

英·漢·對·照

# 國際政治一瞥

Glimpses Into International Politics

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## U. S. Foreign Policy

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The present foreign policy of the United States is based on the "nuclear" alliance of the four leading United Nations—U. S. A., Britain, Russia and China, and on the theory that if these four powers are in agreement with each other after this war, no other nations will be in a position<sup>1</sup> to start another war. From the experience of the past it is calculated that, with these three nations as allies, American power will be adequate to meet the foreign commitments of the United States.

For over 100 years American foreign policy has reckoned on the support in the Atlantic of British sea-power. The close association of these two countries in all phases of the present war has served to cement what has always been a virtual<sup>2</sup> British-American alliance. It is inevitable that such an alliance will be continued after the war and will be supported by the six nations of the British Commonwealth and the twenty American republics.

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1. 能. 2. 事實上的.



## 美國外交政策

現在美國的外交政策，是基於以中、美、英、蘇四大領導地位的聯合國為核心的聯盟；而所根據的理論是：戰後倘這四強同心合力，便沒有其他國家能再發動另一次大戰。由過去的經驗估計起來，美國有中英蘇三大國為盟邦，其力量將足夠應付聯合國各邦外交上之付託。

百年來美國的外交政策，本有賴於英帝國大西洋海上勢力的支持。在這次戰爭中，此兩大國在各方面的密切合作，又已加強了兩國事實上的英美聯盟。這一聯盟在戰後必將繼續，而英帝國內的六自治領及美洲內的二十個共和國也都要予以支持的。

## U. S. FOREIGN POLICY.

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While Russia has always been the opposite of the United States in political ideology, throughout the last century each has followed a foreign policy of supporting the other's territorial integrity,<sup>3</sup> because each has been a potential<sup>4</sup> friend in the rear of potential enemies.

China is the anchor for the chain of American island bases which stretch across the Pacific. Similarly for 100 years American policy in the Far East has been founded on the maintenance of China's territorial integrity and on her eventual emergence as a great power.

American relations with all other states have been, and are, governed by American relations with Britain, with Russia, and with China.

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3. 領土完整 4. 無形的。

美蘇兩國在政治意識上，應說是背道而馳的，但因自前世紀以來，本已在無形的敵人之後，成爲無形的友邦，所以都是遵循一種互相尊重彼此領土的外交政策。

中國是美國橫跨過太平洋上一連串島嶼根據地之碇泊所。同樣的在近百年來，美國的遠東政策，也建立在維持中國之領土完整上面和中國可能以強國姿態出現的上面。

美國和別國的關係也隨她本身與中英蘇三國之關係爲轉移，向來如此，現在亦復如此。

## British Foreign Policy

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In general, British foreign policy \*tends to<sup>5</sup> be divided into two main sections, overseas and European. Up to 1890, Britain had felt herself strong enough to follow a policy of "splendid isolation." However, the growth of Germany and other nations as great powers rendered Britain's international position relatively weaker, and so she had to seek allies both overseas and in Europe. Hence arose the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902 and the Anglo-French entente of 1904.

The Anglo-Japanese alliance was given up at the Washington Conference in 1922, on the insistence of the United States and the British Dominions. \*To take its place<sup>6</sup> a virtual Anglo-American alliance in the Pacific was formed.

In Europe the alliance with France was found to be inadequate in 1940, and in 1941 the Anglo-Soviet alliance was formed. This twenty years' treaty of alliance implies that Britain will not intervene in Eastern Europe except in agreement

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5. 有....之傾向. 6. 取其位置而代之.

## 英 國 外 交 政 策

英帝國外交政策大抵可分兩大傾向，即海上政策與歐陸政策。直至一八九〇年，英自覺本國勢力之強，儘足以遵循其「光榮的孤立」政策。顧自德意志及其他民族逐漸成爲強國，乃使英帝國國際地位比較削弱，所以英國非自海外與歐陸兩方面尋求與國不可。因之一九〇二年有英日同盟，一九〇四年又有英法協約之產生。

英日同盟以美國及英屬自治領之強硬主張，於一九二二年華盛頓會議中被廢棄。代之而成立者有英美在太平洋事實上的同盟。

一九四〇年英國以爲在歐陸方面單與法國締盟，猶嫌不足，乃於一九四一年締結英蘇同盟。此廿年來之盟約暗示英帝國除與蘇聯締交外，不擬與聞東歐事，同時蘇聯除與英訂



with Russia, while Russia will not intervene in Western Europe except in agreement with Britain.

There is another \*major consideration<sup>7</sup> in British foreign policy, and that is the link with India. In the maintenance of this the Middle East is a key factor, and \*In turn<sup>8</sup> the gateway to the Middle East lies through the Mediterranean. Britain's position in the Mediterranean and in the Middle East therefore is a matter of vital concern to her,

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7. 重要問題。 8. 其次又。

約外亦不與聞西歐事。

英外交政策中尚另有一重要之問題，此即英印關係。欲維繫此關係，則中東實其樞紐，而中東之門戶則又為地中海。是以英國在地中海及東歐之地位實為其帝國命脈之所繫。



## Russian Foreign Policy

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It is a remarkable fact that Russia, the greatest land power in the world, has virtually no ice-free seaport, although her territory stretches from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean, and from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea. Russia's efforts to reach ports in the Baltic, the Bosphorus, Persian Gulf and Sea of Japan have all been blocked by her enemies. One of the cardinal points in her foreign policy must always be to secure access to such ports.

