之關係上，保存此等利益，吾人當各大國之利益衝突時，吾人必須在其間執行調停。在兩種情況之下，吾人本身之利益及其他國家之利益均需要取得一致，各大國間之團結，亦需保持。

第三，吾人必須不斷努力，俾有充分貢獻於實際建立司法至上及一切民族以及大小國家之公平交往。某等國家所掌握之

The power that happens to be in the hands of certain nations must constantly be used to make our full contribution toward the establishment in the practice of the supremacy of justice and of fair dealing for all peoples and states, large and small. The power that happens to be in the hands of certain nations must never be used for any purpose which is not in accordance with justice. And the formulations of international law to enforce justice must be speeded.

Fourth: Those social and economic conditions which create a climate for peace must be advanced. The beginnings we shall make through the Economic and Social Council and its related agencies must be constantly developed.

Finally, we must realize that we live in a world where the sovereignty of no nation, not even the most powerful, is absolute. There is no such thing as complete freedom of decision for any nations. It was not the action of our Congress but a decision of the Japanese High Command to bomb Pearl Harbor which put the United States into war.

We in America can never again turn³⁵ our backs upon the world. For we are not a part of it—we are one of its most important parts. If we do not assume our new responsibilities willingly, then we shall be compelled to assume them by the brutal necessities of self-preservation. There is no pos-

權力，必須經常被利用，俾吾人有充分貢獻於實際建立司法至上及一切民族與大小國家之公平交往。某等國家所掌握之權利，必須永不被利用於實施任何不符合正義之目標。實施正義之國際法，必須迅速擬訂。

第四，造成和平空氣之社會及經濟環境必須提倡。吾人將藉經濟及社會理事會作一開端，其有關之機關必須經常謀取發展。

最後，吾人必須了解，吾人所生存之世界中，無一國家之主權為絕對者，即使最強有力之國家亦然，任何國家並無從事決定之完全自由。使美國參加戰爭者，非國會之行動，而為日本大本營炸珍珠港之決策。

吾美國人民永不能再不問世事。蓋吾人不僅為其中的一部分，且為其中最重要之一部分。吾人若不自願重行担负新責任，亦將因自保之急切需要而被迫担任此等責

sibility of retreat.

Let us instead,³⁶ with God's help, march forward in the cause of peace, with a greatness worthy of our heritage and of the men who gave their lives on distant battlegrounds.

任，而無退避之可能。

吾人在上帝保佑下，秉吾人之天賦，

及在遠征中捨生之將士之偉大精神，向和平之鵠邁進的。

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

(1) "once"="when—once" (有時爲 "if—once"), "一旦"。Once you have read the book, you will never forget its charms,一旦汝讀畢此書,其引人入勝之處永不能忘懷。(2) "being"—existence, "存在"。Many newspapers and magazines have come into being as a result of an increasing demand for them,因需要關係,多數報紙雜誌遂應運而生。(3) 此句爲倒裝,主詞 "delegates" 置於動詞後,補充詞 "gathered" 置於句首,因主詞之 modifiers 甚長之故。(4) "with the same purpose (end) in view," "具有同一目標"。All classes of people work with the same purpose in view, namely, to win the war, 各階人民具獲取勝利之共同目標。(5) "give and take," "予之取之", "義務與權利" (此處兩字作名詞用,亦可作形容詞用)。(6) 此處 "peoples" (複數), 指世界各民族。(7) 指羅斯福總統所主張之四種自由,見本文後段。(8) "seating," "予以議席", "出席"。(9) "in no way," "毫不", "決不"。He will in no way consent to this,彼對此決不同意。(10) "stood for" 此處爲 "主張", "所持"。The Chinese people have always stood for world peace,中國人民素來主張世界和平。(11) "open the way for," "爲……先導", "開……先例", "開放路徑"。The Japanese occupation of Mukden opened the way for the Nazi aggressive role, 日本侵佔瀋陽開納粹侵略暴政之先河。(12) "to commit oneself to," "受束縛", "受約束"。A treaty is useless unless both parties commit themselves to it, 如締約之雙方不受此約之拘束則此約無效。(13) "be represented" 爲 subjunctive mood, 凡提案,建議,決定條文皆用 subjunctive verb。(14) "it" 爲其後同位 "that"—clause (noun clause) 所述者。(15) "as" 之後省略 "true" 一字, 因第一 "as" 之後已有此字,故省。(16) "between us" 係指各別會員國間,如甲與乙,乙與丙,丙與甲。(among us 則較廣汎)。(17) "otherwise" (adverb), "相反情形下", "反是"。I think otherwise, 我意反是。(18) "would have been," subjunctive, 意即事實爲 "有合作", "反是即無合作" 與事實相反故用 subjunctive, "would have been"。例:事實——"美軍參加", 從反面假設, "如美國不參加" = If U.S. troops had not taken part (past perfect 指與過去事實相反的設想); 事實——"柏林未支持長久", "The Nazis in Berlin would have sustained longer" (在 subjunctive main clause 中, future perfect 指與過去相反的設想)。兩句合併爲: If U.S. troops had not taken part in the siege, the Nazis in Berlin would have sustained longer。(19) "agreed" 爲 past participle 形容代名詞 "these"。(20) "section by section," "逐條"。(21) "in harmony with," "和諧", "符合"

(廣汎的相同) 。 What he says is in harmony with our view, 彼之所云與吾人之意見大致相同。(22) “in accord with,” “符合” (嚴格的相同) 。 A true Chinese scholar acts in strict accord with the Confucian code, 真正中國學者行動與儒家禮節脗合。(23) “to the fullest extent,” “全面”，“充分” 。 We should exert our efforts to the fullest extent to win the war, 吾人應充分努力以獲取戰勝。(24) 此 “it” 即指其後之 “what”-clause。(25) “embark on (upon),” “從事” “着手”，“投身” 。 After the war, I shall embark on publishing business, 戰後余將投身出版事業。(26) “iffy” 從 “if” 變為形容字 “iffy” 即指太過分假定而偏於假想之人。(27) “to look forward to,” “期待” 。 The whole world looks forward to the setting up of permanent peace, 全世界之人期待永久和平之樹立。(28) “in advance,” “預先” I thank you in advance for the trouble you take on my account, 賢神之處特此預謝。(29) “all” 為主詞格加 “having” (分辭) 附於一句之下稱為 nominative absolute, 其分辭又稱為 absolute participle (平時分詞非動詞不能單獨用於一名詞或代名詞之後，如云 It being late, 係錯誤。但附於一句之下則可用為 nominative absolute, 如 It being late, I must go). (30) “affiliated with” “附屬” 。 The middle school is affiliated with this college, 該中學附屬於本大學。(31) “once and for all,” 或 “once for all,” “祇此一次而不再有”，“一勞永逸” 。 We should crush once and for all the fighting power of Japan, 吾人應一舉摧毀日本戰鬥力使之永遠滅跡。(32) “in touch with,” “與……接觸”，“與……通消息” 。 I have been in close touch with him, 余與彼有密切接觸。(33) “on leave” “在假” 。 Mr. Lee is on sick leave, 李先生請病假。(34) “work” 此處作“有效用”，“能實行”解。 I am sorry that your theory doesn't work, 惜君之理論不能實行。(35) “to turn one's back on (upon),” “不理”，“不問”， A true friend will not turn his back on you when you need him, 當汝於需要友人助力時，真正之友不至不理也。(36) 此 “instead” 為 adverb (此處為獨立用法與上文意義銜接)， “反之” 。 Our friend may betray us. Let us, instead, forgive them. 吾人友人或可將吾人出賣，吾人反是當寬恕之。

PRES. HARRY S. TRUMAN'S ADDRESS AT
THE FINAL UNCTIO PLENARY SESSION

Delivered on June 26, 1945

杜魯門總統於聯合國安全機構會議
末次全體大會致詞

一九四五年六月二十五日

Mr. Chairman and Delegates to the United Nations Conference on International Organization:

I deeply regret that the press of circumstances when this conference opened made it impossible for me to be here to greet you in person.¹ I have asked for the privilege of coming today, to express on behalf of the people of the United States our thanks² for what you have done here, and to wish³ you God-speed on your journeys home.

Somewhere in this broad country, every one of you can find some of our citizens who are sons and daughters, or descendants in some degree⁴ of your own native land.⁵ All our people are glad and proud that this historic meeting and its accomplishments have taken place in our country, and that included the millions of loyal and patriotic Americans who stem from the countries not represented at this conference.

主席及聯合國世界機構會議諸位代

表：

我在這次會議開會時，因事情匆迫，不能親自來此歡迎諸位，深表歉意。我今天要求到這裏來，代表美國人民對諸位所完成的工作表示感謝，並祝諸位返國時一路平安。

你們諸位在這個廣大國際的任何地方，都可以看到我們的公民多少有些是你們本國的子女或後代，所有美國人以及千百萬滯留在各國不能出席這一會議的美國忠勇愛國人民，都因為這一有歷史性的會議和它的完成能在我國舉行，感到高興和驕傲。

We are grateful to you for coming. We hope you have enjoyed your stay and that you will come again.

You assembled up San Francisco nine weeks ago with the high hope and confidence of peace-loving people the world over. Their confidence in you has been justified. Their hope⁶ for your success has been fulfilled.

The Charter of the United Nations which you have just signed is a solid structure upon which we can build a better world. History will honor you for it. Between the victory in Europe and the final victory in Japan, in this most destructive of all wars, you have won a victory against war itself⁷

It was the hope of such a charter that helped sustain⁸ the courage of stricken peoples through the darkest days of the war. For it is a declaration of great faith by the nations of the earth—faith⁹ that war is not inevitable, faith that peace can be maintained.

If we had had¹⁰ this charter a few years ago—and above all, the will to use it—millions now dead¹¹ would be alive. If we should falter¹² in the future in our will to use it, millions now living¹³ will surely die.

It has already been said by many that this is only a first step to lasting peace. That is true. The important thing is that our thinking and all our actions be based on the realization that it is in fact only a first step. Let¹⁴ us all have it firmly in mind that we start

我們對於諸位的蒞臨表示歡迎。我們希望諸位留在這裏的時間，身心愉快，並希望諸位能再度來此。

諸位抱了全世界愛好和平各國人民的高度希望和信心，在九星期以前在舊金山會集。他們對於諸位的信心是合理的。他們對於諸位成功的希望已經實現了。

諸位所已簽定的聯合國憲章，我們建立一個較好世界的穩固基礎，歷史會因此而讚譽諸位的成就。在歐洲勝利和對日作戰最後勝利的間隔期中，這最殘酷的戰爭當中，你們已對戰爭本身贏得了勝利。

這一憲章的希望曾經幫助支持了戰爭最黑暗日子裏受難人民的勇氣。因為這是世界各國最大信心的宣言，信任戰爭不是不可避免的，信任和平是可以維持的。

如果我們在幾年前就有了這個憲章，而且也有了運用它的決心，目前死亡的千萬人民就可以免於犧牲。如果我們的運用決心在將來發生動搖，目前生存的千萬人民一定會因而死亡。

許多人士曾說這不過是走到永久和平境界的第一步。這是不錯的。最重要是我們的思想和我們的一切行動都要基於這個認識，認為在事實上還祇是第一步。讓我們大家都記着，我們今天做了一個美滿的

today from a good beginning, and, with our eye always on the final objective, let¹⁵ us march forward.

The constitution of my own country came from a convention which—like this one—was made up of delegations with many different views. Like the Charter, our constitution came from a free and sometimes bitter exchange of conflicting opinions. When it was adopted, no one regarded it as a perfect document. But it grew and developed and expanded. And upon it there was built a bigger, a better and a mind perfect union.

This Charter, like our constitution, will be expanded and improved as time goes on. No one claims that it is now a final or a perfect instrument. It has not been poured into any fixed mold. Changing world conditions will require readjustments—but they will be the readjustments of peace, and not of war.

That we now have this Charter at all¹⁶ is a great wonder. It is also the cause for profound thanksgiving to Almighty God, who has brought us so far in our search for peace through world organization.

There were many who doubted that agreement could ever be reached by these 50 countries differing so much in race and religion, in language and culture. But these differences we all have forgotten in one unshakable determination to find a way to end war.

開端，讓我們把眼睛注視着最後的目標，邁步前進。

我們本國的憲法是由會議產生的，就如同這次憲章一樣是由許多不同意見的代表完成的。就像這個憲章一樣，我們的憲法也是從許多次歧異意見的熱烈交換中產生的。在它被採納的時候，沒有人認為它是一個完美的文件。但是它是經過生長，發展和擴充而來的。在這上面建立起了一個較大較好和較完美的聯合。

這個憲章，正像我們的憲法，是要隨時擴充和改進的。沒有人認為它現在就是一個最後的或完滿的工具。它還沒有定型。變動的世界狀況，會使它修正的，——但是這是和平的修正，而不是戰爭。

我們現在能有這個憲章，的確是一大奇蹟，這也是應該對全能上帝感謝的原因，他始終領導我們從世界機構中來尋求和平。

有許多人曾經懷疑這些在種族宗教語言文化各方面，有如此差別的五十個國家，能夠獲得協議。然而我們在謀求制止戰爭方法這個不可動搖的決心下，把這些不同點都忘得乾乾淨淨了。

Out of all the arguments and disputes, and different points of view,¹⁷ a way was found to agree. Here¹⁸ in the spotlight of full publicity in the tradition of liberty-loving people, proposals of world organization were expressed openly and freely. The faith and the hope of 50 peaceful nations were laid before this world forum. Differences were overcome. This Charter was not the work of any single nation or a group of nations, large or small. It was the result of a spirit of give-and-take, of tolerance for the views and interests of others.

It was proof that nations, like men, can state their differences, can face them, and then can find common essence of democracy. That is the essence of democracy. That¹⁹ is the essence of keeping the peace in the future.¹⁹ By your agreement, the way was shown toward future agreement in the years to come.

This conference owes its success largely to the fact that you have kept your minds firmly on the main objective. You had the single job of writing a constitution—a charter for peace. And you stayed on that job.

In spite of the many distractions which came to you in the form of daily problems and disputes about such matters as new boundaries, control of Germany peace settlements, reparations, war criminals, the form of government of some of the European countries, in spite of all these,²⁰ you

在一切辯論和不同的觀點中，發現一個獲得同意的辦法，而在公開盡量宣傳在愛好自由民族的傳統精神中，把關於建立世界機構的意見很坦白自由地一一發表出來。五十個愛好和平國家的信心希望也在這世界會議場一一發表。一切異見終能解決。這個憲章並不是任何一國，或任何大小一羣國家，單獨完成的工作，它是為他人的觀點和利益設想的一種予與取的寬讓精神的結果。

這是一個證明，證明國家和人一樣能聲述他們的異見，面對着異見，然後找出一個公共立場。這就是民主主義的真髓。這就是在將來維持和平的要素。你們各位的協議使將來協議的途徑也表顯了出來。

這次聯合國會議的成就，大半歸功於你們能對主觀目標堅持不忽這一點。你們唯一的工作是草擬一個憲章，一個和平憲章，而你們能貫徹始終，完成這工作。

雖有新邊界控制德國，和平解決賠款，戰爭罪犯，某幾個歐洲國家政府形式等每日發生的問題和爭端來打擾你們，請

continued in the task of framing this document.

Those problems and scores of others which will arise, are all difficult. They are complicated. They are controversial and dangerous.

But with a united spirit we met and solved even more difficult problems during the war. And with the same spirit, if we keep to our principles and never forsake our objective, the problems we now face and those to come will also be solved.

We have paid the price of cooperation in this war and have found that it works.²¹ Through the pooling of resources, through a joint and combined military command²² which constantly holds staff meetings, we have shown what united strength can do in war. That united strength forced Germany in surrender. United strength will force Japan to surrender.

The United Nations also had experience, even while the fighting was still going on, in reaching economic agreement for times of peace. What was done on the subject of relief at Atlantic City, food at Hot Springs, finance at Bretton Woods, aviation at Chicago, was a fair test of what can be done by nations determined to live cooperatively in a world where peaceful means are better than any other way. What²³ you have accomplished in San Francisco shows that these lessons of military and economic cooperation have been learned. You have created a great

位仍繼續進行草擬憲章工作。

那些問題以及其他將來難免的種種問題，都很麻煩，都很複雜，都易起糾紛，富於危險性。

然而我們終能在戰爭中以團結精神相會，並解決了甚至於更困難的問題。我們倘以同一精神並堅持我們的原則，永不放棄，則我們現在所過和將來所起的問題，一定也能解決。

在這次戰爭中，我們已經付出了合作的代價，而產生了結果。由於我們把各國的資源都聚集在一起共同使用，由於我們在軍事的指揮上取得聯合和聯繫，經常舉行參謀會議，我們已經發現聯合的力量在戰爭中能如何地發揮。這種聯合的力量已經迫使德國投降，將來還要迫使日本屈膝。

縱然在這次戰爭仍在進行的時候，聯合國也已經有了如何擬定平時經濟協定的經驗。例如在大西洋關於救濟問題的決定，在溫泉關於糧食問題的決定，在布里敦森林關於財政金融問題的決定，在芝加哥關於航空問題的決定，都是對於那些想在一個以和平手段較之任何其他方法更為良好的世界上，如何合作生存下去的國家一個良好的試驗，試驗他們究竟能夠作出一點什麼工作來。諸位在舊金山會議上的成就，說明了諸位已經學習了這些軍事與經

instrument for peace and security and human progress in the world.

The world must now use it.

If we fail to use it, we shall betray all these who have died in order that we might meet²⁴ here in freedom and safety to create it.

If we seek to use it selfishly—for the advantage of any one nation or any small group of nations—we shall be equally of that betrayal.²⁵

The successful use of this instrument will require the united will and firm determination of the free peoples who have created it. This job will test the moral strength and fibre of us all.

We all have to recognize—no matter how great our strength²⁶—that we must deny ourselves the license to do always as we please. No one nation, no regional group, can or should expect any special privilege which harms another nation. If any nation would keep security for itself, it must be ready and willing to share security with other nations. This is the price which each nation will have to pay for world peace. Unless we are all willing to pay that, no organization for world peace can accomplish its purpose. And what a reasonable price that is!

Out of this conflict have come powerful military nations,²⁷ now fully trained and equipped for war. But they have no right to dominate the world. It is rather the duty of these powerful nations to assume the responsibility for leadership toward a world

濟合作的課程。諸位已經創造了一個實現世界和平安全與人類進步的偉大的工具。

現在全世界就要開始使用這個工具。

假若我們不能善後運用這個工具，那我們就算出賣了那些爲了爭取我們能在此地自由安全地開會以創造這工具而死去的所有的人們。

假若我們把這工具拿來作自私之用，拿來謀某一單獨國家或某一小小集團國家的利益，那我們也算同樣犯了那個出賣的罪行。

如何使這工具得到成功的運用，需要參加創造這工具的一切自由人民的共同的意志和堅定的決心。這一步能否做到，就可測驗出來我們全體是否具有道德的力量和組織的能力。

我們一定要認識，不管我們的力量如何強大，我們一定不要容許我們自己隨心所欲的濫用力量。無論那一個國家，無論那一個區域集團，不能夠或期望取得危害其他國家的特權。若果任何國家想要維持他自己的安全，那他一定要準備而且願意去共同維持其他國家的安全。這是任何國家爲世界和平而必須付出的代價。除非我們全體都願意付出這個代價，任何世界和平組織都不能達到它的目的。這是多麼合理的代價啊！

這次戰爭產生了好些軍力強大的國家，這些國家目前有作戰的充分訓練和裝備。但是它們沒有征服世界的權利，倒反而是應有領導各國走向世界和平的責任。

of peace. That is why we have here resolved that power and strength shall be used not to wage war, but to keep the world at peace, and free from the fear of war.

By their own example the strong nations of the world should lead the way to international justice. That²⁸ principle of justice is the foundation stone of this Charter. That principle is the guiding spirit by which it must be carried out—not by words alone—but by continued concrete acts of goodwill.

There is a time for making plans and there is a time for action. The time for action is²⁹ now. Let us, therefore, each in his own nation and according to his own way, seek immediate approval of this Charter and make it a living thing.

I shall send this Charter to the United States Senate at once. I am sure that the overwhelming sentiment of the people of my country and of their representatives in the Senate is in favor of immediate ratification.

A just and lasting peace cannot be attained by diplomatic agreement alone, or by military cooperation alone. Experience has shown how deeply the seeds of war are planted by economic rivalry and by social injustice. The Charter recognizes this fact, for it has provided for economic and social cooperation as well. It has provided for this cooperation as part of the very heart of the entire compact.

It³⁰ has set up a machinery of international cooperation which this

這就是我們爲什麼在這裏決定任何力量都不能用於戰爭，而應該用於保持世界和平，並使世界不再受戰爭的恐懼。

世界的強國應以身作則，首先走向國際正義的路。正義的原則就是這個世界憲章的基石。這個原則是實施的領導精神，而實施不祇是說說就算，而一定要有繼續不斷的善意的具體行動。

有擬定計劃的時候，也有見諸行動的時候。現在就已到了見諸行動的時候。所以讓我們各人在他自己的國家以內，各人用他自己的方法，立刻表示擁護世界憲章，使它成爲一個活的東西。

我立刻就要把世界憲章送到參議院去。我相信全國絕大多數人民的意見，以及他們在參議院裏的代表們，一定會主張立刻通過。

一個正當而永久的和平，絕不能單用外交的協定或單用軍事的合作所能達到。過去的經驗告訴我們，戰爭的種子都是由於經濟上的競爭和社會上的不公平，而種下了深深的禍根。憲章裏規定了經濟與社會的合作，足見憲章已經認識了這種事實。憲章裏把經濟和社會方面的合作規定爲全部內容的中心。

憲章已建立了一個國際合作的機構，

and other nations of good will can use to help correct economic and social causes for conflict.

Artificial and uneconomic trade barriers should be removed—to the end³¹ that the standard of living of as many people as possible throughout the world may be raised. For freedom from want is one of the basic freedoms toward which we all strive. The large and powerful nations of the world must assume leadership in this economic field as in all others.

Under this document we have good reason to expect the framing of an international Bill of Rights, acceptable to all the nations involved. That Bill of Rights will be as much a part of international life as our own Bill of Rights is a part of our constitution. The Charter is dedicated to the achievement and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Unless we can attain those objectives for all men and women everywhere—without regard to race, language or religion—we cannot have permanent peace and security.

With this Charter the world can begin to look forward to the time when all worthy human beings may be permitted to live decently as free people.

The world has learned again that nations, like individuals, must know the truth if they could be free must read and hear the truth, learn and teach the truth.

We must set up an effective agency

美國和其他懷具善意的國家，可用它來幫助糾正造成糾紛的經濟和社會原因。

人爲的和非經濟的貿易壁壘應予消除，以求達到儘可能提高全世界各地人民生活水準的目的。不感缺乏的自由原是我們大家奮力追求的基本四大自由之一，世界上的大小國家，必須在這經濟方面也同在其他一切方面一樣，負起領導的責任。

根據此項文件，我們有理由預期擬定一個有關各國都能接受的國際權利法案。這個權利法案在國際生活中的地位，將如同我們自己的權利法案在我們憲法中的地位一樣。世界憲章的目標是實現并尊重人類權利和基本自由，我們如不能不分種族語言或信仰爲各地男女達成那些目標，我們就不能得到永久的和平與安全。

有此憲章後，世界可以開始期望一切優秀人民有一天能以自由人民的身份過着安適的生活。

世界今又獲知國家也如個人，如欲獲得自由，使須認識真理，必須誦讀聆聽真理，學習教導真理。

我們必須建立一個有效的機構，藉

for a constant and thorough interchange of thought and ideas, for there lies the road to a better and more tolerant understanding among nations and among peoples.

All Fascism did not die with Mussolini. Hitler is finished—but the seeds spread by his disordered mind have a firm root in too many fanatical brains. It is easier to remove tyrants and destroy concentration camps than it is to kill the ideas which gave them birth and strength. Victory on the battlefield was essential but it was not enough. For a good peace, a lasting peace, the decent peoples of the earth must remain determined to strike down the evil spirit which has hung over the world for the last decade.

The forces of reaction and tyranny all over the world will try to keep the United Nations from remaining united. Even³² while the military machine of the Axis was being destroyed in Europe—even³³ down to its very end. They still tried to divide us.

They failed. They will try again.

They are trying even now. To divide and conquer was—and still is—their plan. They still try to make one ally suspect the other, hate the other, desert the other.

But I know that I speak for every one of you when I say that the United Nations will remain united. They will not be divided by propaganda, either before the Japanese surrender—or after.

This occasion shows again the con-

它經常澈底交換思想和理想。我們可藉這條途徑使國家和國家間，人民和人民間，獲有更佳和更容忍的諒解。

墨索里尼已死，但一切法西斯主義並沒有隨他而死。希特勒也完了，但他瘋狂腦筋所散下來的種子還深種在很多狂人的腦海裏，剷除暴君和毀滅集中營，比消滅使他們生長并獲有力量的思想要容易些。戰場上的勝利是重要的，但這還不夠。要建立一個普遍的和平，一個持久的和平，全世界的優秀人民必須仍具決心，去剷除過去十年中在世界上為非作惡的邪惡勢力。

全球各處的反動和強暴勢力，定將設法使聯合國不再團結一致，他們即使在軸心國家的作戰機構正被摧滅，即使直到末路的時候，還會想分裂我們。

他們是失敗了，可是他們還要再試試看。

就是現在，他們也在如此。他們的計劃一直沒變，想把我們一一分裂，再逐個征服。他們仍想使我們互相猜疑，互相仇恨，互相離棄。

然而我知道，當我說聯合國將繼續團結一致時，我說的也就是你們每位心頭的話，聯合國無論在日本投降之前或以後全不會被宣傳離間。

這次盛會又表示歷史的一貫性。

tinuity of history.

By this Charter you have given reality to the ideal of that great statesman of a generation ago—Woodrow Wilson.

By this Charter, you have moved³⁴ toward the goal for which that gallant leader in this second world struggle worked and fought and gave his life—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

By this Charter you have realized³⁵ the objectives of many men of vision in your own countries who have devoted their lives to the cause of world organization for peace.

Upon all of us, in all our countries, is now laid the duty of transforming into action these words which you have written.

Upon our decisive action³⁶ rests the hope of those who have fallen, those now living, those yet unborn—the hope for a world of free countries—with a decent standard of living—which will work and cooperate in a friendly civilized community of nations.

This new structure of peace is rising upon strong foundations.

Let us not fail to grasp this supreme chance to establish a worldwide rule of reason to create an enduring peace under the guidance of God.

