

國際視野下的二二八： 高史博「解密・國際檔案的 二二八事件」特展重要檔案選譯

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本（2017）年適逢二二八事件七十周年，臺灣各地皆有大小不一的二二八事件紀念活動，包含講座、動靜態展、音樂藝術表演等。高雄市立歷史博物館於今年 2 月 21 日開幕的「解密・國際檔案的二二八事件」特展，展出許多不曾在臺灣公開展示的國外珍貴檔案文獻。顯示二次大戰後期臺灣開始受到國際重視，因此留下諸多紀錄。這些紀錄也揭示了二二八前後複雜的時空背景，以及更深入的臺灣局勢。

同刊於本期《高雄文獻》中，由曾瀞鉉所撰寫的〈「解密・國際檔案的二二八事件」特展介紹〉一文，即是對於該「解密・國際檔案的二二八事件」特展進行較詳細的介紹，包含：此些國際檔案中所呈現的國際社會（以美國為主）在 1947 年二二八事件發生前，對臺灣情勢的評估、當時的國際媒體對於二二八事件有何關注與報導，以及作為二二八事件遺緒的白色恐怖政治迫害，各國政府、國際人權團體又有何紀錄、觀察與介入。這些都是本檔特展的展出特點，不僅值得一般民眾前往一覽，更是對二二八事件、白色恐怖研究者們深有助益的文獻檔案資料來源。

本稿即針對該檔特展內罕見的、新發現的，或較有代表性的檔案進行逐譯，並加以必要的說明和註釋，以闡明該文獻之內容或價值。每件檔案各自獨立，足以代表某個歷史層面、或具有特殊歷史意義。檔案原文復刻，目前正在高史博展出，讀者可以前往閱覽。

壹、有關在臺國軍與美軍搶掠盜竊的報告

本件係美國陸軍駐臺戰略情報單位（Strategic Service Unit）指揮官 Leonard F. Clark 所簽發的情報，時間是 1945 年 10 月 25 日。七十軍是美、華（國民政府）盟軍派來接收臺灣的部隊，10 月 17 日在基隆登陸。臨近登陸時，曾經發放了整齊軍服軍鞋；然而短一週即被美方報導軍紀敗壞，包括入室劫奪、當街行搶等；國府軍當局聲稱已在處理，或根本置若罔聞。這些都可以從本份報告的內容略見一二。

報告內容譯文：

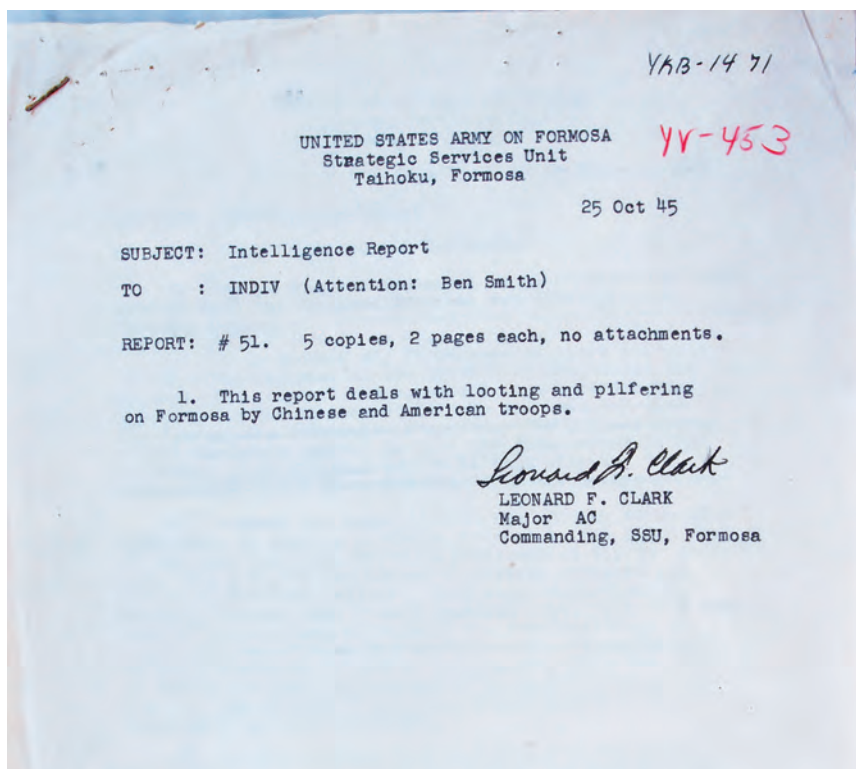
1. 本報告內訊息，已自日本帝國陸軍在臺灣臺北總部得到確認。¹
2. 1945 年 10 月 20 日，71 員隸屬 107 師 319 團的中國士兵在一名士官長指揮下，來到臺北州附近的日本陸軍倉庫，要求打開倉庫大門。日本的哨兵因為沒有接到上級關於該行動之命令，不願打開大門，中國軍人隨即從日本哨兵的床上偷走 3 件毛毯。²
3. 同日，上午 11 時至下午 1 時間，約 30 員隸屬基隆 75 師 222 團的中國士兵，強行進入數戶民居，搶走衣物和珠寶首飾。他們又從被叫來平息騷亂的 8 名日本警察和若干憲兵那裡偷走手錶、皮夾、皮包等。在基隆，部分士兵偽裝正在執行街道守備的衛兵，但卻從過路人身上剝下手錶和皮包。中國當局說他們正在調查這些事件。
4. 20 日深夜到 21 日的清晨，約 20 員中國士兵在臺北近郊大直庄，搶走市民的衣服、珠寶、家具。但中國陸軍當局拒絕調查該事件，至 1945 年 10 月 22 日中午 12 時 30 分也還不接受這樣的情資。

