

英 漢 對 照

# 當代文庫

第二卷 合訂本

( 51—100 )



中國文化服務社印行

1949

570-071

457

12

# 當代文獻第二卷合訂本目錄

( 51 — 100 )

期次	題 目	頁數	期次	題 目	頁數
51	羅斯福檢討戰局	345	75	美蘇英三國關於伊朗宣言	473
52	英美中蘇四國莫斯科會議聯合宣言	357	76	華萊士副總統答謝蔣主席演詞	475
53	中蘇簽訂新約	360	77	蔣主席歡迎美副總統華萊士演說詞	482
54	美國副總統華萊士談戰後的世界	363	78	羅斯福總統於聯合國簽訂救濟善後協定 後播辭節錄	488
55	中美英三大盟國領袖開羅會議聲明書	366	79	比波首相於聯軍攻登陸日對各國 軍民廣播訓辭策進聯軍	490
56	羅斯福總統演說宣言	371	80	華萊士副總統與蔣主席共同發表談話	493
57	羅斯福總統前夕廣播演辭	373	81	孔參事長辭應對美新聞界發表聲明	497
58	中國三民主義青年團背盟兵張治中先生 代表該團向倫敦學生紀念會致詞及英 比學生團體向中國學生致辭	387	82	羅斯福總統對聯合國貨幣金融會議致 辭歡迎	530
59	英王聖誕演說	393	83	羅斯福總統視察太平洋戰區返國後語 演觀感	506
60	蔣主席元旦演辭	398	84	美國務卿赫爾對美英蘇討論世界安全 機構會議開幕致歡迎辭	520
61	孫哲生先生關於美國撤銷限制華人入 境法案對美國廣播演辭	414	86	一九四四年美國大選中共和民主兩黨 政綱之比較	528
62	國父逝世紀念日孫夫人向美國演辭	418	87	孔副院長辭熙在美參議院演辭	552
63	「孫逸仙日」羅斯福總統致辭	423	88	國際安全組織建議案全文	553
64	美國國務卿赫爾發表「美國外交政策 基礎」之聲明	426	89	邱吉爾首相對緬甸戰局之檢討	557
65	英相邱吉爾檢討戰局廣播演辭	431	91	威維特博士對賴巴敦核禍和平機構會 議之聲明	565
66	羅斯福重申嚴懲戰犯之聲明	438	92	羅斯福總統在美外交政策協會講演外 交政策	568
67	聯合國專家對於設立國際貨幣基金聯 合宣言	442	94	中國國民黨五十年紀念日蔣總裁發表 紀念詞	582
68	美國副總統華萊士行程來華前之聲明	454	95	美記者目擊轟炸東京記	594
70	路透社破英駭逐艦記者談盟軍攻登歐 陸經過	459	97	納爾遜顧問在國民參政會演辭	598
71	攻歐軍統帥艾森豪威爾致盟軍進征軍 手令	465	98	羅斯福總統預定賀賀孫日之講稿	608
72	攻歐軍統帥艾森豪威爾向歐洲人民廣 播聲明	467	99	杜魯門總統在美國國會演說	612
73	英王對盟軍攻登歐陸廣播演說	470	100	羅斯福總統第四屆就職演詞	641
74	美副總統華萊士抵達陪都後發表書面 談話	471			

54900



Roosevelt Reviews War Situation

羅斯福檢討戰局

A Message to the U. S. Congress on September 17, 1943

一九四三年九月十七日致美國國會之咨文

During the two months Congressional recess many important events have occurred on the war fronts and at home. You return at a time when the major battles in Europe and Asia are beginning to be joined. In recent months the main tides of the conflict have been running our way, but we could not and cannot be content to drift with the favorable tide.

You know from the news of the last few days that every military operation entails a legitimate military risk and that occasionally we have checks to our plans—checks which necessarily involve severe losses of men and materials.

The Allied forces are now engaged in a very hard battle south of Naples. The casualties are heavy and the desperation with which the Germans are fighting reveals that they are well aware of the consequences to them of our occupation of Italy.

Congress and the American People can rest assured the landing in Italy is not the only landing we have in mind. This landing was planned at Casablanca and at Quebec the leaders and military staffs of Britain and the United States made specific, precise plans to bring further blows of equal or greater importance against Germany and Japan—with definite times and places for other landings on the continent of Europe and

在國際條約之兩月休息期中，各戰線與國內重要事件均於大局中。諸君目前所返此間之際，適值歐亞兩洲之主要戰事，正開始聯合為一；最近數月來戰爭之主流，正與吾人有利，然吾人不能以此有利之潮流驟浮為已足。

諸君自過去數日之消息中，當已獲知每一軍事行動，必然附有一合理之軍事冒險，吾人之計劃，偶然亦有遭受阻遏之虞，此種阻遏，且必然包括有人員與物資兩方面之鉅大損失。

盟軍刻在那不勒斯以南從極痛苦之作戰，死傷慘重；盟軍作戰之不屈生死，亦足以表示彼等深知吾人佔領義大利對於彼等之效果如何。

國會與美國民眾均可深信在義大利之登陸並非吾人計劃中之唯一登陸，此一登陸，係卡薩布蘭卡會議中所擬定者，在魁北克會議中，英美兩國領袖及參謀人員，且擬定切實計劃，予德日兩國以同等或更猛烈之打擊，關於在歐洲大陸以及其他區域之登陸，時間地點均極確切。

吾人對於法國西面根據地之遠征，曾有週密之計劃，此等計劃固無疑義，此種遠征



fully prepared the expedition in Sicily. In spite of heavy

German opposition, it cleared this large and heavily fortified island in 38 days. It has proved conclusively that this war wasn't waged by the Italian people of their own free choice.(5) All Mussolini's propaganda machine could not make them love Hitler and hate us. The less said about the feelings toward Mussolini the better.(6) I believe that equal jubilation and enthusiasm will be shown by the people of other nations now under the German heel, when the Nazi gauleiters(7) and native quislings(8) are removed either through force or flight.

Now different was this invading army of the Allied Armies(9) the German forces that went into Sicily ostensibly to protect it. Food, clothing, cattle, medicines, household goods were systematically stolen from the people of Sicily and sent north to the "master races" in Germany. Sicily, with other parts of Italy and like other satellite and conquered nations, was black white by the Nazi and Fascist governments. Farmers were permitted to retain only small fractions of their own produce for themselves and their families.

With the Allied armies, however, went a carefully planned organization(10) which was trained and equipped to give physical care to the local people—food, clothing, medicine. This new organization is also now in the process of restoring to the Sicilian people the freedom which for many years was denied to them.

I am confident that within a year Sicily will once more be self-supporting and in addition to that, once more self-respecting.

From Sicily the Allied Armies' advance has continued to the mainland. On September 3, they landed on the toe of the Italian peninsula. These were the first Allied troops to invade the continent of Europe to liberate the conquered and the oppressed countries. History will always remember this day as the

之大局亦於三十八日之內肅清。此舉亦足以充分證明此一戰爭並非義大利人民所自願選擇而從事之戰爭，而是墨索利尼之一切宣傳機噐，並不能使彼等之語言得成其愚弄人，更不能謂其使彼等對於墨索利尼之殘酷政策贊成。

余深信一旦納粹黨領袖與佔地之「吉斯特」遊武力驅除時，則在德國鐵蹄下之武漢國家民衆，亦將踴躍同聲「欣慶與歡呼」。

同盟國之進攻軍隊，與德軍則有異者，即德軍之進逼西西里，表面上為「保護斯士」實則該島民衆之食物，衣服，牛羊，藥物及家庭用品，均被有系統之擄掠，北運於「戈德種族」，西西里亦如義大利其他部份，以及其他附屬國及被征服之國家，已遭納粹及法西斯政府之經濟地掠奪之害，農人之收成，僅能留置極小部份以供本身及其家庭之需要。

然同盟軍隊進駐斯士時，即有計劃周詳之機構，隨同前往，其工作人員，均曾受良好訓練，且有適當之裝備，供給當地居民以物質上之照顧，如食物衣服藥品等，此一新機構，刻並進行恢復西西里民衆多年來被剝奪之自由。

余深信西西里在一年之內，必能再度獲得自立，並可再度恢復其自尊心。

盟軍已自西西里繼續向義大利本土推進，彼等於九月三日，在義大利半島趾狀區域登陸，此乃進攻歐洲以圖解放被征服與被壓迫國家之第一支盟軍。歷史必將永誌是日為第

beginning of the answer to the prayers of millions of liberty loving human beings—not only in the conquered lands but all over the world.

On July 27, just two weeks after our first landings in Sicily, the political events in Italy started the world. Mussolini, the incubus of Italy for a generation and the man who was more responsible for all the sorrows of Italy than anyone except possibly Hitler himself, was forced out of office and stripped of his power as the result of his own dismal failure, his wanton brutality and the overwhelming demand of the Italians. This was the first break in the Axis leadership, but which is to be followed, if we are determined, by other and similar encouraging events.

There is one thing I wish to make perfectly clear. When Hitler and the Nazis go out, the Prussian military clique must go out with them. The war breeding gangs of militarists must be rooted out of Germany and out of Japan too if we are to have any real assurance of peace in the future.

Early last month the relentless application of overwhelming Allied power, particularly air and sea power, convinced the Italian leaders that Italy could not continue an active part in the war. Conversations were begun with us by them. They were carried on with secrecy and therefore, as much as I wished to do so, I could not communicate the facts of the case to the Congress or the press or to those who repeatedly expressed dismay or indignation at our apparent course in Italy. These negotiations turned out to be a complete surprise to nearly everyone—not only to the Axis—but to the Italian people themselves. I am sure Congress realizes that there are many situations in this war, and there will be many more to come, in which it would be impossible for me to make any announce-

覆此等情形服國家其至世界前途將自由人類所作勝況之昭著。

七月二十五日即吾人在西西里開始登陸兩星期之後，義大利之政治事件，變動甚速，墨索里尼乃義大利此一代人之負累，可能除希特勒本人之外，義大利之一切不幸皆應由其負責，目前以此本身之不幸失敗，其屬縱之暴行，及其對於義大利民衆之過分要求，結果致被追去職，權力遭受剝奪，此乃軸心領導地位之第一次崩裂，吾人所以斷定必有其他令人興奮之類得崩裂，繼之而起。

然有一事，余必須闡明者，即一旦希特勒與納粹降下台時，普魯士之軍人系亦須同時下台，德日兩國製造戰爭之軍閥遺孽必須根除盡淨，否則吾人對未來和平即無真實之保證。

上月初間經國偉大實力之猛烈使用，已令義大利領袖深信及更無法繼續積極作戰，彼等即與吾人開始會談。此等談判均在秘密進行，以故余雖欲有所言，然亦無法以事實告知國會，報界或彼輩對於吾人在義大利之表面行動，表示沮喪與憤懣之人士。此等談判之結果，不僅軸心完全出乎意外，義大利民衆本身亦感驚奇，余深信國會必能了解，此一戰爭有若干情勢，——未來期間尚不乏此類情勢，——使余不能作任何聲明，甚至不能對吾人行將變更之政策，有所表示，余

ments or even to give any indications of the policy which we will follow. I ask the American people, as well as the Congress, to look with a clear eye at the staff of staff. It is of course to be expected that unjustified attacks and criticisms (12) from those who are not in a position (13) to have a full view of the facts, but the people and the Congress must know the policy which we follow in the execution of the basic democratic principles of this republic. We will not be able to claim that we have gained total victory in this war if any vestige of Fascism in any of its malignant forms is permitted to survive anywhere in the world.

The armistice with Italy was signed on September 8 but it could not be put into effect (14) until September 9 when we were ready to make landings in force in Italy. We had planned these landings sometime before and were determined to go through with them—armistice or no armistice. (15)

The Italian leaders appealed to their army and navy to end hostilities against us. Italian soldiers, although disorganized and ill supplied, have been fighting the Germans in many regions. In conformity with the terms of unconditional surrender the Italian Fleet has come over to our side and can be a powerful weapon in striking at the Nazi enemies of the Italian people.

When Hitler was forced to the conclusion that his offensive was broken and that he must go on the defensive, he started boasting that he had converted Europe into an impregnable fortress. But he neglected to provide that fortress with a roof. He also left various other vulnerable spots in the so called fortress which we will point out to him in due time.

British and American air forces have been bombing the so-called fortress with ever increasing efficiency. It is now our purpose to establish bases within

要要求美國國會及國會，命令以及吾人之參謀首長，醫學顧問，當不明一切事實者，發出不近情理之攻擊。其時，吾人須能保持戰時，然民衆與國會，可以知吾人所遵循之政策，乃吾國基本民主傳統與理想之表現。如世界任何區域或官商或法西斯主義之遺孽以或任何惡毒之形式存在，則吾人絕不能謂在此一戰爭中已獲完全勝利。

對義德戰協定，係九月三日在巴西里簽字，然在九月八日，吾人準備以大軍在義大利登陸之前，此一協定尚無法實施，吾人早已計劃此等登陸，不論是否停戰，均決心予以實施。

義大利領袖懇請其海陸軍對吾人停止敵對行動，義軍雖已解體，且給養缺乏，仍在若干地區對德軍作戰，義大利海陸軍無條件投降之條款業已承認，此種軍隊在打擊義大利、衆之敵陣線人方面，可成爲強有力之武器。

當希特勒不得認爲其攻勢業已崩潰，必須轉守時，彼乃開始誇耀其已使歐洲成爲無法攻克之堡壘，然彼卻未在此一堡壘之上，建造屋頂。彼在所謂堡壘之長城上，亦尚留下其他若干脆弱之點吾人在適當時間，即將向其指出。

英美空軍刻正轟炸此所謂之堡壘，其破壞與日俱增，目前吾人之目標，係在建立可

bombing range of southern and eastern Germany, and being the devastation of war homes in these places by day and by night as have already been brought to western Germany.

When Britain was being subjected to mass bombing in 1940 and 1941, when the British people, including the King and the Prime Minister, were proving Britain could take it, British and our own strategists were not idle. They were studying the mistakes that Hermann Goering and his staff of Nazi terrorists were making. These were fatal mistakes as it turned out.

Today we and the British are not making the same mistakes. We are not bombing for funerals for sheer sadistic pleasure of killing, as the Nazis did. We are striking devastating blows at carefully selected and clearly identified strategic objectives—factories, shipyards, munition dumps, and transportation facilities—which made it possible for the Nazis to wage war. We are hitting these military targets and blowing them to bits.

German power can still do us great injury. But that evil power is being destroyed surely and inexorably day by day and if Hitler does not know it by now then the last trace of sanity has departed from his distorted mind.

We must remember that in any great air attack the British and Americans lose a fairly high proportion of planes and that these losses must be made up quickly so that the weight of bombing shall not decrease for a day in the future. In fact, the high rate of increase must be maintained according to plan. That means a constant stepping up in our production here at home. In the raid on the Ploesti oil fields in Rumania we lost 53 of our heaviest bombers and more than 500 of our finest men are missing. This may seem like a disastrously high loss unless you compare it with the damage done to the enemy's war power. I am

原出於德國南部及東部之城市，並不分晝夜，而繼續地轟擊，帶這目的，是使吾人得受德國國內之痛苦。

當一九四〇年及一九四一年英國正受大規模之轟擊時，英方之軍事專家對於德方所犯之錯誤在內的詳細情形能作此種研究。英方及我國之軍事專家正研究德方所犯之錯誤，並從德方人員所犯之錯誤，此等均已發現的致命之錯誤。

吾人與海軍部長們已忘記此等錯誤矣，吾人並非為消遣之目的，而為命名，以求取一種純粹殘殺與痛苦之樂趣，吾人乃係重選擊之戰略目標——工廠，造船廠，軍火庫，運輸設備等，使消滅其從事戰爭之目標，——施行摧殘性之打擊，吾人係攻擊軍事目標，將其炸為齏粉。

德國之力量，你給予吾人以極大損害，然此種損害吾人，已不為其所受，在目前尚特勤勞不能了解其事且其至為之預感已失去最後一點靈性矣。

吾人必須察記，英美兩國，在任何一次大規模空襲所損失之飛機，均佔相當高之比例，且此等損失，必須迅速補給，與本來則間接炸之力量，不致減損。事實上吾人且須按照計劃，使吾人之戰爭實力，儘可能增長，此即表示吾人國內之生產，必須極其提高，吾人出動總共是五十三架，損失最低之損失是五十五人以上，吾人如將吾人之作戰力量加以加倍則損，則此種損失吾人亦將受

certain that the German or Japanese high command would cheerfully sacrifice tens of thousands of men to do the same amount of damage to us if they could. These gallant and brilliant young Americans who rallied Hooseyer in a smashing victory, which I believe will contribute materially to the shortening of the war and thus save countless lives.

We shall continue to make such raids all over the territory of Germany and the satellite countries and with Italy in our hands the distances we have to travel will be far less and the risks proportionately reduced. We have reliable information that there is definite unrest and a growing desire for peace among the peoples of these satellite countries—Rumania, Hungary, Finland and Bulgaria. We hope that in these nations the spirit of revolt against Nazi dominance which commenced in Italy will burst into flame and become a consuming fire.

Every American is thrilled by the sledge hammer blows delivered against the Nazi aggressors by the Russian armies. This summer there has been no successful German advance against the Russians as in 1941 and 1942. Instead the Russians have forced the great military reversal since Napoleon's retreat from Moscow in 1812. The recapture of Kharkov and other strongholds by the Russians, the opening up of the Ukraine and Donetz Basin and the freeing of millions of valuable acres and hundreds of inhabited places lighten the whole world as the Russian campaign moves toward elimination of every German from Russian soil, toward the invasion of Germany itself.

It is certain that the campaign in North Africa, the occupation of Sicily and the fighting in Italy and the compelling of a large number of German planes to rise to combat in the skies over Holland and Belgium and France by reason of our

高之損失，余深信德日兩國統帥部如得可能，必願犧牲萬千兵員，予吾人以同等重大之損失。此等空襲皆洛業什特之美勇美國青年，已獲得一項偉大勝利，余深信此必大有助於戰爭之縮短，減少無數生命之犧牲。

吾人將繼續襲德意及其附庸國之領土，作是類空襲，義大利入手喪失以後，吾人所需飛行之距離，即大見縮短。危險亦隨此例之減少，吾人已獲得可靠情報，此等附庸國——羅馬尼亞——保加利亞——芬蘭——丹麥——間，皆有不安與日漸增長之和平願望，吾人希望此等國家之中，由義大利發動之反抗納粹統治精神，將爆發為大火，並成為一種消滅性之火。

美國全國民衆，均因蘇軍所予納粹侵略者之猛烈打擊，而深為振奋，本年夏季德軍已不能如一九四一及一九四二年之所為在蘇聯戰場獲得勝利進展，反之蘇軍已造成一八二二年拿破崙攻俄敗績以來之最大軍事失敗，蘇聯已收復卡爾科夫，史達林諾與其他要塞，打開烏克蘭與頓內茲盆地，解放該百萬英畝極有價值之土地，以及千百萬居民密集之地區，此種偉功偉績，已令全歐為之震奮，蓋蘇軍之作戰目標，係在消滅蘇聯領土上之每一德軍，最後且將進攻德國本土。

北非之戰使，西西里之佔領，該境之作戰，以及吾人空軍之出擊，迄今大批德機，在法比荷領土上空作戰，顯皆已予在列寧格

air attacks have given important help to the Russian armies along their advancing front, from Leningrad to the Black Sea. We know too we are contributing to that advance by making Germany keep many divisions in the Balkans, Southern France and along the English Channel. I like to think that these words constitute an under statement.

Similarly, the events in the Mediterranean have a direct bearing upon the war against Japan. When the American and British expeditionary forces landed in North Africa last November, some people believed that we had no intentions to prosecute the war vigorously in the Pacific. Such people continually make the mistake of trying to divide the war into several watertight compartments,<sup>(17)</sup> Western European front, Russian front, Burma front, New Guinea and Solomons front and so forth as though all these fronts were separate and unrelated to each other. You even hear of air war as opposed to land war or sea war. Actually we cannot think of this as several wars. It is all one war and it must be governed by one basic strategy.

The freeing of the Mediterranean which we started last fall, will lead directly to the resumption of our complete control of the waters of the eastern Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal and thus we shall be enabled to strike the Japanese on another of their highly vulnerable flanks. For as long as Italy remained in the war as an enemy, for as long as the Italian fleet remained in being as a threat, a substantial part of the British naval strength had to be kept locked in the Mediterranean. Now that formidable strength is freed to proceed eastward to join in the ever increasing attack upon the Japanese. It has not been sufficiently emphasized that the freeing of the Mediterranean is a great asset to the war in the Far East.

地中海間一條戰線上前進之蘇軍以重大協助，吾人亦深知吾人正促使德國在巴爾幹法國南境及沿英吉利海峽維持大軍之方法，協助蘇軍獲得進展，余希望以上數語尚不足以包括全部事實。

地中海近事對於對日戰爭，同樣亦有直接影響。去年十一月英美遠征軍在北非登陸時，若干人士深信吾人係無在太平洋上猛烈進行作戰之意圖，此等人士續犯一種錯誤，即將戰爭分為不相聯繫之若干部份，即西歐戰場，蘇聯戰場，緬甸戰場，新幾內亞與所羅門戰場等等，以為此等戰場，係互相隔離，而毫無關係者，諸君且可聞及「空中戰爭」與「陸上戰爭」及「海上戰爭」立於同等地位，其實吾人不能認為此係數起戰爭，此乃一整體之戰爭，僅能有一基本策略以為控制。

吾人於去年秋開始之地中海解放工作將直接使吾人恢復東印度洋及孟加拉灣之全部制海權，吾人將能向日本之另一脆弱側翼，打擊日本，蓋義大利一旦繼續為吾人之敵人而作戰，義艦隊一旦繼續為一威脅，則英海軍力量之一大部份，即受牽制於地中海，今者強大之力量，業可自由東行，參加對日之進攻。

攻日見增強，地中海之解放，為遠東作戰之主要資產，並非過言。

There has been one serious gap in the lines of our fighting sea power—and it is the gap between Northwest Australia and Ceylon. That gap can now be closed as the result of the victory in the Mediterranean. In the Orient we face a long and difficult fight and we must be prepared for heavy losses in winning that fight. The power of Japan will not collapse until it has been literally(18) pounded into the dust. It would be utmost folly for us to try to pretend otherwise. Even if the future is tough for us, think what it is for Tojo and his murderous gang. They lay back to the east or the west and they can see closing in on them from all directions the forces of retribution unite. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, General MacArthur, Admiral Nimitz and Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten.

The forces operating against Japan in the various Pacific theaters(19) are just as much interrelated and dependent on each other as our forces pounding against Germany in Europe. Such actions as the taking of Attu and Kiska do not just happen. They are the results of careful and complete planning which was going on quietly while our critics were so perturbed that they had reached the verge of tears over what they called the threatened invasion of Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles. It was difficult for them to realize that the prepared and crucial test in the Coral Sea, at Midway and in the Solomons rendered the Japanese hold in the Aleutians no longer tenable."

Japan has been hard put to(20) maintain her extended line. She had to withdraw her garrison from Kiska in the face of(21) the oncoming American and Canadian forces, because she could not maintain a steady stream of reinforcements and supplies to the Aleutians. In the Solomon Islands—with heavy fight-

吾人斷絕全球之海方線，會有一重大之缺口，此即澳洲西北部與錫蘭間之缺口是也。吾人在地中海中獲勝之結果，此一缺口已可堵塞。吾人在東方係面臨一場長而艱苦之戰爭，吾人欲於此戰役中獲勝，必須準備重大損失，日本之力量，非至使其確被擊碎，則決不至崩潰，吾人倘以為不備如此，誠極愚癡。未來前途對吾人至為艱苦，然既思對於東條及其嗜殺之一黨，又將如何，彼等必須殲滅東西，彼等可目睹得勝之力量，在蔣主席，在麥克阿瑟將軍，在尼米茲海軍上將，及在蔡巴頓海軍上將率領下，自各方面向其壓迫而進。

在太平洋各戰區對日作戰之軍隊，其相關互賴之程度，亦一若吾人在歐洲打德軍之軍隊。阿圖島與吉斯卡之收復，並非偶然者，而係在戰線中能行仔細而週密之計劃之結果。是時吾人之評論家，對於所謂西雅圖，波特蘭，舊金山，與洛杉磯行將被侵略，尚驚惶失措，幾至流淚，彼等誠難認識珊瑚海，中途島與所羅門準備砲臺之嚴密測驗，已令日本在阿留申之立足點難以保持。

日本已難於保持其極長之戰線，在緊逼之美加軍之前，不得不將其吉斯卡守軍撤退，蓋其不能保持後援及供應品之源源而至阿留申也。在所羅門方面，吾人將獲勝而獲得

ing, we have gained so many island air bases that the threat to Australia and New Zealand from across the Coral Sea has been practically dissipated. In fact it is safe to say that our position in that area has become a threat against the Japanese in the seas that lie north of the Solomons and New Guinea.

American, Australians, New Zealanders and Dutch forces in a magnificent campaign in New Guinea and the Solomon Islands have destroyed much of the Japanese strength and have gained for us new bases from which to launch new offensive operations.

After a long period of defensive strategy in Burma, we are determined to take the offensive there. I am also glad to report to you that we are getting more supplies and military help to China and that almost every day word comes<sup>(22)</sup> that a new air battle has destroyed two or three times more Japanese planes in China and Burma than we ourselves have lost. That process will continue until we are ready to strike right at the heart of Japan itself. It goes almost without saying<sup>(23)</sup> that when Japan surrenders, the United Nations will never again let her have authority over the islands which were mandated to her by the League of Nations. Japan, obviously, is not to be trusted and the same thing holds good in the case of the vast territories which Japan has stolen from China long before this war.

Since the beginning of our entrance into the war nearly two years ago, the United Nations have continuously reduced the enemy strength by the process of attrition. That means cold-bloodedly placing ever-increasing resources of the Allies into deadly competition with the resources of the Axis. It also means the use of facilities and the ability to make more munitions and above all more aircraft more quickly than our enemies.

海島空軍基地之多，已使澳洲與紐西蘭自珊瑚海對面遭受之威脅，事實上業已消除，實則吾人不妨聲言吾人在該區之地位，已成吾人對所羅門及新幾內亞以北海上日軍之威脅。

美澳紐荷軍隊在新幾內亞及所羅門上之輝煌戰役中，已消滅日方力量頗多，而為吾人爭得能據以發動新攻勢之新基地。

吾人在緬甸長期以攻守勢戰路後，刻已決定在該處採取攻勢，余亦樂於報告吾等，吾人現正以更多之供應品及軍事援助給予中國，幾乎每日均有消息傳來，謂在緬甸及中國之新空戰中，所毀敵機二三倍於吾人本身之所損失者，在吾人力能直搗日本心臟前，此項步驟，仍將繼續。當日本投降時，聯合國將永不許其再保有國聯委任其統治之各島，自不待言，日本顯然不能信託，至於遠在此次戰爭爆發以前日本自中國所劫掠之廣大領土，亦可採用同樣處置。

自從幾近兩年之前，吾人開始進入戰爭以來，聯合國家即以消耗戰之法，不斷削減敵力。此即表示吾人不顧一切，以同盟國不斷增加之資源，與軸心之資源從事激烈之鬥爭。此即表示利用一切設備與能力製造更多之軍火，尤以飛機為然，其製造速率，且在敵方之上，例如今日同盟國在歐洲戰場包圍

For example the Allies today on the European front have definite superiority in almost all weapons of war on any and at every point of the encircling line, more guns, tanks, trucks, transports, and warships.

In the Pacific we have taken a steady toll of Japanese war planes and a steady toll of Japanese ships—merchant ships and naval vessels. The odds are all in our favor—for we grow stronger and they cannot even replace all their losses. It might be called a simple mathematical progression.

With the magnificent contribution of industry and labor our great production program started in 1940 is now approaching full production.

Today the British Empire and the United States together are turning out so much of every war essential that we have definite superiority over Germany and Japan which is growing every succeeding minute. But we have no minutes to lose.....

In June and July we were worried by the reduction in the rate of the increase of our production. Great as our production had been, (24) we could not afford to level off. We had to continue the upward curve and not pause on any plateaus. I am happy to report that the increase was resumed in August. In this month of September it is even better.....

We have come a great way since this Congress first met in January of this year. But I state only a blunt fact when I tell Congress we are still a long, long way from ultimate victory in any major theater of war.....

There have been complaints from some sources about the way this production and other domestic activities have been carried on. Some of these complaints of course were justified.....

However, although mistakes have been made, the job that has been done in

線之每一據點上，其每一種作戰武器，幾均佔確定優勢，即吾人之大砲，坦克，飛機，

運糧艦及軍艦，均較多於敵。  
太平洋方面吾人已令日本飛機不斷遭受重大損失，日本商船軍艦亦逐漸損滅，優勢均屬於我方，蓋吾人實力，大見增長，而彼等則甚至不能完全補充損失故也。此可謂為簡單之數學級數。

吾人之生產計劃，係在一九四〇年最黑暗之期間中開始。此項計劃，藉工業及勞工之偉大貢獻已接近全力生產。

目前大英帝國與美國所生產之一切作戰必需品極多，吾人與德國及日本相較，確屬於優勢地位，此種優勢，且時刻增長，然吾人不能有一分鐘放鬆。

六七月間，吾人因生產增進率之減少，致有憂慮之感。吾人之生產量雖大，亦不能容其不再上漲，吾人必須繼續保持一上升線，而不能停頓。任何高原之上，余所能獻據報告之一點，即吾人之增加率，業於八月間恢復，而本月（九月）之情形尤佳。

自本年一月國會以來，吾人已獲得重大進展，然余欲告國會，吾人距任何重要戰場之最終勝利，尚甚遙遠，余之言此，實係率直說明事實。

關於吾人之生產及其他國內措施，若干方面頗有表示不滿者。其中一部自不乏其理由。

吾人雖有錯誤，然吾人將平時之美國移

converting peace time America to a war time basis has been a great job and a successful one of which all of our people have good reason to be proud.

We have cut down the time required to build submarines almost 50 percent.... During the month of August, 1943, we produced almost as many torpedoes as during all of World War One..... We have had to raise and equip armed forces approaching 10,000,000 men..... There have been problems of increasing greatly the output of our natural resources.

As the war progresses, we seek national cooperation with other nations toward the end that world aggression will be ended and a full international relationship be established on a permanent basis. The policy of the good neighbor has shown such success in this hemisphere of the Americas, that its extension throughout the world seems to be the logical next step. In that way we can begin to keep faith with our sons and daughters who are fighting for freedom, justice and security at home and abroad.

於戰時之基礎。則為一業已完成之偉大而成

功之工作，而為吾全國人民可引以自豪者。

吾人製造潛水艇所需之時間，業已減縮百分之五十，一九四三年八月間，吾人所產之魚雷幾及第一次大戰時所產之總和，吾人須建立數近一千萬人之武裝部隊並須予以配備，故在大量增加吾人天然資源之生產方面，自有若干問題。

吾人隨戰爭之進展，設法使吾國與他國合作，藉以結束侵略並在永久之基礎上建立完滿之國際關係，睦鄰政策已在美洲半球獲得如斯之成就，故其普及全球似為合理之次一步驟，吾人如此始能不失信於今日在國內外為自由正義與安全而戰之子女。

#### Annotations

(1) "tides of the conflict" 戰局，戰事大勢 (又 tide of war, tide of battle). (2) "could not and cannot" 指過去與目前，與前面之 verb "have been running" (Present perfect progressive) 之時間配合，故並用。 (3) "aware of" = know (由觀察外界而知 Being aware of bad weather, he cancelled the picnic on the next day. 同義 conscious of 指內心覺察而知 A rash person is naturally un-conscious of unhappy consequences of his precipitance before-hand). (4) "rest assured" (又 rest content, rest confident) 確信，安心。 (5) "of their own free choice" (又 of one's accord, of one's own free will) 自願，甘於。 (6) "The less said.....the better" 省略句 = The less it is said..... the better it will be. The, the 皆為 adverbs. 前 the 為 conjunctive adverb, 後者為 simple adverb 同此 The sooner, the better. The more, the better 等等。 (7) "gasifiers" 德文煤餾油。 (8) "quislings," Quisling 吉斯林為挪威偽政府領袖之名，茲改為 common noun 指一般甘為納粹傀儡。 (9) "from the German forces," "from" 按前面之 different. (10) 係倒裝句 subject "organization" 放在 verb "went" 之後，將 "with" 一 phrase 調在句首，其中 "Allied forces" 與上節 "Allies" 一字呼應，取得 Cohesive, 同時 "organization" 本身有一長 "which" 一 clause 形容，若照通常次序放在中間，則 subject 與 verb 遠隔，失去 clearness, 因此倒裝，一舉兩得。 (11) "which is to be followed" 與 which will follow, 或 which is going to follow 語氣不同，蓋 "be" (現在與過去) + infinitive 係指 infinitive 所表達之動作非出自發動人 subject, 乃為他人決定，指定 According to my mother's intention, I was to study engineering, but I studied literature. (12) "come" 係 past participle 形容 "attacks" 與 "criticism" 二字。

(13) "in a position" 能；明瞭實況。(14) "to put into effect" 實施，施行 (又 to be enforced)。 (15) "armistices or no armistice," nouns 當 adverbs 用形容 verb, 引申之爲 "whether there be armistices or no armistice." 同樣 noun 與 verb 並用, I will go, rain or shine (sink or swim). (16) "When Britain was being subjected to" 係 past progressive 之 passive voice. (17) "water-tight compartment" 水洩不通之劃分, 意即彼此絕無相干之意。(18) "literally" (figuratively 比喻之對, 照字面解釋, 轉爲具體, 實爲之意, "pound into the dust" 本爲比喻今作 literal 解放云確真將講稿粉碎, 故加 "literally" 一字以強調之。(19) "Pacific theaters" 太平洋戰場。Roosevelt here reviews the situations of the world war, theatre by theatre (逐一)。(20) "to be hard put to (it)" = scarcely, hardly, barely 難, 殆不能。In wartime most people are hard put to (it to) provide for their families = can hardly provide. (21) "In the face of" 當前, 面向 (此處非作 in spite of 儘管, 不顧)。(22) "Word comes that....." (又 news comes that.....) 消息傳來。(23) "It goes without saying that....." 此何待言, 不言而喻, 毋庸贅述與(22)皆句子起首通常語。(24) "Great as our production had been" = However great our production had been 意即 Although our production had been great. 惟前兩句內須將 adjective 或 adverb 調前。

THE DECLARATION OF FOUR NATIONS ON GENERAL SECURITY

美英蘇中四國莫斯科會議聯合宣言

保證國際安全

October 30, 1943

一九四三年十月三十日

The Government<sup>1</sup> of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and China:

United in their determination in accordance with<sup>2</sup> the Declaration by the United Nations of January 1st, 1942 and subsequent declarations, to continue hostilities<sup>3</sup> against the Axis powers with which they respectively<sup>4</sup> are at war<sup>5</sup> until such powers have laid down their arms<sup>6</sup> on the basis of unconditional surrender;

Conscious of their responsibility to secure the liberation of themselves and the peoples allied with them from the menace of aggression;

Recognizing the necessity of insuring a rapid and orderly transition from war to peace and of establishing and maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's humanity and economic resources for armaments;

Jointly declare

1. That their united action will be pledged for the prosecution of the war against their respective enemies, and will be continued for the organization and maintenance of peace and security;

美、英、蘇、中國政府：

共同決心團結，遵照一九四二年一月一日及以後之聯合國宣言，繼續對軸心國家作戰，各聯合國現正與軸心國分別作戰，直至各軸心國根據無條件投降之旨，放下武器時為止；

咸於保證各該國人民及與各該國同盟的人民安全之責任，使不遭侵略威脅；

慶於有礙世界人力物資武裝化不能稍有喪散，以保證自戰爭轉為和平迅速有序，並

建立及保持國際和平安全之必要；

特聯合宣言

1. 各該國之聯合工作，俾能對各該國之個別敵人作戰者，將為組織此保持和平安全而繼續；

2. That those of them at war with a common enemy will act together in all matters relating to the surrender and disarmament of that enemy;

3. That they will take all measures<sup>7</sup> deemed by them to be necessary to provide against<sup>8</sup> any violation of the terms imposed<sup>9</sup> upon the enemy;

4. That they recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign quality of all peace-loving nations, and open<sup>10</sup> to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security;

5. That for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending<sup>11</sup> the reestablishing of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security they will consult with one another and as occasion requires with other members of the United Nations with joint action behalf<sup>12</sup> of the community of nations;<sup>13</sup>

6. That after the termination of hostilities they will not employ their military forces within the territories of other states except to complement the purpose envisaged in this declaration and after joint consultation;

7. That they will confer and cooperate with one another and with other members of the United Nations to bring about a practicable general agreement with respect to the regulation of armaments in the post-war period.

2. 凡與共同敵人作戰者，則對凡有敵國之投降及解除武裝等所有事件，將共同行動；

3. 各該國將採取一切認為必要之措施，以應付敵人之任何破壞條約行動；

4. 各該國認為有在可能實行之最早日期建立廣泛之國際組織之必要；該組織之建立，應根據所有愛好和平國家主權平等之原則，國家無論大小，均得參加會員國，以保持國際和平安全；

5. 在重建法律秩序，創立普遍安全制度之前，為保持國際和平安全起見，各該國將彼此商議，並於需要時得與聯合國中其他會員國商議，代利害相同國家，採取共同行動；

6. 戰爭終結後，除經共同商定以補充本宣言內所預期之目的者在外，各該國將不在他國領土內施用軍事力量；

7. 對戰後規定軍備之可行的普遍的協定，各該國將彼此並與聯合國中其他會員國商議合作，使其實現。

(Signed) V. Molotov  
Cordell Hull  
Anthony Eden  
Foo Ping-Sheung

(簽字人) 莫洛托夫  
赫爾  
艾登  
傅秉常

### Annotations

【1】全篇以美英蘇中四國之“Government”(僅用一次陰壽)為 subject, 其 finite verb 為“declare”. “Declare”之 direct objects 為其後一聯七個“that”-clauses (noun clauses), 卽四國所言之要點, 同等重要, 構造必同, 每個 clause 前之 conjunction “that”不可省去, 而每個“that”-clause 之主詞均以“they”, “their”, “those of them”為 subject 指該宣言主體. 全文一氣呵成, 構造嚴整, 蓋此乃條約, 合同, 宣言, 決議案等正式公文之格式. 為限制 subject 可為作此宣言, 乃有三個 phrases, 彼此平行; (1) 首字為“united” (participial 作 adjective phrase 用), (2) 首字為“conscious” (adjective phrase), (3) 首字為“recognizing”(同!). 蓋未為各國代表簽字. 【2】“遵照”, 指依照法律“條文”, “條約”, “章程”等細則(依據“風俗”, “習慣”, “宗教教規”則用“in conformity with” custom, religion 等等, 譯為“依據”, “尊奉”, “從”. 他如“in accord with”乃“一致”, “符合”專指與意見符合之意, “in accord with your views, opinion”). 【3】= “hostile operations”, “軍事行為”, “戰端”, “開戰” = “to open (commence) hostilities”; “停戰”, “休戰” = “to suspend hostilities”; “分別”, “各別”, “自”, “依次……” “Chang and Li come from Hunan and Hupeh respectively, 卽“Chang”與“Li”順次而言, 以免“會”, 卽“Chang from Hunan”, “Li from Hupeh”. “Respective”為 adjective 於 nouns 應各別有序的陳述時用之, “Chang and Li, go back to your respective seats”, 則“Chang”有其“seat”, Li 亦然, 分別不亂. 【5】“作戰”, “與一交戰” = “at war with—”, 言狀態, 與言動作 (to fight, to wage war, to go to war) 有別. 如言某國現有作戰狀態則用前者, 如言動作則用後者, (由“作戰”轉為“失和”之意, “The two neighbours are at war with each other”). 【6】“放下武器”, “解甲投降” (“to lay down duties” 解職; “to lay down a sum (money) 積款”; “to lay down one’s life” (for one’s country, for a cause, 為國家, 正義) “捐軀”, “犧牲”; “to lay down a plan”, 設計; “to lay down a proposition” 立言, 立論; “to lay oneself down” 臥病; to lay down the law” (1) 宣示某事之法則 (2) 獨斷. 【7】= “to take steps” 採取“措施”, “處置”, “方法”, “政策”, “議案”. 【8】“預防”, “提防”, “備……於萬一” (“to provide for”, “預為設法”, “預為……計”; “to provide with” “供應”, “備有”), 【9】“強加於……”, 本句意謂“提防敵人對(四國)加於彼等條件之任何破壞情事?”. 【10】容入“參加” The race is open to all. The school is open to the public. Competitive examinations for government posts are open to all. 【11】待……於某事未竟之前. 【12】或“in” behalf of 為……, 代…… He appeals to the nation on behalf of the crippled soldiers. 彼為殘廢軍人向國人呼籲. He speaks on your behalf. 彼代汝發言. 【13】一般利害相同國家.

# The New Treaty between China and Norway

The signing of the treaty took place at 10 a. m. November 10th, 1943, at the office of the Chinese Foreign Minister, with Dr. T. V. Soong representing the Chinese Government and M. Alf Hussell representing the Norwegian Government.

## 中 挪 簽 訂 新 約

中國和挪威新約於一九四三年十一月十日十時，在重慶外交部正式簽字，我方由宋部長代表，挪方由挪威大使赫瑟爾代表。

1. The Norwegian Government relinquishes<sup>(1)</sup> its extraterritorial jurisdiction in China and all special rights in the international settlements at Shanghai and Amoy and the diplomatic quarter at Peiping.

2. The Norwegian Government relinquishes its treaty rights in connection with the system of treaty ports in China and in connection with<sup>(2)</sup> inland navigation and coasting trade.

3. Nationals<sup>(3)</sup> of each of the High Contracting Parties<sup>(4)</sup> in the territory of the other will enjoy the right to acquire and hold real property in accordance with<sup>(5)</sup> the conditions and requirements there<sup>(6)</sup> established.<sup>(7)</sup> The existing real property rights of the Norwegian Government, nationals and companies shall be indefeasible. However, the exercise<sup>(8)</sup> of these rights shall<sup>(9)</sup> be subject to<sup>(10)</sup> the laws and regulations of the Republic of China concerning taxation, national defense and the right of eminent domain.<sup>(11)</sup> and these rights shall not be alienated<sup>(12)</sup> to the government, nationals or companies of any third state without the consent of the Chinese Government.

4. Nationals of each of the High Contracting Parties in the territory of the other shall have the right to travel, reside and carry on trade. In connection with legal proceedings, administration of justice and payment of taxes, they shall

(一) 挪威政府放棄在華治外法權，以及

在北平使館界及上海廈門公共租界的一切特權。

(二) 挪威政府放棄關於中國口岸制度，

以及沿海貿易與內河航行之特權。

(三) 雙方人民在彼此境內，得依照當地

法令所規定之條件，享受購置不動產之權利

，挪威政府人民公司在中國領土內，現有之

不動產權利，不得取消作廢，惟此項權利之

行使，須遵守中國關於徵收稅捐徵用土地及

有關國防之法令，且非經中國政府之同意，

不得移轉於第三國政府人民或公司。

(四) 雙方人民在彼此境內，享有旅行居

住及經商之權利，關於法律手續，司法事件

之處理，及繳納租稅，彼此人民均享受國民

be given national treatment.

5. The consular officers of each of the High Contracting Parties in the territory of the other shall reside at such places as agreed upon<sup>(13)</sup> and shall have the right to interview and to communicate with their own nationals.

6. The High Contracting Parties agree to begin their negotiations for the conclusion<sup>(14)</sup> of a modern comprehensive treaty of friendship, commerce, navigation and consular rights within six months after the cessation of the present hostilities.

The present Treaty will come into force<sup>(15)</sup> on the date of exchange of ratifications.

待遇。

(五)雙方領事得在彼此境內兩國所同意

之地方駐紮，並應享有與其本國人民會晤通

訊之權利。

(六)雙方在現時戰事停止後六個月內開

始談判締結一現今廣泛之友好通商航海設領

條約。本約將在互換批准書之日起，發生效力。

### Annotations

(1) 1. 『放棄』(權利, 所有權) to relinquish one's right, privilege, possession, property. 2. 『舍棄』(習慣, 希望, 信仰, 計劃) to relinquish one's habit, hope, belief, plan. 3. 撤回(提案, 建議, 建議, 申請) to relinquish one's proposal, suggestion, request, petition. 通俗語用 to give up (放棄, 舍棄), to withdraw (撤回, 收回)。

(2) 『關於』 I know nothing at all in connection with that (concerning that, with regard—in regard—to that, as regards that, regarding that, in that connection), 關於彼事, 予毫無所知。 (3) 國際法, 國籍法用名詞, 指國籍相同之『人民』, 與 “aliens,” 『外僑』, 相對。 (4) 『締約國』, 『訂約國兩方』。此處 “Party” 由法律, 契約用語, 『方』, 『造』, 又轉為『關係人』, 『人』。 “The party of the first part” 『甲方』, “the party of the second part” 『乙方』。 “Both parties” 『兩方』, 『雙方』, 『兩造』。 “The parties concerned” 『關係各方』, 『關係者』。 “The third party” (無關係)之『第三者』。 “Interested party” 利害關係人, 『關係者』。 “The injured party” 『受害者』, 『受害人』。 I am no party to the suit. 予非此訟事之當事人。 He is the leading party to (in) that plot. 彼為陰謀主犯。 He offers himself to be a party to (= to have a hand in) the dispute. 彼自願為參與爭辯之一人。 An old party with a book in hand may be discerned from among the crowd. 羣衆中可辨識有一持書之老人。 (5) 『遵照』法律, 法令, 條約, 規則, 情形, 需要 In accordance with “law,” “regulations,” “declaration,” “contract,” “treaty,” “rules,” “conditions,” “need's,” “requirements.” “In accord with” one's “views,” “opinion,” “decision”. 『與』人之意見, 決定『符合』。 “In conformity with” “custom,” “religion,” “rites,” “ceremony,” “etiquette.” 『尊奉』, 『依照』, 『從』。 (6) “there” 指 “the territory of the other” (party). (兩方彼此之)對方當地。 (7) 形容 “conditions” 及 “requirements”, 概為 adverb “there” 形容, “there” 詞前使其近 “territory”. (8) 立法用 “shall” 為三身。 The name of the society (club, association) shall be “To-Morrow Society.” (9) 『行使』(『權利』, 『權力』, 『威權』 “the exercise of power, authority”). 『施用才能』, “the exercise of talent”. 『運用筋肉』, 『思想』, 『記憶力』, 『想像力』, “the exercise of muscles, thought, memory, imagination.” 『實行善舉』, “the exercise of charity”. (在以上各義之下, “exercise” 用為 verb 時其義不變), 複數, 『操演』, 『典禮』, 故 “morn-

"primary", exercises; "concrete" exercises. (10) adjective 『遵守』, 『服  
 從』。 Man is subject to all the laws of nature. 『順』, 『隸屬』, India is subject  
 to England. 『受……支配』, 『管理』, 『監督』。 All private schools should be  
 subject to the supervision of the government, as they are now. (轉意 1. 『常發』,  
 『易感』) 疾病, "subject to colds. 2. 易怒 subject to fits of passion." 2. 『聽』,  
 『任』, 『俟』 "Subject to one's approval," 聽人發奪. "Subject to one's consent,"  
 俟人心奪. "Subject to ratification", 俟批准(後始生效)。 "Subject to correction  
 (alteration, modification)," 俟訂正. (11) 土地徵用權, 私有財產收用權, (成語)。  
 (12) 『讓與』, 『割讓』(權利, 財產), (轉意『離』, 『離』, "to alienate friends",  
 to alienate friend from friend', 離間友朋。) (13) Participle, (We) agree upon (on  
 the terms. The terms agreed upon (by us). (We) agree to the proposal. The proposal  
 agreed to (by us). 『妥洽』; 『承認』。 (14) 『歸結』 (2. to come to a conclusion 告  
 一段落; 3. In conclusion 最後言之; 4. to try conclusions with one. 與人比勝負)。  
 (15) 『實行』 (to remain in force 仍爲有效; to put in-into-force 施行; to go out of  
 force 無效, 失效)。

## Henry A. Wallace's Talk On Post-War World

Made when addressing the New York Herald Tribune  
Forum, November 21, 1941

# 美國副總統華萊士談戰後的世界

一九四三年十一月二十一日對紐約先鋒論壇發表

We want a world where men are free to grow physically, mentally and spiritually. To get this world, we will have to work harder than our grandfathers<sup>(1)</sup> when they subdued forests, plains and mountains. They battled the physical difficulties, but we have the task of wrestling against rulers of darkness of this world against spiritual wickedness in high places. Our task is to make this a century of the common man. This idea, this dream, can become a reality.

Today peace number two is rapidly coming upon us. By lack of planning and selfishness of the so-called hardheaded man we can turn peace number two into world war number three. The common man does not want that—not farmer, nor business man, large or small.

The time has come for the vast group, which stands for<sup>(2)</sup> the general welfare in the United States, to rise in its majesty and adopt methods which will prevent the pressure of the groups leading us to temporary peace or partial employment. There must be jobs for all, and we cannot have them if there is the fear of another war. The service of peace number two requires an enthusiasm like that displayed by the common man in Russia during the war. The new democracy, if it solves the problem of full production and fair distribution, will give the common man the enthusiastic faith of the Russian common man and even more.

Americans have learned at last that we cannot isolate ourselves from the world. It is no longer a question whether

吾人需要一種能使人類在身體，思想，精神三方面可發展之世界。爲求此一新世界，吾人之工作將較吾人列祖列宗開闢森林，原野，荒山之工作更需要勤勞。蓋彼等僅須對自然環境作戰，而吾人在今日則須對一般亂世魔王，和精神上極大罪惡爭鬥。吾人之任務，在使吾人之時代成爲平民之時代。此種意念，此種幻夢確有實現之可能。

現在第二次世界和平即將到來。但吾人若無計劃，或因有一般所稱爲實事求是者的私心，第二次世界和平頗有轉變爲第三次世界大戰的可能。此種情形與一般平民——大小農民，商人所要求的正相反。

目下時機已到，擁護美國有普遍幸福之大衆們的威嚴可以抬頭，採取方法制止一切勢力以引吾人入隨時和平和少數有業的局面。吾人全體必須皆有工作。但吾人對未來將又有戰爭爆發心中恐懼，吾人即不能有所工作。因此第二次世界和平對人類服務，需要有今日蘇聯民衆在戰時所揭示的熱誠。新民主政治要解決充分生產，公平分配問題，須使一般平民有蘇聯一般平民所有的熱烈信念，或者還需要更多一點方可。

吾等美國人已知美國不能離世界而孤立。蓋今日的問題已非孤立政策好壞問題。因

isolationism is good or bad. Isolationism is impossible. Airplanes and radios have settled that.

When the war is over, the central fact will be hunger—physical and spiritual hunger. Within two years, the United Nations will rebuild with physical food the shattered bodies of tens of millions, who have starved by the Nazis. Food they can get their teeth into—food they can fill their stomachs with—comes first. But even more important, in the long run, (3) than the physical food is the spiritual food, which is represented by genuine democracy. Those who have lived years under the heel of (4) dictators want to be sure that Fascism and the forces leading to it are stamped out (5) everywhere in the world.

Fascism flourished in the time of a faltering and divided purpose. It will die in the time of a dynamic common purpose and faith.

We must make that common purpose inevitable. The future of the world holds a promise greater than the past has ever shown us. The future is not a fixed thing. It is not predestined. We have only to bestir ourselves in order to realize it. For we have lands, forests, mines and people. We have in our hands the tools of science that is gigantic in power and miraculously swift in accomplishment. We can control floods, make a desert bloom, horse a nation in comfort, conquer poverty and stamp out most diseases. We know we can do these things if we have the will to do them. The common man is on the march. (6) His vision in the future will largely determine the future of the world.

We must realize that we are in a great world and start to plan to live in that world. We want our life to be more humane. We want to live up to (7) the great historic issue (8) of the American—freedom—freedom in our own land

為飛機，無線電業已判定在今日孤立政策已不可能。

當此次戰爭結束之後，世界上事實之核心將為飢餓——物質上飢饉和精神上飢饉兩種。在兩年以內，聯合國將以物質的食糧恢復世界上千百萬人的體力。此輩皆係純粹國家使之飢餓乃至身體毀壞。故能即刻入口果腹之食糧最先到手。但是精神食糧終久比物質食糧重要而民主政治就是精神食糧的化身。所以凡久受獨裁國家蹂躪的人們無不確切的要把法西斯主義，和形成法西斯主義的一切力量，從世界上各地方根本剷除。

查法西斯主義的流行，僅限於目標不定和目標分歧的時代。在今日具有隨時推進的共同目標和信念的時代，法西斯主義決不能存在。

此種共同的目標，吾人必須使其成為必然的法則。蓋未來的世界所予吾人之期望較過去為大。未來之物非固定的；未來的命運也不能預先為它決定。吾人祇用振奮即可體驗這個道理。吾人有耕地，有森林，有礦山，有人力。吾人手中就有科學的工具，其力量巨大，其成就神速。吾人又能控制洪水，能使沙漠之地欣欣向榮，能使人類居住適，能征服窮困，能根絕疾病。吾人且知祇須吾人有意志，上述之事吾人無不能為之。蓋吾人為參加戰鬥之人，吾等平民對於未來之想像，可作未來世界主要的決定。

吾人必須認清，吾人之世界實為一偉大之世界，而吾人在此世界之中方正開始計畫生活之道。吾人所要求者為人類生活應比過去合於人道主義。吾人對吾美國人民爭自由之赫赫史蹟，須躬自效法續在本國以及全世界

and in all the world.

America will find a new song, a song of new opportunity. In her world relations, she will demonstrate—that in serving the world she serves herself. The really hard-headed are those who see the furthest. Christ(9) was the most hard-headed man of historic record. Christian precepts and common sense will save the coming peace. The common man, well-informed and working with good will, is the greatest force in producing the kind of world we want.

界爭自由。

美國的新歌將爲一詠新生機會的歌。由美國對世界各國的關係中可認識一事，即美國對全世界事務正是對自身服務。真正實事求是的人乃眼光最遠的人。耶穌基督爲歷史上最實事求是者，故未來的世界和平祇有基督教教義和常識兩者可以挽救，而創造吾人所心願的世界之最大力量成爲吾等知識通達，善盡服務之平民。

#### Annotations

(1) 指開發北美洲最早之人。(2) 1. 『擁護』 We Chinese have always stood for world peace. 2. 『代表』 "V" stands for "victory of the United countries." 3. 『候選』, 『候補』 He stands for Chunking constituency. Two gentle men stand for the position of secretary which will be vacant soon. (3) 『終久』 Right will conquer might in the long run. (4) 『受蹂躪』『受虐待』, 『在……奴隸下』 No one under the heel of the enemy has freedom. (5) 『剷除』, 『根絕』 Selfishness should be completely stamped out of the minds of all young men in our country. (6) 『行軍』 The soldiers on the march deserve our respect. (7) 『實踐』, 『躬自實行』 A gentleman should live up to his word. (8) 指美國自由獨立 (9) 耶穌基督教世人相愛，因相愛始可相安，故云。

The Chiang-Roosevelt-Churchill Declaration  
of the Cairo Conference<sup>(1)</sup>

中美英三大盟國領袖  
開羅會議聲明書

*Presidents Chiang, Roosevelt, and Prime Minister Churchill, together with their respective military and diplomatic advisers, after having completed a five-day conference at Cairo issued the following general statement on December 1, 1943*

蔣主席，羅斯福總統，邱吉爾首相，偕同各該國軍事與外交顧問人員，在開羅舉行會議五日，於一九四三年十二月一日發表下列之概括聲明

The Several military missions have agreed upon<sup>(2)</sup> future military operations against Japan. The three Allies expressed their resolve<sup>(3)</sup> to bring unrelenting pressure against their brutal enemies by sea, land and air. This pressure is already arising.

The three great Allies are fighting this war to restrain and punish the aggression of Japan. They covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion. It<sup>(4)</sup> is their purpose that Japan shall be<sup>(5)</sup> stripped of<sup>(6)</sup> all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first World War in 1914, and that all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores, shall be<sup>(5)</sup> restored to the Republic of China. Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed.

The aforesaid three great powers mindful

三國軍事方面人員，關於今後對日作戰計劃，已獲得一致意見，我三大盟國決心以不鬆弛之壓力，從海陸空各方面，加諸殘暴之敵人。此項壓力已經在增長之中。

我三大盟國此次進行戰爭之目的，在於制止及懲罰日本之侵略。三國決不為自身圖利，亦無拓展領土之意。三國之宗旨在剷奪日本自一九一四年第一次世界大戰開始以後在太平洋上所奪得或佔領之一切島嶼。在使日本所竊取於中國之領土，例如滿洲台灣澎湖羣島等，歸還中華民國。日本亦將被逐出于其以武力或貪慾所攫取之所有土地，我三

of(7) the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course(8) Korea shall become free and independent.

With these objects in view(9) the three Allies, in harmony with(10) those of the United Nations at war with Japan, will continue to persevere in the serious and prolonged operations necessary to procure the unconditional surrender of Japan.(11)

(Signed) F. D. Roosevelt

Chiang Kai-Shek

Winston Churchill

大盟：軫念朝鮮人民所受之奴隸待遇，決定在相當時間，使朝鮮自由獨立。

我三大盟國，抱定上述之各項目標並與其他對日作戰之聯合國目標一致，將堅忍進行為獲得日本無條件投降所必要之重大的長期作戰。

羅斯福

蔣中正

邱吉爾

(簽字)



### Notes and Annotations

(1) 英美要人及報紙對開羅會議之評語 a. 美國參議院認三國協定為 "a guarantee of an offensive that will crush Japan, strip her conquests and relegate her to a minor role" b. 美國參議院軍事委員會主席謂開羅聲明為 "as meaning that the British had agreed that Hong Kong would be returned to China, and that the Allies were renouncing their claims to extraterritorial rights" c. 米里所達州議員曾在中國服務之 Walter H. Judd 云: "It assures the world that the Western nations will not halt short of a complete defeat of Japan. It provides for all the territorial aims expressed by President Chiang Kai-shek in his first speech as President of China. It goes even further. It provides for a complete removal from the Asiatic continent, and thereby protects China and the Asia front of the threat of Japanese aggression in the future. "New China, freed, from unequal treaties, has taken of place of equality among the leading world powers—a place held by Japan but she lost it because she proved herself unworthy. New China assumed new responsibilities. She recognizes it will be her duty to safeguard peace, security and freedom in the Far East. "In the military sense, the United States and Great Britain have pledged themselves to support China in those new responsibilities. "I am confident.....that the Chinese people, under the wise leadership of President Chiang, will be greatly encouraged by the results of the Cairo Conference, and will even increase their already great contribution to the war effort of the United Nations, and join in establishing a secure and orderly world after the United Nations victory....." d. 紐約泰晤士報云: "The Cairo Conference was a victory for China which surpassed all their hopes and expectations. It dedicated itself to the creation of an entirely new East Asia in which China is to be a leading power on the basis of equality with all leading powers in the world while Japan is to be reduced to a third rate power unable henceforth to threaten the peace of the

world. The Conference also proclaimed a historic reversal of western policy which in the past looked to Japan as a stabilizing influence. The Conference was thus a vote of confidence in New China. It is a far cry from the China of unequal treaties to the New China taking equal place in councils of great nations. The Declaration will be an effective political weapon in winning the war itself, for it will undermine and help destroy the regimes of Wang Ching-wei and all other Japanese puppet governments.

e. 紐約先鋒論壇云：“The four great Allies, laying a firm foundation in unity of political outlook and military planning, the conference was promising at the beginning and we can only wait for whatever is to follow.” 又云：“The Allies could hardly have pledged themselves to restore Manchuria to China unless Russian consent had been secured. Hong Kong can scarcely have been a serious bone of contention.”

f. 紐約郵報云：“The statement issued by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Generalissimo Chiang is an important one... Many men will die and make the communique good. So long as we keep this in mind and do not slacken them we can go on discussing the communique itself and the hopes raised by it”

g. 華盛頓新聞報云：“The pact pledges the destruction of the Japanese Empire and the rise of Free China as a major Far East nation. This recognized that the old era of foreign domination is past; the key to the future is the western comparison with China and no imperialist deals with Japan.”

h. 倫敦泰晤士報社評云：“The Conference opens a new chapter in history. For the first time in the course of almost a universal war, the East and the West have met and China takes her rightful place in planning at the highest level and on the Casablanca and Quebec magnitude. This meeting between the political chiefs of the English speaking Allies and the great Chinese leader emphasizes the world-wide character of the struggle against the new tyrannies and their ‘new orders’ and enable them to make acquaintance with the doughty antagonist of Japan’s leader, who never despaired of the republic in the days when China fought alone and who repelled every overture of the enemy and scorned the attempts of faint-hearted Quislings to further separate peace. The main work of the Conference has been to confirm and strengthen the Alliance between three of the major powers now at war with Japan and the satisfaction of the American, British and Chinese opinion is another fruit of the African meeting.”

i. 倫敦每日電訊云：“In the Declaration of the three leaders, Japanese militarism receives its death warrant.” 又云：“None of the powers demands territorial or economic gain. The restoration of the Korean independence will annul the part of the Japanese plan to enclose China in a strategic grip. The chance of repairing still a grosser crime will wipe out the Japanese control over Manchuria.”

j. 倫敦新聞記錄報云：“The meeting will rank as one of the outstanding events of the Second World War. It has in effect pronounced the sentence on Japan for her misdeeds of fifty years. Her doom is certain and no voice outside Japan is likely to be raised in protest. China has a long account to settle with Japan and it is now clear that this account will be

settled in full. It is somewhat a bitter reflection that had a League stood by China in 1931, there would have not only been no Japanese aggression but probably no world war. The liquidation of Manchuria raises this racial problem and it may be necessary to arrange for a mass evacuation of Japanese immigrants." k. 每日郵報云: "The news of the Conference will bring rejoicing above all to the patient Chinese people, the first great nation to resist aggression and the only one to have been fighting for more than six years. For them, these years have been a period of struggle and disappointment. A less enduring race would have succumbed to those frustrations but the Chinese fought on and now will begin to see the end of their faith and endurance. The Conference is a guarantee that Japan will be irreversibly defeated." l. 每日快報云: "This is the first conference at which it has been possible to assemble all Japan's principal enemies and to pool their ideas both for beating her and setting up a new regime when Japan's ill-gotten empire is wiped off the map." m. 每日先鋒報云: "The meeting between President Roosevelt, Generalissimo Chiang, and Prime Minister Churchill is not only a symbol of solidarity in the struggle against Japan but also a stern and practical decision. So far the Allied offensive operations are only preparatory but now plans are laid for a real assault. The main task of the triple conference was to secure unison among all allied operations against Japan. After victory the Allies will be faced by gigantic reorganization problems of the great area Japan has over-run, but this is not the task for the Big Three. There is a strong case for the early holding of a conference of all the United Nations concerned in the Japanese flooded area to foster its political and economic future." n. 勞觀報云: "Well might Dr. Wellington Koo describe the conference as epochmaking. There is no limit to the possibilities which the perpetuation of the Alliance between the British Commonwealth, the United States, and China opens up. China has been intergrated into a political framework of the world in a new degree. It is significant of the confidence of the Anglo-American Allies that they should be planning a war against Japan with General Chiang before discussing the European war with Stalin. Because the unity of Britain, America, and China gives a new hope for the solution of economic, political and military problems in Asia, the Conference will live in history as an important international, gathering in which the head of an Asiatic state has ever taken part." o. 新政治家報云: "The main purpose of the Declaration is to assert the equality of China as a member of the United Nations. It should reassure the Chinese who have been increasingly disappointed with their British and American Allies. The present declarations should go far to restore the good relations between Chungking and London."

(2) 『意見一致』, 『同意』, 『協定』。 a. 對於某事, 約定之專彼此『同意』, agree 之後用 "on" 或 "upon" ("on" 與 "upon" 和通, 行文多用 "upon", "agree" 作 participle 用其後必用 "upon" 為求音調和諧。口頭上 "agree" 之後多用 "on")。 We all agree on that point. All terms are agreed upon. b. 論及某事彼此『意見一致』,

“agree”之後用“about.” We all agree about that matter. c. 對提案，建議『同意』，  
 “agree”之後用“to”. We agree to the proposal. d. 與他人『意見一致』，“agree”  
 之後用“with”. I agree with you (on that point, about that matter, to the proposal).  
 e. “agree”之後用“with”又作 1. 『相投』，2. 適宜，3. 『相符』，『配合』解。  
 1. We agree very well with the native people. The natives and the strangers agree  
 very well together. Some teachers do not agree with the principal. 2. The climate  
 (air, society) of this place does not agree with him. Meat diet does not agree with  
 all constitutions. 3. His answers all agree with those given at the end of the text.  
 No two clocks agree in telling time. f. “agree”之後律以 infinitive 作『允諾』，  
 『願意』解 He agrees to do that for us g. All are agreed 全體同意 Both parties are  
 agreed 雙方允諾 The agreed interest 約定利率。(3) “Resolve” 經過熟思之『決  
 定』，『決斷』。We fought the Japanese with a firm resolve when we found there  
 was no hope for peace. “Resolution” 抵抗艱難，危險之『決心』。In spite of lack of  
 modern armaments, we have carried on our war against Japan with strong resolution.  
 又作正式『決議』解 The resolution of the meeting was announced. “Decision” 對事  
 之明確；斷決 He made a clear decision on the dispute. “Determination” 對事之  
 進行程序，有堅決之目的 We have a strong determination to fight to the bitter end for  
 the recovery of our lost territories. (4) “It is their purpose that.....and that.....”  
 兩個“that” clauses 為真正 subject 現在放在句後與“it”名位上之 subject 同位，一方  
 因“that”-clause 甚長放在句首代替“it”致與 complement “purpose”之關係疏遠，故  
 不若放在其後為明確。一方用虛字“it”在句首使人注於最後“that”-clause 所陳述之事  
 以強調之。不但“it”之後用 noun clause (“that” 介紹)，ininitive 構造亦常同樣用在  
 “it”之後以取得強調意味。故 To borrow money is the purpose of his visit 僅明白陳  
 述事，而 It is the purpose of his visit to borrow money 則 infinitive 所陳述之事，因調  
 在最後，語勢較強。(5) 第三身用“shall be”係指某事為第一身發言之意旨或決心。  
 (6) 1. 『剝奪』，2. 『取去』，3. 『脫去』，4. 『裸』。i. to strip a person of his  
 property (right, privileges, possessions). to strip off a person's property. to strip  
 property of a person. He was robbed of his money, and stripped of his clothes. 2. to  
 strip a room of its furniture. 3. to strip off branches of a tree. 4. to strip oneself  
 to the skin. (= naked) 赤身露體，裸體。to strip oneself to the waist 袒。(7) 1. 『注  
 意』，2. 『關懷』，『關心』，『矜念』 1. He is mindful of his duty. 2. He is mindful  
 of the sufferings of the people in the Japanese occupied territories. (8) 『於相當時  
 間』，『於適當時期』，『順序』，『及時』 with due care; within due limits; after  
 due consideration; in due form 正式。(9) “in view” 以爲目的。the object in view  
 抱定之目的，some end in view 有所用意。(10) 『相合』，『一致』 He acted in  
 harmony with our object in view. 『和諧』 The brothers lived in harmony with one  
 another all their lives. (11) 本文雖紙三段，其性質既為概括的，文字極簡明扼要，其  
 妙處在弦外餘音，蓋英國歸還香港不言而喻也，首段首滅毀暴日決心，次段最具體重申中  
 國恢復失地決心及朝鮮獨立，末段共同聲明作戰到底之決心。

# The Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin Declaration of the Teheran Conference.

December 6, 1943.

## 羅邱史德黑蘭會議宣言

一九四三年十二月六日發表

We, the President of the United States of America, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the Premier of the Soviet Union, have met in these four days past<sup>(1)</sup> in this capital of our ally Iran, Teheran, and have shaped<sup>(2)</sup> and confirmed our common policy.

We express our determination that our nations shall work together in the war and in the peace that will follow.

As to the war—our military staffs have joined in our round-table<sup>(3)</sup> discussions and we have concerted<sup>(4)</sup> our plans for the destruction of German forces. We have reached complete agreement as to the scope and timing of operations which will be undertaken from the east, west and south. The common understanding which we have here reached guarantees that victory will be ours.

And as to the peace<sup>(5)</sup>—we are sure that our concerted will make it an enduring peace. We recognize fully the supreme responsibility resting upon<sup>(6)</sup> us and all the United Nations to make peace which will command good-will from the overwhelming masses of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge<sup>(7)</sup> and terror of war for generations.

With our diplomatic advisers we have surveyed the problem of the future. We will seek the cooperation and active participation of all nations large and small whose peoples in heart and in mind<sup>(8)</sup> are dedicated<sup>(9)</sup> as our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and

吾人（美總統英首相與蘇委員長）於過

去四日，曾在吾人盟友伊朗之首都德黑蘭

晤，並已形成及確定吾人之共司政策。

吾人表示吾人之決心，即吾人之國家在戰時及戰後之和平時期，將合作一致。

關於戰爭方面：吾人之軍事參謀業已參加此次之圓桌會議，並已商定毀滅德國武力之計劃，至於未來之東西南三方面所發動之軍事行動範圍與時間，亦已獲得一致之協議，吾人在此處所立共同諒解，保證勝利必將屬於吾人。

關於和平方面，吾人確定吾人之和諧一致，將產生永久和平，吾人充分認識吾人及所有聯合國家建造和平之最高責任，此和平將獲得全球絕大多數民衆之擁護，並在未來許多世代，驅逐戰爭之禍患與恐怖。

吾人與吾人之外交顧問，曾研討未來之問題，吾人將尋求所有其人民—若吾人之人民，專心致力於消滅暴政奴隸壓迫與偏執之

slavery, oppression and intolerance. We will welcome them as they may choose<sup>(10)</sup> to come into the world family of democratic nations.

No power on earth can prevent our destroying the German armies by land, their U-boats by sea and their war plants from the air.

Our attack will be relentless and increasing.

Emerging from these cordial conferences we look with confidence to the day when all peoples of the world may live free lives untouched by tyranny and according to varying desires and their own consciences.

We came here with hope and determination. We leave here friends<sup>(11)</sup> in fact, in spirit and in purpose.

(Signs) F. D. Roosevelt, W. Churchill, J. Stalin.

大小國家與吾人合作，並積極參加，彼等願加入民主國之世界集團，則吾人將表歡迎。

世上無任何力量能阻止吾人自陸上毀滅德國之陸軍，自海上毀滅其潛水艇，自空中毀滅其軍需工廠。

吾人之進攻，必將無情而日益增強。

吾人自若干次和諧之會議中，以享信譽望未來之一日，屆時世界全體人民將不受暴政之干涉，並能依其不同之願望與其各有之良心，享受自由之生活。

吾人懷抱希望與決心來此，吾人離此時

，為事實上、精神上、與意志上之友人。

羅斯福，邱吉爾，史達林，簽字。

### Annotations

(1) 『過去四日』即『四日來』，『最近四日』包括今日在內，verb 必用 present perfect tense，不能因有“past”一字即認為過去時間，故 I have done nothing in these four days 因有“these”一字即可知現在加上過去合說，有時不用“past”。I have been indisposed in these four days. 同樣 He has been frequenting tea houses for whole afternoons for some time past. 此兩語句均各成一整副意念，成一字“these-four-days,” “some-time” 故“past” 指時也劃得於在字後。反之，若用概括之“the” 字則可放在“four days” 之前，因“the” 不若“these” 有複數確定性必須與“four” 密切相關也。“in these four days past,” 與“in the past four days” 所指時間完全相同，特前者因有“these” 之故，其重點在與過去之時間意味，後者偏重於過去意味。(2) 『形成』，『計劃』 Our educational policy has been shaped and re-shaped to adapt to the constantly changing social needs ever since the introduction of western system of education. 『決定方向』，『動向』 The steam-launch shapes a new course in the period of low water. Having failed time and again, he shapes another course for good. 某事之進行大有希望 The campaign for raising a fund shaped very well. 病况有佳象 The patient is pretty well-shaped. (3) 『圍桌而講』即以平等資格參與會議之意。(4) 『協定』，『商定』，『預定』 To insure world peace and security, the United Nations should now well concert their plans and actions. (5) “And as to the peace” 與前節“as to the war” 相呼應，為行文上得 coherence 之語眼句法。(6) “to rest upon” = “to rely upon” 『靠賴』，『有待』 the great task of rebuilding China rests upon its students. (7) “scourge” 『災難』，『禍患』 scourge of Heaven 天災 疫癘，穢德 scourge of the human race 人禍(戰爭，疾病) (8) “in heart and in mind” = “heart and soul” 言內心與精神兩方面一致。『專心』，『聚意』 All the people of China will, in heart and in mind, (heart and soul, fight the Japanese aggressors to the bitter end. (9) 『致力』，『盡心』 Dr. Sun yat-sen dedicated his whole life to the revolutionary movement. (10) “to choose to do som. thing” 『自願』 Since you choose to do that, you must not complain in case you fail. (11) “We leave here friends”，此處“le-ve” 為 intransitive verb of incomplete predication, “friends” 為 subjective complement 指“we”。

President Roosevelt's Message to American Armed  
Forces, Broadcast on Christmas Eve<sup>(2)</sup>

December 24, 1943

羅斯福聖誕前夕廣播演辭

一九四三年十二月二十四日

I have just returned from an extensive journey in the region of the Mediterranean and as far as the borders of Russia. I have conferred with the leaders of Britain and Russia and China on military matters of the present... especially our plans for stepping up<sup>(2)</sup> our successful attack on our enemies as quickly as possible and from many different points of the compass.<sup>(3)</sup>

On this Christmas Eve, there are over ten million men in the armed forces of the United States alone. One year ago, 1,700,000 men were serving overseas. Today, this figure has been more than doubled, to 3,800,000 on duty overseas. By next July the number will rise to over five millions.

That this is truly a world war is demonstrated when arrangements were made with our overseas broadcasting agencies for time to speak today to our soldiers, sailors, marines, and merchant seamen in every part of the world. In fixing the time of this broadcast we took into consideration the fact that at this moment here in the United States and in the Caribbean and on the northeast coast of South America, it is after noon. In Alaska and in Hawaii and in the mid-

余方自地中海區域內作廣泛旅行歸來，

足跡遠至蘇聯邊境，余曾與中英蘇之領袖會

商當前之軍事，尤置重於從甚多不同地點迅

速加緊進攻敵人之計劃。

當茲聖誕前夕，以美國一國而論，從軍人員已在千萬以上，一年以前，美軍之服役海外者一百七十萬人，今日已倍於此數，為三百八十萬服役海外，迨明年七月，此數將增至五百餘萬人。

以吾人之海陸軍人及船員之服務世界各地而言，此次事變，誠為真正之世界大戰，

以此刻固定廣播之時間而論；在美國，在加

勒比海，在南美大西洋沿岸，此時俱在下午

，在阿拉斯加，夏威夷及太平洋上諸地，則

將為清晨。在冰島，英國，北非，義大利及

Pacific, it is still morning. In Iceland, in Britain, in North Africa, in Italy and in the Middle East, it is now evening. In the South-West Pacific, in Australia, in China and Burma and in India it is already Christmas Day. We can correctly say that at this moment in those far-eastern Parts where Americans are fighting, today is tomorrow.

