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# 反侵略國共同宣言

## Joint Declaration of 26 Anti-Axis Nations

The White House announced today that the United States, Britain, China, the Netherlands and 21 other anti-Axis nations had signed a joint declaration pledging to use their full resources against the Axis and not to make separate armistice or peace with the enemy.

The signatories include Britain, the United States, the U.S.S.R., China, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the Dominican Republic, Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Poland, South Africa and Yugoslavia.

President Roosevelt signed for the United States, Mr. Winston Churchill for Britain, M. Litvinoff for the Soviet Union, Mr. T. V. Soong for China, Mr. Casey for Australia, Mr. Leighton McCarthy for Canada, Mr. Frank Langstone for New Zealand, Sir G. E. Bajpai for India, and Mr. Ralph Close for South Africa.

The text of the joint declaration reads:

"The Governments signatory hereto, having subscribed to the common programme of purposes and principles embodied in the joint declaration of the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain and Northern Ireland dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter, and being convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to decent life, liberty, independence and religious freedom and the preservation of their rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, and that they are now engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world, declare:

白宮宣布：美英蘇中荷及其他二十一反軸心國家已簽訂共同宣言，彼此保證充分利用資源對抗軸心，並不單獨對敵停戰或議和。

簽字國包括英、美、蘇、中、澳、比、加、哥斯達黎加、古巴、捷克斯拉夫、多米尼加、薩爾瓦多、希臘、瓜地馬拉、海地、洪都拉斯、印度、盧森堡、荷蘭、紐西蘭、尼加拉瓜、挪威、巴拿馬、波蘭、南非與南斯拉夫，共計二十六國。

美總統羅斯福代表美國，英首相邱吉爾代表英國，蘇駐美大使李維諾夫代表蘇聯，中國外交部長宋子文代表中國，澳駐美公使加賽代表澳洲，加公使瑪卡塞，紐西蘭代表拉斯敦，印度代表巴傑，南非公使克羅斯等先後簽字。

二十六國共同宣言，全文如次：

本宣言簽字國政府，對於一九四一年八月十四日美國總統及英國首相共同宣言（即大西洋憲章）所包含之共同目的與原則，業經予以贊同。並為尋求適當生活，自主獨立，與宗教自由，及保全其本國及其他各國之權利與正義起見，完全戰勝敵國，實有必要。同時，各簽字國家正對企圖征服世界之野蠻與獸性之武力，從事共同奮鬥。爰特宣言如次：

"Firstly, each Government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with whom such government is at war.

"Secondly, each Government pledges itself to cooperate with the Government signatory hereto and not to make separate armistice or peace with the enemies."

"The foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations which are or which may be rendering material assistance and contributions in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism.

"Done at Washington on January 1, 1942."

(一) 每一政府承允對於與之立于戰爭狀態之三國同盟分子國家及其加入國家，使用其全部軍事與經濟資源。

(二) 每一政府承允與本宣言簽字國政府合作，並不與敵國締結單獨停戰協定與和約。

凡正在或將作物資援助與貢獻以謀戰勝希特勒主義之其他國家，均可加入上述宣言。  
一九四二年一月一日簽於華盛頓。

# 國民政府對日本宣戰布告

Chinese Government Formally Declares War on Japan

"Japan's national policy has always aimed at the domination of Asia and the mastery of the Pacific. For more than four years China has resolutely resisted Japan's aggression, regard less of suffering and sacrifice, in order not only to maintain her national independence and freedom, but also to uphold international law and justice and to promote world peace and human happiness.

"China is a peace-loving nation, In taking up arms in self-defence, China entertained the hope that Japan might yet realize the futility of her plan of conquest. Throughout the struggle all the other Powers have shown the utmost forbearance, likewise in the hope that Japan might one day repent and mend her ways in the interest of peace in the entire Pacific region.

"Unfortunately, Japan's aggressive propensities have proved to be incorrigible. After her long and fruitless attempt to conquer China, Japan, far from showing any sign of penitence, has treacherously launched an attack on China's the United States of America and Great Britain, thus extending the theatre of the aggressive activities and making herself the arch-enemy of justice and world peace. This latest act of aggression on the part of Japan lays bare her insatiable ambition and has created a situation which no nation that believes in international good faith and human decency can tolerate.

"The Chinese Government hereby formally declares war on Japan. The Chinese Government further declares that all treaties conventions, agreements and contracts concerning the relations between China and Japan are and remain null and void "

日本軍閥夙以征服亞洲並獨霸太平洋為其國策，數年以來，中國不顧一切犧牲，繼續抗戰，其目的不僅所以保衛中國之獨立生存，實欲打破日本之侵略野心，維護國際公正義及人類福利與世界和平，此中國政府屢經聲明者。

中國為酷愛和平之民族，過去四年餘之神聖抗戰，原期侵略者之日本於遭受實際上之懲創後，終能反省，在此時期各友邦亦極端忍耐，冀其悔禍，俾全太平洋之和平得以維持。

不料殘暴成性之日本，執迷不悟，且更悍然向我諸友邦開釁，擴大其戰爭侵略行動，甘為破壞全人類和平與正義之戎首，逞其侵略無厭之野心，舉凡尊重正義之國家，咸屬忍無可忍。

茲特正式對日宣戰，昭告中外，所有一切條約協定合同有涉及中日間之關係者，一律廢止，特此布告。 民國三十年十二月

九日，主席林森。

南京圖書館藏

# 國民政府對德意志義大利宣戰布告

State of War Exists Between China-Germany, China-Italy

"Since the conclusion of the Tripartite Pact of September, 1940, Germany, Italy and Japan have unmistakably banded themselves into a bloc of aggressor states working closely together to carry out their common program of world conquest and domination. To demonstrate their solidarity, Germany and Italy successively accorded recognition to Japan's puppet regimes in the Northeast China and at Nanking. As a consequence, China severed her diplomatic relations with Germany and Italy last July.

"Now, the Axis Power have extended the theatre of their aggressive activities and thrown the whole Pacific region into turmoil, making themselves the enemy of international justice and World civilization. The state of affairs can no longer be tolerated by the Chinese Government and people.

"The Chinese Government hereby declares that as from midnight, December 9, 1941, a state of war exists between China and Germany and between China and Italy. The Chinese Government further declares that all treaties, conventions, agreements and contracts concerning the relations between China and Germany and between China and Italy are and remain null and void."

自去年九月德意志義大利與日本成立三

國同盟以來，同惡共濟，顯已成一侵略集團

。德義兩國始則承認偽滿，繼復承認南京偽

組織，中國政府業經正式宣布與該兩國斷絕

外交關係。

最近德義與日本竟擴大其侵略行動，破

壞全太平洋之和平，此實為國際正義之盜賊

，人類文明之公敵，中國政府及人民對此實

難再予容忍。

茲正式宣布自中華民國三十年十二月九

日午夜十二時起，中國對德意志義大利兩國

立於戰爭地位，所有一切條約協定合同有涉

及中德或中意間之關係者，一律廢止，特此

布告。中華民國三十年十二月九日，主席林

森。

# 邱吉爾演說詞

Mr. Winston Churchill's Speech

(delivered in the United States Congress on Dec. 26, 1941)

I am a child of the House of Commons, I was brought up in my father's house to believe in democracy, 'Trust the people' was his message. Therefore, I have been in harmony all my life with the tides which have flowed on both sides of the Atlantic against privilege and monopoly, and I have steered confidently towards the Gettysburg ideal of government of the people, by the people and for the people (Cheers).

I owe my advancement entirely to the House of Commons, whose servant I am. But any day if they thought the people wanted at the House of Commons might by its vote remove me from my office....I am sure they will approve very highly of my journey here, for which I have obtained the King's permission, in order to meet the President of the United States (cheers) and to arrange with him all that mapping out of our military plans and all those intimate meetings of high officers of the armed services in both countries which are indispensable to the successful prosecution of the war.

I should like to say, first of all, how much I have been impressed and encouraged by the breadth of view and sense of proportion which I have found in all quarters over here to which I have access. Anyone who did not understand the size and solidarity of the foundations of the United States might easily have expected to find an exciting disturbed and self-centred atmosphere with all minds focussed upon the novel, startling and painful episodes

——(一九四一年十二月二十六日於美國國會發表)

我是在下院中育養成功的，我父親從小就教我要信賴民主主義，「相信老百姓」就是他的遺訓。因此我在這一生之中，與大西洋兩岸反對特權與專斷的潮流，始終是一致的。我畢生就具有確信，不斷的向格的新堡民有民治民享的理想(註一)戮力邁進。(歡呼)

我之所以能夠居於今日之地位，一切都得由於下院的意旨，我就是下院的公僕。有一天，下院諸公如果認為老百姓心裏要我去職，因此票決要我卸位，我就隨時都可以退讓賢路。……我深信下院諸公對於我此來一定極端表示贊助，我爲了要訪晤美國的大總統，(歡呼)並且和美國的大總統商議一切兩方軍事計劃裏面的問題，再爲了爲順利作戰起見，並且要設法由兩國高級將領會晤一堂，密切協議，我爲此而到美國來，曾經得到皇上的特許。

我應該在這裏先提一提，我來此以後凡是我所接觸的人物，我覺得他們都具有遠見卓識，因此着實感覺興奮愉快。凡是不瞭解美國基礎的廣大和鞏固的人，或者以爲今日的美國一定已經陷入於混亂驚慌的空氣裏，每個國民都只注意戰時突然爆發以後種種驚人與悲痛的事實。不過，話又說回來，美國



of a sudden war as they hit America. After all, the United States have been attacked and set upon by three most powerfully armed dictator states--the greatest military power in Europe and the greatest military power in Asia--Japan, Germany and Italy have all declared and are making war upon you.

The quarrel is open which can only end in their overthrow or yours. But here in Washington in these memorable days I have found an Olympian fortitude which, far from being based upon complacency, is only the beginning of an inflexible purpose and proof of further well grounded confidence in the final outcome. We in Britain had the same feeling in our darkest days. We, too, were sure that in the end all would be well.

You do not underrate the severity of the ordeal to which you and we are still to be subjected. The forces ranged against us are enormous. They are bitter, they are ruthless. Wicked men and their factions who have launched their peoples on the path of war and conquest know that they will be called to terrible account if they cannot beat down by the force of arms the people they have assailed. They will stick at nothing. They have vast accumulations of war weapons of all kinds. They have highly trained and disciplined armies, navies and air services. They had plans and designs which have long been tried and matured. They will stop at nothing that violence or treachery can suggest.

It is quite true that on our side our own resources in manpower and materials are far greater than theirs. But only a portion of our resources are as yet mobilised and developed, and we both have much to learn in the cruel art of war. We have therefore, without doubt, a time of tribulation before

畢竟已經被三個最強大的軍事獨裁國家所攻擊，這三個國家是歐亞兩洲武力最雄厚的國家，——日，德，義三國已經公開向你們宣戰，事實上也已經對你們作戰了。

這一場爭執，明明白白非他們崩潰或者你們崩潰，就不會結束的。不過在這華府值得紀念的幾天以內，我發現有一種堅苦卓絕的精神，這一種精神絕非由於自滿的心理所造成，而只是明確信念的開端，足以表示大家對於戰爭的最後結果，抱有一種基於理智的自信之心。我們英國人在最黑暗的時候，就也有這種精神。我們也確信到頭來一切都會平安無事的。

我們大家此後還要有一個很苦的時期，你們對於來日的艱苦，並沒有疏忽。今日集中打擊我們的力量，不可謂不雄厚。這是一種狂暴殘酷的力量。這些狡黠之徒和爪牙們已經把他們的老百姓，引上戰爭的途徑，他們自己何嘗不明白一旦不能用武力來征服他們的敵人，自己便免不了一場可怕的結局。因此他們一定不顧一切，要實現他們的野心。他們積儲好了大批武器，各式各樣，大都齊備。他們擁有訓練精良紀律嚴明的陸海空三軍。他們有的是種種陰謀，種種計劃，在過去早已屢次試過，而今則已經到了成熟的時候了。

自然在我們這一方面，我們的人力物力，要遠比他們來得雄厚。不過，我們所利用開發的資源，還只佔據全數的一小部份，這殘酷的作戰藝術，我們還得好好的學習起來。因此，我們不免要有一個艱苦的時期……不少失望和突然不愉快的事體，還在等着我

us...Many disappointments and unpleasant surprises await us.

During the best of twenty years the youth of Britain and America have been taught that war is evil, which is true, and that it would never come again, which has been proved false. For the best part of twenty years the youth of Japan and Italy have been taught that aggressive war was the noblest duty of citizens and that it should be begun as soon as necessary weapon and organizations have been made.

This has naturally placed us in Britain, and now placed you in the United States, at a disadvantage which only time could correct. We have, indeed, to be thankful that so much time has been granted to us. If Germany had tried to invade the British Isles after the French collapse in June 1940 and if Japan had declared war on the British Empire and the United States at about the same date, no one could say what disasters and agonies might not have been our lot.

But now at end of December 1941 our transferment from easygoing peace to total war efficiency has made very great progress. A broad flow of munitions in Great Britain has already begun. Immense strides have been made in the conversion of American industry to military purpose, and now that the United States is at war it is possible for orders to be given every day which in a year or eighteen months hence will produce results in war production beyond anything that has been seen or foreseen in the dictator states.

Provided that every effort is made by the whole manpower and the power of virility, valour and civic fortitude of the English speaking world...I think it would be reasonable to hope that end of 1942 will see us definitely in a better

們。

過去二十年內，英美的青年不斷聽人家教他們說戰爭是罪惡，戰爭不致於再爆發。戰爭是罪惡，這是確實的，戰爭不致於再爆發，恰已經證明是錯了。過去二十年內，日本與德義的青年不斷有人教他們說侵略戰是國民最神聖的責任，只要武器和組織工夫一完備，就應該立即發動。

在此情形之下，我們英國自然吃了大虧，你們美國現在也就同樣的吃了大虧，這只有時間方才能加以矯正。實在說來，我們應該感謝上蒼給我們這麼多時間。倘若德國在一九四〇年六月法蘭西崩潰以後，就進攻英倫，倘若日本也在那時候向英帝國和美國宣戰，那我們會遭遇什麼樣的劫運，實在沒有人敢於預測。

不過現在到了一九四一年的十一月月底，我們已經從承平時代隨便的態度，一變而要爭取戰時的效率，這其間的差異，何啻天壤之別。在英國之內。已經有大批軍火，開始不斷地完工。美國工業改作軍用，也已經有長足的進步。現在美國既已對外作戰，當局就可逐日定下定單，一年或一年半以後，就會造好巨量軍火，遠超過任何獨裁國的成績。

倘若英語世界所有的人力，以及偉大的活力與勇毅堅忍的精神，能夠充分利用，充分發揚光大……我相信只要到一九四二年年底，我們的處境，很可以超過今天的情形，

position than we are now, and that year 1943 will enable us to assume the initiative upon an ample scale. After all, when we are doing the noblest work in the world, not only defending our hearths and homes, but the cause of freedom in other lands, the question of whether deliverance come in 1942, 1943, or 1944 falls into its proper place in the grand proportions of history.

Sure I am that this day will come now that we are masters of our fate, that the task which has been set us is not above our strength, and that its pangs' and toils are not beyond our endurance. As long as we have faith in our cause and unconquerable will power, salvation will not be denied to us. In the words of the Psalmist, 'He shall not be afraid of evil tidings whose heart is fixed in the Lord. And all tidings will not be evil. On the contrary, mighty strokes of war have already been dealt against the enemy. In the glorious defence of their native soil by the Russian armies and people (cheers) wounds have been inflicted upon the Nazi<sup>2</sup> tyranny and system which have bitten deep and will fester and in flame not only in the Nazi body but in the Nazi mind.

Boastful Mussolini has been humbled already. He is now but a lackey serving his master's will. He has inflicted great sufferings and wrongs upon his own industrious people. He has been stripped of his African empire and Abyssinia has been liberated.

Our armies in the East which were so weak and ill-equipped at the moment of French desertion now control all regions from Teheran to Beaghazi and from Aleppo<sup>2</sup> and Cyprus to the shores of the Nile. For many months we have devoted ourselves to preparing to take the offensive in Libya. The

到一九四三年我們便大可以採取主動。我們到底是在獻身於全世界最偉大的任務，我們不僅在保衛我們的家園，並且也在保衛他國的自由，我們是否能在一九四二，四三以及四四得到解放，歷史偉大的紀錄上，自會有一定的答覆。

我深信那一天，就要到了，那時候，我們要成爲自己命運的主人。我們當前的工作，決不致超過我們的能力。此中艱苦辛酸，不會非我們所能忍受。我們只要信賴我們的立場，信賴我們無可動搖的意志力，我們一定會得救。詩篇上說得好：『凡是信賴耶蘇的人，不必怕遭遇到惡運』。來日的遭遇，絕不會是不幸。反之，是們已經予敵人以痛擊。蘇聯軍民英勇保衛國土的時候，（歡呼），納粹的暴政與制度已經受到了重創，這種傷害可以說是創鉅痛深，不僅要磨難納粹的身體，使之潰爛，發炎，而且要磨折納粹的心靈。

一向以吹牛出名的墨索里尼，在今天已經變得卑恭屈節了。墨索里尼現在不過是一個服侍老爺的聽差。他本國耐勞勤懇的老百姓，因爲他受了莫大的痛苦，墨索里尼的非洲帝國，已經化爲烏有之鄉，阿比西尼亞也已經解放了。

我們在東方的軍隊，過去在法國背盟的時候，實力多少薄弱，裝備多少不完全，而現在從德黑蘭到班加西，從阿勒頗和賽浦羅斯，一直到西尼羅河邊，這廣大的區域內，已經全在我們控制之中。幾個月以來，我們

very considerable battles which have been proceeding there for the last six weeks in the desert have been most fiercely fought on both sides. Owing to difficulties of supply upon desert flanks, we were never able to bring numerically equal forces to bear upon the enemy. Therefore, we had to rely upon our superiority in the numbers and quality of tanks, and aircraft both British and American.

For the first time aided by these, we have fought the enemy with equal weapons. We have made the Hun feel the sharp edge of those tools with which he had enslaved Europe.

The armed forces of the enemy in Cyrenaica amount to about 150,000, of whom one third were Germans. General Auchinleck<sup>2</sup> set out to destroy totally that armed force. I have every reason to believe that his aim will be fully accomplished. (Cheers) I am so glad to be able to place before you proof that with proper weapons and proper organisation we are able to beat the life out of the Nazi (Cheers). What Hitlerism is suffering in Libya is only a sample or foretaste of what we have to give him and his accomplices wherever this war should lead us in every quarter of the globe.

There are good tidings also from the blue waters. The life-line of supplies which joins our two nations across the ocean is flowing steadily in spite of all the enemy could do. It is a fact that the British Empire, which many thought eighteen months ago was broken and ruined, is now incomparably stronger and is growing stronger with every month. (cheers) Lastly to me the best tidings of all the United States, united as never before, has drawn sword for freedom and cast away its scabbard' (loud cheers).

不斷準備在利比亞實行反攻。六個星期來，沙漠地帶的迭次戰爭，都打得非常激烈。我們在沙漠地帶的側翼，給養困難，因此始終不能調到實力與敵人相等的部隊，打擊敵人。我們由是不得不信賴英美兩國所造坦克車飛機數量之多以及質量之精，以戰勝敵人。

我們有了這些武器，方才能破題兒第一遭使用與敵人相等的武器，和敵人相週旋。野蠻人過去曾經用武器來奴役歐洲，現在我們已經使得野蠻人身試這些武器的鋒銛了。

敵人在昔蘭尼加的兵力約計十五萬人，其中有三分之一為德國軍隊。我們的奧欽勒克將軍（註二）已經發動攻勢，要完全殲滅敵人的兵力。我有種種理由相信奧欽勒克將軍一定可以達到目的。（歡呼）我今天能夠向諸位提出確切的證據，來證明我們只要有好的武器，好的組織，就可以打敗納粹，實在很高興（歡呼）。今天的戰事不論蔓延到全世界任何一個角落，我們一定絕不放鬆，要膺懲希特勒和他手下的爪牙們，希特勒主義在利比亞受到的苦難，只是開端而已。

海上面也有好消息傳來。通過海洋連結貴我兩國的物資生命線，仍舊安然無恙，並不因為敵人的阻撓而停頓。一年半以前，不少人認為英帝國已經崩潰，而現在則英帝國已經比過去來得強大，此後一定要逐月更加進步，這已經是一清明白白的事實。（歡呼）在我看來，最好的消息，莫過於美國上下已經切實團結一致，拔出劍來，保衛自由，而且把劍鞘也已經擲在地上了。（高聲歡呼）

These tremendous facts have led the subjugated peoples of Europe to lift their heads again in hope. In a dozen famous ancient states now prostrate under the Nazi yoke masses of people of all classes and creeds await the hour of liberation when they all will once again be able to play their part and strike their blow like men.

The onslaught upon us, so long secretly planned by Japan, has presented both our countries with grievous problems for which we could not be fully prepared. If people ask me as they have the right to ask me in England, why is it that you have not got ample equipment of modern aircraft and weapons of all kinds in Malaya and the East Indies, I can only point to the victories which General Auchinleck has gained in Libya. Had we diverted and dispersed our gradually growing resources between Libya and Malaya we should have been found wanting in both spheres. If the United States has been found at a disadvantage in the Pacific Ocean we know that is to no small extent because of the aid you have given in munitions for the defence of the British Isles and for the Libyan campaign and above all, because of your help in the Battle of the Atlantic upon which all depends and which has been in consequence successfully and prosperously maintained.

Of course, it would have been much better, I freely admit, if we had enough resources of all kinds to be at full strength at all points, but considering how slowly and reluctantly we have brought ourselves to large-scale preparations and how long these preparations take, we had no right to expect to be in such a fortunate position. The choice of how to dispose of our hitherto limited resources had to be made by Britain in time of war and by the

這些偉大的事實，已經使得歐洲被壓制的民族再度抬起頭來，心中充滿了希望，……受納粹桎梏的十幾個古國以內有千萬的老百姓，不分階級，不分信仰都在等候着這解放的時刻，好再度奮起，擔當他們這一份任務，不愧為現代的大好男兒，痛擊共同的敵人。

日本此次向我們進攻，在過去秘密籌劃已久，我們被困以後，不免遭遇種種困難問題，事實上在我們還沒有充分的準備。倘若英國有人問起我（他們自然有權問我）為什麼政府當局沒有在馬來亞預備好大量新式飛機和種種武器？那我就只能拿奧欽勒克將軍在利比亞的勝利來答覆他。倘若我們在過去把逐漸增加的物資，分散在利比亞與馬來亞兩地，結果必致於兩方面都不敷應用。我們深知道，倘若美國在太平洋上陷於不穩的形勢，則此中原因，與你們在過去大批軍火供給我們，以保衛英倫與利比亞，不無關係，尤其因為你們曾經援助我們在大西洋之戰中以全力搏鬥，有很大的關係。大西洋之戰原來是全局的關鍵所在，幸虧有你們的援助，我們方始能夠在大西洋之戰中，屹然立於不敗的地位。

我們如果物資豐富，在所有各地都配備有雄厚的實力，自然最為理想。不過，我們只要回憶一下我們在過去如何遲遲不肯以全力進行準備，就在着手準備的時候，其間曾經耗費了多少光陰，我們只要回憶一下過去的情形，就不敢有什麼妄想。英國不得不臨到戰時才來決定如何分配我們有限的物資，你們美國則在平時就得決定如何分配你們的

United States in time of peace. I believe that history will pronounce that upon the whole—and it is upon the whole that these matters must be judged—the choice made was right. Now that our two considerable nations, each in perfect unity, have joined all their energies in common resolve, our steady light will glow and brighten.

Many people have been astonished that Japan should in a single day have plunged into war against the United States and the British Empire. We all wonder why they did not choose our moment of weakness eighteen months ago. Viewed quite dispassionately in spite of the losses we have suffered and further punishment we shall have to take it certainly appears to be an irrational act. It is of course only prudent to assume that they have made very careful calculations and think that they see their way through. But there may be another explanation.

We know that for many years past Japan has been dominated by secret societies of subalterns and junior officers of the army and navy who have enforced their will upon successive Japanese Cabinets<sup>37</sup> and Parliaments by the assassination<sup>38</sup> of any Japanese statesman who opposed or did not sufficiently further their aggressive policy. It may be that these societies, crazed and dizzy with their own schemes of aggression and prospect of early victories, have forced their country against its better judgment into war. They have certainly embarked upon a very considerable undertaking (laughter).

And after the outrages they have committed against us at Pearl Harbour, in the Pacific, also in the Philippines, in Malaya and in the Dutch East Indies, they must now know that stakes for which they have decided to play are

限的物資。我相信將來的歷史一定會認爲就整個形勢論，我們的決定是正確的，而歷史判斷的時候，也非根據於整個形勢不可。貴我兩強國，內部都已團結一致，羣策羣力，爲了共同的目標而努力，此後光明境界，一定會逐漸展開。

日本會在一天以內就與美國和英帝國作戰，很多人認爲奇怪，我們都奇怪爲什麼日本不選擇一年半前我們最軟弱的時候下手。我們而且不論一時的損失，以及將來必然逃不了的懲罰，平心靜氣的判斷日本的舉動，也不能不認爲日本這一着實在是違反理智的行動。自然，在日本方面一定也會經過一番周詳的考慮，以爲他們一定具有把握，這是一種解釋。不過此外或者還有另一種解釋。

我們大家知道，過去多少年來，日本這個國家，一向由陸海軍下級軍官組成的秘密團體所統治，他們一向利用暗殺的手段，強迫從來的內閣與國會服從他們的意志，國內倘有任何政治家反對他們的侵略政策，或者不能切實支持侵略政策，他們就用暗殺的方法來對付他們。這些秘密團體，或者給自己的侵略計劃攪糊塗了，以爲可以早日獲得勝利，方始強迫國內反對戰爭的一派，放棄他們比較正確的判斷。這些人自然是能任重致遠的了（笑聲）。

他們悍然進攻太平洋上珍珠港以及菲律賓，馬來亞，荷印以後，一定明白他們此次冒險的舉動，實在是生死存亡所關。我們只

mortal. When we compare the resources of the United States and the British Empire with those of Japan, when we remember those of China, which has so valiantly withstood invasion and tyranny, and when also we observe the Russian menace which hangs over Japan, it becomes still more difficult to reconcile Japan's action with prudence and sanity.

What kind of people do they think we are? Is it possible that they do not realise that we shall never cease to persevere against them until they have been taught a lesson which they and the world will never forget. (Prolonged cheers)

I will turn one moment more from the turmoil and convulsions of the present to the broader basis of the future. Twice in a single generation the catastrophe of world war has fallen upon us. Twice in our lifetime has the long arm of fate reached across the ocean to bring the United States into the forefront of the battle itself. If we had kept together after the last war, if we had taken measures for our safety, then this renewal of the curse need never have fallen upon us. (Cheers).

Do we not owe it to ourselves, to our children and to mankind to make sure that these catastrophes do not engulf us for a third time? It has been proved that pestilences may break out in the Old World which will carry their destructive ravages into the New World and from which, once they are afoot, the new World cannot escape. Duty and prudence alike command first that German centres of hatred and revenge should be constantly and vigilantly starved and treated in good time, and that an adequate organization should be set up to make sure that that pestilence can be controlled at its earliest beginnings before it spreads and reaches

要比一比美英和日本的實力，再想一想英

抵抗侵略和暴政的中國實力，並且放開眼界

，看一看蘇聯對於日本的威脅就覺得日本的

行動，距離審慎和理性更遠了。

他們到底以為我們是什麼一種國家？難道他們不知道我們在好好的教訓他們一頓，好使他們以及全世界都永遠忘不了以前，決不會停止的。（歡呼聲長久始息。）

我在這裏要暫時拋開目前的擾動局面，注意注意將來更廣泛的問題。在我們這一代中，曾經達到兩次世界大戰的浩劫。在我們這一代中，命運的手臂曾經兩度伸過大洋，把美國拖入戰爭。倘若我們能在前次大戰以後始終團結一致，倘若我們早能夠設法維護我們的安全，今日的災難就永不會輪到我們頭上。（歡呼）

我們爲了自己，爲了兒女，爲了人類，不是有一種天職，務必使第三度浩劫不致於再臨人間麼？過去的事實，已經證明舊世界中說不定會發生瘟疫，一直蔓延蹂躪到新世界來，瘟疫一旦爆發，新世界便逃不了傳染的命運。爲了責任起見，爲了謹飭起見，德國憎恨與復仇的疾病，必須及時診治，此後應該成立一個適當的組織，負責於疾病還沒蔓延到全世界以前，就馬上加以制止。（

throughout the entire earth. (cheers).

Five or six years ago, it would have been easy without shedding a drop of blood for the United States and Great Britain to have insisted on the fulfillment of the disarmament clauses of the treaties which Germany signed after the Great War, and there also would have been the opportunity for assuring to the Germans those raw materials which we declared in the Atlantic Charter should be not be denied to any nation, victor or vanquished. That chance has passed. Prodigious hammer strokes have been needed to bring us together again. I will say that he must indeed have been a blind soul who cannot see that some great purpose and design is being worked out here...It is not given to us to peer into the mysteries of the future. Still I avow my hope and faith, sure and inviolate, that in the days to come the British and American peoples will for their own safety and for the good of all walk together in majesty, in justice and in peace.

(When Mr. Churchill finished his speech cheering again broke out in tumult and lasted several minutes)

歡呼)

五六年以前，美英兩國原可以不流一滴血，堅持德國履行條約內裁軍的規定，同時，我們也很可以告訴德國人，世界各國，不論為戰勝國或者戰敗國，都可以取得大西洋憲章(註三)所規定的原料。不過，這一個機會已經過去了。我們需要有重大的打擊，方才能團結起來。實在說來，倘若有人還不知道冥冥之中，自有一番安排，那他簡直是呆子，……這未來的神秘，絕非我們所能想像得出。不過，我還是堅執着我的希望與信心，確信英美兩國人個將來一定能為了本身的安全，爲了大家的幸福，齊心協力，堂堂皇皇的共同來維護正義，維護和平。(歡呼聲頓起，共達數分鐘)



# The Atlantic Charter

## 大西洋憲章

(The joint declaration of the President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill on August 14, 1941, known as an Atlantic Charter.)

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common points in the national policies on which they base their hope for the better future of the world.

Firstly, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.

Secondly, they desire to see no territorial changes than those accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

Thirdly, they respect the rights of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they live and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

Fourthly, they will endeavour with due respect for their existing obligations to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access on equal terms to the trade and to raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

Fifthly, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all improved labor standard economic advancement and social security.

Sixthly, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford all nations means of dwelling safely within

(美總統羅斯福英首相邱吉爾於一九四一年八月十四日發表共同宣言，一稱羅邱宣言，通稱為大西洋憲章。)

美國大總統羅斯福及英國政府代表首相邱吉爾，會晤之結果，認為有將兩國之圖策中若干共同之點，加以宣佈之必要，因彼等認為根據此項政策，世界之局勢有改善之希望也。

(一) 兩國無意企求領土或其他方面之擴張；

(二) 凡屬領土之變更除與有關民族之自由意志相符者外，兩國並不希望其發生；

(三) 兩國願尊重各民族自由，還其賴以生存之政府形式之權利，凡主權及自治權業已橫遭剝奪者，兩國願觀其恢復。

(四) 兩國願在尊重其現行約束之原則下，使世界各國，不論大小，不論勝敗，對於其經濟繁榮所必需之原料及貿易，享受平等之待遇；

(五) 兩國希望可促成全世界各國間經濟上之充分合作，以謀所有各國人民勞働標準之提高，經濟之福利與社會之安定；

(六) 兩國希望納粹暴政完全摧毀以後，持久之和平，可以建立，是使全世界各國

their own boundaries and which will afford the assurance that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

Seventhly, they believe that such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

Eighthly, they believe that all nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, naval and air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten or may threaten aggression outside their frontiers, they believe that, pending the establishment of a wider permanent and better system of general security, the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

Signed Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston S. Churchill.

，在本國境內安居樂業，並足使全世界人類悉可自由生活，無所恐懼，亦不虞匱乏；

(七)兩國深信此種和平足使全世界人類可在公海及大洋上自由來往，不受阻撓。

(八)兩國深信全世界各國無論為實際之利益，或精神上之原因着想，務必停止使用武力。凡在本國境外以侵略威脅他國之國家，或有以侵略威脅他國之可能者，倘仍能使用陸海空軍軍備，則在將來任何和平，俱難維繫於不墜。故兩國認為在廣泛永久之普遍安全制度確立以前，此等國家武裝之解除，實屬必要。兩國並願協助及鼓勵其他一切切實可行之措施，以減少崇尚和平之民族國家關係所忍受之重大負擔。

簽署者：佛蘭克林·羅斯福、溫斯敦·邱吉爾。

## Churchill's Speech on Feb. 16, 1942

### 邱吉爾二月十六日演說詞

“Nearly six months have passed since at the end of August I made a broadcast directly to my fellow countrymen. It is therefore worthwhile looking back over this half year of our struggle for life—that is what it has been and what it is—to see what happened to our fortunes and to our prospects.

“In August I had the pleasure of meeting the President of the United States and drawing up with him a declaration of British and American policy which has become known to the world as the Atlantic Charter. We also settled a number of other things about the war some of which have had an important influence on its course. In those days we met on terms of a hard-pressed combatant seeking assistance from a great friend who was, however, only a benevolent neutral.

“In those days the Germans seemed to be tearing the Russian armies to pieces and striding on with growing momentum to Leningrad, to Moscow, to Rostov and even further into the heart of Russia. It was thought to be a very daring assertion when President Roosevelt declared that the Russian armies would hold out till winter. You may say that military in all countries, friend or foe or neutral alike, were very doubtful whether this would come true.

“British resources were stretched to the utmost. We had already been for more than a whole year absolutely alone in our struggle with Hitler and Mussolini. We had to be ready to meet a German invasion of our own island. We had to defend Egypt, the Nile Valley and the Suez Canal. Above all, we had to bring in food, raw materials and finished munitions across the Atlantic in the teeth of German and Italian U-boats and aircraft....

余前次對國人發表廣播時，尙在去年八月底，迄今殆將六個月矣。此半年來，吾人爭取生存之戰鬥——過去如此，今日仍然——實有一加回顧之價值，藉以洞悉吾人之命運究有何種遭遇，前途又復如何。

去年八月，余獲與羅斯福總統會面，並與羅總統共同擬定英美政策之宣言，即其後以「大西洋憲章」之名，聞諸於全世者。余等並曾對戰爭及其他若干問題加以討論。其中一部且對戰局之發展，發生重要之影響，當時吾英係以窘迫之戰鬥國家求援於偉大之友邦，惟此偉大友邦，不過一善意之中立國而已。

當時德軍大有壓潰蘇軍之勢，其對列寧格勒，莫斯科及羅斯多夫，甚至蘇聯之腹地壓力，正與日俱增。當羅總統聲稱蘇軍可支持以重冬令之際，各方莫不認爲此乃過於大膽之判斷，羅總統此言，將來能否與事實相符合，全世界各國，不論其爲友爲敵，抑爲中立國之軍事家，均甚懷疑。

當時，英國之人力物力，業已精耗達於極度，吾英獨力與希特勒墨索里尼相搏鬥，已達一年有餘，吾人必須預防敵軍之入侵我本土，吾人必須保衛埃及，尼羅河流域及蘇彝士運河，而尤重者，吾人更須運輸食糧原料及製成之軍火，在德義潛艇飛機之虎口中渡過大西洋。

“It seemed that our duty in those days was to do everything in our power to help the Russian people meet the prodigious invasion which had been launched against them. It was little enough that we have done for Russia, considering all that she has done to beat Hitler for the common cause. We British has no means whatever of providing effectively against a new war with Japan.

“Such was the outlook when I talked with President Roosevelt in the middle of August on that good ship Prince of Wales which is now, alas, sunk beneath the waves. It is true that our position in August 1941 seemed vastly better than it was a year earlier in 1940 when France had just been beaten into awful prostration in which she now lies, when we were almost entirely unarmed in our own island, and when it looked as if Egypt and all of the Middle East would be conquered by the Italians who still held Abyssinia and had nearly driven us out of British Somaliland.

“Compared with those days of 1940, when all the world except ourselves thought we were down and out for ever, the situation President Roosevelt and I surveyed in August 1941 was an enormous improvement. Still when you looked at it bluntly and squarely, with the United States remaining neutral and fiercely divided, with the Russian armies falling back with grievous losses, with German military power triumphant and unscathed, and with the Japanese menace assuming an uglier shape each day, it certainly seemed to be a very black and anxious scene.

“How do matters stand now? Taking it all in all, are our chances of survival better, or are they worse, than in August 1941? How is it with the British Empire or Commonwealth of Nations? Are we up or down? What has happened to the principles of freedom and decent civilization for which we are fighting? Are they making headway, or are they in greater peril?

即時至今日，吾人仍須在此艱鉅之時期，竭盡力之所及，以援助蘇聯人民抵抗加其身之暴力進攻，此為吾人之責任。吾人為蘇聯所盡之力量，與蘇聯為共同之道義打擊希特勒之一切努力相較，誠屬微乎其微，同時，吾國亦無法作有效之準備，以應付另一戰爭，即對日本之戰爭。

余於八月中旬在威爾斯親王艦上與羅斯福總統談話之時，局勢大致有如上述，然而不幸，此雄偉之軍艦，竟已永沉海底矣。吾人在一九四一年八月間之處境，與其一年前之一九四〇年間相較，確屬大見改善；當一九四〇年時，法國方遭擊敗，陷於鬥力全失，迄今猶未能自拔之局面，而吾本土各島，亦幾全無防禦，以言埃及與夫整個中東，又有被義大利征服之虞，阿比西尼亞尚任義軍之手，而吾人則幾被逐出於英屬索利蘭之外。

當時除我英各界以外，全世界人士均認為吾英即將一蹶不振，此與一九四一年八月羅斯福與余所研討之局面相較，後者誠已有長足之進步，惟即在一九四一年八月，美國尚屬中立國，且內部意見極端紛歧，蘇軍節節撤退，損失重大，德軍戰無不勝，其實力之銳利，以及日本威脅之險惡日益顯明，誠令人感覺時局之黑暗，艱苦已達極點。

反觀今日復何如乎？吾人試作一通盤檢討，吾英獲救之機會，較諸一九四一年八月優耶劣耶？英帝國之局勢如何乎？吾人究前進乎，抑沈淪乎？吾人所爭取之自由及文明之主義，其前途之希望較光明乎？抑落入更大之危險乎？

“Let us take the rough with the smooth, let us put good and bad side by side and let us try to see exactly where we are. The first and the greatest of the events is that the United States is now unitedly and wholeheartedly in the war with us. The other day I crossed the Atlantic again to see President Roosevelt. This time we met not only as friends but as comrades standing side by side and shoulder to shoulder in a battle for dear life and dearer honour, in a common cause and against a common foe.

“When I survey and compute the power of the United States and its vast resources and feel that now they are in it with us—in it with the British Commonwealth of Nations all together—however long it lasts till death or victory, I cannot believe that there is any other fact in the whole world which can compare with that. It is what I have dreamed of, aimed at and worked for, and now it has come to pass.

“But there is another fact in some ways more immediately effective. The Russian armies have not been defeated. They have not been torn to pieces. The Russian people have not been conquered or destroyed. Leningrad and Moscow have not been taken. Russia's armies are in the field. They are not only holding the line of the Urals or the line of Volga. They are advancing victoriously, driving the roul invader from that native soil they have guarded so bravely and loved so well.

“More than that, for the first time they have broken the Hitler legend. Instead of victorious and abundant booty which he and his herds had gathered in the West, he has found in Russia so far only disaster, failure, the shame of unspeakable crimes and slaughters, the loss of millions of German soldiers, and icy wind that blows across Russian snows. Here then are two tremendous, and fundamental facts which will in the end dominate the world situation and make victory possible in a form never possible before.

吾人不妨以瑕瑜並列，否泰齊舉，試一  
孟吾人處境之究竟。吾人首應提出者，亦即  
最關重要之事實，即美國現已團結一致，精  
心誠意，與吾人共同作戰。日前余曾再度過  
大西洋，會晤羅斯福總統。此次余等會面之  
時，已非僅如友人相見，且為，肩並肩，手  
攜手，共同爭取寶貴之生存，及更可貴之榮  
譽，以對抗共同敵人之同志。

當余審度美國之實力，及其雄厚之資源  
，並念及美國已協同吾英作戰，且不論戰爭  
如何長久，必將戰至勝利或被亡之日為止之  
際，余不信世界上尚有任何其他發展，足可  
與之相提並論。凡此皆余所夢寐以求，心神  
嚮往，竭力以赴之目標，而今日則業已見諸  
事實矣。

惟今日尚有另一事實足資重視，且其影  
響在若干方面更能發生急切之效果，即蘇聯  
陸軍並未被擊敗，彼等並未被擊潰；蘇聯之  
人民未遭征服，亦未遭毀滅，列寧格勒與莫  
斯科未被佔領，蘇聯陸軍現仍在戰場之上，  
目下並非在堅守烏拉爾防線，亦非在堅守瓦  
瓦河防線。而乘勝推進，將入寇之敵軍，驅  
出其所以英勇保衛與衷誠愛護之祖國本土。

而尤可重視者，即蘇軍已首次戳穿希特  
勒之神話，德軍皆在西線而獲大量戰利品，  
而在蘇聯境內所獲者，迄今唯有災禍，唯有  
失敗，唯有難以形容之屠殺及可恥之罪行，  
唯有百萬德軍生命之喪失，唯有飽嘗俄羅斯  
漫天大雪之寒風而已，此二者誠為重大而基  
本之事實終必左右世界之全局，足使前所不  
可能之勝利方式，得獲實現。

“But there is another heavy and terrible side to the account which must be set in the balance against this inestimable gain. Japan has plunged into the war and is ravaging beautiful, fruitful, prosperous and densely populated lands of the Far East. It would never have been in the power of Great Britain, while fighting Germany and Italy—hardened and prepared for as they are—while fighting in the North Sea, in the Mediterranean and in the Atlantic to defend the Pacific and the Far East singlehanded against the assault of Japan.

“We have only just been able to keep our heads above water at home. Only a narrow margin have we brought in food which keeps us alive, and supplies without which we cannot wage war. Only by so little have we held our own in the Nile Valley and in the Middle East. The Mediterranean is closed and all transports have to go round the Cape of Good Hope, each ship, making only three voyages in a year. Not one ship, nor an aeroplane, not a tank and not an anti-tank gun or anti-aircraft gun has been idle. Everything we have has been deployed either against the enemy or awaiting his attack. We are struggling hard in the Libyan desert, where, perhaps, another serious battle will soon be fought.

“we have to provide for the safety and order of liberated Abyssinia, of conquered Eritrea of Palestine, of liberated Syria and redeemed Iraq, and of our new ally, Persia. A countless stream of ships, men and material has flowed from this country for one year and half to keep up and sustain our armies in the Middle East which guard these vast regions on either side of the Nile barrier. We have also done our best to give substantial aid to Russia. We gave it in her darkest hour and we must not fail in our undertakings now. How then in this posture, gripped, held and battered upon as we were, could we have provided for the safety of the Far East against such an avalanche of fire and steel as has been hurled upon us by Japan? Always this thought had overhung our minds.

但今日之大局中，另有嚴重危險之一面，足以抵銷此寶貴之收穫者，即日本乘巴黎加戰爭，且正蹂躪遠東人煙稠密物產豐富美麗土地，英國方對德義作戰之際，——德義均備戰已久——方在北海地中海及大西洋上保衛航運之際，自無力保衛太平洋及遠東，獨立抵抗日本之攻擊。

吾人之力量僅足使吾人之本土免遭覆滅而已，吾人若在敵人虎口之中由海外運入食糧，以保吾人之生命，並輸入軍需，以維持作戰之用，其安危之機，實屬間不容髮，吾人在尼羅河流域及中東能與敵人相持，亦岌岌可危。地中海業已封閉，所有運輸船隻必須繞道好望角，而每船每年僅能作三次之航行。以今日而論，吾英絕無一發之船隻，一架之飛機，一輛之甲車，或一尊之高射炮與平射炮，未加利用。吾人所準備之實力，一以攻擊敵人，一以抵禦敵人之攻擊，吾人在利比亞沙漠上，歷經苦鬥，而在上述地帶不久或將再度展開另一猛烈之會戰。

吾人更必須為獲得解放之阿比西尼亞，征服後之厄里特里亞，巴力斯坦，及解放後之敘利亞，伊拉克，以及吾人之盟國伊朗保持其安全與秩序，過去一年半中無數船隻人員物資，源源不斷由本國開往中東以支持中東方面保衛尼羅兩岸與大加沙之英軍，吾人必須予蘇聯以充實之援助，吾人當在蘇聯最黯淡之時日，畀以助力，目前吾人仍須不負吾人之諾言，在此種壓迫重重，捉襟見肘之際，吾人究如何方能在遠東方面確保安穩，以防範日本所加諸吾人之烈火與鋼鐵交加之猛攻乎，此一問題，固無時不縈繫於吾人之腦際也。

“There was, however, one hope and one hope only, namely, that if Japan entered the war with her allies—Germany and Italy, the United States would come in on our side, thus far more than repairing the balance. For this reason I had been most careful all these many months not to give any provocation to Japan and to put up with Japanese encroachments, dangerous though they were, so that... we would not find ourselves forced to face this new enemy alone. I could not be sure that we should succeed in this policy. But it has come to pass. The Japanese have struck their felon blow and a new and far greater champion has drawn his sword of implacable vengeance against her on our side.

“I shall frankly state to you that I did not believe that it was in the interests of Japan to burst into war both upon the British Empire and the United States. I thought that it would be a very irrational act. Indeed, when you remember that they did not attack us after Dunkirk, when we were so much weaker and when our hopes of United States help were of most tender character and we were all alone, I could hardly believe they would commit the mad act.

“Tonight the Japanese are triumphant. They shout their exultation round the world. We suffer, we are taken aback, we are hard pressed. But I am sure even in this dark hour that criminal madness will be the verdict which history will pronounce upon the authors of Japanese aggression after the events of 1942 and 1943 have been inscribed on its sombre pages.

“An immediate deterrent which the United States had exercised upon the Japanese, apart, of course, from the measureless resources of American industry, was the dominant American battle fleet in the Pacific which had, with the naval forces we could spare, confronted Japanese aggression with the shield of superior sea power. But, my friends, by an act of sudden and violent surprise long calculated, balanced and prepared, and delivered under the crafty cloak of negotiations, the shield of sea power which had protected the fair lands and islands of the Pacific Ocean was for the time being—but only for the time being—dashed to the ground.

惟吾人尚有一線之希望，此非他，即倘若日本協同德義兩同盟國參戰，則美國勢將與吾人並肩作戰，唯如此方可挽回危局面有餘。職是之故，余在此數月間極端慎重，唯恐觸怒日本，並極力容忍日本之侵略行動，以期不致獨力對付此新的敵人，此項政策是否能獲成功，當時毫無把握，而今日則過去所憂慮者，已見諸於事實。日本已作罪大惡極之一擊，而我最強壯之新選手，亦已拔劍出鞘，誓報其深仇大恨，與吾人並肩作戰矣。

余可坦白告於國人，日本此次違對英帝國及美國進攻，余不信其為日本之福，余意此實為極魯莽之舉動，敦刻爾克一役以後，吾人之實力，極為羸弱，獲得美國援助之希望，又如彼其渺茫，吾人之作戰如彼單獨，日本既不發動於是役之後，故余殊不信彼等今日能出此狂妄之行，今夜日本得意揚揚，慶祝其勝利，彼等之歡呼，已響徹全球而吾人現正遭受痛苦，吾人猝不及防，遽遭襲擊，吾人之處境至為窘迫，但即在此黑暗之時日，余堅信未來之歷史於敘述一九四二及一九四三年幽暗之數頁後，必將對日本侵略戎首加以瘋狂暴徒之罪名。

日本除對於美國之無限資源，深感恐懼外，另一足以阻止日本妄動，厥為實力雄厚之美國太平洋戰鬥艦隊，更益以吾人所可抽調用以抵禦日本侵略之海軍軍力，可以構成海上優勢之保衛體，但余友諸君，由於猝不及防之一着，由於敵人長期準備之一着，由於詭詐之談判掩護之下一着，吾人海權之保衛體，此防護太平洋美麗山川島嶼之保衛體，已暫時——僅僅暫時的被摧毀無遺。

“Into the gap thus opened rushed the invading armies of Japan. We were exposed to the assault of a warrior race of nearly 80,000,000, with a large outfit of modern weapons, whose warlords had been planning and scheming for this day and dreaming of it, perhaps, for twenty years while our good people on both sides of the Atlantic were praying about perpetual peace and cutting down each other's navies in order to set a good example.

“The overthrow for a while of British and United States sea power was like the breaking of some mighty dam. Long-gathered and pent-up waters rushed down a peaceful valley carrying ruin and devastation forward on their foam and spreading their inundations far and wide. No one must underrate any more the gravity and efficiency of the Japanese war machine. Whether in the air or upon the sea, or man to man on land, they have already proved themselves to be most formidable, deadly and, I am sorry to say, barous antagonists. This prove a hundred times over that there would have been hardly any chance for us, even though we had been much better prepared in many ways than we were, if we had to fight them alone while we had Nazi Germany at our throat and Fascist Italy at our belly.

“It proves something else which should be a comfort and reassurance. We can now measure the wonderful strength of the Chinese people who, under Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, have, single-handed, fought this hideous Japanese aggressor for four and a half years and left him baffled and dismayed. This they have done, although they were a people whose whole philosophy for thousands of years was opposed to war and warlike arts, and who in their agony were caught ill-armed and ill-supplied with munitions and hopelessly out-matched in the air.

“We must not underrate the power and malice of our latest foe. But neither must we undervalue the gigantic and overwhelming forces which now stand in line with us in this world struggle for freedom. And which, once they have developed their full and natural extent of power, whatever has happened in the meanwhile, will be found fully capable of squaring up all accounts and settling all things right for a good long time to come.

而入侵之日本陸軍即乘隙源源湧入。吾人現暴露於為數將近八千萬人口之黠武民族攻擊之下，日本復有大規模之現代武器設備，此乃日本軍閥於近二十年來當我大西洋兩岸之良善國民正祈禱永久和平，裁減本國海軍以樹立楛模之際，朝思暮慮，計劃準備，以圖決於今日者也。

英美海權之暫被推翻，有如堅固之海堤，一旦決口，匯集之海水洶湧而至，洪流所至，廢舍為墟，波及四遠。吾人對日本作戰機構之力量及效能，不應予以過低之估評，不論在空中在海上或在陸上之捉對廝殺，彼等均已證明為最可怖最兇惡之好戰者，亦為余所不願言之野蠻戰士，此點可以充分證明，即或吾人在最初準備充實，仍未能於納粹控吾喉，德國踏吾腹之際，獨立與日本作戰。

但日軍之偷襲亦足以證明另一令人慰藉之事，即吾人今日對中國人民偉大之實力，已可加以估計。中國人民在蔣委員長領導之下，已獨力與可怖之日本侵略者作戰達四年之久，致使侵略者榜徨於戰場之上，中國數千年來之一貫哲學，均反對戰爭及有類類戰爭之行爲。中國橫遭攻擊之時，武裝不全，軍需不足，空中之實力更無法與敵方相頡頏，而仍能有此種戰績，吾人對於新敵之實力與兇毒，不應估計過低，但對於爭取自由之戰鬥中與吾人並肩抗戰之偉大優勢軍力，亦不應估計過低，當其實力一旦充分發揮之際，能與敵人實行總清算，並使人類大局，為之一勞而永逸也。



"You know I have never prophesied to you or promised smooth or easy things, and now all I have to offer is a hard and adverse war for many months ahead. I must warn you, as I had, warned the House of Commons before they gave their generous vote of confidence a fortnight ago, that many misfortunes, severe and torturing losses and remorseless and gnawing anxieties lie before us. To our British folk this may seem even harder to bear when they are at a great distance than when the savage Hun was shattering our cities and we all felt in the battle ourselves.

"But the same qualities which brought us through that awful jeopardy of the summer of 1940 and those long autumn and winter bombardments from the air, will bring us through this and other new ordeal, though it may be more costly and will certainly be long. One fault, one crime and one crime only can rob the United Nations and the British people... of the victory upon which their lives and honour depend. Weakening in our purpose and, therefore, in our unity—that is a mortal crime.

"Whoever guilty of that crime, or of bringing it about in others of him let it be said that it were better that a millstone were hung about his neck and that he were cast into the sea.

"Last autumn when Russia was in her most grave peril, when vast numbers of her soldiers had been killed or taken prisoners, when one-third of her whole munition-making capacity lay—as it still lies—in Nazi hands, when Kiev fell and foreign ambassadors were ordered out of Moscow the Russian people did not fall to bickering among themselves. They stood together and worked and fought all the harder. They did not lose trust in their leaders, they did not try to break up their government. Hitler had hoped to find Quislings and fifth columnists in the Russian territories he overran and among the unhappy masses who fell into his power. He looked for them, he searched for them, but he found none.

"The system on which the Soviet Government is founded is very different from ours and from that of the United States. However that may be, the fact remains that Russia received blows which her friends feared and her foes believed mortal, and, through preserving her national unity and persevering undaunted,

余任過去，夙未侈言戰局前途可以如何平安無事，此為世人所週知，今日本人所專獻於諸君者，仍與往日無異，即在今後之若干月內，吾人仍將遭遇重大之頓挫是也；吾人瞻望前途，可見尚有種種劫運與慘重之損失，勢難倖免，此義本人在兩週以前下院舉行信任投票之時，即曾言之，今日更願以之奉告舉世之盟友，本人所述前途困難之所在，其發生之地點，距英倫尚極遙遠，較諸過去野蠻人一度蹂躪英倫各地，致使全英人民無論男女，無論老少，悉處身於戰場之中者，情形迥然不同，此危機發生之地點，既極遙遠，欲求英倫人士負此艱鉅，自更不易。

惟吾人已藉傳統之美德，於一九四〇年之夏秋冬三季力挽英倫之命運於九死一生之中，則今日之艱危時局，縱須吾人於長時期付以更大之犧牲，必可仍賴過去傳統之美德，以轉危為安。吾人試觀今日之形勢，可知僅有一種錯誤，一種罪惡，一種唯一之罪惡，始克使同盟國家及英國無法獲取吾人生命與榮譽所依之勝利，此致命之罪惡為何，即信心之動搖及團結之因而動搖是也。

倘有人焉，或個人犯此罪惡，或使他人陷於此種罪惡，則余願向之大聲疾呼曰，吾人倘若發現此種害惡之馬，則無寧繫以巨石擲諸海中之為愈。

猶憶去秋蘇聯一度危急，軍隊陣亡及被俘者，總數極大，蘇軍火製造業之淪於敵手致至今尚未恢復者，佔全國軍火製造業三分之一，基輔已告淪陷，各國使節復突然奉命自莫斯科撤退，當此時也，蘇聯人民絕未自相責難，自相推諉，仍能一德一心，相互勉勵，而全國上下，工作亦較諸過去尤為努力，蘇聯人民對於領袖之信仰並未喪失，亦未一日脫離政府之領導，希特勒原擬於蘇聯境內覓得「吉斯林」一類之第五縱隊人物，希特勒鐵騎所至，蘇聯廣大之區域多遭其蹂躪，希特勒不斷搜求吉斯林類之人物，而結果未獲一人。

夫蘇聯政府制度之基礎與英國及美國迥異其趣，惟蘇聯曾遭遇重大之打擊，友邦深恐其為致命之打擊，敵人滿以為即屬致命之打擊，而蘇聯仍能保持國內之團結，持以堅毅，力挽頹勢，造成偉大之戰績，則俱屬事實。吾英語國家悉能享受自由政制之福，

had a marvellous come-back for which we thank God now. In the English-speaking world we rejoice in free institutions. We have free parliaments and free press. This is the way of life we are used to. That is the way of life we are fighting to defend.

"But it is the duty of all who take part in those free institutions to make sure, as the House of Commons and the House of Lords have done... that their national executive government in time of war have a solid foundation on which to stand and on which to act; that misfortunes and mistakes of war are not exploited against them; that while they have not kept up to the mark by helpful and judicious criticism or advice, they are not deprived of the persisting power to run through a period of bad times and many cruel vexations and come out the other side and get to the top of the hill.

"Tonight I speak to you at home throughout the British world, to our loyal friends in India and Burma, to our gallant allies, the Dutch and the Chinese, to our allies in Russia and to our kith and kin in the United States. I speak to you all under the shadow of a heavy and far-reaching military defeat. It is a British and Imperial defeat. Singapore has fallen. All the Malay Peninsula has been overrun.

"Other dangers gather about us out there and none of the dangers which we have hitherto faced successfully at home and in the East are in any way diminished. This is therefore one of those moments when the British nation can show its quality and its genius. This is one of those moments when it can draw from the heart of misfortune the vital impulse of victory.

"Here is the moment to display that calm and poise combined with grim determination which not so long ago brought us out of the very jaws of death. Here is another occasion to show, as we have shown so often in our long history, that we can meet reverses with dignity and with renewed accession of strength.

"We must remember that we are no longer alone. We are in the midst of great company. Three quarters of the human race are now moving with us. The whole future of making way depend upon our action and upon our conduct. So far we have not failed. We will not fail now. Let us move forward steadfastly together into the storm and through the storm."

既保有自由之議會，復保有自由之報紙，吾人所慣習之生活方式如次，而吾所盡力以維護者，亦即此種生活方式。

惟凡屬參加此等自由政制者，應一律繼上下兩院之後，各盡其份內之責任，庶幾英國政府可於戰時獲有強固之基礎，以實施種種國策，戰時種種不幸與錯誤，不致藉作反對政府之資料。英國政府一方面乃可獲正當批評之利，一方面其指導國是以突破艱苦時期之權力，不致橫遭剝奪，而國家之命運亦可登峯造極，並臻隆盛。

今晚余敬向分佈全世之同胞，吾人之英勇盟友荷蘭與中國現在印緬之誠摯友人，暨蘇聯盟友在美之親屬致詞。諸君現悉在軍事上重大失敗之陰影之中。此次之失敗，為英倫及帝國之失敗，此時星洲不幸已告失守，馬來半島亦復敵騎縱橫，難獲一片乾淨土。而該方面其他種種危機，尚不一而足，加以英倫及東方之各種危機，吾人在過去尚能應付得宜者，在今日尚絕無弛緩之象，惟吾人回顧英國歷史，可知英國類能於艱苦時會，於不幸之深淵中激動其鉤取勝利之堅強決心，而今日則即此種艱苦之時會也。

英人前曾一度藉鎮靜果斷之精神終使大局轉危為安，時至今日，又為英人重現其美德之時，庶幾世人可驟然於英人力能持以莊嚴與毅力接受頓挫，藉以發揚英國歷史上固有之傳統精神，國人應知，英國非但孤立無援之情形可比，英國之盟友不祇一國，全世界人類四分之三，悉與吾英共患難同進退，人類之整個命運前途，悉以吾等行動為定。吾人從未失敗，吾人今茲亦必不失敗，是以吾等應即於今日之大風雨中，一心一心，盡肩前進，突破此大風雨之侵襲。

THE INVASION OF RUSSIA  
A BROADCAST TO THE WORLD BY MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL  
ON JUNE 22nd, 1941.

英首相邱吉爾爲德軍侵蘇對世界廣播演詞

I have taken the occasion to speak to you tonight because we shall reach one of the climacterics of the war. In the first of these intense turning points a year ago, France fell prostrate under the German hammer and we had to face the storm alone. The second was when the Royal Air Force beat the Hun raiders out of the daylight air and thus warded off the Nazi invasion of our island while we were still ill-armed and ill-prepared. The third turning point was when the President and Congress of the United States passed the Lease and Lend enactment, devoting nearly £2,000 million of the wealth of the New World to help us defend our liberties and their own. The fourth is now upon us.

“At four o'clock this morning, Hitler attacked and invaded Russia.

“All his usual formalities of perfidy were observed with scrupulous technique. A non-aggression treaty had been solemnly signed and was in force between the two countries. No complaint had been made by Germany of its non-fulfilment. Under its cloak of false confidence, the German armies grew up in immense strength and armoured divisions slowly and methodically took up their stations. Then, suddenly, without a declaration of war, without even an ultimatum, German bombs rained down from

「余利用今晚良機，與諸君談話，因吾人現又達到戰爭之一大轉捩點。第一重要之轉捩點，即爲一年前法國在德方之猛擊下，一蹶不振，吾人祇得單獨作戰，第二重要轉捩點，即爲當吾人軍備不足，防務未充時，英空軍竟能對敵機之白晝空襲，施以痛擊，粉碎納粹侵略英倫之意圖。第三重要轉捩點，即爲美總統羅斯福與該國會通過租借法案，籌撥美國之財富二十萬萬鎊以援助吾人，保衛彼此之自由。第四重要轉捩點，現又臨於吾人之前。

「在今晨四時，希特勒已開始進侵蘇聯。

「希氏常用之一切背信形式吾人均須審慎之技術加以觀察，兩國始則締結互不侵犯條約，信誓旦旦，並已開始施行。德國對於蘇聯，亦未嘗有不履行條約之責言。德國在此假信任掩護之下，其軍隊逐漸增加，而其裝甲師團，亦以緩慢而有系統的方法，乘機佈防。於是突然間，不宣戰，甚至不下最後通牒，德國之炸彈，即在蘇聯城市之上空，

the sky upon the Russian cities, German troops violated the Russian frontiers and, an hour later, the German Ambassador, who during the night before, was lavishing assurances of friendship—almost of an alliance—upon the Russians, called upon the Russian Foreign Minister to tell him a state of war existed between Germany and Russia.

“Thus was repeated on a far larger scale the same kind of outrage against every form of signed contract and international faith which we have witnessed in Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium, and which Hitler’s accomplice and jackal, Mussolini, so faithfully violated in the case of Greece.

“All this was no surprise to me. In fact I gave him (Stalin) warning, as I have given warning to others before. All we know at the present is that the Russian people are defending their native soil and their leaders have called upon them to resist to the utmost.

“Hitler is a monster of wickedness, insatiable in his lust for blood and plunder. Not content with having all Europe under his heel, or else terrorised into abject submission, he must now carry his work of butchery and desolation among the vast multitudes of Russia and Asia.

“The terrible military machine which we and the rest of the civilised world so foolishly, so insensately allowed the Nazi gangster to build up year by year from almost nothing—this machine cannot stand idle. It must be in continual motion, grinding up human life and trampling down the homes of hundreds of millions of men.

投擲如雨，德軍亦侵入蘇聯之國疆。一小時後，德國駐蘇大使，乃走謁蘇聯外長，告以德蘇兩國間已發生戰時狀態，然該大使前一日之晚，固猶口口聲聲，對蘇聯作友誼之擔保，甚至謂欲締結同盟也。

「德國違背一切簽訂之條約，不顧國際之信義之暴行，吾人於挪威，丹麥，荷蘭，比利時各國，已曾目擊，目前僅爲是項事端之重演，且規模較大而已。希特勒之佞鬼墨索里尼，在希臘事件時，亦曾加以效顰。

「然此種種，余並不以爲異。在事實上，余且予史達林以警告，一如余曩昔給予他人者無異。吾人現所知者，即蘇聯人民正保衛其國土，而蘇聯之首領，亦向大眾籲請，竭力抗戰。

「希特勒爲罪惡之妖魔，對於吮血與剝掠，貪婪無厭。雖將全歐置於其足下，對彼卑躬屈膝，亦不以爲足，彼現必須進行其屠殺與摧殘蘇聯與亞洲廣大羣衆之工作矣。

「吾人與其餘世界文明的國家，在昏昧中，逐年聽任納粹黨人，由赤手而造成之可怕的軍事機構，必不能置而勿用。彼勢將繼續用之，以屠殺人民之生命，夷蕩千萬人家室。

“Moreover, it must be fed not only with flesh but with oil. So now this bloodthirsty guttersnipe must launch his mechanised army along new fields of slaughter, pillage and devastation. The poor Russian peasants, workmen and soldiers, he must steal from them their daily bread. He must devour their harvest and he must rob them of the oil which drives their ploughs and thus produce famine without example in human history.

“Even the carnage and ruin which his victory, should he gain it—and he has not gained it yet—will bring upon the Russian people will itself be only a stepping stone to an attempt to plunge the 400 or 500 millions who live in China and the 350 million who live in India into that bottomless pit of human degradation over which the diabolic emblem of the Swastika flaunts itself.

“It is not too much to say here this summer evening, that the lives and happiness of a thousand million additional human beings are now menaced with brutal Nazi violence. That is enough to make us hold our breaths, but presently I shall show you something else that lies behind and something that touches very nearly the life of Britain and the United States.

“The Nazi regime is indistinguishable from the worst features of Communism. It excels all forms of human wickedness in the efficiency of its cruelty and ferocious aggressions. No one has been more consistent an opponent of Communism than I have been for the last 25 years.

「且此武器，以血肉膏之，猶未爲足，且須以油膏之。故現時此吸血之流氓，必須用其機械化之軍隊，作新的屠殺劫掠與毀壞。對於可憐之蘇聯農民，工人與軍隊，希氏必劫奪其日常之麵包。希氏必吞沒其收穫，希氏必擱奪耕耘動力之油類，使其無法耕耘，而造成人類史上亙古未有之饑饉。

「即使希氏戰勝，——彼現尙未勝——其所施於蘇聯人民之屠殺與毀滅，亦不過假蘇聯爲台階，將更進而劫掠四萬萬或五萬萬之中國人民，或三萬五千萬之印度人民，使其陷於人類浩劫中之無底深淵，俾其罪惡表記之卍字旗，得以飄揚其上。

「今晚在此間，吾人勿須多言，僅曰更有十萬萬人類之生命與幸福，現已受納粹強橫之威脅足矣。此一語已足以令吾人爲之駭然，然余仍將揭發幕後之其他事物，以供諸君觀覽，而此種事物，對於英美人民之生命，尤有密切之關係。

「納粹之統治，與共產主義最惡劣之狀態，並無區別。納粹主義之凶殘與其暴力侵略之可怖，實超越人類一切罪惡之上。在過去二十五年中，始終反對共產主義者，恐無人較余爲甚。余已往對共產主義所發表之言

I will not say a word that I have spoken about it. But all this fades away before the spectacle that is now unfolding. The East, with its crimes, its follies and its tragedies, flashes away.

"I see Russian soldiers, standing on the threshold of their native land, guarding the fields which their fathers had tilled. I see them guarding their homes' where mothers and wives pray, for there are times when all pray for the safety of their loved ones, for the return of the breadwinner, of their protector. I see the thousand villages of Russia, where means of existence was wrung so hardly from the soil, but where there are still primordial human joys, where maidens laugh and children play.

"I see advancing upon all this in hideous onslaught the Nazi war machine, with its clanking, heel-clicking, dandified Prussian officers, its crafty, expert agents, fresh from the cowering and tying down of a dozen countries. I see also the dull, drilled, docile and brutish masses of the Hun soldiery, plodding on like a swarm of crawling locusts. I see German bombers and fighters in the sky, still smarting from many a British whipping, going where they hope to find a safer and, they believe, an easier prey.

"Behind all this glare, I see that small group of men who planned and organised this cataclysm of horrors upon mankind.

"Then my mind goes back across the years to the days when the Russian armies were our allies against the same deadly foe, when they fought with so

論，並不欲將其收回。但現時當前展開之現象，已令此一切消逝。過去一切之罪惡，愚笨與悲劇，已隨過去而閃逝。

「余目見蘇聯之軍隊，立於其國門之上，保衛其先人耕種之田畝。余目見蘇聯軍隊，捍衛其老母與愛妻羣在祈禱之家庭，因在某一時間，一切人民皆須為其所愛者之安全禱告，並祈禱其衣食所仰賴者或保護者，可以還鄉。余尋見蘇聯千百鄉村，由此等鄉村土地取求食物雖屬艱難，但彼間仍具人類原有之樂趣，少女之嬉笑，與兒童之遊戲。

「余目見向以上一切作可怖之進攻者，有納粹之戰爭機構，有其佩劍鏗鏘履聲咯咯，美服戎裝之普魯士軍官，有其奸詐機巧之諜報機關，彼等於恫嚇滅亡十數國家之後，得意忘形之餘，益思躍躍欲試。余亦目睹麻木，精練，馴服與殘忍之大家德軍，跋涉長途，猶如飛蝗之腐集。余又目睹德轟炸機，與戰鬥機，翱翔天空，其上尚有經美國腐敗之創痕，找尋一較安全與較易勝之對手。

「在此一切光怪陸離之背後，余更見有少數謀士，策劃與組織此種恐怖之狂潮，以摧殘人類。

「然後，吾之心中，更閃憶存若干年前，吾人曾與俄國共同作戰，以抗此同一之死敵，當時俄軍作戰之勇敢，對於勝利俾益良

much valour and helped to gain a victory, from a share in which, alas, they were, though no fault of ours, utterly cut out.

"I have lived through all this and you will pardon me if I express my feelings at this stir of old memories.

"But now I have to declare the decision of His Majesty's Government, and I feel sure it is a decision in which the great Dominions will, in due course, concur. But I must speak it now, at once, without a day's delay. I have to make a declaration, but can you doubt what our policy will be? We have but one aim and one single, irrevocable purpose. We are resolved to destroy Hitler and every vestige of the Nazi regime. We shall never parley, we shall never negotiate with Hitler or any of his gang. We shall fight him by land, we shall fight him by sea, we shall fight him in the air, until, with God's help, we will rid the earth of all those who have shadowed it, and liberate the peoples from his yoke. Any man or state who fights against Nazism will have our aid. Any man or state who marches with Hitler is our foe. This applies not only to an organised state but to all quislings who make themselves the tools and agents of the Nazi regime against their fellow countrymen and against the land of their birth.

"That is our policy and that is our declaration. It follows, therefore, that we shall give whatever help we can to Russia and to the Russian people. We shall appeal to all our friends and Allies in every part of the world to take the

多。但其完全未能享受其應得之部分，雖則其咎固不在吾人也。

「凡此一切，均為余所身歷，茲就昔日之觀感，絮絮陳詞，諒可邀請諸君之鑑諒。

「現余更將宣佈英國政府之決策，余確信此項決定，並可於適當時間，獲得其他自治領之贊同。但余現時必須發表，不能再延一日。余必須作一宣言，但諸君對吾人之政策究屬如何，果有所疑慮耶？吾人祇有一目標，與唯一且屬不變之宗旨。吾人決心消滅希特勒，與納粹統治之殘影。吾人將不會商，吾人永不與希特勒或其黨羽協商。吾人將由陸上攻之，吾人將於海上戰之，吾人將於空中襲之，以上帝之助，直至吾人將此世界之黑幕揭去，而脫人類於彼等之羈。勿論何人與何國家，向納粹主義作戰者，將受吾人之援助，凡與希特勒同行之人與國家，即為吾人之敵。此言不獨適用於有組織之國家，即一切之賣國賊，其為納粹政策之工具與間諜，以反對其邦人與其誕生所在地之祖國者，吾人亦將目之為敵。

「此為吾人之政策，亦為吾人之宣言。因此，吾人將予蘇聯，與蘇聯人民，以一切可能之援助。吾人將喚起全世界吾人之友邦與同盟國家，採取同一途徑，以忠實謹慎之

same course and pursue it as we shall—faithfully and steadfastly to the end.

“We have offered to the Government of Soviet Russia any technical or economic assistance which is in our power and which is likely to be of service to them.

“We shall bomb Germany by day as well as by night in ever-increasing measure, casting upon them, month by month, a heavier surcharge of bombs and making the German people taste and gulp each month a sharper dose of the miseries they have showered on mankind.

“It is noteworthy that only yesterday R. A. F. fighters, in a raid over France, cut down, with very small loss to themselves, 28 of the enemy machines in the air above the French soil they have invaded, defiled and profaned to hold.

“But this is only a beginning; from now henceforward the main expansion of our Air Force proceeds with gathering speed. In another six months, the weight of the help we are receiving from the United States in war material of all kinds, especially in heavy bombers, will begin to tell.

“This is no class war. This is a war in which the whole British Empire and Commonwealth of Nations is engaged, without distinction of race, creed or party.

“It is not for me to speak of the action of the United States, but this I will say: if Hitler imagines that his attack on Soviet Russia will cause the slightest division of aim or slackening

態度，與吾人共赴此項目標。

「吾人已對蘇聯政府提出，凡技術與經濟之援助，在吾人能力以內，而為蘇聯所需要者，吾人皆願予以供給。

「吾人將逐漸增加對德國之轟炸，日之不足，繼之以夜，逐月對彼邦人士，投擲較重之炸彈量，使德國人士，逐月多嘗苦劑，一如其所施於他人者。

「吾人應注意英國空軍僅於昨日（二十一日）即在法國土上空，摧毀敵機凡二十八架，其自身損失甚微。

「但此不過為一開端，自今而後，吾國之空軍，將增強速度，加以擴充。在六個月之後，吾人由美國所得之各種軍用品，尤以重轟炸機為甚，即將開始有所表現矣。

「此次戰事非階級之戰爭，在此戰中，全部大英國與其各自治領，無種族信仰或黨派之區別，均一致參加作戰。

「余不諱代表美國宣布其行動，但余所可尊者，即倘令希特勒以為彼進攻蘇聯後，民主國家之意志力量，用以摧敗納粹者，勢



of efforts of the democracies who are resolved on his doom, he is woefully mistaken. On the contrary, we shall be fortified and encouraged in our efforts to rescue mankind from his tyrannies, and we shall be strengthened and not weakened in our determination and in our resources.

“This is no time to moralise on the follies of the countries and governments which have allowed themselves to be struck down one by one when, by united action, they could have easily saved themselves and saved the world from this catastrophe.

“But when I spoke a few minutes ago of Hitler's blood lust and hateful appetites, which have impelled him on his adventures, I said there was one deeper motive behind his outrages. He wishes to destroy the Russian power because he hopes, if he succeeds in this, that he will be able to bring back the main strength of his Army and Air Force from the East and hurl it upon this island, which he knows he must conquer or suffer the penalty of his crimes. His invasion of Russia is no more than the prelude to an attempted invasion of the British Isles. He hopes, no doubt, that this may be accomplished before the winter comes and that he can overwhelm Britain before the fleets and air forces of the United States may intervene. He hopes that once again he may repeat upon a greater scale than ever before the process of destroying his enemies one by one, by which he has so long thrived and prospered.

“And then the scene will be cleared

將分裂或弛緩，則余可斷言其錯誤，反而言之，吾人將益自強固與振奮，以吾人之力量，從其凶殘政治中，拯救人類，吾人之決心及財源均不因此減弱。

「現時吾人無暇申述，若干國家前此之愚昧，自暴自棄，使其逐個被人擊破，倘此等國家能採取一致之行動，固甚易自救，且能挽救世界，免避此項災禍也。

「余在數分鐘前，曾言及希特勒之嗜殺與貪婪，使其作此項之冒險，但余謂在其幕後，希氏實有一更深之動機，希氏欲將蘇聯摧毀，彼於成功後，立即將其在東方之陸軍與空軍，忽然西指，進攻英倫，因希氏熟知彼必須戰勝英國，方可稱雄，否則必將受其罪惡之懲罰。是以希氏進攻蘇聯，乃為進攻英倫之序幕。希氏甚願在今冬到臨以前，達此目的，而在美國海空兩軍參戰前，即能征服三島。希氏甚冀再能以較大規模的各個擊破之方法，克服其敵，此固彼之慣技也。

「然後彼即可進行最後之一幕，非將德

for the final act, without which his previous conquests would be invalid, namely, the subjugation of the Western Hemisphere to his will and to his system.

"The Russian danger is therefore our danger and the danger of the United States, just as the cause of an Russian fighting for his hearth and home is the cause of free men and free people in every quarter of the globe.

"Let us learn the lesson already taught by such experiences. Let us redouble our exertions and strike with the United States while life and power remain."

一幕，則前此之征服，將成畫餅，換言之，即彼須征服西半球，使之遵從彼之意志及政制。

「是以蘇聯之禍患，即為吾英之禍患，亦即為美國之禍患，蘇聯人民為其家庭及生計奮鬥之動機，亦即為全世界各處之自由人民為自由而奮鬥之動機。

吾人須以過去之經驗為教訓，吾人一息尚存，即須增加努力，與美國共同奮鬥。

## Generalissimo's Message to India

# 蔣委員長告印度國民書

During my two weeks' stay in India, I have had the opportunity of discussing very frankly with the highest civil and military authorities as well as with my Indian friends the questions concerning joint plans against aggression and the objective of our common efforts. I am happy to find that there was full sympathy and general understanding between us. My mission is now drawing to a close. On the eve of my departure I wish to bid farewell to all my friends in India and to thank you for the many kindnesses showered upon Madame Chiang and myself. The briefness of my stay has not permitted me to tell the Indian people all that I wished to say. I avail myself of this opportunity to address to them the following farewell message. It is the expression of my high and warm regard and long-cherished hopes for India. It comes from the depth of my heart.

Since my arrival in this country I have found to my great satisfaction that there exists among the people of India unanimous determination to oppose aggression.

余夫婦此次訪印，留駐半月，得與印度軍政當局以及一般友好開誠商討吾人之反侵略計畫，與彼此共同奮鬥之目的，幸獲一致之同情與全力之贊助，殊覺愉快。余今任務已畢，即將回國，而與我全印友好作別矣。祇因留印日淺，對印度國民未能盡我所言，故於此臨別之時，一傾我懇摯嚮往之心，藉申平生之積愫。

余所欲首先提及者，自余到印之後，得見印度全國對於反侵略戰爭皆有一致之決心，此實余所引以為深慰者也。

China and India comprise one half of the world's population. Their common frontier extends to three thousand kilometers. In the two thousand years' history of their intercourse, there has never been an armed conflict. Indeed, nowhere else can one find so long a period of uninterrupted peace between two neighbouring countries. This is irrefutable proof that our two peoples are peace-loving by nature. Today they have not only identical interests but also the same destiny. For this reason they are in duty bound to side with the anti-aggression countries and fight shoulder to shoulder in order to secure real peace for the whole world.

Moreover, our two people have an outstanding virtue in common, namely, the noble spirit of self-sacrifices for the sake of justice and righteousness. It is this traditional spirit which should move them to self-negation for the salvation of mankind. It is also this spirit which has prompted China to be the first to take up arms against aggression and in the present war to ally herself unhesitatingly with the anti-aggression countries not merely for the purpose of securing her own freedom, but also for the purpose of securing justice and freedom for all mankind.

我中國與印度合佔全世界二分之一之人口，兩國毗連之國境達三千公里之長，其文化經濟和相互交流之歷史有二千餘年之久，然而兩國間從未有一次武力之衝突，此種悠久之和平邦交，實為世界上其他各國間所未有，此足證明兩大民族實為世界真正和平之民族。時至今日，世界和平已為野蠻之侵略暴力所威脅，我中印兩國不僅利害攸關，實亦命運相同，因此我兩大民族惟有共同一致，積極參加反侵略陣線，並肩作戰，以實現世界真正之和平，竭盡吾人應盡之職責。

抑中印兩國國民之德性，有一共同之特點，即兩國均以舍生取義，殺身成仁相崇尚。吾人傳統之精神，厥為不惜犧牲自己，以達救人救世之目的。我中國對於此次戰爭，亦即為此犧牲精神之表現，故毅然參加反侵略陣線，此非僅為爭取中華一民族之自由，乃實為保全人類之正義爭取整個人類之自由也。

I venture to suggest to my brethren, the people of India, that at this most critical moment in the history of civilization our two peoples should exert themselves to the utmost in the cause of freedom for all mankind, for only in a free world could the Chinese and Indian people obtain their freedom. Furthermore, should freedom be denied to either China or India, there could be no real peace in the world.

The present international situation divides the world into two camps, the aggression camp and the anti-aggression camp. All those who are opposed to aggression and are striving for the freedom of their own country and others should join the anti-aggression camp. There is no middle course and there is no time to wait for developments. Now is the crucial moment for the whole future of mankind. The issue before us does not concern the dispute of any one man or country, nor does it concern any specific questions pending between one people and another. Any people therefore which joins the anti-aggression front may be said to co-operate, not with any particular country, but with the entire front. This leads us to believe that the Pacific war is a turning point in the history of nationalism. The method, however, by which the peoples of the world could attain their freedom might be different from what it used to be. The anti-aggression nations now expect that in this new era, people of India voluntarily bear their full share of responsibility in the present struggle for the survival of a free world in which India must play a part. A vast majority of the world's opinion is in full sympathy with India's aspiration for freedom. This sympathy, which is so valuable and so difficult to obtain, cannot be appraised in terms of money or material, and should therefore by all means be retained.

余敢向我兄弟之邦印度國民建議：吾人在此人類文明存亡絕續之交，惟有各盡其所能，以取得世界人類整個之自由。蓋祇有在世界人類整個自由之中，乃能獲得我中印兩大民族之自由。無論中國與印度，其中有任何一民族不能得到自由，則世界即無真正和平之可言。

至於現在世界大局之形勢，只有兩個壁壘。凡為國家與人類求自由者，皆必毅然站在反侵略陣線，其間決無中立旁觀之可能，蓋此時實為我全體人類禍福之關鍵，決非一國一人之爭，亦非某一國與某一國間各別之利害關係。凡參加反侵略陣線之同盟者，無論何國，皆係在整個反侵略民主陣線之中，共同合作，而非單獨與某一國合作與不合作之問題也。吾人於此憬悟民族主義之意義，在太平洋戰爭開始以後，而有一甚大之轉變，各民族求得自由之方式，今昔實亦有所不同。現在各反侵略國家無不要求印度國民，在此新時代中，盡其應盡之責任，以求自由世界之生存。印度之將來，實為此自由世界整個之重要部份。同時世界大多數人士皆已同情印度之自由。此種寶貴難得之同情，決非任何有形物質力量之代價所可取得者，余以為應特加珍重而使之勿失也。

The present struggle is one between freedom and slavery, between light and darkness, between good and evil, between resistance and aggression. Should the anti-aggression front lose the war, the civilization of the world would suffer a setback for at least one hundred years and there would be no end to human sufferings.

So far as Asia is concerned, the cruelties committed by Japanese militarists are beyond description. The sufferings and oppression which have been the fate of Formosans and Koreans since the subjugation by Japan should serve as a warning. As regards the barbarities committed by the Japanese army since our war of resistance, the fall of Nanking in December, 1937, is a case in point. Over 200,000 civilians were massacred within one week. For the last five years the civilian population in the Free China have been subjected, almost daily, to bombing from the air and bombardment by heavy artillery. In every place invaded by the Japanese troops, men, women and children were either assaulted or killed. Young men and educated people received their special attention with the result that men of intelligence and ideas have been tortured. Nor is this all. Institutions of culture, objects of historical interest and value, and even articles necessary for livelihood, such as cooking utensils, ploughs tools and domestic animals have been either forcibly taken away or destroyed. In places under Japanese military occupation rape rapine, incendiarism and murder are of frequent occurrence. More over, they have with official convenience everywhere opened opium dens, gambling houses and houses of ill fame in order to sap the vitality of the people and destroy their spirit. Such is the disgraceful conduct of the Japanese, the life of which is not to be found in countries invaded by the other aggressor nations. What I have just said is but an inadequate description of the true state of affairs as reported by Chinese and foreign eye-witnesses.

敵以此次戰爭，實為全人類自由與奴隸之戰，光明與黑暗之戰，換言之，即是與非善與惡之戰，亦即世界被侵略者與侵略暴力之戰，倘此次戰爭，反侵略陣線失敗，則世界文明必須倒退百年而不止，全體人類之慘劇，將不知伊于胡底矣。姑就吾亞洲而言，日本軍閥之暴虐，有非言語所能形容者，高麗台灣自日人併吞以後，其人民所受壓迫與痛苦，既鉅且深，固已足資吾人之借鏡，祇就我中國此次抗戰所受日軍之殘暴行為，在一九三七年十二月南京被陷時之一例言之，一週以內，全城人民被屠殺者多至二十餘萬人。此五年以來，全國人民幾乎無日不受其飛機大砲之轟炸，凡暴日鐵蹄所到之地，無論男女老幼，非被污辱，即受塗毒，尤以知識份子與青年學生所遭之慘劫為更甚，殘暴之日寇，決不使稍有知識與思想者容留一人於社會之內，故對於學術機關，稍有文化歷史關係之建置，無不澈底摧殘，舉凡日常生活必需之工具，如炊具之銅，耕具之鐵，與手藝工具之類，無不搜括擄掠，毀滅無遺。其在軍事佔領區域內，除姦淫洗劫焚燒殘殺不計者外，更復藉其暴力，到處開設烟館賭場與妓館，不僅腐化吾人之生活與體質，且圖滅絕吾人之心靈，此種慘無人道暗無天日之醜行，實非全世界文明人類與我仁慈高尚之印度國政府所能想像，然余茲所述者，猶不過為中外人士所共見共聞者之一端，尚不足以暴其黑暗於萬一也。

In these horrible times of savagery and brute force the people of China and their brethren, the people of India, should, for the sake of civilization and human freedom, give their united support to the principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter and in the joint declaration of twenty-six nations and ally themselves with the anti-aggression front. I hope they will wholeheartedly join the Allies, namely, China, Great Britain, America and Soviet Union, and participate shoulder to shoulder in the struggle for the survival of a free world until complete victory is achieved and the duties incumbent upon them in these troubled times have been fully discharged.

Lastly, I sincerely hope and I confidently believe that our ally, Great Britain, without waiting for any demands on the part of the people of India, will as speedily as possible give them real political power so that they may be in a position further to develop their spiritual and material strength and thus realize that their participation in the war is not merely an aid to the anti-aggression nations for securing victory, but also a turning point in their struggle for India's freedom. From an objective point of view, I am of the opinion that this would be the wisest policy which will redound to the credit of the British Empire.

當此野蠻暴力橫行，黑暗籠罩於全球之時，吾人爲世界文明及民族自由計，我兄弟之邦印度國民我中國國民皆宜共同一致擁護大西洋憲章與二十六國反侵略共同宣言，積極的參加此次反侵略陣線，聯合中英美蘇各同盟，一致奮鬥，攜手同登此爭取自由世界之戰場，以求獲得最後之勝利，完成吾人在此一時代中無可推諉之使命。

「最後，余對盟邦英國政府特致誠摯之期待，余且深信我盟邦之英國，將不待人民有任何之要求，而能從速賦予印度國民以政治上之實權，俾更能發揮精神與物質無限之偉力，印度此次參戰，固爲求取侵略民主陣線之勝利，實亦爲其本身自由之得失有莫大之關係，余以客觀地位，認此乃爲于大英帝國有益無損最賢明之政策也。」

## GENERALISSIMO AND MADAME CHIANG'S MESSAGES

### TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

# 蔣委員長暨夫人對美廣播辭

Starting exactly at 2:34 in the morning of June 1st, 1942, Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai shek, upon the invitation of the War Department in Washington, sent greetings to the American people through the National Broadcasting Company network.

The messages broadcast are as follows:

#### Generalissimo Speaks

Madame Chiang and I have gladly accepted the invitation of the War Department to send greetings to you, the American people.

As I am speaking, bloody battles are being waged in the east, north, south, and south-west of China. In these areas, Japanese planes have been daily relentlessly bombing our army which has been gallantly fighting without air protection.

For five years China has stood up against Japan. We have fought with inferior equipment and with little more than bare flesh, for we only produce small arms, the reason being that since the Revolution we had not had the time nor the means to build up heavy industries. We lacked aeroplanes, artillery and tanks.

What has sustained us and made it possible for us to continue resistance

蔣委員長與夫人，應美國陸軍部之請，於一九四二年六月一日上午二時三十四分，對美國人民發表廣播演說，由美國國家廣播公司各電台轉播，原辭如下。

#### 蔣委員長演辭

貴國陸軍部邀請我們夫婦對你們美國軍民廣播，我們於接受之餘，感覺非常愉快。

我現在對你們講話的時候，我們中國的東，北，南，西南各部份，均在展開激烈的戰爭。在這些區域，我們英勇作戰的軍隊天天在敵機狂暴轟炸之下過生活，受不到空軍的保護。

中國對日抗戰已有五年了，在這五年當中，我們只靠着低劣的裝備，差不多可以說是純粹的血和肉，和強敵作戰，我們所能生產的只有些輕兵器，因為自從國民革命戰爭以來，我們沒有時間也沒有方法來建立重工業，我們缺乏飛機大砲和坦克。

我們所以能夠支持到現在，所以能夠繼續抗戰，完全是採取我所謂的磁鐵戰術的緣



has been the adoption of what I might term magnetic strategy which consists in attracting the enemy to the interior, bog him there, and hold him at bay by the more vital factor of morale. As a realist, I must point out, however, that morale, important as it is, is not sufficient in itself to win decisive and final victory. It must be supplemented by mechanized equipment. Mechanized equipment by itself, however, is futile. Morale and equipment combined spell final victory. This truth can readily be seen when we consider how much the American Volunteer Group of the Chinese Air Force has been able to help us in spite of its slender resources. As Commander-in-Chief of the China theatre of war, I pledge you my word that given ten per cent of the equipment you produce in America, the Chinese Army will reap for you one hundred per cent of the desired result.

In looking toward the future I would like every one of my listeners to realize that our Chinese people are convinced that the principles enunciated in the Atlantic Charter are not vague assurances and empty diplomatic phraseology, but that they are the underlying convictions to which the peace-loving people of America are dedicated. To my mind these principles should be applied not only to America and Europe but also to all peoples and races, so that freedom, justice, and equality, may reign the world over.

For the sympathy and support, both moral and material, which the

故，這就是吸引敵人的力量到內地，並以更重要的精神力量使敵人陷入泥淖，無法自拔。不過就實際而論，我必須指出，精神力量固屬重要，可是牠本身並不能爭取最後的決勝，必須和機械化裝備配合起來，才能達到目的。同樣光靠機械化裝備本身也是沒有用的，必須精神力量和機械化裝備配合，才能取得最後勝利，例如中國空軍美國志願隊雖然組織不大，機數和人員也不多，可是却能給我們以極大之幫助，這便是一個現成的例證。今天我可以用中國戰區統帥的資格，向各位保證，如果我們中國軍隊能得到你們美國現在所製造的百分之十的武器，就可以替你們在希望的結果方面，取得百分之百的成效。

我希望你們每一位聽衆在瞻望未來的時候，能深切瞭解我們中國人民深信大西洋憲章所闡發的原則，不是一個空洞的諾言，也不是外交的辭令，而是美國愛好和平人民所爲獻身的基本信心。我認爲這些原則應不僅適用於歐美，還要普遍適用於全世界的一切民族和一切人種，使全世界的人民，都能得着自由，正義，平等的保障。

我們抗戰五年以來，美國政府和人民，在羅斯福總統領導之下，在物質和精神兩方

Government and people of America under the leadership of President Roosevelt have given us throughout these five years of resistance, we wish to express our heartfelt appreciation.

