

訪問陸以正大使

董榮輝

本刊繼上期刊出陳錫蕃代表訪談錄後，「外交經驗談」再度為您走訪外交資深前輩陸以正大使，談談他重要的外交經歷。

陸大使簡歷

民國十三年生，江西南昌人
民國三十六年，國立政治大學外交系第一期畢業
民國四十五年，行政院新聞局國際宣傳處處長
民國五十二年，駐紐約新聞處主任
民國六十八年，駐奧地利代表
民國七十年，駐瓜地馬拉大使
民國七十九年，駐南非大使
民國八十六年，正式退休
民國八十七年，獲聘無任所大使
民國九十年，辭謝無任所大使。出版「如果這是美國--一位退休外交官看台灣」
民國九十一年，出版「微臣無力可回天--陸以正的外交生涯」



陸大使畫像

從事公職生涯歷程

陸大使謙稱自己並非是外交部科班出身，他雖是政治大學外交系第一期畢業，但後來一直在新聞界。陸大使入學時是政校第十二期，中間休學一年去當翻譯官，所以畢業時是十三期，也就是改制為國立政治大學後的第一期。十二期以前的政校是黨校，外交系一畢業就直接分發到外交部工作。到了十三期以後，外交部長王世杰改以考試及格才能進部服務。當時，陸大使已在「大剛報」工作，報館問他要不要去廬山當特派員，採訪先總統蔣公，陸大使毫不考慮的就答應了，從此就一直在新聞界工作，後來到了台北，在 China News擔任Senior Editor，一段時間之後，陸大使認為既然做了新聞這一行，就到美國哥倫比亞大學修讀新聞碩士學位，在哥大九個月內就修完了四十七個學分，陸大使天資聰穎及用功程度可見一斑。回國後，白天繼續在China News上班，晚上則在中華日報當總編輯兼採訪主任。當時行政院新聞局長是沈錡大使，新聞局適有一職缺，沈大使希望陸大使能夠接替，陸大使心想，兩家報館老闆未必會同意，於是推稱，只要兩位報館老闆同意，渠個人無意見。不料，兩家報館老闆竟然都同意放

人。就這樣，硬是被拉進新聞局，擔任國際宣傳處處長，七年後派駐美大使館任參事兼紐約新聞中心主任，後來升任駐美公使，到被卡特政府以「不受歡迎人士」(persona non grata)，限他一個星期內離開，前後駐美共十九年，陸大使自稱：「到那時為止，一直都是黑官，也一直都是外交部的人。」

「糊裡糊塗進了外交部！」

陸大使回國後，經國先生召見他，並派他到奧地利當代表，陸大使說：「就這樣糊裡糊塗進了外交部！」奧地利代表做了兩年半，經國先生又派他到瓜地馬拉當大使，「以前都是黑官，做了大使就變成特任了。」陸大使說：「瓜地馬拉大使九年，南非大使七年，特任做了十六年！」回國後又被李前總統登輝先生延聘為無任所大使兩年，直到新政府上台，陸大使才辭去無任所大使乙職。提到無任所大使，陸大使說，無任所大使的性質是一個 Trouble Shooter。陸大使舉美國在七十年代的以埃談判為例，由於雙方對派駐當地國的大使均缺乏信任，於是才派了 Ambassador-at-large 進行斡旋。所以，美國的無任所大使是 Super Ambassador，地位崇高。

退出聯合國當天情形

陸大使從事外交工作長達四十一年，幾乎經歷了政府遷台以來的各個重大外交

事件，談到印象最深刻者，陸大使說：「退出聯合國那一天，到底是怎麼回事？到今天，恐怕許多人都不是很清楚！」陸大使說，當年我方是準備要接受美國所提的「雙重代表權」的提案，但是中共堅決反對，這一點在他的書中（編按，「如果這是美國--一位退休外交官看台灣」，三民書局出版，2001）有一篇【回憶一九七一年聯合國席位的最後一戰】詳細紀錄當天開會的情形。據說，後來中國大陸的報紙也將那篇文章全文照登，可見大陸當局對當時的情形也是不甚了解。今天有人怪罪前政府的「漢賊不兩立」政策，造成今日我國被排除在聯合國之外，陸大使強調說：「I was there!」

被卡特政府「請」回台灣

另外一件令陸大使印象深刻的經歷則是被卡特政府「請」回台灣乙事。陸大使憶述，中美斷交時，時任駐美公使兼紐約新聞處主任的陸大使，應「紐約每日新聞」之邀，撰稿說明我國態度，當時中美雙方已斷交，雙方後續關係架構談判正在進行，陸大使日夜奔忙，並無時間構思文稿，於是利用自紐約到華府參加一項電台訪問的短暫搭機時間，在機上揮筆立就，下機後交由大使館雇員小姐繕打後逕寄報社，於1978年12月26日在「紐約每日新聞」刊出，之後各地報紙紛紛轉載。後來據統計，全美各地有二、三十家日報轉載陸大使那篇名為「我們將為自由誓死奮戰」

(We'll fight, we'll die for freedom) 的文章。文章刊出後，國務院即召見當時的胡旭光公使告以，美國認為這種行為已經違反了外交官的行為準則，希望我方於一周內將陸大使調回台北，並聲稱，假如屆時仍未離美，美方將正式採取行動；「換句話說，到時就會依外交慣例，宣佈我不受歡迎 (persona non grata)，強令離美了。」陸大使說。

陸大使長期派駐在外，從 1963 年外派至 1998 年返國，整整卅五年，「我想外交部沒有一個人在國外這麼久沒調回來。」陸大使笑著說：「回來後連身分證都得重新辦，我去辦身分證時，戶政機關的人問我的戶籍地址，我把我出國前的最後戶籍地告訴他，結果他一查，鄰里、街道名稱都改了！」陸大使感慨地說：「如果有機會調回來，我會買個房子。結果，台灣在經濟起飛的時候，卻都一直在國外領一份死薪水，想想真是遺憾！」