1 此處鉛筆註記「訊息日期 10 月 20 日」。本日陳儀在中山堂接受日軍投降，日軍代表為臺灣總督兼第十方面軍司令長官安藤利吉，應即報告內提到的「臺北總部」。

2 此處鉛筆註記「未出示授權而進入」。

PUBLIC UPRISE IN
FORMOSA SPREADING
MOSCOW, Wednesday.
A wide uprising, which began in
the northern part of Formosa on Feb-
ruary 20, has spread to the south
with 4,000 casualties as the result of
clashes with the police and troops, ac-
cording to a Shanghai Press report
which is quoted by the Tass News-
agency.
It added that martial law had been
proclaimed and a rigid censorship im-
posed.

5. 22日晚上11時到23日早5時，約20員中國士兵強行進入臺北飛行場附近 Nakasono 街³的民宅，拿走珠寶、衣服和家具。
6. 22日深夜，34員美國水手持輕機槍（Tommy Guns）和軍刀，攻擊被解除武裝的日本軍隊。這些海軍人員被美國海軍當局押上船艦，目前正由相關單位調查中。⁴



³ 該地名仍待比定確認。

⁴ 本訊息是唯一的美軍違紀事件。究其性質，美國海軍人員係攻擊解除武裝之日軍，並非搶劫竊盜等刑案，畢竟與國軍不同。另就本報告時間來看，10月17日國軍才到基隆，20日起即報告發生多起刑事案件，與許多臺灣人印象中來臺接收國軍軍紀不彰頗相符合。此亦係高史博本次策展的重點。報告結尾指揮官署名省略。

YAB-1471
51

UNITED STATES ARMY ON FORMOSA
Strategic Services Unit
Taihoku, Formosa

25 October 1945

SUBJECT: Intelligence Report

TO : INDIV (Attention: Ben Smith)

1. The information contained in this report has been secured from the Japanese Imperial Army Headquarters, Taihoku, Formosa.

2. On 20 October 45, 71 Chinese soldiers attached to the 319th Regiment of the 107th Division, under the command of a sergeant-major, came to the Japanese Army Warehouse in the suburbs of Taihoku and demanded that the door of the warehouse be opened. The Japanese sentry at the warehouse refused to open the door, since he had no orders of an official nature to that effect. The Chinese then stole three blankets from the sentry's bed.

3. Between the hours of 1100 and 1300 on 20 October 1945 about 30 Chinese soldiers attached to the 222nd Regiment of the 75th Division, which is stationed at Kiirun, forced their way into the residences of several citizens and looted clothes and jewelry. They also stole watches, wallets, purses, etc. from 8 Japanese civil policemen and some of the military policemen, who were called to the residences to put down the disturbances. Other Chinese soldiers pretended to act as barrier guards on the streets of Kiirun but deprived passers by of their watches and purses. The Chinese authorities state that they are now investigating these incidents.

4. Another looting case took place on the night of 20 October and early in the morning of the 21st October in Daichoku-sho (大倉庄), a suburb of Taihoku. About 20 Chinese soldiers looted the citizens of clothes, jewelry, and furniture. The Chinese Army authorities refused to investigate and would not accept the information on 1230 hours, 22 October 1945.

5. About 20 Chinese soldiers, between the hours of 2300 and 0500 22 to 23 October 1945, forced their way into a citizen's residence at Nakasono cho (中野町) near the Taihoku Air Field. They took jewelry, clothes, and furniture.

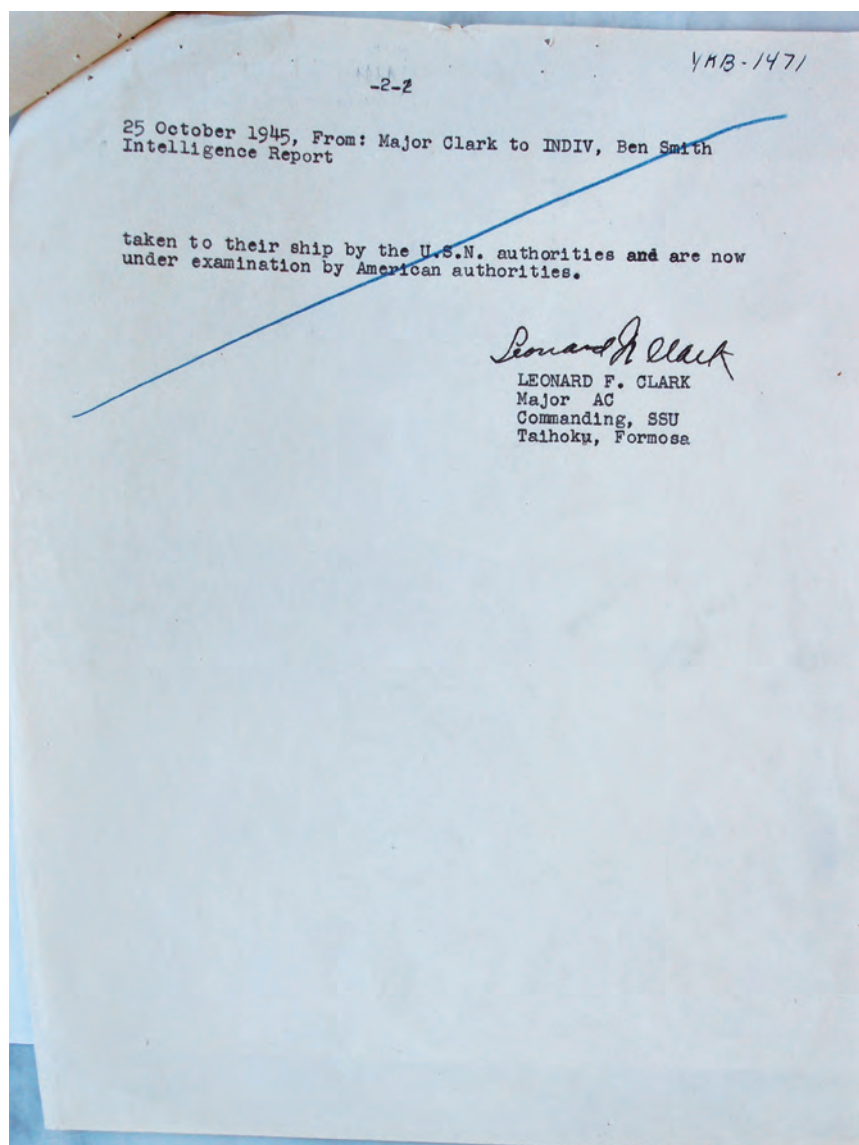
6. Late in the night of 22 October 1945, 34 American sailors, armed with Tommy Guns and knives, attacked and disarmed Japanese troops. These navy personnel were

