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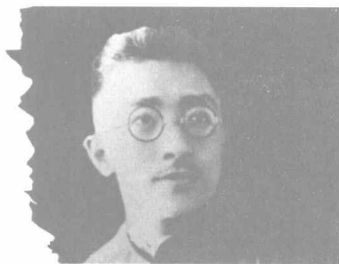
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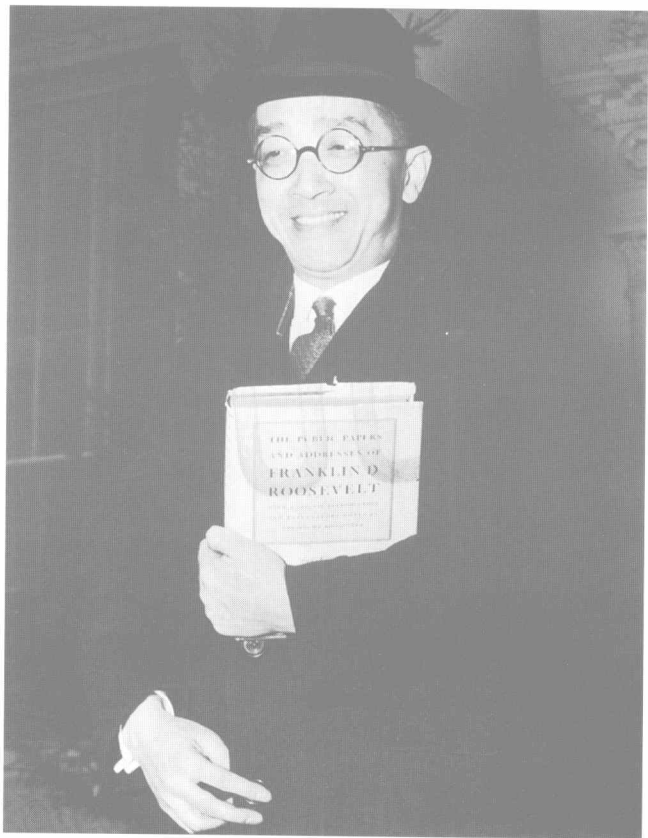
胡適全集



周质平
韩荣芳 整理

英文著述(四)

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◎ 胡适在美国白宫前（1941年12月）



◎ 胡适在向美国公众演讲



◎ 胡适与陈光甫（左一）及美国财政部长摩根索（1940年2月）



◎ 胡适应邀到美国普渡大学演讲（1941年5月）

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On General Subject Prosperity and Employment*

I am deeply interested in tonight's discussion which I understand will be on Prosperity and Employment. Having been a professor of Philosophy all my life, I must confess total ignorance about the intricate problems of Employment and Unemployment, Prosperity and Depression. I have only one observation to make tonight: namely, that no economic prosperity nor social security is dependable or even possible in a world of international anarchy.

Exactly a month ago today, on the 9th of April, you and I woke up in the morning to learn from the radio and the morning papers that Denmark had been conquered and Norway had been invaded.

We were all shocked and saddened to the depths of our hearts. For Denmark and Norway are by common consent re-

* An address at the Economic Club, N. Y. C. Hotel Astor on May 9, 1940.

garded as two of the best governed and most highly civilized countries in the world,— countries where there is practically no illiteracy, no unemployment, no armament. These two countries together with Sweden and Holland, undoubtedly represent the highest standards of life and civilization yet attained by mankind.

The temporary conquest of Denmark and the invasion into Norway have naturally horrified all of us. Many of us were led to ask: Is this civilization worth preserving which cannot protect a Denmark and a Norway? At least, we are all made to realize more vividly and more convincingly than ever before that, in a world where international anarchy prevails, no nation can really enjoy economic prosperity and social security.

It is not only the small and weak nations that are the sufferers under international anarchy. Two of the most powerful democracies. Great Britain and France, are now engaged in the present war, and many an observer has expressed grave and pessimistic thoughts concerning their future in the war.

