# 臺灣退出聯合國五十週年:檢視蔣介石與雙重代表權

The 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Taiwan's Withdrawal from the UN: Reviewing Chiang Kai-shek and the Dual Representation Resolution

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## 壹、前言

2021年正逢退出聯合國五十週年,國內各論述,最正式的應屬回顧 1971年的中華民國與聯合國的新書《1971神話聯合國》,也受到政學界包 括總統在內的重視。書中指責蔣介石否決美日力推雙重代表權,寧願被驅逐 也不承認只代表臺灣,更指責蔣氏不願意公開向會員國表達請求支持雙重代 表案,美國提案當然失效。也有資深政治人物舉證,聲稱美國大使館政治組 主任,指責臺灣在非洲破壞雙重代表權,使美國政府非常不滿。

這是一個數十年來再熟悉不過的劇情,簡言之就是蔣介石十分頑固地堅 持意識形態,造成臺灣至今難以挽回的國際地位。本文將從早年非洲友邦國 家馬拉威的一份電報談起,回顧蔣介石在雙重代表權中扮演的角色。

## 貳、回到 1971年

由於失去中國大陸(下稱:大陸),又占著常任理事國席位,臺灣從 1950年代起在聯合國的身分就不斷地受到挑戰。前十年每當敵對國家提出 中國代表權案,美國藉「緩議案」(Moratorium)反對該案列入議程維持住 臺灣席位。到了1960年代,隨著新興獨立國家大增,緩議已無法解決問 題,於是就採用「重要問題」的策略,也就是每當敵對國家提出中國代表 權案,就引用《聯合國憲章》第18條,認為中國席位變更乃重要問題,需 要三分之二多數同意。如此一旦該案通過,其高門檻也代表中國代表權案 當年難以過關。

臺灣的聯合國保衛戰年年獲勝,政府缺乏改變策略的動機。惟1970年 重要問題案通過,阿爾巴尼亞提出的中國代表權案卻首次敗北,雖然只輸兩 票,但這表示如果沒有重要問題案保護,臺灣在1970年已被逐出,更預言 隔(1971)年重要問題案可能不會過半。

局勢不利,「兩個中國」成為1971年留在聯合國的唯一解方。蔣介石捨 此路不走,竟然去非洲搞破壞?有圖有真象,先從馬拉威駐聯合國代表團於投 票前二天(1971年10月22日),拍回該國外交部的電報說起(圖1至圖6)。

## 參、電報與附件

電報上很清楚地說明,馬拉威在聯合國大會對「兩個中國問題」 (regarding two China Issue)投票準則:「反對阿爾巴尼亞案,支持可以把中 華民國留在聯合國的提案」(vote against Albanian Resolution and supporting resolution seeking retention of Nationalist China in United Nation) ° 1

這個電報的附件,是趙金鏞大使 1971 年 8 月底與馬拉威外交部溝涌的 備忘錄,其內容是請馬國支持重要問題案與雙重代表權案,反對阿爾巴尼亞 案(即中國代表權案)。這些文件逐一就各案該如何投票,遇到臨場狀況該 如何反應,向馬拉威政府說明,重點還用底線標明。重點共5項,其中3項 都在談雙重代表權(Dual Representation),第3項也把我國對雙重代表權的 立場說明清楚,大致意思如下:

所謂阿爾巴尼亞案將排除中華民國視為共產中國加入聯合國的必要 條件,為了提供其它選擇、擊敗該案、與公正態度的國家合作,中 華民國政府的友邦已提出「雙重代表權案」。雖然中華民國政府由

National Archives of Malawi, "Permanent Mission of Malawi in New York to Malawi Ministry of External Affairs" (October 22, 1971), Admission of Communist China to the UN (10-1-7R/37506/EA12116).

