



當代文獻

CURRENT DOCUMENTARY LITERATURE



第四卷合訂本

VOLUME FOUR

中國文化服務社印行

Published by

CHINA CULTURE SERVICE

Shanghai



英漢對照 當代文獻

本刊係不定期刊物，選譯聯合國規程，國際重要文告，中外條約，各國領袖關於國際重要問題所發表講演，宣言及聲明書等，英漢對照，並附有文法，修辭方面之註解及例句，可作文獻保存，可作研究資料，可作外交官參考，可作政治學及實用英文課本，發行五年以來，極受國內外人士歡迎。茲除發行合訂本外，並發行專冊，分冊，歡迎預約，先繳定洋一萬元，出版後奉寄，八折計算，外加郵費。

專冊

第一專冊 定價 二元

聯合國憲章全文

第二專冊 定價 二元六角六分

(甲) 政府頒布中央銀行管理外匯辦法

(乙) 進出口貿易暫行辦法

(丙) 宋院長為調整外匯率發表聲明

第四卷分冊

第一分冊

定價 一元六角八分

中蘇友好同盟條約及有關文件

第二分冊

定價 一元八角二分

(一) 蔣主席於勝利日對全國軍民及世界人士播講

(二) 中法兩國簽訂交收廣州灣租借地條約

(三) 日本降伏文書

第三分冊

定價 一元九角二分

(一) 杜魯門總統關於美國對中國政策聲明

(二) 三外長會議公報全文

第四分冊

定價 二元一角

(一) 美國務卿貝爾納斯講美國對五外長會議之立場

(二) 英外務大臣貝文對下院報告英國對五外長會議之立場

第五分冊

定價 三元三角六分

(一) 杜魯門總統海軍節講美國外交政策

(二) 蘇聯人民外交委員長莫洛托夫講蘇聯外交政策

第六分冊

定價 二元六角六分

(一) 邱吉爾在美西寺學院講演和平實力

(二) 斯達林關於邱吉爾講演答記者問

中華民國三十五年十一月滬一版

英漢 對照 當代文獻 第四卷 合訂本

每冊定價國幣一〇元九角

主編人 施 端 閱

發行人 劉 百 閱

發行所 上海福州路六七九號 中國文化服務社

電話九一七〇三五 電報掛號五一二二三

印刷所 中國文化服務社印刷廠

第五卷分冊

第一分冊

定價 一元七角

(一) 蘇聯人民外交委員長莫洛托夫關於蘇聯對經濟

政治重建德國之聲明

(二) 美國務卿貝爾納斯向國人報告最近巴黎和會外

長會議經過之播詞

第二分冊

定價 一元九角六分

(一) 聯合國原子能委員會代表巴洛夫講演國際管

制原子能

(二) 美原子能試驗估計委員會關於比基尼原子彈試

驗之正式報告書

第三分冊

定價 一元六角八分

(一) 華萊士講演美國應有現實性和平政策

(二) 杜魯門關於華萊士九月十二日演講之聲明

(三) 斯達林對倫敦星期泰晤士報記者書面問題之答

覆

R
712.83
595

SINO-SOVIET TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND ALLIANCE AND RELATED DOCUMENTS

Signed on August 14, 1945

中蘇友好同盟條約及有關文件

一九四五年八月十四日簽訂

The President of the National Government of the Republic of China, and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Desirous of strengthening friendly relations that have always existed between China and the U.S.S.R., through an alliance and good neighborly post-war collaboration,

Determined to assist each other in the struggle against aggression on the part of enemies of the United Nations in this world war, and to collaborate in the common war against Japan until her unconditional surrender,

Expressing their unswerving aspiration to cooperate in the cause of maintaining peace and security for the benefit of the peoples of both countries and of all the peace-loving nations,

Acting upon the principles enunciated in the joint declaration of the United Nations of January 1, 1942 in the Four Power Declaration signed in Moscow on October 30, 1943, and in the Charter of the International Organization of the United Nations,



中華民國國民政府主席與蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦最高蘇維埃主席團，

願以同盟及戰後善鄰合作加強中國與蘇聯素有之友好關係，

又決與此次世界大戰抵抗聯合國敵人侵略之鬥爭中，彼此互助及在共同對日作戰中彼此合作，以迄日本無條件投降為止。

又為兩國及一切愛好和平國家人民之利益，對於維持和平與安全之目的，表示其堅定不移之合作志願，

並根據一九四二年一月一日聯合國共同宣言、一九四三年十月三十日在莫斯科簽字之四國宣言及聯合國國際組織憲章所宣佈之原則，

(1)

Have decided to conclude the present Treaty to this effect and appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

The President of the National Government of the Republic of China.

His Excellency Dr. Wang Shih-chieh, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

His Excellency Mr. V. M. Molotov, the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

Who, after exchanging their Full Powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows.

Article I

The High Contracting Parties undertake in association with the other United Nations to wage war against Japan until final victory is won. The High Contracting Parties undertake mutually to render to one another all necessary military and other assistance and support in this war.

Article II

The High Contracting Parties undertake not to enter into separate negotiations with Japan and not to conclude, without mutual consent, any armistice or peace treaty with the present Japanese Government or with any other government or authority set up in Japan which do not renounce all aggressive intentions.

Article III

The High Contracting Parties undertake after the termination of the war

決定簽訂本條約，各派全權代表如

左：

中華民國國民政府主席

特派外交部部長王世杰

蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦最高蘇維埃主席團

特派蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦外交人民委員會主席莫洛托夫

兩全權代表業經互相校閱全權證書認為妥善，約定條款如左：

第一條

締約國担任協同其他聯合國對日本作戰，直至獲得最後勝利為止。締約國担任在此次戰爭中彼此互給一切必要之軍事及其他援助與支持。

第二條

締約國担任不與日本單獨談判，非經彼此同意，不與現在日本政府或在日本成立而未明白放棄一切侵略企圖之任何其他政府或政權，締結停戰協定或和約。

第三條

締約國担任在對日本作戰終止以後，

against Japan to take jointly all measures in their power to render impossible a repetition of aggression and violation of the peace by Japan.

In the event of one of the High Contracting Parties becoming involved in hostilities with Japan in consequence of an attack by the latter against the said Contracting Party, the other High Contracting Party shall at once give to the Contracting Party so involved in hostilities all the military and other support and assistance with the means in its power.

This article shall remain in force until such time as the organization "The United Nations" may on request of the two High Contracting Parties be charged with the responsibility for preventing further aggression by Japan.

Article IV

Each High Contracting Party undertakes not to conclude any alliance and not to take any part in any coalition directed against the other High Contracting Party.

Article V

The High Contracting Parties, having regard to the interests of the security and economic development of each of them, agree to work together in close and friendly collaboration after the coming of peace and to act according to the principles of mutual respect for their sovereignty and territorial integrity and of non-interference in the internal affairs of the other contracting party.

共同採取其力所能及之一切措施，使日本無再事侵略及破壞和平之可能。

締約國一方如被日本攻擊，不得已而與之發生戰事時，締約國他方應立即盡其能力給予該作戰之締約國一切軍事及其他之援助與支持。

本條一直有效以迄聯合國組織經締約國雙方之請求對日本之再事侵略担負防止責任時為止。

第四條

締約國之一方担任不締結反對對方之任何同盟，並不參加反對對方之任何集團。

第五條

締約國願及彼此之安全及經濟發展之利益，同意在和平重建以後，依照彼此尊重主權及領土完整與不干涉對方內政之原則下，共同密切友好合作。

Article VI

The High Contracting Parties agree to render each other every possible economic assistance in the post-war period with a view to facilitating and accelerating reconstruction in both countries and to contributing to the cause of world prosperity.

Article VII

Nothing in this Treaty shall be so construed as may affect the rights or obligations of the High Contracting Parties as members of the organization "The United Nations."

Article VIII

The present Treaty shall be ratified in the shortest possible time. The exchange of the instruments of ratification shall take place as soon as possible in Chungking.

The Treaty comes into force immediately upon its ratification and shall remain in force for a term of thirty years.

If neither of the High Contracting Parties has given notice, a year before the expiration of the term, of its desire to terminate the Treaty, it shall remain valid for an unlimited time, each of the High Contracting Parties being able to terminate its operation by giving notice to that effect one year in advance.

In faith whereof the Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and affixed their seals to it.

Done in Moscow, the Fourteenth August, 1945, corresponding to the Fourteenth day of the Eighth month of

第 六 條

締約國爲便利及加速兩國之復興及對世界繁榮有所貢獻起見，同意在戰後彼此給予一切可能之經濟援助。

第 七 條

締約國爲聯合國組織會員之權利及義務不得因本條約內所有各事項之解釋而受影響。

第 八 條

本條約應於最短可能時間批准，批准書應儘速在重慶互換。

本條約於批准後，立即生效，有效期間爲三十年。

倘締約國任何一方得於期滿前一年通知願予廢止，則本條約無限期繼續生效，締約國任何一方得於一年前通知對方終止本條約之效力。

爲此兩國全權代表將本條約署名蓋章以昭信守。

中華民國三十四年八月十四日，即一

the Thirty-fourth year of the Chinese Republic, in two copies, each one in the Russian and Chinese languages, both texts being equally authoritative.

The Plenipotentiary of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

The Plenipotentiary of the President of the National Government of the Republic of China.

EXCHANGE OF NOTES (1)

(A) Note from Dr. Wang Shih Chieh to Mr. Molotov.

Your Excellency:

With reference to the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance signed today between the Republic of China and the U.S.S.R., I have the honor to put on record the understanding between the High Contracting Parties as follows:

1. In accordance with the spirit of the afore-mentioned Treaty, and in order to put into effect its aims and purposes, the Government of the U.S.S.R. agrees to render to China moral support and aid in military supplies and other material resources, such support and aid to be entirely given to the National Government as the Central Government of China.

2. In the course of conversations regarding Dairen and Port Arthur and regarding the joint operation of the Chinese Changchun Railway, the Government of the U.S.S.R. regarded the three Eastern Provinces as part of China and reaffirmed its respect for China's full sovereignty over the Three

九四五年八月十四日，訂於莫斯科中文俄

文各繕兩份，中文俄文有同等效力。

蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦最高蘇維埃主席團全權代表

中華民國國民政府主席全權代表

照 會 (一)

(甲) 來文王部長致莫洛托夫照會

部長閣下：

查中蘇友好同盟條約，業於本日簽訂

，本部長茲特申明兩締約國間之諒解如左：

一、依據上述條約之精神，并為實現

其宗旨與目的起見，蘇聯政府同意予中國

以道義上與軍需品及其他物資之援助，此

項援助當完全供給中國中央政府，即國民

政府。

二、關於大連與旅順口海港及共同經

營中國長春鐵路，在會商過程中，蘇聯政

府以東三省為中國之一部份，對中國在東

三省之充分主權，重申尊重，并對其領土

Eastern Provinces and recognize their territorial and administrative integrity.

3. As for the recent developments in Sinkiang the Soviet Government confirms that, as stated in Article V of the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, it has no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of China.

If Your Excellency will be good so as to confirm that the understanding is correct as set forth in the preceding paragraphs, the present note and Your Excellency's reply there to will constitute a part of the aforementioned Treaty of Friendship and Alliance.

I take this opportunity to offer Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

(B) Note from Mr. Molotov to Dr.
Wang Shih Chieh

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's Note of today's date reading as follows:

With reference to the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance signed today between the Republic of China and the U.S.S.R., I have the honor to put on record the understanding between the High Contracting Parties as follows:

1. In accordance with the spirit of the aforementioned Treaty, and in order to put into effect its aims and purposes the Government of the U.S.S.R. agrees to render to China moral support and aid in military supplies and other material resources, such support and aid to

與行政之完整重申承認。

三、關於新疆最近事變，蘇聯政府重申同盟友好條約第五條所云無干涉中國內政之意。

關於上列各項所述之諒解，倘荷貴部長函復證實本照會與貴部長復照即成爲上述友好同盟條約之一部份。

本部長順向貴部長表示崇高之敬意。

(乙) 莫洛托夫致王部長照會

部長閣下：

接准 貴部長本日照會內開：

查中蘇友好同盟條約，業於本日簽訂，本部長茲特申明兩締約國間之諒解如左：

一、依據上述條約之精神，并爲實現

其宗旨與目的起見：蘇聯政府同意予中國道義上與軍需品及其他物資之援助，此項

be entirely given to the National Government as the Central Government of China.

2. In the course of conversations regarding Dairen and Port Arthur and regarding the joint operation of the Chinese Changchun Railway, the Government of the U.S.S.R. regarded the respect for China's full sovereignty over the Three Eastern Provinces and recognize their territorial and administrative integrity.

3. As for the recent developments in Sinkiang the Soviet Government confirms that, as stated in Article V of the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, it has no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of China.

If Your Excellency will be so good as to confirm that the understanding is correct as set forth in the preceding paragraphs, the present Note and Your Excellency's reply thereto will constitute a part of the aforementioned Treaty of Friendship and Alliance.

I have the honor to confirm, that the understanding correct as set forth above.

I avail myself of this opportunity to offer to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

EXCHANGE OF NOTES (2)

(A) Note On Outer Mongolia from Mr. Molotov to Dr. Wang Shih Chieh.
Your Excellency:

In view of the desire repeatedly expressed by the people of Outer Mongolia

援助當完全供給中國中央政府，即國民政府。

二、關於大連與旅順口海港及共同經營中國長春鐵路，在會商過程中，蘇聯政府以東三省為中國之一部份，對中國在東三省之充分主權，重申尊重，并對其領土與行政之完整重申承認。

三、關於新疆最近事變，蘇聯政府重申如同盟友好條約第五條所云，無干涉中國內政之意。

關於上列各項所述之諒解，倘荷貴部長函復證實，本照會與貴部長復照即成為上述友好同盟條約之一部分等由。

本部長茲特聲明上項諒解正確無誤。

本部長順向貴部長表示崇高之敬意。

照 會 (二)

(甲) 關於外蒙問題莫洛托夫致王部長照會

部長閣下：

茲因外蒙古人民一再表示其獨立之願

for their independence, the Chinese Government declares that after the defeat of Japan should a plebiscite of the Outer Mongolian people confirm this desire, the Chinese Government will recognize the independence of Outer Mongolia with the existing boundary as its boundary.

The above declaration will become binding upon the ratification of the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between the Republic of China and the U.S.S.R. signed on August 14, 1945.

I avail myself of this opportunity to offer to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

(B) Reply Note On Outer Mongolia from Dr. Wang Shih Chieh to Mr. Molotov.

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's Note reading as follows:

In view of the desire repeatedly expressed by the people of Outer Mongolia for their independence, the Chinese Government declares that after the defeat of Japan should a plebiscite of the Outer Mongolian people confirm this desire, the Chinese Government will recognize the independence of Outer Mongolia with the existing boundary as its boundary.

The above declaration will become binding upon the ratification of the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between the Republic of China and the U.S.S.R. signed on August 14, 1945.

The Soviet Government has duly taken note of the above communication

望，中國政府聲明於日本戰敗後，如外蒙古之公民投票證實此項願望，中國政府當承認外蒙古之獨立以其現在之邊界為邊界。

上開之聲明，於民國三十四年八月十四日簽訂之中蘇友好同盟條約批准後發生拘束力。

本部長順向貴部長表示崇高之敬意。

(乙) 同上王部長致莫洛托夫照會

部長閣下：

接准閣下照會內開：

茲因外蒙古人民一再表示其獨立之願望，中國政府聲明於日本戰敗後，如外蒙古之公民投票證實此項願望，中國政府當承認外蒙古之獨立，即以其現在之邊界為邊界。

上開之聲明，於民國三十四年八月十四日簽訂之中蘇友好同盟條約批准後發生拘束力。

蘇聯政府對中華民國政府上項照會，

of the Government of the Chinese Republic and hereby expresses its satisfaction therewith, and it further states that the Soviet Government will respect the political independence and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Mongolia (Outer Mongolia).

I avail myself of this opportunity to offer to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

AGREEMENT ON CHINESE EASTERN AND SOUTH MANCHURIAN RAILWAYS

The President of the Republic of China and the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., desiring to strengthen the friendly relations and economic bonds between the two countries on the basis of the full observation of the rights and interests of each other, have agreed as follows:

Article I

After the Japanese armed forces are driven out of the Three Eastern Provinces of China the main trunk line of the Chinese Eastern Railway and the South Manchurian Railway from Manchuli to Suifenhö and from Harbin to Dairen and Port Arthur united into one railway under the name of "Chinese Changchun Railway" shall be in joint ownership of the U.S.S.R. and the Republic of China and shall be operated by them jointly.

There shall be joint ownership and operation only of those lands acquired and railway auxiliary lines built by the

業經奉悉，表示滿意，茲並聲明蘇聯政府

將尊重蒙古人民共和國（外蒙）之政府獨

立與領土完整。

本部長順向貴部長表示崇高之敬意。

中國長春鐵路協定

中華民國國民政府主席與蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦最高蘇維埃主席團，為願以充分尊重彼此之權益為基礎，加強兩國間之友好關係暨經濟聯繫起見，議定各條如左：

第一條

日本軍隊驅出東三省以後，中東鐵路及南滿鐵路由滿洲里至綏芬河由哈爾濱至大連旅順之幹線，合併成為一鐵路，定名為中國長春鐵路，應歸中華民國及蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦共同所有，并共同經營。

共同所有與共同經營應以中東鐵路在俄國及中蘇共同管理時期，與南滿鐵路在

Chinese Eastern Railway during the time of Russian and joint Sino-Soviet administration and by the South Manchurian Railway during the time of Russian administration and which are designed for direct needs of these railways as well as the subsidiary enterprises built during the said periods and directly serving these railways. All the other railway branches, and subsidiary enterprises, and lands shall be in the complete ownership of the Chinese Government.

The joint operation of the aforementioned railway shall be undertaken by a single management under Chinese sovereignty and as a purely commercial transportation enterprise.

Article II

The High Contracting Parties agree that their joint ownership of the railway shall be in equal shares and shall not be alienable in whole or in part.

● *Article III*

The High Contracting Parties agree for the joint operation of the said railway the Sino-Soviet Company of the Chinese Changchun Railway shall be formed the Company shall have a Board of Directors to be composed of ten members of whom five shall be appointed by the Chinese Government and five by the Soviet Government. The Board of Directors shall be in Changchun.

Article IV

The Chinese Government shall appoint one of the Chinese Directors as President of the Board of Directors and

俄國管理時期所置之土地及所築之鐵路補

助線而為該兩鐵路之直接需要者，以及在

上開時期所建置并直接供應鐵路之用之附

屬事業為限。一切其他鐵路支線與附屬事

業及土地應歸中國政府完全所有。

上開鐵路之共同經營應在中國主權之

下，由一單獨機構辦理，並為一純粹商業

性質之運輸事業。

第 二 條

締約國同意上開鐵路之共同所有權，應平均屬於兩方，并不得以其全部或一部轉讓。

第 三 條

締約國為共同經營上開鐵路起見，同意組設中蘇合辦之中國長春鐵路公司，公司設理事會，由理事十人組織之，其中五人由中國政府派任，五人由蘇聯政府派任。理事會設在長春。

第 四 條

中國政府應在華籍理事中指派一人為理事長，一人為助理理事長，蘇聯政府應

one as the Assistant President. The Soviet Government shall appoint one of the Soviet Directors as Vice-President of the Board of Directors, and one as the Assistant Vice-President. Seven persons shall constitute a quorum. When questions are decided by the Board, the vote of the President of the Board of Directors shall be counted as two votes.

Questions on which the Board of Directors cannot reach an agreement shall be submitted to the Governments of the Contracting Parties for consideration and settlement in an equitable and friendly spirit.

Article V

The Company shall establish a Board of Auditors which shall be composed of six members of whom three are appointed by the Chinese Government three appointed by the Soviet Government. The Chairman of the Board of Auditors shall be elected from among the Soviet Auditors, and vice-Chairman from among the Chinese Auditors. When questions are decided by the Board the vote of the Chairman shall be counted as two votes. Five persons shall constitute a quorum.

Article VI

For the administration of current affairs the Board of Directors shall appoint a manager of the Chinese Changchun Railway from among Soviet citizens and one assistant manager from among Chinese citizen.

Article VII

The Board of Auditors shall appoint

在蘇籍理事中指派二人爲副理事長，一人爲助理副理事長。理事會表決時，理事長所投之票作兩票計算。理事會之法定人數爲七人。

理事會不能獲得協議之各項重要問題，應提請兩締約國政府予以考慮，並以公平與友好之精神決之。

第五條

公司設監事會，由監事六人組織之，其中三人由中國政府派任，三人由蘇聯政府派任。監事長應在蘇籍監事中推選，副監事長應在華籍監事中推選。監事會表決時，監事長所投之票作兩票計算。監事會之法定人數爲五人。

第六條

爲管理經常事務起見，理事會委派中國長春鐵路局局長一人，由蘇聯人員中遴選。副局長一人，由華籍人員中遴選。

第七條

監事會應委派總稽核副總稽核各一人

a General-Comptroller from among Chinese citizens, and an assistant General-Comptroller from among Soviet citizens.

Article VIII

The Chiefs and Assistant Chiefs of the various departments, Chiefs of sections, station masters at important stations of the railway shall be appointed by the Board of Directors. The Manager of the Railway has right to recommend candidates for the above-mentioned posts. Individual members of the Board of Directors may also recommend such candidates in agreement with the Manager. If the Chief of a department is a national of China, the Assistant Chief shall be a national of the Soviet Union, and vice versa. The appointment of the Chiefs and Assistant Chiefs of departments and Chiefs of sections and station masters, shall be made in accordance with the principle of equal representation between the nationals of China and nationals of the Soviet Union.

Article IX

The Chinese Government will bear the responsibility for the protection of the said Railway.

The Chinese Government will also organize and supervise the railway guards who shall protect the railway buildings, installations and other properties and freight from destruction, loss and robbery, and shall maintain the normal order on the railway. As regards the duties of the police in execu-

，總稽核由華籍人員中遴選，副總稽核由蘇籍人員中遴選。

第八條

上開鐵路各處處長，副處長，科長及重要車站之站長，應由理事會委派，鐵路局長有權推薦上項職位之人選，理事會各理事亦得於徵得局長之同意時推薦上項人選。處長為華籍時，副處長應為蘇籍，處長為蘇籍時，副處長應為華籍，各處處長，副處長，科長，站長，應依照中蘇兩國人員平均充任之原則任用。

第九條

中國政府担任上開鐵路之保護。

中國政府應組織及監督鐵路警察以保護鐵路之房屋設備，暨其他產業與貨運，使免受毀壞損失與搶劫，該鐵路警察應維持鐵路之正常秩序。關於鐵路警察執行本

tion of this Article, they will be determined by the Chinese Government in consultation with the Soviet Government.

Article X

Only during the time of war against Japan the railway may be used for the transportation of Soviet troops. The Soviet Government has the right to transport by the above-mentioned railway for transit purpose military goods in sealed cars without customs inspection. The guarding of such military goods shall be undertaken by the railroad police and the Soviet Union shall not send any armed escort.

Article XI

Goods for through transit and transported by the Chinese Changchun Railway from Manchuli to Suifenho or vice versa and also from Soviet territory to the ports of Dairen and Port Arthur or vice versa shall be free from Chinese Customs duties or any other taxes and dues, but on entering Chinese territory such goods shall be subject to Chinese Customs inspection and verification.

Article XII

The Chinese Government will ensure, on the basis of a separate agreement, that the supply of coal for the operation of the railway will be fully secured.

Article XIII

The railway shall pay taxes to the Government of the Republic of China the same as are paid by the Chinese state railways.

條規定之職務，由中國政府諮商蘇聯政府決定之。

第十條

上開鐵路僅得於對日本作戰時期供運輸蘇聯軍隊之用。蘇聯政府有權在上開鐵路用加封車輛運輸通境之軍需品，免除海關查驗。該項軍需品之保護工作，由鐵路警察担任，蘇聯不派武裝護送人員。

第十一條

經上開鐵路由一蘇聯車站至另一蘇聯車站過境運輸以及由蘇聯領土在大連旅順二港口往返直運之貨物，應免中國關稅，或其他任何捐稅，此項貨物在入中國領土時，應受中國海關之查驗。

第十二條

中國政府依另訂之協定，對上開鐵路業務上所需燃煤之供應担任充分之保證。

第十三條

上開鐵路應與中國政府國營鐵路向中國政府同樣繳納稅捐。

Article XIV

Both Contracting Parties agree to provide the Board of Directors of the Chinese Changchun Railway with working capital the amount of which will be determined by the Statutes of the railway.

Profits and losses in exploitation of the railway shall be equally divided between the Parties.

Article XV

For the working out in Chungking of the Statutes of joint operation of the railway the High Contracting Parties undertake within one month of the signing of the present Agreement to appoint their representatives—three representatives from each Party. The Statute shall be worked out within two months and reported to the Governments for their approval.

Article XVI

The determination, in accordance with the provisions in Article 1, of the properties to be included in the joint ownership and operation of the railway by China and U.S.S.R. shall be made by a Commission to be composed of three representatives each of the two Governments. The Commission shall be constituted in Chungking within one month after the signing of the present Agreement and shall terminate its work within three months after the joint operation of the railway shall have begun.

The decisions of the Commission shall be reported to the two Govern-

第十四條

締約國同意供給中國長春鐵路理事會

以流動資金，其數額由鐵路章程規定之。

上開鐵路營業之盈虧，由雙方平均分配。

第十五條

締約國應在本協定簽字後一個月內，

各派代表三人，在重慶會同擬訂共同經營

上開鐵路之章程。該項章程應於二個月擬

訂完畢，呈報兩國政府核准。

第十六條

依照本協定第一條規定，應歸中蘇共

同所有與共同經營之資產應由兩國政府各

派代表三人組織委員會請定之。該委員會

應於本協定簽字後一個月，在重慶組織成

立，並於上開鐵路開始，共同經營後一個

月內完成其工作。

該委員會之議定事項，應呈報兩國政府核准。

ments for their approval.

Article XVII

The term of this present Agreement shall be thirty years. After the expiration of the term of the present Agreement, the Chinese Changchun Railway with all its properties shall be transferred without compensation to the ownership of the Republic of China.

Article XVIII

The present Agreement shall come into force from the date of its ratification.

Done in Moscow, August 14th, 1945, corresponding to the 14th day of the 8th month of the 34th year of the Chinese Republic, in two copies, each in the Russian and Chinese languages, both texts being equally authoritative.

The Plenipotentiary of the President of the National Government of the Republic of China.

The Plenipotentiary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

AGREEMENT ON DAIREN

In view of a Treaty of Friendship and Alliance having been concluded between the Republic of China and the U.S.S.R. and of the pledge by the latter that it will respect Chinese sovereignty in the control of all of Manchuria as an integral part of China; and with the object of ensuring that the U.S.S.R.'s interest in Dairen as a port of entry and exist for its goods shall be safeguarded, the Republic of China agrees:

第十七條

本協定期限為三十年，期滿之後，中國長春鐵路之一切財產，均應無償移轉中華民國所有。

第十八條

本協定自批准日生效。中華民國三十四年八月十四日，即一九四五年八月十四日訂於莫斯科，中文俄文各繕二份，中文俄文有同等效力。

中華民國國民政府主席全權代表

蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦最高蘇維埃主席團全權代表

關於大連之協定

茲以中華民國與蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦既已簽訂友好同盟條約，蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦業已保證尊重中國管轄中國東三省全部之主權，視其為中國之一不可分離部份，為保證蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦對大連為其貨物進出口之利益獲得保障起見，中華民國同意：

1. To declare Dairen a free port open to the commerce and shipping of all nations.

2. The Chinese Government agrees to apportion in the mentioned port for lease to U.S.S.R. wharves and warehouses on the basis of separate agreement.

3. The Administration in Dairen shall belong to China.

The harbor-master and deputy harbor-master will be appointed by the Chinese Eastern Railway and South Manchurian Railway in agreement with the Mayor. The harbor-master shall be a Russian national, and the deputy harbor-master shall be a Chinese national.

4. In peace time Dairen is not included in the sphere of efficacy of the naval base regulations, determined by the Agreement on Port Arthur of August 14, 1945, and shall be subject to the military supervision or control established in this zone only in case of war against Japan.

5. Goods entering the free port from abroad for through transit to Soviet territory on the Chinese Eastern and South Manchurian Railways and goods coming from Soviet territory on the said railways into the free port for export shall be free from customs duties. Such goods shall be transported in sealed cars.

Goods entering China from the free port shall pay the Chinese import duties, and goods going out of other parts of China into the free port shall pay the

(一) 宣布大連爲一自由港，對各國貿易及航運一律開放，

(二) 中國政府同意依照另訂之協定，在該自由港指定碼頭及倉庫租與蘇聯。

(三) 大連之行政權屬於中國。

港口主任由中國長春鐵路局局長在蘇籍人員中遴選，於徵得大連市長同意後派充之，港口副主任應照上開手續在華籍人員中遴選派充之。

(四) 大連在平時不包括在基於一九四五年八月十四日旅順協定所定之海軍根據地章程效用範圍之內，僅於對日作戰時受該區域所設定之軍事統制。

(五) 由國外進入自由港由中國長春鐵路直運蘇聯領土之貨物，與由蘇聯領土經上開鐵路運經自由港出口之貨物，或由蘇聯運入爲該港港口設備所需之器材，均免除關稅，以上貨物均應用加封車輛運輸。

由該自由港進入中國其他各地之貨物，應繳納中國進口稅。由中國其他各地運

Chinese export duties as long as they continue to be collected.

6. The term of this Agreement shall be thirty years and this Agreement shall come into force upon its ratification.

PROTOCOL TO THE AGREEMENT ON DAIREN

1. At the request of the U.S.S.R. the Chinese Government leases to the U.S.S.R. free of charge one half of all port installations and equipment. The term of lease shall be thirty years. The remaining half of port installations and equipment shall be reserved for the use of China.

The expansion or re-equipment of the port shall be made by between China and U.S.S.R.

2. It is agreed that the sections of the Chinese Changchun Railway running from Dairen to Mukden that lie within the region of the Port Arthur naval base, shall not be subject to any military supervision or control established in this region.

AGREEMENT ON PORT ARTHUR

In conformity with and for the implementation of the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between the Republic of China and the U.S.S.R., the High Contracting Parties have agreed as follows:

Article I

With a view to strengthening the

出至該自由港之貨物。在中國繼續徵收出口稅期間。應繳納出口稅，

(六) 本協定期限定為三十年。本協

定自批准之日生效。

關於大連協定之議定書

(一) 中國政府為應蘇方之提請以所有港口工事及設備之一半無償租與蘇方。租期定為三十年。其餘一半港口工事及設備，由中國留用。

港口之擴展或重建，應由中國與蘇聯同意為之。

(二) 茲同意中國長春鐵路由大連通往瀋陽，在旅順口海軍根據地區域以內各段。應不受該區域內所設定之任何軍事監督或管制。

關於旅順口之協定

茲為符合并補充中蘇友好同盟條約起

見。締約國雙方議定各條如左：

第一條

為加強中蘇兩國之安全。以防制日本

security of China and the U.S.S.R. against further aggression by Japan, the Government of the Republic of China agrees to the joint use by the two countries of Port Arthur as a naval base.

Article II

The precise boundary of the area provided in Article I is described in the Annex and shown in the map (Annex 1).

Article III

The High Contracting Parties agree that Port Arthur, as an exclusive naval base, will be used only by Chinese and Soviet military and commercial vessels.

There shall be established a Sino-Soviet Military Commission to handle the matters of joint use of the above-mentioned naval base. The Commission shall consist of two Chinese and three Soviet representatives. The Chairman of the Commission shall be appointed by the Chinese side.

Article IV

The Chinese Government entrusts to the Soviet Government the defence of the naval base. The Soviet Government may erect at its own expense such installations as are necessary for the defence of the naval base.

Article V

The Civil Administration of the whole area will be Chinese. The leading posts of the Civil Administration will be appointed by the Chinese Government taking into account Soviet interests in the area.

再事侵略起見。中華民國政府同意兩締約國共同使用旅順口為海軍根據地。

第二條

前條所開海軍根據地區域之正確界限，應依所附之說明及地圖之規定。（見附件一）

第三條

締約國同意旅順口作為純粹海軍根據地。僅由中蘇兩國軍艦及商船使用。

關於上開海軍根據地，共同使用之事項，設立中蘇軍事委員會處理之。該委員會由華籍代表二人，蘇籍代表三人組織之，委員長由蘇方派任，副委員長由華方派任。

第四條

上開海軍根據地之防護，中國政府委託蘇聯政府辦理之，蘇聯政府得建置為防護上開海軍根據地必要之設備，其費用由蘇聯政府自行負擔。

第五條

該區域內之民事行政屬於中國，中國政府對於主要民政人員之委派將顧及蘇聯在該區域內之利益。

The leading posts of the Civil Administration in the city of Port Arthur are appointed and dismissed by the Chinese Government in agreement with Soviet military command.

The proposals which the Soviet military commander in that area may address to the Chinese Civil Administration in order to safeguard security and defence will be fulfilled by the said Administration. In case of disagreement, such cases shall be submitted to the Sino-Soviet Military Commission for consideration and decision.

Article VI

The Government of U.S.S.R. have the right to maintain in region mentioned in Article II, their army, navy and air force and to determine their location.

Article VII

The Government of the U.S.S.R. also undertakes to establish and keep up lighthouses and other installations and signs necessary for the security of navigation of the area.

Article VIII

After the termination of this agreement all the installations and public property installed or constructed by the U.S.S.R. in the area shall revert without compensation to the Chinese Government.

Article IX

The present Agreement is concluded for thirty years. It comes into force on the day of its ratification.

旅順市主要民事行政人員之任免，由中國政府徵得蘇聯軍事指揮當局之同意爲之。

在該區域內之蘇聯軍事指揮當局，爲保障安全與防衛起見，向中國行政當局所作之建議，該行政當局當予以實行，如有爭議，則此類事件應提請中蘇軍事委員會審議決定之。

第六條

蘇聯政府在第二條所述之地區內，有權駐紮陸海空軍并決定其駐紮地點。

第七條

蘇聯政府並担任設置及維持爲該區域航行安全所必需之燈塔信號及其他設備。

第八條

本協定期滿後，所有蘇聯在該區域內建置一切設備及公產，應無償歸爲中國政府所有。

第九條

本協定期限定爲三十年，自批准之日生效。

In faith where of Plenipotentiaries of the High Contracting Parties have signed the present Agreement and affixed there to their seals. The present Agreement is made in two copies, each in the Russian and Chinese languages, both texts being authoritative.

Done in Moscow, August 14, 1945, corresponding to the 14th day of the 8th month of the 34th year of the Chinese Republic.

The Plenipotentiary of the President of the National Government of the Republic of China.

The Plenipotentiary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

AGREEMENT REGARDING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CHINESE ADMINISTRATION AND THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE SOVIET FORCES AFTER THE ENTRY OF SOVIET TROOPS INTO THE "THREE EASTERN PROVINCES" OF CHINA DURING THE PRESENT JOINT MILITARY OPERATIONS AGAINST JAPAN

The President of the National Government of China and the President of the Supreme Council of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, desirous that relations between the Chinese Administration and the Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet forces after the entry of Soviet troops into the "Three Eastern Provinces" of China during the present.

兩全權代表將本協定簽字蓋章，以昭信守，本協定中文俄文各繕二份，中文俄文有同等效力。

中華民國三十四年八月十四日，即一九四五年八月十四日訂於莫斯科。

中華民國國民政府主席全權代表。

蘇聯最高蘇維埃主席團全權代表。

關於中蘇此次共同對日作戰

蘇聯軍隊進入中國東三省

後蘇聯軍總司令與中國行

政當局關係之協定

中華民國國民政府與蘇維埃社會主義

共和國聯邦最高蘇維埃主席團，為願使中

蘇此次共同對日作戰，蘇聯軍隊進入中國

joint military operations against Japan should be governed by the spirit of friendship and alliance existing between the two countries, have agreed on the following:

1. After the Soviet troops enter the "Three Eastern Provinces" of China as a result of military operations, the supreme authority and responsibility in all matters relating to the prosecution of the war will be vested, in the zone of operations for the time required for the operations, in the Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet forces.

2. A Chinese National Government representative and staff will be appointed for the recovered territory, whose duties will be:

(a) To establish and direct, in accordance with the laws of China, an administration for the territory cleared of the enemy.

(b) To establish the cooperation between the Chinese armed forces, both regular and irregular, and the Soviet forces in recovered territory.

(c) To ensure the active cooperation of the Chinese administration with the Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet forces and, specifically, to give the local authorities directions to this effect, being guided by the requirements and wishes of the Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet forces.

3. To ensure contact between the Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet forces and the Chinese National Government representative a Chinese military mis-

東三省後，蘇聯軍總司令與中國行政當局之關係符合兩國間現存之友誼精神與同盟關係起見，議定各條如左：

(一) 蘇聯軍隊因軍事行動之結果，進入中國東三省後，有關作戰一切事務之最高權力與責任，在作戰地帶於作戰所需要之時內，屬於蘇聯軍總司令。

(二) 中華民國國民政府派代表一人及助理人員若干人，在業已收復之領土執行左列任務：

甲，在敵人業已肅清之區域，依照中國法律設立行政機構，並指揮之。

乙，協助在已收復領土內樹立中國軍隊，包括正規軍及非正規軍，與蘇聯軍隊之合作。

丙，保證中國行政機構與蘇聯軍總司令之積極合作，並依據蘇聯軍隊總司令之需要及願望，特予地方當局指示，俾得有此效果。

(三) 為保證蘇聯軍總司令與中華民國國民政府代表間之聯繫，中華民國國民

sion will be appointed to the Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet forces.

4. In the zones under the supreme authority of the Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet forces, the Chinese National Government administration for the recovered territory will maintain contact with the Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet forces through the Chinese National Government representative.

5. As soon as any part of the liberated territory ceases to be a zone of immediate military operations, the Chinese National Government will assume full authority in the direction of public affairs and will render the Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet forces every assistance and support through its civil and military bodies.

6. All persons belonging to the Soviet forces on Chinese territory will be under the jurisdiction of the Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet forces. All Chinese, whether civilian or military, will be under Chinese jurisdiction. This jurisdiction will also extend to the civilian population on Chinese territory even in the case of offenses against the armed forces, with the exception of offenses committed in the zone of military operations under the jurisdiction of the Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet forces, such cases coming under the jurisdiction of the Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet forces. In disputable cases the question will be settled by mutual agreement between the Chinese National Government repre-

政府派中國軍事代表團駐於蘇聯軍總司令部。

(四) 在蘇聯軍總司令最高權力下之地帶內，中華民國國民政府在收復區域之行政機構，應經由中華民國國民政府代表與蘇聯軍總司令保持聯繫。

(五) 一俟收復區域任何地方停止直接軍事行動之地帶時，中華民國國民政府即坦負管理公務之全權，並經由其軍事及民政機關給予蘇聯軍總司令一切協助及支持。

(六) 所有在中國領土內屬於蘇聯軍隊之人員，均歸蘇聯軍總司令管轄，所有中國籍人民，不論軍民均歸中國管轄，此項管轄權並包括在中國領土內之人民對蘇聯軍隊犯罪過之案件，此項案件如發生於軍事行動地帶內，則屬例外，應歸蘇聯軍總司令管轄，遇有爭執之案件，由蘇聯軍總司令與中華民國國民政府代表協議解決之。

representative and the Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet forces.

7. With regard to currency matters after the entry of Soviet troops into the "Three Eastern Provinces" of China, a separate agreement shall be reached.

8. The present Agreement comes into force immediately upon the ratification of the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between China and the U.S.S.R. signed this day.

The Agreement has been done in two copies, each in the Chinese and Russian languages. Both texts are equally valid.

Done in Moscow, August 14, 1945.

ON THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

ON THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

MINUTES

At the fifth meeting held on July 11, 1945, between Generalissimo Stalin and Dr. T. V. Soong, the question of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Chinese territory after the participation by the U.S.S.R. in the war against Japan was discussed.

Generalissimo Stalin would not like to have a clause in the agreement governing the entry of Soviet troops into Manchuria which provides for the withdrawal of Soviet troops within three months after the defeat of Japan. However, he said that after the capitulation of Japan the Soviet troops would com-

(七)關於蘇聯軍隊進入中國東三省

後之財政事項，應另訂定協定。

(八)本協定於本日所簽訂之中蘇友

好同盟條約批准時，應即發生效力。

本協定用中文俄文各繕二份，中文俄文有同等效力。

中華民國三十四年八月十四日，即一九四五年八月十四日訂於莫斯科。

中華民國國民政府主席全權代表

蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦最高蘇維埃主席團全權代表

記 錄

史達林統帥與宋院長子女在一九四五年七月十一日第五次會談時，曾討論蘇聯參加對日本作戰後其軍隊由中國領土撤退之問題。

史達林統帥不願在蘇聯軍隊進入東三省之協定內，加入在日本戰敗後三個月內將蘇聯軍隊撤退一節，但史達林統帥聲明，在日本投降以後，蘇聯軍隊當於三星期內開始撤退。

mence to withdraw within three weeks.

Dr. Soong asked how long it would take to complete the withdrawal. Generalissimo Stalin said he thought the withdrawal could be completed in not more than two months.

Dr. Soong further asked whether the withdrawal would be definitely completed within three months. Generalissimo Stalin stated three months would be the maximum for the completion of the withdrawal.

MOSCOW, August 14, 1945.

宋院長及詢撤退完畢需要若干時間，

史達林統帥謂彼意撤軍於不超過兩個月之期間內完竣。

宋院長繼詢是否確在三個月以內撤完，史達林統帥謂最多三個月足為完成撤退之責。

中華民國三十四年八月十四日訂於莫斯科

PRES. CHIANG'S MESSAGE ON VICTORY OVER JAPAN TO THE SOLDIERS AND CIVILIANS OF CHINA AND THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD

Broadcast on August 15, 1945

蔣主席於勝利日對全國軍民及世界人士播講

一九四五年八月十五日播送

The soldiers and civilians of China, and the people of the world:

Right will triumph over might—this great truth which we never once doubted has been finally vindicated. Our faith in justice, through black and hopeless days and eight long years of struggle, has today been rewarded. The historical mission of our national revolution has at last been fulfilled.

For¹ the peace that lies before us we pay grateful tribute, first to the millions of our soldiers and civilians who so bravely sacrificed their lives; to our Allies who fought by our side for freedom and right; and to the Father of our Republic Dr. Sun Yat-sen who labored all his lifetime to guide our national revolution to success. But² for him we would not be enjoying this day of victory. Above all we join in thanksgiving to our righteous and merciful God.

全國軍民同胞們：全世界愛好和平的人士們：

我們的「正義必然勝過強權」的真理，終於得到了它最後的證明，這亦就是表示了我們國民革命歷史使命的成功。我們中國在黑暗和絕望的時期中，八年奮鬥的信念，今天纔得到了實現。

我們對於顯現在我們面前的世界和平，要感謝我們全國抗戰以來忠勇犧牲的軍民先烈、要感謝我們為正義和平而共同作戰的盟友，尤須感謝我們國父辛苦艱難領導我們革命正確的途徑，使我們得有今日勝利的一天，而全世界的基督徒更要一致感謝公正而仁慈的上帝。

The people of China suffered and sacrificed more each year as our long war of defense went on. But the confidence that we would emerge victorious also grew from day to day. Our fellow countrymen in the enemy-occupied areas had to endure a long night of devastation and disgrace. Today they are liberated and can see again the "White Sun in the Blue Sky." The cheers and rejoicings of our armies and people have their deepest meaning in this new freedom of our long-oppressed compatriots.

We have won the victory. But it is not yet the final victory. The universal power of righteousness has not simply achieved one more triumph. We and the people of all the world fervently hope that this war may be the last war in which civilized nations engage.

If this is really to be the last war in human history then our people will not feel that the indescribable cruelties and humiliations they have endured are too big a price to have paid or that peace for them has been too long delayed.

Even in periods of deepest gloom and despair, our people with their fine inherited loyalty, fortitude, magnanimity and goodwill hold to the conviction that sacrifices made for justice and humanity would surely be followed by rightful compensations.

The greatest compensation has been the mutual trust and confidence between peace loving peoples of the world born out of our common struggle. With

我全國同胞們自抗戰以來，八年間所受的痛苦與犧牲雖是一年一年的增加，可是抗戰必勝的信念，亦是一天一天的增強，尤其是我們淪陷區的同胞們，受盡了無窮摧殘與奴辱的黑暗，今天是得到了完全解放，而重見青天白日了。這幾天以來，各地軍民的歡呼與快慰的情緒，其主要意義亦就是爲了被佔領區同胞獲得了解放。

現在我們抗戰是勝利了，但是還不能算是最後的勝利。須知我們戰勝的含義決不止是在世界公理力量又打了一次勝仗的一點上，我相信全世界人類與我全國同胞們都一定在希望着這一次戰爭是世界文明國家所參加的最末一次的戰爭。

如果這一次戰爭是人類歷史上最後一次的戰爭，那末我們同胞們雖然曾經受了忍痛到無可形容的殘酷與凌辱，然而我們相信我們大家決不會計較這個代價的大小和他收穫的遲早的。

我們中國人民在最黑暗和絕望的時代，都秉持我們民族一貫的忠勇仁愛、偉大堅忍的傳統精神，深知一切爲正義和人道而奮鬥的犧牲，必能得到應得的報償。

全世界因戰爭而聯合起來的民族，相互之間所發生的尊重與信念，這就是此次戰爭給我們的最大報償。我們聯合國以青

the flesh and blood of their armed youth the United Nations built a long continuous dyke against the tide of aggression. All who took part in the great conflict are now Allies, united not simply for a temporary advantage, but rather because of a great common faith—noble and enduring—that binds us together. No intrigues can wreck this great union.

It is my sincere belief that all men on earth—whether they live in the East or the West and whatever the color of their skin may be—will someday be linked together in close fellowship like members of one family. World war is indivisible, and world peace too, is indivisible. It has encouraged international understanding and mutual trust, which will serve as a powerful barrier against future wars.

I am deeply moved when I think of the teachings of Jesus Christ that we should do unto others as we would have them do unto us and love our enemies. My fellow countrymen know that “Remember not evil against others” and “Do good to all men” have been the highest virtues taught by our own sages. We have always said that the violent militarism of Japan is our enemy not the people of Japan. Although the armed forces of the enemy have been defeated and must be made to observe strictly all the terms of surrender, yet we should not for a moment think of revenge or heap abuse upon the innocent people of Japan. We can only pity

年血肉所建築的這道反侵略的長堤，凡是每一個參加的人，他們不僅是臨時結合的盟友，簡直是為人類尊嚴的共同信仰而永久的團結了起來。這是我們聯合國共同勝利最重要的基礎，絕對不是敵人任何挑撥離間的陰謀所能破壞。

我相信今後地無分東西，人無論膚色，凡是人類都會一天一天加速的密切聯合，不會成為家人手足。此次戰爭發揚了我們人類互諒互敬的精神，建立了我們互相信任的關係，而且證明了世界戰爭與世界和平皆是不可分的，這更足以使今後戰爭的發生勢不可能。

我說到這裏，又想到基督實訓上所說的「待人如己」與「要愛敵人」兩句話，實在令我發生無限的感想。我中國同胞們須知「不念舊惡」及「與人為善」為我民族傳統至高至貴的德性。我們一貫聲言，祇選日本黷武的軍閥為敵，不以日本的人民為敵，今天敵軍已被我們盟邦共同打倒了，我們當然要嚴密責成他忠實執行所有的投降條款，但是我們並不要企圖報復，更不可對敵國無辜人民加以侮辱。我們只

them because they have been so sadly deceived and misled and hope that they will break away from the wrong doings and crimes of their nation. Let all our fellow citizens—soldiers and civilians—remember this.

The enemy's imperialistic designs on China have been thoroughly crushed. But relaxation and pride are not rewards of victory that we seek. Peace, when fighting has entirely ceased, will confront us with stupendous and difficult tasks demanding greater strength and sacrifice than the years of war. At times we may feel that the problems of peace that descend upon us are more trying even than those we met during the war.

I think first of one very serious problem—how to make the peoples misguided by Fascist rulers admit their mistakes and defeat, and recognize that our struggle for national independence, democracy and the welfare of all the people is more in harmony with truth and human rights than their struggle for land and power by means of violence and terrorism.

Permanent world peace can be established only upon the basis of democratic freedom and equality and the brotherly cooperation of all nations and races. We must march forward on the great road of democracy and unity and give our collective support to the ideals of lasting peace.

I urge all our friends of the Allied nations and all my own countrymen to

有對他們爲他們的納粹軍閥所愚弄所驅迫而表示憐憫，使他們能自拔於錯誤與罪惡

。這是我們每一僱軍民同胞今天所應該特別注意的。

同胞們：敵人侵略中國的帝國主義，現在是被我們打敗了，但是勝利的報償決不是驕矜與懈怠。戰爭確實停止以後的和平，必將昭示我們，正有艱巨的工作，要我們以比戰時更巨大的力量，去改造去建設。或許在某一個時期，遇到某一種問題，會使我們覺得比戰時更加艱苦，更加困難，隨時隨地可以臨到我們的頭上。

我說這一句話，首先想到了一件最難的工作，就是那些法西斯納粹軍閥國家受過錯誤領導的人們，我們怎樣能使他們不只是承認他自己的錯誤和失敗，並且也能心悅誠服的，承認公平正義的競爭，較之他們武力掠奪與強權恐怖的競爭，更合乎真理和人道要求的一點。

我確實相信全世界永久和平是建築在人類平等自由的民主精神和博愛互助的合作基礎之上，我們要向着民主與合作的大道上邁進，來共同擁護全世界永久的和平。

我請全世界盟邦的人士，以及我全國

face the fact that the peace we have gained by arms is not necessarily the beginning of permanent peace. Only if our enemies are conquered also on the battleground of reason, only if they repent thoroughly of their folly and become lovers of world peace like ourselves, can we hope to satisfy the yearning of mankind of peace and achieve the final goal of the great war that has just ended.

的同胞們，相信我們武裝之下所獲得的和平，並不一定是永久和平的完全實現，一直要到我們的敵人在理性的戰場上為我們所征服，使他們能澈底懺悔，都成為世界上愛好和平的分子，像我們一樣之後，纔算達到了我們全體人類企求和平及此次世界大戰最後的目的。

(1) 此 “for.....us” prepositional phrase 為倒裝，因 “grateful” 一字有數個 “to” phrases. (2) “But for him”—“If it were not for him” 二 subjunctive subordinate clause 之習慣用 “but for” 替代法。 (3) “Born” 之後用 “of” 為無人格語氣，例如：Many colleges and schools were born of war. 許多大中學為戰時產物。 (4) “for a moment” 之前用 “not” 或 “never” 作 “毫不解”，例如，I do not think for a moment of that. 吾毫不思及此事。

**SINO-FRENCH CONVENTION ON THE
RENDITION OF THE LEASED TERRI-
TORY OF KWANG CHOW WAN**

Signed on August 18, 1945

中法兩國簽訂交收廣州
灣租借地專約

一九四五年八月十八日簽訂

The National Government of the Republic of China and the Provisional Government of the French Republic, in accordance with an exchange of letters on March 13th, 1945, providing for the settlement of pending questions between China and France in a spirit of amity which have so long existed between the two countries, have decided to conclude a convention and have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China.

His Excellency Dr. Kuo-cheng Wu, Political Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China.

His Excellency the President of the Provisional Government of the French Republic.

Mr. Jean Daridan, Counsellor of the Embassy, and French Charge d'Affaires.

Who, having communicated to each other their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

中華民國國民政府，法蘭西共和國臨

時政府，依據一九四五年三月十三日規定

，本雙方素有之友誼精神，以求解決中法

間懸案之換文，決定締結本約，並各派

全權代表如左：

中華民國國民政府主席

特派中華民國外交部政務次長吳國楨

博士。

法蘭西共和國臨時政府主席。

特派法蘭西共和國駐中華民國大使館
代辦戴立堂先生。

兩全權代表將所奉全權證書互相校閱

，均屬妥善，議定條款如左：

Article I

The Sino-French Convention of the 16th November 1899 is abrogated and the rights accorded to the French Government by this Convention are terminated.

Article II

The French Government agrees that the leased territory of Kwang Chow Wan, as delimited by the Sino-French Convention of November 16, 1899, reverts to the Chinese administration and control with the understanding that the Chinese Government, in taking over this territory, will assume its obligations and liabilities and assure the protection of all the legitimate rights therein.

Article III

The French Government renounces gratuitously in favour of the Chinese Government all lands, buildings, public properties, installations and establishments situated on the territory and belonging to it. It will hand over to the Chinese Government all registered archives, title deeds and other documents which might be useful for the transfer and for the subsequent administration of the territory of Kwang Chow Wan.

Article IV

1. To obviate any question as to the existing rights and titles to real property possessed by French companies and nationals in the territory of Kwang Chow Wan and any questions which might arise from the abrogation of the Sino-French Convention of the 16th

第一條

一八九九年十一月十六日，中法間所訂專約作廢，該專約所給予法國政府之一切權利即行終止。

第二條

法國政府同意將廣州灣租借地，依照一八九九年十一月十六日中法專約所劃定地界內之行政與管理歸還中國政府，並了解中國政府於收回該地時，担任該地所負之義務及債務，並保證對一切合法權利予以保護。

第三條

法國政府願將該地上並屬於該地之一切土地房屋公產設備及建置無償讓與中國政府，並將一切登記簿，檔案，契據，以及其他公文，凡為接收與將來管理廣州灣所需用者，交與中國政府。

第四條

(一) 為免除法國公司及人民在廣州灣地域內現有關於不動產契據及權利發生任何問題，並為免除因廢止一八九九年十一月十六日訂立之中法專約可能發生之隱

November 1899, the Chinese Government and the French Government agree that the existing rights and titles will be indefeasible and shall not be questioned upon any ground, except upon proof, established through due process of law, of fraud or of fraudulent or dishonest practice in the acquisition of such rights or titles; it being¹ understood that no right or title shall be rendered invalid by virtue of any subsequent change in the original procedure through which it was acquired. It is also agreed that the exercise of these rights or titles shall be subject to the laws and the regulations of the Republic of China concerning taxation, National Defense and the rights of eminent domain; and that no such rights or titles may be alienated to the Government or nationals, including companies of any third country, without the express consent of the Government of the Republic of China.

2. The French Government and the Chinese Government also agree that if it should be the desire of the Government of the Republic of China to replace by new deeds of ownership existing titles or other documentary evidence relating to real property held by French nationals or companies, the replacement shall be made by the Chinese authorities without charges of any sort and the new deeds of ownership shall fully protect the holders of such titles or other documentary evidence and their legal heirs and assigns without domination

題起見，中國政府與法國政府雙方同意：上述現有之權利及契據不得取銷作廢，並不得以任何理由加以追究。但依照正常法律程序，提出證據證明此項權利係詐欺或其他不正當手段所取得者，不在此限。同時相互了解此項權利或契據取得時所依據之原來手續，無論日後有任何變更之處，該權利或契據不得因之作廢。雙方並同意此項權利或契據之行使，應受中華民國關於徵收稅捐有關國防及徵用土地各項法令之約束，非經中華民國政府之明白許可，不得移讓第三國政府或人民，包括公司在內。

(二) 中國政府與法國政府並同意中華民國政府對於法國公司及人民持有之不動產永租契或其他證據，如欲另行換發新所有權狀時，中國官廳當不徵收任何費用。此項新所有權狀，應充分保障上述租契或其他證據之持有人與其合法之繼承人及受讓人，並不得減損其原來權益，包括

of their prior rights and interests, including the rights of alienation.

3. The Chinese Government and the French Government also agree that the French companies and nationals shall not be required or asked by the Chinese authorities to make any payment of fees in connection with land transfers for or with relation to any prior to the effective date of this convention.

Article V

The Chinese Government agrees to lend free of charge to the French Government for a period of requisition, renewable by agreement of both parties, the former residence of the Chief Administrator of the Territory of Kwang Chow Wan at Fort Bayard, with the lands and annexes belonging to it, as the seat of a French Consulate, if the French Government so requests; it being² understood that in case the French Government does not invoke this provision within one year beginning from the conclusion of the present Convention the Chinese Government will be free to take over permanently the land and buildings.

Article VI

The provisions of the present convention will become effective immediately.

Article VII

The present convention is drawn up in duplicate, in Chinese and French, both texts being³ equally authentic.

In witness whereof the above men-

轉讓權在內。

(三) 中國政府與法國政府並同意：

中國官廳不得向法國之公司及人民，要求繳納涉及本約發生効力以前有關土地移轉之任何費用。

第五條

中國政府如經法國政府請求時，允將西營之舊廣州灣租借地行政長官之官邸暨所屬地皮及附屬物，免費租與法國政府作為領事館館址，使用一時，並經雙方同意得予延長。但了解自本條訂立日起一年內如法國政府放棄援用此項規定時，中國政府可將上述地皮及所有房屋收回自由確切使用。

第六條

本約所有各項規定，即日起發生効力。

第七條

本約用中法文各繕兩份，均有同等之効力。

tioned Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Convention and affixed there to their seals.

Done at Chungking, the eighteenth day of the eight month of the Thirty-Fourth year of the Republic of China corresponding to the eighteenth day of August, 1945.

ANNEX

At the moment of the signature of the Convention of today's date for the rendition of the Leased Territory of Kwang Chow Wan, the Plenipotentiaries have agreed on the sending to the spot, as soon as the territory is liberated, of a Sino-French Mixed Commission composed of one member of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and one member of the French Embassy in China charged with the mission to:

(1) Assist local authorities in the settlement of urgent questions regarding the transfer of the administration.

(2) Take the necessary measures so that the repatriation of French nationals, civil and military, may be assured of the best conditions.

Chungking, 18th August, 1945.

(1) "It being understood that. . . ." 爲 nominative absolute phrase, 係 adverbial modifier. "It" 爲主格 "being" 爲絕對用法 (他處無此用法) 之 participle. 例: This being the case, we shall not go. His father being dead, his mother took care of his education. The sun setting, the farmers go back home from the fields. (2) 同 (1) 。 (3) 同 (1) 。

上開全權代表爰於本約簽字蓋印，以昭信守。

中華民國三十四年，西歷一九四五年，八月十八日訂於重慶。

附 件

本日，交還廣州灣租借地專約簽訂時，雙方全權代表均同意於該地解放時，派一中法混合委員會前往該地。該委員會由中國外交部與法國駐華大使館各派一人組成之。其任務如左：

(一) 協助當地當局處理關於交收行政一切緊急問題。

(二) 採取一切必要步驟俾法國之文武人員得在最良好之狀況下遣回本國。

中華民國卅四年八月十八日，即西歷一九四五年八月十八日於重慶。

THE INSTRUMENT OF SURRENDER SIGNED BY THE JAPANESE REPRESENTATIVES

Signed on September 2, 1945, on board USS "Missouri" at Tokyo Bay

日 本 降 伏 文 書

一九四五年九月二日於美米蘇里號主力艦上簽字

1. We, acting by ¹ the command of ² and in behalf of the Emperor of Japan, the Japanese Government and the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters hereby accept the declaration issued by the United States, China, and Great Britain, July 26, 1945, at Potsdam and subsequently adhered to by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which Four Powers are hereafter referred to as the Allied Powers.

2. We hereby proclaim the unconditional surrender to the Allied Powers of the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters and of all the Japanese Armed Forces and all the Armed Forces under Japanese control, wherever situated.

3. We hereby command all the Japanese Forces wherever situated, and the Japanese people, to cease hostilities forthwith, ³ to preserve and save from damage all ships, aircraft and military and civil property and to comply with all requirements which may be imposed

(一) 余等茲對合衆國，中華民國及大英帝國各國政府首腦於一千九百四十五年七月二十六日於波茨坦宣布，爾後由蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦參加之宣言之條款，根據日本帝國政府及日本帝國大本營之命令，代表受諾之，右開四國以後稱之為聯合國。

(二) 余等茲布告，無論日本帝國大本營及如何地位之一切日本帝國軍隊及日本帝國支配下地帶之一切軍隊，對於聯合國無條件降伏。

(三) 余等茲命令，無論如何地位之一切日本帝國軍隊及日本帝國臣民，即刻停止敵對行爲，保存所有船舶及軍用財產，且防止損毀，并服從聯合國最高司令官

by the Supreme Command of the Allied Powers upon the agencies of the Japanese Government at his direction.

