

# 一九四三年蔣夫人向美眾院演說全文

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編者按：此篇文章係針對本誌三月號介紹蔣夫人訪美演說所撰寫之文章，介紹蔣夫人一九四三年訪美於眾院所發表之演說全文，並經陳大使錫蕃閱稿，校正。

一九三七年七月七日日本軍隊在北平西南蘆溝橋附近挑起軍事衝突，揭開中國八年對日抗戰序幕。一九四三年，中國獨立對日抗戰進入最艱苦階段，為爭取美國對中國抗戰之支持和同情，蔣夫人宋美齡女士於同年二月十八日至四月四日訪美期間，先後至美國國會、紐約市政廳、紐約麥迪遜廣場、威斯理大學、芝加哥體育館

、舊金山市政廳、洛杉磯好萊塢等處

發表七次演說。蔣夫人訪美於各地掀起了一陣蔣夫人旋風。因為當時蔣夫人是第一位受邀請而到美國國會發表演說的東方女性，更是第一位在美國國會發表演說的中國人。

貴刊第八十三卷，第三期，三月號雜誌，對蔣夫人訪美行程以及所掀起之旋風，有詳細之介紹。但篇末所刊登之蔣夫人國會演說係臨時獲美國副總統兼參議院議長邀請而發表之臨時演說，因此未備有正式講稿。一般民眾容易誤以為此篇演講就是蔣夫人於美國國會爭取美國支持我對日抗戰

之演說。

其實不然。蔣夫人訪美七篇演說中，最受矚目者，係於美國眾議院所發表之演說。而往後之六篇演說也是架構在眾院所發表的那篇演說上。蔣夫人眾院演說，主要為爭取美國對中國對日抗戰之支持與援助。全場演說二十餘分鐘，所獲掌聲無數，不僅把中國人民對日抗戰的英勇事蹟生動介紹給美國政府與人民，促使美國重新思考重歐輕亞之政策，也為日後爭取美國對華援助奠下基礎。

上述演說實係兩篇不同之演說，經陳錫蕃大使指出，投書貴刊第八十

三卷，第五期，五月號，陳大使另囑筆者上網自美方資訊網站中調出原文，並予逐譯，以供讀者參考。本人爰草成此文並送經陳大使過目。

蔣夫人於美國眾議院之演說，對國際輿論與日後對中國爭取援助上，亦影響深遠，日後於美國各地進行的援華募捐活動不僅獲得極大迴響，更使美國國會決定廢除當時已實施長達六十一年之「排華法案」，從而改善中美兩國關係。

蔣夫人宋美齡女士一九四三年二月十八日於美國眾議院演說全文與譯文如下：

Mr. Speaker and Members of the House of Representatives of the United States:

At any time it would be a privilege for me to address Congress, more especially this present august body which will have so much to do in shaping the destiny of the world. In speaking to

Congress I am literally speaking to the American people. The Seventy-seventh Congress, as their representatives, fulfilled the obligations and responsibilities of its trust by declaring war on the aggressors. That part of the duty of the people's representatives was discharged in 1941. The task now confronting you is to help win the war and to create and uphold a lasting peace which will justify the sacrifices and sufferings of the victims of aggression.

議長、美國眾議院諸位議員：

無論何時，余得向貴國國會致詞，實屬榮幸；尤在今日，余得向一莊嚴偉大之團體，對於世界命運之形成有絕大影響如貴院者致詞，尤屬特別

榮幸。余向貴國國會演說，實際上係向美國人民演說。貴國第七十七屆國會，以代表美國人民之資格，對侵略者宣戰，已盡其人民所信託之義務與責任。此為人民代表之一部分職責，

早已在一九四一年履行。諸君當前之要務，乃協助爭取勝利，並創建與維護一種永久之和平，俾此次遭受侵略者之一切犧牲與痛苦，具有意義。

Before enlarging on this subject, I should like to tell you a little about my long and vividly interesting trip to your country from my own land which has bled and borne unflinchingly the burden of war for more than 5 1/2 years. I shall not dwell, however, upon the part China has played in our united effort to free mankind from brutality and violence. I shall try to convey to you, however imperfectly, the impressions gained during the trip.