But everywhere throughout the world-throughout this war which covers the world-there is a special spirit which has warmed our hearts since our earliest childhood-the spirit which brings us close to our homes, families, friends, and neighbours-the Christmas spirit of "Peace on Earth, Good-will toward Men." (4)

During the past years of international gangsterism and brutal aggression in Europe and Asia, our Christmas celebrations have been darkened with apprehension for the future. We have said: "Merry Christmas; Happy New Year," but we have known in our hearts that the clouds which have hung over our world have prevented us from saying it with full sincerity and conviction. Even this year we still have much to face in the way (5) of further suffering, sacrifice and personal tragedy. Our men who have been through the fierce battles in the Solomons, the Gilberts, Tunisia and Italy know from their experience and knowledge of modern war that many bigger and costlier battles are still to be fought. (6)

But on Christmas Eve this year, I can say to you that at last we may look forward into (7) the future with real, substantial confidence that however great the cost, "Peace on Earth, Goodwill toward

中東，此時恰在傍晚。在西南太平洋，澳洲

，中國，緬甸及印度等地，則已在聖誕日矣

。於吾人如謂此刻在這東我士兵作戰之地，

今日即為明日，亦如不可。

世界各地之人，雖於此時遭遇普遍全球之戰爭，然皆或有自幼童時代以至於今令人中心憑藉之一種特殊精神。此為吾人於此時視瞻「世界和平，善意對人」，與吾人家人友鄰益為親切之聖誕節精神也。

近年以來，歐亞兩洲之國際殘暴主義，野蠻侵略，使吾人對聖誕節之慶祝因憂懼未來而暗淡。吾人雖彼此相祝「恭祝聖誕，並賀新禧」，而心中因鑒於籠罩世界之密雲，使吾人不能有充份之誠意與信任而祝賀，即在今年，吾人前途仍面臨甚重大之苦難犧牲與慘劇，曾在所羅門，吉爾貝特，突尼西亞，及義大利苦戰之將士當已獲得現代戰爭之經驗與智識，知有更多人猛烈之戰爭來臨。

但在今日聖誕前夕，余敢告諸君，展望前途，吾人可以具有充分信念，不論代價如何重大，而「世界之和平，善意對人類」之

Men' can be and will be realized and ensured.

This year I can say that, last year I could not do more than express a hope. Today I express a certainty that, though the cost may be high and time may be long, victory will be ours.

Within the past year, within the past few weeks, history has been made and it is a far better history for the whole human race than any we have known, or even dared to hope for, in those tragedies<sup>(8)</sup> through which we have passed.

This great beginning was made at the Moscow Conference in October by Mr. Molotov, Mr. Eden and our own Mr. Hull. There and then, the way was paved<sup>(9)</sup> for the later meetings.<sup>(10)</sup>

At Cairo and Teheran, we devoted ourselves not only to military matters, we devoted<sup>(11)</sup> ourselves also to a consideration of the future plans to plans for the kind of world which alone can justify all sacrifices of this war.

Of course, as you all know, Mr. Churchill and I have happily met many times before and we know and understand each other very well. Indeed, Mr. Churchill has become known and beloved by many millions of Americans and the heartfelt prayers of all of us have been with this great citizen of the world in his recent serious illness.<sup>(12)</sup>

The Cairo and Teheran Conferences, however, gave me my first opportunity to meet Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Marshal Stalin—and to sit down at table with these unconquerable men and talk with them face to face. We had planned to talk to each other across the table at

顯，斷可實現與保證。

今年此夕余始能作此言，去年余除表示希望外，別無其他，今日誠知代價雖高，時間雖長，但余已能表示確信勝利必屬於吾人。

在過去一年之中，在過去數星期內，歷史已在製造。此乃整個人類之優美歷史，較以往吾人經歷迭次世界慘變時所知者，甚至所敢希望者更為優美。

十月中蘇外長莫洛托夫，英外相艾登，及我國國務卿赫爾所舉行之莫斯科會議實為此歷史之偉大起點。蓋莫斯科之會議實開以後各地會議之先聲也。

在開羅及德黑蘭會議中，吾人不僅努力於軍事方面，且亦致力於考慮未來之世界，樹立無負於此次戰爭中一切犧牲世界計劃。

君等當皆知余與邱吉爾首相前已飲晤數次，吾等互相了解甚深。實際上邱吉爾首相已為千百萬美國人民所認公所愛慕之人物。

吾人全體以此一偉大世界公民最近飽有小恙衷心為之肅視。

余在開羅及德黑蘭首次獲有機會，會晤蔣委員長及史達林委員長。與此二大堅毅不屈之領袖，共坐一桌，當面暢談，吾人原計劃在開羅及德黑蘭會議中，彼此對談。但不

Cairo and Teheran; but we soon found all on the same side of the table.<sup>(13)</sup> We come to the conferences with faith in each other. But we needed the personal contact. And now we have supplemented faith with definite knowledge. It was well worth travelling thousands of miles over land and sea to bring about this personal meeting and gain the heartening assurance that we were absolutely agreed with one another on all major objectives—and on the military means of obtaining them.

At Cairo, Prime Minister Churchill and I spent four days with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. It was the first time we had the opportunity to go over<sup>(14)</sup> the complex situation in the Far East with personally. We were able not only to settle upon<sup>(15)</sup> definite military strategy but also to discuss certain long-range principles which we believe can assure peace in the Far East for many generations to come.<sup>(16)</sup> Those principles are as simple as they are fundamental. They involve restoration of stolen property to its rightful owners and recognition of the rights of millions of people in the Far East to build up their forms of self-government without molestation.

Essential to all peace and security in the Pacific and in the rest of the world is the permanent elimination of the Empire of Japan as a potential force of aggression. Never again must our soldiers, sailors, and marines be compelled to fight from island to island as they are fighting so gallantly and successfully today.

On the mainland of Asia, under the Generalissimo's leadership, Chinese

久即發現吾人意見完全吻合。吾人出席會議，彼此信賴。但吾人所需者為個人間接觸，而目前吾人已能以確切之認識補充彼此間之信賴。此次在陸上海上旅行數千哩，以達成面晤，並獲得欣慰之保證，可謂此行極有價值。吾人對於各主要目標及達到此種目標之軍事措置，絕對同意。

邱吉爾首相及余與蔣委員長在開羅共處四日，余得有機會與蔣委員長當面討論複雜之遠東問題，尚屬首次。吾人不僅解決具體軍事計劃，且曾商討影響遠東之原則，吾人相信其必能保證遠東未來數代之和平。此等原則，皆甚簡單而基本，其中包括以搶劫之財產歸還應得之主人，承認遠東億萬人民之權利，以健全適合自身方式之自己政府不受阻礙。

永遠消滅帝國日本使其不得成為侵略之潛勢力，乃對於太平洋及世界其他部分和平與安全之要著，我陸海軍與海軍陸戰隊之士兵不必再被追逐為作戰，有如彼等今日之英勇作戰，並卓具成功然。

亞洲大陸方面在蔣委員長領導下之確鑿

ground and air forces augmented by American air forces are playing a vital part in starting the drive which will push the invaders into the sea.

Following out(17) the military decisions at Cairo, General Marshall has just flown around the world and had conferences with General MacArthur and Admiral Nimitz, conferences which will spell plenty of bad news for the Japanese in the not distant future.

Increasingly powerful forces are now hammering at the Japanese at many points over an enormous area which curves down through the Pacific from the Aleutians to the jungles of Burma. Our own army and navy, our air forces, Australians and New Zealanders, Dutch and British land, air and sea forces are forming a band of steel which is closing in on Japan.

I met in the Generalissimo a man of great vision, great courage, and remarkably keen understanding of the problems of today and tomorrow. We discussed all the manifold military plans for striking at Japan with a decisive force in many directions; and I believe I may say that he returned to Chungking with positive assurance of total victory over our common enemy. Today we and the Republic of China are closer together than ever before in deep friendship and unity of purpose.

After the Cairo Conference, Mr. Churchill and I went by airplane to Teheran. There we met with Marshal Stalin. We talked with complete frankness on every conceivable subject connected with winning the war and the establishment of a durable peace after the war.

軍，加以美國之空軍，則正在發動驅逐敵軍入海之攻勢中，佔有重要之地位。

根據吾人在開羅會議中所作之軍事決定，馬歇爾將軍業已遍求全球，並與麥克阿瑟將軍及尼米茲將軍舉行會議，此在不遠將送之將來，必對日本造成無數之惡消息。

我日益增強之兵力，現在太平洋上有阿留申羣島至緬甸叢林一大弧形上之多處，痛擊日本，我美國之海陸空軍，澳紐荷軍以及英國之陸海空軍，今日合組為一團體，正緊束日本。

余等晤蔣委員長而見其為具有遠大眼光及剛毅精神之人，且對於今日及未來之各項問題，均有犀利之了解，我等曾就各方面以決定性之兵力攻擊日本之一切軍事計劃，加以討論。余以為余等可謂蔣委員長必將對我人之共同敵人務獲全面勝利之信念以俱返重慶。今則我等與中華民國之關係，較以往任何時間更為密切，邦交既深，宗旨自屬一致。

開羅會議閉幕後，邱吉爾先生與余乘飛機至德黑蘭。余等在彼處得晤史達林委員長。舉凡與求得戰爭勝利以及戰後永久和平之建立有關為吾人所能想到之每一問題，余等皆以完全坦白態度討論之。

Within three days of intense and consistently amicable discussions at Teheran, we agreed on every point concerned with the launching of a gigantic attack upon Germany. The Russian Army will take the Eastern front, the allied armies in Italy and Africa will bring relentless pressure on Germany from the south and now the encirclement will be complete as great American and British forces will attack from other points in the compass.(3)

The commander selected to lead the combined attack from these other points is General Dwight Eisenhower. His performances in Africa, Sicily and Italy have been brilliant. He knows by practical and successful experience the way to coordinate air, sea and land power. All these will be under his control. Lieutenant General Carl A. Spaatz will command the entire American strategic bombing force operating against Germany.

General Eisenhower give up his command in the Mediterranean to a British officer, whose name is being announced by Mr. Churchill. We now pledge to the new commander that our powerful ground, sea and air forces in the vital Mediterranean area will stand by his side(18) until every objective in that bitter theater(19) is attained. Both these new commanders will have American and British subordinate commanders whose names will be announced in a few days.

During the last two days at Teheran, Marshal Stalin, Mr. Churchill and I looked ahead to(7) the days, months and years which will follow Germany's defeat. We were united in determination that

在三日內之緊張及不斷友好討論期間，

吾人對於對德國發動大規模進攻之有關每一點，均商得同意，蘇軍將向德東線環攻堅強之攻勢，義與非洲盟軍，將自南對德施使無情之壓力，而英美大軍，則自圍攻之其他各點進攻，於是包圍戰得以告成。

指揮此自各點進攻之將領，已指定為艾森豪威爾將軍，彼曾在非洲西西里與義大利有顯赫之表現，彼根據實際與完善之經驗，深知配合海陸空軍之道，所有三軍，俱將歸其統率，斯比滋陸軍中將，將指揮美國用以對德之全部轟炸機隊。

艾森豪威爾將軍，在地中海方面之總司令部，則卸於英方將領，此將領之姓氏，邱吉爾首相即將公佈，吾人茲向新總司令部保證吾人在地中海重要區域內之強大陸海空軍，亦將予以協助，以迄獲得此艱苦城區內每一目標之時為止，兩新司令之下，尚有隸屬之美英將領，其名單將於數日內公佈。

在德黑蘭之最後兩日中，史達林委員長，邱吉爾首相，與余均瞻望德國失敗後之歲月，吾人具有一致團結之決心，即德國必須

Germany must be stripped of her military might and given no opportunity within the foreseeable future to regain that might.

The United Nations have no intention to enslave the German people. We wish them to have a normal chance to develop in peace as useful and respectable members of the European family. But we most certainly emphasize that word "respectable"—for we intend to rid them once and for all of Nazism and Prussian militarism and the fantastic and disastrous notion that they constitute a "master race."<sup>(20)</sup>

We did discuss international relationships from the point of view<sup>(21)</sup> of big, broad objectives rather than details. But on the basis<sup>(22)</sup> of what we did discuss I can say even today that I do not think any insoluble difference will arise among Russia, Great Britain and the United States.

In these conferences we were concerned with principles—principles which involve the security and welfare and standard of living of human beings in countries large and small.

To use an American and an ungrammatical colloquialism, I may say I "got along fine"<sup>(23)</sup> with Marshal Stalin. He is a man who combines tremendous relentless determination with stalwart good humor. I believe we are going to get along well with him and the Russian people—very well indeed.

Britain, Russia, China, the United States and their allies represent over three quarters of the total population of the earth. As long as these four nations

剝奪其軍力，並於可預見之將來勿令其有恢復此力量之機會。

聯合國無意奴役德國人民，吾人欲其獲得正常之機會，於和平中發展為歐洲國家中之一有用而可敬之分子，惟吾人必須強調此「可敬」之一詞，蓋吾人願一勞永逸，消除其納粹及普魯士軍國主義以及承自認本身為「統治民族」之荒謬與為害之現象。

吾人曾由廣大之目標觀點上，討論國際關係，而非討論細節，然就吾人所討論者而言，余甚至在今日仍敢謂余不認為蘇英美之間，將發生不可解決之異見。

吾人於各次會議中，咸關懷於基本原則，亦即關係大小國家人類之安全福利，與生活標準之原則也。

茲用一美國不合文法之語句以表達之，余與史達林將軍「很合得來」，彼為奮鬥非常堅毅決心及銳利優美幽默之人，余信吾人與彼以及蘇聯民衆將相處佳善——確為佳善。

英蘇中美及其他盟國代表世界全部人口達四分之三以上，荷我四國以共同之巨大軍力團結一致決心維持世界和平，任何侵略國

with their great military power stick together in a determination to keep the peace, there will be no possibility of an aggressor nation arising to start another world war. But these four powers must be united and cooperate with all freedom-loving peoples in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas. The rights of every nation large or small must be respected and guarded as jealously<sup>(24)</sup> as are the rights of every individual within our own republic.

The doctrine that the strong shall dominate the weak is the doctrine of our enemies—and we reject it. But at the same time we are agreed that if force is necessary to keep international peace, international force will be applied for as long as may be necessary.

It has been our steady policy—and it is certainly a commonsense policy—that the right of each nation to freedom must be measured by the willingness of that nation to fight for freedom.

Today we salute our unseen allies in occupied countries—underground groups and armies of liberation. They will provide a potent fortress against our enemies when the day of invasion<sup>(25)</sup> comes.

Through the development of science, the world has become so much smaller that we have had to discard geographical yardsticks of the past. For instance, through our early history the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were believed to be walls of safety for the United States. Time and distance made it physically possible, for example, for us and for the other American republics to obtain and maintain our independence against infinitely stronger powers.

各國再發動又一世界大戰以殆為可能之虞

，惟我四國須與歐亞非南美各洲所有愛好

自由之國家團結合作耳，每一國家不分大

小，其權利均應受尊重並當慎保護，一如我

美國境內每個公民之權利所受之尊重保護甚

同。

強國得欺凌弱國之主義乃吾人敵人之主

義，此為吾人所反對者，然同時吾人則一致

認為如武力足以維持國際和平，則吾人將使

用國際武力直至無須再行使用而後已。

每一國家享受自由之權利，須以該國願

為自由作戰之程度而定，此乃吾人堅強不移

之政策，亦必為合於常理之政策。

今日吾人謹向被佔領國家中吾人之暗中

作戰之盟友——一切秘密抵抗團體及解放軍

——致敬，俾吾人進攻之日來臨，彼等將請

或對付吾人敵人之強大單位。

由於科學之發展，世界已大加縮小，至

於令吾人必須放棄過去地理上之尺度，舉例

言之，吾人之初期史中，始終相信大西洋

兩洋，為美國之安全保障，時間與距離均使

吾人及美洲其他共和國，在事實上能獲得並

保持吾人之獨立，以對抗統治最大之國家。

Until recently very few people, even military experts, thought the day would come when we might have to defend our Pacific coast against Japanese threats of invasion.<sup>(26)</sup>

At the outbreak of the first World war, relatively few people thought our ships and shipping would be menaced by German<sup>(27)</sup> submarines on the high seas or that German militarists would ever attempt to dominate any nation outside Central Europe.

After the armistice in 1918, we thought and hoped that the militaristic philosophy of Germany had been crushed; and, being full of the milk of human kindness,<sup>(28)</sup> we spent the next 20 years disarming while the Germans whined so pathetically that other nations permitted them—and even helped them—to rearm.

For too many years we lived in<sup>(29)</sup> pious hopes that the aggressor and war-like nations would learn, understand and carry out the doctrine of purely voluntary peace. The well-intentioned but ill-fated experiments of former years did not work.<sup>(30)</sup> It is my hope that we will not try them again. No—that is too weak—it is my intention to do all I humanly can as President and Commander-in-Chief to see to it that tragic mistakes shall not be made again.

There have always been cheerful idiots in this country who believed that there would be no more war for us if everybody in America would only return into his home and lock his front door behind him. Assuming their motives were of the highest, events have shown how unwilling they were to face the facts.

直至最近為止，仍有少數人士甚至軍事專家，不信吾人保衛太平洋沿岸，以對抗日軍侵略威脅之日，之居然降臨。

首次大戰爆發之時，亦鮮有人以為吾人之輪隻與航運將受公海上德國潛水艇之威脅，或以為德國軍閥敢對中歐以外之任何國家，施其統治之企圖。

一九一八年停戰以後，吾人以萬端希望德國之軍事哲學，已告粉碎，且滿懷人類仁慈之精神，消度此後二十年之歲月，從事裁軍，而德國則嗚呼哀鳴，盼望更有其他條件，許其甚至助其重整軍備。

多年以來吾人但虔誠希望彼侵略份子與好友之各國，學習了解並實行純粹自動的和平之原則，不幸已往多年，意義而命惡之試驗，竟毫無作用，余希望吾人不再出此，然則此尤不是余意，即竭余身為總統與總司令之人力之所能及，使不至再犯此等慘痛之錯誤。

美國尚有若干樂觀之白癡，以為在國與國人人可返其家，緊閉門戶，則吾人即無戰爭，假定其動機極為高尚，但各種情形，均已顯示遲等之不顧事實。

The overwhelming majority of all people in the world want peace. Most of them are fighting for the attainment of peace—not just a truce not just an armistice but peace that is as strongly enforced and as durable as mortal man can make it. If we are willing to fight for peace now isn't it good logic that we should use force if necessary in the future to keep the peace?

I believe and I think I can say that the other three great nations who are fighting so magnificently to gain peace are in complete agreement that we must be prepared to keep the peace by force. If the people of Germany and Japan are made to realize throughly that the world is not going to let them break out again, it is possible and I hope probable that they will abandon their philosophy of aggression—the belief that they can gain the whole world even at the risk of<sup>(31)</sup> losing their own souls.

I will have more to say about the Cairo and Teheran Conferences when I make my report to Congress in about two weeks time. And on that occasion I will also have a great deal to say about certain conditions here at home. But today, I wish to say that in all my travels at home and abroad, it is the sight of our soldiers and sailors and their magnificent achievements which has given me the greatest inspiration and greatest encouragement for the future.

In the members of our armed forces, to their wives, mothers and fathers, I want to affirm the great faith and confidence we have in General Marshall and Admiral King who direct all our armed

世界各國絕大多數民衆，均力謀和平，不僅爲暫時之休戰，或長期之停戰而爲竭力推行以及人力所能永久保持之和平，苟吾

人今日誠願爭取和平，則將來在必要時必須使用武力，以維持和平，又豈非合理乎？

余相信而且以爲可斷言，其他三大國家此刻之光榮作戰以求和平者，實由於完全一致認爲吾人維持和平必須準備使用武力，如吾人能令德日兩國民衆認識吾人決不容彼等再分裂世界，則彼等可能，且余希望其或能放棄其侵略哲學——即彼等甘冒毀滅，認爲可以併吞全世界之信念是也。

余在兩星期左右，對國會報告時，對於開羅及德黑蘭兩次會議將有更多材料，以資討論，屆時余對於國內，若干情況，亦有極多可資討論者，然目前余欲言者，乃余在國內外旅行之全部時間，隨時均能見到吾人之海陸軍，以及彼等之燦爛成就，使余對於未來得到最大之鼓勵與最大之勇氣。

余欲對於全編武裝部隊人員，及其父母妻子聲明，即余極信任指揮我全球各武裝之馬歇爾將軍，及金將軍，彼等負有計劃戰

might throughout the world. Upon them falls a great responsibility for planning the strategy of determining when and where we will fight. Both of these men have already gain high places in American history which record many evidences of their military genius that cannot be published today.

Some of our men overseas are now spending their third Christmas far from home. To them and to all others overseas or soon to go overseas, I can give assurance of the purpose of their government to win this war and bring them home at the earliest possible date.

And we here in the United States had better be sure that when our soldiers and sailors do come home they will find an America in which they are given full opportunities for education, rehabilitation, social security, employment and business enterprise under a free American system—and that they will find a government which by their votes as American citizens they have had a full share in electing. The American people have had every reason to know that this is a tough and destructive war.

On my trip abroad I talked with many military men in the field. These hard-headed realists testify to the strength, skill and resourcefulness of the enemy generals and men whom we must beat before final victory is won.

The war is now reaching a stage where we will have to look forward to large casualty lists—dead, wounded and missing. War entails just that. There is no easy road to victory. And the end is not yet in sight.

略及決定何時何地作戰之重要責任，此二將

已在美國歷史中獲得崇高之地位，歷史將記

述其軍事才能之若干證據，惜目前尚未能發表耳。

吾人在海外之若干人員，現正度其第三次遠離故土之聖誕，對於彼等及其他所有在海外服務之人員，或行將派赴海外之人，余敢保證政府之目標在獲致勝利，並促彼等於最早之可能時刻，重返祖國。

吾等現在美國當可相信，迨吾人之海軍歸國之日，可發現國內具有教育復興社

安全獲得職業及美國自由方式下經營企業之

充分機會，其政府由人民選舉，一如過去人

民皆有充分投票之權，美國人民有種種理由

得知此次戰爭之堅苦與慘烈。

當余旅行海外時，曾與甚多經歷與敵決戰之軍事人員談話，此等精明之實行家，曾領略吾人於獲得最後勝利前必須擊敗之敵方將領及士兵之實力。

目下戰事已達到吾人預料，將發生大批死亡受傷及失蹤人員之階段，戰爭之遺害正是如此，勝利之途決非坦易，其終點猶未見。

I have been back for only a week. It is fair that I should tell you my impression. I think I see a tendency in some of our people here to assume a quick ending of the war—and the result means false reasoning. I think I discern an effort to renege or even encourage the outbreak of partisan chit-chatting and talking. I hope I am wrong. For surely our first and foremost tasks are all concerned with winning the war and winning a just peace that will last for generations.

The massive offensive which is in the making—both in Europe and the Far East—will require every ounce of energy and fortitude that we and our allies can summon on the fighting fronts and in all the workshops at home. As I have said before, you cannot order up a great attack on Monday and demand that it be delivered on Saturday.

Less than a month ago, I flew in a big army transport plane to the little town of Bethlehem(32) in Palestine. Tonight, on Christmas Eve, all men and women everywhere who love Christmas love that ancient town(33) and the star of faith(34) that shone there over 19 centuries ago.

American boys are fighting today, in snow-covered mountains, in malarial jungles and blazing deserts. They are fighting on the far stretches of the sea and above the clouds; and the thing for which they struggle is best symbolized by the message that came out Bethlehem.

On behalf of(35) the American people—your people—I send this Christmas message to you who are in our armed forces: in our hearts are prayers for you

余返國僅一星期 余認為余必須以所得印象告知諸友，余認為余已看出我國有若干人，假定戰爭可以迅速結束，即認為吾人業已獲勝，其結果示明此種論調實係錯誤，余認為余已看出某方面有一種努力，以恢復甚至鼓勵舊時歧思與言論之產生。余希望余之觀察係屬錯誤，蓋吾人之首要工作，必然均以爭取戰爭勝利，並爭取能獲得若干世代之公正和平有關係也。

歐洲及遠東兩方面形成中之大規模攻勢需要吾人及友方之戰場上及在國內之工廠中所能運用之每一分精力與靈敏，余前曾言之，吾人不能下令預定下星期一發動之大規模進攻，於本星期六即得為之。

不及一月之前，余曾乘陸軍巨型運輸機，飛經巴勒斯坦之伯利恆小鎮，今夜為聖誕節之前夕，各地喜愛聖誕節之男女，咸念此古城及一千九百餘年前照耀其上之信念之星。

此時此刻我美國青年，在白雲繚繞之高山上作戰，在瘴氣流行之叢林中作戰，在炎熱灼熱之沙漠上作戰，彼等在廣伸之海面與雲層之上作戰，而其所爭取者，可以伯利恆所傳出之福音為其最好之象徵。

余茲謹代表美國民衆，亦即諸君同胞，向服務軍中之諸君及聖誕節演辭，而吾人心中盡皆為諸君及與諸君共同作戰以消滅世界

and all your comrades-in-arms who fight to rid the world of evil.

We ask God's blessing upon you—upon your fathers, mothers, wives and children—all your loved ones at home. We ask that the comfort of God's Grace shall be granted to those who are sick and mounded and those who are prisoners-of-war in the hands of the enemy, waiting for the day when they will again be free. And we ask that God receive<sup>(36)</sup> and cherish<sup>(36)</sup> those who have given their lives and that He keep<sup>(36)</sup> them in heaven and in grateful memory of their countrymen forever.

God-bless<sup>(36)</sup> all of you who fight our battles on this Christmas Eve. God bless us all. God keep<sup>(36)</sup> us strong in our faith that we fight<sup>(36)</sup> for a better day for humankind—here and every—where.

罪惡之同志戰勝也。

願求上帝為諸君賜福，為諸君之父母妻子——為諸君所有在國內親愛之人賜福，吾人願求上帝宏恩對患病負傷之同胞，對淪在敵人手中，期待有重獲自由之一日，身為戰俘之同胞，賜予安慰，吾人並願求上帝收容並撫愛成仁烈士，願上帝使彼等永遠為其同胞崇敬與不忘。

願上帝賜福聖誕前夕在戰場上作戰之諸君，願上帝賜福吾人全體。願上帝使吾人有堅強之信念能為美國及為其他各國作戰，以求得更優美的人類生活。



### Annotations

(1) 本演詞之主旨，除對美國在國外各地作戰之男女戰士作應節之慰勞外，並報告開羅會議德黑蘭會議毀滅德日納粹國家之軍事上決定，對我蔣主席及史達林之堅毅不屈之精神極為敬佩。此外羅斯福藉以報告全世界彼對世界大戰將來之觀察，謂去年彼對毀滅德日勢力僅視為一種希望，但在今年此時觀察，彼則認此為必然之事。(2) 『加緊』，『進一步』。As the final victory is drawing near, we must step up our work of national reconstruction. 最後勝利已近，吾人須加緊建國工作。(3) 『各地』，『各點』(羅經三十二方位轉意)。His ships bring wealth home from every Point of the compass. 彼之船隻由(世界)各地滿載而歸。(4) 聖誕節讚美詩中有此句，本句引用之。(5) 『方面』，『道』，『途』。I know nothing in the way of war strategy. 軍旅之事，余不知也。China has not yet done much in the way of inventions. 在發明方面，中國尚少貢獻。He is great in the way of talking. 彼(於談話—途)長於談話。(又作等類解。I cannot help you in the way of money. 余不能以金錢等類之物相助。(6) “are going to be fought.” 『仍將有大戰』。動詞“be”之現在與過去等式之後，加被動式之infinitive 有兩種意義：(a) 如本句用法，表示未來發生之事；(b) 等於必須之意。故 A bridge is to be built. 一詞，須視上下文語氣決定其為 (a) “A bridge is going to be built.” 『將建一橋』或 (b) “A bridge must be built.” 『須建一橋』。“Be”後亦常用自動式之infinitive, 用法相同。I have much work to do.” 即 “I have much work, which is going to be done.” 或 “I have much work that must be done.” (7) 『展望前途』(=“to look ahead into”)表示對未來作觀察。但“to look forward to,” 或“to look to.” 則為『企望』—即帶『欣慰』，『焦慮』，『惶恐』，等等之心境而對未來展望。We look forward to the event with pleasure (with anxiety, with fear). (8) 指第一次世界

大戰，瀋陽事變，意大利征服亞比西尼亞，等國際上侵略情事。(9) (爲某事)『開先路』，使其易於實現、實行)，『開……之先路』。The Revolution of 1911 paved the way for the realization of democracy in China. (10) 指開羅會議，德黑蘭會議。(11)『致力』，『委身』，專心從事。Dr. Sun Yat-sen devoted his whole life to Chinese revolution. 孫中山先生終身致力(委身)於中國革命(又作)『供奉』，『奉獻』解。This hall is devoted to his worship. 此紀念堂供奉於彼『專用』。This district is devoted to sericulture. 此爲專植蠶絲之區。(12) 邱吉爾於德黑蘭會議後回英途中患肺炎。(13)『膺合』，『同意』。(14)『論』，『研究』。(15)『決定』to settle on (upon) a plan. (16)『未來』the years to come (=which are coming) 未來之年代。(17)『根據』to follow out a plan 貫徹根據計劃而行，貫徹實行某計劃。(18)『協助』；『擁護』。(19)『戚區』The spokesman reviews the war, theatre by theatre. 發言人對各戰區戰事逐一檢討。(20) 此係德人自稱。(21) 或 from the viewpoint of『自某觀點上』，『由』。(22)『基於』，『就……而言』。(23) 美國俗語通用，但不合文法同“fine”爲形容詞不能形容動詞“got”，應用“well”(副詞)。見下句。(24)『警惕』，『慎防』Britain always guards its colonies jealously. 英國對其領土激慎防之。(25) 指聯合國進攻德國及其他納粹國家。(26) 指日本侵入美國。(27)『公海』(國際法名詞)。(28)『仁愛』，『仁慈』There is much milk of human kindness in his treatment of the servants. 彼得僕顏仁慈。(29)『賴』We cannot live on hopes 吾人不能專賴希望。(30)『生效』That medicine does not work 此藥不生效。(31)『冒……險』Don't work too hard at the risk of losing your health 勿冒損失健康之險過勞辛勞。(32) 耶穌基督誕生地。(33) 指伯利恆。(34) 指耶穌基督。(35)『代表』，『代』On (in) behalf of the class I thank you for your inspiring speech. 本人代表全班同學謹謝先生所作令人感動之講演。(36) 皆係祈，表示願望之動詞皆爲 Subjunctive mood.

MESSAGE TO INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS' DAY CELEBRATION,  
LONDON, SENT BY GEN. CHANG CHIH-CHUNG, SECRETARY-  
GENERAL OF THE SAN MIN CHU I YOUTH CORPS OF  
CHINA ON ITS' BEHALF AND MESSAGES TO CHINESE  
STUDENTS FROM BRITISH AND BELGIAN  
STUDENT BODIES

中國三民主義青年團書記長張治中先生代  
表該團向倫敦國際學生日紀念會致辭  
及英比學生團體向中國學生致辭

(A) Gen. Chang's Message:

張治中先生演辭

With the victory for the United Nations assured and peace once more in sight, your meeting in London should arouse boundless sympathy and enthusiasm of the youth through the world who carry the cause of justice deep in their hearts.

Chinese youth was the first to arise against aggression and for nearly seven years has resisted the violence of the barbarians. Under the leadership of President Chiang, we have all concentrated our efforts on the struggle against

諸君值此聯合國勝利獲得保證，世界和平恢復在望之際，共赴倫敦，舉行會議，定可喚起全世界深懷正義之青年無限同情與熱忱。

中國青年最先起而抵拒侵略，與野蠻國家之殘暴對抗已近七載。為中國本身自由及世界永久和平雙方利益，中國青年在蔣主席

the common enemy in the interests of both the freedom of our own nation and permanent peace of the world. Since the participation by the United Nations in the war, the Chinese youth has cooperated more closely with the youth of all the allied countries in seeking the re-establishment of world peace and civilization of mankind.

The San Min Chu I Youth Corps of China was inaugurated immediately following the outbreak of the present war. Its aim has been to enlist the youth of the entire country in the dual task of resistance and national reconstruction. It is with great hopefulness and anticipation that we in China respond to your earnest call and to the objectives your meeting has set forth. The future task of upbuilding a new nation and a new world will require the concerted efforts of the youth all over the world.

I wish, therefore, to avail myself of the present auspicious occasion of the opening of your meeting to convey my most heartfelt greetings to you on behalf of all members of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps in China and we sincerely hope that your meeting, conceived of peaceful and righteous ideals, will make an immense contribution towards strengthening the unity and solidarity of the youth of the world and hastening the doom of the aggressors and realization of peace.

領導之下，業已集中一切力量抵禦世界公敵。自聯合國參加戰爭以來，中國青年與各盟國青年謀世界和平及人類文明之重建，合作更為密切。

中日戰爭爆發之後，中國三民主義青年團隨即成立。其目的為徵集全國青年從事抗戰與建國之雙重工作。中國青年深切冀望對國際學生會議所有應盡義務之命令及目標即為遵從，蓋建立未來新國家，新世界之大業，實有全世界青年協力之必要也。

鄙人因此乘貴會開幕盛典，代表中國三民主義青年團全體團員向諸君致賀忱，並親貴會，以和平公義之理想為宗旨，對加緊全世界青年之團結，對促使侵略者早日滅亡，和平早日實現，均有重大貢獻。

(B) British, Belgian Messages to Chinese Youths  
 英比政府要人及團體對中國青年賀辭

Message from Hubert Pierlot, Prime Minister of Belgium:

(1) 比國國務總理皮艾羅氏賀辭：

In the name<sup>10</sup> of the Belgian University professors persecuted by the occupying power and on behalf of my young compatriots, the Belgian Universities' students, of whom so many have been either executed or transported to Germany, whilst still continuing the struggle at the risk<sup>11</sup> of their lives, I wish to send my most sincere greetings to the students of China on the occasion of the celebration of the International Students' Day. Let us all be inspired by the examples of our comrades who, either in the field or facing the execution squads, gave up their lives for our common cause. May the youth of all countries united in common sufferings bring to the world on the day of victory a message of justice, of liberty and of true democracy.

鄙人乘慶祝國際學生之日，謹以比國大學教授名義，並代表比國青年同胞，比國大學學生，向中國學生致最高敬禮。敝國大學教授久受侵略武力摧殘，敝國青年多被敵人處死，或流徙德國，但其餘青年仍在冒生命之險繼續奮鬥，余深望吾人於赴義戰場刑場同志之襟懷，可得感動。願全世界因受共同痛苦發生聯繫之各國青年，於勝利之日能携有正義自由及真正民治之消息至世界各地。

Message from the Faculty of Technology Union, Manchester, England:

(2) 英國曼徹斯特德工業聯合大學教授會賀辭：

This greeting on the occasion of November 17th<sup>12</sup> international Students' Day, is intended to be not only a token of our remembrance of the sacrifice made by students in the fight against fascism but also an assurance of our determina-

在十一月十七日國際學生日之今日，向君等致敬，不但可紀念全世界學生抵抗法西斯主義所作之犧牲，而且可保證吾人在此戰

ion to fight now and after the war in the interests of freedom-loving peoples.

In the present fight, we regard it as our foremost duty to study conscientiously and to equip ourselves for military service in our trained corps.

We now have to complete our courses in two thirds the time allowed prior<sup>13</sup> to the war, but nevertheless we intensify our war effort by spending our leisure hours helping our farmers to reap a more bounteous crop. Several of ourselves have formed a Blood Donor Group, since we believe that this is one form of service in which everyone should take part.

In our fight for the reconstruction of the world after the war, we discuss how we can train ourselves for relief work in other countries, and how we can help in the reconstruction of our own country by studying the problems of education and others in which we have first hand experience.

In all this work are supported by a National Students' Movement, the National Union of Students, and our work is linked up with students in other countries through the International Council of Students and the International Students' Service.

On the International Students' Day we do not mourn but pay homage<sup>14</sup> to those, who in spite of adverse conditions carried on their studies and still found time and strength to offer resistance to the killers of peaceful people and the destroyers of ideals of liberty.

We have learnt with admiration how

時，以及戰後，為全世界愛自由各民族奮鬥之決心。

在目前戰時，英國學生所視為學生最高職責，為一方謹慎研究，一方投身已受訓練之兵團，準備從軍二事。

雖然，吾人目前須以戰前對各科學課程規定修畢時間，減少三分之一，但餘課之暇，可藉協助農人謀得更豐富之收穫，以加緊吾人戰爭力量。吾人有組織「獻血團」者，此吾吾人深信獻血亦為人人應參加服役之一種方式也。

為謀戰後世界之重建，吾人彼此討論如何求得訓練，俾能從事國外救濟工作，如何藉研究與吾人發生直接體驗之教育以及其他問題，對本國建設，能有協助之處。

上述工作有「英國全國學生運動」及「英國全國學生聯合會」之擔謀，且藉「國際學生會」之「國際函」以與其他國家學生取得聯繫。

在國際學生日，吾人並不悲悼，但對身處逆境之學生深致敬禮；蓋彼輩此時仍能弦誦不絕，且有時間精力向極愛和平民衆者，擁護自由理想者抵抗故也。

吾人在英國得悉中國學生如「繼續讀書

the students in China have carried on their studies and how they have fought the enemy. Their story is an inspiration to us.

In this spirit our greetings go out to you.

，如何抗敵，甚為敬佩。此舉實令吾人感動

吾人向君等致敬者，藉表景仰之意。

Letter of greeting from The Belgian Students' Association in Britain:

(3) 駐英比國學生會賀函：

On the occasion of the International Students' Day, the Belgian students' Association in Great Britain send the warmest greetings of solidarity to their fellow students in China.

The undaunted spirit of the students and university professors in Belgium in sharing unflinchingly the sufferings and struggles of their comrades in the other occupied countries is the truest expression of their determination to contribute after victory to the rebuilding of a free and democratic world.

In your magnificent fight which has roused the deep admiration of the freedom loving youth all over the world, they have found an inspiring example.

駐英比國學生會為增進團結，特乘此紀

念國際學生之日，謹向中國同學致最敬禮。

今日比國學生及大學教授與其他被佔

國家之同志，分受痛苦，共同奮鬥之不屈不

撓精神，誠足表示彼等於勝利之後，對重建

自由民主世界有所貢獻之決心也。

全世界愛好自由青年對中國壯烈奮鬥，極為敬佩。比國學生得此楷模，感動至深也

Annotations

- (1) "In the interests of" (a) in the "cause" of = "為(某事)之利益". We students would do anything in the interests of justice and righteousness. 為公平正義不論何事吾等學生皆願為之。(b) in the "service" of = "為(某事)". He goes abroad in the interests of the firm. 彼為謀公司之準而出國。"Interests" 多用複數。I work in your interest (s) (=for your good), 我利於君故為此事。如動詞係不及物者如 "look", "re" 等等，則用 "to", the interests of. We must look to the interests of our country. 吾人當顧國家之利益。
- (2) "Corps" 單數，複數同，"P" 皆不讀音。單數 "S" 不讀音。複數英國習慣讀音。"S" 讀 "Z"。(3) "To respond to the call of duty". "應命盡義務(盡本分)".
- (4) "Clarion", 喇叭聲，號聲，表示清晰之意，故 "the clarion call", In spite

of the heat of the desert, the troops marched forward to answer the clarion call of duty. In spite of the heat of the sun, farmers went to attend to their crops at the clarion call of June. 農夫不顧陽光之烈曬(六月)時令之召出而從事稼穡。(5) "To avail oneself of" = "make use of, utilize" "利用" I avail myself of the opportunity to congratulate you upon your success. 余利用此機會賀君之成就。I avail myself of the present occasion to convey my thanks to you, 余此時乘便以表謝忱, I shall avail myself of your kind offer, 既承好意謹遵台命, I regret (I am sorry) that I cannot avail myself of your kind offer, 余殊以不能君好意為憾。I will avail myself of your kind invitation and come this evening, 辱承邀今晚自當蒞陪。(6) "Auspicious" "佳", "吉", "慶"。I send my greetings to you on this auspicious day of Christmas to wish you health and success. 余茲於聖誕佳節馳函恭祝台端健康與成功。(7) "On (in behalf of)" "代", "代表"。I speak on the behalf of the society, 余代表本會而言。(I speak on their behalf 余代表彼等而言)。(8) "Conceived of" "懷", "抱", "基於", The American nation was conceived of liberty, 美國以自由為國。(9) "厄運" (10) "in the name of" "以(某人)名義"。The invitation was sent in the name of the class, 以本班名義邀請, "(某事)號召"。The people are appealed to in the name of patriotism, 以愛國心號召民衆。Thank him in my name, 請代我致謝 (What, in the name of God—in the name of goodness—in the name of all that is holy (wonderful, etc.)—in the name of common sense?到底, (為何事?)。此種用法常 "in the name of" 省略 What (in the name of) the devil?—the dence—the dickens?到底, 究竟。(10) "冒...之險" = at the peril of. At the risk of one's life. 冒生命之險。At one's own risk, 自己冒險, 自己負責。At any risk 冒任何危險。To run a risk—run risks 冒險。To run the risk of losing one's fortune—reputation—social position. 以財產—名譽—地位為孤注。(12) 國慶學生日。(13) "prior to" = before (指時間) 某事以前。(posterior to—after)。(14) "敬禮", "敬意" To pay (do) homage to a person, 對人表敬意。To pay (do) homage to the memory of a person. 對已故之人表示敬禮。

#### Witty Sayings ( 俚 語 )

He who lives after nature, shall never be poor; after opinion, shall never be rich.—Seneca.

追求自然的人不會窮的；追求人意的的人決不會富的。——蘇倫。

Far is the perfume of heroic deeds.—Socrates.

聲名是英雄事蹟的芬芳。——蘇格拉底。

Compliments are like, perfume, to be inhaled, not swallowed.—Charles Clark Munn

恭維的話和香味一樣，祇能嗅，不能吞的。——孟恩。

## KING GEORGE VI SENDS MESSAGE TO BRITONS

# 英王耶誕演說

Broadcast on Christmas Day, December 25, 1943,

一九四三年十二月二十日

Once again<sup>1</sup> from our home in England the Queen and I send our Christmas greetings and good wishes to each one of you all the world over.<sup>2</sup> Some of you may hear me in your aircraft, on board<sup>3</sup> your ships or as you wait for battle in the jungles of Pacific islands, or on Italian hills. Some of you may listen to me as you rest from your work, or as you lie sick and wounded in hospital. To many of you my words will come as you sit in the quiet<sup>4</sup> of your homes. But wherever you may be today of all days in the year your thoughts will be in distant places and your hearts<sup>5</sup> with those you love. I hope that my words spoken to them and to you may be the bond that joins us all in one company for a few moments on this Christmas Day.

With this thought in my mind I wish to all who are on services<sup>6</sup> good luck and stout heart; to all who wait for them to return proud memories and high hopes to keep you strong; to all children here and in lands beyond the sea a day of real happiness. I send these words of Christmas greeting to all of you who dwell within the family of the British Commonwealth and Empire. But I knew you would wish me also to send a message of hope to our gallant Allies,

余與王后茲又再度由英國本土向全世界各地之君等一一祝賀聖誕，並續發等語。君等聆聽余之廣播時，或在飛機上飛行，或在船艦上航駛，或在太平洋島嶼之森林及義大利之山地上等倖作戰，亦有在工作中之暫作休息，或因傷與病而臥於醫院病榻之上，亦必有若干靜坐家中聆聽余之演說。然君等不論身在何處，思慮必時寄以遠人之計劃及所愛者，余希望余對於彼等及君等所發之言辭，可成爲一種聯繫，俾吾人在此聖誕佳節可能有片刻會談。

此一思想，故策策一切在國外服務之軍隊，如能獲得佳績與強健之身心，在國內等待彼等返家之民衆，均能有光榮之記憶與崇高之希望，倘君等能永遠康強，同時又希望一切在國內以及海外之兒童，能獲得真正快樂之時日，余係對居住於不列顛聯合國及帝國內之一切民衆一賀聖誕，然亦知汝等必希

who fight with us and to all who in the loneliness of exile or horror of invasion look forward to our coming victory.

In the year that is almost ended many things have happened under God's providence to make us thankful for His mercies. The generous strength of the United States of America, the tremendous deeds of Russia's endurance and of China under her long ordeal, the fighting spirit of France re-born and the flower of manhood and womanhood of many lands that share the burdens of our "forward march" all these have played their part in the brightening of our fortunes on sea, on land and in the air.

Since I last spoke to you many things have changed. But the spirit of our people has not changed. As we were not downcast by defeat we are not exalted unduly by victory. While we have bright visions of the future we have no easy dreams of the days that lie close at hand. We know that much hard working and hard fighting, and perhaps harder working and harder fighting than ever before are necessary for victory. We shall not rest from our task until it is nobly ended.

Meanwhile within these islands we have tried to be worthy of our fathers, we have tried to carry into the dawn the steadfastness and courage vouchsafed to us when we stood alone in darkness. This is not the time for a chronicle of our progress. But there is one landmark in the somber, world embracing battlefield which I hope and trust may endure.

望余對與吾人共同作戰之盟友。

茲值一年又將告終，在上帝庇佑之下，茲有若干事件發生，使吾人對於上帝洪恩，應知感謝。美國之慷慨助力，蘇聯之熾赫戰績，中國於其長期患難中之堅忍，法國抵抗精神之再生，以及世界各地精壯男女，均於吾人作戰上負衝鋒突敵之重任，在萬陸空方面，各盡其實，使吾人前途日見光明。

自上次余對君等演說以來，若干局勢業已改變。然我國人民之精神迄未改變，吾人過去既不因戰敗而候，目下亦不敢因戰勝而驕。吾人對於未來之展望雖見光明，然在最近期間，則無貪圖安樂之夢思。吾人深知為爭取勝利起見，須堅苦工作與堅苦作戰，甚至較過去工作與作戰更為堅苦也。故在吾工作得光榮之結束之前，應勿有一刻之鬆懈。

同時吾人之在國內者，亦已竭力盡實，以期無負於祖先之光榮。吾人且將得安全保證之英國人民之堅忍與勇敢，於孤立無援之黑暗中導入光明之途。目下尚非對吾人進展作策論之時，然而在此陰森之環球戰場上，固有一敵友之分界存在。此種界限，余希望

Wherever their duty has called our men and women they have gained new friends and come to know old friends better. They have learnt to share the burdens and read<sup>13</sup> the hearts of their neighbours; they have laid the foundations of new friendships between nations and strengthened the old ones formed long ago. As a result there is springing up in every country the fresh hope that out of comradeship in sacrifices shall come the power to restore and the power to build anew.

I saw proof of this when I visited North Africa last summer. I saw many thousands of men of the United Nations in action, in heart and mind and purpose. The only rivalry between them in the service of the great cause; their only aim was the defeat of the common enemy. In the same spirit of unity men of divers races have come together in the council chamber and round conference table, some to meet the stern and immediate demands of war itself others to heal the wounds that war deals to all humanity - to feed the hungry,<sup>14</sup> shelter the homeless<sup>14</sup> mend the broken and succour the poor<sup>14</sup>. So, as see clouds breaking on this Christmas Day we should take comfort from our faith that out of desolation shall rise new hope and out of strife be born a new brotherhood.

From this ancient and beloved festival that we are keeping to-day, sacred<sup>15</sup> as<sup>16</sup> it is to home and all that home means to us<sup>17</sup>, we can draw our strength to face the future of a world

誠信願能堅持到底。無論在任何地區，苟盟國認爲我國男女戰士，有爲彼等盡責之處，則彼等必結有新交，若已爲舊友，則彼等更深刻的認識舊友。蓋彼等已明了分負重任之必要，並能洞察鄰人之心意。國際間新友誼業爲彼等建立而早已結成之舊友誼則更爲加強之。故盟國突有由共犧牲始可產生復興。再造威力之嶄新希望發生，此其結果也。

此種新希望之確證，余於去夏巡視北非時，已目擊之。其時余見該地聯合國各國千萬戰士，同心同德，一致團結，各國戰士爲至高正義効命，皆爭先恐後；對暴政公敵，則目標一致。近來世界各種民族之國家，抱同樣團結精神，集議一堂，舉行討論及圓桌會議；或研究應付作戰上之迫切需要，或并議補救人類由戰爭所受之痛苦。飢者得食，無家者得安身之所，殘廢者得以救濟，窮困者得以舒展。因此，吾人於今日聖誕節，天空月明之際，尤深信慈困之中必可產生新希望，奮鬥之中必可產生新友誼。吾人應由此種信念獲得安慰。

歷史悠久，億萬歡悅之聖誕佳節雖爲家庭快樂之紀念然吾人遵守佳節之際，可於其中獲得力量以應付爲尚未遭受之暴風雨所損

riven by a tempest such as it has never hitherto endure.

In the words of a Scottish writer of our day "No experience can be too strange and no task too formidable if a man can link it up with what he knows and loves".

毀之未來世界。

當代蘇格蘭作家有云「如吾人能以吾人之經歷及工作與吾人之知識及愛心發生聯繫，則感覺世界無過分新奇之經歷，無過分可畏之工作」。【若等其勉勵。】

### Annotations and Notes

(1) "Once again" "再度" = "once more" "再", "Once and again" "再三" = "again and again". The Japanese militarists should be completely extirpated so that they will never be a menace to world peace once again (once more 或 a second time). 日本軍閥應完全剷除，其不再(再度)為世界和平之威脅。To be able to throw the ball into the basket, one must practice once and again (again and again). 欲求投球入籃，須再三練習之。(2) "All the world over" = "all over the world" 之意，惟在前句"over"係副辭形容"all"，後句中之"over"係前及辭以"world"為object，二者意義相同。English is spoken all over the world (all the world over). 英語通用於全世界。(3) "On board" 簡用副詞 "aboard"，"船上" = "on board ship" ("ship" 之前不用 "the"，因此三字合為一組，成為習慣語，或 "aboard ship")。"上船" = "to go on board"，並推廣用之於火車 defeat 飛機(美國用法尤如此)。故 "to go on board steamer—train—airplane"。"上船-上-上飛機" "回到船上" = "to come on board"。"載有" = "to have—on board"。"載" = "to take—on board"。(4) 此處係名詞，"to live in quiet" "安居"；"平安(度日)"。"to be at quiet" "靜謐"。"Out of quiet" "騷擾"。"to do on the quiet" "秘密"，"私下為之"。此處 "quiet" 之後 "of your homes" 形容故其前加 "the" 字。(5) "Hearts" 之動詞 "will be" 省略。6) "to be on service in active service" "正服軍役"，此處用複數指海陸空三方軍役而言。"to be in one's service" "侍奉某人"。"to be in government service—in the service of the government" "充當官吏"。"To take a man into one's service" "雇"。"To take service (with a master)—to enter one's service" "服事(於主人)"。"To be in service—out of service" "現役-退役"。"To dismiss (discharge) a man from (one's) service" "免職"。"Exemption from military service" "免兵役"。"To be liable to military service" "有服兵役之義務(年齡適於兵役)"。"To be at one's service" "聽某使用"，"聽某使喚"。The library is at your service, if you want to read. 君欲讀書，圖書館聽君使用。I am at your service. 鄙人聽君使喚(願為君供驅使)。(7) "患難"，"嚴重試驗"，"難關"。The Chinese nation is passing an ordeal unprecedented in history。(8) (凡物之最佳稱) "精華"，"精英"，"精銳"，故 "flower of manhood—of mankind—of Chivalry—of the army" "精壯男子(健兒)，人傑，英武，精銳"。又 "flower

of speech—of eloquence”“華藻文采，辭令優處”。(9)“To play the part (role) (in the play) 本為演戲‘扮某角色’轉為喻指語“重要”，“嘉職”。 He plays a leading (chief, important, weighty) part in the students' movement. 彼在學生運動中佔重要地位。 He plays his part well, 彼在盡職。(10)“Since”作聯結詞其本身 clause 中動詞要用 Simple past, 因所講述之事係一定過去時間發生，故用 “spoke”。但 main clause 之動詞，用 perfect tense, 故本句用 “have Changed? 如動詞用 “be”，用於 “it” 指時間時則用 simple present 言其由過去至今日時間之總和也，Since I last met you, three years have passed, 但 Since I last met you, it is three years. 第二句如用 “it has been” 則為錯誤。(11) “安樂”，“安心”，“裕適”—To be in easy circumstances 安樂渡日，小康。 To feel—be easy in mind (about some matter) 安心。 To lie in an easy state 優遊休息。(12) 空間，時間指 “不遠”，“在近處”；“在目前”，“迫於眉睫”用 “close at hand”，而 “near at hand”，則指“在手邊”；“便利”。(13) 又 to read one's Character 察人性。 To read the sky 觀察天候。 To read one's hand 相人之手。 To read futurity 預測未來。(14) 皆係形容詞作名詞用。(15) “Sacred to some god” “祀某神”。“Sacred to some purpose” (建築物) “專用於某事”。 Sacred to love, home” (家, 廟) 之紀念。(16) 此聯結詞示退步：意 (concession) 此種用法規定以形容辭或副詞置及其前。 Poor as he is, he has never others for financial aid. “as” clause 與 “Though” (although) clause 意義同惟不若後者顯調耳，故本句可以 “Although (though) he is poor, —”。皆為 Subordinate clauses. 又與口頭上比較常用之 “No matter how poor he is” 相同。但此 clauses 若改為 “However poor he is” 則整句變為 compound sentence。(17) 本句與第一段 “your hearts (will be) with those you love” 相呼應，蓋聖誕節係表徵天倫樂事之佳節，人在國外度節，其心實在想念家人。但吾人正馳驅疆場，除想念家人之外，應由愛家而抖擻精神，以應世變也。

### Witty Sayings 隽語

A work well begun is half ended.—Plato 一件事雖有好的開始，祇是做了一半。英諺 “Well begun is half done”.——柏拉圖。

Bear, and blame not what you cannot Change.—Publius Syrus  
人須忍耐著，不要埋怨你所不能改變的事。(「勿怨天尤人」)——賽得士。

Hop is a waking man's dream.—Pliny.

希望是清醒的人的夢。——卜林里。

Need teaches things unlawful.—Seneca.

因為需就會做出不法的事——生尼卡。

PRESIDENT CHIANG'S NEW YEAR'S DAY MESSAGE

蔣主席元旦日演辭

Broadcast on January 1, 1944

一九四四年一月一日廣播

Today is New Year's Day of 1944. It was exactly fifty years ago today that Dr. Sun Yat-sen, fired by China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War, started the revolutionary movement for the salvation of China by organizing the Hsing Chung Hui, the end and aim of which, he declared, was "to save the Chinese people out of deluge and conflagration, and to avert the falling of the House of Han." In other words, the purpose of the revolutionary movement was to revive the Chinese nation so as to free the people and their posterity from being enslaved by foreign nations. Ever since our martyrs and fellow countrymen have followed, one after the foot-steps of the other in the great struggle of national reconstruction based on revolutionary principles and of national rejuvenation by wiping off all the past humiliations.

Through seven years of bitter resistance against Japan, we have cut our way out to a bright future for our country, helped to strengthen the cause of the United Nations, and laid a solid foundation for our common victory. We and our allies are now exchanging news of military success and preparing for an all-front offensive. In addition, we are planning for the economic rehabilitation of

今天中華民國三十三年元旦，我們國父號召革命救國，組織興中會以來，到今年恰滿了五十年。興中會的成立，正是在甲午戰爭之年，國父宣佈他的革命宗旨是要「拯斯民於水火，扶大廈之將傾」。他的目的，在於復興中華，使世世子孫免為外族的奴隸牛馬。這五十年來，我們革命先烈和全國同胞前仆後繼，就為這個革命建國雪恥圖強的目的而奮鬥。此次對日抗戰，也就是承受這一個革命的宗旨。

我們七年苦戰，到今天已經開闢了光明的前途，昌明了世界的正義，同時更進一步的鞏固了勝利的基礎。現在我們中國與各聯合國之間，正在交換着各路捷報，準備着各線的反攻，籌劃着戰後世界經濟的復興，

The post-war world, working with united effort for the realization of the real well-fare and emancipation of humanity, and, especially, looking forward to organizing a post-war international political machinery, which will retain the victory and guarantee the lasting peace.

Today, you, uniformed<sup>10</sup> men and women and civilians of China, in the midst of such a hard task and having such a brightening prospect before you, in celebrating the New Year's Day of 1944 with comrades-in-arms of all other peace-loving and anti-aggression nations, naturally see the significance of the celebration, because this New Year's Day marks the dawn of a new era in the history of the world.

The outstanding development in the global war during the past year was that the cornerstone for the victory of the United Nations was solidly laid, while the Axis aggressors began to show signs of collapse. Last spring the Allied forces in North Africa won a decisive victory while the Axis suffered a smashing defeat and the whole of Libya was cleared of the Nazi hordes. This was followed by the Allied occupation of Sicily and Italy's surrender. On the Eastern European Front, the Soviet forces scored repeated victories, completely dislodging the Germans from positions along the Dniester, when they had recovered Stalingrad, and Smolinsk, and Kiev, Strategic points in South and central Russia.

Japan has also suffered reverses everywhere in the Pacific and China theaters. The Allied forces launched

共同努力於人類幸福和解放的實現，尤其是

眼望着戰後世界和平機 的組織，而共謀永

久勝利的保證。

我們全國人民就在這工作十分艱苦而繁

途日益光明的時機，與全世界反抗侵略愛好

和平的戰友們，共同慶祝這一個曙光已露的

元旦，自然感覺到今年的慶祝格外有意義，

特別有價值。

去年一年中間，世界戰局的特徵 是

們聯合國決勝基礎的奠定，這就是聯合國

而最後勝利的發端，也是軸心國徹底崩潰的

開始。即自去年春間以來，北非軸心軍開始

崩潰，不久利比亞全境肅清，盟軍在北非獲

得全勝，接着就有西西里島的佔領，和意大

利的投降。在東歐戰場，蘇聯屢戰屢勝，從

克復史達林格勒以後，在南部中部擊潰克爾

了斯摩靈斯克和基輔等名城，德寇已完全不

能在聶伯河流域站足。

至於日寇在太平洋上和中國戰場上，也

是處處失敗，盟軍以預定的步驟，多方發強

an all-front offensive as they had planned and occupied Attu and Kiska in north Pacific and Solomons Islands in south-east Pacific, and Gilbert Islands in west Pacific. With the recent Allied landings on New Britain and at other strategic points, Japan's second line of defence in the Pacific from the Solomons to the Bismarck Sea, has been broken, and therefore, she could not but confess her war situation to be "serious". In the China theater<sup>9</sup>, she has encountered unexpected heavy blows at the hands of our defenders in all her futile attacks in the provinces of Kwangtung, Fukien, Chekiang, Kiangsi, Kiangsu, Szechuan, Hopei, Anhwei, Shansi and Suiyuan. In her third major campaign in Hunan and Hupoh, we were able to inflict upon her a most crushing defeat, and especially in the battle of Changteh she had a taste of the splendid fighting quality of our troops. In all her four attacks in Western Yunnan, she failed to dislodge our forces from their rocklike defenses along the Nu River. Throughout the past year, the Japanese had nothing but defeats and failures in both offense and defence.

The fate<sup>10</sup> of the Axis partners—Japan and Germany—can now be said to be sealed<sup>11</sup>. The United Nations have become stronger, as more and more nations have joined their ranks, while non-belligerent countries have become more and more friendly and sympathetic to them. The past year, therefore, was a turning point in the titanic world war, in that not only the initiative passed into Allied hands in all the theaters but all

在北太平洋有阿圖島和吉斯卡的克復。在西南太平洋先後攻克了所羅門羣島的全部。在西太平洋又有吉爾貝特羣島的佔領。最近又在新不列顛島各處登陸成功。於是太平洋戰爭由所羅門羣島進至俾斯麥海面，日寇在太平洋上第二道防綫，完全為我盟軍突破了，所以他在今天不能不承認「戰局重大」了。在我們中國戰場上，日寇這一年來：對蘇國漸緩，對蘇冀魯皖晉綏各地，斷斷續續的攻擊，不僅毫無所得，而且處處遇到我們嚴重的打擊。至其大舉向我湘鄂區發動的三次攻勢，都遭受我軍的懲創，尤其是最近常德會戰，更傾軋了我軍的威力，而滇西怒江方面的四次進犯，至今尚無法撼我軍屹立怒江西岸的陣地。日寇在過去這一年中，真是以攻則必敗，以守則必挫。

現在日德軸心，已成為受縛待斃的俘囚，實無異釜底的游魂。而我們聯合國方面，則增加了許多參戰的和非交戰的友邦。這一年真是世界戰局全面轉變的轉捩紐，不但是全世界各戰場的主動地位，都歸到了聯合國的掌握之中，並且全世界反侵略的力量，已

the anti-aggression forces were united to form one front.

While the concerted efforts of the United Nations have been to a considerable extent accountable for this happy turn of events during the year, when the initiative, which is the key to military success, passed into Allied hands, there is a more important factor to be considered. This lies in the traditional love for democracy and freedom of the American people, who treat all the peoples of the world as their equals. Their readiness to fight for the world cause and to help the oppressed against oppressors have led their government to adopt a just and enlightened world policy and under discreet guidance of their great leaders, to translate that policy into action with success. Thus America has played "a significant role" in turning the tide of the world war and in laying the foundation of victory for the United Nations, and, as a result, the Axis brigands have been subjected first to a psychological disarmament under the censure of justice and righteousness. But for American active measures, the status might have been "different" to the United Nations. Though we can hardly imagine what might have happened without America stepping forward, yet we can safely say that the prospect could never be so favorable and brightening to the United Nations as it is today. This point I wish to press most emphatically on our army and our people—a point which is also worthy of worldwide attention.

It should be emphasized that the

能在一起，我們就應該盡量的努力。

戰爭的爆發和發展，的確，我們猶如有一年以來，戰爭的主動地位得以恢復，在聯合國這方面，也成了反侵略的國際戰的形勢，這固然由於我們各聯合國志願的結合，共同奮鬥，打擊侵略的決心和努力所造成，但其中第一個主要的因素，我們大家又不能不承認的，就是美國人民發揚其自由民主的傳統美德，對全世界各民族這着一視同仁的態度，使不條約，決不強，使事與成，使偉大光明的世界秩序，得到順利的執行，和不斷的發展，來應付全世界的戰局，而為聯合國奠定下勝利的基礎。在軸心寇盜正在公理的高地面前，先從心理上解除了武裝，否則今日世界的戰局，勢必要演變到如何的形勢，我們難以想像，更何況，總不能平今，這總絕對有利於光明的戰局。這一論，是我在華盛頓與民衆會中提出的，亦是值得我們世界人民特別注意的。

須知我們這一次戰爭勝利的基礎，就在

foundation of victory is that our war is a war for the establishment of justice and the liberation of mankind. Only in this spirit, given full expression, may victory be won and permanent peace achieved.

Our war of resistance against Japanese imperialists is at the threshold<sup>16</sup> of the eighth year today, and you, uniformed men and women and civilians, will feel with me that in this present year our task is harder and our responsibilities heavier than ever before. And as our national position and reputation becomes higher, we should strive harder in order to be worthy of our new acquisitions and of our responsibilities incidental<sup>17</sup> to such acquisitions.

During the past year, our international relations were readjusted first by the relinquishment<sup>18</sup> by the powers concerned of their extraterritorial and related rights in China and then by the Passage in the American Congress of the bill for the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act.<sup>19</sup> We have concluded new treaties on the basis of equality and entered into treaties of amity with friendly nations whereby our traditional relations of friendship with them have been enhanced. Thus our century-old aspirations for national independence and freedom may now be said to have been realized.

In October, last year, we signed with America, Great Britain and the Soviet Union at Moscow a joint declaration on collective security. This, together

於我們聯合國所執行的是代表正義人道，為全人類謀解放自由的義戰，當前的形勢，實在是這種因素造成。就是非聯合國最後勝利的前途，亦必有賴於這種因素與這種精神的保持和發展。才能達成我們永久和平真正的目的。

從今天起，我們中國抗戰進入到第八年頭了。我全國軍民同胞在這一年之中，工作必愈益艱苦，責任亦愈益繁重，同時我們國家的地位，將愈益增高，民族的信譽，也會愈益加強，所以我們必須努力自強，使名實相符，無虧我們的天職。

我們中國去年一年之間的對外關係，先有各國在華治外法權的取消，最後又有美國對華限制移民法案的撤廢，我們與聯合國諸友邦，就在這一年中間，訂立平等新約，成立友好協定，增進固有的邦交，改進傳統的關係。百年來我全國同胞所追求的國家獨立、民族自由的理想，可以說是已經實現了。

到了去年十月，我們與美、英、蘇聯，在莫斯科共同簽訂關於普遍安全的宣言，這

with the joint declaration signed by the United Nations at Washington on New Year's Day, 1942, which it supplements, provides for the attainment of the common war aims and lays down the principle for the establishment of an international peace machinery. Later, at the Cairo and Teheran conferences, agreements were reached on common war strategy in Europe and Asia and on the punishment of war criminals in the East and West.

In the light of<sup>18</sup> the important events of the past year the peoples of the world, amid the gunfire in the cataclysmic<sup>19</sup> war, can already visualize the advent of peace and the dawn of righteousness. Peoples who have been trampled upon by the aggressors can now be sure of their future emancipation and rebirth.

Here I wish to report to you the impressions I received during my participation in the Cairo Conference which, I am sure, you will be glad to hear. This conference was of especial significance this year because its resolutions will put an end to the criminal acts of Japan which began fifty years ago after the Sino-Japanese War. In 1938, I pointed out that ever since the Meiji<sup>20</sup> reforms Japan had consistently followed a policy of continental aggression. It seized our Formosa, the Pescadores, and the Liuchiu Islands after the Sino-Japanese War and after the Russo-Japanese War it occupied eight prefectures of Korea, Port Arthur, Darien, as bases for the enslavement of China and domination of East Asia preliminary to world conquest. To

一個聯合宣言，沒沒有三十一個而且聯合國在華盛頓由我同盟國所訂定之宣言內容，所定之聯合宣言就其共同作戰目的之方法，確立了國際和平組織的原則。接着我們聯合國家先後在開羅與德黑蘭分別舉行會議，協定了在歐洲在亞洲共同作戰的方法，宣告了對東西亞侵略罪行的懲罰。

由於這一年來國際上這種重大事實，世界上全體人類是平等的烽火裏面，已經聽見了和平的福音，窺見了正義的光明，侵略者所曾蹂躪及其所正在摧殘奴役的區域，也得到了解放和復興的保證。

請到這裏，我要向我全國軍民報告我們參加開羅會議的感想，我起我軍民同胞必樂於聽聞。特別是今年恰恰滿了中日甲午之戰五十年，而開羅會議的決定，正是清算日寇五十年來的關於日寇的侵略政策，我在二十七年曾經明白指出：「日本自明治維新以來，早就有他一貫的大陸侵略計劃，甲午之戰，他佔了我們的台灣和澎湖，強佔了琉球，日俄戰爭以後，他併吞了朝鮮八道，侵略了我們的旅順大連，那是要想以這些地點為根據，來完成他滅亡中國，獨霸東亞，征服

crush these ambitious designs of Japan, our National Father laid down a policy which has become traditional with our revolutionary Party, i.e. "to recover our lost territories and to revive the Chinese nation". Today we must strive to liberate the Korean people and regain Formosa for ourselves as one of the aims of our resistance.

At the Cairo Conference, America, Great Britain and China, unanimously agreed to strip Japan of all the Pacific Islands she has seized or occupied since the First World War and to drive her out of all the territories which she has despoiled by force or out of greed. She has to restore to us the Four Northeastern Provinces, Formosa and the Pescadores. She has to permit Korea to be free and independent. Thus, we have received absolute assurances of attaining the aims of our sacred war of resistance. This will not only cheer our fellow-countrymen in Formosa, the Pescadores and the Northeast, as well as the people of Korea, but all the oppressed and maligned Asiatic peoples both in the Pacific and on the Asian mainland may look forward with certainty for liberation, and gladly join in the struggle to extirpate the common enemy. Such a serious and effective joint resolution would have been regarded simply as a wish, but today it has become a realization.

In the intimate talks I had with President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill at Cairo we considered, apart from the resolutions mentioned above, steps for mutual cooperation and plans

共同的中心。我們一致計劃了日寇這一個中心，為基礎，定了一個革命傳統的綱領，就是要「收復失土，復興中華」我們這一次抗戰，要消滅日本侵略的野心，必須以解放朝鮮人民和恢復台灣與土為我們的願志。

在這一次開羅會議中，美英兩國和我們中國一致同意在戰勝日本自第一次大戰後所奪得或佔領的太平洋一切島嶼，要將日寇逐出於其以武力貪慾所擄去的土地，要歸還東北四省和台灣澎湖等島於我們中華民國。更要使朝鮮自由獨立。各位同胞由此可以看出我們神聖抗戰的目標，這一回是更得到了一個堅實的保證。美英以及其他各盟邦扶持正義，和我們中國同胞同心，以求得制止與懲罰日本的侵略，這不但更熱望歸還祖國懷抱的台灣澎湖同胞而興奮，使我們流亡七十一年以上的東北同胞底痛苦，使不遑日增奴隸的朝鮮同胞底風起，而且也是以我們同胞所有被日寇殘凌壓迫的滬上陸上一切民衆，都感到解救之有期，共同消滅敵人而奮鬥。這真一個重大而有力的共同決議，可以說在十年以前我們只是一個志願，而到了今天已成爲事實了。

我在開羅和羅斯福總統、邱吉爾首相和哈里森說，除了上面所提的決議以外，我們還商議了互合作的步驟，商定了共同作戰的

of action<sup>21</sup>, and agreed upon in our talks the question of the disposal<sup>22</sup> of the enemy after the war.

One important problem in this connection concerns Japan's form of government. When President Roosevelt asked my views, I frankly replied, "It is my opinion that all the Japanese militarists must be wiped out and the Japanese political system must be purged of every vestige<sup>23</sup> of aggressive elements. As to what form of government Japan should adopt, that question can better be left to the awakened and repentant Japanese people to decide for themselves."

I also said: "If the Japanese people should rise in a revolution to punish their war mongers and to overthrow their militarist government, we should respect their spontaneous will and allow them to choose their own form of government." President Roosevelt fully approved of my idea. This opinion of ours is entirely based on the spirit of the joint declaration of the United Nations in 1942.

Today I make public this conversation with President Roosevelt at Cairo in order to impress upon our army and people that after victory we hope not only to set free all the peoples who have been oppressed and enslaved by the enemy but also to give a helping hand to the innocent and harmless people in Japan.

I have returned from the Cairo Conference with renewed devotion to the ideals of justice and peace. I may

計劃。而且此種計劃之中心點乃在於對敵國將來之處理。

其中相當重要的，是關於日本的門戶問題。羅斯福總統問我對今後日本的門戶問題如何主張，我坦率的答覆他說：「這個問題，我以為除了日本軍閥必須被剷除，不能再舉起起來關日本政治以外，至於他國內如何，最好仍由日本國民自己相信信自己來解決。」

我又說：「如果日本國民能起來對他戰爭禍首的軍閥而革命，推倒他現在侵略主義的軍閥政府，徹底消除他侵略主義的根株，那我們就應該尊重他們國民自由的意志，去選擇他們自己政府的形式」。羅斯福總統以為然。我們這個主張，完全是根據於一九四二年聯合國宣言的精神。

我今天發表這一談話，就是與我們軍民認識，我們這一次戰爭的勝利，不但要解放所有被敵寇殘酷奴役的民衆，同時也要拯救日本國內善良無辜的國民。

我這次和羅斯福總統，與古爾普相會晤以後，更充份加強了我對於正義和平的信心

tell you that the deepest impressions I have of President Roosevelt are of his unflinching faith, his firm determination to emancipate all the world's oppressed peoples and his sincere desire to help China become a truly free and independent nation. His basic policy is the attainment of real peace in the world and genuine equality among men, and he thinks that in such a future world as he visualizes China must be one of the pillars. This spirit of his arises from his innate love of justice and righteousness and his policy is based upon the peaceful relations of mutual trust between the American and Chinese peoples during the last one hundred and sixty years. With such precious national relations and intimate friendship, you armed men and women and civilians should, I must stress to you, encourage yourselves more than usual to live up to the ardent wishes of our friends.

I also had several intimate talks with Prime Minister Churchill. This resolute, farsighted and deeply emotional statesman of Great Britain impressed me by his frankness and straight-forwardness. Mr. Churchill has an inflexible determination to crush Japan with the concerted efforts of the United Nations and fully shares our faith in Sino-British cooperation closer after the war. Our talks have contributed immensely towards a better understanding between our two countries, which made me think that the post-war world will be one in which all nations both in the East and in the West should one and all strive for

。我可以告訴大家的，羅總統給予我的印象，是他對於解放世界上所有被壓迫民族堅決的信心，和援助我們中國成爲一個平等自由強盛國家的真誠。他的根本主張，完全在求得世界真正的和平，在求得人類真正的平等。

。他更以爲我們中國非在未來世界上作一個和平有力的支柱不可。他這種政策是發於主動出於內心的。他這個政策，是建立於一百六十年來中美兩人民族信任和和平的基礎之上的。這種珍貴的國交和密切的友誼，我不能不向我全國軍民鄭重的報道，我們國民務必要格外自勉，以無負我友邦熱烈的期望。

同樣的我和邱吉爾首相，也有多次的談話，這位賢明堅強富於情感的大不列顛典型的政治家，所給予我的印象，是他的坦白和正直。邱首相對於英國和我們聯合各國共同打倒日本，是具有堅強絕比的決心。而對於和我們中國戰後的切實合作，也具有同我們一樣的信心。我和他幾度晤談，增進了我們中英兩國相互間不少的瞭解，使我感到戰後的世界，一定是無論東西方各國，一致遵守着

equality and liberty as the unflinching objective. Such are the impressions I obtained from my talks with the leaders of our Allied nations.

I wish further to tell you, aside from America and Great Britain, that the Soviet Union, which participated in the Teheran Conference, has also consistently hoped that China succeed in its national reconstruction program and enjoy independence and freedom.

