

# Spain and the Republic of China (Taiwan): "the Sentinels of the West and the East" (1953-1973)\*

Miguel A. del Río Morrillas \*\*

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## Abstract

This article aims to approach two far-right regimes united by a common value as was anti-communism in the Cold War global context, and its relations that were established between them from 1953 to 1973. These two dictatorial regimes were the Francisco Franco's Spain and the Chiang Kai-shek's Republic of China (ROC) in Taiwan. They were very different in terms of history, culture, religion and geography and were so physically far away from each other, but in fact they established a cooperation full of ideological camaraderie and shared many similarities in governance. This article examined the preambles to the official establishment of the diplomatic relations between the two regimes and subsequently focus on the connections and the exchanges on a politico-diplomatic, military and cultural level between them until the end of aforesaid relations in 1973.

Keywords: Anti-communism, Chiang Kai-shek, Franco, Republic of China, Spain

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\*\* Associate Professor, Department of Modern and Contemporary History, and member of Centre for Studies on the Dictatorship and Democracy (CEDID), Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB), Spain

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## I. Introduction\*\*\*

This article aims to approach two far-right regimes united by a common value as was anti-communism in the global context of the Cold War, as well as the relations that were established between them from 1953 to 1973. These two dictatorial regimes were the Francisco Franco's Spain and the Chiang Kai-shek's Republic of China (ROC) in Taiwan. They were very different in terms of history, culture, religion and geography and were so physically far away from each other but they would establish a cooperation full of ideological camaraderie, this being a field that has not been very researched by current eastern and western historiography.

Thus, we aim to contribute to the studies of the relations between Spain and Taiwan, specifically around a topic as under-researched as the specific connections between Franco and Chiang Kai-shek (CKS) and their respective regimes, with new data that allows us to go beyond the global and historical relations between Spain and China, as it has usually been done by Spanish, Taiwanese and Chinese

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\*\*\* Notes of Chinese Romanization: in this article, we will use the Romanization system of the Chinese language known as *pinyin*. However, some exceptions will be made with well-known names such as Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi), Sun Yat-sen (Sun Yixian), Chiang Ching-kuo (Jiang Jingguo), Mayling Soong (Song Meiling), Yen Chia-kan (Yan Jiagan), for example. Also for cities, countries or universities names such as Taipei (Taipei), Hsinchu (Xinzhu), Kaoshiung (Gaoxiung), Manchukuo (Manzhouguo), Tamkang (Danjiang), Fu Jen (Furen), for example.

historiography.<sup>1</sup>

In the case that concerns us, both regimes show many similarities especially between the political figures of CKS and Franco (both called *generalissimo*) but also between the features and the establishment of their roles, both as military leaders, messianic and mystic——al “saviours of the homeland” and controllers of everything concerning the State and the Party.<sup>2</sup> In turn, as we have mentioned above, one of the most notable features of both *generalissimos*’ regimes was the fact that they became prominent representatives of the global anti-communist movement, one in the Far East and the other in Southern Europe.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, both regimes were

1 There is a follow-up of the relations between Spain and the Republic of China (ROC) in Taiwan, as well as its diplomatic breakup in 1973, in Andrés Herrera Feligreras, *España y China (1973-2005). Del reconocimiento diplomático a la Alianza Estratégica* (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2015), esp. chapter 1, and José Eugenio Borao, *Las miradas entre España y China. Un siglo de relaciones entre dos países, 1864-1973* (Madrid: Miraguano, 2017), esp. chapter 8 and 9. Regarding the Hispanic presence in Taiwan and China since the sixteenth century, as well as the evolution of Sino-Spanish relations, see José Eugenio Borao, *España y China, 1927-1967. Unas distantes relaciones sorprendidas por un “intenso encuentro revolucionario” a finales de los años treinta* (Taipei: Central Book Publishing Co., 1994); Manel Ollé, *La empresa de China. De la Armada Invencible al Galeón de Manila* (Barcelona: Acantilado, 2002); Li-cheng, Lu, ed., *Di guo xiang jie zhijie. Xibanya shi qi Taiwan xiang guan wen xian ji tu xiang lun wen ji (La frontera entre dos Imperios. Las fuentes y las imágenes de la época de los españoles en Isla Hermosa)* (Taipei / Sevilla: National Museum of Taiwan/ Universidad de Sevilla/ SMC Publishing Inc., 2006); José Eugenio Borao, *The Spanish Experience in Taiwan 1626-1642: The Baroque Ending of Renaissance Endeavour* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009); José Luis García-Tapia Bello, “Relaciones bilaterales con China”, *Boletín Económico de ICE* 2972 (2009): pp. 69-93; Luis Palacios, *Franco-Mao-1973. Las relaciones entre España y China* (Astorga: CSED, 2013); Xulio Ríos, ed., *Las relaciones hispano-chinas* (Madrid: Catarata /IUDC, 2013); Kai Zhang, *Historia de las relaciones sino-españolas* (Madrid: Editorial Popular, 2014) [revised and updated edition]; Fabio Yu-Chung Lee, ed., *Taiwan yu xibanya guanxi shiliao huibian (Recopilación de las fuentes sobre las relaciones entre Taiwán y España)* (Nantou: Taiwan Historica, 3. vols, 2008-2015).