#### Mme Chiang's Message

You have just heard through me the Generalissimo's reaffirmation that in spite of the long years of war our conviction in ultimate victory is stronger than ever. I have one minute more which I would like to utilize by pointing out to you an insidious example of enemy propaganda which has just come to my attention and which, I hope, deceives no one. The plot is to sow dissension between us by alleging that China has plenty of arms and is now stalemating because she depends on America to win the war for her. I need not tell you that this is a malicious lie, fathered by those who wish to undermine our friendship. China has always pulled her own weight, and will continue to fulfil her obligations. In the past has never hesitated to devote her entire resources to the common cause. She does not hesitate now, nor will she hesitate in the future.

China has survived five thousand years because she has consistently adhered to certain moral principles. These principles preclude her acting otherwise than in an honorable manner. The enemy has repeatedly made offers of peace to China, and falsely insinuated that the Western Democracies were making use of her as a tool, whereas Japan would co-operate with and consider her as an

面，始終給我們援助和同情，今天我願乘這個機會，代表全體中國人民，向你們表示衷心感謝。

### 蔣夫人演辭

剛才委員長聲明我們雖經長期抗戰，對最後勝利的信心反見堅強，已由我翻譯給你們聽了。現在我還有一分鐘，預備利用牠把剛才知道敵人奸謊宣傳的例子，給你們指點出來，希望你們沒有一個人會受他們欺騙。敵人說，中國擁有大量的武器，現在故意按兵不動，因為她要靠美國來替她爭取勝利，這顯然是一種挑撥離間的陰謀，目的在破壞我們兩國的邦交，用不着我來提醒，你們都曉得這是一種含有惡意的欺詐。中國向來自食其力，自將繼續盡其應盡的責任。在過去中國對於同盟國家的共同前途，曾經毫不遲疑的貢獻出整個的國力，現在和將來，當然也不會有所遲疑。

中國立國達五千年，就是因為她能堅守某種道德信條，使她永遠保持光明的態度。敵人曾屢次向中國求和，並謬言西方民主國家係利用中國做工具，而日本却願和中國合作，並謬為中國和日本處於平等地位。中國却斷然拒絕了這種和議，就這一點事實，已

equal. The fact that we have unhesitatingly rejected those offers is proof positive that we have implicit faith in America's sincerity. We know that you are equally certain of China's sincerity.

In oneness of purpose, in mutual confidence and co-operation, therefore, let us march forward shoulder to shoulder beneath the flaming banner of freedom to sure victory.

足證明我們對於美國誠意的信心，是不可動搖的了。我們當然知道你們對於中國的誠意，也有同樣的信心。

我們目的一致，又互信互助，所以，讓我們並着肩，在自由的光輝旗幟之下，向必勝的前途邁進罷。

THE WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT ON MOLOTOV'S VISIT

# 白宮發表莫洛托夫訪美聲明

A White House statement, approved by President Roosevelt and M. Molotov states: "M. Molotov, following the invitation from the President of United States, arrived in Washington on May 29th, and was for some time the President's guest. This visit afforded an opportunity for a friendly exchange of views between the President and his advisers on the one hand and M. Molotov and his party on the other. Among those who participated in the conversations were the Soviet Ambassador, M. Litvinov, Harry Hopkins, General Marshall and Admiral Kiang. Secretary of State Cordell Hull joined in subsequent conversations on non-military matters. In the course of the conversation a full understanding was reached with regard to urgent tasks and to the creation of a second front in Europe in 1942. In addition, measures for increasing and speeding up supplies of planes and other kinds of war materials from the United States to the Soviet Union were discussed. The two parties also discussed fundamental problems of co-operation in safeguarding the peace and security of freedom-loving peoples after the war. Both sides are satisfied with the unity of their views on all these questions. At the conclusion of the visit, President Roosevelt asked M. Molotov to inform M. Stalin, on his behalf, that he feels

白宮今日發表曾獲得羅斯福總統與莫洛托夫外委長批准之聲明，如下：蘇聯外交人民委員長莫洛托夫應美總統之邀請，於五月二十九日抵華盛頓，為總統之上賓。此行，使美總統及其顧問與莫洛托夫及其隨行人員之間獲得友好交換意見之機會。參加各次談話者，有蘇駐美大使李維諾夫，美租借法案執行人賀浦金斯，美陸軍參謀總長馬歇爾及全美艦隊總司令金氏。在最後非軍事問題之會談中，赫爾國務卿亦曾出席參加。雙方在談話時，對於一九四二年建立歐洲第二戰場之迫切工作一節，獲得充分諒解。關於美國增加並加速以飛機及其他軍需原料供應蘇聯之各項措置，亦在討論之列。此外提出討論者，尚有美蘇合作，以確保愛好自由民族之戰後和平與安全保障等基本問題。雙方對此等一切問題獲得一致之意見，深可滿意，美總統並於莫洛托夫委員長離美行將結束之時，請其轉告史達林委員長，謂彼認為各次談

these conversations have been most useful in establishing a basis for fruitful and closer relationship between the two governments in the pursuit of the common objectives of the United Nations."

話，對於美蘇建立更有效而密切之關係，藉以實現聯合國之共同目標方面，極有裨益云云。

## ROOSEVELT—CHURCHILL'S JOINT STATEMENT

### ON THEIR THIRD MEETING

# 羅邱第三次會談後之聯合聲明

“The week of conferences between the President and the Prime Minister covered very fully all major problems of war which is conducted by the United Nations on every continent and in every sea. We have taken full cognizance of our disadvantages as well as our advantages. We do not under-rate the task. We have conducted our conferences with full knowledge of the power and resourcefulness of our enemy. In the matter of production of munitions of all kinds, the survey on the whole gives an optimistic picture. Previously planned monthly output has not reached the maximum but is fast approaching it on schedule. Because of the wide extension of war to all parts of the world, transportation of fighting forces together with transportation of munitions of war and supplies still constitutes the major problem of the United Nations. While submarines warfare on the part of the Axis continues to take heavy toll of cargo ships, actual production of new tonnage is greatly increasing month by month. It is hoped that as a result of the steps planned at this conference our respective navies will further reduce the toll of merchant shipping. The United Nations have never been in such hearty and detailed agreement on plans for winning the war as they are today. We recognise and applaud

羅斯福總統與邱吉爾首相一週之會談，

曾就每一大陸及每一海洋上聯合國家進行戰爭中之各項主要問題，舉行詳盡之商討。余等對吾人不利及有利之點，余等對於工作，並不估計過低。余等係在充分認識敵人實力與資源情形下，進行會談。以言各種軍火之生產問題，經全盤檢討之結果，予吾人以樂觀之印象。過去所預計之每月產量，現尚未達最高限度，但正照預定程序向之迅速接近中。由於戰爭之擴及世界各部份，軍隊之運輸與夫軍火及供應品之運送，現仍為聯合國家之主要問題。軸心之潛艇戰，續使貨輪遭受重大之損失，但新船隻生產之確實數量現正逐月增加。吾人希望在此次會談中所商定之計畫實現以後；我兩國之海軍將使商船損失之數量更趨減少。聯合國家於爭取戰爭勝利之計劃方面往來有如今日之衷心和協無微

the Russian resistance to the main attack being made by Germany and we rejoice in the magnificent resistance of the Chinese army. Detailed discussions were held with our military advisers on methods to be adopted against the Japanese and for relief of China. While our plans for obvious reasons cannot be disclosed, it can be said that the coming operations which were discussed in detail at the Washington conferences between ourselves and our respective military advisers, will divert German strength from the attack on Russia. The Prime Minister and the President have met twice before, first in August, 1941, and again in December, 1941. There is no doubt in their minds that over all the picture is more favourable to victory than it was either in August or December of last year."

不至者。余等承認並讚揚蘇聯之抵抗德國主力攻，擊余等對於中國軍隊之偉大抗戰亦深致欣慰。余等已與余等之軍事顧問對應行採取以抵抗日本救助中國之方法作詳盡之商討。余等之計劃以顯明之理由自不能有所宣示，然余等可謂華盛頓會議中余等與余等之軍事顧問所詳細討論之未來行動，將轉移德國進攻蘇聯之實力。英首相與美總統前此曾作兩次會晤，第一次於一九四一年八月，第二次係在一九四一年十二月，彼等之意念中認為目前之全部景象對於勝利之瞻望較之去年八月或十二月均較有利，實無可疑。

FULL TEXT OF THE ANGLO-SOVIET TREATY OF ALLIANCE

英蘇同盟條約全文

The following is the full text of the treaty entitled "Treaty of Alliance in the war against Hitlerite Germany and her Associates in Europe and of collaboration and mutual assistance there-after between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland."

Preamble

The King of England and the President of the Supreme Council of the U. S. S. R. have decided to conclude a treaty with the following aims: "Desiring to confirm the stipulations of the agreement between H.M. Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of the U. S. S. R. for joint action in the war against Germany signed at Moscow on 12th. July, 1941, and to replace them by a formal treaty, desiring to contribute after the war to the maintenance of peace and to the prevention of further aggression by Germany or states associates with her in acts of aggression in Europe, intention to collaborate closely with one another as well as with the United Nations at the peace settlement and during the ensuing period of reconstruction on the basis of the principles enunciated in the declarations made on 14th. August, 1941. by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, to which the Government of the U. S. S. R.

「蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦與大不列顛及北愛爾蘭聯合王國對希特勒德國暨其歐洲與國作戰同盟及戰後合作互助之條約」，

全文如下：

序文

英王與蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦最高執行委員會主席決定為下列目標而締結條約，一為欲確認一九四一年七月十二日英聯合王國政府與蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦政府在莫斯科為共同對德作戰所訂協定之各款，並以正式條約代替該協定；一為欲求取戰後和平之保持及避免德國或與其在歐洲從事侵略行為之國家再有侵略行動；一為欲對於處理戰後和平以及在以後根據一九四一年八月十四日美國總統與英國首相所宣佈而經蘇聯政府所遵守之大西洋憲章原則，重建世界期間，求取彼此間以及與其他聯合國家間之密



has adhered, desiring to provide for mutual assistance in the event of attack upon, either high contracting party by Germany or any of the states associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe."

Article (1) "In virtue of the alliance established between the United Kingdom and the U.S.S.R. the high contracting parties mutually undertake to afford one another military and other assistance and support of all kinds in the war against Germany and all those states which are associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe.

Article (2) The high contracting parties undertake not to enter into any negotiation with the Hitlerite Government, or any other government in Germany that does not clearly renounce all aggressive intentions, and not to negotiate or conclude, except by mutual agreement, any armistice or peace treaty with Germany or any other state associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe.

Article (3) A. The high contracting parties declare their desire to unite with other like-minded states in adopting proposals for common action to preserve peace and resist aggression in the post war period. B. Pending adoption of such proposals, they will after the termination of hostilities take all measures in their power to render impossible a repetition of aggression and violation of peace by Germany or any of the states associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe.

Article (4) Should one of the high contracting parties during the post war

切合作；一為欲規定締約國之任何一方於遭  
德國或與其在歐洲從事侵略行為之任何國  
家之攻擊時，互相予以援助。

第一條，締約國雙方鑒於聯合王國與蘇  
維埃社會主義共和國聯邦間同盟之建立，特  
互保於對德國及在歐洲與其聯合從事侵略行  
為之國家作戰時，互予軍事與其他援助，以  
及各種支持。

第二條，締約雙方保證對於未經明白放  
棄一切侵略意圖之德國希特勒政府，或德國  
任何政府，不與之進行談判；非獲得雙方之  
同意，不得對德國或在歐洲與其聯合從事侵  
略行為任何一國進行談判，或成立任何休戰  
或和平條約。

第三條，第一款，締約國雙方宣佈，願  
與其他具有同樣願望之國家團結一致，接納  
於戰後期間採取共同行動，以保持和平與反  
抗侵略之建議。第二款，在上述建議未經接  
納之前，締約國雙方將于軍事敵對行動停止  
之後，採取力所能及之一切措置，使德國及  
在歐洲與其聯合從事侵略行為之國家之侵略  
與破壞和平行為無重行發生之可能。

第四條，倘締約國之一方于戰後期間遭

period become involved in hostilities with Germany or any of the states associated with her, in consequence of attack by that state against that party, the other high contracting party will give to the party so involved all military and other support and assistance in his power. This article shall remain in force until the high contracting parties, by mutual agreement, shall recognize that it is superseded by the adoption of proposals contemplated in Article (3) A. In default of adoption of such proposals, it shall remain in force for a period of 20 years and thereafter settle by either high contracting party as provided in article (8).

Article (5) The high contracting parties, having in regard to the interests of the security of each of them, agree to work together in close and friendly collaboration after the re-establishment of peace for the organization of security and economic prosperity in Europe. They will take into account the interests of the United Nations in these objectives and will act in accordance with the two principles of not seeking territorial aggrandisement and of non interference in the internal affairs of other states.

Article (6) The high contracting parties agree to render one another all possible economic assistance after the war.

Article (7) Each high contracting party undertakes not to conclude any alliance and not to take part in any coalition directed against the other high contracting party.

受德國或第三條第二款所列之任何一國之攻擊，因而與該國發生軍事敵對行動時，則締約國之他方即予捲入軍事敵對行動之一方以力所能及之軍事援助及其他支持與援助。在締約國雙方彼此同意認為本條可藉接納第三條第一款所擬定之建議加以廢除之前，本條當繼續生效。倘此種建議未經接納，即本條之有效期間，應規定為二十年，其後締約國之任何一方可依照本約第八條辦理。

第五條，締約國雙方為彼此間之安全權益計，同意於重建和平之後，取得嚴密而友好之合作，共同從事歐洲安全保障與經濟繁榮之組織。締約國雙方將顧及聯合國家對於此等目標之利益，並將遵守兩項原則，即勿圖本身領土之擴大，勿干涉他國之內政是也。

第六條，締約國雙方同意于戰後互予經濟上之一切可能援助。

第七條，締約國之每一方保證不成立反對他方之任何同盟，或參加任何聯合。

Article (8) The present treaty is subject to ratification in the shortest possible time and instruments of ratification shall be exchanged in Moscow as soon as possible. It comes into force immediately on the exchange of instruments of ratification and shall thereupon replace the agreement between the two countries signed at Moscow on July 12, 1941. Part I (Articles 1 and 2) on the present treaty shall remain in force until the re-establishment of peace between the high contracting parties and Germany and the nations associates with her in acts of aggression in Europe. Part II (Articles 3 to 7) on the present treaty shall remain in force for a period of twenty years. Thereafter, unless a twelve months' notice has been given by either party to terminate the treaty at the end of the said period of twenty years it shall continue in force until twelve months after either high contracting party shall have given notice to the other in writing of his intention to terminate it. The treaty is dated London, 26th. May, 1942 and is in English and Russians, both texts being equally authentic. The treaty is signed by Mr. Eden and M. Molotov.

第八條，本約應于最短期間內予以批准。批准書應儘速在莫斯科交換，一俟批准書交換完畢，本約立即生效，並將代替一九四一年七月十二日蘇聯政府與不列顛聯合王國政府在莫斯科所簽訂之協定。本約之第一部（一至二條）將繼續生效，以至締約國雙方與德國及在歐洲與其聯合從事侵略行為之國家重建和平時為止。本約第二部（三至七條）之有效期間應為二十年，其後任何締約國之一方倘未在滿期前之十二個月提出廢約通知，則該部繼續生效，以迄任何締約國之一方以書面提出廢約通知後十二個月屆滿時為止。上約于一九四二年五月二十六日訂于倫敦。原約用英蘇兩國文字各繕一份具有同樣效力，每份俱經英外相艾登及蘇外交人民委員會委員長莫洛托夫簽字。

# Roosevelt's Broadcast

on Feb, 23th, 1942

(on the occasion of the 210th anniversary of Washington's Birth)

## 羅斯福廣播辭

一九四二年二月廿三日

華盛頓誕辰紀念

"Washington's birthday is the most appropriate occasion for us to talk to each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in future. For eight years General Washington and his continental army were faced with continually formidable odds and recurring defeats. Supplies and equipment were lacking. Washington's conduct in those hard times has provided a model for all Americans ever since—a model of moral stamina. He held to his course as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. He and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure without freedom and free institutions.

"The present great struggle has taught us increasingly the freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depend upon the security of the rights and obligations of liberty and justice everywhere in the world. This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past not only in its methods and weapons but also in its geography. It is warfare in terms of every continent, every island, every sea and every airline in the world. That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you a map of the whole earth and to follow with

今日為華盛頓之誕辰，吾人假今日之機會，討論目前時局之真相及所可預料未來之一切，誠屬最為適當。華盛頓將軍及其大陸軍隊作戰八年，衆寡始終懸殊，至於可怖之程度，軍事上亦屢屢失利，給養軍備，均感缺乏。當年艱苦時期中，華盛頓之舉止，已為後世美國全體人民樹立楷模，建立精神品德之宏規。彼所奉行之主義，即獨立宣言中全部內容是也。彼及其勇敢之部下，深知苟無自由與自由之組織，則任何人之生命與財產均不能安全。

目前艱鉅之鬥爭，已給予吾人以更大之教訓，即世界上任何一地人民之自由與財產之安全，有賴於世界其他各地自由正義權利義務之安全。今日之戰爭為一新型之戰爭，其與過去之一切戰爭，不僅武器與夫作戰之方法不同，且地理上亦有別。今日之戰爭為涉及全球各大陸各海島各海洋各航空線之戰爭。余之要求諸君展閱全球地圖，並傾聽余對於此次戰爭中之世界各地戰線所作論列者

the references which I shall make to the world-encircling battlelines of this war.

Many questions will, I fear, remain unanswered but I know you will realise I cannot cover everything in any one report to the people. Broad oceans which have been heralded in the past as our protection from attack, have become endless battlefields on which we are constantly being challenged by our enemies. We must all understand and face the hard fact that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way round the globe. We fight at these vast distances because that is where our enemies are.

“Until our flow of supplies gives us a clear superiority, we must keep on striking at our enemies wherever and whenever we can meet them, even if for a while we have to yield ground. Actually we are taking a heavy toll of the enemy every day that goes by. We must fight at these vast distances to protect our supply lines and our lines of communication with our allies—to protect these lines from our enemies who are bending every ounce of their energy and strength and striving at any time to cut them.

“The object of the Nazis and the Japanese is to separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia and isolate them from one another, so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements. It is an old familiar Axis policy of “divide and conquer.” There are those who still think in terms of days of sailing ships. They advise us to pull our warships, our aeroplanes and our merchant-ships to our home waters and concentrate solely on lastditch defence, but let me illustrate what would happen if we followed such foolish advice.

“Look at your map” “and look

理由即在於此。

余深恐今日之報告，或掛一漏萬，仍有若干問題未經解答。但余相信君等必能明瞭余無法在對國人之一次報告中，包羅萬象，毫無遺漏。前此吾人曾倡言廣闊之大洋為吾人防禦攻擊之天險，而今日大洋已成為無垠之海戰戰場，吾人曾於其上不時受敵人之挑釁。吾人必須一致認清一項艱辛之事實，即吾人目前係在遍佈全球之遙遠地帶作戰。吾人在遠地戰鬥，係因吾人之敵人處於該帶。

當吾人之供應品運輸尚未造成吾人顯明優勢以前，縱令吾人暫時不得不喪失土地，但仍須於遭遇敵人之際，隨時隨地打擊敵人。實際上吾人每日均殲敵甚衆。吾人必須在遙遠之地帶，保護吾人之供應綫及與吾人同盟國間之交通綫。保衛上述兩項路線，以防敵人竭其力量不時致力於切斷之企圖。

納粹及日本之目的，乃在隔絕美英中蘇，使之各個孤立，然後逐一包圍之，切斷其供應增援之來源。此種策略，原屬納粹所慣用之「各個擊破」戰略。時至今日，尙有作帆船航行時之打算者。彼等勸告吾人撤退吾人之軍艦飛機及商船至本國之海面，集中實力，專作最後之深溝高壘之保衛戰。吾人現可假設接受此項愚蠢之勸告，其後可發生之一切為如何。

諸君可一觀地圖，注意中國廣大之面積

at the vast area of China with its millions of fighting men. Look at the vast area of Russia with its powerful armies and proven military might. Look at the British isles, Australia, New Zealand, Dutch East Indies, India, Near East and the continent of Africa with their resource of raw materials and of peoples determined to resist Axis domination. Look at North America, Central America and South America. It is obvious what will happen if all these great reservoirs are cut off from each other either by enemy penetration or self-imposed isolation. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China who for five years not only has withstood Japanese assault but has destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. It is essential that we help China in her magnificent defence and in her inevitable counter-offensive—for that is one important element in the ultimate defeat of Japan.

“If we lost communication with the southwest Pacific, all that area including Australia and New Zealand would fall under Japanese domination. Japan could then release great numbers of ships and men to launch attacks on a large scale against the coast of this hemisphere including Alaska. At the same time she could immediately extend her conquests to Indian Ocean, Africa and to the Near East. If we were to stop sending munition to the British and Russians in the Mediterranean and at Persian Gulf areas, we would help the Nazis to overrun Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Egypt and Suez Canal, the whole coast of North Africa and the whole coast of west Africa, putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America. If for such fatuous policy we cease to protect the north Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we

，及其數百萬戰鬥員。諸君亦可注意蘇聯廣大之面積及其強大之陸軍與業經表明之軍力。諸君可更察英倫三島，澳洲，紐西蘭，荷印，印度，近東，非洲大陸及其原料富藏與夫決心抵抗軸心控制之人民。諸君可再察北美中美南美。諸君必能認清，凡此各地，苟此間之龐大蘊藏被敵人或自甘孤立而致彼此互相切斷，將發生如何之後果。吾人將無復能輸送任何種援力至中國——暨抗日本攻擊五年之久，殲滅日軍數十萬，消耗日本大量軍火之中國。吾人有援助中國之英勇抗戰與其不可避免之反攻戰之必要；蓋此乃促使日本最後失敗之一重要因素也。

吾人倘喪失吾人與西南太平洋間之交通聯絡，則整個西南太平洋區域（包括澳洲紐西蘭）俱將受日本之控制，屆時日本即能以其大批艦隻與士兵向西半球海岸（包括阿拉斯加）進行大規模之攻勢，同時日本即可立向印度洋非洲與近東擴大侵略。吾人倘停止以軍火運交地中海上與波斯灣上之英蘇軍隊，則吾人即係援助納粹蹂躪土耳其，敘利亞，伊拉克，伊朗，埃及，蘇彝士運河，北非與西非全部海岸，致使德國逼近南美。吾人倘出此下策，而不再保護通至英蘇之北大西洋上之供應路線，則吾人即係助紂為虐，剝

would help deprive Britain of essential food and munitions.

“Those Americans who believe we could live under illusions of isolationism, wanted the American Eagle to imitate the tactics of an ostrich. Now many of those same people who are afraid we may be sticking our necks out, want the national bird to turn into a turtle. But we prefer to remain an eagle as it is, flying high and striking hard. I know I speak for the mass American people when I say we reject the turtle policy and will continue increasingly the policy of carrying the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters as far as possible from our own home grounds.

We must send out troops, munitions, aircraft and materials. It is a very tough job. It is a job which requires tremendous resourcefulness and above all tremendous production of aeroplanes, tanks, guns and ships to carry them. “Heavy bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific but smaller aeroplanes cannot. Therefore these lighter planes have to be packed in crates and sent on board cargo ships. Look at the map again and you will see that the routes are long and at many places perilous either across the south Atlantic around south Africa or from California to the east Indies direct. A vessel can make a round trip by either route in about four months or only three round trips in a whole year. In spite of the length and difficulties of this transportation, I can tell you we already have large numbers of bombers and pursuit planes manned by American pilots which are now in daily contact with the enemy in the southwest Pacific and thousands of American troops are today in that area engaged in operations.

“In this battle area Japan has had

奪英國之主要糧食供應與軍火矣。

彼種自信吾人能苟安偷生于幻覺與孤立主義之下者，實欲美國之鷹摹倣駝鳥之技。

（按鷹為美國之國鳥；駝鳥則每至驚惶失措之期，即埋頭于地，以示匿避）。今者此輩人士復恐吾人伸頭出外，故欲吾人之國變為畏首縮尾之烏龜。然而吾人寧決保持鷹鳥之地位，高翔上空，向敵作有力之反擊。余知余聲明反對烏龜政策，並將繼續執行「盡量向本土以外遙遠海洋大陸之敵區進行戰爭」之政策時，余係代表美國大眾發言。

吾人必須將軍隊軍火飛機物資運出本土，此為艱苦之工作。吾人執行此項工作，富有無窮之機智，尤需有飛機坦克車大砲之大批生產，以及運送此等物品之船隻。重轟炸機可自美境飛至西南太平洋，而輕型飛機則否；故輕型飛機必須裝箱，用貨輪運出。國人請再翻閱地圖，即知吾人橫渡南太平洋，繞行南非或自加州直駛荷屬東印度各路途之遙遠與途中之危險。每一輪船不論抉擇任何一條途徑，其往返航程，均需時四月，故每輪每年僅能出航三次。然而吾人仍不顧運輸上之困難，與路途之遙遠。余今可奉告國人者，即吾人業有大批轟炸機與驅逐機由美人駕駛，逐日在西南太平洋區與敵接觸，數萬美軍現亦在該區作戰。

在該戰區內日本顯獲有初期之勝利，蓋

obvious initial advantages, for she could fly even her short-range planes to points of attack by using many stepping stones open to her-bases in the multitude of Pacific islands and also bases on the China, Indo-China, Thailand and Malay coasts. Japanese troop transports could go from Japan to China through the narrow China Sea which can be protected by Japanese planes throughout its whole length.

"I ask you to look at your maps again and particularly that portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii. Before the war even started the Philippine Islands were already surrounded on three sides by Japan. On the west the Japanese were in possession of the coast of China and the coast of Indo-China which had been yielded to them by Vichy French. On the north are the islands of Japan themselves reaching down almost to northern Luzon. On the east are the mandated islands—which Japan had occupied exclusively and had fortified in absolute violation of her written word. These islands, hundreds of them, appear only as small dots on most maps. But they cover a large strategic area. Guam lies in the middle of them—a lone outpost which we have never fortified.

"Under the Washington Treaty of 1921 we solemnly agreed not to add to the fortification of the Philippine Islands. We had no safe naval base there, so we could not use the islands for extensive naval operations. Immediately after this war started Japanese forces moved down to numerous points south of the Philippines, thereby completely encircling the islands from north, south, east and west. Complete encirclement, with control of the air by Japanese aircraft, has prevented us from sending substantial reinforcements of men and material to the gallant defenders of the Philippines.

日本可以利用太平洋上之無數海島與中國越泰及馬來海岸之根據地為踏板，以駕其短航程之飛機襲擊各點。日本運輸艦可自中日國境沿狹長之中國海出駛，而此全部中國海實可由日本飛機為之保護也。

本人茲願諸君再度披閱地圖一過，對於夏威夷以西太平洋之形勢，尤宜再三注意。要知即在戰爭爆發以前，菲島即有三面為日本所包圍。以菲島西面而論，中國及越南之海岸即在日本佔領之中。越南之海岸係由維琪法方拱手以讓日本。菲島以北，即為日本本國，蜿蜒南下，幾及呂宋之北端。菲島以東，為日本之委任統治地。各島嶼日本既獨佔於先，繼之復悍然違反其諾言，在各島實行設防，此數百處島嶼在一般地圖上，僅見無數之小黑點，而實則若星拱之羅佈於廣大之軍略區域。關島即在此無數小島之中央。為吾美孤零之前哨站，而吾方恰始終未在島上設防。

依照一九二一年華府公約之規定，吾美曾鄭重同意，勿於菲島續增防務。吾美既在菲島並無安全之海軍根據地，是吾美即不克用以發動大規模之軍事行動。此次大戰爆發以後，日軍立即疾趨菲島南部各地，自北南東西四方將菲島完全包圍。菲島既完全入於包圍狀態，加以制空權亦為日方所有，是以吾方即不克以大批人力物力增援我菲島英勇之守軍。



“For forty years it has always been our strategy—a strategy born of necessity—that in the event of a full-scale attack on the islands by Japan we should retire slowly into Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor. We knew that the war as a whole would have to be fought and won by the process of attrition against Japan itself. We knew all along that with our greater resources we could outbid Japan and ultimately overwhelm her on sea and land and in the air. To attain our objective operations of many varieties would be necessary in areas other than the Philippines...Mac-Arthur's army of Philippines and Americans and the forces of the United Nations in China, Burma and the Netherlands East Indies are all together fulfilling the same essential task. We are making Japan pay an increasingly terrible price for her ambitious attempts to seize control of the whole Asiatic world. Every Japanese transport sunk off Java means one less transport they can use to carry reinforcements to their army opposing MacArthur's in Luzon.

It has been said that Japanese gains in the Philippines were made possible only by the success of their surprise attack on Pearl Harbour. I tell you this is not so. Even if the attack had not been made your map will show that it would have been a hopeless operation for us to send our fleet to the Philippines through thousands of miles of ocean while all those island bases remain under the sole control of the Japanese. The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbour—serious as they were—have been wildly exaggerated in other ways. The exaggerations came originally from Axis propagandists, but they have been repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and out of public life.

“I have the utmost contempt for Americans who since Pearl Harbour have

四十年以來，吾方在菲島方面因事實上之必要，夙守一確定之戰略，即一旦日本向菲島實行全面之攻擊，則吾方應緩緩退至巴丹半島及柯里幾多爾。吾人深知對日戰事之欲求勝利必須賴消耗日本實力之方法。吾人深知以吾方資源之豐富，最後必能於海陸空三方完全壓倒日本。為實現此種目的起見，除菲島以外，必需另闢大批戰場。進行各種戰爭。……麥克阿瑟將軍所統率之菲美軍，以及中國緬甸與荷印各地之同盟國軍隊，俱已戮力同心，以完成此共同之任務。日本具有狂妄之野心，意欲控制全部亞洲，吾同盟國家則正重創日本，使之不得不為此而給付慘重之代價。日本運輸輪若在爪哇海外多損失一艘，即等於日方裝運增援部隊以進攻呂宋美菲軍之船隻減少一艘。

論者或謂日軍在菲島之獲有進展，乃由於日方偷襲珍珠港獲有成就所致，實則不然，日本即或並未偷襲珍珠港，倘若太平洋上數千哩內之島嶼全在日本控制之中，則吾美根本不宜派遣美國艦隊遠涉重洋，開往菲島。此中原因，諸君一按地圖，即可了然。日方最近偷襲珍珠港其後果所屆，自屬嚴重。惟各方種種推測，仍多言之過甚。此種誇張之論調，原為軸心宣傳人員所散佈，惟美國公私方面人士俱曾一再闡述引伸，此本人所願鄭重指明而深遺憾者也。

余極端鄙夷吾美若干人士自珍珠港事件

whispered or announced 'off record' that there is no longer any Pacific Fleet, that the fleet was all sunk or destroyed on December 7, that more than 1,000 of our planes were destroyed on the ground. They have suggested slyly that the Government has withheld the truth about casualties, that 11,000 or 12,000 men were killed at Pearl Harbour instead of the figures officially announced. They have even served enemy propagandists by spreading the incredible story that shiploads of bodies of our honoured American dead were about to arrive in New York harbour to be put in a common grave. Almost every Axis broadcast directly quotes Americans who by speech or in the press make damnable misstatements such as these.

"The American people must realize that in many cases details of military operations cannot be disclosed until we are absolutely certain that the announcement will not give the enemy military information which he does not already possess. Your government has unmistakable confidence in your ability to hear the worst without flinching or losing heart. You must in turn have complete confidence in your government keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his attempt to destroy us. In democracy there must always be a solemn pact of truth between the government and the people but there must also always be full use of discretion—and that word 'discretion' applies to criticism of the government as well.

"This is war. The American people want to know and will be told the general trend how the war is going, but they do not wish to help the enemy any more than our fighting forces do and they will pay little attention to rumour-mongers and poison peddlers in our midst. To pass from the realm of

以後竟皆耳語或竊竊私議太平洋艦隊已不復存在，該艦隊已於十二月七日完全沉沒或被炸毀，我飛機之在地面被炸毀者凡千餘架。渠等又詭稱，政府未曾發表死傷實況，珍珠港死亡人數約計一萬一千或一萬二千八，並非似政府所宣佈者。渠等甚至濫布流言，謂將有大批輪船載運我死難者之屍體開抵紐約港，以便安葬于公墓中。此種流言，足為敵方宣傳推波助瀾。故軸心國所有廣播，幾皆直接引用吾國人士口頭或在報章發表之此等謬論。

美國人民應知，詳細戰況，非吾人確知其無以敵方缺乏之軍事情報資敵之性質者，決不能任意發佈。汝政府深信諸君有聞敗弗餒之精誠。反之，諸君亦當相信汝政府除可資敵毀我之消息外，任何一事，決不向諸君隱瞞。在民主國家，政府與人民間，恆有一神聖之守信公約，但亦須極端審慎，而此「審慎」一詞，亦可適用於彼批評政府之人士

此戰爭也，我國人民自欲知戰局之一般趨勢，政府亦將以此告之。但我國人民之不願資敵，亦斷不亞于我作戰之部隊，且彼等對在吾人中間散布流言及肆意毒害之徒，自

rumour poison to the field of Harbour on December 7 was 2,340 and the number of wounded was 948. Of all combatant ships based on Pearl Harbour—battleships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers and submarines—only three were permanently put of commission... Some of those that were there were hit very slightly and others that were damaged have either rejoined the fleet by now or are still undergoing repairs. When those repairs are completed the ships will be more efficient fighting machines than they were before.

The report that we lost more than 1,000 aeroplanes in Pearl Harbour is as baseless as the other weird rumours. The Japanese do not know just how many planes they destroyed that day and I am not going to tell them, but I can say that to date, and including Pearl Harbour, we have destroyed considerably more Japanese planes than they have destroyed of ours. We have certainly suffered losses from Hitler's U-boats in the Atlantic, as well as from Japanese attacks in the Pacific and we shall suffer more from them before the turn of the tide, but, speaking for the United States, let me say once for all to the people of the world: We Americans have been compelled to yield ground but we will regain it. We and other United Nations are committed to the destruction of the militarism of Japan and not our enemies, will have the offensive. We—not they—will gain the final battles and we—not they—will make the final peace.

"The conquered nations in Europe know what the Nazi yoke is like, and the people of Korea and Manchuria know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan. All people of Asia know that if there is to be an honourable and decent future for any of them, or for us, that future depends on the victory

不予以重視。試請闢去謠言，轉

。十二月七日珍珠港之役，我員兵死者二百四十人，受傷者九百四十六人，所有港之艦隻，如主力艦，重巡洋艦，輕巡，航空母艦，驅逐艦與潛水艇等，僅有三艦永遠喪失作用，其他或受輕傷，或曾被炸傷，而現已重新入隊。或仍在修理中，一俟修畢則較之曩昔其作戰力更大。

外傳我國曾在珍珠港損失飛機一千餘架之說，其為無稽，與其他怪謠，如出一轍。日人不知其在是日究曾炸毀飛機幾何，余亦不擬告之。但余可斷言，截至目前為止連同珍珠港在內，吾人所毀之日機，實遠較日方所毀之我機為多。吾人確曾蒙受大西洋上德國潛艇及太平洋上日方襲擊之損害，且在大局好轉以前，吾人猶將蒙受更多之損害。今請代表美國向舉世人士作一永久之聲明，即我美人雖曾被迫放棄若干陣地，但必將完全收復之。吾人與我盟國誓將摧毀日本之黷武主義。不日即將反攻者乃吾人，而非敵人。獲最後之勝利者乃吾人，而非敵人。謀最後之和平者，亦為吾人，而非敵人也。

彼歐洲各國之被德國征服者，已熟知軸心束縛之滋味，而朝鮮，中國東北之人民，對於日本之苛政，亦有切膚之感。亞洲各民族皆知，如謂渠等或我等將來尚有一榮譽或高雅之前途，則此前途胥有賴於盟國戰勝軸

of the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement. If just and durable peace is to be attained, or even if all of us merely struggle to save our own skins, there is one thought for us here at home, that is, to keep uppermost the fulfilment of our special task—production.

“Germany, Italy and Japan are very close to their maximum output of planes, guns, tanks and ships. The United Nations are not—especially the United States of America. Our first job, then, is to build up production that the United Nations can maintain their control of the seas and attain control of the air—not merely slight superiority but overwhelming superiority. On January 6 of this year I set certain definite goals of production for aeroplanes, tanks and ships. Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight, nearly two months later, and after a careful survey of our progress by Mr. Donal Nelson and others charged with the responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will be attained.”

“In every part of the country experts in production and men and women in plants are giving loyal service. With few exceptions labour, capital and farming realise that this is no time either to make undue profits or gain special advantages one over the other. We are calling for new plants and additions to old plants and conversion of plants to war needs. We are speaking more men and more women to run them. We are working longer hours. We are coming to realise that one extra plane, one extra tank, one extra gun or one extra ship completed tomorrow may in a few months turn the tide in some distant battlefield; may make the difference between life and death for some of our fighting men. We know now that if we lose this war it will be generations and even centuries before our conception of

心國奴役他人之勢力。如欲究致公正與永久之和平，抑或吾人均僅為自存而奮鬥，則吾國人士僅有一種意念，即盡力實現吾人特別之任務——生產是也。

德義日三國飛機大砲坦克與艦隻之產量，幾已接近其最大之限度，盟國則不然，尤以美國為最。故吾人之首要工作，厥為促進生產，俾我盟國可以維持其制海權，並獲得制空權，而所希冀者，非僅蠅微之優勢，乃為絕對之優勢也。今年一月六日，余曾確立飛機坦克及艦隻生產之目標，軸心宣傳家竟斥吾說為幻想。今晚去當時雖僅有兩月，然余於聞悉納爾遜與其他負責生產事宜者詳細報告吾人之進展以後，余敢告諸君，此項目標必將達到也。

全美各地與生產有關之人員，自專家以迄男女工人，現莫不一致為國效力。此外國內勞資及農人三界，除少數例外，俱知取得不當利得或乘機實行剝削，此非其時。當局茲願請各方增設新工廠，擴充舊工廠，並以原有之工廠改作軍用。吾人刻正懇請增添男女工人，工作時間亦已延長。全國上下今日俱已深知國家倘能於明日多有一架飛機，多有一輛坦克車，多有一尊大砲，多造一艘船隻，則數個月後，或可於遼遠之前線，使戰事獲一轉機，吾同胞將士亦可減少若干犧牲。吾等現已深知今日之戰，倘若失敗，則

democracy can live again. And we can lose this war only if we slow up our efforts, or if we waste our ammunition shipping at each other.

"Here are three high purposes for every American: (1.) We shall not stop work for a single day. If any dispute arises we shall keep on working while the dispute is solved by mediation, conciliation or arbitration—until the war is won. (2.) we shall not demand special gains or special privileges or advantages for any one group or occupation; (3.) We shall give up conveniences and modify the routine of our lives if our country asks us to do so. We will do it cheerfully, remembering that our common enemy seeks to destroy every home and every freedom in every part of our land.

"This generation of Americans has come to realize with persistent and personal realization that there is something larger and more important than the life of any individual or any group of individuals, something for which man will sacrifice and gladly sacrifice not only his pleasures, not only his goods, not only his associations with those he loves, but his life itself.

"Axis propagandists have tried in various evil ways to destroy our determination... They say that the British are diminished and that the Russians and the Chinese are about to quit. Patriotic and sensible Americans will reject these absurdities, and instead of listening to any of this crude propaganda, will recall some of the things that the Nazis and the Japanese have said and are still saying about us. Ever since this nation became the Arsenal of Democracy—ever since the enactment of the Lend-Lease Act—there has been one persistent theme through all Axis propaganda. This theme has been that the Americans are admittedly rich and the American have industrial power—but that

欲求民主主義之復活，必須俟諸數代以至數世紀以後。吾等倘若懈怠作戰之努力，或浪費軍火船隻，戰事始將失敗。

全美人民今日悉應服膺三大原則，一為不可一日停止工作。倘若遇有糾紛，則在大戰獲勝以前，凡當局進行調查或仲裁之時，仍應繼續工作。二為國人不得為某一集團或某一人職業之要求特別利權。三為國家倘有命令之時，則個人即應放棄種種舒適之習慣，並修改其生活之習慣。吾等深知現有共同之敵人，企圖破壞吾國所有各地之家庭與自由，是以國家倘有命令，自必樂願犧牲也。

此一代美國人民現已深切明瞭，宇宙間倘有較任何個人之生命或任何集團更重要之生命或任何集團更重要之事。人們不僅樂願為此而犧牲其快樂，犧牲其財產，抑且應為此而犧牲其一己之生命。

軸心之宣傳人員正肆其種種之毒計，意欲動搖國人之決心揚言謂，英國實力已見減縮，蘇中兩國即擬脫退戰爭。惟吾美愛國之同胞，自必能痛斥此狂妄之臆測，且不僅對於此種無恥宣傳充耳不聞並進而憶及過去以及目下德日兩國對於吾美所發之種種謊言。自吾美成為民主國家兵工廠以來，自軍火租借法成立以來，軸心之宣傳，俱有一貫之章法，即謂美國人確係富庶之人民，美國人擁有強大工業力量，惟美國人之性格柔弱而

the American are soft and decadent, that they cannot and will not unite, work and fight. From Berlin, Rome and Tokyo we have been described as a nation of weaklings-playboys-who would have British soldiers, Russian soldiers or Chinese soldiers do our fighting for us.

“Let them repeat that now. Let them tell that to General MacArthur and his men. Let them tell that to soldiers who today are hitting hard in Far East waters and in the Pacific. Let them tell that to the boys in flying fortresses. Let them tell that to the marines.

“The United Nations constitute an association of independent peoples equal in dignity and importance. The United Nations are dedicated to the common cause. They share equally and with equal zeal the anguish and awful sacrifices of war. In the partnership of our common enterprise we must share in the plan wherein all of us must play our several parts, each of us being equally indispensable and dependent one on the other.

“We have unified command and cooperation and comradeship. We Americans will contribute to unified production and unified acceptance of sacrifice and effort. That means national unity. That can know no limitations of race, creed or selfish politics. The American people expect that much from themselves. The American people will find ways and means of expressing their determination to their enemies, including the Japanese admiral who has said that he will dictate terms of peace here in the White House.

“We of the United Nations are agreed on certain broad principles in the kind of peace we seek. The Atlantic Charter applies not only to the parts of the world that border on the Atlantic but to the whole world: disarmament of aggressors and self-determinations for nations and peoples, and the four free-

墮落，決不能團結一致，從事工作及作戰。柏林羅馬東京三處莫不斥吾美為虛弱之國家，斥吾美人民為執袴子弟，須靠英蘇中各國軍隊為美國而戰。

凡此謔言，吾等不妨聽其反攻覆申述。聽其宣傳於麥克阿瑟將軍及其部下以及在遠東海面及太平洋上痛擊敵人之吾美海軍，或駕駛飛行堡壘之戰士，與夫吾美之海軍陸戰隊人員。

同盟國家為各獨立民族之結合，各國之尊嚴相同，重要性亦復一致，吾同盟國家茲已為共同之目標而獻其一切，凡屬戰爭中之痛苦重大犧牲，吾同盟國家莫不一致樂願平均負擔。吾同盟國家為實現共同之偉業計，自應忠實執行統一之計劃，各盡其份內之責任，吾同盟國家每一國均屬同等重要不可缺乏者且已彼此相依為命矣。

吾同盟國家已成立統一之指揮，復能以戰友之資格，彼此合作。以吾美而論，亦決於統一生產計劃之中，盡一份內之責任，並追隨各盟友之後，樂願分担應盡之努力，應作之犧牲。此即謂國家之統一，決不以種族與信仰，以及政治上私見而受限制。吾美人民亦莫不以此自勉。美國人民必能設法使敵人了然於吾重大之決心，而日本某海軍大將會公然宣言，決於此間白宮內決定其單方面媾和條款者，吾美亦必使其於日後獲有充分之認識也。

吾同盟國家對於若干種廣泛之和平原則，業已商得同意。大西洋憲章之規定，不僅適用於大西洋上之國家，抑且進而適用於全世界。大西洋憲章之內容即侵略國武裝之解

doms—freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear.

“The British and the Russian people have known the full weight of the Nazi onslaught. There have been times when the fate of London and Moscow was in serious doubt, but there was never the slightest question that either the British or the Russians would yield. And today all the United Nations salute the superb Russian army as it celebrates the 24th anniversary of its first assembly.

With the thought of their homeland overrun, the Dutch people are still fighting stubbornly and powerfully overseas. The great Chinese people have suffered grievous losses, Chungking has been almost wiped out of existence—yet it remains the capital of unbeatable China. That is the conquering spirit which prevails throughout the United Nations in this war.

“The task we Americans now face will test us to the utmost. Never before have we been called upon for such prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.... Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered. Yet we have this consolation with us—that the harder the sacrifice, the more glorious the triumph. So spoke Americans in 1776. So speak Americans today!”

除，國家民族之自決，四項自由之確保，即言論自由，信教自由，不虞匱乏之自由，免於恐懼心理之自由是也。

英蘇人民俱已了然於納粹攻擊之不足懼

，倫敦及莫斯科兩地之命運，過去曾幾度告

急，惟各方絕未慮及英蘇人民有屈服之可能

。在此蘇聯建軍二十四週年之日，所有同盟

國家莫不一致向忠勇之蘇聯軍隊致敬。

荷蘭人民雖已無家可歸，仍在海外堅強作戰。偉大之中華民族過去曾受慘重之損失，以重慶而論，雖幾淪為廢墟，然迄今仍為不屈不撓之中華民國之首都。此即為戰勝者之精神，而為此次大戰中所有同盟國家共同之態度。

吾美當前之任務，足予吾人以最艱鉅之測驗。吾美今日任務之重大，為過去所未有，而欲在如此短時間內完成如此艱鉅之任務，亦屬史無先例。強悍之暴政如地獄，推倒不易，惟吾等所引以為慰者，即犧牲愈大，勝利愈光榮。是一七七六年吾先哲之昭告亦即今日吾國人民同聲之呼誓也。

# Sino-American Lend-Lease Agreement

(or Sino-American Mutual Aid Agreement)

## 中美租借協定

(一稱中美互助協定)

Following is the full text of the agreement signed in Washington on June 2, 1942 between the Governments of China and the United States on the principle applied to mutual aid in the prosecution of the war against aggression as authorized and provided by Acts of March 11, 1941 of Congress of the United States:

Whereas the Governments of the United States and China declare that they are engaged in a co-operative undertaking, together with every other people of like mind, to the end of laying the bases of a just and enduring world peace and of securing order under law to themselves and all nations;

Whereas the Governments of the United States and China as signatories of the declaration by the United Nations on January 1st, 1942, subscribed to a common program of purpose and principle embodied in the joint declaration made on August 14th, 1941, by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, known as the Atlantic Charter; and

Whereas the President of the United States of America has determined, pursuant to an act of Congress on March 11th, 1941, that the defense of the Republic of China against aggression is vital to the defense of the United States of America; and

Whereas the United States of America has extended and is continuing to

中美兩國政府於一九四二年六月二日在華盛頓簽訂，關於適用於一九四一年三月十一日美國國會法案所認可及規定之互相援助，以執行抵抗侵略戰爭之原則之協定全文如下。

「美國及中國政府宣告兩國現聯合其他抱有相同志願之國家及民族從事共同之努力，以期奠定公正永久世界和平之基礎，並為其本身及一切國家，獲得法律秩序。

又美國及中國政府，為一九四二年一月一日聯合國宣言之簽字者，由是而承受一九四一年八月十四日美國大總統及英國首相所發表之聯合宣言，即稱為大西洋憲章者中所包含之宗旨及原則之共同綱領。

又美國大總統已依照一九四一年三月十一日美國國會法案決定中華民國抵抗侵略之防衛戰，對於美國之防衛關係至為重要。

又美國已給予並正繼續給予中華民國以



extend to the Republic of China aid in resisting aggression and whereas it is expedient that the final determination of the terms or conditions upon which the Government of China receives such aid and of the benefit to be received by the United States of America in return therefore should be deferred until the progress of events makes clearer the final terms and conditions and benefits which will be in the mutual interest of the United States and China and will promote the establishment and maintenance of world peace and.

Whereas the Governments of the United States and China are mutually desirous of concluding now a preliminary agreement in regard to the provision of defense aid and in regard to certain considerations which shall be taken into account in determining such terms and conditions, and the making of such an agreement has in all respects been duly authorized; and all acts, conditions and formalities which they may have to perform, fulfill or execute prior to making such an agreement in conformity with the law either of the United States of America or China have been performed, fulfilled or executed as required;

The undersigned, being duly authorized by their respective governments for that purpose, have agreed as follows:

Article I. The Government of the United States of America will continue to supply the Government of China with such defense articles, defense service and defense information as the President of the United States of America shall authorize to be transferred or provided.

Article 2. The Government of China will continue to contribute to the defense of the United States and in strengthening thereof will provide the U.S. with such articles, service, facilities

援助以抵抗侵略。又中國政府接受此項援助，及美國以受酬答此項援助而獲得之利益之條件，宜延緩以待局勢之進展，使能更瞭然何種條件與利益能對於美國及中國有相互利益及促進世界和平之建立與維持後，再作最後之決定。

又美國及中國政府俱願對於防衛援助之供應及決定此項條件應顧及之若干事項，在目前成立初步協定，又此項協定之訂立，業經正式核准，舉凡按美國及中國之法律在訂立此項協定以前，應完成或執行之手續條件均須依法完成或執行。

後列簽字人經其本國政府爲此目的正式授權議定如下：

第一條：美國政府將繼續以美國大總統准予轉移或供給之防衛用品防衛兵力及防衛情報供給中國政府。

第二條：中國政府將繼續協助美國之國防及其加強，並以其所能供給之用品兵力或

or information as it may be in a position to supply.

Article 3. The Government of China will not, without the consent of the President of the United States of America, transfer the title to or possession of any defense article or defense information transferred to it under the act of March 11th 1941, of Congress of the United States of America or permit the use thereof by any one not an officer or employee or agent of the Government of China.

Article 4. If, as a result of the transfer to the Government of the Republic of China of any defense article or defense information, it becomes necessary for that government to take any action or make any payment in order fully to protect and to any such defense article or information, the Government of China will take up such action or make such payment when requested to do so by the President of the United States of America.

Article 5. The Government of the Republic of China will return to the United States of America at the end of the present emergency as determined by the president of the United States of America such defense articles transferred under this agreement as shall not have been destroyed, lost or consumed and as shall be determined by the President to be useful in the defense of the United States of America or the Western Hemisphere or to be otherwise of use to the United States of America.

Article 6. In the final determination of the benefits to be provided to the United States of America by the Government of the Republic of China, full cognizance shall be taken of all property, services, information, facilities or other benefits or consideration provided by the

情報供給之。

第三條：未經美國大總統之同意，中國政府不以任何根據一九四一年三月十一日美國國會法案而轉移之防衛用品或防衛情報轉移其所有或持有，或允許在任何非中國政府官員僱員或代理人之人使用之。

第四條：如以將任何防衛用品或防衛情報轉移於中國政府之結果，而中國應採取任何行動或給付款項以充分保護對此項用品或情報有專利權之美國人民之權利時，即中國政府經美國大總統之要求當採取此項行動或付給此項款項。

第五條：依美國大總統決定，此次緊急狀態終了時，中國政府當以未曾毀壞遺失或消耗及美國大總統決定為對於美國或西半球之防衛或對美國其他方面為有用之用品返還美國。

第六條：在最後決定中華民國政府給予美之利益之時，對於一九四一年五月十一日後中華民國政府所供給及經美國大總統代表

Government of the Republic of China subsequent to March 11th, 1941, and accepted or acknowledged by the President on behalf of the United States of America.

Article 7. In the final determination of the benefits to be provided, after conferring with the United States of America, by the Government of the Republic of China in return for aid furnished under the Act of Congress of March 11th, 1941, the terms and conditions thereof shall be such as not to burden the commerce between the two countries but to promote mutually advantageous economic relations between them and the betterment of worldwide economic relations. To that end they shall include a provision for agreed-to action by the United States of America and the Republic of China which will be open to participation by all other countries of like mind and which will be directed to the expansion by appropriate international and domestic measures of production or employment and the exchange and consumption of goods which are the material foundation of the liberty and welfare of all peoples, to the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce, to the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers, and to the attainment of economic objectives which are identical with those set forth in the joint resolution made on August 14th, 1941, by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

At an early convenient date, conversation shall be begun between the two governments with a view of determining, in the light of the governing economic conditions, the best means of attaining the above stated objectives by their own agreed-to action.

Article 8. This agreement shall take effect as from this day's date. It shall continue in force until a date to be agreed upon by the two governments

美國接受之一切財產兵力情報便利或其他利益或事項應加以充分之考慮。

第七條：在與美國會商以後，中國政府為報酬根據一九四一年三月十一日國會法案而為之援助應給予之利益之最後決定中，其條件應不致影響兩國間之貿易，而應促進兩國間相互有利之經濟關係及改善世界經濟關係，為此目的，上述條件中應包括一條載有美國及中華民國同意之行動，并公開使其他具有相同志願之國家參加，藉國際的及國內的適當辦法以增加為全世界人類自由幸福物質基礎之物品之生產使用交換與消費，并取消國際貿易間一切歧視待遇，減低關稅，及其他貿易障礙，以實現美國大總統及英國首相於一九四一年八月十四日共同決定中所獲之經濟目標。

兩國間應於迅速便利之日期開始談話，以期參酌主要經濟狀況，決定以本身之協意行動，達到上述目的之最佳方法，並謀其他具有相同志願之政府之協意行動。

第八條：本協定自本日起生效，在雙方政府議定一日期以前，應繼續有效。

## 英李頓爵士論印度問題

"It is not merely the problem of reconciling the interests of the Muslims and the Hindus, but of combining the Indian states with the self-governing provinces of British India. This fact is ignored in all speeches and letters on the subject, either Here or in India. No Government which failed to secure the support of the Indian princes and the fighting races, as well as that of the business community in British India, could become responsible for the administration and defence of India as a whole. Every part of India is now governed by Indians and the problem of uniting these separate governments is a problem of federation. No act of generosity on the part of Great Britain could provide a solution, for what India needs is not ours to give

"Only with a federal constitution can the whole of India be united, and it is for the separate Indian-governed units to agree upon the form and powers of a federal government at the centre which they will accept. Such an Indian federation, when formed, should have the same measure of independence as the British Dominions, but until it is formed the present Government of India must continue, as in the past, to be responsible for the welfare of all parts of the Indian state. In the meantime, every facility should be afforded to the dif-

目前之印度問題非僅為調解回教徒與印度教徒之利益，且為聯合印度各邦與英印各自治省份，倫敦及印度各方所發表之演說與信件中曾未注意及此，任何政府苟不獲印度各王公各部族及英印商業社會之援助，則不能負責印度整個行政與防務，印度每一部份，現皆由印人管理，統一此各個政府之問題，乃一聯邦問題，英國方面任何大度之行爲，亦不能解決之，因印度所需要者，非吾人所有者之昇子也。

印度全部惟有以聯邦之憲法，方可團結，而各個印度統治單位，須同意互相接受之聯邦政府之形式與權力，此聯邦政府成立後，應與英國自治領有同樣之獨立措施，但在其未成立以前，目前印度之政府，必須繼續一盡過去之情形，負責處理印度所有各部份之福利，同時應供給一切便利，使各不同組

ferent component parts of that state to find a basis of federation. The present danger of attack from the enemy will probably do more than anything else to secure that union and the Japanese may soon do for India what they have already done for China and for the peoples of the American continent.”

成部份聯邦之基礎，目前敵軍進攻之危險，大約為達到此統一目標之最有力之因素，中國及美國大陸人民即因日本之侵略而形成統一，印度不久或亦受日本之禍云。

## 印度國民大會主席阿沙德致克利浦斯函

Azad, President of the Indian National Congress, sent a letter on April 11, 1942 to Sir Stafford Cripps giving the reasons for the Congress rejection of the British offer to India. It reads as follows:

"We are convinced that if the British government had not pursued a policy encouraging disruption, all of us, to whatever party or group we belong, will be able to come together and find a common line of action but unhappily even in this grave hour of peril, the British Government is unable to give up its wrecking policy.

"We are driven to the conclusion that the British Government attaches more importance to its ruling India as long as it can, and is promoting discord and disruption here with that end in view, than to effective defence of India against aggression and invasion that hang over us. To us and to all Indians the dominant consideration is defence and safety of India and it is by that test that we judge.

"The government view seems to be based on utter lack of confidence in the Indian people and in withholding real power from them. For the Indians the question of defence means giving it a national character and calling upon every man and woman in India to participate

印度國民大會主席阿沙德，於一九四二年四月十一日致函克利浦斯爵士，說明國民大會拒絕英國對印建議之理由，原文如次：

「余等深信如英國政府不採取一種鼓勵分裂之政策，則全體吾人，不論所屬黨派如何，必能團結一致行動一致，然所遺憾者乃甚重當此危急關頭，英國政府尚不能放棄其分化政策耳。

「以故吾人乃獲一結論即英國政府實著重於在可能範圍內，長期統治印度一點，為達到是項目的起見，不惜在印度挑動不和與分化，對於加強印度防務，抵禦當前之侵略者反不十分重視。然對於余等及印度全體人民，則最主要之問題乃印度之防務及安全，吾人所作之一切判斷均以此為準則。

「英國政府所持觀點似係以對印度人民完全缺乏信心，不願以真正權力授予印度人民為出發點。然就印度人之觀點而言，防務問題係屬於全國性質，必須召喚全印男女參

in it. It means trusting our own people and seeking their full cooperation in this great effort.

"You told me there would be a national government which would function as a cabinet and that the position of the Viceroy would be analagous to that of the King in England vis-a-vis his cabinet. Regarding the India Office you told me you were surprised that no one so far had mentioned this important matter and that the practical course was to have this attached or incorporated with the Dominions Office. This picture which you sketched before us has now been completely shattered by what you told us during our last interview."

"The picture placed before us at the last interview, is not essentially different from the old one. The continuation of India Office, which has been a symbol of evil to us, would confirm this picture. It has almost been taken for granted for some time past that the India Office would soon disappear as it was an anachronism, but now we are told that even this undesirable relic of the past age is going to continue. The picture of the government which was so like the old in all essential features is such that we cannot fit into it.

"Normally we would have little difficulty in disposing of this matter, for it is so far removed from all we have striven for, but in the circumstances of today we are prepared to give full consideration to every proposal which might lead to effective organisation of the defence of India. The peril that affects India affects us more than it can possibly

與其事，即須信任吾人之民衆，俾在此偉大努力當中，能獲得彼等之全力協助。

「君曾告余曰印度將成立一國民政府，其職權等於內閣，總督之地位將與英王對於其內閣之關係相似。關於印度事務部方面，君又曾告余曰，君對於迄今尚無人提及此項重要問題之一節甚表驚異，且曰可能之辦法係將印度事務部附屬或併入自治領事務部。然自最近一次會見君對余等發表談話之後，過去君對余等所作之一切描述已全都粉碎矣。

「最近一次會見中君對於余等之描述與過去者並非在本質上完全不同。印度事務部過去對於吾等實為一種禍患之象徵，其繼續存在實可證實上項描述之性質。過去若干時期以來，一般人幾均認為印度事務部將如不合宜之事物，不久即當消逝。然目前吾人乃獲知此項不受欢迎之過去遺物，仍將繼續存在。英國政府之建設與過去制度甚相類似，其主要各點均為吾人所無法適應者。

「就一般而論，吾人於處理是項問題方面，應無何種困難，因截至目前為止。是項問題並未予吾人以努力之目標以何種障礙，然在目前情況之下，吾人對於一切足以加強印度防務機構之建議，均準備予以充分之考慮。目前之危機對於印度及吾人之影響實較

effect any foreigner and we are anxious and eager to do our utmost to face it and overcome it, but we cannot undertake responsibilities when we not given freedom and power to shoulder these responsibilities effectively. We are prepared to put aside for the present all questions about the future, though, as we have indicated, we hold definite views about it, but the present national government must be a cabinet government with full power and must not be merely an executive Council."

其對於任何外國人之可能影響更屬嚴重。吾人深願竭盡一切能力應付是項危機並設法予以克服，然在吾人未獲自由與權力俾能勝任是項重責之前，吾人實無法相當是項重責。吾人對於未來之一切問題雖持確定之觀點，然目前亦準備暫予擱置，惟當前之國民政府應為具有全權之內閣政府不應僅為一種執行機構」云。



## 邱吉爾史達林莫斯科會議之公報

Mr. Winston Churchill held a series of talks with Mr. Josef Stalin in Moscow. The meeting lasted from August 12th to 15th, 1942. Mr. Harriman, Sir Alan Brooke, Sir Archibald Wavell, and Sir Alexander Cadogan were present. Besides Mr. Stalin, the Soviet was represented by Mr. Molotov and Marshal Voroshilov.

The following is a complete text of the communique regarding Mr. Churchill's meeting with Mr. Stalin in Moscow: "Negotiations have taken place in Moscow between the President of the Council of the People's Commissars of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. J. V. Stalin, and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr. Winston Churchill, in which Mr. Harriman, representing the President of the United States of America, participated.

"A number of decisions were reached covering the field of war against Hitlerite Germany and her associates in Europe. This is a just war of liberation, and both Governments are determined to carry on with all their power and energy until the complete destruction of Hitlerism and any similar tyranny has been achieved.

"The discussions, which were carried on in an atmosphere of cordiality and complete sincerity, provided the opportunity of re-affirming the existence of

邱吉爾與史達林曾在莫斯科舉行多次談話，其期間係自一九四二年八月十二日起至十五日止。哈里曼，布魯克，魏菲爾，賈德幹等與會，蘇方代表除史達林外，尚有莫洛托夫與伏洛希羅夫。

關於邱史兩氏在莫斯科會議之公報全文

如下：「蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦人民委員會主席史達林與聯合王國首相邱吉爾曾在莫斯科舉行會商，哈里曼亦代表美利堅合衆國總統參加。

關於對希特勒德國及其在歐洲之與國之戰爭方面已獲得若干決定。此為一爭取解放之正義戰爭，兩國政府均已決心以彼等所有之一切權能繼續作戰，直至達到希特勒主義以及任何之暴虐政治完全崩潰之目的而後已。

會議係於誠懇及完全實質之空氣中舉行

且得趁此機會重申蘇，英，美三國間與彼

close friendship and understanding between the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, in accordance with the Allied relationship existing between them.

此間之現存同盟關係相符合之密切友誼及諒

解之存在。

## Generalissimo's Messages to Roosevelt, Churchill

# 蔣委員長致羅邱二氏電文

Lauding the American and British move to relinquish extraterritorial rights in China, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has addressed the following messages of appreciation to President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill through the American and British Embassies respectively:

The message to President Roosevelt reads:

"On the occasion on the thirty-first anniversary of the Republic of China the entire nation rejoiced that the United States has made a voluntary move to relinquish extraterritorial rights in China. Furthermore the ringing of the Liberty Bell in Independence Hall to commemorate China's Liberty Day finds resounding echoes in every Chinese heart of goodwill and friendship for America.

These tributes will do more to uphold the morale of our people in continuing resistance than anything else could possibly do. I personally am so deeply moved by this beautiful and touching gesture that I cannot find words adequate to express my feeling. As a boy, the very words Liberty Bell and Independence Hall fired my imagination and made a profound and lasting impression my mind. Throughout my struggle to secure national freedom for China I have continuously dreamed of the day when she would assume the full stature of an independent

蔣委員長爲讚揚英美廢除在華「治外法

權」行動起見，於一九四二年十月十一日致

羅斯福總統及邱吉爾首相各一謝電如下：

### (一) 致羅斯福總統電

值茲中華民國三十一週之紀念日，欣悉美國自動放棄在華之「治外法權」，舉國無不歡欣，又聞貴國爲我國慶，特在獨立廳鳴自由之鐘，此項自由鐘聲，已在我國每一國民之心中，激成對美親密熱誠之回響。

此其有裨於敝國繼續抗戰民氣之提高，實勝於其他任何之力量。中正個人亦深爲此一優美動人之壯舉所感動，實無適當言詞足以表達余欣慰之感情，中正自幼即對貴國「自由鐘」與「獨立廳」等名詞寄以熱烈之嚮慕，此心早已深鑄不磨之印象。在求取國家自由之奮鬥中，無時不在懷想中國終有一日確立爲一完全獨立民主之國家，而今此一種

and democratic nation. Today this ideal has been realized.

From the bottom of my heart I thank you for your superb and inspired leadership and moral courage in assisting China to gain equality among the United Nations. I assure you that China shall not fail you in our joint task of securing freedom for all mankind."

The message to Prime Minister Churchill reads:

"China appreciates deeply the gesture of friendship and goodwill that Britain has made in determining to abrogate extraterritoriality in China. I feel certain that this expressive evidence of Sino-British friendship, based on equality and mutual trust, will inaugurate a new and significant era not only in the Far East but throughout the entire world. By this voluntary abandonment of obsolete privileges Britain has won a great moral victory to which Your Excellency's far-sighted statemanship has made a lasting contribution."

理想，業已由吾人共同實現矣。

閣下爲使我中國獲得平等地位所表現偉大精神之領導，以及無上之道德勇氣，中正願掬我衷誠，致其感謝，並向閣下保證，中國在求取全人類自由之共同事業中，決不負閣下之雅望也。

(二) 致邱吉爾首相電

中國對於貴國決定廢除在華「治外法權」之友善舉動，深爲感謝。余深信此種開示我中英友誼基於平等互信之明證，必可在遠東以及世界開創一嶄新而有意義之時代。英國自動放棄此等陳舊之特權，業已博得一道德上重要之勝利，此實閣下本於大政治家之遠見卓識之一永久貢獻也。

# U. S., British Announcement for Immediate Abolition of Extraterritorial Rights 英美立即廢棄治外法權之聲明

## U.S. State Department's Announcement

On October 9th, 1942 the Acting Secretary of State informed the Chinese Ambassador in Washington that the Government of the United States is prepared promptly to negotiate with the Chinese Government a treaty providing for the immediate relinquishment of this country's extraterritorial rights (1) in China, and for settlement of related questions, and that the Government of the United States expects in the near future to present to the Chinese Government for its consideration a draft treaty which would accomplish the purpose mentioned.

"The Government of the United States has, during the past several weeks, exchanged views with the British Government in regard to this general question and the Government of the United States is gratified to know that the British Government shares this Government's views and is taking similar action."

## British Foreign Office's Announcement

His Majesty's Government (2) declared in public pronouncements on January 14, 1939, July 18, 1940 and June 11, 1941 that they were prepared at the conclusion of hostilities in the Far East to negotiate with the Chinese Government for abroga-

## 美國務院聲明

「一九四二年十月九日，代理國務卿曾通知中國駐美大使謂。本政府準備立時與中國政府談判，締結一規定本國政府立時放棄在華治外法權及解決有關問題之條約，本政府並望在最近期內，以完成上述目的之草約，提交中國政府考慮。」

「過去數週內，本政府業與英政府就是項一般問題交換意見，美政府欣悉英政府與本政府具有同樣之意見，並正採取相似之行動」。

## 英外務部聲明

本國政府曾於一九三九年一月十四日、一九四〇年七月十八日及一九四一年六月十一日，公開宣佈準備於遠東軍事行動結束後

tion of extraterritorial rights and privileges hitherto enjoyed by their nationals in China. Similar pronouncements have been made by the United States Government with whom His Majesty's Government have been in consultation. In order to emphasise their friendship and solidarity with their Chinese allies, His Majesty's Government now decided to proceed further in the matter at once. Accordingly the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in a communication (3) to the Chinese charge d'affaires in London on October 9 said that His Majesty's Government would in the near future open discussions with the Chinese Government and present for their consideration a draft treaty for immediate relinquishment of extraterritorial rights and privileges in China and settlement of questions intimately connected therewith. His Majesty's Government recently had been engaged in exchange of views with the United States Government on this question. They have been pleased to learn that a similar communication was made by the United States Government on the same day to the Chinese Ambassador in Washington and the fact that the two governments found it possible to take similar action in this important matter which occasioned (4) lively satisfaction in London.

，與中國政府進行談判，以廢除英國人民迄今仍在華享受之治外法權，本國政府所與諮詢之美國政府，亦已發表相似之聲明，本國政府茲為強調其對中國盟友之友誼與聯繫計，決定就此事有一進步之表示，外務部大臣因之特於十月九日致倫敦中國大使館代辦之照會中表示，本國政府須於最近將來，與中國政府進行談判，並將以規定立時放棄在華治外法權及解決其密切相關問題之草約，提交中國政府考慮，本國政府最近曾與美政府就此事交換意見，並欣悉美政府亦於同日向中國駐美大使發出相似之通知，兩國政府能對此重要之問題採取相似之行動，實使倫敦方面極感滿意。

註：(1) a. extraterritorial rights 普通係指一國使節駐在他國時其館地等於本國之領土，受本國法律之保障，故譯作治外法權。一般人為別於上述治外法權起見，常將英美等國在華所享特權譯作領事裁判權，其實英美等國在華所享者不僅領事裁判權，如駐兵權，內河航行權，各種讓與權等均不能包括在內，故仍以譯作治外法權為是。 b. in regard to 關於 c. shares this Government's views 與本國政府持同樣意見。

(2) His Majesty's Government 英王陛下之政府即英國政府。

(3) Communications 照會或通知書。

(4) occasioned 引起，使。

PREMIER CHURCHILL'S BROADCAST TO THE BRITISH NATION

## 英首相邱吉爾對全國廣播演辭

Delivered on May 10, 1942

一九四二年五月十日發表

"We are sending our salutations to the Russian armies and hope that the thousands of tanks and aeroplanes which have been carried to their aid from Britain and America" would help to crush the German summer offensive. "There is one serious matter which I must mention to you. The Soviet Government have expressed to us the view that the Germans in the desperation of their assault may make use of poison gas against the armies and people of Russia.

"We are ourselves firmly resolved not to use this odious weapon unless it is used first by the Germans. Knowing our Hun, however, we have not neglected to make preparations on a formidable scale. I wish now to make it plain that we shall treat the unprovoked use of poison gas against our Russian ally exactly as if it were used against ourselves and if we are satisfied that this new outrage has been committed by Hitler we will use our great and growing air superiority in the west to carry gas warfare on the largest possible scale, far and wide against military objectives in Germany."

"It is thus for Hitler to choose whether he wishes to add his additional horror to aerial warfare. We have for some time past bringing our defensive and precautionary arrangements up to date and I now give the public warning

吾人茲謹向蘇聯陸軍致敬，並望英美援辦之數千輛坦克車與飛機協助蘇軍粉碎德國之夏季攻勢。然而今日有一嚴重之問題，為余所必領向國人說明者。蘇聯政府曾向吾人表示，德人處於進攻之絕境時，或有對蘇聯軍員使用毒氣之可能。

吾人自身決定不用此可憎之武器，除非德國先行使用也。然德人既認日耳曼人，則對於其大規模之準備，自亦未加漠視。余今欲聲明一點，即吾人對未經挑釁而遂行向蘇聯盟友使用毒氣之行為，將視爲一如對吾人自身使用毒氣之行為。吾人並相信希特勒一旦有此暴行，則吾人亦將藉我強大而日益增強中之空軍優勢，向西方德境之軍事目標發動可能之最大規模與廣泛性之毒氣戰爭。

職是之故，希特勒可自行抉擇，彼是否欲於空中戰爭中再加上此項恐怖也。過去之若干時日中，吾人曾作充分之防禦與戒備措置，故余今日特提出公開之警告，俾免有疏

so that there may be no carelessness or neglect. Of one thing I am sure—that the British people who have entered into full comradeship of war with our Russian ally will not shrink from any sacrifice or trial which that comradeship may require.

“I must remind you that I have now served for two years to a day as the King's First Minister and review the period through which you have passed, marked by many misfortunes and disappointments, and the events which led to the beating down of Holland and Belgium, the total defeat of France and the shameful surrender of the men of Bordeaux. Mussolini, the ‘Italian miscalculator’, thought he saw his chance of a cheap and easy triumph and rich plunder and he struck at the back of a dying France and at what he believed was a doomed Britain.

“Here at home in this island invasion was near, the Mediterranean was closed to us. The long route round the Cape, where General Smuts stood guard alone, was open. Our small and ill-equipped forces in Egypt and the Sudan seemed to await destruction. All the world and even our best friends thought our end had come. Accordingly, we prepared ourselves to conquer or perish. And by the mercy of God we were preserved.

“For a whole year after the fall of France we stood alone, keeping the flag of freedom flying and the hopes of the world alive. We conquered the Italian empire. We destroyed or captured almost

忽或漠視之虞。余願聲明一點，即與蘇聯盟友完全攜手作戰之英國人民，決與盟友共同接受任何犧牲患難而不稍事退縮。

余必須提醒諸君，余為英王所任命之首相，已屆兩年，並須檢討過去歷經之不幸與失望。以及荷比失利，法國之戰敗與夫波爾多政府之可恥投降。估計錯誤之墨索里尼，當時認為有機可乘，並以為勝利與豐富之戰利品唾手可得，故由後背打擊瀕危之法國西與其所認為註定行將覆滅之英國。

當時吾英本部距離被侵之期實甚迫切，吾人在地中海之航路已被封鎖，僅有直末資將軍獨力護衛之繞道好望角航綫，尚可通行。埃及與蘇丹境內配備羸劣之我軍，似亦在靜待毀滅。而全球人士甚望吾人之最好友人，俱以為吾人末日已臨也。吾人至是乃準備克服敵人或接受覆滅。但卒因上帝之憐憫，而使吾人得以保全。

法國失敗後，吾人獨力使自由之旗繼續飄揚，使世界之希望繼續存在者，曾達一年之久。其間吾人曾征服義大利帝國，且幾將



ll of Mussolini's African army. We liberated Abyssinia. We have so far successfully protected Palestine, Syria, Persia and Iraq from German designs. We suffered grievous reverses in going to aid the heroic Greeks. We bore unflinchingly many a heavy blow abroad and still more in our cities at home. And all this time, cheered and helped by President Roosevelt and the United States, we stood alone, neither faltering nor flagging.

"As in the last war, so in this, we are moving through many reverses and defeats to a complete and final victory. We have only to endure and persevere to conquer. Now we are no longer unarmed, we are well armed. Now we are not alone. We have mighty allies bound irrevocably by solemn faith and common interests to stand with us in the ranks of the United Nations. There can only be one end, when it will come, or how it will come, I cannot tell. But when we survey the overwhelming resources which are at our disposal, once they are fully marshalled and developed, we may stride forward into the unknown with growing confidence.

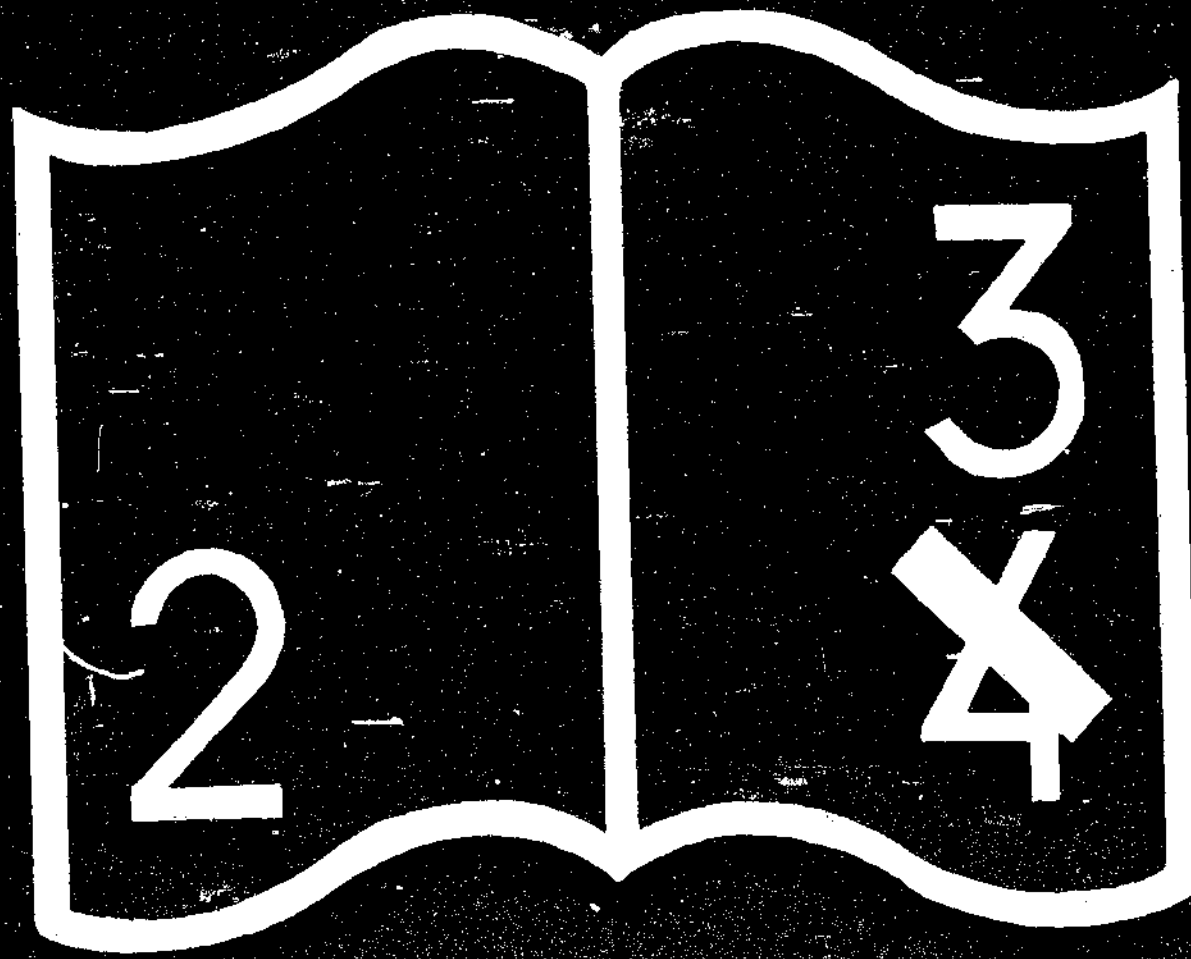
"As has happened before in our island history, by remaining steadfast and unyielding-stubborn if you will against the continental tyrant we reached a moment when that tyrant made a fatal blunder. Indeed, when the whole story is told I believe it will be found that the dictators for all their preparations and prolonged scheming have made greater mistakes than the democracies they

驅索風尼之非洲軍全部予以殲滅或俘虜。吾人曾解放阿比西尼亞。吾人曾對巴力斯坦，敘利亞，伊納與伊拉克作有效之保護，免其受德方之進窺以迄今日。吾人曾為援助英勇之希臘人民而曾遭受悲慘之挫敗。吾人曾在國外遭受無數之重擊，而在國內所愛者尤多。然吾人始終並未動搖。在此時期，羅斯福總統與美利堅合眾國，特鼓勵吾人，並給予援助，吾人則不躊躇，不動搖，獨自屹立。

吾人正渡過若干挫敗與失利，以完成最後之勝利，上次大戰如此，此次亦然。吾人惟有忍受與堅持以制勝。今日吾人已不稱爲非武者，而爲武裝精良者矣。今日吾人亦非孤立者矣，吾人獲有爲神聖之信念與共同之利益，而堅強聯合作戰之強大盟友，與吾人並立于聯合國之行列。未來之結果僅有一種，然何時降臨，或如何降臨，則非余之所能言也。然而吾人觀于本身所能使用而具有之優越之強大資源，此等資源一旦獲得完善之部署與開發，則吾人即能以日益增強之信念，向未知之前途邁進。

國人倘能繼續以堅忍不屈之精神，對抗大陸之暴君，則吾人即將進入使暴君鑄成致命大錯之時期，此固爲吾英歷史所昭示于吾人者。余觀于過去之全部歷史，相信獨裁者雖有準備與長期之計劃，然其所犯之錯誤。

大乎其所攻擊之民主國家所犯者。



编码错误

have assumed."

Hitler had made a mistake when he drove the youth and manhood of the German nation forward into Russia. The Russians under their warrior chief Stalin sustained losses which no other country or government had ever borne in so short a time, "but they, like us, were resolved never to give in. They kept their faces to the foe. From the first time when they were attacked we made brotherhood with them and a solemn compact to destroy Nazidom and all its works.

"Then Hitler made his second grand blunder. He forgot about winter. It came and fell upon his ill-clad armies and with winter came valiant Russian counter-attacks. No one can say with certainty how many millions of Germans have already perished in Russia and its snow-certainly more than were killed in the whole four and quarter years of the last war.

"So beset is this man with his lust for blood and conquest, so blinding is the power he wields over the lives of Germans that he even blurted out the other day that his armies would be better clothed and his locomotives better prepared for their second winter in Russia than they were for the first. There was an admission about the length of war that struck a chill in German hearts as cold as the icy winds of Russia.

"Certain it is that the Russian armies are stronger than they were last year, that they have learned by hard experience to fight the Germans in the field, that they are well-equipped and

希特勒那使德國青年與壯年人民攻蘇聯

爲一種錯誤，蘇聯人民在其戰士領袖史達林領導之下，其所受之損失，非任何其他國家與政府在短期內所受損失之可及。然而蘇聯人民，亦與吾人相同，決不讓步，彼等面向敵人，而自彼等首次被襲之時起，吾人即與之結爲同志，並訂立神聖之協定，以消滅納粹強權及其一切事業。

希特勒其後又犯其第二大錯，彼竟未憶及嚴冬之降臨。嚴冬之降臨，侵略服裝不足之希特勒軍隊，而蘇聯之英勇反攻，則隨冬季而俱臨。德人喪命於蘇境與大雪之下者，究有幾百萬，無人能加以確切之估計，惟其死亡之人員，必超過上次大戰四年零三個月中之折損額則毫無疑義。

此人（指希氏）對於嗜殺與征服慾竟如此沈迷不醒，對於其操縱德人生命之權力，竟如此暴狂，甚至某日彼尚明言在第二年之冬季，其陸軍將獲得更佳之服裝，其機車將有更佳之準備云云。然而彼亦承認戰爭之長期性，使德人之心受冷如蘇聯寒風之刺骨侵襲。

蘇聯之軍隊，確較去年強大，彼等已因過去之艱苦經驗而知如何在戰場上打擊敵人，彼等已有良好之設備，其堅定與英勇之精

that their constancy and courage are unquenched. That is what is in front of Hitler. But this is not all he has left behind. We are on his tracks and so is the United States. Already the Royal Air Force has set about him. A British and possibly an American bombing offensive against Germany will be one of the principal features in this year's world war.

"Now is the time to use our increasingly superior air strength to strike hard and continually at the home front in Germany, from which much evil has leaped out upon the world and which is the foundation of the whole enormous German invasion of Russia. Now is the time to bring home to the German people the wickedness of their rulers by destroying under their very eyes factories and sea ports on which their war effort depends. German Propaganda has appealed to the British public opinion to stop the use of this severe forms of warfare which according to German view should be a strict monopoly of Herrenvolk.

"Herr Hitler himself has not taken at all kindly to this treatment and he has been good enough to mingle terrible threats with his whinings. He warns us solemnly that if we go on smashing up German cities, war factories and bases he will retaliate against our cathedrals and historic monuments if they are not too far inland. We have heard his threats before. Eighteen months ago, in September 1940, when he thought he had an everwhelming air force at his command, he declared that he would rub out—that

神，更始終未懈，此即今日希特勒之真面目

者。然而彼所引起之形勢尙不止此，吾人

日正追蹤而至，美國亦然。皇家空軍業向之施行打擊，英國甚或美國對德之轟炸攻勢，將為本年內世界大戰主要特點之一。

德國之本境，為世界上無數罪惡之淵藪，復為德國大舉進犯蘇聯之基礎。目前已至利用吾人日趨優越之空軍力，予德國本境以猛烈及不斷打擊之時。目前亦為吾人摧毀德國作戰力量所依賴之工廠與海港，將德國統治者之殘暴，還施於德國人民眼前之時。德國之宣傳，曾向英國輿論界呼籲停止空中襲擊。就德國之意見此類激烈之戰爭方式，應為德國人所嚴格保持之專利品。

實則希特勒本人並不喜受如此之待遇，彼所提出之警告，於可怖之詞句中，尙有挾悲恐之哀鳴。彼曾厲然警告吾人，苟吾人繼續炸毀德國之城市兵工廠及根據地，則我國距海岸並不遙遠之教堂以及歷史上古蹟，均將為彼採取報復手段時之目標。吾人前次亦曾屢次獲聞希特勒之憤懣言詞，十八個月以滿，在一九四〇年九月間，當時彼自以為擁

was his actual expression—our towns and cities and he certainly had a good try. Now the boot is on the other leg. Hitler has even called into question the humanity of these grim developments of war. What a pity that this confession did not take place before he bombed Warsaw, or massacred 20,000 Dutch folk in defenceless Rotterdam or wrecked his cruel vengeance upon the open city of Belgrade.

“In those days he used to boast that for every ton of bombs we dropped on Germany he would drop ten times or even one hundred times as many on Britain. Indeed, for a time we had to suffer very severely from his vastly superior strength and utter ruthlessness. But now it is the other way round. We are in a position to carry into Germany many times the tonnage of high explosives which he can send here and this proportion will increase all summer, all autumn and all winter.

“Moreover, at the same our methods of dealing with raiders over here have more than repaid the immense care and science bestowed upon them and the very large scale upon which they are applied. About one-tenth of all raiding aircraft which assailed our island in April were destroyed, where as acting on a scale several times as big, what losses we have suffered have been proportionately far smaller. ‘Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceedingly small.’ And for my part I hail it as an example of sublime and poetic justice that those who have loosed these horrors upon mankind shall now in their own

有強大無敵之空軍，乃倡言彼將掃光其營時彼確用此二字）吾人之城市，且彼確曾努力試為之。但時至今日，局面已完全轉變，希特勒竟促吾人注意戰爭中此類冷酷之發展所涉及之人道問題矣。在彼轟炸華沙，屠戮鹿特丹毫無防衛之荷人二萬，或對伯爾格來德不設防城市施行殘酷之報復之前，彼竟未作此論，實屬可憾。

當年彼常誇稱，吾人在德國每投彈一噸，則彼將在英國投彈十倍甚至百倍。吾人確曾一度因彼之實力遠為優越及其行動之蠻然無情而遭受嚴重之損失。但今日吾人已與彼易位而處，吾人今日可以攜帶高度爆炸彈出襲德國之噸數，已超出希特勒所可送至此間者多倍，且此項比例將隨四時之轉序而俱增。

同時吾人在此間上空與彼所遣來之飛機週旋之方法，已足以報答外間對於是項問題之廣大注意，科學對彼等之恩賜以及此等方法之大規模運用而有餘，並獲科學之助力防禦之規模亦日大。四月間來襲我島之飛機，被我擊毀者約達全部十分之一，而我方之活動規模，數倍於敵，所受損失則比例上遠為微小。諺語有云，「天網恢恢，疏而不漏」。就余觀之，余視此事為莊嚴而富於詩意之暴報之一明證，其以恐怖行動施諸人類者，其本土及其家人現亦將遭受其殃，而此輩人物亦

homes and persons feel the shattering strokes of retributive. In this way the Germans may find time for meditation and repentance and remember the millions of Russian<sup>op</sup> woman and children they have driven out to perish in snows and the mass executions of peasantry and prisoners of war which in varying scales they are inflicting upon so many of the ancient and famous peoples of Europe. We now wait in what is a stormy lull, but still a lull before the hurricane bursts again in its fullest fury on the Russian front."

"I must now warn the Germans against the use of gas. Deliveries of tanks, aircraft and munitions to Russia from Britain and the United States continued upon a full scale despite fearful storms in the Arctic Circle, lurking U-boats and shore-based enemy aircraft as well as German destroyers. So far, though not without some loss both to supply ships and their escorts, every convoy and successfully fought its way through.

"Is there anything else we can do to take the weight off Russia? We are urged from many quarters to invade the continent of Europe and from a second front. Naturally I shall not disclose what our intentions are, but there is one thing I will say. I welcome the militant and aggressive spirit of the British nation so strongly shared across the Atlantic Ocean. Is it far better that in the 32nd month of this hard war we should find this general desire to come to closest grips with the enemy than that there

將感公正果報之不爽，爲之不寒而慄矣。在此方面，德國人民可獲一默思及懺悔之機會，並憶及數百萬之蘇聯婦女兒童，爲彼等所驅逐而流離失所，凍死於冰天雪地之中，彼等應亦憶及農民及俘虜之橫遭大屠殺，致使歐洲若干古老著名之民族均蒙其不同程度之殘殺。今日有如暴風雨到來前之沉寂之一刻，吾人刻正作等待，然在蘇聯將再度發生最猛烈之颶風以前，必尚有一刻之沉寂。

目前余必須警告德國勿用毒氣。現北極海一帶波濤洶湧，敵人潛艇四伏，據海岸爲基地之敵飛機以及驅逐艦，不時出襲，但英美兩國仍繼續以坦克車飛機及軍火大量運往蘇聯。過去我方之供應船及其護送艦隻雖非毫無損失，但每一護航隊均安然渡過難關。

吾人尙有何其他途徑減輕蘇聯之重負乎。若干方面，曾促吾人進攻歐陸，開闢第二戰場，余自不擬宣佈吾人之意向究屬如何，但有一點余可提出說明，英國人民之尙武主動精神，爲大西洋對岸之人民所同具之事實，爲余所極表歡迎。在此次艱苦之戰爭已臨第三十二個月之際，吾人發現一般之希望，仍願與敵人相搏鬥，而絕無其他國民在其他戰爭中所常發生之厭戰思想及啼哭墜泣之現

should be any signs of war weariness or weepings and wailings and peace agitations which in other lands and in other wars have of then hampered the action and vigour of governments? It is encouraging and inspiring to feel the strong heart-beats of a free nation surging forward, stern and undaunted, in a righteous cause. We must not fail them either in daring or in wisdom.