於明顯的原因無法連署,但馬拉威政府連署有助其成案。此外, 也必須反對與拒絕任何藉要求三分之二多數阻擋『雙重代表權』成 案的意圖。<sup>2</sup>

從馬拉威政府的認知、行動與臺灣大使的說明,清楚地知道,中華民國不便連署,盼友邦能協助,而這個非洲友邦也藉「兩個中國案」,協助臺灣留在聯合國。這些文件除了邀訪等禮節性事宜,每一頁都提到雙重代表權,可見雙重代表權是投票的核心策略,而這個決定也必然不是趙金鏞大使的層級可以決定的。

## 肆、蔣介石的策略

那一年蔣介石已知情勢不如以往,許多「有損國格」的策略都已接受。為了擊敗阿爾巴尼亞案,原本的「重要問題」改為「變化重要問題」 (Revised Important Question),差異在於舊的策略指中國席位變更乃重要問題,新的「變化」在於逐出臺灣是重要問題。如此,北京若要入會僅需簡單多數,而逐出臺灣要三分之二多數。如此可以展現歡迎北京的誠意。

又為了要確保「變化重要問題案」通過,美國需向會員國證明有對中國 席位問題一勞永逸的解決方法,因此正式提出「雙重代表權」以突顯其誠 意。新案要求聯合國有兩個中國代表,也因此實際創造了兩個中國。然而, 原來的雙重代表權案並未指明何方應取得安理會席次,給臺北在文字上留 點面子,但為了爭取更多連署,最後的版本-即所謂「複合雙重代表權」 (Dual Representation Complex)-強調安理會席次給予北京。

為該案拉票等於支持北京坐上安理會,臺北無法明說,卻仍努力不懈 爭取支持。到了1971年9月底,特別再通令各外館,告訴友邦雙重代表權 案因其目的在於保住中華民國,故友邦為此目的而贊成該案,臺北將充分了 解,連臺詞都統一發布:

"If the government of ....in its own judgment co-sponsor and/ or support such a draft resolution...it would have the full

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> National Archives of Malawi, "ROC Embassy to Malawi Ministry of External Affairs" (August 24, 1971), *Admission of Communist China to the UN* (10-1-7R/37506/EA12116).

## understanding of the government of the ROC." 3

到了這個程度,還要說臺灣不支持雙重代表權,已是昧於事實,刻意誤 解。對蔣介石來說,接受這個策略,還要為這個策略拉票,簡直是連臉皮都 不要了。

這個策略基本奏效,臺美雙方到了 1971 年 10 月 2 日估票都還順利。由 於步驟上變化重要問題案一定要先過,打敗中國代表權案,才能走到雙重代 表權,故對該案當時的估票最重視,大約是63:61 過關,3 票棄權,4 票未 定但樂觀。

## 伍、情勢逆轉

令人震驚的是,10月5日季辛吉宣布要在10月20日訪問大陸,情勢 立即逆轉。臺北於 10 月 8 日重估重要問題案,情況成為 60 票同意,63 票 反對,6票棄權。季辛吉前往北京的10月20日,美國對變化重要問題案最 樂觀的估票是 60 票贊成,57 票反對,15 票棄權。臺灣方面的估票是 58 票 贊成,60 票反對,12 票棄權。投票前夕估票極近,大約是 58:58,可能贏 可能輸。蔣介石在臺北時間 1971 年 10 月 25 日下午 4 點(紐約時間同日上 午4點,即將投票)在國家安全會議做了以下指示:

「我國擔任安理會常任理事國,己經只是一個名義,實際上他們早 不將我當作常任理事國看待。遇到重要問題,均由少數強權國家逕 作決定,根本不要我們參加意見,這是我國作為一個安理會常任理 事國的恥辱,也是國家的恥辱,所以我常考慮,在適當時機,不惜 退出聯合國……在聯合國的奮鬥,如果失敗也要使成為一光榮的失 敗而莫成為恥辱的失敗,保持國尊嚴和榮譽的重要,遠在保持聯合 國席位之上……今日聯合國己無法律正義可言,已是一個骯髒場 所,還有什麼值得留戀……此次聯大中國代表權案,無論是阿案或 美案,都違背了聯合國憲章,只是剝奪我國權利的程度不同而已 ·····所以若阿案提出表決,在其表決前,我們應毅然聲明退會。即

