

第九章

失去自由的日子

第1節 奉調國防部

1966年9月9日至1969年8月11日，我的人生突然失速，生命在這裡轉了一個大彎。

1964年春，經國先生因身體不適，住進榮民總醫院。有一天他找我去，談了一些瑣事。經國先生突然說：「我要到國防部擔任副部長，你跟我一起去國防部吧！」

這個人事命令來得突然而意外。我愣了一下。對於將我耗盡心血的U-2、華航，以及空軍電子偵測（ECM）工作，全部交出去，心中有許多的不捨。但是對命令，我只能接受。

不久，我奉調到國防部計畫次長室任職。那是我軍職生涯中，最不合個性的工作。整日在各種演習和訓練計畫的公文中打轉，這些一疊疊蓋著「機密」的紅色卷宗，簡直成了「手銬」，將我銬在辦公桌上無法動彈。

我承認，我不是恭謹仔細的「案牘軍人」，我是屬於天空，註定要飛翔的人。所以那一段日子裡，有些心不在焉，成了準時上下班的橡皮圖章。

我的「心不在焉」，引發了一些「有心人」的謠言。有人說我和經國先生失和，甚至有朋友跑來，關心的苦諫：「聽說你在國防部碰到蔣副部長，竟然不理不睬，這樣不好吧！他總是你的頂頭上司，面子總

要維持的。」

對於這些謠言，我只能一笑置之，我再笨也不致對我的長官不敬。有次，經國先生身體不適，去中橫公路的青山休養，找了我夫妻一同去盤桓三日。山中笑語毫無異常，而我也並無感覺與蔣先生之間有何芥蒂。

空軍出身的國防部次長羅之綱（羅機）將軍，識破我的「困鷹心態」，時常找我去他辦公室聊天，並且寓意深長地送了我四個字：「韜光養晦」。《晉書·慕容垂載記》：「但時來之運未至，故韜光俟奮耳。」羅次長勸我深自斂抑以待機的深意，令我非常感動。

在聊天中不免會月旦時人，臧否時事。羅次長對王作榮其人頗為推崇，並送了我一本王作榮寫的小冊子。王作榮在書中痛陳大陸之敗，在於經濟之崩潰；而經濟之弊在人謀不臧。他毫不保留地把當時主持財政的大員，連名帶姓都寫在小冊子中。

這是我第一次知道王作榮其人其事，心中又驚訝又欽佩。驚訝於他對大陸敗局見解之獨到，頓生惺惺相惜之感；欽佩其在那個言論犯忌的時代，竟然如此大膽敢言。後來我特別邀他在「中國之友社」吃飯，多年後又請他為立青文教基金會所印贈的尹仲容所著《呂氏春秋校譯》一書寫序。這一段緣分，倒是任職國防部的意外收穫。

第2節 到軍法局報到

1966年7月，我在辦公室突然接到一張「傳票」，找我去軍法處「談一談」。當時我有些光火，並沒意識到事情的嚴重性。我怒冲冲地跑去了參謀總長室，哪裡會知道，在我生命的衛星雲圖上，一場巨大的暴風雨正悄悄襲來。那張「傳票」，只是風雨前的第一道閃電。

當時的參謀總長是黎玉璽上將，他為人樸實，與我關係亦稱良好。黎玉璽也不知那傳票是怎麼一回事，除了安慰我外，立刻打電話去軍法處詢問，並要求軍法處派人「到我辦公室問話」。黎總長是一番好意，但是我自己卻覺得不妥。我個性急躁，有些不拘小節，但在大原則、大關節的地方，從不鬆動；就算有任何不滿，自己的腳跟得先站穩。於是我自己走進了青島東路軍法處大門，沒讓軍法官來我的辦公室。

接待我的是王化歐上校軍法官，中上等身材，態度和善客氣，問了一些桃園工程上的問題。我雖然行事上不是一板一眼的人，但是在公家金錢上一向清白自持，況且該工程是美國負責全部費用，為U-2建一簡單棚廠及一些附屬設備，從設計、發包、到監工，全是美方自主，與我方無涉。所以心中非常坦然，一切據實以告，深信不可能有任何不妥之處。他們無法在我的金錢往來上找出問題，於是換了一個「圖利他人」的角度，繼續找碴。這是欲加之罪，何患無辭；對軍人而言，對榮譽的褻瀆，本身就是一種極刑。後來，他們又找了我的部

下黃惟敬和烏鉞問話。黃惟敬當時任空軍總部情報署副署長，他對桃園工程非常清楚，當他聽到我的「圖利他人」指控時，反應非常激烈，幾乎「咆哮」軍法處。他明白這是一場誣陷、一個惡毒的布局。

1966年9月9日，軍法處那位王上校又來電話約我一談，仍然問一些一再重複的問題。然後他說：「上面交代，請你暫且不要回去了！」這一「暫且」，就是一千零六十六天。

我打電話給瑛華，先安慰她不要慌張。並特別叮嚀：千萬別讓我母親知道，就說我調去東南亞了；尤其囑咐絕不可找人關說求情。求情只會顯得我們軟弱，何況這件事，任何人都無法插手的。