在未就主題進行演說之前，願將關於余此次行程略述一二。余自祖國來至貴邦，長途跋涉，觀感深切，趣味濃厚。以言余之祖國，則流血犧牲，肩荷抗戰之負擔，不屈不撓，已逾

五年有半。雖然，余並不擬申述中國對於共同努力，從殘酷與暴行中解放人類所盡之貢獻。余試將此行所得之印象，略向諸君陳述。

First of all, I want to assure you that the American people have every right to be proud of their fighting men in so many parts of the world. I am particularly thinking of those of your boys in the far-flung, out-of-the-way stations and areas where life is attended by dreary drabness—this because their duty is not one of spectacular performance and they are not buoyed up by excitement of battle. They are called upon, day after colorless day, to perform routine duties such as safeguarding defenses and preparing for possible enemy action. It has been said, and I find it true from personal experience, that it is easier to risk one's life on the battlefield than it is to perform customary humble

and humdrum duties which, however, are just as necessary to winning the war. Some of your troops are stationed in isolated spots quite out of reach of ordinary communications. Some of your boys have had to fly hundreds of hours over the sea from an improvised airfield in quests often disappointingly fruitless, of enemy submarines.

余首願確告諸君，美國人民對於分布全球各地之美國戰士實足以自豪。余尤念及駐紮遠處偏僻地區，生活至感寂寥之貴國壯士。蓋此輩任務，既不能有顯赫之表現，亦無振作精神之戰事，而係日復一日，僅奉命擔負其例行任務，如守衛防禦工事，並準備抵抗敵方可能之蠢動而已。有人曾謂，親臨陣地，出生入死，猶易於日復一日擔任低微單調之工作，余之經驗亦復證實此言。然而後一種工作，對於抗戰之獲勝，正與前一種同屬必要。貴國若干部隊，駐紮在遙遠隔絕

地點，非平常交通所能到達。貴國若干壯士，必須用臨時趕築之機場，飛行海面，經數百小時之久，以搜尋敵方之潛艇，往往一無所遇，廢然而返。

They, and others, have to stand the monotony of waiting—just waiting. But, as I told them, true patriotism lies in possessing the morale and physical stamina to perform faithfully and conscientiously the daily tasks so that in the sum total the weakest link is the strongest.

貴國此輩健兒，以及其他壯士，均係作單調乏味之守候，日復一日之守候。但余曾告彼等，真正之愛國心乃在具有能忠誠執行日常任務之士氣與體力，庶使在最後結果中最弱之一環，亦即為最強之一環。

Your soldiers have shown conclusively that they are able stoically to endure homesickness, the glaring dryness,

and scorching heat of the Tropics, and keep themselves fit and in excellent fighting trim. They are amongst the unsung heroes of this war, and everything possible to lighten their tedium and buoy up their morale should be done.

That sacred duty is yours. The American Army is better fed than any army in the world. This does not mean, however, that they can live indefinitely on canned food without having the effects tell on them. These admittedly are the minor hardships of war, especially when we pause to consider that in many parts of the world, starvation prevails. But peculiarly enough, oftentimes it is not the major problems of existence which irk a man's soul; it is rather the pin pricks, especially those incidental to a life of deadly sameness, with tempers frayed out and nervous systems torn to shreds.

貴國士兵，已確實表現，能沉著堅毅忍受思鄉之苦，忍受熱帶之乾燥與酷熱，並能保持其準備隨時作戰之強健身體與精神。彼輩亦屬此次戰爭中無名英雄之列。凡足減輕其煩悶，振奮其精神之一切可能措施均應一一採取。此項神聖責任，自在諸君。就

美國軍隊之飲食而言，固較任何他國軍隊之飲食為優，但此非謂彼等可長此專恃罐頭食物，而健康上不至感受任何影響也。以上所舉，殆為戰爭中之輕微困苦；若一念及世界上許多地方尚有饑饉流行，則更覺上述困苦之為輕微。雖然，天下事亦有難言者。擾人心靈使人煩悶者，往往並非為生存之主要問題，而係瑣細之刺激，尤其是單調無聊生活中所受之瑣細刺激，足以令人性情暴躁，心魂欲裂。

