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

華萊士副總統答謝蔣主席演詞

Made at the state banquet given in honour of the U. S. Vice-President by
President and Madame Chiang on the evening of June 21, 1944, at Chungking.

於一九四四年六月二十一日晚蔣主席暨夫人歡宴席上發表

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

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

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

余此次得來貴國，甚為愉快。貴國政府及人民抵抗日本之侵略，已經七年之久，余今日親臨貴國之戰時首都，尤感莫大之興奮。

自瀋陽事變以來，幾已十有三載，當事變之初，蔣委員長即謂日人之不顧信義而攻佔瀋陽乃全世界法西斯主義侵略之開端，吾人自今日觀之，深感蔣委員長所見之不謬。此種侵略，惟一舉足以防止之，即愛好和平之國家在事實上與行動上竭誠合作以應付，並擊退任何地域任何國家所發動之侵略，如吾人目前之所為是也，惟世界各國當時並無採取一致行動之準備。

七年以前——即一九三七年六月間——美國方面甚多之人士均認中國之前途實較民國成立以來之任何時期為光明。彼時中國人民業已團結一致，在堅強有力之領導下，穩固之政府業已開始政治與經濟之改革，若干

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

What happened after that is fresh⁵ in our memories and will form an inspiring chapter in history. Generalissimo Chiang, in a deeply moving statement, accepted the Japanese challenge. But again the non-aggressor nations were not prepared to form a common front--did not appear to realize that a defeat administered⁶ to fascist aggression in China would be a defeat for fascism everywhere. There ensued the heroic defense of Shanghai by the Chinese army; the barbarous rape of Nanking by Japanese troops; the Chinese victory at Taierchwang; and the orderly withdrawal of the Chinese Government to Chungking, followed by millions of Chinese carrying with them their machinery--and an undaunted spirit. The Chinese Army and guerrillas continued the fight, trading space for time.

Now we are on the eve⁵ of the 8th year of China's war of resistance against Japan. The tide of Japanese aggression is running its course.⁶ The Japanese are now trading space for time in the Pacific, but both time and space are against them. In due⁷ course, we hope to find them trading space for time in China but they will be faced with a determined Chinese Army, receiving cooperation from American forces, which will allow them no time for trading.

There is much hard fighting to be

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

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

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

吾人於達到目標之前，尚須經過無數艱

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

吾人之陸軍與海軍必能取得勝利，此乃吾人所深信，換言之，即彼等將能重建和平。惟僅能重建和平仍屬不足，吾人更願進而維持和平。美國之主要目的，即在維持和平。吾人將與中國及其他國家合作，竭盡全力以維持和平，一如吾人目前之竭盡全力以爭取勝利也。

為維持和平計，日本之解除武裝實有必要。同時日人究應如何而始能有重秩序法律之自治，則應認由日人自決。

吾人與中國之關係，在目前及今後，可視為吾人在東亞國際關係之基石。吾人亦不欲與中國成立任何排他性之協定，一如吾人不歡迎任何排除吾人之政治結合，自無待言。

welcome political combination which excluded us. No balance of power system would serve to maintain peace. It would in fact lead to rivalries which would inevitably cause a resurgence of Japanese militarism.

It is essential therefore, not only that relations between China and the United States be maintained on the historic basis of close friendship, but that relations among the four principal powers in the Pacific—China, the Soviet Union, the British Commonwealth, and the United States be cordial and collaborative. China and the Soviet Union have the longest common boundary of any two nations in the world. The British people for over a century have played an important part in the development of the Far East. Cooperation among these four powers offers the most promising basis for maintaining peace in Asia and the Pacific.

Peace without social and political stability cannot last. Stability can only endure if it is based on the welfare of peoples. The welfare of peoples is best assured by education, technological training and democratic self-government.

China, as I have already been able to observe during my stay in your war-torn capital, looks forward eagerly to victory and to an era of peace and stability devoted to the welfare of the people. Your newly gained international position calls for a full understanding among your Allies. China is vitally interested in future discussions of the common problems relating particularly

•任何均勢制度，決不能有助於和平之維持

，蓋此種制度終將引起國際間之互相敵視，

而其結果必為日本軍閥主義之再度抬頭。

是以不獨中美關係須以歷史悠久之密切

友誼為基礎而繼續保持，即太平洋上中蘇英

美四主要強國之關係亦應使其融洽無間，互

相合作。中國與蘇聯之共同疆界較世界上任

何其他二國之共同疆界為長；一百餘年以來

英國人民在遠東之發展上實佔重要之地位，

此四大強國間之合作，乃亞洲及太平洋上維

持和平最良好之基礎。

苟無社會與政治之安定，絕難有持久之和平。而長久之安定，則必須以各民族之幸福為基礎，若欲謀各民族之幸福實以教育、工業方面之專門訓練，及民治主義之自治為最善之法。

余自親歷歷日寇濫炸之貴國戰時首都

後，業已感覺中國現方熱誠企盼勝利之來臨

，庶能進入和平與安定之時代以增進其人民

之福利。貴國在國際間既已獲得新地位，貴

國與盟友間實有充分諒解之必要，對於今後

與東亞及太平洋特別關連之各種共同問題之

to eastern Asia and the Pacific. Territories forcibly taken from China by Japan will be returned. Independence for Korea has been promised. We favor¹² a restoration of national sovereignty to Thailand. In Asia there are other political and racial entities, now in a state of colonial dependency, whose aspirations to self-government should receive prompt and positive attention after victory.

In this connection¹³ it is pertinent to quote a statement made by our Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull:

"There rests upon the independent nations a responsibility¹⁴ in relation to dependent peoples who aspire to liberty. It should be the duty of nations having political ties with such peoples---to help the aspiring peoples to develop materially and educationally, to prepare themselves for the duties and responsibilities of self-government, and to attain liberty. An excellent example of what can be achieved is afforded in the record of our relationship with the Philippines." This statement points¹⁵ the way to a new era in Asia.

Here in China you have national minorities whose problems are akin¹⁶ to colonial problems. I recall the old five-colored flag which was a symbol of the five major racial groups composing the Chinese Republic. Although the old symbol has now been superceded by the "blue sky and white sun" emblem of the National Government, the sympathy for minorities and weak peoples which Sun Yat-sen felt and taught all his life is an

討論，中國自極關係，日本以武力奪取之中國領土，將歸還於中國，朝鮮之獨立，業經吾人許諾，吾人主張泰國之主權應行恢復，在亞洲方面尚有其他之政治及種族集體，現仍處於殖民地之地位，勝利來臨之後，彼等企盼自治之心，應獲得迅速與積極之注意。

關於此點余擬引述赫爾國務卿之言，或不為無當：“獨立國家對於企盼自由之弱國人民實負一種責任，凡與此等人民有政治關係之國家，應負責協助此等抱有熱望之人民進行其物質上與教育上之發展，作肩負自治責任之準備，並獲得自由，至於此種協助究能獲得若何成就，吾人與菲律賓間之成績實為最佳之例證。”赫爾國務卿之言蓋已指示亞洲新時代之途徑。

在中國境內，諸君亦有若干少數民族問題，貴國昔年之五色國旗，乃構成中華民國五大宗族之象徵，國民政府現雖改用「青天白日」旗，然孫中山先生對於弱小宗族所抱之同情，及其竭畢生之力諄諄以教國人者，當可為諸君將來發中國境內少數民族問題。

assurance that you will work for an enlightened solution of national minority problems within China just as you and we expect to work on an international level for the solution of colonial problems.

I have described what I consider to be three essentials to the maintenance of peace in eastern Asia and the Pacific; demilitarization of Japan; understanding and collaboration among the nations of the Pacific; and self-government for the peoples of Asia. I am convinced that we--Chinese and Americans--should devote our thought and energies toward the attainment of this goal in order that the sacrifices of war shall not have been made in vain.

You have in China a sure and inspiring guide to conduct in national and international affairs. I refer¹⁷ to the San Min Chu I, and I wish to give a toast to its author, your great statesman--Sun Yat-sen, and to his great successor--Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

，竟求合理解決之保證，一如諸君與吾人將在國際方面共同努力，以謀殖民地問題之解決也。

余對維持東亞及太平洋和平之三大要素，業已說明，即日本必須解除武裝，與太平洋各國間之諒解與合作，及亞洲各民族必須獲得自治是也。余深信吾人——即中美兩大民族——應用吾人之思想與精力以求此目標之實現，庶幾在此次戰爭中所作之種種犧牲不為虛擲。

貴國對於國內及國際事件之處理，已有一確切而令人感奮之指示，即三民主義是也。三民主義之創造者，乃貴國之大政治家孫中山先生。余願此杯酒，向中山先生表示敬意，並向三民主義之實行者——蔣委員長——表示敬意。

Notes and Annotations

(1) 省當句，即“no matter where or by whom it (aggression) is committed,” 或“wherever or by whomever it is committed,” 退步語氣。(2) “前途有希望”。He is a promising youth. 彼為前途有望之青年。(3) “記憶猶新”，“熟知”。The heroic sacrifice of Yoh Fei is still fresh in our memories (minds), 岳武穆之壯烈至今吾人仍記憶猶新。(4) “加諸”。(5) “前夕”，“踏入”，“進入”，“瀕於”，“...之際”。We are on the eve of a new era, 吾人將進入新紀元。(6) “(自然)途徑”，“趨勢”。Let things run their course. 聽任事物自然發展。(7) “在適當(和當)過程後”，“及時”。The Japanese navy will, in due course (of time), be crushed, 日本海軍之消滅不過時間問題。(8) “關於該點(事)”，“=in that matter. You have no choice in this regard. 關於此事，汝非做不可。(9) “自由參加”，“自決”。To accept Japan's challenge was the only course open to us, 吾人對日本除應戰外別無他策。

(10) “一如”，“猶”。 He cannot effect the impossible, any more than we can, 彼之不能爲不可爲之事無異於吾等。(11) “企望”。 I look forward to meeting you with pleasure, 思及不久即可聚首中心欣慶。 The boys look forward to the examination with fear, 學生以未來之考試爲慮。(12) “贊成”，“主張”， He favours my plan, 彼贊成吾計劃。(13) “關於此點”，承上句之義而發揮之啓詞。(14) subject 放在verb “rests”之後，因本身有較長之modifier，否則放在平常句首地位即modifier 將subject 與verb 隔開，陳述或失明晰之處，此爲求得clearness 將subject 倒置於verb 之後。(15) “指示”，“指明途徑”。“The Destiny of Chira” points the way to our national reconstruction, 建國之途徑在「中國之命運」一書中已有指示。(16) “相類似”。 The cat is akin to the tiger, 貓與虎同類。(17) “指”，“謂”。 He refers to the man in black, 彼指穿黑衣之人。 The man referred to is a priest, 彼所提之人爲一牧師。(以上係自動用法。他動用法 refer 意義甚多，其常用者爲 a. “指出某人以備查閱”，As to how to play cricket, I refer you to your physical director. 關於板球戲之方法請君問體育教員。 b. “交會”(審查)。 Your proposal has been referred to the standing committee for discussion, 汝之意見書業已交常務委員會討論。“稟陳”，“報告”。 He has referred the matter to the authorities, “彼案將此專報告當局”。

PRESIDENT CHIANG'S SPEECH OF WELCOME TO VICE-PRESIDENT
WALLACE

蔣主席歡迎美副總統華萊士演說詞

Made at the state banquet given by President and Madame Chiang, at Chungking, on the evening of June 21, 1944, in honour of the U. S. Vice-President, to which about 100 people were invited including the Vice-President and his retinue, members of the foreign diplomatic corps and military missions, as well as ranking government officials.

蔣主席暨夫人於一九四四年六月二十一日晚八時在官邸歡宴華萊士副總統及其隨行人員，並邀外交使團，軍事代表團，及我黨政軍長官，參政員等約百人作陪，席間致歡迎詞如下：

Vice-President Wallace, Ladies and Gentlemen:

In word and in deed, in war and in peace, the United States of America has always been China's staunch¹ friend. To you,² Vice-President Wallace, a most distinguished representative of America and an eminent statesman for whom I have great regard, I extend³ our heartiest welcome on behalf of the Chinese Government and people.

We welcome you with genuine pleasure because, in the midst⁴ of your multitudinous duties, you have undertaken this arduous trip over oceans and mountains to this war-torn country. Your mission to China, further strengthening our traditional bonds of friendship, is indeed full of significance in the annals of Sino-American relations.

You have come to visit us at a great historic moment. Your gallant forces,

華萊士副總統，各位來賓：美洲合衆國無論在言論上或在事實，無論在戰時或平時，始終都是我們中國最密切友邦。華萊士副總統閣下爲貴國聲望最著的有數人物，而且是本人所仰慕已久的政治家，此次代表貴國蒞臨中國，我們政府和全國國民敬表示真誠的歡迎。

閣下在業務繁忙之中，不辭遠道跋涉，跨過海洋越過崇山峻嶺的高空，來到戰時艱苦的中國，我們得與閣下會晤，實在感到愉快而榮幸，閣下的訪問更進一步加強我兩國一貫的友誼，在中美兩國的歷史上實在是有重大的敬意。

閣下的蒞臨，適在這個歷史性的重大時機，貴國英勇的軍隊與盟國軍隊協同一致，

together with those of our other Allies have with brilliant success started the liberation of Europe. We in the China theater³ of war, after seven years of hard, continuous struggle, are now still being engaged in a gigantic fight against the ruthless and far better equipped invader. With increased support from our Allies we are confident that we shall be able to drive the enemy from our land.

From your many public addresses we know that you are heart and soul¹⁰ devoted to the cause of human liberty and international justice. The United Nations' supreme aim, for the moment¹¹ is to win a speedy, total victory over all the aggressors. But besides and beyond that there must be established an enduring world peace system so that millions of men, women and children, will not have died in vain in this world catastrophe.

No people⁷ desires a peaceful world more than the Chinese people. Having suffered most and longest as a victim of aggression, we abhor militarism and aggression¹² in any part of the world. Our national philosophy throughout the ages has been for universal brotherhood. This has been instilled⁸ in the minds of our people by the teachings of our sages and leaders from Confucius and Mencius down to Dr. Sun Yat sen, the Founder of our Republic.

Every member of the United Nations has, I believe⁹, a right, a moral right to know the stand in international relations of every other member, and at the same

已在歐洲戰場獲得輝煌的勝利，使歐洲大陸開始得到解放，而我們全國軍民在中國戰場上，經過七年的長期艱苦作戰之後，正在面對着殘暴無比而裝備優越過於我的敵人，以我們一貫堅強的決心，與之作大規模的戰鬥，我們這一戰是十分重要的，有了盟邦日益增加的供給，我們深信一定能够擊退我們的敵人。

我們知道閣下是衷誠維護人類自由和國際正義的。聯合國目前最高的任務是要迅速擊潰所有侵略者，獲得全面的勝利，然而除此以外，更必須建立世界永久和平的機構，儘能使這次世界浩劫中喪失生命的千百萬男女老幼，不致作無意義的犧牲。

在這個世界上，將沒有別的民族比我們中國更需要一個永久和平的世界的。因為身受殘暴侵略的痛苦最久而最深，我們中國極端憎恨世界上任何地點的軍國主義和侵略主義，我們中國的傳統哲學是「四海一家」，這一個哲學教條由於歷代聖哲自孔子孟子以至於我們國父孫中山先生的教訓而深植於我們全國的人心。

每個人認為聯合國中每一個國家都有權利一致的權利，來明瞭其他聯合國對於世界關係的觀點，同時我們認為每一個聯合國

time a duty, a moral duty to make known to every other member her own stand. Only in this spirit can¹⁰ a world peace be built on solid foundations.

We can assure you, Mr. Vice-President, that the Chinese people wish to live in good-neighborliness, in harmony and peace of every nation. We dream no dream of domination. We have no territorial ambitions. Territories which are rightfully ours must of course, as they should,¹¹ be restored to us.

Furthermore, we believe in ever-increasing cooperation with other countries in matters economic, financial, cultural as well as political.¹² With the world so shrunken in space, so to speak,¹³ no nation can enjoy alone the Four Freedoms (freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom from want, freedom from fear) proclaimed by President Roosevelt without international goodwill and cooperation. No nation can achieve or maintain prosperity except in a prosperous world. As part of her contribution to world prosperity, China aspires to develop herself into a well-balanced agricultural and industrial country, to enhance the social and economic well-being of her vast population, to raise the standard of living of her people, and to increase her purchasing power in the world market. As you are interested in farmer's problems you will appreciate the importance that China attaches to her policy of devoting special attention to the improving of the livelihood of the farmers who constitute over eighty per cent of her population

都有義務——道德的義務，使其他聯合國家明瞭其本國對國際關係的立場。惟有在這一互相深切瞭解的精神之上，纔能使世界和平築成堅固的基礎。

華萊士副總統：我們要向閣下申言，中國國民是希望在親仁善鄰的原則之下和世界上一切民族和諧而平安相處，我們尊重每一國家的獨立與完整，我國從不作支配他人的夢想，我們除了義應歸還於我們的領土當然要求歸還之外，絕沒有領土的企圖。

不但如此，我們並且希望在經濟方面，金融方面，教育文化方面，和政治方面，與各國日益加強其合作，現在世界上面積的距離，已經由於交通的發達而縮小了，所以決沒有一國能夠不倚賴國際的善意和合作而獨自享有如羅總統所提倡的四種自由（信仰之自由，言論之自由，免于匱乏之自由，免于恐懼之自由）的，也決沒有一國能夠漠視了世界整個繁榮而獨自獲得或保持她的繁榮。爲了使我們對於世界繁榮，能有所貢獻，我們中國渴望將來發展爲農業工業平衡發達的國家，我們渴望增進我們人民的社會福利和經濟福利，提高我們國民的生活水準，增加我們在世界市場上的購買力，尤其我們是農業國家，農民佔全國總人口百分之八十以上。我們政府特別注意於增進農民的生活以達到耕者有其田的目的，這一點想必爲關心農

so that they may ultimately own the farms which they cultivate. And in the development of our industry and of our immense natural resources, we will welcome foreign investment and foreign technicians.

We Chinese people stand second¹⁴ to none in our readiness to cooperate with all peace-loving nations, to do our part in the setting up of a general system of collective security. We accept without reserve the fundamental principle that all international disputes of whatever nature or origin must be settled by peaceful means and that peace is one and indivisible. The acceptance of and adherence to this fundamental principle constitutes the cornerstone of future world security, which should if necessary¹⁵ be backed up by adequate international force.

But no collective security can be achieved unless the military might of our common enemies is totally annihilated. Pending¹⁶ the inauguration of such a peace system, the United States of America, the British Commonwealth of Nations, the Soviet Union and China must shoulder the responsibility of maintaining international peace. In their solidarity and cooperation lies the guarantee of a better world order.

In the new era, China will have increased duties and responsibilities. Of this she is not unaware¹⁷. To be the¹⁸ better able to discharge these increased duties and responsibilities, she is making every effort to stride forward. With so vast a population, so immense an area,

民間的志願不同。至於在經濟建設方面，爲了發展我們的工業和開發我們廣大的資源，我們歡迎國外的投資和國外技術專家的協助。

我中國國民以最大的決心，準備和一切愛好和平的民族合作，準備担着我們應有的任務，以建立普遍的集體安全，我們相信任何性質，任何原因的國際爭執，都應需用和平的方法來解決，國際和平是整個而不可分割的，這些基本的原則，我們是無條件的接受，惟有接受了這些基本原則而且堅決擁護這些原則，乃至在必要的時候有充分國際武力爲後盾，終能夠爲未來世界的安全，建立堅固的基礎。

我們並且相信，除非徹底摧毀我們公敵的軍事力量，則集體安全是無法獲得的，在整個和平制度沒有建立之前，美，英，蘇，中四國必須負起維持國際和平的責任，惟有美英蘇中四國間的緊密無間的團結和合作，纔是未來更佳世界秩序的保障。

在這個時代中，我們中國的責任和義務一天天的加重，這一點我們中國是很清楚的。中國正在竭盡一切可能的努力向前邁進，以期改進自身，俾能負荷這種重大的義務和責任，但是以中國人口如此的衆多，幅員如此的廣闊，傳統習慣如此的久長，而要使中

so ancient a heritage, and with such complexities involved in modernization, much time is needed in attaining our goal. Nobody can feel more keenly than we ourselves the stupendous difficulties and obstacles we are trying to overcome. But we are confident we shall succeed.

Mr. Vice-President, on this auspicious¹⁹ occasion of welcoming you to our land, I have expressed my thoughts on some of the questions which both the American and Chinese peoples are vitally interested in. May we ask you to bring back this message to President Roosevelt, to the American Congress and people that the people of China deeply appreciate the moral and material support your country has accorded us in this our common fight for human freedom and happiness, and that we are as determined as the American people are in destroying once for all²⁰ the evil forces of aggression, in establishing an enduring world peace system and in promoting the welfare of mankind.

國徹底現代化，其所包含的困難問題又是如此的複雜，我們要達此目標，當然需要很多的時間，而不是短期可就的。世界上沒有比我們中國自身瞭解得更深刻，我們所必需克服的種種阻礙和困難，是何等的艱鉅，然而我們確信祇要堅決努力，我們必能成功。

華萊士副總統：在這樣難得的盛會中，我們迎歡閣下的蒞臨，我乘此機會對於貴我兩國國民所共同關切的若干事項加以說明，我希望閣下將我這一番意思，攜回給貴國總統，給貴國的參眾兩院和貴國的國民，請告訴他們，我們中國的國民深深感謝美國對我國所畀予的精神和物質的援助，使我們中國能夠為達成人類自由幸福的共同目標而努力，更請告訴他們，我中國國民和美國國民具有同樣的決心，誓必徹底消滅侵略暴力，以期建立世界永久的和平，增進全人類的福祉。

Notes and Annotations

(1) 又作“stanch”，“堅定不變”，“忠實”。He is a staunch supporter of classicism. (a staunch classicist)，彼為古典主義之忠實信徒。(2) 形容“extend”，放在句首為強調作用。(3) “申”，“表”。I extend my congratulation to you on your completion of college course. 台端大學學業完成，余特此敬申賀意。(4) 於……之中。He wrote this note in the very midst of the war. 彼於戰時之中寫此短簡。He is in our midst (=among us) 彼與吾儕相偕。(5) “戰場” He reviews the war theatre by theatre. 彼對各戰場戰局逐一檢討。(6) “衷誠”，“悉心”，“用全副精神”，名詞作副詞用。He goes, heart and soul, into any scheme. 彼無論作何計劃皆用全副精神。(7) 此處作民族講，與“race”同。(8) “灌輸”，其後之介詞，亦用“into”。The Three-

People Principles have been instilled into the minds of the Chinese, 三民主義皆已灌漑於中國人心中。(9) 插入句, 其他如 I think, I presume. (或字, indeed, phrase, to tell the truth 等) 皆與本句某一字無關, 乃形容全句, 為 independent construction, 用為表示發言人評語, 見解。(10) 因 adverbial phrase 倒裝, 助動字當位於 subject 之前。(11) 省略句即 As they should be restored to us。(12) 此四字皆形容 "matters" 為 adjective 放在被形容名詞之後為同位用法 (有時為強調關係, 有時, 如本句, 字多或形容字有 modifier 皆放名詞後)。(13) "所謂", "有如"。He is, so to speak (so to say), a grow-up baby, 彼乃所謂長成之乳臭小兒耳。(14) "不次", "劣於人", "不讓人", "決心" = next to none. He is, second to none, at mathematics, 彼為第一流數學家。He is, second to none, in fighting for justice, 彼決心捍衛正義 (擁護正義不讓於人)。(15) 有略句 = "if it is necessary", 本句前後應用 comma 分開, 但在本句中其所附屬之 "which" -clause 已用 comma 故不可再分。(16) "未定時"。We shall not do anything, pending your reply, 在台端覆信未到前不能作何處置。(17) (由外觀察所知) "覺", "覺察" We were aware of Japan's ambitions at the time of the Mukden Incident. 瀋陽事變時吾人已覺察日本察野心。(由內所推知為 conscion of, "感")。(18) 指示副詞 = "so much", 形容副詞 "better", "更", "益"。With your help, he is the better able to do that hard task. 有君之助彼對是項艱鉅工更能勝任。(19) "良", "佳"。I extend to you my hearty congratulation on the auspicious occasion of your wedding, 茲值台端嘉禮良辰, 余特此深致賀忱。(20) "只此一次 (不再有之)", "斷然", "澈底"。We are making tremendous sacrifices in winning, once for all, our national freedom. 吾人為澈底爭取民族自由不惜作重大犧牲。

EXCERPT OF PRES. ROOSEVELT'S SPEECH

AT FIRST UNRRA MEETING

Broadcast on November 10, 1943, at the ceremonies at the White House, at which representatives of 44 formally signed the agreement creating the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

羅斯福總統於聯合國簽訂救濟善後協定後 播 辭 節 錄

一九四三年十一月十日在白宮舉行之聯合國善後救濟會議播講



Here at the White House seated¹ about a table in the historic East Room are the representatives of 44 nations—United Nations and those associated with them. The people of the these 44 nations include 80 per cent of the human race and are now united by common devotion to the cause of civilization and by a common determination to build for the future a world of decency, security, and, above all, peace.

The representatives of these 44 nations just signed an agreement creating the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration—commonly known as UNRRA². This agency will help put into practical effect some³ of the high purposes that were set⁴ forth in the Declaration of the United Nations on January 1, 1942.

Coming after the declarations at Moscow, this agreement shows we mean business⁵ in this war in the political and humanitarian sense just as surely as we mean business in the military sense. It is

聯合國及協合國四十四國之代表，目前歡聚於白宮東側，富有歷史意義之一室中，此四十四國之人民，佔人類全體之百分之八十，現在因共同盡瘁於文化，及因共同決心建立世界將來之正義安全與和平而聯合一致。

此四十四國之代表，頃方簽訂協定，創立聯合國救濟善後總署。此項機構，將一九四二年一月一日聯合國宣言所宣布之若干崇高目標，獲致實現。

此項協定，簽訂于莫斯科協定以後，儘可表示吾人在此次戰爭中，對於政治與人道之重視，正不亞於軍事。此協定亦為使聯合

more strong link joining the United Nations and their Associates in facing problems of mutual need and interest.

The agreement which we have all just signed is based on a preamble in which the United Nations declare they are "determined that immediately upon the liberation of any area....., the population of that area shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and the recovery of the health of the people and that preparation and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services." That is the preamble of the agreement which was just signed here today.

All the United Nations agree to cooperate and share in world relief and rehabilitation--each nation according to its own individual resources--to provide relief and help in rehabilitation for the victims of German and Japanese barbarism.

關於「付諸實施及利益」之互相合作之又一
一原則之一項。

吾人方纔簽訂之協定，乃根據聯合國在序文中所宣布者謂「任何區域於解放以後，其人民立即能獲得救濟及衣食住方面之協助，並助其預防災疫恢復人民之康健，從事準備及部署使俘虜及逃亡之人民得重歸故居，並協助其重事急需之農工業生產，恢復各種重要之服務。」此即今日吾人方才所簽訂協定中之序文也。

所有聯合國，一致同意，在聯合國救濟善後總署中合作，並切實工作。依照各國之資源，以從事救濟並協助為德日野蠻主義所犧牲國家之復興。

Notes and Annotations

(1) 過去分詞作形容詞用，形容 subject "representatives". I saw him sitting at the desk, 與 I saw him seated at the desk 之差別在 sitting 言動作，後者言狀態（靜止意味）。(2) 即 United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration 每字之第一字母合起，取其簡便。(3) 為 "put" 之 object 因此字本身有附屬構造故將 prepositional phrase, "into effect" 謂於其前。(4) "宣佈"，"陳述"。The rights of the people are set forth in the constitution of a country. 一國之憲法陳述人民之權利。(5) "存心"，"重視"。He means business, though he speaks in a joking way, 彼所言雖謔，其意固重視之。(6) "序文"，"弁言"，"小引"。The object of his visit may be inferred from the preamble in the first paragraph of his long letter. 彼此行之目的可由其長信第一段引言中推測而知。

BELGIAN AND POLISH PRIME MINISTERS'
INVASION MESSAGES TO THEIR RESPECTIVE PEOPLES AND FORCES

Broadcast from London on the day of Allied invasion of
western Europe, June 6, 1944

比波首相於聯軍攻登歐陸日對各該國軍民
廣播訓辭策應聯軍

一九四四年六月六日由倫敦播發

(A) BELGIAN PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE

(甲) 比利時首相廣播詞

This is the initial¹ assault in operations for your long-awaited—for deliverance. I urge you to preserve, in coming days of difficult suspense², that discipline³ which you have shown for the past four years and, while awaiting⁴ the moment of supreme battle to continue⁵ secret sabotage⁶ of the enemy war machine, to avoid⁷ falling in to such German traps as false instructions, agents provocateurs, etc, which are devised to make you show hand prematurely with terrible consequences. Obey with complete discipline all orders given by the Allied Supreme Command and your Government, but watch for unverified rumors, make sure that the only news you accept is that broadcast by Allied radio stations. When the supreme moment comes you will be informed and will then be

聯合國大軍為實現諸君期待已久之救援，今日已開始向歐陸進攻。余特乘此機力勸君等於當前勝負未決中心難安之際，須保持君等四年來所表現之紀律，並於靜候惡戰來臨之時，繼續破壞敵人戰爭機構，慎防墜入敵人假造訓令，以及其爪牙挑撥種種圈套，其用意在於使君等於時機未成熟之前向彼投降且蒙至不利之結果。君等應以嚴格之紀律遵從聯軍最高統帥部，及比國政府之一切命令，切勿誤聽未經證實之謠言，凡聯合國廣播電台所發出之消息，君等始可深信無疑。俟重要關頭來臨之時，君等應如何應戰始可明白。

clearly told what is expected from you. Meanwhile perfect your organizations so that they be fully effective when the time comes. Your watchwords: courage, discipline, solidarity, confidence.

(B) POLISH PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE

(乙) 波蘭首相廣播詞

We are entering into the final stage of settling accounts with Germany. An order that marks the beginning of the liberations of Europe from the barbarous occupation of the Nazi invaders and murderers has been given by the Supreme commander of the Allied Armies.

In this long awaited and desired moment, our hearts beat quicker, Polish soldiers in the ranks straighten themselves, and soldiers of the Polish Underground Army clench their fists in readiness. But I wish to emphasize that the moment for a general uprising has not come yet. The battle order concerns special units with special tasks in the underground. The moment of a general struggle will come. It is necessary to prepare for it. This moment will be announced to you by a special order.

Polas¹⁰ in the underground of Europe wherever you have been given orders to strike—strike¹¹ powerfully. You must help to rally and await orders for the general and final blow. This moment is not far off. May God guide you. For Honour and Father land!

告知君等。此刻君等須加強組織，如此在時機來到，君等動作始可發揮美滿之効力。余今日爲君等作口號曰：勇敢，紀律，團結，互信！願君等勉之！

吾人今日已踏進與德國清算之最後階段，蓋聯軍最高統帥部業已頒布命令解放納粹侵略者殘忍統治之歐洲矣。

吾人聞此期待已久之佳音皆必中心歡欣鼓舞，我波蘭士兵皆必挺起胸膛，我波蘭地下秘密大軍亦必摩拳擦掌以待發動，此無可疑。但余今日特乘機鄭重警告諸君，切勿以爲全面發動之時機業已來臨。各別地下秘密單位之作戰命令，皆各有特種性質，彼此不同。全面作戰之日確爲期不遠，君等其各從事準備。至時機成熟，君等即可奉到發動之特別訓令也。

活動於歐陸地下秘密波蘭同志乎，君等俟時機到來之日，不論何人命令君等襲擊敵人，君等均應盡力襲擊之。君等且須協助傳遞命令，等待命令予敵人以普遍之最後打擊。余言爲據已在矣。願上蒼領導君等獲波蘭光榮，永恆幸福！

Notes and Annotations

(1) “開始”，“初步”。 A good plan is the initial step in any attainment, 良好計劃為任何成就之初步。(2) “未決(定之局面)”，“不安”。 The delayed arrival of the message had kept them in suspense, 彼等因消息遲遲到達會志不安多時。(3) 為“to preserve”之object。(4) “while you are awaiting”。(5) 與“to preserve”同，皆為“urge”之 direct object。(6) “怠工”，即破壞之意。(7) 同(5)。(8) “屈服”，“投降” when the policemen came with strong arms, the burglars showed hand, 待警察攜帶強烈武器等到達，匪徒即舉手投服。(9) “標記”。 The war of resistance will forever mark the beginning of a new China in every respect, 抗戰在各方面實為新中國開始之標記。(10) 驚呼。(11) Subject “you” 省略。

JOINT STATEMENT OF VICE-PRES.

WALLACE AND PRES. CHIANG

on results of talks on matters of common interest, during the former's stay at Chungking; issued on June 25, 1944.

華萊士副總統與蔣主席 共同發表談話

一九四四年六月二十五日華萊士副總統離渝之次日發表
兩氏多次晤談有關中美兩國共同利益之結果

—○○○—

During his visit in Chungking, Vice-President Wallace has had an opportunity to discuss with President Chiang and officials of the Chinese Government, in an informal, frank and friendly atmosphere, matters of common interest and concern. They have exchanged views to mutual advantage and have found themselves in agreement on basic principles and objectives.

Prosecution of the war against Japan in Asia is an urgent job and mutual assistance in every possible way to get that job done quickly and efficiently is fundamental in Chinese-American relations.

The objective of victory in the Pacific is the establishment of a democratic peace based on political and social stability deriving from government devoted to the welfare of peoples.

Enduring peace in the Pacific will depend upon (1) effective permanent

華萊士副總統留渝期間，曾與蔣主席及中國政府其他人員在非正式與坦白而友好之空氣中，討論共同注意及關懷之問題，彼等於交換意見後，彼此間互有獲益，且對於基本之原則及目標均完全同意。

亞洲方面之對日戰事必須積極進行，實為至急之任務，中美兩國之盡力互助，以求此任務之早日完成，並以一切可能之方法完成之，乃兩國關係上至要之舉。

太平洋上勝利之目標，在建立以政治與社會之安定為基礎之民主主義的和平，而政治與社會之安定，則有賴於為各國人民增進福利之政治。

太平洋上之長期和平，其所賴者為：

demilitarization of Japan; (2) understanding, friendship and collaboration between and among² the four principal powers in the Pacific area—China, the Soviet Union, The United States, and the British Commonwealth of Nations—and among all United Nations willing to share in the responsibilities of post-war international order; and (3) recognition of the fundamental right of presently dependent Asiatic peoples to self-government, and the early adoption of measures in the political, economic and social fields to prepare those dependent peoples for self-government within a specified, practical time limit.

Cognizance⁴ was taken of the cornerstone position of China in Asia and of the importance of China in any structure for peace in the Pacific area. It was assumed⁵ as axiomatic that essential to such a peace structure would be continuation of ties⁶ of friendship that have characterized American-Chinese relations for over a century, and the maintenance of relations on a basis of mutual understanding between China and the Soviet Union—China's nearest great neighbor—as well as between China and her other neighbors. No balance of power arrangement would serve the ends of peace.

Seven years of resistance to Japan, during the last three of which China has been virtually⁷ cut off from physical contact with the outside world, has resulted⁸ in serious economic and financial difficulties in Free China. The Chinese people are facing diffi-

(一) 以有效方法永久解除日本之武裝。

(二) 太平洋區域內四主要強國——中國、蘇聯、美國及英國——彼此間以及所有願負戰後國際秩序責任的聯合國家，相互間之諒解友誼與合作。(三) 承認目前亞洲各屬領人民取得自治之基本權利，且須在政治經濟及社會方面，早日採取步驟，使此等屬領人民準備於確定而可能之時限內實行自治。

中國在亞洲所佔之基石之地位，及中國在任何太平洋和平機構中之重要性，在此次討論中，均曾注意及之，且參加討論者，均認為一定不易之理者，即此種和平機構之成立，必須具有下列之基本要素，中美兩國關係：百餘年來所表現之傳統友誼必須繼續，中國與壤地最近之偉大鄰邦蘇聯之關係，必須維持於互相諒解之基礎之上，即中國與其他鄰邦之關係亦復如是，任何均勢之局面決不能有助於和平之目的。

中國抵抗日本之侵略，業已七年，而在最近三年間，中國與外界幾已完全斷絕，其結果遂令自由中國在經濟及財政方面發生嚴重之困難，中國人民現方以堅毅沉着之精神

culties with fortitude, confident of their ability to stand the strain until greater material assistance from abroad becomes feasible.