As to Madagascar, we have found it necessary this week to take precautions to prevent Madagascar falling into enemy hands by some dishonourable and feeble drifting or connivance by Vichy like that which injured us so much in Indo-China. It is three months since the decision was taken and more than two months since an expedition left these shores. Its first task was to secure the splendid harbour of Diego Suarez which, if it had fallen into Japanese hands, might have paralysed all our communications with India and the Middle East. While troops were on the sea, I must tell you, I felt a shiver every time I saw the word 'Madagascar' in the newspapers.

"All these articles with diagrams and measured maps showing how very important it was for us to take Madagascar and forestall the Japanese and be there first for once filled me with apprehension. There was no question of leakage or breach of confidence. As they say, great minds think alike, but a shrewd surmise may be as dangerous as a leakage and it was with considerable relief that I learned that the difficulties

象，至害及政府之行動與鬥志，事非可稱讚之事。自由之國家毅然前進，堅定不屈，爲正義而奮鬥，誠可令人興奮鼓舞至於心弦緊張之程度。吾人不論在勇氣及智慧方面，均不應有負於彼等。

至於馬達加斯加，吾人發現有於本週內作未雨綢繆之必要，以防維琪重演爲害吾人至鉅之越南一幕，以可恥及孱弱之行徑或縱容默許之方式，使馬達加斯加島陷於敵人之手。吾人於今三月以前，即已作此決定，遂征軍之由此間海岸出發，距今亦逾二月，其首一任務，在攻取第亞哥蘇勒士之精良海港。該港若落入日人之手，則吾人與印度及中東間之交通綫，將全部受其妨礙。余必須奉告國人，當部隊出發海上之際，余每見報紙上刊載「馬達加斯加」一字，即不禁寒慄一次。

各報之文字，附有圖表及地圖，說明吾人應捷足先登，攻取馬達加斯加，以防日本之奪取該島爲如何重要。余每一讀及，即感恐懼。吾人自不必慮及洩露機密或失信之問題，但常言謂，「智者所見略同」，敏銳之態度與消息之洩露，殆同樣可畏。當余獲悉吾人之將士所遭遇之困難與損失並未加劇，及

of our soldiers and their losses had not been aggravated, and that the operations had been swiftly and effectually carried out.

“We hold these places in trust for the gallant France which we have known and marched with and whose restoration to her place among the great powers of the world is indispensable to future Europe.

“Madagascar rests under the safe guard of the United Nations. Vichy, in grip of the German's, has been made to bluster. The France that rose at St. Nazaire and will one day rise in indescribably fury against Nazis understands.

Churchill then paid tribute to Malta and said: “For nearly two years the Heroic Defenders of Malta have been under the terrific air attack. For the moment, the attack upon which has been slackened. It looks as if a lot of enemy aircrafts have moved eastward. If so, this supreme air battle for Malta upon which they have concentrated such immense preponderance of strength and for which they have sacrificed so many of those aircrafts which they now have to count more carefully we will have been definitely won. But other perils remain and I know no man in the British Empire to whom I would sooner entrust in combatting and beating down those perils than Lord Gort.

“If we look back today over the course of the present war we can see that it seems to divide itself into four very clearly defined chapters. First ended with the overrunning by Nazis of the

戰爭已迅速進行戰況並甚順利後，始感釋然。

吾人之保守此地，係為彼輩英勇之法人，吾人知彼等甚深，且曾駢肩並進，其恢復世界大國間之地位，復為未來歐洲所不可或少之舉。

馬達加斯加現已在同盟國家保護之下，德國掌握中之維琪，曾受指使而大言恫嚇。在聖那最爾崛起及未來必將高舉義旗對納粹展開反抗怒潮之法蘭西，已明瞭此舉之意義。

邱氏繼對馬爾他島深致讚許。據稱，馬爾他島上之英勇守軍，無時不在可怖之空襲中，迄今已將近二年，現敵人之空襲為勢轉弱，殊可慶幸。就情勢觀之，一若敵機已有多架東調，果爾，則敵人集中如彼重大之實力，性體如彼衆多之飛機所進行之馬爾他大空襲中，吾人確然將操勝利之左券。但其極危險仍然存在。余知英帝國境內有才可與此類危險抗衡而將之消滅者，殆未有過於谷特勳爵者，余當即以此項責任委諸谷氏。

苟吾人今日檢討戰爭之過去，吾人即可看出其似判然劃分為四期。第一期結束於納粹之西歐及法國之崩潰。第二期英國孤立與



Western Europe and the fall of France. Second chapter, British alone, ended with Hitler's attack upon Russia. I would call the third chapter which then began 'the Russian Glory, may it long continue. Fourth chapter opened at Pearl Harbour when the military party in Japan treacherously attacked the United States and Great Britain in the Far East. That is where we are now. Struggle has become worldwide and the fate of all states and nations and their future is at stake. The late chapter of 'Universal War' confronts us with many difficulties and immense complications.

It is true that the Japanese taking advantage of our preoccupations elsewhere and of the fact that the United States had striven for so long to keep peace, have seized more easily and more quickly than they expected their lands of booty and desire in East Indian Archipelago. Henceforward the Japanese would find resistance stiffening on all their widely spread fronts. They can ill afford the losses such as those they have sustained in the action of the Coral Sea. They cannot be indifferent to the loss of aircraft inflicted upon them at so many points and particularly off the northern coast of Australia and in their repulse at Colombo and Trincomalee."

"The modern war power of the United States, both actual and potential, is alone many times greater than the power of Japan and we also will make our contribution to the final defeat and punishment of this ambitious and greedy nation. I am not prone to make predictions, but

戰，結束於希特勒之攻蘇。其後第三期開始。余願稱此期為「蘇聯榮譽」期，並希望其能長此繼續。第四期始於珍珠港之被襲。日本之軍閥以詭詐之行徑，在遠東襲擊英美，吾人今日即處此期之中。現戰事已擴大於全球，各國之命運及其前途，均處於危險之境。在此「環球戰爭」期中，吾人遭遇多次困難及繁複之糾紛。

日本確曾利用吾人有事於他方之機會以及美國長期努力以圖保持和平之事實，實現其奪取東印度羣島之希望，實現此舉之容易及迅速誠出乎彼等預料之外。惟今後彼將發現其擴張遙遠之戰線上。對方之抵抗力，正在加強之中，日本實再無力忍受，有如珊瑚海海戰中所遭受之損失。日本在各地喪失飛機，必難漠然視之，尤以澳洲北岸海外之損失及其在科倫坡及亭可馬里之受挫為然。

美國一國現有及潛在之現代作戰實力，已數倍於日本，吾人亦將對最後擊敗並懲罰此貪婪之國家竭盡吾人之力量。余並不願作預言，但今夜余對於英美海上實力之將制壓

I have no doubt tonight that British and American sea power will grip and hold the Japanese and that overwhelming air power supported by covering military operations will lay them low. This would come to pass very much sooner should anything happen to Hitler in Europe.

"Therefore, tonight I give a message of good cheer. You deserve it and facts endorse it. But be it good cheer or be it bad cheer, it will make no difference to us. We shall drive on to the end and do our duty, win or die. God helping us, we can do no other."

日本同降吾人力足壓倒敵人之空軍艦隊陸軍之作戰，必能迫使敵人屈膝，則屬實無疑。苟歐洲方面希特勒將遭遇何項厄運，則此時期定到來，勢必遠為提前。

因此余今夜願向國人致歡欣鼓舞之詞，國人對此並無愧色，而當前之事實亦確足以證實之。但不論其為歡欣鼓舞之詞，或令人沮喪之訊，對吾人皆無區別，吾人決向目標邁進，竭盡責任，具成功成仁之決心，吾人並無他途可尋。上帝其佑吾人云。

# Will Dawn Come from the East?

(東方將黎明乎?)

By Madame Chiang Kai-shek

## 如是我觀

蔣 宋 美 齡

Since China was opened to the world, relations between the East and West may be divided into three stages. In the first the weapon of the West towards China was always force. By pointing the gun at her she was made to suffer humiliation after humiliation. All her port cities were opened in an actual as well as a metaphorical sense, at the point of the bayonet.

The result was what might have been expected. China resolved to have as little to do with the West as possible. She was forced to trade, but she did so reluctantly, and reduced social and diplomatic contacts to the minimum. Withdrawing to her own ivory pagoda, she decided to let the crude world go on its power worshipping path. She scorned to demean herself by learning the ways of the West.

This policy was not effective. It left China behind in modern scientific and industrial developments, thereby causing her to get out of step with the changing world. In the meantime, the West established self-governing cities in China on their own model in violation of China's sovereign rights, but as a face-saving gesture shrouded them under the thin veil of Foreign Settlements and Concessions. The West also instituted a vicious legal device

自從中國海禁大開與世界交通以來，我國與西洋的關係可分作三個時期，在第一個時期，西洋人總是用武力爲對付中國的工具，槍口對準着我們，使我們一再蒙受恥辱，我國一切的通商口岸不論從實際上說或用比喻來說，都是在西洋人刺刀威脅之下強迫開放的。

這個結果如何？當然可想而知了，就是中國儘可能的避免與西洋人發生關係，希望愈少接觸愈好，因此中國雖不得不與外國通商，然而他總是遲疑却願滿心的不願意，其他社交與外交的接觸，也儘可能的減少到最低限度。中國決心故步自封退縮到象牙之塔裏，讓這個暴戾的世界循着牠崇拜武力的途徑自己去發展，所以中國不屑學習西法，認爲這種政策方法與行爲是有損我大國風度的卑劣行徑。

中國採取這個政策的效果，祇使中國與近代科學工業的進步不發生關係，而與一日千里瞬息萬變的世界脫了節，同時西洋人侵犯了中國的主權，在中國的領土之內，用他們自己的型式建設了若干自治城市，爲了顧全他的面子起見，美其名曰租界來作表面的掩飾，並且還創設了一種法律上十分不公允的制度，名曰領事裁判權，使外人可以不受中國法庭的審判。對於中國的財富資源也毫不客氣染指掠奪，我們最富饒的礦產歸入了

known as extraterritoriality, which removed foreigners from the jurisdiction of Chinese courts. Nor did the West keep their hands off our material resources. The richest of our mines passed under foreign control. The foreigners administered our Customs, salt revenue, railways, in fact took over management of virtually all our public utilities while even the control of foreign exchange was vested in them. With the exception of the Christian Church, the policy of the West and the whole seemed to be to get as much as possible from us by force and to give nothing in return that it could withhold. The superiority complex was a cardinal point in the creed of the western Powers in their dealings with all things Chinese and this was insisted upon in season and out.

Knowledge of Chinese literature and philosophy was, however, making some progress among western scholars. It was recognized that China had, culturally a great contribution to make to the world. Accomplished literati of all nations translated some of the greatest works of Chinese writers and made them accessible to the western world.

This, though a move in the right direction, failed to correct the misconception which the West had formed of China and which was based on their unquestioning belief in their own superiority. However much they might respect China culturally, they seemed to be constitutionally unable to regard her as an equal. The development of trade made it necessary for nations to conclude political and economic agreements with each other and China was forced to be a party to many of them. It is significant, however, that in practically all of these treaties China was inferentially considered as an inferior, not as an equal. This arrogant belief in innate western ascendancy was largely fostered by the treaty

外人的掌握。我們的關稅，鹽稅，鐵路等立國的命脈，經濟政治各種主權都由外國人來經營管理，差不多一切的公用事業，甚至外國的管理我們也不能自主。西洋人的政策，除基督教會傳道的以外，處處表現他們意欲儘可能地用暴力來掠奪我們，凡是他們所到手的東西，則一點也不肯放鬆，不肯發還一些給我們。西洋各國對待中國，心中老是抱定了自居優越的宗旨，而且不論時境有沒有變遷，總是不肯放棄這種優越之感。

然而中國的學術思想後來漸漸為西洋學者所認識，於是西洋學術界對於中國的觀念，稍稍有了改善，他們承認，中國在文化方面對世界的貢獻很大，各國博雅的學者翻譯了若干中國偉大著作，使西洋人也能理解中國的學術思想。

這雖是一種合理的進展，但是仍舊不能改正西洋人根據優越感所造成的對華錯誤觀念。他們在文化方面雖不能不尊重中國，但似乎覺得中國先天的總不能與西洋平等。各國因為貿易的發展，彼此不能不訂立政治或經濟的條約，而中國也不能不和許多國家訂約，但是縱觀我中國和外國所訂的條約，差不多完全把中國視為低劣的國家，從來沒有基於平等立場的。西洋人傲慢頑固輕視中國的觀念，多半是由於通商口岸的洋行大班所造成的。這些人所接觸的中國人僅限於一些買辦階級等市儈洋奴人物，而他們對於中國

port Taipans (foreign heads of banks and other business houses) whose prejudiced knowledge of China was restricted to associations with their subservient Chinese comrades and the ignorant gossip gleaned in their club bars. Needless to say this die-hard attitude did infinite mischief to China and to her relationship with the world.

Then began the second stage. It took, however, a continent-shaking shock to compel the West to realize that China stood for something that was never dreamt of in their philosophy, and even then this realization was imperfect. When Japan forced war upon us in 1937—which interfered with China's foreign trade—the West became very sympathetic. China was immediately applauded, perhaps, at first, rather condescendingly. But the interest, although sympathetic, was as detached as that of spectators at a college football game, cheering from the safety of a stadium while taking no personal risk in the game themselves. It was not until later, due to the strenuous and selfless efforts of freedom-loving men and women the world over, particularly in America and in the British Commonwealth of nations, that the man in the street realized as he watched us that it was his battle that we were fighting; that it was on his behalf as much as our own that we were shedding our blood and grimly scarring the smiling landscape of our country to prevent our cities, villages and resources from falling into enemy hands. We were regarded by him with a kind of puzzled interest, inspired by goodwill but still uncomprehending.

What a world of difference there exists between the fighting at Shanghai in 1937 and the defence of the so-called impregnable Maginot Line! The Chinese were not allowed by the foreign Powers to fortify the Shanghai area or even dig trenches near the city though the Japan-

的知識，也都是從酒排間俱樂部閒談妄語中所聽來的，于是他對中國自然而然抱着一種牢不可破的偏見。這一種頑固的態度，對於中國的外交關係，自然都有無窮的惡劣影響。

其次是第二個時期開始了。中國這條蛰伏的潛龍，其驚天動地的震動，使西洋人不得不認識中國有一種卓異的精神，這種精神決不是他們過去哲學中所能夢想得到的。但這還沒有真正的認識。及至一九三七年日本以全力侵略中國，使中國不得不起而抗戰的時候，戰爭阻礙着中國的國際貿易，於是西洋很同情中國，而中國立刻受到他們的讚美。但在起初，西洋人仍不失為一種屈己以諛人的態度。他們的關心與同情，仍也帶着參觀足球比賽時的情緒。在安全的看台上還用不着親冒矢石的危險與辛勞，祇是從旁吶喊而已，直到後來，全世界愛自由的男女，尤其是美國，英國及英屬各邦的人民共同奮起，作公而無私的鬥爭之時，西洋一般人士方始認識我們的戰爭也就是他們的戰爭，我們為了使城市村鎮，資源財產，不論敵手，所以不惜流血，不惜犧牲，不惜錦繡山河留下殘破淒涼的痕跡，這不僅為了我們自己，同時也為了他們，為善意所驅使，所以發生了一種茫然的關心情緒對待我們，但對於我們還沒有完全的瞭解。

一九三七年的保衛淞滬之戰，與西洋人所謂固若金湯的馬奇諾防線，其間的差別如何，大家必能知道。當時各國不准我們在上海一帶設防，甚至在上海近處開掘壕溝亦在所不許，而一方面則允許日本人以上海為海

ese were permitted to use Shanghai as a naval and military base. An extraordinary state of things! Yet our ill-equipped army, for over three months, held their hastily improvised line against Japan's massed forces which included naval squadrons, vastly superior artillery and war planes, and far better armed infantry. When the history of Chinese resistance at Shanghai is written, it will be recorded that we suffered enormous losses of manpower, because our soldiers were so eager to fly at the enemy's threats that they refused to remain in their trenches. It was only in obedience to strict orders from the High Command that our men refrained from hurling themselves as human bullets against the Japanese.

Full realization of the significance of China's epic fight began to dawn in the third stage when the Powers themselves felt the shattering impact of Japan's stealthy and steely might. They then began to wonder what the secret weapon could have been that enabled China to remain undefeated. Accustomed to view war in terms of material equipment, in the beginning they failed to understand that our weapon was the spiritual heritage of the Chinese race. Equipment, important as it is, is not all-powerful. The men at the front must be inspired, as ours were and are, by the knowledge that they are fighting for something that is worth the sacrifice of homes, loved ones, and everything else precious in life.

During the last three months our Chinese people have watched with incredulous amazement the spectacle of western armies surrendering because, it was explained, of Japan's superior might. This explanation is to us in China incomprehensible. It is also incomprehensible to us why the West for so long swallowed insults, indignities and face-slapping with a mien meek and mild on the plea that

陸軍根據地。這是多麼奇怪的事情。可是我們裝備不良的軍隊，據守着這臨時所作的防禦工事，對抗着飛機大砲均佔優勢，裝備精良的日本陸海空軍大規模的聯合攻擊，然我軍陣地屹然不移者竟有三個月之久。將來編述上海抗戰史的時候，一定會記載着我們的傷亡人數很多，與可歌可泣的英勇的史蹟。因為我們當時的士兵，對敵軍敵愾心已達到沸點，都不願守在戰壕之中，與敵軍對壘相持，而都願跳出壕溝以外去向前衝殺，渴欲與敵人肉搏為快，完全是為了統帥部嚴格的禁令，他們纔停止以肉彈投敵。

直到這個時候，西洋人完全認識了中國這種英雄史詩式戰鬥的重要性，於是中西關係的第三個時期也就開始了。其時西洋人已親身領教了日本陰狠毒辣的力量，他們於是開始感覺奇異，以為中國的永不失敗，定有外人所不知道的秘密武器。習慣於用物質裝備來衡量戰爭的西洋人，起初就不能瞭解我們的武器是我中華民族的精神遺產。我們知道武器裝備在戰場上是重要的，但更須知道，打仗并不完全靠着裝備就可以勝利的，而是必須像我們這樣，使前線的人個個都知道他們奮鬥以求的目標，確乎值得犧牲他們的家園，值得割捨他們所愛的親屬，甚至人生一切所最寶貴的事物。

過去三個月來，我中國人民以驚奇而難信的眼光，目視着西洋軍隊處處對敵人屈降；據他們解釋，是因為日軍實力優越之故，這個解釋，在我們中國人是難於理解的。我們同時不能理解西洋人受辱忍垢，被人困類已非一日，為什麼到今天還能靦顏說到，因

it was unprepared for war. Neither can we understand why the West with its vaunted prescience could not see that each passing hour gave Japan added opportunity to prepare to strike more deadly blows while the Powers contented themselves with fortifying their positions with paper bullets. When the Japanese started aggression against China, we were unprepared. In fact no nation could have been less prepared than we, for China had still not recovered from the wounds of decades of civil strife. But we took up the gauntlet.

During the past five years there has been no instance of Chinese troops surrendering to the enemy. On the other hand there have been numerous cases of officers and men fighting to the last though there was no hope of reinforcement or escape—except by surrender. They disdained to embrace such an alternative. Several high Chinese commanding officers killed themselves when they realized that defeat could not be averted and that their only hope of saving their lives lay in surrender. To them death was preferable to dishonor.

I could relate many instances of this unconquerable spirit, but I shall mention only one. Early in the present year, Major Wong Chao kwei fought in a battle at the Sing-chiang River in Hunan against overwhelmingly superior enemy forces. When surrounded, he and every member of his battalion were killed, fighting unto death. To the Chinese soldier, resistance to the last cartridge and the last man is no mere pretty figure of speech.

When our men go to the battlefield they are prepared to die. They feel that they have a sacred mission entrusted them and they are determined to fulfill it by making the supreme sacrifice of necessity. Their patriotism is fully shared by their families. I have met

爲沒有作戰的準備。我們并且不瞭解向以觀察機先自負的西洋人，爲什麼竟不知道，當他們以紙上談兵握筆鼓舌的防衛自慰自滿的時候，每蹉跎一小時，就多給敵人以準備的機會，將來給自己以更致命的打擊。當日本開始侵略中國的時候，我們也並沒有準備，其時中國數十年內亂的創傷還沒有完全恢復，當然沒有比我們更缺乏準備的了。但我們却拿起武器來對抗敵人。

過去五年之中，中國軍隊完全沒有對敵投降的例子。相反地我們可以舉出許多的實例，證明我中國的官佐士兵，每當矢盡援絕，除了投降沒有苟全生命的時候，總是戰至最後，寧願犧牲生命，不屑選擇別的途徑。若干高級將領，每當看明了沒有脫險希望，或祇有投降才能倖免之時，他們寧願殺身成仁拔劍自殺，決不肯向敵人投降以污辱其國體，喪失其人格。

這種不屈不撓的精神，其表現的實例，多得不可勝數，我祇要舉一個例子。今年年初，有一位營長王超奎少校率領部隊在湖南省新牆河作戰，敵人在數量方面，佔着壓倒的優勢，當他被敵軍重重包圍的時候，他與他的五百個部下，每一個人個個都戰至最後犧牲生命爲止，這樣至最後一彈，最後一人，在中國士兵來說，並不是口頭說說就算數的。

我們的士兵走上戰場，就準備以生命報國，他們覺得負着神聖的使命。他們決心以最大的犧牲，來完成這種任務，而且他們的家屬也有同樣的愛國心。我見過很多抗戰烈

thousands of women whose menfolk have fallen in battle and I have never yet heard one word of regret. Sorrow, of course, inevitably, but in place of regret an immense pride that they have given their all for their country. The West has always thought of the Chinese as an artistic and philosophic race, unable to make the Spartan sacrifices that war demands. We have proved to ourselves and to the world that this evaluation is false, for the word surrender is not to be found in the present-day Chinese vocabulary.

“ 'Tis man's perdition to be safe  
If, for the truth, he ought to die,”  
is the resolve indelibly inscribed in the nation's heart.

Let us for a moment leave the more tragic aspect of war and turn to one of the serio-comic revenges of Father Time that recent events have disclosed. In the last century, an Anglo-French force took the Taku Forts, the shoreward defences of Tientsin and Peiping. The forts were built and gunned on the assumption that the attack would come from the sea, they were actually taken by detachments which had landed in the rear, much to the chagrin of the Chinese commander who bitterly complained that the foreigners had not played the game in accordance with the rules. The western world ridiculed what was considered to be China's ludicrous conception of military art.

Years rolled on. A few months ago, Hongkong and Singapore were attacked. Stupendous sums of money had been spent to make them invulnerable to attack from the sea—only to have both taken from the rear. The wraith of the old Chinese commander at Taku in the Flysian shades, if he still retains an interest in mundane matters, can be pardoned if he gave vent to a Jovian guffaw at the

士的眷屬，我絕對沒有聽見她們有一聲怨恨之詞。悲哀當然是免不了的，她們覺得以她們的一切，供獻了國家，實有無比的光榮，絲毫沒有遺憾。西方人往往以為中國是一個富於美術及哲學風度的民族，必不會表現戰爭所需要的斯巴達式尚武犧牲精神，我們的行動和事實，已證明此種觀念的錯誤。投降一事為今日中國字彙中所沒有的；「成仁取義」這句話，深深地銘刻在我中國每一個國民的心中。

讓我暫時擱開戰爭的悲劇方面，來談談最近事實所表現時間之神所造成的亦壯亦諧的一個報復故事罷。在上一個世紀，英法聯軍進攻我們平津外圍的大沽要塞，這個要塞設有防禦工事，而且亦配有堅固的砲台，但是其設施都是假定敵人是從海面來攻的，接戰之日該台却失陷於這砲台側背登陸的英法聯軍之手，這個中國的要塞司令官大為憤恨，痛斥外國軍隊仗打不照規矩，西洋人就拿這件事當作譏笑我們中國人的一種話柄，說這是中國人對於戰爭的滑稽觀念。

日月逾邁，一年一年的過去得很快，不到二三個月以前，香港和新加坡也被攻擊了，這兩處都曾化費了巨額的經費來設防，使敵人無從由海上前來進攻，結果也都是被敵人從砲台後面攻陷了。如果中國那位防守大沽的司令官在九泉有知，對於世事仍感興趣的話，對於新加坡與香港的陷落情況也許會來



manner of the fall of Hongkong and Singapore.

To return. The example that China sets by nearly five years of bloodshed has been emulated by gallant Philippine Army under General MacArthur. It would be well for the West to ask themselves why these men have succeeded for so long in holding out against the same enemy who proved irresistible at Singapore, Rangoon and Java. Certainly General MacArthur had no more material resources available than the others. This phenomenon could be explained, to my mind, by the human approach and the man-to-man appeal, that America, through General MacArthur, made to the Filipino people. This psychology will always prove irresistible. No emphasis was laid upon the supposed superiority of the West. The Filipinos had been promised their independence and freedom and they know that the promise will be kept. So they are now proudly and gladly fighting shoulder to shoulder with their American comrades in defence of their own land, not as mercenaries to whom victory or defeat would in its last analysis merely mean a change of masters.

— This brings me, by a natural association of thought, to India, whence I have recently returned. The Indians are a fine race with a rich cultural and spiritual background and have infinite potentialities. If they were convinced that they are making their war efforts for the freedom of their own country as well as for the more abstract freedom of the democracies, they would be surging with the same vibrant and unrestrainable enthusiasm that has fired the people of the Philippines. So far as the West is concerned the spiritual strength of India in our common resistance is an unknown factor. India's war resources have not been tapped and she has not yet started to resist in the real sense of the word.

一個破口大笑，我們也應該原諒他罷。

讓我們回到本題，五年中國英雄流血的前例，祇有在麥克阿瑟將軍統率下的菲律賓軍隊可以與之媲美。西洋人可以反省一下，菲律賓所抵抗的也就是在新加坡仰光爪哇所謂頑強的同敵，為什麼菲律賓能抵抗得這樣成功，這樣長久呢？物質方面的力量，麥克阿瑟將軍當然並不比別處更豐富些，我以為這個道理很簡單，就是美國經麥克阿瑟將軍，能以仁愛平等之心，對待菲律賓民衆，這種心理是永遠顛撲不破的，美國人在菲律賓並沒有誇張西洋人的所謂優越感，而且菲律賓確實獲得了獨立自由的諾言，而深信美國這諾言終必兌現的，於是很欣幸很愉快地與美國同志爲了保衛他的自己土地而並肩作戰，他們更知道自己不是被雇傭的，他們的成敗，到後來並不僅僅等於更換主人而已。

這不禁使我聯想到了我最近游歷回來的印度。印度民族是一個優秀的民族，有豐富的文化與精神背景，且有無限的潛力。如果他們能具有信心，知道努力參與作戰即可獲得本國的自由，更遠一點，且可以維護一切民主國家的自由，我想一定會鼓起像菲律賓人民同樣的勇氣，同樣不可遏制的熱忱起來。就泰西各國而論，在吾人之共同抗戰中，印度的精神力量，實爲一個未知之數，現在印度的作戰物資還沒有發動，而嚴格地說來

Once her material and spiritual vitality and energy are given full play, the impetus that she will give to the democratic front will startle the world. The administrators of the Indian Government may be well-intentioned and sincerely desirous of galvanizing India into resolute war effort but they can achieve nothing fundamental without a radical and drastic change in their present-day Indian policy and its application to the Indian people. The British officials, many of whom doubtless recognize the rightness of giving to India the freedom for which their mother country is fighting, are as much victims of their policy as the Indian people themselves.

I have intentionally made no mention of Japan in the scheme of things in the East, the reason being that until Japanese militarism and all the nefarious principles of destruction for which it stands have been extirpated, she cannot be a useful or stabilizing force in the world. She must be definitely excluded from the council of civilized nations until she has made all possible reparation and completely expiated her crimes against humanity.

What of the future? The West must revise its ideas about the East. We in China, too, must reciprocate. In the word society that we are going to create, there must be no thought of superiors and inferiors. We must be equal, men and women of all races pressing forward to a great ideal. East and West have both foolishly tried to be self-sufficient. Neither has succeeded nor could succeed. Each must acknowledge that the other has something to teach. We hope that the West has now learnt the value to them of China's spiritual strength which has sustained us in our darkest moments. We in China must learn the value to us of the scientific developments of the West. Let us, the East and the West, each in its own way, make unshin ed contributions

，還沒有真正的開始抗戰。如果它們物質及精神力量一旦積極發揮，其對民主陣線的貢獻，必可震驚世界。印度政府的執政諸君，對於鼓勵印度成爲一種決心作戰之力量，或者是出於至誠，但若不把現在的印度政策及其實施的方法作澈底激劇的改變，恐無根本解決之望。英國官員之中，固有不少人認爲英國現正爲自由而奮鬥，給印度以自由是合理的，可惜他們之爲現在印度政策的犧牲者，恐怕不下於印度人本身。

我談東方問題的時候故意不提日本爲什麼？我的理由就是：在日本的武力侵略主義以及一切兇殘無道，暴戾破壞的行動沒有澈底消滅以前，它對於世界不能成爲於人類有用或穩定的力量。除非日本澈底懺悔他以往侵略的罪惡與改過它對人類的暴行，而儘能以謀補救，否則就絕對不准參加任何文明國家的集會。

將來怎樣呢？西洋人必須改變他們對東方的觀念。我們中國當然也同樣的應當尊重西方國家。在我們所要創建的未來世界裏，不應當再有誰是優秀誰是低劣的思想存在。應當人人平等，全世界各民族的男男女女大家攜手向一個偉大的理想邁進。東方西方，過去均曾愚蠢地作自給自足之計，可是結果是誰也不會成功也不能成功的。大家都須認識各民族有各民族的長處，可供相互的借鏡。我們中國的精神力量曾使我們渡過最惡劣最艱辛的難關，希望西洋人能瞭解這種精神力量的價值，我們中國也應當學習西方的科學進步。不論是東方人或西方人，讓我們各盡

to the common treasury of cultural, spiritual and scientific achievements which are the only real wealth of the world.

The obligations of nations towards each other have been one of the central themes of philosophic thought in China for thousands of years. One of the greatest of our sages taught that humility, a bitter medicine to proud nations, would bring its own undying reward.

"He who is great must make humilitary his base. He who is high must make lowliness foundation...."

"If a great kingdom humbles itself before a small kingdom, it shall make that small kingdom its prize. And if a small kingdom humbles itself before a great kingdom, it shall win over that great kingdom. Thus the one humbles itself in order to attain, the other attains because it is humble....But in order that both may have their desire, the great one must learn humility...."

"The reason why rivers and seas are able to lords over a hundred mountain streams, is that they know how to keep below them...."

"I have three precious things which I hold fast and prize. The first is gentleness; the second is frugality; the third is humility, which keeps me from putting myself before others. Be gentle, and you can be bold; be frugal and you can be liberal; avoid putting yourself before others, and you can become a leader among men."

The wisdom that echoes back to us from half-forgotten centuries may supply a need that is particularly felt in the perplexed world of today and may aid us in that complete revision of our ideas about each other that will bring about mutual understanding and appreciation between the East and the West.

各的力量，對於文化科學以及精神的進步作無限的貢獻，這是人類共同的寶藏，也是世界真正的財富。

我國數千年前的哲學家，也曾研討過國與國間的相處相待之道。大思想家老子在他的道德經中曾說謙下為醫治強橫國家最對症的良藥，凡是一個國家如能謙恭自下，必然獲得無窮的良果。他說道：

「貴以賤為本，高以下為基……」

「故大國以下小國，則取小國；小國以下大國，則取大國，故或下以取，或下而取。……夫兩者各得其所，大者宜為下。」

「江海所以能為百谷王者，以其善下之，故能為百谷王。」

「我有三寶，持而保之：一曰慈，二曰儉，三曰不敢為天下先，慈故能勇，儉故能廣，不敢為天下先，故能為成器長。」

數千年前先哲的名言，在舉世擾攘的今日，對於我們特別覺得切合需要，或許會幫助我們根本改變國與國間錯誤的觀念，而促進東西民族的互相瞭解，互相認識，達成我們大同世界的目的。（完）

# Mr. Churchill Reviewed War Situation

## 邱吉爾檢討戰局

Delivered On September 8, 1942, in the House of Commons

一九四二年九月八日發表於英下議院

“Nine weeks had passed since I spoke on the vote of censure, I am most grateful to the House for the vote of confidence they gave me. The Prime Minister is only in a position to do what is necessary if he enjoys, as I do, the support of a loyal and united Cabinet and fortified by an overwhelming Parliamentary majority. Since the House separated, there have been several important war operations.

“The first was carrying into Malta a convoy of supplies to ensure the life and resistance of the heroic island fortress for a great many months to come. For this purpose, a powerful Battle Squadron, supported by three aircraft carriers and powerful cruiser squadrons, was set in motion through the Straits of Gibraltar. At the same time, the Malta Air Force was greatly strengthened by Spitfires from the carriers, so that an effective protective umbrella was assured. The convoy was able to force its way through extraordinary dangers which beset its passage from Sardinia onwards. Three to four hundred German and Italian shorebased bombers, torpedo planes and long-range fighters were launched against it, and in the mined Narrows it was attacked by E-boats and U-boats. Severe losses were suffered by the convoy and the escorting Fleet, but the price was not excessive for the result attained, for Malta's effective

自上次舉行信任投票余發表演說以後，業已九週，余對下院之對余作信任投票，極為感謝。惟何首相，唯有似余為內閣一致竭誠支持，及議會絕對多數繼續時，始克從事必要之工作。自下院上次休會以後，曾有數次重要之戰事。

首為派遣艦隊運送供應品接濟馬爾他島，俾此英勇之島嶼要塞克於未來之悠久歲月中，保持正常之生活與夫抵抗之力量。因此乃由直布羅陀海峽派遣強有力之戰鬥艦隊，並由航空母艦三艘及強大之巡洋艦隊隨行掩護。同時馬爾他島上之空軍，復由航空母艦調派噴火式飛機大為增強以保證能獲得有效之保護。該艦隊自撒丁起，即冒非常之危險，然卒能安然通過。以海岸為根據地之德義派出轟炸機，魚雷轟炸機及遠程戰鬥機三四百架，向該艦隊進攻，每遇敵有水雷之海峽，則有敵艦及潛艇參加襲擊。我艦隊及護衛艦隊曾蒙受重大之損失。但以吾人所

action against the enemy's communications with Libya and Egypt are essential to the whole strategic position in the Middle East."

"As to the Dieppe raid, military credit for this most gallant affair goes to the Canadian Corps and to the Royal Navy, which carried all of them there and most of them back. The raid was considered as a reconnaissance in force. It was a hard and savage clash, such as are likely to become increasingly numerous as the war deepens. We had to get information necessary before launching operations on a much larger scale. The raid brought about an extremely satisfactory air battle. It inflicted perhaps as much loss on the enemy in killed and wounded as we suffered ourselves. I personally regard the Dieppe raid as an indispensable preliminary to full-scale operations.

"The enemy is aware of the rapid influx into Britain of United States divisions and other troops. What he does not know is how, when and where, and with what forces and in what fashion he will be smitten, and on this point it is desirable that he should be left in his own rumination.

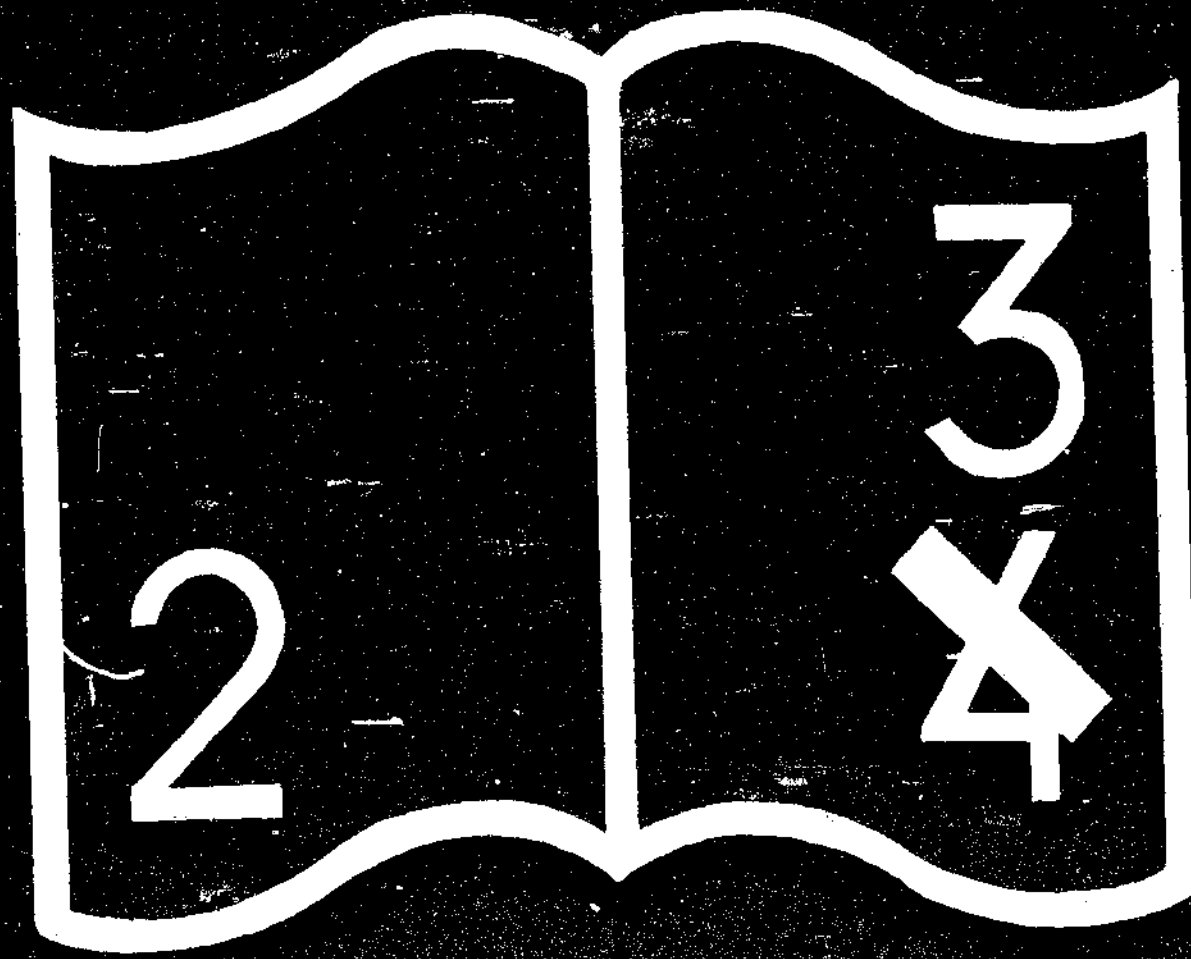
"Since the successful action off Midway Island our American allies, with the active support of Australian Forces, have taken the offensive, and have occupied Guadalcanal, Tulagi and other islands. They have frustrated the Japanese attacks on Milne Bay. Fighting has been exceptionally bitter. The Australian ship 'Canberra' has been sunk. His Majesty's

獲得之結果而言其代價尚非過重，蓋馬爾他島對於敵人與利比亞及埃及間交通線之有效行動，於中東局勢之軍略地位所關至鉅也。

至於襲擊第厄普一役，此一最英勇行動之軍功，應屬諸加拿大軍團及英國海軍，後者裝載全部軍隊赴前線，並將其中大部分運回。此次出襲被認為一種武力偵察，此乃一種猛烈而殘忍之衝，且戰事日深，襲擊次數亦必日增，吾軍於發動較大規模戰事前，自須獲得種種必要之情報，此一襲擊產生一次極滿意之空戰，敵方死傷之重，似與吾方相埒。第厄普之突擊，在發動大規模攻事前。余個人認為實屬必要。

敵人必覺美軍及他軍隊正迅速開至英境，彼所不知者，為彼等究將於何時何地遣何種軍隊以何種方式打擊彼等而已，在此一點上，吾人深望其永墜於五里霧中。

吾盟邦美國自中途島勝利後，乃在澳軍積極協助下，採取攻勢，佔領瓜達康納爾，杜拉吉，及其他島嶼，並挫敗敵軍之進窺爾奈灣。戰事異常劇烈，澳兵艦坎伯刺號被擊沉。吾帝國政府認為澳洲在沉失其他艦隻



编码错误

Government consider that the Commonwealth Government should not bear this grievous loss following sinkings of other Australian ships. We, therefore, decided to offer freely and unconditionally the transfer of the 8-inch gun cruiser 'Shropshire' to the Commonwealth Government, and it has been warmly received.

"Since we were last together, the tendency of the war has continued to move in our favour. Of the Russian front, I will only say that it is the 8th. of September. The Allies' growing predominance in air power is continuous. From June to the first week of September we discharged nearly double the bomb load upon Germany as discharged in the corresponding period of last year, with much greater precision.

"United States daylight bombing is a new and increasingly important factor, and there is no doubt that both in accuracy of high-level aim and in mutually defensive action the new possibilities of air warfare are being opened by the Americans and their Flying Fortresses.

"The losses at sea are still very heavy, but July, August and September, as far as it run, are definite improvements on preceding months. This is due largely to the continued development and completion of the convoy system off the American coast, and this improvement has been effected in spite of heavy losses in warlike operations, such as the Russian and Malta convoys. During the same months, our building of merchant ships has been above sinkings. Our warfare on U-boats has been more successful than at any former period in the war. I cannot say that

後，不能再負擔此項損失，以故吾人遂決定

以裝有八英吋砲之巡洋艦「施洛普夏」號，

無條件贈予澳政府，澳政府已予熱烈接受。

自吾人上次聚首以來，戰爭之趨向實於吾人有利。至於蘇聯前線，余僅欲言者，即今日已為九月八日，盟國空軍把握優勢之力量，日有增長。自六月至九月之第一週中，吾人所投於德境之炸彈與去年同期相較，增加幾達一倍，且遠較去年準確。

美機之白晝轟炸，已成為日益重要之新因素，其高空投彈之準確，已無可置議。且在互相保衛之行動方面，美國之空軍及其空中堡壘，實已開空軍戰中新途徑。

海上損失雖仍甚嚴重，惟七八月至九月中之今日，較以前數月確有改進，此事大部歸功於美洲沿岸護航制度之繼續發展與完成。此種改進，雖有蘇聯及馬爾他艦隊遭受嚴重損失，亦仍顯著，在同月中，吾人商船之造成，已超過損失者。吾人反潛艦隊之成功，已超過作戰以來之任何時期矣。敵潛艇之

sinkings of U-boats have nearly kept pace with new construction. On the other hand, our heavy and successful bombing of German shipbuilding yards will have an increasing effect upon the output and assembly of U-boats. We must consider this struggle at sea as the foundation of all efforts of the United Nations.

“We welcome the accession of Brazil to the ranks of the United Nations. We are entitled to regard this as a most helpful and encouraging event.

“During the month of July, President Roosevelt sent a most important mission to this country. No announcement of this was made at the time, but the mission comprised General Marshall, Head of the United States Army; Admiral King, Head of the Navy, and Mr. Harry Hopkins, the President's personal representative. During a period of ten days, the whole field of the war was explored. Decisions of importance were taken, affecting the whole future of the general conduct of our operations, not only in Europe, but throughout the world. A complete agreement was reached covering the whole field of the war in every part of the world, and the necessary productive and administrative measures.

“I took advantage of the recess to visit the Army in the Middle East and to visit Premier Stalin in Moscow. I had some reason to believe that condition of the Desert Army and troops in Egypt was not entirely satisfactory. In the battles around Gazala, in the stress of retreat and in the fighting at El Alamein, where General Auchinleck succeeded in stabilizing

沉失者，是否能與其新建造者速度相埒，余不能言。在另一方面，我機對德國船塢之猛烈轟炸，迭獲成功，勢將逐漸影響其潛艇之生產與裝配。吾人必須認海上之奮鬥為盟國一切努力之基礎。

吾人對巴西之加入聯合國，表示歡迎，吾人應有權利認此舉為最有助益最足興奮之事件。

七月中，羅斯福總統曾遣送一最重要代表團蒞英，當時未經宣佈，代表團中包括陸軍參謀總長馬歇爾，全美艦隊總司令金氏，及羅斯福總統私人代表賀浦金斯。在十日之期間中，關於戰爭之一切問題均曾加以檢討，不獨歐洲，對全世界均已有重要之決策，足以影響吾人一般戰局之整個前途。關於世界各處之整個戰局，及一切必要之生產與行政措施，均已成立一致之協議。

余曾利用議會休假期間，巡視中東軍，並赴莫斯科訪問史達林委員長。余有若干理由，可以相信沙漠軍與埃及境內軍隊情況，並不完全圓滿。在加查拉附近之戰役中在糧卸之困難及艾爾阿拉敏之戰鬥中（與蘇立



ing the front, the structure of the Army had become deranged. Divisional formations had been largely broken up, and a number of Battle Groups, or other improvised formations had sprung into being piece-meal in the course of hard fighting. Nevertheless, as I can myself testify, there was the universal conviction in the officers and men of every rank that they could beat the German man to man and face to face, but this was coupled with the sense of being baffled, and not understanding why so many misfortunes had befallen the Army. The spirit of the troops was admirable, but it was clear to me that drastic changes were required in the High Command. I was fortified in these conclusions by the advice of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, who accompanied me, and also by the massive judgment of Field Marshal Smuts. General Alexander succeeded General Auchinleck. General Gott, who was greatly trusted by the troops, was to command the 8th. Army. The Cabinet was in the act of endorsing these telegraphed recommendations when General Gott was killed by the enemy. General Montgomery, who now commands the 8th. Army, is one of our most accomplished soldiers, and we had need of him for certain purposes here at home. However, the imminent threat of a battle in the Western Desert left us no choice, but to call upon him. With General McCreery as Chief of General Staff, I am satisfied that this combination is a team well adapted to our needs, and the finest at our disposal at the present time."

"I must pay a warm tribute to Gene-

柯將軍會館在艾爾阿拉敏方面穩定戰線)，軍隊之組織已大為紊亂，師之編制均已解體，在苦戰期中，業已零星產生若干戰鬥團體與臨時組織。但余個人可以證明各級將士一致深信渠等可於一人對人肉搏時擊潰德軍。但此中實有隔閡之感，且不瞭解何以我軍竟遭受如許之不幸。軍隊精神頗堪欽佩，但余確知統帥部中須有激烈之變革，隨余出巡之帝國參謀總長既贊成余之判斷，而史末資將軍之穩重判斷，亦復如是。亞歷山大繼奧森立柯之職。而葛特深得軍心，本擬派其指揮第八軍，不意戰時內閣方批准此等拍電推薦時，葛特即為敵人所殺。現在指揮第八軍之蒙高梅利將軍，為吾國最成功軍人之一，本擬留國內担任某項職務，而沙漠中迫切之威脅，已不容吾人遲疑，惟有請其出任此職。加於麥利萊之出任參謀長，余深慶得人，此輩人才配合，極適合吾人之需要，且為目前吾人力所能及範圍內之盡善盡美者。

余必須對奧森立柯之功績加以讚揚。與

ral Auchinleck's services, he is at present, at his own request, on leave. Despite the heavy losses, the Army of the Western Desert is now stronger actually and relatively than it has ever been. In fact, so large have the reinforcements been that what is, to a large extent, a new Army has been created while fighting has been actually in progress. The principal measures which rendered this possible were taken before the opening battle at Cazala in May.

“As far back as March last, I asked President Roosevelt to loan me shipping to transport an additional 40,000 or 50,000 men to the Middle East so as to have a force to which we could turn to the various theatres in which danger might develop. The President consented, and in consequence at a critical moment, we had round the Cape a very large and well-equipped force, which could be directed immediately to Egypt. A broadening stream of replacements of equipment, tanks, guns and vehicles of all kinds, have also been flowing from this country and the United States to the Middle East, and we have now in Egypt a very good, strong, well-equipped and resolute Army barring any further advance of the enemy.

“I feel able to assure the House that they may be confident of our ability to maintain the successful defence of Egypt for several months ahead. I say for months, but I might say more. I am strengthened in this view by the results of the fighting last week. Owing to the restraint and understatement, which have been practised in Middle East communi-ques, the scale and intensity of these

氏現已自請休假。西部沙漠之軍隊，雖受重大損失，然其實力確已較前更為強大。事實上援軍數目之衆，已使吾人在戰鬥實際進行期間，得以編組另一新軍。今日所以能源源增援者，實基於去年五月加薩拉戰役開始前吾人所取之重要措置。

遠在去年三月，余即請羅斯福總統以船隻借余，運輸四萬五萬援軍至中東，俾有一支軍隊能調至可能發生危險之各地區。美總統當予首肯，因之在此後之危急時期，吾人始有大批配備齊全之陸軍，集於好望角，以便運調埃及。舉凡軍事配備：坦克車，大砲與各種車輛現正源源自英美輸至中東補充。今日吾人在埃及已駐有實力極強，配備極精，與鬥志極堅之軍隊，以阻遏侵略者之繼續前進。

余自覺敢向下院保證，彼等可以相信吾人在未來之數月內，必能有效保衛埃及，余僅稱「未來之數月」。且余亦可保證更久之時期，上週作戰之戰果，已使余之此項觀點益為加強，第因中東發表公報之慎重，與其報告之不足，故外間未能盡知（或迄今日始

operations have not been realised, or only now come to be realised.

“General Rommel has been much hampered by the sinking of so many of his supply ships by our submarines, as well as by British and United States air attacks, renewed again from Malta, and also from Egypt. Under the inconvenience resulting from pressure, as we may suppose, he came round our southern flank last Monday week in a major offensive with the whole of the German Afrika Korps, Panzer Divisions and a large part of the 20th. Italian Motorised Corps. I had the good fortune to visit the troops on exactly the ground where this battle took place, and I must say that it seems to me very obliging of General Rommel to come on to us just where all preparations had been made for his hearty reception. It did not seem to our commanders that General Rommel would dare to by pass the Desert Army with its formidable armoured striking power and push on to Cairo, and in this they were right. General Rommel strove, instead, to repeat the tactics he had used at Gazala. He was met not only by British armour, but by British artillery used on a scale hitherto unprecedented. We had many hundreds of 25—pounders—as good a field gun as exists in the world—as well as many hundreds of 6-pounders and high velocity anti-tank guns in action. We had a good superiority in armour, though we were not quite equal in very heavy-gunned tanks, and we had once again undoubted mastery in the air. This attack of the Axis Army, which had been reinforced up to 12 divi-

行瞭解)作戰之規模與激烈之程度。

隆美爾之供應輪，受我方潛水艇與馬爾他島及埃境英美空軍之一再襲擊，致沉沒甚衆，其計劃已因此遭受阻遏，彼處於遭受壓力結果之不利情況下，乃不出吾人之所料於星期一抄襲我軍之南翼，并以全部德國非洲軍裝甲師團與義大利第二十摩托化師團之大部，發動大規模攻勢。余此次能在戰鬥所發生之地帶，檢閱軍隊，實屬至幸。余所必須說明者，即個人認為隆美爾肯意臨於吾人久已準備歡迎之地帶，未免令人感奮。我方將領當時俱料隆美爾不敢繞過我擁有強大裝甲攻擊力量之沙漠軍，逕趨開羅，今乃果如所料矣。隆美爾仍係一本其進攻加薩拉之策略，然結果不但遭遇英軍裝甲部隊之抵抗，且受前所未有之英方猛烈砲火之迎擊。吾人今日有無數砲彈重二十五磅之大砲。其威力一如現有之良好野砲。吾人尚有無數砲彈重六磅之小砲，與高速平射砲從事作戰。吾人在裝有重砲之坦克方面，雖不及敵人，然吾人之裝甲部隊仍居優勢。吾人且無疑已再度獲得制空權矣。敵軍已增援至十二個師團，且擁有新近增援之重砲，(余認為彼等在中

sions and also by very heavy artillery—some superiority, I think, in medium guns and powerful armoured forces—was brought to an abrupt standstill, and then pressed slowly and steadily back with heavy losses in tanks and vehicles of all kinds. So we are entitled to consider this last week's fighting as not unsatisfactory, especially when compared with what the position was two and half months ago. As to the future, the Desert Army will welcome every opportunity of fighting offered it, and further developments may be awaited with good heart by all who are watching events.

“A striking feature in that theatre is the outstanding strength and resilience of the Royal Air Force. Three-quarters of the Air Force is British, but there are also some most gallant and efficient Australian and South African Squadrons, and powerful United States air groups are working with the Royal Air Force.

“Co-operation between the Air Force and the Army has been brought to a very high degree. The Air Force has played a very decisive part in this campaign. Our ground strafing by fighter-bombers are achieving result at least equal to those of the Stukas, without being vulnerable as Stukas are without fighter escort. Never has there been an Army which deserved victory more, and I await with confident hope any further unfolding of the scroll of fate.

“The 10th. Army is being rapidly strengthened and, with the substantial Air Force which it will require, may eventually give support to the Russian

型坦克及強大裝甲部隊方面尚佔若干優勢，其進攻突然遭受阻遏，然後再被逐漸逼退，使其在坦克車與其他車輛方面，遭受重大損失。職是之故，吾人對於上述戰事，不能無滿意之感，尤以與兩月半前吾人之處境比較，更不能不無此感。至就將來而言，沙漠之軍隊決不放棄其作戰之任何機會，凡注視局勢之演變者，無妨安心等待可也。

該戰區之特點，即在皇家空軍力量與其彈力之強大，全部空軍中有四分之三為英空軍，餘為最英勇與效率最高之澳洲，南非空軍。美國之強大空軍數大隊，現亦與皇家空軍共同作戰。

陸空軍之合作，已達於高點。空軍在此次戰役中已居於決定之地位，我方戰鬥轟炸機掃射地面之戰果，至少不下於敵方斯脫卡機之戰果。但尚不如斯脫卡機未得戰鬥機保護時之脆弱。我方陸軍所具備之獲勝條件，為前所未見，余以堅強之信念，等待命運之繼續開展。

第十軍現正迅速增強中，該軍在獲得所需之充份空軍之後，或將協助蘇軍之左翼，

left flank, and will in any case defend the soil of Persia.

"In Cairo, I was received by King Farouk and in Teheran by the Shah of Persia Both affirmed their loyalty to the United Nations.

"The main purpose of my mission was to visit Moscow. I was accompanied by Mr. Harriman, personal representative of President Roosevelt. We spent four days in conference with Premier Stalin, having talks of 5 to 6 hours, and entered into everything with the utmost candour throughout. The Chief of the Imperial General Staff and General Wavell had discussions on technical matters with the two leading military men of Russia: The conclusions must remain secret. There is one thing that I can say, however; the Soviet leaders did not think that we or America had done enough to take the weight off them, and this was not surprising, in view of the terrific onslaughts they have withstood. But we made their leaders feel confidence in our loyalty and resolve to aid them as quickly as possible, without regard to sacrifices and the losses involved. The object of my visit was to establish relations of easy confidence in the same way that I had established them with President Roosevelt, and I think that we succeeded to a considerable extent. It is very fortunate for Russia to have this great rugged War Chief at the Head. Mr. Stalin is a massive and strong personality, suitable to the stormy times in which he lived. One thing is inexorable, the inflexible resolve of Russia to fight Hitlerism to the end

且將在任何情形下，保衛伊朗之領土。

余在開羅時，曾謁埃及國王法魯克。在德黑蘭時，亦曾謁伊朗國王。此兩國之君主，均重申其對聯合國家之忠實。

余此次之主要使命，在訪問莫斯科，同行者有羅斯福總統之私人代表哈立曼。吾人在蘇有四日，與史達林委員長進行會商。談話時間每歷六五小時，對於各項問題，均加以坦白與徹底之研討，帝國參謀總長布魯克及魏菲爾將軍與蘇方之兩主要軍事領袖亦進行技術問題商討，惟結論如何，自須嚴守秘密。余僅能宣布一點，即蘇方尚未認為吾人與美國之所為，已足以卸去其重負。吾人鑒於蘇聯所忍受之可怖災難，亦覺蘇方持此觀點，不足為奇。然吾人素使蘇聯之領袖相信，吾人不願犧牲受損，盡速援助彼等之舉實與決心。余此行之目的，在建立彼此間之良好互信關係，一若余昔日與羅斯福總統所建立者然。余認吾人業獲當相之成就。蘇聯有其剛毅之作戰領袖，誠屬大幸，史達林委員長為魄力強大之人物，最適於應付其一生中波濤洶湧之時代。有一件事實乃堅如鐵石者，即蘇聯具有對希特勒主義作戰到底以至

until it is finally beaten down: Mr. Stalin said to me that the Russian people are naturally peaceful people, but the atrocious cruelties inflicted upon them have aroused such indignation that their natures were transformed.

"A measureless improvement has marked the past two years in our position. Now, we are not alone, but among the greatest nations in the world, moving forward together until absolute victory is won and established on unshakable foundations. Germany is now more hated in every country in Europe than any race has been since human records began. The hour of liberation strikes. It will also be the hour of retribution I wish particularly to identify the British Government and House of commons with the solemn words of President Roosevelt that those guilty of Nazi crimes will have to stand before the tribunals in every land where their atrocities had been committed, in order that an indelible warning may be given to future ages."

後者屈服之時為止之不疑決心，史達林向余謂，蘇聯人民本具愛好和平之天性，但彼等所受之暴行，已引起其無比之憤怒，以致改變其原有之性格。

吾人之處境，在過去兩年來，已有無限之改進。今日吾人已非孤立無援，而係處於世界強大國家之中，與彼等共同邁進，以迄獲得絕對勝利與建立堅固基礎之時為止。歐洲各國今日懷恨偏國之深，超過人類有史以來懷恨任何民族之程度。解放之鐘鳴矣，報應之時期亦將降臨，余願為英政府與下院特別引用羅斯福總統之名言，即「從事納粹罪惡者，他日必須在其為暴不仁之所在地，遭受法院之審判，俾使世界知所警惕」云。

## Pres. Roosevelt Gives Another Fireside Chat

# 羅斯福總統發表又一爐邊閒話

Following is an abridged text of President Roosevelt's "Fireside Chat" to the nation delivered in the evening of Sept. 7, 1942.

I wish all American people could recall all the citations for various medals recommended for our soldiers, sailors and Marines. I am picking out one of these citations which tells the accomplishments of Lieutenant John James Powers, United States Navy, during three days of battles with Japanese forces in the Coral Sea.

During the first two days Lieutenant Powers, flying a dive-bomber in the face of blasting enemy anti-aircraft fire, demolished one large enemy gunboat and put another gunboat out of commission. Then he severely damaged an aircraft tender and 20,000-ton transport and scored a direct hit on an aircraft carrier which burst into flames and sank soon after.

The official citation described the morning of the third day of the battle. As the pilots in his squadron left their room to man their planes, Lieutenant Powers said to them: "Remember, the folks back home are counting on us. I am going to get a hit if I have to lay it on their flight deck."

He led his section down to the target from an altitude of 18,000 feet through a wall of bursting anti-aircraft shells and swarms of enemy planes. He dived almost to the very deck of the enemy carrier and did not release his bomb until he was

羅斯福總統於一九四二年九月七日晚間對美國全國發表「爐邊閒話」原文經刪節後如次：

余希望全美人民均能憶及頒給吾國兵士，水手及海軍陸戰隊士兵各種勳章時之一切褒狀，余茲自此等褒狀中抽出一張，乃敘述美國海軍鮑爾斯上尉，在珊瑚海與日軍作戰三日中所立之功績者。

鮑爾斯於作戰之最初兩日中，曾駕駛俯衝轟炸機一架，冒猛烈之敵方高射砲火，毀敵大型砲艦一艘，並使另一艘砲艦失去作用。然後他又重創飛機供應艦及二萬噸運輸各一艘，又直接炸中航空母艦一艘，該艦當即爆炸起火，不久即行沉沒。

官方之褒狀中曾描述作戰第三日上午之情況稱：鮑爾斯上尉當其所屬中隊飛行員離室前往駕駛飛機時，即告彼等曰：「汝等識之，國內民衆對於吾人期望甚殷，如余必須投彈擊中彼等航空母艦之飛行甲板，余亦不辭危險作此一擊。」

彼率領彼之機隊自一千八百呎之高度衝過猛烈之高射砲火網及敵機羣，臨達其目標上空，俯衝幾與敵航空母艦之甲板相接觸，且在未能確定能直接命中之際決不投彈。

sure of a direct hit. He was last seen attempting recovery from his dive at the extremely low altitude of 200 feet amid a terrific barrage of shell and bomb fragments, smoke, flame and debris from the stricken vessel. And his own plane was destroyed by the explosion of his own bomb but he had made good his promise to "lay it on the flight deck."

I have received a recommendation from the Secretary of Navy that Lieutenant James Powers of New York City, missing in action, be awarded the Medal of Honor. I hereby and now make this award.

You and I are the "folks back home" for whose protection Lieutenant Powers fought and repeatedly risked his life. He said we counted on him and his men. We did not count in vain but have not those men any right to be counting on us? How are we playing our part "back home" in winning this war?

The answer is we are not doing enough.... (As this point President Roosevelt gave his listeners an extensive explanation of the message he delivered to Congress earlier in the day demanding most speedy action stabilizing domestic economy, imposing maximum sacrifices on all classes to facilitate the waging of total war.) The President continued:

The revolution and War Between the States were fought on our own soil but today this war will be won or lost on other Continents and remote seas. I cannot tell what powers may have to be exercised in order to win this war.

The American people can be sure that

俯衝各機中，彼乃在猛烈高射砲火，炸彈破片以及被炸中艦上所冒出之濃煙，火焰，碎片中最後企圖由二百呎之低空起飛之一架，其本人所駕之飛機，亦為其本人所投炸彈之爆炸所毀，然其所「投彈於飛行甲板」之諾言，確已實踐。

余已接獲海軍部長之提請書，謂紐約市人鮑爾斯，已在作戰中失蹤，應即頒給榮譽勳章，以故余目前乃頒給此一勳章。

君等與余皆為「國內之民衆」，鮑爾斯即為保護吾等，不惜一再冒其生命之危險者也。渠謂吾人對彼及其部屬期望甚殷。吾人之期望並未落空，然彼等不能對吾人有所期望乎？然吾輩在「國內」者究將如何各盡職責以爭取此一戰爭之勝利耶？

其答案為吾人之努力猶嫌不足……（羅斯福總統至此乃對其聽眾詳細解釋，彼於晨間向國會提出之咨文，要求採取最迅速之行動穩定國內經濟，予各階層以最大限度之犧牲，以利全面戰爭之進行）總統繼稱：

昔日美國之革命以及各州之國之戰爭均在美國本土作戰；而目前此一戰爭則須在其他大陸及遙遠之海面決定勝負。余不能宣佈為爭取此一戰爭之勝利起見，須運用何種權力。

惟美國人民可以斷定，余於運用權力時



I will use my powers with a full sense of responsibility to the constitution and to my country. The American people can also be sure that I will not hesitate to use every power vested in me to accomplish the defeat of our enemies in any part of the world where our own safety demands such defeat.

When the war is won, the powers under which I act will automatically revert to the people to whom they belong. I have told Congress once more that all net individual incomes after payment of all taxes should be limited effectively by further taxation to a maximum net incomes of \$25,000 a year. It is equally important that corporate profits should not exceed a reasonable amount in any case.

The nation must have more money to run the war. The people must stop spending for luxuries. Our country needs a far greater share of our incomes.

For this is a global war and it will cost this nation nearly 100 billion dollars in 1943. In the global war there are now four main areas of combat and I should like to speak briefly of them, not in order of importance, for all of them are vital and all of them are interrelated.

1. The Russian Front. Here the Germans are still unable to gain a smashing victory which almost a year ago Hitler announced that he had already achieved. Germany has been able to capture important Russian territory. Nevertheless Hitler has been unable to destroy a single Russian army and this, you may be sure, has been and still is his main objective. Millions of German troops seem doomed to

，必充分顧及余對於憲法對於國家所負之責任。美國人民並可斷定余必毫不遲疑，運用所賦予余之一切權力，在吾人本身之安全需要擊敗敵人之世界任何部份，完成擊敗敵人之偉業。

戰爭勝利之後，余所憑以行動之權力，將自動歸還此等權力所有者之人民。余曾再告國會，幾個人於繳納各種賦稅後之純粹收入將再以徵稅之方法將其切實限制至於每年純粹收入二萬五千美元之最高權，任何咖啡館之團體利潤不應超過一合理之總數一點亦屬同等重要之事實。

此一國家應有更多之金錢以從事戰爭。人民應停止消費其金錢於奢侈品方面，吾人之國家需要吾人收入之更大一部份。

因此為世界性之戰爭，一九四三年吾國之戰費即將達一千萬萬美元。此一世界性之戰爭現有四大戰場，余願加以簡略之敘述，其敘述之先後，並非依其重要性之先後，因此等戰場全屬重要且有互相關連之關係。

(一) 蘇聯戰場，德軍在蘇聯戰場，並未獲得其一年以前即已宣布彼輩經達到之推毀性勝利，德軍雖能獲得蘇聯之重要領土，但希特勒並不能毀滅蘇聯之一軍，諸君可以相信，此在過去及將來均係其主要之目標，數

spend another cruel, bitter winter on the Russian front. The Russians are killing more Nazis and destroying more airplanes and tanks than are being smashed on any other front. They are fighting not only bravely but brilliantly. In spite of any setbacks, the Russians will hold out and with the help of her allies will ultimately drive every Nazi from their soil.

2. The Pacific Ocean Area. This area must be grouped as a whole—every part of it, land and sea. We have stopped one major Japanese offensive and inflicted heavy losses on their fleet. But they still possess great strength; they seek to keep the initiative; and they will undoubtedly strike hard again. We must not overrate the importance of our successes in the Solomon Islands though we may be proud of the skill with which these local operations were conducted. At the same time we need not underrate the significance of our victory at Midway. There we stopped the major Japanese offensive.

3. In the Mediterranean and Middle East Area, the British together with South Africans, Australians, New Zealanders, Indian troops and others of the United Nations including ourselves are fighting a desperate with the Germans and Italians. The Axis powers are fighting to gain control of that area to dominate the Mediterranean and India Ocean contact with the Japanese Navy. The battle is now joined. We are well aware of our danger but we are hopeful of the outcome.

4. European Area. Here the aim is an offensive against Germany. There are at least a dozen different points where

百萬之德軍，均將注定在蘇聯前線重度一酷寒之嚴冬，蘇聯所擊斃之納粹軍與所擊毀之飛機及坦克車，均較其他戰場為多，其作戰也，匪獨勇武抑且戰績輝煌，蘇軍雖在任何挫敗之下，仍可支持，且賴其盟邦之援助，終必能將納粹軍一一逐出蘇聯領土。

(二)太平洋區，本區之海陸各部分必須合為一整區，吾人曾經遏止日軍之一大攻勢，且曾重創其艦隊，但日仍擁有強大之實力並企圖保持其主動之地位，且日等必將再作猛攻，就所羅門方面若干局部作戰時之技巧而言，吾人雖可自期，但對此次戰役成功之重要性，則不能估計過高，同時亦不必將中途島勝利之重要性估計過低，蓋吾人曾在該島阻止日方之一大攻勢也。

(三)在地中海及中東區域，英軍與南非軍，澳軍，紐西蘭軍，印度軍及其他聯合國家包括我國之軍隊，刻方與德義軍作殊死戰，軸心國家現正企圖獲得該區之控制權，藉以控制地中海印度洋並與日本海軍取得聯絡，現戰事已變為一體，吾人深知本身之危險，但對最後之結果，仍具有希望。

(四)歐洲戰區，吾人在歐洲戰區之目的，係對德國採取攻勢，歐洲至少有十餘地點

we can be launched. You of course do not want me to give details of our future plans but you can rest assured that preparations are being made here and in Britain toward this purpose. The power of Germany must be broken on the battlefields of Europe.

Various people urge that we concentrate our forces on one or another of these four areas although no one suggests that any one of the four should be abandoned. Certainly it could not be seriously urged that we abandon aid to Russia or surrender all the Pacific to Japan or the Mediterranean and Middle East to Germany or give up the offensive against Germany. The American people may be sure that we will neglect none of the four great theaters of war.

Certain vital military decisions have been made. In due course you will know what these decisions are—and so will our enemies. I can say now that all of these decisions are directed toward taking the offensive.

Today exactly nine months after Pearl Harbor we have sent overseas three times more men than we transported to France in the first nine months of the first World War. We have done this in spite of greater danger and fewer ships and every week sees a gain in the actual number of American men and weapons in the fighting areas. These reinforcements in men and munitions to go forward.

This war will finally be won by the coordination of all the armies, navies and air forces of the United Nations operating in unison against our enemies.

可以發動進攻，~~蘇俄~~不能縱容報告吾人未來計劃之細情，但吾人可以向諸君保證，英美現正本此目的，從事準備，德國之力量必須崩潰於歐洲戰場之上。

各方人士主張，吾人將力量集中於此四大戰區中之任何一區，但並無人主張，吾人放棄四大戰區中之任何一區，且自不能極力主張吾人放棄對蘇之援助，或以整個之太平洋區讓予日本，或以地中海及中東讓予德國，或放棄對德之攻勢。美國人民可以相信，吾人決不漠視四大戰區中之任何一區。

若干重大之軍事決定，業已成立，各方將來必能知其內容，敵人他日亦必知之，余今日敢言，此類決定均在採取攻勢。

今日距離珍珠港事件發生之日，恰九個月，吾人派至外國之軍隊，已為吾人參加第一次世界大戰時最初九月內派至法國之軍力之三倍，吾人雖冒較大之危險，且船隻較少，但吾人仍能完成此舉，致各戰區美國軍隊及武器之實數，逐週增加，而此種人員及軍火之增援，將繼續前往。

此次戰爭須將聯合國家所有海陸空軍之聯繫，共同對敵作戰，而終獲勝利。

This will require vast assemblages of weapons and men all vital points of attack. We and our Allies have worked for years to achieve superiority in weapons. We have no doubts about the superiority of our men. We glory in the individual exploits of our soldiers, our Marines and our merchant seamen. Lieutenant John James Powers was one of these and there are thousands of others in the forces of the United Nations.

Several thousand Americans have met death in battle. Other thousands will lose their lives, but many millions stand ready to step in to their places—to engage in the struggle to the very death. For they know the enemy is determined to destroy us, our homes and our institutions—that in this war it is “kill or be killed.”

Battles are not won by soldiers or sailors who think first of their own personal safety and wars are not won by people who are concerned primarily with their own comforts, their own convenience, their own pocketbooks.

We Americans of today bear the gravest of responsibilities. All the United Nations share them.

All of us here at home are being tested for our fortitude, for our selfless devotion to our country and our cause.

This is the toughest war of all time. We need not leave it to the historians of the future to answer the question of whether we are tough to meet this unprecedented challenge. We can give that answer now. The answer is, “Yes!”

此則必須在各重要進攻據點，集合大宗之武器與兵員，吾人與我盟友業已努力有年，以期達到武器上之優勢，吾人對我兵員之優勢，自無疑義，吾人對我陸軍，水兵，海軍陸戰隊及商輪海員個人之功勳，引以為榮，鮑衛爾斯海軍上尉，即其一例，聯合國家之軍人有此功勳者，當以千計。

我美國人民因作戰而死者，已有數千之多，其將領者，亦以千計，而準備步武彼等之後塵者，無慮千萬，良以渠等深知敵人已決心毀滅吾人之生命，破壞吾人之住宅，顛覆吾人之制度，蓋在此次戰爭中，實屬「敵我勢不兩立」也。

凡首先慮及自身安全之陸軍或水手，與與夫只顧自身享受安樂與私囊之人民，均不足以取得戰爭之勝利。

我美國人民今日擔負最嚴重之責任，各聯合國家均共肩之。

我國內所有人士刻皆經歷一種試驗之用以考驗吾人之毅力，以及效忠國家效忠主義，公而忘私之精神。

此乃自古以來最艱苦之戰爭，吾人無須留待後代之史家答覆，吾人是否真正堅強而足以應付此空前之抗戰，吾人今日即可作此答覆，答曰「是」耳。

# Statement On India Made By Mr. Churchill

## 邱吉爾關於印度問題之聲明

Delivered on Sept. 10, 1942 in the House of Commons

一九四二年九月十日在英下院發表

The course of events in India has been improving and is on the whole reassuring. The broad principles of the Declaration made by the British Government, which formed the basis of the mission of the Lord Privy Seal (Sir Stafford Cripps) to India, must be taken as representing the settled policy of the British Crown and parliament. These principles stand in their full scope and integrity. No one can add to them and no one can take anything away.

The good offices of Sir Stafford Cripps were rejected by the Indian Congress, but this does not end the matter. The Indian Congress Party does not represent all India. It does not represent the majority of the people of India. It does not even represent the Hindus. It is a political organisation sustained by certain manufacturing and financial interests. Outside that Party and fundamentally opposed to it are the ninety millions of Moslems in British India, who have their rights. There are 50,000,000 depressed classes, or Untouchables as they are called, and 95,000,000 subjects of the Princes of India with whom we are bound by treaty. In all, there are 235,000,000 in these three large groups alone out of 390,000,000 in all India. This takes no account of the large number of Hindus in British India who deplore the present policy of the Con-

印度之局勢已有進步，就大體而言，頗可使人安。英政府宣言中之廣泛原則，即我印度大臣（克利浦斯爵士）出使印度之基礎，可以視為代表英國政府及國會之既定政策。此類原則，仍舊保持其完整之面目，無人可以增減。

克利浦斯爵士之斡旋，已遭印度國民大會之拒絕，但此事並未使問題告一結束。印度國民大會黨不能代表整個之印度，亦不能代表印度之人民之大多數，甚至不能代表印度教徒，該黨僅為若干製造業及金融業所支持之政治團體。在該黨以外而根本反對該黨者，尚有英屬印度九千萬之回教徒本身之權利。並有賤民階級五千萬人，又有與吾人具有條約關係之印度王公之臣民九千五百萬人。在印度全部人口三萬九千萬中，僅屬於以上三大類者即有二萬三千五百萬人，英屬印度內部尚有大批印度教徒。痛悼國民大會之

gress Party. It is necessary that these main facts should not be overlooked here or abroad, because no appreciation of the Indian problem, or of relations beyond India and Britain, is possible without recognition of these basic data.

The Congress Party has now abandoned the policy in many respects of non-violence, which Gandhi has so long inculcated in the Party, and has come into the open as a revolutionary movement designed to paralyze communications and hamper the defence of India against the Japanese invader, who stands on the frontier of Assam and also upon the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal.

It may well be that these activities by the Congress Party have been aided by Japanese Fifth Column work on a widely extended scale, and with special direction to strategic points. It is noteworthy, for instance, that the communications of the Indian Forces defending Bengal on the Assam frontier have been specially attacked. In these circumstances, the Viceroy and Government of India, with the unanimous support of the Viceroy's Council, the great majority of which are Indian, have felt it necessary to proclaim and suppress the Central and provincial organs of this association, which has become committed to hostile and criminal courses.

Gandhi and other principal leaders have been interned under conditions of the highest comfort and consideration, and will be kept out of harm's way until the troubles subside.

It is fortunate, indeed, that the Congress Party has no influence whatever

現行政策者尚未計算在內。無論國內外人士均不能忽視此類主要事實：蓋如不能認識此類基本事實，即不能了解印度問題，或印度與英國間之關係。

國民大會黨則已放棄甘地在黨內長期間諄諄訓誨之多方面屬於非暴力之政策，而已表現其為一種革命行動，以圖妨害交通並阻撓印度應付刻正立於阿薩密邊境及孟加拉灣東岸之日本侵略者之防務。

國民大會此等活動，似已受日本第五縱隊廣泛工作之協助，並特別針對各軍路據點。例如值得注意者阿薩密邊境防衛孟加拉之印度軍隊交通線即曾特別遭受襲擊。在此種情形之下，印度總督與印度政府已經總督行政會議（其中委員大多數係印度人）之支持，認為必須宣布取締該黨從事敵對及罪犯行徑之中央及各省機關。

甘地與其他主要領袖，均已在極端舒適與照料周密之情況下，遭受拘禁。在騷亂情況平熄以前，均將被妥加保護，免遭傷害。

所幸國民大會對於除英軍之外，印度大

with the martial races, on whom the defence of India, apart from the British Forces, largely depends. Many of these are divided by unbridgeable religious gulfs from the Hindhu Congress, and would never consent to be ruled by them, nor shall they ever be against their will so subjugated.

There is no-compulsory service in India, but upwards of 1,000,000 Indians have volunteered serve the cause of the United Nations in this world struggle. The bravery of Indian troops has been distinguished in many theatres of war, and it is satisfactory to note that, in these last two months when Congress has been measuring its strength against the Government of India, over 140,000 new volunteers for the Army have come forward in loyal allegiance to the King-Emperor, thus surpassing all records in order to defend their native land.

So far as matters have gone up to the present, they have revealed the impotence of the Congress party either to seduce, or even sway, the Indian Army, to draw from their duty an enormous body of Indian officials, or still less to stir the vast Indian masses.

India is a continent, almost as large and actually more populous than Europe, and is divided by racial and, above all, religious differences far deeper than any that have separated Europe. The whole administration of government of the 390,000,000 who live in India is carried on by Indians, there being under 600 British members of the Indian Civil Service. All public services are working. In five pro-

部份國防所賴之各武種族，尚無左右之能力。此等民族在宗教方面大都與印度教之國民大會之間具有無法彌補之裂痕，且將永遠不願接受國民大會之統治，亦永遠不至違反本身之意志，對國民大會屈服。

印度境內並不實施強迫兵役，然自動參加為聯合國在此次世界鬥爭中服役之印人，竟達百萬以上。若干戰區中印軍之勇敢已為世所稱道。最可令人滿意者，為最近兩月中當國民大會正在估計其與印度政府爭抗之能力時，印人之自動投軍者。逾十四萬人，咸願效忠於英王兼印度皇帝，以保衛本土，此實超過歷來之紀錄。

截至目前為止，事實所表現者，乃國民大會既無力引誘或動搖印度之軍隊，亦無力吸引大量印度官吏離職，更不能激動廣大之印度羣衆。

印度乃一大陸，面積與歐洲相仿，人口之衆，且尤過之，惟種族複雜，教派尤為紛歧。遠非歐洲所能及。印度三萬萬九千萬人民之行政工作係由印人主持。印度官吏中英籍人員尚不及六百人。一切公務均在進行中。在包括兩最大省份以及一萬萬一千萬人民

inces, including two of the greatest and comprising 110,000,000 people, the Provincial Ministers responsible to their Legislatures stand at their posts. And in many places, both in town and country, the population has rallied to the support of civil power.

The Congress conspiracy against communications is breaking down. Acts of pillage and arson are being repressed and punished with an incredibly small loss of life. Less than 500 persons have been killed over this mighty area of territory and population, and it has only been necessary to move a few brigades of British troops here and there in support of civil power. In most cases, rioters have been successfully dealt with by the Indian police. I am sure the House would wish me to pay tribute to the loyalty and steadfastness of the brave Indian police, as well as to the Indian officials in general, whose behaviour has been deserving of the highest praise. To sum up, the outstanding fact which has so far emerged from the violent action of the Congress Party has been its non-representative character and its powerlessness to throw into confusion the normal peaceful life of India.

It is the intention of the Government to give all necessary support to the Viceroy and his Executive in the firm but tempered measures by which they are protecting the life of Indian communities, and leaving the British and Indian armies free to defend the soil of India against the Japanese.

I may add that large reinforcements

之五省中，在位之各省省委員均各對本省立法機關負責。且在若干區域，包括城市及鄉村在內，一般人民均已回復其對於行政當局之擁護。

國民大會破壞交通之陰謀，業已崩潰。劫掠縱火等行爲，亦經鎮壓並加處罰，生命損失之少，殊出人意料。在此廣大之領土與衆多之人口中，被殺者尚不及五百人，且英軍之出動各處協助行政當局者亦僅數旅而已。在大多數情形之下，印度警察均能應付暴動份子。余深信下院諸君，必願余對於英印印度警察以及一般印度官吏之忠誠與堅毅，予以嘉許，彼等之行爲誠值得予以最大之譽揚，概括言之，迄今爲止，國民大會黨暴行所表現之最顯著事實，乃其不能代表多數人民之性質，且無法使印度之正常平靜生活，陷於混亂。

政府當局決對印督及其行政人員予以各種必要之支持，俾使採取堅決而和平之方法，保障印度各社會階層之生活，亦使英印軍隊得從容捍衛印土，阻日侵略。

予於此或可加一言，即大量援軍，現已



have reached India, and that the number of white soldiers in that country: although very small compare with its size and population, are larger than at any time in British connection. I, therefore, feel entitled to report to the House that the situation in India at this moment gives no occasion for undue despondency or alarm.

抵印，白種人軍隊之在該國者，與其廣土衆民相較，雖猶屬渺乎其少，但於英印之歷史上，已超過任何時代，因此予覺有權向下院報告，印度目前局勢，實無足以引起失望或危懼之理由。

## Wilkie's Statement to the Pressmen in Chungking

# 威爾基對渝市報界談話

"I have travelled through thirteen countries. I have seen kingdoms, soviets, republics mandated areas, colonies and dependencies. I have seen an almost bewildering variety (1) of ways of living, and ways of ruling and of being ruled. But I have found four things common to all the countries I have visited and to all the ordinary people in those countries with whom I have talked:

"First, they all want the United Nations to win the war.

"Second, they want the United Nations to get on the offensive now.

"Third, they all want a chance at the end of the war to live in liberty and independence.

"Fourth, they all doubt, in varying degrees, the readiness of the leading democracies of the world to stand up and be counted for (2) freedom for others after the war is over. This doubt kills their enthusiastic participation on our side.

"Now without the real support of these common people, the winning of war will be enormously difficult. The winning of the peace will be nearly impossible. This war is not simply a technical problem for task forces. (3) It is also a war for men's minds. We must organize on our side not simply the sympathies but the active, aggressive, offensive spirit of nearly three-fourths of the people of the world who live in South America, Africa, East-

余曾遊歷十三國。余曾見各王國、蘇維埃國家、共和國、委任統治地、殖民地及屬國。余曾見各種各式之生活方式，統治方式及被統治之方式，幾至令人目迷五色。然在余所曾聘問之各國，及在各該國所與接談之普通人民中，余曾發現四個共同之點：

第一、渠等均欲聯合國家獲勝，

第二、渠等均欲聯合國家現即採取攻勢，

第三、渠等均欲在戰事結束後，獲得一在自由及獨立中生活之機會，

第四、渠等均多少懷疑各主要民主國是否將於戰爭結束後支持其他國家之自由，此種懷疑心理，使渠等不能熱烈參加吾人之一方面。

如無此類普通人民之真正支持，欲求制勝，必大為困難。而贏得和平，亦幾屬不可能矣。此次戰爭不僅為擔任各種任務之部隊之技術問題，亦且為爭取人心之戰爭。吾人不僅應爭取彼住居於南美、非洲、東歐及亞洲各地幾佔全世界四分之三人口之同情，且應爭取彼等之積極進取與攻擊精神。使能加

ern Europe and Asia. We have not done this, and at present are not doing this. We have go to do it.

“First of all, everything I have seen on this trip has strengthened my conviction that defense will not win the war. I think we have got to pin this idea in our hats, (4) and look at it often—Defense won't win for us either in a military sense or in political sense.

“It is my personal opinion that the time has come for an all-out armed offensive everywhere by all the United Nations. We are ready to deliver some knock-out punches (5) if I can believe what I have seen with my own eyes.

“We can start these punches at home, but they have got to connect they are going to hurt the enemy. In the United States we have talked a lot to the world about our production figures. But some of our allies have seen very little of our actual arms. It is only natural for them to wonder where our boasted production has gone. It is only natural for some of them to wonder how much longer they will have to eat like children at the second table.

“Some of the countries I have visited look on the map like the last stop on the line. But in terms of the blows they are delivering to our enemies, they should be the first stops. China and Russia have each contribute to the defeat of the Axis aggressors some 5,000,000 of their finest men in casualties. Each has engaged and held with heroic tenacity powerful and ruthless enemies. It is both just and wise for us to see to it that they secure an equi-

入吾人之一方。吾人過去及現在均未出此，今後必須爲之。

首先，余此行所見之一切事物，使余更信僅言防禦不克制勝。余意以爲吾人須將此語懸諸座右時予注意——僅言防禦，無論在軍事上或政治上，均不能令吾人制勝。

余個人意見，以爲各聯合國家在各地發動一全面軍事攻勢之時期，業已來臨，如余對余親眼所見者確能相信，則吾人已有打倒敵人之準備。

吾人可自國內發動此種打擊，但欲以此種打擊創傷敵人，必須自身先有聯繫。吾人在美國，曾時時言及我生產量之數字，但我若干盟友殊鮮獲見吾人所製造之真正武器。渠等懷疑吾人所誇耀之生產究已運往何處。此固自然現象。渠等懷疑其別坐一席，有若幼童就食於長者餐桌之側，爲時尚有幾久，亦屬自然之理也。

余所聘問之各國中，有若干國在地圖上似一線之末點，但自其對我等敵人之打擊而言，則其地位應處於各線之起點。中蘇兩國於出力擊潰軸心侵略者之中，已各死傷五百萬最精銳之士兵，且均曾以英勇不撓之精神與彼強大殘忍之敵人相周旋。吾人求其確能公平獲得我國所產之軍火，乃屬一種公正與

table share of our arms production.

“However, men need more than arms to fight and win this kind of war. They need enthusiasm for the future and a conviction that the flags they fight under are in bright, clear colors. The truth is that we as a nation have not made up our minds as to what kind of a world we want to speak for when victory comes.

“Especially here in Asia the common people feel that we have asked them to join us for no better reason, than that Japanese rule would be even worse than Western imperialism. This is a continent where the record of the Western democracies has been long and mixed, but where people—and remember there are a billion of them—are determined no longer to live under foreign control. Freedom and opportunity are the words which have modern magic for the people of Asia, and we have let the Japanese—the most cruel imperialists the modern world has known—steal these words from us and corrupt them to their own uses.

“Most of the people in Asia have never known democracy. They may or may not want our type of democracy. Obviously all of them are not ready to have democracy handed to them next Tuesday (6) on a silver platter. But they are determined to work out their own destiny under governments selected by themselves.

“Even the name of the Atlantic Charter disturbs thoughtful men and women I have been talking to. Do all of those who signed it, these people ask, agree that it applies to the Pacific? We must answer this question with a clear and simple state-

賢明之舉。

但人類在此種戰爭中作戰及制勝之所需，尚不止軍火而已，彼等亦需要對於將來之熱心，並深信立於其下以作戰之旗幟，顏色均極鮮明。事實上，乃吾儕之國家，今日尚未決定勝利來臨之日，究應為何種世界而發言也。

尤其在亞洲，普通人民，咸覺吾人請其參加吾人一方面之理由，不過以為日本之統治甚至較西方帝國主義為尤劣耳。西方各民主國在亞洲大陸具有悠長而複雜之歷史，然而此一大陸之人民，（吾人應記取其人數有十萬萬之衆）已決定不再生活於外國控制之下。自由與機會，乃係對於亞洲人具有近代魔力之名詞。而吾人竟已任日本（現代世界中所知之最暴虐帝國主義者）由吾人手中竊取此兩名詞，詛為其本身之用。

亞洲多數人民從不知民主主義為何物，渠等或需要或不需吾人所有型式之民主主義，渠等顯皆不欲吾人於最近將民主主義盛諸一銀盤中，而授予之。但渠等決在其自身選定之政府下，造成其自身之命運。

與余在接談之若干有思想之男女人士，甚至對於大西洋憲章之名稱，亦有攪擾不清之感。是否大西洋憲章所有簽字之國家，一致同意其可以適用於太平洋乎？吾人須有一

ment of where we stand. And we must begin to sweat over our common problem of translating such a statement into plans which will be concrete and meaningful to the lives of these millions of people who are our allies.

“Some of the plans to which such a statement would lead are already clear, I deeply believe, to most Americans:

“We believe this war must mean an end to the empire of nations over other nations. No foot of Chinese soil, for example, should be or can be ruled from now on except by the people who live on it. And we must say so now, not after the war.

“We believe it is the world's job to find some system for helping colonial peoples who join the United Nations' cause to become free and independent nations. We must set up firm time-tables under which they can work out and train governments of their own choosing, and we must establish iron-clad guarantees, administered by all the United Nations jointly, that they shall not slip back into colonial status.

“Some say these subjects should be hushed until victory is won. Exactly the reverse is true. Sincere efforts to find progressive solutions now will bring strength to our cause. Remember, opponents of social change always urge delay because of some present crisis. After the war, the changes may be too little and too late.

“We must develop between nations trade and trade routes strong enough to give all peoples the same vested interest in peace which we in America have had.

“In the United States, we are being

明白簡單之聲明，以闡述吾人之立場。吾人應即開始努力從事吾人之共同問題，即將該項聲明變為計劃，使之對我數千萬盟友之生命，感覺具體及饒有意味。

余深信此聲明中所欲創導之計劃，大多數美國人民必已瞭解。

吾人相信以一國治他國之帝國時代，必因此次戰爭而告結束，例如中國之每尺寸土地，除去生活於斯土之人民外，不應有其他民族得而統治之，此點吾人必須於現在言之，不應俟諸戰後。

吾人相信樹立某種制度，俾能襄助參加聯合國家作戰途徑之殖民地民族獲得自由與獨立，實為全世界之責任。吾人應製定固定之時間表，俾殖民地之民族能循序創製並諳習於彼等所選擇之政府。吾人並須提出由所有聯合國家共同管理之強固保證，使彼等不再淪於殖民地狀態。

有人以為此類問題，在勝利獲得以前，應避而不談。然實際却正相反。現在尋求進步解決方法之真誠努力，必能增加吾人作戰之力量，吾人必須記憶，反對社會改變之人，常藉目前危機為拖延之口實。但直至戰後，改變或已太遲，或嫌太少矣。

吾人必須發展國際貿易，並發展國際貿易路線，使其足令所有民族，皆能享受此項和平時代所賦之利益，一似吾美國人民在平時所享受者。

吾人在美國，因欲擊毀軸心，均已疲瀕

asked to give up temporarily our individual freedom and economic liberty in order to crush the Axis. We must recover this freedom and this liberty after the war. The way to make certain we do recover our traditional American way of life with a rising standard of living for all is to create a world in which all men everywhere can be free."

