

六十年過去了， 美國再一次想起中華民國

Six Decades On: The US Thinks Again About the Republic of China

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The Republic of China Navy warship Yung Chun (Ever Spring), commanded by Ko Tun-hwa, 中華民國海軍軍艦「永春」號，由艦長葛敦華指揮

pictured at the battle of Yi-Jiang-Shan on November 14, 1954, rushing to the aid of the sunken ROCN destroyer escort Tai Ping.

圖為1954年11月14日一江山戰役的海戰情境，營救即將沉沒的驅逐艦太平艦。

Ko's bravery under fire led to the saving of 90 seamen from the Tai Ping, and an award for heroism from Pres. Chiang Kai-shek.-painting by Vice-Adm. Ko's daughter, Ming Ko.

葛敦華在戰火浩劫下，成功勇敢的援救太平軍艦上90位官兵，當時的總統蔣介石頒發葛敦華「國軍英雄獎」。上圖為葛敦華將軍的女公子葛明之水墨畫作。

THE US BARACK OBAMA Administration in 2012-as much in recognition of declining resources as of declining US influence and of declining threat in the Atlantic decided upon a “Pacific pivot” or “re-balancing” of US military effort toward the East Asian theater. In all the grandiose speeches by the Obama team on this important new strategy, there was virtually no mention of Taiwan, and certainly none of it by its legal name: “the Republic of China”.

美國歐巴馬政府，在2012年面對資源減少及外來威脅減少，而美國對大西洋國家的影響力也日漸下降之際，決定美國對東亞戰區軍事行動的「太平洋樞紐」或「再平衡」，在一連串的重要發言中，歐巴馬團隊在這

個新戰略裡，並沒有提到臺灣，當然更沒有提到他的法定名字：「中華民國」。

And yet the United States is more profoundly tied by mutual security treaties to Taiwan-whether as Taiwan or as the Republic of China(ROC)-than almost any other ally. Other US allies had noted the ambiguity with which Washington had treated Taiwan since Pres. Jimmy Carter (in office 1977-1981) formally “de-recognized” the ROC in favor of the People’s Republic of China (PRC). If the US could walk away from its treaty obligations to the ROC, which had been a faithful ally against Japan in World War II, could it also walk away from its treaty obligations to them?



然而，美國跟臺灣之間重要的雙邊安全《臺灣關係法》，名字不管是用臺灣或中華民國(ROC)，比起美國與其他任何盟友都影響深刻。自從美國總統吉米·卡特(任期1977-1981)起，美國和中華人民共和國建交，並「取消認同」中華民國，及模糊臺灣問題。許多盟友都注意到，如果美國能違背此條約裡對中華民國的義務，如此對待在二戰中並肩對抗日本的忠實盟友，是否也可以違背與其他盟國之間的條約與義務？

Writing in the on line report, The National Interest, on October 18, 2013, US writer Elbridge Colby noted: “[T]he United States is pledged by long-standing national policy and urged by its own law namely the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979-to come to Taiwan’s defense in the event of Chinese aggression or attempts at coercion. US administrations have, even since Washington transferred diplomatic recognition from Taipei to Beijing, believed that preventing a coerced integration of Taiwan into the PRC is an important US interest, not only for its own sake but because they saw that other US allies as well as fence-sitters in Asia would take their cues from how Washington dealt with the island.”

本刊《國防與外交雜誌》在2013年10月18日的網路版線上報告之〈國家利益〉(The National Interest)一文中指出：美

國作家Elbridge Colby柯爾比先生說：「美國在1979年與臺灣簽署的《臺灣關係法》，是美國的國家政策一個長期承諾，是美國幫助臺灣協防來自中國大陸侵略之野心或強迫的嘗試。美國政府自從政治認知從臺北轉移到北京以後，相信防止中華人民共和國強迫併吞臺灣，是一個重要的美國利益，這不只是為美國自己的面子，也是讓美國其他盟友，以及亞洲的騎牆派國家，從美國如何對待臺灣之中得到啟示」。

To harken back: The Nationalist (Kuomintang: KMT) Government of the ROC, under Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, having exhausted its forces fighting Japan in World War II, was, by 1949, being pushed more and more out of the Chinese main-land territory. It moved its base of operations to the formerly Japanese held territory known then widely by its Portuguese name, Formosa: Taiwan, an historical province of China.