I am deeply convinced that the United Nations, of one heart and of one purpose, are truly engaged in a war to end all wars and that it is for this lofty ideal that the Allies are fighting gallantly on every front. To live up to the expectations of our allies, our army and people should redouble their efforts to make their nation strong and independent in order to meet the responsibilities of the times.

Since the Cairo Conference the aim of the common war against Japan have been clarified, and questions of strategy agreed upon. The land, sea, and air forces of the United Nations are to bring increasing pressure to bear upon Japan, a decision which will be carried into action in the not distant future. Our situation is, therefore, different now from the past years when we fought practically single-handed; and we also have greater assurances of victory ahead. But from today on the major task of encircling the Japanese on the Asiatic mainland will fall primarily upon our shoulders. We must realize that in her defensive war, Japan will have to

爲爭取自由的目的而奮鬥的世界。我加進那  
各領袖，親自他們的成想是加此。

我還要告訴大家的，不但美英兩國希望  
我中國獨立自由而強盛，還有蘇俄與中國美  
國兩國參加會議的時候，也始終希望我中國  
能獨立而自由而強盛。雖然在每次  
參加的國際會議中，都表示着這個一致的願  
望。

總之，我所親聞親見的，就是這一次我  
們聯合國軍隊的戰爭，真可以說是精神契  
合，同德同心，是一個爲消滅戰爭而戰爭的  
戰爭，在世界的每一戰場上，無不是爲了一  
個崇高一致的目的而英勇奮鬥。我們全美國  
只要不負盟邦的期望，應該如何格外奮勉，  
自立自強，來負起時代的責任。

自從開羅會議以後，對日共同作戰的目  
標，已具體地顯示了，共同作戰的步驟也  
是商定了。我們聯合國陸海空軍，決必以不  
變的壓力，加諸殘暴的敵人，這在不久的  
將來，就要見之於行動。

我們現在的形勢，當然和單作戰時期不  
同；勝利的前途，亦更有確實的把握。但是

make the China theater her last line of defense, where she will fight her last and most stubborn stand. Thus, in the decisive battle on the China front, all our soldiers and people must exert their utmost to bring the enemy to their knees! Having in mind the important position of the China theater in crushing the enemy on the mainland and the heavy burden of our troops to carry out this mission, you should be truly aware that it is no easy task to win the victory we so wistfully expect. It is for this reason that I have repeatedly warned you ever since the outbreak of our war of resistance never in the least to cherish<sup>22</sup> in your minds that victory could be won through luck or without taking care.

This coming year, we must realize, the war will enter the decisive stage, when the land, sea and air forces of the United Nations will carry the war to Japan's home islands and to all the sea<sup>23</sup> surrounding her. Judging from our present position as compared with that of the enemy, I believe that if we prosecute the war in strict accordance with the strategy we have agreed upon, we can certainly defeat Japan in the Pacific and Indian Oceans to such an extent that either she has to surrender unconditionally or none of her forces will be able to survive the impact of our pressure. Here I may say Japan's defeat and her consequent destruction may be accounted for<sup>24</sup> by her mistakes and presumption and by her mistakes in principles of strategy. A glance at the position and terrain of the hostile armies adopted up to today

自今以後，在國際大地上進攻日本的責任將，要由我們中國軍隊來承擔。大家要知道：目前今後的奇襲等等，必以中國戰場為最最後的一局。所以日寇最後最頑固的掙扎，都將在我們中國戰場上面。而我們中國戰場上面最後的決戰，必將我們中國軍民同胞貢獻出最大的力量。在國際日寇的軍事上，中國戰場有如此重要的地位，中國軍隊有如此重要的任務，我們中國軍民應該有真切的認識，必知知道勝利是不能輕易求得的。我從抗戰開始以來，連次勸諭軍民，都要存一絲一毫依倖倖忽的心理，也就是這個意思。

因此大家就要認清，今年乃是我們對日寇最後決戰的一年。我們聯合國的陸海空軍作戰總想，今年年底就迫使日本退出中國沙盤日本三島上面及其周圍的聯合半島。我相信照敵我兩方最近的事勢，只要大家執行共同作戰研究的方針，必可早日寇在太平洋

either in the China theater or elsewhere reveals the fact that they are exactly these positions and situations which our classical military strategist Sun-tze<sup>10</sup> warns every military commander wisely to avoid. The enemy's positions are either those which are termed by Sun-tze as "life or death ground"<sup>11</sup> (unfavorable to prolonged wars) or "trap ground"<sup>12</sup> (easy to enter but hard to get out); again they are either "devious blind-allays"<sup>13</sup> (which lead to precipitous mountains, deep forests or rivers), or those positions far detached from towns and cities and consequently inconvenient to transport supplies). As to the hostile terrain, we see it is either what Sun-tze calls a "hanging position"<sup>14</sup> (which is easy for the army to advance but is unfavorable if the enemy is on the alert), or a "branch position"<sup>15</sup> (disadvantageous to both sides)<sup>16</sup>. In view of these facts, we are certain that the enemy could not entertain the hope to save his losses both on land and on sea. Now, Comrades and Fellow-countrymen! our opportunity is close at hand for clearing the blood debt Japan owes us, for wiping off our national humiliations Japan served on us during the past fifty years, and for avenging the deaths of our soldiers and civilians killed by Japan!

To sum up, it is beyond doubt that the enemy is bound to lose, and that the prospect of China is absolutely glorious. But the coming year demands harder work of us as our struggle is approaching its victorious end as revealed in the old Chinese sayings, "He has still ore

！印度洋上的武力片甲不返，若非他蘇特投

降，就是他葬身魚腹，決不讓再有退却生還

的希望。這就是因為日寇既委賄劣，自絕道

德原則上的錯誤，不知他現在「陷入的戰線

，都是我們孫子兵法上所說的不是「死地」

，就是「圍地」，不是「死地」，就是「重

地」，而他所處的位置，不是「挂地」就，

是「支形」，他不論在海上陸上，決沒有掙

扎自覺的可能，也沒有滿載而歸的道路可走

了。同胞們！這就是我們軍功勳，對你們

攻，為統戰已死的軍民同胞和五十年來中華

民族誓死復仇，討還血債的時候了。

綜括上面所說，敵人最後的失敗是遲疑

的。我們國家的前途是絕對光明的。但是今

年這一年的戰爭，要辦到「行百里者半九十

half of the journey to cover who has traveled ninety li of the whole distance of one hundred," and "Anything we do increases in degree of importance when we are near the end of its completion." So this year will see our fighting expand in scope and increase in severity, and, consequently, the degree of fortitude and the amount of sacrifice required of you will be greater than the past years. We must see to it that everyone of our soldiers and everyone of our civilians shall solemnly discharge his God-given duty. We have to fight on one hand and reconstruct on the other, for though we begrudge no sacrifices, yet we must build up materially for what has been destroyed. You are assured that after such a long resistance of seven years now, on this auspicious day, mindful I am of the heavy work of our frontline warriors, the sufferings of the wounded officers and soldiers, the deep fortitude of our countrymen, especially those in the enemy occupied areas who suffer unbearable pains! I want, however, to remind you once more to treasure your past achievements and, looking ahead to the glorious, to fulfill your present obligations. For the attainment of the aim of our sacred resistance, for solacing the souls of our national martyrs, and keeping in mind the ordeals that we have passed through for seven long years not in vain, this year we should all the more double up our spirit of sacrifice and struggle for the realization of our national revolution.

In the coming year you armed men

的一年。今年這一年的對於抗戰關係的重大，也就是所謂「將戰將鬥」的一年。我們戰鬥的範圍將更擴張，戰鬥的形勢必更激烈。我所要求於我全國軍民同胞是絕對的冒險和艱苦鬥犧牲的態度亦自然更加重了。我要求我們每一將士，每一同胞，都自覺地認清個人的天職，我們要一面戰鬥，一面建設。我們固然不辭犧牲，同時也作不斷的補充。我們抗戰到了七年之久，當此歲始，我當然十分懷念着前線將士的辛勞，和後方官兵的痛苦，我之懷念着四萬萬同胞的流離，全國同胞的艱辛，特別是淪陷區內的父老子弟，水深火熱的痛苦。但是我不能不要求我全國軍民珍重以有的成績，開闢未來的光明，負起當前的責任。為了達成我們這次作戰的神聖目標，為了安慰七年来殉國先烈的英靈，也為了不負自己過去七年来所忍受的困苦，我們在今年，更應該發揮我們奮鬥犧牲加倍的勇氣，完成我們國民革命的使命。

今年我全國同胞所應該特別努力的工

and civilians should emphasize the following points. First, cooperation between the army and the people must be strengthened in order to struggle for victory; second, every citizen must perform the duty he owes to the state and contribute everything to the nation's cause, third through economy and thrift, material resources must be saved as much as possible with a view to meeting the needs for replenishment at the front; fourth, everybody must live a life of self-respect and honor by observing the tenets of the New Life Movement. Our recent victory at Changteh and glorious victories of other engagements ever since the outbreak of the war of resisting the invaders are examples which clearly show that the winning of a victory largely depends on the close cooperation between the army and the people. The army should, therefore regard the people as the members of their family, and, conversely, the people should assist the army with concerted effort to shoulder up their responsibilities in combating the enemy. The youth, especially, should exert their utmost to volunteer in serving their country, to be ready to answer conscription, and to respond to the movement to join the army. They should consider active service in the front as glorious and a life of ease as disgraceful, for they must keep in mind the fact that every citizen has obligation in the war fought by the nation and can be of valuable service in fighting the enemy. As to our officers and men who are fighting in the various war zones,

作，第一要加強軍民合作，爭取勝利。第二  
要各盡國民天職，貢獻一切。第三要節儉節  
儉物資，補充前線需要。第四要人人自愛自  
重，實行新生活信條。我們要以這一戰常規  
會戰和統戰以來這次光榮勝利為榜樣，必須  
知道每一次勝利的造成，無不得力於軍民合  
作的密切。所以前線要親民衆如家人，民衆  
更要協助軍隊，負起戰鬥的任務。尤其是一  
般青年們，更要自發自覺，接受國家的徵召，  
積極志願從軍運動，以服務前線為光榮，  
以苟且偷安為可恥。要知道每一國民，都有其  
戰鬥的任務，都可以為戰爭作最有價值的供  
獻。至於我們在國外及後方的軍委團士們，

they should live up to their glorious war records as obtained from the victories at Changteh and in western Hunan and do their utmost to expedite military preparations so that when the forthcoming great offensive unfolds itself this year they will make a contribution to the state that will be remembered forever. And lastly, I hope those who are fighting abroad shoulder to shoulder with the Allied armies will work in co-operation with them, in heart and in mind, which is an emblem of our national virtues and the traditional spirit of the Chinese people. In this way they will be proud of being combatants of the United Nations.

In short, the obligations of every citizen towards his or her country, as I have pointed out, grow heavier in proportion as the war comes nearer towards its close. It is with united effort of the whole nation and by fighting ever more fiercely that we can win the war, achieve the reconstruction of our nation, and ensure a glorious future for her. You certainly believe that on this auspicious day when every thing grows anew, I have more wishes and hopes than I can convey to you. May you all do your utmost bravely to carry on the sacred struggle! May you keep in mind what I said in the "Outline for Spiritual mobilization", namely "Our first task lies in preparation for carrying on the war and our primary aim is to win victory". Furthermore, I want you to struggle with united effort for the realization of our common creed, by which we have un-

大家更須保持抗戰以來光榮的紀錄，也應因循前次湘鄂會戰的經驗，各自奮勇，趁這個戰爭決勝的今年，加緊準備，保衛國家，以建立不朽的功業。在盟軍並肩作戰的時候，更要發揮我們中華民族固有的美德和傳統精神，同仇敵愾，同舟共濟，顯不愧為聯合國的一個戰鬥員。

總之，戰爭愈到最後，國民對國家應盡的義務愈趨愈重。惟有舉國一致，發憤忘強，投機忘食，才能達到抗戰的目的，達到我們建國的目標，創造我們民族光明燦爛的前途。在這個萬象更新的今天，我對着我們全國的軍民同胞，有說不盡的期望。希望，願大家奮發努力，勇往進進，願大家記住我們精神總動員的標語——「軍事第一，政治第一」。更要大家一致奮鬥，以實現我

flinchingly for seven years ever since the outbreak of the present war, namely, "Victory is certain in war; success is certain in reconstruction."

七年來一貫的自信：「戰事必勝，建國必成。」

o j

#### ANNOTATIONS AND NOTES

(1) "End and aim" 雖為兩字，但意義相同實等於一語，此語同類視之 "was"。同理 Bread and butter is a luxury to us now-a-days. (2) "響"(聽)。(3) "真"。(4) "to cut one's way out—to cut one's way through the enemy". "打開血路"。(5) "期待"，"企盼"。(6) "武裝"(起)。(7) to lay the cornerstone "立基石"，"奠定"。(8) "theater" 戲院。(9) "興以"(建國，苦楚)。(10) "Seal" = "decide—one's fate or doom" 命，運一決定。His fate is sealed 彼命定如此(不可挽救)。(11) "隸為"，"贖身"。(12) "估置某地位"(13) Subjunctive mood. (14) "At the threshold of" = "at the beginning of" "起始" The freshman students are at the threshold of their college life. "On the threshold of" = "On the eve of" "行將"。A Prolonged war may put the Japanese people on the threshold of a revolution. (15) "壽命"。16) "放棄"。The relinquishment of a right—a possession—one's habit—belief—plan. (17) 陸法榮始於六十一年前。(18) "由(某事)肇之"，(19) "洪水，泛濫(將)激發"，"巨大"的。(20) 明治。(21) "此(戰)"。(22) "愛國"，"處理" The matters concerning social safety are at the disposal of the commissioner of police. ("使用" The money is at your disposal). (23) "痕跡" We can discern the vestiges of Chinese civilization in Japan. (24) "實效"。(25) "強弱"，"迫" To bring pressure to bear upon a man 加壓迫於人。(26) "To carry into action" "實行" = "to put into effect". (27) "In the not distant future" "不久之 來" = in the near future "最近之將來"，但此者從反面來示時間迫於眉睫，以後者為偏詞，此為修辭用法——反面強迫可加感語氣。(28) "演(樂會或 命)" = "entertain". We all cherish (entertain) the hope that a new China will be born of the war. (29) = "Explained" "解釋"。His illness accounts for his absence. His absence is accounted for by his illness. (30) 象子(31) "死地"《喪則存，不疾則亡者，為死地》。(32) "死地"《所由趨至，所從歸奔往，彼寡可以勝吾之衆者，為死地》。(33) "死地"《有山林險阻孤澤，凡難行之地，為死地》。(34) "挂形" 可以往，難以退回挂，挂形者，敵無備，出其不意；敵若有備，出而不接，難以返，不利。(35) "支形"《我出而不利，彼出而不利，曰支，支形則利我，我無出也》。(36) 以上見孫子十三篇中九地篇第十一，地形篇第十。(37) "雄雞" "雞關" The Chinese people have shown great fortitude while passing the present ordeal of a long war. (38) "目的在……" 此五字為一語 phrase 故 "to" 與前字關係甚切，因此其後可用 infinitive，常用 gerund. 如 "With a view to meeting." 若用 "to meet" 則不合習慣用法。因此凡數字合款之 Preposition-phrase 其末一字為 "to" 者皆用 gerund.

DR. SUN FO'S LUNAR. ST. TO THE UNITED STATES  
ON REPEAL OF CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT( )

November 27, 1943

孫哲生先生關於美國撤消限制華  
人入境法案對美國廣播演辭

一九四三年十一月二十七日攝送

As President of the Legislative Yuan, the highest law-making body in the Chinese Government, I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the United States Congress and the President for their far-sighted wisdom in repealing the Chinese Exclusion<sup>2</sup> Act.

Materially speaking, this repeal will make little difference<sup>3</sup> to our respective national well-being. The annual emigration<sup>4</sup> of some one hundred people more or less from the congested<sup>5</sup> provinces of metropolitan China will hardly solve our problem of over-population. Nor will the admission of such a small quota of Chinese immigrants<sup>6</sup> into your country amount to more than a mere drop in the vast ocean of humanity that is America today.

The great importance of your present action to us is in the principle implied: that of according<sup>7</sup> a status of equality to, and cessation of discrimination<sup>8</sup> against, the Chinese people as a race. This repeal has thus removed the last vestige<sup>9</sup> of the past: it ushers<sup>10</sup> in a

念對美國華僑院以總統最近通過撤消限制華人入境法案一事表示之意見及呼籲，特以中國最高立法機關立法院院長地位，特與今日機會深表贊成。

以實事而論，取消華人入境法案之撤消，對彼此兩國之福利，均無大關係。蓋每年由中國各省人口壅塞之都市移出一百名左右之人民，實不能解決中國人口過剩問題，而此少數定額之中國人民，移入仁愛廣漠有若海洋今日之美國，實猶海之一粟耳。

雖然，貴國此舉，關係中國人民至深之處，厥為其中所含之原則，即美國給予中國整個民族以平等地位並取消歧視態度是也。

本案之重要，實為我華大民族間之障礙洗刷

new era of mutual understanding and mutual respect between our two great peoples.

It has another and far deeper significance. You know the Japanese warlords, our common enemies, have been working overtime<sup>11</sup> to convert the Chinese, as well as other peoples of Asia, to the diabolical idea of a racial war on the part of the yellow and brown peoples as against the white. The enemy has been dinning<sup>12</sup> into our ears that the Americans will never concede a status of equality to the Asiatic peoples because of their darker skins. He points to the Chinese Exclusion Act to support his propaganda. Of course we were not deceived.

The repeal of this old law from your statute books has reaffirmed our faith in American fair-play and American friendship. The Japanese have been given<sup>13</sup> the lie. No longer can they poison the minds of less-informed peoples on this point.

The Chinese people are also much gratified and greatly heartened at the happy outcome of the recent Moscow conference. The signing of the four Power Declaration on general security marks an epochal advance in world unity to secure peace at the end of the present conflict.

It shows that our statesmen are fully cognizant<sup>14</sup> of a great truth. If we need each other's aid and support to win the war, it is clear that we shall have greater need for one another's cooperation and collaboration in order to win the peace. In unity there is not only strength, for

希望，以開此路為第一之新紀元也。

美國撤消本案即更有深明之意義在焉。

諸君皆知吾人共同敵人日本軍閥向中國人民

及其他亞洲資種除種民族方面，對白種人

族從事種族戰爭之毒辣思想，不啻加工煽惑

，為時已久。吾人耳中常聞日寇揚言美國人

民對有色人種決無承認平等地位之事，並以

限制華入境法一事以助宣傳。然吾人固未

受其欺也。

吾人對美國之公平與友誼之信心，於此

撤消法案從貴國法中刪除一事，又得一確

證。日寇之奸妄因此攻破，從此不能以此點

毒化一般見識較暗之民族矣。

除此之外，中國人民對最近莫斯科四國

會議之圓滿結果，甚為欣慰及興奮。我四大

強國所簽定之普遍安全宣言，實為向世界大

戰結束後，謀世界團結一新時代之邁進也。

四強簽定宣言明示吾人之政治學深切認

識一重大真理，即吾人如需彼此扶助始可獲

得戰爭之勝利，則吾人為獲得和平之勝利亦

需要彼此間協力合作，必為更大，此甚顯

明也。竊知世界團結之中，不僅須有強有力，

In unity there will also be peace in the postwar world.

You Americans and we Chinese have been comrades-in-arms now for years. Together with our gallant allies and those heroic fighters, the Soviet and British peoples, as well as with all the United Nations, we shall be able to prosecute this war to its ultimate conclusion, until the unconditional surrender of our common enemies. Let us, therefore, get on with the job before us. Let us redouble our efforts to shorten the war and speed up victory, in Europe, in Asia, and in the Pacific.

但亦須有和平在也。

平等美國人民與吾等中國人並肩作戰，已兩年於茲。吾人與吾人之美英盟友，壯烈戰士蘇聯與英法民衆，以及其他一切聯合國家，協力作戰，定能堅持到底，直至吾人與同敵人無條件投降為止。因此吾人與目前之工作當向前進，增加倍努力縮短戰事，促使歐、亞，及太平洋上勝利早日實現。

### Notes and Annotations

- (1) 美國限制華人入境法曾施行共六十一年至一九三三年十一月二十日由參議院通過撤銷，羅斯福總統於同年十二月十七日批准，稱該法為“historical mistake”。
- (2) “To exclude” “排斥”，“拒絕”，“不准(可)進入”，“除去”。To exclude a person from office, club, party. To exclude foreigners from the country. 排斥，開逐，除外。The bus is packed up to the exclusion of air. 公共汽車擁擠不堪，連水也瀉不通。The best preparations cannot exclude the possibility of failure. 準備得再周到也難保不失敗。(3) 同此常用之句 One false step will make a great difference. 失之毫厘差以千里。A year or two will make a difference—make some difference—make no difference(=is indifferent—is all one—does not matter)to me. 一二年卻有不同——無關係——無關係 It makes no difference to me to stay at home or to go with you= I don't care about staying at home or going with you. 我留在家或隨你同去毫不介意。Don't make let it make any difference=Never mind. 切勿介意。(4) “Emigration” 向國外移居，“遷居出境”，是中國立場；the emigration of a small number of the Chinese is to America. 少數中國人民移居美國。(5) “Congested” “塞架” Chinking is still congested with people in spite of orders for those who have no necessary business to line there to evacuate. 沿鐵國人雖三令五申，致使居民仍行塞架。(6) “Immigrants” “外來之移民”，“遷居入境者”。在美國立場：the Chinese immigrants 中國移(入美國之人)民。(7) 真應 “according” 係副名詞(非常見之 “according to the law” 一句中 “依照” 之意，此處為 participial preposition-phrase 加上 “law” 字成爲一 prepositional phrase)。We accord

welcome to all guests 或 accord all guests welcome. 既下賓，一氣歡迎。 We accord all privileges to foreigners. 以種種利益給與外人。(To accord with something, 一致，調和，符合 To accord with one's views, 與某人意見相合。 To accord with reason, 合理。 His actions accord with his words, 言行一致。 又他動 to accord a difference 使之一致，和合，和解，調停)。(8, (a) “分別待遇” (不平的)，“歧視”(指同一權利，法律使受益人所得不同；或商業，應收費視對象之不同而異)。“To discriminate in favour of his friends, 特別優待其友(此由反對立場而言)。“To discriminate against a special class (foreigners)” 別歧視某一階級(外國人)。“To discriminate between this and that customer, 歧視顧客(分別對待)。(b) “辨別”，“鑑別”較“distinguish”區別為二確。 To discriminate the right and the wrong—the right from the wrong—between the right and the wrong. (9) “痕跡”，“遺跡”，“跡”。 Live up to the rules prescribed by the New Life Movement, and you will the last vestiges of all bad habits disappear 如能實行新生活運動則一切惡習必除淨盡(不留一跡)。(10) 導入招) To usher into a house—into the presence of the master. To usher in a guest, To usher out 送去，引出。【用為名詞：a. 看門人；b. 招待員；c. (貴人，官吏之先驅)】。(11) “Overtime” “加工”，“超額之工”，“加班”。(12) “To din in one's ears” “絮聒不休”，“刺刺不休”，“常聒不已”。(13) “To give one the lie” “to be given the lie” “責其說謊”本句意為“日本人之謊語已因此受斥責矣。(14) “認謊”(由於服務上而言)。(15) “趕緊”，“推遲”(又 to get on with a man, 與人和睦。To get on in business, 事業隆昌。To get on in years, 有了年紀。To get on by oneself, 獨自為之。To get on to old age, 漸入老境。It (time) is getting far twelve now, 現已將近十二點矣。(16) “加快”，“促(某事)早日成功(實現)。

### Witty Sayings 隽語

An injurious truth has no merit over an injurious lie: neither should ever be uttered.—Mark Twain.

一個有害的真理並不比一個有害的謊語好：這都是不應說的。——馬克吐溫。

Light cares speak, great ones are dumb.—Seneca

焦心小的事會自己說出來，焦心大的事是啞口無言的。——生尼卡

MADAME SUN YAT-SEN'S BROADCAST TO THE PEOPLE OF THE  
UNITED STATES

國父逝世紀念日孫夫人向美國演辭

Made on the Occasion of the nineteenth anniversary of the death of Father of  
the Chinese Republic, March 12, 1944

一九四四年三月十二日 國父逝世十九週年紀念日播送

Nineteen years ago Sun Yat-sen wrote in his will, which ever since has been one of the basic political documents of Chinese progress: "For forty years I have devoted myself to the cause of the people's revolution with but one end in view, the elevation of China to a position of freedom and equality among nations. My experience during these forty years have firmly convinced me that to attain this goal we must bring about a thorough awakening of our own people and ally ourselves in a common struggle with those people of the world who treat us on a basis of equality. The work of the revolution is not yet done.....Above all, our recent declarations in favor of the convocation of a National Convention and the abolition of unequal treaties should be carried into effect with the least possible delay."

What do the principles of this declaration mean today? We must seek their meaning first of all in the linking of the words "freedom" and "equality" as between nations or states, and the linking of "thorough awakening of our own peoples" with "the common struggle

總理於十九年前，留下他的遺囑。這  
遺囑，從彼時起，早已成爲指導中國進步的  
基本政治文獻之一。總理說道：「余致力  
國民革命，凡四十年，其目的在求中國之自  
由平等，積四十年之經驗，深知欲達到此四  
的，必須喚起民眾及聯合世界上以平等待我  
之民族，共同奮鬥。現在革命尚未成功……  
以求貫徹，最近主張開國民會議，及廢除不  
平等條約，尤須於最短期間，促其實現」。

總理這種遺訓，在今日究有怎樣的意義  
呢？我們必須先從國與國間「自由」與「平  
等」這兩個名詞的關係，以及從「喚起民眾

with those peoples of the world who treat us on a basis of equality." The linking of the abolition of the unequal treaties (achieved as a result of our anti-Japanese struggle) with the convocation of a democratic national convention at home (not yet called) shows the same dominant thought.

Stable peace can only come to the world when international democracy is attained. Today we all recognize this in words, though not all do in deeds. International democracy means both equality among the nations and a government in each country based on the interest and freely signified will of its people. When Sun Yat-sen was called to crystallize, in a few words, the results of a long lifetime of thought and experience for the greatest needs of the people of China, he put these two things first of all.

I should like to call attention to the stress on common action with other peoples seeking similar ends. The observance of Sun Yat-sen's memorial anniversary in America today is an added proof that common aims, and not race or geographical boundaries, are the strongest factors in unity between peoples. For years the Chinese people held the Far Eastern front against Fascism alone. Today men of the American armed forces fight Japan in the Chinese air as well as on the islands and the high seas.

I would like to carry this thought further. Everyone knows that the aim of the Chinese people in this war is the aim of Sun Yat-sen's life work—full

」與「平等待我之民族共同奮鬥」這兩句話的關係中，去找尋其意義。「廢除不平等條約」和「開國民會議」兩句話的關係，也同樣地表明了 總理的基本主張。

完成了國際的民主政治，世界才有安定的和平。我們對於這個真理，現在雖非人人真切實行，但在口頭上都是承認的。國際的民主政治，有兩方面的意義：在國際間，凡是國家都有平等地位，在一國之中，則其政府應以人民利益及其自由表示的意旨為基礎。因為 總理要把畢生對於中國人民最大需要所思考而體察的結果，用極簡單的幾個字表達出來，於是他就提出了「自由」與「平等」兩件大事。

聯合目的相同的民族，共同努力，我對於這句話願意特別提醒各位的注意。美國今天舉行 總理逝世紀念的儀式，更足以證明共同的目的，為民族與民族間團結的最有力因素，而不在于種族地理邊界的關係。我中華民族護守遼東戰線，獨力抵抗法西斯主義者，已歷相當年數，現在美國的戰士，也在中國領土公海及各島嶼與日本作戰了。

我願把上述的思想，再作進一步的探討。人人知道中國此次抗戰的目的，為求國家之完全平等，也就是 總理畢生努力的

national equality. For almost 300 years China was ruled by the Manchus. In the past century she became a colony of other powers and narrowly missed<sup>10</sup> becoming a second Korea. Today our occupied areas are colonial in every sense, while other sections of the country are at different points of transition from a semi-colonial status to full national freedom. Nationally, we must and will shake off every form of subservience and imposed dependence.

But this does not mean that the Chinese people are or will be "anti foreign", or that this will ever forget the precept of Sun Yat-Sen regarding collaboration with friends of common purpose—true friends, whether they be states, popular movements of individuals because this precept represents the Chinese people's true needs. All national revolutions have drawn<sup>11</sup> on progressive thought and action every-where. The American revolution had its friends among the English people and in turn<sup>12</sup> influenced the French. Our movement to overthrow the Manchus grew deeply on the American revolutionary tradition, and the movement against the warlords, for people's rule and for full national equality was inspired and sustained by the revolution in Russia. In his fight against the Manchus and imperialist encroachment, it would never occur<sup>13</sup> to Sun Yat-sen to regard as "interference" detrimental<sup>14</sup> to our sovereignty the support given to our people's movement by foreign friends, and it would not occur to our people today. We claim the right

。中國約有三百年的歲月為滿清所統治。在過去的一世紀，中國成了其他國家的殖民地，幾乎淪為朝鮮第二。現在我們的淪陷區，在任何方面說來，乃是十足足的殖民地，而其他的部份，正從半殖民地地轉移到完全的民族自由，惟其轉變的程度略有等差而已。從整個國家說：我們一定要擺脫任何形式的壓迫與依賴。

但這並不是說，中國人是排外的，或有排外的意思，也並不是說他們已忘記了總理類與目的相同者合作的主張。目的相同的友人，不限於國家，凡是羣衆運動或個人都包括在內，因為總理這個主張，代表了中國人民的真正需要。任何國家的革命，都得借助於別國的進步思想與進步行動。美國革命，在美國人中有其朋友，同樣地，法國革命也受美國的影響。我們推翻滿清政府的運動，大大得助於美國的革命傳統；而我們推翻封建的革命，以求民主及完全的國家平等，很受俄國革命的鼓勵與支持。總理與滿清政府及帝國主義者奮鬥的時候，他對於外國友人的援助我民族運動，從未認為是損害我國家主權的「干涉」。今天我們國人，當然也不會這樣想的。像美國的孤立主義以

to criticise such things as American isolationism and the holding down of India, and we admit the right of others to examine and criticise the situation in our own country.

Speaking<sup>15</sup> of criticism of foreign tendencies, I want to say that while every Chinese patriot believes that our forces fighting against Japan are entitled<sup>16</sup> to all possible help, only those Chinese who have been spectators, and not full participants in our national struggle, have so little faith in our people that they can weep and wail and declared that if help does not come tomorrow we will collapse on the day after. The men who fight for our land and our future ask for help but they make no conditions involving the end for which they have sacrificed so much.

These are the ideas which I would like to suggest to the American people on this day.

及印度僵局等等問題，我們要求有批評之權，我們也承認別國對我國的現狀，也有分析與批評之權。

談到對於外國意向的批評，我願明告諸位：每一個愛國的中國人，都以爲我們以武力抗日，有享受一切可能援助的權利。而祇有那些袖手旁觀，並不出全力以參加民族奮鬥的人，才對國家民族缺少自信，聲淚俱下地喊着：如果明天援助不來，我們後天就要崩潰。爲我們的祖國與前途奮鬥的人，他們當然要要求援助，但是對於他們已作很大犧牲的奮鬥目標，並沒有什麼附帶的條件。

### Notes and Annotations

(1) "devote oneself to some cause" "獻(身)", "委(身)", "致力". He devotes himself entirely to the study of English. He is devoted to the study of English. 彼專心研究英語。(又作"專用", "致"解, to devote anything to some purpose. This district is devoted to sericulture. 專養蠶桑之地。He devoted his life to literature. 委其一生於文學。He devotes much of his time to reading. 彼多用其光陰於讀書。又作"供奉", "奉獻"解, to devote anything to the gods. This temple is devoted to Emperor Yu. 此爲禹王廟。又作"注定", "決定命運", to devote a country to destruction, The Japanese warlords have devoted their country to destruction. 日本軍閥注定日本之滅亡。(2) "In favour of" "讚成", "主張". I am in favour of your proposal. (3) "least possible delay", 含有再少實爲不可能(a less possible delay is impossible)之意, 故爲"最短", "最近"。同樣有 This is the least possible method (a better method is impossible). (4) 英美宣佈放棄以前一切不平等條約, 重訂新約, 以平等互惠爲原則, 其他各國亦已申明廢約。(5) 目前尙未召集。(6) "to crystallize" "使成結晶", "作扼要之語", The thoughts that prompted the

French Revolution were crystallized in three words—liberty, equality, and fraternity. (7) “I should like to” 慣用語, 同樣(指現在) “I should think”, “I should say” 等等。(指過去) “I should have thought”, 皆為謙恭語氣, 行文會話宜多演說之。(8) “To call attention to fact” “請人注意”. I call your attention to this fact—your attention is called to this fact, 請諸位注意此一事實。(“To draw—attract attention” 引人注意, Her speech drew (attracted) much attention. “To pay attention to (=listen attentively to), 傾耳而聽。All students should pay attention to their teacher’s advice. “To give attention to (=attend to)” “謹聽”. You ought to give your attention to your extra-curriculum activities. “To call away the attention”, “遊不注意”, “亂人之心” There is nothing that call away my attention to my studies. “all attention (=very attention)”, “謹聽”. I am all attention, because you are such a good speaker. (9) “注重之點”, “要點”。(10) “missed” 此種用法作“幾”, “僅差些許未成” He missed being a soldier. 彼以細故未得被徵服軍役。(11) “To draw on” “恃力”, “借力”, “借助”. To reconstruct China, we must draw on our past experience. 重建中國須藉吾人過去經驗之力。又 “to draw on the flying enemy”, “追近逃敵”; “to draw on one’s imagination”, “悉心推想”; “to draw on one’s memory”, “盡力追憶”; “to draw on people’s credulity”, “欺騙”; “to draw on credit”, “以信用通融借貸”; “to draw on one’s resources”, “竭力思索”; “大開財源以求資”; “to draw on the future”, “預支”, “借貸”。(12) “in turn” (in succession) “順次”. you three work in turn (即 A 由 B 繼, B 由 C 繼, 至 C 為止)。 (“By turns” “輪流”, “更番”. A and B work by turns. 則 A 由 B 繼, 更番由 A 繼, 輪流爲之)。 (13) “To occur to one’s mind”, “想及”, “思及”. A new idea has occurred to me. (= I have thought out a new plan), 余想出一新計。(14) “Detrimental to”, “有害於”. Party dissensions are detrimental to the unity of a country. 政見紛歧有害國家之團結。(15) 此 “speaking”—phrase, 係獨立語, 與本句之 subject 不相關。Speaking of eloquence, very few persons excel him. 論及口才, 恐無人能及之。 “Speaking of eloquence” 乃發言者介紹另一論點之語氣。

The inquiry of truth, which is the love-making, or wooing, of it, the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it, and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human nature.

× × × ×

It is a strange desire to seek power and to lose liberty,

—Francis Bacon

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S MESSAGE ON

"SUN YAT-SEN DAY" (1)

孫逸仙日，羅斯福總統致辭

Read at a memorial meeting held in honor of Father of the Chinese Republic,  
on March 12, 1944, at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York City,  
attended by 3,000 persons.

一九四四年三月十二日在紐約舉行之紀念國父大會中宣讀，到會者約三千人

We join today in honoring the memory of the great founder of the Chinese Republic. This meeting and similar meetings which are being held<sup>2</sup> throughout the country<sup>3</sup> give a fitting expression of the sentiments that lie deep in the hearts of the Americans.

The spirit of Dr. Sun Yat-sen is associated<sup>4</sup> in our minds with the spirit of freedom which has long animated the Chinese people. The great objectives for which he steadfastly strove—national sovereignty, representative government, betterment of the people's economic life—became a unifying creed for the Chinese in all sections of China and a source of inspiration of their determination to resist the onslaught of Japanese tyranny. In Dr. Sun's doctrine we find much that is similar to the ideals which inspired the founders of our own American democracy and to the principles underlying<sup>5</sup> the common cause of the United Nations. The spirit of Sun Yat-sen lives in the soul of his people. We are proud to honor both.

吾人今日參加中華民國國父之逝世紀念，此一大會及在全國各地舉行之同樣大會，  
足表示美國人民衷心深摯之情感。

孫中山先生之精神在吾人之思想中實與彼早已鼓舞中國人民之自由精神互相聯繫。孫中山先生所鑒決奮鬥之諸大目標，厥為保持國家之主權，建立代議制之政府，以及改善人民之經濟生活，此種目標，已為中國各地人民共同一致之信條，亦即鼓舞中國人民決心抵抗日本暴徒之原動力。吾人業已發現孫中山先生之學說中有如許之思想與吾侪美英民主制度者之思想若合符節。且與聯合國共同目標中之基本原則完全一致。孫中山先生之精神現仍生存於其人民之心靈中。吾人於紀念孫中山先生精神及其人民之餘實深欣幸。

## Notes and Annotations

(1) 本頁文字簡習，對 國父之精神闡明無遺。首段述美國各報舉行「孫逸仙日」實為美國對 國父精神崇敬之表示。第二段論 (a) 國父為中國人民之自由平等而奮鬥，(b) 國父之主張與首創美國者之理想相同，(c) 與當今聯合國之主張相合，是則 國父之主張誠可謂“置諸萬世而不變，放之四海而皆準”，精神偉大。(2) “are being held” 為動詞 “hold” 之 progressive tense, passive voice。此種被動時態式，祇限於現在和過去，無未來式。

	Active voice:	Passive voice
現在	They are holding a meeting now.	A meeting is being held (by them) now.
過去	They were holding a meeting when I arrived.	A meeting was being held when I arrived.

關於 progressive tense 之 passive voice 式之用法，有下列數點應注意：

(a) 在形式上與 simple present 及 simple past 之 passive voice 式 (A meeting is held. A meeting was held.) 所異之處即為 verb phrase 中間加以 “being” 字，以表示“作進行意味”。

(b) 除在形式上有 “being” 一字之外，此種時態式必有前文明句表示或暗示現在或過去時間(如本文第一句有 “today”，第二句有 “this” 二字明白表示現在)。否則指現在動作停止意味須附有指現在時間之 adverbs, adverb phrases, 如 “now”, “at this moment”, “at this time”, “this week”, “this year” 等等，或有 “this”。指過去動作停止意味須附以過去時間語句，尤以 adverb clause of time 為最多，如 “then”, “at that time”, “when I came.” 等等。例：The letter was being written when I came. I waited while the letter was being written. 單獨立用 “The letter was being written” 所以不完全，蓋因缺少指明過去時間意味也。

(c) 若干 intransitive verbs 用於 present 或 past progressive tense, active voice (intransitive verbs 除特種情形外無 passive) 有 passive 意味。換言之，有若干動作英語係以 intransitive verbs 之 present 或 past progressive 表達 passive 意味。是則此等 intransitive verbs 係 active in form, passive in meaning 矣。例：Joe, water is boiling. Listen! The bugle is blowing. Trumpets were sounding then. Well, the house is building. 設在不明瞭此點，為表示“房屋正在建造中”現在進行時態式，被動式，而用 “The house is being built 則誤矣。

(d) 中文語氣頗多應用 passive progressive 者，如“其事正在接洽(進行，磋商，研究，討論，……)中”或“道路在修造(建築，趕造，修理)中”，等等。

(e) 由 passive progressive 引申 present progressive tense (包括 active 與 passive 兩者) 用法，應注意一事。言動態之動詞 (verbs of motion) 大多以 passive tense 表示，蓋真正之現在時間應為 present progressive。因語已出

口部爲凍，動作已發，即不能謂爲現在，此新文法家之主張也。若依平常初學英文之課本中，“I look at you now.” “I sit down now”，皆爲錯誤。反之 verbs of thinking, 因其有選擇用關係。“I think”, “I am thinking”。均可用 (f) 再引申 past progressive 一種用法。如言兩種動作在同一過去時間內發生，其中大半有一個 subordinate clause, 即 adverb clause of time, 用 past progressive. 其連接詞多爲 “while”, “as”. 例：He came in as I was going out. I went upstairs while he was coming down. (3) “the country” 指美國。“The” 爲 definite article, 所指之人，物，地，事皆爲明確。初習英文者常云 “He has a pen in his hand”. 此句中既無強調 “his” 之意，應以 “the” 字代之。“He has a pen in the hand”. 因此 “我們學校” “我們的會” 等句，於無區別 “我們的”，“你們的” 之時，概用 “the school”, “the society”, 等等。(4) “associate with” = “emind one of” “suggest the idea of”. “聯想”，“聯合”，“聯繫”。故 We associate the spirit of Dr. Sun Yat-sen with the spirit of freedom and equality. (active) = The spirit of Dr. Sun Yat-sen reminds us (suggests the idea) of the spirit of freedom and equality. 本篇中爲 passive voice. (又 “associate with” 另一 transitive 用法作 (a) “使之相交” (to associate one person with another), 多用 passive voice 表示例：He is associated with my brother; (b) “加入” (會，黨，社，派) (to associate oneself with = join, a sect). 例：He has associated himself with the San miai Cau I Youth Corps; (c) “參與(事業)入夥” (to associate oneself in an enterprise). 例：He has associated himself in an agricultural enterprise. intransitive 用法作 “交友” (keep company) 解。Do not associate with the lazy people. (5) “underlie” “爲某事之(根)基(礎)”。Honesty underlies his success. The secret underlying his success is faithfulness.

The errors of a wise man make your rule, rather than the perfection<sup>s</sup> of a fool.

聰明人的錯誤足爲吾人借鏡者有勝於愚者之完美。

— William Blake

It is the common wonder of all men, how among so many millions of faces, there should be none alike.

大家都驚奇爲什麼千百萬的面孔並無一對相同

— Sir Thomas Browne

U. S. SECRETARY OF STATE CORDELL HULL'S STATEMENT ON THE  
"BASES OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES"

美國國務卿赫爾發表「美國外交政  
策基礎」之聲明

Issued on march 21, 1944

——一九四四年三月二十一日發表——

Our fundamental interests: In determining our foreign policy we must first see clearly what our true national interests are.

At the present time, the paramount aim of our foreign policy is to defeat our enemies as quickly as possible. Beyond the final victory, our fundamental national interests are the assuring of our national security and the fostering of the economic and social well-being of our people.

International Cooperation: Cooperation between nations in the spirit of good neighbors, founded on the principles of liberty, equality, justice, morality and law is the most effective method in safe-guarding and promoting the political, economic, social and cultural well-being of our nation and of all nations.

International Organization backed by force: Some international agency must be created which can by force in necessary keep peace among nations if the future. The system of organized international cooperation for the maintenance of peace must be based on the will-

基本利益：吾人於確定外交政策時，必先認清何為吾人之真正國家利益。

當前吾人外交政策之主要目的為儘速擊敗敵人，除最終勝利外，吾人之基本國家利益為確保國家之安全與樹立吾國人民之經濟與社會福利。

國際合作：以睦鄰精神為基礎，以自由平等正義道德與法律原則為根據之國與國間之合作，乃確保與促進吾國及各國政治經濟社會與文化福利之最有效方法。

以武力為後盾之國際組織：有力保持未來國與國間和平之國際機構，必須建立，必要時可藉武力建立之，為確保和平而設之有

ingness of cooperating nations to use force if necessary to keep the peace. There must be the certainty that adequate and appropriate means will be available and will be used for the purpose.

**Political Differences:** Political differences which present a threat to the peace of the world should be submitted to the agencies which would use the remedies of discussion, negotiation, conciliation and good offices.

**International Court of Justice:** Disputes of a legal character which present a threat to the peace of the world should be adjudicated by an international court of justice, whose decisions would be based on the applications of the principles of law.

**Reduction of Arms:** International cooperative action must include the eventual adjustment of national armaments in such a manner that the rule of law cannot be successfully challenged and that the burden of armament may be reduced to a minimum.

**Moscow Four Nation Declaration:** Though this declaration, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States and China have laid the foundation for a cooperative effort after the war toward enabling all peace-loving nations, large and small, to live in peace and security, to preserve the liberties and rights of a civilized existence and to enjoy expanded opportunities and facilities for economic, social and cultural progress.

**Spheres of Influence and Alliances:** As the provisions of the foundation

組織的國際合作制度，必須以合作國家志願於必要時使用武力維持和平為基礎。且必使其有充分與適當之方法以達到此目的。

治爭端，成為世界和平之威脅之政治爭論，應移交各種種討論談判和解決為調解方法之機構。

國際正義法庭：凡是法律性而為世界和平威脅之爭端應由國際正義法庭判決，其決議以法律原則之實施為根據。

軍備之縮減：國際合作行動，必須包括國家軍備之最終調整，其方式務求法律之權威，不能遭受有效之挑戰，並使軍備之負擔能減至最低限度。

莫斯科四國宣言：蘇維埃聯邦，大不列顛，美合衆國與中國已藉此宣言：奠定戰後之合作努力，以求所有愛好和平之國家，不論大小，能生存於和平與安全之中，能保持文明生存之自由權益，並能享受經濟社會與精神進步之廣大機會與便利。

勢力範圍與同盟：基本宣言之條款付諸

declarations are carried into effect there will be no longer the need for spheres of influence, for alliance, for balance of power or any other of the special arrangements through which in the unhappy past nations strove to hold their security or promote their interests.

**Surveillance Over Aggressor Nations:** In the process of establishing international order, the United Nations must exercise surveillance over aggressor nations until such time as the latter demonstrate their willingness and ability to live at peace with other nations. How long such surveillance will need to continue must depend upon the rapidity with which the peoples of Germany, Japan, Italy and their satellites give convincing proof that they have repudiated and abandoned their monstrous philosophy of the superior race and conquest by force, and embraced loyalty to the basic principles of peaceful processes.

**International Trade Barriers:** Excessive trade barriers of many different kinds must be reduced and practices which impose injuries on others and divert trade from its natural economic course must be avoided.

**International Finance:** Equally plain is the need for making national currencies once more freely exchangeable for each other at stable rates of exchange, for a system of financial relations so devised that materials can be produced and ways can be found of moving them where there are markets created by human need; for a machinery through

實施時，即不再需要勢力範圍，同盟均等，或各國在不愉快過去期間為保持其安全或促進其權益力行之其他特殊辦法。

**監視侵略國：**聯合國於建立國際秩序之過程中必須對侵略國施行監視，以迄後者表現與其他國和平相處之志願及能力為止，監視期間之久暫，須視疆口義及其附庸如何迅速提供可信之證明，以表示其確已否認並放棄種族優越與武力征服之怪誕哲學，並能遵守和平程序之基本原則為定。

**國際貿易壁壘：**各種過份之貿易壁壘必須減除，損害他人而使貿易脫離自然經濟途徑之積習，必須避免。

**國際金融：**同樣明顯者，即各國之貨幣有使其再度根據固定之匯率彼此自由匯兌之必要，有建立一種金融關係使物資能生產，並使其有方法運往因人類需要而產生之市場之必要，有建立一種機構使資金（為發展世

which capital may--for the development of world's resources and for stabilization of economic activity--move on equitable terms from financially stronger to financially weaker countries.

**Atlantic Charter Reciprocal Obligations:** The pledge of the Atlantic Charter is of a system which will "give every nation, large or small, a greater assurance of stable peace, greater opportunity for realization of its aspirations for freedom, and greater facilities for material advancement. But that pledge implied the obligation for each nation to demonstrate its capacity for stable and progressive government, to fulfil scrupulously its established duties to other nations, to settle international disputes and differences by none but peaceful methods, and to make its full contribution to the maintenance of enduring peace.

**Sovereign Equality of Nations:** Each sovereign nation, [large or small], is in law and under law the equal of every other nation. The principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, irrespective of size or strength, as partners in the future system of general security will be the foundation stone upon which the future international organization will be constructed.

**Form of Government:** Each nation should be free to decide for itself the form of its governmental organization so long as it conducts its affairs in such a way as not to menace the peace and security of other nations."

界資源及爲穩定經濟活動之資金)能根據平等之條件,自財力較強之國家移至財力較弱之國家之必要。

**大西洋憲章之相互義務:**大西洋憲章之保證,即在建立一種制度,使每一國家,不論大小,獲得穩固和平之更大保證,獲得實現其求取自由之願望之更大機會,獲得物質進步之更大利便,惟此項保證之含義,爲每一國家有表示其建立穩固進步政府之能力之義務,審慎履行,其對他國之確定職責之義務,不得以和平以外之方法解決國際爭端之義務,並以全力維持永久和平之義務。

**國家之主權平等:**每一國家,不論大小,在法律上均根據法律規定,與其他國家平等,一切愛好和平國家,不論體質力量,基於尋求共同安全制度參與者之立場,其主權平等之原則,將爲未來國際機構所由建立之基石。

**政制:**每一國家處理一已事務時,倘不威脅及於他國之和平安全,則此一國家即應自由決定其政府組織之形式與綱領。

## Annotations

(1) "Beyond" "以外". I live this side of the bridge, but he beyond it. 余住橋的這邊彼住之那(外)邊. He came back beyond the usual hour. 彼返過尋常時間回家(尋常如係四點是六則在"點多"). Beyond some, 越. Beyond one's strength, power, reach, 力所不及(能力以外). Beyond one's depth, 才所不及, 難以了解. Beyond belief, 不足信. Beyond doubt, dispute, question, 確鑿, 無疑的. Beyond comparison, 不可同日而語. Beyond description, 筆墨難以形容. Beyond measure, 非常. Beyond comprehension, 難解. Beyond expectation, 出於意料之外. Beyond control 無可如何, 難以約束. Beyond one's self 自忘形骸, 尋常感動. Beyond (all) bounds, 過度. Beyond all things, 第一. (2) "In the spirit of", "以……之精神", "……之風趣". In Burma the Chinese and American troops, fought in the spirit of a united effort against the common foe. 中美軍隊以在緬甸以協力進攻共同敵人而作戰. He fought for the rights of woman much in the spirit of Chivalry. 彼為女權權利, 頗帶英武之風. (3) "Founded on", "以……為根據" His claim is founded on justice, 彼之要求係根據正義者. His statement is founded on fact, 彼之所言係根據事實者. (4) "Backed by", "後盾", "後援". President Chiang is backed up by the whole country in resistance. 全國為蔣主席後盾從事抗戰. We shall certainly win the fight backed by our faith that in the end right is might. 吾人對公理終必勝過武力之信念必可為吾人勝利之後盾. (5) "Present", "呈現", "成爲". Unprecedented large scale battles will presents themselves in the China theatre. 中國戰場將有空前大規模之戰役呈現. Housing alone will present a difficult problem to us after the war. 戰後住屋將成爲吾人之難題. (6) "Submit to", "交", "呈送". I submit the attached proposal to your inspection (consideration, discussion). 附呈建議書一件乞鑒核. All applicants who intend to go abroad are to submit their applications to the Ministry before April 30. 凡簡願留學之申請人須於四月底以前將申請書呈送到部. All students should submit their thesis to the professors by the end of the week. 下星期以前學生應將論文交教授評閱. (又作"忍受", "聽(受)"解. To submit to disgrace, 容忍. To submit to authority, 服從, 順服. To submit to necessity—to the will of God, 聽命由天. To submit oneself to another's will, 從入他之意. (7) "To lay foundation" "奠定". The war of resistance has laid the foundation of China's future greatness. 抗戰業已奠定中國之偉大前途. His foundation in English was laid in middle school, 彼之英語基礎早在中學奠定之矣. (8) "At peace with" (at war with 之對), 言狀態. The neighbors are now at peace with each other, 隣人等現甚和好. (9) "plain" 係倒置在動詞之前, 強調之意. (10) "irrespective of", "不顧", "不拘". He did that irrespective of the consequences. 他不顧一切(後果)而爲之. All the people of China have the same political rights, irrespective of their religions beliefs. 中國人民不拘宗教信仰一概受得同樣政治權利. (11) "So long as", "(=if only)" "只", "但". Anything will do, so long as it is interesting. 但有興趣, 任何皆可.

CHURCHILL'S BROADCAST SPEECH REVIEWING WAR PROGRESS  
ON ALL BATTLE-FRONTS

英相邱吉爾檢討戰局廣播演辭

Made on March 26, 1944 to the British People for the first time in twelve months

一九四四年三月二十六日向英國人民廣播歷上次戰局檢討演說約有一年

It is a year almost today since I spoke to you here at home. There is no doubt that the good news has far outweighed the bad, and that the progress of the United Nations towards their goal has been solid, continual and is growing quicker. The long and terrible march which the rescuing Powers are making is being accomplished stage by stage and we can now say not only with hope but with reason, that we shall reach the end of the journey in good order and that the tragedy which threatened the whole world and might have put out all its light and left our children and descendants in darkness and bondage, perhaps for a century—that tragedy will not come to pass. Victory will come! That is sure.

A year ago, the Eighth Army, which had marched 1,500 miles, across the desert from el Alamein, was in battle for the Mareth Line, and the British First Army and the American Army were fighting their way through to Tunisia. We were all confident of victory, but we did not know that in less than two months the enemy would be driven with heavy slaughter from the African

今日距余上次在國內廣播之時間幾及一年，但佳音之多於惡訊，毫無可疑。聯合國向其目標奮力邁進之獲有堅實不墮及日益可畏之進展，亦無疑義。盟國漫長而驚人之旅程，現正逐步完成。吾人現不僅懷希望，且有理由相信，吾人必能以有條不紊之步伐，行抵旅途之終點，彼威脅整個世界，並可能撲滅光明，置我子孫後代於黑暗束縛中一世紀之久之悲劇，將不再來。勝利之將到臨，此點已確定無疑。

一年以前，英方第八軍自艾爾阿拉曼越過沙漠一千五百哩，開往馬雷斯線作戰，英第一軍與美軍亦向突尼西亞發動攻勢，吾人對勝利均具信心，但從未料及不及兩個月後，德國可能被我逐出非洲大陸，遭受如此鉅創，僅我一擊，斃死及被俘之士兵竟達三十

continent, leaving at one stroke 305,000 prisoners and dead in our hands.

Since then, the successful campaign in Sicily brought about the fall of Mussolini and the heartfelt repudiation by the Italian people of the Fascist creed. The conquest of Sicily and Naples brought in their train the surrender of Sardinia and the liberation of Corsica. We now hold one-third of the mainland of Italy. Our progress has not been so rapid or decisive as we had hoped. I do not doubt that we shall be victorious both on the Anzio beachhead and on the main front to the south and that Rome will be rescued. Meanwhile, we have kept out of the struggle 66 Italian divisions and we are holding in Italy, for the most part in close action, nearly 25 divisions and a noteworthy part of the German Air Force; more of whom can bleed and burn in the lead of their former ally, while more important events which might require their presence are pending elsewhere.

Setbacks in the Eastern Mediterranean are more than offset by the panic and frenzy which prevail in Hungary, Roumania and Bulgaria, by the continued activity of Greek guerrillas and, above all, by the heroic struggle by the Partisans of Yugoslavia under the leadership of Tito. There is still much to be done in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean, but here I do not doubt that the task will be finished in a good and workmanlike manner.

We who dwelt in the British Isles must celebrate with joy and thank-

萬五千人之衆。

自是盟軍於西西里獲得大捷後，墨索里尼隨之崩潰，義大利人民亦將法西斯條條真正毀棄。盟軍攻克西西里及那不勒斯後，薩丁那隨即投降，科西嘉島亦相繼解放。吾人現據守義大利本土三分之一國境，吾人之進展不若預期之迅速有力。但余深信吾人在安濟奧灘頭陣地及南方主要戰線，必能獲勝，且必能攻進羅馬。吾人已擊潰德軍六十六師，並在意大利牽制敵軍約二十五師及德國空軍之一部份，其他德國空軍，設非因他處發生更要之事需其出場，可能在其以前盟國土地上流血焚毀者更多。

東地中海之挫折，因匈牙利羅馬尼亞及保加尼亞境內之恐慌，及希臘游擊隊之不斷活動，尤其因狄托元帥領導下之斯拉夫愛國人士之英勇奮鬥而抵銷有餘。吾人現在巴爾幹及東地中海方面待做之工作尚多，惟余確信其任務必能以良好工作之精神完成之。

吾人在英國必須以喜悅與感激之精神，

fulness our deliverance from the mortal U-boat perils which I still rate the highest amongst the dangers we have overcome.

There was the sea-mining peril which loomed<sup>10</sup> so large, which has been mastered by superior science and ingenuity, by the almost unsurpassed devotion to duty of our minesweeper crews in the thousands of ships they man.

We had ourselves a large air force in these islands this time last year. We have a larger one today. Besides all that our American Allies have now overtaken and outnumbered us in the mighty air force they have established here. The combination of these two Air Forces will produce a result in the coming months which I shall not attempt to measure in advance<sup>11</sup>, but which will certainly be of enormous advantage to the cause of the Allies.

It will be quite natural if our Soviet friends and Allies did not appreciate the complications and difficulties which attend all sea-crossing-amphibious is the word-operations on a large scale.<sup>12</sup> They are people of great land spaces and when the sacred soil of Russia is threatened, it is by land that they march out to meet and attack the enemy. Our tasks are difficult and different. But the British and American peoples are filled with genuine admiration for the military triumphs of the Russian people.

I have now dealt<sup>13</sup> with the progress of the war against Hitlerite Germany, but I must also speak of the gigantic war which is proceeding against the equally

慶祝吾人得免於潛艇之致命打擊，茲將以此列於最大之危險中，但現已克服之矣。

海上布雷之危險性，現已藉優良科學，製造天才，暨掃雷艇人員，及數千艘雷艇上工作人員之無可比擬之熱心所制服。

吾人今日在英國之空軍較一年前為大，但我盟邦美國在英國所建立之空軍在數字上已趕及且超過吾人。英美空軍之協同作戰，於未來數月中，將產生有利之後果。余不願在此預先估計日後之結果為何，但此一結果，必大有利於盟國之作戰目的也。

吾蘇聯友人及其他盟邦對吾人於海上發動之大規模水陸攻勢之複雜及困難，如不重視，實屬自然。彼等乃陸地人民，德軍侵入蘇聯國土時，蘇軍係自陸地出發者，吾人之任務甚艱巨，但英美人民對蘇聯人民之軍事勝利，均表欽佩。

余已言及盟軍對德作戰之進展，但余必須一述盟軍現與野蠻殘暴之德國之日軍所

barbarous and brutal Japan. We have accepted United States leadership in the Pacific Ocean just as they have accepted our leadership in the Indian theatre. The Japanese have not felt strong enough to risk their Fleet in a general engagement for the sake of their outer defence line. In this they have been prudent, considering the immense expansion of United States naval power since the treacherous Japanese assault on pearl Harbour. The British Empire and Commonwealth of Nations have pledged themselves to fight side by side with the United States against the Japanese, no matter what it costs and for how long it lasts.

Remarkable success has attended the work of the American Navy and of American, Australian and New Zealand troops. The progress in New Guinea is constant. American victories in the Pacific, and in particular their latest conquest and liberation of the Marshalls, constitute superb examples of combination of naval, air and military force.

It is possible that the war in the Pacific may progress more rapidly than was formerly thought possible. The Japanese are showing signs of great weakness. The attrition of their shipping, especially their tankers, and air force has become not merely evident but obvious.

In Burma and the Bay of Bengal, we shall strive our utmost to aid the Americans in their contacts with China, and to do that we know that the more we can fight and engage the Japanese,

着手之強烈大戰情形。吾人已接收美國在太平洋方面之領導地位，一如美國接收吾人在印度地區之領導地位。日方不取派艦隊出而決戰，此乃其對珍珠港事件後美國海軍極度擴張之實力，生有畏心之故，英帝國及聯合國各國曾保證與美國並肩對日作戰，代價若何重大，為時若何持久，均所不顧。

太平洋上最顯著之成功，當推美國海軍，及美澳紐部隊之戰績。新幾內亞方面時有進展。美軍在太平洋上之勝利，尤其最近攻克及解放馬紹爾羣島，堪為海陸空軍聯合作戰最優之楷模。

太平洋方面之戰事，或能較向所推測之進展更為迅速。日本船舶，尤以油船及空軍，已大呈耗竭之象。

吾人將於緬甸及孟加拉盡力協助美軍與中國取得聯繫進攻日軍。吾人深信吾人與日本作戰愈力，以消耗其空軍，並迫其調遣更

and especially wear down their air power, the greater diversion we make from the Pacific theatre and the more help we give to the operations of the United States.

In Burma, these plans, which were prepared last August are now being put into operation. Admiral Mountbatten has infused a spirit of energy and confidence into the forces gathered there. Our airborne operations enable us to take the Japanese in the rear. They for their part have got behind our front by infiltration. At various places fierce fighting is going on. It is too soon to proclaim the results in this vast area of mountain and jungle. In nearly every combat in Burma we are able to count three or four times more Japanese dead than we ourselves suffer in killed, wounded and missing. Individual fighting superiority in the jungle has definitely passed to British and Indian soldiers as compared with the Japanese. Further to the north an American column of experienced jungle fighters and a considerable Chinese army under General Stilwell of the United States service, are progressing with equal success.

Meanwhile, we have placed a powerful battle fleet, under Admiral Somerville, in Indian waters in order to face the main part of the Japanese fleet should it turn westwards after having declined battles against the Americans.

When I spoke to you a year ago, I drew attention to the possibility that there would be a prolonged interval between the collapse of Hitler and the

多軍力至此戰區，則吾人對美國作戰為助益大。

吾人於去年八月擬定之計劃，已在緬甸戰區一一施行。蒙巴頓將軍已使現從事收復緬甸之士兵獲有銳力與信心。我空軍部隊使吾人能攻擊日軍後方，日軍亦竄入我軍防線。全線各處現均在激戰中。此時宣佈此山地叢林大戰之勝利，實屬過早。但每一戰役日軍死亡人數均在我軍死傷失蹤人數三四倍以上。茲以日軍相較，英印軍隊已獲得個別作戰優勢。在緬甸北部，有資於叢林戰經驗之美軍及史迪威將軍所率之中國軍隊現正推進，頗具戰果。

同時吾人已派薩穆維爾上將統率強大戰鬥艦隊泊於印度海面，藉以應付日本軍隊萬一不與美國交戰而西竄時，以便堵截之。

一年以前，余曾請國人注意，謂日本之傾覆距希特勒之崩潰，或有長久時間隔其

downfall of Japan. I still think there will be an interval, but I do not consider it will necessarily be as long as thought a year ago. But, be it long or be it short, we shall go on with our American brothers with our utmost strength to the very end.

中。余至今所堅信有若干時之間隔，但不似余於一年前所推想之久耳。然無論為時短長，吾人終與我美國兄弟竭盡全力直到最後目標達到為止。

### Notes and Annotations

邱吉爾在其次檢討局演辭中表明勝利已近，日寇可提早崩潰。彼聲明與美國政府合作到底，協助美軍由中國北地進攻日寇，派遣強有力之艦隊至印度海面從南面攻擊日寇海軍。美國當局對邱氏演辭有極佳之反應，尤以派艦隊至印度為最具體之協助。

(1) "Since" 作 conjunction 用時，對於一般的動詞而言，main clause 用 present perfect, "since" 所介紹的 clause 動詞應為 simple past. 如: "Almost a year has passed since I spoke to you here at home," 但 main clause 的 subject 係 "it" (指時間)，則 verb 必用 simple present, 蓋言時間之總和也，故 "It is almost a year since I spoke to you here at home" 此處之 "is", 如以 "has been" 代替，則為錯誤。(2) "is being accomplished" 是 present progressive 的 passive voice. 例: (Active voice: I am writing a letter 改為 passive voice 則為) "A letter is being written by me." 中國語氣如 "工作正在進行中"，大 "戰方酣"，等等，皆應以這種動詞時式表達之，如 "The work is being done," "A hot battle is being fought". (3) "Stage by stage", "逐步", "逐期", 指時間，"step by step" "逐段", 指階段，步驟。兩者意義相同，惟前者多用於指事，後者常用於指人。The program of national reconstruction will be accomplished stage by stage, 建國計劃將逐期(逐步)完成。We shall carry out this program step by step, 吾人將逐段(逐步)實施此一計劃。(4) "To come to pass" "發生", "來臨". China in her long ordeal has conquered many a difficulty that came to pass. 中國對其長久苦難中所發生之困難均已克服之。(5) "To bring about" "致有", "產生", "促...而起(生)". "The present war of resistance against Japan has brought about real unity among the Chinese people, 抗戰業已產生中國真正團結。(6) "In...train", "is the train of...", "促有", "隨...而起(生, 來)". The war of resistance will bring a new China in its train — A new China will follow in the train of the war of resistance, 抗戰致新中國隨之而起——新中國將隨抗戰之後而至。(7) "Bleed and burn", 兩字取其第一字母 "b" 字同音而共用之 "頭韻" (Alliteration), 為修詞格之一種，詩歌中常用。格言，散文亦用之增加音調之美。例, many men, many minds,

以上四字第一字母皆爲“m”。(8) “To prevail”, “得勢”, “佔優勢”, In the end right will prevail (over—against might) 公理終佔(壓倒之)優勢。(9) “Rate”, “視作”, “認爲”(— regard, consider). I rate discipline (to be) very important to young men, 余認爲紀律對青年極爲重要。(10) “To loom large” “密佈”, “滿呈”。Dark clouds loom large in the sky, 天中黑雲密布。Twenty years after the close of the First World War, war clouds again loomed large over the globe, 第一次世界大戰結束後二十年戰雲又瀰漫天空。(11) “In advance”, “預先”。No one can now predict in advance what the new world will be, 無人目前能預斷未來之世界爲何等之世界。Subscribers to this magazine must pay in advance, 訂購此雜誌須先付款。Before I close, I thank you in advance for the favour I am asking you, 我辭之處特此預謝。(12) “On a large scale”, “大規模”。In America everything is on a large scale, 在美國事事皆爲大規模。Calcutta is London on a small scale, 加爾各答乃小規模之倫敦。The Second World War is being fought on a much larger scale than the First, 目前之第二次世界大戰之規模遠大於第一次世界大戰。(13) “To deal with”, “言及” “論及”。In his speech he dealt with (= talked about) China's role in the Far East, 彼在演說中提及中國在遠東之地位。(又 a. To deal with a person, 與人接觸; 應付。In his travel he dealt with persons of different walks of life, 彼在旅途遇各種職業之人發生關係。He found that there were many who were hard to deal with, 彼感受若干之人不易應付。b. To deal with a firm, 交易。We have regular dealings with that company, 吾人與該公司常有往來。c. To deal with a difficult situation—affair, 處理, 處置。The Mukden Incident was wrongly dealt with and consequently the Nazis were inspired to challenge the whole world. 滿洲事件處理失當因而納粹國家得有激勵向全世界挑戰。It is easy to deal with hoarding up rice by confiscating it when found out, 處理屯積食米易爲之法爲於發現後沒收之。d. To deal with a culprit, 處分罪犯。After the war we shall severely deal with the Chinese Quislings, 戰事結束, 吾人必嚴重處分漢奸。)(14) “Should it turn” = “It should turn,” 且 Subjunctive mood 表示條件之句, 及臨時語氣(provisional statement) 之假定句之“if” 常省略。Subjunctive clauses—Were I (= if I were); Had I been (= if I had been); Should I be (= if I should be) —Provisional clauses—Should you meet him (= if you should meet him), please tell him so. (15) “Be it long or be it short”, “無論長短”。(= if it be long or if it be short), 表示讓步。Let us attend to this news, be it true or not, 此件消息無論其爲真爲偽吾人須注意之。Be that, as it may, we don't lose anything, 即使如此, 吾人毫無所失。Be it so, 如果如此即聽其如此(與余無干)。We are prepare to face the critical situation, if so be, 危機即令如此吾人亦準備應付。

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S STATEMENT ON PUNISHING  
WAR CRIMINALS

羅斯福總統重申嚴懲戰犯之聲明

Released at the press conference, march 24, 1944

一九四四年三月二十四日發出

The United Nations are fighting to make a world in which tyranny and aggression cannot exist; a world based upon freedom, equality and justice; a world in which all persons, regardless of race, color or creed, may live in peace; honor and dignity.

In the meantime, in most of Europe and parts of Asia, the systematic torture and murder of civilians—men, women and children—by the Nazis and Japanese continues unabated. In areas subjugated by the aggressors, innocent Poles, Czechs, Norwegians, Dutch, Danes, French, Greeks, Russians, Chinese, Filipinos and many others are being starved or frozen to death or murdered in cold blood in a campaign of savagery.

The names of Warsaw Lidice, Khar-kov and Nanking—the brutal torture and murder by the Japanese not only of civilians but of our gallant American fliers—these are startling examples of what goes on day by day wherever the Nazis and Japanese are in military control and free to follow their barbaric purpose.

In one of the blackest crimes in all history—begun by the Nazis in the days

各聯合國正在極力奮鬥藉以達成一暴政

與侵略所不能存在之世界，基於自由平等與正義之世界，亦即全體人類不分種族膚色與信仰而能居於和平境界之世界。

目下在歐洲大部及在亞洲若干部份，納粹及日人對於男女老幼軍民，繼續肆行其有系統之虐殺，其勢毫不稍減。在納粹佔領區域內，有甚多無辜之波蘭，捷克，挪威，荷蘭，丹麥，法國，希臘，俄國，中國及菲律賓人民正因飢寒所逼而死，或遭慘無人道之屠殺而死。

華沙，里底斯，卡科夫，南京各地，以

及日人不但對當地人民且對我美國英勇飛行人員加以苦刑及慘殺，皆為納粹及日人武力控制區域內自由施行其殘暴目的每日發生之顯例。

納粹國家在歐洲於平時業已開始，在戰時則百倍變本加厲，從事大規模有系統之屠殺

of peace and multiplied by them hundred times in time of war—the whole sale systematic murder of Jews of Europe goes on unabated every hour. As a result of the events of the last few days, hundreds of thousands of Jews who, living under persecution, have at least found a haven from death in Hungary and the Balkans, are now threatened with annihilation as Hitler's forces descend more heavily upon these lands. That these innocent people who have already survived a decade of Hitler's fury should perish on the very eve of triumph over the barbarism that their persecution symbolizes would be a major tragedy.

It is therefore fitting that we should again proclaim our determination that none of those who participate in these acts of savagery shall go unpunished. The United Nations have made it clear that they will pursue the guilty and deliver them in order that justice may be done. That warning applies not only to the leaders but also to their functionaries and subordinates in Germany and the satellite countries. All who knowingly take part in the deportation of Jews to their death in Poland or Norwegians or French to their death in Germany are equally guilty with the executioners. All who share the guilt shall share the punishment.

Hitler is committing these crimes against humanity in the German people. I ask every German and every man everywhere under Nazi domination to show the world by his actions that in

猶太人之空前之萬惡罪行，繼續發生幾時稍減。過去數日中，生活在巴爾幹及匈牙利之暫免一死之千百人民，現因希特勒軍隊之威臨該地，而受有死亡之威脅。凡此十年來得暫獲避難所之猶太人，終於在戰野野蠻之前夕，不能免於滅亡，其所受之虐殺，即將奏成重大慘劇。

因此吾人應重申吾人之決心，凡參與此項野蠻行動者應受懲處，聯合國案業已聲明將追究罪犯並依法裁判之。此項警告不僅適用於其領袖，及在德國與附庸國內之工具與屬下人員，凡參與驅策猶太人死于波蘭或挪威人及法國人，運至德國而置於死地者，皆與執行者同其罪惡。凡犯罪有分者，亦將有此應得之懲罰。

希特勒以德國民族之名義，摧殘人類。余要求各地在納粹支配下之每一個人及每一人民皆能以行動來表明心跡，來參加此類滅

his heart he does not share these insane, criminal desires. Let him hide these pursued victims, help them get over their borders, and do what he can to save them from the Nazi hangman. I ask him also to keep watch and to record evidence that will one day be used to convict the guilty.

In the meantime, and until the victory that is now assured is won, the United States will persevere in its efforts to rescue the victims of the brutality of the Nazis and the Japs. Insofar as the necessity of military operations permits, this government will use all the means at its command to aid the escapes of all intended victims of the Nazi and Jap executioners regardless of race or color or religion. We call upon the free peoples of Europe and Asia temporarily to open their frontiers to all victims of oppression. We shall find havens of refuge for them, and we shall find means for their maintenance and support until the tyrants driven from their homelands and they may return.

In the name of justice and humanity, let all freedom loving people rally to this righteous undertaking.

狂之罪惡。願彼等能庇匿被逼迫之犧牲者，協助彼等逃過邊疆，竭力拯救彼等，以免遭納粹刽子手之毒害。余同時要求 意誌記錄 其證據俾能於裁判之日得有佐證。

美國在目前以及在現已得有根據之勝利來臨以前，將繼續努力救護受納粹及日人摧殘之犧牲者。凡在軍事行動之需要所可行者 美國政府在其權力範圍以內，能用一切方法協助所有為德日所驅逐之犧牲者逃脫，不論其種族宗教及膚色為如何也。吾人要求歐亞各地之自由民族暫時開放其邊疆門戶以收容被壓迫之受難者。吾人當能為彼等籌設避難所，並設法維持供養，以待彼等家鄉之暴力 退後後可重返故里也。

茲以正義與人道主義名義，懇求所有愛和平國家對此義舉共襄助之。

### Annotations

(1) 此為同位字。與其前 "to make a world" 中 "world" 同。本字之後之第三 "world" 一字用法亦同。此種用法係從各方面解明一事。在本句中為三方面開明聯合國目下所奮力建立之世界一旨也。不但 Appositives 有重覆之法以求 Clearness 與 Force 其他如 adjective Clause 等等皆有同樣用法。(2) "These" 為總括字，即總括 "names" "torture," "murder"。凡一句之首列舉數個名詞時，必用 "these" "all these," "all this (名詞數目雖要皆可歸納於一單者用單數)" 以總括之。以前各字與 predicate 敘述接近。(3) "In the days of", "在...時(代)"。In the day of old, 在昔日。In the days of our fathers, 在吾

人祖先之時代。 In the days of his Childhood, 當彼幼時。 In the days of Emperors Yao and Shun, 堯舜之時。(4)“Unbated”爲“goes on”之補充字。爲 Subjective Complement。“Go on”=“Continue”如不加補充兩字，則非動詞繼續，爲 intransitive verb 發達完全用法。本處及第二節“Continue”加以“unbated”爲補充字(補充動詞謂語 Subject)，係連續。(5)“Survive”經(災難，險，死亡)而(殘)存。“Tokyo Will never survive a heavy bombardment, 東京遭大轟炸決難殘存。That old man survives his health, 或老壽高多活(晚年多病)。He has survived his sons (Contemporaries), 幸壽長於其子(同時之人)。He survives his fame, 命長聲遠。(6)“perish”大多用爲 intransitive verb. Thousands upon thousands have perished with hunger, not to say those who have perished not the word, 死於飢饉者數千萬，遠勝其死於兵刃人。(7)“on the eve of”,“(某事發生之)前晚”。“前夕”。on the eve of victory, he died, 夜死於勝利之前夕(勝利即臨彼已死。)  
He was drafted as interpreter on the eve of graduation, 彼(臨畢業之際)被徵充通譯員。(8)“In order that”介紹目的之 Claus., 助區詞現用“may”, 過去用“might”。(9)“Functionary”,“工作人員”(譯音);“工員”(意譯) He is a government functionary, 彼爲政府職員。the Nazi functionaries shall be reversely punished, 納粹工具(走狗)必嚴爲懲處。(10)“In so far as”“在(某種)範圍內”。In so far as the limited means permits, he has done all he can, 彼以有限實力已盡力爲之矣。You will succeed in so far as you persevere, 汝能忍耐必有(與忍耐)相當之說。Chungking is different from Chengtu in so far as (=because或 in that)the former is a commercial city, 重慶與成都不同之處在前者爲商業中心。(11)“To rally to”,“合力”。

If a man will begin with certainties, he shall end in doubts; but if he will be content to begin with doubts, he shall end in certainties.

x x x x

A beautiful face is a silent commendation.

