

*Wellington Koo's Dream of  
National Identity:  
Transitioning to a Modern  
China (1946-1956)*

Reed H. Chervin

Advisor: William Wei (History)

Other Committee Members: Tom Zeiler  
(International Affairs) and John Willis (History)

Defended April 2, 2013

## **Abstract**

V.K. Wellington Koo (顧維鈞) was a uniquely accomplished diplomat whose career in foreign relations spanned seven decades. His career began as English Secretary under Yuan Shikai during the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and ended when he retired as a judge from the World Court in 1967. This thesis will focus on his tenure as Chinese ambassador to the United States from 1946-1956. I will show that during this period, Koo embodied a unique identity of modern China that was characterized by anti-communist foreign policy and a close relationship with the United States, while rooted in traditional Chinese values and events surrounding the 1919 May 4<sup>th</sup> Movement. This period (1946-1956) will center on the Chinese Civil War, the outbreak of the Korean War and the alignment of Truman Doctrine principles with the national goals of Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee, and the redoubling of China Lobby efforts in the early to mid-1950s. I will support my claims through an exhaustive examination of interpersonal correspondences between Koo and American and Chinese elites who influenced foreign policy (e.g., lobbyists, officials, businesspeople, and debutantes). I will also supplement this discussion with biographical works, books on Chinese identity, and articles concerning various global conflicts. My thesis contributes to scholarship on modern China by providing a new biographical lens through which scholars can better understand the factors that influenced the evolution of Chinese foreign policy after WWII and Koo's role during this turbulent decade.



V. K. Wellington Koo (aged 25) presumably outside of Butler Library at Columbia University, 1912

# Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	5
Preface	7
Introduction	10
Koo and ROC Foreign Policy (1946-1949)	15
The Korean War and its Relevance (1950-1953)	38
ROC Foreign Policy in the Aftermath (1953-1956)	60
Conclusions	76
Bibliography	80

# Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank C.K. John Chu (Fu Professor of Applied Mathematics Emeritus, Columbia University) for the inspiration to begin and continue this project on Wellington Koo—a figure I otherwise never would have known about. Tara Craig (Reference Services Supervisor) at the Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Columbia was an amazing help in reserving boxes of Koo’s letters and notes relevant to my period of interest and directing me to other resources. Randy Sowell (Archivist) at the Harry S. Truman Library provided me with documents pertinent to Koo’s involvement during the Truman administration. Similarly, Herb Pankratz (Archivist) and Tim Rives (Deputy Director) at the Eisenhower Library mailed me pertinent letters and memoranda from the early to mid-fifties.

At the University of Colorado (CU), I would also like to begin by thanking the Undergraduate Research Opportunity Program (UROP) for awarding me a travel grant that made much of the archival research accessible. Zhu Xi in the Chinese Department provided me with critically important Chinese source references in the form of Koo’s memoirs and Jin Guangyao’s biography of Koo.

Dean Schooler, former CU adjunct associate professor of political science, provided me with an outside perspective on addressing the political environment that influenced Koo’s decisions within the confines of broader ROC policies. I would also like to thank Alice Renouf (Advisory Council Member, CU Center for Asian Studies) for her general advice that allowed me to develop a more cogent thesis structure that also integrated helpful reference points for discussions of geography.

I am deeply indebted to the members of my honors thesis committee (Tom Zeiler, John Willis, and William Wei) whose assistance and advice made this project possible. Professor Tom Zeiler provided me with a contemporary diplomatic historical perspective that was enormously helpful in choosing to anchor so much of this discussion on events linked to the Korean War. Professor John Willis suggested I incorporate Erez Manela's "*The Wilsonian Moment and the Rise of Anticolonial Nationalism: The Case of Egypt*," into this work to properly frame Wilsonian Idealism as Wellington Koo understood it. My advisor William Wei patiently read through many drafts of this thesis and consistently encouraged my efforts. These committee members will remain my teachers, mentors, and friends.

Last, I would like to thank my loving parents and grandmother who supported me for the duration of this project. From them I learned to take pride in one's work, to follow one's passion, and to always persevere.

# Preface

I became interested in studying Wellington Koo due to my father's mentioning of a Columbia University associate of his who had begun a project on his life and times. Koo came across as an enigmatic and slightly obscure figure that appeared to possess some significance in modern Chinese history. After reviewing a fair amount of scholarship on the early part of his career regarding his involvement with the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, I felt that it would be of value to investigate the second to last part of his career in foreign relations—his ambassadorship to the United States from 1946-56.

Originally, I considered a variety of topics relating to Koo such as his thoughts and actions toward Chinese troops in Burma after World War II or the status of Taiwan. However, I decided that using the Republic of Korea's (ROK) developmental experience as a case study for national development similar to the Republic of China (ROC) would be a worthwhile endeavor.

The title of this work, "*Wellington Koo's Dream of National Identity: Transitioning to a Modern China (1946-1956)*," suggests that Koo's service throughout his career focused on creating a Chinese national identity in a decade of upheaval (1946-1956) that was defined by World War II, the Chinese Civil War, the Cold War, the Korean War, and the First Taiwan Strait Crisis. Koo represented a unique national identity: One that seemed contradictorily defined by Chinese patriotism and Western ideals and values. The events of this decade shaped Koo's perception of this Chinese identity as much as his own ideas did. This title reflects the central goal I hope to achieve in writing this thesis. By exploring the concepts of anti-communism, anti-imperialism, traditional Chinese culture, and self-determination, I will show how and why Koo

embraced these notions that formed his conception of China's identity. These ideas and the resulting identity formed the basis for Koo's dream of what modern China ought to become.

I conducted much of my research at the Koo Archive in the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library that possesses over 90,000 items. I acquired other primary sources from the Eisenhower and Truman Presidential Libraries, Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS) series, and through the University of Colorado's interlibrary loan system. Moreover, I found other primary sources online such as forms of media in the 1950s involving Koo and text from United Nations resolutions. Secondary sources include biographies on Koo, articles on the Korean War and policies of the Republic of China (ROC), and books and articles concerning the so-called "China Lobby."

After synthesizing this research, I determined that through the use of social and political historical lenses I could write an unconventional diplomatic history of Wellington Koo and his impact on China as well as the international scene during the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. By examining Koo's papers, I gained an understanding of how interpersonal correspondences between Koo and an array of politicians, business leaders, and other officials influenced the way in which Chinese foreign policy was crafted. Moreover, I gained insight on Koo's dream of a modern Chinese state and a sustained modern national identity.

I also decided not to write on other diplomatic figures of the era such as Zhou Enlai (Inaugural Premier of the People's Republic of China) or John Foster Dulles (Secretary of State under President Eisenhower) due to the abundance of scholarship already in existence. Dr. Koo seemed to serve as a means to revealing nuances in Chinese diplomacy during a turbulent decade

while simultaneously expanding the body of research on an otherwise understudied Nationalist figure.

# Introduction

One of China's greatest patriots was the underestimated Nationalist diplomat V.K. Wellington Koo. During the entirety of his career, Wellington Koo devoted his efforts toward the development of Chinese nationhood and a unique Chinese identity in the midst of revolution and wars. Although Koo's cultivation of this identity began with his refusal to sign the problematic Treaty of Versailles (1919), his tenure as Chinese Ambassador to the United States (1946-1956) will serve as the focal point for this thesis due to the turbulence of the post-World War II period. This period characterized by many transitions and overlaps in the political sphere revealed emerging national goals in the wake of a changing world order. WWII reshaped the social, economic, and political framework of East and West due to military conquest and a search for new national identities. The Chinese Civil War (1927-1949) represented a literal and metaphorical battle between old and new Chinas and the Korean War (1950-1953) signified the first large-scale confrontation of the Cold War.

This period of transition and overlap led to a rise in new political classifications. In this work, the country "China" will be referred to at many times and in different contexts. Up until 1949, the Chinese mainland was under the control of Nationalist Chinese forces under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership. After October 1949, the mainland fell under the control of the Chinese Communists under Mao Zedong. This transition of power occurred as a result of Chinese Communist victory during the Chinese Civil War. After December 1949, the Republic of China (ROC) controlled only the island of Taiwan. Moreover, the popular press terms "Free China" and "Red China" will refer to the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China respectively

in the context of the era. Taipei and Beijing also refer to these two countries' central governments. The terms First and Second World will refer to various democracies allied with the United States and communist states aligned with the Soviet Union, respectively. “Communist” and this word’s transformations will refer to a specific Communist Party (e.g., The Chinese Communist Party), while the word “communist” will refer to the general ideology.

Koo developed relationships (positive, negative, and occasionally neutral) with many international business leaders, government officials, and publication editors during this period of disruption. These individuals included but were not limited to: Madame Chiang Kai-shek, President Harry Truman, U.S. diplomat John Carter Vincent, Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce, U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, and Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs George Yeh. Over the years, these relationships on balance strengthened the position of the ROC in the world in spite of massive losses as the Chinese Communists consolidated control over the mainland and received additional assistance from the Soviet Union. These powerful relationships provided part of the basis for Koo’s dream that a modern, free China would prevail. In the United States this coalition of ROC supporters became known as the “China Lobby,” due to their lobbying of Congress for moral and material support.

Wellington Koo represented a force of stability. His English language skills, elite education, and adherence to an unwavering patriotism toward China—its history/culture and potential as a great power—bridged otherwise marked differences between East and West. His lengthy service in diplomacy as China’s representative to the Paris Peace Conference, his participation in The League of Nations and United Nations, and his ambassadorships to France and Great Britain made him a familiar face to the Western World. From the West’s point of view,

Koo embodied the potential of modern China. In the decade of 1946-1956, Koo emerged as an important figure due to his mission to the U.S. to procure aid in December 1948, an attempt to remedy the negative effects of the China White Paper of 1949, his December 23, 1949 letter to the Secretary of State Dean Acheson, his support of an anti-communist alliance managed by Asians during the Korean War, his negotiation of the Sino-American Mutual Defense Treaty of 1954, public condemnation of the CCP during the First Taiwan Strait Crisis, and his appearances on national television programs to garner public support toward the ROC during the 1950s. In contrast to perceptions of ambassadors performing only social duties, Wellington Koo was an activist for national causes.

Wellington Koo's personal philosophy, which was maintained over the course of his life and shaped foreign policy decisions, had both Chinese and international origins. By growing up in Shanghai's International Settlement, Koo developed a unique understanding of the West that consisted of acceptance of Western attitudes and customs. Even "Wellington," the Anglo first name that Koo publically adopted circa 1912, signified respect for Western culture.<sup>1</sup> When Koo studied abroad at Columbia University, he participated in the debate team and edited the school newspaper, thereby demonstrating that he was not an isolated Chinese national.<sup>2</sup> Also at Columbia, Koo had contact with Woodrow Wilson well before Wilson became U.S. President. This early personal encounter may have been the reason that Koo held Wilson in high esteem for his political thoughts that aligned with the patriotic ambitions of the Chinese people.<sup>3</sup> Koo's warm feelings toward the United States only deepened during the early part of his career. After

---

<sup>1</sup> Stephen G. Craft, *V.K. Wellington Koo: Emergence of Modern China* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2004), 4-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 46.

graduating from Columbia and relocating to China to serve as English Secretary to Yuan Shikai, Koo arranged for the delivery of *The New York Times* to his new residence in Beijing.<sup>4</sup> In 1916 after becoming minister to the United States under the Yuan government, Koo advocated increased trade between the U.S. and China since, in his words, “no two countries could be better qualified to cooperate.”<sup>5</sup> Koo argued that the U.S. and China would benefit from this cooperation because the Chinese “know that Americans are as honest as themselves.”<sup>6</sup>

Although Koo developed progressive views (such as rejecting the concept of arranged marriage) after growing up in the cosmopolitan city of Shanghai and studying on the Upper West Side of Manhattan (Columbia University B.A. Liberal Arts 1908, Ph.D. International Law and Diplomacy 1912), he was nonetheless a product of imperial China having graduated from college before the collapse of the Qing Dynasty in 1911.<sup>7</sup> Thus, he valued tradition and age-old aspects of Chinese culture that was at loggerheads against the vision of the Chinese Communists. When Koo retired to New York City in 1967, he saw the Chinese mainland controlled by the “Communist Bandits” he long opposed. Over the decades, Koo’s conception of the world’s understanding of China changed with the times. Yet his abhorrence for communism and his certainty of its destructive effects on Chinese culture never wavered. When Mao invited Koo to visit the PRC in 1972, Koo refused the offer and never returned to mainland China.<sup>8</sup>

Koo adhered to traditional aspects of Chinese culture (such as promoting the concept of filial piety) in part due to his age.<sup>9</sup> As a child, Koo received a classical Chinese education that

---

<sup>4</sup> “Columbia Student Yuan’s Secretary,” *The New York Times*, April 1, 1912.

<sup>5</sup> “China’s Minister Invites Americans to Trade,” *The New York Times*, May 28, 1916.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Stephen Craft, *V.K. Wellington Koo: Emergence of Modern China*, 29.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 252.

<sup>9</sup> Wellington Koo, “The Status of Aliens in China” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1912), 5 (dedication page).

required him to write “eight-legged essays” and to memorize works about Confucianism as preparation for the Chinese civil service exams.<sup>10</sup> As he had nearly completed his dissertation at Columbia by the time of the 1911 Revolution, policies and culture of the Qing Dynasty had indeed heavily influenced his upbringing. As such, these early influences allowed Koo to remain sympathetic toward traditional aspects of Chinese culture in his adult life. All the while, after the creation of the Republic in 1912, Chinese created a new identity based on nationhood. Henrietta Harrison argues that this identity emerged when Chinese “wore their hair short, adopted elements of Western clothing and celebrated holidays commemorating events of the Republic based on the new solar calendar.”<sup>11</sup> As seen in the photograph on page two, Koo adopted this identity early in his career.

The following sections will analyze the extent to which Koo’s vision of modern China that maintained traditional culture while adopting Western ideas materialized in the form of a unique Chinese identity from 1946-1956. “Koo and ROC Foreign Policy (1946-1949)” will examine Koo’s promotion of the Nationalists’ image during the continuing Chinese Civil War after WWII. “The Korean War and its Relevance (1950-1953)” will show how Koo articulated the alignment of ROC values and ambitions with those of the United States and Republic of Korea during the Korean War. “ROC Foreign Policy in the Aftermath (1953-1956)” will demonstrate Koo’s role in securing the future development of the ROC during the final three years of his diplomatic career.

---

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 8; Ibid 28.

<sup>11</sup> Henrietta Harrison, *China: Inventing the Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 4.

# Koo and ROC Foreign Policy (1946-1949)

World War II wreaked havoc on China psychologically and physically. From this period of death and destruction, China began transitioning from a state in shambles to a power on the world stage. Wellington Koo served as an agent of external affairs between the Republic of China and the United States from 1946-1956. His work with a variety of U.S. government officials (e.g., President Truman and General Marshall) prompted a reconsideration of China's role in world affairs. Two billion dollars in aid to China during its civil war signified the ROC government's heightened importance to the U.S.<sup>12</sup>

The status of China under Nationalist control was an enormously important foreign policy issue for communist and non-communist nations alike. The precariousness of this situation laid the groundwork for future conflict between First and Second World countries worldwide. The way in which alliances were constructed, perceptions of the ROC were understood, and how elites in China and abroad influenced diplomacy shaped China's geopolitical status in the world. This section will examine the conditions that transpired, which altered the course of China's history with respect to Cold War developments inside of Asia. These major events took the form of Koo's early meetings with President Truman, Madame Chiang's visit to the United States, U.S. cynicism toward the Guomindang circa 1949, the publication of the China White Paper, and the end to the Chinese Civil War.

---

<sup>12</sup> Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, *China Confidential: American Diplomats and Sino-American Relations, 1945-1996*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 27.