你們各位已由這憲章而實現了前一代偉大政治家威爾遜總統所懷的理想。

你們已因這憲章而接近第二次世界大戰的英勇領袖羅斯福總統勞心盡瘁以求的目標。

你們也因這憲章而實現你們各國裏無數胸有遠見一生致力於世界和平機構的人的目的。

現在將你們各位所寫的變成行動的責任，全在我們各國各人肩上。

我們的決定性舉動也寄托着已死正活和未生的一般人的希望，希望一個自由國家的世界，有良好的生活標準，在一個和融受文化洗禮的國際社會裏，共存合作。

這新和平機構正自堅強的基石上冉冉生長。

願我們不要錯過這至上的機會，來建立全球的理智統治，並在上帝的領導下，創造永久的和平。

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

(1) "in person," "親自", You must attend the meeting in person, not by proxy, 君須親自出席開會不能由人代表。(2) "thanks" 爲 "to express" 之受詞。(3) "to wish" 與前 "to express" 同爲 "coming" 之 modifiers. (4) "in some degree," "多少", "某種限度", 與 "to some extent" 同義。He is a connoisseur in some degree, 彼多少爲

一鑑賞家。(5) 美國國民乃歐洲各國白種人所組成，故有“世界鎔爐”，“the melting pot”之稱。(6)此句構造，“Their hope....”與前句“Their confidence.....”相同，此種重覆構造為演說詞常用之表示法。(7)“against war itself”即“與根除戰爭本身”而戰。英國習慣用法“help”後之 infinitive 用“to,”美國習慣多不用“to”,故祇“sustain”。(9)此第二“faith”為其前“faith”之重覆，亦為演說詞常用之表示法。(10)此句“if”—clause 之動詞“had had”與 main clause 之“would be”皆為 subjunctive mood. 普通文法教本中謂 (1) 凡與過去事實相反之虛擬法 “If”—clause 用 past perfect subjunctive, main clause 用 future perfect subjunctive. 此係指兩個 clauses 所虛擬之事皆在過去而言。例如：“昨日我實無時間，因此我未來”之事實，互相聯繫皆為過去（昨日），今自反面陳述，故用 subjunctive mood, 即：Yesterday if I had had (past perfect subjunctive) time, I should have come (future perfect subjunctive). 但此處用法與上述規則有不同處，而普通文法教本多遺漏此一種用法，不可不注意及之。此句 “If”—clause 係指過去事而虛擬(a few years ago), 適合上述規則一部份。但 main clause 所虛擬之事指現在 (now), 並非指過去，故不能用 future perfect subjunctive, 而用 future subjunctive 代替，因此用 “would be,” 不用 “would have been.” 例：昨日設使我趕上了船（事實未趕上），今日我會在家裏（今天不在家裏）， If I had caught (past perfect subjunctive) the boat, I should be (future subjunctive) at home today. (11) “dead” 因為有 modifier “now” 故置於所形容字之後。(12) “If we should falter” 又為 subjunctive 之另一用法，表示懷疑，對未來而言，即普通文法教本所謂 doubt, 無論任何人稱 “If”—clause 皆用 “should” 助動字，“If I should go; If you should go; If he should go,” 與 (10) 內虛擬（全非事實 I 用 should, you 和 he 用 would 不同）。本句之 main clause 中動詞 “will die” 為 indicative mood. 此又與普通文法所述不同，普通文法謂此類 doubt 應為 “If I should....., I should” (would 表示意志，或 could, might), 此第二 should.... 即 main clause 之動詞，隨 “If”—clause 而成立，皆為 doubt. 但本句所以與形式派文法不同，而用 indicative 者，因此 main clause 所述之事非為 doubt, 乃近事實，故整句前為 subjunctive 後為 indicative. 由 (10) 及本節所闡明兩重要文法實例，可知普通文法對 subjunctive 之用於 supposition 與 doubt 皆應補充，否則使學英文者，祇知其一不知其二。(13) 與 (11) 同，為同樣構造，亦演說修辭常用之平行構造法 (parallel construction). (14) 與 (15) 皆為重覆表示法，即 (6) 所提明為演說詞中常用之筆法。(16) “That-clause 為 noun clause, 作動詞 “is” 之主詞。(17) 倒裝 prepositional phrase 置於句首。(18) “her” 及其 modifiers 置於句首亦為倒裝。(19) 此句如 (6), (14), (15) 皆為重覆筆法。(20) 本句亦為倒裝，“In spite of” phrase 含有數個 objects, 故又有一概括以上之第二 “In spite of” phrase, 然後主要陳述 “you continued” 始標出。(21) “works” 此字在此處作 “生效” 解，Your theory will not work, 君之理論不合實用。(22) 此第二 “through” phrase 又為重覆筆法與 (6), (14), (15), (19) 同。(23) “what”—clause 亦為 noun-clause 作 “shows” 之 subject 與 (16) 用法同。

(24) “might meet” 爲 subjunctive verb 表示目的，例：I come in order that (或僅用 that) I may see you. I came in order that I might see you. (25) “of that betrayal” 爲 prepositional phrase 作 “shall be” 之補充字，正如 This problem is of great importance 之 “of great importance” 同樣用法。(26) “no matter how great our strength, 卽 no matter how great our strength may be (或 is) 之簡略，表示退步 (concession) 之意，等於 “Though (although)”-clause. (27) subject 倒裝。(28) 與 (6), (14), (15), (19), (22) 同爲重覆筆法。(29) it is; 作 “存在” 解如 Here it is; He is here; Whatever is, 之 “is” 同。(30) 與 (6), (14), (15), (19), (22), (28) 同。(31) “to the end that,” “目的在”，“...爲目的”。He did that to the end that he may succeed, 彼之爲此目的在求成就。(32) adverb 可形容 conjunction, 故 “even” 形容 “while” (33) 此 adverb “even” 形容另一 adverb “down”。(34), (35), (36) 一如 (6), (14), (15), (19), (22), (28), (30) 皆爲演說詞常用重覆筆法，故本篇爲一極佳之模範演說詞。

THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Approved on June 25, 1945, by the Plenary Session of the United Nations

Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, U.S.A.

聯 合 國 憲 章

一九四五年六月二十五日於舊金山聯合國國際安全機構會議大會通過

PREAMBLE

We the people of the United Nations, determined¹ to save succeeding generations from the scourge² of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations, large and small, and

To establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from³ treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained and

To promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and for these ends to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and

To unite our strength to maintain international peace and security and

To insure the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, to insure that armed force shall not be used, save⁴ in the common interest, and

To employ international machinery

序 文

我聯各國人民同茲決心，欲免後世再遭今代人類兩度身歷慘不堪言之戰禍，

重伸基本人權，人格尊嚴與價值，以及男女與大小各國等權利之信念；

創造適當環境，俾克維持正義，尊重由條約與國際法及其他淵源而起之義務，久而弗懈；

促成大自由中之社會進步及較善之民生，並為達此目的，力行容恕，彼此以善鄰之道，和睦相處；

集中力量以維持國際和平及安全；

接受原則，確立方法，以保證非為公共利益，不得使用武力；

運用國際機構，以促成全球人民經濟

for the promotion of economic and social advancement of all peoples, have resolved⁵ to combine our effort, to accomplish these aims.

Accordingly, our respective governments through representatives assembled in the City of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due⁶ form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

Chapter I

PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES

Article I

The purposes of the United Nations are:

One. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end⁷: To take effective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with⁸ the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;

Two. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

Three. To achieve international cooperation in solving international pro-

及社會之進展。用是發憤立志，務當同心協力，以竟厥功。

爰由我各本國政府，經齊集金山市之代表各將所奉全權證書，互相校閱，均屬妥善，議定本聯合國憲章，并設立國際組織，定名聯合國。

第一章 宗旨及原則

第一條

聯合國之宗旨為：

(一)維持國際和平及安全，並為此目的，採取有效集體辦法，以防止且消除對和平之威脅，制止侵略行為或其他和平之破壞；並以和平方法且依正義及國際法之原則，調整或解決足以破壞和平之國際爭端或情勢。

(二)發展國際間以尊重人民平等權利及自決原則為根據之友好關係，並採取其他適當辦法，以增強普遍和平。

(三)促成國際合作，以解決國際間屬於經濟，社會，文化及人類福利性質之國

blems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and,

Four. To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

Article II

The organization and its members, in pursuit of the purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with⁹ the following principles:

One. The organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members.

Two. All members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from¹⁰ membership, shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter;

Three. All members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.

Four. All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purpose of the United Nations.

Five. All members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from

國際問題，且於全體人類之人權及基本自由之尊重不分種族性別語言及宗教。

(四)構成一協調各國行動之中心，以達成上述共同目的。

第 二 條

為求實現第一條所述各宗旨起見，本組織及其會員國遵行下列原則：

(一)本組織係基於會員國主權平等之原則。

(二)各會員國應一秉善意，履行其依本憲章所擔負之義務，以保證全體會員國由加入本組織而發生之權益。

(三)各會員國應以和平方法解決其國際爭端，俾免危及國際和平，安全及正義。

(四)各會員國在其國際關係上不得使用威脅或武力，或以與聯合國宗旨不符之任何其他方法，侵害任何會員國或國家之領土完整或政治獨立。

(五)各會員國對於聯合國依本憲章規定而採取之行動，願盡力予以協助；聯合國對於任何國家正在採取防止或執行行動

giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.

Six. The organization shall ensure that states which are not members of the United Nations act in accordance with these principles so far as¹¹ may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Seven. Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state; shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Charter Seven.

Chapter II

MEMBERS

Article III

The original members of the United Nations shall be the states which, having participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, or having previously signed the Declaration by the United Nations of January 1, 1943, sign the present Charter and ratify it in accordance with Article 110.

Article IV

One. Membership in the United Nations is open to¹² all other peace-loving states which accept the obligation contained in the present Charter and, in judgment of the organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.

時，各會員國對該國不得給予協助。

(六)本組織在維持國際和平及安全必要範圍內，應保證非聯合會員國遵行上述原則。

(七)本憲章不得認為授權聯合國干涉在本質上屬於任何國家國內管轄之事件，且並不要求會員國將該項事件依本憲章提請解決，但此項原則不妨礙第七章內執行辦法之適用。

第二章 會員

第三條

凡曾經參加金山聯合國國際組織會議或前曾簽字於一九四二年一月一日聯合國宣言之國家，簽訂本憲章，且依憲章第一百一十條規定而予以批准者，均為聯合國之創始會員國。

第四條

(一)凡其他愛好和平之國家，接受本憲章所載之義務，經本組織認為確能並願意履行該項義務者，得為聯合國會員國。

Two. The admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of¹³ the Security Council.

Article V

A member of the United Nations against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise¹⁴ of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The exercise of these rights and privileges may be restored by the Security Council.

Article VI

A member of the United Nations which has persistently violated¹⁵ the principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Chapter III

ORGANS

Article VII

One. There are established as the principal organs a General Assembly, a Security Council, an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council, an International Court of Justice and a Secretariat.

Two. Such subsidiary organs as may be found necessary may be established in accordance with the present Charter.

Article VIII

The United Nations shall place no

(二) 准許上述國家為聯合國，將由大會經安全理事會之推薦以議決行之。

第 五 條

聯合國會員國，業經安全理事會對其採取防止或執行行動者，大會經安全理事會之建議，得停止其會員權利及特權之行使。此項權利及特權之行使得由安全理事會恢復之。

第 六 條

聯合國之會員國中，有屢次違犯本憲章所載之原則者，大會經安全理事會之建議，得將其由本組織除名。

第三章 機 關

第 七 條

(一) 茲設聯合國之主要機構如下：
大會，安全理事會，經濟暨社會理事會，託管理事會，國際法院及秘書處。

(二) 聯合國得依本憲章設立認為必需之輔助機關。

第 八 條

聯合國對於男女均得在其主要及補助

restrictions on the eligibility¹⁶ of men and women to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in its principal and subsidiary organs.

Chapter IV
THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
COMPOSITION

Article IX

One. The General Assembly shall consist of all the members of the United Nations.

Two. Each member shall have not more than five representatives in the General Assembly.

Functions and Powers

Article X

The General Assembly may discuss any question on any matters within the scope of¹⁷ the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided¹⁸ in the present Charter, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations to the members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or to both on any such questions or matters.

Article XI

One. The General Assembly may consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armament, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to members, or to the Security Council or both.

Two. The General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and

機關在平等條件之下，充任任何職務，不得加以限制。

第四章 大會組織

第九條

(一) 大會由聯合國所有會員國組織之。

(二) 每一會員國在大會之代表，不得超過五人。

職 權
第十條

大會得討論本憲章範圍內之任何問題或事項，或關於本憲章所規定任何機關之職權，並除第十二條所規定外，得向聯合國會員國或安全理事會或兼向兩者提出對各該問題或事項之建議。

第十一條

(一) 得考慮關於維持國際和平及安全之合作之普通原則，包括軍需及軍備管制之原則；並得向會員國或安全理事會或兼向兩者提出對於該項原則之建議。

(二) 大會得討論聯合國任何會員國或安全理事會或非聯合國會依國第三十五條

security brought before it by any member of the United Nations, or by the Security Council or by a state which is not a member of the United Nations in accordance with Article 35, Paragraph Two, and except as provided in Article 2, may make recommendations with regard to any such questions to the state or states concerned or the Security Council, or to both. Any such questions on which action is necessary shall be referred to¹⁹ the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion.

Three. The General Assembly may request the Security Council to take into consideration any situations which it deems to impair international peace and security.

Four. The powers of the General Assembly set out²⁰ in this Article shall not limit the general scope of Article 10.

Article XII

One. While the Security Council is exercising in respect of any dispute or situation the function assigned to it in the present Charter the General Assembly shall not make any recommendations with regard to that dispute or situation unless the Security Council so²¹ requests.

Two. The Secretary-General, with the consent of the Security Council, shall notify the General Assembly at each session of any matters relative to the maintenance of international peace and security which are being dealt with²² by the Security Council and shall

第二項之規定向大會所提關於維持國際和平之安全之任何問題，除第十二條所規定外，并得向會員國或安全理事會或兼向兩者提出對於各項問題之建議。凡對於需要行動之各該項問題，應由大會於討論前或討論後提交安全理事會。

(三)大會對於足以危及國際和平與安全之情勢，得提請安全理事會注意。

(四)本條所載之大會權力並不限制第十條之概括範圍。

第十二條

(一)當安全理事會對於任何爭端或情勢，正在執行本憲章所授予該會之職務時，大會經非安全理事會請求，對於該項爭端或情勢不得提出任何建議。

(二)秘書長經安全理事會之同意，應於大會每次會議時，將安全理事會正在處理中關於國際和平及安全之任何事件，通告大會，於安全理事會停止管理該項事件

similarly notify the General Assembly, or the members of the United Nations if the General Assembly is not in session,²³ immediately the Security Council ceases to deal with such matters.

Article XIII

One. The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of:

A. Promoting international cooperation in the political field and encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification.

B. Promoting international cooperation in the economic, social cultural, educational, and health fields, and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinctions as to race, sex, language, or religion.

Two. The further responsibilities, functions, and powers of the General Assembly with respect to matters mentioned in Paragraph One (B) above are set forth²⁴ in Chapters 9 and 10.

Article XIV

Subject to the provisions of Article 12, the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provision of the present Charter setting forth the purpose and principles.

時，或在大會閉會期內通知聯合國會員國。

第十三條

(一)大會應發動研究，並作成建議：

(子)以促進政治上之國際合作，并提倡國際法之逐漸發展與編纂。

(丑)以促進經濟社會文化教育及衛生各部門之國際合作，且不分種族性別語言或宗教，助成全體人類之人權及基本自由實現。

(二)大會關於本條第一項(丑)款所列事項之其他責任及職權，於第九章及十章中規定之。

第十四條

大會對於所有認為足以妨害國際間公共福利或友好關係之任何情勢，不計其起原如何，包括由違反本憲等所載聯合國之宗旨及原則而起之情勢，得建議和平調整辦法，但以不違背第十二條之規定為限。

Article XV

One. The General Assembly shall receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council, these reports shall include on account of the measures that the Security Council has decided upon or taken to maintain international peace and security.

Two. The General Assembly shall receive and consider reports from the other organs of the United Nations.

Article XVI

The General Assembly shall perform such functions with respect to the international trusteeship system as are assigned to it under Chapters 12 and 13, including the approval of the trusteeship agreements for areas not designated as strategic.

Article XVII

One. The General Assembly shall consider and approve the budget of the organization.

Two. The expenses of the organization shall be borne by the members as apportioned by the General Assembly.

Three. The General Assembly shall consider and approve any financial and budgetary arrangements with specialized agencies referred to in Article 57 and shall examine the administrative budgets of such specialized agencies with a view to making recommendations to the agencies concerned.

VOTING

Article XVIII

One. Each member of the General

第十五條

(一)大會應接收並審查安全理事會所送之常年及特別報告，該項報告應載有安全理事會對於維持國際和平與安全所已決定或採行辦法之陳述。

(二)大會應收受並審查聯合國其他機關所送之報告。

第十六條

大會應執行第十二章及第十三章所授予關於國際託管制度之職務，包括關於非戰略防區托管協定之核准。

第十七條

(一)大會應審查本組織之預算。

(二)組織之經費應由各會員國依大會分派負擔。

(三)大會應審查核經與第五十七條所指各種專門機關訂定之任何財政及預算辦法，並應審查該項專門機關之行政預算，以使向關係機構提出建議。

投票
第十八條

(一)大會之每一會員國應有一個投票

Assembly shall have one vote.

Two. Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. These questions shall include: recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security the election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council, the election of the members of the Security Council, the election of the members of the Economic and Social Council, the election of members of the Trusteeship Council in accordance with Paragraph One (C) of Article 86, the admission of new members to the United Nations, the suspension of the rights and privileges of memberships, the expulsion of members, questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system, and budgetary questions.

Three. Decisions on other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

Article XIX

A member of the United Nations which is in arrears²⁵ in the payment of its financial contributions to the organization shall have no vote in the General Assembly if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for preceding two full years. The General Assembly may, nevertheless, permit such

權。

(二)大會之對於重要問題之決議應以到會及投票之會員國三分之二之多數決定之。此項問題應包括：關於維持國際和平及安全之建議，安全理事會非常任理事國之選舉，經濟暨社會理事會理事國之選舉，依第八十六條第一項(寅)款所規定託管理事會理事國之選舉，對於新會員國加入聯合國之准許，會員國權利及特權之停止，會員國之除名，關於施行託管制度之問題，以及預算問題。

(三)關於其他問題之決議，包括另有何種專項應以三分之二多數決定之問題，應以到會及投票之會員國過半數決定之。

第十九條

凡拖欠本組織財政款項之會員國，其

拖欠數目如等於或超過其兩年所應繳納之數目時，即喪失其在大會投票權。大會如

a member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the member.

PROCEDURE

Article XX

The General Assembly shall meet in regular annual sessions and in such special session may require. Special sessions shall be convoked by the Secretary-General at the request of the Security Council or of a majority of the members of the United Nations.

Article XXI

The General Assembly shall adopt its own rules of procedure. It shall elect its president for each session.

Article XXII

The General Assembly may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

Chapter V

THE SECURITY COUNCIL COMPOSITION

Article XXIII

One. The Security Council shall consist of 11 members of the United Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet-Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the United Nations. The General Assembly shall elect six other members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance²⁶ to

認拖欠原因確由於該會員國無法控制之情形者，得准許該會員國投票。

程 序 第 二 十 條

大會每年應舉行常會，並於必要時舉行特別會議。特別會議由秘書長經安全理事會或聯合國會員國過半數之請求召集之。

第 二 十 一 條

大會應自行制定其議事規則，大會應選舉每次會議之主席。

第 二 十 二 條

大會得設立其認為於行使職務所必需之輔助機關。

第五章 安全理事會組織

第 二 十 三 條

(一)安全理事會以聯合國十一會員國

組織之，中華民國，法蘭西，蘇維埃社會

主義共和國聯邦，大不列顛及北愛爾蘭聯

合王國，美利堅合眾國應為安全理事會常

任理事國。大會應選舉聯合國其他六會員

the contribution of members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.

Two. The non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election of the non-permanent members, however, three shall be chosen for a term of one year. A retiring member shall not be eligible for immediate re-election.

Three. Each member of the Security Council shall have one representative.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

Article XXIV

One. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.

Two. In discharging these duties the Security Council shall act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for the discharge of these duties are laid down²⁷ in Chapters Six, Seven, Eight and Twelve.

Three. The Security Council shall submit annual and, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly for its consideration.

國為安全理事會非常任理事國，選舉時首宜充分斟酌聯合國各會員國於維持國際和平與安全及本組織其餘各宗旨上之貢獻，并宜充分斟酌地域上之公勻分配。

(二)安全理事會非常任理事國任期定為二年，但第一次選舉非常任理事國時，其中三者之任期應為一年，任滿之理事國，不得即行連選。

(三)安全理事會每一理事國應有代表一人。

職 權

第 二 十 四 條

(一)為保證聯合國行動迅速有效起見，各會員國持維持國際和平及安全之主要責任，授予安全理事會於履行此項責任下之職務時，即係代表各會員國。

(二)安全理事會於履行此項職務時，應遵照聯合國之宗旨及原則。為履行此項職務而授予安全理事會之特定權力，於本憲章第六章，第七章，第八章，及第十二章內規定之。

(三)安全理事會應將常年報告并於必要時將特別報告——提送大會審查。

Article XXV

The members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter.

Article XXVI

In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion²⁸ for armaments of the world's human and economic resources, the Security Council shall be responsible for formulating, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Article 47, plans to be submitted to the members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments.

VOTING

Article XXVII

One. Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote.

Two. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members.

Three. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members, including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that,²⁹ in decisions under Chapter Six, and under Paragraph Three of Article 32, a party to a dispute shall ascertain from voting.

Article XXVIII

One. The Secretary Council shall be so organized as to be able to function

第二十五條

聯合國會員國同意依憲章之規定接受并履行安全理事會之決議。

第二十六條

爲促進國際和平及安全之建立及維持，以儘量減少世界人力經濟資源之消耗於軍備起見，安全理事會藉第四十七條所指之軍事參謀團之協助，應負責擬具方案，提交聯合國會員國，以建立軍備管制制度。

投 票

第二十七條

(一) 安全理事會每一理事國應有一個投票權。

(二) 安全理事會關於程序事項之決議，應以七理事國之可決票表決之。

(三) 安全理事會對於其他一切事項之決議，應以七理事國之可決票，包括全體常任理事會之同意票表決之。但對於第六章，第三十二條第三項內各事項之決議，爭論當事國不得投票。

第二十八條

(一) 安全理事會之組織應以使其能

continuously. Each member of the Security Council shall for this purpose be represented at all times at the seat of the organization.

Two. The Security Council shall hold periodic meetings at which each of its members may, if it so desires, be represented by a member of the government or by some other specially designated representative.

Three. The Security Council may hold meetings at such places other than the seat of the organization as its judgment will best facilitate its work.

Article XXIX

The Security Council may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

Article XXX

The Security Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its president.

Article XXXI

Any member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council may participate, without vote, in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the latter considers that the interests of that member are specially affected.

Article XXXII

Any member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council or any state which is not a member of the United Nations, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration

繼續不斷行使職務為要件。為此目的安全理事會之各理事國應有常駐本組織所之代表。

(二) 安全理事會應舉行定期會議，每一理事國認為合宜時得派政府大員或其他特別指定之代表出席。

(三) 在本組織會所以外，安全理事會得在認為最能便利其工作之其他地點舉行密談。

第二十九條

安全理事會得設立其認為於行使職務所必之需輔助機關。

第三十條

安全理事會應自行定其議事規則，包括其選主席之方法，

第三十一條

在安全理事會提出任何問題，經其認為非安全理事會理事國或聯合國任何會員國之利益有關係時，該會員得固參加討論，但無投票權。

第三十二條

聯合國會員國而非為安全理事會之理事國，或非聯合國會員國之國家，如於安全理事會考慮中之爭端為當事國者，應被

by the Security Council, shall be invited to participate, without vote, in the discussion relating to the dispute. The Security Council shall lay down such conditions as it deems just for the participation of a state which is not a member of the United Nations.

Chapter VI
PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF
DISPUTES
Article XXXIII

One. The parties³⁰ to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security shall, first of all, seek a solution, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.

Two. The Security Council, shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

Article XXXIV

The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article XXXV

One. Any member of the United Nations may bring any dispute or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34 to the attention of the Security Council or the General Assembly.

Two. A state which is not a mem-

邀參加關於該項爭端之討論，但無投票權，安全理事會應規定其所認為公平之條件，以便非聯合國會員國之國家參加。

第六章 爭端之和平解決

第三十三條

(一) 任何爭端之當事國，於爭端之繼續存在足以危及國際和平安全之維持時，應儘先以談判，調查，調停，和解，公斷，司法解決，區域機關或區域辦法之利用，或各該國自行選擇之其他和平方法，求得解決。

(二) 安全理事會認為必要時，應促請各當事國以此項方法解決其爭端。

第三十四條

安全理事會得調查任何爭端，或可能引起國際磨擦或惹起爭端之任何情勢，以斷定該項爭端或情勢之繼續存在是否足以危及國際和平與安全之維持。

第三十五條

(一) 聯合國任何會員國得將屬於第三十四條所指定之性質之任何爭端或情勢，提請安全理事會或大會注意。

(二) 非聯合國會員國之國家如為任

ber of the United Nations may bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly any dispute to which it is a party, if it accepts in advance, for the purpose of the dispute the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present Charter.

Three. The proceedings of the General Assembly in respect of matters brought to its attention under this Article will be subject to the provisions of Articles 11 and 12.

Article XXXVI

One. The Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 or of a situation of like nature, recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

Two. The Security Council should take into consideration any procedures for the settlement of the dispute which have already been adopted by the parties.

Three. In making recommendations under this article the Security Council should also take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the international Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the statute of the Court.

Article XXXVII

One. Should³¹ the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 fail to settle it by the means indicated in that article, they shall refer

何爭端之當事國時，經預先聲明就該爭端而言接受本憲章所規定和平解決之義務後得將該項爭端，提請大會或安全理事會注意。

(三) 大會關於按照本所提請注意事項之進行步驟，應遵守第十一條及第十二條之規定。

第三十六條

(一) 屬於第三十三條所指之性質之爭端或相似之情勢，安全理事會在任何階段，得建議適當程序或調整方法。

(二) 安全理事會對於當事國為解決爭端業經採取之任何程序，應予以考慮。

(三) 安全理事會按照本條作建議時，同時應注意凡其有法律性質之爭端，在原則上，理應由當事國依國際法院規約之規定提交國際法院。

第三十七條

(一) 屬於第三十三條所指之性質之爭端，當事國如未能依該條所示方法解決

it to the Security Council.

Two. If the Security Council deems that the continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, it shall decide whether to take action under Article 36 or to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate.

Article XXXVIII

Without prejudice to the provisions of Articles 33 to 37, the Security Council may, if all the parties to any dispute so request, make recommendations to the parties with a view to a pacific settlement of the dispute.

