

美國外交政策

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(第一號)

維利·對記者的談話

PRESS INTERVIEW BY ALEXANDER WILEY

問：維利參議員，你以為在更多地知道俄國人會要求什麼代價以前艾森豪威爾是否會同意和斯大林會談？

答：斯大林的談話似乎仍然是老一套。沒有什麼確定的和具體的東西可以作開始談判的基礎。倘若他提出願意從朝鮮撤退中國軍隊，停止干涉地球上其他地方，他的提議也許可以引起更多一點希望。也許總統掌握着某些我們所不知道的事實，這種事實可能不管怎樣也導致談判。

問：你是否要堅持聯合國必須更加努力禁止共產黨利用聯合國做攻擊美國的講壇？

答：我一定要使聯合國認識，蘇聯主要地是利用聯合國作宣傳攻擊美國的講壇。我要促使他們縝密考慮制訂聯合國新的議事規程，以儘量減少蘇聯利用它做講壇的可能。當然，聯合國仍然必須作為辯論的自由講壇。祇要我們能夠以真理回答謊言，我們就能對這講壇的價值不必懷疑。然而，那並不意味着對美國不加掩飾的誹謗是可以允許的。

問：聯合國是否僱用了過多的共產黨員和它的同路人以致損及聯合國的利益呢？

答：是的，一點都不錯。在聯合國秘書處和聯合國的特殊機構內還有太多共產黨員和極可懷疑的同路人，這是對這些機構不利的。事實上，這樣的人有一個就已經是太多了。然而，這並不意味着對於聯合國秘書處或國際特殊機構所僱用的老實、苦幹、獻身於聯合國的多數人員都加以懷疑。照例，少數的共產黨員是在毀壞那極大多數優秀僱員們的聲譽。

問：你是否當真提出，假若聯合國不作更大的努力以阻止聯合國被利用為間諜的窩藏所，美國交給聯合國的會費將會削減？

● 美國參議院外交委員會主席。

Q. Should Eisenhower agree to talk to Stalin before more is known about the price the Russians will ask, Senator Wiley?

A. Stalin's statement seemed to be the same old line. There is nothing definite and concrete on which to base even a beginning of negotiations. If he had suggested that he was willing to withdraw the Chinese forces from Korea, and stop interfering elsewhere on the globe, more hope might come from his suggestion. The Chief Executive may have facts I don't have that very well might lead to negotiations anyhow.

Q. Will you insist that the United Nations do more to keep Communists from using it as a sounding board for attacks on the U.S.?

A. I will very definitely try to have the U.N. recognize that the Soviet Union is principally using the U.N. as a sounding board for a propaganda attack against the United States. I will urge that careful consideration be given to possible new U.N. rules of procedure so as to minimize Red use of that sounding board to the greatest possible extent. Of course, the U.N. must remain a free forum of debate, and so long as we can answer lies with the truth, we can be confident in the worth-whileness of the forum. That does not mean, however, that unmitigated slanders should be permitted against the United States.

Q. Are there too many Communists and fellow travelers employed by the United Nations for its own good?

A. Very definitely, yes. There are still too many Communists and highly suspected fellow travelers inside the U.N. Secretariat and inside the U.N. specialized agencies, for the good of these organizations. As a matter of fact, one such individual is one too many. This does not mean, however, that there should be a cloud over the mass of honest, hard-working, dedicated individuals employed by the U.N. Secretariat or by the international civil service of the specialized agencies. As usual, it is a Communist minority which is destroying the good name of the overwhelming mass of worth-while employes.

Q. Are you serious in suggesting that the contribution by the U.S. to the U.N. will be cut if something more is not done to stop the use of the organization as a spy haven?

答：讓我把這問題再提得尖銳些。我要指出：我從來沒有「提議」過除非對間諜和顛覆的問題採取了堅決的行動，美國交給聯合國的會費應行削減。我是預料假若不採取建設性的行動，這事也許會發生的。我的預言不是無根據的揣測或是我自己單獨想出來的主意。那是根據其他參議員和眾議員給我的特殊報告，這些議員們都因最近揭露的共產黨在聯合國裏的活動情形而大為震驚。

換言之，我實際上祇是據實報告：國會中正在醞釀一個風潮，正當的做法是向國會保證凡能夠做的事已經都在做了。國會必須有此保證，否則我預料國會在通過對聯合國會費撥款時一定要附加一個條件，即建立一個完善的保密制度。

然而，我非常希望這樣一個制度果能建立起來，對這問題來一個澈底解決，而聯合國的撥款仍可完全保留。我曾指出附加條件是一個危險的辦法，因為別國將被鼓勵如法泡製。

問：聯合國在美國境內設立總部是否是一個錯誤？

答：我不相信聯合國在美國境內設立總部是一個錯誤。多數國家都承認我們國家是聯合國唯一最大的捍衛者。因此美國人民了解和擁護聯合國是必要的。聯合國近在咫尺是大有助於我國人民對聯合國問題的認識。

然而，顯然，俄國人已狡猾地預見到，將聯合國安置在美國境內，他們可以偷運許多代理人進來。我們自己的和聯合國的官員絕無任何理由不應對於蘇聯非法利用在我國境內的聯合國總部的危險加以警惕。

問：你是否要促使其他盟邦來加強我們在朝鮮的軍隊？

答：是的，我相信參議院的同僚們和我自己要配合着國務院和國防部敦促盟邦對於聯合國在朝鮮反共的共同鬥爭中貢獻更多的人力和物資。

美國已經貢獻出不成比例的重大負擔，特別是在寶貴的人力上，那是沒有問題的。

A. Let me sharpen that question somewhat. Let me point out that I never "suggested" that the U.S. contribution to the U.N. would be cut unless decisive action were taken on the espionage and subversion problem. I predicted that such might be the case unless constructive action were taken. My prediction was no idle speculation or an idea initiated by myself alone. It was based upon specific reports which had already come to me from other Senators and Representatives who were absolutely aroused by recent disclosures of Communist activities in the U.N.

In other words, I, in effect, realistically reported that a congressional storm is on the way and that what must rightly be done is to reassure the Congress that everything is being done that could be done. The Congress must have that reassurance or else I predicted a rider would be introduced to condition disbursement of U.S. funds on the setting up of a sound security procedure.

I am extremely hopeful, however, that such a procedure will indeed be set up and that the problem will be licked once and for all, with the integrity of U.N. appropriations fully preserved. I have pointed out that the attachment of riders is a dangerous practice because it encourages other nations to do likewise.

Q. Was it probably a mistake to have the U.N. set up headquarters in this country?

A. I don't believe that it was a mistake to have the U.N. set up headquarters in this country. Most nations recognize that it is our country which is the greatest single bulwark of the United Nations. U.S. public understanding and support of the U.N. are therefore essential. Having the U.N. close at hand has been a great help toward our people's recognition of U.N. problems.

However, it is clear that the Russian craftily foresaw that by placing the U.N. inside the U.S., they could slip in many of their agents. But there is no reason under the sun why our own and the U.N.'s officials should not have been alert to this danger of the Soviet's misuse of the U.N.'s headquarters on our soil.

Q. Will you try to influence other allied countries to add to our forces in Korea?

A. Yes, I believe that fellow members of Congress and I, in conjunction with the State Department and the Pentagon, will and should urge upon allied countries that they contribute larger numbers of man power and materiel to the common U.N. struggle against Communism in Korea.

There is no question but that the U.S. has been contributing a disproportionately heavy share of the load, particularly in precious man power.