但是營救行動卻自動自發地展開著。好友王新衡、蔡國治均表驚訝，甚至流淚。我的長官周至柔將軍告訴吾妻瑛華：「妳把我的圖章拿去，我願意在任何情況下，擔任復恩的保人。」國防部長俞大維博士，曾召見當時的軍法處處長汪道淵，親自詳詢我案。蔣緯國也極表關切，但表示「非常棘手」。彭孟緝夫婦、黎玉璽夫婦均極關心，咸對吾妻問慰。美國台灣協防司令肯特納中將（Adm. Gantner）曾請求「探監」，卻被國防部婉拒。我的好友桑鵬將軍（美軍顧問團團長）夫婦更是非常關心此案，但也無能為力。美國駐華大使萊特（Wright）夫人則給我送書……這些關懷，都是我一生之中難以忘懷的。

以這樣的「陣容」，再大的冤案也可以查明；但是遇上我這案子，任何力量都像遇上了「黑洞」，使不上勁。

第3節 在看守所的領悟

我當時的心情卻出奇的平靜。9月9日當夜，處在一個完全陌生的世界，突然想起了屈原的《懷沙賦》：「懲違改忿兮，抑心而自強。離潛而不遷兮，願志之有象……萬民之生，各有所錯兮。定心廣志，余何畏懼兮？」

清夜捫心，只要定心廣志，余又何懼！

我讀到《新約聖經·羅馬書》十二章十九節：「親愛的弟兄，不要為自己伸冤，寧可讓步，聽憑主怒。」

〈箴言〉二十四章十九節也告訴我：「不要為作惡的心懷不平，也不要嫉妒惡人，因為惡人終不得善報，惡人的燈也必熄滅。」

聖經清楚地指示著我：「你當默然倚靠耶和華，耐性等候祂，不要因為那道路通達的和那惡謀成就的，心懷不平。」（〈詩篇〉三十七篇七節）

在〈提摩太後書〉一章七節，保羅寫道：「因為神賜給我們，不是膽怯的心，乃是剛強、仁愛、謹守的心」，又說：「你們務要儆醒，在真道上站立得穩；要

做大丈夫、要剛強。」

我因此就一無掛慮，恆切向神禱告、祈求和感謝。神真的賜給我出乎意外的平安。

我在看守所將近三年。在新店的時候，雷震住我隔壁，但是這位鄰居沉默寡言，喜歡拿把刀切木瓜，獄方對他還滿優待。最後一年移住景美，房間又黑又悶。我請我的一位老部下張成海，他專長空調，到景美看守所，把二十九間房間都裝了抽風機，使大家涼爽很多。

我在裡面是受到相當禮遇的。每天的飯菜皆由家中送來，家人也可經常來探視，但最痛苦的則是對外隔絕。我最擔心我的母親，家人只是告訴她我調去東南亞，但能瞞多久呢？

在裡面最大的收穫就是看書。我平均每天看書逾十二個小時，許多以前想讀而未讀的書，竟成了我最貼心的伙伴。我看的書主要分為三大類：第一類是中國古典文學，從中國的四書、五經，以至於秦漢各家，直到明清的著作。我驚奇地發現，中國人的政權一直是建立在冤獄上。中國的歷史有千萬個冤魂，他們的淚水，一路濡溼著數千年的歷史。

在所有冤獄者中，我最喜歡的是蘇東坡，不僅因為他的浪漫樂天，曠達任性，正義感加上幽默感，而且因為他面對無法洗刷、無處辯解的誣告之後，逐漸昇華出灑脫的情懷，以及他「揀盡寒枝不肯棲，寂寞沙洲冷」

的堅持。

我讀到他給李常的信：「吾儕雖老且窮，而道理貫心肝，忠義填骨髓，直須談笑於死生之際……雖懷坎壈於時，遇事有可尊主澤民者，便忘軀為之，禍福得喪，付與造物。」

這短短幾句話讓我思索了幾天。

只要道理貫心肝，忠義填骨髓，談笑死生，禍福得喪，全可付與造物，人生還有什麼可計較的呢？

後來又讀到東坡入獄，因害怕導致糗事連篇，甚至一度想跳湖自殺，以及在獄中被幾條鱸魚嚇壞的故事，自己不禁想到東坡先生當時的情境。我在1996年視察亞洲化學公司在廣東惠州建廠時，特去一遊惠州小西湖，那是當年東坡被黜時所建造的。

第二類為西洋歷史和回憶錄。西洋歷史從希羅多德（Herodotus）、荷馬和希臘戰爭（Peloponnesian War），一直看到有關羅馬帝國時代的名著。在歷史書中，我尤佩服湯恩比（A. Toynbee），他的《歷史研究》（*A Study of History*），以世界文明的循環發展與衰落為基礎，分析整理出發人深省的歷史哲學。這種以宏觀的觀點，看破歷史的花開花落，讓人頓時興起人生不過數十寒暑，在歷史洪流中何其短暫，寵辱又何必在意的感慨。