In 1946, Chiang Kai-shek appointed Wellington Koo as the ambassador to the United States since he “liked Koo” and thought his demeanor was appropriate for the job.<sup>13</sup> *Washington Post* reporter Edward T. Folliard characterized Koo as an able, accomplished, and worthy ambassador. He wrote that people generally admired Dr. Koo’s fluency in English and his representation of China at the Washington (1921-1922) and Dumbarton Oaks Conferences (1944) that addressed international cooperation and disarmament.<sup>14</sup> Many people in the United States—especially Republicans—embraced this characterization of Koo and his representation of Nationalist China since it remained firmly opposed to international communism. Much like Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Koo came to the United States representing a China to which Americans could relate. Americans admired his English skills, embrace of Christianity, and his Western sensibilities. After becoming Ambassador, Koo embarked on a charm offensive to sway public sympathy in favor of Nationalist China. He sought closer ties with politicians, professional journalists, and other writers to advance acceptance of China’s policies. Additionally, Koo desired to bring textbooks and art exhibits into schools to educate the younger generation about China.<sup>15</sup> In this way he could not only influence opinion through legislation and public appearances, but could also alter the way in which Americans think about China through intervention in the school system.

Koo’s endeavors in the United States circa 1946 portrayed China as a country in transition from an authoritarian state to a functioning democracy.<sup>16</sup> This skewed portrayal became problematic since Americans were aware of military and political occurrences during the

---

<sup>13</sup> Stephen G. Craft, *V.K. Wellington Koo: Emergence of Modern China*, 202.

<sup>14</sup> “Dr. Koo Arrives to Assume Duties as China Ambassador,” *Washington Post*, July 6, 1946, Truman Papers.

<sup>15</sup> Stephen G. Craft, *V.K. Wellington Koo: Emergence of Modern China*, 211.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 213.

ongoing Chinese Civil War. American knowledge of the brutality of the internal war in China led State Department officials to change policy toward China. In an August 10 letter handled by Koo from President Truman to Chiang Kai-shek in 1949, Truman attacked the policies of the Guomindang (GMD).

Truman argued that the “political situation in China has been a grave concern to the American people.”<sup>17</sup> He went on to write that there was a developing “opinion which holds that our entire policy toward China must be reexamined in the light of spreading strife, and especially by evidence...to suppress freedom.”<sup>18</sup> In accordance with his Doctrine that argued for the “support of free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation,” Truman believed in halting communist advances worldwide while promoting democratic values.<sup>19</sup> After Chiang Kai-shek’s statement during WWII that referred to the Japanese as a skin disease and the Chinese Communists as heart disease, it was clear to American government officials that Chiang would go to any means to unify the country. Truman complained that Chiang’s use of censorship, militarism, and oppression of intellectuals characterized his approach to consolidating power.

Koo reacted to the President’s statement by informing the U.S. diplomat John Carter Vincent that it was extraordinarily difficult to come to a consensus with the communists and incorporate them into the government due to their desire to control the Chinese government, their untrustworthiness, and the influence of Moscow. Koo argued that the long-term objective of cooperating with the United States should be to prevent Soviet domination of China.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup> Letter from Truman to Chiang Kai-shek, August 10, 1946, Truman Papers.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>19</sup> Christine Compton, *Our Documents: 100 Milestone Documents from the National Archives*, ed. Michael R. Beschloss (New York City: Oxford University Press, 2006), 194.

<sup>20</sup> Memo of Conversation Koo, Shao-hua, John Carter Vincent, August 13, 1946, Truman Papers.

The Minister-Counselor of the Chinese Embassy Dr. Tan Shao-hua largely agreed with Ambassador Koo in saying that although it was difficult to destroy Chinese communist forces, it was entirely possible to “immunize” the Russian threat.<sup>21</sup> Dr. Tan and others were aware of the threat and were paranoid of the ambitions of the USSR with respect to bordering nations. The central suspicion at hand was that the USSR could manipulate the internal affairs of a country in order to overhaul its entire government. Dr. Tan and Dr. Koo held elitist views regarding the ordinary populace of China—known colloquially as the lao baixing (老百姓). Dr. Tan spoke of the “ignorance of the Chinese masses,” while Koo thought that certain post-WWII Chinese laws were “too advanced for the Chinese people.”<sup>22</sup> Thus, Tan acknowledged the possibility that Chinese could begin to support communist forces due to their “susceptibility to Communist propaganda.”<sup>23</sup> This recognition on the part of the Nationalists that the Chinese Communists appealed to “the masses” effectively outlined the central reason for the appeal and attractiveness of communism in China, Vietnam, and Korea. The ideology embraced by Chinese peasants called for restructuring of the established social order—thereby threatening GMD officials such as Koo and Tan.<sup>24</sup>

In order to simultaneously appeal to the outside world, the GMD attempted to characterize their government as one that embraced democracy, law, and order. A response relayed to Truman by Ambassador Koo, quoted Chiang Kai-shek as praising the work of General George Marshall. General Marshall—after whom Truman’s Marshall Plan was named—was the American envoy to China (December 1945-January 1947) whose duty was to preserve relative

---

<sup>21</sup> Message to President Chiang Kai-shek, September 9, 1946, Truman Papers, 2.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid; Stephen Craft, *V.K. Wellington Koo: Emergence of Modern China*, 165.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>24</sup> Mao Zedong, *On New Democracy*, (Honolulu: University Press of the Pacific, 2003).

peace as well as establish a coalition government between the Communists and Nationalists. Chiang stated that working with Marshall was progressing nicely as peace and democracy was their “common objective.”<sup>25</sup> Chiang believed that the lack of progress regarding the situation in China could almost entirely be blamed on the Communists due to their lack of sincerity in negotiations as well as their “policy to use armed force to seize political power.”<sup>26</sup> Truman responded to Chiang by acknowledging the severity of fragmentation in China, but stated that political unity must be achieved so that the United States could aid China with respect to rehabilitating its agrarian and industrial economy in the aftermath of WWII.<sup>27</sup> The motivations behind Truman’s willingness to assist the Guomintang are not entirely clear. What one can say, however, is that much like the reasons behind the Marshall Plan Truman thought building up the economic well-being of distressed people would lessen the appeal of communism.

This thought coincided precisely with the machinations of GMD politics. In order to shore up assistance (material, moral, and otherwise) from developed Western nations, the Nationalists portrayed themselves as part of the West’s common cause to uphold the dignity and freedom of peoples. This portrayal mirrored Koo’s articulation of China’s goals at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. In 1946, *Life* published a multipart article that was largely pro-Guomintang. Moreover, it lauded General Marshall and his work in remedying the China situation.<sup>28</sup> Although this article certainly did not represent all of America’s views toward China, it did represent the prominent journalist Charles Murphy’s view in a popular magazine. In this sense, at least a portion of the American public was convinced that the progression of democracy in China was

---

<sup>25</sup> Chinese Embassy, August 28, 1946, Truman Papers, 2.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-3.

<sup>27</sup> “My Dear Mr. Ambassador” Draft, September 5, 1946, Koo Papers.

<sup>28</sup> Patricia Neils, *China Images in the Life and times of Henry Luce* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1990), 174.

indeed underway. Earlier in the year, this suspicion was partially confirmed at the Political Consultative Conference in Chungking. At this conference, Chiang Kai-shek declared that his government would immediately grant certain democratic rights.<sup>29</sup> This declaration in large part was a show for American policy makers, as Chinese Communists did not join a coalition government.<sup>30</sup>

On October 29, 1948, Ambassador Koo received a message from the Chinese official Chen Chih-mai as an update on changes in U.S. policy toward China. The memo stressed underlying issues in terms of the political repercussions from the resignation of Mrs. Luce as president of the American China Policy Association, Governor Dewey's interaction with consultants to formulate anti-communist policy, and an attempt to find a suitable person to head the China aid program.<sup>31</sup> Clare Luce's stepping down from her post as president of the American China Policy Association had far reaching consequences to the stability of ROC policy. For one, Luce and her husband were vehement anti-communists. Thus, the loss of a predictable stance on communism made the ROC uneasy with respect to the future of the China Lobby leadership (i.e., high-profile ROC supporters who lobbied the United States government for aid). All the while, with the 1948 U.S. presidential election only days away, the ROC remained anxiously in favor of Governor Dewey.

Generally, Republicans viewed communism as a greater threat to global political stability than Democrats (see McCarthy et al.). This correspondence between Koo and Chen represents a desire on behalf of the ROC for a shift away from the limited aid policies of Truman to the more

---

<sup>29</sup> Keiji Furuya, *Chiang Kai-shek His Life and Times* (New York: St. John's University, 1981), 863.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 864.

<sup>31</sup> Recent Developments, U.S. China Policy memo from Chen Chih-mai to Ambassador Koo, October 29, 1948, Koo Papers.

generous aid policies of U.S. Republicans. A policy group of consultants—that included the anti-communist editor of *Plain Talk* Isaac Don Levine—met with Republican Governor Dewey to expose and expel communist members of the U.S. Civil Service.<sup>32</sup> Chen alluded to this point in his message, as Nationalists were indeed concerned about the “purity” of the bureaucratic system of the United States with respect to implementing pro-ROC policies. Additionally, this consultant group discussed “general policy vis-à-vis the USSR.”<sup>33</sup> Koo and his colleagues no doubt wanted to know whether United States officials were as non-cooperative with the USSR as perceived. The reasoning behind their efforts likely relates to the Nationalist conviction that the USSR was aiding its enemy on the mainland. The final point that arises in this memo regarding the head of the China aid program is a debate as to whether the leader of the China military group or the U.S. ambassador to China should fill the position. Chen believed that General Wedemeyer would be unsuited for the role due to his support of a UN trusteeship governing Manchuria post-WWII that presumably challenged Nationalist territorial sovereignty. Chen asserted that the current Ambassador (Stuart) was not terribly popular with Republicans and likely would be replaced by William C. Bullitt.<sup>34</sup> Although Chen never mentioned his personal or the ROC’s feelings toward either of these diplomats, by reading other documents it is clear that the Koo and his contemporaries would have supported the appointment of Bullitt due to his hardline stance against communists.<sup>35</sup>

By November, Wellington Koo transmitted another message to President Truman that concerned the determination of Chinese Communists and what it meant to the stability of world

---

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>35</sup> William C. Bullitt, *The Great Globe Itself* (New York City: Scribner’s, 1946), 94.

affairs. Koo quoted Chiang in outlining the present situation in China and how Chinese Communist forces were advancing on strategic regions. The Nationalist government noted that “China may be lost to the cause of democracy” if Communist advances were not halted. Chiang Kai-shek believed that Soviet aid to the Chinese Communists and Soviet antagonism contributed to the decline of GMD military capabilities, since the Communists were able to occupy Manchuria.<sup>36</sup> Chiang’s manner of framing the issue of his military’s deterioration was clever, since a proper response to a buildup of aid on behalf of the Communists would be an even larger increase of aid to Nationalists from the United States (according to the logic of the Cold War or the Truman Doctrine). Additionally, Chiang embraced aspects of the Truman Doctrine in referring to his country as a “co-defender of democracy against the onrush and infiltration of Communism throughout the world.”<sup>37</sup> In this way, the Nationalists appeared to have foreign policies identical to the United States. Moreover, Chiang explicitly and implicitly referred to the Chinese Communists as foreign invaders due to their close link with Moscow. By classifying them as “the other” it seemed reasonable for the United States government to assist the self-determination of the Chinese people. In his message to President Truman, Ambassador Koo asked to meet with him as a preliminary measure before meeting with a Chinese military official in order to resolve the situation in China through increased aid.

### **Koo and Madame Chiang**

In the following month, two envoys arrived in the United States to address the progress of the GMD as well as foreign aid: Madame Chiang Kai-shek and Wellington Koo. Their approaches to negotiation distinctly differed. Madame Chiang insisted that her government

---

<sup>36</sup>Chinese Embassy Washington No. 212, November 9, 1948, Truman Papers, 1.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

needed urgent assistance since the Nationalists were fighting “Soviet communism in China.” She supported her statement in drawing a comparison between the Chinese fight against communism and the United States’ struggle against communism in Berlin.<sup>38</sup> Madame Chiang’s addressing of the issue of Germany is critical, since Berlin represented a country divided by ideology and politics much like China. She also argued that aid was urgent since salary workers, businessmen, and teachers would soon support the Communists due to their promises for a better life.<sup>39</sup> Madame Chiang’s approach to requesting aid was direct and based around her desire to maintain control over China’s populace so she in turn could remain in power.

Koo criticized Madame Chiang’s visit to the United States as a “girlish whim,” since she had come to the United States without the consent of Chiang Kai-shek or her government.<sup>40</sup> Nonetheless, Koo had to avoid revealing the conditions of her arrival to the press. Koo mentioned to U.S. officials that he was authorized to discuss a solution to the China loan problem (i.e., a logjam in U.S. congressional allocation of funds to aid the ROC). He articulated that in the case China would not be able to procure a loan from the U.S. government then the four wealthiest families in China would be able to provide a loan of up to a billion dollars to the GMD in secret.<sup>41</sup> In addition, he stated the necessity of the presence of U.S. Navy Task Force 38 in protecting the cities of Nanking and Shanghai from Communist takeover. At the same time, he deemed it unconscionable for U.S. airplanes to use bombs on Chinese Communists in the same manner that the United States did on the Japanese during WWII.<sup>42</sup> Koo likely dismissed the enlisting of U.S. airpower, as the effects of it were demoralizing and inhumane. At this point in

---

<sup>38</sup> Central Intelligence Agency, December 10, 1948, Truman Papers, 1.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 2.

the Chinese Civil War, the possibility of a coalition government appeared to still be a possibility. Thus, national unity was a goal worthy achievable without extreme military action. Unity of the nation remained at the forefront of Koo for a Chinese national identity emerging out of chaos.

Dr. Koo informed the United States government that there existed two additional problems regarding financial and military assistance. The first of which involved the utilization of the World Bank. Koo argued that China was a member of the World Bank “on paper only.” He reasoned that China was undoubtedly a member, but the funds necessary to participate in the organization were not deposited by China but by the United States. As such, China could not withdraw funds. This understanding was not known to the United States or the Chinese people.<sup>43</sup> Koo alluded to this unfortunate reality to characterize the grimness of China’s economic situation and its dependence on the goodwill and credit of the United States government. The second issue which Koo discussed was the way in which China acquired material aid. He argued that there was a problematic “bottleneck” forcing the Chinese to purchase supplies from the Army Procurement Division instead of through individual manufacturers. By simplifying this process, he argued that the Chinese would be able to more efficiently acquire goods. The elimination of inefficiency also would continue to conform to American policies regarding Chinese affairs.

One can summarize Ambassador Koo’s negotiating style as considerably more measured, nuanced, and detail oriented than that of Madame Chiang. Madame Chiang often came to the United States acting as a celebrity. She desired to attract journalistic as well as public attention. Koo, by contrast, appeared willing to outline less glamorous aspects of his country’s foreign policy in

---

<sup>43</sup>Central Intelligence Agency, December 10, 1948, Truman Papers, 2.

order to further his specific goals. Koo also was inordinately tactful on this mission, as he devised clever and creative solutions to China's financial woes. At the same time, Koo's willingness to arrive at compromises on financial aid negotiations with the United States exemplifies his identity as a Chinese internationalist. This understanding of a Chinese patriot with internationalist tendencies draws upon the beliefs of the 19<sup>th</sup> century intellectual, Yan Fu, who argued that Western ideas could be integrated into a Chinese national identity.<sup>44</sup>

At a Republican conference in February of 1949, U.S. officials discussed new issues in China policy with particular emphasis on aid in light of Chiang Kai-shek's retirement. Congressman Walter Judd (R-Minnesota), who later helped organize the anti-PRC Committee of One Million, leaked to ROC officials Secretary Acheson's comment regarding aid to China as ineffective given its lack of a head of state.<sup>45</sup> This comment reflected two key points on behalf of ROC policy. For one, the ROC constantly evaluated and reassessed how sympathetic U.S. Secretaries of State would be toward their country. In Acheson's case, he represented the intellectual Democratic political base that opposed McCarthyism and outrageously hawkish policies toward the Chinese Communists that were endemic to the Far Right. And secondly, the ROC underestimated the international repercussions incurred from Chiang's resignation as president on January 21, 1949.<sup>46</sup> Chiang Kai-shek resigned due to economic and military chaos on the mainland and a personal need to regroup his forces. The reasons behind his resignation were not made clear to the Americans. Some U.S. officials such as Acheson assumed that the situation in China was deteriorating rapidly with Chiang's resignation as a precursor to total defeat (see the State Department's China Whitepaper). As such, diplomats like Koo had to

---

<sup>44</sup> Henrietta Harrison, *China: Inventing the Nation*, 72-74.

