

南亞及東南亞問題

(第一號)

## 緬甸總理吳努在緬甸衆議院譴責國民黨殘匪侵擾緬境的演說

一九五三年三月二日

BURMESE PRIME MINISTER U NU'S SPEECH BEFORE  
BURMESE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES CONDEMNING  
AGGRESSION BY REMNANT KUOMINTANG GANG IN  
BURMA

March 2, 1953

自一九五〇年初國民黨軍隊侵入我們領土以來，聯邦政府就嚴重地考慮這個問題，我們有三種辦法可以選擇：

(一) 向聯合國提出這個問題。

(二) 通過與台灣中國國民黨政府有外交關係的政府的斡旋和該政府進行交涉，使國民黨軍隊自聯邦領土撤退。

(三) 用聯邦武裝部隊反擊國民黨侵略者。

這三種辦法之中，表面看來，第一種——即向聯合國提出這個問題——似乎是最容易。但這個辦法須考慮下列幾點：

(甲) 中國國民黨政府是否會聲稱這些軍隊是在國民黨政府撤至台灣時從國民黨部隊逃亡出來的逃兵，而完全抵賴掉它對國民黨軍隊在聯邦內的行動的責任呢？

(乙) 中國國民黨政府是否會提出更無理的說法，說所謂之「在緬甸的國民黨軍隊」實際上是穿上國民黨制服的中華人民共和國的軍隊呢？

(丙) 因為國民黨侵略者也是中華人民共和國的敵人，後者對於這個問題當然會十分關心。因此，聯合國所可能採取的步驟會不會引起中華人民共和國的反對，而把現在的簡單的侵略事件複雜化呢？

這些和類似的考慮一直在我們腦子裏盤旋着。

The Union Government has given serious thought to the problem since the beginning of 1950 when KMT forces encroached upon our territory, and three courses have been open to us:

1. To take the matter up to the United Nations Organization.
2. To negotiate with the Chinese Nationalist Government in Formosa through the good offices of those Governments which have diplomatic relations with it, with a view to the withdrawal of the KMT forces from the Union territory.
3. To counter-attack the KMT aggressors by the armed forces of the Union.

Of these three courses, the first one of taking the matter up to the United Nations Organization seems to be the easiest to adopt, if viewed superficially. But this course calls for the following considerations:

- (a) Will the Chinese Nationalist Government flatly repudiate its own responsibility for the KMT forces operating in the Union by declaring that they are deserters from the Nationalist forces when the Chinese Nationalist Government evacuated to Formosa?
- (b) Will the Chinese Nationalist Government come out with more blatant assertions that the so-called KMT forces in Burma are in fact soldiers of the People's Republic of China wearing KMT uniforms?
- (c) Since the KMT aggressors are also the enemies of the People's Republic of China, the latter will naturally take a very keen interest in this matter. Therefore, will the step or steps to be taken by the United Nations antagonise the People's Republic of China and make the present simple case of aggression a much more complicated issue?

These and similar considerations weighed heavily on our minds. If the Chinese Nationalist

如果中國國民黨政府像我說的那樣抵賴它對國民黨軍隊在緬甸聯邦內的侵略行爲的責任，那麼整個事件將成爲僵局，因爲我們一再努力去證實國民黨的侵略，而國民黨政府則將會隨着不斷抵賴。可是，如果聯合國採取的行動引起中華人民共和國的反對而招致複雜情形，那就一定比僵局還要糟糕。

這是我們放棄第一種辦法——向聯合國提出這個問題——的理由。因此，我們已經決定採取第二、第三兩種辦法——通過與台灣中國國民黨政府有外交關係的政府的斡旋和它進行交涉以便使國民黨軍隊自聯邦領土上退出，同時用我們的武裝部隊來反擊國民黨侵略者。

我們已經要求和台灣有外交關係的美國政府促使這些不受欢迎的軍隊退出我們的領土，同時，我們也請求印度政府給我們一切可能的協助。這兩個政府都已經採取了必要的步驟，用和平手段來終止侵略。聯邦軍隊在和國民黨軍隊接觸時表現得非常良好。

儘管我們做了這些努力，國民黨侵略者並沒有放棄他們的侵略活動，反之，他們的萬惡行爲現在正在變本加厲。我們不得不向聯合國提出這個問題，縱使可能引起台灣方面的抵賴和更複雜的事情。我們不久就要向聯合國提出這個問題。

讓國民黨政府叫嚷說在緬甸的國民黨侵略者不在他們控制之下；讓這事件無止境地拖延下去。我們不在乎。但是，我們有一個信念：世界上有很多善良的人憎惡強者壓迫弱者，憎惡侵略和卑劣的行爲，而誠虔地愛好真理、正義和公道作風。

如果我們獲得這些善良的人們的支持，我們將感滿意。假如這些善良的人們明瞭國民黨侵略者儘管自己大聲斥責侵略行爲，但因他們的侵略行爲而墮落到什麼程度，那麼我們的努力就不會落空。爲着消除可能發生的誤會，我們已經做了安排，使我

Government repudiates its responsibility with regard to the KMT acts of aggression in the Union of Burma as I have stated above, the whole matter will end in a stalemate as our repeated efforts to establish facts about KMT aggression will be followed by repeated repudiations by the Chinese Nationalist Government. However, it will certainly be worse than stalemate if any action taken by the United Nations Organization antagonises the People's Republic of China and brings in complications.

That was the reason why we have waived the first course of taking the matter to the UNO. We have therefore decided to resort to the second and third courses of negotiating with the Chinese Nationalist Government in Formosa through the good offices of those Governments which have diplomatic relations with it, with a view to the withdrawal of the KMT forces from the Union territory, and at the same time counter-attacking the KMT aggressors by our armed forces.

We have requested the United States Government which have diplomatic relations with Formosa, to cause the withdrawal of these unwanted forces from our territory, and we have also sought the assistance of the Government of India to render help in all possible ways. Both these Governments have taken necessary steps to put an end to this aggression, by peaceful means. Union armed forces have also acquitted themselves most creditably whenever contacts were established with the KMT forces.

For all these efforts, the KMT aggressors, far from abandoning their aggressive activities, are now increasing their nefarious deeds, and we feel constrained to take the matter up to the United Nations Organization in spite of the possible consequences of denial by Formosa and greater complications. We are very soon bringing this matter to the attention of the United Nations.

Let the Chinese Nationalist Government blatantly say that the KMT aggressors in Burma are not under their control and let the matter drag on indefinitely. We don't care. But we have one conviction. In this world there are quite a substantial number of good people who detest oppression of the weak by the strong, who abhor aggression and foul play and who genuinely love truth, justice, and fairplay.