The second impression of my trip is that America is not only the cauldron of democracy, but the incubator of democratic principles. At some of the

places I visited, I met the crews of your air bases. There I found first generation Germans, Italians, Frenchmen, Poles, Czechoslovakians, and other nationals. Some of them had accents so thick that, if such a thing were possible, one could not cut them with a butter knife. But there they were—all Americans, all devoted to the same ideals, all working for the same cause and united by the same high purpose. No suspicion or rivalry existed between them. This increased my belief and faith that devotion to common principles eliminates differences in race, and that identity of ideals is the strongest possible solvent of racial dissimilarities.

余在此次行程中所獲之第二印象，即美國不僅為民主制度之熔爐，而且為民主主義之胚胎。余參觀各地時，曾於數處晤見貴國空軍基地飛行服務人員，在此輩人員中余即發現有德

、意、法、波、捷及其他國籍人民遷往美國之第一代移民。其中有的鄉音之重，殊難言喻。然而彼輩固共同遠征在外，悉數為美國人，悉數忠心於共同之理想，悉數為同一目的而奮鬥，悉數為同一崇高宗旨而精誠團結，既不彼此猜疑，亦不互相爭競。此一事實，益加強余向所抱持之信念與信仰；即對於共同原則之忠心，可以泯滅種族之差異，而且各種理想之相同，乃是對於種族分歧最強之溶解劑。

I have reached your country, therefore, with no misgivings, but with my belief that the American people are building and carrying out a true pattern of the Nation conceived by your forebears, strengthened and confirmed. You, as representatives of the American people, have before you the glorious opportunity of carrying on the pioneer work of your ancestors, beyond the frontiers of physical and geographical

limitations. Their brawn and their bravely undauntedly almost unbelievable hardships to open up a new continent. The modern world lauds them for their vigor and intensity of purpose, and for their accomplishment. You have today before you the immeasurably greater opportunity to implement these same ideals and to help bring about the liberation of man's spirit in every part of the world. In order to accomplish this purpose, we of the United Nations must now so prosecute the war that victory will be ours decisively and with all good speed.

因是之故，余此次抵達貴國，不特衷心毫無慮，而且具有一種信心，即美國人民正在建立與實施一種確係其祖先所懷抱之立國典型。此種信心，益見加強而證實。諸君為美國人民之代表，目前有一光榮機會，使汝祖先之開國工作，發揚光大，超越物

體與地理限制之疆界。諸君之祖先曾以大無畏之精神，冒不可思議之困難，筭路檻樓以開發新大陸。現代人士，無不贊美其精力過人，宗旨堅定，以及成功卓著。諸君今日，當前正有一更無限偉大之機會，可以繼續發揮汝祖先所懷抱之理想，並協助完成解放全球各地人類之精神。為求完成此項目的，身為聯合國之一員，必須盡力加強作戰，俾聯合國早日獲得最後之勝利。

Sun-tse, the well-known Chinese strategist said, "In order to win, know thyself and thy enemy." We have also the saying: "It takes little effort to watch the other fellow carry the load."

中國著名兵家孫子有言：「知彼知己，勝乃不殆」。吾人另有一諺語云：「看人挑擔不吃力。」

In spite of these teachings from a wise old past, which are shared by every nation, there has been a tendency to be-

little the strength of our opponents. 此等名言，來自明哲久遠之古代，實乃每一民族所共有，然而仍有一種輕視吾敵人力量之趨勢。

When Japan thrust total war on China in 1937 military experts of every nation did not give China even a ghost of a chance. But when Japan failed to bring China cringing to her knees as she vaunted, the world took solace in this phenomenon by declaring that they had overestimated Japan's military might.