期勉新進同仁多唸書

在被問到對本部新進人員的期勉，陸大使毫不猶豫地說：「要多唸書！」，「去年七月間我在外講所開了一門國際會議特別講習，結果其他機關報名人數及上課踴躍情形都超過外交部。外交部越能幹的人越忙。」陸大使語重心長地說：「現在外交部的程度不如廿年前，廿年前的不如四十年前。現在有誰可以不用稿子，用英語演說兩個半小時？」陸大使接著說：「小

時候讀書是為了父母，大學時候讀書是為了文憑和工作，但是現在碩士學位也拿到了，也通過特考，有了一份穩定的工作，現在讀書是為你自己啊！」

目前生活安排

陸大使退休後定居台北，生活仍相當忙碌，除了在大學裡開課外，四處應邀演講，包括執政黨舉辦國際菁英講習營，也請陸大使前往演講。陸大使同時擔任財團法人國家政策研究基金會顧問，日前更出版一本自傳式的新書--「微臣無力可回天--陸以正的外交生涯」(天下文化出版，2002 年)，也經常在報章雜誌發表文章，針貶國內外時事，坦率耿直的性格流露筆下。

後記

陸大使百忙之中接受本刊採訪，經過約一個小時的訪談，筆者走出陸大使現居位於忠孝東路四段的住所，心中激盪不已。陸大使幾乎經歷我國外交史上所有重大事件--退出聯合國、美國承認中共及南非與我斷交--其奮鬥不懈的精神，更是令人肅然起敬。

至於那篇陸大使認為「闖禍」的文章，陸大使雖已將它譯成中文收錄在其「如果這是美國--一位退休外交官看台灣」乙書中，本刊特找出原文附載於後，以饗同仁。

Taiwan: "We'll fight, we'll die for freedom"

By I-CHENG LOH

Ever since Friday, Dec. 15, 9:08 p.m., the phones haven't stopped ringing in my home and my office. Hundreds of people called --most of them friends and a few total strangers--to express outrage and support, to offer sympathy and condolences. Everyone asked the same question: How do you feel? What are you going to do? Is there anything I can do to help?

How do I feel? I am very much saddened, of course, not only for my country--the Republic of China on Taiwan--but for the United States, which I have come to love and to regard as my second home.

This is the first time in its 200 years of history that the United States has turned her back on a faithful friend and a loyal ally, not because of what that friend has done, but because a third party--a former adversary directly responsible for the loss of American lives in Korea and in Vietnam--demanded it.

This is the first time, as far as I know, that the United States has abrogated a treaty ratified by the Senate, which has the effect of law, in exchange for a promise that the third party refused to give.

This is the first time that an American commitment, solemnly given and gratefully received, was broken and shattered to pieces, not because America was weak, but because the adversary was erroneously perceived to be too strong.

I must say that I can see why the leaders of Israel are nervous about the value of American promise.

What are we going to do? My answers usually come as a surprise to questioners: Nothing. Or more precisely, we will keep on doing the thing that we have always been doing. Nothing less but nothing more.

The Republic of China on Taiwan will never negotiate with the Chinese Communists, be it Teng or Hua or whoever will be in power after the next round of purges and upheavals. We will never "play the Russian card," which some of our friends, driven to exasperation by the cynicism of the recent U.S. move in the power game, urged us to threaten to do.

Our reasons are simple. We must remain true to our beliefs, our moral standards of what others have done.

Neither will we "go nuclear," even if the technology is there. The only nuclear programs Taiwan will engage in are power-generation plants, which by 1984 will provide almost half of the country's needs for electricity.

We will hold fast to the three principles taught us by the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, father of the republic on nationalism, democracy and social and economic well-being for our people.

We will build upon our already booming economy, with a real gross national product growth of 12% in 1978, and a per capita income at \$1,300, we will bring Taiwan into the ranks of developed nations, not by the year 2000 but by 1985.

Is there anything you-as Americans-can do to help? Yes, there's plenty every conscientious American can do, now and will into the future.

First and most important we ask you to help in making sure that Taiwan's security needs are amply met. Our 17 million people have not done anything wrong to deserve this shabby treatment.

Their only "sin" is their determination to remain free.

They deserve your help. Write the White House to tell the President what you think of his recent decision, and to voice your concern that Taiwan--with more people than 113 countries of the United Nations--must not be allowed to fall into Communist hands.

Write your senators and your congressmen, urging Congress to adopt resolutions guaranteeing that adequate defense supplies will be sold to Taiwan, not just in the next few years, but anytime in the future.

Ask your elected representatives to thoroughly debate every facet of the many questions concerning Taiwan's security, not just the black and white question of whether the Communists will attempt to "liberate Taiwan" by force.

It is vital to include in these discussions the gray areas, such as the possibility of naval blockade and economic strangulation through blacklisting and other means.

If, for example, a couple of months or years from now, Iran blows up and embroils the entire Middle East, the Chinese Communist regime could seize that opportunity to announce that as the "sole legal government of China" it is closing the ports of Taiwan to all foreign shipping as it indeed has the legal right to do.

What can the United States do then that does not run contrary to the communique of Dec.15?

Free China will stand on her own two feet. We will fight and die, if necessary, to preserve our prosperity built on an open society and free enterprise.

If such a time comes, we don't need your men, only your arms. If an adequate supply is promised by Congress for the unlimited future, such a day may never come to pass.

I-Cheng is the minister of information, Embassy of the Republic of China