4. We hereby command the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters to issue at once the order to commanders of all Japanese forces and all forces under Japanese control wherever situated to surrender unconditionally themselves and all who are under their control.

5. We hereby command all civil, military and naval officials to obey and enforce all proclamations, orders and directives deemed by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers to be proper to effectuate this surrender and issued by him or by those under his authority, and we direct all such officials to remain at their posts and to continue to perform their noncombatant duties unless specifically relieved by him or those under his authority.

6. We hereby undertake for the Emperor, the Japanese Government and their successors to carry out the provisions of the Potsdam Declaration all in good faith and to issue whatever orders and to take whatever action may be required by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers or by any designated representatives of the Allied Powers for the purpose of giving effect to that Declaration.

7. We hereby command the Japanese Imperial Government and the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters at once to liberate all Allied prisoners

及其指示，對日本國政府各機關須課之一切要求以應諾。

(四) 余等茲命令日本帝國大本營，對於無論如何地位之一切日本帝國軍隊，及由日本帝國支配下之一切軍隊之指揮官，速即發佈其本身或其支配下之一切軍隊無條件降伏之命令。

(五) 余等茲對所有官廳，陸軍及海軍之職員，命令其遵守且施行聯合國最高司令官為實施此降伏文件，認為適當而由其自己發出或根據其委任發出之一切布告命令及指示，且命令右開職員，除由聯合國最高司令官或根據其事務委任解除其任務以外，均須留於各自原有地位，且仍行繼續各自之非戰鬥任務。

(六) 余等為天皇日本帝國政府及其後繼者承約着實履行英坦宣言之條款，發佈為實施該宣言之聯合國最高司令官及其他特任聯合國代表要求之一切命令，且實施一切措置。

(七) 余等茲對日本帝國政府及日本帝國大本營命令，即速解放現由日本帝國支

of war and civilian internees not under Japanese control and to provide for their protection and welfare maintenance and immediate transportation to places as directed.

8. The authority of the Emperor and the Japanese Government to rule the state shall be subject to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, who will take such steps as he deems proper to effectuate those terms of the surrender.

配之所有聯合俘虜及被拘留者，且採取對彼等之保護津貼給養及對指定地點之即速運輸等措置。

(八) 天皇及日本帝國政府統治國家之權限，置於實施降伏條款採用認為適當措置之聯合國最高司令官之限制下。

ANNOTATIONS

(1) "to act by....," "奉行....."。The president of a democratic state acts by the authority of the constitution, 民主國家之總統奉憲法所授之權行事。 (2) "by the command of" 和 "in behalf of" 之受詞均為 "the emperor." (3) "forthwith," "即刻"。When he has some grudge against anybody, he speaks it out forthwith, 彼怨美人時必即刻說明。 (4) "in good faith," "忠實"。He always keeps his promise in good faith. 彼忠守信約。

THE STATEMENT OF GENERAL INITIAL POLICY OF U.S.A. TOWARD JAPAN

*Prepared jointly by the U.S. State, War and Navy Departments and
approved by Pres. Truman on Sept. 6, 1945, sent to General
by Messenger*

美國對日本之「一般初步政策」

由美國務院及陸海兩部共同擬就於一九四五年九月
六日經美總統批准專差送交麥克阿瑟將軍執行

PURPOSE OF THIS DOCUMENT

This Document is a statement of the general initial policy relating to Japan after surrender. It has been approved by the President and distributed to the Supreme Command for the Allied Powers and to the appropriate United States Departments and agencies for their guidance. It does not deal with all matters relating to the occupation of Japan requiring policy determinations. Such matters as are not included or are not fully covered¹ herein have been or will be dealt with separately.

Part I. ULTIMATE OBJECTIVES

Ultimate objectives of the United States in regard to Japan, to which policies in the initial period must conform are:

(1) To insure that Japan will not again become a menace to the United

本文宗旨

本文宗旨乃在敘述日本投降後，美國對日之一般初步政策，本文先經總統批准，然後分別轉飭盟軍最高統帥部及美國各有關部門遵照辦理，惟此文未將一切與佔領日本有關之政策，全部包括在內，凡本文中未有明文規定，或未充分規定之事項，必在他處業已訂明，或俟將來另行處置。

第一部 最後目標

在佔領日本初期，美國策政須以下各點為最後之目標：

(一) 保證日本此後不再威脅美國或世界之和平與安全。

States or the peace and security of the world.

(2) To bring about the eventual establishment of a peaceful and responsible government which will respect the rights of other states and will support the objectives of the United States as reflected in the ideals and principles of the United Nations Charter. The United States desires that this government should conform as closely as may be possible with the principles of democratic self-government, but it is not the responsibility of the Allied powers to impose upon Japan any form of government which is not supported by the freely expressed will of the people.

These objectives will be achieved by the following principal means:

A Japan's sovereignty will be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku, and such minor outlying² islands as may be determined in accordance with the Cairo Declaration and other agreements to which the United States is or may be a party.

B Japan will be completely disarmed and demilitarized. The authority of the militarists and the influence of militarism will be totally eliminated from her political, economic and social life. Institutions expressive of the spirit of militarism and aggression will be vigorously suppressed.

C The Japanese people shall be encouraged to develop a desire for individual liberties and a respect for the fundamental human rights, particularly

(二) 使日本終於成立一和平與負責

之政府，尊重各國權利，並依照聯合國憲章之理想與原則，支持美國之目標，美國希望此新政府在可能範圍以內，成爲一民主自治政府，但同盟各國決不欲以任何形式之政府強迫日本接受，如該種政府未能獲得日本民衆將自由表現之意志之支持。

上述目標將採取下列各主要方法達成之：

甲，日本領土應以本州，北海道九州

，四國及其附近若干小島爲限，此種附近小島之劃定應以開羅宣言，及其他美國曾經參加或行將參加之協定爲準繩。

乙，日本必須完全解除武裝及廢除軍備，日本軍閥之權威以及軍國主義之影響，應從日本政治經濟及社會生活中全部清除，一切表現軍國主義與侵略政策之制度，應盡力剷除。

丙，日本人民應加以鼓勵，使其欲求

個人自，尊並人類之重基本權利，就中尤

for the freedoms of religion, assembly, speech and press. They shall also be encouraged to form democratic representative organizations.

D The Japanese people shall be afforded³ an opportunity to develop for themselves an economy which will permit peace-time requirements of the population to be met.

Part II. ALLIED AUTHORITY.

(1) Military Occupation. — There will be military occupation of the Japanese home islands to carry into effect the surrender terms and further the achievement of the ultimate objectives stated above. The occupation shall have the character of an operation in behalf of the principal Allied powers acting in the interests of the United Nations at war with Japan. For that reason, participation of the forces of the other nations which have taken a leading part in the war against Japan will be welcomed and expected. Occupation forces will be under the command of the Supreme Commander designated by the United States.

Although every effort will be made by consultation and by the constitution of the appropriate advisory bodies to establish policies for the conduct of the occupation and control of Japan which will satisfy the principal Allied powers, in the event of any differences in opinion among them, the policies of the United States will govern.

(2) Relationship to Japanese Gov-

，集會，言論，及出版自由爲最，彼等亦應加以鼓勵，令其組織民主的代議機構。

丁，日本人民應有機會自行發展其經濟，使其得以滿足一般民衆平時之需要。

第二部 盟軍權力

(一) 軍事佔領——盟國軍隊佔領日

本本土，以便執行投降條款，並達成以上

所述之最後目標。此種佔領，爲具有軍事

性質之行動，其作用仍在代表主要同盟各

國，以保障對日作戰聯合國家之利益，因

此凡在對日作戰中曾佔領導地位各國之軍

隊，皆歡迎參加，一切佔領部隊皆將由美

國所指派之最高統帥指揮。

爲決定軍事佔領及管制日本之具體政

策，以求滿足主要同盟各國起見，美國因

將竭盡一切努力，以與各盟國磋商，並組

織適當之諮詢機構，但各盟國意見未能一

致，則美國之政策將付諸實施。

(二) 與日本政府之關係——原日皇

ernment.—The authority of the Emperor and the Japanese government will be subject to the Supreme Commander, who will possess all powers necessary to effectuate the surrender terms and to carry out the policies established for the conduct of the occupation and control of Japan.

In view of the present character of Japanese society and the desire of the United States to attain its objectives with a minimum commitment of its forces and resources, the Supreme Commander will exercise his authority through the Japanese governmental machinery and agencies, including the Emperor, to the extent that this satisfactorily furthers the United States objectives. The Japanese government will be permitted under his instructions to exercise the normal powers of government in matters of domestic administration. This policy, however, will be subject to the right and the duty of the Supreme Commander to require changes in the governmental machinery or personnel or to act directly if the Emperor or other Japanese authority does not satisfactorily meet the requirements of the Supreme Commander in effectuating the surrender terms.

This policy, moreover, does not commit the Supreme Commander to support the Emperor or any other Japanese governmental authority in opposition to evolutionary changes looking toward attainment of the United States objectives. The policy is to use

與日本政府之權力，須受盟軍最高統帥之支配，盟軍最高統帥具有切必要之權力，以便執行投降條款，並實行軍事佔領力管制日本之各種政策。

鑒於目前日本社會之情況，且為使美國以最少之兵力與物資以達到其目標起見，盟軍最高統帥將利用日本政府機構（包括日本天皇在內）以行使其職權，而圓滿地推進美國之目標，在內政上日本政府盟軍最高統帥指導之下，可行使一般政府之通常權力，惟日皇或其他日本當局，如未能圓滿執行最高統帥之命令，俾使投降條款付諸實施，則最高統帥有變更日本政府機構或人事或採取直接行動之權利與責任。

如日皇或其他日本政府機構違反時勢之變遷，順致阻礙美國，使其不克達到上述之目標，則盟軍最高統帥亦不必支持日皇或其他日本政府機構。美國之府策乃在

the existing form of government in Japan, not to support it. Changes in the form of government initiated by the Japanese people or the government in the direction of modifying its feudal and authoritarian tendencies are to be permitted and favored. In the event that⁴ effectuation of such changes involves the use of force by the Japanese people or the government against persons opposed thereto, the Supreme Commander should intervene only where necessary to ensure the security of his forces and attainment of all the other objectives of occupation.

(3) Publicity as to Policies—The Japanese people and the world at large shall be kept fully informed of the objectives and policies of occupation and of the progress made in their fulfillment.

Part III. POLITICAL

(1) Disarmament and Demilitarization—Disarmament and demilitarization are the primary tasks of military occupation and shall be carried out promptly and with determination. Every effort shall be made to bring home to the Japanese people the part played by their military and naval leaders and those who collaborated with them in bringing about the existing and future distress of the people.

Japan is not to have an army, air force, secret police organization or any civil aviation. Japan's ground and naval forces shall be disarmed and disbanded

利用日本現有之政府機構，而非加以支持

。日本政府或人民如自動改革政府之形式，以求削減其封建的及獨裁的趨勢，可予贊許。此種改革運動如受日本政府或人民武力壓制，則盟軍最高統帥僅能在保障佔領軍安全與達成軍事佔領目標之下，出而干涉。

(三) 政策之宣揚——軍事佔領之目標，政策與其實施進展程度，應向日本人民及全世界充分公佈。

第三部 政治措施

(一) 解除武裝與撤廢軍備——解除武裝與撤廢軍備，乃軍事佔領中之首要工作，必須堅決迅速執行。最高統帥部必須用各種方法使日本人民了解軍閥及其爪牙所犯之罪惡，與加諸日本人民之目前的與將來的痛苦。

日本不准再有陸海空軍，祕密警察或民用航空。日本之地面及海上部隊，必須

and the Japanese Imperial general headquarters, general staff and all secret police organizations shall be dissolved. Military and naval material, military and naval vessels, military and naval installations, and military, naval and civilian aircraft shall be surrendered and shall be disposed of as required by the Supreme Command. High officials of the Japanese Imperial general headquarters and of the general staff and other high military and naval officials of the Japanese government, and leaders of ultranationalism and militarism and aggression will be taken into custody and held for future disposition. Personnel who have been active exponents of militarism and militant nationalism will be removed and excluded from public office and from any other positions of public or substantial private responsibility. Ultranationalistic or militaristic, social, political, professional and commercial societies and institutions will be dissolved and prohibited.

Militarism and ultranationalism in doctrine and practice, including military training, shall be eliminated from the educational system. Former career military and naval officers, both commissioned and non-commissioned, and all other exponents of militarism and ultranationalism shall be excluded from supervisory and teaching positions.

(2) War Criminals — Persons charged by the Supreme Commander or appropriate United Nations agencies with being war criminals, including those

解除武裝，全部解散。日本帝國大本營，參謀本部一切祕密警察組織，必須解散。陸海軍用材料，陸海軍用船隻，陸海軍事設備，以及陸海軍用具民航飛機必須完全交出，由盟軍最高統帥部分別處置。

日本帝國大本營參謀本部以及日本政府中其他陸海軍官佐，與極端國家主義，軍國主義及侵略主義之領袖，將先行拘禁，留待將來處置。積極鼓吹軍國主義與極端國家主義之活動份子，應予以撤職，不准充官職，並不得在公立機關或重要私立機關擔負職責。鼓吹極端國家主義或軍國主義之一切社會的、政治的、職業的與商業的會社與組織應一律解散與禁止。

軍國主義與極端國家主義之理論與行動，包括軍訓在內，應由日本教育制度中清除。曾任陸海軍軍官者，（無論其軍階之高低）以及其他一切鼓吹軍國主義與極端國家主義之人物必須一律排斥，不准充任指導與教學職務。

(二) 戰爭罪犯——盟軍最高統帥或聯合國家之適當機構，如指名某某等人為

charged with having visited cruelties upon United Nations prisoners or other nationals shall be arrested and tried, and if convicted shall be punished. Those wanted by another of the United Nations for offenses against its nationals shall, if not wanted for trial or as witnesses or otherwise by the Supreme Commander, be turned over to the custody of such other nation.

(3) Encouragement of the Desire for Individual Liberties and Democratic Processes—Freedom of religious worship shall be proclaimed promptly on occupation. At the same time, it should be made plain to the Japanese that ultra-nationalistic and militaristic organizations and movements will not be permitted to hide behind the cloak of religion.

The Japanese people shall be afforded an opportunity and encouraged to become familiar with the history, the institutions, the culture and the accomplishments of the United States and other democracies. The association of personnel of the occupation forces with the Japanese population should be controlled only to the extent necessary to further the policies and objectives of occupation.

Democratic political parties with rights of assembly and public discussions shall be encouraged subject to the necessity for maintaining the security of the occupation forces.

Laws, decrees, and regulations which establish discriminations, on the grounds

戰爭罪犯其中包括虐待聯合國俘虜及他國人民者，應予逮捕，並交付審判，如經判決有罪，應受懲處。任何其他聯合國，因某某戰爭罪犯曾包害其人民，而欲加以逮捕，如該罪犯等並非盟軍最高統帥所欲審訊或留充證人者，可交由該國看管。

(三) 鼓吹日本人民使其欲求個人自由及民主程序——軍事佔領開始後應立刻宣佈宗教自由，同時應明告日本人民，不准藉宗教為護符，以掩飾其極端國家主義的及軍國主義的組織與運動。

鼓勵日本人民並予以機會，使其明悉美國及其他民主國之歷史制度，文化與成就，佔領軍官決與日本人民間之交往，應僅在足以推近軍事佔領之政策與目標以內，加以限制。

享有集會和公開討論兩種權利民之政黨，應加以鼓勵，但必須以不妨害佔領軍之安全為原則。

凡以種族，國籍，信仰，或國見為理，而頒佈之法律、條例及章程，致一般

of race, nationality, creed or political opinion shall be abrogated. Those which conflict with the objectives and policies outlined in this document shall be repealed, suspended or amended as required; and agencies charged specifically with their enforcement be abolished or appropriately modified. Persons unjustly confined by Japanese authority on political grounds shall be released. Judicial, legal and police systems shall be reformed as soon as practicable to conform to the policies set forth in Articles 1 and 3 of this Part III, and thereafter shall be progressively influenced to protect individual liberties and civil rights.

Part IV. ECONOMIC

(1) Economic Demilitarization. — The existing economic basis of the Japanese military strength must be destroyed and not be permitted to revive.

Therefore, program will be enforced containing the following elements among others: Immediate cessation and future prohibition of the production of all goods designed for the equipment, maintenance or use of any military force of establishment; imposition of a ban upon any specialized facilities for the production or repair of the implements of war, including naval vessels and all forms of aircraft; institution of a system of inspection and control over selected elements in Japanese economic activity to prevent concealed or disguised military preparation; elimination in Japan of

人民感受差別待遇者，應一律廢除。凡與上文所列舉之目標及政策相抵觸者，應分別廢除停止，或修正其。負責執行此種法令之機構，亦應解散或加以相當之改組。日本當局因政治關係而非法監禁之人民應予釋放。司法，立法與警察制度，亦應及早改革，使其與本文告第三部第一第三兩條之規定相合，此後並應逐漸修改，使其能保障個人自由與公民權利。

第四部 經濟措施

(一) 解除經濟武裝——日本軍事實力，現有之經濟基礎，必須毀滅，並不許再行復活。

故除其他各點外，下列諸點應為此項計劃之一部：任何軍隊或軍事機構所需之配備裝置，或使用品，應立刻停止生產將來亦禁止生產；發佈禁令，不准設立任何專門機關，以從事於生產或修理各種武器之工作，包括軍艦及各式飛機在內。日本經濟活動中之特定部分，須嚴加監視及控制，以免暗中進行或掩飾軍事準備。日本若干特定工業或生產部門，其對於日本

those selected industries or branches of production whose chief value to Japan is in preparing for war; prohibition of specialized research and instruction directed to development of war-making power; and limitation of the size and character of Japan's heavy industries to its future peaceful requirement and restriction of Japanese merchant shipping to the extent required to accomplish the objectives of demilitarization.

Eventual disposition of those existing production facilities within Japan, which are to be eliminated in accordance with this program, as between conversion to other uses and transfer abroad and scrapping will be determined after an inventory. Pending⁵ decision, facilities readily convertible for civilian production should not be destroyed except in an emergency situation.

(2) Promotion of Democratic Forces —Encouragement shall be given and favor shown to the development of organizations in labor, industry and agriculture which are organized on a democratic basis. Policies shall be favored which permit wide distribution of income and ownership and means of production and trade, and those forms of economic activity and organization and leadership shall be favored that are deemed likely to strengthen the peaceful disposition of the Japanese people and to make it difficult to command or direct economic activity in support of military ends. To this end it shall be the policy of the Supreme Commander:

之主要價值端在準備戰爭者，須予以剷除

；嚴禁增加作戰力之專門研究與教學；限

制日本重工業種類及數量，使其不得超出

將來在和平時期之需要；限制日本商船之

噸位使其適合于解除軍備之目標。

根據本方案在日本國內將來應予處置之生產設備，究竟是否改作別用，移往國外或加以拆毀，須俟調查清楚後，再行決定。在尚未決定以前，其可易於改作民用生產之工業設備，除在緊急情勢之下而外，不應加以毀壞。

(二) 扶植民主力量——凡在民主基礎上組織之勞動的工業的與農業的團體，應予以鼓勵及贊助。一切政策凡對於國民所得之財產所有權生產及商業工具之分配，能令其普及者，皆應加贊助。一切經濟活動，濟濟組織，以及經濟領袖人物，凡可能增強日本人民之和平趨勢，不阻礙經濟活動使其無從支持軍事目的者，皆應予以贊助。為達到此種目的起見，盟軍最高統帥應採取列政策。

(A) To prohibit⁶ retention in or selected for places of importance in the economic field of individuals who do not direct the future Japanese economic effort solely toward peaceful ends and (B) to favor⁷ a program for the dissolution of large industrial banking combinations which have exercised control over a great part of Japan's trade and industry.

(3) Resumption of Peaceful Economic Activity.—The Policies of Japan have brought down upon the people great economic destruction and confronted them with the prospect of economic difficulty and suffering. The plight of Japan is a direct outcome of its own behavior and the Allies will not undertake the burden of repairing the damage. It can be repaired only if the Japanese people renounce all military aims and apply themselves diligently with a single purpose to the ways of peaceful living. It will be necessary for them to undertake physical reconstruction deeply in order to reform the nature and direction of their economic activities and institutions and to find useful employment for their people along lines adapted and devoted to peace. The Allies have no intention of imposing conditions which would prevent the accomplishment of these tasks in due time. Japan will be expected to provide goods and services to meet the needs of the occupying forces to the extent that this can be effected without causing starvation, widespread disease, and acute physical distress.

甲，凡不以全力指導未來之日本經濟努力，使其全部走入和平大邁之個人，皆不准繼續盤據經濟界重要位置。乙，舊日統制大部分日本工商業之大工業銀行組合，應明訂解散辦法。

(三) 和平經濟活動之恢復——日本政策已使日本人民在經濟上大受打擊，並使其面對經濟困難與痛苦。日本之痛苦乃其自身行動之直接結果，同盟國不願擔負恢復此種損失之責任。此種損失，惟有日本人民放棄其全部軍事企圖，一心一德從事於和平生活，然後方有恢復之望。彼等必須全力從事於建設工作，方能糾正其經濟活動與經濟制度之性質及方向，並以有用之工作給與日本民衆，使其為和平而努力。同盟國不欲提出任何使日本不能在適當時間內，完成此種工作之辦法。在不致引起飢荒，大規模疾病以及嚴重物質苦痛條件之下，日本應供給佔領軍隊以其所需

Japanese authorities will be expected and if necessary directed to maintain, develop and enforce programs that serve the following purposes:

(A) To avoid acute economic distress.

(B) To assure just and impartial distribution of available supplies.

(C) To meet requirements for reparations deliveries agreed upon by the Allied Governments.

(D) To facilitate the restoration of Japanese economy so that reasonable and peaceful requirements of the population can be satisfied.

In this connection, Japanese authorities on their own responsibility shall be permitted to establish and administer controls over economic activities, including the essential national public services, finance, banking, production and distribution of essential commodities, subject to the approval and review of the Supreme Commander in order to assure their conformity with the objectives of occupation.

(4) Reparations and Restitution.—
Reparation:

Reparations for Japanese aggression shall be made:

(A) Through transfer, as may be determined by Allied authorities, of Japanese property located outside of territories to be retained by the Japanese.

(B) Through transfer of such goods or existing capital, equipment and facilities as are not necessary for a peaceful Japanese economy or the supplying of

用之物品與勞役。日本當局應採行並實施下列各種計劃，如有必要時，盟軍最高統帥當命令日本當局如此辦理：

(甲) 避免嚴重經濟痛苦。

(乙) 保證現有物資之公平分配。

(丙) 供應盟國政府決定之賠償物資。

(丁) 設法重建日本之經濟，俾能滿足人民之合理的與和平的需要。

關於此點，日本當局可自行設法管理其經濟活動，其中包括主要國營公共事業，金融，銀行，以及日用必需品之生產與分配，但須受盟國最高統帥之監督與核准，俾使與軍事佔領之目標相符合。

(四) 賠償與歸還劫奪品：

賠償：

日本對於其侵略行為之賠償，須採下列方式：

(甲) 凡在日本所准予保留之領土以外之日本財產，須依照盟國當局之指示核充賠償之用。

(乙) 凡非日本和平經濟或供應佔領軍之所需之貨物，或現有資本，配備及便利，皆應移充賠償之用。

occupying forces.

Exports other than those directed to be shipped on reparations account or as restitution may be made only to those recipients who agree to provide the necessary imports in exchange or agree to pay for such exports in foreign exchange. No form of reparation shall be exacted which will interfere with or prejudice the program for Japan's demilitarization.

Restitution:

Full and prompt restitution will be required for all identifiable looted property.

(5) Fiscal, Monetary and Banking Policies.—Japanese authorities will remain responsible for the management and direction of the domestic fiscal, monetary and credit policies, subject to the approval and review of the Supreme Commander.

(6) International Trade and Financial Relations.—Japan shall be permitted eventually to resume normal trade relations with the rest of the world. During occupation and under suitable controls Japan will be permitted to purchase from foreign countries raw materials and other goods that it may need for peaceful purposes and to export goods to pay for approved imports. Control is to be maintained over all imports and exports of goods and foreign exchange financial transaction. Both the policies followed in the exercise of these controls and their actual administration shall be subject to the approval and supervision of

除因繳納賠償或歸還劫奪物而輸出之物資外，其他一切物資必須對方願以實物或外匯購買，方可准予輸出。凡足以阻礙或損害日本撤除軍備工作之任何賠償，概不准提出。

歸還劫奪品：

凡被日本劫奪之物品，現在可以查明者，皆應立刻全部歸還。

(五) 財政，貨幣與銀行政策——在盟軍最高統帥監督與核准之下，日本當局仍應負責管理與指導日本國內之財政，貨幣及放款政策。

(六) 國際貿易與金融關係——至適當時期，日本可准予與世界其他各國恢復正常貿易關係。在佔領期間，於適當管制之下，日本可准予自國外購買其和平建設所需之原料與他種物品，並輸出本國物品作為償付其准予輸入品貨價之用。一切進出口與外匯業，皆應加以管制。此種管制之政策及實施狀況，皆應受盟軍最高統帥之監督與核准，庶不致與佔領政策相違戾

the Supreme Commander in order to make sure that they are not contrary to the policies of the occupying authorities, and in particular that all foreign purchasing power that Japan may acquire is utilized only for essential needs.

(7) Japanese Property Located Abroad.—Existing Japanese external assets and existing Japanese assets located in territories detached from Japan under the terms of the surrender, including assets owned in whole or in part by the Imperial household and the government, shall be revealed to occupying authorities and held for disposition according to the decision of Allies Authorities.

(8) Equality or Opportunity for Foreign Enterprise within Japan.—Japanese authorities shall not give or permit any Japanese business organization to give exclusive or preferential opportunity or terms to enterprise of any foreign country or cede to such enterprise the control of any important branch of economic activity.

(9) Imperial Household Property.—The Imperial household property shall not be exempted from any action necessary to carry out the objectives of occupation.

，並可保證日本所能獲得之國外購買力必須全部用於必要之用途。

(七) 日本在國外之財產——目前日本在國外之資產，及其在依照投降條款而失去之領土中之資產，其中包括全部或一部份屬於日本皇室及政府之資產，必須明告佔領軍當局，留待同盟國將來之處置。

(八) 外國企業在日本境內機會之均等日本當局不得以獨享權，優先權或優先條件給予任何外國企業，或以任何重要經濟活動之管理權讓與任何外國企業，亦不得准許任何日本商業機關如此辦理。

(九) 皇室財產——為執行軍事佔領政策起見，如需採取任何必要之措施，即皇室財產亦不得視為例外。

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

(1) "cover," "包括", "規定"。The most important teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen are covered in his "Three People Principle." 孫中山先生遺教重要部份概包括於其三民主義一書。(2) "outlying." "附近"。The communication between the city and the outlying villages is carried on by rickshas, 本城與附近村莊之交通由人力車維持。

(3) "to be afforded," "予以"。In spite of his iniquity, the culprit will be afforded a chance to reform himself. 此罪狀雖犯罪將得有改善自身之機會。 (4) "In the event that," "倘若", "如"。 In the event that he fails again in the condition examination, a student shall be demoted, 學生倘補考不及格則應留級。(5) "Pending," "待", "俟"。 The new rules will be promulgated pending the approval of the committee. 俟委員會批准後新規則即公佈之。 (6) "to prohibit...." 及 (7) "to favor....." 皆爲上文上文 "it" (will be the policy) 之同位構造。 (8) "in of," "運用"。 The president of a democratic state is limited by the constitution in the exercise the exercise of his powers, 民主國之總統於運用其權力時受憲法之限制。 (9) "exempted from," "免除"。 No student shall be exempted from the graduation examination, 學生不得免于畢業試驗。

PRES. HARRY S. TRUMAN'S STATEMENT ON UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD CHINA

*Issued on Dec. 15, 1945 within two hours of Gen. Marshall's departure
on a diplomatic mission to Chungking*

杜魯門總統關於美國對 中國政策之聲明

一九四五年十二月十五日於馬歇爾將軍啓程來渝前二小時發出

The Government of the United States holds that peace and prosperity of the world in this new and unexplored era depend upon the ability of the sovereign nations to combine for collective security in the United Nations Organization.

It¹ is the firm belief of this Government that a strong, united and democratic China is of the utmost importance² to the success of the United Nations Organization and for world peace. A China disorganized and divided,³ either by foreign aggression, such as that undertaken by the Japanese, or by violent internal strife, is⁴ an undermining influence to world stability and peace.

Events of this century, however, would indicate that a breach of peace anywhere in the world threatens the peace of the entire world. It⁵ is thus, in the most vital interest of the United States, and all the United Nations, that the people of China overlook no opportunity to adjust their internal affairs

美國政府認為際此嶄新及希望無窮之

時代，舉世未來之和平及繁榮端賴聯合國

組織之國家團結一致共謀集體安全。

美政府深信強大團結及民主之中國對

於聯合國及世界和平之成功至關重要。不

論目前或將來，陷於紊亂及分裂之中國，

或因外患使然，如日人所為者；或為猛烈

內爭所召致者，將使世界之安定與和平岌

岌可危。

然本世紀以來之情勢，顯示吾儕設有

世界任何一地不克保持和平，則全世界和

平立受威脅。以此之故，美國暨所有聯合

國家，咸認中國應竭力迅依和平協商方法

promptly by methods of peaceful negotiation. The Government of the United States believes it⁶ essential:

(1) That a cessation of hostilities be arranged between the armies of the National Government and the Chinese Communists and other dissident Chinese armed forces for the purpose of completing the return of all China to effective Chinese control, including the immediate evacuation of the Japanese forces.

(2) That a National conference of representatives of major political elements be arranged to develop an early solution to the present internal strife—a solution which will bring about the unification of China.

The United States and other United Nations have recognized the present National Government of the Republic of China as the only legal government in China. It⁷ is the proper instrument to achieve the objective of a unified China.

The United States and the United Kingdom by the Cairo Declaration in 1943 and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by adhering to the Potsdam Declaration of last July and by the Sino-Soviet treaty and agreements of August 1945, are all committed to the liberation of China, including the return of Manchuria to Chinese control. These agreements were made with the National Government of the Republic of China.

In continuation of the constant and close collaboration with the National

調整內部爭議美政府相信下列兩點至關重要：

(一) 國民政府，中國共產黨與其他

政見不合之軍隊，應協商停止敵對行動，

俾中國全境得以重歸中國之有效控制，日

本軍隊亦得迅速撤退。

(二) 召開一全國主要政黨代表會議

，以謀早日解決目前之內爭，俾中國統一

得告實現。

美國及其他聯合國承認現下中華民國

之國民政府為中國唯一合法政府，而為

實現統一中國目標之正當機構。

美國與英聯合王國根據一九四三年之

開羅宣言，同時蘇維埃社會主義聯邦按照

本年七月之波茨坦宣言與一九四五八月之

中蘇條約，均保證使中國重獲自由，並包

括以滿洲歸還中國在內。此項協定係與中

華民國之國民政府締結者。

美國為貫徹其與中國國民政府在進行

Government of the Republic of China in the prosecution of this war, in consonance with⁸ the Potsdam Declaration, and to remove possibility of Japanese influence remaining in China, the United States has assumed a definite obligation in the disarmament and evacuation of the Japanese troops.

Accordingly the United States Government has been assisting, and will continue to assist, the National Government of the Republic of China in effecting the disarmament and evacuation of Japanese troops in the liberated areas. The United States Marines are in North China for that purpose.

The United States recognizes and will continue to recognize the National Government of China and cooperate with it in international affairs and specifically in eliminating Japanese influence from China. The United States is convinced that a prompt arrangement for a cessation of hostilities is essential to the effective achievement of this end. United States support will not extend to United States military intervention to influence the course of any Chinese internal strife.

The United States has already paid a great price to restore the peace which was first broken by Japanese aggression in Manchuria. The maintenance of peace in the Pacific may be jeopardized, if not frustrated,⁹ unless Japanese influence in China is wholly removed and unless China takes her place as a unified, democratic and peaceful nation. This is the purpose of the maintenance, for the

戰爭上之密切合作，一本波茨坦宣言而行，並為防範日本在華影響有繼續存在之可能，乃於解除日軍武裝與遣送彼等回國之工作中，承擔確定之責任。

是故美國迄在協助並將繼續協助中國國民政府實現在解放地區對日軍繳械及遣送回國之任務。美國海軍陸戰隊之駐在華北，其目的在此。

美國承認，並將繼續承認中國國民政府，且在國際事務上，特別是在消除日本在中國之影響上，與之合作。但美國相信為有效完成此一目標計，迅謀結束戰爭行為實屬必要。美國之協助決不至發展為美國軍事干涉之地步，以至左右中國任何內爭之趨勢。

美國為使首因日本在滿洲之侵略行為而遭破壞之和平，重行恢復計，已被迫付出重大代價。除非日本在華影響完全清除，且除非中國以一統一民主與和平之國家取日本之地位而代之，否則維持太平洋和平之努力縱非虛擲，亦將受阻。目前美國

time being,¹⁰ of United States military and naval forces of China.

The United States is cognizant that the present National Government of China is a one-party Government and believe that peace, unity and democratic reform in China will be furthered if the basis of this Government is broadened to include other political elements in the country. Hence, the United States strongly advocates that the national conference of representatives of major political elements in the country agree upon arrangements which would give those elements a fair and effective representation in the Chinese National Government.

It¹¹ is recognized that this would require modification of the one-party political tutelage established as an interim arrangement in the progress of the nation toward democracy by the father of the Chinese Republic, Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

The existence of autonomous armies such as that of the Communist army is inconsistent with, and actually makes impossible,¹² political unity in China. With the institution of a broadly representative Government autonomous armies should be eliminated as such¹³ and all armed forces in China integrated effectively into the Chinese National Army.

In line with¹⁴ its often expressed views regarding self-determination, the United States Government considers that the detailed steps necessary to the achievement of political unity in China must be worked out by the Chinese them-

陸海軍仍暫時駐留中國者，其作用唯此而已。

美國深知在中國國民政府乃屬一黨之政府，美國相信倘若該政府之基礎加以擴大，包容全國其他政治分子在內，則和平，團結，與民主之改革可推及於中國。職是之故，美國強烈主張應由國內所有主要政治分子推出代表舉行一全國性之會議，從而商定辦法，使彼等在中國國民政府內均享有公平而有效的代表權。

此舉必須將一黨訓政制度加以修改，是所公認者也。該項一黨訓政不過為中華民國國父孫中山先生在其推行全國民主過程中所訂之過渡辦法而已。

自治性之軍隊，即如共產軍者，與中國之政治團結不相符合，亦使之不可能。一旦廣泛的代議制建立起來，諸如此類之自治性軍隊及中國一切武裝軍隊均應有效的歸併於中國國軍之內。

美國政府依據其一貫表示關於自決之觀念，認為實現中國政治團結之詳細必要步驟，應由中國人民自行制定，任何外國

selves and that intervention by any foreign Government in these matters would be inappropriate.

The United States Government feels, however, that China has a clear responsibility to the other United Nations to eliminate armed conflict within its territory as constituting a threat to world stability and peace—a responsibility¹⁵ which is shared by the National Government and all Chinese political and military groups.

As China moves toward peace and unity along the lines¹⁶ described above, the United States would be prepared to assist the National Government in every reasonable way to rehabilitate the country, improve the agrarian and industrial economy, and establish a military organization capable of discharging China's national and international responsibilities for the maintenance of peace and order.

In furtherance of such assistance, it¹⁷ would be prepared to give favorable consideration to Chinese requests for credits and loans under reasonable conditions for projects which would contribute toward the development of a healthy economy throughout China and healthy trade relations between China and the United States.

政府在此等事務中之干與均屬不宜。

但美國政府感覺中國對聯合國負有一種明晰之責任，即消除在其領土內之武裝衝突，此種衝突造成世界安定與和平之威脅——此一責任實乃國民政府與所有中國政治及軍事集團所共負。

中國如按照上述之路線向和平團結前進，美國將準備以各種合理方式協助國民政府從事國家之善後，改良農業及工業經濟，建立一軍事組織，俾克完盡中國對維持和平秩序之國際責任。

為貫徹此種協助，美國將準備對中國貸款之要求在合理條件下予以善意考慮，俾能實現各種計劃以發展全中國之健全的經濟與中美間健全的商業關係。

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

(1) “It” 為文法上之主辭，其後之 “that” — clause (that a strong, united and democratic China is of the utmost importance.) 為實在之主辭，為強調關係置於 “It” 與其後 “It” 同位。(2) “of the utmost importance” 為 prepositional phrase 用作主辭

“China”之補充辭。故以下兩句言義， This question is important (adjective) —This question is of importance (prepositional phrase). (3) “divided and disorganized” (其本身有 modifiers—“either by . . . or by . . .”) 爲形容 “China,” 其位置在被形容字之後名爲形容字之 appositive 用法 (置於被形容字前名爲 attributive 用法，如 a strong, united and democratic China; 置於 intransitive verb 之後，如 “China is united” 爲 complement 用法——以上爲形容字之三種用法)，(4) “is” 爲本句第二字 “China,” 主辭，之動詞。(5) “It” 用法如 (1)，其後之 “that the people of China overlook no opportunity . . .” 爲 “It” 之同位 noun-clause。(6) 此 “it” 爲文法上之 object 其同位構造爲以下之 (1)，(2) 兩 “that”-clauses, 因其太長置於 objective complement (“essential”) 之後，以求明晰。此與 (1)，(5) 用法相反，蓋 “that”-clause 與 object 同位，前者爲與 subject “it” 同位。(7) 此 “It” 亦爲文法上之 subject 惟其同位構造與 (1)，(5) 不同，爲 infinitive phrase—“to achieve . . .” 故 “It” 爲文法上之 subject 時其後同位字如非爲 noun-clause (1)，(5) 卽 infinitive (8) “in consonance with,” “本 . . . 之意”，“合於” (較 “in conformity with,” “in accordance with,” “in accord with” 爲廣泛)。A judge judges a case in conformity with law, 審判官根據法律裁判案件 (嚴格適合)。Dr. Sun’s Three People Principle is in consonance with Confucian philosophy, 三民主義與儒家哲學大致相同 (但加有新學說)。(9) “if not frustrated” 爲省略句，寫明爲 “if it may not be frustrated.” (10) “for the time being” “暫時”，You have finished your work, and for the time being you may play, 汝工作已畢，可暫時遊戲。(11) “It” 用法如 (1)，(5)。(12) 用法同 (6)，受辭 “unity” 置於 objective complement—“impossible” 之後。(11) “as such” “以其本來性質而論”。He is a teacher, and as such he is equalled by few, 彼爲教師以其身爲教師而論幾無有過之者。(14) “in line with,” “一貫”，“前後相合” The philosophy of Mencius is in line with that of Confucius, 孟子學說與孔子學說他爲一貫者。(15) 此 “responsibility” 爲上面同字之重覆，目的在申述原義以求詳盡。(16) “along the lines,” “按照。” He explains along the same lines prescribed by his master, 彼按照其師所規定者而解釋。(17) 此 “It” 此用法與 (7) 同，係用 infinitive phrase—“to give . . .” 作 “It” 之同位構造。

THE COMMUNIQUE ON THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE UNITED STATES, GREAT BRITAIN AND THE SOVIET UNION

Issued on the night of Dec. 27, 1945 in London, Moscow, and Washington

三外長會議公報全文

一九四五年十二月二十七日於倫敦，莫斯科，華盛頓發表

The foreign ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Great Britain and the United States of America met in Moscow from December 16 to December 26, 1945, in accordance with¹ the decision of the Crimea Conference, confirmed at the Berlin Conference, that there could be periodic consultation between them.

At the meetings² of the three foreign ministers, discussions took place on an informal and exploratory basis³ and agreement was reached on the following questions:

PART I

PREPARATION OF PEACE TREATIES WITH ITALY, RUMANIA, BULGARIA, HUNGARY AND FINLAND.

As announced on December 24, 1945, the governments of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States have agreed, and have requested the adherence of the governments of France and China, to⁴ the following procedure with respect to⁵ the preparation of peace treaties:

蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦，聯合王國，及美利堅合衆國三國外長，遵照克里米亞會議之決定，嗣後柏林會議重申此事，即彼等之間應按期舉行會商，爰於一九四五年十二月十六日至十二月廿六日在莫斯科召集會議。

會中三國外長依照非正式及探討方式進行討論，對下列問題獲致協議。

第一部份 準備與義大利，羅馬尼亞，保加利亞，匈牙利及芬蘭，締結和約。

一如一九四五年十二月廿四日所宣佈，蘇聯，聯合王國及合衆國政府，一致同意邀請中國及法國政府，進行下述籌備和約程序：

(1) In the drawing up⁶ by the council of foreign ministers of treaties of peace with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland, only members of the council who are, or under the terms⁷ of the agreement establishing the council of foreign ministers adopted⁸ at the Berlin Conference are deemed to be—signatory of the surrender terms, will participate unless and until⁹ the council takes further action under the agreement¹⁰ to invite their members of the council to participate on questions directly concerning them. That is to say:¹¹

(A) The terms of the peace treaty with Italy will be drafted¹² by the foreign ministers of the United Kingdom, the United States, the Soviet Union and France.

(B) The terms of the peace treaties with Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary by the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom.

(C) The terms of the peace treaty with Finland by the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom.

The deputies of the foreign ministers will immediately resume their work in London on the basis of understandings reached on the questions discussed at the first plenary session of the council of foreign ministers in London.

(2) When the preparation of all these drafts has been completed, the

(一) 外長會議起草對義大利，羅馬尼亞，保加利亞，匈牙利及芬蘭和約時，僅該會議與會代表之曾在投降條款上簽字者，或根據柏林會議中設立外長會議之協定條款認為係簽字者之代表始可參加，除非外長會議取得協議邀請該會議之其他國家代表，參與討論直接與此等國家有關之問題。此即謂：

(甲) 對義和約將由英，美，蘇，法四國外長起草。

(乙) 對羅，保，匈，三國和約將由蘇，美，英，三國外長起草。

(丙) 對芬和約將由蘇，英兩國外長起草。

各國外長之代表將立即在倫敦恢復工作，以外長會議第一次在倫敦舉行之大會中所討論之各項問題上所已得之諒解為基礎。

(二) 俟所有此項和約草稿完成後，外

council of foreign ministers will convoke a conference for the purpose of considering treaties of peace with Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. The conference will consist of the five members of the council of foreign ministers, together with¹³ all members of the United Nations which actively waged war with a substantial military force against European enemy states, namely, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, China, France, Australia, Belgium the Byelo-Russian (White Russian) Soviet Socialist Republic, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Greece, India, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, the Union of South Africa, Yugoslavia, and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The conference will be held not later than May 1, 1946.

(3) After the conclusion of the deliberations of the conference and upon consideration of its recommendations, the states signatory to the terms of armistice with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland—France being regarded as such for the purposes of the peace treaty with Italy—will draw up the final texts of the peace treaties.

(4) The final texts of the respective peace treaties as so¹⁴ drawn up will be signed by representatives of the states represented at the conference which were at war with the enemy state in question.¹⁵ The texts of the respective

長會議將召開會議，俾考慮對義，羅，保，匈，芬五國之和約，此會議將包括參加外長會議王國及聯合國中曾以實際軍事力量積極與歐洲敵國作戰之所有國家，即蘇聯，聯合王國，美國，中國，法國，澳大利亞，比利時，白俄羅斯蘇維埃社會主義共和國，巴西，加拿大，捷克，阿比西尼亞，希臘，印度，紐西蘭，挪威，波蘭，南非聯邦，南斯拉夫，烏克蘭蘇維埃社會主義共和國。此會議之召開，將不遲至一九四六年五月一日以後。

(三)此會議各項考慮結束之後，曾在對義，羅，保，匈，芬五國停戰協定上簽字之國家——法國因對義和約關係被認為係簽字國——將考慮其建議，並將起草和約之最後正文。

(四)依此起草之各別和約將由參加會議，並與該敵國作戰之國家代表簽字。各別和約之正文，於是將送交與有關敵國交

peace treaties will then be submitted to the other United Nations.

(5) The peace treaties will come into force¹⁶ immediately after they have been ratified by the Allied states signatory to the respective armistices, France being regarded as such in the case of the peace treaty with Italy. These treaties are subject to ratification by the enemy states in question.

PART II
FAR EASTERN COMMISSION AND
ALLIED COUNCIL FOR JAPAN.

Far Eastern Commission—Agreement has been reached, with the concurrence of China, for the establishment of a Far Eastern Commission to take the place of the Far Eastern Advisory Commission. The terms of reference for the Far Eastern Commission are as follows:

(1) Establishment of the Commission.

A Far Eastern Commission is hereby established composed of representatives of the Union of Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, China, France, the Netherlands, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India and the Philippines.

(2) Functions.

(A) The functions of the Far Eastern Commission shall¹⁷ be (1) to formulate the policies, principles and standards in conformity with¹⁸ which the fulfillment by Japan of its obligations under the terms of surrender may

戰之聯合國其他國家。

(五)所有和約經盟方在各別停戰協定簽字之國家——法國在對義和約中法被認為係此等國家——批准後立即生效。各和約須由有關敵國之批准。

第二部份 遠東委員會及盟
國管制日本委員會

遠東委員會

茲經取得協議——中國亦已同意——

設立一遠東委員會，以代替遠東諮詢委員會。有關遠東委員會之條款如下：

(一)委員會之建立——茲成立一遠東

委員會，由蘇，英，美，中，法，荷，加

，澳，印，菲，暨新西蘭等國組成。

(二) 任務

(甲)遠東委員會之任務如下：

(一)制訂日本於完全履行投降條件時

應格遵之政策原則及標準。

be accomplished. (2) to review, on the request¹⁹ of any member, any directive issued to the supreme commander for the Allied powers on any action taken by the supreme commander involving policy decisions within the jurisdiction²⁰ of the Commission. (3) to consider such other matters as may be assigned to it by agreement among the participating governments reached in accordance with the voting procedure provided for²¹ in Article 5, Section 2 hereunder.

(B) The Commission shall not make recommendations with regard to the conduct of military operations nor with regard to territorial adjustments.

(C) The Commission in its activities will proceed from the fact that there has been formed an Allied Council for Japan and will respect existing control machinery in Japan including the chain of command from the United States Government to the supreme commanders in command of the occupation forces.

(3) Functions of the U. S. Government.

(A) The United States Government shall prepare directives in accordance with policy decisions of the Commission and shall transmit them to the supreme commander through the appropriate United States Government agency. The supreme commander shall be charged with the implementation of the directives which express the policy decisions of the Commission.

(二)應任何一與會國家之請求，考核

盟國最高統帥所頒佈之命令，或盟國統帥之措施而有關於該會職權範圍內之決策者。

(三)考慮參加國家政府按照下述第五款第二條表決程序一致通過提交該會處理事務。

(乙)該會不能對軍事行動或土地條整，提出建議。

(丙)該會之行動，應以下稱事實為出發點。

盟國已成立一對日委員會，並須尊重現在在日之管制機構，此一機構之聯鎖，乃自美國政府起以迄佔領部隊之最高統帥部。

(三) 美國政府之任務

(甲)美國政府應依照遠東委員會之決策擬具指令，然後經適當之美國政府機構，送達最高統帥，最高統帥應負責實施此項發揮遠東委員會決策之指令。

(B) If the Commission decide that any directive or action reviewed in accordance with Article Two A should be modified, its decision shall be regarded as a policy decision.

(C) The United States Government may issue interim²² directives to the supreme commander pending²³ action by the Commission whenever urgent matters arise not covered by policies already formulated by the Commission, provided that²⁴ any directive dealing with fundamental changes in the Japanese constitutional structure or in the regime of control, or dealing with a change in the Japanese government as a whole, will be issued only following consultation and following the attainment of agreement in the Far Eastern Commission.

(D) All directives issued shall be filed with the Commission.

(4) Other Methods of Consultation.

The establishing of the Commission shall not preclude the use of other methods of consultation of Far Eastern issues by the participating government.

(5) Composition.

(A) The Far Eastern Commission shall consist of one representative of each of the states party²⁵ to this agreement. The membership of the Commission may be increased, by agreement among the participating powers, as conditions warrant, by the addition of representatives of other United Nations in the Far East or having territories therein. The Commission shall provide

(乙)倘委員會按照第二款甲項考核任何指令或措施決定須予修改者，其決定應視同決策。

(丙)美國政府遇緊急事件發生，而不
在委員會既定政策範圍之內，得向最高統帥發佈臨時訓令，惟此項訓令，倘涉及日本憲政機構或管制當局之基本變革，或涉及整個日本政府之變動，則須事先徵詢並獲得遠東委員會之同意方可。

(丁)所有訓令須呈報遠東委員會。

(四) 其他之商討方法

本委員會之建立並不妨礙參加政府對於遠東問題之其他商討方法，

(五) 組織

(甲)遠東委員會將包括參與本協定各國之代表每國一人。委員會名額遇必要時，得於徵求所參加國家同意後，增加地處遠東或在遠東保有領土之其他聯合國國家代表。委員會應規定於必要時，與未參加

for full and adequate consultations, as the occasion may require, with representatives of the United Nations not members of the Commission in regard to matter before the Commission which are of particular concern to such nations.

(B) The Commission may take action by less than unanimous vote provided that action shall have the concurrence of at least a majority of all the representatives, including the representatives of the four following powers: the United States, the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and China.

(6) Location and Organization.

(A) The Far Eastern Commission shall have its headquarters in Washington. It may meet at other places as occasion requires, including Tokyo, if and when it deems it desirable to do so. It may make such arrangements, through the chairman, as may be practicable for consultation with the supreme commander for the Allied powers.

(B) Each representative on the Commission may be accompanied by an appropriate staff comprising both civilian and military representatives.

(C) The Commission shall organize and appoint such committees as may be deemed advisable, and otherwise perfect its organization and procedure.

(7) Termination.

The Far Eastern Commission shall cease to function when a decision to

委員會之聯合國代表，對提交委員會之事務而與各該國有特殊關係者，舉行完全與充分之會商。

(乙)委員會之決議案，可無需全體一致通過，惟此項決議案至少須經全體代表大多數贊成，且贊成之代表中，須包括下列四強代表：美合眾國，聯合王國，蘇維埃聯邦，及中華民國。

(六) 地點及機構

(甲)遠東委員會之總部將設於華盛頓，倘遇情形需要且經委員會認可，亦得在其他地點舉行，包括東京在內，該會得於可能範圍內，由主席出面接洽，與盟國最高統帥進行會商。

(乙)委員會每一代表，可攜帶一適當之參謀團，包含民事及軍事代表。

(丙)委員會應自行組織秘書處，並視需要情形若何，設置若干小組委員會，或藉其他方法，使其組織及手續臻於完備。

(七) 解散

遠東委員會於全體代表至少大多數以

that effect is taken by the concurrence of at least a majority of all the representatives, including the representatives of the four following powers, United States, the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and China. Prior to the termination of its functions, the Commission shall transfer to any interim or permanent security organization of which the participating governments are members those functions which may appropriately be transferred. It was agreed that the government of the United States, on behalf of the four powers, should present the terms of reference to the other governments specified in Article I and invite them to participate in the Commission on the revised basis.

(B) Allied Council for Japan.

The following agreement was also reached, with the concurrence of China, for the establishment of an Allied Council for Japan:

(1) There shall be established an Allied Council with its seat²⁶ in Tokyo under the chairmanship of the supreme commander for the Allied powers for the purpose of consulting with and advising the supreme commander in regard to the implementation of the terms of surrender, the occupation and control of Japan—and of directives supplementary thereto—and for the purpose of exercising the control authority herein granted.

(2) The memberships of the Allied Council shall consist of the supreme

上通過決定解散時，即行停止活動。贊成解散之代表，須包括下列四國代表：美合衆國，聯合王國，蘇維埃聯邦，及中華民國。委員會停止活動之前，須以認為有移轉必要之任務，移交臨時或永久之安全機構，此等機構乃參加委員會國家所加人者。茲結議定：美國政府代表四強應將參考條款送達在第一條中所列之其他政府，並邀請此等政府，參加改組後之委員會。

(乙)盟國管制日本委員會

茲又經議定下列各點，並得中國同意

設立盟國管制日委員會。

(1)盟國委員會將設於東京，由盟軍最高統帥(或其代表)任主席其目的在與最高統帥商討及建議關於實現日本投降條款，對日佔領與控制，及其他補充之條例，並為行使本文件所賦與之管制權。

(2)盟國委員會之委員，包括最高統帥(或其代表)任主席及美國代表蘇聯代

commander (or his deputy) who shall be the chairman and the United States members; a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics member, a Chinese member, and a member representing jointly the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and India.

(3) Each member shall be entitled²⁷ to have an appropriate staff consisting of military and civilian advisers.

(4) The Allied Council shall meet not less often than once every two weeks.

(5) The supreme commander shall issue all orders for the implementation of the terms of surrender, the occupation and control of Japan and directives supplementary thereto. In all cases, action will be carried out under and through the supreme commander who is the sole executive authority for the Allied powers in Japan. He will consult and advise with the council in advance of²⁸ the issuance of orders on matters of substance, the exigencies of the situation permitting. His decisions upon these matters shall be controlling.

(6) If, regarding the implementation of policy decisions of the Far Eastern Commission on questions concerning a change in the regime of control, fundamental changes in the Japanese constitutional structure, and a change in the Japanese government as a whole, a member of the Council disagrees with the supreme commander (or his deputy) the supreme commander will withhold

表中國代表及另一聯合王國，澳大利亞，

紐西蘭及印度之聯合代表。

(3) 每一委員得有適宜之幕僚人員包括軍事及平民顧問。

(4) 盟國委員會之集會，不得少於每二週一次。

(5) 關於實現投降條款，佔領及控制日本，及其他補充條例之命令，由最高統帥頒發，無論何種情形下，行動之實施，須聽命及經由最高統帥，渠為盟國在日之唯一執行當局，渠在頒發重大事項之命令前，須視情勢許可，先與該委員會商討及諮詢。渠在此等事項上之決定，有拘束力。

(6) 關於實現遠東委員會政策中之決定，其有關管制機構之改組，日本政府整個改組，如該委員會委員一人與最高統帥（或其代表）表示異議，最高統帥在遠東委員會關於此事未有協議前，應暫緩頒發

the issuance of orders of these questions pending agreement thereon in the Far Eastern Commission.

(7) In cases of necessity, the supreme commander may make decisions concerning the change of individual ministers of the Japanese government, or concerning the filling of vacancies created by the resignation of individual cabinet members, after appropriate preliminary consultation with the representatives of the other Allied powers on the Allied Council.

PART III KOREA

(1) With a view to²⁹ the re-establishment of Korea as an independent state, the creation of conditions for developing the country on democratic principles and the earliest possible liquidation of the disastrous results of the protracted Japanese domination in Korea, there shall be set up a provisional Korean democratic government which shall take all the necessary steps for developing the industry, transport and agriculture of Korea and the national culture of the Korean people.

(2) In order to assist the formation of a provisional Korean government and with a view to the preliminary elaboration of the appropriate measures, there shall be established a joint commission, consisting of representatives of the United States command in southern Korea and the Soviet command in northern Korea. In preparing their proposals, the commission shall consult

關於此等問題之命令。

(7) 如情勢需要，最高統帥經與盟國委員會其他盟國代表作初步磋商後，得作有關更動日本政府某一大臣或指派人選填充因某一內閣閣員辭職所遺之空缺。

第三部份 朝 鮮

(一) 為重建朝鮮成一獨立國家，創造各種依據民主原則發展之條件及儘速清除日本在朝鮮長期統治之惡果起見，將設立一臨時朝鮮民主政府，該政府須採取各種必須要步驟，以發展朝鮮之工業，運輸，農業及朝鮮人民之民族文化。

(二) 為協助組成臨時朝鮮民主政府，並為籌劃初步適當辦法起見，由朝鮮南部之美軍司令部及朝鮮北部之蘇軍司令部，組成聯合委員會。在準備各項建議時，該

with the Korean democratic parties and social organizations. The recommendations worked out by the Commission shall be presented for the consideration of the governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, the United Kingdom and the United States prior to final decision by the two governments represented on the joint Commission.

(3) It³⁰ should be the task of the joint Commission, with the participation of the provisional Korean democratic government and of the Korean democratic parties, to work out measures also for helping and assisting the political, economic and social progress of the Korean people, the development of democratic self-government and the establishment of the national independence of Korea. The proposals of the joint commission shall be submitted, following consultation with the provisional Korean government, for the joint consideration of the governments of the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and China for the working out of³¹ agreement concerning a four-power trusteeship for a period of up to five years.

(4) For the consideration of urgent problems affecting both southern and northern Korea and for the elaboration of measures establishing permanent coordination in administrative and economic matters between the United States command in southern

委員會應與朝鮮民主政黨及社會組織諮商

。該委員會製成之建議，應先送交蘇，中，英，美四國政府考慮，然後由參加聯合委員會之二國政府，作最後決定。

(三)聯合委員會協同臨時朝鮮民主政府及朝鮮各民主政黨，製定各種方案，以提攜及協助朝鮮人民在政治，經濟，社會上之進步，建立民主自治及朝鮮之國家獨立。該委員會於諮商臨時朝鮮民主政府後，應將建議送交美，蘇，英，中四國政府聯合考慮，俾關於四強在朝鮮為期五年之托管制，得以成立協定。

(4)為考慮各種有關朝鮮南北兩部之緊急問題，並為訂定方案，以期建立朝鮮南部美軍司令部與朝鮮北部蘇軍司令部在

Korea and the Soviet command in Northern Korea, a conference of the representatives of the United States and Soviet commands in Korea shall be convened within a period of two weeks.

PART IV CHINA

The three foreign secretaries exchanged views with regard to the situation in China. They were in agreement as to the need for a unified and democratic China under the National Government, for broad participation by democratic elements in all branches of the National Government, and for the cessation of civil strife. They reaffirmed their adherence to the policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of China.

Mr. Molotov and Mr. Byrnes had several conferences concerning the Soviet and American armed forces in China. Mr. Molotov stated that Soviet forces had disarmed and deported Japanese troops in Manchuria, but that withdrawal of Soviet forces had been postponed until February 1, at the request of the Chinese government. Mr. Byrnes pointed out that American forces were in north China at the request of the Chinese government, and referred also to the primary responsibility of the United States in the implementation of the terms of surrender with respect to the disarming and deportation of Japanese troops. He stated that the American forces would be withdrawn just as soon as this

行政及經濟事務上之永久合作，美蘇二司令部之代表應於二星期內舉行會議。

第四部份 中國

三國外長曾對中國局勢，交換意見。

渠等同意在國民政府下，有一團結民主之中國，國民政府各級機構中民主黨派之廣泛參與及內部衝突之停止，均屬必要。渠等重申堅持不干涉中國內部事務之政策。

莫洛托夫與貝爾納斯對於美蘇駐華軍隊一事，曾作數度會議。莫氏稱：蘇軍已解除東北日軍之武裝，並將其遣送出境，但蘇軍之撤退，則徇中國政府之請求，已展期至二月一日。貝氏指出美軍之駐在華北，亦係徇中國政府之請求，並述及美國之主要責任，在於執行日本之投降條件，解除日軍之武裝，及遣送回國。渠稱：一

responsibility was discharged or the Chinese government was in a position³² to discharge the responsibility without the assistance of American forces.

The two foreign secretaries were in complete accord as to the desirability of withdrawing the Soviet and American forces from China at the earliest practicable moment consistent with the discharge of their obligations.

PART V RUMANIA

The three government are prepared to give King Michael the advice which he has asked in his letter of August 21, 1945, on the broadening of the Rumania government. The king should be advised that one member of the National Peasant party and one member of the Liberal party should be included in the government. The Commission referred to³³ below shall satisfy itself that: (A) They are truly representative members of the groups or the parties not represented in the government, and (B) they are suitable and will work loyally with the government.