求暫時放棄個人之自由與經濟上之自由權，  
但此兩種自由，在戰後必須恢復。保證吾人  
確能恢復吾美國式傳統之生活，且使全體人  
民均有逐漸提高之生活標準，其法當為創造  
一新世界，使生活其中之所有人民，皆能自  
由是也。

- 註：(1) bewildering variety 種類繁多，令人迷惑。  
(2) be counted for 可恃渠擁護（其他國家之自由）。  
(3) task forces 負有任務之部隊。  
(4) pin . . . . in our hats 以針撇於吾人之帽上即懸諸座右之意。  
(5) knock-out punches 一擊即倒之打擊。  
(6) next Tuesday 此間應作“最近之將來”解。  
(7) Sweat over 爲……而流汗。

## Wilkie's Report On His Trip Abroad

# 威爾基出國經過報告

*A broadcast to the American people delivered on Oct. 26, 1942*

一九四二年十月二十六日對全美民衆廣播

“Several months ago it occurred to me (1) that perhaps I could make a contribution to the war by visiting the world's people who wage it. I wanted to see them. I wanted to talk to them at the fighting fronts. I also wanted to have a frank discussion with both the leaders and the people in countries which have not decided on a course of action.

“Naturally in time of war it is impossible to leave the country without permission. So I applied to the President for permission to visit the Middle East, Russia and China. I wanted to go as a private citizen, as I had gone to England when she alone was so courageously holding the free world's battle line against Hitler. The President agreed to my trip and asked that I perform certain specific tasks for him which I was happy to undertake.

“It was clearly understood between him and me that, apart from the specific matters handled for him, I should go as a free agent. (2) I was at liberty to express my opinion while abroad and equally so when I returned. I have talked to literally hundreds of people around the world in the last two months. Everywhere I made it crystal clear (3) that I was present as a free citizen of a free coun-

數月前余自覺，倘能訪問世界各地進行戰爭之人民，則余對於戰爭或能有所貢獻，余願見彼輩人民，余願在戰場上與彼等會談，余更願與一般尚未決定行動途徑之國家首領與人民，進行誠懇之討論。

然值戰時，非獲得許可，自不能離國，因之余乃向總統申請，要求准赴中東蘇聯與中國一行，余願以公民之私人資格出行，一若余於昔日前往當時正獨力英勇堅守自由世界戰線，以反抗希特勒時之英國者然。總統應余之所請，並命余爲其個人完成余所欣樂爲之之特定任務。

總統與余之間，曾有清晰之諒解，即余除爲其處理特定之事務外，應以自由之地位出行，余在國外時可自由發表意見，返國後亦然，過去兩月中，余實際上曾在世界各地與數百人士，直接晤談，凡余所言之意，余均明白聲明，余係一自由國家之自由公民身份前來，爲異於總統所隸屬之政黨之一份子

try, a member of a different party from the President—in fact the candidate who opposed him in 1940.

“I make these points clear because the citizens of a democracy have the right to know them. Tonight I, am reporting to you and summarizing my conclusions as an American interested only in the welfare of my country and I am proud that I am accountable only to my fellow citizens. . . .

“The world we live in has become small not only on the map but also in the minds of men. All around the world, there are some ideas which millions and millions of men hold in common . . . One of these ideas, and one that I can report without hesitation, has tremendous significance for us Americans; it is the mixture of respect and hope with which the world looks to this country.

“I bring back to you this clear and significant fact there exists in the world today a gigantic reservoir of goodwill (4) toward you—the American people. . . , People like our works not only because they help life easier and richer but also because we have shown that American business enterprise is unlike that of most other industrial nations which are almost necessarily linked with the political control of imperialism.

“I found this dread of imperialism every where. The fact that we are not associated with it in men's minds has caused people to go much further in their approval of us than I had dared imagine. I was amazed to discover how keenly the world is aware of the fact

，實則在一九四〇年時，尙爲與總統對峙之候選人。

余所以聲明上述各點者，蓋民主政治下之公民，固有明瞭此數點之權利也，余今夜將向諸君概括報告余之結論，余既爲美國人，則所關心者自爲本國之福利，余得僅向國人報告，此爲余所引以爲榮者也。

吾人所依附而生之世界，已行縮小，此不但在地圖上爲然，即人類意念中之世界，亦莫不如此，今日之世界中無數百萬之人民，咸具若干共同之觀念，其中之一項，對吾美國人民具有極大之意義，而爲余所欲立向國人報告者，即世界尊重並期望美國之混合觀念是也。

余可爲國人報告一明顯而富有意義之事實，即今日之世界，對諸君——美國人民——一備有極大之友情，世人喜悅吾人之工作，非徒以吾人之工作使生活逸易而豐富，且因吾人曾證明美國之商務，有異於其他大部工業國家，此大部工業國之商務與帝國主義之政治統治，幾均相連。

余曾在各地發現此帝國主義之恐怖，然世人因知吾人未與之聯繫一致，故彼等贊成吾人之程度，遠較余所能想像者爲深，吾人



that we do not seek—anywhere, in any region—to impose our rule upon others or exact special privileges.

“All people of the earth know that we have no sinister designs upon them, that even when we have in the past withdrawn from international affairs into a false self-sufficiency, it was without sinister purpose. And they know now that we are in this war not to fight for profit or loot or territory or mandatory power over the lives or governments of other people. That is, I think, the single most important reason for the existence of our reservoir of goodwill around the world.

“As I see it, the existence of this reservoir is the biggest political fact of our time. No other western nation has such a reservoir. Ours must be used to unify the peoples of the earth in the human quest for (5) freedom and justice. It must be maintained so that with confidence they may fight and work with us against the gigantic evil forces that are seeking to destroy all we stand for and all they hope for. The preservation of this reservoir of goodwill is our sacred responsibility not alone toward the aspiring peoples of the earth but toward our own sons who are fighting this battle on every continent. For the water in this reservoir is the clean invigorating water of freedom.

“I bring you assurance that this reservoir exists. I also bring a warning that it is leaking. It is leaking dangerously. It is leaking at a thousand points. It is leaking through steadily spreading cracks and holes. These holes have not been punched in the reservoir by Hitler.

在任何地帶與任何區域，均不圖統治他人，或勒索特權。

世人對此竟具有極深切之認識，此為余所感訝異者，世人咸知吾人對彼輩無惡意，甚至當昔日吾人因懷錯誤之自足感，而至處身于國際問題之外時，彼等亦明知吾人並無惡意，今日彼等復知吾人之參加此次戰爭，既非為利益掠奪或領土而戰，亦非欲以統治權加諸他國人民之生活或其政府，余認為世界各地，對吾人友情之深，其主因在此。

就余個人觀之，此友情之存在，乃當代最偉大之政治事實，其他西方國家，均未能獲得此深厚之友情，吾人所得之友情，必須用以團結世界之人民，以覓取自由正義，此項友情，必須保持，俾世人能抱有信心與吾人共同鬥爭，共同合作，以反抗企圖消滅吾人所維護之一切以及世人所希望之一切之龐大惡勢力，保持此深厚之友情，不但為吾人對世上蓄志遠大之民族所應負之神聖責任，亦為對今日在各洲參與大戰之吾人兒輩所應負之神聖責任也，此友情有如蓄水池，其中所蓄者為自由之聖潔而富有激勵力之清水。

余向諸君保證，今日已有此蓄水池之存在，但余亦欲向國人提出警語，此即蓄水池已有漏隙，且有危險之漏隙，且在千百數逐漸擴大之裂口與孔之中向外洩漏，此無數孔隙，並非希特勒所鑿穿，而乃吾人所鑿穿者

They have been punched by us. For the very existence of this reservoir is built on confidence in our integrity of purpose, our honesty in dealing, our ability in performance. We have made great promises, How have these promises been fulfilled?

“A vital matter is our own production of war materials. We are supposedly the biggest industrial nation on earth. But the flow of war materials out of this country to some nations I visited is not only small in itself, but compared to the immensity of this global war we are engaged in it is tragically small.

“If I were to tell you how few bombers China has received from us, you simply wouldn't believe me. If I were to tell you how far Russia feels we are from fulfilling our commitments, you will agree with me that we have little reason to boast about our performance.

“There are exceptions. I have seen American planes and tanks which have been in hard and grueling action and which have stood up magnificently. I have seen the beginnings of shipping routes which at some time will carry the kind of traffic the world is waiting for. I have seen something of the heroism and skill with which Americans—pilots, sailors and engineers—are blasting routes clear for our production when we get it ready.

“When will this be? That depends, I think, on how quickly we and our leaders can begin to think and act offensively, can begin to mobilize not for defense but for attack. It is my reasoned judgment that we cannot win this war forty per cent mobilized. There are a great many people

，蓋此蓄水池之存在，乃肇基於吾人目的之純正，交易之誠實與其所表現之執行能力等獲得世人之信任，吾人曾提出重大之諾言，此等諾言履行之情況又如何？

吾人之軍需生產，乃一主要之問題，吾人素被目為世上之最大工業國，然自本國運至若干余所聘問之國家之軍需品，不但本身數量微少，且與全球性戰爭之巨大規模比較尤覺微乎其微。

余倘告知諸君，中國得自吾國之轟炸機，為數如何微少，諸君直將不能置信，余倘告諸君蘇聯感覺吾人距離履行義務之程度如何遙遠，則諸君亦將與余同感認為吾人對於自身之所為，誠無誇耀之理由。

然今日固有例外。余嘗見美國之飛機與坦克車進行艱苦之戰鬥而有宏偉之表現，余曾見航線開闢之開始，他日將運輸今日世界所期待之貨物，余曾見美國飛行員水手與工程師，為吾人所準備進行之生產開闢新路時所表現之英勇與機巧。

此日（按此處當指反攻之日期）究將何時來臨，余認此將視吾人及吾人之領導者開始進攻性思想與開始進行性行動之遲速以為定，將視吾人開始攻勢之動員（而非守勢之動員）之遲速以為定，個人據理判斷，吾人僅動員百分之四十之力量，決不能獲勝，今

listening to me tonight who would like to do more if they know what more to do.

“I tell you that if we continue to fail to deliver to our allies what they are entitled to expect of us, or what we have promised them, our reservoir of goodwill will turn into one of resentment. We cannot laugh this off or shrug it away, or hide it behind a censorship. Five million Russians and five million Chinese have given their lives in his struggle. Each of these countries has lost as many men as we have in our entire army. We owe them more than boasts and broken promises.

“We are also punching holes in our reservoir of goodwill every day by failing to define clearly our war aims. Besides giving our Allies in Eastern Europe something to fight for, we have got to give them assurance of what we are fighting for. Two hundred million people in Russia and four hundred million in China—people like you and me—are bewildered and anxious. They know what they are fighting for. They are not so sure of us.

“Many of them have read the Atlantic Charter. Rightly or wrongly they are unsatisfied. They ask: What about a Pacific Charter? What about a World Charter.

“Their doubts were expressed to me in simple, unmistakable question. ‘Is there to be a Charter for the millions of the Western Hemisphere only?’ they asked. ‘Is there to be no charter of freedom for the billion people of the East?’ ‘Is freedom suppose to be priceless for the western man or for the western world but of no account for us in the East?’

夜必有無數戰爭，倘知本身所能盡力之處時，必願更加努力。

余欲明告國人，倘吾人仍不能以盟友所應期待於吾人或吾人已對彼等承諾者，運交盟友，則吾人所獲得之友情，將轉變為怨恨，吾人對此（按此當指怨恨）不能一笑置之，或漠視不顧，或藉檢查制度以為掩飾，五百萬之蘇聯人民與五百萬之中國人民，已在此次鬥爭中犧牲性命，此兩國家中每一國所損失之人員，已等於我全國之軍隊，吾人所負於彼等者，不僅為誇大與未能履行諾言而已。

吾人今日尚逐日在友情蓄水池之上，自行鑿穿漏洞，蓋吾人迄未能明白確定作戰目標，吾人除供應東歐盟友所用以戰鬥之工具外，尚須使其獲得吾人為何而戰之保證，蘇聯二萬萬人民與中國四萬萬人民——彼等一若吾人——均在迷惑與渴望中，彼固自知為何而戰，但對於吾人為何而戰，則不甚確知也。

彼等大多皆曾閱讀大西洋憲章，為是為非，彼等皆不滿意，並問「太平洋憲章將屬如何？」，「全世界憲章將屬如何？」

彼等皆以簡單適切之問語向余表示其懷疑，彼等之問題，為「豈西半球數千百萬萬人民方有憲章乎，而東方數萬萬人民則無自由之憲章乎，豈以自由僅在西方世界西方人民為無上至寶，而于東方之吾人，則不足計耶」。

“Many of them asked me a question which has become almost a symbol throughout Asia: ‘What about India?’ No, I didn’t go to India. I don’t propose to discuss that tangled question tonight. But it has one aspect in the East which I should report to you. From Cairo on it confronted me at every turn. (7) The wisest man in China said to me, ‘When the aspiration of India for freedom was put aside to some future date, it was not Britain that suffered in public esteem (8) in the Far East. It was the United States.’”

“This wise man wasn’t quarreling with British imperialism in India when he said that—a benevolent imperialism if you like. He doesn’t believe in it but he was not even talking about it. He was telling me, and through me you, that by our silence on India we have already drawn heavily on our reservoir of goodwill in the East. . . .”

“In Africa, in the Middle East, throughout the Arab world as well as in China and the whole Far East, freedom means the orderly but scheduled abolition of the colonial system. I can assure you that this is true. I can assure you that the rule of peoples by other peoples is not freedom and not what we must fight to preserve.

“I am talking about the colonial system wherever it exists and under whatever nation. We Americans are still too apt to think and speak of the British Empire. We must recognize the truth that in vast areas of the world there is no longer any British Empire but instead a pseud Com-

彼等大多數曾問余「印度將如何」，此一問題在整個亞洲幾已成一象徵，余未赴印度，余不欲于今夜討論此一繁複之問題，但在東方，有一情況余必須報告諸君，余自抵開羅之日始，即時常遭遇此一問題，一最睿智之中國人曾告我，「當印度對自由之期望被置之來日之際，則在遠東，失衆望者爲美國，而非英國」。

此智者作是語時，並非責難英國在印之帝國主義，君等或可稱爲之布施仁惠之帝國主義，彼並不信此，但彼根本未提及此點，彼所告余，且因余而轉告諸君者爲吾人因對印度問題保持緘默已使吾人在東方所獲得之友情，大受損失。

在非洲，在中東，在阿拉伯人之區域中，一似在中國與遠東，自由之意義被視爲殖民制度按一定時間之循序廢止。余敢向諸君保證此乃一種真理，余敢保證以若干民族統治其他若干民族，決非自由，亦非吾人所力戰以求保全者。

余茲所言者爲一切存在於任何地區，及在任何國家治下之殖民制度，我美國人民仍極易思並道及大英帝國，吾人必須承認一項真理，即在世界廣大之地區，將不復有大英

mon wealth of free nations. The British colonial possessions are but the remnants of Empire that throughout the Commonwealth there are men and women numbered in millions who are working selflessly and with great skill towards reducing these remnants and extending the Commonwealth in place of the colonial system. This, it seemed to me, was what General Smuts was talking about in his recent dramatic speech before the cheering British Parliament.

“As Americans we must also recognize that we share with these men and women of the British Commonwealth of Free Nations the responsibility of making the whole world a Commonwealth of Free Nations. The grim and relentless progress of this war is teaching all of us that in a world forced to choose between victory and slavery, between freedom and fascism there are no purely local problems.

“India is our problem. If Japan should conquer that vast subcontinent we will be the losers. In the same sense the Philippines are a British problem. If we fail to deliver by force of arms the independence (9) we have promised the Philippines, the whole Pacific world will be the loser. We must believe those simple truths and speak them loudly and without fear. Only in this way can the people of the world forge in this war the strength and confidence in each other which we will need to win the peace.

“There will be a lot of tough problems.... Not all the peoples of the world are ready for freedom or can defend it the day after tomorrow. But today all of them

帝國，代之而起者，為許多自由國家所組成之聯合國，英屬之殖民地，僅為帝國遺物，在此聯合國中，數百萬男女正以極大技巧，不存私心，努力減少此類遺物，擴大聯合國，俾代替殖民制度，史末資將軍近在英議會歡呼聲中，所作富有戲劇性之演說，以余視之，亦猶此意。

吾美國人民，必知本身與以自由國家組成之大英聯合國人民負有同樣責任，俾使全世界成為一以自由國家組成之大聯合國，吾人因此次戰事殘酷無情之展開，已獲知在此必須於勝利與奴隸，自由與法西斯兩者間選取其一之世界中，絕無地方性之問題。

印度為吾人之問題，日本如征服此一廣大之次大陸，吾人亦為受損失者，同樣菲律賓亦為英國之問題，如吾人許諾華人之獨立，不能以武力獲得，太平洋各國皆為受損害者，吾人必須相信此簡單之真理，大聲疾呼，無所畏懼，惟有如此，舉世人民方能在此次戰爭中將其精力及互信結合為一，此為吾人欲獲得和平所必需者。

其中將有若干嚴重問題，全世界一切民族並非對自由皆已有準備或即能衛護自由者，但彼等在今日皆願有一日能獲得自由之確

want some date to work toward,<sup>(19)</sup> some guarantee that the date will be kept. For the future, they don't ask that we solve their problems for them. They are neither so foolish nor so fainthearted.

“They ask only for a chance to solve their own problems with economic as well as political cooperation. For the peoples of the world intend to be free not only for their political satisfaction but also for their economic advancement.

“There are other holes that we are blindly punching in our reservoir of goodwill which can be more easily repaired. One of them is the half-ignorant, half-patronizing way in which we have grown accustomed to treating many peoples in Eastern Europe and Asia.

“The leaders of our eastern allies and potential allies are proud and intelligent men. The Shah of Iran, the Prime Minister of Iraq, the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Turkey, the Generalissimo of China—to mention only a few—are men who understand the world and who have important ideas about the future. They are in substantial agreement, for example, as to the necessity of abolishing imperialism and liberating the peoples of the world—making freedom a real thing instead of just a nice word. They feel unanimously, I think, that the United States can and make an enormous contribution to these new solutions. They are able and eager to work with representatives of the United States and to begin now. . . .

“But consider our policy. We have consistently failed to send to these men

期，以及能遵守此日期之保證，至於將來，彼等之問題，並不要求吾人代為解決，彼等既不愚昧，亦非怯弱。

彼等所要求者為政治經濟之合作，藉有解決彼等自身問題之機會，因世界各民族之欲得自由，不僅在政治上求滿足，且欲在經濟上求進展。

吾人所獲得之友情，另有盲目打開之漏隙，但其補塞更易，其一即為吾人半愚拙半施恩之態度，吾人已習慣以此法對待東歐及亞洲之諸民族矣。

吾東方盟邦及可能為我盟邦之領袖，皆為有自尊心及睿智之人，如中國蔣委員長，伊朗國王，伊拉克總統，土耳其總理及外長等——僅列舉數人——，皆瞭解世界，對於未來皆具有重要之理想，例如彼等對於帝國主義之必須廢除與世界各民族之必須解放，意見皆切實意見一致，務求自由為一實際之物，而非為動聽之名詞。余信彼等必一致感覺美國力能且必須對此等新問題之解決作偉大之貢獻，彼等皆能且切願與美國代表合作，而且即時開始合作。

但吾人之政策如何，吾人始終未能遣送

representatives with authority to discuss such problems intelligently and take realistic steps towards their solution.

“On our special missions to Russia, no one of Cabinet rank has been sent from this country to talk to Mr. Stalin. It was the British Prime Minister who primarily spoke for us his last such mission. Between Cairo and Teheran there live Arab-speaking people in half a dozen lands, with great traditions and great futures. Yet when I was there, we had all this area without a Minister or an Ambassador in residence.

“We must wipe out the distinction in our minds between ‘first class’ and ‘second class’ Allies. We must send to represent us among all our allies really distinguished men who are important in their own right, (11) to dare to tell the President the truth.

“There is one more leak in our reservoir of goodwill. . . . This is the atrophy of intelligence which is produced by stupid, arbitrary or undemocratic censorship.

“It has been suggested much of date, for example, that private citizens should refrain from making suggestions about the conduct of the war. . . . It has been said that we must remain silent and allow our leaders and experts to solve these problems unmolested.

“This position threatens. I believe, to become a tight wall which will keep truth out and lock misrepresentation and false security within. I have reported to you tonight that in many important respects we are undoing a good job; that we

有力代表與彼等討論此一問題，並探現實步驟以求解決之

吾人遣送至蘇與史達林談話之特殊使節中，尙無一人爲內閣閣員階級，英首相上次赴蘇主要任務爲代表吾人發言，開羅與德里蘭之間，操阿刺伯語之各民族，分住五六處，各有偉大之傳統與特色，然余到達彼區時，吾人竟無公使或大使一人駐留該地。

吾人必須消除對盟邦分別第一等與第二等之觀念，吾人對所有盟邦，皆須派遣真正卓異之代表，其本身必須有地位，敢以真相報告總統者。

此外吾人所獲得之友情，尙有一漏隙，即因新聞檢查之愚笨武斷而不民主，以致彼此缺少諒解。

例如近來頗多主戰私人不應對作戰行爲有所建議，有謂吾人必須保持緘默以待吾人之領袖與專家解決此類問題，不容從旁置喙。

余信此種情形，勢將造成一堅固之牆垣將真相摒斥在外，而以謬誤與虛偽之安全禁錮於內，余今夜報告諸君在若干重要方面，吾人正在消除優良之工作，蓋吾人固已進入

are on the road to winning the war but we run the heavy risk of spending far more in men and materials than we need spend. This report is based on facts. Such facts . . . should be given to us all. For unless we recognize and correct them we may lose the friendship of half our allies before the war is over and then lose the peace.

“It is plain that to win this war we must make it our war—the war of all of us. In order to do this, we must all know as much about it as possible, subject only to the needs of military security. Misdirected censorship will not accomplish this.

“The record in this war to date<sup>(12)</sup> is not such as to inspire in us any sublime faith in the infallibility of our military and naval experts. . . . Military and naval experts, as well as our leaders, must be constantly exposed to<sup>(13)</sup> democracy's greatest driving force—the whiplash of public opinion developed from honest free discussion. . . .

“For instance, it was public criticism of the constant failures in North Africa that brought about the change of command there. When I was in Egypt, that new command stopped Rommel. It has now begun aggressive fighting. I hope our aid to this action will be adequate and prompt so that Britain and America may be able to eliminate Rommel and free North Africa from Axis domination, and then begin an assault on the soft spots of Southern Europe. I reiterate: we and our allies must establish a fighting front in Europe: I also hope that shortly we can put the considerable force in India to aggressive use in an all-out attack in Burma, General

獲勝之道，但吾人亦冒浪費無數不必要人力物力之重大危險，此項報告，乃以事實為根據，而此種事實，必須為吾人所盡知，蓋如吾人不能認清而校正之，則在戰爭結束前，或將喪失半數盟邦之友情，進而喪失和平。

吾人欲使此次戰爭勝利，必須使此次戰爭成為吾人之戰爭，吾人全體之戰爭，此理甚明，欲達到此點，吾人除因出於軍事安全之需要外，必須盡量知其詳情，指導失當之新聞檢查，不能完成此項任務。

此次戰爭之經過，不能使吾人發生崇高之信念，以為吾人之海陸軍專家確無錯誤，海陸軍專家與吾人之領袖，必須經常接受民主主義推動力之策勵，即經過自由忠實討論而形成之輿論之策勵是也。

舉例言之，各方因對北非一再挫敗加以抨擊，乃有更易該區統帥之舉，余在埃及時，新統帥即已阻遏隆美爾，今則已開始攻勢之戰鬥矣，余望吾人對於此種行動之援助，能充分且迅速俾英美能消滅隆美爾，俾北非得自軸心控制下獲得解放，然後開始向南歐之脆弱地帶進擊，余欲重申一語，吾人與盟友必須在歐開闢戰場，余並望不久能以相當數量之軍力，置于印度，以便用于全力進攻緬甸，一如魏非爾將軍之所主張者，如此



Wavell has urged. Thus we will remove the pressure of our enemies on China and Russia, our superb fighting allies. . . .

“I believe that, in a military sense, we can win this war. I believe we have the resources, man-power and courage to do so. But military victory as such will not be enough. . . . The total defeat of the Japanese warlords, the total crushing defeat of the German Wehrmacht (14) could not in themselves solve the problems of this great and tumultuous earth. We must fight our way through not alone to the destruction of our enemies but to a new world idea. We must win the peace.

“To win that peace, three things seem to me to be necessary. First we must plan the way for peace on a global basis; secondly the world must be free economically and politically for nations and for men that peace may exist in it; and third, America must play an active, constructive part in freeing it and keeping its peace.

“When I say peace must be planned on a global basis, I mean quite literally that it must embrace the earth. . . . It is inescapable that there can be no peace for any part of the world unless the foundations of peace are made secure throughout all parts of the world.

“Great progress has been started which no man—certainly not Hitler—can stop. Men and women all over the world are on the march—physically, intellectually and spiritually. After centuries of ignorant, dull compliance, hundreds of millions of people in Eastern Europe and Asia have opened books. Old fears no longer frighten them.

始能減少敵人加諸吾人超事盟友中蘇兩國之壓力。

自軍事上論，余相信吾人將能獲勝，余信吾人有制勝之資源人力與勇氣，但軍事勝利猶嫌不足，日本軍閥與德國作戰機構之總崩潰，並不能解決此廣大騷亂世界之種種問題，吾人必須力戰前進，不但在毀滅敵人，且爭取一新世界觀，吾人必須獲得和平。

爭取和平，似須俱備三事，第一吾人必須計劃以全世界為基礎之和平方式，第二世界各國與各民族，在經濟上及政治上必須自由，俾和平可以存在於其中，第三美國對於解放全球及保持其和平方面，必須居於積極與建設之地位。

余所指以全世界為基礎之和平，係照其字義解釋，即全世界必須包括在內。除非和平之基礎，堅立於世界各部份，則世界之任何部份，必不克享受和平，此為不可避免之事。

偉大之進步，業已開始，非任何人（更非希特勒）所能阻止。世界之男女，在智德體三方面均在前進中，東歐與亞洲數萬萬人民，經過若干世紀之愚昧無知與愚鈍，順從後，已開始翻閱書報，舊有之恐嚇，不能再恫嚇彼等，彼等亦不願為西方之利益而為東

They are no longer willing to be Eastern slaves for Western profits. They are resolved, as we must be, that there is no more place for imperialism within their own society than is the society of nations. The big house on the hill surrounded by mud huts has lost its awesome charm.

“Our western world and our presumed supremacy are now on trial. Our boasting and big talk leave Asia cold. Men and women in Russia, China and the Middle East are conscious now of their omnipotent strength. They are coming to know how many decisions about the future of the world lie in their hands. And they intend that these decisions shall leave the peoples of each nation free from foreign domination, and for economic, social and spiritual growth.

“Finally, I saw that this world demands the full participation of self-confident America. I am only passing on the invitation that these peoples of the East have given us. They would like the United States to be one of their partners in this grand adventure. They want us to join them in creating a new society, global in scope, and free alike of the economic injustices of the West and the political malpractices of the East. But as a partner in that great new combination, they want us neither hesitant nor incompetent nor afraid. They want a partner who will not hesitate to speak out for the correction of injustice anywhere in the world.

“Our allies in the East know that we intend to pour out our resources in this war. But they expect us now, not after the war, to use the enormous power of our

方之奴隸，彼等已決心（一若吾人之必爭決心者然）不許帝國主義在其本身之範圍中生存，（一若不許其在國際間生存者然），以茅屋環其四週之山頂大廈，已失其威嚴可畏之魔力矣。

吾人之西方世界，與吾人假定之優越性，今日俱至測驗之時期，吾人之誇大，竟未顧及亞洲，蘇聯中國與中東之男女已認識其無限之力量，彼等開始明瞭他日之世界，將有若干決定須由彼等裁奪，彼等均願各項決定能使每一國之人民不受外力之統治，使其能從事經濟社會與精神方面之發展。

最後，余認爲此一世界，需要具有自信之美國人全力參加，余作此語，僅轉達東方各民族對吾人之邀請而已，彼等咸望在此偉大之嘗試中，美國能爲其一份子，彼等希望吾人能與其聯合創造一具有全球性之新社會，使無西方之經濟不分與東方之政治不當，彼等希望吾人勿遲疑勿怯弱，爲此新聯合中之一份子，彼等希望能有毫不遲疑修正世界任何區域不平現象之夥伴。

吾人東方諸盟國深悉吾人願罄所有之資源作戰，但彼等希望今日而非戰後，即能利用吾人賦予之龐大力量，以促進自由與正義

giving to promote liberty and justice. Other peoples, not yet fighting, are waiting no less eagerly for us to accept the most challenging opportunity in history—the chance to help to create a new society in which men and women the globe around can live and grow invigorated by freedom.”

，其他尚未戰鬥之民族，亦以同樣迫切嚮  
待，希望吾人接受有史以來最富有挑戰性之  
機會，即協力建立新社會之機會，使世界上  
男女均能生存增長，並受自由之激勵也。

- 註：(1) It occurred to me 余想起  
(2) free agent 自由行動者  
(3) crystal clear 明澈如水晶  
(4) gigantic reservoir of goodwill 友誼之巨大儲藏，以下簡作 reservoir  
(5) in the for 覓取  
(6) grueling 駭性  
(7) at very turn 每一行程  
(8) suffered in public esteem 失榮聲  
(9) to deliver by force of arms the independence . . . . 以武力奪得獨立  
後予以獨立  
(10) want some date to work toward 希望有一努力可以達到之日期  
(11) important in their own right 本身具有重要地位  
(12) to date 迄今為止  
(13) ex post to 接受  
(14) Wehrmacht 為一德文字，即國防軍之意

## T. V. Soong's Double Tenth Message

# 宋子文雙十節致辭

*Delivered on Oct. 10, 1942, before a China rally held under the auspices of the United China Relief in Carnegie Hall, New York.*

一九四二年十月十日在紐約卡乃奇大廳聯合救濟中國難民委員會主持之中國大會中發表

"This day China cherishes at the Double Tenth—the tenth day of the tenth month, October.

"It is the day of our declaration of independence—the day Dr. Sun Yat-sen proclaimed the Republic of China—the beginning of the peoples century in Asia—our Fourth of July. (1) But our October Tenth is only 31 years old. It represents the daring, not of our remote ancestors, but of our own fathers, and of many men now living. Men who today are the leaders of the state and the heads of families are the very young men who on that October Tenth pledged to Dr. Sun Yat-sen himself their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor.

"These years have been to China what the era of the founding fathers were to you.

"The torch of democratic idealism and revolutionary faith of the Chinese founding fathers was thrown from the fathers of your own Fourth of July. Dr. Sun was American educated and he took inspiration from the early American patriots who were also not afraid to create new worlds.

"No Chinese patriot, however blinded

本日乃中國所熱愛之雙十節——第十月之第十日。

此日乃吾人宣佈獨立之日期，孫中山先生於是日宣佈中華民國成立，亦即亞洲民有世紀之開始，即吾人之七月四日，然吾人之雙十節，年僅三十有一，其所代表之英勇行動，非為吾人之遠祖，而為吾人之父輩，以及若干刻仍存在者，目前為中國之領袖家庭之家長者，當前正屬英年，於十月十日，以其生命幸福及榮譽，為孫中山先生效命。

此等年代，對於中國，與美國開國先烈之時代，對於君等之意義，正復相似。

中國開國先烈所持之民主理想及革命信仰之火炬，乃貴國開國先烈所授予者，孫中山先生曾受美國教育，所受美國早年愛國先烈不避艱險創立新世界之精神激勵甚深。

任何中國愛國志士，雖因熱中革命而不

by devotion, claims that China has fully realized the democratic faith. In 1911 in China there was hardly any preparation for representative government and except for the leaders, scarcely anyone had the slightest notion of the new democracy.

“As Dr. Sun used to say, mortals and their institutions do not spring to life in full maturity. They must grow from humble beginnings. They learn only by their mistakes until in the process of trial and error humanity advances.

“We had to try to develop in a few years from a medieval into a modern democracy, against the intrigue and finally the military attack of Japan, who wanted no democracy in Asia.

“But for (2) all our mistakes and difficulties, our democracy made us a unified nation. For five years a united China has kept fighting—fighting in ways that military men with magnificently equipped armies do not always understand—fighting in the irregular way revolutionary armies without equipment, have always had to fight—fighting in exactly the same way as George Washington’s armies had to fight, retreating, retreating, retreating, past this very spot, (3) from defeat in the battle of Long Island to victory in the battle of Trenton—(4) fighting with and against the Japanese mechanized forces. . .

“When the United Kingdom and the United States became at war with Japan we thought the end of our fighting was near. But today the Japanese are stronger than ever in the Far East, and our supply base, Burma, is gone.

免失却自知之明，然彼等均不敢聲言，中國已完全實現民主主義之信仰，一九一一年時，中國並無建立代議政府之任何準備，且除少數領袖之外，對於民主主義具有些微認識者亦鮮。

中山先生常言，人類及其制度不能一躍而完全成長，彼等必須自卑微之開端，逐漸成長，彼等必須於錯誤中求取教訓，直至人類於試驗及錯誤之階段中獲得進步而後已。

吾人必須於數年之期間內，自一中世紀之帝國發展而為一現代之民主國，同時抵抗不願亞洲有民主國家之日本之陰謀，及其最後之軍事侵略。

吾人誠有衆 錯與困難，然吾人之民主政治，已使吾人成為統一之國家，此統一之中國五年以來，曾不斷以擁有充足裝備軍隊之軍人，所不常瞭解之方法，以缺乏裝備之革命軍隊，常須用以作戰之非正常方法，以與華盛頓之軍隊所用以作戰完全相同之方法，即退却，退却，退却，經過紐約自長島戰爭之失敗，以至於特運頓戰役之勝利，中國軍隊即以此等方法與日本之機械化部隊作戰。

當英美兩國與日本入於戰爭狀態時，吾人均認為吾人作戰之終結即將屆臨，然目前日本在遠東方面實力之強大，已非昔比，吾人之供應根據地緬甸亦告失守。

“Former Ambassador Grew had to live among the Japanese critical war years. No one tells it better than he—I hope he will again tell you tonight—what fanatically determined fighters and implacable foes they are, how dangerously strong and menacing they are to you as well as to us.

“Why do we Chinese keep fighting a foe as strong as that, despite democratic reverses? Because they have revolutionary faith in themselves? Yes. But also because they have a revolutionary faith in you, in the democracy Americans stand for, in your courage to build new worlds. Because they are sure the kind of a world the American Revolution and the Chinese Revolution can together create will be a world where Chinese children can live as well as American children.

“What do they ask in return for that faith in you? If I could sum it up in a sentence I would say that what we want is a return to a revolutionary faith on your part—a revolutionary faith in yourselves, in the possibilities of democracy and of your democratically—faith enough to let yourselves and the other principal United Nations start now—realistically—to build the kind of democratic world that can stay democratic after this conflict is over.

“They want to see action begun now to realize the resolve of your great President, which is also the resolve of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, about the United Nations, democracy and the Four Freedoms—for Asia as well as for Europe and the Americas.

前貴國駐日大使格魯，曾在此嚴重之作戰年度中與日人共處，任何人均不能較彼更能申述——余希望彼於今晚將再為君等述之——日本為如何瘋狂具有決心之好戰者，如何難與和解之仇敵，彼等對於諸君以及吾人之威脅又如何。

吾中國人民眼見民主國家之多次失利，何以仍與此強敵繼續作戰，因彼等本身具有革命信仰乎，自然，惟此亦由於彼等對於君等，對於美國所支持之民主政治，對於君等建造新世界之勇氣均具有革命之信心，且因彼等深信美國革命及中國革命所能共同建造之世界，乃一種中國兒童與美國兒童均能生活之世界。

彼等對於君等既具有此種信心，則彼等轉向君等要求者究為何物，如以一語包括，則余可曰，吾人所要求於諸君者，乃諸君方面之革命信心，即諸君對於本身，對於民主政治之可能性以及諸君之民主國盟友之革命信心，此項信心須使足以諸君本身及其他主要聯合國家目前即行開始（真正開始）建造之一種民主主義之世界，使戰後世界能永為民主主義世界。

吾中國人民亦希望目前即有行動開始，以實現貴國偉大總統關於聯合國家民主政治以及四大自由（亞洲亦應由歐美同樣享受）之決策，此亦為蔣委員長之決策。

“In announcing on this auspicious day that the United States Government is prepared promptly to negotiate a treaty for the immediate relinquishment of extraterritorial rights in China and for the settlement of related questions, thereby giving recognition to China's new status, the President has again evinced his deep understanding of the political sentiments of an aroused Asia.

“There is no question for Chinese about China's future. To beat off the Japanese we have fought and endured five years and it may well take us another five years, but the common people of China, as well as the leaders, do not even think of defeat.

“We know that any people with resources and manpower can—at a price of civilization—become militarily strong. We remember that we, like other nations, have at times been the world's best soldiers, manufacturers and inventors and we are going through a national renaissance as well as a war. But we do not want military power; after victory we want a lasting peace.

“Because China has suffered more from aggression perhaps than any other nation still free—because she feels her own potential strength—because as the newest convert to democracy the democratic dream is strong with us—we want to do something now so that society in the future will not have to be an armed camp.

“From these stems the natural desire of China is to see set up, as quickly as possible, an executive council, of the United Nations, and to evolve therefrom

羅斯福總統在此吉慶之紀念日中，宣佈美國政府準備迅速進行談判，訂立條約，立即廢除在華之治外法權，並解決一切有關問題，由此承認中國之新國際地位，總統於此已再度證明其對於騷亂之亞洲之政治情緒，有深刻之瞭解矣。

中國人對於中國之前途，實無疑問，為驅除日寇起見，吾人已作戰五年，且戰爭結束，或尚須再歷數年之時光，然中國之領袖，甚至一般平民均未思及失敗。

吾人均知任何民族處具有資源及人力者，均能以文明為代價，在軍事上成為強國，吾人亦能憶及吾人亦如其他國家，曾一度為世界上最精良之軍人製造家及發明家，目前吾人除作戰之外，正經過民族復興之階段，然吾人不願成為一軍事上之強國，吾人於戰後希望有一經久之和平。

中國較之目前仍屬自由之任何其他國家所受侵略之痛苦為大，彼對於本身之潛力量已有所感覺，且以彼最近始轉變為民主國，民主之夢對於吾人甚屬強烈，以故吾人希望目前能有若干作為使未來之社會不致成為武裝之陣營。

以故中國之天然願望，乃欲儘速設立聯合國之執行委員會，自此產生一種可行之

a workable world order, an international instrument fully capable of dispensing justice and enforcing law and order among the nations during, as well as after, the war.

“We know from bitter experience that no forward planning—post-war or otherwise—is worth the effort unless a realistic machinery for collective security—freedom from fear—can be developed and be actually working before the war ends, while the pressures of war make it possible for such cooperation to catch hold. (5)

“The ghost of the League of Nations does not daunt us Chinese. We thought perhaps most about its failure because we were the first and most grievous victim of that failure. On the rock of the “Manchurian incident”—at a time when I was charged by my Government with the direction of foreign policy—the League foundered (6) and this war began—for you as well as for us

“But we know that the League failed for a very concrete reason—two great powers controlled it and could prevent action that they did not believe necessary to their own security. That is not the situation today. Today those powers which did not feel the League a useful safeguard to their own security, and you who felt it even less necessary to your security, have recognized that international order and collective security are essential to the survival of strong states as well as to the preservation of weaker ones. Today the aggressor, left alone to his preparations, can get the death-jump on a strong state as well as a weak one.

世界秩序，以及一種能於戰時及戰後在國際間推行正義，實施法律與秩序之國際工具。

吾人已由慘痛之經驗中獲知，如不能產生一種集體安全，（免於恐懼之自由）之現實機構。並在戰爭結束以前，即戰爭之壓力使是項合作能獲依據時實際工作，則任何前進之計劃（戰後或其他之計劃）均不能與當前之努力相配。

國際聯盟之鬼魂並不能令吾中國人恐懼，吾人對於彼之失敗，或為最常念及者，蓋吾人乃其失敗之第一名且最慘痛之犧牲者故也，九一八事作（當時余正受政府之命負責決定外交政策）使國際顛覆，而此一戰爭（為吾人之戰爭亦為諸君之戰爭）亦即開始矣。

然吾人均知國聯之失敗，實有極具體之原因，兩大國家操縱之，且能阻止彼等認為在本身安全方面非屬必需之行動，目前情勢已屬不同，目前彼等未感覺國聯為其本身安全之有用保障之國家以及感覺國聯於保障安全方面更無需要之貴國，均已承認國際秩序及集體安全於強國之生存，以及弱國之持續方面，實為必要，目前侵略者，如任其從容準備，不獨能征服弱國，亦能制強國之死命。



“There is a second difference from the League—this time we can form an international society while we are still fighting the war. Undoubtedly much of the trouble with the League was that it was formed after, not during, the first world war, when the Allied nations no longer had to find the answers to the thousand and one reasons why men do not want to cooperate. Men learn to cooperate only by having to do it and the only time they will practice cooperation is when they doubt that they can survive if they do not.

“The new world order, like the Chinese Republic, like all human institutions, will never be realized until we start it. We shall never be more ready for starting it than now. Under the impact of the terror, the sacrifices and the suffering we are now going through we are seeing more clearly than ever before, and perhaps more clearly than we ever shall again, the crying necessity for a new world order. If we cannot compose our differences now, with all we hold dear at stake, what chance will there be later when exhaustion, mutual recrimination and cynicism at the end of the war paralyze common action?

“We cannot oppose the onward surge of the Nazis and the Japanese with a mere negative attitude, vindication of the Nine-Power Pact, defense of the status quo of the British Empire, or the territorial integrity of the Soviet Union and the United States. We must give to our young men who are called on to make the sacrifice the flaming mission of a new world order, and we must begin to make that mission

當前之新國際機構與國聯尚有第二不同之點，即此次吾人可在戰爭未結束之前組織一國際社會，國聯之弊，大部份均由於彼係在戰後組織，而非第一次世界大戰期間組成，當日同盟各國已不需要為何以人類不願望合作一項具有無數理由之問題覓取答案，人類僅於必須合作之時始能明瞭合作之重要，且彼等實行合作之惟一機會，乃在彼等懷疑彼等如不合作能否生存之時。

新世界秩序，一如中華民國，一如人類所有之制度，非俟吾人着手之時，永難實現，吾人着手此種工作之準備，將來無優於今日者，今日在恐怖犧牲及艱難打擊之下，吾人較諸已往甚至將來更易洞察，建立一新世界秩序之迫切必要，吾人今日如不能平抑意見，而所自珍之一切，均處於危險之中，則戰爭結束之日，一切精疲力竭，互相責難，以及經世肆志之現象均將使我共同行動歸於無效，將更有何機會以建立新世界秩序乎。

吾人不能僅以一種消極態度擁護九國公約，保衛大不列顛帝國之現狀，或蘇聯與美國之領土完整，以對抗納粹與日本澎湃洶湧之高潮，吾人須以建設新世界秩序之輝煌使命，身予今日被召犧牲之青年，且須開始行

come true now. Against a fanatic faith in super-men, we must oppose with a revolutionary enthusiasm for common men.

“We are in the midst of a war more terrible and more all-embracing (7) than the last, and to millions of Chinese and Russian dead will be added millions of American and British dead before we are through. Are those to die in vain; after victory will we have nothing better to offer our people's than a universal exhaustion, to be followed in a few years by still another war? Or shall we not begin at once, here and now to make what will be a great advance in human history, the emergence of a world order?”

“Through Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek China pledges to her comrades in this war that her arms will be used not in the furtherance of nationalistic ambitions but to help uphold the new world of justice and freedom.

動使該使命即時實現，吾人須持爲常人謀福利之革命熱誠，以抗對於超人之瘋狂迷信。

吾人現方從事一較上次世界大戰尤爲恐怖，尤爲廣泛之戰爭，除中蘇兩國已有數百萬人捐軀以外，在戰事結束以前，英美兩國均將續有數百萬人犧牲，渠等之死豈徒然乎，勝利之後，吾人所將貢獻於各民族者，豈未有優於普遍之疲竭，而復於他年繼之以再戰者乎，吾人其不即於此時此地着手，造成人類歷史中一偉大之進步，即世界秩序之重生乎。

蔣委員長特代表中國向其在此一戰爭中國戰友鄭重保證於中國決不以武器用以促進國家主義之野心，但將用于協力支持正義與自由之新世界。

- 註： (1) Fourth of July 七月四日乃美國之國慶日  
(2) But for—in spite of 雖  
(3) this very spot 宋氏時在紐約演說，故 this very spot 係指紐約  
(4) battle of Long Island, battle of Trenton 均爲美國獨立戰爭中之戰役  
(5) to catch hold 獲得依據  
(9) on the rock . . . . . foundered 礁石使(船)沉沒  
(7) all-embracing 無所不包，廣泛

## Roosevelt's Columbus Day Broadcast

# 羅斯福哥倫布日廣播辭

*The following is President Roosevelt's Fireside Chat, delivered in Washington on Columbus Day, October 12, 1942*

羅斯福總統於一九四二年十月十二日即哥倫布發現美洲紀念日所發表之爐邊閒話全文如次：

“As you know, I have recently come back from a trip of inspection of camps, training stations and war factories.

“The main thing that I observed on this trip is not exactly news. It is the plain fact that the American people are united as never before in their determination to do a job and do it well.

“This whole nation of 130,000,000 free men, women and children is becoming one great fighting force. Some of us are soldiers or sailors, some of us are civilians. Some of us are fighting the war in airplanes, five miles above the continent of Europe or the islands of the Pacific—and some of us are fighting it in mines deep down in the earth of Pennsylvania or Montana. A few of us are decorated with medals for heroic achievements, but all of us can have that deep, permanent inner satisfaction that comes from doing the best we know how—each of us is playing an honorable part<sup>(1)</sup> in the great struggle to save our democratic civilization.

“Whatever our individual circumstances or opportunities—we are all in it, and our spirit is good, and we Americans and our allies are going to win—and don't

余於巡視軍營訓練站及戰時工廠後，最近返此。此固諸君所共知者。

余此行之主要觀感，並非完全新奇之事件，乃一明顯之事實，即美國人民已有前所未見之團結決心努力工作，並有良好之表現。

此擁有一萬三千萬自由男女老幼之國家，今日已成為一偉大之戰鬥力量。吾人之中，有為士兵或水手者有為平民者，有在歐洲大陸或太平洋海島上五英里之高空之飛機內作戰者，有在賓夕法尼亞州與蒙大拿州之深廣中進行戰鬥者，吾人之中，有少數因英勇之成就而獲得獎章者，但吾人全體均能盡力執行工作，因而獲得深刻而永久之內心自足感。每人在拯救民主文明之大戰鬥中，均有光榮之貢獻。

不論吾人個人之處境與機會如何，吾人均係置身於此大戰鬥中。吾人之精神甚佳，吾美國人民與其盟友俱將獲勝，而勿令他人

let anyone tell you anything different.

“That’s the main thing I saw on my trip around the country—unbeatable spirit. If the leaders of Germany and Japan could have come along with me and had seen what I saw they would agree with my conclusions. Unfortunately they were unable to make the trip with me. That’s the reason why we are carrying on our war effort overseas—to them.

“With every passing week, the war increases in scope and intensity. That is true in Europe, in Africa, in Asia and on all the seas.

“The strength of the United Nations is on the upgrade(2) in this war. The Axis leaders, on the other hand, know by now that they have already reached their full strength, and that their steadily mounting losses in men and material cannot be fully replaced. Germany and Japan are already realizing what the inevitable result will be when the total strength of the United Nations hits them—at additional places on the earth’s surface.

“One of the principal weapons of our enemies in the past has been their use of what has been called ‘the war of nerves.’ They have spread falsehood and terror: they have started fifth columns everywhere: they have duped the innocent: they have fomented suspicion and hate between neighbors: they have aided and abetted those people in other nations—even in our own—whose words and deeds were advertised from Berlin and Tokyo as proof of our disunity.

“The greatest defence against all such propaganda is the common sense

告汝以不同之論調。

此即余巡遊全國之主要觀感，即吾人堅貞不拔之精神是也。德日之領袖倘能與余偕遊，獲見余所見之事物，則彼等亦必贊同余之結論。不幸彼輩不能與余同遊，此即吾人所以今日以吾人之作戰努力帶至海外，帶與彼輩也。

戰爭之規模與猛烈程度，隨每週之消逝而益形增加，此在歐非亞及各海洋之上，無不如此。

聯合國家之力量在此次戰爭中，業已增加。而軸心之領袖則知彼等之力量已達頂點，而其人力與物資損失之逐漸增加，亦不能完全補充。德日已知聯合國家一旦以全力向地面其他地帶打擊彼等之時，彼等所將遭遇不可避免之後果為何如。

過去敵人主要武器之一，蓋為所謂「神經戰」之利用。彼等散佈虛偽與恐怖，彼等在各處策動第五縱隊：彼等欺騙無辜，煽動鄰國間之猜疑與怨恨，並協助與教唆其他各國，甚至吾國國內之一部份人民，此一部份人民之言行，亦即柏林與東京所藉以宣傳，以證明吾人內部之不和者。

對付此種宣傳之最大防禦：即為普通人

of common people—and that defence is prevailing.

“The war of nerves against the United Nations is now turning into a boomerang. (3) For the first time, the Nazi propaganda machine is on the defence. They begin to apologize to their own people for the repulse of their vast forces at Stalingrad and for the enormous casualties they are suffering. They are compelled to beg their overworked people to rally their weakened production. They even publicly admit, for the first time, that Germany can be fed only at the cost of stealing food from the rest of Europe.

“They are proclaiming that a second front is impossible: but at the same time they are desperately rushing troops in all directions and stringing barbed wire all the way from the coasts of Finland and Norway to the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean.

“Meanwhile they are driven to increase the fury of their atrocities.

“The United Nations have decided to establish the identity (4) of those Nazi leaders who are responsible for these innumerable acts of savagery. As each of these criminal deeds is committed, it is being carefully investigated: and evidence is being relentlessly piled up (5) for the future purposes of justice.

“We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no mass reprisals against the populations of Germany of Italy or Japan. But the ringleaders and their brutal henchmen must be named and apprehended and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law.

民之常識。現此項防禦至為普遍。

(對聯合國家而發之神經戰，今日已使發動者自食其果。納粹宣傳機構現已首次採取守勢，彼已開始向本國人民辯解，其大軍在史達林格勒所受之挫敗與其所受之重大死傷，彼已被迫向其工作過度之國人要求重振其日益衰退之生產。彼等甚至首次公開承認德國僅能藉竊自歐洲其餘部份之糧食以為維持。

彼等屢言第二戰場為不可能之事，但同時復以亡命之狀趕調大軍至各處並在由芬蘭挪威至東地中海諸島之海岸線設立鐵絲網。

彼等一面更增施其狂暴之罪行。

聯合國家已決定認明此等實施無數暴行之納粹罪魁，吾人對於每次罪行均予以偵密之調查，且為未來之正義計，正以大公無私之方式搜集一切罪行之證據。

吾人曾明白宣示：聯合國家決不向德義日之人民實施集體之報復，但對罪魁與其殘忍之心腹者，必須列舉姓名，予以逮捕，並根據刑法之訴訟程序審訊。

“There are now millions of Americans in army camps, naval stations, factories and shipyards.

“Who are these millions upon whom the life of our country depends? What are they thinking? What are their doubts and what are their hopes? And how is work progressing?

“The Commander-in Chief cannot learn all the answers to these questions in Washington. That is why I made the trip I did.

“It is very easy to say, as some have said, that when the President travels through the country he should go with a blare of trumpets, with crowds on the sidewalks, with batteries of reporters and photographers—talking and posing with all the politicians of the land.

“But having had some experience in this war and in the last war, I can tell you very simply that the kind of trip I took permitted me to concentrate on the work I had to do without expending time meeting all the demands of publicity.

“And I might add that it was a particular pleasure to make a tour of the country without having to give a single thought to politics. I expect to make other trips for similar purposes, and I shall make them in the same way.

“In the last war I had seen great factories: but until I saw some of the new present-day plants I hadn't thoroughly visualized our American war effort. Of course I saw only a small portion of all our plants. But that portion was a good cross-section and it was deeply impressive.

“The United States has been at war

今日陸軍軍營海軍站工廠與船廠中之美國人不下數百萬。

此吾國生命所賴以維持之數百萬人究爲何人，彼等之思想如何？其疑慮與希望又復如何，其工作進行情況又如何？

凡身爲全國統帥者，不能安坐華府而獲得上述問題之答案，此余之所以親往出巡也。

有謂總統遊歷全國時，應以號鼓前導，由民衆擁立街市之兩旁，由記者與攝影者擁前訪問，與當地所有政界人士裝腔作勢而談。此項論調固言之甚易爲若干人過去所云者。

但余在此次大戰與上次大戰中，已獲若干經驗，余可以極明白之言詞告我國人，余之出巡形式僅許余集中心力於所欲爲之工作，而不耗費時間以滿足宣傳上之一切需要。

余更欲補充一語，即余尤願勿抱絲毫政治觀念而出巡全國。余尚望爲相似之目的作其他巡遊，且將以同一方式爲之。

上次大戰時余曾參觀大工廠，但余在獲見今日若干新式工廠之前，尙未充分認識吾美之作戰努力。余之所見者固爲全部工廠之一小部份，但此一小部份已爲一良好之橫斷面，而使余獲得深刻之印象。

美國進行戰爭僅有十月，頃正進行擴大

only ten months and is engaged in the enormous task of multiplying its armed forces many times. We are by no means at full production level yet. But I couldn't help (6) asking myself on the trip, where would we be today if the government of the United States had not begun to build many of its factories for this huge increase more than two years ago—more than a year before war was forced upon us at Pearl Harbor.

"We have also had to face the problem of shipping. Ships in every part of the world continue to be sunk by enemy action. But the total tonnage of ships coming out American, Canadian and British shipyards, day by day, has increased so fast that we are getting ahead of our enemies in the bitter struggle of transportation.

"In expanding our shipping we have had to enlist many thousands of men for our merchant marine. These men are serving magnificently. They are risking their lives every hour so that guns, tanks, planes, ammunition and food may be carried to the heroic defenders of Stalingrad and to all United Nations forces all over the world.

"A few days ago I awarded the first Maritime Distinguished Service Medal to a young man—Edward F. Cheyney of Yeadon, Pennsylvania—who had shown great gallantry in rescuing his comrades from the waters of the sea after their ship had been torpedoed. There will be many more such acts of bravery.

"In one sense my recent trip was a hurried one, out through the Middle West

軍力數倍之艱苦工作，吾人尚未達到生產高峯之水準，然余於出巡時不能不捫心問，假若美國政府於兩年之前，（在珍珠港事件發生使吾人被迫作戰之前一年餘）未開始建造若干工廠以備今日之擴充，則吾人今日之處境又將何如。

吾人尚須應付航運問題，世界各地之船隻續遭敵方擊沉，但美加英三國造船廠所生產之總噸數已逐日增加，而增加之速度已使吾人在艱苦之運輸戰中超過吾人之敵人矣。

在航運之擴充中，故吾人必須徵募千數人員以行駛商輪，此批人員現有良好之表現，彼等每一小時均冒生命之危險，使運輸大砲坦克飛機軍火與食糧能運交史達林格勒之英勇守軍及全球各地之聯合國軍隊。

數日前，余曾以海員一等服役優異獎章贈予賓州萊頓籍之青年海員蔡尼君，彼於輪船中雷後在海面援救其同伴而示其無畏之英勇，此類英勇事件將來必不勝枚舉。

在某種意義上，余之巡行實感匆促，即

(7) to the Northwest, down the length of the Pacific Coast, and back through the Southwest and the South. In another sense, however, it was a leisurely trip, because I had an opportunity to talk to the people who are actually doing the work—management and labor alike—on their own home grounds. It gave me a fine chance to do some thinking about the major problems of our war effort on the basis of first things first. (8)

“As I told the three press association representatives who accompanied me, I was impressed by the large proportion of women employed—doing skilled manual work running machines. As time goes on and many more of our men enter the armed forces, this proportion will increase. Within less than a year from now there will probably be as many women as men working in our war production plants.

“I had some enlightening experiences relation to the old saying among us men that curiosity—inquisitiveness—is stronger among women. I noticed that frequently when we drove unannounced down the middle of a great plant full of workers and machines, the first people to look up from their work were men—and not women. It was chiefly the men who were arguing as to whether that fellow in the straw hat was really the President or not.

“Having seen the quality of the work and of the workers on our production lines—and coupling the first-hand observations with reports of the actual performance of our weapons on the fighting fronts—I can say to you that we are getting ahead of our enemies in the battle of production.

穿過中部至西北部，沿太平洋海岸南下再經西南與南部返京。然自另一意義而論，乃一閒散之旅行，蓋余與實際從事工作之人員，不論其為管理者與勞動者，已獲得談話之機會，且得在其居處進行談話，使余可以對吾人作戰努力之重大問題，根據其重要性之先後，獲得思考良之好機會。

余曾向陪同巡遊之三新聞機關代表表示，余對推動機器與從事精巧手工之女工人數之衆，具有深刻之印象。時間愈進展，男子投軍者愈衆，而女工之比例亦將愈增。今後不出一年我戰時生產中工廠之女工數目或將與男工之數目相等矣。

昔日我輩男子每謂婦女比較好奇好問，但余此次巡行則獲得另一啓迪之經驗，當吾等一行事先未經宣佈驅車沿充滿工人與機器之一處大工廠前駛時，首先抬首者均為男子而非婦女，從事辯論彼戴草帽者是否即為總統者，亦多係男子。

余於參觀生產部門之工作與工人之品質，以親身之考察與吾人武器在各線真正發揮作用之報告比照之後，敢向國人斷言，吾人在生產戰鬥中已超過敵人矣。



“Of great importance to our future production was the effective, rapid manner in which Congress has met the serious problems of the rising cost of living. That was a splendid example of the operation of democratic processes in wartime. The machinery to carry out this act of Congress was put into effect within twelve hours after the bill was signed. The legislation will help the cost of living problems of every worker in every factory and on every farm in the land.

“In order to keep stepping up (9) our production we have had to add millions of workers to the total labor forces of the nation. And as new factories come into operation we must find additional millions of workers. This presents a formidable problem in the mobilization of manpower.

“It is not that we don't have enough people in this country to do the job. The problem is to have the right number of the right people in the right places at the right time.

“We are learning to ration materials: and we must now learn to ration manpower. The major objectives of a sound manpower policy are: first, to select and train men of the highest fighting efficiency to the level needed for our armed forces in the achievement of victory over our enemies in combat, second, to man our war industries and farms with workers needed to produce the arms, munitions and food required by ourselves and our fighting allies to win.

“In order to do this, we shall be compelled to stop workers from moving from one war job to another as a matter of per-

國會對於應付生活費用上漲之嚴重問題，所持之有效與敏捷態度，與吾人未來之生產具有極大之重要性。國會之措置可為戰時民主程序實施之良好模範。執行國會法案之機構，於法案獲得簽署後之十二小時內，即開始工作。該案將協助國內每一工廠與每一農場中之工人解決其生活費用問題。

吾人為趕及生產程序計必須增加數百萬之工人，加入全國定勞工陣營。新工廠開工時，吾人又須增加數百萬之工人，結果乃發生動員人力之難題。

吾國從事此項工作之人，並非有所不足，問題乃在適當之時期與地點，須有適當數目的適當人員。

吾人現正學習分配物資，現吾人尚須學習分配人力，健全之人力政策，其主要之目標，不外：第一選拔並訓練具有最高戰鬥效率之人員，使其合乎吾武裝部隊對敵作戰，與完成勝利所需之水準。第二利用所需工人推動吾人之戰時工業與農場，以生產本身及盟友為作戰獲勝所必需之軍器軍火與糧食。

欲達到此目的，吾人必須制止工人，勿依其個人之好惡問題，為其戰時之工作，制

sonal preference; to stop employers from stealing labor from each other; to use older men and handicapped people and more women and even grown boys and girls wherever possible and reasonable to replace men of military age and fitness; to train new personnel for essential war work; and to stop wastage of labor in all non-essential activities.

“There are many other things we can do, and do immediately, to help meet the man-power problem.

“The school authorities in all states should work out plans to enable out high school students to take some time from the school year and use their summer vacations to help farmers raise and harvest their crops, or to work in war industries. This does not mean closing schools and stopping education. It does mean giving older students a better opportunity to contribute to the war effort. Such work will do no harm to students.

People should do their work as near their homes as possible. We cannot afford to transport even a single worker into an area where there is already a worker available to do the job.

“In some communities the employers dislike to employ women. In others they are reluctant to hire negroes. In still other older men aren't wanted. We can no longer afford to indulge in such prejudices or practices. Every citizen wants to know what essential war work he can do best. He can get the answer by applying to the nearest United States Employment Service Office. There are 4,500 of these offices throughout the nation. They

止僱主，勿彼此暗中爭取工人，並於可能與合理之情勢下，僱用年老略有殘疾之人民與更多之婦女甚或長成之男女兒童以補充年屆役齡而具有服役資格之男子。更應訓練新人員從事主要戰時工作，與禁止耗費勞工於一切非必要之活動。

今日吾人有無數可為與可立時為之之其他事件，藉以解決人力問題。

各邦之學校當局，應擬具計劃，使中學學生能抽出其一部學年時間，或利用暑假之閒暇，協助農人栽種與收割農產品，或加入戰時工業工作，此非關閉學校與停止教育之謂，而乃使年長之學生獲得貢獻作戰力量機會之謂。此項工作，對於學生自無妨害。

人民應盡可能在其居所之近便之地點進行工作，蓋吾人已不能再運載一工人前往可以僱得另一工作人員之區域矣。

若干區域之僱主不願僱用婦女；亦有不願僱用黑人者，更有不收年長者，然吾人已不容許有此種偏見與習慣矣。每一公民咸欲自問其最適於担任何種主要戰時工作，實則彼可赴附近之美國僱用服務處申請登記，以求答案。今日全國各地已設僱用服務處四千

are the corner grocery stores of our man-power system. This network of employment offices is prepared to advise every citizen where his skill and labor are needed most and to refer him to an employer who can utilize them to the best advantage in the war effort.

“Perhaps the most difficult phase of the man-power problem is the scarcity of farm labor. I have seen many evidences of the fact, however, that the people are trying to meet it as well as possible.

In one community that I visited a perishable crop was harvested by turning out the whole of the High School for three or four days. In another community of fruit-growers the usual Japanese labor wasn't available; but when the fruit ripened banker, butcher, lawyer, garage-man, druggist, local editor and in fact every able-bodied man and woman in the town left their occupations and went out and gathered the fruit and sent it to the market.

“It may be that all our volunteer effort—however well intentioned and well administered—will not suffice to solve the problem. If that is the case, we shall have to adopt new legislation. If this is necessary, I don't believe the American people will shrink from it.

“In a sense, every American, because of the privilege of his citizenship, is part of selective service.

“The nation owes a debt of gratitude to the selective service boards. The successful operation of the selective service system and the way it has been accepted by the great mass of our citizens give us

五百所，此爲人力制度之雜貨店，此等機關準備指示每一公民何者爲需要其技巧與勞力之處，並可向其介紹適當之主，使其能盡量爲作戰努力而發揮技巧與勞力。

人力問題中 困難之一點：爲農場勞力之缺乏，但余亦親獲事實證明，知人民正盡力設法應付。

余訪問某區時，曾見當地中學全體學生出外工作至四日，致行將枯萎種農作品獲得收刈。又某區定種菓者，無法依照往年情形僱用日本勞工，但菓品成熟時，舉凡銀行家屠夫，律師，汽車修理人，藥劑師當地報館編輯且實際上該城每一體力強健之男女，無不暫離其本身之職務，自動收穫菓品，並協力運往市場。

吾人所有自願之力量，不論其意念如何專一與管理之如何得法，容或不足解決當前問題，果爾則吾人唯有制定新法。余相信新法倘有制定之必要，美國人民對之必不至有畏縮之態。

就某種意義而論，每一美國人民既享有公民權，卽爲徵募制度之一份子。

全國所負於徵募局者至巨。徵兵制度之有效推動與民衆對該制度之擁護，使吾人發

confidence that, if necessary, the same principle could be used to solve any manpower problem.

“And I want also to say a word of praise and thanks for the more than 10,000,000 people all over the country who have volunteered for work in civilian defence—and who are working hard at it. They are displaying unselfish devotion in the patient performance of their often tiresome and always anonymous task. In doing this important and neighborly work, they are helping to fortify our national unity and our real understanding of the fact that we are all involved in this war.

“Naturally, in my own trip, I have been most interested in watching the training of our fighting forces.

“All our combat units that go overseas must consist of young, strong men who have had thorough training. The division that has an average age of 23 or 24 is a better fighting unit than one that has an average age of 33 or 34. The more such troops we have in the field, the sooner the war will be won and the smaller will be the cost in casualties.

“Therefore I believe that it will be necessary to lower the present minimum age limit for selective service from twenty years down to eighteen. We have learned how inevitable that is—and how important to the speeding up of victory.

“I can very thoroughly understand the feeling of all parents whose sons have entered our armed forces. I have appreciation of that feeling—and so has my wife.

“I want every father and every

生一種堅強之信念。即在必要時，此一原則亦可用以解決任何人力問題。

今欲對全國自願努力從事民防工作之一千餘萬人民，表示嘉許與感激之意。彼等現以公而忘私之精神，忍心効力於其時常令人厭煩而永不能獲得個人聲譽之工作而不倦，彼等實行此重要與協調之工作，實即協助吾人加強全國之團結與吾人對事實之真正認識，使知吾人俱係處身於此戰爭之中也。

在余之旅程中，余所最感興趣者，自為觀察吾作戰部隊之訓練。

吾人派赴海外之作戰部隊，必須為年輕力壯受過澈底訓練者所組成，平均年齡為二十至或三十四歲之師團，較之平均年齡為三十三或三十四歲之師團，當為更佳之作戰隊伍。吾人在戰場上此類之軍隊愈多，勝利之獲得愈早，死傷之代價亦愈少。

故余信目前應徵之最低年齡限度，有自二十歲降至十八歲之必要，吾人已知此舉對於加速獲得勝利為何等重要及不可避免。

子弟加入軍隊後，為父母者之心情余當能充分瞭解，余能尊重此種心情。余國內人對此亦具同感。

余願每有一愛子入役之父母，皆能獲知

mother who has a son in the service to know—and know again—from what I have seen with my own eyes—that the men in the army and navy and marine corps are receiving today the best possible training, equipment and medical care. And we will never fail to provide for the spiritual needs of our officers and men under the chaplains of our armed services.

“Good training will save many lives in battle. The highest rate of casualties is always suffered by units comprised of insufficiently trained men.

“We can be sure that the combat units of our army and navy will be well manned, well equipped and well trained. Their effectiveness in action will depend upon the quality of their leadership and upon the wisdom of the strategic plans on which all military operations are based.

“I can say one thing about our plans. They are not being decided by the typewriter strategists who expound their views in the press or on the radio.

“One of the greatest American soldiers, Robert E. Lee, once remarked on the tragic fact that in the war of his day all the best generals were apparently working on newspapers instead of in the army. That seems to be true in all wars. The trouble with typewriter strategists is that while they may be full of bright ideas, they are not in possession of much information about the facts or problems of military operations. We will therefore continue to leave the plans for this war to the military leaders.

“The military and naval plans of the United States are made by the Joint Staff

，并相信余親眼目觀之情形，即陸軍海軍及陸戰隊中之員兵，皆獲得可能範圍內最佳之訓練，配備，及醫藥照料。在吾人隨軍牧師下之官員士兵，其精神之需要，吾人將供應不絕。

良好之訓練可減少戰鬥中之犧牲，蒙受最高傷亡率者，常為訓練不足之隊伍。

吾人敢信吾陸海軍之作戰部隊，其人員配備，裝備與訓練必皆優良，其行動之效力，將依將領才能及為一切軍事行動所根據之軍略計劃賢明與否以為斷。

關於吾人之計劃，余能提出一點，即吾人之計劃非由善在報上或無線電中闡發高論之紙上談兵家所決定者。

美國最偉大軍人之一李氏（按即為南北美戰爭中南軍之總司令）某次曾論及此可惜之事實，謂當代最傑出之將才，顯然的用心於報紙而非用於軍中，實則一切戰爭中似皆如此。紙上談兵之軍略家，或亦儘多善策，但其弊在缺乏有關各種事實或軍事行動問題之情報，故吾人將繼續以此次戰爭中之軍略計劃交軍事領袖決定。

美國之陸海軍計劃由常在華盛頓開會之

of the army and navy, which is constantly in session in Washington. The chiefs of this Staff are Admiral Leahy, General Marahall, Admiral King and General Arnold. They meet and confer regularly with representatives of the British Joint Staff, and with representatives of Russia, China, the Netherlands, Poland, Norway, the British Dominions, and other nations working is the common cause.

“Since this unity of operations was put into effect last January(19) there has been very substantial agreement between these planners—all of whom are trained in the professions of arms—air, sea and land—from their early years. As Commander-in-Chief, I have at all times also been in substantial agreement.

“As I have said before, many major decisions of strategy have been made. One of them—on which we have all agreed—relates to the necessity of diverting the enemy forces from Russia and China to other theaters of war by new offensives against Germany and Japan. An announcement of how those offensives are to be launched, and when and where, cannot be broadcast over the radio at this time.

We celebrate today the exploit of a bold, adventurous Italian—Christopher Columbus—who, with the aid of Spain, opened up a New World where freedom, tolerance, respect for human rights and dignity, have provided an asylum for the oppressed of the Old world.

“Today the sons of the New World are fighting to save for all mankind, including ourselves, the principles which have flourished in this new world of free-

聯合陸海軍參謀部決定。其主要人物爲李海  
上將，馬歇爾將軍，海軍上將金氏，及安諾  
德將軍，彼等常與英國聯合參謀部之代表與  
蘇中荷波挪英國各自治領及其他共同參加作  
戰國家之代表會商。

自本年一月此種行動之統一實施以後，  
各設計者間曾作重大協議，凡此決定大計之  
人，皆在早年已受海陸空軍之專門訓練。余  
以統帥地位，亦參與各次重大會議。

戰略方面，已有若干重大決定，此爲余  
適所宣佈者，其中一項（該項已爲吾人所一  
致同意）係關於對德日發動攻勢之必要問題  
，藉以分散蘇聯與中國境內之敵軍至其他戰  
場。至於如何發動新攻勢，何時發動，何地  
發動，均不能於此時在無線電中廣播。

今日吾人正慶祝一勇敢冒險之義大利人  
（哥倫布）之發現，彼藉西班牙之援助，遂  
開闢一新世界，而自由寬大與對人權及人類  
尊嚴之尊重：使此新世界成爲舊世界中被壓  
迫者之避難所。

今日新世界之子弟正在作戰，以爲全人  
類（包括吾人自身在內）保持繁榮，於此藉

dom.

“We are mindful of the countless millions of people whose future liberty, and whose very lives, depend upon permanent victory for the United Nations.

“There are a few people in this country who, when the collapse of the Axis begins, will tell our people that we are safe once more; that we can tell the rest of the world to ‘stew in its own juice,’ (1) that never again will we help pull ‘other fellows’ chestnuts from the fire’: that the future of civilization can jolly well take care of itself as we are concerned.

“But it is useless to win battles if the cause for which we fought these battles is lost. It is useless to win a war unless it stays won.

“We therefore, fight for the restoration and perpetuation of faith and hope throughout the world. The objective of to-day is clear and realistic. It is to destroy completely the military power of Germany, Italy and Japan to such good purpose that their threat against us and all other United Nations cannot be revived a generation hence.

We are united in seeking the kind of victory that will guarantee that our grandchildren can grow and, under God, may live their lives free from the constant threat of invasion, destruction, slavery and violent death.”

- 註: (1) Playing on honorable part 担當一項光榮任務  
(2) on the upgrade 上漲  
(3) turning into a boomerang 作法自斃，自食其果  
(4) to establish the identity 指認  
(5) piled up 搜集

自由世界之各原則。

吾人深知無數人民之未來自由與其生命，俱有賴於聯合國家之永久勝利。

待軸心開始崩潰時，吾國必有少數人士向國人聲明，吾人已再度獲得安全，吾人亦可告知世界之其餘部份吾人無妨聽任其自作自受，此後吾人決不為他人自火中取栗，而文明之前必能自顧，非吾人之所宜顧云。

實則吾人不惜作戰以爭取之目標倘行將失，則作戰勝利亦屬無用，勝利倘不能保持，則戰勝亦屬無益。

因此吾人係作戰以求全球之信仰與希望能行恢復，并垂永久，今日之目標既明顯，復切合現實，此目標即在完全摧毀德義日之軍力，使彼等在今之世代中不能復萌其對吾人及對其他聯合國家之威脅。

吾人今正團結一致，尋取一種勝利，以保證吾人之子孫能獲成長并在上蒼保佑之下，免受侵略破壞奴役與暴死之不斷威脅而生活。

- (6) couldn't help 不能不
- (7) Middle West 即美國中東部之芝加哥一帶諸州，過去因美國版圖未及太平洋岸，以上各州尚略偏西部，故稱爲中西部，目前乃沿用此稱。
- (8) first thing first 首者之首予...，即按其重要性之先後。
- (9) keep stepping up 趕及
- (10) last Jaunary 已過去而最接近之一月份
- (11) to stew in its own juice 任其自作自受



## Hitler's Beer Cellar Speech

# 希特勒地窖啤酒間演辭

*Nov. 8, 1942 in Munich*

一九四二年十一月八日於慕尼黑城

“We could have had victory in 1918 but the German people did not deserve it. There will be no repetition of 1918. Destiny will give victory to him who most deserves it. Why are we fighting so far from home today? To keep war from our home country and spare it the sufferings which it would otherwise undergo. Our enemies both internal and external, are the same today as before. Kaiser capitulated, I will never capitulate. Indubitably we are today the best organized people in the world. I am quite confident about the experience of every German who has fought in the east and come back to Germany. There is not one who will not say that if ever there was a real socialist country, it is Germany. Today we are very much stronger than ten years ago. People on our side are more numerous than those against us. Today we are fighting with military force. The British say they have never lost a war. That is untrue. They have lost many wars. But it is true they have always fought their wars to the finish. If Poland had accepted our offer, we should have paid less attention to our army, then one day the storm would have broken from the east and fighting would have come right to the outskirts of Berlin.”

吾人應能在一九一八年獲得勝利，然爾德國人民當時實在不應獲得勝利。一九一八年之事件，目前不致重演。命運必將令最應獲得勝利者獲勝。目前吾人何以遠離本國在外作戰，此無他，乃使戰爭遠離吾國，使其免受否則即須蒙受之磨難而已。目前吾人在內部外部之敵人，亦與往昔無異。德皇能投降，余則永不投降。目前吾人乃世界上組織最佳之人民，誠無疑義。余對於曾在東線作戰現已返國之每一德人之經驗，均具信心，目前無一人不曰，如世界上有真正之社會主義國家在，則必為德國。吾人刻已遠較十年前為強，與吾人立於同一陣線之人民數目，較反對吾人者為衆。吾人刻正以軍事力量作戰，英國人曾曰：彼等從未戰敗，此語絕非正確，彼等已經多次戰敗，然彼等每一次均作戰到底，則非虛語。如波蘭接受吾人之建議，吾人對於吾人之陸軍必較不注意，而一旦暴風雨自東方破空而來，戰事或已直接進至柏林近郊亦未可知。當時余對於余之建議

At that time, I was sorry my offer was turned down. (1) Today I am glad.

“During the World War 2,000,000 German soldiers were killed in action. In the present struggle our army has lost 350,000 dead and among them are 39 members of socialist parliament. We know what would be in store for us if the other side won. Because of that there can be no compromise. No more peace offers will come from us. The last one was in 1940. Since then there has been nothing else but the word ‘fight’. I said before that if Judaism thinks it can wipe us out, it will be Judaism which will be extinguished. A great many Jews who laughed then are not laughing now. Those who are laughing now will not be laughing.

“Stalin thought we would attack in the central sector but our aims were directed against one particular town. It was this special town that I wanted. I wanted it because of its importance as a junction. We stopped the traffic of 30,000,000 tons of fuel and 9,000,000 tons of petrol. That is why we took Stalingrad. That is why we have got it now except for some very small parts. If anybody asks why we did not take immediately the remaining strong points held by the enemy, I reply because they are not worth a second Verdun. (2) I can assure you that there are no more vessels steaming up the Volga. That is what really matters.

“If a blow does not knock a man down, it only makes him stronger. Wherever the fronts may be, Germany will always hit back and go over to attack.

未被接受一事，深表遺憾，然目前余則深為欣慰。

在上次大戰期間，德軍在戰爭中陣亡者達二百萬，在現行之戰爭中，陣亡者僅三十五萬人，其中並有社會主義者之國會議員三十九人，吾人深知如敵方獲勝，吾人所受之待遇將屬如何。以故，吾人絕對不能妥協，吾人決不再提出和平。其建議最後一次，已在一九四〇年提出，自此以後，除「作戰」一字之外，即無他語。余曾曰，如猶太教人認為彼等能將吾人掃除淨盡，則其滅絕者必為猶太人也無疑。目前彼等歡笑者，將來必不能歡笑矣。

史達林認為吾人將在中部進攻，然吾人之目標乃在一特別之城市，此一城市乃余所希望攻克者，即史達林格勒是也。余所以希望攻克史達林格勒，乃因該城適當交通要衝，吾人已阻止燃料三千萬噸，汽油九百萬噸之運輸，此即吾人所以欲攻佔史達林格勒之理由，此即吾人所以目前除若干極小部份外已予佔領之理由，如有任何人士詢余曰：吾人何以不立即佔領敵方控制下之殘餘強固據點，余之答覆曰，此乃由於此等殘餘據點，已不值得作為第二凡爾登。余可向諸君保證，伏爾加河上已無船隻開行，此乃真正之事實。

如打擊未將一人擊倒，則惟有令彼更加強大。無論在何處戰場，德軍均將經常反擊，並繼續進攻。今當羅斯福以保護北非，藉

When today Roosevelt launched an attack against North Africa under the pretext of protecting it against Germany and Italy, we need not waste words about the lies of this old scoundrel. The decisive last word will certainly not be spoken by Herr (3) Roosevelt. You may be sure of that. You may have full confidence in German leadership and the German army. They will do all there is to do. I have full confidence that I have behind me the German home front and the whole of the National Socialist Party. What makes the present different from the past is that once here was Kaiser but no people behind him whereas behind me there is the most grandiose organisation the world has ever seen. And the man at the head of it is not a man to go abroad if things go wrong. He is a man who has always known nothing but fighting, who has always had only one principle, to hit and to hit again.

“The enemy accuses us of mistakes. Was it a mistake to occupy Ukraine, to seize iron ores, oil and wheat fields? In North Africa the enemy has moved forward and the enemy has moved back but what matters in this, is the final result and that you can leave to us.

“We cannot score new successes every week. This is impossible. It is also unnecessary. What is necessary is that we should hold what we have. On that you can depend. Do you think I do not eat my heart out (4) when I think of British air attacks on Germany? I do not forget. They will get the answer. We are engaged in a life and death struggle. Every German must believe in me. Think

防德義侵佔爲口實進攻北非之際，吾人對於此一「老無賴」之謊言實無庸辭費。具有決定性之最後一字，決非出自羅斯福之口，君等可無庸置疑。諸君對於德國之領導者及德國陸軍，或已有充分之信仰。彼等將爲一切所應爲者，余對於余背後之德國國內陣線，以及國社黨全黨，亦具充分信心，目前與過去不同者，即昔日在此者，乃全無民衆爲後盾之德皇，而今日在余之背後，則有世界空前偉大之組織，同時領導此一組織者，亦非事敗即逃亡國外之人物，彼「作戰外，則無他念，彼僅有一項原則，即「打擊」「再打擊」是也。

敵人曾指摘吾人之錯誤，然吾人之佔領烏克蘭，取得鐵礦苗，石油及麥田，豈得謂爲錯誤，北非方面，敵軍業已向前推進，復又後退，然此一戰爭之問題，乃在最後結果，此一結果，諸君可留待吾人決定。

吾人不能每星期均獲得新勝利，此實不可能。亦無必要，所必要者，乃吾人必須扼守所有之一切，諸君可信賴此點，當余思及英陸軍轟炸德國時，諸君其認爲余不惟心泣血乎，余並未忘却，彼等必將獲得答覆。吾人則正作生死存亡之鬥爭，每一德國人民均

only that this war will decide whether Germany shall live or die and if you realise this, your every deed and your every thought will be a prayer for our Germany."

須對余信任，吾人僅須念及此一戰爭，將決定德國之存亡，如諸君認清此點，則諸君之每一行動，每一思想，均將為吾德國祝福云。

- 註：(1) turned down 翻伏，此處應作「拒絕」解  
(2) Verdun 凡爾登，法國北部地名，上次世界大戰時德法兩軍曾在該處發生猛烈之要塞爭奪戰  
(3) Herr (德文) 先生  
(4) eat one's heart out 憂憤

Documents Concerning Allied Forces's Landing  
In French N. Africa

有關盟軍在法屬北非登陸之文告

(一)

Pres. Roosevelt's Appeal To The French People

羅斯福總統對法國人民之呼籲

Nov. 8, 1942.

一九四二年十一月八日

"My friends, who suffer day and night under the crushing yoke of the Nazis, I speak to you as one who was with your Army and Navy in France in 1918.

"I have held all my life the deepest friendship for the French people—for the entire French people. I retain and cherish the friendship of hundreds of French people in France and outside France.

"I know your farms, your villages, your cities. I know your soldiers, your professors your workmen. I know what a precious heritage of the French people are your homes, your culture and the principles of democracy in France. I salute again and reiterate my faith in Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. No two nations exist which are more united by historic and mutually friendly ties than the people of France and of the United States.

"Americans, with the assistance of the United Nations, are striving for their own safe future as well as for the restoration of the ideals, Liberties and

「我朝夜呻吟於納粹鐵蹄下之諸友乎，

鄙人今日僅以一九一八年曾參加貴國陸海軍作戰者之資格向諸位有所申述。

余生平對於法蘭西人民即整個之法國人民，具有最深之友誼，余刻仍保有並珍愛彼法國國內外數千萬人之友誼。

余熟知貴國之農場，貴國之村莊，貴國之城市，余熟知貴國之士兵，貴國之教授，貴國之勞工，余且知貴國之家庭，文化以及民主主義，乃法蘭西人民何等珍貴之遺產，余特再向諸君致敬，並重申余對自由平等博愛之信仰，今日決無兩國較我法蘭西與美國人民歷史上與友誼上之聯繫更為密切者。

我美國人民，因聯合國家之協助，刻正力求其自身未來之安全，並謀恢復所有生存于法國三色旗之下者之理想，自由與民主主

democracy of all those who have lived under the Tricolor.

“We come among you to repulse the cruel invader who would remove forever your rights of self-government, your rights to religious freedom and your rights to live your own lives in peace and security.

“We come among you solely to defeat and rout your enemies. Have faith in our words. We do not want to cause you any harm.

“We assure you that once the menace of Germany and Italy is removed from you we shall quit your territory at once.

“I am appealing to your realism, to your self-interest and national ideals. Do not obstruct, I beg of you, this great purpose. Help us where you are able, my friends, and we shall see again the glorious day when liberty and peace shall reign again on earth.

“Vive la France eternelle.” (註)

(註) Vive la France eternelle (法文) 法蘭西萬歲

義。

吾人此來，係為諸君驅除殘暴之侵略者，蓋彼等將永久剝削諸君之自主權，宗教自由權，以及生存於和平與安全中之一切權利也。

吾人此來，僅為擊潰諸君之敵人，請諸君信我所言，吾人決不願使諸君受何損害。

吾儕謹向諸君保證，一俟德義兩國對貴國之威脅消除以後，吾人即立離貴國之領土。

余茲謹訴諸諸君之現實感，諸君之本身利害觀念，以及民族理想，敢請諸君切勿阻撓此偉大之目的，並願諸友隨處於可能範圍內協助吾人，庶幾吾人可以重觀世界自由與和平爭輝之一日。

法蘭西萬歲。

(二)

### Pres. Roosevelt's Message To Marshal Petain 羅斯福總統致貝當元帥書

Nov. 8, 1942.

一九四二年十一月八日

“Marshal Petain: I am sending this message to you as Chef d'Etat<sup>(1)</sup> of the United States to Chef d'Etat of the Republic of France.

“When your government concluded the Armistice Convention in 1940, it was

貝當元帥麾下，余謹以美國元首之地位，致書法蘭西共和國元首。

憶一九四〇年，貴國政府簽訂休戰協定

impossible for any of us to foresee the program of systematic plunder which the German Reich would inflict on the French people.

“That program implemented<sup>(2)</sup> by blackmail and robbery, has deprived the French population of its means of subsistence<sup>(3)</sup> and its savings: has paralyzed French industry and transport: has looted French factories and French farms—all for the benefit of a Nazi Reich and a Fascist Italy under whose governments no liberty-loving nation could long exist.

“As an old friend of France and the people of France, my anger and sympathy grow with every passing day<sup>(4)</sup> when I consider the misery and want and the absence from home of the flower French manhood.<sup>(5)</sup> Germany has neglected no opportunity to demoralize and degrade your great nation.

“Today, with greedy eyes on the Empire which France has so laboriously constructed. Germany and Italy are proposing to invade and occupy French North Africa in order that they may execute their schemes of domination and conquest over the whole of that Continent.

“I know that you will realize that such a conquest of Africa would not stop there but would be a prelude to further attempts by Germany and Italy to threaten the conquest of large portions of the American hemisphere, full domination over the Near and Middle East, and a joining of hands in the Far East with those military leaders of Japan who seek to dominate the whole of the Pacific.

“It is evident, of course, that the

時，吾輩均未預見及德帝國日後所施於法國人民之有系統擄掠計劃。

此項計劃，藉恫嚇與強奪之方式，已剝奪法國人民之求生工具與其儲蓄，破壞法國工業與運輸，劫掠法國之工廠與農場，此等一切均為納粹德國與法西斯義大利之利益。愛好自由之國家，決不能在德義政府治下長期生存。

余為法國與法人之舊友，每一念及其苦痛，其貧乏，與其損毀法人固有之人格，衷心之憤怒與同情，不禁與日俱增。德國決不放棄一切敗壞剝蝕貴國之機會。

今者，德義又以貪婪之雙目，注視貴國所締造經營之帝國，並準備侵佔法屬北非，施行其控制征服全部非洲大陸之計劃矣。

余知閣下必將認識，德義不以征服非洲為已足，必將進而企圖入侵西半球之大部領域，完全控制近東與中東，並與企圖征服整個太平洋區之日本軍閥在遠東攜手。

故法屬西北非洲之被佔，顯將構成對美

invasion and occupation of French Northwest Africa would constitute for the United States and all American Republics the gravest kind of menace to their security—just as would sound the death-knell of the French Empire.

“In the light of all the evidence of our enemy's intention and plans, I have therefore decided to dispatch to North Africa powerful American armed forces to cooperate with the governing agencies of Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco in repelling this latest act in the long litany<sup>(6)</sup> of German and Italian international crime.

These indomitable American forces are equipped with massive and adequate weapons of modern warfare which will be available for your compatriots in North Africa in our mutual fight against the common enemy.

“In making all this clear to the French authorities in North Africa, I am calling on them for their cooperation in repelling Axis threats.

“I need not tell you that the ultimate and greater aim is the liberation of France and its empire from the Axis. In so doing, we provide automatically for the security of America. I need not again affirm to you that the United States of America seeks no territories and remembers always the historic friendship and mutual aid which we have so greatly given to each other. I send to you, and through you to the people of France my deep hope and belief that we are all of us soon to enter into happier days.”

國及全體美洲共和國安全之最嚴重威脅，一

若其爲將敲動法帝國之喪鐘者然。

鑒於敵方意圖之種種證據，余決定調派強大美軍至北非，藉與阿爾及利亞，突尼斯與摩洛哥行政當局合作，以擊退濶義長期國際暴行中之新策動。

此批不可壓制之美軍，附有大量近代作戰之武器，此等武器亦可供北非境內貴國志士之使用，以與吾人之公敵作戰。

余曾以此意詳陳北非法當局並請其與吾人合作，以擊退軸心之威脅。

至其最終之崇高目標則在謀取軸心下之法國與法帝國之解放，此固無須贅言者。吾人此舉，亦即所以求取美國之安全。余亦無需重提保證，即美國決無領土野心，並永能憶及吾人過去彼此間之友誼與互助。余深望及深信吾人不久即將踏入歡樂時期，謹以此告慰麾下，並望轉告貴國全體人民。



- 註(1) Chef d'Etat (法文)=Chief of State 元首  
 (2) implemented 以...爲工具  
 (3) means of subsistence 求生工具  
 (4) grew with every passing day 與日俱增  
 (5) the absence from home of the flower of French manhood 法國健壯人民遠離國  
 外  
 (6) long litany 長期時之懺悔祈禱，即謂德義一面從事種種之罪行，一面又作懺悔祈禱

### (三)

## ANGLO-U.S. JOINT DECLARATION

### 英美聯合聲明

The following joint American-British declaration to the people of Metropolitan France was made tonight as the first American troops went ashore in French North Africa early in the morning on November 8, 1942.

"The landing of the American Expeditionary Force in French North Africa is the first step towards the liberation of France. The object of the present operation is to destroy the German and Italian forces in North Africa.

"Our forces arrive in French North Africa as friends. The day when the German-Italian threat shall no longer weigh on French territories they will leave. The sovereignty of France on French territories remains unaffected.

"We enter today into the offensive phase of the war of liberation. This is the beginning.

"General Eisenhower, Commander-in-Chief of the American Expeditionary Force, is appealing for active cooperation of the France in North Africa. Nevertheless the moment has not yet come to appeal to the French nation as a whole. For

一九四二年十一月八日清晨，首批美軍

在法屬北非登陸後，英美兩國特向法蘭西本國人民發表聯合宣言如次：

美國遠征軍之在法屬北非登陸乃解放法國之第一步，當前行動之目的在摧毀北非之德義軍。

我軍係以友朋之身分，開抵法屬北非，法屬領土，一旦德義對於法屬領土之威脅消除以後，該軍隊即將離境，法屬領土內之法國主權，不受絲毫影響。

吾人今日轉入解放戰爭之攻擊階段。此爲發軔之行動。

美國遠征軍總司令艾森豪威爾特請北非之法國人民，積極合作，但今日尚未至籲請整個法國之時，惟請法國本部之法人，暫抱

the moment we ask the French population in France itself to remain on the alert."