此外，李約瑟（Joseph Needham）巨著《中華文化》（*Civilization of China*）也是我所喜讀的。

以上兩位歷史學家，對中國的研究，恐怕為很多中國專家所不及。

在近代回憶錄中，邱吉爾的《二次大戰回憶錄》寫得很好；戴高樂的回憶錄更為出眾。而杜魯門、艾森豪等的著作，則感覺平平。

讀回憶錄，看盡人生的起伏盛衰，看破是非成敗的虛幻無憑，頗有「是非成敗轉頭空」的了悟。

在所有回憶錄中，我認為文筆和結構最好的，當推羅素的三本自傳（*The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell*）。這位二十世紀聲譽卓著影響深遠的思想家，在某方面令我非常欽佩，但對宗教的看法我則難以苟同。他的自傳，很大一部分是書信體，從中可以看到早期羅素的懷疑主義和謹慎風格。他所提出的「我們能知道多少？以及具有何種程度的確定性和可疑性？」的求是求實精神，令受冤繫獄的人感觸良深。他中期在道德、政治、教育及和平主義方面的觀點，激勵與啟發了富有進取心的人們。他晚年反對核武、攻擊越戰以及組織戰爭罪犯審判法庭的言論，讓人們看到了一顆悲天憫人的心靈和不朽的靈魂。三本《羅素傳》我一直好好地保存著。最近交給小兒治凡，盼他抽暇好好一讀。

讀史和回憶錄，讓人興起「人間多少興亡事，不值青山一笑看」的感悟。權勢可強奪一個人的身體自由，卻關不住一個人的思想。羅素1921年到北大講

學，他對中國近代學術思想有相當影響。當時胡適、傅斯年等都是北大人，羅素的自由思想和維護人權，常為智者所樂道。

但是，真正讓我感到寧靜的還是聖經。我花了大約一個半月的時間，將聖經從頭到尾讀了一遍，爾後又每天摘讀數篇。其他有關宗教的書也讀了一些，最使我感動的是倪柝聲先生的著作，如《亞伯拉罕、以撒、雅各的神》等。

聖經中有太多的啟示，對我有很大的幫助，有些章句我至今時常背誦：

「然而他知道我所行的路；他試煉我之後，我必如精金。（〈約伯記〉二十三章十節）」

「當止住怒氣，離棄忿怒；不要心懷不平，以致作惡。」（〈詩篇〉三十七篇八節）

「我的能力，是在人的軟弱上顯得完全。」（〈哥林多後書〉十二章九節）

「萬事都互相效力，叫愛神的人得益處。」（〈哥林多後書〉一章十五節）

「施比受更為有福。」（〈使徒列傳〉二十章三十五節）等。

讀經讓人去妄欲、消躁慮。在聖經的啟示中，靈智湛然而心慧洞開，這是一種心靈與思想的鍛鍊；與神同行，自然生出「行過死蔭的幽谷，也不怕遭害」（〈詩

篇〉二十三篇四節)的信心與寧靜。在非常規律的作息時間和不斷地讀書中，我感覺時光飛逝，並且越過越快。生活單純卻不單調，孤寂卻不枯燥。

除此而外，我每天散散步。間或與愛女穎凡、淑凡做英文文字遊戲，每天都把我的日記(英文的)帶給她們看(附1968年9月部分日記摘錄)，與女兒們共同研究，並記錄了約五百五十個少見的生字。因此，我的英文因閱讀和寫作，而有不少進步。

我的身體一向硬朗，三年中小病過兩次。有一次牙疼，空軍的牙醫攜帶全套設備到看守所來替我治牙；另一次感冒，三軍總醫院派郎大夫來給我診治。我對他們都懷著感恩的心。

每隔一段時間，我也會被軍法官找去談一談，大家彷彿演戲，所有劇本重演一次。軍法官對我很客氣，他們也有些不好意思，每次都說：「不好意思。又要問一遍。」千篇一律的劇本重播，歹戲拖棚，大家虛應故事，卻不知要演到那一天。

第4節 不尋常的收尾

這場歹戲如何收尾呢？1969年7月，所長突然好心的勸我做體檢。其實我的身體健康，起居正常，並沒有體檢的必要；但所長半懇求半建議，讓人難以推辭。於是我請黃惟敬同學安排去空軍總醫院體檢。

體檢報告出來後，赫然有「心律不整」字樣；其實我的心臟一向強健，規律整齊，就像我的處世。現有了「心律不整」，就可以讓我「保外就醫」。在空軍總醫院「意思」地住了兩天，1969年8月11日，我終於回家了。

我糊里糊塗地走入看守所，又糊里糊塗地走出看守所。這莫名其妙的三年，是誰開了我一個大玩笑？

我的案子是非常罕見的「軍法鬧劇」。

據我所知：按軍法規定，在審理高級軍官時，必須組織軍事法庭，主審人員必須比被審者階級為高。而我當時身為中將，案子自始至終都是由一位潘凱凡上校軍法官審理。

其次，按規定：延期羈押不能超過兩個月，如審定延期，則必須書面通知被告。我從開始起，根本從未收到通知。是我提出質詢後，他們才每兩個月給我一張延期紙條。

第三，未按軍法條例，就讓我回家就醫，而後又匆匆結案。與當初引用的起訴條款，完全不符。

後來我的同學蔡名永告訴我，他曾問過當時的國防部軍法處長汪道淵，他說：「衣先生的案子，根本是個『圈圈』。」（實際上，我一天牢都沒有坐過，三年的時間，都是在看守所渡過。）

