

First Discussion with Professor Wang

Toronto, December 1990

RM: Let us start at the beginning, date and place of birth, early education, family, friends, and the background of your professional work.

TY: I was born in Fuzhou in Fujian Province, which is opposite Taiwan. According to the Chinese calendar, I was born on the third day of the sixth month of the Chinese lunar calendar. That means July 6th, 1913 of the solar calendar. It was the second year of the Chinese Republic. I was born into a "bureaucratic family", as defined according to Chinese Communist standards; my father was a middle-rank official in the reactionary government, the warlords government.

I would like to say something about my family. My father was born into a very poor family, so he and his elder brother were sent to a school near Fuzhou, a modern school, the aim of which was to build a navy for China. No one wanted to send their children there because most people were very conservative, but my father and my uncle were sent there because the school gave them some money to support the family, which was the reason they attended that particular school for a few years. Those were the late days of the Ching Dynasty.

My father was born in 1862. I think it was in the 1870's that he started in that school. Then, according to that school's regulations, all its graduates were sent to foreign countries, either England or France, to pursue further studies. So my father went to Paris with his elder brother. At that time, they still wore the long pigtailed. He went to Paris with his hair in pigtailed. I think he studied at l'ecole libre des sciences politiques. He learned French and specialized in naval sciences, but he also studied political science. He came back to China and, fortunately for him, during the last years of the Ching Dynasty, people returning to China from abroad were well-treated. They were sent to good jobs. My father was sent to the government-run railway corporation, which was financed by French capital. Since he knew the French well, he was employed by that railway. After a few years, he was elevated to be Director of the Army factory that manufactured arms and munitions.

RM: In what part of the country was this?

TY: This was in Hubei Province in central China. The factory was in Hanyang city. However, during the revolution of 1911, which saw the overthrow of the Ching Dynasty and the establishment of the Chinese Republic, my father was captured by the revolutionaries, because he was a middle-ranking official of the overthrown government. Fortunately, he was

saved by his friend and returned to Fuzhou.

RM: What year did he return?

TY: I was not yet born at that time. I was born in the second year of the New Republic.

RM: You were born in 1913.

TY: Yes. Then, after escaping from the revolutionaries, my father got a job in Fuzhou, our native city. It was a diplomatic job, because at that time the government had established offices for a special commissioner on foreign affairs in every province. My father was appointed the special commissioner in Fujian and we moved to a house in the suburbs. So I was raised in those family surroundings. When I was very young, the First World War broke out. We children became interested in some of the picture journals that were sent to my father. There were a lot of pictures dealing with the war. I remember that I liked Kitchener very much. I still can remember the Kitchener pictures. As a very small boy, an intimate gesture - (Professor Wang, what were you talking about here? †

The most important impact on my mind when I was young was the Japanese aggression against China. My father had much trouble with the Japanese in Fujian, because Fuzhou, as you know, is

very close to Taiwan. The Japanese Government sent a lot of Taiwanese to Fujian to make trouble. We hated the Japanese. I acquired my first education in patriotism then. I learned that my father had sent a memorandum to Peking University about the Twenty-One Japanese demands. That was a very important event in China and made a strong impression on me.

My education at that time, though, was conservative. My father didn't want to send his children to modern schools, so he employed a private teacher.

RM: So you were educated at home?

TY: Yes, we had a tutor at home. Later, my father lost his job and we had no money to employ this teacher. That was when I was about 12 years old. So my education was very conservative in the early stages. Not modern at all - no mathematics, no science, but we studied Chinese classical literature.

RM: That's first rate, though.

TY: Well, we lost the chance to know something about the outside world. We lost the chance of studying science and mathematics. At the time, one of my cousins, who was much older than I, was sent to Belgium to be a Minister. He stayed in Brussels for many years. He was also the person who managed the case of 1925, between Belgium and China. Remember

that? It was the Belgium-China case concerning unequal treaties. He was the person who was involved in that case. So these things made an impression on me. Fortunately, my father lost his job after the Revolution of 1925 - we call it the First Revolution. Just before this revolution, the Nationalist Army came to Fujian and my father lost his job, so he had to send me to the 'modern' primary school, where we learned to read English. I distinctly remember the first class I attended where we read English. They taught us, "This is a boy. This is a peach."