問：你是否贊成給予共產中國以聯合國會員的資格？

答：我百分之百地反對給予共產中國聯合國會員的資格。我認為這樣做將是一個災難，而且是違反我們所尊重的每一個道德原則。這好像將警察長的徽章授予兇手一樣。

問：你同意將台灣交與共產黨作為終止朝鮮戰爭的代價嗎？

答：我百分之百地反對將台灣或任何地方的寸土給予共產黨作為任何事情代價。我百分之百地反對對赤色的中國、蘇聯或其他的共產黨政府姑息。

台灣是太平洋安全的關鍵，從前國務院最少可以說是對這個問題瞎了眼，最近纔認識了這事實。

問：聯合國容許俄國破壞聯合國在朝鮮所進行的戰爭，你如何辯解呢？

答：我不相信俄國會被容許破壞朝鮮的戰爭。從開頭起，在一九五〇年六月，我們已經安排好絕對不讓蘇聯絲毫干涉美國在朝鮮的軍事努力。因此我們在朝鮮的軍事行動是由國防部指揮，而絕對不是由聯合國總部指揮的。

問：你是否贊成對外國繼續援助？

答：我堅決地贊成繼續軍事援助。並且我還堅決贊成繼續從海外採購軍需品和裝備。

同時，我堅決相信，我們將來的援助的數量大部分將取決於我們自己很緊的預算情形。換言之，美國必須要平衡預算和穩定美元價格。世界經濟的命運是唯我們的金元是賴；所以我們不能讓美鈔貶值。固然，我們願意履行對全世界的義務，但是我們不敢忘懷我們自己國內的經濟情況。

問：你有何辦法使我國的外交政策更成功些？

答：你所問的範圍太大了，我想答覆的部分可以包含以下幾點：

Q. Do you favor giving Communist China membership in the U.N.?

A. I 100 per cent oppose giving Communist China membership in the U.N. To do so would, in my opinion, be a disaster and a violation of every principle of morality which we hold dear. It would be like giving a deputy sheriff's badge to a killer.

Q. Do you favor giving Formosa to the Communists as a prize for ending the war in Korea?

A. I 100 per cent oppose giving Formosa or one acre of soil anywhere to the Communists as a prize for anything. I 100 per cent oppose appeasement of Red China, of Soviet Russia or any other Communist government.

Formosa is a key to the security of the Pacific, and even our State Department—which for so long was, to say the least, blind on this issue, has belatedly recognized that fact.

Q. How do you justify the United Nations in permitting Russia to try to sabotage the war that the U.N. is fighting?

A. I do not believe that Russia has been permitted to sabotage the war in Korea. At the very outset, in June, 1950, care was taken so that the U.S. military effort in Korea would very definitely not be subject in the slightest to Soviet interference. And so we have run the military operation in Korea from the Pentagon and definitely not from U.N. headquarters.

Q. Will you favor continued aid for nations abroad?

A. I very definitely will favor continued military aid. Moreover, I will definitely favor continued off-shore procurement of military supplies and equipment.

At the same time, I firmly believe that the level of our future aid will have to be determined in major part by America's own critical budget situation. In other words, America must balance the budget and stabilize the dollar. The fate of the world's economics depends upon our dollar; and so we cannot allow the American greenback to go further on the toboggan. Of course, we will want to fulfill our commitments throughout the world, but we dare not forget our own financial situation at home.

Q. Do you have an idea as to what might make this country's foreign policy more successful?

A. That question covers the whole waterfronts, but I think that part of the answer may consist of the following:

(一) 要有真正的兩黨協商——並不是官樣文章，也不是事後通知一聲，而是事前的協商。要行政部門（依憲法領導外交政策）真正徵求參議院的意見並與其協商。

(二) 要任命一個計劃高級戰略的外交政策設計委員會，與國務卿會商，負責分析美國外交事務的主要長遠趨向。應該從政府與私人方面延攬具有最優秀的軍事、外交、政治、經濟的頭腦的人物參加這個委員會。讓政府的專家們擺脫日常工作，以便他們真正有時間來研究並考慮那些重大的問題。

(三) 從今以後要承認：蘇聯所尊重的唯有力量——唯有決定性的行動；它漠視空言、空洞的決議和紙上談兵。跟蘇聯談判要單刀直入，不要婉轉的外交詞令，要有真正的軍事和政治的實力來支持我們的談判。

(譯自一九五三年一月二日「美國新聞與世界報導」)

(a) Have genuine bipartisan consultation—not just as a token formality and not after acts have been committed, but before they are under way. Have the executive branch (which, under the Constitution, spearheads foreign policy) truly advise and consult with the U.S. Senate.

(b) Appoint a high-strategy Foreign Policy Planning Board which will, in consultation with the Secretary of State, analyze the principal long-range trends of American foreign affairs. Have on this Board our best military, diplomatic, political, economic brains—from both Government and private life. Free the Government experts on its from routine day-to-day tasks so that they really have time to study and think about the big problems.

(c) Recognize once and for all that the Soviet Union respects only strength—only decisive actions; that it ignores mere words, mere resolutions, mere “paper armies.” Talk “turkey” with the Russians instead of diplomatic double talk, and back up our talk with real military and political strength.

(U.S. News and World Report, January 2, 1953)

(第二號)

杜魯門致美國國會最後一次的國情咨文 (節錄)

一九五三年一月七日

HARRY S. TRUMAN'S LAST STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE TO CONGRESS (EXCERPTS)

January 7, 1953

美國的軍事力量是自由世界防務的中心。

自一九四五年至一九四九年間，美國是唯一擁有原子彈的國家，這件事本身就是很大的防止力量和保障。

但是，當蘇聯完成了原子爆炸——這是他們遲早一定會做到的——我們不得不擴充我們力量的全部基礎。我們必須努力保持我們在原子武器上的優先地位；我們必須普遍地加強我們的武裝部隊和擴大我們的生產力——我們的動員基礎。在歷史上說來，在朝鮮發生侵略以前九個月，蘇聯的原子爆炸推動了我們國防動員方案的計劃。

那時我們所需要的，不僅是一個能對侵略施行回擊的中心力量；我們還需要在自由世界的外緣也有力量；我們需要為我們的盟邦和為我們自己的防

At the heart of the freeworld's defense is the military strength of the United States.

From 1945 to 1949, the United States was sole possessor of the atomic bomb. That was a great deterrent and protection in itself.

But when the Soviets produced an atomic explosion—as they were bound to do in time—we had to broaden the whole basis of our strength. We had to endeavor to keep our lead in atomic weapons. We had to strengthen our armed forces generally and to enlarge our productive capacity—our mobilization base. Historically, it was the Soviet atomic explosion in the fall of 1949, nine months before the aggression in Korea, which stimulated the planning of our program of defense mobilization.