第5節 獲釋回家

在那敏感的時代，對坐過政治牢的人，很多人都避而遠之，唯恐惹禍上身。

但是我回家後，當時任職空軍松山基地指揮官的張麟德和空軍通信大隊長汪正中立即到家中看我，舊識相見，悲喜交集。第二天，十大隊的老部下、在華航任職的郁文蔚夫婦請我在中華川菜館吃飯。席間談起另一位十大隊老部下梁世保，現也在華航做事；我當場打個電話給他，他接了電話，立即放下碗筷，趕來餐廳見面，彼此相見，深情一握，真是一壺濁酒喜相逢，古今多少事，盡付笑談中。另外，在我回家後，李徵道將他心愛的汽車借給我用。其他很多朋友的溫情，都使我永難忘懷。例如老友薛之同（時任華航駐香港機場運務部经理）、同學吳祖衡（時任空軍總司令辦公室主任）等人，不避嫌疑前來探望。我回家後，當時擔任中央氣象局局長的同學及好友劉大年，常常邀請我夫婦駕車旅遊寶島。我們足跡踏遍梨山、阿里山、溪頭等地，美麗的風景對我身體與生活的調適頗有助益，而溫暖的友情更令我終身難忘！我回家不數日，蔣孝文來探望，一見面就對我說：「衣伯伯，我們蔣家對不起你。」我從小看孝文長大，他是頗為忠厚的一個人，對他所表示的歉意，我自然了解是出自內心的。我安慰他說：「你父親必定有他的難處，如果換了我，也許會採同樣的行動。」

開始，很多人都認為是蔣經國下的命令，我自己認

為不可能，因為在我與蔣經國有關的工作中，並無任何值得他出此無情之舉。那時更因兩家過往很密，他的女兒孝章，且認瑛華為乾媽，兩家結為乾親家，可見他對我應無芥蒂。唯此案到底為何人發動，我不敢妄下斷語。猜想即非經國之原意，他「奉命」行事亦屬可能。

第6節 原因探索

但是我心中不免有些疑慮，因為在此之前，曾發生一件不愉快的事。有一天，我接到陳誠副總統的武官韓采生上校的電話，他說：「辭公（即陳副總統）想看看U-2的空照。」陳辭公是我的老長官，對我也愛護有加，有時召我到他家敘談。加上我在華府任武官時，與辭公姻親譚伯羽夫婦及其知友俞大維一家均很熟稔，也許因此辭公對我從不當外人看待。他是副總統，他要看，我就將U-2的照片和資料，送到陽明山的辭公寓所。誰知道蔣經國也在這時去拜訪他，這次的「不期而遇」是碰巧，還是人為？我始終不知道，但是我猜想蔣經國心中可能不大高興。

據我所知：當時蔣經國和陳誠之間就有矛盾存在，經國對辭公並不太認同。譬如有一次在他家中對我和瑛華說，此次黨中委選舉，實際他（經國）得票最多，但把第一名「讓」給陳辭公。其次，U-2是極機密的「一條鞭指揮系統」，一條鞭是蔣總統→蔣經國→衣復恩，連參謀總長和國防部長都不是全盤了解。蔣經國曾經指

示，凡是U-2的事，一定要先報告他同意才可，不必向空軍總司令報告。但當時我只是空軍總部的副參謀長，上面還有好幾位長官，有關U-2的事情，連總司令和副總司令都不能過問，難免有些人指責我姿態太高。其實心中的苦楚，無法向人說明。

而這次去辭公府上，沒有先向蔣經國報告，這是我的疏失，也凸顯我不懂政治。這樣的性格，置身高層之間，自然危機四伏。

我的事情發生後，就和蔣家斷了往來。起先瑛華和蔣方良仍有過從，方良告訴瑛華：「復恩出事的幾天，經國心情不佳，每天都在家中發脾氣。」可見我的案子，很可能不是出於蔣經國的手筆。

有一次蔣經國召見返國度假的留學生，吾女淑凡亦在其中。他一看到淑凡，就主動上前去與她握手。回家後淑凡說：「我張目正視Sego（孩子們給經國起的代號），我想他每次見到衣家的人，不知心中作何感想！」這是孩子們的心情。但是，毫無疑問的，我的案子應是出自最高層的授意。但為何出此「毒手」，至今仍不得其解。唯一想到的理由，可能是我的「反攻無望論」。

緣自政府播遷來臺後，老蔣總統始終以反攻大陸為念，並以反攻大陸為國策重點。故經常遊說美國人，希望瞭解我國反攻大陸的必要性，並堅請美方給予支援。那時美國大使館的重要人物林克斯（Robert Linquist）與

我很熟，兩人常談及反攻大陸的問題。

我曾向他表示過，我個人對反攻大陸不太可能的看法；即或美方依中方要求，支持蔣總統的反攻大陸的準備工作，是否反攻就可能成功？為何不予我相當的軍備武器，以維持中美友好關係呢？我猜想這位老兄，可能在美國國會作證時引用了我的看法。我當時與國家領導圈子很近，又與美國人私交甚篤，他們對我的意見，一向相當重視。

在另一方面，我政府有專人（可能是孔令傑）在美國國會做工作。假如真有這項作證而傳回台灣的話，那才冒了大不韙！

約在1980年初，林克斯到台灣訪問，打電話給我，說要來看我。我問他是否還在美國政府做事？是否仍與中央情報局有連繫？他說都沒有了，此次來台是以大通銀行（Chase Manhattan Bank）副總裁的身分來視察業務。我就請他到南京東路我的辦公室來。