We will be satisfied if we receive the support of these good people. Our labours will not be in vain if these good people realize to what depths these KMT aggressors have descended by their act of aggression while they themselves are loudly denouncing aggression. In order to dispel possible misunderstanding we have made arrange-

● 緬甸政府於一九五三年三月二十五日電請聯大將控訴台灣國民黨政府侵略案列入議程。大會後於四月二十三日就本問題通過一項決議。

們的代表於必要時能與中華人民共和國的代表會晤，進行全面的、坦白的商談。

議長先生，關於國民黨侵略事件，我要向議院作一個保證，那就是：國民黨的侵略行為並沒有達到足以引起聯邦公民的驚慌的程度。

由於受國民黨侵略者竄擾的緬甸邊境的面積是非常廣闊的，我們幾乎不可能在整個區域駐紮武裝部隊。他們就利用這一事實而偷襲不設防的鄉村。可是，我們的防禦部隊是日益加強着。各位議員現在已經無疑地知道了，他們在和國民黨偷襲者接觸時正予後者以嚴重的懲罰。

聯邦政府並不以這種單純的懲罰為滿足；我們正在加強我們防禦部隊的力量以期達到把不受歡迎的侵略者逐出我們國土的確定目的。我代表聯邦政府向議院宣稱：我們有信心於最近期間把國民黨徒全部逐出我們的國土。

(一九五三年三月「緬甸評論」)

ments by which our representatives can meet the representatives of the People's Republic of China to have full and frank discussions whenever occasion arises.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, regarding KMT aggression, I want to give one assurance to this House. This is no other than the fact that this act of aggression is not so serious as to create panic among the citizens of the Union.

Since the area along the Burma border where KMT aggressors are operating is very vast, it is hardly possible to station our armed forces in the whole area. They take advantage of this fact and carry out sneak attacks on undefended villages. Our defence forces are, however, strengthened day by day, and now as the Hon'ble members are no doubt aware, they are inflicting severe punishment on KMT sneakers whenever contacts are made.

The Union Government is not satisfied with this mere punishment; we are building up the strength of our defence forces with the set aim of driving out the unwanted aggressors from our soil. On behalf of the Union Government I declare from the floor of this House our conviction that the KMTs will be completely driven out from our soil in the very near future.

(Burma Review, March, 1953)

(第二號)

### 緬甸外長藻昆卓為終止美援事致賽鮑爾●函

一九五三年三月十七日

#### BURMESE FOREIGN MINISTER, SAO HKUN HKIO'S LETTER TO WILLIAM SERBALD\* ON TERMINATION OF U.S. AID

March 17, 1953.

親愛的大使先生：茲根據貴我兩國政府簽訂的經濟合作協定●第五條，要求美利堅合眾國政府接受下述通知：我們不願意讓援助計劃在一九五三年六月三十日以後繼續執行下去。

但是，緬甸聯邦政府願意將其對按照經濟合作協定所得到的物資和勞務的感激心情記錄在案；這些物資和勞務對實施他們的復興計劃有極大的幫助。

藻昆卓

(譯自一九五三年四月十三日美國「國務院公報」)

My Dear Mr. Ambassador, I am to request under Article V of the Economic Cooperation Agreement\*\* between our two governments that the Government of the United States of America will accept notice that we do not desire the aid program to continue beyond June 30, 1953.

The Government of the Union of Burma, however, wish to put on record their appreciation and gratitude for the materials and services received under the Economic Cooperation Agreement which are of great help to them in implementing their rehabilitation programs.

Believe me, etc.,

Sao Hkun Hkio

(The Department of State Bulletin, April 13, 1953)

●賽鮑爾為美國駐緬甸大使。

●一九五〇年九月十四日簽訂於仰光。

\* U.S. Ambassador to Burma.

\*\* Signed in Rangoon on September, 14, 1950.

(第三號)

## 印度總理尼赫魯在印度人民院發表的主張以我方建議作為朝鮮停戰談判基礎並贊同召開大國最高級會議的演說 (節錄)

一九五三年五月十五日

### SPEECH BY INDIAN PRIME MINISTER JAWAHARLAL NEHRU BEFORE INDIAN HOUSE OF PEOPLE ADVOCATING ADOPTION OF CHINA'S PROPOSAL AS BASIS OF KOREAN ARMISTICE TALK AND ENDORSING PROPOSAL FOR CONVOCATION OF A CONFERENCE ON HIGHEST LEVEL BETWEEN LEADING POWERS (EXCERPTS)

May 15, 1953

自從上次本院討論外交問題以來，國際上發生了許多事情，有了許多重要的發展。還沒有一個重大問題已經獲得解決，但是可以說，好幾年來第一次有許多對於找到解決的辦法抱有希望。「冷戰」已經多少緩和了一些。

蘇聯方面已經有了許多採取這種新態度的證據，不論有些人對於這些證據可能作怎樣的看法，必須認為這是有助於緩和世界緊張局勢而加以歡迎。中國也已有了和平解決朝鮮問題的明顯意願。

本院當還記得，好幾個月前，印度在聯合國提出一個關於朝鮮問題的提案，並且經聯合國大會以壓倒多數予以通過。該決議，如我在本院所說過的，不是一個命令，而是以獲致一個解決的基礎的誠懇努力。聯合國大會主席已根據這種精神把決議轉達給中國政府和北朝鮮政府。不幸，蘇聯政府和中國政府均拒絕了這一決議。我們解決朝鮮問題的希望就遭到了嚴重的挫折。

最近，中國政府就朝鮮問題提出了新的建議，這一建議在某種程度上與聯合國通過的決議是一致的，它們為朝鮮問題的新解決辦法重新打開了大門。其後不久，中國政府提出了一些新的建議，即所謂八點建議，這些建議與聯合國大會所通過的印度決議非常近似。我們歡迎這些建議，因為這些建議似乎給我們在解決眼前問題上提供了一個有希望

Since the last occasion when this House discussed foreign affairs, much has happened in the international sphere and many important developments have taken place. No major problem has been solved, but it may be said that, for the first time in several years, large numbers of people have hoped that solutions might be found. The "cold war" has somewhat toned down.

Many evidences of this new approach have come from the Soviet Union and however some people might view them, they must be welcomed as helping in lessening the tension of the world. In China also there has been evident a desire for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

This House will remember that, some months ago, a resolution regarding Korea was sponsored by India in the United Nations and was passed by the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority. That resolution, as I stated in this House, was no mandate but an earnest approach to find a basis for a settlement. The President of the General Assembly of the U.N. communicated it in this spirit to the Chinese and the North Korean Governments. Unfortunately, both the Soviet and the Chinese Governments rejected that resolution and our hopes of a settlement suffered a serious setback.

