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The Chronicles of the ROC's Diplomacy

Honored to be invited by Dr. Tien to address the distinguished participants to the ROC Centennial Democracy Forum: ~~A Sp~~. My remarks would be limited to the diplomatic aspects of the ^{main theme} ~~topic~~.

~~Since~~ ^{With} the ~~establishment~~ founding of the ROC in 1912, we inherited the unequal treaties concluded by the Manchu Dynasty with various Powers, granting them concessions, settlements, special privileges and consular jurisdiction. Dr. Sun Yat-sen described the condition of China to be that of a sub-colony.

As the Republic established, China became a fragmented land. Not only there ^{was} the Government in Beijing, there also existed a competing regime in Canton and there were warloads everywhere. Japan took advantage of the situation and made the notorious

asking China to concede special privileges in ~~Shantung, South Manchuria and Mongolia to~~ Japan.
21 demands in January 1915. Yuan Shih-kai ~~lives~~ could not resist and Japan obtained all the ~~as well as special concessions in South Manchuria, Mongolia~~ German privileges in Shantung. When the ~~war~~ war was over, in 1919 Peace Conference was

held in Paris. Dr. Wellington Koo made ~~strong~~ ^{and eloquent} plea that these privileges should return to China. But Woodrow Wilson, Lloyd George

and Georges Clemenceau decided, behind closed doors, that these be awarded to Japan.

In protest, Koo refused to sign the Peace Treaty with Germany. But he signed the Peace Treaty with Austria and we could still take part in the League of Nations as a founding member.

But the ambition of Japan was unlimited. In September 1931 she used military power to occupy Manchuria and set up a bogus regime. China put the case before the

League of Nations and the League Council decided to send a special mission to

investigate the case toward the end of 1931 with Earl of Lytton as its head. Dr. Koo

was the Chinese advisor attached to the mission. He made every effort to reveal

the truth to the mission even at the risk of his life. In the end, a report was submitted to the League. With a total of 10 chapters, the first 8 described what happened. These were accurate statement of facts and pointed out that Manchuria was Chinese territory and Japan should be held responsible for its act of aggression. But the last two chapters stated that the occurrence of the event was the result of (a) China could not rule effectively her own territories and (b) the boycott of Japanese products by China. The conclusion was Manchuria should be returned to China with high degree of autonomy. The League Assembly accepted the Report and Japanese Delegation walked out.

Meanwhile, the northern expedition force of Kuomintang unified the country in July 1928. The National Government of July 7, 1928, through its foreign minister C. T. Wang announced our intention to abrogate all unequal treaties, particularly with regard to consular jurisdiction. But the major powers did not have positive response. China started the War of Resistance against Japan on July 7, 1937. But only after Pearl

Harbor, the Chinese government ^Y declared war against Japan, Germany ^{formally} and Italy on December 9, 1941. In the declarations, the Chinese government stated that all treaties and agreements concluded between China and these countries should be considered null and void.

Later, on our national day, October 10, 1942 Both United States and Great Britain simultaneously informed China that they decided to terminate their consular jurisdiction in China as well as other special privileges and proposed ^(to conclude) a new equal treaty based on equality with China.

These new treaties were signed on January 11, 1943 and China entered a new era in her international relations. Chairman Chiang Kai-shek should be given credit for his perseverance in abrogating the unequal treaties. His only regret was that in our new treaty with Great Britain we could not get the Kowloon Peninsula back.

(which began in 1842, exactly a century earlier)

As the war against the Axis Powers was about coming to an end, the United States Government, on behalf of the governments of Great Britain, China and Russia, extended an invitation to 43 countries on March 5, 1945 to take part in an international conference

to draft a Charter for the United Nations to begin on April 25, 1945 in San Francisco. All told, 50 countries took part in the two months United Nations Conference on International Organizations. On April 26 at noon time, Dr. Wellington Koo, on behalf of China, was the first person to put his signature on the Charter.