當一九三七年日本軍閥發動其全面對華戰爭時，各國軍事專家，咸認中國無一線獲勝之希望。但日本並不能如其所誇，迫使中國屈膝；於是舉世人士，對此現象，深感慰藉，並謂當初對於日本武力，估計過高。

Nevertheless, when the greedy flames of war inexorably spread in the Pacific following the perfidious attack on Pearl Harbor, Malaya, and lands in and

around the China Sea, and one after another of these places fell, the pendulum swung to the other extreme. Doubts and fears lifted their ugly heads and the world began to think that the Japanese were Nietzschean supermen, superior in intellect and physical prowess, a belief which the Gobineaus and the Houston Chamberlains and their apt pupils, the Nazi racists, had propounded about the Nordics.

雖然，自日本對於珍珠港（Pearl Harbor）、馬來亞（Malaya），以及南洋一帶加以背信無恥之襲擊後，戰爭之貪狂火焰，瀰漫太平洋上，而各該地域，相繼失守，一時觀感，遂又趨向另一極端。於是懷疑憂懼之猙獰面目乃大暴露。世界人士由此遂視日本人為尼采（Nietzchean）所稱之超人，在智力上與體力上均超越他國人民。其實此項信念，乃古皮諾（Gobineaus）派、豪斯敦、張伯倫（Houston Chamberlains）派、以及其得意門徒納粹種族主義派，對於北歐人（Nordics）所發揮者。

ton Chamberlains) 派，以及其得意門徒納粹種族主義派，對於北歐人（Nordics）所發揮者。

Again, now the prevailing opinion seems to consider the defeat of the Japanese as of relative unimportance and that Hitler is our first concern. This is not borne out by actual facts, nor is it to the interests of the United Nations as a whole to allow Japan to continue not only as a vital potential threat but as a waiting sword of Damocles, ready to descend at a moment's notice.

不寧惟是，就現時流行之意見而言，則又似認為擊敗日本，為目前比較次要之事，而吾人首應對付者，則為希特勒。但事實證明，並不如此。且即為聯合國整體利益著想，吾人亦不宜繼續縱容日本使其不獨為一主要之潛伏威脅，且為德瑪克利斯（Damocles）頭上之懸劍，隨時可以墜落。

Let us not forget that Japan in her occupied areas today has greater resources at her command than Germany.

吾人慎勿忘日本今日在其占領區內所掌握之資源，較諸德國所掌握者更為豐富。

Let us not forget that the longer Japan is left in undisputed possession of these resources, the stronger she must become. Each passing day takes more toll in lives of both Americans and Chinese.

吾人慎勿忘如果聽任日本占有此種資源而不爭抗，則為時愈久，其力量亦必愈大。多遷延一日，即多犧牲若干美國人與中國人之生命。

Let us not forget that the Japanese are an intransigent people.

吾人慎勿忘日本乃一頑強之民族。

Let us not forget that during the first 4 1/2 years of total aggression China

has borne Japan's sadistic fury unaided and alone.

吾人慎勿忘在全面侵略最初之四年半中，中國孤獨無援，抵抗日本軍閥之淫虐狂暴。

The victories won by the United States Navy at Midway and the Coral Sea are doubtless steps in the right direction—they are merely steps in the right direction—for the magnificent fight that was waged at Guadalcanal during the past 6 months attests to the fact that the defeat of the forces of evil though long and arduous will finally come to pass.

For have we not on the side of righteousness and justice staunch allies in Great Britain, Russia, and other brave and indomitable peoples? Meanwhile the peril of the Japanese juggernaut remains. Japanese military might must be decimated as a fighting force before its threat to civilization is removed.

Let us not forget that during the first 4 1/2 years of total aggression China

美國海軍在中途島 (Midway)

及珊瑚海 (Coral Sea) 所獲得之勝利，其方向為正確，顯然無疑，惟亦僅為向正確方向之前進步驟而已。蓋過去六個月在瓜達康納爾 (Guadalcanal) 之英勇作戰，已證明一項事實，即凶惡勢力之潰敗，雖尚需時而費力，最後必將到來。吾人站在正義與公道方面豈無英、蘇與其他英勇不屈之民族為吾人忠實之盟邦乎？惟是日本侵略惡魔繼續為禍之可能，依然存在。日本之武力，必須予以徹底摧毀，使其不復能作戰，始可解除日本對於文明之威脅。

When the Seventy-seventh Congress declared war against Japan, Germany, and Italy, Congress for the moment had done its work. It now remains for you, the present Representatives of the American people, to point the way to win the war, to help construct a world in which all peoples may henceforth

live in harmony and peace.