RM: This was in your own home town?

TY: Yes.

RM: What year would that have been, roughly?

TY: I was 12 years old, so that was 1925. Not long after that my father died. When I was 13. Then we were very poor. We received no pension from my father's salary.

RM: Was your mother still alive?

TY: Yes, but there were many children in our family. We ended up moving to town because at that time, it was much cheaper to live in town than to live in the suburbs. I had to leave my

school, which was a missionary school and was quite expensive to attend. So I left that school to attend the government middle school. Years later, I went back to visit the missionary school. It is a very well-known school in Fuzhou; people like T.C. Chen were educated there. I went there too, but the Great Revolution happened. All the missionary schools were destroyed. So I went back again to the government-run school. I stayed there for three years and graduated from high school. Then it was time to go to college, but it was very difficult for my mother to pay the tuition. She had no work. I insisted that I should go to Shanghai, so one of my brothers and I went to Shanghai to take the entrance examinations in the summer.

RM: What date was this?

TY: 1929. In July, I went to summer school to prepare for the examinations in August. Before telling you about my college education, I must mention that while I was in high school those three years, one of my older brothers was in the secondary school and we both experienced the movement to purify Communist members, which was initiated by Chiang Kai-shek. It was a terrible thing. Some of the teachers perished.

RM: When was that?

TY: It was 1928.

RM: What was this programme of 'purification'?

TY: During the First Revolution, from 1925-27, there was a coalition Communist Party/Kuomingtang government. Then, in 1926, I think, there was a revolt against the coalition and Chiang Kai-shek began to 'purify' Communist party members from the government. He took measures to suppress all Communist members. Most of them were murdered. Some of the best teachers in our schools were murdered by the Kuomingtang. This meant that, from the very beginning, I had a negative opinion of the Kuomingtang.

RM: I can understand.

TY: When I went to college my idea was to acquire knowledge. I was not supporting the regime at that time. The first department in which I studied was the Department of Foreign Languages.

RM: In Shanghai University?

TY: No, it was Fudan University. I was there for two years. In the first year, I took English language, but afterwards I decided that English was not for me, so I transferred to the

Political Science Department.

RM: Well, I'm thrilled because, as you know, I visited Fudan University. I spoke there. I didn't know that you had been a student there!

TY: I was very unsympathetic to the Kuomintang Government and I had very strong sentiments against the Japanese. I had been organizing with some of my friends to make wall papers (what on earth are wall papers? do you mean posters?) We called it the Fujian Tide. It was against the Kuomintang's suppression. Anyway, it wouldn't ever have been successful, because the paper was suppressed by university authorities. In my second year at the university, I found that the Political Science Department was not so good. I learned from the newspaper that the best universities were in Beijing. I noticed there were two: one was Qinghua and the other was Yanjing. So I took the examinations necessary to transfer from one university to another. I was fortunate to be able to take those examinations. I successfully passed the examination to go to Qinghua. So I was in Fudan for two years, then I transferred to Qinghua Political Science Department in my third year. That was 1931.

RM: You lived in the university?

TY: Yes. Have you visited Qinghua?

RM: Yes, with you!

TY: I didn't remember that. You know, just three months after I started at Qinghua, the Mukden Incident happened. It was September 18, 1931. I was very young at that time, you know, about 17 years old. I was angry with the Japanese and began military training preparing to go to the front. I did the training for about two months. After that, the university advised the students not to go and fight because they thought that to learn was more important for young people than to go to the front. So we stayed home. I studied for two more years and then graduated from the Political Science Department with a bachelor degree, but I could find no job at that time. There was so much trouble in Beijing and I had no connections to get a job. You know, with the Kuomintang you had to have connections. I didn't know what to do. After one very hard month of trying to find a job, I thought it would be better for me to stay in the university. It was also fortunate for me that I asked one of my professors for advice. He told me that because my marks during the two years were all over 80, I could go to post-graduate school without any examinations. So I went to the graduate school to study International Law. That was 1933.

