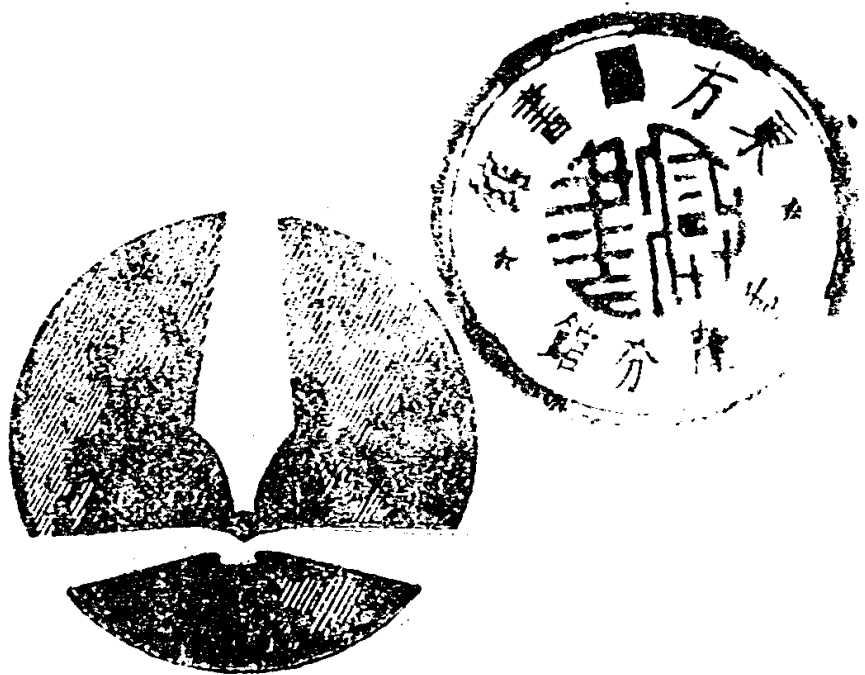


英漢對照

國際文獻

DOCUMENTARY RECORD
OF
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
1944



世界出版社發行

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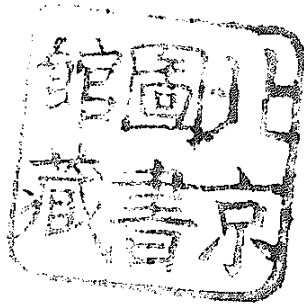
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Full Text of Joint Statement of International Monetary Fund

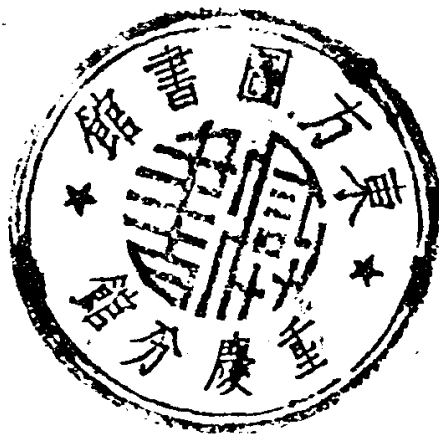
(21st, April, 1944)

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

Sufficient discussion of the problem of international monetary cooperation has taken place at the technical level to justify a statement of principle. It is the consensus of opinion of the experts of the United & Associated Nations who have participated in these discussions that the most practical method of assuring international monetary cooperation is through 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 of the United and Associated Nations meeting in a formal conference.

I. PURPOSE AND POLICY OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

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



建立國際貨幣基金

專家發表聯合宣言

(一九四四年四月二十二日)

關於國際貨幣合作問題，在技術上既已有充分的研討，當可作原則之闡明。參與本問題討論之各聯合國專家，僉以爲成立一國際貨幣基金，確爲實現國際貨幣合作之最切實辦法。茲將各專家認爲應採取之原則，臚陳於後。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。

一 國際貨幣基金之宗旨與政策

本基金之一切決議，以下列各項宗旨與政策爲準繩。

1. To promote the 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.

II. SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE FUND

1. Member countries shall subscribe in gold and in their local funds amounts (Quotas) to be agreed which will amount altogether to about US\$ 8 billion dollars if

(一) 建立商討國際貨幣問題之永久機構，以謀促進國際貨幣合作。

(二) 便利國際貿易之擴大與平衡發展，並用此方法，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。

(三) 增強會員國之信力，使其可在相當保證之下利用基金，有充分時間改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。

(四) 增強匯兌之穩定，維持會員國間有秩序之匯兌關係，並避免匯兌貶值之競爭。

(五) 協助會員國間建立短期交易之多方的支付辦法，並消除妨礙世界貿易之外匯管制。

(六) 縮短各會員國國際收支之平衡之期間，並減低其程度。

二 基金之攤認

(一) 各會員國，應以黃金及本國貨幣，攤認一定數額之基金。分攤之數額，將由各會員國議定之。若同盟國全體

all the United and Associated Nations subscribe 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 without its assent.

3. The obligatory gold subscription of a member country shall be fixed at 25% 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.

III. TRANSACTIONS WITH THE FUND

1. Member countries shall deal with its 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 mancurrency which are consistent with the purpose of the Fund.

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

參加攤認，則其總數約爲八十萬萬美元(若以全世界各國皆計入在內，則約爲一百萬萬美元)。

(二) 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。

(三) 每一會員國，應攤繳之黃金數目，須佔其攤額百分之廿五，或該國所有黃金或能兌換黃金之外匯之百分之十，擇二者中之較小者爲準。凡遭敵人大量破壞或佔領之會員國，其攤繳之數，應爲上列數額之四分之三。

三 基金之運用

(一) 會員國與基金之來往，僅限於各國之財政部，中央銀行，平準基金會，或其他財政機關。本基金中以某會員國貨幣所記之基金賬，應在該國之中央銀行保存。

(二) 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 該會員國聲明目前需要是項貨幣，以爲與本基金宗旨不相違背之支付者。

乙 基金如遇某種所需要之貨幣缺少時，得通知依照下列第六款辦理之。

(C) 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 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 underwrite 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 for in 4 and 7, below, are not subject to this limitation.

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

(A) To borrow its currency from a member country.

(B) To offer gold to a member country in exchange for its currency.

5. So long as 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

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攤額百分之廿五以上，並尚未超過該攤額全數百分之二百。

丁 會員國未曾因違反本基金之宗旨與政策而經過基金通知不准再使用本基金之資源者。基金之發出是項通知，事先宜向有關會員國提出報告，陳述意見，并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，對上述情形中任何一項，予以同意。

(三) 基金之運用，將限於由各會員國之主動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(四)與(七)項之交易不在此限。

(四) 基金為防止某一指定會員國貨幣之匱乏起見得選擇以下辦法：

(a) 向他會員國借入是項貨幣。

(b) 以黃金售與會員國換取是項貨幣。

(五) 會員國即可以本國貨幣向基金會購買另一會員國之貨幣，故該會員國應隨時準備以他會員國之貨幣或黃

currency from that member with that member's currency 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 the sale of gold to the Fund. This shall not preclude the sale of newly mined gold by a gold producing country on any market.

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

(A) A member country may repurchase from the Fund for gold any part of the latter's holdings of its currency.

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

(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's currency below 75% of its quota or the member's holdings of gold and gold convertible exchange below its quota.

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。

(六) 會員國如欲直接或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。

(七) 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會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，購過該國之數額以上，則基金售與該國外匯時，得要求是項外匯淨數之半，在本年度中以黃金付償。

丙 如在年度終了時，某一會員國所存之黃金，及可兌換黃金之外匯之數量，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，減低於其攤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攤額之下。

ARTICLE IV. PAR VALUE OF MEMBER CURRENCIES

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 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.

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.

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

四 會員國貨幣之平價

(一) 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。另由會員國支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，不得超過共同議定平價百分之若干。

(二) 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，除因改正其根本的不平衡狀態時，決不提議變更該會員國之平價，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。

(三) 會員國如有改正其根本的不平衡狀態之需要時，基金得接受其建議，變更其貨幣平價。其因國內政策或政治政策上之原因，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。在審查會員國變更平價之請求時，對於各會員國初定平價時之極度不安狀態，應予以考慮。

(四) 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

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.

V. EXCHANGE OF FUNDS

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 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 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 country's 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.

VI. APPORTIONMENT OF SCARCE CURRENCIES

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 so inform

意，變更其原先之平價。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。

(五) 若經持有總攤額百分之十，或超過百分之三十之各會員國贊成，則各會員國貨幣之黃金此價，可予以全盤之調整。

五 資金交易

(一) 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。此項規定之意，并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要合理數額之基金交易。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，以與基金宗旨不相違反者為限。

(二) 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交易所發生之資金移轉。

六 稀少貨幣之分配

(一) 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

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.

VII. MANAGEMENT

1. The Fund shall be governed by a Board on 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.

VIII. WITHDRAWAL

建議一平均分配該貨幣之辦法。當此時貨幣已宣布稀少時，基金應發出報告，說明稀少之原因，並建議改正之辦法。

(二) 基金分配稀少貨幣之決定，即等於同時授權某一會員國，在與基金商酌後，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，及其有限數量之分配，該會員國有全權處理。

七 基金之管理

(一) 本基金由各會員國代表所組成之董事會及執行委員會管理之，執行委員會，至少由董事九人組成之。其中五人，應為攤額最多之五個國家之代表。

(二) 董事會與執行委員會投票權之分配，應與各會員國之攤額有密切之關係。

(三) 除(二)(二)項與(四)(二)項之規定外，一切事務，應以多數投票決定之。

(四) 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。

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 a notice in writing of its withdrawal from 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.

IX. THE OBLIGATIONS OF A MEMBER COUNTRY

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 transaction 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.

X. TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

1. Since the fund is not intended to provide facilities for relief or reconstruction or to deal with interna-

(一) 會員國得用書面通知退出。

(二) 基金會與該國間之互惠義務，應在一合理之時間內清理之。

(三) 當一會員國，以書面通知退出基金後，除依上項[即(二)]規定處理外，基金不得處置其所持有之該國貨幣。會員國退出後，其對本基金之利用，須先經董事會之允許。

九 會員國之義務

(一) 不得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。

(二) 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。

(三) 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)項之規定者不在此例。)並不得在未得基金會之許可前，與其他會員國採行差別幣制或複性貨幣之辦法。

十 過渡辦法

(一) 本基金之用意，既不在於救濟或復興或對因戰

tional 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 postwar transitional period by means which will not unduly encumber its facilities with the Fund.

2. 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 favourable 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 recognise that the transitional period is one of change and adjustment and in deciding on requests

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)款及(九)(三)項之規定不生效力。

(二) 在過渡時期，會員國可繼續維持戰時施行之外匯轉運辦法，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消。其外匯政策，必須不斷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)項限制之某種管制，或全部管制之條件已具備，在本基金成立三年後，仍保留上述限制之會員國，應向基金磋商該項限制，應否繼續存在。

(四) 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

presented by members it shall give the member country the benefit of any reasonable doubt.

Prime Minister Churchill Pledges Intensified Action Against Japs

(August 2, 1944)

Mr. Winston Churchill, in his review of the war situation in the House of Commons on August 2, devoted much of his time to the Far Eastern theatre.

After recalling that at Washington in January, 1942 it was decided Germany was the primary enemy and that only medium forces necessary for safeguarding vital interests should be diverted to operations against Japan, the Prime Minister said: "Our joint resources, British and American, however, increased so rapidly that it became possible to wage two wars simultaneously) with offensive vigour." He said that the Allied successes in the Pacific had opened up the prospect of a much more speedy climax in the Far East, and added: "Repercussions of those events in Japan, with the immense growing weakness on sea and in the air and economic tribulation at home have produced the downfall of General Tojo, the chief war leader of Japan, whose accomplice and close colleague, Admiral Yamamoto, declared at one time that he would dictate his terms of peace to the United States in Washington.

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。

——完——

邱吉爾首相保證加強對日攻勢

(一九四四年八月二日)

邱吉爾首相於八月二日在下院報告戰局，對遠東戰場，特加申述。

邱氏先述一九四二年一月在華盛頓曾決定以德國為主敵，而對日作戰祇能應用為保障主要利益所必需的次要武力，又說「我們英美的聯合的資源已這樣迅速地增加，使我們能同時以勇猛的攻勢從事東西雙方的戰爭。」他又說聯合國在太平洋上的勝利，已展開了在遠東獲致更迅速的高潮的希望，接着又說「這些事件在日本方面之反響，則為海空兩軍實力之日減，以及國內經濟困苦，結果日本之第一位作戰領袖東條，亦因之而下台，其同謀與極接近之同僚山本，曾有一度聲明，彼將在華盛頓對美國提出他的和平條件。」

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"It is not easy for us here to measure the character of the size and forces which have produced this remarkable political and military convulsion in Japan. But they can hardly arise from the conviction among the Japanese that Admiral Yamamoto's programme is being realised as fully as he and General Tojo had thought. I must repeat that I am increasingly convinced that the interval between the defeat of Hitler and the defeat of Japan will be much shorter than I at one time supposed."

Mr Churchill proceeded: "In the Indian theatre the campaign in Burma has been difficult to follow in detail because of the ceaseless fighting and the intricate character of the country. Broadly speaking, it may be said that at Quebec last autumn we planned to advance into Northern Burma with the object of giving greater security to the American air highway to China. The American highway carries far more tonnage than we had ever delivered or was likely to deliver in a measurable time over the Burma Road and the House may imagine what that vast effort by the United States, indispensable to the life of China, has involved.

"We placed our hopes after the Quebec Conference, in the new Supreme Commander, Admiral Mountbatten, and his brilliant lieutenant, Major-General Wingate, who, alas, has paid a soldier's debt. There was a man of genius, who might also have become a man of destiny.

"Admiral Somerville, who is now at the head of a powerful British Eastern Fleet, which included French and Dutch units, has shown enterprise in his attacks on Sabang and Sourabaya and other Japanese posts in the

日本既種政治上與軍事上之顯著動亂，吾人尙不易測度其性質，規模，及力量；然此事決非由於日本人民相信山本五十六之計劃，並未按照彼與東條所想像者獲得實現。余必須重述一句，即余正以益增欣慰之情緒，感覺希特勒失敗與日本失敗之間隔，或將遠較余一度所猜想者為短。

邱吉爾又說：我們在印度戰區，也就是在這遠程大戰中，更進一步打擊敵方要害。緬甸戰局因戰事的綿延不斷和地形異常複雜，所以很難詳述。一般說來，我們在去秋魁北克會議席上，就擬定進攻緬北的計劃，來保護美方對華的偉大空運路線。美空軍載運物資，比我經滇緬路已經運華或預備在相當時期內運華的物資，實在超過很多。下院可以想像，美國這種廣大的努力，是中國所不可缺乏的。

我們在魁北克會議後，對新任東南亞盟軍總司令蒙巴頓勳爵，和他的膽識過人的僚屬溫加特少將寄以深望。溫加特少將現已履行戰士的義務，而戰死沙場。可惜！溫加特將軍是一個天才軍人，他也可能成爲定數的人。

現率領英強大東方艦隊（包括法荷艦隊）的海軍薩穆維爾上將，在進攻沙班，泗水，和荷屬東印度其他日軍基地時，

Dutch East Indies. Our fleets in Eastern waters will be greatly strengthened by the end of the year. It is true, however, that the Japanese Navy will have its time fully taken up by the United States Navy, which is already, double the size of the fleet of that presumptuous, ambitious and treacherous enemy. I thought it right to bring this Burma scene before the House. Our men out there are cheered by the fact that the House of Commons follows with an attentive eye.

The Premier proceeded to describe the arrangements for crossing the English Channel and the landing of the forces of liberation in France. "At Teheran," he said, "we promised Marshal Stalin that we should put this plan or something like it into operation at the end of May or the beginning of June, and he promised on his part that the whole Russian armies would be thrown, as indeed they have been, into a general battle in the East. In January this year the commanders were appointed. No man has ever worked so skilfully and so intensively for unification and goodwill of the great forces under his command than General Eisenhower.

"For more than a year American stores, equipment and men have been steadily moving into this Island, and we ourselves had selected from the British armies here and Expeditionary Force which was practically as large as that of the United States in the opening stages.

"It is the wish of General Eisenhower that the battle in Normandy should be viewed as a whole and as one set of single operations conducted by the Allied forces, which are linked in brotherhood and intermingled in every

已表現他的戰績。今年冬季，東方海面我們英艦隊的實力，將大為增加，無論如何，事實已鑄定。日海軍必定有遭受被美海軍完全擊潰的一天，因美艦隊的力量，已比自傲野心和奸詐的日海軍力量勝過一倍。我在這裡向你們報告緬甸的戰局，是一個適宜的舉動，在新境作戰的英軍，已因你們關心他們的幸福而感到愉快。

首相接着描述英軍橫渡英倫海峽和在歐登陸以解放法國的計劃。據說：我們在德黑蘭會議時，就答應斯大林元帥，實現這項計劃，並打算在今年五月杪或六月初開始攻歐。斯大林元帥則答應我們，蘇軍將全部參加作戰。今年一月間攻歐的將領業已派定。沒有一個人比艾森豪威爾將軍更能把他指揮下的大軍做到如此統一與友好。

一年多以前，美方的軍糧裝備和兵員，已開始經常運到英倫，而我們則由本部英軍中選出遠征軍。開始的階段中，我英遠征軍的數目，實際上和龐大美軍的數目相同。

艾森豪威爾將軍所切望者，即吾人應由空局觀察諾曼第半島之戰事，並認該處之戰事為盟軍所進行之一串戰事，盟軍以兄弟精神，互相聯繫，人人皆視其便利，彼此混合。德

man that may seem convenient. The Germans have certainly had remarkable opportunities of revising the mocking and insulting terms which they put upon the military value of the American army at the time they declared war on the great Republic. We, British and Canadians too, have taken our full share in the fierce and prolonged conflicts. But lest our enemies should suggest on their wireless that the burden of the struggle has been unfairly shared, or make invidious comparisons of any kind, let me say that the losses of British and Canadian forces together are about equal to those of the larger United States army, in proportion to their relative strength. It has been share and share alike, in good fortune and bad, all along the front.

“So far as this has already gone this is certainly a glorious story, not only liberating the fields of France from atrocious enslavement, but also uniting in bonds of true comradeship the great democracies of the West and the English speaking peoples of the world.”

In praising the War Office the Premier said: “In all the forty years that I have served in this House I have heard that department steadily abused before, during and after our various wars and, if my memory serves me right, I have frequently taken part in well, merited criticism, which has been their lot.

“When I last saw General Eisenhower in the field he used those words, which he authorised me to repeat if I chose. He said: ‘I doubt if the British war Office has ever sent an army overseas so well equipped as the one now fighting in Normandy.’ I must say that I

軍實有良好之機會，重溫其向美宣戰時對美。值所發嘲笑與侮辱之論調。英加軍隊於猛烈及長期作戰中已各盡職責，否則吾人之敵軍必將廣播，謂吾人作戰之担負不均，或取任何事項作狡猾之比較。余可奉告諸君，英加軍之損失，約等於人數較多之美軍之死亡人數，在全體實力中所佔之比例，吾人之在各前線實係有禍同享有禍同當。

戰況發展至今，實一勝利之故事。吾人之不僅解放法國，使其脫離野蠻奴化之境地，同時使西方各民主國家及全世界英語民族，獲得真正友善之團結。

首相稱讚陸軍部說：「余在下院服務之四十年中，在歷次戰爭之前後及正當作戰之際，恆聞陸軍部遭受辱罵，如余之記憶不誤，余亦曾屢次參加批評該部，此乃其命定之事也。」

余最近在戰場晤見艾森豪威爾將軍，渠曾向余使用下列詞句，並謂：余如願意可以轉述其言，艾森豪威爾之言曰：「余甚懷疑英國陸軍部從來曾否派出類似今日在諾曼第半

think it well justified. Not only in the War Office, but through the service departments, our execution of war policy stands, I believe at this moment, at a higher level than has ever been reached before and at a level that compares not unfavourably with similar organisations in any other country, friend or foe."