The Chinese people and the Government are determined to implement and make real the Three People's Principles of Sun Yat-sen. The first of these Principles--National Sovereignty--is now a reality. The second--Democracy--is in explicit plans being formulated for the establishment of a constitution to guarantee individual rights and freedom and to establish representative government. Concrete consideration of the third--the People's Livelihood--is inherent in plans for economic reconstruction.

With regard to the People's Livelihood, the fundamental importance of agricultural reconstruction in any plans for economic or industrial reconstruction was recognized. The life-long interest of Vice-President Wallace in agricultural development gave him a special understanding of China's agrarian problems and enabled him to discuss with President Chiang realistic solutions. Vice-President Wallace was confident that President Chiang would find among the American people a willingness to cooperate in every practical way with the Chinese people in solving agricultural and related problems posed in Chinese plans for economic reconstruction, implementation of which would mean trade relations between Chinese and American business men on a mutually advantageous basis.

President Chiang and Vice-President

應付此種困難，蓋彼等自信必能忍受一切艱苦，以待海外更大物質援助之到來。

中國人民及政府均有實行孫中山先生三民主義之決心，三民主義中之第一主義——民族主義——現已成為事實，其第二主義——民權主義——正包含於目前建立憲政以保障個人權利與自由，非建立代議政治之種種計劃之中，至於第三主義——民生主義——之實現，則為現有各種經濟建設計劃實行後必然之結果。

就民生而論之，此次參加討論者，均認為在任何經濟與工業建設計劃之中國農業建設佔極重要之地位，華萊士副總統因對農業發展問題，生平極感興趣，對中國農業問題有特殊之了解，并能與蔣主席討論實際之解決方法，華萊士副總統深信蔣主席必能發現美國人民深願與中國人民盡力合作，以求解決中國經濟建設計劃中所包含之農業問題，及其他相關之問題，其種經濟建設實現之日，中美兩國商人必能於互相有利之基礎之上，發展其商業之關係。

蔣主席與華萊士副總統對於中美兩國政

Wallace were continually mindful of the fact that the fundamental purpose of their Governments is the promotion of the security and welfare of the peoples of China and the United States, respectively, and were in agreement in believing that pursuit of the broad objectives which they had discussed would be in line¹¹ with the accomplishment of that purpose.

府之主要目的，係各為其本國國民謀求安全

與幸福一點，未曾片刻忘懷，且均深信彼等

新討論之各種廣泛目標之追求，即所以促成

此項主要目的之實現也。

Notes and Annotations

(1) "to the advantage" (disadvantage, benefit, interest, effect, purpose, ruin, cost, honour, dishonour, shame, joy, content, satisfaction, relief, surprise, astonishment, prejudice, 等字) 前之界詞 "to" 表示結果，惟 "to the end" 之 "to" 表示目的，惟目的之意味通常皆以 "for" 表示之。The investment will turn out to your advantage, 此種投資(必)有利於君。(2) "every (all) possible" = imaginable, "可想到", "可能", "應有", "一切"。We tried every possible means to avert the war. 吾人用盡可能方法以圖避免戰爭(但終不能免)。(3) "between" 言兩國之中某"兩國間", "among" 言四國"互相""共同"。(4) "注意"(合理, 法, 原則)。We take (have) cognizance of the fact that the rich should be stripped of their surplus purchasing power. 富裕者之過剩購買力應予剝奪此已為吾人注意認為合理。(5) "認為", "假定"。Japan made a great mistake in assuming that Germany would win the war. 日本假定德國必可勝利實為大錯。(6) "關係"。The Americans and the Englishmen are bound up by many common ties--such as those of blood, language, religion, thought, and so on. 美英兩國人民有共同關係甚多, 如血統, 語言, 宗教, 思想等關係是。(7) "事實上" "殆" "幾"。Many people have virtually been starving on account of the rise of commodity prices, 物價高漲致多數之人幾至飢餓將死。(8) "結果"。Scarcity of goods for consumption has resulted in the rapid and repeated rise of commodity prices. 消耗物品稀少, 其結果為物價不爾暴漲。(9) "應付困難"。Many cannot stand the strain now. 目下甚多之人已不堪其苦矣。(10) "包含", "立論" = laid down. Land should be redistributed according to the principles passed in San Min Chiu I. 土地應遵照三民主義中所定原則從新分配。(11) "符合"。His actions are in line with our principles, 彼之行動實與吾人所抱之原則符合。

DR. H. H. KUNG'S STATEMENT TO THE AMERICAN PRESS

Released on July 4, 1944, at Bretton Woods, U. S. A., where he attended
the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference as
Chairman of the Chinese delegation.

孔兼部長祥熙對美新聞界發表聲明

一九四四年七月四日在美布里敦森林記者招待會上發表，時當孔兼部長
以中國代表團團長出席該地舉行之聯合國貨幣金融會議

China's resistance to Japan's drive for world domination started seven years ago. China has fought single handed for more than four years before the Allied Nations joined the war against Japan. China had to devote to a common effort all resources that it has accumulated and could produce. As the war extended, the enemy has occupied many of China's richest provinces and centers of production—destroying¹ and looting as he went. As a result of the suffering and sacrifice for the common cause, China today faces difficulties which are greater than² many can imagine.

Destruction and looting by the enemy together with the blockade which has been tightened more and more since the outbreak of the Pacific War, has progressively reduced supply and essential goods. Also, internal transport continually deteriorated both from the shortage of transport equipment and gasoline and from the enemy occupation

中國抵抗日本圖控制世界之侵略行為，已達七年。盟國參加對日作戰以前，中國單獨對日作戰已達四年。中國已以其所積蓄，及所能生產之資源，全用於共同作戰，因戰事擴大，中國甚多富庶之省份，及生產中心，為敵所佔。敵軍所至，劫掠破壞。中國為共同主張之奮鬥而忍受犧牲苦難，遂使中國今日遭遇若干超過若干人想像以上之困難。

敵人之劫掠破壞，輔以太平洋戰事發生後敵人日益加緊之封鎖，遂使重要物品之供應，日為減少。同時國內運輸，亦因運輸工具及汽油之缺乏，與重要鐵路河流公路之被

of important railroads, rivers and roads.

In wartime no country can avoid inflation. Considering the seventh year of war now drawing to a close this deterioration has not been as great as the currency deterioration in some European countries 25 years ago at the time of the first World War. The sacrifice of currency has been only one of the sacrifices which China had made. Inflation can best be combatted by a large import of goods.

China has been doing her best to maintain taxation and I am somewhat surprised if that extent of taxation in China is not more fully realized abroad. The 1944 budget estimates the figure of returns from the current tax revenue at 52% of the total expenditure. It is uncertain whether this can be realized especially because the recent military operations materially cut into the revenue — for example, in Honan Province recent military operations have cut the revenue from the tobacco output by \$200 million monthly. Taking account of the value of land tax collected in kind, the tax revenue for 1943 exceeded 40% of the expenditures which compares favorably with that in other Allied countries. The difficulty, however, is that with the leading producing areas occupied and in view of the small surplus available to the average person in China, it has not been practical to sell war bonds directly to the public to as great an extent as the Government would have

敵人佔領，而漸發生恐慌。

戰時無一國能避免通貨膨脹。中國抗戰

瞬屆七年，而貨幣方面情形之惡化，尚不至如第一次大戰時若干歐洲國家之甚。幣制之犧牲，僅為中國所犧牲之一端。對付通貨膨脹之最好方法，為大量輸入物品。

中國方盡其全力維持稅收，而中國稅收之程度，遠未為國外所充分認識，不免使余感覺驚訝。一九四四年預算中之稅收，佔總支出之百分之五十二。但此項稅收標準，是否能實現，猶有疑問。最近之戰爭，尤損害稅收。例如最近河南戰事，即損害菸葉稅收項下月入二億元，再以田賦之征實計算在內，一九四三年之稅收抵支出百分之四十強。其情形與其他盟國相比，毫無愧色，其困難之處，在於主要生產區已為敵所佔，而平均每一中國人民之餘款額又甚小，故對人民直接發公債，以達到政府所期望之程度，日不

wished. Consequently, the government inevitably had¹⁰ to rely¹¹ largely on borrowing from banking institutions which made an unavoidable increase in purchasing power and contributed to the rises of prices.

The present price movement in China is uneven. Imported articles are much higher than the native goods; and within the country prices of rice and other necessities vary considerably because goods that are plentiful in some regions cannot be moved rapidly to the centers of consumption. Recent telegraphic reports state that the crop situation in west China is excellent and prices have shown some reaction after the recent rapid increase. In the last three or four years it has been normal for prices to rise more rapidly than usual in spring or the year, especially because the surplus of crops cannot be adequately distributed in the period of short supply prior¹² to the new harvest.

With regard to exchange, it is recognized that wartime conditions are abnormal and true values are hard to determine for any currency. The Chinese Government considered it¹³ necessary to maintain the official value of its currency as part of the program sustaining the war effort. A change under the present conditions would aggravate the price rise. Eventual adjustment cannot be forecast now. The Chinese Government realizes the difficulties entailed¹⁴ on foreigners in view of the rising prices and has been giving them an exchange supplement.

切實深。政府遂不得不大都依賴銀行之貸款，其結果必然增加購買力，及促物價之高漲。

目前中國物價之波動，頗不平均。外來物品，遠較土產為高，而在一國之內，米價及其他必需品之價格，亦因不能迅速自產區運至消費中心，致參差不齊。據最近電訊：中國西部之農產情形甚佳，價格於新漲後，已見下跌。依過去三四年之情形而論，春季米價變動較劇，蓋產區之餘米，不能在秋收前迅速運至不足之區。

就匯兌率而論，吾人必須承認戰時情形之特殊，任何貨幣之真價值，皆難於決定。中國政府，認為維持其貨幣之官方價值必為維持其作戰努力計劃中之一部分。改變目前之情況，勢必傷害信心，無疑將提高物價。最後之調整，現在尚難預測。中國政府，感於外僑因物價高漲所遭遇之困難，故在兌換外國時已給予津貼。

In order to sustain the currency as far as conditions permitted, the Chinese Government has always attached importance to maintaining proper currency reserves. Credits given by the American and British Governments and particularly the large credits granted following the outbreak of the Pacific War have been very helpful for that purpose. China has already paid off some wartime credits including the 1938 wood-oil credit of US \$25,000,000 and the 1941 American and British stabilization credits of US \$50,000,000 and \$5,000,000 respectively.

Notwithstanding the further strain which will have to be faced, China, as one of the victorious powers will emerge from the war with much better prospect of restoring her monetary system than was the case after the inflations in Europe 25 years ago.

As to China's interest in silver, the Chinese Government intends to follow along with other United Nations with regard to monetary standards. China has had managed currency since 1935 which was exceptionally stable until it was dislocated as a result of the Japanese aggression. The Chinese Government intends, in the reconstruction of its currency system, to make use of silver together with nickel and copper for subsidiary coins.

China is looking forward to the period of great economic development and expansion after the war. This includes a large scale program of industrialization besides the development an

中國政府，因欲就環境所許，維持幣制，常重視其貨幣之準備。英美政府所給之信用貸款，尤其當太平洋戰爭爆發後所作之大額信用貸款，對於達成此項目的，甚為有用。中國已償付若干戰時貸款，如一九三八年二千五百萬美元之桐油貸款，及一九四一年之英美平準貸款（計美國五千萬美元，英國五百萬鎊），皆已償還。

中國雖將遭受更大之困難，但中國在戰後為一戰勝國，其恢復幣制之希望，遠較二十五年前通貨膨脹之歐洲國家為易。

至白銀問題，中國政府對於幣制本位願與其他聯合國，持同一立場。中國自一九三五年以來，即管制其幣制穩定異常。直至日本發動侵略之後，方越常軌，中國政府，重建幣制時，擬以白銀與鎳銅為輔幣。

中國期望戰後，為經濟上之大開發及擴充之時期。其於從事發展農業，使其現代化而外，且將樹立大規模之工業計劃。余堅

modernization of agriculture. It is my firm conviction that an economically strong China is an indispensable condition to the maintenance of peace and the improvement of the well-being of the world. The China market has long been a dream which I believe will come true after the war when the purchasing power of the "400,000,000 customers" has increased.

After the first world War, Dr. Sun Yat-sen proposed a plan for what he termed "The international development of China". He emphasized the principle of cooperation with friendly nations and the utilization of foreign capital for the development of China's resources. Dr. Sun's teachings constitute the basis of China's national policy.

America and other United Nations, I hope, will take an active part in aiding the postwar development of China. China will give protection to foreign investments. As to American participation, China forward to the long period of happy association and mutual assistance between the two sister republics across the Pacific, China will welcome American tools and machines American capital, American engineering and technical services.

I am confident the delegates to the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference will reach an agreement. That is why we have come here. Clearly it is in everybody's interest to make the conference a success.

信中國經濟上之強大，當為維持和平及改善世界福利之必要條件。久已為人類夢想所及之中國市場，余信戰後四億顧客之購買力提高時，必能成為事實。

第一次大戰後，孫總理曾提出「國際開發中國」之計劃（按即「實業計劃」），可說明其甚重視與友邦合作之原則，利用外國資金，以開發中國資源。孫總理之遺教，乃中國國策之基礎。

余希望美國及其他盟國，在協助戰後中國之開發方面，負其積極部分，中國將保護外國之投資。至於美國之參加，中國期望太平洋彼岸之弟兄共和國能有長期之友好聯合。互助合作，中國將歡迎美國工具機械，美國資本，美國工程及技術服務。

余信貨幣金融會議，能獲致協議。此即吾人不辭辛勞跋涉來此之原因。會議成功，顯於每一人皆有利。

Notes and Annotations

- (1) 形容“enemy” • (2) 即“than those (difficulties) which many can imagine” • (3) “最近”，“瞬屆” • The time of harvest draws near 收割之期已近 • (4) “應付”，“對付” • In post-war reconstruction, we shall have many difficult problems to combat. 吾人對戰後建設將有許多困難問題須謀應付 • (5) “收入”，“利益” • The investment in livestock in the north-west will certainly bring large returns. 投資西北畜牧事業定可獲得大宗收入 • (6) “計算” • In winning the war in the Pacific against Japan, we must take account of the important fact that the Allied landing on China will shorten the war. 為獲取太平洋上對日作戰之勝利，吾人必須計及在同盟國在中國登陸實可縮短戰爭一點 • (7) “實物”，與“in money”相對 • In ancient China government functionaries were paid in kind, not in money. 在中國古代官吏俸祿皆係實物，不以金銀代之 • (8) “鑒及”，“就……而言” • In view of the developments of war both in Europe and on the Pacific, the world war will draw to a close by next spring. 就歐洲及太平洋戰爭之進展而言，大戰在明春以內可告結束 • (9) “可得” (“有效”) • The opportunity to buy an airplane ticket is not available to all persons. 一切之人不能皆有購買航空票 • (The ticket is available for one day only. 此票之有效期間僅一日) • (10) “必須” = must • Students have to learn. 學生必須讀書 • (11) “依恃”，“賴” • He cannot be relied on (upon). 彼不可靠 • (12) I called on him prior to my departure. 余於啓程前曾訪彼 • (13) “it” 假 object, “to maintain” 爲真 object, 因“to maintain” 本身構造繁若放在 object complement “necessary” 之前，易使“necessary” 與“to maintain” 之附屬字發生文法上關係，使意義混淆也 • (14) “受限制” • The shame of the son entails on the whole family. 其子之恥辱及全家 • (15) “不得不”，“勢將” • “have to be” = “must be” • (16) “應驗”，“成爲事” • His words have come true. 彼言果驗 •

PRES. F. D. ROOSEVELT'S WELCOME MESSAGE TO THE UNITED NATIONS MONETARY AND FINANCIAL CONFERENCE

Presented to the Conference by U. S. Secretary of Treasury Henry
Morgenthau Jr. and read by Dr. Warren Kelchner,
Secretary-General of the Conference, at
the opening session on July 1, 1944,
at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire,
U. S. A.

羅斯福總統對聯合國貨幣金融會議致辭歡迎

一九四四年七月一日聯合國貨幣金融會議在美國布萊敦森林開幕時由美
財長莫根索送達大會并由大會秘書長克其納當場宣讀



I welcome you to this quiet place with confidence and with hope. I am grateful ¹ to you for making the long journey here, grateful to your governments for their ready acceptance of my invitation to this meeting. ² It is fitting that even while the war for liberation is at its peak, the representatives of free men should ³ gather to take counsel with one another ⁴ respecting the shape of the future which we are to win.

The war has prodded ⁵ us into the healthy habit of coming together in conference when we have common problems to discuss or solve. We have done this successfully with respect to various military and production phases of the war and also with respect to measures which must be taken immediately after the war is won--such as relief, rehabilitation, and the distribution of the

諸君不憚遠途跋涉，惠臨此幽靜之布萊敦森林，余更充滿信賴與希望，一方歡迎諸君，一方自覺感奮。貴國政府接受余之邀請，立即派員參加會議，尤令余感激。當此解放世界戰爭正達最高潮之際，我自由國家代表，集議一堂，共謀決定吾人以犧牲所換得未來世界之局面，余認為係極重要之舉。吾人因此次大戰之激勵，當共同商榷，業已擬成開會討論並解決之健全習慣。關於大戰之作戰方面，軍火生產方面，以及對於吾人在獲得勝利後所必需立即採取之一切措施，例如救濟善後與世界食糧分配，吾人迭

world food supply. These have been essentially emergency matters. At Bretton Woods, you who have come from many lands, are meeting for the first time to talk ⁶ over the proposals for an enduring program of future economic cooperation for peaceful progress.

The program you are to discuss constitutes, of course, only one phase of arrangements which must be made between the nations to insure an orderly and harmonious world. But it is a vital phase affecting the ordinary men and women every where. For it concerns the base on which they will be able to exchange with one another the natural riches of the earth and the products of their own industry ⁷ and ingenuity.

Commerce is the lifeblood ⁸ of a free society. We must see to it that the arteries which carry that blood stream are not clogged again as they have been in the past by artificial barriers ⁹ created through senseless economic rivalries.

Economic diseases are highly communicable. It follows, therefore, that the economic health of every country is a proper matter of concern to all of its neighbors near or distant. Only through the dynamic and sound expanding of world economy can the living standards of individual nations be advanced to the levels which will permit the full realization of our hopes for the future.

次會議均告圓滿。然上述諸端，要皆緊要性質。今日諸君由各地蒞臨佈里敦森林，商討增進未來世界和平之永久經濟合作程序方面一切建議，尙屬創舉也。

聯合國為謀未來世界秩序與協調得有保證，彼此間需要妥商之事甚為衆多。諸君目下負責討論之項目，當然僅為其中之一面。惟此一面對世界各地尋常男女之影響，實為至深且鉅，蓋因貨幣金融關係若輩彼此間交換土地所產天然財富以及若輩自身勞力用心所產物品之基礎也。

貿易斷為自由社會之命脈，吾人必須防止過去因缺乏意識之經濟政策所造成之人為的限制，使功同運止管之貿易不至滯塞。

經濟上病症為極易傳染之物，因此每一國家之經濟上健康自為其遠近鄰邦關懷之事，此為當然。欲使各個國家之生活標準達到吾人對未來希冀能圓滿實現之水準，僅有藉世界經濟活動的與健全的發展之一途。

The spirit in which you carry on these discussions will set a pattern for the future friendly consultations among nations in their common interests. A further evidence that will be furnished at Bretton Woods is that men of different nationalities have learned how to adjust their possible differences and how to work together as friends.

Things that we need to must be done---can only be done--in concert. This Conference will test our capacity to cooperate in peace as we have in war. I know that you will all approach your task with a high sense of responsibility to those who have sacrificed so much in their hope for a better world.

諸君在此所作討論，其精神堪為今後聯合國間對共同利益從事友誼磋商之楷模。此外本次布列敦森林會更證明各個聯合國代表業已學習如何調整彼此意見上一切可能的異議，如何以友人地位通力合作。

凡吾人所應為之事，必須協力同心為之，且僅有協力同心始能為之。是以此次會議不啻試驗吾人在平時是否有在戰時之合作能力。余深信諸君能負責達到君等之任務，使全世界之期望求得一更佳世界不惜作重大犧牲者得以安慰。

Notes and Annotations

(1) “感謝”。 I am deeply (heartily) grateful to you for your kindness, 余深感君之厚情。 We are grateful toward our benefactors, 吾人對恩人皆抱感謝態度。 (Please accept my deepest gratitude, 謹此深謝。又作“快意”，“滿意”解。 The scenes around here are grateful to the eye, 此處景色頗為悅目。 I am highly gratified with the result, 余得此成績頗為滿意。 The result is most gratifying to me, 此種結果令我極為滿意。) (2) 開會共二十三日自七月一日起至二十三日止。 (3) 在 “fitting”, “proper”, “strange”, “natural”, “no wonder” 之後全用 “should”。 It is strange that he should do this. (4) “商量”，“商議”。 We took counsel together, 吾等共同商議。 We must take counsel of more experienced persons, 吾等須請教較有經驗之人。 (5) “刺激”，“激勵”。 The lazy people should be prodded to work, 懶惰之人應得激勵從事工作。 (6) The committee gathered together to talk over the proposals, 委員開會商討所有提案。 (7) “勤勞”，“勤勉”。 He gained literary reputation by industry, 彼因勤勉博得文名。 (8) “巧妙”，“心才”。 Everybody admires the ingenuity of the inventor, 人人對此發明家之心巧皆為稱讚。 (9) 修辭學之隱比 (metapher) 如：Sun Yat-sen is the Washington of China, 中山先生中國之華盛頓 (國父) 也。 (10) 如國稅限制等辦法是。

PRES. F. D. ROOSEVELT'S SPEECH ON HIS PACIFIC TOUR

Broadcast on August 12, 1944, in Alaska

羅斯福總統視察太平洋戰區返國後講演觀感

一九四四年八月十二日在阿拉斯加播講



It is just 30 days since I left Washington but I have at all times been in close touch with the work there and also in daily communication with our forces in the European and Far Eastern theaters of war.

It is good to come back to the Puget Sound Navy Yard for as you know I have been coming here off and on¹ 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 turning² out ships, planes and munitions of almost every other variety³ 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 about⁴ to step foot on shore in the continental United States.

When I got to San Diego for three days before going aboard ship⁵ I had the opportunity to visit many of the patients in a hospital there, the larger number of whom were just back from

余離華府恰滿三十日，然對於該處之工

作恆保持密切接觸，並逐日與中洲及遠東戰

區之我軍通消息。

余得返回皮傑海峽海軍造船廠，甚感快

慰。蓋余自一九一四年即常常來此也。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

人員方面均有長足進步，衷心至慰。故余

認為諸君必願余對視察其感衷轉往阿留申羣

島及阿拉斯加然後返回美國本土之行作一簡

單敘述。

余於登艦三日前抵聖地亞哥時，曾訪問

該處一所醫院中之極多病者，其中大半由自

馬紹爾及馬里亞納羣島作戰歸來者。余並目

fighting in the Marshall and Mariana Islands. Also I witnessed a large practice in landing operation on the beaches of southern California between Los Angeles and San Diego, the kind of warfare which has been so successfully developed by us during the past two years. This warfare is of a wholly new type, requiring all kinds of new equipment and new training, and I think I can safely say that not another nation in the world has worked it out as successfully as we have shown within the past few weeks in the capture of Saipan and Tinian and recapturing Guam, resulting in new threats against Japan itself and against all their operations in the Southwest Pacific.

It takes a personal observation of the landing maneuver, such as I saw from a high bluff overlooking the shore below, to understand how well the application of experience is being carried out. Landing-craft—a wholly new type of ship—we did not dream of two years and a half ago—came to the beach from transports offshore under cover of a fog. They came on in waves with Marine infantry getting the first foothold, followed by other waves then by all manner of equipment, ammunition, wire and tanks, all protected by air coverage and were preceded theoretically by a devastating bombardment from heavy ships lying offshore. When a beachhead was obtained to the depth of a mile or two there followed the unloading of great quantities of supplies of all kinds, including tanks, trucks and jeeps.

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、狄雷及收復關島方面之表現更為成功。此等佔領工作已成為對於日本本土及其在西南太平洋一切行軍之新威脅。

欲了解吾人應用經驗如何成功，必須親自觀察登陸演習，如余在一處俯瞰海灘之高岸上所目視者。登陸艇（一種完全新型之船艇，乃兩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駛來，分批迫近，載有海軍陸戰隊步兵，以佔取第一步立足點。其他各批繼至。然後又開到各種裝備彈藥電線及坦克，均在空軍保護之下。且以理論上言，事前尚有開至近海之重型軍艦從事破壞性之砲轟。灘頭障礙地擴至一二哩深時，即開始起卸大量各種供應品，坦克卡車與吉普卡車。

Timing is of utmost importance in an operation of this kind together with the instantaneous communication from the shore to ships and planes. Here was demonstrated a perfect cooperation between all of the services,---Army, Navy and Marines---and to this should be added the teamwork for the immediate care of the wounded and their quick transfer back to hospital ships. We in our comfortable homes ought to realize that to all troops and Marines who are to conduct a new landing expedition on some far distant island in the Pacific as well as on the coast of France, this amphibious training is being given at a number of places in the United States before the expedition even starts. Hundreds of instructors are required, nearly all men who have participated in actual combat operations beforehand. Many of the instructors will, of course, accompany their troops in the actual operations of future landings.

The cruiser on which I went from San Diego to Hawaii is one of a number of what we call 'Post Treaty Cruisers', much larger, more powerful and faster than pre-war cruisers which were limited by treaty to 10,000 tons. This particular ship joined the Pacific Fleet less than a year ago but has already engaged in 15 operations in the western and southwest Pacific. It is a magnificent record. Her skipper and crew have brought her through all of the many offensive missions unscathed and because of the experience thus gained she is an even more powerful weapon than she

此種作戰中除海岸與船艦飛機之立即互通音訊之外，時間配合亦居最要地位。此處表現陸海軍及海軍陸戰隊等一切部隊間之完美合作。此外尚有傷兵之立即看護，並儘速運返醫院船等。吾人處身於安樂之家者，應知在太平洋若干遙遠島嶼及法國海岸從事登陸戰之一切部隊及海軍陸戰隊，在開始作戰之前，均須在美國若干地點受此種兩路登陸訓練。所需要之教官以百計。前此曾參加實際作戰之一切人員，幾均須担任教官。自然極多教官將隨其部，從事未來之實際登陸戰。

余由聖地牙哥至夏威夷所乘之巡洋艦乃吾人所習為「敵的失敗後之巡洋艦」之一，較前受條約限制為一萬噸之巡洋艦更大更速。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。此為一卓越之紀錄。其艦長及員兵已駕駛該艦完成多次攻勢而絲毫無損，且因其已藉此獲得經驗，故為欲加入艦隊之日

was the day she joined the Fleet.

The voyage was uneventful and we arrived at Pearl Harbor on July 26. What an amazing change since my visit ten years ago. Up to that time, the Pearl Harbor navy yard had maintained a steady growth, like most of our other navy yards, but today it is capable of making repairs to the heaviest ships and employs a force of nearly ten times as great, with many of the mechanics coming from the west coast. All of the battleships and smaller craft which were sunk or damaged in the attack on Pearl Harbor on Dec. 7, 1941, have been raised with the exception of Arizona. In her case, because of the explosion of her forward magazine, salvage is impossible, but in her case, her main battery of heavy guns removed and remounted, now forms part of the coastal defenses on the Island of Oahu.

All of the other ships are afloat in service, most of them having put back into commission ¹⁰ here at Puget Sound and all of them have greatly improved in fire power. They have been used in action in the Pacific and elsewhere - one of them, indeed, Nevada, has taken part in the bombardment of the coast of Normandy prior to and during the landing operations there as late as the Sixth of June. I spent three days on the Island of Oahu. Everywhere, as at the navy yard, war activities are multiplied almost beyond belief.

On ¹¹ the afternoon of my arrival, my old friend, General Douglas Mac Arthur, arrived by air from New Guinea.

更強有力之武器。

海行平安無事，余等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。截至該時為止，珍珠港之海軍船塢，一如吾人之其他海軍船塢，固已不斷擴充，惟今日該船塢已可修理最重之船艦，且其雇用之人力，幾已增加十倍。其中自太平洋岸至此之機械士亦多。一九四一年十二月七日敵人襲擊珍珠港時，擊沉或創損之雷門艦及較小之輪艦，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，今已成為威爾遜岸防砲隊之一部。其他諸艦則均重上鉤途，其中多數係在此間皮傑海峽修復。各艦之火力，已大為增強。諸艦曾在太平洋其他處作戰。其中之一內華達號，在攻歐之前及攻歐發動時，曾參加灘頭諾曼第海岸，直至六月六日為止。余在威爾遜海軍船塢三日，該處之戰時活動均一如海軍船塢，增加至幾令人不能相信之密度。余抵達珍珠港之下午，余之老友麥克阿瑟將軍亦自新幾內亞乘機至，余等即開始連續

We began a series of interesting and useful conferences, accompanied by Admiral Nimitz, my own chief of staff Admiral Leahy, General Richardson, commanding the General Army Forces in the Hawaiian area, and Admiral Halsey, Commander of the Third Fleet. In these three days we talked about the Pacific problems and the best methods of conducting the Pacific campaign in the future. The discussions developed a complete accord both in the understanding of the problem that confronts us and in the operation as to the best methods of its solution. All of us must bear in mind the enormous size of the Pacific area to keep a mental map of the whole of it in mind.

The Hawaiian Islands were used to be considered an outpost. We were not allowed to fortify Guam nor did we fortify Wake or Midway or Samoa. Today, the Hawaiian Islands are no longer a mere outpost. They constitute a major base from which the Pacific coast front line operations are being conducted, twice as far away as the distance between our coast and Hawaii. The Hawaiian Islands have helped to make possible the victories at Guadalcanal, New Guinea, the Marshalls and the Marianas. The Islands will make possible future operations in China, make possible the recapture of the independence of the Philippines, and make possible the carrying of the war into the home islands of Japan itself, and its capital city, Tokyo. In a few minutes I want to say another word about the future of

舉行多次有趣且有益之會議。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。余等在此三日中會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，為在吾人之心中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。過去夏威夷羣島恒被視為一前哨。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為一前哨矣。夏威夷羣島已構成一大地。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國內作戰，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。稍後余將再對太平洋之將來有所申述。余在

the Pacific. During the rest of my stay in Hawaii I visited many activities, including great air fields, hospitals and an ambulance plane at Hickam Field which just had come in with the wounded men from Saipan. I saw a large army group which was going ¹³ through a complete course of jungle warfare--an art ¹⁴ 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 ¹⁵ for the Aleutian Islands four days later arrived at Adak and one of the more westerly islands of the group. There again I found intense activity at what might be called a nearly completed advance base. It was from here that the great part of the expeditions for the recapture of Attu and Kiska had started. Adak, two years ago, was a bleak and practically uninhabited island, yet essential for the security of our own continent.

You here can well realize the commotion which followed the Japanese occupation of Attu and Kiska and you may have thought the chiefs of staff in Washington were not paying enough attention to the threat against Alaska and the coast. We realized, of course, that such a Japanese threat could become serious if it was not opposed but we knew also that Japan did not have the naval and air power to carry this into

逗留夏威夷之期間，曾觀察多種活動，包括
大飛機場，醫院及適逢塞班運載傷兵歸來降
落於布卡里機場之一架救護機。余曾見一六
支軍隊正演習叢林戰術，此項戰術已甚精進
。在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
，四日後余等抵達阿留申羣島中較西之阿達
克島。余在該處發現一可謂幾近完成之前
進基地之緊張活動。過去收回阿圖及吉斯卡
戰役之工作即係自此地開始。兩年前阿達克
乃一荒蕪而且幾無居民之島，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
受之威脅不為注意。吾人當然感任日方此種
威脅，如不予阻撓，自屬及重。吾人亦知
日方如無較大物資，較長之計劃時間，不能

eject without greater resources and longer time to plan. Preparations to throw the Japanese from their footholds 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 eject¹⁶ them from Attu, and by the time the great expedition to recapture Kiska got there, the Japanese had decided that discretion was the better part¹⁷ of valor and they decided that retirement and retreat were better for them than harakiri.¹⁸ 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 putting¹⁹ 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, though²⁰ smaller, base. The first little town we had seen in the Alaskan waters and the first tress made me think of the coasts of Maine and Newfoundland.

We were told that a number of officers and men at this and other ports are considering settling in Alaska after the war. I hope this is so because the development of Alaska has only been

有足夠之海空實力使其發生作用。但將日人自其足尖所佔之地逐出準備，已在日人到達彼處之先擬就。此故事之其餘部份君等當已熟知。欲將日人逐出阿圖島，需要大規模之準備和力費。當吾人收回復吉斯卡之遠征軍到達彼處時。日方已決定慎重將事，決定撤退較佳於切腹，彼等乃放棄阿留申羣島。阿達克之氣候，非為世上之最宜人者，但余願對其官員及各種服役人員數千人片言致謝。彼等在如此短時間內，在此西北極端建成此一基地及其他基地，使我太平洋沿岸，英屬哥倫比亞及阿拉斯加之人民感覺安全，足防日方之大舉進犯。

因濃霧及大雨所阻，余等必須放棄在荷蘭港停泊之望。但余等曾在阿拉斯加半島外名為科約亞克之大島上稍事駐留。海陸空軍人員於此亦完成一雖較小而亦極佳之基地。此為余等在阿拉斯加海中所見之第一個小鎮，亦為令余等思及緬因州及紐芬蘭海岸之第一批樹木。

吾人聞悉在此及其他海港中之若干軍官及士兵方考慮戰後卜居於阿拉斯加，余希望其確能如此。因阿拉斯加之開發今方開端

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 ²¹ and timber, together with great possibilities for agriculture. I could not help ²² 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 Island as the place to which many veterans of this war, especially those who do not have strong roots in their own homes, can go to become pioneers. It is an island with a small population but which, I am convinced, has great opportunities for those who are willing to work and to help build up all kinds of new things in new lands.