<sup>45</sup> Republican Conference with Acheson on China Memorandum, February 30, 1949, Koo Papers.

<sup>46</sup> Lloyd E. Eastman, "Who Lost China? Chiang Kai-shek Testifies," *The China Quarterly* 88 (December 1981): 662.

increase their efforts abroad to convince U.S. congressmen and others that a Nationalist China was not beyond hope.

One of the ways in which Nationalist China sympathizers aided in this process was through “playing politics.” Congressman Judd blamed President Truman for the present situation in China due to the mediation goals of the Marshall Mission.<sup>47</sup> After the end of World War II, Marshall intended to force the Nationalists into a power-sharing agreement with the Communists that would effectively end the already long-running Chinese Civil War.<sup>48</sup> Although, in the end, this mission was unsuccessful in brokering a peace, Judd viewed it as a form of communist appeasement sanctioned by the President himself. In the middle of a Cold War that was heating up, Judd and other congressional Republicans maligned Democrats for being “weak on communism” for reasons that would benefit him professionally and would also benefit the national interests of Koo and other Nationalist officials.

By late spring of 1949, Ambassador Koo continued to work with U.S. officials to establish additional financial support for the ROC. As a pretext to this round of negotiations, in March the Chinese government had succeeded in persuading the virulently anti-communist U.S. Senator McCarran (D-Nevada) to introduce a bill that would appropriate 1.5 billion dollars of aid to Nationalist China.<sup>49</sup> Dean Acheson referenced aspects of this bill in a letter to Senator Tom Connally (D-Texas). However, aid figures to which Acheson referred were in places incorrect and had a detrimental effect on Chinese political and economic policy. Thus, the ROC dispatched Koo to remedy the situation. The ROC instructed Koo to urge “Members of Congress

---

<sup>47</sup> Republican Conference with Acheson on China Memorandum, February 30, 1949, Koo Papers.

<sup>48</sup> Andrew Birtle, “The Marshall Mission: A Peacekeeping Mission that Failed,” *Military Review* 80, (March/April 2000): 99-103.

<sup>49</sup> White House Memorandum concerning Chinese instructions to Ambassador Koo, May 10, 1949, Truman Papers.

sympathetic towards China,” which included McCarran and others, to repudiate the letter by Acheson.<sup>50</sup> This scenario of a U.S. official quoting incorrect aid figures had several underlying effects on Chinese policy. If aid estimates were too high and made public, the American people might become opposed to increasing and even maintaining current amounts of financial support to China. Conversely, if aid to China was articulated as too low, Americans would be convinced that the low level of support was the new standard and would be apprehensive to increase it. Koo surreptitiously presented these representatives with the correct aid figures as to avoid further embarrassment or confusion.<sup>51</sup>

## **New Reports**

About a month later Ambassador Koo met with President Truman to discuss the current state of affairs on the Chinese mainland in light of reports of Nationalist losses during major battles with the Communists. Koo replied to such reports by arguing that if China were to lose additional territory, there existed several lines of defense that incorporated the strategic seaport of Guangzhou.<sup>52</sup> Truman appeared unconvinced by this counterargument. He responded that he was disappointed by the developments in China and urged Nationalists leaders to “get together and do something.”<sup>53</sup> He said that he was even more disappointed by reports that Nationalist troops surrendered U.S. provided arms and equipment to enemy forces.<sup>54</sup> In light of emerging impressions of the Guomindang as corrupt, ineffectual, and dictatorial, it appeared as if the Chinese government was rotting from the inside out. Truman closed his castigation of the

---

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Department of State Memorandum of Conversation Report from Acting President of China, June 22, 1949 Truman Papers, 2.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

Nationalists by asserting that the word of the ROC was no good, and that it must be able to “prove itself in deeds.”<sup>55</sup> According to General Marshall and other emissaries of the United States, the Guomindang trafficked in empty promises. This widely embraced impression of the GMD by the American government and people created an even more difficult situation for Wellington Koo. Not only did he have to contend with difficult financial realities, but he also had to combat the growing cynicism of the United States toward genuine political progress in China.

Before the meeting with Truman ended, Koo daringly conveyed three requests on behalf of his government. First, he stated that the ROC desired for 90 million dollars of China’s balance be used to mint silver coinage in the United States. Second, Koo requested a contingent of U.S. military advisors to be sent to China to further develop the Nationalist military apparatus. Last, Koo asked for U.S. Ambassador to China John L. Stuart to stop in Nationalist controlled Nanjing before returning to the United States so as to understand “both sides of the story” in China.<sup>56</sup> These requests on behalf of a clearly failing government appeared to be a desperate effort to convince the United States that the reality of Chinese Communists conquering the mainland was not taking place. Additionally, these requests demonstrate Ambassador Koo’s agency in his attempt to secure the developmental future of the ROC. Ambassador Stuart represented a major obstacle in this effort. Days before Koo’s meeting with President Truman, Stuart stated, “I am optimistic about the future of China. It seems to me that all Chinese intelligentsia, liberals and Christians should support the new regime so that the Chinese Communist authorities may adopt a moderate policy.”<sup>57</sup> This statement by Stuart conflicted with every goal and ambition of the GMD. At this point, U.S. support for the ROC continued to erode at an increasing pace due to

---

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>57</sup> Stuart will Request Recognition of Chinese Communist Regime Special to the APP, June 17, 1949, Koo Papers.

the “defection” of U.S. officials to the Communist side. Koo tried to reverse the deterioration of the ROC government that to him appeared to be a protector of the true identity of China.

### **China White Paper**

In the summer of 1949 the State Department produced a document informally referred to as the “White Paper” that critiqued the GMD. In addition, the paper stated that a United States military effort to repel communists from the mainland was futile.<sup>58</sup> The publication of this document by the U.S. State Department represented a fundamental shift in policy. Foreshadowed previously by statements from Ambassador Stuart, the White Paper exposed the growing power and domination of Communist forces over large areas of territory and also partially recognized the Communists’ mandate to rule. Wellington Koo responded promptly to this assessment of the Chinese Communists. He wrote that the overall strategy of the Communists was rooted in discrediting the Nationalists. Therefore, he argued that the publication of the White Paper was poorly timed and gave “moral support to the Communists.”<sup>59</sup> In this way, Koo tried desperately to salvage a rapidly deteriorating ROC foreign policy. He apologized for the situation’s deterioration by writing:

The eight years of war against Japan, the occupation of a substantial portion of the country by the enemy, the wanton devastation of practically every phase of national life, and the destructive tactics pursued by the Communists to wreck the national economy, were all initial handicaps to the Government’s efforts to deal with Communist aggression.<sup>60</sup>

He continued by outlining the external factors which predisposed his government to failure to consolidate control. These factors included the unfavorable Yalta Agreement that limited China’s sovereignty in Manchuria, the arming of Chinese Communists who used Manchuria as a base, as

---

<sup>58</sup> Lyman Van Slyke, *The China White Paper: August 1949*. (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1967).

<sup>59</sup> Chinese Embassy Washington D.C. Outgoing Telegram, August 4, 1949, Koo Papers, 1.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

well as the strong influence (material and otherwise) of the Soviet Union.<sup>61</sup> Koo invoked concepts of democracy and antagonism towards tyranny to justify Nationalist policy. He argued that the United States and Republic of China shared a common bond regarding holding these principles in high esteem, due to their alliance against military aggression in WWII, thus utilizing the concept of shared war experience. He not only was able to establish viable reasons for China's faltering status, but he also used pathos to appeal to United States policy makers. Broadly speaking, he was able to shift discussion away from the "on the ground activities" of Nationalist troops to long-standing ideals regarding a shared mission between the U.S. and China to support democracy, anti-imperialism, and freedom from dictatorship. These ideals helped construct the Chinese national identity that Koo embodied. Ambassador Koo walked out of the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 due to the West's failure to condemn imperialism outright. Erez Manela argues that this "betrayal" at the Paris Peace Conference resulted in "protests and the disillusionment of many Chinese with the West."<sup>62</sup> Koo continued to oppose imperialism later in his career, which in this instance, became Soviet in character.

As the weeks and months dragged on, the Nationalists' ability to consolidate power in any real manner became an even less believable reality. President Truman outlined the most recent iteration of United States policy toward the ROC in a statement released in early August. He contended that the "mutual interests of the United States and China require full and frank discussion of the facts [of China's political situation]."<sup>63</sup> Throughout the statement, Truman emphasized the need for openness and truth between the two nations. Truman admitted that the

---

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>62</sup> Erez Manela, "The Wilsonian Moment and the Rise of Anticolonial Nationalism: The Case of Egypt," *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Vol. 12, No. 4, (December 2001): 118.

<sup>63</sup> Statement By The President, August 4, 1949, Koo Papers.

United States “was reluctant to reveal certain facts” about the state of the Nationalist Party for fear of hastening the deterioration of the Nationalists’ control of China.<sup>64</sup> This reluctance relates back to instances of Nationalist officials exaggerating their capabilities in defeating their Communist rivals and their trivializing the military potential of the Communists and their support from the general populace.

Koo responded to Truman’s statement and the White Paper on China several days later. He stressed the urgency of China’s political situation by saying, “The house in China is on fire and the immediate necessity is to prevent its spread and extinguish it.”<sup>65</sup> Following this statement, he argued that misinformation and confusion regarding the development of the situation in China was held by many nations. Moreover, Koo invoked a Chinese proverb to demonstrate how China’s government could learn from past experiences and focus on future development. He wished to refute Truman’s subtle critique of Chinese government policy by proclaiming China’s dedication to upset the status quo of inefficiency in the name of national progress. It can be safely said that stagnation and repetition of failed policies in addition to Truman’s attack on China’s inability to be truthful were misperceptions of the Chinese government according to Koo and other Nationalists. As such, Koo thought that emphasizing action to extinguish a “burning house” was an appropriate method for attracting additional public support from the United States. Metaphorically speaking, the fire that is consuming the house of China is communism. Themes of communism and its association with fire and destruction were also endemic to culture in the United States dating back to 1947, wherein various forms of media portrayed communism as fire consuming American ideals and values. In the instance of the publication of the comic book, *Is*

---

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Statement by Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo on the White Paper on China, August 7, 1949, Koo Papers, 1.

*This Tomorrow?*, the artist portrays fire as consuming the American flag—the embodiment of American ideals such as individuality, freedom, and capitalism. In any case, Koo also praised the creation of “new and constructive” American policy toward China’s civil war. New policies from the United States not only signified a reevaluation of its own China policy, but also noted the precariousness of a stable Chinese government. Stability in this instance is also correlated with the shared anti-communist value of freedom. Koo wrote that a “free China is indispensable to a free Asia and a free Asia is vital to the existence of a free world.”<sup>66</sup> This notion was arguably the transcendent argument proliferated by Wellington Koo while conducting diplomacy abroad. If communist influence were indeed spreading throughout mainland China, Indochina, and Korea, it was laudable vis-à-vis the grand strategy of First World countries to create a dual approach towards dealing with communist nations. The first approach was to prevent communist guerilla forces from toppling a non-communist regime internally (e.g., aid to Nationalists on the mainland). The second arm to this approach was to react to communist offensives with anti-communist offensives. In this manner anti-communists would utilize adherence to spreading democracy, upholding human rights, and ensuring liberty to advance national agendas. Koo attempted to reinvigorate China’s dedication to these principles in order to establish closer relations with the United States.

### **“Hail Mary” and End to the Chinese Civil War**

Koo had another diplomatic trick at his disposal for winning over U.S. officials and members of the American public. He invoked a shared military history during World War II to draw parallels between a previous noble fight and a current one. Koo contended that the

---

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 2.

allegiance between the United States and China was a worthy one—united against a common enemy who threatened the peace and well-being of the world. Furthermore, he believed that communism in China was akin to “foreign domination.”<sup>67</sup> He portrayed Communism in China as a non-Chinese, foreign ideology propagated from Moscow. Yet again, Koo equated communism with oppression, totalitarianism, and coercion (i.e., anathemas against which China and the United States fought in WWII). With combat against these values at the forefront, Koo tried to convince Americans that a renewed fight against a common enemy was a worthy cause. He appealed to the universality of human characteristics and objectives. Specifically he stated, “Chinese people love freedom as intensely as any American and do not wish to live under Communist rule...the basic objectives of our two nations are identical.”<sup>68</sup>

This statement is in many ways remarkable. For one, given the various racial tensions present in the United States during the 1940s, it is a daring move for a Chinese diplomat to openly affirm the equality between Chinese and Americans. Additionally, Koo essentially stated that a shared effort on behalf of China and the United States could create a better world. Given the physical distance between the two countries, different cultures, and an enormous language barrier, it is interesting and unexpected that a shared objective emerged. As mentioned, this bridging of east and west had early beginnings created during WWII. Koo harkened back to these roots in order to establish more familiarity between the United States and China, thereby dispelling the application of the concept of Orientalism (i.e., the practice of looking toward Asia and its peoples as exotic and/or unknown).<sup>69</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> “Orientalism,” University of Tennessee Department of English, <http://web.utk.edu/~gerard/romanticpolitics/orientalism.html>.

On October 1, 1949, Mao Zedong declared the establishment of the People's Republic of China. As the Nationalist war time capital of Nanjing had been under the control of the Communists since April, the Nationalists had since moved central operations to the city of Guangzhou. Newly appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs George Yeh reflected upon the greater significance of Mao's declaration in a telegram sent out of Guangzhou to Koo. In the message he linked Mao's victory with Soviet intervention and allegiance to a "bogus regime set up in Peiping."<sup>70</sup> He argued that the key to Mao's success was not a shift in consciousness on behalf of the Chinese people, but instead was an unprecedented interference in Chinese affairs from the world's largest communist state. He also viewed the Soviet Union's disrespect for China's sovereignty as an issue dating back to the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance in 1945. This treaty recognized the de jure independence of Mongolia and established a strengthened trading agreement between the two countries in the aftermath of WWII.<sup>71</sup> But most importantly, the Soviet Union recognized Nationalist China as the one and only legitimate government of China.<sup>72</sup> Yeh implied that the Soviet regime was evil, untrustworthy, and willingly defying international law. As such, he delegitimized the newly established regime under Mao that was allegedly so closely affiliated with the USSR. Yeh concluded his tirade against the Soviet Union by extrapolating future consequences in allying one's nation with the Soviets. Yeh wrote to Koo:

[The] Chinese Government in concluding [the] 1945 Treaty hoped [that a] foundation of peace and security in [the] Far East would be laid. For this reason China had always observed all her obligations therefrom in spite of repeated Soviet violations. Recognition of [the] puppet regime by [the] Soviet Union therefore [is] a threat to peace and security

---

<sup>70</sup> Chinese Embassy Washington D.C., Incoming Telegram, October 3, 1949, Koo Papers, 1.