Of the Italian campaign the Premier said: "The whole scene has now changed and the Allied armies have rapidly advanced. They have flung their claws around Rome, protecting that city from all danger, absolutely all danger. General Alexander's armies have rolled forward rapidly, pushing the enemy before Florence. We can hope that the operations will be continued with the utmost vigour by General Alexander throughout the autumn."

In his remarks concerning Russia the Prime Minister said: "It is the Russian Army which has done the main work of tearing the guts out of the German Army. In the air and on the ocean and seas we can maintain ourselves, but there was no force in the world which could be called into being, except after several more years, that would have been able to maul and break the German army and subject it to such terrible slaughter as has fallen upon the Germans by the Russian armies."

"I salute Marshal Stalin, that great champion of his country, and I firmly believe that our twenty years' treaty with Russia will prove to be one of the most lasting and progress. It may well be that the Russian successes have been somewhat aided by the strategy of Corporal Hitler. Even military idiots find it difficult

島作戰之裝備優良之部隊。」余應謂：「渠此語至為正當，不獨陸軍部為然，就執行作戰政策而言，余深信我政府各部今日之水準均較曩昔為高，即較我友邦或敵國之同類組織，亦無遜色。」

論及意大利戰局，首相說：「戰局已完全改觀，盟軍亦迅速進展，盟軍已自羅馬向四方推進，保護此一名城，不受任何危險，且絕對不受任何危險。亞歷山大將軍所部，已迅速向前驅進，殲敵於佛羅倫薩之前。余敢信亞歷山大將軍，將於本年整個秋季以更大之動力，繼續作戰。」

首相對蘇聯的評論有言：「担任毀滅德軍主要任務者，乃為蘇軍。吾人在空中及海上尚能屹立不撼，但世界上無一軍隊即可担负如蘇軍擊潰德軍，並予以恐怖之殺戮，若為其他軍隊，當需若干年後，始可作此想。」

余謹向蘇聯偉大領袖史達林統帥致敬。我深信英蘇所締結的二十年條約，將證明是最持久最進步的。蘇軍之獲勝可能係得希特勒伍長戰略之助，即軍事呆徒亦甚難不自希特勒若干行動中，發現其若干錯誤。

not to see some faults in some of his actions."

After a short review of the home situation Mr. Churchill continued: "Since I spoke last on the general situation to the House, marked improvements have occurred in several quarters. Among the first of these is the very great improvement in relations of the French National Committee with the Government of the United States. In these last four years I have had many differences with General de Gaulle, but I have never forgotten and can never forget that he stood forth as the first eminent Frenchman to face the common foe in what seemed to be the hour of ruin of his country and possibly the ruin of ours and it is only fair and becoming that he should stand forth and foremost in the days when France shall again be raised, and raise herself to her rightful place among the great powers of Europe.

"I look forward to the closest association of the British Empire, the United States and Russia and French representatives in a settlement of the important European problems. In my opinion this is a hopeful moment for Poland, for whose rights and independence we entered the war against Germany. We, therefore, did our best. Mr. Eden and I and others, late into the night to promote the visit of Premier Mikolajczyk and other members of his Cabinet to Moscow, where Marshal Stalin was willing to receive them."

"I have the authority of the Turkish Government to announce that, on the basis of the Anglo-Turkish alliance, Turkey has broken off all relations with Germany. No one can tell whether Germany or Bulgaria will attack

對國內形勢略加檢討之後，邱吉爾先生接着說：「有從
上次我向下院報告戰局之後，幾方面已有顯著之演變。其中
首要的是，法國民族委員會與美國間之關係已大有進展。在
最近四年來，余與戴高樂將軍曾有許多意見不同之點，但余
從未忘却，亦永不會忘却，他是他別國甚或我國快遭毀滅時
挺身而出，對付共同敵人的法國領袖人物中的第一人，因此
當法國重新抬頭，而恢復她在歐洲強國之間的應有的地位
時，讓他出來領導，那是公道而又合適的。」

余預料大英帝國，美國，蘇聯，與法國之代表，在解決此
等重要之歐洲問題時，必能取得最密切之聯繫。余認為目前
亦為波蘭之有希望時機，吾人係為其利益及獨立，始對德國
作戰，以故吾人已竭盡棉薄。艾登外相與余，以及其他人員，
工作至深夜，以促波總理米科拉茲柯及其內閣之其他人員，
前往莫斯科。史達林元帥已表示願予接待。

余並得土耳其政府之准許，可以宣佈土耳其根據英土
同盟，已與德國斷絕一切關係。此舉已使戰前吾人與土耳其
訂立之同盟，獲得新活力。德國或保加利亞，是否將進攻土

Turkey. If so, we will make common cause with her and shall take the German menace as well as we can in our stride. No one can expect to enter this conflict and not suffer. Turkish cities may receive the kind of bombardment we have never shrunk from here.

"I can take no responsibility in those matters. It was the policy of Mustapha Kemal to bring about close unity of action between the Russian and Turkish peoples. I hope this new step will contribute to the continuity of the friendship of Turkey and Russia. A great many statements have been made about the future organization of the world by the most eminent people. I, personally, would prefer to hear the opinions of other powerful nations before committing our country to too many details. Cannot we be content with the broad declarations upon which we are all agreed — that there is to be a world council to preserve peace, which will in the first instance be formed and guided by the major powers who have won the victory and that thereafter other powers and eventually all powers will be offered their part in this world organization.

"In the meanwhile, as the House will be aware, an important discussion on an official level is shortly to begin in Washington. When these are completed we shall all of us, have a very much better idea where we stand."

耳其，任何人亦未敢逆料，如彼等誠進攻土耳其，吾人將與彼等協同一致，盡力應付德國之威脅，任何人亦不能希望參加此一戰爭而不蒙受損失。土耳其城市或將被轟炸。

余對於此事不能担負責任，使蘇土兩國人民在行動上密切團結，實為凱末爾之政策。余希望此一新措施能有助於蘇土友誼之繼續，若予最卓越之人士，已就世界之發表極多聲明，余個人甯在我國討論各國枝節問題之前，先行聆取其他強國之見解。吾人不能以吾人均曾表示同意之廣泛聲明為滿足乎，此同意之點，即設立世界委員會以維持和平。最初由戰勝之主要國家出面組織，並任領導，然後其他國家以至一切國家，均將在此世界組織中獲一席位。

同時下院亦知重要之正式會議，不久即將在華盛頓開幕，此等工作完成時，吾人對於所處之立場，必有更佳之了解。

Full Text Of Roosevelt's Speech On Pacific Tour

The following is the text of the speech delivered by President Franklin D. Roosevelt over the American radio networks on August 12, 1944.

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 1914. 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

視察北太平洋後

羅斯福播講經過

(一九四四年八月二十二日)

余離華府恰滿三月中，然對於該處之工作恆保持密切接觸，並逐日與歐洲及遠東戰區之我軍通消息。

余得返回皮傑海峽海軍造船廠，甚感快慰。蓋余自一九三三年及一九三四年即常常來此也。自余於幾及二年前來此至今，余獲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將

視察夏威夷轉往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

of whom just back from 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 the cover of a fog. They came on in waves with Marine infantry getting the first toehold, following 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.

歸來。余並目擊加州南部洛杉磯，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予以改進，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，狹甯，及收復關島方面之

表現，更為同樣成功。此等佔領工作，已成為對於日本在

其在西南太平洋一切行動之新威脅。

欲了解吾人應用經驗如何成功，必須親自視察登陸演

習，如余在一處俯瞰海灘之高崖上所目睹者。登陸艇（一種

完全新型之船艇，乃兩年半以前吾人夢想不及者）在濃霧掩

護之下，自近海之運輸艦向海灘而來。彼等分批迫近，載有

海軍陸戰隊步兵，以佔取第一立足點。其他各批繼也而

到，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，事前尚有開至近海之重型軍艦，從事摧

毀性迫砲轟灘頭陣地。至一二哩深時，即開始起卸大量各

種做應品。各種坦克車與吉普車等。

TIMING IS IMPORTANT

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 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 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 was the day she joined

時間是重要的

此種作戰中，除海岸與船艦飛機之立即通訊之外，時間配合亦居最要地位。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醫護，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，均須在我國若干地點，受此種兩棲作戰之訓練，所需要之教官以百計。前此曾參加實際作戰之一切人員，幾均須擔任教官，自然極多教官將隨其部隊從事未來之實際登陸戰。

余由聖地亞哥至夏威夷所乘之巡洋艦，乃吾人所稱爲「海約失效後之巡洋艦」之一，較戰前受條約限制爲一萬噸之巡洋艦更大更強更速。此一艘特殊軍艦，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。此爲一卓越之紀錄，其艦長及員兵，已駕駛該艦完成多次攻勢，而絲毫無損。且因其已藉此獲有經驗，已成爲較加入艦隊之即更強有力之武器。

the Fleet.

AMAZING CHANGE

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 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.

驚人的改變

海行安全無事，余等於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。爲止，珍珠港之海軍船塢一如吾人之其他船塢，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，截至該時幾已增加十倍，其中自太平洋岸來此之技師亦多。一九四二年十二月七日敵人襲擊珍珠港時，擊沉或創損之戰艦及較小之輪艦，除亞利桑那號外，已全部修復。亞利桑那號因前艙火藥庫爆炸，無法打撈，惟艦上之主要重砲，則已拆卸，今已成爲阿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，均已大爲增強。諸艦曾在太平洋及他處作戰，其中之二內華達號，在攻歐之前及攻歐發動時，曾參加轟擊諾曼第海岸，直至六月六日爲止。

余在阿胡島逗留三日，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。

On the afternoon of my arrival, my old friend, General Douglas MacArthur, arrived by air from New Guinea. 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.

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，余等即開始連續舉行多次有趣且有益之會議，尼米茲將軍，余之參謀長李海將軍，夏威夷陸軍司令李查遜將軍，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，曾商談太平洋諸問題，及將來進行太平洋戰爭之最佳方法。會談之結果，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。爲在吾人之心，對於全太平洋區保存一抽象地圖計，吾人均須緊記該區面積之廣大。

過去夏威夷羣島恆被視爲一前哨，吾人未獲准在關島設防，吾人亦未在威克島，中途島，或薩摩亞設防。

今日夏威夷羣島已不僅爲一前哨矣，夏威夷羣島已構成一大基地，吾人由此基地進行太平洋海岸前線之戰爭，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，使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。

RECAP OF THE PACIFIC

In a few minutes I want to say another word about the future of 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 through a complete course of jungle warfare—an art 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 for 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

太平洋的將來

稍停余將再對太平洋之將來有所申述。余在逗留於夏威夷之期間，曾視察多種活動，包括大飛機場，醫院，及適從塞班連載傷兵歸來降落於希卡姆機場之一架救護機。余曾見一大支軍隊正演習叢林戰術，此項戰術已甚精進，故吾人所遇之任何日軍，在叢林中均非我軍之敵手。余對於吾人之子弟，在國內國外所受之基本訓練，及最後訓練，甚感榮耀。

余等回至艦上後，即向阿留申羣島進發，四月後余等抵達阿留申羣島中較西之阿達克島。余在該島復發現一可謂幾近完成之前進基地之緊要活動，過去收復阿圖及吉斯卡戰役之大部，即係自此地開始。兩年前阿達克乃一荒漠而且幾無居民之島，惟對於本大陸之安全甚為重要。

君等於此當能充分感覺日軍佔領阿圖島與吉斯卡島後所引起之紛擾。君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，不夠注意。吾人當然感覺日方此種威脅，如不予阻抗，自屬嚴重。但吾人亦知日方如無較

naval and air power to carry this into effect without greater resources and longer time to plan. Preparations to throw the Japanese from their toeholds 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 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 of valor and they decided that retirement and retreat were better for them than harakiri. 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 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 smaller, base. The first little town we had seen in the Alaskan waters and the first trees made me think of the coasts of Mai 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

大物資較長之計劃時間，不能有足夠之航空實力，使其發生作用。但將日人自其足跡所沾之地逐出之準備，已在日人到達彼處之先，擬就此故事之其餘部份，君等當已熟知，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，但奈願對其官員及各種服役人員數千人置一言表示謝意，彼等在如此短時間內，在此西北極端建成此一基地及其他基地，與我太平洋沿岸，英屬哥倫比亞，及阿拉斯加之人民感覺安全，提防自方之大軍進犯。

因濃霧及大雨所阻，吾人必須放棄在荷蘭港停泊之望，但吾人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。此為吾人在阿拉斯加海中所見之第一個小鎮，亦為令吾人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，正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端，而迄

has only been 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 and timber, together with great possibilities for agriculture. I could not help 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 kind of new things in new lands.

FUTURE OF HAWAII ISLANDS

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 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 and one flounder.

Speaking again of the future of the defense of the Pacific and use of its strong points in order to prevent

今仍爲一開拓者之國土，業已試掘之礦源，僅一小部份，其他當然亦有大量之魚產野味，及木材與極富之農作機會。余不禁憶及氣候，收穫，及其他資源，並不大異於北歐。（挪威瑞典及芬蘭）西北歐諸國之人民，雖於冬日嚴寒，及暗無天日，仍能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，應使此次戰事中之退役軍人，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，但余深信其中願意工作，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。

夏威夷羣島的將來

此次旅行，使余得變有機會，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雷討論阿拉斯加人民之將來。格魯雷要求余尙君等保證，余在過去數日內，所曬成黑色乃受阿拉斯加太陽照成之結果，在朱諾附近，余曾玩曲棍球四小時，並經垂釣，獲得庸鱈及鱈魚各一尾。

再談太平洋上防務之將來，及其據點之利用以預防吾

attacks on us. You who live in the Pacific northwest 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 have no territorial ambitions on the Asiatic mainland. 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 cargo and 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 have talked

人之遺孽孽。君等生活於太平洋之西北部，當感覺自普蓋桑至西伯利亞及中國北部形成一大圓圈之海空航線，甚逼近阿拉斯加海岸，然後沿阿留申羣島一線西向。自國防觀點以言，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致領土之野心。我國民，完全反對侵略或偷襲，但我民族亦堅持其他國家不能在見之將來，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。日本之言與榮譽，殊不足信任。

此係本於海陸空之觀點而作之簡要立論，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，戰是之故，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動為水運與航運貿易之踏足石，換言之，運輸之發展，將自動經越英屬哥倫比亞，甚至遙遠如北面之高空區，以伸至阿拉斯加。

遠在十年之前，余曾與加總理金氏，論及取道英屬哥倫

with 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.

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 commercially just as they are from the defense point of view, for they lead to New Zealand, Australia, the Dutch Indies, and the Southern Philippines.

此正之高空發展，通往阿拉斯加之公路航空線甚至鐵路問題，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，通往腓爾班克斯之航空線，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輝煌英勇進展中之重要因素，余亦覺數年來吾人與加拿大間之密切關係與真誠友誼，已證明為聯合鄰友共謀勝利之輝煌實例。

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迄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，其對南美與巴拿馬之關係，亦如夏威夷對北美之關係。此批海島為英帝國與法國之屬土，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。

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.

FAIR AND FRIENDLY COLLABORATION

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 among the hundreds of millions of them a desire 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 their neighbors and their neighbors' lands and the military and economic control of as many other nations as they can lay their

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團結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，吾人必能獲得全部協議，使中美與南美能免受南太平洋方面之襲擊，一若北美任將免受北太平洋方面之襲擊。

公 正 與 友 誼 的 合 作

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，在今後若干年，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，咸無要求蹂躪地球之跡象。

此唯一之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為，但事實所在，彼等對於日本侵略鄰邦獲取鄰邦領土，並在軍事與經濟盡量控制其所能沾手之其他國家之政策，似皆衷心擁

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 permanent 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 first hand 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 in Europe or in the Far East or in the war against Japan.

It will be over sooner if the people of this country

護。其他國家均不能信任日本，誠屬憾事，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份子之前，必須使其經過若干年之測驗時期，此亦屬憾事。

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隸，將來亦然。朝鮮之人民，(古者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，而獲輝煌發展之新幾內亞，與所謂委任統治地區最原始人民，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，我儕在此廣大之區域內，頗能把握整個之戰局，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

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.

Destruction Of Japan Pledged At Quebec Conference

(Sept. 16, 1944)

President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill promised Anglo-American destruction of Japan as soon as Europe had been wrested from Germany. They revealed that new Pacific operations had been planned but President Roosevelt specifically denied overall command to direct all the Pacific operations.

Roosevelt said that an overall command was not possible because of the vast geographic and logistic considerations.

He explained that the New Pacific campaign had not been given a date because the conferees were not yet willing to set a date before the unconditional surrender of Germany.

The text of the joint statement issued by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill said, "The most serious difficulty which the Quebec Conference is con-

戰爭結束之時間必將較早。果爾則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，果爾願吾人奠立永久和平之較為堅固之基礎時，則我聯合國家，更有實在團結之機會矣。

魁北克會議保證摧毀日本

(一九四四年九月十六日)

羅斯福總統與邱吉爾首相允許在歐洲從德國解脫出來以後，立即以英美的力量摧毀日本，他們表示對太平洋方面攻勢已有新的計劃，但羅斯福總統對設置指揮太平洋方面一切攻勢的最高統帥部，特別加以否定。

羅斯福說，由於廣大的地區和各種計算的考慮，最高統帥部是不可能的。

他解釋着說，新的太平洋攻勢還沒有決定日期，因為會議的結果，認為不願在德國無條件投降之前指定一個日期。

羅斯福總統與邱吉爾首相發表的聯合聲明文中說：「魁北克會議所感困難的，是在找尋地點和機會，使一切有關國

fronted has been to find room of opportunity by marshalling anti-Japanese massive forces with which each and all the nations concerned are ardent to engage against the enemy".

Both leaders stressed the unanimity of their meeting and said there had been a complete agreement on all the matters except that Churchill made the point that Britain wanted a greater share in the forthcoming battle with Japan and this small difference had been cleared up.

Prime Minister Churchill emphasized that the full might of the British Empire would be thrown into the Japanese campaign. He explained that large forces of all descriptions (involved in the battle) of Europe would immediately, upon the fall of Germany, be applied forcibly and speedily to reduce Japan, "and to bend that evil and barbarous nation to the will of those they have outraged." Churchill denied vehemently that Britain wanted to shirk her share in the Japanese war, saying that on the contrary Britain had the "stern resolve to be in at the kill with forces proportionate to their national strength."

Then President Roosevelt explained that the conference covered in a great manner things of the east and the west with a firm decision reached to do a job on Japan with the British and the Americans fighting side by side as rapidly as possible.