The three governments take note that the Rumanian Government thus re-organized should declare that free and untrammled elections will be held in which all anti-Fascist parties should have the right to participate. The government should give assurances concerning the grant of freedom of the press, speech, religion and association.

Soviet Foreign Vice - Commissar Andre Vyshinsky, U.S. Ambassador Averell Harriman and British Ambas-

俟此項責任完成，或中國政府不需美軍之協助，而能執行此種責任時，美軍當即撤退。

美蘇二外長對於兩國軍隊撤離中國一事，彼此意見完全一致。

第五部份 羅馬尼亞

美英蘇三國政府準備向羅馬尼亞國王密契爾提供意見，勸告國王擴大羅馬尼亞政府，容納全國農民黨員一人，及自由黨黨員一人。下述之委員會：(甲)必須真正代表在野之集團或黨派，(乙)必須與政府忠誠合作。

美英蘇三政府注意改組後之羅馬尼亞政府，應宣佈舉行自由而無干涉之選舉，所有一切反法西斯黨派，均有參加之權利。政府應保證准許報導，言論，宗教與集會之自由。

蘇聯人民外交委員會副委員長維欣斯基，美大使哈里曼與英大使寇爾受權合組

sador Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, as a commission, will proceed to Bucharest immediately to consult with King Michael and members of the present government with the view to the execution of the above mentioned task.

As soon as these tasks are accomplished and the required assurances have been received, the government of Rumania, with which the Soviet government maintains relations, will be recognized by the government of the United States of America and the government of the United Kingdom.

PART VI BULGARIA

It³⁴ is understood by three governments that the Soviet government has taken upon itself the mission of giving friendly advice to the Bulgarian government with regard to desirability of inclusion in the Bulgarian government of Fatherland Front, now being formed, of an additional two representatives of other democratic groups who (A) are truly representatives of groups of parties which are not participating in government, and (B) are really suitable and will work loyally with the government.

As soon as the government of the United States of America and the United Kingdom are convinced that this friendly advice has been accepted by the Bulgarian government and said additional representatives have been included in its body, the government of the United States and the government of the United Kingdom will recognize the Bulgarian

一委員會，立即前往羅馬尼亞京城與密契爾國王及現政府人員諮商，以便執行上述之任務。

一俟此等任務完成，並獲得必要之保證後，美英兩國政府將承認與蘇聯政府保持外交關係之羅馬尼亞政府。

第六部份 保加利亞

三國政府瞭解：蘇聯政府自願負責向保加利亞政府貢獻友誼之勸告，即在目下所成立之保加利亞祖國陣綫政府內，應容納其他民主集團之代表，此等代表：(甲)為真正代表在野之集團或黨派；(乙)為真能與政府忠誠合作者。

一俟英美兩政府深信此項友誼勸告確已由保加利亞政府加以後接受，且上述之代表，確已被容納在保加利亞政府內，英美政府即將承認與蘇聯已有外交關係之保

government with which government the Soviet Union already has diplomatic relations.

PART VII
ESTABLISHMENT BY UNITED NATIONS OF COMMISSION FOR CONTROL OF ATOMIC ENERGY

Discussion of the subject of atomic energy is related to the question of establishment of a commission by General Assembly of the United Nations. Ministers of foreign affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America and United Kingdom have agreed to recommend for consideration of the general assembly of the United Nations the establishment by United Nations of a commission to consider problems arising from the discovery of atomic energy and related matters. They have agreed to invite other permanent members of security council, France and China, together with Canada, to join with them in assuming the Initiative in sponsoring the following resolution of the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in January, 1946:

Resolved by the General Assembly of the United Nations, to establish a commission, with composition and competence set out hereunder, to deal with problems raised by the discovery of atomic energy and other related matters.

(1) Establishment of a Commission. A commission is hereby established by the General Assembly with terms of reference set out under Section 5 below.

加利亞政府。

第七部份 由聯合國組織原子能管制委員會

關於原子能問題之討論以由聯合國大會設立一委員會之事，英美蘇三國外長已同意向聯合國大會建議由聯合國組織一委員會，以便考慮於發現原子能所引起之各種問題，以及有關之事情，並同意邀請安全理事會其他永久會員，即中法兩國以及加拿大共同參加，俾明年一月舉行之聯合國大會第一次會議中，發起下列之決議：

聯合國大會議決設立一委員會，以處理一切由於發現原子能所引起之問題，以及其他有關之事務，委員會之組織與資格如下：

(一) 委員會之設立：設立一委員會，由大會依據下開第五款之條件設立之。

(2) Relations of Commission with Organs of the United Nations. The commission shall submit its reports and recommendations of the Security Council and such reports and recommendations shall be made public unless the Security Council, in the interests of peace and security, otherwise directs. In appropriate cases the Security Council should transmit these reports to the General Assembly and others of the United Nations as well as to economic and social council and other organ within the framework of the United Nations. In view of the Security Council's primary responsibility, under the charter of the United Nations, for maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council shall issue directions to the commission accountable for³⁵ its work to the Security Council.

(3) Composition of Commission. The commission shall be composed of one representative from each of those states represented on the Security Council, and Canada which³⁶ state is not a member of the Security Council. Each representative of commission may have such assistants as he may desire.

(4) Rules of Procedure. The Commission shall have whatever staff it may deem necessary and shall make recommendations for its rules of procedure to the Security Council which shall approve them as a procedural matter.

(5) Terms of Reference of Commission. The Commission shall proceed

(二) 委員會與聯合國機構之關係：

該委員會須將其報告及建議提交安全理事會，此種報告與會議，必須公開，除非理事會為和平與安全之利益計，另有規定，安全之理事會將此等報告轉交大會與聯合委員會，以及理事會本身機構內之經濟社會委員會。根據聯合國憲章，安全理事會之主要責任，原為維持國際和平與安全，故安全理事會應對委員會頒發有關安全問題之指導，關於以上各點，委員會之工作應對安全理事會負責。

(三) 委員會之組織：該委員會由安

全理事會之每一代表國與加拿大各派一人組織之，委員會中每一代表，可選擇其本人所願僱用之助理。

(四) 程序規則：委員委必須僱用其

所認為必要之職員，並須向安全理事會提出程序規則之建議，由理事會批准之。

(五) 對委員會之委託條件：委員必

with utmost dispatch and inquire into all phases to the problem and make such recommendations from time to time with respect to them as it finds possible. In particular,³⁷ the commission shall make specific proposals: for extending between all nations exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends; for control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes; for elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction; for effective safeguards by way of³⁸ inspection and other means to protect complying states against hazards of violations and evasions.

The work of the commission should proceed by separate stages, successful completion of each of which will develop necessary confidence of the world before the next stage is undertaken. The commission shall not infringe upon³⁹ the responsibilities of any organ of the United Nations but should present recommendations for consideration of those organs in performance of⁴⁰ their tasks under the terms of United Nations charter.

(Signed) V. M. Molotov, Ernest Bevin,
James Byrnes, Dec. 27, 1945.

須儘速調查問題之各方面，並隨時提出適當建議，尤其必須有具體之建議。擴大國際間交換，以和平為目的之基本科學情報；控制原子能，保證其祇運用於和平之目的；消除原子戰具及其他適合於大量毀滅之重大戰具，以視察及其他方法，有效保障使守約國不受違約國之危害。

委員會之工作，應分段進行，每一段之順利完成，將引起世人之信仰，然後進行二階段，該委員會不得侵犯聯合國任何機構之責任，但應向各機構供獻建議，以完成其在聯合國憲章規定下之任務。

簽字人 莫洛托夫，貝文，貝爾納斯
。一九四五年十二月二十七日

ANNOTATIONS

- (1) "in accordance with," "遵照"(絲毫不違原有者)。(2) "meeting," "conference," "session" 之前用 "at."。(3) "on...basis," "on the basis of," "按某種方式"。(4) "adherence to," "遵行", "付和"。(5) "with respect to," "關於"。(6) "the drawing up of," "drawing up," 為 verbal noun, 前有 "the" 後有 "of," 與 gerund 不同者在此。(7) "terms," "conditions," "agreement" 前用 "under."

(8) "adopted," "接受", "採納"。(9) "unless and until" 係兩 conjunctions 並用。Unless and until you consent, I will go, 除非汝同意且俟汝同意時, 余始去。(10) 見 (7)。(11) "That is to say," "此即謂" (that is, 縮寫為 i.e., 即)。(12) "drafted," "起草" (first draft 初步起草)。(13) "together with," "包括", "與"。(14) "so" 代表上述之意。(15) "in question," "有關", "所談之"。He is the man in question, 彼即所談之人。(16) "come into force," "生效", "實行"。(17) "shall" 為正式公文條約所用之字或用 be + infinitive. The members shall meet once a week, 或 The members are to meet once a week。(18) "in conformity with," "恪守" (盡量適合原有者, 與 in accordance with 稍有不同, in conformity with, 為適合細則)。(19) "on the request of," "一經申請比即……", "at the request of" "遇申請即"。(20) "jurisdiction," "勢力範圍", "權方範圍", "法律範圍"。(21) "provided (participle) for," "所載明"。(與 He is well provided for, 不同, 此為他人為之充分儲備, 供給)。(22) "interim," "臨時", (兩事中間之「期中」), (23) "pending" "待……決定"。(24) "provided that" 或省略 that 為 conjunction phrase, 即 "if" 之意惟含正式條件語氣, 於公文, 條約, 契約中用之。(25) "party to," "兩造之一造", "多有關者之一"。(26) "seat," "所在地"。(27) "entitled to," "有某種權利"。(28) "in advance of," "預先"。(29) "with a view to," "其目的在"。to 字之 object 如非為 noun 即用 gerund。He comes with a view to talking it over with you, 彼來之目的為與汝磋商一切。(30) "It" 為文法上之 subject, 意義上之 subject 為其後之 infinitive phrase, "to work out……"。(31) "the working out of," 見 (6)。(32) "in a position to," "能", "便於"。I am in a position to help you, 余能為助君 (余便為助君)。(33) "referred to," "所指", "前述"。(34) "It" 所代表之意義上 subject 為其後之 "that"-clause。(35) "accountable for," "負責"。(36) "which" 為 relative adjective。(37) "in particular," "特以" "尤"。(38) "by way of," "以……一方法"。(39) "infringe upon," "侵犯", "侵害"。(40) "in performance of," "完成", "達到"。

U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES F. BYRNES'
SPEECH TO THE NATION ON THE U.S.
STAND IN THE COUNCIL OF FOREIGN
MINISTERS

Broadcast on October 6, 1945

美國務卿貝爾納斯講演美國對
五國外長會議之立場

一九四五年十月六日廣播

The first session of the Council of Foreign Ministers closed in a stalemate, but that need not, and should not, deprive us of¹ a second and better chance to get on with² the peace.

In the past, I have been both criticized and commended for being a compromiser. I confess that I do believe that peace and political progress in international affairs, as in domestic affairs, depend upon intelligent compromise. The United States delegation acted in that spirit at Berlin. We acted in that spirit at London. And we shall continue to act in that spirit at future conferences. That spirit is essential in international conferences where action can be taken only by unanimous agreement. When any one member can prevent agreement, compromise is a necessity. Men and women who have served on a jury can appreciate that.

Compromise, however, does not mean surrender, and compromise, un-

第一次外長會議不得結果而閉會，但此必不且不應便使吾人不再有第二次及更佳機會以求致和平。

在過去，余嘗被人批評兼稱讚謂余為一妥協主義者。余自認余確信和平與國際政治之進展，與國內政治進展相同，亦有賴於明智之妥協。美國代表團出席柏林會議，曾抱定此種精神，出席倫敦會議，亦抱定此種精神，即出席未來之各種會議，亦將繼續抱定此種精神。在國際會議中，採取行動須得一致同意，因此此種精神為所必要。遇有一個會員能阻止同意，即需要妥協。凡曾在法庭擔任陪審員之人，皆能領會此點。

然，妥協並非屈服之謂，且妥協與屈

like surrender, requires the assent of more than one party.

The difficulties encountered at the London conference will, I hope, impress upon the people of all countries, including our own people, the hard reality that none of us can expect to write the peace in our own way. If this hard reality is accepted by statesmen and peoples at an early stage of the peace-making process, it may at later stages save us and save the peace of the world from the disastrous effects of disillusionment and intransigencies.

Regardless of³ how Americans differ as to domestic policies, they desire unity in our foreign policies. This unity will be essential in the days ahead of⁴ us when we may expect differences in views by various governments as to peace settlements.

However, the political party in power cannot expect this unity unless it freely consults representatives of the opposing political party. Believing this, I requested Mr. John Foster Dulles, one of the best-informed Americans in the field of foreign relations and a loyal Republican, to accompany me to London in an advisory capacity.⁵ He has been more than an adviser; he has been a partner. Between us there have been no secrets. At the council table and in private conference he has participated in the making of all decisions. Our accord serves to show that in foreign affairs Republicans and Democrats can work together, and that

服不同，須得幾方面之同意。

余希望倫敦會議所遭遇之困難，能使各國人士以及本國人民之腦中皆印有此一個嚴酷之現實，即吾人任何人均不能期望依照着自己之意思以繕就和平。如果政治家及各民族在進行和平過程之初期能認清此一嚴酷現實，其後吾人及世界和平均可免去失望與不妥協之悲慘結果。

不論美國人對於國內政策意見如何不同，對於外交政策，皆希望統一。在對於未來奠定和平吾人預料各國政府有不同見解時，此種統一實為必要。

不過掌握政權之政黨若不隨時諮商反對黨之代表，即不能望有此統一，余因相信此層，所以邀請熟諳國際關係之共和黨忠實黨員道爾斯先生以顧問資格陪余同往出席倫敦會議。彼不僅為余之顧問；彼實是夥伴。余兩人彼此間並無隱密。無論在會議席上，或私人會談，彼全參與，同作決定。吾人意見之一致，足以證明對於外交事項，共和黨與民主黨確能合作，對於外交政策之重要問題，吾美國人係團結一

in vital matters of foreign policy we Americans are united.

I think we all had in mind the precedent of the Dumbarton Oaks conference. There, representatives of Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China and the United States worked together to prepare draft proposals for the United Nations' Security Council.

Experience reveals that a certain degree of understanding among the major powers is essential to secure general agreement among many nations. Understanding among the great powers is not achieved in advance of a conference participated in by many nations. It usually has to be secured informally during the conference.

At the Versailles conference, for example, it took the big three and the big five so long to agree among themselves that the complaint was made that the smaller powers had little more time to consider the treaty that was given to the Germans.

The Berlin agreement envisaged⁶ the naming of high-ranking deputies who could carry on the work of the council in the absence of their chiefs, the Foreign Secretaries. The council, as President Truman and I understood it, was to be a sort of combined staff to explore the problems and prepare proposals for the final peace settlements.

At Berlin it certainly was never intended that the three powers or the five powers constituting the Council

致。

余推想大家猶能憶及登巴頓橡樹會議之先例。該次會議舉行之時，英，蘇，中，美，四國代表聚會一堂，共同草擬聯合國安全理事會各種建議。

經驗昭示吾人，欲取得多數國家之同意，各大國間須先有相當程度之諒解。各大國間諒解之獲得，并不在多數國家參加大會之前，而通常在會議中由於非正式獲得者。

例如凡爾賽會議，三強及五強先耗費甚多時間以求得彼此同意，俟提出要求之時，各小國即不須再用時間以考慮提交德國的條約。

柏林協定規定外長會議之領袖即各國外長不在時，指定高級代表繼續其工作。就杜魯門總統及本人所知，外長會議乃一集體之參謀團，以探討各種問題，并準備關於奠定和平之提案。

柏林會議確未預定外長會議之三強或五強即為擔任訂立最後和平之機構。柏林

should take unto themselves the making of the final peace. The Berlin Declaration, setting up the council, begins with the statement that the conference reached the following agreement for the establishment of a Council of Foreign Ministers to do the necessary preparatory work for the peace settlement.

The Council was not to make the peace settlement but to do the necessary preparatory work for the peace settlements. It certainly was not my intention to agree to any final treaty without first getting the views of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate which must pass upon all treaties before ratification.

The first session of the council, so far as the personal participation of the Foreign Ministers was concerned, was intended to provide directives for the deputies in the preparation of treaties for Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland.

This work was exploratory—to find out on what points we were in agreement, on what points we differed, and on what points further study and data were required. It is a little naive to suppose that when really vital differences emerge, one nation or another is likely to abandon its position on the first interchange of views.

At this stage it is as important to know and understand wherein we and our allies differ as wherein we agree. We must understand our points of dif-

會議官言關於設立外長會議，開宗明義即謂，本會議得有如下之同意，設立外長會議，為奠定和平從事必要之準備工作。

外長會議之職責非為奠定和平，乃為奠定和平從事必要之準備工作而已。本人在未得到參議院外交委員會之意見前，確無同意任何最後條約之意，因所有條約皆須先經外交委員會通過纔予批准。

外長會議之第一次大會，就各國外長親自出席而言，為規定要領，供各代表作準備對義，羅，保，匈，及芬等條約之指導方針。

此項工作為試探性質，目的在揭發各國外長同意之點與意見出入之點及其他須作進一步的研究，或搜集材料之點。在初次交換意見時，若遇以為意見有重大不同，即有某國放棄其立場，此為不近事實。

在此個階段中，重要之點為了解吾人與盟國之間意見不同，與意見一致究竟何在。吾人必須先了解不同之點，然後始可

ference before we can intelligently consider the means of reconciling them.

There was ready acceptance of our proposal that Italy should undertake to maintain a Bill of Rights which will secure the freedoms of speech, religious worship, political belief and public meeting, envisaged for Italy in the Moscow Declaration of November 1943, and which will confirm the human rights and fundamental freedoms set forth in the Charter of the United Nations.

There was some difference among the conferees at the start⁷ as to providing for the limitation of armaments. But it was our feeling that Italy should rely on the United Nations for protection against aggression and should not engage in competition in armaments when all her resources are badly needed to restore her civilian economy. And this view gained general acceptance.

While the very controversial boundary dispute between Yugoslavia and Italy was not settled, it was encouraging to find that it was possible to agree that the line should, in the main, be governed by ethnic considerations, and that regardless of its sovereignty there should be a free port at Trieste under international control.

The Council was in general agreement that the Dodecanese Islands should go to Greece although the assent of one member was qualified, pending the study of certain questions by his government.

考慮調和方法。

美國有一建議經提出後即被採納，此建議為促使義大利施行人權法，使人民有言論，集會，宗教信仰，政治思想等自由，此為一九四三年十一月莫斯科宣言對義大利問題所規定，並符合聯合國憲章所載之基本人權與自由。

關於規定縮減軍備一點，出席會員在會議開始意見即稍有不同。惟吾人感覺義大利對於保護自身免受侵略一事，應該仰賴聯合國，其恢復國內國民經濟，需要資源至切，不應以資源作軍備競爭之用。此一意見為全體採受。

南斯拉夫與義大利間關於疆界之爭議雖懸而未決，惟有一點可令人興奮者，即可望同意界線應依種族關係決定，且不論主權誰屬，應在杜里斯特關一自由港，歸國際共管。

大會一致同意多得干尼斯羣島應歸希臘，有某一國因須待其政府對某項問題尚須加以研究，因此猶未批准。

There was general agreement that the Italian colonies should come under the trusteeship provisions of the United Nations Charter. Various views were expressed as to the preferred form of trusteeship for the colonies. The American delegation was particularly gratified that the directive to the deputies called for special consideration of the American proposal for a truly international administration directly responsible to the United Nations with a view to⁸ the attainment of the greatest degree of independence of the inhabitants of two of the colonies at the end of ten years, and independence for the people of a third colony at as early a date as possible. This proposal was presented by the American delegation when the Italian treaty first was taken up and was consistently adhered to.

It is our view that the object of a trusteeship should be to promote the self-government of the people of a colony and not to enrich a trustee or increase its economic or military power.

It was also agreed that Italian sovereignty should be restored upon the conclusion of the treaty, so that foreign troops may be withdrawn.

At Berlin, we said we would examine the question of the recognition of Rumania and Bulgaria in the near future, in the light of prevailing conditions. We have investigated, and we shall continue to investigate. But we cannot know whether conditions justify the recognition of these two states,

關於義大利殖民地應依聯合國憲章規定，交由國際託管一項，亦一致同意。惟究應採取何種託管形式，意見不一。美國代表團所特引為滿意之事為授予代表指示，對於美國主張組織一真正國際管理委員會，直接對聯合國負責，以期使兩殖民地居民於滿十年後予以最高度之獨立，使另一殖民地儘早准其獨立之建議，當加以特別考慮。此一建議於討論對義締約問題時由美國代表團提出，並始終堅持。

依照吾人之見解，認為託管之目的，應提高殖民地居民之自治，而非使受託管者益加富有，或增強其經濟軍事力量。

又經同意於和約締結之後，義大利之主權應予恢復，所有外國駐軍可以撤退。

在柏林會議中，吾人曾述及當視現行事態，研究在最近將來承認羅馬尼亞及保加利亞問題。吾人業經調查，且須要繼續調查。但除非我國政治代表有充分報告，我新聞記者得准進入羅保國內自由報導不

unless our political representatives are fully informed, and unless our news correspondents are permitted to enter the countries freely and to send their stories freely and uncensored.

We do not seek to dictate the internal affairs of any people. We only reserve for ourselves the right to refuse to recognize governments, if we conclude they have not given to the people the rights pledged to them in the Yalta agreement and in the Atlantic Charter.

The people of Europe depends upon the existence of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and its European neighbors, and the two wars in one generation have convinced the American people that they have a very vital interest in the maintenance of peace in Europe.

Thus, the American government shares the Soviet Union's desire to have governments friendly to the USSR in Eastern and Central Europe.

But lasting peace depends not only upon the friendship between governments, but upon friendship between peoples

If it had not been⁹ for the difficulties experienced by the Allied governments in agreeing upon a common policy with regard to the recognition of the governments of Rumania and Bulgaria, a more conciliatory spirit might possibly have prevailed and might greatly have helped to overcome the procedural difficulties of the Council.

受檢查，吾人是無從得知該兩國情形是否

證明應加以承認。

吾人對於任何民族之內部事件，并無意作主斷。吾人祇欲保留，如吾人結論，認為其人民如未曾得有雅爾達協定及大西洋憲章所允諾之權利，得拒絕承認其政府之權。

歐洲之和平，有賴於蘇聯與其他毗鄰諸國間之友好關係，而三十年內兩次戰爭，更使美國人民深信對於歐洲和平之保持，有重大之利害關係。

因此美國政府與蘇聯同願東歐和中歐均有能與蘇聯友好相處之政府。

惟永久和平並不專賴政府與政府間之友好關係，而須賴民族與民族間之彼此友好。

設非因各聯盟國政府間對於承認羅保兩國政府難以同意於一共同政策，或可有更調和之精神，或更有助於外長會議克服各種程序上之困難。

No one present at the Council on September 11 questioned the decision that all members are to be present at all meetings.

Directives for the Finnish treaty were then considered. The United States and China were present, but did not vote.

Also, directives for the Rumanian treaty, and then for the Bulgarian treaty, were considered with France and China present, but not voting.

It was only on September 22 that the Soviet delegation said that the decision of the Council on September 11 violated the Berlin Agreement.

It will be recalled that the Berlin Agreement is to set up a Council, including France and China, to undertake the preparatory work for the peace settlements. It provided that the Council should draw up, with a view to their submission to the United Nations, peace treaties with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland.

It provided that in the discharge of these tasks, the Council will be composed of members representing those states which were signatory to the terms of surrender imposed upon the enemy state concerned and for the purpose of the Italian settlement, France should be regarded as signatory to the terms.

It further provided that other members of the Council will be invited to participate when matters directly concerning them are under discussion.

所有出席九月十一日外長會議之會員對於全體會員應出席各種會議之決議，並無一人提出異議。

其次考慮對芬和約之指示。美國及中國均出席，但未參加投票。

繼此又考慮對羅保兩國和約之指示。法國及中國均出席，亦未參加投票。

直到九月二十二日，蘇聯代表團始謂外長會議九月十一日之決議，違犯柏林協定。

吾人當能憶及柏林協定在設立外長會議，包括法國及中國在內，以從事奠定和平之準備工作，同時規定外長會議應草擬對義，羅，保，匈，芬等國之和約，呈送聯合國核定。

柏林協定並規定外長會議於執行任務時，應包括簽字於敵人投降條款各會員國在內，為解決對義大利問題，法國應視為簽字國之一。

更規定與其他會員國有關的事項提出討論時，有關會員國亦當邀請參加。

This distinction between members of the Council who were parties to the surrender terms, and those who were not, was not a part of the original American proposal and was reluctantly accepted by us. We were fully aware that members would not vote if they were not a party to the surrender terms. However, it was our understanding that all members would be allowed to participate in all discussions in the Council.

It certainly never occurred to President Truman or myself that any of the five members of the Council who are also the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, which is charged with the responsibility for peace, would not be invited to be present during discussions of treaties.

Such exclusion of two permanent members of the Security Council would not promote the harmonious relations essential to the success of the United Nations Organization.

It never occurred to us that they wished to withdraw the invitation to China and France to participate with the right to vote. Their position was that it was beyond the authority of the states signatory to the surrender terms to extend the invitation.

Although this construction of the Berlin Agreement did not accord with the understanding of the American delegation or the British delegation or the President of the United States or the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Soviet delegation insisted that they

關於投降條款之締約國與非締約國之

區別，美國建議內本未有此，且為美國勉強接受。吾人悉知未簽字投降條款之會員，必不參加投票。惟吾人曾成立諒解，所有會員國均得參加外長會議討論。

聯合國安全理事會既負有和平之責任，外長會議五會員國又均為安全理事會常任理事國，杜魯門總統與本人確未想到其中有不當邀請參加締約討論者。

聯合國組織是以和諧關係為要素，由安全理事會常任理事國中排除兩國，殊不能增進和諧關係。

吾人未曾料想到彼等撤回對中國及法國之邀請。彼等之立場為投降條款之簽字國無權邀請。

雖然柏林協定之此種解釋與美國代表團或英國代表團，美國總統或英國首相所了解者不相符合，蘇聯代表團仍堅持非投降條款簽字國在訂約問題不能再加討論。

could no longer discuss treaty matters in the presence of the members who were not parties to the surrender terms.

Thereafter the meetings of the Council for a number of days were confined to the discussion of other matters.

As an international inland waterway, the Ruhr will accelerate the German reparations, the restitution and repatriation of Allied nationals, and also the Austrian food supply.

When the general items on the agenda were exhausted, no agreement was reached for solving the procedural obstacles, which, from the point of view of¹⁰ the Soviet delegation, made further discussion of treaty matters impossible until the decision of September 11 would be rescinded.

Since it had always been my view that the Berlin agreement contemplated the broadening out of participants before the final conclusion of the peace treaties, I sought to find a compromise along that line.

The Berlin agreement expressly provided in section four of the article establishing the Council, that the Council may adapt its procedures to the particular problems under discussion, and that in some cases it may hold its own discussions prior to¹¹ the participation of other interested states; and, in other cases, it may convoke a formal conference of states interested in particular problems.

I therefore proposed, with consider-

其後日外長會議皆限於討論其他問題

。

開放魯爾為國際內陸水道，可加速德國賠款，遣送聯盟國人民回國，及奧地利糧食供應。

在議程上一般項目完畢後，對於程序上之困難，仍未獲有同意。依蘇聯代表團之觀點而言，除將九月十一日之決議推翻，此等阻難使締約問題無法再進行討論。

余向認為柏林協定是有意在最後締結和約之前，擴充參加之人數，故余欲自一方面求得妥協。

按柏林協定關於設置外長會議一款之第四項，曾特別規定，外長會議對於討論某種特殊問題，得自行制定程序，對某種事項，得於關係國參加討論之前，先自聚會討論，又對其他事項，得召集關係各國舉行正式會議以討論某種特殊問題。

因此余勉強提議請中法兩國同仁承認

able reluctance, that we ask our French and Chinese colleagues to accept the position of the Soviet delegation, so that the preparatory and explanatory work of the Council for peace settlements be confined to the signatories of the surrender terms in question,¹² provided that¹³ at the same time it should be agreed that a truly representative peace conference should be convoked before the end of the year. To ensure the calling of such a conference, we thought that France and China, in the interests of peace, might make their sacrifice.

This conference would be convoked for the purpose of considering the peace treaties with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. To the conference would be invited:

(1) The five members of the Council of Foreign Ministers, which are also the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council.

(2) All European members of the United Nations.

(3) All non-European members of the United Nations, which supplied substantial military contingents in the war against European members of the axis.

We took the position¹⁴ that in an interdependent democratic world, peace cannot be the exclusive concern of a few presently powerful states; that unless we were to revert to the world of isolationism, none of the states which we wanted invited¹⁵ to the peace

蘇聯代表團之立場，以便外長會議關於奠定和平之準備說明工作以討論所成問題之投降條款簽字國為限，但同時當同意在本年終之前，應召集一有真正代表性之和平會議。為保證召集此一會議，吾人推想法國及中國能為和平犧牲。

此一會議召集之目的在與義，羅，保，匈，芬諸國訂立和約。邀請與會者，應為：

(一) 外長會議之五會員國，亦即聯合國安全理事會之五常任理事國。

(二) 聯合國中全體歐洲會員國。

(三) 聯合國中非歐洲會員國之曾參加對歐洲軸心國作戰者。

吾人所採取之立場為一互相依賴之民主世界內，和平不能為少數目前強盛國家所獨有。除吾人欲回復至一孤立主義之世界，凡為吾人邀請參加和平會議之國家，

conference, could be said to be not directly concerned in the peace.

We urged that those states, large or small, which had fought and suffered in the war, must make the peace. This has been a people's war, and it must be a people's peace.

The Soviet delegation stated, however, that they could not agree to the American proposal for a peace conference until they had returned to Moscow and had personal consultations with the government.

It therefore became obvious that there could not be an agreement unless the other delegations were prepared to yield their views and convictions to those of the Soviet delegation. This¹⁶ none of the other delegations was prepared to do.

The United States is willing to dictate peace to the enemy, but it is not willing to dictate terms of peace to its Allies.

Our task, then, became one of arranging the adjournment, until the Soviet delegation could return to Moscow. It is customary before adjourning, to adopt, and have all the conferees sign, a protocol containing a record of the agreed decisions of the conference. The Soviet delegation did not agree to the inclusion in the protocol of the decision of September 11, that all five members should participate in all meetings, even though it included a statement of the action taken by the Soviet delegation on September 22 to

皆不能謂與和平無直接關係。

吾人力主凡曾作戰及遭受戰禍之國家，無論大小，皆應造成和平。此次戰爭乃一民族之戰爭，因此此次和平亦應為民族之和平。

但蘇聯代表團謂彼等不能同意美國關於召開和平會議之建議，須俟彼等回莫斯科與其政府面商後始可決定。

因此除其他代表團準備放棄彼等之見解及信念，而接受蘇聯代表團之意見外，顯然不能有所協議。但其他代表團無一準備接受。

美國可迫使敵人完全接受其所提出之和平，但決不願迫使聯盟國完全接受其所提出之和平條款。

因此在蘇聯代表團回轉莫斯科前，吾人之工作惟有布置休會。通例在大會休會前須成立議定書，記載會議所議決之事項，由出席者全體署名。蘇聯代表團不同意將九月十一日議決案，即五會員國應全體參加各次會議一案，載入議定書，甚至其中已附聲明蘇聯代表團於九月二十二日不認可該項決議之行動亦不同意。

withdraw their assent to that decision.

On the last day of session, the Soviet delegation announced it would offer a compromise proposal. The proposal was that there should be four separate protocols, without recording in any of them the decision of September 11, which had been agreed to by them, but which they later wished to rescind. This was the same position that they had urged for days.

The only thing new about it was the suggestion that on the following day they would discuss the unsettled questions, including the American proposal for a peace conference, and the disputed decision of September 11.

In answer to a question, the Soviet Foreign Commissar stated that while he could discuss the proposal for a peace conference, he was still without authority to act upon it. The proposal had been discussed for a week. Further discussion was futile.

It was also obvious that once the four protocols were signed, it would be useless on the following day to discuss the question of inserting in the protocols the decision of September 11. The objection by the Soviet delegation would prevent its insertion.

The Soviet delegation also reiterated their position that they would not discuss treaties in the presence of members they now believed to be ineligible. This would have excluded China from the consideration of all treaties, and France from the considera-

會議最後一日，蘇聯代表團宣布可提出一折衷案，主張應分訂四份各別議定書，其中不記載彼等原已同意後欲推翻之九月十一日議決案，此為彼等數日以來所主張完全相同。

惟一之新發展為彼等提出可在次日討論未決各案，此包括美國關於召開和平會議之建議及爭執不決之九月十一日決議案在內。

蘇聯外交委員長於答覆一問題中申明，彼雖然可討論關於召開和平會議之建議，惟仍無權作任何舉動。此一建議討論已有一星期之久，欲更進一步討論實無效果。

惟此四議定書一經簽字，次日再討論將九月十一日議決案補入議定書問題，顯為無用，且蘇聯代表團之反對足以使其不能補入。

蘇聯代表並重申彼等立場謂，有為彼等認為有不合資格之會員在場，彼等不願討論締約問題。此一建議可使中國不得加入考慮所有條約，法國所能加入考慮者亦

tion of all but one, without assurance of participation in the peace conference.

It became apparent that an agreement was impossible, and further meetings were useless. The Chinese Foreign Minister, who was presiding when the Council adjourned, and at whose insistence the Council had remained in session from Sunday until Tuesday, stated that under the circumstances, he could not ask the Council to continue in session any longer.

As the record stands, the Foreign Commissar of the Soviet Union has not rejected our proposal for a peace conference. During the discussions he admitted it was correct in principle. My hope is, that after he had conferred with his government, the latter will agree that the nations that fought the war—a world war—shall have a chance to make world peace.

The matter that caused the suspension of our work is no trivial or technical question. It presented an issue which had to be met. It is, whether peace shall be made by three, or even five nations, to the exclusion of other nations vitally concerned in the maintenance and enforcement of the peace which is being prepared.

The issue¹⁷ goes even deeper. The Council of Foreign Ministers acts under the unanimity rule, just as the Security Council of the United Nations must act in many important matters, but in the security Council no nation has the

祇有一約，且無參加和平會議之保證。

同意顯為不可能，廣續開會亦為無用，經擔任末次大會主席之中國外交部長提議，此次大會自星期日延至星期二，最後申稱，在目前情況下，彼已不能要求外長會議再繼續開會。

以記錄所載而論，蘇聯外交委員長并未拒絕美國關於召開和平會議之建議。在討論此建議時，彼承認美國之建議原則上實為正當。余希望俟彼與蘇聯政府會商後，蘇聯對凡曾此次在此次世界戰爭作戰之國家，應得機會創造世界和平能予以同意。

使吾人工作停頓之事，非為瑣屑或技術問題，而為一必須加以解決之重大問題。無論和平是否由三國甚或五國創造，此一問題仍為摒除其他與保持及實施和平國家有重要關係之問題。

此一問題有更深之意義。外長會議議決事項須得全體一致同意，此與聯合國安全理事會對甚多重要事項相同，但在安全理事會中，一國無權否決程序上之事項，

power of veto in procedural matters, while in the Council of Foreign Ministers, one nation can veto all action.

The power of veto is a great power, and should not be lightly exercised. We are willing to make many concessions, but the United States does not believe in agreement at any price.¹⁸

The power of veto in procedural matters should not be used by the United States, or any other nation, to coerce the judgment and conscience of fellow nations.

Peace must be based upon mutual understanding and mutual respect. It cannot be secured by procedural manœuverings, which obscure from the people the real and vital issues upon which their peace depends.

Undeterred by temporary setbacks, and even willing to accord to others that tolerant understanding that we wish others to accord to us, we must not relax in our efforts to achieve a just and lasting peace for ourselves and all nations. With firmness in the right as God gives us to see right, let us strive on, to finish the work we undertook.

而在外長會議中一國可否決一切措施，

否決權乃一大權，不應輕易行使。吾人願作甚多讓步，但美國對以任何代價所換取之同意決不置信。

美國或其他任何一國皆不應對程序事項使用否決權，以脅迫其他各國之判斷及良心。

和平必須基於相互諒解及相互尊重。和平決不可運用程序上之手腕掩遮蔽人民眼目，使其不能見和平所持之真正重大問題而覓致之。

吾人不為暫時挫折所撓，甚至願以之諒解與人協調，吾人希望他人給與吾人協調而以寬容，必不可鬆懈為自身為世界各國求得一公正而永久和平之努力。吾人對於正義應以堅定不拔之心，遵行上帝所昭示吾人對正義之意繼續邁進，完成吾人所從事之工作。

ANNOTATIONS

1. "deprive of," 【剝奪】。 He is deprived of all privileges of a citizen, 彼被剝奪一切公民權利。 2. "get on with," 【進行】。 He is getting on with his work very smoothly, 【彼對工作之進行甚為順利】。 3. "regardless of," 【不論】。 Every person, regardless of sex, should know what is going on in the world, 每一個人，不論性別，應明瞭世界情形。 4. "ahead of," 【前面】。 A new epoch is ahead of us, 吾人之前為一新時期。 5. "in...capacity" 或 "in the capacity of...," 【以……身份】。 He works with us in a secretarial capacity, 彼為吾人担任

秘書地位之工作。6. “envisage,” [預期]。The Political Consultative Conference envisages some result in the attempt to achieve unity in differences in political opinions, 政協會預計對政見統一之努力上可得某種結果。7. “at the start,” [開始]。He felt impatient with the work at the start, 彼在工作開始之際頗覺不能耐煩。8. “with the view to,” [目的在]。He came yesterday with a view to arranging a loan from us, 彼昨日來此其目的在向吾人借款。9. “had been,” 爲 subjunctive verb, 形式係 past perfect, 時間指過去。 “Yesterday if it had not been (past perfect 爲 past time) for the rain, I should have come (main clause 用 subjunctive future perfect). 10. “point of view” 或 “view-point,” [觀點], [立場]。My point of view with regard to the democratization of China is that our people by temperament are apathetic to politics, 余對中國民主化之見地爲中國人天性上對政治冷淡。11. “prior to,” [……之前]。The Chinese people were as a whole self-sufficient prior to the opening of trade with the West, 在未與西方通商以前, 大部份中國人民皆自食自足。12. “in question,” [成問題之], [所述之]。The murder in question was highly complicated, 余所談之暗殺案極爲複雜。13. “provided that,” 或僅用 “provided” 爲 participial conjunction (phrase) = “if,” 但較強調。The Japanese will be permitted to trade with us, provided (that) they observe our trade regulations, 如日本人遵守中國商業法令, 將可任其與吾人從事經營商業。14. “take...position,” [採取立場], [主張]。With regard to their disputes, I take a position different from yours, 關於彼等之爭執, 余之立場與君之立場大異。15. “invited” 爲 past participle 作 “which” (object) 之 complement 即 “we wanted which (代表 “none”) invited.” 他例: I wanted this done, I want the shoes mended, 等等。16. “This” 爲句尾 infinitive “to do” 之受詞, 倒裝句首爲承上句之用。17. “issue,” [爭執], [問題]。The question at issue is a serious one, 爭論之問題極爲嚴重。18. “at any price,” [以任何代價], [不惜任何犧牲]。There is no one but is willing to recover the four North-Eastern provinces at any price, 無人不願作任何犧牲以收復東北四省。

BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY ERNEST
BEVIN'S REPORT TO THE HOUSE OF
COMMONS ON THE BRITISH STAND IN THE
COUNCIL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS

Made on October 10, 1945

英外務大臣貝文對下院報告
英國對五國外長會議之立場

一九四五年十月十日發表

I have refrained since the close of the Council from¹ making any public statement until the House met. The conference opened on September 11 and, having studied the terms of reference of the Council which were laid down in the Protocol of the Berlin conference, I thought it right to submit to my colleagues at the opening meeting a suggestion as to the procedure. I suggested that it would be inconvenient if some of the members of the Council had to be excluded from some of the meetings.

It would be even more inconvenient, I said, if some members had to be asked to leave the Council meeting while some of the items on the agenda were discussed. I felt that the business of the conference could be much more easily arranged if it could be agreed that all five members should take part in all discussions, even although the matters related to a peace settlement, but the power to take decisions in the

自外長會議閉幕至國會開會，余強制不發表任何公開談話。外長會議係於九月十一日開幕，余將柏林會議議定書所規定條款加以研究後，認為應在首次會議向與會同仁提出一關於程序之建議。余提出意見謂，如若干會員國不令其參加若干會議實感不便。

余曾言，如議程上有若干項目在進行討論時，須請到會之若干國會員退席，尤感不便。余以為對所有討論，甚至對有關奠定和平有關之事件，能同意所有五國會員皆得參加，惟會議中決議權，則限於其政府曾經簽字，或被認為曾經簽字投降條

Council was confined to members whose governments had signed or were deemed to have signed relevant terms of surrender.

Mr. Byrnes, Secretary of State for the United States, took the same view² as I did, and M. Molotov said he agreed with my proposal if, as he understood it, it meant that all five members of the Council should participate in the meeting and, if they desired, to participate in discussions, but that decisions should be taken only by delegations representing the governments which were, or by the Council's terms of reference were deemed to be, signatories to the relevant terms of surrender.

All being agreed on³ this interpretation of the Berlin protocol, a proposal which I had made, was accepted without dissent.

I was sure when we passed this resolution at our coming meeting we believed we had faithfully interpreted the understanding of the signatories of the protocol. In accordance with this resolution the Council held sixteen plenary meetings during ten days of hard work and had made much progress not only on general questions but on treaty questions as well.

We had practically reached an agreement on the draft treaty with Finland and had made provision for reference of this question to the deputies. We had made considerable progress on the draft treaty with Italy. We had considered and satisfactorily disposed

款之會員，則會議的事務，必更易爲。

美國國務卿貝爾納斯先生與余所抱見解正同，而莫洛托夫先生則謂如依彼所了解，余之建議爲外長會議五國會員全體應參加會議，且彼等如有意參加，亦可參加所有討論，但決議祇能由投降條款簽字國之代表，或經會議參照事項承認爲簽字國之政府代表團爲之。

余對柏林議定書所建議之此種解釋，經同意之後，無異議爲會議所接受。

在第二次會議通過此決議之時，余確信吾人對該議定書簽字國間之諒解，已作忠實之解釋。依照此決議，吾人辛苦工作十日，開全體會議十次，不但對一般問題，即對條約問題，亦有甚大之進展。

關於對芬草約，吾人已實際得有協議，且已作成規定，交各國會員代表以作參考。關於對義草約，吾人亦有鉅大之進展。關於此一條約之某幾方面，吾人皆曾加

of⁴ several aspects of this treaty. For example on the difficult question of the Italian-Yugoslav frontier the Council had agreed to hear the views of the Governments of Yugoslavia and Italy as well as of Australia, South Africa and New Zealand.

After these hearings the Council instructed their deputies to report on the line which left the minimum population under alien rule. Deputies were also asked to report on the international regime for the port of Trieste.

The cession of the Dodecanese to Greece was proposed but no final settlement was reached.

On the question of the disposal of Italian colonies, the United States delegation put forward a proposal which His Majesty's Government instructed me to support since they felt this was a wise and far-seeing proposal which would avoid friction between the Great Powers in those areas and would give a chance for a great experiment in international cooperation.

The American proposal provided for the placing of all these Italian territories under the collective trusteeship of the united nations organization as a whole. It was agreed after discussion that this question of trusteeship of Italian colonies should be referred to⁵ the deputies, who would make the widest possible use of the American proposal and take into account⁶ also the alternative proposal of a single state trusteeship.

以考慮到，且有滿意之處置。例如關於義南邊界之困難問題，會議同意聽取南，義，以及澳洲，南非，紐西蘭政府之意見。

會議在聽取各國意見之後，各代表研究報告，提出一界線，俾隸屬外國統治下居民可成一最小數目。又令各代表研究報告杜里斯特港由國際管理之事宜。

關於多得干尼斯羣島割讓與希臘問題，曾提出建議，但未得最後解決。

關於處置義大利殖民地問題，美國代表團提出一項建議，本國政府以其為一賢明而有遠見的建議，可免各大國在各該區域內發生摩擦，又可作國際合作實驗之機會，故訓令余加以支持。

美國之建議規定將此數地所有義大利殖民地全部交由聯合國組織作集體託管。經討論後，同意將義大利殖民地託管問題，發交各代表對美國之建議應作儘可能廣泛參考，同時並考慮由一國獨任託管之另一建議。

Thus on this difficult matter we had, despite the divergent views, reached a general agreement as to the basis on which it could be further examined.

To continue with my account of the work on peace treaties done in the early part of the conference, we had made a start on the draft treaties for Rumania and Bulgaria. There were before the Council proposals by the Soviet, United States and British delegation. We took the Soviet proposal as a basis, and several points raised in the British proposals were discussed.

On the treaty with Rumania, the United States proposals brought up the whole question of the recognition of the Government of Rumania, since it had been made clear in them that the United States Government, while ready to discuss a draft treaty, would not negotiate a peace treaty with Rumania until a broadly representative government has been established in that country.

Much the same issue came up in connection with the draft treaty for Bulgaria. Since on this subject there were great divergencies of view, I proposed, in the hope of easing the difficulties of the position, that an independent inquiry should be made into conditions in these two countries.

I have said enough to show some of the difficulties of the negotiations in which we were engaged, and also the substantial progress that had been made in our discussions during the first ten days of the Council meeting.

關於此一困難問題，意見雖紛歧，然對企圖作進一步審查之基礎。因此獲得廣泛協議。

茲繼續敘述會議初期之草擬和平條約工作。吾人曾着手草擬對羅，匈和約。會議收到蘇美英三代表團的建議。吾人以蘇方建議為基礎，對英方建議中幾點曾加以討論。

關於對羅條約，美國之建議提出承認羅政府之整個問題，因建議內聲明美國雖準備討論條約草案，唯非至羅國已成立包羅各方面之代議政府後，不願與之訂立和約。

關於草擬對保條約發生之問題頗為相同。因對此問題意見甚為紛歧，蓋余意圖緩和立場上之困難，余建議將該兩國之現狀應作各別之調查。

余以上所報告，足以示明吾人所作談判上之困難，亦示明會議首十天內之討論，曾得有實質之進展。

I was, therefore, surprised when Molotov told Byrnes and myself on^s the morning of September 22 that we had all violated the Berlin agreement and that he could not agree to continue the discussions on peace treaties under the procedure under which we had been working for ten days.

I said to Molotov I did not agree that the Berlin agreement prevented us from working in the way we had been, and I pointed out to him that we had all agreed at the opening meeting that this was the way in which we intended to work.

For the next few days Byrnes went over the arguments many times with Molotov, but could come to no agreement. Molotov held that the Berlin agreement should be interpreted in one way, and Byrnes and I held that it should be interpreted in another—the way in which it had been interpreted when the Council passed its resolution on September 11.

Throughout these discussions I was concerned to reach a wider interpretation which would have given an opportunity to the Dominions and other governments who had made material contributions to the defeat of the Axis to express their views at the peace settlement.

Since the three Foreign Secretaries could not agree upon the interpretation of the agreement we decided to refer to the three heads of government. President Truman and Mr. Clement Attlee

九月二十二日早，莫洛托夫告貝爾納斯及余謂吾人違反柏林協定故彼不能同意於吾人十日工作之程序下繼續討論和平條約，余因此甚為驚訝。

余告莫洛托夫謂，余不同意柏林協定阻止吾人按方式工作，並且向彼指出吾人在開幕時吾人皆同意依此方式工作。

其後數日內，貝爾納斯與莫洛托夫對此事一再辯釋，但未得協議。莫洛托夫主張柏林協定應按照彼之意見解釋，而余及貝爾納斯則主張按照吾人之意見解釋，即按照九月十一日會議通過議案之意見解釋。

在歷次討論中，余致力於獲得一更廣之解釋，以使本國各自治領及其他政府對擊敗軸心國曾作實際貢獻者，得有機會在和平會議上發表彼等意見。

三外長對於協定之解釋，既不能一致，吾人遂決定各向本國首腦請示。杜魯門總統及阿特里首相均贊成貝爾納斯與余所

endorsed the views which Mr. Byrnes and I had expressed. Stalin endorsed the view which Molotov had expressed, so we were no nearer an agreement.

I must now say a word about the Berlin agreement. It lays down very clearly that the immediate important task of the Council is to draw up peace treaties with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. It lays down that members other than signatories of the terms of surrender will be invited to participate when matters directly concerning them are under discussion.

I ought here to explain that in accepting the invitation to join the Council the French Government had represented that it was perforce interested in all settlements in Europe. The Berlin agreement also lays down that the Council may adapt its procedure to the particular problem under consideration, and we thought that all members of the Council, including the Soviet Union, agreed that that was what we were to do when the resolution of September 11 was drawn up.

In fact it was the representative of China who presided over the Council that day when it was decided to invite certain Governments to send representatives to discuss the question of Trieste, and it was the representative of China in whose name the invitations were sent out. He happened to be chairman for that particular session.

So on September 11 and for ten

陳述之見解。斯達林則贊成莫洛托夫的見解，因此吾人仍不能接近而有協議。

余茲將柏林協定略為說明。該協定明白規定外長會議之直接重要任務，為草擬對義，羅，保，匈，芬等國和約，又規定對投降條款簽字國以外之其他會員，於討論事項對彼等有直接關係時，得邀約參加。

余於此應說明，法國政府於接受邀請參加外長會議時，曾表示法國對於歐洲所有應解決事項，均有關係。柏林協定並規定外長會議對所考慮之某一特殊問題，得自訂程序，吾人以爲，會議所有會員，包括蘇聯在內，均同意於九月十一日作決議案時，吾人所爲實是爲此。

其實，決定邀請某某數國參加討論杜里斯特問題之會議，係由中國代表主持，並所發之請柬，亦由中國代表出名。彼於該次會議擔任主席。

所以在九月十一日會議，以及其後十

days afterwards Molotov seemed to agree with that and we never thought otherwise. He told us later that his new attitude was taken up on instructions from his Government. If the interpretation on which the Soviet delegation had insisted had been agreed to, it would have meant that in the discussions on Balkan treaties we would have said in effect to the representatives of France and China: "You must leave the room while we are discussing this matter," and when we came to the Finnish treaty we should have had to invite the United States to withdraw as well.

Such a request by some of the Powers to their partners would obviously have created international difficulties, which the United States and British delegations did not feel they should be called upon to face. How could it, moreover, have been reconciled with the Charter of the United Nations Organization, which lays upon the five Powers as permanent members of the Security Council a special responsibility to maintain the peace of the world?

As we could not reach an agreement on the interpretation of the Berlin document, and as general questions on the agenda had become exhausted, the time came when we had to see whether we could at least agree on what had already been discussed but when it came to the point we ran up against the same difficulty.

Molotov proposed that instead of

天之久，莫洛托夫似表同意，吾人亦以爲不至有其他問題。彼其後告余等謂彼之新態度係奉其政府訓令所採取者，倘蘇聯代表團所堅持之解釋得有協議，則討論巴爾幹條約時，吾人必告中法兩國代表云：「吾人討論此問題時，汝等必須退席。」又討論芬蘭條約時，吾人亦請美國代表退席。

若干大國對其同仁提出此種要求，顯然可引起國際間之困難，此爲英美代表團所認爲不應招致者。聯合國憲章規定，對担任安全理事會常任理事國之五大國，附有維持世界和平特別責任，此又如何能與聯合國憲章不生抵觸？

吾人對柏林文件既不能獲得協議，而議程上之一般問題又已討論完畢，吾人於此不得不研究對已經討論之事項，究否可得同意之點。但吾人正於此點亦遭遇同樣困難。

莫洛托夫建議不用議定書記錄會議之

one protocol recording the Council's decisions there should be four separate protocols.

One of general questions to be signed by all five members of the Council.

The second on the Italian peace treaty, which would be signed by the representatives of the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, the United States and France.

The third dealing with Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania, which would be signed by the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and the United States, and

The fourth dealing with Finland, which would be signed by the United Kingdom and Soviet Union.

After some discussion we agreed to Molotov's proposal. He then maintained that before he would sign any other protocol the Council must strike out from its records the decision taken on September 11.

This no one else was prepared to do. This in fact would not have given a true record of our proceedings. We proposed, however, that a passage should be inserted in the protocol making it clear that Molotov had on September 22 stated that the resolution of September 11 had, in the view of his Government, been a breach of the Berlin agreement.

Byrnes and I did our best to persuade Molotov that the terms of reference of the Council were wide enough to admit of commonsense interpretation. Byrnes attempted to find a way

決議，而應有議定書四份：

第一份關於一般問題，由會議之五會員國全體簽字。

第二份關於義大利和約，當由英，蘇，美，法四國簽字。

第三份關於保，匈，羅三國，當由英，蘇，美三國簽字。

第四份關於芬蘭，當由英，蘇兩國簽字。

經過相當討論後，吾人同意莫洛托夫之建議。他於是主張在彼簽字於其他任何議定書之前，會議必須將九月十一日之決議由紀錄中刪去。

除彼一人外，皆不願爲此。事實上此舉可使吾人之會議經過不得正確記錄。然吾人建議在議定書中加入一段，載明莫洛托夫於九月廿二日聲明，九月十一日之決議案，按照其本國政府意見，係與柏林協定違反。

貝爾納斯與余曾竭盡所能，力勸莫洛托夫謂，會議之參照文件，含義廣泛，足可作常識之解釋。貝爾納斯企圖覓得解決

out of the difficulty by proposing that a conference should be called for the purpose of submitting a peace treaty when drawn up, and that to this conference of five Powers would be invited to come other states which had contributed materially to the defeat of the Axis, but the Soviet representative maintained that only the three signatories to the Berlin agreement should discuss or pronounce upon this proposal.

As the House is aware, the conference broke up on Tuesday October 2. On Monday night Molotov said he could not sign any of the protocols if his point could not be accepted.

On the suggestion of the Chinese Foreign Minister, the conference was that night extended to Tuesday. I spent Monday in consultation with my colleagues and made every effort to try to find a way out of our difficulties.

But it was clear that there was little hope of any accommodation. It seemed to me as to Byrnes that the difference of view of the Soviet delegation, technical though it may appear to be, in reality involved a big question of principle—to what extent are the Big Three to exclude other nations from discussion of other matters of the gravest concern to them—a principle I felt it was incumbent upon me to defend.

I know there is disappointment in the House and throughout the world at the breakdown of the first meeting of

困難之方法，於是建議召集專為提出所草成和約之會議，在此五強會議中，邀請其他對擊敗軸心國會作實際貢獻之國家一併加入，但蘇代表堅持祇有柏林協定三簽字國始有權討論並宣布此一建議。

各位皆知，會議於十月二日破裂。星期一晚，莫洛托夫聲明如彼之主張不獲接納，他不能簽任何議定書。

經中國外長提議，該會議延長至星期二。余於星期一竟日與各同仁諮商，竭盡努力以求一解決困難之方法。

但吾人已知甚少通融之希望。在余及貝爾納斯兩人觀之，蘇聯代表團意見之不同，雖似近於技術問題，而事實上則牽涉原則上一大問題——三強對關於彼等有重大關係之其他事項，拒絕他國參與討論，究至何程度，此一原則余覺吾人負有辯護之義務。

外長會議之設置，不祇為討論和平條約，且有其他甚多問題須予以討論，於其

this Council, which was set up to deal not only with peace treaties but also with many other matters.

Many matters other than the preparation of peace treaties were discussed, even if not settled, at the meeting of the Council. There was, for instance, the question of inland European waterways, which are so important when it comes to getting the transport system of Europe started again and people fed. We failed to settle it. Reparations and other problems of Germany were also discussed. There was the question of the Government of Austria and the feeding of the people in that unhappy country, and in the latter and several other matters progress was made.

A return to normal and happy conditions in Europe, to which peace treaties must be the first step, is what the world is waiting for. The temporary breakdown will, I hope, lead to further discussions of these matters on the basis of what is best for permanent peace because I am sure that is what the whole world wants.

Perhaps when we met in London in September we were a little too close to two great victories for us to be able to reach an immediate agreement.

For the future I say with confidence that, given time and if we all continue to apply patience and understanding of each other's difficulties, we shall overcome the present divergencies and any others which may reveal themselves.

第一次會議即告決裂，余知國會與全世界皆感失望。

除準備和約外，有其他甚多問題雖未有解決，會議中均皆加以討論，例如歐洲內陸水道問題，此為重開歐洲運輸和接濟糧食極為重要者，然吾人不能獲得解決。賠款及關德國其他問題亦曾討論。此外有奧地利政府與接濟此一不幸國家之糧食問題，對於後一問題及其他事項，曾得有進展。

世界所期待歐洲恢復正常及歡樂之狀態，和約實為其初步。余希望此次暫時之停頓，能導成根據最有利於永久和平方法對此等問題作進一步討論，因余確信此乃全世界需要。

當吾人九月間開會之時，或因吾人距離兩大勝利太近，使吾人不能立即獲得協議。

至於將來，余深信，祇需假以時日，且如吾人能繼續出以忍耐並了解彼此之困難，吾人必能克服目前以及未來可能出現之分歧。就我國本身言，吾人定將以各國

For our part we shall certainly work in the same spirit of cooperation in which the countries united to pursue the war against our enemies.

In conclusion I would like to read a message which Molotov sent me on leaving this country and my reply.

Molotov wrote: "On leaving the borders of our ally, Great Britain, I beg you to transmit to the British Government my thanks for the warm welcome given to me and those accompanying me."

"I express confidence that, the war against our common enemies victoriously concluded, our future collaboration in the interest of the people of Great Britain and the Soviet Union, and the strengthening of peace throughout the world, will continue, having overcome temporary difficulties encountered on the way, and that we shall jointly endeavour successfully to achieve this end."

I replied: "I was very pleased to receive your kind message sent on the occasion of¹⁰ your departure from this country after the Foreign Secretaries' conference. I share your confidence in our future collaboration in the interest of the peoples of the Soviet Union and of Great Britain and for the strengthening of peace throughout the world.

"We may, as you say, encounter difficulties on the way, but the cause we serve is so compelling that no trouble must remain unmastered in pursuit of this high aim. Mankind

聯合與敵人作戰之同樣精神從事合作。

莫洛托夫離英返國時，曾致我一電，余茲連余之覆電一併宣讀，以爲本報告之結束。

莫洛托夫來電云：「茲於別離盟邦英國國境之際，對於賜予本人及隨員熱烈歡迎，敬請閣下轉向英政府代致謝忱。

對共同敵人之戰爭已勝利結束，吾人未來爲英蘇兩國人民利益，及加強全世界和平之合作，敢信於所遭臨時困難克服後，必將繼續不斷。並信吾人將共同努力，以達成此目的。」

余覆電云。「接奉閣下於外長會議後別離敝國時惠電，至感欣慰。對於吾人未來爲蘇英兩國人民利益及增加全世界和平之合作之信念，實與閣下共之。

誠如尊見，吾人或將遭遇困難，然吾人所予役之使命，至爲迫要，爲求達此崇高宗旨，不容有任何煩難存留，而不加克

throughout the world wants peace, economic recovery and a rising standard of life. Fulfilment of this must be our prime purposes."