RISE IN
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It added that martial law had been proclaimed and a rigid censorship imposed.



貳、聯合國善後救濟總署報告

本文件曾被多位研究者轉引、轉註，但原件本身未曾曝光；本次高史博特展為原件複本首次在國內披露展示，彌足珍貴。

1947年3月4日，聯合國善後救濟總署駐臺人員認為二二八事件已造成兩千人死傷，建議關閉臺北辦事處，將人員撤出。該署駐臺人員認為，事件爆發原因是行政長官公署無法滿足臺灣人對政治、經濟改革的要求。

報告內容譯文：

（〔 〕中的內容是為使文義完整而為之補述，供讀者參考）

臺北	1947年3月4日
回覆：聯合國善後救濟總署	訊息 18〔號〕
限制－ BROWN	3/5/47
來源 美新處 ⁵	
上海總領事館	
〔訊息〕18，3月4日下午11時	

經要求，聯合國善後救濟總署〔以下簡稱救濟總署〕駐臺北辦事處同意以下訊息傳遞至上海辦事處以供 Edgerton 將軍私人和機密的關注：

「致上海救濟總署 Edgerton，來自臺灣救濟總署彭德華〔Edward E. Paine〕，⁶ unfrc 67〔按：似為文件編號〕。⁷ 我建議立即關閉辦事處，救濟總

5 United States Information Agency. 感謝杜正宇博士告知。

6 救濟總署駐臺經濟分析與報告官員，中文名「彭德華」。見蘇瑤崇主編，《聯合國善後救濟總署在台活動資料集》（臺北：臺北二二八紀念館，2006），頁2、頁10。

7 UN 為聯合國，CO 為檔案編號，FR 不知是否為 Formosa 之縮寫。感謝杜正宇博士告知。with the police and troops, according to a Shanghai Press report which is quoted by the Tass News-agency.

It added that martial law had been proclaimed and a rigid censorship imposed.

署派船或飛機將人員撤離，留駐喜施〔Paine Bebb Hirschy〕⁸及其他志願醫療人員組織緊急醫療救援，在上海指導下處理救濟總署事務。臺灣的暴動（riots）始於政府人員恣意殺害小販，人們乘此機會發洩對陳儀政府長期壓抑的不滿而擴散全島，估計死傷二千人。⁹其背景請參閱我們的報告。臺灣人現在要求經濟面和政治面的改變，長官公署若不解散將無法滿足；要求不被滿足臺灣人將會起事。長官公署倘無援軍，結果將陷入僵局；政府增兵，屠殺將可預期，且帶來不可療癒的傷痕。不論何種情形，救濟總署都不能運作。

第二部分，作為經濟分析官，彭德華報告有組織的政治起事迫在眉睫——如果長官公署拒絕滿足公眾對改革的要求。沒有一個極權政府會作出這麼大的改革而還能存在。結果可能有二：一、部隊登陸本島帶來大殺戮和大困頓；二、堅定武裝的臺灣人和現在長官公署武力形成對峙僵局。相信後者將會發生，結果是經濟政治崩壞，以及更多流血飢荒和疫病。臺灣人了解這個政府在日本簽定條約前沒有合法地位，也明白這個政府經濟和政治上的貪腐。臺灣人抓著聯合國——特別是美國在開羅會議〔上的宣言〕，為現況負責。我個人相信唯一的解決之道，是介入協調，並允諾於未來確定時間歸還中國前提下佔領〔臺灣〕。臺灣人如此要求，並將歡迎介入——倘若您不準備流更多的血〔直譯。意譯為倘若您不希望更大規模的血洗〕。」

布雷克¹⁰

8 救濟總署醫療部門主任。見蘇瑤崇主編，《聯合國善後救濟總署在台活動資料集》，頁10。

9 本段承蘇瑤崇教授指正，謹致謝忱。

10 Ralph J. Blake，時任美國駐臺北領事。

23

TAIPEI March 4, 1947
 re: UNRRA Message 18
 RESTRICTED - BROWN 3/5/47
 VIA USIS
 AMCONSUL
 SHANGHAI
 18, March 4, 11 p.m.