This trip has given me a chance to talk over the social and economic future of the Hawaiian Islands with Governor Stainback and the future of the people of Alaska with Governor Gruening. He asked me to assure you that the tan ²³ 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 ²⁴ and one flounder. ²⁵

Speaking again of the future of the defense of the Pacific and use of its strong points in order to prevent attacks on us, you who live in the Pacific north-

，而迄今仍爲一開拓者之國土。業已試探之礦源僅一小部分，其他當然亦有大量之魚產野味及木材與豐富之農產機會。余不禁憶及其氣候收穫及其他資源並不大于北歐（挪威瑞典及芬蘭）。而北歐諸國之人民雖于冬日嚴寒及暗無天日之氣候中仍便能其文化到達一高水準。待余返抵華府，將對阿拉斯加及阿留申羣島從事研究，庶使此次戰事中之退役軍人，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，但予深信其于願意工作，願意在新領土上助成建樹各種新事物者，必能提供更多機會。此次旅行，使余得獲有機會與夏威夷總督史坦貝克討論夏威夷島之社會及經濟之前途，並得與阿拉斯加總督格魯寧討論阿拉斯加人民之將來。格魯寧要求余向日幣出語。余在過去數日內所晒成黑色乃受阿拉斯加太陽照射之結果。在朱諾附近，余曾玩曲棍球三小時，並往垂釣，獲得鱈魚等二尾。再談太平洋上防務之將來及其據點之利用，以預防吾人之遭襲擊。君等生活於太平洋之西北部，當然感覺自普蓋桑至西伯利亞

west have realized that the line for sea and air navigation following a great circle course from the Puget Sound to Siberia and northern China passed very close to the Alaskan coast, and thence westward along the line of the Aleutian Islands. From the point of view of national defense, therefore, it is essential that our control of this route shall be undisputed. Everybody in Siberia and China knows that we as a people are utterly opposed to aggression or sneak attacks--but we as a people are insistent that other nations must not under any circumstances through the foreseeable future commit such attacks on the United States. Therefore, it is essential that we be ²⁶ 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 ²⁷ foresee a great interchange of commerce between our shores and those of Siberia and China--in this commercial development, Alaska and the Aleutian Islands become automatic stepping stones for trade both by water and by planes. And this means the automatic development of transportation to Alaska via the British Columbia and as far north as Yukon. It is as long as ten years ago that I had talked with

及中國北部形成一大圓圈之海空航線，甚逼近阿拉斯加海岸，然後沿阿留申羣島一線西向。自國防觀點言之，吾人控制此路之重要，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領土之野心。我國民族完全反對侵略或偷襲；但我民族亦堅持其他國家不能在可望見之將來，在任何情形下，對美國作此種襲擊。因此，吾人充分準備，以預防將來永不發生，甚屬重要。日本之諾言與光榮殊不足信任。

此係本諸海陸空之觀點立論。然日本之威脅終止後，整個太平洋區域將有建立永久和平之最佳希望。職是之故，吾人瞻望經濟與商業前途，誠屬自然而適當。吾人應預見我國海岸與西伯利亞及中國海岸間將有商業上之大量交易。此固為合理之預測。在此商業發展方面，阿拉斯加與阿留申羣島將自動為水運與航運貿易之踏足石。換言之，運輸之發展將自製經越英屬哥倫比亞甚至遙遠之北面之高空區，以伸至阿拉斯加。遠在十年

Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, in regard to the development of highways air routes, even railroad to Alaska via the British Columbia and Yukon. The interest in both nations was aroused but it took a war to get quick action. Today the Alcan Hi hway is practically completed and the air route to Fairbanks has enabled us to deliver thousands of planes to our ally, Russia by way of Alaska, the Bering Straits and Siberia. These planes were an important factor in the brilliant and brave advance of the Russian armies on their march to Berlin. And I might observe also that our close relations and true friendship with Canada during these years have proved to be an illustrious example of working hand-in-hand with your neighbor for the general good.

As to the South of the Alaska-Aleutians route, the use of the island group must also be considered for the defense and for commerce in getting to and from the American and Asiatic continents. We understand, at last, the importance of the Hawaiian Islands. It is important that we have other bases---forward bases nearer to Japan than they lie. The same thing is true in regard to the defense of all the American Republics from Mexico past the Panama Canal and all the way down to Chile. There are hundreds of islands in the south Pacific which bear the same relation to South America and the Panama Canal as Hawaii bears to North America. These islands are the possessions of the British Empire and the French. They are important com-

之商，余曾與加拿大總理及... 道... 倫
比... 與... 阿... 之公... 航... 線
... 鐵路... 其... 兩... 均... 味，... 但...
... 加... 行... 今... 阿... 公... 業... 已... 完
... 成。... 通... 往... 俄... 國... 之... 航... 線... 亦... 能... 以
... 數... 千... 之... 飛... 機... 運... 往... 俄... 國... 與... 西... 伯
... 利亞... 往... 吾... 人... 之... 盟... 友... 蘇... 聯。... 此... 種... 飛... 機... 為... 蘇... 軍
... 向... 柏林... 進... 之... 輝... 煌... 英... 勇... 進... 取... 中... 之... 重... 要... 因... 素。
... 余... 亦... 覺... 數... 年... 來... 吾... 人... 與... 加... 拿... 大... 國... 之... 密... 切... 關... 係... 與
... 真... 誠... 友... 誼，... 已... 證... 明... 為... 聯... 合... 鄰... 友... 共... 謀... 福... 利... 之... 輝
... 煌... 實... 例。

阿拉斯加阿留申線以南各羣島之利用，
必須加以考慮，以謀美亞大陸間貿易之保障

• 吾人終已明瞭夏威夷羣島之重要性，同樣
重要者為吾人倘有其他... 與... 近... 日... 本... 之

前進基地。自... 經... 巴... 拿... 馬... 運... 河... 以... 達... 智
利... 諸... 美... 洲... 共... 和... 國... 之... 防... 務，... 亦... 應... 用... 共... 同... 一... 原... 則

• 南太平洋島嶼數以百計，其與南美與... 拿
馬... 之... 關... 係，... 亦... 如... 夏... 威... 對... 北... 美... 之... 關... 係。... 此... 種

mercially just as they are from the defense point of view, for they lead to New Zealand, Australia, the Dutch Indies, and the Southern Philippines. With all these places we shall undoubtedly have a growing trade. We have no desire to ask for any possessions of the United Nations. But the United Nations who are working so well with us in the winning of the war will, I am confident, be glad to join with us in the protection against aggression and in the machinery to prevent aggression. With them and with their help I am sure we can agree completely so that Central and South American will be as safe against attack from the South Pacific as North America is going to be from the North Pacific itself.

The self interests of our Allies will be affected by a fair and friendly collaboration with us. They, too will gain in national security. They will gain economically. The destinies of the peoples of the whole Pacific will for many years be entwined with our own destiny. Already there is stirring desire among the hundreds of millions of them for the fight to work out their own destinies and they show no evidence of seeking to overrun the earth--with one exception.

That exception is, and has been, for many, many years, Japan and the Japanese people--because whether or not the people of Japan itself know or approve of what their lords have done for nearly a century, the fact remains that they seem to be giving a hearty approval to the Japanese policy of acquisition of

海島爲英帝國與法國之屬土，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。吾人無索求聯合國之任何屬土之要求，然余堅信與吾人合作甚佳以謀作戰勝利之聯合國家，亦必樂於與吾人攜手防止侵略，並參加防止侵略之機構。余敢斷言有彼等與我等之協助，吾人即能獲得全部協議。使中美與南美能免受南太平洋方面之襲擊，一若北美之將免受北太平洋方面之襲擊。

吾人盟友與吾人之公正與友好合作，將使盟友獲得其本身利益與國家安全，在經濟上亦使其有所收穫。整個太平洋人民之命運在今後若干年間將與吾人之命運交織一片。太平洋之數萬萬人民，業已發生要求決定本身命運之願望。彼等除唯一之例外者外，咸無企圖蹂躪全球之跡象。

此唯一例外乃多年以來之日本與日本人民。蓋不論日本人民本身是否明瞭，或贊成其主子近百年來之所爲，但事實所在，彼等對於日本侵襲鄰邦獲取鄰邦領土並在東亞

their neighbors and their neighbors' lands and the military and economic control of as many other nations as they can lay their hands on. It is an unfortunate fact that other nations cannot trust Japan, and it is an unfortunate fact that years of proof must pass before we can classify Japan as a member of the society of nations which seek 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

經濟上盡量控制其所能沾手之其他國家之政策，似皆衷心維護。其他國家均不能信任日本。誠屬憾事。在吾人以日本列為爭取永久和平與吾人所賴之國際社會之一分子之前，必須使其經過若干年之測驗時期，此亦屬憾事。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。菲律賓人素不願為日本之奴役，將來亦然。朝鮮之人民（古老之朝鮮王國經日本佔已五十年），中國東北之人民以及中國其餘部份之人民，莫不皆然。餘如越南人民，暹羅人民，爪哇人民，甚至吾人今日從事驅逐日人出境而獲輝煌進展之新幾內亞與所謂委任統治地之最原始人民，亦莫不皆然。

余所欣幸者，即能獲得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。我們在此廣大之區域內，尚能把握整個之戰局。

in Europe or in the Far East or in the war against Japan. It will be over sooner if the people of this country will maintain the making of necessary supplies, ships, and planes. By so doing, we will hasten the day of peace. By so doing we will save our own pocketbooks and those of our children. By so doing we will save the lives of our sons. And by so doing we will have a better chance of a substantial unity among the United Nations in laying a more secure foundation of the lasting peace.

但余不能奉告諸君，歐洲或遠東或對日之戰爭究將於何時結束。如我國人民繼續製造必要之供應品，船舶與飛機，則戰爭結束之時間必將較早；果爾，吾人庶可促使和平早日降臨；果爾，則吾人與我子孫庶可節省金錢；果爾，則吾人庶可保安我子孫之生命；果爾，則吾人奠立永久和平之較為堅固之基礎。時，我聯合國家更有實在團結之機會矣。

Notes and Annotations

- (1) "Off and on" (adverbial phrase), "不時", "時作時輟", "時或"。 We invite the boys to a treat off and on, 吾等不時款待兒童。(2) "Turn out" (transitive 用法), "製造", "生產"。 These factories turn out more products than they can sell, 此處各工廠出品多不能售盡。(又作翻簿解。 He turns out his pockets, 他翻簿袋裏——亦為 transitive 用法, 兩字合用為一字)。(3) "各種"。 in one plot every variety of native rice is raised to compare with every other variety of foreign rice in the other plot, 此苗圃自有本國各種稻種以與另一苗圃所種其外國各種稻種比較。(4) "about to", "即將" (不能置未來時間語)；其後，因某種動作含迫近意)。 He is about to go (= He is just going), 彼即去。(5) "aboard ship" (ship 之前不用 "the", 同此有 "aboard train"), "上船", "登車"。 He is quite at home whether aboard ship or train, 無論船上車上彼皆甚安適。(若特指明何船則用 "aboard the ship"。 I took a tramper and found he was aboard the (same) ship too, 余乘一無規定航線之貨船且發覺彼亦乘該船。 "aboard of" = "aboard", He came aboard of my ship, 彼已上吾船。 "aboard" 本為 on board 之合音簡用, 此處之 "a" 即 "on", 他 a hunting, a fishing 等等。)(6) "kind" 為 "landing operation" 同位字。(7) "to understand" 與本句 subject "it" 同位。(8) "掩護", "藉"。 The thief escaped under cover (不用 the 字) of darkness, 竊賊乘黑暗而逃。(9) "如潮湧"。 when the beehive is struck, the bees fly out in waves, 打動蜂房, 蜜蜂如潮湧出。(10) "服役"。 Those who have served on all fronts over two years should retire from commission, 凡在各前線作戰兩年以上者應退出服役。(11) 凡指一定之時間必用 "on"。 I arrived in the afternoon, (指上下

午用午) 。 I arrived on the afternoon (morning) of Monday 。 (12) “牢記在心” , Bear in mind that fact, 此事” 牢牢記在心 。 (13) “演說” , “講演” 。 Before going aboard, one has to go through a medical examination, 出洋” 前須先經醫生檢查 。 (14) 與 jungle warfare 同義 。 (15) “向……出發” 。 He headed the boat for shore, 駛向岸 。 (16) 見 (7) 。 (17) “比較” , “較……更佳” , “大半” 。 To keep reticent is the better part of wit than to talk nonsense, 默” 不語較胡亂發言為智 。 (18) 日本人為表示其對軍刀之重視作表 。 (19) “進港” , “停泊” 。 The steamer puts in at several ports and then puts out to sea again, 此船在數口岸停泊, 後又航行 。 (20) 名詞句, “though it is a small one” 。 (21) 魚蝦等對糧食之野味 。 No birds have neither fish nor game for our food, 今日吾” 不靠魚蝦等為食 。 (22) “不禁” , “help” 之後須用 gerund 。 I cannot help laughing 吾大笑不能抑, 等於 I cannot refrain from laughing, 又等 I cannot but laugh 。 (23) “曬紅之皮色” 。 The face tans in the sun, 面色在日光中曬成紅色 。 (24) “大比目魚” 。 (25) “比目魚” 。 (26) subjunctive, 或 “should be” 。 在 “important”, “fitting”, “proper”, “essential”, “logical” 之句用 subjunctive verb, “should...” (27) 見 (26) 。 (28) “解決” 。 A thousand and one difficulties and shortcomings await us to work out before our country becomes a free power, 中國在成為真正強國途上尚有無數困難與缺陷尚待解決 。 (29) “在進行中” 。 The work is now well in hand, 此事在積極進行(處理)中 。 (30) 即 “By doing so” 。 “so” 代其 “if the people of this country will maintain the making of necessary supplies, ships, and planes” 。

U. S. SECRETARY OF STATE CORDELL

HULL'S WELCOME ADDRESS AT WORLD SECURITY CONFERENCE

Delivered on August 12, 1944, at the opening of the Conference, held at Washington Estate, Dumbarton Oaks, and attended by 40 delegates of the United States, Britain, and Soviet Russia.

美國務卿赫爾對美英蘇討論世界
安全機構會議開幕致歡迎辭

一九四四年八月十二日在華盛頓之頓巴敦橡樹園會議席上
發表，到會者有美英蘇三國代表四十人。



On behalf ¹ of President Roosevelt and on my own behalf, I welcome you to Washington. In the name ² of both of us, I desire to offer some brief remarks on the opening of this important meeting.

The series of conversations which we initiate today marks another step toward establishing a lasting system of organized and peaceful relations among the nations. We meet at a time when the war is moving toward an overwhelming triumph for the forces of freedom. It ³ 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 for an enduring peace—a peace founded upon justice and

余本人謹代表羅斯福總統歡迎諸代表行抵此間，余願以羅斯福總統代表及余本人之名義，對此一重要會議之召開，略致簡短說明。

吾人今日開始之多次談話，乃欲在各國間建設有組織及和平關係之持久鞏固之另一步驟。吾人係當戰爭期間自由力量大獲勝利之際，在此集會。吾人來此任務，乃協助奠立戰後若干和平，自由及繁榮可能賴以建立之基礎。

此次戰爭之真正含義，促使吾人覓取一持久和平，即基於各國人及國家保持正義及

fair dealing for individuals and nations. We have witnessed—and are witnessing today—the sweep of the forces of savagery and barbarism of the kind that civilized men hoped and believed would not rise again. Armed with the weapons of modern science and technology and with equally powerful weapons of coercion, they are enslaving mankind because the peace-loving nations were disunited.

During the years while these aggressors made their preparations for the attack, the peace-loving nations lacked both unity and strength because they lacked a vigilant realization of the perils which loomed before them. These forces of the evil now face an utter defeat because at long last their intended victims attained the unity and power which are bringing victory to us.

The lessons of the earlier disunity and weakness should be indelibly stamped upon the minds and hearts of this generation and of the generations to come. So should the lessons of unity and its resultant strength be achieved by the United Nations in this war. Unity for common action toward common good and against common peril is the sole effective method by which, in time of peace, the nations which love peace can assure for themselves security and an orderly progress with freedom and justice. In the face of what modern war means to the physical and moral being of man, the maintenance of such a unity is a

公平往來之和平。吾人已見——今日正見——暴虐野蠻勢力侵襲之情形。吾文明人類均希望並相信此種惡勢力將不捲土重來。彼野蠻勢力挾近代科學與技術之武器及勢力同樣龐大之壓制與欺騙之武器，幾得置我人類於其奴役之下，蓋愛好和平之國家均未團結一致也。

彼暴略者準備攻擊之年月中，我愛好和平國家在團結及實力方面均有欠缺，此乃對籠罩其前之危機缺少警覺之故。然此等惡勢力現面臨一整個失敗之局面，蓋時至今日，其蓄意殘害之犧牲者已獲得團結及武裝力量，且吾人現正藉此獲得勝利也。

我早期散漫及脆弱之教訓，應永留于本代及未來若干世代人士之腦海中。團結之教訓，及聯合國家在此次戰爭中因而獲得之力量，亦當永誌不忘。為求取共同福利，并反抗共同禍害，採取共同行動，而團結一致，乃愛好和平國家於承平歲月中，保證本身安全及有秩序之自由與正義進步之唯一有效方法。吾人處於現代戰爭危害人類身體及精神之際，維持頑強之團結乃一最大及最要

matter of the highest and most enlightened self-interest. In the final analysis, it is first and foremost a thing of the spirit.

Peace, like liberty, requires a constant devotion and ceaseless vigilance. It requires a willingness to take positive steps toward its preservation. It requires constant cooperation among the nations, and a determination to live together as good neighbors in the world of good neighbors. Peace requires an acceptance of the idea that its maintenance is a common interest, so precious¹⁰ and so overwhelmingly important,¹¹ that all differences and controversies among nations can be, and must be, resolved by a resort¹² 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 midst¹³ of a relentless prosecution of the war, have been working together to create the institutional foundations for a just and enduring peace.

These foundations must support the arrangements for a peaceful settlement of international disputes and for the joint use of force, if necessary, to prevent or suppress threats to peace or breaches of peace. They must also support the arrangements for promoting by a cooperative effort the development

明·利己行動，然歸根結底，實為精神上至高無尚之物也。

和平，一如自由，需要經常不斷之熱忱與警惕。和平需要採取積極措置以保持和平之誠意。和平需要各國間之經常合作，及各國在敦睦邦交之世界，具有友好相處之決心。和平需要接受下一理想，即和平之維繫乃屬其可貴，及至屬重要之共同利益。各國間之一切異見及糾紛，均可且必須以和平方法予以解決也。但和平亦要和平志願賴以變為行動之機構。設計此種機構，需要世界各地男女之智慧才力。聯合國在此大戰進行之際，猶致力於共同工作，以建立維護正義及持久和平之機構基礎者，其故在此。

凡此基礎必須支持以和平方法解決國際爭端，並于必要時聯合使用武力阻止或壓制和平所受之威脅及破壞和平之舉。此外且須支持以共同努力促進穩定世界，造福人類各

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 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

種條件之發展，若此條件實為國際友好關係

係及安全和平所不可缺少。上述各項均為本

來國際機構中之基本問題。

糧食、救濟及善後工作之糧食農業會議及

貨幣金融會議，已獲重大之進展。凡此及其

他類似之步驟，均足指明聯合國家實為改善

各國民生而共同努力之深切願望。大小四十

國家之共同努力，已獲致四期之結果。

參加此次會議之各國政府，均一致深信

，未來維護和平安全——國際合作之最高目

的——必須為一切愛好和平大小國家之共同

任務及共同責任。去年十月三十日莫斯科宣

言中已聲明此一信念。吾人已一再聲明一切

愛好和平國家，不論大小強弱，在有秩序之

國際法及法律下，共同享有主權平等之原則應

為未來維護和平安全之任何國際機構之基礎

。此點可無須贅言矣。

各國政府於莫斯科宣言中，亦分負為助

目的為一切愛好和平國家共同履行職力。

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 ¹⁷ a responsibility commensurate ¹⁸ 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 ¹⁹ 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 ²⁰ 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, ²¹ which is now before you, of reaching a consensus of views which you can jointly recommend to your respec-

國際機構之領導責任。此一國際機構之成立

，應視參加國家所願自加約束並共同行

動責任以支持該一機構之基本目的之程度而

定。各國應成立一協定，各國應彼此以分

担劃彼此互利之任務，並負荷與其能力相符

之責任。一般認為任何和平及安全機構，如

不以武力為後盾，俾遇有其他任何方法不足

以維護平時，得以此為最後武器，則必敗

無疑，此一武力，必須及時獲得，且須達到

適量之限度。世界各國應根據本身能力，保

有足量之武力，俾於必要時參加阻止破壞和

平之共同行動。

莫斯科會議開會前之長久期間內，尤其

該會舉行後之若干月中，我各國政府對於締

結余建議進及之協定，曾各盡力準備。吾人

已將臨時之思想寫其文字，我每一國家，固

有研究他國工作結果之機會。有此準備後。

諸君現在此有之商之共同意見並送諸君對

tive governments. It is the intention of the Government of the United States that, after similar consultations with the Government of China, the conclusions reached will be communicated to the governments of all the United Nations and of other peace-loving nations. It is our further thought that, as soon as practicable, these conclusions will be made available to the peoples of our country, and of all the countries, for public study and debate. We are fully aware that no institution—especially when it is of as great importance as the one now in our thoughts—will endure, unless there is behind it a considerable and complete popular support. The will to peace must spring from the hearts and minds of men and women everywhere if it is to achieve an enduring peace.

For us in the United States, it is as natural as it is desirable that we gather around a table with the representatives of the other nations to devise means for maintaining peace and security. No passion runs deeper in the thoughts of the people of this country than the belief that all men should enjoy liberty under law. It has been our faith from the beginning of our nation, it is our dream for the future, that every individual and every nation should attain freedom and the security to enjoy it. The people of this country are now united, as never before, in their determination that the tragedy which today is sweeping the earth shall not recur.

The people of all the United Nations are hoping and praying for an opportu-

代表之政府能以研究之任務，自其開始時

。美國政府之意與中國政府進行類似之會商

後，即將決定結果通知各聯合國國家及其他愛

好和平各國政府參考，吾人更願一俟可能時

，即以此提交各聯合國及其他一切國家人民

公開研究或討論。吾人深知任何機構如無廣

大及一致之後盾，則不能垂諸久遠，尤以吾

人現所想像如此重要之機構為然。國際機構

如欲獲致持久和平，則和平志願必須發自世

界各地男女之心中。

就吾美國言之，吾人與其他國家代表齊

集一堂，商討維護和平安全之方法，實屬自

然合宜之舉。美國人民相信一切人類應在法

律之下享受自由，其思想中未有較此更深之

情緒，美國開國之初即持此一信念。吾人想

像未來任何國家及人民必將獲得自由及享受

自由之安全。美國人民現正團結於一決心

之下，今日世界之悲劇應不再來。

各聯合國國家人民現均希冀並祈求獲得重
新在各國間建立保持良好及公正關係之機會

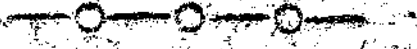
nity to build anew toward a system of decent and just relationships among the nations. Their noblest capacities and their highest skills have been diverted from the creative pursuits of peace to the grim and terrible tasks of battle. They will not be content with a precarious peace. Their sacrifices can only be rewarded by a fulfillment of their reasonable hopes. It is the sacred duty of the governments of all peace-loving nations to make sure that an international machinery is fashioned through which the peoples can build the peace which they so deeply desire. The President is confident, and I share his view, that this thought will govern the deliberations which you are now undertaking.

• 彼等最高之能力及最大技巧，已自對於和平作創造性之追求，為為戰爭而可憐之戰鬥任務。彼等對危險之和平將不引為滿足。彼等之犧牲之唯一報酬，乃為完成彼等之合理希望。所有愛和平之國家政府之神聖責任，乃在確定形成一國際機構，能由此一機構，人民得可建立彼等所深願之和平。羅氏願總統深信此種思想將支配彼等所進行之討論，余亦有同感焉。

Notes and Annotations

- (1) “代表”。He spoke on my behalf, 彼代表我發言。
- (2) “以……名義”。I wrote a letter to thank him in the name of the whole class, 余以全班名義致函向他道謝。
- (3) 後面之 infinitive phrase “to help lay the foundations” 為 “to” 之簡位字。
- (4) “help” 之後美國用法不用 “to”，英用法則加 “to”，“to help to lay”。
- (5) “籠罩”，“隱現”。At the time of the Mukden incident, we had already seen the Second World War looming in the distant horizon, 在滿洲事變之時吾人窺見第二次世界大戰隱現於天際。
- (6) “終”。He failed many times but at long last he succeeded, 彼失敗多次當其後終於成功。
- (7) “同”，“同樣”。表示一如上句相反情形，“disunity and weakness” 同樣。So 指示前句有關字故置於句首，但 “So” 以及他種 adverb “nor” 既置於句首則助動字請在 subject 之前。He was tired and so was I. He does not know that, nor do I.
- (8) “面對”，“臨”，“處於”。Japan's navy has fled to the island waters in the face of defeat, 日本海軍在戰敗後退至日本海。
- (9) “究其根源”，“歸根結底”。His political views, in the last analysis, are essentially utopian in nature, 彼之政見歸根結底要為空想性。
- (10) “珍貴”。precious
- (11) 同 (10)。
- (12) “取”，“以”。We could not but resort to force, 吾人

其不得不用武力。(13)“逼迫”。He helps to do household affairs in the midst of his teaching. 他在教書之暇協助家裏事。(14)形容“conditions”及“well-being”。(15)同(14)。(16)“指示”，“指明”。Black clouds are indicative of rain. 烏雲示雨意。(17)“利”，“善”。Your advice is to his advantage. 汝之勸導於彼有益。(18)“相稱”，“適合”，“適量”。I can only say in an amenable commensuration to our losses, 日本須對吾人損失補償之數款。(19)名詞句即“when it is necessary”。(20)“將思想寫為文字”，“先默想然後將思想寫在紙上”。First meditate, and then commit your thoughts to writing paper)。(21)原為“make the work easier”因該object of work 有解，故該動在 object complement “easier”之後。



吾人由歐戰之中經大國美爭今以人種
 競爭並舉東亞為主則願國強：其目的在
 競爭並舉東亞為主：其目的在
 其。五種基本精神之新又更強。其不絕其
 會願強東亞代表：其目的在國強國強
 其目的在國強國強東亞之主：其目的在
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The comparison of the Republican
 and the Democratic platforms for the
 coming election shows that the Demo-
 cratic platform is a simple, brief statement
 relying on record while the Republi-
 can, in presenting detailed views, and
 their platform with severe criticisms
 against the Administration. The
 Republican platform contains more de-
 tails on domestic issues and is more
 general in foreign policy. Conversely,
 the Democratic platform is brief in domes-
 tic problems and more specific and en-
 phatic in views of foreign policy.
 On war aims both pledge to win
 the war with every resource. The
 Republicans add that the Army and the
 Navy should be higher the competent and
 trained directions of the General Staff
 and the Office of Naval Operations with-
 out civilian interference.
 Regarding international organiza-
 tion the Republicans favor international
 cooperation not by joining a world state.
 They advocate the responsible partici-
 pation by the United States in a con-

THE 1944 COMMON ELECTION PLATFORMS OF THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES OF THE U. S. A. COMPARED

By The National Herald U. S. special correspondent

一九四四年美國大選中共和民主兩黨政綱之比較

自由國際美國特約通訊



The comparison of the Republican and the Democratic platforms for the coming election shows that the Democratic platform is a simple, brief statement relying on record while the Republicans, in presenting detailed views, study their platform with severe criticism against the Administration. The Republican platform contains more details on domestic issues and is more general in foreign policy. Contrarily, the Democratic platform is brief in domestic problems and more specific and emphatic on views of foreign policy.

On war aims both pledge to win the war with every resource. The Republicans add that the Army and the Navy should be under the competent and trained directions of the General Staff and the Office of Naval Operations without civilian interference.

Regarding international organization the Republicans favor international cooperation not by joining a world state. They advocate the responsible participation by the United States in a post-

吾人以今年美國大選中之共和黨與民主黨政綱相較，即可標明民主黨政綱根據事實作簡明之陳述。反之，共和黨政綱則表達意見無微不至，對現政府之批評亦甚嚴正。共和黨對國內問題討論周詳，其外交政策則甚廣泛。反之，民主黨政綱對國內問題極為簡略，而對外交政策之主張則詳細嚴正。

兩黨對大戰目標皆保證以全力作後盾以爭取勝利。共和黨並主張陸海軍應由參謀部及海軍作戰局指揮不受文官干涉，蓋因彼等有訓練且能勝任之故也。

關於國際組織一點，共和黨主張美國贊成國際間合作，但不必加入國際政治組織。彼等主張美國負責參加戰後獨立國間合作機

war cooperative organization between sovereign nations to prevent military aggression and to insure permanent peace. The Democrats pledge to join with other United Nations in the establishment of an international organization based on the principles of sovereignty and equality of all peace-loving states and open to membership of all such states, large or small, for the prevention of aggression and the maintenance of international peace and security.

On the use of force the Republicans wish to develop effective cooperative means to direct the peace forces. They believe that peace and security do not depend on the sanction of force alone but should prevail by virtue of reciprocal interest and spiritual values in the security agreement. The Democrats pledge to make all necessary and effective agreements and arrangements through which nations would make impossible the preparation for war. The world organization must be endowed with the power to employ armed forces to prevent aggression and to preserve peace.

On the method of cooperation the Republicans mention peace forces but without defining the term. The cooperation of nations should concern itself with the basic cause of world disorder. It should promote a world opinion to influence nations to right conduct, to develop international law and to maintain an international tribunal to deal with justifiable disputes. The Democrats specifically favor the maintenance of an international court of justice of which

構，藉以制止國際間軍事上侵略，及保障世

界永久之和平。民主黨則主張，參與同盟

基於獨立平等原則之一切愛好和平國家所建

立之國際機構，國無論大小皆得參與，藉以

制止侵略并保持國際和平及安全。

共和黨對運用武力維持世界和平一點，

表示應發軍有效之合作手段。彼等深望世界

和平及安全不藉恃武力之使用，但對安全協

定，須存有彼此休戚相關，且須在精神上重

視和平及安全，方可有效。民主黨主張決心

訂立一切必要及有效之協定，並與各國磋商

，務使國際間不再有戰爭之準備。因此國際

機構必須授以權力，俾能以武力制止侵略，而保持和平。

共和黨對於國際合作一點雖提及武力和

平，但未加說明。彼等以為國際間應有合作

，謀解決世界紊亂之基本原因，增進世界與

並勸導各國保守正當行動，發揮國際公法效

力，設置國際法庭處理國際間合法之爭執。

民主黨亦贊成設置國際法庭，美國應准為其

the United States shall be a member and the employment of diplomacy, conciliation and arbitration in the settlement of international disputes.

On the conduct of foreign relations the Republicans pledge to keep the people informed of all the agreements with foreign nations and insist that treaties should be made with the advice and consent of the U. S. Senate provided that two-thirds of the senators present concur. The Democrats do not mention this point.

On the Western Hemisphere both favor the good neighbor policy, but the Republicans add that the policy should not be based on reckless squandering of U. S. funds.

On trade the Republicans favor the promotion of worldwide economic stability not only for the world but that in the end the U. S. people may enjoy a high level of employment in an increasingly prosperous world. The Republicans want a fair protective tariff on competitive products to maintain the American standard of living. The Democrats want a freer flow of ideas and goods and to extend the trade policies initiated by the present Administration.

The Democrats support the Atlantic Charter, 'Four Freedoms,' and the United Nations' Declarations to which the Republicans are silent.

On domestic issues the Republicans emphasize state right and avoid the federalisation of government activities. They criticise the New Deal which concentrates all power in the President.

員國，但主張運用外交，調解，及仲裁手段解決國際間爭執。

共和黨對外交之行動表示願以美國與外國所訂立一切協定公佈民衆，但堅決主張一切條約須得參議院三分之二之同意，可訂立。民主黨對於此點則未列入政綱。

關於西半球，兩黨皆贊成善隣政策，惟共和黨補充此點謂善隣政策不應連累美國致有經費上無節制之浪費。

共和黨對於國外貿易誓行推進全世界穩定經濟，此一政策不僅為全世界着想，但終久美國民衆在逐漸繁榮之世界中，就際上可得高水準之享受。共和黨對有競爭性質之商品願採取公平保護稅政策，藉以保持美國生活標準。民主黨主張國際間思想及商品更大之交流，以推行現政府所發動之對外貿易政策。

民主黨誓擁護大西洋憲章，羅斯福總統之四大自由，及聯合國之一切聲明。共和黨對此，則不置一辭。

關於國內問題一層，共和黨強調中央集權，以避免政府活動之地方化。彼等批評羅斯福總統集中全權於總統一身之新政。民主

The Democrats seem to assume that the progress in human welfare lies in the regulation of business and that the protection of civil rights must come through the watchfulness of Washington.

On the question of the Republicans promise permanent fair employment, voice opposition to poll taxes and favor legislation against lynching. The Democrats maintain that the racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all other citizens and share the rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

Agriculturally the Republicans support the modified agricultural adjustment to handle the surplus crops and denounce the confusing farm regulations. The Democrats promise continued price guarantee and crop insurance to aid small farmers, to extend rural electrification and to develop domestic and foreign markets for farm products.

Regarding other domestic issues the Republicans and the Democrats are quite similar in opinion.

黨似為認定大凡福利之進步有賴於上之節制。民衆權利由白宮監視始得有保證。

關於種族問題，共和黨允以永久公平僱用有色人種，并申明反對人頭稅及厘訂法案制止一切處死情事。民主黨主張少數種族及宗教特殊之民衆應與其他公民以平等地位而生存、發展及選舉之權利，並享受憲法所保障之其他權利。

就農業言，共和黨維護農業上修正之調整解決剩餘作物，但反對現行之紊亂農產法規。民主黨誓允繼續保障農產價格及作物保險以利小農，并推廣農村電氣化，及發展國內外農產品市場。

關於其他國內問題，兩黨之政見大致相同。

Notes and Annotations

- (1) “依恃” (與 upon 或 on 通用)。 We have nothing to rely on but our own determination to win the war, 吾人除自身決心爭取勝利外別無依恃。
- (2) “現政府”，即羅斯福總統政府。
- (3) “我謹”， I pledge my word to do that for you, 余保證為汝為之。
- (4) “主張”，“提倡”。 He advocates temperance, 他提倡戒酒。
- (5) “權力”。 He is entitled to it by virtue of his prerogative, 彼有特權享此權利。
- (6) 大西洋憲章全文及譯本「當代文獻」第一期合訂本。
- (7) 羅斯福總統所主張之 freedom of conscience, freedom of expression, freedom from fear, freedom from want.

DR. H. H. KUNG'S SPEECH BEFORE U. S. SENATE

Delivered on August 24, 1944

孔副院長祥熙在美參議院演辭

一九四四年八月二十四日發表



Mr. President, and Members of the Senate: I am grateful for your invitation to address you today. Sometime ago (1) you conferred (2) a similar high honor on Madame Chiang Kai-shek. We know this honor is not individual, but an honor to the Chinese nation. China thanks you.

The United States and China have always maintained cordial relations seldom paralleled (3) in the history of nations. Time and again (4) when China's national interest was in jeopardy, (5) the United States unflinchingly came to her side by upholding those great principles by which the independence and integrity of nations are preserved. In the midst of world chaos, our traditional friendships have deepened into even more intimate ties of partnership in a common struggle against the forces of tyranny and violence. Recently Vice-President Wallace visited China. Now your President is sending on an important mission Major-General Hurley and Mr. Donald Nelson. Such timely visits of those and other distinguished Americans are significant and indicative of your steadfast friendship.

On this occasion, I like to voice again

主席先生及參議院議員諸君：敝人承邀今日來此與諸君致詞，誠感榮幸。若干時前，君等曾以同樣之殊榮昇諸蔣主席夫人。余等均知此一榮譽並非個人之榮譽，而為我國家之榮譽。敝國謹向諸君表示謝意。

我中美兩國經常保持友好之關係，此於國際歷史中罕見其匹。敝國國運艱危之時，貴國每以支持各國獨立完整賴以保全之偉大原則而助中國。此證諸既往，固歷驗不爽者也。我中美兩國傳統友誼，於禦世艱難之中，益趨密切無間。於反抗暴虐凶殘惡勢力之共同奮鬥中，結為休戚相關之戰友。最近貴國副總統華萊士曾赴敝國訪問，羅斯福總統今復派赫爾利少將及納爾遜兩氏赴華商洽重要任務。彼等及貴國其他要員之赴華訪問，至有意義，且足表示貴國對我之堅定友誼。

本人今日在此願再言及我國人民對貴國

the sense of indebtedness the Chinese people feel for the assistance you of America—the President, Congress and people—have given us in credits, loans and Lend-Lease goods which have helped us to tide over some of our many difficulties. Two Congressional actions also call (6) for special recognition. One is the voluntary relinquishment of your extraterritorial rights in China. The other is the revision of your immigration laws so far as they affect persons of Chinese nationality. These two actions are further demonstrations of your friendliness and far-sighted statesmanship.

I shall try in a few minutes to tell you of the efforts of the Chinese people in the prosecution of war and China's aims for peace of tomorrow. When war broke on China—more than seven years ago—they took up arms (7) against an enemy she knew to be infinitely better equipped and better prepared. Fighting alone in a world yet (8) to awake to the ways of the aggressors, China knew that between slavery and freedom, between living in ignominy and death, there is but (9) one choice. With no small measure of appreciation for the materials she was able to secure at the time from the Soviet Union, Britain and America, China fought on stubbornly, relentlessly and regardless of sacrifices. She never doubted for a moment that there could be no compromise where great principles were at stake.

