CROSS SECTION

'Unleashing' of Chiang Helped End Korean War

One of the world's best-hated, most respected, most criticized leaders — Chiang Kai-shek — is the subject of the following provocative letter republished from The New York Times. Yu-tang Liu, now resident in United States, was formerly professor of government at Tsinghua University, Peiping.

DR. YU-TANG LIU New York Times

So much derision has been heaped upon President Eisenhower's "unleashing of Chiang Kai-shek," and so little has been said in its defence, that one wonders whether this early act by Mr. Eisenhower as president was really such an amateurish gesture of futility.



CHIANG KAI-SHEK

Governor Harriman in his address to the Democratic committee on March 8, said that

One of the world's best-hated, most re- let us, as Al Smith would say, look at the sected, most criticized leaders — Chiang record.

MR. EISENHOWER MADE A PERSONAL trip to Korea in the course of the presidential campaign in 1952. He conferred with political and military leaders there.

The Communists had sued for peace in the spring of 1951 when General Ridgway's offensive was mounting.

But the Communists dragged on the-war and protracted the truce negotiations with no prospect of agreement to the principle of voluntary repatriation of POW's up to the start of 1953.

In his first message to Congress in February, 1953, President Eisenhower "took the wraps off Chiang."

ON MARCH 28, THE COMMUNISTS agreed to the principle of exchange of sick and wounded which they stated "should be made to lead to the smooth settlement of the entire question of POWs."

On June 8 the prisoners of war agreement, embodying the principle of voluntary repatriation, was signed.

The Korean truce was finally signed on July 27, 1953.

The fact, plain and undeniable, was and has remained that after the "unleashing" the war in Korea stopped. Would it have stopped even without the "unleashing episode"? Would it have stopped anyway if Adlai Stevenson were in the White House instead?

WERE THERE OTHER FACTORS WHICH contributed to the stopping of the Korean war? Whatever the answers to these questions, the overwhelming truth was that the Korean war was over.

Have we already forgotten how much that meant to every man, woman and child in this country, in Great Britain, in the Philippines, in every member of the United Nations which joined in the heroic effort to stop Communist aggression?

THERE HAD BEEN NO DEFINITE prospect of peace for two and a half years until the "unleashing" of Chiang Kai-shek.

I personally believe that the "unleashing" led directly to the ending of the Korean war.

The Chinese Communists did not want another front to fight on while the Korean war continued to drain their blood and



トーマス・シェリング教授(メリーランド大学、ノーベル経済学賞) 「核使用の可能性はキューバ危機の時よりも高かった」



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DULLES SAYS U.S. PINS RETALIATION ON SMALL A-BOMB

Less-Than-Massive Policy in Event of War Bars Use of City-Destroying Weapons

LINE DRAWN ON FORMOSA

Ban on Military Action Hinted by Secretary if Reds Limit Invasion to Offshore Isles

By ELIE ABEL Special to The New York Times. WASHINGTON, March 15HOW ATOMIC WEAPONS HAVE CHANGED MILITARY TACTICS

LIMITED ATOMIC WAR: A NEW U. S. STRATEGY

Weapons and Uses of Manpower Are Designed for Changed Concepts

By HANSON W. BALDWIN

Washington indicated last week! Force is now organized and that American atomic weapons trained—administratively, tacti-might be used like bullets against cally and logistically—primarily military targets in case of Com- for atomic war, though both the munist aggression anywhere in Tactical and the Air Defense

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IN WORLD WAR II IN ATOMIC WAR TROOP DEPLOYMENT DATTALIONS Old strategy was to seek out enemy's weakest point, and to concentrate all available guns and troops on that spot until DEFENSIVE STRATEGY Old strategy was to hold firm on the flank positions, re-induce the canter of the line as quickly as possible and gradually push the face back.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, MARCH 20, 1955.

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Asserts Any New Aggression in Pacific Will Be Met by Nuclear Weapons

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CHICAGO, March 17 - Vice President Richard M. Nixon today warned the Chinese Communists in the bluntest of terms that they would be met with atomic weapons if they embarked on any new aggression.





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U. S. MIGHT CITED

But No Precise Stand
Is Given on Offshore
Isles by Secretary

Text of address by Mr. Dulles is printed on Page 4.