Chapter VII

MEASURES FOR DEALING WITH THREATS OF THE PEACE, BREACHES OF THE PEACE, AND ACTS OF AGGRESSION

Article 39

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Article 40

In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations on deciding upon the measures provided for in Article 41, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. Such provi-

時，應將該項爭端提交安全理事會。

(二) 安全理事會如認為該項爭端之繼續存在，在事實上足以危及國際和平與安全之維持時，應決定是否當依第三十六條採取行動或建議其所認為適當之解決條件。

第三十八條

安全理事會如經所有爭端當事國之請求，得向各當事國作成建議，以求爭端之和平解決，但以不妨礙第三十三條至第三十七條之規定為限。

第七章 對於和平之威脅和平之破壞及侵略行為之應付方法

第三十九條

安全理事會所斷定任何和平之威脅，和平之破壞，或侵略行為之是否存在，並應作成建議或抉擇依第四十一條及第四十二條規定之辦法，以維持或恢復國際和平及安全。

第四十條

為防止情勢之惡化，安全理事會在依第四十一條規定作成建議或決定辦法以前得促請關係當事國遵行安全理事會所認為必要或合宜之臨時辦法，此項臨時辦法并不妨礙關係當事國之權利，要求或立場。

sional measures shall be without prejudice to the rights, claims, or position of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures.

Article 41

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force to be employed to give effect to its decisions and it may call upon the members of this United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and to rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication and the severance of diplomatic relations.

Article 42

Should the Security Council consider measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such active by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such actions may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of members of the United Nations.

Article 43

One. All members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance,

安全理事會對於不遵行此項臨時辦法之情形，應予適當注意。

第四十一條

安全理事會得決定所應採武力以外之辦法，以實施其決議，並得促請聯合國會員國執行此項辦法，此項辦法得包括經濟關係。鐵道，海運，航空，郵，電，無線電及其他交通工具以局部或全部停止，以及外交關係之斷絕。

第四十二條

安全理事會如認為第四十一條所規定之辦法為不足，或已經證明為不足時，得採取必要之空海陸軍行動，以維持或恢復國際和平及安全，此項行動，得包括聯合國會員國之空海陸示威，封鎖及其他軍事舉動。

第四十三條

(一) 聯合國各會員國為求對於維持國際和平及安全有所貢獻起見，擔任於安全理事會發令時，並依特別協定，供給為

and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

Two. Such agreement or agreements shall govern the numbers and types of forces, their degree of readiness and general location, and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided.

Three. The agreement or agreements shall be negotiated as soon as possible on the initiative of the Security Council. They shall be concluded between the Security Council and members or between the Security Council and groups of members and shall be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with constitutional processes.

Article 44

When the Security Council has decided to use force it shall before calling upon a member not representative on it to provide armed forces in fulfilment of the obligations assumed under Article 43, invite that member, if the member so³² desires, to participate in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents³³ of that member's armed forces.

Article 45

In order to enable the United Nations to take urgent military measures members shall hold immediately available national air force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of

維持國際和平及安全所必需之軍隊協助及便利，包括過境權。

(二) 此項特別協定應規定軍隊之數目及種類，其準備程度及一般駐紮地點，以及所供便利及協助之性質。

(三) 此項特別協定應以安全理事會之主動，儘速議訂。此項協定應由安全理事會與若干會員國之集團締結之，並由簽字國各依其憲法程序批准之。

第四十四條

安全理事會決定使用武力時，於要求安全理事會會員國依第四十三條供給軍隊以履行其義務之前，如經該會員國請求，應請其遣派代表，參加安全理事會關於使用其軍事部隊之決議。

第四十五條

關於聯合國能採取緊急軍事辦法起見，會員國應將其本國空軍部隊為國際共同執行行動隨時供給調遣。此項部隊之實力

readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action shall be determined, within limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in Article 43, by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

Article 46

Plans for the application of armed forces shall be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

Article 47

One. There shall be established a Military Staff Committee to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal,³⁴ the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament.

Two. The Military Staff Committee shall consist of the chiefs of staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any member of the United Nations not permanently represented on the Committee shall be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee responsibilities requires the participation of that member in its work.

Three. The Military Staff Committee shall be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the

與準備之程度、及其共同行動之計劃，應由安全理事會以軍事參謀團之協助，在第四十三條所指之特別協定範圍內決定之。

第四十六條

武力使用之計劃，由安全理事會以軍事參謀團之協助決定之。

第四十七條

(一) 茲設立軍事參謀團，以便對於安全理事會維持國際和平及安全之軍事需要問題，對於受該會所支配軍隊之使用及統率問題，對於軍備之管制及可能之軍縮問題，向該會貢獻意見並予以協助。

(二) 軍事參謀團應由安全理事會各常任理事國之參謀總長或其代表組織之，聯合國任何會員國在該團未有常任代表者，如於該團負責之履行在效率上必需該國，參如其工作時應由該團邀請參加。

(三) 軍事參謀團在安全理事會權力之下，對於受該會所支配之任何軍隊，負戰略上之指揮責任，關於該項軍隊之統率

disposal of the Security Council. Questions relating to the command of such forces shall be worked out subsequently.

Four. The Military Staff Committee, with the authorization of the Security Council and after consultation with appropriate regional agencies, may establish regional sub-committees.

Article 48

One. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the members of the United Nations as the Security Council may determine.

Two. Such decisions shall be carried out by the members of the United Nations directly and through their action in the appropriate international agencies of which they are members.

Article 49

The members of the United Nations shall join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

Article 50

If preventive or enforcement measures against any state are taken by the Security Council, any other state, whether a member of United Nations or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of those measures shall have the right to consult the Security Council with regard to a solution of those problems.

Article 51

Nothing in the present Charter shall

問題應待以處理。

(四) 軍事參謀團，經安全理事會之授權，並與區域內有關機關商議後，得設立區域分團。

第四十八條

(一) 執行安全理事會為維持國際和平及安全之決議所必要之行動，應由聯合國全體會員國或由若干會員担任之，一依安全理事會之決定。

(二) 此項決議，應由聯合國會員國以其直接行動，及經其加入為會員之有關國際機關之行動履行之。

第四十九條

聯合國會員國應通力合作彼此協助，以執行安全理事會所決定之辦法。

第五十條

安全理事會對任何國家採取防止或執行辦法時，其他國家，不論其是否為聯合國會員國，遇有因此項辦法之執行而引起之特殊經濟問題者，應有權與安全理事會商解決此項問題。

第五十一條

聯合國任何會員國受武力攻擊時，在

impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Chapter VIII

REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

Article 52

One. Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided that such arrangements of agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Two. The members of the United Nations entering into such arrangements or constituting such agencies shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council.

Three. The Security Council shall

安全理事會採取必要辦法，以維持國際和平及安全以前，本憲章不得認為禁止行使單獨或集體自衛之自然權利。會員國內行使此項自衛權而採取之辦法，應立向安全理事會報告，此項辦法於任何方面不得影響該會按照本憲章隨時採取其認為必要行動之權責，以維持或恢復國際和平或安全。

第八章 區域辦法

第五十二條

(一) 本憲章不得認為排除區域辦法或區域關係，用以應付關於維持國際和平或安全而宜於區域行動之事件者；但以此項辦法或機關及其工作與聯合之宗旨及原則符合為限。

(二) 締結此項辦法或設立此項機關之聯合會員國，將地方爭端提交安全理事會以前，應依該項區域辦法，或由該項區域機關，力求和平解決。

(二) 安全理事會對於依區域辦法或

encourage the development of pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference³³ from the Security Council.

Four. This article in no way impairs the application of Articles 34 and 35.

Article 53

One. The Security Council shall, where appropriate, utilize such regional arrangements or agencies for enforcement section under its authority. But no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council, with the exception of measures against any enemy state, as defined in Paragraph Two of this article, provided for pursuant to Article 107 or in regional arrangements directed against renewal of aggressive policy on the part of any such state, until such time as the organization may, on request of the governments concerned, be charged with the responsibility for preventing further aggression by such a state.

Two. The term "enemy state" as used in Paragraph One of this article applies to any state which during the second world war has been an enemy of any signatory of the present Charter.

Article 54

The Security Council shall at all times be kept fully informed of the activities undertaken or in contempla-

由區域機關而力求地方爭端和平解決，不論其係由關係國主動，或由安全理事會提交者，應鼓勵其發展。

(四) 本條絕不妨礙第三十四條及第三十五條之適用。

第五十三條

(一) 安全理事會對於職權內之執行行動，在適當情形下應利用此項區域辦法或區域機關，如無安全理事之授權，不得依區域辦法或由區域機關採取任何執行行動；但關於依第一百零七條之規定，對付本條第二項所指之任何敵國之步驟，或在區域辦法內所取防備此等國家再施其侵略政策之步驟，截至本組織經各機關政府之請求，對於此等國家之再次侵略，能擔負防止責任時為止，不在此限。

(二) 本條第一項所稱敵國，係指定第二次世界大戰中為本憲章任何簽字國敵國而言。

第五十四條

關於維持國際和平及安全起見，依區域辦法或由區域機關所已採取或正在考慮

tion under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Chapter IX
INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY AND
SOCIAL COOPERATION

Article 55

With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal right and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote;

A. Higher standard of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;

B. Solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational cooperation; and

C. Observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

Article 56

All members shall pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the organization for the achievement of the purpose set forth in Article 55.

Article 57

One. The various specialized agencies, established by inter-governmental agreement and having wide international responsibilities, as defined in their basic instruments, in economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and

之行動，不論何時應向安全理事會充分報告之。

第九章 國際經濟及社會合作

第五十五條

為造成國際間以尊重人民平等權利及自決原則為根據之和平友好關係所必要之安全及福利條件起見，聯合國應促進：

(子)較高之生活程度，全民就業及經濟社會進展。

(丑)國際間經濟，社會，衛生及有關問題之解決；國際間文化及教育合作。

(寅)全體人類之人權及基本自由之普遍遵守與尊重，不分種族，性別，語言或宗教。

第五十六條

各會員國坦允採取共同及個別行動與本組織合作，以達成第五十五條所載之宗旨。

第五十七條

(一)由各國政府間協定所成立之各種專門機關，依其組織之約章之規定，於經濟，社會，文化，教育，衛生其他有關

related fields, shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 63.

Two. Such agencies thus brought into relationship with the United Nations are hereinafter referred to as "specialized agencies."

Article 58

The organization shall make recommendations for the coordination of the policies and activities of the specialized agencies.

Article 59

The organization shall, where appropriate, initiate negotiations among the states concerned for the creation of any new specialized agencies required for the accomplishment of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

Article 60

Responsibility for the discharge of the functions of the organization set forth in this chapter shall be vested in the General Assembly and, under the authority of the General Assembly in the Economic and Social Council, which shall have for this purpose the powers set forth in Chapter X.

Chapter X

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
COUNCIL COMPOSITION

Article 61

One. The Economic and Social Council shall consist of 18 members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly.

Two. Subject to the provisions of

部門負有廣大國際責任者，應依第六十三條之規定使與聯合國發生關係。

(二)上述與聯合國發生關係之各專門機關，以下簡稱專門機關。

第五十八條

本組織應作成建議，以調整各專門機關之政策及工作。

第五十九條

本組織應於適當情形，發動各關係國間之談判，以創設為達成第五十五條規定宗旨所必要之新專門機關。

第六十條

履行本章所載本組織職務之責任，屬於大會及大會權力上之經濟暨社會理事會。為此目的，該理事會應有第十章所載之權力。

第十章 經濟暨社會理事會

組 織

第六十一條

(一)經濟暨社會理事會，由大會選舉聯合國十八會員國組織之。

除依第三項所規定外，經濟暨社會理

Paragraph 3, six members of the Economic and Social Council shall be elected each year for a term of three years. A retiring member shall be eligible for immediate re-election.

Three. At the first election 18 members of the Economic and Social Council shall be chosen, the term of office of six members so chosen shall expire at the end of one year, and of six other members at the end of two years, in accordance with arrangements made by the General Assembly.

Four. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one representative.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

Article 62

One. The Economic and Social Council may make or initiate studies and reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related matters to the General Assembly, to the members of the United Nations, and to the specialized agencies concerned.

Two. It may make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

Three. It may prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly with respect to matters falling within its competence.

Four. It may call, in accordance with the rules prescribed by³⁶ the United Nations, international con-

事會每年選舉理事六國，任期三年，期滿之理事國得即行連選。

(二) 第一次選舉時，經濟暨社會理事會應選理事十八國，其中六國任期一年，另六國任期二年，一切大會所定辦法。

(三) 經濟暨社會理事會之每一理事國應有代表一人。

職 權

第 六 十 二 條

(一) 經濟暨社會理事會得作成發動關於國際經濟，社會，文化，教育，衛生及其他有關事項之研究及報告；並得向大會聯合國會員國及關係專門機關，提出關於此種事項之建議案。

(二) 本理事會為增進全體人類之人權及基本自由之尊重及維護起見得作成建議案。

(三) 本理事會得擬具關於其職權範圍內事項之協約草案，提交大會。

(四) 本理事會得依聯合國所定之規則召集本理事會職務範圍以內事項之國際

ference on matters falling within its competence.

Article 63

One. The Economic and Social Council may enter into agreements with any of the agencies referred to in Article 57, defining the terms of which the agency concerned shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations. Such agreements shall be subject to approval by the General Assembly.

Two. It may coordinate the activities of the specialized agencies through consultation with and recommendations to such agencies and through recommendations to the General Assembly and to the members of the United Nations.

Article 64

One. The Economic and Social Council may take appropriate steps to obtain regular reports from the specialized agencies. It may make arrangements with the members of the United Nations and with the specialized agencies to obtain reports on the steps taken to give effect to its own recommendations and to recommendations on matters falling within its competence made by the General Assembly.

Two. It may communicate its observations on these reports to the General Assembly.

Article 65

The Economic and Social Council may furnish information to the Security

會議。

第六十三條

(一) 經濟暨社會理事會與第五十七條所指定之任何專門機關訂立協定，訂明關係專門機關與聯合國發生關係之條件，該項協定須經大會之核准。

(二) 本理事會，為調整各種專門機關之工作，得與此種機關會商並得向其提出提議，並得向大會及聯合會員國建議。

第六十四條

(一) 經濟暨社會理事會得取適當步驟，以取得專門機關之經常報告，本理事會得與聯合會員國及專門機關，商定辦法，俾就實施本理事會之建議及大會對於本理事會職權範圍內事項之建議所採之步驟，取得報告。

(二) 本理事會得將對於此項報告之意見擬送大會。

第六十五條

經濟暨社會理事會得向安全理事會供

Council and shall assist the Security Council upon its request.

Article 66

One. The Economic and Social Council shall perform such functions as fall within its competence in connection with the carrying out of the recommendations of the General Assembly.

Two. It may, with the approval of the General Assembly, perform services at the request of specialized agencies.

Three. It shall perform such other functions as are specified elsewhere in the present Charter or as may be assigned to it by the General Assembly.

Article 67

One. Each member of the economic and Social Council, shall have one vote.

Two. The decisions of the Economic and Social Council, shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

PROCEDURE

Article 68

The Economic and Social Council shall set up commission in economic and social fields and for the promotion of human rights, and such other commissions as may be required for the performance of its functions.

Article 69

The Economic and Social Council shall invite any member of the United Nations to participate, without vote, in its deliberations on any matter of particular concern to that member.

給情報，并因安全理事會之邀請予以協助。

第六十六條

(一) 經濟暨社會理事會應履行其職

權範圍內關於執行大會建議之職務。

(二) 經大會之許可，本理事會得應聯合國會員國或專門機關之請求，供其服務。

(三) 本理事會應履行本憲章他章所特定之其他職務，以及大會所授子之職務。

第六十七條

(一) 經濟暨社會理事會每一理事國應有一個投票權。

(二) 本理事會之決議，應以到會及投票之理事國過半數表決之。

程 序

第六十八條

經濟暨社會理事會應設立經濟與社會部門及以提倡人權為目的之各種委員會，并得設立於行使職務所必需之其他委員會。

第六十九條

經濟暨社會理事會應請聯合國會員國參加討論本理事會對於該國有特別關係上之任何條件，但無投票權。

Article 70

The Economic and Social Council may make arrangements for representatives of the specialized agencies to participate, without vote, in its deliberations and in those of the commissions established by it, and for its representatives to participate in the deliberations of the specialized agencies.

Article 71

The Economic and Social Council make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate,⁸⁷ with national organizations after consultation with the member of the United Nations concerned.

Article 72

One. The Economic and Social Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its president.

Two. The Economic and Social Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on request of a majority of its members.

Chapter XI

STATEMENT CONCERNING NON-GOVERNMENT TERRITORIES

Article 73

Members of the United Nations

第七十條

經濟及社會理事會得商定辦法，使專門機關之代表無投票加而本理事會及本理事會所設各委員有之討論，或使本理事會之代表參加此項專門機關之討論。

第七十一條

經濟及社會理事會得採取適當辦法，俾與各種非政府組織會商有關於本理事會職權範圍內之事件，此項辦法得與國際組織商定之，並於適當情形下，徑與關係聯合國會員國會商後，得與該國國內組織商定之。

第七十二條

(一) 經濟暨社會理事會應自行制定其議事規則，包括其推選主席之方法。

(二) 經濟暨社會理事會應依其規則舉行必要之會議，此項規則，應包括因理事國過半數之請求而召集會議之條款。

第十一章 關於非自治領土之宣言

第七十三條

聯合國各會員國，於其所負有或担承

which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end:

A. To ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned their political economic, social, and educational advancement, their just treatment and their protection against abuses;

B. To develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement;

C. To further international peace and security;

D. To promote constructive measure of development to encourage research, and to cooperate with one another and, when and where appropriate, with specialized international bodies with a view to the practical achievement of the social, economic, and scientific purposes set forth in this article; and

E. To transmit regular to the Secretary-General for information pur-

管理責任之領土，其人民尚有未臻自治之充分程度者，承認以領土居民之福利為至上之原則，並接受在本憲章所建立之和平及安全制度下，以充量增進領土居民福利之義務為神聖之信託，且為此目的：

(子) 於充分尊重關係人民之文化下，保證其政治，經濟，社會及教育之進展，予以公平待遇且保障其不受虐待。

(丑) 按各領土及其人民特殊之環境，及其進化之階段，發展自治，對各該人民之政治願望予以適當之注意，並助其自由政治制度之逐漸發展。

(寅) 促進國際和平及安全。

(卯) 提倡建設計劃，以求進步，獎勵研究；各國本此合作，并於適當之時間及場合與專門國際團體合作，以求本條所載社會，經濟及科學目的之實施。

(辰) 在不違背安全及憲法之限制下

poses, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those territories to which Chapter XII and XIII apply.

Article 74

Members of the United Nations also agree that their policy in respect of the territories to which this chapter applies, no less than in respect of their metropolitan areas, must be based on the general principle of good neighborliness, due account being taken of the interests and well-being of the rest of the world, in social, economic and commercial matter.

Chapter XII INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM

Article 75

The United Nations shall establish under its authority an international trusteeship system for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed there under by subsequent individual agreements. These territories are hereinafter referred to as trust territories.

Article 76

The basic objectives of the trusteeship system, in accordance with the purposes of the United Nations and laid down in Article 1, of the present charter shall be:

• 按時將關於各會員國分別負責管理領土內之經濟，社會及教育情形之統計及具有專門性質之情報，遞送秘書長，以供參考，本憲章第十二章第十三章所規定之領土，不在此限。

第七十四條

聯合國各會員國共同承諾對於本章規定之領土，一如對於本國區域，其政策必須以善隣之道為圭臬，並於社會，經濟及商業上，對世界各國之利益及幸福，予以充分之注意。

第十二章 國際託管制

第七十五條

聯合國在其權力下，應設立國際託管制度，以管理并監督憑此後個別協定而置於該制度之領土，此項領土以下簡稱託管領土。

第七十六條

按據本憲章第一條所載聯合國之宗旨

，託管制度之目的應為：

A. To further international peace and security;

B. To promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development toward self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement;

C. To encourage respect for human rights and other fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or recognition of the inter-dependence of the peoples of the world; and

D. To ensure equal treatment in social, economic, and commercial matters for all members of the United Nations and their nationals, and also equal treatment for the latter in the administration of justice, without prejudice to the attainment of the foregoing objectives and subject to the provisions of articles.

Article 77

One. The trusteeship system shall apply to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of trusteeship agreements:

A. Territories now held under mandate;

B. Territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result

(子) 促進國際和平及安全。

(丑) 增進託管領土居民之政治，經濟，社會及教育之進展；并以適合各領土及其人民之特殊情形及關係人民自由表示之願望為原則，且按照各託管協定之條款，增進其趨向自治或獨立之逐漸發展。

(寅) 不分種族，性別，語言，或宗教，提倡全體人類之人權及基本自由之尊重，并激發世界人民互相維繫之意識。

(卯) 於社會，經濟及商業事件上，保證聯合國全體會員國及其國民之平等待遇，及各該國民於司法裁判上之平等待遇，但以不妨礙上述目的之達成，且不違背第八十條之規定為限。

第七十七條

(一) 託管制度適用於依託管協定所置於該制度下之下列各種類之領土：

(子) 現在委任統治之領土。

(丑) 因第二次世界大戰結果，或將

of the second world war; and

C. Territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration.

Two. It will be a matter for subsequent agreement as to which territories in the foregoing categories will be brought under the trusteeship system and upon what terms.

Article 78

The trusteeship system shall not apply to territories which have become members of the United Nations, relationship among which shall be based on respect for the principle of sovereign equality.

Article 79

The trusteeship for each territory to be placed under the trusteeship system, including any alteration or amendment, shall be agreed upon by the states directly concerned, including the mandatory power in the case of territories held under mandate by a member of the United Nations and shall be approved as provided for in Articles 83 and 85.

Article 80

One. Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship, agreements, made under Articles 77, 79 and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any people or the terms of existing international

自敵國割離之領土。

(寅)負管理責任之國家自願置於該制度下之領土。

(二)關於上列種類中之何種領土將置於託管制度下之及其條件，爲此後決定所當規定之事項。

第七十八條

凡領土已成爲聯合國之會員國者，不適用託管制度，聯合國會員國間之關係，應基於尊重主權平等之原則。

第七十九條

置於託管制度下之每一領土之託管條款，及其更改或修正，應由直接關係各國，包括聯合國之會員國而爲委任統治地之受託國者，予以議定，其核准應依第八十三條及第八十五條之規定。

第八十條

(一)除依第七十七條，第七十九條及第八十一條所訂置各領土於託管制度下之個別託管協定另有議定外，並在該項協定未經締結以前，本章任何規定，絕對不得解釋爲以任何方式變更任何國家或人民之權利。或聯合國會員國個別簽訂之現有

instruments to which members of the United Nations may respectively be parties.

Two. Paragraph one of this article shall not be interpreted as giving grounds for delay or postponement of the negotiation and conclusion of agreements for placing mandated and other territories under the trusteeship system as provided for in Article 77.

Article 81

The trusteeship agreement shall in each case include the terms under which the trust territory will be administered and designate the authority which will exercise the administration of the trust territory. Such authority, hereinafter called the administering authority, may be one or more states or the organization itself.

Article 82

There may be designated, in any trusteeship agreement, a strategic area or areas which may include part or all of the trust territory to which the agreement applies, without prejudice to any special agreement or agreements made under Article 43.

Article 83

One. All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the Secretary Council.

Two. The basic objectives set forth in Article 76 shall be applicable to the people of each strategic area.

國際約章之條款。

(二) 本條第一項，不得解釋為對於依第七十七條之規定而訂置委任統治地或其他領土於託管制度下之協定，授以延展商訂之理由。

第八十一條

凡託管協定均應載有管理託管領土之當局，該項當局，以下簡稱管理當局，得為一個或數個國家，或為聯合國本身。

第八十二條

於任何託管協定內，得指一個或數個戰略防區，包括該項協定之託管領土之一部或全部，但該項協定並不妨礙依第四十三條而訂立之任何特別協定。

第八十三條

(一) 聯合國關於戰略防區之各項職務，包括此項託管協定條款之核准，及其更改或修正，應由安全理事會行使之。

(二) 第七十六條所規定之基本目的，適用於每一戰略防區之人民。

Three. The Security Council shall, subject to the provisions of the trusteeship agreements and without prejudice to security consideration, avail itself of the assistance of the trusteeship council to perform those functions of the United Nations under the trusteeship system relating to political, economic, social, and educational matters in the strategic area.

Article 84

It shall be the duty of the administering authority to ensure that the trust territory shall play its part in the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end the administering authority may make use of volunteer forces, facilities and assistance from the trust territory carrying out the obligation towards the Security Council undertaken in this regard by the administering authority, as well as for local defense and the maintenance of law and order within the trust territory.

Article 85

One. The functions of the United Nations with regard to trusteeship agreements for all areas not designated as strategic, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the General Assembly.

Two. The Trusteeship Council operating under the authority of³⁸ the General Assembly, shall assist the General Assembly in carrying out these functions.

(三) 安全理事會以不違背託管協定之規定並不妨礙安全之考慮為限，應利用託管理事會之協助，以履行聯合國託管制度下關於戰略防區之政治，經濟，社會，教育事件之職務。

第 八 十 四 條

管理當局有保證託管領土對於維持國

際和平及安全盡其本分之義務。該當局為此目的得利用託管領土之志願軍，便利及協助，以履行該當局對於安全理事會所負關於此事之義務，並以實行地方自衛，且在託管領土內維持法律與秩序。

第 八 十 五 條

(一) 聯合國關於一切非戰略防軍託

管協定之職務，包括此項託管協定條款之核准及其更改或修正，應由大會行使之。

(二) 託管理事會於大會權力下，應

協助大會履行上述之職務。

Chapter XIII

THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL COMPOSITION

Article 86

One. The Trusteeship Council shall consist of the following members of the United Nations:

A. Those members administering trust territories;

B. Such of those members mentioned by name in Article 23 as are not administering trust territories; and

C. As ³⁹ many other members elected for three-year terms by the General Assembly as may be necessary to ensure that the total number of members of the Trusteeship Council is equally divided between those members of the United Nations which administer trust territories and those which do not.

Two. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall designate one specially qualified person to represent herein.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

Article 87

The General Assembly and, under its authority, the Trusteeship Council, in carrying out their functions, may:

A. Consider reports submitted by the administering authority;

B. Accept petitions and examine them in consultation with the administering authority;

C. Provide for periodic visits to the respective trust territories at times agreed upon with the administering authority; and

D. Take these and other actions in conformity with the terms of the

第十三章 託管理事會組織

第八十六條

(一) 託管理事會應由下列聯合國委員國組織之：

(子) 管理託管領土之會員國家。

(丑) 第二十三條所列名之國家，照規非管理託管領土者。

(寅) 大會選舉必要數額之非委員國，任期三年，俾使託管理事會理事之總數，於聯合國委員國中之管理領土者及不管理領土者之間，得以平均分配。

(二) 託管理事會之每一理事國家派一特別合格之人員，以代表之。

職 權

第八十七條

大會及其權力下之託管理事會履行職務時得：

(子) 審查管理當局所送之報告。

(丑) 會同管理當局接受並審查請願書。

(寅) 與管理當局商定時間，按期視察各託管領土。

(卯) 依託管協定之條款，採取上述

trusteeship agreements.