Then in December, 1941, came the infamous attack on Pearl Harbor, followed by the fall of Hongkong, Malaya

總統國會及人民所予我貸款及租借物資協助

之誠意無以，凡此協助，對我至有助益。我

若丁困難、均賴此安然渡過。貴國國會之爾

大行動、亦須加以特別認識。一為貴國自動

取消在華治外法權。一為修正貴國移民律中

涉及中國國籍人士之條款。此二行動，益足

指明貴國之友誼，及目光遠大之政治風度。

本人擬以數分鐘之時間，向諸君一述敵

國人民之作戰努力，及我國之戰後和平目的

。七年以前，中國軍事爆發時，彼等拿起武

器，毅然與設備遠較優越之敵國作戰。

敵國軍閥扼腕之時，舉世對侵略

者之罪徑，猶欠認識，但我自知奴役與自由

，忍辱苟生與光榮殺死之間，唯有一途可循

，敵國有日獲及蘇英美各盟邦之物資協助，

對其威懾莫名。且受此鼓勵，益堅定勇敢與

敵作戰。一切犧牲在所不顧，吾人堅信偉大

原則瀕危之際，決無妥協可能。此一信念，

向未改變。

一九四一年十二月間、日寇對珍珠港襲

擊無恥之偷襲、香港、馬來亞、荷屬東印度

Nazi hordes were at the gates of Moscow?

Fortunately for mankind, victory is now in sight. (13) While the war in Europe speeds to a victorious end, while we are redoubling our efforts in bringing about a swift and utter defeat of Japan as presaged by the distinguished President of the United States on his recent visits to the Pacific bases, the time has arrived for forward thinking people to plan for the peace that is dawning. In this great task of peace planning the United States has again shown her farsightedness and leadership. In the past few months, in the midst of your preoccupation with the war effort, you have called together a series of international conferences to plan for production and distribution of food for the relief and rehabilitation of the devastated countries and stabilization of currencies and economic reconstruction and development of the world. By these conferences you have shown the way to international cooperation which will bring security and prosperity to all the world.

Above all, we must organize peace itself. We must put an end (14) to man's inhumanity to man. If civilization is (15) to survive, we must make impossible the recurrence of war with all its horrors and cruelties. At this very moment in Washington, a conference is sitting to devise machinery for world security. On this subject I assert that China thinks along the same line as our great allies. We are prepared to back up a properly

利亞邊界，其於戰爭之影響又將如何。

勝利現已在望，此實為人類之大幸。惟茲歐洲戰事勝利可期，吾人加倍努力及早徹底殲滅日本（貴國英明領袖羅斯福總統最近出過太平洋某地對此已作預言）之際，思想遠大之人士，為已露曙光之和平預作籌劃，此其時矣。貴國於此計劃和平之偉大任務中，復表明遠大之目光及卓越之領導。貴國在過去數月內，於集力作戰之時，曾召開多次國際會議。計劃用以賑濟受戰事蹂躪國家之食物之生產與分配，與增進幣制之穩定，經濟之建設，及世界之發展。貴國藉此類會議，已指明可以安全繁榮昇平全世界之國際合作之道路。

最要者吾人必須組織和平本身，而於人對人之殘暴，必須阻止。如文明能得存在，吾人必須使戰爭及與戰爭俱來之所有恐怖與殘忍，不再發生。此間華盛頓正在舉行一種會議，設計世界安全機構。關於此事，余敢斷言中國與我偉大盟邦之思想，均屬一致，

conferred world organization with all we have in the enforcement of peace. For the Chinese Government and people I am privileged to say here that in all matters of international cooperation we wholeheartedly support the policies of the United States, which we are convinced are founded on the same ideals of justice and decency which the Chinese people traditionally cherish.

The question has sometimes been asked whether China will emerge from this war a democratic nation capable of collaborating with other democracies and whether the Chinese National Government commands the support of its people. It would be very bold of me were I to tell you that everything is perfection in China. We, like most others, have difficulties and weaknesses, but our difficulties and weaknesses are accentuated (17) by the strain of seven long years of war and accentuated by China's total mobilization for total contribution to the war effort. But I assure you that the Chinese Government is irrevocably committed to a democratic program and China is well on the way towards full development of modern democracy.

China's national policy is based upon what (18) is commonly known as the Three Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen—the principles of national independence, political democracy and economic welfare of the people. These principles are similar to the immortal pronouncement of your Great President Lincoln: "A government of the people, by the people and for the

吾人深信以現在之形勢，及行適當組織之世界機構，以維持和平。余有極代表中國之政府及人民，在此聲明凡有實際合作之舉，吾人對美國之政策均深表贊同。吾人深信美國之政策，即係世界中之唯一向正義之正義與公正之觀念。

故有人謂將公認之中國，是否可以與各民主國家合作之民主國家，其政府是否為其人民之擁護。

余知吾輩：中國之一切事務均應完備無瑕，自應過於大膽。吾人並非其大多數國家，自有其困難與弱點。吾人之困難與弱點，因七年長戰之需求，及以全部力量貢獻於作戰努力而顯。但余深信中國政府堅定推行民主計劃，刻正逐漸發展。

代之民主國家。中國國策乃係吾輩所公知之孫中山先生之三民主義：即民族民權與民生主義。民主主義，與美國之民主主義，其名稱與實質，均有其共同之點。孫先生於其遺囑中，曾言：「余致力國民革命，凡四十年，其目的在使中國成爲一民主國家。」

people." In formulating these principles, Dr. Sun was inspired by the teachings of China's philosophers as well as by the political thinkers of the west. These principles embody (19) the ideals and aspirations of all the freedom-loving peoples everywhere. It is because the Chinese people are convinced that the National Government is capable of and definitely committed to carrying out the democratic program as laid down by Dr. Sun Yat-sen that they have stood solidly behind it and its Leader, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, during nearly two decades of national revolution and war against aggression.

Even in the midst of war when there exists an inevitable tendency to concentrate power in the Central Government, we have introduced and carried out number of measures with the view (20) to preparing the people for representative government. I refer to the People's Political Council which is sometimes described as the wartime Parliament, the new district system which promotes local self-government; and the resolution of Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang to convene within one year after the conclusion of the war a national congress to adopt a permanent constitution and to put into effect a national system of representative government.

Our hope is for world freedom and security. China has a long democratic tradition, and that tradition is strong in our people. If there is any contribution which the Chinese people can make to the world, it is our emphasis on the

響，正與西方政治思想家之影響相若。惟願
各地所有愛好自由之理想與期望，實皆包羅
於此項主義之中。因中國人民相信國民政府
力能而且決意實現中山先生所奠定之民主計
劃，故當進行國民革命及反侵略戰爭之數十
年中，彼等皆英勇擁護國民政府及 蔣委員
長。

卸任戰爭期中，必然趨向以權力集中於
中央政府時，吾人已引用並實行若干志在使
人民準備實行代議政府之措施。余所指者，
為有時被稱為戰時國會之國民參政會。提倡
地方自治政府之新縣制。及國民黨中央執行
委員會之決議，在戰爭結束一年以內召開國
民大會，以通過永久憲法，實現全國代議政
府制。

中國所希望者，厥為世界之自由與安寧
。中國具有悠久之民主傳統，而此種傳統在
我國民間甚為強烈。如我中國人民，對於世
界所有締造之貢獻，則為吾人之取視民主制

spiritual and moral as the political and social foundations of democracy. The Confucian concept of a "Great Commonwealth" was adopted by Dr. Sun Yat-sen who enjoined his people not only to build a Republic, but also to strive toward the realization of world commonwealth in which all nations great and small live in peace and equality and all peoples shall be protected in their inalienable rights and assured enjoyment of the fruits of their labor.

The United Nations have now the unique opportunity to work together toward that ideal. They may well learn from the great American experiment in which 48 states enjoying their own rights, resolved as a union in a comparatively short period of time to achieve the greatest measure of unity and prosperity. Peace and democracy can only be realized, as our sages taught us long ago, when the big have learned to serve the small, and the strong (21) the weak. In the words of Christ: (22) 'Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your minister, and will be chief among you, let him be servant.'

度之精神與道德，以及政治與社會之基礎，

孔子世界大同之理想，為孫中山先生所採用

• 竊不僅欲領導其人民建設一共和國，且領導其奮鬥，以實現世界大同。在此世界中，所有各國，無論大小，均將處於和平與平等之境。所有人民之天賦權利，均可獲得保障，並能享受其勞力之結果。

聯合國現有一獨特之機會，可以向此理想共同努力，我聯合國家以學習美國偉大之試驗，各享本州權利之四十八州 在較短時間內，融合為一體，以臻致最大之統一與繁榮。惟有如我國聖人在久遠以前所教誨吾人者，即惟有在大能事小，強能事弱時，和平與民主方能實現。如用耶穌之言，則為「你們中間，誰願為大。就必作你們的用人。在你們中間誰願為首，就必作衆人的僕人。」（譯者按：原文見馬可福音第十章，第四三及四四節）。

Notes and Annotations

(1) 一九四三年二月十八日蔣夫人曾在美國會演說（原文見「當代文獻」第一冊）。

(2) “授”，“予”，“昇” (t. v.). He has been conferred a favour (gift, degree, rank), 彼得授恩典（恩賜，學位，官階）。又 confer with, (int. v.), “討論”，“研究”。 He will confer with you on the subject, 彼將與君討論此事。(3) Past participle 形容 “relations”。“莫與比倫”，“無匹”。 His eloquence in speech cannot be paralleled, 彼口才之佳莫與比倫。(4) “時時”，“輒數”。 I mentioned that fact to you time and again (=again and

again, now and again) 我再三以此事實告君。(5) “在危險中”。 His investment is in jeopardy, 彼所投資陷入危險。(6) “需要”, “須有”。 Patriotism calls for sacrifice, 愛國心須有犧牲精神。又作“取”。 He is calling for wine, 彼正令人取酒。又作“叫”, “催”。 He has called for a car, 他已催車。(7) “作戰”。 We took up arms against the Japanese to secure peace, 吾人為謀得和平與日本作戰。(8) “尚未”, “尤欠”。 I have many letters yet to write, 余有信數封尚未寫。(9) “only”。 (10) “尤甚”, “更”。 Of the three boys I like the youngest in particular, 三童中余特別最幼者。(11) “陳述”。 His compliments are couched in the most fitting terms, 彼以極適當之詞表示敬意。(12) “隨後”, “接踵”。 Misfortunes often bring others in their wake, 災禍往往相踵而至。(13) “在望”, “看得見”。 After sailing an hour, our place of destination was in sight, 舟行半小時, 目的地現於眼前。(14) “制止”, “阻止”。 The best way to put an end to Japan's militarism is to disarm Japan, 根絕日本軍閥最佳方法為解除日本武裝。(15) verb “be” + infinitive 表示他人決定之意。 “I go”, 之“動詞”係自動; “I am to go”, 他人決定。(16) subjunctive mood 之 subordinate clause 介紹連接字 “if” 常省略, 以動詞或助動詞置於 subject 之後。例如 Were I = If I were, Had I been = If I had been; Should I be = If I should be。(17) “加重”, “更需”。 Accentuated by national rehabilitation and reconstruction, the industrialization of China is the most urgent problem for us to tackle, 中國工業化問題因善後建國益為迫切需要, 成為吾人應注意解決之問題。(18) 介紹其後之字句。(19) “包括”, “包羅”。 All the teachings of Confucius are practically embodied in the “Book of Analects” 孔子學說於論語中概括無遺。(20) “目的在於”, “宗旨為”。“to” 字與 “with a view” 作用成爲一 phrase “to” 之後, 概用 gerund, 不用 infinitive. He comes here with a view to settling down, 彼來此之目的為在此地安家。(21) The “strang” verb 與前句同, 即 “have learned to serve”, 故省略。(22) 此句見於新約馬可福音第十章第四十三, 四十四節。

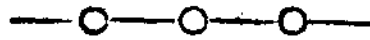
THE TEXT OF THE FOUR-POWER JOINT SECURITY

ORGANIZATION PROPOSALS

Released on October 9, 1944

國際安全組織建議案全文

一九四四年十月九日公布



There should be established an international organization under the title of the United Nations, the charter of which should contain provisions necessary to give effect to the proposals which follow.

Chapter I. Purposes.

The purposes of the organization should be:

1. To maintain international peace and security and to that end take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace and the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means a just and equitable settlement of international disputes which may lead to a breach of the peace.
2. To develop friendly relations among nations and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace.
3. To achieve international cooperation in the solution of international, economic, social and other humanitarian problems.
4. To afford a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the achievement of these common ends.

Chapter II. Principles.

茲建議設立一國際組織，名稱為「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

本組織之宗旨為：

- (一) 維持國際和平與安全，採取有效及集體步驟以防止並消除對於和平之威脅，並制止侵略行動或任何其他破壞和平行動，並以和平方法解決足以破壞和平之國際爭端。
- (二) 發展國際友誼關係，並採取其他適當步驟，以加強普遍和平。
- (三) 在國際經濟社會人道等問題方面，求國際之合作。
- (四) 在一定期間內，應以本組織為中心，協調各國行動，以達成上述目的。

第二章 原則

The pursuit of the purposes mentioned in Chapter I the organization and its members should act in accordance with the following principles: 1. The organization is based on the principles of sovereign equality of all peace loving states. 2. All members of the organization have undertaken, in order to assure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership in the organization, to fulfill the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the charter. 3. All members of the organization shall settle their disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security are not endangered. 4. All members of the organization shall refrain their international relations from the threat of use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the organization. 5. All members of the Organization shall give every assistance to the organization undertaken by it in accordance with the provisions of the charter. 6. All members of the organization shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which preventive or enforcement action is being undertaken by the organization. 7. The organization should ensure that states not members of the organization act in accordance with these principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Chapter III. Membership.

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

Chapter IV. Principal organs.

The organization should have as its

爲實現第一條所述各項宗旨起見，本組

織之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爲

基礎。（二）會員國應依據會章，各盡其責，

以保障會員國權利與利益。（三）會員國應

以和平方法解決其爭端，俾免危及國際和平

與安全。（四）會員國在國際關係中，應

避免與本組織宗旨不符之武力使用或武力威

脅。（五）會員國對於本組織根據會章所採

之行動，應盡力予以援助。（六）凡受本組織

制裁之國家，各會員國不得給予任何援助。

（七）本組織應維持國際和平與安全所需之

組織應使非會員國之行動符合上述宗旨。

第三章 會員

凡愛好和平之國家，均得加入爲本組織之會員。

第四章 主要機關

（一）本組織應有以下之主要機關：

principal organs: A. General Assembly. B. A security council. C. An international court of justice, D. A secretariat- 2. The organization should have such subsidiary agencies as may be found necessary.

Chapter V. The general assembly.

Section A. Composition. All members of the organization should be members of the general assembly and should have a number of representatives to be specified in the charter.

Section B. Functions and powers. 1. The general assembly should have the right to consider the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any member or member of the organization or by the security council and to make recommendations with regards to any such principles. Any such questions on which action is necessary should be referred to the security council by the general assembly either before or after discussion. The general assembly should not on its own initiative make recommendations on any matter relating to the maintenance of international peace and security which is being dealt with by the security council. 2. The general assembly should be empowered to admit new members to the organization upon recommendation of the security council. 3. The general assembly should, upon recommendation of the security council, be empowered to suspend from the exercise of any rights or privileges of membership any member of the organization against

(甲)大會 (乙)安全理事會 (丙)國際法院。(丁)秘書處。(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，并得對於上述任何問題有所建議。任何

此類問題，若須採取行動，無論已否討論，

均應由大會移交安全理事會。大會不得自動

對於任何有關維持國際和平與安全而，為安

全理事會所處理之問題有所建議。(二)經

安全理事會之建議，大會應有權接受新會員

國。(三)經安全理事會之建議，大會得停

止任何被安全理事會制裁之會員國之任何權

利或利益，此項被停止之權利與利益，經安

which preventive or enforcement action shall have been taken by the security council. The exercise of the rights and privileges thus suspended may be restored by decision of the security council. The general assembly should be empowered, upon recommendation of the security council, to exclude from the organization any member of the organization which persistently violates the principles contained in the charter. 4. The general assembly should elect the nonpermanent members of the security council and the members of the economic and social council provided for in Chapter IX. It should be empowered to elect upon recommendation of the security council the secretary general of the organization. It should perform such functions in relation to the election of the judges for the international court of justice as may be conferred upon it by the statute of the court. 5. The general assembly should apportion the expense among the members of the organization and should be empowered to approve the budget of the organization. 6. The general assembly should make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international cooperation in political, economic and social fields and of adjusting situations likely to impair the general welfare. 7. The general assembly should make recommendations for the cooperation of the policies of economic, social and other specialized agencies brought into relation with the organization in accordance with agreements between such agencies and the organization. 8. The general

本組織之宗旨，大會應有權
會之職員，得由任何國家之國民
予以選出。(四)大會得選出安全理事會之
非常理事及第九章所規定之經濟及社會理事
會之理事，大會得選出秘書長之候選，應
由理事會中組織秘書長。如國際法院規程，
將有關選舉國際法院法官之職務交與大會，
大會應執行此項職務。(五)大會得向各
國之國民，並向本組織之職員(六)
大會得促進政治、經濟、社會及各方面之
國際合作，以及調查任何可能妨害公共幸福
之情形，應予研究，並提供辦法。
(七)大會應有權，使本組織與各專門
組織發生關係，以便在經濟、社會及科學等
專門範圍，與該項之組織採取合作。(八)
大會得向各國政府及其他國際組織之代表

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 shall 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. Other questions the decision of the general assembly should be made by a simple majority vote.

Section D. Procedure 1. The general assembly shall meet in regular sessions and in such special sessions as occasion may require. 2. The general assembly should adopt its own rules of procedure and elect its president for each session. 3. The general assembly should be empowered to set up such bodies and agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions.

Chapter VI. The security council

Section A. Composition. The security council consists of one representative of each of eleven members of the organization. Representatives of the United States

and the United Kingdom shall be permanent members, and the other six members shall be elected by the general assembly for terms of office of two years.

Section B. Voting. 1. Each permanent member shall have a veto. 2. Decisions of the council on matters of international peace and security shall be made by a majority of nine members, including the concurring votes of the permanent members. 3. Decisions on matters other than those mentioned in paragraph 2 shall be made by a majority of seven members, including the votes of the permanent members. 4. Decisions on matters of procedure shall be made by a majority of five members.

Section C. Procedure. 1. The council shall meet in regular sessions and in such special sessions as occasion may require. 2. The council shall adopt its own rules of procedure and elect its president for each session. 3. The council shall be empowered to set up such bodies and agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions.

第六章 安全理事會

第一節 組織：安全理事會，應由十一會員國之代表一人組織之，美、英、蘇、中、法、

es of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Republic of China, and, in due course, France, should have permanent seats. The general assembly should elect six states to fill the non-permanent seats. In the first election of the non-permanent members three should be chosen by the general assembly for one year terms and three for two year terms.

Section B. Principal functions and powers. 1. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the organization, members of the organization should by the charter confer on the security council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and should agree that in carrying out these duties under this responsibility it should act on their behalf. (5) 2. In discharging these duties the security council should act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the organization. 3. The specific powers conferred on the security council in order to carry out its duties are laid down in Chapter VII. 4. All members of the organization should obligate themselves to accept the decisions of the security council and to carry them out in accordance with the provisions of the charter. 5. In order to promote the establishment of international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments, the security council with the assistance of the military staff committee referred

以及將來法國之代表應為常任理事。大會應選舉六國充非常任理事，此六國之任期定為兩年，每年更換三國，第一次選舉時，大會應指定三國任期一年，另三國任期二年，非常任理事任滿時，不得立即連選連任。

第二節 主要職權：(一) 為保證本組

織行動迅速與有效起見，各會員國應於會中，

以維持國際和平與安全主要責任加諸安

全理事會，各會員國并應同意，安全理事會

於執行此項職務時，應代表各會員國。(二)

安全理事會於執行此項職務時，應遵奉本組

織之宗旨與原則。(三) 為執行此項職務而

給予安全理事會之特定權力詳第八章。(四)

各會員國應負責接受安全理事會之決議，並

依據會章，予以執行。(五) 為增進國際和

平安全之樹立與維持，而儘量避免世界人力

物力之用於軍備起見，安全理事會藉軍事自

to in Chapter VIII, Section 1, paragraph 9, should have the responsibility, for formulating plans for the establishment of a system of registration of armaments for submission to the members of the organization.

Section C Voting, Note The question of voting procedure in the security council is still under consideration.

Section D Procedure 1. The security council should be so organized as to be able to function continuously and each state member of the security council should be appropriately represented at the headquarters of the organization. It may hold meetings at such other places as in its judgement may be best to facilitate its work. There should be periodic meetings at which each state member of the security council could in it (6) So desire be represented by a member of the government or some other special representative. 2. The security council should be empowered to set up such bodies or agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions including regional subcommittees of the military staff committee. 3. The security council should adopt its own rules of procedure, including the methods of selecting its president. 4. Any member of the organization should participate in the discussions of any question brought before the security council whenever the security council considers that the interests of that member of the organization are specially affected. 5. Any member of the organization not having a seat on the

軍委員會之協助，應負責擬具獨立管制軍備

制之計畫，向各會員國建議。

第三章 投票：關於安全理事會中投票

程序，尚未決定。

第四節 程序：(一) 安全理事會之組織

應由各會員國之駐地工作。每一理事國應

有常用駐會代表，倘有必要，安全理事會議

可在他處舉行。安全理事會應有定期會議，

各理事國得派政府大 或其他特殊代表出席

。(二) 安全理事會認為執行職務有必要時。

應設立各種機關，包括軍事參謀委員會之地

方分會。(三) 安全理事會之議事程序，由

該會自定之。包括推選其主席之方式。(四)

倘安全理事會對任何提出該會問題之討論，

認為某一非常理事會員之利益，將受特殊影

響，則該理事會員得參加討論。(五) 任

何非理事會員國，或任何未曾參加本組織

security council and any state not a member of the organization, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the security council, should be invited to participate in the discussion relating to the dispute.

Chapter VII. Court of Justice

1. There should be an international court of justice which should constitute the principal judicial organ of the organization. 2. The court should be constituted and should function in accordance with a statute which should be annexed to and be a part of the charter of the organization. 3. The statute of the court of international justice should be either (a) the statute of the permanent court of international justice, continued in force with such modifications as may be desirable, or (b) a new statute in the preparation of which the statute of the permanent court of international justice should be used as a basis. 4. All members of the international organization should in so far as possible be parties to the statute of the international court of justice. 5. Conditions under which states or members of the organization may become parties to the statute of the international court of justice should be determined in each case by the general assembly upon recommendation of the security council.

Chapter VIII. Arrangements for the maintenance of international peace and including prevention and suppression of aggression.

Section A. Pacific settlement of disputes. 1. The security council should

之國家，若係爭端之一造，均應被參加安全

理員會關於該項爭端之討論。

第七章 國際法院

(一) 應設立一國際法院，以爲本組織

之主要司法機關。(二) 該法院之組織與職

務，應視其辦理，此項規程，應附於本組

織會章之後，作爲會章之一部份。(三) 國

際法院之規程應爲：(甲) 國際常設法院原

有之規程，而略加修改者，或爲(乙) 以國

際常設法院之規程爲根據，而草成之新規程

• (四) 所有會員國，均應爲參加此項國際

法院規程之一份子。(五) 非會員國成爲

參加此項國際法院規程一份子之條件，應由

大會經安全理事會建議，就個別情形決定

之。

第八章 維持國際和平與安全 **包括防止與抑制** **侵略之辦法**

第一節 和平解決爭端：(一) 安全理

be empowered to investigate any dispute in order to determine whether its continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. 2. Any state whether member of the organization or not may bring any such dispute or situation to the attention in the general assembly or of the security council. 3. The parties to any dispute the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security should obligate themselves, first of all to seek a solution by resorting on mediation, conciliation, or arbitration of judicial settlement or other measures of their own choice. The security council should call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means. 4. If nevertheless the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 3 above fail to settle it by the means indicated in that paragraph, they should obligate themselves to refer it to the security council. The security council should in each case decide whether or not the continuance of the particular dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security and accordingly, whether the security council should deal with the dispute, and if so, whether it should take action, under paragraph 5. 5. The security council should be empowered, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 3 above, to recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment. 6. Justifiable disputes

事應有權調查任何爭端，或任何可能引起
國際危險或爭端之情勢，以決定其存在是否
將危及國際和平與安全之維持。(一)任何一
國不論其是否會員國，得將其項爭端或情
勢，提請大會或安全理事會注意。(二)各會
員國如有任何可能危及國際和平與安全之爭
端時，應負義務：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，尋求解決，安全理事會應令各
會員國以此種方法解決其爭端。(三)有爭
端之各會員國，若不能以上述和平方法解決
其爭端，則該會員國應負義務將爭端提交安
全理事會，安全理事會對每一爭端，應先決
定其繼續存在，是否將威脅國際和平與安全
之維持，並決定應將該爭端交安全理事會是否應處
理此項爭端，以及應如何處理，安全理事會是
否應根據第五項採取行動。(四)在第三項
所述爭端之任何階段，安全理事會應有權建
議適當之程序或方法。(五)在尋常情
形下，司法性質之爭端，應提交國際法院，

should normally be referred to the international court of justice. The security council should be empowered to refer to the court for advice, legal questions connected with other disputes. 7. The provisions of paragraph 1 to 6 of Section A should not apply to situations or disputes arising out of matters which by international law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the state concerned.

Section B—Determinations of threats to the peace or acts of aggression and action with respect thereto. 1. Should the security council deem that a failure to settle a dispute in accordance with procedures indicated in paragraph three of Section A, or in accordance with its recommendations made under paragraph five of Section A, constitutes a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security, it should take any measures necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the organization. 2. In general the security council should determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression and should make recommendations or decide upon the measures to be taken to maintain or restore peace and security. 3. The security council should be empowered to determine what diplomatic, economic or other measures not involving the use of armed force, should be employed to give effect to its decisions, and call upon members of the organ-

安全理事會應有權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)

第七節中第一項至第六項之規定，不適用於國際法所認為屬於國內法權範圍以內之事項所產生之情勢或爭端。

第二節 威脅和平及侵略行為之判斷，及應付此種情形之辦法：(一)倘安全理事會認為某一爭端，未照第一節第三項所規定之程序，或未照第一節第五項所述之建議解決，即成爲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，爲之存在，並應建議或決定維持或恢復和平及安全之辦法。(三)安全理事會國有權決定採取武力以外之外交，經濟，或其他辦法，以實施其決議，並應請本組織之會員國，執行此種辦法。此種辦法，可包括鐵路、海運、航空、郵電、無線電、及其他

ization to apply such measures. Such measures may include complete or partial interruption of rail, sea, air postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication and the severance of diplomatic and economic relations.

4. Should the security council consider such measures to be inadequate, it should be empowered to take such action by air, naval or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade and operations by air, sea or land forces of members of the organization.

5. In order that all members of the organization should contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, they should undertake to make available to the security council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements concluded among themselves, armed forces, facilities and assistance necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security. Such agreement or agreements should govern the numbers and types of forces and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided. The special agreement or agreements should be negotiated as soon as possible and should in each case be subject to the approval by the security council and to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their constitutional processes.

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

交通工具之全部或局部停止，及外交與經濟關係之斷絕。(四)如安全理事會認為此項辦法，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了陸空軍封鎖，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，應於安全理事會發表命令時，按照其相互訂定之特別協定，負責提供必要之軍隊，及其他便利與援助，以達到維持國際和平及安全之目的。此項協定，應規定軍隊之數目與種類，以及便利及援助之性質。此項協定，應儘速訂定，每一協定，應由安全理事會核准，並由各締約國依照其憲法手續批准之。(六)為使本組織得以採取緊急軍事措施起見，本組織之會員國，應將其國內空軍部隊加以準備，以便實行國際共同行動時，即可調遣，此項部隊之實力與準備之程

immediately available by the members of the organization national air contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action should be determined by the security council with the assistance of the military staff committee within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in paragraph five above. 7. The action required to carry out the decision of the security council for the maintenance international peace and security should be taken by all the members of the organization in cooperation or by some of them as the security council may determine. This undertaking should be carried out by the members of the organization by their own action and through action of the appropriate specialized organizations and agencies of which they are members. 8. Plans for the application of armed forces should be made by the security council with the assistance of the military staff committee referred to in paragraph nine below. 9. There should be established a military staff committee, the functions of which should be to advise and assist the security council on all questions relating to the security council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, to the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal to the regulation of armaments, and to possible disarmament. It should be

度，及其共同出動之計劃，應由安全理事會
軍事參謀委員會之協助，在特別規定範圍
內，或、第五項條約之協定範圍內決定之。

(七) 為執行安全理事會關於維持和平與安
全之決議，採之行動，該由本組織全體會
員國共同擔任，或依安全理事會之決定，由
若干會員國擔任之，此項義務，應由會員國
採取單獨行動，或經由其所參加之各種組織
機關，採取共同行動以履行之。(八) 武力
應用之計劃，應由安全理事會藉下列第九項
所述之軍事參謀委員會之協助擬定之。(九)

本組織設立一軍事參謀委員會，其職務為
助與貢獻意見與安全理事會，如關於維持和
平軍事需要問題，如提供安全理事會軍隊之
應用及統帥問題，軍備之管理問題，及可
能之軍備問題，並 安全理事會之下：對於
提供安全理事會之武力，負戰爭上之指揮責

responsible under the security council for the strategic direction of armed forces placed at the disposal of the security council. The committee should be composed of the chiefs of staff of the permanent members of the security council or their representatives. Any member of the organization not permanently represented on the committee should be invited by the committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the committee's responsibilities require that such a state should participate in its work. The questions of command of forces should be worked out subsequently. 10. The members of the organization should join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the security council. 11. Any state, whether member of the organization or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of measures which have been decided upon by the security council should have the right to consult the security council in regard to a solution of those problems.

Section C.—Regional Arrangements.

1. Nothing in the charter should preclude the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided such arrangement of agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the organization. The security

任。委員會應由安全理事會中擔任軍事之

參謀總長或代表組織。本組織中之任何會

員國，凡在軍事參謀委員會中之未有適當代

表者，如該國之工作對於執行國際義務上

為重要時，應即邀請該國參加，以收協同之

效。關於軍事問題，應由該國商討，其

應由該國商討。 (十) 本組織之任何會員國

有安全理事會之決議： (十) 任何國參

，不論是否本組織之會員國，如能執行安

全理事會之決議，而發生重要問題，及該

問題時，應有權與安全理事會商討，以協助

決此項問題。

第三節 區域辦法： (一) 本組織章程

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

安全之條件。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

Council should encourage settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies, either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the security council. 2. The security council should, where appropriate, utilize such arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority, but no enforcement action should be taken under regional arrangement or by regional agencies without the authorization of the security council. 3. The security council should, at all times, be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Chapter IX Arrangements for International Economic and Social Cooperation.

Section A — Purpose and Relationships. 1. With the view to the creation of conditions of stability well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations, the organization should facilitate solutions of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems and promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The responsibility for the discharge of this function should be vested in the general assembly and under the authority of the general assembly, in an economic and social council. 2. The various specialized economic, social and other organizations and agencies would have responsibilities

事會對於地方爭執，應及因依該等事國之請求以安全理事會之授權，利用此項區域辦法及區域組織以解決之。(二)安全理事會認為必要時，得利用此項辦法或組織，以執行其權力下應採取之行動。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，區域組織，為維持國際和平及安全所採取之行動或將採取之行動，應經常得有完全之情報。

第九章 國際經濟與社會合作辦法

第一節 宗旨與關係：(一) 為達成國

際間和平友好關係所必需之安定與幸福情況起見，本組織應設法便利國際經濟社會以及其他人道問題之解決，並促進對人權與基本自由之尊重，執行此項任務之責任，應由大會及在大會權力下所設立之經濟與社會理事會負之。(二) 各經濟社會等組織，應對其章程所規定之範圍內事件，各負其責，

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 determined by an agreement between the economic and social and the appropriate authorities of the specialized organization or agency' subject to approval by the general assembly.

Section B—Composition and Voting. The economic and social council should consist of representatives of 18 members of the organization. The states to be represented for this purpose should be elected by the general assembly for terms of three years. Each state should have one representative, who should have one vote.

Section C.—Decisions of economic and social council be taken by a simple majority vote of those present and voting. 1. The economic and social council should be empowered: a. To carry out, within the scope of its functions, recommendations of the general assembly. b. To make recommendations, on its own initiative, with respect to international economic, social and other humanitarian matters. c. To receive and consider reports from the economic, social and other organizations or agencies brought into relationship with the organization and to coordinate their activities through consultations with, and recommendations to, such organizations or agencies. d. To examine the administrative budgets of such specialized organizations or agencies

每一此項組織，應與本組織發生關係，其條

件應由經濟與社會理事會與各該組織約定。

而經山大會批准。

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，各世代表，有一投票權。經濟與社會之決議，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) 接受並考慮各項有關經濟社會組織之報告，並經由商洽與建議而和調各項有關組織工作。(四) 審查此項有關組織之之行政預算，並對此項預算提供意見。(五) 使秘書長得對安全理事會

with a view to making recommendations to the organizations or agencies concerned. To enable the secretary general to provide information to the security council. f. To assist the security council upon its request and their functions within the general scope of its competence as may be assigned to it by the general assembly.

Section D. — Organization and Procedure. 1. The economic and social council should set up an economic commission, a social commission and such other commissions as may be required. These commissions should consist of experts. There should be a permanent staff which would constitute a part of the secretariat of the organization. 2. The economic and social council should make suitable arrangements for representatives of the specialized organizations or agencies to participate without vote in its deliberations and in those of the commission established by it. 3. The economic and social council should adopt its own rules of procedure and the method of selecting its president.

Chapter X. The Secretariat

1. There should be a Secretariat comprising a secretary-general and such staff as may be required. The secretary-general should be the chief administrative officer of the organization. He should be elected by the general assembly, on recommendation of the security council, for such term and under such condition as are specified in the charter. 2. The secretary-general

供給情報。(六)對於完全理事會，應予請求時，予以協助。(七)執行大會指定之其他有關工作。

第四章 機構與程序 (一) 經濟與社會理事會，應設立一經濟委員會，一社會委員會，及其他必需之委員會，此項委員會，應由專家組成之，並應有常川辦事人員，該項人員，應為本組織秘書處之一部份。(二) 經濟與社會理事會，應允許各該特種組織，派遣代表，參加該理事會及其所設立之若干委員會之討論，但無投票權。(三) 經濟與社會理事會應自訂議事程序，以及其推選主席之方式。

第十章 秘書處

(一) 秘書處包括一秘書長，及若干必要辦事人員，秘書長應為本組織行政人員之首長，由大會經安全理事會之推薦而選舉之。其任期與條件，於會章中規定之。(二) 秘書處應充大會安全理事會，以及經濟與社會

should act in that capacity in all meetings of the general assembly of the security council, and of the economic and social council and should make an annual report to the general assembly on the work of the organization. 3. The secretary-general should have the right to bring to the attention of the security council any matter which in his opinion may threaten international peace and security.

Chapter XI. Amendments

Amendments should come into force for all members of the organization, when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the general assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by the members of the organization having permanent membership on the security council and by a majority of the other members of the organization.

Chapter XII. Transitional Arrangements

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

理事會一切會議之秘書長，並應每年向大會

作一關於本組織之工作報告。(三)凡部長

認為可能威脅國際和平及安全之事件，秘書

長有權提請安全理事會注意。

第十一章 修正

修正案之成立，必須經由大會會員國三

分之二通過，並經安全理事會所有常任理事

國，以及半數以上之其他會員國，依照其本

國憲法程序予以批准。

第十二章 辦理過渡

(一)在第八章第二節第五項所述協定

尚未成立以前，依照莫斯科四國宣言第五條

之規定，簽定該宣言之四國，應互相磋商，

並於必要時與本組織其他會員國協商，以代

表本組織採取為維持國際和平與安全之總體

所必要之聯合行動。(二)本組織會章中應

任何規定，並不妨礙對敵員採取行動之處

security. 2. No provision of the charter should preclude action taken or authorized in relation to enemy states as a result of the present war by the governments having responsibility for such action.