服。全世界人類皆望求和平，望求經濟復興及日益增高之生活標準，實現此事，應為吾人之主要目的。】

ANNOTATIONS

1. "refrain from," 【抑制】。 I cannot refrain from tears when I think of the dead, 余思及死者，不禁淚流。 2. "take...view," 【作……見解】。 He takes a different view of life from mine, 彼對人生觀之看法與余不同。 3. "All being agreed on" 為被動式之 nominative absolute phrase, 作 adverb 用，形容整句，屬於動詞 (was accepted)。 例：This being so, he must be satisfied. It being dark, he goes home. "This being so," "It (時間) being dark," 皆為 nominative absolute phrases, 但說話時多用 adverbial clauses 代替之。
4. "dispose of," 【處理】，【處置】。 Since you agree with me, this matter will be disposed of, 君既與余同意，此事就此處理之。 5. "refer to," 【提交】。 This proposal will be referred to the general meeting, 此一建議將提交大會。
6. "take into account," 【計及】，【顧及】。 They should stop quarrelling if they take into account the fact that united we stand, 彼等設顧及吾人統一始能存在一事實，應停止紛爭。 7. "in the hope of," 【意在】，為 preposition phrase. He came in the hope of getting your support, 彼來此意在(希望)求得汝之支持。意思相同有 conjunction phrase "in the hope that." 上句若變為 complex sentence 即為 He came in the hope that he may get your support. 8. 特指之某日早晨用 "on." 如云五月一日早晨則為 "on the morning of May 1st." 與晚間相對之【早晨】為 "in the morning" 9. "preside over," 【主席】。 In the absence of the president, the vice-president shall preside over a meeting, 如會長不在時，副會長得充會議主席。(平常 meeting, council, conference 等字前之 preposition 用 "at," 但用 "preside" 時則用 "over")。 10. "on the occasion of," 【在……之際】。 I send you my hearty congratulations on the occasion of your birthday, 茲逢閣下壽慶，余謹肅函申賀。

U.N.R.R.A. AND ITS PLANS FOR CHINA

By Ernest T. Nash

U.N.R.R.A. Representative in China

善後總署駐華代表納喜談 善後總署及其對華計劃

The greatest war in human history will be followed by the greatest relief problem ever seen. To whip the Nazis and the Japanese militarists, the United Nations mobilized armies and navies. To whip hunger and destitution and disease, the United Nations have mobilized a special "task force"—the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, or U.N.R.R.A. for short.¹ On November 9, 1943, U.N.R.R.A. was created by 44 United Nations' member governments; its aim is to bring relief to the liberated populations of the United Nations in Europe and Asia, its organization is international in creation, in administration, in financing and in activities.

U.N.R.R.A. was never created to do the whole relief work. Every liberated nation, in Asia and Europe, plans to do by far² the greater part of rebuilding their smashed homelands, with their own men, materials and

人類歷史上最大戰爭之後，自有前所未見之最大問題隨之發生。聯合國為戰勝納粹主義者及日本軍閥，曾動員陸海軍。聯合國為戰勝饑饉貧乏及疾病，又已動員一種特殊之「作戰部隊」。聯合國善後救濟總署，簡稱為 UNRRA。本署係由四十四會員國於一九四三年十一月九日設置，其目的為救濟聯合國在歐亞兩洲被解放之人民，其設置，管理，經濟與活動全屬國際性。

但救濟總署非為擔負全部救濟的工作而設。每一被解放歐亞國家，對於其遭敵人摧毀鄉土之重建，皆計劃以本身之人力物力經濟擔任此種工作之絕大部份。歐洲

money. Europe will meet ninetenths of its own relief needs from its home production. China plans itself to do a large part of the job in that country. Those jobs to be carried out by the liberated peoples themselves are long-term jobs of national reconstruction, U.N.R.R.A.'s is a temporary and short-term job of helping to meet only immediate basic needs: it aims to *help people to help themselves*.

U.N.R.R.A. is not a super-state with powers to commandeer ships and supplies and give orders to governments in liberated areas. U.N.R.R.A. is the service agency of 44 United Nations: therefore it respects their sovereignty. U.N.R.R.A. assists a country in agreement with the national authorities.

U.N.R.R.A. makes provision out of an internationally furnished pool of money, translated into^s goods, men and services. Its funds consist of pooled contributions from the uninvaded member nations: each contributing 1 per cent of its national income for the year ending June, 1943. The U.S.A. contribution is over U.S.\$1,300,000,000, and that of Britain's United Kingdom over U.S.\$300,000,000 excluding other Empire contributions. All member countries contribute to administrative expenses. Thus U.N.R.R.A. has potential assets of approximately two billion American dollars, ($\frac{1}{2}$ billion pounds sterling approximately). This sum must cover U.N.R.R.A. provision for

將以自身之生產，以應其自身大部份之需要。中國亦計劃自行擔當一大部之任務。此類由被解放民族自行擔當之任務，為國家建設之長期任務，而救濟總署所擔當者，僅為協助各國應付當前基本需要之短期任務：旨在協助自助者。

救濟總署非為一太上國家，能有權徵發船隻及供應，並向被解放區域之各國政府發號施令。救濟總署乃聯合國四十四國之服務機關，故須尊重各國之主權。救濟總署係與一國當局協商而協助之。

救濟總署之經費係由國際共籌，使其變成物品，人力，及服役以作供應。此一經費係由未遭侵略之會員國捐助：每一會員國捐助歲入百分之一。截至一九四三年六月為止，美國捐輸十三萬萬美元以上，英國本國則捐三萬萬美元以上，英帝國其他部份之捐款在外。署務開支由全體會員國共同擔任。因此救濟總署共有美金二十萬萬元左右（合金鎊五十萬萬左右）之潛

both Europe and Asia. Contrast this with the 90 odd billion American dollars (22.5 billion pounds) estimated as needed for the relief of Europe alone (including imported supplies needed to the extent of over 7 billion American dollars), and it will be seen at once that U.N.R.R.A. never was intended to be the sole source of war relief and rehabilitation.

The aid that U.N.R.R.A. pools and distributes comes from the countries which were not invaded by the enemy. U.N.R.R.A.'s aid goes to countries which suffered invasion and which lack resources. This means that over 30 out of the 44 member United Nations share in contributing money and supplies to U.N.R.R.A. Some of the liberated countries in Western Europe can afford to pay for imports furnished; therefore U.N.R.R.A. will not have to provide most of the imports which they need. Those countries which were invaded, and whose resources were so completely depleted⁴ that they do not possess enough foreign exchange to pay for the supplies which they must import, will get aid from U.N.R.R.A. In the early part of 1945, the following nations had asked to receive U.N.R.R.A. assistance: China, Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia and Albania. Russia has recently requested aid. Limited aid was also being given⁵ in Italy, and in exceptional cases special and limited services—such as displaced persons' relief—are being

在資產。此一數額須包括救濟總署對歐亞兩洲之供應在內，以救濟歐洲所需九百萬萬餘美元（二百二十五萬萬鎊，包括運歐供應品需款七十萬萬美元）與總數相比可知救濟總署之設，原無擔負戰後善後救濟全責之意。

救濟總署所集合及分配之援助，係來自未遭敵人侵略之國家，其援助對象為曾遭侵略而缺乏資源之國家。此即指四十四會員國中，約有三十餘國捐助救濟總署款項並供應品。西歐被解放之若干國家能有力償付其份內所得之輸入供應品，因此救濟總署對輸入之大部份，不必供給。曾遭侵略，而資源全部喪失，外匯不足償付必須輸入供應品之國家，始可得救濟總署之助。在一九四五年初，已有下列諸國聲請援助，即中國，波蘭，南斯拉夫，希臘，捷克，愛沙尼亞，及阿爾班尼亞。俄國最近亦聲請援助。對於義大利，僅給與有限制之援助，其他例外情形下，並給與特別而有限制服務——如職業被人替代之失業

rendered alike to both "paying" and "non-paying" countries.

U.N.R.R.A.'s administration is run⁶ by a Council, representing each of the member United Nations, which decides all policies. A Central Committee acts for the Council between sessions, its membership comprising China, Britain, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Regional Committee has been established for Europe and for the Far East. Herbert Lehman of the U.S.A. was elected by the Council as president of the Central Committee and Director-General of the Administration. Administrative and operating personnel constitute an international civil service, already employing over 2,000 staff personnel drawn from over 30 countries. U.N.R.R.A. Headquarters is in Washington. The European Regional Office is in London.

U.N.R.R.A. has had its difficulties. It has not been able to perform as rapidly as it wished, because the world war has voraciously gobbled up the things U.N.R.R.A. needed to do its job. Far ahead of U.N.R.R.A. on the list of claimants for food and rehabilitation supplies, and for the ships, ports and trucks to move them, have been the armies and navies of the United Nations. After these armies and navies had their first choice, the remainder of the goods—most of which were in short supply—were claimed by many applicants of whom U.N.R.R.A. was only one. U.N.R.R.A., therefore, had to be

者救濟——此種救濟對「有償付力量」及「無償付力量」國家皆為一視同仁。

救濟總署之行政，係由代表聯合國每一會員國之理事會主持，並決定一切政策。在理事會休會期間，則由一中央委員會代行職權，由中，英，美，蘇任委員。在歐洲及遠東均設有地方委員會。美國雷門經理事會選任為中央委員會主席兼總署署長。掌理行政及活動之人員乃一國際性之文職人事機構，現有選自三十餘不同國籍，二千人以上之人員。總署設華盛頓，歐洲地方分署則設倫敦。

救濟總署曾或有種種困難。其推行工作所以不能如其所希望以求迅速之原因，為救濟總署所需要推行工作之工具，悉為戰爭破壞無遺。糧食及善後供應品，以及用以輸運此等物品之車輛船隻港口。聯合國陸海軍所要求者較救濟總署更多。次俟陸海軍優先選擇之後，所餘之物品量甚微——始能用以應付甚多之請求，救濟總署僅為請求者之一。因此負責供應需求之聯

content with the share allotted to it by the combined Boards, which was responsible for seeing that demands are satisfied according to the urgency of their claimants' needs. U.N.R.R.A. examines the requests of all applicant countries—both paying and non-paying—to see that none gets more than a fair share of the world's available relief supplies.

U.N.R.R.A. was responsible for nearly one and a quarter million tons of supplies to Europe by the end of June, valued at more than two hundred and fifty million American dollars. This tonnage comprised March—May and June shipments by U.N.R.R.A. itself of some 260,000 tons and 350,000 tons, respectively. In addition, U.N.R.R.A. took over from the military authorities and paid for some 500,000 tons also furnished to Europe.

Overnight,⁸ with the sudden coming of peace in Asia, the relief needs of China become of compelling urgency. This relief, too, must be brought rapidly over the entire vast area of occupied China, instead of piecemeal—as was planned—as liberation moved slowly from one area to another. Furthermore, the need for quick aid to China on this vast scale presses at the same time as the bulk of Europe's needs remains to be satisfied.

The relief and rehabilitation needs of liberated China envisaged⁹ by the Chinese Government in its program submitted to the United Nations, re-

合委員會，須先就需要最急以供應之。救濟總署對其所獲不論多少，祇得認為滿意。救濟總署對有力償付及無力償付一切申請國家之請求皆加以審查，使每一申請國家於世界所能獲得之救濟供應，不能超過其所應得。

救濟總署於一九四五年六月底以前運往歐洲供應品，將近一百二十五萬噸，約值二千五百萬美元左右。此一噸數包括救濟總署三月至五月所運之二十六萬噸，及六月所運之三十五萬噸。此外救濟總署向陸軍當局承受約五十萬噸左右，亦為供應歐洲之用。

中國之救濟需要，因為亞洲之和平瞬息驟然實現於信宿之間，故為非常急迫。救濟必須迅速普及於中國廣大淪陷區之全部，而不能依照原有計劃，隨各個依次解放之地區，零散推行救濟。此外因歐洲之需要大部尚未滿足，便同時大規模迅速援助中國更為迫切了。

依照中國政府向聯合國提出之方案，中國解放區善後救濟依需要為輸入供應品共一千萬噸，約值二十五萬萬美元（合六

quire total imports of 10 million tons of supplies, valued at around 2.5 billion American dollars, (.625 billion pounds sterling) and an internal expenditure equivalent to almost a billion American dollars. The total cost envisaged in American currency is thus almost 3.5 billions. Of this total, China has asked U.N.R.R.A. for close to a billion American dollars worth of goods, weighing about 4 million tons—tonnage a little over one-third of the total import requirements. In addition, over 2,000 foreign experts have been requested. Of the total requested from U.N.R.R.A. by the Chinese Government, 55 per cent is for rehabilitation of transportation and communications, agriculture, and industries, and 45 per cent for more direct relief. This 55 per cent allocated to transportation and communications emphasizes the fundamental problem of distributing relief supplies in a country where much of the transportation system has been destroyed by war and the remainder is greatly hampered by lack of materials and equipment.

Not necessarily the whole of the request of any country, however, can be met by U.N.R.R.A., upon whose servicing are imposed the severe limitations of available supplies, finances, and transportation, and balancing of servicing among the claimant countries. National programs submitted are subject to review and possible reduction. China's own program of needs continues to be the subject of considerable

又四分之一萬萬鎊)，外加國內支出約合十萬萬美元。所以全部費用，用美元計算，將近三十五萬萬元。在此總數內，中國向聯合國善後救濟總署要求約值近十萬萬美元之物品，重約四百萬噸，佔需要輸入總噸量的三分之一強。此外，中國政府又請派外國專家二千餘人。中國政府所申請之總額中百分之五十五為復興運輸交通及農工業，百分之四十五則為辦理比較直接之救濟工作。分配用於運輸交通之百分之五十五係着重於分配救濟品之根本問題，因為運輸系統大部被戰事破壞，其餘因缺乏材料和及設備亦大受阻滯。

任何一國所申請之全部未必能得救濟總署承允，由於總署的事業，在供應品財政及運輸上均受嚴格之限制，且須對申請之各國，均勻辦理。各國所提出之方案皆受檢討及酌減之限制。中國因本身需要所提出之方案繼續由中國政府及救濟總署加

reappraisal, both by the Chinese Government and by U.N.R.R.A.

The translation into action of China's program is being effected by the Washington Headquarters of U.N.R.R.A., with the cooperation of the European Regional Office in London and the Southwest Pacific Area Office in Sydney, by the China Office of U.N.R.R.A. established at Chungking in November, 1944, and by the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, C.N.R.R.A., which will have responsibility for actually operating the relief and rehabilitation program, is the agency of the Chinese Government with which the China Office of U.N.R.R.A. deals. These two offices in China have succeeded in establishing harmonious relations and preliminary understanding.

A major preoccupation of these agencies in recent months has been to develop, out of the overall program, specific programs to meet China's immediate needs in the first few months of liberation. These programs include a "Ports Program" to meet essential needs at and from the four main coastal ports immediately upon occupation. The plan is for imports of 800,000 tons, at a cost of nearly 200 million American dollars, including 245,000 tons of food, 228,000 tons for transportation, 120,000 tons for fisheries, 65,000 tons for agriculture, 50,000 tons for clothing, 25,000 tons for shelter, 37,000 tons for indus-

以估評。

中國方案之執行，由華盛頓總署辦理，兼由倫敦之歐洲地方事務局，雪梨之西南太平洋區域事務局，一九四四年十一月在重慶設立之中國分署，以及中國自設的善後救濟總署合作辦理。負有實施善後救濟方案責任之中國善後救濟總署，為中國政府之機關，即聯合國善後救濟總署中國分署發生關係之機關。中國分署與中國善後救濟總署之間，業經樹立和諧關係，及初步了解。

此兩機關在最近數月間所辦理主要事項，為由整個方案中，製成個別之方案，以應付解放後最初數月之急切需要。此等方案包括「港口方案」，用以應付四個海港一經佔領即發生之需要。此一計劃需要輸入八十萬噸，約費兩萬萬美元，其中包括糧食二十二萬五千噸，供運輸用途者二十二萬八千噸，供漁業用途者十二萬噸，供農業用途者六萬五千噸，衣着物五萬噸，住屋二萬五千噸，工業品約三萬七千噸，衛生用品一萬四千噸，用於福利及職位

try, 14,000 tons for health and 13,000 tons for welfare and displaced persons.

A program is already partly in operation for the period preceding the opening of a seaport. Purchasing for the "back-door" emergency program commenced in May. Under this program U.N.R.R.A. has been asked to furnish comparatively limited supplies for food, clothing, health and industrial needs mainly, and trucks to help transport these supplies over the Stilwell-Burma Road, supplementing hump¹⁰ transport by air. The only supplies U.N.R.R.A. has been granted air-tonnage to bring over the hump are small bulk supplies such as medical and veterinary supplies, seeds and sample agricultural hand tools, and these have been delivered.

Washington Headquarters and the China Office of U.N.R.R.A. have also devoted much time to developing buying program for items of supply for China which will require a considerable time for procurement, particularly in the fields of industrial rehabilitation, transportation, agriculture, fisheries and consumers' goods for welfare operations.

Special emergency activities undertaken by U.N.R.R.A. and C.N.R.R.A., in co-operation with other agencies, include Kweichow and Kwangsi relief projects in the wake of the retreating Japanese armies, health and welfare training programs, and anti-cholera campaigns—the last with personnel

被替之失業者身上的一萬三千噸。

有一方案在海港開放前期間已局部進行。爲此「後門」緊急方案之購辦項，於五月間開始。爲實行此一方案救濟總署供給比較少量的供應品，大抵爲糧食，衣着，衛生和工業之需要，及卡車協助經史迪威公路之運輸，以補充越喜馬拉雅山之空運。總署准由空中運輸之供應品，爲量甚少，如醫藥獸醫器材，種子及農業上手工用具樣品等，皆業已交貨。

華盛頓總署及中國事務局又致力於擬訂一採購方案，爲中國採購若干項目之供應品，惟此等供應品需相當時日始可辦齊，尤以工業復興，運輸，漁業方面所用，及辦理福利之商品。

救濟總署與中國善後救濟總署所擔任，并與其他機關合作擔任之特別緊急事項，有貴州廣西兩省在日軍退出後之救濟計劃，衛生福利訓練方案，防止霍亂症運動——最後這一項有藥品十萬磅運上醫務人

and 100,000 pounds of medical supplies urgently flown in from America.

With the sudden coming of peace in Asia, there is now a full appreciation that the programs for China demand rapid compression and acceleration. The tempo¹⁵ of the relief agencies, both in China and abroad, is in process of being geared to this unexpected situation. U.N.R.R.A. is speedily establishing relationships with the military and other agencies of relief, and programs are in process of coordination to meet urgent conditions in the first ports of occupation. The civilian relief projects of the American and Chinese military have a natural priority, but U.N.R.R.A. is gearing its planning with these and rapidly developing its program for ultimate succession to the main responsibility.

員，從美國加急從空路運抵中國。

亞洲和平既驟然實現，吾人充分認識

中國方案必須加速辦理。所有中外之救濟

機關，正向此意外之局勢強調工作。救濟

總署正加速與軍事及其他救濟機關取得連

絡，方案亦加以配合，俾能應付首先佔領

各港之緊急情形。中美軍事方面之平民救

濟計劃自應佔優先，但總署亦在計劃推行

其方案，期在負起其主要責任。

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

1. "for short," [簡稱]。"Jim" is "James" for short, "Jim" 爲 "James" 之簡稱。
2. "by far"="much," [更]，[尤]用於 adjectives 及 adverbs 比較級及最高級之前。Your handwriting is by far better than mine. 君之書法較余之書法佳多矣。"by far the best"="much the best;" "by far better" 亦可用爲 "better by far" 及 "far better."
3. "translate into," 此處作 [變成]。Your words are high sounding and cannot be translated into action, 君之奢言難成事實。
4. "depleted," [用盡]，[力竭]。He is depleted of strength, 彼力盡矣。
5. "was being given," 過去進行式之被動式。
6. "run," [管理]，[主持]。Who runs your school, 誰主持貴校？
7. "by the end of"="not later than the end of," [不遲於……]。與 "at the end of" 不同。
8. "overnight," [旦夕之間]，[驟然]。China could not be industrialized overnight, this will take years, 中國不能驟然之間即可工業化，此需多年時間而後可。
9. "envisage," [預料]。The plan envisaged by us will be a very good, 吾人所預定計劃將爲極佳者。
10. "hump," [駝峰]，指喜馬拉雅山高峯。

PRES. HARRY S. TRUMAN'S ADDRESS TO THE
CONGRESS ON UNIVERSAL MILITARY
TRAINING

Delivered on October 23, 1945

杜魯門總統在國會講演美國應實
施普遍軍訓

一九四五年十月二十三日發表

In my message to the Congress of September 6, 1945, I stated that I would communicate further with respect to a long range program of national military security for the United States. I now present to the Congress my recommendations with respect to one essential part of this program—universal military training.

The United States now has a fighting strength greater than at any other time in our history. It is greater than that of any other nation in the world. We are strong because of many things; our natural resources which we have so diligently developed; our great farms and mines, our factories, shipyards and industries which we have so energetically created and operated. But above all else, we are strong because of the courage¹ and vigor and skill of a liberty loving people who are determined that this nation shall remain forever free.

本人於去歲九月六日致國會咨文中，
會聲明關於美國國家軍事安全之遠大方案
，擬再陳述意見。本人茲對該方案之一主
要部份普遍軍訓，向國會提出建議如下。

美國現有軍力：較我國歷史上任何時
期為大，較世界上任何國家之軍力為強
大。吾人之所以強盛，原因甚多：吾人努
力開發吾人之天然資源；吾人同時竭力創
設並經營吾人之工廠，船塢及實業。雖然
，吾人所以強盛之最重要原因，為吾人係
一愛自由，有勇敢，有精力，有技術之民
族，決心使美國為永遠自由之國家。

With that strength comes grave responsibility. With it² must also come a continuing sense of leadership in the world for justice and peace.

For years to come the success of our efforts for a just and lasting peace will depend upon the strength of those who are determined to maintain the peace. We intend to use all our moral influence and all our physical strength to work for that kind of peace. We can insure such a peace only so long as we remain strong. We must face the fact that peace must be built upon power, as well as upon good will and good deeds.

Our determination to remain powerful denotes no lack of faith in the United Nations Organization. On the contrary, with all the might we have, we intend to back our obligations and commitments under the United Nations Charter. Indeed, the sincerity of our intention to support the organization will be judged partly by our willingness to maintain the power with which to assist other peace loving nations to enforce its authority. It is only by strength that we can impress the fact upon possible future aggressors that we will tolerate no threat to peace or liberty. To maintain that power we must act now. The latent strength of our untrained citizenry is no longer sufficient protection. If attack should come again, there would be no time under conditions of modern war to develop that latent strength into the

因爲強盛，即有嚴重之責任。因爲強盛，亦要發生在公正和平的世界中繼續居於領導地位之意識。

吾人對於公正永久和平之努力，其未來之成就如何，端視決心維繫和平者之努力而定。吾人欲用所有精神與物質力量，以致力於此一種和平。吾人惟有繼續保持強盛，方能確保此一種和平。吾人必須認清事實，即和平不但須建於善意與善行之上，而且必須建立於實力之上。

吾人之決心繼續保持強盛，非爲對聯合國組織表示缺乏信念。反之，吾人欲用所有力量，作履行在聯合國憲章下所負義務之後盾。誠然，吾人支持此組織之誠意，半由吾人願否保持軍力以援助其他愛好和平國家實行此組織之權力爲判斷。吾人惟有用軍力始能使未來可能發生之侵略者得知吾人決不容和平或自由受威脅。爲保持此種力量，吾人必須現即採取行動。吾人未經訓練同胞之潛力，已不復能作充分的保障。設使一旦再遭攻擊，在現代戰爭之狀況下，必無時間將此潛力發展成爲作

necessary fighting force.

Never again can we count on³ the luxury of time with which to arm ourselves. In any future war the heart of the United States would be the enemy's first target. Our geographical security is now gone—gone with the advent of the robot bomb, the rocket, aircraft carriers and modern airborne armies. The surest guaranty that no nation will dare again to attack us is to remain strong in the only kind of strength an aggressor can understand—military power. To preserve the strength of our nation, the alternative before us is clear. We can maintain a large standing Army, Navy, and Air Force. Or we can rely upon a comparatively small regular Army, Navy and Air Force, supported by well-trained citizens, who in time of emergency could be quickly mobilized.

I recommend the second course—that we depend for our security upon comparatively small, professional armed forces, reinforced by a well-trained and effectively-organized citizen reserve. The backbone of our military force should be the trained citizen who is first and foremost⁴ a civilian, and who becomes a soldier or a sailor only in time of danger—and only when the Congress considers it necessary. This plan is obviously the more practical and economical. It conforms more closely to long-standing American tradition. In such a system, however, the citizen reserve must be a trained reserve. We

戰必需之軍力。

吾人再無優裕之時間使吾人武裝。在未來之任何戰爭中美國之心臟地區將成爲敵人之第一攻擊目標。我國地理上之安全現已失去，隨機器人駕駛炸彈，火箭，航空母艦，及現代空輸軍隊之出現而失去。使任何國家不敢再向我國進攻之最穩妥保障，即在侵略國所能了解惟一實力—軍事實力上續繼保持強大。吾人欲保我國實力，應走之途徑顯明呈於吾人之前。或常設一強大之陸海空軍，或倚靠一比較少量之常備陸海空軍，而助以富有訓練，遇有緊急時可以迅速動員之國民。

本人建議採行第二條途徑——將我國之安全，寄託於比較少量之職業武裝軍隊，而以訓練充份，組織有效之國民後備軍爲其後援。我國軍力之骨幹，應爲先訓練有平民身份之國民，至危急之時，始成爲陸軍兵士或海軍水手——而且必俟國會認爲有必要時始爲之。此一計劃顯然最經濟實用，且較爲密切符合美國悠久之傳統。然在此制度下，國民後備軍必須爲訓練有素之後備軍。吾人對於訓練有素之後備軍

can meet the need for a trained reserve in only one way—by universal training.

Modern war is fought by experts—from the atomic scientist in his laboratory to the fighting man with his intricate modern weapons. The day of the Minute Man who sprang to the flintlock hanging on his wall is over. Now it takes many months for men to become skilled in electronics, aeronautics, ballistics, meteorology, and all the other sciences of modern war. If another national emergency should come, there would be no time for this complicated training. Men must be trained in advance.

The sooner we can bring the maximum number of trained men into service, the sooner will be the victory and the less tragic⁵ the cost. Universal training is the only means by which we can be prepared right at the start to throw our great energy and our tremendous force into the battle. After two terrible experiences in one generation, we have learned that this is the way—the only way—to save human lives and material resources.

The importance of universal training has already been recognized by the Congress, and the Congress has wisely taken the initiative in this program. The committee of the House of Representatives on postwar military policy has organized hearings and has heard extended testimony from representatives of churches and schools, labor

，應此需要惟一之法即實施普遍軍訓。

現代戰爭為專家之戰爭，此種戰爭起自原子科學家試驗室內，以至手中使用新式複雜兵器之戰士。獨立戰爭時，民兵跳取牆上火槍作戰，此種時代已經過去。現代戰爭應用電子學，航空學，彈道學，氣象學及其他科學，士兵須經數月方能熟練。如國家再遇一次危急，必無暇再從事此種複雜之訓練。士兵必須在事前有此訓練。

吾人愈能從速使最多數受過訓練之人入伍，愈能速獲勝利，亦愈能減少悲慘之代價。普遍軍訓為使吾人準備完善之惟一方法，戰爭一經開始，吾人即可運用力量龐大之軍力至戰場上。在吾人此一代中，經過兩次可怕之經驗，吾人已了解此為挽救人類生命與物質資源之方法——且為惟一的方法。

普遍軍訓之重要，已為國會所承認，且國會甚賢明已先發動此一方案。衆議院戰後政策委員會已經舉行數次民意調查會，普遍聽取學校，教會，工會，退伍軍人會，在役軍人會，及其他若干團體代表陳

unions, veterans organizations, the armed service, and many other groups. After careful consideration the committee has approved the broad policy of universal military training for the critical year ahead. I concur in that conclusion, and strongly urge the Congress to adopt it.

In the present hour of triumph, we must not forget our anguish during the days of Bataan. We must not forget the anxiety of the days of Guadalcanal. In our desire to leave the tragedy of war behind us, we must not make the same mistake that we made after the first world war when we quickly sank back into helplessness.

I recommend that we create a post-war military organization which will contain the following basic elements: First, a comparatively small regular Army, Navy, and Marine Corps; Second, a greatly strengthened National Guard and Organized Reserve for the Army, Navy and Marine Corps; Third, a General Reserve composed of all the male citizens of the United States who have received training.

The General Reserve would be available for rapid mobilization in time of emergency, but would have no obligation to serve, either in this country or abroad, unless and until called to the service by an act of the Congress. In order to provide this general reserve, I recommend to the Congress the adoption of a plan for universal military training.

述意見。經過詳細考慮後，該委員會已核定在未來危急之一年內，實施普遍軍訓之廣泛政策。本人對該委員會之結論，完全同意，並極力主張國會予以通過。

際茲勝利之日，吾人應勿忘巴丹島作戰之苦痛。吾人應勿忘瓜達卡納爾作戰之焦愁。吾人願將戰爭之悲慘忘懷，但吾人不應再蹈第一次歐戰後立陷於一籌莫展之同樣錯誤。

本人建議我國創立一戰後軍事組織，包括下列基本要素：第一，設置一比較少量之陸海軍及海軍陸戰隊；第二，設置一實力量大為增強之國防軍，及一有組織之陸海軍及海軍陸戰隊後備軍；第三，設置一由美國全體受訓男性國民組成之總後備軍。

總後備軍遇緊急時須能迅速動員，但除非且非至國會通過議案召集入伍，絕無在國內或國外服軍役之義務。為設備此一後備軍，本人茲向國會建議通過一實施普遍軍訓之計劃。

Universal military training is not conscription. The opponents of training have labeled it conscription, and by so doing, have confused the minds of some of our citizens. "Conscription" is compulsory service in the Army or Navy in time of peace or war. Trainees under this proposed legislation, however, would not be enrolled in any of the armed services. They would be civilians in training. They would be closer to membership in the armed forces than if they had no training. Special rules and regulations would have to be adopted for their organization, discipline and welfare. Universal training is not intended to take the place of the present Selective System. The Selective System is now being used to furnish replacements in the armed forces for veterans of this war who are being discharged.

Only the Congress could ever draw trainees under a universal training program into the Army and Navy. And if that time ever came, these trainees could be inducted only by selective process, as they were inducted for World War One and World War Two. The great difference between having universal training and no training, however, is that, in time of emergency, those who would be selected for actual military service would already have been basically trained. That difference may be as much as a year's time. That difference may be the margin between the survival and the

普遍軍訓非爲徵兵制。反對者曲解普遍軍訓爲徵兵制，如此，使若干公民困惑。「徵兵制」係無論在戰時或平時，須服強迫陸軍或海軍兵役。而本建議法案下受訓之人，不須向陸軍或海軍入伍。彼等將爲受訓練之平民。彼等惟較未受訓練時更與武装軍人接近。關於彼等之組織，紀律，及福利，自須另訂規則條例。普遍訓練非爲代替現行之抽調軍役制度。抽調軍役制度係用以補充武装部隊之退伍軍人。

在普遍軍訓方案下，惟國會有權召集受訓者赴陸海軍入伍。設有此時，受訓者始依抽調過程召集，與在第一次世界大戰及第二次世界大戰時相同。惟已受與未受普遍軍訓，其巨大差別乃在於遇緊急時，須抽調已受過基本訓練之人實行軍役。其間相差約一年時期。此相差時間實成爲我國存亡之關鍵。

destruction of this great nation.

The emphasis in the training of our young men will not be on mere drilling. It will be on the use of all the instruments and weapons of modern warfare. The training will offer every qualified young man a chance to perfect himself for the service of his country in some military specialty. Under the plan which I propose provisions should be made within the armed services to help trainees improve their educational status. The year of universal training should provide ample opportunity for self improvement. Some part of the training could be used to develop skills which would be useful in future civilian life just as such skills have been developed during the present war. The period of training could well be used to raise the physical standard of the nation's manpower, to lower its illiteracy rate, and to develop in our young men the ideals of responsible American citizenship. Medical examinations of the young trainees would do much toward removing some of the minor disabilities which caused the rejection of so many men during the war by the Selective Service System.

The moral and spiritual welfare of our young people should be a consideration of prime importance, and, of course, facilities for worship in every faith would be available.

But the basic reason for universal training is a very simple one—to guar-

強化訓練青年不僅着重於操練一端。

此外須訓練彼等使用現代戰爭工具及武器

，使每一合格青年得有機會習練某種軍事

專門學問為國家服務。在本人所建議之計

劃下，應作規定，襄助受訓者在服軍役期

中增進其教育程度。一年之訓練應予彼等

充份機會自求進步。訓練之一部份應用以

發展將來度平民生活時亦有用之技藝，此

與本次戰爭中所發展者相同。訓練之期間

可用以提高全國人民之體格標準，減低文

盲數目，並發展青年能負責任充美國公民

之資格。青年受訓者由醫生檢查可以減除

若干微小之缺陷，在此次戰爭中，曾有許

多人因有此種微小之缺陷而依抽調制度認

為不合格者。

青年之道德與精神福利，應為最重要

之考慮，并當給與彼等各種宗教信仰之便

利。

惟施行普遍軍訓之根本理由甚為簡單

antee the safety and freedom of the United States against any potential aggressor. The other benefits are all by-products—useful indeed, but still by-products. The fundamental need is, and always will be, the national security of the United States, and the safety of our homes and our loved ones.

Since training alone is involved, and not actual military service, no exemptions should be allowed for occupation, dependency, or for any other reason except total physical disqualification.

All men should be included in the training, whether physically qualified for actual combat service or not. There should be a place into which every young American can fit in the service of our country. Some would be trained for combat, others would be trained for whatever war service they are physically and mentally qualified to perform.

I recommend that the training should be for one year. Each young man should enter training either at the age of eighteen or upon his graduation from high school—whichever is later; but in any event before his twentieth birthday. A trainee who completes his high school education in his seventeenth year should be eligible, with parental consent, to enter the course of training. After the first few months of training, selected trainees who are not physically qualified for military service could be trained in certain skills so that if war

——即，保證美國安全與自由，防禦任何潛在之侵略者。其他之利益不過係副產物，固然用處甚大，然終不過為副產物而已。根本之需要為，且將永為，美國國本之安全，以及吾人家庭及親戚骨肉之安全。

既然所涉及之事僅為訓練，而非服實際軍役，除體格完全不合格一項外，不問其職業，家庭負擔或其他任何理由為何，皆不應豁免受訓。

無論體格上合於從事實際戰鬥與否，所有男子皆應在受訓之列。在全美國服役中，應有一種每一青年皆適於担任之地位。若干人可訓練上陣衝鋒，其他可訓練担任其在體力智力上所能勝任之服務。

本人建議訓練應以一年為期。每一青年皆須於年滿十八歲或中學畢業時受訓，無論先及齡後畢業，或先畢業後及齡，皆以後到期者為準，但無論如何，皆須在滿二十歲以前。十七歲讀畢中學之青年，如得家長許可，亦可即行加入訓練科。經過首數月訓練後，將體格不合服軍役之受訓

came,⁸ they could take their places in shipyards, munitions factories and similar industrial plants. Upon completion of the full year's training, the trainee would become a member of the General Reserve for a period of six years. After that he should be placed in a secondary reserve status.

Present personnel in the Army and Navy reserves would, of course, be retained, and the new trainees would provide the source from which the reserves of the future would draw their personnel. Commissions should be granted qualified men who complete the course of training and who then take additional instruction in Officers Candidate Schools, in the Reserve Officers Training Corps or Naval Reserve Officers Training Corps. Outstanding trainees could be selected after an adequate period of training, and sent to college with government financial aid, on condition that⁹ they return, after graduation and with ROTC¹⁰ training, as junior officers for a year or more of additional training or service. Such a system as I have outlined would provide a democratic and efficient military force. It would be a constant bulwark in support of our ideals of government. It would constitute the backbone of defense against any possible future act of aggression.

It has been suggested in some quarters that there should be no universal training until the shape of

者劃出，使受某種技藝訓練，一旦發生戰爭，可赴造船廠，軍器廠，或其他類工業工廠服務。一年訓練期滿，列入總後備役，期間為六年。滿役後，轉入第二後備役。

現役陸海軍後備兵員當然仍須要保留

，新受訓者可作將來補充後備軍之來源。

合格者受訓滿期派任軍職，並入候補軍官

學校，後備軍官團，或海軍後備軍官訓練

團再受教育。經過適當期間之訓練後，可

選出優秀份子，官費送入大學肄業，畢業

後及受後備軍官訓練後，以初級軍官資格

，再受一年以上之訓練，或服役。依照本

人所概述之制度，自可備有一民主而有效

率之軍力，可經常成為支持我國政府理想

之堡壘，可構成防衛未來任何可能侵略行

為之骨幹。

若干方面曾建議俟和平之形勢較為明

朗化後再實施普遍軍訓，屆時吾人能估計

the peace is better known, and until the military needs of this country can be estimated and our commitments under the United Nations Organization can be determined. But it is impossible today to foresee the future. It is difficult at any time to know exactly what our responsibilities will require in the way of force. We do know that if we are to have available a force when needed, the time to begin preparing is now. The need exists today—and must be met today.

If, at some later time, conditions change, then the program can be re-examined and revalued. At the present time we have the necessary organization, the required camp installations, and the essential equipment and training grounds immediately available for use in a training program. Once¹¹ we disband and scatter this set-up, it will be much harder and more expensive to reestablish the necessary facilities.

The argument has been made that compulsory training violated traditional American concepts of liberty and democracy, and even that it would endanger our system of government by creating a powerful military caste. The purpose of the program, however, is just the contrary. And it will have just the contrary result. The objective is not to train professional soldiers. It is to train citizens, so that if and when the Congress should declare it necessary for them to become soldiers, they

我國之軍事需要，並決定我國在聯合國組織下應担之義務時再為實行。然而時在今日吾人欲預料將來為不可能。吾人無論任何時候欲確知吾人之責任需要何種武力亦為困難。吾人確知如果於需要時能有軍力可用，目下確為開始準備之時機。此種需要今日即已存在，且吾人必須於今日應付此種需要。

如將來情形變更，屆時可將此方案重加考察，重加估計。目前吾人已有必要之組織，有必需之營房設置，有主要之設備及訓練場所，立即可供實施訓練方案之使用。吾人一旦將此現有配合取消分散，吾人若重建此等必要之便利將更困難且耗費更多。

有人提出一種辯難，認為強迫訓練違反美國自由與民主之傳統觀念，甚至謂，可造成強大之軍力階級，危害美國政府制度。惟此方案之本意恰為相反，而其結果亦恰為相反。本方案之目標并非訓練職業的兵士，乃是訓練國民，以便於國會宣布彼等成為兵士時，可迅速入伍從軍而有效。大量受過訓練之愛好和平國民後備，如

could do so quickly and more efficiently. A large trained reserve of peace loving citizens would never go to war or encourage war, if it could be avoided.

It is no valid argument against adopting universal training at this time that there are now millions of trained veterans of this war.

No fair-minded person would suggest that we continue to rely indefinitely upon these veterans. They have earned the heartfelt gratitude of all of us—and so they have earned the right to return promptly to civilian life. We must now look to¹² our younger men to constitute the new reserve military strength of our nation.

There are some who urge that the development of rocket weapons and atomic bombs and other new weapons indicates that scientific research, rather than universal training, is the best way to safeguard our security. It is true that, if we are to keep ahead in military preparedness, continuous research in science and new weapons is essential. That is why in my message to the Congress of September 6 I urged that there be created a national research agency, one of whose major functions would be to carry on fundamental military research. It is true that there must be continuous exploration into new fields of science in order to keep ahead in the discovery and manufacture of new weapons. No matter what the cost,¹³ we cannot

戰爭可以避免決不至從事戰爭，或鼓勵戰爭。

若謂現有數百千萬在此次戰爭中曾受訓練之退役軍人，反對此時實施普遍軍訓，其論據並不健全。

凡具純正思想之人，決不主張繼續無限依賴此等退役軍人。彼等已博得吾人之感激——因此彼等亦已獲得迅速回復平民生活之權利。吾人須仰賴年輕之輩構成我國新儲備軍力。

若干人士極力主張謂，由火箭武器，原子炸彈，及其他新式武器之發展，示明吾人保障安全之最佳方法為科學研究，而非為普遍軍訓。誠然，吾人對軍事準備如欲保持不落人後，繼續不斷從事科學與新兵器研究，實為重要。故本人於九月六日致國會咨文中，力主創設國立研究機關，其主要任務應為從事軍事根本研究，即是為此。吾人對於科學之新領域，必須作繼續不斷之探討，如此在新兵器之發現及製造方面，方能前進。無論代價如何鉅大，我們對於任何種戰爭技術，或對新破壞武

afford to fall behind in any of the new techniques of war or in the development of new weapons of destruction.

Until we are sure that our peace machinery is functioning adequately, we must relentlessly preserve our superiority on land and sea and in the air. Until that time, we must also make sure that by planning—and by actual production—we have on hand¹⁴ at all times sufficient weapons of the latest nature and design with which to repel any sudden attack, and with which to launch an effective counter-attack. That is the only way we can be sure—until we are sure that there is another way.

But research, new materials, and new weapons will never, by themselves, be sufficient to withstand a powerful enemy. We must have men trained to use these weapons. As our armed forces become more and more mechanized, and as they use more and more mechanized, we must have an ever-increasing number of trained men. Technological advances do not eliminate the need for men. They increase the need.

General of the Army George C. Marshall, in his recent report to the Secretary of War, has made this very clear. I quote from his report: "The number of men that were involved in the delivery of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima was tremendous. First we had to¹⁵ have the base in the Marianas from which the plane took off. This

器之發展，決不能落於人後。

吾人非至確信吾人之和平機構已在充份行使其機能，吾人決不願一切保持陸海空三方面優越地位。吾人此時必須由計劃及實際生產兩方，使吾人確有充份最新型之武器，用以擊退任何襲擊，發動有效反攻之時為止。除吾人確信將來另有他法外，此時之唯一方法確為如此。

惟研究，新器材，新兵器自身決不足以抵禦強敵。吾人必須有經過訓練，能運用此等武器之人。吾人之軍隊既為日漸機械化，使用日漸繁複之武器，故吾人所需受過訓練之人數自為日增。技術之進步並不減少人數之需要，實則反增加需要。

馬紹爾將軍最近在致陸軍部長報告中關於於此事所述甚明，余茲引其中一段：
【運送原子炸彈至廣島所需人數至為衆多。吾人於馬利亞納先須有根據地以供飛機起飛。此舉又需有艦艇數千艘，供應品百

first required preliminary operations across the vast Pacific, thousands of ship, millions of tons of supplies, the heroic efforts of hundreds of thousands of men. Further, we needed the B-29's and their fighter escort which gave us control of the air over Japan. This was the result of thousand of hours of training and preparation in the United States and the energies of hundred of thousands of men. The effect of technology on the military structure is identical to its effect on national economy. Just as the automobile replaced the horse and made work for millions of Americans, the atomic explosives will require the services of millions of men if we are compelled to employ them in fighting our battles. This war has made it clear that the security of the nation, when challenged by an armed enemy, requires the services of virtually all able-bodied male citizens within the effective military age group. Even the atomic bomb would have been useless to us unless we had developed a strong Army, Navy and Air Force with which to beat off the attacks of our foe, and then fight our way to points within striking distance of the heart of the enemy. Assume that on December 7, 1941, the United States had had¹⁶ a supply of atomic bombs in New Mexico or Tennessee. What could we have done with them? Assume that the United States and Japan both had had a supply of the bombs on December 7, 1941. Which

千萬噸，數十萬人英勇努力作橫渡廣泛太平洋之初步作戰。其次，吾人需要 B29 型飛機及護送該機之戰鬥機以控制日本領空。此係過去美國經積年疊月訓練之準備，耗數十萬人之精力，始得此結果。技術對於軍事組織之影響，與其對國家經濟之影響正為相同。正如汽車替代馬匹使數百萬人得有工作。吾人如迫不得已使用原子炸彈作戰，原子彈亦需數百萬人之服役。此次戰爭業已明示，國家之安全受到武裝敵人之挑戰，所有在服軍役年齡內之壯健男性國民，全部需要服役。吾人設不養成強大之陸海空軍，先擊退敵人之攻擊，然後步步作戰，以達到可能擊中敵人腹心之距離，則吾人雖有原子炸彈亦為無用。假定一九四一年十二月七日美國在紐墨西哥，或登尼西州存已存有原子彈供用，吾人對此原子彈究有何用？又假定一九四一年十二月七日，美國與日本均已存有原子彈，究竟美日兩國孰能幸存？當一九四〇年九月

would have survived? That both England and Germany had had the atomic bomb in September of 1940 during the "blitz" over England. Which country would have been destroyed?"

The answer is clear that the atomic bomb is of little value without an adequate Army, Air and Naval Force. For that kind of force is necessary to protect our shores, to overcome any attack and to enable us move forward and direct the bomb against the enemy's own territory. Every new weapon will eventually bring some counter defense against it. Our ability to use either a new weapon or a counter weapon will ultimately depend upon a strong Army, Navy and Air Force, with all the millions of men needed to supply them—all quickly mobilized and adequately equipped. Any system which is intended to guarantee our national defense will, of course, cause some inconvenience—and perhaps even some hardship—to our people. But we must balance that against¹⁷ the danger which we face unless we are realistic and hard-headed enough to be prepared. Today universal training is the only adequate answer we have to our problem in this world.

There will be better answers, we hope, in the days to come. The United States will always strive for those better answers—for the kind of tried and tested world cooperation which will make for peace and harmony among

英國受閃電攻擊之時，倘英德兩國均已有了原子彈，被毀滅之國家究為何國？

答案很明顯，若無完備之陸海空軍，原子彈亦無甚價值，蓋此種實力為保護海岸，克服任何攻擊，並使吾人推進，投原子彈於敵人本土所必需。且每一種新武器終必引出某種之抵禦方法。吾人使用新武器或新防禦武器之能力，終須仰賴強大陸海空軍，及需用全部能迅速動員，全部有適當裝備，以作補充之百千萬人——凡用以保證國防之任何制度，對於人民當然引起某種不便——甚至艱苦，吾人若非顧及現實決心準備，則吾人所面臨之危險與艱苦相權衡，必知孰重孰輕。吾人今日對吾人所存在此世界之問題，普遍軍訓乃其唯一適當之答案。

吾人希望在未來有更佳之答案。美國必將努力以求更佳之答案，以求業經試行業經實驗之世界合作，能使各國和平諧調

all nations. It will continue to strive to reach that period quickly. That time has not yet arrived. Even from those who are loudest in their opposition to universal training, there has come no other suggestion to furnish the protection and security which we must have—nothing but pious hope and dangerous, wishful thinking.

I urge that the Congress pass this legislation promptly—while the danger is still fresh in our minds—while we still remember how close we came to destruction four years ago—while we can vividly recall the horrors of invasion which our Allied suffered—and while we can still see all the ravages and ruin of war.

Let us not leave a short-sighted neglect of our national security for those who come after us. It is our solemn duty in this hour of victory to make sure that in the years to come no possible aggressor or group of aggressors can endanger the national security of the United States of America.

之答案。吾人欲迅速達到此時期，尚須繼續努力。但此時期尚未到來。即反對普遍軍訓最力之人，對吾人所需之保護及安全除虔誠希望及危險之空想而外，亦不能提出任何其他建議。

趁吾人對此危險尚未忘懷之時，趁吾人仍記憶四年前吾人幾瀕於滅亡之時，趁吾人仍能生活回憶吾人之盟國遭受侵略之恐怖情形時，趁吾人仍能目覩戰爭損害之實蹟與殘墟廢壘之時，本人迫切陳詞，請國會通過此一法案。

吾人對國家安全，切勿因短視忽略不為後代解決。吾人當此勝利之時，須有確切把握，保證將在未來確無可能之侵略者或侵略集團危及美國安全，此實為吾人之神聖職責。

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

1. "We are strong because of....." 與上句之 "we are strong because of....." 構造完全相同，係修辭上強調方法，兩句之重要部份 subject, predicate 及 prepositional phrase 相同，使人聽到陳述時前後貫串，注意其細點不同之處，於是可領略整個陳述之層次與所持之理由。
2. 同上。"With it must also come...." 與前句 "with that strength comes...." 藉重覆以取得強調。
3. "count on," [信靠]，[仰賴]。you cannot count on (或 upon) the words of a liar, 好誑語者之言不可靠。
4. "first and foremost," [首先] (強調語氣)。Before going to a foreign country, you should first and foremost learn the life and manners of the people of that country, 君在赴外國以前，首先應明瞭該國人民生活情形及禮節。
5. "the less tragic" 之後動詞 "will be" 與前句相同故省略。
6. "we must not forget....."

與前句構造同，其後之 “we must make.... ” 大致亦同，用法同 1。 7. “came,” “could be inducted,” 皆為subjunctive verbs. 8. “came,” 亦為 subjunctive verb. 9. “on condition that”=“provided that”=“if,” 強調條件語氣。 10. “ROTC” 即上句 “Reserve Officers Training Corps” 之簡稱。 11. “once” 為 “when (或 if) once” 之省略，【一旦】。 Once you begin to do anything, you will find yourself interested in keeping on doing it, 無論何事，一旦開始為之即感興趣貫徹到底。 12. “look to” 或 “look forward to,” 【期望】，【仰望】。 He looks to you for help, 彼期待君之救助。 13. “No matter what the cost” 即 “No matter what the cost may be” 之省略。 14. “on hand,” 【備有】，【準備】。 He has no money on hand, 彼未備有款項。 15. “had to”=“must.” 16. 此處之 “had had” 及以下之 “could have done,” “would have survived,” “would have been destroyed” 皆為 subjunctive mood, 指過去。本句即等於 “if”-clause, “if the U.S. had had....”; 下句即 main clause; “what could we have done.....?” 17. “balance... against....” 【權衡】。 In doing anything, one consciously balances pleasure against pain, 人對任何事，皆審慎權衡苦樂。

PRES. HARRY S. TRUMAN'S NAVY DAY SPEECH ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Made on October 27, 1945

杜魯門總統海軍節講美國外交政策

一九四五年十月二十七日發表

I am grateful for the magnificent reception which you have given me today in this great city of New York. I know it is given to me only as representative of the gallant men and women of our naval forces, and on their behalf,¹ as well as my own, I thank you.

New York joins the rest of the nation in paying honor and tribute to² the 4,000,000 fighting Americans of the Navy, Marine Corps and Coast Guard—and to the ships which carried them to victory.

On opposite sides of the world, across two oceans, our Navy opened a highway for the armies and air forces of the United States. They landed our gallant men, millions of them, on the beachheads of final triumph. Fighting from Murmansk, the English Channel and the Mediterranean, to Midway, Guadalcanal, Leyte and Okinawa, they won the greatest naval victories in history. Together with their brothers in arms in the army and air force, and with men of the merchant marine, they

余對諸位今日在此偉大之紐約市所給余之盛大招待，甚為感激。余知諸位視余為我海軍英勇男女同志之代表，故予余此種盛情。余本人向諸位感謝外，並代表彼等向諸位感謝。

今日我紐約人民與全國其他各地人民聯合之旨趣，在向我海軍，海軍陸戰隊，海岸巡防隊四百萬之作戰同胞，及向載運彼等獲得勝利之船隻致敬。

我海軍越過兩大洋，在世界之兩對面為美國陸軍及空軍打開路徑。彼等復在各灘頭陣地運我數百萬英勇戰士登陸，獲取最後勝利。彼等自摩曼斯克，英吉利海峽，地中海以至中途島，瓜達康納爾，雷伊泰，琉球各地作戰，獲得歷史上最偉大之海軍勝利。彼等與陸空軍，商船隊作戰同胞協助為全世界人類，得新機會享受和

have helped to win for mankind all over the world a new opportunity to life in peace and dignity—and we hope in security.

In the harbor and rivers of New York City and in other ports along the coast and rivers of the country, ships of that mighty United States Navy are at anchor.³ I hope that you and the people everywhere will visit them and their crews, seeing for yourselves what your sons and daughters, your labor and your money, have fashioned into an invincible weapon of liberty.

The Fleet, on V-J Day,⁴ consisted of 1,200 warships, more than 50,000 supporting and landing crafts, over 40,000 navy planes. By that day, ours was a sea power never before equalled in history of the world. There were great carrier task forces capable of tracking down and sinking the enemy's fleets, beating down his airpower, and pouring destruction on his war-making industries. There were submarines which roamed the seas, invading the enemy's own ports and destroying his shipping in all oceans. There were amphibious forces capable of landing soldiers on beaches from Normandy to the Philippines. There were great battleships and cruisers which swept enemy ships from the seas and bombarded his shore defenses almost at will.

And history will never forget that great leader who from his first day in office, fought to reestablish a strong

平等之生活，余希望並能享受安全之生活。

強大之美國海軍船隻悉在紐約市之港口暨河流中，以及全國沿海一帶暨河流中停泊。余希望諸位以及各地人民前往參觀此等船隻及其海員水手，於是可親見諸位之子女與勞力金錢所造成保衛自由之無敵利器。

對日戰勝之日，美國艦隊有主力艦一千二百餘艘，輔助及登陸艦五萬餘艘，海軍飛機四萬餘架。彼時我國海上威力，在世界史中可謂空前無敵。此外，吾人且有航空母艦所載運之空軍作戰隊，有力追捕並沉沒敵人艦隊，擊破其空軍，毀滅其戰時工業。我潛水艇隊，梭巡海面，或侵入敵人本土港口，或炸毀各小洋面敵人之輸運。我兩棲部隊有力自諾曼第以至菲律賓發動在灘頭登陸。我威力強大之主力艦及巡洋艦清除海上敵人艦隊，且可隨意炸毀其海岸防線。

有一偉大領袖，其人自任職之日起即努力重建美國海軍，親視我海軍及我國其

American Navy—who watched that navy and all the other might of this nation grow into an invincible force for victory—who sought to make that force an instrument for a just and lasting peace—and who gave his life in the effort—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The roll-call of the battles of this fleet reads like sign posts circling the globe—on the road to final victory. North Africa, Sicily, Italy, Normandy and southern France; the Coral Sea, Midway, Guadalcanal and the Solomons; Tarawa, Leyte Gulf, Saipan, the Philippine Sea, Iwo Jima and Okinawa. Nothing which the enemy held on any coast was safe from its attack.

Now we are in the process of demobilizing our naval force. We are laying up ships. We are breaking up aircraft squadrons. We are rolling up bases and releasing officers and men. But when our demobilization is all finished as planned, the United States will still be the greatest naval power on earth.

In addition to that naval power we shall still have one of the most powerful air forces in the world. And just the other day, so that on short notice we could mobilize a powerful and well equipped land, sea and air force, I asked Congress to adopt universal training.⁵

Why do we seek to preserve this powerful navy and air force and establish this strong army reserve? Why do we need them?

他各種力量成長，能為獲取勝利之無上威力，復尋求以此種威力為獲取公正與永久和平之工具，且因此鞠躬盡瘁以至於死，此偉大領袖即我故總統羅斯福是也。羅故總統之功勳決永垂青史。

我海軍各地作戰之題名有若環繞全球指示吾人最後勝利之指路標幟。由北非，西西里，義大利，諾曼第以至法國南部；又由珊瑚海，中途島，以至瓜達康納爾及所羅門羣島；再由達拉滑，雷伊泰海灣，塞班島，菲律賓海以至琉璜島及沖繩島沿岸各地，凡為敵人所佔領者，無一能倖免不受吾人之襲擊。

我海軍現正在復員中。吾人正從事廢棄軍營，掃除基地並解散官兵。但在依原有計劃復員完成之後，我美國將仍居世界上最強大海軍國家地位。

除吾人之海軍強力外，吾人將仍擁有世界最大之空軍。最近余因欲在一短時間內能動員一強大之海陸空聯合軍，故要求國會採取普遍軍訓之措置。

吾人究為何需要保存此強大海空軍實力及建立此強大陸軍？吾人為何需此？

We have assured the world time and time again—and I repeat it now—that we do not seek for ourselves one inch of territory in any place in the world. Outside of the right to establish necessary bases for our own protection, we look for nothing which belongs to any other power.

We do need this kind of armed might for four principal tasks:

First, our army, navy and air force, in collaboration with our allies must enforce the terms of peace imposed upon⁶ our defeated enemies.

Second, we must fulfil military obligations which we are undertaking as a member of the United Nations Organization—to support a lasting peace, by force if necessary.

Third, we must cooperate with other American nations to preserve the territorial integrity and political independence of the Western Hemisphere.

Fourth, in this troubled and uncertain world the American military forces must be adequate to discharge the duties placed on them by the constitution of the United States—“to provide for the common defense of the United States.”

These military tasks are directed not toward war, not toward conquest, but toward peace.

We seek to use our military strength solely to preserve the peace of the world. For we know that it is the only sure way to make our own freedom secure.

吾人累經向世界保證吾人無意在世界任何地區貪圖分寸土地。除爲保衛吾人自身而尋求必要之基地外，對任何其他強國所有者決無所求。

吾人有四大任務確有保存此種武力之必要，即：

第一，吾人之陸海空軍必須與同盟國家聯合，作迫使已戰敗敵人實行和平條件之用。

第二，吾人爲盡聯合國一分子之軍事上義務，於必要時，須用武力以支持和平。

第三，吾人必須與美洲其他國家保持西半球之土地完整與政治獨立。

第四，美國軍隊際此紛擾不定之世界中必須完備，俾能執行美國憲法所指定擔任共同防衛合衆國之義務。

上述之軍事上任務非爲導入戰爭或征服他國，但爲導入和平。

吾人僅求使用吾人之軍事力量以保持世界和平，蓋吾人深知此爲使吾人自身之自由得有安全之唯一可靠方法。

That is the basis of the foreign policy of the people of the United States.

The foreign policy of the United States is based firmly on the fundamental principles of rightfulness and justice. In carrying out these principles we shall firmly adhere to what we believe to be right; and we shall not give our approval to any compromise with evil.

But we know we cannot attain perfection in this world overnight. We shall not let our search for perfection obstruct our steady progress toward international cooperation. We must be prepared to fulfill our responsibilities as best we can, within the framework of our fundamental principles, even though we recognize that we have to operate in an imperfect world.

Let me state the fundamentals of that foreign policy of the United States:

First—We seek no territorial expansion or selfish advantage. We have no plans for aggression against any other state, large or small. We have no objective which need clash with the peaceful aims of any other nations.

Second—We believe in the eventual return of sovereign rights and self-government to all peoples who have been deprived of them by force.

Third—We shall approve no territorial changes in any friendly part of the world unless they accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people

以上所述，乃美國人民外交政策之基礎。

美國外交政策係堅決根據公平正義之各原則而形成者。吾人於實行此等原則時，對吾人所信為正當之事將予以堅持而不與罪惡作任何妥協。

吾人深知在吾人之世界中，欲達到完美境地實非旦夕間所可能。然吾人亦不能任吾人探求完美之過程致吾人向國際合作之穩妥進步受有障礙。吾人雖明知不得不在一不完善之世界中奮鬥，然吾人必須準備在吾人基本原則範圍內，竭盡全力以履行吾人之責任。

余茲將美國外交政策之基礎陳述如下：

(一)吾人不求領土擴張或自私自利，亦不欲侵略任何國家，不論其為大國抑為小國。

(二)吾人相信全體人民，其主權與自治之被武力所剝奪者，終可收回之。

(三)除關係人民自由表示之願望外，吾人不贊同世界之任何友邦領土有所變更。

concerned.

Fourth—We believe that all peoples who are prepared for self-government should be permitted to choose their own form of government by their freely expressed choice, without interference from any foreign source. That is true in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, as well as in the Western Hemisphere.

Fifth—By the combined and cooperative action of our war allies we shall help the defeated enemy states to establish peaceful democratic governments of their own free choice. And we shall try to attain a world in which nazism, fascism and military aggression cannot exist.

Sixth—We shall refuse to recognize any government imposed upon any nation by the force of any foreign power. In some cases it may be impossible to prevent forceful imposition of such a government. But the United States will not recognize such a government.

Seventh — We believe that all nations should have the freedom of the seas and equal rights to the navigation of boundary rivers and waterways and of rivers and waterways which pass through more than one country.

Eighth—We believe that all states which are accepted in the society of nations should have access on equal terms to the trade and raw materials of the world.