Article 88

The Trusteeship Council shall formulate a questionnaire on the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of each trust territory, and the administering authority for each trust territory within the competence of the General Assembly shall make an annual report to the General Assembly upon the basis of such questionnaire.

VOTING

Article 89

One. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall have one vote.

Two. Decisions of the Trusteeship Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

PROCEDURE

Article 90

One. The Trusteeship Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its president.

Two. The Trusteeship Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision, for the convening of meetings on the request of a majority of its members.

Article 91

The Trusteeship Council shall, when appropriate, avail itself of the assistance of the Economic and Social Council and of the specialized agencies in regard to matters with which they are respectively concerned.

其他行動。

第 八 十 八 條

託管理事會應擬定關於各託管領土居民之政治，經濟，社會及教育進展之問題單；就大會職權範圍內，各託管領土之管理當局應根據該項問題單向大會提出常年報告。

投 票

第 八 十 九 條

(一) 託管理事會之每一理事國，應有一個投票權。

(二) 託管理事會之決議，應以到會及投票之理事國過半數表決之。

程 序

第 九 十 條

(一) 託管理事會應自行制定其議事規則，包括其推選主席之方法。

(二) 託管理事會應依其所定規則舉行必要之會議。此項規則應包括關於經該會理事過半之強國請求而召集會議之規定。

第 九 十 一 條

託管理事會於適當時，應利用經濟暨社會理事會之協助，並對於各關係事項，利用專門機關之協助。

Chapter XIV
THE INTERNATIONAL COURT
OF JUSTICE
Article 92

The International Court of Justice shall be the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It shall function in accordance with the annexed statute, which is based upon the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and forms an integral part of the present charter.

Article 93

One. All members of the United Nations are ipso facto⁴⁰ parties to the statute of the International Court of Justice.

Two. A state which is not a member of the United Nations may become a party to the statute of the International Court of Justice on conditions to be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Article 94

One. Each member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party.

Two. If any party to a case fails to perform the obligations incumbent upon it under a judgment rendered by the court, the other party may have recourse to the Security Council, which may, if it deems necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment.

第十四章 國際法院

第九十二條

國際法院為聯合國之主要司法機關，應依所附規約執行其職務。該項規約係以國際常設法院之規約為根據，並為本憲章之構成部分。

第九十三條

(一) 聯合國各會員國為國際法院規約之當然當事國。

(二) 非聯合國會員國之國家得為國際法院規約當事國之條件，應由大會經安全理事會之提議，就各別情形決定之。

第九十四條

(一) 聯合國每一會員國為任何案件之當事國者，承認遵行國際法院之判決。

(二) 遇有一造不履行依法院判決應負之義務時，他造得向安全理事會申訴。安全理事會如認為必要時，得作建議或決定應採辦法，以執行判決。

Article 95

Nothing in the present charter shall prevent members of the United Nations from entrusting the solution of their differences to other tribunals by virtue of agreements already in existence or which may be concluded in the future.

Article 96

One. The General Assembly or the Security Council may request the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on any legal question.

Two. Other organs of the United Nations and specialized agencies, which may at any time be so authorized by the General Assembly, may also request advisory opinions of the court on legal questions arising within the scope of their activities.

Chapter XV

THE SECRETARIAT

Article 97

The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such a staff as the organization may require. The Secretary-General shall be appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the organization.

Article 98

The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity⁴¹ in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, of the Economic and Social Council, and of the Trusteeship Council, and shall perform such other functions as are entrusted to him by these organs.

第九十五條

本憲章不得認為禁止聯合國會員國依據現有或以後締結之協定，將其爭端託付其他法院解決。

第九十六條

大會或安全理事會對於任何法律問題，得請國際法院發表諮詢意見。

第十五章 秘書處

第九十七條

秘書處置秘書長一人及本組織所需之辦事人員若干人。秘書長應由大會經安全理事會之推薦委派之。秘書長為本組織之行政首長。

第九十八條

秘書長在大會，安全理事會，經濟暨社會理事會及託管理事會之一切會議，應以秘書長資格行使職務，並應執行各該機關所託付之其他職務。秘書長應向大會提

the Secretary-General shall make an annual report to the General Assembly or the work of the organization.

Article 99

The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 100

One. In the performance of their duties, the Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any government or from any other authority external to the organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the organization.

Two. Each member of the United Nations undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

Article 101

One. The staff shall be appointed by the Secretary-General under regulations established by the General Assembly.

Two. Appropriate staffs shall be permanently assigned to the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and, as required to other organs of the United Nations. These staffs shall form a part of the Secretariat.

議關於本組織工作之當報告年。

第九十九條

秘書長得將其所認為可能威脅國際和平及安全之任何事件，提請安全理事會注意。

第一百條

(一) 秘書長及辦事人員於執行職務時，不得請求或接受本組織以外任何政府或其他當局之訓示，並應避免足以妨礙其國際官員專對本組織負責。

(二) 聯合國各會員國承認尊重秘書長及辦事人員責任之專屬國際性，決不設法影響其責任之履行。

第一百零一條

(一) 辦事人員由秘書長依大會所定章程委派之。

(二) 適當之辦事人員應長期分配於經濟暨社會理事會，並於必要時，分配於聯合國其他的機關。此項辦事人員構成秘書處之一部。

Three. The paramount consideration in the employment of the staff and in the determination of the conditions of service, shall be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence, and integrity. Due regard shall be paid to the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

Chapter XVI

MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Article 102

One. Every treaty and every international agreement entered into by any member of the United Nations after the present charter comes into force shall, as soon as possible, be registered with the Secretariat and published by it.

Two. No party to any such treaty of international agreement which has not been registered in accordance with the provisions of Paragraph One of this Article may invoke that treaty or agreement before any organ of the United Nations.

Article 103

In the event of ⁴² a conflict between the obligations of the members of the United Nations under the present charter and obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the present charter shall prevail.

Article 104

The organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its members such legal capacity as may be necessary for the exercise of its functions and the

(三) 辦事人員之僱用及其服務條件之決定，應以求達效率，才幹及忠誠之最高標準為當要考慮，在聘辦事人員時，於可能範圍內，應充分注意地域上之普及。

第十六章 雜項條款

第一百零二條

(一) 本憲章發生効力後，聯合國任何委員國所締結之一切條約及國際協定，應儘速在秘書處登記，並由秘書處公佈之。

(二) 當事國對於未經依本條第一項規定登記之條約或國際協定，不得向聯合國任何機關授引之。

第一百零三條

聯合國會員國在本憲章下之義務與其依任何其他國際協定所負之義務有衝突時，其在本憲章下之義務應居優先。

第一百零四條

本組織於每一會員國領土內，應享受於執行其職務及構成其宗旨所必需之法律

fulfillment of its purposes.

Article 105

One. The organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its members such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfillment of its purposes.

Two. Representatives of the members of the United Nations and officials of the organization shall similarly enjoy such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their function in connection with the organization.

Three. The General Assembly may make recommendations with a view to determining the details of the application of Paragraphs One and Two of this Article or may propose conventions to the members of the United Nations for this purpose.

Chapter XVII TRANSITIONAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS

Article 106

Pending⁴³ the coming into force of such special agreements referred to in Article 43 as in the opinion of the Security Council enable it to begin the exercise of its responsibilities under Article 42, the parties to the Four-Nation Declaration, signed at Moscow, October 30, 1943, and France, shall, in accordance with the provisions of Paragraph Five of that declaration, consult with one another, and as occasion require with other members of the United Nations, with a view to such joint action on behalf of the organization as may

行爲能力。

第一百零五條

(一) 本組織於每一會員國之領土內，應享受於達成宗旨所必需之特權及豁免。

(二) 聯合國會員國之代表及本組織之職員，亦應同樣享受於其獨立行使關於本組織之職務所必需之特權及豁免。

(三) 爲明定本條第一項及第二項之施行細則起見，大會得作成建議，或爲此目的向聯合會員國提議協約。

第十七章 過渡安全辦法

第一百零六條

在第四三條所稱之特別協定尙未生效

，因而安全理事會認爲尙看得開始進行第四十二條所規定之責任前，一九四三年十月三十日在莫斯科簽訂協國宣言之當事國及法蘭西，應依該宣言第五項之規定，互相洽商，並於必要時與聯合國其他會員國洽商，以代表本組織採取爲維持國際和平

be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

Article 107

Nothing in the present charter shall invalidate or preclude action, in relation to any state which during the second World War has been an enemy of any signatory to the present charter, taken or authorized as a result of that war by the governments having the responsibility for such action.

Chapter XVIII
AMENDMENTS

Article 108

Amendments to the present charter shall come into force for all members of the United Nations when they have been adopted by a vote of two thirds of the members of the General Assembly ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

Article 109

One. A general conference of the members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the permanent Charter may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a two-thirds vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council. Each member of the United Nations shall have one vote in the conference.

Two. Any alteration of the present charter recommended by a two-thirds

及安全宗旨所必要之聯合行動。

第一百零七條

本憲章並不取消或禁止負行動責任之政府對於第二次世界大戰中本憲章任何簽字國之敵國因該次戰爭而採取或受權執行之行動。

第十八章 修正

第一百零八條

本憲章之修正案經大會會員國三分之二表決並由聯合國會員國之三分之二，包括安全理事會全體常任理事國，各依其憲法程序批准後，對於聯合國所有會員國發生効力。

第一百零九條

(一) 聯合國會員國，為檢討本憲章，得以大會會員二分之一之表決，經安全理事會任何七理事國之表決，確定日期及地點，舉行全體會議。聯合國每會員國在全體會議中，應有一個投票權。

(二) 全體會議以三分之二表決所建

vote of the conference shall take effect when ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

Three. If such a conference has not been held before the 10th annual session of the General Assembly, following the coming into force of the present charter, the proposal to call such a conference shall be placed on the agenda of the session of the General Assembly and the conference shall be held if so decided by a majority vote of the member of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council.

Chapter XIX
RATIFICATIONS AND
SIGNATURES
Article 110

One. The present charter shall be ratified by the signatory states in accordance with the respective constitutional processes.

Two. The ratifications shall be deposited with the Government of the United States of America, which shall notify all the signatory states of each deposit, as well as the Secretary-General of the organization when he has been appointed.

Three. The present charter shall come into force upon the deposit of ratifications by the Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland,

議對於憲章之任何更改，應經聯合國會員國三分之二，包括安全理事會全體常任理事國，各依其憲法程序批准後，發生效力。

(三) 如於本憲章生效後大會第十屆年會前。此項全體會議之提議列入大會該屆年會之議事日程，如得大會會員國過半數及安全理事會任何七理事國之表決，此項會議應即實行。

第十九章 批准及簽字

第一百一十一條

(一) 本憲章應由簽字國各依其憲法程序批准之。

(二) 批准書應交存美利堅合衆國政府，該政府應於每一批准書交存時通知各簽字國，如本組織秘書長業經委派時，並應通知秘書長。

(三) 一俟美利堅合衆國政府通知已有中華民國，法蘭西，蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦，大不列顛及北愛爾蘭聯合王國，與美利堅合衆國，以及其他簽字國之過

and the United States of America, and by a majority of the other signatory states. A protocol of the ratifications deposited shall thereupon be drawn up by the Government of the United States of America which shall communicate copies thereof to all the signatory states.

Four. The states signatory to the present Charter which ratify it after it has come into force will become original, members of the United Nations on the date of the deposit of their respective ratifications.

Article 111

The present charter of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America. Duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that government to the governments of the other signatory states.

In faith whereof the representatives of the United Nations have signed the present charter.

Done ⁴⁴ at the city of San Francisco, the Twenty-Sixth Day of June, One Thousand One Hundred Forty-Five.

半數將批准書交存時，本憲章即發生効力

。美利堅合衆國政府應擬就此項交存批准之議定書並將副本分送所有簽字國。

(四)本憲章簽字國於憲章發生効力後批准者，應自其將批准書交存之日起爲聯合之開始會員國。

第一百一十一條

本憲章應留存美利堅合衆國政府之國庫，其，法，俄，英及西文各本同一作準。該國政府應將正式副本分送其他簽字國政府。

爲此，聯合各會員國政府之代表謹簽字於本憲章以昭信守。

公曆一千九百四十五年六月二十六日

簽訂於金山市。

ANNOTATIONS

(1) "determined" 係 past participle 作用 adjective 形容 subject "we." (2) "災禍", (3) "由……而起", "因……發生" (4) "save"=except, "除非"。(5) "have resolved" 爲此一長句中第一字 subject "we" 之動詞 (6) "due"—proper, "妥適" (7) "to that end," "爲達此目的"。(8) "in conformity with," "依(照)"。(9) "in accordance with," "遵(照)"。(10) "由……發生之結果"。(11) "so far as," "在……範圍內"。(12) "open to" "得爲(會員會友)" (13) "upon recommendation of," "由……推薦"。(14) "exercise," "行使, 運用"。(15) "違犯"(法律, 法令, 會章,

校規)。(16)“入會資格”。(17)“within the scope of,”“(在)……範圍內”。(18)“provided in,”“規定”。(19)“referred to,”“提交”。(20)“set out,”“所載”。(21)“os,”代表“to make recommendations……”(22)“are being dealt with,”“正在處理中”。(23)“not in session,”“閉會期內”。(24)“set forth”“規定”。(25)“in arrears,”“拖欠”(26)“in the first instance,”“首先”(27)“laid down,”“規定”，“特定”(28)“with the least diversion for,”“毫不轉用於……”。(29)“provided (that) 聯結字，‘但’。(30)“parties to,”“當事國”，“雙方”，“兩造”。(31)“Should the parties to a dispute……fail……”——“If the parties to a dispute……fail……”(32)“so”代表“to provide armed forces……”(33)“有特種使命之軍隊”。(34)“at……disposal,”“由……支配”，“由……處理”。(35)“by reference from,”“提交”(36)“prescribed by,”“指定”。(37)“where appropriate”為“where they are appropriate”之省略。(38)“under the authority of,”“於……權力下”，“秉承”。(39)“as many……as,”第二“as”為 relative pronoun。(40)“ipso facto”(拉丁語)“當然”。(41)“in that capacity,”“以此(秘書長)資格”。(42)“in the event of”，“倘若”。(43)“Done”，. past participle 當形容詞用，形容上節尾之“Charter”一字，此為正式契約，協定結語。

THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE STATUTE

*Approved by the fourth session of the Legislative Committee of the
UNCIO on June 25, 1945*

世界法院組織法

舊金山會議第四大組司法委員會於一九四五年六月二十五日通過

Article I

The International Court of Justice established by the charter of the United Nations as the principal judicial organ of the United Nations shall be constituted and shall function in accordance with the provisions of the present statute.

Chapter I ORGANIZATION OF THE COURT

Article II

The Court shall be composed of a body of independent judges, elected regardless of nationality from among¹ persons of high moral character, who possess the qualifications required in their respective countries for an appointment to the highest judicial offices or are jurisconsults of recognized competence in International Law.

Article III

1. The Court shall consist of 15 members, no two whereof may be nationals of the same state.

2. A person who for the purposes of membership in the Court could be regarded as a national of more than one state or a member of the United

第一條

根據聯合國憲章成立之「世界法院」乃聯合國主要司法機構，其組織及行政應依本組織法所列各條行之。

第一章 法院組織

第二條

法院應由若干獨立法官組成，法官選任不分國籍，但當屬品格高尚，具備其本國所定就任最高法官條件者，或為有名之國際法專家。

第三條

(一) 法院設法官十五人，其中同國籍者不得有二人。

(二) 任本法院法官時，倘若一人有一種國籍以上者，應以其通常使用於民事

Nations, shall be deemed to be a national of the one in which he ordinarily exercises civil and political rights.

Article IV

1. Members of the Court shall be elected by the General Assembly and Security Council from a list of persons nominated by national groups in the Permanent Court of Arbitration in accordance with the following provisions:

2. In the case of member of the United Nations not represented in the Permanent Court of Arbitration, candidates shall be nominated by national groups appointed for this purpose by their governments under the same conditions as those prescribed for members of the Permanent Court Arbitration, by Article 44 of the Convention of The Hague of 1907 for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

3. The conditions under which a state which is a party to the present statute but is not a member of the United Nations may participate in electing members of the court shall, in the absence of a special agreement, be laid down by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Article V

1. At least three months before the date of election, the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall address a written request to members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration belonging to the states which are par-

及政治權利之國家爲準。

第 四 條

(一) 法官選任由大會及安全理事會行之，其人選須合乎下列各項規定：

(二) 對於聯合國未參加永久法院之國家，其候選人由其政府提出，辦法悉照一九〇七年海牙會議所定之永久法院法例第四十四條行之。

(三) 倘參加世界法院之國家非聯合國之一，其參加選任法官時，未有特別協定，應由安全理事會議定辦法，提請大會通過。

第 五 條

(一) 聯合國秘書長最低限度需於選舉前三月向參加永久法院之國家，及第四

ties to the present statute and to the members of national groups appointed under Article IV.

2. Inviting them to undertake within a given time by national groups, a nomination of the persons in position to accept the duties of a member of the court. No group may nominate over four persons, not over two of whom shall be of their own nationality. In no case may be the number of candidates nominated by a group be over double the number of seats to be filled.

Article VI

Before making these nominations, each national group is recommended to consult its highest court of justice, its legal faculties, schools of law and its national academies and national sections of international academies devoted to the study of law.

Article VII

1. The Secretary General shall prepare a list in alphabetical order of all persons thus nominated. Save as provided in Article 12, Paragraph Two, these shall be the only persons eligible.

2. The Secretary General shall submit this list to the General Assembly and Security Council.

Article IX

At every election, electors shall bear in mind not only that the persons to be elected should individually possess the qualifications required but also that in the body as a whole a representation of the main form of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world

條所列之參與國家提出書面要求。

(二) 請其於指定日期內，交出法官候選人名單。每國名單內人數不得超過四人，其中屬於其本國籍不得超過二人。無論何時，候選人名額不得倍於法官空額數目。

第 六 條

每一國家提出候選人名單之前，必需徵詢該國之最高法院，法學團體，及大學法學院之意見。

第 七 條

(一) 秘書長收到名單之後，將按姓名拼音首一字母為序，編成候選人總名單。除第十二條，第二節所定者外，祇有此名單內之人為合法候選人。

(二) 秘書長將以此名單提交大會及安全理事會。

第 九 條

選舉時，選舉人心目中不僅應考慮被選人個人是否俱備一切條件，同時更要使世界得到保證，法官全體成為文化與主要

should be assured.

Article X

1. Those candidates who obtain the absolute majority of votes in the General Assembly and Security Council shall be considered elected.

2. Any vote of the Security Council for the election of judges or appointment of members of the conference as envisaged in Article 12, shall be taken without any distinction between permanent and non-permanent members of the Security Council.

3. In the event of over two nationals of the same state obtaining the absolute majority of votes of both the General Assembly and of the Security Council, the eldest of these only shall be considered elected.

Article XI

If after the first meeting held for the purpose of election, one and more seats remain to be filled, a second and if necessary a third meeting shall take place.

Article XII

1. If after the third meeting one or more seats still remain unfilled, a joint conference consisting of six members, three appointed by the General Assembly and three by the Security Council, may be formed at any time at the request of either the General Assembly or the Security Council for the purpose of choosing by the vote of an absolute majority one name for each seat still vacant to submit to the General Assembly and Security Council for

司法制度之表徵。

第十條

(一) 候選人以得大會及安全理事會之多票者為當選。

(二) 安全理事會之常任非常任理事，對於選舉法官，或選代表執行第十二條所列事項，無分軒輊。

(三) 倘同國籍之候選人有二人以上得最多票時，以其中最年長者為當選。

第十一條

倘第一次選舉會議之後，仍有空額未補滿，則可召開第二次會議或第三次會議。

第十二條

(一) 倘第三次會議之後，仍有空額未補滿，大會或安全理事會可召開聯席會議，雙方各派代表三人出席，投票選舉。選出得票最多之人，提請兩會接納。

their respective acceptance.

2. If the joint conference un-animously agrees upon any person who fulfills the required conditions, he may be included in its list even though he is not included in the list of nominations referred to in Article VII.

3. If the joint conference is satisfied that it will not be successful in procuring the election of those members of the court who have already been elected, it shall, within a period fixed by the Security Council, proceed to fill the vacant seats by selection from among those candidates who have obtained votes either in the General Assembly or in the Security Council.

4. In the event of an equality of votes among the judges, the oldest judge shall have a casting vote.

Article XIII

1. Members of the court shall be elected for nine years and may be re-elected provided, however, that of the elected at the first election, the terms of five judges shall expire at the end of three years and the terms of five more judges shall expire at the end of six years.

2. The judges whose terms are to expire at the end of the above mentioned initial periods of three and six years, shall be chosen by a lot to be drawn by the Secretary-General of the United Nations immediately after the first election has been completed.

3. Members of the court shall continue to discharge their duties until

(二) 倘聯席會議全數同意舉某一人，而該人名字不在第七條所開列之名單內時，可以另行補入。

(三) 倘聯席會議認為推選無法成功時，在指定期限內，安全理事會可從已得大會或安全理事會選票之候選人中，選舉充任。

(四) 倘若兩法官得同等選票，以年高者當選。

第十三條

(一) 法官任期為九年，連選得連任，但第一次選舉時，應使五個法官之任期為三年，另五人為六年。

(二) 上述法官任期分別當選後，祕書長以抽籤方法決定之。

(三) 任滿法官須待承乏者選出後，

their places have been filled. Though replaced,² they shall finish any cases which they may have begun.

4. In case of a resignation of a member of the court, the resignation shall be addressed to the President of the Court for transmission to the Secretary-General. This last notification makes a vacant place.

Article XIV

Vacancies shall be filled by the same method as that laid down for the first election and are subject to the following provisions: the Secretary-General shall, within one month of the occurrence of a vacancy, proceed to issue the invitations provided for in Article V, and the date of the election shall be fixed by the Security Council.

Article XV

A member of the court, elected to replace another member whose term of office has not expired, shall hold his office for remainder of his predecessor's term.

Article XVI

1. No member of the court may exercise any political or administrative function or engage in any other occupation of a professional nature.

2. Any doubt on this point shall be settled by a decision of the court.

Article XVII

1. No member of the court may act as an agent, counsel, or advocate in any case.

2. No member of the court may

方能退職。任滿後，任內未定之案件需繼續辦理完畢。

(四) 如自行辭職，辭職書應上院長，由院長轉送祕書長。此最後通知便使一法官出缺。

第十四條

法官出缺時，依據下述條例，用第一次選舉時同樣方法選出繼任人。出缺後一月內，祕書長應根據第五條發出邀請書。選舉日期則由安全理事會定之。

第十五條

未滿任法官辭職，其繼任人之任期為任至前任任滿為止。

第十六條

(一) 世界法院法官不能同時從事政治活動，或擔任其他行政工作，或執行法律業務。

(二) 對於上述各點有懷疑時，由法院決定之。

第十七條

(一) 在任何案件中，法官不能任代理人，法律顧問，或辯護人。

(二) 遇有案件某一法官事前曾為之

participate in a decision of any case in which he has previously taken part as an agent, counsel, or advocate for one of the parties or as a member of a national or international court or a commission of inquiry or in any other capacity. Any doubt on this point shall be settled by the decision of the court.

Article XVIII

1. No member of the court can be dismissed unless in the unanimous opinion of other members he has ceased to fulfill the required conditions.

2. A formal notification thereof shall be made to the Secretary-General by the registrar.

3. This notification makes a place vacant.

Article XIX

Members of the court when engaged in business of the court shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

Article XX

Every member of the court shall, before undertaking his duties, make a solemn declaration in an open court that he will exercise his powers impartially and conscientiously.

Article XXI

1. The court shall elect its president and vice-president for three years; they may be re-elected.

2. The court shall appoint its registrar and may provide for the appointment of such officers as may be necessary.

Article XXII

1. The seat of the court shall be

任代理人，法律顧問，或辯護人者，該法官需迴避。對本條如有疑點，應由法院決定之。

第十八條

(一) 除被其餘法官一致認為該法官有失職守外，法官不能被免職。

(二) 公認某一法官有失厥職後，應正式通知秘書長。

(三) 經如是通知後，該法官即為出缺。

第十九條

法官任職期內，享受外交特權及免稅權。

第二十條

每一法官就職時，應在法庭上公開作嚴肅宣誓，一本良心，大公無私執行職權。

第二十一條

(一) 法官應互選院長及副院長，任期均為三年，連選得連任。

(二) 法院得任用書記官多人。

第二十二條

(一) 法院應設海牙。但法院當局認

established at the Hague. This however, shall not prevent the court from sitting and exercising its functions elsewhere whenever the court considers it desirable.

2. The president and registrar shall reside at the seat of the court.

Article XXIII

1. The court shall remain permanently in session except during judicial vacations dates and duration whereof shall be fixed by the court.

2. Members of the court are entitled to periodic leaves dates and the duration whereof shall be fixed by the court, having in mind the distance between the Hague and the home of each judge.

3. Members of the court shall be bound, unless they are on leave or prevented from attending by illness or other serious reasons duly explained to the president, to hold themselves permanently at the disposal of the court.

Article XXIV

If for some special reason, a member of the court considers that he should not take part in the decision of a particular case, he shall give notice according to Paragraph Three. If in any such case a member of the court and the president disagree, the matter shall be settled by a decision of the court.

Article XXV

1. The full court shall sit except when it is expressly provided otherwise in the present statute.

2. Subject to the condition that the

為適當時，得改變其辦公地點。

(二) 院長及書記官應住法院所在地。

第二十三條

(一) 除例假外，法院終年開庭。例假日期由法院定之。

(二) 法官各有休假，休假期間久暫，應視各法官之祖國與海牙之距離而定。

(三) 法官除例假及嚴重疾病外，隨時均應在場，為給法院執行職務。

第二十四條

倘一法官認為對某案件需迴避時，彼應通知院長。如院長不同意，得開庭公決。

第二十五條

(一) 除本法另有規定者外，每次開庭應取會審制，法官全數出席。

(二) 如法官人數不少於十一人，每

number of judges available to constitute the court is not thereby reduced below the 11 rules of the court, it may provide for allowing one or more judges, according to the circumstances and in rotation, to be dispensed from sitting.

3. A quorum of nine judges shall suffice to constitute a court.

Article XXVI

1. The court may from time to time, form one or more chambers composed of three or more judges as courts determined for dealing with particular categories of case; for example labor cases and cases relating to transit and communications.

2. The court may at any time form a chamber for dealing with a particular case. The number of judges to constitute such a chamber shall be determined by the court with approval of the chambers provided for in this article, if the parties so request.

Article XXVII

The judgment given by any of the chambers provided for in Articles XXVI and XXIX shall be considered as rendered by the court.

Article XXVIII

The chambers provided for in Articles XXVI and XXIX may with the consent of the parties concerned sit and exercise their functions elsewhere than the Hague.