中華民國外交部,「周部長電各駐外館」(1971年9月27日),廿六屆聯合國代表權問題 (1971年9月15日至1971年10月27日),國際組織司檔:90031/640。

於美案於表決時,我們也要投票反對或不參加投票。我現在以革命領導者的地位來決定這個問題,我們寧可放棄恥辱的席位,而保持國家的榮譽。」<sup>4</sup>

#### 蔣介石講話後另附文字指示:

「1. 若變化重要問題案未獲先議權或該案表決失敗,我應在阿爾巴尼亞案表決前及時聲明退會。即對阿爾巴尼亞案提修正或分段表決等則可稍待以觀補救措施有無效果,如無,則阿爾巴尼亞案之通過已成定局,我必須在阿爾巴尼亞案表決前聲明退會。2. 若變化重要問題案通過,阿爾巴尼亞案敗,美之複合雙重代表權案表決時,該案雖主張保持我在聯合國之會籍,但因其內容乃匪取代我在安理會席位,我應發言指其違反對聯合國憲章廿三條規定,宣佈我不參加對該案之表決以示抗議,並於該案通過後再發表適當之聲明,以及視匪是否到場再作正大之表示。如美國所提複合雙重代表權案能分段表決,則對保我部份贊成,其它部份反對。」5

由於輸贏在一線之間,蔣介石的公開演說聽起來像他一貫堅持中國正統,如此輸了還可以保留一些顏面。但同時悄悄與積極地接受兩個中國,能違背法統的全違背了,因為生存最重要。公眾可能只聽到「反對」雙重代表權,但他真實的意圖是「或」「不參加投票」,也在文字指示中獲得證明。臺北在雙重代表權表決時打算棄權,表決後「匪」應不會到場,再回來做「正大之表示」。友邦當然瞭解臺灣是因為不好意思要迴避一下,也會留下來投票支持兩個中國。

和先前的最後估票差不多,臺北在變化重要問題輸了4票(55:59,17 票棄權),雖然輸的不多,影響卻很大。由於「變化重要問題案」失敗,阿爾巴尼亞案必然能以簡單過半通過,預知結局的臺北趕著於此時退出。多數國家不願得罪即將進入安理會的北京,阿爾巴尼亞案以高票通過(35:76,17票棄權),結果已定,雙重代表權也不必表決了。

當年無人能預知投票結果,即使是毛澤東,投票前都估計臺灣會贏。

<sup>4</sup> 中華民國外交部,「第三十次國家安全會議紀錄」(1971年10月25日), 聯大中國代表權問題雜卷(1970年8月29日至1971年8月29日), 國際組織司檔:90081/640。

<sup>5</sup> 中華民國外交部,「第三十次國家安全會議紀錄」。

<sup>6</sup> 熊向暉,熊向暉回憶錄:我的情報與外交生涯(北京:中央黨史出版社,1999),頁359-361。

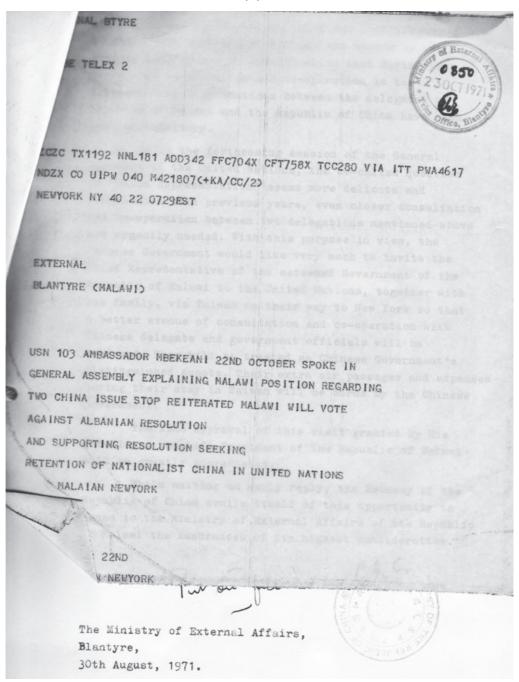
戰局如此膠著,可見各方都已盡力,至今我國資深政治人物竟會相信美國官 員對臺灣搞破壞的指責,實令人省思。現在的資深政治人物當年也是二十、 三十歲的青年,必定還記得投票時季辛吉人都還沒從大陸回來。如此給全世 界大多數國家印象會是什麼?包括尼克森總統在內,美國的確替臺灣拉了不 少票,至少包括之前不支持臺灣的迦納、模里西斯、阿根廷等。但季辛吉訪 問大陸,必定也破壞美臺外交人員的努力。美國有自己的國家利益,兩面都 做了,贏了是因為美國領導有方,輸了怪蔣介石頑冥不靈。美國一定不會錯。