Ninth—We believe that the sovereign states of the Western Hemi-

(四)吾人相信凡準備自治之人民，應許其不受外來干涉，而自由選擇其自己之政府方式。此對歐洲，亞洲，非洲，一如對西半球同樣有效。

(五)吾人將與盟邦合力協助戰敗之敵國，建立自由抉擇之和平民主政府，使納粹主義，法西斯主義及軍事侵略不能存在於世界。

(六)吾人決不承認任何外國以武力加諸他國而設之政府。在若干情形下，阻止此種強迫設立之政府或為不可能，然美國決不予以承認。

(七)吾人相信各國均有航海自由，及航行於邊疆河流水道與經過一國以上之河流水道之均等權利。

(八)吾人相信凡為國際社會所接受之各國，應可均等加入世界貿易並獲得原料。

(九)吾人相信西半球主權各國必須不

sphere, without interference from outside the Western Hemisphere,⁸ must work together as good neighbors in solution of their common problems.

Tenth—We believe that good economic collaboration between all nations great and small⁹ is essential to the improvement of living conditions all over the world and to the establishment of freedom from fear and freedom from want.

Eleventh—We shall continue to strive to promote the freedom of expression and freedom of religion throughout the peace loving areas of the world.

Twelfth—We are convinced that the preservation of peace between nations requires a United Nations Organization composed of all the peace loving nations of the world who are willing jointly to use force if necessary to insure peace.

This is the foreign policy which guides the United States now. That is the foreign policy with which it confidently faces the future. It may not be put into effect tomorrow or the next day. But none the less,¹⁰ it is our policy. And we shall seek to achieve it.

It may take a long time, but it is worth¹¹ waiting for, and it is worth striving to attain. The Ten Commandments themselves have not yet been universally achieved over these thousands of years. Yet we struggle constantly to achieve them and in many

受來自西半球以外之干涉，而合力以善隣地位解決其自己之共同問題。

(十)吾人相信大小各國間充分之經濟合作，實為改善全世界生活情況及不受恐懼與缺乏所必要者。

(十一)吾人將廣續努力，以促進世界愛好和平各區之言論與宗教自由。

(十二)吾人深信欲保持國際和平，必須有聯合國機構，此乃舉世愛好和平之國家所組成者，咸願有必要時，聯合使用武力以確保和平。

此為目前領導美國之外交政策。此亦為美國具有信心應付未來之外交政策。此一政策或不能即可實施，然無論如何，其為吾人之政策則一，且吾人將盡力以實行此政策。

吾人欲實行此政策或須經長久時間，然吾人之期待實有代價，且有使吾人奮鬥之價值。即摩西所傳示人之十誡經數千年至今尚未能普遍實行，然吾人仍不斷努力以求實行，因此吾人於各方面與十誡之接

ways we come closer to them each year.

Though we may meet setbacks from time to time, we shall not relent in our efforts to bring the golden rule into the international affairs of the world.

We are now passing through a difficult phase of international relations. Unfortunately it has always been thus after past wars that unity among allies, forged by their common peril, has tended to wear out as the danger passed.

The world cannot afford to let down the united determination of the allies in this war to accomplish a lasting peace. The world cannot afford to let the cooperative spirit of the allies in this war disintegrate. The world simply cannot allow this to happen. The people in the United States, in Russia and Britain, in France and China, in collaboration with all other peace loving people, must take the course of current history into their own hands and mould it in a new direction—the direction of continued cooperation. It was a common danger which united us before victory. Let it be¹² a common hope which continues us to draw together in the years to come.

The atomic bombs that fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki must be made a signal, not for the old process of falling apart but for the new era—an era of ever closer unity and ever closer friendship among peaceful nations.

Building a peace requires much

近與年俱增。

吾人時或遭遇挫折，然吾人努力決不鬆懈，務期此金訓能運用於國際情勢之中。

吾人目前正經歷國際關係之困難階段。不幸在過去累次大戰之後，由共同患難而產生之盟國團結，皆在危機過去之後而消逝。

全世界之人決不能使此次戰爭中盟國求永久和平之共同決心消逝，亦決不能使盟國戰時合作之精神分化。全世界之人絕對不能任此事發生。美蘇英法中各國人民，在其他愛好和平國家之合作下，必須控制目前史實之途徑並將其導入繼續合作之新方向。吾人在勝利前係有共同危險得以團結，甚望在未來能以共同希望保持此種團結。

廣島與長崎所投之原子彈，不應視為過去國際分裂之信號，而當視為和平國家團結永增，友誼永深之新世代之標幟。

和平之建立一如作戰，需要道德之支

moral stamina as waging a war. Perhaps it requires even more, because it is so laborious and painstaking and undramatic. It requires undying patience and continuous application. But it can give us, if we stay with it, the greatest regard that there is in the whole field of human effort.

Differences of the kind that exist today among the nations that fought together so long and so valiantly for victory are not so hopeless or irreconcilable. There are no conflicts of interest among the victorious powers so deeply rooted that they cannot be resolved. But their solution will require a combination of forbearance and firmness. It will require a steadfast adherence to¹³ the principles we have enunciated. It will also require a willingness to find a common ground as to the methods of applying these principles.

Our American policy is a policy of friendly partnership with all peaceful nations, and of full support for the United Nations Organization. It is a policy that has the strong backing of the American people. It is a policy around which we can rally without fear or misgiving.

The more widely and clearly that policy is understood abroad, the better and surer will be the peace. For our own part, we must seek to understand the special problems of other nations. We must seek to understand their own legitimate urge toward security as they

持力。和平之建立既煞費苦心而又甚單調，故所需之支持力，更大於此，且吾人需有不斷之耐心與專注。但吾人如持之有恆，和平建立後，必能盡人類努力所求之最高之尊敬以予吾人。

聯合英勇作戰多年之盟國間目前意見之不同，並非無調協之望。各勝利強國之間，並無不可解決之深大利益上衝突存在。惟解決此等衝突需要寬容與堅毅，需要堅決遵守適纔闡述之原則，並需要誠意以求得實行此等原則所同意之方法。

美國之政策在求與所有和平國家合作並全力支持聯合國組織。此一政策已獲得美國人民之擁護，且為使吾人團結而無畏懼無遺誤之政策。

吾人之政策在國外愈能普遍為世人所澈底諒解，則世界和平愈易實現。吾人自身須求諒解其他國家之特殊問題，並諒解由彼等觀點對世界安全所有合法之建

see it.

The immediate, the greatest threat to us is the threat of disillusionment, the danger of insidious skepticism—a loss of faith in the effectiveness of international cooperation. Such a loss of faith would be dangerous at any time. In an atomic age it would be nothing short of disastrous.

There has been talk about the atomic bomb scrapping all navies, armies and air forces. For the present, I think that such talk is 100 per cent wrong. Today the control of the seas rests in the fleets of the United States and her allies. There is no substitute for them. We have learned the bitter lesson that the weakness of a great republic invites men of ill will to shake the foundations of civilization all over the world.

What the distant future of atomic research will bring to the fleet which we honor today, no one can foretell, but the fundamental mission of the navy has not changed. Control of our sea approaches and of the skies above them will be the key to¹⁴ our freedom and to our ability to help enforce the peace of the world. No enemy will strike us directly except across the sea.¹⁵ We cannot reach out to help, and defeat an aggressor without crossing the sea. Therefore, the navy, armed with whatever weapons science brings forth, is still dedicated to its historic task; control of the ocean approaches to our country and of the skies above them.

議。

吾人直接最大之威脅爲內心失望，此爲對國際合作喪失信念所生危害吾人之內心疑慮。不論何時，信念喪失皆可招致危險。吾人在此原子時代對國際合作喪失信念實離災禍不遠。

有人謂原子彈之發明致海陸空軍失去威力。余以爲此種言論在目前實完全不當。美國及盟國艦隊仍能依舊控制海洋，而無有替代之他種勢力。吾人由於堅苦教訓得知吾人偉大之共和國一旦衰弱，則全世界文明基礎即有被摧毀之虞。

未來之原子彈研究將對吾人今日所敬之艦隊發生何種影響，此時無人能作預言，但吾人皆知吾人海軍之基本任務並未改變。吾人對我國沿海及其上空之控制將仍爲吾人能否保持自由及有否力量協助實行世界和平之惟一關鍵。敵人除越過海洋外，別無他法直接襲擊吾人，而吾人若不越過海洋亦不能協助他國或擊敗侵略吾人之敵人。由此可知吾人以科學發明之武器所武裝之海軍將仍舊負控制沿海及其上空歷史性之專責。

The atomic bomb does not alter the basic foreign policy of the United States. It makes the development of an application of our policy more urgent than we could have dreamed six months ago. It means that we must be prepared to approach international problems with greater speed, with greater determination, and with greater ingenuity, in order to meet a situation for which there is no precedent.

We must find the answer to the problems created by the release of atomic energy as we must find the answers to the other problems of peace—in partnership with all the people of the United Nations. For their stake in world peace is as great as our own.

As I said in my message to Congress, discussion of the atomic bomb with Great Britain and Canada and later with other nations cannot wait upon the formal organization of the United Nations. These discussions, looking toward a free exchange of fundamental scientific information, will begin in the near future. But I emphasize again, as I have before, that these discussions will not be concerned with the processes of manufacturing the atomic bomb or any other instruments of war.

In our possession of the weapon, and in our possession of other new weapons, there is no threat to any nation. The world, which has seen the United States in two recent wars, knows that full well. The possession

原子彈並不變更美國之基本外交政策

。反之，原子彈使吾人政策之實施較六月前所能想像之發展更為迫切。原子彈指示吾人必須準備應以更高速度，更大決心與更精技巧研討一切國際問題，於是方可應付前所未有之局勢。

吾人必須與聯合國人民共同探求因原子能之使用所造成一切問題之答案，正如吾人須探求其他和平問題之答案相同，蓋世界和平對彼等關係之重大不亞於吾人。

余在致國會咨文業已詳言吾人與英，加及其後之其他國家，關於原子能之商談，不能待聯合國組織正式成立始舉行。此種商談目的在基本科學情報之交換，於最近之未來即將舉行。但余一如過去，當鄭重聲明此種商談不涉及原子彈及其他戰爭用具之製造。

原子彈—武器及其他新武器為吾人所據有一事對任何國家並不發生威脅。全世界之人目觀美國歷經兩次世界大戰，對於此點必充分了然。吾人認為此種富有毀滅

in our hands of this new power of destruction we regard as a sacred trust. Because of our love of peace, the thoughtful people of the world know that that trust will not be abused, that it will be faithfully executed.

The high hope of the American people is that world cooperation for peace will soon reach such a state of perfection that atomic methods of destruction can be definitely effectively outlawed for ever.

We have sought, and we will continue to seek, the attainment of that objective. We shall pursue that source with all the wisdom, patience and determination that the god of peace can bestow upon a people who are trying to follow in his path.

性之新威力由吾人控制，實為神聖之付托

。世界有深思之人皆知吾人愛好和平決不負此信託，且能忠實執行此信託。

“二人民殷切希望世界和平合作即可達於完美境地，原子破壞各種方法得永遠確有實效之取締。

吾人業經力求，並將繼續求達到此一目標。吾人將竭盡一切智慧，耐心與決心以探其本源，俾和平之神能降臨隨其前進之國家。

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

1. "on...behalf" 或 "on behalf of..." 〔代〕。〔代表〕。I thank you on his behalf (on behalf of my friend), 余代彼(代余友)向君感謝。
2. "pay tribute to," 〔讚譽〕, 〔致敬〕。Let us pay tribute to the unknown heroes who laid down their lives for us, 吾人當向為吾人捐軀之無名英雄致敬。
3. "at anchor," 〔停泊〕。Owing to bad weather, all vessels lie at anchor, 因天候不佳所有各船悉皆停泊。
4. "V-J Day" 即 "Victory over Japan Day," 〔對日戰勝日〕。
5. 見「杜魯門總統在美國會講演美國應實施普遍軍訓」一文。
6. "imposed upon," 〔強迫加於〕。Don't impose too much work upon him, 勿強迫令彼工作太多。
7. "obstruct" 為 infinitive, 在動詞 "let" 之後不用 "to."
8. "outside the Western Hemisphere" 為 prepositional phrase 作 preposition "from" 之受詞。
9. "great and small" 形容 "nations" 為形容詞之 appositive 用法。
10. "none the less," 〔仍舊〕 He is opposed by all, but he sticks to his policy none the less, 彼雖遭反對，但仍舊堅持其政策。
11. "worth" 是 preposition-adjective, 其後須用 noun 或 gerund 做 object, 故 "worth waiting for." This book is worth reading, 此書有瀏覽之價值。
12. "be" 為 infinitive 用法見 7。
13. "adherence to," 〔遵守〕。His actions show a strict adherence to principle, 彼之行動表現嚴格遵守原則。
14. "key to," 〔關鍵〕, 〔祕訣〕。Sometimes luck is the key to success, 有時成功之祕訣全在機會。
15. "across the sea," prepositional phrase, 用法見 8。

U. S. S. R. PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN
AFFAIRS VYACHESLAV M. MOLOTOV'S
ADDRESS ON U.S.S.R. FOREIGN POLICY

*Made at the meeting of the Moscow Soviet on the 28th anniversary of
the October Socialist Revolution, November 6, 1945.*

蘇聯人民外交委員長莫洛托夫講
蘇聯外交政策

一九四五年十一月六日蘇聯十月革命二十八週年紀念日
在莫斯科發表

Comrades, after several years of hard war, we are celebrating today the 28th anniversary of the Great October Socialist revolution under conditions of peace and glorious victory over fascism. We have left behind four years of war against hitlerite Germany, which had ravaged our country and the whole of Europe, also the war in the East against aggressive Japan, in which we had to join in the autumn of this year.

In the heroic struggle, in which Soviet people had played a part of decisive importance, peace has been won for the peoples of the entire world, and the main hotbeds of world fascism and world aggression, both in the West and in the East, have been crushed. Now

同志們，經歷了好幾年的艱苦戰爭之後的今天，我們在和平與戰勝法西斯主義的光榮勝利環境之下，慶祝偉大十月社會主義革命二十八週年紀念。我們的背後遺留下了使我國和全歐洲歷盡千辛萬苦的四年反抗希特勒德國的戰爭，和我們今年秋季參加的在東方反抗日本侵略國的戰爭。

在這次蘇維埃人民曾在其中佔有決定性地位的英勇鬥爭中，獲得了世界各民族的和平，肅清了西方和東方的世界法西斯主義和世界侵略的兩個主要根據地。現在

we have received the opportunity to return to peaceful labor, in order to consolidate our victory.

Comrade Stalin said: "Our Soviet people have given unstingingly their strength and their labor for the sake of victory. We have lived through the hard years. But now, each one of us can say: we have won. From now on, we can consider our country saved from the threat of German invasion in the West and of Japanese invasion in the East. The long awaited peace for the nations of the whole world has come."

I. THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE USSR

The Germans invaded our country in a belief that the suddenness of their bandit attack would guarantee them success. Not in Germany alone, but also in other countries, many people thought that Soviet Union would not hold out for long, and that in a few weeks, or at any rate, in a few months, Germany would smash USSR, and Hitler would celebrate victory.

After comparatively easy successes of the hitlerites in Western Europe, many believed this inevitable. Such conclusions were arrived at, in the first place, by those who in general did not recognize the "legitimate nature" of the October Revolution in Russia, and also by those who proved incapable of understanding the truly popular nature of the Soviet state, created by our revolution.

我們有機會回復到和平勞動來鞏固我們的勝利了。

猶如史達林同志所說：「我們蘇維埃人民爲爭取勝利，是不惜化費力量和勞動的。我們經歷了艱難的歲月。但是現在我們每一個人可以說：我們已經勝利了。現在我們可以認爲我們的祖國在西方已經解除了德國侵略的威脅，在東方已經解除了日本侵略的威脅。全世界各民族期待已久的和平已經來臨。」

一 第二次世界大戰和蘇聯

德人侵入我國的時候，預計他們強盜式的突然的進攻會保證他們獲得成功。非但在德國而且在別的國家，許多人以爲蘇聯不會支持多久，他們以爲在幾星期之後——無論如何在幾個月之後，德國一定會擊敗蘇聯，而希特勒一定會得勝的。

自從希特勒黨徒在西歐比較輕易地成功之後，許多人都覺得這是不可避免的。提出這種結論的人，第一是那些根本不承認俄羅斯十月革命的「合法性」的人，還有是不能瞭解我們革命所創造的蘇維埃國家是真正受人民擁戴的人。

The German invasion of the Soviet Union was also a great test for our friends abroad, who with a sinking heart followed the exceptional hardships experienced by our country in the first phase of the war. Despite the suddenness of the attack, the Soviet Union remained on its feet.¹ The material damage and deep wounds inflicted upon it did not undermine its physical and spiritual strength. The Red Army proved to have been² able to reorganize and recover from the first blows. The Soviet people strained their forces and ensured a shattering rebuff to the enemy.

Everyone remembers the time when our army had switched³ from defensive to the offensive, at first, in the isolated sectors of the front, and then along the entire front line.

The interests of self-defence necessitated the formation of a united anti-Hitler front of big and small democratic states. It is universally known that the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition effectively accomplished its historic task in organizing the joint struggle of democratic countries against hitlerism. It is also well known that opening of the Second Front in Western Europe, when Germany was caught between two fronts, made the position of German fascism hopeless.

At the same time, it should not be forgotten, that the radical change in the situation on the Soviet-German

德國之侵略蘇聯，也是我們國外友人的偉大試煉。他們屏息絕氣地注視我國的戰爭初期所遭遇到的極端困難。蘇聯不顧突然的進攻而終於站住了腳。戰爭初起幾年內，蘇聯所受到的物質損失與深創巨痛，並沒有損折它的物質與精神的力量。紅軍能夠重新改組，和從最初受到的打擊中恢復自己的力量。蘇維埃人民緊張一切力量來發動毀滅性的反攻。

誰都記得我軍最先在前線各段，繼而在全線反守為攻的那一個時刻。

自衛的利害關係，促使各大小民主國家感到有組織反希特勒聯合陣線的需要。大家知道，英蘇美聯盟在組織各民主國家向希特勒主義作共同鬥爭，這方面，順利地完成了它的歷史的任務。大家也都知道，西歐開闢第二戰場，使德國處於兩面受敵的地位，結果使德國法西斯主義陷入絕望的境地。

同時不應當忘記，蘇德戰線局勢的根本的轉捩點，早在第二戰線開闢之前一年

front, came about fully one year before the opening of the Second Front, when hitlerite troops disgracefully started rolling back before the powerful and evergrowing onslaught of the Red Army.

Thus, the state, created by the October Revolution, succeeded not only in defending itself, but also in launching an offensive, in order to put an end to the principal hotbed of fascism and aggression. Then it became plain to every one, that Soviet system bears no semblance to the decrepit Tsarist power of the time of the last war. It became evident, that Soviet state can defend itself with credit and is able to withstand the gravest crisis ever known in the country's history.

The hitlerite Germany threatened not only the Soviet state. Even before attacking USSR, German fascists had seized Norway, Belgium, Holland, France, Greece, Yugoslavia. Among their allies, Germans had not only fascist Italy, but also a number of other European countries, which had concluded a military alliance with Germany. Spain and certain other countries, rendered semi-open support to Hitler.

The menace of hitlerite attack loomed⁴ over Britain. Had the drive into Soviet Union ended in success, the entire Europe could have fallen under Hitler's boot. The hitlerites had already praised to the skies the "new order," which they would institute in Europe. The fascist underlings, such

便到來了，那時候希特勒軍就已經在紅軍強大而不斷增長的攻擊之下可恥地向後潰退了。

所以這樣看起來，十月革命所創造的國家不但能夠保衛自己，避免法西斯的攻擊，並且還能夠轉取攻勢，去消滅法西斯主義及侵略的主要根據地。到這時候，大家才明白，蘇維埃政權是和第一次世界大戰中沙皇時代的腐敗政權不同的。而且因此才明白，蘇維埃國家能夠光榮地保衛自己，和能夠忍住歷史上最艱難的試煉。

希特勒德國不但曾經威脅蘇聯。甚至在進攻蘇聯之前，德國法西斯就已經奪佔挪威、比利時、荷蘭、法蘭西、希臘、和南斯拉夫。德國人不但有法西斯的義大利為其盟國，而且還有其他許多和德國訂立軍事聯盟的歐洲國家。西班牙和其他幾個國家曾給予希特勒以半公開式的支持。

英國也受到過希特勒侵略的威脅。要是進軍蘇聯的行動順利結束，則全歐洲勢必要呻吟於希特勒的鐵蹄之下了。希特勒黨徒早已多方標榜他們要在歐洲扶植的「新秩序」。像吉士林和賴伐爾之流，早已

as quislings⁶ and laval⁷ of all sorts, had already harnessed themselves to the cart of their German masters.

Everywhere, the domination of hitlerism was established by means of destruction of all democratic institutions and abolition of all political rights of the working classes, while, at the same time, hitlerites plundered and squeezed out of the enslaved countries, all their material resources, in order to supply and arm still better their bandit fascist hordes.

The initial successes of invasion of Soviet Union turned hitlerites' heads even more. They started talking even more frankly, not only of their domination of Europe, but of their claim to world domination as well. Their dangerous plans—the adventurous plans of domination of the German race all over other nations of Europe—were revealed to the whole world. The German fascist theory of domination of the “master race” over other nations, classed as “inferior races,” became a direct menace to the existence of European civilization. In the countries invaded by hitlerite bands, people proved to have been poorly prepared⁸ for offering a rebuff to the fascist invaders. Only gradually, due to the efforts of first patriotic democrats, the democratic forces of resistance to invaders began to take shape⁷ and grow. But even in those countries as in Yugoslavia, where the entire population supported the uprising

着手為他們的德國主子工作。

希特勒主義到處用毀滅一切民主機關，和取消工人階級一切政權的方法來建立自己的統治，同時，希特勒黨徒為了供給和更強大地武裝法西斯盜黨起見，盡力從被奴役國家擷取全部物資。

侵略蘇聯的初期勝利，更使希特勒黨徒更為得志。他們不但變得更其肆無忌憚地說要統治歐洲，而且說要稱霸世界了。他們的危險計劃——德國人種統治歐洲以及歐洲以外的民族的冒險計劃——已為全世界所熟知。德國法西斯黨徒所倡導的「優秀人種」統治其他被認為「低劣人種」的民族的理論，已直接威脅到歐洲文化的生存。在遭受希特勒黨徒侵略的各國，人民都顯得缺乏回擊法西斯搶掠者的準備。直到後來靠了民主主義的最優秀的愛國份子的努力，民主主義的抵抗力量才開始逐漸累積和生長起來。但是甚至像在全體人民羣起反抗搶掠者的南斯拉夫那樣的國

against the invaders, these forces were lacking the power to break hitlerites' military might.

It was not before our army had swung into offensive and started battering the German troops, having divested them of the halo^s of invincibility, that broad opportunities opened for the liberation of peoples enslaved by German imperialism. Advancing to the West, the Red Army brought liberation to the neighbor countries and to other nations of Europe. Soviet armies, together with the Allied armies, now acted as liberators of European countries, including those countries which had broken their alliance with Germany and joined the ranks of nations fighting for destruction of hitlerism. Thus, the liberation of European countries from hitlerite oppression, will go down in history of our victorious Red Army as its glorious page.

The fascist Italy was first to come on the side of Germany when she had unleashed war in Europe. By the time of the attack on USSR, the Governments of Rumania, Hungary and Finland, having concluded military alliance with Germany, plunged their countries into war against the Soviet Union. Bulgaria, with her Government, which then consisted of hitlerite agents, also became Germany's ally. Thus, with some exceptions, European countries with fascist regimes bound their destinies with that of the hitlerite Germany in

家，也沒有充分的力氣去擊破希特勒主義的軍事力量。

惟有在我軍轉取攻勢和開始擊潰德軍，撕破德軍無敵性神話時，才為被德帝國主義奴役的各民族展開了解放的廣大可能性。紅軍一面向西推進，一面解放鄰國和歐洲的其他民族。蘇聯軍隊和我們盟國的軍隊現在共同擔當了歐洲各國——包括與德國斷絕同盟關係，而站到“消滅希特勒主義而鬥爭的各民族的隊伍裏來的國家在內——解放者的角色。所以，從希特勒桎梏中解放歐洲各國的事業，將在我們勝利紅軍的歷史上佔有光榮的一頁。

法西斯的義大利是第一個參加到在歐洲發動戰爭的德國方面去的。在侵略蘇聯的時候，羅馬尼亞、匈牙利、芬蘭各國政府與希特勒德國簽訂軍事同盟之後，就把它們的國家捲入反蘇聯戰爭的漩渦。保加利亞和它當時那個由希特勒份子組成的政府，也和德國結了同盟。所以，除了極少數的例外，歐洲法西斯政權的國家在第二次世界大戰中把它們自己的命運和希特勒

the Second World War.

Germany's defeat, therefore, meant not only defeat for the German fascism. It also resulted in defeat of fascism in other European countries. Consequently the significance of our victory should be appraised not only in the light of defeat of German fascism, but also in the light of military, moral and political defeat of fascism in the whole Europe.

After the termination of war in Europe, the Allied powers were faced with the task of crushing Japanese aggression in the East, in order to speed up the restoration of the world peace. The Soviet Union could not keep aloof⁹ from this task, both because of the mutual obligations which existed between USSR and its Allies and because this was demanded by the interests of our security in the East. All of us remember that in the past, Japan, more than once, attacked our country and that our state constantly faced the threat of the Japanese invasion in the East. All this, rendered Soviet Union's entry into war against Japan inevitable.

It is not difficult to see that since the time when German fascism started suffering defeat after defeat on the Soviet German front the very outcome of Japanese aggression in the East was also predetermined.

Having finally come out against Japan, the Soviet Union accelerated her defeat and this hastened the termination of the war in the East. Japan sur-

德國的命運結合在一起。

因此，德國的失敗不但表示是德國法西斯主義的失敗。同時也是歐洲其他國家法西斯主義的失敗。所以，我們不但須從德國法西斯主義失敗的觀點，同時須從全歐洲法西斯主義在軍事，精神和政治上失敗的觀點來估計我們勝利的意義。

在歐洲戰爭結束之後，聯合國面臨肅清東方的日本侵略者，以加速恢復全世界和平的任務。由於蘇聯和它的盟國之間所存在的相互責任，同時也因為我們自身在東方安全的利害關係，蘇聯對於這一個任務，決不能置身事外。我們大家都記得，日本在過去曾經屢次攻擊我國，因此我國在東方常受着日本侵略的威脅。所有這一切都使蘇聯感到有加入對日戰爭的必要。

我們不難了解自德國法西斯主義開始在蘇德戰線上接一連二地失敗以來，那一個時候起，東方的日本侵略者的命運，就預先被注定了。

蘇聯參加對日戰爭之後加速了日本的失敗，而因此加速了東方戰爭的結束。日本學着希特勒德國的榜樣，也向聯合國投

rendered to the Allies following in the footsteps of Hitlerite Germany. Both the plan of German imperialism for the domination of Europe and the claims of the Japan's imperialism to domination in Asia crumbled, though but recently both Western and Eastern fascists regarded these plans only as a stepping stone towards world domination, and thus demonstrated at their own cost, how shortsighted and adventurous, aggressive intentions of this kind are in our times. The defeat of Japanese imperialism as the main hotbed of fascism and aggression in the East and the liberation of China from the Japanese invaders are of enormous positive significance for the democratic development of the countries of Asia and not of Asia alone. The interests of all democratic countries demand that this victory be¹⁰ consolidated.

It is natural, therefore, that the Soviet Union attaches such great importance to the negotiations between the Allies on the establishment of proper control of the principal Allied powers over the execution of the terms of Japan's surrender. The difficulties which had arisen regarding this problem have not been eliminated as yet. But the Soviet Union expresses confidence that all peace-loving powers fully realize the necessity of consolidating the victory over aggressive Japan and of creating proper conditions for the consideration of the Allied powers for this purpose.

降了。於是不但德帝國主義妄想稱霸歐洲的計劃，終於崩潰，而且日本帝國主義稱霸亞洲的迷夢也打破了。可是最近，西方和東方的法西斯份子竟把這些計劃看作不過是完成獨霸世界的一個階段而已，他們向世界顯示，在我們這一個時代，這種侵略的企圖是多麼淺見與冒險，法西斯主義與侵略的主要根據地，日本帝國主義的戰敗和中國之從日本搶掠者手中獲得解放，對於亞洲及亞洲以外國家民主主義的發展是有着巨大的積極的意義。鞏固此次的勝利，是為一切民主國家的利益着想。

所以，蘇聯認為聯合國之間關於共同管制日本督促其履行投降條件的談判非常重要，那是很顯然的。此一問題所引起的種種困難，目下還沒有解除。但是蘇聯深信所有愛好和平的列強都能認清我們必須鞏固對戰勝日本侵略者所獲得的和平，並且必須造成適當條件，使聯合國為鞏固和平起見，加以考慮。

Both Germany and Japan were forced to surrender unconditionally to the Allies. Anglo - Soviet - American coalition thus attained its goal. At present the people in our country realize with satisfaction that the Soviet Union has played a decisive role in the victorious termination of the second World War in the interests of the democratic countries and especially in crushing the most dangerous hotbed of fascism and aggression—hitlerite Germany.

The Soviet people gave the name of the Great Patriotic War to its war against hitlerite Germany. The example of the Soviet people became a model for the patriots of other countries in their fight for their countries, for the freedom and independence of their countries. It is also well known that the Soviet people not only liberated their own country but also fought heroically for the reestablishment of peace and freedom throughout Europe.

One year ago Comrade Stalin said: "It is universally acknowledged now that by 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."

II. ESTABLISHMENT OF WORLD PEACE AND THE INTEREST OF PEACE LOVING PEOPLE

The Second World War differed from the First World War in many

德日兩國不得不向聯合國無條件投降

。因此，英蘇美聯盟達到了它的目的，我國人民滿意地意識到，在完成第二次世界大戰的勝利的事業中，在各民主國家的利益中，尤其是在肅清最危險的法西斯主義侵略的根據地——希特勒德國——的事業中，佔據着決定性的地位。

蘇維埃人民把這次反希特勒德國戰爭喚作偉大的衛國戰爭。別國的愛國志士以蘇維埃人民為模範，也學會了怎樣為他們的祖國，為他們祖國的自由和獨立而鬥爭。大家知道，蘇維埃人民不獨解放了自己的國家，並且還為了恢復全歐洲的和平與自由而進行了英勇的鬥爭。

史達林同志在一年以前說過：「現在大家都承認，蘇維埃人民以自我犧牲的鬥爭，把歐洲文明從法西斯暴徒的手中拯救出來。這就是蘇維埃人民對人類歷史所盡的偉大任務。」

二 建立世界和平與愛好和平各民族的利益

第二次世界大戰在許多地方不同於第一次世界大戰。第一是參與這次戰爭的民

respects and in the first place in the scale of the participation of nations in it, also in the number of victims and material damage caused by the war.

Four-fifths of the population of the globe participated to various extent in the last world war. More than 110,000,000 persons were mobilized in both belligerent camps. It is practically impossible to name any country which was really neutral in those years.

By allowing the Second World War to break out, that is by failing to take timely measures against the aggressive forces of fascism which unleashed this war, unparalleled for its scale, humanity paid an incalculable price in human lives and in devastation of many states. The war was imposed on our people whose answer to the invasion was the proclamation of the Great Patriotic War. Hitlerite Germany attacked the Soviet Union not only with the aim of seizing our territory and destroying the Soviet State. Hitlerism proclaimed that its aim was the extermination of the Russian people and Slavs in general.

Until the time when the Russian people, and also other peoples of the Soviet Union, completely reformed their plans in conformity with the Stalin call of "Everything for the War" and when they finally broke the backbone of the German army, until then the hitlerites did not stop at anything in haranging their man-hating purposes on the territories they seized.

族的範圍上的不同，還有是因戰爭而引起的人的犧牲與物質的損失之數量上的不同。

地球上加入這次大戰的人數計有全球人口的五分之四。參戰雙方所動員的人數達到一萬一千萬以上。要指出那一個國家在這些年間保守中立，幾乎是不可能的。

人類放任第二次世界大戰發生，就是說，沒有能在適當的時候對那些展開這次規模空前的戰爭的法西斯侵略國家採取處置的辦法，因此而付了無可補償的人命的損失，和許多國家的毀壞。戰爭是強迫壓在我們的頭上，人民是被逼而戰的，我們人民宣佈進行偉大的衛國戰爭，是爲了答覆侵略。希特勒德國進攻蘇聯，不但想擄奪我們的領土和消滅蘇維埃國家。而且聲稱他們的目的是消滅俄羅斯人民和斯拉夫人。

直到俄羅斯人民和蘇聯其他民族遵照斯達林「一切爲戰爭」的號召完全改變他們的計劃，同時在最後折斷了德國軍隊的脊骨的時候，希特勒黨徒，還不停止他們在佔領區內所推行的煽動仇視人類的工作。

To forget this would be a crime against the memory of the millions of absolutely guiltless people who have perished, against their orphaned families, against the entire nation. Nor can we forget the enormous material damage inflicted upon us by the German invaders and their Allies, by their brigandage on Soviet territory in the course of many months.

Chief war criminals should be made to answer for this in the first place. The German fascist invaders, completely or partly demolished and burned down 1,710 towns and more than 70,000 villages, burned down or demolished over 6,000,000 buildings and made nearly 25,000,000 homeless.

Among the demolished and the most heavily damaged cities are the country's biggest industrial and cultural centres such as Stalingrad, Sevastopol, Leningrad, Kiev, Odessa, Smolensk, Kharkov, Voronezh, Rostov on the Don and many more.

The hitlerites demolished or damaged 31,850 industrial enterprises which employed nearly 4,000,000 workers and employees. The hitlerites ruined and ransacked 98,000 collective farms, including most of the effective farms in the Ukraine and Byelorussia. They slaughtered or confiscated and carried away to Germany 7,000,000 horses, 17,000,000 cows, tens of millions of hogs and sheep.

Only the direct damage inflicted upon our national economy and our

忘記這一切就等於對幾百萬無辜慘死

的人民，對成了孤苦伶仃的家族，對全體人民犯罪。我們也不能忘記數月中德國搶掠者及其盟國在我們領土上強盜似的搶掠所造成的巨大物質損失。

對於這一切，第一必需叫那些主要的戰爭罪犯負責。德國法西斯佔領者計全部或部份毀壞了一、七一〇城市，七〇、〇〇〇多個村鎮，毀焚及破壞了六、〇〇〇、〇〇〇多所建築物，使二五、〇〇〇、〇〇〇人無家可歸。

毀滅及破壞最重之城市中有最大的工業與文化中心史達林格勒，西伐斯托波爾，列寧格勒，基輔，奧地薩，斯摩倫斯克，哈科夫，伏格聶士，頓河上之羅斯托夫等等。

希特勒黨徒破壞和損壞了三一、八五〇種工業，其中雇用的工人及職員有四、〇〇〇、〇〇〇人。希特勒黨徒蹂躪和掠奪了九八、〇〇〇個集體農場，其中包括烏克蘭及白俄羅斯大部份的集體農場。他們宰殺或掠奪和搶運至德國的馬匹有七、〇〇〇、〇〇〇匹，母牛有一七、〇〇〇、〇〇〇頭，豬羊數千萬頭。

據特別國家委員會的估計，國民經濟

citizens has been estimated by the Extraordinary State Committee at 379,000,000,000 rubles in Government prices. We cannot forget all this and must demand all the countries which had unleashed the war that they at least partially indemnify the damage they had caused.

The justness of this desire of the Soviet people is undeniable. It should not be overlooked either that the decisions of the Berlin Three Power Conference on reparations by Germany have not yet made satisfactory headway. No one of us, however, advocates the policy of revenge towards the vanquished peoples.

Comrade Stalin pointed out more than once that the desire for revenge just as the desire for retribution for the grievances is poor counsellor in politics and in relations among peoples.

In regard to the vanquished peoples we should not be guided by the desire for revenge but should strive to hinder the outbreak of new aggressor in the position of utmost isolation among the nations.

It is not the grievances of the past that should guide our actions but the interests of maintenance of peace and security of the nations in the post war period.

Indisputably, for the sake of ensuring stable peace, the peace loving nations must possess a necessary armed force. In any case this refers to the countries which bear the main respon-

和我國人民所受到的直接的損失達國定價格三千七百九十萬萬魯布。我們不能忘記這一切，我們必須向發動戰爭的各國至少要求賠償一部份損失。

對於蘇聯人民的這種公正的要求，是毋庸置疑的。而且還有一點不可疏忽，柏林三強會議關於在德國取得賠償的決議至今還沒有令人滿意的進步。但是，我們國內沒有贊成向戰敗各民族採取報復政策的人。

史達林同志曾經屢次指出報仇的願望正和為有冤屈而圖報復的願望一樣，在政治上和各民族間的關係上是一種不智的辦法。

對待被戰敗的各民族，我們不能被報復的念頭所駕馭，而應該努力阻止侵略重新抬頭和儘量使侵略國家在各民族間處在最隔絕的地位。

領導我們的應該不是為過去感到不平的感覺，而是為戰後各民族保衛和平與安全的利害關係。

無疑的，為保障永久和平的利害關係，愛好和平的各民族擁應有必需的武裝力量。這無論如何是和所有一切負責維持和

sibility for ensuring peace. But the interests of safe-guarding peace have nothing in common with the policy of an armament race of the great powers which is preached abroad by certain especially zealous partisans of the imperialist policy.

In this connection we should mention the discovery of atomic energy and the atomic bomb whose application in the war against Japan demonstrated its enormous destructive power. The atomic energy has not been tested, as yet, for the purpose of preventing aggression or for the purpose of safe-guarding peace.

On the other hand at present there can be no such technical secrets of great importance as could remain in the possession of any single country or of any narrow group of countries. Therefore, the discovery of the atomic energy should not encourage either fancies concerning the utilization of this discovery in international play of forces, or the carefree attitude towards the future of the peace-loving nations.

There is also quite a lot of noise¹¹ going on in connection with the creation of blocs and groups of states as a means of safeguarding certain interests in foreign relations. The Soviet Union never belonged to groupings of powers aimed against other peace-loving countries.

In the West, however, attempts of this kind as it is well-known were made repeatedly. The anti-Soviet nature of a number of such groups in the past

平的主要責任的國家都有關的。但維持和平的利害關係和採取帝國主義政策者在國外宣傳的列強軍備競爭是一點都不相同的。

關於這方面，不得不提到原子能和原子炸彈的問題，原子炸彈在對日戰爭中的使用表現出了它驚人的破壞力。但是原子能至今還沒有作為防制侵略的方法或者保障和平的方法。

現在這種技術上的祕密決不能為一國或少數國家集團所獨有。因此，原子能的發明不應利用牠來鼓勵對國際武力的分配激起非分之想，也不應利用牠來鼓勵對愛好和平各國的將來激起漫不經心的態度。

關於創立國家集團來作為保障某種對外利益的手段這一方面，有着不少的傳說。蘇聯從未加入任何強國的集團，以對抗其他愛好和平的國家。

在西方，我們知道，一再有過這種企圖。有許多這一類集團的反蘇本質也是盡人皆知的。西方列強合成集團的歷史證明

is also well known. In any case the history of blocs and groupings of the western powers shows that they served not so much to curb aggressors but rather, on the contrary, to encourage aggression and that of the control of Germany in the first place. This is why the Soviet Union and other peace-loving states should not relax their vigilance in this respect.

The re-establishment of world peace has by no means resulted and could not result in the reestablishment of the pre-war situation in relations among the countries, as democratic peace loving states.

For some time Germany, Italy and Japan have dropped out of the number of great powers which set the tune in international life as a whole. Consequently this is proposed for the period that while the Allies exercise united control over them which is aimed at preventing the revival of aggressiveness of these countries, it at the same time does not hinder the development and rise of these countries.

Of considerable significance for the future of Europe is also the fact that a number of fascist and semi-fascist states have entered the road of democracy and now strive to establish friendly relations with the Allies states. It seems evident that the consolidation of democratic principles in these states should be supported and not obstructed.

One cannot fail to note that in the camp of the Allied countries the war has brought about significant changes.

了這一事實，就是它不獨未被用來抑制侵略者反而只有鼓勵侵略者，尤其是在管制德國的工作中為甚。這就是為什麼蘇聯及其他愛好和平國家在這方面必須深具戒心和不應該稍事鬆弛的理由。

世界和平的重建迄今尚無結果，對愛好和平民主國家彼此關係，決不能再造成戰前之局勢。

德國，日本，意大利是被擠於強國所配合整個國際生活之外了。結果對這個期間的決定，是對這幾國實行共同控制，目的在防止他們侵略野心的再萌，同時這種控制不能阻止他們的發展和興起。

有許多法西斯和半法西斯的國家轉取民主的途徑，現在並努力想和聯合國建立友善的關係，這一事實對於歐洲的將來，影響非淺。所以似乎很明顯，不應阻礙而須協助增強這些國家內的民主力量。

我們不能不指出，同盟國各國的陣營內也因為戰爭起了不少的變化。反動的勢

Here as a rule reactionary forces have been, to a considerable extent, dislodged from their former position and cleared the road for old and new democratic parties.

In a number of European countries, radical social reforms have been carried out, such as the abolition of the antiquated system of big landed estates and the transfer of land to the poor peasants which undermines the former mainstay of reactionary fascist powers and stimulates the growth of democratic and socialist movement in those countries.

Some states now put on the order of the day such important economic reforms as the nationalization of the big industry, eight-hour working day etc. which lend new spirit and confidence to the growing ranks of the democratic movement in Europe and outside of Europe. Some reactionary press organs try to ascribe these bold democratic reforms mainly to¹² the growing influence of the Soviet Union.

The hollowness of these contentions is obvious as it is known to everyone that in the progressive European countries such problems has been successfully crushed and need be reckoned with any longer.

All of you have read the Crimean declaration of the Three Powers on liberated Europe saying: "The establishment of order in Europe and the rebuilding of national economic life must be achieved by processes which

力照例相當地被擠開了，而因此他就替新舊各民主黨派肅清了一條路。

很多歐洲國家內已經實施了根本的社會改革，例如，地主制度之廢除及將土地轉入窮苦農民手中，削弱了反動法西斯勢力的基礎，助長了此等國家內民主主義與社會主義運動的生長。

若干國家正在實行大工業收為國有，八小時工作制等等重要的經濟改革，這使歐洲和歐洲以外民主運動逐漸增多的份子獲得新的精神和信心。若干反動言論機關正在企圖把這些民主改革的突飛進步歸屬於蘇聯勢力的擴張。

這一類論據顯然無價值可言，因為誰都知道這種問題在世界進步國家中是早就已經解決了。

我們大家都讀過克里米亞三強會議關於解放歐洲的宣言，其中說道：「建立歐洲的秩序和改造國民經濟生活，必須以允許解放各國人民消滅納粹主義和法西斯主

will enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of nazism and fascism and to create a democratic institution of their own choice."

Much is yet to be done to ensure proper execution of the Crimean Declaration. There is no doubt, however, that with all its negative consequences the war against fascism having ended in victory helped in many respects to clear the political atmosphere in Europe and to open new ways for the regeneration and development of the anti-fascist forces as never before. This situation undoubtedly meets the interests of the peace-loving states and one should wish that the realization of the necessity of "destroying the last vestiges of nazism and fascism" would take even firmer root in the European nations.

The Soviet Union has always been true to the policy of strengthening normal relations among all the peace-loving states. In the years of the war, the Soviet Union established friendly relations with Great Britain and the United States, with France and China, with Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia and now has long term treaties with nearly all these countries on alliance and mutual assistance against a possible new aggression on the part of the states which were the main aggressors in the last world war. On our part everything is done to establish normal and good relations with other countries which discarded the policy of

義最後殘跡並根據他們自己的選擇創設民主政府的方式而使其實現。」

爲了準確實施克里米亞宣言的決議，還得做不少的事情。目前雖有種種事與願違的情形，但反抗法西斯主義而結果使我們獲勝的戰爭，對於澄清歐洲的政治空氣和替反法西斯勢力的復蘇和發展開闢新道路，無疑地是盡了空前的協助。這種形勢無疑是和愛好和平國家的利益相符合的，而每一個人應當希望，在歐洲人民中間對於必須撲滅納粹主義和法西斯主義餘孽的信心能夠更形加強。

蘇聯對於加強一切愛好和平國家間的正常關係的政策一向是忠實的。在戰爭的歲月中，蘇維埃聯邦和大不列顛及美利堅合衆國，法國和中國，波蘭，捷克與南斯拉夫都建立了友好的關係，並且現在和幾乎所有這些國家都訂有長期同盟互助條約，藉以防止在最近結束之世界大戰中之主要侵略國家發動任何可能的新的侵略。在我們這方面，我們正竭盡所能和捐棄敵視與不信任蘇聯的政策之國家建立正常的友善

hostility and mistrust for the Soviet Union. The same purpose is also served by the development of trade and economic relations between our country and the ever-growing circle of foreign states. Cultural relations with them are also being strengthened.

The Anglo-Soviet-American anti-hitler coalition which was formed during the war, is now undergoing a test for strength. Will this coalition prove as strong and capable of joint decisions under the new conditions when more new post-war problems are arising? The failure of the London Conference of the Five Ministers was a certain warning in this respect. Yet the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition encountered difficulties during the war as well. However, the coalition of the Three Powers proved able to find, though not always at once, a correct solution for the immediate problem in the interests of the entire anti-hitler coalition of big and small states and also reckoning with the necessity of further strengthening the cooperation of the Great Democratic powers.

This year the new international organization "United Nations" has at last been founded. It has been set up on the initiative of the Anglo-Soviet-American Coalition which thereby assumed the principal responsibility for the results of its future work. It is clear to us that the "United Nations" organization should not resemble the

關係。發展我國和其他國的經濟貿易關係也是爲了這一目的。和這些國家的文化聯系也正在加強中。

目前，在戰爭時期發展起來的英蘇美反希特勒同盟的鞏固正遭遇到試煉。這個同盟在新的環境下，當戰後一切新問題都興起的時候，對共同的決定能夠不能夠顯得是同樣的力能勝任呢？倫敦五外長會議的失敗乃是這方面的某種警告。但是在戰時的英美蘇集團中間，這種困難也曾有過。可是，三強的同盟對於當前的問題雖不是立刻，却總能根據大小各國的利益而獲得準確的解決。因此，他們也認爲民主大國之間必須更進一步加強合作。

今年「聯合國」這個國際新組織終於成立了。它是由英美蘇同盟創導而組織成功的，所以這個同盟是負有它未來工作成敗的主要責任。我們知道得清楚，聯合國組織不應當像國際聯盟，核者對於抵抗

League of Nations which proved absolutely impotent in the matter of resistance to aggression and organization of forces of resistance to aggression after it commenced. On the other hand the new organization should not become the tool of any great power, as a claim for the leading role of any one state in the general world affairs is just as inconsistent as the claim to world domination. Only the joint efforts of those powers which bore the burden of the war and ensured the victory of the democratic powers over fascism, only such cooperation can make for the success of the work of the new international organization for the benefit of lasting peace.

So, in order to achieve, it is not sufficient to express good wishes. What remains to be proved is the ability to cooperate in such a fashion as would be in the interests of all peace-loving states.

The Soviet Union has been and will be the bulwark for the protection of peace and security of nations and is ready to prove this by deeds and not by words.

III. THE RE-STRENGTHENING OF THE SOVIET REPUBLICS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOVIET DEMOCRACY.

The four years of war with Germany was a test for all the forces of the Soviet state. The Soviet Union passed this test with flying colors.¹³

侵略和組織力量來防止已在進行中的侵略。顯得完全無能。另一方面新的組織不應當成爲任何大國的工具，因爲在共同的世界事業中一國要求領導的作用，其無理由實與要求支配世界相同。惟有負擔戰爭重任，保證民主國家戰勝法西斯主義各國的聯合努力，唯有這樣的合作才能予新國際組織的工作以協助，而對持久和平有所貢獻。

爲了達到這個目的，單單表示好意是不夠的，還需要證明確實能爲全體愛好和平國家的利益而合作。

蘇聯過去是，將來也是保障各民族和平與安全的可靠柱石。她不是準備用話而是準備用行動來證明這一點。

三 蘇維埃國家的再加強和蘇維埃民主的發展

四年的對德戰爭對於蘇維埃國家的一切力量是一種試煉。蘇維埃聯邦光輝地通過了這一個試煉。偉大不朽的列寧說的話

Again came true the words of the great, immortal Lenin: "Never will be vanquished the people whose workers and peasants in their majority realized, felt and saw that they are defending their own Soviet power—the power of the working people, that they are defending the cause whose victory will secure for them and their children the possibility of enjoying all the blessings of culture, all the creations of human labor."

The Red Army emerged from the war covered with the glory of victory. The Soviet people are now united around their party as never before and advance in organized ranks under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

It was our greatest luck that in the hard war years the Red Army and the Soviet people were led forward by a wise and tried leader of the Soviet Union—great Stalin. The glorious victories of our Army will go down in the history of our country and in the history of the world with the name of Generalissimo Stalin.

Guided by Stalin—the great leader and organizer—we proceed now to peaceful construction in order to obtain the true blossoming of the forces of the Socialist society and to justify these hopes of our friends over the world.

Everyone knows how greatly the international prestige of the USSR has grown. This became possible owing to the military, economical and

又得到了一次證實：「凡是一個國家中間工人和農民大多數都認識，覺得和看到他們是在保衛他們自己的蘇維埃政權——勞動者的政權，他們是在保衛一件事業，其勝利將保證他們的子孫能夠享受一切的文化，福利和人類勞動的成果，這樣的國家是永遠不會被征服的」。

紅軍歷經戰爭而卒以勝利者的姿態出現。蘇聯人民現在比以前更密切地團結在黨的周圍，並且在列寧和史達林黨的領導之下，有組織地向前邁進。

我們真是幸運，在戰爭艱苦的歲月中，紅軍和蘇聯人民是由賢明和富有經驗的蘇聯領袖偉大的史達林領導。和史達林大元帥的名字連在一起，我們軍隊的光榮勝利將載入我國的歷史和世界的歷史。

在偉大領袖和組織者史達林的領導之下，我們現在開始和平建設，目的在實現社會主義社會的力量真正展開，以孚全世界我們友人的願望。

大家都知道蘇聯的國際威信已經增長到如何程度。這是由於我國的軍事，經濟和政治的成就才成爲可能的。一年前史達

political achievements of our country. One year ago comrade Stalin expressed this in the following words: "Just as the Red Army achieved military victories over the fascist forces in its long and arduous, single-handed struggle, so the workers in the Soviet rear won these economic victories over the enemy in lone fight against hitlerite Germany and her associates."

Comrade Stalin also said: "It is not only a military defeat that the hitlerites had sustained in the course of this war but a moral and political defeat as well."

The war has demonstrated to everyone how greatly our country has grown and strengthened in a military-economic respect. The war has also shown to no smaller extent how greatly rose the Soviet Union's moral and political prestige in the eyes of other peoples. We experienced exceptional economic hardships in the early years of the war and none the less our country proved capable of supplying our heroic army with everything it needed including first rate armaments, superior in quality to the weapons of the enemy. Suffering wartime privations and hardships, the Soviet people worked without folding their hands, and we must pay tribute to our workers in the rear, especially to selfless soviet women and to the Soviet youth, boundlessly loyal to their Motherland.

It was this that permitted us to maintain the living standards of our

林同志曾以下列的話句表達出這一點：「猶如紅軍在長期和艱苦的爭鬥中以一對一在軍事上制勝法西斯軍隊那樣，蘇聯後方的工作人員在反抗希特勒德國和她的幫兇的鬥爭中也在經濟上制勝了敵人」。

史達林同志又說：「在這一次戰爭中，希特勒黨徒不但遭到軍事的失敗，並且遭到精神上與政治上的失敗。」

戰爭已向每一個人顯示我國在軍事和經濟方面成長到怎樣的程度。戰爭也大大顯示：在別國人民的心目中，我國的精神上與政治上的比重已經有了多大的增加。在戰爭最初的幾年中，我們遭遇種種經濟上困難，可是我國證明能夠供給我們英勇的軍隊以一切需要的東西，其中包括在質方面超越了敵人的第一流的軍火。忍受着戰時和物質缺乏和困難，蘇維埃人民不停手地工作着，我們應當向我們後方的勞動人民，特別是向無限忠誠於祖國的蘇維埃婦女和蘇維埃青年致敬。

正是這樣才使我們在戰爭的艱苦時期中保持了我們民衆的生活水準。

people in the difficult time of war.

Millions of sons of the working class were mobilized and fought at the front, yet mills and factories continued working owing to the influx of new personnel, especially from among women and youth. Quite a few new factories, power-stations, mines, and railways were built during the war, mostly in the Eastern Districts of the country. The Socialist emulation and its new forms of raising the labor productivity invariably formed the main concern of advanced workers and of the entire working class. Trade unions and other workers' organizations carried on intensive organizational and educational work among the working masses. Men and women workers worked more than they did before the war and as a result many difficulties were overcome.

The collective farm peasantry demonstrated in wartime their political consciousness and organization in agriculture by the collective farming system. The peasant men and women have perfectly realized the importance of the socialist emulation on the collective farm and have done much to make up for the enormous damage inflicted upon the agriculture by the temporary seizure of a part of the territory of our country by the German invaders.

All this enabled us to carry on through the years of the war with reliable stocks of grain and to provide the needed industrial enterprises with

千百萬工人階級的子孫被動員了，他們在前線作戰着，但是工廠和製造廠由於吸收了新的工作人員，主要是婦女和青年，却仍能繼續工作。在戰時，還建設了不少新的工廠，電站，礦洞和鐵道，大部份在蘇聯的東方各州。社會主義競賽和它的提高勞動生產率的新形式成了先進工人和整個工人階級的主要關心。職工會和其他工人組織在勞働羣衆之間進行廣泛的，緊張的組織與教育的工作。男女工作人員比起戰前任何時期都要工作得更努力，結果是無數的困難被克服了。

集體農民在戰時表現了自己在集體農業制度中的政治自覺性和組織性。集體農民也十分瞭解在集體農場裏的社會主義競賽的意義，他們爲彌補那由於我國領土的部分爲德國掠奪者所暫時佔領而在農業上遭受的巨大損害會做了很多。

這一切都使我們能有足夠的糧食儲藏而通過戰爭的年頭，使我們能用農業的原料來供給需要甚殷的工業。這個任務很不

agricultural raw materials. It was not easy to cope with this task especially if we recall that our Red Army consists chiefly of collective farmers. We have coped in wartime with our tasks at the front and in the rear also because the Soviet intelligentsia had discharged its duty to the Motherland.

The war has clearly shown what our intelligentsia had become under the Soviet system. One hears no more talk about the old and new intelligentsia. This problem has been eliminated by life itself. The overwhelming majority of the intelligentsia honestly and effectively discharged their noble duty in organizing the economic work, in training new cadres of specialists, in safeguarding health and in raising the cultural level of the population.

Now we may say with deep satisfaction that the Soviet intelligentsia is worthy of its people and loyally serves its country. The friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union has grown stronger during the war. Our multinational state with its differences in language became more united and the Soviet people grew even closer to each other. No other multinational state could have withstood the trials through which we passed during the war. Only our state in which there is no place for exploitation of man by man, in which there are no antagonistic classes but instead¹⁴ workers, peasants and intellectuals as equal citizens, administrate both the local affairs and the affairs

容易對付，尤其是如果我們記起紅軍主要份子由集體農民組成。我們的所以對付得了我們在前線和後方的任務也因為蘇維埃智識份子履行了他們對祖國的責任。

戰爭很清楚的指出，在蘇維埃制度之下我們的智識份子變成了什麼。我們已經不再聽到關於新舊智識份子的談話了。這一問題已經過完了它的生命。絕大多數的智識份子光榮地和有效地盡了他們在組織經濟工作上，在準備新的專家幹部上，在保健上和提高國民的文化水準上的崇高的職責。

現在我們可以非常滿意的說：蘇維埃智識份子配得上它的人民的，它是獻身服務其祖國的。蘇聯各民族的友誼在戰時鞏固起來了。我們的語言各別的多民族的國家變得更統一了，蘇聯各民族互相團結得更緊密了。沒有任何別一個多民族的國家能夠通得通我們在戰時所通過的試煉。祇有我們的國家，其中沒有人對人的剝削，其中沒有敵對的階級，而只有工人，農民及智識分子作為平等的公民管理着地方

of the State.

Only such a state and not old Russia of nobility and merchants could have withstood the German invasion in the hard years of 1941 and 1942, smashed the reckless enemy with its own forces, thrown him out of its territory and moreover rendered powerful assistance to other nations for their liberation from foreign enslavement.

Now in our country, there are no oppressed or unequal people. The rights of every people to independence and free national development are recognized; all peoples are reared in the spirit of friendship and respect and also of services of each people in conformity with its efforts in developing its own national culture, and in the further advancement of the Soviet State as a whole.

The activity of our countless trade unions, industries, cultural, sport and other workers' organizations, the creation of collective farms uniting many millions of Soviet peasants all over the vast territory of the Soviet Union, the steadfast growth of the socialist emulation at the mills and factories, on collective and state farms, at the mines and railways—all these are manifestations of the flourishing of the real democracy of the people which we did not know in the old times and which cannot exist in any other state divided into classes of oppressors and oppressed which was done with by the Soviet power in our country. And the fact that

的與國家的事情。

祇有這樣的國家，而不是貴族與商人的舊俄羅斯，才能夠在艱苦的一九四一和一九四二年抵住德國的侵略，用自己的力量粉碎了輕率的敵人，把他們趕出自己的領土——而且，還對其他的民族加以強有力的支援，使其從外族奴役者手中解放出來。

現在，在我們的國內並沒有受壓迫的或是不平等的民族。每一民族在獨立和民族自由發展上的權利都已獲得承認，所有的民族都在友好的尊敬的精神上，在承認每一民族的功績——相應他們在發展其各自的民族文化的更進一步鞏固整個蘇維埃國家的努力的功績——的精神上受到教育。

我們無數的職工會，工業的，文化的運動的及其他工人組織的活動，結合蘇聯全部廣大領土上的千百萬蘇維埃農民集體農場的創立，在工廠和製造廠裏，在集體農場和國營農場中，在礦洞裏和鐵道上的社會主義競賽的產生——這一切證明過去我們不知的人民的真正民主在開花這種民主也不可能存在於分為壓迫者與被壓迫者的其他任何國家裏。但蘇維埃政權結束了我國內的這種區分。由此出現了下面的情

now the intelligentsia which is the advanced and the most cultural part of the people had merged with its people and this raised the moral and political unity of the Soviet society to an even high level—in all this one cannot fail to perceive a new rise of the Soviet democracy which inspires us with new hopes and confidence as regards our country's future.

The fact that the Soviets ensured to all peoples the progress of their national cultures, active care for professional talents and a growing friendship and fraternal mutual assistance among equal Soviet peoples which were lacking in old Russia and which were either under monarchist or under republican regimes—all this bears witness to the all conquering force of the Soviet democracy, to its great significance for a truly progressive development of the people.

The mobilizing force of Soviet democracy and Soviet patriotism as a source of inspiration for the heroic exploits was revealed especially forcefully during war. The Soviet people are happy because, owing to the October Revolution which saved our country from being reduced to the status of a second rate state, the forces of the people, fettered by the regime of nobility, bourgeoisie and big landowners were given opportunities unheard of for the development on the basis of the Soviet system. This is why in our victory over fascism we

勢，智識分子——人民的最先進的與最有教養的一部——已經同人民融合爲一了，這把蘇維埃社會的精神與政治團結提高到新的，更高一般的水準，由此就產生了蘇維埃民主的新的旺潮，這一旺潮鼓起我們對我國的未來的新希望和新信心。

蘇維埃政權確保各民族的民族文化獲得進步的情勢，對職業天才的關心和蘇聯各平等民族間的增長着的友愛和兄弟互助這在老俄羅斯和其他君主或共和政府下是沒有的——這一切都證明了蘇維埃民主的無往不利的威力，證明了它對真正進步的人民發展的巨大意義。

蘇聯維埃民主的動員力量和作爲英勇事蹟的源泉的蘇維埃愛國主義在戰時發揮得特別輝煌燦爛。蘇維埃人民是幸運的，由於使我們的國家免於陷入二等國的境地的十月革命，那給貴族資產階級地主制度拘束住的人民力量在蘇維埃制度的基礎上才獲得了未之前聞的發展。在我們對法西斯的勝利裏面也可看見蘇聯民主的偉大勝

also see a great victory of the soviet democracy.