2 About the cult of Franco and Chiang Kai-shek’s personalities and the use of “Generalissimo” and “Caudillo”, see among others, Albert Reig Tapia, *Franco “Caudillo” : Mito y realidad* (Madrid: Tecnos, 1996) and Jeremy E. Taylor, “Production of the Chiang Kai-shek Personality Cult, 1929-1975”, *The China Quarterly* 185 (2006): pp. 96-110

3 About the anti-communism of Chiang Kai-shek and Franco throughout their respective lives, see among the extensive bibliography, Paul Preston, *Franco: Caudillo de España* (Barcelona: Grigalbo Mondadori, 2002) [revised and updated edition], and Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo. Chiang Kai-shek and the Struggle for Modern China* (Cambridge/ London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009).

ruled by two notable military chiefs who obtained their power in their respective civil wars (the Spanish, 1936-1939 and the Chinese, 1946-1949) and had only one true political party: the Chinese Nationalist Party or *Kuomintang* (KMT) for the ROC (in Taiwan) and the *Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista* (FET-JONS / National Movement) in the case of Spain.<sup>4</sup> In addition, they had in common the combination of social policies in search of the social consensus (building public education, health care, welfare and social infrastructures or strengthening the economy by means of a mixed economic system, among others) and the repression of any type of political dissidence, particularly communism.

This article examined the preambles to the official establishment of the diplomatic relations between the two regimes and will subsequently focus on the connections and the exchanges on a politico-diplomatic, military and cultural level between them until the end of aforesaid relations in 1973.

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4 There is a great and rich historiographic debate on the nature of Franco's regime (fascist / post-fascist, "fascitized", national-catholic, totalitarian, authoritarian, reactionary, militaristic, personalist dictatorship, among the most outstanding). These discussions can be followed in Juan J. Linz, "An Authoritarian Regime: The Case of Spain", in *Mass Politics: Studies in Political Society*, ed. Erik Alardt (New York: Free Press, 1970), 251-83 and 374-81; Stanley G. Payne, *Fascism in Spain, 1923-1977* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1999); Ismael Saz, *Fascismo y franquismo* (Valencia: PUV, 2004) and Ferran Gallego, *El evangelio fascista. La formación de la cultura política del franquismo (1930-1950)* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2014). In the case of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist regime, the debate seems to be more focused on the structural nature of the KMT party (confusingly defined as "Leninist" or "quasi-Leninist" because of the use of "democratic centralism"), and not on the regime, which has been defined as a "one-party authoritarian system"; see among others, Hung-mao Tien, *The Great Transition. Political and Social Change in the Republic of China* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1989); Tun-je Cheng, "Democratizing the Quasi-Leninist regime in Taiwan", *World Politics* 41/4 (1989): pp. 471-99.

## II. The First Steps towards Mutual Acknowledgement

The relations between Franco's Spain and the ROC were officially established on 19th February 1953 with the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and were determined by several international factors of the Cold War and by the consequences of the World War II.<sup>5</sup> The preambles to the establishment of the diplomatic relations between them went through a set of phases with the first stepping stone taking place in the middle of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), specifically on 2nd December 1937.<sup>6</sup> On that date, Franco's regime, which was clearly aligned with the exterior fascist powers of the Axis and in absolute ideologic concordance with them, officially acknowledged the puppet regime of Manchukuo because of Italian pressures in the framework of the Anti-Comintern Pact.<sup>7</sup> For CKS, the leader of the nationalist regime of the KMT, the acknowledgement of Manchukuo by other countries meant the international acknowledgement of the disaggregation of China and the Japanese legitimization of its conquest, which began with the "Marco Polo Bridge Incident" in 7th July 1937 (the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War –1937-1945– and the beginning of World War II in the framework of the Asia-Pacific region).