What we needed was not just a central force that could strike back against aggression. We also needed strength along the outer edges of the free world, defenses for our allies as well as

禦設施；我們需要能夠守得住我們的防綫、阻止敵人進攻、並且能實行反擊的力量。

在建立堅強的防務的工作上，我們有了很大的進展。在過去兩年半中，我們已把我們的防禦力量增加了一倍多，而且我們還幫助加強幾乎所有其它自由國家的防務。

一切集體安全、抵抗侵略及建立防禦力量的措施，都成為自由世界生存和進步的首要條件，但是，如我所指出，這些措施和在自由國家內實現和維持經濟和社會進步的必要性是密不可分的。

沒有經濟力量的支持，便沒有軍事力量可言。在經濟混亂、社會崩潰的情形下，就不可能有自由。因為這些理由，我們國家的政策中包含着廣泛的經濟措施。

在歐洲，馬歇爾計劃的偉大方案，使得英國、法國、意大利、及半打其它國家的人民，靠了美國的幫助，從停滯不前的狀態，又振作起來，重新走上生產高漲、收入增加、生活水準上昇的道路。馬歇爾計劃幾乎一下子就把情勢改變了：歐洲人民現在有了新的希望和活力，現在他們能夠擔負起自由世界軍事防禦的一份責任，這在幾年以前是不可能的事。

現在歐洲的國家正在很快地走向政治和經濟的統一，在歐洲地圖上因此而發生的變化，比過去五百年來所發生過的變化，更使人充滿希望。關稅同盟、歐洲經濟制度——例如舒曼計劃、歐洲政治統一運動、歐洲防務集團，這一切都是向着更大的共同力量和更大的統一的實際而有效地發展的徵象。西歐國家——包括德意志自由共和國在內——齊合作，這對整個自由世界是有利的。

亞洲和非洲的經濟及社會問題雖有不同，但却是同樣迫切。在那些地方，幾億人民在激盪中，他們衝進了二十世紀，爭取平等、獨立和對他們的困苦的生活的改善。

在亞洲和非洲，政治、經濟和社會方面的情勢都不可能，也不會，停留在戰前狀態。變化必然，而且正在，迅速來臨。就在本人任職總統的年代裏，有六億以上人民的十二個自由國家，已經獨立了：緬甸、印度尼西亞、菲律賓、朝鮮、以色列、

for ourselves, strength to hold the line against attack as well as to retaliate.

We have made great progress on this task of building strong defenses. In the last two and one-half years, we have more than doubled our own defenses, and we have helped to increase the protection of nearly all the other free nations.

All the measures of collective security, resistance to aggression, and the building of defenses, constitute the first requirement for the survival and progress of the free world. But, as I have pointed out, they are interwoven with the necessity of taking steps to create and maintain economic and social progress in the free nations.

There can be no military strength except where there is economic capacity to back it. There can be no freedom where there is economic chaos or social collapse. For these reasons, our national policy has included a wide range of economic measures.

In Europe, the grand design of the Marshall Plan permitted the people of Britain and France and Italy and a half dozen other countries, with help from the United States, to lift themselves from stagnation and find again the path of rising production, rising incomes, rising standards of living. The situation was changed almost overnight by the Marshall Plan: the people of Europe have a renewed hope and vitality, and they are able to carry a share of the military defense of the free world that would have been impossible a few years ago.

Now the countries of Europe are moving rapidly toward political and economic unity, changing the map of Europe in more hopeful ways than it has been changed for 500 years. Customs unions, European economic institutions like the Schuman Plan, the movement toward European political integration, the European defense community—all are signs of practical and effective growth toward greater common strength and unity. The countries of western Europe, including the free republic of Germany, are working together and the whole free world is the gainer.

In Asia and Africa, the economic and social problems are different but no less urgent. There hundreds of millions of people are in ferment, exploding into the Twentieth Century, thrusting toward equality and independence and improvement in the hard conditions of their lives.

Politically, economically, socially, things cannot and will not stay in their pre-war mood in Africa and Asia. Change must come—is coming—fast. Just in the years I have been President, twelve free nations, with more than 600,000,000 people, have become independent;

利比亞、印度、巴基斯坦、錫蘭以及現時構成法蘭西聯邦成員的三個越南獨立邦。這些名字都說明了目前正在改變半個世界面目的偉大力量的聲勢。

我們經濟政策的措施，對於形勢的發展，已經有了很大的影響。八年以前，克里姆林宮以為戰後西歐和日本的崩潰——加上美國經濟的失調——可能給予他們往前推進的信號。我們已經證明，他們是錯了。

現在，他們在等待着，希望自由世界經濟的恢復又給經濟發達國家為爭奪彼此的市場和爭奪更大的貿易而進行激烈的災難性的鬥爭準備了條件。這又是在今後數年內我們必須應付和通過的另一個考驗。

而且，要證明克里姆林宮又是錯了，需要很大的智慧和努力——還要很多的時間。但是，我們是能夠做到的。的確，經濟復興帶來了經濟復興的問題，正如經濟衰退帶來經濟衰退的問題一樣；但是，這些問題是屬於另一類性質的，即如何把豐裕的生產公平分配的問題。這些問題是可以通過國際合作的方法來解決的，而我們能有今天就是國際合作的結果。

這些是我們必須繼續實行的措施，這是我們必須遵循的道路。我們必須繼續前進，和我們的自由伙伴們合作，建立國際軍事防務機構，求得經濟、社會和政治的進步。我們必須準備戰爭，因為我們可能被迫作戰。但是，和平對我們的利益，現在比過去任何時候都大得多。

因為我們現在已進入原子時代，戰爭已經發生了技術上的變化，使今日的戰爭和過去的戰爭大不相同。今天蘇維埃帝國和自由國家間的戰爭，不但會為我們的斯大林派對手挖掘墳墓，也會為我們自己的社會、我們的世界以及他們的世界挖掘墳墓。

這一變化是在自阿拉莫哥多試驗到安尼維托克試驗的七年間發生的。僅僅七年，但是原子能的新力量已使世界變成一個很不同的地方了。

科學和技術發展得這樣快，以致將成為戰爭犧牲者的所有國家的人民都還未能認清戰爭的新意義；或者，克里姆林宮的統治者也還沒有認清這一點。但是，這七年間，我是美國的總統，我負責作出使我們的科學和工程學達到它們現有地位的決定。

Indonesia, the Philippines, Korea, Israel, Libya, India, Pakistan and Ceylon, and the three associated states of Indo-China, now members of the French Union. These names alone are testimony to the sweep of the great force which is changing the face of half the world.

Our measures of economic policy have already had a tremendous effect on the course of events. Eight years ago, the Kremlin thought post-war collapse in Western Europe and Japan — with economic dislocation in America—might give them the signal to advance. We demonstrated they were wrong.

Now they wait with hope that the economic recovery of the free world has set the stage for violent and disastrous rivalry among the economically developed nations, struggling for each other's markets and a greater share of trade. Here is another test that we shall have to meet and master in the years immediately ahead.

And it will take great ingenuity and effort—and much time—before we prove the Kremlin wrong again. But we can do it. It is true that economic recovery presents its problems, as does economic decline, but they are the problems of another order. They are the problems of distributing abundance fairly, and they can be solved by the process of international cooperation that has already brought us so far.

These are the measures we must continue. This is the path we must follow. We must go on, working with our free associates, building an international structure for military defense, and for economic, social and political progress. We must be prepared for war, because war may be thrust upon us. But the stakes in our search for peace are immensely higher than they have ever been before.

For now we have entered the atomic age, and war has undergone a technological change which makes it a very different thing from what it used to be. War today between the Soviet empire and the free nations might dig the grave not only of our Stalinist opponents, but of our own society, our world as well as theirs.

This transformation has been brought to pass in the seven years from Alamogordo to Eniwetok. It is only seven years, but the new force of atomic energy has turned the world into a very different kind of place.