In the course of the war, the Soviet people had to step far beyond the borders of their country. The stubborn resistance of fascist compelled our troops to enter a number of foreign states, learn more about life in their towns and villages and reach the western capitals such as Vienna, Budapest, Berlin. In all these states including those which yesterday sided with fascism, the Soviet people easily found a common language with¹⁶ the working classes and democratic circles. Naturally one could not expect that the Soviet people would regard as their friends the enemies of yesterday belonging to the camp of servants of fascism and to top circles of society which had been supported by the fascist regime. The acquaintance with the lives of other nations will certainly be of benefit to our people and will broaden their outlook. It is interesting however, that the Soviet people return home with an ever more ardent feeling of loyalty to their Motherland.

The strength of the Soviet Government lies in its closeness to the people. Different from the parliamentary democracy, the Soviet democracy has a truly popular character. Therefore the Soviet State, as a state of the new type, has tasks which are not inherent to states of the old type.

Thus the duties of the Soviet state include political education of the peo-

利的緣故。

在戰爭的過程中，蘇維埃人民曾經跨到遙遠的自己的國境以外去。法西斯主義的頑強的抵抗逼得我們的軍隊，祇好進入許多別的國家內去，獲得更多各國城內和鄉下的生活的智識并開進像維也納，布達佩斯和柏林這些歐西的京城。在所有這些國家裏，包括昨天還站在法西斯主義方面的那些國家在內，蘇維埃人輕易地找到了勞動者和民主主義階層共通的同情。當然要希望蘇維埃人民為那些昨天本來屬於法西斯主義陣營的敵人——曾經擁護過法西斯主義政權的社會的上層份子和僕役都當作朋友，那是不可能的。和別的民族結識，這對於我們當然是會有好處的，這會擴大我們的眼界。不過，說來也很有趣，蘇維埃人回家時變得對於他們自己的國家懷着更熱烈的忠忱了。

蘇維埃政府的力量是在於它接近人民。和議會政治的民主主義不同，蘇維埃民主主義帶着真正的人民性。所以新型國家的蘇維埃國家有着舊型國家所不會有的任務。

譬如，蘇維埃國家要負責以保衛全世

ple in the spirit of safeguarding the interests of world peace, in the spirit of exposing all attempts to prepare new aggression and the regeneration of fascism which should not be forgotten in the post-war years.

Under the Soviet Constitution it is a crime to breed hatred between races and nations, antisemitism just as praising crime, robbery and violence against man is forbidden in our press. Such "restrictions" are natural under the conditions of Soviet democracy. Such things unfortunately are quite natural for some other states. In some countries freedom of speech and press is interpreted in such a way that the mercenary servants of fascism even do not have to don masks in order to carry on an unbridled propaganda of aggression and fascism though the peoples of all countries have already paid an enormous price in their own blood and privations for the orgy of world aggression and fascism which they had permitted earlier.

It is not every state that has enough strength to assume the task of political education of the people and when the fascist states tackled this task the only result was violence of spiritual life, culture of the people. The advantages of the Soviet democracy were proved especially by the Soviet Union during the war. The USSR emerged from the flames of the war and grew ever stronger as a true state of the people. It is well known

界和平利益的精神，以揭露在戰後時期不應忘懷必有準備新侵略和產生法西斯主義的一切企圖的精神對人民施以政治教育。

根據蘇聯憲法，認為煽動各人種和各民族之間的仇恨是一種犯罪行為。排外主義的思想是和頌揚犯罪，盜劫和向人施行強暴等一樣的是我們報界所禁止發表的。這種「限制」在蘇維埃民主主義的條件中是完全自然的。而對於有幾個別的國家，不幸這竟是完全自然的東西。有幾個國家內，言論出版的自由是這樣解釋的，僱傭的法西斯奴僕可以甚至於不戴面具地進行侵略和法西斯主義的放肆的宣傳，雖然各國人民已經由於從前放任世界侵略和法西斯主義的猖獗而以自己的血肉和苦難贖付了巨大的代價。

並不是每一個國家是有足夠的力量向人民從事政治教育的任務的。所以當法西斯國家們從事這一任務時，唯一的結果就是強奸人民的精神生活和文化。蘇維埃民主主義的特點，尤其是在戰時，為蘇維埃聯邦所證明了。作為一個真正的人民的國家，蘇聯經過了戰火而變得更堅強了。大

that in our country, the Bolshevik Party bears special responsibility for political education of the people. It is to our great party in the first place that we owe our achievements in this respect. This is why the Soviet people lends deep meaning to its words when it says with gratitude and grand love about the leader of the Bolshevik Party, "our father, our leader Comrade Stalin."

We are approaching elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The new general elections will take place after all the trials experienced by the Soviet state in the Great Patriotic War. Our people will come to the polls with enormous political experience gained in these years, after much thinking about the destinies of their country, about the developments in Europe and in the whole world.

The Bolshevik Party together with the wide circles of active Soviet non-party citizens is preparing for these elections and regarding them as an important manifestation of Soviet democracy and one more powerful means of rallying our people and the further strengthening of the Soviet State.

IV. SWITCHING OVER TO PEACEFUL CONSTRUCTION

Our country has switched over to peaceful construction. New great tasks have arisen before all the people. Naturally we shall pay the necessary attention also to the new territories

家知道，我們國家內，布爾雪維克黨對於給人民以政治教育負着特別重大的責任。我們在這一方面的成就首先是受惠於我們的偉大的黨。這就是爲什麼當蘇維埃人民懷着謝意和極大的愛意說到我們布爾雪維克黨的領導者史達林同志的時候，「我們的父親我們的領袖史達林」，對於他們自己的話都加進了深刻的意義。

我們將舉行蘇聯最高蘇維埃的新的選舉。新的普選將在蘇維埃國家在偉大衛國戰爭中通過了一切的試煉之後舉行。我們人民將在反覆考慮了自己國家的命運和歐洲與全世界的大事之後，帶着近幾年來蓄積着巨大的政治經驗，向投票箱走去。

布爾雪維克黨和廣大的無黨無派蘇聯公民正共同準備這一次選舉，而且把這次選舉看做是蘇維埃民主主義的重要表現和另外一個團結我們人民和更增強蘇維埃國家的有力方法之一。

四 轉向和平建設之路

我們國家轉向了和平建設之路。全體人民都面臨了新的偉大任務。當然，對於成爲蘇聯一部分的那些新領土，我們也將

which have become a part of the USSR.

It is well known that the enemy who invaded our country prevented us from giving our attention to the organization of western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia which before the war formed a part of the Soviet Union only for a short time. Now by the Treaty with Poland, the Soviet-Polish frontier has been established. As a result the territories inhabited by Byelorussians have been finally reunited in one Soviet Byelorussia, which can confidently advance along the road of free national development. It is well known that by the Treaty with Czechoslovakia, Trans-Carpathian Ukraine at last unites all the Ukrainian lands which had been the age-old dream of our Ukrainian brothers. By the Treaty with Rumania, Soviet Moldavia also fully unites the territories inhabited by Moldavians, which opens broad prospects for their further national development. The western frontier of our country has also been expanded with the inclusion of the Konigsberg Region into the Soviet Union which gives us a good unfreezing port on the Baltic Sea. In the Baltic area, Soviet Lithuania, Soviet Latvia and Soviet Esthonia have been reestablished. Such are the contours of our present western frontier which is of the greatest importance from the view point of ensuring the security of the

付以應有的注意。

我們都知道，侵犯我們國家的敵人阻止了我們對西烏克蘭和西白俄羅斯的組織加以注意，它們在戰前形成蘇維埃聯邦的一部份，為時尚不久。現在由我國和波蘭所訂的條約，劃定了蘇聯和波蘭之間的國境。白俄羅斯人住居的那些區域，結果終於再度結合成白俄羅斯蘇維埃共和國，可以堅定踏上自由國家的發展之路了。我們都知道，根據和捷克所締結的條約，外卡爾巴阡烏克蘭最後終於聯合了所有的烏克蘭土地，這是我們烏克蘭弟兄們許久以來的夢想。根據和羅馬尼亞所訂的條約，莫爾達維亞蘇維埃共和國也完全聯合了莫爾達維亞人所住居的全部領土，這給他們國家的未來的發展開闢了無限的前途。我國的西部邊境也因克尼斯堡區包括進蘇維埃聯邦而擴張了，這給我們在波羅的海方面有了一個良好的不凍港。在波羅的海方面，立陶宛蘇維埃共和國，拉脫維亞蘇維埃共和國，和愛沙尼亞蘇維埃共和國也重新再結合起來了。這是我們現在西部國境的輪廓，這從保證蘇維埃聯邦安全的觀點看來是十分重要的。

Soviet Union.

Lastly, about the Far East. Here the Soviet Union takes over the southern part of Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands which is important for the security of the Soviet Union in the East.

It remains to mention the restoration of rights of our state to the railway in Manchuria, also the restoration of our rights to the areas of Port Arthur and Dairen in the southern part of Manchuria.

We must give proper attention to all these areas also to the area of our naval base in Porkkala Udd on the territory of Finland, and since these are new Soviet territories they will require especial attention of our State.

We must solve as quickly as possible the urgent problems concerning those Soviet territories which were temporarily occupied by enemy armies. In their wake¹⁵ the Germans left many burned cities and thousands of ruined and plundered villages. Immediately after the expulsion of the invaders restoration work began everywhere in these parts. But as yet only the smaller part of the job has been done. The entire Soviet people, all the Soviet republics, should bend their efforts towards the earliest and complete economic districts. The restoration of factories and mills, collective farms, machine-tractor stations and state farms, the restoration of schools and hospitals and the restoration of

最後是關於遠東，這裏蘇聯得到了庫頁島的南部和千島羣島，這對於蘇聯在東方的安全是很重要的。

尚須提起的是我們國家恢復了滿洲的鐵路權利，並且恢復了在南滿的旅順，大連區的權利。

我們對所有這些地域和我們在芬蘭領土上的帕爾卡拉烏德的海軍根據地區域都必須加以相當的注意。而且因為這是新的蘇維埃領土，所以需要我們國家特別注意。

我們必須儘可能趕快解決關於那些曾經被敵軍暫時佔領過的蘇維埃領土的緊急問題。德國人留下了許多燒燬的城市，千萬個被毀滅和被掠奪的村莊。在侵略者被逐出以後，在這些部分的每一個地方都立刻開始了復員工作。但這尚不過是應該要做的工作的一小部份。全體蘇維埃人民，各蘇維埃共和國應當傾注全力來進行這些區域內的經濟和文化方面最快和完全的復員工作。各工廠、各集體農場、國營農場和耕種機站的復員，學校和醫院的復員以及住所的復員——這就是我們當前急務。

dwellings is our urgent task.

The Soviet institutions and trade unions, the Party and the Young Communist League organizations also collective farms and their organizations in the countryside should regard as their prime duty the care for those who were fighting and are returning home from the Army, as well as care for invalids and orphaned families of the Red Army soldiers. We must do everything to cope effectively with this responsible task and heal the war wounds at the earliest date. There is another urgent task. Right now we must tackle the fundamental task of developing our national economy so as to considerably exceed the pre-war level of the country's economic development in a few years and to ensure considerable rise in the living standards of the entire population. This is the meaning of the recently published decision of the Party and Government on drawing up the Five Year Plan of rehabilitation and the development of the National Economy of the USSR for the years of 1945-1950 and also of the corresponding plan of rehabilitation and development of railway transport.

Our people knows well the strength of the Stalin Five Year Plans which built up the might of our State and ensured our victory. We need a new rise in the heavy industry to supply our country with metal, coal, oil, locomotives, railcars, tractors, agricultural

各蘇維埃機關和職工會，黨和共青團的組織，還有集體農場和它們在農村裏的組織都應該認為最主要的義務是照顧那些作戰退伍回來的人們，和照顧殘疾者和紅軍戰士的遺族。我們應該盡力來堅決地處理這一個能及早治癒戰爭創傷的重大任務。還有第二個緊急的任務就是要在幾年之中顯著地提高國家經濟發展的戰前水準和保證顯著地提高全體人民的生活水準。最近黨和政府公佈決定擬製一九四六——一九五〇年實行復員和發展蘇聯國民經濟的五年計劃，還有與此相應的復員和發展鐵道運輸的計劃，這種計劃的意義就在這裏。

我們的人民非常明白那建立我們國家的威力和確保我們勝利的史達林五年計劃的力量。我們需要重新提高重工業，以便來把金屬、煤、石油、火車頭、火車、曳

machinery, automobiles, various ships, power stations and many other things. The population of towns and villages expect a considerable growth in the output of the consumer goods, also an improvement in food supply. The task of satisfying the needs of the collective farms and the requirements of agriculture have become more urgent than ever. Our cultural requirements have grown and become much more varied.

Not for a minute can we forget our great duty of properly ensuring the needs of the country's defence, the needs of the Red Army and Navy. We do not have and will not have unemployment. In our country everyone has work, as ours is the state of working people. We must give more thought to better organization of labor in the industry, in agriculture, in transport and in all our institutions so that labor productivity of the Soviet citizen and the quality of his work might yield the best results. In our time of high development of technique and the extensive application of science in production, when it even became possible to utilize atomic energy and other great technical discoveries, major attention should be paid in economic plans to problems of technology, problems of raising the technological level of our industry and of training highly skilled technical cadres. We must keep abreast of the recent scope of modern world technology in every branch of the industry

引車、農業機器、汽車、各種的船隻，發電廠及其他許多東西來供給我們的國家。城市和鄉村的居民希望在消費品食物方面的生產有可觀的進步。滿足集體農場的需和農業方面的要求的任務從來沒有像這樣迫切過。我們文化方面的要求也增加了。並且變為更多樣了。

我們一刻也不應該忘記我們要適當地確保國防的需要，紅軍和海軍的需要的重大責任。我們並沒有，並且也不會有失業者。我們國家裏，每一個人都有工作，因為我們的國家是勞動者的國家。對於改良工業、農業、運輸業方面的一切機關內的勞動的組織，我們必須多多加以思考，使每一個蘇維埃公民的勞動生產力，和他的勞動的質可以獲得最好的結果。在我們這技術高度發展和生產方面廣泛地應用科學的時代，甚至在可能利用原子能和其他偉大技術發明的時候，經濟計劃中的主要的注意力應該放在工業技術問題，提高我國工業的工業技術水準問題，和訓練非常熟練的技術幹部的問題上面。我們應該在工業和國民經濟的每一個部門上和現代世界工業技術的最近的發展並駕齊驅，並且應

and national economy and to ensure conditions for an all round advancement of Soviet science and technology.

The enemy interfered with our peaceful construction work. But we shall catch up with everything as it should be, and will attain prosperity of our country. We shall have the atomic energy, too,¹⁸ and many other things. So let us tackle these tasks with all our inexhaustible Bolshevik energy, with the mighty energy of the Soviet people. Let us work as comrade Stalin teaches us!

And lastly about our tasks in the foreign policy. The Soviet Union has always given the foremost concern for peace and cooperation with other countries for the sake of universal peace and development of international business relations.

While we are living in a "system of states" and while the roots of fascism and imperialist aggression have not been finally extirpated, our vigilance in regard to new violators of peace who may appear should not slacken, while concern for the strengthening of cooperation of the peace-loving powers will be our most important duty as before.

We have no task more important than the one of consolidating our victory which we achieved in the staunch struggle and which opened the road towards new great rise of our country and the further improvement of the living standards of our people.

該保證蘇維埃科學和技術有一個全面進展的環境。

敵人妨礙了我們和平建設的工作。可是我們將恢復我們所失去的一切，並且要達到我們國家的繁榮。我們將要有原子能和其他許多東西！所以讓我們以我們取之不盡的布爾雪維克的能，以蘇維埃人民的強大的能力來着手進行這些任務。讓我們像史達林同志教導我們那樣的來工作！

最後，要說到我們對外政策的任務。蘇維埃聯邦，因為世界和平和國際關係的緣故，對於和平以及和其他國家的合作向來是付以最大的關心的。

當我們生活在「聯邦的制度」中而法西斯主義侵略的根和帝國主義還沒有完全滅絕的時候，我們對於可能出現的和平的新破壞者的警戒便不應該鬆弛，而關於加強愛好和平諸強的合作，則應該仍舊像從前一樣地是我們的最重要的職責。

我們沒有一個任務比鞏固我們的勝利的那一個任務更重要的了。這勝利是我們在堅毅的鬥爭中得到的，它打開了一條走上我們國家的新的偉大的興起和將來改善我們人民的生活水準的道路。

Never before did we face prospects of socialist construction on such a vast scale or such possibilities for the growth of the strength of the Soviet Union. Our people is full of faith in their great cause, the cause of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Long Live the Soviet People—the victor People, its Red Army and Navy!

Long Live and prosper our great Motherland, the Motherland of the October Revolution!

Long Live the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics!

Long Live the Party of Lenin-Stalin—the inspirer and organizer of our victories!

Long Live the leader of the Soviet people—Great Stalin!

我們從來沒有面臨過，規模如此巨大的社會主義建設的前途和蘇維埃聯邦威力的增長的這種可能。我們的人民對他們的偉大事業，對於偉大十月社會主義革命的事業是充滿了信心的。

勝利的蘇維埃人民，他們的紅軍和海軍萬歲！

我們的偉大祖國——十月革命的祖國萬歲！

蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦政府萬歲！

我們勝利的感應者和組織者——列寧史達林黨萬歲！

蘇維埃人民的領袖——偉大的史達林萬歲！

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

1. “on one’s feet,” “屹然不動”。 In spite of repeated failures, he still stands on his feet, 雖累彼經挫折仍屹然不動。
2. “to have been” 為完成式之 infinitive, 其所表示之事態（或動作）發生在動詞（此處為“proved”）之前。
3. “Switch,” “急轉”，「轉」。 The horse switches its tail, 馬掉其尾。
4. “loom,” 「現」，「籠罩」。 Smell of powder looms over north China, 戰爭氣氛籠罩華北。
5. “quislings,” “lavals” 皆為 proper nouns 變成 common nouns, 「傀儡」。 Many Chinese quislings and lavals have been shot to death, 漢奸多人業已處死。
6. “to have been prepared” 為 perfect infinitive 代表發生在動詞 (proved) 前之動作（或事態）。
7. “take shape,” 「表現」。 His motive took shape in action, 彼之意志於行動上表現。
8. “halo,” 「迴光」，「餘味」。 The atomic bomb dispersed the entire halo of Japan’s continental conquest, 原子彈將日人征服大陸之最後幻夢打破。
9. “aloof from,” 「遠離」，「隔離」。 He keeps aloof from the class, 彼與同班隔離。
10. “bc” 為 subjunctive verb 凡表示命令，建議，要求時用之。
11. “a lot of noise,” 「甚囂塵

上】，【議論不一】。 There is quite a lot of noise going on about the personnel of the new administration to be formed, 關於即將組織之政府人選說法不一。 12. "ascribe to," 【歸功(咎)於】。 His failure was ascribed to his lack of a steadfast purpose, 彼之失敗歸咎於缺乏堅定意志。 13. "with flying colours," 【光榮】，【榮譽】。 He left the college with flying colours, 彼大學畢業考試榮譽及格。 14. "instead," adverb, 【但有】。 15. "in one's wake," "in the wake of....." 【隨之而來】。 Famine comes in the wake of war, 大戰之後，必有凶年。 16. "find a common language with," 【同情】。 The rich do not find a common language with the poor in regard to the high cost of living, 富人對物價高昂不表同情貧民。 17. "keep abreast of," 【並駕齊驅】。 We must redouble our studies in science in order to keep abreast of the Western countries, 吾人必須加倍研究科學趕上歐美國家。 18. "We shall have the atomic energy, too," 編者按：蘇聯必在積極研究原子彈，蓋無疑義。

THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON ATOMIC ENERGY

*Issued by U.S. Pres. Harry S. Truman, British Prime Minister Clement
R. Attlee and Canadian Prime Minister MacKenzie King on Nov. 15, 1945.*

美英加三領袖原子能會談公報

美總統杜魯門，英首相艾德禮，加拿大首相金氏

於一九四五年十一月十五日共同發表

(1) We recognize that the application of recent scientific discoveries to the methods and practice of war has placed at the disposal of mankind means of destruction hitherto unknown, against which there can be no adequate military defense, and in the employment of which no single nation can in fact have a monopoly.

(2) We desire to emphasize that the responsibility for devising means to ensure that the new discoveries shall be used for the benefit of mankind, instead of as a means of destruction, rests not on our nations alone, but upon the whole civilized world. Nevertheless, the progress that we have made in the development and use of atomic energy demands that we take an initiative in the matter, and we have accordingly met together to consider the possibility of international action:

A. To prevent the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes.

(一)吾人承認最近科學發現之引用於戰爭方法與實施，已使人類握有前所未有之毀滅工具，對於此種毀滅性之工具，尚無適當之軍事防禦，而此種工具之運用，實際上無一國能夠獨佔。

(二)吾人願鄭重申述不僅我等三國，而且整個文明世界均應負責設法保證此等科學新發現，用以促進人類之利益，以代作為毀滅之工具。但吾人在原子能之發展運用方面所作成之進步，需要吾人對於此事率先發動，因此吾人共同會議，藉以考慮國際行動之可能。

甲。防止原子能作為破壞性之使用。

B. To promote the use of recent and future advances in scientific knowledge, particularly in the utilization of atomic energy, for peace and humanitarian ends.

(3) We are aware that the only complete protection for the civilized world from the destructive use of scientific knowledge lies in the prevention of war. No system of safeguards that can be devised will of itself¹ provide an effective guarantee against production of atomic weapons by a nation bent on² aggression. Nor³ can we ignore the possibility of the development of other weapons, or of new methods of warfare, which may constitute as great a threat to civilization as the military use of atomic energy.

(4) Representing, as we do, the three countries which possess the knowledge essential to the use of atomic energy, we declare at the outset⁴ our willingness, as a first contribution to proceed with the exchange of fundamental scientific information and the interchange of scientists and scientific literature for peaceful ends with any nation that will fully reciprocate.

(5) We believe that the fruits of scientific research should be made available to all nations, and that freedom of investigation and free exchange of ideas are essential to the progress of knowledge. In pursuance of⁵ this policy, the basic scientific information essential to the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes has al-

乙·促進原子最近與未來之科學知識

用於和平與人道之目的。

(三)吾人深知文明世界防禦濫用科學知識之唯一保護為避免戰爭。僅賴防衛，斷非有效之保證，使蓄意侵略之國家不產生原子戰具。吾人亦不能忽視其他戰具發展之可能或作戰新方法之可能，此種可能性，或可構成對文明之重大威脅，不下於原子能之軍事使用。

(四)吾人代表擁有運用原子能必要知識之三國，開始特此宣稱吾人作為初步之貢獻，願意與任何盡力合作之國家，交換基本科學情報並交換科學家與科學文獻，以和平為目的。

(五)吾人相信科學研究之結果應當供給所有國家，而探討之自由與思想交換之自由則為知識進步之要素。為遵行⁶項政策，作為和平用途之有關原子能發展方面之基本科學消息業已告知世界。吾人之企

ready been made available to the world. It is our intention that all further information of this character that may become available from time to time shall be similarly treated. We trust that other nations will adopt the same policy, thereby creating an atmosphere of reciprocal confidence in which political agreement and cooperation will flourish.

(6) We have considered the question of the disclosure of detailed information concerning the practical industrial application of atomic energy. The military exploitation of atomic energy depends, in large part, upon the same methods and processes as would be required for industrial uses.

We are not convinced that the spreading of the specialized information regarding the practical application of atomic energy, before it is possible to devise effective, reciprocal, and enforceable safeguards acceptable to all nations, would contribute to a constructive solution of the problem of the atomic bomb.

On the contrary, we think it might have the opposite effect. We are, however, prepared to share, on a reciprocal basis with others of the united nations, detailed information concerning the practical industrial application of atomic energy just as soon as effective enforceable safeguards against its use for destructive purposes can be devised.

(7) In order to attain the most effective means of entirely eliminating

望為茲後有關此類性質之進一步消息可以隨時同樣傳佈。吾人相信其他國家亦將採取相同之政策以創造將能培育政治協調與合作之相互信賴之環境。

(六)吾人已放慮發表關於實際應用原子能詳細情報之問題。軍事方面對原子能研究，大致根據工業應用所需要者相同之原理與方法。

吾人不信在所有國家接受可能建立有效相互強制之安全以前，傳佈關於原子能實際應用上之專門情報，即能供獻一對原子炸彈問題之建設性解決辦法。

反之，吾人相信此舉或有相對之效果。雖然吾人準備於一旦有效而可強制實行之對原子能破壞性應用之保障得以建立時，即在互換之原則上準備與其他聯合國家共享此種原子能工業上實際應用之詳細情報。

(七)為求獲得完全消滅原子能用於破

the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes and promoting its widest use for industrial and humanitarian purposes, we are of the opinion⁶ that at the earliest practicable date a commission should be set up under the United Nations Organization to prepare recommendations for submission to the organization.

The commission should be instructed to proceed with the utmost dispatch and should be authorized to submit recommendations from time to time dealing with separate phases of its work.

In particular the commission should make specific proposals:

A. For extending between all nations the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends.

B. For control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes.

C. For the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction.

D. For effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means to protect complying states against the hazards of violations and evasions.

(8) The work of the commission should proceed by separate stages. The successful completion of each one of which will develop the necessary confidence of the world before the next stage is undertaken. Specifically it is considered that the commission might

續性用途與促進其在工業與人道上之效能

之最有效方法起見，吾人認為應由聯合國

組織，於最早可能之時間設置委員會，以

準備將各項建議提交聯合國組織。

此委員會應規定在最速之調遣下進行工作，並有權隨時提出關於其工作各方面之建議。

詳言之：此委員會應製訂下列計劃：

甲·如何以和平之目標而擴展各國之間基本科學情報之交換。

乙·如何對原子能作某種程度上必要之控制以保證其祇用於和平之用途。

丙·如何消除以原子武器以及其可以引起大規模破壞之重要武器作為國家武裝。

丁·如何利用視察或其他方法以保障履行協定國家之有效自衛以應付違約之危險。

(八)該委員會之工作需分為數個階段進行。每一階段成功完成以後，即將先求發展世界上所必需之信任，然後再行繼續下一步驟。此外，吾人認為該委員會將首

well devote its attention, first to the wide exchange of scientists and scientific information and, as a second stage to the development of full knowledge regarding natural resources of war materials.

(9) Faced with the terrible realities of the application of science of destruction, every nation will realize more urgently than before the overwhelming need to maintain the rule of law among nations and to banish the scourge of war from the earth. This can only be brought about by giving whole-hearted support to the United Nations Organization, and by consolidating and extending its authority, thus creating conditions of mutual trust in which all peoples will be free to devote themselves to the arts of peace. It is our firm resolve to work without reservation to achieve these ends.

先傾注其注意力於科學家，科學知識之廣泛交換，然後再及於發展關於作戰物質之天然資源之知識。

(九) 世界各國目覩利用科學以作毀滅之可怕事實，將認清國際間較過去更迫切需要保持法治，並根除戰禍。如吾人集中並推廣國際組織之權力，予以全力支持，並產生使世界各國人民互相信賴之條件，俾彼等能自由專心於和平事務，則戰禍始可避免。吾人茲決心努力以求此等目的之實現。

ANNOTATIONS

(1) "of itself," 『自動』。無意識動作，如：“The door opened of itself,” “門自動開啓”。(2) "bent on," 『性好』，『性嗜』 He is bent on doing this, 彼好爲此。(3) "nor," 在此處爲adverb 又作 coordinate conjunction 用。惟用“nor”時，須將助動字置於subject 前，如無助動字則加“do”或“did,” 視時間而定如“He will not go; nor shall I.” “He does not know him; nor do I (know).” (4) “at the outset,” 『最初』，『開始』。He failed at the very outset, 彼在開始時即失敗。(5) “in pursuance of,” 『進行』，『遵行』。He did everything in pursuance of the plan, 彼作每一事皆遵此計劃而行。(6) “of (the) opinion that ...,” 『意以爲...』 I am of (the) opinion that Russia has not yet succeeded in making the atomic bomb, 余意以爲蘇聯製造原子彈尙未成功。(7) “by way of,” 『用』，『作...用』。He thinks that no lasting peace can be secured by way of treaties, 彼以爲用條約不能獲致永久和平。(8) “devote attention to,” 『專心』，『專心致力於...』。He devotes great attention to the study of atomic energy. 彼極專心研究原子能。

PRES. HARRY S. TRUMAN'S ADDRESS ON THE
SCIENCE OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS VS.
THE ATOMIC BOMB

*Delivered on May 11, 1946, at Fordham University centennial exercises, during
which he was granted an honorary degree of LL.D.*

杜魯門總統演講推行人類關係之
科學教育以防禦原子彈

一九四六年五月十一日在紐約福特漢姆大學百年紀念典禮
接受名譽學位時發表

It is very gratifying to be here at Fordham University in New York on the 100th anniversary of the granting of the charter to this great institute of higher learning.

I am genuinely grateful for this degree of doctor of laws from Fordham. I am happy to become a fellow alumnus¹ of the men who have gone out from Fordham and who are making such a substantial contribution to the government and to their communities.

I should like in these few minutes to talk especially of the veterans who have enrolled in the university, for I think that there is great significance in the very fact of their being here²—and of veterans being in thousands of other universities, colleges and schools throughout the land. This nation has a comprehensive program to return its

余在此紐約福特漢姆大學百年紀念典禮中，參與盛會，深感欣慰。

余忝獲福特漢姆大學名譽法學博士學位，衷心無任感激。余與對政府及社會具有甚大貢獻之福特滿姆學生，躋於同學之列，甚感榮幸。

余願在此數分鐘內特為一談在本大學報名上課之退伍軍人，蓋余以為退伍軍人在本大學以及全國其他數千所大中學求學，此中具有重大之意義。我國對於退伍軍人恢復平民生活，備有廣大之計劃。此項

veterans to civil life. That program is being carried out.³ The Federal Government, with the wholehearted cooperation of the various states, has provided many things for veterans—medical care, rehabilitation, loans for homes and farms and businesses. It has provided life insurance, and soon it will provide adequate housing. All these benefits are given not as a matter of favor but as a matter of right. Veterans must not be penalized for their war service.

Programs of this nature, though less comprehensive, were established for veterans of past wars. But today we find the beginning of a new and important concept—one which is given concrete evidence by the presence of veterans here today. That concept is that the nation must provide for its veterans something more than pensions, something more than insurance, loans and rehabilitation. For those who wish it, the nation must also provide education.

An enormous and tragic deficit was accumulated during the war—a deficit in education—as millions of young men and women left behind them their books and their schools and colleges to go to war. Not only gratitude but national self-preservation as well require those educational benefits for our veterans. The Congress has started us on the way to our goal.

Some doubt was expressed a few years ago as to whether there would be

計劃目下正在實行中。聯邦政府在各州竭誠合作之下已代退伍軍人供給不少事物：如醫藥方面，復業方面，以及家庭，農田與營業之貸款方面。政府且已供給人壽保險，不久並將供給充足之房屋。凡此種種利益，並不作為恩賜而作為應得之權利。退伍軍人必不可因其對戰爭之服務而受處罰。

對於過去數次戰爭之退伍軍人亦設有此種計劃。但今日吾人對於退伍軍人，除養老金，保險，貸款與復業之外，予以更進一步之利益，即對於有志求學之退伍軍人，予以教育之機會。

戰爭期內曾積成一巨大可悲之缺乏——缺乏教育——數百萬青年男女，因為國服務而投筆從戎，但國家不但為對此輩青年表示感謝起見，而且為民族自存計，必須予我退伍軍人以教育之利益。國會已使吾人向此目標出發。

數年前有人懷疑退役軍人對此等教育

any interest among veterans in those educational aids. There were those—call them skeptics or call them men without faith in the youth of our nation—who thought that only a handful of veterans would choose to come back to the quiet halls of learning. Those men were wrong. The problem is not in the lack of veterans seeking education. The problem is to provide accommodations for those who seek it. Even some colleges which had been exclusively for women have had to open their doors to men students. The response of the colleges and schools to this thirst of our veterans for education has been magnificent. This desire for further schooling which has been evidenced by our veterans—men and women who will be our leaders of tomorrow—is of healthy promise for the future. The fact that so many veterans have taken advantage of these educational opportunities increases the heavy responsibility which rests upon our schools and colleges.

In preparing our veterans and our other young men and women to live in the new atomic age, education faces the greatest challenge of its history. There is profound truth in the first line of the new Charter of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. The charter declares: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed."

I fear we are too much concerned

資助是否感覺興趣。彼等以為祇有少數願再還幽靜學府從事研究。彼等對國家蓬勃之青年缺乏信心，表示懷疑，實為錯誤。蓋因問題並不在缺乏有心求學之退役軍人，而在為有心求學者予以安插。前此專為女子而設之大學，今已招收男生，全國大中學對退役軍人求學熱望皆予以極大贊助。退役之男女軍人，未來吾人之領導者，求深造之願望，對國家前途予以甚大希望。利用教育機會之退役軍人數目既大，實使大中學應盡之重大責任大為增加。

為退伍軍人及其他青年男女生活於新原子時代之準備，教育面臨其歷史中最大之責任。聯合國教育科學文化機構新憲章第一行所言，確有深遠之真理，該憲章宣稱：「戰爭既在人類之思想中開始，和平之防禦必須建設在人類之思想中。」

余恐吾人過於重視物質方面，而忘却

with material things to remember that our real strength lies in spiritual values. I doubt whether there is in this troubled world today, when nations are divided by jealousy and suspicion, a single problem that could not be solved if approached in the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount.

The new age of atomic energy presses upon us. Mark that well. What may have been⁴ sufficient yesterday is not sufficient today. New and terrible urgencies, new and terrible responsibility, have been placed upon education.

Ignorance and its handmaidens,⁵ prejudice, intolerance, suspicion of our fellow men, breed dictators. And they breed wars. Civilization cannot survive an atomic war. Nothing would be left but a world reduced to rubble. Gone⁶ would be man's hope for decency. Gone would be our hope for the greatest age in the history of mankind—an age which, I know, can harness atomic energy for the welfare of man and not for his destruction. And so we must look to⁷ education in the long run to wipe out that ignorance which threatens catastrophe.

Intelligent men do not hate other men just because their religion may be different, because their habits and language may be different, or because their national origin or color may be different. It is up to⁸ education to bring about that deeper international understanding which is so vital to

吾人真正之力量在於精神之價值，余以為今日在此各國間互相妒嫉與猜疑之世界中，任何問題，如以耶穌登山寶訓之精神赴之，無有不可解者。

原子能新時代已面臨吾人之前，昨日認為有餘者，今日已感不足，可怕之新需要與責任已置於教育之肩上。

無知之人因其偏見，狹量與猜疑而產生獨裁者，獨裁者產生戰爭，經過原子戰爭後，文明不復存在，並將化為一片廢墟。人類對禮法之希望將不存在，人類對歷史最偉大時代之希望亦將幻滅，但余知必有一偉大時代能為人類幸福控制原子彈，使其不為毀滅人類之用。故吾人必須期望於教育。減少威脅和平之無知。

有識之士不因他人之宗教不同，語文與習慣之不同，或國籍與種族之不同而生仇恨之心。造成對於和平極為重要之國際諒解，端惟教育是賴。

world peace.

Intelligent Americans no longer think that merely because a man is born outside the boundaries of the United States, he is no concern of ours. They know that in such thinking lie the seeds of dictatorship and tyranny. And they know from sad experience that dictatorship and tyranny are too ruthless to stop at the borders of the United States and conveniently leave us alone.

They know—the world war and the atomic bomb have taught them—that we must work and live with all our fellow men if we are to work and live⁹ at all. They know that those without economic hope, and those to whom education has been forcibly denied, willingly turn to dictators. They know that in a nation where teachers are free to teach, and young men and women are free to learn, there is a strong bulwark¹⁰ against dictatorship.

That was the last message from President Roosevelt. In a speech which he wrote just before he died, but which he never delivered, he said:

“We are faced with the pre-eminent fact that, if civilization is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationships—the ability of all peoples, of all kinds, to live and work together, in the same world, at peace.”

Unless the citizens of America and the citizens of the other nations of the world learn this, the science of human relationships, of which President Roosevelt spoke, the atomic bomb will

美國有識之士已不再認爲生於美國以外之人即與吾人無關。彼等蓋知此種思想實有助獨裁暴政之滋長。吾人由慘苦經驗得知獨裁暴政殘忍無道決不可任其進入美國，爲避免麻煩起見當任美國爲所當爲。

吾人由世界大戰及原子彈得知，吾人苟欲和平相處，吾人必須與全世界之人和平相處。吾人亦知無經濟希望之人，被強迫不能獲得教育機會之人，皆甘心接受獨裁政治。彼等更知一國之教員能自由講學，男女青年能自由研究，則獨裁政治無力侵入。

此爲羅斯福總統最後之昭示。羅斯福總統在其生前擬成而未發表之演辭中稱：

「吾人當前之事實即欲使文明延續，吾人必須培植人類關係之科學，使各色各種族均能在同一世界中，和平相處。」

除非美國公民及世界其他各國之公民習知羅斯福總統所講之人類關係之科學，原子彈仍將爲足使吾人同歸於盡之可怖武

remain a frightful weapon which threatens to destroy all of us.

But there is at least one defense against this bomb. That defense lies in our mastering this science of human relationships all over the world. It is the defense of tolerance and of understanding, of intelligence and thoughtfulness. When we have learned those things, we shall be able to prove that Hiroshima was not the end of civilization, but the beginning of a new and better world.

That is the task which confronts education. The veterans who attend the colleges and schools today, and the children of the veterans who will go to school tomorrow have a right to expect that the training offered to them will fulfill that task. It is not an easy task. It is a most difficult one. It is one which places burdens without precedent both upon those who teach and upon those who come to be taught. There must be new inspiration, new meaning, new energies. There must be a rebirth of education if this new and urgent task is to be met.

I know that education will meet that challenge. If our civilization is to survive,¹¹ it must. All of our educational resources must be pledged to that end. The road is hard, but the reward is great. I am confident that this splendid institution, with its educational system founded upon Christian principles, will play a full and noble part in the great adventure ahead of us.

器。

然吾人對原子彈至少有一種防禦，此種防禦即為貫澈全世界人類關係之科學。此種防禦為容忍，諒解，知識與慎思。吾人求得此四者後，始可證明廣島大轟炸並非人類文明之末日，實為一更新更佳世界之開端。

此為教育之任務，今日在校求學之退伍軍人及其將來求學之兒童，可期望彼等所受之訓練能完成此項任務，但此為極難之任務，對於教導者及被教導者，為一空前重大之責任。此種任務須有新感動，新思想，新力量。整個教育須再改造，始可達成此新而迫切之任務。

余深知教育必能應付此種要求。吾人苟欲使文明延續，非如此不可。吾人必須利用一切教育之資源，以求達到目的。此一道路雖然艱苦，但其報酬亦大。余深信滬特漢姆大學，以其建於基督教主義上之教育制度，對於吾人未來之偉大事業，必有高貴之貢獻。

We can and must make the atomic age an age of peace for the glory of God and the welfare of mankind.

吾人能夠而且必須爲上帝之榮耀與人類之幸福而使原子時代成爲和平時代。

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

1. "fellow alumnus (複數爲 alumni, 男性; 女性爲 alumna, alumnae)", 『同門』, 『畢業同學』。『同學』, "fellow students"; 『同鄉』, "fellow townsmen;" 『同胞』, "fellow countrymen;"
2. "their being here" 爲 gerund 作 "of" 之受詞。
3. "is being carried out" 爲現在進行時式被動式。
4. "may have been" 爲推測過去事實上可能之意。如: Hitler may have committed suicide, 希特勒或許已經自殺, 等於 Hitler may be dead, 希特勒或許是不在人間 (可能)。Hitler might have conquered the world but for the industrial might of the United States, 若非因美國工業之威力, 希特勒或已征服全世界。 ("might have conquered" 爲 subjunctive mood, 指與事實相違反)。
5. "handmaiden" 或 "handmaid" 爲修辭格喻輔佐者之意, 故有過去哲學未獨立時, 稱哲學爲神學之 "handmaid."
6. "Gone" (下句同) 爲倒裝表示強調。
7. "look to," 『企望』, 『仰賴』。He looks to me for help, 彼仰余助彼。
8. "be up to," 『有賴』。Well, it is all up to you to decide, 決定之權在君矣。
9. "are to work and live" (be + infinitive), 『欲』; 爲他人決定, 推定。
10. "bulwark against," 『防禦力量』。Purity of heart is the strongest bulwark against sin, 心地純淨爲抵禦罪惡之堅強堡壘。
11. 見 9.

U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT COMMUNICATION TO THE CHINESE AND USSR GOVERNMENTS ON DISPOSITION AND CONTROL OF INDUS- TRIAL ENTERPRISES IN MANCHURIA

Presented to the Chinese and USSR governments respectively by the American Embassies in Chungking and Moscow under the instruction of the Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, on February 9, 1946.

美國務院爲處置及接管東北工業向 中蘇政府陳述意見

一九四六年二月九日美國務卿貝爾納斯訓令駐重慶及莫斯科兩大使館
分別向中蘇政府提出

Current reports of discussions between officials of the Chinese Government and the Russian Government with regard to the disposition and control of industrial enterprises in Manchuria give concern to this Government.

The Sino-Soviet treaty and agreements signed August 14, 1945, provide for joint Sino-Soviet control over certain trunk railways in Manchuria, but these agreements exclude reference to any similar control over industrial enterprises in Manchuria. It is the understanding of the United States Government, which was kept informed of the course of the negotiations which led up to the agreements of August 1945 and which has accepted those agreements, that exclusive Sino-Soviet

最近據報，中蘇兩國政府官員曾爲處置及接管滿洲之工業，進行會商，美國政府對此備極關懷。

一九四五年八月十四日所訂之中蘇條約及各項協定，曾有中蘇共同管理滿洲某數鐵路幹線之規定，然此項協定并未提及對滿洲之工業亦作類似之管理。美國政府對於上項談判以迄一九四五年八月成立協定之經過，曾不時接獲通知，且承認是項協定，故照美國政府之了解，專歸中蘇政

governmental control over Manchurian enterprises would be limited to the railways dealt with in the aforesaid agreements.

It is therefore disturbing to this Government to receive reports that discussions are under way which might result in the establishment of exclusive Sino-Soviet control over industrial enterprises in Manchuria.

Under present conditions, when free access to¹ Manchuria is not open to the nationals of other powers and equality of opportunity in seeking participation in the economic development of Manchuria is denied to Americans and other Allied nationals, it is felt that the negotiations of agreements between the Chinese and Russian Governments with regard to industries in Manchuria would be contrary to the principle of the open door, would constitute a clear discrimination against² Americans who might wish an opportunity to participate in the development of Manchurian industry, and might place American commercial interests at a distinct disadvantage in establishing trade relations with Manchuria.

Directly related to this matter of reparations policy is the matter of Japanese-owned industries in Manchuria prior to the defeat of Japan.

This Government considers that the ultimate disposition of Japanese external assets, such as the industries in Manchuria, is a matter of common interest and concern to those Allies

府共管之滿洲企業，只以上述各協定所涉及之鐵路為限。

職是之故，本政府於接獲報告，中蘇正在進行談判，其結果或致成立專由中蘇共管滿洲之工業，為之不安。

處於目前其他國籍人民未得自由進入滿境，美國人民及其他盟國人民對於求取參加滿洲經濟開發未獲均等機會之情況下，本政府感覺中蘇政府舉行此種有關滿洲工業協定之談判，對於門戶開放原則殊有抵觸，此將令欲得機會參加滿洲工業開發之美國人遭受明顯之歧視，並將令與滿洲成立貿易關係之美國商業居於顯著不利之地位。

對日本之賠償政策問題，與滿洲工業問題有直接關連，因滿洲工業之大部份，均屬日本在戰敗前所有。

本政府認為日本國外資產如滿洲工業

之最後處置，乃對擊敗日本曾肩負重大負

who bore the major burden in defeating Japan.

This Government is now preparing a general policy outline for consideration by the concerned Governments with regard to Japanese reparations. It will be suggested that an inter-Allied reparations commission for Japan be³ established, and that one of the primary functions of this commission will be the final allocation of Japanese external assets among the various claimant nations.

It would seem, therefore, most inappropriate at this juncture for any final disposition to be made of Japanese external assets in Manchuria, either by removal from Manchuria of such industrial assets as "war booty" or by agreement between the Russian and Chinese Governments for the control of ownership of those assets.

The Government of the United States desires to be co-operative with the Chinese and Soviet Governments in seeking a solution of the problems outlined above, and it hopes that the other two Governments are animated by a similarly cooperative spirit. It would, therefore, appreciate being informed⁴ of any discussion which the two Governments may be having or may plan to have or any action they may have taken, in regard to the disposition or control of industrial enterprises in Manchuria, and we would welcome a full and frank discussion of the general problems.

担之各盟國共同利益，所共同關懷之問題。

本政府現正準備一關於日本賠償之廣泛政策綱領，以供關係各國政府之考慮，該項綱領將提議設置一盟國向日本索取賠償委員會，其主要任務為將日本國外資產就提出要求之各國間作最後之分配。

是故若於此際即將日本在滿洲之國外資產作任何最後處置，無論以是項工業資產作為「戰利品」而移出滿洲，或由蘇中兩政府訂立協定管理該項資產之所有權，均屬不合。

美國政府願與中蘇兩國政府合作，以期對上列問題求得解決，并盼其他兩政府亦出以同樣之合作精神。是以如承兩政府將關於處置或管理滿洲工業或正在舉行，或計劃舉行之商談情形，或已採取之任何行動，通知美國政府，將不勝感荷。吾人並歡迎對全盤問題舉行充份而坦率之討論。

The Secretary of State today announced that he had received a reply from the Chinese Foreign Office, which reads in part:

"The Soviet Government declared in a memorandum addressed to the Chinese Government on January 21, 1946, that all Japanese enterprises in the Chinese Northeastern Provinces which had rendered services to the Japanese army were regarded by the Soviet Union as war booty of the Soviet forces.

"The Chinese Government considers this claim of the Soviet Government as far exceeding the scope of war booty as generally recognized by international law and international usage and for this reason the two Governments have not been able to reach a unanimity of views of the fundamental principles involved.

"In another memorandum presented to officials of the Generalissimo's headquarters in Changchun, the Soviet Government declared that it proposed to hand over to China a part of the Japanese enterprises which the Soviet Union regarded as war booty while the remaining enterprises (including specified coal mines, power plants, iron and steel industries, chemical industries and cement industries) were to be jointly operated by China and the Soviet Union.

"The Chinese Government on its part has found it impossible to agree to this Soviet proposal because it goes

國務卿本日宣布，已接獲中國外交部

之覆文，略云：

「蘇聯政府於一九四六年一月廿一日致一備忘錄與中國政府稱，所有日本在中國東北各省之企業，曾為日軍効力者，蘇聯均認為係蘇軍之戰利品。

「中國政府認為蘇聯政府是項主張遠越國際公法與國際慣例公認之戰利品之範圍，因之兩國政府對於所涉及之根本原則，見解未能趨於一致。

「在另一提交蔣委員長長春東北行營之備忘錄內，蘇聯政府曾稱擬以蘇聯所認為戰利品之日本企業之一部交與中國，至其餘各項企業（包括指定之若干煤礦，電力廠，鋼鐵工業，化學工業及水泥工業）則須由中蘇兩國共同經營。

「中國政府方面感覺對蘇方此項建議，無同意之可能，以其越出一九四五年八

beyond the provisions of the Sino-Soviet agreements of August 14, 1945 and is contrary to the aforesaid stand of the Chinese Government regarding Japanese properties and enterprises in China.”

月十四日中蘇協定之規定，且與中國政府對日本在華產業與企業所採之上述立場相抵觸故也。」

ANNOTATIONS

1. “access to,” 『進入』。 The doors are all closed and I cannot get an access to the house, 此屋所有之門皆關閉，余無法走進。
2. “discrimination against,” 『歧視』。 The people in inland towns show great discriminations against strangers, 內地城鎮居民對異鄉人多有畛域之見。
3. “be,” subjunctive mood, 用於表示建議，命令，祈禱等。
4. “being informed” 爲 passive gerund 用作 “appreciate” 之受詞。

THE STATEMENT OF U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT ON MANCHURIAN SITUATION

Released on March 1, 1946

美國務院對處置東北日本 資產之聲明

一九四六年三月一日發

We have no agreement, secret or otherwise,¹ with the Soviet government or any other government in regard to "war booty" in Manchuria. This government does not accept any interpretation of "war booty" to include industrial enterprises or components thereof, such as Japanese industries and equipment in Manchuria. Some time ago we informed the Soviet government that disposition of Japanese external assets, such as industries in Manchuria, is a matter of common interest and concern to those allies who bore the major burden in defeating Japan and that it would be most inappropriate at this time to make any final disposition of Japanese external assets as "war booty" or by agreement between the Soviet and Chinese governments for control of these assets. This government has recently initiated discussions with other governments principally concerned with reparations from Japan with respect to final disposition of her external assets.

吾人與蘇聯政府，或任何其他政府，並無關於東北「戰利品」之祕密或其他協定。美國政府不承認「戰利品」之解釋為包括工業或其組織要素，如東北之日本工業與設備等在內。若干時前吾人曾通知蘇聯政府，處置日本在外資產，如東北之工業等係共同利益之問題，凡對擊敗日本曾負較大負擔之盟國均與有關係。在此時期，以此工業資產作為戰利品而運出東北，或以中蘇兩國對管制此等資產之協定，對日本在東北之國外資產作任何最後之處置，均為不合之舉。美國政府對於任何處置日本國外資產作為賠款之問題，最近已與各有關係之政府開始討論。

ANNOTATIONS

1. "otherwise," 「其他」，「不同」。The truth appears otherwise, 實情似為不同。

BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S PROTEST TO THE USSR GOVERNMENT ON MANCHURIAN SITUATION

Addressed to Soviet Foreign Commissar Vyacheslav Molotov by British Charge d'Affaires in Moscow Frank K. Roberts on March 9, and disclosed in response to a question in the House of Commons on April 8, 1946.

英政府對處置東北日本資產 向蘇聯抗議

一九四六(三月)年九日由英駐蘇代辦勞勃士遞交蘇外交委員長莫洛托夫四月九日應答詢問在下院發表

I have been instructed by my Government to inform the Soviet Government that they are disturbed at reports which have been reaching¹ them to the effect that Soviet forces have been engaged in removing from Manchuria Japanese-owned machinery and equipment from factories in Mukden and elsewhere.

Those reports compel my Government to reserve all their rights and place on record² their view that disposal of Japanese assets is a matter for discussion and settlement between allied nations having claims to Japanese reparations.

In the absence of³ an agreement resulting from such a discussion, my Government regard⁴ it as appropriate that the State in whose territory they are located should retain such assets on a custodian basis to be debited

本代辦奉敝國政府之命，通告貴政府

，以據所得報告，蘇聯軍隊嘗從事搬移滿洲境內日本所有在瀋陽及其他地方之機器及設備，敝國政府爲之感覺不安。

是項報告使敝國政府不得不保留權益，并將其見解提出備案，即處置日本資產，乃凡可提出日本賠償要求之聯盟國間所當討論解決者。

在未經討論而成立協定前，敝國政府認爲此等資產所在之國家，應暫行保管，以與該國最後應得賠償抵賬，乃屬適當之

against⁵ that State's eventual share of Japanese reparations.

But they cannot acquiesce in a unilateral removal of assets by a third party, nor can they recognize any agreement between governments which purports to arrange the final disposal and ownership of Japanese property, rights, interests, and assets.

The Chinese Government are⁶ being informed of this communication.

辦法。

但對於第三者片面搬移，殊難緘默，對於各國政府間自行商訂最後處置及日本產業，權利，利益及資產所有權之任何協定均不能加以承認。

本照會并通知中國政府。

ANNOTATIONS

1. "have been reaching" 爲 perfect progressive 時間式，指此動作在抗議書致送前起，直至致送時仍在繼續。 2. "on record," 「存案」。 The secretary put on record all the transactions of the society, 書記將該會來往函件記錄存案。 3. "in the absence of," 「無」, 「缺」。 A testimonial letter may be valid for registration in the absence of a diploma, 如無正式畢業證書，證明信件亦可生效。 4. "regard" 爲複數，蓋指 "Government" 爲 noun of multitude. 如：The class are all diligent, "class" 指「學生」。 5. "debit against," 「與……抵銷」。 This sum is debited against your account, 此數在君賬項劃銷。 6. 同4。

U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES F. BRYNES'S SPEECH TO THE OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB

Delivered on February 28, 1946 in New York City

美國務卿貝爾納斯在美 海外新聞總會講演

一九四六年二月二十八日在紐約發表

We are beginning to realize that the war is over. It is good to have sons, husbands and fathers home again. It is good to open a newspaper without fear of finding in casualty lists the name of one near and dear to us. But this is not wholly a time of celebration and rejoicing. As families in their homes on the farms and in the cities settle back from the dinner table to hear the boys tell of Normandy and Iwo Jima, there is an unspoken question in every mind.

The question is what we can do to make certain that there will never be another war. During the war our goal was clear. Our goal was victory. Problems of industrial and military mobilization, it is true, were problems of the first magnitude.¹ Production bottlenecks often seemed unbreakable, transportation difficulties and manpower shortages insurmountable. On the fighting fronts, combined land, sea

我們已開始明瞭戰爭已過去了，兒子，丈夫和父親都回家來了，翻開報紙來，再也不怕在死亡的名單中，發現有我們親戚家人的名字，這是何等好的事情。但是現在還不完全是慶祝和快活的時候，鄉村和城市中的家庭，當他們吃過晚飯以後聽孩子們追述諾曼第和琉璜島戰事的時候，他們每個人的心中，還有一個沒有說出來的問題。

這一個問題，就是我們怎樣才可以確定永遠不會再有戰爭？過去在戰爭期內，我們的目標是很清楚的，我們的目標是勝利。固然，工業動員和軍事動員是最重大的問題，生產的僵局時常似乎無法打開，運輸的困難和人力的缺乏，似乎不能克服，在前線，陸海空的聯合作戰的錯綜複雜

and air operations were heart-breaking in complexity. These were hard tasks. Yet we were able to apply a yardstick to each proposal by asking a simple question: Will it help to win the war? The common goal of victory served to unite us and to give purpose and direction to our efforts.

Now that² we have come into calmer waters, our relief and gratitude are mixed with uncertainty. Our goal now is permanent peace, and surely we seek it even more anxiously than we sought victory. The difficulty is that the path to permanent peace is not so easy to see and to follow as was the path to victory. When an issue is presented, we ask, will it help to win the peace? When the answer is slow to come or does not come at all, we grow uneasy and apprehensive. While we may be in doubt about many things, there are certain basic propositions on which we are clear.

One is that a just and lasting peace is not the inevitable result of victory. Rather, victory has given us the opportunity to build a peace. And our lives depend upon whether we make the most of³ this opportunity.

Another thing of which we are certain is that we Americans alone cannot determine whether the world will live in peace or perish in war. Peace depends quite as much upon others as does upon us. No nation is the complete master of its fate. We are all bound together for better or for worse.

的行動，使人聞之寒心。這些都是艱苦的工作，然而我們只要問一問：「這於勝利有幫助嗎？」勝利的共同目標使我們團結起來，使我們的努力有了目的和領導。

現在我們已到了風平浪靜的境地，我們舒暢和感激是與不安的心情混雜在一起的，我們現在的目標是永久和平，我們追求永久和平，甚至比我們以前爭取勝利更加急切。困難是永久和平的路沒有像勝利的路那樣容易看見，和容易依循。我們遇到任何一個問題，第一須要問：「這對於和平有幫助嗎？」如果這問題的答案來得很緩，或甚至沒有答案，那末我們就開始不安和恐懼起來了。我們雖然有許多事情疑慮不明，但是有幾個基本的定理，我們是很清楚的。

一個是勝利的結果，不一定就是公正而永久和平。不過勝利已使我們有建立這一種和平的機會，我們的生命就繫於我們是否能充分利用這一個機會。

還有一件事是我們所應當知道的：就是我們美國人單獨無法確定世界是否將在和平中生活下去，還是將在戰爭中毀滅掉？和平不是單靠我們，也要靠別人，沒有一個國家是它自己命運的完全主人，我們都是彼此禍福相共的。

Because we know this, we have pinned our hopes to the United Nations, and we are not content simply to take our place in that organization. We realize that although the dreams of the world are lodged in it, the United Nations will fail unless its members give it life by their confidence and by their determination to make it work in concrete cases and in everyday affairs.

It is clear to you about the first meetings of the United Nations. What has been said in these meetings has been said as plainly and bluntly as anything I have heard said by responsible statesmen in any private conference. These first meetings were intended only to establish various organs of the United Nations. But so pressing were some of the problems presented to the Security Council that they had to be dealt with before there was a chance for the Council to adopt even provisional rules of procedure.

All was not calm and peaceful at the meetings in London. There was an effort to use the United Nations to advance selfish national aims. But the clash of national interests and purposes which were reflected in the debates in London was very much like the clash of local and special interests which are reflected in our national and state legislatures. We may depreciate some of these clashes of interest. But when they exist it is better that they should be publicly revealed. If these

因為我們知道了這一點，所以我們已把我們的希望繫在聯合國的旗幟上面。我們不能因為加入了這一個組織而就以爲滿足，我們知道我們雖然把世界的夢想寄托於聯合國，但是除非各個會員國有信念和決心，使聯合國有生命而對於具體的案件和一切日常事務都能發揮作用，否則聯合國也將失敗。

關於聯合國首次幾個會議，各代表所發表的，都是坦白而率直，與我在負責政治家在任何私人會議裏所聽到的一樣。這些初次會議的目的，僅爲設立聯合國的各個機構。但是提交安全理事會討論那些問題中，有幾個非常迫切，甚至在理事會有機會採用臨時規則和程序之前，就需要予以解決。

在倫敦幾次會議的進行，並不是完全安靜而和平的，有人企圖利用聯合國來促進自私的國家的目標，但是在倫敦辯論中所反映的國家利益和目標的衝突很像我們全國和各州立法中所反映的地方和特殊利益的衝突。我們當然不贊成這些衝突，但是既然有了這些衝突，那末最好應該開誠佈公的發表出來，如果這些利益的衝突不

conflicts of interests did not appear in the forums of the United Nations, these forums would be detached from reality and in the long run turn out to be purposeless and futile.

A most significant precedent was established when the Security Council finished its discussions of complaint of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments requesting withdrawal of French and British troops from their territories. The Council did not take formal action because of a difference among the permanent members as to the form of the resolution, but no one questioned the general proposition that no state has a right to maintain its troops in the territory of another independent state without its consent, nor the application of this proposition to the pending case. The particular form of resolution to this general effect, which was presented by the United States representative, Mr. Stettinius, was supported by most of the members of the Council. It failed of acceptance, however, because the Soviet Union vetoed it on the ground that it was not definite enough. But the British and French Governments immediately announced that, notwithstanding the technical veto of the Soviet Union, they would act in accordance with the American resolution as it clearly represented the views of the Council.

This indicates that the mere legal veto by one of the permanent members of the Council does not, in fact, relieve

在聯合國的討論會中提出來，那末這些討論會也將會與現實脫離，而結果變成毫無意義的了。

當敘利亞和黎巴嫩政府提出陳訴，請求英法軍隊從它們的領土上撤退回去，而安全理事會對此陳訴討論完畢的時候，已經創立了一個極顯著的先例。理事會不會採取正式行動，這是因為常任理事國對決議的形式意見紛歧，但是始終沒有一個國家對這個一般命題：即任何國家不得對方允許，無權駐軍隊在另外一個獨立國家的領土上，發生疑問，同時對應用這個命題到上述懸案一節，也沒有任何國發生疑問。美國代表斯退丁紐斯依照這個意思所提出的特殊解決方式，受到理事會大多數會員國的擁護，然而終於未被接受，因為蘇聯認為不夠明確，予以否決。但英法政府立即宣稱：雖有蘇聯在技術上的否決，它們也一定要遵照美國決議案而行，因為這個決議案明晰的代表理事會的意見。

這足以表明單有理事會的一個常任理事國提出法理上的否決，在事實上，任何國家，無論是大國或小國，遵照聯合國憲

any state, large or small of its moral obligation to act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

The United Nations got off to a good start. However, that does not mean it is an assured success. It simply means that the Charter will work if the peoples of the United Nations are determined to make it work.