China's contributions to the Charter include:

- a. Article 40: The Security Council, in order to settle disputes, can take ad hoc measures.
- b. Article 32: If a party to the dispute is not a member of the UN, the Security Council can allow it to take part in the process of peaceful settlement. ^{In the election of}
- c. Article 23: ^{The non permanent} members of the Security Council, attention should be paid to the geographical distribution.
- d. Article 26: The trusteeship system should at the eventual independence of the people of the trusted territories as the ultimate goal.
- e. Article 13: (1) The General Assembly should study and suggest the codification of international law.
- f. Article 62: The Economic and Social Council should make provisions to help the enhancement of cooperations in education and cultural areas.

For the ROC, the most important provision of the Charter is Article 23 (1) which

stipulates that the Republic of China, France, USSR, Great Britain and the United States should be permanent members of the Security Council. I considered this to be the second important achievement of ROC's diplomacy, earned mainly with the massive sacrifices sustained by China and the Chinese people during the World War II.

The same year 1945, early in February Franklin Roosevelt, Joseph Stalin and Winston Churchill met at Yalta to discuss how to induce USSR to enter the war against Japan. Between Stalin and FDR they discussed about how Russia could take over whatever special privileges Japan then enjoyed in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia. The Yalta Agreement was signed on February 11, 1945 without any consultation with China. But this was only two months before FDR's death. People believed that he was taken in by Stalin. ~~In order to push Russia to do~~ China did not learn of the agreement for more than 3 months. ^{On May 22, 1945} ~~then~~ U.S. Ambassador Patrick Hurley secretly informed Chiang Kai-shek and urged the latter to negotiate a treaty of friendship and alliance with the USSR.

Reluctantly, we began negotiations with Russia in early July. After protracted discussions in Moscow, Russia would not yield one inch from what they obtained at Yalta. Russia declared war against Japan on August 9th and over one million Soviet troops entered Manchuria. The next day Japan, through the governments of Sweden and Switzerland, requested unconditional surrender in accordance with the Potsdam Proclamation.

On August 12, Foreign Minister Wang Shih-chieh reported the Chiang Kai-shek from Moscow that the USSR was sincere in hoping to improve the bilateral relations by concluding the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance with China and signing the treaty could ensure the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Manchuria and curb the expansion activities of the Chinese Communist Party. Thus the treaty was signed on August 14, 1945 in Moscow.

The treaty proper was aimed at the defeat of Japan and would be in effect for 30 years. The unfavorable contents of the Yalta Agreement were the substance of 2 exchanges of notes and four attached agreements. In a separate agreed minutes, Ras Stalin promised to withdraw Soviet troops from Manchuria within 3 months after Japan's surrender.

In retrospect, Minister Wang's analysis and Stalin's promise were all never realized.

The Treaty and related documents later proved to be a major catastrophe for China. The Soviet troops remained in Manchuria long after the defeat of Japan and when they began to leave they took machineries and industrial equipments in Manchuria with them. They stayed long enough to allow the CCP's troops to take occupation of important strategic strongholds as well as Japanese weapons and military equipments. This was an important contributing factor to the loss of the mainland of China by the National Government. On February 14, 1953 the Legislative Yuan of the ROC resolved to abrogate the Treaty.

After the Government of the ROC moved to Taiwan, our two most important diplomatic events were the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace with Japan on April 28, 1952 and the Mutual Defense Treaty with the United States on December 2, 1954. Time would not allow me to go into the details of the negotiation processes and the contents. Suffice it to say the major architect of the two treaties Foreign Minister George Yeh and his close colleagues should be given due credit for their accomplishing the very

difficult tasks. The two Treaties ~~served~~ ^{secured} the ROC's international position for the duration of their existence.

I would now like to mention quickly about the ROC and the United Nations. Since the inception of the People's Republic of China (PRC), it started to challenge the status of ROC in the UN. In earlier years, we used moratorium methods to deal with such challenges. By 1961, the United States proposed that we utilized Article 18 of the Charter treating the representation issue as an important question, as such it required two thirds majority to pass.

However, in 1970 the 25th session of the General Assembly first adopted the important question resolution with a majority vote, 66 to 52. But the substantive resolution proposed by Albania was defeated by a vote of 49-51. In fact the resolution got the majority vote. But we were saved by the earlier important question vote.