At request UNRRA Taipei would appreciate following being delivered to UNRRA Shanghai for personal and confidential attention of General Edgerton:

"To Edgerton, UNRRA Shanghai, from Paine UNRRA Taiwan, unfree 67. I recommend that this office be closed immediately and personnel evacuated by UNRRA ship or plane leaving Paine Bebb Hirschy and other volunteer medical personnel to organize emergency medical relief and settle UNRRA matters on Shanghai instructions. Taiwan riots began over wanton killing of vendor by Government agents, spread over Island as people took the opportunity vent long smoldering discontent against Chen Yi Government, estimated casualties two thousand. For background see all our reports. Taiwanese now presenting demands for economic political changes which Government cannot meet without dissolving itself. If demands not met Taiwanese will revolt. Without reinforcements for the Government outcome will be deadlock. With reinforcements

RISINGS IN
SPREADING

TOW, Wednesday.

g, which began in the northern part of Formosa on February 28, has spread to the south with 4,000 casualties as the result of clashes with the police and troops, according to a Shanghai Press report which is quoted by the Tass News-agency.

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- 2 -

forcements massacres expected which will create an unhealable breach. In either case UNRRA operations impossible.

Part 2. As economic analyst Paine reports organized political revolt imminent if the Government refused to meet popular demands for reform. No totalitarian government could make such drastic reforms and survive. Two possible outcomes: 1, mass killing and great hardship if troops imported; 2, deadlock between determined and armed Taiwanese and present Government forces. Believe latter will occur with consequent economic political collapse much bloodshed starvation disease. Taiwanese know this government has no legal status before Japan treaty signed and know this government economically politically corrupt. Taiwanese holding United Nations particularly United States at Cairo Conference responsible for present conditions and I believe only possible solution will be intervention and occupation with promise of return to China at definite date in future. Taiwanese are demanding such action and will welcome intervention if you have not already before too much further bloodshed."

BLAKE

WWC

參、聯合請願書

臺灣人士於 1947 年 3 月 5 日聯合向馬歇爾提出之請願書。署名單位直譯為臺灣革命同盟會（the Taiwan Revolutionary League）。

這份文件亦是臺灣首度被正式披露及展出。據美國 1946 年 4 月對臺灣重要聞人、有名望的人士進行大規模訪談和整理紀錄（本檔高史博特展亦展出），Taiwan Revolutionary League 是由張邦傑發起，目的係要建立臺灣人軍隊並建立臺灣省政府，組成分子包括臺灣革命黨、臺灣獨立革命黨、臺灣民族革命總同盟等。

最初「臺灣革命同盟會」是終戰前一群在華臺灣人的一個聯合組織，1941 年成立，惟指揮系統混亂、派系鬥爭激烈，又與國民黨臺灣省黨部不合。其成員戰後大部分返臺，部分人士如連震東、游彌堅、黃朝琴等也成為接收大員或政要。¹¹ 迨至美國人調查時也許已經有過組織和人事的變動，政治立場與內部派系或許與最初已有所不同。由於本文末署名均為拼音，但並非北京話或河洛話，常見姓氏使用北京話拼音、名字使用河洛話拼音者（又或相反、又或混用），幾乎很難辨視署名者為何人，因此無法確認這裡的“the Taiwan Revolutionary League”與臺灣革命同盟會、以及 1946 年美國人調查報告裡的同名組織，是否仍屬同一團體。

然而可以看出，本文請願者雖然是一個有特定立場的團體，但其請願內容仍部分反映了臺灣人民對當時國民政府統治政權的期待與失落、失望，揭露經濟蕭條並對治理臺灣無能的批判，以及對美國表達希望國際介入、聯合國委任統治的政治意志。

同時本文顯示，包括開羅宣言、日本未簽合約前中國屬非法佔領、委任統治……等等，都是當時的「新」知識，顯見當時臺灣人對於國際局勢並非一無所知。

11 參見何義麟，〈臺灣革命同盟會〉，文化部「臺灣大百科全書」網路版。資料檢索日期：2017 年 3 月 24 日。網址：<http://nrch.culture.tw/twpedia.aspx?id=5831>。

請願書內容譯文：

（〔 〕中的內容是為使文義完整而為之補述，供讀者參考）

致馬歇爾將軍

1947 年 3 月 5 日

敬愛的將軍：

我們非常高興能有此榮幸向您遞上此信。正如您所瞭解，臺灣是美軍登陸部隊解放（liberated），然後交給中國。當時我們臺灣人期待臺灣省行政長官公署能比日本人更好地治理臺灣，能夠承擔臺灣人民的信任與全心支持。實際上，吾等臺灣人最初歡慶中國光復臺灣（retrocession of Taiwan to China），迎迓大陸中國人到來，因為吾人解放自由，思慕祖國（our mother land）。然而吾人大悔，情況完全相反。臺人均對長官公署之統治感到失望。

悲哀地說，所有發生在本島的慘劇，均導源於不當行政（misadministration）。

自從臺灣解放，每個部分均趨惡化，甚至糟糕透頂；大部分長官公署的高官——不論中央或地方——都由來自大陸的中國人派任。

每一個貪腐的機會，舉凡移花接木、剝削壓榨、偷雞摸狗、冒失僭越、貪污腐敗、任人唯親、徇私舞弊和走私越貨，等等，這群貪婪腐敗的中國官署官員無惡不做。

隨著中國腐敗的統治，這座美麗島日復一日淪為黑暗地獄。

此外，長官公署已經採取法西斯體系，自行其是而非採民主的統治。公署錯誤或不義時，也不聽取任何勸言。相對地，像是人民有時被捕、判刑，如《人民導報》社長王添灯，或如臺灣省政治建設協會領導者蔣渭川。公眾的意見不是鎮壓就是抹殺。