RM: Still at Qinghua?

TY: Yes. You know Qinghua was the best university.

RM: Better than Yanjing?

TY: Yes. There were professors of International Law, professors of Political Science, professors of Diplomatic History - do you know T.F. Chiang? He was the Professor of Diplomatic History in my time. Also there were some professors who specialized in different fields of Political Science. Qinghua was certainly the best. I was very satisfied with my studies there over the five years.

RM: How long were you a post-graduate student?

TY: Three years.

RM: You were living in the university?

TY: Yes, I never went home.

RM: But of course, you kept in touch with your family by mail.

TY: Yes. Later, I decided to go abroad for further study. I tried my best, and of course my family had no money to help

me.

RM: Did you receive a graduate degree from Fudan?

TY: No.

RM: You just finished three years of graduate work.

TY: Two years of undergraduate work. I studied at Fudan for two years and then at Qinghua for two and received my bachelor's degree; then I continued at Qinghua for three years and received my M.A. degree.

RM: So you received your M.A. from Qinghua. The next step was overseas.

TY: Yes. Well, I have to tell you that it was difficult to get overseas, because I had no money. I found out that there were some open examinations - two of them - one was the Sino-British Indemnity Examination, you know the indemnity of 1901, the Boxer indemnity; the other was the Sino-American Indemnity, also a Boxer indemnity. I took the second one and I passed. Only one candidate passed.

RM: Only one in China?

TY: Yes. Then, they told me that I had to invite one supervisor. Before going abroad, I had to stay in China for one year to do research. I had to find a supervisor. This supervisor was Zhou Gengshen who was the best-known International Lawyer in China at the time. Then I asked him where I should go? He suggested Harvard Law School or London School of Economics. After consideration, I chose London School of Economics. Do you know why? Because in graduate school, I had read two books by Lauterpacht: The Function of Law and Private Law Sources and Analogies. I was so impressed by those two books that I decided to go to London to study under his supervision.

RM: That was a very good choice.

TY: Of course, some people regretted that I hadn't gone to Harvard, because at the time, Harvard was well-known.

RM: You made a good choice with Lauterpacht. It couldn't have been better.

TY: After one year of study in China, I went to London, just as the Sino-Japanese hostilities broke out.

RM: What year was that?

TY: It was 1937.

RM: So you arrived in London in 1937.

TY: In October, 1937, two months after the outbreak of Japanese hostilities in China. I was very happy that Lauterpacht was there. I talked with him about my future studies.

RM: Did he receive you well?

TY: He received me very well. He promised to supervise my doctoral work. However, only two or three months later he was appointed Whewall professor in Cambridge! He had to leave the London School. The London School advised me to study under Professor H.A. Smith, but I didn't like Smith; his political outlook was very bad; he was very conservative.

RM: Imperialistic, no doubt. He was a British Empire man.

TY: Yes. He did not regard China as a state. That was a terrible experience and I was very disappointed. Lauterpacht promised to give me a chance to visit Cambridge, but I could not pursue the doctoral degree programme. So I stayed in the London School to take courses. One of the courses I took was with Robert Jennings.

RM: Was he an instructor there?

TY: He had just finished his studies in Cambridge and had come to succeed Lauterpacht. He was the same age as I was, but he was my teacher!