Russia is divided into European Russia and Asiatic Russia by the Ural Mountains. However, a more natural geographic line of division would be the Yenisei River. West of this river is the "Heartland" of Russia,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  million square miles in area with a population of 170 millions. East of it is a wilderness of  $3\frac{3}{4}$  million square miles with a population of only 6 millions.

In the west, Russia has already announced that she considers Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Eastern Poland and Bessarabia as Russian territories to be re-incorporated into the mother country. It will be

## 蘇聯外交政策

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蘇聯爲世界最大陸權國家，却無不凍港，此爲一顯著之事實，雖其疆域西起波羅的海，東達於太平洋，北自北冰洋，南達於黑海。蘇聯在波羅的海、博斯普魯斯海峽、波斯海峽以及日本海中出海之經營，均已遭其敵國封鎖。蘇外交政策中要圖之一，必常爲獲得此種港口之出路。

蘇聯以烏拉山爲界，劃分爲歐洲俄羅斯及亞洲俄羅斯二部，但是最自然的地理分野線爲葉尼塞河。此河之西爲蘇聯之「腹地」，面積爲四百五十萬方哩，有人口一萬七千萬。河之東爲三百七十五萬方哩荒野之區，僅有人口六百萬。

在西方，蘇聯曾聲言視愛沙尼亞、拉脫維亞、立陶宛、東波蘭及比薩拉比亞爲其領土而應重行併入母國。使芬蘭、波蘭、捷克斯拉夫、匈牙利、羅馬尼亞、保加利亞、南斯

the aim of Russian foreign policy to have pro-Soviet governments in Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey and Iran. She hopes \*in this way' to get security against any further German \*'Drang nach Osten''<sup>10</sup> and to obtain access to the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf.

In the east, her policy must be less active in that she will be unable to back it with the same force. This vast area in Asia was acquired originally not by fighting but by penetration which encountered no resistance. In a similar manner, Russian policy will aim to gain its future objectives less by fighting than by peaceful penetration. She will seek to regain from Japan the territories which she lost in 1905, and she will encourage the existence of "red" regimes in northwest China, Mongolia, Manchuria and Korea.

Russia's policy towards other United Nations has at times seemed a mystery because of its contradictions. Some of her actions have been towards collaboration, while others have been against collaboration. This may be explained by her preparations \*to play a "lone hand''<sup>11</sup> if necessary, should collaboration with U. S. A. and Britain not give her the objects which she wants.

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9.這樣做法。10.=Pressure toward the East向東推進 11.單獨行動。

拉夫、希臘、土耳其、及伊朗諸國皆有一親蘇之政府，則爲其外交政策之目標。她希望以這樣做法對抗德國的「向東推進」而保障安全；並欲以此獲取溝通地中海及波斯灣之孔道。

在東方，蘇聯政策不若西方之活動，因其不能以同樣兵力隨其後。她得有亞洲方面之廣大土地，原不假武力，單賴其暢行無阻的蠶食方式而獲得。現在蘇聯之外交政策目的在以同樣之方式，專持和平的漸進主義而少用武力去爭取他日的收穫。更擬自日本收回一九〇五年所喪失之土地，而策勵紅色政權務使其得以生存於中國之西北，蒙古，滿洲及朝鮮諸地。

蘇聯因其內在的矛盾，有時對於其他聯合國之政策，似頗曖昧。在某種行動方面她頗趨向合作，但其他行動又不免反對合作。此一點，可在其與英美合作而不能獲得其願望時，則於必要時作單獨行動之準備，而說明之。

## Britain As A Great Power

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British statesmen have expressed a fear that in the post-war world Britain's power will be much smaller than that of the United States and Russia. Two lines of thought have been noted among suggestions as to how Britain's position may be strengthened.

In November 1943, General Smuts, South African Prime Minister, proposed in a speech in London that Britain should consider alliances with the small democracies of Western Europe so close as to become with them a single great European state, equal in power to Russia. These small democracies—Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Denmark, Norway—are so similar in outlook to Britain and have learnt from bitter experience that they must \*look to<sup>12</sup> great powers like Britain for security, that they are natural allies.

In February 1944, Lord Halifax, British Ambassador to U. S. A., speaking in Canada similarly mentioned that Britain by herself will be

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12. 期待.

## 英尚不失爲一大強國

英政治家已明白表示其憂懼，以爲英國權勢將遠不及美蘇之強盛。關於如何加強英國地位問題於衆議紛紜中顯有兩種不同的意見。

一九四三年十一月南非首相史末資將軍在倫敦演說時主張英國應考慮與西歐各小民主國聯盟，務使其密切如一大強國，力足與蘇聯抗衡。各小民主國如荷蘭，比利時，盧森堡，丹麥，挪威等國前途既與英國相同，而從其艱苦的經驗又已知必須期待一強國如英國者保障其安全。此諸國實爲天然之盟邦。

一九四四年二月駐美英大使哈里法克斯爵士在加拿大演說時，亦同樣表示戰後英國自身在國際間發言將不能如美蘇



unable to speak with as strong a voice after the war as U.S.A. and Russia, and suggested that this voice could be increased if the various British Dominions would undertake an equal responsibility with Britain in framing a common foreign policy. Prime Minister Mackenzie King immediately expressed Canada's unfavourable reaction to this suggestion. Situated as she is between U. S. A. and Russia geographically, Canada is unable to join in any policy of "matching the manpower and resources of dominant powers."