Note: In addition to the question of voting procedure in the security council referred to in Chapter Six several other questions are still under consideration.

府，因此次戰爭結果而對於敵國採取命令

執行之任何行動。

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

Note and Annotations

中美英蘇四國之戰後世界和平機構會議，於八月二十一日起在華盛頓巴敦樹分英美蘇與中英兩方舉行，業於十月七日開幕。對於商談維持和平與國際安全機構問題已獲圓滿結果，將此次商談中所同意之各項目製成一國際組織建議案，作為將來聯合國全體會議時討論之基礎。四國約定於十月九日下午十一時（重慶時間）分別在重慶、華盛頓、倫敦、與莫斯科同時公布。

(1) “為達此目的”，“為此”（即指“為維持國際和平與安全”；= for that purpose）。(2) 此處作“實現”，“實行”解。(3) “得享有”（會員權利）。(4) = “in due course of time”，“俟時機成熟”；“及時”。(5) = “on behalf of the member”（上述之“會員國”）。(6) “so”代表“to be represented by a member of the government or some other special representative”，“各理事國，倘有此意，得派政府大員或其他特殊代表出席”。(7) “not having a seat” “非出席 (= seat)”，故為“非”（理事會員國）。(He has in the parliament, 即 He is a member of the Parliament)。 (8) 拉丁語，“By the fact (or act) itself”，“事實上”，“行為上”。(9) = “if the security council should deem”，(10) “制定”，“規定”。(11) = “where it is appropriate”。(12) “待……之決定”。

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL REVIEWS BURMA CAMPAIGN

In a speech before the House of Commons, on

September 28, 1944

邱吉爾首相對緬甸戰局之檢討

一九四四年九月二十八日對英下院報告世界戰況中發表



I must again refer to the subject of the campaign in Burma, on which I touched in my last (1) statement to the House I was somewhat concerned to observe from my reading of the American press, which indulged that wide spread misconceptions exist in the public mind, so far as that is reflected by newspapers, about the skill of our efforts in Burma and the results to date (2) of Admiral Mountbatten's campaign.

Some very important organs of United States opinion seem to give the impression that the British campaign in Burma in 1944 has been a failure, or at least a stalemate, and that the campaign was redeemed by the brilliant capture of Myitkyina by General Stilwell at the head of an American regiment of very high class commando troops and with the assistance of Chinese. That is the picture. I must, therefore, set matters in true light.

It is well known that the United States has been increasingly engaged in establishing the air route to China, capable of carrying immense supplies and by astounding efforts and at a vast cost, they are now sending over the

余必將再度提及緬甸之戰役，上次余對下院之聲明中，亦曾論及此點，余於閱讀美國報紙之餘，對於此項頗表關切。就報士報紙所反應者而論，彼國民衆對於吾人於緬甸作戰之技術，以及蒙巴頓將軍作戰迄今為止之效果，頗有誤解之處。

美國輿論界若干極重要之喉舌，似均認爲一九四四年英國在緬甸之作戰，係屬「敗」。至少亦係處於停頓狀態，並無任何進展。

是一戰役可足道者，乃史迪威將軍所部美軍精銳突擊部隊一團，於中國軍隊協助下攻佔密芝那之輝煌戰蹟。此乃彼等於緬甸戰役之印象。因此余對於此中真象，必將加以剖述。

美國確在加強建立中國之空中路線，能運載大量之供應品。彼等藉驚人努力以及重大代價，已能將供應品飛越險惡之喜馬拉雅山。余不能確言其運輸量實係幾倍於舊日因

terrible Himalayas, I will not say how many times as much as the Burma Road has ever carried in the best days, or will ever carry in years to come. This incredible feat of transport at 20,000 or 22,000 feet high in the air over ground where engine failure means certain death to the pilot, has been performed by the grand effort which the United States made in their passionate desire to aid the resistance of China. Certainly, no more prodigious example of strength, science and organization in this class of work has ever been seen or dreamt of.

Along the eastern frontiers of India stands the Fourteenth British Imperial Army, comprising the main war effort of India, including some of the famous Indian divisions from the Middle East and a substantial proportion of United Kingdom troops and divisions, together with some excellent native divisions from Africa— West Africa principally. This army, under Admiral Mountbatten, amounting to between 250,000 and 300,000 men— apart (s) from rearward operations which has by its aggressive operations guarded the base of the American air-line to China, and protected India against the horrors of Japanese invasion.

Once again, India and her vast population have responded sincerely, among the tumults and hurricanes of the world, behind the Imperial Forces. The fact must be noted that under British protection in the last 80 years comparably fewer people have perished by steel or firearms in India than in any other

種類之最高運輸量，或在未來期間可運輸多少物資。在二萬呎或二萬二千呎之高空從事此種運輸，實為難以置信之偉績。飛行員在所飛過之地面上，如引擎失效，其為必死殆為無疑。完成此種偉績者，實為美國之偉大努力，蓋彼等切望協助中國之抗戰也。吾人對其願工作努力，科學，及組織方面，實未目睹，亦未夢及平偉大之偉績。

印度之東部邊境一帶，有英帝國之第十四軍，為其印英系之主力。其中有曾在中東作戰而最著名之印度軍隊，以及相當雄厚之英軍。此外尚有優秀之非洲土著軍隊，主要者為西非軍。此一軍在蒙巴頓將軍指揮之下，約有二十五萬至三十萬人，除嚴烈作戰以保衛美國通中國航空隊根據地外，並使印度得免於日軍侵入之恐慌。

印度及其龐大民族，於目前動盪之世界狂風中，又再度奮起，退隱帝國軍隊忠誠作戰矣。有一事實吾人應為注意，即印度受不列顛統治八十年以來，印度人民因戰爭死難

similar area or community throughout the globe. I think it is a notable fact that India has received this shelter and has been this vast harbour (4) of peace, protected by the armies and authority of Great Britain, and also by the care and attention of this House, in which the brave fighting races of India have at all times borne a most honourable and memorable part.

I regret to say that the fighting on the Burma front throughout the year has been most severe and continuous, and there were times when the issue in particular localities appeared to hang (5) in doubt. 10 Japanese divisions, which however were launched against us with the object of invading India and cutting the airline, have been repulsed and largely shattered, as the result of a bloody and costly campaign, which is still being continued, in spite of the monsoon (6) season.

How costly this campaign has been in disease may be judged from the fact that in the first six months only of this year the 14th British Imperial Army sustained no fewer than 237,000 cases of sickness, which had to be evacuated to the rear over long and difficult communications and tended in hospital. More than 90 per cent of these cases returned within 6 months, but the ceaseless drain upon the army and the much larger number required to maintain it, in spite of this drain, at fighting strength — in the neighbourhood of 25,000 men — way well be imagined. When you have the loss and drain like that, much larger numbers are needed to maintain the

印度本土者，遠不及死於他處者之數。印度地區內之人民死於本土者之多。余以為印度廣大地區之所以成爲和平福地，係有大不列顛帝國政府及軍隊之保護，以及下院之審慎注意所致。下院對印度各族人民迭次參加帝國英勇作戰，向視爲光榮之紀念，此一事實，應爲吾人注意也。

緬甸方面一年來之戰爭，既爲猛烈且連續不斷，故有時在某特殊地點，勝負難以立時分曉，此爲余對諸君報告之餘，所引爲遺憾之事。然而吾人對發動攻勢以圖侵入印度並切斷航空線之十師百軍，經代價重大之血戰後，已被我擊退，且大部遭遇重創。目前雖在雨季，該地戰事仍在推進中。

僅以本年上半論，英國第十師軍在緬甸患病者，共達二十三萬七千起。患病官兵須經長途及困難運送運至後方醫院療治。吾人於此可知吾人於緬甸戰役對疾病戰所付之代價爲如何也。在上述同一時期內，患病官兵病愈重返前線者約佔全數百分之九十強。勇軍軍力既因疾病有不測之消耗，同時且須保持巡邏此種消耗更大數目之戰鬥力，故須增加二十五萬人左右，此吾人不難想像及之。吾人既知有此傷亡及消耗，爲保持實力起見

fighting strength. In addition to this, we have suffered over 50,000 battle casualties in the first 6 months - that is, to say, to the end of June - and the number has certainly increased by now.

I think these facts ought to be known and given wide publicity, as I am sure they will be now that I have stated them, because the campaign of Admiral Mountbatten on the Burma frontier constitutes - and this is the startling fact - the largest and most important ground fight that has yet taken place against the armies of Japan. Far from being an insignificant or disappointing stalemate, it constitutes the greatest collision which has yet taken place on and with Japan, and has resulted in the slaughter of between 50,000 and 60,000 Japanese - and the capture of several hundred prisoners.

The Japanese army has before our troops been heavily mauled. We did not ask them to come there, and it is entirely by their own choice they found themselves in this difficult position. We must, however, expect a renewal of Japanese fighting after the monsoon is over, and every preparation is being made to meet it with the utmost vigour. The engagement of the Japanese on the largest possible scale is certainly part of the essential wearing down process, which marks the present phase of the war against Japan. This fighting our 14th Army has certainly discharged with the greatest fidelity and success, despite the heavy toll. I trust this toll will be markedly reduced in future

，則增加實力自為必然之事。爭奪之勢，除因疾病消耗外，截至本年六月為止，我軍傷亡超過五萬人，目前更不止此數矣。

余以為吾人當將此項事實公佈於世，或者在此刻當余向諸君報告之際業已宣佈，蓋蒙巴頓將軍所統率之英軍在緬甸印邊境作戰實為一驚人之事實。英軍不但為對日作戰以來地面作戰規模最大之部隊，且為具有重要性最大之部隊。由此可知英軍遠非無關重要之作戰部隊，亦非作戰陷於停頓之部隊，實為在地面上對敵首當其衝之部隊，曾殺敵五六萬人，並俘虜數百名。

日軍受我軍之打擊，甚為重大，彼等陷於此困難局勢係咎由自取，非吾人招其前來緬印邊境也。吾人目前正作一切有力準備，以應付雨季結束後日軍或將重新發動之攻勢。吾人目前對日作戰規模之大實為盡吾人力所能及者，然在對日作戰現階段戰略上應以消耗其實力為主要部份。我英第十四軍，雖受重大傷亡，但對日作戰，確表現最大之忠勇與功績，余望傷亡人數在未來作戰中大可

operations.

I can assure the House that the war against the Japanese and other diseases in the jungle will be pressed forward with the utmost energy. I must, however, note with keen regret that in spite of the lavish (7) American help afforded to China that country has suffered severe military reverses, including the loss of valuable airfields upon which the American air forces, under General Chennault were operating. It is most disappointing and vexatious.

On behalf (8) of the British Government nearly two years ago I assured President Roosevelt that Great Britain would pursue the war against Japan with all her strength and resources to the very end and, as I explained to the U. S. Congress when I last addressed them, we have losses to repair and injuries to repay on Japanese account, (9) at least equal to if not greater than those suffered by the United States.

We owe (10) it (11) also to Australia and New Zealand to help them to remove for ever the Japanese menace to their homelands and as they have helped us on every front in the fight against Germany, we will certainly not be behind-hand (12) in giving them effective aid. Our perseverance in this quarrel is not to be doubted. I offered some time ago to embody this undertaking in a definite treaty, but the president made the courteous reply that the British word was enough. That word we shall certainly make good. (13)

Accordingly, we have offered the

減少。

余可向下院保證對日之戰與對森林疾病之戰，將以最大努力進行之。美國對中國之資助實為豐富，然該國仍遭受軍事上最重性敗，此種損失包括陳納德將軍領導之空軍作戰實貴基地在內。余於注意此事之餘，深為惋惜，蓋此令吾人極為失望並焦急也。

余於憶及約在兩年前曾對羅斯福總統保證云：大不列顛必以全力及用一切手段對日作戰到底。余又於上次對美國參議院講時，曾闡述英帝國因對日作戰所蒙受之損失及傷害，若不大於美國於對日作戰所蒙受者，則少亦必相等。

吾人亦有賴澳大利及紐西蘭使日本之威脅從其境內永遠掃除。彼等既在各戰場協助吾人對德作戰，吾人對彼等所予之有效協助自不應稍有遲緩。吾人對日爭鬥必須有決心，此蓋無絲毫懷疑之地。余前曾要求以帝國堅決對日作戰之意用條約確定之，但羅斯福總統之回答極為客氣云：不列顛人口頭上所云即為已足。吾人定將守信以補足吾人所云一切也。

為此，吾人已將吾人一切精良之近代海軍

United States a fine modern fleet, and we have asked that it should be employed in major operations against Japan. This offer was at once cordially accepted. A large portion of this fleet is already gathered in the Indian Ocean. For the past year our modern battleships have been undergoing a further measure of modernisation and tropicalisation to meet the rapid wartime changes in technical apparatus.

We hope to place in the Pacific a fleet capable in itself of fighting a general action with the Japanese Navy and which added to the far greater United States naval power should give naval command of all these vast ocean spaces and sea of a most complete and decisive character. One must also certainly contemplate that a phase in the war against the Japanese will be severe, intense, prolonged and ever-increasing air bombardment, to which the Japanese mainland installations and munitions centres will be subjected. In this, also we shall bear our part to the utmost limit which bases will allow.

As far as land or amphibious operations, which the British Empire will conduct, these must rightly be veiled in mystery. Suffice (14) it to say that the scale of our effort will be limited only by the available shipping. In this, however, we may presently receive magnificent addition. The end of the U boat war, when it comes, will allow us to go out of convoy in the Western hemisphere, and thus perhaps and at least 25 per cent to the carrying capacity of our mercantile

交美國指揮，吾人願求美國將此海軍用於對

日本作主力戰。美國立即接收此事。該艦隊

大部份已集于印度洋。一年以來，吾人之近

來戰艦業已進一步改良，使其在武器方面適

合熱帶在戰時所發生之一切變化。

吾人希冀能派海軍在太平洋上與日本海軍從事大戰。吾人之海軍與較吾人在該戰場海軍更龐大之美國海軍合作，應能在此等海洋區域獲得最完全與最具決定性之制海權

。吾人可以想像在對日作戰階段中，戰事必為繁重，緊張，並延長以至日本本邦一切軍事建築物及製造軍火中心地帶，均將遭受吾人不斷轟炸。關於此種任務，吾人將利用吾人基地盡最大之度力盡為之。

關於吾人對日在陸地上及水陸并行之作戰計劃，目前自應嚴守秘密。吾人祇須明言

將盡量利用船隻推進戰事即足。就船隻一項

言，吾人將有補充。俟海戰結束，吾人

在西半球無須採其航前之計，則吾人商船及

marine, and more in the case of tanks.

I must, however, add a word of caution against taking a too optimistic view of the speed at which those great transferences of forces can be made from one side of the world to the other. Not only will Allied shipping, vast though it is and far greater than at the beginning of the war, not only will it be a limiting factor, but the development of bases, the accumulating of stores and supplies, and the construction and protection of airfields, all impose restraints upon those vivid imaginative strategists, who carry fleets and armies across the globe as easily as they would help themselves to a plate of soup. The huge distances and tropical conditions and other physical acts, added to the desperate resistance of the enemy, make the war against Japan an enterprise of the first magnitude and it will be necessary to use to the full the resources, machinery and science to enable our armies to do their work under the most favourable conditions, and with least sacrifice of Allied life.

When all these aspects are considered, the House may rest assured that the entire brain and technical power of Britain and the United States will be ceaselessly employed and, having regard to the results which have already been obtained in so many directions, one may feel with confidence that it will not be employed in vain.

運輸之量至少可增加現有之四分之一。

雖然，余必須向世人警告，將迅速由西

半球調遣軍隊至東半球一事，不可過於樂觀。

• 同盟國現有船隻較戰事爆發時大為增加，

其龐大數目本身既已使調動感受限制，且擴

充基地，增加倉庫及供應品，建築並保護飛

機場，皆為一般空想派戰略家之障礙，彼輩

意以為調遣海陸軍橫過地球易若備首就食，

殊不知極長距離，熱帶情況，及其他物質影

響之外，仍有敵人決死抵抗，在在使吾人對

日之戰事成為艱鉅任務。因此吾人必須充

利用一切實力，器械及科學，使吾人軍隊在

極有利條件之下，並以極少同盟軍隊生命之

犧牲，達到其任務。

下院諸君對上述各方面加以考慮之後，

可確信英美兩國將不斷運用全國人民腦力及

機械以赴之。吾人暨其他各方面業已獲得

之種種結果，當可深信吾人未來對日之努力

不至徒勞也。

Annotations

(1) 據上月二日在下院對職局報告。(2) “迄今為止”，“到現在”，形容“results”
• We have received from him three reports to date, 吾人迄今為止，共收到彼報告三件。(或“up to date”; “up-to-date” 合成一字為形容詞“入時”，“最新式”
• His views are not up-to-date”, 彼之見解已不合時宜，即“out-of-date”, “out-of-fashion”)。(3) “除……外”。He has been very lucky, apart from his industry, 除謹慎外，彼之氣運亦甚佳。(4) “港埠”(能停泊之港口必為) “安全地”，“庇護處所”，保隱喻。The home is the harbour of safety for the child, 家庭為兒童之安全庇護地。(5) “躊躇”，“不定” Japan's defeat hangs in no doubt (= does not hang between two opinions), 日本之失敗實為毫無可疑者。(6) 亞洲南部自四月至十一月之季節雨。(7) 邱吉爾用“lavish”一字，實為不明事實，蓋美國並未“豐富”供應我國也。He has lavished money on his freinds, 彼囂芬以金錢資助友人。(8) “代表”，I spoke on (in) behalf of them (on their behalf), 彼代表彼等發言。(9) “因” I feel sad on her account, 余因伊而愁慮。(10) “靠”，“賴”。He owes his success to you, 彼之成功，有賴於君。(11) “it” 指“to help……”。(12) “拖延”，“落後”。He is always behindhand in his lessons, 彼於功課向為落後。(13) “補償”，I will make good what is needed, 所需之物，余決補足之。(14) “謂……足矣” Suffice it to say that China will never give up her fight for peace, 中國決不放過為謀取和平之戰爭，此言已足。

DR. V. K. WELLINGTON KOO'S STATEMENT AT THE DUMBARTON OAKS CONFERENCE

Made at the closing session, October 7, 1944

顧維鈞博士對頓巴敦橡樹和平機構會議之聲明

一九四四年十月七日該會舉行閉幕式時發表



I have listened with deep appreciation to the generous tribute (1) which you, Mr. Chairman (Edward Steettinius) paid to the Chinese delegation and the fair appraisal which you have made of the work of the second phase of the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations. I wish to say how grateful we, the Chinese delegation, feel toward you, Mr. Chairman, for having acted as the chairman of our meeting over which you have presided (2) with such marked ability and unflinching courtesy. We wish also to express our thanks for the hospitality (3) of the United States which left nothing to be desired (4) in affording facilities for our meetings and the comfort of the Chinese delegates. The efficient secretariat provided by the State Department also has been a very great help to us in our work.

In our deliberations we found the achievement of the first phase of the conversations excellent groundwork. The set of proposals which has now received the endorsement (5) of the different participating delegations furnished a

鄙人聆悉主席(指斯退丁紐斯)之盛讚

國代表團及頓巴敦會議第二階段之成就後，

深為欣感。余願聲明，敝國代表團全體人員

對於主席之主持此次會議，且其所表現之精

明幹練與勤奮不懈之精神，極其感謝。至於

美國政府招待之週到。例如會議之佈置，與

對代表之供應，尤堪感謝。美國政府為此

次會議所組織之秘書處工作，極其效率，對

於吾人為助甚多。

當吾人會商之際。發現會議之第一階段

之成就為一極良好之基礎。各與會代表團所

提出之各項建議，均為維持和平與安

preliminary and concrete plan for the formation of an international organization to maintain peace and security. We hope that fruits of our labor will contribute in the end (6) to the strengthening of a foundation of this new structure to be reared.

From the outset (7) we were animated by an earnest desire to promote the success of our joint task. We were glad and delighted to be able to say that our spirit of collaboration is fully reciprocated (8) by our colleagues on the American and British delegations. At all meetings, we had, whether of the plenary session, the steering committee, the formulation group or of the military experts, an atmosphere of frankness and cordiality prevailed. The learning and wisdom of our American and British colleagues made a deep impression on us. All this made our deliberations and participation both pleasant and profitable.

We believe that this important series of conversations initiated by the United States has accomplished its purpose. The set of the agreed proposals when approved by the four governments and finally embodied in a more complete form will constitute a most valuable instrument for consideration and adoption by all the interested nations at a general conference. It is our hope that this conference can be held in the near future so that the ardent wish of all peace-loving peoples to see the establishment of a universal organization to safeguard the international peace and

及之國際組織之初步與具體計畫。吾人希望

其辛苦之結果，終對增強此將待建立之新機

構之基礎有所貢獻，

並對吾儕自始即渴望促成我共同工作之

成功亦有所貢獻。吾儕所引為欣幸者，即我

英美同僚亦以合作之精神回報我國代表之合

作精神。此歷次會議無論其為全體會，指導

委員會會議，抑或軍事專家之會議，咸皆充

滿一種坦率真誠之空氣。我英美同僚之學

問與智慧，對於吾人亦造成一深刻之印象。

凡此一切，已使吾儕之參加會議與從事會商

者咸感愉快，並深獲其益。

吾儕深信美國政府所首倡之此種有歷史

重要性之會議，業已達成其目的。而我等所

擬定之各項建議，將來一經四國政府批准，

當具有一更完全之形式時，堪為將來各有關

區域舉行大會時該處與採擇之一般有價值之

文件。吾人希望此項會議在最近將來即可舉

行。而所有愛好和平之民族亦渴望在該國其

security, after the achievement of victory over our common enemy in the East and in the West may be fulfilled.

東方之共同敵人後，建立一能保障和平與安全之世界組織也。

Annotations

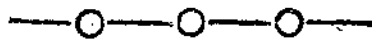
(1) "to pay tribute": "獻貢"。In his speech, he paid great tribute to the people for their support, 他在演說中盛讚民衆之擁護。(2) "主持開會"。As the president was absent, the vice-president presided over the meeting, 會長未到，副會長主持開會。(3) "惠臨招待"。We partook of hospitality of our host, 吾人甚受主人之招待。(4) "leave nothing (little)", "毫無遺憾"。He leaves much to be desired in his book, 這書中頗有不盡之意。(5) "贊成", "同意"。His proposal has won the indorsement of many, 他的建議博得多人之贊同。(6) "畢竟"。In the end, the man succeeded, 此人終於成功。(7) "自始"。From the outset, the war was regarded as a long-drawn one, 在初期此戰爭即認爲持久戰。(8) "回報"。I did him many favours, but he did not reciprocate, 我曾爲他盡過許多義務，但他並未回報。

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S SPEECH BEFORE THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

Delivered on October 21, 1944, before the Association in New York City

羅斯福總統在美外交政策協會 講演外交政策

一九四四年十月二十一日在紐約該會發表



Tonight I am speaking as a guest of the Foreign Policy Association — a distinguished organization composed of Americans of all shades of political opinion. I am going to talk about our American foreign policy. I am talking without rancor or snap judgment. I am speaking without losing (1) my temper or losing my head.

When the first World War ended, I believed — and I believe now — that an enduring peace in the world has not a chance unless this nation is willing to cooperate in winning and maintaining it. I thought then — and I know now — that we have to back (2) our words with deeds.

A quarter of a century ago we helped to save our freedom, but we failed to organize the kind of world in which future generations could live in freedom. Opportunity knocks again. There is no guarantee that it will knock a third time.

Today, Hitler and the Nazis continue the fight — desperately, inch by inch —

余今晚以來賓地位，出席由抱有種種不同政見同胞所組成之著名外交政策協會演講美國外交政策。余演辭中不帶有仇恨態度或輕率評判。余講演時既不合個人表示憤怒，亦不合個人失去理應。此余所欲預為聲明者也。

當第一次世界大戰結束之時，余：如今日深信美國不願與世界其他國家合作，以求得世界永久和平并保持之，則世界永久和平毫無希望。彼時余作如是想，此時余深知吾人必須以事實作吾人主張之後盾。

約在二十五年前，吾人曾協助拯救吾人之自由，但吾人未能組織一種為後代自由生活所必需之世界，故吾人之努力全告失敗。目前此種機會又已到期，恐吾人不能担保再有第三次機會。

目前希特勒及納粹黨徒仍在繼續作殊死戰，寸土必爭。彼等當吾人大軍向柏林推進

and may continue to do so all the way to Berlin. And we have another important engagement in Tokyo. No matter (3) how long or hard that road is we must travel it. Our forces will fight their way there under the leadership of MacArthur and Nimitz.

All of our thinking about foreign policy in this war must be conditioned(4) by the fact that millions of our American boys are today fighting many thousands of miles from home, for the defense of our country and the perpetuation of our American ideals, and there still will be many hard and bitter battles to be fought.

The leaders of this nation have always held that concern for our national security and at our borders. President Monroe (5) and every president following him were prepared to use force, if necessary, to assure the independence of other American nations threatened by aggressors from across (6) the seas. The principle has not changed, though the world has. Wars are no longer fought from horse back, or from the decks of sailing ships. (7)

It was with a recognition of that fact that in 1933 we took, as the basis of our foreign relations, the good Neighbor Policy—the principle of a neighbor who, resolutely respecting himself, equally respects the rights of other. We and the other American republics have made the Good Neighbor Policy real in this hemisphere. It is my conviction that this policy can be, and should be, made universal. At Inter-American conferen-

中，將繼續死抗。此外，吾人又有對日之重

大作戰。吾人不論前途如何遙遠艱難，必須

向前推進。吾人大軍在尼米茲，麥克阿瑟兩

將軍領導下，於對日作戰定可向勝而進也。

目下數百萬美國青年離家數千里為防衛

祖國，為永久保持美國理想，正從事作戰，

且須繼續從事無數艱苦戰鬥。吾人對此次世

界大戰中外交政策之一切考慮，均須受此一

事實之限制。

我國歷代領袖對我國本身安全及對美洲

境外，向抱有同樣關懷。門羅總統及其後任

每一總統對美洲其他國家感受跨過海洋而來

之侵略威脅，皆準備在必要時用武力保證其

獨立。世界固有變更，然此一原則仍為有

效。但今日之戰爭已非昔日在馬背上或帆船

甲板上決定勝負所能比擬矣。

吾人認識此點，故早於一九三三年即決

定以善隣政策為吾人對外關係之基礎。此種

善隣原則中之國人應決心尊重自身而又同等

尊重他人權利。美國及其他美洲共和國應已

使善隣政策在兩半球實現。余願此一政策

能普遍，並應普遍實現。自一九三三年起

ces, beginning at Montevideo in 1933 and continuing down to date, we have made it clear to this hemisphere that we practice what we preach.

Philippine Independence

Our action in 1934 with respect to Philippine Independence was another step in making good the same philosophy which animated the Good Neighbor Policy. I said two years ago: "I like to think that the history of the Philippine Islands in the last 41 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 I called together in the White House, that his own private information from abroad was better than that of the State Department—and that there would be no war in Europe. And it was made plain to Mr. Hull and me that, because of the isolationist vote, we could not possibly hope to attain the desired revision of the Neutrality Law. This fact was also made plain to Adolf Hitler. A few weeks later, he brutally attacked Poland—and the second World War had begun.

In 1941 this Administration proposed, and Congress passed, despite the isolationist opposition, the Lend-Lease Law—a practical and dramatic notice to

特受多起，直至自下爲止，在累次所舉行之南北美國家會議中，吾人業已明申吾人所有主張在南北美均實行不可。

菲律賓之獨立

吾人於一九三四年關於菲律賓獨立所有提

議，均爲進一步實現吾人政策中之哲理而發。

余在兩年以前即言明：「余以爲過去四十四

年之菲律賓歷史，頗足爲世界其他獨立民族

作其本身前途之楷模」，即爲示明此義。

一九三九年七月余曾企圖取消中立法案

中之軍火禁運辦法，蓋因是項辦法束縛吾

人不准售賣軍火與歐洲民主國家以抵抗希特

勒也。但已故參議員波納當時對余在白宮召

集之團體云，彼私人自國外所得消息謂國務

院所傳者爲佳，歐洲將無戰爭云云。因此

波納國務卿及余均明瞭，因孤立派投票反對

，是以結無達到修改中立法案之希望。此一

事實亦爲希特勒所聞悉，固于數星期後彼即

以暴力侵入波蘭，而第二次世界大戰於是興

起。

一九四一年現任政府不顧孤立派之反

對，建議租借法案並在參議院通過之。吾人

之租借法案實爲對全世界一種具有實際性真

the world that we intended to help those nations resisting aggression. In these days—and I am now speaking of October 1944—I hear voices on the air (8) attacking me for my “failure” to prepare this nation for this war and for warning the American people of the approaching tragedy. These same voices were not so very audible five years ago—or even four years ago—giving warning of the grave peril which we then faced.

There have been, and there still are, in the Republican Party, distinguished men and women of vision and courage, both in and out of public office, who have vigorously supported our aid to our Allies and all the measures that we took to build up our national defense. And many of these Republicans have rendered magnificent services to our country in this war as members of this Administration. I am happy that one of these distinguished Americans is our great Secretary of War—Henry Stimson. Let us remember that this very war might have been averted (9) if Mr. Stimson’s views had prevailed when, in 1931, the Japanese ruthlessly attacked Manchuria.

Selective Service Law

The Majority of the Republican members of Congress voted against the Selective Service Law in 1940; they voted against the repeal of the Army Embargo Provisions in 1939; they voted against the Lend-Lease Law in 1941—and they voted in August 1941 against the extension of the Selective Service Law

戲劇性之申明，願美國有意協助抵抗侵略之一切國家。雖然余在今日，一九四四年十月，作此演說時，仍可聞人廣播演說，責余對促使美國對此次世界大戰之準備，及對喚醒國民共赴大難兩事，均告「失敗」。此類呼聲，惜不在五年，甚至四年前發出，對吾人彼時所處之嚴重危局有所警誦也。

共和黨黨員，無論在政府機關內外，向有而且今日仍有以遠見及勇氣著稱之人。彼輩對美國協助同盟國，以及對政府所採取關於國防之一切措施，無不作有力之標識。有多數共和黨黨員充任政府要職，協助國家作戰，皆勤績昭著。我國偉大之陸軍部長史汀生氏即此輩名震全國之一人，此為余所樂為諸君告者。余願吾人勿忘一九三一年日本侵略中國東北四省時，如史汀生之見解能為世所接受，此次戰爭可能避免。

兵役法

參院中之大多數共和黨議員在一九四〇年反對兵役法；在一九三九年彼等反對取消軍火禁運辦法；一九四一年反對租借法案；

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

I am quoting history to you. I am going (10) by the record. And I am giving you the whole story and not merely a phrase here and half a phrase there picked out of the context in such a way that they distort (11) the facts. I happen to believe that, even in a political campaign, we should all obey that ancient injunction (12) —thou shalt not bear false witness against the neighbor. The question of the men who will formulate and carry out the foreign policy of this country is an issue (13) in this election—very much an issue. It is an issue not in terms of a partisan application, but in terms of sober, solemn facts—the facts that are on the record.

If the Republicans were to win control of Congress in this election, inveterate isolationists would occupy positions of commanding influence and power. I have already spoken of the ranking (14) Republican member of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Hiram Johnson. One of the most influential members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a man who would also be the Chairman of the powerful Senate Committee on Appropriations, is Senator Gerald P. Nye. In the House of Representatives, the man who is the present leader of the Republicans there, and who undoubtedly would be the Speaker, is Joseph W. Martin. He voted against the repeal of the Arms Embargo, against the Lend-Lease Bill, against the extension of the Selective Service Law,

同年八月，即珍珠港事件四月之前，反對延

長兵役法，此等於反對我國整軍本身。

余目前係向諸君引證歷史事實，余所依據者為過去事實之記錄。余向諸君所報告者為一整個之故事，非為揭出全文中之某一片段或一片段，故意曲解事實。余偶然思及，即在競選一事，吾人亦應遵守舊日禁誡「不可對爾隣人妄作見證」。此次大選中之一大爭點厥為何人將制定并實行美國外交政策一問題。此頗為一大爭執，但此一爭執不能由政見作解決之方式，應以嚴肅真實之事實，載明記錄之事實為解決之方式也。

設使共和黨在此次大選勝利得以控制參院，則頑強之孤立派將充任據有指揮實力之政府位置。余已述及參院外交委員會之共和黨領袖委員強森參議員，但參院外交委員會中有賴伊參議員，此君亦為其中最有力之人，或將充任強有力之參院經費動支委員會主席。下院共和黨現任領袖為馬丁君，彼於共和黨勝時定為下院議長。馬丁君為反對閉鎖禁運，反對軍火辦法，反對租借法案，反

against the arming of merchant ships and against the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act and their extensions. The Chairman of the powerful Committee on Rules would be none other (15) than Hamilton Fish. There are many others like them in the Congress of the United States—and every one of them is actively campaigning for the national Republican ticket this year.

Can anyone really suppose that these isolationists have changed their minds about world affairs? Politicians who embraced the policy of isolationism—or who never raised their voices against it in our days of peril—are not reliable custodians of the future of America. There have been Democrats in the isolationist camp, but they have been few and far between, (16) and they have not obtained positions of leadership. And I am proud of the fact that this Administration does not have the support of the isolationist press—and I mean specifically the McCormick-Patterson-Hearst-Gannett press. The American people have gone through great national debates in the recent critical years. They were soul-searching debates. They reached from every city to every village and to every home.

Fight for Freedom

We debated our principles and our determination to aid those fighting for freedom. Obviously, we could have come to terms (17) with Hitler, and accepted a minor role in his totalitarian world. We rejected that. We could have com-

對延長兵役法，反對商船武裝，反對互惠通商協定及延長法案之人。強有力之法規委員會主席則為費希君。美國參院中尚有其他如上列之共和黨孤立派，其中每一人皆為目前積極為共和黨競爭選舉之人。

目前果有任何人真正認為此等孤立派對於世界大事已改變心意者乎。懷有孤立政策，或在吾人之危難時期中，從未高聲反對孤立政策之政客，均不能為美國前途可靠之監護人。孤立陣容中雖亦有民主黨人，然其數目極少，且有間斷，並未獲得領導地位。

現任政府不受孤立派機關報之擁護，實引以為自豪，此類報紙余特指明為麥克可密克，派特森，赫爾斯特，甘納特系報紙。在最近危難局面之數年中，我國人民固已親歷關於國策之重大辯論。此類辯論皆勝入人心，由都市蔓延至鄉村，轉至各人家庭。

為自由奮鬥

吾人曾對吾人為保護自由作戰之主張與決心加以辯論。吾人顯然可與希特勒妥協，並接受其極權世界中之次要地位。然吾

promised with Japan, and bargained for a place in a Japanese-dominated Asia by selling out the hearts and blood of the Chinese people. And we rejected that!

The decision not to bargain with tyrants rose from the hearts and souls and sinews of the American people. They faced reality; they appraised reality; and they knew what freedom meant. The power which this nation has attained—the moral, the political, the economic and the military power—has brought to us the responsibility, and with it the opportunity, for leadership in the community of nations. In our own best interest, and in the name of peace and humanity, this nation cannot, must not, and will not shirk that responsibility.

There are some who hope to see a structure of peace, completely set up, immediately, with all the departments assigned to every one's satisfaction, with the telephone in, the plumbing complete, the heating system and the electric ice boxes functioning perfectly, all furnished with linen and silver—and with the rent pre-paid. The United Nations have not yet produced such a comfortable dwelling place. But we have given a very practical expression of a common purpose on the part of the four great nations to carry on together after the war is won,—a greater and more difficult enterprise—that of waging peace. We will embark (18) on it with all the peace-loving nations of the world—large and small.