讓我們回想一下：國民黨，中華民國政府的最高統帥蔣介石委員長，在二戰期間長期抗日後的筋疲力竭之下，1949年被迫退守大陸，轉進到前日據地，也是葡萄牙人稱之為福摩莎島的臺灣，臺灣在歷史上一直是中國的一省。

The world’s media had been saturated by news of the World War, but it gave strong coverage to the titanic struggle between the armies of the Na-

tionalists and the communist People's Liberation Army (PLA) under Mao Tse-tung (later Mao Zedong when Westernization of the main land's language went from the Wade-Giles form of transliteration to the Pinyin format). Still, it was not enough for the constant fighting which raged between the two after 1949 to remain in the historical memories of most outside the region.

全世界的媒體對二戰報導已充分關注，對中國方面則著重在中國之國民黨與共軍之間的戰鬥，終結在鐵達尼式的沉船景象。共軍以毛澤東為首領，西方世界的翻譯方式，不論是用威妥瑪拼音Wade-Giles的Mao Tse-tung，或漢語拼音的Mao Zedong，他都是毛澤東，但是這種狀況，並不足以將雙方在1949年之後持續的猛烈戰火，告知兩岸之外的其他世人。

The year 1949 became fixed in most minds as the time when the Communist Party of China took control of the main land, and the Nationalist KMT entrenched itself and the Government of the ROC on Taiwan.

1949年給大家的記憶，就是中國共產黨得到大陸主控權，中國國民黨以中華民國政府之名，轉進臺灣。

But the fighting continued after 1949, still at an enormous scale. The ROC retained a number of islands

strategically located alongside the main land coast (and still retains Kinmen-Westernized and immortalized as "Quemoy" and within artillery range of the coast-and Matsu today), and particularly the Dachen Archipelago of islands literally able to blockade the city of Shanghai on the Fujian (Fukien) Province coast, now known as Zhejiang. Not only was the strategic value of this island group of critical importance, there were, on the islands, tens of thousands of civilians who had been pushed literally into the sea by the PLA advance which swept the main land.

然而規模巨大的戰事，在1949年之後並未終止，除了臺灣本島之外，中華民國尚擁有一些位於大陸沿海的戰略性島嶼，（現在仍然擁有的如：金門，英國人翻譯成Kinmen，或葡萄牙人用閩南語翻譯成Quemoy，金門及馬祖Matsu位於共軍的火炮射程之內），特別是大陳列島，地理位置上簡單的說在福建海岸，現隸屬浙江省，它的戰略價值是可以封鎖上海市，大陳島的重要性，不僅在於它的戰略價值，還須顧及大陳島上好幾萬來自大陸的居民。

ROC Pres. Chiang Kai-shek recognized that the archipelago could no longer be held, and that such was the critical nature of their position blockading Shanghai that the PRC forc-



es would concentrate all their might and main land leverage to take them. Chiang ordered them evacuated in 1954. It was what became known as the First Taiwan Straits Crisis.

中華民國總統蔣介石看到大陳島堅守不易，為了反封鎖上海，共軍會集中所有火力來奪取大陳島。1954年蔣介石下令撤守大陳島，這是歷史上所稱的第一次臺海危機。

Within this ROC operation to evacuate the civilian and military populations from the Archipelago, there was a significant sea engagement, the Battle of Yi-Jiang-Shan island (also Yijiangshan: One River Mountain). The numbers and geography were heavily in the communists' favor, and would only move further in their favor.