Speaking of the task of making a certain end of the barbarism in the Pacific, President Roosevelt said that vast distances of the Pacific, must never be forgotten, and that the army or the navy could not be ordered

家，迫切希望用來對敵作戰的大軍，得到適當的部署，以便對日作戰。」

兩位領袖都盛讚兩兵相會的團結精神，並且說一切討論均得完全的協調，不過邱吉爾指明美國欲在未來的對日作戰中担負較大的任務，連這點不同的意見也已經解決了。

邱吉爾首相鄭重聲稱，大英帝國的全部力量將用於對日作戰中。他說歐洲戰爭中所包括的各種巨大兵力，一到德國打倒以後，將迅速有力地遣往打擊日本，並「使這邪惡野蠻的國家屈服於受其暴行國家的意志。」邱吉爾鄭重否認英國將避去對日戰爭中應有之任務，說英國「決心將調動與我國力相配的武力效命疆場。」

羅斯福總統解釋稱，魁北克會議對東西作戰的各方面，均有討論，並已達成一堅強之決心，於最短期間以英美並肩作戰之方式，對日攻擊。」

講到摧毀太平洋上的野蠻暴徒，羅斯福總統說，我們不應忘却太平洋的遼闊，我們如果不能事先保證陸海空軍在

any given point without making certain in advance they could be supplied and fed when they had reached the objective.

President Roosevelt pointed out that these problems mean endless planning and because of these factors, one person cannot be appointed to run the whole operation. He reminded that there were three major commands in the Pacific: Lord Mountbatten in Burma, General MacArthur in the Southwest Pacific and thirdly the naval command in Pearl Harbor.

While President Roosevelt did not say so, it was reported that Admiral Nimitz would be moved nearer to Japan and Admiral King would move into Pearl Harbor.

Prime Minister Churchill, after explaining the necessity of secrecy regarding the decisions reached at the conference, pointed out that the decision at the last Quebec Conference in August, 1943 is "now engraved on the monument of history". He said that the decision then led to the liberation of "dearly beloved France which had so long been under the corroding heel of the Hun". Victory may be achieved in the shortest limit of time but none of us can tell exactly when.

Prime Minister Churchill was most emphatic regarding British part in "the destruction of the barbarians of the Pacific" and said that if there was any point to be adjusted during the Citadel conferences, it was the attitude of "some representatives to keep it too much for the United States" and that "you cannot have all the good things to yourselves, you must share."

Prime Minister Churchill at his phrase-making best

「到達目的地後能得到供應，」則不能派遣他們到任何指定的地點。

羅斯福總統指出，這些問題須加以不斷的計劃，而且由於有這些因素存在之故，我們不能任命一個人去指揮全部作戰。他提醒着說，太平洋有三個總部，即緬甸的蒙巴頓，西南太平洋的麥克阿瑟以及珍珠港的海軍總部。

羅斯福總統雖無明言，但外傳尼米茲總部將移到更接近日本的地方，而由金艦隊總司令坐鎮珍珠港。

邱吉爾首相在解釋會議的決定須守機密的原因之後，並指出一九四三年八月上次魁北克會議的決定，現已鐫刻在歷史的紀念碑上。這些決定，已使久處於暴力鐵蹄下的親愛的法國得到解放。

邱吉爾首相極鄭重的述及英國在「摧毀太平洋野蠻暴徒」方面之任務，並且說在那次重大的會議中有任何意見歧異之處需要調整，實係若輩代表為美國指定過多之工作。邱氏稱：「你不能自行佔有一切，而必須令他人分甜。」

邱吉爾首相以嚴厲之措辭，抨擊軸心，說「日本乃一犯」

In denouncing the axis said "Japan that is a guilty and greedy nation must be forced to take place where neither of their virtues nor their vices can inflict themselves on the future man". He emphasized two other points: firstly, the conference was not in any way confined to military matters and that was to be expected because "the business of the Government in these times is all one;" and secondly, the great friendship and cooperation between the President and him which was described as "firmly established friendship which is of great aid to the fighting troops" because close cooperation led to the fighting of a successful war.

As Prime Minister Churchill bade farewell to the reporters, he said, "I hope that should we meet here again in another year I hope I will be able to tell you more about plans we have made here this time."

Text Of 4-Power Joint Security Organization Proposals

(Oct. 10, 1944)

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

罪與貪吝之國家，必須被迫居一種地位，使其惡劣之根性不致貽害未來之人類。他曾指出兩點：（一）會議並不限於軍事問題，此事應在意中。蓋當前時代中，政府之各種事務實有不可分離之關係。（二）總統與彼之間具有偉大友誼與合作。此項友誼已極鞏固，對於作戰部隊太有助力，蓋密切合作足令戰爭順利進行也。

邱氏向各記者道別時稱：「余希望他年吾人能更在此聚會並希望屆時能以目前在此所作之計劃對諸君作再詳細之報告。」

國際組織建議案

（一九四四年十月十日）

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，採取有效及集體步驟，以

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. In 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 ensure 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 purpose of the organization.

防止並消除對於和平之威脅，並制止侵略行為或威脅破壞和平行動，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，應以本組織為中心，協調各國行動，以達成上述目的。

第二章 原則 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。

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. Membership of the organization should be open to all peace loving states.

Chapter IV. Principal organs.

1. The organization should have as its 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 members of the organization or by the security council, and to make recommendations with regards to any such principles. Any such questions

(五) 會員國對於本組織，根據會章所採之行動，應量予以援助。

(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必需時，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：(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，並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，

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 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.

無論已否討論，均應由大會移交安全理事會，大會不得自動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，經安全理事會決議，得予以恢復。大會經安全理事會之建議，得將任何屢違會章原則之會員國予以開除。

(四) 大會得選舉安全理事會之非常任理事及第九章所規定之經濟與社會理事會之理事。大會經安全理事會之推薦，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。

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 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. On other 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 ses-

(五) 大會得分配各國應納之經費，並通過本組織之預算。

(六) 大會為促進政治、經濟，與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，應發動研究，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) 大會有權聽取審查并核定安全理事會之常年及特種報告，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，開除會員國，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。

slons 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 consist of one representative of each of eleven members of the organization. Representatives of the United States 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 seats. In the first election of the nonpermanent 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.

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

(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二人組織之。美英蘇中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。第一次選舉時，大會應指定三國任期一年，另三國任期二年。

第二節 主要職權

(一) 為保證本組織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之主要責任加諸安全理事會。各會員國並應同意，安全理事會於執行此職務時，應即代表各會員國。

(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。

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 to in Chapter VIII, Section B, 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 judgment may be best to facilitate its work. There should be periodic meetings at which each state member of the security council could if it so desired 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 sub-committees of the military staff committee.

(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) 爲增進國際和平與安全之樹立與維持，而儘量避免世界人力物力之用於軍備起見，安全理事會藉第八章第二節第九項所述之軍事參謀委員會之協助，應負責擬其樹立管制軍備制度之計劃，向各會員國建議。

第三節 投票 關於安全理事會中投票程序問題，尙未決定。

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，各理事國得派政府委員或其他特殊代表出席。

(二) 安全理事會認爲執行職務有必要時，得設立各種機構，包括軍事參謀委員會之地方分會。

8. 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 the member of the organization are specially affected.

5. Any member of the organization not having a seat on the 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 to 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 bases.

4. All members of the international organization should *ipso facto* 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

(三) 安理會之議事程序，由該會自定之，包括推選其主席之方式。

(四) 倘安理會對任何提出該會問題之討論，認為某一非理事會員國之利益，將受特殊影響，則該非理事會員國應參加討論。

(五) 任何非理事會會員國，或任何未曾參加本組織之國家，若係爭端之一造，均應被邀參加安理會關於該項爭端之討論。

第七章 國際法院

(一) 茲設立一國際法院，以為本組織之主要司法機關。

(二) 該法院之組織與職務，悉依規程辦理。此項規程，應附於本組織會章之後，作為會章之一部份。

(三) 國際法院之規程應為：(甲)國際常設法院原有之規程而略加修改者，或為(乙)以國際常設法院之規程為根據，而草成之新規程。

(四) 所有會員國均應為參加此項國際法院規程之當然份子。

(五) 非會員國成為參加此項國際法院規程一份子之

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 including prevention and suppression of aggression.

Section A. Pacific settlement of disputes.

1. The security council should 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 or situation to the attention of 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 negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement or other peaceful means 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

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) 安全理事會應有權調查任何爭端，或任何可能引起國際磨擦或爭端之情勢，以決定其存在是否將危及國際和平與安全之維持。

(二) 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。

(三) 各會員國遇有任何可能危及國際和平與安全之爭端時，應負責儘量利用交涉和解，調解，仲裁，或司法解決，或其他該國自行選擇之和平方法，以尋覓解決。安全理事會應令各會員國以此種方法解決其爭端。

(四) 有爭端之各會員國，若不能以上述和平方法解決其爭端，則各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

council should deal with the dispute, and if so, whether it should take action, under paragraph 1.

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 should normally be referred to the international court or 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 Determinations of threats to the peace of 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.

第五項採取行動。

(五) 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法方法。

(六) 在尋常情形下，司法性質之爭端，應提交國際法院。安全理事會應有權將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) 第一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

（國對）

(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) 在大體上，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。

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 to call upon members of the organization 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 constitutions.

(三) 安全理事會應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) 如安全理事會認為此項辦法尚不充足，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海陸空軍封鎖，示威，及其他軍事行動。

(五) 為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，應於安全理事會發出號令時，按照其相互訂定之特別協定，負責提供必要之軍隊及其他便利之援助，以達到維持國際和平及安全之目的。此種協定，應規定軍隊之數目與種類，以及便利及援助之性質。此項協定應儘速商定。每一協定，應由安全理事會核准，並由簽字國依照此種手續批准之。

tutional processes.

6. In order to enable urgent military measures to be taken by the organization there should be made 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 of 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 dis-

(六) 爲使本組織得以採取緊急軍事措置起見，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，或在第五項所述之協定範圍內決定之。

(七) 爲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，應由本組織全體會員國共同擔任，或照安全理事會之決定，由若干會員國擔任之。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或機關，採取共同行動以履行之。

(八) 武力使用之計畫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) 本組織應設立一軍事參謀委員會，其職務爲協助與貢獻意見與安全理事會，如關於維持和平之軍事需要問題，如提供安全理事會軍隊之使用及統率問題，軍備之管

posal, to the regulation of armaments, and to possible disarmament. It should be responsible under the security council for the strategic direction of any 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 these 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 arrangement of agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the organization. The security council

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，負戰略上之指揮責任。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未有經常代表者，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，不論是否為本組織之會員國，如因執行安全理事會之決議，而發生特別問題，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。安全理事會對於地方爭執，應鼓勵依據當事

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 and 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 in their respective field as defined in their statutes. Each such organization or agency should be brought into relationship with the organization on terms to be deter-

國之請求，或安全理事會之授權，利用此項區域辦法或區域組織以解決之。

(二) 安全理事會認為必要時，得利用此項辦法或組織，以執行其權力下應採取之行動。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或區域組織，為維持國際和平及安全所採取或行將採取之行動，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全與幸福情況起見，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。每一此項組織，應與本組織發生關

mined 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. Decisions of economic and social council should be taken by a simple majority vote of those present and voting.

Section C — Empower of the economic and social council. The economic and social council should be empowered:

1. To carry out, within the scope of its functions, recommendations of the general assembly.
2. To make recommendations on its own initiative, with respect to international economic, social and other humanitarian matters.
3. 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.
4. To examine the administrative budgets of such specialized organizations or agencies with a view to making recommendations to the organizations or agencies concerned.
5. To enable the secretary general to provide in-

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。經濟與社會理事會之決議，以到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，而調和此項組織之工作。
- (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供給情報。

formation to the security council.

6. To assist the security council upon its request; and to perform other 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 commissions 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 should act in that capacity in all meetings of the general assembly of the security

(六) 對於安全理事會，經其請求時，予以協助，並執行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廳之部份。

(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 秘書廳

(一) 秘書廳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荐而選舉之。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理

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

1. 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 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

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與安全之事件，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。

第十二章 過渡辦法

(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條之規定，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，以代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，並不得妨礙對敵負責採取行動之政府，因此次戰爭結果而對於敵國所採取或命令執行之任何行動。

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.

Welcome Address By Secretary Of State Hull At Dumbarton Oaks

(21, August, 1944)

Following is the full text of the welcome address by Secretary of State Hull at the opening of the informal conversations on the general nature of an international organization for the maintenance of peace and security at Dumbarton Oaks.

On behalf of President Roosevelt and on my own behalf I welcome you to Washington. In the name 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 mark 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 is our task here to help lay 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

附註：除第六章所述之安全理事會投票程序問題迄未決定外，另有若干其他問題，亦尚在考慮中。

組織戰後和平會議開幕

赫爾發表開幕詞

(一九四四年八月二十一日)

美赫爾國務卿於八月二十一日在頓巴敦橡樹
戰後世界和平機構非正式會議開幕時致歡迎詞其

全文如下：

我本人謹代表羅斯福總統，歡迎諸代表到這裡。我願以羅斯福總統代表和我本人的名義，對這一重要會議的召開，略致簡短說明。

我們今天開始的多次談話，是想在各國間建立有組織與和平關係的持久體制的另一步驟。我們是當戰爭期間自由力量大獲勝利的時候，在這裡集會。我們到這裡來的任務是協助奠立戰後和平自由和繁榮可能賴以建立的基礎。這次戰爭的真正性質，促使我們爭取持久和平，就是

for an enduring peace—a peace founded upon justice and 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 and 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 matter of the highest and most enlightened self-interest. In the final analysis it is first and foremost a thing of the spirit.

基於對個人和國家保持正義和公平往來的和平。我們已看見——今天正看見——暴虐野蠻勢力侵襲的情形。我們文明人類都希望並相信這種惡勢力不會捲土重來。這種野蠻勢力，挾近代科學與技術的武器，以及同樣龐大的壓制與欺騙的武器，因愛好和平的國家，沒有能夠團結一致，幾乎置全人類於其奴役之下。

在侵略者準備攻擊的年月，愛好和平國家在團結實力方面，都有缺點，這是對籠罩其前的危險缺少驚覺的原故。這些邪惡勢力，現正面臨着整個失敗的局面，因為到今天，它所蓄意殘害的犧牲者已得到團結和武裝力量，而我們現正藉此獲得勝利。

我們早期那些散漫和脆弱的教訓，應永留在本代和未來若干世代人士的腦海中。同時團結的教訓，和聯合國家在這次戰爭中因而獲得的力量，也應當永誌不忘。

為求取共同福利，並反抗共同禍害，採取共同行動而團結一致，是愛好和平國家在承平歲月中，保證本身安全和有秩序的自由與正義進步的唯一有效方法。我們處在現代戰爭危害人類身體和精神之際，維持同樣的團體，是一個最大和最開明的利己行動。

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 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 ingenuity 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 the peace. They must also support the arrangements for promoting by a cooperative effort the development of conditions of stability and well being necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations and essential 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

和平需要各國間的經常合作，和各國在敦睦邦交的
世界中，具有友好相處的決心。和平需要接受下一理想，即和
平的維繫，是極其可貴和至屬重要的共同利益。各國間的一
切異見和糾紛，都可以且必須以和平方法予以解決。

但和平已需要和平志願賴以變為行動的機構。設計這
類機構，需要世界各地男女的智慧才力。聯合國家在這次大
戰不斷進行的時候，還致力於共同工作，以建立維護正義於
永久和平的機構基礎者，原因就在這兒。

這些基礎，必須支持以和平方法解決國際爭端，並在必
要時，聯合使用武力，阻止或壓制和平所受的威脅，和破壞
和平的舉動。這些基礎，也必須支持藉合作力，促進各國和
平友誼關係所需要和對維護安全和平也很重要的環境，穩
定和幸福的發展。這是一國際組織的基本問題。

從事救濟和善後工作的糧食農業會議，和貨幣金融會

and rehabilitation and the Financial and Monetary Conference. These and other similar steps are indicative 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 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 res-

議，已獲有很大的進展。凡此及其他類似的步驟，都是指明聯合國家願為改善各國民生而共同努力的深切願望。大小四十國家的共同努力已獲致預期的結果。

參加這會議的各國政府，都一致深信未來維護和平和安全——國際合作的最高目的——必須是一切愛好和平大小國家的共同任務和共同責任。

各國政府也已在各國外長去年十月三十日在莫斯科簽署的宣言中，聲明這一信念。我們已一再聲明，一切愛好和平國家，不論大小強弱，在有秩序的體制和法律下，共同享有主權平等的原則，應該是未來維護和平安全的任何國際機構的基礎。

各國政府在莫斯科宣言中，也負有為這目的藉一切愛好和平國家共同行動致力建立國際機構的領導責任。這一國際機構的成敗，端視參加國家所願自加約束和分担共同行動責任，以支持該一機構的基本目的程度來決定。各國間應成立一協定，各國就根據這協定以分担對彼此互利的任務，並負荷與其能力相符的責任。

一般認為任何和平和安全機構，如沒有武力做後盾，以便遇有其他任何方法不足以維護和平時，得拿這做最後武器，則必敗無疑。這一武力，必須及時獲得，且須達到適當的

possibility commensurable 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, which is now before you, of reaching a consensus of views which you can jointly recommend to your respective 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 --

限度。

世界各國應根據本身能力，保有足量的武力，以便在必要時，參加阻止破壞和平的共同行動。

莫斯科會議開幕前的長久期間內，尤其該會舉行後的若干月中，我們各國政府對於締結我剛才說到的協定，曾各盡力準備。我們將臨時的思想，寫為文字，每一國家因有研究他國工作結果的機會，有此準備後，諸君現所荷負的商定共同意見，並送陳諸君所代表的政府，加以研討的任務，自然因而輕易。

美國政府立意和中國政府進行類似的會商後，就要商定結果，送交各聯合國家，及其他愛好和平各國政府參考。

我們更打算等到可能時，就以這些商定的結果，送交各聯合國家，及其他一切國家人民公開研究和辯論。我們深知

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 opportunity 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

任何機構如無廣大及一致的後盾，則不能垂諸久遠，尤以我們現所想像如此重要的機構爲然。國際機構要想獲致持久和平，則和平志願必須發自世界各地男女的心中。

就我美國來說，我們與其他國家代表會集一堂，商討維護和平安全的方法，實屬自然合宜的舉動。

美國人民相信，一切人類應在法律之下，享受自由。其思想中未有較這爲更深之情緒。美國開國之初，就抱這一信念。我們想像未來任何國家和人民，必將獲有自由和享受自由的安全。

美國人民現空前團結在一決心之下，就是今天席捲世界的悲劇，應不再來。各聯合國家人民現都希冀并祈求獲有重新在各國間建立保持良好和公正關係的機會，我們最崇高的能力和最大的技巧已自對和平作創造性的追求，改爲嚴肅可懼的戰鬥任務。他們對危險的和平，將不引爲滿足。他們犧牲的唯一報酬，是完成他們的合理希望。

所有愛好和平國家政府的神聖責任，是在確定形成一

is fashioned through which the peoples can
peace which they so deeply desire. The Presi-
dent is confident, and I share his view, that this thought
will govern the deliberations which you are now under-
taking.

President Chiang's Double Tenth Message To Nation

*Following is a summary of President Chiang
Kai-shek's message to the nation on the Double
Tenth anniversary:*

The Republic of China is today thirtythree years
old. Resisting a powerful aggressor for more than seven
years has gained us full confidence. The coming year
will not only bring us final victory but also witness the
success of our national revolution. On this glorious an-
niversary, I wish to tell my fellow countrymen how
we could most effectively exert ourselves in this final
phase of the struggle. I also wish to give you a picture
of the state of the nation by a concise examination of
our national position, the progress of our revolution, and
of the current military developments.

