

汪诗明 著

1951年 《澳新美同盟条约》研究

A Study of the ANZUS Treaty in 1951



世界知识出版社

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序 言

2006年7月，我从复旦大学国际关系与公共事务学院博士后流动站顺利出站。在出站报告答辩会上，与会专家们对我的报告给予了良好的评价。这既是对我在站期间所付出努力的一种肯定，同时也寄托着一份希望，因为答辩意味着一个阶段的结束和另一个阶段的开始。良好的评价虽令人欣慰，但我非常清楚，我的出站报告不尽如人意的地方很多，需要我静下心来，仔细打磨。但问题是，国内有关该研究领域的基本资料，可以说已被我一网打尽。要想在这个基础上，再在国内挖掘新的资料，也许真是应了一句“缘木求鱼”的俗话。

2006年秋天，我有幸以高级访问学者的身份来到堪培拉。堪培拉算不上世界名城，但很独特。这是一座先规划后建设的城市。平展的街道，一片片尤加利树林，一块块野草覆盖的绿地，以及从城市中心向四周呈放射状的布局，给人印象深刻。这个被称为世界上最寂寞的城市却有着丰富的文化资源。国家图书馆、国家档案馆、国家博物馆、战争纪念馆、以及各种专业门类的国家或市级博物馆、纪念馆、史料馆等应有尽有。所以，对一个访问学者来说，堪培拉是一个理想的地方。这里既没有一般大城市的喧闹和浮躁，也没有大都会的繁华和流俗，却有着湛蓝的天空、清新的空气和开阔的视野，当然还有路人相见时的由衷问候。这是一个乍看犹如乡野但时间久了你又令人乐不思蜀的城市。

在这样一个不大的城市里，有一个世界著名学府——澳大利亚国立大学。它位于市中心，是一个没有围墙、四通八达、公交车穿行其间的开放式大学。1万多棵大树点缀的校园处处流淌着浓浓的学术气息。来自120多个国家5000多名留学生成了这所澳洲最著名学府的一道独特的风景线，也使得它成为一所名副其实的国际性大学。这里不仅造就了数位诺贝尔奖得主

科学家，而且培养了像现任总理陆克文那样著名的政治家。

在访学的日子里，国立大学亚太外交学院给我安排了一间办公室，里面的配备较为齐全，有电脑、电话、打印机、复印机、传真机等，但我在里面办公的时间并不多，我的大部分时间是在国立大学图书馆、澳大利亚国家图书馆和澳大利亚国家档案馆度过的。

澳大利亚国立大学有大大小小各类图书馆七个。这些图书馆并不是各自为政，而是一个协作整体。对读者来说，你可以在任一图书馆查阅资料和借阅图书，而且你还可以在任一图书馆还书，不管你借的书是否属于该馆收藏。当然，你用不着担心所还书籍是否会回到原来的书架上，因为那是工作人员要做的事情。还书的时间也可以选择不在图书馆开馆的时间，你只要把书放到图书馆正门指定的一个位置，确认要还的书籍经过槽道进入馆内就可以了。图书馆为读者提供了诸多便利，而为确保这些便利设置的规章制度自然成为你不敢越雷池半步的禁区。国立大学图书馆的藏书相当丰富，除了特殊的档案资料外，你所需要的资料这里基本上都能查到，包括音像资料。对我来说，那里收藏的自澳大利亚联邦成立以来的几百卷联邦议会辩论集恐怕是最珍贵的资料。在我修改出站报告时，这些资料给我提供了莫大的帮助。有趣的是，我还在其中一个叫做孟席斯图书馆里看到大量有关中国历史与文化的书籍、报纸以及其他珍贵文献。有些资料是我在国内都不常见到的。

澳大利亚图书馆位于美丽的人工湖——格里芬湖旁。周围苍郁的绿色映衬出这座罗马式建筑的洁白和庄重。这里每天要接待上千名读者，但像我这样飘洋过海来搜寻原始档案资料者并不多。所以，在查阅或照拍这些档案资料时，我就得到了管理人员的格外照顾。他们首先会把一份只用于学术而不用于商业的承诺书递到你的面前。此时签下你的大名就成了一个必不可少又非常郑重的手续。澳大利亚国家图书馆是私人档案的收藏地。澳大利亚历史上一些著名人物包括政治家、外交家以及社会名流的家庭档案在这里保存得相当完好。除此之外，图书馆还保存了澳大利亚甚至其他国家各个时期的报纸，尽管这些报纸由于年代久远而纸张变黄，但仍清晰可读。你还可以利用缩微胶卷在尽可能短的时间里查到你所需要的资料。