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之強有力，因建議英各自治領如能與英負擔同等責任組成一共同的外交政策，則此種發言力量方能增強。加拿大首相金氏，立即表示此建議不利於加拿大的反應。就其在地理上所處地位言，加拿大介於美蘇之間，不能加入與已占優勢之強國競賽人力物力的任何政策。

## Polish-Soviet Frontier



One of the main points of dispute between Poland and Soviet Russia is the drawing of the frontier between them. The Polish \*Government-in-Exile<sup>13</sup> in London naturally takes the line that the frontier should be the frontier of 1939, before Poland was invaded simultaneously by Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. The Russians, who are actually occupying the territories in dispute, wish to take the so-called "Curzon Line" as the basis of negotiations.

To understand the background of this territorial dispute, it is necessary \*to go back to<sup>14</sup> 1772, when Poland was invaded by Russia, Germany and Austria who each seized a slice of Poland. In 1793, Russia and Germany invaded Poland again and each seized for themselves another slice. In 1795, Russia, Germany and Austria invaded Poland for the third time, this time \*dividing up<sup>15</sup> what was left of Poland completely. Russia's western frontier, as acquired in 1795, remained thus until 1921,

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13. 流亡政府. 14. 追溯. 15. 瓜分.

## 波 蘇 疆 界

波蘇糾紛重要問題之一，即爲其劃界問題。波蘭駐倫敦之流亡政府，自然取一九三九年波蘭尚未被納粹德國及蘇聯侵佔以前之界線，但蘇聯現在實已佔有該聚訟區域，故期以所謂「古遜線」爲談判基礎。

欲明瞭此土地糾紛之背景，必須追溯至一七七二年，是年波蘭被俄德奧三國所侵略，而各割取其一隅之地。至一七九三年，俄德再度侵入波蘭，又各取一地以自肥。迄一七九五年俄德奧三度進軍波蘭，此次遂罄波蘭殘土而瓜分之。俄國西境得自一七九五年之疆界，直保留至一九二一年爲止；

when the final frontier was fixed by the Treaty of Riga. The frontier thus fixed, followed a line which returned to Poland approximately half of the territory taken from her by Russia between 1772 and 1795.

The Curzon Line was the line proposed in 1920 by Lord Curzon, British Foreign Secretary, as a temporary armistice line, behind which the Polish and Russian armies should retire pending<sup>16</sup> negotiations between the two Governments for the final frontier. At that time, the Polish armies had defeated the Russian armies and were pushing them back into the Ukraine. The Curzon Line was roughly equivalent to the western frontier of Russia after 1795. The territories in dispute, namely between the Curzon Line in the west and the 1939 Polish-Soviet border in the east, is populated by Poles (35%), Ukrainians (30%) and White Russians (30%). The Poles want these people to vote in an internationally-supervised plebiscite,<sup>17</sup> but the Soviet Government seems to be following a policy of decision by force and without international discussion, suggesting that Poland should compensate any losses on her eastern frontier by acquisitions of German territory in the west.

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16. 在決定前。 17. 公民投票。

至是乃因里加協定而確定其最後之疆界。此次確定之疆界，則以蘇聯自一七七二年至一七九五年間所得土地之一半左右歸還波蘭，定為界線。

古遜線，係一九二〇年由英外交大臣古遜爵士所提議的暫時休戰線，波蘇最後疆界的談判之前，雙方軍隊應在此線後撤退。其時波軍已擊潰蘇軍並已迫其退至烏克蘭境。「古遜線」大致與一七九五年後俄帝國之西境界線相埒。糾紛地區之西為古遜線，東則為一九三九年之波蘇疆界。其地居民中，波蘭人佔百分之三十五，烏克蘭人佔百分之三十，白俄羅斯人亦佔百分之三十。波人欲其地居民在國際監督之下舉行公民投票，但蘇政府似擬取武力決定政策，不取國際間之討論，建議波蘭應自西方獲得德意志領土，以補償其東方邊境上之損失。

## Soviet-Czechoslovakian Pact

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The conclusion of the Soviet-Czech Pact in December 1943, after some delays due to the British advising President Benes to postpone his visit to Moscow, shows clearly the Soviet policy for security in Eastern Europe. At the beginning of the war the British encouraged the efforts of various Governments-in-Exile in London to enter into federations. For example, the Polish and Czechoslovakian governments entered into a confederation, and the Greeks and Yugoslavs announced a union. This \*amounted to<sup>18</sup> the small countries forming larger blocs<sup>19</sup> for purposes of defense, foreign policy, currency, etc.