By ELIE ABEL

Special to The New York Times,

WASHINGTON, March 8—
Secretary of State Dulles warned
Communist China tonight that
the United States was no "paper
tiger."

The tiger analogy is a favorite of Communist propagandists,
who depict the United States as
snarling bravely enough but in
the end backing away from a
fight. Mr. Dulles suggested that
the American tiger still had
powerful teeth and claws.



CHOU ASKS FOR U.S. TALKS ON EASING FORMOSA CRISIS; WASHINGTON SETS TERMS

At Bandung: Faces in the Spotlight MOYE AT PARLEY



Gamal Abdel Nasser **Egypt**



Chou En-lai Communist China

Premier Says Peiping Does Not Want War With This Country

By TILLMAN DURDIN

Special to The New York Times.

BANDUNG, Indonesia, April 23-Chou En-lai announced here today that Communist China was prepared to negotiate directly with the United States over Formosa and Far East questions in general.

A statement to this effect was released by the Premier of Communist China at the headquarters of the Asian-African confer-



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MILESTONES: 1953-1960

NOTE TO READERS

"Milestones in the History of U.S. Foreign Relations" has been retired and is no longer maintained. For more information, please see the full notice.

The Taiwan Straits Crises: 1954–55 and 1958

Tensions between the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Republic of China (ROC) in the 1950s resulted in armed conflict over strategic islands in the Taiwan Strait. On two separate occasions during the 1950s, the PRC bombed islands controlled by the ROC. The United States responded by actively intervening on behalf of the ROC.



Map of the Taiwan Strait

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(NY13-Aug.1)GENEVA FRINCIPALS--U.Alexia Johnson, D.S. ambassador to Czechoslovakia, and Wang Ping-man, Red China's ambassador to Foland, move to spectators at Geneva, Switzerland, where they open diplomatic talks today. Top subject of the meeting will be discussion of ways to ease tension in the Par East. Palping radio approunced today their intention to release 11 U.S. at more hald continue along

Hast.Pelping radio announced today their intention to release 11 U.S. sirmen held captive since 1953. (AFFirephoto via radio from London)(See Story)(jdc21020rcs1)1955

ダレス国務長官はいかに戦争を防いだか



U NU BURMA



PHUMIPHON THAILAND



NGO DINH DIEM



SAVANG



RAMON MAGSAYSAY PHILIPPINES



SAUDI ARABIA



TAWFIK AL-SUWAIDI

HOW DULLES AVERTED WAR

AT 2 a.m. on June 18, 1953, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles was awakened by the ringing of the telephone in the bedroom of his home in Washington. It was the officer of the dog watch at the State Department with an urgent radio message from Korea. President Syngman Rhee had ordered his troops guarding the prisoners of war compounds to release all captured North Koreans and Red Chinese. The handful of American officers and noncoms at the camps were powerless to prevent the action and the prisoners were streaming away from the compounds by the thousands.

Dulles listened quietly, grunting an occasional "Yow" to acknowledge. Then he reached over to switch on the light. And at that moment, as his fully aroused mind shook off the fog of sleep, Dulles saw himself and the nation standing on the brink of a new war. It was the first of three times during the Eisenhower administration when the U.S. was brought perilously close to war—and when the new policy of deterrence instituted by Dulles preserved peace.

Why Rhee's highhanded action threatened war will be explained below. This, plus the full story of our other close brushes with war in the past three years, is revealed here for the first time with new information provided by the Secretary and by the State Department. In the conduct of his office, Dulles not only radically revised the "containment" policy of the Truman administration but also altered drastically the basic concept of the job of Secretary of State.

Dulles' direction of U.S. foreign affairs is under attack these days as the presidential election year gets under way. The new information made available to this writer, however, bulwarks the substantial case to be made for Dulles, a case that until now has not been made as strongly as it could because important sections of the record could not be made public.

Here is that record.

The Eisenhower administration's foreign policy began to take shape aboard the cruiser *Helena* as the President-elect returned to the U.S. after having made his promised

visit to Korea. With those cabinet officers whom he had already selected, Eisenhower held daily conferences to consider what should be done about the stalemated war. Dulles led most of these discussions. In the singular lifelong preparation for the job he was about to undertake, he had probably devoted more thought to the subject of war and peace than any other man alive. He believed that he had isolated one of the major underlying causes of war: in a word, miscalculation.