Recently, however, new proposals were made by the Chinese Government in regard to Korea, which opened the door again for a fresh approach to this problem which was, to some extent, in line with the resolution passed by the U.N. Shortly afterwards, the Chinese Government put forward fresh proposals, referred to as the 8-point proposals, which were a very close approximation to the Indian resolution passed by the

的堅實的基礎，這個基礎是符合於聯合國所接受的政策的。許多其他人士也歡迎這些建議。

兩三天以前，朝鮮聯合國軍司令部提出了某些反建議。任何解決這個問題的建設性努力總是值得歡迎的。因此，我們很高興為解決在過去一直引起許多麻煩的問題而作這些努力。仔細研究這些反建議後，可以看出它們和聯合國大會決議是有很大差別的，而聯合國至今仍然受着這一決議的拘束的。中國和北朝鮮政府似乎已表示它們不同意建議中的某些部分，並聲明照目前的樣子它們是不能接受這些建議的。

就印度而言，我們歡迎為有關方面所接受的任何解決辦法。但我們認為，根據聯合國決議獲致解決辦法是非常可能的，而中國的八點建議與這個決議非常近似，它應作為討論的基礎，我們希望能獲得一個解決辦法。在必要的時候，用協議方法對這個建議加以補充修正，應該是可能的。因此，我們熱切希望不要放棄這個解決途徑，而應繼續沿着這條途徑走。無論如何，我們相信板門店的談判將會繼續進行，即使偶爾可能發生挫折。

本院知道，在有的這些建議中，印度時常被提到，這些建議並主張印度應承擔各種責任。我們不情願在遙遠的地方負責任。

但如果有關各方面之間達成了協議，而建議由我們負擔的任務是我們力所能及的，並且又不違反我們所奉行的政策，那麼我們並不想逃避這個責任。由於印度很幸運，與爭端雙方的大國都保持友好關係，這個責任便更加重大了。如果印度能對和平事業有所貢獻的話，我們將很高興貢獻我們的力量。但這種貢獻是祇能在解決辦法有了協議時才能提供的。

我曾提到在無數人心中激起來的新希望：希望壓抑人類的戰爭恐懼會減少，希望冷戰會結束。這種冷戰的恐怖和負擔最近曾由美國總統用雄辯有力的詞句加以描繪。毫無疑問，現在世界上已有了新的氣氛，比起過去一個長時期以來，前途是光明得

General Assembly of the U.N. We welcomed those proposals, because they seemed to afford us a promising and solid basis for a solution of the immediate problem, which was in line with the accepted policy of the U.N. Many other persons also welcomed these proposals.

Two or three days ago, the U.N. Command in Korea put forward certain counter-proposals. Any constructive approach to this problem is always to be welcomed. We were glad, therefore, that these attempts were being made to solve a problem which had given so much trouble in the past. On a close examination of these counter-proposals, it appears that they diverge considerably from the General Assembly's resolution to which the U.N. stands committed. It appears that the Chinese and North Korean Governments have expressed their disapproval of some of these proposals and stated that they cannot accept them as they are.

So far as India is concerned, we would welcome any solution which is accepted by the parties concerned. We feel, however, that such a solution is much more likely to be found on the basis of U.N. resolution and the Chinese 8-point proposals, approximate so nearly to this resolution that they should form the basis for discussion and we hope a solution. It should be possible to amplify them or to vary them by agreement, where necessary. We earnestly hope, therefore, that this avenue of approach will not be given up but will be pursued. In any event, we trust that the negotiations at Pan Mun Jon will be carried on, even though there might be occasional setbacks.

The House is aware that India has often been mentioned in some of these proposals and it has been suggested that this country should undertake various responsibilities. We are reluctant to assume any distant responsibilities.

But, if an agreement is arrived at between the parties concerned and the task suggested for us is within our competence and not opposed to any policy that we pursue, we do not wish to escape that responsibility. That responsibility is all the greater because it is India's good fortune to have friendly relations with the great Powers, who, on either side, are parties to the dispute. If India can serve the cause of peace in any way, we shall gladly offer our services. But such services can only be offered if there is an agreement as regards the solution.

I have referred to the new hopes that have been raised in the minds of innumerable people. Hopes that the fear of war, which oppresses humanity will diminish and the cold war, the horror and burden of which was described recently in eloquent and forceful language by the President of the United States, might end.

多了。全世界的政治家，尤其是那些在大國肩負重大責任的政治家，應該勇敢和明智地抓緊這個時機，引導人類走向和平。

我很高興：聯合王國的首相最近曾建議世界大國舉行一個不拘形式的、秘密的、沒有死板的議程的最高級會議以解決那些使人類遭受痛苦的問題，並盡力設法使人類免於戰爭的恐懼。我熱誠地贊同這個建議。會議的成敗是世界最重要關鍵之所繫。厭戰的和飽受恐懼的人類將為那些為他們消除這些可怕的負擔和領導他們走向和平與幸福的人們祝福。艾森豪威爾總統不反對舉行這種會議的主張，但他說時機尚未成熟。

(譯自一九五三年五月十六日「印度時報」)

There is undoubtedly a new atmosphere in the world and the outlook is brighter than it has been for a long time. It is for the statesmen of the world, and more especially those shouldering heavy responsibility in the great nations, to seize this opportunity with courage and wisdom and lead humanity towards peace.

I am very glad that the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom has recently suggested a conference on the highest level between the leading Powers of the world, to meet informally in privacy and without a rigid agenda to tackle the problems that afflict mankind and to make every effort to rid humanity of the fear of war. I would earnestly commend this suggestion. The stakes are the highest that the world offers and a war-weary and fear-laden humanity will bless those who will rid it of these terrible burdens and lead it to peace and happiness. President Eisenhower is not opposed to the idea of such a conference but has said that the time for it is not ripe.

(The Times on India, May 16, 1953)

(第四號)

## 印度總理尼赫魯在倫敦關於國際形勢的談話(摘要)

一九五三年六月十二日

### INDIAN PRIME MINISTER JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S STATEMENT IN LONDON ON INTERNATIONAL SITUATION (SUMMARY)

June 12, 1953

尼赫魯先生今晚在此間說：目前時代中最主導的因素之一就是「一個強大、團結、統一的中國的出現。」

他又說：「忘掉共產主義——忘掉一切吧。任何人如果無視這一事實，或者說我們不要和中國打交道或不承認它，都不會使中國完結。」

他在印度協會為他舉行的招待會上說：「目前時代中另一個重要因素」是「亞洲的興起。」

亞洲在軍事上或經濟上並不強大，但是在消極的和被動的方面說，它確是很強大的。亞洲可以被忽視的時代已一去不返了。

各國應該面對現實。「這包括對影響人們思想的巨大力量的了解，因為在亞洲和非洲千百萬人民有了奇異的思想。你不能再像以前一樣地對待他們了。」

Mr. Nehru said here tonight one of the most dominating factors of the present age was the emergence of "a strong, united, integrated State of China".

He added: "Forget Communism — forget everything. For anyone to ignore that fact or to say we shall not have anything to do with China or recognize it does not put an end to China".

Speaking at a reception given for him by the India League, he said the "other major factor of the present times" was "the establishment of Asia".