1. Let us remember that our country is still going
through a period of revolution. A revolutionary nation
has its peculiar characteristics, and cannot be judged by
ordinary standards. To be able to carry on after having

國際機構，經由這一機構，人民得以建立他們所深切希望的和平。羅斯福總統深信這種思想將支配諸君所進行的討論。我也有這同感。

蔣主席三十三年國慶日 對全國播講詞

(一九四四年十月十日)

蔣主席於三十三年國慶日下午七時對全國軍民播講，其要點如下：

中華民國長成到了三十三歲的誕辰令節。我們神聖抗戰已經七年有餘，我們具有充份的信心，相信今後的一年是抗戰達到最後勝利的一年，也是我們完成革命最後奮鬥的一年。臨到這個光榮偉大的紀念日，我要為我全國同胞鄭重說明我們如何善盡其最大的努力，作最後的奮鬥，我更要我全國同胞在此最後勝利尚未獲得以前，對於我們國家的地位與革命的形勢，以及目前的戰局，加以切實的檢討。

第一，我要為我們同胞指明的，我們今日的國家是革命期中的國家。革命期中的國家是有他的特性，而不可以普通國家的常例來觀測的。我以為我們以一個弱國單獨的力量

fought a formidable enemy for more than seven years and been subjected to three years of the most stringent blockade with our national revolution not completely accomplished is a feat unknown in the annals of human struggles.

We are well aware of our shortcomings and weaknesses in political and economic affairs which we should correct. Such shortcomings are unavoidable in a nation going through a revolution and, in general, also in nations waging a war. History shows that backwardness and weakness are inevitable during revolutions and instances of social and army conditions under similar circumstances which were far worse than ours may be cited. Such symptoms are not peculiar of China and could not be fairly utilised as weapons to assail the government. To do so would be only to lend comfort to the enemy and traitors. Mutual counsel and guidance are desirable and commendable but to find fault and to be unduly critical serve no useful purpose. In line with our revolutionary policy and duty, we should strive towards perfection in order to lay a solid national foundation.

We should realize that our Government and people trying to attain independence and freedom are not concerned with ephemeral success or failure, and temporary praise or reproof. With our just and righteous cause, we have been striving to carry out the Three People's Principles, and should not be deterred by considerations of danger or failure.

Let me cite the cases of two modern revolutionary nations. Beset with internal and external crises after 1918, Soviet Russia, with indomitable persistence, sur-

對強大的敵寇戰爭至七年以上，又忍受了他三年時間的嚴密封鎖，而我們抗戰到如今，仍能堅忍支持，屹立不搖，此為世界歷史任何革命國家革命軍隊先例所罕有，實在是我們可以自慰而無愧色的。

至於在政治，經濟方面，我們固自知缺點甚多，弱點亦復不少。但要知道，有許多缺點與弱點，是任何國家在革命期中所不能避免的，不僅是革命未成的國家，就是普通國家在戰時，要想國內一切都做到理想的境界，亦所難能。返觀世界各國革命歷史，不但有許多貧弱落後的現象不能避免，而其社會生活與軍隊生活遠不如我們今天的也很多。所以決不能以此獨為中國詬病，更不能以此為指譏攻擊政府的武器，徒為敵人和漢奸張目。我們今天規過勸善，提攜互勉則可，而吹毛求疵，苛求責備則不可。我們政府人民都要秉持我們革命的方針，善盡我們革命的天職，公忠體國，共同一致，興利除弊，以扶持我們的國家，確立建國的基礎。

我們應該認識，我們革命的政府和人民是只問他對於國家的獨立自由是否獲得，而決不計較一時的成敗利鈍，或毀譽榮辱的。革命的政府和人民只知道依公理正義為基礎，以求達到他的革命目標，和實現他的三民主義。革命者心目之中根本沒有什麼是危險，什麼是失敗的觀念。

我們不必遠證世界各國革命的歷史，只舉最近兩個革命國家的顯著例子。譬如革命未成功以前的蘇俄，在一九一

mounted all difficulties and emerged a strong nation, Deprived of much of her territories, Turkey, in 1920, with Ankara as her base, recovered a good deal of her lost lands and rebuilt herself into a power.

Let us now recall the early days of our revolution when we were led by the founder of our republic. Our internal and external situation then was infinitely more difficult than today. Now we still have a huge territory untouched by the enemy, and five million soldiers engaging him on many fronts. The enemy, on the other hand, has reached the end of his resources and is facing certain doom. Circumstances are truly favorable for the completion of our revolution and the successful outcome of the war.

Recent malicious rumours circulated by the enemy and traitors have, however, influenced the views of some foreign observers, and as a result, a section of foreign opinion has advanced confused views on our military and political affairs. This is due largely to an inadequate perception of the true nature of our war of resistance and to imperfect understanding of the characteristics of a revolutionary nation. At the beginning of our war with Japan, influenced by enemy propaganda, some foreign observers had likewise freely predicted that China could not hold out longer than three months.

We must not allow ourselves to be influenced by other people's praise or reproach. Our self-confidence must not be shaken. Again we must realize that ours is a revolutionary nation, and our duty is to complete the revolution and carry forward national reconstruction,

八年的時候，內外環攻，形勢何等危急，後來終於衝破艱危，完成建國。又如革命期中的土耳其，在一九二〇年的時候，外兵壓境，領土破碎，終於以安哥拉偏僻之區為根據，收復他的失地，完成他的獨立。

再來回溯我們國父領導革命的時期，內外環境的惡劣，更不同於今日。現在我們中國還有五百萬的軍隊，與敵人隨地相搏鬪，我們後方尚有全國面積百分之六十以上，一片乾淨而廣大的領域，足以供給我們人力和物力，何況敵寇已是勢窮路絕，到了他只有失敗，絕無倖免的時候？所以論我們革命環境的優越，和抗戰前途的光明，可以說從來沒有像今日這樣的強固。

但是最近因為敵寇與漢奸的造謠作祟，百般蠱惑，使國際觀察家迷離恍惚，所以國外輿論也對我們軍事政治紛紛議論，其實這全是他們沒有認識我們中國革命抗戰的事實，和我們革命國家的特質之故。這種推測和批評，正如七年以前我們抗戰初起時，一般外國軍事家和政論家揣測我們中國抗戰決不能支持到三個月之久的論調一樣的錯誤。

所以我們今天決不可以他人的毀譽為榮辱，更不為了敵人的謠諑，而喪失我們的自信。我們自身必須認識我們是一個革命的國家，所負的是革命建國的責任，所處的是特殊

and our problems are unique. We are guided by the Three People's Principles and our revolutionary spirit. So long as we possess unwavering confidence, so long as we exhibit our revolutionary spirit, we will assuredly complete our sacred mission.

2. We should correctly appraise China's status among the nations as well as our responsibility in this war against aggression. The war in Eastern Asia cannot be fought successfully without China's participation and the future of world peace is closely linked with the success or failure of our revolution. In other words, if China had not fought uncompromisingly, it would not have been possible to secure a complete victory in the anti-aggression war in Eastern Asia. If there were no independent and free China, world peace could never truly materialize. China fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Allied nations is not an accident of history; it is because we hold the same principle and ideals and are bound together by the same fate. Let us exert ourselves worthily in bearing our heavy responsibility.

The objective and basis of our struggle are unchangeable. Fighting alone or fighting in collaboration with our Allies, we shall always maintain an inflexible determination to overcome all difficulties. Three years ago, when we were fighting the enemy alone, we repeatedly exacted heavy sacrifices from him. If we judge the future by the past, it is clear that no matter how the war situation develops, it will in no way affect the essential conditions for victory. As long as we adhere to our established policy, we shall not fail. It is neces-

的時代和環境，而所憑藉的是三民主義和革命精神。只要我們堅定我們一貫的信心，發揚我們民族的精神，我們革命建國的事業和我們抗戰勝利的形勢，實已奠定了很強固的基礎。

第二，我要爲我們同胞指明的，就是今天我們中國在國際上的地位和我們在反侵略戰爭中的責任。大家必須知道，無論世界戰局及其戰略如何變化，而今日東亞戰爭決不能沒有我們抗戰的中國。世界安危與和平的前途，也與我們中國革命的成敗有密切的關係。因爲東亞戰爭如果沒有我們堅貞奮鬥的中國，必不能得到完全勝利的結果，而世界和平如果沒有獨立自由的中國，亦必不能有真正實現的一日。所以我們和聯合國共同作戰，不但是道義相孚，而且實際上是利害與共。我們國家對世界對人類的地位和責任有如此的重大關係，所以我們更不可不自愛自重，自立自強。

論我們抗戰的目標，論我們抗戰的基礎，則是今昔一致，始終無異。不論是單獨抗戰，或是共同抗戰的時候，我們總是以自立自助，堅貞不移的革命精神，作排除萬難的戰利。由今天回溯過去的形勢既是如此，那麼由今天以推測將來，更可以知道，不論時間和環境如何推移，而我們最後勝利的基礎是決不會發生任何影響的。我們更確信，只要秉持我們國民平時一貫的國策和抗戰的戰略，無論何時皆能立

sary for us to realize that in this war against aggression, what is needed is a nation which can stand on its own feet and undertake its own responsibilities, and not a nation which has lost the spirit of independence and has to rely upon others. The strength and spirit exhibited by China today is capable of removing all difficulties. Let us not underestimate ourselves and defeat our own purposes.

Faithful to our pledges, we are not afraid of sacrifices. No matter how the situation may develop in the future, we shall continuously maintain our friendship with our Allies and discharge our responsibilities as a member of the United Nations in a spirit of mutual assistance and cooperation. Now that the Nazis are approaching collapse, and the time for launching concerted attacks upon Japan is close at hand, it is imperative that we should redouble our efforts in the battlefields of Eastern Asia.

3. If we judge the present military situation by engagements along the seacoast and the railway lines we cannot deny the fact that we are encountering many military difficulties nor can we belittle the severity of the fight put up by the enemy before his final defeat. But judging the situation from a broader view point and considering the military situation in the light of seven years of war, we cannot fail to see that victory is within our grasp. Temporary gains and losses or local success and failure at this time cannot shake the faith in our final victory.

At the beginning of the war we resisted the enemy

於不敗之地。要知道反侵略戰爭中所需要而歡迎的乃是本身能自立自強和獨立分擔作戰任務的國家，決不是依賴僥倖喪失獨立精神的國家。我們的自信中國今日革命的力量和抗戰的精神必可以克服任何艱危。

我們崇尚信義，不惜犧牲，過去如此，今後也要如此。不問將來局勢發展如何，我們必始終一貫珍重盟誼，一本互助合作的精神，盡其在我，以無愧為反侵略聯合國之一員。現在歐洲的納粹殘餘，解決在邇，環攻日寇，指日可期。我們必須加倍努力，克盡我東亞主要戰場的任務。

第三，我要為我們同胞指明的，就是目前軍事的形勢。

目前的戰局若祇就沿海沿鐵路上局部的戰事來看，自然不能否認我們前線的困乏和艱苦，也不能不認識敵寇垂死掙扎的瘋狂和猛烈。我們若從七年餘抗戰整個的戰局來觀察，就可以明瞭抗戰的勝利和革命的成功已經操在我們掌握之中了。所以今日戰事一時的得失，與局部的勝敗，決不能動搖我們最後勝利的把握。

大家應該檢討我們抗戰到今天已經七年以上，我們所以能夠以劣勢的裝備抵禦兇猛的敵寇如此之久，就是憑藉

with inferior equipment. What we relied upon was our steadfast revolutionary spirit. It is still this spirit that guarantees victory.

Even at this moment we have 400,000 regular troops east of the Peiping-Hankow and Canton-Hankow Railways, who are capable of delivering massive blows against the enemy. We have countless patriots in the occupied areas waiting for a chance to rise up against the enemy. We have in reserve ample manpower and material in the interior provinces, which together with difficult and perilous terrain would constitute an impenetrable obstacle. It would not be possible for the enemy to invade the real base of our war of resistance even if he had still the strength he possessed three years ago.

4. Finally I want to call the attention of my fellow countrymen to the intrigues of the enemy and traitors. They are spreading all sorts of malicious rumours, predicting that there would be civil war and disunity in China. Their object is to mislead the world and undermine our war spirit and self-confidence. I am afraid that some foreign commentators, unfamiliar with the real background, have also lent themselves unwittingly to a wider circulation of such rumours, not realizing they are aiding and abetting our common enemies — the Japanese and the traitors. But as long as we remain true to ourselves such rumours will fail to attain their objects, and in the full light of the dawn our nation will march to final and complete victory.

我們百折不撓的革命精神。我全國軍民這個始終屹立不屈不撓的精神，就是我們最後勝利的保障。

須知我軍在平漢粵漢兩路以東，還駐有四十萬的正規兵力，隨時可予敵寇以打擊；在淪陷區內，我們同胞愛國意識的堅強和敵愾精神的熾烈，處處都是我們反攻殺敵的據點。若就我們後方抗戰的根據地來說，單就我們內地的人力和物力，與險阻的地形，已足以構成綿長強大的戰線。姑勿論寇軍今日已成強弩之末，更沒有充分時間予他以狼奔豕突的機會，就是他拿三年以前的國際環境和軍事實力，他也何曾能動搖我們抗戰的廣大根據地呢。

第四，我要特別指出而要我們同胞一致警覺而注意的，就是敵寇漢奸們的詭計。他們不惜竭盡魑魅魍魎的伎倆，造作離奇荒誕的蜚言。不是說中國將有內戰，就是說中國將會分裂，來聳動國際的視聽。他們惟恐中國不亡，惟恐抗戰不敗。他們的目的就是要眩惑我們的耳目，要懾服我們的精神，要動搖我們的信心。又因若干外國輿論不明真相，轉為傳播，訛言紛起，無異於幫助敵寇漢奸作宣傳，於是他們的造謠，更見猖獗。只要我們看破他的空虛，揭穿他的詭秘，他就無法得售其詭計。凡我同胞均須知道，黎明以前必有一段極端的黑暗，我們要以十分的努力，來打開黑暗，承接光明，待到勝利來臨。

(本篇係根據自由西報之摘譯，原文照英譯文)

酌加摘略，但英文為意譯，故字句略有出入。)

Text Of Roosevelt's Speech Before Foreign Policy Association

(Oct. 21, 1944)

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 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 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 — and may continue to do so all the way to Berlin.

And we have another important engagement in Tokyo.

羅斯福對外交政策協會演說

(一九四四年十月二十一日)

今天晚上，我是以外交政策協會來賓的資格來說話——這是由各種政治見解的人士組成的著名團體。

我要談談美國的外交政策。

我說話毫無怨恨，也不帶偏見，既非感情用事，亦非喪失理智。

當第一次世界大戰結束時，我相信過——而現在也還相信——除非美國情願合作以爭取並維持世界和平，世界持久的和平是沒有建立的機會的。我當時這樣想——現在也這樣想——我們必須以行動來支持我們的言論。

在二十多年前，我們曾出力拯救我們的自由，但未能組成可以使後世生活於自由的世界。

目前機會又來臨了。但沒有使第三次不來的保證。

目前希特勒和國社黨徒，仍繼續作戰——拚命地作戰，寸土必戰——並且可能一直戰到柏林。

我們在東京方面又有一項重大任務，無論前途如何遙

No matter 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 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 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 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.

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 others.

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 conferences, beginning at Montevideo in 1933 and continuing down to date, we have made it clear to this hemisphere that we practise what

遠或艱難，我們都必須繼續前進。我軍將在麥克阿瑟和尼米茲兩將軍領導下，轉戰前進。

我們在此次戰爭中對外交政策的觀念，必須以這個事實為前提，那就是我們已有數百萬男兒，現在離開祖國數千哩以外作戰，為了保衛我們的國家，也為了使我們美國人的理想得以永存，而且今後還有許多艱苦的戰鬥。

我國的領導者永遠認為：為了我國的安全起見，我們所關切的並不以我國疆界為止。門羅總統以及繼任的總統們，都準備在必要時運用武力，以保障美洲人民的獨立，免受海外侵略者的威脅。

雖然世界形勢已有變化，但這個原則未變。現代的戰爭，已不是在馬背上或帆船甲板上來打的。

由於這個事實的認識，我們在一九三三年便以善鄰政策為外交的基礎——那就是決心自尊同時尊重他國權利而與他國為鄰的原則。

我們和別個美洲共和國已把善鄰政策付諸實施。我深信這個政策可以而且應該成為全世界的。

一九三三年在蒙脫維地開始舉行一直維持到現在的泛美會議，我們已經向這個半球宣佈我們要實行我們的主張。

we preach.

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

Our action in 1934 with respect to Philippine Independence was another step in making good the same philosophy which animated the Good Neighbor Policy.

As 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 1939 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 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 the world that we intended to help those nations resisting aggression.

菲 律 濱 的 獨 立

一九三四年關於菲律賓獨立的建議，是實踐善鄰政策的精神的又一步驟。

我在兩年前說過：我認為過去四十四年來菲律賓的歷史，實在是世界其他弱小民族們途的典範。

一九三九年七月間，我曾試欲取消中立法中軍火禁運一項。這使我們束手無策，不能把軍火供給為抵抗希特勒而自衛的歐洲民主國家。

前議員波拉，對在白宮中召集的一羣人說，他從海外聽到的消息，比國務院所得的消息為佳——說是歐洲不會有戰爭。

於是赫爾和我都明白了，由於孤立派的投票，我們要修改中立法，或許已經沒有希望達成。

這個事實也給希特勒明白了。幾星期以後，他就獸性發作，攻擊波蘭了——於是開始了第二次世界大戰。

一九四一年政府提議的租借法案，雖有孤立派的反對，終由國會通過——這對全世界是一個切實而劇烈的表示，證明我們要援助抵抗侵略的國家。

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 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 — which meant voting against keeping our Army together — four months before Pearl Harbor.

這幾天來——我就是在——一九四四年十月——我還聽見無線電廣播，說我在替國家準備參戰，以及把未來的危機警告美國人民這一點上，已經失敗。

這些呼聲在四五年前並不常聽到，並未警告我們當時遭遇的嚴重危機。

共和黨內曾有，現在還有些著名的男女人士，無論擔任着公務或已退休，他們有眼光有膽量，一直有力地支持我們援助同盟國的政策，以及我們從事國防建設的方案。許多共和黨員在政府裏曾為這次戰爭完成了偉大的任務。我很欣慰，其中一個卓越的美國人，便是我們偉大的陸軍部長亨利·史汀生。

我們要記得，一九三一年日本不顧一切而進攻滿洲時，如果史汀生先生的見解得發生力量，那末這次戰爭是可能避免的。

兵 役 法

一九四〇年國會中的共和黨員大多投票反對兵役法；一九三九年，他們反對廢除軍火禁運辦法，一九四一年，反對租借法案；同年八月，就是珍珠港事件四月之前，反對延長兵役法，等於反對我國整軍。

I am quoting history to you. I am going by the record. And I 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 the facts.

I happen to believe that, even in a political campaign, we should all obey that ancient injunction — 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 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 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, against the arming of merchant ships and against the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act and their extensions.

我舉史實以告諸君。我依據的全是事實的記錄。我說的
是故事的全部，而不是斷章取義。

我原有一種信念，認為即使在政治爭鬪中，我們也得服
從古來的教訓——你不該以假證據對付鄰人。

關於誰是制定並實行美國的外交政策的人，這個問題
是這次選舉中的一個案子——是一個重要問題。這不是黨
派應用手腕的問題，而是健全嚴正的事實問題——事實是
記載下來的。

如果這次選舉中，共和黨員將有控制力量，少壯的孤立
派便要在政府中佔有左右政策的權力的位置。

我已提及外交委員會中共和黨員的強森議員。

參院外交委員會一個有力份子，或將成為有力的參院
配給委員會的主席的，是參議員倪。

衆議院中目前共和黨的領袖，是馬丁。他投票反對取消
軍火禁運案，反對兵役法，反對武裝商船，又反對通商協定
及它們的延長。

The Chairman of the powerful Committee on Rules would be none other 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, 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.