我們嘗盡了臺灣人未受政治和經濟領域平等待遇的苦頭，我們只能被指派為低階低位的職員，歧視如同日本時代一樣盛行。

幾乎重要商工企業均由政府控制——共 392 個較大單位，而非私人所有。

只有 25 間小工廠確有運行。

自由貿易在臺灣也不實施了。

主要進出口貨物如肥料、布匹、燃油、鐵、鋼、砂糖、樟腦或煤炭等〔均為官營〕，長官公署亦無能控制米價（較 1937 年已翻漲 150 倍）。他們對於大規模失業之救濟也無能為力。

然而，他們沒有忘了臺灣年輕人，要將他們造冊以便參加國共內戰。

現在臺灣情況令人絕望，臺灣人在苦難的深淵。

臺灣人的反抗（revolt），起因於 2 月 27 日晚上中國警察在臺北槍殺一名可憐的香菸小販〔按：係專賣局緝私員毆打私菸販林江邁，引起民憤反彈後開槍，誤殺無辜市民陳文溪〕。短短幾天之內，如今已成熊熊反抗烈焰蔓延全島。尤其是學生和年輕臺灣人出於對我們臺灣的忠誠和熱愛，正在對抗長官公署和全島各地的中國軍隊。我們正在每個角落贏得勝利，佔領了中國部隊、機場、警察局和省府。¹²

我們還要繼續對抗中國政府及軍隊，直到獲得真正的自由和民主。

總之，現在的起事是臺灣的重生，我們聲明行政權須交還臺人，我們自信自己可以管好，所有中國人均應退出本島。但是我們苦於臺灣人沒有武器。¹³

我們誠摯希望美國和聯合國協助，保護臺灣人免受更大屠戮。

臺灣在國民政府和共黨政府間必將維持中立。

中國（The Chinese Nations）明顯無能且不願多派人力實行民主統治。因此，我們請求聯合國承擔治理本島之責任，在委任統治下（under mandate），¹⁴ 直到——而且只有直到中國本身將自己治理好，證明其管理能力，¹⁵ 然後統治臺灣；

¹² 本段文字敘述誇大不實，似為誘導美方之作用。

¹³ 原文作「reglet」，應為「regret」之錯植。

¹⁴ 委任統治與託管意義相近，惟前者不保證未來住民有自決獨立之機會，後者則有未來住民自決獨立之意味。感謝蘇瑤崇教授指出二者的細微區別。

¹⁵ 原文作「poven」，應為「proven」之誤。

PUBLIC UPRISINGS IN
FORMOSA SPREADING

MOSCOW, Wednesday.
A wide uprising, which began in the northern part of Formosa on Feb. 27, has spread to the south with 4,000 casualties as the result of clashes with the police and troops, according to a Shanghai Press report which is quoted by the Tass News-agency.

It added that martial law had been proclaimed and a rigid censorship imposed.

或者最多以十年為期限。

我們希望聯合國組織視上述訊息為充足的正當性，而對本島真實情況進行調查。更進一步，我們要求聯合國派出調查團調查臺灣現況。

我們已經準備上述聲明與請求的全面資訊，包括他們進入臺灣，以及給全世界了解；並且讓這些資訊重新確認我們對於本行動有其必要性的信仰。

臺灣革命同盟會（The Taiwan Revolutionary League），代表署名：

Kim Jin Wang	臺灣臺北	I-Rei Ree	臺灣臺北
Chong Hui Rim	臺灣臺北	Cho Ki Yang	臺灣臺北
Zui Ki Hang	臺灣臺北	Kin Sin Huang	臺灣臺北
Un Chang Ree	臺灣臺北	Chin Wan Chain	臺灣臺北
Kuo Hian Choa	臺灣臺北	Haei Chin Huang	臺灣臺北
K, L, Ko	臺北	C. T. Cheng	臺北
S. M. Lin	臺北	K. C. Kwo	臺北
C C Yeng	臺北	Chin Uen Wn	臺北
Z. K. Chin	臺北	S. K. Chin	臺北
J. Y. Chan	臺北	Shoji Sin	臺北
Suto Tan	臺北		

SECRET *File 1*
1947

To Gen. Marshall.
Dear Sir,
We are very glad to have the honour of sending this letter to you.
As you know, after Japanese surrender Taiwan was liberated by U. S. landing troops, and then was handed over to China. That time, we Formosan respected the Taiwan Provincial Government would control the island better than Japanese, and would endeavor to win the confidence and the full support of the Taiwan people. It was true that at first we Formosans celebrated the retrocession of Taiwan to China, and welcomed the coming of the mainland Chinese because we were oppressed free and yearned after our mother land. But, to our great regret, the fact was contrary at all. The Formosans have all been disappointed about the rule of the Taiwan Government. It is sad that all the tragedy have happened in this island were originated in the misadministration. Since Taiwan's liberation, every sections in Taiwan have become worse or worst. Most of the high-rank officials of the Taiwan government — no matter how central or provincial — ~~are~~ have been appointed

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2)

by the Chinese which came from the main land.

Every corrupt occasion, for example, graft, squeezing, crookedness, presumption, corruption, nepotism, favoritism, fraud, and smuggle etc. are being done by these cunning and corrupt Chinese officials and officers.

With the corrupt Chinese regime, this beautiful island has become a dark Hell day by day.