At times our Congress may make serious errors of omission and commission.⁵ Such errors are not the fault of the Congress as an institution. They are the fault of its members or of their constituents who fail to measure up to their responsibilities.

So it is with the United Nations. It will succeed only as we the people of the United Nations measure up to their responsibilities.

I should be lacking in candor if I said to you that world conditions today are sound or reassuring. All around us there is suspicion and distrust, which in turn breeds suspicion and distrust.

We have covenanted not to use force except in the defense of law as embodied in the purposes and principles of the Charter. We intend to live up to⁶ that covenant. But as a great power and as a permanent member of the Security Council we have a responsibility to use our influence to see that the other powers live up to their covenant. And that responsibility we also intend to meet. Unless the

章的目的與原則而行的道德上的責任，是不會因之解除的。

聯合國已經有了一個好的開端，然而這不是說它的成功已經有了保證，意思只是說：倘使聯合國人民決心要使聯合國憲章生效，那它就會生效。

有時我國國會也犯有過猶不及的嚴重錯誤，這種錯誤並非國會本身制度的錯誤，這是議員或其選民的錯誤，因為他們沒有克盡他們的責任。

聯合國機構也是這樣，只有我們，聯合國人民，都能克盡我們的責任的時候，它才會成功。

如果我對諸位說今天的世界情況是健全的或可以放心的，那我不夠坦白，我們的週圍還有猜疑和不信任，它們反轉過來又孕育着猜疑和不信任。

我們已經共立信約除保衛具體規定在「憲章」目標和宗旨內的法律外，不使用武力，我們誠心守此信約，但是我們既是一大強國及安全理事會的常任理事，我們當然有責任以我們的力量使其他國家共守此約，我們也願意負起這一責任。除非各

great powers are prepared to act in the defense of law, the United Nations cannot prevent war. We must make it clear in advance that we do not intend to act to prevent aggression, making it clear at the same time that we will not use force for any other purpose.

The great powers are given special responsibilities because they have the strength to maintain peace, if they have the will to maintain peace. Their strength in relation to one another is such that no one of them can safely break the peace if the others stand united in defense of the Charter. Present power relationships of the great powers prevent domination of the world by any one of them. Those power relationships cannot be substantially altered by unilateral action of any one great state without profoundly disturbing the whole structure of the United Nations. Therefore, if we are going to do our part to maintain peace in the world, we must maintain our power to do so, and we must make it clear that we will stand united with the other great states in defense of the Charter.

If we are to be a great power we must act as a great power, not only in order to ensure our own security but in order to preserve the peace of the world.

Much as we desire general disarmament, much as we are prepared to participate in general reduction of armaments, we cannot be faithful to

強國都準備為保衛法律而行動，聯合國是不能防止戰爭的。我們必須在事前明白表示我們的確要為防止侵略而行動，同時再明白表示我們將不為其他目的而用武力。

各強國都被授予特殊的責任，因為它們如果願意維持和平，他們是有力量來維持和平的。這種各國間的力量比重，使他們之中任何一國要破壞和平的時候，假使其他各國能團結一致保衛憲章，那也還是不能輕易破壞的。目前各強國間的力量比重，足以防止他們中任何一國獨霸世界，這種力量的比重不能由任何一個強國的片面行動而實際使之改變，除非必將極端紊亂聯合國的整個機構。因此，我們假使要盡我們的本份來維持和平，我們必須保持我們的力量來這樣做，我們並且要明白表示我們對於保衛憲章一定要和其他強國團結一致。

假使我們要做一個很大的強國，我們的作為便要像一個很大的強國，以便不但可以保證我們本身的安全，並且可以保持世界的和平。

我們雖然渴望普遍解除武裝，我們雖然準備參加普遍縮軍，但是如果我們單獨除去軍備，我們便不能信守我們對自身和

our obligations, to ourselves and to the world if we alone disarm. While it is not in accord with our traditions to maintain a large professional standing army, we must be able and ready to provide armed contingents that may be required on short notice. We must also have a trained citizenry able and ready to supplement those armed contingents without unnecessarily prolonged training. That is why, in the interest of peace, we cannot allow our military establishment to be reduced below the point required to maintain a position commensurate with our responsibilities, and that is why we must have some form of universal military training.

Our power thus maintained cannot and will not be used for aggressive purposes. Our tradition as a peace-loving, democratic people should be an assurance that our force will not be used except in the defense of law. Our armed forces, except as they may be called into action by the Security Council, cannot be employed in war without consent of the Congress. We need not fear their misuse unless we distrust the representatives of the people.

I am convinced that there is no reason for war between any of the great powers. The present power relationships and interests are such that none need or should feel insecure in relation to the others as long as each faithfully observes the purposes and principles of the Charter.

世界的責任。保持大量職業化的常備軍，雖然和我們傳統不合，但我們必須能夠而且準備供給在短期內便能集台的武裝部隊，我們必須同時有受過訓練的許多公民，能夠而且準備補充這些武裝部隊，無需再有不必要的長期訓練。爲了和平我們不能允許我們的軍事配備減縮到和我們的任務不相稱的地步，而且我們必須有某種形式的普遍軍訓，其故在此。

我們這樣保持的力量不能也不會用來從事侵略，我們以一個愛好和平，民主民族的傳統，足以保證除保衛法律外，不會使用我們的武力，我們的軍隊除非由安全理事會召令出外，要用之於戰爭，必須先得國會的同意。我們不必恐懼它的濫用，除非我們不信任人民的代表。

我深信在任何強國間，現在並沒有戰爭的理由，目前的力量比重和利害關係是這樣的，就是只要每一個國家忠實信守憲章的目標和原則，任何國家都不須也不應該覺得他在和別國的關係中有任何不安全感。

It is not enough for nations to declare that they do not want to make war. Hitler said that. In a sense he meant it. He wanted the world to accept the domination of a totalitarian government under his direction. He wanted that without war if possible. He was determined to get it with war if necessary.

To banish war, the nations must refrain from doing the things that lead to war.

It has never been the policy of the United States in its internal affairs or its foreign relations to regard a *status quo*⁹ as sacrosanct. The essence of our democracy is our belief in life and growth and in the right of the people to shape and mould their own destiny. It is not in our tradition to defend the dead hand of reaction or the tyranny of privilege. We did not fight against the Nazis and Fascists who turned back the clock of civilization in and inert. It must be capable of progress.

Our diplomacy must not be negative and inert. It must be capable of adjustment and development in response to¹⁰ constantly changing circumstances. It must be marked by creative ideas, constructive proposals, practical and forward looking suggestion. Though a *status quo* is not sacred and unchangeable, we cannot overlook a unilateral gnawing away at the *status quo*. The Charter forbids aggression and we cannot allow

光是各國宣布他們并不想開戰是不夠的。希特勒就曾這樣說過，在某種意義上說，他確是不想開戰的，他想要全世界受一個由他指揮的集體主義政府來支配。他志在必得，假使可能的話，他想不經過戰爭而達到這個目的，假使必要的話，他使用戰爭來達到它。

要貶斥戰爭，各國必須不去做導向戰爭的事。

美國在內政或對外關係的政策上，從不承認現狀是神聖不可侵犯的。我們的民主的要義是我們相信生活和生長，相信人民有權去造成他們自己的將來。我們的傳統不是保衛反動的「武斷」，和特權的專橫，我們和想使文明的時鐘逆轉倒行的納粹及法西斯黨徒作戰，並不是想由我們來使進步的鐘停止前進。

我們的外交必須不是消極的，惰息的，它必須能調整和發展，以適合不斷改變的環境，它必須有創造性的觀念，建設性的提議，實際的以及有遠見的建議。雖然維持現狀並不是神聖和不可變易的，我們也不能忽視一種片面的對現狀剝蝕。聯合國憲章禁止侵略，我們不能允許藉威逼壓

aggression to be accomplished by coercion or pressure or by subterfuges such as political infiltration.

When adjustments between states, large or small, are called for,¹¹ we will frankly and fairly consider those adjustments on their merits and in the light of the common interests of all states, large and small, to maintain peace and security in a world based on the unity of all great powers and the dominance of none.

There are undoubtedly vitally important adjustments which will require our consideration. Some of these situations are delicate to deal with. I am convinced, however, the satisfactory solutions can be found if there is a stop to this maneuvering for strategic advantage all over the world and to the use of one adjustment as an entering wedge for further and undisclosed penetrations of power.

We must face the fact that to preserve the United Nations we cannot be indifferent—veto or no veto—to serious controversies between any of the great powers, because such controversies could affect the whole power relationship between all of the great powers.

The United States wishes to maintain friendly relations with all nations and exclusive arrangements with no nation. Naturally, there are some problems which concern some nations much more than other nations. That is true in regard to many problems related to inter-American affairs.

迫或者以政治滲透等詭計來進行侵略。

當大小國家間須有所調整時，我們要坦白地公平地就事論事，考慮調整辦法，要顧計到所有大小國家的利益，以維持這個基於各大強國團結而不為任何一國獨占的世界中之和平與安全。

毫無疑問，各國間現正有着非常重要的調整事項要求我們考慮，有些局勢在處理時極為微妙，是，只要這種在全世界各地停止用權術以取得戰略優勢，以及利用此一調整為楔，而着手進一步的，隱而不露伸展的實力，我相信還是可以找到滿意解決的。

我們必須面對一個事實，就是我們要保持「聯合國」對於存在於任何強國間的嚴重糾紛，不能漠不關心，——不論是否要行使否決權——因為這種糾紛能夠影響所有強國間整個力量的比重。

美國希望維持和所有國家的友善關係，但不希望和任何國家有排他性的協定。自然，有些問題對某些國家較之對其他國家關係更大。對許多和美洲各國間有關係的問題，情形就是如此：對德日的管制亦

That is true in regard to the control of Germany and Japan. In our relations with the great powers there are many problems which concern two or three of us much more than the others of us. I see no objection to conferences between the Big three or Big four or Big five. Even conferences between ourselves and the Soviet Union alone, conferences between ourselves and Britain alone, or conferences between ourselves and France or China alone, can all help to further general accord among the great powers and peace with the smaller powers. But in such conferences, so far as the United States is concerned, we will gang up¹² against no state. We will do nothing to break the world into exclusive blocs or spheres of influence. In this atomic age we will not seek to divide a world which is one and indivisible.

We have openly, gladly and wholeheartedly welcomed our Soviet ally as a great power, second to none¹³ in the family of the United Nations. We have approved many adjustments in her favor, and in the process resolved many serious doubts in her favor. Only an inexcusable tragedy of errors could cause serious conflict between us in future. Despite the differences in our way of life, our people admire and respect our allies and wish to continue to be friends and partners in a world of expanding freedom and rising standards of living.

In the interest of world peace and

然，在我們和其他強國的關係中有許多問題與我們二三國的關係較諸他人為大。我對三強，四強或五強間的會議覺得無可非議，即使是我們自己單獨和蘇聯，和英國，和法國或中國的會議，也能幫助推進強國間的協調和與小國間的和平。但即使在這些會議中，就美國而言，我們決不結黨營私對付任何國家。我們將不去割裂全世界成為各別的集團或勢力範圍，在這個原子時代，我們決不會設法分解這個單一而不可分的世界。

我們公開地，愉快地，和竭誠地歡迎我們的蘇聯盟邦成為一個不在任何國之下的大強國。我們曾多次遷就它的意見，贊同許多調整辦法，並且在這樣的過程中，消除不少嚴重的疑慮，設法對他有利。唯有不可恕饒的錯誤悲劇，才能夠使彼此在未來發生嚴重的衝突。雖然我們的生活方式不同，我們人民羨慕和尊重我們的盟友，並希望在自由日益擴張，生活水準日益提高的世界中，繼續成為友人和夥伴。

爲了世界和平，和我們彼此共同的傳

in the interest of our common and traditional friendship, we must make plain that the United States intends to defend the Charter. Great powers as well as small powers have agreed under the United Nations Charter not to use force or the threat of force except in the defense of law and the purposes and principles of the Charter.

We will not and we cannot stand aloof if force or target of force is used contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter. We have no right to hold our troops in the territories of other sovereign states without their approval and consent freely given. We must not unduly prolong the making of peace and continue to impose our troops upon small and impoverished states. No power has a right to help itself to alleged enemy properties in liberated or ex-satellite countries before a reparation settlement has been agreed upon by the Allies. We have not and will not agree to any one power deciding for itself what it will take from these countries. We must not conduct a war of nerves to achieve strategic ends. We do not want to stumble and stagger into situations where no power intends war but no power will be able to avert war. We must not regard the drawing of attention to situations which might endanger the peace as an affront to the nation or nations responsible for those situations.

It is quite possible that any nation

統的友誼起見，我們必須明白宣告美國將保衛聯合國憲章。大小國家都已同意根據聯合國憲章，除却爲了保衛法律同憲章的目的和精神，不援用武力或以武力相威脅。

倘如有人違犯聯合國憲章的宗旨與原則，使用武力或擅定任何國家作它們使用武力的對象，我們不願亦不能袖手旁觀。除非我們獲得其他主權國自由的認可，我們沒權利在它們的領土範圍內駐紮軍隊。我們不應過分延長促現和平的時間，並繼續強駐我們的軍隊在弱小和貧困的國家境內。在盟國對賠償問題取得協議之前，任何國家都沒有權利把解放區或從前敵人附庸國內的敵產任意據爲己有。我們沒有也不能意同任何一國自行決定它從這些國家拿走什麼東西，我們不應該發動神經戰以達到戰略上的目的，我們不願意糊里糊塗地陷於這樣的一個局面，就是沒有一國願意戰爭，但是也沒有一國能夠避免戰爭。我們不應該認爲喚起對上述可能危及和平局勢的注意，就是侮辱對那局勢應該負責的一國或多國。

任何國家都可能出於它的善意採取各

may in good faith embark on a course of conduct without fully appreciating the effects of its conduct. We must all be willing to review our common interests in the peace, which are so much more important to all of us than the differences which might divide us.

We must get back to conditions of peace. We must liquidate the terrible legacy which the war has left us. We must return our armies to their homelands. We must eliminate the breeding grounds of suspicion and fear. We must not deceive ourselves or mislead our allies. To avoid trouble, we must not allow situations to develop into incidents from which there is no retreat.

We must live by¹⁴ the Charter. That is the only road to peace. To live by the Charter requires goodwill and understanding on the part of all of us.

We who had patience and gave confidence to one another in the most trying days of the war must have patience and give confidence to one another now.

No nation has a monopoly of virtue or wisdom, and no nation has a right to act as if it had.¹⁵ Friendly nations should act as friendly nations.

Loose talk of the inevitability of war casts doubt on our own loyalty to the Charter and jeopardizes our most cherished freedoms both at home and abroad.

There are ideological differences in the world. There always have been. But in this world, there is room for

種行動，而不充分認識這種行動的後果。我們應該願意檢討我們自身的行動，藉以保持我們在和平中的共同利益，因為這對於我們是遠較足令我們分裂的爭執為重要。

我們應該恢復和平時期的情形，我們必須清除戰爭所留給我們的可怕遺物；我們應該讓我們的軍隊各自歸返它們的故土，我們必須廓清製造猜疑和恐懼的場合，我們不應自欺，和誤引我們的盟國入於歧途，爲了避免糾紛，我們不應該讓局勢演變成爲不可收拾的事變。

我們應該恪遵聯合國憲章。這是獲致和平的唯一途徑。我們要遵守憲章，大家應一致具有善意和互相諒解。

我們這些在戰爭最黑暗時期具有耐心和彼此信任的國家，現在也應該具有耐心和彼此信任。

沒有一國可以專有人類的智慧，也沒有一國可以自認專有便行動起來。友邦的行爲應該是友邦的行爲才對。

不負責任地談論戰爭不可避免，對我們是否効忠憲章發生懷疑，並且危害着我們在國內或國外最珍視的自由。

世界上有許多主義上的歧異，這是向來有的。但是以世界之大，儘可以容納許

many people with varying views and many governments with varying systems.

No one foresees the far distant future and the ultimate shape of things to come. But we are bound together as part of a common civilization.

As we view the wreckage of the war we must realize that the urgent tasks of reconstruction, challenging tasks of creating higher standards of living for our people, should absorb all our constructive energies.

Great states and small states must work together to build a friendlier and happier world. If we fail to work together there can be no peace no comfort and little hope for any of us.

多意見不同的人民和許多制度不同的政府。

沒有一個人可以預觀遼遠的未來，和最後的情勢如何，但是我們作為一共同文明的一部分，是緊緊地繫在一起了。

我們縱觀戰爭破壞的結果，我們應瞭解戰後建設和創立人民較高生活水準的迫切的工作，需要我們全力以赴。

所有大小國家，應該協力建設一個更友好和更快樂的世界，我們若不能共同努力，則我們任何人都不能獲得和平和安寧，而前途也沒有多大希望。

ANNOTATIONS

- (1) "of the first magnitude," 『最重要』。 He is a star of the first magnitude, 彼係一最重要之人物。 (2) "now that" = "since," 『既』, 『既然』。 Now that (since) he is your friend, you can consult with him, 彼既係君之友人，君可與彼磋商。 (3) "make the most of," 『充分利用』。 Your success depends upon whether you can make most of your present opportunity, 君之成就全賴是否能充分利用目下之機會。 (4) "on the ground that," 『因』, 『根據之故』。 He was opposed to the proposal on the ground that it was impracticable, 彼反對此建議，因其不易實行也。 (5) "omission and commission," 『過猶不及』, 『當做的不做，不當做的反去做』, 『消極與積極』。 Don't write your composition in a great hurry; otherwise, you will commit the sin of omission and commission, 汝作文不可太急速，否則犯遺漏與重復之蔽。 (6) "live up to," 『遵守』。 His actions show that he has lived up to his promise, 彼之行動示明彼已恪遵其諾言。 (7) "do" 為強調動詞 "intend." (強調動詞之過去式，用 "did" 加根字，如： "I did go," 『我確是去過』，強調未來式，將根字置於主詞之前，如： "Go I shall"). (8) "as" 表示退步語氣。 "as" 如此用法時，須將 adjective 或 adverb 置於句首，如： Diligent as he was (= Diligently as he studied = Although he was diligent), he failed in his work, 彼雖勤勉，但工作失敗。 (9) "status quo," 拉丁語，『原狀』, 『現狀』。 Owing to inflation of currency

on the one hand and heavy taxes on the other, many small enterprises can hardly maintain status quo, 小規模商業，一方因通貨膨脹，他方因重稅關係，難以維持現狀。 (10) "in response to," 『適應』。 Production should be raised in response to the increasing need of the people, 生產應適合民衆需要之增加。 (11) "call for," 『需要』。 Such a problem indeed calls for careful solution, 此一問題實須詳細解決。 (12) gang up, 『結黨(達到不正當的私利)』。 The other servants all gang up against the head-servants, 僕役結合排斥彼等頭目。 (13) "second (next) to none," 『不在...之下』, 『不亞於...』。 As a musician, he is second to none, 以音樂論，彼不落人後。 (14) "live by," 『格遵』, 『遵守』。 We must live by the Three People Principle for the realization of a really happy nation, 吾人必須格遵三民主義始可使真正快樂之國家實現。 (15) "had" 爲 subjunctive verb,"

BRITISH EX-PRIME MINISTER WINSTON
CHURCHILL'S SPEECH AT WESTMINSTER
COLLEGE: "THE SINEWS OF PEACE"¹

Delivered at the College, Fulton, Missouri, U.S.A., on March 5, 1946.

英前首相邱吉爾在美西寺學院講演
「和平實力」

一九四六年三月五日在美米蘇里州福爾敦該學院舉行
The Green Foundation Lecture 受該學院名譽學位時發表

President McCluer,² ladies and gentlemen, and last but not least,³ the President of the United States of America. (Applause.) I am very glad indeed to come to Westminster College this afternoon, and I am complimented⁴ that you should give me a degree from an institution whose reputation has been so thoroughly established.⁵ The name "Westminster" is somewhat familiar to⁶ me. I seem to have heard of it before. Indeed, now that⁷ I come to think⁸ of it, it was at Westminster⁹ that I received a very large part of my education in politics, dialectic, rhetoric and one or two other things. So that,¹⁰ in fact, we have both been educated at the same or similar or at any rate, kindred establishments.

It is also an honor, ladies and gentlemen, perhaps almost unique, for a private visitor to be introduced to an academic audience by the President of the United States. Amid his heavy

麥克樂校長，各位女士，各位先生，美國大總統——我最後向你致敬，並不是把你看得最輕。（全堂鼓掌。）我今天來西寺學院感覺很愉快，同時，今天能有這麼負盛譽的學府贈我學位，實很榮幸的。我對「西寺」這一個名字是很熟的。好像我在過去曾經聽到過的。真的，因為我現在想到牠，我纔記起我對政治學，哲學，修詞學和其他的一兩種科目所受大部分的教育確在西寺。因此在事實上，你我都可以說都是在同一，或相似，或至少可以說是親屬關係的學校讀過書的。

各位，我今天以私客的地位，由美國大總統介紹和一個學術團體見面，更是榮譽，大可說得上是殊榮。大總統公務繁忙

burdens, duties and responsibilities—unsought but not recoiled from¹¹—the President has traveled a thousand miles to dignify and magnify our meeting here today (applause) and to give me an opportunity of addressing this kindred nation, as well as my own countrymen¹² across the ocean and perhaps some other countries too. The President has told you that it is his wish, as I am sure it is yours, that I should have full liberty to give my true and faithful counsel in these anxious and baffling times. Now, I shall certainly avail myself of¹³ this freedom and feel the¹⁴ more right to do so because any private ambitions I may have cherished in my younger days have been satisfied beyond my wildest dreams. Let me, however, make it clear that I have no official mission or status of any kind and that I speak only for myself. There is nothing here but what you see. (Laughter.) I can, therefore, allow my mind, with the experience of a lifetime, to play over¹⁵ the problems which beset us on the morrow¹⁶ of our absolute victory in arms; and try to make sure with what strength I have that what has been gained with so much sacrifice and suffering shall be preserved for the future glory and safety of mankind.

Ladies and gentlemen, the United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power. It is a solemn moment for the American democracy. With primacy in power is also joined

，責任重大但他對這些公務和責任並非自己故意找麻煩，但是他對於這些也並不畏縮就是——他跋涉千里而來，使你我今天在此地見面這回事弄得大為莊嚴隆重的模樣（全堂鼓掌），同時使我對情同手足的美國人士們，和大西洋彼岸我本國同胞們，也許還能對其他國家的人們得有機會說幾句話。大總統已經向各位說過，他希望，我想各位也希望要我對當前可慮的，扼腕的時局，盡量自由的向各位真誠的進言。現在我一定要利用這個自由發表意見的機會，同時因為我青年時代如果說得上是有什麼抱負的話，這些抱負都是我夢想不到的得到圓滿，我所以覺得我今天自由發表意見更是正當的。不過我要向各位說明我今天並沒有任何政府使命也不是以官吏地位發言，同時要說明我祇是以個人的地位發言。所以各位現在所看見的祇有邱吉爾本人，此外沒有什麼色彩。（全堂笑聲）。這樣我就可拿我個人畢生的經驗來對我們獲得絕對軍事勝利後所面臨的一些問題，任意的探討；同時可拿我個人管見所及來推斷怎樣使我們以這樣重大犧牲和痛苦所贏得的一切，確定可為人類未來的光榮和安全而保存。

各位，美國目下的力量實達到世界的最高峯了。目下是美國民主的嚴肅的時期。牠的優先的實力同時也連帶着牠對世界的未來有令人崇敬的責任。假使當各位向

an awe inspiring accountability to the future. As you look around you, if you look around you, you must feel not only the sense of duty done,¹⁷ but also feel anxiety lest you fall below the level of achievement. Opportunity is here now, clear and shining, for both our countries. To reject it or ignore it or fritter it away will bring upon us all the long reproaches of the after-time. It is necessary that constancy of mind, persistency of purpose and the grand simplicity of decision shall guide and rule the conduct of the English-speaking peoples in peace as they did in war. We must and I believe we shall prove ourselves equal to¹⁸ this severe requirement.

President McCluer, when American military men approach some serious situation they are wont to write at the head of their directive the words, "Overall Strategic Concept." There is wisdom in this as it lends to¹⁹ clarity of thought. What, then, is the Overall Strategic Concept which we should inscribe today? It is nothing less than²⁰ the safety and welfare, the freedom and progress of all the homes and families of all the men and women in all the lands. And here I speak particularly of the myriad cottage or apartment homes, where the wage earner strives amid the accidents and difficulties of life, to guard his wife and children from privation and bring the family up in the fear of the Lord²¹ or upon ethical conceptions which often

四面一看的時候，各位所感覺的必定不僅有盡了責任心的意味而已，並且感覺有不安的意味，有怕退落在成就水準之下的心思。目前我們兩國都有光明燦爛的良機。把這個良機棄却或忽略或虛擲，將來會永為後世唾罵的。因此我英語民族在平時應該有在戰時所有的堅定意志，堅持目的和極簡單決斷作我們行動的指導和法則。我們必需，我個人相信我們對這種嚴格的要求定可自己表示能夠勝任。

校長，美國軍官在應付一個嚴重的局勢的時候，他們常在他們的命令上面寫着「全面戰略觀念」幾個字。這種辦法是有道理的，因為牠可以把思想明確化。那末，今天我們在此地要寫下來的全面戰略觀念是什麼呢？這全面戰略觀念確是全世界各地所有男女的家庭的安全和福利，自由和進步。我這特別是指那千萬薪工階級的鄉村和公寓家庭，他們在生活上種種意外和困難之中盡力奮鬥，以求保障他們的妻兒不受困苦，敬畏上蒼地或遵照那些發生重大力量的倫理觀念扶育那些家室。

play their potent part.

To give security to these countless homes they must be shielded from the two gaunt marauders — War and Tyranny. We all know the frightful disturbance in which the ordinary family is plunged when the curse of war swoops down upon the bread winner and those for whom he works and contrives. The awful ruin of Europe, with all its vanished glories,²² and of large parts of Asia, glares us in the eyes. When the designs of wicked men or the aggressive urge of mighty states dissolve, over large areas, the frame of civilized society, humble folk are confronted with difficulties with which they cannot cope. For them all is distorted, all is broken, all is even ground to pulp.

And when I stand here this quiet afternoon I shudder to visualize what is actually happening to millions now and what is going to happen in this period when famine stalks the earth. None can compute what has been called "the unestimated sum of human pain." Our supreme task and duty is to guard the homes of the common people from the horrors and miseries of another war. (Applause.) We are all agreed upon that.

Our American military colleagues, after having proclaimed the "Overall Strategic Concept" and computed all available resources, always proceed to the next step, namely The Method. Here again there is widespread agree-

爲使這些無數的家庭獲得安全，我們必須使他們對戰爭和暴政兩種可怕的強盜，得有保護。當戰禍猝然波及工資階級和他們服務的主人們的時候，平民家庭因此陷入可怕的苦楚是怎樣，我們都是知道的。帶着牠過去光榮的歐洲，以及亞洲的大部分可怕的殘蹟，彰彰的在我們眼前。一般亂世魔王的毒計和強大國家侵略力量在世界幾個大區域裏面消逝後，文明社會所必要的配合及平民們都臨到許多不是他們能夠應付的困難。這對他們的影響是一切都變了原形，一切都破壞無遺，平地都成碎泥。

在今天這平靜的下午，我站在此地想像到對千百萬人們目下正發生的一切，和未來飢饉猖獗世界各地的期間將要發生的一切，我就戰慄了。沒有人夠用數目字計算出，所謂人類無限痛苦。所以我們最重要的工作和責任是保障平民的家庭，使他們不至再受另一戰爭的恐怖和痛苦。（全堂鼓掌）。我們對這一點都是同意的。

我美國軍事同仁在宣佈了「全面戰略觀念」計算了可能獲得的實力之後，就進入第二階段，即所謂方法。關於這一點有普遍的同意。世界組織已經建立起來了，

ment. A World Organization has already been erected for the prime purpose of preventing war. UNO,²³ the successor of the League of Nations, with the decisive addition of the United States and all that that means, is already at work. We must make sure that its work is fruitful, that²⁴ it is a reality and not a sham, that it is a force for action and not merely a frothing of words, that it is a true temple of Peace, in which the shields of many nations can some day be hung up and not merely a cockpit in a Tower of Babel.²⁵ Before we cast away the solid assurances of national armaments for self-preservation, we must be certain that our temple is built not upon shifting sands or quagmires but upon the rock. Anyone with his eyes open can see that our path will be difficult and also long, but if we persevere together as we did in the two World Wars, —though not alas in the interval between them—I cannot doubt that we shall achieve our common purpose in the end.

I have, however, a definite and practical proposal to make for action. Courts and magistrates may be set up but they cannot function without sheriffs²⁶ and constables. The United Nations Organization must immediately begin to be equipped with an International Armed Force. In such a matter we can only go step by step; but we must begin now. I propose that each of the powers and states should be invited to dedicate a certain number

主要的目的是防止戰爭。聯盟的聯合國安全組織，有美國作決斷性的加入和因美國加入所有的意義已經在工作了。我們必須要使牠的工作發生效果，必須使牠名符其實而不是一種欺騙，必須使牠成爲一個動力而不僅是空談，必須使牠成爲真正和平之宮，將來會有一天可把各國的盾牌在裏面懸掛不用，而不要牠成爲混亂的巴比倫塔內鬥雞場所。在我們把爲圖自存的國家軍備強有力的保證廢棄之前，先要使我們和平之宮確實建築在岩石上面，而不是建築在散沙或泥沼上面。任何人睜開眼睛都看得出我們的前途既困難而又遙遠，但是如果我們英美兩國的人能像在兩次世界大戰中——不要像以前兩次大戰之間時期內那樣令人惋惜的樣子在——聯合起來堅持到底，無疑地我們終久可以達到我們共同目的。

而我個人爲採取行動提出一個確定的，實際的建議。法院和州長可以設立起來，但是如果沒有執行官和警察，他們是不能執行職務的。聯合國組織在開始的時候即刻就要設置國際武裝部隊。關於這一種措施，我們可以逐步實行，但是目前必須開始。我主張請每一強國和國家貢獻相當數目的空軍爲世界組織服務。這些空軍應在他們本國訓練和準備，但是輪流的在一

of Air Squadrons to the service of the World Organization. These squadrons would be trained and prepared in their own countries but would move around in rotation from one country to another. They would wear the uniform of their own countries but with different badges. They would not be required to act against their own nation but in other respects they would be directed by the World Organization. This might be started on a modest scale and it would grow as confidence grew. I wished to see this done after the First World War, and I trust that it may be done forthwith.

It would, nevertheless, ladies and gentlemen, be wrong and imprudent to entrust the secret knowledge or experience of the atomic bomb, which the United States, Great Britain, and Canada now share, to the World Organization, while it is still in its infancy. It would be criminal madness to cast it adrift in this still agitated and un-united world. (Applause).

No one in any country has slept well in their beds because this knowledge and the method and the raw materials to apply it are at present largely retained in American hands. I do not believe we should all have slept so soundly had²⁷ the positions been reversed and some Communist or neo-Fascist State monopolized, for the time being, these dread agencies. The fear of them alone might easily have been used to enforce Totalitarian sys-

國駐紮再調到另一國家。他們可穿他們本國的制服但是要配帶另外的證章。他們不必要對本國採取行動，但關於其他方面全受世界組織的指揮。我們可以作小規模的開始，我們的信心增加之後空軍也就隨之增加。在第一次世界大戰之後，我就很想實行這計劃，現在我深信馬上就可以實行的。

各位，國際組織目前仍在創設初期，如果把美，英，加對原子彈知識和經驗所共有的秘密託付國際組織，是一件輕率錯誤的事。如果把這種秘密在目前騷動不安，還沒有統一的世界裏面，任牠傳播，簡直是有罪惡性的瘋狂。（全堂鼓掌）。

因為製用原子彈的知識，方法和原料在目前大部分是操在美國人的手裏，世界上任何國家的人們，沒有那個睡得安的。假使情形完全相反，這些恐怖力量目前要是為某一共產或新法西斯國家所獨佔，我不相信我們能夠睡過好覺的。這一點對這些恐怖力量的畏懼心就可能很容易的把牠

tems upon the free democratic world, with consequences appalling to human imagination. God has willed²⁸ that this shall not be, and we have at least a breathing space to set our house in order before this peril has to be encountered, and even then, if no effort is spared, we should still possess so formidable a superiority as to impose effective deterrents upon its employment or threat of employment by others. Ultimately, when the essential brotherhood of men is truly embodied and expressed in a world organization with all the necessary practical safeguards to make it effective, these powers would naturally be confided to that World Organization.

Now, I come to the second of the two marauders, to the second danger which threatens the cottage home and ordinary people, namely Tyranny. We cannot be blind to²⁹ the fact that the liberties enjoyed by individual citizens throughout the United States and throughout the British Empire are not valid in a considerable number of countries, some of which are very powerful. In these States, control is enforced upon the common people by various kinds of all-embracing police governments, to a degree which is overwhelming and contrary to every principle of democracy. The power of the State is exercised without restraint, either by dictators or by compact oligarchies operating through a privileged party and a political police. It

利用作對自由民主國家實行集體制度，而引起駭人聽聞的後果。上蒼的意旨是不准有這樣的事，那末我們在萬一要應付這種危險以前，至少有喘息餘地把自家整頓好，即使在危險到來的時候，如果我們竭盡一切努力，仍然保有優勢，威力足以對別的國家運用或威脅來運用這種危害加以有效的鎮壓阻力。到最後，在世界組織裏面把人類友誼的要點具體表現，并用一切必需的實際保障使牠生效之後，這些威力自然就付託給世界組織。

現在，我來談談那第二種強盜，威脅鄉村家庭和平民的第二種危險，牠就是暴政。有一個事實我們不能不明白，就是在美國和英帝國裏面各個公民普遍享受的自由，在世界的很多的國家裏面，中間有些是很強大的，都是無效的。在這些國家裏面，有各種的權力包括一切的警察式政府，對平民實行控制，到違反一切民治原則的極大度。這些國家的權力，由一般獨裁者或寡頭政治的集團藉據有特權的黨派或政治警察來實行牠的無限度的運用。在目下困難多於牛毛的時候，我們對那些沒

is not our duty at this time, when difficulties are so numerous, to interfere forcibly in the internal affairs of countries which we have not conquered in war. But we must never cease to proclaim in fearless tones the great principles of freedom and the right of men, which are the joint inheritance of the English-speaking world and which, through Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the Habeas Corpus, Trial by Jury and the English Common Law, find their most famous expression in the American Declaration of Independence. (Applause.)

All this means that the people of any country have the right and should have the power by constitutional action, by free, unfettered elections, with secret ballot, to choose or change the character or form of government under which they dwell, that freedom of speech and thought should reign, that courts of Justice independent of the Executive, unbiased by any party, should administer laws which have received the broad assent of large majorities or are concentrated by time and custom. Here are the title deeds³⁰ of freedom which should lie in every cottage home. Here is the message of the British and American peoples to mankind. Let us preach what we practice and let us practice what we preach. (Applause.)

I have now stated the two great dangers which menace the homes of the people—War and Tyranny. I have not

有爲我們武力征服的國家的內部事務，沒有強力干涉的責任。但是我們必須不斷的用大無畏的精神闡明偉大的自由原則和人權。這都是英語國家共有的傳統，且是傳自英國的大憲章，民權法案，人身保護法，陪審制度以及英國習慣法而在美洲獨立宣言中使牠們得到極有名文字的表現。

(全堂鼓掌)。

這一切都是說明任何國家的人民有權且應由憲法行動，由用祕密投票不受箝制的自由選舉，選擇或改變他們的政府性質或形式的力量，並且說明言論和思想自由應該通行，得到大多數人民廣汎同意或是由於時間和習慣結晶而成的法律，應該由脫離行政無黨派偏見的法院去執行。這都是自由的契據，每一個鄉村家庭裏面都應該有牠的。今天我們英美兩國人民向全世界要貢獻的一句話是：我們要把我們所實行的去傳播，我們要把我們所傳播的去實行。(全堂鼓掌)。

我已經把威脅人民家庭的兩種危險——戰爭和暴政——都向各位陳述了。我對

yet spoken of poverty and privation which are in many cases the prevailing anxiety. But if the dangers of War and Tyranny are removed, there is no doubt that science and cooperation can bring in the next few years—certainly in the next few decades—to the world, newly taught in the sharpening school of war, an expansion of material well-being beyond anything that has yet occurred in human experience. Now, at this sad and breathless moment, we are plunged in the hunger and distress which are the aftermath of our stupendous struggle; but this will pass, and may pass quickly, and there is no reason except human folly or sub-human crime which should deny to all the nations, the inauguration and enjoyment of an age of plenty. I have often used words which I learned fifty years ago from a great Irish-American orator, a friend of mine, Mr. Bourke Cockran. "There is enough for all. The earth is a generous mother; she will provide in plentiful abundance food for all her children if they will but cultivate her soil in justice and in peace." (Applause.) So far I feel that we are in full agreement. Now, while still pursuing the method of realizing our overall strategic concept, I come to the crux of what I have traveled here to say.

Neither the sure prevention of war, nor the continuous rise of world organization will be gained without what I have called the fraternal asso-

那在若干情形下係盛行着的焦慮的貧窮和匱乏，還沒有談到。假使戰爭和暴政兩種危險能夠排除，我相信科學和合作在未來的幾年內，或在未來的幾十年內一定的，會使我們新近受了戰爭教育砥礪的世界得有人類經驗空前未有物質福利的擴張。目前我們在這個悲慘和喘息不安的時際，都陷入大戰餘禍 饑饉和痛苦之中，但這即會過去，很快的過去，除非由於人類的愚妄或犯罪的魔鬼外，我相信世界各國不會不有安樂時代的來臨和享受的。我常常引用五十年前從一位愛爾蘭籍的美國演說家，我的朋友柯克蘭先生的話：「大家都有夠吃的。大地是一個慷慨的母親，假使她的兒女祇要把她的土地正當地，和平地耕種，她決賜給他們豐富的糧食。」（全堂鼓掌）。我想我們大家對我所說這些話都完全同意。現在，當我繼續討論如何實現我們的全面戰略觀念的方法的時候，就臨到我遠道而來所要講的難題。

假若沒有我所說的英語民族情同手足的聯合，那末對戰爭作有效的防範和世界組織將來不斷 發皇沒有一樣能達到目的

ciation of the English-speaking peoples. (Applause.) This means a special relationship between the British Commonwealth and Empire and the United States of America. Ladies and gentlemen, this is no time for generalities and I will venture to be precise. Fraternal association would require not only the growing friendship and mutual understanding between our two vast but kindred systems of society but the continuance of the intimate relations between our military advisors, leading to common study of potential dangers, the similarity of weapons and manuals of instruction, and to the interchange of officers and cadets at colleges. It should carry with it the continuance of the present facilities for mutual security by the joint use of all naval and air force bases in the possession of either country all over the world. This would perhaps double the mobility of the American Navy and Air Force. It would greatly expand that of the British Empire Forces and it might well lead, if and as the world calms down, to important financial savings. Already we use together a large number of islands; more may well be entrusted to our joint care in the near future. The United States already has a permanent Defense Agreement with the Dominion of Canada, which is so devotedly attached to the British Commonwealth and Empire. This Agreement is more effective than many of those which have often been made

的。(全堂鼓掌)。這就是指明英國聯邦同英帝國和美國之間，有一種特殊關係。各位，我此時此地不說籠統的話，我要大膽的說準確的話。情同手足的聯合不僅要求我們兩個龐大而有親屬關係的機構彼此間，須有日益增長的友誼和諒解，而且需要我們兩國軍事顧問彼此須繼續密切關係，進而共同研究可能的危機，武器和軍事教學法的接近，和交換軍事學校的員生。同時彼此兩國在全世界各地所有海空軍根據地的現有設備必須繼續共同使用以保障彼此兩國的安全。這會使美國海空軍的活動性加倍，英國的海空軍活動性也會大為擴充。假使一天世界因此得到安定，這或可使我們兩國省下很大的一筆款子。我們兩國已經共同使用很多的島嶼，在最近的未來大可把世界上更多的島嶼付託我們兩國保護。美國和忠誠臣屬英國聯邦同英帝國的加拿大自治邦訂了永久共同防守的協定。這個協定比許多正式締結的盟約更有效力。這個原則應該根據完全互惠宗旨推行到所有英國聯邦。不論世界上會有什麼事發生，像這樣，而且也祇有像這樣我們兩國本身纔可以得到安全，並且我們兩國纔

under formal Alliances. This principle should be extended to all the British Commonwealths with full reciprocity. Thus, whatever happens, and thus only shall we be secure ourselves and able to work together for the high and simple causes that are dear to us and bode no ill to anyone. Eventually there may come, I feel eventually there will come, the principle of common citizenship, but that we may be content to leave to destiny, whose outstretched arms many of us can already clearly see.

There is, however, an important question we must ask ourselves. Would a special relationship between the United States and the British Commonwealth be inconsistent with our overriding loyalties to the World Organization? I reply that, on the contrary, it is probably the only means by which that organization will achieve its full stature and strength. There are already the special United States relations with Canada which I have just mentioned and there are other relationships between the United States and the South American Republics. We British also have our Twenty Years Treaty of Collaboration and Mutual Assistance with Soviet Russia. I agree with Mr. Bevin, the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain that it might well be a Fifty Years Treaty so far as we are concerned. We aim at nothing but mutual collaboration with Russia. We, the British, have an alliance with Por-

可以通力合作以達到我們所看作貴重而與任何人無害的崇高而又是單純的目標。在最後或者可以有，而我個人感覺在最後一定會有我們兩國互通公民的原則實現，不過我們在目下對這一點可留交命運去決定，我們有很多的人已經能夠看得出這種命運伸出了她的臂腕了。

然而有一個重要問題，我們必須要問問自己的。那就是美國和英國聯邦彼此間的特殊關係，是和我們對世界組織所有超一層的忠實態度有抵觸的地方嗎？我的答案是相反的，認為英美的特殊關係是世界組織得到牠完全的成長和實力的唯一途徑。目下已經有我剛纔提到的美加特殊關係，又有美國和南美洲各共和國的他種關係。我們英國和蘇聯也有有效二十年合作互助條約。我和英國外相貝文意見相同，認為以我們英國而論，這個條約有效期間延長作五十年也無不可。我們對蘇聯除謀彼此合作之外，別無目的。我們英國自從一三八四年和葡萄牙締約。到今天還沒有取消。這些條約對世界協定，世界組織的廣

tugal unbroken since 1384. None of these clash with the general interest of a world agreement or a world organization. On the contrary, they help it. "In my Father's house are many mansions." Special associations between members of the United Nations which have no aggressive point against any other country, which harbor no design incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations, far from being harmful, are beneficial, and, as I believe, indispensable.

I spoke earlier, ladies and gentlemen, of the Temple of Peace. Workmen from all countries must build that temple. If two of the workmen know each other particularly well and are old friends, if their families are intermingled, if they have faith in each other's future, and charity towards each other's shortcomings, to quote some good words I read here the other day, why cannot they work together at the common task as friends and partners? Why can they not share their tools and thus increase each other's working powers? Indeed they must do so or else the temple may not be built or, being built, it may collapse, and we shall all be proved again unteachable and have to go and try to learn again for a third time, in a school of war, incomparably more rigorous than that from which we have just been released. The dark ages may return, the Stone Age may now return on the gleaming wings³¹ of science, and what

泛利益，都不衝突的。相反的，這些條約更有助於廣泛利益。耶穌說過：「我父親家裏，屋子很多。」聯合國會員國間的特殊聯合對任何其他的國家沒有侵略的地方，這些聯合並不蓄有違反聯合國憲章的陰謀，這些聯合不但是毫無害處，實在是有益，而且我個人相信，是不可少的。

各位，我在前面說到和平之宮的事。這座宮必須要全世界所有國家的工人去建造的。假使工人中間有兩個彼此特別的熟而又是老朋友，假使他們有通家之好，假使他們相信彼此有前程，原諒彼此的短處，我引用前一天我在貴國所看到的一句忠言：爲什麼他們兩個人不能以朋友和同夥的地位對共同的任務從事合作呢？爲什麼工具不能共有藉以增加彼此的工作力量呢？的確，他們非這樣做不可，否則這座宮就建造不成，或是建造成功馬上就會崩潰的，那末，我們又表明不可教而需要去到戰爭的學校作第三次的學習，這次要比我們剛剛脫離的學校要更爲嚴格。黑暗時代可能的會再出現，石器時代也是可能的隨着目前科學的光輝再回到人間，目前可以普施人類無限的物質幸福的東西，甚至可

might now shower immeasurable material blessings upon mankind, may even bring about its total destruction. Beware, I say; time may be short. Do not let us take the course of allowing events to drift along till it is too late. If there is to be³² a fraternal association of the kind I have described, with all the extra strength and security which both our countries can derive from it, let us make sure that that great fact is known to the world, and that it plays its part in steadying and stabilizing the foundations of peace and is the path of wisdom. Prevention is better than cure.³³

A shadow has fallen upon the scene so lately lighted by the Allied victory. Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist international organization intends to do in the immediate future, or what are the limits, if any, to their expensive and proselytizing tendencies. I have a strong admiration and regard for the valiant Russian people and for my wartime comrade, Marshal Stalin. There is deep sympathy and good will in Britain, and I doubt not here also, towards the peoples of all the Russias, and a resolve to persevere through many differences and rebuffs in establishing lasting friendships. We understand the Russian need to be secure on her Western frontiers by the removal of all possibility of German aggression. We welcome her to her rightful place among the leading nations of the world.

能的演成整個世界的毀滅。請聽我說，這個時機的迫切可能就來到。我們不能採取任一切事自由演變的途徑，以至太遲不可救藥了。假使我們決定要我剛纔所描述的情同手足的聯合存在，具有我們兩國從這種聯合所得到的額外的實力和安全，我們一定要把這重大的事讓全世界人類知道，並且一定要把這種聯合擔負建立和穩固和平基礎的任務，而且成爲人類智慧的大道。預防比醫治要好些。

最近由聯合國勝利之光所照到的景色，目前已經被陰影籠罩了。沒有人可以知道蘇聯和牠的共產國際組織在最近的未來打算作什麼事，也不知道牠們的擴充疆土，變更制度有沒有止境，如果有的話，要到什麼止境。我對英勇的蘇聯人民和我的戰時同志史達林元帥很是欽佩和敬重的。英國——我相信美國也是一樣的一對蘇聯各聯邦所有人民很是同情且有善意，并於彼此意見紛歧，阻礙百出之中，決心堅忍以樹立永久的友誼。我們諒解蘇聯在牠西境上有消除德國侵略的一切可能由，纔得到安全的需要。我們歡迎蘇聯在世界強國中有牠應有的地位。更要緊的是歡迎蘇聯

Above all, we welcome constant, frequent and growing contacts between the Russian people and our own people on both sides of the Atlantic. However it is my duty, for I am sure you do not wish me to mis-state the facts, to place before you certain facts about the present position in Europe—I am sure I do not wish to, but it is my duty, I feel, to present them to you.

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain³⁴ has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all those famous cities and the populations around them, lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and increasing measure of control from Moscow. Athens alone, with its immortal glories, is free to decide its future at an election under British, American and French observation. The Russian-dominated Polish Government has been encouraged to make enormous and wrongful inroads upon Germany, and mass expulsions of millions of Germans on a scale grievous and undreamed of are now taking place. The Communist parties which were very small in all these Eastern States of Europe, have been raised to pre-eminence and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking every-

人民和大西洋南岸的英美人民彼此間能有經常不斷，逐漸發展的接觸。我相信各位不願我把目下關於歐洲局面的某一些事實，在各位面前誤解——這是不願做的，然而我感覺到我有責任把這些事實向各位陳述的。

現在從亞得里亞海上的斯德丁起橫過歐陸到波羅的海上的特里亞斯特，有一個鐵幕落下來了。在這界線的後面，散佈着中東歐各古代國家的首都。華沙，柏林，布拉格，維也納，布達佩斯，柏爾格勒，不加勒斯特，索菲亞——所有這些名流和牠們隣近的居民都落在我必須要叫作蘇聯勢力範圍的裏面，而並且都是在種種形式之下不僅是受蘇維埃勢力的支配，且是受莫斯科日漸增加極高度的控制。祇有雅典得以牠不朽的光榮在英，美，法監視之下，用選舉的方式自由決定牠的未來。蘇聯控制了波蘭政府已被鼓勵大規模的不應當的侵入德國境內，正在進行悲慘的，夢想不到的大規模驅逐數百萬德國人出境。東歐各國的共產黨本來力量很小，近來已經提高超過牠們人數應有的優勢和實力，並且正在各處造成集體的 control。差不多在以上所說的各地都有得勢的警察政府，除捷克外，到現在都沒有真正民主可言。

where to obtain totalitarian control. Police governments are prevailing in nearly every case and, so far, except in Czechoslovakia, there is no true democracy. Turkey and Persia are both profoundly alarmed and disturbed at the claims which are made upon them and at the pressure being exerted by the Moscow Government. An attempt is being made by the Russians in Berlin to build up a quasi-Communist party in their zone of Occupied Germany by showing special favors to groups of left-wing German leaders. At the end of the fighting last June, the American and British Armies withdrew westwards, in accordance with an earlier agreement, to a depth at some points of 150 miles on a front of nearly 400 miles in order to allow the Russians to occupy this vast expanse of territory which the Western Democracies had conquered. If now the Soviet Government tries, by separate action, to build up a pro-Communist Germany in their areas, this will cause new serious difficulties in the British and American zones, and will give the defeated Germans the power of putting themselves up to auction³⁵ between the Soviets and the Western Democracies. Whatever conclusions may be drawn from these facts, and facts they are, this is certainly not the liberated Europe we fought to build up. Nor is it one which contains the essentials of permanent peace.

• 土耳其和波斯對莫斯科政府對牠們所提出的種種要求和強加於牠們的壓力，都是深切地惶恐不安。蘇聯又正在德境蘇聯佔領區裏面，對德國左傾領袖許多集團表示特別恩惠，企圖建立準共產政治。在去年六月戰事結束，英美軍隊遵照以前所訂協定向西撤退到沿長約四百英里的陣線上深達一百五十英里的各據點，使蘇聯人可以佔據我們西方民主國所征服的廣大地區。假使目下蘇維埃政府想在這些區域裏面，用單獨行動方式建立傾向共產主義的德國，這在英美範圍裏面就會產生新的，嚴重的困難，並且會使戰敗的德國人有自動向蘇聯和西方民主國家兩方面討價的力量。不問我們從這些事實得到的結論是怎樣，事實總歸是事實，這決不是我們所以作戰要建立的解放的歐洲，也決不是包括永久和平要素的歐洲。

The safety of the world, ladies and gentlemen, requires a new unity in Europe from which no nation should be permanently outcast. It is from the quarrels of the strong parent races in Europe that the world wars we have witnessed or which occurred in former times have sprung.

Twice in our own lifetime we have seen the United States against their wishes and traditions, against arguments the force of which it is impossible not to comprehend—twice we have seen them drawn by irresistible forces into these wars in time to secure the victory but only after frightful slaughter and devastation occurred.

Twice the United States has had to send millions of its young men across the Atlantic to fight a war, but now war can find any nation wherever it may dwell between dusk and dawn.³⁶

Surely we should work with conscious purpose for a grand pacification of Europe within the structure of the United Nations and in accordance with our charter. That, I feel, is an open course of policy of very great importance.

In front of the iron curtain which lies across Europe there are other causes for anxiety. In Italy the Communist party is seriously hampered by having to support the Communist trained Marshal Tito's claims to former Italian territory at the head of the Adriatic. Nevertheless the future of Italy hangs in the balance.

各位，世界的安全要求有一個任何國家永遠不應被排除的新統一的歐洲。由於歐洲嫡系民族間的紛爭，纔產生我們所經歷的和前代所有的各次世界戰爭。

我們在這一代已經看見美國兩次違反本意和傳統，違反顯而易知強有力的反戰理由——我們已經看見牠兩次被不可抗拒的一些勢力捲到這些戰爭裏面，恰恰趕上獲得勝利，不過在可怕的屠殺和毀滅已經發生之後纔加入戰爭就是。

美國在兩次世界大戰都盡責派遣千百萬青年橫渡大西洋作戰，但是在目前呢，旦夕之間無論在什麼地方戰爭一起，任何國家都逃不了戰禍的。

我們必定要在聯合國機構裏面根據憲章努力達到大規模平定歐洲的彰明目的。我個人覺得這是一個極重要的公開政策。

在橫跨歐洲的鐵幕前面還有其他可慮的地方。意大利的共產黨因為要支持由共產黨訓練的狄多元帥對亞得里亞海頂端的以前意國土地的要求，雖然受了嚴重的打擊。然而意大利的前途還不容易斷定。

Again one cannot imagine a regenerated Europe without a strong France. All my public life I have worked for a strong France and I never lost faith in her destiny even in the darkest hours. I will not lose faith now.

However, in a great number of countries, far from the Russian frontiers and throughout the world, Communist fifth columns are established and work in complete unity and absolute obedience to the directions they receive from the Communist centre.

Except in the British Commonwealth and in the United States, where Communism is in its infancy, the Communist parties or fifth columns constitute a growing challenge and peril to Christian civilization. These are sombre facts for anyone to have to recite on the morrow of a victory gained by so much splendid comradeship in arms and in the cause of freedom and democracy, but we should be most unwise not to face them squarely while time remains.

The outlook is also anxious in the Far East and especially in Manchuria. The Agreement which was made at Yalta, to which I was a party, was extremely favorable to Soviet Russia, but it was made at a time when no one could say that the German war might not extend through the summer and autumn of 1945 and when the Japanese war was expected by the best judges to last for a further eighteen months

還有，法國如不成爲一個強國，歐洲的再生是不能想像到的。我自從事政治以來，一向是努力求得強盛法國的實現，即在她最危急的時期，我對她的命運也未曾喪失信心，目下我也決不放棄我對牠的信心。

然而在離開蘇聯邊境很遠，和普遍全世界的許多國家裏面業已養成共產黨的第五縱隊堅強的團結起來，絕對的忠於共產黨大本營所發的命令而工作。

除英美兩國的共產黨還是在幼稚時代外，其他各國的共產黨或第五縱隊日見危害基督教的文明。任何人在這由於我們兩國美滿的並肩作戰並爲自由民主作戰獲得勝利之後，對這些陰暗的事態不得不作一再的陳述，但時光不再，我們如果不斷然的應付真是太不智了。

在這東方面，尤其是在中國的東北幾省，前途也是令人焦慮的。我所參加的雅爾達協定對於蘇聯是極端有利的，但是這個協定訂立的時候是對德戰爭沒有人可以預斷會不會延長到一九四五年的夏季和秋季，而且對日戰爭根據最有權威的評判會延長到對德戰爭結束十八個月之後。

from the end of the German war.

In this country you are all so well informed about the Far East, and such devoted friends of China, that I do not need to expatiate on the situation there.

I have, however, felt bound to portray the shadow which, alike in the west and in the east, falls upon the world. I was a Minister at the time of the Versailles Treaty and a close friend of Mr. Lloyd George, who was the head of the British delegation at that time. I did not myself agree with many things that were done, but I have a very strong impression in my mind of that situation, and I find it painful to contrast it with that which prevails now.

In those days there were high hopes and unbound confidence that the wars were over, and that the League of Nations would become all-powerful. I do not see or feel the same confidence or even the same hopes in the haggard world at this present time.

On the other hand, ladies and gentlemen, I repulse the idea that a new war is inevitable; still more that it is imminent. It is because I am so sure that our fortunes are still in our own hands and that we hold the power to save the future, that I feel the duty to speak out now that I have the occasion and the opportunity to do so. (Applause.)

I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expan-

各位在美國對遠東和對忠實的中國朋友們的消息很清楚，我無須對那方面的局勢加以敘述了。

然而我個人覺得有責任把那同樣的落在東西兩方全世界的陰影描述一番。在凡爾賽和約時期我是英國的一個閣員，也是那時英國代表團領袖勞合佐治的親近的朋友。我當初時對所有的許多措施都不同意，但是目下我對那時的局勢有深切的印象，要把那個局勢和今天普遍的局勢對照一下，我感到痛苦了。

在那個時候人們對戰爭的滅絕抱極大的希望，無限的信心，並且以為國際聯盟必會成爲一個具有一切力量的機構。我對目前乖戾的世界卻不看到且不感覺到同樣的希望。

各位，在反面講，我拒絕相信有新的戰爭不可避免的意見，更拒絕相信有這個戰爭已經迫在眉睫的意見。這是因爲我深信我們兩國仍能掌握着自己的命運，並且具有挽救未來的實力，在今天我既可乘這機會大膽的陳述我的意見，我感覺我有責任來作大膽的陳述。（全堂鼓掌）。

我不相信蘇聯希望有戰爭。牠所想要的是戰爭的成果，和牠實力同主義的無限。

sion of their power and doctrines. But what we have to consider here today while time remains, is the permanent prevention of war and the establishment of conditions of freedom and democracy as rapidly as possible in all countries.

Our difficulties and dangers will not be removed by closing our eyes to them. They will not be removed by mere waiting to see what happens; nor will they be removed by a policy of appeasement. What is needed is a settlement, and the longer this is delayed, the more difficult it will be and the greater our dangers will become.

From what I have seen of our Russian friends and allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for weakness, especially military weakness. For that reason the old doctrine of a balance of power is unsound. We cannot afford, if we can help it, to work on narrow margins, offering temptations⁸⁷ to a trial of strength.

If the western democracies stand together in strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter, their influence for furthering those principles will be immense and no one is likely to molest them. If, however, they become divided or falter in their duty, and if these all important years are allowed to slip away then indeed a catastrophe may overwhelm us

擴展。在時間還能許可範圍內，我們今天在此地所要討論的是要防止戰爭永不發生，同時要儘量快的在各國建立自由和民主條件。

我們把眼睛閉起不對我們的困難和危險看是不能把它們排除掉的。僅是坐候事態發生，這些困難和危險不會排除掉。我們採取姑息政策，這些也是不能除掉的。我們所需要的是把這些解決掉，我們拖延越長久，我們的危險越嚴重。

據我個人在戰時對蘇聯盟友所觀察的，深信他們所欽佩的莫過於實力，所最輕視莫過於軍力薄弱。因此從前的國際均勢的一些學說，在日下是不健全了。我們實在不可能靠薄弱的力量可能引誘別人對於武力一層，躍躍欲試。

假使西方民主國家嚴格遵照聯合國憲章的原則團結一致，那末，他們推行這些原則的力量必定強大，沒有任何國家能夠阻礙他們的。反之，使他們分裂起來或是畏縮不盡責任，再假使把這極為重要的幾年讓牠過去，到那時候，我們又都要受戰禍了。

all.

The last time I saw it all coming, and cried aloud to my own fellow countrymen and to the world, but no one paid any attention. Up until the year 1933 or even 1935, Germany might have been saved from the awful fate which has overtaken her and we might all have been spared the miseries Hitler let loose upon mankind.

There never was a war in all history easier to prevent by timely action than the one which has just desolated such great areas of the globe. It could have been prevented in my belief without the firing of a single shot, and Germany might be powerful, prosperous and honored today, but no one would listen and one by one we were all sucked into the awful whirlpool.

We surely must not let that happen again. (Applause.) This can only be achieved by reaching now, in 1946, a good understanding on all points with Russia under the general authority of the United Nations Organization and by the maintenance of that good understanding through many peaceful years, by the world instrument supported by the whole strength of the English-speaking world and all its connections. This is the solution which I would offer to you in this address to which I have given the title, "Sinews of Peace."