Asia was not militarily or economically strong. But negatively and passively she was very strong indeed. The time was past when Asia could be ignored.

Nations must face reality. "This includes an understanding of the enormous forces at play in men's minds because millions of people in Asia and Africa have got strange thoughts. You cannot treat them as you used to treat them.

「每一個政策都應該以一種現實為根據，那就是對這些新的力量的了解；態度即更不是一種積極的友好的話，至少不應該是敵對的。

「甚至對敵對者的態度也應該盡量有禮貌，因為敵意一定不能有助於解決問題。

「我並不是說一個國家不應該為它的國防與安全採取預防措施。用一切辦法來加強你們的力量，但是如果你們的目標是和平的話，不要用鼓勵戰爭的方法來加強力量。」

談到印度參加國外事務時，尼赫魯先生說：「確然，環境已迫使我們在國際事務中起作用。這並不完全是我們自找的。

「當然，我們對這些事情是關心的，但是我們認識到，在我們能擔負起其他的任務與責任以前，或者在我們敢於到處給人出主意以前，我們必須先把自己的國家搞好。

「但是，像印度這樣一個偉大的國家變為獨立這一事實，就給我們帶來了我們不能逃避的責任。」

因此印度在國際範圍內，不論是在聯合國或是與其他國家的關係上，起了作用。

「我們與英聯邦和一些亞洲的鄰國有聯繫，我很愉快地說，我們可以說沒有對任何一個國家發生敵對的關係。這是使我們高興的一件事。

「在這樣緊要的關頭，各國間巨大的互相競爭的集團應該對印度給予某種程度的信任——雙方都應如此。」

他還說到俄國對世界其他部份的態度有了顯著的改變。「俄國肯定是要和平的——至於到什麼時候為止，我不知道。」

有人問到他是否認為俄國已經放棄了以共產主義統治世界的想法時，尼赫魯先生答道：「他們也許以為，世界革命的政策用保證在俄國有成果的辦法可能得到更大的推進，而不是用可能會打翻一切的戰爭來推進它。」

他說，舉行四大國會議的時機已經成熟。但是，如果沒有亞洲國家參加，這個會議就不能解決有關亞洲的問題。四大國會議之後，或許有必要舉行一個像印度這樣的國家可以參加的較大會議。

“Every policy should be based on the reality of understanding these new forces and the approach should be if not actively friendly at least not hostile.

“The approach even to the opponent should be as courteous as possible, because hostility certainly does not help to solve a problem.

“I should not say a country should not take precautions for its defence and its security. Build up your strength by all means, but if your objective is peace do not do it in a way which encourages war”.

On India's entry into foreign affairs, Mr. Nehru said: “It is true circumstances have compelled us to function in international affairs. That has not been very much of our seeking.

“Of course we are interested in them, but we realize we have to make good in our own country before we can take up other burdens and responsibilities or before we presume to go about dolling out advice to others.

“But the mere fact of a great country like India becoming independent brings responsibilities which we cannot escape”.

So India had functioned in the international sphere, whether it was in the U.N. or in relations with other countries.

“We are associated with the Commonwealth of Nations and some of our neighbouring countries in Asia, and I am glad to say there is no country with which we may be said to be on hostile terms. That is a matter about which we can be pleased.

“At this critical moment the great rival blocs of Powers should give a measure of trust to India—both of them”.

He also said there had been a marked change in the Russian attitude to the rest of the world. “Russia definitely desires peace—for whatever period it may be I cannot say.”

Asked if he thought Russia had abandoned the idea of Communist supremacy over the world, Mr. Nehru replied: “They might think the policy of world revolution might be furthered more by ensuring results in Russia and by not pursuing a war that would upset everything.”

The time was ripe for a four-Power conference, he said. But such a conference could hardly tackle questions relating to Asia without Asian countries being represented. After the four-Power conference, a larger conference



他又說：「但是，歐洲與美洲的領導政治家們有從歐洲和美洲的角度來看事物的傾向。如果你從德里或喀喇蚩來看同一東西，問題就略有不同了。」

「就中國問題來說，在歐洲與美洲的人看來，中國是一個遙遠的國家，但是，中國與印度有兩千英里長的邊界，情況就不同了。」

有人問到「由於中國把海外中國人仍看做是他們的公民這個政策」對東南亞有無任何危險時，他答道：「也許有危險。但這與政策無關。它是無論到那裏去都不會消滅的中國人的天然特點。」

尼赫魯先生說，聯合國自從創立以來已經有了相當大的變化，人們在談論它是否仍舊可以按日前的形式繼續下去。聯合國在開始時是所有獨立國家都可參與的一個普遍的團體，而現在有幾個最大的獨立國家沒有被准許加入，例如中國。這不是一個喜歡或不喜歡中國的問題。

(譯自一九五三年六月十四日印度「政治家報」)

might be necessary in which countries like India could take part.

"But," he added, "there is a tendency for leading statesmen in Europe and America to look at things from the European and American point of view. If you look at the same thing from Delhi or Karachi the problem looks slightly different.

"Take the question of China, China is a distant country to people in Europe and America. But China has 2,000 miles of frontier with India. It is a different picture."

Asked whether there was any danger in South-East Asia "from the Chinese policy of regarding Chinese abroad as still their own citizens", he replied: "Perhaps there is. But that has nothing to do with policy. It is the native Chinese characteristic that survives wherever it goes".

Mr. Nehru said that U.N. had undergone considerable transformation since it was established and people argued whether it could continue in its present form. It had started as a universal body to which every independent country could belong. Now some of the biggest independent countries were not allowed in it; for example, China. It was not a question of liking or not liking China.

(The Statesman, June 14, 1953)

(第五號)

## 「四國聯合委員會」關於國民黨殘匪撤出緬甸的聲明

一九五三年六月二十三日

### STATEMENT OF "FOUR-NATION COMMITTEE" ON EVACUATION OF REMNANT KUOMINTANG GANG FROM BURMA

June 23, 1953

自從五月二十二日以來就在曼谷開會討論實施聯合國四月二十二日關於從緬甸撤退外國軍隊的決議的四國委員會，今天宣佈已就撤退計劃達成協議。該計劃業經委員會充份考慮與仔細研究，並須由有關政府予以同意。

The Four-Nation Committee which has been sitting in Bangkok since May 22 working on the implementation of the United Nations Resolution of April 22, regarding the evacuation of the foreign forces from Burma, announced today that an agreement had been reached with respect to the plan of evacuation. This plan has been given much thought and careful study by the Committee and will have to be approved by the governments concerned.