### 陸、結語

有論者以為,即使雙重代表權誦過,由於北京拒不入會,臺灣遲早會被 驅逐。這個說法忽略了該案通過後,臺灣就成為普通會員國,重要性大為降 低。反而是北京若持續拒不入會,由於中國是常任理事國中唯一有色人種的 代表,想取代該席位者眾,拒絕參加壓力會回到北京身上。換言之,如果按 蔣介石和美國人的規劃,真誦過了雙重代表權案,今天蔣介石的確可能會成 為臺獨先鋒。

從馬拉威的電報與臺灣大使館的文件可證明,蔣介石配合美國與雙重代 表權策略,只是不能公開明說,但真正的友邦不會不懂。臺灣被逐出聯合國 後,蔣介石與國民黨沒有外來壓力而能繼續躲在代表中國的法統中,記憶上 選擇其公開的發言,遺忘雙重代表權的努力。雖然有人解釋是由於蔣介石對 「一個中國」的堅持使臺灣失去聯合國席位,但其實是因臺灣失去聯合國席 位使得蔣介石的「一個中國」看來十分堅持。

向美國學語者,或是有固定意識形態者,在事隔半世紀的臺灣,也到了 該檢討論述的時候。蔣介石和很多政治人物一樣,有現實主義,也有兩手策 略,但不會置臺灣生存於不顧。臺灣的學者與官員若到現在還不斷重複他堅 持「一中」的記憶,強化當年主政者的顢頇形象,等於持續為臺灣的意識形 熊衝突添加柴火。如果能相信他 1971 年配合美國要求,執行了雙重代表權 的事實,不但有助意識形態融合,更能藉這個經驗,思考下階段的臺灣應該 與美國維持何種關係。



資料來源: National Archives of Malawi, "Permanent Mission of Malawi in New York to Malawi Ministry of External Affairs" (October 23, 1971), *Admission of Communist China to the UN* (10-1-7R/37506/EA12116).

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The Embassy of the Republic of China presents its compliments to the Ministry of External Affairs of the Republic of Malawi and has the honour to state that it is a source of gratification that during past years, the consultation and co-operation in the International Organizations between the delegates of Republic of Malawi and the Republic of China have been very satisfactory.

As in the forthcoming session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the so-called question of "China Representation" seems more delicate and complicated than previous years, even closer consultation and co-operation between two delegations mentioned-above are urgently needed. With this purpose in view, the Chinese Government would like very much to invite the Chief Representative of the esteemed Government of the Republic of Malawi to the United Nations, together with his family, via Taiwan on their way to New York so that a better avenue of consultation and co-operation with Chinese delegate and government officials will be achieved. They will be treated as Chinese Government's distinguished guests. Their extra air passages and expenses during their stay in Taiwan will be borne by the Chinese Government.

The kind approval of this visit granted by His Excellency the Life President of the Republic of Malawi will be greatly appreciated.

While waiting an early reply, the Embassy of the Republic of China avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Ministry of External Affairs of the Republic of Malawi the assurances of its highest consideration.

Pur ou file

The Ministry of External Affairs, Blantyre,

30th August, 1971.



資料來源: National Archives of Malawi, "Permanent Mission of Malawi in New York to Malawi Ministry of External Affairs".