Science and technology have worked so fast that war's new meaning may not yet be grasped by all the peoples who would be its victims; nor, perhaps, by the rulers in the Kremlin. But I have been President of the United States, these seven years, responsible for the decisions which

因此，我知道這一發展現在意味着什麼，我也知道一些這一發展將來意味着什麼。

在政府中的人們，甚至在第一次成功的原子爆炸前，就認識到這一新的力量如果不加以國際管制，對於全人類將招致可怕的危險。我們很快地在聯合國裏提出建議，要把這一個新的力的來源置於國際鬥爭範疇之外，使人們不可能利用它作為戰爭武器。這些對於全人類如此有益的建議，都被蘇聯統治者所拒絕了。

科學的語言是全球一致的。科學的運動永遠是朝着未知的事物發展。儘管我們採取一切的預防辦法，我們不能假定蘇聯不會發展這同一武器；我們也不能假定，在尚未被發掘的原子能的領域內，沒有其它更可怕的破壞方法。

我們那時別無辦法，祇有繼續向前推進，盡我們的能力來探求原子力的秘密，並且如果我們能做到的話，保持我們在原子能方面開頭所具有的優勢。同時，我們一直在尋覓途徑及方案去和蘇聯統治者達成協議，把這一新式的力量置於有效的管制之下，保證任何國家在戰爭中不使用它。

這裏，我無需詳述我們所曾提出的各種建議以及聯合國所採取的各種步驟，這些至少都是為了爭取最後的解決開闢一條道路。我希望並相信，祇要有絲毫進展的可能，我們一定繼續作這種努力。

所有文明國家都同意這問題是緊迫的，而且都表示願意商定有效的管制措施——除了蘇聯和它的衛星國以外。他們拒絕了每一個合理的建議。

在這期間，科學實驗的發展超出了我們的預料，原子科學現時處在發展的高潮，物質內在秘密的揭曉是不斷的而且是不可抗拒的。自阿拉莫哥多試驗以來，我們已製造出具有比早期類型大出許多倍的爆炸力的原子武器，而且我們已經在大量生產。

最近在安尼維托克的試驗中，我們在震撼全世界的原子能發展上，又走入另一階段。從此以後，人類進入了破壞力的一個新時代，這種破壞力能夠

have brought our science and our engineering to their present place. I know what this development means now. I know something of what it will come to mean in the future.

We in this Government realized, even before the first successful atomic explosion, that this new force spelled terrible danger for all mankind unless it were brought under international control. We promptly advanced proposals in the United Nations to take this new source of energy out of the arena of national rivalries, to make it impossible to use it as a weapon of war. These proposals, so pregnant with benefit for all humanity, were rebuffed by the rulers of the Soviet Union.

The language of science is universal, the movement of science is always forward into the unknown. We could not assume that the Soviet Union would not develop the same weapon, regardless of all our precautions, nor that there were not other and even more terrible means of destruction lying in the unexplored field of atomic energy.

We had no alternative, then, but to press on, to probe the secrets of atomic power to the uttermost of our capacity, to maintain, if we could, our initial superiority in the atomic field. At the same time, we sought persistently for some avenue, some formula, for reaching an agreement with the Soviet rulers that would place this new form of power under effective restraints — that would guarantee no nation would use it in war.

I do not have to recount here the proposals we made, the steps taken in the United Nations, striving at least to open a way to ultimate agreement. I hope and believe that we will continue to make these efforts so long as there is the slightest possibility of progress.

All civilized nations are agreed on the urgency of the problem, and have shown their willingness to agree on effective measures of control—all save the Soviet Union and its satellites. But they have rejected every reasonable proposal.

Meanwhile, the progress of scientific experiment has outrun our expectations. Atomic science is in the full tide of development; the unfolding of the innermost secrets of matter is uninterrupted and irresistible. Since Alamo-gordo we have developed atomic weapons with many times the explosive force of the early models, and we have produced them in substantial quantities.

And recently, in the thermonuclear tests at Eniwetok, we have entered another stage in the world-shaking development of atomic energy. From now on man moves into a new era of des-

產生新的爆炸的規模使廣島和長崎的菌形烟雲，顯得渺不足道了。

我們沒有理由認為我們現時在解放原子能方面已達到的階段將是最終的階段。事實上，過去七年中，我們在科學和技術方面進展的速度並無減退的現象。在對原子的掌握方面，我們正在很快地被推進着，從一個發現到另一個發現，走向目前還不能預見的破壞力的高峯。

在我們獲致國際協議以前，這無可避免地是我們必須走的道路。我們必須瞭解，我們所作的任何進展，都不是別人所做不到的，在這一競賽中，任何優勢都不過是暫時的。

未來的戰爭將是這樣一種戰爭：人們能一舉而消滅數百萬生命，毀滅世界上的最大都市，把過去的文化成就化為烏有——並破壞數百世代以來逐漸地艱辛地建立起來的文明組織。

這樣一個戰爭不可能成為有理性的人類的政策。我們明瞭這一點，但是我們不敢假定，別人不會屈服於科學所置於他們掌握中的那種誘惑。

抱着這樣一種想法，我有些話願跟斯大林說：你說你相信列寧的預言：共產社會發展的一個階段便是你們的世界和我們的世界間的戰爭。但是，列寧生活在原子時代之前，他用原子時代前的眼光看社會和歷史。自從他寫了這句話以後，發生了一些很深刻的變化：戰爭的形式和規模都變了；現在戰爭不可能再是任何事物發展的一個「階段」，祇可能是你的政權和祖國的毀滅。

我不知道，要過多少時間，共產黨的統治者才會承認這一真理。但是，當他們承認這一真理時，他們將發現我們是極願意達成諒解以保護世界免於目前所面臨的危險。

無怪有些人想，假如我們沒有把原子分裂成功多麼好。但是，原子能像自然界其它的力一樣，它本身並不壞。用得適當，它是可以造福人羣的。作為一個力的來源，作為一個科學研究的工具，原子能是具有無限前途的。我們在建設性地使用原子能方面，已經有了很好的成就。假如我們能夠無顧忌地、一心一意地致力於原子能的和平用途，我們的成就會更大。

原子能將永遠存在於我們的生活中，我們不能用立法來消滅它的存在，我們也不能漠視它所帶給我們的危險和好處。

trutive power, capable of creating explosions of a new order of magnitude, dwarfing the mushroom clouds of Hiroshima and Nagasake.

We have no reason to think that the stage we have now reached in the release of atomic energy will be the last. Indeed, the speed of our scientific and technical progress over the last seven years shows no signs of abating. We are being hurried forward, in our mastery of the atom, from one discovery to another, toward yet unforeseeable peaks of destructive power.

Inevitably, until we can reach international agreement, this is the path we must follow. And we must realize that no advance we make is unattainable by others, that no advantage in this race can be more than temporary.

The war of the future would be one in which man could extinguish millions of lives at one blow, demolish the great cities of the world, wipe out the cultural achievements of the past—and destroy the very structure of a civilization that has been slowly and painfully built up through hundreds of generations.

Such a war is not a possible policy for rational men. We know this, but we dare not assume that others would not yield to the temptation science is now placing in their hands.

With that in mind, there is something I would say to Stalin: You claim belief in Lenin's prophecy that one stage in the development of Communist society would be war between your world and ours. But Lenin was a pre-atomic man, who viewed society and history with pre-atomic eyes. Something profound has happened since he wrote. War has changed its shape and its dimension. It cannot now be a "stage" in the development of anything save ruin for your regime and your homeland.

I do not know how much time may elapse before the Communist rulers bring themselves to recognize this truth. But when they do, they will find us eager to reach understandings that will protect the world from the danger it faces today.

It is no wonder that some people wish that we had never succeeded in splitting the atom. But atomic power, like any other force of nature, is not evil in itself. Properly used, it is an instrumentality for human betterment. As a source of power, as a tool of scientific inquiry, it has untold possibilities. We are already making good progress in the constructive use of atomic power. We could do much more if we were free to concentrate on its peaceful uses exclusively.