該計劃，簡單地說，是把外國軍隊從緬甸東北部份經由密芝那和臘戍以空運撤至泰國，然後再從泰國撤至台灣。從其它地區（包括孟薩）撤退的軍隊則由陸路撤至建立於塔吉利克附近的安全地帶。他們在越過邊境往泰國之前，要在那裏進行編隊。進入泰國後，撤出人員將用飛機直接運往台灣，或由公路和鐵路通過泰國送到曼谷，再由曼谷運往台灣去。按照這個計劃，在顯拿紗麻區域的外國軍隊將撤至最近的運輸站，從那裏用空運撤到曼谷或景邁，然後去台灣。

一俟該計劃經有關政府同意後，希望不久即開始實際撤退。

實際撤退將在四國聯合委員會（即泰國、緬甸聯邦、中華民國與美國的代表）的監督下進行。

（譯自一九五三年六月二十四日「緬甸新時代報」）

The plan, in brief, includes the evacuation of the foreign forces from north-eastern Burma by air to Thailand via Myitkyina and Lashio. Thence to Taiwan. Those troops to be evacuated from other localities, including Mong Hsat, are to be evacuated by road to a safety zone established around Tacheleik where they are to be processed before crossing the border to Thailand. After entering Thailand the evacuees are to be flown directly to Taiwan or moved through Thailand by road and rail to Bangkok where they would be transported to Taiwan. According to the plan those foreign forces in the Tenasserim area would be evacuated to the nearest transport point, thence by air to either Bangkok or Chiangmai before departing for Taiwan.

Upon approval of the plan by the governments concerned it is hoped that the actual evacuation will commence shortly thereafter.

The actual evacuation will be under the supervision of the Joint Four-Nation Committee, namely the representatives of Thailand, the Union of Burma, the Republic of China and the United States.

(New Times of Burma, June 24, 1953)

（第六號）

## 印度總理尼赫魯在印度人民院關於和平解決朝鮮問題及政治會議組成問題的演說（節錄）

一九五三年八月十七日

### INDIAN PRIME MINISTER JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S SPEECH BEFORE INDIAN HOUSE OF PEOPLE ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF KOREAN QUESTION AND COMPOSITION OF POLITICAL CONFERENCE (EXCERPTS)

August 17, 1953

在三個月以前，即五月十五日，我曾經在人民院發表過一篇關於外交問題的聲明。當時我曾提到許多證據證明解決國際問題有了新途徑，我特別提到各方面所表示的對和平解決朝鮮問題的願望。

拖延很久的板門店談判，歷盡波折之後，似乎逐漸在走向某種解決。雖然又發生了一些挫折，但是前途上的難關，即戰俘問題的難關，終於越過了。

Three months ago, on May 15, I made a statement on foreign affairs in this House. I referred then to the many evidences of a new approach to the solution of international problems, and, in particular, to the desire shown on all sides for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

The long-drawn-out negotiations at Panmunjon, with all their ups and downs, appeared gradually to be moving towards some settlement. There were setbacks again, but ultimately the major hurdle in the way, that relating to the prisoners of war, was crossed.

六月八日雙方簽訂了關於戰俘問題的協議。從它的全部主要內容看來，這一協議與幾個月以前聯合國大會所通過的印度提案是極其相似的。

按照這一協議，一種重大的責任將落在印度的頭上。對於任何國家，尤其是對於我們，這是一個新的經驗。我們不願負擔新的責任，尤其是在一個國際活動舞台上。然而，形勢如此，如果我們要逃避這個重大的責任，那將是不應當的。

我們所致力和平事業以及其他國家對我們的信心都要求我們作這一服務。因此，我們本着謙遜的精神，並懷着在委託給我們的任務上我們將繼續得到其他國家的慷慨合作的信心，接受了這些任務。

幾乎人人都以為最後的停戰協定不久以後就會簽訂。然而，出乎意料地，一系列可遺憾的事件延遲了停戰協定的實現並帶來了一個嚴重的不確定的時期。關於我們所希望的在朝鮮執行任務時所需的條件是否在實際上會建立起來，發生了懷疑。經過幾星期的懸而未決的情況之後，期待已久的停戰協定於七月二十七日上午在板門店簽訂了。幾小時後，戰事便停止了。

雖然南朝鮮政府釋放了大批戰俘，嚴重地影響了這個協定，但停戰協定並沒有對戰俘問題協議的規定作任何修改。這就為我們進行完成我們的任務的準備工作掃清了道路。

我們有三重任務。中立國遣返委員會由瑞典、瑞士、波蘭、捷克與印度代表組成。印度委員被指定擔任委員會主席和執行人這一負責職位。我們還負責提供軍隊和工作人員，以看管未被拘留雙方直接遣返的戰俘。第三，我們的紅十字會被請求擔任有關這種戰俘的全部紅十字會的工作。

應該記得：停戰協定是兩個司令部——聯合國軍司令部為一方，中國和北朝鮮軍司令部為另一方——所達成的。因此，我們必須直接和這些司令部打交道。

On June 8 an agreement was signed between the parties in regard to the prisoners of war. This agreement, in all its main features, bore a close resemblance to the Indian resolution which had been adopted by the General Assembly some months earlier.

In this agreement a heavy responsibility was cast upon India. For any country, and more especially for us, this was a novel experience. We were reluctant to assume new responsibilities, especially in an international theatre of operations. But the circumstances were such that it would have been improper for us to evade this heavy responsibility.

The cause of peace, to which we are devoted, as well as the faith placed in us by other countries demanded this service from us. We accepted these duties, therefore, in a spirit of humility and in the faith that we would continue to receive the generous co-operation of other countries in the tasks that were being entrusted to us.

Almost everyone thought that the final armistice agreement would be signed soon after. But, unexpectedly, a series of deplorable events delayed this realization and brought a period of grave uncertainty. Doubts arose whether the conditions in which we had expected to function in Korea would in fact be established. After several weeks of suspense, the long-awaited armistice agreement was signed at Panmunjon on the morning of July 27, and fighting came to an end a few hours later.

This armistice agreement introduced no modification of the terms of the prisoners of war agreement, although the release of a large number of prisoners of war by the South Korean Government had vitally affected that agreement. The way was cleared for us to proceed with the preparations for fulfilling our responsibilities.

These were threefold. The Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission consisted of representatives of Sweden, Switzerland, Poland, Czechoslovakia and India. To the Indian member was assigned the responsible position of chairman and executive agent of the commission. We were further charged with supplying forces and operating personnel for the custody of the prisoners who had not been repatriated directly by the detaining sides, and, thirdly, our Red Cross was asked to undertake all Red Cross work in connexion with such prisoners of war.

It must be remembered that the armistice had been arrived at between the two commands—the U.N. Command on the one side and the Chinese and the North Korean Commands on the other. We had thus to deal with these Commands directly.