In 1971, the situation turned to be very unfavorable to us. Henry Kissinger made his first visit to PRC in mid July and announced that President Nixon would visit China early

next year. We tried to urge the U.S. to devise a new method. After a long delay they proposed a Dual Representation Complex Resolution (DRC), i.e., both ROC and PRC would be a member of the UN, with PRC occupying the permanent seat in the Security Council. We reluctantly went along with the American proposal. But when the General Assembly was debating on the Chinese Representation issue, Henry Kissinger went to Beijing again. The day when the General Assembly voted on the various resolutions, Kissinger's presence in the PRC gave various neutral members the impression that the U.S. was actually siding with the PRC. In the end the procedural vote on the Resolution of Important Question Variation (IQV) was lost by a vote of 55-59. At that point, our delegation left the Assembly indicating that we would withdraw from the U.N. Then the Albania Resolution was passed by a vote of 76-35. The DRC was never voted upon.

After we left the UN, we lost our seats in 12 Specialized Agencies ~~then~~ subsequently as provided by the Albanian

Resolution.

In early 1970's the United Nations could not function satisfactorily, due to the bi-polar nature of world politics. However, with the liberalization of East Europe, the dissolution of the USSR and the UN efforts in repelling the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, by 1990's the UN assumed her proper role as a peace keeping organization. Then, there have been so many trans-national issues mushrooming such as environment, status of women, terrorism, epidemic diseases, human trafficking, etc. The UN has taken the lead in tackling these issues. The fact that the ROC was excluded from these deliberations made our people clearly frustrated. In 1991 our Legislature passed a resolution urging the government to strengthen our diplomatic efforts in order to create an atmosphere which would be favorable to our returning to the UN.

I was serving as foreign minister at the time and had to face this issue. This was the moment when the cross-strait relationship was just relaxing with the famous Koo-Wong Dialogue took place in Singapore in April 1993. If we went all out, we could sabotage

the budding relations. If we did nothing we would disappoint the general public. We decided to use "to participateⁱⁿ" rather than "to apply" or "to return". We would request friendly countries to propose a resolution to the General Assembly stating that we were the 14th leading trading country of the world and our population was larger than two thirds of the UN members. The fact that we were excluded from the UN was something the UN should think about. Thus the resolution proposed to set up a Study Committee to consider the problem. It was ~~neutral~~ intended not to offend anybody. But the PRC was not pleased.

I had two lengthy conversations with then UN Secretary General Butros Butros-Ghali. His advice to me was the shortest route for us to participate in the UN was via Beijing. I fully understood the nuance and made an effort to have the issue included in the Second Koo-Wong Talk to be held July 1995 in Shanghai. Unfortunately President Lee Teng-hui's trip to his alma mater, Cornell University, offended the PRC and the Talk was called off. The only thing we could manage to accomplish was ^{that} after 12 years of intensive negotiations, we became a member of the World Trade

Organization ^{under} ~~with~~ the name "Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu Customs Territory".

In ~~conclusion~~ ^{closely}, I would like to say that in this country, quite a few scholars and journalists often stated that "A weak country does not have diplomacy". I tend to disagree with this statement. A small or weak country needs more ~~of~~ sophisticated diplomats than a strong or powerful country. The fact that we endured one full century of disgraceful treatments by the Powers under the unequal treaties was due largely to the ignorance of the Manchu Dynasty on world politics and international diplomacy. The outstanding diplomats par excellence like Dr. Wellington Koo and Dr. George Yeh did much to contribute to the safeguarding of our country's national interests. I would like to avail this opportunity to express my ^{profound} ~~infinite~~ admiration and respect to similar diplomats of ours during the past century.

Dec. 9, 1941.

ROC. Nat'l Gov't Chairman Lin Sen declared war against Jap. Ger. Italy and all treaties, agreements null and void.

Oct. 9, 1942

Acting Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles met with Amb. Wei Tao-ming and informed the matter that the USG decided to give up the consular jurisdiction in China as well as other related rights. and would propose a new treaty with China. At the same time, For. Sec. Anthony Eden met with Chargé Chen Wei-chen in London and informed him the same.