Obyiously, we could have come to terms with Hitler, and accepted a minor role in his totalitarian world. We rejected that!

We could have compromised with Japan, and bargained for a place in a Japanese-dominated Asia by selling out the hearts and blood of the Chinese people. And

有力的法規委員會主席，或將為費許。

美國國會中有許多別的像他們那樣的人——他們今年都為共和黨活動選舉。

目前還有任何人真正認為這些孤立派對於世界大事已改變心意的嗎？懷有孤立政策，或在我們的危難時期中從沒有高聲反對孤立政策的政客，都不能做美國前途的監護人。

孤立陣營中雖也有民主黨人，但數目極少，並且沒有獲得領導地位。

我很自傲，我們並未得到孤立派報紙的擁護——我特別指 McCormick-Patterson-Hearst-Gannett 的報紙。美國人民在近幾年的危機時期內，曾經歷全國性的大辯論。這些都是絞盡腦汁的辯論，已普及全國城市和鄉村，幾乎深入每一份人家。

為自由而戰

我們討論我們援助為自由而戰的人民的原則和決心。

我們顯然可和希特勒妥協，並且接受其他極權世界中的次要地位。但我們拒絕這種舉動。

我們本來也可和日本妥協，出賣中國人民，在日本控制下的亞洲，分得一杯羹。但是我們拒絕了！

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 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 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.

但不同暴虐者討價還價的決定，實在出於美國人民的本心，他們會遭遇現實，重視現實，並且深知自由的意義。

我國因擁有道義，政治，經濟和軍事各方面的力量，所以自然負有責任，並且獲有領導國際社會的機會。我國爲本身的最大利益以及和平與人道計，對於這種責任，不能畏縮，不願畏縮，並且事實上也不致畏縮。

有些人希望立刻建立一個和平機構，各部門都支配得人人滿意，電話裝好，水管也裝好，熱水汀，電氣冰箱，都完備，供人應用，一切佈置得金碧輝煌——連房租也預付了的。

聯合國可還沒有產生這樣一個舒服的住屋。不過我們對四強在戰後進行的共同目標，已給予切實的表現——這原是一種更艱巨的事業——那就是建立和平。我們將和全世界一切愛好和平的大小國家，共同從事這一工作。

我們的目的，如同我十年前所說的，是在完成聯合國的組織，不要延宕，而必須在戰事實際停止前後完成。和平，正如戰爭一樣，一定要在有決心，有實力實施它的場合，才有成功的希望。

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, of 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 CONFAB

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 of maintaining the peace for which we fought.

The Dumbarton Oaks Conference did not spring up overnight. It was called by Secretary Hull and me after year 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.

聯合國的安理會，必須有權從事決定性的行動，維持和平，並在必要時使用武力。一個警察如果看見一個兇手衝進一家人家，就得跑進城去召集市民開會取得證明再去追捕兇手，那就不會是一個有效力的警察。顯然地，如果世界組織欲求其有效，必須有人民以立法程序授權與大會的代表，使該組織本身有實行的權力。

如果我們對國際強盜不在抓到手的時候逮捕他，如果我們讓他帶了贓物逃走，祇因為市政會議尚未通過逮捕他的命令，那末我們防止再一次世界的責任仍未盡了。一個國家的人民，達到世界和平遭受威脅時，當然盼望政府行動，而不僅空口說話的。

頓巴敦橡樹會議

我們不能單靠我們自己來完成我們的偉大目標。我們在世界戰爭中與別的國家合作，以拯救我們的生活方式之後，我們便得維持爭取來的和平，而再也不能袖手旁觀了。

頓巴敦橡樹會議不是一早一夕產生出來的。這是赫爾國務卿與我經過一年考慮，討論，準備以及和盟國商榷以後，才召集的。我們的國務院籌備這個會議，並且使其圓滿結束，實具有光榮的功績。這是我們和其他愛好和平國家長期合作過程中一個新發展——最初是大西洋憲章會議，經

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 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 determination 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

過卡港，莫斯科，開羅，德黑蘭，魁北克和華盛頓諸會議，才達到的。

余深信，一般美國人民對這些事件都有很切實的了解。

美國人民都知道，赫爾和我十分熟悉美國憲法，也知道我們不會把任何違反憲法的祕密條約，或祕密保證，加諸我國。

從德黑蘭回來以後，余曾公開說明，並無祕密協商。那末，問題就在是我誠實呢，還是那些在外交界不負責的人們所說的話——也許我要說，外交是他們所不熟悉的部門。

我們要建立的和平機構，一定要依靠深入人心的信仰基礎——否則它就毫無價值。祇有人類堅定的意志能保存它。

如果沒有美國人民的驚醒和自覺的合作，任何人擔任總統，也不能對和平的維持有所貢獻的。

祇有人民運用和平機構的決心，才能使機構得有價值。

余深信美國人民對這個偉大事件已下了決心；而政府也得有信心地進行它的計劃。

我們目前已在進行和平的組織，這個事實足證諸大國

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 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 bargain 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 relin-

已誠心互相信任。這個問題，無論你如何看法，必定會有同樣的結果；總之，我們應和別的大國合作，否則我們會有一天要對他們作戰的。

我們愛好和平的國家必須完成的那種世界秩序，主要地必須依靠友好的人類關係，依靠互相認識，互相容忍，不變的誠意，以及善意與良好的信用。我們在這次戰爭中與盟國往來，已把這種關係達成到顯著的程度——這是這次戰爭中種種事態已經證明了的。

同盟國的親密合作

同盟國在作戰以及和平的建立方面所進行的合作，如同我們已做到的，是人類歷史中一個新的事件。

如果我們不能在和平中維持那種關係——如果我們不能發展它加強它——那麼持久的和平是不可能的。

至於德國，那個自食其果的悲劇國家，我們和各同盟國都同意，不同納粹惡黨討價還價，並容許他們公開或祕密控制前政府的工具。

德國內部，應該沒有絲毫軍事力量或潛在軍事力量存在。

我一向希望並且相信，所有的民族，決無例外地都有求

quish 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 — buried 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 complex 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

真理的本能，對正義的感應，以及對和平的熱情，雖然像德國的情形，或許被埋沒在暴力制度之下；假如我一旦放棄了這種希望和信心，那末我就背離了我的宗教和政治的根本信仰了。

我們對德國民族，並不加以罪罰，因為我們不能相信上帝會對人類的任何種族永遠定罪的，因為我們知道，在我們國內就有好多德意志民族後裔的優秀男女，顯然是忠信的愛好自由和平的公民。

在造成人類這次災禍方面，應負直接責任的德國人，應受嚴重懲處。

德國人民不受奴役，因聯合國並未贊成奴役人類，但他們必須學習返回愛好和平和守法國家的途徑。在他們從事這種工作期間，我們必須使它不致再拿起武器，我們希望他們永遠擺脫軍備的負擔。

我們的未來工作，並不容易，這項工作將是美國政府從來碰到的最困難而複雜的工作中的一種。

我此刻不會，而且一直都不會告訴你們，我們黨中的人是知道一切的答案的。我自己却確信，將來不可預見的困難，能不能應付過去，連我也不知道。我能告訴你們的是這一點——我有無限的信心，認為這個工作可以完成。而這個

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 seasoned 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.

信心是以過去多事的幾年中由艱險的實際經驗得來的知識做根據的。

我對這世代的美國人民發言，實以崇敬之心和他們共憂患同希望。沒有一世代經歷過更偉大的測驗，具有更偉大的英勇，更偉大的智慧，也沒有一世代會得有更崇高的使命。

因為這一世代不僅應為本身效力，同時也為上次世界大戰的死難人類作了受委託的人——去完成他們未完成的一部份使命。

這世代不僅應為在這次戰爭中付了至高無上的代價的人們而努力——以免辜負他們的使命。

而且也應為未來的世代努力——我們應該把和平傳給未來的世代。

我並不誇大這個使命。我們非為烏托邦而戰，烏托邦自非我們所能達到。實在說，就在我們國內，要做的工作也永遠做不完的。我們還要使自由之充分而平等的享受見諸實行。因此，我們初從事世界友愛的建立之際，我們已承當了一種久長而艱巨的工作，需要我們竭力發揮耐力，智慧，思考和信念。

這個工作是要當仁不讓而且有經驗的人民來判斷的，而我們美國人民正已達到這一點。我們人民面對着無限的遠景之時，再不要讓我們的意志被阻斷了。我們要負起我們的責任，運用我們全部的勢力，來充分幫助並且鼓勵所有希求和平與自由的人民。

We now are, and we shall continue to be, strong brothers in the family of mankind — the family of the children of God.

Anglo-Soviet Communique On The Sojourn Of Mssrs Churchill And Eden In Moscow

(Oct. 20, 1944)

Meetings were held at Moscow from October 9th to October 18th between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden, representing the United Kingdom, and Marshal Stalin and Molotov assisted by their political and military advisers.

The unfolding of the military plans agreed upon at Taheran was comprehensively reviewed in the light of recent events and the conclusions of the Quebec conference on the war in western Europe, and the utmost confidence was expressed in the future progress of the Allied operations on all fronts. A free and intimate exchange of views took place on any political questions of common interest.

Important progress was made towards the solution of the Polish question, which was closely discussed between the Soviet and British Governments. They held consultations both with the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Polish government in London and with the President of the National Council and the Chairman of the Polish Committee of National Libe-

我們現在是，而且將來也是，人類家庭中——也就是上帝兒女的家庭中——強壯有為的弟兄。

英 蘇 發 表 公 報

關於邱吉爾先生和艾登先生逗留莫斯科的蘇英公報

(一九四四年十月二十日)

代表聯合王國的邱吉爾先生和艾登先生，與史達林元帥和莫洛托夫，由他們的政治顧問和軍事顧問協助，從十月九日到十月十八日，在莫斯科舉行會談。

參照新近的事件，並且參照魁北克會議關於西歐戰事的結論，已將在德黑蘭商得同意的軍事計劃的開展加以廣泛的檢討，對於在一切戰場上盟軍戰鬥行動將來的進展，表示了極大的信心。曾就共同關心的許多政治問題，舉行隨意而親密的交換意見。

對於蘇聯政府和英國政府之間密切討論的波蘭問題的解決，作了重大的進展。他們曾和倫敦的波蘭政府總理與外交部長商議，並和盧布林的波蘭國民會議主席與波蘭民族

ration at Ljubli: these discussions have notably narrowed the differences and dispelled misconceptions. The conversations are continuing on the outstanding points.

The march of events in Southeast Europe was fully considered. Agreement was reached on remaining points in the Bulgarian armistice terms. The two Governments agreed to pursue a joint policy in Yugoslavia designed to concentrate all energies against the retreating Germans and bring about a solution of Yugoslav internal difficulties by a union between the Royal Yugoslav government and the National Liberation Movement. The right of the Yugoslav people to settle their future constitution for themselves after the war is, of course, recognized as inalienable.

The meeting took place with the approval and knowledge of the United States Government who were represented at the conversations by the United States Ambassador at Moscow, Mr. Averell Harriman, acting in capacity of observer.

解放委員會主席商議，這些討論已顯著地使爭端減少起來，而將誤會消除了。正就未決的各點繼續談判。

東南歐事件的進行，已加以充分考慮。關於保加利亞停戰條款中留待商討的各點，已商得協議。兩國政府同意在南斯拉夫推行一種共同的政策，志在集中所有一切力量，以對付退却的德軍，並且由南斯拉夫皇家政府和民族解放運動之間的一種聯盟，使南斯拉夫內部的困難獲得解決。關於南斯拉夫人民在戰後有權自行安排他們將來的憲法，這當然被承認為是不能讓渡的權利。

這次舉行會談，是由美利堅合衆國政府贊同而且與聞的。在談話時，美國駐莫斯科大使哈立曼先生，以觀察家的資格代表美利堅合衆國政府。

Armistice Agreement Between the Union Of Soviet Socialist Republics And The United Kingdom Of Great Britain And Northern Ireland, On One Hand, And Finland, On The Other

(Sept. 19, 1944)

Whereas the Finnish Government accepted the preliminary condition of the Soviet Government regarding the break with Germany and removal of German troops from Finland, and whereas the conclusion of the future treaty of peace will be facilitated by the inclusion in an armistice agreement of certain conditions of this peace treaty, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, acting on behalf of all the United Nations at war with Finland, on one hand, and the Government of Finland, on the other hand, have decided to conclude the present agreement for an armistice, the execution of which will be controlled by the Soviet High Command, similarly acting on behalf of the United Nations at war with Finland, hereinafter named the Allied (Soviet) High Command.

On basis of the foregoing the representative of the Allied (Soviet) High Command, Colonel-General Zhdanov,

蘇英芬停戰協定

蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯盟，大不列顛和北

愛爾蘭聯合王國，和芬蘭的停戰協定：

(一九四四年九月十九日)

因芬蘭政府已接受蘇聯政府所提關於和德國絕交以及使德軍退出芬蘭的初步條件，並且因為將未來的和約內若干條款包括在一種停戰協定中，未來和約的締結，就必將因而便利，所以蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯盟政府以及大不列顛和北愛爾蘭聯合王國陛下政府，代表對芬蘭處於戰爭狀態中的所有一切聯合國家，和芬蘭政府雙方，已決定締結現行停戰協定，將由蘇聯最高統帥部，同樣代表對芬蘭處於戰爭狀態中的聯合國家，下文簡稱同盟國(蘇聯)最高統帥部，監察本協定的施行。

根據上述，同盟國(蘇聯)最高統帥部代表陸軍上將丹

and the representatives of the Government of Finland, Mr. Carl Enckel, Minister of Foreign Affairs, General of Infantry Rudolf Walden, Minister of Defence, General of Infantry Erik Heinrichs, Chief of the General Staff, and Lieutenant-General Enckel, duly authorised thereto, signed the following conditions:

Article 1. In connection with the cessation of military activities on the part of Finland on the 4th of September, 1944, and on the part of the Soviet Union on the 5th of September, 1944, Finland undertakes to withdraw her troops behind the line of the Soviet Finnish frontier of 1940 in accordance with procedure laid down in the annex attached to the present agreement (see the annex to article 1.).

Article 2. Finland undertakes to disarm German land, naval and air armed forces which remained in Finland since the 15th of September, 1944, and to hand over their personnel to the Allied (Soviet) High Command as prisoners of war, in which task the Soviet Government will assist the Finnish Army. The Finnish Government also accepts the obligation to intern German and Hungarian nationals in the Finnish territory. (See the annex to Article 2).

Article 3. Finland undertakes to make available at the request of the Allied (Soviet) High Command aerodromes on the southern and southwestern coast of Finland with all equipment to serve as bases for the Soviet air front during the period necessary for air operations against German forces in Estonia and against the German navy in the northern part of the Baltic Sea. (See

諾夫，芬蘭政府的代表外交部長卡爾·恩克爾先生，國防部長步兵上將魯道夫·華爾登，參謀總長步兵上將歐里克·海里區，和陸軍中將奧斯卡·恩克爾，正式受權簽定下列條款。

第一條： 由於芬蘭方面於一九四四年九月四日，蘇聯方面於一九四四年九月五日停止軍事活動，芬蘭保證：當把她的軍隊撤退到一九四〇年蘇芬邊界線後面去，依照本協定附款中所擬定的程序辦理。（參看第一條附款）

第二條： 芬蘭保證：當將一九四四年九月十五日以來留在芬境的德國陸軍，海軍，和空軍，一律解除武裝，把他們的人員，解交同盟國（蘇聯）最高統帥部，作為戰俘，蘇聯政府當協助芬軍執行這種任務。蘇聯政府也接受義務，當將芬境的德意志人和匈牙利人一律拘留。（參看第二條附款）

第三條： 芬蘭保證：應同盟國（蘇聯）最高統帥部的要求，使芬蘭南部和西南部海岸上的機場，連同所有一切可以利用的裝置，在爲了對愛沙尼亞德軍以及對波羅的海北部德國海軍進行空戰而必要的時期中，充蘇聯空軍前線的根據地。（參看第三條附款）

the annex to Article 3).

Article 4. Finland undertakes to place her army on a peace footing within two and a half months from the day of the signing of the present agreement. (See the annex to Article 4).

Article 5. Finland, having broken all the relations with Germany, also to break off all the relations with Germany's satellite states. (See the annex to Article 5).

Article 6. The effect of the peace treaty between the Soviet Union and Finland concluded in Moscow on the 12th of March, 1940, is restored, subject to changes which follow from the present agreement.

Article 7. Finland returns to the Soviet Union the Coast of Petsamo (Pechenga), voluntarily ceded to Finland by the Soviet State in accordance with the peace treaties of October 14th, 1920, and March 12th, 1940, within the boundary indicated in the annex and on the map attached to the present agreement. (See the annex to Article 7 and the map to scale of 1 to 500,000)

Article 8. The Soviet Union renounces its rights to the lease of the Peninsula of Hangoe, accorded to it by the Soviet-Finnish peace treaty of March 12th, 1940, and Finland for her part undertakes to make available to the Soviet Union on lease a territory and waters for the establishment of a Soviet naval base in the area of Porkkala-Udd. The boundaries of the land and water area of the base at Porkkala-Udd are defined in the annex to the present article and indicated on the map. (See the annex to Article 8 and the map to a scale of 1 to 100,000).

第四條：芬蘭保證從本協定簽字日起，在兩個半月內，當使她的軍隊恢復平時編制。（參看第四條附款）

第五條：芬蘭既已和德國斷絕一切關係，保證也和德國的附庸國家斷絕一切關係。（參看第五條附款）

第六條：一九四〇年三月十二日蘇聯和芬蘭在莫斯科所締結的和約的效力，業已恢復，其中所改變的是由於目前的停戰協定而發生的。

第七條：芬蘭將蘇聯根據一九二〇年十月十四日的和約，和根據一九四〇年三月十二日的和約自願讓予芬蘭的巴薩摩州（貝辰加），依照附款所指出的界限和附屬於目前停戰協定的地圖，歸還蘇聯。（參看附款屬於第七條的附款和五十萬分之一的地圖）

第八條：蘇聯取消經一九四〇年三月十二日蘇芬和約所承諾的，對於漢科半島租借的權利，而芬蘭方面則須使蘇聯獲得裨益，將波爾卡拉——烏德區內的地區和水區，租借給蘇聯，作建立蘇維埃海軍基地之用。在波爾卡拉——烏德的海軍基地的陸海區的疆界，已由本條的附款所規定，並用地圖表明。（參看屬於第八條的附款和十萬分之一的比例尺的地圖。）

Article 9. The effect of the agreement concerning the Aaland Islands concluded between the Soviet Union and Finland on the 11th of October, 1940, is completely restored.

Article 10. Finland undertakes immediately to transfer to the Allied (Soviet) High Command to be returned to their homeland all Soviet and Allied prisoners of war now in her power and also Soviet and Allied nationals, who have been interned in or deported by force to Finland. From the moment of signing of the present agreement and up to the time of the repatriation, Finland undertakes to provide at her cost for all Soviet and Allied prisoners of war and also nationals who have been deported by force or interned an adequate food, clothing and medical service in accordance with hygienic requirements and also with means of transport for their return to their homeland. At the same time Finnish prisoners of war and interned persons, now located on the territory of the Allied states, will be transferred to Finland.