<sup>71</sup> George W. Atkinson, "The Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance," *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (July 1947): 366.

<sup>72</sup> Chinese Embassy Washington D.C., Incoming Telegram, October 3, 1949, Koo Papers, 1.

in [the] Far East. [The] Chinese Government [sic] viewing with disregard by Soviet Union for [the] sanctity of [its] treaty obligation has decided to sever diplomatic relation with [the] Soviet Union and take step[s] to recall its diplomatic mission and consular posts in [the] Soviet Union.<sup>73</sup>

The implications of this quotation are multifaceted regarding the future of diplomacy between the Republic of China and communist nations. The failure of the Soviet Union to abide by the 1945 Sino-Soviet treaty foreshadowed the skepticism expressed by Nationalist Chinese towards peace negotiations with the Soviet Union and its satellites during the Korean War. In addition, this treachery mirrored the activities of the Soviets in Eastern Europe, wherein the USSR occupied formerly free nations and created the Iron Curtain. Yeh believed that it was a waste of the ROC's material and moral efforts by attempting to seek diplomatic solutions with the USSR. Likewise, ROC diplomats did not fulfill the previous requests by General Marshall and Truman in seeking to create a bilateral government prior to 1949. On one hand, the avoidance of sharing power with the Chinese Communists indicated an ROC government that sought power above all else. Yet—Koo, Yeh, and Chiang were convinced and tried to convince others that any type of power structure shared with the Communists would collapse due to either Soviet meddling or outright Communist betrayal. Thus, we see Yeh directly attacking the Soviet Union in a similar manner in which he condemned Mao's faction. Though perhaps contrary to our understanding of diplomats, Yeh and Koo undoubtedly represented the ROC hardline stance against Soviet Union international influence.

Koo articulated this type of hardline stance against Soviet territorial encroachment in a letter to presumably U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson. He quoted government policy toward Taiwan in saying that "The National Government will spare no effort to preserve Taiwan as a

---

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 2.

central base of operations against Communist aggression.”<sup>74</sup> At this moment in time Koo and the Nationalists wanted to reaffirm two issues with the United States. To begin with, they wanted to characterize Taiwan as a base that still housed a powerful military that could defend against an attack from the Communists. Secondly, the base concept served as a message to the United States’ military that they were welcome to station there in order to implement the practical side of the Truman Doctrine. In this sense territorial encroachment by Chinese Communists and Soviets was viewed as synonymous as they were both part of a larger international communist bloc based out of Moscow (according to Koo and others). This “base” analogy also served to represent a less tangible, ideological base. Koo once again quoted his government in writing:

[We] will urge the Provincial Government of Taiwan, following the principle of full cooperation between the provincial authorities and the people, to assert its utmost efforts for political and economic progress of the Province in order that the people of the island may enjoy a democratic and stable life, thereby establishing a marked contrast to the enslavement and miserable conditions obtaining in the communist-controlled areas on the mainland and thus serving to strengthen the will of the Chinese people in opposing Communism.<sup>75</sup>

The implication conveyed by this quotation from the ROC is self-evident. If the Nationalist government were able to show the world that the condition of their people was improving, they would be able to present empirical evidence of communism’s failure to live up to its expectation in countries where it was implemented. Moreover, the ROC promised its people stability. It could use this promise to moderate the relative amount of democracy in the country by increasing Guomintang control, discouraging mass demonstrations, and censoring media. In this way the Guomintang could create a dual approach of invoking democratic ideals for foreign aid, yet justify delaying the practice of true democracy due to internal threats to peace and stability.

---

<sup>74</sup>Dear Mr. Secretary, December 23, 1949, Koo Papers, 2.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

The developments from 1946-1949 provided a diplomatic framework in which Ambassador Koo could work to facilitate aid to the ROC to ensure victory over the Chinese Communists. 1946-1949 also signified a period of introspection for the ROC regarding its place in international politics after it lost control of the Chinese mainland in late 1949. This period would mark the beginning of the creation of a new ROC identity influenced in large part by moral and financial assistance from the United States. The upcoming Korean War beginning in 1950 served as a turning point that allowed the ROC to regroup. Moreover, South Korea would represent a country embroiled in the same Cold War politics that would affect the ROC.

# The Korean War and its Relevance (1950-1953)

The years from 1950-1953 were yet another period of upheaval. This period was characterized by a reduced ROC transitioning to building regional and global alliances for the sake of its survival. The outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 not only served as a critical event that allowed the ROC to gain additional U.S. support, but also as a deterministic war regarding the future implications of the Cold War for China. By serving as an intermediary between the ROC and the U.S.A., Wellington Koo used the “Domino Theory” to justify lobbying for increased financial and moral support. Ambassador Koo made important progress in the field during this period after WWII. In particular, Koo attacked the growing threat of international communism that he viewed as an affront to human dignity and freedom. He argued that communism on the Chinese mainland and in other parts of the world were puppets of Moscow. In the Chinese context, he argued that communism eroded Chinese culture and destroyed the family unit.<sup>76</sup> This section will chronicle how Koo’s efforts during the Korean War influenced the decisions of the “democratic powers” of Taiwan and the United States regarding the crisis in the diplomatic sphere. Ambassador Koo’s diplomatic approach during the Korean War and the war itself resulted in the transformation of the ROC’s national identity from a state struggling for survival to a country with international goals in opposition to communist advances.

---

<sup>76</sup> *Longines Chronoscope* , May 26, 1955.

In the year after the conclusion of WWII, the international community attempted to determine the best outcome for countries previously ruled by Axis powers. We can see a case of this geo-political restructuring in the suggestion to create a “trusteeship” in Korea during December 1945.<sup>77</sup> The conversations and debated political solutions that took place during and after this assembly laid that groundwork for future contention and conflict leading up to the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950. The following year the suggestion of managing Korea by foreign powers continued to be debated. Then Under-Secretary of State Dean Acheson stated that the American-Soviet Commission would determine the necessity of a multilateral trusteeship. Koo asked what the USSR’s attitude was towards this type of governance, and followed this question by saying that the ROC disapproved of the trusteeship since it would “greatly complicate the Korean situation.”<sup>78</sup> It seems obvious that Koo was wary of the intentions of the Soviets after witnessing their support of the enemy Chinese Communists with which his government continued to fight a protracted civil war. On November 5, 1947, Koo sent a telegram to his government’s foreign minister Wang Shih-chieh in Nanjing informing him of the progress of an international commission to determine the status of Korea. He discussed various aspects of the proposal from the United States, his government, as well as the French, but paid particular attention to the so-called Philippine amendment. This amendment stated that members of the United Nations should refrain from intervening in the affairs of Korea unless they proceed through the UN General Assembly. Koo followed this explanation of the amendment with a statement that the “independence and sovereignty” of the Korean people must serve as the goal.<sup>79</sup>

This telegram serves as a means to view the entangling effect of diplomacy after the rise

---

<sup>77</sup> Interim Meeting of Foreign Ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Moscow, December 16-26, 1945.

<sup>78</sup> Memo of Conversation with Undersecretary of State (Acheson), January 4, 1946, FRUS.

<sup>79</sup> Excellency Wang Shi-chieh (November 5, 1947)...(begins with “referring No. 841”), Koo Papers.

of new countries in the aftermath of World War II and in the deeply layered bureaucracy of the United Nations (UN). However, the meaning of Koo's telegram is more significant than would first appear. Koo was no doubt aware of the way in which the Soviet Union immediately mobilized to control Poland after the conclusion of the war on the Eastern front in WWII. As such, he likely feared a repetition of this type of event in Northeast Asia, which could have further destabilized the already tenuously established Chinese government. Koo employed the use of the words "independence" and "sovereignty" to warn other nations—especially those advancing imperialistic tendencies of communism—that Korea's self-determination would not be squelched by "all acts derogatory to [it]."<sup>80</sup> These concepts of sovereignty and independence reflected central tenets of President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, wherein he articulated the importance of "affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small nations alike."<sup>81</sup> This ideal paralleled the national identity that Koo aspired to achieve. Since the Republic of Korea (ROK) began to develop as a country in a manner similar to ROC, it sought goals similar to Koo's conception of nationhood.

The notion that a commission would be able to resolve the status of Korea dissolved over time. Diplomat G. H. Wang represented China at the UN General Assembly and later at the UN Temporary Commission on Korea. In a letter to Koo, he outlined a series of points on developments in Korea. He wrote that, "North Korea, at least for the time being, is inaccessible to the commission."<sup>82</sup> This inaccessibility to the commission was in no doubt attributed to the Soviet Union's policies and directives. Building on this reality, Wang reported to Koo that

---

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> President Wilson's Message to Congress, January 8, 1918, Records of the United States Senate; Record Group 46, Records of the United States Senate; National Archives.

<sup>82</sup> G.H. Wang to Koo, February 10, 1948, Koo Papers, 1.

“inability of the Korean political parties to get together places an equally difficult obstacle...as that of the negative attitude of USSR.”<sup>83</sup> Factionalism along political lines became a pretense for future conflict on the Korean Peninsula regarding communist leaning and non-communist alliances. Wang also indicated that political polls in the South signified overwhelming support of Rightists led by Syngman Rhee.<sup>84</sup> As to be expected, this group formed an anti-communist coalition that had to be contended with. Wang ended his letter to Koo by simply saying that the Chinese request for additional documents on the Korean question would be consolidated and distributed to the permanent Chinese delegation.<sup>85</sup>

On June 25, 1950, the Korean War erupted. North Korean (the country will also be referred to as Democratic People’s Republic of Korea or DPRK) forces led by Kim Il-sung crossed the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel and stormed into South Korea. In the days following this invasion, the diplomatic bureaucracy of the United States mobilized to address the various issues emerging. On June 29, Livingston Merchant, then Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, met with Ambassador Koo in the absence of Dean Rusk. The ambassador stated that his government was “prepared to afford military assistance to the best of their ability in Korea.”<sup>86</sup> This statement on behalf of the ambassador outlines a clear policy established by the ROC towards Korea. Koo spoke realistically of military aid in saying that China could not afford to send naval or air force units, but was “prepared to furnish one army of approximately 33,000 men composed of three divisions with the best field equipment available to the Chinese.”<sup>87</sup> The reasons behind Koo’s policy statement of proposing to assist the United States are quite clear. At

---

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Memorandum by the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs (Merchant) to the Secretary of State, June 29, 1950, FRUS.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

this point in time, the ROC had entirely lost control of mainland China approximately a year before this crisis in Korea. As such, the Nationalists desired to prevent further communist encroachment into the Asian continent.

It can be argued that this way of strategic political thinking was mirrored in the U.S. context by President Truman's reaction to the North Korean invasion. Truman reacted viscerally to the advances from Kim Il-sung in declaring, "By God, I'm going to let them [North Korea] have it!"<sup>88</sup> He chose not ask for a declaration of war from Congress, and instead sent General Douglass MacArthur to repel the invaders. Thus, Taiwan and the United States embraced the tenants of the Truman Doctrine. Several years earlier in March of 1947, Truman articulated his beliefs that the United States has a duty to protect free peoples from communist domination.<sup>89</sup> His allusion to subjugation and outside pressures both became known as references to the Soviet Union and its influences. The leader of the Nationalists, Chiang Kai-shek and his diplomatic corps without a doubt were involved in this process of resisting communist encroachment as the Korean War commenced.

In the days following the outbreak of war on the Korean Peninsula, Dr. Koo worked further to relay critical diplomatic messages. On June 30, 1950, Koo sent a secret memorandum to the foreign ministry in Taipei, which transmitted information from the aide-memoire (i.e., a type of informal diplomatic document) about military assistance to Korea presented to the State Department. He wrote that not only could aid in the form of 33,000 troops be provided, but the ROC could also provide 20 air transports with suitable protection from enemy aircrafts. Additionally, he stated that if troops were transported by sea, they could be protected by a

---

<sup>88</sup> William L. Hosch, *The Korean War and the Vietnam War: People, Politics, and Power* (New York City: Rosen Publishing, 2009), 66.

<sup>89</sup> Christine Compton, *Our Documents: 100 Milestone Documents from the National Archives*, 194.

Chinese “naval escort.” Koo concluded his telegram with a fourth point saying Chinese troops could be ready in five days’ time.<sup>90</sup> This exchange signified an overwhelming willingness on behalf of the ROC to assist the anti-communist war effort by whatever means necessary. Furthermore, the ROC’s giving exact numbers for troop and carrier estimates to the U.S. government indicated a clear military buildup (or at least the ability to do so). Beyond projecting an image of having “troops to spare,” the ROC wanted to appear flexible in the methods by which they could help the United States and United Nations.

### **Ideological Battles**

The larger purpose for the ROC’s agreement to send troops to Korea was to take sides in a battle of ideology. On the day the aide-memoire for Chinese military assistance was presented to the State Department, Dr. Koo said to Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson that President Truman’s recent statement was a “magnificent stand taken against Communist aggression.”<sup>91</sup> Koo’s declaration against communism reflected the general feelings of Chiang’s government. While speaking with Koo, Johnson added that he appreciated the aid offered by Koo’s government, but believed U.S. infantry would be the first troops on the ground in Korea.<sup>92</sup> Johnson added that because the United Nations was the legal organizer of troops, it was in Koo’s interests to discuss troop possibilities with the U.N. administrative body and the Supreme Commander of the UN troops (MacArthur) in place of the United States.<sup>93</sup>

---

<sup>90</sup>Chinese Embassy Outgoing telegram, June 30, 1950, Koo Papers.

<sup>91</sup> Notes of a Conversation with Mr. Louis Johnson, Secretary of Defense at the Pentagon, 12 noon, June 30, 1950, Koo Papers, 1.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 2-3.

This conversation between statesmen revealed two important points. To begin, Johnson's referral of Koo to the United Nations demonstrated a multilateral effort against countries perpetrating military aggression (i.e., committing acts in violation of the U.N. Charter). The United Nations in the scenario of war in Korea exemplified an international body of laws and guidelines by which all member states must abide. Beyond international laws that regulate how countries interact with each other, the U.N. also represents high ideals with respect to human rights. The Soviet Union and North Korea were political entities that clearly violated both general international laws about respecting territorial sovereignty and those concerning human rights in their spheres of influence. By joining the U.N. alliance against communist forces, the ROC would champion itself as another member of the international community fighting against oppression, censorship, militarism, etc. Although not necessarily articulated in a direct manner, the Nationalists wanted to maintain international order and stability to further its own interests and cripple communist nations' expansions.

### **Anti-communist Alliance**

Though the Korean War was underway by July 1950, other related international issues regarding communist encroachment emerged. Fulton Freeman (from the U.S. Division of Chinese Affairs), Wellington Koo, and Dean Rusk met in Washington to determine how the Korean question affected other areas in the world. Rusk argued that the overall strategy of the communists in Asia was not obvious, but that they could be planning future advances.<sup>94</sup> This suspicion by Rusk reflected a general paranoia about the intentions and goals of the Soviet Union following World War II. This suspicion was also a central part of the prevailing Domino Theory

---

<sup>94</sup> Memorandum of Conversation, by the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs (Rusk), July 3, 1950 FRUS, 1.

in the 1950s, which stipulated that if one nation fell to communism others nearby would fall in quick succession. The Truman Doctrine in tandem with other grand strategies attempted to block this advancement at every opportunity possible. Thus, Rusk pointed out to Koo that some people raised the question as to whether Taiwan could defend itself against an “all-out Communist attack” while lending troops to the Korean Peninsula. Ambassador Koo agreed with Rusk and stated that there were reports of military movements in Manchuria, Hong Kong, and Indochina.<sup>95</sup>

About a week prior to this meeting in Washington, Truman ordered the U.S. 7<sup>th</sup> Fleet to occupy the Taiwan Strait to neutralize the area from an invasion by either side.<sup>96</sup> Koo followed this report by emphasizing the critical nature of establishing a “satisfactory liaison between the U.S. 7<sup>th</sup> Fleet and the Chinese authorities on Formosa as soon as possible.”<sup>97</sup> In this way, the Nationalists wanted to establish communication with the U.S. Fleet in order to ensure their political and territorial stability. By establishing additional communication and diplomatic relations with the military of the United States, Koo’s government further distanced themselves from the Communists and their spheres of influence. On the note of strategy and alliances, Koo inquired about simultaneous troop movements on behalf of the Soviets in “Iranian, Turkish or Yugoslav border areas... similar to Korea.” Rusk replied that in spite of constant monitoring, intelligence had discovered no unusual offensive tactics.<sup>98</sup>

The effects of the Korean Crisis appeared more impactful than would first meet the eye. Secretary of State Dulles and Dr. Koo discussed the merits and demerits of establishing an anti-communist alliance in the Pacific. Although Dulles asserted that an Asian military pact would

---

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> “China-Taiwan History,” Public Broadcasting Service, last modified March 7, 2000, <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/asia/china/china-taiwan.html>.

