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馬爾歇在最近莫斯科外長會議發表關於  
德國各問題之聲明書七件

MARSHALL'S STATEMENTS RE GERMANY MADE BEFORE  
THE COUNCIL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS IN MOSCOW

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# MARSHALL'S STATEMENT ON THE BASIC RIGHTS OF DEMOCRACY TO BE GUARANTEED IN GERMANY

*Made before the Council of Foreign Ministers in Moscow on March 14 1947*

## 馬歇爾關於德國應有民主基本 權利之聲明

一九四七年三月十四日在莫斯科外長會議發表

The Berlin Conference instructed the Allied control authority "to prepare for the eventual reconstruction of German political life on a democratic basis, and for eventual peaceful co-operation in international life by Germany". We believe that the directive should be made more precise so as to assure unity of procedure within the different German zones<sup>1</sup>.

I realize that the word "democracy" is given many interpretations. To the American government and citizens it has a basic meaning. We believe that human beings have certain inalienable rights—that is, rights which may not be given or taken away.

They include the right of every individual to develop his mind and his soul in the ways of his own choice, free of fear and coercion—provided only that he does not interfere with the rights of others. To us a society is not a democracy if men who respect the rights of their fellow men are not free to express their own beliefs and convictions without fear that

柏林會議指令盟國管制當局「準備德國政治生活依照民主基礎的最後重建，和德國在國際生活方面的最後和平合作。」我們相信：這個指令，對於保證德國各佔領區內程序的統一，應該更加確定。

我感覺一般對於「民主」一詞，有不少解釋。對於美國政府和公民，這個名詞有一種基本的意義。我們相信人類有若干不可移轉的權利，也就是不可給人或被他人取去的權利。

這些權利中包括每個人有權利可以照他自己的方法發揮他的思想和他的性靈，避離恐懼和威迫，但以不妨害他人的權利為限。對於我們，在一個社會裏，如果尊重別人權利的人不能自由發表他們的信念而恐懼他們或許被人從他們的家庭中劫去，那末這

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they may be snatched away from their home or family. To us a society is not free if law-abiding citizens live in fear of being denied the right to work or deprived of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

We believe the reconstruction of Germany on a democratic basis, as *called for*<sup>2</sup> by the Berlin conference requires that the basic law within each German state and the practice of occupying authorities should assure such rights to every individual and effectively prevent any government or group, however powerful or however numerous, from taking such rights from or imposing such fears on any individuals, however weak or however few.

We believe that the present control of Germany by the Allies gives us a unique opportunity to demonstrate to the world the sincerity of the democratic goals which were proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter and the Charter of the United Nations.

Unfortunately, the Allied Control Council has not yet been able to agree upon the guarantees necessary to assure political and economic freedom in all parts of Germany. In consequence, there has been no uniform preparation of Germans in the different zones for the political reconstruction of Germany. In the first place, it seems clear that there has not been a uniformly effective guaranty of civil rights in all parts of Germany. The protection of the individual in a modern state rests upon constitutional guarantees of his basic rights and liberties. I assume my colleagues will agree that adequate guarantees of these basic rights of the individual should be contained in every German constitution.

個社會就不是民主了。對於我們，在一個社會裏，如果奉公守法的公民生活在恐懼之中，沒有工作的權利或被褫奪去生活，自由和追求幸福的權利，那末這個社會就不是自由了。

我們相信：根據柏林會議所規定之民主基礎重建德國，需要德國境內的基本法律和佔領當局的措施，應當保證每個人都有這種權利，並有效的防止任何大勢力或多數之政府或集團，奪去這種權利，或把這種恐懼加諸於任何在弱或少數之個人。

我相信：目前盟國管制德國，給予我們一種罕有的機會，去向世界表示民主目標的誠摯。我們已在大西洋憲章及聯合國憲章中宣佈達成這種目標的意旨。

不幸盟國管制會迄今未有保證，確保德國各地的政治和經濟自由。結果，德國政治重建的工作就因有各佔領區而彼此不同，沒有劃一的標準。第一，顯而易見地，德國各地似乎沒有劃一的強有力的人民權利保證。在一個現代化的國家中，人民的保障取決於憲法保證其基本權利與自由。我深信各外長將贊同德國憲法對這種人民基本權利將作充分的保證。

In the second place, there has been no uniformly effective guaranty of the rights of political parties in all parts of Germany. Freely constituted political parties should be assured the right to participate in a free and competitive election system in which each is accorded equal opportunity to present its views, win adherents and obtain just representation.

In the third place, there is no uniformly effective guaranty of the rights of free trade unions in all parts of Germany. The rights of free and autonomous trade unions to carry on the customary trade-union activities in accordance with the wishes of their members should be clearly established.

In the fourth place, there is no uniformly effective guaranty of freedom of press and radio in all parts of Germany. There is, in the opinion of the American government and the American people, a vital connection between modern democracy and a free press and radio. Government domination and manipulation of information *media*<sup>3</sup> in the interest of the Nazi party were powerful weapons in the hands of the anti-democratic Nazi regime. If anti-democratic ideologies are to be forever eliminated in Germany we must certainly permit the people of that nation to enjoy an unrestricted access to information obtained by means of all media of public information, including press radio, books, magazines, publications, films, the theater and music

In the fifth place, there is no uniformly effective guaranty of freedom of movement for persons and goods throughout Germany. Such freedom is essential to the development of sound political and economic life in a peace-

第二，德國各地迄無劃一的強有力政黨權利保證。自由組成的政黨應有參與自由及競爭性選舉制度的權利，在這種制度中，各黨均有提供意見，爭取擁護者和取得代表權的同等機會。

第三，德國各地迄無劃一的強有力的自由工會權利的保證。自由獨立工會按照其會員意志推展工會傳統活動的權利，應確切建立起來。

第四，德國各地迄無劃一的強有力的新聞及廣播自由保證。美國政府及美國人民認為現代化民主與自由新聞及廣播之間，存着一種重大的關連。過去德政府統制有利於納粹宣傳的新聞媒介，是反民主納粹政權的一大強有力武器。我們若欲永久肅清德國的反民主觀念，我們就應允許德國人民享受新聞自由，從各種公共新聞媒介取得種種消息，這種媒介包括報紙，廣播，圖書，雜誌，出版物，影片，舞台及音樂。

第五，德境人民目前遠不曾有一致有效的身體與財產移動的自由保證。這些自由，對於和平德國健全的政

ful Germany. The original reasons for restricting the movement of Germans internally no longer exists. German military forces have been disbanded and the great majority of war criminals apprehended. Nazi organizations have been broken up and active Nazis and subversive elements are under the necessary control and surveillance. Since the reasons for restricting the free movement no longer prevail, it seems to us that the time has come to terminate any such restrictions that now exist.