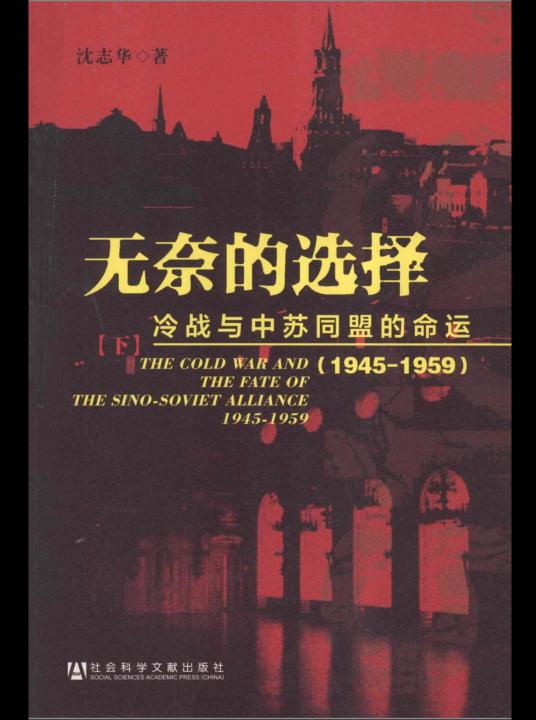
All the great wars of modern history, Dulles is convinced, were started by national leaders who thought they could get away with it. When they found out that they could not, it was too late. The Korean war, Dulles argued, had been caused by Moscow's mistaken belief that the U.S. would be unwilling to fight to stop armed aggression against South Korea. As much as Dulles admired his predecessor Dean Acheson's courageous reaction to the aggression, he felt that Acheson had made a tragic mistake in suggesting, just six months before the

Communists attacked, that South Korea was outside the U.S.'s "vital perimeter" area.

As Dulles presented these conclusions in the meetings aboard the Helena, Eisenhower listened thoughtfully. (At times he listened a little impatiently too. More accustomed to the quick, crisp manner of a military briefing officer than to the thoughtful pauses of Dulles, Eisenhower was once heard to exclaim, "Why doesn't he speak up faster and say what he has on his mind?" When Dulles had finished, the newly elected President made his first vital decision. He would make every effort to bring an honorable truce out of the negotiations then in progress. But if the Communists tried to continue keeping the U.N. command and the U.S. bogged down in stalemate, the U.S. would this time fight to win.

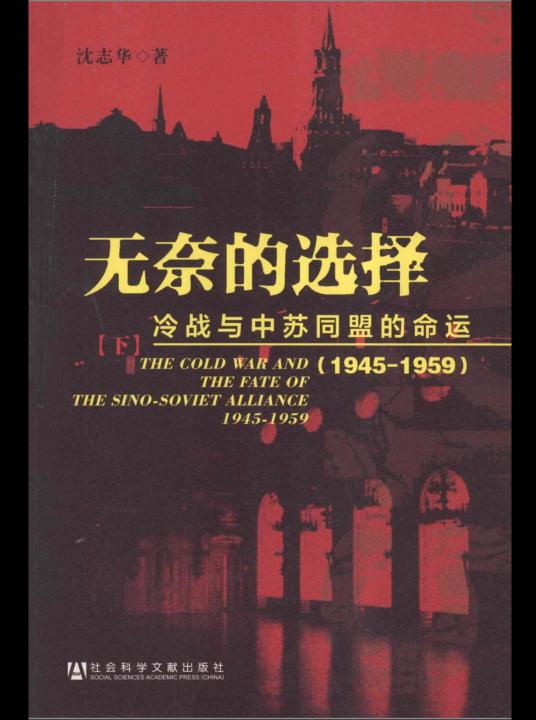
This would mean carrying the air attack into Manchuria, where the Chinese army and air force bases had been protected by the Truman administration's decision not to cross