5 "Firma del Tratado de Amistad hispano-chino", *La Vanguardia Española*, Feb. 20, 1953.

6 About the relations between Francoist Spain and pro-Japan forces in the Far East, see Florentino Rodao, "España y el gobierno chino de Wang Jingwei", *Encuentros en Cathay* 11 (1997): pp. 117-45; *id.*, *Franco y el Imperio Japonés. Imágenes y propaganda en tiempos de guerra* (Barcelona: Plaza & Janes, 2002); *id.*, "Japan and the Axis, 1937-8: Recognition of the Franco Regime and Manchukuo", *Journal of Contemporary History* 44/3 (2009): pp. 431-447; *id.*, *Franquistas sin Franco. Una historia alternativa de la Guerra Civil española desde Filipinas* (Granada: Comares, 2012).

7 Rodao, "Japan and the Axis..." . It was an anti-communist pact signed between Germany and Japan in 1936. Other fascists governments or reactionary regimes like Italy, Spain, Manchukuo, Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, Croatia, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, or Nanjing Nationalist Government (Nanjing Regime or Reorganized National Government of the Republic of China) signed too.

It is in that framework of disagreements between CKS and Franco that the regime of CKS did not acknowledge the government of Franco that resulted from the Spanish Civil War in 1939. Chinese nationalists perceived Franco's regime as a friend and an ally of imperial Japan. At the same time, republican Spain saw CKS as a fighter against Japanese fascism and thus as an ally against international fascism. On the other hand, Franco's Spain saw CKS as an ally of international communism because of his coalition with *Zhongguo Gongchandang* (Chinese Communist Party, CCP) in the fight against the Japanese invader.<sup>8</sup> Spain's ignorance regarding the Chinese context meant not perceiving the true synergies of China's dynamic history. Spain did not consider the connections and sympathies between CKS and the European fascisms (especially with Germany), his policies of systematic and continuous extermination of Chinese communists in several campaigns (4 campaigns between 1930 and 1934), the initial refusal by CKS to sign a pact with CCP to fight against the Japanese invasion (which would lead to the Xian Incident in December of 1936) or the existence of clearly fascist structures inside the KMT like the Blue Shirts Society (*lanyishe*) –also known as the *Lixingshe* Society– or the New Life Movement (*Xinshenghuo yundong zonghui*). All that did not suggest the possible existence of a changing Chinese fascism to Franco's Spain.<sup>9</sup>

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8 Regarding the view of the Second Sino-Japanese War in Spain and the Spanish Civil War in China, as well as the collective referents and the imaginary created by the struggles in Spain and China, respectively, see Borao, *España y China, 1927-1967*.

9 Chiao-in Chen, "Radicalización del nacionalismo chino moderno; orígenes y desarrollo del fascismo chino. El caso de las organizaciones fascistas del Guomindang: la Sociedad Lixingshe y el Movimiento de la Nueva Vida (1927-1937)" (PhD diss., Autonomous University of Barcelona, 2014). A state of the art about the discussion of the existence of Chinese fascism, among others, in Chiao-in Chen, "Els Camises Blaves i el feixisme xinès (1932-1938)", *Segle XX. Revista catalana d'història* 5 (2012): pp. 15-36. Also, see, among others, Lloyd Eastman, "Fascism in Kuomintang China: The Blue Shirts", *China Quarterly* 49 (1972): pp. 1-31; Maria Hsia Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society: Fascism and Development Nationalism* (Berkeley: University of California, 1985); Frederic Wakeman and Richard L. Edmonds, "A Revisionist view of the Nanjing Decade: Confucian Fascism", in *Reappraising Republican China*, ed. Frederic Wakeman (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 141-78.