I am sorry that the Allied Control Council has delayed in taking the necessary action to insure the observance of these prerequisites to the agreed political and economic objectives.

We will never democratize Germany by the mere negative process of depriving the Nazis of their positions and influence. We must rather take an active part in the establishment of the essentials which I have outlined and proceed to restore German economic and political life upon the foundation which they provide. To make substantial progress in this direction a common agreement among us is essential.

The United States delegation regards the principles I have outlined as of fundamental importance. I shall later circulate a proposed directive on the subject, which I hope will have your sympathetic consideration.

#### NOTE

1. 佔領區分英美法蘇四佔領區。 2. "to call for" (=require), 「需要」。 This crime calls for severe punishment, 此罪有重罰之需要。 3. "media" 之單數為 "medium"。

治和經濟生活的發展，關係至大。原先限制德國人在德國境內自由移動的理由，現在已不存在。德國軍事力量已經解散，大部份戰犯也已拘捕。納粹組織已被解體，活躍的納粹破壞份子已在嚴密控制與看管之中。所以限制自由移動的種種理由已不復存在，我們覺得廢止這一切目前的限制，確已是時候了。

盟國管制委員會未能及時採取必要的行動，保證遵守這些業經同意的政治與經濟目標的前提。這是我深覺遺憾的。

僅僅採用剝奪納粹地位與勢力的消極步驟，我們決不能使德國民主化。我們必須更加積極的實施我上面說過的要點，並且在德國人自己的基礎上，進行復興德國的經濟與政治生活。為了保證我們在這一方面的努力會有真實的進步，我以為我們間共同的協議，是非常重要的。

美國代表團認為我上面所指出的原則，具有基本性的重要。不久以後我將對這問題發表建議文告。我希望會得到你們的同情考慮。

# MARSHALL'S STATEMENTS ON DISPLACED PERSONS AND TERRITORIAL REORGANIZATION OF GERMANY

*Made before the Council of Foreign Ministers in Moscow on March 15, 1947*

## 馬歇爾關於德境難民及德領土整理問題之聲明

一九四七年三月十五日在莫斯科外長會議發表

### (A) ON DISPLACED PERSONS

The problem of displaced persons in Germany was not included on the agenda for this session as agreed in New York but was discussed in the report of the Allied Control Council. It involves one of the most tragic consequences of the war. The people and Government of the United States have, for the sake of humanity and civilization, the most direct and intense interest in the speedy rehabilitation and resettlement of these human beings caught in the *backwash*<sup>1</sup> of war. Many evidences of the sympathetic view which the American Government and people take of this problems have already been given.

The attitude of the U. S. Government on this difficult problem is well-known. The matter has been extensively debated in the United Nations where Mrs. Roosevelt at both the London and New York meetings of the General Assembly expressed the policy of the American Government. There is nothing in the report of the Allied Control Council

### (甲) 關於德境難民

德國之難民問題並未列入本屆會議之議程中，一如在紐約會議時所同意者，但在盟國委員會之報告中，加以討論。此項問題為戰爭最悲慘之後果之一。美國人民與政府，為人道與文明着想，對於深受戰爭影響之人類，極度關懷其善後問題。美國政府與人民對於此一問題所抱之同情，已有不少明證。

美政府對於此一困難問題之態度為一般所共知。此事在聯合國內已有廣遍之辯論，羅斯福夫人在倫敦與紐約兩次會議中，曾先後表明美政府之政策。盟國管制委員會之報告中，無



which has led us to change that attitude. The Soviet charges made here were largely made there, and answered there.

As a result of decisions taken in the United Nations, of which all Governments represented in this Council are members, progress is being made toward the establishment of the International Refugee Organization. The U. S. Government is giving its full support to this effort to mitigate the sufferings of thousands of helpless victims of the war. It is the hope of the U. S. delegation that rapid progress will follow in establishing the International Refugee Organization, and further that it will be successful in its efforts to solve this problem.

The International Refugee Organization has been founded to find a solution for this difficult problem. If the Council attempts to deal with it here, it may complicate rather than help the efforts of the International Refugee Organization.

#### (B) ON TERRITORIAL REORGANIZATION

The Potsdam agreement provides that the administration of affairs in Germany should be directed towards the decentralization of the political structure and the development of local responsibility, that local self-government should be restored throughout Germany on democratic principles, and that representative and elective principles should be introduced into regional, provincial and state (Land) administration as rapidly as progress in local self-government should justify it.

It is the view of the United States that

一足以使吾人改變此種態度者。蘇聯在此間所發表之指責，大半已在上述二處提出，並已在各該處予以答覆。

由於聯合國討論之結果，關於設立國際難民機關一事，已有不少進步。美政府對於努力緩和無數戰爭受害人之痛苦，現正予以全力支持。美代表團希望國際難民機構之設立，將有迅速之進步，更希望此一問題將獲得順利之解決。

國際難民機構之設立，原為設法解決此項困難問題。外長會議若果企圖在此間討論該問題，則對於國際難民機構之努力，非但無補於事，或且反而治絲愈紊。

#### (乙) 關於領土整理

波茨坦協定規定：對於管理德國之事務，應以分化政治機構與發展地方責任為目的，應遵循民主原則，恢復全德國之地方自治，並儘速以代表及選舉之原則運用於地方政府、省政府及全國政府。

美國之意見認為：當四佔領國業

when common objectives have been agreed upon by the four occupying powers, the absence of any agreement necessary to the implementation of these decisions, far from preventing one or more occupying powers from doing what they can singly or jointly to pursue these common objectives, imposes upon them the obligation to do their utmost to achieve the maximum of progress in the direction to the common objectives.

*Pursuant to*<sup>2</sup> these Potsdam decisions, elections have been held in the U. S. zone during the year 1946 in the small towns, the countries, the cities and finally for state legislatures under constitutions freely developed by the Germans, subject to the approval of the U. S. Military Government.