Atomic power will be with us all the days of our lives. We cannot legislate it out of existence. We cannot ignore the dangers or the benefits it offers.

我相信人們可以駕馭原子的力量，使它能為改進各地人民的生活狀況而服務。這是我們的目標。作為一個國家、一個民族，我們必須了解這一問題。我們必須用我們的民主方法來好好地處理這新的力量。

首先，我們必須十分認真地和誠心誠意地將原子能置於有效的國際管制之下。要做到這一點，就需要很大的智慧、耐心和堅定性。這方面令人肅然起敬的責任現已落在新政府和新國會的肩上。

新政府和國會所採取的任何建設性步驟，凡是為了使人類這一最新的發現成為幸福之泉源而不是最後毀滅的原因的，我都一定支持他們。我想我們所有的人民也都一定願意支持他們。

我們無法知道，蘇聯的統治者的態度什麼時候會轉變，或者會不會轉變。我們也不知道，要過多少時候，他們才會表示願意商談對原子能的有效管制，和其它世界問題的光榮解決。我們無法衡量克里姆林宮對我們的妄想是多麼根深蒂固。不過，我們可以肯定，共產主義世界的統治者是不會輕易地很快地改變他們的基本目標。

共產黨統治者對於這些事情的時間觀念和我們完全不同。我們傾向於把我們的未來分成若干短暫的時期，如國會的兩年任期，下任總統的四年任期；而他們好像一想起來或計劃起來就是幾個世代。所以，沒有簡易迅捷的辦法可以使他們看到他們的計劃是不能實現的。

這就是說，我們面前有一個長期而艱苦的自由世界與共產黨統治區間的力量和持久力的考驗。我們的政治和我們的經濟、我們的科學和技術，跟他們所能做到的最大成就對抗——我們的自由對抗他們的奴役——我們自由國家間自願的協調對抗他們「人民共和國」的被迫的結合——我們的戰略對抗他們的戰略——我們的膽量對抗他們的膽量。

(譯自一九五三年一月八日「紐約時報」)

I believe that man can harness the forces of the atom to work for the improvement of the lot of human beings everywhere. That is our goal. As a nation, as a people, we must understand this problem, we must handle this new force wisely through our democratic processes.

Above all, we must strive, in all earnestness and good faith, to bring it under effective international control. To do this will require much wisdom and patience and firmness. The awe-inspiring responsibility in this field now falls on a new Administration and a new Congress.

I will give them my support, as I am sure all our citizens will, in whatever constructive steps they may take to make this newest of man's discoveries a source of good and not of ultimate destruction.

We cannot tell when or whether the attitude of the Soviet rulers may change. We do not know how long it may be before they show a willingness to negotiate effective control of atomic energy and honorable settlements of other world problems. We cannot measure how deep-rooted are the Kremlin's illusions about us. We can be sure, however, that the rulers of the Communist world will not change their basic objectives lightly or soon.

The Communist rulers have a sense of time about these things wholly unlike our own. We tend to divide our future into short spans, like the two-year life of this Congress, or the four years of the next Presidential term. They seem to think and plan in terms of generations. And there is, therefore, no easy, short-run way to make them see that their plans cannot prevail.

This means there is ahead of us a long, hard test of strength and stamina, between the free world and the Communist domain—our politics and our economy, our science and technology against the best they can do—our liberty against their slavery—our voluntary concert of free nations against their forced amalgam of "People's Republics"—our strategy against their strategy—our nerve against their nerve.

(The New York Times, January 8, 1953)

(第三號)

杜勒斯巡視西歐前發表關於美國外交政策的廣播 及電視演說 (節錄)

一九五三年一月二十七日

JOHN FOSTER DULLES' RADIO AND TELEVISION SPEECH ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY MADE PRIOR TO HIS TOUR IN EUROPE (EXCERPTS)

January 27, 1953

艾森豪威爾總統常說的一句話就是「開明的自利」。這將是我們製訂外交政策時的指針。爲了我們自己的利益，爲了我們開明的自利，我們應該密切注意在世界上其餘部分所發生的事情。理由是我们的敵人正在陰謀毀滅我們。這些敵人就是俄國的共產黨和他們在別國的盟友。

現在你們也許會問，我們怎麼會知道他們是真正地企圖來毀滅我們呢？好吧，答案是：他們的領袖們這樣公開教導他們，並且許多年來一直這樣教導着，而且他們所做的每一件事都符合那個教訓。在我國，我們的法庭已經對這個問題進行調查，並且在前幾星期發現，我國的共產黨是和一個企圖用暴力推翻我國政府的巨大陰謀有密切的關係。

你們也許要問，我們對於這個威脅用得着看得這樣嚴重嗎？答案是：這個威脅是極端嚴重的。艾森豪威爾總統最近說過，我國正處在比我們歷史上任何時期都要大的危險當中。任何美國人如對於這事實懵然無覺，就像一個兵士在他的崗位上睡着了一樣。我們大家必須對這個危險保持警惕。

我們公開宣佈的敵人已經控制了全世界三分之一的人民。我背後的地圖指出從鄰近阿拉斯加的堪察加起經由日本北部島嶼一直到歐洲腹地的德國的廣大地區，那就是俄國共產黨完全控制的區域。在那區域裏有八億人民正被鍛煉成一個強大的戰鬥力量，他們有工業生產和包括原子彈的現代武器爲後盾。如果這八億人民的集團和我們一億五千萬人口相比，則意味着如由我們單獨對付的話，他們在人口上對我們的優勢將是七與一之比。拿第一次和第二次世界大戰的情形來講，在我們一邊的有反對專制者的強大同盟，所以那時人力的比率是七對一，

President Eisenhower has often used a phrase, it's a phrase "enlightened self-interest." That is going to be the guide as we go on to make our foreign policy. Now in our own interest, our enlightened self-interest, we have to pay close attention to what is going on in the rest of the world. And the reason for that is that we have enemies who are plotting our destruction. These enemies are the Russian Communists and their allies in other countries.

Now you may ask, how do we know that they are really trying to destroy us? Well, the answer to that one is that their leaders teach it openly and have been teaching it for many years, and everything that they do fits into that teaching. And in this country our courts have had to look into the question and they've found, most recently only last week, that the Communist Party in this country is part of a gigantic conspiracy designed to overthrow our Government by violence.

Well, you may say, do we need to take this threat seriously, and the answer to that is that the threat is a deadly serious one. President Eisenhower recently said this nation stands in greater peril than at any time in our history. Any American who isn't awake to that fact is like a soldier who's asleep at his post. We must be awake, all of us awake, to that danger.