Another offence to the nationalist regime of KMT that would be added to this diplomatic dynamic was Francoist Spain's acknowledgement of the pro-Japanese regime of Wang Jing-wei (Wang Jinwei), the Nanjing Nationalist Government, on 1st July 1941.<sup>10</sup> After the global war resulted in the victory of the Allies, Franco's government, officially having oscillated between neutrality and non-belligerence, attempted to shift its policy of ideological affinity with the powers of the Axis by making a move in favour of the allied forces when it almost declared war on Japan using the "Manila Massacre" as an excuse.<sup>11</sup> These plans did not succeed and after World War II the winning powers marked down Spain as an ally of the global fascist powers and Spain was marginalised, consequentially, by the international community. In this context, the Francoist regime -who then presented itself as a National Catholic defender of the fight against communism in favour of democracy- found itself in the following situation with its policy regarding China: (1) it ignored the reality of China; (2) it depended on the interests created from the relations with the powers of the Axis; (3) it refused to extradite the diplomats of Manchukuo and of Wang Jingwei's Nationalist Government; (4) the ROC was a winning power of World War II and a member of the United Nations Security Council. On the part of CKS -and his regime- during and after the Chinese Civil War (1946-1949) he had no intention of resuming diplomatic relations with a regime like Franco's, which had been Japan's ally, had acknowledged Manchukuo and Wang Jingwei's regimes and

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10 Rodao, "España y el gobierno chino de Wang Jingwei..." . We need to emphasize that in contrast to the case of Manchukuo, in which Franco's regime did not send any Spanish delegation -although there was a delegation sent by Manchukuo in Madrid-, in the case of the Nanjing Regime there was a Spanish delegation -under control of the Consul General of Spain in Shanghai- and a Nanjing Regime delegation in Madrid until 1946.

11 The "Manila Massacre" is known for the murder of Filipino and Spanish civilians by the Japanese Empire in February of 1945. About the "Manila Massacre" and de Spanish relations with Japan in the last period of the Second World War Word see, Rodao, *Franco y el Imperio Japonés...*, pp. 479-90.

presented itself as a residual product of defeated global fascism after the global strife.<sup>12</sup>

Only the context of the Cold War managed to unite these two regimes, a priori so physically, historically and culturally distant, for a common fight, namely, anti-communism. To that effect, the diplomatic thaw was caused by four factors, both endogenous and exogenous of the two regimes:

(1) The interest of the United States of America (USA) in the ROC and Spain establishing a connection due to their anti-communist affinity in the new global framework of the Cold War.<sup>13</sup> It is worth remembering that the ROC and Spain would sign their treaties of cooperation and friendship with the USA in 1954 and 1953 respectively.<sup>14</sup>

(2) Christianity was a key factor in changing Franco's views on the ROC. This was thanks to Paul Yü Pin (Archbishop of Nanjing, close friend of CKS and member of the National Assembly), who visited Spain in 1949 and 1952 –the latter because of the

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12 José Eugenio Borao, Ruptura y reanudación de las relaciones diplomáticas entre China y España (1937-1953), in Javier Tusell, ed., *El régimen de Franco (1936-1975): política y relaciones exteriores*, vol. 2 (Madrid: UNED, 1993): 429-446; Rodao, *Franco y el Imperio Japonés...*, pp. 510-516; Herrera, *España y China (1973-2005)...*, pp. 44-46.

13 In this sense, the Korean War (1950-1953) would be the turning point for the USA's policy in the Asia-Pacific region to curb the advance of communism. From that moment, the Republic of China (in Taiwan since 1949), South Korea and Japan became the most important American allies in the Asia-Pacific region. See, among others, Jian Chen, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001) and David Halberstam, *The Coldest Winter: America and the Korean War* (New York: Hyperion, 2007). On the other hand, both J.E Borao (*España y China...*) and A. Herrera (*España y China, 1973-2005...*) highlighted the hypothesis that USA was involved in the re-establishment of Sino-Spanish relations is feasible in the Cold War context, despite there was not found any explicit or direct documentation yet.

14 About the relations and treaties between Spain and the USA, see, among others, Ángel Viñas, *En las garras del águila: los pactos con Estados Unidos, de Francisco Franco a Felipe González (1945-1995)* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2003); Misael Arturo López Zapico, *Las relaciones entre Estados Unidos y España durante la guerra civil y el primer franquismo (1936-1956)* (Gijón: Trea, 2008). In the case of the ROC and the USA, see, among others, Dennis Von Vranken Hickey, *United States-Taiwan Security Ties: From Cold War to Beyond Containment* (Westport: Praeger, 1994); Richard C. Bush, *At Cross Purposes: US-Taiwan Relations Since 1942* (Armonk/ New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2004); Hisao-ting Lin, *Accidental State: Chiang Kai-shek, the United States, and the Making of Taiwan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016).