By proclamation of the zone commanders on September 19, 1945 the U. S. Military Government established three *Laender* in its zone. In the only case where a former Land was almost wholly in the U. S. zone, namely Bavaria, the Land was established on the administrative boundaries as they existed prior to the occupation. In the case of Wuerttemberg-Baden, Hesse and Bremen, certain changes were made, primarily because of the fact that occupation zones cut across the traditional administrative lines. Certain consolidations were also required for the purpose of sound administration.

The establishment of these areas in the U. S. zone as states for administrative purposes is provisional, and it may be anticipated that, when present artificial boundary lines between zones are removed, certain of these states will seek more normal boundaries based upon cultural, economic and historic consi-

經同意各種共同目標之時，即使無執行此等決議所必需之協定，亦不足以妨礙一個或一個以上之佔領國單獨或共同追求此等目標，而反以義務加諸各佔領國，使其盡力向共同目標完成最高限度之進步。

為遵循波茨坦決議，美佔領區曾於一九四六年在小市鎮、鄉村、城市等舉行選舉。最後並在德人自由創造之各區憲法下，舉行一次投票。

根據一九四五年九月十九日佔領司令之公告，美軍政府在其佔領區內分成三區。其中僅巴伐利亞一省，其地域幾全在美佔領區內，其行政疆界殆與佔領前相同。至貝登、海斯、勃勒門等省，疆界皆有變動，主要原因乃佔領區之已穿越傳統之行政省界也。同時，為健全行政之建立，殆亦有若干集中合併之需要。

美佔領區建立此項行政區係屬臨時性質，目前人為之各國佔領區界線若予廢除，則此項行政區可望參照文化、經濟及歷史條件重新劃定較正常

derations. The approval which the Military Government gave to the constitutions was made expressly subject to the international agreements to which the U. S. Government is a party, to quadripartite legislation, and to the powers which the Military Government must reserve in order to effectuate the basic policies of the occupation.

The question of territorial and administrative organization within the German boundaries will come before us again when we discuss the problem of a provisional German government, and at this time I think we need do no more than to note the action as appearing in the report and accept the report as rendered.

之疆界。美軍政府批准德國憲法之舉係以各種國際協定為根據，蓋美國政府為四強協定簽字國之一，且軍政府必須保留權力以求達到佔領之基本政策之有效執行。

德國境內之土地與行政組織問題，在吾人討論德國臨時政府時將再為提出，目下余以為祇須注報意告中，所發表之行動並接收本報告所擬一切

#### NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

1. "backwash", 『大浪後之小浪』，謂間接之災禍。
  2. "pursuant to" (=according to), 『按照』
- 『遵行』 • This was done pursuant to his order, 此為遵照其命令而施行者。

**MARSHALL'S STATEMENT ON GERMAN  
ECONOMIC UNITY PLAN PROPOSED  
BY THE U. S.**

*Made before the Council of Foreign Ministers in Moscow on March 17, 1947*

**馬歇爾關於美對德境經濟統一建  
議案之聲明**

一九四七年三月十七日在莫斯科外長會議發表

The Council of Foreign Ministers directs the Allied control authority in Germany to proceed forthwith with the measures necessary to provide for the treatment of Germany as a single economic unit.

The Allied control authority shall take the following action with respect to the establishment and operation of German central administrative departments:

I. Establish German central administrative departments headed by German state secretaries under the supervision and control of the Allied control authority, but reporting to a German provisional government when it is formed. These departments shall be established in the fields of finance, transport, communications, industry, foreign trade, food and agriculture and such other fields as the Allied control authority may consider necessary and appropriate. And these departments shall be authorized to deal with problems in these fields which require nationwide action.

外長會議指令盟國對德管制委員會進行必要之措施，規定以純一經濟單位之地位對待德國。

關於德國中央行政各部門之設立與工作，盟國管制委員會須採取如下之行動：

一、設立德國中央行政各部門，由德國各部長為首長，受盟國管制委員會之節制，但在德國臨時政府成立時，向該臨時政府報告一切。此等部門之設立，分為財政部、運輸部、交通部、工業部、對外貿易部、糧食與農業部及其他經盟國管制委員會認為必要而適宜之各部門。此等部門有權應付上述各範圍內之一切問題。

II. Issue policy directives as required for the guidance of these departments, including directives specifying the extent to which administrative functions are to be apportioned between the central departments and the Laender.

III. Empower the central departments and the German authorities of the several Laender to deal directly with each other without the intervention of the occupying authorities of any zone; empower the central departments to issue instructions directly to the German Laender authorities as necessary to carry out their responsibilities in the several fields mentioned above. The German Laender authorities shall be required to comply with these instructions. Zone commanders shall have authority over the central administrative departments only through or as directed by the Allied control authority.

IV. The powers and functions herein given to the German central administrative departments shall be subject to such direct action as may be taken or such directions as may be given by the Allied Control Council or, in the event of disagreement in the Allied Control Council, by a majority of its members.

V. The Allied control authority shall assure the treatment of Germany as an economic unit by the adoption of common policies, including the following:

(1) A. Indigenous products and imports shall be used on a common basis throughout Germany without regard to zonal boundaries. To this end, commodities in short supply shall be allocated or rationed on common standards and other commodities shall be freely traded.

二、發表對於指導各該部門所必需之政策指令，包括規定中央各部門與地方各部門劃分行政工作範圍之指令。

三、授權中央各部門與若干地方當局彼此直接協議，而不受任何一區佔領當局之干涉；授權中央各部門對德國地方當局直接頒佈訓令，以便執行上述各範圍內之責任。德國地方當局須遵守此等訓令。佔領區各司令必須通過盟國管制委員會，方能管轄中央各行政部門。

四、本計劃所授與德國中央行政各部門之權限及任務可由盟國管制委員會所採取之直接行動或指令變更之，若遇盟國管制會內發生異見，則由其大多數決定之。

五、盟國管制會應促使各區採納同樣之政策，視德國為一經濟整體，此項政策包括下列各端：

(一) 甲、本國生產品及輸入品應基於共同之基礎在德境全部使用之，而無分佔領區界線。為達成此項目標，來源缺乏之商品應按照共同標準分配之，其他商品亦應自由流通。

B. Agricultural production shall be maximized and industry reactivated along peaceful lines as soon as possible.

C. An export-import program for Germany as a whole shall be instituted promptly to enable Germany to pay for approved imports at the earliest possible date, taking into account the importance of German exports to European recovery. Any interim deficit in the German balance of international payments shall be borne among the occupying powers as may be agreed in the Allied Control Council.