—Francis Bacon

JOINT STATEMENT OF EXPERTS OF THE UNITED AND ASSOCIATED NATIONS ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

聯合國專家對於建立國際貨幣基金聯合宣言

Being the result of discussions of Chinese, American, British and Russian experts during the past year

Made public simultaneously in Chungking, Washington, and London on April 22, 1944

本宣言係一年來中美英蘇四國專家討論結果

於一九四四年四月二十二日在重慶，華盛頓，倫敦同時公佈

Sufficient discussion of the problem of international monetary cooperation has taken place at the technical level<sup>1</sup> to justify a statement of principle. It is the consensus<sup>2</sup> of opinion of the experts of the United and Associated Nations who have participated in these discussions that the most practical method of assuring international monetary cooperation is through<sup>3</sup> the establishment of an International Monetary Fund. They have set forth below the principles which they believe should be adopted although the Governments will not be asked to give final approval to these principles until they are in the form of definite proposals by the delegates<sup>4</sup> of the United and Associated Nations meeting in a formal conference.

關於國際貨幣合作問題，在技術上既已有充分之研討，當可作原則之闡明，參與本問題討論之各聯合國專家會以為成立一國際貨幣基金，確為實現國際貨幣合作之最切實辦法，茲將各專家認為應採取之原則，闡陳於後，但各項原則，仍須待出席聯合國貨幣會議之代表以具體之議案提出後，始能徵取各聯合國政府之最後決定。

I. PURPOSE AND POLICY OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

一 國際貨幣基金之宗旨與政策

The Fund will be guided in all its decisions by the purposes and policies set forth below:—

本基金之一切決議，以下列各項宗旨與政策為準繩，(1) 建立商討國際貨幣問題

1. To promote international monetary cooperation through a permanent institution which provides the machinery for consultation on international monetary problems.

2. To facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade and to contribute in this way to the maintenance of a high level of employment and real income which must be a primary objective of economic policy.

3. To give confidence to member countries by making the Fund's resources available to them under adequate safeguard thus giving members time to correct maladjustment in their balance of payments without resorting to measures destructive of national or international prosperity.

4. To promote exchange stability, to maintain orderly exchange arrangements among member countries and to avoid competitive exchange depreciation.

5. To assist in the establishment of multilateral payment facilities on current transactions among member countries and the elimination of foreign exchange restrictions which hamper the growth of world trade.

6. To shorten the period and lessen the degree of disequilibrium in the balances of payments of member countries.

之永久機構，以謀促進國際貨幣合作，(2)

便利國際貿易之擴張與平衡發展，並用此法

，以謀維持國民就業及實際收入於一高度水

準，蓋此二者皆為經濟政策之主要目標，

(3) 增強會員國之信力，使其可在相當保證

下利用基金，有充分時間更正其收支不平衡

現象，毋須採取有損於國家或世界繁榮之措

施，(4) 增進匯兌之穩定，維持會員國間

有秩序之匯兌關係，並避免匯兌貶值之競爭

，(5) 協助會員國間建立短期交易之多方

之支付辦法，並消除防礙世界貿易之外匯管

制，(6) 縮短各會員國國際收支不平衡之

期間，並減低其程度。

## II. SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE FUND

### 二 基金之攤認

1. Member countries shall subscribe in gold and in their local funds amounts

(1) 各會員國應以黃金及本國貨幣攤

(Quotas) to be agreed<sup>10</sup> which will amount altogether to about US \$ billion dollars if all the United and Associated Nations subscribe<sup>11</sup> to the Fund ( corresponding to about US \$10 billion dollars for the world as a whole).

2. The quotas may be revised from time to time but changes shall require a four-fifths vote and no member's quota shall be changed with-out its assent.

3. The obligatory gold subscription of a member country shall be fixed at 1% of its subscription (quota) or 10% of its holding of gold and gold convertible exchange whichever is smaller. The obligatory gold subscription of a member whose home areas have suffered substantial damage from enemy action or occupation shall be only three-fourths of the above.

認一定數額之基金分攤之數額，將由各會員國議定之，吾同盟國全體參加攤派，則其總數約為八十萬萬美元，（若以全世界各國皆計入在內，則約為一百萬萬美元）（2）攤額得隨時修改，但須經五分之四之投票通過，任何會員國之攤額未得該國之許可不得變更，（3）每一會員國應攤繳之費金數目須估其攤額百分之二十五，或該國所有黃金或能兌換黃金之外匯之百分之十，擇二者中之較小者為準，凡遭敵人大量破壞或佔領之會員國，其攤繳之數額為上列數額之四分之三。

### III. TRANSACTIONS WITH THE FUND

#### 三 基金之運用

1. Member countries shall deal with the Fund only through their Treasuries, Central Banks, Stabilization Funds or other fiscal agencies. The Fund's accounts in a member's currency shall be kept at the Central Bank of the member country.

2. A member shall be entitled to buy another member's currency from the Fund in exchange for its own currency on the following conditions:

(A) The member represents that the currency demanded is presently needed for making payments in that currency which are consistent with the

(1) 會員國與基金之來往，僅限於各國之財政部，中央銀行，平準基金，或其他財政機關，本基金中以某會員國貨幣所配之基金應在該國之中央銀行保存；（2）在下列條件之下 某會員國可用該國之貨幣向基金購買另一會員國之貨幣，甲、由該會員國聲明目前需要是項貨幣以為與本基金宗旨不相違背之支付者，乙、基金如遇某種所需

purpose of the Fund,

(B) The Fund may give notice that its holdings of the currency demanded have become scarce in which<sup>13</sup> case the provisions of VI, below, come<sup>14</sup> into force.

The Fund's total holdings of the currency offered after having been restored, if below that figure, to 75% of the member's quota, have not been increased by more than 25% of the member's quota during the previous 12 months, and do not exceed 200% of the quota.

(D) The Fund has not previously given appropriate notice that the member is suspended from making further use of the Fund's resources on the ground<sup>15</sup> that it is using them in a manner contrary to the purpose and policy of the Fund; but the Fund shall not give such notice until it has presented to the member concerned a suitable time for reply. The Fund may in its discretion and on terms which safeguard its interests under write any of the conditions above.

3. The operations on the Fund's account will be limited to transactions for the purpose of supplying a member country on the member's initiative with another member's currency in exchange for its own currency or for gold. Transactions provided<sup>16</sup> for in 4 and 7, below, are not subject to this limitation.

4. The Fund will be entitled at its option<sup>17</sup> with a view to preventing a particular member currency from becoming scarce:

要之貨幣缺少時，得通知須按照下列第六款

辦理之，丙、基金持有該會員國貨幣之總數

，在過去十二月中尚未增高至該會員國總額

百分之二十五以上，並尚未超過該國總額全數

之百分之二百；丁、會員國未曾違反基金

之宗旨與政策而經基金通知不准再使用本基

金之資源者；基金之發出是須通知，事先宜

向有關會員國提出報告，陳述意見，並予以

相當期間準備答覆，基金得斟酌在保護其本

身利益之條件下，對下述情形中任何一項，

予以同意，(3) 基金之運用，將限於由某

會員國之主意，以該會員國之貨幣或黃金，

換取他一會員國之貨幣之交易，但下列

(4) 與(7)項之交易，不在此限，(4)

基金為防止某一指定會員國貨幣之缺乏起

，得選擇以下辦法，(a) 向他會員國借入

是項貨幣 (b) 以黃金值與他會員國換取是

項貨幣，(5) 會員國既可以本國貨幣向基

金會購買另一會員國之貨幣，故該會員國應

(A) To borrow<sup>13</sup> its currency from a member country.

(B) To offer<sup>15</sup> gold to a member country in exchange for its currency.

5. So long as<sup>9</sup> a member country is entitled to buy another member's currency from the Fund in exchange for its own currency it shall be prepared to buy its own currency from that member with that member's currency or with gold. This shall not apply to currency subject to restrictions in conformity with IX 3 below or to holdings of a current account nature effected before the removal by the member country of restrictions on multilateral clearings maintained or imposed under X below.

6. A member country desiring to obtain directly or indirectly the currency of another member country for gold is expected, provided that it can do so with equal advantage, to acquire the currency by sale of gold to the Fund. This shall not preclude the sale of newly mined gold by a gold producing country on and market.

7. The Fund may also acquire gold from a member country in accordance with the following provisions:

(A) A member country may repurchase<sup>10</sup> from the Fund for gold any part of the latter's holding of its currency.

(B) So long as a member's holding of gold and gold convertible exchange exceed its quota the Fund in selling foreign exchange to that country shall require that one half of the net sale of such exchange during the Fund's financial year be paid for with gold.

隨時準備以他會員國之貨幣或黃金換取本國

之貨幣；凡受下列(九)事項辦法限制之貨幣

或在該會員國尚未按照下列(十)規定而取

消多方清算之限制以前所存之短期存款，不

在此限，(6)會員國如欲直接間接以黃金

換取另一會員國貨幣時，則該會員國應在同

樣條件之下，售賣黃金於基金，以購買所需

之貨幣；但生產黃金之國家，可不受此項限

制，在任何市場出售其新產之黃金，(7)

在下列條件之下基金可向會員國收買黃金，

甲、會員國可以黃金向基金購買所存該國貨

幣之任何部份，乙、如某會員國之黃金或可

兌換黃金之外匯數量超過該國之總額以上，

則基金與該國外匯時，得要來是項外匯淨

數之半在本年度中以黃金付償，丙、如在年

度終了時某一會員甲所存之黃金及可兌換黃

金之外匯數量已有增加，則基金可要求將

該增加數量之半數以下之黃金及可兌換黃金

(C) If at the end of the Fund's financial year a member's holdings of gold and gold convertible exchange have increased the Fund may require up to one half of the increase to be used to repurchase part of the Fund's holdings of its currency so long as this does not reduce the Fund's holdings of a country currency below 75% of its quota or the member's holdings of gold and gold convertible exchange below its quota.

之外匯作為買回基金所存該國貨幣之用，  
但不得因此使基金所存該國貨幣減低於其  
總額百分之七十五以下，或使該國存金及  
可兌換黃金之外匯之數量減低於其總額之  
下。

#### IV. PAR VALUE OF MEMBER CURRENCIES

#### 四 會員國貨幣之平價

1. The par value of a member currency shall be agreed with the Fund when it is admitted to membership and shall be expressed in terms<sup>22</sup> of gold. All transactions between the Fund and members shall be at par subject to a fixed charge payable by the member making application to the Fund and all transactions in member currencies shall be at rates within an agreed percentage of parity.

(1) 當基金接受某國為會員時，應即  
與該國議定該國貨幣之平價，該平價將以黃  
金表示之，所有基金與會員國間之交易均以  
平價計算，另由會員國繳付基金會一固定數  
量之手續費，所有各會員國貨幣之交易，皆  
須按照比率兌換，此項比率，不得超過共同

2. Subject to 5 below, no change in the par value of a member currency shall be made by the Fund without the country's approval. Member countries agree not to propose a change in parity of their currencies which will affect their international transactions unless they consider it appropriate to correct a fundamental disequilibrium. Changes shall be made only with the approval of the Fund subject to the provisions below.

議定平價百分之若干。(2) 除下列第五項  
規定外，會員國貨幣之平價，未經該國許可  
，基金不能予以變更，會員國亦同意除因正  
正其根本的不平衡狀態時，決不提議變更該  
國貨幣之平價，以影響其國際交易，但經基  
金根據下列條款而許可者，仍可變更。(3)

3. The Fund shall approve a requested change in par value of a member

會員國如有改正其根本的平衡狀態之需要

Currency if it is essential to correct a fundamental disequilibrium. In particular the Fund shall not reject a requested change necessary to restore equilibrium because of the domestic or political policy of the country applying for a change the Fund shall take into consideration the extreme uncertainty prevailing at the time the parities of the member countries were initially agreed to.

4. After consulting the Fund a member country may change the established parity of its currency provided the proposed change inclusive of any previous change since the establishment of the Fund does not exceed 10%. In case of application for a further change not covered above and not exceeding 10% the Fund shall give its decision two days of receiving the application if the applicant so requests.

5. An agreed uniform change made in the gold value of the member currencies provided every member country having 10% of the aggregate quotas approves.

時，基金得接受其建議，變更其貨幣平價，其因國內政策或政治途上之原因，有恢復平衡狀態之需要，而有變更平價之請求時，基金不得拒絕，惟審查會員國變更平價之請求時，對於各國貨幣初定平價時之極度不安狀態時，應予以考慮。(4)如會員國請求變更平價之程度連同基金成立以後所有之變更合計未超過百分之十者，得經基金會之同意，變更其原定之平價，若會員國於上項變更以外再請求變更，而所請求者，不超過百分之十時，基金可於接得申請後二日內予以決定，(5)若無持有總額百分之十或超過百分之十之各會員國贊成，則各會員國貨幣之黃金平價可予以全盤之調整。

## V. CAPITAL TRANSACTIONS

### 五 資 金 交 易

1. A member country may not use the Fund's resources to meet a large or sustained out-flow of capital and the Fund may require a member country's control to prevent such use of the resources of the Fund. This provision is not intended to prevent the use of the Fund's resources for capital transactions of reasonable amount for the expansion

(1) 會員國不得利用基金之資源，以應付大量或長期資金之輸出，基金得要求會員國制止將本基金用於是項之用途，此項規定之用意，並不在阻止將基金用於推廣出口，或正常貿易銀行業務，及他種營業上所需

of exports or in ordinary course of trade, banking and other business. Nor is it intended to prevent capital movements which are met out of a member country's own resources of gold and foreign exchange provided such capital movements are in accordance with the purpose of the Fund.

2. Subject to VI below, a member country may not use its control of capital movements to restrict payments for current transaction or to delay unduly the transfer of funds in settlement of commitments.

要合理數額之資金交易，亦不在阻止；會員國運用自有黃金及外匯支付之資金流動，但此項資金之流動，以與基本宗旨不相反背者為限。(2)除下列。(六)規定外會員國不得假借管制資本流動而限制短期交易之支付。或無故而延緩因清算已成交易所發生之資金移轉。

#### VI. APPORTIONMENT OF SCARCE CURRENCIES

### 六 稀少貨幣之分配

1. When it becomes evident to the Fund that the demand for a member currency may soon exhaust the Fund's holding of that currency the Fund shall inform member countries and propose an equitable method of apportioning the scarce currency. When a currency is thus declared scarce the Fund shall issue a report embodying the cause of the scarcity and containing recommendations designed to bring it to an end.

2. A decision by the Fund to apportion a scarce currency shall operate as an authorization to a member country after consulting the Fund temporarily to restrict the freedom of exchange operations in the affected currency and in determining the manner of restricting the demand and rationing the limited supply amongst its nationals the member country shall have complete jurisdiction.

(1) 當本基金認為其所存之某一會員

國貨幣，因大量需要而迅將耗盡時，應即將是項情形通知各會員國，並建議一平均分配

該貨幣之辦法，當此項貨幣已宣布稀少時，基金應發出報告，說明稀少之原因，並建議改正之辦法。(2) 基金分配稀少貨幣之決定

即等於同時授權某一會員國，在與基金商約後，暫時限制此項貨幣之匯兌交易自由，至於在該國內限制該國人民對於此項貨幣之需要及其有限數額之分配，該會員國有全權

處理。

## VII. MANAGEMENT

### 七 基金之管理

1. The Fund shall be governed by a Board on<sup>22</sup> which each member will be represented and by an Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall consist of at least nine members including the representatives of the five countries with the largest quotas.

2. The distribution of voting power on the Board and the Executive Committee shall be closely related to the quotas.

3. Subject to II 2 and IV 2 all matters shall be settled by majority vote.

4. The Fund shall publish at short intervals a statement of its position showing the extent of its holdings of member currencies and of gold and its transactions in gold.

(1) 本基金由各會員代表所組成之董事會及執行委員管理之，執行委員會至少由董事九人組成之，其中五人，應為權額最多之五個國家之代表；(2) 董事會與執行委員會投票權之分配，應與各會員國之權額有密切之關係；(3) 除(二)各項與( )各項之規定外一切事務，應以多數投票決定之(4) 基金應將所存各會員國之貨幣與黃金之數量及黃金之交易數額每隔一短時間發表公告。

## VIII. WITHDRAWAL

### 八 退出

1. A member country can withdraw from the Fund by giving notice in writing.

2. The reciprocal obligations of the Fund and country are to be liquidated within a reasonable time.

3. After a member country has given notice in writing of its withdrawal from the Fund, the Fund may not dispose of its holdings of the country's currency except in accordance with arrangements made under 2 above. After a member country has given notice of withdrawal its utilization of the resources of the Fund is subject to approval of the Board of Directors.

(1) 會員國得用書面通知退出(2) 基金會與該國間之互惠義務，應在一合理之時間內清理之；(3) 當一會員國以書面通知退出基金會後除依照項(即2)規定處理外，基金會不得處置其所持有之該國貨幣，會員國退出後，其對於本基金之利用，須先經董事會之允許。

IX. THE OBLIGATIONS OF A MEMBER COUNTRY

九 會員國之義務

1. Not to buy gold at a price which exceeds the agreed parity of its currency by more than a prescribed margin and not to sell gold at a price which falls below the agreed parity by more than a prescribed margin.

2. Not to allow exchange transactions in its market in currencies of other members at rates outside a prescribed range on the agreed parity.

3. Not to impose restrictions on payments for current international transactions with other member countries (other than those involving capital transfers or in accordance with VI above) or to engage in discriminatory currency arrangements or multiple currency practices without the approval of the Fund.

(1)不得在超過平價某種訂定限度以上之價格購買黃金，亦不得在低於平價某種訂定限度以下之價格售出黃金。(2)不得在本國外匯市場容許他會員國貨幣有超出根據平價所議定範圍以外之匯率之交易。(3)不得限制對他會員國之短期國際交易之支付(資金流動及依據上列(六)之規定者不在此例)，並不得在未經基金會之許可前，與其他會員國採行差別幣制或複性貨幣之辦法。

X. TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

十 過渡辦法

1. Since the fund is not intended to provide facilities for relief or reconstruction or to deal with international indebtedness arising out of the war, the agreement of a member country to III 5 and IX 3 above, shall not become effective until it is satisfied as to the arrangements at its disposal to facilitate the settlement of the balance of payment difference during the early post-war transitional period by means which will not unduly encumber its facilities with the Fund.

(一)本基金之用意，既不在對於救濟或復興，或對因戰事而發生之國際債務予以便利，故會員國非待戰後過渡時期內，國際清算支付辦法，有滿意之措施，而是項辦法，又無礙於基金之活動時，上列(三)五項及(九)三項之規定不生效力。

(二)在過渡時期，會員國可繼續維持現

3. During this transitional period member countries may maintain and adapt to changing circumstances exchange regulations of the character which have been in operation during the war, but they shall undertake to withdraw as soon as possible by progressive stages any restrictions which impede multilateral clearing on current account. In their exchange policy they shall pay continuous regard to the principles and objectives of the Fund and they shall take all possible measures to develop commercial and financial relations with other member countries which will facilitate international payments and their maintenance of exchange stability.

3. The Fund may make representations to any member that conditions are favorable to the withdrawal of particular restrictions or for the general abandonment of the restrictions inconsistent with IX 3 above. Not later than 3 years after coming into force of the Fund any member still retaining any restriction inconsistent with IX 3 shall consult with the Fund as to their further retention.

4. In its relation with member countries the Fund shall recognize that the transitional period is one of change and adjustment and in deciding on requests presented by members it shall give the member country the benefit of any reasonable doubt.

時施行之外匯管理辦法，並按環境之變更，而予以適當之修改，但須在可能之最短期間，以漸進之步驟，將有礙國際短期差額多方清算辦法之管制制度取締，其外匯政策，必須不礙注意基金之原則與宗旨，並設法促進各會員國間之商業及金融關係，以謀國際支付之便利及外匯之穩定。

(三) 基金會得向任何會員國指明撤銷違背(九)三項限制之某種舊制或全部管制之條件已具備，在本基金成立三年後仍保上述限制之會員國，應向基金磋商該項限制應否繼續存在。(4) 在基金與會員國之關係上言，本基金認為過渡時期，為一變化與調整之時期，基金當決定會員國所提之請求時，如發生有合理之疑義，則當予該會員國以有利之解釋。

#### Annotations

(1) "has taken place", "業已舉行", 指討論約有一年始公佈結果。(2) "at the technical level", "達到(進至)技術水準(程度)", (譯者 "On an equal level", "on the same level", "同等", 指地位, 階級)。(3) "Consensus of opinion",

“意見一志”，“僉以爲”。(4) “through”，“從”，“由”，“藉”，= “by means of”，“by help of”，“言手段”。(5) “Set forth (below)”，“懸列”，“臚列” (於多次方)，(下) “列”。(6) “delegates”，“全權代表”。(7) “provides .....for”，“建立”。(8) “thus”= “in this way”，“由此”。(9) “resort to”，“採取”。(10) “to be agreed”，= “whith shall be agreed upon”，“將由..... 議定”。(11) “subscribe to a fund”，“認款”又(捐款)。 (12) “entitled to”；“有.....權利”。(13) “which”指整句 “its holdings of the currency demanded have become scarce”。(14) “comes into force”，“生效”，“有效”。(15) “on the ground that”，“因有.....之理由”。(16) “provided for”，“規定”。(17) “at its option”，“隨意”，“選擇”。(18) 在構造上與 “will be entitled” 相接，作 adverb modifier，即 “The Fund will be entitled to borrow.....and to offer gold.....at its option .....”。(19) “So long as”，= “since”，“if only”，“既(然)”。(20) 即原存於基金之該國貨幣買回。(21) “in terms of”，“視定”。(22) “or” the Board；“on” the committee。

Thus I live in the world rather as a spectator of mankind than  
as one of the species.

x x x x

A perfect Tragedy is the noblest Production of human Nature.

—Joseph Addison

And we forget because we must,

And not because we will:

x x x x

Hath man no second life?—

Pitch this one high!

—Matthew Arnold

U. S. VICE-PRESIDENT HENRY WALLACE'S STATEMENT REGARDING  
HIS TRIP TO CHINA

美副總統華萊士啓程來華前之聲明

(With President Roosevelt's Announcement of Vice-President Wallace's Departure  
Appended 附羅斯福總統關於華萊士副總統啓程來華之聲明)

Released May 20, 1944

一九四四年五月二十日發表

The President has asked me to visit China. The President is a symbol of hope for hundreds of millions of people throughout the world and I am proud to serve as his messenger. There will be no press or other public representatives with me.

The object of the trip is to let our Asiatic friends know the spirit of the American people and the beliefs and hopes as their Commander-in-Chief. Asia is just as important to the United States as is Europe. We are fighting a determined enemy in North, South and Middle Pacific. We fight because of Pearl Harbor, we fight to preserve our freedom and for the democracies of Australia, New Zealand and Canada. We fight so that permanent peace and its blessings may become safe for half of the humanity which has its borders on the shores of the world's greatest ocean.

The two great lands of China and Russia are glorious. Siberia is a great arsenal, without which the Russian victories over Germany could not have

總統命余訪問中國。總統乃全世界民衆中千百萬人希望之象徵。余得擔任其使者之一，實感榮幸，與余同行者，並無報界或其他公共團體代表。

此行目的，在使我亞洲友人，了解美國人民之精神，及其總司令之信念與希望。亞洲對於美國，亦與歐洲同樣重要。吾人正在北太平洋南太平洋，及中太平洋對敵人作戰；吾人係爲珍珠港一役而戰。吾人係爲保護吾人之自由以及澳洲、紐西蘭、加拿大之民主政治而戰。吾人作此之目的，係使生活於世界最大海洋沿岸之半數人類，均能保持永久和平及其幸福。

目前有關片巨大土地：中國與蘇聯，均具有非常之光榮。西伯利亞乃一偉大兵工廠，如無西伯利亞，蘇聯必不能戰勝德國。中

occurred. The Chinese will to survive and to resist has its only counterpart in the defense of Stalingrad, Moscow and Leningrad. If I may carry to these working and fighting peoples of Asia something of the confidence and pride which the American people and their President feel in their magnificent effort, I know the journey is well taken.

The truth which China has been writing on the pages of history for 40 centuries is simply that hundreds of millions of peaceful people have never permanently been conquered by war and aggression. So shall it always be the will for peace and to survive on the Chinese soul. China has never sought to conquer the world. China only has sought and successfully accomplished her aim to work for peace and survival.

A new day opens for this great people. The closed door has gone forever. The day of the aggressor seeking, through murder and robbery, to break down the Chinese life, also is gone forever. The future of China belongs to the world and the world in justice and peace shall belong to China.

Neither the swamps of Burma, nor the Himalaya Mountains, nor Japanese war ships shall halt America from bringing all possible and prompt aid to this great and enduring people. Our President's message to China is just that. The great Chinese leader, Chiang Kai-shek, has heard from the President directly. My visit is merely one of emphasis so that the hundreds of millions of the Chinese people may know that the

國民衆之生存與抗戰之意志，惟有史達林格勒，莫斯科，列甯格勒之防禦戰，能與之匹擬。如余能將美國人民及其總統，在其偉大努力中所感之信心與榮譽，帶彼此等在工作與戰中之亞洲民族，則余覺此行亦屬不虛。

中國四千年歷史之寶錄，簡言之，乃數萬萬和平之人民從未破被侵略戰爭永遠征服，將來亦必然如此。希冀和平並在陸地上生存之意志，已種入中國民衆之靈魂。中國從未企圖征服世界，中國議會企圖並已完成其致力於和平及生存之目的。

此一偉大民族之前途，已展開新頁矣。閉關時代，已永遠過去。侵略者以屠殺及剝掠之方式，攪亂中國生活之時代，亦已永遠過去。中國之前途，屬於世界，公正和之世界，亦將屬於中國。

緬甸之沼澤，喜馬拉雅山與日本軍艦，均不能阻止美國以一切可能之援助，馳援此一偉大與堅忍之民族。我總統對中國政要者亦即在此。中國之偉大領袖 蔣主席已直接獲聞總統作此保證矣。余之訪華，僅為加重此一保證。俾中國數萬萬民衆，能知美國之華之意願，乃永久與繼續者，非至達到勝利

American will to aid China is permanent and continuous until victory is achieved.

But the Chinese have also the right to know that American people conceive of it as a duty and privilege to plan with the Chinese nation for that permanent peace and prosperity of our Pacific Allies which will also make permanent our own peace and prosperity.

It is with great anticipation that I approach the Siberian experience. This country embraces one eighth of all the land of the world. Under the Tsars, it was miserably supported by less people than the state of Pennsylvania—one fiftieth of its size. About 25 years have passed. More than 40,000,000 busy people have taken the place of 7000,000—mostly convicts—wretchedly exploited then under Imperial Russia. So the detractors of Russia must pause before the fact of the Soviet-Asia of to-day. Soviet Asia in American terms may be called the wild east of Russia. America, after the civil war, developed her wild west pushing triumphantly to the Pacific—creating what Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, Seattle and Denver mean now. In Soviet Asia, the cities of Novosibirsk, Sasiakent, Krasnoyarsk, Stalinski, Semipalatinsk, and Alma Ata are really well known in Moscow and Leningrad as the American west coast cities are known in Washington and New York.

I shall see these cities—I shall feel the grandeur that comes when men wisely work with nature. Upon my return, I hope to contribute something to the

不止。

然中國人民，亦應有權獲知美國人民認為有責任與權利與中國人民合作，並共同計劃求取我太平洋同盟之永久和平與繁榮，亦即永遠我本身之永久和平與繁榮。

余之訪問西伯利亞實存有一種偉大期望。此一區域佔全世界土地八分之一，在沙皇統治之下時，其所供養之人口，尚少於面積僅及其百分之一之賓夕法尼亞州；經廿五年之後，在帝俄治下度悲慘生活之七百萬人（大部份為流犯），已增長為勞碌之民衆四十萬以上。故游說蘇聯者，鑒於今日蘇聯亞洲部俗之情形，亦應不敢輕予譏諷矣。以美國而言，蘇聯之亞洲，可稱蘇聯之東方荒野。美國於南北戰爭之後，極力發展其西方荒野，一直進至太平洋岸，建立洛杉磯，舊金山，波特蘭，西雅圖與丹佛等城市。在莫斯科與列寧格勒兩地而言，蘇聯亞洲之新西伯利亞，塔什干，史達林斯基，森米巴拉丁斯克，與阿拉木圖亦極聞名，如美國西海岸諸城市之對於華盛頓，紐約者然。

余在訪此等城市時將親略該地人類與自然合作之狀觀。余希望在歸來時，能有助於

American understanding of today's Asia as well as detailed information for the President.

美國了解今日之亞洲，並為總統帶來詳細之情報。

### President-Roosevelt's Announcement of Vice-President Wallace's Departure

#### 羅斯福總統關於華萊士副總統啓程來華之聲明

I have asked the Vice President of the United States to serve as messenger for me in China. He is taking<sup>11</sup> with him Mr. John Carter Vincent, Chief of the Division of Chinese Affairs of the State Department, Mr. Owen Lattimore, Deputy Director of the Overseas Branch of the Office of War Information and Mr. John Hazard, Chief Liaison Officer of the Division for Soviet Supply of the Foreign Economic Administration.

East Asia will play a very important part in the future history of the world. Forces are being unloosed there which are of the utmost importance to our future peace and prosperity...

For the time being<sup>12</sup> nothing more can be said of certain aspects of the Vice President's trip. Suffice<sup>13</sup> it to say that he will be visiting about ten places which I have long wanted to see. He left today<sup>14</sup> and will report to me upon his return which is expected about the middle of July.

余已要求華萊士君為本人在中國之使者

與華萊士同行者，有國務院中國部長范宣德

，戰時情報局海外分局長拉脫摩爾，對外經

濟處對蘇供應科首席聯絡官哈查德等。

東亞將在未來世界歷史中佔極重要地位

。目前該處正有一種力量擺此繩絆，對吾人之未來和平與繁榮極其重要。

關於副總統訪華之行之各方面消息，目前尚無可再奉告者。所可告者，乃彼將訪問余早想訪問之十餘處地方。彼係於本日啓程，預定七月中返抵此間，屆時將向余報告一切。

#### Notes and Annotations

(1) to serve as, “充任”, “擔任” (非本身之任務). Many Chinese college students are serving as interpreters or liaison officers in India and Burma, 中國大學生多人在印度緬甸充通譯或聯絡官. The sofa well serves as (for) a

bed, 此原籍大可用作床。"serve as" 與 "act as" 稍異, 前者表示整個任務, 後者指某 事中局部任務。We travelled together, John acting as our guide, (John 擔任行中 guide 之工作, 本語為 guide 之工作)。We travelled together, John serving as a guide, (John 權充 guide 任務)。(2) Commander-in-Chief, 指羅斯福總統(戰時最高元帥)。(3) as is Europe, 即 as Europe is (important to the United States)。(4) the world's greatest ocean, 太平洋。(5) Will 為名詞, "意志" (to survive and to resist 為 adjective modifiers)。Our People's will to fight to the bitter end is the strongest weapon we have in our war against the aggressor. 我同胞抗戰到底之意志即為吾人抵抗侵略者最犀利之武器。(6) counterpart, "相合之物(人)" "比擬"。The Sino-Japanese war finds its counterpart in the Hundred years' War between England and France, 中日戰爭實可與英法百年戰爭比擬。The right-hand glove is the counterpart of the left, 右手套為左手之配合物。The shortcomings of the father have their counterpart in the son, 其子之弱點即其父正同。(7) So shall it always be 即 it shall always be so. "shall" 表示預言。(8) It is with great anticipation 強調 with great anticipation. 原句為 I approach the Siberian experience with great anticipation。(9) Tsars 即 Czars, 代俄皇稱號, 轉用為 "沙皇"。(10) convicts 徒犯, 在帝俄時代, 西伯利亞為罪犯徒放之地。(11) taking "攜", "同行" He took her to town 彼等同入鎮市。(12) For the time being "目前", "暫時"。(13) Suffice it to say... = let it suffice to say... "所可言者"。Suffice it to say that America is determined to crush the Japanese militarists, (其他姑勿論述) 所可言者美國決心打倒日本軍閥 (即足)。(14) to-day 即五月二十日。

Riches are a good handmaid, but the worst mistress.

富貴乃優美之女僕, 但係惡劣之主婦

Envy never makes holiday.

妒 從不令人歡樂

Silence is the virtue of fools.

沉默為愚者之美德

The worst solitude is to be destitute of sincere friendship.

缺乏誠懇之友誼必感孤獨

It is a strange desire to seek power and to lose liberty.

企圖擅權而喪失自由者乃奇異之欲望

—Francis Bacon

NEWSMAN'S EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT OF ALLIED LANDINGS ON FRANCE

路透社隨英驅逐艦記者談盟軍攻登陸經過

By Desmond Tighe, Reuter's correspondent, aboard British destroyer, at dawn,

June 6, 1944

一九四四年六月六日黎明驅逐艦法境

Guns are belching flame from more than 600 Allied warships. Thousands of bombers are roaring overhead; fighters are weaving in and out of clouds as the invasion of western Europe begins. Rolling clouds<sup>1</sup> of dense black and grey smoke cover the beaches to the south-east of Le Havre as the full fury of the Allied invasion force is unleashed<sup>2</sup> on the German defences. It is the most incredible sight that I have seen.

We are standing some 8,000 yards off the beaches of Berniere Sur Mer and from the bridge of this little destroyer I can see vast numbers of naval craft of all types. The air is filled with continuous broadsides and the crash of bombs. Great spurts<sup>3</sup> of flame come up from the beaches in long snake-like ripples as shells ranging from 15 inches to 4 inches find their mark. In the last 18 minutes alone more than 2,000 tons of high explosive shells have gone down on the beachhead.

It is now exactly 7.25 a.m. and through my glasses I can see the first wave of assault troops touching down on the water's edge and fan up the beach. Battleships and cruisers are steaming<sup>4</sup>

六百餘艘軍艦之大砲齊鳴，數千架轟炸機怒吼空際，戰鬥機出沒雲中，盟軍以雷霆萬鈞之力，猛撲德軍防地。其時哈佛南海灘為密雲灰烟籠罩，記者目擊此景殆為初次。

記者立於驅逐艦之駕駛台上，距海灘約八千碼，視線所及，均為各型艦艇，空中充滿炸彈爆炸聲音，四吋至十六吋口徑之大砲，射發巨彈，擊中海灘上目標時，火光四起。在十八分鐘之內，海灘中高度爆炸彈逾二千噸。

記者於七時二十五分鐘望遠鏡目睹第一批進攻部隊在海灘登陸，於海灘作扇形推進。主力艦及巡洋艦集中火力轟擊海灘，為

up and down, drenching the beaches ahead of the troops with withering broadsides. Guns flash and great coils follow. Great assault vessels are out to sea in their hundreds and invasion craft are being lowered from davits and headed towards shore in long lines. They are crammed with troops, guns and armoured fighting vehicles of all types. The faithful British and Canadian forces in this sector are cheerful and smiling as they go in.

Weather conditions are not ideal. A fairly high sea is running and the sky is overcast and dark clouds scurry across the sky. Bombers are passing overhead in their thousands; we cannot see them as they are well above the cloud level, but the air reverberates with the thunder of their engines. We can see bombs crashing down on German gun positions and defences just inland of the first assault troops. Great plumes of black and grey smoke rise into the air. Fighters keep up constant patrol, protecting this great invasion fleet.

Just ahead of us lies Berniere Sur Mer. Some German shore batteries are opening up on us, but their fire is ineffective and ragged. Away on our port beam a Hunt class destroyer is having a ding-dong duel with one battery and coils of water plunge up round her as German gunners try to find their mark. The gallant little fleet of destroyers are steaming up and down close inshore protecting the landing troops and plugging the shore batteries with shells. The gunfire is so terrific

我艋道。海上烟霧瀰漫，高入雲霄。大攻擊艦數百艘前駛，登陸艇自吊柱上落下向海岸進發，海上游弋軍隊，坦克車，大砲，及各式裝甲戰車。英加軍隊頭戴鋼盔，精神奕奕，徽露笑容。

本日氣候，未盡合乎理想，潮水頗高，空中烏雲密布，轟炸機數千架飛越頭頂，為目力所不及，惟空中堡壘之馬達轟，不斷振盪耳鼓，記者目睹炸彈落於第一批進攻部隊前德軍砲兵陣地，及芬蘭工事上爆炸，隨後濃烟上升。戰鬥機來往不斷巡邏，以保護此偉大進攻艦隊。

此時盟國艦隊進抵法國西北部海岸。英海防砲隊，會向我發射，惟殊少奏效。右方一艘巡邏艇正與德方一砲隊進行砲戰，德方砲手連續發射，欲擊中目標，惟砲彈均落我艦週圍，浪花四濺。勇敢之各驅逐艦，巡邏商面，保護登陸部隊，以砲火還擊岸上之砲

that our ears are deafened with one continuous rumble of explosions.

The whole planning of this great amphibious operation the greatest in the world's history--has been done in the utmost secrecy and has taken nearly 12 months. Under the supreme command of Admiral Sir Bertam Ramsay, Allied Naval Commander of the Expeditionary Force, two great assault forces are taking part in the assault. An Eastern Task Force and a Western Task Force mainly of American warships under the command of Rear-Admiral Kirk, U. S. N.

Hundreds of factors had to be taken into account before the assault could be launched, the most important being the question of weather. It is giving away on secret now to say that weather conditions for the landings were not perfect, but despite high running seas and strong north-westerly wind the bold decision was taken to go ahead with the operations.

Plans for the invasion of the coastline followed four separate phases. (1) Landings by air-borne troops and paratroops in the rear. (2) A tremendous fullscale night bombing by the R. A. F. on landing beaches themselves. (3) Sea bombardment by more than 600 Allied warships from battleships, cruisers, monitors and destroyers. (4) Finally, daybreak bombing attack by the full force of the United States Air Force just after the dawn landings went in.

From the bridge of this destroyer I

。砲聲之猛烈，震耳欲聾。

此次有史以來最大規模之海陸作戰，其全部設計，在最大秘密中準備，費時達十二個月。盟方攻歐海軍總司令尼姆爾海軍中將，參加進攻之部隊分為二大隊，東路作戰部隊由維恩少將指揮，其中大部分為英加艦隊；西路部隊由寇克少將指揮，大部為美國艦隊。

發動登陸之前，所應考慮之問題，數以百計，而其最重要者，厥為氣候問題。不可言者，盟軍所擇之登陸時間，氣候不甚理想，雖風狂浪大，盟方仍毅然決定作戰。

進攻海岸線之計劃，分成四階段：第一、以降落傘部隊及空運部隊降落敵後。第二、英機於夜間猛烈轟炸登陸沙灘。第三、由盟方戰鬥艦，巡洋艦，低舷砲艦及驅逐艦六百餘艘之大砲，齊對岸上猛轟。第四、美機在破曉時轟炸。

記者乘驅逐艦往來於英吉利海峽中。

have had a grand stand view of every phase of the operation. As we plunged through the swirling grey waters of the Channel on the last stages of our trip late last night we heard the roar of airplane engines as waves after waves of air-borne troops passed overhead. The captain speaking to ships over the loudspeaker system said: "You have the honour to be taking part in the biggest amphibious operation ever planned. We are assaulting the beaches of Normandy coast dawn tomorrow. Over 4,000 craft in the initial landing only. There is only one thing we have to do. The Navy's responsibility is to get the Army ashore at the right place, at the right time, and in right condition. We can take care of anything that comes along. This is the crucial<sup>11</sup> time and we can smash Hitler. I wish you all the very best of luck."

It was just after 4.00 a.m. when we reached our position some 18 miles off the coast of France. The night bombing was in full swing<sup>12</sup> and from that distance we could see numerous blood-red explosions and hear the rumble of bursting bombs. One great fire started up with flames shooting up high into the air. Events then followed rapidly and I will put on record a diary kept on the bridge: it was cold and wrapped in duflie coats and thick mufflers we watched dawn come<sup>13</sup> in and the invasion start<sup>14</sup> in all its intensity. 5.20 a.m. grey light of dawn. Great shapes of innumerable assault ships appear on our starboard beam. A torpedo boat follows

於上述之第四著設進行時，由該艦之駕駛台上見飛機空運部隊之美機分作兩路過引響聲清晰可聞。艦長利用播音器向艦員致詞：“諸君得參加有史以來最大之陸作戰，誠屬光榮。吾人於明日清晨進攻諾曼第沙灘，僅用於首次進攻之艦艇達四千艘，吾人所必須完成者僅為一事，蓋海軍之責任，即在使陸軍於適當之時間，適當之地點，在適當之條件下，抵達岸上。吾人能注意一切事物，以為千鈞一刻重要時間，吾人當能打倒希特勒，余願諸君等皆能得福。

吾人抵離國海岸約十八哩之處，適為早晨四時，夜襲機場炸方散，吾人所處地點，已能目觀血紅之爆炸，耳聞炸彈之猛烈聲。在波瓦特德附近之一處海灘，一處發生大火，火勢熊熊嗣後事勢急轉直下，記者僅能在駕駛上以日記約略記錄其大事與時間。五時二十分東方發現魚白色，無數進攻艦艇出現

on our wake—obviously off his course. 5.27 a.m. Great naval bombardment begins. 5.33 a.m. The coastline becomes a thin smudge of grey. 5.36 a.m. Cruisers open fire on our starboard bow. 5.45 a.m. Big assault ships start lowering their boats crowded with finhatted Tommies. I can pick out several boats. At least 1,000 ships of all sizes in our sector alone. The naval bombardment intensifies. Big battleships join in. 5.50 a.m. I saw the first flash from a German shore battery. Above us we hear the sweet drone of our fighter cover. The sky is cloudy but there is a fairly high ceiling. Four Spitfires pass overhead. So far not one single enemy plane has put in an appearance. But it is yet early. We shall see. It appears that we have taken the enemy by surprise. 5.55 a.m. I can see the thin line of a tank landing craft heading towards shore. Grey minesweepers have been sweeping the waters. They have got plenty of guts, these fellows. 6.00 a.m. The coast is now clearly visible. Enemy batteries are opening fire. The sky is now dull red herring bone. Cruisers continue to fire away. The bombardment continues and by now fires are burning ashore. Clouds of black smoke rise hundreds of feet into the air.

6.30 a.m. The whole of the invasion fleet is now waiting just 7 miles off the coast. 6.50 a.m. The fleet of destroyers now close up to the shore bombarding any targets they can see. A string of tank landing craft pass us. The weather

於吾人之右舷，輕型魚雷艇繼踵而往。五時二十七分，海軍大砲開始猛烈轟擊。五時三十三分海岸線始現灰光。五時三十六分，吾人右舷之巡洋艦亦開砲。五時四十五分進攻艦隊，開始放下其帶載頂戴鋼盔士兵之小艇，單在吾人一區，記者即見至少有各式戰艦一千艘。海軍之轟擊加強，大艦隊亦參加轟擊。五時五十分，記者始見德方大砲開始轟擊，吾人上空盟軍戰鬥機翔，天空有雲，但相當高爽，迄無敵機出現。惟此時尚早，一切須待以後證明，盟軍進攻，似出敵方意外。五時五十五分記者可窺見一德艦陸艇，向海岸開進，掃雷艇往來游弋開道，滿出若干空隙，登陸艇即行繼進。六時正海岸已清楚可見，敵砲亦時常開火，巡洋艦擊破敵岸上，岸上已大火熊熊，濃煙高昇數百呎。

六時三十分，各艦離岸約七哩。六時五十分，各艦逼近海岸，見自艦即轟擊，大隊坦克登陸艇開過吾人之前，氣氛轉密，天空

is worsening. The sky is turning grey and big clouds are coming up. Spitfires roar overhead. 7.00 a.m. The first wave of Fortresses come in. Their wings gleam through small patches of clouds. Most of them are invisible. The roar of Fortress engines, coupled with the crashing of bombs, is terrific. The coastline is by now covered with palls of smoke. An inferno of battleships, monitors and destroyers are giving the Germans all they have got.

7.20 a.m. It is now light. I can see the spire of Berniere's belfry. We are 9,500 yards from shore and still closing. The town is covered with smoke. Buildings appear to be smashed. Now 800 yards off shore. 7.25 a.m. The first wave of landing craft have reached the shore. I see them touch down. Red tracers from close-range enemy weapons are searing across the beach. Men leap out of their craft and move forward. Tanks follow them. By now everything is an inferno. Fortresses have moved their bombing behind the beachhead and continue to plaster the Germans.

7.35 a.m. We move out on patrol. It is too early to know how the initial landings have gone. But they were made to the split second according to timetable. The battle goes on.

作灰色，有大雲一片，英美飛機仍翔於空中。七時正第一批空中堡壘出現，撥雲閃爍於雲霧之間，但大部分不能窺見，空中堡壘之吼聲與炸彈聲同時並作，聲音頗為驚人，海岸線現已為黑烟所籠罩，各式戰艦一齊開火。

七時二十分天已大明，吾人可窺見保爾菲埃寺院之屋尖，吾人離海岸九千五百碼，煙霧蓋全市，建築物似在摧毀崩潰中。七時二十五分，第一批登陸艇到達海岸，記者目視敵方武器所射出之紅光，掠過沙灘，戰士跳出登陸艇，向前躍進，坦克車繼之。此時一切呈混亂之象。空中堡壘之轟炸，現移至敵後，繼續攻擊德軍。

七時三十五分，記者所坐之輪船開始從事巡邏，初步登陸情形如何，現尚不能確知，但一切皆在時間表上行，不差分秒。大戰刻在進行中。

### Notes and Annotations

- (1) 翔 "起伏". (2) 解出. (3) 噴發. (4) 駛行. (5) 雲行. (6) 不可，虛落. (7) 叮噠之聲，彼此對擊，砲聲隆隆. (8) 海陸軍並進. (9) 考工. (10) = Royal Air Force, 英皇家空軍. (11) 千鈞一髮. (12) 正確. (13) "come", "start" 皆為 infinitive, 用 "watch" 之後其配號 "to" 不用. (14) 繼踵而來. (15) 天空高爽. (16) 逼近. (17) 並. (18) 亂雜, 雜色. (19) 疾馳, 趕上每一分秒.

GENERAL DWIGHT EISENHOWER, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF ALLIED  
INVASION FORCES, ISSUES ORDER OF THE DAY TO INVASION TROOPS

攻歐軍統帥艾森豪威爾氏致盟方遠征軍手令

Distributed to assault elements after embarkation on June 6, 1944

一九四四年六月六日在進攻部隊登陸時發給

Soldiers, sailors, airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Forces. You are about to embark<sup>1</sup> upon a great crusade toward which we have strived in these past months. The eyes of the world are upon you. The hopes and prayers of the liberty-loving peoples everywhere march with you. You will bring<sup>2</sup> about the destruction of the German war machine<sup>3</sup> and the elimination of Nazi tyranny over the oppressed peoples in Europe and security for ourselves in a free world.

Your task will not be an easy one. Your enemy is well-trained, well-equipped and battle-hardened. He will fight savagely. But this is the year 1944. Much has happened since the Nazi triumphs in 1940 and 1941. The United Nations have inflicted<sup>4</sup> upon the Germans a great defeat in open battle man to man. Our air offensive has seriously reduced their strength in the air and their capacity to wage war on the ground. Our homefronts have given us overwhelming superiority in weapons and munitions of war and placed at our disposal<sup>4</sup> great reserves of trained fighting men.

君等與正步上吾人已奮鬥數月之六十字  
軍運動。全世界之目光，皆注視君等，各地  
愛好自由民族之希望與祈禱，皆嚮往諸君。  
君等將摧毀德國之軍事機構，消滅歐洲被壓  
迫民族所蒙之納粹暴政，亦將為吾人自身穩  
致自由世界之安全。

君等之任務艱鉅，君等之敵人皆訓練有  
素，設備精良，且曾身經百戰，彼等必將猛  
戰，但此為一九四四年，自一九四零及一九  
四一，納粹停戰以來，世界已多改變。聯合  
國在公開戰場上，德軍對盟軍，已曾遭敵軍  
慘敗，吾方之空中攻勢，已大形削弱敵人在  
空中及地面之作戰力量，而吾人之後方，在  
武器軍需方面，異乎吾人絕對之優勢。大  
量後備及訓練優良之戰士，供吾人調遣。

The friends of freedom. Peoples of the world are searching together in victory. I have full confidence in your courage, based on duty and skill in battle. We will accept not less than full victory. Good luck and let us all beseal the blessing of Almighty God upon this great noble undertaking.

今蒙運已等，全世界之自由人士，今皆  
 並有高尚自由邁進。余對諸君之勇敢忠誠，及  
 作戰之技術，深具信心。吾人所欲接受者，  
 為不折不扣之勝利，願君等幸福，願吾人皆  
 蒙福。帝，加佑此偉大崇高之事業。

### Notes and Annotations

- (1) “英軍”，“英艦”，“英士”。 He has embarked upon (in) a new enterprise. (英軍着手新事業。 又作“乘艦”譯。 He has embarked for England. 英已乘艦過海。) (2) “甚”，“甚起”。 Scarcity has brought about the soaring of commodity prices, 貨物缺少致物價飆漲。 (3) “說…話”，“加力”。 Our eight years of resistance have inflicted great losses on the enemy, 吾人抗戰八年使敵人傷亡甚大損失。 (4) “任意使用”，“供調”。 This money is at our disposal, 此款聽吾人使用。

The art of living consists largely in knowing how to brush away the little things that are likely to irritate.

× × × ×

Gratitude is much more than a verbal expression of thanks. Action expresses more gratitude than speech.

× × × ×

Men in great places are thrice servants: servants of the sovereign or state, servants of fame, and servants of business.

GENERAL DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF ALLIED  
INVASION FORCES BROADCASTS TO THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE

攻歐軍統帥艾森豪威爾向歐洲人民廣播聲明

By the Allied radios on June 6, 1944

一九四四年六月六日由盟軍廣播電台廣播

The people of western Europe, the landing was made this morning on the coast of France by the troops of the Allied Expeditionary Force. This landing is a part of the concerted United Nations' plan for the liberation of Europe and is made in conjunction with our great Russian Allies. I have a message for all of you: Although the initial assault may not have been made by your own country, the hour of your liberation is approaching. All patriots, men or women, young or old, have a part to play in the achievement of the final victory. To the members of the resistance movements I say, follow the instructions you have received. To the patriots who are not the members of the organized resistance groups I say, continue your passive resistance but do not needlessly endanger your lives until I give you the signal to rise and strike the enemy. The day will come when I shall need your united strength. Until that day I shall call on you for hard task, discipline and restraint.

The citizens of France, I am proud to have again under my command the gallant forces of France, fighting

我西歐之人民乎，盟軍總統軍部隊，今晨已在法國海岸登陸。此次登陸，乃我聯軍之重要計畫，其共同目的為歐洲計劃中之一部分，余亦有厚望於諸君：初期登陸，固不在諸君本國境內，但諸君解放之期已迫。所有愛國志士，無論男女老幼，對於達成最後勝利，皆有貢獻。對於所有本國或外國之抗敵運動之組織領導之人員，余謂諸君務必遵守彼等所給之訓令，對於所有不屬於有組織之抗敵團體之愛國志士，余謂諸君應繼續其消極之抵抗，但非徒意向敵者發出無謂之危險，當勿使諸君之生命遭受無謂之危險。余當需要諸君力量之日，余必來臨，惟在尚未發兵以前，務請諸君堅守紀律，各自守職，務以應付諸君之任務。

法國國人民乎，余可引為榮幸者，即公

又與法軍法英德之陸軍戰事，現當與盟軍

beside their Allies they will play a worthy part in liberation of their homeland. Because the in the building has been made on the soil of your country, I repeat to you with even greater emphasis my message than to the peoples of other occupied nations in western Europe. Follow the instructions of your leaders. A premature uprising of all Frenchmen may prevent you from being a maximum help to your country in this critical hour. Be patient. Beyond as the supreme commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force (A.E.F.) has imposed upon the duty and responsibility of taking all measures necessary to the prosecution of the war. Prompt and willing obedience to the orders I shall issue is essential. An effective civil administration must be provided by all Frenchmen. All persons must continue their present duties unless otherwise instructed. Those who have the common cause with the enemy and so betrayed their country will be removed as France is liberated from her oppressors and you yourselves will choose your representations and government under which you wish to live. In the course of this campaign for the final defeat of the enemy you may sustain further loss and damage. Tragic though they may be, they are a part of the price of the victory. I assure you that I shall do with all my power to mitigate your hardships. I know I can count on your steadfastness no less than in the past. The heroic deeds of the Frenchmen who continued their struggle against the Nazis and the Vichy satellites

能肩作戰，對於解放其祖國之工作，必能從事有價值之貢獻，惟因初期登陸係在諸君之國土內，余竊以我與盟軍各被佔領國家之人民所報告之佳音更爲諸君鄭重言之，務請遵照被佔領之訓令。全法人民如在時機尚未成熟之際，起而抗敵徒足在此重慶關頭，使諸君不能爲祖國最大之臂助，務請諸君勿妄勿躁，努力準備，余因擔任盟國遠征軍總司令之職務，故須採取一切必要之步驟以作戰，諸君必立時並樂服服役。余所將發布之命令，法蘭西人民必得佈署最有效之民政機構，所有人民，苟非另奉訓令，必須各守現職。凡屬通敵及叛國者，俟法國向其壓迫者之鐵蹄下獲得解放時，均將悉予剷除。諸君將自選擇其代表及願意生存其下之政府。在此最艱難艱苦之服役中，諸君或將再蒙受犧牲與損失，言其情形，容或心痛，但爲勝利代價之一部。余茲向諸君保證，余將視余力之所及，以減少諸君之痛苦。余敢相信諸君堅定之精神，決不遜負盛譽。法國人民在法國及法國整個殖民地繼續抵抗納粹與被難瑣屑星時所表現之英勇事蹟，堪爲吾人全體

in France and throughout the French Empire have been an example and inspiration to all of us. This landing is but the opening phase of the campaign in western Europe. Great battles lie ahead. I call upon all who love freedom to stand with us. Keep your faith staunch--our arms are resolute--together we shall achieve victory.

之錯誤。此次遠征，僅為取得最後之勝利，前途當有大戰，余願諸君所有愛好自由之人士，立於吾人之一方，盼諸君堅信勿疑。吾人之武器，亦堅定不移，吾人通力合作，必能達到勝利之境。

### Notes and Annotations

(1) “與...結合”，“與...共同”。The Chinese troops are fighting very splendidly in conjunction with the Americans in Burma. 緬甸我軍與美軍共同作戰極為得手。(2) 指前在北非會作戰。(3) “採取步驟”。The government will take strict measures to prevent smuggling. 政府將採取嚴厲措施禁止走私。(4) 係副詞，即“unless they are instructed otherwise.”“以他法”，“另有”。I cannot do it otherwise. 余不能另以他法為之。(5) “過程”“進行”。In the course of the war our troops have shown great heroism and the spirit of sacrifice. 我們官兵於抗戰推進中對英雄犧牲精神，有表現。He gave me a very valuable advice in the course of conversation. 彼與談次對余有可貴之勸告。(6) “信賴”，“企望”。Do you count upon his word? 彼可信任乎？(7) “邀請”，“請”。At the meeting, the chairman called upon him to speak. 主席於會議席上請其演說。(8) “一致”，“(通有)全下”。China will forever stand with all peace-loving countries. 中國永將與愛好和平國家合作。

Much harm may be done by indiscreet praise and by indiscreet blame;  
but the chief harm is always done by blame.

×                    ×                    ×                    ×

True eloquence consists in saying all that is necessary and nothing but  
what is necessary.

# KING GEORGE VI BROADCASTS TO BRITISH PEOPLE

## 英王對英軍攻登歐陸廣播演說

Made on the night of June 4, 1940, on the occasion of the Allied Invasion of Europe

一九四〇年六月六日晚演說

Once more a run came test has to be faced; This time the challenge is not to fight to survive but to fight to win final victory for a good cause. Once again, what is demanded from us all is something more than courage and endurance; we need a revival of the spirit, new unconquerable resolve.<sup>2</sup>

After nearly five years of toil and suffering we must renew that crusading impulse on which we entered the war and met its darkest hour<sup>3</sup> that we may be worthy of this new summons<sup>4</sup> of destiny I desire solemnly to call my people to prayer and dedication. We are not unmindful of our own shortcomings—past and present. We shall not ask that God may do our will but that we may do the will of God. And we dare to believe that God has used our nation and Empire as an instrument for fulfilling His high purpose.

吾人必須再度應付「大亡國」之險，此次之進攻行動，已非為生存而戰，乃為公理之最後勝利而戰，吾人向所需要者不僅為勇氣與耐力，吾人更需精神之復活及不可征服之決心。

吾人參戰後，曾歷過戰爭中最黑暗之階段，終於歷經五年戰爭之苦，目前正爭取最後之勝利。…… 緊要呼籲國人共起奮鬥，使歐陸上帝以成吾人國民之使命，吾人不可隨時而退去與英法之英法，吾人不應要求上帝為我英法之利益，而保吾人定能實現上帝之真意，吾人敢信上帝已用吾英法及全帝國為工具，以實現其崇高之真意。

### Notes and Annotations

- (1) 譯者「命運」與「命運」意源遠在四年前。(2) 前付，臨時困難。A cool-headed man can face a trying situation in triumph. 冷靜之人能面對厄境而無畏。(3) 與 "april" 同義。(4) 聖職之使命為經常指究其民族史上最艱苦者，故用此一詞。(5) 召喚，被改寫 "summons", 召喚之詞 = "call". 與 the Chinese role of the summons of war against the invader. 與中國人民向侵略者宣戰。

U.S. VICE-PRESIDENT HENRY AGARD WALLACE ISSUES  
STATEMENT AFTER ARRIVAL AT CHUNYING

美副總統華萊士抵達陪都後發表書面談話

Mr. Wallace, who has been asked by President Roosevelt to serve as his "messenger" to China, arrived on the afternoon of June 20, 1944; accompanied by John Carter Vincent, chief of the Division of Chinese Affairs of U.S. State Department; Owen Lattimore, Deputy Director of the Overseas branch of the Office of War Information; John Hazard, Chief Liaison Officer of the Division of Soviet Supply of the Foreign Economic Administration; statement released immediately after arrival.

華氏於一九四四年六月二十二日下午抵達重慶，隨行者爲國務院中國司司長范克廉，戰時情報局太平洋分局副局長拉鐵摩爾，對外經濟行政部供濟部首席顧問官哈札德。

I have come from Siberia, one of the newest of lands, to begin my visit in one of the oldest. The common boundary of these two lands sweeps along for some five thousand miles from the Pacific to Central Asia. Dr. Hs. Shih has said that this boundary should be like the frontier between the United States and Canada—not one of separation but one of joining friends together. I believe it will be so. And I believe there are great potentialities for cultural and commercial exchanges to promote the general welfare of the peoples of Asia and the North Pacific basin.

Entering China through Sinkiang the "new region" as you have named it, I have been impressed with its promise for the future. I have been similarly impressed with your other northwestern provinces, in which I have long been interested and over which I flew today. In many respects this whole region is to you what our west is to us, a land of

余經由新地帶之一西伯利亞而來，訪問歷史悠久之中國。此兩邦疆界毗連，由太平洋至中亞細亞，綿延近五千餘英里。胡適之博士曾謂：此兩國疆界有與美國與加拿大無仿，非爲一勞障界線，實爲兩國交誼之基礎。余對此亦深表同意。余並相信將有許多得溝通文化商務之巨大潛在力，藉謀亞洲及北太平洋盆地人民之一般福利。

余此次滄海新航：「新疆」顧名思義，實如貴國新干之名聲，對極東之希望與發展最深之印象。至於我國西北其他各省亦然。蓋西北各省爲我國之重要，一如美之阿

opportunity. It might be said by those living in the past that I have entered China through the back door; but I believe that developments in the coming years will prove me right in saying that I have entered through a new front door—a door facing Central Asia where, as I have just been able to observe first hand, great forward strides<sup>1</sup> are being made socially and economically.

I am happy to be in China and I begin my visit with the keenest interest. I have followed with sympathy and admiration your trials and accomplishments of the past seven years of war. Now I want to see your land and talk with your farmers<sup>2</sup>. I want to visit your soldiers and our soldiers who are cooperating to bring about the early defeat of Japan.

Above all, I look forward to the privilege of discussing matters of mutual interest and concern with your great President, Chiang Kai-shek.

部對英美國然。華乃爲一富有希望之廣大區域。早年人士或謂，余乃係自中國後門而來。但余相信由於將來各方面之發展，必可證明余今日乃係自中國新的正門而非後門而來也。此正門面向中亞細亞。在中亞細亞一帶，余曾能親臨經濟與社會方面各種建設之成就。

余來中國極感歡欣，並且將以最深厚之興趣開始訪問。余對中國七年來抗戰之成就，極表欽敬與同情。現在余擬參觀貴國土地及與貴國農民晤談。余更擬訪問貴國及敵國並肩作戰提早擊潰日本之戰士。

其尤重要者，卽余期望能與貴國之偉大領袖蔣主席討論與中美雙方利益有關之各項問題也。

### Notes and Annotations

(1) “富有深刻印像”。I am deeply impressed with the importance of discipline. 余深感紀律之必要。He tries to impress me with his opinions. 彼謀余服膺其見解。His opinions do not impress me favourably. 余對彼之意見印像不佳。I do not seem much impressed, 余不覺爲所感服。His speech is indelibly impressed on my memory, 彼之講演使余銘記不忘。You must have the fact impressed on your mind, 此事汝當記憶勿忘。(2) “有崇”, “具有…希望”。China is of great promise both in agriculture and in industry, 中國在農工業兩方面前途皆有大希望。He is a youth of great promise, 彼爲前途大有希望之青年。(3) Reading is to the mind what food is to the body. 或 What is food to the body, that is reading to the mind, 或 Just as food is to the body, so is reading to the mind. 讀書之於精神猶食物之於肉體然。(4) “發展”, “進步”。This province has taken long strides—advanced by long strides in education, 本省於教育有長足進步。(5) 華氏爲農學專家，談云。

THE DECLARATION OF THE UNITED STATES,  
THE USSR, AND GREAT BRITAIN  
CONCERNING IRAN

Made on December 6, 1943

美蘇英三國關於伊朗宣言

一九四三年十二月六日發表

—〇〇—

The President of the United States, the Premier of the U S S R and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, having consulted with each other and with the Prime Minister of Iran, desire to declare the actual agreement of their three governments regarding their relations with Iran.

The Governments of the United States of America the USSR and the United Kingdom recognize the assistance which Iran has given in the prosecution<sup>1</sup> of the war against the common enemy, particularly by facilitating<sup>2</sup> the transportation of supplies from overseas to the Soviet Union.

The three Governments realize that the war has caused special economic difficulties for Iran and they are agreed that they would continue to make available to the Government<sup>3</sup> of Iran such economic assistance as may be possible, having regard to the heavy demands made upon them by their world-wide military operations and to the world-wide shortage<sup>5</sup> of

美總統，蘇委員長，與斯合王首相，

彼此諮商，並與伊朗總理諮商後，願宣布三

國政府就對伊朗關係所成立之切實協議。

伊朗為進行對公敵戰而貢獻之援助。

以便利海外供應品假道運蘇一節，美蘇英各

王國政府均加承認。

三國政府認戰爭使伊朗在經濟上之

特殊困難，故決議三國政府在考慮世界戰爭

所加諸本身之重大負担與世界普遍缺乏運輸

工具原料與民用消費品之餘，務能以可能之

transport, raw material, and supplies for civilian consumption.

With respect to the post-war period, the Governments of the United States, the U.S.S.R. and the United Kingdom are in accord with the government of Iran that any economic problems confronting Iran at the close of hostilities should receive full consideration along with those of other members of the United Nations by conferences of international agencies held or expected to deal with international economic matters.

The Governments of the United States of America, the USSR and the United Kingdom are at one with the Government of Iran in their respect for the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran. They count upon the participation of Iran, together with all other peace-loving nations, in the establishment of international peace, security and prosperity after the war in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter to which all four governments have continued to subscribe.

經濟援助與予伊國政府。

關於戰後時期，美國及聯合王國政府與伊國政府已獲得一致意見。即軍事行動結束時，伊國所遺留之任何經濟問題，應與其他聯合國家之經濟問題同受同等之考慮，其方式為由原有或為適宜國際機關所設立之國際機構舉行會議討論之。

關於伊特伊國之主權獨立及領土完整一節，美國及聯合王國政府與伊國政府完全意見一致，三國政府均將伊國與其他一切愛好自由之國家，根據此大國政府所繼續遵守之大西洋憲章原則，共同建立戰後之國際和平，安全保障與繁榮。

### Notes and Annotations

(1) “進行” He has gone abroad purely for the prosecution of studies. 彼為進修而往國外研究。(2) “使便利”. To facilitate the living of the people, the government has controlled rice, wheat, and other food-stuffs. 政府為便利人民生活起見，統制米麥及其他食糧。(3) “為” “to make” 之 object. (4) “注意” 即一方面注意為到自身困難。(5) “缺乏”. “Though the price of rice has steadily gone up, there is in fact no shortage of rice in this province, 米價雖不斷上漲本省實不缺少食糧。(6) “意見一致”. He is at one with me with regard to that problem. 關於該問題，彼之意見與余正同。(反對 at variance with)。

VICE-PRESIDENT MCKEOFF'S REPLY TO PRESIDENT CHIANG'S  
WELCOME SPEECH

華萊士副總統答謝蔣主席演詞

Made at the state banquet given in honour of the U. S. Vice-President by  
President and Madame Chiang on the evening of June 21, 1937, at Chungking.

於一九四四年六月二十一日晚蔣主席宴會中致答辭後發表

I am happy to be in China. More than that, it is an inspiration for me to be here in Chungking—the war capital of a government and people who have for seven long years resisted Japanese aggression.

It is almost thirteen years since the "Mukden Incident". Generalissimo Chiang realized then, as we all realize now, that the treacherous attack at Mukden was the opening gun of world-wide fascist aggression. Only one thing could have stopped it—a willingness by peaceful nations to cooperate, in fact and deed as we are now doing, in meeting and repelling each and every outbreak of aggression no matter where or by whom. But the nations of the world were not then prepared for co-operative action.

Seven years ago—in June of 1937 the prospects for China seemed more promising to many of us in America than at any time during the history of the Republic. A stable government under strong leadership was beginning political and economic reforms among a united people. Some even thought that

余此次得來貴國，至為欣幸。我國政府及人民抵抗日本之侵略，已有七年之久。余今日親臨貴國之首都重慶，並設法與之共商。

自滿洲事變以來，幾已十有三年，當事變之初，得獲其時與日本之不測侵略而攻佔滿洲乃全世界法西斯主義侵略之導線，吾人自今日觀之，該變實為世界和平之不幸。此種侵略，唯一得足以阻止之，即和平之國家在實際上與行動上能合作以對待，並擊退任何地與任何時之侵略。然而，如吾人目前之所為是也，惟此於目前當時並無採取一有效之準備。

七年以前——即一九三七年六月間——美國方面甚多之人士均謂中國前途將獲民國成立以來之任何時期之光明。彼時中國人民業已團結一致，在堅強有力之領導下，我國之政府業已開始政治與經濟之改革，若干

The tide of Japanese aggression was receding. But at that very moment the Japanese generals were plotting the Lukouchiao incident of July 7.

What happened after that is fresh<sup>8</sup> in our memories and will form an inspiring chapter in history. Generalissimo Chiang, in a deeply moving statement, accepted the Japanese challenge. But again the non-aggressor nations were not prepared to form a common front—did not appear to realize that a defeat administered<sup>9</sup> to fascist aggression in China would be a defeat for fascism everywhere. There ensued the heroic defense of Shanghai by the Chinese army; the barbarous rape of Nanking by Japanese troops; the Chinese victory at Taierhchwang; and the orderly withdrawal of the Chinese Government to Chungking, followed by millions of Chinese carrying with them their machinery—and an undaunted spirit. The Chinese Army and guerrillas continued the fight, trading space for time.

Now we are on the eve<sup>6</sup> of the 8th year of China's war of resistance against Japan. The tide of Japanese aggression is running its course.<sup>5</sup> The Japanese are now trading space for time in the Pacific, but both time and space are against them. In due<sup>7</sup> course, we hope to find them trading space for time in China but they will be faced with a determined Chinese Army, receiving cooperation from American forces, which will allow them no time for trading.

There is much hard fighting to be

人士甚至相信日本之侵略業已減退，而如日本軍人發動七月七日蘆溝橋事變之陰謀正在醞釀中也。

盧溝橋事變後之種種事實，均非吾人所熟知，且在世界歷史中必為令人至感興奮之一頁，蔣委員長在其感人至深之宣言中，毅然接受日人之挑戰。但各非侵略國家仍不能組成聯合之陣線，彼等似尚不知在中國境內給予法西斯侵略主義者之打擊，即為對於全體法西斯主義者之打擊，繼此遂有中國陸軍英勇之上海保衛戰，日軍野蠻性之前京大屠殺，中國軍隊在台兒莊之大捷與中國政府之按照預定計劃而遷都重慶，隨政府而西遷者，尚有數千百萬之中國人民，彼等所攜至內地者，除各種機器外，尚有其大無畏之精神。中國陸軍與游擊隊均繼續奮鬥，以空間爭取時間。

時至今日，中國將進入其抗日戰爭之第八年，日本侵略之波瀾，正奔向消滅之途。日人在太平洋上現方以空間換取時間，惟時間與空間二者均於彼等不利也。吾人希望彼等在不久之過程中亦將在中國境內求以空間換取時間，惟堅決抗戰之中國陸軍，益以美國軍隊之密切合作，足以使彼等無時間空間可爭取也。

吾人於達到目標之前，尚須經過無數艱

done before we reach our goal but the goal is in sight and we have good reason to hope that the 8th year will be the final year of Japanese aggression in China, in Asia, and in the Pacific.

Having been so bold as to make a military prophecy, I now propose to move into an even more difficult field—that of political prophecy. I do this because I feel so strongly about the kind of peace we should have. And I know you also feel strongly in that regard because you have suffered longer and suffered more from the evils of war than any other people. The Chinese people have earned the right to live out their lives in peace.

Our armies and navies will win the war. Of that we are all confident. That is, they will re-establish peace. But it will not be enough simply to re-establish peace; we must maintain it. That will be America's major objective. In co-operation with China and other nations we shall devote our energies to the maintenance of peace as are now devoting our full energies to the achievement of victory.

The demilitarization of Japan is essential to the maintenance of peace. At the same time, the way to orderly, lawabiding, self-government should be left open to the Japanese.

Our relations with China, now and in the post-war period, may be described as the cornerstone of our relations in eastern Asia. We do not, of course, aspire to any exclusive arrangement with China any more<sup>10</sup> than we should

顯停戰，惟目標業已在望，且有充分之理由足使吾人希望此第八年之抗日戰爭將為日人在中國在亞洲及在太平洋上侵略之之最後一年。

余既已大膽作一軍事之預言，擬更進而涉及另一較難事件之範圍——即作一政治之預言是。余所以為此者，蓋對於吾人究竟爭取何種和平，實深有所感，且余深知君等對於此項亦必具有同樣之感覺，蓋君等身受戰爭之痛苦較其他任何民族為久，且亦較其他任何民族為烈，戰是之故；中國人民實已取和在和平中渡其歲月之權利。

吾人之陸軍與海軍必能取得勝利，此乃吾人所深信，換言之，即彼等將能重建和平。惟僅能重建和平仍屬不足，吾人更應進而維持和平。美國之主要目的，即在維持和平。吾人將與中國及其他國家合作，竭盡全力以維持和平，一如吾人目前之竭盡全力以爭取勝利也。

為維持和平計，日本之解除武裝實有必要。同時日人究應如何開始能有重秩序法律之自治，則應認由日人自決。

吾人與中國之關係，在目前及戰後，可視為吾人在東亞國際關係之基石。吾人不欲與中國成立任何排他性之協定，一如吾人不歡迎任何排除吾人之政治結合，且無特言

welcome political combination which excluded it. No balance of power system would serve to maintain peace. It would in fact lead to rivalries which would inevitably cause a resurgence of Japanese militarism.

It is essential therefore, not only that relations between China and the United States be maintained on the historic basis of close friendship, but that relations among the four principal powers in the Pacific—China, the Soviet Union, the British Commonwealth, and the United States—be cordial and collaborative. China and the Soviet Union have the longest common boundary of any two nations in the world. The British people for over a century have played an important part in the development of the Far East. Cooperation among these four powers offers the most promising basis for maintaining peace in Asia and the Pacific.

Peace without social and political stability cannot last. Stability can only endure if it is based on the welfare of peoples. The welfare of peoples is best assured by education, technological training and democratic self-government.

China, as I have already been able to observe during my stay in your war-torn capital, looks forward eagerly to victory and to an era of peace and stability devoted to the welfare of the people. Your newly gained international position calls for a full understanding among your Allies. China is vitally interested in future discussions of the common problems relating particularly

。在共同對敵制度，決不僅有助於和平之維持

。而此種制度必能引起國際間之互相瞭解，

而其結果必為日本戰敗主義之再度結核。

是以不啻中美兩國須以長遠久之密切

友誼為基礎而繼續維持，即太平洋上中蘇英

美四主要強國之關係亦應以此種合作關係，互

相合作。中國與蘇聯一共同關係被世界上任

何其他二國之共同關係為長。一百餘年以來

英國人民在遠東之發展上對情況佔之地位，

此種大強國間之合作，乃亞洲及太平洋上維

持和平最良好之基礎。

苟無社會與政治之安定，絕無持久之和平。而長久之安定，則必以人民之幸福為基礎，而幸福者民族之幸福，則必教育理工方面之專門訓練，及民主主義之自治為最善之法。

余自親歷廣西日寇淫淫之貴國戰時首都後，業已確信中國現方於艱危之時期

，庶能進入和平與安定之時代以增進其人民之福利。貴國在國際間亦已佔新地位，貴

國與盟友間實有充實瞭解之必要。對於今後與東亞及太平洋各別關係之各種共同問題之

to eastern Asia and the Pacific. Territories forcibly taken from China by Japan will be returned. Independence for Korea has been promised. We favor<sup>13</sup> a restoration of national sovereignty to Thailand. In Asia there are other political and racial entities, now in a state of colonial dependency, whose aspirations to self-government should receive prompt and positive attention after victory.