Let me tell you more about Lauterpacht. He was very sympathetic not only to me, but to all Chinese students. He was also sympathetic to our country. He had just written some excellent articles against the Japanese invasion. I talked with him about my thesis and my papers. He asked me about the papers I had written during my college days and in graduate school. I told him that in college I had written "Consular Jurisdiction in China" and that my post-graduate M.A. thesis was on the topic "Leased Territories in China". Then he asked about my ideas for a new subject. He said he had noticed that many Chinese students liked to write about treaties. For instance, he told me that in Columbia there was Yu's "Interpretation of Treaties" and Zhang's "Interpretation of Treaties by Judicial Tribunals", which had just been published at the time. I told him that it was easy to understand, because after the introduction of International Law into China, there was no application of that law, except in the case of treaties. and many of those treaties were unequal treaties. So most Chinese scholars who studied International Law wrote about unequal treaties. That was the main subject on which they focussed. He advised me not to write on that, but to select another topic. I thought about one subject, but

had no chance to discuss it with him. I had to talk with H.A. Smith and told him I wanted to do research on the state of active hostilities between China and Japan. I had an idea that there was a distinction between the state of war and the state of hostilities; that that distinction could be applied to the Sino-Japanese hostilities. I would write on what would be the effects of such a distinction. I submitted the idea to Smith. He replied that it was a good subject to deal with. Smith, as you know, was very knowledgeable in the laws of war. He preferred to have something written dealing with the laws of war. Unfortunately, the Second World War broke out in 1939 and I could not carry on with my doctoral work. At that time, I was in Berlin for vacation.

RM: In the summer of 1939?

TY: Yes, and as you can imagine, the situation was tense. War was imminent. I had to consider that the university was no longer going to support me. Originally, they had promised to support me for three years, but after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese hostilities they cut one year off their promise, so I had only two years. That meant that at the end of 1939 I would have no money to support myself. Since war was breaking out, I especially thought that I should go home. So I went through Berlin to Paris.

RM: By train.

TY: Yes. Fortunately, it was easy to do at the time. It was August. It was also very fortunate for me that my cousin was a diplomat. He was the Chinese Minister in Warsaw. He invited me to go to Warsaw, but I declined, otherwise, I would have been trapped in Warsaw. So I went through Paris to Marseilles and to a boat. Fortunately, during the first few days there was no actual war; no bombing, no submarines. We sailed safely to the Suez Canal.

RM: It was a French ship?

TY: Yes. People on board were very nervous about submarines. The war was already in progress when we were in the Mediterranean. It was the 3rd of September, I think. We safely passed through the Suez canal and went on to the Far East. Our first stop was Saigon. My brother-in-law was in Saigon at the Chinese Consulate there.

RM: This was Cai's brother?

TY: No, my sister's husband. I stayed there for a few days. We could not go to Shanghai because it was occupied by the Japanese. So we had to cross Viet Nam and the border of Yunnan province to go to Kuenming. I crossed from Saigon to

Hanoi and then from Hanoi to Kuenming.

RM: By train?

TY: On a terrible train. I reached Kuenming and intended to get a teaching job there, but my efforts were to no avail. There was a well-known university called United University, as well as Yunnan University. Both had professors of International Law, which meant that they were not in a position to invite another one. You know, in Kuenming there was no way other than teaching. So I was forced to go Chungking - the war capital of China at the time - in search of a job. Some of my professors introduced me to this department, and that unit, but still I was not successful. There were no jobs. I was jobless for six months. Then one of my friends, the cousin of a prominent Kuomintang member, gave me the chance to be the Second Secretary of the Chinese League of Nations Society and to be the editor of that Society's magazine called "World Politics". I worked there for about four months. I was not happy in that job because it was very bureaucratic. The president of the society was a prominent Kuomintang member and I didn't like that very much. By that time, the Japanese were bombing nearly every day in Chungking. All of my clothes and my books were destroyed by the raids. I had no possessions left.

RM: You were fortunate to have escaped with your life.

TY: Yes. We would go to the dugout shelters to avoid being killed. So I thought it would be better to leave Chungking and find some other job. Happily, my former supervisor, Zhou Gengsheng, who was a very prominent person at Wuhan University - at that time Wuhan University was in Szechwan - recommended me to be a professor of International Law in that university's Political Science Department.