The Soviet Government discouraged these tendencies to form blocs on its western border, which it regarded as a \**“Cordon Sanitaire.”*<sup>20</sup>

In fact, one may say that Soviet policy is based on the creation of a *“Cordon Sanitaire”* \*in reverse.<sup>21</sup> Under the Soviet-Czech Pact a clause is included, whereby Poland, and possibly Austria,

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18. 達成。 19. 集團。 20. 隔離線。 21. 反。

## 蘇 捷 協 約

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蘇捷協約因捷克總統貝奈斯氏受英人之勸阻延期聘問莫斯科，而稍延宕後，卒於一九四三年十二月締定，已明白顯示其為蘇維埃在東歐自保安全的政策。在戰事初期，英人策勵在倫敦的各國流亡政府相互締結聯盟，例如波捷政府之聯盟，希臘與南斯拉夫之宣告聯合，均可使各小國結合而成以防衛外交政策及金融等為目的之較大集團。

蘇政府對於此種在其西境上組織集團之趨勢，則加以阻撓，蓋認此為隔離線也。

事實上，亦可謂蘇聯之政策正奠基於製造反隔離線之上。在此蘇捷協約中訂有一項條文，謂依據此條文，波蘭，



may adhere. The Union of Polish Patriots, which was organized in Moscow under Russian auspices, announced in February 1944 that a "National Council" had been formed in Poland following the arrival there of the advancing Russian armies. The "Free Germany" Committee in Moscow may \*play a similar rôle,<sup>22</sup> when the Russian armies reach Germany. The establishment of a provisional regime in Yugoslavia, separate from the Yugoslav Government-in-Exile in Cairo, and composed of Partisans under Tito (who is supported by the Russians), was announced on December 4, 1943. In this way Soviet policy aims to have pro-Soviet governments in the countries near her western border, emphasizing regional security before co-operating in any scheme for "general security."

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22. 同樣的演出。

可加入此項協約，如屬可能，奧國亦可加入。波蘭愛國志士團在蘇聯贊助之下得以成立於莫斯科，一九四四年二月該團宣稱在蘇軍進抵波境後，波蘭國民會議即已在波境成立。

一俟蘇軍到達德境時，莫斯科的『自由德意志』委員會亦可有同樣舉動。從駐開羅之南斯拉夫流亡政府分出的南斯拉夫臨時政權，已於一九四三年十二月四日宣告成立，該政權即為蘇所支持之狄托領導下的游擊隊所構成。蘇維埃政策之目的即在以此種方法在西境邊陲諸鄰邦中樹立親蘇政府，並於謀取「普遍安全」的任何合作計畫實施之前，強調局部安全。

## Religion In Soviet Russia

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Christmas of 1943 was indeed a season of rejoicing in Russia. It was the first Christmas in a quarter of a century at which 100,000,000 members of the Russian Orthodox Church had been allowed to hold services. For, the Russian Orthodox Church had been officially restored by the Russian Government in September 1943 and Patriarch Sergei had been elected and recognized. At the same time, \*the League of the Militant Godless,<sup>23</sup> numbering 5½ million members, had been disbanded.

The restoration of the Russian Orthodox Church not only made Moscow the capital of a religiously-united Russia, but it also united the Slavs of the Danube and the Balkans. This was equivalent to Russian religious occupation of the Balkans.

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23. 無神論戰鬥同盟。

## 蘇 聯 的 宗 教

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一九四三年之聖誕節實為蘇聯之普天同慶節。亦即廿五年來一萬萬俄羅斯正教徒被准許公開慶祝之第一個聖誕節。蓋蘇政府已於一九四三年九月正式恢復正教會，且曾推舉塞奇監督為主教。同時，五百五十萬無神論戰鬥同盟的會員亦被解散。

恢復俄羅斯正教會，不特使莫斯科成為一以宗教相結合的俄羅斯之首都，並可藉以聯結多瑙河流域及巴爾幹的斯拉夫族。此舉實無異於蘇聯對巴爾幹半島予以宗教的佔領。

## The King of Greece

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In German-occupied Greece guerrillas have been fighting the Germans, but at the end of 1943 fighting broke out between different groups of the guerrillas themselves. The three main groups, as known by their initials, are the EAM, EDES and EKKA. The EAM are leftists, the EDES are in the middle, while the EKKA are the rightists.

A year ago, the King of Greece moved with his Government-in-Exile from London to Cairo, obviously in preparation for the Allied invasion of the Balkans and for their return to Greece. However, in the summer of 1943 six guerrilla leaders slipped out of Greece and made their way to Cairo, where they demanded that King George of Greece agree to stay out of Greece, even after it has been liberated by the Allies, until the people have had a chance to choose a postwar Government. The Government-in-Exile was inclined to support their demand, but the King himself would not agree.