(2) A program for financial reform shall be adopted as soon as possible to eliminate excess purchasing power in order to restore the internal and foreign-exchange value of the German currency and to provide the necessary incentive to increased production.

(3) With a view to the prompt implementation of financial reform, the Allied control authority shall proceed immediately to the printing of a new currency under full quadripartite control in Berlin.

(4) Appropriate measures shall be taken to insure that all German manpower production and property in Germany, including property owned in whole or in part by non-Germans, shall be treated as part of the resources of the German economy and shall be subject to the measures outlined above. . . . The acquisition of ownership or control of any entity in Germany by any foreign power or its nationals from the beginning of the occupation to the dissolution of the quadripartite government shall only be valid if approved by the Allied Control Council.

(5) An overall limitation shall be estab-

乙、農產品之產量應儘量增加，平時工業復蘇應即速促其實現。

丙、德國之進出口計劃應即速擬定並實施之，俾德國能儘速付出逕准輸入物品之價款，並顧及德國輸出及歐陸復興之重大關係。德國國際金融收支之任何臨時短缺應於徵得管制會同意後由各佔領國分担。

(二)儘速採納一金融改革之方案，消除過度購買力以恢復德國貨幣之內外匯價值並促進生產。

(三)盟國管制會為積極進行金融改革，應即速印發新貨幣，並在柏林設立四國組成之管制貨幣機構。

(四)採取適當之步驟以確保德國境內一切人力，生產品及資產（包括全部或部分為非德人所有之資產）被視為德國經濟源泉之一部分並受制於上述各項步驟。其他國家及各該國籍人士在德境之一切所有權之取得（自佔領工作開始以迄四強政府解散之時）應取得盟國管制會之許可，否則無效。

(五)對於佔領國使用當地之資源

lished on the use of indigenous resources by the occupying powers. Within the limitation to be established, requirements of the occupying forces and organizations of the occupying powers shall be determined on a common basis by the Allied control authority and not by individual zone commanders. A plan for the uniform financing and screening of occupation requirements shall be prepared by the Allied Control Council.

The Allied control authority shall eliminate zonal boundaries as political and economic barriers, leaving only lines of demarcation for security troops of the occupying powers.

To this end and as a condition for economic unification, the Allied control authority shall take measures necessary to assure freedom of movement throughout Germany for both German and Allied personnel and to assure the fundamental freedoms provided in the Berlin protocol in all parts of Germany without interference by zonal occupation authorities.

，各國均須受到限制。在所定之限額內，佔領軍及佔領國各機構之需要，須依照共同基礎由盟國管制委員會加以決定，而不得由佔領區司令作個別之決定。盟國管制委員會須擬定一種計劃，對佔領之需要，作一致之資助與甄別。

盟國管制委員會須撤銷造成政治與經濟障礙之佔領區疆界，僅留下佔領國保安部隊之分界線。

為達到此一目的起見，並作為經濟統一之條件計，盟國管制委員會須採取必要之措施，以保證德國及盟國人民在全德國之行動自由，並保證柏林條約內所規定德國各部之基本自由，不受各區佔領當局之干涉。

#### NOTE

參考「當代文獻」第五卷第一分冊「莫洛托夫關於蘇聯對經濟政治重建德國然後訂約之聲明」。

# MARSHALL'S STATEMENTS ON U. S. POSITION *RE* GERMAN REPARATIONS

*Made before the Council of Foreign Ministers in Moscow*

## 馬歇爾關於德賠償之美國立場發表聲明

在莫斯科外長會議發表

### FIRST STATEMENT

*March 17, 1947*

The United States holds that the provisions of the Potsdam protocol for the delivery of plants for reparations and for the economic unification of Germany to include a common export-import plan must be carried out concurrently. In order that sufficient resources may be retained as required by the Potsdam protocol, to enable Germany to become self-supporting without external assistance, the economic resources which will be available to Germany after reparations have been removed must be known. The United States has consistently sought an agreement for the establishment of central German administrative agencies to carry out administratively the premise of economic unification. It has also sought the adoption of a common export-import plan. An interim Allied Control Council agreement was secured which called for the formation of such a plan by October 31, 1945. However, this agreement has not

### 第一次聲明

一九四七年三月十七日

波茨坦議定書條文對於遷移德國工業設備，作為賠償，及德國經濟統一之用，曾有所規定，美國認為各該條文必須同時進行。波茨坦會上曾議定德國富源得充分保留，以期德國不需外力援助自力更生，故在賠償工業撤移後，德國所可能保有之經濟富源，必須予以公佈。美國會不斷努力，尋求設立德國中央行政機構之協議，俾在行政上推行經濟統一之前提事項。同時美國亦曾覓致一項進出口計劃，備供採納。吾人曾訂立臨時盟國管制委員會協定，規定在一九四五年十月三十一日前，完成此項計劃，但此



been fulfilled.

When persistent efforts to secure economic unification failed, the U. S. representative on the Allied Control Council announced the suspension of further dismantling of plants for reparations purposes. This action was required as a protective measure as the United States could not permit the further removal of industrial equipment from the U. S. zone of Germany in the face of a recurring financial deficit unless it could be assured that the U. S. zone of Germany would share in the resources of all Germany.

In order that the resumption of reparations may take place promptly when the other provisions of the Potsdam protocol are met, the United States has supported a vigorous program to determine the plants to be made available for reparations and for their prompt valuation. It has continued to dismantle and deliver at the request of the countries to which these plants were assigned 24 major plants included in the program for advance reparations deliveries. It has also dismantled completely 80 of the 117 war plants in its zone and has made the general-purpose equipment in these plants available for allocation and delivery. It will complete the liquidation of the remaining war plants during the present calendar year.

In addition to the 117 war plants and the 24 plants approved for advance delivery, there are 251 plants in the U. S. zone approved for valuation under the presently agreed level of industry; 1,593 plants remaining to be valued were approved only in October and November 1946, and their valuation will be completed on schedule.