Our objective, as I stated ten days ago, is to complete the organization of

人拒絕此舉。吾人本亦可與日人妥協，出賣中國人民之靈魂，以與日本在其控制下之亞洲討價還價獲得好處。但吾人拒絕此舉。

不與暴者討價還價之決定實出於美國人民之本心與實力。彼等曾遭遇現實，重視現實，且深知自由之意義。吾國因擁有道德、政治、經濟、及軍事各方面之力量，故自然負有責任，且獲有領導國際社會之機會。吾國為本身之最大利益以及和平與人道計，對於此種責任，不能畏縮，不應畏縮，且在事實上亦不至畏縮。

若干之人希望和平機構可即刻完全成立，各人分受一室心滿意足，其中裝有電話，鉛管、暖氣設備、電氣冰箱、效用美善；室內皆有棉布銀質刀叉供備，而且已預付房租。其實聯合國尚未能產造此種舒適之住宅。然而在四大強國方面業已表示之實際共同目的於戰爭結束之後，俾能共同努力從事於更偉大，更艱鉅之樹立和平之大業。吾人將與世界愛好和平國家，不論大小，着手為之。

余早在十年前業已申述吾人之目標為在敵對行為實際停止之前，須完成聯合國機構

the United Nations without delay and before hostilities actually cease. Peace, like war, can succeed only where there is a will to enforce it, and where there is available a power to enforce it. The Council of the United Nations must have the power to act quickly and decisively, to keep the peace, by force, if necessary. A policeman would not be a very effective policeman if, when he saw a felon break into a house, he had to go to a town and call a town meeting to issue a warrant before the felon could be arrested. It is clear that, if the world organization is to have any reality at all, our representative must be endowed in advance by the people themselves, by a constitutional means, through their representatives in Congress, with authority to act. If we do not catch the international felon when we have our hand on him, if we let him get away with his loot because the town council has not passed an ordinance authorizing his arrest, then we are not doing our share to prevent another world war. The people of the nation want their Government to act, and not merely to talk, whenever and wherever there is a threat to world peace.

Dumbarton Oaks Conference

We cannot attain our great objective by ourselves. Never again, after cooperating with other nations in a world war to save our way of life, can we wash our hands (19) of maintaining the peace for which we fought.

The Dumbarton Oaks Conference did not spring up overnight. (20) It was called by Secretary Hull and his staff

後，對不容緩。查因對下一戰戰爭，維護世界和平，實與和平所必需之力量在。故能成功。因此聯合國評議會對保和平，必須有採取迅速及有決定性行動之能。

力，如必要時得用武力。設有警察自擊搶犯，而必先往市鎮召集市鎮會議，頒發逮捕證，然後再逮捕罪犯，此人非為得力之警察。吾人既欲使世界機構成爲事實，則

吾人之代表，在事前必須由人民自身，根據憲法由代表彼等之國會，授權執行一切之防範其明顯之事也。當國際罪犯在吾人手中之時，吾人若因市鎮會議尚未通過議案授權

捕，任罪犯攜贓物以逃，而不立時逮捕，則吾人對阻止未來世界大戰之發生，實未盡吾人份內之責。吾人須於不論何時何地，世界和平受威脅時，吾人同胞應尋求於政府

非僅在空談，實爲要求政府採取行動也。

頓巴敦橡樹會議

吾人軍備未能達到善後之偉大目標，故吾人與世界其他國家共同作戰使吾人生活力得以救免於危亡之虞。吾人有前車之鑒，不能對吾人喪命所換得之和平，再事遲疑不圖維持。頓巴敦橡樹會議非於一夕之間促成者。該會議與余會以數年之時間從事思考。

years of thought, discussion, preparation and consultation with our Allies. Our State Department did a splendid job in preparing for the conference and leading it to a successful termination. It was another chapter in the long process of cooperation with other peace-loving nations—beginning with the Atlantic Charter Conference, and continuing through the conferences at Casablanca, Moscow, Cairo, Teheran, Quebec and Washington. It is my profound conviction that the American people as a whole have a very real understanding of these things. The American people know that Cordell Hull and I are thoroughly conversant (21) with the Constitution of the United States and know that we cannot commit this nation to any secret treaties or any secret guarantees which are in violation of that Constitution.

After my return from Teheran, I stated officially that no secret commitments have been made. The issue then is between my veracity and the continuing assertions of those who have no responsibility in the foreign field or perhaps I should say, a field foreign to them.

The peace structure which we are building must depend on foundations that go deep into the soil of men's faith and men's hearts—otherwise it is worthless. Only the unflagging will of men can preserve it. No president of the United States can make the contribution to preserve the peace without the constant, alert and conscious collaboration of the American people. Only the deter-

討論、策劃、其間各國領袖與政府、商議

院對準備此次會議，并領導會議，使其有圓

滿結果，厥功甚偉。此次會議實為由大西洋

憲章會議起，繼續至卡薩蘭卡，莫斯科，開

羅，德班蘭，魁北克，華盛頓迄次會議以來

，美國與世界其他愛好和平國家合作悠長展

史之新頁。吾深信我同胞全體對此等事實皆

有真正之瞭解，同胞皆知羅斯福總統與余對

美國憲法皆澈底精通，且知余等決不至違反

憲法使美國受有任何秘密條約或任何秘密措

保之束縛也。

當余自德黑蘭會議歸來時，曾正式申明

絕未作任何秘密之委託。彼時余之真誠與不

負外交責任一或若更確切言之，不啻外交一

之輩不斯發表之見解，彼此對壘，以決雄雌

。

吾人對將建立之和平結構，必須賴人類

信念，人類心志為基礎，否則此種結構毫無

價值。吾人之和平僅有人類不屈不撓之意志

始能保持之。美國總統與美國人民衆堅定，

操誓，自覺之合作。對和平之保持決不能有

mination of the people to use the machinery gives worth to the machinery. We believe that the American people have already made up their minds on this great issue; and this Administration has been able to press forward confidently with plans.

The very fact that we are now at work on the organization of the peace proves that the great nations are committed to trust each other. Put this proposition any way you will, it is bound to come out the same way; we either work with the other great nations, or we might some day have to fight them. The kind of world order which we, the peace-loving nations, must achieve, must depend essentially on friendly human relations, on acquaintance, on tolerance, on unassailable sincerity and good will and good faith. We have achieved that relationship to a remarkable degree in our dealing with our Allies in this war—as the events of the war have proved.

Close Allied Cooperation

It is a new thing in human history for the Allies to work together, as we have done—so closely, so harmoniously and effectively—in the fighting of a war and—at the same time—in the building of the peace. If we fail to maintain that relationship in the peace—if we fail to expand it and strengthen it—then there will be no lasting peace.

As for Germany, that tragic nation which has sown the wind and is now reaping the whirlwind—we and our allies are entirely agreed that we shall not

所賞識。美國民衆有運用和平機構之決心。

始可使和平機構得有價值。吾人深信同胞對

此點已下決心，現任政府自信對推各種計法

以來，頗有成功。

吾人目前致力於和平機構，足以證明各

大國之間正以互信之精神合作。不論吾人對

此問題如何看法，其結果必然相同，即吾人

如不與其他大國合作，則將有與彼等作戰之

一日。吾愛好和平國家所必須建立之一種世

界秩序，須以人類友誼關係，彼此誠懇、寬

容、誠懇、善意及信用是賴。而之戰爭演進

使吾人在此次世界大戰與同盟國聯絡中。業

已獲得上述關係，以至驚人地步。

同盟國之密切合作

吾同盟國今日之合作實為人類歷史上之

創舉。吾人以密切、和諧、與有善方式而戰

作戰。同時又以同樣方式建立和平。如吾人

對和平方面不能維持此種關係，不能擴大並

加強此種關係，則將無持久之和平。

關於冷謀不軌而自食惡報之惡德德國，

吾人已與聯合國完全同意。吾人應勿與

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 relinquish the hope—and even the faith—that in all peoples, without any exception, there lives some instinct for truth, some attraction toward justice, and some passion for peace—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 com-

明神惡黨付價還債，勿使彼等留有經營之空

開或轉為政治工具，勿使彼等留得軍事力量

或潛伏軍事力量之任何因素。

設使余對世界一切民族，毫無例外，皆有愛真理本能，可受正義吸引，對和平有熱情之希望與信賴有放棄之時，則余對余個人宗教，政治信念根本不忠實，此決不可能之事。即以德國而論，以上各點皆有暴政以至掩殺並非不存在也。

吾人對日爾曼民族，並不因其為日爾曼民族即以罪名誅之。蓋因吾人不能置信上蒼對於人類任何民族判定永遠有罪之事。蓋因吾人深知吾人國內有甚多有德國祖籍之男女皆有忠實，愛自由，愛好和平公民之明證。對造成人類此次災禍應負責之所有個人，將受嚴重懲處。吾人決不任德國淪為奴隸，蓋因聯合國非為販賣奴隸之機關也。但德國民族必須力圖自覺恢復愛好和平，遵守法律國際間之友誼。當偵察在此種崎嶇道路向上舉行之際，吾人定須注意彼等不為捆綁與礙以增其困難。吾人深信彼等將永遠解除此種担負。

吾人當前之任務決非輕易，其艱鉅複雜

plex as any task which has ever faced an American administration. I will not say to you now, or ever, that we of my party know all the answers. I am certain, for myself, that I do not know all the unforeseeable difficulties can be met. What I can say to you is this—that I have unlimited faith that the job can be done. And that faith is based on knowledge gained in the arduous, practical and continuing experience of these past eventful years.

I speak to the present generation of Americans with reverent participation in its sorrow and in its hopes. No generation has undergone a greater test with a greater heroism and greater wisdom and no generation has had a more exalted mission. For this generation must act not only for itself, but as a trustee for all those who fell in the last war—a part of their mission unfulfilled. It must act also for all who have paid the supreme price in this war—lest their mission, too, be betrayed. It must act for the generations to come—which must be granted a heritage of peace.

I do not exaggerate that mission. We are not fighting for, and we shall not achieve, Utopia. Indeed, in our own land the work to be done is never finished. We have yet to realize the full and equal enjoyment of our freedom. So, in embarking on the building of a world fellowship we have set ourselves to a long and arduous task, which will challenge our patience, our intelligence, our imagination as well as our faith. That task requires the judgment of a

官不亞於美國政府過去所遭遇之任何任務。我不但目前，即在未來無論何時，亦決不向諸君發言，謂吾人之民主黨，對於一切問題，業有答案。就個人而言，余確不能深信所有未能逆料之困難均可解決。余所能向諸君告者，即余個人有無限信念，覺此種任務必可完成是也。此種信念為根據過去多艱年月由艱苦，實際，不啻體驗所獲得之知識也。

余今日特虔敬共誓當前苦戰與希望之當代國人聽余講演。蓋吾人所經過試驗之偉大實為空前。而吾人在經過試驗時所表現之英勇，智慧亦為空前，同時吾人崇高之使命感亦為空前。吾因當代之同胞不但願為己身努力，且須為第一次大戰殺身成仁之國人担保完成其未完成使命之一部份。當代國人亦須為彼輩在此次世界大戰犧牲性命之國人代為努力，否則彼輩之使命又將背棄。當代國人更須為後代努力，蓋吾人必須使彼等得承獲和平也。

余以此種使命決不誇大。吾人非為島地而作戰，蓋吾人不能求身死而為。在我美人所應為之事尚未完成，吾人尚須實現吾人自由之充份及平等享受。因此吾人於戰爭中建立世界友誼，實為極其一種艱難任務。此種任務要求吾人忍耐、智慧、想像力、以及信念。此種任務需要一適合時代而且成

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

熟民族之判斷力。而我美國人民業已達成此種階段。吾人以一成熟民族地，在吾人志求生存而面向無限前程之際，將不再遭遇挫折。吾人將肩起完全責任，運用充分努力，並充份協助鼓勵世界所有渴望和平自由之民族。吾人在目前，以及在未來，均為人類家庭，亦即上帝子女之家庭中之強有力之兒也。

Annotations

- (1) "to lose one's temper", "發怒"; "to lose one's head", "失去理解", "糊塗"; "to lose one's senses", "不省人事", "發昏"; "to lose one's mind", "發狂"。(2) "助"; "為...後盾" (常與"up"連用)。His theory is backed up by facts, 彼之理論有事實之根據。(3) 表示讓步 (concession), 等於 Although that road is long and hard, 或 Long and hard as the road is, 或 However long and hard that road is, 意義相同。(4) "訂條件", "使受條件之限制"。I must condition that you pay me in advance, 我以君先付款為條件。The two things condition each, 兩事相須。(5) 倡"門羅主義"之美總統門羅氏。(6) "across the seas", prepositional phrase 為 preposition "from" 之受詞。"from the sea" 為"由海上來"; "from across the seas" 為"海洋對岸陸地而來"故為"跨過海洋而來"。"犬由桌底下走出"—The dogs comes out from under the table。(7) 言今日為保障自由所從事之戰爭與昔不同，此類戰爭在今日不但在工具上有極大變更，且在範圍上勢必牽涉全世界矣。(8) "on the air", "over the air", "廣播演說"。He was on the air to encourage the people to unite against the aggressor, 彼廣播演說鼓勵人民團結以抗侵略。(9) "避免"。we did all we could to avert the danger 吾人曾竭力避此危險。(10) "to go by", "遵循", "依據", "持"。we are to go by the usual practice in such cases, 遇此情形，吾人決定循慣習而行。(11) "牽強附會", "曲解"。He said that to distort facts, 彼為此言意在曲解事實。(12) 指摩西十誡 (見舊約)。(13) "爭點"。what is the point at issue "爭點為何?"(14) "高級", "領袖人物"。The ceremony was attended by many ranking government officials, 參加典禮者有多數政府高級官吏。(15) "非他人乃..."。It was none other than Jones, 此非別人瓊斯也。(16) "間隔"。In the past three years, enemy's air raids have been few and far between. 三年來敵人對吾人之空襲甚稀且其中間時甚長。(17) "要讓" "屈服"。The enemy will not

come to terms until he can fight no more, 敵人不到完全無力作戰時, 決不屈服。(18) (本為乘船, 旅途開始 to embark on a steamer, 轉為) "起始", "着手"。Having entered the college, he embarked on a new life, 彼入大學為新生活之開始。(19) "擺脫"。I shall wash my hands of this work, 余將脫離此一工作。(20) ("昨夜";) "隔夜" (言時間之短促)。(He told me what happened overnight, 彼以昨晚所發生之事告我。) one could not become a poet overnight, 吾人不須能於一夕之間成為詩人。(21) "精通", "熟悉"。He is conversant with English, French, and German, 彼精通英法德三國語言。He is conversant with that man, 彼與此人相識。(22) "to see to" "注意" (to see in to, 調查) you must see to your business, 汝當注意己事。

PRES. CHIANG'S MESSAGE ON THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY

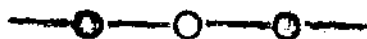
OF THE FOUNDING OF THE KUOMINTANG

Released to the Nation on the anniversary of Dr. Sun

Yat-sen's birthday, November 12, 1944

中國國民黨五十年紀念日蔣總裁發表紀念詞

一九四四年十一月十二日國父誕辰發出



Today is the birthday of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Father of the Chinese Republic.

(1) Dr. Sun founded in 1893 the Hsing Chung Hui (literally, the "Society for the (2) Regeneration of China"), starting his revolutionary movement. It is (3) now exactly fifty years since the founding of the society. We feel it most glorious to hold (4) the commemorative ceremony for the 50th anniversary of the great revolution.

The birth of Dr. Sun meant the arrival of a saviour for the Chinese nation and was glad tidings for mankind. So far as China is concerned, the organization of the Party by Dr. Sun marked the beginning of a new life for China and his formulation of the Three People's Principles meant the creation of a new Soul of China. The result was the awakening of the people and the struggle of the revolutionaries which brought about the overthrow of the monarchy, the establishment of a republic and the complete liberation of the Chinese nation. As to the effect on mankind, in consideration of the fact that

今天是我们 國父的誕辰， 國父在民國

紀元前十八年，創立興中會，開始革命救國運

動，到今年恰滿五十年，我們今天來舉行這一

個悠久偉大的五十年革命紀念典禮，實在感到

無限的光榮和興奮。

國父的誕生是中華民族的新星，是全體人

類的福音，就我們中國來說： 國父組黨的開

始，是我們中國新生命的誕生，而三民主義的

創制，乃是重鑄了我們中國的國魂，從此一般

國民，相率覺醒，革命志士，一發奮鬥，終於

推翻帝制，建立民國；使我們中華民族，獲得

了整個的解放，就世界人類來說：大家都知道

我們中國是擁有四萬萬五千萬人口的大國，與

China as a nation of 450,000,000 people holds a vital position in the world, had (5) it not been for the revolution started by Dr. Sun which had increased the self-confidence of the nation, inspired hopes of national regeneration and stimulated us to further progress in the modern world, nobody can tell how the Asiatic and the world situation would have been developed while it is sure that the fate of China would have been unimaginable. We may therefore say that the revolution started by Dr. Sun is the pivot of China's regeneration and the foundation of the welfare (6) of mankind. In the words of Dr. Sun, it is "a holy exploit unprecedented and not expected to occur again." I believe that every patriotic Chinese exults in this great holy exploit and is determined to bring it to a successful conclusion and that every member of the Kuomintang particularly realizes his or her responsibility and strives for the consummation of this grand mission. On this occasion I wish to speak to my fellowcountrymen and Party comrades on the significance of the Kuomintang anniversary.

I. The Founding and Mission of the Kuomintang The organization of the Hsing Chung Hui marks the beginning of the Kuomintang and also of the Chinese revolution. Since then, we have consistently followed (7) the same purpose and mission in the revolution for the past fifty years. The aim of Dr. Sun's revolution is to attain freedom and equality for China and his motive was to save the country from destruction. Dr. Sun told us that "the Three People's Principles is the principles

係着世界的安危，如果當時沒有 國父起而領導革命，喚起了我們中華民族的自覺，鼓舞了我們中國復興的希望，啓示了我們中國國民在現代世界中力求進步的覺悟，那麼我們中國的遠運固然不堪想像，而亞洲和世界的情形，又將如何演變？所以 國父所倡導的國民革命，真是中國復興的樞紐，也是人類福祉的基礎，這真如 國父所說的「前不及免，後不再來的神聖事業。」對於這一個偉大的神聖事業，我相信我們中華民國每一個愛國的國民，都必感興發起而矢志繼承，尤其我們中國國民黨的黨員，更應該十分悚懼，自覺責任的未盡，而積極努力，以求革命救國大業的完成，臨此莊嚴紀念之辰，溯往策來，特闡其意義為我全國同胞全體同志申述之：

其一、中國國民黨的創立與使命，與中會成立，是中國國民黨建黨的開始，也是國民革命的發軔，此後五十年來，革命的宗旨和使命，一貫相承，始終無間， 國父倡導國民革命，其目的在求中國之自由平等，其動機乃是要救亡圖存。 國父昭示我們「三民主義是救國主義」，這溯本黨革命的初期文獻，如與中會

for national salvation." Delving (8) into the documents of the early period of our Party, we find in the manifesto of the Hsing Chung Hui the following words: "to rescue the people from their sufferings and support the tottering edifice of the state" and in the manifesto of the Tung Meng Hu: this statement: "In previous days there were revolutions of heroes but the present revolution is a national revolution of which every citizen has responsibility." These indicate that the aim of the revolution is to save the state and the people and that foundation of the revolution is built upon the entire nation. Dr. Sun has consistently made it clear that (9) the nation comes before the Party and that he organized the Party for the purpose of saving the nation. The interests of the Party can in no way be alienated (10) from the interests of the state and the people. The relation between the Party and the state is closest before the revolution of the nation is brought to a successful end. Members of the Party should act as the vanguard of the people in the face of death and danger and rally the people to join in the struggle. They have special obligations but no privileges. It was this very pure and holy spirit of loyalty to the state, total self-sacrifice and disregard of compensation or reward on the part of our Party members that we have been able to rally so many revolutionary and patriotic elements under our standard. (11) This very spirit, all our fellow countrymen should take to heart, all our young men should emulate and all our Party members should prize and preserve.

宣言中所謂「拯斯民於水火扶大廈之將傾」，同盟會宣言中所說「前代爲英雄革命，今日爲國民革命，所謂國民革命者，一國之人皆負革命之責任」，這都是說明了革命的目的在於救國救民，革命的基礎在於全國的國民，所以國父革命的一貫精神，是有國而後有黨，組黨乃爲了救國，離開了國家與人民的利益，就沒有所謂黨的利益，黨與國家的關係，就在於革命未成之始，以黨的奮鬥來救國救民，民國成立之後，更要以黨的努力來保障民國，黨員和民衆的關係，就在於黨員要冒死犯難，爲民前鋒，要喚起民衆相與戮力，黨員祇有特殊的義務，沒有特殊的權利。我們五十年來，所以能號召多數志士，共同致力者，就在於我們革命黨員祇有國家，沒有個人，祇有犧牲，不計酬報的純粹聖潔的精神，這一種精神，是我們全體同胞所應該認識，青年國民所應該效法，更是本黨黨員所應該特別珍重而努力保持的。

2. The Measure and Aims of the Three People's Principles. The ultimate goal of our national revolution is the realization of the Three People's Principles. The objective of the Three People's Principles is stated in the Program of the Tung Meng Hui, that is, the revival of the Chinese nation. The founding of a republic, and the equalization of land ownership, which were the initial aims of the Three People's Principles. Later the manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang in 1924 and the bequeathed teachings of Dr. Sun made fuller explanations. It is for the realization of the Three People's Principles that our Party comrades have struggled persistently for the past fifty years and numerous revolutionary martyrs have sacrificed their lives. Briefly speaking, according to the manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang, the Three People's Principles are nationalism which implies (12) emancipation of the Chinese nation and equality of all races within Chinese territory, democracy which implies the realization of a system of direct popular authority in addition to that of indirect popular authority and the principle of the people's livelihood which implies equalization of land ownership and regulation of capital, and the maintenance and regulation of the people's livelihood by the utilization of governmental powers. In other words, nationalism aims at national salvation and independence, democracy at the building of a Chinese republic with sovereign rights actually vested (13) in the people and the

其二、三民主義的涵義與要旨，我們國民革命最終目的，在於實行三民主義。三民主義的涵義，見之於同盟會的政綱，所謂恢復中華，建立民國，平均地權，就是三民主義的發端，及至民國十三年第一次代表大會宣言與國父的歷次訓示而更可詳細的闡明。這是我們五十多年來革命歷史一貫相承的統緒，也是無數先烈熱血頭顱所鑄成的結晶。三民主義的內容，就第一次代表大會宣言而舉其概要，則是民族主義的內容在中華民族自求解放，在國內各民族一律平等；民權主義的內容在於間接民權之外復行直接民權；民生主義的內容在於平均地權與節制資本，並由國家力量以謀人民生活的保育和調節，我們今天更就其目的具體言之，那就是民族主義是要救中國的危亡，求中國的獨立，民權主義是要建立真正主權在民的中華民國，民生主義是要杜絕資本的壟斷，防止階級的鬥爭，以謀生活的均衡，這包括民族民權民

principle of the people's livelihood at the prevention of capital monopoly and class struggle in order to realize a balanced life for the people. These Three Principles containing the three aspects of nationalism, democracy and the people's livelihood is all-embracing, impartial and most suitable to China. The reason why we take the Three People's Principles as the highest guiding principle for the building of the Chinese republic is that it meets the need of the nation and follows the current world tendency. Herein lies the goal of our Herculean (14) efforts amidst enormous hardships.

3. The Significance and Achievements of the National Revolution. Dr. Sun asserted that the national revolution is common exploit for all Chinese citizens, upon which hinges (15) the rise or fall of the nation. In the spirit of universal brotherhood he rallied all patriotic Chinese to join our Party and take part in the revolution. In the History of the Chinese Revolution Dr. Sun says, "The Party was established to rally the patriots in the common struggle." A study of our Party history I reveals that from the time of the Tung Meng Hui to the present period of the Kuomintang there have been six major reorganizations in our revolutionary set up. Each time it was reorganized to meet the requirements of the time and after each reorganization it drew more patriotic and revolutionary elements to the Party. Mainly through the influence of the great spirit of Dr. Sun and of the Three People's Principles and impelled by their sense of duty to the state, innumerable patriots have joined our Party and participated

生三方面的三民主義，涵蓋一切而無偏頗。適

合國情而無流弊。所以我們國民革命以三民主義為中華民國立國的最高原則，就因為三民主義完全合乎國家與人民的需要，應乎世界與時代的趨向，我全國國民所要排除障礙以求其實現者在此，我們共同奮鬥的目標也在此。

其三、國民革命的意義與成就，國父認定國民革命是全國國民共同的事業，國民革命的成敗，乃是整個國家的存亡問題；所以一本天下為公的精神，號召全國的愛國志士，來參加本黨共負革命的責任。國父在中國革命史上說：「求天下之仁人志士以共同致力，於是有立黨。」我們回溯本黨的歷史，自興中會以至於今日之中國國民黨，革命的組織經過六次的變遷，每一度的變遷，無不是順着時勢的要求，而進一步擴大了熱心愛國革命志士的集合。由於國父偉大精神和三民主義的感召，由於國民許身報國不惜犧牲的責任心所驅使，全國的革命志士陸續加入本黨，共為實行三民主義而奮鬥。其間冒險犯難，為努力革命而捐軀成仁者不可以數計。這五十年來，中華民族所以能由黑暗而漸趨於復興，中國國勢所以能由

in the struggle for the realization of the Three People's Principles. Many of them have run great risks or even sacrificed their lives. Thanks to the efforts of these revolutionary martyrs China has been steadily emerging from decadence to regeneration and from darkness to light during the past fifty years. With the revolution now entering a more important stage we are anxious more than ever that all patriotic Chinese will participate in it and become our bosom comrades who will share both glory and disgrace with us.

4. In commemorating the glorious history of the revolution our party comrades should realize more their responsibilities in the revolution. Dr. Sun organized the Party for the revolution out of a sense of responsibility and obligation of saving the state and nation. Dr. Sun said, "If within the country there is anything that goes (16) wrong, it is our responsibility." He also said, "Because the revolution has not been successfully carried out, it is not possible to build a true republic. So long as the republic has not been successfully built members of this Party should not cease their struggle." Here he clearly painted out to us the responsibility and obligation which we should by no means shirk. As followers of Dr. Sun, we should know that we take part in the revolution not for personal gains but for fulfilling our obligations and responsibilities. We should place the interests of the nation above everything else. We should be ready to run all risks for the fulfillment of our obligations and responsibilities in the revolution. The history of our Party has been written with

晦塞而日接於光明，無不是革命先烈熱血苦心

之所培育而成。現在革命的形勢益見開展，革

命的任務更見重大，我們更要期待全國的愛

同胞參加革命，成為同生死共榮辱的同志，

求革命挑戰大業的完成。

其四、革命黨員紀念革命光榮的歷史更應認識革命的責任，我們 國父的祖黨革命，是出發於「救國救民」的責任心與義務觀念；國父指示我們說：「國家之內，一物不得其所，就是我們的責任。」 國父又告訴我們說：「因為革命沒有成功，所以真正的民國無從建設，民國一天沒有建設好，本黨就要奮鬥一天。」這就是指示我們黨員對於責任和義務所在，絕不可以放棄絕不可以規避，我們身為 國父的信徒，就要知道我們革命決不是爭取權利和地位，而是要坦負義務和責任，我們在國家民族的最高利益之前決沒有任何得失利害可言，我們所應該堅忍奮鬥，萬死不辭的，就是這個革命的義務和責任。我們須知本黨的歷史，更完全是先烈的血淚所寫成。在此五十年中，捐軀頂踵，捨身成仁的先烈，還是有心的犧牲，而其

the tears and blood of our revolutionary martyrs. During the past fifty years while many have sacrificed their lives for the revolution, almost every member of our Party since Dr. Sun has experienced slander, disgrace and great suffering. Referring to Dr. Sun's own harrowing experience the History of the Chinese Revolution says, "Though he placed the interests of the nation foremost and devoted himself fully to the revolution, his compatriots not only failed to help him but even deride and ignore him." Actually, these words fail to describe a fraction of the sufferings which Dr. Sun and the revolutionary martyrs had undergone. Today in commemorating Dr. Sun and the revolutionary martyrs we as true revolutionaries should stand all hardships and sufferings in an undaunted spirit. We should bear in mind that we as descendants are benefited by what our forefathers have done for us and the unfinished task left by our forefathers should be the goal of our struggle. On this anniversary day we should commemorate not only the revolutionary martyrs but also other Chinese who have sacrificed their lives for the revolution in the past fifty years. We should never swerve from our duty imposed upon us by the state, and the revolution but face and fulfil it. Only thus (17) can we be the worthy followers of Dr. Sun and can we console the souls of those who have sacrificed their lives for the revolution during the past fifty years.

5. All my fellow countrymen should strive with their might and main to win the final victory and consummate the revolution as an appropriate way to commemorate

所遭受的毀謗經歷，無所不至，爲了達成革命目的，含垢忍辱，無限痛苦，乃是 國父以來每一革命同志所備嘗的經歷，就以 國父自身所遭遇的而言，在中國革命史中就說：「雖有爲國民利害着想，獻身以謀革命者，國民不惟不知助之，且從而非笑與漠視之」；其實這幾句沉痛的話，還不能形容 國父與 三時先烈所受痛苦於萬一。我們今日追念 國父，追念先烈，如要爲革命的信徒，更要以堅貞強毅赴湯蹈火的精神，耐得住任何的煎熬，經得起任何的鍛鍊，必須知道前人之澤，後人所繼，前人造留的志業，即後人努力的目標。我們今天紀念國民革命五十年，不祇是紀念革命先烈，更要紀念在五十年革命事業中所犧牲的無數同胞，我們決不能絲毫放棄我們爲國家爲先烈爲主義爲革命的責任。本黨黨員必須認識這個責任，負荷這個責任，纔無愧爲 國父的信徒，纔能安慰我們五十年來爲革命爲抗戰而犧牲的先烈在天之靈。

其五、全國同胞應全力爭取抗戰勝利，完成革命的使命，以紀念爲國犧牲的革命先烈。我們今天舉行國民革命五十年紀念，我們全國

those who have sacrificed their lives for the country. They should exert their all out effort in the current war of resistance which is an inevitable stage in the course of national revolution and reconstruction. Our number one enemy in the course of national revolution and reconstruction is Japan. This Dr. Sun had foreseen long ago. In the conclusion of his "Industrial project" (also known as "International Development Scheme") Dr. Sun predicted that "the militaristic policy of Japan is to swallow China alone," and that "the next aggression from Japan will be met by a resolute resistance from the Chinese people, and it would be at impossibility for Japan to govern China profitably at any place and for any period of time." Dr. Sun talked then about "organizing for war" which turned out to be the militaristic, Fascist and aggressive bloc and of "organizing for peace" which turned out to be Allies which are fighting against aggression and for justice and peace. We have fought for more than seven years and are now engaged in "war between right and might" together with our allies. After victory is won, we believe that international peace and security will be properly safeguarded and economic collaboration between China and other countries will be placed on a sound basis. However, at this juncture (18) the enemy has penetrated deep into our land and placed the yoke (19) upon many of our fellow countrymen. In this final stage of the struggle we should bring full force (20) to bear upon the enemy. We should realize that Japan is our arch enemy. If the Japanese are not driven out of

同胞，必須萬衆一心，加緊努力於正在劇烈進行中的抗戰。要知道這是我們掃除建國障礙，完成五十年來國民革命所必經的過關，也是我們獻身救國最後成功所必需的努力。我們革命建國最大的敵人就是日寇，這是 國父所早已預見的，在實業計劃的結論中間， 國父早已預測到「日本的軍國政策要力併吞中國」，也早就預測到「日本即欲實行其侵略政策，中國人亦必出而拒絕之，不認何時何地，均斷非日本所能統治有利」，尤其 國父當時所預言的，「爲戰爭而結合」，就是指繼武主義的法西斯侵略同盟。而其所預言的「爲和平而結合」，就是指我們爲保護正義和平而戰鬥的反侵略盟邦，現在我們苦戰七年有餘，且與盟邦合作，共同從事於「公理與強權之戰」，此戰勝利以後，我們相信國際和平與安全，必能獲得有效的保障，中外經濟的互助合作，也已經開啓了坦蕩的途徑。但是我們今天敵騎深入，河山淪陷，同胞痛苦，敵寇的垂死掙扎正極瘋狂，而我們在獲得最後勝利以前，現在正是全體國民所應一心一德，誓死報國，與敵人作最後最猛烈的戰鬥的時期，必須知道一個惟一的敵人，就是日寇，如果日寇不驅除，則我們救國革命事業，就是中斷，我們民族權與民生都將無

China, we shall have no hope of successfully concluding our revolution or realizing nationalism, democracy and the principle of the people's livelihood. Moreover, national existence can in no way be safeguarded, not to say individual or group interests. Revolution implies all-out sacrifice and struggle, and national salvation requires total elimination of selfish ends. In this emergency period we should one and all unreservedly and unconditionally contribute all we have and all we can. We recall how the revolutionary martyrs courageously followed Dr. Sun in the revolution without the least dilemma or demand. We should realize that revolution and national salvation and our common duty and our sole aim today is to drive the enemy out rejuvenate the nation and win national independence and freedom. Everything else is out of our consideration. Therefore every one of us should make his or her (21) effort toward this common goal of winning the final victory and removing the obstacles to our national revolution and reconstruction. Only thus can we feel unashamed when we think of Dr. Sun's intention of saving the nation by starting the revolution fifty years ago and of our own duty.

Above I have dwelled (22) upon the significance of the revolution started by Dr. Sun fifty years ago. We rejoice at the birth of our great and noble leader at the most opportune time to show us the way to national revolution and rejuvenation and save the country from decadence. We feel glorified to have this great sage and this great revolution. However, we should

所寄託，國家民族的生存，不能保持，更無論乎任何個人或階級的權利與希望，須知革命是最坦白的犧牲奮鬥，救國要徹底的剷除自私，我們生此時代，臨此艱難，必須毫無保留的貢獻，我們的一切，也必須無條件的共同致力於革命抗戰的事業，我們回溯革命先烈的追隨 國父，犧牲奮鬥，無不是揜臂而起，義無反顧，絕無有所躊躇，更無有所要求，我們祇知道革命救國，是我們國民的天職，是我們共同的責任，所以我們今天唯一的任務，在於剷除敵寇，復興民族，求得國家的獨立自由，其他一切，都非所計，因之凡是我們中華民族黃帝的子孫，和忠心革命的信徒，必須集中意志，集中力量，在同一目標之下，共同努力，爭取抗戰的最後勝利，克服我們革命週圍的最大障礙，必須如此，纔能無負於 國父在五十年前倡導革命挽救中國危亡的初衷，纔無愧於我們後死者的責任。

我們紀念 國父倡導革命五十年的意義，略如上述。我們深深感覺我們中國何幸而有崇高偉大的 國父，應時而生，為我們國家指出革命復興的要道，倡導革命建國的大業，使我們中國在坎坷崎嶇的國運中，能够挽救國家，

bear in mind that our effort in the last few minutes is of paramount importance. In this critical time we should not for a moment (23) lightly neglect doing our part in the life—and—death struggle. It must be realized that only after-victory is won can the work of national reconstruction be well started. On this solemn occasion let me quote a passage from a declaration by Dr. Sun before the inception of the Chinese Republic: "I believe that my fellow-countrymen will strive to complete this great task with conscientious and persistent effort. I hope that they will all have an indomitable spirit in doing so. As descendents of Emperor Hwang Ti we should look, upon each other as brothers and sisters, share (24) joys and sorrows, render (25) mutual help and with (26) one heart and soul defend the country. If every warrior is not afraid to die and every family does not spare (27) its effort the revolution will surely be a success." My fellow-countrymen and my party comrades: This passage seems to have been written just for us shall all take it to heart (28) and strive jointly for the consummation of the national revolution and reconstruction.