RM: What date was that?

TY: It was August of 1940. I began to give courses on International Law that September. I worked very hard, because I had just come back from abroad and I was not accustomed to giving courses and the classes were very large. I gave three courses: International Law, European Diplomatic History and Chinese Diplomatic History.

RM: Were you living in the university?

TY: Not in the university. We lived in a very poor house and the salary was very low, so we had to maintain ourselves very poorly. It was a very low standard of living. It was then that I was introduced to my wife.

RM: I was just going to ask you.

TY: She was in Chengdu, originally studying in a women's college. Later, she passed the examination to be a staff member of a bank. She worked there, but we met in Chengdu. We got married the year after we met.

RM: You were married in 1941?

TY: No. 1942. The first time we met was in 1941. We married in 1942. You wouldn't believe the situation in Chinese universities then. It was very complex. One group against another, which was rather feudalistic. The groups came from different provinces and there were many conflicts among them. The matter that was most disputed was the personnel problem. In China the person who holds a position can do anything he likes. So there were conflicts over these positions.

RM: For example, who had the important post.

TY: Yes. So I went to Chengdu, which was the time when I met Cai, and asked one of my prominent professors, who had been teaching in the United States, what I could do. He told me that I had better go to Central University, where the situation was better. So I went to Chungking. I was invited by the Head of the Political Science Department of Central

University in Chungking.

RM: I see. That would be in 1942 also?

TY: Yes, just after I had married. We went to Chungking. We were very poor. Our first child was born in 1944. After that, we were even poorer! I had nothing to do except give the three courses and sometimes write articles, to earn some royalties. Just before the birth of my first child, fortunately I was asked by the Pacific Institute of International Affairs, Chinese Branch, to write a paper on the status of aliens in China. I got \$500 for that paper! It was published in the United States as a pamphlet, but I didn't know that at the time. I was so surprised to receive the \$500, I didn't care what happened to it! It was not until 1986, when I visited Heidelberg, that the librarian at the Max Planck Institute reminded me and showed me that pamphlet. It was the first time I had seen my own pamphlet!

RM: The first time?! Forty-five years later. Isn't that extraordinary? Of course, TY, the war was on in Europe at this time, wasn't it? So the conditions must have been very bad.

TY: Very bad.

RM: Were there any students to teach?

TY: Yes there were students to teach...

RM: But the facilities would not have been very good, eh? The library, etc.

TY: They were very bad. There were a lot of students, even in the Department of Political Science. I wrote some articles. Of course there was very little resource material, but still I wrote some articles that were published in an academic journal. Of all the students I taught in those days, there are now three in the United States. One of them is Professor Shao-Chuan Leng, Chairman of Political Science at the University of Virginia. He's still there. Another one is Professor Charles Chu-Le, who changed his study to Chinese Literature and Art - from Political Science, to Chinese Literature and Art! - he used to be the Head of Chinese Literature at Connecticut College. We met at his house and I stayed at his home.

RM: So we have this down to 1942?

TY: From 1942 to 1946, I was in Chungking.

RM: You were teaching and writing. Your first baby had arrived

and Cai - what was Cai doing?

TY: During the first part of this period, she worked at the Jinsheng Bank as a staff member, but after the birth of our first child, she came home. Then, in 1945, the war ended. The university moved to Nanjing, but at that time transportation was so difficult, we decided to remain in Chungking to wait for better conditions for transportation. I gave some courses at Chungking University, which was a provincial university. I also wrote some newspaper articles to support us. In 1946 we got the chance to fly to Nanjing. Before doing that, some of my friends advised me to go north, not to stay in Nanjing, because it was too political. It was not a very accommodating atmosphere, especially since Central University was heavily involved in politics. My wife wanted to go north because her family was in Beijing. So we decided to go north. We wondered what we could do and asked our former teachers for their opinion. I asked one of them, Professor Duansheng Qian who was then a Professor at Harvard University and had written a book on the Chinese Government, what I could do. I also asked one of the prominent professors of economics, who was also the Dean of the Faculty of Law. We had some friendly connections. Both advised me to go to Peking University. I readily accepted that job in 1946. I have been at Peking University for more than 45 years.