見面寒暄後，我直截了當地問他：當年有沒有把我們所談有關反攻大陸的話，用在國會中作證？

他說沒有，但他的臉色變了很多，我也就沒再追問。之後又談了一些往事，和他對我的關心。他並告訴我，出事時一些在台美方人員的感受，有幾位來訪的美中情局人員，甚至為我案而提早離去。

我也時常反省，他們為何如此待我？但我相信，絕

非無的放矢。於公，高層對我頗為賞識與重用；於私，我與蔣家私誼深厚。如果不是禍從口出，觸怒當道，不可能嚴重到抓去關起來。而我一向正色直言，從不掩飾，血液容易沸騰，說話很衝。自身有過，所以也就從無抱怨任何人。此事發生的唯一可能，也許就在我的「反攻無望論」，這是當局最敏感的一條神經，也是最該避諱的一個話題；誰敢碰觸，是絕難相容的。

蔣家長女孝章告訴我：她的父親有寫日記的習慣。孝章有次翻閱，上面寫某某人的銅臭氣太重及某些人枉法等等。蔣經國位高權重，很多心事不能為外人道，只好盡吐在日記中。他的日記應該是台灣現代史中，極重要的史料。很多的疑問，在裡面皆可能找到答案，包括我的案子。這些日記可能仍在蔣家親人手中。兩年前當瑛華在方良家，曾問過孝勇有關他父親的日記的事，孝勇說：「爸爸同衣伯伯情同手足，都是聽了別人的閒話。事已過去，衣媽媽妳就不要再想了！」

現在孝勇也已過去，到底經國先生在他的日記中，寫了些什麼，竟然成為了一個懸案。但瑛華仍不死心，日前寫信給孝勇遺孀方智怡女士，希望能找到些線索。因為瑛華由經國家人獲悉，在經國過世之次日，他的房間是由孝勇整理，希望其中有經國的日記。

第7節 心已冰清

事情已過了三十年頭，我無傷痕可言。只是感激

我的家人在一千多個日子中，無怨無悔的信任和照顧，全心全意的支持和等候。

我們一直共同保有一個信念：「在最壞的情況下，做最好的打算（make the best out of the worst）。」有此一念，我們才能牽手共度最壞的境況，並有了不錯的結果。

我於1969年回家後，國民黨黨部派人來看我，請我恢復黨籍，我婉謝了他們的好意。過了幾天，他又來重提此事，我覺得當局對我既有此冤情，實在不願再與「黨國」有所交道，故再予婉謝。但經朋友勸說，又以當時的環境，為避免麻煩，最後仍接受恢復黨籍。

在黨部文件中，曾有下列說明：

「特種第一黨部直屬第二區黨部紀律委員會決定書
決定：衣復恩停止黨權一年

理由：黨紀配合軍紀處分之規定，怙其動機為謀求解決退除役舊屬生活與就業安置，犯情堪恕，決定處分如上。」（日期：民國60年5月 發文字號：60建國字第094號）

1984年我接到國民黨中央委員會頒贈的「參加本黨五十年」的榮譽狀。其後退輔會又徵詢我意見，是否願意參加立法委員選舉，我自覺非其材而予以婉拒。1994年又收到由中國國民黨中央委員會主席李登輝具名頒發的參加本黨滿六十年的榮譽狀。

這些獎狀與我的「冤案」相比，凸顯得相當諷刺和

無奈，卻像是個笑話。當然，事情已過，回首往日，我的心情倒可用一首詩來形容：

「雲散長空雨過，雪消寒谷春生。

但覺身如水洗，不知心已冰清。」

至於我軍人身分的問題，在本案發生時已依法撤職，但於1972年，我收到國防部頒發的任官令（見原件影本），恢復我空軍中將之職，於當年11月1日生效。直到十七年後，也就是1989年，我又接到總統核頒的除役令（見原件影本），核定我在當年11月1日正式退伍，並同時除役。可是這十七年來，我已擔任亞洲化學股份有限公司的董事長；這是在政府註冊有案的。這麼說來，在這十七年中，我是掛著空軍現役中將的牌子當民營公司的董事長。所以，我的遭遇真是一個謎中之謎！它在軍中可稱空前，衷心盼望也是絕後。

然而，一切都已過去。現在，我心中真是充滿了感謝。因為經過這次遭遇，才使我易於沸騰的血液大幅降溫；使我粗魯驕傲的個性，變為謹慎謙虛；增加了我對人生進一步的了解。更明瞭了人的有限，而上帝的力量卻是無限的，是超乎一切的。證諸我個人的經歷，直到目前，神對我的安排，表面看來滿有苦難，實際則是對我的磨鍊，有著無限的益處。

附錄

1968年9月部分日記的摘錄

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1968

My morning routine began with calisthenics, followed by breakfast, a reading from the Bible-“Stream in the Desert” and then Hemmingway’s *The Sun Also Rises*. I had a cup of coffee at 9:30a.m. , and then continued with Hemmingway. From 12:30 p.m.-1:30 p.m. I read the papers and from 1:45p.m.-3:30 p.m. I read *A History of Europe* by H.A.L. Fisher. Now the one-hundred-year war was waging between England and France. During this time the plague called the Black Death was attacking Europe. It was said that one quarter of the European population was killed. That was an exaggeration. Maybe a few millions were killed.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1968

This morning we talked about the Church of England. I read a little more about Catholicism and Calvinism because I couldn’t remember them very well, even though I have read them more than once. I think, Linda dear, you should find time to explain these to mother. They are interesting and common knowledge.