Article 11. The losses caused by Finland to the Soviet Union by military operations and occupation of the Soviet territory will be indemnified by Finland to the Soviet Union to the amount of 300,000,000 dollars, payable over six years in commodities (timber products, paper, cellulose, sea going and river craft, sundry, machinery). A provision will also be made for the indemnification in the future by Finland of losses caused during the war to the property of other Allied States and their nationals in Finland, the amount of compen-

第九條：蘇聯和芬蘭在一九四〇年十月十一日所訂關於亞蘭羣島的協定的效力，完全恢復。

第十條：芬蘭立刻將目前所有在它的權力下的一切蘇聯的和同盟國的戰俘，以及被拘禁的或被強迫拐押到芬蘭去的蘇聯和同盟國的公民，移交給同盟國(蘇聯)最高級統帥部，使其歸返祖國。從擬訂目前協定的這一時刻起，直到遣送回國的時候，芬蘭自負費用，為所有蘇聯和同盟國的戰俘，以及那些被押解到芬蘭來的，或被拘禁的蘇聯和同盟國公民，辦理合於衛生需要的足夠的食物，衣服，和醫藥，並且為他們回返祖國準備運輸工具。同時，目前在同盟國境內的芬蘭戰俘，和被拘禁的芬蘭人，將被移運回芬蘭。

第十一條：蘇聯因為芬蘭作戰行動，和芬蘭佔領蘇聯領土而遭受的損失，將由芬蘭以價值三萬萬元美金的貨物(木材物，紙，纖維，河海航船，各種機械)，在六年內賠償蘇聯。芬蘭在將來並當規定由芬蘭賠償因戰爭而使其他同盟國的，和同盟國在芬蘭的公民的財產所受的損失，賠償的數

sation to be fixed separately. (See the annex to Article 11).

Article 12. Finland undertakes to restore all legal rights and interests of the United Nations and their nationals located on Finnish territory as they existed before the war, and to return their property in a complete good order.

Article 13. Finland undertakes within the periods fixed by the Allied (Soviet) High Command to return to the Soviet Union in a complete good order all the valuables and materials removed from the Soviet territory to Finland during the war, belonging to state, public and cooperative organisations, factories, institutions or individual citizens, such as: equipment for factories and works, locomotives, railway carriages, ships, tractors, motor vehicles, historical monuments, valuables from museums and all other property.

Article 14. Finland undertakes to collaborate with the Allied Powers in apprehension of persons accused of war crimes and in their trial.

Article 15. Finland undertakes to transfer as a booty for the disposition of the Allied (Soviet) High Command all war material of Germany and her satellites now on the Finnish territory (including naval and other ships belonging to these countries in the Finnish waters.

Article 16. Finland undertakes not to permit export or expropriation of any form of property (including valuables and currency) belonging to Germany or Hungary or to their nationals, or to persons resident in their territories or in the territories occupied by them,

目，須另行規定。(參看第七條的附款)

第十二條：芬蘭恢復戰前存在的聯合國的，和聯合國的公民在芬蘭的合法的權益，並將他們的財產完整無缺的歸還。

第十三條：芬蘭與同盟國合作，進行逮捕戰爭罪犯，和對他們的審判。

第十四條：芬蘭保證在同盟國(蘇聯)最高統帥部所指定的時間內，將屬於蘇聯國家，公衆，和合作社組織，企業機關，或個別公民的。在戰時從蘇聯領土上搬到芬蘭去的所有的一切貴重器材和物資，例如製造廠和工廠的裝置，火車頭，鐵路車輛，船隻，拖拉車，摩托車，歷史紀念碑，博物館中的珍品，以及其他一切財產，完好地歸還蘇聯。

第十五條：芬蘭保證將在芬蘭境內的德國和它附庸國的一切軍事供應品，包括在芬蘭領海內的這些國家的海軍和船隻，作為戰利品，交給同盟國(蘇聯)最高統帥部。

第十六條：芬蘭保證：凡屬於德國和匈牙利的，或屬於他們的國民的，或屬於他們的領土上或被他們佔領的領土上的他們的個人居民的，任何形式的財產(包括貴重物品和貨幣)，非經同盟國(蘇聯)最高統帥部許可，不得運出或

without permission of the Allied (Soviet) High Command.

Article 17. Finnish merchant ships other than those already under the Allied control shall be placed under the control of the Allied (Soviet) High Command for their use in general interests of the Allies.

Article 18. Finland undertakes to transfer to the Allied (Soviet) High Command all ships in Finnish ports belonging to the United Nations, no matter at whose disposal these vessels may be, for the use of the Allied (Soviet) High Command for the duration of the war against Germany in general interests of the Allies, these vessels subsequently to be returned to their owners.

Article 19. Finland will make available such materials and products as may be required by the United Nations for purposes connected with the war.

Article 20. Finland undertakes immediately to release all persons irrespective of citizenship or nationality held in prison on account of their activities in favour of the United Nations or because of their sympathies with the cause of the United Nations, or in view of their racial origin, and will also remove all discriminatory legislation and disabilities arising therefrom.

Article 21. Finland undertakes immediately to dissolve all pro-Hitler organisations (of the fascist type) situated on the Finnish territory, whether political, military or para-military, as well as other organisations conducting propaganda hostile to the United Nations, in particular to the Soviet Union, and will not in future permit the existence of the organisations of that nature.

徵用。

第十七條：芬蘭商船除已經歸同盟國所管理者外，由同盟國(蘇聯)最高統帥部管理，以爲同盟國的一般利益而使用。

第十八條：芬蘭將在芬蘭港口的屬於聯合國家的所有一切船舶，不管什麼人，在使用這些船舶，一律交給同盟國(蘇聯)最高統帥部，以爲同盟國的一般利益而對德國繼續作戰之用。這些船舶以後當歸還原主。

第十九條：芬蘭當使聯合國能利用爲了和戰爭有關的目的所需的物資及生產品。

第二十條：芬蘭保證將所有因從事有利於聯合國家的活動，或因同情聯合國家的事業，或因種族出身而被監禁的，不問屬於什麼國籍和民族的一切人，立刻釋放，並且取消所加的一切歧視的條例和限制。

第二十一條：芬蘭保證：即刻解散在芬蘭境內的不問是屬於政治的，軍事的，或變相軍事的，所有一切親希特拉的(屬於法西斯類型的)組織，以及進行反對聯合國，特別是反對蘇聯的宣傳的其他組織，並且將來也不准具有那種性質的組織存在。

Article 22. An Allied control commission will be established which until the conclusion of the peace with Finland will undertake regulation and control of the execution of the present agreement under the general direction and instructions of the Allied (Soviet) High Command acting on behalf of the Allied Powers. (See the annex to Article 22)

Article 23. The present agreement comes into force as from the moment of its signature.

Done in Moscow the 19th day of September, 1944, in one copy, which will be entrusted to the safekeeping of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, English and Finnish languages, the Russian and English texts being authentic.

The certified copies of the present agreement with the annexes and maps will be transmitted by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic to each of other Governments on whose behalf the present agreement is being signed.

For the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic and the United Kingdom — ZHDANOV.

For the Government of Finland — CARL ENCKEL,
RUDOLF WALDEN, ERIC HEINRICHS, OSCAR ENCE.

第二十二條： 將設置同盟國監察委員會，直到和芬蘭締結和約爲止，當負責調整并督察現行協定的執行，而受代表同盟強國的同盟國（蘇聯）最高級統帥部的全盤的領導和指示。（參看第二十二條附款）

第二十三條： 現行協定一經簽字，立即生效。

本協定一九四四年九月十九日，立於莫斯科。以俄文，英文，和芬蘭文各繕一份，委託蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯盟政府保存，以俄文及英文本爲憑。

本協定連同附款以及地圖的憑證抄本，將由蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯盟政府，送交有代表在本協定上簽字的其他每一政府存照。

蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯盟政府及聯合王國政府代表
日丹諾夫。

芬蘭政府代表卡爾恩克爾，魯道夫·華爾登，歐里克·海里區，奧斯卡·恩克爾。

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, UNITED
KINGDOM AND UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
ON ONE HAND, AND GOVERNMENT OF
BULGARIA ON OTHER HAND,
CONCERNING ARMISTICE

(Oct. 28, 1944)

The Government of Bulgaria accepts armistice terms presented by the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, acting on behalf of all the United Nations at war with Bulgaria. Accordingly, representative of the Soviet High Command Marshal of the Soviet Union Tolbukhin and representative of the Supreme Allied Commander in the Mediterranean Lieut.-Gen. Sir James Gammell, duly authorised thereto by the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, acting on behalf of all the United Nations at war with Bulgaria, on one hand, and representatives of the Government of Bulgaria, Stainoff, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Terpesheff, Minister without Portfolio, Petkoff, Minister without Portfolio and Stoyanoff, Minister of Finance, furnished with due powers, on the other hand, have signed the following terms:

蘇保停戰協定

蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯盟政府，聯合王國政府，美利堅合衆國政府與保加利亞政府關於停戰的協定：

(一九四四年十月廿八日)

保加利亞政府接受由蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯盟政府，聯合王國政府和美利堅合衆國政府，代表所有對保加利亞作戰的一切聯合國所提出的停戰條款。因此由代表對保加利亞作戰的所有一切聯合國的，蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯盟政府，聯合王國政府和美利堅合衆國政府授權的，蘇聯高級統帥部代表蘇聯元帥托爾布辛以及地中海盟軍最高司令代表陸軍中將詹姆士·加姆爾爵士，就與賦有相當權力的保加利亞政府的代表，外交部部長斯泰諾夫，不管部部長台培舍夫，不管部部長塔特科夫以及財政部部長斯托陽諾夫，已簽定下列條款：

ONE. A) Bulgaria, having ceased hostilities with the USSR on September 9th and severed relations with Germany on September 6th and with Hungary on September 26, 1944, has ceased hostilities against all other United Nations. B) The Government of Bulgaria undertakes to disarm the German armed forces in Bulgaria and hand them over as prisoners of war. The Government of Bulgaria also undertakes to intern the nationals of Germany and her satellites. C) The Government of Bulgaria undertakes to maintain and make available such land, sea and air forces as may be specified for the service under the general direction of the Allied (Soviet) High Command. Such forces must not be used on the Allied territory except with the prior consent of the Allied Government concerned. D) On the conclusion of hostilities against Germany, the Bulgarian armed forces must be demobilised and put on a peace footing under the supervision of the Allied Control Commission.

TWO. The Bulgarian armed forces and officials must be withdrawn within a specified time limit from the territory of Greece and Yugoslavia in accordance with the pre-condition accepted by the Government of Bulgaria on October 11; Bulgarian authorities must immediately take steps to withdraw from the Greek and Yugoslavian territory the Bulgarians who were citizens of Bulgaria on January 1st 1941 and to repeal all legislative and administrative provisions relating to the annexation or incorporation in Bulgaria of Greek or Yugoslavian territory.

THREE. The Government of Bulgaria will afford

第一條：(甲)保加利亞已於一九四四年九月九日對蘇聯停止敵對行動，九月六日對德國絕交，九月二十六日對匈牙利絕交，已因此對所有其他聯合國停止敵對行動。(乙)保國政府保證將保境德軍解除武裝，將他們讓渡作為戰俘，保國政府并保證拘留德國的及其衛星國的臣民。(丙)保國政府保證維持并提供陸海空軍，指明在同盟國(蘇聯)高級統帥部總指揮下服役。這類兵力，除非獲得有關的同盟國政府事前同意，不得在同盟國領土上使用。(丁)對德國戰事結束時，保國武器力量應即復員，照平時編制，歸同盟國監察委員會督察。

第二條：保國武裝力量和公務人員，必須依照保國政府於十月十一日接受的先決條件，在指定的時限內，從希臘和南斯拉夫領土上撤出；保國當局必須立刻採取措置，將一九四一年一月一日是保國公民的保加利亞人，從希臘和南斯拉夫領土上撤出，并須把所有和希臘的或南斯拉夫的領土歸併或併入保國有關的一切立法的和行政的條規完全取消。

第三條：倘同盟國(蘇聯)高級統帥部認為軍事情況

to the Soviet and other Allied forces a freedom of movement over the Bulgarian territory in any direction if in the opinion of the Allied (Soviet) High Command the military situation so requires, the Government of Bulgaria giving to such movements every assistance with its own means of communication and at its own expense by land, water and in the air.

FOUR. The Government of Bulgaria will immediately release all Allied prisoners of war and internees. Pending further instructions, the Government of Bulgaria, will, at its own expense provide all Allied prisoners of war and internees, displaced persons and refugees including the nationals of Greece and Yugoslavia with adequate food, clothing, medical services and sanitary and hygienic requirements and also with the means of transportation for the return of any such persons to their own country.

FIVE. The Government of Bulgaria will immediately release, regardless of the citizenship or nationality, all the persons held in detention in Bulgaria in connection with their activities in favour of the United Nations, or because of their sympathies with the United Nations' cause, or for racial or religious reasons and will repeal all discriminatory legislation and disabilities arising therefrom.

SIX. The Government of Bulgaria will cooperate in the apprehension and trial of the persons accused of war crimes.

SEVEN. The Government of Bulgaria undertakes to dissolve immediately all pro-Hitler or other fascist

必要時，保國政府當使蘇聯的和其他同盟國的兵力，在保國領土上享有向任何方面移動的自由，保國政府當以本國的交通工具，由陸上，海上和空中，自費給與這類的移動以一切協助。

第四條： 保國政府當立刻釋放所有同盟國的一切戰俘和在監人。在接獲更進一步的訓令之前，保國政府當以充分的糧食，被服，醫藥服務，以及衛生和攝生必需品，自費供應所有同盟國的戰俘和在監人，被移植的人和難民，并當供應交通工具，以便把所有這類人遣回他們各自的本國。

第五條： 保國政府當立刻將所有因為從事對聯合國有利的活動，或因為同情聯合國的事業，或由於種族的或宗教的原因，在保國被捕的一切人，不問國籍或民族，一律釋放，並當取消因此而產生的所有一切歧視的立法和剝奪權利的措置。

第六條： 保國政府當在逮捕和審訊戰爭罪犯方面協力合作。

第七條： 保國政府保證當將所有親希特勒的，或其他

political, military, para-military and other organisations on the Bulgarian territory, conducting propaganda hostile to the United Nations and not to tolerate the existence of such organisations in the future.

EIGHT. The publication, introduction and distribution in Bulgaria of periodical or non-periodical literature, presentations of theatrical performances or films, the operation of the wireless stations, post, telegraph and telephons services will take place in agreement with the Allied (Soviet) High Command.

NINE. The Government of Bulgaria will restore all property of the United Nations and their nationals including Greek and Yugoslavian property and will make such a reparation for the loss and damage caused by the war to the United Nations including Greece and Yugoslavia as may be determined later.

TEN. The Government of Bulgaria will restore all rights and interests of the United Nations and their nationals in Bulgaria.

ELEVEN. The Government of Bulgaria undertakes to return to the Soviet Union, to Greece and Yugoslavia and to the other United Nations by the date specified by the Allied Control Commission and in good state of preservation all valuables and materials removed during the war by Germany or Bulgaria from the United Nations' territory and belonging to the state, public or cooperative organisations, enterprises, institutions or individual citizens, such as factory and works equipment, locomotives, rolling stock, tractors, motor vehicles, historic monuments, museum treasures and any other pro-

法西斯政治的，軍事的，以及在保屬領土上進行反聯合國宣傳的其他組織，立刻解散，並且將來也不得容許這類組織存在。

第八條： 關於在保國印行輸入，以及散佈定期的或不定期的文書，戲劇的演出，電影的公映，無線電台，郵政，電報和電話的業務，統須與同盟國（蘇聯）高級統帥部協議辦理。

第九條： 保國政府當將包括希臘和南斯拉夫在內的聯合國及其臣民的所有一切財產完全歸還，因戰爭使包括希臘和南斯拉夫在內的聯合國及其臣民所受損失和損害，當照日後所決定的辦法負責補償。

第十條： 保國政府當恢復聯合國及其臣民在保國的一切權利與利益。

第十一條： 保國政府保證，當在同盟國監察委員會指定的日期前，將戰爭期間被德國從聯合國領土上劫移到保國來的，屬於國家，公團，或合作組織，企業，機關或個別公民的所有一切有價物和物資，一律保管完好地，分別歸還蘇聯希臘和南斯拉夫，以及其他聯合國，如工廠的和製造廠的裝置，火車頭，鐵路車輛，拖拉機，摩托車，歷史紀念碑，博物館寶物，及其他任何財產。

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TWELVE. The Government of Bulgaria undertakes to hand over as booty to the Allied (Soviet) High Command all the war material of Germany and her satellites located on the Bulgarian territory including vessels of the fleets of Germany and her satellites located in the Bulgarian waters.

THIRTEEN. The Government of Bulgaria undertakes not to permit the removal or expropriation of any form of property (including valuables and currency) belonging to Germany or Hungary or to their nationals or to persons resident in their territories or in the territories occupied by them without permission of the Allied Control Commission. The Government of Bulgaria will safeguard such property in the manner specified by the Allied Control Commission.

FOURTEEN. The Government of Bulgaria undertakes to hand over to the Allied (Soviet) High Command all vessels belonging to the United Nations, which are in Bulgarian ports, no matter at whose disposal these vessels may be, for the use of the Allied (Soviet) High Command during the war against Germany or Hungary in the common interest of the Allies, the vessels to be returned subsequently to their owners, the Government of Bulgaria will bear full material responsibility for any damage to or destruction of the aforesaid property up to the moment of its transfer to the Allied (Soviet) High Command.

FIFTEEN. The Government of Bulgaria must make regular payments in the Bulgarian currency and must

第十二條：保國政府保證，當其在保國領土上的屬於德國及其衛星國的所有一切作戰物資，包括在保國領海中屬於德國及其衛星國的艦隊的船隻，一律移交同盟國（蘇聯）高級統帥部，作為戰利品。

第十三條：保國政府保證，凡屬於德國或匈牙利的，或屬於他們的臣民的，或屬於他們的領土上的和他們所佔領的領土上的居民的任何形式的財產（包括有價物和通貨），如不得同盟國監察委員會的特許，不得移動或利用，保國政府當照同盟國監察委員規定的方式保管這種財產。

第十四條：保國政府保證，當將在保國各港中的，屬於聯合國所有一切船隻，不問什麼人在使用這些船隻，當一律移交同盟國（蘇聯）高級統帥部，以供同盟國（蘇聯）高級統帥部在對德國或匈牙利作戰期間，為同盟國的共同利益而加以運用。這些船隻戰後當歸還物主。上述財產直到交付同盟國（蘇聯）高級統帥部時為止，如受到任何損害或破壞，保國政府當負全部物質上的責任。

第十五條：保國政府當照同盟國（蘇聯）高級統帥部

supply goods (fuel, foodstuffs etc.), facilities and services as may be required by the Allied (Soviet) High Command for the discharge of its functions.

SIXTEEN. Bulgarian merchant vessels, whether in the Bulgarian or foreign waters, shall be subject to the operational control of the Allied (Soviet) High Command for the use in the general interest of the Allies.

SEVENTEEN. The Government of Bulgaria will arrange in a case of need for the utilization in the Bulgarian territory of industrial and transport enterprises, means of communications, power stations, public utility enterprises, and installations, stocks of fuel and other materials in accordance with the instructions issued during the armistice by the Allied (Soviet) High Command.