The King found strong support from Churchill,

## 希臘國王

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在德佔領區內希臘游擊隊正在與德人戰鬥中，惜於一九四三年年底游擊隊各派又自起內訌，就中三大主要派別，由其標誌之第一字母，即可分為 EAM，極左派；EDES，折中派；EKKA，極右派。

一年前希王及其流亡政府自倫敦遷開羅，顯係準備盟軍進攻巴爾幹，亦係準備遷返希臘本土。一九四三年夏，希臘游擊隊領袖六人潛行出希臘而至開羅，要求希王佐治同意，仍留希臘國外，即令盟國解放希臘後，亦須俟人民有選舉戰後政府之機會時方可回國。流亡政府原有支持此議之傾向，無如希王本人不同意。

希王曾得英首相邱吉爾有力之支援，邱相曾說「在希臘

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who said: "Until the Greek people can express their will in conditions of freedom and tranquillity, it is the settled policy of the British Government to support the King of the Hellenes, who is \*at once<sup>24</sup> our loyal ally and the constitutional head of the Greek state."

This fighting between Greek and Greek reflected the pre-war rivalries<sup>25</sup> of republicans and royalists, of leftists and rightists. Churchill's strong stand reflected the interest of Britain in having the strategic naval and air bases of Greece in friendly hands, in order to protect the all-important<sup>26</sup> sea route to India through the Mediterranean. Also it shows Britain's anxiety to strengthen the rightist groups in the Balkans, where Soviet Russia has been taking an increasing interest in the leftist groups. In March 1944 an agreement was reached by the representatives of the rival guerrillas, this also being signed by British and American officers in Greece who had assisted in the negotiations.

人民能於自由和平之情況下表示其意願前，英政府之既定政策即在支持希臘王，蓋希王同時爲吾英國忠誠盟友，又爲希臘憲法上之元首。』

此次希臘內戰，足以反映戰前已有共和黨與保皇黨，左派和右派間之對立。邱吉爾之堅強態度，尤足以反映英國對希之關切，英國以友誼之方式獲取希國海空軍戰略上之根據地，原藉以保護經地中海至印度之重要航路。並可見英國極欲加強巴爾幹半島上右派之勢力，蓋蘇聯對其地之左派亦會倍加關注也。一九四四年三月，希國互相對立的游擊隊的代表間已成立協定，而協助談判之英美駐希官佐，亦均在此協定上簽字。



## Clash In Lebanon

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In November 1943, French soldiers suddenly arrested the President and Cabinet Ministers of the Lebanon Republic. This action had been taken on the orders of the French Delegate-General Jean Helleu, and had followed agitation by the Parliament and Government of Lebanon to terminate the French mandate.

There was immediate rioting, and fighting broke out between the Arab population and French soldiers. The British troops, who had been in actual military control since 1941, restored order by \*coming between<sup>27</sup> the Arabs and the French.

British diplomats protested to General de Gaulle at Algiers and the French yielded to this pressure by recalling M. Helleu to Algiers and by releasing the Lebanon President and cabinet ministers.

This incident has \*shown up<sup>28</sup> not only the clash of British and French imperial interests in the Middle East but also the demands of the Arab

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27. 居間。 28. 顯示。

## 黎 巴 嫩 事 變

一九四三年十一月，法軍突然逮捕黎巴嫩共和國總統及內閣閣員，此舉係出自法國全權代表赫雷將軍之命令，繼之黎巴嫩國會與政府異常震憤，羣起而廢止法之委任統治權。

其時旋即發生騷動，阿剌伯民衆與法軍間之戰鬥亦即爆發。後以英軍出而居間調停，始克恢復秩序，蓋英軍實已於一九四一年握有當地軍事管理權。

英國外交人員在阿爾及爾向戴高樂將軍提出抗議，法國對英此項壓力表示讓步：允召赫雷返阿爾及爾並釋放黎巴嫩總統及其內閣閣員。

此次事變不僅顯示英法在中東方面具有殖民地利益上之衝突並顯示阿拉伯民族對於自由之要求。英人於一九四一

peoples for freedom. The British, assisted by De Gaulle, had driven pro-Axis Vichy French troops out of Lebanon in 1941, and at that time both the British and De Gaulle had promised independence to Lebanon. The French have taken the attitude that their present mandate over Lebanon is to end after the war. The Lebanese, however, think it should be ended immediately. The sensitive French, who have been for some time on bad terms<sup>29</sup> with the British and Americans, immediately suspected that these troubles in Lebanon were part of a British plot to build up British prestige in the Arab world at the expense of<sup>30</sup> the French.

Lebanon, which has a population of less than one million, is one of the smallest of the seven Arab states in the Middle East. When fighting broke out in Lebanon, there were immediate protests from the 35 million Arabs of these seven states, particularly from Egypt which has become the champion of an Arab Federation. Arab leaders are now consulting among themselves as to how far<sup>31</sup> the seven States (Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine) can become united in an Arab Federation. It is to be

29. 關係不好。 30. 犧牲。 31. 至何程度。

年，得戴高樂將軍之協助，已將親軸心之維琪政府所屬之法國驅出黎巴嫩，其時英人與戴高樂即曾允許黎巴嫩獨立，法人所取態度，以爲戰後當終止現行在黎之委任統治權。而黎巴嫩人則以爲應立即終止。神經過敏之法人，年來與英美關係本已不睦，遂猜疑此次黎巴嫩事件之擾攘，必有一部分出於英人之陰謀，欲犧牲法國而自樹勢力於阿剌伯境內。

居民不滿百萬之黎巴嫩，原係中東阿剌伯七小國中最小之一國。當黎巴嫩戰事發動時，七國之三千五百萬阿剌伯人立起反抗，尤以埃及反抗最烈，因埃及早已成爲組織阿剌伯聯邦之先鋒。阿剌伯諸領袖，現正自籌團結七國（埃及，沙特阿剌伯，伊拉克，外約旦，敘利亞，黎巴嫩及巴勒斯坦）

noted, however, that out of the seven states four (Egypt, Iraq, Transjordan and Palestine) are dominated by the British. The Middle East, with its valuable oil wells, is a traditional British sphere of influence. Whether an Arab Federation can be formed is likely to be decided in future by the economic factors involved. All the Arab states are poor, while the British have grown rich over their oil.