Let no man³⁸ underrate the abiding power of the British Empire and Commonwealth.

上次我料到戰禍快要發生，所以向我的同胞大聲疾呼，但是沒有一個人聽我的話。以直到一九三三或者甚至一九三五年的時候，德國都可能得到救援不至受那襲擊牠可怕的厄運，同時我們可能把希特勒所加於人類的痛苦免除掉的。

這次摧殘全局極大區域的戰爭比人類史上的任何戰爭更容易用及時的動作來制止的。我相信不用一兵一卒可能阻止，那末，德國會成為強盛繁榮受世界尊敬的國家。但是沒有一個人聽我的話，所以我們就一個一個的被捲入這可怕的漩渦裏面去了。

我們一定不要讓這種戰禍再發生。(全堂鼓掌)。這在目下，一九四六年，祇有在聯合國組織普及的權力之下，關於所有爭點獲得蘇聯良好諒解，在未來的和平時期保持這種諒解，同時用英語民族和附屬民族以全力所支持的世界組織，纔可達到目的。這就是我在我所命題作「和平實力」的講演裏面所要貢獻給各位的解決方法。

英帝國和英國聯邦永續的實力是不能容許任何人把牠看輕的。

Because you see the forty-six millions in our island harassed about their food supply, of which they only grow one-half, even in war time, or because we have difficulty in restarting our industries and export trade after six years of passionate war effort, do not suppose that we shall not come through these dark years of privation as we have come through the glorious years³⁹ of agony, (applause) or that half a century from now, you will not see 70 or 80 millions of Britons spread about the world and united in defense of our traditions, our way of life and of the world causes we and you espouse.

If the population of the English speaking Commonwealth be added to that of the United States,⁴⁰ with all that such cooperation implies in the air, on the sea and in science and industry, and in moral laws, there will be no quivering, precarious balance of power to offer its temptation to ambition or adventure. On the contrary, there will be an overwhelming assurance of security. (Applause.)

If we adhere faithfully to the Charter of the United Nations and walk forward in sedate and sober strength, seeking no one's land or treasure, seeking to lay no arbitrary control upon the thoughts of men, if all British moral and material forces and convictions are joined with your own in fraternal association, the high roads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time, but

你們不要因為看到我們島國四千六百萬人民，在戰時祇生產食糧的半數，目下感受糧食供給的困惱，或是因為我們經六年苦戰以後的今天對復興工業和出口貿易有困難，就推想我們不能像在過去光榮的渡過艱難時期（全堂鼓掌），渡過目前的困苦，或是推想五十年以後不會有七八千萬英國人民普遍全世界團結一致，保衛我們所擁護的傳統，生活方式和世界正義的事。

假使英語聯邦人民和美國人民聯合起來在海，空，科學，工業和道德規律上合作，決不至有那令人不安，仰人鼻息的國際均勢主張藉以誘起利用這個主張來作野心和冒險的企圖。相反的，這種聯合和合作對安全必有絕大的保證。（全堂鼓掌）。

假使我們忠實地遵守聯合國憲章，沉着地，審慎前進，不貪圖別人的土地和寶藏，不武斷地控制世人的思想，假使英國人所有道德物質力量和信心同美國人的這一切親密的聯合起來，那末，未來的大道不單是為我們兩國人民廓清，不單是為我們這一代的人們廓清，也是為未來世紀的

for the century to come. (Applause). 人們廓清。(全堂鼓掌)。

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

1. "The Sinews of Peace," "sinew" 爲「筋力」，「腕力」，轉意爲「實力」，「支持力」。「sinews of war」(「軍費」，「金錢」)爲常用短語。邱氏茲創 "Sinews of Peace," 「和平實力」。2. Dr. Franc L. McCluer, 西寺學院院長。3. "last but not least" (即 "last in order but not least in importance." 此處 "last but not least" 爲 independent adverb phrase "last" 與 "least" 之前不用 "the"), 「最後但非最不重要的」。And, last but not least, you should take good care of your health, 最後告汝等應珍重健康，余雖最後告汝等，並非無關重要。 ("last," "least" 用作 adjectives 其前須有 "the" 例：The last but not the least consideration is how to enforce the Charter of the United Nations, 最後而非爲不重要之考慮爲如何實施聯合國憲章。) 4. "complimented," 「辱承」，「受褒贊」。I am complimented that you have come here (=You pay me a compliment by coming here), 辱承臨蒞。5. "established," 「已成立」，「已穩定」。Churchill has an established reputation as an orator, 邱吉爾業已成名爲演說家。6. "familiar to" = "well-known to" (some one) 「熟知」，「見(聽)慣」。Is Churchill's face familiar to you, 邱吉爾之面貌汝熟見否？(注意："familiar with" = "acquainted with" something, 「見慣」，「通曉」，「熟諳」。He is familiar with Laotze = Laotze is familiar to him, 彼慣讀(通曉)老子之書。7. "now that" (=since), 「既然」。
• Now that you are willing to learn, I am glad to teach you, 汝既欲學，余自樂於授汝。8. "come to think," "come + infinitive, 「臨到」，「致」。When one comes to think of the probability of a third world war, one comes to visualize disaster immeasurably greater than the last one, 吾人至思及第三次世界大戰大爲可能一事，吾人遂想見未來大難遠大於過去所遭遇者。9. Westminster 預備學校爲英國極著名之中學，邱氏曾在該校讀書。10. 英文修辭學忌用 "so that" 等 subordinate conjunction 於句首，但句首可用 "so" (係 adverb), 此句應附於上句，邱氏係講演，美人不甚拘於此點故另作一句，因有時即 adjective clause (which) 亦獨立成句。11. "unsought" 及 "recoiled from" 皆形容 "burdens, duties" 及 "responsibility." 12. 邱氏在西寺講演有廣播電台十一家在該校設臨時電台廣播。故彼之講演可播送英國及全世界。13. "avail oneself of," 「利用」，「趁機」。I will avail myself of your kind invitation and come this evening, 承邀今晚當趨陪。14. "the" (demonstrative adverb 形容 "more," 加強 "because"-clause 之意), 「更」，「益」。I am the more glad to see you because you bring me such a good book, 君攜來好書，余(正因此)與君相見更感愉快。(此處之 "because"-clause 亦可以 "for"—phrase 代替而成爲 simple sentence. 例：I am the more glad to see you for your bringing me such a good book. 又如主句爲否定，即反面，而用此構造，則

“because”變為“though”之意。例：I don't think the worse of you, “because” you are poor = (“though” you are poor.) 15. “play over”係由“play over (on) the sea,”【以探海燈探視海面】轉用，海軍用語，邱氏初習海軍故慣用此。16. “on the morrow,”【於翌日】，即指勝利後不久。17. “done”為past participle 形容“duty.” 18. “equal to,”【堪】，【勝任】。He is equal to nothing, 彼任何事皆不勝任。He has just recovered and is not equal to conversation, 彼病始愈，不能談話。19. “lend”此種借喻用法通常有“itself”在後，如“lend itself to,”【適於】，【有助於】。Brevity lends to wit, 言詞簡潔可增妙趣。20. “nothing less than” (或 nothing short of), 【直】，【確】。The next war will be nothing less than global destruction, 下次大戰直等於全球毀滅。21. “in the fear of the Lord” = “god-fearing,”【敬長上帝】，【虔誠】。22. “glories”指輝煌建築。23. UNO 為 United Nations Organization (每字之第一字母) 聯合國組織之簡略。24. 本句中各“that”-clauses 構造為修辭句之 parallel construction (即排比構造)，每一“that”-clause 為一 balanced sentence, 此為修詞強調法之一。25. “Tower of Babel,”【巴比倫高塔】，【騷擾，混亂之所】。聖經載昔人欲在巴比倫建高可達天之塔，後以語言混亂中止。26. 英國各州執行法之官吏。27. subjunctive verb = “if the positions had been reversed,” “if”省略。28. “will”用作 transitive verb 意為【堅欲】，【決定】。He can will a person to smile, 彼可決定使人發笑。Heaven wills it, 天意。29. “blind to,”【視若無視】，【受矇蔽】。One is blind to one's faults, 人常不自知其缺陷。30. “title deeds,”【契據】(即田契，屋契在政府所登記者)即【保證】之意。31. “the gleaming wing,”係借喻 (simile) 指科學之輝煌進步。32. “is” (即 be) + infinitive 為【決定】之意。“There is peace”指和平已為事實，“The world demands that there is to be peace,”【全世界之人要求和平定須實在】。33. 英格言，即【未雨綢繆】之意。34. 指蘇聯勢力界限。35. “auction,”【拍賣】即賣主擇善價而沽之意。36. 通常有“from dawn (曙) till dusk (黃昏)” (=from morning till night) 但此處顛倒為“between dusk and dawn”即為“overnight”，【旦夕之間】之意。37. “temptations”指蘇聯崇拜武力而輕視武力薄弱之國家，故主張英美應擁有絕大武力以免引起蘇聯訴諸武力之企圖。38. 此處有所指否？如有所指，究係指誰？39. 在一九四〇，四一年英倫三島幾為希特勒征服之時期。40. 此為本演詞之原意，英美聯合可成為造成世界和平之實力，即邱氏所講之“The Sinews of War.”

GENERALISSIMO JOSEPH STALIN'S REPLY TO
A PRAVDA REPORTER WITH REFERENCE TO
MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL'S WESTMINSTER
COLLEGE, FULTON, SPEECH

Made on March 13, 1946

史達林元帥關於邱吉爾在美西寺學
院講演答真理報記者問

一九四六年三月十三日發表

QUESTION: How do you appraise the recent speech of Mr. Churchill made in the United States?

ANSWER: I appraise it as a dangerous act aimed at sowing seeds of discord among the Allied states and hindering their collaboration.

QUESTION: Can it be considered that Mr. Churchill's speech harms the cause of peace and security?

ANSWER: Certainly. In this light Churchill has adopted the position of a war-monger. And in this he is not alone. He has friends not only in Britain but in the United States as well. In this connection it must be noted that Churchill and his friends bear a striking resemblance to Hitler and his friends. Hitler commenced the business of unleashing war by proclaiming the racial theory and announcing that only German speaking people represented the only full-valued race chosen

問：委員長對邱吉爾先生在美國發表的最近一篇演說有何評價？

答：我認爲這是一種具有危險性的舉動，指望在同盟國間散播不和的種子，並阻止她們的合作。

問：是否可以認爲邱吉爾先生的演說已危害到和平與安全的事業？

答：當然是的。事實上，邱吉爾先生現在已站在戰爭煽動者的地位。邱吉爾先生在這裏並不孤立。他的朋友不僅在英國有，而且美國也有。應該指出的，就是邱吉爾先生和他的朋友在這方面使人驚人地很像希特勒和他的友人。希特勒曾宣佈種族學說，而開始鼓吹戰爭的工作；他宣稱只有能操德語的人民才是有真正價值的

to rule the world. Hitler's racial theory led him and his followers to the conclusion that they being the superior race, had to dominate the world. The British racial theory leads Mr. Churchill and his friends to the conclusion that the English speaking people being the only full-valued people, must dominate the other nations of the world.

In fact Churchill and his friends in Britain and America are presenting a sort of ultimatum to the non-English-speaking nations by saying: "Acknowledge our supremacy voluntarily, then everything will be in order, otherwise war is inevitable."

But nations had shed blood during the five years of cruel war for the freedom and independence of their countries not for the sake of substituting the domination of hitlers¹ by domination of churchills. It is, therefore evident that the non-English-speaking nations who represented the majority of the world's population, will not agree to go into a new slavery. Churchill's tragedy is that, being a die-hard Tory,² he does not understand this simple and evident truth.

There is no doubt that Churchill's stand is that of an appeal for war against the USSR. It is also clear that this stand is incompatible³ with the existing Treaty of Alliance between Great Britain and the USSR. True enough, that in order to get his listeners and readers confused, Chur-

，被選為統治世界的民族。德國的種族學說使希特勒和他的黨徒得到一個結論就是：德國人是優秀的民族，所以必須統治其他的民族。英國的種族學說使邱吉爾先生和他的友人得到一個結論：就是操英語的國家，是唯一有真正價值的國家，所以必須統治其他的民族。

事實上，邱吉爾先生和他在英美的友人在對所有非英語國家 出一個類似哀的美敦書，說：「你們甘心承認我們的霸權，這樣就可相安無事。否則，戰爭就不可避免。」

但是許多國家在五年殘酷戰爭當中流血的目的在各謀祖國的自由獨立，而不是要把邱吉爾的統治代替希特勒的統治。所以構成世界人口絕大多數的非英語國家，都不願意墮入這新式的奴役生活，是很顯明的。邱吉爾先生的悲劇是在於：他身為死硬派的保守黨員，實在不能了解這簡單而明白的真理。

無疑地，邱吉爾先生的立場就是號召對蘇聯作戰的立場。邱吉爾先生的這種立場也顯然和現在的英蘇同盟條約不相符合。的確，邱吉爾先生為了淆惑讀者和聽眾

chill fleetingly mentions that the term of expiration of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty could be extended to fifty years.

But how can this declaration be considered compatible with his adopted stand calling for war against the USSR? Surely this does not make sense. And if Mr. Churchill, who calls for⁴ war against the USSR, at the same time considers it possible to extend the term of expiration of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty, it means that he considers this treaty as a mere scrap of paper necessary only for camouflaging⁵ his anti-Soviet attitude. Therefore the false declaration of Churchill's friends in Britain on extending the term of expiration of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty up to fifty or more years cannot be considered as serious. The extension of a treaty does not have sense if one of the parties violates the treaty and transforms it into a piece of waste paper.

QUESTION: How do you appraise the part of Churchill's speech where he attacks the democratic systems of our neighbour countries and criticizes the good neighbourly relations established between these states and the Soviet Union?

ANSWER: This part of Churchill's speech is a mixture of slander, rudeness and tactlessness. He asserts that "Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest, Sofia—all these famous cities and the population of these regions are included into

，曾順便宣稱英蘇互助合作條約可以延長到五十年。

但是怎麼能使邱吉爾的聲明，和他所採取的號召對蘇作戰的立場符合一致呢？顯然的，這兩件事決不能符合一致。如果邱吉爾先生一方面號召和蘇聯作戰，同時又認為英蘇條約可延長到五十年，那麼就是說，他心目中的條約，只是一張廢紙而已，他需要它只為掩蓋和偽飾他的反蘇步調。所以我們認為邱吉爾先生和他在英國的友人願延長英蘇條約至五十年或五十年以上的虛偽宣言，不是出於誠意的。倘使立約的一方破壞條約，把條約看成廢紙，那麼延長條約實在沒有什麼意義。

問：邱吉爾演說中關於攻擊我們鄰國的民主制度與那些國家和蘇聯建立善鄰關係的一部份，委員長認為如何？

答：邱吉爾先生演說的這一部份，夾雜着誹謗的成份和粗魯以及缺乏手腕的成份。邱吉爾先生肯定說「華沙、柏林、布拉格、維也納、布達佩斯、伯爾格來德、布加勒斯特、索非亞——所有這一切名城

the Soviet sphere and all are subordinated, in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence, but, to a considerable degree, to the increasing control of Moscow." Churchill qualifies that as limitless "expansionist tendencies" of the Soviet Union. It does not require much effort to prove that here Mr. Churchill rudely and unpardonably slanders Moscow as well as the above-mentioned neighbour states of the USSR.

Firstly, it is absurd to speak of exclusive USSR control in Vienna and Berlin where there are Allied Control Councils composed of representatives of the four powers and where the USSR has only one-fourth of the say in the matter. It is true that certain people cannot live without slandering others, but, nevertheless, there should be a limit to this.

Secondly, it must not be forgotten that the Germans invaded the Soviet Union via Finland, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary. They were able to effect their invasion because at that time governments hostile to the USSR existed in these countries. As a result of the German invasion, the Soviet Union irretrievably lost in the battles with the Germans and through German occupation and deportation to German slavery, about 7,000,000 persons. In other words, USSR's losses in manpower are several times greater than those of Britain and the U.S. put together. Possibly some people are inclined to

及其區域中的居民都是在蘇聯的範圍之內，同時所有這一切，不僅在各種形式之下受着蘇聯勢力的支配，而且又高度受莫斯科政府日見增強的控制。』邱吉爾先生把這一切形容為蘇聯漫無止境的「擴張的傾向」。很容易證明，邱吉爾先生在這里粗魯而不可饒恕地誹謗莫斯科和上述與蘇聯相鄰的國家。

第一、關於蘇聯一國獨自控制維也納及柏林的話，實是荒謬之說，這兩個地方，都設有四國代表組成的盟國管制委員會，蘇聯祇不過是享有四分之一的發言權。有些人好像專以誹謗別人為能事，但究竟也該懂得有個限度。

第二、我們不能忘記下面的事實。德軍是取道芬蘭、波蘭、羅馬尼亞、保加利亞、匈牙利侵入蘇聯的。德軍所以能經過這些國家侵入蘇聯，是因為在這些國家之中存在着仇視蘇聯的政府。由於德軍的侵入，德軍的佔領以及蘇聯人民之被趕到德國做苦工，結果：蘇聯就在與德國戰爭中無可補償的，大約損失了七百萬人。換句話說，蘇聯所損失的人，實數倍於英美兩國加起來所損失的。某一種人可能意圖抹

forget these colossal sacrifices of the Soviet people, who had secured the liberations of Europe from Hitler's yoke.⁷ But the Soviet Union cannot forget this. We ask then, what is so unusual in the fact that wishing to safe-guard itself in the future, the Soviet Union is trying to achieve that the governments existing in these countries would be loyal to it? How is it possible then, without being absolutely insane to qualify these peaceful aspirations of the Soviet Union as expansionist tendencies?

Mr. Churchill further asserts that "the Polish government which is under the domination of the Russians, is being encouraged to make unreasonable inroads into Germany." Every word is rude and insulting slander. Modern democratic Poland is governed by prominent persons. These people have been proven by their deeds that they are capable of defending the interests and honour of their country in the way in which their predecessors were unable. On what grounds⁸ does Mr. Churchill assert that the leaders of modern Poland could permit the representatives of any foreign power to "dominate" their country? Is he trying to slander the Russians in an attempt to sow seeds of discord between Poland and the USSR?

Churchill is dissatisfied that Poland turned in its policy toward friendship and alliance with the USSR. There was a time when the elements of con-

煞蘇聯人民在爭取歐洲從希特勒壓迫下獲得解放時所蒙受的這種龐大驚人的犧牲。

但蘇聯人民不能忘記這個。因此我們要問蘇聯因為要想保衛自身未來的安全而竭力想這些國家的政府忠實於蘇聯一個事實有什麼稀奇呢？沒有瘋狂的人們怎能把蘇聯這種和平的願望形容為我國的擴展的傾向呢？

邱吉爾先生進而肯定說：「蘇聯人統治下的波蘭政府，被鼓勵而向德國進行大量不公允的侵佔。」這裏，每一句話又都是粗魯而誣蔑的謾罵。當代的民主波蘭，是由聲譽卓著的人士領導。他們在事實上證明能夠保衛他們祖國的利益及榮譽，這却是它過去的執政者所不能做到的。邱吉爾先生有什麼根據武斷說當今波蘭的領導者能允許隨便一個外國的代表在其國內「統治」呢？這裏，邱吉爾先生誹謗蘇聯人，不是因為有意在波蘇之間關係上散播不和的種子嗎？

邱吉爾先生對波蘭在其政策上轉變為與蘇聯友好及同盟是不滿意的。曾經有一個時候，在波蘇之間的相互關係上，衝突

flict and controversy prevailed in Soviet-Polish relations. This circumstance gave a statesman like Churchill the opportunity to play upon⁹ those differences, to take Poland more firmly in hand, to try and intimidate Russia with the possibility of war between the USSR and Poland, and at the same time to retain the position of a mediator in Russo-Polish disputes. But these times have passed. The former antagonism between Poland and Russia has given place to a real friendship, and Poland, modern and democratic, does not want to be a ball in the hands of foreigners. It appears to me that just this circumstance irritates Churchill and drives him towards making rude and tactless attacks against Poland.

Fancy! He is not permitted to play with others as his pawns.

As regards Churchill's attacks against the Soviet Union in connection with the expansion of Poland's western frontiers at the expense of the former Polish territories captured by the Germans in the past, it seems to me that here he is "obviously cheating as in a game of cards."

As is known, the decision on Poland's western frontiers was taken at the Berlin Conference on the basis of Poland's requirements. The Soviet Union had repeatedly declared that it considers Poland's claims just and correct. It is quite probable that Churchill is dissatisfied with these decisions. But why did Churchill, not sparing¹⁰

和矛盾的成分佔着優勢。這種情勢，就給一個政治家像邱吉爾先生的人一個可能玩弄這種矛盾的機會，一方強力的控制波蘭，一方又威脅蘇聯使它與波蘭之間有發生戰爭的可能，而同時蘇波爭端中保持其居間人的地位。但這種時代已經過去了，因為在波蘭蘇聯之間的敵視，已讓位於它們之間的友好，而現今民主的波蘭也不願再被外國人播弄了。我覺得正是這種情形，才引起邱吉爾先生的忿怒，才刺激得他粗暴地缺乏手腕地破口抨擊波蘭。

胡思亂想！決不要給他有機會讓他拿別人作他的犧牲。

至於說到邱吉爾先生因為波蘭西部邊疆的擴張是取償於德國人在過去所強佔的領土而攻擊蘇聯一節，那麼，這裏我認為他顯然正玩弄像玩撲克牌時的偷雞手法。

大家都知道，關於波蘭西疆的決議，是三強在柏林會議上根據波蘭的要求而通過的。蘇聯屢次聲明，它認為波蘭的要求是公允的，合理的。大概邱吉爾先生對這個決議不滿意吧。但邱吉爾先生為什麼不

“ammunition” against the Russian position in this question, conceal from his readers the fact that the decision was taken at the Potsdam Conference unanimously and that not only the Russians but also the British and the Americans voted in favour of it? Why did Churchill have to confuse his audience?

Churchill also affirms that Communist parties which were insignificant in all those eastern European countries had attained particularly great power, far exceeding their numerical strength and are striving to establish everywhere totalitarian control, and that police governments are ruling in almost all these countries and up to the present there is no real democracy in any of them, except in Czechoslovakia.

As is known only one party rules Britain at present—and the opposition parties are deprived of the right to participate in the government. This Churchill calls real democracy. In Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Hungary, blocs of several parties, from four to six are at the helm,¹¹ and the opposition, if it is more or less loyal, is granted the right of participation in the government. This Churchill calls totalitarianism, tyranny and police rule. Why and on what grounds? Do not expect an answer from Churchill. Mr. Churchill does not understand in what a ridiculous position he places himself in delivering such hypocritical announcements on

借信口放矢而在這個問題上反對蘇聯的立場，而向讀者蒙蔽這個決議在波茨坦會議上一致通過的事實，同時不僅蘇聯人投票贊成，而且英美人也投票贊成？邱吉爾先生爲什麼要淆惑他的聽衆呢？

邱吉爾先生進而又肯定說，在東歐這一切國家之中，共產黨過去是很不重要的，但現已達到特殊的力量而大大地超過他們的黨員的數目，並企圖到處建立集體的 control，警察政府已幾乎盛行於這一切國家之中，迄今除捷克而外，在那裏一點真正的民主也沒有。

盡人皆知，在英國，現在是由一個政黨即工黨統治國家，同時，反對黨被剝奪了參加英國政府的權利。這個，邱吉爾先生稱爲真正的民主主義。在波蘭，羅馬尼亞，南斯拉夫，保加利亞，匈牙利，是由好幾個黨的聯盟——由四個黨到六個黨——當政，而且反對黨，如果它還多多少少效忠於政府，就保證給它以參加政府的權利。這個，邱吉爾先生稱爲集體主義，暴政及警察制度。爲什麼呢？有什麼理由呢？從邱吉爾先生找不到答案的。邱吉爾先生不明白他關於集體主義，暴政以及警察制度的演說，裏面所發表的這一些虛偽的

totalitarianism, tyranny and police rule, Churchill would like Sornkowski, and Anders to rule in Poland, Mikhailovic and Pavlic in Yugoslavia, Stilby and Redescu in Rumania, some Hapsburg king in Austria and Hungary, and so on. Mr. Churchill can establish "real democracy." Such is Mr. Churchill's "democracy."!

Mr. Churchill is wandering near the truth when he speaks about the increased influence of the Communist parties in Eastern Europe. It should be noted, however, that he is not quite precise. The influence of Communist parties has grown not only in eastern Europe but almost in all European countries where fascism was predominant before (France, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Denmark, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece, Soviet Union and other countries).

The increase of Communist influence cannot be considered accidental. It is an absolutely natural occurrence. The influence of Communists increased because in the difficult years of fascist domination in Europe, the communists showed themselves to be reliable, courageous and self-sacrificing fighters against the fascist regime, for the freedom of the people. Mr. Churchill in his speech occasionally remembers "simple people from small houses," benevolently pats them on the shoulder and pretends to be their friend. But these people are not so simple, as it may appear at the first glance. These

言論使他自己置身於一個多麼可笑的地步，邱吉爾先生是想由索考夫斯基與安得斯將軍來統治波蘭，由米海洛維奇及巴維里克來統治南斯拉夫，由什圖柏侯爵及拉第斯克統治羅馬尼亞，由哈布斯堡王朝的某一個國王統治匈牙利及奧地利等等。邱吉爾先生想教我們相信，他能夠建立「真正的民主」。邱吉爾先生的「民主」就是這樣的。

邱吉爾先生說到共產黨在東歐勢力的增長時，是近乎真理的。但應該指出，他不完全是準確的。共產黨不祇在東歐，而且在全歐洲法西斯主義先前所統治過的國家（法、比、荷、挪、丹、波、捷、南、希、蘇聯等等）之中，都增長了。

共產黨勢力的增長，不能認為是偶然的。它完全是一種自然的現象。共產黨員的勢力之所以增長，是因為在法西斯主義在歐洲統治的痛苦年代，共產黨員曾表現係反對法西斯暴政而為人民爭取自由的可靠的、勇敢的和自我犧牲的戰士。邱吉爾先生在他的演說中，有時也提到「小戶的簡單的人們」，悲慈的拍拍他們的肩膀並冒充為他們的朋友。但這些人們決不是一眼看來那麼簡單的。這些「簡單的人們」也有他們自己的看法，自己的政策，並且

“simple people” have their own views, their own policy and they are able to stand for themselves. It was they, these millions of “simple people” who voted against Churchill and his part in England and cast their ballots for the labourites. It was they, these millions of “simple people,” who isolated the reactionaries in Europe, adherents of collaboration with fascism and gave their preference to the left democratic parties. It was they, millions of these “simple people,” who testing communists in the fire of struggle of resistance against fascism, decided that the communists absolutely deserve the trust of the people. In this way the influence of communists has grown in Europe. Such is the law of historical development.

Of course, Mr. Churchill does not approve such development of events and he sounds the alarm, appealing to force. But he also disapproves the appearance of the Soviet regime in Russia, after the First World War. At that time he also sounded the alarm and organized a war march of “14 states” against Russia, placing before himself the task of turning back the wheel of history. But history proved to be stronger than human intervention, and quixotic¹² tendencies of Churchill brought him to complete defeat.

I do not know whether Mr. Churchill and his friends will succeed in organizing after the Second World War a new war march against “Eastern

他們還能夠保衛自己。正是他們，這些千百萬「簡單的人們」，在英國不投邱吉爾及他的黨的票，而把他們的票投給工黨黨員。正是他們，這些千百萬「簡單的人們」，孤立了在歐洲的反動派，法西斯主義的擁護者而寧願擁戴左派的民主政黨。正是他們，這些千百萬「簡單的人們」，在反法西斯主義的抗戰烽火中考驗了共產黨員而決定共產黨員是絕對值得人民信賴的。共產黨員在歐洲的勢力就是這樣增長的。這就是歷史發展的法則。

當然，邱吉爾先生不喜歡這種情勢的發展，而且他還敲了警鐘，訴之於武力。但是他也同樣不喜歡在第一次世界大戰之後在俄國出現了一個蘇維埃制度。他在當年也曾敲過警鐘，並組織了「十四國」作反對俄國的軍事攻勢，目的是拖着歷史的車輪向後倒退。但歷史却證明它比人為的干涉更為有力，而邱吉爾先生的唐吉訶德式的志願，結果是在當時遭受了完全的失敗。

我不曉得邱吉爾先生及其友人們能否在第二次世界大戰之後組織一個新的軍事攻勢以反對「東歐」。但如果他們能達到

Europe.” But if they succeeded in this—which is not very probable because millions of “simple people” stand guard over peace—we may confidently say that they shall be routed just as they were routed in the past.

這個目的——實在是很可能，因為千百萬「簡單的人們」，在警衛着世界的和平——我們可以自信的說一句，他們必將像他們在過去將被擊敗一樣而同樣被擊敗。

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

1. “hitlers” 係由 proper noun “Hitler” 變為 common noun 之複數，【許多如希特勒之人】，即代表集體獨裁野心家。本句之 “churchills” 同此。— proper noun 變為 common noun 係指其原有之特質，亦可用單數。如：“He is a Napoleon of industry”（工業巨子）。“He is the Newton of our class”（數理大家）。他如：“china”（瓷器）係中國特產，“japan”（漆器）係日本特產，亦係 proper noun 變為 common noun 者。
2. 英國在十九世紀以前祇有兩政黨，一為 Tory, 保守黨；一為 Whig 自由黨。今用 Tory, 係指邱氏之頑固。
3. “incompatible with,” 【不合】，【不能並存】。Totalitarianism is incompatible with Christian faith, democracy, or socialism, 集體主義與基督教義，民主主義，社會主義皆不合。
4. “call for,” 【需要】。Such a step is not called for, 此種步驟目下尚不需要。
5. “camouflage,” 【掩蔽】，【掩飾】，【遮蓋】（原為法語在第一次世界大戰時始創用）。You say this simply to camouflage your design, 汝所言實為掩飾汝之計策耳。
6. “put together” 為 past participle phrase, 形容 “those.”
7. “from...yoke,” “from the yoke of...,” 【從……統治解放】。Now the Formosans are freed from Japan’s yoke, 台灣人現已由日人統治解放。
8. “on what grounds,” 【根據何理】。On what ground do you say that, 汝根據何點而言此？
9. “play upon,” 【玩弄】。It is not to play upon words to say that Britain is a democracy with a king at the head of the government, 謂英國政府為民主而有國王治國並非玩弄字義也。
10. “spare,” 【節省】，【惜】。He spares no effort to do that, 彼不惜勞力為之。
11. “at the helm,” 【當政】（即 at the helm of the state, government）。With more non-partisans at the helm, China is on the road to democracy, 中國政府增加更多無黨派份子主持政治為進入民主政治之途也。
12. 與 1. 同，為 Proper noun Don Quixote 變成。“Don Quixote” 為西班牙文學家 Cervantes 所著，喻不量力而銳意嘗試改革之精神。

PRES. HARRY S. TRUMAN'S SPEECH ON THE
ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF PRES.
F. D. ROOSEVELT

*Delivered at the rites dedicating the home and grave-site of the late Pres.
Roosevelt as a national shrine.*

杜魯門總統在故羅斯福總統逝世
周年紀念日講演

一九四六年四月十二日在美政府接收羅斯福夫人捐贈政府之故總統
海德公園故居及奠定故總統陵寢爲國家歷史紀念地舉行儀式時發表

We stand in reverence¹ at this hal-
lowed spot consecrated to the memory
of² a great American who has become
a great citizen of the world. We stand
here in solemn tribute. All over the
globe, plain people join with their
leaders and statesmen in recognition
that it was largely because of him that
civilization has survived.

Only history can do him full
justice.³

The loss which America suffered
through the death of Franklin D. Roose-
velt cannot be softened by spoken
words. Tributes can only emphasize
our loss. But those of us who have
survived him in the seat of the govern-
ment can pay homage to his memory
by our deeds.

The progressive and humane prin-
ciples of the New Deal embodied great

吾人今置身此一神聖地點，敬謹緬懷
一偉大之美國人，同時亦爲世界之偉大公
民，吾人立於此地，謹向其表示嚴肅之敬
意，全球之平民，與彼等之領袖及政府官
員，莫不承認，文明之倖存，大半實應歸
功於彼一人。

唯有歷史始能予彼以公正之評判。

美國因羅斯福逝世所遭受之損失，非
言語所能緩和，吾人之敬意彌足顯示吾人
之創鉅痛深。然余等健在之執政人員，可
藉余等之行動以表達哀思。

在一極端嚴重之危機中，羅斯福總統
之新政予美國人民以極大希望，新政乃含

hope which, in an hour of extreme crisis, President Roosevelt gave to the American people. As carried out in practice, the New Deal became a realization of that hope. It was a recognition of the basic truth that this government exists not for the benefit of a privileged few, but for the welfare of all the people. These principles and their execution in practice have become an accepted part of our way of life.

When an employee joins a union, when an investor buys a share of stock, when a man buys a house or a farm on credit, when he puts money in a bank, or grows and sells his crops or gets cheap electricity, when he lays aside⁴ part of his income for unemployment or old age insurance, those principles are right there by him—and on his side.⁵

Those same principles apply to legislation assuring full production and full employment, legislation for a health program, a social security program, an educational program, a program to provide emergency housing for veterans and to solve a long-range program of decent homes for all Americans.

These and other progressive measures stem from the principles for which President Roosevelt fought, for which we—who are carrying on after him—now fight, and for which we shall continue to fight.⁶

In the foreign field, President Roosevelt's guiding thought was that

有進步與合乎人道之原則。新政施行之結果，遂令此種希望得告實現，新政所承認之基本真理，乃本國政府不應為少數特權階級而設，而應為謀求全民幸福而設。此項原則及其實際措施，現已成為吾人生活所承受之一部。

當一僱員加入工會，或一投資者購買股票，或某人貸款購買住宅田地，或向銀行存款，或從事耕種及銷售其農作品，或應用價值低廉之電力，或儲蓄其一部收入，以為失業或老年之保障，此等原則與彼等俱在。

此同一原則亦實施於保證充分生產與充分就業之法案，衛生法案，社會安定法案，教育法案，供給退伍軍人緊急住所法案，及規模遠大之解決于所有美人適當居屋問題法案。

上述種種暨其他進步之設施，乃溯源於羅斯福總統所力爭之原則，而吾人今日正秉承其遺志，繼續奮鬥，將來亦將努力不懈。

在國際方面，羅斯福總統之鵠的，乃吾國應居於蒼生地位，而以積極、敏奮及

this nation as a good neighbor must play an active, intelligent and constructive part in world affairs. He saw clearly that we cannot continue to live isolated from other nations. He knew what happens on other continents must affect the welfare of our country. He recognized above all that our hope for future civilization, for the future of life itself, lay in the success of the United Nations. He not only recognized these truths, he determined to do something about them. And he did.

His foreign policy called for a fair, sympathetic and firm dealing with the other members of the family of nations. At the same time, it recognized our obligation to the starving and homeless of other lands. It recognized the solemn duty of this country toward nations which have been weakened in the death struggle against tyranny.

For these principles of international cooperation, we are determined to fight with all our strength. We are determined to do all within our power to make the United Nations a strong living organization, to find an effective means of alleviating suffering and distress, to deal fairly with all nations.

These principles were the basis of the foreign policy under Franklin D. Roosevelt. They are still the basis of our foreign policy.

In the aftermath of a global war,

建設性之態度，參加世界事務。彼深悉吾人不能繼續度與他國隔離之生活。彼深知在其他大陸所發生之事，定將影響吾國之幸福。彼洞悉駕乎一切之上，吾人對未來文明及生活之希望，實繫乎聯合國之成功。彼不僅承認此種真理，且決心努力實行，並已見諸實際行動。

彼之外交政策，乃與其他國家折衝之時，採取公平，同情與堅定之態度，同時並認識吾人對其他國家嗷嗷待哺與無家可歸人民之責任。此項政策又承認，本國對因與專制政治作殊死鬥爭而遭受摧殘國家，所負之神聖責任。

吾人決心為此等國際合作原則盡吾人全力而奮鬥。吾人決竭力令聯合國成爲一堅強與活力充沛之機構，並力謀令痛苦患難昭蘇，及公平對待所有國家之有效方法。

此等原則乃羅斯福總統之外交政策基礎。吾人目下之外交政策，亦係以此爲依歸。

全球戰爭劫後之全面工作誠極困難；

the overall task is difficult. But it can be simply stated: it is to carry forward to completion the underlying policies, foreign and domestic, of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Changes may be required here and there to meet changing conditions. Fundamentally, the objectives are the same.

We are here not only to do honor to the immortal spirit of Franklin D. Roosevelt. We are here to gain strength for what is ahead—to gain it from the inspiration of his deeds, the inspiration of the humane principles which brought them to pass.⁸

Here, where he was born, in the spot which he loved best in all the world, he is now at rest. We shall not see his like⁹ again.

May Almighty God, who has watched over this republic as it grew from weakness to strength, give us the wisdom to carry on in the way of Franklin D. Roosevelt!

然簡而言之，此種工作則係完成羅斯福總統國內之基本政策；因時勢轉移，間或有略需修改之處。唯主要原則仍固定不移。

吾人今日來此不僅為紀念羅斯福之不朽精神，亦為獲取未來之力量而來——則因受其功績及促成此種功績之人道主義所感召，而獲此力量。

此地為彼誕生之處，亦則全世界彼最感留戀之處，今彼正長眠於此。吾人決難於短期內獲觀與彼相等之人物。

上蒼既已護持吾國自衰弱臻於強盛願其賜予吾儕智慧，以效法羅斯福。

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

1. "in reverence," [敬仰]。The story of the unknown hero holds us in deep reverence, 無名英雄之抗敵故事令人敬仰。2. "consecrated to the memory of . . .," [為紀念……而獻奉]。A monument was erected, consecrated to the memory of the defenders of the city, 為紀念保衛城市之人特立此碑。3. "to do one justice," "to do justice to one," [予……以公正之評判], [平心而論]。We do him justice in saying that he is a man of integrity, 吾人謂彼為正直之人實為公正之言。4. "lay aside (away, by) money," [儲蓄]。One-tenth of his income is laid aside for charity, 彼以收入十分之一儲作慈善之用。5. 本句中所用甚多之"when"-clauses 為修辭筆法，從多方面襯出本題——"those principles are right there by him—and on his side." 6. 本句中之"for which"-clauses 用法全上。7. "call for," [需要]。Such a policy is not called for now, 現在不需要此政策。8. "bring . . . to pass," [促成……]。What has brought such a tragedy to pass, 何事促成此慘事？9. "like" (noun), [相似], [相同]。I have never seen the like of that, 余向未曾見此物有相同者。

THE YALTA ACCORD BETWEEN PRES. ROOSEVELT, PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL AND GENERALISSIMO STALIN

Signed at Yalta on Feb. 11, 1945; disclosed by the U.S. State Department in May, 1946 (Appended with the U.S. State Department statement in connection with the release of the Accord).

美國務院公佈雅爾達秘密協定

羅斯福總統邱吉爾首相及斯達林元帥於一九四五年二月十一日在雅爾達簽訂一九四六年五月美國務院公佈
(附美國務院對發表該協定之聲明)

The leaders of the three great powers—the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain—have agreed that in two or three months¹ after Germany has surrendered and the war in Europe has terminated the Soviet Union shall enter into the war against Japan on the side of the Allies on condition that:

(1) The status quo² in Outer Mongolia (the Mongolian People's Republic) shall be preserved.

(2) The former rights of Russia violated by the treacherous attack of Japan in 1904 shall be restored, viz:³

(a) the southern part of Sakhalin as well as all islands adjacent to⁴ it shall be returned to the Soviet Union.

(b) the commercial part of Dairen shall be internationalized, the pre-

蘇、美、英三國領袖茲協定：於德國投降歐戰結束後兩個月或三個月之後，蘇聯應依照下列條件參加同盟國，對日宣戰，其條件為：

(一)外蒙(即蒙古人民共和國)之現狀應予以保留。

(二)於一九〇四年受日本非法之奸詐攻擊而喪失之蘇聯昔日權益應予恢復，即：

(甲)庫頁島之南部及該島附近之島嶼應回歸蘇聯轄治。

(乙)大連商港應予國際化，而為確

eminent interests of the Soviet Union in this port being safeguarded by the lease of Port Arthur as a naval base of the USSR restored.

(c) the Chinese Eastern Railroad and the South Manchurian Railroad which provides an outlet to Dairen shall be jointly operated by the establishment of a joint Soviet-Chinese company, it being understood⁵ that the pre-eminent interests of the Soviet Union shall be safeguarded and that China shall retain full sovereignty in Manchuria.

(3) The Kurile Islands shall be handed over to the Soviet Union. It is understood that the agreement concerning Outer Mongolia and the ports and railroads referred to above will require the concurrence of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The President will take measures in order to obtain this concurrence on advice from Marshal Stalin.

The heads of the three great powers have agreed that these claims of the Soviet Union shall be unquestionably fulfilled after Japan has been defeated.

For its part the Soviet Union expresses its readiness to conclude with the National Government of China a pact of friendship and alliance between the USSR and China in order to render assistance to China with its armed forces for the purpose of liberating China from the Japanese yoke.

THE U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT
RELEASED THE FOLLOWING
STATEMENT IN CONNECTION

保蘇聯對該港之主要利益會租用旅順港為蘇聯海軍根據地一點仍予恢復。

(丙)中東南滿兩鐵路為大連港之主要出路，應由中，蘇雙方合組公司管理之。蘇聯在東四省之主要權益應予確保，而中國對東四省應保存其完整之主權。

(三)千島羣島應割讓與蘇聯。本協定內所訂有關外蒙，及大連旅順兩港，中東南滿兩路之上列各點，應徵得蔣委員長之完全同意。美總統將由史達林元帥之建議負責採取步驟以獲得上述蔣委員長之同意。

三國領袖已同意：蘇聯上項要求於日本戰敗之後應毫無問題的予以實現。

在蘇聯方面，蘇聯表示準備與中國國民政府簽訂中蘇友好同盟條約，以便畀中國以軍事協助，以期自日本鐵蹄下解放中國。

美國國務院關於發表雅爾達

WITH THE RELEASE OF THE
TEXT OF THE YALTA AGREEMENT:

In making public this agreement the Secretary of State called attention to the fact that the Government of the Chinese Republic was not a party to the agreement and that the relations between China and the Soviet Republics are in no way controlled by this memorandum but are governed entirely by the provisions of the treaty between China and the Soviet Republics signed at Hankow on August 14 and subsequent agreements between those two governments.

The Secretary of State further stated it is evident that this agreement was regarded by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Generalissimo Stalin as a military agreement and was marked top secret. There was good reason for the agreement being regarded as a top secret. The agreement was based upon Russia's entering the war. The Soviet military leaders advised our military leaders that Russia could not enter the war until 90 days after the surrender of Germany, that it would take them that time to move their armies to the Japanese front.

At that time, February 11, 1945, our armies were attacking on the Western Front. Had the Japanese learned of this agreement, they would have immediately attacked Russia. That would have necessitated the re-

協定之內容曾發表下述聲明：

於發表此一協定之時，美國國務院願請對下列事實之注意，中國國民政府並未參加本協定之簽訂，而中蘇關係並不受本備忘錄之約束，但中蘇關係完全受中蘇兩國於八月十四日在漢口簽訂之條約條款及此後兩國間其他協定所約束。

國務院於此鄭重聲明：此一協定顯係羅、邱、史三領袖之軍事協定而應絕對保守秘密。保守秘密係有極大理由，蓋此一協定規定蘇聯之參戰。蘇聯軍事領袖曾告美國軍事領袖，蘇聯非於德國投降九十日後，不能參加對日戰爭，蓋欲將軍隊調至東方前線，非有九十日之準備不可。

於一九四五年二月十一日之時，美國軍隊正於西線作戰，設日本於彼時獲悉此協定之內容，則將立即攻擊蘇聯。若此則蘇聯正在推動對德最後攻擊，以期使歐洲

removal of Russia troops from the German front toward Japan at a time when Russia was starting the final drive which brought about the collapse of the German army on that front. The removal of Russian troops at that time would have made the task of the American armies there much more difficult and cost more lives. The Secretary stated he learned that an agreement had been reached on this subject on September 2, after the Japanese surrender on August 12, and at his press conference on September 4, announced the existence of such an agreement.

東線德軍完全毀滅之軍隊，不得不調赴遠東。倘彼時蘇軍東調，則歐洲美軍工作將加增困難，而遭受更大犧牲也。國務卿聲稱：彼於九月二日獲悉有關此事之協定已告訂定，（即八月十二日日本投降之後）於九月四日記者會上，即宣告此約之存在。

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

1. "in two or three months," 指未來，用未來時式，與 "for two or three months" 不同。
2. "status quo," 『現狀』，拉丁語。So long as they are allowed to maintain their status quo, conflicts are inevitable, 一日任其保持現有地位，衝突實為不可避免。
3. "viz" 為拉丁文 "videlicet" 之簡略，英文為 "namely," "to wit," 『即』。
4. "adjacent to," 『鄰近』，『靠近』。He lives in the house adjacent to the school, 彼住屋接近學校。
5. "it being understood" 為 nominative absolute phrase. 如：It being late, (=As it was late), he went home. Sun setting, he went home, I remaining, he went home.

PRES. HARRY S. TRUMAN'S MESSAGE TO THE
CONGRESS TRANSMITTING A BILL OF
MILITARY COLLABORATION WITH OTHER
AMERICAN STATES

Submitted on May 6, 1946

杜魯門總統向國會提出與美洲
各國軍事合作法案咨文

一九四六年五月六日送達

I submit herewith for consideration¹ of the Congress a bill to be entitled "The Inter-American Military co-operation Act" authorizing a programme of military collaboration with other American states, including training, organization, and equipment of the armed forces of those countries. I recommend that the Congress give² this bill its favorable consideration and enact it.

For several years our Army and Navy have maintained cordial relations of collaboration with³ the armed forces of other American republics within the framework of the good-neighbour policy. Under authorization of the Congress, military and naval training missions have been sent to various American republics. During the recent war, even prior to⁴ Pearl Harbour, this collaboration was intensively developed on the basis of⁵ inter-American undertakings for hemisphere defence. Training activities were expanded, and under

余茲謹向國會提出法案一件以待審議

，此一法案將稱為「美洲軍事合作」，包括訓練，組織，及配備此等國家之武裝部隊。余建議國會對此加以善意之考慮，並制成法案。

吾國海陸軍，數年來在睦鄰政策範圍內，已與其他美洲共和國武裝部隊，成立友好合作關係，國會曾授權派遣軍事及海軍訓練團前往各美洲國家。在此次戰爭期中，甚或在珍珠港事變發生之前，此種合作曾依據美洲各國間共負半球防務責任，積極展開。訓練工作亦隨之擴大，同時並

the Lend-Lease Act limited amounts of military and naval equipment were made available to⁶ the other American republics as part of the hemisphere defence programme. Forces from two of the American republics participated in combat overseas, and others joined in the defence of the spheres and seas of the Americas⁷ at a time when the danger of invasion, of our continents was all too great.

More recently the American republics have assumed new responsibilities for their mutual defence and for the maintenance of peace, in the Act of Chapultepec and the Charter of the United Nations. The close collaboration of the American republics provided for in the Act of Chapultepec, the proposed treaty to be based upon that act, and other basic inter-American documents, makes it highly desirable to standardize military organization, training methods and equipment, as has been recommended by the Inter-American Defence Board.

Under the bill transmitted herewith, the Army and Navy, acting in conjunction with the Department of State, would be permitted⁸ to continue in the future a general programme of collaboration with the armed forces of our sister republics with a view to⁹ facilitating the adoption of similar technical standards. Certain additional training activities, not covered by existing legislation, would be permitted. The President would also be authorized

根據租借法案，以數額有限之軍事與海軍配備，供給其他美洲共和國，以爲半球防務計劃之一部，時有二美洲國家參與海外作戰，其他國家則於南北美大陸被侵；威脅最大時期，共同捍衛美洲沿岸與海面。

最近美洲國家，復依照查浦特十克法案與聯合國憲章，担負彼此互助與維持和平之新責任。查浦特克法案，及即將根據該項法案而草成之條約，暨美洲國家間之其他主要文件，規定美洲各國應維持密切合作。職是之故，爰有汎美洲防務委員會建議，令軍事組織，訓練方法，及配備標準化之必要。

依本函附呈法案，將來可令海陸軍聯合國務院，繼續施行與吾姊妹國家武裝部隊合作之廣泛計劃，以便採用相同之技術標準。不在現行立法範圍內之某種訓練工作，亦可獲准進行。此項法案亦可授權總

to transfer military and naval equipment to the governments of other American states by sale or other method.

The collaboration authorized by the bill could be extended also to¹⁰ Canada, whose cooperation with the United States in matters affecting their common defence is of particular importance.

Special responsibility for leadership rests upon the United States in this matter because of the preponderant economic and military resources of this country. There is a reasonable and limited purpose for which arms and military equipment can rightfully be made available to the other American states. This Government will not, I am sure, in any way approve of,¹¹ nor will it participate in the indiscriminate or unrestricted distribution of armaments, which would only contribute to¹² a useless and burdensome armaments race.

It does not desire that operations under this bill shall raise unnecessarily the quantitative level of armament in the American republics. To this end¹³ the bill specifies that amounts of non-standard material shall be sought in exchange for United States equipment.

It is my intention that any operations under this bill, which the Congress may authorize, shall be in every way consistent with the wording and spirit of the United Nations Charter. The bill has been drawn up primarily¹⁴

統，以出售或其他方法，以軍事及海軍配備，轉讓其他美洲國家政府。

此一法案所許可之合作，亦可擴大及於加拿大。加拿大對美加兩國之共同國防與美合作，尤為重要。

美國國經濟與軍事力量之雄厚，故在此方面負有領導者之特殊責任。吾人以武器及軍事配備讓予其他美洲國家之時，必須有一合理與有限制之目的。余信本國政府不致贊同或參與漫無目的或無審制之分發武器辦法，因此徒足引起無謂與累贅之軍備競賽。

吾人不願此項法案實施後，令美洲國家之武器平均數量，作不必要之提高。為達到此項目的起見，此一法案特規定應設法以美國配備換取不符標準之器材。

余之本旨，乃此一法案將來經國會授權付諸實施後，應力求符合聯合國憲章之條文與精神。起草此一法案之目的，乃欲令美洲國家，根據憲章與查浦特十克法案

to enable the American nations to carry out their obligations to cooperate in maintenance of inter-American peace and security under the Charter and the Act of Chapultepec which is intended to be supplanted by a permanent inter-American treaty.

It is incumbent upon¹⁵ this Government to see that military developments in which we have a part are guided towards the maintenance of peace and security and that military and naval establishments are not encouraged beyond what security considerations require. In this connection, the bill provides that operations thereunder are subject to any international agreement for the regulation of armaments to which the United States may become a party. In addition, provision will be made for continuing coordination of the actual operations under the legislation with developing plans and policy in the field of armaments regulation.

In executing this programme, it will be borne in mind,¹⁶ moreover, that it is the policy of this Government to encourage the establishment of sound economic conditions in the other American republics which will contribute to the improvement of living standards and the advancement of social and cultural welfare. Such conditions are a prerequisite to¹⁷ international peace and security.

Operations under the proposed legislation will be conducted with full and constant awareness that no encourage-

，能履行彼等合作維持美洲和平與安全之義務。至查浦特十克法案，吾人將來擬代之以一永久美洲公約。

我國政府應負之責任，厥為保證吾人所參加之軍事發展，能循維繫和平與安全方面前進，且不致促令軍事與海軍設備，超出安全需要範圍以外；關於此事，法案規定將來實施時，應受美國可能參加之限制軍備國際協定之限制。抑有進者，法案將規定將來實施時，應繼續與限制軍備方面之發展計劃與政策，取得協議。

在執行此計劃時，有應記住者，即本國政府之政策，厥為鼓勵其他美洲國家奠立健全之經濟環境。藉以提高生活水準，及促進社會與文化福利。此等環境實為國際和平與安全之先決條件。

擬議中之法案運行時，必須充分及時常認識，決不可鼓勵有關當局，以無益之

ment should be given to the imposition upon¹⁸ other people of any useless burden of armaments which would handicap the economic improvement which all countries so strongly desire. The execution of the programme authorized by the bill will also be guided by a determination to guard against¹⁹ placing weapons of war in the hands of any groups who may intend to oppose the peaceful and democratic principles to which the United States and other American nations have so often subscribed.²⁰

In entering into agreements with other American states for the provision of training and equipment as authorized by the bill, the purposes of this programme will be made clear to each of the other governments.

軍備重負，強加諸人民之身，致令所有國家熱烈企盼之經濟改善工作，遭受妨礙。

又執行經此法案核准之計劃時，必須決心

防止以作戰武器，置於任何蓄意破壞和平

與民主原則團體之手。此項原則乃吾美暨

其他美洲國家屢次聲明願信守弗渝者。

依據此一法案而與其他美洲國家簽訂

供給訓練與武器協定之時，應分別向其他

政府，申明此項計劃之目標所在。

NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

1. "submit herewith for consideration," (正式上行文件用語)，「特咨送……審議」，「謹呈送……審核」。I submit herewith a proposal for consideration of the general meeting, 余謹呈大會建議案一件祈予審核。2. "give" 爲subjunctive verb, 表示命令，建議用之。I propose that the Government give support to the petition, 余建議政府對此呈請事件予以支持。3. "in collaboration with," 「合作」。He wrote this book in collaboration with his assistants, 彼與其助理合著此書。4. "prior to," 「在……前」。The Sino-Japanese War had already existed prior to 1937, 一九三七年以前中日戰爭業已存在。5. "on the basis of," 「根據」，「按照」。The contract was signed on the basis of mutual interest, 此合同依據相互利益而訂立。6. "available to," 「得有」。This opportunity is not available to many, 此機會非多數人所能得者。7. 指北美南美。8. "would be permitted" 爲subjunctive verb phrase. 9. "with a view to," 「目的在……」。He come here with a view to borrowing your car, 彼來此目的在借車。10. "extend to," 「推及」，「擴充至……」。This privilege is extended

to all, 此權利普及全體。 11. “of” 之受詞與 “in” 之受詞同為 “distribution.” 12. “contribute to,” 此處作「助長」, 「引起」解。 Hoarding has greatly contributed to the rising of commodity prices, 囤積助長物價高漲。 13. “to this end,” 「為達到此目的」。 He intends to be an educator in the future; and, to this end, he is studying in a normal college, 彼將來有意從事教育, 為達到此目的, 彼在師範學院讀書。 14. “primarily,” 「首在」, 「目的」。 Airplanes were invented primarily for travelling and transportation uses, 飛機原為旅行與運輸而發明者。 15. “incumbent upon,” 「有責任」, 「份內」。 The work of reconstructing a new China is incumbent upon (on) all of you, 汝等皆有重建新中國之責任。 16. “bear in mind,” 「記在心中」。 You must bear in mind that this is not an easy task, 汝須記在心中此非易事。 17. “pre-requisite to,” 「先決條件」。 A good educational background is a pre-requisite to success, 良好教育根基乃成功之準備。 18. “imposition upon,” 「強加」。 The imposition of heavy work upon (on) young children is very harmful to them, 對幼孩加以過多工作對彼等有害。 19. “guard against,” 「提防」, 「防範」。 Every measure is taken to guard against accidents, 採取一切方法以防意外。 20. “subscribe to,” 「贊同」, 「同意」。 I do not subscribe to such an opinion, 余不同意此意見。

當代文獻

合訂本內容摘要

第一卷合訂本

定價七元五角

本合訂本包括第二次世界大戰初期及第二戰場開闢以後，有關我國與國際及國際間之重要文件。

1 我政府對軸心國宣戰布告。2 羅斯福，邱吉爾，赫爾，斯達林，希特勒重要演詞。3 大西洋憲章，蘇美軍事，邱羅會商洽談，英蘇同盟條約，北非登岸，第二戰場開闢，卡港會議聯合公報，珍珠港被襲報告等國際性要件。4 中美租借協定，英美放棄治外法權，中美新約。5 關於印度問題要件。

第二卷合訂本

定價六元二角

本合訂本包含第二次世界大戰歐洲戰爭結束前後及有關戰後中國與其他列強關係，及國際合作之重要文獻。

1 莫斯科，開羅，德黑蘭等會議聲明書。2 太平洋戰事之末期軍事觀察。3 關於聯合國安全機構及戰後之國際間經濟，金融，善後救濟之文件。4 我國對美及對國際方面之政治，經濟，商業關係。5 盟軍攻歐登陸始末。

第三卷合訂本

定價十四元

本合訂本內有盟軍對歐勝利以至日本投降前之重要文獻。

1 德國投降，歐洲善後各種文獻。2 迫使日本投降文件。3 克利米亞，波茨坦等會議公報。4 關於舊金山聯合國機構之重要演詞。5 聯合國憲章，世界法院組織法。6 美國動員局局長關於美國對日作戰之軍事，經濟，復員詳細報告書。

本 社 滬 版 新 書

青年文庫

- 讀書指導(一)
- 讀書指導(二)
- 經濟學綱要
- 戰時經濟鱗爪
- 國營事業論
- 商約論
- 歐洲土地制度
- 家庭新論
- 朝 話
- 實用理則學八講
- 邏輯學講話
- 培根道德哲學論文集
- 人之奧妙
- 修詞學發凡
- 十四朝文學要略
- 戲劇導演的初步知識
- 歐美小說名著精華(一)
- 歐美小說名著精華(三)
- 英語學習講座
- 中國古史的傳說時代
- 近百年來中外關係
- 西洋近世史
- 科學概論
- 中國國民黨叢書
- 總理遺教六講
- 三民主義之認識
- 三民主義者之使命

陳之邁著	二·〇〇	國民革命與中國國民黨	戴傳賢著	一·四〇
楊 杰著	二·〇〇	孫文主義總論	邵元冲著	〇·六〇
朱伯康著	四·二〇	全民政治	廖仲凱譯	二·四〇
吳景超著	二·〇〇	中國國民黨宣言集	本社編	四·二〇
吳半農著	二·〇〇	青年之路	載傳賢著	三·七〇
章友江著	一·七〇	血花集	張天化編	一·〇〇
鮑德激著	一·六〇	陳天華集	陳天華著	二·五〇
王 政著	一·三〇	朱執信文存	邵元冲編	三·九〇
梁漱溟著	二·五〇	孫逸仙傳記	徐植仁譯	二·二〇
陳大齊著	一·二〇	中國國民黨黨史概要	林百克著	二·〇〇
殷福生著	二·四〇	中華民國開國前革命史(上)	馮自由著	二·六〇
張蔭桐譯	二·六〇	中華民國開國前革命史(中)	馮自由著	二·七〇
王世宜譯	四·四〇	中華民國開國前革命史(下)	馮自由著	二·三〇
陳望道著	五·一〇	國民文庫	外交部編	〇·〇〇
劉永濟著	三·四〇	國民對外外交常識	司法部編	〇·八〇
洪 深著	二·〇〇	民事訴訟須知	邵濬容著	〇·八〇
鄭學稼合譯	三·〇〇	夫妻之間	朱敬儀著	〇·八〇
鄭學稼合譯	二·七〇	家庭佈置	程冰心著	一·〇〇
范有忠著	二·六〇	家常本肴烹調法	湯漢志著	一·〇〇
徐炳昶著	五·五〇	家庭衛生	方 白著	一·〇〇
胡秋原著	三·九〇	孕婦與產婦	方 白著	一·〇〇
李季谷著	二·九〇	育兒須知	吳維亞著	一·〇〇
盧子道著	四·〇〇	幼兒的營養		
		單行本		
蔣中正著	二·二〇	三民主義	李慕白編	二·二〇
胡漢民著	一·二〇	英文通譯手冊	葉 華譯	三·〇〇
胡漢民著	一·四〇	第五聯隊秘話	邵力子著	一·九〇
		蘇聯歸來		



圖書組整圖