一協定至今未見履行。

經濟統一之努力既告失敗，盟國管制會美代表乃宣告停止為賠償目的繼續搬運機器。此乃防衛性行動，蓋美國不能容許在接二連三財政不足之情形下，陸續自美佔領區搬運工業設備；除非美方已獲得享用整個德國富源之充分保證。

波茨坦之協定書其他條文實現後，為使賠償迅速恢復，美國已擬定一項有力計劃，從事決定何種機器可作賠償，并迅速估值。在獲得賠償請求下，應先行賠償之二十四個主要工廠，仍繼續拆卸搬運。在美佔領區內一一七個戰爭工廠中八十個已全部拆卸，並已使普遍適用之機器隨時準備分配與搬運。在本年度內，其餘戰爭工廠亦將悉數清除。

除二十四個指定賠償工廠以及一一七個戰爭工廠外，美佔領區內已有二五一所工廠得照目前同意之工業水準進行估值。尚有一九四六年十月與十一月份批准之一、五九三個工廠，亦正待估值。此項估值工作，將於預期中完成。

The current status of reparation from the three western zones is : 174 plants allocated; 524 additional plants approved by the coordinating committee for valuation; 808 plants in the machinery and optic industries approved for valuation, with reservation; several hundred additional plants are at various stages of approval in the Allied control authority.

A total of 2,000 plants, more or less, have been selected for reparations by the Allied control authority.

However, the United States considers that these figures should be regarded as tentative. Specific determination should be made of the plants to be left in Germany to enable it to be self-supporting. This determination should give consideration to population density and to fixing of boundaries. Experience during the past 20 months has indicated that the redevelopment of a self-supporting Germany is not an easy task. However, the occupying powers cannot be expected to support the German economy indefinitely. While the basic principle to leave a self-supporting economy in Germany established in the Potsdam protocol is sound, the Allied Control Council should re-examine the presently calculated level of industry without delay to determine its adequacy for the purpose. This can be done successfully only if full information is made available in each zone of occupation.

The U. S. delegation hopes that agreement may be reached here on the provisions of the Potsdam protocol which have not been carried out so that reparation deliveries may be resumed.

目前西方三佔領區內之賠償情況爲，一七四個工廠已被分配，五二四個工廠已由合作委員會批准估值，八〇八個機械與化學工廠已准估值，但附保留條件。尙有其他數百工廠，正在盟國管制當局繼續批准中。

總之，約有二千個工廠已由盟國管制當局審核爲賠償之用。

此等數目美國均認爲試驗性質。蓋吾人決使足夠工廠留存德國國內，俾其自給自足也。此點必須顧及人口密度與疆界劃定。過去二十閱月之經驗，顯示一自力更生德國之重新發展，殆非易事。但無論如何，佔領國自不能無限制支持德國經濟。波茨坦議定建立自給自足之德國經濟之基本原則，雖無瑕可疵，但盟國管制當局應立即重新考慮目前工廠水準，核定所需之適當工業數量。欲使此項工作成功，則各佔領區必須充份供給詳細情報。

美國代表團深望對於波茨坦議定條文未見履行之處，能在此得一協議，則賠償搬運當可繼續進行也。

## SECOND STATEMENT

March 18, 1947

I wish to make completely clear the position that the United States has consistently taken with regard to the relation of the Potsdam agreement on reparations to the Yalta protocol.

Immediately upon his return from Potsdam, before any question was raised as to the scope or meaning of the Potsdam agreement or its relation to the Yalta agreement, President Truman in a public address on August 9, 1945 clearly stated his understanding of the Potsdam agreement. I will read to you exactly what he said:

"At the Crimea conference a basis for fixing reparations had been proposed for initial discussion and study by the reparations commission. That basis was a total amount of reparations of US \$ 20,000, 00,000. Of this sum, one half was to go to Russia, which had suffered more heavily in the loss of life and property than any other country. But at Berlin the idea of attempting to fix a dollar value on the property to be removed from Germany was dropped. To fix a dollar value on the share of each nation would get a guaranty which might not be fulfilled. This formula of taking reparations by zones will lead to less friction among the Allies than the tentative basis originally proposed for study at Yalta."

In July 1946 at Paris, the question of German reparations was discussed in the Council of Foreign Ministers. At that time, Mr. Molotov presented the same arguments regarding the Yalta agreement which he has put forth here.

## 第二次聲明

一九四七年三月十八日

余願透澈闡明美國一向對波茨坦賠償協議與雅爾達議定書關係之立場。

杜魯門總統自波茨坦返國之初，在任何有關波茨坦協定之範圍、意義及其與雅爾達協定之關係等問題未提起前，渠即於一九四五年八月九日發表公開演說，透澈闡述渠對波茨坦協定之見解。余謹此向諸位正確宣讀其時杜魯門總統之演辭：

「在克里米亞會議中，對於確定賠償之基本數問題，會議會提出原則，以備賠償委員會加以初步討論及研究。賠償總額定為二百 美元。其中半數劃歸生命及財產損失最慘重之蘇聯。惟在柏林會議中，搬運德國賠償品以美元計值之議未能成立。蓋各國所應取得之賠償若以美元計值則各國不啻取得一種難望履行之保證也。此項分區提取賠償之方案將使盟國間之裂痕減少，顯較當初提交雅爾達會議研究之暫定原則為佳。」

一九四六年七月在巴黎，外長會議亦曾討論德國賠償問題。其時，莫洛托夫亦提出與目前渠所提出之有關雅爾達協定之同樣論據。

Secretary Byrnes, who was present at the Yalta conference and who, as Secretary of State, took an active part in working out the Potsdam agreement on reparations, stated the view and position of the U. S. Government that the Potsdam agreement took the place of the preliminary agreement reached at Yalta. Secretary Byrnes pointed out the irrefutable fact and I quote from his statement:

“The language read by Mr. Molotov showed what Mr. Roosevelt agreed to was only to study as a basis for discussion the suggestion of the Soviet Government. The language of the protocol shows that the Soviet proposal was passed to the Moscow reparations commission as one of the proposals to be considered by the commission”.

The position of the U. S. Government<sup>t</sup> regarding reparations is that the agreement at Potsdam supersede the preliminary agreements previously reached at Yalta. We will not follow Mr. Molotov in a retreat from Potsdam to Yalta.