In this connection<sup>13</sup> it is pertinent to quote a statement made by our Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull:

"There rests upon the independent nations a responsibility<sup>14</sup> in relation to dependent peoples who aspire to liberty. It should be the duty of nations having political ties with such peoples--to help the aspiring peoples to develop materially and educationally, to prepare themselves for the duties and responsibilities of self-government, and to attain liberty. An excellent example of what can be achieved is afforded in the record of our relationship with the Philippines."<sup>15</sup> This statement points<sup>15</sup> the way to a new era in Asia.

Here in China you have national minorities whose problems are akin<sup>16</sup> to colonial problems. I recall the old five-colored flag which was a symbol of the five major racial groups composing the Chinese Republic. Although the old symbol has now been superseded by the "blue sky and white sun" emblem of the National Government, the sympathy for minorities and weak peoples which Sun Yat-sen felt and laught all his life is an

討論，中國自稱領有，日本則欲吞併之中國領土，將歸還於中國。朝鮮之獨立，與吾人許諾，吾人主張泰國之主權與行政。在亞洲方面尚有其他之政治及種族實體，現仍處於殖民地位，勝利到來之後，彼等全盼自治之心情。應及時引起與此之注意。

關於此點余擬引述國務卿之言，或不為過譽：“獨立以後對於其盼自治之附屬人民實負一職責任，凡對此等人民有政治關係之國家，應負協助的等持有附屬之人民進行其物質上與教育上之發展，俾其自負責任之準備，並獲得自由，至於此種協助應獲得若何成就，吾人與菲律賓間之成績實為最佳之例證。” 歐戰以前國務卿之言蓋已指示亞洲新時代之途徑。

在中國境內，諸君亦有若干少數民族問題，貴國當年之五色國旗，乃成中華民國五大黨族之象徵，國民政府現雖改用「青天白日」旗，然孫中山先生對於弱小宗族所抱之同情，及其為華生之考證以徵國人者，當可為諸君前來對中國境內少數民族問題

assurance that you will work for an enlightened solution of national minority problems within China just as you and we expect to work on an international level for the solution of colonial problems.

I have described what I consider to be three essentials to the maintenance of peace in eastern Asia and the Pacific; demilitarization of Japan; understanding and collaboration among the nations of the Pacific; and self-government for the peoples of Asia. I am convinced that we—Chinese and Americans—should devote our thought and energies toward the attainment of this goal in order that the sacrifices of war shall not have been made in vain.

You have in China a sure and inspiring guide to conduct in national and international affairs. I refer to the San Min Chu I, and I wish to give a toast to its author, your great statesman—Sun Yat-sen, and to his great successor—Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

，這 合 理 解 決 之 標 準 ， 一 切 諸 君 與 吾 人 將 在 國 際 方 面 共 同 努 力 ， 以 謀 殖 民 地 問 題 之 解 決 也 。

余 對 維 持 東 亞 及 太 平 洋 和 平 之 三 大 要 點 已 曾 明 確 指 示 ， 即 日 本 必 須 解 除 武 裝 ， 與 太 平 洋 各 國 間 之 諒 解 與 合 作 ， 及 亞 洲 各 民 族 必 須 獲 得 自 治 是 也 。 余 深 信 吾 人 —— 即 中 美 兩 大 民 族 —— 應 用 吾 人 之 思 想 與 能 力 以 求 此 目 標 之 實 現 ， 庶 幾 在 此 次 戰 爭 中 可 作 一 種 犧 牲 不 為 虛 擲 。

貴 國 對 於 國 內 及 國 際 事 件 之 處 理 ， 已 有 一 確 切 而 令 人 感 奮 之 指 示 ， 即 三 民 主 義 是 也 。 三 民 主 義 之 創 造 者 ， 乃 貴 國 之 大 政 治 家 孫 中 山 先 生 。 余 領 此 杯 酒 ， 向 中 山 先 生 表 示 敬 意 ， 並 向 三 民 主 義 之 實 行 者 —— 蔣 委 員 長 —— 表 示 敬 意 。

### Notes and Annotations

(1) 省此句，即“no matter where or by whom it (aggression) is committed,” 或“wherever or by whomever it is committed,” 退步語氣。(2) “前途有希望”。He is a promising youth, 彼為前途有望之青年。(3) “記憶猶新”，“熟知”。The heroic sacrifice of Yoh Fei is still fresh in our memories (minds), 岳武穆之壯烈至今吾人仍記憶猶新。(4) “加諸”。(5) “前夕”，“踏入”，“進入”，“斷去”，“...之際”。We are on the eve of a new era, 吾人將進入新紀元。(6) “(自然)途徑”，“趨勢”，“Let things run their course, 讓事物自然發展。(7) “在適當(相當)過程後”，“及此”。The Japanese navy will, in due course (of time), be crushed, 日本海軍之消滅不過時問題。(8) “關於該點(事)”，“=in that matter. You have no choice in this regard, 關於此事，並非做不可。(9) “自由參加”，“自決”。To accept Japan's challenge was the only course open to us, 吾人對日本除應戰外別無他策。

(10) “一如”，“猶”：He cannot effect the impossible, any more than we can, 彼之不能爲不可爲之舉無異於吾等。(11) “企望”。I look forward to meeting you with pleasure, 思及不久即可聚首中心欣慶。The boys look forward to the examination with fear, 學生以未來之考試爲慮。(12) “贊成”，“主張”，He favours my plan, 彼贊成吾計劃。(13) “關於此點”，承上句之義而發揮之啓詞。(14) subject 放在 verb “rests” 之後，因本身有較長之 modifier，否則放在平常句首地位則 modifier 將 subject 與 verb 隔開，陳述或失明晰之處，此爲求得 clearness 將 subject 倒置於 verb 之後。(15) “指示”，“指明途徑”。“The Destiny of China” points the way to our national reconstruction, 建國之途徑在「中國之命運」一書中已有指示。(16) “相類似”。The cat is akin to the tiger, 貓與虎同類。(17) “指”，“謂”。He refers to the man in black, 彼指穿黑衣之人。The man referred to is a priest, 彼所提之人爲一牧師。(以上係自動用法。他動用法 refer 意義甚多，其常用者爲 a. “指出某人以備查詢”，As to how to play cricket, I refer you to your physical director. 關於板球戲之方法請君問體育教員。b. “交會”(審查)。Your proposal has been referred to the standing committee for discussion, 汝之意見書業已交常務委員會討論。“稟陳”，“報告”。He has referred the matter to the authorities, “彼業將此事報告當局”。

PRESIDENT CHIANG'S SPEECH OF WELCOME TO VICE-PRESIDENT  
WALLACE

蔣主席歡迎美副總統華萊士演說詞

Made at the state banquet given by President and Madame Chiang, at Chungking, on the evening of June 21, 1944, in honour of the U. S. Vice-President, to which about 100 people were invited including the Vice-President and his retinue members of the foreign diplomatic corps and military missions, as well as ranking government officials.

蔣主席暨夫人於一九四四年六月二十一日晚八時在官邸款宴華萊士副總統及其隨行人員，並當外交使團，軍事代表團，及我黨政軍長官，參政員等的百人座席，席間致歡迎詞如下：

Vice-President Wallace, Ladies and Gentlemen:

In word and in deed, in war and in peace, the United States of America has always been China's staunch<sup>1</sup> friend. To you,<sup>2</sup> Vice-President Wallace, a most distinguished representative of America and an eminent statesman for whom I have great regard, I extend<sup>3</sup> our heartiest welcome on behalf of the Chinese Government and people.

We welcome you with genuine pleasure because, in the midst<sup>4</sup> of your multifarious duties, you have undertaken this arduous trip over oceans and mountains to this war-torn country. Your mission to China, further strengthening our traditional bonds of friendship, is indeed full of significance in the annals of Sino-American relations.

You have come to visit us at a great historic moment. Your gallant forces.

華萊士副總統，各位來賓：美洲合衆國無論在言論上或在事實，無論在戰時或平時，始終都是我們中國最密切友邦。華萊士副總統閣下爲貴國聲望最著的有數人物，而且是本人所仰慕已久的政治家，此次代表貴國惠臨中國，我們政府和全國國民敬表示衷誠的歡迎。

閣下在政務繁忙之中，不辭遠道跋涉，跨過海洋越過崇山峻嶺的高空，來到戰時艱苦的中國，我們得與閣下會晤，實在感到愉快而榮幸，閣下的訪問更進一步加強貴我兩國一貫的友誼，在中美兩國關係史上實在是有重大的敬意。

閣下的惠臨，適在這個歷史性的重大時機，貴國英勇的軍隊與盟國軍隊協同一致，

together with those of our other Allies have with brilliant success started the liberation of Europe. We in the China theater of war, after seven years of hard, continuous struggle, are now still being engaged in a gigantic fight against the ruthless and far better equipped invader. With increased support from our Allies we are confident that we shall be able to drive the enemy from our land.

From your many public addresses we know that you are heart and soul devoted to the cause of human liberty and international justice. The United Nations' supreme aim, for the moment is to win a speedy, total victory over all the aggressors. But besides and beyond that there must be established an enduring world peace system so that millions of men, women and children, will not have died in vain in this world catastrophe.

No people desires a peaceful world more than the Chinese people. Having suffered most and longest as a victim of aggression, we abhor militarism and aggression in any part of the world. Our national philosophy throughout the ages has been for universal brotherhood. This has been instilled in the minds of our people by the teachings of our sages and leaders from Confucius and Mencius down to Dr. Sun Yat sen, the Founder of our Republic.

Every member of the United Nations has, I believe, a right, a moral right to know the stand in international relations of every other member, and at the same

已在歐戰中取得最後的勝利，而歐洲大陸開始得到解放，而我們中國軍民在中國戰場上，經過七年的長期艱苦作戰之後，正在面對着殘暴無比而裝備優勢遠過於我的敵人，以我們一貫堅強的決心，與之作大規模的戰鬥，我們這一戰是十分重要的，有了盟邦日益增加的供給，我們深信一定能夠擊退我們的敵人。

我們知道開下區真誠維護人類自由和國際正義的。聯合國目前最急迫的任務是要迅速擊潰所有侵略者，獲得全局的勝利，然而除此以外，更必須建立世界永久和平的基礎，纔能使這次舉世浩劫中喪失生命的千百萬男女老幼，不致作無意義的犧牲。

在這個世界上，將沒有別的民族比我們中國更需一個永久和平的世界的。因為身受殘暴侵略的痛苦最久而最深，我們中國極端憎恨世界上任何地點的軍國主義和侵略主義，我們中國的傳統哲學是「四海一家」，這一個哲學教條由於歷代聖哲自孔子孟子以至於我們國父孫中山先生的教訓而深植於我們全國的人心。

我個人認為聯合國中每一個國家都有權利—道德的權利，來明瞭其他聯合國對於世界關係的觀點，同時我更認為每一個聯合國

time a duty, a moral duty to make known to every other member her own stand. Only in this spirit can<sup>10</sup> a world peace be built on solid foundations.

We can assure you, Mr, Vice-President, that the Chinese people wish to live in good-neighborliness, in harmony and peace of every nation. We dream no dream of domination. We have no territorial ambitions. Territories which are rightfully ours must of course, as they should,<sup>11</sup> be restored to us.

Furthermore, we believe in ever-increasing cooperation with other countries in matters economic, financial, cultural as well as political.<sup>12</sup> With the world so shrunken in space, so to speak,<sup>13</sup> no nation can enjoy alone the Four Freedoms (freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom from want, freedom from fear) proclaimed by President Roosevelt without international goodwill and cooperation. No nation can achieve or maintain prosperity except in a prosperous world. As part of her contribution to world prosperity, China aspires to develop herself into a well-balanced agricultural and industrial country, to enhance the social and economic well-being of her vast population, to raise the standard of living of her people and to increase her purchasing power in the world market. As you are interested in farmer's problems you will appreciate the importance that China attaches to her policy of devoting special attention to the improving of the livelihood of the farmers who constitute over eighty per cent of her population

都有義務——道德的義務，使其他聯合國國家明瞭其本國對國際關係的立場。惟有在這一互相深切瞭解的精神之上，纔能使世界和平築成堅固的基礎。

華萊士副總統：我們要向閣下申言，中國國民是希望在親仁善鄰的原則之下和世界上一切民族和諧而平安相處，我們尊重每一國家的獨立與完整，我國從不作支配他人的夢想，我們除了義應歸還於我們的領土當然要求歸還之外，絕沒有領土的企圖。

不但如此，我們並且希望在經濟方面，金融方面，教育文化方面，和政治方面，與各國日益加強其合作，現在世界上面積的距離，已經由於交通的發達而縮小了，所以決沒有一國能夠不倚賴國際的善意和合作而獨自享有如羅總統所提倡的四種自由（信仰之自由，言論之自由，免於匱乏之自由，免於恐懼之自由）的，也決沒有一國能夠漠視了世界整個繁榮而獨自獲得或保持他的繁榮，爲了使我們對於世界繁榮，能有所貢獻，我們中國渴望將來發展爲農業工業平衡發達的國家，我們渴望增進我們人民的社會福利和經濟福利，提高我們國民的生活水準，增加我們在世界市場上的購買力，尤其我們是農業國家，農民佔全國總人口百分之八十以上，我們政府特別注意於增進農民的生活以達到耕者有其田的目的，這一點想必爲關心農

so that they may ultimately own the farms which they cultivate. And in the development of our industry and of our immense natural resources, we will welcome foreign investment and foreign technicians.

We Chinese people stand second<sup>14</sup> to none in our readiness to cooperate with all peace-loving nations, to do our part in the setting up of a general system of collective security. We accept without reserve the fundamental principle that all international disputes of whatever nature or origin must be settled by peaceful means and that peace is one and indivisible. The acceptance of and adherence to this fundamental principle constitutes the cornerstone of future world security, which should if necessary<sup>15</sup> be backed up by adequate international force.

But no collective security can be achieved unless the military might of our common enemies is totally annihilated. Pending<sup>16</sup> the inauguration of such a peace system, the United States of America, the British Commonwealth of Nations, the Soviet Union and China must shoulder the responsibility of maintaining international peace. In their solidarity and cooperation lies the guarantee of a better world order.

In the new era, China will have increased duties and responsibilities. Of this she is not unaware<sup>17</sup>. To be the<sup>18</sup> better able to discharge these increased duties and responsibilities, she is making every effort to stride forward. With so vast a population, so immense an area,

民問題的關係所未聞。至於在經濟建設方面，爲了發展我們的工業和開發我們廣大的資源，我們歡迎國外的投資和國外技術專家的協助。

我中國國民以最大的決心，準備和一切愛好和平的民族合作，準備擔着我們應有的任務，以建立普遍的集體安全，我們相信任何性質，任何原因的國際爭執，都應需用和平的方法來解決，國際和平是整個而不可分割的，這些基本的原則，我們是無條件的接受，惟有接受了這些基本原則而且堅決擁護這些原則，乃至在必要的時候有充分的國際武力爲後盾，終能夠爲未來世界的安全，奠立堅固的基礎。

我們並且相信，除非澈底摧毀我們公共敵人的軍事力量，則集體安全是無法獲得的，在整個和平制度沒有建立之前，美，英，蘇，中四國必須負起維持國際和平的責任，惟有美英蘇中四國間的緊密無間的團結和合作，纔是未來更佳世界秩序的保障。

在這個時代中，我們中國的責任和義務一天天的加重，這一點我們中國是很清楚的。中國正在竭盡一切可能的努力向前邁進，以期改造自身，俾能負荷這種重大的義務和責任，但是我中國人口如此的衆多，幅員如此的廣闊，傳統習慣如此的久長，而要使中

to amount a heritage, and with such complexities involved in modernization, much time is needed in attaining our goal. Nobody can feel more keenly than we ourselves the stupendous difficulties and obstacles we are trying to overcome. But we are confident we shall succeed.

Mr. Vice-President, on this auspicious<sup>19</sup> occasion of welcoming you to our land, I have expressed my thoughts on some of the questions which both the American and Chinese peoples are vitally interested in. May we ask you to bring back this message to President Roosevelt, to the American Congress and people that the people of China deeply appreciate the moral and material support your country has accorded us in this our common fight for human freedom and happiness, and that we are as determined as the American people are in destroying once for all<sup>20</sup> the evil forces of aggression, in establishing an enduring world peace system and in promoting the welfare of mankind.

國徹底現代化，其所包含的困難問題又是如此的複雜，我們要達此目標，當然需要很多<sup>19</sup>的時間，而不是短期可就的。世界上沒有比我們中國自身瞭解得更深刻，我們所必需克服的種種阻礙和困難，是何等的艱鉅，然而我們確信祇要堅決努力，我們必能成功。

華萊士副總統：在這樣難得的盛會中，我們歡迎閣下的蒞臨，我乘此機會對於貴國兩院國民所共同關切的若干事項加以說明，我希望閣下將我這一番意思，攜回給貴國總統，給貴國的參眾兩院和貴國的國民，請告訴他們，我們中國的國民深深感謝美國對我國所給予的精神和物質的援助，使我們中國能夠達成人類自由幸福的共同目標而努力，更請告訴他們，我中國國民和美國國民具有同樣的決心，誓必徹底消滅侵略暴力，以期建立世界永久的和平，增進全人類的福祉。

### Notes and Annotations

- (1) 又作 "stanch", "堅定不變", "忠實", He is a staunch supporter of classicism. (a staunch classicist), 彼為古典主義之忠實信徒。(2) 形容 "intend", 放在句首為強調作用。(3) "申", "奏", I extend my congratulations to you on your completion of college course. 台端大學學業完成, 余特此敬申賀意。(4) 於……之中, He wrote this note in the very midst of the war. 彼於備戰之中寫此短簡。He is in our midst (=among us) 彼與吾等並肩作戰。(5) "戰場" He reviews the war theatre by theatre. 彼對各戰場戰局逐一說明。(6) "良機", "悉心", "用全副精神", 名詞作副詞用。He goes, heart and soul, into any scheme 彼無論作何計劃皆用全副精神。(7) 此處作代詞用, 與 "and" 同。(8) "灌輸", 其後之介詞, 亦用 "into". The Three-

People Principles have been instilled into the minds of the Chinese. 三民主義早已灌輸於中國人心中。(9) 插入句, 其他如 I think, I presume. (或字 indeed, phrase, to tell the truth 等) 皆與本句基一字無關, 乃形容全句, 為 independent construction, 用為表示發言人評語, 見解。(10) 因 adverbial phrase 倒裝, 助動字常位於 subject 之前。(11) 省略句如 as they should be restored to us. (12) 此四字皆形容 "matters" 為 adjective 放在被形容名詞之後為同位用法 (有時為強調關係, 有時, 如本句, 字多或形容字有 modifier 皆放名詞後)。(13) "所謂", "有如"。He is, so to speak (so to say), a grow-up baby, 彼乃所謂長成之乳臭小兒耳。(14) "不次", "劣於人", "不讓入", "決心" = next to none. He is, second to none, at mathematics, 彼為第一流數學家。He is, second to none, in fighting for justice, 彼決心捍衛正義 (擁護正義不亞於人)。(15) 有略句 = "if it is necessary", 本句前後應用 comma 分開, 但在本句中其所附屬之 "which"-clause 已用 comma 故不可再分。(16) "未定前"。We shall not do anything, pending your reply. 在台端覆信未到來前不能作何處置。(17) (由外觀察所知) "覺", "覺察" We were aware of Japan's ambitions at the time of the Mukden Incident. 瀋陽事變時吾人已覺察日本的野心。(由內所推知為 conscion of, "感")。(18) 指示副詞 = "so much", 形容副詞 "better", "更", "益"。With your help, he is the better able to do that hard task, 有君之助彼對是項艱鉅工作更能勝任。(19) "良", "佳"。I extend to you my hearty congratulation on the auspicious occasion of your wedding, 茲值台端嘉禮良辰, 余特此深致賀忱。(20) "只此一次 (不再有之)", "斷然", "澈底"。We are making tremendous sacrifices in winning, once for all, our national freedom. 吾人為澈底爭取民族自由不惜作重大犧牲。

EXCERPT OF PRES. ROOSEVELT'S SPEECH  
AT FIRST UNRRA MEETING

Broadcast on November 10, 1943, at the ceremonies at the White House, at which representatives of 44 formally signed the agreement creating the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

羅斯福總統於聯合國簽訂善後救濟協定後  
播 辭 節 錄

一九四三年十一月十日在白宮舉行之聯合國善後救濟會議播講

— ○ ○ ○ —

Here at the White House seated<sup>1</sup> about a table in the historic East Room are the representatives of 44 nations -United Nations and those associated with them. The people of the these 44 nations include 80 per cent of the human race and are now united by common devotion to the cause of civilization and by a common determination to build for the future a world of decency<sup>4</sup> security, and above all peace.

The representatives of these 44 nations just signed an agreement creating the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration -commonly known as UNRRA<sup>2</sup>. This agency will help put into practical effect some<sup>3</sup> of the high purposes that were set<sup>4</sup> forth in the Declaration of the United Nations on January 1, 1942.

Coming after the declarations at Moscow, this agreement shows we mean business<sup>5</sup> in this war in the political and humanitarian sense just as surely as we mean business in the military sense. It is

聯合國及協合國四十四國之代表，目前歡聚於白宮東側，富有歷史意義之一室中，此四十四國之人民，佔人類全體之百分之八十，現在因共同盡瘁於文化，及因共同決心建立世界將來之正義安全與和平而聯合一致。

此四十四國之代表，頃方簽訂協定，創立聯合國善後救濟總署。此項機構，將一九四二年一月一日聯合國宣言所宣布之若干崇高目標，獲致實現。

此項協定，簽訂于莫斯科協定以後，適可表示吾人在此次戰爭中，對於政治與人道之重視，正不亞於軍事。此協定亦為使聯合

more strong link joining the United Nations and their Associates in facing problems of mutual need and interest.

The agreement which we have all just signed is based on a preamble in which the United Nations declare they are "determined that immediately upon the liberation of any area....., the population of that area shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and the recovery of the health of the people and that preparation and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services." That is the preamble<sup>5</sup> of the agreement which was just signed here today.

All the United Nations agree to cooperate and share in world relief and rehabilitation each nation according to its own individual resources to provide relief and help in rehabilitation for the victims of German and Japanese barbarism.

國於照付彼此需要及利益時，互相合作之又一堅韌之一環。

吾人方纔簽訂之協定，乃根據聯合國在序文中所宣布者謂「任何區域於解放以後，其人民立即能獲得救濟及衣食住方面之協助，並助其預防災疫恢復人民之康健，從事準備及部署使俘虜及流亡之人民得重歸故居。並協助其重要急需之農工業生產，恢復各種重要之服務。」此即今日吾人方才所簽訂協定中之序文也。

所有聯合國國家，致同意，在聯合國救濟善後總署中合作，並切實工作。依照各國之資源，以從事救濟並協助為德日野蠻主義所犧牲國家之復興。

#### Notes and Annotations

(1) 過去分詞作形容詞用 + 形容 subject "representatives". I saw him sitting at the desk, 與 I saw him seated at the desk 之差別在 sitting 言動作，後者言狀態（靜止意味）。(2) 即 United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration 每字之第一字母合成，取其簡便。(3) 為 "put" 之 object 因此字本身有謂屬清潔後將 prepositional phrase, "into effect" 詞於其前。(4) "宣佈" "陳進"。The rights of the people are set forth in the constitution of a country. 一國之憲法列舉人民之便利。(5) "存心"，"重視"。He means business, though he speaks in a joking way, 彼所言雖諷，其意固重視之。(6) "序文"，"弁言"，"小引"。The object of his visit may be inferred from the preamble in the first paragraph of his long letter. 彼此行之目的可由其長函第一段引言中推測而知。

BELGIAN AND POLISH PRIME MINISTERS'  
INVASION MESSAGES TO THEIR RESPECTIVE PEOPLES AND FORCES

Broadcast from London on the day of Allied invasion of  
western Europe, June 6, 1944.

比波首相於聯軍攻登歐陸日對各該國軍民  
廣播訓辭策應聯軍

一九四四年六月六日由倫敦播送



(A) BELGIAN PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE

(甲) 比波時首相廣播詞

This is the initial<sup>1</sup> assault in operations for your long-awaited—for deliverance. I urge you to preserve, in coming days of difficult suspense<sup>2</sup>, that discipline<sup>3</sup> which you have shown for the past four years and, while awaiting<sup>4</sup> the moment of supreme battle to continue<sup>5</sup> secret sabotage<sup>6</sup> of the enemy war machine, to avoid<sup>7</sup> falling in to such German traps as false instructions, agents provocateurs, etc, which are devised to make you show hand prematurely with terrible consequences. Obey with complete discipline all orders given by the Allied Supreme Command and your Government, but watch for unverified rumors, make sure that the only news you accept is that broadcast by Allied radio stations. When the supreme moment comes you will be informed and will then be

聯合國大軍為實現諸君期待已久之救援，今日已開始向歐陸進攻。余等乘此張力奮君等於當此勝負未決中心艱危之際，須保持君等四年來所表現之紀律，並於當候戰事來臨之時，繼續破壞敵人戰爭機構，慎防墜入敵人捏造訓令，以及其爪牙挑撥種種圈套，其用意在使君等於時機未成熟之前向彼投降且蒙枉不利之後果。君等應以嚴密之紀律聽從聯軍最高統帥部，及比國政府之一切命令，切勿聽聽未證實之謠言，凡聯合國廣播電台所發出之消息，君等始可深信無疑。俟重要關頭來臨之時，君等應如何策勵始可明白

clearly told what is expected from you. Meanwhile perfect your organizations so that they be fully effective when the time comes. Your watchwords: courage, discipline, solidarity, confidence.

### (B) POLISH PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE

#### (乙) 波蘭首相廣播詞

We are entering into the final stage of settling accounts with Germany. An order that marks the beginning of the liberations of Europe from the barbarous occupation of the Nazi invaders and murderers has been given by the Supreme commander of the Allied Armies.

In this long awaited and desired moment, our hearts beat quicker, Polish soldiers in the ranks straighten themselves, and soldiers of the Polish Underground Army clench their fists in readiness. But I wish to emphasize that the moment for a general uprising has not come yet. The battle order concerns special units with special tasks in the underground. The moment of a general struggle will come. It is necessary to prepare for it. This moment will be announced to you by a special order.

Poles<sup>10</sup> in the underground of Europe wherever you have been given orders to strike—strike<sup>11</sup> powerfully. You must help to rally and await orders for the general and final blow. This moment is not far off. May God guide you. For Honour and Fatherland!

告知君等。此刻君等須加強組織，如此在時機來到，君等動作始可發揮英雄之効力。余今日為君等伴口號曰：勇敢，紀律，團結，互信！願君等勉之！

吾人今日已抵達與德國清算之最後階段，蓋聯軍最高統帥部業已頒布命令解除納粹侵略者殘忍統治之歐洲矣。

吾人聞此期待已久之佳音皆必中心歡欣鼓舞，我波蘭士兵皆必興奮起而躍，我波蘭地下秘密大軍亦必摩拳擦掌以待發動，此誠無疑。但余今日特乘機鄭重告諸君，切勿以為全面發動之時機業已來臨。各別地下秘密單位之作戰命令，皆各有特種性質，彼此不同。至開作戰之日確為期不遠，君等其各從事準備。至時機成熟，君等即可奉到發動之特別命令也。

活動於歐陸地下秘密波蘭同志乎，君等俟時機到來之日，不論何人命令君等與敵敵人，君等均應盡力襲擊之。君等且須協助傳遞命令，等待命令予敵人以普遍之最後打擊。余這時機已在不遠。願上蒼引導君等並波蘭光榮，恢復祖國！

### Notes and Annotations

(1) “開始”，“初步”。A good plan is the initial step in any attainment, 良好計劃為任何成就之初步。(2) “未決(定之局面)”，“不安”。The delayed arrival of the message had kept them in suspense, 彼等因消息遲遲到遲曾忐忑不安多時。(3) 為“to preserve”之object。(4) “while you are awaiting”。(5) 與“to preserve”同，皆為“urge”之direct object。(6) “怠工”，即破壞之意。(7) 同(5)。(8) “屈服”，“投降” when the policemen came with strong arms, the burglars showed hand, 待警察攜帶強烈武器等到達，匪徒即舉手投服。(9) “標記”。The war of resistance will forever mark the beginning of a new China in every respect, 抗戰在各方面皆為新中國開始之標幟。(10) 稱呼。(11) Subject “you” 省略。

## JOINT STATEMENT OF VICE-PRES.

WALLACE AND PRES. CHIANG

on results of talks on matters of common interest, during the former's stay at Chungking; issued on June 25, 1944.

### 華萊士副總統與蔣主席 共同發表談話

一九四四年六月二十五日華萊士副總統離渝之次日發表  
兩氏多次晤談有關中美兩國共同利益之結果

—○○○—

During his visit in Chungking, Vice-President Wallace has had an opportunity to discuss with President Chiang and officials of the Chinese Government, in an informal, frank and friendly atmosphere, matters of common interest and concern. They have exchanged views to mutual advantage and have found themselves in agreement on basic principles and objectives.

Prosecution of the war against Japan in Asia is an urgent job and mutual assistance in every possible way to get that job done quickly and efficiently is fundamental in Chinese-American relations.

The objective of victory in the Pacific is the establishment of a democratic peace based on political and social stability deriving from government devoted to the welfare of peoples.

Enduring peace in the Pacific will depend upon (1) effective permanent

華萊士副總統留渝期間，曾與蔣主席及中國政府其他人員在非正式與坦白而友好之空氣中，討論共同注意及關懷之問題，彼等於交換意見後，彼此間互有獲益，且對於基本之原則及目標均完全同意。

亞洲方面之對日戰事必須積極進行，實為至急之任務，中美兩國之盡力互助，以求此任務之早日完成，並以一切可能之方法完成之，乃兩國關係上至要之事。

太平洋上勝利之目標，在建立以政治與社會之安定為基礎之民主主義的和平，而政治與社會之安定，則有賴於為各國人民增進福利之政治。

太平洋上之長期和平，其所賴者為：

demilitarization of Japan; (2) understanding, friendship and collaboration between and among the four principal powers in the Pacific area—China, the Soviet Union, The United States, and the British Commonwealth of Nations—and among all United Nations willing to share in the responsibilities of post-war international order; and (3) recognition of the fundamental right of presently dependent Asiatic peoples to self-government, and the early adoption of measures in the political, economic and social fields to prepare those dependent peoples for self-government within a specified, practical time limit.

Cognizance<sup>4</sup> was taken of the cornerstone position of China in Asia and of the importance of China in any structure for peace in the Pacific area. It was assumed<sup>5</sup> as axiomatic that essential to such a peace structure would be continuation of ties<sup>6</sup> of friendship that have characterized American-Chinese relations for over a century, and the maintenance of relations on a basis of mutual understanding between China and the Soviet Union—China's nearest great neighbor—as well as between China and her other neighbors. No balance of power arrangement would serve the ends of peace.

Six years of resistance to Japan, during the last three of which China has been virtually<sup>7</sup> cut off from physical contact with the outside world, has resulted<sup>8</sup> in serious economic and financial difficulties in Free China. The Chinese people are facing diffi-

(一) 以有效方法永久解除日本之武裝。

(二) 太平洋區域內四主要強國——中國、蘇聯、美國及英國——彼此間以及所有願負戰後國際秩序責任的聯合國家，相互間之瞭解友誼與合作。(三) 承認目前亞洲各屬領人民取得自治之基本權利，且須在政治經濟及社會方面，早日採取步驟，使此等屬領人民準備於確定而可能之時間內實行自治。

中國在亞洲所佔之基石之地位，及中國在任何太平洋和平機構中之重要性，在此次討論中，均曾注意及之，且參加討論者，均認為一定不易之理者，即此種和平機構之成立，必須具有下列之基本要素，中美兩國關係，百餘年來所表現之傳統友誼必須繼續，中國與壤地最近之偉大鄰邦蘇聯之關係，必須維持於互相諒解之基之上，即中國與其他鄰邦之關係亦復如是，任何均勢之局面決不能助於和平之目的。

中國抵抗日本之侵略，業已七年，而在最近三年間，中國與外界業已完全隔絕，其結果遂令自由中國在經濟及財政方面發生嚴重之困難，中國人民現方以堅毅沉着之精神

culties with fortitude, confident of their ability to stand the strain<sup>9</sup> until greater material assistance from abroad becomes feasible.

The Chinese people and the Government are determined to implement and make real the Three People's Principles of Sun Yat-sen. The first of these Principles--National Sovereignty--is now a reality. The second--Democracy--is in plicit in plans being formulated for the establishment of a constitution to guarantee individual rights and freedom and to establish representative government. Concrete consideration of the third--the People's Livelihood--is inherent in plans for economic reconstruction.

With regard to the People's Livelihood, the fundamental importance of agricultural reconstruction in any plans for economic or industrial reconstruction was recognized. The life-long interest of Vice-President Wallace in agricultural development gave him a special understanding of China's agrarian problems and enabled him to discuss with President Chiang realistic solutions. Vice-President Wallace was confident that President Chiang would find among the American people a willingness to cooperate in every practical way with the Chinese people in solving agricultural and related problems posed in Chinese plans for economic reconstruction, implementation of which would mean trade relations between Chinese and American business men on a mutually advantageous basis.

President Chiang and Vice-President

應付此種困難，茲敬望自必能忍受一切艱苦，以待海外更大物質援助之到來。

中國人民及政府均有實行孫中山先生三民主義之決心，三民主義中之第一主義——民族主義——現已成爲事實，其第二主義——民權主義——正符合於目前建立憲政以保障個人權利與自由，并建立代議政治之種種計劃之中，至於第三主義——民生主義——之實現，則將現有名種經濟建設計劃漸行後必然之結果。

就民生而論之，此次參加討論者，均認爲在任何經濟與工業建設計劃之中中國農業建設佔極重要之地位，華萊士副總統對農業發展問題，生平傾軋與識，對中國農業問題有特熟之了解，并能與蔣主席討論實際之解決方法，華萊士副總統深信蔣主席必能發現美國人民深願與中國人民盡力合作，以求解決中國經濟建設計劃中所包含之農業問題，及其他相關連之問題，此種經濟發展實現之日，中美兩國商人必能於互有利之基礎之上，發展其商業之關係。

蔣主席與華萊士副總統對於中美兩國政

Wallace were continually mindful of the fact that the fundamental purpose of their Governments is the promotion of the security and welfare of the peoples of China and the United States, respectively, and were in agreement in believing that pursuit of the broad objectives which they had discussed would be in line<sup>11</sup> with the accomplishment of that purpose.

府之主要目的，係各為其本國國民謀求安全

與幸福一點，未嘗片刻忘懷，且均深信彼等

新討論之各種廣泛目標之追求，即所以促成

此項主要目的之實現也。

### Notes and Annotations-

(1) "to the advantage" (disadvantage, benefit, interest, effect, purpose, ruin, cost, honour, dishonour, shame, joy, content, satisfaction, relief, surprise, astonishment, prejudice, 等字) 前之界詞 "to" 表示結果，惟 "to the end" 之 "to" 表示目的，惟目的之意味通常皆以 "for" 表示之。The investment will turn out to your advantage, 此種投資(必)有利於君。(2) "every (all) possible" = imaginable, "可想到", "可能", "應有", "一切"。We tried every possible means to avert the war. 吾人用盡可能方法以圖避免戰爭(但終不能免)。(3) "between" 言四國之中某 "兩國間", "among" 言四國 "互相" "共同"。(4) "注意" (合適, 法, 原則)。We take (have) cognizance of the fact that the rich should be stripped of their surplus purchasing power. 富裕者之過剩購買力應予剝奪此已為吾人注意認為合理。(5) "認為", "假定"。Japan made a great mistake in assuming that Germany would win the war. 日本認定德國必可勝利實為大錯。(6) "關係"。The Americans and the Englishmen are bound up by many common ties—such as those of blood, language, religion, thought, and so on. 美英兩國人民有共同關係甚多，如血統, 語言, 宗教, 思想等關係是。(7) "事實上" "殆" "幾"。Many people have virtually been starving on account of the rise of commodity prices, 物價高漲致多數之人幾至飢餓將死。(8) "結果"。Scarcity of goods for consumption has resulted in the rapid and repeated rise of commodity prices. 消耗物品稀少, 其結果為物價不斷暴漲。(9) "應付困難"。Many cannot stand the strain now. 目下甚多之人已不堪其苦矣。(10) "包含", "立論" = laid down. Land should be redistributed according to the principles passed in San Min Chiu I. 土地應遵照三民主義中所定原則從新分配。(11) "相合"。His actions are in line with our principles, 彼之行動實與吾人所抱之原則相合。

DR. H. H. KUNG'S STATEMENT TO THE  
AMERICAN PRESS

Released on July 4, 1944, at Bretton Woods, U. S. A., where he attended  
the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference as  
Chairman of the Chinese delegation.

孔兼部長祥熙對美新聞界發表聲明

一九四四年七月四日在美布里敦森林記者招待會上發表，時當孔兼部長  
以中國代表團團長出席該地舉行之聯合國貨幣金融會議

China's resistance to Japan's drive for world domination started seven years ago. China has fought single handed for more than four years before the Allied Nations joined the war against Japan. China had to devote to a common effort all resources that it has accumulated and could produce. As the war extended, the enemy has occupied many of China's richest provinces and centers of production—destroying<sup>1</sup> and looting as he went. As a result of the suffering and sacrifice for the common cause, China today faces difficulties which are greater than<sup>2</sup> many can imagine.

Destruction and looting by the enemy together with the blockade which has been tightened more and more since the outbreak of the Pacific War, has progressively reduced supply and essential goods. Also, internal transport continually deteriorated both from the shortage of transport equipment and gasoline and from the enemy occupation

中國抵抗日本圖控制世界之侵略行爲，已達七年。盟國參加對日作戰以前，中國單獨對日作戰已達四年。中國已以其所積蓄，及所能生產之資源，全用於共同作戰，因戰事擴大，中國甚多富庶之省份，及生產中心，爲敵所佔。敵軍所至，劫掠破壞。中國爲共同主張之奮鬥而忍受犧牲苦難，遂使中國今日遭遇若干超過若干人想像以上之困難。

敵人之劫掠破壞，輔以太平洋戰事發生後敵人日益加緊之封鎖，遂使重要物品之供應，日益減少。同時國內運輸，亦因運輸工具及汽油之缺乏，與重要鐵路河流公路之毀

of important railroads, rivers and roads.

In wartime no country can avoid inflation. Considering the seventh year of war now drawing<sup>3</sup> to a close this deterioration has not been as great as the currency deterioration in some European countries 25 years ago at the time of the first World War. The sacrifice of currency has been only one of the sacrifices which China had made. Inflation can best be combatted<sup>4</sup> by a large import of goods.

China has been doing her best to maintain taxation and I am somewhat surprised if that extent of taxation in China is not more fully realized abroad. The 1944 budget estimates the figure of return<sup>5</sup> from the current tax revenue at 52% of the total expenditure. It is uncertain whether this can be realized especially because the recent military operations materially cut into the revenue — for example, in Honan Province recent military operations have cut the revenue from the tobacco output by \$200 million monthly. Taking account<sup>6</sup> of the value of land tax collected in kind<sup>7</sup> the tax revenue for 1943 exceeded 40% of the expenditures which compares favorably with that in other Allied countries. The difficulty, however, is that with the leading producing areas occupied and in view<sup>8</sup> of the small surplus available to the average person in China, it has not been practical to sell war bonds directly to the public to as great an extent as the Government would have

敵人佔領，而漸發生障礙。

戰時無一國能避免通貨膨脹。中國抗戰  
時屆七年，而貨幣方面情形之惡化，尚不至  
如第一次大戰時若干歐洲國家之甚。幣制之  
犧牲，僅為中國所作犧牲之一端。對付通貨  
膨脹，最好方法，為大量輸入物。

中國力盡其全力維持稅收，而中國稅收  
之程度，設未為國外所充分認識，不免  
感覺驚訝。一九四四年預算中之稅收，佔總  
支出之百分之五十二。但此項稅收標準，是  
否能實現，猶疑。最近之戰爭，尤損害  
稅收，例：最近河南戰事，即損害菸類稅收  
項下月入二億元，再以田賦之征實計算在內  
，一九四三年之稅收抵支出百分之四十強。  
其情形與其他盟國相比，毫無愧色，其困難  
之處，在於主要生產區已為敵所佔，而平均  
每一中國人民之餘款額又甚小，故對人民直  
接發公債，以達到政府所期望之程度，自不

ished. Consequently, the government inevitably had<sup>10</sup> to rely<sup>11</sup> largely on borrowing from banking institutions which made an unavoidable increase in purchasing power and contributed to the rises of prices.

The present price movement in China is uneven. Imported articles are much higher than the native goods; and within the country prices of rice and other necessities vary considerably because the goods that are plentiful in some regions cannot be moved rapidly to the centers of consumption. Recent telegraphic reports state that the crop situation in west China is excellent and prices have shown some reaction after the recent rapid increase. In the last three or four years it has been normal for prices to rise more rapidly than usual in spring or the year, especially because the surplus of crops cannot be adequately distributed in the period of short supply prior<sup>12</sup> to the new harvest.

With regard to exchange, it is recognized that wartime conditions are abnormal and true values are hard to determine for any currency. The Chinese Government considered it<sup>13</sup> necessary to maintain the official value of its currency as part of the program sustaining the war effort. A change under the present conditions would aggravate the price rise. Eventual adjustment cannot be forecast now. The Chinese Government realizes the difficulties entailed<sup>14</sup> on foreigners in view of the rising prices and has been giving them an exchange supplement.

初實際。政府遂不得不大部依賴銀行之貸款，其結果必然增加購買力，及促成物價之高漲。

目前中國物價之波動，頗不平均。外來物品，遠較土產為高，而在一國之內，米價及其他必需品之價格，亦因不能迅速自產區運至消費中心，致參差不齊。據最近電訊：中國西部之農產情形甚佳，價格於新漲後，已見下跌。依過去三四年之情形而論，春季米價變動較劇，蓋產區之餘米，不能任秋收前迅速運至不足之區。

就匯兌率而論，吾人必須承認戰時情形之特殊，任何貨幣之真價值，皆難於決定。中國政府，認為維持其貨幣之官定價值必為維持其作戰努力計劃中之一部分。改變目前之情況，勢必傷害信心，無疑將提高物價。最後之調整，現在尚難預測。中國政府，感覺外僑因物價高漲所遭遇之困難，故在兌換外匯時已給予津貼。

In order to sustain the currency as far as conditions permitted, the Chinese Government has always attached importance to maintaining proper currency reserves. Credits given by the American and British Governments and particularly the large credits granted following the outbreak of the Pacific War have been very helpful for that purpose. China has already paid off some wartime credits including the 1938 wood-oil credit of US \$ 25,000,000 and the 1941 American and British stabilization credits of US \$ 50,000,000 and \$ 5,000,000 respectively.

Notwithstanding the further strain which will have to be faced, China, as one of the victorious powers will emerge from the war with much better prospect of restoring her monetary system than was the case after the inflations in Europe 25 years ago.

As to China's interest in silver, the Chinese Government intends to follow along with other United Nations with regard to monetary standards. China has had managed currency since 1935 which was exceptionally stable until it was dislocated as a result of the Japanese aggression. The Chinese Government intends, in the reconstruction of its currency system, to make use of silver together with nickel and copper for subsidiary coins.

China is looking forward to the period of great economic development and expansion after the war. This includes a large scale program of industrialization besides the development and

中國政府，因欲就環境所許，維持幣制，常重視其貨幣之準備。英美政府所給之信用貸款，尤其當太平洋戰事爆發後所作之大筆信用貸款，對於達成此項目的，甚為有用。中國已償付若干戰時貸款，如一九三八年二千五百萬美元之桐油貸款，及一九四一年之英美平準貸款（計美國五千萬美元，英國五百萬鎊），皆已償還。

中國雖將遭受更大之困難，但中國在戰後為一戰勝國，其恢復幣制之希望，遠較二十五年前途貨膨脹之歐洲國家為昂。

至白銀問題，中國政府對於幣制本位願與其他聯合國，持同一立場。中國自一九三五年以來，即管制其幣制穩定異常。直至日本發動既蕩之後，方趨常軌，中國政府，重建幣制時，擬以白銀與銅鎊為輔幣。

中國期冀戰後，為經濟上之大開發及擴充之時期。其十於從事發展農業，使其現代化而外，且將辦立大規模之工業計劃。余堅

modernization of agriculture. It is my firm conviction that an economically strong China is an indispensable condition to the maintenance of peace and the improvement of the well-being of the world. The China market has long been a dream which I believe will come true after the war when the purchasing power of the "400,000,000 customers" has increased.

After the first world War, Dr. Sun Yat-sen proposed a plan for what he termed "The international development of China". He emphasized the principle of cooperation with friendly nations and the utilization of foreign capital for the development of China's resources. Dr. Sun's teachings constitute the basis of China's national policy.

America and other United Nations I hope, will take an active part in aiding the postwar development of China. China will give protection to foreign investments. As to American participation, China forward to the long period of happy association and mutual assistance between the two sister republic across the Pacific, China will welcome American tools and machines, American capital, American engineering and technical services.

I am confident the delegates to the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference will reach an agreement. That is why we have come here. Clearly it is in everybody's interest to make the conference a success.

信中國經濟上之強大，當為維持和平及改善世界福利之必要條件。久已為人類夢想所及之

中國市場，余信當戰後四億顧客之購買力提高時，必能成為事實。

第一次大戰後，孫總理曾提出「國際開發中國」之計劃（按即「實業計劃」），可說明其甚重視與友邦合作之原則，利用外國資金，以開發中國資源。孫總理之遺教，乃中國國策之基礎。

余希望美國及其他盟國，在協助戰後中國之開發方面，負擔積極部分，中國將保護外國之投資。至於美國之參加，中國期望太平洋彼岸之弟兄共和國能有長期之友好聯合，互助合作，中國將歡迎美國工具機械，美國資本，美國工程及技術服務。

余信貨幣金融會議，能達成協議。此即吾人不辭辛勞跋涉來此之原因。會議成功，對於每一人皆有利。

## Notes and Annotations

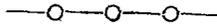
(1) 形容 “enemy” 。 (2) 即 “than those (difficulties) which many can imagine” 。 (3) “將近”，“瞬息” 。 The time of harvest draws near 收割之期已近。 (4) “應付”，“掣肘” 。 In post-war reconstruction, we shall have many difficult problems to combat. 吾人對戰後建設將有許多困難問題須謀應付。 (5) “收入”，“利益” 。 The investment in livestock in the north-west will certainly bring large returns. 投資西北畜牧事業定可獲得大宗收入。 (6) “計算” 。 In winning the war in the Pacific against Japan, we must take account of the important fact that the Allied landing on China will shorten the war. 為獲取太平洋上對日作戰之勝利，吾人必須計及在同盟國在中國登陸實可縮短戰事一點。 (7) “實物”，與 “in money” 相對。 In ancient China government functionaries were paid in kind, not in money. 在中國古代官吏俸祿皆係實物，不金錢代之。 (8) “暨及”，“就……而言” 。 In view of the developments of war both in Europe and on the Pacific, the world war will draw to a close by next spring. 就歐洲及太平洋戰爭之進展而言，大戰 明年以內可告結束。 (9) “可得” (“有效”) 。 The opportunity to buy an airplane ticket is not available to all persons. 一切之人不能皆有購買航空票。(The ticket is available for one day only. 此票之有效期間僅一日) 。 (10) “必須” = must. Students have to learn. 學生必須讀書。 (11) “依恃”，“賴” 。 He cannot be relied on (upon). 彼不可靠。 (12) I called on him prior to my departure. 余於啟程前曾訪彼。 (13) “it” 假 object, “to maintain” 為真 object, 因 “to maintain” 本身構造繁若放在 object complement “necessary” 之前，易使 “necessary” 與 “to maintain” 之附屬字發生文法上關係，使意義混淆也。 (14) “受限制” 。 The shame of the son entails on the whole family. 其子之恥辱及全家。 (15) “不得不”，“勢將” 。 “have to be” = “must be” 。 (16) “應驗”，“成爲事” 。 His words have come true. 彼言果驗。

PRES. F. D. ROOSEVELT'S WELCOME MESSAGE  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS MONETARY AND FINANCIAL CONFERENCE

Presents: to the Conference by U. S. Secretary of Treasury Henry  
Morgenthau Jr. and read by Dr. Warren Keckhauer,  
Secretary-General of the Conference, at  
the opening session on July 1, 1944,  
at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire,  
U. S. A.

羅斯福總統對聯合國貨幣金融會議致辭歡迎

一九四四年七月一日聯合國貨幣金融會議在美國布里敦森林開幕時由美  
財長莫根索奈達大會并由大會秘書長克尼納當場宣讀



I welcome you to this quiet place with confidence and with hope. I am grateful<sup>1</sup> to you for making the long journey here, grateful to your governments for their ready acceptance of my invitation to this meeting.<sup>2</sup> It is fitting that even while the war for liberation is at its peak, the representatives of free men should<sup>3</sup> gather to take counsel with one another<sup>4</sup> respecting the shape of the future which we are to win.

The war has prodded<sup>5</sup> us into the healthy habit of coming together in conference when we have common problems to discuss or solve. We have done this successfully with respect to various military and production phases of the war and also with respect to measures which must be taken immediately after the war is won—such as relief, rehabilitation, and the distribution of the

諸君不憚遠途跋涉，惠臨此幽靜之布里敦森林；余衷充滿信賴與希望，一 歡迎諸君，一方自覺感奮。貴國政府接受余之邀請，立即派員參加會議，尤令余感佩。當此解放世界戰爭正達最 艱之際，我自由國家代表，集議一堂，共謀決定吾人以犧牲所換得來世界之局面，余認為係極合理之舉。吾人因此次大戰之激勵，對共同問題，業已養成開會討論並解決之總 習慣。關於大戰之作戰方面，軍火生產方面，以及對於吾人在獲得勝利後所必需立即採取之一切措施，例如救濟善後與世界食糧分配，吾人迭

world food supply. These have been essentially emergency matters. At Bretton Woods, you who have come from many lands, are meeting for the first time to talk <sup>6</sup> over the proposals for an enduring program of future economic cooperation for peaceful progress.

The program you are to discuss constitutes, of course, only one phase of arrangements which must be made between the nations to insure an orderly and harmonious world. But it is a vital phase affecting the ordinary men and women every where. For it concerns the base on which they will be able to exchange with one another the natural riches of the earth and the products of their own industry <sup>7</sup> and ingenuity.

Commerce is the lifeblood <sup>9</sup> of a free society. We must see to it that the arteries which carry that blood stream are not clogged again as they have been in the past by artificial barriers <sup>10</sup> created through senseless economic rivalries.

Economic diseases are highly communicable. It follows, therefore, that the economic health of every country is a proper matter of concern to all of its neighbors near or distant. Only through the dynamic and sound expanding of world economy can the living standards of individual nations be advanced to the levels which will permit the full realization of our hopes for the future.

次會議尚告圓滿。然上述諸端，更當更緊急

性質。今日諸君由各地蒞臨佈里敦謀議，商

討增進未來世界和平之永久經濟合作程序方

面一切建議，尚屬創舉也。

聯合國為謀求世界秩序與協調，有保證，彼此間需妥商之舉甚為繁多。諸君目下負責討論之項目，當然僅為其中之一面。惟此一面對世界各地尋常男女之影響，實為至深且鉅，蓋因貨幣金融，係若繫彼此間交換土地所產天然財富以及若輩自身勞力用心所產物品之基礎也。

貿易既為自由社會之命脈，吾人必須防

止過去因缺乏意識之經濟敵視所造成之人為

的限制，使功運管之貿易不至滯塞。

經濟上病症為由易傳染之病，因此每一

國家之經濟上健康自為其鄰近鄰邦關係之舉

，此為當然。欲使各個國家之生活標準透測

吾人對未來者，能圓滿實現之水準，僅有藉

世界經濟活動的與健全之擴展之一途。

The spirit in which you carry on these discussions will set a pattern for the future friendly consultations among nations in their common interests. A further evidence that will be furnished at Bretton Woods is that men of different nationalities have learned how to adjust their possible differences and how to work together as friends.

Things that we need to must be done--can only be done--in concert. This Conference will test our capacity to cooperate in peace as we have in war. I know that you will all approach your task with a high sense of responsibility to those who have sacrificed so much in their hope for a better world.

諸君在此所作討論，其精神堪為今後聯合國間對共同利益從事友誼磋商之楷模。此外本次布列敦森林會更證明各個聯合國代表業已學習如何調整彼此意見上一切可能的異議，如何以友人之地位通力合作。

凡吾人所趨為之事，必須協方同心為之，且僅有協力同心始能為之。是以此次會議，不啻試驗吾人在平時是否有在戰時之合作能力。余深信諸君能負責達到君等之任務，使全世界為期望求得一更佳世界不惜作重大犧牲者得以安。

### Notes and Annotations

(1) “感謝”。I am deeply (heartily) grateful to you for your kindness, 余深感君之厚情。We are grateful toward our benefactors, 吾人對恩人行抱感謝態度。(Please accept my deepest gratitude, 謹此深謝。又作“快意”，“滿意”解。The scenes around here are grateful to the eye, 此處景色頗為悅目。I am highly gratified with the result, 余得此成績頗為滿意。The result is most gratifying to me, 此種結果令我極為滿意。)(2) 開會共二十三日自七月一日起至二十三日止。(3) 在“fitting”, “proper”, “strange”, “natural”, “no wonder”之後全用“should”。It is strange that he should do this。(4) “商量”，“商榷”。We took counsel together, 吾等共同商議。We must take counsel of more experienced persons, 吾等須請教較有經驗之人。(5) “刺激”，“激勵”。The lazy people should be pradded to work, 懶惰之人應得激勵從事工作。(6) The committee gathered together to talk over the proposals, 委員開會商討所有提案。(7) “勤勞”，“勤勉”。He gained literary reputation by industry, 彼因勤勉博得文名。(8) “巧妙”，“奇才”。Everybody admires the ingenuity of the inventor, 人人對此發明家之心巧皆為稱讚。(9) 俗辭學上隱比 (metaphor) 如：Sun Yat-sei is the Washington of China, 中山先生中國之華盛頓 (國父) 也。(10) 如圖說限制等辦法是。

PRES. F. D. ROOSEVELT'S SPEECH ON HIS  
PACIFIC TOUR

Broadcast on August 12, 1944, in Alaska

羅斯福總統視察太平洋戰區返國後講演觀感

一九四四年八月十二日在阿拉斯加播講



It is just 30 days since I left Washington but I have at all times been in close touch with the work there and also in daily communication with our forces in the European and Far Eastern theaters of war.

It is good to come back to the Puget Sound Navy Yard for as you know I have been coming here off and on since 1911. Since my visit nearly two years ago I am glad to know of the splendid progress that is being maintained both here and at many places on the Pacific coast, in turning out ships, planes and munitions of almost every other variety and in the training of men for all armed services, so I have thought that you would be interested in a brief summary of my visit to Hawaii and to the Aleutian Islands and Alaska from which I am about to step foot on shore in the continental United States.

When I got to San Diego for three days before going aboard ship I had the opportunity to visit many of the patients in a hospital there, the larger number of whom were just back from

余離華府恰滿三十日，然對於該處之工

作須保持密切接洽，並逐日與 洲及遠東戰

區之我軍通消息。

得返回皮爾海峽海軍造船廠，甚感快

慰。蓋余自一九一四年即常常來此也。自

余於幾及二年前來此至今，余深知此間以

及太平洋沿岸其他極多處所在生產船艦飛

機及其他各種軍火以及訓練一切武裝部隊

人員方面均有長足進步，衷心至慰。故余

認為諸君必願余對視察貝威真轉阿留申羣

島及阿拉斯加然後返回美國本土之行作一簡

單敘述。

余於登艦三日抵聖地亞哥時，曾訪問

該處一所醫院中之極多病者，其中大半甫自

馬紹爾及馬里亞納羣島作戰歸來者。余並目

fighting in the Marshall and Mariana Islands. Also I witnessed a large practice in landing operation on the beaches of southern California between Los Angeles and San Diego, the kind of warfare which has been so successfully developed by us during the past two years. This warfare is of a wholly new type, requiring all kinds of new equipment and new training, and I think I can safely say that not another nation in the world has worked it out as successfully as we have shown within the past few weeks in the capture of Saipan and Tinian and recapturing Guam, resulting in new threats against Japan itself and against all their operations in the Southwest Pacific.

It takes a personal observation of the landing maneuver, such as I saw from a high bluff overlooking the shore below, 'to understand' how well the application of experience is being carried out. Landing-craft—a wholly new type of ship—one we did not dream of two years and a half ago—came to the beach from transports offshore under cover of a fog. They came on in waves with Marine infantry getting the first toehold, followed by other waves then by all manner of equipment, ammunition, wire and tanks, all protected by air coverage and were preceded theoretically by a devastating bombardment from heavy ships lying offshore. When a beachhead was obtained to the depth of a mile or two there followed the unloading of great quantities of supplies of all kinds, including tanks, trucks and jeeps.

察加州南都洛杉磯聖地亞哥間灘頭之登陸戰大演習。此種作戰，吾人於過去兩年來不斷改進，極著成效。此亦為一種完全新型之作戰，需要一種新裝備與新訓練。余認為世界上尚無其他任何國家在此種作戰上之表現，較過去數週來吾人在佔領塞班、坎賓及收復關島方面之表現更為成功。此等佔領工作，成為對於日本本土及其在西南太平洋一切行戰之新威脅。

欲了解吾人應用經驗如何成功，必須親自觀察登陸演習，如余在一處俯瞰海灘之高岸上所目視者。登陸艇（一種完全新型之船艇，乃兩半年以前吾人夢想不及者）在護航艦隊之下，自近海之運輸艦向海灘駛來，分批迫近，載有海軍陸戰隊步兵，以佔取第一步立足點。其他各批繼至。然後又開到各種裝備彈藥電線及坦克，均在空軍保護之下。且以理論上言，事前尚有關至近海之重型軍艦進行摧毀性之砲轟。灘頭陣地擴至一二哩深時，即開始起卸大量各種供應品，坦克卡車與吉普卡等。

Timing is of utmost importance in an operation of this kind together with the instantaneous communication from the shore to ships and planes. Here was demonstrated a perfect cooperation between all of the services,—Army, Navy and Marines—and to this should be added the teamwork for the immediate care of the wounded and their quick transfer back to hospital ships. We in our comfortable homes ought to realize that to all troops and Marines who are to conduct a new landing expedition on some far distant island in the Pacific as well as on the coast of France, this amphibious training is being given at a number of places in the United States before the expedition even starts. Hundreds of instructors are required, nearly all men who have participated in actual combat operations beforehand. Many of the instructors will, of course, accompany their troops in the actual operations of future landings.

The cruiser on which I went from San Diego to Hawaii is one of a number of what we call 'Post Treaty Cruisers', much larger, more powerful and faster than pre-war cruisers which were limited by treaty to 10,000 tons. This particular ship joined the Pacific Fleet less than a year ago but has already engaged in 15 operations in the western and southwest Pacific. It is a magnificent record. Her skipper and crew have brought her through all of the many offensive missions unscathed and because of the experience thus gained she is an even more powerful weapon than she

此種作戰中除海岸與船艦飛機之立即互通音訊之外，時間配合亦居最重要地位。此處表現陸海軍及海軍陸戰隊等一切部隊間之完美合作。此外尚有傷兵之立即看護，並儘速運返醫院船等。吾人處身於安樂之家者，應知在太平洋若干遙遠島嶼及法國海岸從事登陸戰之一切部隊及海軍陸戰隊，在開始作戰之前，均須在美國若干地點受此種兩路登陸訓練。所需要之教官以百計。前此曾參加實際作戰之一切人員，幾均須担任教官。自然極多教官將隨其部隊從事未來之實際登陸戰。

余由聖地牙哥至夏威夷所乘之巡洋艦乃吾人所稱為「溫尼失茲後之巡洋艦」之一，較前受條約限制為一萬噸之巡洋艦更大強更速。此一特殊軍艦不及一年前始加入太平洋艦隊，然已在西太平洋及西南太平洋作戰十五次。此為一卓越之紀錄。其艦長及官兵已駕駛該艦完成多次攻勢而絲毫無損，且因其已藉此獲得經驗，成為後加入艦隊之日

was the day she joined the Fleet.

The voyage was uneventful and we arrived at Pearl Harbor on July 26. What an amazing change since my visit ten years ago. Up to that time, the Pearl Harbor navy yard had maintained a steady growth, like most of our other navy yards, but today it is capable of making repairs to the heaviest ships and employs a force of nearly ten times as great, with many of the mechanics coming from the west coast. All of the battleships and smaller craft which were sunk or damaged in the attack on Pearl Harbor on Dec. 7, 1941, have been raised with the exception of Arizona. In her case, because of the explosion of her forward magazine, salvage is impossible, but in her case, her main battery of heavy guns removed and remounted, now forms part of the coastal defenses on the Island of Oahu.

All of the other ships are afloat in service, most of them having put back into commission <sup>10</sup> here at Puget Sound and all of them have greatly improved in fire power. They have been used in action in the Pacific and elsewhere--one of them, indeed, Nevada, has taken part in the bombardment of the coast of Normandy prior to and during the landing operations there as late as the Sixth of June. I spent three days on the Island of Oahu. Everywhere, as at the navy yard, war activities are multiplied almost beyond belief.

On <sup>11</sup> the afternoon of my arrival, my old friend, General Douglas Mac Arthur, arrived by air from New Guinea.

更強有力之武器。

海行平安無事，余等子七月二十六日抵達珍珠港。自余十年前訪問珍珠港以來，該地之改觀，實足驚人。截至該時為止，珍珠港之海軍船塢，一如吾人之其他海軍船塢，固已不斷擴充，惟今日該船塢已可修理最重之輪艦，且其雇用之人力，幾已增加十倍。其中自太平洋岸來此之機械士亦多。一九四一年十二月七日敵人襲珍珠港時，擊沉或損壞之戰鬥艦及較小之輪艦，除亞利桑那號外，已全部修復。亞利桑那號因前給火藥庫爆炸，無法打撈；惟艦上之主要重砲則已拆卸，今已成為歐胡島岸防砲隊之一部。其他諸艦刻均重上征途，其中多數係在此間皮傑海峽修復。各艦之火力，已大為增強。諸艦曾在太平洋及他處作戰。其中之一內華達號，在攻歐之前及攻歐發動時，曾參加羅德島島第海岸，直至六月六日為止。余在歐胡島逗留三日，各處之戰時活動均一如海軍船塢，增加至幾令人不能置信之程度。

余抵達珍珠港之下午，余之老友麥克阿瑟將軍亦自新幾內亞飛至，余等即開始連續

We began a series of interesting and useful conferences, accompanied by Admiral Nimitz, my own chief of staff Admiral Leahy, General Richardson, commanding the General Army Forces in the Hawaiian area, and Admiral Halsey, Commander of the Third Fleet. In these three days we talked about the Pacific problems and the best methods of conducting the Pacific campaign in the future. The discussions developed a complete accord both in the understanding of the problem that confronts us and in the operation as to the best methods of its solution. All of us must bear in mind the enormous size of the Pacific area to keep a mental map of the whole of it in mind.

The Hawaiian Islands were used to be considered an outpost. We were not allowed to fortify Guam nor did we fortify Wake or Midway or Samoa. Today, the Hawaiian Islands are no longer a mere outpost. They constitute a major base from which the Pacific coast front line operations are being conducted, twice as far away as the distance between our coast and Hawaii. The Hawaiian Islands have helped to make possible the victories at Guadalcanal, New Guinea, the Marshalls and the Marianas. The Islands will make possible future operations in China, make possible the recapture of the independence of the Philippines, and make possible the carrying of the war into the home islands of Japan itself, and its capital city, Tokyo. In a few minutes I want to say another word about the future of

舉行多次有益且有之會議。尼米茲將軍，  
余之參謀長李海將軍，夏威夷陸軍司令李登  
遜將軍及太平洋第三艦隊司令海爾賽將軍均  
出席。余等在此三日中曾商談太平洋問題  
及將來進行太平洋戰爭之最佳方法。會議結  
果，余等對於吾人面臨之問題之了解及解決  
此項問題之最佳方法，已獲致完全協議，且  
在吾人之心目中對於全太平洋區保存一抽象掛

圖計，吾人均須緊記該區面積之廣大。  
去夏威夷羣島恒被視為一前哨。吾人  
未獲准在關島設防，吾人亦未在瓦克島，并  
途島或薩摩亞設防。今日夏威夷羣島已不  
為一前哨矣。夏威夷羣島已構成一大基地。  
吾人由此基地進行太平洋沿岸前線之戰爭，  
前進之距離常達我國海岸至夏威夷距離之兩  
倍。吾人在瓜達康納爾，新幾內亞，馬紹爾  
羣島及馬里亞納羣島之迭次勝利，夏威夷羣  
島與有力焉。夏威夷羣島將使吾人在中國境  
內作戰，吾人得以恢復菲律賓之獨立，將  
戰爭帶至日本本土，帶至日本之首都東京。  
稍俟余將再對太平洋之將來有所申述。余在

the Pacific. During the rest of my stay in Hawaii I visited many activities, including great air fields, hospitals and an ambulance plane at Hickam Field which just had come in with the wounded men from Saipan. I saw a large army group which was going <sup>13</sup> through a complete course of jungle warfare--an art <sup>14</sup> which we have developed so expertly that our troops are more than a match in a jungle for any Japanese whom we have yet to meet. I am very proud of the basic training and final training that our sons are getting at home and overseas.

Rejoining our ship we headed <sup>15</sup> for the Aleutian islands four days later arrived at Adak and one of the more westerly islands of the group. There again I found intense activity at what might be called a nearly completed advance base. It was from here that the great part of the expeditions for the recapture of Attu and Kiska had started. Adak, two years ago, was a bleak and practically uninhabited island, yet essential for the security of our own continent.

You here can well realize the commotion which followed the Japanese occupation of Attu and Kiska and you may have thought the chiefs of staff in Washington were not paying enough attention to the threat against Alaska and the coast. We realized, of course, that such a Japanese threat could become serious if it was not opposed but we knew also that Japan did not have the naval and air power to carry this into

逗留夏威夷之期間，曾觀察多種活動，包括

大飛機場，醫院及適業班班運傷兵降來降

落於布卡胡機 之一架救護機。余曾見 大

支軍隊正演習森林戰術，此項戰術已甚精進

。吾人所遇之任何日軍在森林中均非我軍

敵手。余對於吾人之子弟在國內國外所受

基本訓練 最後訓練甚感榮耀。

余等回至艦上後，即向阿留申羣島進發

，四日後余等抵達阿留申羣島中較西之阿達

克島。余在該處 發現一可謂最近完成之前

進基地之緊張活動。過去收回阿圖及吉斯卡

戰役之工作即係自此地開始。兩年前阿達克

乃 一荒蕪而且無居民之島，惟對於本大陸

之安全甚為重要。

若等於此當能充分感覺日軍佔領阿圖島

與吉斯卡島後所引之紛擾。若等或曾以為在

華府之軍政領袖對於阿拉斯加及沿海一帶所

受之威脅不勝注意。吾人當然感覺日方此種

威脅，如不予抵抗，自屬嚴重。然吾人亦知

日方如無較大物資，較長之計劃時間，不能

effect without greater resources and longer time to plan. Preparations to throw the Japanese from their tosholds have been laid even before the Japanese got there and the rest of the story you know. It took great preparations and heavy fighting to eject <sup>16</sup> them from Attu, and by the time the great expedition to recapture Kiska got there, the Japanese had decided that discretion was the better part <sup>17</sup> of valor and they decided that retirement and retreat were better for them than harakiri. <sup>18</sup> They abandoned the Aleutians. The climate at Adak is not the most inviting in the world but I want to say a word of appreciation to the thousands of officers and men of all services who have built up this base and other bases in the extreme northwest in such a short time to a point where the people of our Pacific coast, of British Columbia and of Alaska can feel certain that we are safe against Japanese invasion on any large scale.

Delayed by fog and rain, we had to give up putting <sup>19</sup> in at the Dutch Harbor but we did halt at Kodiak, a large island off the end of the Alaskan peninsula. Here also the three services have completed a very excellent, though <sup>20</sup> smaller, base. The first little town we had seen in the Alaskan waters and the first tress made me think of the coasts of Maine and New foundland.

We were told that a number of officers and men at this and other ports are considering settling in Alaska after the war. I hope this is so because the development of Alaska has only been

有足够之海空實力使其發生作用。但將日人自其足尖所佔之地逐出準備，已在日人到達彼處之先擬就。此故事之其餘部份等當已熟知。欲將日人逐出阿圖島，需要大規模之準備和力戰。當吾人收回復吉斯卡之遠征軍到達彼處時。日方已決定慎重將事，決定撤退較佳於切腹，彼等乃放棄阿留申羣島。阿達克之氣候，非為世上之最宜人者，但余願對其官員及各種服役人員數千人片言致謝。彼等在如此短時間內，在此西北極遠處建此一基地及其他基地，使我太平洋沿岸，英屬哥倫比亞及阿拉斯加之人民感覺安全，足防日方之大舉進犯。

因濃霧及大雨所阻，余等必須放棄在荷蘭港停泊之望。但余等曾在阿拉斯加半島外，名為科的亞克之大島上稍事駐留。海陸空軍人員於此亦完成一雖較小而亦極佳之基地。此為余等在阿拉斯加海中所見之第一個小鎮，亦為余等思及緬因州及紐芬蘭海岸之第一批樹木。

吾人聞悉在此及其他海港中之若干軍官及士兵方考慮戰後卜居於阿拉斯加，余希望其確能如此。因阿拉斯加之開發今方開始

scratched and it is still a country of pioneers. Only a small part of its mineral resources have been explored, and there, of course, is an abundance of fish, game <sup>21</sup> and timber, together with great possibilities for agriculture. I could not help <sup>22</sup> remembering that the climate, crops and other resources are not essentially different from Northern Europe...Norway, Sweden and Finland...and the people of these countries, in spite of the cold in winter and darkness have brought their civilizations to a high and prosperous level. On my return to Washington I am going to set up a study of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands as the place to which many veterans of this war, especially those who do not have strong roots in their own homes, can go to become pioneers. It is an island with a small population but which, I am convinced, has great opportunities for those who are willing to work and to help build up all kinds of new things in new lands.

This trip has given me a chance to talk over the social and economic future of the Hawaiian Islands with Governor Stainback and the future of the people of Alaska with Governor Gruening. He asked me to assure you that the tan <sup>23</sup> which I have acquired in the last few days come from the Alaskan sun. Near Juneau I played hockey for three hours and went fishing and caught one halibut <sup>24</sup> and one flounder. <sup>25</sup>

Speaking again of the future of the defense of the Pacific and use of its strong points in order to prevent attacks on us, you who live in the Pacific north-

，而迄今仍爲一開拓者之國土。業已試探之礦源僅一小部分，其他當然亦有大量之魚產野味及木材與豐富之農作機會。余不禁憶及其氣候收穫及其他資源並不大異于北歐（挪威瑞典及芬蘭）。而北歐諸國之人民雖于冬月嚴寒及暗無天日之氣候中仍使其文化到達一高水準。待余返抵華府，將對阿拉斯加及阿留申羣島從事研究，庶使此次戰爭中之退役軍人，尤其在其故鄉無深厚根基者，能至彼處從事開拓。此爲人口甚少之島嶼，但予深信其于願意工作，願意在新領土上助成建樹各種新事物者，必能提供甚多機會。此次旅行，使余得獲有機會與夏威夷總督史坦貝克討論夏威夷島之社會及經濟之前途，並得與阿拉斯加總督格魯寧討論阿拉斯加人民之將來。格魯寧要求余向君等保證。余在過去數日內所晒成黑色乃受阿拉斯加大太陽照射之結果。在朱諾附近，余曾玩曲棍球三小時，並往垂釣，獲得鱈魚等二尾。再談太平洋上防務之將來及其據點之利用，以預防吾人之遭襲擊，君等生活於太平洋之西北部，當然感受自昔甚至至西伯利亞

west have realized that the line for sea and air navigation following a great circle course from the Puget Sound to Siberia and northern China passed very close to the Alaskan coast, and thence westward along the line of the Aleutian islands. From the point of view of national defense, therefore, it is essential that our control of this route shall be undisputed. Everybody in Siberia and China knows that we as a people are utterly opposed to aggression or sneak attacks--but we as a people are insistent that other nations must not under any circumstances through the foreseeable future commit such attacks on the United States. Therefore, it is essential that we be fully prepared to prevent them for all time to come. The word and honor of Japan cannot be trusted.

That is a simple statement from the military, naval and air point of view. But with the end of the Japanese threat there is an excellent outlook for a permanent peace in the whole of the Pacific area. It is, therefore, natural and proper for us to think of the economic and commercial future. It is logical that we should foresee a great interchange of commerce between our shores and those of Siberia and China--in this commercial development, Alaska and the Aleutian Islands become automatic stepping stones for trade both by water and by planes. And this means the automatic development of transportation to Alaska via the British Columbia and as far north as Yukon. It is as long as ten years ago that I had talked with

及中國北部形成一大圓弧之海空航線，經過近阿拉斯加海岸，然後沿阿留申羣島一線西向。自國防觀點言之，吾人控制此線之重要，不容爭辯。在西伯利亞及中國之每一人民，皆知吾人無在亞洲大陸獲取領土之野心。我國民族完全反對侵略或偷襲；但我民族亦堅持其他國家不能在可窺見之將來，在任何情形下，對美國作此種襲擊。因此，吾人充分準備，以預防將來永不發生，甚屬重要。

日本之諾言與光榮殊不足信任。

此係本諸海陸空之觀點立論。然日本之威脅終止後，整個太平洋區域將有建立永久和平之最佳希望。職是之故，吾人瞻望經濟與商業前途，誠屬自然而適當。吾人應預見我國海岸與西伯利亞及中國海岸間將有商業上之大量交易。此固為合理之預測。在此商業發展方面，阿拉斯加與阿留申羣島將自為水運與航運貿易之路基石。換言之，運輸之發展將自阿拉斯加經英屬哥倫比亞甚至遙遠之北面之高空區，以伸至阿拉斯加。遠在十年

Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, in regard to the development of highways air routes, even railroad to Alaska via the British Columbia and Yukon. The interest in both nations was aroused but it took a war to get quick action. Today the Alcan Highway is practically completed and the air route to Fairbanks has enabled us to deliver thousands of planes to our ally, Russia by way of Alaska, the Bering Straits and Siberia. These planes were an important factor in the brilliant and brave advance of the Russian armies on their march to Berlin. And I might observe also that our close relations and true friendship with Canada during these years have proved to be an illustrious example of working hand-in-hand with your neighbor for the general good.