貴國第七十七屆國會，向日，德、義三國宣戰。就其在當時而言，貴國國會確已完成其工作。就今日而論，則有待於諸君。諸君為貴國人民之代表，當有以指示取得勝利之途徑，並協助建立一新世界，使一切民族此後得相處於融洽與和平之中。

May I not hope that it is the resolve of Congress to devote itself to the creation of the post-war world? To dedicate itself to the preparation for the brighter future that a stricken world so eagerly awaits?

余豈可不希望，美國國會之決心，乃在盡力於創立戰後新世界，乃在盡力於準備水深火熱之世界所殷切期待之較光明前途乎？

We of this generation who are privileged to help make a better world for ourselves and for posterity should remember that, while we must not be vi-

sionary, we must have vision so that peace should not be punitive in spirit and should not be provincial or nationalistic or even continental in concept, but universal in scope and humanitarian in action, for modern science has so annihilated distance that what affects one people must of necessity affect all other peoples.

吾人生於今世，有為吾人自身以及子子孫孫建立一較美滿世界之光榮機會。所應牢記不忘者，即一方面固不可抱持過高理想，另一方面卻亦必須具有相當理想，使未來之和平在精神上不至成為專對戰敗者之懲罰，在概念上不至以一區域或一國家甚或一大陸為對象，而以全世界為範圍，而其行動亦必須合乎人道主義。蓋現代科學，已將距離縮短至如此程度，以致凡影響一民族之事物，勢必同時影響其他一切民族。

The term "hands and feet" is often

used in China to signify the relationship between brothers. Since international interdependence is now so universally recognized, can we not also say that all nations should become members of one corporate body?

「手足」一詞，在中國用以表示兄弟間之關係。國際間之相互依賴，今既已如此普遍承認，吾人豈不能亦謂一切國家應成為一集合體之分子乎？

The 160 years of traditional friendship between our two great peoples, China and America, which has never been marred by misunderstandings, is unsurpassed in the annals of the world. 中、美兩大民族間一百六十年來之傳統友誼，從未染有誤會之污痕，此在世界歷史中，誠無出其右者。

I can also assure you that China is eager and ready to cooperate with you and other peoples to lay a true and las-



ting foundation for a sane and progressive world society which would make it impossible for any arrogant or predatory neighbor to plunge future generations into another orgy of blood. In the past China has not computed the cost to her manpower in her fight against aggression, although she well realized that manpower is the real wealth of a nation and it takes generations to grow it. She has been soberly conscious of her responsibilities and has not concerned herself with privileges and gains which she might have obtained through compromise of principles. Nor will she demean herself and all she holds dear to the practice of the market place.

余亦能確告諸君，吾人渴望並準備與諸君及其他民族合作，共同奠定一種真實與持久之基礎，以建設一合理而進步之世界社會，使任何恣肆騷狂或劫掠成性之鄰國，不復能使後世

之人，再遭流血之慘劇。中國雖明知人力一項，乃一國之真正富源，並需累代之久始能成長，然中國在其反侵略戰爭中，從未計及其在人力方面所受之損失。中國對於其本身所負之各種責任，深切明瞭；對於如何而可在原則方面妥協讓步以獲得種種權益，則從未顧及。中國對於其本身，對於其所珍愛尊重之一切，亦為不稍降品格，而循商場中市儉之行徑。

We in China, like you, want a better world, not for ourselves alone, but for all mankind, and we must have it. It is not enough, however, to proclaim our ideals or even to be convinced that we have them. In order to preserve, uphold, and maintain them, there are times when we should throw all we cherish into our effort to fulfill these ideals even at the risk of failure.