復興民族。我們中國有此哲人，有此偉業，我們真覺得無限的光榮。同時我們大家要一致認識革命建國，大勢已定，完成可期，但是最後的成功，繫於最後五分鐘的努力。我們萬不可掉以輕心，在這個國家民族的存亡成敗千鈞一髮的關頭，忽略了我們誓死奮鬥的責任，必須知道抗戰勝利，方為建國工作的順利開始，在這個重要時期來紀念五十年前倡導革命的國父我要為我同胞，為我黨員莊嚴鄭重念，一段國父在民國紀元前所發布的宣言在那一篇宣言裏。國父指示我們說：「深信我國民必須蹈厲堅忍共成大業祈人人各發揚其精神，同為軒轅子孫，應相視如伯叔兄弟諸姊妹，休戚與共，患難相救，同心同德，以衛國捍種自任，戰士不愛其命，閭閻不惜其力，則革命可成」全國同胞們——全黨同志們，這一段訓示，恰如為我們今天而發的，願我們深切體會，敬謹接受，以共同努力於國民革命抗戰建國的完成。

Annotation

(1) “照字面解釋” “直譯”。Literally, the word “Confucius” means in Chinese “the Great Master Kung (Con), “Confucius” (拉丁化) 一字，照中文直譯，為“孔夫子”。What is the literal meaning of this sentence? 此句之字面上意義為何? (2) “復生”，“再生”，“革新”。The regeneration of China will be conditioned by many factors, a widespread education, the application of science to the industries, and a sound national economy, which are all embodied in The San Min Chu I, 中華民族之復興利賴因素甚多，教育普及，

工業上科學之應用，健全之國家經濟，此皆在三民主義一書中得之。(3) 凡 "since" 用作 preposition (如本句，為 simple sentence) 及 conjunction 時，動詞如係 "be"，而 subject 為 "It" (指時間) 則用 "be" 之 "is" 式，言時間之總和 (不能用 "has been" 因數目之總和非與過去有關，祇指現在) a. "since" 當 preposition 用，如本句；It "is" now exactly 50 years since the founding of the society. b. "since" 當 conjunction 用 (為 complex sentence) 時，其 main clause 之 subject 如係 "It" (同樣指時間) 則動詞亦必為 "is"，但 subordinate clause 中之動詞必為 simple past tense，如 (將本句改造)：It "is" now exactly 50 years since the society "was founded"。以下三句中之動詞時間制有記號者皆係錯誤：It "has been" now exactly 50 years since the founding of the society. It "has been" now exactly 50 years since the society was founded. It is now exactly 50 years since the society "has been" (或 "had been") founded。但用其他動詞 (非 "be") 時則用 present perfect (以代用 "be" 時之 simple present)，如：now exactly 50 years "have passed" since the founding of the society (原第一句改造)。Now exactly 50 years have passed since the society was founded (將第二句改造，注意 "was founded" 仍舊為 past tense，不能改，因為會之建立係在一確定過去之時間作成，確定過去之動詞須用 simple past)。此外 "since" 又可作 adverb，但作 adverb 用時等於 "ago" 不放在句尾，而又必有一時間語句在其前，動詞必為 simple past tense，句子構造為 simple sentence，如 The society "was founded" "exactly 50 years" "since" (= ago)。(4) Infinitive phrase, "to hold ..." 為前面 "it" 之真正的 object，因為太長故用一假 object 在前作構造完整之用。如：I feel it happy to be with you，此處 "it" = "to be with you"。除 infinitive 有此種用法之外，又有 noun-clause 作 object 而其後補充字時，亦用 "it" 於補充字之前，如：I feel it happy that I can be with you。(5) 凡 subjunctive conditional clause 皆可將 "if" 省略，將動詞或助動詞調在 subject 之前，如："If I had (指現在反事實) a gun"，變為 "Had I a gun"；"if I were a soldier" (事實上不是)，變為 "Were I a soldier"。過去非事實："if I had had a gun"，變為 "Had I had a gun"；"if I had been a soldier"，變為 "Had I been a soldier"。未來 (絕對不可能) "If I were to have a gun"，變為 "Were I to have a gun"；"if I were to be a soldier" 變為 "Were I to be a soldier"，(懷疑語氣)，"if I should have a gun"，變為 "should I have a gun"；"if I should be a soldier"，變為 "Should I be a soldier"。(6) "今引...之言"。有時用 "To quote..."，"...says (has said)" 等介紹引語。"the purpose of our life"，in the words of Dr. Sun yat-sen, "is to serve"，顧父之言曰：「人生以服務為目的」。(7) 見 (3) 此處 "since" 之 object 為 adverb 當 noun 用，(3) 內 "since" 之 (第一句) 之 object 為 "founding" 係動名詞。由此兩例可推知凡以 "since" 作 preposition 用時其後之 object 有現成之名更好，如 "since the establishment"；否則必用 gerund，如 "since the founding" (作 establish 一樣解釋，如 "foundation" "根基" 不同)；或用 noun 當 adverb of tense 用為 noun，如 "since that time" (noun)，"since the" (adverb)。(8) "研究"，"探討"，"探源"。He has delved into ancient Greek literature，彼向研討希臘古代文學。(9) 見 (4)，noun-clauses："that the nation comes before the Party and that he organized the Party for the purpose of saving the nation" 為 "it" 之真 object，因此一 object 太長，而其後，又有 "clear" 補充

字，較先用一 *object* “it” 爲便利。其後之 *noun-clauses* (*infinitive* 在此項用法時同) 可視爲 *explainsory modifier*。(10) “分崩” “分離”。I am alienated from my friends, 余與友人疏隔。(11) “標幟” (“本爲” “旗幟”)，“號召”。Many students have joined the army under the standard of patriotism and self-sacrifice, 甚多學生在愛國與犧牲號召下受軍從戎。(12) “含”，“包含”，“含著”。His answer implies assent, 彼之答覆含允之意。(13) “賦有權利”(與“authorized” “授權”不同，因“授權”關係“臨時性質，可隨時停止”)。In a democracy, the right to rule is invested in the people, 在民治國家民衆賦有治國權利。(14) “極勞苦”，“極費力”，“艱鉅”(由希臘大力士 Hercules 一字轉用)。To industrialize the unindustrial China is a Herculean task, 將一非工業國家之中國實行工業乃一種艱鉅工作。(15) “依”，“以…爲轉移”，“繫於”。the success or failure of our plan hinges on (或 upon) this last attempt, 吾人計劃之成功與否繫於此後努力。(16) “處置失當”，“不得其當”。Every thing goes wrong in our family, 余家事事不當。(又作“走錯路解”)。(17) “以此”(=in this way), 係 *adverb of manner*, 係指上述之事，調在句首，故將助動詞“can”(與 *adverb* 關係在) 調在 *subject* “we” 之前。(18) “此際”，“今天”。Japan's destruction is impending, and at this juncture we should exert our utmost, 日寇滅亡已迫在眉睫，吾人此日更應作最大努力。(19) “束縛”，“痛苦”。He suffers from the yoke of matrimony, 彼受婚姻之苦。(20) “予以猛擊”。The American army, navy and air force are bringing full force to bear upon Japan in the central Pacific, 在中太平洋方面美陸海空軍正予日本以猛烈打擊。(21) “every one” 之後，代名詞多雙用，“he or she”，“his or her”，因 every one 係 common gender。(22) “詳述”。In his speech he dwelled upon the necessity of war production, 彼於講演中詳言戰時生產之必要。(23) “盡職責”。Each did his part, 各盡其職。(24) “To share joys and sorrows”，“休戚與共”。All the people of China are sharing joys and sorrows in their fight for national existence independence, and freedom, 中國民衆皆休戚與共以爭取國家生存，獨立與自由。(25) “To render mutual help”，“患難相救”。All the democracies are rendering mutual help to root out Hitlerism, 一切民主國家皆患難相濟以根除希特勒黨政。(26) “with one heart and soul” “同心同德”。All political parties should with one heart and soul work for the ultimate victory, 所有政黨應同心同德以謀最後勝利。(27) “省免”，“愛惜”。He is sparing no pains to do his work, 彼不惜辛勞以改善其工作。(28) “To take to heart”，“深切體會”，“深切認識”。Everyone takes it to heart that the situation is critical, 人人對局勢之嚴重均有深切認識。

NEWSMAN'S EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT OF BOMBING TOKYO

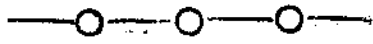
By Mac R. John, United Press Correspondent, aboard

a super-fortress over Tokyo, November 24, 1944.

美記者目擊轟炸東京記

美聯社戰爭探訪強森於一九四四年，十一月二十四日

隨由塞班起飛之超級空中堡壘轟炸東京。



Six violent fires blazed in the rectangular buildings of the Nakajima Aircraft Factory in the western outskirts of Tokyo after the first of the many waves (1) of Army Super Fortresses out-smarted (2) the Japanese defenders to deliver the war's first heavy home blow to the Japanese aviation industry. Perfect bombing conditions prevailed at the target. It was obvious that the raid was a surprise to the Japanese because few fighters were able to reach our high altitude and ack-ack fire (3) was spotty (4) and inaccurate.

The over-all (5) effect of today's raid dwarfed (6) the pioneer (7) raid by Major-General James Doolittle in terms (8) of bomb tonnage and aircraft involved. I am convinced that after this raid by the 21st Bomber Command, the 20th Air Force has no effective weapon which the Japanese at present are unable to counter successfully. As I write this dispatch enroute home to our Saipan base, damage has been inflicted on a vital Japanese aircraft plant. I flew over Tokyo in a plane named 'Little Germ'.

美國陸軍首批超級空中堡壘通過日本防空

砲火，對美軍戰爭有日本本國之日本航空工

業，發動首次猛擊後，東京西郊中島飛機工廠

長方形建築物，即有六處起火，火光燭天。轟

炸目標時，情況甚合理想。此次出擊，日方顯

出意外，蓋敵方戰鬥機甚少能昇至與我機同等

之高度，且高射砲火亦漫無目標，殊欠準確。

本日出擊，在威彈量及飛機數量所發揮之

總效力上，均較杜立特少將之初次襲擊之規模

為大。記者深信第二十一轟炸機總隊此次出擊

後，第二十航空隊即獲有日方目前不能有效應

付之有效武器。記者於炸後返防途中，撰此

記時，日本重要飛機工廠已被我迭予重創。記者

所乘飛越東京上空之飛機，名為「小齒」號。

At 11 a.m., the snow-capped summit of Mount Fujiyama could be seen through the overcast that protected our approach. Suddenly over the interphones came Captain Archer's voice. "Watch (10) closely for fighters" but at 11:57 a.m. there was none in sight.

We flew over lakes, deep canyons, rugged mountain country with sharp ridges and peaks, and then bored straight for our target after making a turn. Suddenly the clouds which shielded our approach ended abruptly and we looked down through the slight blue haze on the enemy's homeland.

At 12:08 p.m., the target was very plain. The stadium (11) and race track (12) were clearly visible and then the properly spaced and clustered aircraft factory buildings were neatly on the bombardier's (13) sight. "Flak on our right," came a report over the interphone. Then, the circuit hummed with reports of ack-ack bursts—some blossoming blindly at level with our flight but 150 to 200 yards away. Another report came, "Fighters at 10 o'clock." It was the first report of the enemy. Other reports started coming in over the interphones but only two planes reached our altitude. Other Zeros, apparently surprised and slow in taking off, were 10,000 or more feet below us, unable to climb to attack.

We swept over Tokyo's suburbs where 11 miles west of the main city, lay the important Nakajima Aircraft plant. Two planes ahead of us dropped bombs in perfect strings. At 12:12 p.m. we dropped ours. As we started to withdraw, the

上午十一時二十分時，富士山雪峯，雲已
在望，我機在高空飛行，朵朵雲層，乃供掩護
，是時阿美斯上尉突自電話之機內傳話曰：「
密切注意戰鬥機行蹤」，但至十一時五十七分
時，迄未見有任何機蹤。

我機於湖沼深谷及羣峯矗立之崎嶇山區上
空飛行。掉轉方向後，即直向目標區域飛去，

豁然開，雲霧頓消，吾入乃由數層大霧上空淺

藍色淡霧中，窺及下方目標。

十二點十分鐘時，目標明晰在望，自投彈
瞄準器中可見廣闊適宜之運動場，跑道，及密
集之飛機工廠建築物，耳機內此時傳來「右方
有高射砲火——昇高」之通報。我機巡航時，
即聞有高射砲彈之爆炸聲，若干砲彈在我機左
右爆發，然仍相距一百五十至二百碼。另一通
報稱：「敵戰鬥機在十時方向」，此乃關於敵
機行蹤之首次報告，其他報告亦自耳機中開始
紛紛傳來。但只有兩架敵機升高至與我機等之
高度，其他敵方零式機，則感驚異，僅在側面
下方緩慢飛行。在我下方一萬或一萬五千呎，不
能升高向我攻擊。

我機乃於東京近郊上空俯衝下降，目方重
要之中島飛機製造工廠，即位於在主要城區以
西四十一哩之處。在記者乘機前方飛行之二機，
已向目標準確投彈，十二時十二分，我機亦
亦投下炸彈。各機炸後，開始離開目標區域，敵

outsy of ack-ack gray intense bursts failed to overtake us. We had a stiff tail wind and were really racing away. Hundreds of fighters—now filled the sky—mostly below us—but we were not attacked. Our tail-gunner fired a few blasts at two Zeros hovering out of range.

We flew over North Tokyo in leaving the island at terrific speed. On the right, we could see Hirohito's (14) gray walled moated palace in the wooded district and the broad main street. A few tall buildings stood out there but most of the city blended into a grayish, indistinguishable pattern. Black fighters with yellow stripes were getting close to us but they skidded away. On the left, the gunner reported that he counted 44 Japanese fighters on the fields below us but only one plane was taking off. Then, there came word (15) of our bombing results. One crew member said: "our bombs are right in the target. I saw flashes as the bombs exploded among the buildings".

Another crew member said: "I saw six big fires burning with smoke going high into the air. The next wave of planes hit but I could not tell what they did. I think we slipped in on them but we were lucky. There were lots of planes aloft and plenty of ack-ack and the possible subsequent waves had brought time."

When we hit the coast line leaving the Tokyo Bay area, we had been over the Japanese homeland for 45 minutes and had given the Japanese newspapers-Asahi and Hinhichi-one of their biggest stories since the 1923 earthquake.

方高射砲火猛烈射來，但未能命中。我機遂起急風，即向他方飛去。敵方戰鬥機數十架是時出現空中，大多數均在下空，但未向我機進擊。我尾部機槍手，見在我射擊距離外方有敵零式機二架飛行，乃放槍數發，驅其他去。

我機炸後返防，於東京北郊上空，加速前進市區。越過叢林區域灰牆及宮殿及廣闊街。隱約在望。高大建築物殊少，所見者僅不

分辨之一片灰色屋舍而已。敵方黑色黃條之戰鬥機，向我機迫近，但被逐退。我左方手槍告，渠見下方地面有日戰鬥機四十四架，僅有一架起飛，所有敵方戰鬥機，均不及向我攻擊。

我方轟炸人員稱：「投彈命中目標，投彈爆炸時，余目睹無數閃光」。另一轟炸人員稱：「余見六處大火烟霧高騰天際。」次批飛機亦轟炸目標區域，但結果如何，則不得而知。余信我機係溜過敵方警戒，此實幸運，四空敵方戰鬥機甚多，高射砲火亦極猛烈，次批遭遇或甚艱苦。

我機飛離東京灣上空襲擊海岸後。在大陸上空，飛行四十五分鐘之久。日本每聞，乃獲一九二三年地震事件以後最驚人之一息矣。

Annotation

(1) (狀如)“波浪”，“分批”，“一陣陣”。The bees came in violent waves, 蜂分批而至。(2)“越過”，“不受對方威脅”。He out-smarted his opponents with a firm mind, 彼以堅決心勝過反對者之攻擊。(3)“ack-ack fire”, “高射砲火”。(4)“散漫”，“不集中”(故無效力)。(又作“如斑點狀”On a fine night, the sky is spotty with stars, 晴朗之夜，天空有衆星作斑點狀。)(5)“總”。He gave an overall reply to the various queries, 彼對各項詢問予一總答覆。(6)“使相形見拙”，“使瞠乎其後”。Lincoln dwarfs his contemporaries, 林肯使其同時代之人物相形見拙。The skyscraper dwarfs the houses around it, 該摩天樓使其四鄰房屋愈現矮小。(7)“首倡”，“初次”。指一九四二年四月十八日杜立特少將率領美機初次轟炸日本東京。(8)“以…而論”，“在…方面”。The value of college education cannot be put in terms of dollars and cents, 大學教育之價值：能以金錢方式表示。(9)“途次”，“在路上”。He is on route to New York, 彼還在赴紐約途中。(10)“注意”；“等待”。He is watching for an opportunity, 彼正留心機會到來。(11)“運動場”。(12) (運動場中之)“跑道”。(飛機場之跑道爲 runway)。(13) bombardier”, “投彈轟炸機”。(14)日本天皇。(15)“消息” He brought word that the city was ablaze, 彼傳來消息稱全城大火。

MR. DONALD M. NELSON'S SPEECH AT THE
PEOPLE'S POLITICAL COUNCIL

Delivered at the reception of the Council on November, 29, 1944.

納爾遜顧問在國民參政會演辭

一九四四年十一月二十九日



I am deeply honored by your invitation to address you here today, and I am particularly happy that I am able to talk to you about that vigorous new instrument of all-out war established¹ by the Generalissimo for the Chinese people—the War Production Board. We all know how closely Chinese and American soldiers are working together to destroy the enemy on the battlefield. Now on this occasion² we give proof to the world that our two nations are also working closely together to speed victory through greater war production on the civilian front.³

I consider the creation of the Chinese War Production Board a big forward step⁴—the biggest economic step yet taken by China toward the destruction of our common enemy. The Chinese situation today is in many ways similar to the situation in which the United Nations as a whole found themselves after Pearl Harbor. Turn your minds back if you will⁵, to the world military picture at the end of 1941. At that time the enemy was advancing on almost every front. In Eu-

今天承邀本人到貴會說話，非常榮幸。其覺得快慰的是可藉此機會向各位報告委員長最近為中國人民所創設的一個作戰性的強力機構——就是戰時生產局。我們都知道中國和美國士兵如何的在戰場上密切合作以打擊敵人，現在我們可以向全世界證明我們兩國在非直接軍事方面也同時在密切合作，以增加戰時生產，來加速取得勝利。

我認為中國戰時生產局的成立是向前邁進了一大步——是中國在經濟方面在消滅我們共同敵人的過程中前進的最大的一步。目前中國的情勢在好幾方面都很像整個聯合國在珍珠港事件發生後的情形。請各位回想一下一九四一年年底的世界軍事局面，那個時候，敵人在幾乎每一個戰線都向前推進，亞洲和非洲，在歐

rope, Asia and Africa, he was making deep inroads into the territory of the Allies. German submarines in the Atlantic and Jap submarines in the Pacific were taking a heavy toll of our shipping. Judged in terms of military operations, the outlook was black. The leaders of the United Nations, however, swiftly worked out a basic plan of strategy. They recognized that their first task was to contain the advance of the enemy and to check it wherever they could, until the great productive resources of the United States and her Allies could be brought fully into the war.

The first major battles won by the United Nations were the battles of production and supply. In the United States we put every ounce of our energy into the job of producing everything that was needed to destroy the enemy on the battlefield, and to maintain the essential civilian economy. At the same time we worked out ways of overcoming the menace of the submarine in the vital traffic lanes of the world. Not until we had won the battles of production and supply could we establish battle superiority over the enemy.

We cannot realistically expect the military position of China wins her battles of production and supply. Only then can the quality of the brave Chinese and American soldiers and of the Generals who are directing our strategy make itself fully felt in the destruction of the Japanese armies. Like the problem of the United Nations at the time of Pearl Harbor, the Chinese problem is to find ways of containing the enemy's advance through winning the battles of production and

洲，敵人都襲入了聯合國家的領土，德國在大西洋的潛水艇和日本在太平洋的潛水艇，使我們的船隻受到重大的損失。從軍事上看，那時的情況，是很黯淡的。可是聯合國的領袖們很快的就制定了基本的作戰計畫，他們承認第一件應該做的事就是阻礙敵人的前進，能在那裏抵住他們，就在那裏抵住他們，以等待美國及其聯合國的強大的生產力量得以充分的利用作戰上面。

聯合國家所獲得的第一個主要的勝仗，就是生產和供應的戰鬥。在美國，我們把每一分力量都放入生產在戰場上消滅敵人所需的一切物資和維持主要民用的物資上面。同時我們還盡力克服各主要航線所受敵人潛水艇威脅的方法。直到在生產及供應戰鬥方面獲得勝利以後，我們對敵人的戰鬥優勢方始確立。

我們不能希望中國軍事形勢能在中國生產及供應的戰鬥上獲得勝利以前可以大為改善。必須在生產及供應獲得勝利以後，英勇的中國士兵，和指揮作戰的將領，他們的素質才能在毀滅日軍上充分發揚。正和珍珠港事件發生時聯合國家的情勢相同，中國目前的問題是在何阻遏敵人之前進，和贏得生產和供應戰鬥的

supply.

Those battles must be won and won soon. ¹³ In the wars of past centuries, the civilian population often felt detached from, and even indifferent to the fighting of the armies. Today, as China knows, only too well, the civilian front is inseparable from the battlefield. They are one and the same. In modern total ¹⁴ war, the civilian population has a vital part in achieving victory. The productive effort and the morale of the civilian population can make difference ¹⁵ between victory and defeat for the fighting troops. I saw that proved in Russia. There, at the time of greatest military danger, when the German armies were deep in the heart of Russia, the Russian fighting men derived new strength and confidence from the fierce patriotism and relentless work of the people in the factories and on the farms. In every country, in the United States, the same principle holds ¹⁶ true. The will of the people to win the war is the backbone of victory on the battlefield.

We realize that to win the battles of production and supply China will need all of her courage and tenacity. We realize the tremendous economic difficulties which beset ¹⁷ your country today. Which much of your richest territory in the hands of the enemy with a tight blockade around your coasts, the prolonged war is putting a heavy strain on your people. You are struggling with the perils of a vicious inflation. You are confronted by a terrible transportation shortage, with fewer than 6000 trucks to serve the two hundred million people of Free China. ¹⁷

勝利。

一種生產和供應方面的戰鬥必須獲得勝利，並且迅速獲得勝利。在前幾世紀的戰爭之中，一般人民往往和軍隊戰鬥隔絕，有的甚至抱漠不相關的態度。然而在現在，後方和前方無法分開，二者實為一體，並無區別。這是中國所深知的。在近代的全體戰爭中，為獲取勝利，一般人民實佔有極重要的地位。一般人民在生產方面的努力以及民氣的維持，實在是足以左右前線軍隊的勝敗。此點在蘇聯得到一個明證。當蘇聯遭遇軍事上最大危機的時候，當德軍深入蘇聯內地的時候，蘇聯軍隊從她在工廠及農場裏人民所發出的熱烈愛國情緒和拚命工作的精神得到了新的力量和信心。在美國，在其他任何國家，此均為不易之理。一般人民對於獲取戰爭勝利的意志，實是獲取戰場勝利的基石。

我們知道，要想得到生產和供應戰鬥的勝利，中國需要拿出他的全部的勇氣和毅力。我們知道，在經濟方面你們正遭遇到極大的困難，你們最富庶的土地很多在敵人手裏，你們海岸受到敵人嚴密的封鎖及長期抗戰對於你們的人民是一個沉重的負擔。你們正在困遇惡性通貨膨脹的危機。你們感到運輸的極端缺乏，只有不足六千輛的卡車。要供應後方兩萬萬人民

You lack many of the facilities, the machinery and equipment, necessary to do your industrial work. But the job must be done. All of Free China must be made to understand that now, under the War Production Board, the nation's efforts to produce in the face¹⁹ of these great odds¹⁹ have been brought together as a single force aimed at a single goal. That concentration of strength will shorten the war and will benefit all the people of the nation.

The problems which China must face in organizing for increased war production and improved supply are similar in many ways to the problems which the United States had to face when we first began our defense preparations. Like yourselves, we had to learn how to plan our economic life in wartime. We had to learn how to take all the elements of our complex individualistic economy and organize them to serve²⁰ a single national purpose. We had to learn how to make sure that the things produced in our country were the right things to help win the war, and that those things got to the right places at the right times in the right amounts. That was a hard job. But although we had to feel²¹ our way and to guess at the answers to many of our problems, we got the job done successfully and in time.²² Today China can save time and effort by learning from America's experience in producing for war. I hope and believe that through our joint efforts your country will be able to make even more rapid strides²³ than we did. Your objective during the coming year must be at least to double or better still to triple the amount of weapons

之用。你們缺少很多工業方面必需的機器和設備。但是擊斃敵人的工作必須完成。整個後方應該明瞭，現在在戰時生產局之下，全國的生產力量，不論如何困難，是集中成了一個力量，並且對準了一個目標。這種力量的集中，是可以縮短戰爭，並且造福於全體國民的。

中國在進行增加戰時生產和改良後方的時候所遇到的問題，在許多方面很像美國在初開始準備國力的時候所遇到的一樣。開始時一樣，我們要學習怎樣計畫戰時的經濟。我們要學習怎樣把複雜的個人經濟的各項因素組織起來，以達成整個國家的目標。我們要學習怎樣確實知道所有生產的物資，都是可以幫助取得勝利必需的物資，並且所有的物資，都能在適當的時間，以適當的數量，用到適當的地方。這實在是一件艱難的工作。可是雖然我們必須自己摸索，並且對於許多問題自己也要猜測解決的方案，我們結果把這工作及時做成功了。現在中國可以得到美國戰時生產的經驗，以節省時間和精力。我希望並且相信，由於兩國共同努力，中國甚至可能比我們進展得更快。你們目前的目標，對於自己工業生產為中國軍隊製造的軍器，至少必須達到增加兩倍或良好三倍

provided by Chinese industry for Chinese troops. I feel certain that with real cooperation and better coordination on the part of all concerned, this objective can be accomplished and it must be accomplished.

I certainly do not regard the Chinese War Production Board as a panacea²⁴ for all of China's economic ills. China's economy cannot be transformed all at once, overnight.²⁵ For years during this terrible war there has been an adverse trend in China's economic affairs. Our first task is to reverse that trend. We must drive the curve of Chinese production once more upward. Once²⁶ production is moving forward, many of the other economic problems of China will begin to straighten themselves out.

We all realize, of course, that the total amount of Chinese war production that can be expected even under the most favorable conditions is small in comparison with American production. Limited as Chinese productive faculties are, however, they can be of vital importance. I think that we can expect to see three great benefits resulting from the mobilization of the Chinese economy for war purposes under the War Production Board. The first benefit will be an increased flow of urgently needed munitions to the battle front. The second benefit will be a strengthening of the morale of the brave and enduring Chinese people as they sense their growing productive powers, and as they sense the possibilities of future development which these powers carry with them.

力量。我相信得到各方團的真正合作和更好的

聯繫，這個目標是一定可以達到，並且是必須

達到的。

我自然並不認為戰時生產局是一切中國經濟病症的萬應靈藥，中國經濟自然不能在瞬息之間改變她的形態。在這次艱辛的戰爭之中，中國經濟事業呈現了下降的傾向。我們首要的任務，就是要改正這種傾向。我們必須使中國生產重新向上增加。一旦生產向上增加，許多其他中國經濟問題將比較容易解決。

當然，我們都知道中國戰時生產即使在最優越的條件之下，所能達到全部數量，較之美國的生產數量還是很小。中國的生產能力雖然有限，但是仍極十分重要。我想戰時生產局為作戰目的而動員中國經濟，可以收到三種宏大的效果：第一種效果將是加多輸送到前線的急要軍火的數量。第二種效果將是加強中國的國民經濟在這些戰爭的艱辛歲月之中，國民經濟實在受到嚴重的創傷。第三種效果則是英勇耐勞之中國人民的民氣，將因中國生產力之增加和此項生產力增加後所能達到的未來發展而提高。

If I were ²⁸ to select the single element in America's war production experience which can be of most value to your Government, I would without hesitation point to the importance of cooperation between the Government, the military and industry. Without such cooperation any Government enterprise like the War Production Board is bound to degenerate into a mere paper organization. Cooperation is the spirit of life which must be breathed into this new organization of Government before it can do its work successfully.

In the American War Production Board, we learned that the only way to make our system of priorities work, the only way to meet our schedules of production, the only way to ensure a steady flow of materials, was through the whole-hearted cooperation of Government agencies, of industrial managers and workers and of the Armed Services. Each group showed its willingness to put aside its own selfish interests in the greater interest of the Nation. Each group showed a readiness to adjust its own individual plans and programs so that the nation's plans and programs could be carried out.

We obtained this result largely through the system of committees which ²⁹ was developed by the War Production Board. On the one hand we set up joint committees among the civilians Government agencies and the military services interested in each phase of war production. At the same time, we established Industry Advisory Committees drawn from able leaders of each industry to work with

使定製我在美 戰時生產局之中與一

項對於你們政府最有價值者，我必然毫不猶豫的提出政府軍事和工業界各方面合作之重要。假如沒有這種合作，那麼任何政府機構，戰時生產局，都將變成紙上空談。合作猶如生命的靈魂，必須灌入這個新的組織之中，然後工作才能成功。

在美戰時生產局，我們知道唯一可以使我們的優先制度能夠實行，使我們的生產定額能夠達到，使器材能夠確實不斷供應的方法，是政府機關，工業界人士及軍事方面人員的精誠合作，每一部門的人員都表示願意放棄他們部分的利益，以求國家更大的利益。每一部門的人員都準備調整自己的計畫與方案，以求國家的計畫與方案能夠見諸實行。

我們得到這種結果，大部分是藉我們戰時生產局推行了委員會的制度。一方面我們對於每一類的戰時生產是普通政府機關和軍事機關會同組織聯合委員會。同時我們設立工業顧問委員會，致收各種工業界才能卓越的領袖，來

the operating divisions of the War Production Board. Thereafter, we went even farther, and had labor-management committees, in which workers and managers sat down together in thousands of war plants to find ways of speeding up their work and getting better results.

Underlying the cooperative spirit of American war production was the realization by industry, by labor and by the public as a whole that the great emergency powers which were granted the American War Production Board were being used solely for one purpose—to win the war. At no point were those powers used to change the basic democratic institutions of our country. This is why every group concerned in American war production felt that it could safely take an unselfish position and make concessions to the common interest. Everyone recognized that the Board was an emergency organization aimed squarely at the single goal of victory.

In exercising large powers, such as must be entrusted to the Chinese War Production Board if it is to do its job successfully, there is need at the top for an exceptional degree of sound judgment, realistic thinking and an impartial and healthy interest in the welfare of the country as a whole. For that reason, I am glad to learn that the Generalissimo had appointed Dr. Wong²⁹ as Chairman of the Board. My long discussions with Dr. Wong have convinced me that he has the qualities of mind and spirit necessary to the sound direction of such a great enterprise. He and his associates in the

和戰時生產局的各部門人員共同工作。以後我們更進一步設立勞資委員會，在幾千家戰時工廠裏面。勞方與資方共同坐在一起，來研究加緊工作和達到更好效果的方法。

在美國戰時生產合作精神的後面，有一個共同的認識，所有工業界工人和一般社會，大家公認美國戰時生產局所享有的戰時大權是為了一個目標而行使的——就是為取得勝利。這些大權的行使，沒有一處是為任何一部分人的利益打算而犧牲另一部分人的利益。這些大權的行使，沒有一處是改良我們國家的基本民主制度的，所以凡是參加美國戰時生產局每一部分，都覺得可以放棄的採取一種大公無私的立場，為公共利益而讓步。每一個人都承認，戰時生產局是一個非常時期的機構，是以獲得勝利為唯一的目標的。

中國戰時生產局，為要使其工作能夠成功，必須賦予大權，在行使大權的時候，主持的人，必須有特別正確的判斷，切合實際的想法和對於國家整體利益公正而完全的制度。因為這個理由，我在蔣委員長特派翁部長擔任戰時生產局局長之後感覺非常愉快。我和翁局長長時間的商討，使我確信他實具備正強領導如此巨大事業應有之心智和精神。在我看來，他與生產局同人確實具有產生此種在中國經濟方

Board seem to me admirably qualified to generate the spirit of cooperation so urgently needed in the Chinese economy.

I do not have to tell you that if cooperation fails to develop, the Chinese situation might become very precarious indeed. If any one group in the economy were in this critical time to take an uncompromising position at the expense⁵⁰ of the national war effort, the result could be to injure the war plans of the United Nations and to cost the lives of many thousands of Chinese, American and British fighting men. If that were⁵¹ to happen, it is perfectly plain that the status of China, both during the war and after the war, might be seriously damaged. Whole-hearted cooperation, not only now as the War Production Board begins its work, but cooperation sustained until the war has been won, is the first essential of this undertaking.

Given⁵² full cooperation in war production, I think that the outlook for China is brighter than it ever has been during this war. The hard work of China's civilian population in war production will speed military victory. And it will also yield extra dividends for the Chinese Nation when the war comes to an end. Through learning to produce for war, China will learn to produce for peace, will begin to travel the road that leads to industrial greatness. In the world of the future, no nation can be great which is not industrial as well as agricultural.

The world attitude toward China is bound to be favorably affected by wartime proof of China's ability to obtain

面所迫切需要的合作精神的資格，並足令人欽佩。

我不必向諸位提出，如果合作不能發揮，中國情勢或將變成十分惡劣。假如在此危急之秋，中國經濟組織中任何一部門對於全國之戰時努力採取不合作的態度，其結果將損傷聯合國之作戰計畫，並將使成千成萬的中美英戰鬥員喪失其生命。假使有這種現象發生，中國的地位不論在戰時或戰後，勢將受到嚴重的傷害。此點極為明顯，精誠之合作，實為戰時生產工作的第一要件。這種合作，僅是戰時生產局工作開始時所切需，並須延遲至戰事獲勝之日。

假如戰時生產能夠得到充分的合作，我認為中國的前途比較此次戰爭內過去任何時期更為光明。中國人民在戰時生產方面的辛勤工作，將使軍事勝利提早降臨，並在戰事結束的時候使中國得到額外的收穫。從戰時生產中，中國可以學到怎麼從事平時生產。並將開始向偉大的工業化途徑前進，在將來世界實業，如果，不是同時工業化和農業化，沒有一個國家可以成爲一個大國。

如果中國能說明他在戰時可以獲得內部合作，並奉行一致向一建設性的目標邁進，世界

cooperation, and to work as a national unit toward a constructive goal. Through the War Production Board and the cooperative enterprise for which it stands, you will not only be fighting for victory in the war, but building the industries essential to the future of China as a great power. China has in her hands today a magnificent opportunity, and I have faith that you will use that opportunity wisely to lay the economic foundations of a splendid destiny.