Even the United States has not escaped the inevitable effects of international anarchy. During the last six years you have spent over \$7,000,000,000 on national defense, and have increased your annual defense expenditure from \$500,000,000 in 1934 to \$1,600,000,000 for 1940, and \$2,200,000,000 for 1941. And there are many people who are seriously worried about the United States being involved

* in the Second World War. Your shipping, your trade, your industry, your politics, your thinking, your life in general, all have been greatly affected by the World War in its various phases.

All this was foreseen by your far-sighted leaders. In his famous Chicago speech of October, 1937, President Roosevelt said:

There is solidarity and interdependence about the modern world, both technically and morally, which makes it impossible for any nation completely to isolate itself from economic and political upheavals in the rest of the world...

International anarchy destroys every foundation for peace. It jeopardizes either the immediate or the future security of every nation, large or small...

It seems to be unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading.

When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease...

War is a contagion, whether it be declared or undeclared. It can engulf states and peoples re-

to remove from the original scene of hostilities. We are determined to keep out of war, yet we cannot insure ourselves against the disastrous effects of war and the dangers of involvement...

Most important of all, the will for peace on the part of peace-loving nations must express itself to the end that nations that may be tempted to violate their agreements and the rights of others will desist from such a cause. There must be positive endeavors to preserve peace.

Unfortunately the skeptical world was deaf to these prophetic warnings. It was not ready for quarantining the aggressor, or for any other positive endeavors to preserve peace.

Thus the contagion of international anarchy was permitted to spread and develop into a full-fledged world war. Those of us who have watched its first symptoms in the Japanese invasion in Manchuria nine years ago, cannot admit that the Second World War is in any sense a Blitzkrieg: it has been a chronic disease which has had nine years to develop.

Now that the international situation has gone beyond the stage wherein a timely quarantine might be of use, the world seems to be prepared for a long war lasting probably many years. In such a long war individual effort seems to be so powerless and helpless. Yet it may not be out-of-place for us to begin now to draw the correct historical lesson from this

stupendous tragedy in the history of our race.

The lesson seems to be this; the peace of the world broke down as a result of ruthless assaults on the world order that had been built up on the ruins of the last world war; and peace can only be restored when there can be re-established a new and more workable world order that shall re-place the present international anarchy. Those assaults by the unscrupulous aggressors have succeeded in breaking down the old world order, because the post-war system of international government was basically defective in that it had no effective means to enforce its own law and order. It was built up at a time when the world, probably too much influenced by the American traditional fear for international entanglements, was anxious to avoid definite commitments on the part of the various states to use their power for the enforcement of law and order.

Whatever form the future world order may take, it must, therefore, fulfill two fundamental conditions for its success; first, it must have power or force of its own; second, it must be based upon definite and precise commitments by the states.

As we all know, Great Britain and France declared war on Germany last September because they had made a definite and precise commitment to Poland to the effect that if Polish national independence were violated and if Poland should resist such violation with armed force, they, Great Britain and

France, would come to her assistance. We may say that Great Britain and France entered the war to uphold the validity of a definite and precise commitment. After the extinguishment of Czechoslovakia in March, 1939, Great Britain and France seemed to begin to realize the impossibility of keeping peace in Europe by means of vague generalities. So these two democratic powers made similar pledges to Poland, Rumania, Greece and Turkey. The aggressors didn't believe that these pledges would be honored. So in a sense the present war in Europe is fought for the purpose of establishing the new principle of building up a world order on definite and precise commitments by the separate states. The willingness of the states to back their definite pledges with their power is the element which was lacking in the old international order and which must form the foundation for the future world order.

Intellectual Preparedness^{*}

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After this memorable ceremony, you are to be classed with that privileged minority, — the college graduates. This day marks not the conclusion or completion of a period of life, but rather the “commencement” of a new life, the beginning of real life and real responsibilities.

As university graduates, you are expected to be a little “different”, — different from the majority of the people who have not gone to college. You will be expected to talk strangely and to behave queerly.

Some of you may not like to be regarded as different and queer. You may want to mix with the crowd and be identified

* A commencement address at Union College, June 10, 1940. Also the commencement address before Purdue University in 1941.