Article XXIX

With a view to a speedy despatch of business, the court shall form annually a chamber composed of five judges

次開庭可論流有一人或一人以上免於出庭。

(三) 法官九人爲開庭法定人數。

第二十六條

(一) 法院可以成立小組，專門負責審定特殊案件，如有關勞工，有關運輸，交通等專門問題之案件。每組可有法官三人以上人數。

(二) 法院可隨時成立小組以應付特殊問題，人數多少視需要而定。

第二十七條

根據第二十六條及第二十九條而成立的小組，其判決等於法院判決。

第二十八條

根據第二十六條及二十九條而成立之小組，得訴訟兩造同意，可以在海牙以外地域執行職務。

第二十九條

爲求辦理迅速，法院每年舉出法官五人，成立簡易訴訟法庭，用簡易方法辦理

which at the request of parties concerned may hear and determine cases by summary procedure. Additionally, two judges shall be selected for the purpose of replacing the judges who find it impossible to sit.

Article XXX

1. The court shall frame the rules carrying out its function. Particularly it shall lay down the rules of procedure.

2. The rules of the court may provide for assessors to sit with the court or any of its chambers without the right to vote.

Article XXXI

1. The judges of the same nationality of each of the parties shall retain their right to sit in a case before the court.

2. If the court includes upon the bench a judge of the same nationality of one of the parties, any other party may choose a person to sit as judge. Such a person shall be chosen preferably from among those persons who have been nominated as candidates as provided in Articles IV and V.

Article XXXII

1. Each member of the court shall receive an annual salary.

2. The president shall receive a special annual allowance.

3. The president shall receive a special allowance for every day on which he acts as president.

4. Judges chosen under Article XXXI other than members of the court shall receive a compensation for each

案件。另選後備法官兩人，以備有人不能出庭時補充。

第三十條

(一) 法院應自定執行職務細則，尤應訂立訴訟程序。

(二) 細則應列入無判決權之陪審法官出庭辦法。

第三十一條

(一) 與訴訟兩造任何一造同國籍法官，其出庭應受限制。

(二) 倘與一造同國籍之法官出庭時，另一造可找一與彼同國籍之法官出庭，該項法官人選應以第四，第五兩條所定之法官候選人為限。

第三十二條

(一) 法院法官每人均享年俸。

(二) 院長每年有特別津貼費。

(三) 院長執行職務時，每天另有每天之特別津貼費。

(四) 依據第三十一條而選出之法官，執行職務時，每天有酬金。

day whereon they exercise their functions.

5. These salaries, allowances and compensations shall be fixed by the General Assembly. They may not decrease during a term of office.

6. The salary of the registrar shall be fixed by the General Assembly on the proposal of the court.

7. Regulations made by the General Assembly shall fix the conditions under which retiring pensions may be given to members of the court and the registrar and the conditions under which members of the court and the registrar shall have their travelling expenses refunded.

8. Above salaries, allowances and compensations shall be free of all taxation.

Article XXXIII

The expense of the court shall be borne by the United Nations in such a manner as shall be decided by the General Assembly.

Chapter II

COMPETENCE OF THE COURT

Article XXXIV

1. Only the states be parties in cases before the court.

2. The court subject to and in conformity with rules, may request of public international organization information relevant to the cases before it and shall receive such information presented by such organizations on their own initiative.

(五) 年俸，年津，日津及酬金，數目由大會決定，任職期內，不能減低。

(六) 書記官薪俸由大會決定，提交法院照付。

(七) 法官及書記之退休長俸，出差費之補償等由大會定之。

(八) 薪俸之外，津貼，酬金均不需繳稅。

第三十三條

法院開支由聯合國負擔，分擔辦法由大會決定。

第二章 世界法院職權

第三十四條

(一) 向世界法院提出訴訟，其當事人應屬一國家，或聯合國之一。

(二) 法院依據法律習慣，得向國際機構偵詢與案件有關之情報。

8. Whenever the construction of a constituent instrument of a public international organization or of an international convention adopted under this ruling is in question in a case before the court, the registrar shall so notify the public international organization and shall communicate to it copies of all written proceedings.

Article XXXV

1. The court shall open to states parties to the present statute.

2. The conditions under which the court shall be open to other states shall be subject to special provisions contained in the treaties in force to be put down by the Security Council; in no case shall such conditions place the parties in a position of equality before the court.

3. When a state which is not a member of the United Nations is a party to a case, the court fix the amount which that party is to contribute to the expenses of the court. This provision shall not apply if such a state is bearing a share of the expenses of the court.

Article XXXVI

1. The jurisdiction of the court comprises all cases which the parties refer to and all matters specially provided for in the charter of the United Nations or in treaties and conventions in force.

2. States parties to the present statute may at any time declare that they recognize as compulsory, the ipso

(三) 引用此條文時，由書記官用書面向該國際機構通知。

第三十五條

(一) 法院受理聯合國國家之訴訟。

(二) 法院受理聯合國以外國家訴訟，其辦法由安全理事會另定之。

(三) 非聯合國國家為當事人之一造時，法院得向兩造收訟費。倘該國負擔法院開支，則不用另付訟費。

第三十六條

(一) 法院對一切向其提出訴訟之案件均有受理權，尤其關於聯合國憲章，或現行條約之案件。

(二) 向世界法院提出訴訟之國家應宣言絕對尊重法院對於：

facto, and without a special agreement in relation to any other state accepting the same obligation, jurisdiction of the court in all legal disputes concerning:

- (a) Interpretation of a treaty;
- (b) Any question of International Law;
- (c) Existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of international obligation;
- (d) The nature of reparation to be made for a breach of international obligation.

3. The declarations referred to above may be made unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity on the part of several or certain states for a certain time.

4. Such declarations shall be deposited with the Secretary General of the United Nations who shall transmit copies thereof to the registrar of the court.

5. Declarations made under Article XXXVI of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and which are still in force shall be deemed as between parties to the present statute, to be acceptances of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice for a period which they still have to run in accordance with their terms.

6. In the event of a dispute as to when and whether the court has juris-

- (甲) 條約解釋；
- (乙) 國際公法問題；
- (丙) 任何事件之足以破壞國際契約

者；

- (丁) 破壞國際契約之賠償等審理權

。

- (三) 該項宣言案無條件發出。

(四) 宣言交秘書長存，彼將以副本送致書記官。

(五) 根據第三十六條而作之宣言，應表示願意接受世界法庭之審理權。

- (六) 關於法院對某案件有無受權之

diction, the matter shall be settled by decisions of the court.

Article XXXVII

Whenever a treaty or convention in force provides for the reference of any matter for the tribunal to have been instituted by the League of Nations or to the Permanent Court of International Justice, the matter shall be as between parties to the present statute and will be referred to the International Court of Justice.

Article XXXVIII

1. The court whose function is to decide in accordance with international law such disputes as will be submitted to it shall apply:

- (a) International conventions whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by contesting countries;
- (b) International Custom as evidence of a general practice and accepted as law;
- (c) General principles recognized by civilized nations;
- (d) Subject to the provisions of Article LX's judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of various nations as subsidiary means for determination of the rules of Law.

2. This provision shall not prejudice the power of the court to decide a case *exacquo et bono* if parties agree thereto.

理紛爭，應由法院決定。

第三十七條

無論何時所訂條約或現行某項公約規定事件須提交國聯所設法庭，或世界國際永久法庭處理時，此項事件當按本法規定，為兩造提交世界法院審理。

第三十八條

(一)法庭任務在持國際公法處理向其提出之爭議，處理時可運用左列各種國際法律：

(甲)不論一般或特殊之國際公約其條文為各訂約國家所公開承認者；

(乙)作為通常行為根據並為法律允許的國際習慣。

(丙)由文明國家所承認的尋常原則；

(丁)根據六十條規定的司法決定與為各國最有資格的公法學家的主張可為決定法律條文的補充方法。

(二)本條文於兩造同意決定合乎正義之案件時不應損害法院之權力。

Chapter III
PROCEDURE
Article XXXIX

1. The official languages of the court shall be French and English. If the parties concerned agree that the case shall be conducted in French, the judgment shall be delivered in French. If the parties agree that the case shall be conducted in English, the judgment will be delivered in English.

2. In absence of an agreement as to which language shall be employed, each party may in pleadings use the language which it prefers; the decision of the court shall be given in both French and English. In this case the court at the same time shall determine which of the two texts shall be considered authoritative.

3. The court shall at the request of any party authorize the language other than French or English to be used by that party.

Article XL

1. Cases are brought to the court, as the case may be, either by notification of a special agreement or by written application addressed to the registrar. In either case the subject of dispute and the parties shall be indicated.

2. The registrar shall forthwith communicate the application to all concerned.

3. He shall also notify members of the United Nations through the Secretary-General and also any states entitled to appear before the court.

第三章 訟訴程序

第三十九條

(一)法院的正式語言為法文與英文，如案件有關兩造同意，案件用法文審理，判決即需法文發表，如兩造同意案件用英文審理，判決即需用英文發表。

(二)對所用語文雙方並無協議時，每一造於辯護時得用其願用之語文；法院之決定須同時用英法文發表。在此種情形之下，法院須同時決定兩種文件中何者具有權威。

(三)法庭於任何一造請求時，得許其使用英法兩種語文以外之語文。

第四十條

(一)向法院提出之案件可用特定協議之通知或用致送書記官之申請書。兩者均須開列爭議主題與兩造。

(二)書記官當立即將聲請書轉致有關各方。

(三)渠同時須經由聯合國秘書長通知各會員國，以及應到庭之任何國家。

Article XLI

1. The court shall have the power to indicate if it considers that circumstances so require, any provisional measure which ought to be taken to preserve the respect of either party.

2. Pending a final decision, a notice of the measures suggested shall forthwith be given to the parties and to the Security Council.

Article XLII

1. Parties shall be represented by agents.

2. They may have the assistance of counsels or advocates before the court.

Article XLIII

1. The agents, counsels and advocates of the parties before the court shall consist of two parts: written and oral.

2. Written proceedings shall consist of the communication to the court and to the parties of memorials, counter-memorials and if necessary replies also of all papers and documents in support.

3. These communications shall be made through the registrar in the order and within the time fixed by the court.

4. A certified copy of every document produced by one party shall be communicated to the other party.

5. Oral proceedings shall consist of the bearing by the court of witnesses, experts, agents, counsels and advocates.

Article XLIV

1. For the service of all notices upon persons other than agents, coun-

第四十一條

(一)法院於情勢需要時有權指示任何暫行措施以保持兩造之尊敬。

(二)除最後決定外，所提各項措施之通知應即致送兩造及安全理事會。

第四十二條

(一)兩造應各有代理人。

(二)出庭時兩造均可得有顧問與辯護人之協助。

第四十三條

(一)出庭時兩造代理人，顧問與辯護人可包括進行口頭與書面兩種部分工作人員。

(二)書面的文件包括致送法院之通知，備忘錄，認訴書，以及各種案作佐證之文件。

(三)通知書需於法院所定時限以內送致書記官。

(四)一造所提出之每一文件應有一份經過核對之副本送致對造。

(五)口頭訴訟程序包括證人，專家，代理人，顧問與辯護人之陳述。

第四十四條

(一)法院為向代理人，顧問與辯護人

sels and advocates, the court shall apply direct to the government of the state upon whose territory the notice has to serve.

2. The same provision shall apply wherever steps are to be taken to procure evidence on the spot.

Article XLV

Hearing shall be under the control of the president or if he is unable to preside, the senior judge present shall preside.

Article LVIII

Judgment shall be signed by the president and the registrar. It shall be read in an open court, due notice having been given to agents.

Article LIX

The decision of the court has no binding force except between the parties and in respect to that particular case.

Article LX

A judgment is final and without appeal. In event of dispute as to the meaning of scope of a judgment the court shall construe it upon request of any party.

Article LXI

1. An application for a revision of a judgment may be made only when it is based upon the discovery of some factor of such a nature as to be a decisive factor, which was when the judgment was given unknown to the court and also to the party claiming revision, always provided that such ignorance was not due to negligence.

以外之個人致送通知，得直接致送通知所列地址內之國家。

(二)無論何時有通知證人到場需要時，此條文亦可使用。

第四十五條

聽審須於院長管制之下進行，如院長不能出席時得由出席之首席法官代行其職權。

第五十八條

判決書應由院長與記錄員簽字，并給各代理人以適當之通知，於法庭上公開宣讀。

第五十九條

法院之決定除在兩造之間與該特定案件外並無拘束力。

第六十條

判決應為最後決定，不能再有上訴，如對判決詞之意義或範圍有所爭議時，法院應在任何一造邀請後解釋之。

第六十一條

(一)修正判決之聲請之能於某項有決定作用之因素發現時提出，而此項因素確為法院與提出修正之一造所不知，而其時不知亦並非由於忽略之故。

2. The proceedings for revision shall be opened by the judgment of the court, expressly recording the existence of a new fact and recognizing that it has such a character as to lay the case open to revision and declaring the application admissible on this ground.

3. The court may require previous compliance with the terms of a judgment before it admits proceedings in revision.

4. An application for revision must be made at the latest within six months of the discovery of a new fact.

5. No application for revision may be made after 10 years from the date of a judgment.

Article LXII

1. Should a state consider that it has an interest of a legal nature which may be affected by the decision in a case, it may submit its request to the court to be permitted to intervene.

2. It shall be for the court to decide upon this request.

Article LXIII

1. Whenever the construction of a convention of which states other than those concerned in a case are parties, is in question, the registrar shall notify all such states forthwith.

2. Every state so notified has a right to intervene in the proceedings; but if it uses this right, the construction given by judgment will be equally binding upon it.

Article LXIV

Unless otherwise decided by the

(二) 修正裁判在法庭公開行之，宣言發現新事實，因此接納修正裁判之聲請。

(三) 法院得先徵詢原審法官意見，然後接納修正裁判之聲請。

(四) 修正裁判之聲請必需於發現新事實後六個月內行之。

(五) 判決後十年不能再聲請修正裁判。

第六十二條

(一) 倘當事國以外某一國家認某一案件足影響該國之法益時，得向法院要求觀審。

(二) 准許與否，由法院決定。

第六十三條

(一) 當需要召集當事國以外的國家舉行會議時，由書記官通知。

(二) 受通知之國家，有權出席觀審。

第六十四條

除法院另有決定外，訴訟兩造，各負

court, each party shall bear its own costs.

Chapter IV
ADVISORY OPINIONS

Article LXV

1. The court may give advisory opinion on any legal question at the request of whatever body may be authorized by or in accordance with the charter of the United Nations to make such a request.

2. The questions on which advisory opinion of the court is asked shall be laid before the court by means of a written request containing an exact statement of the question on which opinion is required and accompanied by all documents likely to throw light upon the question.

Article LXVI

1. The registrar shall forthwith give notice of the request for advisory opinion to all states entitled to appear before the court.

2. The registrar shall also by means of special and direct communication notify any member of the United Nations or state entitled to appear before the court or international organization considered by the court (or should it not be a sitting by the president) as likely to be able to furnish information, on any question that the court will be prepared to receive within a time limit to be fixed by the president, written statements or to hear at a public sitting to be held for the purpose of oral statements relating to the question.

其訟費。

第四章 諮詢意見

條五十五條

(一) 不違背聯合國憲章之團體對於

法律問題有所諮詢時，法院可答以意見。

(二) 向法院徵詢應用書面提出，並

附以一切可助解答之文件。

第六十六條

(一) 解答徵詢時，書記官可以通知

任何有關國家出庭聽受詢問。

(二) 書記官可用直接方法通知有關

國家，或國際團體出庭聽受詢問，以錄取

口頭供述，期限由院長定之。

3. Should any such State entitled to appear before the court have failed to receive the special communication referred to in Paragraph Two of this Article, such state may express the desire to submit a written statement or to be heard; and the court will decide.

4. States and organizations having presented written or oral statements or both, shall be permitted to comment on the statements made by other members, states or organizations in a form to the extent and within the time limits which the court or, should it not be in sitting, the president shall decide in each particular case. Accordingly, the registrar shall in due time communicate any such written statements to the members, states and organizations having submitted similar statements.

Article LXVII

The court shall deliver its advisory opinions in open court, notice having given to the Secretary-General and to representatives of the members of the United Nations or other states and of international organizations immediately concerned.

Article LXVIII

In exercise of its advisory functions, the court shall further be guided by the provisions of the present statute which apply in the contention of cases to the extent upon which it recognizes them to be applicable.

(三) 倘上述國家未接到通知，可用書面報告法院，由法院再行決定。

(四) 國家或團體曾作書面或口頭供詞者，將獲允許批評別一國家所作之供詞。書記官在相當期間，將供詞錄送有關方面。

第六十七條

法院之諮詢意見應在法庭公開宣讀，隨即通知秘書長及有關國家。

第六十八條

執行諮詢職務時，法院應根據本法決定徵詢應否接納。

Chapter V
AMENDMENTS

Article LXIX

Amendments to the present statute shall be effected by the same procedure as is provided by the charter of the United Nations for amendments to that charter. They are subject, however, to any provisions which the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council may adopt concerning the participation of the states which are parties to the present statute but are not member of the United Nations.

Article LXX

The court shall have the power to propose such amendments in the present statute as it may deem necessary through written communication to the Secretary-General for consideration in conformity with the provisions of Article 69.

第五章 修正

第六十九條

本法有所修正時，應依照聯合國憲章之修正辦法行之。涉及非聯合國國家而為本法內之當事國時，一切法規將由安全理事會提出，由大會決定。

第七十條

法院認為需要時，有權用書面向秘書長提出對於本法修正各點，俾引用本法第六十九條，進行修正時考慮。

PRES. HARRY S. TRUMAN'S INDEPENDENCE DAY STATEMENT

Issued on July 4, 1945

杜魯門總統之美國獨立日聲明

一九四五年七月四日發表

Again this year, we celebrate July 4 as the anniversary of the day, 169 years ago, on which we declared our independence as a sovereign people. In this year of 1945, we have pride in¹ the combined might of this nation, which has contributed signally to the defeat of the enemy in Europe. We have confidence that under Providence, we may soon crush the enemy in the Pacific.

We have humility for² the guidance that has been given us of³ God in serving his will as a leader of freedom for the world.

This year, men and women of our armed forces, and many civilians as well,⁴ are celebrating the anniversary of American Independence in other countries throughout the world. Citizens of those other lands will understand what we celebrate and why freedom is dear to the hearts of all everywhere. In other lands, others will join us in honoring our declaration that all men are created equal and are endowed with certain inalienable rights,

吾人本年又行慶祝獨立日紀念日，吾人於一百六十九年前之今日，以主權人之地位宣佈本身之獨立，時至今日，吾對我國之聯合力量殊足自豪，吾人之力量擊敗歐洲敵人極多貢獻。

吾人深信在上蒼領導之下，亦可於短期間內擊敗太平洋之敵日吾人受命上蒼執行其志，勉為世界自由領袖之重託，吾人對此至為感大德。

本年我軍中健兒男女及無數人民，均於全世界其他各國慶祝獨立紀念日，各地人民將知吾人所慶祝者為何，及各地人民何以對自由如此珍惜，世界各地人民將與吾人共同尊敬吾人之宣言，即人類生而平等，均享有生活自由及追求快樂等不能讓

life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

At home, on this July 4, 1945, let us honor our nation's creed of liberty and the men and women of our armed forces who are carrying this creed with them throughout the world.

予之權利。

我國內人民今年此日應向我國自由信條及持此信條遠在世界各地服役之我軍中男女表示敬意。

ANNOTATIONS

(1) "to have pride in," 以……為自豪。We have pride in our glorious history, 吾人有光榮之歷史引為自豪。(2) "to have humility in," 感動。The whole world has humility in this struggle for human freedom, 全世界之人對彼為人類自由而奮鬥受感動。(3) "of" 為無意志動作之意，自然之動作。與 "by" (發動人有意志動作)。例如：The door was opened by me, (有意志動作)。The door was opened of itself (通常為 The door opened of itself) 無意志自然動作。(4) "as well," "及" (用於 and 之後，加重後者語氣)。The rich, and the poor as well' are jubilant over the news of Japan's surrender, 日本投降消息傳出無論富人窮人皆為歡樂。

LT.-GEN. A. C. WEDEMEYER'S FOURTH OF JULY MESSAGE TO U.S. FORCES IN CHINA THEATER

Issued on July 4, 1945

中國戰區美軍司令魏德邁將軍之 獨立日告美軍將士書

一九四五年七月四日發出

One hundred and sixty-nine years ago a group of liberty-loving men accomplished and signed one of the most significant documents in world history —The Declaration of Independence of the United States of America. Embodying¹ the principles of freedom and justice for all, regardless of² race, creed or previous condition of servitude, this great document and the Constitution of the United States which followed shortly thereafter optimised the birth of a New Nation.

That nation has drawn its strength from the fusion of many races³ and nationalities.⁴ Each man has the opportunity to improve his position within the limits of his own capabilities. Combining their talents and energies, our people have enthusiastically united and have contrived to conquer the wilderness, to bridge mighty rivers, to build highways and span the continent with railroads and airways, to create

一百六十九年前，若干愛好和平之士，完成并簽署歷史上最要之文件之一，即美國獨立宣言是也。此一宣言，載明不問種族，信仰往昔之奴隸情況為何，人均得自由與正義之原則。該宣言述及其後不久完成之美國憲法，申明此新家之建立。

此國家以若干種族國籍人士之混合，而獲得力量，每人在其能力範圍內，均有機會提高其地位，美國人民聯合其才能。精誠團結，征服荒漠之地帶，架橋於巨川之上，廣修公路，遍佈鐵路，空路於大洲

great industries, to excel in scientific achievements, and to improve the cultural life of our people.

We Americans have always been content to confine our aspirations and objectives within the borders of our own broad land, asking of the rest of the world only the right to trade equitably in an atmosphere of peace and mutual understanding. However, some nations have mistakenly interpreted our protestations for peace as manifestations of weakness and have compelled us to resort to⁵ war in order to preserve our way of life.

Today we are fighting for exactly that purpose against an aggressor nation determined to destroy us and the things for which we stand—the right of every man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in an atmosphere of peaceful, gracious living.

The tremendous power of the Allied Nations is rapidly and irresistibly concentrating closer—ever⁶ closer—on the enemy citadel. On this Fourth Day of July, 1945, we sense final victory although we are aware of the sacrifice, hardships and heartaches yet to be endured, not only to crush the enemy but also to restore conditions of decency and justice for mankind.

The United Nations, under the aegis⁷ of America, looking beyond the present anguish and bloodshed of a world at war, have now conceived a design for the future a charter to preclude a recurrence of the present world-wide

之中，創造偉大之工業，有輝煌之科學成就，并增進美人之文化生活。

美人一向願將本身之願望目的，置諸廣大國土之內，所求於外界者，僅係在和平與互相了解之空氣中，獲有貿易之平等。然若干國家乃誤認吾人之和平主張為懦弱之表示，遂迫使吾人從事戰爭，以保持吾人生活之道。

吾人現今與決圖毀滅吾人及吾人所求之事物——生活自由及在和平幽美生活中追求快樂之權利——之侵略者作戰，其目的即在於此。

盟國驚人力量，正迅速向敵人衝城不斷緊迫絲毫不受阻遏，在此一九四五年之七月四日，吾人對粉碎敵人，恢復人類之適當境况及正義之工作，雖知仍須有所犧牲，亦有艱難痛苦，然吾人已感及最後勝利之到來矣。

聯合國家在美國之領導下，其目光已越過目前戰爭之世界中之痛苦及殺戮，對未來已獲一計劃，即用以防止目前世界大屠殺之再演之憲章是也，吾強大共和國之

holocaust. Let all Americans, citizens of a great republic, on this anniversary of the birth of our freedom, join in the firm and sincere resolve with people throughout the world, that the principles embodied in the recent Charter of the United Nations shall constitute a Declaration of Independence for all men and a real bulwark of liberty in every land.

人民，在此吾人自由之誕生紀念日，應與全世界人士共同誠懇決意，使最近聯合國憲章中所載之原則，得成爲全人類之獨立宣言，並爲全世界自由之保障。

ANNOTATIONS

- (1) “Embodying” 至 “servitude,” 止爲 participial phrase 形容其後之 “document” (subject). (2) “Regardless” 至 “servitude” 形其前之 “all” 爲 adjective phrase. (3) “races,” “各民族” 指血統不同者。 (4) “nationalities” “各國家”，由同一民族或數民族合成而有同一政體之國家。 (5) “to resort to,” “採取… (行動)”，“使…從事於”
• We resorted to war owing to Japan’s aggression, 吾人因日人侵略而從事作戰
• (6) “ever-closer” = “always closer,” “不斷緊迫”。 (7) “aegis,” 保護。

NOTES EXCHANGED BETWEEN CHINESE AND
BRITISH GOVERNMENTS REGARDING THE
EXERCISE OF JURISDICTION OVER MEMBERS
OF ARMED FORCES IN EACH OTHER'S
TERRITORIES

Signed in Chungking, July 7, 1945

中英政府規定彼此領土
內軍隊管轄權協定

一九四五年七月七日於重慶簽字

STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CHINA:

According to International Law and international practice, when the armed forces of one allied nation are stationed¹ in the territory of another for the purpose of undertaking joint military operations, exclusive criminal jurisdiction² over members of such forces is exercised by the service courts or authorities of the country to which such forces belong. Such rights have been exercised either with or without special agreements. However, special agreements have invariably been preferred by reason of³ their clarity and precision. For this purpose, an exchange of notes took place on May 21, 1943 between the Chinese and the United States Governments placing on record⁴ the

中國政府外交部之聲明：

依據國際公法及國際慣例，各同盟國

於派遣軍隊赴其他同盟國境內聯合作戰時

，此項軍隊人員如犯刑事案件，皆應交

由其本國軍事法庭或軍事當局單獨裁判。

此項權利無論有無特別協定，均可享受。

惟為更求明確起見，各同盟國間大多訂有

此項特別協定。為此目的，中國與美國政

understanding that jurisdiction over criminal offenses committed by members of the Chinese or the United States armed forces in each other's territory shall be exclusively exercised by the service courts and the service authorities of the country of which such forces belong. After the conclusion of that agreement, negotiations for a similar agreement was undertaken by the Chinese and the British Governments, which culminated in⁵ an exchange of notes today between Dr. K. C. Wu, Political Vice-Minister in Charge of Ministerial Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on behalf of the Chinese Government and Sir Horace Seymour, British Ambassador in China, on behalf of the British Government. The exchange of notes with its annex constitutes an agreement whereby the Chinese and the British service courts or authorities shall exercise exclusive criminal jurisdiction over members of their respective forces present in India and Burma or in Chinese territory respectively. If in the future Chinese forces should be stationed in any territory under British authority other than⁶ India or Burma, the British Government will be prepared to extend the same privileges to such forces.