各國對外團的態度自將得到良好的反應。從現時生產局及其所代表的合作事業，中國不僅為戰爭的勝利而奮鬥，並將建立使未來中國成為一大強國所必需的工業。中國今日僅有一偉大的時機，我深信中國必能善用此時機，為將來之輝煌命運確立其經濟之基礎。

Annotation

(1) 形容 "instrument"。(2) "實際"，"現在"。Today is Christmas day; on this occasion we pray for the realization of "Peace on Earth, good-will toward Men"，今日為耶誕日；此時吾人所祈求者為"和平世界，善意對人"之實現。(3) "civilian"，"民用"，"民事"。"On the civilian front"，"在民事上"，故"非直接軍事方面"，與上句之"on the battlefield"相對照。(4) "邁進一步"（與 toward 作用）。The enlistment of educated youth is a big forward step toward the building up of a really modern Chinese army, 知識青年投軍將建立真正近代中國軍隊一大邁步。(5) 即 "if you will do so"。Keep that if you will, 需者將是物留用（如果君願留用，留之可也）。(6) "遭受損失"。The American army took a heavy toll of Japanese troops in Leyte, 當以美軍使日軍遭受重大損失。(7) "在...方面"，"以...表示"。The value of friendship cannot be expressed in terms of money, 友誼之價值不能以金錢表示之。(8) "抑制"，"阻遏"。He could hardly contain himself, 彼不能自制。(9) "一分"，"少許"。Every ounce of courage contributes to the winning of a battle, 每一分勇氣（勇氣少）皆有助於戰爭之勝利。(10) 指 "quality" (11) "發揮效力"，"發揮"（與 "make" 作用）。The strength of our new army of educated youth will make itself felt in dealing with military situations after the war, 知識青年所組成之軍隊於應付戰後，軍事上一切局勢將發其力量。(12) 即 "must be won soon" 重複用此句強調時間意味，在 "soon" 一字，前者 "must be won"，係言"須儘" (necessity)，著重 "must" 一字。(13) "全面"。(14) "左右"，"與有差異"。Industry and application make a difference between success and failure, 勤為成功與失敗之關鍵。(15) "有效"，"不易之理"。The law of evolution also holds true in literature, 進化律在文學方面亦為有效。(16) "遭遇"，"臨到"。The man is beset with dangers on all sides, 此人四處遭遇危險。(17) (自由的中國)"彼方"。(18) "對抗"，"遭遇"。He persevered in the face of a possible defeat, 彼以堅定之心應付可能之敗北。

(19) “困難”，“不利之舉”。 The boat struggled against the great odds of an unfavourable wind and bad weather, 在風勢與惡劣氣候不利情形下，此船奮力前進。(20) “爲...之用”，“符合...目的”。 This will serve my purpose, 此物適我之用。(21) “摸索”，“探測”。 He tried to feel his way out in a dense mist, 彼由濃霧中探尋出路。(22) “及時”。 He came in time, 彼及時趕到。(23) “進步” (與make 伴用)。 He has made great strides in his studies, 彼之學業大有進步。(24) “萬病靈藥”，“萬應之劑”。 Money is a panacea for all ills, 金錢係治萬病之藥。(25) “隔夜”，“瞬息之間”。 such a big task cannot be done overnight, 此項重大任務非可瞬息促成。(26) “Once” 此種用法，係看略其前之“if”或“when”，作“設使”或“一旦”解。 Once you begin (=if you once begin 或 when once you begin), you are sure to go on well, 設使(一旦)開始，必進行順利。(27) subjunctive mood, 言事實上不應挑選一項之因素。(28) 指“system”。(29) 爲文選博士。(30) “犧牲” He did this at the expense of his character, 彼犧牲名譽而爲此。(31) Subjunctive mood, 事實上不能有此。(32) “假使” = “if.....is given”。 Given better equipments, our soldiers will be able to fight as strongly as those of any country, 如我國士兵得有較良配備，其戰鬥力不遜任何國家之士兵。

PRES. ROOSEVELT'S JEFFERSON DAY ADDRESS

Scheduled by the late Pres. Roosevelt to have it delivered in a broadcast to Jefferson Day dinners, as released by Secretary Stephen Early.

羅斯福總統預定哲斐孫日之講稿

故羅斯福總統準備於本年哲斐孫日晚餐，對全國廣播之演說詞，此係其秘書歐爾利發表者。



Americans are gathered together this evening in communities all over the country to pay tribute¹ to the living memory² of Thomas A. Jefferson—one of the greatest of all democrats; and I want to make it³ clear that I am spelling the word “democrat” with a small “d”.⁴

In this historic year, more than ever before, we do well to consider the character of Thomas Jefferson as an American citizen of the world. As Minister to France, then as our first Secretary of State and as our third president, Jefferson was instrumental⁵ in the establishment of the United States as a vital factor in international affairs. It was he who first sent our Navy into far distant waters⁶ to defend our rights. And the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine was a logical development of Jefferson's far-seeing foreign policy.

Today this nation which Jefferson helped to build is playing a tremendous part in a battle for the rights of man⁷ all over the world. Today we are part of the vast Allied force—a force composed

全國各團體之美國人民均在今晚集會敬息

紀念一最大之民主人物哲斐孫。余預先說明余

言及民主之一字時，并非專指某一政黨而言。

在此較諸以往更具有歷史性之一年，吾人

至須對此世界一美國公民之哲斐孫之個性、

加以研究。哲斐孫先任駐法大使、繼為吾國第

一任國務卿及第三屆總統、為使美國成為國際

上一重要因素之有力人物。彼第一次將美國海

軍派往遙遠海洋、以防衛吾國之權利，同時門

羅主義之宣布、亦為哲斐孫高瞻遠矚之外交政

策之合理發展。

今日哲斐孫所協助建立之美國，已在為上

世界人民爭取權利之戰爭中担負重大責任矣。

今日美國乃廣大聯合力量——此乃由血與肉

of flesh and blood and steel and spirit— which today is destroying the makers of war, the breeders of hatred in Europe and Asia.

In Jefferson's time our Navy consisted of only a handful of frigates headed by the gallant USS⁸ Constitution—"Old Ironsides"⁹—but that tiny Navy taught the nations across the Atlantic that piracy in the Mediterranean—acts of aggression against peaceful commerce and the enslavement of their crews—was¹⁰ one of those things which,¹¹ among neighbors, simply was not done.

Today we have learned in the agony of war that great power involves great responsibility. Today we can no more¹² escape the consequences of German and Japanese aggression than we could avoid the consequences of the attacks by the Barbary Corsairs¹³ a century and a half before.

We, as Americans, do not choose to deny our responsibility. Nor do we intend to abandon our determination that, within the lives of our children, and our children's children there will not be a third world war.

We seek peace—enduring peace. More than an end to the war, we want an end to the beginnings of all wars—yes, an end to this brutal, inhuman and thoroughly impractical method of settling the differences between governments. Once powerful,¹⁴ the malignant Nazi state is crumbling. Japanese warlords are receiving, in their own homeland, the retribution for which they asked when they attacked Pearl Harbor.

The mere conquest of our enemies is

鋼鐵與精神所構成之盟國力量之一部分、而今
日此一力量正從事擊潰戰爭之製造者與歐亞兩
洲仇恨之滋生者。

當喬治華盛頓當政之時，吾人海軍僅由以英勇
之美國立憲號為主力之少數巡洋艦所組成，但
此一微弱之海軍，曾使各國獲得超過大西洋之
經驗，當時在地中海方面之海盜行為、——即
侵犯和平商業及征服此等商船之行為——乃盟
國所不能克服事件之一。

今日吾人已由戰爭痛苦中獲得教訓、即大
國具有重大之責任、今日吾人雖能避免一世紀
半以來野蠻海盜侵犯結果、而不能再行逃避德
日侵略之結果矣。

吾等美國人民已無法再否認吾人所應負之
責任、吾人亦不擬放棄吾人所有在吾人後世子
孫時代使不再發生第三次世界大戰之決心。

吾人尋求和平——永久之和平、不但希望
終止戰爭、且希望終止一切戰爭之起因——同
時亦即此種野蠻不人道及完全不合實際解決國
際糾紛方法之終止。此種力量一旦加強、不祥
之納粹國家必為之崩潰、日本軍閥亦將在其本
國接受彼於襲擊珍珠港後所希望之報應。

吾人之全力，征服使此世界恐怖成為可能

not enough. We must go on to do all in our power to conquer the doubts and fears, ignorance and greed, which made this horror possible. Thomas Jefferson, himself¹⁸ distinguished, once spoke of the brotherly spirit of science, which unites into one family all its votaries¹⁹ of whatever grade, and however widely dispersed throughout different quarters of the globe.

Today common science has brought all the different quarters of the globe so close together that it is impossible to isolate them one from another. Today we are faced with the preeminent fact that, if civilization is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationships—the ability of all peoples, of all kinds, to live together and work together, in the same world, at peace. Let me assure you that my hand is steadier for the work that is to be done, that I move more firmly into task, knowing that you—millions and millions of you—are joined with me in a resolve to make this work.

The work my friends, is peace. More than an end to this war—an end to the beginnings of all wars. Yes, an end to this impractical, unrealistic settlement of the differences between governments by mass killings of peoples.

Today we move against the terrible scourge of war. As we go forward toward the greatest contribution that any generation of human beings can make in this world—the contribution of lasting peace, I ask you to keep your faith. I measure the sound, solid achievement that can be made at this time by the straight edge of your

之意味，恐其與貪婪、愚昧卓絕之哲愛無異。

之友誼精神，曾言之詳矣。此種精神將散在地

球各地，各種崇拜此種精神之人士，結為一家。

今日一般科學已將全球各部份團結一致、

不能使其彼此孤立、今日吾人面對一永恆之

事實、即如欲使文明繼續存在吾人必須養成人

類關係之科學、——即所有各種人民在同一和

平世界中共同生活、共同工作之能力。願向君

等說明、當余得悉汝等千百萬人民決定與余共

同任此一工作時、余更放心從事此一工作、且

更形堅定矣。

余之朋友乎！此一工作即為和平、不但將

止此次戰爭、且將終止一切戰爭之起因。誠然

、永遠終止此種以大屠殺人民不合實際之解

決國際糾紛方法。

今日吾人反對戰爭之可怕矣。當吾人邁向

於此一世界中任何代人類均能做到的貢獻——

永久和平之貢獻時、余希爾汝等遵守信約、余

將以汝等之信任與決心、測度此項所能獲得之

confidence and resolve. And to you, and to all the Americans who dedicate themselves with us to the making of an abiding peace. I say: The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with a strong and active faith.

堅定成就。余今昭告汝等、及委身與吾人共圖
造成永久和平之美國人民、吾人實現明日之唯一
一限制、即吾人今日之猶疑、吾人應以健全主
動之決心、勇往前進。

Annotations

- (1) “致敬”，“讚揚”。The people pay tribute to the bravery of the air force, 全國人民讚揚空軍之勇氣。
- (2) “紀念”。A monument was erected to the living memory of the unknown hero, 人民建碑紀念無名英雄。
- (3) “it” 係假 object, “that”-clause 為其 object, 在文法上與 “it” 同位。
- (4) 因 “democrat” 一字之首字母 “d” 若用 capital letter 則指美國“民主黨人”，用 small letter 則廣汎指一“主張民主者”。
- (5) “有助”，“與有力”。He was instrumental in getting a position for me, 我之獲得工作，彼與有力焉。
- (6) “waters” 多數指“海洋”。
- (7) “man” 單數 (woman, nature 同) 指全體，不用 article “the”。
- (8) “USS” 應為 “U.S.S.” 即 “United States Ship”。
- (9) “Old Ironsides” 指立憲號。“Ironsides” 為英國格林惠爾執政之士兵。
- (10) “was” 之 subject 為 “piracy”。
- (11) “which” 之前單字為 “one”。
- (12) “no more . . . than”, 不再 . . . 如 . . . 。The crippled soldier can no more fight that he did before, 此殘廢軍人不再能如以前作戰矣。
- (13) 十九世紀橫行太平洋上之海盜名。
- (14) “powerful” 形容 “state”, 為 participial phrase “Being once powerful” 將 “being” 省略。
- (15) “himself” 與 “Thomas Jefferson” 同位。
- (16) “信徒”，“崇拜者”。He is a votary of Buddhism, 彼崇拜佛教。

PRES. HARRY S. TRUMAN'S MESSAGE TO U. S. CONGRESS

Delivered to a joint session of the Congress on April 16, 1945.

杜魯門總統在美國會演說

一九四五年四月十六日在美國會兩院聯席會議發表



Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Members of Congress:

¹ It is with a heavy heart that I stand before you, my friends and colleagues in the Congress of the United States.

Only yesterday we laid to rest the mortal remains of our beloved President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. At a time like this words are inadequate. The most eloquent tribute would be a reverent silence.

Yet, in these decisive hours, when world events are moving so rapidly our silence might be misunderstood and might give comfort to our enemies. In His infinite wisdom, the Almighty God has seen it fit to take ² from us a great man who loved, and was beloved by, all humanity. No man could possibly fill the tremendous void left by the passing of that noble soul. No words can ease the aching hearts of untold millions of every race, creed and color. The world knows it has lost a heroic champion of justice and freedom. The tragic fate has thrust upon us grave responsibilities. We must carry on. Our departed leader never looked backward, he looked forward and moved forward. That is what he would want us to do. That is what America will do. So

議長先生、主席、及議員諸君……

敝人今以沉重之心情、與美國國會中余之

友人及同僚諸君相晤於此。

昨日吾人甫安葬我敬愛之彼羅斯福總統之

遺體、值茲時際、言辭均欠適當、最卑陋之敬

意乃虔敬之肅穆。

然值茲世界事件迅速進展之決定時刻、吾

人之肅穆、可能被人誤解、並可能為敵人引以

為快。萬能之主宰秉其無窮之智慧、已作其決

定、自吾人中擷走一熱愛人類、並為人類所熱

愛之偉人。無人可能填補因彼崇高生靈之法而

留下之極大空位、任何言辭均不能撫慰每一種

族、每種信仰、及每一膚色或百萬廣大人民之

創痛心靈、世界知其已失去一為正義及自由而

戰之英勇鬥士。可悲之命運已投擲吾人以沉重

之責任、吾人必須勇敢前赴、我已逝之領袖從

不後顧、渠既眺望前程、井向前邁進、彼所

希冀吾人所為者即此、美國將所為者亦即此。

much blood has already been shed for the ideals which we cherish, and for which Franklin Delano Roosevelt lived and died, that we dare not permit even a momentary pause in the hard fight for victory.

Today, the entire world is looking to America for enlightened leadership to peace and progress. Such a leadership requires vision, courage and tolerance. It can be provided only by a united nation deeply devoted to the highest ideals.

With great humility, I call upon all Americans to help me keep our nation united in defense of those ideals which have been so eloquently proclaimed by Franklin Roosevelt. I want in turn to assure my fellow Americans and all of those who love peace and liberty throughout the world that I will support and defend those ideals with all my strength and all my heart. That is my duty and I shall not shirk it. So that there can be no possible misunderstanding, both Germany and Japan can be certain that beyond any shadow of a doubt, America will continue the fight for freedom until no vestige of resistance remains.

We are deeply conscious of the fact that much hard fighting is still ahead of us. Having to pay such a heavy price to make complete victory certain, America will never become a party to any plan for partial victory. To settle for merely another temporary respite would surely jeopardize the future security of all the world. Our demand has been, and it remains, unconditional surrender.

吾人爲我所懷抱之理想及羅斯福總統畢生致力

以求之理想、已流灑無比鮮血、是以吾人不敢

於爭取勝利之艱辛鬥爭中、有一刻之停息。

今日全世界均期待美國在邁往和平及進步

方面之開明領導、似此之領導、需要眼光、勇

敢及堅忍。此唯藉對最崇高理想灌注最深度誠

之一團結國家始可獲致。

余茲以深厚之謙卑心情、懇請美國全國人

民予余協助、使我全國團結保衛羅斯福總統前

以卓越之言辭新闡明之各種理想、余亦願告我

美國同胞及全世界愛好和平及自由之人士、余

將以余全部精力及整個心靈支持並保衛上述理

想。此乃余之責任、余將不躲避此一責任。由

是將不致產生誤解。德日兩國均將確知美國必

將繼續爲自由而戰、直至敵人毫無抵抗痕跡而

後已。

吾人均深悉極艱辛大戰仍陳於吾人之前、

美國既須付出如許代價以確保獲致整個勝利、

故永將不爲擬定任何局部和平計劃之一份子、

僅謀暫時之休息、必將危及全世界未來安全。

過去吾人所要求者、乃敵人之無條件投降、今

We will not traffic with the breakers of the peace on the terms of the peace for the making of the peace. And it is a very grave responsibility. Much rests with the defenders of peace.

We are not unconscious of the dictates of humanity. We do not wish to see unnecessary or unjustified suffering. But the laws of God and man have been violated and the guilty must not go unpunished. Nothing shall shake our determination to punish the war criminals, even though we must pursue them to the ends of the earth. A lasting peace will not be secured if we permit our dangerous opponents to plot future wars with impunity at any mountain retreat, however distant, in this shrinking world. It is futile to see safety behind geographical barriers. Real security will be found only in law and in justice.

Here in America, we have labored long and hard to achieve a social order worthy of our great heritage. In our time, tremendous progress has been made toward a really democratic way of life. Let me assure the forward-looking people of America that there will be no relaxation in our efforts to improve the lot of the common people.

In the difficult days ahead, unquestionably we shall face problems of staggering proportions. However, with the faith of our fathers in our hearts, we do not fear the future. On the battlefields, we have frequently faced overwhelming odds and won. At home, Americans will not be less resolute. We shall never cease our struggle to preserve and maintain

自仍然如先，吾人不與破壞和平者在談判中
立和平之條件，此乃一極沉重之責任，而大部
份當賴保衛和平者之努力。

吾人瞭解人類之箴言，吾人不欲目睹不必
妥或不應有之受難，但上帝與人之規律我已
破壞，有罪者必勿使其不受懲戒，任何事不能
動搖吾人膺懲戰事罪犯之決心，即使吾人必須
追擊彼等至天涯地角，亦所不惜。吾人絕不許
危險或性之敵人，在此縮小中之世界之任何一
地（不論其如何遙遠）不受損害，而計劃將來
之戰爭，則永久和平即不能獲致，欲於地理屏
蔽之後謀求安全誠不可能，真正之安全，唯
求諸法律與正義。

吾人在美國曾於長期艱苦工作中，完成
合吾人偉大傳統之社會秩序，在吾人此一時代
，邁向真正民主生活方式之工作，業已獲得偉
大之進展。余茲欲向眼光遠大之美國人民保證
，吾人在促進全體人類幸福之努力中，將永無
鬆懈。

在未來之艱苦時日中，吾人無疑將堅決應
付艱巨異常之問題，吾人心中現具有祖先之信
念，則對於將來決無所用其恐懼，吾人於戰場
上時常遭遇優勢之敵人，然終於獲勝，在國內
亦吾美同胞，亦將同樣剛毅，吾人永不中止，

our American way of life.

At this moment, America, along with her brave Allies, is paying again a heavy price for the defense of our freedom. With characteristic energy, we are assisting in the liberation of entire nations. Gradually, the shackles of slavery are being broken by the forces of freedom. All of us are praying for a speedy victory. Every day peace is delayed costs a terrible toll.

The armies of liberation today are bringing to an end Hitler's ghastly threat to dominate the world. Tokyo rocks under the weight of our bombs. The grand strategy of a United Nations war had been determined—due to, in no small measure, the vision of our departed Commander-in-Chief. We are now carrying out our part of that strategy under the able direction of Admiral Leahy, General Marshall, Admiral King, General Arnold, General Eisenhower, Admiral Nimitz and General MacArthur. I want the entire world to know that this direction must and will remain unchanged and unhampered.

Our debt to the heroic men and valiant women in the service of our country can never be repaid. They have earned our undying gratitude. America will never forget their sacrifices. Because of these sacrifices, the dawn of justice and freedom throughout the world slowly casts its gleam across the horizon. Our forefathers came to our rugged shores in search of religious tolerance, political freedom and economic opportunity. For those fundamental rights, they risked

保有其支持吾等生活方式之鬥爭。

在此時際，美國與其英勇之盟邦，正為捍衛自由而再度償付代價，吾人正以特有之精力協助所有國家之解放，奴隸桎梏，逐漸為自由之力量所粉碎，吾人正祈禱一迅速之勝利，和平每延遲一日其痛苦可怖，死傷越巨。

解放軍隊今正從事了結希特勒統帥世界之可怖威脅，東京現在正處於吾人炸彈之下，聯合國之偉大戰略早經決定，此種決定，應歸功於方與吾人永別之統帥者甚多。吾人我在李海將軍，馬歇爾將軍，金氏將軍，費諾德將軍，艾森豪威爾將軍，與麥克阿瑟將軍賢明指導之下，繼續實行此項戰略中吾人所擔任之一部分，余願全世界咸知此種指導，均須且將維持不變，並不受妨礙。

吾人對吾國服務之英勇男女所負之債務，永不能清償，彼等已獲得吾人永欠勿忘之感激之忱，美國將永不忘懷其犧牲，固有其犧牲，普世正義自由之黎明光輝，始得顯現於地平線上。吾等祖來此荒蕪之海岸，乃為尋求宗教上之自由，政治上之自由，及經濟機會，彼等為此基本權利不惜置生命之危險，吾人深知此種

their lives. We well know that such rights can be preserved only by constant vigilance, the eternal price of liberty.

Within an hour after I took the oath ¹⁰ of office, I announced that the San Francisco Conference would proceed. We will face the problems of peace with the same courage that we have faced and mastered the problems of war. In the memory of those who have made the supreme sacrifice, in the memory of our fallen president, we shall not fail. It is not enough to yearn for peace. We must and if necessary, fight for it. The task of creating a sound international organization is complicated and difficult. Yet, without an organization, the rights of men on earth cannot be protected. Machinery for the just settlement of international differences must be found. Without such machinery, the entire world will have to remain an armed camp. The world will be doomed ¹¹ to deadly conflict, devoid of hope for real peace.

Fortunately, people have retained hope for a durable peace. Thoughtful people have always had faith that ultimately justice must triumph, past experience surely indicates that without justice, an enduring peace becomes impossible. In bitter despair some people have come to believe that wars are inevitable. With tragic fatalism, they insist that as wars have always been, ¹² of necessity wars always will be. To such defeatism, men and women of good will must not and can not yield. The outlook for humanity is not so hopeless. During the dark

權利，惟藉經常之警覺及自由之永久代價，方能保持。

余宣誓就職後一小時內，即宣布舊金山會議當繼續進行，吾人將以應付及解決戰爭問題同樣之勇氣，以應付和平問題，為紀念已盡最大之犧牲者，為紀念吾人已逝世之總統，吾人不能失敗。渴望和平，尚嫌不足。吾人必須工作，在必要時，且須鬥爭，以求和平。創造一健全國際機構之任務，乃繁重而艱鉅者，但無此種機構，人類之權利將無法保障。公平解決國際紛爭之機構必須獲得，如無此種機構，整個世界將成為一武裝之陣營，世界勢必演成殊死之鬥爭，而無真正和平之望。

今幸而人民仍保有經久和平之希望，有思想之人民，常信正義終必勝利，過去之經驗，確實指明如無正義，久長之和平決不可能。在苦痛失望之中，若干人民相信戰爭為必不可免者，彼等懷悲劇性之定命主義，堅信戰爭必將常發生，一如以往之常發生者然。善意之男女對於此種失敗主義，決不可且亦不能信服，人類之前途不致如此無望，在此亦可怖戰爭中之黑暗時期，所有國家皆為某種難以解釋之事物

hours of this horrible war entire nations were kept going by something intangible—hope. When warned that abject submission offered the only salvation against overwhelming power, hope showed the way to victory. Hope has become the secret weapon of the forces of liberation. Aggressors could not dominate the human mind. As long as ¹³ hope remains, the spirit of men will never be crushed.

But hope alone was not and is not sufficient to avert ¹⁴ war. We must not only have hope but we must have faith enough to work with other peace-loving nations to maintain the peace. Hope was not enough to beat back the aggressors as long as peace-loving nations were unwilling to come to each other's defense. The aggressors will be beaten back only when the peace-loving nations united to defend themselves.

If wars in the future are to be prevented, the nations must be united in their determination to keep the peace under law. Nothing is more essential to the future peace of the world than the continued cooperation of the nations which had to muster the force necessary to defeat the conspiracy of the Axis powers to dominate the world. While these great states have a special responsibility to enforce, their responsibility is based upon obligations resting upon all states, large and small, not to use force in international relations except in the defense of law. The responsibility of the great states is to serve and not to dominate the world. For the foundation of an enduring peace we must not only

(希望)所興起，當彼等受到警告，謂卑怯之投降為對鉅大之力壓之惟一拯救方法時，「希望」乃指出勝利之道路，「希望」成為解放之力之秘密武器「希望」，存在一日，侵略者即一日不能支配人類之思想，人類之精神將永不能毀滅。

但僅有「希望」以往與現在均不足避免戰爭，吾人必須不能僅有「希望」，但吾人必須具有足夠之信念，可與其他愛好自由之國家合作，以維持和平。愛好自由之國家，一日不願互助防衛，則「希望」即一日不足以擊退侵略者，惟有愛好自由之國家聯合自衛時，侵略者方能被擊退。

欲制止未來之戰爭，各國必須決心團結一致，於法律之下保持和平。各國之繼續合作，為確保未來世界和平之重要因素，過去各國曾不得不集中力量以擊敗軸心國家統治世界之陰謀，此等大國具有實現和平之特別責任，然其責任乃以所有大小國家除於保障法律時，勿於國際上使用武力之一項義務為基礎。大國之責任為服務世界，而非統治世界，為永久和平之基礎計，吾人不僅須與國外友人諮詢工作，且

work in harmony with our friends abroad, but we must have the united support of our own people. Even the most experienced pilot cannot bring a ship safely into harbor, unless he has the full cooperation of the crew. For the benefit of all, every individual must do his duty.

I appeal to every American, regardless of party, race, creed, or color, to support our efforts to build a strong and lasting United Nations organization. You the members of Congress surely know how I feel. Only with your help can I hope to complete one of the greatest tasks ever assigned to a public servant. With divine guidance and your help, we will find the new passage to a far better world, a kindly and friendly world, with just and lasting peace.

With confidence, I am depending upon all of you to destroy the greedy tyrants with dreams of world domination. We cannot continue in successive generations to sacrifice our finest youth. In the name of human decency and civilization, a more rational method of deciding national differences must, and will be, found. America must assist suffering humanity back along the path of peaceful progress. This will require time and tolerance. We shall need also an abiding faith in the people, the kind of faith and courage which Franklin Delano Roosevelt always had.

Today, America has become one of the most powerful forces for good on earth. We must keep it so, if we have achieved a world leadership which does

須具有我國人民一致之支持也。縱係最有經驗

之舵工，除非具有全船人員之通力合作，亦不

能將船安妥港口，為全國之利益計每人須克盡

職責。

余懇請每一美國人民，無分黨派種族宗教或膚色，支持吾人之努力，以期建立一堅強及持久之聯合國組織。身為國會議員之在座諸君，定能深知余究如何感受，余唯有諸君之協助，始能希望完成一公僕所從未受命之最鉅大工作。吾人將隨神靈之領導及諸君之協助，尋獲一新途徑，以達一具有正義及持久和平之較佳之世界，一親愛及友好之世界。

余以堅決之信心，信賴諸君，以摧毀貪婪暴君征服世界之夢想。吾人決不容後代再犧牲其優秀之青年，在擁護人類禮法及人類文明號召之下，國際爭端，務須且必將以合理方法解決。美國必須幫助正受苦難之全體人類，回至和平進步之大道，此自需時間與忍耐，吾人需人民之堅定信心，亦即羅斯福總統素所具有之信心及勇敢。

美國今日已成為世界爭取善良之最大力量之一。凡吾等必須繼續如此，吾人業已建立一非

not depend solely upon our military and naval might.

We learned to fight with other nations in common defense of our freedom. We must now learn to live with other nations for our mutual good. We must learn to trade more with other nations so that there may be—for our mutual advantage—increased production, increased employment and better standards of living throughout the world.

May we Americans all live up to our glorious heritage! In that way, America may well lead the world to peace and prosperity.

At this moment, I have in my heart a prayer. As I assume my heavy duties, I humbly pray to Almighty God in the words¹² of Solomon:¹³

"Give, therefore, Thy servant an understanding heart to judge Thy people, that I may discern between good and bad. For who is able to judge this, Thy so great people? I ask only to be a good and faithful servant of my Lord and my people."¹⁴

徒憑陸軍海軍力量所獲之優越世界地位也。

過去吾等業已學習，為共同保衛自由，應如何與其他國家協同作戰。目前吾等應再學習，為保持相互之利益，應如何與其他國家和平共處，吾等更須學習，為求相互之利益，應如何與其他國家通商貿易，以便增加全世界之生產，增加全世界人民就業之機會，及提高全人類之生活水準。

願吾全美人民，均能繼承吾等光榮之傳統，惟如是，美國必能引導全世界進入和平繁榮之途。

際此機會，余願衷心禱祝，余為接履新任，願以所奉神之言向吾天父恭頌。

「願上帝賜汝忠實之僕人以睿智，以辨別萬民，俾能明辨是非，懲惡獎善。蓋除主外，究有何人具有裁奪如斯偉大民族之能力，余謹願作上帝及人民忠實良善之臣僕。」

Annotations

- (1) “It” 爲強調 “with a heavy heart” 作用。原有次序爲 *I stand before you with a heavy heart*。例：*I speak to you*，若強 “to you” 則爲 *It is to you that I speak*。
- (2) “to take……” 短語爲 “has seen” 之其 object，現爲 “it” 之同位字。(3) “so that” 接上句語氣爲 independent adverb，與其他句第一字用 “But” 或 “And” 同，承上作用，獨立副詞不與本句中之任何一字發生文法上關係，乃與他句相繫，事實上與本句之 verb 有關。
- (4) “痕跡”，“蹤跡”。We find in Chinese painting some vestiges of Greek influence, 中國畫中可尋索古希臘影響之跡。(5) “依”，“託”。It rests with you to decide, 此事歸汝決定。(6) “無損”，“無害”，“免罰”。One cannot do any wrong to another with impunity, 人不能傷害他人而免受處分。(7) “peace” 之前有 “when” 字省略，“when” 爲 adverbial conjunction 介紹一 adjective clause，其詞幹字爲 “day”，其他同此用法如 *The place where he lives, The reason why he comes*，中之 “where” 及 “why” 皆可省略（與 *I go where you go, I ask why he comes* 中之 “where” 與 “why” 不同。此兩句中之 where 介紹一 adverbial clause，而 “why” 則介紹一 noun clause）。(8) “In no small measure”，“甚多”，比 “in a large measure”（義同）強勢，蓋英文修詞中以否定字置於疑字之前，更顯正面之強勢，故 “in the not distant future” 較 “in the near future” 爲強。新約使徒行傳聖保羅演中有云 “I am a city of no mean city”。(9) “尋求”。He comes to Free China in search of liberty, 彼來後方目的在尋求自由。(10) to take the oath of office”，“宣誓就職”。The new Ministers took the oath of office last month, 上月新任部長宣誓就職。(11) “注定”，“命定”，“數定”。The Nazi Germany is doomed to collapse, 納粹德國之崩潰乃爲數定。(12) “have been” 及 “will be” 皆爲 verb “be” 當 “存在”，“發生” (exist) 解之兩種時間式。即 Wars will exist as they have existed。“Be” 此種用法可在 *I am here* 中之 “am” 及 “whatever is, is right” 中之第一 “is”，又 “There is a house” 中之 “is”，見之。此各 be 字皆爲被述完全之 intransitive verb (of complete predication) 如 *I go, you walk*，之 “go”，“walk” 同用，非作 linking verb 用之 *I am a Chinese, She is clever*，中之 “am” 與 “is” 需要 Subjective complement (Chinese, clever) 者相同。此二者獨立被述不完全 (intransitive verb of incomplete predication) 需要 Complement。(13) “一日……，一日……” *I will help you as long as I am here*，余在此一日決助汝一日。(14) “避免”。He tried to avert the misfortune but failed, 彼圖避免不幸之事發生而失敗。(15) “懇請”，“呼籲”。Many refugees appeal to the government for help, 甚多難民懇請政府協助。(16) “so” 代表上句之說。(17) “May……live” 係 subjunctive verb 表示祈求，願望，“May” 字須置句首。(18) “引用” (某人) 之言。“In the words of Lincoln a democracy is a “government of the people, by the people, for the people”，今引林肯之言曰民主政府乃民有，民治，民享之政府。(19) 古猶太國國王以禮懇請。(20) 見聖經舊約帝王紀。

FRES. ROOSEVELT'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS AS FOURTH

TERM PRESIDENT OF THE U. S.

Delivered on January 20, 1945.

羅斯福總統第四屆就職演詞

一九四五年一月二十日



You will understand and, I believe, agree with my wish that the form of this inauguration be ¹ simple and its words brief. We Americans of today, together with our allies, are passing through a period of supreme test. It is a test of our courage, of our resolve, of our wisdom, of our essential democracy.

If we meet that test successfully and honourably we shall perform a service of historic importance which men and women and children will honor throughout all time. As I stand here today having taken the solemn oath of office in the presence of my fellow countrymen, in the presence of our God, I know that it is America's purpose that ² we shall not fail.

In the days and years that are to come ³ we shall work for a just and durable peace as today we work and fight for total victory in war. We can and we will achieve such a peace. We shall strive for perfection. We shall not achieve it immediately but we still shall strive. We may make mistakes but they must never be

余此次就任總統，儀式簡單，演詞簡短，其用意想諸君當能明瞭，且深信可獲諸君同意。蓋吾等今日之美國人民以及吾人之盟友，刻正經歷一最高試驗之階段。吾人之勇氣，決心，智慧，乃至吾人民治精神之要質，皆在試驗之中。

如吾人能光榮渡過此一試驗，則吾人即可完成一項具有歷史意義之服務，獲得舉世男女老幼之永遠景仰。余今日在全國同胞之前宣誓就職，有一語可以貢獻各位：即吾美國人民抱有一項目的，即吾人不能失敗。

吾人在未來若干時日或年月之間，尚須努力求取公正持久之和平，一如今日為戰爭中之全面勝利而工作而作戰者然。吾人力能且必將求得真種和平。吾人將努力以觀厥成，然吾人不能立即達到目的而必須繼續努力。吾人可能

mistakes that result from faintness of heart or abandonment of moral principle.

I remember that my old schoolmaster said, in days that seemed to us then 'to be secure and untroubled, "Things in life will not always run smoothly. Sometimes we will be rising toward the heights, then all will seem to reverse itself and start downward. The great fact to remember is that the trend of civilization itself is forever upward. That a line drawn through the middle of the peaks and the valleys of the centuries always has an upward trend."

Our Constitution of 1787 was not a perfect instrument. It is not perfect yet. But it provided a firm base upon which all manner of men, of all races and colors and creeds, could build our solid structure of democracy.

Today in this year of war 1945 we have learned lessons at a fearful cost and we shall profit by them. We have learned that we can not live alone at peace that our own well being is dependent on the well-being of other nations far away. We have learned that we must live as men, not as ostriches, nor as dogs in the manger. We have learned to be citizens of the world, members of the human community. We have learned the simple truth, as Emerson said, that the only way to have a friend is to be one.

We can gain no lasting peace if we approach it with suspicion and distrust and with fear. We can gain it only if we proceed with the understanding and confidence and courage which flow from conviction.

遺棄原則，然物等對既決不從係心志任其流於乘道而原則而發生者。

一教僕兒時，認為所在之時代安泰無事，

師因之曾傷吾等謂：「人生決無永久平順之日

。吾人有時如登高山，但少頃之間一切反是，

吾人又任下山途中。吾人於此可得一種至理，

即：世界文明本身之趨向係永遠向上不止，因

此吾人如自千百年文明起伏之正中劃一豎則此

線亦永保向上之趨向。

吾人一七八七年之憲法在過去以及在今日雖有未能謂為盡善盡美之真章，然此一憲法實具有一堅固基礎，吾人有此基礎固可建立一不分種族，不分種族，膚色，及宗教之堅固之民治結構於其上也。

在一九四五戰爭年度之今日，吾人已以巨大代價，領略種種教訓，吾人應藉此教訓。吾人已不能單對於和平之中求吾人本身之福利，須以與吾人相鄰遠處之其他國家之福利為條件。吾人已知吾人不能如院中或地窖中筑食之犬，藉以已身利害之立場，與世界其他民族相立並存。反之，吾人與彼等應以同有人性之人類並立生存。吾人已學習作世界之公民，人類社會之份子。吾人並已認識，愛默生氏，所闡述之簡單真諦，即：交友惟一之道，在本身以友禮待人是也。

如吾人以懷疑不信任與恐懼之態度處之，

即無法獲得持久和平。吾人僅有以諒解信任，並

藉信心而來之勇氣行事，始能獲得持久和平。

英漢對照

• 當代文獻

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陳石季 梅光迪

溫源寧 潘家洵

六位先生

一致推介

本刊選譯國際間重要文告，條約，宣言及
各國領袖演講等，英漢對照，印刷精美，可作
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