警覺之態度。

(四)

Giraud's Broadcast To French African Army

吉 羅 德 對 法 國 非 洲 軍 廣 播

The following is the text of the message broadcast over Algiers Radio on Nov. 1942, by Henry Giraud, the Fighting French general who escaped from a German prison camp last spring.

"Officers and men of the African Army. You have scrupulously observed the terms of the Armistice, despite its repeated violation by our enemies. Today Germany and Italy seek to occupy North Africa. America has forestalled them, and has promised us its loyal and unselfish support. We must not miss this chance to save ourselves. I resume my battle station in your ranks. I ask your trust; you have mine.

"We have but one love—France. We have but one goal—victory. Remember that the African Army holds in its hands the destiny of France."

一九四二年春，自德國一處俘虜營逃出之戰鬥法國將領吉羅德，於十一月八日假河爾及爾電台廣播致辭，全文如次：

「非洲軍諸將士乎？過去兩年中，諸君不顧停戰協定條款之遭敵屢次蹂躪，仍予謹慎恪守，今者德義兩國，意欲佔領北非，現美國已先予阻止，並保證予我法人以忠實及公正之協助，吾人應勿坐失此自救之良機，余已重新進入余在諸君行伍中之作戰崗位，余請諸君信我一如余之信任諸君。

吾人僅有一種愛好，即愛法國是也，而吾人之唯一目的，則在獲取勝利。請緊記勿忘，法國之命運實寄於非洲軍之手。

## Stalin Stressed Second Front And War Aims

# 史大林論第二戰場與戰爭目的

*A speech delivered on the eve of the Soviet Revolution Day, 1942.*

一九四二年蘇聯革命紀念日前夕發表之演辭

“Let us suppose there has been a second front in Europe such as existed during the first world war and that second front had diverted sixty German divisions and twenty divisions of Germany's allies. The situation of the German armies would have been lamentable. Red armies would have been near Pskov, Minsk, Zhitomir and Odessa. As early as last summer the fascist armies would have been on the verge of (1) collapse. The Germans were saved by the absence of a second front in Europe. In the first world war Germany had not more than 85 divisions out of 220 divisions at their disposal against the Russians with 37 Austro-Hungarian divisions, three Bulgarian and three Turkish. In September this year, according to verified data, out of 256 divisions at Germany's disposal, 179 were standing against us. Adding 22 Rumanian divisions, 14 Finnish, ten Italian, 13 Hungarian, one Slovak and one Spanish, the total comes to 240 divisions against the Red Army. The British in Egypt are diverting only four German divisions and eleven Italian. A comparison between German invasion now and at the time of Napoleon, does not hold water. (2) Out of 600,000 who invaded Russia under Napoleon, not more than thirty to forty thousand

如吾人假定歐洲有第二戰場存在，一如第一次世界大戰時所存在者，且此第二戰場能牽制德軍六十師，其同盟國之軍隊二十師，則德軍所處地位或早屬危殆，蘇軍或早已進達北斯哥夫，明斯克，什托密爾，敖德薩附近一帶矣。本年夏季法西斯軍隊或早已瀕於崩潰，然以歐洲並無第二戰場之故，德國乃獲安然無恙。在第一次世界大戰期間，德國軍隊二百二十師中，僅有八十五師用以對俄作戰，此外尚有奧匈帝國軍隊三十七師，保加利亞軍隊三師，土耳其軍隊三師。據證實之統計數字，本年九月間德方可用之軍隊二百五十六師中，以對吾人作戰者，足有一百七十九師。此外尚有羅軍二十二師芬軍十四師義軍十師匈軍十三師，斯洛伐克軍一師西班牙軍一師，總計對蘇軍作戰者達二百四十師。英軍在埃及方面僅獲牽制軍德四師，義軍十一師，以目前德軍之侵蘇與拿破崙之侵俄比較，則誠不可同日而論。拿破崙部下之侵俄軍隊六十萬人中，其進至鮑羅廷者不過三四萬人，其進抵莫斯科時所有軍隊亦不過此數，此次吾人則有三百萬以上之強敵野

and came as far as Borodin and this was all he had when he approached Moscow we have over three million soldiers facing the Red Army, armed with modern weapons. A comparison of the invasion now with the invasion during the first world war also does not hold water. During the first world war, there was a second front in Europe while in this war we have twice as many men against us. Now you can imagine how serious and extraordinary are the difficulties confronting the Red Army and how great is the heroism it is showing the war of liberation against fascist invaders. No other country, no other army could withstand such an onslaught of frenzied hordes of German fascist bandits and their allies and overcome it. Will there be a second front after all?

“Yes, there will be. Sooner or later it will come to pass. It will come not only because we need it but because it is no less needed by our allies. Our allies must realise that after France was struck out of the war, the absence of a second front against fascist Germany might mean disaster for all freedom loving countries including the allies themselves. In the course of the war imposed on nations by Hitlerite Germany, two opposite camps have been formed—camp of Italo-German coalition and camp of Anglo Soviet-American coalition. It is indisputable that these two coalitions opposing each other are guided by two different and opposing programmes.

“The programme of Italo-German coalition can be characterized as follows:

其武裝均屬新式武器。此次之侵略與上次世界大戰之侵略，亦不能相比。第一次世界大戰期間，歐洲有第二戰場，而在此次戰爭中與吾人作戰之敵則較上次大戰超出一倍。讀者刻已能想像蘇軍所遭遇之困難如何嚴重，如何出乎常態，以及彼等在對抗法西斯侵略者之解放戰爭中如何英勇以赴矣。任何其他國家，任何其他軍隊，均不能抵擋此種德國法西斯盜匪及其同盟國一羣狂徒之猛烈進攻，且不論克服此等狂徒矣。然則最後仍將有第二戰場乎？

吾人之答覆，曰然，不久即有之，此事為遲早必經之階段，第二戰場之所以必然來臨，不僅由於吾人之需要，吾人之同盟國亦同樣需要，吾人之同盟國必須認清自法國失敗以後，法西斯德國第二戰場之不存在或為一切愛好自由國家之災禍，同盟國家本身亦包括在內，在希特勒德國以戰爭加諸各國之過程中，兩大陣營業已形成，即德義聯合陣營，與英美蘇聯合陣營是也。此兩大陣營之互相視敵，係由於兩種不同與相反之計劃所致，已無可疑。

德義陣營之計劃，可為描述如次：即種

Racial hatred, supremacy of chosen nations, subjugation of other nations in seizure of their territories, economic enslavement of conquered nations, deprecation of their national wealth, destruction of democratic liberty and establishment of Hitlerite regime everywhere. The programme of Anglo-Soviet-American coalition is: Abolition of racial exclusiveness, equality of nations, inviolability of their territorial rights, liberation of enslaved nations and restoration of their sovereign right of establishing whatever regime they like, economic assistance to countries which have suffered and help given them in achieving material welfare, restoration of democratic liberty and destruction of Hitlerite regime. The programme of Italo-German coalition has led to the result that all occupied countries in Europe and occupied regions of U. S. S. R. are aflame with hatred for Italo-German tyranny doing all the damage they can to the Germans and their allies and are waiting for the moment to avenge themselves on their enslavers for the humiliation and violence where to they had been subjected.

“One of the most characteristic features of the present moment is that isolation of Italo-German coalition and exhaustion of its moral and political resources in Europe are gradually increasing. It is progressively becoming weaker. Moral and political resources of Anglo-Soviet-American coalition are daily increasing and it is gradually winning millions of sympathisers willing to fight side by side with it against Hitler's

族之仇恨，其特選國家之霸權，其他國家之臣服，其領土之擄取，被征服國家在經濟之處於被奴役地位，劫掠彼等之國家財富，摧殘民主自由，以及在各處建立希特勒政權是也。英蘇美陣營之計劃，乃取消種族獨佔制，各國間之平等，領土之不可侵犯，被奴役國家之解放，恢復彼等之主權，建立彼等自願之任何政權，對曾受危難之國家，予以經濟援助，協助彼等達到物質幸福，恢復民主自由，摧毀希特勒政權是也。德義陣營之計劃，其結果已使歐洲一切被佔領國家，及蘇聯之被佔領區，爆發仇恨德義暴政之怒火，儘可能予德國及其與國以各種損害，待機對奴役彼等之狂徒，一雪其所受屈辱及狂暴之仇怨。

目前此等特性最顯著之一點，乃德義陣營之孤立無援，以及其在歐洲之精神政治力量之日漸困竭，彼等已就衰落。英蘇美陣營之精神及政治力量，則與日俱增，且逐漸獲得億萬同情羣衆，願與並肩對希特勒之暴政作戰，如吾人以人力及物資之觀點衡量兩大

tyranny. If we examine the strength of the two coalitions from the viewpoint of human and material resources, we cannot help arriving at the conclusion there is indisputable advantage on the side of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition. There is no reason to doubt that men of Anglo-Soviet-American coalition have the ability and skill to make right use of these resources. Impending danger dictates imperatively to members of the coalition the necessity for concerted action. I believe our programme is quite sufficient to organise the common struggle against the Hitlerite pyramid and achieve victory.

“It would be ridiculous to deny the existence of differences in ideology and structures of states forming the coalition. Instead of gradual estrangement we observe steady rapprochement among members of the coalition and development into a strong alliance. Events of the past year provide ample evidence of this. In July, 1941, Britain made an agreement with us for prosecution of war in common. Ten months later during Molotov's visit to England, Britain signed a treaty of alliance with us for war and mutual assistance afterwards. The treaty was for twenty years and this was a historic turn in the relations between ourselves and England. In July during Molotov's visit to the United States, an understanding was reached with that country for mutual assistance in the prosecution of war against aggression. Another important step was the visit of Winston Churchill to Moscow, complete understanding was reached.

“In an interview with a Turkish

陣營之實力，即可獲得一項結論。英蘇美陣營之立於有利地位，實無可疑。英蘇美陣營之人士，能對此等資源作適當之應用一事，已無理由可予置疑。當前之危機，已迫令此陣營之份子行動一致，余深信吾人之共同計劃，已足以構成共同之奮鬥，對希特勒之金字塔作戰而獲得勝利。

然吾人如否認組成此一陣營之國家間，其思想及機構有若干不同之點，則誠屬無意義之舉。吾人眼見此等國家，不獨不逐漸疏離，且日益和洽發展而為強大之作戰同盟。過去一年來之事實，已為此點提供豐富之證據矣。一九四一年七月間，英國曾與吾人訂立共同作戰之協定，十個月以後，在莫洛托夫訪英期間，英國人與吾人訂立作戰及戰後之互助同盟條約，條約有效期間為廿年，此乃吾人與英國間關係具有歷史意義之轉變。七月間莫洛托夫訪美時，又與美國成立對侵略進行作戰之互助諒解。另一重要措施，乃邱吉爾之訪問莫斯科，獲得完全之諒解。

希特勒於接見土耳其某將領時，曾曰：

genera', Hitler said: 'We shall destroy Russia and it will never rise again.' That is rather silly. We are not burdened with the problem of destroying Germany because it is no more possible to destroy Germany than Russia. But to destroy the Hitlerite state is possible and necessary. Our first aim is the destruction of the Hitlerite state and the men who inspire it. Our aim is not to destroy Germany army because this is impossible but our second aim is to destroy the Hitlerite army and wipe out its leaders. Hitlerite scoundrels have made it routine procedure to torture Soviet prisoners, to kill them by hundreds and to leave them to die of starvation. They kill the civilian population of our country, men, women, children, old people, our brothers and sisters. Only those devoid of all sense of honour and debased to the level of beasts are capable of acts which they are perpetrating against defenceless people in Ukraine, White Russia, Baltic area, Crimea and Caucasus. They have built Europe over with gallows. They have introduced the vile system of hostages. They hang innocent lives because some German bully is prevented from raping women or committing robbery. They have transformed Europe into a prison of nations and they call this the new order in Europe. We know the names of those responsible for these outrages. Their names are known to tens of thousands of tortured people. Let these executioners know they will not escape responsibility for their crimes of punishment of victimised nations. Our third aim then is to destroy this new order

吾人將摧毀蘇聯，使彼永遠無法再行抬頭，此誠毫無見識之語。吾人並未因摧毀德國之問題而自擾，蓋摧毀德國亦如摧毀蘇聯同屬不可能之舉，然摧毀希特勒政權則屬可能，且屬必要。吾人之第一目的，乃摧毀希特勒政權，以及鼓勵此項政權成立之人士，吾人之目的，不在摧毀德國之軍隊，蓋此乃不可能之舉。然吾人之第二目標，則在摧毀希特勒之軍隊，剷除彼等之領導者。希特勒暴虐之虐待蘇聯俘虜殺害俘虜以百數及令俘虜飢餓而死，已成為彼等慣技。彼等復屠殺吾國無辜之男女老幼民衆，吾人之男女同胞。倘有缺乏一切榮譽感並自行貶抑至獸類之水準者，始能做出彼等在烏克蘭、白俄羅斯、波羅的海區域、摩爾達維亞、克里米亞及高加索，對於毫無防禦力之民衆所肆之暴行。彼等已在歐洲各地遍設絞架，彼等已採用卑劣之人質制度，彼等絞斃無辜民衆，蓋因德國暴徒欲姦淫婦女，從事劫掠而被阻。彼等已使歐洲成為國家之牢獄，而彼等復美其名曰歐洲之新秩序。吾人已知此等暴行，應由何人負責，彼等之姓名，亦為千百萬被磨折之民衆所熟悉。此等劊子手，應知彼等之罪行，決不能逃卸責任，且將遭受被害各國之懲

in Europe and punish its builders. We are waging a great war of liberation but we are not waging it alone. We are fighting together with our allies. It is going to bring us victory over the dastard enemies of mankind, over German fascist imperialists.

處。吾人之第三作戰目標，乃摧毀歐洲之此種新秩序，並懲處其建立者。吾人刻正從事偉大之解放戰爭，然吾人並非單獨作戰，吾人乃與諸盟友共同作戰，吾人行將克服人類之法西斯敵人，克服德國法西斯主義者帝國主義者而獲得勝利。

註：(1) on the verge of 瀕於

(2) does not hold water 並非毫無漏洞；不可同日而語



# Full Report On Pearl Harbor Attack

## 珍珠港被襲報告書

*Released by U. S. Navy on the anniversary of the Pearl Harbor Attack, Dec. 1942.*

一九四二年十二月七日珍珠港被襲一週年由美海軍部發表

On the morning of Dec. 7, 1941, Japanese aircraft temporarily disabled every battleship and most aircraft in the Hawaiian area. Other naval vessels, both combatant and auxiliary, were put out of action and certain shore facilities, especially at the Army air bases at Hickam Field, Wheeler Field and the Naval air stations at Ford Island and Kaneohe Bay were damaged. Most of these ships are now back with the fleet. The aircraft were all replaced within a few days and interference with facilities was generally limited to a matter of hours.

When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor two surface Task Forces (1) of the Pacific Fleet were carrying out assigned missions at sea and two such Task Forces were at their main base following extensive operations at sea. Discounting small craft, 86 ships of the Pacific Fleet were moored at Pearl Harbor. Included in this force were eight battleships, seven cruisers, 28 destroyers and five submarines. No United States aircraft carriers were present.

As a result of the Japanese attack five battleships, the Arizona, the Oklahoma, the California, the Nevada, the West Virginia, three destroyers, the

一九四一年十二月七日上午，日本飛機曾使夏威夷區域每一戰鬥艦及大部份飛機，暫時失去作用。其他海軍艦隻，包括作戰艦隻及輔助艦隻在內，亦均無法行動。若干海岸設備，尤其希克漢飛機場，惠勒飛機場之陸軍航空根據地，以及福特島甘尼奧希灣之海軍航空站，亦均受創。此等艦隻，目前大部份業已歸隊，飛機亦於數日內全數補足，各種設備效用之被阻，一般均限於若干小時而已。

當日軍偷襲珍珠港時，太平洋艦隊有兩隊以海面艦隻組成之任務部隊，在海面擔任指定之工作，另有同樣之任務部隊兩隊，於在海面從事廣大之行動之後，業已返回其主要根據地。除小艇不計外。太平洋艦隊共有艦隻八十六艘泊在珍珠港，其中有戰鬥艦八艘，巡洋艦七艘，驅逐艦廿八艘，潛艇五艘，當時並無航空母艦在內。

日方偷襲結果，戰鬥艦五艘，即「亞利桑那」號，「俄克拉荷馬」號，「加利福利亞」號，「內華達」號，「西弗吉尼亞」號，驅

Shaw, the Cassin, the Downes; the mine-layer Oglala; the target ship Utah and a large floating dry-dock were either sunk or damaged so severely that they would serve no military purposes for some time. In addition three battleships, the Pennsylvania the Maryland and the Tennessee; three cruisers, the Helena, the Honolulu and the Raleigh, the sea-plane tender Curtiss and the repair-ship Vestal were damaged.

Of the 19 naval vessels listed above as sunk or damaged, the 26 year-old battleship Arizona will be the only one permanently and totally lost. Preparations for righting the Oklahoma are now in progress although the final decision as to the wisdom of accomplishing this work at this time has not been made. The main and the auxiliary machinery, approximately 50 per cent of the value, of the Cassin and the Downes have been saved. The other 15 vessels have either been or will be salvaged and repaired.

The eight vessels described in the second sentence of paragraph three (three battleships, three cruisers a seaplane tender and a repairship) returned to the Fleet months ago. A number of the vessels described in the first sentence of Paragraph three are now in full service but certain others which required extensive machinery and intricate electrical overhauling as well as refloating and hull repairing, are not yet ready for battle action. The naval repair yards are taking advantage of these inherent delays to install numerous moderniza-

逐艦三艘，即「祁」號，「加森」號，「道恩斯」號，敷雷艦「奧格拉拉」號，靶子艦「猶他」號，以及大型浮動乾船塢一艘，非已沉沒，則受重創，在若干期間內不能作軍事目的之用。此外尚有戰鬥艦三艘即「賓夕法尼亞」號，「馬里蘭」號，「田納西」號，巡洋艦三艘，即「海倫那」號，「檀香山」號，「拉雷」號，水上飛機母艦「寇蒂斯」號，修繕船「凡斯特雷」號亦受傷。

在上列沉沒或受傷之十九艘軍艦中，艦齡廿六年之「亞利桑那」號，乃唯一永久完全損失者，挽救「俄克拉荷馬」號之準備工作，刻正在進行中，惟目前關於完成此項工作之辦法，則尚未作最後決定。「加森」號與「道恩斯」號之主要及輔助機件，約當全部價格之百分之五十，業已獲救。其餘十五艘軍艦之撈救及修繕工作，有一部份業已完成，餘者亦將付諸實施。

本文第三段第二節所提及之軍艦八艘，（戰鬥艦三艘，巡洋艦三艘，水上飛機母艦一艘，修繕船一艘）業於數月前歸還艦隊。第三段第一節所提及之軍艦中，有若干艘刻已完全可以服役，惟尚有需要經過在機器及電機兩方面作廣泛及複雜之檢查，以及打撈船隻修理等工作之若干艘，尚未能從事作戰行動，海軍修船廠刻正利用此種附帶拖延之機會，裝設若上新式設備及從事改善，此等

tion features and improvements. To designate these vessels by names now would give the enemy information vital to his war plans; similar information regarding enemy ships which our forces subsequently damaged but did not destroy is denied us.

On Dec. 15, 1941, only eight days after the Japanese attack and at a time when there was an immediate possibility of the enemy's coming back, Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox announced that the Arizona, the Shaw, the Cassin, the Downes, the Utah and the Oglala had been lost, the Oklahoma capsized and other vessels had been damaged. Fortunately salvage and repair accomplishments at Pearl Harbor exceeded even the most hopeful expectations.

Eighty naval aircraft of all types were destroyed by the enemy. In addition, the Army lost 97 planes on Hickam and Wheeler Fields. Of these 23 were bombers, 66 were fighters and eight were of other types.

The most serious losses were in personnel. As the result of the raid on Dec. 7, 1941, 2117 officers and enlisted men of the Navy and Marine Corps were killed, 961 are still reported as missing, and 876 were wounded but survived. Army casualties were as follows: 226 officers and enlisted men were killed or later died of wounds; 396 were wounded, most of whom have now recovered and returned to duty.

At 7:55 a.m. on Dec. 7, 1941, Japanese dive-bombers swarmed over the Army air base at Hickam Field and the

軍艦之艦名，目前如予指明，將予敵人以其作戰計劃中必要之情報，此一如吾人對於我軍所擊傷而未擊毀之敵艦，亦無從獲得情報者然。

一九四一年十二月十五日，即在日方偷襲僅八日之後，且當敵方極有可能捲土重來之時，海軍部長諾克斯乃宣佈「亞利桑那」號，「邵」號，「加森」號，「道恩斯」號，「猶」號，「奧格拉拉」號，均已損失，「俄克拉荷馬」號傾覆，其他軍艦亦均受傷。所幸珍珠港方面，打撈修繕工作進行之速，甚至超過最樂觀之預料之上。

海軍艦艇被敵所毀者共有八十艘，此外陸軍亦在希克漢及惠勒兩機場損失飛機九十七架，其中有轟炸機廿三架，戰鬥機六十六架，其他型式之飛機八架。

最嚴重之損失係在兵員方面，一九四一年十二月七日被襲結果，海軍及海軍陸戰隊之軍官及入伍兵二千一百一十七人斃命，刻仍失蹤未經覓得者九百六十一人，受傷未死者八百七十六人。陸軍之死傷如次，軍官及入伍兵斃命或因傷致死者二百廿六人，傷者三百九十六人，其中大部份業已傷愈歸隊。

一九四一年十二月七日上午七時五十五分，日本俯衝轟炸機羣，飛臨希克漢機場陸

Naval air station at Ford Island. A few minutes later the Japanese had struck the Naval air station at Kaneohe Bay. Seconds later enemy torpedo-planes and dive-bombers swung in from various sectors to concentrate their attack on the heavy ships in Pearl Harbor. The enemy attack was aided by the element of surprise, based on exact information and was very successful.

Torpedo-planes, assisted effectively by dive-bombers, constituted the major threat of the first phase of the Japanese attack, lasting approximately a half hour. Twenty-one torpedo-planes made four attacks and 30 dive-bombers came in eight waves during this period. Fifteen horizontal bombers also participated in this phase of the raid.

Although the Japanese punched their initial attack as a surprise, the battleships replied with machine-gun fire at once and this was progressively augmented by the remaining anti-aircraft batteries as all hands<sup>3)</sup> were promptly called to general quarters. Machine-guns brought down two and damaged others the first wave of torpedo planes. Practically all of the battleships, anti-aircraft batteries were firing within five minutes; the cruisers' within an average time of four minutes; and the destroyers, opening up machine-guns almost immediately, averaged seven minutes in bringing all their anti-aircraft guns into action.

From 8:29 to 8:45 a.m., there was a comparative lull in the raid, although air activity continued with sporadic attacks by dive and horizontal bombers which

軍航空根據地及福特島之海軍航空站上空，數分鐘以後，日機又攻擊甘尼奧希灣之海軍航空站，若干秒鐘之後，敵魚雷機及俯衝轟炸機，自各方飛來，集中攻擊珍珠港之重型艦隻，敵方之襲擊以正確之情報為根據，且出乎我方意料之外，故甚得手。

魚雷機於俯衝轟炸機有效協助之下，構成日方第一階段襲擊之主要威脅，經過時間約為半小時。魚雷機二十一架，分四批來襲，俯衝轟炸機三十架則於此一期間內，分八批來襲，水平轟炸機十五架，亦於此一階段參加襲擊。

日方之初步偷襲，雖出乎吾人意料之外，然我戰鬥艦仍立即以機關槍還擊，且其餘高射砲隊之人員，亦立即被召返營，故高射砲火之威力漸增，第一批之魚雷機，被我機關槍擊落二架，另有數架受傷。事實上所有戰鬥艦及高射砲，均於五分鐘內發射，巡洋艦之槍砲，平均係於四分鐘內發射，驅逐艦幾乎立即以機關槍發射，平均係於七分鐘內，均以高射砲迎擊。

自上午八時二十九分至八時四十五分之一段期間，空襲比較沉寂，且空中活動繼續進行，俯衝及水平轟炸機零星來襲，彼等自

crossed and recrossed their targets from various directions and caused serious damage. While the horizontal bombers were continuing their raids, Japanese dive-bombers reappeared, probably being the same planes which participated in the earlier attacks; this phase, lasting about half an hour, was devoted to strafing.(4) All enemy aircraft retired by 9:45 a.m.

Prior to the Japanese attack there were 202 U.S. naval aircraft of all types on the Island of Oahu in flying condition but 150 of these were permanently or temporarily disabled by the enemy's concentrated assault, most of them in the first few minutes of the raid. Of the 52 remaining naval aircraft, 38 took to the air on Dec 7, 1941, the other 14 being ready too late in the day, being blocked from take-off positions. Of necessity, therefore, the Navy was compelled to depend on anti-aircraft fire for its primary defensive weapon and this condition exposed the Fleet to continuous air attack. By coincidence, 18 scout bombing planes from a United States aircraft carrier en-route arrived at Pearl Harbor during the raid. These are included in the foregoing figures. Four of these scout-bombers were shot down, 13 of the remaining 14 taking off again in search of the enemy. Seven patrol planes were in the air when the attack started.

It is difficult to determine the total number of enemy aircraft participating in the raid, but careful analysis of all reports makes it possible to estimate the numbers as 21 torpedo-planes, 48 dive-bombers

各方向來往於目標之上，予我以重大損失。當水平轟炸機繼續來襲時，日方俯衝轟炸機重復出現，彼等或為參加前次襲擊之同一飛機，此一階段歷時約半小時，敵機均致力於槍砲射擊，所有敵機，均於九時四十五分退去。

在日方未襲之前，歐胡島各式美國海軍飛機，有二百零二架，係在可以飛行之情況之下，然其中有一百五十架，均經敵方之集中攻擊而永遠或暫時失去作用，且大部份均在襲擊之最初五分鐘內失去作用，其餘海軍飛機五十二架，有三十八架，於一九四一年十一月七日起飛，其餘十七架，因準備過遲均未獲開往準備起飛之部位，以故海軍乃不得不以高射砲火為主要防禦武器。此種情況，乃使艦隊暴露於敵機不斷襲擊之下，然同時適有向珍珠港開駛之美航空母艦一艘之偵察轟炸機十八架，於空襲期間飛抵珍珠港，此等飛機，均包括於上述數目之內。此等偵察轟炸機，有四架被擊落，其餘十四架中，有十三架重復起飛搜索敵人。當空襲開始時，空中尚有巡邏機七架，

欲確定來襲敵機總數，實屬困難，然如將一切消息加以仔細分析，吾人即可估計來襲敵機有魚雷機二十一架，俯衝轟炸機四十

and 36 horizontal bombers, totalling 105 planes of all types. Undoubtedly certain fighter planes were also present, but these are not distinguished by types and are included in the above figures. There were a total of 273 Army planes on the Inland of Oahu on Dec. 7, 1941. Very few of these were able to take off the damaged runways of Hickam and Wheeler Fields.

The enemy lost 28 aircraft due to Navy action and the few Army pursuit planes which were able to take off shot down more than 20 Japanese planes. In addition, three submarines of 45 tons each were accounted for.<sup>(5)</sup> The damage suffered by the United States Pacific Fleet as the result of the Japanese attack of Dec. 7, 1941, was most serious, but the repair job now is nearly completed and thanks to the inspired, unceasing efforts of naval and civilian personnel attached to the various repair yards, especially at Pearl Harbor itself, this initial handicap will soon be erased forever.

- 註：(1) Task Forces 負有任務之部隊  
(2) wisdom 此處作「辦法」解  
(3) all hands 所有人手  
(4) strafing 以槍砲射擊  
(5) were accounted for 此處作「損失」解

八架，\*水平轟炸機三十六架，共計各式飛機一百零五架，自然亦有若干戰鬥機來襲，然以其形式未經辨出之故，均包括於上述數目之內。一九四一年十二月七日歐胡島共有陸軍飛機二百七十三架，然因希克漢及惠勒兩機場跑道損壞，能昇空作戰者極少，

海軍之砲火擊落敵機二十八架，少數艦飛之陸軍戰鬥機擊落敵機二十架以上。此外敵方向損失四十五噸之潛艇三艘。一九四一年十二月七日，日機偷襲結果，美國太平洋艦隊損失極為嚴重，然修繕工作刻已將近完成，且幸賴各修繕工廠，尤其珍珠港本身之海軍及普通人員之振奮及不懈之努力，此最初所受之障礙，不久即可永遠消除。

## 羅斯福對國際學生大會演辭

The full text of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's speech before the International Student Assembly on Sept. 3, 1942 follows:

"It may interest the members of this assembly of the International Student Service that during the past week the Axis radio has given unusual comment to your sessions and to the speech which you are hearing at this moment.

"Our listening stations have picked up an increasing volume of Axis broadcasts including controlled stations in France, Hungary, the Netherlands and elsewhere referring to this meeting of the younger generation of all United Nations in terms of growing hate and, of course, complete falsehood. Our listening stations report that they expect that at this moment the air in all Axis dominated nations will be quite thoroughly jammed—blacked out—in order that no sound of what I am saying either in English or translation will be heard by any restless young people who are under Hitler's heel.

"The Nazi radio in Paris for example tells the youth of France that Roosevelt was solely responsible for the defeat of France; Roosevelt is not qualified to address a message to the youth of the world because America is a nation that has done nothing for youth.

羅斯福總統於一九四二年九月三日向國

際學生代表大會發表演說，全文如下：

出席此國際學生會議諸君或已注意過去

一週內軸心國之廣播電台曾對會議及諸君此刻聆聽之演詞，加以罕有之評論。

吾人之收聽站曾截獲數量益增之軸心廣

播，其中包括佔領區法匈荷等處之廣播，彼

等俱以厭惡與完全虛偽之論調，評論此聯合

國家之青年會議。據吾人收聽站之報告，彼

等預料所有軸心國統治下各國之天空將於此

一時刻遭「澈底擾亂」，使希特勒鐵蹄下之

不安青年無法聆聽余向諸君發表之演說，不

問其為英文或用其他譯文所播發者。

舉例言之，巴黎之納粹電台即曾告法國

青年曰，法國之失敗，羅斯福實負其咎，且

指斥羅斯福不配向世界青年發言，因美國為

絲毫未謀青年福利之國家。

“Berlin reports that four French youth organizations have protested in advance against this speech since Roosevelt must be blamed for the death of more than 100,000 young Frenchmen. Incidentally, it would be interesting to know how many real Frenchmen there are in these so-called France youth organizations.

The radio in Tokyo says that I am admitting to you at this moment that my people are decadent—weaklings—playboys—spoiled by jazz music and Hollywood pictures. Of course this broadcast did not originate from any of the Japanese who bumped into our play boys in the Southwest Pacific.

“The reason for this hysterically defensive attitude toward this gathering is not hard to find. For many years our enemies have made their hypocritical appeal to youth—they have tried with all their blatant publicity to represent themselves champions of youth.

“But now the world knows that the Nazis, the Fascists and the militarists of Japan have nothing to offer youth—except death.

“On the other hand, the cause of the United Nations is the cause of youth itself. It is the hope of the new generation—and generations that are to come—the hope of new life that will be lived in freedom, justice and decency.

“This fact is becoming clearer every day to the young people of Europe where the Nazis are trying to create youth organizations built on the Nazi pattern. It is not a pattern devised by youth, for

據柏林消息，法國之四大青年組織甚至於余發表演說之前先行提出抗議，因法國十餘萬青年之死亡實咎在羅斯福云云。然而所謂法國青年團體者，其會員中之真正法國人究有若干，殊值得予以注意。

東京之廣播電台亦謂，余此刻向諸君承認吾美人民為衰弱者，為爵士音樂與好萊塢影片所敗壞之虛弱者與執袴子弟云云。然此類廣播必非彼輩在西南太平洋區域與吾方執袴子弟衝突之日人所發出者。

彼輩對於此次會議所以採取「歇斯的里亞」之防禦性態度者，理由至為明顯。多年以來吾人之敵即曾向青年發出虛偽之呼籲。並利用其粗魯之宣傳，以青年之護衛者自居

然而世人均知納粹法西斯與日本軍閥捨以死亡授予青年外，不能有其他任何賜予也

反之，聯合國家之目標亦即青年之目標。聯合國家之目標亦即青年與未來世代企求自由正義與適當之新生活之希望。

歐洲之青年已日益明白此項事實，而在該處納粹正設法建立納粹模型之青年組織。此種模型，既非青年本身所擬具，亦非為青



youth. It is a pattern devised by Hitler and imposed upon youth by a form of mental forcible feeding—a diet of false facts, distortions, prohibitions—all backed up by the guns of the Gestapo.

“If you have any doubt what decent youths in Europe think about the false promises of their Axis masters, look to the brave young men of France and all occupied countries who prefer to face firing squads rather than a lifetime of slavery and degradation under Hitler.

“In such unfortunate countries as Finland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and Italy whose governments have found it necessary to submit to Hitler and do his bidding, the Quislings have organized youth movements too—but these are only the movements to slaughter on the Eastern Front where the Nazis need cannon-fodder in their desperate attempts to shatter the stalwart Russian Army.

“In China heroic youth has held steadfast for more than five years against all of Japan's attempts to seduce and disarm them with such transparent lies as the promise of ‘Asia for Asiatics.’ The Chinese know that this only means ‘all creation enslaved by the Japanese.’ We exult in the thought that it is the young, the free men and women of the United Nations who will mold the shape of the new world.

“The delegates to this International Student Assembly represent 29 United Nations. They also represent, in spirit at least, the younger generation of many other nations who though they are not now actively at war on our side are with

年人而擬具者，而完全為希特勒所擬具，藉虛偽事實曲解與禁令為精神上之飼料，並以秘密警察之手槍為後盾，所強迫加諸青年者。

軸心國之主宰，曾向世界之青年提出虛偽之諾言，然而諸君試觀法國與所有佔領區各國內英勇青年，寧被槍決，而不願在希特勒統治下被人奴役並墮落終身之現象，即知意志高尚之青年，對於軸心主宰所提之虛偽諾言，究持如何觀感。

在芬甸保羅美等不幸之國家內，其政府不得不向希特勒表示屈服，並遵守其命令者。其國之傀儡政權亦有青年運動之組織，但此類運動僅驅使數十萬青年赴東線受戮，蓋納粹為掙扎以擊潰英勇之蘇聯陸軍計，自需要彼等為炮灰也。

中國之英勇青年亦曾屹立逾五年之久，以對抗日本利用「亞洲為亞洲人之亞洲」等明顯誑言，誘其就範，或令其解除武裝之企圖。中國人民固知此為日本建立奴隸制度之手段。吾人之所引以為慰者，即將來構成新世界之羣體者，即為聯合國家今日之自由青年男女。

出席今日國際學生會議之人員為二十九聯合國家之代表。彼等至少在精神上亦為其他若干國家之青年代表，此輩青年雖不能加

heart and soul in aspiration for a secure and peaceful world.

“Before the first World War, very few people in any country believed youth had the right to speak for itself as a group or participate in councils of states. We have learned much since then. We knew that wisdom does not come necessarily with years: that old men may be foolish and young men may be wise. But in every war it is the younger generation which bears the burden of combat and inherits all the ills that war leaves in its wake.

“In the economic crisis that followed the false [prosperity after the first World War, many young men and women suffered even more than did their elders. For they were denied the primary opportunities for education, for training, for work or even for food enough to build up healthy bodies. As a result they were tempted to seek some simple remedy not only for their own individual problems but for all problems that beset the world. Some listened to alien siren voices which offered glib answers to all questions. ‘Democracy is dead,’ said these voices. ‘Follow us and we will teach you efficiently. We will lead you to world conquest. We will give you power over inferior races. All that we ask you to give in return is—your freedom.

“Other young people in the democracies listened to gospels of despair. They took refuge in cynicism and bitterness.

“However the day finally came when all theory had to give way to face the terrible, tangible fact of dive-bombers

入我方積極作戰，然彼固衷心與吾人同具求取安全和平世界之願望。

第一次世界大戰爆發之前，各國人士對於青年以一團體之地位為其本身之發言權與其參加國家各項會議權，鮮有表示承認者，但自是時而後，吾人即獲得無數教訓。吾人智慧未必與年齡偕來，吾人知老者或為惡人，而青年反為智者。然而在每次戰爭中，莫不以青年負起戰鬥之重負，並擔當戰後所遺留之一切疾苦。

隨第一次世界大戰以後，與虛偽繁榮而俱來之經濟危機中，若干青年男女所受之痛苦，甚至較彼等之長輩更烈，因彼等曾犧牲受教育，受訓練，獲得工作，甚至於獲得充分之食物，以培養健強體格之起碼機會，結果彼等乃被迫而尋覓若干簡單之藥劑，不但以此拯救彼等本身之問題，且用以拯救困擾世界之一切問題。其中有若干青年，且聽信外國對於一切問題提供動聽答覆之邪說。此等邪說曰，民主政治業已死亡，追隨余等則余等將予汝等以有效之指示，余等將予汝等於征服世界之途，余等將予汝等以統治低劣民族之權力，而余等要求汝等交出者，僅汝等之自由而已。

民主國之另一部青年則聽信絕望之理論，而苟安于犬儒主義，與艱苦狀態之下。

但俯衝轟炸機與裝甲師團之恐怖事實，

and panzer divisions, the actual threat to security in every home and every family in every free country in the world.

“And when that fact became clear to our youth, they answered with arms—many millions of them; and today they are determined to fight until the forces of aggression have been utterly destroyed.

What I am saying here in Washington is being heard by several million American soldiers, sailors and Marines, not only in Continental United States but in far distant points—Central and South America, in islands in the Atlantic, in Great Britain and Ireland, on the coasts of Africa, in Egypt, in Iraq and Iran, in Russia, in India, in China, in Australia, in New-Zealand, in many islands of the Pacific and on all seas of the world. There in all these places—are our fighting men.

“And to them I should like to deliver a special message from their Commander-in-chief and from the very hearts of their countrymen; You young Americans today are conducting yourselves in a manner that is worthy of the highest and proudest traditions of our nation.

“No pilgrims who landed on the uncharted New England coast, no pioneers who forced their way through trackless wildernesses showed greater fortitude or greater determination than you are showing now. Neither your fathers in 1918 nor your fathers' fathers in 1863 or 1776 fought with greater gallantry or more selfless devotion to duty and country than you are now displaying on battlefields far from home.

世界上一切自由國家內每一家庭所受之安全威脅，終於打破一切理論。

至此吾人之青年乃明白真相，於是數百萬青年乃以武力為答覆，今則彼等已決心作戰，以迄侵略力量完全消滅之時為止。

余今日在華盛頓所發表之言論，數百萬之美國士兵水手與海軍陸戰隊正予收聽，彼等不但在美國大陸，且在中美，南美，大西洋上各島，英國與愛爾蘭，非洲海岸，埃及，伊拉克，伊朗，蘇聯，印度，中國，澳洲，紐西蘭太平洋上各海島，及世界所有海面上之遙遠地帶，上述區域皆有吾人之戰鬥員。

余茲願以統帥（指總統本人）及國人心中之所欲言者，另向彼等略致數語，汝輩美國青年今日之所為，實不負我國最崇高最光榮之傳統。

昔日登陸於人蹤罕至之新英格蘭之旅客，昔日披荆斬棘由曠野中開闢新路之拓荒者，其所表現之毅力與決心，亦未有甚于汝輩今日之所表現者，一九一八年時代之汝輩父兄，與一八六三年或一七七六年之汝輩祖先，其忠于職務與國家所表現之英勇與大公無私，亦未有甚于汝輩今日在國外，遙遠戰場上之所表現者。

“And what's more, you know why you are fighting. You know that road which has led you to the Solomon Island or the Red Sea or the coast of France is, in fact, an extension of Main Street and that when you fight anywhere along that road you are fighting in defense of your own homes, your own free schools, your own churches, your own ideals.

“We know that in the minds of many of you are thoughts of interrupted education, interrupted careers, delayed opportunities for getting jobs. The solution of such problems cannot be left as it was last time to mere chance. This government has accepted the responsibility for seeing to it that wherever possible work has been provided for those who were willing and able but who could find work. That responsibility will continue after the war. And when you come home we do not propose to involve you, as the last time, with a domestic economic mess of our own making.

“You are doing first things first—fighting to win this war. For you know that should this war be lost, all our plans for peace would be meaningless.

“Victory is essential; but victory is not enough for you—or for us. You must be sure that when you have won victory you will not have to tell your children that you fought in vain—you were betrayed. We must be sure that in your homes there will not be want—that in your schools only the living truth will be taught—in your churches there may be preached without fear a faith in which men may deeply believe

其更有進者，即汝輩今日能認清其所以作戰之原因，汝輩且知引導汝輩到達所羅門羣島，或紅海，或法國濱海區之道路，實即我國本部主要市街之延長線，故不論汝輩在沿路之任何地帶作戰，亦即等於為保護汝輩之家室自由學校教堂與汝輩之理想而戰。

吾人固知汝輩之中，必有顧及本身教育或職業有遭受中斷者，或尋找職業之機會，行將延緩實現者，此項問題，決不能如上次戰後之徒賴機會為之解決。美國政府曾負責為彼輩願意且能工作而無法尋得工作者尋取可能之工作。政府在戰後，仍將繼續負起此種責任，他日汝輩返國時吾人決不擬一如上次戰後，使汝輩亦陷入吾人所創造之國內經濟混亂狀態中。

汝輩今日正進行首要之任務即鬥爭以求勝利是也。汝輩固知此次作戰倘行失敗，則吾人所定一切勝利後之和平計劃，俱將失其意義。

勝利實居第一，但汝我仍不以勝利為已足，吾人必須確保汝輩獲得勝利後，他日尚可無須告知後世子孫，謂汝輩之戰鬥，係徒勞無功，係受人欺騙。吾人必須確保汝輩之家庭中不至有缺憾之感，必須確保汝輩學校中之傳授者，為富有活力之真理，並確保汝輩之教堂中，能大胆無畏傳播人類所或將深信之教律。

"The better world for which you fight—and for which some of you give your lives—will not come merely because we shall win the war. It will not come merely because we wish very hard that it would come. It will be made possible only by vision, intelligent planning and work. It cannot be brought about overnight; but only by years of effort and perseverance and unflinching faith.

"You young soldiers and sailors, farmers and factory workers, artists and scholars who are fighting our way to victory now, all of you will have your part in shaping that world. You will earn it by what you do now; but you will not attain it if you leave the job for others to do alone. When you lay aside your gun at the end of the war you cannot at the same time lay aside your duty to the future.

"What I have said to our American soldiers and sailors applies to all young men and women of the United Nations who are facing our common enemies. There is complete unanimity of spirit among all youth and all kindred who fight to preserve or regain their freedom.

"In Norway, Holland, Belgium and France, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Serbia and, Greece, there is a fighting spirit that defies the harsh oppression, the barbarous cruelty and terrorism of the Nazis. Although disarmed, unconquerable people still strike at their oppressors. Although forbidden to know the truth they listen at the risk of their lives to radio broadcasts from afar; and by word of mouth and by secret newspapers

汝輩所為鬥爭甚至犧牲生命以爭取之更  
美善之世界，不能徒因吾人之作戰獲勝而遽  
行實現，亦不至因吾人切望其實現而遽行實  
現，唯有幻想與有智慧之計劃與工作，或能  
促其實現，此更美善之世界，非一朝一夕之  
所能降臨者，僅有藉若干歲月之努力忍耐與  
堅忍不變之信念，始能促其實現。

汝輩今日從事爭取勝利之青年士兵，水  
手，農工，藝術家，與學者，他日俱將在構  
成新世界中佔一地位，他日之所獲，即為今  
日汝輩所為之酬勞。然汝輩倘徒賴他人完成  
此種工作，則他日必一無所獲矣。當汝輩於  
戰事結束卸下汝輩之槍砲時，決不能同時卸  
下其未來之責任。

余今日向美國士兵，水手，所發表之言  
論，亦可用以貢獻彼輩對抗吾人公敵之所有  
聯合國青年男女，藉戰鬥以保持或恢復其  
自由之全體青年與同胞，今日已獲有協調一  
致之精神。

今日挪、荷、比、法、德、波與南、香  
國境內，亦有反抗納粹相暴壓迫，反抗納粹  
主義之戰鬥精神，彼不可征服之人民，雖手  
無寸鐵，仍能反擊其壓迫者，彼輩雖已被禁  
止探求真理，仍甘冒生命危險，收聽外界之  
廣播，且藉愛國志士間口頭與秘密文件之傳

passed by one patriot to another, they still spread the truth. When the time comes for these peoples to rise, Hitler's new order will be destroyed by the hands of its own victims.

"Today embattled youth in Russia and China are realizing new individual dignity, casting off the last links of the ancient chains of imperial despotism which had bound them so long.

"This development has historic importance. It means the old term Western civilization's no longer applies. World events and the common needs of all humanity are joining the culture of Asia with the culture of Europe and the Americas to form for the first time a real world civilization.

"In the concept of the Four Freedoms, in the basic principles of the Atlantic Charter, we have set for ourselves high goals, and unlimited objectives.

"These concepts and these principles are designed to form a world in which men, women and children can live in freedom and equity and above all without the fear or horror of war. For no soldiers or sailors in any of our forces today would so willingly endure the rigors of battle if they thought in another 20 years their own sons would be fighting still another war on distant deserts or seas or faraway jungles or skies.

"We have profited by our past mistakes. This time we will know how to make full use of victory. This time the achievements of our fighting forces will not be thrown away by political cynicism and timidity and incompetence.

遞，使真道廣為傳播。此輩人民復興之日來臨時，希特勒之新秩序必為其壓制者所親手破壞。

今日蘇聯與中國之戰鬥青年，已開始認識其個人之尊嚴，並開始掙脫其過去被束縛已久之帝制暴政鎖鏈之最後一環。

此項演變，實具歷史上之重要性，此殆表示「西方文明」之舊名詞已不復適用，世界之事件與人類之普遍需求，更使亞洲文化與歐美文化首次混合一真正之世界文明。

吾人在「四項自由」之概念與大西洋憲章之基本原則中，曾為自身確定崇高無限之目標。

此項概念與基本原則之構成，旨在建立一種男女老幼均能享受自由平等生活，無所恐懼或不致發生戰爭恐怖之世界，蓋吾美軍隊中之任何士兵與水手，倘知二十年後，其子弟仍將遠赴沙漠，海面，叢林，或天空作戰時，則彼等今日決不願忍受戰爭之殘酷也。

吾人已從過去錯誤中獲得教益，在此次戰爭中，吾人已知將如何充分利用勝利。此次吾人戰鬥部隊獲得之成就，決不因政治上之犬儒主義畏縮衰弱，致遭遺棄。

“There are still a handful of men and women in the United States and elsewhere who mock and sneer at the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter. They are few in number: but some of them have the financial power to give our enemies the false impression that they have a large following among our citizenry. They play petty politics in the world crisis. They fiddle with many our notes while civilization burns. These puny prophets decry our determination to implement our high concepts and sound principles. And the words of these little men of little faith are quoted with gleeful approval by the press and radio of our enemies.

“We are deeply aware that we cannot achieve our goals easily. We cannot attain the fullness of all our ideals over-night. We know this will be a long, hard, bitter fight—that there will still be an enormous job for us to do long after the last German, Japanese and Italian bombing plane has been shot to earth.

“But we do believe that with divine guidance we can make—in this dark world of today and in the new postwar world—steady progress toward the highest goals that men have ever imagined.

“We of the United Nations have the technical means, physical resources and, most of all, the adventurous courage and vision and will that are needed to build and sustain the kind of world order which alone can justify the tremendous sacrifices now being made by our youth.

“But we must keep at it—we must never relax, never falter, never fear and

今日美國本邦及國外仍有少數男女對吾人之「四項自由」與大西洋憲章加以嘲笑或蔑視者，但彼輩究屬少數，第因其中不乏擁有財力之人士，致使敵人誤認彼等獲得吾人衆多公民之擁護。彼等曾在世界發生危機之際，玩弄無價值之政治手腕，彼等於文明行將毀滅之時，對吾人之見解加以揶揄。此輩細弱無力之預言家，係在詆謗吾人實施崇高概念與完善原則之決心，而敵人之報紙與廣播電台，則以喜悅附和論調，轉播此少數無信念者之言論。

吾人深知欲完全達到目標，自非易易，吾人不擬實現全部理想於一朝一夕。吾人自知此次戰爭，將爲一長久艱苦之戰爭，而在德日義最後一架轟炸機被擊墜地之後尙有艱苦工作留待吾人完成。

然而吾人相信，在今日之黑暗世界與戰後之新世界，吾人藉神聖之指示，必能向人類理想前所未及之最崇高目標逐步邁進。

吾聯合國家，有其技術上之工具與物資上之資源，而最重要者，即吾人有用以建造與保持一種世界秩序必需之冒險勇氣與見解。惟有此世界秩序之實現，始不負吾青年今日所受之重大犧牲。

然而吾人必須保持吾人之作戰努力，吾人必須永勿鬆懈，勿躊躇，勿恐懼且將團結

we must keep at it together.

"We must maintain the offensive against evil in all of its forms. We must work and we must fight to ensure that our children shall have and enjoy in peace their inalienable rights to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear.

"Only on these bold terms can this total war result in total victory.

一致保持之。

吾人必須對任何形式之邪惡採取攻勢，吾人必須工作，吾人必須戰鬥，以確保後世子孫能享受不能轉讓之言論自由，宗教自由，免受缺乏之自由，與免受恐懼之自由。

惟有本此無畏之原則，始能使此全面戰爭，獲得全面勝利之結果。



## Sino-British Treaty of Abolition of Extrality Rights

# 中英廢除治外法權條約

His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India:

Being desirous of defining more clearly in a spirit of friendship the general relations between them, and for this purpose to settle certain matters relating to jurisdiction in China:

Have decided to conclude a Treaty for this purpose and to that end have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

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

His Excellency, Doctor Tse Vuug Soong, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China:

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India (hereinafter referred to as His Majesty the King):

For the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland:

His Excellency, Sir Horace James Seymour, K. C. M. G., C. V. O., (1)

His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Republic of China.

For India:

Hugh Edward Richardson Esquire,

中華民國國民政府主席閣下，大不列顛

愛爾蘭及海外諸自治領君主兼印度皇帝陛下

，願以友好精神，使兩國間之一般關係更為

明瞭，并藉以解決若干與在中國之管轄權有

關事件起見，訂立本約，為此各派全權代表

如左：

中華民國國民政府主席閣下特派中華民國

國外交部長宋子文博士為全權代表。

大不列顛愛爾蘭及海外諸自治領君主兼

印度皇帝陛下（此後簡稱英王陛下）為大不

列顛北愛爾蘭聯合王國特派英王陛下欽命駐

中華民國全權大使薛穆爵士為全權代表，印

度特派黎吉生先生為全權代表，各全權代表

an officer of the Indian political Service:

Who, having communicated to each other their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follow:—

#### ARTICLE 1.

(1) The territories of the High Contracting Parties to which the present Treaty applies are, on the part of His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China, all the territories of the Republic of China; and on the part of His Majesty the King, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, India, all colonies, overseas territories, protectorates of His Majesty, all territories under His protection or suzerainty and all mandated territories in respect of which the mandate is exercised by His Government in the United Kingdom. Any reference in subsequent articles of the present Treaty to the territories of one or the other High Contracting Party shall be deemed to relate to those territories of that High Contracting Party to which the present Treaty applies.

(2) In the present Treaty, the term "nationals of the one (or of the other) High Contracting Party" shall in relation to the Republic of China, mean all nationals of the Republic of China; and in relation to His Majesty the King all British subjects and all British protected persons belonging to the territories to which the present Treaty applies.

(3) The expression "companies of the one (or of the other) High Contracting

各將所奉全權證書互相核閱，均屬妥善，議

定各條款如左：

#### 第一條

(一)本約所適用之締約雙方領土，在中華民國國民政府主席閣下方面，為中華民國之一切領土，在英王陛下方面，為大不列顛及北愛爾蘭聯合王國，印度，一切殖民地，海外領土，英王陛下之保護國，及在英王保護或宗主權下之一切疆土，以及聯合王國政府所執行委任統治之一切委任統治地，本約以下各條所稱締約此方或彼方之領土，即係指本約所適用之各該方領土。

(二)本約所稱「締約此方(或彼方)人民」字樣，在中華民國方面為一切中華民國人民，在英王陛下方面為本約所適用之領土內之一切不列顛臣民及受保護之人民。

(三)「締約此方(或彼方)公司」字樣。

Party" shall for the purpose of the present Treaty be interpreted as meaning limited liability and other companies, partnerships and associations constituted under the law of the territories of that High Contracting Party to which the present Treaty applies.

#### ARTICLE 2.

All those provisions of treaties or agreements in force between His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty the King which authorize His Majesty or His representatives to exercise jurisdiction over nationals or companies of His Majesty in the territory of the Republic of China are hereby abrogated. The nationals and companies of His Majesty the King shall be subject in the territory of the Republic of China to the jurisdiction of the Government of the Republic of China, accordance with the principles of international law and practice.

#### ARTICLE 3.

(1) His Majesty the King considers that the Final Protocol concluded at Peking on Sept. 7th, 1901, between the Chinese Government and other Governments, including His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, should be terminated, and agrees that the rights accorded to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom under that Protocol and under the agreements supplementary thereto shall cease.

(2) His Majesty's Government in

在本約適用上應解釋為依照本約所適用之各該方領土之法律而組成之有限公司及其他公司合夥團體。

#### 第 二 條

現行中華民國國民政府主席閣下，與英王陛下間之條約與協定凡授權英王陛下或其代表實行管轄在中華民國領土內英王陛下之人民或公司之一切條款，茲特撤銷作廢。英王陛下之人民及公司在中華民國領土內，應依照國際公法之原則及國際慣例，受中華民國政府之管轄。

#### 第 三 條

(一) 英王陛下認為一九零一年九月七日中國政府與他國政府包括英王陛下聯合王國政府在北京簽訂之議定書應行取締，並同意該議定書及其附件所給予英王陛下聯合王國政府之一切權利，應予終止。

(二) 英王陛下聯合王國政府願協助中華

the United Kingdom will cooperate with the Government of the Republic of China for the reaching of any necessary agreements with the other Governments concerned for the transfer to the Government of the Republic of China of the administration and control of the diplomatic quarter at Peiping, including the official assets and the official obligations of the diplomatic quarter, it being mutually understood that the Government of the Republic of China, in taking over administration and control of the diplomatic quarter, will make provision for the assumption and discharge of the official obligations and liabilities of the diplomatic quarter and for the recognition and protection of all legitimate rights therein.

(3) The Government of the Republic of China shall accord to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom a continued right to use for official purposes the land which has been allocated to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in the diplomatic quarter in Peiping, on parts of which are located buildings belonging to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

#### ARTICLE 4.

(1) His Majesty the King considers that the International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy should revert to the administration and control of the Government of the Republic of China and agrees that the rights accorded to His Majesty in relation to those Settlements shall cease.

(2) His Majesty's Government in

民國政府與其他有關政府成立必要之協定，

將北平使館界之行政與管理，連同使館界之

一切官有資產與官有義務，移交於中華民國

政府並相互了解，中華民國政府於接收使館

界行政與管理時，應盡訂辦法担任並履行使

館界之官有義務及債務，並承認及保護該界

內之一切合法權利。

(三)在北平使館界內已劃與英王陛下聯

合王國政府之土地，其上建有屬於英王陛下

聯合王國政府之房屋，中華民國政府允許英

王陛下聯合王國政府為公務上之目的，有繼

續使用之權。

#### 第 四 條

(一)英王陛下認為上海及廈門公共租界之行政與管理，應歸還中華民國政府，並同意凡關於上述租界給予英王陛下之權利，應予終止。

(二)英王陛下聯合王國政府願協助中華

the United Kingdom will cooperate with the Government of the Republic of China for the reaching of any necessary agreements with the other Government concerned for the transfer to the Government of the Republic of China of the administration and control of the International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy, including the official assets and the official obligations of those Settlements, it being mutually understood that the Government of the Republic of China, in taking over administration and control of those Settlements, will make provision for the assumption and discharge of the official obligations and liabilities of those Settlements and for the recognition and protection of all legitimate rights therein.

(3) His Majesty the King agrees that the British Concession (including the whole British municipal area) at Tientsin and the British Concession at Canton shall revert to the administration and control of the Government of the Republic of China and that the rights accorded to His Majesty in relation to those Concessions shall cease.

(4) The administration and control of the British Concession (including the whole British municipal area) at Tientsin and the British Concession at Canton, including their official assets and official obligations shall be transferred to the Government of the Republic of China, it being mutually understood that the Government of the Republic of China, in taking over administration and control of those Concessions will make provision for the assumption and discharge of the

民國政府與其他有關政府成立必要之協定，  
將上海及廈門公共租界之行政與管理連同上述租界之一切官有資產與官有義務移交於中華民國政府，並相互了解，中華民國政府於接收上述租界行政與管理時，應釐訂辦法，擔任並履行上述租界之官有義務及債務，並承認及保護該界內之一切合法權利。

(三)英王陛下同意將天津英租界（包括英方工部局所管全部區域）及廣州英租界之行政與管理，歸還中華民國政府並同意凡關於上述兩租界給予英王陛下之權利，應予終止。

(四)天津英租界（包括英方工部局所管全部區域）及廣州英租界之行政與管理連同其官有資產與官有義務，應移交於中華民國政府，並相互了解，中華民國政府於接收該兩租界行政與管理時應釐訂辦法，擔任並履

official obligations and liabilities of those Concessions and for the recognition and protection of all legitimate rights therein.

#### ARTICLE 5.

(1) In order to obviate any questions as to existing rights in respect of or as to existing titles to real property in the territory of the Republic of China possessed by nationals and companies of His Majesty the King, or by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, and in particular questions which might arise from the abrogation of the provisions of treaties and agreements provided for in Article 2 of the present Treaty, the High Contracting Parties agree that such existing rights or titles shall 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 practices in the acquisition of such rights or titles, it being 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 regulations of the Republic of China concerning taxation, national defence and the right of eminent domain,<sup>(2)</sup> 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 High Contracting Parties also agree that if it should be the desire

行該兩租界之官有義務及債務，並承認及保護該兩租界內之一切合法權利。

#### 第五條

(一) 爲免除英王陛下之人民及公司或英王陛下聯合王國政府在中華民國領土內現有關於不動產之權利，發生任何問題，尤爲免除各條約及協定之各條款，因本約第二條規定廢止而可發生之問題起見，雙方同意上述現有之權利，不得取銷作廢，並不得以任何理由加以追究，但依照法律手續，提出證據證明此項權利係以詐欺或類似詐欺或其他不正當之手段所取得者，不在此限，同時相互了解此項權利取得時所根據之原來手續，如日後有任何變更之處，該項權利不得因之作廢，雙方並同意此項權利之行使，應受中華民國關於徵收捐稅徵用土地及有關國防各項法令之約束，非經中華民國政府之明白許可，並不得轉移於第三國政府或人民（包括公司）。

(二) 雙方並同意中華民國政府對於英王

of the Government of the Republic of China to replace by new deeds of ownership<sup>(3)</sup> existing leases in perpetuity<sup>(4)</sup> or other documentary evidence relating to real property held by nationals or companies of His Majesty the King or by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, 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 leases or other documentary evidence, and their legal heirs and assigns without diminution of their prior rights and interests, including the right of alienation.<sup>(5)</sup>

(3) The High Contracting Parties agree further that nationals or companies of His Majesty the King or His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom shall not be required or asked by the Chinese authorities to make any payments of fees in connexion with land transfers for or with relation to any period prior to the effective date of this Treaty.

#### ARTICLE 6.

His Majesty the King having long accorded rights to nationals of the Republic of China within each of the territories of His Majesty to travel, reside and carry on commerce throughout the whole extent of that territory, the Government of the Republic of China agrees to accord similar rights to nationals of His Majesty within the territory of the Republic of China. Each High Contracting Party will endeavour to accord in his territories to nationals and companies of the other High Contracting Party in regard to to all legal

陛下之人民或公司或英王陛下聯合王國政府持有之不動產永久租契，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，包括轉讓權在內。

(三)雙方並同意中國官廳不得向英王陛下之人民或公司或英王陛下聯合王國政府要求繳納涉及本約發生效力以前有關土地移轉之任何費用。

#### 第六條

英王陛下對於中華民國人民，在英王陛下各領土內，早予以旅行居住及經商之權利，中華民國政府同意對英王陛下之人民在中華民國領土內予以相同之權利，締約雙方在各該方之領土內，盡力給予對方之人民及公

proceedings and in matters relating to the administration of justice and the levying of taxes and requirements in connection therewith treatment not less favourable than that accorded to his own nationals and companies.

#### ARTICLE 7.

The consular officers of one High Contracting Party, duly provided with exequaturs,<sup>6</sup> shall be permitted to reside in such ports, places and cities of the territories of the other High Contracting Party as may be agreed upon. The consular officers of one High Contracting Party shall have the right within their districts in the territories of the other High Contracting Party to interview, communicate with and to advise the nationals and companies of the former High Contracting Party, and the nationals and companies of one High Contracting Party within the territories of the other High Contracting Party shall have the right at all times to communicate with the consular officers of the former High Contracting Party. The consular officers of one High Contracting Party in the territories of the other shall be informed immediately by the appropriate local authorities when any of their nationals are arrested or detained in their consular districts by the local authorities. They shall have the right to visit within the limits of their districts any of their nationals who are under arrest or awaiting trial in prison. Communications from the nationals of one High Contracting Party in prison in the territories of the other High Contracting

司，關於各項法律手續司法事件之處理及各種租稅之徵收與其有關事項，不低於所給予本國人民與公司之待遇。

#### 第七條

締約此方之領事官，經彼方給予執行職務證書後，得在彼方領土內雙方所同意之口岸，地方與城市駐紮，彼方領土內之締約此方領事官，在其領事區內應有與其本國人民及公司會晤，通訊以及指示之權，而締約此方之人民及公司，在彼方領土之內，亦隨時有與其本國領事官通訊之權，遇有締約此方之任何人民在彼方領土內，被地方官廳逮捕或拘留時，該地方主管官廳應立即通知在該地領事區內之彼方領事官，該領事官於其管轄範圍以內，有權探視其任何被逮捕或在獄候審之本國人民，締約此方之人民在彼方領



Party addressed to the consular officers of the former High Contracting Party will be forwarded to the appropriate consular officer by the local authorities. Consular officers of one High Contracting Party shall be accorded in the territories of the other High Contracting Party the rights, privileges and immunities enjoyed by consular officers under modern international usage.

#### ARTICLE 8.

(1) The High Contracting Parties will enter into negotiations for the conclusion of a comprehensive modern treaty or treaties of friendship, commerce, navigation and consular rights upon the request of either of them or in any case within six months after the cessation of the hostilities in the war against the common enemies in which they are both now engaged. The treaty or treaties to be thus negotiated will be based upon the principles of international law and practice as reflected in modern international procedure and in the modern treaties which each of the High Contracting Parties have respectively concluded with other Powers in recent years.

(2) Pending the conclusion of the comprehensive treaty or treaties referred to in the preceding paragraph, if any questions affecting the rights in the territory of the Republic of China of the nationals or companies of His Majesty the King, or of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom or of the Government of India, should arise in future and if these questions are not covered by the

土內被監禁者，其與本區領事官之通信，地

方官廳應轉遞與其主管之領事官 締約北方

之領事官，在彼方領土內，應享有現代國際

慣例所給予之權利，特權與豁免。

#### 第八條

(一) 締約雙方經一方之請求，或於現在

抵抗共同敵國之戰事停止後至遲六個月內，

進行談判，簽訂現代廣泛之友好通商航海設

領條約，此項條約，將以近代國際程序與締

約雙方近年來與他國政府所締結之近代條約

中所表現之國際公法原則與國際慣例為根據

。

(二) 前項廣泛條約未經訂立以前，倘日

後遇有涉及中華民國領土內英王陛下之人

或公司，或英王陛下聯合王國政府或印度

府權利之任何問題發生，而不在本約及換文

present Treaty and Exchange of Notes or by the provisions of existing treaties, conventions and agreements between the High Contracting Parties which are not abrogated by or inconsistent with the present Treaty and Exchange of Notes, such questions shall be discussed by representatives of the High Contracting Parties and shall be decided in accordance with the generally accepted principles of international law and with modern international practice.

#### ARTICLE 9.

The present Treaty shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be exchanged at Chungking as soon as possible. The Treaty shall come into force on the day of the exchange of ratifications.

In witness whereof the above mentioned Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and affixed thereto their seals.

Done at Chungking this Eleventh day of the First month of the Thirty Second year of the Republic of China corresponding to the Eleventh day of January, 1943, in duplicate in Chinese and English, both texts being equally authentic.

範圍內，或不在締約雙方間現行而未經本約及換文廢止，或與本約及換文不相抵觸之條

約專約及協定之範圍內者，應由締約雙方代

表會商，依照普通承認之國際公法原則及近

代國際慣例解決之。

#### 第九條

本約應予批准，批准書應於重慶迅速互

換，本約自互換批准書之日起發生效力。

上開全權代表爰於本約簽字蓋印，以昭

信守。

本約用中英文各繕兩份，中文英文均有

同等之效力。

中華民國三十二年一月十一日，即西曆

一千九百四十三年一月十一日，訂於重慶。

## EXCHANGE OF NOTES

### 換 文

A. Note from Dr. Tse Vung Soong, Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs, to Sir Horace James Seymour.

Chungking, January 11th, 1943.

甲、中國外交部長宋子文博士致薛穆爵士照會

Sir,

During the negotiations for the Treaty signed today between His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and India, a number of questions have been discussed upon which agreement has been reached. The understandings reached with regard to these points are recorded in the annex to the present Note, which annex shall be considered as an integral part of the Treaty signed today and shall be considered as effective upon the date of the entrance into force of that Treaty. I should be glad if Your Excellency would confirm these understandings on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

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

His Excellency

Sir Horace James Seymour, K.C.M.G.,  
C.V.O.,

His Majesty's Ambassador,  
Chungking.

中華民國國民政府主席閣下與大不列顛

愛爾蘭及海外諸自治領君主兼印度皇帝陛下

(代表大不列顛及北愛爾蘭聯合王國及印度)

本日所簽訂之條約於其談判時，曾討論若干

問題，雙方均已同意，茲將關於各點所獲之

諒解，記錄於本照會之附件，該項附件，作

為本日所簽訂條約內容之一部份，并自該約

生效之日起發生效力如荷

閣下以聯合王國政府之名義，證實此等諒解

，本部長至深感幸，本部長願向貴大使重表

敬意，此致英王陛下欽命駐中華民國全權大

使薛禮爵士閣下，中華民國三十二年一月十

一日。

## ANNEX

### 附 件

I. With reference to Article 2 and Article 8 (2) of the Treaty, it is understood that;

(a) His Majesty the King relin-

一、關於本約第二條及第八條第二項雙方了  
解

(甲) 英王陛下放棄關於在中國通商口岸

quishes all existing treaty rights relating to the system of Treaty Ports in China. His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty the King mutually agree that the merchant vessels of the one High Contracting Party shall be permitted freely to come to ports, places and waters in the territories of the other High Contracting Party which are or may be opened to overseas merchant shipping and that the treatment accorded to such vessels in such ports, places and waters shall be no less favourable than that accorded to national vessels and shall be as favourable as that accorded to vessels of any third country. The term "vessels" of a High Contracting Party means all vessels registered under the law of any of the territories of that High Contracting Party to which the Treaty signed this day applies.

(b) His Majesty the King relinquishes all existing treaty rights relating to the special courts in the International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy.

(c) His Majesty the King relinquishes all existing rights with regard to the employment of foreign pilots in the ports of the territories of the Republic of China.

(d) His Majesty the King relinquishes all existing treaty rights relating to the entry of His Naval vessels into the waters of the Republic of China; and the Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom shall extend to each other in connexion with the visits of the warships of the one High Contracting Party to the

制度之一切現行條約權利，中華民國國民政府主席與英王陛下相互同意締約一方之商船，許其自由駛至締約彼方領土內對於海外商運業已或將來開放之口岸地方及領水，并同意在該口岸地方及領水內，給予此等船舶之待遇，不得低於所給予各該本國船舶之待遇，且應與所給予任何第三國船舶之待遇同樣優厚，締約一方之「船舶」字樣，指依照本約所適用該方領土內之法律登記者。

(乙)英王陛下放棄關於上海及廈門公共租界特別法院一切現行條約權利。

(丙)英王陛下放棄關於在中華民國領土內各口岸雇用外籍引水人之一切現行權利。

(丁)英王陛下放棄關於其軍艦駛入中華民國領水之一切現行條約權利，中華民國國民政府與聯合王國政府，關於締約一方軍艦訪問彼方口岸，應依照通常國際慣例相互給

ports of the other High Contracting Party mutual courtesy in accordance with ordinary international usage.

(e) His Majesty the King relinquishes any right to claim the appointment of a British subject as Inspector-General of the Chinese Customs.

(f) All the courts of His Majesty the King which have hitherto been sitting in the territories of the Republic of China having been closed down in accordance with Article 2 of the Treaty signed this day, the orders, decrees, judgments and other acts of any of His Majesty's courts in China shall be considered as *res judicata* (7) and shall when necessary be enforced by the Chinese authorities; further, any cases pending before any of His Majesty's courts in China at the time of the coming into effect of the Treaty shall if the plaintiff or the petitioner so desires be remitted to the appropriate courts of the Government of the Republic of China which shall proceed to dispose of them as expeditiously as possible and in so doing shall so far as practicable apply the law which the court of His Majesty would have applied.

(g) His Majesty the King relinquishes the special rights which His vessels have been accorded with regard to coasting trade and inland navigation in the waters of the Republic of China, and the Government of the Republic of China are prepared to take over any properties of His Majesty's nationals or companies which have been used for the purposes of these trades and which the owners may wish to dispose of and to pay adequate

予償還。

(戊)英王陛下放棄要求任用英籍臣民為

中國海關總稅務司之任何權利。

(己)所有現在中華民國領土內設置之英

王陛下一切法院，既經依照本約第二條之規

定予以停閉；該項法院之命令，宣告判決及

其他處分應認為確定案件，於必要時，中國

官廳應予以執行。又當本約發生效力時，凡

在中國之英王陛下法院任何未結案件，如原

告或告訴人希望交中華民國政府之主管法院

時，應即交由該法院從速進行處理，並於可

能範圍內，適用英王陛下法庭所適用之法律

(庚)英王陛下放棄給予其船隻在中華民

國領水內，關於沿海，貿易及內河航行之特

權，英王陛下之人民或公司，用以經營此項

事業之產業如業主願意出賣時，中華民國政

府準備以公平價格收購之。中華民國政府放

一九四四年三月一日在倫敦簽訂之專約第

compensation therefor. The Government of the Republic of China relinquish the special rights which have been accorded to Chinese vessels in respect of navigation on the river Irrawaddy under Article 12 of the Convention signed in London on March 1st, 1894. Should one High Contracting Party accord in any of his territories the right of coasting trade or inland navigation to the vessels of any third country, such rights would similarly be accorded to the vessels of the other High Contracting Party provided that the latter High Contracting Party permits the vessels of the former High Contracting Party to engage in the coasting trade or inland navigation of his territories. Coasting trade and inland navigation are excepted from the requirement of national treatment and are to be regulated according to the laws of each High Contracting Party in relation thereto. It is agreed, however, that the vessels of either High Contracting Party shall enjoy within the territories of the other High Contracting Party with regard to coasting trade and inland navigation treatment as favourable as that accorded to the vessels of any third country subject to the above mentioned proviso. (8)

With reference to the last sentence of Article 5 (1) of the Treaty, the Government of the Republic of China declare that the restriction on the right of alienation of existing rights and titles to real property referred to in that Article will be applied by the Chinese authorities in an equitable manner and that, if and when the Chinese Government decline to assent to a proposed transfer, the Chinese Go-

十二條所給予中國船舶，在伊洛瓦底江關於航行之特權，如締約一方在其任何領土內，以沿海貿易或內河航行之權利，給予任何第三國之船舶，則此項權利，亦應同樣給予締約彼方之船舶，但以締約彼方准許締約此方之船舶，在彼方領土內經營沿海貿易，或內河航行爲條件，沿海貿易與內河航行依照彼方有關法律之規定辦理，不得要求彼方之本國待遇。惟雙方同意締約一方之船舶在締約彼方之領土內，關於沿海貿易及內河航行所享受之待遇，應與任何第三國船舶之待遇同樣優厚，惟須遵守上述但書之規定。

二、關於本約第五條第一節最末句中華民國政府茲聲明該條內所指現存不動產權利之轉讓權所受之限制，中國官廳當秉公辦理，如中國政府對於所提出之轉讓拒絕同意，在彼

vernment will, in a spirit of justice and with a view to precluding loss on the part of the nationals or companies of His Majesty the King whose interests are affected, undertake, if so requested by the national or company of His Majesty to whom permission to alienate has been refused, to take over the rights and titles in question and pay adequate compensation therefor.

3. It is understood that the abolition of the system of the Treaty Ports will not affect existing property rights and that the nationals of each High Contracting Party will enjoy the right to acquire and hold real property throughout the territories of the other High Contracting Party in accordance with the conditions and requirements prescribed in the laws and regulations of that High Contracting Party.

4. It is further agreed that questions which may affect the sovereignty of the Republic of China and which are not covered by the present Treaty or by the preceding provisions of the present Note shall be discussed by the Representatives of the Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and decided in accordance with the generally accepted principles of international law and modern international practice.

拒絕轉讓之英王陛下之人民或公司請求收購

時，中國政府本公平之精神及為避免與英

王陛下之利益關係人民或公司損失起見，當

以適當之代價收購該項權利。

三、雙方了解通商口岸制度之廢止不得影響

現有之財產權，並了解締約一方之人民，在

締約彼方之領土全境，得依照締約彼方之法

令所規定之條件，享受取得並置有不動產之

權利。

四、雙方並同意凡本約及本照會未涉及之問

題，如有影響中華民國主權時，應由中華民

國政府與聯合王國政府之代表會商，依照普

通承認之國際公法原則及近代國際慣例解決

之。

B. Note from Sir Horace James Seymour to Dr. Tse Vung Soong,  
Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Chungking, January 11th 1943.

乙、薛穆爵士復中國外交部長宋子文博士照會

Sir,

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

During the negotiations for the Treaty signed today between His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and India, a number of questions have been discussed upon which agreement has been reached. The understandings reached with regard to these points are recorded in the annex to the present Note which annex shall be considered as an integral part of the Treaty signed today and shall be considered as effective upon the date of the entrance into force of that Treaty. I should be glad if Your Excellency would confirm these understandings on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

I have the honour on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to confirm the understandings reached between us as recorded in the annex to Your Excellency's Note, which annex shall be considered as an integral part of the Treaty signed today and shall be considered as effective upon the date of the entrance into force of that Treaty.

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

His Excellency,

Dr. Tse Vung Soong,

頃准貴部長本日照會內開「中華民國國

民政府主席閣下與大不列顛愛爾蘭及海外諸

自治領君主兼印度皇帝陛下（代表大不列顛

及北愛爾蘭聯合王國及印度），本日所簽訂

之條約於其談判時曾討論若干問題雙方均已

同意，茲將關於各點所獲之諒解，記錄於本

照會之附件，該項附件，作為本日所簽訂條

約內容之一部份，並自該約生效之日起，發

生效力，如荷閣下以聯合王國政府之名義證

實此等諒解，本部長至深感幸。等由。

本大使茲特代表聯合王國政府證實貴我

雙方成立之諒解，正如貴部長照會之附件所

記錄者，該項附件作為本日所簽訂條約內容

之一部分，並自該約生效之日起，發生效力

。本大使順向 貴部長重表敬意 此致中華



Minister for Foreign Affairs  
of the Republic of China,  
Chungking.

民國外交部長宋閣下 西一九四三年一月十  
一日。

C. Note from Dr. Tse Vung Soong, Chinese Minister for Foreign  
Affairs to Mr. Hugh Edward Richardson.

Chungking, January 11th, 1943.

丙、中國外交部長宋子文博士致黎吉生先生照會

Sir,

During the negotiations for the Treaty signed today between His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and India, a number of questions have been discussed upon which agreement has been reached. The understandings reached with regard to these points are recorded in the annex to the present Note, which annex shall be considered as an integral party of the Treaty signed today and shall be considered as effective upon the date of the entrance into force of that Treaty. I should be glad if you would confirm these understandings on behalf of the Government of India.

I avail myself of this opportunity to offer to you the assurance of my high consideration.

Hugh Edward Richardson, Esquire,  
Indian Agency General,  
Chungking.

中華民國國民政府主席閣下，及大不列  
顛愛爾蘭及海外諸自治領君主兼印度皇帝陸  
下，（代表大不列顛及北愛爾蘭聯合王國及  
印度）本日所簽訂之條約，於其談判時曾討  
論若干問題，雙方均已同意，茲將關於各點  
所獲之諒解，記錄於本照會之附件，該項附  
件作為本日所簽訂條約內容之一部分，並自  
該約生效之日起，發生效力，如荷閣下以印  
度政府名義證實此等諒解，本部長至深感幸  
，本部長順向貴代表表示敬意。此致印度駐  
中華民國專員公署黎吉生先生。中華民國三  
十二年一月十一日。

## ANNEX

### 附 件

1. With reference to Article 2 and Article 8 (2) of the Treaty, it is understood that:

(a) His Majesty the King Emperor relinquishes all existing treaty rights relating to the system of Treaty Ports in China. His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty the King Emperor mutually agree that the merchant vessels of the one High Contracting Party shall be permitted freely to come to ports, places and waters in the territories of the other High Contracting Party which are or may be opened to overseas merchant shipping and that the treatment accorded to such vessels in such ports, places and waters shall be no less favourable than that accorded to national vessels and shall be as favourable as that accorded to vessels of any third country. The term "vessels" of a High Contracting Party means all vessels registered under the law of any of the territories of that High Contracting Party to which the Treaty signed this day applies.

(b) His Majesty the King Emperor relinquishes all existing treaty rights relating to the special courts in the International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy.

(c) His Majesty the King Emperor relinquishes all existing rights with regard to the employment of foreign pilots in the ports of the territories of the Republic of China.

一、關於本約第二條及第八條第二項雙方了解

(甲)英王兼印度皇帝陛下放棄關於在中國通商口岸制度之一切現行條約權利，中華民國國民政府主席與英王兼印度皇帝陛下相互同意，締約一方之商船，許其自由駛至締約彼方領土內，對於海外商運業已成將來開放之口岸地方及領水，並同意在該口岸地方及領水內，給予此等船舶之待遇，不得低於所給予各該本國船舶之待遇，且應供與所給予任何第三國船舶之待遇同樣優厚，締約一方之「船舶」字樣，指依照本約所適用，該方領土內之法律登記者。

(乙)英王兼印度皇帝陛下放棄關於上海及廈門公共租界特別法院一切現行條約權利。

(丙)英王兼印度皇帝陛下放棄關於在中華民國領土內各口岸雇用外籍引水人之一切現行權利。

(d) His Majesty the King Emperor relinquishes all existing treaty rights relating to the entry of His naval vessels into the waters of the Republic of China; and the Government of the Republic of China and the Government of India shall extend to each other in connexion with the visits of the warships of the one High Contracting Party to the ports of the other High Contracting Party mutual courtesy in accordance with ordinary international usage.

(e) His Majesty the King Emperor relinquishes any right to claim the appointment of a British subject as Inspector-General of the Chinese Customs.

(f) All the courts of His Majesty the King Emperor which have hitherto been sitting in the territories of the Republic of China having been closed down in accordance with Article 2 of the Treaty signed this day, the orders, decrees, judgments and other acts of any of His Majesty's courts in China shall be considered as *res judicata* and shall when necessary be enforced by the Chinese authorities; further any cases pending before any of His Majesty's courts in China at the time of the coming into effect of the Treaty shall if the plaintiff or the petitioner so desires be remitted to the appropriate courts of the Government of the Republic of China which shall proceed to dispose of them as expeditiously as possible and in so doing shall so far as practicable apply the law which the court of His Majesty would have applied.

(g) His Majesty the King Emperor relinquishes the special rights which His

(丁)英王兼印度皇帝陛下放棄關於其軍

艦駛入中華民國領水之一切現行條約權利，  
中華民國政府與印度政府關於締約一方軍艦  
訪問彼方口岸應依照通常國際慣例相互給予  
優禮。

(戊)英王兼印度皇帝陛下放棄要求任用

英籍臣民為中國海關總稅務司之任何權利。

(己)所有現在中華民國領土內設置之英

王兼印度皇帝陛下一切法院，既經依照本約  
第二條之規定，予以停閉，該項法院之命令  
，宣告判決及其他處分，應認為確定案件，  
於必要時，中國官廳應予以執行。又當本約  
發生效力時，凡在中國之英王陛下法院，任  
何未結案件，如原告或告訴人希望移交中  
華民國政府之主管法院時，應即交由該法院從  
速進行處理，並於可能範圍內，適用英王陛  
下法庭所適用之法律。

(庚)英王兼印度皇帝陛下放棄給予其船

vessels have been accorded with regard to coasting trade and inland navigation in the waters of the Republic of China, and the Government of the Republic of China are prepared to take over any properties of His Majesty's nationals or companies which have been used for the purposes of these trades and which the owners may wish to dispose of and to pay adequate compensation therefor. The Government of the Republic of China relinquish the special rights which have been accorded to Chinese vessels in respect of navigation on the river Irrawaddy under Article 12 of the Convention signed in London on March 1st, 1894. Should one High Contracting Party accord in any of his territories the right of coasting trade or inland navigation to the vessels of any third country, such rights would similarly be accorded to the vessels of the other High Contracting Party provided that the latter High Contracting Party permits the vessels of the former High Contracting Party to engage in the coasting trade or inland navigation of his territories. Coasting trade and inland navigation are excepted from the requirement of national treatment and are to be regulated according to the laws of each High Contracting Party in relation thereto. It is agreed, however, that the vessels of either High Contracting Party shall enjoy within the territories of the other High Contracting Party with regard to coasting trade and inland navigation treatment as favourable as that accorded to the vessels of any third country subject to the above mentioned proviso.

船在中華民國領水內關於沿海貿易及內河航行之特權，英王陛下之人民或公司用以經營此項事業之產業，如業主願意出賣時，中華民國政府準備以公平價格收購之。中華民國政府放棄一八九四年三月一日在倫敦簽訂之專約第十二條所給予中國船舶在伊洛瓦底江關於航行之特權，如締約一方在其任何領土內，以沿海貿易或內河航行之權利給予任何第三國之船舶，則此項權利，亦應同樣歸給予締約彼方之船舶，但以締約彼方准許締約此方之船舶在彼方領土內經營沿海貿易或內河航行爲條件，沿海貿易與內河航行依照彼方有關法律之規定辦理，不得要求彼方之本國待遇，惟雙方同意締約一方之船舶在締約彼方之領土內，關於沿海貿易及內河航行所享受之待遇，應與任何第三國船舶之待遇同樣優厚，惟須遵守上述但書之規定。

2. With reference to the last sentence of Article 5 (1) of the Treaty, the Government of the Republic of China declare that the restriction on the right of alienation of existing rights and titles to real property referred to in that Article will be applied by the Chinese authorities in an equitable manner and that, if and when the Chinese Government decline to assent to a proposed transfer, the Chinese Government will, in a spirit of justice and with a view to precluding loss on the part of the nationals or companies of His Majesty the King Emperor whose interests are affected, undertake, if so requested by the national or company of His Majesty to whom permission to alienate has been refused, to take over the rights and titles in question and pay adequate compensation therefor.

3. It is understood that the abolition of the system of the Treaty Ports will not affect existing property rights and that the nationals of each High Contracting Party will enjoy the right to acquire and hold real property throughout the territories of the other High Contracting Party in accordance with the conditions and requirements prescribed in the laws and regulations of that High Contracting Party.

4. It is further agreed that questions which may affect the sovereignty of the Republic of China and which are not covered by the present Treaty or by the preceding provisions of the present Note shall be discussed by the Representatives of the Government of the Republic of China and the Government of India and

二，關於本約第五條第一節最末句，中華民國政府茲聲明該條內所指現有不動產權利之轉讓權所受之限制，中國官廳當秉公辦理，如中國政府對於所提出之轉讓拒絕同意，而被拒絕轉讓之英王兼印度皇帝陛下之人民或公司請求將收購時，中國政府本公平之精神，及為避免使英王陛下之利益關係人民或公司損失起見，當以適當之代價收購該項權利。

三，雙方了解通商口岸制度之廢止，不得影響現有之財產權，並了解締約一方之人民在締約彼方之領土全境，得依照締約彼方之法令所規定之條件，享受取得並置有不動產之權利。

四，雙方并同意，凡本約及本照會未涉及之問題如有影響中華民國主權時，應由中華民國政府與印度政府之代表會商，依照普通承認之國際公法原則及近代國際慣例解決

decided in accordance with the generally accepted principles of international law and modern international practice.

之。

D. Note from Mr. Hugh Edward Richardson to Dr. Tse Vung Soong,  
Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Chungking, January 11th, 1943

丁、黎吉生先生復中國外交部長宋子文博士照會

Sir,

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

"During the negotiations for the Treaty signed today between His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and India, a number of questions have been discussed upon which agreement has been reached. The understandings reached with regard to those points are recorded in the annex to the present Note, which annex shall be considered as an integral part of the Treaty signed today and shall be considered as effective upon the date of the entrance into force of that Treaty. I should be glad if you would confirm those understandings on behalf of the Government of India."

I have the honour on behalf of the Government of India to confirm the understandings reached between us as recorded in the annex to Your Excellency's Note,

頃准貴部長本日照會內開「中華民國國民政府主席閣下與大不列顛愛爾蘭及海外諸自治君主兼印度皇帝陛下（代表大不列顛及北愛爾蘭聯合王國及印度）本日所簽訂之條約於其談判時，曾討論若干問題，雙方均已同意，茲將關於各點所獲之諒解，記錄於本照會之附件，該項附件，作為本日所簽訂條約內容之一部分，並自該約生效之日起，發生效力，如荷閣下以印度政府之名義證實此等諒解，本部長至深感幸」等由。

本代表茲特代表印度政府證實「貴我雙方成立之諒解，正如貴部長照會之附件所記

which annex shall be considered as an integral part of the Treaty signed today and shall be considered as effective upon the date of the entrance into force of the that Treaty.

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

His Excellency

Dr. Tse Vung Soong,

Minister for Foreign Affairs

of the Republic of China,

Chungking..

錄者，該項附件，作為本日所簽訂條約內容

之一部分，並自該約生效之日起發生效力。

本代表願向貴部長表示敬意，此致中華民國

外交部長宋閣下，西曆一九四二年一月十一

日。

#### AGREED MINUTE

#### 雙方同意之會議紀錄

With reference to paragraph 1 (a) of the Annex to the Note from the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs to His Majesty's Ambassador in connexion with the Treaty signed today, it is understood that both High Contracting Parties reserve the right to close any port to all overseas merchant shipping for reasons of national security.

With reference to paragraph 1 (g) of the Annex to the Note from the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs to His Majesty's Ambassador in connexion with the Treaty signed today, His Majesty's Ambassador informed the Chinese Government that trade between India on the one hand and Burma or Ceylon on the other has always been regarded as coasting trade.

Chungking,

January 11th 1943.

關於本日簽訂之條約中國外交部長致英

大使照會中附件第一節，甲項彼此了解締約

雙方為國防計有權封閉任何口岸禁止其一切

海外商運。

關於本日簽訂之條約中國外交部長致英

大使照會中附件第一節庚項，英大使通知中

國政府印度與緬甸或與錫蘭間之貿易一向認

為沿海貿易。

中華民國三十二年一月十一日於重慶

註：(1) K.C.M.G., C.V.O.

Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, Commander of Victorian Order 英國爵名

(2) right of eminent domain 土地徵用權

(3) new deeds of ownership 新所有權狀

(4) leases in perpetuity 永久租賃

(5) right of alienation 轉讓權

(6) exequatur 領事認可證

(7) *res judicata* judicial cases 已確定之案件

(8) proviso 但書，除外之條款



## Churchill's Worldwide Broadcast

# 邱吉爾對全球廣播辭

On Nov. 29, 1942.

一九四二年十一月廿九日

“Two Sundays ago the bells rang to celebrate the victory of our Desert Army at Alamein. Here was a martial episode in British history which deserved special recognition. But the bells also carried with their clashing, joyous peals our thanksgiving that in spite of all our errors and shortcomings we had been brought nearer to the frontiers of deliverance.

We have not reached them yet. But we are becoming ever more entitled to be sure that the awful perils, which might well have blotted out our life and all that we have and cherish, will be surmounted and that we shall be preserved for further service in the vanguard of mankind.

We have to look back along the path we have trod, these last 3 years of toil and strife, to value properly all we have escaped and all we have achieved. No mood of boastfulness, of vainglory, of over-confidence, must cloud our minds; but I think we have the right, which history will endorse, to feel that we have the honor to play a part in saving the freedom and future of the world.

That wonderful association of States and races, spread all over the globe, called the British Empire—or the British Commonwealth if you will, I do not quarrel about it—and above all our small

在兩個星期天以前，慶祝阿拉敏我沙漠部隊勝利的鐘聲在響。這是英國歷史上一個勇武的插曲，值得我們大書特書。但是這可嗜歡快的鐘聲，還挾着我們的謝意。因為我們儘管有各種錯誤和短處，但是已經更接近了獲救的境界。

我們還不曾達到這境界，但是却漸漸地更有資格可以深信那些或曾毀滅我們生命和所有以及所珍愛事物的極大危險，都將被克服，我們將獲得保全，在人類的先鋒中再作其他的貢獻。

我們應該回溯三年以來艱苦奮鬥中所經過的途程，以便將我們所曾躲過的和成功的作一適當的評價。我們心中不應該被任何誇大自負和過於自信的心情所蒙蔽。但是我以為我們有這種權利，覺得在拯救世界自由和前途的大業中，我們可以盡一份責任。這權利也將為歷史所認可。

那神奇的若干國家和種族的大聯合，分布全球，名叫不列顛帝國的或者聽你們的更，稱為不列顛聯合王國我也沒有異議。尤其我們這一小島，在危險的時候一直獨當其衝

island stood in the gap all alone in the deadly hour. Here we stood firm though all was drifting. Throughout the British Empire not one community faltered.