NOTE FROM SIR HORACE SEYMOUR TO DR. K. C. WU:

July 7, 1945

Sir:

His Majesty's Government in the

府曾於一九四三年五月二十一日互換照會

，規定中美雙方對於在彼此領土內之本國

軍隊人員所犯刑事案件應由該軍隊所屬國

之軍事法庭或當局單獨裁判。嗣後中國

政府復與英國政府進行類似此談判，結

果由我外交部吳次長國楨與英國駐華大使

薛穆爵士於本日互換照會，該照會及其附

件構成兩國間之協定。根據此協定，中英

兩國之軍事法庭或當局對在印緬或在中國

境內之各該本國軍隊人員，應有權行使單

獨之刑事管轄權。且如將來中國軍隊駐紮

印緬以外之任何英國管轄權下之領土時，

英國政府準備將上項特權亦推廣適用於此

等軍隊。

薛穆大使致吳次長照會：

英王陛下之大不列顛與新愛爾蘭之聯

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of India are desirous of⁷ determining by agreement with the Government of the Republic of China, and on the basis of reciprocity, the question of jurisdiction over members of their respective forces when these forces are present in the territory of the other party. They propose that this question should be determined in accordance with the provisions of the Annex to this present note. If in the future Chinese forces should be stationed in any territory under the authority of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom not covered by the provisions of the Annex to this note, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to extend the provisions of the Annex to Chinese forces stationed in any such territory.

If Your Excellency confirms on behalf of the Government of the Republic of China their acceptance of this proposal, the present note (with its Annex) and Your Excellency's note in reply shall be deemed to constitute an agreement between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom on their behalf and in respect of Burma and the Government of India on the one part and the Government of the Chinese Republic on the other part.

I avail myself of⁸ this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Horace Seymour
His Excellency Dr. K. C. Wu, Vice-

合王國政府及印度政府與中華民國政府基於相互原則，協同決定駐在彼此領土內之軍隊人員管轄權問題，并建議此項問題應依照本照會附件所規定決定之。倘將來中國軍隊駐在英王陛下之聯合國王政府管轄下之任何領土，而該領土不在本照會附件所規定之範圍內者，英王陛下政府準備將附件中之規定推廣適用於駐在任何此等領土之內中國軍隊。

如荷閣下以中華民國政府名義證實中華民產政府接受此項建議，本照會（及其附件）與閣下覆照承認為構成英王陛下聯合王國政府代表其本國及緬甸暨印度政府與中華民國政府間之協定。

本大使願向貴代部長重表敬意。此致中華民國外交部政務次長代理部務吳閣下。

薛穆（簽字）一九四五年七月七日。

Minister of Foreign Affairs, The Government of the Republic of China.

ANNEX

Article I

(1) In this Agreement the expression:

(a) "Members of the British forces" means every uniformed person, holding a rank in the naval, military or air forces, maintained by the Government of the United Kingdom, the Government of India or the Government of any overseas territory, colony or territory under the protection of His Majesty The King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions, beyond the seas, Emperor of India, who is, in respect of⁹ the duties which he performs in Chinese territory, under the orders of the commander of any British naval, military or air force in China. It includes uniformed members (i) of political or civil staffs attached to the British forces, (ii) of the women's forces auxiliary to the said forces, (iii) of the nursing staffs, male and female, (iv) of the staff of the Navy Army and Air Force Institutes, (v) of guerilla units auxiliary to the British forces which operate under the command of a commander of the British forces, and which are subject to British military law. It does not include Chinese nationals employed by or accompanying the British forces but not enlisted¹⁰ or commissioned¹¹ in the British forces,

附 件

第 一 條

(一) 在本協定中所謂：

(甲) 「英國軍隊人員」係指身着制服，在聯合王國政府印度政府或任何海外屬地殖民地或受大不列顛愛爾蘭及英國海外諸領地君主兼印度皇帝陛下保護之領土之政府所維持之海陸空軍中居有級位並關於其在中國領土執行之職務，係屬英國駐華任何海陸空軍司令官指揮之人員而言。此項人員包括身着制服之：一，附屬於英軍之政治或文職人員，二，輔助英軍之婦女隊人員，三，男女看護人員，四，海陸空軍慰勞組織之人員，五，在任何英軍司令官指揮下作戰並服從英國軍法輔助英軍之游擊隊。此項人員并不包括英軍所雇用或隨從英軍，但非編入英軍或受英軍委任之中國人民，亦不包括英軍在中國招雇之第三國人員，或無國籍人民。上稱英國軍隊人員，並包括與英國海軍當局協同

nor does it include nationals of third powers or persons without nationality who may be recruited¹² in China, for employment with the British forces. The expression also includes members of the crews (other than Chinese nationals) of merchant ships belonging to or chartered¹³ or requisitioned¹⁴ by or on behalf of the Government of any overseas territory, colony or territory under the protection of His Majesty The King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the seas, Emperor of India, which are operating in conjunction with the British naval authorities.

(b) "Members of the Chinese forces" means every uniformed person, holding a rank in the naval, military or air forces, maintained by the Government of the Republic of China, who is, in respect of the duties which he performs in India or Burma, under the orders of the commander of any Chinese naval, military or air force in India or Burma. It includes uniformed members (i) of political or civil staffs attached to the Chinese forces, (ii) of the women's forces auxiliary to the said forces, (iii) of the nursing staffs, male and female, (iv) of the staff of the Navy, Army and Air Force Institutes, (v) of guerilla units auxiliary to the Chinese forces which operate under the command of a commander of the Chinese forces and which are subject to Chinese military law. It does not include British nationals employed by or

作戰，屬於聯合王國政府印度政府或任何海外屬地殖民地或受大不列顛愛爾蘭及英國海外諸領地君主兼印度皇帝陛下保護之領土之政府，或被各該政府所租用或徵發或為各該政府而租用或徵發之商船上之船員（中國人民除外）。

(乙)「中國軍隊人員」係指身着制服，在中華民國政府所維持之海陸空軍中居有級位，並關於其在印度或緬甸執行之職務係屬中國駐印或駐緬任何海陸空軍司令官指揮之人員而言。此項人員包括身着制服之：一，附屬於中國軍隊之政治或文職人員，二，輔助中國軍隊之婦女隊人員，三，男女看護人員，四，海陸空軍慰勞組織之人員，五，在任何中國軍隊司令官指揮作戰並服從中國軍法輔助中國軍隊之游擊隊。此項人員並不包括中國軍隊所

accompanying the Chinese forces but not enlisted or commissioned in the Chinese forces; nor does it include nationals of third powers or persons without nationality who may be recruited in India or Burma for employment with the Chinese forces. The expression also includes members of the crews (other than British subjects or British protected persons) of merchantship belonging to or chartered or requisitioned by or on behalf of the Government of the Republic of China, which are operating in conjunction with the Chinese naval authorities.

(c) "Members of the forces" means "members of the British forces" or "members of the Chinese forces" as the case may be¹⁵ and "forces" means the British or Chinese forces as the case may be.

(d) "Service tribunals" means naval, military or air force tribunals of the force to which the person concerned belongs, exercising jurisdiction under the naval, military or air force law of the force, or as regards the members of the crews of the merchantships referred to in Article (1) (a), British Naval Courts, and, as regards the members of crews of the merchantships referred to in Article 1 (1) (b), the appropriate Chinese tribunal.

(e) "Service authorities" means the appropriate authorities of the British forces in China or (as the case may be) of the Chinese force in India or Burma.

雇用或隨從中國軍隊，但非編入中國軍隊或受中國軍隊委任之英籍人民，亦不包括中國軍隊在印度或緬甸招雇之第三國人民或無國籍人民。上稱「中國軍隊人員」並包括中國海軍當局協同作戰，屬於中華民國政府或被該政府所租用或徵發或為該政府所租用或徵發商船上之船員（英籍臣民或受英國保護之人民除外）。

(丙)「軍隊人員」係分別指「英國軍隊人員」或「中國軍隊人員」而言，「軍隊」係分別指英國或中國軍隊而言。

(丁)「軍事法庭」係指各有關之人員所隸屬軍隊之海陸空軍軍法行仗管轄權者。其關於第一條(一)款(甲)項中所述之商船上之船員者，依指英國軍事法庭。其關於第一條(一)款(乙)項中所述之商船上之船員者，係指適當之中國法庭。

(戊)「軍事當局」係分別指英國軍隊在中國之該主管當局。

(f) "Territory" means the territory in which the members of the force are present.

(g) "Local authorities" means the authorities (civil or military) of the territory.

(h) This agreement applies to¹⁶ members of the British forces present anywhere in the territories of the Republic of China and to members of the Chinese forces who are present anywhere in India or in Burma.

Article II

(1) In all criminal matters members of the forces shall be subject to the jurisdiction of Service tribunals. The jurisdiction of all other tribunals shall be exclusive of the jurisdiction of all other tribunals in the territory, unless, in any particular case, the senior officer present in the territory of the force, to which the accused belongs, requests or consents to the exercise of jurisdiction by some tribunal of the territory. The requests or consent shall be given in writing and addressed direct to the local authorities, who have been designated as competent for this purpose by the Government or administration of the territory in question.

(2) Where a case, which is of legitimate interest to the local authorities because it arises out of injury to a local inhabitant or local property or for some other reason, is submitted to¹⁷ a Service tribunal, the local authorities may request the Service authorities to inform them of the progress of the

(巳)「領土」係指軍隊人員所駐在之領土。

(庚)「地方當局」係指當地之(民事或軍事)當局。

(辛)本協定適用於駐在中華民國領土內任何地方之中國軍隊人員及駐在印度或緬甸任何地方之中國軍隊人員。

第 二 條

(一)關於一切刑事案件，軍隊人員應受軍事法庭之管轄。除遇特殊案件，經被告所屬軍隊在駐在地之最高軍官請求或同意當地法庭行使管轄權者外，軍事法庭之管轄權應排除當地其他一切庭法之管轄權。上項請求或同意應以書面為之；並應直接致達於該駐在地之政府或行政機關，為此目的而指派之適當地方當局。

(二)如由於損害當地居民或當地財產或其他理由所發生，而地方當局對之有正當利害關係之案件，提交軍事法庭時，地方當局得請求軍事當局告知該案之進行

case, and, when the case is concluded to comply a copy of the text of the judgment of the tribunal.

Article III

(1) Save as provided in paragraph (2) and (3) of this Article, a member of the forces may only be arrested, searched or detained in custody by his Service authorities. Only the Service authorities shall have the right to enter or search any premises which are occupied exclusively by the forces as a camp, barracks, offices, stores, warehouses, or residence.

(2) A member of the forces may be arrested by the local authorities when such arrest is necessary in order to maintain public order. In this case the arrested person will be immediately handed over to¹⁸ the Service authorities. In any case where there is any doubt whether an arrested person is a member of the forces, a certificate signed by an officer of or above the rank of Major in the Military forces and of or above the rank in the Naval and Air Force which corresponds to that of Major shall be accepted by the local authorities as conclusive.

(3) The local authorities shall, on request from the Service authorities, search for members of the forces alleged to have committed offences, and if they are found, shall arrest them and hand them over to the Service authorities.

Article IV

(4) The Service authorities will investigate and deal appropriately with

情形，並於案件終結時將法庭之判決書抄送一份。

第 三 條

(一) 除本條第二款另有規定外，軍

隊人員僅得由其軍事當局有權進入或搜查

專為軍隊佔用作為營地，兵房，辦公室，

儲藏室，倉庫或住宅之任何房地。

(二) 為維持公共秩序所必要時，軍

隊人員得由地方當局逮捕之。遇此情形，

應將被逮捕人立即移送於軍事當局，如被

逮捕人是否為軍隊人員發生疑問時，地方

當局應接受該軍隊之陸軍少校官級或陸軍

少校官級以上之軍官，或相當於陸軍少校

官級或陸軍少校官級以上之海空軍軍官簽

字之證明書，作為確定。

(三) 地方當局經軍事當局之請求應

偵緝被控犯罪之軍隊人員，如經查獲，應

予以逮捕，并移送於軍事當局。

第 四 條

軍事當局對於軍隊人員之被控犯刑事

any alleged criminal offences committed by members of the forces which may be brought to their notice by the competent local authorities or which the Service authorities may find to have taken place. The Service tribunals will try and, on conviction, punish all criminal offences which members of the forces may be alleged on sufficient evidence to have committed in the territory.

Article V

The trial of any member of the force for an offence against a member of the civilian population of the territory will be conducted in open court (except where security considerations forbid this) and will be arranged to take place promptly in the territory and within a reasonable distance from the spot where the offence was alleged to have been committed, so that witnesses shall not be required to travel great distances to attend the hearing.

Article VI

The Service authorities and the local authorities will collaborate so as to provide satisfactory machinery for such mutual assistance as may be required in making investigations and collecting evidence in respect of offences which members of the forces are alleged to have committed¹⁹ or in which they are alleged to be concerned. In general such preliminary action will be taken by the local authorities on behalf of the Service authorities where witnesses or other persons, from whom it is desired to have

罪者，經地方主管當局之通知或自行發覺時，均應予以偵查，並作適當之處理，軍事法庭對於被控在駐在地犯刑事罪而有充分證據之軍隊人員，應予審理，如判定有罪，並應加以懲處。

第 五 條

任何軍隊人員如對駐在地平民有犯罪

行為（除為安全起見不能公開外），應公開審理。應設法在駐在地離被控犯罪地點適當距離之內迅速舉行，務使證人等不須經涉長途參加審訊。

第 六 條

軍事當局與地方當局應合作設置妥善

機構，俾於軍隊人員被控犯罪或與罪案有關時對於偵查案情及搜集證據作必要之互助。如證人或擬向其探證之其他人等非為軍隊人員時，地方當局通常應代軍事當局採取此項初步措置。反之如在駐在地法庭

statements, are not members of the forces. Conversely the Service authorities will assist in connection with the prosecution before the courts of the territory of persons who are not members of the forces where the evidence of any member of these forces is required or where the assistance of the Service authorities in the investigation of the case (including the taking of statements from members of the forces) may be needed.

Article VII

(1) Any claim for reparation on account of damage or injury caused or alleged to have been caused in the territory by members of the forces shall be referred in the first instance to the Service authorities who, in the event of a settlement not being reached, will consult with the local authorities.

(2) If any claim for reparation cannot be settled between the local and Service authorities, the claim may be taken up through the diplomatic channel.

(3) The preceding paragraphs of this Article do not apply to damage or injury caused by "acts of War" (that is to say by acts, done in the zone of military operations which are part of offensive or defensive operations against the enemy) which shall form the subject of future discussion between the Governments parties to the present Agreement.

(4) As soon as the present Agreement comes into force, the competent

被控犯罪者，非為軍隊人員而需要向任

何軍隊人員探證或為偵查案情（包括向軍

隊人員取得證言在內）需要軍事當局之協

助時，軍事當局應予協助。

第七條

(一) 軍隊人員在駐在地所為或被控

所為之損害或傷害之任何賠償要求，應先

向軍事當局提出，如不能解決時，軍事

當局應與地方當局磋商辦理。

(二) 任何賠償要求軍事當局與地方

當局不能解決時，提出外交途徑辦理之。

(三) 本條前兩款不適用於因「作戰行為」而發生之損害或傷害（因即指在軍事行動區域中所作之行為，而此軍事行動係屬對敵攻守行動之一部者），此項損害或傷害應為此協定之雙方政府將來討論之問題。

(四) 本協定一經生效，英國與中國

British and Chinese authorities will discuss and determine the detailed arrangements necessary for examining and disposing of ²⁰ claims in accordance with paragraph 1 of this Article.

Article VIII

The local authorities will investigate and deal appropriately with any alleged criminal offences, committed by persons in the territory against members of the forces, or the property of the forces or the security of the forces, which may be brought to their notice by the Service authorities or which the local authorities may find to have taken ²¹ place. If sufficient evidence is produced against any person accused of any such offence committed in the territory, the local authorities will cause him to be arrested, tried, and, on conviction, punished in the same manner as if such offence had been committed ²² against the members, the property or the security of forces maintained by the Government of the territory. The Service authorities shall be informed by the local authorities of the results of all action taken by the latter under this Article.

Article IX

(1) The present Agreement shall come into force ²³ immediately as from this day's date.

(2) The present Agreement shall remain in force until it is terminated by a notice of termination given to the Chinese Government by His Majesty's Ambassador in China jointly on behalf of the Government of the United King-

之主管當局應即商討并決定依本條第一款
審查與處置賠償要求時所必需之詳細辦
法。

第 八 條

地方當局對於所在地人民被控對軍隊
人員或軍隊之財產或安全犯刑事罪者，經
軍事當局之通知或自行發覺時，均應予以
偵查並作適當之處理。地方當局對於被
控在所在地犯有此項罪案之人民，如經提
出充分證據時，應予逮捕審理。如判定有
罪時，並應加以懲處，此項懲處應與對駐
在地政府所維持之軍隊人員財產或安全犯
同樣罪案者相同，地方當局應將依照本條
規定所為一切措置之結果通知軍事當局。

第 九 條

(一) 本協定應自本日起立即發生効
力。

(二) 本協定繼續有効，以迄英王陸
下駐華大使代表聯合王國政府及印度政
府向中國政府通知廢止，或中國政府向英

dom and the Government of India, or given to His Majesty's Ambassador in China by the Chinese Government. Notice of termination shall not be given prior to²⁴ the termination of hostilities with Japan or to their suspension by a general armistice. Any notice of termination so given shall take effect six months after the date upon which it is given.

NOTE FROM DR. K. C. WU TO
SIR HORACE SEYMOUR:

July 7, 1945

Sir:

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's note of today's date reading as follows:

"His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of India are desirous of determining by agreement with the Government of the Republic of China, and on the basis of reciprocity, the question of jurisdiction over members of their respective forces when these forces are present in the territory of the other party. They propose that this question should be determined in accordance with the provisions of the Annex to this present note. If in the future Chinese forces should be stationed in any territory under the authority of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom not covered by the provisions of the Annex to this note, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to extend the provisions of Annex

王陛下駐華大使通知廢止時為止。此項廢止之通知不得於對日停戰事結束前或因普遍停戰協定而對日停戰前爲之。上述任何廢止之通知應自通知之日起滿六個月後生效。

吳次長覆薛穆大使照會：

頃准貴大使本日照會內開：

「英王陛下之大不列顛與北愛爾蘭聯

合王國政府及印度政府與中華民國政府基

於相互原則協同決定駐在彼此領土內之軍

隊人員管轄之問題，並建議此項問題應照

本照會附件之規定決定之。倘將來中國

軍隊駐在英王陛下之聯合王國管轄下之任

何領土，而該領土不在本照會附件之規定

之範圍內者，英王陛下政府準備將附件

中之規定推廣適用於駐在任何此等領土內

to Chinese forces stationed in any such territory.

"If Your Excellency confirms on behalf of the Government of the Republic of China their acceptance of this proposal, the present note (with its Annex) and Your Excellency's note in reply shall be deemed to constitute an agreement between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom on their own behalf and in respect of Burma and the Government of India on the one part, and the Government of the Chinese Republic on the other part."

I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that I am authorized to confirm, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of China, their acceptance of the proposal as recorded in Your Excellency's note and its accompanying Annex. The present note and Your Excellency's note under reply with its Annex (a copy of which is hereto appended) shall be deemed to constitute an agreement between the Government of the Republic of China on the one part, and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom on their own behalf and in respect of Burma and the Government of India on the other part.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) K. C. Wu

His Excellency,

Sir Horace Seymour,

H. M.'s Ambassador to China

之中國軍隊。

「如荷閣下以中華民國政府名義證實
中華民國政府接受此項建議，本照會（重
要附件）與閣下覆照承認為構成英王陛下
聯合王國政府代表其本國及緬甸暨印度政
府與中華民國政府間之協定——等由。」

本部長茲奉命代表中華民國政府於接受
貴大使之照會及其附件所記錄之建議，本
照會與貴大使來照及其附件（該附件抄附
於後）即認為構成中華民國政府與英王陛
下聯合王國政府代表其本國及緬甸暨印度
政府間之協定，本政務次長代理部務願向
貴大使重表敬意。此致英王陛下欽命駐中
華民國全權大使薛穆爵士閣下。吳國楨
（簽字）中華民國三十四年七月七日。

ANNOTATIONS

(1) "stationed," "駐紮", "派軍隊...赴...境"。 Many units of troops are stationed here, 本地駐有若干軍隊單位。 (2) "jurisdiction," "裁判權", "司法權"。 The Chairman of a province has jurisdiction over that province, 一省主席有管轄該省之權。 (3) "by reason of," "因"。 He succeeded by reason of his cleverness, 彼因伶俐而成功。 (4) "on record," "存案", "有案"。 The secretary has put the minutes on record, 書記已將會議錄記錄。 (5) "culminated," "結果", "達成"。 Dr. Sun's revolutionary efforts culminated in the creation of the Republic, 國父之革命努力達成中華民國之產生。 (6) "other than," "除...外"。 No person other than a college graduate will be fit for this job, 除大學畢業生外無人能勝任此職。 (7) "desirous of," "有意"。 He is desirous of making your acquaintance, 彼對君頗有意結識。 (8) "to avail oneself of," "利用"。 I am glad to avail myself of your kind invitation, 辱承約飲, 謹此遵命。 (9) "in respect of"—"with respect to," "關於", "以...而言"。 The book is admirable in respect of style, 就文體言此書足令人讚賞。 (10) "enlist," "編入" (軍隊) "投軍"。 Thousands of educated youths have enlisted in the army, 千萬萬知識青年已投身軍隊。 (11) "commissioned," "委有軍職"。 He is a commissioned officer, 彼係正式軍官。 (12) "recruited," "招募(士兵)"。 We need to recruit a large army of relief workers, 吾人需要徵求大批救濟工作人員。 (13) "chartered," "租用"。 This steamboat is chartered by the government, 此船為政府租用。 (14) "requisitioned," "徵發", "徵用"。 Many schoolbuildings in Chungking have been requisitioned for the use of Allied officers, 重慶若干學校校舍業已徵發作同盟國軍官之用。 (15) "as the case may be," "或係"。 You can have our tooth-ache cured at a hospital or by a Chinese doctor, as the case may be, 汝牙痛可赴醫院或請中醫診治。 (16) "apply to," 此處用作"適用於"解。 This rule applies to all cases, 此一規則適用於一切情形。 (17) "submit to," "呈", "交"。 His report, submitted to the government, was very well written, 彼所呈送政府之報措辭甚善。 (18) "to hand over," "移送", "引渡"。 The out-going mayor handed over the seal to the new mayor yesterday, 舊市長於昨日將印信移交新任。 (19) "to have committed" 為 perfect infinitive 表示此一事發生於動詞 (are alleged) 所代表之動作之先, 如兩事指同一時則用 simple infinitive "to commit" (動詞之現在式過去式均同如動詞為過去式其後有一 perfect infinitive, 則此事之發生先於過去。此為 infinitive 用於 be, seem, appear 等字, 及被動式 be said, be thought, be believed, be reported 等字之後應注意其用法)。 (20) "dispose of," "處理"。 If you have nothing to do, let us dispose of that matter, 如君無事, 請一同處理此事。 (21) 同 (19)。 (22) 不問 main clause 之動詞時間為現在或為過去, "as if" clause (表示虛擬之 manner) 之動詞為 past subjunctive, 則指與 main verb 同時, past perfect subjunctive 此句為詞 had been committed) 則指先於 main verb (如為現在則 "as if" clause 之 past perfect 指先於現在, 如為過去則先於過去)。

(13) "come into force," "生效"。The new regulations will come into force as from January 1st, next year, 新章則於明年元旦生效。 (24) "prior to" , "前", ".....之前"。Prior to the outbreak of the present Sino-Japanese war, China had tried every means to maintain peace between the two countries, 中國在抗戰之前曾盡力維持中日兩國間之和平關係。

PROCLAMATION BY THE U.S., THE UNITED
KINGDOM AND THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA
CALLING JAPAN TO SURRENDER

Made on July 2, 1945

美英中三國迫日本投降公告

一九四五年七月二十五日發出

(1) We, the President of the United States, the President of the National Government of the Republic of China and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, representing the hundreds of millions of our countrymen, have conferred and agreed that Japan shall be given an opportunity to end this war.

(2) The prodigious land, sea and air forces of the United States, the British Empire and of China are many times reinforced. Their armies and air fleets from the west, are poised¹ to strike the final blows upon Japan. Their military power is sustained² and inspired by the determination of all the Allied Nations to prosecute the war against Japan until she ceases to resist.

(3) The result of the futile and senseless German resistance to the might of the aroused free people of the world stands forth in awful clarity³ as an example to the people of Japan. The might that now converges on Japan is

一，余等，美國總統，中國國民政府主席，英國首相，代表余等億萬國民，業經會商，並同意對日本應予以一機會，以結束此次戰事。

二，美國英帝國及中國之龐大陸海空部隊，業已增強多倍，其由西方調來之軍隊及空軍，即將予日本以最後之打擊，彼等之武力受所有聯合國之決心之支持及鼓勵，對日作戰，不至其停止抵抗不止。

三，德國無效果及無意識抵抗全世界激起之自由人之力量所得之結果，彰彰在前，可為日本人民之殷鑒，此種力量當其

immeasurably greater than that which, when applied to the resisting Nazis, necessarily laid waste⁴ the lands, the industry and the method of life of the whole German people. The full application of our military power, backed by our resolve, will win the inevitable and complete destruction of the Japanese armed forces and just as inevitably the utter destruction of the Japanese homeland.

(4) The time has come for Japan to decide whether she will continue to be controlled by those self-willed militaristic advisers whose unintelligent calculations have brought the Empire of Japan to the threshold of annihilation, or whether she will follow the path of reason.

(5) Following are our terms. We will not deviate from them. There are no alternatives. We shall brook no delay.

(6) There must be eliminated for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest, for we insist that a new order of peace, security and justice will be impossible until its responsible militarism is driven from the world.

(7) Until such a new order is established and until there is convincing proof that Japan's war-making power is destroyed, Japanese territory to be designated by the Allies shall be occupied to secure the achievement of the basic objectives we are here setting

對付抵抗之納粹時，不得不將德國人民全體之土地，工業及其生活方式摧殘殆盡。但現在集中對付日本之力量則較之更爲龐大，不可衡量。吾等之軍力，加以吾人堅決意志爲後盾，若予以全部實施，必將使日本軍隊完全毀滅，無可逃避，而日本之本土亦必終歸全部殘毀。

四，現時業已到來，日本必需決定一途，其將繼續受其一意孤行計算錯誤，使日本帝國已陷於完全毀滅之境之軍人之統制，抑或走向理智之路？

五，以下爲吾人之條件，吾人決不更改，亦無其他另一方式。猶豫遷延，更爲吾人所不容許。

六，欺騙及錯誤領導日本人民使其妄欲征服世界者之威權及勢力，必須永久剔除，蓋吾人堅持非將負責之窮兵黷武主義驅出世界則和平安全正義之新秩序勢不可能。

七，直至如此之新秩序成立時及直至日本製造戰爭之力量業已毀滅有確實可信之證據時，日本領土經盟國之指定必須佔領，俾吾人在本公告中所陳述之基本目

forth.

(8) The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the Islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as we determine.

(9) The Japanese military forces, after being completely disarmed, shall be permitted to return to their homes with the opportunity to lead peaceful and productive lives.