貝爾納斯國務卿曾出席雅爾達會議，身為國務卿，曾積極參與實現波茨坦賠償協定之工作，渠闡明美國政府之觀點及立場，謂波茨坦協定取代當初在雅爾達獲致之協議。貝爾納斯國務卿指出無可厚非之事實，余謹此引述如次：

「莫落托夫所宣讀之話語顯示羅斯福氏僅同意以蘇聯政府之建議為研究之基礎。議定書所規定者，顯示蘇聯建議，乃交付莫斯科賠償委員會作為該委會考慮之建議之一。」

美政府對賠償問題之立場，厥為波茨坦協定已取代當初在雅爾達獲致之初步協議。吾人決不追隨莫落托夫，自波茨坦退至雅爾達。

# MARSHALL'S STATEMENT ON GERMAN POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

*Made before the Council of Foreign Ministers in Moscow on March 21, 1947*

## 馬歇爾關於德國政治改組問題之聲明

一九四七年三月二十一日在莫斯科外長會議發表

As a result of the defeat of the German armed forces, the German government and administrative machinery were completely destroyed. The totalitarian system of Hitler disappeared, but there still remain more than 65,000,000 Germans within occupied Germany. The victorious Allied powers were forced to take over the responsibilities of the shattered German state. But this represented only a temporary solution.

The Control Council is not, nor can it ever be, a substitute for a German government. Nor did the United States intend to deny to the German people the right to manage their own affairs as soon as they were able to do so in a democratic and peaceful way, with genuine respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Under the Potsdam protocol, the Allies undertook to decentralize the structure of the German state, and to develop local responsibility. Accordingly, the United States within its zone has sought to give vitality to local and municipal governments, and to endow appropriate Leander authorities with a larger measure of autonomy in accordance with

由於德國武裝部隊戰敗之結果，德國政府與行政機構已完全摧毀。希特勒之極權政體已消失，但在德國被佔領區仍有六千五百萬以上之德人。勝利之盟國列強不得不接收此河山破碎之德國之責任。但此僅為暫時之解決辦法。

盟國對德管制委員會並非代替，亦不能代替德國之政府。美國亦無意否認德國人民有處理其本身一切事務之權利，但求德國人民以民主與和平之方法，真正尊重人權與基本自由而行之。

在波茨坦草約之下，盟國負責分化德國國家之組織並發展地方責任。因此，美國在其佔領區內已設法使地方政府與市政府獲得活力，並遵照人民所批准之憲法，以更大之自治權，

constitutions ratified by the people. The other occupation authorities, *we understand*<sup>1</sup>, have taken somewhat similar action.

The time has now come to authorize the Germans to establish a provisional government to deal with matters of a nation-wide concern which the states cannot adequately handle. No German government can function unless the basic essentials on which German economic unity depends are agreed upon and implemented by all four powers, and unless effective guarantees exist for the safeguarding of the fundamental freedoms in all parts of Germany. That is the indispensable basis without which no German government, *be it provisional or permanent*<sup>2</sup>, can be constituted.

The process of building a German government should be accomplished, in our opinion, in the following three stages:

First, the establishment of a provisional German government composed of the heads of the governments of the now existing states and Laender, including Berlin, and clothed with the necessary powers to create and operate central administrative agencies. In order that the provisional government may be truly representative, the establishment of Laender constitutions and elected Laender governments should be completed throughout Germany at an early date.

Second, the drafting and acceptance of a constitution which shall be German in origin, and which shall be consistent with democratic principles and the decentralization of governmental authority. By decentralization, we mean that the central government shall be one of the limited and carefully defined powers in matters where nation-wide action is required.

賦予適當之地方當局。據吾人所知，其他佔領當局亦已採取類似之行動。

授權德人設立臨時政府處理各州所不能適當處置之全國性問題，今已至其時矣。但除非對德國經濟統一之基本要點四強能獲致同意并共同執行，除非在德國任何部份基本自由均獲得有效保障，否則任何德國政府之出現均難運用自如。倘無此項不可或缺之基礎，則無論臨時或永久之德國政府均將無法成立。

吾人之意，建立德國政府之過程，可分下列數步驟：

第一、由包括柏林之各省各州之現在政府領袖聯合組織臨時德國政府，秉賦特權，以產生并運用中央行政機構。爲使臨時政府真正具有代表性起見，全德各省憲法必須及早成立，各省政府必須及早選出。

第二、憲法之起草與實施務適應德國國情，并符合民主原則與中央化政權之消除。此項消除中央化政權之意，即中央政府對於全國性行動之有關

All residual powers shall be retained by the Laender. It should, of course, be understood that the constitution will be subject to the provisions of the peace settlement

Third, the assumption of governmental authority by the central government created by the constitution and by the Laender authorities recognized by the constitution.

I will submit a proposal embodying these ideas. I feel that the process out-lined above should be gotten under way at once so that there will be properly constituted German authorities which can carry out the terms of the peace settlement on which we are now working.

事項，其權力必嚴加限制并慎爲界釋。其他權力皆由各省保留。但憲法之立確，固須依據對德和約之條款也。

第三、由憲法以及憲法所承認之各省代表產生中央政府，行使政權。

本人將依此項意見提出建議。本文認爲以上所陳各節，務須立即付之實行，則適當之德國政權必將產生，以實現吾人今後所致力之和約也。

#### NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

1. "we understand" 係插入句表示發言人評語及意見，他如 "I think", "I believe", 等。
2. "be it provisional or permanent" 表示退步之副句。

# MARSHALL'S STATEMENT ON NEED FOR AGREEMENT IN IMPLEMENTING THE GERMAN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC UNITY ESSENTIAL TO WORLD PEACE

*Made before the Council of Foreign Affairs in Moscow on March 31, 1947.*

## 馬歇爾關於四強對德政治經濟統一維繫 世界和平急需達成協議之聲明

一九四七年三月三十一日在莫斯科外長會議發表

There is much that the four of us have agreed is desirable in principle: We agree that German resources should be pooled and equitably shared; that there should be an export-import plan; on the necessity for financial reform; on the need to subject resources in Germany to German law; that German coal, power, and steel should be consumed economically; and that the level of industry plan should be reviewed.

But we need to reach agreement on the implementing of political and economic unity. We must agree on the creation of German central agencies and the establishment and scope of a provisional government, on freedom of movement for ideas, persons and goods; the breaking down of zonal barriers, on reparations, and on sharing the temporary deficit.