我常去的另一个地方是澳大利亚国家档案馆。这幢看上去像一座私人别墅的建筑掩映在绿树丛中。它曾经是澳大利亚商业部办公的地方，后来商业部搬迁，档案馆取而代之。由于空间局限，现在这里主要成了读者的阅览室。大部分国家档案被存放在城郊的另外两个档案馆里。在这里，你可以把

要查询的档案信息交给管理人员，他们负责与另外两个档案馆联系。这时候你要做的就是到休息大厅小憩，从自动咖啡机上买一杯咖啡，一边品味，一边欣赏休息室循环放映的有关堪培拉建城的宣传片。一两个小时之后，当管理人员面带笑容把颜色斑驳的档案资料整齐地放到你的面前时，用“Thank You Very Much”来表达你此时此刻的感受，都显得苍白无力。照例，你需要在有关涉及版权的承诺书签上你的名字，并且耐心地倾听管理人员讲解翻阅档案时的一些注意事项。我要查找的有关澳新美同盟的档案资料非常丰富，本书中使用的大量档案资料得益于我在档案馆里的细心查阅。

搜集到这些宝贵的资料，令我兴奋。但每每想到去这些地方途中的辛苦，我不由得倒吸几口凉气。

在去澳洲前，我联系到一个在堪培拉学习的中国留学生，向他询问那里的租房情况。我已记不清他的名字了，但他的一席话令我难忘。他准备让我续租他欲退租的房子，我问他从租处步行至国立大学需多长时间，他似乎不假思索地说：“你要走路去？！在堪培拉，走路会走死人的。”我当时并不明白此话的含义。到了堪培拉，我才恍然大悟。原来在堪培拉，很少看到有人步行去上学、上班和购物。如果你见到有人健步如飞，那肯定是在过业余生活——锻炼。

堪培拉的公交车准点虽令人称羨，但班次少同样令人咋舌。如果你住在郊区，到城市中心去办事就得三思而后行。错过了一个班次的车，等上一两个小时是常有之事。如果你下午去市中心办事，等你办完事想乘车返回，那十有八九会令你失望。如果遇到节日之类的特殊日子，那就呆在家里好了，因为公交车也放假。也许你会说，怎么不选择打出租车？说实话，堪培拉出租车不多，因为生意清淡，所以没有人去做这样几乎赚不到什么钱的买卖。我在这方面吃过很多次苦头，常常因为查阅资料而未赶上返程的班车，几经周折，有时回到住处已是夜里九、十点钟。虽然路上很辛苦，但看到自己的收获，一切付出都是值得的。这样的体验给我平凡而又单调的学术研究增添了几分乐趣。

2007年夏季，我返回国内，继续修改出站报告。虽然没有给它订出一个具体的出版计划，但还是希望它有朝一日能够付梓而得到学界的认可。让我犯难的是，市场经济下的图书出版行情让我们这些以爬学术格子取乐的人，不得不为自己辛勤耕耘而获得的成果担忧。不过，有一个信念在我脑子里根深蒂固：我不会选择一个只要给钱什么书都可以印刷的出版社。如果那样

做，一对不起自己，二对不起读者。用苏州方言来说，这叫做“作孽”。

说来也巧，近年来，我校领导对培养高水平学术成果非常重视，专门出台了扶持计划。我的学术研究成果有幸成为扶持对象。在欣喜的同时，我的压力也在无形中增加了不少。但无论如何，我都要衷心感谢学校领导的大力支持，尤其要感谢何若全、姚海和任平三位校长。

我还要感谢世界知识出版社的工作人员，尤其要感谢吴超莹老师。当我把出版计划和想法与她进行交流时，她表达了真诚的支持，并给我提出了很好的建议。这些建议无时无刻不在影响着我对拙著的润色。希望我的作品不会令她失望。这是我感谢她的最好方式。