Now already our proclaimed enemies control one third of all the people of the world. I've here behind me a map which shows the vast area which stretches from Kamchatka near Alaska, the northern islands of Japan and right on to Germany in the center of Europe. That's an area which the Russian Communists completely dominate. In that area are 800 million people, and they are being forged into a vast weapon of fighting power backed by industrial production and modern weapons that included atomic bombs. If this block of 800 million people is compared with our population, about 150 million people, it means that if we were alone against them, the population odds against us and in their favor would be 7 to

我們佔優勢。在一個戰爭中居於七對一的劣勢是不愉快的事情。

另一個重要的事實是，在我們敵人所控制的歐亞兩洲廣大區域中有他們所需要的一切天然資源。相反地，我們大部分依靠海外的貨物。舉例來說，我們的鋼鐵工業，這自然是平時和戰時生產最基本的東西，但這工業極大部分是仰賴於海外輸入的錳礦。所以，如果我們單獨作戰，不僅是在人力上居於可怕的劣勢，而且我們在生產必需的武器上也是大大地處於不利地位。

這就是為什麼美國的開明自利迫使我們在世界上海要有朋友和盟國。目前，蘇聯共產黨正在推行一種他們稱爲「包圍」的政策。這意思是說，他們想把他們和我們週圍的各地區控制起來，如此他們就可以日漸加強他們的力量，而我們就日益被隔離和孤立起來。他們說，在他們未獲得戰而必勝的壓倒優勢的力量以前，他們不想對我們公開發動戰爭。因此他們的戰略是以政治鬥爭和間接侵略的方法取得對各國政府的控制而將各國逐一吞併。他們已經有了很大的進展。

在第二次世界大戰結束時，僅僅七年多以前，他們祇控制約二億人民，而現在，如我所說，他們控制着八億人民。他們還在努力以圖控制世界上其他地區。

現在讓我在我面前的地圖上指出幾處發生麻煩的重要地點。讓我們從朝鮮談起。朝鮮自然是我們第一個想到的地方，因爲那裏殘酷和流血的戰爭正在進行着。戰爭是爲了什麼？首先是爲了日本。你們看得見蘇聯已經佔領靠日本極近的北部島嶼。事實上他們距離日本北部不及兩哩，據報他們的飛機幾乎每日要飛過日本北部。從這地圖中你可以看見，倘若他們不僅佔有這個地帶直到日本的北部，並且還佔有整個朝鮮，那末日本就會被夾在共產黨的老虎鉗中。如果俄國或中國共產黨控制了日本連同它的龐大的工業力量，則他們就能夠將來自亞洲、滿洲和中國的原料製造軍械和武器供中國廣大人力之用。倘若這件事發生了，對我們會是一個極不幸的事。當日本單獨在太平洋作戰時，中國是我

1. Now in the case of the first World War and the second World War there was a big coalition on our side against the despots so that the man-power ratio then was about 7 to 1 in our favor. It wouldn't be pleasant to have a war in which the odds against us were 7 to 1.

And another important fact is that this vast area of Asia, Europe, which our enemies control, has within it all of the natural resources which they need. On the other hand, we are largely dependent on overseas goods. For example, our steel industry, which is of course basic in peace production and war production, depends very largely upon importations of manganese from overseas. So, if we were alone, not only would the man-power odds be terrifically against us, but we would be at a great disadvantage in the production of the weapons that we needed.

These are some of the reasons why the enlightened self-interest of the United States compels that we should have friends and allies in the world. At the present time, the Soviet Communists are carrying out a policy which they call encirclement. That means they want to get control of the different areas around them and around us so they will keep growing in strength and we're more and more cut off and isolated. They said they don't want to start an open war against us until they have got such overwhelming power that the result would not be in doubt. That strategy has been to pick up one country after another by getting control of its government, by political warfare, and indirect aggression. And they have been making very great progress.

At the end of the second World War, only a little over seven years ago, they only controlled about 200 million people, and today, as I say, they control 800 million people, and they're hard at work to get control of other parts of the world.

Let me now, with a map before me, pick out some of the high spots of trouble. Let's start with Korea, which naturally comes first to our minds because of the cruel and bloody war going on there. What's that all about? Well, one thing that it's about is Japan. You see the Soviet Union has already moved into the northern islands which are very close to Japan, in fact they are within two miles of Northern Japan, and their planes are reported daily almost as flying across the northern part of Japan. And you can see from this map that if they had not only this area up to the north of Japan, but also had all of Korea, then Japan would be within the Communist pincers. And if the Russians or Chinese Communist got control of Japan with its great industrial power then they could use that to process the raw materials which come from Asia, from Manchuria, and from China, and to process them into arms

們盟國，蘇聯是中立國，我們取勝已大不容易。如果中、蘇、日三國聯合起來，我們在太平洋處境將是非常困難的。斯大林曾經誇口稱：同日本一起，蘇聯將是不可戰勝的。我們不必相信這句話，但是至少我們可以看出那將是一個非常棘手的情況。

現在蘇聯正力圖攫取日本，不僅通過他們在日本以北區域和在朝鮮所做的工作，而且通過他們在印度支那所做的工作來達到他們的目的。如果他們取得了印度支那半島、暹羅、緬甸和馬來亞，他們就得到了世稱亞洲飯碗的地方。那個區域就是偉大的亞洲人民，像日本和印度這樣偉大的亞洲國家取得大部糧食的地方。你們可以看到，如果蘇聯控制了亞洲的飯碗，那便成了另一種把他們的控制擴展到日本和印度的武器。那是正在增長中的危險，這情況是很險惡的，不僅是因為如我所說的它是對亞洲國家的威脅，而且是因為負擔大部作戰責任的法國人在那裏作了很大的努力，而且由於在這方面的努力，恰恰抵消了他們在建設歐洲軍和在其他方面所能貢獻的能力。等以後我們談到歐洲的時候，我再討論那個問題。

現在我們談一談第二個區域，那就是阿拉伯世界。在中東我們發現共產黨正企圖鼓動阿拉伯人對英國人和我們的瘋狂仇恨。那區域是世界上現已發現的最大量的油藏所在。當一九四〇年斯大林和希特勒談判的時候，他說那區域必須視為蘇聯願望的中心，由此足證蘇聯重視該地的利益。如果所有這些都落入我們可能的敵人的手中，在經濟力量的均勢上將造成極大的改變。再者，這個區域還控制着蘇彝士運河。這條運河是許久以來一直被守衛並被稱為溝通歐亞的生命綫的世界的一部分和世界海道。那裏，英國政府和埃及政府關於防禦和控制蘇彝士運河的問題現在發生齟齬。

我們再向前走，就到了非洲。在整個非洲共產黨正在鼓動土人背叛那些在政治上統治着大部分非

and weapons for the vast man power of China. And that, if it happened, would be a very unfortunate thing for us. It was hard enough for us to win the war against Japan in the Pacific when Japan was alone, when China was our ally and the Soviet Union was neutral. If Russia, China and Japan all combined, it would be pretty tough going for us in the Pacific. Stalin has boasted that with Japan the Soviet Union would be invincible. We don't need to believe that but at least we can see that it would be pretty tough going.

Now the Soviet Russians are making a drive to get Japan, not only through what they are doing in northern areas of the islands and in Korea but also through what they are doing in Indo-China. If they could get this peninsula of Indo-China, Siam, Burma, Malaya, they would have what is called the rice bowl of Asia. That's the area from which the great peoples of Asia, great countries of Asia such as Japan and India, get, in large measure, their food. And you can see that if the Soviet Union had control of the rice bowl of Asia that would be another weapon which would tend to expand their control into Japan and into India. That is a growing danger, and it is not only a bad situation because of the threat in the Asian countries that I refer to but also because the French, who are doing much of the fighting there, are making great effort and that effort subtracts just that much from the capacity of their building a European army and making the contribution which otherwise they could be expected to make. I'll touch on that problem later on when we get to Europe.

Now then, we can go on to the next area, which is the Arab world. And in the Middle East we find that the Communists are trying to inspire the Arabs with a fanatical hatred of the British and ourselves. Now that area contains the greatest known oil reserves that there are in the world, and the Soviet interest is shown by the fact that Stalin when he was negotiating with Hitler in 1940 said that that area must be looked upon as the center of Soviet aspirations. If all of that passed into the hands of our potential enemies that would make a tremendous shift in the balance of economic power. And furthermore this area also has control of the Suez Canal, and that is the portion of the world and the seaways of the world which has long been guarded and called the life-line which made it possible for Europe to be in communication with Asia. There, there are difficulties at the present time between the British Government and the Government of Egypt which relate to the question of the defense and control of the Suez Canal.