(10) We do not intend that the Japanese shall be enslaved as a race or destroyed as a nation, but stern justice shall be meted out⁵ to all war criminals, including those who have visited cruelties upon our prisoners. The Japanese Government shall remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for the human rights shall be established.

(11) Japan shall be permitted to maintain such industries as will sustain her economy and permit the exaction of just reparations in kind, but not those which would enable her to rearm for war. To this end, access to,⁶ as distinguished, from control of, raw materials shall be permitted. Eventual Japanese participation in world trade relations shall be permitted.

(12) The occupying forces of the Allies shall be withdrawn from Japan as soon as the objectives have been accomplished and there has been estab-

的得以完成。

八，開羅宣言之條件必將實施，而日本之主權必將限於本州，北海道，九州，四國及吾人所決定其他小島之內。

九，日本軍隊在完全解除武裝以後，將被允許返其家鄉得有和平及生產生活之機會。

十，吾人無意奴役日本民族或消滅其國家，但對於戰罪人犯，包括虐待吾人俘虜者在內，將處以法律之裁判。日本政府必須將阻止日本人民民主趨勢之復興及增強之所有障礙予以消除，言論，宗教及思想自由以及對於基本人權之重視必須成立。

十一，日本將被許維持其經濟所必需及可以償付貨物賠款之工業，但可以使其重新武裝作戰之工業不在其內，為此目的，可准其獲得原料，以別於統制原料，日本最後參加國際貿易關係當可准許。

十二，上述目的達到及依據日本人民自由表示之意志，成立一傾向和平及負責

lished in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people a peacefully inclined and responsible government.

(13) We call upon the Government of Japan to proclaim now the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces, and to provide proper and adequate assurance of their good faith in such action. The alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction.

之政府後，同盟國佔領軍隊當即撤退。

十三，吾人通告日本政府立即宣佈所有日本武裝部隊無條件投降，并對此種行動有意實行予以適當之各項保證。除此一途，日本即將迅速完全毀滅。

ANNOTATIONS

(1) "poised," "姿勢", He is well poised for the new enterprise, 彼對將經營之新事業有良好之準備。(2) "sustained," "支持"。Hope sustains him, 彼有希望心之支持。(3) "in awful clarity," "彰明昭著"。That might is right is a wrong notion that stands in awful clarity in the defeat of Hitlerite Germany, 強權即公理一錯誤觀念於希特勒德國之擊敗殊為彰明。(4) "laid waste," "摧毀(土地)"。The hostile troops have laid waste most of our fields, now under their hoofs, 在敵人鉄蹄下之吾人田地為敵人毀盡。(5) "mete out" (reward or punishment), "按情案輕重處理"。Punishment will be meted to the chief militarists of Japan, 日本之軍閥領袖等將嚴予懲處。(6) "access to," "取得"。Mountaineers have easiest access to fresh air, 山居之人極易得新鮮空氣。

THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF U.S.A., GREAT BRITAIN AND U.S.S.R. ON POTSDAM CONFERENCE

Issued simultaneously in Washington, London, Moscow and Berlin on

August 3, 1945

美英蘇波茨坦會議聯合公報

一九四五年八月三日在華盛頓倫敦莫斯科柏林同時發表

I. REPORT ON THE TRIPARTITE CONFERENCE IN BERLIN:

On July 17, 1945, the President of the United States of America, Harry S. Truman, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Generalissimo Joseph Stalin, and Winston Churchill held the Conference of Berlin. They were accompanied by the Foreign Ministers of the three Governments, James F. Byrnes, V. M. Molotov and Anthony Eden, the Chiefs of Staff and other advisers.

There were nine meetings between July 17 and July 25. The Conference was then interrupted for two days while the result of the British general election was being declared.

On July 28, Mr. Attlee returned to the Conference as Prime Minister, accompanied by the new Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ernest

一 柏林三國會談報告：

美國大總統杜魯門 蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦人民委員會委員長史達林及英首相邱吉爾，於一九四五年七月十七日舉行柏林會議。隨同出席者有美國國務卿貝爾納斯，蘇聯外交人民委員會委員長莫洛托夫，英國外相艾登，以及參謀首長及其他顧問。

七月十七日至七月廿五日期內，共舉行會議九次，會議後停頓兩日，是時英國大選結果宣佈。

七月二十八日阿特里以首相資格返會，英新任外相貝文隨同出席，後復進行四日會商。會議進行之際，三國政府領袖及

Bevin. Four days of further discussion then took place. During the course of the Conference there were regular meetings of the heads of the three Governments accompanied by the Foreign Secretaries, and also of the Foreign Secretaries alone. Committees appointed by the Foreign Secretaries for preliminary consideration of questions before the Conference also met daily. The meetings of the Conference were held at the Cecilienhof near Potsdam. The Conference ended on August 2, 1945.

Important decisions and agreements were reached. Views were exchanged on a number of other questions and consideration of these matters will be continued by the Council of Foreign Ministers established by the Conference.

President Truman, Generalissimo Stalin and Prime Minister Attlee led the Conference which has strengthened the understanding of the three Governments and extended the scope of their collaboration and understanding with renewed confidence that their Governments and peoples, together with the other United Nations, will insure the creation of a just and enduring peace.

II. ESTABLISHMENT OF A COUNCIL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS:

The Conference reached an agreement for the establishment of a council of Foreign Ministers to represent the five principal powers to continue necessary preparatory work and to take charge of other matters which from

三國外長經常會晤，三國外長亦經常單獨會商，三國外長府指派就會議問題作初步商討之各委員會亦逐日會晤。波茨坦會議歷次會議係於波茨坦附近之西席林霍夫，（Cecilienhof）舉行。一九四五年八月二日會議結束。

會議商獲重要之決議及協議，三國並就若干其他問題交換意見。會議規定設立之外長會議，尚將就上述事項續予研討。

杜魯門總統，史達林委員長及阿特里首相以更新之信心領導會議，三領袖認為三國政府及人民與其他聯合國國家將保證建立一公正及持久之和平。此次會議業已增強三國政府之了解，並擴大三國合作及了解之範圍。

二 設立外長會議：

會議商獲協議，設立一外長會議，代表五主要國家繼續進行必需之準備工作受

time to time may be referred to the council by the agreement of the Governments participating in the council.

The text of the agreement for the establishment of the Council of Foreign Ministers is as follows:

1. There shall be established a council, composed of the foreign ministers of the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, France and the United States.

2. (a) The Council shall normally meet in London, which shall be the permanent seat of the Joint Secretariat which the Council will form. Each of the foreign ministers will be accompanied by a high-ranking deputy, duly authorized to carry on the work of the Council in the absence of his foreign minister, and by a small staff of technical advisers.

(b) The first meeting of the Council shall be held in London, not later than September 1, 1945. Meetings may be held by common agreement in other capitals as may be agreed upon from time to time.

3. (a) As its immediate important task, the Council shall be authorized to draw up, with a view to their submission to the United Nations, treaties of peace with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland, and to propose settlements of territorial questions outstanding on the termination of war in Europe. The Council shall be utilized for the preparation of a peace settlement for Germany to be accepted by

理經參加外長會議各政府同意可能隨時提交外長會議之其他事宜。

設立外長會議之協議原文如下：

(一) 設立一會議，由英聯合王國，蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦，中國，法國及美國五國外長組成之。

(二) 甲，會議尋常將於倫敦集會，倫敦亦將為會議所將設立之聯合秘書廳之永久所在地。每國外長將各由一高級代表及少數技術顧問隨同與會，高級代表受有適當權力，於本國外長缺席時，執行會議工作。

乙，會議首次會議將於倫敦舉行，會期不遲過一九四五九月一日。此後隨時經共同協議，會議亦可於其他首都舉行。

(三) 甲，會議當前之重要任務，將為受命與義大利，羅馬尼亞，保加利亞，匈牙利及芬蘭草訂和平條約，而以此提交聯合國家。並就歐戰結束時未決之領土問題，建議解決方案。會議將負責準備德國之和平解決方案，此將於合乎目的之德

the Government of Germany when a government adequate for the purpose is established.

(b) For the discharge of each of these tasks, the Council will be composed of the members representing these states which were signatory to the terms of surrender imposed upon¹ the enemy state concerned. For the purpose of a peace settlement for Italy, France shall be regarded as a signatory to the terms of surrender for Italy. Other members will be invited to participate when matters directly concerning them are under discussion.

(c) Other matters may from time to time be referred to the Council by agreement between the member governments.

4. (a) Whenever the Council is considering a question of direct interest to a state not represented thereon, such state should be invited to send representatives to participate in the discussion and study of that question.

(b) The Council may adapt its procedure to the particular problem under consideration. In some cases, it may hold its own preliminary discussions prior to² the participation of other interested states. In other cases, the Council may convoke a formal conference of the states chiefly interested in seeking a solution of the particular problem.

In agreement with the decision of the conference, the three governments have each addressed an identical in-

國政府成立時，由德國政府予以接受。

乙，為執行上述每一任務，會議將包括於盟方授予有關敵國降書上簽字國家之會員。為求義大利之和平解決，法國將被認為在義大利降書上簽字國之一，其他會員將於討論直接與彼等有關之事項時被邀參加。

丙，其他事項可能經會員政府間之協議，隨時提交會議。

(四) 甲，會議討論及與一無代表參加之國家直接有關之問題時，此一國家應被邀派遣代表參加該問題之討論及研商。

乙，會議可能就其考慮之特殊問題，決定處理程序。在若干情況下，會議可於其他有關國家參加前，先進行本身之初步商討。在其他情形下，會議可邀集欲為某特殊問題覓求解決之各國舉行正式會議。

三國政府依照本會議(指波茨坦會議)之決議，已分向中法兩國發出請柬，請

itation to the Governments of China and France to adopt this text and to join in establishing the Council.

Establishment of the Council of Foreign Ministers for the specific purposes named in the text will be without prejudice to the agreement of the Crimea Conference that there should be periodic consultations among the foreign secretaries of the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom.

The conference recommended dissolution of the European Advisory Commission in the Agreement to establish the Council of Foreign Ministers. It was noted with satisfaction that the Commission had ably discharged its principal tasks by the recommendation that it had furnished for the terms of Germany's unconditional surrender, for the zones of occupation in Germany and Austria and for the inter-Allied control machinery in those countries. It was felt that further work of a detailed character for the coordination of the Allied policy for the control of Germany and Austria would in future fall within the competence of the Allied Control Council at Berlin and the Allied Commission at Vienna. Accordingly, it was agreed to recommend that the European Advisory Commission be dissolved.

III. GERMANY:

The Allied armies are in occupation of the whole of Germany and the German people have begun to atone for

其應納此一報告，並加入共同設立外長會議。

為公報中所列舉之特殊目的而設立外長會議將不損及克里米亞會議之協議，該項協議為美國，蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦及英聯合王國三國外長應定期舉行會議。

本會議（波茨坦會議）至於設立外長會議一事已成立協議，特建議取消歐洲顧問委員會。會議所滿意者，為歐洲顧問委員會已藉提供德國無條件投降條款，德國及奧地利境內佔領區及盟國在此三國內成立管制機構之建議而有力執行主要任務，本會議感覺今後調節管制，及盟國政策具有詳盡性之工作，將由柏林盟國管制委員會及維也納盟國管制委員會負責處理，由是乃同意建議取消歐洲顧問委員會。

三 德 國：

盟軍現在正佔領德國全部，德國人民業已開始償還其在公開擁護盲從之領袖在

the terrible crimes committed under the leadership of those whom in the hour of their success they openly approved and blindly obeyed.

Agreement has been reached at this conference on the political and economic principles of a coordinated Allied policy toward defeated Germany during the period of Allied control.

The purpose of this agreement is to carry out the Crimea declaration on Germany. German militarism and Nazism will be extirpated and the Allies will take in agreement together, now and in the future, the other measures necessary to assure that Germany never again will threaten her neighbors or the peace of the world.

It is not the intention of the Allies to destroy or enslave the German people. It is the intention of the Allies that the German people be given the opportunity to prepare for the eventual reconstruction of their life on a democratic and peaceful basis. If their own efforts are steadily directed to this end, it will be possible for them, in due course, to take their place among the free and peaceful peoples of the world.

The text of the agreement is as follows:

THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES TO GOVERN THE TREATMENT OF GERMANY IN THE INITIAL CONTROL PERIOD.

A. POLITICAL PRINCIPLES

1. In accordance with the agreement on the control machinery in Germany,

遲志將士領導下所犯之可怖罪惡。

本會議對於盟國對戰敗德國所持共同政策中之一切政治及經濟原則業獲協之。

此協議之目的在履行克里米亞會議宣言，關於德國之條款，德國之軍國主義及納粹主義將予根除，各盟國將一致協議於目前或未來採取其他確使德國永不再威脅其鄰邦或全球和平之必要措置。

盟方並無毀滅或奴使德國之心意，盟方實欲德國人民獲得機會，在一民主及和平之基礎上建造其新生活，倘其自身努力能悉集中於此目的，則德國人民在適當之時期，當在全球之自由及和平之人民中獲一地位。

本協議全文如下：

管制初期期間關於處置德國

之政治及經濟原則

甲 政治原則

(一) 依照管制德國機構之協定，德

the supreme authority in Germany is exercised on instructions from their respective governments by the Commanders-in-Chief of the armed forces of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the French Republic each in his own zone of occupation and also jointly in matters affecting Germany as a whole in their capacity³ as members of the Control Council.

2. So far as is practicable there shall be uniformity of treatment of the German population throughout Germany.

3. The purposes of the occupation of Germany by which the Control Council shall be guided are:

(1) The complete disarmament and demilitarization of Germany and the elimination or control of all German industry that could be used for military production to these ends:

(a) All German land, naval and air forces, the SS, SA, SD and Gestapo with their organizations staffs and institutions including the general organizations and all other military and quasi-military organizations together with all clubs and associations which serve to keep alive the military tradition in Germany shall be completely and finally abolished in such a manner as permanently to prevent the revival or re-organization of the German militarism and Nazism.

(b) All arms, ammunition and

國境內最高權力之執行，係由美英蘇法四

國總司令遵本國之命令，分別授予各佔領

區內者，彼等並以管制委員會代表之地位

，共同處置有關全德國之一般事件。

(二) 對德國各處居民之待遇，應儘

可能一律。

(三) 佔領德國之目的而為管制委員會之指針者如下：

⊖，解除德國全部武裝，使完全非軍事化，剷除或控制可用以作軍事生產之一切德國工業。為達到此數目的，則：

⊖，凡德國一切海陸空軍，黨衛軍，挺進隊，自衛軍，秘密警察及彼等之機構，參謀人員及種種組織，連同參謀本部，軍官團，後備隊，軍事學校，退伍軍人之一切組織及其他軍事與半軍事機構，與足以保持德國軍事傳統下不滅之俱樂部與協會等，應永遠完全廢除，以禁止德國軍國主義者及納粹主義者之重興及改編。

⊖，一切武器軍火及器具與其製造之

implements of war and all specialized facilities for their production shall be held at the disposal of the Allies or destroyed. The maintenance and production of all aircraft and all arms, ammunition and implements of war shall be prevented.

(2) To convince the German people that they have suffered a total military defeat and that they cannot escape the responsibility for what they have brought upon themselves since their own ruthless warfare and the fanatical Nazi resistances have destroyed German economy and made chaos and suffering inevitably.

(3) To destroy the National Socialist Party and its affiliated and supervised organizations, to dissolve all Nazi institutions, to ensure that they are not revived in any form and to prevent all Nazi and militarist activity or propaganda.

(4) To prepare for the eventual reconstruction of the German political life on a democratic basis and for the eventual peaceful cooperation in international life by Germany.

4. All Nazi laws which provided the basis of the Hitler regime or established discrimination on grounds of race, creed, or political opinion shall be abolished. No such discriminations whether legal, administrative or otherwise, shall be tolerated.

5. War criminals and those who have anticipated in planning or carrying out Nazi enterprises involving or

特殊設施，均由盟軍處置或予毀滅。一切

飛機武器軍火及戰具，均禁止保留與製造。

(一) 使德國人民確信軍事上已完全失敗，並不能逃避彼等自行加諸本身之責任，蓋德國之殘暴作戰與瘋狂之納粹抵抗，已摧毀德國經濟，混亂困危，勢所難免。

(二) 摧毀國社黨暨其附屬及監督之機構，必須解散一切納粹組織，並確保此等機構不得以任何形式復活，所有納粹軍人行動及宣傳必須制止。

(三) 準備使德國政治生活得於民主基礎上獲得重新建立，使德國將來在國際生活上參與和平合作。

(四) 一切支持希特勒政權之納粹法律，或按照種族信仰及政見而定之歧視，應即廢止，此種歧視不論法律或行政，或屬諸其他方面，均不容存在。

(五) 戰爭罪犯及參加策劃或實施納粹之事業，結果造成暴行或戰爭罪行之人

resulting in atrocities or war crimes shall be arrested and brought to judgment. Nazi leaders, influential Nazi supporters and high officials of Nazi organizations and institutions and any other persons dangerous to the occupation or its objectives shall be arrested and interned.

6. All members of the Nazi Party who have been more than nominal participants in its activities and all other persons hostile to the Allied purposes shall be removed from public and semi-public office, and from positions of responsibility in important private undertakings. Such persons shall be replaced by persons who, by their political and moral qualities, are deemed capable of assisting in developing genuine democratic institutions in Germany.

7. German education shall be so controlled as completely to eliminate Nazi and militarist doctrines and to make possible the successful development of democratic ideas.

8. The judicial system will be reorganized in accordance with the principles of democracy of justice under law, and of equal rights for all citizens without distinction of race, nationality or religion.

9. The administration of affairs in Germany should be directed towards the decentralization of the political structure and the development of local responsibility. To this end:

(a) Local self-government shall be

物，必需加以逮捕及付審訊。納粹領袖，支持納粹之有力人物，納粹機構及組織中之高級官員，及危害盟國佔領及其目的者，應加逮捕與拘禁。

(六)一切納粹黨徒有不僅在名義上參預該黨活動者及其他對於盟國目的持敵對行為者，不得担任公職及半公職，並于若干重要私人事業上，亦不得居負責地位。此等人士，必加免職，由在政治與道德上有地位且對於德國真正民主制度之發展能有所幫助者，出而接替。

(七)德國教育應澈底加以管理，以消弭納粹及軍國主義之理論，而開導民主思想之順利發展。

(八)法律制度，應按照民主法律，正義及不分種族民族或宗教之一切人民應享平等權利之原則下，重行訂立。

(九)德國之行政應以政權之分離及發展地方政府權限為原則，欲達到此目的：

子，德國全國各地應按照民主原則，

restored throughout Germany on democratic principles and in particular through elective councils as rapidly as is consistent with military occupation.

(b) All democratic political parties with the rights of assembly and of public discussions shall be allowed and encouraged throughout Germany;

(c) Representatives and elective principles shall be introduced into regional, provincial and state (land) administration as rapidly as may be justified by the successful application of these principles in local self government;

(d) For the time being, no central German government shall be established, notwithstanding this however, certain essential central German administrative departments, headed by state secretaries, shall be established, particularly in the fields of finance, transport, communications, foreign trade and industry. Such departments will act under the direction of the Control Council.

10. Subject to the necessity for maintaining military security, freedom of speech, the press and religion shall be permitted and religious institutions shall be respected. Subject likewise to the maintenance of military security, the formation of free trade unions shall be permitted.

B. ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES.

11. In order to eliminate Germany's war potential, the production of arms, ammunition and implements of wars as

尤須經由選舉委員會，在軍事安全及軍事佔領目的許可之下，儘速恢復地方自治。

丑，德國各地之一切民主政黨，應准許並鼓勵其成立，並予以集會及公開討論之權利。

寅，代表與選舉原則，在可能順利實施地方自治方面時，應儘速在區政府省政府與邦政府中實施。

卯，目前德國中央政府將暫不設立，然某種必要之德國中央行政部門，尤其財政，運輸，交通，對外貿易與工業等；應予設立，以部長為其首長，此等部門將受管制委員會之指示。

(十)除維持軍事安全有所必要之外，言論，出版及宗教之自由將獲准許，宗教機關亦將受尊重。除維持軍事安全有所必要之外，組織自由職業工會，亦在許可之列。

乙 經 則

(十一)消滅德國之作戰潛在能力。

well as all types of aircraft and sea-going ships shall be prohibited and prevented. Production of metals, chemical, machinery and other items that are directly necessary to a war economy shall be rigidly controlled and restricted to Germany's approved postwar peace time needs according to the objectives stated in Paragraph 1b. Productive capacity not need for permitted production shall be removed in accordance with the reparations plan recommended by the Allied Commission on Reparations and approved by the governments concerned, or if not removed, shall be destroyed.

12. At the earliest practicable date, the German economy shall be decentralized for the purpose of eliminating the present excessive concentration of economic power as exemplified in particular⁵ by cartals, syndicates, trusts and other monopolistic arrangements.

13. In organizing the German economy, the primary emphasis shall be given to the deployment of agriculture and peaceful domestic industries.

14. During the period of occupation, Germany shall be treated as a single economic unit. To this end,⁶ common policies shall be established in regard to;

- (a) Mining and industrial production and allotations;
- (b) Agriculture, forestry and fishing;
- (c) Wages, prices and rationing;
- (d) An import and export program

武器，彈藥，戰爭工具，各式飛機及海船之出產均受禁止。金屬，化學品，武器，以及作戰經濟直接需要之其他物品，其生產將受嚴格管制，且以十五段所述各項目的，並經核推之德國戰後平時需要為限，核准生產所不需要之生產能力，將按照同盟國賠償委員會所擬並經有關政府批准之賠償計劃，將其遷移，如不遷移則將予摧毀。

(十二) 在可能範圍內，德國經濟應早日分出，以消滅目前經濟力量因「加迭爾」，「幸迭加」，「托煉斯」及其他獨占辦法而造成之過分集中現象。

(十三) 組織德國經濟時，首將各重於農業及平時國內工業之展開。

(十四) 在佔領期間中，德國應視為一個經濟單位，為達到此一目的計，關於下列各項將確定共同政策：

子：採礦及工業生產，與分配。

丑，農業，林業及漁業。

寅，工資，物資與定量分配。

卯，以整個德國為對象之進出口計劃

for Germany as a whole;

- (e) Currency and banking, central taxation and customs;
- (f) Reparation and removal of industrial war potential;
- (g) Transportation and communications.

In applying these policies, account shall be taken, where appropriate, of varying local conditions.

15. Allied controls shall be imposed upon German economy, but only to the extent necessary;

(a) To carry out programs of industrial disarmament and demilitarization, of reparations, and of approved exports and imports.

(b) To assure the production and maintenance of goods and service required to meet the needs of the occupying areas and displaced persons in Germany and essential to maintain in Germany average living standards not exceeding the average of the standards of living of European countries. (European countries means all the European countries, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

(c) To ensure in the manner determined by the Control Council the equitable distribution of essential commodities between the several zones so as to produce a balanced economy throughout Germany and reduce the need for imports.

(d) To control Germany's industry and all economic and financial international transactions, including exports

展，貨幣與銀行，中央賦稅與關稅。

已，賠償及消滅工業作戰潛力。

午，運輸與交通。

施行此等政策時，應適應各地環境。

(五)同盟國之管制，將施諸德國經濟，然以達到下列各項目的所需要之程度為限：

子，實施工業解除武裝與復員，賠償，經核准之進出口等計劃。

丑，確保物品與服務之生產與維持，以滿足德境佔領軍及戰俘奴隸勞工等之需要，以及保持一不超過歐洲國家平均生活水平之生活標準（歐洲國家意指除聯合王國及蘇聯以外之一切歐洲國家）。

寅，根據盟國管制委員會之決定，使各佔領區間之必需物品，保持平均之分配，俾使在全國以產生一平衡之經濟，且可減少進口之需要。

卯，管制德國之工業及一切經濟金融之國際轉移，包含進口出口等，俾防止德

and imports, with the aim of preventing Germany from developing a war potential end of achieving the other objectives named here-in.

(e) To control all German public or private scientific bodies, research and experimental institutions, laboratories, etc., connected with economic activities.

16. In the imposition and maintenance of economic controls established by the Control Council, German administrative machinery shall be created and the German authorities shall be required to the fullest extent practicable to proclaim and assume administration of such controls. Thus, it should be brought home to the German people that the responsibility for the administration of such controls and any breakdown in these controls will rest with themselves. Any German controls which may run counter to the objectives of occupation will be prohibited.

17. Measures shall be promptly taken:

- (a) To effect essential repair of transport;
- (b) To enlarge coal productions;
- (c) To maximize agricultural output;
- (d) To effect emergency repair of housing and essential utilities.

18. Appropriate steps shall be taken by the Control Council to exercise control and the power or disposition over German-owned external assets not already under the control of the United Nations which have taken part in the

國再發展戰爭潛力及達到其目的。

辰，管制一切與經濟活動有關之德國公私科學團體，研究實驗之機關及實驗所等。

(十六) 設置及維持由盟國管制委員會所規定之經濟管制，必須建立一德國行政機構，且需要此德國當局於最大可能之限度內，宣佈及執行此等管制。因此，此等管制之執行及或有未經履行之處，概應由德國人民自己負責，任何德國管制如有違反佔領目的者，一律禁止。

(十七) 立即採取下列措施：

子，對運輸作必要之修復。

丑，增加煤之產量。

寅，增加農業生產至最大限度。

卯，對房屋及必需之公用事業，作緊急之修復。

(十八) 盟國管制委員會應採適當之步驟，施行管制及處理曾經參加作戰之下不在聯合國管制下之德國國外之資產。

war against Germany.

19. Payment of reparations should leave enough resources to enable the German people to subsist without external assistance. In working out the economic balance of Germany the necessary means must be provided to pay for imports approved by the Control Council in Germany. The proceeds of exports from current production and stocks shall be available in the first place for payment for such imports.

The above clause will not apply to the equipment and products referred to in Paragraphs Four (a) and (b) of the reparations agreement.

IV. REPARATION FROM GERMANY:

In accordance with the Crimea decision that Germany be compelled to compensate to the greatest possible extent for the loss and suffering that she has caused to the United Nations and for which the German people cannot escape responsibility, the following agreement on reparations was reached:

1. Reparation claims of the U.S.S.R. shall be met by removals from the zone of Germany occupied by the U.S.S.R. and from appropriate German external assets.

2. The U.S.S.R. undertakes to settle the reparation claims of Poland from its own share of reparations.

3. The reparation claims of the United States Kingdom and other countries entitled to reparations shall be

(十九)德國償付賠償時，應保護充分之資源，俾德人能不賴國外之援助而生活。為實現德國之經濟平衡，心須規定必須步驟，以償付經盟國管制委員會所允許之進口貨價。為償付此等進口貨價，首先應將現有之生產品及儲存物品實行出口。

以上規定，對於賠償協定(四)段甲項乙項涉及生產設備及生產品者，均不適用。

四 德國之賠償：

根據克里黑亞會議之決定，德國對使聯合國所遭受之損失與痛苦，應盡最大可能之限度，強迫加以賠償，此種責任，德國人民絕難逃避。其賠償協定如下：

(一)蘇聯所提之賠償要求，將以遷移德境蘇聯佔領區物資及德國在國外之適當資產滿足之。

(二)蘇聯負責在其本身所得之賠償項下，解決波蘭之相當要求。

(三)英國聯合王國以及有權獲得賠償之其他國家之賠償要求，將自西方區域

met from the western zones and from appropriate German external assets.