我們是決定第一步派遣一個先遣工作組去朝鮮，和這兩個司令部會談，並向我們報告我們所必須作的細節佈置。這一先遣工作組由外交秘書率領，並包括我們武裝部隊與紅十字會的代表。他們是要查明印度代表和武裝部隊能够以光榮的資格並在符合印度的自尊和莊嚴的情況下執行職務。這是一件重要的事情，因為曾有過以南朝鮮政府的名義發表的一些有關印度代表和軍隊的不正當和不莊重的言論。

先遣工作組在八月五日離開德里。他們現在已完成工作，明天就要回國。我對於兩個司令部對我國代表的優禮和協助表示謝意。從我們的先遣工作組給我們的報告看來，他們與雙方司令部的會談是完全令人滿意的。

鑒於加在印度身上的這種新的重大責任，我們特別慎重地選擇了合適的代表以担任委託給我們的各種任務。我國在遣返委員會的代表和該委員會的主席是蒂邁雅中將，副代表是我國駐海牙大使查克拉瓦蒂。這些官員，以及一些他們的工作人員，可望在九月的第一個星期內啓程赴朝鮮，以便在委員會九月底開始執行職務前及時完成全部初步的佈置。

關於派遣印度看管部隊的工作，也已作了佈置。部隊將由托拉特少將指揮。據估計，總共需要約五千人去朝鮮服務，其中包括紅十字會工作人員。其中近四千人在最近幾天之內就要在馬德拉斯分乘三隻船動身，第一隻船「傑拉杜爾格」號明日就啓程。其餘人員可望在幾天之後有了第四隻船時立即動身。

我現在向人民院報告這些細節，因為諸位無疑地是對我們的人就要在朝鮮做的工作感到興趣的。他們此去是負有和平使命的，我確信他們是帶着人民院和全國的每一角落的善意而去的。

停戰協定的締結是一件大事，但是前途充滿了困難。停戰協定規定：為保證朝鮮問題的和平解決，在停戰協定簽字並生效後三個月內，應舉行雙方高一級的政治會議，「協商從朝鮮撤退一切外國

As a first step, we decided to send an advance party to Korea to confer with these two Commands and to report to us what detailed arrangements we had to make. This advance party was led by the Foreign Secretary and had representatives of our Armed Forces and Red Cross. They were to assure themselves that India's representatives and Armed Forces would be able to function in an honourable capacity and under conditions in keeping with India's self-respect and dignity. This had become a vital matter because of certain improper and undignified statements that had been made on behalf of the South Korean Government in regard to India's representatives and forces.

This advance party left Delhi on August 5. They have completed their labours and are returning tomorrow. I should like to express my gratitude to the two Commands for the courtesy and help they have given to our representatives. From such reports as we have had from our advance party, their talks with these Commands have been in every way satisfactory.

In view of the novel and heavy responsibilities cast upon India, we have taken special care to choose suitable representatives for the various duties entrusted to us. Our representative on the Repatriation Commission and its chairman will be Lieut.-Gen. K. S. Thimayya and the alternate representative will be Shri B. N. Chakravarty, our Ambassador at The Hague. These officers, with some members of their staff, are expected to leave for Korea in the first week of September, so as to be in time to complete all preliminary arrangements before the Commission begins to function by the end of September.

Arrangements have also been made for the despatch of the Indian custodian force. This will be under the command of Maj.-Gen. Thorat. It is estimated that a total of about 5,000 persons, including Red Cross staff, will be required for service in Korea. Of these, nearly 4,000 men will embark at Madras on three ships within the next few days, the first ship s.s. Jaladurga leaving tomorrow. The remaining number of men are expected to sail some days later as soon as a fourth ship becomes available.

I am placing before the House these details because members will no doubt be interested in the work that our people are going to do in Korea. They have gone there on a mission of peace and I am sure that they carry with them the goodwill of every section of this House and of the country.

The conclusion of the armistice has been a great event, but the future is full of difficulty. The armistice agreement has laid down that, in order to ensure the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, a political conference of a higher

軍隊及和平解決朝鮮問題等問題。」這些都是困難的問題，因此，如果要使這些問題得到滿意解決，必須有鎮靜而心平氣和的考慮與和平的意志。

不幸，最近有些跡象表明這種和平的意志並不是常常可見的，而甚至有人在進行威脅。一方會聲稱：除非它的要求在一定時期內被接受，它保留重新發動軍事行動的權利。有些協議已經達成，並且已有一些保證，然而都還沒有公開。我們不知道這些協議與保證對於政治會議充分討論這個問題會有怎樣的阻礙。

今天，聯合國大會正在紐約舉行特別會議討論這個問題。然而，應該記得：停戰協定是雙方的協定，而聯合國大會代表其中一方，即聯合國軍司令部。任何決定如果要有效，必須得到雙方同意。

政治會議的組成及其任務都還沒有決定。在會議的組成問題上，似乎有着相當大的意見分歧，甚至在聯合國會員國中間也有。

印度已被提及為應當參加這一會議的國家。我要說：除非我們顯然能夠為和平起有益的作用，並且主要有關方面願意我們在這事情上予以協助，我們是不想在這個會議上或其他地方謀一席位的。

我懇切地希望：會議會以和平的心情，並有着以和平方式解決遠東問題的堅定意志來進行。朝鮮戰爭的再起將是一個悲劇，而任何鼓勵戰爭氣氛的事都將是一個不幸。

(譯自一九五三年八月十八日印度「政治家報」)

level of both sides should be held within three months after the armistice agreement is signed and becomes effective, "to settle through negotiations the questions of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc." These are difficult questions which require calm and dispassionate consideration and a will to peace if they are to be solved satisfactorily.

Unfortunately, there have been indications recently that this will to peace is not always in evidence, and even threats have been held out. One party has stated that unless its demands are acceded to within a stated time, it reserves its right to start military operations again. Agreements have been made and assurances given which have not been fully made public, and we do not know how far they might come in the way of a full discussion of this problem in the political conference.

A special session of the U.N. General Assembly is meeting in New York today to consider this problem. It must be remembered, however, that the armistice agreement is between two parties and the U.N. Assembly represents one such party, that is, the U.N. Command. Any decisions, in order to be effective, must have the concurrence of both parties.

Neither the composition nor the functions of the political conference have yet been determined and there appears to be a considerable difference of opinion, even among members of the U.N., as to the composition of the conference.

India has been mentioned as a country which should be represented in this conference. I should like to say that we have no desire to seek a place in this conference or elsewhere unless it is clear that we can perform some useful function in the interests of peace, and the major parties concerned desire our assistance in this matter.

I earnestly hope that the approach to this conference will be made in a temper of peace and with the firm determination to settle the problems of the Far East in a peaceful way. Any recurrence of war in Korea will be a tragedy, and anything that encourages the atmosphere of war will be a misfortune.