Dear Lilian, please command Linda to get a physical check up as early as possible. That headache of hers ought to be healed and her teeth need to be fixed. Actually she needs to put on a little weight. If she doesn't have enough to eat then I'd suggest that Miss I Shou-fan save a little food for her.

"Histrionic" is not an uncommon word. Please look it up in the *Webster* for the meaning. You are all very good at English. To master a language is not easy. Vocabulary must be widened. Dictionaries should be used frequently. Somebody said, "A dictionary is like a parachute, if you don't open it, it won't save your life." In our writings let us try to use some new and expressive words. Let's make it a penchant for using long words but we should avoid being pedantic.

I read Fisher's *A History of Europe* and Hemmingway's *The Sun Also Rises*.

Tsu Chih Tung Chien, title of a chronological history of China, covering 1362 years from the age of Warring States to Sung Dynasty, by Szu Ma Kwang, is not easy to read. I would think that it should have:

1. Index
2. Charts
3. Titles

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1968

Shigeru Joshida's *Japan's Decisive Century* is interesting. It is a small volume. I have read about one third of it. What I like to do is to make a comparison between Japan and China during the century from 1867-1967. We were really stuck somewhere somehow from the beginning of the second half of the 19th Century. I don't know how long it will take us to catch up with modernity. Help us God.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1968

Our meeting this morning was wonderful. I enjoyed the conversation with Rita albeit she was sleepy (on my lap). We were talking about reading books, which I think is very important for the modern youth (and also for the elderly). My definition of ability is the combination of knowledge, experience and action. Where do you get knowledge from? Isn't it mainly from books? In the old days when books were rare, I think there was more hearing (lectures) of modern time, than reading. However, the selection of books is vital because there are too many. Also we should realize the importance of 學而時習之. If we don't review what we have learned or said, we would forget it very quickly. Also 學而不思則罔, we have to study and we have to think at the same time, otherwise we would go astray.

How's grandma's cold? She worries me. I am very much disturbed when I think of her age and my condition, but there's nothing I can do but pray.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1968

Oh boy! The macaroni with cream was wonderful and nice and hot. Needless to say I ate it all. Merci Rita. I am convinced that in addition to our noodle stand, we will also operate an "Italian corner". We'll make a big hit on Sino Italiano cuisine. What about hiring mommy as our cashier?

Congratulations for a successful first day, Linda. It looks like you have a heterogeneous bunch of kids. You ought to "Mother" the boys who doesn't know which column to add first, and "China" the sukiyaki kids. It must be interesting to be with a group of children around 12 years of age that know only enough to make things sound funny.

I've finished reading *Japan's Decisive Century*. It was a very interesting book. It can be served as a mirror for us. Are we willing to learn? I hope you girls could find time to read it. Begin to read J.J. Rousseau's *Social Contract*. It's very important literature. I just finished the introduction by Maurice Cranston.

Mommy's letter of today was wonderfully written. I wish

you all would know how much love and praise she has for her children. Are her children really that good? Yes, absolutely.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1968

The wind has been blowing the whole day and the air is bad. Maybe that's why I couldn't concentrate on reading. I am rather miserable if I can't read. It's a shame, too, because I have so much spare time to be able to read. If I don't do my best to read as many books as I can now, then I'll be sorry in the future.

Dear Lillian, Linda and Rita, don't forget to send excerpts of my diary to Ted and Vicky. I think we should send them once a week to Vicky and then from her to Ted. Since both Linda and Rita are busy with school, I would ask mommy to be in charge of this. Type it out over the weekend and show me on Monday, then mail it in the afternoon. Tonight I wrote a short letter to Vicky.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1968

The meeting was from 8:20a.m-10:45a.m. The participants were Auntie, San-Shou, mommy, Yin-fan, Shou-fan and myself. Auntie and San-Shou left at 8:50a.m.

1. What is Rousseau's Social Contract? Linda asked. Let's start

from the last paragraph of Book 1 of the *Social Contract*. “I shall end this chapter with an observation which might serve as a basis for the whole social system. Namely, that the social pact, far from destroying natural equality, substitute, on the contrary, a moral and lawful equality for whatever inequality that nature may have imposed on mankind. So that, however, unequal in strength and intelligence, men become equal by covenant and by right.” (Sorry Rita if you don't understand.) Let me make a premature one sentence summary: Social contract is an idealism that a state should be ruled by law which is made by the people, but based on the moral prescript that all humans must have equal rights and opportunities. I have to make a positive reservation on this because I have only read half of the book.

2. Why is dear Rita sleepy? Because there's a stranger sitting there, thus we can not talk freely, or make fun. Next time we'll extend a persona non grata to that man.

3. On resentment of complaint: If we are presently in the losing side of the game, we don't blame the ground or the referee amidst the play. We may seek to change the rules or find another team. To meditate on one's own faults is much more pleasant than blaming others.