Besides the government has ^{been} carrying out the ~~Pass~~ Fascism system and the self-decided control instead of the democracy. There is no effect to advise the ~~govern~~ government when they did wrong and injustice. On the contrary, the people were sometimes caught and sentenced like "Wang Tiam-Teng", the president of "Jin-Min Tan-pao" or "The People's News" and "Chia I-Chuan", who is the boss of "Taiwan Political Constructing Association". And the public opinions were suppressed or erased.

We sorrow the Taiwan people have not yet been given an equal chance in political and economic activities.

We can only be appointed as the ~~officia~~

3)
 officials in the lower post and the discrimination are still being adopted as the Japanese days.
 Almost the important commercial and industrial enterprises — 392 big units — are government-controlled, not privately-owned. Only 21 small factories have been operated.
 Free trade is not being practised in Taiwan also.
 The main imports and exports of goods, such as fertilizers, cloth, sugar, campher, or coal etc.; Gasoline, iron, steel.
 The government have no capacity to control the rise in prices (about 150 times compared with the price in 1937.)
 They can do nothing to rescue ^{the} plenty of unemployed.
 But they did not forget to carry out the younger Formosans' enlistment for fighting against Chinese Communist.
 Now the condition of Taiwan is desperate. The Taiwan people are in the depth of misery.
 The Formosan revolt, have happened by the Chinese police killed a poor ^{the initiative of} cigarette seller in Taipei city on February 28, Wednesday.

which began in the northern part of Formosa on February 28, has spread to the south with 4,000 casualties as the result of clashes with the police and troops, according to a Shanghai Press report which is quoted by the Tass News-agency.

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4)

27th night. Now the extensive revolution have spread all over this island within these few days. Especially the students and the younger Formosan are fighting against the Taiwan government and the Chinese troops over the island for loyalty and love to our Taiwan. And we are getting the victory in every places and have occupied the Chinese troops, ~~and~~ airfield and ~~some~~ police office and provincial government.

We ~~will~~ are ~~continue~~ going to fight against Chinese government and troops. Till we acquire the true freedom and democracy.

In conclusion, the present revolution is the renovation movement of Taiwan. We claim the administration must be handed to the Taiwan people. We are sure we can rule by ~~ourselves~~ ourselves. But we regret Taiwan people have no weapons.

And all the Chinese should retire from this island. America and

We sincerely hope that the United Nations ~~help~~ help Taiwan people preventing and protect.

5).

the Formosan from the extensive massacre.

Taiwan must be neutral between the National Government and the Communist Government.

The Chinese National Government is patently unable and ~~for~~ patently unwilling to supply men to carry out ~~this~~ the democratic control. Therefore, we request the United Nations accept the responsibility for the government of this island, under mandate, until and only until China herself has proven her ability to govern herself properly and thus to rule Taiwan or, at most, for a period of ten years.

We hope the information appearing above be considered ~~insufficient~~ justification for the United Nations Organization make an investigation of the true conditions of this island. Further, we ~~at~~ ask that any commission which may be appointed by the United Nations to investigate the present situation of Taiwan.

We have prepared the above statement and request in the full knowledge

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6)

of their import to Taiwan and to the world and having this knowledge reaffirm our belief in the necessity of this action.

The Taiwan Revolutionary League

The undersigned are the representatives

Lin Jin Wang	Taipei Taiwan
I-Rei Ree	Taipei "
Chong Hui Rim	TAIPEI "
Cho Ki Yang	Taipei "
Zui Ki Hang	Taipei "
Lin Sin Huang	Taipei "
Un Chang Ree	" "
Chin Wan Chain	" "
Kuo Hian Choa	" "
Huei Chin Huang	" "

<u>H. L. Ho</u>	Taipei.
C. T. Cheng	Taipek
S. M. Lin	Taipek
H. C. Kwo	Taipek.
C. C. Yen	Taipek.
Chin Wen Wen	Taipei.
B. K. Chin	Taipei
B. K. Chin	Taipek.
T. Y. Chan	Taipek
Shoji' Sin	Taipe.
Sato Tan	Taipe

INGS IN
READING

Wednesday.
which began in
the northern part of Formosa on February 28, has spread to the south with 4,000 casualties as the result of clashes with the police and troops, according to a Shanghai Press report which is quoted by the Tass News-agency.

It added that martial law had been proclaimed and a rigid censorship imposed.

肆、三則外電報導

二二八事件發生後，除了外國的政府單位與聯合國之外，亦有新聞媒體注意到了臺灣當時情勢，如蘇聯的塔斯社（Tass Agency）、英國的《百眼巨人報》（the Argus）、澳洲的澳聯社（Australian Associated Press）與《墨爾本先鋒報》（Melbourne Herald）。若希望對二二八事件發生時的外電媒體報導有更深入的了解，可參考蘇瑤崇教授對於二二八期間的媒體宣傳戰有精闢論述，以對照思考外電報導的意義。¹⁶

一、蘇聯塔斯社（Tass Agency）剪報（1947 年 3 月 6 日）

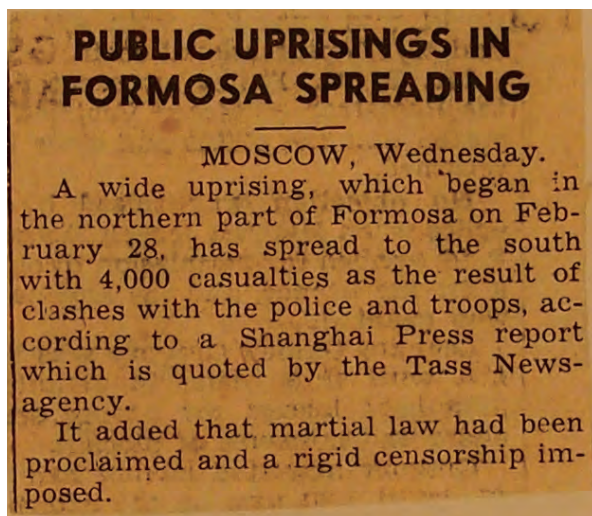
剪報內容譯文：

群眾起事散布全臺

莫斯科，週三

二月二十八日爆發於臺灣北部的大規模起事，已蔓延至南部，與軍警衝突已造成 4,000 人傷亡——據塔斯社（the Tass News-agency）引用的上海媒體報導。¹⁷

