

哈佛燕京圖書館文獻叢刊第九種

美國哈佛大學哈佛燕京圖書館藏蔣廷黻資料

The Tsang Ting-Fu Collection in the Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University, U.S.A.

陳紅民 傅 敏 / 主編

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廣西師範大學出版社



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Treasures for Scholars Worldwide

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The Voice of Free China
April 3rd. 1951

1.

Some Memorabilia of the UN Fifth General Assembly

By Dr. T.F.Tsiang

In the United Nations our troubled world has vested great hopes; and as other nations, so does the Republic of China. Ever since the dawn of history, all human efforts for progress have encountered a serious stumbling block which is none other than international war — the violation of international peace. A majority of the world's populace is peace-loving and therefore desires to maintain peace at any reasonable price. Peace in a democratic world is, therefore, the fundamental objective of United Nations policy.

Three years have elapsed since I first participated in the United Nations work. Representing Free China, I have attended the UN General Assembly four times. As its second session was held at New York, its third in Paris, and its fourth and fifth sessions were also at Lake Success, I attended all of them. In each one of the Assembly meetings, the atmosphere therein grew more intense as years rolled by; in the meantime, the expectation of all peace-loving peoples throughout the world toward the United Nations has also been on the gradual increase. The air in the fourth Assembly was particularly tense. Closely concerned with the aggravated, and critical world situation, most delegates of the UN Member states mutually inquired "whether the UN could uphold world peace?" or "whether the United Nations can find ways and means to maintain peace?"

Since the process of the fourth General Assembly has already been well reported in the press, I will just skip it here.

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What I want to talk today is a synopsis of the main events of its fifth session.

Generally speaking, the atmosphere in the fifth General Assembly was also very intense. In Asia there was the outbreak of the Korean War; and in Europe, the friction between Stalin and Tito. Coincidental to the worsening global situation, the democratic and the Communist blocs were competing in expanding their respective armament programs. There can be no guarantee how long the maintenance of peace could last.

The fifth General Assembly had raised and acted upon various problems. Among all the resolutions of considerable magnitude, the most important one was how to uphold peace.

The primary objective of the United Nations is to preserve international peace, peace with freedom and peace with justice. Such is exactly the mission of the UN Security Council.

Regarding the Security Council, a brief account of its functions may be related here. It is composed of 11 members of the United Nations, of which the Big Five are its permanent members. These permanent members in the Council separately enjoy the veto power. Every decision of the Council on all substantial matters shall be made by their unanimously concurring votes. Should any one of them cast the opposition vote, the resolution is question will be defeated.

It is estimated that in the past five years, Soviet Russia had employed the veto power as many as 47 times. When the Korean ^{discussion} issue came up for ~~discussion~~ last June, US delegate moved immediately to curb the aggression at the right moment. Fortunately in absence of the Soviet delegation, which had been sabotaging

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the Council by its famed walking-out practice, the Council was able to ~~smoothly~~ smoothly pass the resolutions. Had the Soviet delegate been present in the Council, there would have been no chance to condemn the Communist aggressor. This being the case, was not the UN Organization deprived of its rightful functions to act? Was it not reduced into a useless organ? Was not this activity solely for the purpose of destroying the UN? Furthermore, according to provisions of the UN Charter, the primary objective of the United Nations Organization is to uphold peace; but, if it were unable to fulfill its mission, would it not be on the very horns of a big dilemma?

Now, the only threat to international peace has been the Communist states of the Soviet bloc. The most probable violator of the world peace is none other than the Communist states of the Soviet bloc. Even though other countries may incidentally be engaged in minor frictions of interests, such local conflicts do not endanger world peace. Hence, the only factor that might frustrate world peace is Soviet Russia and its Communist satellites.

Since in Security Council the Soviet Union, in employing its veto power, has obstructed the UN Organization in its effort to maintain world peace, is it advisable for these UN Member states to just sit tight and bemoan the deterioration of world peace?

The answer to such a question is decidedly "no!" Most delegates of UN Member states have well considered this problem. Therefore, in the fifth General Assembly, they raised the historic resolution, how to maintain world peace. Its content is:

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"From now on, if there appears to be a threat to or breach of the peace or an act of aggression and the Security Council fails because of lack of unanimity among its permanent members to exercise its primary responsibility, the General Assembly may be summoned at 24-hours' notice; it may then make recommendations for collective measures by Member states, and these recommendations may, in cases of a breach of the peace or act of aggression, include the use of armed forces....."

When the "Uniting for Peace" draft resolution was put up for debate, the delegate of Soviet Russia was vigorously opposed to it, on the pretext that the Assembly could not take any decision calling for action, because such a decision must be referred to the Security Council; and because action involves the use of armed force against aggression, a duty of the Security Council, not the Assembly. Therefore, the U.S.S.R. delegate held that it was illegal even to put forth the resolution on the Assembly agenda for discussion. Whether the Assembly could act on this type of resolution, there is no overt provisions in the UN Charter to justify. Nevertheless, it has provided that: "The General Assembly may consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security" Hence, by inference as well as by reference to Article 14 of the Charter, the Assembly is entitled to "recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations....."