International Eucharistic Congress in Barcelona—. During those two visits, Paul Yü Pin (Yü Bin) obtained 30 scholarships so that Chinese students could go to Spain.<sup>15</sup>

(3) After it was isolated from the international community in 1946 due to the United Nations (UN) and its members (the ROC among them) condemning it for its affinity with the powers of the Axis, Franco's regime saw the ROC's support as necessary to be able to enter the UN.

(4) In the 7th National Congress of the KMT, which took place in 1952, it was argued that forming tight relations with anti-communist countries was convenient and served the purpose of gaining support for its international reputation as the only legitimate anti-communist representation in all Chinese territory in contraposition with People's Republic of China (PRC).<sup>16</sup>

Therefore, the international community reappraised them as referents of the anti-communist fight thanks to the Cold War and the USA. They went from being defeated dictatorial regimes (Spain indirectly in World War II and CKS in the Chinese Civil War), residual and in risk of extinction, to being "Sentinels of the West and the East" in the face of communism. It is in that context of reappraisal and need for mutual support that both regimes rose beyond their respective historical areas and regions of action to unite for a common cause: the fight against global communism. This would lead to the signing of the Treaty of Friendship between the ROC and Spain in 1953 in substitution for the Treaty of Friendship of 1928 (Treaty of Nanjing).

The two regimes had more in common than not despite their previously tense

15 Borao, *España y China...*, pp.195-196. Later, in 1953, Franco's regime, in an act of goodwill and in recognition of the services rendered to the Chinese-Spanish understanding, would grant Yu Bin the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Raymond of Peñafort; "Concesión de condecoraciones. Grandes cruces diversas", *ABC*, Jul. 18, 1953.

16 Herrera, *España y China (1973-2005)...*, p. 46.

relationship. In this regard, both regimes were one-party dictatorships, far-right, militarists, ruled by generalissimos, infused with the glorification and worship of the public figure, defenders of the traditional conception of social order (one through post-fascism / National Catholicism and the other through Confucianism) and internationally known for, among other things, their visceral anti-communism. Some other features they had in common were the supervision and indoctrination of the masses, the annihilation of the political opposition and the implementation of paternalist policies combined with repression and control in the search of the social consensus.<sup>17</sup>

### III. The Born of the Anti-communist Brotherhood Between Franco and CKS

The relationship between the ROC and Spain in the new era after the treaty of 1953 was divided in four different but sometimes overlapping areas: (1) the military exchange, (2) the politico-diplomatic exchange, (3) the academic and cultural

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17 About the evolution of Franco's regime see, among others, Carme Molinero and Pere Ysàs, *La anatomía del franquismo. De la supervivencia a la agonía, 1945-1977* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2008); Borja de Riquer, *La dictadura de Franco*, in *Historia de España*, eds. Josep Fontana and Ramón Villares, vol. 9 (Barcelona: Marcial Pons / Ed. de Historia, 2010). For the case of the KMT's regime in Taiwan see, among others, Tien, *The Great Transition*; Denny Roy, *Taiwan: A Political History* (Ithaca/ London: Cornell University Press, 2003); Masahiro Wakabayashi, *Zhanghou Taiwan zhengzhi shi-Zhonghua minguo Taiwan hua de licheng* (The Political History of Taiwan after World War II: The Process of Republic of China's Taiwanization) (Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 2014).

exchange and (4) the economic exchange.<sup>18</sup> Regarding the politico-diplomatic exchanges, it became common for Francoist politicians to travel to Taiwan and vice versa, especially in the entourage led by the respective Foreign Ministers of both regimes. In that aspect, the first unofficial interaction between Francoist politicians and the regime of Taiwan's KMT was through an exchange of verbal notes between the ROC's ambassador in Italy and his Spanish counterpart in June of 1952, in which they made a commitment to establish official relations between Spain and the ROC.<sup>19</sup> That first exchange would be followed by the Spanish ambassador in the Philippines (Antonio Gullón Gómez) presenting the credentials to CKS on 5th August 1952, being Julio de Larracochea, the chargé d'affaires, the permanent representative of the Franco's government in Taipei.<sup>20</sup> However, the true peak of those exchanges was the official visit of Alberto Martín Artajo, the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, in Taiwan in March of 1953 –during which he met with CKS and awarded him with the Medal for Military Merit—<sup>21</sup> and the ratification of the treaty by the ROC's

18 Apart from all these, some interactions can be followed in the Spanish press. In this respect, a large part has been collected, in Natalia Pi-ju Wu, *Cong xibanya baozhi kan xibanya yu taiwan de guanxi. (Las relaciones entre España y Taiwán según la prensa española)* (Undergraduate Thesis, Fu Jen Catholic University, 1994). In a summary way, they can also be followed, in Herrera, *España y China (1973-2005)*..., p.48 and in Borao, *Las miradas entre...*, esp. chapter 9. We have complemented the information with new data located in the Spanish and Taiwanese press, as well as with primary documentation from archives.