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而成一阿拉伯聯邦究可至何程度。然最堪注意者即七國中現有四國(埃及，伊拉克，外約旦及巴勒斯坦)受英國之管轄。而中東及當地可寶貴之油井又已為英國傳統的勢力範圍。阿刺伯聯邦將來之能否成立，當取決於該項經濟因素。阿刺伯諸國現處貧困之境，而英人則因油田而致富矣。

## Oil In The Middle East

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Of the oil in the Middle East,<sup>32</sup> Britain controls 80%, America 15%, while the Dutch and the French control the remaining 5%.

The British control all the oil in Iran, the majority in Iraq, and half of the oil-fields in Kuwait. American interests have been extending their control until now they control all the oil-fields in Saudi Arabia, most of those in the Bahrain Islands, and half of those in Kuwait.

The reason why the Americans are becoming more interested in the Middle East is because there is a danger that their own oil-wells in America may become exhausted.<sup>33</sup> \*The Department of Interior<sup>34</sup> in Washington has reported that the United States is drawing on its oil reserves so heavily that these may be exhausted within 14 years. For example, in the United States, one well has been drilled for every three square miles as against one well in every 526 square miles for the rest of the world.

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<sup>32</sup>. 中東 (即亞細亞及 Atghanistan 間之亞洲西部諸國.) <sup>33</sup>. 耗盡.  
<sup>34</sup>. 內政部.

## 中 東 之 石 油

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中東煤油，英有其百分之八十，美有其百分之十五，荷法共有其餘之百分之五。

英人控有伊朗煤油全部，伊拉克之大部及克威特油田之半數。美國勢力亦已在逐漸伸張，迄今已擁有沙特阿刺伯油田之全部，伯倫島之大部及克威特油田之半。

美人何以對中東關懷日切，乃因美本土之油井有行將告竭之虞。華盛頓內政部曾報告合衆國，現正大量動用存油，不出十四年，美國存油或將用罄。現美國每三方哩已鑿一井，世界其餘各國則每五百二十六方哩始掘一井，即此已見一斑。



Proved reserves in the Western Hemisphere are estimated at 30 billion barrels, while those in the Eastern Hemisphere (including Russia) are 31 billion barrels.

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目下已證實之存油。西半球計約三百萬萬桶，而東半球  
(蘇聯在內)則為三百一十萬萬桶。

## International Commissions For Colonial Regions

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The U. S. and Britain jointly announced in January 1944 that provision had been made for a permanent West Indies Conference, at which there will be two delegates from each U. S. territory and each British colony in the West Indies. Eventually, it is hoped that this Conference can become an assembly of elected representatives of the various colonial peoples. It is also hoped that delegates from the French and Dutch colonies in this area will participate. The permanent secretariat for the Conference is to be provided by the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, which was originally established in March 1942 for the purpose of encouraging and strengthening social and economic cooperation between British and American territories in the West Indies.

It is probable that similar conferences or commissions will be established for other regions. The British Colonial Secretary said in July 1943

## 國際殖民地委員會

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一九四四年正月英美共同宣稱業已準備一常設之西印度羣島會議，凡西印度羣島美各屬地，英各殖民地均得派遣代表兩人參加會議。最後希望此項會議能成為各殖民地人民代表大會。尤望在此區域內之法荷殖民地亦派代表參加。會議中常任秘書處則由英美加勒比委員會擔任，該委員會原成立於一九四二年三月，其任務為促進並加強西印度境內英美屬地間關於社會與經濟的合作。

同樣之會議或委員會或亦將成立於其他殖民地區。一九

that the British Government \*had in mind<sup>35</sup> a policy of establishing commissions in certain regions comprising not only the states with colonies but also other states which have a major strategic or economic interest in the region. Also, the Australia-New Zealand Agreement of January 1944 mentioned the possible establishment of a "South Seas Regional Commission" to recommend a common policy for advancing the interests of all native people.

It is easy to understand why some such international regional cooperation is needed, when one studies, for example, the situation in the islands of the south Pacific. In this area the three natural racial divisions are Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia; but actually the area is divided up as colonies of 8 different powers. Similar conditions exist in Africa and in the West Indies.

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35. 留心, 著意.