<sup>97</sup> Memo with Rusk, FRUS, 2.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

cause more harm than good due to increased factionalism in the world, Koo offered a differing opinion. He argued that a pact starting with “Japan, Korea, China, and the Philippines” would be like-minded in their goals since they were more “exposed to the Communist menace.”<sup>99</sup> Koo believed that these countries were places in which the Soviets and Chinese Communists were interested for strategic among other reasons. He also believed that communist nations had wide-ranging international goals, rather than purely adopting the “communism in one country” ideology. Koo alluded to the potential of international communism in asking Dulles if he thought a third world war would develop out of the Korean War.<sup>100</sup> Dulles replied that the answer to this question depends solely on Moscow’s policy.<sup>101</sup> This reply reflects the self-determined nature of the United States and its assurance that its policies uphold worthwhile, democratic principles. At the same time, it suggests that the United States would not act as an aggressor regarding an expansion of the scope of war in Korea.

The coordination of communist nations during the war can be seen in Dulles’s view about sending ground troops into Korea. He argued that the supply line of soldiers into North Korea from China and the Soviet Union was well-established. In speaking with Koo, Dulles said that “For every Communist soldier killed by the American forces, two Communists would turn up to carry on the fight.”<sup>102</sup> Koo thought the best response to overwhelming communist show of force was an equally powerful counter offensive composed of “the combined man-power resources of all free countries in Asia and United Nations.”<sup>103</sup> Koo further emphasized this notion of unified force in speaking with General MacArthur. He argued the case to MacArthur that American

---

<sup>99</sup> Notes of a Conversation with Mr. John Foster Dulles at the State Department, July 25, 1950, Koo Papers 6.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 8.

troops were indeed critical to the positive outcome of the Korean War, but were unfamiliar with much of Asian territory. Thus, it would be in MacArthur's interest to enlist the help of Nationalist troops.<sup>104</sup> Koo also alluded to Chiang Kai-shek's vast experience in dealing with communist forces on mainland China. MacArthur rejected troops from the ROC on the grounds that the defense of Taiwan was a higher priority. Additionally, he believed that it would not only take too long to equip and transport said troops, but also that the war would likely be over very soon.<sup>105</sup> In spite of MacArthur's rejection of Nationalist troops, Koo redoubled his efforts in establishing unity against communist encroachment. He suggested that the United Nations ought to be the avenue through which there could be a "fundamental solution to the Korean problem." However, he acknowledged that a sovereign Korea was not likely due to Soviet obstruction.<sup>106</sup> Koo told MacArthur that the General Assembly of the United Nations must pass resolutions ensuring a "free and independent" Korea, due to the reality that a divided Korea would be prone to war again in the future. Although not articulated explicitly, Koo understood that efforts through the U.N. Security Council would fail because of the Soviet Union's veto power.

As the war continued, potential resolutions with the communists began to emerge. ROC Foreign Minister George Yeh wrote Koo warning that delaying a decision regarding a war agreement would "disappoint [the] government of victimized men engaged in actual fighting and [would] give aggressors fresh opportunity to attack."<sup>107</sup> He followed this declaration in writing, "Communist aggression [is] not merely directed against Korea but [the] UN itself."<sup>108</sup> In this way, there existed a fundamental distrust of any agreements with communist nations. This

---

<sup>104</sup> Notes of a Conversation with General Douglas MacArthur, August 17, 1950, Koo Papers, 1-2.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>107</sup> Incoming telegram from Minister Yeh, December 20, 1950, Koo Papers, 1.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

distrust was more than likely mutual from the perspective of the Communists. The uneasiness experienced by communists and non-communists made adopting a cease-fire agreement considerably more difficult. Minister Yeh reflected his government's feelings in writing that the present resolution "on the table" did not call the communist forces aggressors. He said that the government of the ROC thought that "all measures" must be taken in order to punish the communist aggressors in accordance with the U.N. Charter.<sup>109</sup> This assertion clearly indicated a breakdown in diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and North Korea by the ROC. At this point in the war, meaningful communication to these three countries from the perspective of the ROC only occurred through the United States State Department acting as an intermediary.

An example of this type of diplomacy occurring is seen in a meeting between Koo, Dean Rusk, and the Director of the Office of Chinese Affairs O. Edmund Clubb. Ambassador Koo argued before these two U.S. officials that the counter proposals offered by Beijing were, in effect, rejections of cease-fire proposals. Koo believed that the only reasonable next step was to find the Communists guilty of aggression.<sup>110</sup> This view by Koo to an extent epitomizes national interests and Taiwanese politics rather than creating/sustaining peace in the Pacific. All the while, Koo attempted to justify his stance by thinking of "the situation in that area as one where the questions of Korea and Formosa were allied."<sup>111</sup> This understanding of the region was central to U.S. policy as well. In line with the Domino Theory, the United States believed that the Asian region was particularly fragile to communist advances, and its overall defense required anti-communist military presence stationed in many places simultaneously.

---

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>110</sup> Memorandum of Conversation by Director of the Office of Chinese Affairs (Clubb), January 18, 1951, FRUS.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 2.

## Britain, Turkey, and Japan

By 1952, numerous developments had complicated the Korean situation. Two years earlier, India, Indonesia, Great Britain and eight other countries recognized the People's Republic of China as the true government of China.<sup>112</sup> And by 1952, the war effort became thoroughly stalemated due to the full scale intervention of the People's Liberation Army (PLA). This stalemate in light of British recognition of the PRC, as well as the fact that they were fighting on the side of the United Nations presented an awkward diplomatic situation. In a meeting with Secretary Dulles, Koo critiqued the British stance by saying, "[I] cannot understand why Churchill failed to realize that the policy of recognizing Communist China had brought nothing to Great Britain."<sup>113</sup> Dulles replied that the British had "pinned their hope on the future of Communist China, whereas Nationalist China, in their view, had no future at all."<sup>114</sup> This comment in no doubt infuriated Ambassador Koo. In this case, Britain appeared to abandon the very country that promoted its interests of freedom and democracy the most. Taiwan strove to project an image of itself that was the antithesis of communism as seen in places like the Soviet bloc and the PRC.

It is clear that Koo and Taiwan's government would not interact with countries like Great Britain that seemed to value more highly such attributes as territory (Hong Kong in the case of Great Britain), trade potential, and regional hegemony over other high-minded ideals. Koo personally detested many of the diplomatic policies from Europe likely due to the way in which he was treated during the Paris Peace Conference and during his tenure as Chinese

---

<sup>112</sup> "Britain Recognizes Chinese Communists: Note delivered in Peking". *The Times* (London):6, 7 January 1950; Colin MacKerras, *The New Cambridge Handbook on Contemporary China*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 177-186.

<sup>113</sup> Notes of a Conversation with Mr. John Foster Dulles, January 14, 1952, Koo Papers, 2.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

ambassador to Britain and France. He once remarked that he rejected the “Churchillian view of Europe being the center of gravity.”<sup>115</sup> In particular, Koo believed that the United States should formulate its policies about the containment of the communist threat separately from Europe.

In the following months, logistical matters emerged that further emphasized the political differences between U.N. forces and their communist enemies. While speaking with Turkish Ambassador Feridun Erkin, Koo discussed the details of a possible all-encompassing truce proposal that was revealed in the *Chicago Sun* slightly before their meeting.<sup>116</sup> The proposal suggested a return of two-fifths of the total prisoners of war held by the Americans and their allies. Koo stated that the reasoning behind this part of the proposal was to alleviate the “vexing problem of keeping those Communist prisoners who refused to be repatriated.”<sup>117</sup> It is unclear how widespread the problem of keeping North Koreans prisoner was. All the while, Koo and other diplomats thought it was a central concession worth including in the overall truce proposal as a place from which a peaceable resolution could be implemented. With respect to the true source of diplomatic power on the side of the communists, Koo firmly believed that the leader behind communist negotiations was the Kremlin.<sup>118</sup> In his view, at that point in time, the Soviets did not want an immediate truce to the conflict. Koo argued that Moscow synced their negotiations with the political developments in the United States. Koo thought that if the United States elected a Republican president, the Soviets would immediately call to negotiate a truce.<sup>119</sup> The reasoning behind the way of thinking of the Soviets is fairly straightforward. They understood the traditionally hawkish policies of Republicans toward war and especially

---

<sup>115</sup> Stephen Craft, *V. K. Wellington Koo*, 241.

<sup>116</sup> Notes of a Conversation with Mr. Feridun C. Erkin, Turkish Ambassador, May 1, 1952, Koo Papers, 1.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

regarding communist containment/suppression. Certain conservative military men like General MacArthur had the fullest intention of expanding the war by either bombing Manchuria, blockading the coast of the PRC, or engaging in a direct war with the Soviet Union.<sup>120</sup>

An overriding diplomatic concern of the Taiwanese, United States, and other nations was the possible motives and potential territorial acquisitions of communist nations. The Japanese Ambassador to the U.S., Mr. Araki, was in agreement with Koo apropos of communist motivations for expanded control on a global scale. Araki used the analogy of a pole to show communist dangers in Europe were akin to those in Asia.<sup>121</sup> Koo said that the issue of communist expansion must be stopped by “front lines” in certain regions. For example, he said that Taiwan and Japan served as blocks against the communists in Asia. The Japanese Ambassador noted that his country was already thoroughly involved in the Korean War, since North Korean ships were intercepting U.N. supplies in the waters near Japan. Koo acknowledged that this type of situation existed in saying that the communists were “masters in infiltration and sabotage.”<sup>122</sup>

### **Pessimism**

By February 3, 1953, pessimism continued as the prevailing attitude of the ROC regarding a peaceful resolution to the Korean conflict. The Sinoembassy, (i.e., Chinese diplomatic enclave in Washington, D.C.) headed by Koo, cabled a telegram to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Taiwan describing their view of the current situation. The telegram indicated that the communists had consistently rejected pro-armistice proposals and that the Chinese

---

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.,; Stanley Weintraub, *MacArthur's War: Korea and the Undoing of an American Hero*, (New York: Free Press, 2008).

<sup>121</sup> Notes of a Conversation with Mr. Eikichi Araki, the Japanese Ambassador, August 7, 1952, Koo Papers 2.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., 3.

Communists were clearly joined with the USSR.<sup>123</sup> The embassy also emphasized the purported fact that there was no longer any “logic or sense” that guided negotiations.<sup>124</sup> As such, they said that they must now rely on the U.S. 7<sup>th</sup> fleet in the strait of Taiwan to mitigate any possible military attacks. The correspondence between the Chinese embassy and Taiwan’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs signified not only a deep disdain for the Chinese communist’s policy, but also a tacit refusal to acknowledge the Chinese on the mainland as representing any aspect of China by linking their diplomacy directly to the Soviet Union.

In May 1953, various U.S. and Chinese officials began to question the Soviet Union’s “peace offensive” that appeared to be a reversal from previous diplomatic practices. One of these individuals who questioned this tactic most readily was none other than President Eisenhower. In a reply to a letter relayed by Koo from Chiang Kai-shek, he stated that it would be wrong to believe that the overall objectives of the USSR have changed in spite of their willingness to negotiate in recent weeks.<sup>125</sup> This view by Eisenhower reflects the natural suspicion by First World nations of the ambitions of the Kremlin during the Cold War. For the duration of the Korean War, negotiations regarding peaceable solutions to the conflict were ongoing, tedious, and wrought with problems. The central reasoning behind this complication relates back to the notion that diplomacy was particularly layered and multilateral due to Korean wartime alliances that mirrored Cold War political doctrines. Eisenhower thought that “world enslavement” was the single most important international goal of the Soviet Union, and that it was the United States’ duty to prevent it coming to fruition.<sup>126</sup> Thus, perhaps Eisenhower viewed it as a wise

---

<sup>123</sup> China Embassy Outgoing Telegram, February 2, 1953, Koo Papers, 1.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> The Papers of Dwight D. Eisenhower Volume XIV- The Presidency: The Middle Way Document #175, May 5, 1953.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

policy maneuver to reject the USSR's "peace offensive" on the basis that it only resulted in "endless negotiation which may be used merely as a vehicle for Communist propaganda."<sup>127</sup> In this letter to Chiang, Eisenhower presented a general outline of a plan that would be the necessary conditions for peace in Korea. One general condition for peace involved the demand that Soviet leadership adopt a new way of viewing the world politically. This demand follows the conquest of Poland and other nations in Eastern Europe after the resolution to the European conflict in World War II. Moreover, this demand on behalf of the U.S. President also emerged with the purpose of allaying uncertainty regarding the futures of new, less powerful and influential nation states. The second more specific demand insisted on the conducting of free elections after the successful implementation of an armistice.<sup>128</sup> Tenants of Woodrow Wilson's understanding of democracy stipulated that it was the duty of the United States to "export democracy" to other nations in the world. Although this concept arose decades before Eisenhower became president, it nonetheless was relevant to the self-determination of nations in the face of communist advance during the 1950s.

The Foreign Affairs Ministry in Taipei viewed the conflict in somewhat different terms determined through the lens of prisoner of war (POW) repatriation. POW were indeed people who were involved in the overall diplomatic struggle during the unfolding of the conflict in Korea. Unlike in 1950 or 1951, by May 1953 involved nations began to view the issue in more formal ways. At this point in the war, many believed that the best method of resolving the problem of POW who refused to be repatriated was to utilize an independent commission. Taipei viciously attacked the commission by arguing that due to the scale of the conflict, no member of

---

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

the United Nations could truly be determined as neutral. Furthermore, Taipei asserted that two of the members of the commission were satellites of the Soviet Union.<sup>129</sup> As such, they informed Koo that the overall concept of a neutral commission was in jeopardy. This example brings to light an important, yet infrequently discussed aspect of the war regarding neutrality. Since this war was essentially an outlet for Cold War tensions and hostilities, even diplomats who championed peace and stability had to assume often hostile political positions of their respective governments. Moreover, resolution of conflict and de-escalation of tensions appeared to be a fleeting reality vis-à-vis the division of the world among communist and non-communist lines.

With respect to political tensions, anti-communist feelings strengthened by June 1953. In a conversation with the U.S. State Department official Karl Rankin, Dr. Koo learned that Rankin advocated increased military aid for Taiwan in terms of sustaining or increasing the current annual allocation of 300 million dollars.<sup>130</sup> Rankin believed that even if an armistice could be passed, Taiwan nonetheless faced imminent threats from many fronts. This political uncertainty undoubtedly was tied to communist aggression in Korea, but also might be partially attributed to instability in French Indochina. Rankin and other U.S. officials believed that a strong militarily defensive policy that supported allied nations could best protect against communist incursions.

---

<sup>129</sup> Incoming telegram Washington D.C., May 15, 1953, Koo Papers, 1.