We must make certain, however, that when we reach agreement, the agreement

在我們四人協議中，有許多在原則上是很好的。我們已經對下面各點獲得協議：(一)德國資源應予開發並平均分配，(二)德國應有進出口計劃，(三)財政上應有澈底之改革(四)德國資源應受德國法律限制，(五)德方煤斤，電力及鋼之消費，應予節省，(六)工業計劃之水準，應予檢討。

但是我們對於德國政治及經濟之統一，也必須獲致協議的是：(一)德國中央機構之產生以及臨時政府之成立，(二)思想，人民，與貨品流通之自由，(三)各區界限，賠償及財政上暫時不足數之平均負擔，必須獲得解決。

可是，我們又必須確定：當我們獲致協議，我們必須一致予以遵守。



means the same thing to all of us. We had a paper agreement at Potsdam, but it has only partially been implemented or made effective. Unless we can have a real meeting of minds and a real desire to carry out both the spirit and the letter of our agreements, it were better none were reached. We must not repeat the experience we have had in implementing the terms of the Potsdam agreement. We can never reach real agreement on the basis of ultimatums or immovable positions.

We regret that the Soviet delegation found it necessary to state "the acceptance of reparations from current production is an absolute condition of the Soviet delegation's acceptance of the principle of economic unity." The Potsdam agreement for economic unity was not conditioned on the acceptance of reparations from current production. The United States categorically rejects the imposition of such a condition. It looks very much to us as though the Soviet Union is trying to sell the same horse twice.

The French delegation also stated that "it cannot agree to any settlement of these three questions without prior settlement of the question of export of coal in conformity with the demands of the French Government." While we realize that France was not a party to the Potsdam agreement, we cannot accept her request as a condition to our negotiations.

The U. S. delegation recognizes the need of France for coal and of the Soviet Union for consumers' goods. It understands, too, the unwillingness of the British Government to increase the burden upon it of its support of the German people, an unwillingness which the United States shares.

我們在波茨坦曾有紙頭上的協定，但是祇有一部份已予以實現，除非我們具有真正的內心融洽和真正的意旨去實行我們協議的精神與條文，那末，還是沒有協議的來得好些。波茨坦協定條文的執行，這種經驗，我們不能再經歷一次。我們決不能在哀的美教書和不讓步的立場原則下，獲得協議。

蘇代表認為必須說明：「自進行生產品取得賠償品，是蘇聯接受經濟統一原則的一大條件。」對於這種意見，我們深以為憾。波茨坦協議有關經濟統一的部份並未規定以取得現有生產品賠償為條件。美國堅決反對此項條件。我們認為蘇聯此舉不啻為一馬兩售的辦法。

法國代表團也說「除非煤斤輸出能，夠依照法政府要求，先行解決，方法對於解決上述三大問題任何辦法，均不能贊同。」由於法國並非波茨坦協議當事國之一，我們不能接受它的要求，作為我們談判的一個條件。

美代表固承認法國對煤斤及蘇聯對於日用消耗品的需求。美國也深知英國政府不願加重其支持德國人民的負荷，而且美國也與英政府一樣的不願意。

It is not clear that the conflicts inherent in these views can be reconciled, *whatever position the United States might take*<sup>1</sup>. The Soviet delegation has suggested that it will be possible for the French to have their coal, and still leave enough coal in Germany to manufacture the reparations the Soviet Government demands. *We do not agree.*<sup>2</sup> The French delegation believes that after it has obtained the coal it needs from Germany and has limited steel capacity in Germany to 7,500,000 tons, it is still worthwhile to study the question of reparations out of current production. *We do not agree.*<sup>2</sup>

All Europe needs coal and is dependent on increasing quantities for real recovery. We must all recognize that German coal must be equitably apportioned among the needs of France and other countries of Europe and the needs of Germany itself.

It is suggested that *the deficit* in the German balance of trade, which the United States and Great Britain are *making good*,<sup>3</sup> could be avoided. This could only be accomplished immediately, which is the Soviet proposal, by reducing imports. Since the bulk of German imports are foodstuffs, this action would inevitably reduce German per capita consumption to about 1,100 calories a day, which is inadequate over any considerable period of time to sustain life. Does the Soviet Government make this proposal seriously? Even at the present time the ration standard in Germany includes only 1,550 calories per day, or 1,000 calories below the rate set in the level of industry agreement on March 26, 1946.

The people of Europe lack the elementary necessities of life. This lack can be filled

不論美國將採何種立場，這種異見所含的衝突定能消弭，此為明顯之事。蘇聯代表團曾說法國自德境輸入煤斤之後，德國仍有足量的煤斤，用以生產蘇政府所要求的賠償品。我們不同意這種說法。法國代表團以為：它向德國取得煤斤並且把德國的鋼鐵生產限制到七，五〇〇，〇〇〇噸以後，自現行生產品提取賠償的問題，仍有研究的價值。我們不贊同這種意見。

整個歐洲需要煤斤，需要煤產量的增加以期獲得真正的復興。德國的煤必須平均分配給法國，其他歐洲國家以及德國本身。

德國貿易上的虧蝕，目前由英美兩國設法彌補。有人建議我們避免這樣做。蘇聯曾經提議減少輸入。只有這個辦法能夠立即使我們不這樣做。但是德國輸入的主要部份是食物。照蘇聯提議的辦法結果會不可避免地把德國每人消耗量減到一，一〇〇卡一天。這在稍長的一段時間內，是難以維持生存的。蘇聯政府是否認真的提出這個建議？甚至就在目前，德國配給食物的標準。一天也只要一，五五〇卡，根據一九四六年三月廿六日關於工業水準協議所定的標準看來，還缺少一，〇〇〇卡路理。

歐洲的人民缺少生活上基本的必需品。這一缺陷可以由各種物品的生

only by the production of goods of all kinds. A reasonable increase in the level of industry in Germany will help in time to produce more goods. With the four-power treaty which we have proposed guaranteeing the continued demilitarization of Germany, a reasonable increase in the level of industry should not endanger European security, but should contribute materially to European recovery.

The United States is opposed to policies which will continue Germany as a congested slum or an economic poorhouse in the center of Europe. At the same time, we recognize that Germany must pay reparations to the countries who suffered from its aggression. Within these limits, we want Germany to use its resources of skilled manpower, energy, and industrial capacity to rebuild the network of trade on which European prosperity depends; ultimately, it desires to see a peaceful Germany, with strong democratic roots, take its place in the European and world community of nations.