四三年七月，英殖民地大臣曾謂英政府已內定一種政策，即於特定區域設立委員會，其範圍不僅包括擁有殖民地之國家，凡對其地有較大之軍事或經濟利益者均可加入。一九四四年一月「澳大利紐西蘭協約」亦曾表示可能成立一「南太平洋殖民地委員會」以備提出一種純為當地人民增進福利之共同政策。

此種國際殖民地何以有合作之必要，研究南太平洋羣島形勢者，自易了解。在此域內自然之種族區別有三：即波里尼西亞人，米蘭尼西亞人及邁克羅尼西亞人；而其地則實已劃分為八強之殖民地。此在非洲及西印度羣島亦有同樣情形。

## Anzac<sup>36</sup> Front



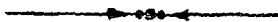
On January 21, 1944, the Australia-New Zealand Agreement was signed, \*providing for<sup>37</sup> what is commonly called the “Anzac Front” with a common foreign policy. Among the points \*agreed upon<sup>38</sup> was the joint defense of the region stretching from the islands north of Australia eastwards to western Samoa and the Cook Islands (which are under New Zealand’s jurisdiction). Other points in the agreement dealt with civil aviation, native peoples, migration, calling of an international conference on the South Pacific, and a permanent secretariat.

This Anzac Front was obviously achieved in time to strengthen the position of these two Dominions at the forthcoming<sup>39</sup> Imperial Conference in London. But, beyond that, they were also looking forward to the post-war future, when they wish to preserve the “strategic isolation of Australia and New Zealand.” The hope was expressed that,

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36. Anzac 原為 Australia and New Zealand Army Corps 之縮寫,其意義為澳紐聯合軍團(參加上次歐戰). 37.規定. 38.協定. 39.行將到臨的.

## 紐 澳 陣 線



一九四四年一月卅一日澳大利亞紐西蘭協約成立，以共同外交政策規定了現所通稱的「紐澳陣線」。在協定條文中規定自澳大利亞北方諸島，東延至西薩摩亞以及科克羣島（以上諸島原為紐西蘭之管轄區均為共同防禦地帶）。其他條文又曾涉及民用航空，土著民族，移民，以及召集南太平洋上之國際會議及永久祕書處等問題。

在倫敦英帝國會議行將開幕之際，「紐澳陣線」顯能及時完成加強兩國自治領地位之任務。但此外彼等亦曾注意到戰後的將來，屆時願保持紐澳「戰略上的孤立」。此項願望之表示，即欲保持有關南太平洋及西南太平洋之英、美、荷、



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in preserving such, the cooperation of the powers interested in the South and South-West Pacific—Britain, United States, Netherlands, France, and Portugal—would be secured. In these words one can also see the aim to preserve the traditional “White Australia” policy, as opposed to closer cooperation with the non-white nations of the Far East.

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法、葡諸強國間之合作。自其表示中吾人可看出澳紐兩國志在保守其傳統的「白澳政策」，而不願與遠東有色人種之諸國為更接近之合作。

## Postwar Orientation<sup>40</sup> Of The Filipinos

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In a recent address before the Inter-American Defense Board in Washington, President Quezon said: "We have always felt for your republics a great affection and admiration, the result of a common tradition—one language, an identical occidental culture, and faith in the same God." This clearly expresses the intellectual identity of Filipino society with that of the Latin American nations, and reflects the policy of the dominant Filipino politicians. In this sense the Filipinos belong more to Pan-America than to Asia; if such a policy is still promoted after independence has been granted, the Filipinos may even ally themselves closely with the Pan-American system, not only in matters of defense and security but also in the \*economic sphere;<sup>41</sup> this would be a continuation of the situation in the past when the Philippines were under the United States.

Physically, however, the Filipinos belong to Asia, and they may even be regarded as the racial

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40. 動向。 41. 經濟範圍。

## 戰後菲律賓之動向

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最近菲律賓總統奎松在華府全美國防會席上表示意見：

「吾人對美洲諸共和國常感甚大之愛慕與欽敬，此實由於有共同之傳統，如同一語言，同一西方文化以及同信一神之所致」。此實明白表示菲律賓社會與拉丁美洲各國社會間心靈上之同一，並可反映出此居統治地位之菲政治家之政策。由此可見菲人從屬於汎美之成分較從屬於亞洲者為多；倘菲人如被允獨立以後，依然推進此種政策，則菲人且將自結於汎美系統，不僅關於國防及安全方面，在經濟範圍內亦然。如此則終成為過去美國統治下菲島局面之延續。

然就實際言，菲人實隸屬亞洲，甚至可認其為將來汎馬

leaders of a future Pan-Malayan bloc. The Pan-Malaya movement in the Philippines has not been strong politically, and has suffered from popular suspicion that it was a part of Japan's Pan-Asiatic movement. Fundamentally, geographical and racial considerations must encourage the growth of the Pan-Malaya movement sooner or later; added to these considerations there is even a potential economic advantage if the present economy is changed from dependence on the American market to participation in the trade of Asia.