此外，已宣布實施戒嚴，並嚴密審查新聞。



¹⁶ 參見蘇瑤崇，〈二二八事件中的媒體宣傳戰〉，《臺灣文獻》，59（4）（2008），頁 353-400。

¹⁷ 所謂上海媒體的報導，應指 3 月 2 日的《新民晚報》，頭版「臺北民眾騷動，死傷約四千人」。

二、英國《百眼巨人報》（the Argus）剪報（1947年3月12日）

剪報內容譯文：

（〔 〕中的內容是為使文義完整而為之補述，供讀者參考）

臺人召開議會展開改革

紐約（澳聯 AAP）

臺灣反亂（rebels）據稱於中國國民政府理解臺人要求前，已召開自治議會，著手政治改革。

《紐約時報》週一上海特派員報導，該議會由「二二八事件處理委員會」召集，由 17 個鄉鎮（towns）〔按：17 個縣市〕30 名代表組成。該議會召開係緊接在宣告臺灣人對中國要求之後。

隨著國府軍於戒嚴令下緊控通訊，中國中央社係孤鎖之臺灣唯一公開的新聞來源。該社稱：

「『處委會』似想僭取自治政府的角色。」

合眾通訊社（United Press）¹⁸駐南京特派員稱，由於強援在後，臺灣省行政長官陳儀已下令「二二八事件處理委員會」解散。

同時國民政府指派國防部長白崇禧將軍來臺善後。

Formosans Call Assembly To Initiate Reforms

New York (AAP)

The rebels in Formosa are reported to have convoked an autonomous assembly to institute political reforms pending recognition of their demands by the Chinese Government.

New York Times correspondent in Shanghai says the Assembly has been convoked by the "committee to settle the February 28 incident," and will consist of 30 representatives from 17 towns. Its convocation follows promulgation of the Formosans' demands on China, reported on Monday.

Chinese Central News Agency, which is with the Chinese Army now controlling communications under martial law, is the only public source of news from isolated Formosa. It says: "The committee seems to be assuming the role of an autonomous government."

United Press correspondent in Nanking says that, bolstered by reinforcements, General Chen-yl, Governor-General of Formosa, has ordered dissolution of the "Committee to Settle the February 28 Incident."

Meanwhile the Government of China has appointed General Pai Chung-hsi, National Defence Minister, to handle the uprising.

¹⁸ 美國著名通訊社「合眾國際社」前身。不過此時仍為 1907 年成立的合眾通訊社，簡稱 United Press；直到 1958 年，合眾通訊社才與國際通訊社合併為合眾國際社（United Press International）。

三、1947年3月31日澳聯社與墨爾本先鋒報引自上海的報導

剪報內容譯文：

（〔 〕中的內容是為使文義完整而為之補述，供讀者參考）

恐怖統治終結反抗 死亡滾輪在臺灣

澳聯社及墨爾本先鋒報¹⁹

上海，星期日。據美國特派記者報導，中國國民政府當局實施恐怖統治，至少屠殺5,000 臺民，救平近來臺灣起事。

該記者斷言，中國軍隊犯下了最無法想像的暴虐手段對付臺人，因臺灣人的反抗壓迫——遠甚於他們在日治時期所承受的〔壓迫〕。

特派員 John W. Powell 是自二月事變以來唯一能夠進入臺灣之記者，在《密勒氏評論報》（the China Weekly Review）寫道：

「事件之始，長官公署派出機動部隊（flying squads of troops），用達姆（開花）機槍彈對付所有遭遇的團體，保守估計造成5,000 傷亡。

血洗

陳儀長官稍後同意改革，然而他利用雙方談判期間²⁰ 增強兵力，接著血洗臺灣首府臺北達五日之久。

「起事遭到救平，不過對中國能夠從經濟或政治層面挽救臺灣的任何措施幾乎均希望渺茫。」

¹⁹ 剪報者註記為 Melb Herald, Monday 31/3/47。

²⁰ 原文作 truce period，此處視實情譯為談判期間。

鮑威爾稱事件導因於警察對於商店和小販的嚴酷搜查，警察試圖強化實質上廢除私人交易的新經濟規則。這些規則直接違反了國民政府中央的法律。

鮑威爾寫道，「最後一根稻草是二月二十七日警察擊斃一名反抗沒收〔私〕菸的四十歲婦人。」「翌日反抗蜂起，警察向群眾射擊。三月一日，反抗散播全島大多數城市，許多城市落入臺人手中；接著與臺籍要人〔組成〕的處委會一同主導談判（truce）。

見人開槍

「處委會草擬三十二條要求，倘若同意則近於確認準獨立地位。

「陳將軍則給人他正在讓步的假象。

「然而部隊三月八日從大陸開到臺灣，陳長官逮捕處委會委員，接著開始血洗，部隊見到臺灣人就開火。

「西方目擊者告訴我，他們看到 20 位鄉下青年殘害折磨，然後以刺刀處刑後丟入溪中。另一位西方人目擊軍隊搜索民宅，大肆掃射任何來應門的民眾。」

鮑威爾是已故前《密勒氏評論報》編輯 John B. Powell 之子，他在日軍戰俘營失去了雙腳一部分。

PUBLIC UPRISINGS IN FORMOSA SPREADING

MOSCOW, Wednesday.