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No. 60/551	48	
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to the Chinese r	epresentation question, has the ho	nour
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資料來源: National Archives of Malawi, "Permanent Mission of Malawi in New York to Malawi Ministry of External Affairs".

No. 60/537 The Embassy of the Republic of China presents its compliments to the Ministry of External Affairs of the Republic of Malawi and, with reference to the so-called "Question of the Representation of China" in the United Nations, has the honour to state that the Republic of China is a founding member of the United Nations. It took an active part in the Dumbarton Oaks talks and in the San Francisco Conference which brought the United Nations into being. It has since made constructive and significant contribution to the work of the Organization. Its honorable and rightful place in the family of nations must therefore be maintained. To this end, friendly Governments are requested to give their full and active assistance in respect of the following at the Twenty-sixth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations: (1) To elect the Republic of China to Vice Presidency of the Assembly, in accordance with Resolution 1990 (XVIII) adopted on 17 December 1963. (2) To uphold the proposal, known as "Revised Important Question Formula, " that any draft resolution designed to expel the Republic of China from the United Nations is an important question within the meaning of Article 18 of the United Nations Charter and shall be decided by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting in the Assembly. (3) For the purpose of providing an alternative to the so-called Albanian draft resolution chia's admission M. La /which prescribes . .

資料來源: National Archives of Malawi, "Permanent Mission of Malawi in New York to Malawi Ministry of External Affairs".

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which prescribes the expulsion of the Republic of China as a sine qua non to the seating of the Chinese Communist regime in the United Nations, and with a view to defeating such a resolution, a proposal known as "Dual Representation" has been advanced by Governments friendly to the Republic of China, in collaboration with those Governments which maintain a fair and just attitude toward the matter. Although the Republic of China, for obvious reasons, cannot itself subscribe to this formula, the endorsement given to said proposal by the Government of the Republic of Malawi will ensure its adoption.

Furthermore, any attempt to prevent the adoption of the "Dual Representation" proposal by asking for a two-thirds majority must be effectively opposed and rejected.

(4) The adoption of the Albanian draft resolution, either in part or in its totality, would invariably result in depriving the continued right of representation of the Republic of China in the United Nations. It must therefore be opposed under all circumstances.

The "Dual Representation" proposal, if given priority and adopted by the Assembly, should forthwith render the voting on the Albanian draft resolution unnecessary on account of its incompatibility with the decision that has already been made. Any motion pressing for further consideration of the Albanian draft resolution should then be summarily rejected.

The esteemed Government of the Republic of Malawi is therefore requested, when the so-called Question of Chinese Representation comes up for consideration, to vote for the

/motion that . . .

資料來源: National Archives of Malawi, "Permanent Mission of Malawi in New York to Malawi Ministry of External Affairs".

motion that priority must be given to the "Revised Important Question Formula" and the "Dual Representation" draft resolution over the Albanian draft resolution.

(5) The "Dual Representation" draft resolution should be voted as a whole. This applies also to the Albanian draft resolution, should it be put to a vote. Any proposal to vote the above-named draft resolutions paragraph by paragraph or sentence by sentence must be resisted.

The Government of the Republic of China is grateful to the Government of the Republic of Malawi for the unstinted effort it has made over the years in upholding the rightful position of the Republic of China in the United Nations. It is confident that the Government of the Republic of Malawi will continue to support the Republic of China in its struggle for law and justice in the world community.

The copies of Draft Important Question Resolution (i.e. Revised Important Question Formula"), of Draft Representation Resolution (i.e. "Dual Representation" proposal) and of Albanian Draft Resolution are hereby enclosed for reference.

An early and favourable reply from the Government of the Republic of Malawi will be greatly appreciated.

The Embassy of the Republic of China avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Ministry of External Affairs of the Republic of Malawi the assurances of its highest consideration.

Enclosures.

The Ministry of External Affairs, Blantyre, 19th August, 1971.

資料來源: National Archives of Malawi, "Permanent Mission of Malawi in New York to Malawi Ministry of External Affairs".