(1945~59) >連同盟の運命





(1945~59) >連同盟の運命



FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

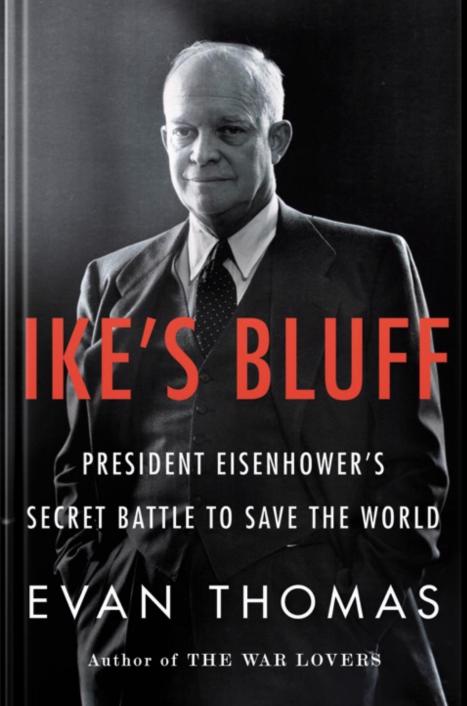
1955–1957 VOLUME III

CHINA



DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON

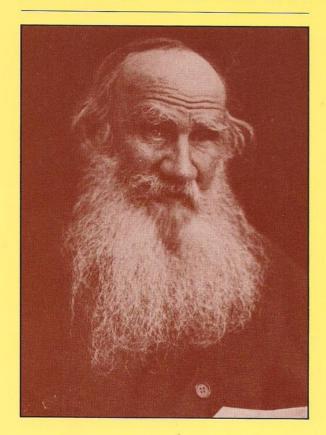
秘密の闘い



何をすべきなのか?

LEO TOLSTOY

What Then Must We Do?

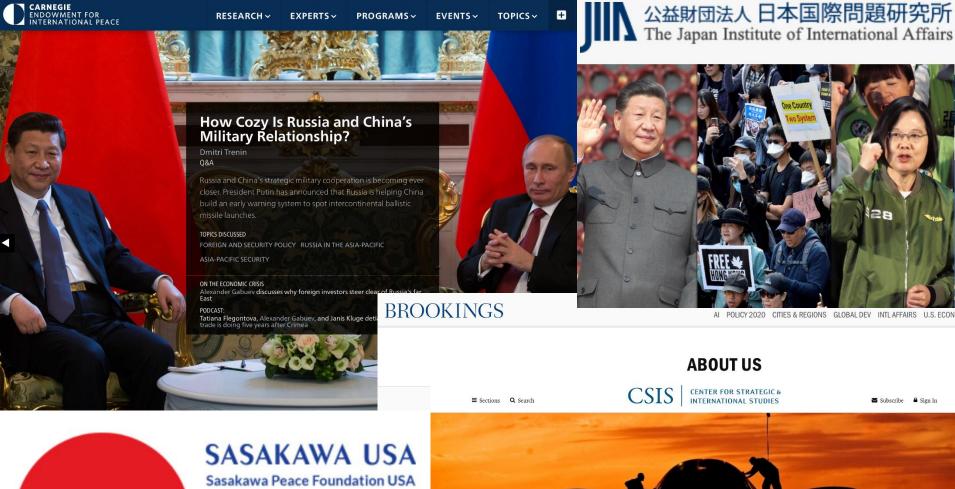


with an introduction by RONALD SAMPSON











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INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

PROGRAM



2015年カーネギー平和財団主催「核政策国際会議」



ローズ・ゴットミューラー 軍備管理・安全保障担当国務次官(当時)



"I am talking about a grassroots effort now to train and develop the support we need among the public to then come back to the Senate ...

ENDOW

85% of the American public supported the treaty back in 1999 ...

Today ... they don't remember what it is."

(CTBTについて)「私が申し上げているのは、議会対策に必要な一般市民の支持をえるための草の根レベルの教育や活動だ・・・

1999年には、米国市民の85%がCTBTを支持していた・・・

今日、米国市民はCTBTが何であるかも覚えていない・・・」

Could the use of nuclear weapons ever be justified? 核兵器の使用が正当化されることはあり得るか?



Yes(はい) 43% No(いいえ) 57%