April 4th. 1951

Some Memorabilia of the UN Fifth General Assembly
(cont'd)

By_x Dr. T.F.Tsiang

With reference to a probe of actual events, the United Nations, which is an organized body of Member₄ states throughout the world for the purpose of maintaining international peace, must be endowed with the capability to act in order to suppress any menace to the peace. If arguments as those advanced by the Soviet delegate prevents the Assembly from making decisions for that noble purpose, does it not become a tragic farce? Should that be the case, what then would be the use of such an impotent organ as United Nations?

Despite the strong opposition of the Soviet bloc, the General Assembly at last passed the "Uniting for Peace" resolution by an overwhelming majority vote (52:5, with 2 abstentions, on Nov. 2, 1950). And that is, in case the ~~xxxxxxixingxxxxixity~~ Security Council fails to curb an act of aggression, because of lack of unanimity among its permanent members, the General Assembly may be summoned to make recommendation₅, with an appeal to all peace-loving nations throughout the world, and to jointly suppress the aggressor by use of every available means including the use of armed force.

It may be again stressed here that the passage of the "Uniting for Peace" resolution might be rightly termed as the most significant and most valuable action made by the United Nations in the past five years since its inception. As a historic action for collective security and social, economic progress, the passage of the "Uniting for Peace" resolution, as

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Resolution A, going along with Resolution⁵ B and C, may greatly strengthen the UN Organizations in order to enable them to to-
lerably exercise their primary responsibility of great magni-
tude.

The said resolution contains a provision for establishing two new commissions to help carry out the historic action for collective security: the first is the Peace Observation Commission, and the second is the Collective Measures Committee, with the task of studying methods to maintain and strengthen international peace and security. In case the United Nations recognizes that there is international tension existing in a certain area, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the world peace, the General Assembly, or the Interim Committee when the Assembly is not in session, may utilize the Commission, if the Security Council is not exercising the function assigned to it by the Charter, to go to the area, upon the invitation or with the consent of the state into whose territory the Commission would go, to observe and report on the situation. For instance, when the Korean war first broke out, it was plainly an aggressive act of the so-called People's Republic of Korea, which has been under the control and instigation of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, at Lake Success the Soviet delegation has all along been distorting information of the actual facts about the Korean war, calling white, black and vice versa. Fortunately, there was the UN Korean Commission then staying in that troubled area, and it made candid reports on the spot, affirming that the Korean issue arose upon the North Korean invasion of the South. It was chiefly due to these prompt, reliable reports that the

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Russian trick of arranging things "upside down" was rendered impotent and void.

In case there are like conflicts breaking out in other areas where no United Nations representatives are on the spot, it would be much more difficult for the world peace organization to deal with them. With the institution of the new Peace Observation Commission, it may be supplied with available, authentic informations before and after all international incidents taking place in any sore spots throughout the world.

Now, the Collective Measures Committee and the Peace Observation Commission have set out to work. By the establishment of these two organs, the United Nations Organizations may be strengthened to a considerable degree, thus fortifying the guarantee for international peace and security.

On the Korean issue it has been most significant that it was the first time the United Nations dealt an aggressor with the military sanction. It is an important event in world history. It may be recalled that the Korean conflict broke out last June, and as soon as the incident was flashed to Lake Success, the US delegate promptly brought a motion to the Security Council calling for action against the aggressor. The Council first resolved to urge North Korea to withdraw its armed forces, pending further recommendations upon the matter. This request, however, North Korea ignored. And on the other hand, its armed forces pushed along southward, doggedly continuing their aggressive action. Therefore, the Security Council passed another resolution which requested all Member states to contribute avail-

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able forces jointly to suppress the North Korean invasion. Such was the first instance of the United Nations applying military sanction against the aggressor.

(to be cont'd)

CHINESE DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

CHINA AND THE PEACE AND FREEDOM OF ASIA

Speech Given by Dr. Tingfu F. Tsiang,
Permanent Representative of China to the United Nations,
before the Allegheny County League of Women Voters,
in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, at 1:00 P.M. on September 27, 1951

I have chosen to speak on the relation of my country to the peace and freedom of Asia. Before I talk about China or Asia, I would like to ask you to consider for a moment the intimate connection between peace and freedom.

Before the dictators launch their wars of aggression, they always first enslave their own peoples. Aggressors abroad are invariably oppressors at home.

Before the sneak attack at Pearl Harbor, on December 7, 1941, the Japanese militarists had silenced all opposition at home by assassination and terror. You may recall the assassination of Premier Inukai on May 15, 1932, and the assassinations of Saito, Takahashi and Watanabe on February 26, 1936. Indeed, before the Japanese full-scale war on China in the summer of 1937, the militarists' control of Japan's economy and all organs of public opinion had been made absolute.

Hitler took six years to establish the Nazi control of German life before he marched his armies into Poland in 1939.

In both Japan and Germany, totalitarianism was an essential condition and an inevitable prelude to war.

Anybody who studies world politics intelligently cannot escape the conclusion that peace and freedom are inseparable. Whenever and wherever the common people of a country maintain their freedoms of speech, of vote, and of work, they can prevent war and aggression. Whenever and wherever the common people of a country have lost their freedom of information and action, that country becomes a threat to world peace and security.