EIGHTEEN. For the whole period of the armistice there will be established in Bulgaria an Allied Control Commission which will regulate and supervise the execution of the armistice terms under the chairmanship of a representative of the Allied (Soviet) High Command and with the participation of representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States. During the period between coming into force of the armistice and the conclusion of hostilities against Germany, the Allied Control Commission will be under the general direction of the Allied (Soviet) High Command.

NINETEEN. The present terms will come into force on their signing. Done in Moscow in quadruplicate in the Russian, English and Bulgarian languages, the Russian and English texts being authentic.

October 28, 1944.

爲了行使職務所必需的，經常支付保幣，供應物品（燃料，糧食等），便利與服役。

第十六條： 停在保國領海或外國領海中的保國商船，當受同盟國（蘇聯）高級統帥部的戰術統制，以便爲同盟國的一般利益而加以運用。

第十七條： 保國政府當設法依照停戰期間所頒發的訓令，由同盟國（蘇聯）高級統帥部於必要時，在保國領土上，利用工業和運輸業企業，交通工具，電力廠，軍用企業和裝置，儲存的燃料及其他物資。

第十八條： 在停戰的全部期間，當在保國設立一個同盟國監察委員會，以調整并督察停戰條款的執行情形，由同盟國（蘇聯）高級統帥部的代表擔任主席，由聯合王國的和美利堅合衆國的代表共同參加。在停戰協定發生效力起到對德國戰事結束爲止的時期中，同盟國監察委員會當受同盟國（蘇聯）高級統帥部總的領導。

第十九條： 本協定的條款一經簽字，立即生效。立於莫斯科，用俄文，英文和保文，各繕四份，以俄文本和英文本爲憑。

一九四四年十月二十八日。

Signed: for the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, representatives of the Soviet High Command

TOLBUKHIN,

representative of the Supreme Allied Commander in the Mediterranean For the Government of Bulgaria

GAMMELL.

STAINOFF, TERPESHEFF,

PETKOFF, STOYANOFF.

Marshal Stalin's Report

Rendered On 27th Anniversary Of October Socialist Revolution In USSR

(Nov. 6, 1944)

Today the Soviet people celebrate the 27th anniversary of the triumph of the Soviet Socialist Revolution in our country. This is the fourth time that our country is observing the anniversary of the Soviet Revolution in the midst of the Patriotic War against the German fascist invaders. That does not mean, of course, that the fourth year of the war does not differ from the preceding three years of the war in its results. On the contrary, there is a radical difference between them. Whereas the preceding two years of the war were the years when the German forces were on the offensive, and when they advanced to the interior of our country

蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯盟政府，聯合王國政府，和美利堅合衆國政府方面，由蘇聯高級統帥部代表托爾布辛，和地中海盟軍最高司令官代表卡美爾簽字。

保國政府方面，由斯泰諾夫，台培舍夫，培特科夫斯托陽諾夫簽字。

十月革命節斯大林演詞

(一九四四年十一月六日)

今天，蘇維埃人民慶祝蘇維埃革命在我國勝利的第二十七周年。我國在對德國法西斯侵略者進行的愛國戰爭中間慶祝蘇維埃革命的紀念日，這是第四次了。那自然並不是意味着：戰爭的第四年和戰爭的前三年，在結果方面沒有什麼差異。正相反，他們中間有一種根本區別。在戰爭的前兩年，是德軍採攻勢，他們竄進我們內地的年份——紅軍被迫

— the years when the Red Army was compelled to fight defensive actions — and whereas the third year of the war was a year of radical change on our front, when the Red Army launched powerful offensive actions, smashed the Germans in a number of decisive battles, cleared the German troops out of two thirds of the Soviet territory and compelled them to pass to the defensive while the Red Army was still waging the war against the German forces singlehanded without substantial support from the Allies — the fourth year of the war has been a year of decisive victories over the German forces for the Soviet armies and the armies of our Allies, a year in which the Germans, now compelled to fight on two fronts, found themselves flung back to the German frontiers. The upshot of this year has ended in the expulsion of German forces from the Soviet Union, France, Belgium and Central Italy and the transfer of hostilities to the German territory.

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THE GREAT EXPLOIT OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE IN THE PATRIOTTIC WAR.

If the Red Army was able to acquit itself successfully of its duty to its country and drive the Germans from Soviet soil, it was because of the unreserved support it received in the rear from our whole country. 'Everything for the front' has been the watchword in this past year in the selfless effort of all Soviet people — workers, peasants and intelligentsia, as well as in the directing activities of our government and party bodies. The past year has been marked by fresh successes in

進行防禦戰的年份——戰爭的第三年，是我們戰場上發生根本變化的一年，那時紅軍發動強有力的攻勢戰，在若干次決定性的戰鬥中把德軍打垮，把被竊佔的蘇維埃領土三分之二區域中的德軍肅清，而迫使他們改取守勢，當時紅軍依然是獨力對德軍作戰，還沒有獲得盟邦方面的重大援助——至於戰爭的第四年，却是蘇軍和我們盟邦軍隊對德軍取得決定性的勝利的一年，是如今被迫在兩線作戰的德軍不覺已被打退到德國邊疆去的一年。結果，這一年結束時，德軍被逐出了蘇聯，法蘭西，比利時，和意大利中部，而把戰爭轉移到德國本土上去了。(以下略一段)

蘇聯人民在愛國戰爭中偉大的功績

如果說紅軍能夠順利地貫徹了對祖國的天職，把德軍逐出蘇維埃國土，那就是因為它在後方獲得我們整個國家的，我們國家所有各民族人民方面的毫無保留的援助。『一切為前線』，已變成了過去一年間在所有蘇維埃人民——工人，農民和智識份子自我犧牲的努力方面，以及在領導我們政府的政黨的團體的活動方面的口號了。過去的一年，已標

industry, agriculture and transport and by further progress in our war economy, with the war in its fourth year our factories are producing several times more tanks, anti-aircraft guns, mortars and ammunition than in its opening phase. In the rehabilitation of agriculture the most difficult period has passed, with the fertile fields of the Don and Kuban restored to our country and the Ukraine liberated, our farming is recovering rapidly from its grave losses. The Soviet railways have such a strain that the transport of other countries would hardly be able to bear. All this indicates that the economic foundation of the Soviet state proved to possess an infinitely greater vitality than the economy of the enemy states.

The socialist system born of the October Revolution has lent our people and our army a great and invincible country, the Soviet state did not reduce the supply of arms and ammunition for the front as the war proceeded, but increases it from year to year. Today the Red Army has no less but more tanks, guns and aircraft than the German army. As for quality our war material is far superior to enemy armaments in that respect. Just as the Red Army achieved military victory over the fascist forces in its long and arduous single-handed struggle, so the workers in the Soviet rear won economic victory over the enemy in their fight against Hitler-Germany and her associates. The Soviet people have denied themselves many necessities and have consciously incurred serious material privations in order to give more for the front. The unparalleled hardships of the

誌出工業，農業和運輸業方面的新成就，標誌出我國戰爭經濟方面的飛向前進步。隨着戰爭到了第四個年頭，我國的工廠製造着比戰爭開始的階段增多了好幾倍的坦克，飛機，大砲，迫擊砲和彈藥。在農業的復興方面，最困難的時期已經過去。由於頓河和庫班河流域豐饒的田土已重回我們祖國懷抱，而且烏克蘭已經解放了，我們的農業正迅速彌補了它所受的嚴重損失。蘇聯鐵道這麼緊張繁劇，別的任何國家的運輸業，大概都不會吃得消的罷。所有這一切，表明：蘇維埃國家的經濟基礎證明了具有比敵國經濟更大到不可限量的活力。

由十月革命誕生的社會主義制度，已給予我們的人民和我們的軍隊以一個偉大而所向無敵的國家。蘇維埃國家，在戰爭進行期間，關於前線兵器與彈藥的供應，不僅沒有缺少過，而且一年比一年增加。今天，紅軍已擁有決不比德軍少些，却比德軍更多的坦克，大砲，和飛機。就作戰物資的素質而言，我們的軍備更比敵人的軍備優越得多。正像紅軍在長時間獨力奮鬥中對法西斯軍隊博得了軍事上的勝利一樣，蘇維埃後方的工人，也在他們對希特勒德國及其伙伴進行戰鬥中，對敵人取得了經濟上的勝利。蘇維埃人民極力節制許多生活必需品，自覺地遭遇嚴重的物質上的貧乏，以便以更多的東西給前方去。現行戰爭中的無可比擬的艱苦，並

present war have not broken but further tempered the iron will and fearless spirit of the Soviet people. Our people have rightfully won the fame of a heroic nation. Our working class is giving all its strength to the cause of victory, constantly improving the technology of production, increasing the capacity of industrial enterprises and building new factories and mills. The working class of the Soviet Union has a great labour exploit to its credit in the present war.

Our intelligentsia are striking out boldly in the field of technical and cultural innovation, successfully promoting modern science and displaying the creative spirit in applying its achievements to the production of munitions for the Red Army. By their creative work the Soviet intelligentsia have made an invaluable contribution to the enemy's defeat. And the army cannot fight and win without modern armaments. But neither can it fight and win without bread and without provision. Thanks to the solicitude of the collective farm peasantry, the Red Army experiences no shortage of food in this fourth year of war. The men and women of the collective farms are supplying the workers and intelligentsia with foodstuffs and industry with raw materials, making it possible for factories and mills producing arms and equipment for the front to function normally. Actively and with a clear sense of duty to the country, our collective farm peasantry are helping the Red Army to achieve victory over the enemy.

The marvelous labour exploits of the Soviet women and of our splendid youth will go down forever in

不曾打破，却更進一步鍛鍊了蘇維埃人民的鐵的意志與大無畏精神。我國人民已很正當地博得了英雄國家的美名。我國的工人階級，正把所有的一切力量供獻給勝利的事業，經常改進生產技術，增加工業企業的生產能力，建設新的工廠和製造廠。蘇聯的工人階級在現今戰爭中，已博得偉大的勞動功勳，而令人稱譽。

我國的智識份子，正在技術與文化革新方面，毅然別出心裁，順利地促進現代科學，表現創造精神，運用這一方面的成就，來為紅軍生產軍火。蘇維埃智識份子，由他們的創造工作，對於敵軍的敗北，已作了至為珍貴的貢獻。而軍隊如沒有現代軍備，就不能打仗，不能致勝。但是，如沒有麵包，沒有軍糧，它也不能打仗，不能致勝的。由於集體農場農民的關心，紅軍在戰爭的第四年度，也沒有感到糧食的缺乏。集體農場的男女，以糧食供應工人和智識份子，以原料供應工業，使為前方生產兵器與裝備品的工廠和製造廠，能夠始終正常開工。我國的集體農場農民們，積極地並且具有明確的對祖國的義務感，正協助紅軍去對敵人爭取勝利。

蘇維埃婦女們和我們光輝的青年們的寶貴的勞動功績，必將在歷史中永垂不朽。因為就是他們，在工廠和製造

history) for it is they that have borne the brunt of the work in factories and mills and on the collective and state farms. For the sake of their country's honour and independence, Soviet women, youths and girls are displaying valour and heroism on the labour front. They have shown themselves worthy of their fathers and sons, husbands and brothers who are defending their homeland against the German fascist fiends.

The labour exploits of the Soviet people in the rear like the immortal deeds of valour of our soldiers at the front are rooted in their fervent and life-giving spirit of Soviet patriotism. The strength of Soviet patriotism lies in the fact that it is based not on the racial or nationalistic prejudices but on the peoples' profound devotion and loyalty to their Soviet homeland and on the fraternal partnership of the working people of all the nationalities in our land. Soviet patriotism blends harmoniously the national traditions of the people and the common vital interests of all the working people of the Soviet Union. Far from dividing them, Soviet patriotism welds all the nations and peoples of our country into a single fraternal family. This should be regarded as the foundation of the inviolable and ever stronger friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union. At the same time the peoples of the USSR respect the rights and independence of the nations of foreign countries and have always shown themselves willing to live in peace and friendship with their neighbour states. This should be regarded as the foundation of the contacts growing and gaining strength between our state

廠中，在集體農場和國家農場上，負擔了工作的重荷。爲了他們的國家的榮譽和獨立，蘇維埃婦女們，少男少女們，正在勞動陣線上表現剛毅果敢和英雄主義。他們已經表明了：對於正在保衛祖國而對德國法西斯惡魔奮戰的他們的父親和兒子，丈夫和兄弟，他們是毫無愧色的。

蘇維埃人民在後方的勞動功績，正像我們的戰士們在前方的不朽的剛勇勳業一樣，是生根在他們生氣蓬勃的蘇維埃愛國心的精神中。蘇維埃愛國心的力量，對於事實上不是基於種族的或民族的成見，而是基於人民對蘇維埃祖國的無限熱忱與效忠。基於我國所有各民族的勞動人民間親如兄弟的友愛。蘇維埃愛國心把蘇聯人民的民族傳統精神和蘇聯勞動人民的共同的生存攸關的利益，和諧地混合爲一。蘇維埃愛國心，豈但不會使他們分裂，而且把我們的所有各民族和各民族人民都融化成爲一個單一的親愛的大家庭。這應該認爲就是蘇聯各民族人民間神聖不可侵犯的，而且越過越堅強的友誼的基礎。同時，蘇聯的各民族人民，尊重外國的各民族的權利與獨立，始終表示願意和他們的鄰邦在和平與友好中共處。這應該認爲就是我們國家與愛好自由的各國之間正在成長，日益有力的聯繫的基礎。蘇維埃

and the freedom-loving nations. The reason why the Soviet men and women hate the German invaders is not that they are of different nationality but that they have brought untold calamity and suffering to our people and all freedom-loving nations. It is an old saying of our people that the wolf is not beaten for being grey but for devouring the sheep.

The German fascist chose the misanthropic race theory for their ideological weapon in the expectation that by preaching bestial nationalism they would produce the moral and political conditions for the German invaders' domination over the subjugated nations. Actually, however, the policy of racial hatred pursued by the Hitlerites has proved a source of weakness for the German fascist state internally and of its isolation internationally. The ideology and policy of racial hatred have been a factor in the disintegration of Hitler's brigand bloc. It cannot be regarded as an accident that not only the subjugated peoples of France, Yugoslavia, Poland and Czechoslovakia, Greece and Belgium, Denmark, Norway and the Netherlands have risen against the German imperialists, but also Hitler's former vassals — the Italians and Rumanians, Finns and Bulgarians have done so. By their savage policy those Hitler's clique have set up all the nations of the world against Germany and the so-called 'chosen German race' has become the object of universal hatred. It is not only the military defeat that the Hitlerites have sustained in this war, but the moral and political as well. The ideology of equality of all races and nations which has taken a firm root in

男女所以痛恨德寇并不是因爲他們是不同的民族，而是因爲他們以不可言狀的禍患與災難帶給我們人民，帶給一切所有愛好自由的民族。我國人民有一句古諺：狼被人打，正不是因爲是灰色的，而是因爲貪吃綿羊。

德國法西斯選中了嫌惡人類的種族論，作爲他們的意識上的武器，一心希望着：他們憑藉宣傳獸性的國魂，他們就會爲德寇對被征服民族的統治，造成了精神和政治上的條件。然而，事實上，希特勒分子所奉行的種族憎惡政策，已經證明了是德國法西斯國家在國內脆弱而在國際孤立的一種根源。關於種族憎惡的觀念與政策，已經成爲希特勒強盜集團解體的一個因素。不僅法蘭西的和南斯拉夫的，波蘭的和捷克斯洛伐克的，希臘的和比利時的，丹麥的，挪威的和芬蘭的被征服的人民，而且，連希特勒以前的附庸——意大利人和羅馬尼亞人芬蘭人和保加利亞人都已一致奮起，反對德國帝國主義了，這決不能認爲偶然的。由於他們的野蠻政策，希特勒匪幫已使全世界所有一切民族都起來反對德國，而所謂『天選的日耳曼種族』，已成爲舉世憎惡的目標。希特勒份子在這次戰爭中，不僅在軍事上吃了敗仗，而且在精神上與政治上也敗北了。關於各民族人民間的友誼

our country, the ideology of friendship among the people has emerged completely victorious over the Hitlerite ideology of bestial nationalism and racial hatred. Today, when the Patriotic War is drawing to its victorious conclusion, the historic role of the Soviet people is revealed in its full greatness. It is universally acknowledged now that by their selfless struggle the Soviet people have saved the civilization of Europe from the fascist vandals. That is the great service rendered by the Soviet people to the history of mankind.

THE CONSOLIDATION AND EXTENSION OF THE ANTI-GERMAN COALITION FRONT; THE QUESTION OF PEACE AND SECURITY

The past year has been a year of triumph for the common cause of the anti-German coalition, for the sake of which the peoples of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States have joined in a fighting alliance. It has been a year of consolidation of the unity of the three main powers and of coordination of their action against Hitler Germany. The Teheran Conference's decision on joint actions against Germany and the brilliant realization of the decision are one of the striking indications of the consolidation of the anti-Hitlerite coalition front. There are few in history of plans for large-scale military operations undertaken in joint actions against a common enemy being carried out so fully and with such a precision as the plan for joint blow against Germany drawn up at the Teheran Conference. There can be no

的觀念，已經對於希特勒份子關於獸性罔魂和種族憎惡的觀念，取得完全勝利了。今天，當愛國戰爭正接近勝利結束的時候，蘇維埃人民的歷史任務，已充分偉大地顯現出來。現在已舉世公認：蘇維埃人民，由自我犧牲的鬪爭，已從法西斯野蠻人的羈絆下把歐洲的文明拯救出來。那是蘇維埃人民對人類歷史的偉大貢獻。

反德聯盟陣線的鞏固與擴大及和平與安全問題

過去的一年，是反德聯盟的共同事業勝利的一年，蘇聯人民，大不列顛人民，和美利堅合衆國人民，爲了這種共同事業，已一同參與我戰鬪同盟。過去的一年，便是這三個主要強國團結鞏固而對希特勒德國的戰鬪行動協調的一年。德黑蘭會議關於德國共同一致作戰的決定，以及那種決定的輝煌實踐，便是反希特勒聯盟陣線趨於鞏固的顯著的指標之一。在歷史中，極少對共同敵人實行一致行動時的大規模軍事戰役的計劃，像在德黑蘭會議中議定的對德國一致打擊的計劃，這麼充分地而且這麼精密地貫徹起來的。不容

doubt that without the unity of opinion and coordination of actions between the three Great Powers, the Teheran decision could not have been put into effect so fully and with such a precision. Nor, on the other hand, can there be any doubt that the successful realization of the Teheran decision was bound to serve for the consolidation of the United Nations front.