4. On the excerpts of my diaries: Do you girls know what to do?

5. On the servants: Like mommy said, we learn not to be dependent on anybody. Yet we must be patient with them. I add, however, we don't have to endure any of them if we find it too disagreeable. This thing should be mutual and neither side should be bound too much by obligation.

6. On TAS: Linda's purpose should be simply just teaching and learning.

7. Mommy was so right by saying (after visiting the hospitals) that too many people just want this world and do not accept God (love and truth). This is going to be the most disastrous tragedy of mankind.

8. Rita dear, remember what we said before? We are patient, we are strong, we meet the challenge with unwavering will and cheerfulness. We have the faith that sunshine will come after darkness.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1968

The morning was spent reading the *Social Contract*, analects and thinking of you all. Wei Chih, the administrative officer of Wei State (refer to *Tsu Chih Tung Chien*) reported to the Emperor: "The executioners are valued by the country, but scorned by the individuals. People, who own the right to designate (appoint) the wardens, are in contempt of the post, but those wardens hold the common people's destiny." (魏尚

書衛覲奏言（見《資治通鑑》）：刑法者，國家之所貴重，而私議者之所輕賤；獄吏者，百姓之所懸命，而選用者之所卑下。）

I really think that Ted should come back for a short sojourn. For mommy, for grandma, for Rita, for me and above all for himself. Let's think it over.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1968

When I am with you all, I feel peaceful, relaxed, joyful and secure. Even though sometimes our views on certain matters are not agreeable, I still love our conversations. It is only among ourselves that we can speak frankly and honestly without reserving what we think. I really appreciate that we can always make known our observations on people. We should be nice to people; nevertheless, we should try to indentify right from wrong. We should not have any prejudice on anyone but welcome advice from others. To know people is most important, yet the most difficult thing therefore, is we should never judge people lightly. The problem I had in the past was the way I dealt with people. My intentions were good but still I made mistakes. This is the essential area where I have to make corrections. You all must help me in this matter, but we all have to be very careful- "be very careful". I've noticed that I have changed quite a lot in observing and dealing with people. I was too naive and careless before.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1968

The garlic bread is good. I couldn't eat it all so I gave two pieces to a Naval Officer who loves garlic and whom played hero one day and ended up here the next. It was the most farcical thing that ever happened.

I have started reading *The Brothers Karamazov*. It seems interesting. I'll read *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* at some time. I'll read for three hours each day plus two hours of analects. This way, I would have both serious and recreational readings. I should at least read for that many hours not counting religious readings and diary and letter writings.

Could you bring me Peter II's Memoirs? I think this is the Peter who went to exile to Egypt and later to London. The former United Kingdom Prime Minister, Winston Churchill had a design for Yugoslavia during WWII but failed. Tito (or rather Stalin) outsmarted Winston.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1968

This morning we talked about the "Scythians", which is a very ancient nomadic race occupying a huge area from east Europe all the way to northwest China. I have asked Vicky to find some information about it which she did (though rather brief) and wrote it on a piece of paper.

By the way, the last sentence of analects is very good. It says (or rather Confucius says) know your life, know your ritual and know your speech (知命、知禮、知言). Simply speaking: a man ought to know what he should have and what he should not have. This way he would not be covetous for good things or evasive for bad things. 知禮 means a person knows good manners and rules, then he could be standing still and not biased. Know your life, know your ritual and know your speech, also means one should know enough to identify right words from wrong words of other persons, so that he won't take in what is said at its face value.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1968

I read your nice letter, which you sent me today, dear Linda. What you said is very true. It's a bizarre situation of unexpected length and tension. There are many unexpected things in our life like the one confronting us now. It is a very tough challenge. We have to meet this one with a two edged weapon. One is to be strong and patient while the other is to be cheerful. It is difficult because they are contradicting. We need to be patient because it is a trial, it is sad. Meanwhile we need to be cheerful because our faith will lead us to victory. We have to be careful, diligent and extraordinarily good in order to prove how wrong those accusations are that are leveled against

me. Above all, let's make this trial work towards our benefit. I am sorry that I have lost my temper on such trivial matters and caused unnecessary displeasure. Anyhow, I've learned that an unusual condition requires different mindset. The bigger the adversity one encounters the stronger one becomes. I appreciate all the nice things you all try to do for me. Let's all try to forget about the unpleasant and pray for each other to be blessed with an abundance of strength during this time of trial. God will not forsake us if we do our best.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1968

I was deeply touched by Rita's letter which mommy brought me today. To know that my children are so understanding and strong, what then do I have to be afraid of? It is true that there's little I could do in here, but there are plenty of good things my children could do, and they are doing it. For this alone I should be happy, cheerful and thankful. Rita dear, your letter has given me a lot of assurance that I really don't need anything else from you. In return, I want to assure you that I could try my best to make good of this situation. I am very, very confident that we will gain more and lose less if we accept this challenge with faith.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1968