<sup>130</sup> Conversation with Rankin, June 5, 1953, Koo Papers, 4.

## Syngman Rhee

Syngman Rhee, the President of South Korea, assumed a much stronger and more direct anti-communist policy than most of Europe. In the midst of peace negotiations, Rhee attempted to force U.N. and U.S. troops to continue to engage the communists in combat. Taipei's foreign minister Yeh wrote to Koo informing him that the Republic of Korea's (ROK) policies of persistent and prolonged engagement were "disastrous for Korea."<sup>131</sup> Due to this renewed onset of aggression against the wishes of the United States and U.N., the situation in Korea appeared dire. Yeh speculated that if the U.S. and U.N. forces were compelled to withdraw from the Korean Peninsula, it might result in a massive political and military catastrophe. In addition, Yeh stated that the onset of new conflict would require a recalibration of "U.S.-Taiwan Policy."<sup>132</sup> The reasons for a reexamination of policy were several. To begin, Rhee's flippant disregard for the well-being of U.S./U.N. troops as well as a refusal to accept a peace agreement due to personal political ambitions jeopardized regional stability. Moreover, by this point in the war, anti-communists generally wanted to end the conflict while simultaneously suppressing the communist advance. Rhee's policies reflected aggressive tendencies that were in some ways imperialistic in nature (i.e., conquering additional territory on The Peninsula). Taiwan believed that the U.S. and other allies were increasingly becoming embroiled in a national conflict that had renewed with different goals from those of the international community.

Utilization of the notion of a unified Chinese diaspora was also an important concept during the Korean War. The Nationalist government attempted to match up its own political interests with the thoughts and desires of Chinese in places like Korea. Taiwan offered to grant

---

<sup>131</sup> Incoming telegram, June 25, 1953, Koo Papers.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

asylum to anti-communist Chinese POW from the PRC. In September 1953, a mass rally was held by various civic organizations to voice Taiwan's support for Chinese who declared themselves opposed to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) regime.<sup>133</sup> The motives behind the rally and Taiwan's support are three-fold. To begin, Taiwan desired to repatriate former countrymen in order to build up national sentiment that was directed in favor of enemies of communism. Secondly, Taipei believed that by serving as a safe-haven for anti-communist POW, the nation would serve as shining example of hope against global communist encroachment. Lastly and perhaps most importantly, Taiwan could serve as a place for rehabilitation to protect against the "physical and mental threats of Chinese Communists working on them."<sup>134</sup> The Taiwanese government informed Ambassador Koo that a dual approach of Chinese working together from Taiwan and overseas must be instituted to guard against internal and external "treachery of Chinese Communists."<sup>135</sup> Though some left-leaning officials may have believed that this approach was based on paranoia, Nationalists acknowledged the ever-present threat communism had on their society. As such, Taiwan framed the issue of communist advance as an affront to Chinese culture and civilization, and required a defensive alliance of Chinese all throughout the world to prevent its destruction of Chinese values. This allegiance towards the ROC succeeded with overseas Chinese in the case of Singapore and other Chinese diaspora.<sup>136</sup>

In the final months of the war, anti-communist doctrine remained stronger than ever. Syngman Rhee continued to meet with Chiang Kai-shek and appeared ready to renew offensives into North Korean territory. All the while, one of the more pressing issues was the thought of

---

<sup>133</sup> Chinese Embassy, Washington D.C. Incoming Telegram, September 29, 1953, Koo Papers, 1.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>136</sup> Yu-San Wang, *Foreign Policy of the Republic of China on Taiwan: An Unorthodox Approach* (Westport: Praeger, 1990), 93-95.

creating a vast Asian alliance similar to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Much like the purpose of NATO, this alliance would serve as a “defensive wall” against the Asian communist bloc. As Presidents Rhee and Chiang both possessed the largest amount of anti-communist troops in Asia with a combined total of 1.2 million, it seemed reasonable why these were the two nations that yearned to expand their influence throughout Asia. This alliance would undoubtedly play an integral role in the grand strategy of a multilateral “struggle against communism.”<sup>137</sup>

Ambassador Koo pointed out to Assistant Secretary of State Walter Robertson that this type of pact could only be created and overseen by Asian peoples, since many people in Asia were suspicious of underlying colonialist tendencies of Westerners.<sup>138</sup> Unsurprisingly, this understanding of “Asia for Asians” played an integral role in influencing the motivations of statesmen like Rhee, who disregarded Western policies of peaceable resolution to the Korean War in favor of his own understanding of what furthered Korean national interests. Additionally, this alliance of anti-communist Asian countries would constitute a compilation of Asian reasons for opposing communism that was distinctly different from those of the United States or Western Europe. Koo argued that if a country like the Philippines was the chief supporter of an Asian-Pacific pact, it would be well received in the United States due to the popularity of the Filipino President Magsaysay.<sup>139</sup> It is not entirely clear why Koo believed this reception would be the case, but we can speculate that it is due to the Philippines’ distance from the entangling and politically divisive matters of Taiwanese aid and the Korean War. Although a large-scale alliance of this kind never came into existence during or after the Korean War, it nevertheless represented

---

<sup>137</sup> Conversation with Robertson, December 15, 1953, Koo Papers, 7.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*

the goals and ambitions of stridently anti-communist statesmen, who attempted to enlist support at every opportunity to prevent communist advances. Koo's version of Chinese national identity diametrically opposed communism. Like other viewpoints within the GMD, Koo equated communism with Soviet imperialism.<sup>140</sup>

The Korean War "ended" on July 27, 1953, through a ceasefire negotiated between the United Nations Command (mainly South Korea and the United States) on one side and the Chinese and North Korean Communists on the other.<sup>141</sup> This agreement provided peace, but not an official end to the war. In particular, the document provided "an exchange of prisoners, establishment of a neutral zone for the cease-fire and a later political conference that would attempt to settle the tragic Korean questions."<sup>142</sup> At the later political conference, the 1954 Geneva Conference, the participating nations failed to come to an agreement about the political status of Korea.<sup>143</sup> As the ROC was not present at the armistice signing or Geneva (as the United States did not wish to increase tensions with the PRC), Koo's opinions regarding the future of the Korean situation were only academic in nature. All the while, U.S. General Smith argued that the conference partially succeeded due to the U.S. "maintain[ing] good relations with the ROK [and] demonstrating that the failure to reach an agreement was the fault of the Soviets."<sup>144</sup> This statement exemplifies how Koo's anti-communist feelings and his understanding of a modern state remained aligned with United States foreign policy.

---

<sup>140</sup> Henrietta Harrison, *China: Inventing the Nation*, 240.

<sup>141</sup> Lindsay Parrott, "TRUCE IS SIGNED, ENDING THE FIGHTING IN KOREA; P.O.W. EXCHANGE NEAR; RHEE GETS U.S. PLEDGE; EISENHOWER BIDS FREE WORLD STAY VIGILANT," *The New York Times*, July 27, 1953.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>143</sup> "Notes on Sources and Presentation of Material for the Geneva Conference on Korea," 1952-1954, FRUS, 3.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 383.

The Korean War further cultivated ROC national identity through its moral support of the United Nations' forces. Wellington Koo served as an intermediary between the ROC and United States in relaying understandings of wartime developments between the United States and Republic of China. This period showed that Koo remained willing to negotiate with the United States instead of Europe due to Europe's "soft-stance" toward communism. Additionally, the ROC in its reduced state also remained a crucial part of grand strategy in the Pacific. From 1953 until Koo's retirement in 1956, the ROC adapted to its lessened territory on Taiwan by ensuring the island's defense and sovereignty in the South China Sea. In short, the ROC began to develop in a manner paralleling that of its compatriot, South Korea. The ROC and ROK emerged from the Korean War with similar national identities defined by: anti-communist political doctrines, unquestioning allegiance to the United States, and the de jure embrace of Western principles of democracy and self-determination.

# ROC Foreign Policy in the Aftermath (1953-1956)

The period of 1953-1956 marked a transition from an ROC in flux to an ROC returning to equilibrium. In other words, the ROC as a state began to stabilize and increasingly focused its efforts on developing trade, internal economic developments, and political consolidation. The ROC became grudgingly accepting of the reality that it would likely remain on the island of Taiwan indefinitely. Koo worked to ensure the defense of Taiwan—including the modest incorporation of outlying islands such as the Dachen.

After the loss of mainland China to communist forces in 1949, the status of Taiwan became a pressing issue for Americans and Chinese alike. For Americans, the transformation of China into a communist state was viewed as a crippling defeat on the Asian front of foreign policy. In spite of this defeat, Wellington Koo still referred to Taiwan as China or the Republic of China. He referred to it as such, because he believed the Taiwanese government embodied values that were the antithesis to those held by the Communist government of the mainland. Furthermore, Koo implied that Chinese communism was not an ideology in line with the betterment of the situation of the Chinese people. Instead, Koo viewed communism in China as a phenomenon perpetuated by authoritarian countries to further the goals of international communism.<sup>145</sup> A majority of American officials held a view similar to Koo's during this era and thus employed the term "Free China" to refer to Taiwan after 1949.

---

<sup>145</sup> Objections and Comments on the Formosa Resolution, Koo Papers, 2-3.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles tirelessly defended Taiwan. In a conversation between him, Yeh, and Koo, he said that he did not want Taiwan to rule out the possibility of retaking the mainland in order to maintain the hopes of the Chinese people. Dulles argued that it was imperative to word a treaty in such a way that Taiwan and the Pescadores would be protected in the event of an attack, while not including the minor offshore islands.<sup>146</sup> In addition, Dulles assured Yeh and Koo that the United States had no intention of removing the 7<sup>th</sup> fleet from protecting the Taiwan Strait.<sup>147</sup> This candid exchange exemplifies the positive relationship between Koo and Dulles. It is unclear whether Dulles had an affinity for the Taiwanese government or whether he was keen on protecting the interests of the Chinese people. What is known is that Dulles adamantly defended his anti-communist stance and his personal obligation for upholding the Truman Doctrine.<sup>148</sup> Unsurprisingly, these values of anti-communism were held by Wellington Koo as well, who called Communism a “menace.”<sup>149</sup> It is through this mutual understanding of the global political situation that Dulles agreed with and supported Koo’s request for military support of Taiwan.

---

<sup>146</sup> Notes of a Conversation between Secretary of State Dulles and Yeh, October 27, 1954, Koo Papers, 4.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>148</sup> *Longines Chronoscope* with John Foster Dulles, February 1, 1952.

<sup>149</sup> Conversation with Dulles, July 25, 1950 Koo Papers 6; Conversation with Percy Spender September 13, 1950, Koo Papers, 2.

## Sino-American Mutual Defense Treaty

In 1954, the United States and Taiwan signed one of the most significant treaties in the history of Taiwan—the Sino-American Mutual Defense Treaty. The treaty stipulated that if either party were attacked, the other party would come to that country’s assistance.<sup>150</sup> As such, this treaty firmly established a virtual dividing line between the mainland of China and Taiwan after the conclusion of the Korean War. Additionally, this treaty served as a resolution to the First Taiwan Strait Crisis, wherein the PRC began bombarding off-shore islands near Taiwan in September of 1954.<sup>151</sup> Koo, in a series of talks with Assistant Secretary of State Walter Robertson and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, aided in determining the details of a defense treaty.<sup>152</sup> John Foster Dulles argued that the creation of this treaty would dispel mistrust between the two countries. As such, in this new situation, procuring aid for Taiwan would be considerably more efficient.<sup>153</sup> In many ways, this treaty represented what Koo, his colleagues, and his government desired most from the U.S.—de facto recognition in place of the PRC and a framework of peace and stability needed for economic growth.

Before the U.S.A. and ROC signed this treaty, numerous problems arose. To begin, the U.S. State Department did not entirely support the treaty. U.S. officials believed that their government already supported Taiwan sufficiently.<sup>154</sup> Moreover, this treaty led to increased unease and heightened tensions, as the PRC was in the middle of conducting a political meeting with the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (i.e., North Korea). The final issue that arose

---

<sup>150</sup> Appendix 17 -- Report on Mutual Defense Treaty with the Republic of China, U.S. Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations (1955) Article 6.

<sup>151</sup> Chang, “Reluctant Allies,” 99; Milestones: 1953-1960, U.S. Department of State Office of the Historian, <http://history.state.gov/milestones/1953-1960/Taiwan>.

<sup>152</sup> Gu Weijun, *Gu Weijun Huiyilu*, vol. 11, (Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuju, 1985): 400-460.

<sup>153</sup> Chang, “Reluctant Allies,” 54.

<sup>154</sup> Gu Weijun, *Gu Weijun Huiyilu*, vol. 11, 185.

regarded the details of a Pacific defense treaty.<sup>155</sup> As the feeling that Asian people should run their own affairs without Western interference became pervasive during this period, Koo believed that the United States had no hope of success if it tried to take the lead in implementing the treaty.<sup>156</sup>

The ROC's dream of procuring guaranteed U.S. military protection seemed only a pipedream until just before the treaty was signed. In November, Ambassador Koo felt out the opinion of the U.S. towards the creation of a mutually ensured defense zone. From this exercise, he discovered that the U.S. government would support the military defensive efforts of the ROC government in principle only. This realization undoubtedly frustrated Koo, as he argued that non-material support from the U.S. would be useless.<sup>157</sup> The reasoning behind his assertion is rooted in the suspicion that Soviet communist encroachment was an ever-present threat to the region in spite of the ceasefire "ending" the Korean War. Taiwan sought cooperation from the United States to create a military defense zone not only due to a history of close diplomatic relations between the two countries, but also because Thailand, the ROK, and Australia were reluctant to enter into such a pact.<sup>158</sup> Due to the negotiating efforts of Wellington Koo and George Yeh, this treaty helped elevate the status of Taiwan on the international stage as the China with which the United States entrusted for preserving peace.<sup>159</sup> This treaty ensured the defense of only Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands and not other islands near the mainland's coast.<sup>160</sup> Nevertheless, Koo's involvement in drafting this treaty helped develop the concept of

---

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 186.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

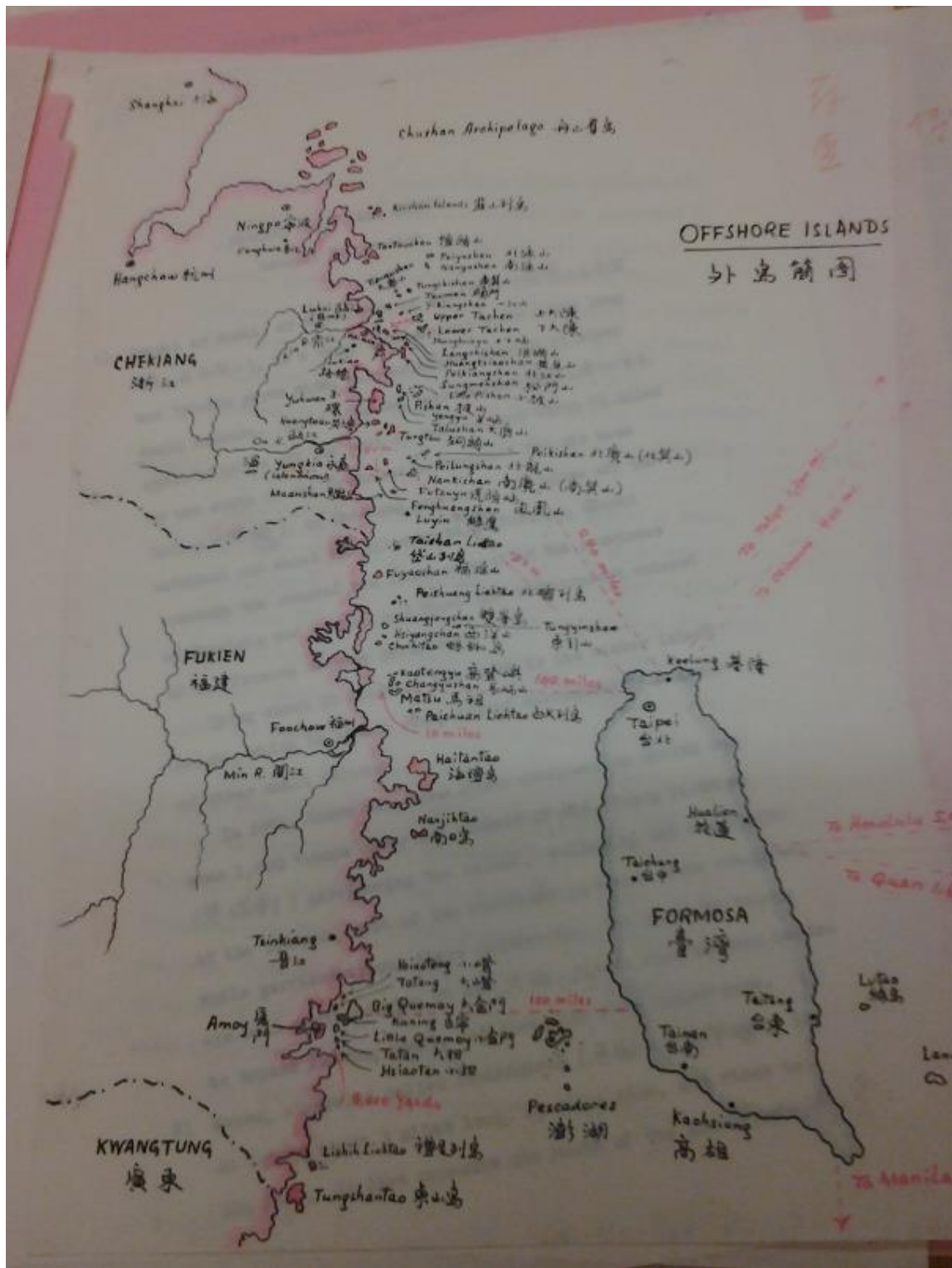
<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 98.

