

李彌部隊退入緬甸期間(1950~1954) 所引起的幾項國際事件*

覃怡輝

中央研究院中山人文社會科學研究所副研究員

1950年2月，駐守雲南的國軍不敵中共解放軍的攻勢，分批退入緬甸避難，這批部隊後來統歸李彌指揮，因此也就統稱之為李彌部隊。這批部隊遠處滇緬邊區，補給斷絕，連基本生存都發生問題，當然也就談不上發展和表現，但是由於韓戰的爆發，美國在韓戰局部化的政策下，不願將戰場擴大到朝鮮半島以外，以致無法阻擋中共「志願軍」源源不斷的進入朝鮮，杜魯門基於牽制中共部隊和培植李彌為中國的「第三勢力」的雙重目的，批准了中情局一個下屬單位所建議的「白紙方案」，決意由中情局暗中支援李彌部隊，由雲南進軍中國大陸，牽制中共軍隊，以減輕美軍在韓國戰場所遭受的壓力。李彌部隊因為得到了這個外來的援助，才能在遙遠的邊疆內陸地區生存發展。

因為李彌部隊所處地區，四周都被他國包圍，唯一可對外連絡的路線是泰國的陸路。而泰國因為在歷史上曾被緬甸征服數次，與緬甸素為世仇，能與世界首強的美國結盟，則可倚為靠山；美國為籌組對抗北韓軍的聯合國部隊，正派員勸說泰國加盟，泰國總理披汶為爭取美國的經濟和軍事援助，不但答應參加韓戰的聯合國部隊，而且一併答應秘密協助美國支援李彌，以強化美泰之間的關係，並掩飾其在戰時的「聯日」紀錄。

雖然面對著緬甸的控訴案，台灣國府依然企圖只撤退兩千人，以應付聯合國的決議案；同時實行「天案」，讓不撤者以克倫軍的身份繼續留在緬甸。這本來是李部繼續留在緬甸的一線機會，但李部因對「天案」缺乏信心，不敢貿然實施，卻陽奉陰違，另行推出「東南亞自由人民反共聯軍」的組織，結果弄巧反拙，無法以克倫軍身分繼續留在緬境，也無法讓出六個緬方堅持必須讓出的產糧基地，以致讓台灣當局認為，李部在緬甸已無法繼續生存，而在稍後對李部作了「全撤」的決策。

關鍵詞：李彌部隊，緬甸向聯合國控訴，白紙方案，天案，撤台案

International Incidents Caused by Limi's Troops in Burma, 1950-1954

Tom Yee-huei Chin

Associate Research Fellow

ISSP, Academia Sinica

ABSTRACT

Limi's troops encamped in Yunnan were forced to infiltrate Burma as a sanctuary in February 1950, fleeing the onslaught of the People's Liberation Army (PLA). Generally, Limi's troops would be unable to survive in such a remote border area without supplies, not to mention develop and perform. After the outbreak of the Korean War and the US policy to contain it, the allied army failed to withstand the onslaught of the PLA. In order to distract the PLA from Korea and set up the "Third Force" of China, President Truman approved "Operation Paper" proposed by the CIA's Office of Policy Co-ordination. The purpose was to support Limi's troops to attack Yunnan in order to impede the PLA's plans on the Korean Peninsula. Limi's troops were able to survive and develop due to these outside supplies.

As the remote border area encamped by Limi's troops was surrounded by other countries, its only supply route was through Thailand. As Thailand had been conquered by Burma several times historically and the US could protect Thailand if it allied with the US, Plaek Pibunsongkhram, the Thai premier, not only joined the allies in the Korean War, but also promised to give assistance to Operation Paper. There was a further incentive: the premier wanted to make up for its alliance with Japan in World War II.

Facing complaints from Burma, the ROC tried to comply by repatriating only 2,000 men to Taiwan. In "Operation Heaven," the rest of Limi's troops were to remain in Burma disguised as the Karen army. But this operation was not carried out due to lack of confidence. Instead, they proposed another organization, "The Allied Army of Free People of

Southeast Asia.” Under this new strategy, they could not cope with the demand of Burma to relinquish six key food production areas. This led the ROC to believe that Limi’s troops could not survive in Burma any longer. Therefore, they made a decision to repatriate Limi’s troops completely.

Key Words: Limi’s troops, Operation Paper, Operation Heaven,
Burma’s complaint to UN, Operation Repatriation