RM: That must be the longest serving record of any Chinese professor of international law. Did you say that you flew from Chungking to Peking?

TY: Not to Peking, to Nanjing first, and then from Nanjing to Beijing.

RM: Was that your first airplane flight?

TY: Yes! and of course, we had not a very easy time on board the plane! At that time, the planes also were not so large; it was very narrow.

RM: Where did you live in Peking?

TY: Peking was quite comfortable, because Peking University had, at that time, several houses for the professors. We had a four-room house with a kitchen, which was quite comfortable.

RM: And it was right there on the campus, was it?

TY: No. Peking University at that time was like Columbia University. There was no campus! The dormitories were spread throughout the city. We had a house that was not very far from the Law building. Well, it was not the law building, but it was the building in which the law classes were held.

RM: Was that the building I saw with you the first time I was there? The building where the Law Department was in 1980?

TY: No, you haven't visited the law building I am referring to because after Liberation, Peking University moved from its downtown location to outside the city.

RM: So when you joined the Law Department in 1946, the University was downtown.

TY: Yes, it was downtown. The building that I'm speaking of was also a building where Mao Tse Tung worked. We called it the 'red' building. I told you that I joined the Faculty of Law in Peking University in 1946 and you will note that at that time, there were student movements in Beijing. The first movement I will mention was the movement against American soldiers who raped a Chinese student. You must understand that it was a very strong movement. A young Chinese woman had been raped by American soldiers in a park. So a number of students stood against the American government and also the American army. Later on, there was another movement which was even stronger. It was the movement against Hungary and against the Civil War, which was really a movement against the government.

RM: The Civil War was raging at that time, wasn't it?

TY: Yes. I joined that student movement. Of course, we didn't join the students directly, we had a professors' movement which was linked with the students' movement. For instance, we published a manifesto against the government - of course, it was not so open. On one occasion, I remember the group came to my house to prepare the manifesto, which was very dangerous. As a matter of fact, my name was added to a blacklist that was circulated by the government to various authorities in Beijing. My life was divided into two: one part was giving courses and writing articles, and the other half joined the movement. We called it the democratic movement against the government. We criticized the government for being corrupt and reactionary.

RM: Unjust, too.

TY: Unjust. Yes. The economic situation was also becoming worse and worse.

RM: Well, what were the general conditions in Peking at the time? First, how large was the city in 1946?

TY: I think the population was around 800,000-1,000,000 people.

RM: Were living conditions difficult?

TY: Very difficult.

RM: The war had been going on since 1937.

TY: Especially during the last part of the Kuomintang regime, economic conditions had become so bad that once we had got our pay in the morning, we would go directly to the market to buy food, otherwise, the money would have no value. Sometimes we took the money to a certain market and exchanged it for American dollars or silver dollars. My salary was not low, it was rather high among the salaried professors, but it equalled no more than \$20 U.S. So we had to buy things immediately. The price could rise dramatically even in one day. It was a terrible situation.

RM: What about the students. Did they have any possibilities or prospects? Life would have been difficult for them, too.

TY: Yes. It was very difficult for them. They stood against the government, but the government had to supply something for the students, otherwise they knew the students would rise up against them. Most of the prominent students went to liberated areas - especially in 1948. In fact, I wanted to go too but my family was in Beijing. I had a second child who was a newborn. So I had to stay.

RM: Of course. So you continued your teaching and your research?

TY: Yes. Also, I had administrative work to do, because in 1947, Professor Qian went to the United States and asked me to succeed him as the Head of the Political Science Department. I assumed the position of Department Head in 1947, which lasted until 1950.