All around was very dark. Here we kept the light burning which now spreads broadly over the vast array of the United Nations. That is why it was right to ring the bells and lift our heads for a moment in gratitude and in relief before we turned again to the grim and probably long ordeals which lie before us and to the exacting tasks upon which we are engaged. Since we rang the bells for Alamein the good cause has prospered. The Eighth Army has advanced nearly 400 miles, driving before them in rout and ruin the powerful forces of which Rommel boasted, and with which Hitler and Mussolini believed Egypt would be conquered.

Another serious battle may be impending at the entrance to Tripolitania. I make it a rule not to prophesy about battles before they are fought. Everyone must try to realize the immense distances over which the N. African war ranges and the enormous labor and self-denial of the troops who press forward relentlessly 20, 30, 40 and sometimes 50 miles in a single day. I will say no more than that we may have the greatest confidence in Generals Alexander and Montgomery and in our soldiers and airmen who have at last begun to come into their own.

On the other side of Africa, 1,000 miles or more westward, the tremendous joint undertaking of the U.S. and Britain, which was fraught with so many haz-

• 雖然一切都在飄蕩中，但我們却屹立不搖  
• 在整個不列顛帝國裏面，沒有任何團體畏縮猶豫。

四週都是很黑暗的，我們在這裏保留著燃燒著的光芒，現在牠已經普照着聯合國軍廣大的陣容。所以我們可以響著勝利的鐘聲，暫抱感謝和慰藉的心情，抬一下頭，舒一口氣，然後再回向前途那劇烈或者很長期的磨難，和我們所從事的艱苦工作。自從阿拉曼勝利鐘聲響過以後，我們的好運風氣有進展。第八軍幾乎已經推進了四百英里，追擊著隆美爾所自誇的強大部隊，也就是希特勒和墨索里尼相信可藉以克服埃及的部隊，把他們打得落花流水，潰不成軍。

在的黎波里唐尼亞入口的地方，或者馬上會發生另一激戰。我照例在還沒有打仗以前是不作預言的。人人應該設法了解北非戰役在距離上的曠遠以及軍隊的偉大努力和自制精神，他們每天總能前進二十至四十有時甚至五十哩。我除了表示我們對於卒能表現其真正戰鬥精神的亞歷山大將軍蒙哥馬利將軍和英陸空軍人員有最大的信任以外，不想再說什麼。

在非洲的另一方面，即在西面一千多哩以外，英美軍隊偉大的合作，雖然冒許多的危險，也已經有了驚人的成功。雖時有遭遇

aris, has also been crowned with astonishing success. To transport these large armies of several hundred thousand men with all their intricate and elaborate modern apparatus secretly across seas and oceans and to strike to the hour and almost to the minute simultaneously at a dozen points, in spite of all the U-boats and all the chances of weather, was a feat of organization which will long be studied with respect.

It was rendered possible only by one sovereign fact, namely the perfect comradeship and understanding prevailing between British and American staffs and troops. This majestic enterprise is under the direction and responsibility of the President of the United States, and our First Army is serving under the orders of the American Commander-in-Chief, General Eisenhower, in whose military skill and burning energy we put our faith and whose orders to attack we shall punctually and unflinchingly obey. Behind all lies the power of the Royal Navy to which is joined the powerful American fleet, the whole under the Command of Admiral Cunningham and all subordinated to the Allied Commander-in-Chief.

It was not only that U-boats were evaded and brushed aside by powerfully escorted British and American convoys. They were definitely beaten in the 10-day conflict that followed the landings both inside and outside the Mediterranean. Here was no more secrecy. We had many scores of ships continually exposed. Large numbers of U-boats were concentrated from all quarters. Our destroyers

潛艇的危險，而且天氣變化莫測，却能秘密地運送這數十萬帶着複雜而精良的現代武器的軍隊，渡越重洋。並且幾乎能在同時同刻，向十餘處進攻。這在組織上實屬一偉大的功績，將長為世人所推崇和研究。

只有一項獨一無二的事實，使這事成為可能，便是英美兩國參謀人員和軍隊的完全合作和諒解。這頂偉大的事業，是在美國總統負責和指揮之下。我們的第一軍也聽命於美方總司令艾森豪威爾將軍。我們對於他的軍事技能和驚人精力具有信心，而且我們對於他的進攻命令也絕對服從，毫不畏縮。此外還有美國強大艦隊參加在內的英國海軍，他們都在肯寧漢將軍統帥之下，而聽命於盟軍總司令。

敵方的潛艇所予我們的脅威，不僅因我們英美的強力護航而獲免；而且在地中海內外登陸以後十日的戰爭中，這些潛艇威脅確已被我們擊退。這裏無須再守秘密。我們還有幾十艘船隻，不斷暴露在外。敵方大批潛艇已經由各方面集中。我們的驅逐艦三等帆

and corvettes and our aircraft took up the challenge and wore them down and beat them off. For every transport or supply ship we have lost a U-boat has been sunk or severely damaged. For every ton of Anglo-American shipping lost so far in this expedition we have gained perhaps 2 tons in shipping required or recovered in the French harbors of North and West Africa. Thus in this respect, as Napoleon recommended, war has been made to support war.

Gen. Alexander timed his battle at Alamein to suit exactly this great stroke from the West in order that his victory should encourage friendly countries to preserve their strict neutrality and also to rally the French forces in Northwest Africa to a full sense of their duty and their opportunity. Now at this moment the British First Army is striking hard at the last remaining footholds of the Germans and Italians in Tunisia. American, British and French troops are pressing forward side by side, vying with each other in generous rivalry and brotherhood. In this there lies the hope and portent of the future.

I have been speaking about Africa, about the 2,000 miles of coastline fronting the underside of subjugated Europe. From all this we intend—and I will go so far as to say we expect—to expel the enemy before long. But Africa is no halting place.

It is not a seat but a spring-board. We shall use Africa to come to close grips. Anyone can see the importance to us of reopening the Mediterranean to mili-

艦和飛機，都負起對付敵人潛艇挑畔的責任，而將他們壓倒和擊退。我們每損失運輸艦或供應艦一艘，敵方也總有潛艇一艘沉沒或受重傷。迄今為止，英美在這一次遠征中，每損失船艦一噸，總可以在北非和西非的法國港灣中得回船艦兩噸左右。所以我們在這一方面，正像拿破崙所主張的「以戰養戰」。

亞歷山大將軍在阿拉敏發動戰事的時間，恰和這一個由西方發動的偉大進攻配合一致。俾他的勝利，能夠使各友邦嚴守中立，並使北非西非的法國軍隊完全恢復他們的責任和機會的感覺。現在英國的第一軍正在猛攻突尼西亞方面德義軍隊的最後一些殘餘立足地點。美英法三國的軍隊正并肩向前進逼，彼此以高尚的和誼同手足的精神，作殘敵競賽。這裏正蘊藏着前途的希望和徵兆。

我所說的是關於非洲的情形。關於面對着被征服的歐洲下端的二千哩海岸線之情況，這裏我們所希望的——我甚至可以說我們所預料的——便是短期間驅除敵人出境，可是非洲並不是我們終止的地點。

牠不是一個安身之處，而是一個跳板。我們將利用非洲以緊緊的控制住我們的敵人，任何人都可以看出地中海重新開放，於軍

tary traffic and saving the long voyage around the Cape. Perhaps by this short cut the economy of shipping we may strike as heavy a blow at these U-boats as has happened in the whole war. But there is another advantage to be gained by the mastery of the North African shore. We open air battle upon a new front. In order to shorten the struggle it is our duty to engage the enemy in the air continuously, on the largest scale and at the highest intensity. To bring relief to the tortured world there must be the maximum possible air fighting. Already German air force is a wasting asset. Their new construction is not keeping pace with their losses. Their front line is weakening both in numbers and on the whole in quality.

The British, American and Russian air forces already are far larger and are growing steadily and rapidly. British and American expansion in 1943 will be, to put it mildly, well worth watching. All we need is more frequent opportunities of contact. The new air front which the Americans and also the RAF are deploying along the Mediterranean shore ought to give us these extra opportunities abundantly in 1943.

Thirdly, our operations in French North Africa should enable us to bring the weight of war home to the Italian Fascist State in a manner not hitherto dreamed of by its guilty leaders or still less by the unfortunate people Mussolini has led, exploited and disgraced. Already the centers of war industry in North Italy are being subjected to a

事運輸以及節省繞好遠角的遙遠航程，對於我們的重要意義。也許我們可以因這一個打開捷徑和航運的經濟，而予這些敵方潛艇以如過去全部戰爭中同樣猛烈的打擊。而且我們取得北非海岸的霸權之後，還可以有一種便利。我們已經在一處新戰場上展開空中戰爭。我們為縮短鬥爭的時間起見，不斷在空中以最大規模和最猛烈的方式邀擊敵人。這自然是我們的責任。為救濟飽受磨難的世界起見，我們必須從事最大可能的空戰。德國的空軍力量已在耗損中。他們的新建設趕不上他們的損失。他們的前線實力無論在量方面和質方面都在減弱。

英美蘇亞國的空軍，已經遠較以前強大，而且正在逐漸迅速增長。我們以極穩健的態度來說，英美兩國在一九四三年的擴展，實在值得我們注意。我們所需要的，更是要經常獲得接觸之機會。英美空軍在地中海沿岸所開闢的空中新戰場，應該可以使我們在一九四三年得到充分的額外機會。

第三，我們在法屬北非的行動，使我們能把戰爭的重擔加於法西斯的義大利，其情狀是義大利領袖所從來沒為夢想到的，而受墨索里尼領導剝削污辱的不幸的義大利人民，更是夢想不到的。義大利北部的軍需工業中心所經驗的打擊，已較我國任何城市在 九四〇

harder treatment than any of our cities experienced in the winter of 1940. But if the enemy should in due course be blasted from the Tunisian tip—which is our aim, the whole of the south of Italy, all naval bases and all munition establishments and other military objectives, wherever situated, will be brought under a prolonged, scientific and shattering air attack. It is for the Italian people, 40,000,000 of them, to say whether they want this terrible thing to happen to them or not.

One man and one man alone has brought the Italians to this pass. There was no need for them to go to war. No one was going to attack them. We tried our best to induce them to remain neutral, enjoying peace and prosperity in a world of storm.

But Mussolini could not resist the temptation of stabbing prostrate France and what he thought was helpless Britain in the back. Mad dreams of imperial glory, lust of conquest and of booty and the arrogance of long, unbridled tyranny led him to his fatal shameful act. In vain I warned him. He would not harken. On deaf ears and stony heart fell the wise, far-seeing appeals of the American President. The hyena in his nature broke all bounds of decency and even common sense. Today his empire is gone. We have over 100 Italian generals and nearly 300,000 of his soldiers in our hands as prisoners of war. Agony grips the fair land of Italy. This is only the beginning.

One man's regime has created and brought these measureless calamities upon

年冬季所受的打擊爲甚。但突尼西亞尖端的敵人如能及時肅清(這是我們的目標)。那末，義大利的南部全境和一切海軍根據地，軍需設備和其他軍事目標，不論其地位何在，都將遭受長期的有系統的毀滅性的空襲。義大利人民是不是願見這些可怕的事件發生，就要四千萬義人自行決定了。

把義大利領上危險途徑的祇有一個人。

義人本不必作戰，並無人要攻擊他們，我們曾用盡方法勸誘義人保持中立，在此暴風急雨的世界中享受和平與繁榮。

墨索里尼禁不住以利刃刺無力抵抗的法國和他認爲孤立無助的英國之背之誘惑，一切帝國的癡夢，征服與戰利品的貪慾，和長期間放任的專制暴虐與剛愎，使他趨向這一個致命的恥辱，我警告過他，但終無效，他不願聽從。美總統明達而有遠見的手諭，亦如響在頑石的心上，充耳不聞。狼子野心，已暴露本性，越出了一切理法和常識的規範。但在今日，他的帝國是完了，數百義大利將官與將近三十萬的義大利軍隊已經成爲我們的俘虜。痛苦籠罩了美麗的義大利土地。這一切悲劇是開始呢。

一人的把持政權，已使這勤勞、聰明、

the hard-working, gifted and once happy Italian people with whom, until the days of Mussolini, the English-speaking world had so many sympathies and never a quarrel. How long must this endure? We may certainly be glad about what has lately happened in Africa and we may look forward with sober confidence to the moment when we may say 'one continent redeemed.'

But these successes in Africa, swift and decisive as they have been, must not divert our attention from the prodigious blows which Russia is striking on the Eastern Front. All the world wonders at the giant strength which Russia has been able to conserve and to apply. The invincible defence of Stalingrad is matched by the commanding military leadership of Stalin. When I was leaving the Kremlin in the middle of August, I said to M. Stalin: 'When we have decisively defeated Rommel in Egypt I will send you a telegram' and he replied, drawing an arrow on the map: 'When we make our counter-offensive here I will send you one' Both messages have been duly sent and arrived.

As I speak, an immense battle, which has already yielded results of the first magnitude, is moving forward to its climax, and this it must be remembered is only one part of the Russian Front, stretching from the White Sea to the Black Sea along which at many points Russian armies are attacking. The jaws of another Russian winter are closing on Hitler's armies. The German divisions,

一度會幸福過的義大利人民慘遭無窮災禍。英語民族對義大利向具無限同情，從來不會發生過衝突，直至墨索里尼上台為止。這種痛苦必須忍耐多久？我們對於最近在非洲的行動自然歡欣，而且我們確具信心，盼望我們能說「一洲規復了」的日子蒞臨。

但是北非的成就，雖然迅速與富有決定性，也不能轉移我們對於蘇聯在東線所發動的猛擊的視線。蘇聯所保存的與其所應用的偉大力量，已使全球驚異。史達林格勒堅強不拔的防務，與史達林的軍事領導才能，足能媲美。八月初我離開克里姆林宮時，曾對史達林說：「我們在埃及決定性地擊敗隆美爾的時候，我將有電報給你。」他在地圖上畫了一個箭頭回答說：「在我們在這裏發動反攻的時候，我將有電報給你。」現在兩個電報及時發出，而且已收到了。

我在這裏發言的時候，一個業已產生最大成果的戰役正逐漸發展至於最高峯。但必須記着，這祇是自白海伸延及於黑海的蘇聯戰場之一部，而在這一條戰線上，蘇軍正在若干地點發動進攻。第三個蘇聯嚴冬的大口現在逼近希特勒的陸軍。德國的一百八十師

180 of them, many of them reduced to little more than brigades by the slaughters and privations they have suffered . . . together with a host of miserable Italians, Rumanians and Hungarians, dragged from their homes by a maniac's fantasy—must as they reel back from the fire and steel of the avenging Soviet armies, prepared themselves with weakened forces and with added pangs for a second dose of what they got last year.

It may well be that the war in Europe will come to an end before the war in Asia. The Atlantic may be calm while in the Pacific the hurricane rises to its full pitch. If events should take such a course we should of course bring all our forces to the aid of the USA, to the aid of China and our kith and kin in Australian and New Zealand in the struggle against the aggression of the Japanese.

While we were thus engaged in the Far East we should be sitting with the United States and Russia and those of the United Nations concerned, shaping international instruments and national settlements which must be devised if the free life of Europe is ever to rise again and if the fearful quarrels which have rent European civilization are to be prevented from once more disturbing the progress of the world.

It seems to me that should the war end thus in two stages—there will be a far higher sense of comradeship around the council table than existed among the victors at Versailles.

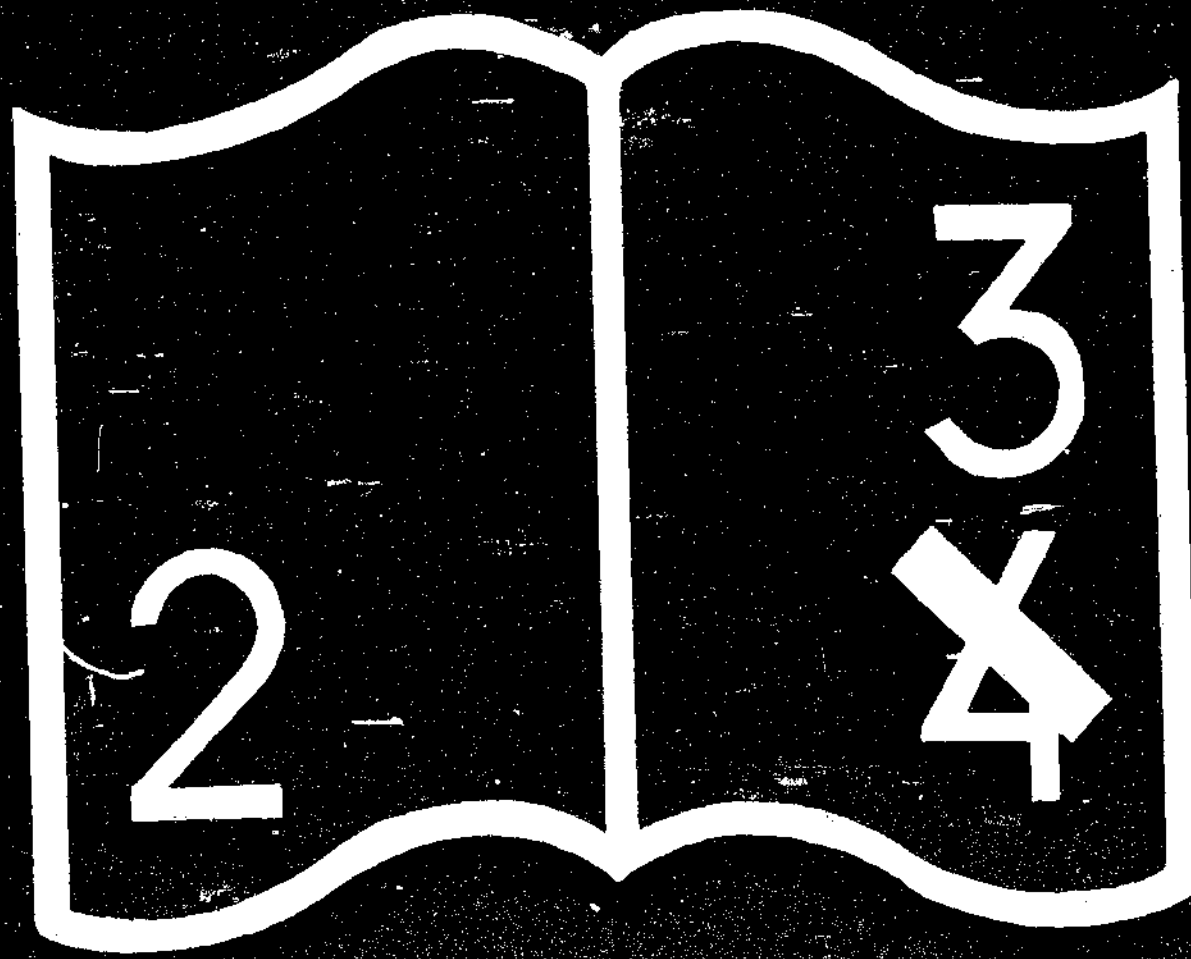
軍隊（有許多師團屠殺及窮困的痛苦已經削減到旅的地步）同一羣苦悶的，義羅匈軍受着一個瘋狂者妄想的牽曳，遠離鄉井，在他們受到蘇軍報復行動的砲火和鋼刀的壓迫而後退的時候，必須準備以更形削弱的力量與更大的痛苦再來忍受去年他們所忍受的苦果。

歐洲的戰爭或將先亞洲之戰而結束，在大西洋已經風平浪靜的時候，太平洋的風浪也許正達到極頂。假如事情循這種途徑發展，我們自然應以一切力量援助美國，援助中國，與澳洲及紐西蘭的親戚朋友，對日本作戰。

當我們這樣地在遠東作戰的時候，我們應和美蘇及其他有關聯合國擬具國際機構與民族間解決方案，假若歐洲的自由生活要再度復興，假若使歐洲文明分裂的可怕爭端要使其勿再擾亂世界的進步，那末，國際機構與民族間的解決方案是必須擬成的。

我覺得戰爭倘能這樣分做兩階段結束，那末將來的會議桌上，將比過去在凡爾賽勝利國間更能得到更高的友誼感覺。





编码错误

## Farewell Messages Of The British Parliamentary Mission

# 英議會訪問團告別辭

*Members of the British parliamentary Mission issued the following farewell messages to the Chinese people on Dec. 10, 1942, the eve of their departure from China after a one-month visit.*

英國議會訪問團各團員於一九四二年十二月十日，即訪華一月後行將離華前夕，發表對中國人民告別辭如下：

### Lord Allwyn's Message

On the eve of our departure for our own country we would like to send a farewell message to the Chinese people. We have spent a memorable month in your country, and our first words must be those of grateful appreciation for all the kindness and courtesy which we have received at the hands of the Chinese Government, and for the great welcome which has been accorded to us by all classes of the Chinese people wherever we have been fortunate enough to find ourselves. We came with a message of goodwill from the British Parliament and People, whom we have had the honour to represent. We take back with us a glowing memory of a courageous and Steadfast people—a people imbued with a fortitude and indomitable determination on which nearly 6 years of war and suffering has only served to intensify and accentuate—a people, above all, firmly united as never before and resolved to endure until final and complete victory is achieved.

The people of Great Britain have watched with ever increasing sympathy and admiration the heroic achievements

### 艾爾文勳爵告別辭

吾人於離華返國前夕願發表告別辭，對中國人民致意。吾人曾在中國度過可紀念之一月，吾人之第一語，必須為對於中國政府所予吾人之盛意接待及禮儀，以及吾人所到各地，中國各界人民對於吾人之熱誠歡迎，表示感謝。吾人帶來吾人所代表之英國議會及人民之友誼，而繼而對於一英勇不屈之民族——此一民族具有剛毅之意志，以及不屈不撓之決心，幾近六年之戰爭及磨難，惟有使此項意志與決心日益增強——之熱烈回憶。且其尤屬重要者乃此一民族之團結，空前堅強，並決心堅持到底，以取得最後之全部勝利。

英國人民，對於中國軍隊之英勇成就，曾以日益增長之同情及欽慕之忱，加以注意

of the Chinese Army; they recognise in China the pioneer of determined and successful resistance to brutal aggression; and we shall have much to tell our people on our return of the wonderful spirit which burns like an unquenchable flame throughout the length and breadth of your land.

We are proud to find ourselves brothers-in-arms today. We know that whatever further suffering may have to be endured, China and Britain and the other United Nations will never falter. We will never sheath the sword until the powers of Evil which assail us are finally destroyed, and out of the welter of bloodshed and misery which has engulfed the peace-loving nations there emerges a world purged once and for all<sup>(1)</sup> of wanton aggression—a world in which we can live free of fear and want and where we can live our own lives in our own way.

China! Great Britain salutes you. She pays homage to your undaunted spirit. We pledge you our word that we are with you to the end, and that whatever assistance we are able to give you we will give in full measure.<sup>(2)</sup>

In bidding you farewell we extend once more to you our grateful thanks for all the courtesy and consideration we have received at your hands, and we venture to express the hope that we may be privileged to welcome in due course<sup>(3)</sup> a representative Mission of your own countrymen to Great Britain, when we will try and repay some of the great kindness which has been accorded to us here.

Long Live China!

• 彼等承認，中國乃決心抵抗侵略，而獲得成就之先驅。吾人於返國之後，對於在貴國各地類似不可抑制之熾焰之驚人精神，必有極多材料，可為英國人民告者。

吾人今日得與中國為作戰袍澤，實感榮幸。吾人深知無論未來尚須忍受何種磨難，中英以及其他聯合國均將永不躊躇，在攻擊吾人之惡勢力最後被摧毀，并在掃沒一切愛好和平國家之流血及不幸之騷動中重新浮現一種永遠消除恣肆侵略之世界——，吾人可在其中生活而無駭恐懼，並能自行決定生活方式之世界——之前，吾人決不以劍入鞘。

中國乎，英國茲向汝致敬，彼對於汝之大無畏精神致敬，吾人可向諸君保證一言，即吾人將與諸君堅持到底，且吾人所能予貴國之援助，必將完全給予貴國。

茲當向諸君告別之際，吾人再對諸君，施於吾人之禮儀及招待，表達謝忱。吾人且希望吾人能獲如期歡迎貴國人民派赴英國之代表團，屆時吾人必須竭立酬答吾人在此間所獲得之盛意接待於萬一。

中國萬歲。

### Lord Teviot's Message

We leave China with sincere regret(4) on the completion of our visit through the kind invitation of your Generalissimo. Our reception and the continuous kindness shown to us will remain a happy memory all our lives. We have made many friends. We thank you deeply for the honour you have done us and through us to our people. The strain of war has brought us very close and it has knit us together. We feel there is a bond of sympathy between us that nothing can weaken—China has shown us she cannot be beaten—Your determined refusal to admit defeat in face of an enemy ruthless in his subtle brutality in battle and occupied territory is an example to the world. Your ingenuity in overcoming the handicaps to development due to war is amazing. We carry a great story back to our country to tell our people. China will win. In the fight for(5) Liberty we are with you until real peace is established. All possible help from us is and will be forthcoming. We will not say 'good-bye' but 'au revoir'.(6) This is only the beginning. In close co-operation we have much to contribute towards raising the conditions of the toiling millions, of the world.

Long Live China!

### Message of Captain Wedderburn

The kindness which you have showered upon us all through our visit, is a kindness to all our countrymen. In doing us so many great honours, you have

### 泰弗亞勳爵稱

余等蒙 蔣委員長之邀，來訪貴國茲已告畢言返，當此離別貴國之際實不勝依依之情也。吾人所受感慰接待，將永誌不忘，以爲一生快樂回憶之資。吾人此次交結朋友甚多，貴國人士對吾人及經由吾人轉致吾國人民之隆情厚意，謹此申謝。戰爭之緊張局面，已使貴我兩國甚相接近，且已使兩國團結一致，吾人深感貴我兩國間有同情之聯繫，而此種聯繫，殊非任何力量所能削弱者也。中國之不可征服，已昭然若揭，貴國在戰場上及淪陷區遭逢兇殘敵人之譏詐野蠻技術，而堅決拒絕承認失敗，可爲全世界之楷模。貴國因戰爭關係，致力開發，其克服困難之機敏，洵足使人驚異。吾人此次攜同本國轉告吾國人民者，將爲一大見聞，中國定將戰勝，此次爲自由而戰中，吾人與貴國人士團結一致，直至真正之和平建立而後已。來自吾人之一切可能援助，正在且將繼續來臨，吾人當不言「告別」而語「再會」，此僅爲開場而已。吾人之密切合作，對改善世界億兆勞苦大眾之生活狀況，定有裨益也。

中國萬歲。

### 衛德波上尉告別辭

在吾人訪問之全部期間 貴國所予吾人之盛意，亦即對於吾英國人民之盛意，諸君於予吾人如許盛情厚意中，諸君所禮待者，

hoped not ourselves, but our beloved country, and the warmth of your friendship will be returned by those who have sent us on our mission to you.

Before we leave your borders, we wish to tell you once more that the heart of the British people is full of sympathy for your brave fight against the superior power of a treacherous enemy, and of admiration for the patriotism of the Generalissimo, the head of your army and your Government, who has devoted himself to the Salvation of China.

Our country has shared many of your sufferings in this war. We shall also share with you, and with all the United Nations, the victory which will crown our long and hard battle. The peace for which we are fighting can only be secured by the final destruction of the power of our enemies, and the punishment of their rulers whose crimes have brought so much misery to the world. We shall then help each other to build a better world, in which the common people of every land may enjoy a greater freedom, and a larger opportunity of happiness than they have known before.

In bidding you farewell, we hope to see again in our own country many of our friends who have welcomed us here.

#### Mr. J. J. Lawson's Message

When the British Parliamentary Mission was appointed to visit China I knew we would be received with the characteristic courtesy, of the Chinese people. But I never dreamed that we would be received everywhere with such enthusiasm. That

不僅爲吾人，且爲吾國也。貴國人民所予吾人之熱烈友誼，遣派吾人來訪貴國者，亦將予以酬答。

在吾人離開貴國國境時，吾人願向諸君再爲申述。英國人民對於貴國對抗奸狡敵人優劣力量之英勇作戰，深具同情，對於貴國軍政兩方面之領袖，致力於解放中國之蔣委員長之辛勞爲國，亦具無限欽仰。

我國在此一戰爭中，亦曾分担貴國所受之若干磨難，吾人亦將與貴國以及一切聯合國家，分享吾人此一長期艱苦鬥爭所完成之勝利，吾人唯有最後摧毀敵方力量，並懲處負使全世界蒙受如許不幸之罪惡之敵國統治者，吾人作戰以求之和平，始可獲得。其後，吾人仍得互相協助建立一較佳之世界，在此一世界中，每一國家之平民均能享受較前更大之自由，以及獲得快樂之更大機會。

茲當向諸君告別之際，希望能在吾國再與此間歡迎吾人之若干友人會面。

#### 勞森先生告別辭

本國被任命訪華時，余已知定將受中國人民特有之禮遇，然到處所受歡迎之熱烈，則殊非余夢想所及，英國國會議代表所受款

this welcome to Representatives of Britain's Parliament was sincere we had abundant proof from discussions and conversations we had with people in every walk of life.<sup>(7)</sup> This was as evident in the factories and workshops as it was in colleges and universities as well as among those in public life.

I have always understood the vast population of China was extremely industrious. But the hardy, virile, masses of China have been a daily source of wonder. Here is the greatest Reservoir of labour power in the world.

China united and linked with the United Nations has a great part to play in shaping the future of the world.

註：(1) once and for all 一勞永逸

(2) in full measure 完全

(3) in due course 如期，及時

(4) with sincere regret 不勝依依

(5) in the light for 爲了

(6) good-bye 英語告別辭，含有「上帝佑汝」之意 ou revoir 法語告別辭，「再見」之意

(7) people in every walk of life 各界人士

迎之誠懇熱切，由吾人與各界人民之討論與談話中，即可獲得充分明證，此點於通事之中，學校之內，與乎從事公衆事業之人，莫不皆然。

余一向深知中國之衆多人民望爲勤勉，而中國刻苦健壯之羣衆，爲舉世所驚羨不已者，是誠世界最大之勞力貯備所。

統一而與聯合國聯合之中國，將予建立未來世界之工作中担任重要之角色。

THE MAIN RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE

印度國民大會常務委員會通過之主要決議案

Following is the full text of the Main Resolution adopted on July 14, 1942 by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress urging the return of political power to the Indians:

"Events happening from day to day, and the experience that the people of India are passing through, confirm the opinion of Congressmen that British rule in India must and immediately, not merely because foreign domination, even at its best, is an evil in itself and a continuing injury to the subject people, but because India in bondage can play no effective part in defending herself and in affecting the fortunes of the war of desolating humanity. The freedom of India is thus necessary not only in the interest of India but also for the safety of the world and for the ending of nazism, fascism, militarism and other forms of imperialism, and the aggression of one nation over another.

"Ever since the outbreak of the world war, the Congress has studiously pursued a policy of non-embarrassment. Even at the risk of making its satyagraha ineffective, it deliberately gave it a symbolic character, in the hope that this policy of non-embarrassment, carried to its logical extreme, would be duly appreciated, and that real power would be transferred to popular representatives, so as to enable the nation to make its fullest contribution towards the realiz-

印度國民議會常務委員會曾於一九四二年七月十四日通過主要決議案，敦促英人以政權交還印度。決議案全文如下：

國民大會同人證諸時局之不斷發展，以及印人過去之經驗，認為英國在印之統治，應立即結束。其原因所在，由於外人之統治，縱或竭力向善，其本身亦仍為一種罪惡，而對於被統治之民族，則為一種不斷之傷害。不僅此也，桎梏中之印度，實難求有效之自衛，並有助於決定此殘害人性戰爭之前途。為印度之利益計，為世界之安全計，並為消滅納粹主義，法西斯主義，軍國主義，其他形式之帝國主義，以及一國對於他國之侵略計，印度自由之恢復，自屬必要。

自世界大戰爆發以來，國民大會即始終存意推行不阻撓之政策，縱令其不合作運動，有難以發揮效力之虞亦所不惜。國民大會立此決策，乃故意予之以一象徵之性格，其目的無非希望不阻撓政策依合理途徑徹底實行之結果，能獲得英方適當之重視，進而以實權讓諸人民之代表，庶幾我國對於目前崩

ation of human freedom throughout the world, which is in danger of being crushed. It had also hoped that negatively nothing would be done which was calculated to tighten Britain's stranglehold on India.

“These hopes have, however, been dashed to pieces. The abortive Cripps proposals showed in the clearest possible manner that there was no change in the British Government's attitude towards India and that the British hold on India was in no way to be relaxed. In the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps, Congress representatives tried their utmost to achieve a minimum, consistent with the national demand, but to no avail. This frustration has resulted in a rapid and widespread increase of ill-will against Britain and a growing satisfaction at the success of Japanese arms. The Working Committee view this development with grave apprehension as this, unless checked, will inevitably lead to a passive acceptance of aggression. The Committee hold that all aggression must be resisted, for any submission to it must mean the degradation of the Indian people and the continuation of their subjection. The Congress is anxious to avoid the experience of Malaya, Singapore, and Burma and desires to build up resistance to any aggression on or invasion of India by the Japanese or any foreign power.

“The Congress would change the present ill-will against Britain into goodwill and make India a willing partner in a joint enterprise of securing freedom

潰之虞之世界人類自由，得竭全力予以拯救。國民議會且嘗希望，在消極方面勿有任何行動，足以加強英國對印之壓迫。

然凡此希望，悉已粉碎。克利浦斯所提之流產建議足為英政府無意改變其對印度政策之明證。而英人在印之統治，絕對無意放鬆，亦由此而可見。國民大會代表與英民族判之際，嘗本諸國民之要求，竭其全力希望獲得最低限度之成就，然無效果。此與英判頓挫以後，國內對英之惡感，乃於頃刻間瀰漫全國，而於日軍之成功，則引為快慰，常務委員會目擊此種情形，殊不勝其憂慮，深恐此種心理倘若不加壓制其結果所屆，必使國人消極的接受侵略也。國民大會認為一切侵略之行動，應一律加以抵抗，否則即表示印度人民之墮落，而長為被統治之民族。國民大會函望避免馬來亞，星洲及緬甸之苦痛經驗，並願進而建立抵抗之能力，庶幾日本或任何外國，一旦侵略印度或進犯印度時，我印可予以抵抗。

國民大會希望今日對英之反感可一變為對英之友情，並使印度在今日爭取全世界自由之共同事業及其必經之艱苦遭際中，可成



for the nations and peoples of the world and in the trials and tribulations which accompany it. This is only possible if India feels the glow of freedom.

The Congress representatives have tried their utmost to bring about a solution of the communal tangle. But this has been made impossible by the presence of the foreign power whose long record has been to pursue relentlessly the policy of divide and rule. Only after the ending of foreign domination and intervention, can the present unreality give place to reality, and the people of India, belonging to all groups and parties, face India's problems and solve them on a mutually agreed basis. The present political parties, formed chiefly with a view to attract the attention of and influence the British Power, will then probably cease to function. For the first time in India's history, realization will come home that princes, jagirdars, zamindars, and propertied and monied classes, derive their wealth and property from the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere, to whom essentially power and authority must belong. On the withdrawal of British rule in India, responsible men and women of the country will come together to form a Provisional Government, representative of all important sections of the people of India, which will later evolve a scheme whereby a Constituent Assembly can be convened in order to prepare a constitution for the government of India acceptable all sections of the people. Representatives of free India and representatives of

爲樂願參加之一員。而欲求此等理想之實現，必須印度身享自由之幸福，始克有濟也。

國民大會之代表亦曾竭力求社會生活糾紛之解決，惜乎因印境有外力之存在，頻年以來，夙以分化而治之爲能事，以致解決辦法無實現之希望。欲求國人轉探現實態度，并使各黨各派之印度人民正視印度之問題，根據互商協議之原則予以解決，則外人之統治干涉，必須先行終止，印度目下各政黨，其成立之始，目的大多在引起英人之注意，並予英國力量以影響，一俟外人統治結束以後，今日之政黨，或即停止活動。屆時國人始可於印度有史以來第一次明瞭藩邦王公地主及有資產階級等之財產，悉自農人與工人之汗血中得來，國家之權力亦應爲農工所有。英國在印之統治撤退以後，全印賢明之士，即可起而組織臨時政府，作爲印度人民各重要部份之代表，然後可以發展爲一計劃，召集議會，以草定全國人士所可一致接受之印政府憲法。此自由印度之代表，即可與英國之代表協議如何調整其將來之關係，及反

Great Britain will confer together for the adjustment of future relations and for the cooperation of the two countries as allies in the common task of meeting aggression. It is the earnest desire of the Congress to enable India to resist aggression effectively with the people's united will and strength behind it.

"In making the proposal for the withdrawal of British rule from India, the Congress has no desire whatsoever to embarrass Great Britain or the Allied Powers in their prosecution of the war, or in any way to encourage aggression on India or increased pressure on China by the Japanese or any other Power associated with the Axis group. Nor does the Congress intend to jeopardize the defensive capacity of the Allied Powers. The Congress is therefore agreeable to the stationing of the armed forces of the Allies in India, should they so desire, in order to ward off and resist Japanese or other aggression, and to protect and help China.

"The proposal of withdrawal of the British Power from India was never intended to mean the physical withdrawal of all Britishers from India, and certainly not of those who would make India their home and live there as citizens and as equals with the others. If such withdrawal takes place with goodwill, it would result in establishing a stable Provisional Government in India and cooperation between this Government and the United Nations in resisting aggression and helping China.

"The Congress realizes that there

侵略之共同大業中兩國以同盟國合作之道。

國民大會夙願印度可以獲有全民團結之意志

與實力之支持，予侵略者以有效之抵抗也。

國民大會此次建議英人在印統治之撤退

，無論如何，初無意妨礙英國或其他盟國之

進行作戰，更無意鼓勵日本或其他與軸心勾

結之國家，侵略印度或加強其中國壓力。盟

國之防禦力，國民大會亦不欲加以妨害。是

以盟國軍隊倘欲駐在印度以抵抗日本或其他

國家之侵略，並保護及協助中國，則國民大

會亦願贊同也。

英國權力自印撤退之議，絕非在印英人

應一律離去之謂，至於以印度為故鄉，願在

此為公民與其他人民平等相處者，自不必自

印撤退。英人倘能善意撤退，則其結果所至

，鞏固之印度，臨時政府可望成立，而印度

政府亦即可協同其他聯合國家抵抗侵略，援

助中國。

此事或不免冒相當之危險，國民大會亦

may be risks involved in such a course. Such risk, however, have to be faced by any country in order to achieve freedom and, more especially at the present critical juncture in order to save the country and the larger cause of freedom the world over from far greater risks perils.

“While therefore, the Congress is impatient to achieve the national purpose, it wishes to take no hasty step and would like to avoid, in so far as is possible, any course of action that might embarrass the United Nations. The Congress would plead with the British Power to accept the very reasonable and just proposal herein made, not only in the interest of India but also that of Britain and of the cause of freedom to which the United Nations proclaim their adherence.

“Should however this appeal fail, the Congress cannot view without the gravest apprehension the continuation of the present state of affairs, involving a progressive deterioration in the situation and weakening of India's will and power to resist aggression. The Congress will then be reluctantly compelled to utilize all the non-violent strength it might have gathered since 1920, when it adopted non-violence as part of its policy for the vindication of political rights and liberty. Such a widespread struggle inevitably be under the leadership of Gandhi. As the issues raised are of the most vital and far-reaching importance to the people of India as well as to the peoples of the

知之甚諗，惟任何國家欲獲得自由，冒險屢所難免，何況嚴重關頭，欲求印度以及全世界自由之較大目標免於更大之危險與災禍，些須冒險其足辭乎！

以故國民大會，一方面固於達到國家目標方面，感覺不耐，另一方面亦頗不欲採取任何急促之步驟並願於可能範圍以內，避免一切不利於聯合國家之行動。國民大會願請英國接受上述極端合理而公正之建議。此非僅為印度計，抑且為英國及其他聯合國家所崇尚之自由前途計也。

國民大會此次之呼籲，設若失敗，則在國民大會勢不得不認為現狀之維持，極端可慮，大局必日益惡化，而印度抵抗侵略意志與實力，亦必日趨軟弱。若然，則國民大會勢必大違其初衷，被迫策動一九二〇年以來所未有非暴力之力量。蓋國民大會係於一九二〇年採非暴力為爭取政治權利與自由之一部份政策也。此種廣泛之鬥爭，勢必由甘地加以領導。當前之問題既與印度人民及聯合各國之人民有極端重要而遠大之關係，故常

United Nations, the Working Committee refers them to the All India Congress Committee for final decision. For this purpose the A.I.C.C. will meet in Bombay on the seventh of August, 1942.

務委員會決以此事交請國民大會全印代表大會作最後之決定。該會決為此於一九四二年八月七日集議於孟買。

# 赫爾廣播演說全文

The following is the full text of the radio address delivered by the Secretary of State of the United States, Cordell Hull, in the evening on July 23, 1942:

"The conflict now raging throughout the earth is not a war of nation against nation. It is not a local or regional war or even a series of such wars. On the side of our enemies, led and driven by the most ambitious, depraved and cruel leaders in history, it is an attempt to conquer and enslave this country and every country. On our side, the side of the United Nations, it is for each of us a life and death struggle for the preservation of our freedom, our homes and our very existence.

"We are united in our determination to destroy the world-wide forces of ruthless conquest and brutal enslavement. Their defeat will restore freedom or open unity for freedom alike to all countries and all peoples.

"From Berlin and Tokyo, the assault on human freedom has spread in ever-widening circles. In some cases victim nations have been lulled into inaction by promises or protestations of peaceful intention. In other cases they were so intimidated that no preparation for resistance was made. In all cases the invaders, before their armed attack began, set into motion every conceivable deceit, subversion, treachery and cor-

美國國務卿於一九四二年七月二十三

晚間發表廣播演說，全文如次：

「現在遍及全球之衝突，並非一國家與國家間之戰爭。亦非一地方或一地區之戰爭，甚至亦非一組此種性質之戰爭。我等之敵人方面，在其歷史上最披猖狂妄野蠻殘酷之領袖的驅使督率之下，乃企圖征服並奴役我國及世界各國。但在吾人方面，在聯合國方面，乃吾人每一份子之生死存亡鬥爭，冀以保全我等之自由，我等之家園，以及我等之生存。

吾人乃團結一致，決心撲滅瀰漫全世界之無情征服與殘酷奴役之勢力，彼等之失敗，始能恢復一切人民之自由與自由之機會。

發自柏林及東京之攻擊人類自由暴行，日益擴展。在若干場合，被難各國因受和平意圖之諾言及誓言之眩惑，以至沉靜無所動作。又在若干場合，此類國家橫遭威迫之結果，竟未能做任何抵抗之準備。在一切情形之下，侵略者於武裝攻犯之前，必在其心目中之犧牲者國境內發動一切可惡及之欺騙

option within the borders of the intended victim.

"As country after country in Europe and Asia was attacked in this way, it became clear that no nation anywhere was immune, for none was safety to be found in mere desire for peace, avoidance of provocation, neutrality or distance from the centers of assault. Nation after nation learned—too late—that safety against such attack lay only in more effective force; in superior will; in concerted action by all free nations directed toward resisting and defeating common enemies; in applying the law of self-defense and self preservation rather than relying upon professions of neutrality, which in the face of the world-wide movement to subjugate all nations and all peoples are as absurd and suicidal as such professions on the part of a citizen in a peaceful community when attacked by outlaws.

"Today the 28 United Nations are fighting against would-be conquerors and enslavers of the human race. We know that is at stake. By the barbarian invaders of today nothing is spared neither life nor morals nor honor nor virtue nor pledges nor customs nor national institutions nor even the religion of any people. Their aim is to sweep away every vestige of individual and national rights; to substitute a world of unspeakable tyranny for the ways of life developed each for itself by various nations; to make all mankind subservient to their will; to convert two billions of the earth's inhabitants into abject

，破壞美詐，與實化作用。

歐亞兩洲大陸上之國家在此種方式之下相繼被侵，於是可見，無論在何處之國家，皆難倖免，因無一國家可以徒給和平之希望，或避免挑釁，或藉中立地位，或恃其地位距攻擊中心地區之遙遠等，而克保其安全也。所有國家已逐一瞭然（雖屬過遲）欲求祛除此種攻擊以保安全，唯有憑藉更有效之力量，優越之意志，一切自由國家為抵抗與擊敗共同敵人所採取之一致行動，實施自衛自保之律則，不徒恃中立之聲明，表以一切中立之聲明，以應付今日征服一切國家人民之廣泛的世界運動，其荒誕及自殺性，實與一生活於和平社會中之人民遭受不法之徒攻擊時所作之同類聲明無殊也。

目前二十八個聯合國家正與意圖征服及奴役人類之暴徒戰鬥中，吾人深知此乃一種危險，在今日之野蠻侵略者魔掌之下，玉石俱焚，一切生命，道德，榮譽，德性，語言，風俗，國家制度，甚至任何民族之宗教信仰均非所計。彼等之目的在於消除個人與民族權利之一切痕跡，以不可言喻之殘暴之統治，代替各個國家為其本身條件而發展滋養之生活方式。使全人類屈服於彼等之意志，改變地球上二十萬萬生靈為卑屈之犧牲者及工具，藉以滿足彼等爭取權力控制力之無底

victims and tools of their insatiable lust for power and dominion.

"We have seen their work in the countries they have invaded—murder of defenseless men, women and children; rape, torture and pillage; mass terrorization; hostages; the black system of starvation and deprivations begging description; the most thoroughgoing bondage the world has ever seen.

"This so called 'new order' of Hitler and Japanese warlords—an order as old as slavery—is new only in the calculated thoroughness of its cruelty; in the depth of degradation to which its subjects are victims; in the degree to which it has revived the worst practices of the darkest ages in history.

慾望。

吾人已目擊彼等在所侵略國家之行爲，如殘殺毫無防禦力之男女幼童，全盤擄掠，恫嚇羣衆，扣留人質，無法形容之飢饉及剝奪方式，人類見所未見之最徹底奴役。

希特勒及日本軍閥之所謂「新秩序」——實則此秩序之陳舊固與奴隸制度相同——除其殘酷性之計劃澈底，除其貶落被犧牲民族之深淵，除其重演歷史上最黑暗時代之最黑暗習俗之遺產外，決無絲毫新穎之處。

## Madame Chiang's Speech Before U. S. Senate

# 蔣夫人對美國參議院演辭

Feb. 18, 1943

一九四三年二月十八日

"I am overwhelmed by the warmth and spontaneity of the welcome of the American people, of whom you are representatives. I did not know that I was to speak to you today at the Senate except to say, 'How do you do? I am so very glad to see you!' and bring the greetings of my people to the people of America. However, just before coming here the Vice-President told me that he would like to have me say a few words to you. I am not a very good extemporaneous speaker, in fact, I am no speaker at all.

"But I am not so very much discouraged because a few days ago I was at Hyde Park and went to the President's library. Something I saw there encouraged me and made me feel perhaps you would not expect over much of me in speaking to you extemporaneously. What do you think I saw there? I saw many things but one thing which interested me most of all was that in a glass case was the first draft of one of the President's speeches—a second draft and on up to the sixth draft. Yesterday I happened to mention this fact to the President. I told him that I was extremely glad he had to write so many drafts when he is such a well-known and acknowledged fine speaker. His reply to me was that sometimes he writes twelve drafts of a speech. My remarks here today being extemporaneous, I am sure you will make allowance for me.

"The traditional friendship between your

諸君所代表之美國人民，此次對余歡迎之熱烈與自然，實使余感激無似。余本不知今日將在參議院對諸君發言，初以為僅向諸君道安，向諸君稱，「余極願與諸君相晤」，及為敝國人民向貴國人民致意而已。乃余來此之前，副總統忽告余謂，希望個人能向諸君略致數語，余本無隨時發言之才，事實上余根本非演說家。

然余亦不敢遜却。蓋數日前，余在海德公園時，曾參觀總統之圖書室，其中之所見，對余有所鼓勵，使余感覺諸君對於余之隨時發言，或不至期望過奢。諸君試思余在該處所見者究為何物，余所見物件至多，但最令余發生興趣者，即玻璃櫥之內，有總統演詞之初稿，第二次草稿，以至第六次草稿；昨日余無意間對總統提出此事，謂知名而公認為優良之演說家，其演說草稿之次數，尚繁多至此，殊使余有欣佩之感。總統答稱，彼之演詞草稿有多至十二次者，準此而論，余今日既係隨時在此發言，則諸君當能加以寬恕矣。

貴國兩國之傳統友誼，已有一百六十年



country and mine has a history of 160 years. I feel—and I believe I am not the only one who feels this way—there are a great many similarities between your people and mine and these similarities are bases of our friendship.

"I should like to tell you a little story which will illustrate this belief. When General Doolittle and his men went to Tokyo, on their return some of your boys had to bail out in the interior of China. One of them later told me that he had to bail out from his ship and when he landed on Chinese soil, he saw the populace running towards him. He just waved his arm and shouted the only Chinese words he knew 'meikuo, meikuo' which means America. Literally translated from Chinese it means 'beautiful country'. This boy said that our people laughed, almost hugged him and greeted him like a long lost brother. He further told me that he thought he had come home when he saw our people and this was the first time that he had even been to China.

"I came to your country as a little girl. I know your people. I have lived with them. I spent the formative years of my life amongst your people. I speak your language, not only the language of your hearts but also your tongue. So coming here today I feel that I am also coming home. I believe, however, it is not only I who am coming home. I feel if the Chinese people could speak to you in your own tongue or if you could understand our tongue they would tell you basically and fundamentally we are fighting for the same cause, that we have an identity of ideals, that the four freedoms which your President proclaimed to the world resound throughout our vast land as a gong of

之歷史，余感覺（余並相信非此或者非余一人而已）貴我兩民族間所具之相似點至多，而此相似點即吾人友誼之基礎也。

余特為諸君述一小故事，以證明是項信念，當杜立特將軍率隊轟炸東京歸來時，貴國之壯士有不得不跳傘降落敵國內地者，其中一人事後對余謂，彼自機上跳傘而下，及登中國陸地，即見人民向彼奔跑，彼乃揮臂呼其所僅知之中國字曰「美國美國」，意即貴國，若就字面解釋，即美麗之國家也。該壯士言，敵國民衆此時高聲歡笑，而對此親熱歡迎之情，有如重睹其迷失已久之昆仲者。彼復告余謂，彼見敵國民衆時，有如歸之感，但彼固係首次來華也。

余自幼即至貴國，余瞭解貴國人民，余且曾與之相處，余在貴國度余之成長時期，余操諸君之語言，不但知諸君之心聲，且操諸君之口語。故余今日來此，亦有如歸之感，然余相信有如歸之感者，非余一人而已，余感覺中國人民倘係操諸君之語言，向諸君發言，或諸君倘能瞭解吾人之語言，則彼等當告諸君曰，吾人能為同一之基本主要目標而戰，吾人具有同樣之理想，而貴國總統所宣佈之四大自由，已普遍洋溢於吾人之廣大國土，而成為自由之鐘聲，美國之鐘聲，與

freedom, a gong of the United States and a death-knell of the aggressors. I assure you and that our people are willing and eager to cooperate with you in the realization of these ideals because we want to see to it that they do not echo as empty phrases but become realities for ourselves, our children, our children's children and all mankind.

"How are we going to realize these ideals? I think I shall tell you a little story which just came to my mind. You know that China is a very old nation. We have a history of 5,000 years. When we were obliged to evacuate Hankow, go to the hinterland, carry on and continue resistance against aggression the Generalissimo and I passed one of our fronts—the Changsha front. One day we went into the Hengyang mountains where traces of a famous pavilion called 'Rub The Mirror Pavilion' which was built over 2,000 years ago. It will perhaps interest you to hear the story of that pavilion of 2,000 years ago or near that. It was an old Buddhist temple. One of the young monks went there all day long, sat cross-legged with hands clasped before him in an attitude of prayer and murmured 'Amita Buddha, Amita Buddha'. He murmured and chanted day after day because he hoped he would acquire grace. The father prior of that temple took a piece of brick and rubbed it against a stone hour after hour, day after day and week after week. This little acolyte being very young sometimes cast his eyes around to see what the old father prior was doing. The old father just kept on the work of rubbing the brick against the stone. So one day the young acolyte said to him, 'Father prior, what are you doing day after day rubbing this brick on the stone?'

侵略者之喪音也。余向諸君保證，敵國人民一切願與諸君合作，以實現此種理想，蓋吾人欲確保其勿成空誕之官辭，而為吾人本身，吾人之子孫與全人類，使之成為事實。

然吾人將如何實現此理想耶？余認為余可向諸君述一適所憶及之小故事，諸君知中國為一極古之國家，吾人已有五千年之歷史，當吾人不得不退出漢口，撤至內地，繼續抵抗侵略時，蔣委員長與余曾經長沙戰區某前方，某日余等望衡山，該處有兩千年前建立之磨鏡台古跡。諸君或欲知約二千年前此台之歷史，該處乃一古廟，有小沙彌某，終日盤坐廟中，合掌禱禱，口唸「阿彌陀佛，阿彌陀佛」，日復一日，以期仙跡之降臨。時有廟中住持乃持一磚與石相磨，時復一時日復一日，週復一週，小沙彌年輕好奇有時舉目回顧，以窺住持之所為，但見住持繼續其琢磨之工作，一日小沙彌詢曰，住持以磚磨石，究何所為乎。住持答曰：「余擬磨磚成鏡」。小沙彌曰：「磨磚成鏡，不可能也」。住持曰：「然，此與汝終日無所事事，僅知誦唸阿彌陀佛，以祈福者固同為不可能之事也」。諸位友人乎，余咸覺吾人不但

The father replied, 'I am trying to make a mirror out of this brick.' The young acolyte said, 'But it is impossible to make a mirror out of brick, father prior.' The father prior said, 'Yes, it is just as impossible for you to acquire grace by doing nothing except murmuring Amita Buddha all day long in and out'. So, friends, I feel it is necessary for us not only to have ideals and proclaim that we have them; it is necessary that we act to implement them. And so to you, Gentlemen of the Senate, and you, Ladies and Gentlemen in the galleries, I say without active help all of us and our leaders cannot implement these ideals. It is up to you and me to take to heart the lesson of 'Rub The Mirror' Pavilion. I thank you.

有理想，並宣布吾人有此理想，且有行動實

現此理想之必要。故余今日對參院諸君及旁

聽席之諸位仕女表示，倘無積極之協助，則

吾人全體與吾人之領袖，均不能實現此種理

想，今日是否記取此磨鏡台之教訓，唯有待

於諸君與吾人之決定也。謝謝諸君。

## Full Text of New Sino-American Treaty

# 中美新約全文

The Republic of China and the United States of America, desirous of emphasizing the friendly relations which have long prevailed between their two peoples and of manifesting their common desire as equal and sovereign states that the high principle in the regulation of human affairs to which they are committed shall be made broadly effective, have resolved to conclude a treaty for the purpose of adjusting certain matters in the relation of the two countries, and have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries.

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

Dr. Wei Tao-ming, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of China to the United States of America,

The President of the United States of America.

Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States of America.

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

### ARTICLE I.

All those provisions of treaties or agreements in force between the Republic of China and the United States of America which authorize the Government of the United States of America or its representatives to exercise jurisdiction over nationals of the United States of America in the territory of the Republic of China are hereby abrogated. Nationals of the United States of America in such territory

中華民國美利堅合衆國爲欲重視兩國人民間素來之友好關係，並以平等與主權國家之資格表示共同志願，使彼此所承認規定人類關係之高尙原則，得以發揚光大，決定訂立條約，以謀調整兩國間有關事項，各派全權代表如左：

中華民國國民政府主席特派駐美利堅合衆國特命全權大使魏道明。

美利堅合衆國大總統特派國務卿赫爾。

兩全權代表各將所奉全權證書，互相披閱，均屬妥善，議定條款如左：

### 第一條

現行中華民國與美利堅合衆國間之條約與協定，凡授權美利堅合衆國政府或其代表，實行管轄在中華民國領土內美利堅合衆國人民之一切條款，茲特撤銷作廢。美利堅合衆國人民，在中華民國領土內，應依照國際

shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the Government of the Republic of China in accordance with the principles of international law and practice.

## ARTICLE II.

The Government of the United States of America considers that the Final Protocol concluded at Peking on September 7, 1901, between the Chinese Government and other governments, including the Government of the United States of America, should be terminated and agrees that the rights accorded to the Government of the United States of America under that Protocol and under agreements supplementary thereto shall cease.

The Government of the United States of America will co-operate with the Government of the Republic of China for the reaching of any necessary agreements with other governments concerned for the transfer to the Government of the Republic of China of the administration and control of the diplomatic quarter at Peiping, including the official assets and the official obligations of the diplomatic quarter, it being mutually understood that the Government of the Republic of China in taking over administration and control of the diplomatic quarter will make provision for the assumption and discharge of the official obligations and liabilities of the diplomatic quarter and for the recognition and protection of all legitimate rights therein.

The Government of the Republic of China hereby accords to the Government of the United States of America a continued right to use for official purposes the land which has been allocated to the Government of the United States of America in the diplomatic quarter in Peiping, on parts of which

公法之原則及國際慣例，受中華民國政府之管轄。

## 第 二 條

美利堅合衆國政府，認爲一九〇一年九月七日中國政府與他國政府包括美利堅合衆國政府在北京簽訂之議定書，應行取銷，並同意該議定書及其附件所給予美利堅合衆國政府之一切權利，應予終止。

美利堅合衆國政府，願協助中華民國政府，與其他有關政府成立必要之協定，將北平使館界之行政與管理，連同使館界之一切官有資產與官有義務，移交于中華民國政府，並相互了解，中華民國政府于接收使館界行政與管理時，應擬定辦法，担任并履行使館界之官有義務及債務，並承認及保護該界內之一切合法權利。

在北平使館界內，已劃與美利堅合衆國政府之土地，其上建有屬於美利堅合衆國政府之房屋，中華民國政府允許美利堅合衆國

are located buildings belonging to the Government of the United States of America.

### ARTICLE III

The Government of the United States of America considers that the International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy should revert to the administration and control of the Government of the Republic of China and agrees that the rights accorded to the Government of the United States of America in relation to those settlements shall cease.

The Government of the United States of America will co-operate with the Government of the Republic of China for the reaching of any necessary agreements with other governments concerned for the transfer to the Government of the Republic of China of the administration and control of International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy, including the official assets and official obligations of those Settlements, it being mutually understood that the Government of the Republic of China in taking over administration and control of those Settlements will make provision for the assumption and discharge of the official obligations and liabilities of those Settlements and for recognition and protection of all legitimate rights therein.

### ARTICLE IV.

In order to obviate any questions as to existing rights in respect of or as to existing titles to real property in territory of the Republic of China possessed by nationals (including corporations or associations), or by the Government, of the United States of America, particularly questions which might arise from the abrogation of the provisions of

政府，經事務上之目的，有繼續使用之權。

### 第 三 條

美利堅合衆國政府，認爲上海及廈門公共租界之行政與管理，應歸還中華民國政府，并同意，凡關於上述租界給予美利堅合衆國政府之權利，應予終止。

美利堅合衆國政府，願協助中華民國政府與其他有關政府，成立必要之協定將上海及廈門公共租界之行政與管理連同上述租界之一切官有資產與官有義務移交予中華民國政府。並相互了解，中華民國政府于接收上述租界行政與管理時，應擬定辦法，担任并履行上述租界之官有義務及債務，并承認及保護該界內之一切合法權利。

### 第 四 條

爲免除美利堅合衆國人民（包括公司及社團）或政府在中華民國領土內現有關於不動產之權利，發生任何問題，尤爲免除各條約及協定之各條款，因本約第一條規定廢止，而可能發生之問題起見，雙方同意上述現

treaties or agreements as stipulated in Article I, it is agreed that such existing rights or titles shall 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 other dishonest practice in the acquisition of such rights or titles, it being understood that no right or title shall be rendered invalid by virtue of any subsequent change in the official procedure through which it was acquired. It is also agreed that these rights or titles shall be subject to the laws and regulations of the Republic of China concerning taxation, national defence and the right of eminent domain; and that no such rights or titles may be alienated to the governments or nationals (including corporations and associations) of any third country without the express consent of the Government of the Republic of China.

It is also agreed that if it should be the desire of the Government of the Republic of China to replace, by new deeds of ownership, existing lease in perpetuity or other documentary evidence relating to real property held by nationals or by the Government, of the United States of America, 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 leases or other documentary evidence and their legal heirs and assigns without diminution of their prior rights and interests, including the right of alienation.

It is further agreed that nationals or the Government of the United States of America shall not be required or asked by the Chinese authorities to make any payments of fees in connection with land transfers for or with

有之權利，不得取銷作廢，并不得以何理由，加以追究。但依照法律手續，提出證據，證明此權利係以詐欺或其他不正當之手段所取得者，不在此限，同時相互了解此項權利取得時所根據之官廳手續，如日後有任何變更之處，該項權利不得因之作廢，雙方並同意，此項權利應受中華民國關於徵收捐稅，徵用土地及有關國防各項法令之約束，非經中華民國政府之明白許可，並不得移轉於第三國政府或人民，（包括公司與社團）。

雙方並同意，中華民國政府對於美利堅合衆國人民或政府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，包括轉讓權在內。

雙方並同意，中國官廳不得向美利堅合衆國人民或政府要求繳納涉及本約發生效力

relation to any period prior to the effective date of this treaty.

#### ARTICLE V.

The Government of the United States of America having long accorded rights to nationals of the Republic of China within the territory of the United States of America to travel, reside and carry on trade throughout the whole extent of that territory, the Government of the Republic of China agrees to accord similar rights to nationals of the United States of America within the territory of the Republic of China. Each of the two governments will endeavour to accord in the territory under its jurisdiction to nationals of the other country, in regard to all legal proceedings and to matters relating to the administration of justice and to the levying of taxes or requirements in connection therewith, treatment not less favourable than that accorded to its own nationals.

#### ARTICLE VI.

The Government of the Republic of China and the Government of the United States of America mutually agree that the consular officers of each country, duly provided with exequatur, shall be permitted to reside in such ports, places and cities as may be agreed upon. The consular officers of each country shall have the right to interview, to communicate with, and to advise nationals of their country within their consular districts; they shall be informed immediately whenever nationals of their country are under detention or arrest or in prison or are awaiting trial in their consular districts and they shall, upon the notification to the appropriate authorities, be permitted to visit any of such

以前有關土地移轉之任何費用。

#### 第五條

美利堅合衆國政府，對於中華民國人民在美利堅合衆國全境內早予以旅行居住及經商之權利，中華民國政府同意，對於美利堅合衆國人民在中華民國領土內，予以相同之權利，兩國政府在各該國管轄所及之領土內，盡力給予對方國人民關於各項法律手續，司法事件之處理，及各種捐稅之徵收，與其有關事項，不低於所給予本國人民之待遇。

#### 第六條

中華民國政府與美利堅合衆國政府相互同意，彼此領事官經對方給予執行職務證書後，得在對方國雙方同意之口岸地方與城市駐紮。兩國之領事官，在其領事區內，應有與其本國人民會晤、通訊以及指示之權，倘其本國人民在其領事區內被拘留、逮捕、監禁、或聽候審判時，應立即通知該領事官，該領事官於通知主管官應後得探視此等人民。



nationals; and in general, the consular officers of each country shall be accorded the rights, privileges and immunities enjoyed by consular officers under modern international usage.

It is likewise agreed that the nationals of each country, in the territory of the other country, shall have the right at all times to communicate with consular officers of their country. Communications to their consular officers from nationals of each country who are under detention or arrest or in prison or are awaiting trial in the territory of the other country shall be forwarded to such consular officers by the local authorities.

#### ARTICLE VII.

The Government of the Republic of China and the Government of the United States of America mutually agree that they will enter into negotiations for the conclusion of a comprehensive modern treaty of friendship, commerce, navigation and consular rights, upon the request of either government or in any case within six months after the cessation of the hostilities in the war against the common enemies in which they are now engaged. The treaty to be thus negotiated will be based upon the principles of international law and practice as reflected in modern international procedures and in the modern treaties which the Government of the Republic of China and the Government of the United States of America respectively have in recent years concluded with other governments.

Pending the conclusion of a comprehensive treaty of the character referred to in the preceding paragraph, if any questions affecting the rights in territory of the Republic of China of nationals (including corporations or

總之，兩國之領事官，應享有現代國際慣例所給予之權利，特權與豁免。

雙方並同意，對方人民在此國領土內者，有隨時與其領事官通訊之權，對方人民在此國之領土內，被拘留、逮捕、監禁或聽候審判者，其與領事官之通訊，地方官應予轉遞。

#### 第七條

中華民國政府與美利堅合衆國政府，相互同意，經一方之請求，或於現在抵抗共同敵國之戰事停止後，至遲六個月內進行談判簽訂現代廣泛之友好通商航海設領條約，此項條約，將以現代國際程序，與中華民國政府及美利堅合衆國政府近年來與他國政府所締結之近代條約中所表現之國際公法原則，與國際慣例為根據。

前項廣泛條約，未經訂立以前，倘日後遇有涉及中華民國領土內美利堅合衆國人民（包括公司與社團）或政府權利之任何問題

associations), or of the Government of the United States of America should arise in future and if these questions are not covered by the present Treaty, or by the provisions of existing treaties, conventions, or agreements between the Government of the Republic of China and the Government of the United States of America not abrogated by or inconsistent with this Treaty, such questions shall be discussed by representatives of the two governments and shall be decided in accordance with generally accepted principle of international law and modern international practice.

#### ARTICLE VIII.

The present Treaty shall come into force on the day of exchange of the ratifications. The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington D.C. as soon as possible.

Signed and sealed at Washington D.C. this Eleventh day of the first month of the Thirty Second year of the Republic of China corresponding to the Eleventh day of January, 1943, in duplicate in Chinese and English, both texts being equally authentic.

#### EXCHANGE OF NOTES BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

#### 中華民國與美利堅合衆國互換之照會

Note from the Chinese Ambassador  
to the Secretary of State.

Washington D.C., January 11, 1943.

Excellency:

Under instructions of my Government, I have the honour to state that in connection with the Treaty signed today by the Government of the Republic of China and the

發生，要不在本約範圍內或不在中華民國政府與美利堅合衆國間現行而未經本約廢止或與本約不相抵觸之條約，專約，及協定之範圍內者，應由兩國政府代表會商，依照普通承認之國際公法原則及近代國際慣例解決之。

#### 第八條

本約自互換批准書之日起發生效力，本約批准書應於華盛頓迅速互換。

本約於中華民國三十二年一月十一日，即西曆一九四三年一月十一日，在華盛頓簽字蓋印，中文及英文各兩份，中文英文有同等之效力。

中國大使致美國國務卿照會

本代表奉本國政府之命，茲特聲明，關於中華民國政府與美利堅合衆國政府，本日簽訂美利堅合衆國政府放棄在中國治外法權

Government of United States of America, in which the Government of the United States of America relinquishes its extraterritorial and related special rights in China, it is the understanding of the Government of the Republic of China that the rights of the Government of the United States of America and of its nationals in regard to the systems of treaty ports and of special courts in the International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy and in regard to the employment of foreign pilots in the ports of the territory of China are also relinquished. In the light of the abolition of treaty ports as such, it is understood that all coastal ports in the territory of the Republic of China which are normally open to American overseas merchant shipping will remain open to such shipping after the coming into effect of the present Treaty and the accompanying Exchange of Notes.

It is mutually agreed that the merchant vessels of each country shall be permitted freely to come to the ports, places and waters of the other country which are or may be open to overseas merchant shipping, and that the treatment accorded to such vessels in such ports, places and waters shall be no less favourable than that accorded to national vessels and shall be as favourable as that accorded to the vessels of any third country.

It is mutually understood that the Government of the United States of America relinquishes the special rights which vessels of the United States of America have been accorded with regard to the coasting trade and inland navigation in the waters of the Republic of China and that the Government of the Republic of China is prepared to take over any American properties that may have been engaged for these purposes and to pay

及其有關特權之條約，中華民國政府認爲關於通商口岸及上海廈門公共租界特區法院之制度，以及中國領土內各口岸外籍引水人之雇用，美利堅合衆國政府及人民，所享有各權利，一併放棄。鑒於此項通商口岸制度之廢止，彼此了解，中華民國領土內，凡平時對美國海外商運，已開放之沿海口岸，予本約及所附換文發生效力後，對於此項商運，仍繼續開放。

雙方同意，此國之商船，許其自由駛至彼國對於海外商運，業已或將來開放之口岸地方及領水，並同意在該口岸地方及領水內，給予此等船舶之待遇，不得低於所給予各該本國船舶之待遇，且應予所給予任何第三國船舶之待遇，同樣優厚。

雙方了解，美利堅合衆國政府，放棄給予美利堅合衆國船舶在中華民國領水內關於沿海貿易及內河航行之特權，中華民國政府，準備以公平價格，收購美方現時用以經營此項事業之一切產業，如任何一方，以內河航行或沿海貿易權給予第三國船舶時，則應

adequate compensation therefor. Should either country accord the right of inland navigation or coasting trade to vessels of any third country, such rights would similarly be accorded to the vessels of the other country. The coasting trade and inland navigation of each country are excepted from the requirement of national treatment and are to be regulated according to the laws of each country in relation thereto. It is agreed, however, that vessels of either country shall enjoy within the territory of the other country with respect to the coasting trade and inland navigation treatment as favourable as that accorded to the vessels of any third country.

It is mutually understood that the Government of the United States of America relinquishes the special rights which naval vessels of the United States of America have been accorded in the waters of the Republic of China and that the Government of the Republic of China and the Government of the United States of America shall extend to each other mutual courtesy of visit by their warships in accordance with international usage and comity.

It is mutually understood that questions which are not covered by the present Treaty and Exchange of Notes and which may affect the sovereignty of the Republic of China shall be discussed by representatives of the two governments and shall be decided in accordance with generally accepted principles of international law and with modern international practice.

With reference to Article 4 of the Treaty, the Government of the Republic of China hereby declares that the restriction on the right of alienation of existing rights or titles to real property referred to in that Article

給予彼方船舶以同樣之權利，締約國任其

方，在他方之沿海貿易，及內河航行。依照

他方有關法律之規定辦理，不得要求他方之

本國待遇，惟雙方同意一方之船舶在他方境

內關於沿海貿易及內河航行所享受之待遇，

應與任何第三國船舶之待遇同樣優厚。

雙方了解，美利堅合衆國政府，放棄給

予其軍艦在中華民國領水內之特權，並互相

了解，中華民國政府與美利堅合衆國政府，

對於彼此軍艦之訪問，應依照國際慣例及儀

式，相互給予優禮。

雙方了解，凡本約及換文未涉及之問題

，如有影響中華民國主權時，應由兩國政府

代表會商，依照普通承認之國際公法原則，

及近代國際慣例解決之。

關於本約之第四條，中華民國政府茲聲

明，該條內所指關於現有不動產權利轉讓權

所受之限制，中國官廳當秉公辦理，如中國

will be applied by the Chinese authorities in an equitable manner and that if and when the Chinese Government declines to give assent to a proposed transfer the Chinese Government will, in a spirit of justice and with a view to precluding loss on the part of the American national whose interests are affected, undertake, if the American party in interest so desires, to take over the right or title in question and to pay adequate compensation therefor.

It is mutually understood that the orders, decrees, judgments, decisions and other acts of the United States court for China and of the consular courts of the United States of America in China shall be considered as *res judicata* and shall, when necessary, be enforced by the Chinese authorities. It is further understood that any pending cases before the United States court for China and consular courts of the United States of America in China at the time of the coming into effect of this Treaty shall, if the plaintiff or petitioner so desires, be remitted to the appropriate courts of the Government of the Republic of China which shall proceed as expeditiously as possible with their disposition and in so doing shall in so far as practicable apply the laws of the United States of America.

It is understood that these agreements and understandings if confirmed by Your Excellency's Government shall be considered as forming an integral part of the Treaty signed today and shall be considered as effective upon the date of the entrance into force of that Treaty.

I shall be much obliged if Your Excellency will confirm the foregoing.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew

政府對於所提出之轉讓拒絕同意，而美方利益關係人，希望中國政府收購該項權利時，中國政府本公平之精神，及為避免該利益機關人之損失起見，當以適當之代價收購之。

雙方了解，美利堅合衆國在中國之法院及美利堅合衆國在中國之領事法庭之命令宣告判決，決定及其他處分，應認為確定案件，於必要時，中國官廳應予執行。雙方並了解，當本約發生效力時，凡美利堅合衆國在中國之法院，及美利堅合衆國在中國之領事法庭之任何未結案件，如原告或告訴人，希望移交於中華民國政府之主管法院時，該法院應從速進行處理之，並於可能範圍內適用美國法律。

雙方了解，此種同意與諒解，如荷貴國政府證實，即作為本日所簽訂條約內容之一部分，並自該約生效之日起，發生效力。本代表應請貴代表證實上述之了解為荷。本代

to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

Signed: Wei Tao-ming.

His Excellency

Mr. Cordell Hull,  
Secretary of State  
of the United States of America,  
Washington. D. C.

Note from the Secretary of State of  
the United States of America to  
the Chinese Ambassador

Washington, D. C. January 11, 1943.

Excellency:

In connection with the Treaty signed today between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of China in which the Government of the United States of America relinquishes its extraterritorial and related special rights in China, I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Note of today's date reading as follows:

"Under instructions of my Government, I have the honour to state that in connection with the Treaty signed today by the Government of the Republic of China and the Government of the United States of America, in which the Government of the United States of America relinquishes its extraterritorial and related special rights in China, it is the understanding of the Government of the Republic of China that the rights of the Government of the United States of America and of its nationals in regard to the systems of treaty ports and of special courts in the International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy and in regard to the employment of foreign pilots in the ports of the territory of China are also relinquished.

我願向貴代表重表敬意，此致美利堅合衆國

國務卿赫爾。

魏道明(簽字)

### 美國國務卿致中國大使照會

關於美利堅合衆國政府與中華民國政府

本日簽訂美利堅合衆國政府放棄其在中國之

治外法權，及其有關特權之條約，本代表接

准貴代表本日之照會內開：

本代表奉本國政府之命，茲特聲明，關

於中華民國政府與美利堅合衆國政府，本日

簽訂美利堅合衆國政府放棄在中國治外法權

及其有關特權之條約，中華民國政府認為關

於通商口岸及上海廈門公共租界特區法院之

制度，以及中國領土內各口岸外籍引水人

之雇用，美利堅合衆國政府及人民所享有各

權利，一併放棄，鑒於此項通商口岸制度之

In the light of the abolition of treaty ports as such, it is understood that all coastal ports in the territory of the Republic of China which are normally open to American overseas merchant shipping will remain open to such shipping after the coming into effect of the present Treaty and the accompanying Exchange of Notes.

"It is mutually agreed that the merchant vessels of each country shall be permitted freely to come to the ports, places and waters of the other country which are or may be open to overseas merchant shipping, and that the treatment accorded to such vessels in such ports, places and waters shall be no less favourable than that accorded to national vessels and shall be as favourable as that accorded to the vessels of any third country.

"It is mutual understood that the Government of the United States of America relinquishes the special rights which vessels of the United States of America have been accorded with regard to the coasting trade and inland navigation in the waters of the Republic of China and that the Government of the Republic of China is prepared to take over any American properties that may have been engaged for those purposes and to pay adequate compensation therefor. Should either country accord the right of inland navigation or coasting trade to vessels of any third country, such rights would similarly be accorded to the vessels of the other country. The coasting trade and inland navigation of each country are excepted from the requirement of national treatment and are to be regulated according to the laws of each country in relation thereto. It is agreed, however, that vessels of either country shall enjoy within the territory of the

廢止，彼此了解，中華民國領土內，凡平時對美國海外商運已開放之沿海口岸，於本約及所附換文發生效力後，對於此項商運，仍繼續開放。

雙方同意，此國之商船，許其自由駛至彼國對於海外商運業已或將來開放之口岸地方及領土，並同意在該口岸地方及領水內，給予此等船舶之待遇，不得低於所給予各該本國船舶之待遇，且應予所給予任何第三國船舶之待遇，同樣優厚。

雙方了解，美利堅合眾國政府放棄給予美利堅合眾國船舶在中華民國領水內關於沿海貿易及內河航行之特權，中華民國政府，準備以公平價格，收購美方現時用以經營此項專業之一切產業，如任何一方，以內河航行或沿海貿易權給予第三國船舶時，則應給予彼方船舶以同樣之權利，締約國任何一方，在他方之沿海貿易，及內河航行，依照他方有關法律之規定辦理，不得要求他方之本國待遇，惟雙方同意一方之船舶在他方境內

other country with respect to the coasting trade and inland navigation treatment as favourable as that accorded to the vessels of any third country.

"It is mutually understood that the Government of the United States of America relinquishes the special rights which naval vessels of the United States of America have been accorded in the waters of the Republic of China and that the Government of the Republic of China and the Government of the United States of America shall extend to each other the mutual courtesy of visit by their warships in accordance with international usage and comity.

"It is mutually understood that questions which are not covered by the present Treaty and Exchange of Notes and which may affect the sovereignty of the Republic of China shall be discussed by representatives of the two governments and shall be decided in accordance with generally accepted principles of international law and with modern international practice.

"With reference to Article 4 of the Treaty, the Government of the Republic of China hereby declares that the restriction on the right of alienation of existing rights or titles to real property referred to in that Article will be applied by the Chinese authorities in an equitable manner and that if and when the Chinese Government declines to give assent to a proposed transfer the Chinese Government will, in a spirit of justice and with a view to precluding loss on the part of the American national whose interest are affected, undertake, if the American party in interest so desires, to take over the right or title in question and to pay adequate compensation therefor.

，關於沿海貿易及內河航行所享受之待遇，應與任何第三國船舶之待遇，同樣優厚。

雙方了解，美利堅合衆國政府，放棄給予其軍艦在中華民國領水內之特權，並互相了解，中華民國政府與美利堅合衆國政府，對於彼此軍艦之訪問，應依照國際慣例及儀式，相互給予優禮。

雙方了解，凡本約及換文未涉及之問題，如有影響中華民國主權時，應由兩國政府代表會商，依照普通承認之國際公法原則，及近代國際慣例解決之。

關於本約之第四條，中華民國政府茲聲明，該條內所指關於現有不動產權利之轉讓權所受之限制，中國官廳當秉公辦理，如中國政府對於所提出之轉讓，拒絕同意，而美方利益關係人，希望中國政府收購該項權利時，中國政府本公平之精神及為避免該利益關係人之損失起見當以適當之代價收購之。



"It is mutually understood that the orders, decrees, judgments, decisions and other acts of the United States court for China and of the consular courts of the United States of America in China shall be considered as *res judicata* and shall, when necessary, be enforced by the Chinese authorities. It is further understood that any pending cases before the United States court for China and consular courts of the United States of America in China at the time of the coming into effect of this Treaty shall, if the plaintiff or petitioner so desires, be remitted to the appropriate courts of the Government of the Republic of China which shall proceed as expeditiously as possible with their disposition and in so doing shall in so far as practicable apply the laws of the United States of America.

"It is understood that these agreements and understandings if confirmed by Your Excellency's Government shall be considered as forming an integral part of the Treaty signed today and shall be considered as effective upon the date of the entrance into force of that Treaty.

"I shall be much obliged if Your Excellency will confirm the foregoing."

I have the honour to confirm that the agreement and understanding which have been reached in connection with the Treaty signed today by the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of China are as set forth in the above Note from Your Excellency.

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

Signed: Cordell Hull

His Excellency

Dr. Wei Tao-ming  
Chinese Ambassador,  
Washington, D. C.

雙方了解，美利堅合衆國，在中國之法院及美利堅合衆國在中國之領事法庭之命令，宣告判決，決定及其他處分，應認爲確定案件，於必要時中國官廳，應予以執行。雙方並了解，當本約發生效力時，凡美利堅合衆國在中國之法院，及美利堅合衆國在中國之領事法庭之任何未結案件，如原告或告訴人希望移交於中華民國政府之主管法院時，該法院應從速進行處理之，並於可能範圍內適用美國法律。

雙方了解，此種同意與諒解，如荷貴國政府證實，即作爲本日所簽訂條約內容之一部分，並自該約生效之日起，發生效力。本代表應請貴代表證實上述之了解。爲荷。

本代表茲特證實關於美利堅合衆國政府與中華民國政府本日簽訂之條約，業已成立之同意與諒解，正如貴代表上述來照所稱者。

本代表順向貴代表重表敬意，此致中華民國駐美利堅合衆國全權大使魏道明。

赫爾(簽字)

# ROOSEVELT'S MESSAGE TO THE 78TH CONGRESS

## 羅斯福對七十八屆國會咨文

—Jan. 7, 1943;—

——一九四三年一月七日——

The 78th Congress assembles in one of the great moments in the history of this nation. The past year was filled with violent conflict—yet with high promise of better things to come.

We must appraise the events of 1942 according to their relative importance; we must exercise a sense of proportion.

First in importance in the American scene has been the inspiring proof of the great qualities of our fighting men. They have demonstrated these qualities in adversity as well as in victory. As long as our flag flies over this capital, Americans will honor the soldiers, sailors and marines who fought our first battles in this war against overwhelming odds—the heroes, living and dead, of Wake, Bataan and Guadalcanal; of the Java Sea, Midway and North Atlantic convoys. Their unconquerable spirit will live forever.

By far the largest<sup>(1)</sup> and most important developments in the whole strategic picture of 1942 were the events on the long fronts of Russia: first, the implacable defense of Stalingrad; second, the offensives by Russian armies at various points which started in the latter part of November and which roll on with great force and effectiveness.

第七十八屆國會係召集於本國歷史上之一大時代中，過去之一年，充滿猛烈之衝突，但對未來較良好情勢之降臨，賜以極大希望。

吾人對於一九四二年之事件，必須就其相對之重要性，加以評價，吾人必須運用一種權衡觀念。

首先在美國方面所應提倡者，即為吾人戰鬥員之優異素質，已獲得令人興奮之證明。彼等不但在勝利時表現此素質，即於挫敗時亦然，吾人之國旗一日飄揚於此首都，則美國人民即一日尊崇彼首先作戰以寡敵衆之陸軍、海軍與海軍陸戰隊即威克島，巴丹半島，瓜達康納爾島，以及爪哇海，中途島與北大西洋護航隊之現存與已故英雄是也。其不可克服之精神將永存不泯。

一九四二年全體戰略之最重大顯要之發展，當推蘇聯綿長戰線上之事實，即第一，史達林格勒堅強不拔之防禦，第二蘇軍在各線所採攻勢此項攻勢發動於十一月下旬，其後，即以極大之力量與效率繼續推進。

Other major events of the year were: the series of Japanese advances in the Philippines, the East Indies, Malaya and Burma; the stopping of the Japanese in the Mid Pacific, the South Pacific and the Indian Oceans; the successful defense of the Near East by British counter-attack through Egypt and Libya; the American-British occupation of North Africa. Of continuing importance in the year 1942 were the unending and bitterly contested battles for convey routes and the gradual passing of air superiority from the Axis to the United Nations.

The Axis Powers knew they must win the war in 1942—or eventually lose everything. I don't need to tell you that our enemies did not win in 1942.

In the Pacific area, the most important victory of 1942 was the air and naval battle of Midway Island. The action is historically important because it secured the use of communication lines stretching thousands of miles in every direction. Placing emphasis on the Midway battle, I am not unmindful of other successes in actions in the Pacific in the air, on land and afloat—especially those on the Coral Sea, New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. But these actions were essentially defensive. They were a part of the delaying strategy that characterized this phase of the war.

During the period, we inflicted steady losses on the enemy—great losses to Japanese naval planes, naval vessels, transports and cargo ships. As early as one year ago we set as the primary task in the war in the Pacific a day-by-day

是年內之其他重大事件，尚有日軍在菲律賓，荷印，馬來，緬甸之連續進展，日軍在中太平洋南太平洋與印度洋所受之阻遏，英軍由埃及與利比亞反攻，所收保衛近東之效果，以及英美之佔領北非等，一九四二年中有連續重要性之事件，乃猛烈而無止境之艦航線爭奪戰與制空權自軸心轉歸聯合國家之現象是也。

軸心國自知必須於一九四二年獲勝，否則即將喪失一切，然敵人並未於一九四二年獲勝，此固無需為諸君贅言者。

就太平洋方面論，一九四二年之最重大勝利，當推中途島，海空戰，此次戰所以具有歷史重要性者，以長達數千英里四通八達之交通線利用，隨藉此役而獲得保全也。余看中途島之戰，並非漠視太平洋上其他海陸空戰役之開，尤以珊瑚海，維多利亞，與所羅門島島嶼之戰，雖以後者為最，均皆重於防禦，僅構成進取戰之一部，此種防禦戰，實為一階段戰爭之特點也。

在此期間內，吾人始終予敵人以損失，惟日本之海軍飛機軍用運輸船隻，受重大損失，早在一年之前，吾人即擬定進行太平洋戰爭之主要任務，將日復一日，連復一連

week-by-week destruction of more Japanese war material than Japanese industry could replace. Most certainly the task has been and is being performed by our fighting ships and planes. A large part of this task had been accomplished by the gallant crews of our American submarines who strike at the other side of the Pacific at Japanese ships—right at the very mouth of Yokohama harbor.

We know that as each day goes by, the Japanese strength in ships and planes is going down and down and American strength in ships and planes is going up and up. The eventual outcome can be put on a mathematical basis. That will become evident to the Japanese people themselves when we strike their own home islands and bomb them constantly from the air.

In the attacks against Japan we shall be joined with the heroic people of China whose ideals of peace are so closely akin to our own. Even today we are flying as much lend-lease material into China as ever traversed the Burma Road, flying it over mountains 17,000 feet high, flying through sleet and snow. We shall overcome all formidable obstacles and get battle equipment into China to shatter the power of our common enemy. From this war China will realize the security, prosperity and dignity which Japan has sought so ruthlessly to destroy.

The period of our defensive attrition in the Pacific is passing. Now our aim is to force the Japanese to fight. Last year we stopped them. This year we intend to advance.

不增加毀滅日本軍需品之量，務使毀滅量超過其工業所能勝任之補充量，所可確定者，即吾人之作戰軍艦與飛機，在過去以及現在，均在努力完成是項工作，其中大部分業由吾美潛水艇之英勇水手完成，彼等曾於太平洋彼端之橫濱港口襲擊日方船隻。

吾人固知日本船隻與飛機之實力，正隨時日之消逝而衰滅，而美方船隻與飛機之實力則日見增強。最後之結果，自不難用數學之根據求其解答。待吾人進攻其本土，並不斷自空中予以轟炸之時，日本人民當可明白此項結果矣。

在進攻日本之際，吾人將與中國之英勇人民攜手，中國人民之和平理想，與吾人之和平理想因極接近，甚至今日吾人仍用飛機運載租借物資，越一萬七千英尺高山飛翔於雨雪交加之氣候中赴華，而空運之數量，甚至不減於前此假道於滇緬路輸華者，吾人將克服一切難以克服之困難，使作戰設備能運入中國，以擊破公敵之力量，中國將自此次戰爭中，獲得日本所欲無情加以毀滅之安全，繁榮與尊榮。

吾人在太平洋之防禦消滅戰期間業成過去，今日之目的，在迫令日人作戰，去年吾人曾阻遏日本，今年吾人將向前邁進矣。

In the European theater this past year. It was clear that our first task was to lessen the concentrated pressure on the Russian front by compelling Germany to divert part of her man-power and equipment to another theater of war.

After months of secret planning and preparation in the utmost detail, an enormous amphibious expedition was embarked for French North Africa from the United States and the United Kingdom in hundreds of ships. It reached its objectives with very small losses and has already produced an important effect upon the whole situation of war. It has opened to attack what Mr. Churchill well described as the 'underbelly' of the Axis and it has removed the always dangerous threat of Axis attack through East Africa against the South Atlantic Ocean and the continent of South America itself.

The splendidly executed offensive from Egypt of the British Eighth Army was part of the same major strategy of the United Nations.

Great rains, appalling mud and very limited communications have delayed the final battles of Tunisia. The Axis is reinforcing its strong positions. But I am confident that though the fighting will be tough, when the final allied assault is made the last vestige of Axis power will be driven from the south shores of the Mediterranean.

Any review of the year 1942 must emphasize the magnitude and diversity of military activities in which this nation has become engaged. As I speak to you,

就過去一年歐洲戰場方面而論，吾人之首要任務，在減輕侵略者德國所施諸蘇聯戰場之集中性壓力，迫使德國分散其一部人力與設備，至另一戰場。此點固至明顯。

經數月之秘密計劃與最週密之準備後，美國與聯合至國乃以數百艘船隻，運載巨大之海陸遠征軍前赴法屬北非，結果以極微少之損失，達到目的，且使整個戰局產生重大之影響。邱吉爾先生所稱「軸心之下腹部」已有被攻之處，而軸心假道東非，進攻南大西洋與南美洲之危險威脅，亦告消除。

英國第八軍自埃及發動之燦爛反攻，亦為聯合國家同一主要戰略中之一部。

突尼西亞之決戰，已因大雨可怖泥濘與極有限之交通而延緩，軸心現正增援其強大之陣地，然余相信來日之戰鬥雖至艱苦，但盟國發動其最後一擊時，此軸心之最後殘餘勢力，必能掃出地中海南岸之外也。

凡對一九四二年加以檢討者，必須著重美國軍事行動之偉大性與廣泛性。今日余向諸君發言之際，吾人之陸軍，海軍，海軍陸

approximately one and a half million of our soldiers, sailors, Marines and fliers are in service outside our continental limits all through the world. Our merchantmen are carrying supplies to them and our allies over every sea-lane.

Few Americans realize the amazing growth of our air strength though I am sure that our enemy does. Day in and day out,(2) our forces are bombing the enemy and meeting him in combat in many different fronts over the world. And for those who question the quality of our aircraft or the ability of our fliers, I point to the fact that in Africa we are shooting down two enemy planes to every one we lose and in the Pacific and Southwest Pacific we are shooting them down four to one.

We pay tribute from the United States of America to the fighting men of Russia, China, Britain and the various members of the British Commonwealth—millions of men who through the years of this war have fought our common enemies and denied them the world conquest they sought.

We pay tribute to the soldiers, fliers and seamen of other United Nations whose countries have been overrun by Axis forces.