As to the South of the Alaska-Aleutians route, the use of the island group must also be considered for the defense and for commerce in getting to and from the American and Asiatic continents. We understand, at last, the importance of the Hawaiian Islands. It is important that we have other bases--forward bases nearer to Japan than they lie. The same thing is true in regard to the defense of all the American Republics from Mexico past the Panama Canal and all the way down to Chile. There are hundreds of islands in the south Pacific which bear the same relation to South America and the Panama Canal as Hawaii bears to North America. These islands are the possessions of the British Empire and the French. They are important com-

之前，余曾與加總理金氏晤及取道英屬哥倫比亞與高空發展通往阿拉斯加之公路航空線其至鐵路問題。其時兩國均發生興味，但戰爭使其加速行動。今日阿拉斯加公路幾已完成。通往菲爾班克斯之航空線亦使吾人能以數以千計之飛機經阿拉斯加白令海峽與西伯利亞輸往吾人之盟友蘇聯。此批飛機為蘇軍向柏林推進之糧食英勇進軍中之重要因素。余亦受數年來吾人與加拿大之密切關係與真誠友誼，已證明為聯合兩友共謀福利之輝煌實例。

阿拉斯加阿留申線以南各羣島之利用，必須加以考慮，以謀美亞大陸間貿易之保障。

○吾人終已明瞭夏威夷羣島之重要性，同樣

重要者為吾人尙有其他較夏威夷尤近日本之前進基地。自墨西哥經巴拿馬運河以達智利諸美洲共和國之防務，亦應用此同一原則

○南太平洋島嶼數以百計，其與南美與巴拿

馬之關係，亦如夏威夷對北美之關係。此批

mercially just as they are from the defense point of view, for they lead to New Zealand, Australia, the Dutch Indies, and the Southern Philippines. With all these places we shall undoubtedly have a growing trade. We have no desire to ask for any possessions of the United Nations. But the United Nations who are working so well with us in the winning of the war will, I am confident, be glad to join with us in the protection against aggression and in the machinery to prevent aggression. With them and with their help I am sure we can agree completely so that Central and South American will be as safe against attack from the South Pacific as North America is going to be from the North Pacific itself.

The self interests of our Allies will be affected by a fair and friendly collaboration with us. They, too will gain in national security. They will gain economically. The destinies of the peoples of the whole Pacific will for many years be entwined with our own destiny. Already there is stirring desire among the hundreds of millions of them for the fight to work out their own destinies and they show no evidence of seeking to overrun the earth--with one exception.

That exception is, and has been, for many, many years, Japan and the Japanese people --because whether or not the people of Japan itself know or approve of what their lords have done for nearly a century, the fact remains that they seem to be giving a hearty approval to the Japanese policy of acquisition of

海島爲英帝與法國之屬土，其商業上之重要性，一若其防禦上之重要性。蓋各島係通往紐西蘭、澳洲、荷印與南菲律賓諸島也。吾人有此地帶，則貿易自將增長。吾人無索求聯合國之任何屬土之要求，然余堅信與吾人合作甚佳以謀作戰勝利之聯合國家，亦必樂於與吾人攜手防止侵略，並參加防止侵略之機構。余敢斷言有彼等與彼等之協助，吾人卽能獲得全部協議。使中美與南美能免受南太平洋方面之襲擊，一若北美之將免受北太平洋方面之襲擊。

吾人盟友與吾人之公正與友好合作，將使盟友獲得其本身利益與國家安全，在經濟上亦可使其有所收穫。整個太平洋人民之命運在今若干年間將與吾人之命運交織一片。太平洋之數萬萬人民，業已發生要求決定本身命運之願望。彼等除唯一之例外者外，咸無企圖蹂躪全球之跡象。

此唯一例外乃多年以來之日本與日本人民。蓋不論日本人民本身是否明瞭，或贊成其主子近百年來之所爲，但事實所在，彼等對於日本侵略隣邦獲取隣邦領土並在軍事與

their neighbors and their neighbors' lands and the military and economic control of as many other nations as they can lay their hands on. It is an unfortunate fact that other nations cannot trust Japan, and it is an unfortunate fact that years of proof must pass before we can classify Japan as a member of the society of nations which seek perman at peace whose work we can take. In removing the future menace of Japan to us and to our continent, we are holding out the hope that other people in the Far East can be freed from the same threat. The people of the Philippines never wished, and never will wish, to be slaves to Japan. And the same thing is true of the peoples of Korea, an ancient kingdom which was overrun by the Japanese half a century ago, the peoples of Manchuria and all the rest of China. The same thing is true of the peoples of Indo-China, the people of Siam, the people of Java, even the most primitive peoples of New Guinea and of the so-called mandated islands which we are in the splendid process of throwing the Japanese out of.

I am glad to have the opportunity of taking this short trip, first for conferences with General MacArthur and Admiral Nimitz and, secondly, for the firsthand view of certain bases which are of vital importance to the ending of the war and to the prevention in the future of any similar attack. More than a million of our troops are overseas in the Pacific. The war is well in our hand in this vast area but I cannot tell you if I knew when the war will be over either

經濟上盡量控制其所能沾手之其他國家之策，似皆衷心擁護。其他國家均不能任日本。誠國憾事。在吾人以日本列爲尋取永久和平與吾人所信賴之國際社會之一分子之前，必須使其經過若干年之測驗時期，此亦國憾事。吾人於消除未來日本對吾人及對美洲大陸威脅之際，深望遠東其他民族亦能免受同一之威脅。菲律賓人素不願爲日本之奴役，將來亦然。朝鮮之人民（古老之朝鮮王國經日本侵佔已五十年），中國東北之人民以及中國其餘部份之人民，莫不皆然。餘如越南人民，暹羅人民，爪哇人民，甚至吾人今日從事驅逐日人出境而獲輝煌進展之新幾內亞與所謂委任統治地之最原始人民，亦莫不皆然。

余所欣幸者，即能獲有機會作此短期之旅行，一則與麥克阿瑟陸軍上將及尼米茲海軍上將會晤，一則親見若干對於結束此次戰爭及防止未來同樣襲擊具有重要關係之基地。現我國軍隊之在太平洋上數逾百萬。我僑在此廣大之區域內，願能把握整個之戰局。

in Europe or in the Far East or in the war against Japan. It will be over sooner if the people of this country will maintain the making of necessary supplies, ships, and planes. By so doing, we will hasten the day of peace. By so doing we will save our own pocketbooks and those of our children. By so doing we will save the lives of our sons. And by so doing we will run a better chance of a substantial unity among the United Nations in laying a more secure foundation of the lasting peace.

但余不能奉告諸君，歐洲或遠東或對日之戰爭究將於何時結束。如我國人民繼續製造必要之供應品，船舶與飛機，則戰爭結束之時間必將較早；果爾，吾人庶可促使和平早日降臨；果爾，則吾人與我子孫庶可節省金錢；果爾，則吾人庶可保安我子孫之生命；果爾，則吾人莫立永久和平之誠為堅固之基礎時，我聯合國國家更有實在團結之機會矣。

### Notes and Annotations

(1) "Off and on" (adverbial phrase), "不時", "時作時辮", "時或"。We invite the boys to a treat off and on, 吾等不時款待兒童。(2) "Turn out" (transitive 用法), "製造", "生產"。These factories turn out more products than they can sell, 此處各工廠出品多不能盡售。(又作翻薄譯。He turns out his pockets, 彼翻薄衣袋——亦為 transitive 用法, in 字合用為一字)。(3) "各種"。in one plot every variety of native rice is raised to compare with every other variety of foreign rice in the other plot, 此苗圃自有本國各種稻種以與另一苗圃所種其他外國各種稻種比較。(4) "about to", "即將" (不能置未來時間語句於其後, 因此種動作合道近意)。He is about to go (= He is just going), 彼即去。(5) "aboard ship" (ship 之前不用 "the", 同此有 "aboard train"), "上船", "登陸"。He is quite at home whether aboard ship or train, 無論船上車上彼皆覺安適。(若特指明何船則用 "aboard the ship"。I took a tramper and found he was aboard the (same) ship too, 余乘一無規定航線之貨船且發覺彼亦乘該船。"aboard of" = "aboard", He came aboard of my ship, 彼已上吾船。"aboard" 本為 on board 之合併簡用, 此處之 "a" 即 "on", 他 ahunting, afishing 等等。) (6) "kind" 為 "landing operation" 同位字。(7) "to understand" 與本句 subject "it" 同位。(8) "掩護", "藉"。The thief escaped under cover (後面不用 the 字) of darkness, 竊賊乘黑暗而逃。(9) "如湧湧"。when the beehive is struck, the bees fly out in waves, 打動蜂房, 蜜蜂如湧湧出。(10) "服戰役"。Those who have served on all fronts over two years should retire from comission, 凡在各線作戰兩年以上者 退出戰役。(11) 凡指一定之時日必用 "on"。I arrived in the afternoon, (指上下

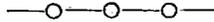
午用 in ) 。 I arrived on the afternoon (morning) of Monday 。 (12) “牢記在心” , Bear in mind that fact, 此舉當牢記在心 。 (13) “醫過” , “醫演” 。 Before going abroad, one has to go through a medical amination, 出洋之前須先經醫生檢查 。 (14) 與 jungle warfare 同位 。 (15) “前進” , “向……出發” 。 He headed the boat for shore, 駛岸向岸 。 (16) 見 (7) 。 (17) “佳於” , “較……為佳” , “大半” 。 To keep reticent is the better part of wit than to talk nonsense, 默而不言實較胡亂發言為智 。 (18) 日本人為表示忠誠常以刀切腹作表 。 (19) “進港” , “停泊” 。 The steamer puts in at several ports and then puts out to sea again, 此船在數口岸停泊, 後又航行 。 (20) 省略句, 即 “thoush it is a small one” 。 (21) 所獵之野獸野禽, 野味 。 Nowadays we have neither fish nor game for our food, 今日吾人不啻魚類及野味矣 。 (22) “不禁” , “help” 之後須用 gerund 。 I cannot helping laughing 余大笑不能抑, 等於 I cannot refrain from laughing, 又等於 I cannot but laugh 。 (23) “曬黑之皮色” 。 The face tans in the sun, 面色在日光中曬成褐色 。 (24) “大比目魚” 。 (25) “比目魚” 。 (26) subjunctive, 即 “should be” 。 在 “important” , “fitting” , “proper” , “essential” “logical” 之後用 subjunctive verb, “shonid...” (27) 見 (26) 。 (28) “解決” 。 A thousand and one difficulties and shortcomings await us to work out before our country becomes a true power, 中國在成爲其真正強國途上尚有無數困難與缺憾待吾人解決也 。 (29) “在進行中” 。 The work is now well in hand, 此事在積極進行 (處理) 中 。 (30) 即 “By doing so” 。 “so” 代表 “if the people of this country will maintain the making of necessary supplies, ships, and planes” 。

U. S. SECRETARY OF STATE CORDELL  
HULL'S WELCOME ADDRESS AT WORLD SECURITY CONFERENCE

Delivered on August 12, 1944, at the opening of the Conference, held at  
Washington Estate, Dumbarton Oaks, and attended by 40 delegates  
of the United States, Britain, and Soviet Russia.

美國務卿赫爾對美英蘇討論世界  
安全機構會議開幕致歡迎辭

一九四四年八月十二日在華盛頓之額巴敦橡樹園會議席上  
發表，到會者有美英蘇三國代表四十人。



On behalf <sup>1</sup> of President Roosevelt and on my own behalf, I welcome you to Washington. In the name <sup>2</sup> of both of us, I desire to offer some brief remarks on the opening of this important meeting.

The series of conversations which we initiate today marks another step toward establishing a lasting system of organized and peaceful relations among the nations. We meet at a time when the war is moving toward an overwhelming triumph for the forces of freedom. It <sup>3</sup> is our task here to help lay <sup>4</sup> the foundations upon which, after the victory, peace, freedom and growing prosperity may be built for the generations to come.

The very character of this war moves us to search for an enduring peace—a peace founded upon justice and

余本人謹代表羅斯福總統歡迎諸代表行抵此間，余願以羅斯福總統代表及余本人之名義，對此一重要會議之召開，略致簡短說明。

吾人今日開始之多次談話，乃欲在各國間建設有組織及和平關係之持久體制之另一步驟。吾人係當戰爭期間自由力量大獲勝利之際，在此集會。吾人來此任務，乃協助其立戰後若干和平，自由及繁榮可能以確立之基礎。

此次戰爭之真正含義，促使吾人覓取一持久和平，即基於各國人及國家保持正義及

fair dealing for individuals and nations. We have witnessed—and are witnessing today—the sweep of the forces of savagery and barbarism of the kind that civilized men hoped and believed would not rise again. Armed with the weapons of modern science and technology and with equally powerful weapons of coercion, they are enslaving mankind because the peace-loving nations were disunited.

During the years while these aggressors made their preparations for the attack, the peace-loving nations lacked both unity and strength because they lacked a vigilant realization of the perils which loomed before them. These forces of the evil now face an utter defeat because at long last their intended victims attained the unity and power which are bringing victory to us.

The lessons of the earlier disunity and weakness should be indelibly stamped upon the minds and hearts of this generation and of the generations to come. So should the lessons of unity and its resultant strength be achieved by the United Nations in this war. Unity for common action toward common good and against common peril is the sole effective method by which, in time of peace, the nations which love peace can assure for themselves security and an orderly progress with freedom and justice. In the face of what modern war means to the physical and moral being of man, the maintenance of such a unity is a

公平往來之和平。吾人已見——今日正見——暴戾野蠻勢力侵襲之情形。吾文明人類均希望並相信此種野蠻勢力將不捲土重來。彼野蠻勢力挾近代科學與技術之武器及勢力目標龐大，壓制與騷擾之武器，獲得置我人類於其奴隸之下，蓋愛好和平之國家均未團結一致也。

彼暴戾野蠻侵略之年月，我愛好和平國家在團結及實力方面均有欠缺，此乃對隨亂戰前之危險缺少警覺之故。然此邪惡勢力現面臨一整個失敗之局面，蓋時至今日，其蓄意殲滅之犧牲者已獲得團體及武裝力量，且吾人現正藉此獲得勝利也。

我早期僅憑及脆弱之教訓，應永留于本代及未來若干世代人士之腦海中。開時團結之教訓，及聯合國家在此次戰爭中因而獲得之力量，亦當永誌不忘。為求取共同福利，并反抗共同禍害，採取共同行動，而團結一致，乃愛好和平國家於承平歲月中，保證本身安全及有秩序之自由與正義進步之唯一有效方法。吾人處於現代戰爭危害人類身體及精神之際，維持類此之團結乃一最大及最艱

matter of the highest and most enlightened self-interest. In the final analysis, it is first and foremost a thing of the spirit.

Peace, like liberty, requires a constant devotion and ceaseless vigilance. It requires a willingness to take positive steps toward its preservation. It requires constant cooperation among the nations, and a determination to live together as good neighbors in the world of good neighbors. Peace requires an acceptance of the idea that its maintenance is a common interest, so precious and so overwhelmingly important, that all differences and controversies among nations can be, and must be, resolved by a resort to a peaceful means. But peace also requires institutions, through which the will to peace can be translated into action. The devising of such institutions is a challenge to the wisdom and magnanimity of men and women everywhere. That is what the United Nations, in the midst of a relentless prosecution of the war, have been working together to create the institutional foundations for a just and enduring peace.

These foundations must support the arrangements for a peaceful settlement of international disputes and for the joint use of force, if necessary, to prevent or suppress threats to peace or breaches of peace. They must also support the arrangements for promoting by a cooperative effort the development

明利已行動，然歸根結底實為精神至上

高無尚之物也。

和平，一如自由，需要經常不斷之熱忱與警惕。和平需要採取積極措施以保持和平之誠意。和平需要各國間之經常合作，及各國在歐陸邦交之批評中，具有友好相處之決心。和平需要接受下一理想，即和平之維繫乃固其可貴，及至屬重要之共同利益。各國間之一切異見及糾紛，均可且必須以和平方法予以解決也。但和平亦要和平志願賴以變為行動之機構。設計此類機構，需要世界各地男女之智慧才力。聯合國家在此大戰進行之際，猶致力予共同工作，以建立維護正義及持久和平之機構基礎者，其故在此。

凡此基礎必須支持以和平方法解決國際爭端，並於必要時聯合使用武力阻止或壓制和平所受之威脅及破壞和平之舉。此外且須支持以共同努力促進穩定世界，造福人類各

of conditions of stability and well-being necessary <sup>14</sup> for peaceful and friendly relations among nations and essential <sup>15</sup> to the maintenance of security and peace. These are the basic problems of an international organization.

A substantial progress has already been achieved through the Food and Agriculture Conference, on relief and rehabilitation and the Financial and Monetary Conference. These and other similar steps are indicative <sup>16</sup> of the profound desire of the United Nations to act together for advancing the well-being of their peoples. They have been achieved by a united effort of over 40 nations, large and small.

The governments represented here are fully agreed in their conviction that the future maintenance of peace and security—the supreme objective of international cooperation—must be a joint task and a joint responsibility of all peace-loving nations, large and small. They solemnly proclaimed their conviction in a declaration of their foreign ministers at Moscow on October 30, 1943. It cannot be emphasized too often that the principle of sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, irrespective of size and strength, as partners in a system of order under a law, must constitute the foundation of any future international organization for the maintenance of peace and security.

In the Moscow Declaration each government also assumed its share of responsibility for leadership in bringing about the creation of an international

種條件之發展，蓋凡此條件實為 睦友好關係

及安全和平所不可缺也。上述各點均為本

來國際機構中之基本問題。

從事救濟及善後工作之糧食與貨幣及

貨幣會議，已獲甚大之進展。凡此及其

他類似之步驟，均足指明聯合國組織為改善

各國民生而共同努力之深切願望。大小四十

國家之共同努力，已獲致預期之結果。

參加此次會議之各國政府 均一致深信

，未來維護和平安全——國際合作之最高目

的——必須為一切愛好和平大小國家之共同

任務及共同責任。去年十月三十日莫斯科宣

言中已聲明此一信念。吾人已一再聲明一切

愛好和平國家，不論大小強弱，在有秩序之

體制及法律下，共同享有主權平等之原則應

為未來維護和平安全之任何國際機構之基礎

。此點可無須贅言矣。

各國政府於莫斯科宣言中，亦分負為此

目的務一切愛好和平國家共同行動之方建

organization for this purpose through a joint action by all peace-loving nations. The success or failure of such an organization will depend upon the degree to which the participating nations are willing to exercise their self-restraint and assume the responsibilities of a joint action in support of the basic purposes of the organization. There must be an agreement among all whereby each can play its part to the best mutual advantage and bear "a responsibility commensurate" with its capacity. It is generally agreed that any peace and security organization would surely fail, unless it is backed by force to be used ultimately in case of failure of all other means for the maintenance of peace. That force must be available promptly in an adequate measure and with certainty. Nations of the world should maintain, according to their capacities, sufficient forces available for joint action when necessary "to prevent breaches of the peace."

For a long time before the Moscow Conference and especially during the months which have elapsed since that conference, each of our governments has been making diligent preparations for an effort to reach an agreement to which I have just referred. We have committed "our tentative thoughts to writing and each of us has had an opportunity to study the result of the work done by the other. All this should make easier the task,"<sup>21</sup> which is now before you, of reaching a consensus of views which you can jointly recommend to your respec-

國際機構之領導責任。此一國際機構之成敗，端視參加國家所願自加約束並分担共同行動責任以支持該一機構之基本目的之程度而定。各國間應成立一協定，各國即據此以分擔對彼此互利之任務，並負荷與其能力相稱之責任。一般認為任何和平及安全機構，如不有武力為後盾，俾遇有其他任何方法不足維護平時，得以此為最後武器，則必敗無疑，此一武力，必須及時獲得，且須達到適量之限度。世界各國應根據本身能力，保有足量之武力，俾於必要用參加阻止破壞和平之共同行動。

莫斯科會議開會前之長久期間內，尤其該會舉行後之若干月中，我各國政府對於締結余適纔述及之協定，曾各盡力準備。吾人已將臨時之思想寫為文字，我每一國家，因有研究他國工作結果之機會。有此準備後，諸君現在負荷之商定共同意見並送陳諸君所

tive governments. It is the intention of the Government of the United States that, after similar consultations with the Government of China, the conclusions reached will be communicated to the governments of all the United Nations and of other peace-loving nations. It is our further thought that, as soon as practicable, these conclusions will be made available to the peoples of our countries, and of all the countries, for public study and debate. We are fully aware that no institution—especially when it is of as great importance as the one now in our thoughts—will endure, unless there is behind it a considerable and complete popular support. The will to peace must spring from the hearts and minds of men and women everywhere if it is to achieve an enduring peace.

For us in the United States, it is as natural as it is desirable that we gather around a table with the representatives of the other nations to devise means for maintaining peace and security. No passion runs deeper in the thoughts of the people of this country than the belief that all men should enjoy liberty under law. It has been our faith from the beginning of our nation, it is our dream for the future, that every individual and every nation should attain freedom and the security to enjoy it. The people of this country are now united, as never before, in their determination that the tragedy which today is sweeping the earth shall not recur.

The people of all the United Nations are hoping and praying for an opportu-

代表之政府施以研討之任務，自將因而輕易

：美國政府立意與中國政府進行類似之會商

後，即將商定結果送交各聯合國家及其他

好和平各國政府參考，吾人更擬一俟可能時

，即以此送交各聯合國及其他一切國家人民

公開研究或辯論。吾人深知任何機構如無廣

大及一致之後盾，則不能垂諸久遠，尤以吾

人現所想像如此重要之機構為然。國際機構

如欲獲致持久和平，則和平意願必須發自世

界各地男女之心。

就吾美國言之，吾人與其他國家代表齊

集一堂，商討維護和平安全之方法，實屬自

然合宜之舉。美國人民相信一切人類應在法

律之下享受自由，其思想中未有較此更深之

情緒，美國開國之初即持此一信念。吾人想

像未來任何國家及人民必將獲得自由及享

自由之安全。美國人民現空前團結於一決心

之下，今日世界之悲劇應不再來。

各聯合國家人民現均希冀並祈求獲得重新在各國間建立保持良好及公正關係之機會

nity to build anew toward a system of decent and just relationships among the nations. Their noblest capacities and their highest skills have been diverted from the creative pursuits of peace to the grim and terrible tasks of battle. They will not be content with a precarious peace. Their sacrifices can only be rewarded by a fulfillment of their reasonable hopes. It is the sacred duty of the governments of all peace-loving nations to make sure that an international machinery is fashioned through which the peoples can build the peace which they so deeply desire. The President is confident, and I share his view, that this thought will govern the deliberations which you are now undertaking.

。彼等最崇高之能力及最大技巧，已自對於和平作創造性之追求，易為嚴肅可懼之戰鬥任務。彼等對危險之和平將不引為滿足。彼等之犧牲之唯一報酬，乃為完成彼等之合理希望。所有愛好和平國家政府之神聖責任，乃在儘定形成一國際機構，經由此一機構，人民得可建立彼等所深切希望之和平。羅斯福總統深信此種思想將支配諸君所進行之討論，余亦有同感焉。

## Notes and Annotations

- (1) “代表”。He spoke on my behalf, 彼代我發言。(2) “以……名義”。I wrote a letter to thank him in the name of the whole class, 余以全班名義致函向他道謝。(3) 後面之 infinitive phrase “to help lay the foundations” 為 “it” 之同位字。(4) “help” 之複美國用法不用 “to”，英國用法則加 “to”，“to help to lay”。(5) “籠罩”，“隱現”。At the time of the Mukden incident, we had already seen the Second World War looming in the distant horizon, 在滿洲事變之時吾人已窺見第二次世界大戰隱現於天際。(6) “終於”。He failed many times but at long last he succeeded, 彼失敗多次最後終於成功。(7) “同”，“同樣”。表示一如上句相反情形，“disunity and weakness” 同樣。“So” 指示前句有關字放置於句首，但 “So” 以及他種 adverb “nor” 既置於句首則助動字調在 subject 之前。He was tired and so was I. He does not know that, nor do I。(8) “面對”，“臨”，“處於”。Japan's navy has fled to the island waters in the face of defeat, 日本海軍失敗在前故而退至日本海。(9) “分析至最後”，“究其根源”，“歸根結底”。His political views, in the last analysis, are essentially utopian in nature, 彼之政見歸根結底實為空想性質。(10) “precious” 置於其所形容之名詞 “interest” 之後為 appositive 用法，目的在強調並引伸其意。(11) 同 (10)。(12) “取”，“以”。We could not but resort to force, 吾人

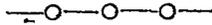
緊不得不用武力。(13)“緊迫”。He helps to do household affairs in the midst of heavy teaching work, 彼於繁重課業緊迫之際協助家事。(14)形容“conditions”及“well-being”。(15)同(14)。(16)“指示”，“指明”。Black clouds are indicative of rain, 黑雲示雨意。(17)“利”，“善”。Your advice is to his advantage, 汝之勸導於彼有益。(18)“相稱”，“適合”，“適量”。Japan should pay us an indemnity commensurable to our losses, 日本須對吾人損失付適量之賠款。(19)省略句即“when it is necessary”。(20)“將思想爲文字”，“將思想寫在紙上”。First meditate, and then commit your thoughts to writing paper) 先默思然後將思想寫在紙上。(21)原爲“make the work easier”因 object “work” 有所申述故關在 object complement “easier” 之後。

# THE 1944 COMMON ELECTION PLATFORMS OF THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES OF THE U. S. A. COMPARED

By The National Herald U. S. special correspondent

## 一九四四年美國大選中共和民主 兩黨政綱之比較

自由西報美國特約通訊



The comparison of the Republican and the Democratic platforms for the coming election shows that the Democratic platform is a simple, brief statement relying <sup>1</sup> on record while the Republicans, in presenting detailed views, stud their platform with severe criticism against the Administration. <sup>2</sup> The Republican platform contains more details on domestic issues and is more general in foreign policy. Contrarily, the Democratic platform is brief in domestic problems and more specific and emphatic on views of foreign policy.

On war aims both pledge <sup>3</sup> to win the war with every resource. The Republicans add that the Army and the Navy should be under the competent and trained directions of the General Staff and the Office of Naval Operations without civilian interference.

Regarding international organization the Republicans favor international cooperation not by joining a world state. They advocate <sup>4</sup> the responsible participation by the United States in a post-

吾人以今年美國大選中之共和黨與民主黨政綱相較，即可標明民主黨政綱根據事實作簡明之陳述。反之，共和黨政綱則表達意見無微不至，對現政府之批評亦甚嚴正。共和黨對國內問題討論周詳，其外交政策則為廣泛。反之，民主黨政綱對國內問題極為簡略，而對外交政策之主張則詳細嚴正。

兩黨對大戰目標皆保證以全力作後盾以爭取勝利。共和黨並主張陸海軍應由參謀部及海軍作戰局指揮不受文官干涉，蓋因彼等有訓練且能勝任之故也。

關於國際組織一點，共和黨主張美國贊成國際間合作，但不必加入國際政治組織。彼等主張美國負責參加戰後獨立國際合作機

war cooperative organization between sovereign nations to prevent military aggression and to insure permanent peace. The Democrats pledge to join with other United Nations in the establishment of an international organization based on the principles of sovereignty of all peace-loving states and open to membership of all such states, large or small, for the prevention of aggression and the maintenance of international peace and security.

On the use of force the Republicans wish to develop effective cooperative means to direct the peace forces. They believe that peace and security do not depend on the sanction of force alone but should prevail by virtue of reciprocal interest and spiritual values in the security agreement. The Democrats pledge to make all necessary and effective agreements and arrangements through which nations would make impossible the preparation for war. The world organization must be endowed with the power to employ armed forces to prevent aggression and to preserve peace.

On the method of cooperation the Republicans mention peace forces but without defining the term. The cooperation of nations should concern itself with the basic cause of world disorder. It should promote a world opinion to influence nations to right conduct, to develop international law and to maintain an international tribunal to deal with justifiable disputes. The Democrats specifically favor the maintenance of an international court of justice of which

構，藉以制止國際（軍事上侵略，及保障

界永久之和平。民主黨則主張，參與同盟國

基於獨立平等原則之一切愛好和平國家所建

立之國際機構，國無論大小皆得參與，藉以

制止侵略并保持國際和平及安全。

共和黨對運用武力維持世界和平一點，

表示意發願有效之合作手段，彼等認爲世界

和平及安全不專恃武力之使用，但安全協

定，須存有彼此休戚相關，且須在精神上重

視和平及安全，方可有效。民主黨主張決心

訂立一切必要及有效之協定，並與各國磋商

，務使國際間不再有戰爭之準備，因此國際

機構必須授以極力，俾能以武力制止侵略，

而保持和平。

共和黨對於國際合作一點雖提及武力和平，

但未加說明。彼等以爲國際間應有合作

，謀解決世界紊亂之基本原因，增進世界與

論勸導各國保守莊當行動，發揮國際公法效

能，設置國際法庭處理國際間合法之爭執。

民主黨特發成設置國際法庭，美國應推爲會

the United States shall be a member and the employment of diplomacy, conciliation and arbitration in the settlement of international disputes.

On the conduct of foreign relations the Republicans pledge to keep the people informed of all the agreements with foreign nations and insist that treaties should be made with the advice and consent of the U. S. Senate provided that two-thirds of the senators present concur. The Democrats do not mention this point.

On the Western Hemisphere both favor the good neighbor policy, but the Republicans add that the policy should not be based on reckless squandering of U. S. funds.

On trade the Republicans favor the promotion of worldwide economic stability not only for the world but that in the end the U. S. people may enjoy a high level of employment in an increasingly prosperous world. The Republicans want a fair protective tariff on competitive products to maintain the American standard of living. The Democrats want a freer flow of ideas and goods and to extend the trade policies initiated by the present Administration.

The Democrats support the Atlantic Charter, <sup>6</sup> Four Freedoms, <sup>7</sup> and the United Nations' Declarations to which the Republicans are silent.

On domestic issues the Republicans emphasize state right and avoid the federalisation of government activities. They criticise the New Deal which concentrates all power in the President.

員國，但主張運用外交，調解，及仲裁手段解決國際間爭執。

共和黨對外交之行動表示願以美國與外國所訂立一切協定公佈民衆，但堅持主張一切條約須得參議院三分之二之同意始可訂立。民主黨對於此點則未列入政綱。

關於西半球，兩黨皆贊成善隣政策，惟共和黨補充此點，善隣政策不應連累美國致有經費上無節制之浪費。

共和黨對於國外貿易實行維護全世界穩定經濟，此一政策不僅爲全世界着想，但終久美國民衆在逐漸繁榮之世界中，贏取上可得高水準之享。共和黨對有競爭性質之商品願採取公平保護稅政策，藉以保持美國生活標準。民主黨主張國際間思想及商品更大之交流，以推行現政府所發動之對外貿易政策。

民主黨擁護大西洋憲章，羅斯福總統之四大自由，及聯合國之一切聲明。共和黨對此，則不置一辭。

關於國內問題一層，共和黨強調中央集權，以避免政府活動之地方化。彼等批評羅斯福總統集中全權於總統一身之新政。民主

The Democrats seem to assume that the progress in human welfare lies in the regulation of business and that the protection of civil rights must come through the watchfulness of Washington.

On the racial question the Republicans promise permanent fair employment, voice opposition to poll taxes and favor legislation against lynching. The Democrats maintain that the racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all other citizens and share the rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

Agriculturally the Republicans support the modified agricultural adjustment to handle the surplus crops and denounce the confusing farm regulations. The Democrats promise continued price guarantee and crop insurance to aid small farmers, to extend rural electrification and to develop domestic and foreign markets for farm products.

Regarding other domestic issues the Republicans and the Democrats are quite similar in opinion.

黨似爲認定人類福利之進步有賴商業上之節制，民衆權利由白宮監視始得有保證。

關於種族問題，共和黨允以永久公平僱用有色人種，并申明反對人頭稅及厘訂法案制止謀害處死情事。民主黨主張少數種族及宗教特殊之民衆應與其他公民以平等地位而生存、發展及選舉之權利，並享受憲法所保障之其他權利。

就農業言，共和黨擁護農業上修正之調整解決剩餘作物，但反對現行之農業法案。民主黨誓允繼續保障農產價格及作物保險以利小農，并推廣農村電氣化，及發展國內外農產品市場。

關於其他國內問題，兩黨之政見大致相同。

### Notes and Annotations

- (1) “依恃” (與 upon 或 on 連用)。We have nothing to rely on but our own determination to win the war, 吾人除自身決心爭取勝利外別無依恃。  
(2) “現政府”：即羅斯福總統政府。(3) “保證” I pledge my word to do that for you, 余保證爲汝爲之。(4) “主張”，“提倡”。He advocates temperance, 彼提倡戒酒。(5) “權力”。He is entitled to it by virtue of his prerogative, 彼有特權得享此權利。(6) 大西洋憲章全文及譯見「當代文獻」第一期合訂本。(7) 羅斯福總統所主張之 freedom of conscience, freedom of expression, freedom from fear, freedom from want.

# DR. H. H. KUNG'S SPEECH BEFORE U. S. SENATE

Delivered on August 24, 1944

## 孔副院長祥熙在美參議院演辭

一九四四年八月二十四日發表



Mr. President, and Members of the Senate: I am grateful for your invitation to address you today. Sometime ago (1) you conferred (2) a similar high honor on Madame Chiang Kai-shek. We know this honor is not individual, but an honor to the Chinese nation. China thanks you.

The United States and China have always maintained cordial relations seldom paralleled (3) in the history of nations. Time and again (4) when China's national interest was in jeopardy, (5) the United States unflinchingly came to her side by upholding those great principles by which the independence and integrity of nations are preserved. In the midst of world chaos, our traditional friendships have deepened into even more intimate ties of partnership in a common struggle against the forces of tyranny and violence. Recently Vice-President Wallace visited China. Now your President is sending on an important mission Major-General Hurley and Mr. Donald Nelson. Such timely visits of those and other distinguished Americans are significant and indicative of your steadfast friendship.

On this occasion, I like to voice again

主席先生及參議院諸君：敝人承邀今日來此與諸君談話，誠感榮幸。昔年時前，君等曾以同樣之殊榮昇諸 蔣主席夫人。余等均知此一榮譽並非個人之榮譽，而為我國家之榮譽。敝國已向諸君表示謝意。

我中美兩國經常保持友好之關係，此於國際歷史中罕見其四。敝國國運艱危之時，貴國每以支持各國獨立完整之偉大原則而助中國。此證諸既往、固歷險

者也。我中美兩國傳統友誼，於世界戰亂之中，益趨密切無間。於反抗暴虐凶殘惡勢力之共同奮鬥中，結為休戚相關之戰友。最近貴國副總統華萊士曾赴敝國訪問，羅斯福總統今復派赫爾利少將及納爾遜氏赴華商洽重要任務。彼等及貴國其他要員之赴華訪問，至有意義，且足表示貴國對我之堅定友誼。

本人今日在此願再言及我國人民對貴國

the sense of indebtedness the Chinese people feel for the assistance you of America—the President, Congress and people—have given us credits, loans and Lend-Lease goods which have helped us to tide over some of our many difficulties. Two Congressional actions also call (6) for special recognition. One is the voluntary relinquishment of your extraterritorial rights in China. The other is the revision of your immigration laws so far as they affect persons of Chinese nationality. These two actions are further demonstrations of your friendliness and far-sighted statesmanship.

I shall try in a few minutes to tell you of the efforts of the Chinese people in the prosecution of war and China's aims for peace of tomorrow. When war broke on China—more than seven years ago—they took up arms (7) against an enemy she knew to be infinitely better equipped and better prepared. Fighting alone in a world yet (8) to awake to the ways of the aggressors, China knew that between slavery and freedom, between living in ignominy and death, there is but (9) one choice. With no small measure of appreciation for the materials she was able to secure at the time from the Soviet Union, Britain and America, China fought on stubbornly, relentlessly and regardless of sacrifices. She never doubted for a moment that there could be no compromise where great principles were at stake.

Then in December, 1941, came the infamous attack on Pearl Harbor, followed by the fall of Hongkong, Malaya

總統國會及人民所予我貸款及租借物資協助

之感激無似，凡此協助，對我至有助益。我

若千困難，均賴此安泰渡過。貴國國會之兩

大行動，亦須加以特別認識。一為貴國自願

取消在華治外法權。一為修正貴國移民法中

涉及中國國籍人士之條款。此二行動，益足

指明貴國之友誼，及目光遠大之政治風度。

本人擬以數分鐘之時間，向諸君一述敵

國人民之作戰努力，及我國之戰後和平目標

。七年以前，中國軍事爆發時，彼等拿起武

器，毅然與配備遠較優越華 亦後為元分之

敵人作戰。敵國軍海流戰之時，華 侵略

者之 徑，猶欠認識，但我自知於沒與自由

，忍辱苟生與先榮戰死之間，唯有一途可循

，敵國有可獲及蘇英美各盟邦之物資援助，

對此敢懷莫名。且受此鼓勵，益堅定勇形與

敵作戰。一切犧牲在所不顧，吾人堅信偉大

原則瀕危之際，決無妥協可能。此一信念，

向未置疑。

一九四一年十二月間，日寇對珍珠港發

動無恥之偷襲，香港，馬來亞，荷屬東印度

the Netherlands East Indies, Burma and the Philippines all in such rapid succession that the entire world was stunned. Nothing seemed capable of checking the onrush of the Japanese war machine. Those were indeed the darkest hours for the freedom-loving peoples everywhere, and for the Chinese people in particular (10) whose strength had already been drained by the long years of war and were now confronted with complete blockade and isolation from the friendly world.

It was at this time--and now it can be told--that Japan made repeated offers of peace couched (11) in the most tempting terms to induce China to give up what appeared then to be a hopeless struggle. But we didn't falter. We didn't give in. We held on because of the firm belief that right must triumph over might and justice must prevail. We were more conscious than ever of our responsibility in defending the citadel of freedom in Asia, while our allies were locked in a mortal combat in other theaters of war. We bogged down 1,000,000 of Japan's fighting men whom the Japanese warlords would have effectively employed elsewhere. Pause to imagine what could have happened if in the wake (12) of their sweeping conquest of Malaya and Burma the Japanese had been able to withdraw 20 divisions from China to employ against India. Again, what would have been the effect on the course of the war in Europe if Japan had been able to pour 1,000,000 men across the borders of Siberia at the time when the

，緬甸、菲律賓，相繼迅速淪陷。舉世爲之愕然。當是時也，仍無一可阻止日軍之攻勢者，此誠爲舉世各地愛好自由人民之最黑暗時期。對於長期作戰實力多已消耗，且被完全封鎖，並與我世界友邦無法往來之我國尤甚。

余埃可得言者日寇即於此時向我提出多次和平試探，附以最誘惑性之條件，圖誘我停止當時似屬無望之戰鬥，然我絕未動搖，吾人亦未屈服，吾人繼續抗戰。蓋吾人堅信公理必定戰勝強權，正義亦必長存不滅也。吾人於我盟友於其他戰區陷於苦戰之際，對自身保衛亞洲自由堡壘之責任，益感重大。日軍百萬之衆，被我牽制於大陸戰場。以故日本軍閥，乃不得以此兵力有效使用於其他戰區。君等試想日軍於席捲馬來亞、緬甸後，如得自中國戰場抽出卅師團兵力，用以攻印，其後果將如何耶，日寇於德軍攻抵莫斯科門前之際，如派遣百萬大軍，越過西伯

Nazi hordes were at the gates of Moscow?

Fortunately for mankind, victory is now in sight. (13) While the war in Europe speeds to a victorious end, while we are redoubling our efforts in bringing about a swift and utter defeat of Japan as presaged by the distinguished President of the United States on his recent visits to the Pacific bases, the time has arrived for forward thinking people to plan for the peace that is dawning. In this great task of peace planning the United States has again shown her farsightedness and leadership. In the past few months, in the midst of your preoccupation with the war effort, you have called together a series of international conferences to plan for production and distribution of food for the relief and rehabilitation of the devastated countries and stabilization of currencies and economic reconstruction and development of the world. By these conferences you have shown the way to international cooperation which will bring security and prosperity to all the world.

Above all, we must organize peace itself. We must put an end (14) to man's inhumanity to man. If civilization is (15) to survive, we must make impossible the recurrence of war with all its horrors and cruelties. At this very moment in Washington, a conference is sitting to devise machinery for world security. On this subject I assert that China thinks along the same line as our great allies. We are prepared to back up a properly

利亞邊界，其於戰爭之影響又將如何。

勝利現已在望，此實為人類之大幸。竊  
茲歐洲戰事勝利可期，吾人加倍努力及早盡  
底擊潰日本（貴國英明領袖羅斯福總統最近  
出巡太平洋某地對此已作預言）之際，思想  
遠大之人士，為已露曙光之和平預作籌劃，  
此其時矣。貴國於此計劃和平之偉大任務中  
，復表明遠大之目光及卓越之領導。貴國在  
過去數月內，於集力作戰之時，曾召開多次  
國際會議。計劃用以賑濟受戰事蹂躪國家之  
食物之生產與分配，與增進幣制之穩定，經  
濟之建設，及世界之發展。貴國藉此類會議  
，已指明可以安全繁榮昇平予全世界之國際合  
作之道路。

最要者吾人必須組織和平本身，而於人  
對人之殘暴，必須阻止。如文明能得存在；  
吾人必須使戰爭及與戰爭俱來之所有恐怖與  
殘忍，不再發生。此刻華盛頓正在舉行一種  
會議，設計世界安全機構。關於此事，余敢  
斷言中國與我偉大盟邦之思想，均屬一致，



constituted world organization with all we have in the enforcement of peace. For the Chinese Government and people I am privileged to say here that in all matters of international cooperation we wholeheartedly support the policies of the United States, which we are convinced are founded on the same ideals of justice and decency which the Chinese people traditionally cherish.

The question has sometimes been asked whether China will emerge from this war a democratic nation capable of collaborating with other democracies and whether the Chinese National Government commands the support of its people. It would be very bold of me were (16) I to tell you that everything is perfection in China. We, like most others, have difficulties and weaknesses, but our difficulties and weaknesses are accentuated (17) by the strain of seven long years of war and accentuated by China's total mobilization for total contribution to the war effort. But I assure you that the Chinese Government is irrevocably committed to a democratic program and China is well on the way towards full development of modern democracy.

China's national policy is based upon what (18) is commonly known as the Three Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen—the principles of national independence, political democracy and economic welfare of the people. These principles are similar to the immortal pronouncement of your Great President Lincoln: "A government of the people, by the people and for the

吾人準備以所有一切，支持適當組織之世界機構，以維持和平。余有權代表中國之政府及人民，在此說明凡有聯國際合作之事，吾人對美國之政策均誠意贊同。吾人深信美國之政策，即係根據中國人民所一向珍視之正義與公正之觀念。

或有人質問將來戰爭結束後之中國，是否可以成爲一可與其他民主國家合作之民主國家，國民政府是否能獲得其人民之擁護。余如奉告諸君：在中國之一切事物皆屬完整無瑕，自屬過於大胆。吾人正如其他大多數國家，自有其困難與弱點。且吾人之困難與弱點，因七年悠長軍事之需求，及以全部力量貢獻於作戰努力而加重。但余敢保證中國政府堅定推行民主計劃，則正逐漸充分發展爲現代之民主國家。

中國國策乃根據普通所習知之孫中山先生之三民主義，即民族民權與民生主義。此項主義，與貴國偉大總統林肯之不朽名言，所謂「民有民治民享之政府」相同。孫先生於完成此項主義時，受中國哲學家學說之影

people." In formulating these principles, Dr. Sun was inspired by the teachings of China's philosophers as well as by the political thinkers of the west. These principles embody (19) the ideals and aspirations of all the freedom-loving peoples everywhere. It is because the Chinese people are convinced that the National Government is capable of and definitely committed to carrying out the democratic program as laid down by Dr. Sun Yat-sen that they have stood solidly behind it and its Leader, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, during nearly two decades of national revolution and war against aggression.

Even in the midst of war when there exists an inevitable tendency to concentrate power in the Central Government, we have introduced and carried out number of measures with the view (20) to preparing the people for representative government. I refer to the People's Political Council which is sometimes described as the wartime Parliament, the new district system which promotes local self-government; and the resolution of Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang to convene within one year after the conclusion of the war a national congress to adopt a permanent constitution and to put into effect a national system of representative government.

Our hope is for world freedom and security. China has a long democratic tradition, and that tradition is strong in our people. If there is any contribution which the Chinese people can make to the world, it is our emphasis on the

憲，正與受西方政治思想家之影響同。世界各地所有愛好自由之理想與期望，實皆包涵於此類主義之中。因中國人民相信國民政府力能而且決意實現中山先生所奠定之民主計劃，故當進行國民革命及反侵略戰爭之數十年中，彼等皆英勇擁護國民政府及蔣委員長。

即在戰爭期中，必然趨向以權力集中於中央政府時，吾人已引用並實行若干志在使人民準備實行代議政府之措置。余所指者，為有時被稱為戰時國會之國民參政會。提倡地方自治政府之新縣制。及國民黨中央執行委員會之決議，在戰事結束一年以內召開國民大會，以通過永久憲法，實現全國代議政府制。

中國所希望者，厥為世界之自由與安全。中國具有悠久之民主傳統，而此種傳統在我國民間甚為強烈。如我中國人民，對於世界能有絲毫之貢獻，則為吾人之重視民主制

spiritual and moral as the political and social foundations of democracy. The Confucian concept of a "Great Commonwealth" was adopted by Dr. Sun Yat-sen who enjoined his people not only to build a Republic, but also to strive toward the realization of world commonwealth in which all nations great and small live in peace and equality and all peoples shall be protected in their inalienable rights and assured enjoyment of the fruits of their labor.

The United Nations have now the unique opportunity to work together toward that ideal. They may well learn from the great American experiment in which 48 states enjoying their own rights, resolved as a union in a comparatively short period of time to achieve the greatest measure of unity and prosperity. Peace and democracy can only be realized, as our sages taught us long ago, when the big have learned to serve the small, and the strong (21) the weak. In the words of Christ: (22) 'Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your minister, and will be chief among you, let him be servant.'

度之精神與道德，以及政治與社會之基礎，

孔子世界大同之理想，為孫中山先生所採用

。渠不僅欲領導其人民建設一共和國，且領導其奮鬥，以實現世界大同。在此世界中，所有各國，無論大小，均將居於和平與平等之境。所有人民之天賦權利，均可獲得保障，並能享受其勞力之結果。

聯合國現有一獨特之機會，可以向此理想共同努力，我聯合國以學習美國偉大之試驗，各享本州權利之四十八州，在較短時間內，融合為一體，以獲致最大之統一與繁榮。惟有如我國聖人在久遠以前所教訓吾人者，即惟有在大能事小，強能事弱時，和平與民主方能實現。如用耶穌之言，則為「你們中間，誰願為大，就必作你們的用人。在你們中間誰願為首，就必作衆人的僕人。」  
(譯者按：原文見馬可福音第十章，第四三及四四節)。

### Notes and Annotations

- (1) 一九四三年二月十八日蔣夫人曾在美國會演說 (原文見「當代文獻」第一冊)。  
(2) “授”，“予”，“畀” (t. v.). He has been conferred a favour (gift, degree, rank), 彼得授恩典(恩賜，學位，官階)。又 confer with, (int. v.), “討論”，“研究”。 He will confer with you on the subject, 彼將與君討論此事。(3) Past participle 形容 “relations”。“莫與比倫”，“無匹”。 His eloquence in speech cannot be paralleled, 彼口才之佳莫與比倫。(4) “時時”，“頻數”。 I mentioned that fact to you time and again (= again and

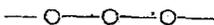
again, now and again) 我再三以此事警告。 (5) “在危險中”。 His investment is in jeopardy, 彼所投資將入危險。 (6) “需要”, “須有”。 Patriotism calls for sacrifice, 愛國心須有犧牲精神。 又作“取”。 He is ruffin' for wins, 彼正令人取勝。 又作“叫”, “催”。 He has called for a car (彼已催車)。 (7) “作戰”。 We took up arms against the Japanese to secure peace, 吾人為謀得和平與日本作戰。 (8) “尚未”。 I have many letters yet to write, 余有信數封尚未寫。 (9) =only. (10) “尤其” “特”。 Of the three boys I like the youngest in particular, 三童中余特喜最幼者。 (11) “陳述”。 His compliments are couched in the most fitting terms, 彼以極適當之詞表示敬意。 (12) “隨從”, “接踵”。 Misfortunes are being others in their wake, 災難往往相繼而至。 (13) “在望”, “看得見”。 After sailing an hour, our place of destination was in sight, 舟行半小時, 目的地現於眼前。 (14) “制止”, “阻止”。 The best way to get an end to Japan's militarism is to disarm Japan, 消除日本軍國主義最佳方法為解除日本武裝。 (15) verb “be” + infinitive 表示他人決定之意。 “I go”, 之 “go” 動詞係自動: “I am to go”, 他人決定。 (16) subjunctive mood 之 subordinate clause 介詞連接乎 “if” 當省略, 以動詞或動詞詞置於 subj 之前。例如 We e I = If I were, Had I been = If I had been; Should I be = If I should be. (17) “加重” “更需”。 Accentuated by national rehabilitation and reconstruction, the industrialization of China is the most urgent problem for us to tackle, 中國工業化問題因善後建國益為迫切需要, 成為吾人應從速解決之問題。 (18) 介紹異意之字句。 (19) “包括”, “包涵”。 All the teachings of Confucius are practically embodied in the “Book of Analects” 孔子學說之全部一舉括無遺。 (20) “目的在於”, “宗旨為”。“to” 字與 “with a view” 作用成爲一 phrase. “to” 之後, 概用 gerund, 不用 infinitive. He comes here with a view to settling down, 彼來此之目的為在此地安家。 (21) “The story” verb 與動詞句, 即 “have learned to scive”, 故家俱。 (22) 此句其主詞句動詞應看第十四章第四十三, 四十四節。

THE TEXT OF THE FOUR-POWER JOINT SECURITY  
ORGANIZATION PROPOSALS

Released on October 9, 1944

國際安全組織建議案全文

一九四四年十月九日公布



There should be established an international organization under the title of the United Nations, the charter of which should contain provisions necessary to give effect to the proposals which follow.

*Chapter I. Purposes.*

The purposes of the organization should be:

1. To maintain international peace and security and to that end take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace and the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means adjustments or settlement of international disputes which may lead to a breach of the peace.
2. To develop friendly relations among nations and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace.
3. To achieve international cooperation in the solution of international, economic, social and other humanitarian problems.
4. To afford a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the achievement of these common ends.

*Chapter II. Principles.*

茲建議設立一國際組織，名稱爲「聯合國」，其會章應包括足以使下列之建議發生效力之各項規定。

第一章 宗旨

國際組織之宗旨應爲：

- (一) 維持國際和平與安全，採取有效之集體步驟以防止并消除對於和平之威脅，並制止侵略行動 或其他破壞和平行動，並以和平方法解決足以破壞和平之國際爭端。
- (二) 發展國際友誼關係，並採取其他適當步驟，以加強普遍和平。(三) 在國際經濟、社會人道等問題方面，求國際之合作。(四) 在一定期間內，應以本組織爲中心，協調各國行動，以達成上述目的。

第二章 原則

The pursuit of the purposes mentioned in Chapter I the organization and its members should act in accordance with the following principles: 1. The organization is based on the principles of sovereign equality of all peace loving states. 2. All members of the organization have undertaken, in order to assure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership in the organization, to fulfill the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the charter. 3. All members of the organization shall settle their disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security are not endangered. 4. All members of the organization shall refrain their international relations from the threat of use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the organization. 5. All members of the organization shall give every assistance to the organization undertaken by it in accordance with the provisions of the charter. 6. All members of the organization shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which preventive or enforcement action is being undertaken by the organization. 7. The organization should ensure that states not members of the organization act in accordance with these principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

#### Chapter III. Membership.

1. Membership of the organization should be open to all peace loving states.

#### Chapter IV. Principal organs.

The organization should have as its

為實現第一章所述各項宗旨起見，本組

織及其會員國應遵守下列原則：（一）本組

織應以一切愛好和平國家主權平等之原則為

基礎。（二）會員國應依據會章，各盡其責，

以保障會員國權利與利益。（三）會員國應

以和平方法解決其爭端，俾免危及國際和平

與安全。（四）會員國在國際關係中，應

避免與本組織宗旨不符之武力使用或武力威

脅。（五）會員國對於本組織根據會章所採

之行動，應盡予以援助。（六）凡受本組織

制裁之國家，各會員國不得給予任何援助。

（七）倘為維持國際和平與安全所需時，本

組織應使非會員國之行動亦符合上述宗旨。

### 第三章 會員

凡愛好和平之國家，均得加入為本組織之會員。

### 第四章 主要機構

（一）本組織應有以下之主要機構：

principal organs: A. General Assembly. B. A security council. C. An international court of justice, D. A secretariat- 2. The organization should have such subsidiary agencies as may be found necessary.

#### Chapter V. The general assembly.

Section A. Composition. All members of the organization should be members of the general assembly and should have a number of representatives to be specified in the charter.

Section B. Functions and powers. 1. The general assembly should have the right to consider the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any member or member of the organization or by the security council and to make recommendations with regards to any such principles. Any such questions on which action is necessary should be referred to the security council by the general assembly either before or after discussion. The general assembly should not on its own initiative make recommendations on any matter relating to the maintenance of international peace and security which is being dealt with by the security council. 2. The general assembly should be empowered to admit new members to the organization upon recommendation of the security council. 3. The general assembly should, upon recommendation of the security council, be empowered to suspend from the exercise of any rights or privileges of membership any member of the organization against

(甲)大會 (乙)安全理事會 (丙)國際法院。(丁)秘書廳。(二)本組織於必要時，得設立其他輔助機關。

### 第五章 大 會

第一節組織：大會包括所有會員國，其代表人數將於會章中規定之。

第二節職權：(一)大會得研討論關於維持國際和平與安全之一般合作原則，包括裁軍與管制軍備之原則，得討論會員國或安全理事會提交有關維持國際和平與安全之任何問題，并得對於上述任何問題有所建議。任何此類問題，若須採取行動，無論已否討論，均應由大會移交安全理事會。大會不得自願對於任何有關維持國際和平與安全而正為安全理事會所處理之問題有所建議。(二)經安全理事會之建議，大會應有權接受新會員國。(三)經安全理事會之建議，大會得停止任何被安全理事會制裁之會員國之任何權利或利益，此項被停止之權利與利益，經安

which preventive or enforcement action shall have been taken by the security council. The exercise of the rights and privileges thus suspended may be restored by decision of the security council. The general assembly should be empowered, upon recommendation of the security council, to expel from the organization any member of the organization which persistently violates the principles contained in the charter. 4. The general assembly should elect the nonpermanent members of the security council and the members of the economic and social council provided for in Chapter IX. It should be empowered to elect upon recommendation of the security council the secretary general of the organization. It should perform such functions in relation to the election of the judges for the international court of justice as may be conferred upon it by the statute of the court. 5. The general assembly should apportion the expense among the members of the organization and should be empowered to approve the budget of the organization. 6. The general assembly should make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international cooperation in political, economic and social fields and of adjusting situations likely to impair the general welfare. 7. The general assembly should make recommendations for the cooperation of the policies of economic, social and other specialized agencies brought into relation with the organization in accordance with agreements between such agencies and the organization. 8. The general

全理事會決議得予以恢復，大會經安理事會  
會之建議，得將任何屢違會章原則之會員國  
予以開除。(四)大會得選舉安理事會之  
非常理事及第九章所規定之經濟與社會理  
事會之理事，大會經安理事會之推薦，應  
有權選舉本組織秘書長。如國際法院規程，  
將有關選舉國際法院法官之職務委託大會，  
大會應執行此項職務。(五)大會得分派各  
國應納之經費，並通過本組織之預算(六)  
大會為促進政治、經濟、及社會各方面之  
國際合作，以及調整任何可能妨害公共幸福  
之情勢起見，應鼓勵研究，並提供辦法。  
(七)大會應作建議，使各種根據協定與本組  
織發生關係之國際政治經濟、社會及其他專  
門機構，在政策之聯繫上取得合作。(八)  
大會得採取審查核定全理事會之常年及

assembly should receive and consider annual and special reports from the security council and reports from other bodies of the organization.

**Section C. Voting.** 1. Each member of the organization should have one vote in the general assembly. 2. Important decisions of the general assembly, including recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, election of members of the security council, election of members of the economic and social council, admission of members, suspension of the exercise of the rights and privileges of members, and expulsion of members, and budgetary questions should be made by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting. Another questions the decision of the general assembly should be made by a simple majority vote.

**Section D. Procedure** 1. The general assembly should meet in regular sessions and in such special sessions as occasion may require. 2. The general assembly should adopt its own rules of procedure and elect its president for each session. 3. The general assembly should be empowered to set up such bodies and agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions.

#### **Chapter VI. The security council**

**Section A. Composition.** The security council consists of one representative of each of eleven members of the organization. Representatives of the United States

各種報告。以及本組織中其他單位之報告。

**第三節 投票：**(一)每一會員國在大會中有一投票權。(二)重要決議，包括有關維持和平與安全之建議，選舉安全理事會之理事，選舉經濟社會理事會之理事接受新會員國停止會員國權益解除會員國，以及預算等問題，均應以到會會員國投票三分之二決定之其他問題，包括別種問題之應否以三分之二表決一點，概以過半數決定之。

**第四節 程序：**(一)大會每年應按例集會，並得召集臨時會。(二)會議程序，由大會自定，並自行推選每次會議之主席。(三)大會於行使其職權時，得設立必需之董事會，及其他各種機構。

### **第六章 安全理事會**

**第一節 組織：**安全理事會，應由十一會員國各派代表一人組織之，美、英、蘇、中、

es of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Republic of China, and, in due course, France, should have permanent seats. The general assembly should elect six states to fill the non-permanent members three should be chosen by the general assembly for one year terms and three for two year terms.

**Section B. Principal functions and powers.** 1. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the organization members of the organization should by the charter confer on the security council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and should agree that in carrying out these duties under this responsibility it should act on their behalf. (5) 2. In discharging these duties the security council should act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the organization 3. The specific powers conferred on the security council in order to carry out its duties are laid down in Chapter VII. 4. All members of the organization should obligate themselves to accept the decisions of the security council and to carry them out in accordance with the provisions of the charter. 5. In order to promote the establishment of international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments, the security council with the assistance of the military staff committee referred

以及將來法國之代表應為常任理事。大會應選舉六國充非常任理事，此六國之任期定為

會

應指定三國任期一年，另三國任期二年，非常任理事任滿時，不得立即選連任。

第二節 主要職權：(一) 為保證本組

續行動迅速與有效起見，各會員國應於會章

中，以維持國際和平與安全主要責任加諸安

全理事會，各會員國并應同意，安全理事會

於執行此項職務時，應代表各會員國(二)

安全理事會於執行此項職務時，應遵守本組

織之宗旨與原則。(三) 為執行此項職務而

給予安全理事會之特定權力詳第八章。(四)

各會員國應負責接受安全理事會之決議，並

依據會章，予以執行(五) 為增進國際和

平安全之樹立與維持，而儘量避免世界人力

物力之用於軍備起見，安全理事會藉軍事

to in Chapter VIII, Section 6. paragraph 9, should have the responsibility, for formulating plans for the establishment of a system of registration of armaments for submission to the members of the organization.

**Section C** Voting, Note The question of voting procedure in the security council is still under consideration.

**Section D** Procedure 1. The security council should be so organized as to be able to function continuously and each state member of the security council should be appropriately represented at the headquarters of the organization. It may hold meetings at such other places as in its judgement may be best to facilitate its work. There should be periodic meetings at which each state member of the security council could in its desire be represented by a member of the government or some other special representative. 2. The security council should be empowered to set up such bodies or agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions including regional subcommittees of the military staff committee. 3. The security council should adopt its own rules of procedure, including the methods of selecting its president. 4. Any member of the organization should participate in the discussions of any question brought before the security council whenever the security council considers that the interests of that member of the organization are specially affected. 5. Any member of the organization not having a seat on the

謀委員會之協助，應負責擬具樹立管制軍械制度之計劃，向各會員國建議。

**第三節 投票：**關於安全理事會中投票程序 尚未決定。

**第四節 程序：**(一) 安全理事會之組織，應使其能繼續不斷工作。每一理事國應有常川駐會代表，倘有必要，安全理事會議得在他處舉行。安全理事會應有定期會議，各理事國得派政府大員或其他特殊代表出席。

。(二) 安全理事會認為執行職務有必要時。

得設立各種機構，包括軍事參謀委員會之地方分會。(三) 安全理事會之辦事程序，由

該會自定之。包括推選其主席之方式。(四) 倘安全理事會對任何提出該會問題之討論，

認為某一非常理事會員之利益，將受特殊影響，則該非理事會員應參加討論。(五) 任何非理事會會員國，或任何未曾參加本組織

security council and any state not a member of the organization, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the security council, should be invited to participate in the discussion relating to the dispute.

#### Chapter VII. Court of Justice

1. There should be an international court of justice which should constitute the principal judicial organ of the organization. 2. The court should be constituted and should function in accordance with a statute which should be annexed to and be a part of the charter of the organization. 3. The statute of the court of international justice should be either (a) the statute of the permanent court of international justice, continued in force with such modifications as may be desirable, or (b) a new statute in the preparation of which the statute of the permanent court of international justice should be used as a basis. 4. All members of the international organization should in so far as possible be parties to the statute of the international court of justice. 5. Conditions under which states or members of the organization may become parties to the statute of the international court of justice should be determined in each case by the general assembly upon recommendation of the security council.

Chapter VIII. Arrangements for the maintenance of international peace and including prevention and suppression of aggression.

Section A. Pacific settlement of disputes. 1. The security council should

之國家，若係爭端之一造，均應被參加安全

理員會關於該項爭端之討論。

### 第七章 國際法院

(一) 應設立一國際法院，以爲本組織

之主要司法機關。(二) 該法院之組織與職

務，應依規程辦理，此項規程，應附於本組

織合章之後，作爲合章之一部份。(三) 國

際法院之規程應爲：(甲) 以國際常設法院原

有之規程，而略加修改者，或爲(乙) 以國

際常設法院之規程爲根據，而草成之新規程

。 (四) 所有會員國，均應爲參加此項國際

法院規程之一份子。(五) 非會員國成爲

參加此項國際法院規程一份子之條件，應由

大會經安全理事會之建議，就個別情形決定

之。

### 第八章 維持國際和平與安

全包括防止與抑制

侵略之辦法

第一節 和平解決爭端：(一) 安全理

be empowered to investigate any dispute in order to determine whether its continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. 2. Any state whether member of the organization or not may bring any such dispute of situation to the attention in the general assembly or of the security council. 3. The parties to any dispute the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security should obligate themselves, first of all to seek a solution by resowing or mediation, conciliation, or arbitration of judicial settlement or other measures of their own choice. The security council should call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means. 4. If nevertheless the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 3 above fail to settle it by the means indicated in that paragraph, they should obligate themselves to refer it to the security council. The security council should in each case decide whether or not the continuance of the particular dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security and accordingly, whether the security council should deal with the dispute, and if so, whether it should take action, under paragraph 5. 5. The security council should be empowered, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 3 above, to recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment. 6. Justifiable disputes

事會應有權調查任何爭端，或任何可能引起國際關係或爭端之情勢，以決定其存在是否將危及國際和平與安全之維持。(一)任何一國不論其是否為會員國，得將此項爭端或情勢，提請大會或安全理事會注意。(二)各會員國遇有任何可能危及國際和平與安全之爭端時，應負責儘先利用交涉、和解、調解、仲裁，或司法解決，或任何其他可行選擇之和平方法，尋求解決，安全理事會應令各會員國以此類方法解決其爭端。(三)任何爭端之各會員國，若不能以上述和平方法解決其爭端，則該會員國應負責將爭端提交安全理事會，安全理事會對每一爭端，應先決定其繼續存在，是否將妨害國際和平與安全之維持，並依此而決定安全理事會是否應處理此項爭端，以及若應處理，安全理事會是否應根據第五項採取行動。(四)在第三項所述爭端之任何階段，安全理事會應有權建議適當之程序或解決方法。(五)在尋常情形下，司法性質之爭端，應提交國際法院。

should normally be referred to the international court of justice. The security council should be empowered to refer to the court for advice, legal questions connected with other disputes. 7. The provisions of paragraph 1 to 6 of Section A should not apply to situations or disputes arising out of matters which by international law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the state concerned.

*Section B—Determination of threats to the peace or acts of aggression and action with respect thereto.* 1. Should the security council deem that a failure to settle a dispute in accordance with procedures indicated in paragraph three of Section A, or in accordance with its recommendations made under paragraph five of Section A, constitutes a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security, it should take any measures necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the organization. 2. In general the security council should determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression and should make recommendations or decide upon the measures to be taken to maintain or restore peace and security. 3. The security council should be empowered to determine what diplomatic, economic or other measures not involving the use of armed force, should be employed to give effect to its decisions, and call upon members of the organ-

安全理事會應有權與其他性質之爭端有關之法律問題，提交法院，請提供意見。(七)

第七節中第一項至第六項之規定，不適用於國際法所認為屬於國內法權範圍以內之事項所產生之情勢或爭端。

第二節 威脅和平及侵略行為之判斷，及應付此種情形之辦法：(一)倘安全理事會認為某一爭端，未照第一節第三項所規定之程序，或未照第一節第五項所述之建議解決，即成為對國際和平及安全之威脅時，應按照本組織之宗旨及原則，採取必要辦法，以維持國際和平及安全。(二)大體上，安全理事會應判斷任何和平威脅，和平破壞，或侵略行為之存在，並應建議或決定維持或恢復和平及安全之辦法。(三)安全理事會國有權決定採取武力以外之外交，經濟，或其他辦法，以實施其決議，並促請本組織之會員國，執行此種辦法。此種辦法，可包括鐵路、海運、航空、郵電、無線電、及其他

ization to apply such measures. Such measures may include complete or partial interruption of rail, sea, air postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication and the severance of diplomatic and economic relations. 4. Should the security council consider such measures to be inadequate, it should be empowered to take such action by air, naval or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade and operations by air, sea or land forces of members of the organization. 5. In order that all members of the organization should contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, they should undertake to make available to the security council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements concluded among themselves, armed forces, facilities and assistance necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security. Such agreement or agreements should govern the numbers and types of forces and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided. The special agreement or agreements should be negotiated as soon as possible and should in each case be subject to the approval by the security council and to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their constitutional processes. 6. In order to enable urgent military measures to be taken by the organization there should be made

交通工具之全部或局部停止，及外交與經濟關係之斷絕。(四)如安全理事會認爲此項辦法，尚不充足，應有權採取必要之海陸空軍行動，以維持或恢復國際和平及安全。此項行動，可包括本組織會員國用了陸空軍封鎖，示威，及其他軍事行動。(五)爲使本組織之所有會員國對於維持國際和平及安全有所貢獻起見，應於安全理事會發表命令時，按照其和宜訂定之特別協定，負責提供必要之軍隊，及其他便利與援助，以達到維持國際和平及安全之目的。此項協定，應規定軍隊之數目與種類，以及便利及援助之性質。此項協定，應儘速面定，每一協定，應由安全理事會核准，並由簽字國依照其憲法手續批准之。(六)爲使本組織得以採取緊急軍事措施起見，本組織之會員國，應將其國內空軍部隊加以準備，以便實行國際共同行動時，即可調遣，此項部隊之實力與準備之程

immediately available by the members of the organization national air contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action should be determined by the security council with the assistance of the military staff committee within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in paragraph five above. 7. The action required to carry out the decision of the security council for the maintenance international peace and security should be taken by all the members of the organization in cooperation or by some of them as the security council may determine. This undertaking should be carried out by the members of the organization by their own action and through action of the appropriate specialized organizations and agencies of which they are members. 8. Plans for the application of armed forces should be made by the security council with the assistance of the military staff committee referred to in paragraph nine below. 9. There should be established a military staff committee, the functions of which should be to advise and assist the security council on all questions relating to the security council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, to the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal to the regulation of armaments, and to possible disarmament. It should be

度，及其共同出動之計劃，應由安全理事會藉軍事參謀委員會之協助，在特別協定範圍內，或第五項所述之協定範圍內決定之。

(七) 為執行安全理事會關於維持和平與安全之決議而採取之行動，該由本組織全體會員國共同担任，或照安全理事會之決定，由若干會員國担任之，此項義務，應由會員國採取單獨行動，或經由其所參加之特種組織機關，採取共同行動以履行之。(八) 武力使用之計劃，應由安全理事會藉下列第九項所述之軍事參謀委員會之協助擬定之。(九) 本組織設立一軍事參謀委員會，其職務為協助與貢獻意見與安全理事會，如關於維持和平軍事需要問題，如提供安全理事會軍隊之使用及統率問題，軍備之管理問題，及可能之軍縮問題，並在安全理事會之下：對於提供安全理事會之武力，負職掌上之指揮責

responsible under the security council for the strategic direction of all armed forces placed at the disposal of the security council. The committee should be composed of the chiefs of staff of the permanent members of the security council or their representatives. Any member of the organization not permanently represented on the committee should be invited by the committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the committee's responsibilities require that such a state should participate in its work. The questions of command of forces should be worked out subsequently. 10. The members of the organization should join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the security council. 11. Any state, whether member of the organization or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of measures which have been decided upon by the security council should have the right to consult the security council in regard to a solution of those problems.

### Section C.—Regional Arrangements.

1. Nothing in the charter should preclude the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided such arrangements of agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the organization. The security

任。委員會應由安全理事會中常任理事國之參謀總長或代表組織之。本組織中之任何會員國：凡在軍事參謀委員會中之未有經管代表者，如該國參加工作對於執行職務效率上為必需時，應即邀請該國參加，以收協助之效。關於統率軍隊問題，應以協議辦法，再行擬定。(十)本組織會員國應共同互助以實施安全理事會之決議；(十一)任何國家，不論是否當本組織之會員國，如因執行安全理事會之決議，而發生特殊問題，及經濟問題時，應有權與安全理事會會商，以謀解決此項問題。

第三節 區域辦法：(一)本組織會章中之任何規定，並不排除區域組織之存在，俾得應付以就地處理為宜之維持國際和平及安全之事件。惟此項辦法或組織，及其行動，均須與本組織之宗旨及原則相符。安理

Council should encourage settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies, either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the security council. 2. The security council should, where appropriate, utilize such arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority, but no enforcement action should be taken under regional arrangement or by regional agencies without the authorization of the security council. 3. The security council should, at all times, be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

#### Chapter IX Arrangements for International Economic and Social Cooperation.

Section A — Purpose and Relationships. 1. With the view to the creation of conditions of stability well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations, the organization should facilitate solutions of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems and promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The responsibility for the discharge of this function should be vested in the general assembly and under the authority of the general assembly, in an economic and social council. 2. The various specialized economic, social and other organizations and agencies would have responsibilities

事會對於地方爭執，應鼓勵依據當事國之請求或安全理事會之授權，利用此項區域辦法及區域組織以解決之。(二)安全理事會認為必要時，得利用此項辦法或組織，以執行其權下應採取之行動。但如無安全理事會之授權，區域辦法或區域組織，不得有任何執行行動。(三)安全理事會對於區域辦法，區域組織，為維持國際和平及安全所採取之行動或將採取之行動，應經常得有完全之情報。

### 第九章 國際經濟與社會合作辦法

#### 第一節 宗旨與關係：(一)為造成國

際間和平友好關係所必需之安定與幸福情況起見，本組織應設法便利國際經濟社會以及其他人道問題之解決，並促進對人權與基本自由之尊重，執行此項工作之責任，應由大會與在大會權力下所設立之經濟與社會理事會負之。(二)各項特種經濟社會等組織，應對其規程所規定之分內事件，各負其責，

in their respective field as defined in their status. Each such organization or agency should be brought into relationship with the organization on terms to be determined by an agreement between the economic and social and the appropriate authorities of the specialized organization or agency subject to approval by the general assembly.

**Section B—Composition and Voting.** The economic and social council should consist of representatives of 18 members of the organization. The states to be represented for this purpose should be elected by the general assembly for terms of three years. Each state should have one representative, who should have one vote.

**Section C.—Decisions of economic and social council** be taken by a simple majority vote of those present and voting. 1. The economic and social council should be empowered: a. To carry out, within the scope of its functions, recommendations of the general assembly. b. To make recommendations, on its own initiative, with respect to international economic, social and other humanitarian matters. c. To receive and consider reports from the economic, social and other organizations or agencies brought into relationship with the organizations and to coordinate their activities through consultations with, and recommendations to, such organizations or agencies. d. To examine the administrative budgets of such specialized organizations or agencies

每一此項組織，應與本組織發生關係，其條件應由經濟與社會理事會與各該組織約定，而經由大會批准。

**第二節 組織與投票：經濟與社會理事會**，應以十八會員國代表組織之，由大會選舉，任期三年。此十八會員國，各出一代表，有一投票權。經濟與社會之決議，以該會投票之多數決定之。

**第三節 經濟與社會理事會之職權。**經濟與社會理事會應有權：(一) 執行大會有關之建議。(二) 對有關國際經濟社會及其他人道事件，自動建議。(三) 接受並考慮各項特種經濟社會組織之報告，並經由商洽與建議而和調各項特種組織工作。(四) 審查此項特種組織之行政預算，俾對此項組織提供意見。(五) 使秘書長得對安全理事會

with a view to making recommendations to the organizations or agencies concerned. e. To enable the secretary general to provide information to the security council. f. To assist the security council upon its request and their functions within the general scope of its competence as may be assigned to it by the general assembly.

*Section D. — Organization and Procedure.* 1. The economic and social council should set up an economic commission, a social commission and such other commissions as may be required. These commissions should consist of experts. There should be a permanent staff which would constitute a part of the secretariat of the organization. 2. The economic and social council should make suitable arrangements for representatives of the specialized organizations or agencies to participate without vote in its deliberations and in those of the commission established by it. 3. The economic and social council should adopt its own rules of procedure and the method of selecting its president.