RM: I didn't realize that. So you had all the administration.

TY: Yes. Of course, it was quite simple, not as complicated as it would be today. There were only eight professors, with four or five assistant professors. That's all. The students liked to come to University to solve their problems.

RM: What was the atmosphere? Were people depressed, were they hoping for victory for the new forces?

TY: They were very hopeful for victory. In fact, they were certain that the communist party would achieve success very quickly and they would do anything to help achieve that end.

RM: You were saying that the city was not completely under the control of the Kuomingtang.

TY: It was under the control of the General Fu Zhou-yi, who was

not directly controlled by Chiang Kaishek, so there was some flexibility for us. You know that Xue Mohong and Madame Ma were leaders of the student movement at that time. They came to my house quite often. This is what I meant when I said there was a link between the professors' and students' movements. The students, of course, were more forceful than the professors. They were very active. I made only two or three speeches to the students on subjects which were not so dangerous.

RM: What were the subjects?

TY: I spoke about diplomacy. I said that the diplomacy of 1919 was an example of 'Kuomingtang diplomacy', which implied criticism of the Kuomingtang. We called them traitors to the American agressors. They were submissive to American agression.

RM: So in 1949, you were waiting for liberation.

TY: I would add one thing. When I was Head of the Political Science Department, I invited some American professors to teach in our Department, because they were progressive. One of them was Dr. Borg, a very well-known historian, especially in the field of Chinese Diplomatic Relations during the 1930's. So I invited her to come to our Department and give

a course. Now she is over 80 and is a research fellow at Columbia Institute of International Affairs.

RM: She's still alive!

TY: Yes, but she is not so active now. I wanted to mention this, because there are some connections with this and the state of affairs after the Liberation. Well, I think that's all for the time before Liberation.

RM: You mentioned Mrs. Dorothy Borg and that she was going to have some connection with your future. What is your connection with Dr. Borg?

TY: I invited her to come to the Department of Political Science to give a course on European History. We arranged meetings with Chinese professors to discuss international problems including China's relations with Pacific (specific?) countries. After the Liberation, however, our connection with foreigners was suspended. As a result, in 1957 and also in 1966 at the beginning of the cultural revolution, I was condemned as a spy because of my association with American professors. They suspected Dorothy Borg was a spy. That is why I said she had a connection with my later history.

RM: It was because you knew her.

TY: I visited her and she visited my house, too.

RM: The authorities thought she was a U.S. spy?

TY: Especially her assistant, Harriet Mills.

RM: They thought she was a spy also?

TY: Yes. As a matter of fact, she [Harriet Mills?] was put in jail after the 1949 Liberation of Beijing.

RM: She was put in jail in Beijing?

TY: Yes. It was for 1-2 years.

RM: One last point, just going back, at the London School of Economics: what were you studying there in International Law? You started with Lauterpacht, and then went on with H.A. Smith, with what subject? Treaties? I remember you mentioned you were interested in hostilities.

TY: I took several courses. One was a general course on International Law. Another was "Problems of International Law".

RM: Was the general course by H.A. Smith?

TY: No. It was taught by Jennings. The "Problems of International Law" was originally taught by Lauterpacht, but afterwards, it was cancelled. Then, I took some courses that were not strictly International Law. I took C.K. Webster's "Diplomatic History" and Robinson's International Organisations Seminar, also two additional very interesting courses; one was Laski's "Political and Social Theories". It was very stimulating. The other course was "Constitutional Law" by another Jennings, Sir Ivor Jennings. It was a very good one. All of these courses I liked very much. Unfortunately, I had only two years.

RM: Where did you live in London?

TY: In the suburbs, at a boarding house.

RM: Were you with other students?

TY: No. I lived alone, with an English family.

RM: What district of London was it, do you remember?

TY: It was Surbiton. I had to take a bus, and then go to Waterloo station to get there.