当我把书稿交付出版社时，我就准备承担一种学术上的社会责任。学界的褒奖是一种激励，而批评更是一笔受益无穷的财富。我期待着这两方面的收获。

谨以此序献给澳大利亚国立大学亚太外交学院院长William Maley 教授、Andrea Haese 女士、Pauline Kerr 博士、邦德大学的Stuart Murray博士；献给我在堪培拉的朋友Liangzhou夫妇、Qin先生；献给那些给我提供无私帮助的图书馆和档案馆的工作人员，还有许许多多给我提供过帮助的人。祝他们一生平安！

2008年9月26日

Abstract

The Second World War is an important historical event, which has substantially changed international affairs. After the war, the U.S. forged the alliance system of strategic defense, the ANZUS was one important part of it. The ANZUS was the first defense alliance which the U.K. did not lead or take part in, while Australia and New Zealand was involved. It had an extraordinary meaning in history of the British Commonwealth. Among those important defense alliances in the Asia-Pacific area, the ANZUS was a relatively stable one, although New Zealand retreated from it for some reasons in the mid-1980s, the triple alliance was thus replaced by two-party one, the ANZUS Treaty in 1951 is still in effect, and it has been working as usual. This dissertation focuses on "The ANZUS Treaty 1951", I have used archival materials of some concerned countries, memories or biographies of some witnesses, and the newest findings of academic researches abroad, to search for the origin, process of the ANZUS all-round and deeply, to analyse the ANZUS Treaty's effects on foreign and defense policies of those three parties, to explain why the U. K. was excluded from the ANZUS, and finally, to generalize the characters of the ANZUS.

The whole text is mainly divided into three parts: introduction, main body and conclusion.

In the part of introduction, I will explain the intentions and meaning of this subject in an academic sense, give a summary of trend of the researches of this field at home and abroad, describe the researching methods to be used and finally generally introduce the references I have used.

The first chapter discusses the origin of defense cooperation between Aus-

tralia and America. This chapter begins with the event of the American White Fleet's visit to Australia in 1908 and analyses the effects of it on Australia-Britain relations and Australia-America relations. I think that this event had much more potential effects in the long run than anything in reality, because it was the first time that Australia openly and clearly showed her positive attitude to American power appearing in the Pacific area. It drew a future blueprint of the defense co-operation between two countries.

The second chapter analyses the connection between the Pacific War and the establishment of paradigm of Australia-America defense co-operation. The establishment of military alliance between them during the war not only helped to counterattack the Japanese invasion effectively, but also the friendship and understanding which had been established during their cooperation became the foundation for their future relationship, especially for the development of defense cooperation. And finally, the chapter also takes up the disharmonious relationship between Australia and America in the later period of the Pacific war.

The third chapter mainly discusses the reasons for the ANZAC Pact and its influence on Australia-America relationship. Australia and New Zealand's dissatisfaction with their positions and their limited rights among the alliance system established during the war, their intention to restrict America's monopoly to the affairs of Southwest Pacific, were mainly responsible for their signature on the bilateral agreement. This agreement defended their interests in their own area on the one hand, it drifted America apart from the two countries on the other hand.

The fourth chapter observes the influence of the establishment of UN on the development of Australia-America relationship. One of the UN Charter's gists was to maintain the peace and security of the world after the war, which accorded to the basic objective of Australia's foreign and defence policies, so Australia took part in the conference of the establishment of the UN with much enthusiasm. But Australia and America had different voices about the veto power of the Five Powers, the power of UN General Assembly and the issue of the trustee of the colonies, as well as the deep prejudice to Evatt's personal character in the State Council of the United States, so the conference of San Francisco threw some shadow on the development of Australia-America relationship.

The fifth chapter discusses the reasons of their failure to reach an agreement on their defense cooperation through the Australia-America dispute over the using of Manus base and its effects on their future relationship. Their disagreement on the using of the Manus base had some subtle effects on their defense cooperation after the end of the war, it seemed that this event had some disadvantageousness to Australia-America defense cooperation, but in essence, it speeded up the course of defense cooperation. At least, it seems to be just the case for Australia.