#### *Chapter X. The Secretariat*

1. There should be a Secretariat comprising a secretary-general and such staff as may be required. The secretary-general should be the chief administrative officer of the organization. He should be elected by the general assembly, on recommendation of the security council, for such term and under such condition as are specified in the charter. 2. The secretary-general

供給情報。(六)對於完全理事會，經其請求時，予以協助。(七)添作大會指定之其他有關工作。

第四節 機構與程序 (一) 經濟與社會理事會，應設立一經濟委員會，一社會委員會，及其他必需之委員會。此項委員會，應由專家組成之，並應有常川辦事人員，該項人員，應為本組織秘書處之一部份。(二) 經濟與社會理事會，應允許各項特種組織，派遣代表，參加該理事會及其所設立之若干委員會之討論，但無投票權。(三) 經濟與社會理事會應自訂議事程序，以及其推選主席之方式。

### 第十章 秘書處

(一) 秘書處應包括一秘書長，及若干必要辦事人員，秘書長應為本組織行政人員之首長，由大會經安全理事會之推薦而選舉之。其任期與條件，於會章中規定之。(二) 秘書長應充大會安全理事會，以及經濟與社會

should act in that capacity in all meetings of the general assembly of the security council, and of the economic and social council and should make an annual report to the general assembly on the work of the organization. 3. The secretary-general should have the right to bring to the attention of the security council any matter which in his opinion may threaten international peace and security.

#### Chapter XI. Amendments

Amendments should come into force for all members of the organization when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the general assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by the members of the organization having permanent membership on the security council and by a majority of the other members of the organization.

#### Chapter XII. Transitional Arrangements

i. Pending the coming into force of the special agreement or agreements referred to in Chapter Eight, Section B, Paragraph Five, and in accordance with the provisions of Paragraph Five of the Four-Nation Declaration, signed at Moscow, Oct. 30 1943, the states parties to that declaration should consult with one another and as occasion arises with other members of the organization with a view to such joint action on behalf of the organization as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and

理事會一切會議之秘書長，並應每年向大會作一關於本組織之工作報告。(三)凡秘書長認為可能威脅國際和平及安全之事件，秘書長有權提請安全理事會注意。

#### 第十一章 修正

修正案之成立，必須經由大會會員國三分之二通過，並經安全理事會所有常任理事

國，以及半數以上之其他會員國，依照其本

國憲法程序而予以批准。

#### 第十三章 辦理過渡

(一)在第八章第二節第五項所述協定

尚未成立以前，依照莫斯科四國宣言第五

之規定，簽定該宣言之四國，應互相洽商，

並於必要時與本組織其他會員國洽商，

表本組織採取為維持國際和平與安全之宗旨

所必要之聯合行動。(二)本組織會章中之

任何規定，並不妨礙對敵負責採取行動之政

security. 2. No provision of the charter should preclude action taken or authorized in relation to enemy states as a result of the present war by the governments having responsibility for such action.

Note: In addition to the question of voting procedure in the security council referred to in Chapter Six several other questions are still under consideration.

府，因此次戰爭結果而對於敵國所採取之

執行之任何行動。

附註：除第六章所述之安全理事會投票程序問題尚未決定外，另有若干其他問題，亦尚在考慮中。

### Note and Annotations

中美英蘇四國之戰後世界和平機構會議，於八月二十一日起在華盛頓領事館橡樹分英美蘇與美中英兩階段舉行，業於十月七日開幕。對於商談維持和平與國際安全機構問題已獲圓滿結果，將此次商談中所同意之各項目標製成一國際組織建議案，作為將來聯合國全體會議時討論之基礎。四國約定於十月九日下午十一時（重慶時間）分別在重慶、華盛頓、倫敦、與莫斯科同時公布。

(1) “為達此目的”，“為此”（即指“為維持國際和平與安全”；= for that purpose）；(2) 此處作“實現”，“實行”解。(3) “得享有”（會員權利）。(4) = “in due course of time”，“俟時機成熟”；“及時”。(5) = “on behalf of the member”（上述之“會員國”）。(6) “so”代表“to be represented by a member of the government or some other special representative”，“各理事國，倘有此意，得派政府人員或其他特殊代表出席”。(7) “not having a seat”“非出席（= seat）”，故為“非”（理事會員國）。(He has in the parliament, 俾 He is a member of the Parliament)。(8) 拉丁語，“By the fact (or act) itself”，“事實上”，“行為上”。(9) = “If the security council should deem”，(10) “制定”，“規定”。(11) = “where it is appropriate”。(12) “待……之決定”。

## MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL REVIEWS BURMA CAMPAIGN

In a speech before the House of Commons, on

September 28, 1944

### 邱吉爾首相對緬甸戰局之檢討

一九四四年九月二十八日對英下院報告世界戰況中發表

I must again refer to the subject of the campaign in Burma, on which I touched in my last (1) statement to the House I was somewhat concerned to observe from my reading of the American press, which indulged that wide spread misconceptions exist in the public mind, so far as that is reflected by newspapers, about the skill of our efforts in Burma and the results to date (2) of Admiral Mountbatten's campaign.

Some very important organs of United States opinion seem to give the impression that the British campaign in Burma in 1944 has been a failure, or at least a stalemate, and that the campaign was redeemed by the brilliant capture of Myitkyina by General Stilwell at the head of an American regiment of very high class commando troops and with the assistance of Chinese. That is the picture. I must, therefore, set matters in true light.

It is well known that the United States has been increasingly engaged in establishing the air route to China, capable of carrying immense supplies and by astounding efforts and at a vast cost, they are now sending over the

余必再度提及緬甸之戰役，上次余對下院之聲明中，亦曾論及此點，余於閱美  
國報紙之餘，對於此事頗表關切。讀波士頓  
紙所反應者而論，彼國民衆對於吾人在緬甸  
作戰之技術，以及蒙巴頓將軍作戰迄今為止  
之效果，頗有誤解之處。

美國輿論界若干極重要之喉舌，似均認  
爲一九四四年英國在緬甸之作戰，極屬失敗  
。至少係處於停頓狀態，並無任何進展。  
是一戰役可見者，乃奧迪威將軍所部美軍  
精銳突擊部隊一團，於中國軍隊協助下攻佔  
密芝那之輝煌戰績。乃彼等於緬甸戰役之  
印象。因此余對於此中真象，必須加以刺透

美國確在加緊建立中國之空中路線，能  
運載大量之供應品。彼等藉藉人努力以及重  
大代價，已能以供應品飛過險惡之喜馬拉雅  
山。余不能確言其運輸量係幾倍於舊日航

terrible Himalayas, I will not say how many times as much as the Burma Road has ever carried in the best days, or will ever carry in years to come. This incredible feat of transport at 20,000 or 22,000 feet high in the air over ground where engine failure means certain death to the pilot, has been performed by the grand effort which the United States made in their passionate desire to aid the resistance of China. Certainly, no more prodigious example of strength, science and organization in this class of work has ever been seen or dreamt of.

Along the eastern frontiers of India stands the Fourteenth British Imperial Army, comprising the main war effort of India, including some of the famous Indian divisions from the Middle East and a substantial proportion of United Kingdom troops and divisions, together with some excellent native divisions from Africa— West Africa principally. This army, under Admiral Mountbatten, amounting to between 250,000 and 300,000 men— apart (s) from rearward operations which has by its aggressive operations guarded the base of the American air-line to China, and protected India against the horrors of Japanese invasion.

Once again, India and her vast population have responded sincerely, among the tumults and hurricanes of the world, behind the Imperial Forces. The fact must be noted that under British protection in the last 30 years comparably fewer people have perished by steel or firearms in India than in any other

和路之最高運輸量，或在未來期間可運輸多少物資。在二萬呎或二萬二千呎之高空從事此種運輸，實為難以置信之偉績。飛行員在所飛過之地面上，如引擎失效，且為必死無疑。完成此種偉績者，實為美國之偉大努力，實彼等切望援助中國之抗戰也。吾人對此類工作努力、科學，及組織方面，實未目睹，亦未夢及更偉大之例證。

印度之東部邊境一帶，有英帝國之第十四軍，為駐印英軍之主力。其中有曾在中東作戰而最著名之印度軍隊，以及相當英厚之英軍。此外尚有優秀之非洲土著軍隊，主要者為西非軍。此一軍在蒙巴頓將軍指揮之下，約有二十五萬至三十萬人，除嚴密保護以衛美國通中國航空線根據地外，並使印度得免於日軍侵入之恐懼。

印度及其廣大衆，目前瀕毀之世界狂風中，又再度搖蕩，這隨帝國軍隊忠誠作戰矣。有一事實吾人應為注意，即印度受不烈顛統治八十年以來，印度人民因戰死於

similar area or community throughout the globe. I think it is a notable fact that India has received this shelter and has been this vast harbour (4) of peace, protected by the armies and authority of Great Britain, and also by the care and attention of this House, in which the brave fighting races of India have at all times borne a most honourable and memorable part.

I regret to say that the fighting on the Burma front throughout the year has been most severe and continuous, and there were times when the issue in particular localities appeared to hang (5) in doubt. In Japanese divisions, which however were launched against us with the object of invading India and cutting the air line, have been repulsed and largely shattered, as the result of a bloody and costly campaign, which is still being continued, in spite of the monsoon (6) season.

How costly this campaign has been in disease may be judged from the fact that in the first six months only of this year the 14th British Imperial Army sustained no fewer than 237,000 cases of sickness, which had to be evacuated to the rear over long and difficult communications and tended in hospital. More than 90 per cent of these cases returned within 6 months, but the ceaseless drain upon the army and the much larger number required to maintain it, in spite of this drain, at fighting strength — in the neighbourhood of 25,000 men — will be imagined. When you have the loss and drain like that, much larger numbers are needed to maintain the

印度本土者，遠不及死於世界其他頗大印度地區內之人民死於本土者之多。余以為印度廣大地面之得以成為和平福地，係有大不烈如帝國政府及軍隊之保護，以及下院 貴族注意所致。下院對印度各族人民迭次參加帝國英勇作戰，向視為光榮之紀念，此一事實，應為吾人注意也。

緬甸方面一年來之戰爭，既為激烈且連續不斷，故有時在某特殊地點，勝負難立時分曉，此為余對諸君報告之餘，所引為遺憾之事。然而吾人對敵攻勢以阻礙入印度並切斷航空線之十師日軍，經代價甚昂之血戰後，已被我軍擊退，且大部遭過重創。目前雖在雨季，該地戰事仍在繼續中。

據以本年上半論，英國第十四軍在緬甸患病者，達二十三萬七千起。患病官兵須經長途及困難道路運至後方醫院救治。吾人於此可知吾人於緬甸戰役與疾病戰鬥之代價為如何也。在上記同一時期內，患病官兵病愈返前線者約佔全數百分之九十強。英軍軍力既因疾病有不測之消耗，且須維持超過此種消耗甚大數目之戰鬥力，故須增加二十五萬人左右，此吾人不難想像及之。吾人既知有此傷亡及消耗，為保持實力起見

fighting strength. In addition to this, we have suffered over 50,000 battle casualties in the first 6 months — that is to say, to the end of June — and the number has certainly increased by now.

I think these facts ought to be known and given wide publicity, as I am sure they will be now that I have stated them, because the campaign of Admiral Mountbatten on the Burma frontier constitutes — and this is the startling fact — the largest and most important ground fight that has yet taken place against the armies of Japan. Far from being an insignificant or disappointing stalemate, it constitutes the greatest collision which has yet taken place on land with Japan, and has resulted in the slaughter of between 50,000 and 60,000 Japanese — and the capture of several hundred prisoners.

The Japanese army has before our troops been heavily mauled. We did not ask them to come there, and it is entirely by their own choice they found themselves in this difficult position. We must, however, expect a renewal of Japanese fighting after the monsoon is over, and every preparation is being made to meet it with the utmost vigour. The engagement of the Japanese on the largest possible scale is certainly part of the essential wearing down process, which marks the present phase of the war against Japan. This fighting, our 14th Army has certainly discharged with the greatest fidelity and success, despite the heavy toll. I trust this toll will be markedly reduced in future

，則增加實力自為必然之事。半年之中，除因疾病消耗外，截至本年六月為止，我軍傷亡超過五萬人，目前更不止此數矣。

余以為吾人當以此類事實公佈於世，或著在此刻當余向諸君報告之際業已宣佈，蓋蒙巴頓將軍所統率之英軍在緬甸印邊境作戰實為一驚人之事實。英軍不但為對日作戰以來地面作戰規模最大之部隊，且為具有重要性能最大之部。由此可知英軍遠非無關重要之作戰部隊，亦非作戰陷於停頓之部隊，實為在地面上對敵首當其衝之部隊，曾殺敵五六萬人，並俘獲數百名。

日軍受我軍之打擊，甚為重大，彼等陷於此困難局勢係咎由自取，非吾人招其前來緬印邊境也。吾人目前正作一身有力準備，以應付雨季結束後日軍或將重新發動之攻勢。吾人目前對日作戰規模之大實為盡吾人力所能為者，然在對日作戰現階段戰略上應以消耗其實力為主要部份。我英第十四軍，雖受重大傷亡，但對日作戰，確表現最大之忠勇與功績，余望傷亡人數在未來作戰中大可

operations.

I can assure the House that the war against the Japanese and other diseases in the jungle will be pressed forward with the utmost energy. I must, however, note with keen regret that in spite of the lavish (7) American help afforded to China that country has suffered severe military reverses, including the loss of valuable airfields upon which the American air forces, under General Chennault were operating. It is most disappointing and vexatious.

On behalf (8) of the British Government nearly two years ago I assured President Roosevelt that Great Britain would pursue the war against Japan with all her strength and resources to the very end and, as I explained to the U. S. Congress when I last addressed them, we have losses to repair and injuries to repay on Japanese account, (9) at least equal to if not greater than those suffered by the United States.

We owe (10) it (11) also to Australia and New Zealand to help them to remove for ever the Japanese menace to their homelands and as they have helped us on every front in the fight against Germany, we will certainly not be behind-hand (12) in giving them effective aid. Our perseverance in this quarrel is not to be doubted. I offered some time ago to embody this undertaking in a definite treaty, but the president made the courteous reply that the British word was enough. That word we shall certainly make good, (13)

Accordingly, we have offered the

減少。

余可向下院保證對日之戰與對森林疾病之戰，將以最大努力進行之。美國對中國之資助實為豐富，然該國仍遭受軍事上嚴重挫敗，此種損失包括陳納德將軍領導之空軍作戰實貴基地在內。余於注意此事之餘，深為惋惜，蓋此令吾人極為失望並為慮也。

余猶憶及約在兩年前曾對羅斯福總統保證云：大不列顛必以全力及用一切手段對日作戰到底。余又於上次對美國參議院演講時，曾闡述英帝國因對日作戰所蒙受之損失及傷害，若不大於美國於對日作戰所蒙受者，至少亦必相等。

吾人亦有輕澳大利及紐西蘭使日本之威脅從其境內永遠掃除。彼等既在各戰場協助吾人對德作戰，吾人對彼等所予之有效協助自不應稍有遲緩。吾人對日爭鬥必須有恆心，此蓋無絲毫懷疑之地。余前曾要求以帝國堅決對日作戰之意用條約確定之，但羅斯福總統之回答極為客氣云：大不列顛人口頭上所云即為已足。吾人定將守信以補足吾人所云一切也。

為此，吾人已將吾人一精良之近代海軍

United States a fine modern fleet, and we have asked that it should be employed in major operations against Japan. This offer was at once cordially accepted. A large portion of this fleet is already gathered in the Indian Ocean. For the past year our modern battleships have been undergoing a further measure of modernisation and tropicalisation to meet the rapid wartime changes in technical apparatus.

We hope to place in the Pacific a fleet capable in itself of fighting a general action with the Japanese Navy and which added to the far greater United States naval power should give naval command of all these vast ocean spaces and sea of a most complete and decisive character. One must also certainly contemplate that a phase in the war against the Japanese will be severe, intense, prolonged and ever-increasing air bombardment, to which the Japanese mainland installations and munitions centres will be subjected. In this, also we shall bear our part to the utmost limit which bases will allow.

As far as land or amphibious operations, which the British Empire will conduct, these must rightly be veiled in mystery. Suffice (it) to say that the scale of our effort will be limited only by the available shipping. In this, however, we may presently receive magnificent addition. The end of the U-boat war, when it comes, will allow us to go out of convoy in the Western hemisphere, and thus perhaps and at least 25 per cent to the carrying capacity of our mercantile

交美國指揮，吾人祇求美國將此海軍用此對日本作主力戰。美國立即接收此事。該艦隊大部份已集中印度洋。一年以來，吾人之近代戰艦業已進一步改良，使其在武器方面適合戰爭時所發生之一切變化。

吾人希望能派遣海軍在太平洋上與日本海軍從事大戰。吾人之海軍與較吾人在該戰場海軍更龐大之美國海軍合作，應能在此等海洋區域獲得最完全與最真決定性之制海權。吾人可以想像在對日作戰階段中，戰事必為最嚴重，緊張，並延長以至日本本部一切軍事建築物及製造軍火中心地帶，均將遭受吾人不斷轟炸。關於此種任務，吾人將利用吾人基地盡最大限度力量為之。

關於吾人對日在陸地上及水陸并行之作戰計劃，目前自應嚴守秘密。吾人祇須明言將盡量利用船隻推進戰事即足。就船隻一項言，吾人將有補充。俟潛艇戰爭結束，吾人在西半球無須採用護航之時，則吾人商船及

marine, and more in the case of takers.

I must, however, and a word of caution against taking a too optimistic view of the speed at which those great transferences of forces can be made from one side of the world to the other. Not only will Allied shipping, vast though it is and far greater than at the beginning of the war, not only will it be a limiting factor, but the development of bases, the accumulating of stores and supplies, and the construction and protection of airfields, all impose restraints upon those vivid imaginative strategists, who carry fleets and armies across the globe as easily as they would help themselves to a plate of soup. The huge distances and tropical conditions and other physical facts, added to the desperate resistance of the enemy, make the war against Japan an enterprise of the first magnitude and it will be necessary to use to the full the resources, machinery and science to enable our armies to do their work under the most favourable conditions, and with least sacrifice of Allied life.

When all these aspects are considered, the House may rest assured that the entire brain and technical power of Britain and the United States will be ceaselessly employed and, having regard to the results which have already been obtained in so many directions, one may feel with confidence that it will not be employed in vain.

運輸之戰況至少可增加現有之四分之一。

雖然，余必須向世人警告，海運之

全球調遣軍隊至太平洋一戰，不可過於

。同盟國現有船隻被擊毀時大為增

其間大戰日本身既已便調動受限制；且擴

充基地，增加倉庫及供應品，建築並保護預

機場，實為一般空軍訓練專家之障礙，彼輩

意以為調遣海陸軍橫過地球易若俯首飲食，

殊不知極長距離，熱帶情況，及其他必要

之外，仍有敵人決死抵抗，在在使吾人對

日之戰事成為艱鉅任務。因此吾人必須

利用一切實力，器械及科學，使吾人軍隊在

極有利條件之下，並以極少同盟軍隊生命之

犧牲，遂向其任務。

下諸君對上述各方面加以顧慮之後，

可深信英美兩國將不斷運用全國人民腦力及

機械以赴之。吾人察及其他在方面業已獲得

之種種結果，當可深信吾人未來對日之努力

不至徒勞也。

## Annotations

( 565 )

(1) 指上月二日在下院對職局報告。(2) “迄今為止”，“到現在”，形容“results”。“We have received from him three reports to date, 吾人迄今為止，共收到彼報告三件。(或“up to date”; “up-to-date”合成一字為形容詞“入時”，“最新式”)。His views are not up-to-date”，彼之見解已不合時宜，即“out-of-date”，“out-of-fashion”)。(3) “除……外”。He has been very lucky, apart from his industry, 除謹慎外，彼一氣運亦甚佳。(4) “港埠”(能停泊之港口必為)“安穩地”，“庇護處所”，標隱喻。The home is the harbour of safety for the child, 家庭為兒童之安全庇護地。(5) “躊躇”，“不定”Japan's defeat hangs in no doubt(=does not hang between two opinions)，日本之失敗實為毫無可疑者。(6) 亞洲南部自四月至十一月之季節雨。(7) 邱吉爾用“lavish”一字，實為不明詞，蓋英國並未“豐富”供應我國也。He has lavished money on his friends, 彼過分以錢資助友人。(8) “代表”：I spoke on (in) behalf of them (on their behalf)，彼代表彼等發言。(9) “因”I feel sad on her account, 余因伊而愁慮。(10) “蒙”，“賴”。He owes his success to you, 彼之成功，有賴於君。(11) “it”指“to help……”。(12) “補延”，“善後”。He is always behindhand in his lessons, 彼於功課常為善後。(13) “補償”，I will make good what is needed, 所需之物，余決補足之。(14) “謂……足矣”，Suffice it to say that China will never give up her fight for peace, 中國決不放棄為謀取和平之戰爭，此言已足。

DR. V. K. WELLINGTON KOO'S STATEMENT AT THE DUMBARTON  
OAKS CONFERENCE

Made at the closing session, October 7, 1944

顧維鈞博士對頓巴敦橡樹和平機  
構會議之聲明

一九四四年十月七日該會舉行閉幕式時發表

I have listened with deep appreciation to the generous tribute (1) which you, Mr. Chairman (Edward Stettinius) paid to the Chinese Delegation and the fair appraisal which you have made of the work of the second phase of the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations. I wish to say how grateful we, the Chinese delegation, feel toward you, Mr. Chairman, for having acted as the chairman of our meeting over which you have presided (2) with such marked ability and unflinching courtesy. We wish also to express our thanks for the hospitality (3) of the United States which left nothing to be desired (4) in affording facilities for our meetings and the comfort of the Chinese delegates. The efficient secretariat provided by the State Department also has been a very great help to us in our work.

In our deliberations we found the achievement of the first phase of the conversations excellent groundwork. The set of proposals which has now received the endorsement (5) of the different participating delegations furnished a

鄙人聆悉主席(指斯退丁紐斯)之盛讚敬

國代表團及頓巴敦會議第二階段之成就後，

深為欣感。余願聲明，敝國代表團全體人員

對於主席之主持此次會議，且其所表現之精

明幹練與勤奮不懈之精神，極其感謝。至於

美國政府招待之週到，例如會議之佈置，與

對代表之供應，尤堪感謝。美國國務院為此

次會議所組織之秘書處工作，極有效率，對

於吾人為助甚多。

當吾人會商之際，發現會談之第一階段

之成就乃一極優異之基礎。各與會代表團所

同意之各項建議，堪為組成一維持和平與安

preliminary and concrete plan for the formation of an international organization to maintain peace and security. We hope that fruits of our labor will contribute in the end (6) to the strengthening of a foundation of this new structure to be reared.

From the outset (7) we were animated by an earnest desire to promote the success of our joint task. We were glad and delighted to be able to say that our spirit of collaboration is fully reciprocated (8) by our colleagues on the American and British delegations. At all meetings, we had, whether of the plenary session, the steering committee, the formulation group or of the military experts, an atmosphere of frankness and cordiality prevailed. The learning and wisdom of our American and British colleagues made a deep impression on us. All this made our deliberations and participation both pleasant and profitable.

We believe that this important series of conversations initiated by the United States has accomplished its purpose. The set of the agreed proposals when approved by the four governments and finally embodied in a more complete form will constitute a most valuable instrument for consideration and adoption by all the interested nations at a general conference. It is our hope that this conference can be held in the near future so that the ardent wish of all peace-loving peoples to see the establishment of a universal organization to safeguard the international peace and

全之國際機構之初步與其設計畫。吾人希望

其辛苦之結果，終將增強此將待建立之新機

構之基礎。所貢獻，

並對吾儕自始即渴望促成我共同工作之

成功亦有所貢獻。吾儕所引為欣幸者，即我

英美同僚亦以合作之精神回報我國代表之合

作精神。此際次會議無論其為全體會，指導

委員會會議，抑或軍事專家之會議，咸皆充

滿一種坦率與誠摯之空氣。我英美同僚之學

問與智慧，對於吾人亦造成一深刻之印象。

凡此一切，已使吾儕之參加會議與從事會商

者咸感益快，並深獲其益。

吾儕深信美國政府所倡之此種有歷史

重要性之會談，業已達成其目的。而我等所

議定之各項建議，將來一經四國政府批准，

並具有一更完全之形式時，堪為將來各有關

國家舉行大會時該區與採擇之一最有價值之

文件。吾人希望此項會議在最近將來即可舉

行。而所有愛好和平之民族亦渴望在聖歷此

security, after the achievement of victory over our common enemy in the East and in the West may be fulfilled.

兩方之共同敵人後，建立一保證國際和平與安全之世界機構也。

### Annotations

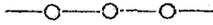
(1) "to pay tribute", "敬揚"。In his speech, he paid great tribute to the people for their support, 彼在演說中極讚民衆之擁護。(2) "主持開會"。As the president was absent, the vice-president presided over the meeting, 會長未到，副會長主持開會。(3) "慰勞招待"。We partook of hospitality of our host, 吾人甚受主人之招待。(4) "leave nothing (little)", "毫無遺憾"。He leaves much to be desired in his book, 彼書中實有不盡之處。(5) "贊成", "同意"。His proposal has won the indorsement of many, 彼建議博得多人之贊同。(6) "畢竟"。In the end, the men succeeded, 此人終於成功。(7) "自"。From the outset, the war was regarded as a long-drawn one, 在初期此戰爭即認為持久。(8) "回報"。I did him many favours, but he did not reciprocate, 余累次加惠於彼而彼未報答。

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S SPEECH BEFORE THE FOREIGN POLICY  
ASSOCIATION

Delivered on October 21, 1944, before the Association in New York City

羅斯福總統在美外交政策協會  
講演外交政策

一九四四年十月二十一日在紐約該會發表



Tonight I am speaking as a guest of the Foreign Policy Association — a distinguished organization composed of Americans of all shades of political opinion. I am going to talk about our American foreign policy. I am talking without rancor or snap judgment. I am speaking without losing (1) my temper or losing my head.

When the first World War ended, I believed — and I believe now — that an enduring peace in the world has not a chance unless this nation is willing to cooperate in winning and maintaining it. I thought then — and I know now — that we have to back (2) our words with deeds.

A quarter of a century ago we helped to save our freedom, but we failed to organize the kind of world in which future generations could live in freedom. Opportunity knocks again. There is no guarantee that it will knock a third time.

Today, Hitler and the Nazis continue the fight — desperately, inch by inch —

余今雖以來賓地位，出席由抱有種種不同政見團體所組成之著名外交政策協會演講美國外交政策。余演辭中不帶任何偏頗或輕率評判。余講演時既不令個人表示憤怒，亦不令個人失去理解。此余所深預為聲明者也。

當第一次世界大戰結束之時，余如今日深信美國誠不願與世界其他國家合作，以求得世界永久和平并保持之，則世界永久和平毫無希望。彼時余作如是想，此時余深知吾人必須以事實作吾人主張之後盾。

約在二十五年前，吾人曾協助拯救吾人之自由，但吾人未能組織一種為後代自由生活所必需之世界，故吾人之努力全告失敗。目前此種機會又已到期，恐吾人不能担保再有第三次機會。

目前希特勒及納粹黨徒仍在繼續作殊死戰，寸土必爭。此等吾人大軍向柏林推進

and may continue to do so all the way to Berlin. And we have another important engagement in Tokyo. No matter (3) how long or hard that road is we must travel it. Our forces will fight their way there under the leadership of MacArthur and Nimitz.

All of our thinking about foreign policy in this war must be conditioned (4) by the fact that millions of our American boys are today fighting many thousands of miles from home, for the defense of our country and the perpetuation of our American ideals, and there still will be many hard and bitter battles to be fought.

The leaders of this nation have always held that concern for our national security and at our borders. President Monroe (5) and every president following him were prepared to use force, if necessary, to assure the independence of other American nations threatened by aggressors from across (6) the seas. The principle has not changed, though the world has. Wars are no longer fought from horse back, or from the decks of sailing ships. (7)

It was with a recognition of that fact that in 1933 we took, as the basis of our foreign relations, the Good Neighbor Policy—the principle of a neighbor who, resolutely respecting himself, equally respects the rights of other. We and the other American republics have made the Good Neighbor Policy real in this hemisphere. It is my conviction that this policy can be, and should be, made universal. At Inter-American conferen-

中，將繼續死抗。此外，吾人又有對日之通  
大作戰。吾人不論前途如何遙遠艱難，必須  
向前推進。吾人大軍在尼米茲、麥克阿瑟兩  
將軍領導下，於對日作戰定可向前奮進也。  
目下數百萬美國青年離家數千里為防衛  
祖國，為永久保持美國理想，正從事作戰，  
且須繼續流戰無數艱苦戰鬥。吾人對此次世  
界大戰中外交政策之一切考慮，均受此一  
事實之限制。

我國歷代領袖對我國本身安全及對美洲  
境外，向抱有同樣關懷。門羅總統及其後任  
每一總統對美洲其他國家感受跨過海洋而卒  
之侵略威脅，皆準備在必要時用武力保證其  
獨立。世界固有變更，然此一原則仍為有  
效。但今日之戰爭已非昔日在馬背上或帆船  
甲板上決定勝負所能比擬矣。

吾人認識此點，故早於一九三三年即決  
定以善隣政策為吾人對外關係之基礎。此種  
善隣原則中之隣人應決心尊重自身而又同等  
尊重他人權利。美國及其他美洲共和國業已  
使善隣政策在名半球實現。余深信此一政策  
能普及，并應普遍實現。自一九三三年在瀝

ces, beginning at Montevideo in 1933 and continuing down to date, we have made it clear to this hemisphere that we practice what we preach.

### Philippine Independence

Our action in 1934 with respect to Philippine Independence was another step in working good the same philosophy which animated the Good Neighbor Policy. I said two years ago: "I like to think that the history of the Philippine Islands in the last 44 years provides in a very real sense a pattern of what men of good will look forward to in the future."

In July 1937 I tried to obtain a repeal of the Arms Embargo Provision in the Neutrality Law—which tied our hands against selling arms to the European democracies for defense against Hitler. The late Senator Borah told a group, which I called together in the White House, that his own private information from abroad was better than that of the State Department—and that there would be no war in Europe. And it was made plain to Mr. Hull and me that, because of the isolationist vote, we could not possibly hope to attain the desired revision of the Neutrality Law. This fact was also made plain to Adolf Hitler. A few weeks later, he brutally attacked Poland—and the second World War had begun.

In 1941 this Administration proposed, and Congress passed, despite the isolationist opposition, the Lend-Lease Law—a practical and dramatic notice to

時費多起，直至目下爲止，在累次所舉行之南北美國家會議中，吾人業已明申吾人所有主張在南北美勞非實行不可。

### 菲律賓之獨立

吾人在一九三四年關於菲律賓獨立所有措施，殆爲進一步實現善隣政策中之租界辦法。余在兩年半前即言明：「余以爲過去四十四年之菲律賓歷史，頗足爲世界其他善意民族作其本身前途之模範」，卽爲示明而證。

一九三九年七月余會企圖取消中立法案中之互火禁運辦法，蓋因是項辦法來時吾人不能售賣軍火與歐洲民主國家以抵抗希特勒也。但已故參議員波納當時對余在白金宮召集之團體云：彼私人自國外所得消息較國務院所得者爲佳，歐洲將無戰爭云云。因此聯邦國務卿公令申明，因孤立派投票反對，是以結無達到修改中立法案之希望。此一事實亦爲希特勒所聞悉，固于數星期後彼卽以暴力侵入波蘭，而第二次世界大戰於是起。

一九四一年現任政府不顧孤立派之反對，建議租借法案並在參院院通過之。吾人之租借法案實爲對全世界一種帶有實際性及

the world that we intended to help those nations resisting aggression. In these days—and I am now speaking of October 1944—I hear voices on the air (?) attacking me for my “failure” to prepare this nation for this war and for warning the American people of the approaching tragedy. These same voices were not so very audible five years ago—or even four years ago—giving warning of the grave peril which we then faced.

There have been, and there still are, in the Republican Party, distinguished men and women of vision and courage, both in and out of public office, who have vigorously supported our aid to our Allies and all the measures that we took to build up our national defense. And many of these Republicans have rendered magnificent services to our country in this war as members of this Administration. I am happy that one of these distinguished Americans is our great Secretary of War—Henry Stimson. Let us remember that this very war might have been averted (9) if Mr. Stimson's views had prevailed when, in 1931, the Japanese ruthlessly attacked Manchuria.

### Selective Service Law

The Majority of the Republican members of Congress voted against the Selective Service Law in 1940; they voted against the repeal of the Army Embargo Provisions in 1939; they voted against the Lend-Lease Law in 1941 and they voted in August 1941 against the extension of the Selective Service Law

戲劇性之申明，謂美國有意協助抵抗侵略之一切國家。雖然余在今日，一九四四年十月，作此演說時，仍可聞入廣播電訊，責余對促使美國對此次世界大戰之準備，反對喚醒國民共赴大難兩事，均告「失敗」。此種呼聲，惟不在五年，甚至四年前發出，對人彼時所預測之嚴重危局有所貢獻。

共和黨黨員，無論在政府機關內外，向有而且今日仍有以遠見及勇氣著稱之人。彼輩對美國協助同盟國，以及對政府所採取關於國防之一切措施，無不作有力之擁護。有多數共和黨黨員充任政府要職，協助國家作戰，皆助益昭著。我偉大之陸軍部長史汀生氏即此輩名震全國之一人，此為余所樂為諸君告者。余願吾人勿忘一九三一年日本侵略中國東北四省時，如史汀生之見解能為舉世所接受，此次戰爭可能避免。

### 兵役法

參院中之大多數共和黨議員在一九四〇年均反對兵役法；在一九三九年彼等反對廢除軍火禁運辦法；一九四一年反對租借法案；

—which meant voting against keeping our Army together—four months before Pearl Harbor.

I am quoting history to you. I am going (10) by the record. And I am giving you the whole story and not merely a phrase here and half a phrase there picked out of the context in such a way that they distort (11) the facts. I happen to believe that, even in a political campaign, we should all obey that ancient injunction (12)—thou shalt not bear false witness against the neighbor. The question of the men who will formulate and carry out the foreign policy of this country is an issue (13) in this election—very much an issue. It is an issue not in terms of a partisan application, but in terms of sober, solemn facts—the facts that are on the record.

If the Republicans were to win control of Congress in this election, inveterate isolationists would occupy positions of commanding influence and power. I have already spoken of the ranking (14) Republican member of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Hiram Johnson. One of the most influential members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a man who would also be the Chairman of the powerful Senate Committee on Appropriations, is Senator Gerald P. Nye. In the House of Representatives, the man who is the present leader of the Republicans there, and who undoubtedly would be the Speaker, is Joseph W. Martin. He voted against the repeal of the Arms Embargo, against the Lend-Lease Bill, against the extension of the Selective Service Law,

同年八月，即珍珠港事件四月之前，反對延

長兵役法，此等於反對我國陸軍本身。

余目前係向諸君引證歷史事實，余所依據者為過去事實之記錄。余向諸君所報告者為一整個之故事，非為揭舉全文中之東一片段西一片段，故意曲解事實。余偶然思及，即在競選一事，吾人亦應遵守舊日禁誡「不可對隣人妄作見證」。此次大選中之一大問題為何人將制定并實行美國外交政策一點。此頗為一大爭執，但此一爭執之能由政見作解決之方式，應以嚴肅真實之事實，載明記錄之事實為解決之方式也。

設使共和黨在此次大選勝利得以控制參院，則頑強之孤立派將充任擁有指揮實力之政府位置。余已提及參院外交委員會之共和黨領袖委員羅森參議員，但參院外交委員會中有賴伊參議員，此君亦為其中最有力之人，或將充任強有力之參院經國動支委員會主席。下院共和黨現任領袖為馬丁君，彼於共和黨勝時定為下院議長。馬丁君為反對撤銷禁運，反對軍火辦法，反對租借法案，反

against the arming of merchant ships and against the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act and their extensions. The Chairman of the powerful Committee on Rules would be none other (15) than Hamilton Fish. There are many others like them in the Congress of the United States—and every one of them is actively campaigning for the national Republican ticket this year.

Can anyone really suppose that these isolationists have changed their minds about world affairs? Politicians who embraced the policy of isolationism—or who never raised their voices against it in our days of peril—are not reliable custodians of the future of America. There have been Democrats in the isolationist camp, but they have been few and far between, (16) and they have not obtained positions of leadership. And I am proud of the fact that this Administration does not have the support of the isolationist press—and I mean specifically the McCormick-Patterson-Hearst-Gannett press. The American people have gone through great national debates in the recent critical years. They were soul-searching debates. They reached from every city to every village and to every home.

### Fight for Freedom

We debated our principles and our determination to aid those fighting for freedom. Obviously, we could have come to terms (17) with Hitler, and accepted a minor role in his totalitarian world. We rejected that! We could have com-

對延長兵役法，反對商船武裝，反對互惠通

商協定及延長法案之人。強有力之法規委員

會主席則為費希君。美國參院中尚有其他如

上列之共和黨孤立派，其中每一人皆為目前

最極為共和黨競爭選民之人。

目前果有任何人真正認為此等孤立派對於世界大事已改變心意者乎。懷有孤立政策，或在吾人之危難時期中，從未高聲反對孤立政策之政客，均不能為美國前途可靠之監護人。孤立黨中雖亦有民主黨人，然其數目極少，且有間斷，並未獲得領導地位。

現任政府不受孤立派機關報之擁護，實引以為自豪，此類報紙亦特指明為麥克可密克，派特森，哥爾斯特，甘納特系報紙。在最近危難局面之數年中，我國人民固已親歷關於國策之重大辯論。此類辯論皆勝入人心，由都市蔓延至鄉村，轉至各人家庭。

### 為自由奮鬥

吾人會對吾人為擁護為自由作戰之主張與決心加以辯論。吾人顯然可與希特勒妥協，並接受其極權世界中之次要地位。然吾

promised with Japan, and bargained for a place in a Japanese-dominated Asia by selling out the hearts and blood of the Chinese people. And we rejected that!

The decision not to bargain with tyrants rose from the hearts and souls and sinews of the American people. They faced reality; they appraised reality; and they knew what freedom meant. The power which this nation has attained—the moral, the political, the economic and the military power—has brought to us the responsibility, and with it the opportunity, for leadership in the community of nations. In our own best interest, and in the name of peace and humanity, this nation cannot, must not, and will not shirk that responsibility.

There are some who hope to see a structure of peace, completely set up, immediately, with all the departments assigned to every one's satisfaction, with the telephone in, the plumbing complete, the heating system and the electric ice boxes functioning perfectly, all furnished with linen and silver—and with the rent pre-paid. The United Nations have not yet produced such a comfortable dwelling place. But we have given a very practical expression of a common purpose on the part of the four great nations to carry on together after the war is won,—a greater and more difficult enterprise—that of waging peace. We will embark (18) on it with all the peace-loving nations of the world—large and small.

Our objective, as I stated ten days ago, is to complete the organization of

人拒絕此舉。吾人亦不可與日本妥協；出賣中國人民之血肉；以與日本在其控制下之亞洲討價還價謀得利益。但吾人拒絕此舉。

不與暴者討價還價之決定實出於美國人民之本心與實力。彼等曾遭此現實，重現現實，且深知自由之意義。吾國因擁有道德，政治、經濟、及軍事各方面之力量，故自然負有責任，且擁有領導國際社會之機會。吾國為本身之最大利益以及和平與人道計，對於此種責任，不能畏縮，不應畏縮，且在事實上亦不。

若干之人希冀和平機構可即刻完全奠立，各人分受一室心滿意足，其中要有電話，鉛管、暖氣設備、電氣冰箱、效用美譽，室內皆有棉布級質刀叉供備，而且已預付房租。其實聯合國尚未能建造此種舒適之住宅。然而在四大強國方面業已表示之實際共同目的於戰事結束之後，俾能共同努力從事於更偉大，更艱鉅之樹立和平之大業。吾人將與世界愛好和平國家，不論大小，着手為之。

余早在十年前業已申述吾人之目標為在敵對行為實際停止之前，須完成聯合國機構

the United Nations without delay and before hostilities actually cease. Peace, like war, can succeed only where there is a will to enforce it, and where there is available a power to enforce it. The council of the United Nations must have the power to act quickly and decisively, to keep the peace, by force, if necessary. A policeman would not be a very effective policeman if, when he saw a felon break into a house, he had to go to a town and call a town meeting to issue a warrant before the felon could be arrested. It is clear that, if the world organization is to have any reality at all, our representative must be endowed in advance by the people themselves, by a constitutional means, through their representatives in Congress, with authority to act. If we do not catch the international felon when we have our hand on him, if we let him get away with his loot because the town council has not passed an ordinance authorizing his arrest, then we are not doing our share to prevent another world war. The people of the nation want their Government to act, and not merely to talk, whenever and wherever there is a threat to world peace.

### Dumbarton Oaks Conference

We cannot attain our great objective by ourselves. Never again, after cooperating with other nations in a world war to save our way of life, can we wash our hands (19) of maintaining the peace for which we fought.

The Dumbarton Oaks Conference did not spring up overnight. (20) It was called by Secretary Hull and me after

論，則不容緩。蓋和平一如戰爭，僅能在有實現和平意志，且有實現和平之實力存在之下，始能成功。因此聯合國籌備會議和平，必須有訂取明確及有決定性行動之權力，如必要時用武力。沒有預案目標係組織入彀，而必先也而謀召集會議，須發遣捕犯，然後再遣捕單犯，此人非為得力之警察。吾人既欲此輩有機轉成爲事實，則吾人之代表，在事前必須由民衆自身，根據憲法由代表彼等之國會，授權執行一切，此爲甚明顯之事也。當國際罪犯在吾人手中之時，吾人若因市議會傾向未通過議案沒權逮捕，任罪犯攜贓物以逃，而不立時逮捕，則吾人對阻止未亦世界之罪惡度發生。實亦繼吾人分內之責。吾人須知不論何時何地，世界和平受威脅時，吾人同胞所要求於政府者非僅在空談，實爲要求政府採取行動也。

### 頓巴敦橡樹會議

吾人單薄不能達到吾人之偉大目標。吾人與世界其他，察其共同作難使吾人生活之方式得以免於危亡之後，吾人有前事之鑒，再不借與吾人戰爭所獲之和平，再事擺盪不歸保持。

頓巴敦橡樹會議非於一夕之間即成者。

美國國務卿與余曾就執行之問題舉思考，

years of thought, discussion, preparation and consultation with our Allies. Our State Department did a splendid job in preparing for the conference and leading it to a successful termination. It was another chapter in the long process of cooperation with other peace-loving nations—beginning with the Atlantic Charter Conference, and continuing through the conferences at Casablanca, Moscow, Cairo, Teheran, Quebec and Washington. It is my profound conviction that the American people as a whole have a very real understanding of these things. The American people know that Cordell Hull and I are thoroughly conversant (21) with the Constitution of the United States and know that we cannot commit this nation to any secret treaties or any secret guarantees which are in violation of that Constitution. \*

After my return from Teheran, I stated officially that no secret commitments have been made. The issue then is between my veracity and the continuing assertions of those who have no responsibility in the foreign field—or perhaps I should say, a field foreign to them.

The peace structure which we are building must depend on foundations that go deep into the soil of men's faith and men's hearts—otherwise it is worthless. Only the unflagging will of men can preserve it. No president of the United States can make the contribution to preserve the peace without the constant, alert and conscious collaboration of the American people. Only the deter

討論、準備、并與各同盟國從事磋商。國務院對準備此次會議，并領導會議，使其有圓滿結果，厥功甚偉。此次會議實為由大西洋憲章會議起，繼續至卡薩蘭卡，莫斯科，開羅，德赫蘭，魁北克，華盛頓迭次會議以來，美國與世界其他愛好和平國家合作悠長歷史之新頁。吾深信我同胞全體對此等事實皆有真正之瞭解，同胞皆知蓋爾國務卿與余對美國憲法皆澈底精通，且知余等決不至違反憲法使美國受有任何秘密條約或任何秘密担保之束縛也。

當余自德黑蘭會議歸來時，曾正式申明絕未作任何秘密之委托。彼時余之真誠與不負外來責任—或者更確切言之，不暗外交一輩不事發表之見解，彼此對壘，以決雌雄。

吾人即將建立之和平結構，必須賴人類信念，人類心意為基礎，否則此種結構毫無價值。吾人之和平僅有人類不屈不撓之意志，始能保持之。美國總統無美國民衆堅定，機警，自覺之合作。對和平之保持決不能僅有

mination of the people to use the machinery gives worth to the machinery. We believe that the American people have already made up their minds on this great issue; and this Administration has been able to press forward confidently with plans.

The very fact that we are now at work on the organization of the peace proves that the great nations are committed to trust each other. Put this proposition any way you will, it is bound to come out the same way; we either work with the other great nations, or we might some day have to fight them. The kind of world order which we, the peace-loving nations, must achieve, must depend essentially on friendly human relations, on acquaintance, on tolerance, on unassailable sincerity and good will and good faith. We have achieved that relationship to a remarkable degree in our dealing with our Allies in this war—as the events of the war have proved.

#### Close Allied Cooperation

It is a new thing in human history for the Allies to work together, as we have done—so closely, so harmoniously and effectively—in the fighting of a war and—at the same time—in the building of the peace. If we fail to maintain that relationship in the peace—if we fail to expand it and strengthen it—then there will be no lasting peace.

As for Germany, that tragic nation which has sown the wind and is now reaping the whirlwind—we and our allies are entirely agreed that we shall not

所賞識。吾國是發制意用和平機務之決心，於可說和平機務得有價值。吾人深望同胞對此語已下決心，現任政府自信對各種計畫以來，頗有成效。

吾人目前致力於和平機務，足以證明各大國之間足以互信之精神合作。不諳吾人對此問題如何看法，其結果必然相同，即吾人如不與其他大國合作，則將有與彼等作戰之一日。吾人好和平國家所必須建立之一種世界秩序，須以人類友誼關係，彼此認識，忍容、誠懇、善意及信用是賴。而之國際會議獲吾人在此次世界大戰與同盟國陣營中，業已獲得上述關係，以至吾人地步。

#### 同盟國之密切合作

吾同盟國今日之合作實為人類歷史上之創舉。吾人以密切、和諧、與有效方式從事作戰。同時又以同樣方式建立和平。如吾人對和平方面不能維持此種關係，不能擴大並加費此種關係，則將無持久之和平。

關於全歐不戰而自食惡報之悲慘結局，

吾人已與聯合國完全同意。吾人應勿與

barren with the Nazi conspirators, or leave them a shred of control—open or secret—of the instruments of government. We shall not leave them a single element of military power—or of potential military power.

But I should be false to the very foundation of my religious and political convictions, if I should ever relinquish the hope—and even the faith—that in all peoples, without any exception, there lives some instinct for truth, some attraction toward justice, and some passion for peace—barred as they may be in the German case under a brutal regime.

We bring no charge against the German race, as such, for we cannot believe that God has eternally condemned any race of humanity, for we know that in our own land how many good men and women of German ancestry have proved loyal, freedom-loving, peace-loving citizens. There is going to be stern punishment for all those in Germany directly responsible for the agony of mankind. The German people are not going to be enslaved—because the United Nations do not traffic in human slavery. But it will be necessary for them to earn their way back into the fellowship of peace-loving and law-abiding nations. And, in their climb up that steep road, we shall certainly see to it that they are not encumbered by having to carry guns. They will be relieved of that burden—we hope, forever.

The task ahead of us will not be easy. Indeed, it will be as difficult and com-

納粹黨為討價還價，勿使彼等留有絲毫之公

開或秘密政治工具，使彼等富有軍事力量

或潛伏軍事力量之任何因素。

縱使余對世界一切民族，毫無例外，皆有愛其理本能，可受正義吸引，且和平有熱情之希望與信賴有放棄之時，則余對余個人宗教，政治信念根本不忠實，此決不可能之事。即以德國而論，以上各點固有暴政以至挂號並非不存在也。

吾人對日爾曼民族，並不因其為日爾曼民族即以惡名誣之。蓋吾人不能置信上蒼對於人類任何民族判定永遠有罪之辜。蓋因吾人深知吾人國內有甚多有德國國籍之男女皆有忠實，愛好自由，愛好和平公民之明證。對造成人類此次災禍應負責之所有德人，將受嚴重懲處。吾人決不任德國淪為奴隸，蓋因聯合國非為販賣奴隸之機關也。但德國人民亦必須力圖自覺恢復愛好和平，遵守法律國際間之友誼。當彼輩在此種艱難途向上參行之際，吾人定須注意彼等不讓棍棒與砲以增其困難。吾人深信彼等將永遠掃除此種負擔也。

吾人當前之任務決非輕易，其繁雜難

plex as any task which has ever faced an American administration. I will not say to you now, or ever, that we of my party know all the answers. I am certain, for myself, that I do not know all the unforeseeable difficulties can be met. What I can say to you is this—that I have unlimited faith that the job can be done. And that faith is based on knowledge gained in the arduous, practical and continuing experience of these past eventful years.

I speak to the present generation of Americans with reverent participation in its sorrow and in its hopes. No generation has undergone a greater test with a greater heroism and greater wisdom and no generation has had a more exalted mission. For this generation must act not only for itself, but as a trustee for all those who fell in the last war—a part of their mission unfulfilled. It must act also for all who have paid the supreme price in this war—lest their mission, too, be betrayed. It must act for the generations to come—which must be granted a heritage of peace.

I do not exaggerate that mission. We are not fighting for, and we shall not achieve, Utopia. Indeed, in our own land the work to be done is never finished. We have yet to realize the full and equal enjoyment of our freedom. So, in embarking on the building of a world fellowship we have set ourselves to a long and arduous task, which will challenge our patience, our intelligence, our imagination as well as our faith. That task requires the judgment of a

實不能於美國政府過去所遺留之任務。我不知目前，即在未來無論何時，亦決不向諸君發言，謂吾人之民主黨，對於一切問題，業有答案。就個人而言，余確不啻在謂所有未能意料之困難均可解決。余所能向諸君言者，即余個人有無限信心，覺此種任務必可完成是也。一種之責任為其過去八個半月由來者，實際，不啻謂諸君之知識也。

余今日時受數萬萬同胞之希望之當代國人為余讚賞。蓋吾人所經過之時代實為空前。而吾人在經過此戰時所表現之英勇，智慧亦為空前，同時吾人崇奉之使命亦為空前。蓋因當代之同胞不但須為自身努力，且須為第一次大戰戰身成仁之國人担得完成其未完成使命之一部份。當代國人亦須為彼輩在此次世界大戰犧牲性命之國人代為努力，否則彼輩之命令亦將喪失。當代國人更須為後代努力，蓋吾人必須使彼輩得承慶和平也。

余對此種使命決不誇獎其詞。吾人非為烏托邦而作戰，蓋吾人不能求為烏托邦也。在我美人所應為之事尚未完成，吾人尚須實現吾人自由之充份及平等享受。因斯吾人於着手建立世界友誼，實為從事一種艱鉅任務。此種任務要求吾人忍耐、智慧、想像力、以及信念。此種任務需要一適合時代而且感

reasoned and a mature people. And this, the American people have become. We shall not again be thwarted in our will to live as a mature nation confronting limitless horizons. We shall bear our full responsibility, exercise our full influence, and bring our full help and encouragement to all who aspire to peace and freedom. We now are, and we shall continue to be, strong brothers in the family of mankind—the family of the children of God.

種民族之判斷力。而我美國人民業已達成此種階段。吾人以一成熟民族地，不吾人意志未生存而面向無限前途之際，決不再遭挫折。吾人將肩起完全責任，運用充分勢力，並充份協助裁滅世界所有渴望和平自由之民族。吾人在目前，以及在未來，均為人類家庭，亦即上帝子女之家庭中之強有力之弟兄也。

### Annotations

- (1) "to lose one's temper", "發怒"; "to lose one's head", "失去理解"; "糊塗"; "to lose one's senses", "不省人事"; "發昏"; "to lose one's mind", "發狂"。(2) "助"; "爲...後盾"(參見"up"運用)。His theory is backed up by facts, 彼之理論有事實之根據。(3) 表示让步 (concession), 等於 Although that road is long and hard, 或 'Long and hard as the road is, 或 However long and hard that road is, 意義相同。(4) "訂條件"; "接受條件之限制"。I must condition that you pay me in advance, 我以君至先付款爲條件。The two things condition each, 兩事相須。(5) 借"門羅主義"之美總統門羅氏。(6) "across the seas", prepositional phrase 爲 preposition "from" 之受詞。"from the sea" 爲"由海上來"; "from across the seas" 爲"橫洋跨海陸地而來" 故爲"跨過海洋而來"。"犬由桌底下走出" - The dog comes out from under the table。(7) 言今日爲保障自由所從事之戰爭與昔不同，此類戰爭在今日不但在工具上有極大變更，且在範圍上勢必牽涉全世界矣。(8) "on the air", "over the air", "廣播演說"。He was on the air to encourage the people to unite against the aggressor, 彼廣播演說鼓勵人民團結以抗侵略。(9) "避險"。we did all we could to avert the danger 吾人曾竭力避此危險。(10) "to go by", "遵循", "依據", "持"。we are to go by the usual practice in such cases, 遇此情形，吾人決定循慣習而行。(11) "牽強附會"; "曲解"。He said that to distort facts, 彼爲此言意在曲解事實。(12) 指摩西十誡(見舊約)。(13) "爭端"。what is the point at issue 爭端爲何?(14) "高級", "領袖人物"。The ceremony was attended by many ranking government officials, 參加典禮者有多數政府高級官吏。(15) "非他人乃..."。It was none other than Jones, 此非別人蓋斯也。(16) "間諜"。In the past three years, enemy's air raids have been few and far between, 三年來敵人對吾人之空襲甚稀且其中間時甚長。(17) "妥協" "屈服"。The enemy will not

come to terms until he can fight no more, 敵人不能完全無力作戰時, 決不屈服。(18 (本  
為乘船, 旅途"始 to embark on a steamer 轉為)"開學", "着手"。Having entered the  
college, he embarked on a new life, 彼入大學為新生活之開始。(19)"擺脫"。I shall  
wash my hands of this work, 余將脫離此一工作。(20)"昨夜";)"前夜"(言時間之  
短促)。(He told me what happened overnight, 彼以昨晚所發生之事告我。) one could  
not become a poet overnight, 吾人不能繼於一夕之間成為詩人。(21)"精通", "熟悉",  
。He is conversant with English, French, and German, 彼精通英法德三國語言。He  
is conversant with that man, 彼與此人相熟。(22)"to see to", "注意" "to see in to,  
調查) you must see to your business, 汝當注意己事。

FRES. CHIANG'S MESSAGE ON THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE FOUNDING OF THE KUOMINTANG

Released to the nation on the anniversary of Dr. Sun

Yat-sen's birthday, November 12, 1944

中國國民黨五十年紀念日蔣總裁發表紀念詞

一九四四年十一月十二日國父誕辰發出



Today is the birthday of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Father of the Chinese Republic.

(1) Dr. Sun founded in 1893 the Hsing Chung Hui (literally, the "Society for the (2) Regeneration of China"), starting his revolutionary movement. It is (3) now exactly fifty years since the founding of the society. We feel it most glorious to hold (4) the commemorative ceremony for the 50th anniversary of the great revolution.

The birth of Dr. Sun meant the arrival of a saviour for the Chinese nation and was glad tidings for mankind. So far as China is concerned, the organization of the Party by Dr. Sun marked the beginning of a new life for China and his formulation of the Three People's Principles meant the creation of a new Soul of China. The result was the awakening of the people and the struggle of the revolutionaries which brought about the overthrow of the monarchy, the establishment of a republic and the complete liberation of the Chinese nation. As to the effect on mankind, in consideration of the fact that

今天是我們國父的誕辰，國父在民國  
紀元前十八年，創立興中會，開始革命救國運  
動，到今年恰滿五十年，我們今天來舉行這一  
個極久偉大的五十年革命紀念典禮，實在感到  
無限的光榮和興奮。

國父的誕生是中華民族的救星，是全體人  
類的福音，就我們中國來說：國父祖黨的開  
始，是我們中國新生命的誕生，而三民主義的  
創制，乃是重鑄了我們中國的國魂，從此一般  
國民，相率覺醒，革命志士，一發奮鬥，終於  
推翻帝制，建立民國；使我們中華民族，獲得  
了整個的解放，就世界人類來說：大家都知道  
我們中國是擁有四萬萬五千萬人口的大國，關

China as nation of 450,000, 000 people holds a vital position in the world, and (5) it not been for the revolution started by Dr. Sun which had increased the self-confidence of the nation, inspired hopes of national regeneration and stimulated us to further progress in the modern world, nobody can tell how the Asiatic and the world situation would have been developed while it is sure that the fate of China would have been unimaginable. We may therefore say that the revolution started by Dr. Sun is the pivot of China's regeneration and the foundation of the welfare (6) of mankind. In the words of Dr. Sun, it is "a holy exploit unprecedented and not expected to occur again." I believe that every patriotic Chinese exults in this great holy exploit and is determined to bring it to a successful conclusion and that every member of the Kuomintang particularly realizes his or her responsibility and strives for the consummation of this grand mission. On this occasion I wish to speak to my fellowcountrymen and Party comrades on the significance of the Kuomintang anniversary.

I. The Founding and Mission of the Kuomintang The organization of the Hsing Chung Hui marks the beginning of the Kuomintang and also of the Chinese revolution. Since then, we have consistently followed (7) the same purpose and mission in the revolution for the past fifty years. The aim of Dr. Sun's revolution is to attain freedom and equality for China and his motive was to save the country from destruction. Dr. Sun told us that "the Three People's Principles is the principles

之基礎。其目的，在於救國。國危而後革命，則有了革命事業的自信，激發了我們中國復興的志氣，顯示了我們中國國民在現代世界中力求進步的覺悟，那麼我們中國的命運固是不難想像，而國難和危殆的慘狀，又將如何避免？所以 國父所領導的國民革命，真是中國復興的樞紐，也是人類前途的曙光，這真如 國父所說的「前不見古，後不見來」的聖業。」這真是一個偉大的神聖事業，我相信我們中國國民每一個愛國的國民，都必與黃帝而矢志繼承，尤其我們中國國民黨的黨員，更應該十分努力，負起責任的承擔，而奮起努力，以求革命事業的完成，應此莊嚴紀念之辰，謹此致辭，特以此意為我全國同胞至為同志勉之：

其一、中國國民黨的創立與革命，與中會成立，是中國國民黨建黨的開始，也是國民革命的發軔，自五十年來，革命的宗旨和使命，一貫而來，始終如一， 國父倡導國民革命，其目的在於中國之自由平等，其動機乃是要救國體。 國父指示我們「三民主義是救國主義」，我們全國國民，均應效法，如與中會

for national salvation." Netwing (8) into the documents of the early period of our Party, we find in the manifesto of the Hsing Chung Hui the following words: "to rescue the people from their sufferings and support the tottering edifice of the state" and in the manifesto of the Tung Meng Hui this statement: "In previous days there were revolutions of heroes but the present revolution is a national revolution of which every citizen has responsibility." These indicate that the aim of the revolution is to save the state and the people and that foundation of the revolution is built upon the entire nation. Dr. Sun has consistently made it clear that (9) the nation comes before the Party and that he organized the Party for the purpose of saving the nation. The interests of the Party can in no way be alienated (10) from the interests of the state and the people. The relation between the Party and the state is closest before the revolution of the nation is brought to a successful end. Members of the Party should act as the vanguard of the people in the face of death and danger and rally the people to join in the struggle. They have special obligations but no privileges. It was this very pure and holy spirit of loyalty to the state, total self-sacrifice and disregard of compensation or reward on the part of our Party members that we have been able to rally so many revolutionary and patriotic elements under our standard. (11) This very spirit, all our fellow countrymen should take to heart, all our young men should emulate and all our Party members should prize and preserve.

宣言中所謂「拯斯民於水火扶大廈之將傾」，同盟會宣言中所說「前代爲英雄革命，今日爲國民革命，所謂國民革命者，一國之人皆負革命之責任」，這都是說明了革命的目的地在於救國救民，革命的基礎在於全國的國民，所以國父革命的一貫精神，是有國而後有黨，無黨乃爲了救國，離開了國家與人民的利益，就沒有所謂黨的利益，黨與國家的關係，就在於革命未成之始，以黨的奮鬥來救國救民，民國成立之後，更要以黨的努力來保障民權，黨員和民衆的關係，就在於黨員要冒死犯難，爲民爭鋒，要喚起民衆的鬥志與戰力，黨員祇有特殊的義務，沒有特殊的權利。我們五十年來，所以能號召多數志士，共同致力者，就在於我們革命黨員祇有國家，沒有個人，祇有犧牲，不計酬報的純粹聖潔的精神，這一種精神，是我們全體同胞所應該認識，青年國民所應該效法，更是本黨黨員所應該特別珍重而努力保持的。

2. The Measure and Aims of the Three People's Principles. The ultimate goal of our national revolution is the realization of the Three People's Principles. The objective of the Three People's Principles is stated in the Program of the Tung Meng Hui, that is, the revival of the Chinese nation. The founding of a republic, and the equalization of land ownership, which were the initial aims of the Three People's Principles. Later the manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang in 1924 and the bequeathed teachings of Dr. Sun made fuller explanations. It is for the realization of the Three People's Principles that our Party comrades have struggled persistently for the past fifty years and numerous revolutionary martyrs have sacrificed their lives. Briefly speaking, according to the manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang, the Three People's Principles are nationalism which implies (12) emancipation of the Chinese nation and equality of all races within Chinese territory, democracy which implies the realization of a system of direct popular authority in addition to that of indirect popular authority and the principle of the people's livelihood which implies equalization of land ownership and regulation of capital, and the maintenance and regulation of the people's livelihood by the utilization of governmental powers. In other words, nationalism aims at national salvation and independence, democracy at the building of a Chinese republic with sovereign rights actually vested (13) in the people and the

其二，三民主義的實質與目的，我們國民革命最終目的，在於實行三民主義。三民主義的演說，見之於同盟會的政治綱領，所謂恢復中華，建立民國，平均地權，就是三民主義的發端。及至民國十三年第一次代表大會宣言與國父的歷次訓示而更可詳細的闡明。這是我們五十年来革命歷史一貫的宏偉建樹，也是無數先烈熱血頭顱所鑄成的精品。三民主義的內容，就第一次代表大會宣言而舉其概要，則是民族主義的內容在中華民族自求解放，在國內各民族一律平等；民權主義的內容在於開拓民權之外復行直接民權；民生主義的內容在於平均地權與節制資本，並由國家力量以謀人民生活的保存和調節，我們今天更就其目的具體言之，那就是民族主義的實質與目的在：求中國的獨立、民權主義的實質與目的在：建國民的中華民國，民生主義的實質與目的在：防止階級的鬥爭，以謀生活的均衡，並在各民族民權民

principle of the people's livelihood at the prevention of capital monopoly and class struggle in order to realize a balanced life for the people. These Three Principles containing the three aspects of nationalism, democracy and the people's livelihood is all-embracing, impartial and most suitable to China. This is why we take the Three People's Principles as the highest guiding principle for the building of the Chinese republic is that it meets the needs of the nation and follows the current world tendency. Herein lies the goal of our Herculean (14) efforts amidst numerous hardships.

3. The Significance and Achievements of the National Revolution. Dr. Sun asserts that the national revolution is common exploit for all Chinese citizens, upon which hinges (15) the rise or fall of the nation. In the spirit of universal brotherhood he rallied all patriotic Chinese to join our Party and take part in the revolution. In the History of the Chinese Revolution Dr. Sun says, "The Party was established to rally the patriots in the common struggle." A study of our Party history I reveals that from the time of the Tung Meng Hui to the present period of the Kuomintang there have been six major reorganizations in our revolutionary set up. Each time it was reorganized to meet the requirements of the time and after each reorganization it drew more patriotic and revolutionary elements to the Party. Mainly through the influence of the great spirit of Dr. Sun and of the Three People's Principles and impelled by their sense of duty to the state, innumerable patriots have joined our Party and participated

在三個方面的三民主義，涵蓋一切而無偏頗，最

合國情而無時弊。所以我們國民革命以三民主

義為中華民國立國的最高原則，就因為三民主

義完全合乎國家與人民的需要，應乎世界與時

代的趨向，我全國國民所要探察際變以求其實

現在在此，我們共同奮鬥的目標也在此。

其三、國民革命的意義與成就，國父認定國民革命為全國國民共同的事業，國民革命的成敗，乃是整個國家的存亡問題；所以一本天下為公的精神，號召全國的愛國志士，來參加本黨共負革命的責任。國父在中國革命史上說：「求天下之仁人志士以共同致力，於是而立黨。」我們回顧本黨的歷史，自興中會以至於今日的中國國民黨，革命的組織經過六次的變遷，每一度的變遷，無不是順着時勢的要求，而進一步擴大了熱心愛國革命志士的集合。由於國父偉大精神和三民主義的感召，由於國民許身祖國不惜犧牲的責任心所驅使，全國的革命志士陸續加入本黨，共為實行三民主義而奮鬥。其間冒險犯難，為努力革命而捐軀成仁者不可以數計，這五十餘年，中華民族所以能由淪亡而漸趨於復興，中國國勢所以能由

in the struggle for the realization of the Three People's Principles. Many of them have run great risks or even sacrificed their lives. Thanks to the efforts of these revolutionary martyrs China has been steadily emerging from decadence to regeneration and from darkness to light during the past fifty years. With the revolution now entering a more important stage we are anxious more than ever that all patriotic Chinese will participate in it and become our bosom comrades who will share both glory and disgrace with us.

4. In commemorating the glorious history of the revolution our party comrades should realize more their responsibilities in the revolution. Dr. Sun organized the Party for the revolution out of a sense of responsibility and obligation of saving the state and nation. Dr. Sun said, "if within the country there is anything that goes (16) wrong, it is our responsibility." He also said, "Because the revolution has not been successfully carried out, it is not possible to build a true republic. So long as the republic has not been successfully built members of this Party should not cease their struggle." Here he clearly pointed out to us the responsibility and obligation which we should by no means shirk. As followers of Dr. Sun, we should know that we take part in the revolution not for personal gains but for fulfilling our obligations and responsibilities. We should place the interests of the nation above everything else. We should be ready to run all risks for the fulfillment of our obligations and responsibilities in the revolution. The history of our Party has been written with

鮮血而承接光明，無不是革命先烈的熱血苦心之所培育而成。現在革命的形勢益見艱長，革命的任务更見重大；我們更要期待全國的愛國同胞參加革命，成為同生共死與難的同志，以求革命抱個大業的完成。

其四、革命黨員紀念革命先烈的歷史意義  
認識革命的責任 我們 國父的黨革命，是出發於「救國救民」的責任心與義務觀念；國父指示我們說：「國家之內，一物不得其所，就是我們的責任。」國父又告訴我們說：「因為革命沒有成功，所以真正的民主無從建設，民智一天沒有建設好，本黨就再奮鬥一天。」這就指示我們黨員對於責任和義務所在，絕不可以放棄絕不可以退縮，我們身為國父的信徒，務要知道我們革命決不是爭取權利和地位，而是要担負義務和責任，我們在國家民族的最高利益之前決沒有任何得失利害可言，我們所應該堅忍奮鬥，萬死不辭的，就是這個革命的義務和責任。我們共和本黨的旗，史完全<sup>是</sup>先烈的血淚所寫成。在此五十年中，捐軀項踵，捨身成仁的先烈，還是有形的犧牲，而其

the tears and blood of our revolutionary martyrs. During the past fifty years while many have sacrificed their lives for the revolution, almost every member of our Party since Dr. Sun has experienced slander, disgrace and great suffering. Referring to it Dr. Sun's own harrowing experience the History of the Chinese Revolution says, "Though he placed the interests of the nation foremost and devoted himself fully to the revolution, his compatriots not only failed to help him but even deride and ignore him." Actually, these words fail to describe a fraction of the sufferings which Dr. Sun and the revolutionary martyrs had undergone. Today in commemorating Dr. Sun and the revolutionary martyrs we as true revolutionaries should stand all hardships and sufferings in an undaunted spirit. We should bear in mind that we as descendants are benefited by what our forefathers have done for us and the unfinished task left by our forefathers should be the goal of our struggle. On this anniversary day we should commemorate not only the revolutionary martyrs but also other Chinese who have sacrificed their lives for the revolution in the past fifty years. We should never swerve from our duty imposed upon us by the state, and the revolution but face and fulfil it. Only thus (17) can we be the worthy followers of Dr. Sun and can we console the souls of those who have sacrificed their lives for the revolution during the past fifty years.

5. All my fellow countrymen should strive with their might and main to win the final victory and consummate the revolution as an appropriate way to commemorate

所遭受的毀辱醜罵，無所不至，爲了達成革命目的，含淚忍辱，無畏痛苦，乃是 國父以來每一革命同志所應有的經歷，就以 國父自身所經過的而言，在中國革命史中就說：「敢有爲國民利害着想，獻身以謀革命者，國民不惟不知助之，且從而非笑與譏刺之」；其實這幾句沉痛的話，還不能形容 國父與當時先烈所受痛苦於萬一。我們今日追念 國父，追念先烈，如要爲革命的信徒，更要以堅貞果敢赴湯蹈火的精神，耐得住任何的煎熬，經得起任何的艱難，必須知道前人之謬，後人所繼。前人所遺留的志業，即後人努力的目標。我們今天紀念國民革命五十年，不祇是紀念革命先烈，更要紀念在五十年革命事業中所犧牲的無數同胞。我們決不能絲毫放棄我們爲國家爲先烈爲主義爲革命的責任。本黨黨員必須認識這個責任，負荷這個責任，繼續做爲 國父的信徒，纔能安慰我們五十年來爲革命爲抗戰而犧牲的先烈在天之靈。

其五、全國同胞應盡全力爭取抗戰勝利，完成革命的使命，以紀念爲國犧牲的革命先烈。我們今天舉行國民革命五十年紀念，我們全國

those who have sacrificed their lives for the country. They should exert their all out effort in the current war of resistance which is an inevitable stage in the course of national revolution and reconstruction. Our number one enemy in the course of national revolution and reconstruction is Japan. This Dr. Sun had foreseen long ago. In the conclusion of his "Industrial project" (also known as "International Development Scheme") Dr. Sun predicted that "the militaristic policy of Japan is to swallow China alone," and that "the next aggression from Japan will be met by a resolute resistance from the Chinese people, and it would be at impossibility for Japan to govern China profitably at any place and for any period of time." Dr. Sun talked then about "organizing for war" which turned out to be the militaristic, Fascist and aggressive bloc and of "organizing for peace" which turned out to be Allies which are fighting against aggression and for justice and peace. We have fought for more than seven years and are now engaged in "war between right and might" together with our allies. After victory is won, we believe that international peace and security will be properly safeguarded and economic collaboration between China and other countries will be placed on a sound basis. However, at this juncture (18) the enemy has penetrated deep into our land and placed the yoke (19) upon many of our fellow countrymen. In this final stage of the struggle we should bring full force (20) to bear upon the enemy. We should realize that Japan is our arch enemy. If the Japanese are not driven out of

同胞，必須萬衆一心，加緊努力於當前創舉進行中的抗戰。要知道這是我們國際國內階級，完成五十年來國民革命所必須的過渡，也是我們翻身政變最後成功所必需的努力。我們革命建國最大的敵，就是日本，這是 國父所早已預見的，在醫藥計劃的結論中，國父早已預測到「日本的軍國政策將以力吞中國」，也早就預測到「日本即欲實行其侵略政策，中國人亦必出而拒絕之，不論何時何地，亦斷非日本所備放沒有利」，尤其 國父當時所預言的，「爲戰爭而結合」，就是指德武主義的法西斯侵略聯盟。而其時預言的「爲和平而結合」，就是指我們爲保護正義和平而戰鬥的反抗侵略聯盟，現在我們苦戰七年有餘，且與盟邦合作，共同從事於「公理與正義之戰」。此戰勝利以後，我們相信國際和平與安全，必能獲得有效的保障，中外經濟的互助合作，也已經開啓了坦蕩的途徑。但是我們今天敵情深入，河山淪陷，同胞痛苦，敵寇的雖死掙扎極瘋狂，而我們在獲得最後勝利以前，現在正是全體國民所應一心一德，誓死報國，與敵人作最後最猛烈的戰鬥的時期，必須知道我們唯一的敵人，就是日寇，如果日寇不驅除，則我們過去的革命事業，就告中斷，我們民族民權與民生都將無

China, we shall have no hope of successfully concluding our revolution or realizing nationalism, democracy and the principle of the people's livelihood. Moreover, national existence can in no way be safeguarded, not to say individual or group interests. Revolution implies all-out sacrifice and struggle, and national salvation requires total elimination of selfish ends. In this emergency period we should one and all unreservedly and unconditionally contribute all we have and all we can. We recall how the revolutionary martyrs courageously followed Dr. Sun in the revolution without the least dilemma or demand. We should realize that revolution and national salvation and our common duty and our sole aim today is to drive the enemy out, rejuvenate the nation and win national independence and freedom. Everything else is out of our consideration. Therefore every one of us should make his or her (21) effort toward this common goal of winning the final victory and removing the obstacles to our national revolution and reconstruction. Only thus can we feel unashamed when we think of Dr. Sun's intention of saving the nation by starting the revolution fifty years ago and of our own duty.

Above I have dwelled (22) upon the significance of the revolution started by Dr. Sun fifty years ago. We rejoice at the birth of our great and noble leader at the most opportune time to show us the way to national revolution and rejuvenation and save the country from decadence. We feel glorified to have this great sage and this great revolution. However, we should

康寧記。國家民族之生存，不能保持。更無論乎任何個人或團體之權利與希望，須知革命是救國自衛的絕無退路，故我們要救國必須除自私，我們生此時代，應此大難，必須毫無保留的貢獻，我們的一切，也必須無條件的共同致力於革命抗戰的事業，我們同為革命先烈的追隨者，國父，犧牲奮鬥，無不忠誠而奮起，決無反顧，絕無有兩面派，更無有所保留，我們祇知道革命救國，是我們國家的天職，是我們共同的責任，所以我們決無保留，在一切除敵寇，復興民族，求得國家的獨立自由，其他一切，都非所計，因此凡是我們中華民族黃帶的子弟，和忠心革命的信徒，必須集中意志，集中力量，在同一目標之下，共同努力，爭取抗戰的最後勝利，克服我們革命途中的最大障礙，必須如此，方能無負於國父在五十年前的倡導革命挽救中國危亡的初衷，也無愧於我們後死者的責任。

我們紀念國父倡導革命五十年的意義，略如上述。我們深深感激我們中國何幸而有崇高偉大的國父，同時誕生，為我們國家指出革命復興的途徑，倡導革命建國的宏業，使我們中國在坎坷崎嶇的旅程中，能够挽救國家，

hear in mind that our effort in the last few minutes is of paramount importance. In this critical time we should not for a moment (23) lightly neglect doing our part in the life-and-death struggle. It must be realized that only after-victory is won can the work of national reconstruction be well started. On this solemn occasion let me quote a passage from a declaration by Dr. Sun before the inception of the Chinese Republic: "I believe that my fellow-countrymen will strive to complete this great task with conscientious and persistent effort. I hope that they will all have an indomitable spirit in doing so. As descendants of Emperor Hwang Ti we should look, upon each other as brothers and sisters, share (24) joys and sorrows, render (25) mutual help and with (26) one heart and soul defend the country. If every warrior is not afraid to die and every family does not spare (27) its effort the revolution will surely be a success." My fellow-countrymen and my party comrades: This passage seems to have been written just for us shall all take it to heart (28) and strive jointly for the consummation of the national revolution and reconstruction.