A wide uprising, which began in the northern part of Formosa on February 28, has spread to the south with 4,000 casualties as the result of clashes with the police and troops, according to a Shanghai Press report which is quoted by the Tass News-agency.

It added that martial law had been proclaimed and a rigid censorship imposed.

"TERROR REIGN" ENDED REVOLT

Death Roll In Formosa

Australian Associated Press and The Herald Special Service

SHANGHAI, Sunday. — Chinese Government authorities quelled the recent uprising in Formosa by a reign of terror in which at least 5000 Formosans were killed, an American correspondent reports.

Chinese troops, he asserts, perpetrated the most unimaginable atrocities against the Formosans, who had rioted against oppression far worse than they suffered from the Japanese.

The correspondent, John W. Powell, who is the only American correspondent who has been able to visit Formosa since the rebellion began in February, writes in the China Weekly Review, of which he is editor:—

"After the rioting began the Government sent out flying squads of troops, who fired dum-dum (expanding) machine-gun bullets into every group they met, causing deaths conservatively estimated at 5000.

BLOOD BATH

"General Chen Yi, the Chinese Governor, then promised to accept reforms, but he used the truce period to reinforce the troops, who then subjected Taihoku, capital of Formosa, to a five-day blood-bath.

"The rebellion was quelled, but there is little hope that anything can be done to save Formosa economically or politically for China."

Powell says the riots were preceded by drastic searches of shops and peddlers' stands by the police, who were trying to enforce new economic regulations which virtually abolished private trade. These regulations directly violated the Central Government laws in China proper.

"The last straw came on February 27, when the police killed a 40-year-old woman who protested against the seizure of her cigarette tray," Powell writes. "The riots began next day, with the police firing into the crowds. By March 1 the rioting had spread to most cities of the island, many of which were in the hands of the Formosans, then the truce was arranged with a committee of prominent Formosans.

SHOT ON SIGHT

"The committee drew up 32 demands, the granting of which would have ensured near-independence.

"General Chen gave the impression that he was making concessions.

"But when troops arrived from the mainland on March 8 he had the committee arrested. Then the blood bath began, the troops shooting down Formosans on sight.

"Foreign eye witnesses told me that they saw 20 village youths mutilated and tortured before they were bayoneted and thrown into a creek. Another foreign observer watched troops searching houses, wantonly shooting down whoever opened the door."

Powell is a son of the late Mr. John B. Powell, former editor of the China Weekly Review, who lost part of both feet in a Japanese prison camp.

Bell Herald

Sunday 3/3/47

Conifer

伍、結語

本稿選出的檔案文件，均為具有代表性、或是國內首見的珍貴文獻，而且恰好能夠拼湊出臺灣直到二二八事件發生後，在國民政府統治下的大致樣貌。10月17日國軍七十軍在基隆登陸，20日即有軍紀敗壞的消息，25日美軍在臺陸軍戰略情報單位即向上陳報。數個月後，在1946年上半年，臺灣人對中國已經從最初的期望，轉變為失望和絕望，這在二二八事發後臺灣人的聯合請願信裏可以看出，包括經濟面、政治面和文化面的全面落差，導致臺灣人心態和觀感上的大逆轉。部分臺灣人認為，中國已經沒資格治理臺灣，它連自己都管理不好；他們期待美國、聯合國等國際力量伸出援手，最好能夠委任統治。他們對中國的情感已經疏離，對於國民黨和共產黨的內鬥，他們保持中立，不願介入。

事發以後，留駐臺灣的外國人紀錄和外電報導提供我們有別於中文資料的新觀點。聯合國善後救濟總署臺北辦事處的報告，提供一個死傷數字的新觀點：二千人。據該辦事處經濟分析與報告官員彭德華分析，認為臺灣已經瀕臨革命邊緣——有組織的政治起事。由於長官公署不會退讓，只有兩種可能，一是中國派兵血洗，一是公署與臺人對峙僵持。彭德華認為後者可能性居高，但他不知道在他報告時陳儀已經請兵，蔣介石也已同意派兵（3月2日寅冬亥親電），彭氏顯然高估了國民政府的仁慈。《密勒氏評論報》的小鮑威爾也證明了國府軍隊在臺灣的虐殺行為。這些報告、報導檔案，可以佐證中文資料（包括當時新聞媒體）各執一詞的不同立場。透過這些外國檔案的解讀，對於二二八事件的前因、後果、重大影響和臺灣近現代政治發展，都能夠有不同於以往的觀照點。

本次選譯過程，有幾份文件因有其他研究者已經翻譯，無法收入本譯稿內，不免略感遺珠之憾，包括1944年美軍打算在臺成立軍事政府的軍政府計畫、1946年4月初線民陳家成為美方蒐集的街頭巷議20則、1946年4月美方大規模整理了臺灣要人的動向、

PUBLIC UPRISINGS IN
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cording to a Shanghai Press report
which is quoted by the Tass News-
agency.
It added that martial law had been
proclaimed and a rigid censorship im-
posed.

觀感之情報，等等。這幾件也是國內首次展出，而且都具有相當重要史料意義，有興趣的讀者可以赴高雄市立歷史博物館參觀閱覽。