(The Statesman, August 18, 1953)

(第七號)

## 印度總理尼赫魯和巴基斯坦總理阿里關於克什米爾等印巴間的問題發表的聯合公報

一九五三年八月二十一日

### JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED BY INDIAN PRIME MINISTER JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AND THE PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN MOHAMMED ALI ON KASHMIR AND OTHER PROBLEMS BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

August 21, 1953

巴基斯坦總理和印度總理於八月十七日、十八日、十九日及二十日在新德里舉行了幾次會議。這種會議是他們三週前在喀喇蚩所舉行的會議的繼續。克什米爾問題和兩國間其他懸而未決的問題經充分地坦白地加以討論。兩國總理都抱着堅定的決心要儘速以和不與合作的方式解決這些問題，使雙方均獲好處。

討論克什米爾爭端的时间特別長。兩國總理們堅定地認為，這個爭端應該遵照該邦人民的願望加以解決，以促進他們的幸福並使該邦人民生活受到最少的擾亂。確定人民願望的最實際可行的方法，是舉行平允公正的公民投票。

舉行這種公民投票的建議在幾年前就已提出，並且得到了雙方的同意，但是，由於某些先決問題未獲協議，始終未能有所進展。兩國總理一致認為，這些先決問題應該由他們直接加以考慮，以便就這些問題達成協議。這些協議必須予以實行，下一個步驟便是任命一個公民投票執行人。

爲了要定出一個臨時時間表，經決定公民投票執行人應該在一九五四年四月底以前任命。在這個日期以前，上述的先決問題應加以解決，並應採取實行這種解決辦法的行動。爲了這個目的，應委派軍事的及其他專家的委員會，以供兩國總理的諮詢。

在公民投票執行人被正式任命並由查謨——克

The Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India held several meetings on August 17, 18, 19 and 20 in New Delhi. These talks were in continuation of the talks they had had in Karachi three weeks earlier. Kashmir and other problems outstanding between the two countries were discussed fully and frankly. Both the Prime Ministers were actuated by a firm resolve to settle these problems as early as possible, peacefully and co-operatively to the mutual advantage of both countries.

The Kashmir dispute was especially discussed at some length. It was their firm opinion that this should be settled in accordance with the wishes of the people of that State, with a view to promoting their well-being and causing the least disturbance to the life of the people of the State. The most feasible method of ascertaining the wishes of the people was by fair and impartial plebiscite.

Such a plebiscite had been proposed and agreed to some years ago. Progress, however, could not be made because of lack of agreement in regard to certain preliminary issues. The Prime Ministers agree that these preliminary issues should be considered by them directly in order to arrive at agreements in regard to them. These agreements would have to be given effect to and the next step would be the appointment of the Plebiscite Administrator.

In order to fix some kind of a provisional time-table, it was decided that the Plebiscite Administrator should be appointed by the end of April 1954. Previous to that date, the preliminary issues referred to above should be decided and action in implementation thereof should be taken. With this purpose in view, committees of military and other experts should be appointed to advise the Prime Ministers.

On the Plebiscite Administrator's formal appointment and induction into office by the

什米爾政府使他就職之後，該執行人將研究情況並作出報告。這時，他將就在全邦舉行平允公正的公民投票的準備工作，提出他認為適當的建議，並採取他認為有必要採取的其他步驟。

兩國總理考慮了遷移者的財產問題，並欣然發現，由於兩國政府代表在喀喇蚩討論的結果，這方面是有了很大的進展。目前正在收集某些材料以便作出最後決定。雙方希望，兩國政府的代表在一個月之內舉行會議，以便進一步考慮這些問題。

兩國總理在喀喇蚩的會議上已經同意：枯琪一比哈爾省在東孟加拉省的飛地應該和東孟加拉省在枯琪——比哈爾省的飛地交換。雙方因此決定，會議應儘速在加爾各答舉行，以便擬出必要的細節。

會議也應該考慮旅行及貿易上的方便及其他與東巴基斯坦省、西孟加拉省及阿薩姆省特別有關的問題。應由東巴基斯坦省、西孟加拉省、阿薩姆省的代表及兩個中央政府的代表出席這個會議。

兩國總理對於有關兩國的重要問題所達成的很大程度的協議，深為高興，他們深信他們的努力將會得到更多的成就，這樣，不幸妨害着兩國友好關係的一切問題都將會得到滿意的解決。然而，祇有兩國之間存在着和平與合作的氣氛，才會朝這方面有所進展。因此，這需要積極加以鼓勵。

兩國總理應反對兩國負責男女人士在報紙、無線電、講演或談話中互相宣傳或攻擊。因此，他們相信一切機關及輿論的負責領袖將會擔負起這種促進兩國友好關係的重大工作，以幫助解決可能存在于兩國之間的一切問題和爭端。兩國總理非常重視這種友好態度，重視避免使兩國之間產生分歧的言論或行動。

兩國總理打算彼此保持密切接觸，以便加速朝上述方向的進展。

(譯自一九五三年八月二十一日「印度時報」)

Jammu and Kashmir Government, he will examine the situation and report upon it. He will then make such proposals as he thinks proper for preparations to be made for the holding of a fair and impartial plebiscite in the entire State and taken such other steps as may be considered necessary therefor.

The Prime Ministers considered the evacuee property issue and were glad to find that, as a result of discussions between the representatives of the two Governments at Karachi, considerable progress had been made. Certain data were now being collected to enable final decisions to be taken. It was hoped that a meeting of the representatives of the two Governments would be held within a month for a further consideration of these problems.

At their meeting in Karachi, the Prime Ministers had agreed that the Cooch-Bihar enclaves in East Bengal should be exchanged with East Bengal enclaves in Cooch-Bihar. It was accordingly decided that a conference should be held in Calcutta as soon as possible to work out the necessary details.

The conference should also consider travel and trade facilities and other issues, especially relating to East Pakistan, West Bengal and Assam. This conference should be attended by the representatives of East Pakistan, West Bengal and Assam and the two Central Governments.

The Prime Ministers are happy to record this large measure of agreement on vital matters affecting their two countries and they trust and believe that further success will attend their efforts so that all the problems which have unfortunately come in the way of good relations between the two countries should be solved satisfactorily. But progress can only be made in this direction if there is an atmosphere of peace and co-operation between the two countries. This has, therefore, to be actively encouraged.

The Prime Ministers deprecate any propaganda or attack on one country by the other in the press, by radio, or by speeches and statements made by responsible men and women of either country. They trust, therefore, that all organs and responsible leaders of public opinion will direct themselves to this great task of promoting goodwill between the two countries and thus help in solving all problems and disputes that might exist between them. The Prime Ministers attach the greatest importance to this friendly approach and to the avoidance of words and actions which promote discord between the two countries.

The Prime Ministers intend to keep in close touch with each other so as to expedite progress in the directions indicated above.