中華民國撤離大陳島軍民的行動，「一江山海戰」是一個重要的海上對抗，這時很多地理上的主要的據點，都已在共軍的掌控之中，而且共軍的優勢持續增加。

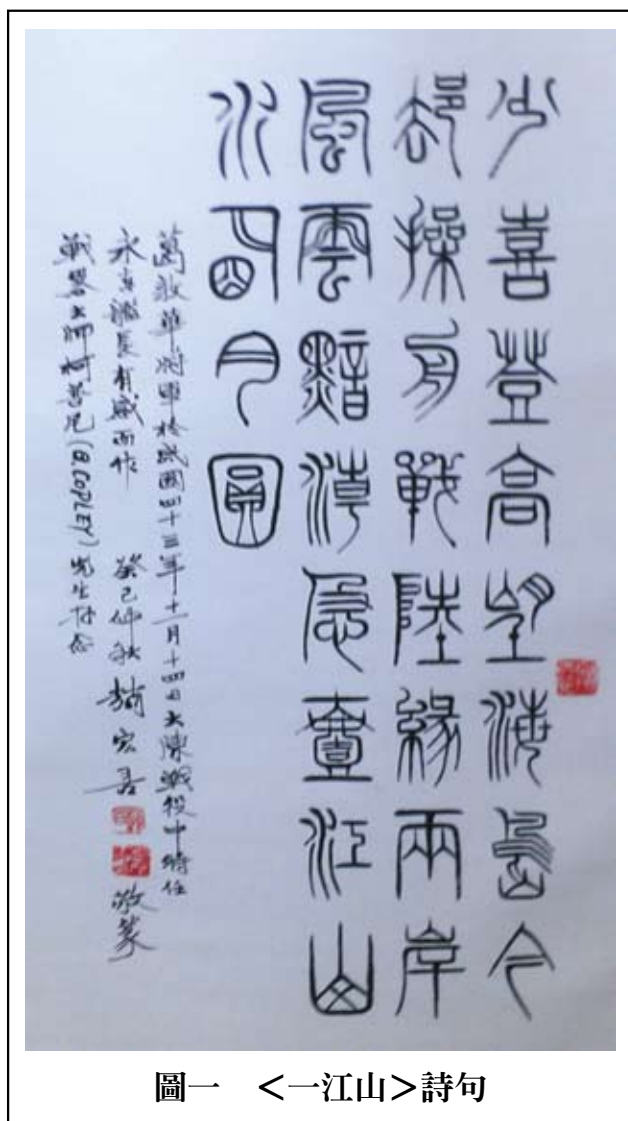
The ROC Navy became a critical instrument in extracting its remaining people and assets from the island, but its fleet was tired and obsolete. Despite this, some 18,000 people were evacuated to Taiwan. In the sea battle, in the Battle of Yi-Jiang-Shan, or the Battle of the Dachen Archipelago, in the First Taiwan Straits Crisis, one ROC Navy destroyer escort, the

Tai-Ping (Great Peace), was attacked and sunk by four communist torpedo boats on November 14, 1954.

中華民國海軍在這種情況下成為有效的工具，可以運載大陳列嶼的居民以及物資，雖然當時海軍的艦隊已經處於疲憊與老舊的狀態，海軍還是撤離島上18,000人到臺灣。在我們所說的第一次臺海危機的海戰中，或是一江山海戰，或是大陳島撤退戰，1954年11月14日，一艘中華民國的驅逐艦「太平艦」，被共軍的魚雷快艇擊沉。

It was a night engagement, under a near-full moon, and the man who was to become known as one of the ROC Navy's great naval heroes, Vice-Adm. Ko Tun-hwa, then a young officer, was commanding a former US Navy Admirable-class mine sweeper, the Yung Chun (Ever Spring). The 650-ton disp. warship, commissioned originally as USS Gavia in 1943, fighting a rear-guard action against overwhelming PLA Navy and PLA Air Force odds, dashed to the area where Tai Ping was lost. The first officer of the Tai Ping, Song Ji-Huang, was a friend of Ko's, adding urgency to the mission, in which he successfully rescued 90 crew (17 officers and 73 other ranks); Song was not among them.

1954年11月14日(農曆10月19日)這夜，一輪飽滿的明月高掛天空，當時在永春軍艦



圖一 <一江山>詩句

上，一位參戰的年輕軍官，是日後中華民國的偉大海軍英雄之一，即是葛敦華中將。葛敦華當時是永春軍艦的艦長，永春軍艦的前身是美國海軍上將級掃雷艇，這艘排水650噸的戰艦USS Gavia，是在1943年轉交中華民國。這天永春艦的戰鬥位置是後衛，在共軍的海空聯合猛攻之下，中華民國不幸損失了太平艦，太平艦的副艦長宋季晃，是葛敦華的好友（譯註：宋季晃是葛敦華在馬尾海

軍學校的同班同學）葛敦華緊急營救90位太平艦官兵（官17員及士兵73員）生還，遺憾的是宋季晃不在其中。

Ko was moved to write of the night action in a poem in traditional Chinese quatrain format (four lines, each with seven words), which were later written as a scroll (see illustration, right), talking of how, as a boy in Fujian, he would climb the hills to look out at the islands and dream. Later, he would fight in the waters of the Taiwan Straits, alongside the mountain island.