<sup>160</sup> Appendix 17 -- Report on Mutual Defense Treaty with the Republic of China, U.S. Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations (1955) Article 6.

“Two Chinas”—an anomaly on the world scene—that effectively equated Taiwan to the much more populated and militarized mainland.<sup>161</sup> This elevation in status placed Taiwan at the forefront of international political dialogue. Moreover, the national identity that Koo both sought and represented became temporarily secured. As Dr. Koo yearned for stronger relations between the West and the ROC, this treaty symbolized a realization of this goal.

---

<sup>161</sup> Jin Guangyao, *Gu Weijun Zhuan*, (Baoding: Hebei Renmin Chuban She, 1999), 286.



Ambassador Koo's map of offshore islands near Taiwan (Formosa)

The Dachens (Tachens) are the group of roughly 30 islands near Zhejiang (Chekiang) Province

(Map courtesy of Wellington Koo Papers, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University)

At Twin Oakes on January 29, 1955, Robertson and Koo discussed the possibility of an evacuation of Nationalist forces from the Dachen Islands. Robertson stated that aid and assistance in the case of an evacuation could only be carried out if Taiwan issued a formal request. Koo replied that he recommended the request to Chiang Kai-shek, with the inflated title of “Generalissimo,” and the Chinese government, and hoped that the situation would be resolved accordingly.<sup>162</sup> In the following months, Dulles temporarily resolved the conflict by warning the People’s Republic of China of the possibility of a nuclear strike. Additionally, the Formosa Resolution stipulated that the U.S. military would support the ROC in the case of an attack on the territories controlled by the ROC.<sup>163</sup> This military ultimatum issued by the United States signified the first application of the Sino-American Mutual Defense Treaty that Koo and other statesmen drafted. This ultimatum also signified the beginning of a new era in which ROC national identity would be defined by its protection by the United States.

### **The Dachen Islands**

In a top secret document dated January 21, 1955, Koo said that he would propose withholding an announcement on policy regarding the Dachens until “Congressional action on the joint resolution” (in reference to the Formosa Resolution).<sup>164</sup> In this way, he could secure Taiwan’s national interests while at the same time not reveal a potentially flawed policy on the situation. Several days before Koo’s suggestion of stalling an announcement, a memorandum from the State Department on the subject of Defense of Off-Shore Islands asserted that, “China and the U.S. will stand shoulder to shoulder in a consolidated position.”<sup>165</sup> Thus, through

---

<sup>162</sup> Notes of a telephone conversation between Robertson, January 29, 1955, Koo Papers.

<sup>163</sup> H. J. Res. 159 “Formosa Resolution,” January 24, 1955, Koo Papers.

<sup>164</sup> Top secret document, January 21, 1955, Koo Papers, 2-3.

<sup>165</sup> 1955 Department of State memorandum Defense of Off-Shore Islands, Koo Papers, 1.

acknowledging the affirmed alliance between United States and Chinese interests in respect to the Dachen, Koo ensured swift action by withholding an announcement on China's view of the current state of affairs. Several months later, *The New York Times* published an article titled, "A Formosa Cease-Fire!" This article discussed the ongoing tension and military stress in the Taiwan Strait as well as the possibility of a resolution through the United Nations. Most relevant, however, Koo was quoted at the beginning of the article as saying that the central issue behind attaining a Formosa cease-fire relates to the Communists ceasing to fire on Taiwan.<sup>166</sup>

This diplomatic maneuver was significant for two key reasons. For one, Koo further publicized the Taiwanese stance by being quoted in the most prominent newspaper in the United States. Secondly, he tried to convince the American people that the Taiwanese stance was just by unambiguously placing all of the blame for conflict in the Taiwan Strait onto Communist forces. This tactic would have been necessary and critical, since Koo, acting as a representative of the ROC, would have to convince American representatives to pass future resolutions in favor of Taiwanese national interests. Not only could these resolutions enact laws that defend Taiwan, but also Taiwan could receive additional aid and recognition.

### **Democracy, Aid, and Europe**

Recognition of Taiwan on the international scene became an issue after 1949. In 1950, it was proposed that the United Nations Security Council should consider the status of Taiwan. This question seemed to yield numerous beneficial outcomes as well as drawbacks to Koo. On the one hand, Koo argued, discussing Taiwan in the forum of the Security Council would be

---

<sup>166</sup> "A FORMOSA CEASEFIRE!," Koo Papers.

“useful for the common cause of the democratic countries.”<sup>167</sup> Yet, Koo hedged his optimism regarding the possibility of using the “Question of Formosa” as a vehicle to promote democratic principles at the United Nations. The Soviet Union among other countries in the communist block had political motives to address the Taiwan situation head-on. These countries yearned to dismiss Taiwan from the Security Council and even from the United Nations altogether. To further complicate the matter, Koo learned that the United Kingdom (U.K.) opposed the United States’ policy toward Taiwan.<sup>168</sup> Policy makers of the era likely would have been surprised by this divergence in foreign policy, since the United Kingdom and United States were not only allies in World War II, but also shared a long history. The United Kingdom recognized the PRC over the ROC in order to protect its commercial interests in China (i.e., Hong Kong).<sup>169</sup>

Koo asked Acheson if, at his next meeting with European leaders, he would attempt to change the minds of the foreign ministers of the United Kingdom and France about their stance on Taiwan. In this way, these three countries could make a powerful statement at the Security Council by upholding the “cause of freedom and peace”<sup>170</sup> on behalf of Western style democracies. According to the President Woodrow Wilson’s understanding of democracy, countries must also spread them. Addressing part of this dual understanding of democracy’s purpose was perhaps the angle at which Koo framed his reasoning for asking Acheson to meet with France and the U.K.

Although Great Britain remained unconvinced in recognizing Taiwan, its former colony Australia held a markedly different view. Reports indicated that the vast majority of the country

---

<sup>167</sup>Conversation with Dean Acheson, August 31, 1950, Koo Papers, 3.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>169</sup>Tom Buchanan, *East Wind: China and the British Left, 1925-1976* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 115.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 7-8.

supported the policy of recognizing Taiwan. This opinion was also held by the entire Australian Press with the exception of one columnist.<sup>171</sup> At one point, the Australian Minister of External Affairs asked Koo to describe the Chinese Communist Party as he saw it. Koo said that the Chinese Communists were not acting on their own accord, but were merely extensions of Moscow's global influence.<sup>172</sup> Thus, Koo believed that Taiwan should remain a sovereign state in order to serve as a "beacon of hope to the masses on the mainland."<sup>173</sup> Many people on Taiwan held this conviction during the 1950s. If Taiwan invaded mainland China as part of a reconquering effort, the invading troops would be thought of as liberators rather than aggressors. This notion persisted because Nationalists presumed the mainland public would grow weary and become disillusioned with the ideology propagated by the communist regime. Koo noted this phenomenon by citing instances in which Soviet secret agents disguised as businessmen and technicians provided information to Chinese Communist officials in order to stop a potential revolt.<sup>174</sup> Koo portrayed the CCP as an alien force implementing values and policies foreign to the Chinese. In contrast, he depicted the ROC as a vanguard to the principles of Chinese nationhood articulated by the Nationalist Party founder, Sun Yat-sen. These "Three People's Principles" included nationalism, democracy, and people's livelihood—tenets central to Koo's conception of what the ROC's modern identity ought to be.<sup>175</sup>

### **Trade and Recapturing the Mainland**

Koo used "trade diplomacy" to advance Nationalist Chinese interests. While conversing with Austrian ambassador to the U.S. Dr. Loewenthal, he presented the possibility of introducing

---

<sup>171</sup> Conversation with Australian Ambassador Spender, Koo Papers, 3.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>175</sup> Henrietta Harrison, *China: Inventing the Nation*, 184.

Taiwanese commodities such as sugar, rice, and citronella oil to Austrian markets.<sup>176</sup> By promoting trade in this fashion, Taiwan would create an economic tie to Europe. Austria and Taiwan would thereby share an economic fate. Koo likely used this variant of “trade diplomacy” to ensure the development of a mutually beneficial political bond. Although many might argue that a Chinese allegiance with Austria was not the most beneficial in terms of the scope of international events, Koo nonetheless began incorporating countries into an anti-communist block. This block had the potential to stave off Soviet and Chinese Communist advances.

Koo also possessed clear opinions regarding the United States’ 7th Fleet’s presence in the Taiwan Strait. After the onset of the Korean War, the U.S. moved its ships into the strait in order to prevent a communist invasion that utilized the Korean War as a military distraction. In 1953, Eisenhower lifted restrictions on the fleet that would allow the ROC to attack the mainland (i.e., “unleash Chiang on the mainland”).<sup>177</sup> Koo articulated that this new order was “welcomed by his government and his people” and that it remained a goal for the ROC to recover “the Chinese mainland one day.”<sup>178</sup> This viewpoint from a diplomat is in some ways surprising. Diplomats by their very nature avoid conflict. In spite of such traditions, Koo argued that imminent military action on behalf of Taiwan would only be beneficial. Koo compared an invasion of the mainland as being similar to the conquering of China by nomadic Manchu people to the north during the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>179</sup> Taiwanese forces—like the Manchus—represented only a fraction of the total manpower of the Chinese mainland, but could win hearts and minds. Koo believed that his country’s military would have no problem convincing the Chinese populace of the destitution and misery they experienced during the communist regime. This “convincing” also took the form

---

<sup>176</sup> Conversation with Austrian ambassador, January 23, 1953, Koo Papers, 2.

<sup>177</sup> Conversation with Adlai Stevenson, February 15, 1953, Koo Papers; Chang, “Reluctant Allies,” 54.

<sup>178</sup> Conversation with Adlai Stevenson, February 15, 1953, Koo Papers, 4.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-7.

of ROC funded guerilla warfare on the mainland from 1949-1953. Guerilla forces under the sponsorship of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) numbered in the thousands and launched attacks into Yunnan province.<sup>180</sup> This dual policy approach by the ROC demonstrated that Taiwan had a chance—albeit a small one—of reestablishing control over the mainland. Thus, Koo had reasons to remain optimistic.

### **Appeal to the Public**

Koo used modern media to appeal to the U.S. public. He appeared on a variety of television programs such as *Longines Chronoscope*, *Meet the Press*, and *Youth Wants to Know*. In a *Longines Chronoscope* on February 21, 1955, Wellington Koo appealed to the people of the United States for support. Early in the interview, one interviewer asked Koo if he believed a ceasefire could quell the tensions between the “Two Chinas” in the Taiwan Strait. Koo responded to his question by stating that “we [Taiwan] certainly have not been taking the initiative to stir up hostilities. It is the Communists who have been bombing and bombarding us.”<sup>181</sup> Koo attempted to cultivate an image that characterized the Communists as aggressors. Additionally, Koo stated that his country could not negotiate peace with the Chinese Communists since they were the “tools and puppets of international communism.”<sup>182</sup> Koo negated the possibility of a peace settlement with the Chinese Communists, since he felt that discussing peace with them equated to legitimizing their country and cause. Then again, Koo may have simply been stubborn with respect to dealing with the PRC in the face of realistic circumstances.

---

<sup>180</sup> Victor S. Kaufman, “Trouble in the Golden Triangle: The United States, Taiwan, and the 93<sup>rd</sup> Nationalist Division,” *The China Quarterly* no. 166 (June 2001), 440-442.

<sup>181</sup> *Longines Chronoscope*, February 21, 1955.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*

Koo also emphasized the military repercussions of Communist China's capturing Taiwan. He stated that Communist possession of the island would amount to a "breach in the chain of defense" of the security of non-communist nations. Furthermore, Koo emphasized that the strategic placement of the island could also be used by the Soviets presumably for missile placement and/or military bases.<sup>183</sup> This "scare tactic" confirmed one of the worst fears among the U.S. public: the Domino Theory might be true. Through characterizing Taiwan as a crucial safeguard against Chinese Communist territorial expansion into the Pacific, Koo compelled Americans to remain invested in Taiwan's future. Koo's hope for investment in Taiwan came to fruition since the Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) continued to remain on the island to help in training ROC troops until 1978.<sup>184</sup>

The release of two newspaper reports on March 26, confirmed some of Koo's worst suspicions regarding the PRC. *The New York Times* and *New York Herald Tribune* both announced that U.S. military officials believed Red China would attack the island of Mazu in April and Jinmen soon after.<sup>185</sup> In part due to Koo's efforts, the possibility of an attack on Taiwan and its island claims ascended to the forefront of America's national consciousness. At this point, American feelings toward the relative importance of maintaining the integrity of Taiwan and its islands resembled the crest of a wave. Days later, several additional major newspapers published articles concerning PRC encroachment on the ROC.<sup>186</sup>

On May 22, Koo appeared on the television show, *Youth Wants to Know* that featured high-profile figures such as John F. Kennedy and Everett Dirksen. He answered questions

---

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> Winberg Chai, "Missile Envy: New Tensions in China-U.S.-Taiwan Relations," *Asian Affairs: An American Review*. (March 2007): 39-40.

<sup>185</sup> Gu Weijun, *Gu Weijun Huiyilu*, vol. 12, (Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuju, 1985): 254.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., 258-259.

regarding the activities of the Chinese Communist Party; the problem of Red China's entering the United Nations, and America's policy for handling the Taiwan situation.<sup>187</sup> This appearance afforded Koo the opportunity to appeal to an additional demographic in American society. Moreover, by appearing on television programs that featured respected U.S. figures, Koo reflected the ambitions of Chinese. These ambitions mirrored the identity of students during the May 4<sup>th</sup> Movement, wherein Chinese yearned for equal treatment on the world stage.<sup>188</sup> Unfortunately for Koo, the next day *The New York Times* published an article mischaracterizing his view toward a ceasefire in the Taiwan Strait.<sup>189</sup> The article stated that Koo was the first of Generalissimo Chiang's aides to favor a ceasefire, which was contrary to ROC policy. Other newspapers took notice of Koo's supposed misstep. For example, Hong Kong's Kung Sheung Daily News published an article titled, "顧維鈞的嚴重失言 [Wellington Koo's Severe Gaffe]." <sup>190</sup> In spite of preemptive "careful phrasing" during the interview, this instance of confused perceptions of Koo's policies forced him to backpedal.<sup>191</sup> If one adheres to the phrase, that any publicity is good publicity, this awkward occasion benefitted Koo and the ROC in placing them at the forefront of many major newspapers around the world.