As a result of the allied occupation of North Africa powerful units of the French Army and Navy are going into action with United Nations forces. We welcome them as allies and friends. They join with those Frenchmen who, since the dark days of June, 1940, have been fighting valiantly for the liberation of their

戰隊與空軍約一百五十萬人，正服務吾人大陸邊界以外之世界各地，吾人之商輪正運載給養沿每一航線供給我軍與吾人之盟友。

美國人民對於吾人空軍力量之驚人發展，鮮有知者，惟余相信敵人則知之甚稔。我軍現在逐日轟炸敵人，並在全球各戰場對敵戰鬥，凡對吾人飛機之性能，與飛行員之能力發生疑問者，余將以非洲之事實為答覆，即吾人每在該區損失飛機一架，敵機必被擊落兩架，余更將以太平洋與西南太平洋之事實為答覆，即敵我飛機之損失為四與一之比也。

吾人茲自美國對蘇中英及不列顛聯合國各份子之戰士致敬。彼萬千人民在此次戰爭中對吾人之公敵連年作戰，使敵人無法實現其征服世界之妄想。

吾人對其他國土已被軸心國蹂躪之其他聯合國之海陸空軍致敬。

盟軍進佔北非之結果，法海陸軍有力部隊乃與盟軍聯合作戰。吾人歡迎其重為吾人之盟邦好友，彼等已與自一八五〇年黑暗之六月起，即勇敢作戰，以求本國解放之法人

within country.

We pay tribute to the fighting leaders of our allies; to Winston Churchill; to Joseph Stalin; to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. There is a very real unanimity between the leaders of the United Nations. This unity is effective in planning and carrying out the major strategy of this war and in building up and maintaining our lines of supplies.

I cannot prophesy. I cannot tell you when or where the United Nations are going to strike next in Europe. But we are going to strike and strike hard. I cannot tell you whether we are going to hit them in Norway or through the Low Countries or France or through Sardinia or Sicily or through the Balkans or through Poland or several points simultaneously. But I can tell you that no matter where or when we strike by land, we and the British and the Russians will hit them from the air heavily and relentlessly. Day in and day out we will heap tons upon tons of explosives on their war factories, utilities and seaports.

Hitler and Mussolini will understand the enormity of their miscalculation that the Nazis would always have the advantage of superior air power as they did when they bombed Warsaw, Rotterdam, London and Coventry. That superiority has gone—forever.

Yes, the Nazis and Fascists have asked for it—and they are going to get it.

Our forward progress in this war has depended on our progress on the production front.

There has been criticism of the

戰爭。

吾人對盟國作戰領袖邱吉爾，史達林，蔣委員長致敬，各盟國領袖之間，意見極爲一致，而此項意見之統一，于計劃並施行主要戰略，及建立並維持吾人給養路線方面，甚爲有效。

余不能預言，亦不能明告君等聯合國下次何時從何處進攻歐洲，但吾人決將進攻且猛烈進攻，余不能明告君等，吾人是否將從挪威荷蘭比利時法國或從撒丁，西西里，巴爾幹，波蘭，或從數地同時進攻，但余能明告君等，吾人無論在何時何地從陸上進攻時，吾國與英蘇亦將自空中予敵人以慘重無情之打擊，吾人將以無數噸之炸彈，無間日夜，擲於彼之軍需工廠公用事業及海港。

希特勒與墨索里尼誤以爲納粹將永遠保有其空中優勢，一如其轟炸華沙，鹿特丹，倫敦及考文特里之時，屆時彼等將知其失算之甚，此種優勢現已永遠消逝矣。

誠然納粹與法西斯曾作此要求，渠等現將暢得其所求矣。

吾人在此次戰爭中之進展視吾人在生產戰線之進展而定。

吾人當對吾人戰時生產之管理經營加以

management and conduct of our war production. Much of this self-criticism has had a healthy effect. It has spurred us on. It has reflected normal American impatience to get on with the job. We are the kind of people who are never quite satisfied with anything short of miracles.

But there has been some criticism based on guess-work, even on malicious falsification of fact. Such criticism creates doubts and fears and weakens our total effort. I do not wish to suggest that we should be completely satisfied with our production progress—today, next month or ever. But I can report to you with genuine pride what has been accomplished in 1942.

A year ago we set certain production goals for 1942 and 1943. Some people, including experts, thought we had pulled some big figures out of the hat just to frighten the Axis. But we had confidence in the ability of our people to establish new records. That confidence has been justified.

Of course we realized that some production objectives would have to be changed—some adjusted upward, others downward; some items would have to be taken out of the program completely and others added. This was inevitable as we gained battle experience and as technological improvements were made.

Our 1942 airplane production was about 48,000 military planes—more than the airplane production of Germany, Italy and Japan put together. Last month, December, we produced 5,000 military planes and the rate is rapidly rising.

批評，此等自我批評其中大部均收良藥劑之效，並已鞭策吾人前進，此適可反映一般國人對於工作進展不耐之情，蓋我美國人民爲一非有奇蹟不能滿足之民族。

然亦有若干批評，出諸臆度，甚或以惡意捏造之事實爲根據，而此類批評，僅能招致猜疑恐懼，削弱吾人之全面努力，余不欲謂吾人應對今日下月或任何時期生產之進步表示完全滿意，但余可以一九四二年之成就報告君等，而絕無愧色。

一年以前，吾人曾訂定一九四二及一九四三年之若干生產目標，當時若干人民，甚至連專家在內，以爲吾人謹誇其數字，以恫嚇軸心，但吾人對於我國民創造新紀錄之能力，具有信心，今日此項信心固已獲得證明。

當然，吾人已感覺若干生產目標，需要調整，其中一部分需提高，另一部分需要減低，亦有若干項目，需要從計劃中完全刪去，同時亦需增加若干新項目，蓋吾人於得有作戰經驗與技術上獲得改良後，此種調整實爲不可避免者。

吾人一九四二年之飛機生產，爲軍用機四萬八千架，超過德日之總和，去年十二月，吾人共造軍用機五千架，生產率正迅速增高，且我每月生產之飛機以各式平均計算



Furthermore each month, our planes, taking the average of our types, weigh more, take more man-hours to make and have more striking power.

In tank production, we raised our schedule—and for good and sufficient reasons. As a result of hard experience in battle we have diverted a portion of our tank-producing capacity to a stepped-up production of new deadly field weapons, especially self-propelled artillery.

Here are some other production figures:

In 1942 we produced 56,000 combat vehicles such as tanks, and self-propelled artillery.

In 1942 we produced 670,000 machine-guns, six times greater than our production in 1941 and three times greater than the total production during the year and a half of our participation in the first world war.

We produced 10, 250,000,000 (ten and a quarter billion) rounds of small arms' ammunition, five times greater than our 1941 production and three times greater than our total production in the first world war.

The arsenal of democracy is making good.

These facts and figures will give no aid and comfort to the enemy. On the contrary, I can imagine they will give him considerable discomfort. I suspect Hitler and Tojo will find it difficult to explain to the German and Japanese people just why it is that a 'decadent and inefficient' democracy can produce such phenomenal quantities of weapons, munitions and fighting men.

，其重量日增，其製造時所需之人工增多，其攻擊威力亦增大。

坦克生產方面，吾人計劃已略有修改，其中蓋有良好與充足之理由，吾人因作戰中獲得痛苦經驗之結果，已轉移一部分生產坦克之力量，用以增產新式之猛烈野戰武器，尤其增產自動砲車。

若干其他方面之生產數字如次：

戰車，如坦克及自動砲車之類，一九四二年共產五萬六千輛。

一九四二年之機槍生產，共為六十七萬挺，較一九四一年時大六倍，較第一次歐戰時參戰一年半中之總生產量大三倍。

較小槍件之子彈，共產一百零五萬萬五千萬發，較一九四一年大五倍，較第一次歐戰時吾人之總生產量大五倍。

所謂民主國之軍火廠一語，已多符其實矣。

此類事實與數字將不能予敵人以幫助與安慰，反之，余意彼等將因此而頓感不安，余疑希特勒與東條對德國與日本人民將無以解釋何故墮落而無效率之民主國家，能生產如許大量之武器軍火與戰士。

We have given the lie to certain misconceptions—especially the one which holds that various blocs or groups within a free country cannot forego their political and economic differences in time of crisis and work together toward a common goal.

While we have been achieving this miracle of production, during the past year our armed forces have grown from a little over two million to seven million. In other words we have withdrawn from our labor force and farms some five million of our younger workers. Despite this our farmers have contributed their share to the common effort by producing the greatest quantity of food ever made available during a single year in our history.

Is there any person among us so simple as to believe that all this could have been accomplished without creating some dislocations in our normal national life; some inconveniences; even some hardships?

Who could have hoped to have done this without burdensome government regulations which are a nuisance to everyone—including those who have the thankless task of administering them?

We all know that there have been mistakes—mistakes due to the inevitable process of trial and error inherent in doing big things the first time. We all know that there have been too many complicated forms and questionnaires. I know about that. I have had to fill out some of them myself.

But we are determined to see to it that our supplies of food and other essential

吾人對若干錯誤觀念，已證明其妄誕不經，尤其對堅持一自由國家內之不同集團，在緊急關頭，不能放棄其政治經濟上之成見，以趨赴共同目標之錯誤觀念，已證明其妄誕。

過去一年中，當吾人達到此項生產奇蹟時，吾人之武裝部隊，亦從二百萬餘之數，增至七百萬，易言之，即吾人已從工農人員中，抽取五百萬少壯工人，然而吾國之農產並不受影響，農民亦已對此共同努力貢獻其一部份之職責，其糧食生產，可與歷史上任何一年相比擬。

吾人之中，豈有願腦簡單至於相信欲完成此等工作，吾人之正常生活不致發生若干脫節，不便甚至困難者乎？

誰能希望欲成就此大事，而無繁重之政府條例，將使任何人均感覺不便，即從事於執行此等條例工作之人，亦不能例外乎。

吾人皆知此中會有錯誤，但試驗過程中所犯之錯誤，實為首次擔當大事所必不可避免者。吾人皆知複雜之表格與問題過多，余知之甚稔，余自己亦且須填寫若干。

但吾人決心務使食品之供應及其他必需

civilian goods are distributed on fair and just bases—to rich and poor, to management and labor, to farmer and city-dweller alike. And we are determined to keep the cost of living at a stable level. All this has required much information. The forms and questionnaires represent an honest and sincere attempt by honest and sincere officials to obtain this information.

We have learned by the mistakes that have been made.

Our experience will enable us during the coming year to improve the necessary mechanism of wartime economic controls and simplify administrative procedures. But we do not intend to leave things so lax that loop-holes will be left for cheaters, chiselers or manipulators on the black market.

Of course there have been inconveniences, disturbances, even hardships. There will be many more before we finally win. Yes, 1943 will not be an easy year for us on the home-front. We will feel in many ways in our daily lives the sharp pinch of total war.

Fortunately there are only a few Americans who place appetite above patriotism. The overwhelming majority realize that the food we send abroad is for essential military purposes for our own and allied fighting forces and for necessary help in the areas we occupy.

We Americans intend to do this great job together. In our common labors we must build and fortify the very foundation of national unity—confidence in one another.

之人民用品，同樣公平分配於貧富人民，經理與勞工，農民及市鎮之住民，吾人決意維持生活費用於一平穩之水準，凡此皆需充分之知識，而一切表格問題，皆為誠正官吏為欲獲得此項知識之誠正企圖。

吾人已由所犯之錯誤中獲得教訓。

吾人之經驗將使吾人能於明年改良戰時經濟統制之必要機構並使行政程序簡單化，但吾人不欲任令工作鬆弛，使欺詐操縱者得在黑市中有隙可乘。

當然此中有若干不便，騷擾甚至困難之處，吾人於獲得最後勝利之前，且將有更多之困難，誠然一九四三年在吾人國內之戰場上，非為一易渡之年，吾人在日常生活中，多方面皆將感覺全民戰爭之痛苦，

幸而美國人民中將 慾置於愛國心之上者，僅為少數，絕大多數皆瞭解吾人送至海外之食糧，乃出於維持我軍及我作戰盟軍之必要軍事目的，且為救助我佔領區域之所必需。

我美國人民願共同完成此大業，在吾人之共同努力中，吾人必須樹立並保衛全國團結之基礎，即彼此互信是也。

It is often amusing and sometimes politically profitable to picture the city of Washington as a mad-house with Congress and the Administration disrupted with confusion, indecision and general incompetence.

However, what matters most in war is results. And one pregnant fact is that only after a few years preparation and only one year of war we are able to engage spiritually as well as physically in the total waging of a total war.

Washington may be a mad-house—but only in the sense that it is the capital city of a nation which is fighting mad. And I think that Berlin, Rome and Tokyo which had such contempt for the obsolete methods of democracy would now gladly use all they could get of that same brand of madness.

We must not forget that our achievements in production have been relatively no greater than those of the Russians British or Chinese who have developed their war industries under incredible difficulties of battle conditions. They have had to continue work throughout bombings and blackouts. They have never quit.

We Americans are in good brave company in this war and we are playing our own honorable part in the vast common effort.

As spokesmen for the United States Government, you and I take off our hats to those responsible for our American production—to owners, managers and supervisors; to draftsmen, engineers and workers; to men and women in factories.

將華盛頓市描繪成一瘋人院，國會與政府意見分歧，不知所措，不能有所決定，致陷於無能力狀態。此種描寫，通常覺得可笑，但有時在政治上亦屬有益。

當然戰爭中最重要者，為其結果，而有一項重要事實即為吾人必須經過數年之準備及一年作戰之後，始能在精神上與物質上皆從事于全民戰爭，

華盛頓或為一瘋人院，但惟有作全國瘋狂作戰之一國首都解釋時，方為適當。柏林，羅馬與東京等，對於民主國所用之陳舊方法，向表輕視，余意目前彼等必將樂於利用此瘋字，恣所欲為矣。

吾人應勿忘懷吾人在生產上之收穫，若與蘇英及中國相較，並無過人之處，彼等皆在難以相信之戰時困難環境中發展其戰事工業，彼等皆須轟炸及燈火管制之下繼續工作，彼等從未離開工作崗位。

吾美人民在此一戰爭中之戰友，均為優良與英勇者，而吾人在此廣泛之共同努力中，亦正負起本身榮譽之職責。

諸君與余茲以美國政府發言人之地位，向負責吾美生產工作負責者即廠主，經理，監督製圖樣者，工程師及工人，以及在各工

arsenals, shipyards, mines, mills, forests, railroads and highways.

We take off our hats to farmers who have faced the unprecedented task of feeding not only a great nation but a great part of the world.

We take off our hats to all loyal anonymous untiring men and women who have worked in private employment and in the government and who have endured rationing and other stringencies with good humor and good will.

We take off our hats to all Americans who have contributed magnificently to our common cause.

I have sought to emphasize a sense of proportion in this review of the events of war and of the needs of war.

We should never forget the things we are fighting for. But in this critical period of war we should confine ourselves to the larger objectives and not get bogged down in an argument over methods and details.

We and all the United Nations want a decent peace and a durable peace. In the years between the First World War and the beginning of the Second World War we were not living under a decent or a durable peace.

I have reason to know that our boys at the front are concerned with two broad aims beyond the winning of the war; and their thinking and their opinion coincide with what most Americans back home are mulling over.

They know and we know that it would be inconceivable—it would indeed be sacrilegious—if this nation and the world

廠，兵工廠 造船廠，礦場，紗廠，森林，鐵路，及公路中工作之男女致敬。

吾人茲向負起不僅以糧食供給一大國家，且以供給世界一大部份空前偉大工作之農人致敬。

吾人茲向一切在私人事業及政府中工作以及本耐心與善意忍受定量分配及其他限制忠誠不悔之無名男女致敬。

吾人茲向對於吾人之共同目標曾作偉大貢獻之一切美國人民致敬。

余曾企圖在此作戰事實與作戰需要之檢討著重於權衡觀念一點。

吾人對於何所為作戰之事物，應永誌勿忘，然在此戰爭之危急期間中，吾人應限於較大之目標而不應陷於方法及細節方面之爭執。

吾人與一切聯合國家所希冀者乃一適當與持久之和平，在第一次世界大戰與第二次大戰開始中間之一段期間吾人並非生活於適當或持久之和平之下。

余有理由可以相信吾人在前線之戰士除戰爭之勝利以外，尚關心兩種廣泛之目標，彼等之思想與見解與美國國內大多數民衆所思考者實相一致。

彼等與吾人均知知吾國與全世界未能在  
此等一切努力受難流血與死亡中取得某種真

would not have attained some real and lasting good out of all these efforts, sufferings, bloodshed and death.

The men of our armed forces want lasting peace and eventually they want permanent employment for themselves, their families and their neighbors when they are mustered out at the war's end.

Two years ago I spoke in my annual message of the Four Freedoms. The blessings of two of them—freedom of speech and religion—are an essential part of the very life of this nation; and we hope these blessings will be granted to all men everywhere.

The people at home and the people at the front—men and women—are wondering about the third freedom—freedom from want. To them it means that when they are mustered out and when war production is converted to the economy of peace, they will have the right to expect full employment—for themselves and for all able-bodied men and women in America who want to work.

They expect the opportunity to work and run their farms and stores and to earn decent wages. They are eager to face the risks inherent in our system of free enterprise.

They do not want a post-war America which suffers from under-nourishment or slums or a dole. They want no get-rich-quick era of bogus "prosperity" which will end for them in selling apples on a street corner as happened after the bursting of the boom in 1929.

When you talk with our young men and women you will find that they want to

正與持久之良好事物，則其結果誠屬不可思議，其結果誠為種族之。

吾人三軍之戰士希冀持久之和平，最後彼等尚希望在戰爭結果離開行伍時，彼等本身及其家庭鄰居均能永遠獲得工作。

兩年前，余曾於每年例有之咨文中，論及四大自由，其中首論自由與宗教自由兩項幸福，為此一國家生命之主要部份，吾人希冀世界各地之人民，均能獲得此等幸福。

國內及前方之人民，不論男女，現在懷疑第三項自由，即免於缺乏自由也。在彼輩觀之，待他日彼等退伍以及戰時生產轉變為平時經濟之時，當有獲得充分工作之權利，不但為自身獲得工作，即美國一切要求工作之年富力壯之男女，亦均能獲得工作。

彼等希望有工作之機會，希望經營其農場與商店，並獲得適當之工資，彼等甘冒吾人自由企業制度之固有危險。

彼等不希望戰後美國遭受營養不足之情形，或有貧民區與布施之情事，彼等不希望有虛偽「繁榮」之暴發戶時代使其最終不得不於街市之角落出售蘋果，一若一九二九年繁榮消逝後之所為。

諸君倘與吾人之青年男女會談，即知彼等要求為本身及其家庭而工作，彼等自認有

work for themselves and their families; they consider that they have the right to work; and they know that this is the time to speak of a better America after the war. I am told that it is a grave error on my part to agree with this view.

I dissent.

If the security of an individual citizen or family should become the subject of national debate, the country knows where I stand.

I say this now to this 78th Congress because it is wholly possible that freedom from want—the right of employment and the right of assurance against life's hazards—will loom very large as a task of America during the coming two years.

I trust it will not be regarded as an issue—but rather as a task for all of us to study sympathetically and to work out with constant regard for the attainment of our objective with fairness to all and in justice to none.

In this war of survival we must keep before our minds not only the evil things we fight against but the good things we are fighting for. We fight to retain a great past—and we fight again for a greater future.

Let us remember that economic security for the America of the future is threatened unless greater economic stability comes to the rest of the world. We cannot make America an island in either the military or economic sense. Hitlerism, like any other form of crime or disease can grow from the evil seeds of economic as well as military feudalism.

Victory in this war is the first and

工作之權利，亦知今日為討論戰後美國應如

何獲更佳處境之時，或謂余倘贊同此項見解

，誠屬大錯。

但余認為不然。

人民個人或家庭之安全問題，倘成爲今

日之辯論題目，則國人當知余之立場矣。

余今日以此點提出第七十八屆國會者，蓋免於缺乏之自由（即就業之權利及保證生命免于危險之權利），極有可能成爲美國未來兩年間之巨大工作。

余相信此點不致被視爲一種問題，而被視爲一種工作，有待於吾人同情之研究而求其實現並能隨時顧及達到吾人之目標，即以公正對待所有人類，勿以不義加諸任何一人。

在此次爭取生存之戰爭中，吾人應不僅勿感對之作戰之惡劣事物，且應謹識吾人所爲作戰之良好事物，吾人作戰在求保持偉大之過去，亦以爭取更偉大之未來。

願吾人緊記除非世界之其餘部份獲得更大之經濟穩定狀態，則未來美國之經濟安寧，亦將遭受威脅，吾人不論在軍事或經濟方面，均不能使美國成爲孤島，希特勒主義一若其他任何形式之罪惡或疫癘，可自經濟上之惡劣種子及軍事上之封建主義中長成。

此一戰爭之勝利，乃吾人當前之第一與

greatest goal before us. Victory in the peace is the next. That means striving toward an enlargement of the security of man here and throughout the world—and finally, striving for the Fourth Freedom—freedom from fear.

It is of little account for any of us to talk of essential human needs for attaining security if we run the risk of another World War in ten, 20 or 50 years. That is just plain commonsense. War has grown in size, in death, in destruction, in inevitability of engulfing all nations, in inverse ratio to the shrinking size of the world as a result of the conquest of the air. I shudder to think of what will happen to humanity including ourselves if this war ends in an inconclusive peace and another war breaks out when the babies of today are grown to fighting age.

Every normal American prays that neither his sons nor his grandsons will be compelled to go through this horror again.

Undoubtedly a few Americans even now think that this nation can end this war comfortably and then climb back into an American hole and pull in the hole after them.

But we have learned that we can never dig a hole so deep that it would be safe against predatory animals. We have also learned that if we do not pull the fangs of predatory animals in this world, they will multiply and grow in strength—and they will be at our throats once more in a short generation.

Most Americans realize more clearly than ever before that modern war

最大目標，和平時期之勝利，則為次要目標

。此乃表示吾人係努力求取此處及全球人類安全之擴展最後努力于第四種自由——免受恐懼之自由——之實現。

吾人倘甘冒於十年二十年或五十年內再發生世界大戰之危險，則今日討論人類為達到安全起見之必要需求問題殊屬無益，此僅係普通之常識，在此範圍死亡與毀滅方面，在吞併所有國家之不可避免性方面，以及人類征服天空結果，與世界體積之縮小成反比例各方面，戰爭均已較前龐大，設使吾人於此次戰爭結束時，僅獲得無結果之和平，則今日之嬰兒生長及于作戰年齡之時，忽爆發另一大戰，則人類又將如何，余每念及此，不禁不寒而慄。

每一神經正常之美人，莫不懇求其子孫勿再被迫經歷此種恐怖之情事。

今日無疑有少數美人，甚至認為本國可在安逸之環境下結束戰爭後，即退居美國國內，閉關自守。

但吾人業已獲得教訓，即吾人決不能挖掘深度足以預防劫掠性動物之洞穴。吾人亦知吾人倘不能拔除世界上劫掠性動物之毒牙，則彼等之實力即將加倍生長而在短短一代之內將再扼吾人之喉管。

大部份美國人民均較前明瞭近代戰爭之配備 倘為侵略國所有，則為吾人之國家生



equipment in the hands of aggressor nations can bring danger overnight to our own national existence or to that of any other nation or island or continent.

It is clear to us that if Germany, Italy or Japan—or any one of them—remain armed at the end of this war or are permitted to rearm, they will again and inevitably embark upon an ambitious career of world conquest. They must be disarmed and kept disarmed; and they must abandon the philosophy and the teaching of the philosophy which has brought so much suffering to the world.

After the first World War we tried to achieve a formula for permanent peace based on magnificent idealism. We failed. But by our failure we have learned that we cannot maintain peace at this stage of human development by good intentions alone.

Today the United Nations are the mightiest military coalition in history. They represent an overwhelming majority of the population of the world. Bound together in solemn agreement that they themselves will not commit acts of aggression or conquest against any of their neighbors, the United Nations must remain united for the maintenance of peace by preventing any attempt to rearm in Germany, Japan, Italy or any other nation which seeks to violate the Tenth Commandment—"Thou shalt not covet."

There are cynics and skeptics who say that it cannot be done. The American people and all freedom-loving people in this earth are now demanding that it must be done. And the will of these people

存或其他任何國家任何海島或任何大陸之生

存，均將於一夜之間遭受危險。

如德國義大利日本(或其中任何一國)在

此次戰爭告終時，仍獲保持武裝或獲重整武

裝，彼等必將再圖征服世界，彼等必須解除

武裝且不得再恢復武裝，彼等並須拋棄曾使

世界蒙受如許災害之哲學及哲學理論。

在第一次世界大戰之後吾人曾設法達成一種以偉大理想為根據之永久和平方案，吾人業已失敗，然吾人以已失敗之經驗獲知吾人不能在人類發展之此一階段中，僅以良好之意願維持和平，

目前聯合國家乃歷史上最強大之軍事聯

合。彼等代表世界人口之絕大多數，彼等已

在隆重之協定中，約定本身不對其任何鄰國

從事侵略或征服行動，聯合必須廣續聯合一

致，以防止德義日或其他任何企圖違犯摩西

第十誡「汝應勿貪得」之國家重整武裝之辦

法，維持和平，

目前有若干犬儒主義者，及懷疑派人士，聲言此項工作無法完成，然美國人民及地球上一切愛好自由之人民，刻正要求其必須

shall prevail.

The philosophy of the Axis Powers is based on profound contempt for the human race. If, in the formation of our future policy, we are guided by the same cynical contempt, then we should be surrendering to the philosophy of our enemies and our victory would turn to defeat.

The basic issue in this war is between those who believe in mankind and those who do not—the ancient issue between those who put their faith in the people and those who put their faith in dictators and tyrants. There have always been those who did not believe in the people; who attempted to block their forward movement across history; to force them back to servility, suffering and silence.

The people have now gathered their strength. They are moving forward in their might and power—and no force or combination of forces; no trickery or violence can stop them now that they see before them the hope of the world—a decent, secure, peaceful life for all men everywhere.

I do not prophesy when this war will end.

But I do believe that this year of 1943 will give the United Nations a very substantial advance along the roads that lead to Berlin, Rome and Tokyo.

I tell you that it is within the realm of possibility that this 78th Congress may have the historic privilege of helping greatly to save the world from future fear.

Therefore, let us—all of us—have confidence; let us redouble our efforts.

完成，此等人民之意志，將克服一切。

軸心各國之哲學，乃以侮蔑人類為基礎

如吾人在決定未來政策期間，亦為同樣不近人情之侮蔑所誤導，則吾人必將屈服於敵方哲學之下，吾人之勝利亦將變為失敗。

此戰爭之基本爭端，乃信任人類者，及不信任人類者中間之爭執，即信任人類者與信任獨夫與暴君者中間之古老爭執，世界上常有不信任人民之徒，企圖阻礙歷史上人民之進步運動，迫令彼等返回被人奴役之階段，忍受痛苦而默無一言。

人民刻已集中彼等之力量，彼等刻正以本身之力量，向全人類均能獲享適當安全和平之生活途中邁進，目前任何力量，或聯合力量任何狡詐或暴力均不能阻遏彼等之前進，彼等看出前途有全世界之期望在焉。

余今不預言戰爭將于何時結束。

然余確信一九四三年將令聯合國家在通往格林羅馬及東京之大道上，獲得極大之進展。

余可明告諸君，此七十八屆國會或可獲得具有歷史意義之特權，於使世界免於未來恐懼方面作極大之貢獻。

以故願吾人(吾人全體)均具信心；願吾人加倍努力。

A tremendous, costly and long-enduring task in peace as well as in war is still ahead of us.

But as we face that continuing task, we may know that the spirit of this nation is good—the heart of this nation is sound—the faith of this nation is eternal.

吾人面前尚有在戰爭及和平期間之艱鉅，代價甚大，且須長期忍耐之工作等待完成。

然在吾人應付此項繼續性工作之期間中，吾人可以獲知吾國之精神甚佳，吾國之地健全，吾國之信仰堅定持久云。

註：(1) by far the largest 最大者

(2) day is and day out 逐日

## Generalissimo Chiang's Message To Thai People

# 蔣委員長告泰國軍民書

A broadcast speech delivered in the evening on Feb. 26, 1943.

一九四三年二月二十六日發表之廣播演說

"All Armed forces and people of Thailand: Since the conclusion of the Thai-Japanese agreement of alliance on Dec. 11, 1941 I have been keeping silence toward you. Logically speaking, I should not maintain complete silence when a neighboring country concluded an alliance with a country with which China was at war. But I chose to do so because I fully realized that you were then in difficult circumstances. China's position before she took arms against Japan in 1937 was similar to yours. Therefore I fully understand your difficulties at that time.

"However, the situation has now changed. The current world war has entered into a decisive stage. Though the Japanese militarists are oppressing you more than before and are forcing you to fight for them, the Axis countries in both Europe and Asia have been compelled to change from offensive to defensive, and are suffering reverse after reverse. Your position has radically changed as compared with that a year ago. The day for your own salvation is near at hand. I wish therefore to talk frankly to you to make you understand China's sentiments toward you, her principles and her war policy.

"First, China's Friendship toward Thai-

泰國全體軍民，自從前年十二月十一日泰國和日本簽訂了同盟協定之後，我對你們保持着緘默，一直到現在。論理，一個毗鄰的國家和我們正在作戰的敵國締結同盟，我不能完全沉默。我所以沉默，因為我瞭解你們當時處境的艱窘，在一九三七年中國對日抗戰以前，我們的處境，和你們相似，所以我最能瞭解你們當時的艱窘。

現在的情形完全不同了。這次世界戰爭已逐漸進入決定的階段了。日本軍閥雖然仍在加緊壓迫你們，並且逼迫你們參加作戰，可是無論在歐在亞，軸心國家均已被迫改攻為守，並且在節節潰敗之中。你們的境遇在實際上和一年以前亦大不相同了。你們自救的日子，確是快到了。所以我願意很坦白的向你們說幾句話，使你們明瞭中國對你們的情感，以及中國的主義和中國的作戰方針。

第一，中國對於泰國的友誼。

land. Sino-Thai friendly relations are more than 1,000 years old. There are no fewer than 3,000,000 Chinese in Thailand. We Chinese have always looked upon Thailand as a sister nation. Every one of us feels that China and Thailand are closely bound together and hopes for Thailand's stability and prosperity. Chinese friendly feelings toward Thailand have not changed in spite of Thailand's actions during recent years. Both the Chinese Government and people realize that the Thai-Japanese alliance was concluded at the point of the Japanese bayonet and out of the free will of the Thai armed forces and people. I earnestly hope that the Thai armed forces and people will prize Chinese friendship. I can guarantee that so long as they prize Chinese friendship, it will never change.

"Second, China's Principles. China believes in that late Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People, which provide that all nations should be free and equal. China is guided by the principles of national freedom and equality in building up the nation. Basing on these principles, she concluded with 25 other Allied nations a joint declaration on Jan. 1, 1942, in Washington, which announced the determination of the signatories to liberate Axis subjugated nations and revive their political sovereignty. I hereby give the solemn pledge that China and her Allies have no territorial designs on Thailand and have no intention to violate Thailand's sovereignty and independence. This has been, is and will be so. What the Thai armed forces and people should

中泰邦交有一千多年的歷史，我們在泰國的僑胞不下三百萬人。我們向來認泰國是我們的兄弟姊妹之邦，每一個中國人都感覺到泰國與中國是唇齒相依，休戚相關的。每一個中國人都期望着泰國的安定和泰國的繁榮，中國國民對泰國的友感，並沒有因為你們最近幾年來的行動而有變更，因為中國朝野都知道日泰同盟是日本武力逼成的，並非出於泰國軍民的自由意志。我十分希望泰國軍民重視中國的友感，我並且保證，只要泰國軍民重視中國的友感，中國對泰的友感是決不會變更的。

## 第二，中國的主義。

中國是信奉孫中山先生三民主義的國家。依照三民主義，世界各民族應該一律自由平等。所以中國的立國主義是民族的自由平等。基於這種信仰，中國在去年一月一日，和我們的同盟國二十五個國家在華盛頓簽定了一個聯合宣言，聲明要解放一切在日德諸軸心國劫持下的民族，而回復其政治的自主。因此，我可以鄭重向你們保證，中國及其同盟國對於泰國的領土決無野心，對於泰國的主權和獨立決無破壞的意思。過去如此，現在還是如此，將來也必然如此。泰國軍

realize is that Thai territory is actually under Japanese occupation and the Thai people are enslaved by the Japanese, that Thailand's sovereignty and independence have been violated by Japan and that only a Chinese and Allied victory will restore Thailand's territorial integrity and freedom.

“Third, China's War Policy. Since the Thai armed forces and people are subjugated by Japanese military force, China's war policy takes Thailand as a land under Japanese military occupation and not as an enemy. The object of China's attack is Japan's military strength and not the Thai armed forces and people. But as China and her Allies have passed from the defensive to the offensive, and will deliver smashing blows to Japan, the Japanese in Thailand and its neighboring regions will struggle desperately to avoid annihilation. In the ensuing fierce battles each day the Japanese armies in Thailand hold out will cause greater damages to the Thais. Therefore the Thai armed forces and people should take positive actions against the Japanese armies, establish close contact with the Chinese forces and fight shoulder to shoulder with them against the Japanese until the invaders are driven from Chinese and Thai soil. This is a sacred duty for all patriotic Thai soldiers and civilians toward their Fatherland, the Orient and the world, and this is a proper expectation on our part.

“In short, the current world war is a fight between the anti-aggression nations and the aggressor nation, between justice and brute force, and between light dar-

民所應該體認的，是泰國的領土，實際上已經被日本佔領了，泰國的人民已經被日本奴役了，泰國的主權和獨立實際上已經被日本毀滅了，惟有中國及其同盟國勝利，泰國領土與自由纔能恢復。

### 第三，中國作戰方針

泰國軍民係爲日本的暴力所劫持，所以我們的作戰方針是認把泰國看做日本軍隊佔領地，並不看做我們的敵國，我們的攻擊目標，是日本的武力，不是泰國的軍民。不過中國及其同盟國今後攻守變攻的時候，必予敵人以猛烈的打擊。日本在泰國及其鄰近地域亦必死力掙扎，延緩殘喘，在此種激烈戰爭狀況之下，日軍在泰多掙持一日，泰國民衆的犧牲亦必隨而增加。因此之故，泰國的軍民一面應該以積極的行動反抗日本軍隊，一面與我們中國軍隊切實聯繫，並肩作戰，驅逐我們共同的敵人於中泰兩國國境之外。這是泰國一切愛國軍民對於其祖國，對於東亞，對於全世界應盡的責任，這也是我們的正當期待。

總之，此次世界戰爭是反侵略者與侵略者的鬥爭，是正義與暴力鬥爭，是光明與黑暗的鬥爭。我們深願瞭解你們前此處境的困

kness. As much as we understand sympathize with your previous difficult position do we now hope that you will shoulder the responsibility of saving yourselves and the world. We hope that you will realize and prize our friendly feelings toward you and that you will restore Thailand's international prestige by your loyal and courageous actions and will win for her a place in the post-war international order."

難，現在我們却深切期待你們迅速負起自救與救世界的責任。我們盼望你們的瞭解中國國民對泰國親愛情感，並且珍視這種情感。我們盼望你們以忠勇愛國的行動，恢復泰國在國際的信譽，從而爭取泰國在戰後社會中發言的地位。

# MADAME CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S SPEECH

## AT HOLLYWOOD BOWL

### 蔣夫人在好萊塢露天會場演辭全文

Following is the text of Madame Chiang Kai-shek's speech at the  
Hollywood Bowl on April 4, 1943.

蔣夫人於一九四三年四月四日在好萊塢露天會場發表演說。全文如次：

"All experiences, happy or tragic, leave their impression—and consciously or otherwise influence our subsequent thinking and attitude of mind.

"As the seventh year of China's resistance against Japanese aggression approaches, I'll sketch a few of the incidents most vivid in my mind, and insofar as it is humanly possible, adopt a detached and objective view in examining the processes of mind which have led me to certain convictions. For from them, perhaps, you may gain an insight into the lives and motives of people who for many long years have endured the brutalities of being invaded. Time does not permit me to give you a balanced and comprehensive account of the war. I will leave that task to historians.

"I have hesitated to talk to you about the war in China lest it should appear my intention to exploit the suffering of my people. On further thought, I believed that you would understand that the purpose animating me lies in essaying in

一切經歷，無論其為快樂，抑屬悲感，均留下其印象，吾人以後之思想及心理狀態，在有意無意之中，即受其影響。

中國抵抗日本侵略之第七年度，即將來臨，余將以記憶中最鮮明之若干事件，為諸君述之，且在人類能力所及之範圍內，在檢討使余獲得某種信念之心理程序方面，採取一種分離與客觀之觀點，蓋諸君或可藉此對於多年來忍受侵略者野蠻行動之人民之生活與原因，獲得一種印象也。時間不容余向諸君對於戰爭作對照與廣泛之敘述，余將以此一工作留待史家負責。

余將於向諸君申述中國境內戰爭一舉，頗為躊躇，蓋深恐此舉，將表現余欲剖述我國人民所受痛苦之企圖。但經再度考慮之後，余深信諸君必將瞭解鼓勵余之剖述此事者



my own mind as well as in yours to profit by the lessons which these years should teach us.

"I will not encumber you with the history of the perfidy of the Japanese. We can well find its counterpart and parallel in the talks between the Kurusu Mission and the State Department just before the attack on Pearl Harbor, for they have a flavor familiarly reminiscent of the days following the Lukouchiao Incident when the Japanese feigned negotiations with the Chinese Government while massing troops for total invasion.

"At the beginning of the war in 1937 my duties as Secretary-General of the Air Force kept me chiefly engaged in air activities. We had just reorganized the air force, and the total number of usable planes we had was pitifully and incredibly scanty—less than 300. Of these something short of a hundred were fighters and bombers; the rest were machines intended for advanced and primary training. The Japanese, on the other hand, had approximately 5,000 fighting planes.

"On the very first day of air combat our young cadets shot down 14 enemy bombers. We ourselves that day sustained no irreparable loss, for although our planes were riddled with bullet-holes, they still could fly. For three consecutive days enemy planes attacked the same objective—the Hangchow Aviation School—and each time our cadets, flying archaic Hawk-2's and a few Hawk-3's, matched and outfought the enemy, shooting down a considerable number.

"The Japanese were thus completely

，在余圖使諸君以及吾人均能自數年來吾人之經歷中獲得有益之教訓也。

余不擬敘述日本人不信不義之歷史，以獲諸君之精神，吾人在貴國珍珠港被襲以前，來極與美國國務院之會談中即可發現類似之事實，蓋彼等具有一種風格，使吾人極易於憶及蘆溝橋事變以後，日本一面佯與中國政府談判，而另一面則調集重兵，準備從事全面侵略之情形。

一九三七年戰事開始時，余以担任航空委員會秘書長之故，主要工作，均在空軍活動方面。當時吾人之空軍甫經組成，所有可用之飛機，總數之稀少，幾令人不能置信——尚不及三百架，其中戰鬥機與轟炸機不及一百架，餘者均為擬以從事初級及高級訓練之飛機。反之，日方所有作戰飛機之數目，幾及五千架。

在空戰之第一日中，吾人之青年航空學生，即擊落敵方轟炸機十四架。當日我方並未遭受無可修理之損失，蓋我彈痕斑斑之飛機，仍能飛行自如也。敵機曾連續三日來襲同一目標——杭州之航空學校——而每次我方駕駛舊式「鷹一二」式，以及少數「鷹一三」式飛機之航空學生，均能抵禦強敵，且將其擊敗，擊落之敵機亦頗多。

以故日方乃陷於極度惶惑之狀態，甚至

bewildered, and even went so far as to say that we had some secret beam which enabled our young pilots, many of whom were yet undergoing training, successfully to shoot down their bombers. At first we too could not believe that the reports were entirely accurate. Charred remains of enemy planes, however, bore witness to the veracity of these reports.

“As time passed, fewer and fewer combat planes remained to us, for most of the planes ordered before the war were not due for many months. Lack of replacements for our lost planes, were further accentuated by a paucity of spare parts, and nowhere on the horizon shone there a ray of hope to mollify or alleviate our dire difficulties. Problem after problem stalked in nightmare procession. The Nanking airdrome didn't have a runway sufficiently solid to allow for the take-off of the heavy Martin bombers which eventually arrived and were then being assembled. A new runway had to be made. Where was the material to be found at such short notice, especially with the nation's transportation geared to more pressing tasks. But a solution evolved. I asked myself to what more appropriate use in such an emergency could the material on the excellent roads leading to Dr. Sun's Mausoleum be put than this? So we decided to tear up these roads, to take that material for the runway. But hardly was the first problem solved before another interlinked difficulty confronted us. Where could we find labor? I thought of the thousands of refugees who were daily streaming into

聲音吾人嘗某種秘密光線，可使吾人之青年飛行員(其中有若干尚在訓練期間)擊落彼等之轟炸機。吾人最初亦不相信擊落敵機之消息完全正確，然枯焦之敵機殘骸，終于證實此等消息正確無誤。

隨時日之嬗遞，吾人所餘作戰飛機，愈見減少。查在戰前定購之飛機，大部份在預定期間多月之後，猶未運到。吾人損失之飛機，更因零件缺乏之故，無法補充之情形，益見嚴重。遙望天際，並無一線希望之曙光，足以緩和或減輕吾人之迫切困難，種種問題，層出不窮，南京機場之跑道，其堅牢程度尚不足以供給最終到達當時正在裝配中之馬丁威爾遜轟炸機起飛。吾人必須另築一條跑道。倉卒之間，材料何來。尤其當時全國之交通，亦困於其他更迫切之工作。然此一問題，亦逐漸獲得解決。余乃向自身提出一項問題。在此緊急期間，通往孫中山先生陵墓之良好道路，尚有何種較此更屬適當之用途，以故吾人乃決定拆毀此一道路，移其材料建築跑道。然第一問題甫告解決，另一有關之困難，即接踵而至。吾人何處始能獲

Nanking, and undertook to appeal to them for help. Every able-bodied man responded. As enemy planes bombed the city every day during the daylight hours, the refugees worked by night—tens of thousands of them by dim kerosene lamps. Through concerted and unflagging toil, the heavy runway was completed in record time, thanks to the energy, persistence and patriotism of the refugees who gave their time and labor without stint, without a murmur, asking in return no remuneration and no manifest recognition of their service.

“The need for planes became more pressing, and the devastation and destruction wrought by our enemy over the whole countryside made it imperative that we resort to measures which may seem ludicrous to you, yet what else could we do? Every effort must be made, every means must be employed, to equal the high morale of the army and people.

“The constant cry of the young cadets was to give them anything which could fly, and so we put bomb-racks on Hawk-2's and 3's which from that time served as bombers and pursuits. We also equipped primary training planes with bombracks. But the latter were found to be too fragile and too slow to be effective. To those lads, however, any machine which could go soaring into the sky meant snatching that much edge off the vast initial advantage held by the enemy.

“We husbanded our small air force with the utmost care, and every mission was carefully planned so that for the least expenditure the greatest result could be

得工人，余旋即思及，每日如潮湧至南京之無數難民，并懇請彼等援助。每一壯丁均聞風響應。又因敵機每日白晝均來轟炸市區，故此等難民均在晚間工作。——數萬人均在黯淡之洋油燈下工作，經協同一致與未見減弱之勞動以後，此載重跑道卒如期完成。吾人對於此等難民之精神毅力及愛國心，應懷感謝。彼等儘量貢獻時間與勞力，毫無怨言，亦未要求酬報與給予彼等服務之公開讚許。

此時飛機之需要益為迫切，敵人對我全國所施之破壞，使吾人必須採取諸君或認為可笑之措置，然而吾人除此而外，又能何為？吾人必預盡每一力量，利用每一方法，使與軍民之高漲情緒相配。

青年飛行學員時常發出呼聲，要求有可飛之飛機，於是吾人乃在「鷹一二」式或「鷹一三」式飛機之上，安置彈囊，而此種飛機遂成為兩用之轟炸與驅逐機。吾人並於初級教練機上安置彈囊，但發現過於脆弱，而速率之慢，亦未能達其有效地步。在彼輩青年學員觀之，任何能騰空而起之飛機，均可消除敵人最初所佔優勢之一部說錄。

吾人以最謹慎之態度，節用吾人之微小空軍，每一任務均先經縝密之計劃，俾能以最少之耗費完成最大之效果。遣派吾人之青

achieved. It was heartbreaking to send the boys up to defend our capital from the skies, or out on bombing missions, for the odds against them were so tremendous that each time many failed to come back. For many months I had worked with the boys and learned to know them personally. They trusted me because they knew that what I had been telling them were my honest convictions; that we must fight for principles; that every man was to be judged on his own merits; that no favoritism was to be shown to anyone, but that absolute impartiality in spirit and treatment was to prevail throughout the whole air force.

“Through my experience of that period I was reaffirmed in the belief that any service can be built up when the directing policy is based on impartiality and fairness, and when the ranks know that rewards and punishments are meted out according to their just deserts.

“Meanwhile the Japanese had concentrated their naval power at Woosung and under its protection landed an ever-increasing number of troops in the eastern part of the International Settlement of Shanghai. Thus, whilst the enemy had the advantage of the International Settlements as their base of attack, our troops had the disadvantage of the International Settlement, for we were not allowed to use it even as a thoroughfare. Our soldiers, with totally inadequate mechanized equipment, and with absolutely no air protection, fought on the outskirts of Shanghai literally for every inch of land the Japanese gained through the combined

年升空保衛京都或出動轟炸敵人，均令人有肝腸寸斷之感，蓋敵我實力懸殊致每次均有多人未能返防也。余與各青年曾共同工作數月之久，且設法對每人均有瞭解。彼等對余表示信任，蓋彼等知余向彼等所言者，均為由衷之言。彼等亦知吾人必須為主義而戰，每人應依其功過判斷，對於任何人不應偏愛，徇私。而整個空軍中，唯有絕對之大公無私精神與待遇。

余根據此一時期之經驗，重新確立余之信念，即指導之方針倘能以大公無私為準繩，上下人員倘能認識賞罰係以功過為原則，則任何組織均可得而建立。

此時日方已集中其海軍力量於吳淞，其軍隊藉海軍之掩護，在上海公共租界之東部登陸者其數目日見增加。敵人之利在據租界為進攻基地，而我軍則因公共租界而蒙受不利，蓋吾人甚至不能利用租界為通行之通道也。我軍以極不充分之機械化配備，在絕對無空軍保護之情形下，於上海郊外與同時以重砲，海軍大砲及不斷施行轟炸之日軍作寸

use of heavy artillery, naval cannon, and incessant bombing. The Japanese average gain was less than a mile a day.

“On that front, for three months, our troops fought with the fury of the inspired whilst the Japanese military moaned that China was not playing fair because her troops did not know when they were defeated. The spirit of our soldiers shone with steadfast splendor, and their selflessness instilled courage and determination in our sorely tried and harrassed people. It was all that the High Command could do to hold back the troops in their trenches. They wanted to combat the enemy at close quarters; so clear was their realization of the principles at stake, so great their indignation that good faith could be broken by the mere whim of those who knew only desecration.

“Wherever the Generalissimo went to hold conferences with his officers at the front, I accompanied him. The trips held dangers even when made in the dead of night, for rail traffic was disrupted by constant bombing and congested with troop movements, and on the highways the road lights were turned off and all motor car headlights were dimmed with black cloth lest enemy planes should spot us.

“Once we arrived at Soochow just when some troop trains had pulled in. The station was a shambles from repeated bombings, but the railway officials, tottering with weariness and lack of sleep, stuck doggedly to their work. The stretcher-bearers worked like wordless automatons trying to clear the station

土之爭奪戰。日軍每日之進展。平均不及一英里。

我軍在該戰場激烈作戰達三月之久，而日軍則悲鳴呻吟，認為中國之作戰不夠公正，蓋日軍亦不知彼等於何時被擊敗也。我軍之精神始終不失其堅定之光輝，其犧牲自我之表現，益使痛苦與煩惱中之人民獲得勇氣與決心。當時軍事當局之所能為者，即設法制止軍隊至壕外，因彼等均欲與敵人肉搏作戰。彼等明白認識其主義已遭受危險，其憤怒之情，亦臻頂點，蓋贖聖者(指敵人)每因幻念而破壞信義也。

蔣委員長無論赴前線何地與將領舉行會議，余無不伴隨。此項旅行，即使於更深夜靜時為之，亦至有危險，蓋鐵路交通往往為空襲所中斷，軍運所阻塞，而公路之路燈亦往往熄滅，所有摩托車之車頭燈，均蒙以黑布，以防敵機之發覺也。

某次，吾等適於若干兵車進站後抵達蘇州，車站更番被炸，直若屠場。惟鐵路員工雖疲勞不堪，且缺乏睡眠，仍工作不稍懈。昇擡架者，工作如無言之自動機器者然，一面企圖昇擡車站月台上之傷兵，一面傷兵源

platform of wounded, while many more wounded were unloaded. Clammy, sticky blood clung like glue to our thick walking shoes, while more blood seeped through the soles; still more blood spattered over us as we stumbled through the closely-packed station. The wounded were clustered in ever available space—young men who a few hours before were full of vitality and vigor and who were now slowly being drained of life itself.

“Only an occasional gasp of pain echoed across the roofless station; most of the sufferers bore their anguish in stoic silence. One young boy, stretching out his hand, tugged at my coat as I passed him, murmuring “Water, water.” I sent an aide-de-camp for water. Immediately the medical officer advised me that in case of stomach wounds, no water must be given. I’ll never forget the look on that young lad’s face as I sorrowfully shook my head and told him that, for his own good, I could do nothing for him. That face, so young, almost that of a child—twitching with the excruciating pain made by a gaping wound—how can I ever forget that? Why should the Almighty select those so innocent and so untried to be offered as a sacrament on the communion table of national honor? Have they perhaps sinned against the tenets of God? Or is theirs the vicarious lot of a tributive justice?”

“It is true that life, if it is of any worth, must have as its constant companion honor. Death occurs as a final culmination inevitable in the processes of life. And indeed it falls not to all men

源由車上卸下。當吾等步經滿佈傷兵之車站時，膠粘之血液附着於吾人之鞋靴，滲透鞋底，且週身為血液所濺。此輩受傷之青年，麇集於一切可以騰出之處所，彼等數小時之前，猶精神奕奕，充滿生氣，而今生命之血，竟徐徐外溢，以至於盡。

受傷者雖痛楚難堪，但仍隱忍持重，默然不聲，僅偶然一二痛苦之喘息，迴響于無屋頂之車站間耳。當余步經一少年，渠伸手牽余外衣，微聲曰「水水」，余仍遣侍從副官取水，惟旋經軍醫諫阻。謂凡受腹傷者，不宜飲水，余目少年為之啼噓搖首者再，告以爲渠着想計，不能以水飲之。渠該時面色余永難忘懷，嗚呼，如此年青之人，望之一若孩提，面上因創口痛楚而起痙攣，余何能忘懷哉。余不由號呼蒼天，何以選擇彼輩如此天真未墜者為民族榮譽聖餐標上之聖禮。彼等或曾觸犯上帝之教義乎，抑彼輩乃命定為善惡報應之正義中代人受罪者乎。

生命(若有價值)誠然必須以榮譽為其恆久之伴侶，而死亡乃生命過程中所不免者，以為最後之極點。事實上亦非人人可得參與

to share privilege with the crusaders of truth, to breathe their last while in the line of duty, and to have the benediction of knowing in their last conscious moments that they are dying in upholding ideals more meaningful than life. War is cruel, terrible and revolting and should never be permitted to recur. We who have experienced it at its worst cannot extol or glorify it, but we have the comfort of knowing that the last moments of our youths in making the supreme sacrifice were illuminated by the lambent glory of righteousness and justice, while the youths of the enemy were decimated without the solace that they were dying in order that civilization might survive.

“As the enemy landed increased numbers of long-range guns and heavy artillery, the time came when the Central Government decided that all civilians should evacuate Nanking. Hundreds of thousands of people who had hitherto made the capital their home had to take what they could carry and leave the rest to be consumed by fire in adopting the strategy of what is now commonly called the “scorched earth policy.” In no wise did we want the enemy to have any more advantage than we could have.

“The trees which we had planted so proudly ten years before in our high hopes to make Nanking the truly beautiful capital had to be cut down so that artillery could have the necessary unobstructed view. To have watched the saplings gradually grow year by year into sturdy trees and finally witness their tops cut off was like seeing live pets killed before us.

真理之十字軍，死於盡忠職守之際，而離世之頃，有為維護較生命更有意義之理想而死之感者。戰爭乃殘酷可怖可厭之事，應勿使之再行發生。吾輩受戰禍最烈之人，斷不頌頌戰爭。但吾人可引以為慰者，乃深悉吾人之青年，於英烈犧牲時，有正義之光芒，為彼等照耀。而敵國之青年就戮時，並無為保存文明而死之慰藉也。

當敵人搬運更多之長程大砲及重砲登陸時，中央政府不得不決定將市民撤離南京，萬千人民前此居於國都者，須攜其所能攜者，而將其餘各物燬之於火，採取目前通稱之「焦土政策」。吾人斷不容敵人有何種較吾人更多之利益。

吾人十年以前滿心希望使南京名符其實成為美麗之國都，所植之樹，至是遂不得不予以砍伐，以廓清砲兵之視野，目擊荏弱幼苗之年年成長，以至繁茂強實之樹，最後乃見其砍去，直若視吾人寵愛者被殺於吾人前。

"The Generalissimo and I were amongst the last officials to leave Nanking. Before we left we took steps for the removal of irreplaceable, priceless treasures belonging to the National Museum of Art to quarters safe from enemy looting. Later I went outside the city wall for a final look at the now empty buildings of the School for the Children of the Revolution. Here and there, in fields beyond the campus, I saw thatched huts not yet devoured by flame. Some outside walls were still intact, and hanging on them were strings of dried beans, peas, lentils and cobs of corn. They were the pick of the harvest and had been carefully saved as seeds for the next crop. But for these humble folk who for generations had lived, loved and had their being on the spit, these were not the next crop—not for many years, anyway—not until victory was won.

"During such moments I wondered whether the mania of the bloodthirsty is ever slaked by the display constantly before their eyes of human suffering amid the havoc they have wrought? Are they such diabolic Lucifers that they can only revel in human misery? Well might I have such musings, for the world now knows to what extent the Japanese military have carried their calculated cruelties after they occupied Nanking and other areas; how they plundered and stripped the terrified populace of all means of livelihood, molested our women, rounded up all able-bodied men, tied them together like animals, forced them to dig

蔣委員長與余亦在最後一批離開南京之官吏當中。吾人在離去之前，曾採取措施，遷移國立美術陳列館中無可補償之無價珍藏至敵方無法劫掠之安全地帶。其後余出城對革命軍人遺族學校之空校舍作最後一次巡視。在校園以外之田野中，余隨處均可發現尚未被焚之茅屋，若干外牆仍完好無損，懸有一串一串之乾豆，豌豆，扁豆，以及玉蜀黍之穗軸等。此等均為收穫物之精選部份，留作下一次種植之種子，除非世代生活於田間之農民有此想法，此實非下一次之種植所在地——無論如何在數年之內係屬如此——在獲得勝利之後，將不能在此間種植。

在此種情景之下，余不知彼輩嗜血之狂徒，是否將因人類在彼等所作之蹂躪中受苦之情狀不斷呈現於彼等眼前之故而戕其凶殘？彼等是否為僅能在人類之痛苦中取樂之惡魔？無怪余有此等想像，蓋目前舉世均知日本軍人在佔領南京及其他區域之後，實行彼等有計劃之殘酷手段，彼等如何從事劫掠，並剝奪惶恐民衆之一切謀生工具，蹂躪吾人之婦女，逮捕所有壯丁，將其縛成一串，如



their own graves, and finally kicked them in and buried them alive.

"Settled temporarily at Hankow, we realized that the war would be long and hard, and that to sustain a defensive war of the magnitude and length we had in mind, Hankow was merely a stopping-off place to enable us to take stock of our weaknesses and re-assess our strength in making preparations for the future. In equipment the enemy undoubtedly out-tripped us in every way, for theirs was a modern army with all auxiliary services complete, including mechanized units, trained engineer corps and fully equipped medical contingents in addition to a powerful navy and an equally powerful air force.

"And what did China have? We had no navy to speak of, an embryo air force, infantry equipped mainly with rifles and machine-guns, and outmoded artillery pieces. But we had manpower which willingly volunteered its flesh and blood. We had fighting spirit, for we know we were struggling for justice and righteousness. And we also had the advantages of time and space.

"It was our intention and strategy to make the enemy pay, and pay dearly, for every inch of land they had wrested from us, so that in time we could wear them out, provided the will to win could withstand the onslaught of steel and high explosives.

"China's long-continued resistance in the face of formidable difficulties proves that our envisionment of the situation was both psychologically and militarily correct.

禽獸者然，唯其自掘墳墓 最後乃將其踢入墓穴，予以活埋。

吾人在漢口暫且安身之際，即深知戰爭將為長期與堅苦之戰爭。吾人深知為支持一種大規模與長期之防禦戰起見，漢口僅為一種暫時休息之所，在使吾人得以彌補吾人之缺點，重新估定本身之力量，為前途從事準備工作。就裝備而言，敵人在任何方面自較吾人進步。蓋彼等乃新式之軍隊，一切輔助部隊均屬完全。除強大之海軍及空軍而外，並有機械化部隊訓練精良之工兵以及配備完整之醫護隊。

而中國所有者為何，吾人無海軍可言，空軍尚在萌芽時期。步兵之主要配備為步槍與機關槍以及舊式之大砲。然吾人所有者為人力，彼等均自願以血肉貢獻國家。吾人尚有作戰之精神，蓋吾人係為正義與公理而戰。吾人亦有時間與空間方面之有利地位。

吾人之意圖與戰略，乃使敵人自吾人手中奪取每一寸土地，均須付出重大之代價，如吾人爭取勝利之意志，能支持鋼鐵與高度爆炸彈之猛烈攻擊，吾人即可在時間方面消耗彼等之力量。

中國在重大困難下之長期不斷抗戰，足以證明吾人對於時局之觀察，在心理與軍事兩方面，均屬正確。對於彼等譏笑中國「磁

To those skeptics who sneered at China's "magnetic strategy", I would like to put a question—"What other people in the modern world has endured the agonies of war for so long and so bravely, held so tenaciously and so staunchly to the defence of principles, as the Chinese people, and faced such odds in fighting equipment?" Of these same skeptics I would also like to ask: Given the same conditions what would they have done, in our position what could they have done? I should like to reiterate here that we have been fighting not only for our homes and hearths; we have been fighting to uphold pledges and principles, because violation of one pledge means breaking the whole chain of international decency and honor.

"During those Hankow days, the Generalissimo and I were constantly making trips to various fronts. The ever-recurring spectacle of hundreds of thousands of our well-to-do countrymen reduced to being refugees and fleeing over the countryside, being bombed and machine-gunned by enemy planes, and of thousands of dead on the roadsides awaiting burial are ghastly memories impossible to forget. When will the ghosts of our bombed cities, ruined villages and myriads of men, women and little children murdered in cold blood be laid?

"Meanwhile there was work to be done for a living. As the war continued, women's volunteer organizations sprang up all over the country. Systematic coordination was, however, lacking, and, as a result, duplication of work and confusion prevailed. At a conference held in the

鐵戰術」之懷疑者，余願提出一項問題——現代世界上尚有何民族，曾如我中華民族在作戰裝備處於如此劣勢之狀態下，英勇支持戰爭之痛苦至如此長久，如此堅持保護吾人之主義。對於此等懷疑者，余尚欲問之，如彼等處於同樣境遇，則彼等已完成何種工作。如彼等處於吾人之境遇能完成何種工作。余願重新聲明，吾人不僅為本身之家園而戰，吾人乃為維護諾言與主義而戰，蓋犯違一種諾言，即等於破壞國際禮讓與榮譽之全部聯鎖。

在漢口時，蔣委員長與余時赴各戰場視察。是時常觸眼廉者，即昔日無數生活優裕之國人，多成難民，逃亡鄉區，遭受敵機之轟炸掃射。而路側待埋之數千屍首，更為難以忘懷之可怖印像，試問吾人被炸之城市，被毀之村鎮，及無數被殘殺之男女幼童，其幽靈何時始能獲得慰藉。

是時尚須工作以謀生計。婦女之自動組織，隨戰爭之進行，在全國各地紛紛成立。惟仍缺乏有系統之聯繫，致工作有重複混亂之勢。全國各地婦女代表五十人，旋在姑蘇

hills of Kuling, fifty women leaders representing every section of the country came together. During those ten days we laid the foundations of the National Women's Advisory Council, which all agreed should function as the supreme body in directing women's war efforts.

"We established various departments to meet war emergencies without interfering with existing organization but by supplementing and coordinating local efforts. The training of girls and women to work amongst the wounded, refugees, and as a liaison between the people and the army, care of war orphans, increase of production all received the consideration they deserved.

"The response to this movement on the part of women all over the country was electric. Branch associations mushroomed overnight. Differences of opinion were freely aired and hotly contested, but the final decisions of the Women's Advisory Council ruled. From this experience I am convinced that women can work together; they can, they will and they must—women of every creed and belief, yes, of every nationality—provided the cause is big enough and the challenge worth accepting.

"A few months later the Central Government issued hurried orders for the evacuation of Hankow. One day I had gone to the boat to bid goodbye to several hundreds of girls whom I had helped to train for war work. I hoped and prayed they would reach their destination, for just the day before a boatload of refugees, including many war orphans, was bombed,

開會，在十日之期間，吾人奠立全國婦女指導委員會之基礎，並一致決定該會應為指導全國婦女作戰努力之最高機構。

吾人建立若干部分，以應付戰時之急迫，但不干擾當時所有之機構，而僅在補助並聯繫各地之工作，訓練婦女以救護傷兵難民，及加強軍民聯繫工作，保育難童，及增加生產等工作均獲得其應得之重視。

全國婦女響應是項運動之情形誠令人振奮。瞬息之間，各地分會紛紛成立，不同之意見，獲得自由之表達與熱烈之討論，但最後之決定，則操於婦女指導委員會，余根據是項經驗，相信婦女能團結一致工作，彼等將來亦能如此，且必須如此。僅需目標偉大，值得一爭則婦女不分宗教信仰，甚至不分國籍，均能團結一致也。

數月後，中央下緊急命令自漢口撤退，某日，余登某輪，向撤退之數百女子話別，彼等蓋為余所訓練從事戰時工作者，余期望並禱告彼等能安全到達目的地，蓋前一日有滿載難民(其中有難童多人)之輪船一艘，適

and all perished. As I was walking home I noticed that over the gutters in the streets there still remained thick slabs of iron grates. Would they not be used by the enemy to make into bombs to kill more of our people. I mentioned this to the Generalissimo, and he issued orders that all the metal should be taken up and thrown into the river.

"The Generalissimo and I took the last plane which left the night before Hankow was occupied by the enemy.

"Chungking, the wartime capital, now became the center of activity. The same difficulties which obtained at Hankow followed us there. Even the government organizations had a hard time trying to find quarters for all of the millions of refugees who poured into this district from the Hankow area. But there was one difference. We had already sustained the first impact of war, and the people had become used to makeshifts in living.

"Hardly had we arrived, however, before the enemy air force started their bombing and strafing, again hoping that this would break down the morale of our resistance. For several years, during the clear season, whenever the city was not enveloped in opaque fog, we were constantly subject to overhead attacks. In fact, Chungking and its vicinity never had a respite until the famous Flying Tigers grappled with the air marauders and fought them off. But alas, there were not enough to give even a little overhead protection to our gallant armies spread out in nine war zones. Our Chinese air force, as time went on, dwindled, for

遺棄：而致全部喪生也。余旋安步而歸。

偶見馬路陰溝之上，尚有極厚方格鐵板。

人其得利用之以製造炸彈，屠殺更多之中國

人民耶。余乃向 蔣委員長提出此點，

蔣委員長當即下令，將所有金屬投諸江中。

蔣委員長與余於漢口被佔之前夜，乘最後一次之飛機離漢口。

至是則戰時之首都重慶成為活動中心。

然吾人在漢口所遭受之困難，復追蹤而來，

甚至政府機關亦不易為自漢來渝之百萬難民

尋找居所。但重慶有一異點，即吾人業已經

歷戰爭所加於吾人之初次震動。故人民對生

活上之權宜辦法，均能安之若素。

然吾人尙未抵境，敵空軍即開始轟炸，

掃射，企圖藉此動搖吾人之抵抗意志。在此

數年中，每至晴朗季節，當全城未為濃霧大

霧所籠罩時，吾人即遭受空中之襲擊。

上，重慶及其近郊始終無安靜之日，以迄馳

名之「飛虎」與空中強盜搏鬥，而將其驅逐

時為止。所不幸者，即「飛虎」數目不足，

致分布於九個戰區之吾人英勇軍隊仍毫無空

although Russia supplied some planes the need was ever greater than what was obtained. But whenever we could we made desperate raids over the enemy's supply bases. For the rest we had to be content with training pilots in the hope that someday planes would be forthcoming.

"Anyone who has an idea of the topography of Chungking would understand the heart-breaking hardships our people have to endure. The city itself is situated on a tongue of land at the juncture of two rivers—the Chialing and the Yangtze. Steep stone steps lace their ways up and down the hillsides, and old houses are built in such a way that they have only one entrance. Oftentimes, when a bomb exploded and cut off the one entrance, householders would be trapped without means of egress. Whole sections of the city were turned into a shambles by a few bombs, as the houses were so closely packed together that one incendiary bomb could set off a whole block in flames. We knew days when it was impossible to obtain coffins as the toll of death mounted.

"In time all the business section of the city was demolished, so that it was possible to stand in the midst of the city and get an unobstructed view of the rivers on both sides. It is to the credit of the resurgent spirit of our people that they were not intimidated, for after each bombing, scarcely had the air raid siren trailed off its last echo before surviving householders returned to burnt homes and shops and began to salvage whatever they could. A few days later temporary shacks and

中保護，我中國之空軍，隨時光之消逝而減少，蓋蘇聯雖以若干飛機供應吾人，然需要究較所得尤多。但吾人一遇時機，即極力襲擊敵人之供應基地，此外則唯有以訓練飛行員為已足，以期他日能獲得飛機之供應。

凡稍知重慶地形之人皆知我民衆所忍受之艱難困苦。城區本身位於嘉陵揚子兩江匯流如舌形之一片陸地上，山邊上下皆有峻陡之帶狀石級，舊式建築僅有一出入口，往往炸彈爆發，毀去一門，屋主即被困于其中，無門可出。敵人但擲數彈，全城即化為屠場，因房屋之建築鱗次櫛比，燃燒彈一枚，即可使一大片屋宇化為火窟。吾人知有若干時日，死亡之重，致棺材無法購得。

有時全城市區皆被毀滅，如站立市中，可以瞻望兩江，了無隔礙，幸賴我民族之復興精神，未受威脅，每次轟炸過後，警報解除聲猶未全止時，未受傷害之屋主，即返被焚之住宅與店舖中，搶救一切可救之物品。

buildings would make their appearance on the old sites.

“On some days the raids were so close and numerous that none had time to prepare food. Hours were wasted in the dugouts—valuable hours needed for work and rest. But moonlit nights were worst, marauding planes timed with diabolic cunning, came in successive waves. Terrible fatigue permeated every nerve and bone, so that it was preferable to risk being bombed to death than to get out of bed to seek safety.

“But we knew the enemy was trying to break our morale through sheer physical exhaustion. We were therefore inflexible in our determination not to give in. No greater tribute could be paid our sorely tried people than this—that in all their suffering never did they complain against their leaders. Never did they falter in the determination that the enemy must be driven from our shores.

“They had faith too that in the end America and the democratic world would realize that it was not only for ourselves that we were fighting, and that by continuing to engage the enemy we were giving time to the democracies to prepare their defenses. Here I would like to say that neither we nor posterity can detract from the foresight and statesmanship of President Roosevelt when he envisaged to the full the implications and consequences of the struggle of right against might and took decisive measures to enable America to become the arsenal of the democracies. History and posterity will panegyricize your President's unswerving

不數日後，臨時性之茅舍木屋，又在廢墟上出現矣。

有時空襲之密與次數之多，令人無暇晷。工作與休息所需之寶貴時間，均虛擲于防空洞中，而月明之夜，尤可驚悸，蓋寇機以惡魔性之狡猾，分批來襲，可怖之疲憊，滲透每一人之神經與骨髓，故寧願冒被炸死之險，而不願起床以求安全。

但吾人咸知敵人純欲因吾人體力之疲竭，以沮喪我之士氣，故吾人決心愈堅，絕不  
屈服。我歷盡劫難之人民，最可稱道者，無  
過於彼等在任何困難中，對其領袖從無怨言。  
• 彼等盡逐敵人出境之決心，從未動搖。

彼等又信美國及其他民主國家，最後必  
能認識吾人作戰不僅為吾人本身而已。蓋吾  
人繼續與敵作戰，可予民主國以準備防務之  
機會。於此，余敢斷言，當羅斯福總統充分  
認識公理對抗強權之意義與結果而採取決定  
措施，使美國成為民主國之兵工廠時，渠之  
遠見與政治家風度，當非吾人及後世所能毀  
損者。歷史及吾人之後裔，對於貴國總統堅

convictions and his moral courage to implement them.

“We take pride in the fact that amid all the stern and never-ending demands of war we are preparing for a permanent peace and for the strenuous world-building that lies before us. You too are talking of similar steps, and like us you are determined to contribute your share in the organization of a new and happier social order, just as you are in prosecuting the war.

“We in China, through these years of suffering, have not turned to indiscriminate hate of the enemy. We are not afraid of the sharp and stony path which we must travel before our common victory is won. But we, like you and the other United Nations, shall see to it that the Four Freedoms will not assume the flaccid status of ethical postulates—no matter how belated the final victory will be.

“We will not be cozened of an equitable peace. We will not permit aggression to raise its Satanic head and threaten man's greatest heritage—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all people.”

定之信念與道義之毅力以實施此類措施，必將踴躍不置。

吾人在應付嚴重與無盡之戰爭需求當中，已在準備一永久和平，與未來世界之努力建設。吾人於此極引以自豪。君等正如吾人，現亦在商討同樣步驟，而決心對組織較好之社會新秩序有所貢獻，一如對作戰有所貢獻者然。

我中國人民雖忍受數年痛苦，然對敵人並未不分皂白一概憎恨。吾人在獲得共同勝利以前，必須經過崎嶇之險道，但吾人亦如諸君及其他聯合國，無論最後勝利如何遲到，終不願視四大自由陷於道德條件之式微狀態。

吾人不欲為一虛偽之公正和平所欺，吾人不許侵略重伸其獠惡之首，以威嚇人類之最大遺產，即所有民族之生命，自由與幸福之追求是也。

x x x x

Full Text of Roosevelt's  
Lincoln Day Speech

羅斯福之林肯日演說全文

Feb. 12, 1943.

一九四三年二月十二日

It is nearly two years since I attended the last dinner of the White House Correspondents' Association. A great deal of water has flowed over the dam since then. And several people have flown over the water.

Two years ago--many months before Pearl Harbor--I spoke to you of the thought that was then uppermost in our minds--of the determination of America to become the arsenal of democracy. Almost all Americans had by that time determined to play their full part in helping to save civilization from the barbarians. Even then we were in the midst of a historic job of production--a job which the American people have been performing with zest and skill and above all with success.

Tonight I speak to you of another thought that is uppermost in our minds: that is our determination to fight this war through to the finish--to the day when the United Nations march in triumph through the streets of Berlin, Rome and Tokyo.

Last September I made a tour of inspection through this country. I saw our war plants at work I saw Army and navy train-

自余參加白宮記者協會之上次晚餐會以來，轉瞬將屆二載。在此兩載中，曾發生若干重大變故，且有數人業已作古。

兩年以前，即珍珠港事件數月之前，余曾告諸君以當時在吾人之心目中佔最高地位之思想，即美國決心成為民主國家之兵工廠是也，當時，幾乎全美人民均具決心，履行彼等於協力挽救文明於野蠻人之手一項工作中之全部責任，甚至在當時吾人即在生產一項歷史性工作當中，美國人民正以興趣技巧及成就完成是項工作。

今晚余向諸君發言時，吾人心中又有佔有最高地位之思想，即吾人決心在戰爭中作戰到底，直至聯合國家在柏林羅馬東京之街道作勝利遊行爲止。

去年九月，余曾巡遊全國，從事觀察工作，余眼見戰時工廠均在工作，余眼見陸軍



ming camps and flying fields. I saw American soldiers and sailors and flyers doing the job of training for the fighting which lay ahead.

Now I have returned from one of the fronts overseas where the production from American factories and training given in American camps are being applied in actual warfare against the enemy. I have seen our troops in the field. I have inspected their superb equipment. I have talked and laughed and eaten with them.

I have seen our men--the nation's men--in Trinidad, in Belem and Natal in Brazil, in Liberia, Cambia. In these places there is no actual fighting but there is hard, dangerous and essential work, and there is a tremendous strain upon the endurance and spirit of our troops. They are standing up magnificently under that strain.

I have seen our men--and some of our American women--in North Africa. Out there is war. Those men know that before this war is over many of them will have given their lives. But they know also that they are fighting to destroy the power of the enemies of their country--that they are fighting for peace which will be a real and lasting peace and a far-better world for the future.

Our men in the field are worthy of the great faith, the high hopes, we have placed in them. that applies as well to men of our Navy, without whom no American expeditionary force could land safely on foreign shores. And it applies equally to men of our merchant marine who

與海軍之營房及飛行場，余眼見美國陸海空軍人員均為未來之作戰從事訓練工作。

目前余已由一處之生產品以及美國營房中訓練之成果，已實際應用於對敵作戰。余曾見吾人在戰場上之軍隊，余曾視察彼等之優美裝備，余曾與彼等談笑共餐。

余曾在特立尼達島，巴西之培蘭與納塔爾、利比里亞、岡比亞見及五美之戰士，上述諸地雖無實際戰事但有艱鉅冒險而重要之工作。我軍之精神與毅力均在極緊張狀態中，彼等即在此類緊張狀態中，守衛一方。

余曾在北非見及美國之戰士以及若干婦女，該地現有戰事，彼等皆深知在戰事結束以前，彼等之中，必有多少人犧牲其生命，然彼等亦知作戰目的，在消滅祖國之敵人之力量，在爭取永久而真正之和平，與一較好之未來世界。

我在戰場上之戰士，皆值得吾人信任，以及吾人所寄託於彼等之崇高希望。我國之海軍戰士亦然，設無海軍，美國之遠征軍實無法在外國海岸安全登陸，而運載重要軍火

carry essential munitions and supplies without which neither the United States nor our Allies could continue the battle.

No American can look at these men, soldiers or sailors, without great emotion and great pride and a very deep sense of responsibility to them.

Because of necessary secrecy of my trip the men of our armed forces in every place that I visited were completely surprised. The expression on their faces certainly showed it.

I wish I could pay similar surprise visits to our men in other fields of operation--the naval bases and the island of the Pacific, Australia, the mainland and islands of Alaska, the islands of the Atlantic the two Guianas, the Canal Zone, Iceland, Britain Central Africa, the Middle East, India Burma and China. I wish I could tell them face to face that their Government and their people are very proud of the great job they are doing in helping to strengthen the vise that is slowly but surely squeezing the breath out of our enemies.

In every battalion and in every ship's crew you will find every kind of American citizen representing every occupation, every section of origin, every religion, every political viewpoint.

Ask them what they are fighting for, and everyone of them will say: "I am fighting for my country." Ask them what they really mean by that and you will get what, on the surface, may seem to be a wide variety of answers.

One will say that he is fighting for the right to say what he pleases and to read

與槍斃之商輪船員亦同樣值得信任照顧，與

無使等，美國與其盟邦皆不能繼續作戰。

美國人民一見彼輩陸海軍戰士，未有不表示極大之感動，極大之自豪，並對彼等發生極深之責任感者。

余此行因有保守秘密之必要，故凡余所訪問之處，吾人之武裝部隊均極表示訝異，其臉上之表情，蓋已表示之矣。

余望余對其他戰場——各海軍基地、太平洋各島、澳洲、阿拉斯加大陸與所屬海島、大西洋上各島、圭亞那之兩處、運河區、冰島、英國、中非、中東、印度、緬甸與中國——之我軍，亦能作相似之突兀訪問。余望余能向其親自說明彼等之政府與人民，對今日彼等所為之工作，均引以為榮，此項工作為何，即加強逐漸致敵死命而必能致敵死命之鉗子是也。

在每一營及一艘船隻內，均能發現代表各種職業，各種宗教派別及各種政見之美國公民。

倘詢問彼等為何而戰，則每一人必答曰，「余為祖國而戰」，倘再問此語之真義何在，則吾人所獲得之答語，在表面上或有廣泛之區別。

甲或答稱，彼為爭取其發言權與聆聽

and listen to what he likes.

Another will say that he is fighting because he never wants to see the Nazi Swastika flying over the First Baptist Church on Elm Street.

Another soldier will say that he is fighting for the right to work and earn three square meals a day for himself and his folks.

A fourth soldier will say that he is fighting in this world war so that his children and grandchildren will not have to go back to Europe, or Africa or Asia to do this ugly job all over again.

But all these answers really add up to the same thing. Every American fights for freedom. And today that personal freedom of every American and his family depends, and in the future will increasingly depend upon the freedom of his neighbors in other lands.

For today the whole world is one neighborhood. That is why the war which had its beginnings in seemingly remote areas has spread to every continent and most of the islands of the sea, involving the lives and liberties of the entire human race. And unless the peace that follows recognizes that the whole world is one neighborhood and does justice to the whole human race, the germs of another world war will remain as a constant threat to mankind.

I talked to many people in our armed forces—along the coast and through the islands of the Western Hemisphere and up the coast of West Africa. Many of our soldiers and sailors were concerned about the state of the home front. They

之自由權而戰。

乙或答稱，彼因不願見納粹之卍旗飄揚於華盛頓榆街浸禮會教堂，故乃作戰。

丙或答謂，彼為工作及賺取本身與家屬一日三餐之自由而作戰。

丁或答稱，彼參加今日世界大戰之目的，在使其子孫無須重赴歐洲或非洲或亞洲，再進行此種醜惡工作。

然各種答案無非補充共同之一點，即每一公民係為自由而戰也。今日每一美國公民與其家庭之個人自由，係依賴於其他大陸上之隣友之自由，將來此種依賴之程度尤將增加。

蓋今日全世界均若比鄰，此即所以戰爭雖發生似屬遙遠之區域，而結果則邊延於每一大洲以及大部份之島嶼海洋，囊括全人類之生命與自由之理也。除非戰後之和平承認全世界均屬比鄰，對於一切人類均持正義，否則另一世界大戰之病菌，仍將成為對於人類之經常威脅。

余曾在西半球沿海岸及各島嶼以及非洲之海岸地帶，與我軍中之若干人員談話，我陸海軍人員中，有若干對於國內陣線情況，均表關切。彼等曾接得各種誇大之消息與謠

have received all kinds of exaggerated reports and rumors that there is too much complaining here at home and too little recognition of the realities of war; that selfish labor leaders are threatening to call strikes which would greatly curtail the output of our war industries; that some farm groups are trying to profiteer prices and are letting us down on food production; that many peoples are bitter over the hardships of rationing and priorities; and especially that there are serious partisan political quarrels over the petty things of life here in Washington.

I told them that most of these reports are just gross exaggeration; that the people as a whole in the United States are in this war to see it through with heart and body and soul; and that our population is willing and glad to give up some of their shoes and sugar and coffee and automobile riding, and privileges and profits, for the sake of the common cause.

I could not deny to our troops that a few chiselers, a few politicians and a few publicists—fortunately a very few—have placed their personal ambition or greed above the nation's interest.

Our troops know that the Nazis and Fascists and Japanese are trying hard to sell untrustful propaganda to certain types of Americans. But our troops also know that even if you pile a lot of mole-hills of deception on top of the other, you still cannot make a mountain big enough or solid enough to fool many people or to block the road to victory and to an effective peace.

言。謂國內怨言過多，對於戰爭之實際過於缺乏認識。自私之勞工領袖以號召將使吾人戰時工業大見減縮罷工為威脅，若干農場集團，正設法於價格中取利，使吾人糧食生產減少，若干人民均因定量分配與獲得優先權方面之困難而感痛苦，尤其在華盛頓方面，在生活瑣事方面，有若干嚴重之政黨政治爭執。

余曾告彼等，大部分報告皆屬過甚其詞。以大體論，美國人民在此次戰爭中，咸願以全心全力，貫徹始終。我國人民為達成其共同目標計，咸甘心樂意放棄其一部分鞋子、白糖、咖啡、汽車、特權與利益。

余不能對我國軍隊否認有少數欺世盜譽之人，少數政客與出版家，以其個人之野心與貪慾，置於國家利益之上，所幸此等人究竟居極少數。

我國軍隊深知納粹法西斯與日本正竭盡全力，對某型之美國人民，散播不可置信之宣傳，但彼等亦知縱然以點點滴滴之欺詐，錄積寸累，終不能堆砌成山，使其堅牢碩大，足可欺罔多數人民，或妨礙勝利與有效和平之路。

A fundamental of an effective Peace is the assurance to those men who are fighting our battles that when they come home they will find a country with its economy firm enough and fair enough to provide jobs for all those who are willing to work.

I am certain that private enterprises will be able to provide the vast majority of those jobs--and in those cases where this cannot be accomplished that Congress will pass legislation which will make a good assurance of jobs.

There are still a few who say we cannot achieve this and other honorable and reasonable aims for the Postwar Period. In speaking of these Professionally skeptics--these men of little faith--there comes to my mind a word in our language--the word "Pettifoggers". A formal dictionary definition and derivation of the word are neither here nor there. To most of us it brings to mind a man who is a type of man who is always seeking to create a smoke screen for the purpose of obscuring the plain truth.

Today the Pettifoggers are attempting to obscure essential truths of this war. They are seeking to befog the Present and the future and the clear purposes and high Principles for which the free world now maintains the promise of undimmed victory.

In North Africa we are now massing armies--British, French, American--for one of the major battles of this war.

The enemy's purpose in the battle of Tunisia is to hold at all costs their last

有效和平之根本，在於保證我在作戰之

人民一旦解甲歸來，國內之經濟情形穩定而公平，足可使一切願意工作之人民皆能獲得職業。

余信私人企業供給彼等以此類職業之大部份，設有不足之處，國會當能通過法律，予此類職業以良好保證。

惟仍有少數人士謂吾人不能於戰後期間獲此並達到其他公正與合理之目標。此類對人不信之人，於發表此種職業性之懷疑論時，余乃不禁思及美國語中「詭棍」一字。以前正式字典中，對於此一字之定義與字源，均不恰切，但吾人之印象，大致為一種專事製造煙幕，以隱晦真象之一型人物。

今日此類「詭棍」正圖從事隱晦目前大戰之真相，彼等現正在現在與未來之前，在目前自由世界所為維持清晰勝利之保證之崇高之原則與明顯之目標之前，散放煙幕。

吾人在北非正集中英法美大軍，以備進行此次戰爭中之重大戰役。

敵人在突尼西亞戰役中之目的，為不顧一切代價，堅守其在非洲之最後根據地，以

bridgehead in Africa, to prevent us from gaining an access to the Straits that lead to Nazi dominated Europe.

Our prime purpose in this battle of Tunisia is to drive our enemies into the sea.

The British 1st Army in this battle, commanded by General Anderson, contains many veterans of Flanders and Dunkirk. These men have a score to settle with the Nazis.

The British 8th Army, commanded by General Montgomery, has to its eternal credit the smashing defeat of Marshal Rommel's army and the new historic 1,600-mile pursuit of those once triumphant Nazi and Fascist forces.

The enemy in Tunisia will be attacked from the south by this great 8th Army and by the French forces who have made a remarkable march all way across the Sahara Desert under General Leclerc, one of General De Gaulle's officers. From the west the enemy will be attacked by the combined forces of British and Americans together with the French troops under the command of General Giraud.

All these forces are commanded by General Eisenhower. I spent many hours in Casablanca with this young general—a descendant of Kansas pioneers. I know what a fine tough job he has done and how carefully and skilfully he is directing the soldiers under him. I want to say to you tonight—and to him—that I have every confidence in his leadership. High tribute was paid to his qualities as a soldier when the British Government through Mr. Churchill took lead at Casablanca in proposing him for the supreme command

阻遏吾人迫近通往納粹統治下之歐洲之海峽

吾人在突尼西亞戰役中之主要目的，則在驅逐敵人入海。

安得森將軍指揮下之英軍第一軍，擁有佛蘭德斯與敦刻爾克戰役之老兵宿將，彼等與納粹尚須一解宿怨。

蒙哥馬利將軍指揮下之英軍第八軍，具有擊潰隆美爾所部軍隊以及對此一度凱旋之納粹法西斯軍隊，進行具有歷史意義之一千五百英里追擊之不朽功績。

突境之敵將在南面遭受此偉大第八軍及戴高樂部下勒科勒克將軍所統帥會橫掃沙哈拉沙漠之法軍之攻擊。敵人在西面將遭受英美聯軍及吉羅德將軍指揮下之法軍之攻擊。

上述部隊，俱由艾森豪威爾將軍統率，余在卡薩布蘭卡曾與此青年將領——堪薩斯州拓荒者之後裔——作若干小時之相處。余知其所完成工作之艱難，與其統率所部之謹慎與巧妙。今夜余欲向諸君及艾氏表示吾人對其領導才能具有極大之信任。彼所具之軍人才能，備受讚揚，蓋英政府已於卡港會議之時由邱吉爾首相首先提議，任艾氏為盟軍

of the great Allied operations which are imminent.

Deputy to General Eisenhower is General Alexander, one of Britain's greatest fighting men. General Alexander commanded all British forces in the Middle East including the 8th Army which won a decisive battle at El Alamein. He and General Montgomery planned that engagement and the tremendous advance which followed it. At this moment—as I speak to you tonight—General Alexander is standing at the right hand of General Eisenhower planning new military operations.

These important facts reveal not merely cooperation but active collaboration between the United Nations. Let these facts be duly noted by our enemies.

Our soldiers in Tunisia are well trained and equipped but they are facing for the first time an actual combat with formidable opponents. We can be absolutely certain they will conduct themselves as bravely and as effectively as did those young Americans under General Pershing who drove Germany's best troops through the Argonne forest and across River Meuse.

The battle of Tunisia will cost us heavily in casualties. We must face that fact now with the same calm and courage as our men are facing it on the battlefield itself.

The enemy has strong forces in strong positions. His supply lines are maintained at a great cost but Hitler has been willing to pay that cost for he knows the consequences of an Allied victory in Tunisia.

Those consequences are actual invasions of the continent of Europe. We do

即將發動之大規模作戰行動之最高指揮官。

副之者為英國最偉大戰鬥員之一之亞歷山大將軍。亞氏曾統率中東全部英軍包括艾爾阿拉敏一役獲得決定勝利之第八軍。亞氏與蒙哥馬利將軍曾計劃是次戰役（指艾爾阿拉敏戰役），以及其後之重大進展。今夜余向諸君發言之際，亞歷山大將軍正立於艾森豪威爾將軍之右側，計劃新的軍事行動。

以上諸端重要事實，不但顯示英美之合作，且表示其積極合作而為敵人所應適當注意者也。

吾人在突尼西亞之軍隊，均曾受良好訓練，并有良好裝備，但彼等係首次與強敵實際從事作戰。吾人所可絕對確定，彼等之作戰將如潘興將軍部下將德國最精銳部隊驅逐阿岡尼森林，越過繆司河之年青美軍同等英勇與有效。

突尼西亞方面之戰事，將令吾人蒙受重大死傷。目前吾人必須以吾人之軍隊在戰場本身所應付此事之同樣鎮靜與勇氣，應付是項事實。

敵方在強固陣地上，佈有強大之軍隊。彼等正以重大代價，維持彼等之供應線，然希特勒甘願出是項代價，蓋彼深知盟軍在突尼西亞勝利之後果。

此等後果，即為實際進攻歐洲大陸。吾人對於從事此等進攻之意願並不加以掩飾，

not disguise our intention to make these invasions. The pressure on Germany and Italy will be constant and unrelenting. The amazing Russian armies in the east have been delivering overpowering blows; we must do likewise in the west. The enemy must be hit and hit hard from so many directions that he never knows which is his bow and which is his stern.

It was made clear to us at Casablanca that all Frenchmen outside of France are uniting in one great paramount objective—the complete liberation of France and of all French people who now suffer the torture of Nazi crimes. As each day passes the spirit of unselfishness is more greatly uniting all Frenchmen who have the opportunity to strike blow for liberation.

In the years of the American and French Revolutions, the fundamental principle guiding our democracies was established. The cornerstone of our whole democratic edifice was the principle that from the people and the people alone flows the authority of government.

It is one of our war aims, as expressed in the Atlantic Charter, that the conquered populations of today be again the masters of their destiny. There must be no doubt anywhere that it is an unalterable purpose of the United Nations to restore to the conquered peoples their sacred rights.

French sovereignty rests with the people of France. Its expression has been temporarily suspended by the German occupation. Once the triumphant armies of the United Nations have expelled the common foe,

對於德國與義大利之壓力將爲經常與毫不留情者。令人驚異之蘇軍在東方正予以重大打擊，吾人在西方亦須作同樣之打擊。吾人必須從若干方面擊敵，並予以猛烈打擊，使彼等不知首尾。

吾人於卡薩布蘭卡會議中，業已獲悉法國以外之一切法國人民，均團結一致，努力於一項最高目標，即完成刻在納粹征服下蒙難之法國，及一切法國人民之解放工作是也。大公無私之精神，正隨時光之消逝，使有機會從事打擊爭取解放之一切法國人民，更趨團結。

在美國與法國之革命期間，領導吾人民主政治之基本原則，業已確立。吾人內部民主政治大廈之基石，乃爲一項原則，即主權在於民，且僅在於民是也。

如大西洋憲章所示，吾人作戰目標之一，乃今日被征服之人民，將再度成爲其命運之主人。全世界各地對於聯合國家恢復被征服民族之神聖權利一項不變目標，應無疑義。

法國之主權，寄於法國人民之身，其表現已因德國之佔領而暫時中斷。一旦聯合國家之軍隊驅除公敵之後，法國人民將獲得本



Frenchmen will be represented by a Government of their own popular choice.

It will be a free choice in every sense. No nation in all the world that is free to make a choice is going to sit itself up under the Fascist form of government, or Nazi form of government or Japanese warlords form of government. Such forms are off spring of seizure of power followed by an abridgement of freedom. Therefore, the United Nations can properly say of these forms of government the simple words: "Never again".