復興民族。我們中國有此哲人，有此事業，我們真覺得無限的光榮。同時我們大家要一致認識革命建國，大勢已定，完成可期，是最後的成功，繫於最後五分鐘的努力。我們萬不可掉以輕心，在這個國家民族的存亡成敗千鈞一髮的關頭，忽忘了我們誓死奮鬥的責任，必須知道抗戰勝利，方為建國工作的順利開始，在這個重要時期來紀念五十年前倡導革命的國父我要為我同胞，為我黨員莊嚴鄭重念，一段

國父在民國總統前所發布的宣言在那一篇宣言裏。國父指示我們說：「深信我國國民必須踴躍堅忍共成大業，人人各發揚其精神，同胞軒輶子孫，應相親如叔兄弟，姊妹，休戚與共，患難相救，同心同德，以衛國事自任，戰士不愛其命，閭閻不惜其力，則革命可成。」全國同胞們——黨同志們，這一段指示，恰如為我們今天而發的，願你們深切體會，敬謹接受，以共同努力於國民革命抗戰建國的完成。

#### Annotation

(1) “照字面解釋” “直譯”。Literally, the word “Confucius” means in Chinese “the Great Master Kung (Confucius)”, “Confucius” (拉丁化) 一字，照中文直譯，為“孔夫子”。What is the literal meaning of this sentence? 此句之字面上意義為何? (2) “衛生”，“養生”，“草莽”。The regeneration of China will be conditioned by many factors, a widespread education, the application of science to the industries, and a sound national economy, which are all embodied in The San Min Chu I, 中華民族之復興所賴因素多，教育普及，

以上科學之應用，健全之國家經濟，此皆在三民主義一書可得之。(3) 凡“since”用作 preposition (如本句，為 simple sentence) 及 conjunction 時，動詞如係“be”，而 subject 為“it”(指時間)則用“be”之“is”式，言時間之總和(不能用“has been”因數目之總和與過去有關，祇指現在) a. “since”當 preposition 用，如本句；It “is” now exactly 50 years since the founding of the society. b. “since”當 conjunction 用(為 complex sentence)時，其 main clause 之 subject 如係“it”(同樣指時間)，則動詞亦必為“is”，但 subordinate clause 中動詞必為 simple past tense，如(將本句改造)：It “is” now exactly 50 years since the society “was founded”。以下三句中之動詞時間制有記號者皆係錯誤：It “has been” now exactly 50 years since the founding of the society. It “has been” now exactly 50 years since the society was founded. It is now exactly 50 years since the society “has been”(或“had been”) founded) 但用其他動詞(非“be”)時則用 present perfect (以代用“be”時之 simple present)，如：now exactly 50 years “have passed” since the founding of the society (原第一句改造)。Now exactly 50 years have passed since the society was founded(原第二句改造，注意“was founded”仍舊為 past tense，不能改，因為會之建立係在一個定過去之昨日作成，確定過去之動詞須用 simple past)。(4) “since”可作 a verb，但作 adverb 用時等於“ago”不放在句尾，而又必有一時間語句在其前，動詞必為 simple past tense，句子構造為 simple sentence，如 The society “was founded” “exactly 50 years” “since” (=ago)。(5) Infinitive phrase, “to hold ...” 為前面“it”之真正的 object，因為太長故用一假 object 在前作構造完整之用。如：I feel it happy to be with you，此處“it”=“to be with you”。除 infinitive 有此種用法之外，又有 noun-clause 作 object 而其後補充字時，亦用“it”於補充字之前，如：I feel it happy that I can be with you。(6) A subjunctive conditional clause 皆可將“if”省略，將動詞或助動詞擺在 subject 之前，故：“If I had (指現在反事實) a gun”，變為“Had I a gun”；“If I were a soldier”(事實上不是)，變為“Were I a soldier”。過去非事實：“If I had had a gun”，變為“Had I had a gun”；“If I had been a soldier”，變為“Had I been a soldier”。未來(絕對不可能)“If I were to have a gun”，變為“Were I to have a gun”；“If I were to be a soldier”變為“Were I to be a soldier”，(懷疑語氣)，“If I should have a gun”，變為“should I have a gun”；“If I should be a soldier”，變為“Should I be a soldier”。(7) “今引...之言”有時用“To quote...”，“...says(has said)”等介紹引語。“the purpose of our life”，in the words of Dr. Sun yat-sen, “is to serve”，國父之言曰：「人生以服務為目的」。(8) 見(3) 此處“since”之 object 為 adverb 當 noun 用，(3) 內“since”之(第一句)之 object 為“founding”係動名詞。由此兩例可推知凡以“since 作 preposition 用時其後之 object 有現成之名更好，如“since the establishment”；否則必用 gerund，如“since the founding”(作 establish 一樣解釋，如“foundation”“根基”不同)；或用 noun 或 adverb of tense 用為 noun，如“since that time”(noun)，“since the”(adverb)。(9) “研究”，“探討”，“探源”。He has delved into ancient Greek literature, 彼向研討希臘古代文學。(10) 見(4)，noun-clauses：“that the nation comes before the Party and that he organized the Party for the purpose of saving the nation”為“it”之真 object，因此一object 太長，而其後，又有“clear”補充

字，故先用一 object "it" 爲便利。其後之 noun-clauses ( infinitive 在此項用法時同 ) 可視爲 explanatory modifier. (10) "分開" "分離" • I am alienated from my friends, 余與友人疏隔。 (11) "標幟" ( "本爲" "旂旗" ), "號召" • Many students have joined the army under the standard of patriotism and self-sacrifice, 甚多學生在愛國與犧牲號召下投筆從戎。 (12) "含", "包含", "含著" • His answer implies assent, 彼之答覆含允納意。 (13) "賦有權利" ( 與 "authorized" „授權" 不同, 因 "授權" 關係 "臨時性質, 可隨時停止" ) • In a democracy, the right to rule is invested in the people, 在代治國家民衆賦有治國權利。 (14) "極辛苦", "極費力", "艱鉅" ( 由希臘大力士 Hercules 字轉用 ) • To industrialize the unindustrial China is a Herculean task, 將一非工業國家之中國實行工業乃一種艱鉅工作。 (15) "依", "以... 爲轉移", "繫於" • the success or failure of our plan hinges on ( 或 upon ) this last attempt, 吾人計劃之成功與否繫於此後努力。 (16) "處置失當", "不得其法" • Every thing goes wrong in our family, 余家事事不諧。 ( "作" 走錯路解 ) • (17) "以此" ( = in this way ), 係 adverb of manner, 係指上述之事, 闕在句首, 故將助動詞 "can" ( 與 adverb 關係 ) 調在 subject "we" 之前。 (18) "卽際", "今天" • Japans destruction is impending, and at this juncture we should exert our utmost, 日寇滅亡已迫在眉睫, 吾人此日更應作最大努力。 (19) "束縛", "痛苦" • He suffers from the yoke of matrimony, 彼受婚姻之苦。 (20) "予以猛擊" • The American army, navy and air force are bringing full force to bear upon Japapan in the central Pacific, 在中太平洋方面美陸海空軍正予以日本以猛烈打擊。 (21) "every one" 之後, 代名詞多變用, "he or she", "his or her", 因 every one 係 common gender. (22) "詳述", 在 his speech he dwelled upon the necessity of war production, 彼於講演中詳言戰時生產之必要。 (23) "盡職責" • Each did his part, 各盡其職。 (24) "To share joys and sorrows", "休戚與共" • All the people of China are sharing joys and sorrows in their fight for national existence independence, and freedom, 中國民衆皆休戚與共以爭取國家生存, 獨立與自由。 (25) "To render mutual help", "患難相救" • All the democracies are rendering mutual help to root out Hitlerism, 一切民主國家皆患難相濟以根除希特勒暴政。 (26) "with one heart and soul" "同心同德" • All political parties should with one heart and soul work for the ultimate victory, 所有政黨應同心同德以謀最後勝利。 (27) "省思", "愛惜" • He is sparing no pains to do his work, 彼不惜辛勞以改善其工作。 (28) "To take to heart", "深切體會", "深切認識" • Everyone takes it to heart that the situation is critical, 人人對局勢之嚴重均有深切認識。

## NEWSMAN'S EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT OF BOMBING TOKYO

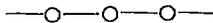
By Mac R. John, United Press Correspondent, aboard

a super-fortress over Tokyo, November 24, 1944.

# 美記者自擊轟炸東京記

美聯社戰爭採訪強森於一九四四年，十一月二十四日

隨由塞班起飛之超級空中堡壘轟炸東京。



Six violent fires blazed in the rectangular buildings of the Nakajima Aircraft Factory in the western outskirts of Tokyo after the first of the many waves (1) of Army Super Fortresses out-smarted (2) the Japanese defenders to deliver the war's first heavy home blow to the Japanese aviation industry. Perfect bombing conditions prevailed at the target. It was obvious that the raid was a surprise to the Japanese because few fighters were able to reach our high altitude and ack-ack fire (3) was spotty (4) and inaccurate.

The all (5) effect of today's raid dwarfed (6) the pioneer (7) raid by Major General James Doolittle in terms (8) of bomb tonnage and aircraft involved. I am convinced that after this raid by the 21st Bomber Command, the 20th Air Force has no effective weapon which the Japanese at present are unable to counter successfully. As I write this dispatch enroute home to our Saipan base, damage has been inflicted on a vital Japanese aircraft plant. I flew over Tokyo in a plane named 'Little Germ'.

美國陸軍首批超級空中堡壘超過日本空軍火，對製造戰爭者日本本部之日本航空工業，發動首次猛擊後，東京西郊中島飛機工廠長方形建築物，即有六處起火，火光燭天。轟炸目標時，情況甚合理想。此次出擊，日方頗出意外，蓋敵方戰鬥機甚少能升至與我機同等之高度，且高射砲火亦漫無目標，殊欠準確。本日出擊，在城彈量及飛機數量所發揮之總效力上，均較杜立特少將之初次襲擾之規模為大。記者深信第二十一轟炸機總隊此次出擊後，第二十航空隊即獲有日方目前不能有效應付之有效武器。記者於炸後返途途中，撰寫此訊時，日本重要飛機工廠已被我炸予重創。記者所乘飛越東京上空之飛機，名為「小菌」號。

At 11 a.m., the snow-capped summit of Mount Fujiyama could be seen through the overcast that protected our approach. Suddenly over the interphones came Captain Archer's voice "Watch (10) closely for fighters" but at 11:57 a.m. there was none in sight.

We flew over lakes, deep canyons, rugged mountain country with sharp ridges and peaks, and then bored straight for our target after making a turn. Suddenly the clouds which shielded our approach ended abruptly and we looked down through the slight blue haze on the enemy's homeland.

At 12:08 p.m., the target was very plain. The stadium (11) and race track (12) were clearly visible and then the properly spaced and clustered aircraft factory buildings were neatly on the bombardier's (13) sight. "Flak on our right," came a report over the interphone. Then, the circuit hummed with reports of ack-ack bursts—some blossoming blankly at level with our flight but 150 to 200 yards away. Another report came, "Fighters at 10 o'clock." It was the first report of the enemy. Other reports started coming in over the interphones but only two planes reached our altitude. Other Zeros, apparently surprised and slow in taking off, were 10,000 or more feet below us, unable to climb to attack.

We swept over Tokyo's suburbs where 11 miles west of the main city, lay the important Nakajima Aircraft plant. Two planes ahead of us dropped bombs in perfect strings. At 12:12 p.m. we dropped ours. As we started to withdraw, the

上午十一時二十分時，富士山雪峯，業已在望，我機在高空飛行，朵朵雲層，乃供掩護，是時阿契斯上尉突自電話之機內傳話曰：「密切注意戰鬥機行蹤」，但至十一時五十七分時，迄未見有任何機蹤。

我機 翻沼深谷及羣峯矗立之崎嶇山區上空飛行。掉轉方向後，即直向目標區域飛去，驀然間，雲霧頓消，吾人乃由敵國大陸上空淺藍色淡霧中，窺及下方目標。

十二點十分鐘時，目標明晰在望，自投彈瞄準器中可見廣闊適宜之運動場，跑道，及密集之飛機工廠建築物，耳機內此時傳來「右方有高射砲火——昇高」之通報。我機過頂時，即聞有高射砲彈之爆炸聲，若干砲彈在我機左右爆發，然仍僅一百五十至二百碼。另一通報稱：「敵機 機在十時方向」，此乃關於敵機行蹤之首次報告，其他報告亦自耳機中開始紛紛傳來。但只有兩架飛機昇高至與我相等之高度，其他敵方零式機，顯感驚異，僅在側面下方緩慢飛行。在我下方一萬或一萬餘呎，不能升高向我攻擊。

我機乃於東京近郊上空俯衝下降，日方重要之中島飛機製造工廠，即位於在主要城鎮以西二十一哩之處。在記者乘機前方飛行之二機，已向目標準確投彈，十二時十二分，我各機亦投下炸彈。各機炸後，開始離開目標區時，敵

bursts of ack-ack grew intense but failed to overtake us. We had a stiff tail wind and were really racing away. Dozens of fighters now filled the sky—mostly below us—but we were not attacked. Our tail-gunner fired a few blasts at two Zeros hovering out of range.

We flew over North Tokyo in leaving the land at terrific speed. On the right, we could see Hirohito's (14) gray walled moated palace in the wooded district and the broad main street. A few tall buildings stood out there but most of the city blended into a grayish, indistinguishable pattern. Black fighters with yellow stripes were getting close to us but they skidded away. On the left, the gunner reported that he counted 44 Japanese fighters on the fields below us but only one plane was taking off. Then, there came word (15) of our bombing results. One crew member said: "our bombs are right in the target. I saw flashes as the bombs exploded among the buildings".

Another crew member said: "I saw six big fires burning with smoke going high into the air. The next wave of planes hit but I could not tell what they did. I think we slipped in on them but we were lucky. There were lots of planes aloft and plenty of ack-ack and the possible subsequent waves had brought time.

When we hit the coast line leaving the Tokyo Bay area, we had been over the Japanese homeland for 45 minutes and had given the Japanese newspapers-Asahi and Hininichi-one of their biggest stories since the 1923 earthquake.

方高射砲火猛烈射來，但未能命中。我機尾隨起急風，即向他方飛去。敵方戰鬥機數十架是時出現空中，大多數均在下空，但未向我機進擊。我尾部機槍手，見在我射擊距離外方有敵零式機二架飛行，乃放槍數發，驅其他去。

我機炸後返防，於東京北部上空，加速航進市區。越過叢林區域灰牆及宮殿及廣闊街道，隱約在望，高大建築物殊少，所見者唯不可分辨之一片灰色屋舍而已。敵方黑色黃條之戰鬥機，向我機追近，但被逐退。我左方炮手報

告，窺見下方地面有日戰鬥機四十四架，僅有一架起飛，所有敵方戰鬥機，均不及向我攻擊。

我方轟炸人員稱：「投彈均中目標，投彈爆炸時，余目眩無數閃光」。另一轟炸人員稱：「余見六處大火烟霧高騰天際。」次批飛機亦轟炸目標區域，但結果如何，則不得而知。余信我機係溜過敵方警戒，此實幸運，四空敵方戰鬥機甚多，高射砲火亦極猛烈，次批遭退或甚艱苦。

我機飛離東京上空襲擊海岸線。在四方大陸上空，飛行四十五分鐘之久。日本每日新聞，乃獲一九二三年地震事件以後最驚人消息矣。

### Annotation

(1) (狀如)“波浪”，“分批”，“一陣陣”。The bees came in violent waves, 蜂分批湧至。(2)“越過”，“不受對方威脅”。He out-smarted his opponents with a firm mind, 彼以堅決心勝過反對者之攻擊。(3)“ack-ack fire”，“雷射砲火”。(4)“散漫”，“不集中”(故無效力)。(又作“如麻點狀”)On a fine night, the sky is spotty with stars, 晴朗之夜，天空有衆星作斑點狀。(5)“總”。He gave an overall reply to the various queries, 彼對各項詢問予一總答覆。(6)“使相形見拙”，“使瞠乎其後”。Lincoln dwarfs his contemporaries, 林肯使其同時代之人物相形見拙。The skyscraper dwarfs the houses around it, 該摩天樓使其四鄰房屋愈現矮小。(7)“首倡”，“初次”。指一九四二年四月十八日杜立特少將率領美機初次轟炸日本東京。(8)“以…而論”，“在…方面”。The value of college education cannot be put in terms of dollars and cents, 大學教育之價值·能以金錢方式表示。(9)“途中”，“在路上”。He is on route to New York, 彼還在赴紐約途中。(10)“注意”；“等待”。He is watching for an opportunity, 彼正留心機會到來。(11)“運動場”。(12) (運動場中之)“跑道” & (飛機場之跑道爲 runaway)。(13)“bombardier”，“擲彈罐準器”。(14)日本天皇。(15)“消息” He brought word that the city was ablaze, 彼傳來消息稱全城大火。

MR. DONALD M. NELSON'S SPEECH AT THE  
PEOPLE'S POLITICAL COUNCIL

Delivered at the reception of the Council on November, 29, 1944.

納爾遜顧問在國民參政會演辭

一九四四年十一月二十九日



I am deeply honored by your invitation to address you here today, and I am particularly happy that I am able to talk to you about that vigorous new instrument of all-out war established<sup>1</sup> by the Generalissimo for the Chinese people—the War Production Board. We all know how closely Chinese and American soldiers are working together to destroy the enemy on the battlefield. Now on this occasion<sup>2</sup> we give proof to the world that our two nations are also working closely together to speed victory through greater war production on the civilian front.<sup>3</sup>

I consider the creation of the Chinese War Production Board a big forward step<sup>4</sup>—the biggest economic step yet taken by China toward the destruction of our common enemy. The Chinese situation today is in many ways similar to the situation in which the United Nations as a whole found themselves after Pearl Harbor. Turn your minds back if you will<sup>5</sup>, to the world military picture at the end of 1941. At that time the enemy was advancing on almost every front. In Eu-

今天承邀本人到貴會說話，非常榮幸。其覺得最慰的是可藉此機會向諸位報告委員長最近為中國人民所創設的一個作戰性的強力機構——就是戰時生產局。我們都知道中國和美國士兵如何的在戰場上密切合作以打擊敵人，現在我們可以向全世界證明我們兩國在非直接軍事方面也同時在密切合作，以增加戰時生產，來加速取得勝利。

我認為中國戰時生產局的成立是向前邁進了一大步——是中國在經濟方面在消滅我們共同敵人的過程中前進的最大的一步。目前中國的情勢在好幾方面都像整個聯合國在珍珠港事件發生後的情形。請各位回想一下一九四一年年底的世界軍事局面，那個時候，敵人在幾乎每一個戰場都向前推進，亞洲和非洲，在歐

rope, Asia and Africa, he was making deep inroads into the territory of the Allies. German submarines in the Atlantic and Japanese submarines in the Pacific were taking a heavy toll of our shipping. Judged in terms of military operations, the outlook was black. The leaders of the United Nations, however, swiftly worked out a basic plan of strategy. They recognized that their first task was to contain the advance of the enemy and to check it wherever they could, until the great productive resources of the United States and her Allies could be brought fully into the war.

The first major battles won by the United Nations were the battles of production and supply. In the United States we put every ounce of our energy into the job of producing everything that was needed to destroy the enemy on the battlefield, and to maintain the essential civilian economy. At the same time we worked out ways of overcoming the menace of the submarine in the vital traffic lanes of the world. Not until we had won the battles of production and supply could we establish battle superiority over the enemy.

We cannot realistically expect the military position of China wins her battles of production and supply. Only then can the quality of the brave Chinese and American soldiers and of the Generals who are directing our strategy make itself fully felt in the destruction of the Japanese armies. Like the problem of the United Nations at the time of Pearl Harbor, the Chinese problem is to find ways of containing the enemy's advance through winning the battles of production and

洲，敵人都深入了聯合國家的領土，德國在大西洋的潛水艇和日本在太平洋的潛水艇，使我們的船隻受到重大的損失。從軍事上看，那時候的情況，是很黯淡的。可是聯合國的領袖們很快的就制定了基本的作戰計畫，他們承認第一件應該做的事就是阻擊敵人的前進，儘在那裏擋住他們，就在那裏抵住他們，以等待美國及其他聯合國的偉大的生產力量得以充分的用到戰場上面。

聯合國家所獲得的第一個主要的勝仗，就是生產和供應的戰鬥。在美國，我們把每一分力量都放入生產在戰場上消滅敵人所需的一切物資和維持主要民用的物資上面。同時我們規畫了克服各主要航線所受敵人潛水艇威脅的方法。直到在生產及供應戰鬥方面獲得勝利以後，我們對敵人的戰鬥優勢方始確立。

我們不能希望中國軍事形勢能在中國生產及供應的戰鬥上獲得勝利以前可以大為改善。必須在生產及供應獲得勝利以後，英勇的小兵士，和指揮作戰的將領，他們的素質才能在殲滅日軍上充分發揚。正和珍珠港事件發生時聯合國家的情勢相同，中國目前的問題是在如何阻遏敵人之前進，和贏得生產和供應戰鬥的

supply.

Those battles must be won and won soon. <sup>12</sup> In the wars of past centuries, the civilian population often felt detached from, and even indifferent to the fighting of the armies. Today, as China knows, only too well, the civilian front is inseparable from the battlefield. They are one and the same. In modern total <sup>13</sup> war, the civilian population has a vital part in achieving victory. The productive effort and the morale of the civilian population can make difference <sup>14</sup> between victory and defeat for the fighting troops. I saw that erwe! in Russia. There, at the time of greatest military danger, when the German armies were deep in the heart of Russia, the Russian fighting men derived new strength and confidence from the fierce patriotism and relentless work of the people in the factories and on the farms. In every country, in the United States, the same principle holds <sup>15</sup> true. The will of the people to win the war is the backbone of victory on the battlefield.

We realize that to win the battles of production and supply China will need all of her courage and tenacity. We realize the tremendous economic difficulties which beset <sup>16</sup> your country today. Which much of your richest territory in the hands of the enemy with a tight blockade around your coasts, the prolonged war is putting a heavy strain on your people. You are struggling with the perils of a vicious inflation. You are confronted by a terrible transportation shortage, with fewer than 6000 trucks to serve the two hundred million people of Free China. <sup>17</sup>

勝利。

一種生產和供應方面的戰鬥必須獲得勝利，並且迅速獲得勝利。在前幾世紀的戰爭之中，一般人民往往和軍隊戰鬥隔離，有的甚至抱漠不相關的態度。然而在現在，後方和前方無法分開，二者實為一體，並無區別。這是中國所深知的。在近代的全面戰爭中，為獲取勝利，一般人民實佔有極重要的地位。一般人民在生產方面的努力以及民氣的維持，實足以左右前線軍隊的勝敗。此點在蘇聯得到一個明證。當蘇聯遭遇軍事上最大危機的時候，當德軍深入蘇聯內地的時候，蘇聯軍隊從她在工廠及農場裏人民所發出的熱烈愛國情緒和拼命工作的精神得到了新的力量和信心。在美國，在其他任何國家，此均為不易之理。一般人民對於獲取

戰爭勝利的意志，實是取勝場勝利的基石。我們知道，要想得到生產和供應戰鬥的勝利，中國需要拿出他的全部的勇敢和毅力。我們知道，在經濟方面你們正遇到極大的困難，你們最富庶的土地很多在敵人手裏。你們海岸受到敵人嚴密的封鎖及長期抗戰對於你們的人民是一個沉重的負擔。你們正在阻遏惡性通貨膨脹的危機。你們感到運輸的極端缺乏，只有不足六千輛的卡車。要供應後方兩萬萬人民

You lack many of the facilities, the machinery and equipment, necessary to do your industrial work. But the job must be done. All of Free China must be made to understand that now, under the War Production Board, the nation's efforts to produce in the face<sup>19</sup> of these great odds<sup>20</sup> have been brought together as a single force aimed at a single goal. That concentration of strength will shorten the war and will benefit all the people of the nation.

The problems which China must face in organizing for increased war production and improved supply are similar in many ways to the problems which the United States had to face when we first began our defense preparations. Like yourselves, we had to learn how to plan our economic life in wartime. We had to learn how to take all the elements of our complex individualistic economy and organize them to serve<sup>21</sup> a single national purpose. We had to learn how to make sure that the things produced in our country were the right things to help win the war, and that those things got to the right places at the right times in the right amounts. That was a hard job. But although we had to feel<sup>22</sup> our way and to guess at the answers to many of our problems, we got the job done successfully and in time. Today China can save time and effort by learning from America's experience in producing for war. I hope and believe that through our joint efforts your country will be able to make even more rapid strides<sup>23</sup> than we did. Your objective during the coming year must be at least to double or better still to triple the amount of weapons

之用。你們缺少很多工業方面必需的機器和設備。但是戰爭中人的工作必須完成。整個後方應該明瞭，現在在戰時生產局之下，全國的生產力量，不論如何困難，是集中成了一個力量，並且對準了一個目標。這種力量的集中，是

可以縮短戰爭，並且造福全國國民的。

中國在進行增加戰時生產和改良供應的時候所遇到的問題，在許多方面很像美國在初開始準備國防的時候所遇到的一樣。同你們一樣，我們要學習怎樣計畫戰時的經濟。我們要學習怎樣把複雜的個人經濟的各項因素組織起來，以達成整個國家的目標。我們要學習怎樣使實知量所有生產的物資，都是可以幫助取得有利必需的物資，並且所有的物資，都能在適當的時間，以適當的數量，用到適當的地方。這實在是一件艱難的工作。可是雖然我們必須自己摸索，並且對於許多問題自己要猜測解決的方案，我們結果把這工作及時做成功了。現在中國可以得到美國戰時生產的經驗，以節省時間和精力。我希望並且相信，由於我們共同的努力，中國甚至可能比我們進展得更快。你們明年的目標，對於自己工業生產為中國軍隊所用的軍器，至少必須達到增加兩倍或最好三倍的

provided by Chinese industry for Chinese troops. I feel certain that with real cooperation and better coordination on the part of all concerned, this objective can be accomplished and it must be accomplished.

I certainly do not regard the Chinese War Production Board as a panacea<sup>24</sup> for all of China's economic ills. China's economy cannot be transformed all at once, overnight.<sup>25</sup> For years during this terrible war there has been an adverse trend in China's economic affairs. Our first task is to reverse that trend. We must drive the curve of Chinese production once more upward. Once<sup>26</sup> production is moving forward, many of the other economic problems of China will begin to straighten themselves out.

We all realize, of course, that the total amount of Chinese war production that can be expected even under the most favorable conditions is small in comparison with American production. Limited as Chinese productive faculties are, however, they can be of vital importance. I think that we can expect to see three great benefits resulting from the mobilization of the Chinese economy for war purposes under the War Production Board. The first benefit will be an increased flow of urgently needed munitions to the battle front. The second benefit will be a strengthening of the morale of the brave and enduring Chinese people as they sense their growing productive powers, and as they sense the possibilities of future development which those powers carry with them.

力量。我相信得到各方團的真正合作和更好的聯繫，這個目標是一定可以達到，並是必須達到的。

我自然並不認為戰時生產局是一切中國經濟病症的萬應靈藥，中國經濟自然不能在瞬息之間改變她的形態。在這次艱辛，戰爭之中，中國經濟事業呈現了下降的傾向。我們首要的任務，就是要改正這種傾向。我們必須使中國生產重新向上增加。一旦生產向上增加，許多其他中國經濟問題都將比較容易解決。

當然，我們都知道中國戰時生產即使在最優越的條件之下，所能達到全部數量，較之美國的生產數量還是很小。中國的生產能力雖然有限，但是仍舊十分重要。我想戰時生產局為作戰目的而動員中國經濟，可以收到三種宏大的效果：第一種效果將是加多輸送到前線的急要軍火的數量。第二種效果將是加強中國的國民經濟在這些艱辛的歲月之中，國民經濟實在受到嚴重的創傷。第三種效果則是英勇耐勞之中國人民的民氣，將因中國生產力之增加和此項生產力增加後所能達到的未來發展而提高。

If I were <sup>23</sup> to select the single element in America's war production experience which can be of most value to your Government, I would without hesitation point to the importance of cooperation between the Government, the military and industry. Without such cooperation any Government enterprise like the War Production Board is bound to degenerate into a mere paper organization. Cooperation is the spirit of life which must be breathed into this new organization of Government before it can do its work successfully.

In the American War Production Board, we learned that the only way to make our system of priorities work, the only way to meet our schedules of production, the only way to ensure a steady flow of materials, was through the whole-hearted cooperation of Government agencies, of industrial managers and workers and of the Armed Services. Each group showed its willingness to put aside its own selfish interests in the greater interest of the Nation. Each group showed a readiness to adjust its own individual plans and programs so that the nation's plans and programs could be carried out.

We obtained this result largely through the system of committees which <sup>23</sup> was developed by the War Production Board. On the one hand we set up joint committees among the civilians Government agencies and the military services interested in each phase of war production. At the same time, we established Industry Advisory Committees drawn from able leaders of each industry to work with

假定要在美國戰時生產經驗之中挑選一項對你們政府最有價值的，我必然的提出政府軍事和工業界各方面合作之重要。假如沒有這種合作，那麼任何政府事業，戰時生產局，都會變成紙上空談。合作猶如生命的靈魂，必須灌入這個新的組織之中，然後工作才能成功。

在美國戰時生產局，我們知道唯一可以依我們的優先制度能夠實行，使我們的生產定額能夠達到，使器材能夠確實不斷供應的方法，是政府機關，工業界人士及軍事方面人員的精诚合作，每一部門的人員都表示願意放棄他的部分利益，以求國家更大的利益。每一部門的人員都準備調整自己的計畫與方案，以求國家的計畫與方案能夠見諸實行。

我們得到這種結果，大部分是依靠我們生產局推行了委員會的制度。一方面我們每一類的戰時生產由普通政府機關和軍事機關共同組織聯合委員會。同時我們設立工業顧問委員會，吸收在工業界才德卓越的領袖，來

the operating divisions of the War Production Board. Thereafter, we went even farther, and had labor-management committees, in which workers and managers sat down together in thousands of war plants to find ways of speeding up their work and getting better results.

Underlying the cooperative spirit of American war production was the realization by industry, by labor and by the public as a whole that the great emergency powers which were granted the American War Production Board were being used solely for one purpose—to win the war. At no point were these powers used to change the basic democratic institutions of our country. This is why every group concerned in American war production felt that it could safely take an unselfish position and make concessions to the common interest. Everyone recognized that the Board was an emergency organization aimed squarely at the single goal of victory.

In exercising large powers, such as must be entrusted to the Chinese War Production Board if it is to do its job successfully, there is need at the top for an exceptional degree of sound judgment, realistic thinking and an impartial and healthy interest in the welfare of the country as a whole. For that reason, I am glad to learn that the Generalissimo had appointed Dr. Wong<sup>29</sup> as Chairman of the Board. My long discussions with Dr. Wong have convinced me that he has the qualities of mind and spirit necessary to the sound direction of such a great enterprise. He and his associates in the

和戰時生產局的各部門人員共同工作。以接我們更進一步設立勞資委員會，在幾千家戰時工廠裏面。勞方與資方共同坐在一起，來研究加工工作和達到更好效果的方法。

在美國戰時生產合作精神之後面，有一個共同的認識，所有工業界工人和一般社會，大家公認美國戰時生產局所享有的戰時大權是為了一個目標而行使的——就是為取得勝利。這些大權的行使，沒有一處是為任何一部分人的利益打算而犧牲另一部分人的利益。這些大權的行使，沒有一處是改良我們國家的基本民主制度的，所以凡是參加美國戰時生產局每一部分，都覺得可以放心地採取一種大公無私的立場，為公共利益而讓步。每一個人都承認，戰時生產局是一個非常時期的機構，是以獲得勝利為唯一的目標的。

中國戰時生產局，為要使其工作能夠成功，必須賦與大權，在行使大權的時候，主持的人，必須有特別正確的判斷。切合實際的想法和對於國家整個利益公正而完全的制度。因為這個理由，我在獲悉蔣委員長特派翁部長兼任戰時生產局局長之後感覺非常愉快。我和翁局長長時間的商討，使我確悉他實具備正確領導如此巨大事業應有之心智和精神。在我看來，他和生產局同人確實具有產生此種在中國經濟方

Board seem to me admirably qualified to generate the spirit of cooperation so urgently needed in the Chinese economy.

I do not have to tell you that if cooperation fails to develop, the Chinese situation might become very precarious indeed. If any one group in the economy were in this critical time to take an uncompromising position at the expense of the national war effort, the result could be to injure the war plans of the United Nations and to cost the lives of many thousands of Chinese, American and British fighting men. If that were to happen, it is perfectly plain that the status of China, both during the war and after the war, might be seriously damaged. Whole-hearted cooperation, not only now as the War Production Board begins its work, but cooperation sustained until the war has been won, is the first essential of this undertaking.

Given full cooperation in war production, I think that the outlook for China is brighter than it ever has been during this war. The hard work of China's civilian population in war production will speed military victory. And it will also yield extra dividends for the Chinese Nation when the war comes to an end. Through learning to produce for war, China will learn to produce for peace, will begin to travel the road that leads to industrial greatness. In the world of the future, no nation can be great which is not industrial as well as agricultural.

The world attitude toward China is bound to be favorably affected by wartime proof of China's ability to obtain

面所迫切需要的合作精神的資格，並是令人欽佩。

我不必向諸位提出，如果合作不能發揮，中國情勢或將變成十分惡劣。假如在此危急之秋，中國經濟組織中任何一部門對於全國之戰時努力採取不合作的態度，其結果將損傷聯合國之作戰計畫，並將使成千成萬的中美英法門員喪失其生命。假使有這種現象發生，中國的地位，論在戰時或戰後，勢將受到嚴重的傷害。此點極為明顯，戰時之合作，實為戰時生產工作的第一要件。這種合作不僅是戰時生產局工作開始時所必需，並須延遲至戰事勝利日。

假如戰時生產能夠得到充分的合作，我認為中國的前途比較此次戰爭內過去任何時期更為光明。中國人民在戰時生產方面的辛勤工作，將使軍事勝利提早降臨，並將在戰爭結束的時候使中國得到額外的收穫。從戰時生產中，中國可以學到怎麼從事平時生產，並將開始向偉大的工業化途徑前進，在將來世界繁榮，果，不是同時工業化和農業化，沒有一個國家可以成爲一個大國。

如果中國能說明他在戰時可以獲得內部合作，並舉行一致向一建設性的目標邁進，世界

cooperation, and to work as a national unit toward a constructive goal. Through the War Production Board and the cooperative enterprise for which it stands, you will not only be fighting for victory in the war, but building the industries essential to the future of China as a great power. China has in her hands today a magnificent opportunity, and I have faith that you will use that opportunity wisely to lay the economic foundations of a splendid

各國對外國的態度自將得到良好的反應。從戰時生產局及其所代表的合作事業，中國不僅為戰爭的勝利而奮鬥，並將建立使未來中國成為一大強國所必需的工業。中國今日握有一偉大的時機，我深信中國必能善用此時機，為將來之輝煌命運確立具經濟之基礎。

#### Annotation

(1) “instrument”。(2) “際”，“現在”。Today is Christmas day; on this occasion we pray for the realization of “Peace on Earth, good-will toward Men”，今日為耶誕日；此時吾人所祈求者為“和平世界，善意對人”之實現。(3) “civilian”，“民用”，“民事”。“On the civilian front”，“在民事上”，故“非直接軍事方面”，與上句之“on the battlefield”相對而言。(4) “邁進一步”（與toward伴用）。The enlistment of educated youth is a big forward step toward the building up of a really modern Chinese army，知識青年投軍對建立真正近代中國軍隊一大邁步。(5) 即“if you will do so”。Keep that if you will，請君將此物留用（如果君預留用，留亦可也）。(6) “蒙受損失”。The American army took a heavy toll of Japanese troops in Leyte，雷以泰美軍使日軍蒙受重大損失。(7) “在…方面”，“以…表示”。The value of friendship cannot be expressed in terms of money，友誼之價值不能以金錢表示之。(8) “抑制”，“阻遏”。He could hardly contain himself, 彼不能自制。(9) “一丟”，“少”。Every ounce of courage contributes to the winning of a battle, 每一分勇氣（勇氣多少）皆有助於戰事之勝利。(10) 指“quality” (11) “發揮效力”，“發揚”（與“make”伴用）。The strength of our new army of educated youth will make itself felt in dealing with military situations after the war, 知識份子所組成之軍於應付戰後，軍事上一切局勢將發揚其力量。(12) 即“must be won soon”重覆用此句強調時間意味，在“soon”一字，前者“must be won”，係言“須往”（necessity），着重“must”一字。(13) “全面”。(14) “左右”，“使有差異”。Industry and application make a difference between success and failure, 勤奮為成功與失敗之關鍵。(15) “有效”，“不易之理”。The law of evolution also holds true in literature, 進化律在文學方面亦為有效。(16) “遭遇”，“臨到”。The man is beset with dangers on all sides, 此人四處遭遇危險。(17)（自由的中國）“後方”。(18) “對抗”，“遭遇”。He persevered in the face of a possible defeat, 彼以堅定之心應付可能之敗北。

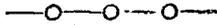
(19) “困難”，“不利之事” *The bear struggled against the great odds of an unfavourable wind and bad weather*，在風勢與惡劣氣候不利情況下，把船奮力前進。(20) “……之用”，“適合……目的” *This will serve my purpose*，此物適我之用。(21) “摸索”，“推測” *He tried to feel his way out in a dense forest*，他在密林中摸索。(22) “及時” *He came in time*，彼及時趕到。(23) “進步”(變make 俚用) *He has made great strides in his studies*，彼之學業大有進步。(24) “萬病良藥”，“萬應之劑” *Money is a panacea for all ills*，金錢係濟萬病之藥。(25) “隔夜”，“瞬息之間” *such a big task cannot be done overnight*，此項重大任務非可瞬息完成。(26) “Once” 此種用法，係看臨其前之“if”或“when”，作“設使”或“一旦”解 *Once you begin (=if you start to begin or when once you begin)*，you are sure to go on well，設使(一旦)開始，即進行順利。(27) subjunctive mood，言事實上不能實現一類之詞語。(28) 指“system”。(29) 偽文論博士。(30) “犧牲” *He did this at the expense of his character*，彼為名譽而為此。(31) Subjunctive mood，事實上不能有此。(32) “假使”=“if……is given” *Given better equipments, our soldiers will be able to fight as strongly as those of any country*，如我國士兵得有優良設備，其戰鬥力不亞任何國家之士兵。

## PRES. ROOSEVELT'S JEFFERSON DAY ADDRESS

Scheduled by the late Pres. Roosevelt to have it delivered in a  
broadcast to Jefferson Day dinners, as released by  
Secretary Stephen Early.

### 羅斯福總統預定哲斐孫日之講稿

故羅斯福總統準備於本年哲斐孫日晚餐，對全國廣播之演說詞，此係其秘書歐爾利發表者。



Americans are gathered together this evening in communities all over the country to pay tribute<sup>1</sup> to the living memory<sup>2</sup> of Thomas A. Jefferson—one of the greatest of all democrats; and I want to make it<sup>3</sup> clear that I am spelling the word 'democrat' with a small 'd'.<sup>4</sup>

In this historic year, more than ever before, we do well to consider the character of Thomas Jefferson as an American citizen of the world. As Minister to France, then as our first Secretary of State and as our third president, Jefferson was instrumental<sup>5</sup> in the establishment of the United States as a vital factor in international affairs. It was he who first sent our Navy into far distant waters<sup>6</sup> to defend our rights. And the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine was a logical development of Jefferson's far-seeing foreign policy.

Today this nation which Jefferson helped to build is playing a tremendous part in a battle for the rights of man<sup>7</sup> all over the world. Today we are part of the vast Allied force—a force composed

全國在國際之美國人民均在今晚集會敬為

紀念一最大之民主人物哲斐孫。余預先說明余

言及民主之一字時，并非專指某一政黨而言。  
在此較諸以往更具有歷史性之一年，吾人

至願對此一世界一美國公民之哲斐孫之個性，  
加以研究。哲斐孫先任駐法大使、繼為吾國第

一任國務卿及第三屆總統、為使美國成為國際

上一重要因素之有力人物。彼第一次將美國海  
軍派往遙遠海洋、以防衛吾國之權利，同時門

羅主義之宣布、亦為哲斐孫高瞻遠矚之外交政

策之合理發展。

今日哲斐孫所協助建立之美國，已在為全

世界人民爭取權利之戰爭中担负重大責任矣。

今日美國乃廣大聯合力量——此乃由血與肉及

of flesh and blood and steel and spirit— which today is destroying the makers of war, the breeders of hatred in Europe and Asia.

In Jefferson's time our Navy consisted of only a handful of frigates headed by the gallant USS<sup>8</sup> Constitution—"Old Ironsides"<sup>9</sup>—but that tiny Navy taught the nations across the Atlantic that piracy in the Mediterranean—acts of aggression against peaceful commerce and the enslavement of their crews—was<sup>10</sup> one of those things which,<sup>11</sup> among neighbors, simply was not done.

Today we have learned in the agony of war that great power involves great responsibility. Today we can no more<sup>12</sup> escape the consequences of German and Japanese aggression than we could avoid the consequences of the attacks by the Barbary Corsairs<sup>13</sup> a century and a half before.

We, as Americans, do not choose to deny our responsibility. Nor do we intend to abandon our determination that, within the lives of our children, and our children's children there will not be a third world war.

We seek peace—enduring peace. More than an end to the war, we want an end to the beginnings of all wars—yes, an end to this brutal, inhuman and thoroughly impractical method of settling the differences between governments. Once powerful,<sup>14</sup> the malignant Nazi state is crumbling. Japanese warlords are receiving, in their own homeland, the retribution for which they asked when they attacked Pearl Harbor.

The mere conquest of our enemies is

鋼鐵與精神所構成之國力之一部分、而今日此一力量正從事於戰爭之製造者與歐亞兩洲仇恨之發生者。

當習裴孫當政之時、吾人海軍僅由以英所之美國立憲號為主力之少數巡洋艦所組成、作此一微弱之海軍、曾使各國獲得超過大西洋之經驗、當時在地中海方面之海盜行為、——自使和平商業及征服此等商船之行爲——乃諸國所不能克服事件之一。

今日吾人已由戰爭痛苦中獲得教訓、即大則具有重大之責任、今日吾人雖能避免一世紀以來所曾遭之海盜結果、而不能再行逃避今日侵略之結果矣。

吾等美國人民已無法再否認吾人所應負之責任、吾人亦不擬放棄吾人所有在吾人後世子孫時代使不再發生第三次世界大戰之決心。

吾人尋求和平——永久之和平、不但希望終止戰爭、且希望終止一切戰爭之起因——同時亦即此種野蠻不人道及完全不合實際解決國際糾紛方法之終止。此種力量一旦加強、不詳之解釋國家必為之崩潰、日本軍閥亦將在其本國後受彼於要緊珍珠港後所希望之報應。

吾人之全力、都將使此結果而成為可能。

not enough. We must go on to do all in our power to conquer the doubts and fears, ignorance and greed, which made this horror possible. Thomas Jefferson, himself distinguished, once spoke of the brotherly spirit of science, which unites into one family all its vocaries<sup>16</sup> of whatever grade, and however widely dispersed throughout different quarters of the globe.

Today common science has brought all the different quarters of the globe so close together that it is impossible to isolate them one from another. Today we are faced with the preeminent fact that, if civilization is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationships—the ability of all peoples, of all kinds, to live together and work together, in the same world, at peace. Let me assure you that my heart is steadier for the work that is to be done, that I move more firmly into task, knowing that you—millions and millions of you—are joined with me in a resolve to make this work.

The work my friends, is peace. More than an end to this war—an end to the beginnings of all wars. Yes, an end to this impractical, unrealistic settlement of the differences between governments by mass killings of peoples.

Today we move against the terrible scourge of war. As we go forward toward the greatest contribution that any generation of human beings can make in this world—the contribution of lasting peace, I ask you to keep your faith. I measure the sound, solid achievement that can be made at this time by the straight edge of your

之思想，恐將與貪婪、愚昧、及之相乘而將科學

之友誼精神，言之益矣。此種精神將散在地

球各地，各種崇拜此種精神之人士，皆為一家。  
今日一般科學已將全球各部份團結一致、

不能再使其彼此孤立、今日吾人面對一永恆之  
事實，即如欲使文明繼續存在吾人必須養成人  
類關係之科學、——即所有各種人民在同一和  
平世界中共同生活、共同工作之能力。願向君  
等說明、當會得悉汝等千百萬人民決定與余共  
同任此一工作時、余更放心從事此一工作、且  
更形堅定矣。

余之朋友乎！此一工作即為和平、不但終  
止此次戰爭、且將終止一切戰爭之起因。誠然  
、永遠終止此種以大量屠殺人民不合實際之解  
決國際糾紛方法。

今日吾人反對戰爭之可怕與認吾人邁向

於此一世界中任何代人類均能做到的貢獻——

永久和平之貢獻時、余希望汝等遵守信約、余

將以汝等之信任與決心、測度此項所能獲得之

confidence and resolve. And to you, and to all the Americans who dedicate themselves with us to the making of an abiding peace, I say: The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with a strong and active faith.

堅定成實。余今昭告汝等、及委身與吾人共同  
造成永久和平之美國人民、吾人實現明日之唯一  
限制、惟吾人今日之猶疑、吾人認以能必主  
動之決心、勇在前進。

Annotations

- (1) “致敬”，“讚揚”。The people pay tribute to the bravery of the air force, 全國人民讚揚空軍之勇氣。(2) “紀念”。A monument was erected to the living memory of the unknown hero, 人民建碑紀念無名英雄。(3) “it” 係代 object, “that”-clause, 係代 object, 在文法上與“it” 同位。(4) 因“democrat” 一字之首字母“d” 若用 capital letter 則指美國“民主黨人”；用 small letter 則指汎指之“主張民主者”。(5) “有功”，“與有力”。I was instrumental in getting a position for me, 我之獲得工作，彼與有力。(6) “waters” 多數指“海洋”。(7) “man” 單數 (woman, nature 同) 指全體，不用 article, “the”。(8) “USS” 應為“U.S.S” 即“United States Ship”。(9) “Gli Ironsides” 指英軍艦。“Ironsides” 為英國格林威爾級之軍艦。(10) “was” 之 subject 為“piracy”。(11) “which” 之前首字為“one”。(12) “no more... than”, 不勝... 之...。The crippled soldier can no more fight than he did before, 此殘廢軍人不再能如以前作戰矣。(13) 十九世紀橫行太平洋上之海盜名。(14) “powerful” 形詞“state”, 係 participial phrase “Being, once powerful” 之“being” 省略。(15) “himself” 與“Thomas Jefferson” 同位。(16) “信徒”，“崇拜者”。He is a votary of Buddhism, 其崇拜佛教。

PRES. HARRY S. TRUMAN'S MESSAGE TO U. S. CONGRESS

Delivered to a joint session of the Congress on April 16, 1945.

杜魯門總統在美國會演說

一九四五年四月十六日在美國會兩院聯席會議發表

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Members of Congress:

<sup>1</sup> It is with a heavy heart that I stand before you, my friends and colleagues in the Congress of the United States.

Only yesterday we laid to rest the mortal remains of our beloved President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. At a time like this words are inadequate. The most eloquent tribute would be a reverent silence.

Yet, in these decisive hours, when world events are moving so rapidly our silence might be misunderstood and might give comfort to our enemies. In His infinite wisdom, the Almighty God has seen it fit to take<sup>2</sup> from us a great man who loved, and was beloved by, all humanity. No man could possibly fill the tremendous void left by the passing of that noble soul. No words can ease the aching hearts of untold millions of every race, creed and color. The world knows it has lost a heroic champion of justice and freedom. The tragic fate has thrust upon us grave responsibilities. We must carry on. Our departed leader never looked backward, he looked forward and moved forward. That is what he would want us to do. That is what America will do. So

議長先生、主席、及議員諸君……

敝人今以沉重之心情、與美國國會中會之

友人及同僚諸君相晤於此。

昨日吾人甫安葬我敬愛之故總統福羅德之

遺體、值茲時際、言辭均欠適恰、最卓越之敬

意乃虔敬之靜穆。

然值茲世界事件迅速進展之決定時刻、吾

人之處境、可能被人誤解、並可能為敵人引以

為快。萬能之主宰察其無窮之智慧、已作其決

定、自吾人中擷走一熱愛人類、並為人類所熱

愛之偉人。無人可能填補因彼崇高生靈之去而

留下之極大空虛、任何言辭均不能撫慰每一種

族、每種信仰、及每一膚色或百萬廣大人民之

創痛心靈、世界因其已失去一為正義及自由而

戰之英勇鬥士。可悲之命運已投擲吾人以沉重

之責任、吾人必須勇敢前進、我已逝之領袖從

不後顧、渠應眺望前程、並向前邁進、後所

希冀吾人所為者即此、美國將所為者亦即此。

much blood has already been shed for the ideals which we cherish, and for which Franklin Delano Roosevelt lived and died, that we dare not permit even a momentary pause in the hard fight for victory.

Today, the entire world is looking to America for enlightened leadership to peace and progress. Such a leadership requires vision, courage and tolerance. It can be provided only by a united nation, deeply devoted to the highest ideals.

With great humility, I call upon all Americans to help me keep our nation united in defense of those ideals which have been so eloquently proclaimed by Franklin Roosevelt. I want in turn to assure my fellow Americans and all of those who love peace and liberty throughout the world that I will support and defend those ideals with all my strength and all my heart. That is my duty and I shall not shirk it. So that there can be no possible misunderstanding, both Germany and Japan can be certain that beyond any shadow of a doubt, America will continue the fight for freedom until no vestige of resistance remains.

We are deeply conscious of the fact that much hard fighting is still ahead of us. Having to pay such a heavy price to make complete victory certain, America will never become a party to any plan for partial victory. To settle for merely another temporary respite would surely jeopardize the future security of all the world. Our demand has been, and it remains, unconditional surrender.

吾人爲我所懷抱之理想及羅斯福總統畢生致力以求之理想，已流灑無比鮮血，是以吾人不

於爭取勝利之艱辛鬥爭中，有一刻之停息。

今日全世界均期待美國在通往和平及進步方面之開明領導，似此之領導，需要眼光，勇敢及忍耐。此唯對最崇高理想灌注最深誠實之一團結團結始可獲致。

余茲以深厚之謙卑心情，懇請美國全國人民予余協助，使我全國團結保衛羅斯福總統所宣稱之卓越之奮鬥開明之各種理想。余亦願告我美國同胞及全世界愛好和平及自由之人士，余將以余全部精力及整個心靈支持並保衛上述理想。此乃余之責任，余將不躲避此一責任。由是將不致產生誤解。德日兩國均將確知美國必將繼續爲自由而戰，直至敵人毫無抵抗痕跡而後已。

吾人均深悉極艱辛大戰仍懸於吾人之前，美國既須付出如許代價以確保獲致整個勝利，故永將不爲擬定任何局部和平計劃之一份子，僅謀暫時之休息，必將危及全世界未來安全。過去吾人所要求者，乃敵人之無條件投降，今

We will not traffic with the breakers of the peace on the terms of the peace for the making of the peace. And it is a very grave responsibility. Much rests with the defenders of peace.

We are not unconscious of the dictates of humanity. We do not wish to see unnecessary or unjustified suffering. But the laws of God and man have been violated and the guilty must not go unpunished. Nothing shall shake our determination to punish the war criminals, even though we must pursue them to the ends of the earth. A lasting peace will not be secured if we permit our dangerous opponents to plot future wars with impunity at any mountain retreat, however distant, in this shrinking world. It is futile to see safety behind geographical barriers. Real security will be found only in law and in justice.

Here in America, we have labored long and hard to achieve a social order worthy of our great heritage. In our time, tremendous progress has been made toward a really democratic way of life. Let me assure the forward-looking people of America that there will be no relaxation in our efforts to improve the lot of the common people.

In the difficult days ahead, unquestionably we shall face problems of staggering proportions. However, with the faith of our fathers in our hearts, we do not fear the future. On the battlefields, we have frequently faced overwhelming odds and won. At home, Americans will not be less resolute. We shall never cease our struggle to preserve and maintain

日仍然如此，吾人不與破壞和平者往來商洽，建立和平之條件，此乃一極沉重之責任，而大部份需賴保衛和平者之努力。

吾人瞭解人類之謠言，吾人不欲目擊不必毀滅不應有之受難，但上帝與人之規律現已被破壞，有罪者必勿使其不受懲戒，任何事不能動搖吾人胸襟戰爭罪惡之決心，即使吾人必須追尋彼等至天涯地角，亦所不惜。吾人倘允許危險或性之敵人，在此縮小中之世界之任何山地（不論其如何遙遠）不受損害，而計劃將來之戰爭，則永久和平即不能獲致，欲於地運轉之後謀求安全誠不可能，真正之安全，唯有求諸法律與正義。

吾人在美國曾於長期艱苦工作中，完成符合吾人偉大傳統之社會秩序，在吾人此一時代，亟向真正民主生活方式之工作，業已獲得偉大之進展。余茲欲向眼光远大之美國人民提議，吾人在促進全人類幸福之努力中，將永無鬆懈。

在未來之艱苦時日中，吾人無疑將堅決應付刻巨異常之問題，吾人心中現具有祖先之信念，則對於將來決無所用其恐懼，吾人於戰場上時常遭遇優勢之敵人，然終於獲勝，在國際之吾美同胞，亦將同樣剛強，吾人永不中止，

our American way of life.

At this moment, America, along with her brave Allies, is paying again a heavy price for the defense of our freedom. With characteristic energy, we are assisting in the liberation of entire nations. Gradually, the shackles of slavery are being broken by the forces of freedom. All of us are praying for a speedy victory. Every day peace is delayed costs a terrible toll.

The armies of liberation today are bringing to an end Hitler's ghastly threat to dominate the world. Tokyo rocks under the weight of our bombs. The grand strategy of a United Nations war had been determined—due to, in no small measure, the vision of our departed Commander-in-Chief. We are now carrying out our part of that strategy under the able direction of Admiral Leahy, General Marshall, Admiral King, General Arnold, General Eisenhower, Admiral Nimitz and General MacArthur. I want the entire world to know that this direction must and will remain unchanged and unhindered.

Our debt to the heroic men and valiant women in the service of our country can never be repaid. They have earned our undying gratitude. America will never forget their sacrifices. Because of these sacrifices, the dawn of justice and freedom throughout the world slowly casts its gleam across the horizon. Our forefathers came to our rugged shores in search of religious tolerance, political freedom and economic opportunity. For these fundamental rights, they risked

保與支持吾等生活方式之鬥爭。

在此時際，美國與其英勇之盟邦，正為保

衛自由而再度償付慘重之代價，吾人正以持有

之精力協助所有國家之解放，奴隸桎梏，逐漸

為自由之力量所粉碎，吾人正祈禱一迅速之勝

利，和平將隨一日增加可怖之死傷數目。

解放軍隊今正從事了德希特勒欲對世界

之可怖威脅，東京現在正震懼於吾人炸彈之下

，聯合國之偉大戰略已經決定，此種決定，應

歸功於方與吾人永別之統帥者甚多。吾人現在

李海將軍，馬尼爾將軍，金氏將軍，安諾德將

軍，艾森豪威爾將軍，與麥克阿瑟將軍賢明指

導之下，繼續實行此項戰略中吾人所担任之一

部分，余願全世界咸知此種指導，均須且將繼

持不替，並不受妨礙。

吾人對吾國服務之英勇男女所負之債務：

永不能清償，彼等已獲得吾人永矢勿忘之誠敬

之忱，美國將永不忘懷其犧牲，因其犧牲，

普世正透自由之黎明光輝，始得湧現於地平線

上。吾等祖來此荒蕪之海岸，乃為尋求宗教上

之自由，政治上之自由，及經濟機會，彼等為

此基本權利不惜冒生命之危險，吾人深知此種

their lives. We well know that such rights can be preserved only by constant vigilance, the eternal price of liberty.

Within an hour after I took the oath <sup>10</sup> of office, I announced that the San Francisco Conference would proceed. We will face the problems of peace with the same courage that we have faced and mastered the problems of war. In the memory of those who have made the supreme sacrifice, in the memory of our fallen president, we shall not fail. It is not enough to yearn for peace. We must and if necessary, fight for it. The task of creating a sound international organization is complicated and difficult. Yet, without an organization, the rights of men on earth cannot be protected. Machinery for the just settlement of international differences must be found. Without such machinery, the entire world will have to remain an armed camp. The world will be doomed <sup>11</sup> to deadly conflict, devoid of hope for real peace.

Fortunately, people have retained hope for a durable peace. Thoughtful people have always had faith that ultimately justice must triumph, past experience surely indicates that without justice, an enduring peace becomes impossible. In bitter despair some people have come to believe that wars are inevitable. With tragic fatalism, they insist that as wars have always been, <sup>12</sup> of necessity wars always will be. To such defeatism, men and women of good will must not and can not yield. The outlook for humanity is not so hopeless. During the dark

權利，惟有藉經常之警覺及自由之永久代價，方能保持。

余宣誓就職後一小時內，即宣布舊金山會議當繼續進行，吾人將以應付及解決戰爭問題同樣之勇氣，以應付和平問題，為紀念已盡最大之犧牲者，為紀念吾人已逝世之總統，吾人不能失敗。渴望和平，尚嫌不足。吾人必須工作，在必要時，且須鬥爭，以求和平。創造一健全國際機構之任務，乃繁重而艱鉅者，但無此種機構，人類之權利將無法保障。公平解決國際紛爭之機構必須獲得，如無此種機構，整個世界將成爲一武裝之陣營，世界勢必演成殊死之鬥爭，而無真正和平之望。

今幸而人民仍保有經久和平之希望，有思想之人民，常信正義終必勝利，過去之經驗，確實指明如無正義，久長之和平決不可觀。在苦痛失望之中，若干人民相信戰爭爲必不可免者，彼等懷悲劇性之宿命主義，堅信戰爭必將常發生，一如以往之常發生者然。善惡之男女對於此種失敗主義，決不可且亦不能信服，人類之前途不致如此無望，在此次可怖戰爭中之黑暗時期，所有國家皆爲某種難以解釋之事物

hours of this horrible war entire nations were kept going by something intangible—hope. When warned that abject submission offered the only salvation against overwhelming power, hope showed the way to victory. Hope has become the secret weapon of the forces of liberation. Aggressors could not dominate the human mind. As long as <sup>13</sup> hope remains, the spirit of men will never be crushed.

But hope alone was not and is not sufficient to avert <sup>14</sup> war. We must not only have hope but we must have faith enough to work with other peace-loving nations to maintain the peace. Hope was not enough to beat back the aggressors as long as peace-loving nations were unwilling to come to each other's defense. The aggressors will be beaten back only when the peace-loving nations united to defend themselves.

If wars in the future are to be prevented, the nations must be united in their determination to keep the peace under law. Nothing is more essential to the future peace of the world than the continued cooperation of the nations which had to muster the force necessary to defeat the conspiracy of the Axis powers to dominate the world. While these great states have a special responsibility to enforce, their responsibility is based upon obligations resting upon all states, large and small, not to use force in international relations except in the defense of law. The responsibility of the great states is to serve and not to dominate the world. For the foundation of an enduring peace we must not only

(希望)所興起，當彼等受到警告。謂卑怯之投降為對鉅大之力量之惟一拯救方法時，「希望」乃指出勝利之道路，「希望」成為解放勞力之秘密武器「希望」，存在一日，侵略者即一日不能支配人類之思想，人類之精神將永不能毀滅。

但僅有「希望」以往與現在均不足避免戰爭，吾人必須不能僅有「希望」，但吾人必須具有足夠之信念，可與其他愛好自由之國家合作，以維持和平。愛好自由之國家，一日不願互助防衛，則「希望」即一日不足以擊退侵略者，僅有愛好自由之國家聯合自衛時，侵略者方能被擊退。

欲制止未來之戰爭，各國必須決心團結一致，於法律之下保持和平。各國之繼續合作，為確保未來世界和平之重要因素，過去各國皆不得不集中力量以擊敗軸心國家統治世界之陰謀，此等大國具有實現和平之特別責任，然其責任乃以所有大小國家除於保障法律時，勿於國際上使用武力之一項義務為基礎。大國之責任為服務世界，而非統治世界，為永久和平之基礎計，吾人不僅須與國外友人合作，且

work in harmony with our friends abroad, but we must have the united support of our own people. Even the most experienced pilot cannot bring a ship safely into harbor, unless he has the full cooperation of the crew. For the benefit of all, every individual must do his duty.

I appeal to every American, regardless of party, race, creed, or color, to support our efforts to build a strong and lasting United Nations organization. You the members of Congress surely know how I feel. Only with your help can I hope to complete one of the greatest tasks ever assigned to a public servant. With divine guidance and your help, we will find the new passage to a far better world, a kindly and friendly world, with just and lasting peace.

With confidence, I am depending upon all of you to destroy the greedy tyrants with dreams of world domination. We cannot continue in successive generations to sacrifice our finest youth. In the name of human decency and civilization, a more rational method of deciding national differences must, and will be, found. America must assist suffering humanity back along the path of peaceful progress. This will require time and tolerance. We shall need also an abiding faith in the people, the kind of faith and courage which Franklin Delano Roosevelt always had.

Today, America has become one of the most powerful forces for good on earth. We must keep it so, for we have achieved a world leadership which does

須具有我國人民一致之支持也。關係最有經驗

之船工，除非具有全體人員之通力合作，亦不

能將船安妥港口，為全體之利益計每人須克盡

職責。

余願仰請每一美國人民，無分黨派種族宗教國色，支持吾人之努力，以期建立一堅強及持久之聯合國組織。余為國會議員之在座諸君，定能深知余究如何感覺，余確有諸君之協助，始能希望完成一公僕所從未受命之最鉅大工作。吾人將隨神靈之領導及諸君之協助，尋獲一新途徑，以達一具有正義及持久和平之較佳之世界；一親愛及友好之世界。

余以堅決之信心，願諸君，以摧毀貪婪暴君征服世界之夢想。吾人決不容後代再犧牲其優秀之青年，在保護人類禮法及人類文明號召之下，國際爭端，務須且必將以合理方法解決。美國必須幫助正受苦難之全體人類，同尋和平進步之大道，此自當時間與忍耐，吾人亦願人民之堅定信心，亦即羅斯福總統素所具有之信心及勇敢。

美國今日已成為世界爭取善良之最大力量之一。此吾等必須繼續如此，吾人業已建立一非

not depend solely upon our military and naval might.

We learned to fight with other nations in common defense of our freedom. We must now learn to live with other nations for our mutual good. We must learn to trade more with other nations so that there may be—for our mutual advantage—increased production, increased employment and better standards of living throughout the world.

May " we Americans all live up to our glorious heritage! In that way, America may well lead the world to peace and prosperity.

At this moment, I have in my heart a prayer. As I assume my heavy duties, I humbly pray to Almighty God in the words<sup>18</sup> of Solomon:<sup>19</sup>

"Give, therefore, Thy servant an understanding heart to judge Thy people, that I may discern between good and bad. For who is able to judge this, Thy so great people? I ask only to be a good and faithful servant of my Lord and my people."<sup>20</sup>

徒海陸軍力量所能獲得之領導世界地位也。

過去吾等業已學習，為共同保衛自由，應如何與其他國家協同作戰。目前吾等應再學習，為保持相互之利益，應如何與其他國家和平共處，吾等更須學習，為謀相互之利益，應如何與其他國家通商貿易，以便增加全世界之生產，增加全世界人民就業之機會，及提高全人類之生活水準。

願吾等美人民，均能繼承吾等光榮之傳統。能如是，美國必能引導全世界進入和平繁榮之途。

際此場合，余願衷心禱祝，余為接膺重任，願以所羅門之言向吾天父恭禱。

「願上帝賜汝忠實之僕人以睿智，以辨議萬事，俾能明辨是非，懲惡獎善。蓋除主外，究有何人具有裁判如斯偉大民族之能力，余謹願作上帝及人民忠實良善之臣僕。」

## Annotations

(1) "It" 爲強調 "with a heavy heart" 作用。原有次序爲 "I stand before you with a heavy heart"。例: I speak to you"; 若加強 "to you" 則爲 "It is to you that I speak"。

(2) "to take……" 短語爲 "has seen" 之真 object, 現爲 "it" 之同位字。(3) "so that" 接上句語氣爲 independent adverb, 與其他句第一字用 "But" 或 "And" 同, 承上作用, 獨立語詞不與本句中之任何一字發生文法上關係, 乃與整句相榮, 事實上與本句之 verb 有關。

(4) "痕跡", "蹤跡"。We find in Chinese painting some vestiges of Greek influence, 中國畫中可尋索古希臘影響之跡。(5) "依", "驟"。It rests with you to decide, 此事歸汝決定。(6) "無損", "無害", "免罰"。One cannot do any wrong to another with impunity, 人不能傷害他人而免受處分。(7) "peace" 之前有 "when" 字省略, "when" 爲 adverbial conjunction 介紹一 adjectival clause, 其前置字爲 "day", 其他同此用法爲 The place where he lives, The reason why he comes, 中之 "where" 及 "why" 皆可省略 (與 I go where you go, I ask why he comes 中之 "where" 與 "why" 不同。此兩句中中之 where 介紹一 adverbial clause, 而 "why" 則介紹一 noun clause)。(8) "In no small measure", "甚多", 比 "in a large measure" (義同) 強勢, 蓋英文修辭中原否定字置於弱字之前, 更顯正面之強勢, 故 "in the not distant future" 較 "in the near future" 爲強, 新約使徒行傳與保羅講道中有云 "I am a city of no mean city"。(9) "尋求"。He comes to Free China in search of liberty, 彼來後方目的在尋求自由。(10) to take the oath of office", "宣誓就職"。The new Ministers took the oath of office last month, 上月新任部長宣誓就職。(11) "注定", "命定", "數定"。The Nazi Germany is doomed to collapse, 納粹德國之崩潰乃爲定數。(12) "have been" 及 "will be" 皆爲 verb "be" 當 "存在", "發生" (exist) 解之兩種時間式。即 Wars will exist as they have existed. i-Be 此種用法可在 I am here 中之 "am" 及 "whatever is, is right" 中之第一 "is" 又 "There is a house" 中之 "is", 見之。此各 be 字皆爲敘述完全之 intransitive verb (of complete predication) 和 I go, you walk, 之 "go", "walk" 同用, 非作 linking verb 用之。I am a Chinese, She is clever, 中之 "am" 與 "is" 需要 Subjective complement (Chinese, clever) 者相同。此二者獨立敘述不完全 (intransitive verb of incomplete predication) 需要 Complement。(13) "一日……, 一日……" I will help you as long as I am here, 余在此一日扶助汝一日。(14) "避免"。He tried to avert the misfortune but failed, 彼圖避免不幸之事發生而失敗。(15) "籲請", "呼籲"。Many refugees appeal to the government for help, 甚多難民籲請政府協助。(16) "so" 代表上句之義。(17) "May……live" 係 subjunctive verb 表示祈求, 願望, "May" 字須置句首。(18) 引用 (某人) 之語。"In the words of Lincoln a democracy is a 'government of the people, by the people, for the people', 今引林肯之言曰民主政府乃民有, 民治, 民享之政府。(19) 古猶太國國王以飛越稱。(20) 見聖經舊約帝王紀。

PRES. ROOSEVELT'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS AS FOURTH  
TERM PRESIDENT OF THE U. S.

Delivered on January 20, 1945.

羅斯福總統第四屆就職演詞

一九四五年一月二十日



You will understand and, I believe, agree with my wish that the form of this inauguration be <sup>1</sup> simple and its words brief. We Americans of today, together with our allies, are passing through a period of supreme test. It is a test of our courage, of our resolve, of our wisdom, of our essential democracy.

If we meet that test successfully and honourably we shall perform a service of historic importance which men and women and children will honor throughout <sup>2</sup> time. As I stand here today having taken the solemn oath of office in the presence of my fellow countrymen, in the presence of our God, I know that it is America's purpose that <sup>2</sup> we shall not fail.

In the days and years that are to come <sup>3</sup> we shall work for a just and durable peace as today we work and fight for total victory in war. We can and we will achieve such a peace. We shall strive for perfection. We shall not achieve it immediately but we still shall strive. We may <sup>4</sup> take but they must never be

余此次就任總統，儀式簡單，演詞簡短，其用意想諸君當能明瞭，且深信可獲諸君同意。蓋吾等今日之美國人民以及吾人之盟友，則正經歷一最高試驗之階段。吾人之勇氣，決心，智慧，乃至吾人民治精神之要質，皆在試驗之中。

如吾人能光榮渡過此一試驗，則吾人即可完成一項具有歷史意義之服務，獲得舉世男女老幼之永遠景仰。余今日在全國同胞之前宣誓就職，有一語可以貢獻各位：即吾美國人民抱有一項目的，即吾人不能失敗。

吾人在未來若干時日或年月之間，尚須努力求取公正持久之和平，一如今日為戰爭中之全面勝利而工作而作戰者然。吾人力能且必將求得此種和平。吾人將努力以觀厥成，然吾人不能立即達目的而必須繼續努力。吾人可能

mistakes that result from faltness of heart or abandonment of moral principle.

I remember that my old schoolmaster said, in days that seemed to us then to be secure and untroubled, "Things in life will not always run smoothly. Sometimes we will be rising toward the heights, then all will seem to reverse itself and start downward. The great fact to remember is that the trend of civilization itself is forever upward, that a line drawn through the middle of the peaks and the valleys of the centuries always has an upward trend."

Our Constitution of 1787 was not a perfect instrument. It is not perfect yet. But it provided a firm base upon which all manner of men, of all races and colors and creeds, could build our solid structure of democracy.

Today in this year of war 1945 we have learned lessons at a fearful cost, and we shall profit by them. We have learned that we can not live alone, at piece that our own well being is dependent on the well-being of other nations far away. We have learned that we must live as men, not as ostriches, nor as dogs in the manger. We have learned to be citizens of the world, members of the human community. We have learned the simple truth, as Emerson said, that the only way to have a friend is to be one.

We can gain no lasting peace if we approach it with suspicion and distrust and with fear. We can gain it only if we proceed with the understanding and confidence and courage which flow from conviction.

造成錯誤，然此等錯誤決不能係心志怯弱或棄道德原則而發生者。

猶憶兒時，認為新生之時代安全無事，

師因之驚傷吾等謂：「人生決無永久平順之

吾人有時如登高山，但少頃之間一！反是

吾人又往下山途中。吾人於此可得一種至理

即：世界文明本身之趨向係永遠向上不止，

此吾人如自千百年文明起伏之正中劃一線則

趨亦永保向上之趨勢。

吾人一七八七年之憲法在過去以及在今雖尚未能稱為盡善盡美之典章；然此一憲法具有一堅固基礎，吾人有此基礎固可建立一階級，不分種族，膚色，及宗教之堅固之治權將於其上也。

在一九四五戰爭年度之今日，吾人已以大代價，領略種種教訓，吾人應藉此獲益。人已知吾人不能單獨於和平之中求吾人本身福利，須以與吾人相隣遠邇之其他國家之福為條件。吾人已知吾人不能如鴉鳥或如豬中食之犬，純以己身利害之立場，與世界其他族相立並存。反之，吾人與彼等應以與有人之人類共立生存。吾人已學習作世界之公民人類社會之份子。吾人並已認識，愛默生氏所陳述之簡單真理，即：交友惟一之道，在身以友視待人是也。

知吾人以懷疑不信任與恐懼之態度處之

則無法獲得持久和平。吾人惟有以諒解信任

將信心而來之勇氣行事，始能獲得持

The Almighty God has blessed our land, in many ways. He has given our people stout hearts and strong arms with which to strike 7 mighty blows for freedom and truth. He has given to our country a faith which has become the hope of all peoples in an anguished world. We pray now to Him for the vision to see our way clearly, to see the way that leads to a better life for ourselves and for all our fellow men; to the achievement of His will to peace on earth.

上帝已於多方面賜福我土，彼使吾國人民有緊張之意志與力量，為維護自由真理而從事強有力之打擊。彼並使吾國人民獲得信心，此項信心且已成為受苦之世界民衆之希望。吾人茲祈求上帝賜吾人以眼光，俾吾人得以看清前途，辨識能使吾人以及一切人類獲得較佳生活之途徑並完成其使全界獲得和平之意願。

#### Annotations

(1) 表示決定(客氣之命令)故用“be”。(2) 與“it”同位。(3) “未來”，即“that will come”。(4) “彼時”，即“at that time”。(5) “run”與“smoothly”伴用成“go”與“smoothly”伴用，皆作“順遂”，“平安無事”解。Everything runs(goes)smoothly here, 吾等一切順利。(6) 皆為喻自私自利及圖一己之生存。駝鳥遇有人追則掩沙自蔽，祇圖本身安全。槽中之犬就食祇知自私自利。(7) “with which to strike”為一種 adjective clause 省略而成之 adjective phrase。若將此phrase 補充成爲 clause, 用 main-clause 之 subject (people), 故“with which they”, 加以適合意義之 verb-phrase, “can strike” 即成 with which they can strike。因此，I have no money with which I can buy a house, 可變爲 I have no money with which to buy a house。注意此種 adjective clause 簡單化爲 adjective phrase，adjective clause 中之 subject 與 main clause 中之 subject 必須相同。



石渠

中華民國三十四年十二月滙一版

英漢對照當代文獻 第二卷合訂本

每冊定價國幣八元二角

何炳松 范存忠 陳石孚

梅光迪 溫源甯 潘家洵

六位先生一致推介

本刊選譯國際間重要文告，條約，宣言及各國領袖演講等，英漢對照，印刷精美，可作文獻保存，可作研究資料，又可作英文讀本。

中國文化服務社印行

裝幀·陳石渠