The sixth chapter is to observe how to bring the settlement of post-war Japan's issue with the Australia-America relationship together. Whether Australia or America stated that they themselves had made an outstanding contribution to the Pacific War, so they had some cooperations in a series of issues such as taking part in the ceremony of accepting Japan's surrender, sharing the occupation and control of defeated Japan, etc. But Australia wanted a punishing treaty on Japan, and America insisted a soft peace treaty with Japan, this principal difference brought some tension to their bilateral relationship, in the same time, Australia also saw some possibilities to sign the defense pact of the Pacific area from it.

The seventh chapter expounds the effect of the Korean War on the defense cooperation among Australia, New Zealand and America. The break out of the Korean War accelerated the adjustment of America's defense strategy. Meanwhile, America was realizing the importance of cooperation and support given by the allies in implementing its strategy of the Cold War in Asia. The meaning of Australia's engagement in the Korean War was not only its first defense cooperation with America after the end of the Pacific war, but also minimised the negative influence on their bilateral relations brought by their disagreement about some issues after the war. We can draw a conclusion that the Korean War offered them a good opportunity to reestablish good relationship, and it paved the way for the establishment of Australia-America defense ally.

The eighth chapter discusses the concrete effect of the peaceful treaty to Japan on Australia-America defense cooperation. The changes of America's strategy of the Pacific after the end of the war will be first discussed, and backgrounds of the formation of America's peaceful strategy to Japan analysed next. I think that the Korean War and the changing of the situation in China were the key elements

in the process of America's policy-making to Japan, but, of course, the America's peaceful strategy with Japan should be understood and supported by its allies including Australia and New Zealand. Finally, America had to make some concession in discussing the security treaty of the Pacific, Australia and New Zealand expressed their wishes to sign the peaceful treaty to Japan.

The ninth chapter discusses the formal signature of the ANZUS Treaty. John Dulles's visit to Australia in February 1951 was an important event in the process of discussing the Pacific Pact, because it was the first formal discussion about the regional defense agreement among three parties. Their common sense in the draft treaty of the alliance meant that the effective discussion was in the right way. The declaration of America's President about the defense treaty of the Pacific issued on 18 April, expressed the confirmation of American high-level officer to agreement on the defense reached by the triple, and paid the way for later discussion. On 1 September, the ANZUS Treaty was formally signed in San Francisco after all preparatory things had finished.

The tenth chapter mainly explains the important roles of the first meeting of the ANZUS Council. Because the ANZUS Treaty was a product of compromise, and there are some demerits about the text of the treaty, the detailed rules of being implemented, the security system, etc., which particularly made Australia and New Zealand be upset. But, America's status of great power and Australia and New Zealand's passive position created by the necessity of asking for help from others, decided that the first meeting of the ANZUS Council was arranged by America's rule. America satisfied Australia and New Zealand with the need of psychology and feeling at least price, and succeeded in setting the gist of the ANZUS into the orbit of the cold war against the communist power.

The eleventh chapter mainly analyses the relation between the UK and the ANZUS. It describes in detail why the Churchill's government wanted to join the ANZUS at first and finally gave up such effort. It also deeply explains the reasons that the UK was ruled out. The rapid decline of British power and its strategic ignorance of the Pacific area made it into marginal position in the defense arrangement of this area, Australia and New Zealand's increasing sense of their master and security, and America's strong objection or deliberate expulsion of the UK were

mainly responsible for such result.

The twelfth chapter gives a general valuation to the historical influence of the ANZUS Treaty. In my viewpoint, the ANZUS Treaty had different influences on the foreign and defence policies of the parties. For America, the ANZUS Treaty was an important part of its anti-Communist defense system, but it didn't have an fundamental bearing on its foreign and defense strategy. For Australia, the ANZUS was the basic foundation of its foreign and defense strategy during the Cold War. And for New Zealanders, strengthening the defense cooperation among New Zealand, Australia and America was the same important as keeping their traditional link with the U. K. , and even the later enjoyed a big priority in their foreign and defense strategy.

The conclusion epitomizes some characteristics of the ANZUS. First, the conclusion of the ANZUS embodied the traces of development of Australia's foreign and defense policies; Secondly, the ANZUS was a product of the Cold War era; And last, the ANZUS was a homogeneous alliance with unbalanced rights and duties.

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