Oct. 10. shortly before noon, extra
① consular jurisdiction ② foreign settlements
③ station of troops ④ 內河航行權
⑤ 領事館 ⑥ 領事館

The only regret for EKS was that UK refused to return Hongkong to China. (Oct. 29 diary)

Jan. 11, 1943

U.S. and U.K. concluded new treaties with China, terminated all previous special privileges enjoyed in China earlier and entered into a new era in the bilateral relations on an equal footing. They also promised to conclude a new treaties of FCN as soon as the war ended.

Unequal treaties began in 1842 Treaty of Nanjing lasted for 100 years finally ended in 1942. A great achievement in ROC's diplomacy. CKS should get credit for his leadership.

ROC learned of the Yalta agreement thru U.S. Amb. Patrick Hurley who secretly informed CKS. that Stalin wanted Port Arthur to be leased as a naval base port to USSR. Dairen should be ~~a free port~~ ^{internationalized, the preeminent interest of USSR}. ~~the~~ ^{be safeguarded} ~~stocks of~~ Chinese Eastern Railroad and Southern Manchurian RR should be ~~shared~~ ^{jointly operated} by China and U.S.S.R. the latter should enjoy "pre-eminent interests" on these RR. The agreement was signed on Feb. 11, 1945 leading to USSR to declare war against Japan. 2 months before FDR's death

March 5, 1945
U.S. ^{on behalf of} (U.K., USSR + China) sent invitations to countries that signed the UN Declaration prior to Feb. 8, 1945 to attend a conf. in San Francisco on Apr. 25, 1945 to draft a Charter for the U.N.
50 nations took part for 2 months Charter signed at noon June 26. W. Koo was the first to sign. Art. 23 (1) provided that ROC, France, USSR, G.B. + USA would permanent

members of the SC. I consider this to be the second important achievement of ROC's diplomacy, earned by virtue of massive sacrifices sustained by China and the Chinese people during the WWII.

USSR - China Treaty of Friendship + Alliance began negotiations in ~~June~~ ^{early July}. USSR declared war against Japan on Aug. 9, 1945. The same day over one million Russian troops entered Manchuria. The next day Japan, through the gov'ts of Sweden and Switzerland, requested unconditional surrender in accordance with the Potsdam Declaration. Proclamation

The U.S. advised China to enter into negotiations on the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, which began in ^{early July} ~~June~~ 1945. After protracted discussion, USSR would not yield one inch from what they obtained at Yalta. In the end, the Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Shih-chieh reported to CKS that the USSR ~~wanted to~~ was sincere in hoping to improve the bilateral relations by concluding the Treaty and signing the Treaty could ~~make~~ assure the W/d of Soviet troops from Manchuria and reduce the expansion of the C.E.P. As a result the Treaty was signed in Moscow on August 14, 1945.

The Treaty itself was directed against Japan and would be in effect for 30 years. The unfavorable contents of the Yalta Agreement were contained in 2 exchanges of notes and four attached agreements. In a separate agreed minutes, Stalin promised that the Soviet troops would W/d from Manchuria 3 months after Jap. surrender.

This Treaty and related documents ~~proved~~ later proved to be a major setback for China. What its foreign minister expected never became true. Soviet troops did not W/d from Manchuria according to the promised schedule. When they began to leave in May 1946, they brought with them the machineries and equipment in Manchuria. They also helped the CCP to enter there and called the PLA as "existing local force". They handed over the Jap. weapons and mil. equipment to the PLA in large quantities. This was an important contributing factor to the loss of mainland by the Government and the ROC. On February 14, 1953, the ~~General Assembly~~ Legislative Yuan of the ROC resolved to abrogate the Treaty.

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Meanwhile, the northern expedition force of Kuomintang unified the country in July 1928. The National Government of July 7, 1928, through its foreign minister C. T. Wang announced our intention to abrogate all unequal treaties, particularly with regard to consular jurisdiction. But the major powers did not have positive response.

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