我中國國民，正與諸君相同，不僅為吾人本身，且更為人類全體，希

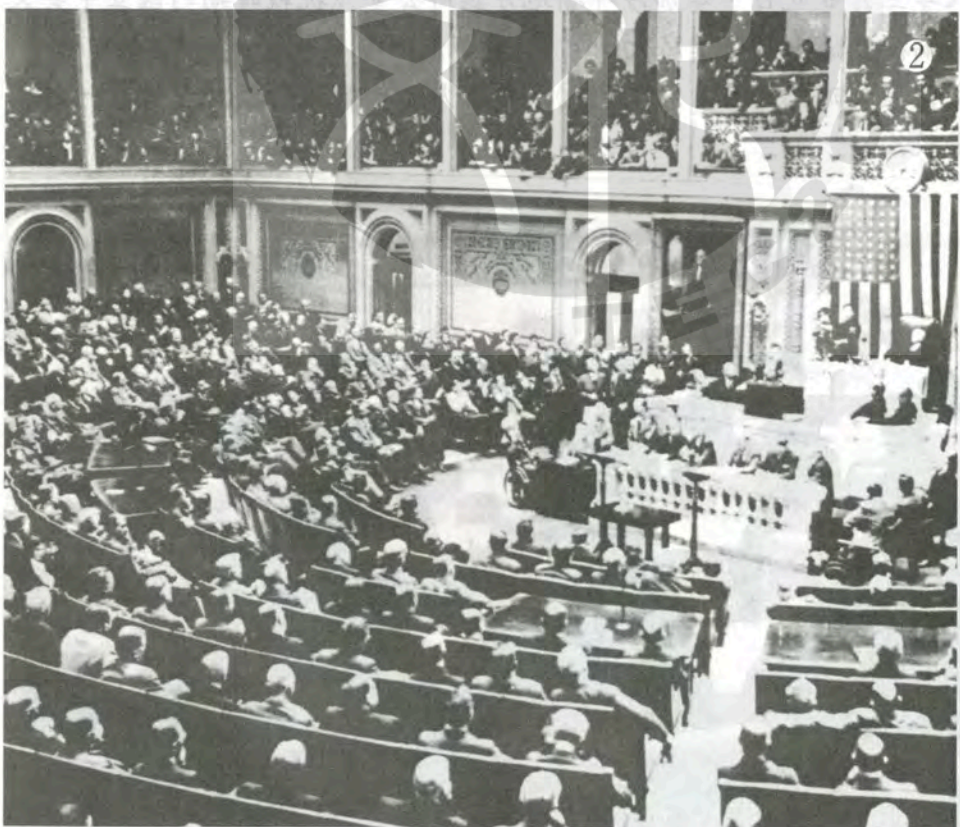
望有一較佳之世界；實則必須有此較佳之世界。然僅宣布吾人之理想，甚或確信吾人具有此種理想，尚嫌不足。蓋欲保存、支撐，並維持此等理想，有時必須不惜犧牲一切，甚至甘冒失敗之危險，以努力促其實現。

The teachings drawn from our late leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, have given our people the fortitude to carry on. From 5 1/2 years of experience we in China are convinced that it is the better part of wisdom not to accept failure ignominiously, but to risk it gloriously. We shall have faith that, at the writing of peace, American and our other gallant allies will not be obtunded by the mirage of contingent reasons of expediency.

吾人已故領袖孫逸仙博士所指示之訓範，已給予吾國人民奮鬥前進之毅力。我中國人民根據五年又半之經驗，確信光明正大之甘冒失敗，較諸卑鄙可恥之接受失敗，更為明智。吾人



①美國眾議院議長雷朋介紹蔣夫人對眾議院議員發表演說。  
 ②蔣夫人在美國眾議院發表演說會場盛況。



將有一項信念，即在訂立和議之時，美國以及其他英勇之盟友，將不致為一時種種權宜理由所迷惑。

Man's mettle is tested both in adversity and in success. Twice is this true of the soul of a nation.

個人之品德，於困厄中驗之，亦於成功中驗之。以言一國之精神，倍加真確。