You and I are fighters for peace. We should not for a single moment forget the millions of people who today in all the countries within the Iron Curtain fight for freedom. I can assure you that such fighters for freedom are found in the Baltic States, in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Russia herself, and in China. I can assure you that there are millions and millions of them. We must realize that they are our allies, our precious allies. Indeed, the fighters for peace and the fighters for freedom are but two wings of the same army that guards world civilization. We, who are fortunate enough to live in free countries, should not forget for a single moment our unfortunate comrades who are treated as slaves by their totalitarian masters and who at this moment are sacrificing their lives to restore freedom in their countries. Unless we keep in mind the fighters for freedom and give them all the aid that we can give, we will not succeed in meeting the present world crisis. Even if we should succeed in a military way, we will not succeed in creating a better world.

What I have just said about the intimate connection between peace and freedom is as true of Europe as it is true of Asia.

In Asia, the starting point must be China since China is the pivotal country in that huge continent. China is the largest country in Asia, both in territory and in population. For 2,000 years China has been the leading country in Asia. Today there are 10 million Chinese living in Southeast Asia. Whether we like it or not, history and geography have made China the pivotal country in all Asia. The peace and freedom of Asia are, in fact, tied up with the shape of China. It is unrealistic to try to save Asia and write off China.

The communists in China have been in control of the mainland for the past two years. Let us see what they have done and are doing.

In the first place, the Chinese communists have almost completed their "land reform". What is the result? Thirty million families have lost their farms, either entirely or partially. Forty million families have received some land, on the average less than an acre per family. The benefit to the poor peasants is pitifully small simply because China never had large estates and

(MORE)

- 2 -

because the population dependent on land has always been enormous. The poor peasants, after receiving these pitifully small lots of land, find that they have to pay to the new regime taxes in food and in labor much heavier than they can bear.

The peasants in China warn themselves not to produce too much because any surplus that they might produce would be taken away from them. The peasants know today that it is dangerous to acquire land. Sabotage on production is almost universal. Under the communists, the mainland people face a succession of famines.

This "agrarian revolution", propagandized through thirty years as the salvation of the peasantry of China, has turned out to be a blight. The fact of the matter is: the communists never had a scientific program in relation to land reform. In their propaganda, they exaggerated the inequalities in the countryside. They have taken their irresponsible inflaming propaganda for scientific fact. They have proceeded to impose on the country their scheme of land reform by sheer terror with the one aim of consolidating their political power. The result is that the very peasants, supposed to be their beneficiaries, have turned into their enemies.

In the second place, the Chinese communists in their brief period of power have sent more than a million men to fight the United Nations in Korea.

The Korean campaign serves no interest of China. The Chinese people during the last 50 years, without distinction of political party, have all wished for an independent Korea because, so long as Korea is independent, China's frontier on the Yalu River, which divides China and Korea, would be automatically secure. A small country on the frontier of a big country can never be a menace. This is commonsense. In addition, there are many cultural and sentimental ties between China and Korea. During the past year, we have had in Korea the United Nations trying to establish an independent Korea and we have had the Chinese communists throwing in a million soldiers to defeat the objective of the United Nations. The communist action in Korea is entirely un-Chinese.

The Korean campaign has resulted in heavy casualties. China has lost half a million men on the battlefields of Korea. Although the population of China is large, the bereaved families lament the loss of their brothers and sons. In addition, the army in Korea has to be fed, clothed, transported and equipped by the sacrifices of the Chinese people, who, before this war in Korea and during this war in Korea, lived and live amidst famine and starvation.

In the third place, the Chinese communists have systematically and mercilessly spread terror over the mainland. This terror has been aggravated since February 22 of this year. In the bigger cities, people are being condemned to death in batches. From February 22 to the first of August, approximately one million and a half people have been put to death.

In China, as in other parts of the world, oppression at home and aggression abroad are but two sides of the same shield. The people in China know that the continued existence of the communist regime is incompatible with their welfare and their freedom. China's neighbors must know by this time that the continued existence of the communist regime is inconsistent with the peace and freedom of Asia.

We know what the Chinese communists have done in Korea. Similar adventures are being prepared for the other countries bordering on China. I mean Indo-China, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, the Philippines, and Indonesia. In all these countries the Chinese communists give material and moral aid to their communist parties and armies. As regards Indo-China and Burma, active preparations are being made for military intervention.

The Korean war, the terror, and the brutality of the land reform have driven many people to take up arms against the communists. Today the number of guerrilla fighters on the mainland is in the neighborhood of 1,600,000. These guerrilla fighters, while fighting for their freedom, are also fighting for world peace and security.

Side by side with communist China, there is the free China.

Free China controls the island of Taiwan with a population of 7,300,000. Free China has the allegiance of the 10 million Chinese living in Southeast Asia. Free China furnishes aid to the 1,600,000 guerrilla fighters on the mainland. Free China is the hope of all the millions on the mainland who suffer from communist adventures abroad and from terror and arbitrary rule at home.

(NOTE)