An equally striking indication of the solidity of the front of the United Nations is to be seen in the decisions of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference on the post-war security. There are talks of differences between the three powers on certain security problems. Differences do exist, of course, and they will arise on a number of other issues as well. Differences of opinion are to be found even among the people in one and the same party. They are all the more bound to occur between representatives of different states and different parties. The surprising thing is not that differences exist but that there are so few of them and that, as a rule in practically every case, they are resolved in a spirit of unity and coordination among the three great powers. What matters is not that there are differences but that these differences do not transgress the bounds of what the interests of unity of the three great powers allow, and that, in the long run, they are resolved in accordance with the interests of that unity. It is known that more serious differences existed between us over the opening of the second front. It is also known, however, that in the end these differences were resolved in a spirit of complete accord. The same thing may be said of the

置疑：如沒有三個偉大強國之間意見的一致和行動的協調，德黑蘭的決定就不會這麼充分地而且這麼精密地付諸實施。而另一方面，也是毫無疑問的，德黑蘭決定的順利實踐，將於聯合國陣線的鞏固，必已有所貢獻。

在頓巴敦橡樹會議關於戰後安全的決議中，也可看出關於聯合國陣線鞏固的同樣顯著的指標來。關於某些安全問題，三國之間有些爭論的風說。爭論自然是存在的，關於若干別的問題也會引起爭論的。就連在同一政黨中的人士之間，也會有意見的衝突。在不同的國家和不同的政黨的代表之間，就更會發生意見的衝突了。令人驚奇的事情，並不是三個偉大強國間爭論的存在，而是爭論竟這麼少，並且實際上在每一場合，總是以團結與協調的精神解決了。關係重大的，倒並不是有爭論，而是這些爭論並不會超過三個偉大強國的團結利益所許可的範圍，並且這些爭論畢竟依照那種團結的利益而解決了。大家都知道，我們之間關於第二戰場的見解，曾經存在過更嚴重的爭論。然而，大家也都知道，這些爭論到底以完全和協的精神解決了。關於頓巴敦橡樹

differences at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. What is characteristic about this conference is not that certain differences were revealed there, but that nine tenths of the security problems were dispatched at this conference in a spirit of complete unanimity. That is why I think that the Dumbarton Oaks Conference decisions are to be regarded as a striking indication of the solidity of the front of the anti-German coalition.

The recent talks in Moscow with Mr. Churchill, the head of the British Government, and Mr. Eden, the British Foreign Secretary, are to be reviewed as an even more striking indication of the consolidation of the United Nations front, as these talks were in an atmosphere of friendship and spirit of perfect unanimity. All through the war the Hitlerites have been making frantic efforts to create disunion among the United Nations and set them at loggerheads, to stir up suspicion and unfriendly feelings among them, to weaken their war effort by mutual mistrust, and, if possible, by conflict between them as well. The ambitions like these on the part of the Hitlerite politicians are easy enough to understand. There is no greater danger for them than the unity of the United Nations in the struggle against Hitler's imperialism, and they could achieve no greater military-political success than by dividing the Allied Powers in their fight against the common foe. It is well known, however, how futile the efforts of the fascist politicians to disrupt the alliance of the great powers have proved. That means that the alliance between the USSR, Great Britain and the United States is founded not on casual

會議中的爭論，也可以這樣說。關於這一次會議的特色，並不是在那兒顯露出若干爭論，而是關於安全問題十分之九都已在這次會議中以完全一致的精神解決了。正因為這個原故，我想：頓巴敦橡樹會議的決議，當被視為反德聯盟陣線鞏固的一種顯著的指標。

最近在莫斯科與大不列顛政府首長邱吉爾先生以及大不列顛外交大臣艾登先生舉行的會談，應該看做關於聯合國陣線鞏固的一種更加明顯的指標，因為這些會談都是在友好的空氣中，以完全一致的精神舉行的。在戰爭的全期間，希特勒份子始終作狂妄的努力，拚命要使聯合國之間分裂，使他們互相鬭毆起來，在他們中間挑撥起猜忌懷疑的不友好的感情，使他們，由於互相不信任。而且如果可能的話，更由他們之間的互相衝突，而削弱他們的作戰努力。希特勒的政客方面抱着這些野心，都是很容易了解的。對於他們，再沒有比聯合國在對希特勒帝國主義鬭爭中的團結更大的危險了，他們所能夠取得的軍事上——政治上的成功，也沒有比較使在對共同敵人作戰中的同盟強國分裂所能取得的成功更偉大的了。然而，大家都知道：法西斯政客們要想打破偉大強國的同盟，他們的努力已證明了是多麼徒然呀。那就是意味着：蘇聯，大不列顛和美利堅合衆國之間的同盟，

short-lived considerations, but on vital and lasting interests.

There need be no doubt that having stood the strain of over three years of war and being sealed with the blood of nations rising in defence of their liberty and honour, the fighting alliance of the democratic powers will the more certainly stand the strain of the concluding phase of the war. However, the past year has been not only a year of consolidation of the anti-German front of the Allied Powers, but also a year for its extension. It cannot be regarded as an accident that after Italy other allies of Germany — Finland, Rumania and Bulgaria have also been put out of the war. A point to be made is that these states have not only withdrawn from the war but have broken with Germany and declared war on her, thus joining the front of the United Nations. That is certainly an extension of the United Nations' front against Hitler-Germany. Without doubt Germany's last ally in Europe, Hungary, will also be out of action in the near future. It will mean the complete isolation of Hitler-Germany in Europe and the inevitability of her collapse. The United Nations face the victorious conclusion of the war against Hitler-Germany. The war against Germany will be won by the United Nations — of that there can no longer be any doubt today.

To win the war against Germany is to accomplish a great historical task. But winning the war is not in itself synonymous with ensuring for the nations the lasting peace and guaranteed security in the future. The thing is not only to win the war but also to render new

不是根據臨時的暫時的考慮，而是根據生存攸關的永久的利益。

毫無疑問：已經支持了三年多的戰爭緊張局面，已經用了為保衛自身的自由與榮譽而奮起的各民族的血膠固起來，民主強國的戰團同盟，更加必定無疑地支持得住戰爭結束階段的緊張局面。然而，過去的一年不僅是同盟強國反德陣線鞏固的一年，而且更是它的擴大的一年。那決不能認為偶然的：隨着意大利之後，德國的其他盟國——芬蘭，羅馬尼亞和保加利亞——也都退出戰爭了。要點是：這些國家不僅已經退出戰爭，而且已經對德國絕交，對她宣戰，就這樣地參加了聯合國的陣線。那確實無疑的：就是對希特勒德國作戰的聯合國陣線的擴大。毫無疑問：德國在歐洲的最後一個盟國匈牙利，在最近將來也要停止戰鬥行動了。那就會意味着希特勒德國在歐洲的完全孤立，她的崩潰的不可避免性。聯合國正向着對希特勒德國進行的戰爭的勝利的結束。對德國的戰爭，必將由聯合國取得勝利——關於這一點，今天已不容再有任何懷疑了。

對德國打勝仗，就是完成一種偉大的歷史任務。但是，打勝仗，本身並不就是對確保各國在將來享受到永久和平以及有保證的安全的同意語。事情並不只是在於打勝仗，並

war impossible, if not forever then at least for a long time to come. After her defeat, Germany will, of course, be disarmed both in the economic and the military-political sense. It would, however, be naive to think that she will not attempt to restore her might and launch a new aggression. It is a common knowledge that the German chiftains are already now preparing for a new war. History reveals that a short period of time — some 20 or 30 years is enough for Germany to recover from defeat and re-establish her might. What means are there to preclude a fresh aggression of Germany's, and, if the war should start nevertheless, to nip it in the bud and give it no opportunity to develop into a big war? The question is the more in place, since history shows that aggressive nations as the nations that attack are usually better prepared for a new war than the peace-loving nations, which, having no interest in a new war, are usually behind hand with their preparations for it. It is a fact that in the present war the aggressive nations had an invasion army all ready even before the war broke out; while the peace-loving nations did not have even a fully adequate army to cover the mobilization.

One cannot regard as an accident such distasteful facts as the Pearl Harbour 'incident', the loss of the Philippines and other Pacific islands, the loss of Hong-kong and Singapore, when Japan as the aggressive nation proved to be better prepared for war than Great Britain and the United States of America, which pursued a policy of peace. Nor can one regard as an accident such a distasteful fact as the loss of the Ukraine, Bye-

且更在於使新的戰爭即使不是永遠，至少也要在今後很長的時期中成爲不可能。德軍在敗北以後，自然在經濟的意義上以及在軍事政治的意義上都要被解除武裝。然而，如果以爲她決不會企圖恢復她的力量而發動新的侵略，那就想得太老實了。德國的頭目現在就已經在準備一種新的戰爭，這是常識呀。歷史顯示出，經過二三十年的一個短時期，就儘夠德國從敗北中恢復過來，而再建她的力量。有什麼方法防止德國方面的新侵略呢？而如果戰爭要爆發，有什麼方法在它萌芽的時候就可以防止它，而使它沒有發展成大戰的機會呢？由於如下的事實，這問題就更中肯了，因爲歷史表明了：侵略國既是攻擊的國家，對於一種新的戰爭通常總比愛好和平的國家準備得更好些，因爲愛好和平的國家對新的戰爭不感興趣，在備戰方面總是落後的。在現行戰爭中，侵略國甚至在戰爭爆發以前，就擁有一種完全準備好的侵略軍，而愛好和平的國家連足敷動員的相當的軍隊都沒有。

像珍珠港「事變」，菲列濱及太平洋其他羣島的喪失，香港和新嘉坡的喪失之類討厭的事實，一個人決不能認爲是偶然的，那時，作爲侵略國的日本，已證明了對於戰爭的準備，比奉行和平政策的大不列顛以及美利堅合衆國都準備得好些。關於像在戰爭的第一的中烏克蘭，白俄羅斯以及波

Jerussia and the Baltics in the very first year of the war when Germany as the aggressive nation proved better prepared for war than the peace-loving Soviet Union. It would be naive to explain these facts by the personal qualities of the Japanese and the Germans, their superiority to the British, the Americans and the Russians, their foresight and so on. The reason is not the personal quality but the fact that an aggressive nation is interested in a new war, being nations that prepare for war over a long time and accumulate forces for it, they are usually — and are bound to be — better prepared for war than the peace-loving nations which have no interest in a new war. That is natural and understandable. If you like this is a law of history, which would be dangerous to ignore.

It is not to be denied accordingly that in the days to come the peace-loving nations may once more find themselves caught off their guard by aggression unless they work out special measures right now which can avert it. What means are there to preclude a fresh aggression on Germany's part, and if war should start, nevertheless, to nip it in the bud and give it no opportunity to develop into a big war? There is only one means to this end in addition to the complete disarmament of the aggressive nations: that is to establish a special organization made up of representatives of the peace-loving nations to uphold peace and safeguard security; to out the necessary minimum of armed forces required for the aversion of aggression at the disposal of the directing body of this organization and to obligate this

羅馬帝各國的喪失，這種討厭的事實，一個人也決不能夠認為偶然的，那時作為侵略國的德國證明了對於戰爭的準備比愛好和平的蘇聯做得更好。如果用日本人的和德國人的個性，用他們對英國人，美國人和俄國人的優越，用他們的遠見等等來說明這些事實，那就老實了。原因並不在個性，而在事實上，侵略國對一種新的戰爭感到興趣，他們這些國家長期備戰，為戰爭養精蓄銳，通常總要——而且不得不然——對於戰爭的準備，比那對新的戰爭不感興趣的愛好和平的各國準備得好。那是理所當然的，而且不容否認的。不管你歡喜不歡喜，這總是歷史的定律，無視這種定律就很危險。因此，那是不必否認的，在未來的日子中，愛好和平的國家，可能再度被人侵略，除非他們現在就擬出能夠避免侵略的特別措置來。

有什麼方法防止德國方面的新侵略呢？而如果戰爭要開始了，有什麼方法在萌芽的時候就防止掉，而使它沒有發展成大戰的機會呢？除了完全解除侵略國的武裝以外，只有一個方法可以達成。這個方法，就是：建立一種由愛好和平的各國代表構成的特別組織，以維持和平並保障安全；將阻止侵略所必需的最低限度的武裝力量歸這種組織的領導機關自由調遣，授權這種組織，如果為了避免和阻止侵略以及

organization to employ these armed forces without delay, if it becomes necessary to avert or stop aggression and punish the culprits. This must not be a repetition of the ill-starred League of Nations, which had neither right nor means to avert aggression. It will be a new special fully authorized world organization having at its command everything necessary to uphold peace and avert new aggression.

Can we expect the actions of this world organization to be sufficiently effective? They will be effective if the Great Powers, which have borne the brunt of the war against Hitler-Germany, continue to act in a spirit of unanimity and accord. They will not be effective if this essential condition is violated.

Comrades, the Soviet people and the Red Army are performing successfully the tasks that have confronted them in the course of the Patriotic War. The Red Army has done its patriotic duty with credit and has freed our country of the enemy. Now and for all time our land is clear of the Hitlerite pollution. For the Red Army there now remains its last final mission: together with the armies of our allies to consummate the defeat of the German fascist army, to finish off the fascist beast in its own deed and hoist the flag of victory over Berlin. There is reason to expect that this task will be performed by the Red Army in the none too distant future.

膺懲罪犯而成爲必要時得立刻運用這種武裝力量。這組織不可再蹈倒臺的國際聯盟的覆轍，國際聯盟既沒有權力也沒有方法去避免侵略。那將是一種新的特別的，享有全權的世界組織，掌握着維持和平與避免新侵略所必要的一切手段。

我們能夠期望這種世界組織的行動具有充分的效果嗎？那會有效果的，如果在對希特勒德國進行的戰爭中首當其衝的偉大強國，繼續以一致而和協的精神採取行動的話。那會沒有效果的，如果這個重要條件被違背的了話。

同志們，蘇聯人民和紅軍正順利地完成着他們在愛國戰爭中他們當前的任務。紅軍已光榮地履行了它的愛國的天職，已把我們的國家從敵人羈絆下解放出來。如今我們的國土已把希特勒醜惡東西永遠掃蕩乾淨了。對於紅軍，現在還剩下來的最後的使命就是和我們盟邦的軍隊一同，使德國法西斯軍隊完全敗北，在法西斯野獸自己的巢穴中去把它解決掉，而在柏林升起勝利的旗幟。有理由可以預料，在不很遠的將來，紅軍就會完成這種任務的。

Treaty On Alliance And Mutual Assistance Between USSR And French Republic

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Provisional Government of the French Republic, determined to prosecute jointly and to the end the war against Germany, convinced that once victory is achieved, the reestablishment of peace on a stable basis and its prolonged maintenance in the future will be conditioned upon the existence of a close collaboration between them and with all the United Nations, having resolved to collaborate in the cause of the creation of an international system of security for the effective maintenance of general peace and for ensurance of the harmonious development of relations between the nations, desirous of confirming the mutual obligations resulting from the exchange of terms of September 20th, 1941 concerning actions in war against Germany, and that the conclusion of alliance between the USSR and France correspond to the sentiments and interests of both peoples, demands of war and requirements of peace and economic reconstruction in full conformity with the aims which the United Nations set themselves, decided to conclude a treaty to this effect and appointed their plenipotentiaries: the

蘇法同盟互助條約

蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯盟最高蘇維埃主席團和法蘭西共和國臨時政府，決心共同并徹底從事對德戰爭，相信一旦博得勝利後，基於鞏固基礎的和平的重新建立，以及在將來對和平的永恆的保持，將以兩國間，和同一切同盟國的密切合作的存在，為先決條件。雙方既決意在創立國際安全事業中，為有效的保持着普遍的和平，為保證民族間關係的和諧的發展而合作，既願望履行因一九四一年九月二十日關於進行對德戰爭事互換條款而產生的雙方互守的義務，既認為蘇聯與法蘭西間建立同盟是適合兩國人民的意志與利益，是適應戰爭的要求與和平及經濟再造的需要，是完全符合聯合國的共同目標的，蘇法兩國政府就決定，訂定具有這種旨趣的條約，并指定雙方的全權代表：蘇維埃社會主義共

Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics — Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the USSR; the Provisional Government of the French Republic — Georges Bidault, Minister of Foreign Affairs; who after the exchange of their credentials, found in due form, signed the following:

Article 1: Each of the High Contracting Parties shall continue the struggle on the side of other party and on the side of the United Nations until the final victory over Germany. Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes to render the other party aid and assistance in this struggle with all means at its disposal.

Article 2: The High Contracting Parties shall not agree to enter into separate negotiations with Germany or to conclude without a mutual consent any armistice or peace treaty either with the Hitler government or with any other government or authority set up in Germany for the purpose of the continuation of the support of the policy of German aggression.

Article 3: The High Contracting Parties undertake also after the termination of the present war with Germany to take jointly all necessary measures for the elimination of any new threat coming from Germany and to obstruct such actions as would make possible any new attempt at aggression on her part.

Article 4: In the event either of the High Contracting Parties finds itself involved in military operations against Germany whether as a result of aggression committed by the latter or as a result of operation of

和國聯盟最高蘇維埃主席團全權代表莫洛託夫，法蘭西共和國臨時政府全權代表皮杜爾，兩人互閱全權證書，均屬妥善後，就簽定下列條件：

第一條： 締約國的每一方，應在另一方和聯合國方面繼續作戰，直到最後戰勝德國為止，締約國的每一方，保證在這鬪爭中自己所能自由處理的一切方式，給予另一方以援助。

第二條： 締約國雙方保證，決不單獨跟希特勒進入談判，如沒有獲得互相同意，決不跟希特勒政府，或跟爲了繼續或支持德國的侵略政策而在德國成立的任何其他的政府或當局，締結任何休戰或議和條約。

第三條： 締約國雙方並保證在對德國進行的現行戰爭結束後，共同採取一切必要的措置，以消滅任何來自德方的新的威脅，並當阻止德國方面的可能造成任何新的政略企圖的行動。

第四條： 倘締約國的一方，一旦捲入了對德國的軍事行動中，不管是由於德國的戰略而引起的，或由於上述第三條的行動而引起的，締約國的另一方，應卽刻盡力給予對方

the above Article 3, the other party shall at once render it every aid and assistance within its power.

Article 5: The High Contracting Parties undertake not to conclude any alliance and not to take part in any coalition directed against either of the High Contracting Parties.

Article 6: The High Contracting Parties agree to render each other very possible economic assistance after the war with the view to facilitating and accelerating reconstruction of both countries and in order to contribute to the cause of world prosperity.

Article 7: The present treaty does not, in any way, affect the obligations undertaken previously by the High Contracting Parties in regard to the third states in virtue of the published treaties.

Article 8: The present treaty, whose Russian and French texts are equally valid, shall be ratified and ratification instruments shall be exchanged in Paris as early as possible. It comes into force since the moment of exchange of ratification instruments and shall be valid in the course of 20 years. If the treaty is not denounced by either of the High Contracting Parties at least one year before the expiration of this term, it shall remain valid for an unlimited time, each of the Contracting Parties being able to terminate its operation by giving a notice to that effect one year in advance. In confirmation of which the above Plenipotentiaries signed the present treaty and affixed their seals to it.

Done in Moscow in two copies.
December 10, 1944.

以一切援助。

第五條：締約國每一方，保證决不締結針對着締約國另一方的任何同盟，也决不參加這樣的任何結合。

第六條：締約國雙方同意在戰後互相給予一切可能的經濟援助，爲了便於并加速兩國的再建，同時對於世界繁榮的事業有所貢獻。

第七條：現行條約，決不影響到締約國先前依照已公佈的各條約對第三國保證的義務。

第八條：現行條約的俄文本與法文本，具有同樣效力，當於可能最短期間內，提交批准，當儘可能從速在巴黎交換批准證件。現行條約一經交換批准，證件立刻生效。繼續有效時間爲二十年，倘若在所說的二十年終了時，締約國的一方沒有在滿期前一年聲明廢棄本約，那麼本約的有效時間，當無限期延長，締約國的每一方可停止本約的效力，但須在一年前將此意通知對方。

雙方全權代表在這個條約上簽字蓋印以昭信守，本約在莫斯科簽定，分繕兩份。

一九四四年十二月十日

On the authorization of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Molotov.

On the authorization of the Provisional Government of the French Republic Bidault.

蘇聯最高蘇維埃主席團授權代表莫洛託夫

法蘭西共和國臨時政府授權代表皮杜爾

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