The right of self-determination included in the Atlantic Charter does not carry with it the right of any government to commit wholesale murder or the right to make slaves of its own people or of any other Peoples in the world.

And the world can rest assured that this total war-his sacrifice of lives all over the globe-is not being carried on for the purpose or even with the remotest idea of keeping Quislings or Laval's in power anywhere on this earth.

The decisions reached and actual Plans made at Casablanca were not confined to any one theater of war or to any one continent or ocean or sea. Before this year is out, it will be made known to the world-in actions rather in words-that the Casablanca conference produce plenty of news; and it will be bad news for the Germans and Italians-and the Japanese.

We have lately concluded along hard battle in the Southwest Pacific and we have made notable gains. That battle started in the Solomons and New Guinea last summer. It has demonstrated our

身民選之政府，以爲代表。

此在各方面之意義言之，當爲自由之選擇。全世界能自由選擇之國家均不致自願生活於法西斯政府納粹形式政府或日本軍閥形式政府之下，此等形式均爲剝奪自由之後攫取政權而產生者。以故聯合國家，對於此等政府形式可以簡單之字句形容之，即「不再發生」是也。

大西洋憲章所包括之自決權，並未包括有任何國家之政府均有從事大規模屠殺之權利，或以其本國人民或世界其他任何民族爲奴隸之權利。

全世界都可斷定此一全面戰爭（此種全球生命之犧牲），決不能爲是項目的或甚至爲使吉斯林或賴伐爾輩在此地球任何地區保持權力之最渺茫理想予以繼續。

卡薩布蘭卡會議所作之決定與所擬之實際計劃不限於任何一處戰場，或任何一處大陸海洋。在本年告終之前，全世界必將「自行動非自言論」獲悉卡薩布蘭卡會議將產生大量新聞，對於德意日將爲惡劣之新聞。

吾人最近已在西南太平洋結束長期之艱苦作戰，吾人且已獲得顯著之收穫。此即去年夏季在所羅門及新幾內亞所發動之戰事。此一戰事，已表現吾人在飛機方面之優勢力

superior power in planes and, most importantly, in fighting qualities of our individual soldiers and sailors.

American armed forces in the Southwest Pacific are receiving powerful aid from Australia and New Zealand and also directly from the British themselves.

We do not expect to spend the time it would take to bring Japan to final defeat merely by inching our way forward from island to island across the vast expanses of the Pacific.

Great and decisive actions against the Japanese will be taken to drive the invader from the soil of China. Important actions will be taken in the skies over China and over Japan itself.

The discussions at Casablanca have been continued in Chungking with the Generalissimo by General Arnold and have resulted in definite plans for offensive operations.

There are many roads which lead right to Tokyo. We shall neglect none of them. In an attempt to ward off an inevitable disaster, the Axis propagandists are trying all of their old tricks in order to divide the United Nations. They seek to create the idea what if we win this war, Russia, England, China and the United States are going to get into a cat-and-dog fight.

This is their final effort to turn one nation against another in the vain hope that they may settle with one or two at a time—that any of us may be so gullible and so forgetful as to be duped into making “deals” at the expense of our allies.

To these panicky attempts to escape

量，且重要者，乃我陸海軍人員個別之訓練素質。

美國在西南太平洋中之軍隊，曾獲得澳洲與紐西蘭有力之援助，而從英國本身亦獲得直接援助。

吾人不希望僅在廣大之太平洋上，從島一島至彼一島逐步前進，以浪費最後擊潰日本之時間。

吾人將採取偉大而有決定性之行動，將侵略者驅出中國土地。重要之行動將在中國及日本本部之天空中進行。

卡薩布蘭卡之會議，曾由安諾德將軍與蔣委員長在重慶繼續舉行，結果已擬定具體之進攻計劃。

直接通達東京之路線甚多，吾人決不忽略任何一路。軸心國為抵抗其不可避免之慘劇，其宣傳家又極力施展其伎倆，企圖分化盟國，彼等乃又製造一種觀念，以為吾人於戰勝以後蘇英中美又將互相衝突。

此乃彼等煽動一國對付他國之最後努力，希望彼等能及時解決一二國家，彼等希望吾人之中，有愚蠢健忘至於被引誘以吾人本盟友為犧牲與軸心從事交易者。

吾人對於此等逃避犯罪後果之惶恐圖

the consequences of their crimes we say—all the United Nations say—that the only terms on which we shall deal with any Axis government or any Axis factions are terms proclaimed at Casablanca: “Unconditional Surrender.” In our uncompromising policy we mean no harm to the common people of the Axis nations. But we do mean to impose punishment and retribution in full upon their guilty barbaric leaders.

The Nazis must be frantic indeed if they believe that they can devise any propaganda which would turn the British and American and Chinese Governments and peoples against Russia—or Russia against the rest of us.

The overwhelming courage and endurance of the Russian people in withstanding and hurling back the invaders—and the genius with which their great armies have been directed and led by Mr. Stalin and their military commanders—all speak for themselves.

The tragedy of war has sharpened the vision of leadership and the peoples of all the United Nations and I can say to you from my own full knowledge that they see the utter necessity of our standing together after the war to secure a peace based on the principles of permanence.

You can be quite sure that if Japan should be the first of the Axis partners to fall, the total efforts and resources of all the United Nations would be concentrated on the job of crushing Germany.

And on the other hand, lest there be any question in the Nazi or Japanese

可告之曰（一切聯合國家均曰），吾人與任何軸心政府，或任何軸心黨徒談判之惟一條件，乃卡港會議時所宣佈之條件，即「無條件投降」是也。吾人於不妥協政策中，表示對於軸心各國平民並無惡意，然吾人誠表示對於彼等負罪之野蠻領袖，應加以全部之處罰與報應。

納粹如深信彼等能計劃任何宣傳，使英美中三國政府與人民轉而仇蘇，或使蘇聯仇恨其餘之吾人，則誠瘋狂至極矣。

蘇聯人民於抗拒並擊退侵略者當中所表現之絕大勇氣與毅力，以及史達林及彼等之軍事領袖所用以指揮大軍作戰之機智本身均已表現無遺矣。

戰爭之悲劇，已使一切聯合國家之領導者與人民之視覺更為敏銳。就本人所深知者，余可向諸君表示，彼等咸認吾人在戰後仍有團結之必要，俾獲得以永久原則為根據之和平。

倘日本為軸心夥伴中之首先倒亡者，則所有聯合國家之全部力量與資源，均將致力於擊敗德國之工作。諸君對於此點固可深信不疑也。

反之，在納粹與日本之心目中，對於吾人係完全團結進行戰爭，以求取全球之勝

minds that we are wholly one in the prosecution of the war to a complete victory all over the world, the Prime Minister wished to make a formal agreement that if Germany should be conquered before Japan all British Empire resources and manpower would of course join with China and us in an out-and-out final attack on Japan. I told him that no formal statement or agreement along these lines was in the least bit necessary—that the American people accept the word of a great English gentleman—and that it was obvious and clear that all of us are completely in accord in our determination to destroy the forces of barbarism in Asia and in Europe and in Africa.

In other words, our policy toward our Japanese enemies is precisely the same as our policy toward our Nazi enemies: it is a policy of fighting hard on all fronts and ending the war as quickly as we can on the uncompromising terms of unconditional surrender.

Today is the anniversary of the birth of a great plain American. The living memory of Abraham Lincoln is now honored and cherished by all of our people wherever they may be and by men and women and children throughout the British Commonwealth and the Soviet Union and the Republic of China and in every land on earth where people love freedom and will give their lives for freedom.

President Lincoln said in 1862: "Fellow citizens! We cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this Administration will be remembered in spite of ours-

利一事，恐亦無任何問題，英首相亦欲發表一正式之聲明，即德國倘先日本而被擊敗，則所有英帝國之資源與人力必與中國及吾人聯合一致，對日施行最後之猛擊。余曾向英相表示，吾人固無需針對此點發表正式之聲明，或成立協議。美國人民固能接受英國大紳士之言論，而尤其明顯者，吾人毀滅亞洲歐洲與非洲野蠻勢力之決心，固完全一致也。

易言之，吾人對於日本敵人之政策與對於納粹敵人之政策，完全相同，此即在一切戰場猛烈作戰，並本無條件投降之不妥協條件，儘速結束戰事。

今日乃一偉大正直之美國人之誕辰。吾國各地之一切人民及不列顛聯合國蘇聯中華民國以及一切愛好自由，願為自由犧牲之民族所在之地球任何區域無論男女老幼，目前對於林肯之不朽事跡，均表崇敬而心嚮往之。

林肯總統於一八六二年曰：「同胞乎！吾人不能逃避史家之鐵筆。吾人在國會及政府之中者，雖不能自憶，然將為一般人所永

elves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation.”

Today 80 years after Lincoln delivered that message, fires of war are blazing across the whole horizon of mankind, from Kharkov to Kunmiug, from the Mediterranean to the Coral Sea, from Berlin to Tokyo.

Again, we cannot escape history. We have supreme confidence that with the help of God honor will prevail. We have faith that future generations will know that here, in the middle of the 20th century, there came the time when men of goodwill found a way to unite and produce and fight to destroy the forces of ignorance, intolerance, slavery and war.

憶。個人之重要與否，均不能令吾人逃避責任。吾人所經過之猛烈試驗將使吾人爲後人所了解。不論爲榮爲辱，均將垂諸久遠」。

今日距林肯發表其文告之時，已滿八十年。漫天烽火已遍及於全體人類，從卡爾科夫以至昆明，從地中海以至珊瑚海，從柏林以至東京，皆不能倖免。

吾人可再述一句，吾人不能逃避歷史之評判。吾人確信，在上帝佑護之下，榮譽必將克服一切。吾人相信後代人民將知二十世紀之中葉，和善之人民曾互相聯合從事生產與作戰，以消滅愚笨偏執，奴役與戰爭。

## Madame Chiang's Speech at Chicaco Stadium

# 蔣夫人在芝加哥體育場演辭

Following is the full text of the address of Madame Chiang Kai-shek which she gave at Chicaco Stadium in the night of March 22, 1943.

蔣夫人於一九四三年三月二十二日晚間在芝加哥體育場發表之演說全文如下：

"On my way to this great populous city, one of the thoughts which occurred to my mind and kept tune to the rhythm of the rolling wheels of the train was the modern miracle of what is now known as the United States of America.

"I recollected too the chronicles of American history learned in my school days. When your Pilgrim Fathers landed from the Mayflower, (1) America was one vast continent of wilderness. As long ago as when Germantown, (2) Pennsylvania was first settled, Pastorius wrote that the settlers' cry was: 'Nothing but endless forests!' Today all those areas are amongst the most highly developed industrialized centers in this country.

"Most of your forbears coming to America sought freedom from irritating restrictions or from the irresponsible government of despots. They agreed that they would govern themselves in accordance with a compact which they signed to 'submit to such government and governments as they should by common consent agree to make or choose.'"

"Back was the unostentatious and

余於來此人口稠密城市之途次，屬中所湧起而與滾動之火車車輪音律節拍調起伏之一項思想，即今日所共知之美利堅合衆國之近代奇蹟也。

余並憶及昔日在校時所讀美國史中之歷年志略，當諸君之祖先拓荒者自「五月花」號登岸時，美洲原爲一片荒地。早在移民開闢賓夕法尼亞州日耳曼村之時，巴斯托利亞斯即言：移民所呼號者，不外「除綿長無盡之森林不見其他」一語，今則此各該區域已列爲美國最發達之工業中心矣。

諸君祖先之來美，大部份咸欲自奇刑限制與暴君之不負責任政府下，獲取自由，彼等同意根據其所簽訂之契約，實行自治，此一契約即規定聽從共同指定或公選之政府與其首長是也。

以上所言，即爲美國之機密而無實之詞

unpretentious start of this country. These men, I venture to say, scarce dared dream that they were laying the foundations of a great democracy which inevitably came into being because of the sound common sense and fundamentals they had incorporated into their compact. Nor, in all probability, had they any conception then of the influence that America would one day wield on the destiny of mankind in all parts of the world. They confined themselves to a simple outright pledge to abide by the common will, combined with a firm faith that right is might. Thus the unmitigated strength of the Mayflower compact lies in the fact that it was not a theory but a practical instrument evolved for a practical purpose. In the words of the Reverend Hocker<sup>(3)</sup> in his famous sermon on the fundamentals of government: 'The foundation of authority in law firstly is the free consent of the people.' Later, John Wise,<sup>(4)</sup> also a minister but the son of an indentured slave writing in Massachusetts stated: 'Government is based on free human compacts.'

But the compacts did not go beyond the immediate physical realm of settlements. History substantiates our view that the first settlers in America did not think of themselves as a nation. They called themselves New Englanders, Virginians or Pennsylvanians. There were merely groups of people with steadfast wills' indomitable energy and unconquerable spirit scattered under 13 different governments.

As time rolled on, such limited instrument's as the Mayflower compact, Funda-

始。余敢謂彼等當時甚至在夢寐之中，亦不知本身正建立一偉大民主國家之基礎，然其約中所含之良好意識與原則，使此民主國之產生為不可避免之事實，彼等當時更未計及美國之勢力，將有一日支配全球各地人類之命運，彼等僅在求本身能遵守共同意志之簡明誓言，並具正義即力量之堅決信念，故「五月花約法」之真正力量，不在其為一種理論，而在其為一種實際之工具，以吻合一實際之目的。胡克牧師於其政府原理之著名訓誨中嘗言：「法治之基礎，首在獲得人民之同意」，其後另一牧師懷斯（其父為訂有契約之奴隸）亦在麻省著論稱：「政府係以自由之人類約法為基礎」。

然而當時之約法，並未遍及移民區之地域範圍以外，吾人認為最初移居美境者，并未認其本身為一國，此事歷史可資證明。彼等自稱為新英格蘭人佛吉尼亞人或賓夕法尼亞人，彼等僅為富有堅定之意志，不屈之精力，與不可克服精神之各個人民團體，在十三不同之政府治下而已。

其後此範圍狹小如「五月花約法」：康涅狄格基本律例，與其他無數「教會法則」以

mental Order of Connecticut and innumerable 'Church Covenants' and frontier agreements which various groups contributed as practicable and workable found their crystallization in the Declaration of Independence. So long as the torch of liberty shines with effulgence, mankind will cherish Jefferson's immortal words vibrant with vigor: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal.' Yet difficulty upon difficulty accumulated and challenged the young fledgling republic even after Cornwallis met his defeat at Yorktown.<sup>(5)</sup>

The many different groups widely scattered and with varied local interests in these States could easily have fallen into such serious dissension among themselves that anarchy would have resulted had it not been that a common denominator fused them together into one great whole—the common denominator which I would call the whole-some American national fiber. For aside from some souls mute from timorousness, the diversification of minds was truly sincere and honest. If memory serves me right Hamilton held the theory that the exercise of power of the nation should be the duty and occupation of a comparative few whereas Jefferson believed that all men created equal should be given equal initial opportunities. To those obsessed by the hard and fast rules of logic, these seemed two diametrical convictions which at the time appeared irreconcilable. Yet as I see it, present American society is actually the very evolvment of a happy culmination of Hamilton's and Jefferson's ideals forged

及各團體所認為切實可用之疆界協約等工具，隨時間之進展凝結為獨立宣言。傑佛遜曾有「人類生而平等之真理固不言而喻」之不朽名言，自由之火炬一日照耀不熄，則人類即可一日熱烈懷抱此信仰。迄康華里斯在約克頓失敗後，尚有種種困難，康難此維小之共和國。

分散於各州及利益不同之各團體，倘非有一共同之因素使其聯成一體，則彼等極易造成本身間之嚴重爭論，而卒至產生無政府狀態，此一共同之因素，即余所稱為健全之美國國家組織組織者也。蓋除一部人民因性懦而靜默外，其餘各人意見之不同，均出於異誠。如余之記憶無誤，余憶哈密爾頓嘗認執行國家大權，乃少數者之職責，而傑佛遜則相信人類生而平等，故自始應予以平等之機會，在一般墨守邏輯不變法則者觀之，此兩者誠為相反之念，當時似難協調。然就余個人視之，目前美國社會確係哈密爾頓與傑佛遜理想精髓混合之演化，表面上不能相容



into one. The seemingly repellent opposites produced an epochal synthesis.

"Some of your presidents like Jackson and Lincoln were from the back woods—products of the people. Some of the greatest emperors of China also came from peasant stock. Both our peoples have been fortunate enough not to decry poverty. Though our two countries have widely varied backgrounds, histories, cultures and traditions, both recognize the inherent ability of the individual as an individual with powers to sway, to contribute to and to help mould the destiny of nations. China's civil service system and the opportunities thereby offered to those who strive for achievement are not wanting. The land where a 'barefoot boy with cheeks of tan' may become the highest executive also declaims that here indeed a man may become what he wills himself to be.

"With firmness and perseverance I stress again that to insure future peace and prosperity for all peoples, war, that acme of human folly, should not be permitted to recur. Only with concerted vigilance and action by the United Nations, and later by others who will have gained the wisdom of adhering to the principle of live and let live, would this world be rendered endurable for peace.

"We are all aware that organized effort is nothing new. In ancient Greece there was the confederacy of Delos. Coming nearer the modern age there was the Congress of Vienna. Then in our own time there emerged the League of Nations. The reasons for the failures of these efforts

之相反物，曾產生一劃時代之綜合物。

貴國總統如傑克遜與林肯等，均出身低微，而為人民所公舉者；中國之最偉大帝王，亦有出身田間者，吾兩民族不辨貧窮，誠屬大幸，吾兩國之背景歷史文化與傳統，雖各有不同，然均承認個人有其固有之能力，具有支配貢獻及協助塑造國家命運之權，中國之文官制度及其所產生之機會，使奮力上進者不致有向隅之感，跣足裼臉之童子，在中國可成為最高之握權者，而任何一人，亦可一日成其志所在之人物。

余謹以堅決之誓，重申為確保未來所有民族之和平與繁榮計，人類愚蠢之最高峯即戰爭，必勿聽其再度發生，唯有聯合國家同心協力之戒備與行動，以及其獲知遵守自存與共存原則一事之重要者之戒備與行動，始能使此世界有持久之和平。

吾人均知有組織之努力，並無新奇之處，古之希臘有德羅斯聯盟，近代有維也納會議，而在吾人此一時代，則有國際聯盟之產生。但此歷次努力之失敗原因，均不難求得

are not far to seek. The Greek Confederacy sought to combine the Hellenistic against Persia but they soon forgot the purpose of their aim and fell to bickering among themselves. The main cause of the failure of the League of Nations had its root in the narrowness of vision of those by whom it was created and, being recent, will be adjudged by posterity.

"The inherent weakness in each defunct united effort was that it played the old game—the game of jealousy, self-seeking and petty distrust often euphemistically interpreted as balance of power. Assuredly the League of Nations proved an improvement on the others but the chink in its armor became apparent because it concerned itself mainly with the inconsonant policies of a few nations. The fissures and flaws in the League Covenant revealed themselves only under stress; for the inadequacies did not appear in times of peace and calm. But under the gathering momentum of the tempest the structure could not withstand the tension of impact.

"That no alignment of nations in the past was found successful does not invalidate the possibility and necessity of concerted effort. Nor, for that matter, do they preclude the wisdom of our continued cooperation when victory is won in the active maintenance of peace against the future collusion of rapacious powers.

"In this connection we must take heed from China's painful experience. Manchuria in 1931 portrays a lesson which should be indelibly imprinted on our minds that documents in themselves affixed with

解答。德羅斯聯盟企圖聯合希臘諸邦對抗波斯，但未幾即忘其本來目標，而致自相爭論。國聯失敗之主要原因，在於彼輩手創者之短視，國聯究為最近之產物，須待後代之判斷也。

過去每一聯合努力之固有弱點，厥為故技之擺弄，即專以妒忌自私猜疑為事，而通常美其名曰均勢。國際聯盟自較其更有改進，惟罅隙亦漸見彰著，此皆因國際聯盟大都以少數國家間之不調協政策為務。然盟約之缺點僅見於危急之秋，而鮮露於承平時代之，當暴風雨以雷霆之勢襲來，其機構遂亦不能抵擋其衝擊矣。

過去數次之聯合，雖未見成功，但不能據此而謂聯合努力為不可能或不必要，尤不能稱吾人獲勝後繼續合作，積極維持和平，預防強盜國家之串通為惡為不智。

關於此點，吾人必須以中國之痛苦經驗為前車之鑑，一九三一年九一八事變之教訓，吾人實應刻骨銘心，永誌勿忘。即約文本

imposing looking and important seals are mere foolscaps—just as the robot (6) in itself without the breath of life remains inanimate. Good faith must extend beyond mere compliance with the letter of the text. Neither can peace be pursued by warping the truth and finding comfort in the fact that unfeasibility of joint duty in chastisement means no chastisement at all. Had wise counsel prevailed in the Manchurian incident and had aggression been eauterized at its source, today the whole world not be travailed by the holocaust of war.....

“What higher tribute than this could be paid the wisdom of those who foresaw the inevitable implications from the shadow cast before tragic events. What more conclusive proof is needed that theirs were warning voices which echoed small and still across the vast wilderness of indifference and had conscience. Should we in the future allow ourselves to sink in again into the morass of realization only by hindsight and place foresight beyond the pale of man's rationality? This we must ultimately—may immediately—ask ourselves.

“Some minds reveal their claim to intellectual capacities by erecting barriers to closer cooperation among peoples after this war. It is, notwithstanding, true that the culture of a nation is peculiarly its own and unless what is borrowed becomes a part of the pattern of daily life it will bear the harsh lines of foreign origin. Six years of war and suffering in China speak more eloquently than words that we deem the preservation of

身，雖蓋以堂哉皇哉之重要印章，亦僅爲廢紙一片耳，一若機器人本身缺乏生命氣息之永無生氣也，遵守條約鈞文之外，必須更有誠意。未有歪曲真實，並引「不能聯合擔負懲罰之責，即等於毫無懲罰」一事實以自慰，而和平得以保持者。設九一八事變時睿智之主張佔勝，設邊侵略於萌蘗之時，則今日全世界定不致爲戰爭所破壞矣。

彼輩于可悲事件發生之前，自蛛絲馬跡之間，預見此後難免之紛擾之人，尙有何人較彼等更獨具慧眼者乎。惜彼等警告之聲，落於漠不關心及良心有愧之廣漠之上，鮮有回響，此事尙不足爲吾人之決定證據乎。今後吾人仍聽任吾人自身再行沉沒於僅於事後覺知，而擴先見於人類理性境域之外之沼澤乎？此則吾人最終——否，願言立即——必須自問者也。

若干人士對於戰後各民族間之密切合作，多所阻礙，以自示其智力；誠然，一國之文化，乃一國所特有，而凡由他國輸入者，倘非變爲日常生活方式之一部份，則定帶外來之痕跡。中國六年之艱苦抗戰，較言論更能說明吾人認爲保存吾人自國之文化得有

our own culture subservient to maintenance of world civilization. It is precisely because we refuse to be content with our culture as a separate entity that we in China are fighting to help build a mosaic of world civilization, perpetuation of mankind's common and pledged principles which cannot be surrendered—no matter how painful they may seem to be for a time. We stand firm in the belief that those principles are inborn and so long as men live and progress, those principles cannot be compromised.

“How may we find the true basis for co-existence and cooperation between nations and between peoples? Good-will and the desire for cooperation will do as a starting point, but left to themselves they will make little headway.

“Your sense of aesthetic appreciation of Chinese craftsmanship, your praise for fragility in porcelain, and our admiration of your intricate machinery and approbation of your suspension bridges should not be construed as complete understanding of the nature of our two peoples or their greatness in logical deduction.

“Perhaps I may pause here to give you an illustration of what I mean. To understand music in the true sense of appreciation one must know the rudiments of theory and harmony, sequence of concord, nationality of discord, the characteristics differentiating major from minor melodies, and something about the life and motives of the composer when he set down his composition. All these tend to convey a true understanding of music, for much as cognoscence (7) is all-desireable,

助維持世界之文化，吾人純因不願以吾人之化文爲單獨存在之實物，始在中國奮戰，以便有助於建立世界文化之混合體，使人類宣誓共守在某一時期中無論如何痛苦均不能放棄之共同原則，永垂不朽，吾人堅信此項原則，乃係與生俱來，人類一日生存與進步，即一日不能退讓也。

吾人應如何始能求取國與國間及民族與民族間之共存與合作之真正基礎，善意與合作之願望可爲其肇端，推徒任其自然之發展，亦不能有何進步。

諸君對於中國手工藝之欣賞觀念，對於瓷器脆弱品質之喜好，以及吾人對於貴國精巧複雜機器之羨慕，及對於貴國懸橋之推崇，均不能依邏輯之演繹，而遽認吾人對於吾兩民族之性格或其偉大性已有深刻之認識。

余在此或可舉例以解釋余之所言，欲真正欣賞認識音樂者，必先通曉原理與諧音之初步，和音之次序，嘈音之分別，大小旋律之區分，以及作曲者之身世與其作曲之動機

，凡此種種，對於音樂之真正認識，均有裨益，蓋認識固屬必要，而會心之欣賞，亦有

yet intelligent appreciation too has its unerring merits. Were it otherwise, a symphony would be just a mass of sounds devoid of cadence and beauty.

"I may go a little further and tell you something of my own experience. As you probably know, I came to America when a child and returned to my native land after I had finished college ten years later. Upon my return home, I was eager to contribute some service in the interest of my country. To my surprise, my parents insisted that as I had been away for so long I should spend time studying Chinese history and the culture of my people. I could not understand the intricacies of China's problems and that in whatever field I wished to direct my efforts, and whatever contributions I hoped to make, would be consistently nullified by lack of comprehension of the basic structure and needs of Chinese society. In subsequent years, especially during these war years when I have worked so closely with every section of our people, I have realized fully the wisdom and foresight of this counsel.

"I have attempted to illustrate to you the importance of fostering better understanding between our two peoples through knowledge of each other's history and culture. Integrity and imagination, however, must also play their part. Invariably great spirits in human relationships have honesty and imagination—honesty in appraising themselves as they think others see them, and imagination to place themselves in other's positions while appraising themselves. The first, being

確切之價值，非然者，和樂殆爲一片無音韻，無美感之一片嘈聲矣。

余或可進而爲諸君概述余之經驗，諸君或知余係幼年至美，十年後完成大學教育時，始行歸國，余於歸國之日，即切望對國家有所貢獻，但出於個人意料者，即先君先慈堅持余離國既久，必先研究中國歷史與我民族之文化，余當時，不明中國問題之錯綜複雜，故不論余欲在任何方面努力，或希望作任何貢獻，結果亦必因不能認識中國社會之基本機構與需要，而致徒勞無益，在其後之歲月中，尤以在此抗戰之數年中，余因各界人士密切合作，遂益感先君先慈所言之明智與遠見。

余曾舉例爲諸君說明，兩民族互相瞭解其歷史與文化對於促進彼此諒解之重要性，然而誠實想像力，亦必須加以發揮，人類關係之偉大精神，始終不失誠實與想像力，誠實係在爲本身估價時，須一若他人之視我，想像係於爲本身評價之餘，必須推己及人。

subjective, cannot be all-sufficing and the other, objective, approach is needed to complete the picture.

"I mentioned that your forebears clung to the faith that their experiment of abiding by the common will would work, and that their ideals of government for the people, of the people and by the people would finally prevail. Let us remember, that before America grew to be the present great democracy, dissensions, secessions and civil war cleaved the nation and almost rent asunder the national fabric beyond repair.

"But today there are peoples and nations who are yet bent on trampling underfoot the inalienable rights and dignity of men. They have no eyes to see that over the blue horizon, beyond the smoky ruins following in the wake of bursting bombs, there is a vision of a new world founded on the practice of justice and equality for all mankind. The following anecdote may help us to understand the power of faith.

"When Confucius was on his way to return to the Kingdom of Lu from the Kingdom of Wei he and his party rested on the bank of a river. Below was a waterfall of several hundred feet. On the opposite bank a man started to swim across the river. Confucius sent a disciple to halt him and the disciple said to the man. "Can't you see that here is a waterfall hundred feet with miles whirlpool underneath it where even fish and turtles can't live?" The man replied, "Don't mind me" and quickly swam across. In astonishment Confucius asked him. "What skill or magic do you

前者為主觀，不能引以為足，後者為客觀，必須具備而後始能臻於完美之境。

余曾言及諸君之祖先聖信彼等恪守公衆意志之實驗，必能施行，聖信彼等民有，民治，民享政府之理想，最終定必得勢，惟吾人應緊記美國成為目前偉大民主國家之前，不和，分離與內爭，亦曾使國家割裂，幾陷國家機構於分崩離析萬劫不復之境。

惟今日竟有若干民族及國家，尙執意踐踏人類不能轉讓之權利與尊嚴，彼等竟無視蔚藍天際，殘垣頽瓦之外，炸彈爆炸停止之頃，以正義及全人類平等為基礎之新世界，已隱約呈現其形態矣。下述故事或可助吾人了解信仰之力量。

孔子由衛返魯時，與其徒憩於河畔，其下有瀑布高數百呎。對岸有一人甫欲泅渡。孔子乃遣一弟子以止之曰，「君不見此間有瀑布高數百呎，其下之旋流達數哩，魚鼈所不能居者乎？」答曰：「勿為余過慮」且迅即渡登彼岸。孔子於驚奇之餘乃詢之曰：「君有何術能躍入急流而安然無恙。」答曰：「當余躍入河中時余極有自信，在急流中

possess so you can jump into a whirlpool and come out safe." The man replied "When I plunge into the river I have faith in myself. When I swim in a current I keep my faith in the water. My faith protects me in the current and I don't think about myself." Turning to his disciples, Confucius said. "If a man can swim across such a river through faith, what cannot be accomplished by having faith in man?"(8)

"To translate, however, faith into reality, you must recapture faith in your fellow-men, in the spirit of your pioneer fathers who forged in the van of the movement westward and forward, cutting across the wilderness and endless forests. We should march onward with staunch hearts and steadfast will in the cultivation of what William James calls tough-mindedness—tough-mindedness while searching for rectitude and truth in the triumph of a just and permanent peace.

"Let us then together resolve to keep on fighting in the faith that our vision is worth preserving and can be preserved. Is not this true faith, the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things unseen?"

游泳時亦始終保持信心。余預以自保者即信

心是也，且是時余已未顧及本身矣。」孔子

聞之，乃轉告諸弟子曰：「如吾人能以信心

渡過此一急流，則有信心者尚有何事不能成

就？」

如欲使信仰成爲真實，則諸君必須對人類恢復信仰，對諸君之先人在向西及向遷移之先驅事業中，斬荆披棘之精神恢復信仰，吾人應以不屈不撓之意志，向前邁進，培植威廉占姆斯所謂之堅強意志，即探求公正與真理以謀公正持久和平時之堅強意志是也。

願吾人一致決定繼續作戰，堅信吾人之理想，值得保存，且定能保存。此項正確之信念，豈非所希望事物之實體乎，豈非未見事物之跡象乎。

註 (1) Mayflower 「五月花」係船名，一六二〇年運載首批移民自英屬麻薩諸塞州

(2) German-town 日耳曼村爲費城之一部，一六八三年有日耳曼族人移居於此，因以得名

(3) Reverend Hooker 胡克牧師，英國神學家兼作家，生於一五五三年

(4) John Wise 美國十七世紀名牧師

(5) 英將康華里斯及其所部于一七八一年十月在約克頓被華盛頓所圍，卒至投降，美國革命至是大部完成

(6) Robot 機器人

(7) Cognoscence 認識，鑒賞

- (8) 此一故事見莊子達生篇，然稍有出入，茲照錄莊子原文如下：「孔子觀於吕梁，下望懸水三千仞，流沫三十里，遙見對岸一丈夫方卸衣浮渡，孔子遣弟子並流而拯之，數百步而出，披髮行歌而游於塘下。孔子從而問之：曰『吕梁懸水三千仞，流沫三十里，龍鱷魚鼈所不能游，向吾見子蹈之，以爲有苦而欲死者，使弟子並流將拯，子出而披髮行歌，吾以子爲鬼也，察子則人也，請問蹈水有道乎？』曰：『亡，吾無道，吾始乎故，長乎性，成乎命，與齊俱入，與汨偕出，從水之道而不爲私焉，此吾所以蹈之也。』孔子曰：『何謂始乎故，長乎性，成乎命也？』曰：『吾生於陵而安於陵，故也長於水，而安於水性也，不知吾所以然而然，命也』。可見凡有誠，何事不成」。



## Madame Chiang's New York City Hall Speech

# 蔣夫人在紐約演辭

The following is the full text of Madame Chiang Kai-shek's  
speech at the New York City Hall on march 3, 1943.

蔣夫人於一九四三年五月二日在紐約市政廳之演辭全文如次：

"Mr. Mayor and my fellow citizens of New York. I need not tell you how deeply touched I am at the honor you have conferred on me today. Neither need I tell you that when Mr. La Guardia was speaking about my country I wished that all my compatriots—450,000,000 people of China—could have heard him. For I know that he expressed not only his own sentiments but the sentiments of the people of New York. And not only the people of New York for New York is representative of all America, but the people of all America.

"Mr. Mayor referred to the fact that China, for the past five and a half years, has undergone the suffering of an invaded land. That is true. But I wish to tell you that although we have suffered we have been able to carry on, because we knew that the American people are with us. We knew of their sympathy, their good will and their friendliness. If we thought we were fighting alone, if we thought we were fighting only for China—to be very frank with you China would not be the China of today but would be a conquered China. We realized that justice would prevail, and that the people of America knew and

市長及紐約公民諸君，今日諸君所加予余之光榮，使余感動之深，已無庸贅述。余亦無須贅述當拉加第亞市長言及中國時，余垂顧我全國同胞四萬萬五千萬人，咸能領聆，因余知渠所言者，非爲其一人之情感，而爲全紐約人民之情感，而紐約乃全美國之代表，故彼所言者，非僅爲紐約，且爲全國人民之情感。

市長頃述及一項事實謂：中國於過去五年半以來所過者乃國土被侵者之痛苦生活。但余願奉告諸君，吾人雖感痛苦，但依然能忍受，蓋吾人皆知美國人民與吾人立於同一陣線，吾人皆瞭解美國之同情善意及友誼。如吾人認爲僅孤獨作戰，而作戰之目的僅爲中國，則諸君即可瞭然中國或已非復今日面目，而已被征服矣。吾人深知正義必能克服一切，且知美國必認識并感覺其危險性。余

realized what was at stake. Perhaps I can best illustrate to you what I mean by a little story which just flashed across my mind when Mr. Mayor was speaking.

“Over 2,000 years ago, in the reign of Tsin Shih-huang, the Emperor who built the Great Wall, there were in the province of Kwangsi two rivers which were continually overflowing, causing death and destruction to many thousands of people in that part of the country. The Emperor sent a very high official to build dykes to prevent floods. The official failed and paid the final penalty for his failure. The Emperor then sent a second official. The second official also failed. He too paid the final penalty. Finally he sent a third man. This man succeeded and high honors were bestowed on him. When I visited the spot last year with the Generalissimo we found three graves there. I asked, ‘Why are there three graves?’ and was told, ‘There the graves of all three men, the two who attempted to make the dyke and failed and the third who succeeded.’ I asked why the third man was buried with the others. And the reply was that when the third official succeeded and honors were bestowed upon him, he declined the honors and killed himself because he said he could not profit by the failure of others. In other words, he disdained to benefit himself by a price others paid with their lives.

“I feel that the American people have the same highmindedness. They would not benefit from the price anyone else paid for liberty and freedom. Am I right? This highmindedness, this integrity, this

作此語之意義，其最好之解釋方法，或係將市長演說時余突然憶及之小故事一則，奉告諸君：

二千餘年以前，正當建築長城之秦始皇統治中國時，廣西省內有河流兩條，不時氾濫，該處人民被災慘死者達數千人。秦始皇派高級官員一人，前往築堤，因未能成功，被罰處死，秦始皇於是另派一官，結果亦相同，迨派至第三人時，築堤成功而受殊榮。

去年余與蔣委員長旅行其地，發現三墓，余怪問其故，所得答覆為：「三者皆為築堤防吳人之墓，其中二人失敗，一人成功」余因又問成功者何以與失敗者同葬，答者當謂，第三人成功，身獲殊榮，但渠拒絕接受，而竟自盡，并謂，渠不欲以他人之失敗，而使己身獲利也。易言之，即彼不願他人所付之生命代價以裨益其本身也。

余感覺美國人民，亦有同樣之高德性，彼等不肯以他人所付之自由代價，由本身享受其利。我言然乎。此種高尚正直及願為共

feeling that we will suffer with others and together work and strive for the common cause, constitute a common meeting ground for your people and mine.

“In conclusion I wish to tell you that as I see these sky-soaring buildings, as I hear the Mayor telling me about the wonderful municipal organization, and as I view your well laid out streets and all the material richness of the city—one thought strikes my mind and that thought is this: ‘I admire the material evidences of the greatness of our city and feel that here, in this very city, we have something which enriches the mind and spirit. The wonderful organizations for public health, for education and for social welfare are, I feel, our real riches. I feel too that as Liberty herself guards our harbor, her torch will ever illuminate all those who want to tread the path of achievement and human progress.’”

同目標而共同忍苦工作奮鬥之感覺，即為中美兩國人民共同之聚會場所。

最後余願告諸君，當余仰觀此高摩天際之大廈，傾聽市長告余全市宏偉之機構，及自擊此建築優良之街道及全市物資之豐富時。誠足令余驚嘆。然余之思想，則以為此城物質上所表現之偉大，誠可欽佩，但余感覺在此市內更有若干使吾人思想與精神富庶之事物，即如公共衛生教育及社會福利事業之偉大組織，乃為吾人真正之財富。同時余又感覺，當自由保護此港時，則其火炬將永久照耀一切願遵此成功與人類進步之大道前進之人類。

## Madame Chiang's Message To The U. S. People

# 蔣夫人對美國人民致辭

*A broadcast speech delivered before a huge audience in Madison Square*

*Garden in New York on March 2, 1943.*

一九四三年三月二日在紐約麥迪遜花園於大羣聽衆前發表之廣播演說

“To all my friends in America, including those of you who have come here this evening to listen to me, I wish to express my heartfelt appreciation for your concern for me and your thoughtfulness for my wellbeing which you have generously demonstrated in various ways during my illness and convalescence. I wonder whether I can convey to you now deeply touched I am that so many people from every section of America have taken the time and trouble to send me messages of affection and Good-will. I wish I could acknowledge every one of the many thousands of letters and telegrams I have received; but since this is impossible, won't you let me take this opportunity to thank you one and all?”

“I also wish it were possible to accept your invitations to visit your states, cities, colleges, churches and other organization. To my regret, however, the doctors won't allow to do all you wish me to do, and which I would like so much to do. But I know you will understand the wisdom of their decision when you consider that 11 weeks is a bit of short time in which to recover from a strain of six long years of war.” And I must conserve as much as possible some of the strength

諸位聽衆在美全體友人，以及今晚在場

之諸位聽衆。余對諸位在余患病休養期間，

在各方面所表示之關切，極表感激。貴國各

地友人，紛紛函電作親切之慰問，余衷心感

謝之深，恐非言語所能表達，余願一一答謝

此無數之函電，但事實上既屬不可能，諸君

能允許余於此時向諸君作一總答謝否？

余亦願應諸君之請，參觀貴國各州，各

城，各學校，教堂及其他組織。所憾者，即

醫士不准余爲諸君所希望，與余本身之所欲

爲者，惟諸君一思六年長期戰爭以來之過度

疲勞，欲於短短十一週之內，使其恢復，即

to enable me to continue my work in China.

"Since I came out of the hospital many of you have asked me to give my impression of America. My reply has been that whatever impressions I have gained, they are not deep and comprehensive enough to enable me to give a really worth while answer. Nevertheless, I think you may be interested in sharing with me some of the thoughts which surge through my mind during my convalescence. Mind you, they are opinions and thoughts only, not erudite conclusions formed after a deep and profound study. I can only hope that as they are, they will touch a responsive chord in your hearts, and prove helpful in your own thinking.

"We live in the present, we dream of the future; but we learn eternal truths from the past. It would be just as irrational for a man to claim that he was self-made as for a nation to believe that it could be self-sufficient. Nations and individuals are but links between the past and the future. It would be interesting and valuable, therefore, for us to consider the deep meaning which lies behind the Chinese proverb, 'Watch the cart ahead', in our endeavor to avoid the pitfalls in which former civilizations, dynasties and systems have fallen. Those pitfalls are many, but one of the deepest and most serious of all is pride. That pitfall has swallowed many whose arrogance had led them to think that they could safely and permanently defy mankind's deeprooted sense of justice and right-dealing.

"Figuratively speaking, it was only

知騎士所言之明智，況余尚須保存一部精力，以便返國繼續工作。

余自離醫院以來，諸君多以余對此喪失之印象相詢，余之答覆為不論此種觀感如何，其深刻與瞭解之程度，均不見余提出有價值之答覆。但余思諸君對於余養病期內，腦海中起伏之思想或亦同樣感感興趣，余欲向諸君申明者，即此僅為意見與思想，而非經過深刻研究後之淵博結論；余但冀此種思想能獲得諸君心聲之反應，而有助於諸君本身之思慮。

吾人生於今世，幻想未來，但亦自過去求得永久之真理，一國之自給自足觀念之不合理，一若個人之自認彼係獨力生存者，國家與個人僅為過去與未來之連續兩區。故吾人今日於努力避免以往文明，朝代與制度所由覆滅之陷阱時，倘能一思中國古語「前車之鑒」一語之深在意義，當極有意味與價值，陷阱至多，惟最深最大者即尊榮是也。彼輩因慢慢而致自認能永遠蔑視人類深層固之正義感，與公平爽直感，而平資辦事者，多被此尊榮之陷阱所吞滅。

設喻言之，希特勒昨日尚言「人類之力

yesterday that Hitler said: 'No human power can oust the Germans from Stalingrad'. Where are those Germans today? Again in July, 1937, Konoye said: We shall bring China cringing to her knees within three months'. How many three months have elapsed since he said that? and China still fights on. Those utterances by two of the most deeply-dyed of aggressors were inspired by an unrighteous pride that runs absolutely mad.

“There is another kind of pride, a right pride which my countrymen possess. I am reminded of two little incidents in Chungking which bear testimony to the pride to which I have alluded. After the first of the terrible bombings to which Chungking was thereafter increasingly subjected, free congee (rice gruel) centers were established for those of our people whose homes were demolished and reduced to charred ruins, and who consequently were unable to prepared food. Many declined to accept this help on grounds that they had suffered no more than others and preferred to fend for themselves. It was only when they were told that they were entitled to the food since they were contributing their share to the national effort to combat aggression that they were prevailed upon to accept any at all. Again when Generalissimo and I placed our cars at the disposal of the organization charged with the evacuation of civilians in view of the bombings, as soon as the evacuees learned to whom the cars belonged they refused to ride in them on the grounds that our duties to the nation

是，決不能驅逐史城之德軍」。然此批德軍今日又安在乎，一九三七年七月，近衛文相嘗言，「吾人將於三個月之內，使中國屈膝」，然自近衛作此語以來，試問有多少三個月已成過去，而中國仍抗戰如故也。此侵略色彩最重之兩人，其所發之言論，殆基於其非正當之尊榮，致使其瘋狂。

除此而外，尚有一種正當之尊榮，亦即吾國人民所具之尊榮，余憶及重慶之兩次事件，足為余所述尊榮之證明，在重慶遭受其恐怖之第一次空襲後（此後空襲日益猛烈），曾有施粥廠之設立，以救濟家室被毀而無力自備膳食者，惟多數人民均表謝絕，其理由為彼等所受之痛苦，既非甚於他人，自應自力謀生。其後他人告以彼輩對於全國抵抗侵略之工作，業已貢獻其一份之力量。故接受施粥，為應得而無愧者，彼等乃欣然領受。

• 又 蔣委員長與余所乘之汽車，曾交負責疏散平民機關作疏散之用，但疏散者一知此車之所屬權時，即拒絕乘坐，其理由為領袖及余對國家之重大責任，不容因之受阻。今

were too important to be impeded. It was this kind of pride that governs our people's attitude towards America today.

"We are genuinely and warmly appreciative of the assistance the American people have given to our effort in the common cause. It was not only since my visit to your beautiful country that we have become aware of the affection your people have for ours. Throughout these heart-breaking years when we have been daily, faced with hardships which the people of an invaded land must suffer, we have been heartened to carry on by the knowledge of your sympathy. I have received innumerable letters and messages from your people in large cities and small country towns — from businessmen, farmers, factory workers, professors, ministers, college and high school students, hard working mothers and even little children. Contributions, large and small, have poured in. Some people sent money orders of one or two dollars and even less and often-times they were accompanied by the wish that they could do more. These gifts spelt a real sacrifice on the part of the givers and in the eyes of our people, they are multiplied a thousandfold and are illuminated by the beauty of the spirit of the donors.

"We thank you whole-heartedly for what you have done and are doing for our suffering people all the more because in the present world struggle we are giving unstintingly the flower of our manhood and everything else we have in contributing our part in this titanic fight for a free and just world. I say all this because I

日我國人民，對美之態度亦係由此種尊榮所驅使。

美國人民對於吾人共同努力中畀予吾人之援助，令吾人表示真誠與熱烈之感激。吾人並非於余今日訪問貴國美麗之國土後，始明瞭貴國人民對我國人民深切之情。在吾人逐日忍受被侵略國人民所必受苦難之若干痛苦歲月中，吾人即知貴國所表示之同情，而令吾人鼓舞向前。余曾收獲貴國人民自大城市及小村鎮發來之無數之函電，其中有商人，農民，工人，教授，牧師，大中學生，勤勞之為人母者，甚至小童，捐助數目，亦大小不一，紛紛而來。有捐助一二元或少於一二元者，且多附其願望，願能作更多之捐助。此項禮品，表示捐助者之真正犧牲，而在吾國人民視之，則千倍於此數目，且因捐贈者精神中偉大，而益形其可貴。

諸君過去與今日為吾方身受苦痛人民之所為，使吾人衷心不勝感激，其尤有甚者，良以在近代之世界鬥爭中，吾人正以毫無吝嗇之態度，以吾人剛勇之精神，及所有之其他一切為吾人在此次求取自由正義世界之巨

feel that you are entitled to know how the Chinese people today think and the national characteristic on which that thinking is based. Without necessarily possessing very profound knowledge of the history of the world, we can take the warning from the fat Roman and Persian Empire and the ephemeral system established by Napoleon. Rome in her early days had liberal enough political ideas.

“Perhaps you will recall that in the second century A. D., the Roman recorder wrote that the laws of Rome only became effective because the people delegated to the Senate the power to make them. Imperium or power rested in the people. “The august title of imperator<sup>(1)</sup> under the republic signified no more than the present day title of general and was bestowed by soldiers on their victorious leaders. The honors conferred upon Augustus<sup>(2)</sup> as the Prince of Senate by the Romans in reality far transcended any honor claimed for monarchs some 2,000 years ago in accordance with the theory of the divine right of kings. Thus we see that the power of a leader was stemmed from the people and that to claim divine rights and privileges was usurpation of the natural rights of men. All peoples of the Roman Empire could become citizens. Some Emperors even were Syrians or sprang from foreign origins. There was no racial discrimination as we have it today. The Armenians and other tribes of the so-called barbarian world of that day were accepted and welcomed as the allies of Rome and not as subject peoples. This broad and practiced concept of the

大門爭中之一份貢獻。余作此語，實因余深覺諸君均應獲知今日中國人民之所思，與此種思想所由憑藉之民族性。吾人無需深究世界歷史，即知羅馬及波斯兩帝國與拿破崙所創短命制度，所予吾人之教訓。羅馬帝國最初亦有頗為自由之政治觀念。

諸君或尚能憶及紀元後之第二世紀中，羅馬史曾載羅馬法須民選之國會制定後，始生效力，最高權實操之於人民，而大元帥之尊榮稱號，亦僅若今日將軍之稱號，係士兵所昇予其勝利之領袖者也。羅馬人所予奧古斯都大帝之尊號，事實上較距今兩千年前各帝王根據「帝王神權」原則而獲有之尊榮，實超過甚多。由此觀之，領袖之大權，係人民所賦與者，至所謂神聖之權利，則僅剝奪人類天賦權利而已。羅馬帝國之全體人民，均可成為公民，一二帝王，甚至為敘利亞人或源出外族者，其時亦無今日之種族歧視。亞美尼亞人與當時所謂野蠻世界之其他種族，均受羅馬人之歡迎，而設視同盟友而非臣民



Romans was, I think, the chief cause of the Roman Empire lasting over thousand years.

“On the other hand, tyranny and dictatorships have been proven short lived. We ask ourselves why is it that the ancient Persian Empire only remained in its comparative zenith for a few centuries while the high tides of the Napoleonic war only lasted a few decades. We read that Sapor, Persian Emperor, after defeating the Romans, used the neck of Valerian, Roman Emperor, as a footstool for mounting his horse. Was it this cruelty and arrogance of a conqueror towards the conquered which contributed to the fall of dictatorship whose leaders strutted about in French exhibitionism during their short stay as invincible conquerors and masters?”

“Let us contrast this with the Chinese way of life as shown in the following historical incident. During the period of the Three Kingdoms in China, Kuan Kung, valiant warrior met Huang Tsung also a brave warrior, in a single combat. With a sweep of his long sword, Kuan Kung cut off the fore-legs of his opponent's steed. The horse and the rider both toppled to the ground. The vanquished warrior awaited his doom with resignation. However, the victor, Kuan Kung extended his weaponless hand and cried: “Arise. My sword falls edgeless against a dismounted and unarmed foe.” Returning to the Roman Empire, its final fall was due, among other things, to the Sybaritic<sup>(3)</sup> and effete practices of the Roman people. In the declining days of

，余思羅馬人此種寬大而實際之觀念，乃羅馬帝國立國千餘年之主因。

反之，暴政與獨裁，均證明其壽命之夭折，吾人常自問古波斯帝國在較全盛之時期，何以僅維持數世紀之久，至於拿破侖之武功，亦僅歷時數十年。吾人讀史，知波斯皇帝薩坡擊敗羅馬人後，曾用羅馬皇帝法利立安之頸為乘騎時之踏凳，此征服者對被征服者所示之殘酷與驕狂，豈非獨裁制度覆滅之原因乎？蓋此等獨裁制度之領袖於彼等成為無敵之征服者與霸主之短期內，即曾在法國表現主義之範疇內高視闊步者也。

吾人不妨以此與下列史事所述之中國生活方式，作一比較，中國三國時代，關公與黃忠對陣，關公舞長刀砍斷對方乘騎之前足，致連馬帶人，顛仆倒地，敗者此時但俯首待死，乃關公棄刀，伸手呼曰：「請起，余之利刀不能乘一落乘失劍之敵手。」今試再論羅馬帝國，其最終之敗亡，除其他原因外，實羅馬人民之息巴立斯或之腐敗生活有

the Empire, they hired others to do their fighting while themselves wallowed in sensualism which culminated in the total eclipse of the Roman Empire in the west. On the heels of the fall of the Empire followed the Dark Ages in Europe with all the attendant evil results.

"To safeguard ourselves against retrogression into another dark age is, I feel, the greatest task now confronting the United Nations. Whether the principles of freedom, justice and equality for which we are fighting will be able to stand the strain and stress of times is question depending largely on ourselves as individuals and nations. Convicts are subject to coercion but it must be remembered that they have proved themselves against society and first committed crimes against society. Their exclusion from their fellowmen is but a logical consequence of the necessity for expiation whereas the slaves of subject peoples arrive in that estate often through no fault of their own. The Axis powers have shown that they have no respect for anything but brute force and such being the case they logically hold that conquered peoples should become shackled slaves. The lack the imagination to visualize the fact that man may be enslaved physically but cannot be controlled in his thoughts and in his innate desire to be free nor do they recognize that if people are deprived of their responsibility there can be no real discipline for indubitably the highest kind of government is maintained through self-discipline, nor are they imaginative enough to realize that unrest, however

以致之，在帝國衰落期間，羅馬人僱他人作戰，本身則縱慾，爲所欲爲，卒使西方之羅馬帝國完全消失，繼之而起者，爲歐洲之黑暗時代及其一切邪惡結果。

余認爲確保本身使勿再退化至另一黑暗之時代，乃今日聯合國之最大任務。吾人今日所爭取之自由正義平等原則，是否能渡過當時之重大壓力，實大都取決於吾人個人與國家本身。凡犯罪者，均受壓制，但勿忘彼輩已證明本身係先反對社會，並先對社會犯罪者，其所受之排斥自爲合乎邏輯之結果，且爲贖罪計，亦有此必要。至於被統治民族中之奴隸，其所受之壓迫，則每非其本身之錯誤，軸心國家茲已證明彼等除尊重暴力外，其他均非其所願。職是之故，彼輩乃以邏輯之方式，認爲彼征服之民族，應受桎梏，爲其奴隸，彼等缺乏想像力預見一種事實，即人類在身體上可予奴役，但不能控制其思想與其求取自由之內在願望，彼等亦未認清人民之責任倘予剝奪，則必無真正紀律之可言，蓋最崇高之政府，無疑係以本身遵守

ruthlessly suppressed, will continue to create situations which successive riotings and reforms cannot ameliorate leaving in their wake only bitterness and determined hatred of oppression. The implacable underground hostility of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Low Countries, France and the indomitable resolve to keep on fighting as shown by your people and my people and the peoples of Britain, and Russia attest incontrovertibly to this fact.

“The world today is full of catch phrases. Men often pay lip service to ideals without actually desiring and working for their fruition. Fascist Italy has sometimes claimed to be organized centralized and authoritative democracy. Do we of the United Nations wish to follow their footsteps? The universal tendency of the world as represented by the United Nations is as patent and inexorable as enormous sheets of ice which float down the Hudson River in winter. The swift tide is toward universal justice and freedom. In the furtherance of this tendency we in China have bled in the last six long years to demonstrate our repudiation of the inert humiliating philosophy that a slow strangling death is the more merciful though people in other parts of the world maintain that absence of hope would prevent the acrimony of losing the fight and leave man's nature untrammelled to compose himself to the mercy of God. We shall hold firm to the faith that nothing short of race annihilation will ever prevent any people from struggling against wanton domination whether

紀律為憑藉也。彼等亦缺乏理解力認識一種事實，即不論用如何殘忍之方式，鎮壓騷亂，騷亂仍將造成一種續起騷亂與改革所不能改善之情勢，結果僅留下慘痛與痛恨壓迫之記憶而已，奧捷波「低地各國」與法國潛藏之深恨，以及汝我民族與英蘇人民所表示之繼續作戰之不變決心，俱為此項事實之明證。

今日之世界，充滿動聽之誓詞，人類時喜空談其理想，而未真正希望並努力促其實現，法西斯義大利曾自命為有組織集中化與真正之民主國，然吾聯合國之人民願追隨其足跡耶，聯合國所反映之世界普遍趨勢，其明顯與有力，有如多季順哈得孫河而下之巨大冰塊，遶急之潮流現傾向於普遍之正義與自由。為促進此趨勢計，吾輩身在中國者，曾在過去長久之六年中流血以證明吾人棄絕一種不抵抗之屈辱哲學即曰一種緩慢之絞殺，較之仁慈之哲學。然世界其他部份亦有若干人民堅謂不存希望，可避免嘗受戰敗之苦痛，並令人性無繩無束，聽任上帝之安排。吾人將堅持一項信念，即除滅種之外，任何事物，均未能防止任何民族從事奮鬥抵抗，無論在經濟上，抑在政治上之恣肆支配。

economic or political. Are we right? Again, there are peoples who are obsessed by fear that the stage of economic stagnation has been reached. There are others who preached totalitarian-tinged doctrines of economic autarchy. If we accept these theories then we must all be self-sufficing for when any of us lack raw materials and labor, instead of obtaining them through the legitimate means of trade and commerce, we would have to resort to the brutalities of invading our neighbor's territories and enslaving their inhabitants.

"In reality, neither is possible for the vast unindustrialized hinterlands of China alone would bear witness to the obvious falsity of the former theory. The processes of history are composed of sequences—co-existence and interdependence just as people in society are inevitably entwined through common interests, common efforts and common survival to prove to us the folly of the latter theory. What are we going to make of the future? What will be revalent world recovering from this hideous blood-letting be like? The wisest minds in every corner of the world are pondering over these questions and the wisest of all reserve their opinion. But with out letting temerity to outrun discretion, I venture to say that certain things must be recognized. Never again must the dignity of man be outraged as has been since the dawn of history. All nations, great and small, must have equal opportunity of development. Those who are stronger and more advanced should consider their strength

吾人此項信念是否正確？目前有若干人士困於一種恐懼，即為經濟呆滯之階段，業已榮臨。另有若干人士則宣揚帶有極權主義氣息之經濟獨裁主義，如吾人接受此種理論，則吾人一切必須自給自足，蓋如一旦吾人之中，有任何一國缺乏原料與勞工，則吾人將不以合法之貿易及商務途徑取得之，而將訴諸侵略鄰國土地，奴役其居民之野蠻方法。

其實中國未工業化之廣大腹地，決不能證明前項理論之顯然虛偽，歷史之過程係由一種順序構成者，即共存與互賴是也，正如社會上之人士不免因共同利益共同努力與共同生存而互相聯繫，此即足以對吾人證明後項理論之愚不可及，吾人將如何創造未來？逐漸好轉之世界，自此種可怖之流血中恢復時，將作何現象。世界上每一角落之最聰明人士，目前均在考慮此等問題，其最聰明者，乃保留彼等之意見，然余雖不令勇敢越過慎重之範圍，亦敢曰若干事物必須加以承認。人類之尊嚴，必須永遠勿再遭受如歷史開始以來之迫害，一切國家無論其為大為小，應有發展之平等機會，較強與較弱者，應認彼等之力量，為接受委託應用以協助較弱

as trust to be used to help the weaker nations and fit themselves for full self-government and not to exploit them. Exploitation is spiritually degrading to the exploiter as to the exploited.

“Finally, there must be no bitterness in the reconstructed world. No matter what we have undergone and suffered, we must try to forgive those who have injured us and remember only the lesson gained thereby. Christ's teachings radiate ideas for the elevation of the soul and intellectual capacities far above the common passions of hate and degradation. He taught us to help our less fortunate fellow beings, to work and strive for their betterment without ever deceiving ourselves and others by pretending that tragedy and ugliness do not exist. He taught us to hate the evil in men but not men themselves. In order that this war may be made indeed to be the war to end all wars in all ages and that nations, great and small alike, may be allowed to live and live in peace, security and freedom for generations to come, cooperation in the true and highest sense of the word must be practiced. I have no doubt that the truly great leaders of the United Nations, those men with vision and forethought, are working toward the crystallizations of this ideal, yet they too would be impotent if you and I did not give our all towards making it a reality.

“Some 3,000 years ago during the feudal period when many little kingdoms coexisted in China, there were two conflicting theories: the principle of imperialism, or *Man heng*; and the principle of concerted

之國家，使彼等能自適以完全之自治而不應加以剝削，剝削者，亦如被剝削者感覺剝削一事乃在精神方面之墮落。

最後在重建之世界當中應無殘酷存在，無論吾人已經歷及蒙受何種痛苦，吾人應設法寬恕傷害吾人者，而謹記由此而得之教訓，基督之教義，乃以傳播一種理想，提高精神與智慧之器量，使超出普通之憎惡與喧鬧情緒之上，彼教訓吾人援助人類中之較不幸者，努力於彼等情況之改善，爾勿假為稱悲劇與醜惡並不存在而自欺欺人，彼教訓吾人憎惡人類中之邪惡，但非憎惡人類本身，為使此一戰爭與他結束一切時代之一切戰爭，而一切國家不論大與小國均能於未來世代中生存，且生活於和平安全與自由之間起見，必須施行真正與最高意義之合作。余深信聯合國與其副總統之領袖，具有眼光與遠見者，均更努力於此一理想之實現，然如爾君與余未以吾人所有之一切，致力於使其實現，則此等領袖亦將無能為力。

約三千年以前，即在封建時期，中國有着千小國並存，當時有兩種互相衝突之理論，即帝國主義之理論，或稱「進橫」，與協方

effort or hoh tsung. The originator of the principle of imperialism or lien heng connived to swallow up six weaker states by the State of Tsing. The originator of concerted effort, or hoh tsung, on the other hand, advocated the union of the six weak states for mutual protection against the dominant neighbor, Tsing. The central idea was that in event of aggression by the State Tsing against any of the six states, the others under moral obligation would come to the assistance of the invaded state. Unfortunately, the six states were lukewarm towards this idea of united effort and did not take any pains for its support with the result that gradually one by one, the weaker states were destroyed by the strong state, Tsing. Do we want history to repeat itself?

“At the present day, I like to point out that we often use the term ‘community of nations’. If we had only pause to think for a moment we would realize that the word community implies an association not of voluntary choice but of force circumstance. We should instead think ourselves as a society of nations for society means an association by choice.

“Let us United Nations which have come together by choice to resolve to create a world resting on the pillars of justice, co-existence, cooperation and mutual respect. Selfishness and complacency in the last have made us pay dearly in terms of human misery and suffering. While it may be difficult for us not to feel the bitterness for the injuries we have suffered at the hands of our aggressors, let us remember that re-remembrance of hatred

之理論，即「合縱」是也。帝國主義或「連橫」

理論之創始者，曾縱容秦國吞併較弱之六國

，在另一方面協力或「合縱主義」之創始者，

則主張六國聯合，互相保護，對抗強秦，其

中心見解，乃一旦秦國侵略六國之任何一國

時，其餘各國有援助被侵略者之道義責任。

不幸六國對於此種協合之見解，均缺乏熱誠

，未曾竭力予以支持，結果此等較弱國家，

被強秦一一摧毀，吾人其願歷史重演乎。

目前余願指出吾人常用「國際團體」一辭

，如吾人稍加思索，吾人即可認識團體一辭

，表示一種非屬自願選擇之組合，而為環境

力量所造成之組合，吾人應自認爲一個國際

社會，蓋社會表示一種難擇而成之組合也。

願以選擇而聯合一致之吾聯合國家建立

一種以正義共存合作與互尊爲四大柱石之世

界。過去之自私與自滿，已令吾人在人類之

艱苦困難方面付出重大代價，吾人實難不對

吾人於侵略者手中所蒙受之損害感覺殘酷，

願吾人緊記憎恨之報復，將令吾人重新覆轍

will lead us n where. We should use our energy to better purpose so that every nations will be enabled to use its native genius and energy for the reconstruction of a permanently progressive world with all nations participating on an equitable and just basis. The goal of our common struggle at the conclusion of the war should be to shape the future. "This whole world must be thought of as one great state common to God and men."

，吾人應用本身之力量於一較佳之目標，俾每一國家均能應用其本有之智慧與精力，致力於建設一種永遠進步之世界，一切國家均本平等與及正之基礎，參加此一世界，此一戰爭結束時，吾人共同奮鬥之目標，應為決定未來，吾人必須認全世界為一種上帝與人類共有之一大國家。

- (1) - **Imperator** 羅馬兵卒稱戰勝將軍之稱號
- (2) **Augustus** 奧古斯都，羅馬人率與屋大維定尊號，神聖之意，Prince of Senate 亦為羅馬人率與彼之尊號
- (3) **Sybaritic** 奢侈淫佚。按 Sybaris 為義大利南部之古都，其人民以奢侈淫佚稱。

## Madame Chiang's Speech before U.S. Congress

# 蔣夫人對美國國會演辭

February 18, 1943

一九四三年十月二十八日

At any time it would be a privilege for me to address Congress more especially to this present august body which will have so much to do in shaping the destiny of the world.

In speaking to Congress, I am literally speaking to the American People. The 77th Congress as their representatives has fulfilled the obligation and responsibilities of its trust by declaring war on the aggressors. A part of the duty of the people's representatives was discharged in 1941. The task now confronting you is to help win the war and create and uphold a lasting peace which will justify the sacrifices and suffering of the victims of aggression.

Before enlarging this subject, I should like to tell you a little about my long, vividly interesting trip to your country from my own land which has borne unflinchingly the burden of war for more than five and a half years. I shall not dwell, however, upon the part China has played in our united effort to free mankind from brutality and violence. I shall try to convey to you, however imperfectly, the impressions I gained during my trip. I want to assure you that the American people have every right to be proud of their fighting men in so many

余在任何時期，得在美國國會演說，均屬一種特殊榮幸，今日對此與形成世界命運大有影響之莊嚴偉大之團體發表演說，尤感榮幸。

余向美國國會演說，實係向美國人民演說。美國第七十七屆國會以人民代表之身份已因對侵略者宣戰而履行其所負之義務與責任。美國人民代表一部分之責任，已於一九四一年履行。諸君今日當前之任務，乃係協助制勝，並建立及擁護一永久之和平，使遭受侵略者之犧牲與痛苦不致徒然。

在余未深論此事以前，願略述余自我五年又半以來，以大無畏精神，肩荷抗戰負擔之祖國，長途跋涉而饒意味之旅程之經過。雖然余雅不願申述中國對共同解放人類使免于野蠻與暴力時所有之貢獻，但擬略向諸君一陳我此行所獲而不完全之印象。余願向諸君保證，美國人民對國部隊之遍佈全球各地，殊可引以自豪。余於貴國壯士之遠戍異



parts of the world. I am particularly thinking of those of your boys in the far-flung out-of-way stations and areas where life is attended by a dreary drabness, because their duty is not one of spectacular performance and they are not buoyed up by the excitement of battle. They are called upon day after colorless day to perform routine duties such as safeguarding the defense and preparing for possible enemy action. It has been said, and I find it true from personal experience, that it is easier to risk one's life in the battlefield than to perform customary humble humdrum duties which, however, are just as necessary. Some of your troops are stationed in isolated spots out of reach of ordinary communications. Some of your boys have had to fly hundreds of hours over the sea from improved airfields in quest, often disappointingly fruitless, of enemy submarines. They and others have to stand the monotony of waiting, just waiting.

But as I have told them, true patriotism lies in the possession of morale and physical stamina to perform faithfully and conscientiously daily tasks, so in the sum total the weakest link is the strongest. Your soldiers have shown conclusively that they are able stoically to endure homesickness, glaring dryness and the scorching heat of the tropics and keep themselves fit and in excellent fighting trim. They are among the unsung heroes of this war, and everything possible to lighten their tedium and buoy up their morale should be done. That sacred duty is yours.

鄉，生活寂寥，尤為關懷。蓋彼等之任務，並非從事奇觀之表演，亦無戰爭之刺激，而日復一日，僅係奉命担負例行任務例如守衛防禦工事並準備敵方可能之蠢動。有人曾謂，復據余個人之經驗所得，親臨陣地，出死入生之專，尚較担負同樣必要之通常低微乏味之任務為易。貴國若干部隊，有駐在隔絕地帶，而為通常交通所不能達到者。貴國若干壯士，有自臨時機場飛行數百小時搜尋敵方潛艇，卒致廢然而返者。渠等與其他部隊，均須作單調之守候且只是守候而已。

但如余曾奉告渠等者，真正之愛國心，乃在具有士氣與體力，以忠心謹慎執行日常之任務，最後結果，必係最弱之一環，即為最強之一環。貴國之士兵，業已堅決表示渠等能以克己之精神，忍受其思鄉之苦，以及熱帶之乾燥與驕陽且能保持良好之作戰精神。渠等均係此次戰役未曾頌讚之英雄，吾人極應竭力解除其厭倦，激勵其精神。此乃諸君之神聖責任。

The American Army is better fed than any army in the world, but this does not mean that they can live indefinitely on canned food without having the effects tell on them. These admittedly are minor hardships of war, especially when we pause to consider that in many parts of the world starvation prevails. But peculiarly enough, oftentimes it is not the major problems of existence that irk man's soul; it is rather the pin-pricks, especially those incidental to life, the deadly sameness with tempers frayed out and the nervous systems torn to shreds.

The second impression of my trip is that America is not only a cauldron of democracy, but an incubator of democratic principles. At some places I have visited, I met crews of your air bases. There I found the first generations of Germans, Italians, Frenchmen, Poles, Czechoslovaks and other nationals. Some of them had accents so thick that if such a thing were possible one could cut them with a butter knife. But there they were all Americans, all devoted to the same ideals, all working for the same cause and united by the same high purpose. No suspicion or rivalry existed between them. This has increased my belief and faith that devotion to common principles eliminates differences in race and that identity of ideals is the strongest possible solvent of racial dissimilarities.

I have reached your country, therefore, with no misgivings but with my belief that the American people is building and carrying out the true pattern of the nation conceived by your forebears.

美國軍隊之飲食較世界任何軍隊為優，但非謂其可長此僅恃罐頭食品而不致發生任何影響。吾人切勿一念及世界尚有多處飢饉乏食，則此皆戰爭中次要之困難。然其忌者乃擾人心靈者，恆非生存之主要問題，而僅係生活中偶爾發生之若干瑣事，每係單調無聊，令人煩悶不堪，神經欲裂。

余此次所獲之第二印象，即美國不僅為民主主義之巨鏡，且為民主原則之養成器。余在余所參觀之若干地方，晤見貴國空軍根據地之人員。余曾且在各該地方，遇見德法波捷及其他各國僑民在美所生之第一代後裔，其本國之口音甚重，頗易辨別之，但輩等均係美國僑民，忠於同樣之理想，從事同樣之運動，並且有同樣崇高之宗旨，彼此間並無懷疑或競爭現象之存在。此益令余深信忠於共同之原則，可以泯除種族之差異，而理想之相同乃係種族差異最強之溶解劑。

故余遍覽貴國以後，毫無疑慮，但益使余對美國人民與建國立憲並實行其祖先所懷之真正國策之信念，獲得增強與確定。諸君

strengthened and confirmed. You as representatives of the American people have before you a glorious opportunity of carrying on the pioneer work of your ancestors beyond the frontiers of physical and geographical limitations. Their brawn and hews have braved undauntedly the almost unbelievable hardships to open a new continent. The modern world lauds them for their vigor and intensity of purpose and for their accomplishment. You today have before you an immeasurably greater opportunity to implement these and bring about the liberation of man's spirit in every part of the world.

In order to accomplish this purpose, we of the United Nations must now so prosecute the war that victory will be ours decisively with all the good speed. Sun Tse, a well known Chinese strategist, said: 'In order to win, you must know yourself and your enemy.' We have also a saying: 'It takes little effort to watch the other fellow carry the load.' In spite of these teachings from the wise old past, which is shared by every nation, there has been a tendency to belittle the strength of our opponents. When Japan thrust a total war on China, military experts did not give China even the ghost of a chance, but when Japan failed to bring China cringing to her knees, as she had vaunted, the world took solace of this phenomenon by declaring that they had over-estimated Japan's military might. Nevertheless, the fire of greed and flames of war inexorably spread to the Pacific following the perfidious attack on Pearl Harbor.

身為美國人民之代表，現有一光榮之機會，繼續汝祖先所作，超越自然與地理上之限制之開拓工作。渠等曾以大無畏之精神，冒不可思議之困難，筚路藍縷以啓山林。近代世界人士無不盛讚其精力之過人宗旨之堅定，以及成功之偉大。諸君今日亦有無與倫比之機會，繼續完成汝祖先之工作，並謀全世界各地人民精神之解放。

為完成此項目的起見，我聯合國應，必須儘速作戰，以全速力使勝利決屬於我。中國著名之兵家孫子有言：「知己知彼百戰百勝」，吾人亦有諺語云：「看人挑担不吃力」，吾國古代雖有此等名訓，且為各國所共有，但恆有一種趨勢，即對敵方之力量估計過小。當日本對華發動全面之戰事時，軍事專家咸謂中國毫無機會，但當日本不聽如其所曾誇張而使中國屈膝之後，舉世之人又對此現象深感慰藉而謂渠等將日本之武力估計過高。惟自日本詐襲珍珠港馬來亞及中國

Malaya and the lands in and around the China Sea, and when one after another the places fell, the pendulum swung to the other extreme. Doubts and fears lifted its ugly head, and the world began to think the Japanese the Nietzschean Superman—a belief which the Gobineaus and the Houston Chamberlains and their apt pupils, the Nazi racists, had propounded about the Nordics.

The prevailing opinion seems to consider the defeat of the Japanese as relatively unimportant, and that Hitler is our first concern. This is not borne out by actual facts, nor is it to the interests of the United Nations as a whole to allow Japan to continue not only as a vital potential threat, but as a waiting sword of Damocles, ready to descend at a moment's notice. Let us not forget that Japan in her occupied areas today has greater resources at her command than Germany; let us not forget that the longer Japan is left in undisputed possession of these resources the stronger she must become. Each passing day takes mere toll in lives of both Americans and Chinese. Let us not forget that the Japanese are an intransigent people. Let us not forget that during the first four and a half years of total aggression China had borne Japan's sadistic fury unaided and alone. The victories won by the United States Navy at Midway and in the Coral Sea are doubtless steps in the right direction—they are merely steps in the right direction—for the magnificent fight waged in

海內外各處以後，貪婪之火與戰爭之債，乃瀰漫太平洋上。爾當上述各地相繼失守，一時之思想，乃頓趨另一極端。於是疑懼叢生，而世人咸以日人爲尼采式之超人。此即哥比諾及豪斯敦，張伯烈與其信徒納粹種族主義者對北歐民族野懷之一種信念。

時下一般意見，似係認爲擊敗日本比較次要，而吾人之首先注意者乃希特勒。事實並未加證明。且就聯合國家之體面利害而言，吾人亦不宜縱任日本不獨爲一重要之潛在威脅，且有如德福克利斯之懸劍，可以隨時下墜。吾人慎勿忘日本今日在其佔領區中，擁有較德國更爲豐富之資源；又慎勿忘，如無人與之爭抗，則其獨佔此類資源之時日愈久，則其勢必愈大，而中美兩國人民之死亡者必益多。吾人慎勿忘，日本人乃一難與協調之民族。吾人慎勿忘在日本對中國發動全面侵略之最初四年半期間，中國曾竭力無助抵禦日本之狂暴。美國海軍在中途島及在珊瑚海所獲得之勝利，顯然無疑爲在正確途徑上之步驟。（彼等僅爲在正確途徑上之步驟而已）。蓋過去六個月來，瓜達康納爾島上之英勇作戰，已證明一項事實，即擊敗惡勢

Guadalcanal in the past six months attests the fact that the defeat of the forces of evil, though long and arduous, will finally come to pass. For have we not on our side righteousness and justice, staunch allies in Great Britain, Russia and other brave and indomitable peoples?

Meanwhile, the peril of Japanese juggernaut remains. The Japanese military might must be decimated as a fighting force before its threat to civilization is removed. When the 77th Congress declared war on Japan, Germany and Italy, Congress for a moment had done its work. It now remains for you, the present representatives of the American people, to point a way to win the war and to help construct a world in which all peoples may henceforth live in harmony and peace. May I not hope that it is the resolve of Congress to devote itself to the creation of a post-war world? to dedicate itself to the preparation for a brighter future that the stricken world so eagerly awaits? We of this generation who are privileged to help make a better world for ourselves for posterity should remember that while we must not be visionary, we must have vision so that peace should not be punitive in spirit and should not be provincial and nationalistic or even continental in concept but universal in scope and humanitarian in action, for modern science has so annihilated distance that what affects one people must of necessity affect all other peoples. 'Hands and Feet' are often used in China to signify the relationship between brothers. Since international inter-

力一舉，雖屬持久與困難，最後必將到來。蓋吾人豈無正直與正義，美聯兩國之堅強盟友，以及其他英勇不屈之民族，在吾人此一方面乎？

同時日本方面以人供其犧牲之制度所產生之危機依然存在。日本之軍事力量，在對於文明之威脅消除以前，其作戰實力必須予以消滅大半。當七十七屆國會對日德義三國宣戰時，國會於一時間中，確已完成其工作。目前須待諸君即美國人民之現有代表完成者，為指示一條途徑爭取勝利，並協助建立一種一切民族此後均可生活於融洽及和平中之世界。余豈不希望國會具有決心，致力於戰後世界之建立乎？敢立於準備一種目前水漲火熱中之世界所熱烈期待之較為光明之世界乎？吾輩此一代人民之獲有特殊機會，以協助建立一種為吾人本身及後世打算之較佳世界者，應切記吾人在勿存幻想之際，亦應具有一種眼光，俾未來和平之精神，不致為一種懲罰性質，其概念亦不應以一省一國或一洲為範圍，而應以全世界為範圍，其行動亦必須合乎人道主義，蓋現在科學已將距離消滅於無形，以致影響一民族之事物，必影響其他一切民族，中國恆以「手足」表兄弟間之關係。目前國際間之互相決裂，為

dependence is now so universally recognized, can we not also say that all nations should become members of one corporate body?

The hundred sixty years of traditional friendship of the great peoples of China and America which has never been marred by misunderstandings is unsurpassed in the annals of the world. We hope to cooperate with you and other peoples to lay a true and lasting foundation for a progressive world society in which it would be impossible for any predatory neighbor to plunge the future generations into another orgy of blood.

In the past, China has not counted the cost to her manpower in her fight against aggression, although she well realized that manpower is the real wealth of the nation and takes generations to grow it. She has been solely conscious of her responsibilities and has not concerned herself with privileges and gains which she might have obtained through compromise of principles. Nor will she demean herself and all she holds dear to the practice of the market place. We in China, like you, want a better world not for ourselves alone, but for all mankind.

It is not enough, however, to proclaim our ideals or even be convinced that we have them. In order to preserve, uphold and maintain them, there are times when we should throw all we cherish into our effort to fulfill these ideals even at the risk of failure. Teachings drawn from our late Leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, have given our people the fortitude to carry on. From five and a half years of experience we in China are convinced that it

爲一履所及焉。吾人豈不願亦能一國與衆國  
成爲一合作團體中之諸份子乎？

中美兩大民族間一百六十餘年來之傳統友誼，從未遭受誤解之騷擾，此在世界歷史中誠無其匹。吾人希望與諸君及其他民族合作，爲進步之世界社會奠定一種真實與持久之基礎。在此一世界社會中，任何種族或地區之鄰國，均無法以其後代人民驅入另一血海之中。

中國總認知人力乃國家之真正財富，當其戰代之時期，始獲成長。然中國過去在對抗侵略之作戰中，並未計算其在人力方面之損失，彼等感覺其本身之責任，關於彼等之自由與正義之折衷而獲得之特權與物產則從未關切。彼亦不欲以本身之珍貴之一切，爲作權衡在市場中討價還價之用。我中國人民亦如諸君，不僅爲本身之權利而奮鬥，且亦爲全人類而奮鬥。

然僅空言吾人之理想，或僅藉藉於吾人以此等理想，尙嫌未足，吾人爲保證，支持，維護此等理想起見，必有一日應以所愛好之一切，致力以完成此等理想，雖有失敗之虞，亦非所計。吾人且欲領袖孫中山先生之主義，已使吾國人民獲得一種勇往直前之毅力。我中國人民本五年半之經驗，願諸君

is a better part of wisdom not to accept failure ignominiously but to risk it gloriously. We shall have faith that as the writing of peace America and our other gallant allies will not be obscured by a mirage. Man's mettle is tested both in adversity and in success; twice is this true of the soul of a nation.

以可恥之態度接受失敗，而以光榮之態度冒失敗之危，實為較屬睿智之舉。吾人將有一項信念，即在訂定和平時，美國與吾人及其他英勇盟友，不致為幻像所迷，人類之勇氣須經歷挫折與成功兩種試驗，國家之魄力尤然云。

## Statement Made By U. S. Representative McCormack

# 美國眾議員麥考梅克之聲明

*Following is the text of the statement by Rep. John McCormack, Majority*

*Leader of the House of Representatives of the United States and a*

*Democrat from Massachusetts, which was made on March 24, 1948.*

美國眾議院多數派領袖麻薩諸塞州民主黨議員麥考梅克，

于一九四八年三月二十四日發表聲明，全文如下：

"The brave people of China have been fighting against Japanese aggression for six years. While it is necessary to defeat Hitler and Nazism, the importance of the Far East cannot be overlooked. A cold, cruel and calculating enemy confronts us and our courageous ally, China, in that theater of the world conflict. While the defeat of Hitler—is a primary matter of consideration, we cannot permit the impression to exist that the defeat of Japan is a secondary matter of our consideration. There is nothing that I know of that would tend to dishearten the people of Asia under the tyrannic yoke of Japan, and particularly of China, more than to permit this impression to exist.

"The war must be waged vigorously and constantly with growing momentum in the Far East. The freedom and independence of China is dear to the people of the United States. Its future independence is important to our future and best interest as a nation and to a future decent world. The position of China after victory in the post-war days cannot be underestimated. It will occupy its place

中國之英勇人民，對抗日本之侵略作戰，至今已有一年，當此吾人必須擊敗希特勒及納粹主義之際，遠東之重要性，亦不容忽視。吾人及英勇盟友中國，正在世界戰爭之該一戰場遭遇冷酷無情居心惡毒之敵人。擊敗希特勒，誠為考慮中之首要問題，然吾人亦不能容許一種印象存在，即以爲擊敗日本，乃吾人考慮中之次要問題是也。余深知足令在日本暴政束縛下之亞洲人民，尤其中國人民心灰意冷之事，恐無逾於容許此種印象存在者。

吾人於遠東方面，必須以繼續增加之力量，不斷努力作戰，中國之自由與獨立，亦為美國人民所珍視者，為吾人以一國地位之未來最大利益計，為未來之禮讓世界計，中國之未來獨立俱屬重要之舉，勝利以後之期間，中國之地位，誠不能估價過低，其參加



at the peace table and in the councils of nations of the world not as a 'rescued child' but in its rightful position in cooperation with the United States, Great Britain and Russia.

"It would be a serious mistake for any other condition to exist. The future peace of the world depends in the main upon the United States, Great Britain, China and Russia. The success of any future peace depends just as much upon the full participation by China as it does any other one of the United Nations. The idea in the minds of any persons that China will occupy the position of a 'rescued child' had better be dispatched. The councils of any peace conference will never be complete without the voice of China's representatives under Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek who will be on equal terms with representatives of other United Nations.

"While Prime-Minister Churchill has made contribution for discussion by suggesting a Council of Europe and a Council of Asia—as a post-war regional set-up—there are many who feel that regionalism is contrary to the concept of the global character of the present struggle. He reminds his listeners that 'we shall unlikely cast aside the immense work—the creation of the League of Nations.'

"There are many who don't forget that the League and all it stands for were really undermined by its failure to check aggression in Manchuria. Peace to me seems to be indivisible and the doctrine of regionalism may lead to future world disorder instead of bringing the world

和平會議及國際會議，並非以「獲救之兒童」之地位參加，而係以與美英蘇等國合作之正當地位參加。

如有其他任何條件存在，則誠為一種嚴重錯誤，任何未來和平之成就，其對於中國充分合作之倚賴，固不下於其他任何聯合國家之合作，如任何人心中存有一種中國將居「獲救兒童」地位之見解存在，則以速予摒棄為佳，任何和平會議，如無蔣委員長指示下之中國代表，以與其他聯合國代表平等之條件下發言，則會議永遠無法稱為完善。

邱吉爾首相曾以建議設立歐洲委員會與亞洲委員會以為戰後之區域組織之辦法，提出戰後問題之討論。然亦有若干人士，認為區域主義與現行戰爭之全球性質，不能相容，彼並提議其聽衆曰，吾人未必將擱置設立國際聯盟一項重大工作。

目前亦有若干人士，未忘國際聯盟及其所維護之一切，確係因其未獲阻止日本對於滿洲之侵略而遭受打擊，余認為和平無法分割，區域主義可能導未來世界於無秩序狀態

closer to the concept of a universal order and decency.

“As China is one of the four major nations engaged on our side in this war—so in victory must it be one of the four major nations that will determine at the peace table the future of this world for decades to come.

，而未能令世界更接近世界秩序與禮讓之觀念。

中國乃此一戰爭中在我方作戰之四大主要國家之一，故在勝利期間，亦應為在和平會議席上決定未來數十年間世界前途之四大主要國家之一。

# Roosevelt-Churchill's Joint Communique

## After Their Casablanca Conference

### 羅邱卡港會議後聯合公報

January 24, 1943.

一九四三年一月二十四日

The President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain had been in conference near Casablanca since January 14. They were accompanied by the combined chiefs of staffs of the two countries, namely, for the United States: General George G. Marshall, Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army, Admiral Ernest J. King, Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Navy, and Lieutenant-General Henry S. Arnold, commanding the U.S. Army Air Forces. For Great Britain: Admiral of the Fleet Sir Dudley Pound, First Sea Lord, General Sir Alan Brooke, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, and Air Chief Marshal Sir Charles Portal, Chief of the Air Staff. They were assisted by Lieutenant-General R. B. Somervell, commanding the General Services of Supply of the U.S. Army; Field Marshal Sir John Dill, head of the British Joint Staff Mission to Washington, Vice-Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, chief of Combined Operations, and Lieutenant General Sir Hastings Ismay, chief of staff officer to the Minister of Defense, together with a number of staff officers from both countries.

They had received visits from Mr. Murphy (Robert Murphy, the President's

美國總統與英國首相自一月十四日以來  
即在卡薩布蘭卡附近舉行會議，與會者尚有  
兩國參謀部首長，代表美國者，有美國陸軍  
參謀總長馬歇爾，全美國艦隊總司令金氏，  
美國陸軍航空隊司令安諾德；代表英國者，  
有第一海軍委員龐德，帝國軍參謀總長布魯  
克，空軍總參謀長波多爾。協助彼等者，有  
美國陸軍後方勤務部部長索姆威爾，美國駐  
華盛頓聯合參謀代表團團長坎南，英國聯合  
作戰部大臣萊巴頓，英國國防部大臣克拉克參  
謀伊新連以及兩國參謀人員多人。

彼等曾接見美總統駐北非代表團

Minister to North Africa), Mr. MacMillan (British Minister to the Allied Force Headquarters), General Eisenhower, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Expeditionary Force in North Africa, Admiral of the Fleet Sir Andrew Cunningham, Naval Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force in North Africa, General Spaatz, Air Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force in North Africa, General Clark of the U.S. Army, and from the Middle East Headquarters, General Sir Harold Alexander, Air Chief Marshall Sir Arthur Tedder, Deputy chief of the Air staff Lieutenant-General F.M. Andrews of the U.S. Army.

The President was accompanied by Mr. Harry Hopkins and joined by Mr. Averill Harriman. With the Prime Minister was Lord Leathers, British Minister of War Transport.

For ten days the combined staffs had been in constant session, meeting two or three times daily, and recording of its progress was communicated at intervals to the President and the Prime Minister.

The entire field of the war was surveyed theatre by theatre throughout the world and all resources were marshalled for the more intense prosecution of the war by sea, land and air. Nothing like this prolonged discussion between the two allies has ever taken place before. Complete agreement was reached between the leaders of the two countries and their respective staffs upon war plans and enterprises to be undertaken during the campaign of 1943 against Germany and

國法盟軍總部代表麥克米倫，北非盟軍總司令艾森豪威爾。其他來謁者，尚有北非盟軍海軍司令肯壽漢，北非盟軍空軍司令史巴茲，北非盟軍副總司令克拉克。中東方面來謁者，有中東軍總司令亞歷山大，空軍副參謀總長泰德，中東美軍司令安諾魯斯。

與美總統同來者，有賀浦金斯，以及總統關於租借問題之特別代表哈里曼，與英首相同來者，有英國軍需運輸部大臣李澤斯。

在十日之期間內，兩國參謀人員，曾經常舉行會議，每日會議兩三次並間以進展紀錄送交總統與首相。

全世界各戰場均經逐一檢討，決動員一切資源，以備在海，陸，空三方面從事更猛烈之戰爭。兩大盟國從未舉行如此長期之討論，兩國領袖與彼等之參謀人員，已在一九四三年之對德，日戰爭中，應採之作戰計劃，商得完全一致之意見，以期在一九四二年

JaDas with a view to drawing the utmost advantage from the markedly favorable turn of events at the close of 1942.

Stalin was cordially invited to meet the President and the Prime Minister, in which case the meeting would have been held very much farther to the east. Stalin, however, was unable to leave Russia at this time on account of the great offensive which he himself as Commander-in-Chief is directing.

The president and the prime Minister realized to the full the enormous weight of the war which Russia is successfully bearing alone on her whole land front and their prime object has been to draw off as much weight as possible from the Russian armies by engaging the enemy as heavily as possible at the best selected points. Stalin had been fully informed of the military proposals.

The President and the Prime Minister had been in communication with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. They have apprised him of the measures which they are undertaking to assist him and China's significant and unrelenting struggle for the common cause.

The occasion of the meeting between the President and the Prime Minister made it opportune to invite General Giraud to confer with the combined chiefs of staffs to arrange for a meeting between him and General de Gaulle. The two generals had been in close consultation.

The President, the Prime Minister and the combined staffs, having completed

底業已顯露之有利轉機中，取得極適有利之地位。

總統與首相亦曾囑咐總參謀長史迪林委員長會晤，設在是項情況之下會議或可在遠較接近東方之地點舉行，然史迪林委員長因本身正以總司令資格指揮偉大攻勢，故一時無法離蘇。

總統與首相熟知蘇軍在其全部疆土上戰線軍團作戰之重荷，彼等之主觀目標，即在最適宜之地點，以盡量猛烈打擊敵軍之方法，減輕蘇軍之負擔。史迪林委員長對於一切軍事建議均極週知。

總統與首相亦曾與蔣委員長互遞消息，彼等曾以其行將採取之計劃，通知蔣委員長，謂與對中國為共同目標而從事之偉大不傳之奮鬥，協助蔣委員長。

總統與首相之會晤，造成一種良好機會，邀請吉羅德與兩國參謀首長會商一切，並使吉羅德與戴高樂會晤，兩氏曾作密切磋商。

總統首相及兩國參謀人員於完成一九四五年之攻勢計劃以後，將已分別通知其部屬，

their plans for offensive campaigns in 1948, have now separated in order to put them into active concerted execution."

以積極協力施行此等計劃也。

# 當代文獻

## 合訂本內容摘要

### 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。

### 第四卷合訂本

定價十元九角

本合訂本包含日本投降以後中，美，英，蘇對國際問題之立場有關之文獻。

- 1 日本投降及中，美對日政策。
- 2 外長會議中之各國立場。
- 3 美，英，蘇之外交政策。
- 4 中蘇友好條約及有關處理東北日產重要文件。
- 5 關於中美關係之文件。
- 6 外長會議公報。
- 7 原子能會議公報。
- 8 邱吉爾與斯達林間接舌戰。