Then if we move on further, we can go to Africa. And throughout Africa the Communists are trying to arouse the native people into revolt

洲的西歐人。倘若那裏發生變故，歐非兩地的聯絡就要中斷，而非洲是歐洲主要原料的供應地。

我們繞地球一週，到了西歐。在西歐我們可以發現在這裏有我們一個主要外交政策，這外交政策稱為北大西洋條約組織。這政策的目的是要將西歐各國聯合起來，並在和美國及加拿大配合之下建立一個力量足以阻止紅軍向西歐進攻的集團。這個西歐地區在歷史上向來是以軍事力量強大著稱。這些國家有相當可觀的軍事傳統。它們的毛病是，在過去這些西歐國家總是用它們的軍事力量來互相作戰，弄得精疲力盡；特別是法德兩國，你們都知道，很久以來，幾乎每三十年就要戰爭一次。現在所希望的是將德法兩國團結在一個單一的歐洲防務集團裏邊，這樣就可以有一個環境使他們彼此不能相鬥，而他們的聯合力量加上其他盟國的力量可以使紅軍不敢輕易進攻西歐。

那是一個好主意，在本國裏兩黨都擁護它。不幸這個計劃現在似乎停頓了。好像有些法國人和有些德國人又想各走各的路了。這就是艾森豪威爾總統叫我和指導共同安全計劃的史塔生先生本星期內同去歐洲的理由之一。我們想親自視察那邊的情形，並要看看這團結的趨勢是向上還是向下發展。

首先讓我告訴你們，我們在這次旅行中不準備承擔任何義務。承擔義務的問題應由美國國會與政府各行政部門共同處理的事。我們到那裏祇是去觀察與傾聽，而不承擔任何義務。

美國在西歐已經投了一大筆資金，這是根據西歐可以團結的理論出發的。自二次世界大戰結束後，我們已經送出國外四百億美元，約有三百億是送往西歐的。假如那裏沒有希望（那我是絕不相信的），假如看來那裏沒有希望得到有效的團結的

against the Western Europeans who still have political control of most of Africa. If there should be trouble there, that would break the contact between Europe and Africa, Africa being a large source of raw materials for Europe.

And then we come now, as we go around the globe, to Western Europe itself. And in Western Europe we find that there is in existence there one of our major foreign policies, the foreign policy that is called by the word NATO; NATO standing for North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The purpose there was to tie the Western European countries together with association from United States and from Canada so as to create there a community which would be strong enough to deter any attack on Western Europe by the Red armies. This area of Western Europe has always been historically an area which was strong in the military sense. And the countries have quite a considerable military tradition. The trouble has been that in the past these Western European countries have used their military strength with which to fight each other and to bleed each other. Particularly France and Germany, as you know, have been fighting each other about once in every generation for quite a long time. The present hope is that Germany and France will join in a single European Defense Community and then we would have a situation where they could not fight each other and where their combined strength with that of their other Allies would make it unlikely that the Red armies would attempt to invade Western Europe.

That's a good idea, and it has had in this country bi-partisan support. Unfortunately the plan now seems to be somewhat stalled. And it seems as though some of the French people and some of the German people want again to go in their separate ways. That's one of the reasons why President Eisenhower asked me and Mr. Stassen, who directs the Mutual Assistance program, to go to Europe this week. We want to look the situation over at first hand and see whether this trend to unity is on the upgrade or is on the downgrade.

Let me say to you first of all that in this trip we are taking we are not going to make any commitments of any kind, sort or description. The problem of making commitments is for the Congress of the United States working in co-operation with the executive departments of the Government. We shall be there to observe and to listen but not to make any commitments.

The United States has made a big investment in Western Europe on the theory that there could be unity there. Of the 40 billion dollars which we have sent abroad since the end of the second World War, almost 30 billions have gone into Western Europe. If, however, there were no

話，特別是法國、德國和英國倘各走各的道路的話，那末就有必要重新考慮美國自己對西歐的外交政策。

我們環顧全世界的時候，我們已經看過亞洲、歐洲和非洲，我們也應該看一看西半球。我們也應該看看南美洲。有時我們會認為南美洲當然不會有什麼問題。但是，事實上，在南美洲有很強大的共產主義運動並且有些地方受着法西斯的影響。他們大部分至今還是在地下活動，他們企圖破壞美洲各國人民間傳統友誼。過去政府全神貫注於上面所講的歐洲、亞洲和非洲的問題，我恐怕它是把南美洲疏忽了，以為可以把它暫時忘掉，等以後再來看的時候一切還會和從前一樣。但實際上任何這種疏忽政策都會導致更大的危險。

你們可以看出，全世界到處都在發生着許多麻煩的事。我已經指出了某些出麻煩的重要地點，但此外還多得很。有好多地區是極易被俄國人的政治戰爭所攻破的，如果失去了這些地區，那末俄國共產黨就會大部完成他們包圍美國的計劃，並且可以在絕對佔優勢的情況下對我們進行斯大林所說的決定性的打擊。那是一個黯淡的景象，但是我們不必也不應當因此而喪氣。這些俄國共產黨人並不是超人，他們的戰略不是無法抗禦的。我絕對相信我們能夠使它失敗。如我所說，今晚我不打算詳細告訴你們艾森豪威爾總統的政府的外交政策將是什麼。這樣快說出這些政策是愚蠢的——艾森豪威爾總統剛在一星期以前的今天就職——但我想我能夠基於我對他的了解，告訴你們我們外交政策綱領的兩點方向：一個是消極的，一個是積極的。

先講消極的一點。我們不會以發動戰爭來對付蘇聯的包圍戰略。請相信我的話，有些人私下議論說，對蘇聯戰爭是無可避免的，與其遲打不如早打，因為時間是對我們不利的。艾森豪威爾總統絕對反對這種政策，自然我自己和在國務院及担任外

chance, and that I just refuse to believe, but if it appeared there were no chance of getting effective unity, and if in particular France, Germany and England should go their separate ways, then certainly it would be necessary to give a little rethinking to America's own foreign policy in relation to Western Europe.

So you see that as we look around the world so far we've looked at Asia and we've looked at Europe, and we've looked at Africa, but then also we've got this Hemisphere to look at. And we have to look at South America. Sometimes we're inclined to take South America for granted. But the reality is that there are strong Communist movements in South America and Fascist influences in some quarters which are working away, largely underground so far, and they're trying to destroy the traditional friendship between the people of the American republics. The past Administration has been so preoccupied with some of these problems of Europe and Asia and Africa that I referred to, that I fear it may have somewhat neglected South America and taken it for granted that we could forget about South America for a time and then go back again and find everything the same as it was before. But actually any such policy of neglect would lead to growing danger.

Well, you can see that there is plenty of trouble around the world; I've pointed out some of the high spots of trouble but there are many more. There are plenty of areas which are vulnerable to the political warfare which the Russians are waging, and if these areas were lost then the Russian Communists would have largely completed their encirclement of the United States and be ready for what Stalin has called the decisive blow against us with the odds overwhelmingly in their favor. That's a gloomy picture, but it need not and it must not discourage us. These Russian Communists are not supermen, and their strategy is not irresistible. I feel absolutely confident that we can make it fail. Now as I said I'm not going to attempt to tell you tonight in any detail what will be the foreign policies of President Eisenhower's Administration. It would be foolish to attempt to do that so quickly—it's only a week ago today that President Eisenhower was inaugurated—but I think I can on the basis of what I know about him give you two indications as to the outline of our foreign policy, one negative and the other positive.