19 “Canje de notas entre España y la China Nacionalista, en Roma”, *Arriba*, Jun. 29, 1952.

20 “El embajador de España en China presentó ayer sus credenciales al presidente Chiang Kai-shek”, *ABC*, Aug. 6, 1952. List of Francoist Spain ambassadors in the ROC (in Taiwan): Antonio Gullón Gómez (1952), Fermín Sanz-Orrio y Sanz (1954), Julio de Larracochea (1959), Fernando Moreno Herrera (1971) and José Luis de la Guardia Maestro (1972).

21 The visit of Alberto Martín Artajo to Taiwan was picked up by the official Francoist newsreel, the *Noticiero y Documentales* (News and Documentaries, NO-DO), and can be consulted on-line in the NO-DO Archive of Spanish Radio and Television Corporation (RTVE) under the title of “España en Oriente”, accessed Jan. 15, 2017, <http://www.rtve.es/alacarta/videos/documentales-b-n/espana-oriente/2846219/>

Legislative Yuan.<sup>22</sup> As for the politico-diplomatic exchanges, it is notable that Franco and CKS sent each other telegrams congratulating each other on their respective regimes' onomastic celebrations. Some of these included the Francoists 18 de Julio (the date of the Francoist regime's coup against the Republic) and *1 de Octubre* (the date in which Franco became the "Head of Government and State"). There were also notes wishing each other swift recoveries as a consequence of incidental events, like Franco's hunting accident in 1961, or notes congratulating each other on political successes, like CKS being re-elected as President of the ROC. The following is only a sample of the numerous exchanged telegrams and it was sent by CKS to Franco because of *18 de Julio* in 1963:

*On this favourable occasion of your national holiday, it is my pleasure to send to your Excellency my most sincere congratulations by expressing my best wishes for your personal success and the continuous prosperity of this great friendly nation.*<sup>23</sup>

Despite never meeting in person, CKS and Franco's mutual praise through the awarding of military and civil medals was constant. Furthermore, they had enormous and mutual respect for each other because of their roles as generalissimos who fought against international communism as "Sentinels of the West and the East" respectively. In several interviews for Spanish media, CKS did not hold himself back from praising Franco –and his regime–, whom CKS considered an example to follow in the anti-communist fight and the military reconquest of Mainland China. In this regard, CKS told how so to journalist Pedro Gómez Aparicio for Spanish newspaper *Hoja del Lunes* on the issue of 12th May 1958: "There is a perfect parallel between

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22 The Francoist Spain established the legal basis for ratification of the treaty on 10th October (1953); "Instrumentos de ratificación del Tratado de Amistad entre el Estado Español y a República de China", *Boletín Oficial del Estado (BOE)* 283 (1953): 6088-89.

23 Academia Historica (Guoshi guan, AH) [Taipei, Taiwan], waijiaobu dang'an [Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives], document 020-101700-0073-0148a (Chinese and Spanish version).

Spain and China. Spain is the fortress of anti-communism in Europe and Africa, just like the Republic of China is in the Pacific“. He also said: “we have the example of your General Franco who began your national movement in North Africa and later extended it to the rest of Spain”.<sup>24</sup> These signs of praise were constant on both parts but especially on the part of CKS, who would take advantage of every official act to show his ideologically anti-communist brotherhood with Franco’s Spain. One of the times the nationalist Chinese leader did so was in the presentation of credentials ceremony of the ROC’s new Spanish ambassador, Fermín Sanz-Orrio y Sanz:<sup>25</sup>

*We, the two nations, have a long and glorious history. Now we can also proudly say that we are the two countries that make Asia and Europe, respectively, the two firmest and most advanced strongholds of this heroic fight against communism. Despite the physical distance, our common goals in defence of human freedom and world peace have united our countries in a permanent and solid bond.*<sup>26</sup>

As it is natural, besides the mutual ideological empathy and the camaraderie, both generalissimos used their “Sino-Spanish brotherhood” to become familiar with the geopolitical realities of the Cold War that were outside of their respective natural areas and regions of influence. In Franco’s case, there was a firm interest in knowing CKS’s real chances of reconquering China, the real situation of the Chinese people,

24 Collected in Chiang Kai-shek, *President Chiang Kai-Shek’s selected speeches & messages in 1958* (Republic of China: Government Information Office, 1958), pp. 39-41.