4. In addition to the reparations to be taken by the U.S.S.R. from its own zone of occupation, the U.S.S.R. shall receive additionally from the western zones:

(a) Fifteen percent of such usable and complete industrial capital equipment, in the first place from the metallurgical, chemical and machine manufacturing industries, as is unnecessary for the German peace economy and should be removed from the western zones of Germany, in exchange for an equivalent value of food, coal, potash, zinc, timber, clay products, petroleum products and such other commodities as may be agreed upon.

(b) Ten percent of such industrial capital equipment as is unnecessary for the German peace economy and should be removed from the western zones, to be transferred to the Soviet Government on reparations account without payment or exchange of any kind in return.

The removal of equipment as provided in (a) and (b) above shall be made simultaneously.

5. The amount of equipment to be removed from the western zones on account of reparations must be determined within six months from now at the latest.

6. The removals of industrial capital equipment shall begin as soon as possible and shall be completed within

以及德國在國外之適當資產以滿足之。

(四) 蘇聯除在本佔領區獲得賠償之

外，尚可自西方區域獲得賠償：

甲，德國平時經濟所不需要且應自德國西方區域遷移之可用與完全之工業設備，先應自治金化學及機器製造工業中，抽取百分之十五，以交換同等價值之食物，煤炭，酸，鉀銻，木材，陶器，汽油產品以及其他商定之商品。

乙，德國平時經濟所不需且應自德國西部區域遷移之工業設備中，抽取百分之十，在賠償項下，交與蘇聯政府，蘇方無須給予任何物品為交換。

甲乙兩項規定之設備遷移，將同時進行。

(五) 在賠償項下，自西方之區域遷移，設備數量，必須在自目前起六個月內決定之。

(六) 工業設備之遷移，將儘速進行並在(五)段項下規定之決定時間問題，兩

two years from the determination specified in Paragraph Five. The delivery of products covered by Four (a) above shall begin as soon as possible and shall be made by the U.S.S.R. in agreed installments within five years of the date there-of. The determination of the amount and character of the industrial capital unnecessary for the German peace economy and therefore available for reparations shall be made by the Control Council under policies fixed by the Allied Commission on Reparations, with the participation of France, subject to the final approval of the zone commander in the zone from which the equipment is to be removed.

7. Prior to the fixing of the total amount of equipment subject to removal, advance deliveries shall be made in respect of such equipment as will be determined to be eligible for delivery in accordance with the procedure set forth in the last sentence of Paragraph Six.

8. The Soviet Government renounces all claims in respect of reparations to the shares of German enterprises which are located in the western zones of occupation in Germany as well as to German foreign assets in all countries, except those specified in Paragraph Nine, below.

9. The Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States of America renounce their claims in respect of reparations to shares of German enterprises which are located in

年之內完成之。(四)段甲項所規定之產品

交付，將儘速開始，由蘇聯在自開始之日

起。於五年內按照議定之分期辦法交付，

德國平時經濟所不需因此可供應賠償之。

工業設備，其數量及性質將由管制委員會

按照同盟國賠償委員會在法國參加之下所

訂定之政策予以決定交由該設備原來所在

地之區司令作最後核准。

(七)在應行遷移之設備總數確定之

前，按照(六)段最後一句規定程序決定

可以交付之設備，將予先行交付。

(八)除後列(九)段所規定者外，

蘇聯政府在賠償方面，對於座落德境西方

佔領區之德國企業，放棄一切要求。

(九)聯合王國與美國政府在賠償方

面對於座落德境東方佔領區之企業，以及

the eastern zone of occupation in Germany, as well as to German foreign assets in Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, Rumania and Eastern Austria.

10. The Soviet Government makes no claims to the gold captured by the Allied troops in Germany.

V. DISPOSAL OF THE GERMAN NAVY AND MERCHANT MARINE:

The conference agreed in principle upon agreements for the use and disposal of the surrendered German fleet and merchant ships. It was decided that the three governments would appoint experts to work out together detailed plans to give effect to the agreed principles. A further joint statement will be published simultaneously by the three governments in due course.⁸

VI. THE CITY OF KONIGSBURY AND THE ADJACENT AREA:

The conference examined a proposal by the Soviet Government that pending the final determination of territorial questions at the peace settlement, the section of the western frontier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which is adjacent to the Baltic Sea should pass from a point on the eastern shore of the Bay of Danzig to the east, north of Braunsberg-Goldap, to the meeting point of the frontiers of Lithuania, the Polish Republic and East Prussia.

德國在保加利亞，芬蘭，匈牙利，羅馬尼亞及奧地利東部之資產，放棄一切要求。

(十) 蘇聯政府對於盟軍在德，齒獲之黃金，不作任何要求。

五 關於德國海軍及商船隊之處理辦法：

本會議已於原則上商定使用及處置德國投降之艦隊及商船之辦法，並決議三國政府得委派專家聯合擬訂詳細之計劃，實施商定之原則，三國政府於相當時期內，將同時發表聯合聲明。

六 科尼斯堡城及其隣近地區：

本會議檢討蘇聯政府之提議，於和平方案中，將疆界問題作最後決定之前，蘇聯毗隣波羅的海之西部邊疆，應自但澤東岸之一點，迄東經勒斯堡哥達背之北，以達立陶宛，波蘭共和國，及東普魯士疆界之會合點。

The conference has agreed in principle to the proposal of the Soviet Government concerning the ultimate transfer to the Soviet Union of the city of Königsberg and the area adjacent to it as described above, subject to expert examination of the actual frontier.

The President of the United States and the British Prime Minister have declared that they will support the proposal of the conference at the forthcoming peace settlement.

VII. WAR CRIMINALS:

The three Governments having taken note of the discussions which have been proceeding in recent weeks in London between British, United States, Soviet and French representatives with a view to reaching agreement on the methods of trial of those major war criminals whose crimes under the Moscow declaration of October 19, 1943 have no particular geographical localization, the three Governments reaffirm their intention to bring those criminals to swift and sure justice. They hope that the negotiations in London will result in a speedy agreement being reached for this purpose, and they regard it as a matter of great importance that the trial of those major criminals should begin at the earliest. The said first list of defendants will be published on September 1.

VIII. AUSTRIA:

The conference examined a pro-

本會議已在原則上同意蘇聯政府之提議，即哥尼斯堡城及上文所述之隣近地區，最後讓與蘇聯，由專家勘定其實際疆界。

美國總統及英國首相聲言，彼等於未來和平方案中，當支持此項提議。

七 戰爭罪犯：

英，美，蘇，法代表，最近數週，曾在倫敦開會討論，俾對於按照一九四三年十月十九日之莫斯科宣言其罪行無地域性之主要戰爭罪犯，議定其審訊辦法。三國政府已注意及此，因此重申彼等希望此等戰犯迅速付諸正義之裁判。三國政府願盼於倫敦談判中，能按照此項目標，迅速成立協議，認為主要戰犯之迅予審訊，實屬首要之舉，首批被告之名單，將於九月一日發表。

八 奧地利：

關於蘇聯政府建議將奧地利臨時政府

posal by the Soviet Government on the extension of the authority of the Austrian Provisional Government to all of Austria.

The three governments agreed that they were prepared to examine the questions and the entry of the British and American forces into the city of Vienna.

IX. POLAND:

The conference considered questions relating to the Polish Provisional Government and the western boundary of Poland.

On the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity they defined their attitude in the following statement:

A. We have taken note¹⁰ with pleasure of the agreement reached among the representative Poles from Poland and abroad which has made possible the formation, in accordance with the decisions reached at the Crimea Conference, of a Polish Provisional Government of National Unity, recognized by the three powers. The establishment by the British and United States governments of diplomatic relations with the Polish Provisional Government has resulted in the Withdrawal of their recognition from the former Polish Government in London, which no longer exists.

The British and United States Governments have taken measures to protect the interests of the Polish

之權限擴展至奧國全境一事，本會議曾加
險討。

三國政府同意準備考查此項問題，及
英美派軍選駐維也納之問題。

九 波 蘭：

關於波蘭臨時政府，及波蘭西部疆界
問題，本會議曾加考慮。

關於波蘭全國統一臨時政府一點，三
國政府於下列聲明，闡明其態度：

甲，吾人欣悉波蘭國內國外人士，已
按照克里米亞會議之決議，組成一波蘭全
國統一臨時政府，並由三強國加以承認。
英美政府與波蘭臨時政府外交關係之建立
，結果乃撤消對於前倫敦波蘭政府之承認
，該政府已不再存在。

波蘭臨時政府既經公認為波蘭之政府
，英美兩國政府已採取措施，保障該政府

Provisional Government as the recognized government of the Polish state in the property belonging to the Polish state, located in their territories and under their control whatever the form of this property may be. They have further taken measures to prevent alienation to third parties of such property. All proper facilities will be given to the Polish Provisional Government for the exercise of the ordinary legal remedies for the recovery of any property belonging to the Polish state which may have been wrongfully alienated. The three powers are anxious to assist the Polish Provisional Government in facilitating the return to Poland as soon as practicable of all Poles abroad who wish to go, including members of the Polish armed forces and the merchant marine. They expect that those Poles who return home shall be recorded personal and property rights on the same basis as all Polish citizens.

The three powers noted that the Polish Provisional Government in accordance with the decisions of the Crimea Conference has agreed to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of a universal suffrage and secret ballot in which all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates, and that representatives of the Allied press shall enjoy full freedom to report to the world upon the developments in Poland

於屬於波蘭國家而在彼等領土以內及在其控制下之任何財產之利益。英美政府並採取進一步之辦法，防制此等財產過渡第三者，並將波蘭臨時政府以一切正當權利，俾能選運用正常之法律上補救辦法，收回波蘭所屬財產中之誤讓他國者。三強擬協助波蘭臨時政府，便利海外波蘭人士之願意返國者，得在可能範圍內，此中包括波蘭軍隊及商船人員在內。三國政府深盼此等海外波蘭人一旦返國，應與一切波蘭公民在同等基礎上，享受個人及財產之權利。

波蘭臨時政府已同意按照克里米亞會議之決議，儘速於普選及秘密投票原則下舉行不受任何束縛之自由選舉，一切民主及反納粹黨派，均有參加及推出候選人之權利。同時盟國報界代表對於波蘭普選之進行前後事實發展，將獲有報告世界之定

before and during the elections.

The following agreement was reached on the western frontier of Poland:

In conformity with the Crimea Conference the three heads of the governments have sought the opinion of the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity in regard to the accession of territory in the north and west, which Poland should receive. The President of the National Council of Poland and members of the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity have been received at the Conference and have fully presented their views. The three heads of government reaffirm their opinion that the final determination of the western frontier of Poland should be at the peace settlement.

The three heads of government agree that, pending the final determination of the Polish western frontier, the former German territories east of a line running from the Baltic Sea immediately west of Swinemunde, and thence along the Oder River to the confluence of the western Neisse River and along the western Neisse to the Czechoslovak frontier, including that portion of East Prussia not placed under the administration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in accordance with the understanding reached at this conference and including the area of the former Free City of Danzig, shall be under the administration of the Polish

全自由。

關於波蘭西部疆界成立協議如下：

根據克里米亞會議之決定，三國政府領袖曾向波蘭全國統一臨時政府，就其關於應由波蘭所接受之北部西部領土之增加問題，徵取其意見，波蘭民族會議主席及波蘭全國統一臨時政府人員曾參加本會議，並得充分表示彼等之意見。三國政府領袖重申彼等之主張，認為波蘭西部邊界之決定，應由和平會議時解決。

三國政府領袖一致認為，在波蘭西部邊境未定前，以前德國之東部領土，即自史溫曼德以西之波羅的海沿奧德河至與尼斯河西段會流處，再由尼斯河西段至捷克邊境，包含經本會議決定下歸蘇聯管轄之東普魯士，包含以前之但澤自由市區域，應由波蘭政府管轄，且為達到此種目的，

state and for such purposes should not be considered a part of the Soviet zone of occupation in Germany.

X. CONCLUSION OF PEACE TREATIES AND ADMISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION:

The conference agreed upon the following statement of a common policy for establishing, as soon as possible the conditions of a lasting peace after victory in Europe. The three governments consider it desirable that the present anomalous position of Italy, Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary and Rumania should be terminated by the conclusion of the peace treaties. They trust that the other interested Allied governments will share these views.

For their part, the three governments have included the preparation of a peace treaty for Italy as the first among the immediate important tasks to be undertaken by the new Council of Foreign Ministers. Italy was the first of the axis powers to break with Germany, to whose defeat she has made a material contribution, and has now joined with the Allies in the struggle against Japan. Italy has freed herself from the fascist regime and is making good progress towards the re-establishment of a democratic government and institution and a democratic Italian government will make it possible for the three governments to fulfill their

應不得視為蘇聯在德佔領區內之一部份。

十 締結和平條約及參加聯合國組織：

本會議定下列共同政策聲明，俾在歐洲勝利以後，儘速建立一永久和平環境。

三國政府為義大利，保加利亞，芬蘭，匈

牙利及羅馬尼亞等，目前變態之現狀，必

須由締結和平條約而加以終結，彼等相信

其他有關之盟國，亦必贊同彼等之意見。

三國政府認為準備與義大利締結之和平條約，應為未來外長會議之切要工作。

義大利為首先與德國斷絕關係之軸心國家

，於擊敗德國，具有甚大之貢獻，且目前

業已加入盟國共同對日本作戰。義大利已

由法西斯政權之下解放，目前正迅速走向

民主政府與制度之重建。民主之義大利政

府，自能使三國得以滿足允許義大利加入

desire to support an application from Italy for membership of the United Nations.

The three governments have also charged the Council of Foreign Ministers with the task of preparing peace treaties for Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary and Rumania. The conclusion of peace treaties with recognized democratic governments in these states will also enable the three governments to support applications from them for membership in the United Nations. The three governments agree to examine each separately in the near future, in the light of the conditions then prevailing, the establishment of diplomatic relations with Finland, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary to the extent possible prior to the conclusion of peace treaties with those countries.

The three governments have no doubt that in view of the changed conditions resulting from termination of the war in Europe, representatives of the Allied press enjoy full freedom to report to the world upon developments in Rumania, Hungary and Finland.

As regards the admission of the other states into the United Nations Organization Article Four of the Charter of the United Nations declares that:

1. Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace loving states who accept the obligations contained in the present charter and, in the judgment of the organization are able and willing to carry out these

聯合國為會員之願望。

三國政府認為外長會議亦應負責準備與保加利亞，芬蘭，匈牙利與羅馬尼亞等國締結和平條約之工作。與此等國家被承認之民主政府，締結和平條約，亦可有助於三國政府，藉此允許此等國家加入聯合國之會員。在未與此等國家締結和平條約以前，三國一致同意在最近將來根據當時之環境，在可能限度以內，可以分別考慮與芬蘭，羅馬尼亞，保加利亞及匈牙利等國建立外交關係。

三國政府由於歐洲戰結束後環境已有改變，無疑認為盟國之新聞記者，可以享受充分之自由，向世界報道羅馬尼亞，保加利亞，匈牙利及芬蘭等國事實之發展。

關於允許其他國家加入聯合國組織一事，聯合國憲章第四條規定如下：

(一) 其他一切愛好和平國家接受現行憲章所規定之義務，且經聯合國判定其力能且心願履行此等義務者，均得參加聯

obligations.

2. The admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

The three governments so far as they are concerned, will support application for membership from those states which have remained neutral during the war and which fulfill the qualifications set out above.

The three governments feel bound, however, to make it clear that they for their part would not support any application for membership put forward by the present Spanish Government which, having been founded with the support of the axis powers, does not, in the view of its origins, its nature, its record and its close association with the aggressor states, possess the qualification necessary to justify such membership.

XI. TERRITORIAL TRUSTEESHIPS:

The conference examined a proposal by the Soviet Government concerning trusteeship for territories as defined in the decision of the Crimea Conference and in the Charter of the United Nations Organization.

After an exchange of views of this question, it was decided that the disposition of any former Italian territories was one to be decided in connection with the preparation of a peace

合國。

(二)三種國家之獲准參加聯合國，將在安全理事會推薦之下由大會決定之。

三國政府就彼等本身而論，將支持在戰爭中守中立及進行上述條件之國家，申請會員資格。

然三國政府認為必須聲明，為彼等之地位起見，對於在軸心國支持下建立且關於其淵源，性質，行事紀錄及與侵略國之密切聯繫，實無取得會員籍之必要資格之現行西班牙政府，將不支持其申請會員資格。

十一 領土託管：

本會議曾研討蘇聯政府關於領土託管之建議，如克里米會議決議及聯合國憲章所申述者。

此一問題經交換意見之後，經決定舊日義大利之任何領土，須參照對義和約之擬訂，決定其處置辦法。義大利領土問題

treaty for Italy and the question of Italian territory would be considered by the September Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

XII. REVISED ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION PROCEDURE IN RUMANIA, BULGARIA AND HUNGARY:

The three governments took note that the Soviet representatives on the Allied Control Commissions in Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary, have communicated to the United Kingdom and the United States colleagues proposals for improving the work of the Control Commissions, now that the hostilities in Europe have ceased.

The three governments agreed that the revision of the procedures of the Allied Control Commissions in these countries would not be undertaken, taking into account the interests and responsibilities of the three governments which together presented the terms of the armistice to the respective countries, and accepting as a basis the agreed proposals.

XIII. ORDERLY TRANSFERS OF GERMAN POPULATION:

The conference reached the following agreement on the removal of Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary:

The three governments having considered the question in all its aspects, recognize that the transfer to Germany

，將由五國外長在九月份舉行之會議，加以考慮。

十二 關於羅馬尼亞保加利亞及匈牙利等盟國管制委員會工作程序之修改：

羅馬尼亞，保加利亞及匈牙利盟國管制委員會中之蘇聯代表提出，由於歐戰結束，該管制委員會工作上有修改必要一項建議，三國政府已加注意。

三國政府曾并向羅馬尼亞，保加利亞及匈牙利提出和平條件，並以為共同建議之基礎。茲為顧及三國政府之利益及責任起見，決定對於在三國之盟國管制委員會工作程序不擬有所修改。

十三 德國人民依次遷返本國：

對於德國人民自波蘭，捷克及匈牙利遷返本國一問題，本會議同意下列協議：

三國政府對於此問題曾自各方面加以考慮，認為逗留波蘭，捷克及匈牙利之德

of the German populations, or elements there-of, remaining in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, will have to be undertaken. They agree that any transfers that take place should be effected in an orderly and humane manner. Since the influx of a large number of Germans into Germany would increase the burden already resting on the occupying authorities, they consider that the Allied Control Council in Germany should in the first instance examine the problem with special regard to the question of the equitable distribution of these Germans among the several zones of occupation. They are accordingly instructing their respective representatives on the Control Council to report to their governments as soon as possible the extent to which such persons have already entered Germany from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and to submit an estimate of the time and rate at which further transfers could be carried out, having regard to the present situation in Germany.

The Czechoslovakia Government, the Polish Provisional Government and Control Council in Hungary are at the same time being informed of the above, and are being requested meanwhile to suspend further expulsions pending the examination by the governments concerned of the report from their representatives on the Control Council.

XIV. MILITARY TALKS:

During the conference there were

人或有關係份子應遷返德國。三國政府同意，此項遷移務須井然有序，並須合乎人情。大批德人返國，勢必加重盟國佔領軍隊之負擔，該三國政府認為德境盟國管制委員會，對於此一問題，必須先加考慮，尤當注意於各德境佔領區內此等德人之平均分配。因此三國政府訓令盟國管制委員會中各該國代表，應儘速對自波蘭，捷克及匈牙利返國之德人數目呈報政府，並應按照德國目下情勢估計此項遷移人民數目，逕呈政府。

上列一項應同時通知捷克政府，波蘭臨時政府及匈牙利境內之盟國管制委員會，並於三國政府未曾審閱盟國管制委員會各該國代表所呈之報告以前，暫勿驅逐德人。

四 軍事會談：

會議期間，三國參謀首長曾就共同軍

meetings between the chiefs of staff of the three governments on military matters of common interest.

Following is a list of the delegations attending the conference:

For the United States, the President, Harry S. Truman; the Secretary of State, James F. Byrnes; Fleet Admiral William D. Leahy, USN, Chief of Staff to the President; Joseph E. Davies, special ambassador; Edwin Bauley, special ambassador, Ambassador Robert D. Murphy, political adviser to the Commander in Chief, United States Zone in Germany; W. Averell Harriman, Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. General of the Army George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff United States Army; Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King, USN, Chief of Naval Operations and Commander in Chiefs U.S. Fleet; General of the Army H. H. Arnold, United State-Army Air Forces; General Brehon B. Somervell, Commanding General, Army Service Forces; Vice Admiral Emory S. Land, War Shipping Administration; William L. Clayton Assistant Secretary of State; James C. Dunn, Assistant Secretary of State; Ben Cohen, special assistant to the Secretary of State; H. Freeman Matthews, Director of European Affairs, Department of State; Charles E. Bohlen, assistant to the Secretary together with political, military and technical advisers.

For the United Kingdom: the Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, M.P.;

事問題會議數次，參謀會議之各國代表團

名單如次：

美國代表團：總統杜魯門，國務卿貝

爾納斯，總統參謀長李海海軍元帥，特使

戴維斯，特使鮑萊，德境美佔領軍司令之

政治顧問墨菲，駐蘇大使哈里曼，陸軍參

謀長馬歇爾，海軍作戰部長兼全美艦隊區

司令金氏，意陸軍航空隊總司令安諾德，陸

軍後方勤務部長索姆威爾，戰時航運局局

長蘭特，助理國務卿克萊敦，助理國務卿

鄧恩，國務卿助理柯心，國務院歐洲司司

長馬思，國務卿助理包淪及其他政治軍事

及技術顧問等。

英聯合王國代表團：首相邱吉爾，阿

Mr. C. R. Attlee; the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Anthony Eden, M.P.; Mr. Ernest Bevin, M.P.; Lord Leathers, Minister of War Transport; Sir Alexander Cadogan, Permanent Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, H.M. Ambassador at Moscow; Sir Walter Monckton, head of the United Kingdom delegation to the Moscow Reparations Commission; Sir William Strang, political adviser to the commander in chief, British zone in Germany; Sir Edward Bridges, Secretary of the Cabinet, Field Marshal Sir Alan Brooke, Chief of the Imperial General Staff; Marshal of the Royal Air Force, Sir Charles Portal, Chief of the Air Staff; Admiral of the Fleet, Sir Andrew Cunningham, First Sea Lord; General Sir Hastings Ismay, Chief of Staff to the Minister of Defense; Field Marshal Sir Harold Alexander, Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean Theater; Field Marshal Sir Henry Maitland Wilson, head of the British Joint Staff Mission at Washington; and other advisers.

For the Soviet Union: The Chairman of the Council of the People's Commissars, J. V. Stalin; People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, V. M. Molotov; Fleet Admiral N. G. Kuznetsov, People's Commissar, the Naval Fleet of the U.S.S.R.; A. I. Antonov, Chief of Staff of the Red Army; A. V. Vyshinski, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs; S. I. Kavtaradze,

特里，外相艾登，貝文，運輸大臣李諾斯，外務次官客德根，駐蘇大使寇爾，盟國賠償委員會英國代表蒙克頓，德境英軍佔領區總司令之政治顧問史特朗，英帝國參謀總長魯克空軍參謀長波多爾，海軍第一次長青愛漢，國務大臣之參謀長伊斯邁，地中海戰區盟軍統帥亞力山大，華盛頓英美參謀聯席會議英方出席威爾遜，及其他顧問等。

蘇聯代表團：人民委員會委員長史達

林外交人民委員會委員長莫洛托夫，海軍

人民委員會委員長古茲尼作夫，紅軍參謀

總長安托諾夫，外交人民委員會副委員長

Assistant People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs; Admiral S. G. Kucherov, Chief of Staff of the Naval Fleet; F. T. Gusev, Ambassador of the Soviet Union in Great Britain; A. A. Gromyko, Ambassador of the Soviet Union in the United States of America; K. V. Novikov, member of the Collegium of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, Director of the Second European Division; S. K. Tsarapkin, member of the Collegium of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, Director of the United States Division; S. P. Kozyrov, Director of the First European Division of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs; A. A. Lovischev, Director of the Division of Balkan countries, Commissariat for Foreign Affairs; A. A. Sobolev, Chief of the Political Section of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany; I. Z. Saburov, Assistant to the Chief of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany, A. A. Golnsky, expert consultant of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, and also political military and technical assistants.

維辛斯基，外交人民委員會副委員長賈夫

查拉茲，蘇海軍參謀總長古希洛夫，駐英

大使古塞夫，駐美大使葛羅米柯，外委會

歐洲第二司長諾維可夫，外委會美洲司長

沙拉普金，外委會歐洲第一司長柯西芙夫

，外委會巴爾幹司長拉夫里斯奇夫，德境

蘇佔領軍總司令部政治部主任索布列夫。

德境蘇佔領軍總司令助理沙布魯夫，外委

會專員哥倫斯基及其他政治軍事及技術助

理員。

ANNOTATIONS

(1) "imposed upon (on)," "加於" (有強迫之意)。 A heavy indemnity should be imposed upon the Japanese people as a punishment for their support of their militarists, 日本人民應加以重大賠款為彼等支持其軍閥之懲罰。(2) "prior to" "在……之前"。 He wrote me a letter prior to his departure. 彼於啓程之前曾寄予一信。 "in the capacity of,"... "地位"，"身份"。 He will work for us in the capacity of secretary, 彼將以秘書地位與余等工作。(4) "in the field of," "在……範圍"，"領域之內"。 He is an authority in eugenics 於優生學領域中彼為權威之一。(5) "in particular," "尤" I like to read Chinese classics, and the works of Chwang-tze in particular, 余愛讀經子，尤喜莊子。(6) "To this end," "為達到此

目的”。 I shall be an engineer, and to this end I am studying mathematics earnestly, 余將習工程，爲達到此目的正謹慎研究數學。(7) “to be brought home.” “使認清”。 The Japanese people are brought home to the fact that they have been deceived by their warlords. 日本人民現認清彼久爲其軍閥所欺。(8) “in due course,” “於適當期內”， The United Nations Organization will accomplish in due course its objective of maintaining an enduring world peace. 國際組織於適當時間內將達到維持世界永久和平之目的。(9) “adjacent to,” 毗隣。 His house is adjacent to a grocer's store. 彼之住宅與一雜貨店毗連。(10) “to take note of,” “得悉”，“注意”。 We have taken note of what has happened. 吾人竊發生之事業已知悉。

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