I have marked out some articles for Linda to read. I refer to the *Newsweek* issue dated September 16, 1968. George Wallace, the former Alabama Governor and his third party, is interesting with regards to U.S. politics. If you don't have time to read the whole article then you may just read the sentences I have underlined which I hope give you the gist of the matter (or the essential points). This kind of periodical sometimes doesn't reflect the true story. Occasionally they even twist the truth intentionally, but they do give you summaries of important events of America and other parts of the world in different fields of human activities. So, it seems to me that we should thumb through (at least) them and read the ones which appear interesting to us, but we should maintain our independent views in some of the matters based on our own understanding and interpretation.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1968

I spent about 1.5 hours reading *Mencius*. Actually I only read about three paragraphs. I was chewing every word (about 100 of them) in the hope of getting the true taste of them-I only got part of them. I have to continue chewing. Not like Rita chewing gum and spitting it out after losing the sweetness of it. *Mencius* is like cowhide that can be chewed assiduously

so as to get a real good taste from it (it certainly doesn't taste like cowhide, but the texture is the same). Well, I think I have chewed those 100 some words enough to get out some taste, which I have written to mommy about.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1968

Today I finished Hadas' abridgement of the *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* by Edward Gibbon. He blamed Christianity for the main cause of the "Fall" which I think is rather without basis. It seems to me that during the 18th century, so called "Enlightenment" produced a number of anti-religion, and more particularly anti-Christian intellectuals like Gibbon, Voltaire, Diderot, etc. My own interpretation of this phenomena is that the 18th century marks the economical advancement of Europe following the industrial revolution of England. The material condition improved and man wanted to be freed from religious ethics so they could enjoy more sinful pleasures. I think the overall moral standard of the European people during this time was rotten. Pure materialistic enjoyment is not parallel with religious morality. Uncontrolled freedom ends up in bankruptcy of virtue. I think that was what happened in many prosperous countries.

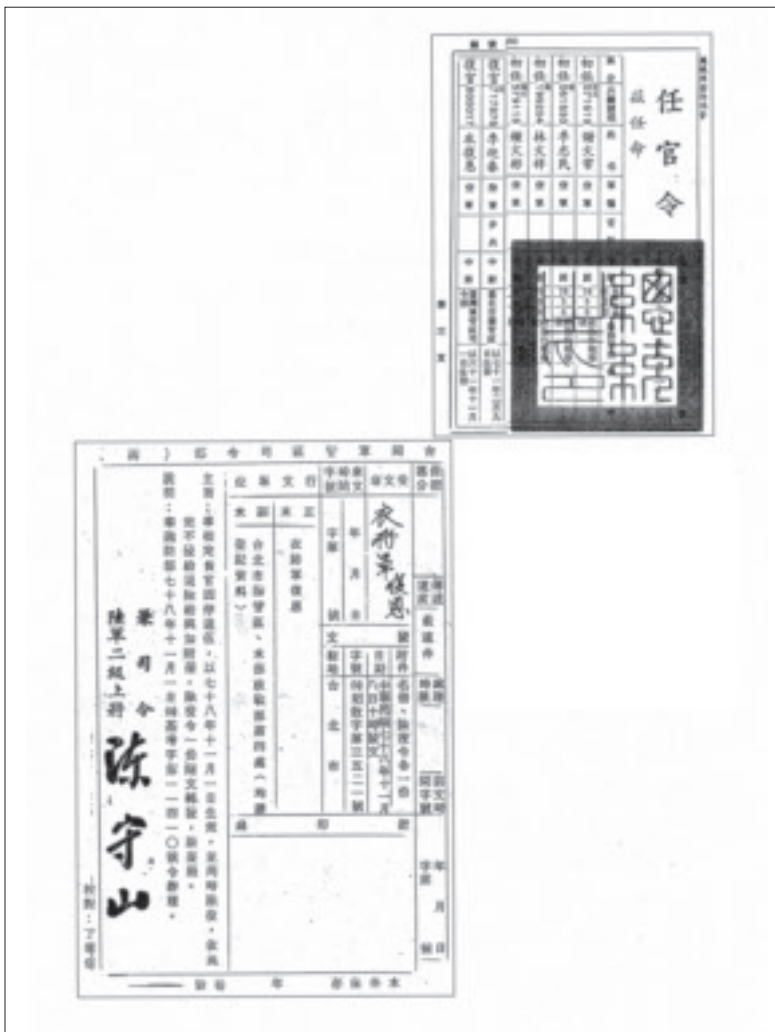
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1968

See if any of you can borrow one or two copies of the following classics for me:

TAS Lib; Homer (*Iliad* and *Odyssey*) ; one of Aristotle's; Rene Descartes'- Philosophical writings; Alex Dumas-*The Three Musketeers*; selected writings of Francis Bacon, and Cervantes-*Don Quixote*.

I chose these from "The Modern Library". Please also see our old book list. We should compile a complete list of what we already have and what we would like to have (mommy knows the list I have suggested).

It is now ten minutes to four in the afternoon. I just finished reading 50 pages of Montgomery's *Normandy to the Baltic*. This book is mainly a narrative about the military operation in that phase of WWII, which is rather familiar to me because of my previous readings. Therefore I jumped from one line to the next at high speed. I plan to finish this 220-page book in two days.



1989年（民國78年）5月之任官令發布「以六十一年十一月一日生效」，同年11月之「軍管區司令部」函又核定「七十八年十一月一日」退伍。證明我在61年至78年之十七年中為現職中將。