(The Times of India, August 21, 1953)

(第八號)

## 印度總理尼赫魯在印度人民院發表的關於外交政策的演說 (節錄)

—一九五三年九月十七日

INDIAN PRIME MINISTER JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S  
SPEECH BEFORE INDIAN HOUSE OF PEOPLE ON  
FOREIGN POLICY (EXCERPTS)

September 17, 1953

## 外國屬地問題\*

此外，還有外國在印度的屬地問題。人民院和全國對這些問題自然是不能忍耐的，並且也不喜歡遲遲不加解決。這是真的。沒有人喜歡這樣。我們不僅是日前從政治觀點上看而不喜歡它，就是從許多其他觀點上看，也不喜歡它，因為這些地方是走私、陰謀和麻煩的中心，甚至在和平時期也是危險點。萬一不幸，世界上某些部分發生某種戰爭，這些地方很可能變為更大的危險點。

我們在人民院中曾很明確地說過：如果戰爭在任何地方爆發——不管交戰雙方是誰——就我們而言，我們決不承認印度的任何地方——包括那些被稱為在印度的外國屬地在內——有權與該戰爭發生任何關係。

我願把話說得十分明白：假如這些地方不論直接或間接地被用於有關戰爭的用途，我們將不得不採取行動來制止它。我這樣說，很明顯地，決沒有任何恐嚇的意思，而是因為把某些事情弄明白是有好處的，可以使旁人注意到他們可能肆意做的某些行動的後果。

## 印度參加政治會議的問題

人民院知道，印度的名字不久以前曾在聯合國政治委員會一再被提出，有人提議，要印度成為朝鮮停戰的產物的政治會議之一員。印度的處境是有些進退兩難。我們並沒有毛遂自薦，而且——我所說的話是十分誠懇和忠實的——我們也不想再增加負擔。同時，我們又堅決認為——這是很自然的——這一政治會議必須成功，在亞洲的遠東必須有一個解決，一個和平的解決，而且假使我們對此有

## Foreign Establishments in India\*

Then there are those other problems of foreign establishments in India, and the House and our country is naturally impatient about them and does not like this delay in their solution. That is true. Nobody likes it. Not only do we not like it in the present from a political point of view, but from many others; they are centres of smuggling, of intrigues and trouble, danger spots even in time of peace. And suppose, unfortunately, some kind of war broke out in parts of the world, they might well become even greater danger spots.

We have said quite clearly in this House that if war breaks out anywhere—it does not matter between whom it is—so far as we are concerned, we will not admit the right of any part of India, including those parts that are called foreign establishments in India, to be associated with that war in any way.

I want to make it perfectly clear that if these places are used, directly or indirectly, in connexion with a war, we shall have to take action to stop that. I say that not, obviously, in any sense as a threat, but because it is well to make clear some things so that others may be aware of the consequences of some action they might conceivably indulge in.

## India's Participation in the Political Conference

The House knows that the name of India came up repeatedly before the Political Committee of the U.N. some little while ago and the proposal was made that India might be made a member of the Political Conference that is the child of the armistice in Korea. India was put in a somewhat embarrassing position. We did not put our name forward and—I am perfectly sincere and honest in what I say—we did not want any additional burden. At the same time, we were strongly of opinion—and naturally—

\* 本篇內小標題為編者所加。

\* Sub-headings are inserted by the editor.



能爲力的地方，即使這會給我們一種負擔，我們也是義不容辭的。因此，由於如此處境，我們絕沒有毛遂自薦。然而，其他國家認爲印度的出席該會議會是有益的，就把我們的名字提了出來。我們始終明白表示，祇有在發生爭端的兩個主要國家要我們執行任務；我們才能執行任務。

我們對於被一方在違反另一方的意志的情況下，推入會議，是不感興趣的。當我說「主要雙方」時，我並不是指任何特殊的國家，不管它是多大，而是指以聯合國爲一方、以中國與北朝鮮軍司令部爲另一方的雙方。它們是實現停戰的雙方，而由停戰所產生的政治會議最後也是和這雙方有關。我重複這一點，因爲關於我們在聯合國中對於這問題所發表的意見，曾發生一些混亂。如人民院所知道，這問題後來被付表決<sup>●</sup>，在表決時，有相當大的多數贊成印度，很大的少數反對印度，還有一些棄權，然而沒有獲得提到全體大會去所必需的三分之二的多數。在這後一階段，我們請求提名印度的國家不要強求，於是，印度便不在提名之列了。

然而，這次表決產生了某些有趣的後果。如果分析一下表決情況，就可以看出，投票反對印度的國家中，除了四個國家以外，還有二十一票<sup>●</sup>，其中十八票是美洲國家所投，這十八票中有十七票是所謂拉丁美洲國家所投。我對拉丁美洲國家是極爲尊重的，在這一點上不要有誤解。但是，事實是很清楚的，幾乎全部歐洲和幾乎全部亞洲都要在政治會議中有一件東西，而若干國家，全部美洲，却不要這件東西。它們要或不要這件東西都是同樣有權利的。

然而，我們所考慮的問題是一個亞洲的問題，是關於亞洲的問題。是否可以因爲某些實際上和這問題並無那樣密切關係的人要想那樣做，便可以藐視亞洲的意志，便可以藐視亞洲和歐洲的共同意志呢？這是一個離奇的形勢。

that this Political Conference should succeed, that there should be a settlement, a peaceful settlement, in the Far East of Asia, and that if we could help in that, we should not run away from that help even if it might involve a burden on us. So, placed in this position, we did not put ourselves forward at all. But other countries, thinking that the presence of India there would be helpful, put our name forward. To the last, we made it clear that we could only function if the two major Powers to this dispute wanted us to function.

We were not interested in being pushed in by one party against the will of the other. And when I say "the two major parties", I do not refer to any particular country, however big it may be, but the two parties being, on the one side, the U.N., and on the other, the Chinese and the North Korean Commands. These were the two parties which brought about the armistice, and the Political Conference which flows from the armistice would also ultimately be concerned with these two parties as such. I repeat this because there was some confusion which was attached to what we had said about this matter in the U.N. So, this matter, as the House knows, came to a vote and in the voting there was a considerable majority in favour of India and a big minority against it and a number of abstentions. But there was not the two-thirds majority that would have been necessary if it went to the plenary session. At that later stage we begged those who had put our names forward not to press for it and so India was out of it.

But certain interesting consequences flowed from this vote. If that voting is analysed, you will see that apart from the four countries who voted against India, there were 21 votes, 18 of them from the Americas, 17 from what is called Latin America. Now, I have the greatest respect for the countries of Latin America. Let there be no mistake about it. But the facts stand out that nearly the whole of Europe and nearly the whole of Asia wanted one thing in this Political Conference while a number of countries, all the Americas, did not want it. They have as much right not to want it as they have to want it.

But the question that we have been considering is an Asian question, a question of Asia, and is the will of Asia to be flouted, is the will of Asia and Europe jointly to be flouted because some people who really are not concerned with this question so intimately feel that way? That is an extraordinary position.

● 指八月二十七日政委會的表決。

● 此次投票結果，贊同印度參加者有二十七票，反對者二十一票，棄權者十一票（印度未參加投票）。若依此處所述，則反對印度者應爲二十五票，因此，本文在計算上當有錯誤。