## **China Lobby**

The China Lobby constituted the largest base of support in the U.S. for both Koo and the ROC. A crucial member of Koo's network, Henry Luce (founder of *Time* and *Life Magazine*), supported the ROC tirelessly through his characterization of it as the rightful heir to the 1911

---

<sup>187</sup> Ibid., 313-314.

<sup>188</sup> Henrietta Harrison, *China: Inventing the Nation*, 170-172.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid., 314.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., 315.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., 314.

revolution—thereby corroborating Koo’s vision of China’s modern identity.<sup>192</sup> A 1955 article in *Life* titled, “The Crisis of Free China” stated, “Asia is in danger of going Communist by voluntary choice.”<sup>193</sup> Alarmist articles of this type attempted to persuade Americans to support and legitimize “Free China.” In addition, the Committee of One Million, composed generally of anti-communist conservatives, remained a prominent force in the mid-1950s. This group worked towards convincing politicians and Americans-at-large to oppose the PRC’s admission to the United Nations (UN). This committee had limited success with President Eisenhower, but achieved allegiance from dozens of U.S. Representatives and Senators who conducted “Committee business from inside their own offices on Capitol Hill.”<sup>194</sup> The sustained efforts of the China Lobby reinforced the pro-U.S. identity adopted by the people of Taiwan. Furthermore, Wellington Koo’s involvement in this network of lobbyists characterized him as a patriotic Chinese with Western sympathies.

## **Retirement**

By 1956, Koo felt weary.<sup>195</sup> Previous crises involving Jinmen and Mazu, protection of the Dachen Islands, and publicity issues regarding a ceasefire in the Taiwan Strait exhausted Koo. In spite of many triumphs over his long career, sustained involvement in diplomacy became increasingly difficult at 69 years of age. Since he aided in the implementation of the Sino-American Mutual Defense Treaty that sustained aid to Taiwan and kept at bay encroachment from “international communists,” his work that allowed Taiwan to develop was largely complete. With the hope that someday the ROC would return to its previous status as a global power

---

<sup>192</sup> Robert E. Herzstein, *Henry R. Luce: A Political Portrait of the Man Who Created the American Century* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1994).

<sup>193</sup> Patricia Neils, *China Images in the Life and times of Henry Luce*, 265.

<sup>194</sup> Stanley Bachrack, *The Committee of One Million*, 4.

<sup>195</sup> Jin Guangyao, *Gu Weijun Zhuan*, 292; Stephen Craft, *V.K. Wellington Koo*, 251.

through reconquering the mainland, Koo left the position of Ambassador to the United States (Dong Xianguang succeeded him). Despite being less prolific than Ambassador Koo, Dong maintained close ties to the U.S. and received praise from the ROC.<sup>196</sup> Thus, the ROC continued along its previously established trajectory within the larger context of the Cold War.

---

<sup>196</sup> Foreign Press Opinion: "China's New Envoy" *Taiwan Today*, October 1, 1958.

# Conclusions

Koo dreamt of a China that would serve as a major power on the international scene. This China would maintain aspects of traditional Chinese culture while simultaneously creating a modern identity distinct from that of the CCP. As such, he directed his efforts toward resisting communist influence in China. Koo argued that “communists do not take nationalism very seriously because they all believe in international communism.”<sup>197</sup> Thus, Chinese national identity as Koo understood it was at stake. Koo also believed that the CCP threatened the “very basic foundation of our [Chinese] society—the family.”<sup>198</sup> The objective of Chinese Nationalists and Koo was to preserve key aspects of traditional China while accomplishing developmental goals. These developmental goals included raising the standard of living of people in the ROC through foreign aid and creating a powerful military with the assistance of foreign advisors.<sup>199</sup>

In one sense, Koo’s vision failed to come to fruition. According to Professor C. K. John Chu from Columbia University (who had personal connections to Dr. Koo in New York), Wellington Koo always negotiated from a position of weakness relative to most other countries.<sup>200</sup> Unlike the Communist leader, Zhou Enlai, Koo lacked the support of roughly 600 million people that ensured more expansive international influence. Additionally, unlike Zhou, Koo never had a position of power equivalent to his as premier. Moreover, Koo and the Republic of China faced enormous setbacks by losing control of the mainland in 1949. The result of the Korean War in 1953 showed that the PRC possessed the military capacity to fight the United

---

<sup>197</sup> *Longines Chronoscope*, February 21, 1955.

<sup>198</sup> *Longines Chronoscope*, May 26, 1952.

<sup>199</sup> Notes of a Conversation with Mr. Ferry Spender, Australian Minister for External Affairs, September 13, 1950, Koo Papers 5; “Dear Mr. Secretary (Copy),” December 23, 1949, Koo Papers 4-6.

<sup>200</sup> Private Telephone Conversation with Professor Chu, July 14, 2012.

States to a stalemate—thereby making any reasonable ROC attempt to reconquer the mainland futile. At the end of his diplomatic career in 1956, Koo’s tangible accomplishments seemed sparse.

At the same time, Koo succeeded globally by creating a long-term, sustained alliance with the more powerful of the two global superpowers—the United States. After the 1953 Korean ceasefire, aid to the ROC increased. The U.S. sustained its economic assistance until 1964.<sup>201</sup> Military aid increased as well due to the signing of new defensive agreements such as the 1954 Sino-American Mutual Defense Treaty. In relation to aid, the ROC remained exclusively the China with which the United States traded and recognized until 1971.<sup>202</sup> Koo and his network of contacts in the U.S. China Lobby had ensured this revitalized relationship with the United States that was maintained decades longer than any policy expert would have expected. Koo’s work during this decade (1946-56) contributed to larger efforts that allowed the ROC to recover from its defeat on the mainland.

In addition, Koo was instrumental in ensuring that the ROC remained a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council more than a decade after Koo’s retirement. The territorial holdings of the ROC remained nearly intact from 1949 through the present due to ROC treaties and negotiations linked with U.S. military support. Broadly adopted anti-communist foreign policy allowed the ROC to be the sole China recognized by the ROK up until 1992.<sup>203</sup> Koo succeeded in aligning national security interests of the ROC with that of South Korea and the United States in securing the stationing of the U.S. 7<sup>th</sup> fleet in the Taiwan Strait. From the

---

<sup>201</sup>George Aseniero, “South Korean and Taiwanese Development: The Transnational Context.” *Review: A Journal of the Fernand Braudel Center* 17 (1994): 290.

<sup>202</sup>United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2758.

<sup>203</sup>Nicholas D. Kristof, “Chinese and South Koreans Formally Establish Relations,” *New York Times*, August 24, 1992.

U.S. perspective, the fleet served as a protective barrier against the so-called Domino Effect of regional nations falling to communism due to communist takeover in one neighboring nation.

In the current era, Chinese on the mainland and abroad view Wellington Koo as a hero.<sup>204</sup> Chinese praise Dr. Koo for the same reasons that they praise the 19<sup>th</sup> century Qing official Commissioner Lin Zexu. In an era when opium ravaged Chinese society, Commissioner Lin destroyed millions of pounds of opium in the hope of healing a country of ill health and corrupted morals. However, this action proved futile with the initiation of the Opium War of 1839 by Western powers.<sup>205</sup> Koo and Lin both symbolized adherents to lost but morally upright causes. Although Koo's international background and Anglo first name distanced him from the shared experience of Chinese common people, he nonetheless dedicated his career to "giving back" to China. Specifically, he championed the causes of Chinese freedom and self-determination—similar in scope to Wilsonian Idealism.<sup>206</sup> Koo's PhD dissertation on international law and diplomacy titled, "The Status of Aliens in China," set him on course for a career as a diplomat and later as a judge dedicated to solving China's international problems. In his dissertation, Koo expressed his personal philosophy in writing, "If, to the intelligent and intensely patriotic efforts of the Chinese people to regenerate their country, there are added the sympathy and moral support of the treaty powers, the rise of a powerful and progressive China will surely be hastened a hundred-fold."<sup>207</sup>

---

<sup>204</sup> William Tung, *V.K. Wellington Koo and China's Wartime Diplomacy*, 99; Jin Guangyao, *Gu Weijun Zhuan*, 308.

<sup>205</sup> Peter C. Perdue, "The Anglo-Chinese War of 1839-1842," Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Accessed February 14, 2013, [http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/opium\\_wars\\_01/ow1\\_essay02.html](http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/opium_wars_01/ow1_essay02.html).

<sup>206</sup> Chinese Embassy Outgoing Telegram, Washington D.C., August 4, 1949, Koo Papers 2; Tung, *V.K. Wellington Koo and China's Wartime Diplomacy*, 138.

<sup>207</sup> Wellington Koo, "The Status of Aliens in China" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1912), 356.

Given the aforementioned evidence, Wellington Koo should be considered a cunning diplomat whose dreams for China's political future became increasingly separated from reality since the PRC remained firmly entrenched on the mainland by the end of his diplomatic career. However, his legacy lives on due to the continued success and stability of the ROC and the preservation of an independent ROC identity.

# Bibliography

## Archival Sources:

United States Government. National Archives and Records Administration. Correspondences with Wellington Koo. Eisenhower Papers, boxes 10, 12, 14, 294, 313, 328, 357, 361, 499, 531, 712, 713, and 748, The Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library and Museum, Abilene, KS.

United States Government. National Archives and Records Administration. Correspondences with Wellington Koo. Truman Papers, boxes 151, 152, 757, and 758, The Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, Independence, MO.

United States Government. National Archives and Records Administration. Our Documents: 100 Milestone Documents from the National Archives. President Wilson's Message to Congress, January 8, 1918, Washington, D.C.

United States Government, Office of the Historian. *Foreign Relations of the United States*. Washington, D.C. 1946-1951.

Wellington Koo Papers, boxes 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 159, 161, 180, and 187, Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New York, NY.

## Published Primary Sources:

Bullitt, William C. *The Great Globe Itself*. New York: Scribner's, 1946.

Gu, Weijun 顧維鈞. *Gu Weijun Huiyilu* 顧維鈞回憶錄 [Wellington Koo Memoirs]. Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局, 1985.

Interim Meeting of Foreign Ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Moscow, December 16-26, 1945.

Koo, Wellington. "The Status of Aliens in China." PhD diss., Columbia University, 1912.

"Longines Chronoscope with Dr. V.K. Wellington Koo." *Longines Chronoscope*. February 21, 1955.

"Longines Chronoscope with Dr. V.K. Wellington Koo." *Longines Chronoscope*. May 26, 1952.

“Longines Chronoscope with John Foster Dulles.” *Longines Chronoscope*. February 1, 1952.

Mao, Zedong. *On New Democracy*. Honolulu: University Press of the Pacific, 2003.

UN General Assembly. 1971. *United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2758: Restoration of the Lawful Rights of the People’s Republic of China in the United Nations*. New York City: United Nations.

United States Senate. Appendix 17 of *Report on Mutual Defense Treaty with the Republic of China*, Committee on Foreign Relations, Article 6, 1955.

## Secondary Sources:

Aseniero, George. “South Korean and Taiwanese Development: The Transnational Context.” *Review: A Journal of the Fernand Braudel Center* 17, (1994): 275-336.

Atkinson, George W. “The Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance.” *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 23, no. 3 (July 1947).

Bachrack, Stanley D. *The Committee of One Million: “China Lobby” Politics 1953-1971*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.

Birtle, Andrew. “The Marshall Mission: A Peacekeeping Mission that Failed.” *Military Review* 80, (March/April 2000): 99-103.

Buchanan, Tom. *East Wind: China and the British Left, 1925-1976*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Chai, Winberg. “Missile Envy: New Tensions in China-U.S.-Taiwan Relations.” *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, (March 2007): 39-40.

Chang, Su-Ya 張叔雅, “Zhong Mei Gongtong Fangyu Tiaoyue de Qianding.” 中美共同防禦條約的簽訂 [Reluctant Alliance: John Foster Dulles and the Making of the U.S.-ROC Mutual Defense Treaty of 1954]. *Zhongyang yan jiu yuan oumei yanjiu suo* 中央研究院歐美研究所 24, (1994): 51-99.

Compton, Christine. *Our Documents: 100 Milestone Documents from the National Archives*, ed. Michael R. Beschloss. New York City: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Craft, Stephen G. V.K. *Wellington Koo and the Emergence of Modern China*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2004.

- Eastman, Lloyd E. "Who Lost China? Chiang Kai-shek Testifies." *The China Quarterly* 88, (December 1981): 658-668.
- Furuya, Keiji. *Chiang Kai-shek: His Life and Times*. New York: St. John's University, 1981.
- Harrison, Henrietta. *China: Inventing the Nation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Herzstein, Robert E. *Henry R. Luce: A Political Portrait of the Man Who Created the American Century*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1994.
- Hosch, William L. *The Korean War and the Vietnam War: People, Politics, and Power*. New York City: Rosen Publishing, 2009.
- Jin, Guangyao 金光耀, *Gu Weijun Zhuan 顧維鈞傳* [Biography of Wellington Koo]. Baoding: Hebei Renmin Chuban She 保定:河北人民出版社, 1999.
- Kaufman, Victor S. "Trouble in the Golden Triangle: The United States, Taiwan, and the 93<sup>rd</sup> Nationalist Division." *The China Quarterly*, no. 166, (June 2001): 440-456.
- Lin, Cheng-yi. "The Legacy of the Korean War: Impact on U.S.-Taiwan Relations." *Journal of Northeast Asian Studies*, (Winter 1992): 41-57.
- MacKerras, Colin. *The New Cambridge Handbook on Contemporary China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. 177-186.
- Manela, Erez. "The Wilsonian Moment and the Rise of Anticolonial Nationalism: The Case of Egypt." *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 12, no. 4, (December 2001): 99-122.
- Milestones: 1953-1960, U.S. Department of State Office of the Historian, <http://history.state.gov/milestones/1953-1960/Taiwan>.
- Myers, Ramon H. *Two Chinese States: U.S. Foreign Policy and Interests*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1978.
- Neils, Patricia. *China Images in the Life and Times of Henry Luce*. Savage: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1990.
- Perdue, Peter C. "The Anglo-Chinese War of 1839-1842." Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Accessed February 14, 2013. [http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/opium\\_wars\\_01/ow1\\_essay02.html](http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/opium_wars_01/ow1_essay02.html)
- Public Broadcasting Service. "China-Taiwan History." Last modified March 2000. <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/asia/china/china-taiwan.html>.

- Tucker, Nancy Bernkopf. *China Confidential: American Diplomats and Sino-American Relations, 1945-1996*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.
- Tung, William. *V.K. Wellington Koo and China's Wartime Diplomacy*. New York: St. John's University, 1977.
- University of Tennessee. "Romantic Politics: Orientalism."  
<http://web.utk.edu/~gerard/romanticpolitics/orientalism.html>.
- Van Slyke, Lyman. *The China White Paper: August 1949*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1967.
- Wang, Yu-San. *Foreign Policy of the Republic of China on Taiwan: An Unorthodox Approach*. Westport: Praeger, 1990. 93-95.
- Weintraub, Stanley. *MacArthur's War: Korea and the Undoing of an American Hero*. New York: Free Press, 2008.