25 In the biography of Fermín Sanz-Orrio (a prominent member of the Francoist regime on its more national-syndicalist side), written by his daughter, his experience as a Spanish ambassador in Taipei between 1954-1956/ 1957 –with permanent residence in the Philippines– passes unnoticed and does not specify beyond general references as the interviews carried out between Sanz-Orrio with CKS and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Geoge Yeh Kung-chao (Ye Gongchao); Elena Sanz-Orrio Arraiza, *Fermín Sanz-Orrio. Luchador por la justicia social* (Astorga: Akron 2009), p. 217.

26 “España y China, baluartes anticomunistas”, *Arriba*, Jul. 14, 1954. In 1962 CKS would return to affirm: “The Republic of China and Spain have been the first two countries in Asia and Europe, respectively, in being opposed to the communism and they continue being the firmest props of this crusade” (*Arriba*, Jan. 14, 1962).

the existing relations in the CCP's elites of communist China and their regime, the relations between them and the Soviet Union and what was the USA's role in the Asia-Pacific region. A big part of that information would be offered by the ROC's ambassadors in Madrid who, in audience, met with Franco. In this respect, we can mention a meeting between the Spanish generalissimo and Nationalist China's ambassador, James Yu Tsune-chi (Yu Junji), in April of 1959, in which the previous points were discussed.<sup>27</sup> Some of the most notable features of the ambassador's report, after meeting with Franco and appraising Spain as "the ROC's most loyal European friend", were the need to potentiate the economic and commercial relations in order to strengthen the alliance of anti-communist policies between the West (Spain) and the East (the ROC), as well as the possibility of opening a branch of the KMT in Spain as a platform to expand anti-communist policies on the other side of the Iron Curtain. On another front, the ambassador also reflected upon European politics, specifically the strength of the Italian Communist Party (Partito Comunista Italiano, PCI) and the consequences for the ROC if they rose to power with the consequent opening of diplomatic relations with Mao Zedong. On that matter, the ambassador suggested potentiating the diplomatic relations with Italy, especially via the commercial treaty signed in 1957, which, seemed to be underexploited by Nationalist China, which caused discontent in the Italian government.<sup>28</sup>

Following the history of politico-diplomatic exchanges up until their breaking-off in

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27 List of the ROC's ambassadors in Spain between 1952 and 1973: Yu Junji (1952-1959), Shen Changhuan (1959-1960), Huang Shaogu (1960-1962), Zhou Shukai (1962-1965), Zhu Fusong (1965-1971), Xue Yuqi (1971-1973); García-Tapia, "Relaciones bilaterales con China...", p. 91.

28 KMT Archive (Zhongguo guomindang dang shi guan) [Taipei, Taiwan], da dang 027/012, "Zhu xibanya dashi Yu Junji cheng Jiang Zhongzheng zongcai yu xiguo yuanshou Fulangge tanghua zhailu youguan qianding fangong xieyue dunzu fanghua den qing" [The ambassador in Spain Yu Junji gives President Chiang Kai-shek a summary of the conversation with the leader of Spain, Franco, about the signing of the anti-communist treaty and the invitation to visit the Republic of China], Taipei, June 19, 1959.