來亞集團之種族領袖。汎馬來亞運動在菲律賓境內無甚強之政治色彩，一般人且疑其爲日本汎亞運動之一部；而自地理及種族雙方着想，根本上必有促成汎馬來亞運動之一日，不過遲早之間而已。除地理種族兩者外，倘菲人能變更其依賴美市場之經濟政策，而參加亞洲商業之角逐，更尙有潛在之經濟利益也。

## Nations Of The La Plata River

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In November 1943, Paraguay signed treaties with Argentina and Bolivia; these treaties were unusually favourable to Paraguay and provided tariff reductions, loans, roads, pipelines and cultural exchanges. What they showed really were the efforts being made by Argentina to control the region of the La Plata river, and the counter-efforts of the anti-Axis<sup>42</sup> nations to neutralise Argentina's efforts.

The region of the La Plata River includes the whole of Paraguay, and parts of Bolivia, Uruguay and Brazil. Because the river runs to the sea through her territory, Argentina has had strategic control of the trade from up river. Paraguay was almost an economic vassal of Argentina, becoming progressively absorbed into Argentina's "free-trade area."<sup>43</sup>

Paraguay's new treaty with Argentina gave her trade and financial concessions which she had never dreamt she could get. She was given such

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42. 反軸心。 43. 自由貿易區。

## 拉巴拉他河流域諸國

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一九四三年十一月，巴拉圭與阿根廷、波利維亞二國簽訂協約；其條文對巴拉圭非常有利，規定減低稅率，貸款，開闢道路，敷設油管，交換文化。凡所顯示，實為阿根廷欲統治拉巴拉他河流域之企圖，而亦打擊反軸心國家欲沖淡阿根廷之企圖。

拉巴拉他河沿岸地帶包括整個巴拉圭及波利維亞，烏拉圭，巴拉西三國之一部。因拉巴拉他河流經阿根廷而入海，故阿國握有該河上游之貿易統制權，巴拉圭在經濟上幾成為阿根廷之附庸，已逐漸為所謂「阿根廷自由貿易區」所吞併。

巴拉圭與阿根廷所訂新約曾與巴國以夢想不到之貿易與財政上之特權，此特權之所以獲得者因美國曾以租借案助供



concessions, because the United States had helped Paraguay with Lend-Lease supplies, roads and technical personnel, Brazil had given a loan and offered free port facilities at Santos, while Bolivia offered an oil pipe-line which would compete with Argentine oil.

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巴國築路及專門技術人員，巴西亦貸款與巴拉圭並於聖多斯

予巴國以使用自由港的便利，同時波利維亞又以油管供給巴

拉圭，使巴之煤油可與阿根廷抗衡。

## Argentina And The Bolivian Coup D'etat.



The \*coup d'etat<sup>44</sup> in Bolivia, whereby<sup>45</sup> Major Villarroel seized power on December 20, 1943, was undoubtedly inspired by Argentina. Only Argentina extended recognition to the new Government; led by the United States, all other nations withheld recognition. The Inter-American Committee for Political Defense, meeting in Montevideo, had agreed that its member nations should consult together before taking any action.

The pro-Axis<sup>46</sup> Government in Argentina, dominated by the \*"Colonels Clique"<sup>47</sup> led by Col. Peron, has been actively working to bring about changes in other countries of Latin America, whereby militaristic Fascist governments like her own would be established. Peru suppressed a military revolt which had been planned for December 31, 1943; Paraguay stopped one in February 1944; Chile also fears a military revolt, and there are signs that Venezuela may similarly be affected. Argentina has become prosperous since the outbreak

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44. 政變。 45. 由 which 因此。 46. 親軸心。 47. 陸軍上校團。

## 波利維亞之政變與阿根廷

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章拉勞少校於一九四三年十二月廿日所由掠取政權之玻利維亞政變，無疑爲阿根廷所煽動。惟阿根廷一國承認新政府；其他各國均步美國後塵，一致保留其承認。在蒙特維第阿所舉行之全美政治防衛委員會曾經議決，不論採取任何行動以前，各會員國務須共同商討一切。

親軸心的阿根廷政府，在「陸軍上校團」伯倫團長領導下，曾活躍地工作，期在其他拉丁美洲諸國誘起變端，藉此可以成立與阿根廷相似之黷武主義法西斯政府。祕魯曾鎮壓一九四三年十二月卅一日發生之軍事叛變，巴拉圭亦曾於一九四四年遏止同樣暴動；智利亦時時憂懼軍事叛變；委內瑞拉亦有同樣情形。自戰事爆發以來，因歐洲各國，尤其英國

of war, due to the wartime demands of Europe, especially of Britain, for her products, Economic pressure, in the form of an embargo by the United States and Britain, could therefore be effective in discouraging her from pushing her pro-Axis activities. However, Britain needs Argentine beef, hides and dairy products, as well as having large investments in Argentina. How far Britain is willing to go in applying such an embargo is the key to the situation.

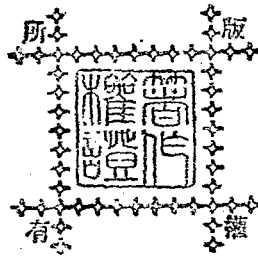
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之戰時需求，阿根廷已轉入繁榮。英美如用海上封鎖之方式，予阿根廷以經濟上之壓迫，自可有效地制止其親軸心之趨向；無如英國需要阿根廷的牛肉，獸皮，乳酪等物，且在阿又有大宗投資。英何時始願應用封鎖政策，實為今後局勢之關鍵。

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