Now first the negative one. We will not try to meet the Soviet strategy for encirclement by ourselves starting a war. Take that for certain. A few people here and there in private life have suggested that a war with Soviet Russia was inevitable, and that we'd better have it soon rather than later because they said time is running

交職務的同事們也都反對這種政策。我們永遠不擬選擇戰爭作為我們政策的工具。

你們記得在聖經上說過，凡動刀者必死在刀下。即使不接受這句話作為信條的人，至少他們應記得在我們一世代裏曾經兩度有強大的專制者動起刀來。舉例來說，德國和日本動起刀來時好像有壓倒一切的力量，而結果祇是悲慘的滅亡。自然，我們知道我們的敵人沒有道德上的顧忌，事實上他們否認世界上有道德律這個東西。他們教人以暴力。斯大林說過，並用以教誨每一個共產黨信徒說，他們所覓求的世界改變非用暴力不能成功，並說任何人如想以和平方法達到改變世界的目的，不是發瘋，便是共產主義事業的叛徒。

至少是在地方性的規模內，在世界上幾個國度裏，包括朝鮮和印度支那，我們知道他們已經在使用了暴力。他們在建設起龐大的軍事機器；他們已經拒絕了聯合國對朝鮮停戰的建議；又拒絕了聯合國有效裁減軍備的建議。因此我們自己與朋友間非有一個強大的軍事力量不可，但是目的並不是要發動戰爭，而祇是要阻止戰爭。我們不但永不為達到我們的目的而發動戰爭，而且還要盡我們的能力來制止世界上正在進行之戰爭，最顯著的是朝鮮與印度支那的戰爭。目前戰爭仍在進行中，因為敵人認為延長戰爭對他們是有利可圖的。我相信艾森豪威爾將軍會有辦法使敵人在這點上改變主意而使他們也要求和平。

我們外交政策之另一目的，即積極的方面，必須在別國人民間創造一種對自由的愛好和尊重，使他們永遠不會被共產主義世界的專制和極權主義所吸引。

在這方面我們的任務與工作是什麼呢？我們的任務是要用我們的實際行動和我們自己的榜樣證明自由是如何的好，比專制高明得多少，來為我們的開明的自利服務。

against us. President Eisenhower is absolutely opposed to any such policy, and so of course am I and all of my associates in the State Department and the Foreign Service. We shall never choose a war as the instrument of our policy.

It says in the Bible, you recall, that all they that take the sword perish with the sword. And even people who do not accept that as a doctrine of faith, they should at least remember that twice within our generation great and powerful despots have taken the sword. Germany and Japan, for example, have taken the sword with seemingly overwhelming power, only in the end to perish miserably. Now of course we know that our enemies do not have moral scruples, in fact they deny that there is such a thing as a moral law. They preach violence. Stalin has said and it is taught to every one of his Communist followers that the world transformation which they seek cannot, they say, be achieved without violence. And Stalin went on to say that any who thought that their goals could be achieved peacefully have either gone out of their minds or are traitors to the Communist cause.

We know that they've used violence, at least on a local scale, in several countries of the world including Korea and Indo-China. They're building up a vast military machine; they've rejected United Nations proposals for an armistice in Korea; and they've rejected United Nations proposals for effective limitation of armament. Therefore we ourselves must have a strong military establishment, and we should encourage the creation of military strength among our friends, but the purpose is never to wage war but only to deter war. Not only shall we never invoke war to achieve our purposes but we shall try to the best of our ability to stop the wars that are now going on in the world, notably these wars in Korea and Indo-China. Today these wars go on because the enemy thinks he's getting an advantage by continuing the war. I believe that General Eisenhower will find the ways to make the enemy change his mind in that respect so that they too will want peace.

Now the other purpose of our foreign policy, and this is the positive aspect, must be to create in other peoples such a love and respect for freedom that they can never really be absorbed by the despotism, the totalitarian dictatorship of the Communist world.

Now what's our job and our task in that respect? Our job is to serve our own enlightened self-interest by demonstrating by our own performance, by our own examples, how good freedom is and how much better it is than despotism is.

我想你們有些人會懷疑由國務院領導反對俄國共產主義是否可靠。曾有幾件揭露出來的驚人情況顯示有些共產黨人和共產黨同情者打進了重要職位並洩漏了機密——甚至原子彈的祕密在內。我可以向你們保證，所有政府的力量，包括聯邦調查局，都將用來保證把這類人偵察出來並且清除出去。我能答應你們：我們的外交政策，我們的新政策，決不反映對於我們立國的理想和原則缺乏信心。

Now I suppose some of you are wondering whether the State Department can really be trusted to take a strong lead against Russian Communism. There have been some shocking revelations which showed that some Communists and sympathizers have found their way into high places and betrayed secrets—even that of the atomic bomb. I can assure you that all of the resources of Government, and that includes FBI, are going to be employed to be sure that any such people are detected and cleaned out. I can promise you that our foreign policies, our new policies, will never to the slightest degree reflect any lack of faith in the ideals and the principles on which this nation was founded.

(譯自一九五三年二月六日「美國新聞與世界報導」)

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(第四號)

艾森豪威爾鼓吹美國侵略政策的國情咨文(節錄)

一九五三年二月二日

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER'S STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE TO CONGRESS SETTING FORTH U.S. POLICY OF AGGRESSION (EXCERPTS)

February 2, 1953

一九四五年勝利以來，我們國家經歷了一個遭受考驗和幻想破滅的痛苦時期。我們本希望有一個和平與合作的世界。但是，咄咄逼人的共產主義所施用的有計劃的壓力，使我們不得不生活在一個動亂的世界中。

Our country has come through a painful period of trial and disillusionment since the victory of 1945. We anticipated a world of peace and co-operation. The calculated pressures of aggressive Communism have forced us, instead, to live in a world of turmoil.

從這個代價重大的經驗裏，我們得到了一個明白的教訓。我們已經知道，自由世界不能無限期地處於癱瘓的緊張狀態，永遠讓侵略者去選擇時間、地點和方法，來以最小的代價對我們造成最大的傷害。

From this costly experience we have learned one clear lesson. We have learned that the free world cannot indefinitely remain in a posture of paralyzed tension. To do so leaves forever to the aggressor the choice of time and place and means to cause greatest hurt to us at least cost to himself.

因此，本政府已經開始製訂一個新的、積極的外交政策。這個政策將恪守某些確定不移的概念。這些概念是：

This Administration has, therefore, begun the definition of a new, positive foreign policy. This policy will be governed by certain basic ideas. They are these:

(一) 我們的外交政策必須明確、前後一致、有信心。這就是說：它必須是美國政府的行政部門和立法部門之間真誠的、繼續不斷的合作的產物。它必須是根據真正的兩黨合作的精神製訂和執行的。

1. Our foreign policy must be clear, consistent and confident. This means that it must be the product of genuine, continuous co-operation between the executive and the legislative branches of this Government. It must be developed and directed in the spirit of true bipartisanship.

(二) 我們所遵循的政策必須是一個全盤的世界範圍的政策。我們在歐洲和美洲所珍視與保衛的自由和在亞洲受到威脅的自由是沒有分別的。

2. The policy we embrace must be a coherent global policy. The freedom we cherish and defend in Europe and in the Americas is no different from the freedom that is imperiled in Asia.