These are the reasons for the position taken by the United States on the questions covered in this section of the coordinating committee's report. At a later stage of the agenda, the United States will put forward again its proposal for a four-power guarantee of security. And in connection with its view on increasing the productivity of Europe, it will later indicate how it believes the agricultural resources of the part of Germany placed under Polish administration at Potsdam can be more effectively developed and used to meet the needs of Europe for food. At this time, however, and on this subject the U. S. delegation stands for economic unity, a

產來挽救。德國工業水準的合理提高會恰到其時產生更多物品。我們曾建議為保證繼續解除德國軍備，四強應簽訂公約。在這一公約下，德國工業水準的合理提高自不會威脅到歐洲的安全，反而會使歐洲的復興物質上獲益不淺。

美國反對繼續把德國當作歐陸中心窮街陋巷或貧民窟的政策。但同時，我們也認為德國必須對遭受其侵略的國家付出賠償。在這些限度內，我們願見德國運用他的技能、人力、工業各方面的富源，重建全歐洲繁榮的貿易網。最後，我們願見具有堅實民主根基的和平德國出現在歐洲與世界上。

對配合委員會報告書所牽涉的問題所採取的立場，具有很多理由。在日後的議程上，美國將重新提出四強保證安全的建議。至於美國對增加歐洲生產量的意見，美國自會表明它是怎樣的相信：波茨坦協定劃歸波蘭管轄的德國農業富源，可以更有效地開拓，以供應歐洲糧食的需要。但是在這個時候關於此問題，美國代表主張經濟統一，成立均衡進出口貿易的共

common plan to balance exports and imports, a livable standard in Germany, and increase in the level of industry plan to bring German productive plant more into line with the requirements of Europe, and with this, the quick completion of reparations so as not to enmesh the powers who deserve reparations in continuous controversies among themselves and with Germany.

Of all these points in the U. S. proposals, primary emphasis is attached to the treatment of Germany as an economic unit which was agreed at Potsdam. Our representatives in Berlin have been trying for 20 months to get that agreement implemented. The United States is still trying. It desires the treatment of Germany as an economic unit because it does not wish to see Germany partitioned. If Germany is divided, each half will require strengthening to exist independent of the other. Two strong halves of Germany may then emerge, later to be fused into a revitalized and militant Germany. The permanent partition of Germany is dangerous to the peace of Europe and of the world.

Moreover, a partitioned Germany means a partitioned Europe. While Germany contains but 65,000,000 of the 350,000,000 people of Europe, they live at its center. The United States wants one Germany because it wants a Europe which is not divided against itself.

We must not permit our differences to stand in the way of European recovery. Because the U. S. delegation accepts some of the proposals here made does not mean that we are not ready to review sympathetically any reasonable proposals which may be made

同計劃，確定德國人民生活的標準，提高工業水準使德國產品跟歐洲的需要更趨一致。然後我們就可以迅速完成賠償問題，使這些應得賠償的國家彼此間及對德方不再繼續為德國問題陷入不斷的爭論。

美國各項建議中的最重要的一點，莫如視德國為一經濟整體，此點已見於波茨坦協議。我們在柏林的代表已費時二十個月，以期實施此一協議。美國仍在進行這種工作，美國願以經濟整體對待德國的原因，在於它希望德國不致四分五裂。假如德國分裂，每區都需要各自為政，各自充實本身的力量。於是德國就可能有兩大強大的區域出現，這種地區其後勢將合併為一個重新崛起的尚武的德國。永久瓜分德國是歐洲及世界和平的威脅。

而且，分化的德國也就是分化的歐洲。歐洲人口約三五〇，〇〇〇，〇〇〇人，德國僅佔其中之六五，〇〇〇，〇〇〇人，他們住在歐洲的中心。美國希望德國統一，其原因在於希望歐洲是一個不致自相分化的大陸。

我們不應一任我們的異見妨礙歐洲復興。美國代表團在這裏採納若干建議，但這並不是說：我們不願對合理的建議作同情的檢討。而這些建議

to implement the program on which we have embarked together. We all are here to resolve and not to accentuate our differences. But we should not seek agreement merely for the sake of agreement. The United States recognizes that its responsibilities in Europe will continue and it is more concerned in building so idly than in building fast.

是可以用以執行我們所已經開始的計劃。我們是來消除而非加深異見的。然而我不應只是為協議而獲致協議。美國認為它在歐洲的任務仍廣續未了，且凡事均將實是求是，決不草率從事。

### NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS

1. "whatever position the United States might take" 表示退步之副句。
2. 重複用 "we do not agree" 係修詞加重語氣之強調語。
3. "to make good the deficit", 『補償虧蝕』。 I will make good the loss you suffered, 余將彌補汝所受之損失。

# MARSHALL'S PROPOSAL FOR GERMAN PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

*Submitted before the Council of Foreign Ministers in Moscow on April 2, 1947*

## 馬歇爾關於設立德臨時政府之建議

一九四七年四月二日在莫斯科外長會議提出

In view of the extent of our apparent agreement and the necessity of moving ahead in this direction, I intend to propose and do now propose that the Council of Foreign Ministers instruct the Allied Control Council as follows:

(1) To proceed to establish a plan for a provisional German government representative of the Laender, with authority to:

A. Direct and coordinate central departments in the fields set forth in the Potsdam agreement and such other fields as have been or may be agreed to by the Allied Control Council.

B. Initiate the processes of the framing of the permanent democratic constitution.

C. Recommend a pattern of permanent territorial organization for the Laender in the future German State.

(2) To ensure that the basic human rights and freedoms contained in federal and Laender constitutions will be realized, and that the autonomous powers of both state and central governments are guaranteed.

(3) To define the relationships between the Allied Control Council and the provisional government and between the zone commanders and the provisional government.

鑒於吾人已獲若干顯著協議并將繼續向此項目標努力，余願在此建議，由外長會議向盟國管制委員會提下列各端：

(一)着手草擬一項計劃，成立代表各省區之臨時德國政府，具有如下權力：

甲、在波茨坦協議規定範圍內，或在盟國管制委員會所成立協議範圍內，指導中央行政部份之成立，務期彼此合作無間。

乙、草擬制定永久性民主憲章之程序。

丙、在將來德國州組織內，對目前省區擬訂一項永久性地方機構之型式。

(二)確保聯邦憲法與省區憲法規定下之基本人權與自由必須兌現。州政府與中央政府之自治權限必須獲得保障。

(三)闡釋盟國管制委員會與臨時政府間及佔領軍當局與臨時政府間之關係。

中華民國二十六年六月拾四日收到