在海戰之夜，葛敦華有感而發，作了這首中文的絕句詩文〈一江山〉（七言絕句：詩文共四行，每行七個字），後以書法重寫再行裱褙為卷軸（如圖一所示）。詩文係敘述一個在福建沿海的少年，喜歡登高眺望遠方的海島，以及夢想未來。日後長大的少年，身處海島與陸緣之間的臺灣海峽巨浪裡親身爭戰的真實故事。

This writer has at tempted to capture the essence of Ko Tun-hwa' s poem, in an English-language quatrain of seven-word lines:

本文作者嘗試探求葛敦華詩句的精隨，並譯為英文的七言絕句：

Then, from Fujian, I contemplated sea islands.

Now, my war ship fights the straits between,



六十年過去了，美國再一次想起中華民國

While winds blow clouds, and waters boil.

Moonglow lights the island mountain, watching all.

葛敦華的中文原詩句是：

少喜登高望海島

今卻操舟戰陸緣

兩岸風雲暗潮急

一江山水明月圓

Ko was decorated for his action in the Straits that night, and went on to become Vice-Minister of Defense of the ROC, a world-renowned strategist, and National Security Advisor to the President. He had, during World

War II, after service against the Japanese in China, been present with the Royal Navy at both D-Day landings in France, at Normandy and St. Tropez. The battles of the Dachen Archipelago and Yi-Jiang-Shan were a victory for the communists, driving the Nationalists off those islands. But the US, which was drawn into efforts to help save the retreating population on the island chain, responded quickly and signed the “Mutual Defense Treaty between the United States of America and the Republic of China”, on December 2, 1954, in Washington, DC; it came into force on March 3, 1955. Thus, the PLA victory in the First Straits Cri-

sis became a 60-year problem for Beijing. And the Treaty is still viewed by US’ allies as a bench mark test of whether Washington will be loyal to its commitments. -Gregory Copley

葛敦華以臺海戰役的這一夜得到功勳獎勵，最後晉升為中華民國國防部次長，他是著名的世界級戰略學家、中華民國總統的戰略及國策顧問。二戰初期在中國進行抗日戰爭；在歐戰部分則參與英國皇家海軍軍事行動，在法國的D-day登陸，包括諾曼地與法國聖特羅佩。雖然共軍在大陳列島與一江山之役，將這些愛國人士逐出列島，算是中國共產黨的一個勝利，但在其後，美國為了支援這些撤退的人士，很快的在1954年12月2日在美國華府簽署《中美共同防禦條約》，此約在1955年3月3日生效，因此中華人民共和國的共軍，在臺灣海峽的第一個勝利，變成北京60年的麻煩問題。這個協防條約，現在仍然被美國的盟友們當作標竿測試，拿來檢驗華盛頓是否會忠於盟友承諾。

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Master Chao Hon-Wu, who once worked with Vice-Adm. Ko Tun-hwa and Gen. Chiang Wei-kuo at the ROC Society for Strategic Studies, poses with Adm. Ko’s daughter, Ming, beside the calligraphy of the poem Adm. Ko wrote on



圖二

the night of the Yi-Jiang-Shan battle. Master Chao is Ming' s calligraphy teacher. The verse, on the right, is

in the ancient (c.Third Century BCE) form of Chinese script, known as seal script.

圖二趙宏吾大師位於卷軸的左邊，右邊是葛敦華將軍的女公子葛明。趙宏吾大師曾與葛敦華將軍及蔣緯國將軍，在中華民國戰略學會共事多年，也是葛明的書法老師。〈一江山〉詩句是葛敦華將軍作於一江山海戰之夜，書法係以中國之小篆體書寫(西元第三世紀的古文形式)。



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陳國祥、謝雲龍、蔡明憲、葛敦華、季麟連、陳永康(2005年國防部舉行抗戰勝利60年紀念酒會)攝影：葛明



Copley_柯普尼與葛敦華將軍(背景是成吉思汗畫像，中國古代君王及大戰略家)攝影：葛明



蔣總統與葛敦華(葛將軍時任蔣公翻譯)