1973, we will briefly highlight the main milestones: 1953 (awarding of the medal of the Order of the Brilliant Star with the Grand Cordon to Franco, presentation of credentials of Fermín Sanz-Orrio as ambassador of Spain in the ROC with residence in Manila and awarding of the Grand Cross of Civil Merit to the minister of Foreign Affairs, George K.C. Yeh (Ye Gongchao), and to the governor of the province of Taiwan, Wu, respectively); 1954 (visit of the ROC's minister of Foreign Affairs, Ye Gongchao, to Madrid); 1958 (the ROC's minister of Foreign Affairs, Huang Shaogu, visits Spain); 1959 (visit of the Spanish minister of Industry, Gregorio López Bravo, to Taiwan and upgrade to the embassy status of the Spanish and Taiwanese delegations, respectively); 1965 (visit of the Spanish minister of Industry, Gregorio López Bravo, to Taiwan and visit of the minister of Foreign Affairs, Fernando Castiella, along with Franco's daughter and her husband, to Taiwan and meeting with CKS); 1965 (awarding of the collar of the Order of Civil Merit to CKS and the Grand Cross of Isabel the Catholic to Mayling Soong (wife of CKS), to the prime minister Yen Chia-kan and to ten other senior officials); 1966 (meeting between José Finat and Escrivá de Romaní – ex-mayor of Madrid –, Antonio Gullón Walker –distinguished extreme right-winger among the sectors of veterans and former captives– with Yan Jiagan in Taiwan); 1968 (awarding of the Grand Cordon of the Brilliant Star to the Spanish Minister of Education, Manuel Lora Tamayo, and to the principal of the Complutense University of Madrid, Isidoro Martín Martínez).<sup>29</sup>

Furthermore, regarding the military exchanges, all of them full of symbolism and camaraderie, two stand out among all: the visit of falangist and commander of

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29 About the exchange of civil and military decorations, see Herrera, *España y China (1973-2005)*..., p.48, esp. note 57 (97-8), also see Borao, *Las miradas entre...*, esp. chapter 9.





Spanish delegation in Taiwan (Antonio Gullón Walker and José Finat and Escrivá de Romani –“count of Mayalde”–) with Yen Chia-kan (January 1966). Photography Source: Taiwan. AH, Yen Chia-kan zongtong wenwu, 00600000155P

the Blue Division,<sup>30</sup> Captain General Agustín Muñoz-Grandes, in May of 1960 to Taiwan<sup>31</sup> and the Chinese military mission in Spain in October of 1961, led by the Chief of General Staff, General Peng Ming-chi (Peng Mengji). From that latter visit, it is worth highlighting the impact of Spain’s visit to the ROC’s first line of defense in front of Mainland China’s coasts on the island of Quemoy (Jinmen). Because of abovementioned Spanish military expedition to the island of Taiwan, and as a sign

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30 The Blue Division was an expeditionary corps mostly formed by Spanish falangist volunteers (50,000 approximately) incorporated in the Infantry Division 250 of the German Army (Wehrmacht). It actively participated between 1941 and 1943 in the attack of the Nazi Army to the Soviet Union in the Eastern Front. Its leader was captain general Agustín Muñoz Grandes, who was granted the Iron Cross by Hitler.

31 According to Muñoz Grandes’ biographer, Luis E. Togores, the captain general received two of the ROC’s decorations: on 1st July 1953, he received the Great Imperial Cord of the Order of the Cloud and the President CKS’s Banner and on 8th May 1960, The Great Cross of the Precious Tripod; Luis E. Togores, *Muñoz Grandes. Héroe de Marruecos, general de la División Azul* (Madrid: La Esfera de los Libros, 2007), 416. As a curiosity, we can mention that the son of Muñoz Grandes would also visit Taiwan in September of 1964; “El hijo del vicepresidente del Gobierno visita la China Nacionalista”, *La Vanguardia Española*, Sep. 31, 1964.



of fraternity, brotherhood and anti-communist ideological confluence, the Spanish soldiers brought some relics related to the Siege of the Alcázar of Toledo during the Spanish Civil War and gave them to the Chinese soldiers as a present.<sup>32</sup> Among those relics there were stones from the Alcázar itself, a helmet, a gun, fragments of explosives and a hand grenade. They were all placed in a display cabinet encrusted in the rock of mountain Taiwu on the Island of Jinmen. Two stone plaques brought from Spain were placed in front of it and they had a message written in English, Chinese and Spanish that read: “To the brave ones of the Alcázar of Toledo (Spain). To the heroes of Kinmen (China). 16th May 1960”.<sup>33</sup>

Furthermore, and as a token of appreciation, the Chinese military mission to Spain in October of 1961, led by the Chief of General Staff, General Peng Mingji, brought a commemorative plaque as a present that read in Spanish and Chinese: “To the anti-communist heroes of Alcázar de Toledo / Fight for anti-communism / Offered by the officials and soldiers of Kinmen and Matsu of the Republic of China / October of the fiftieth year of the Republic of China”.<sup>34</sup> Aforasaid Chinese military entourage were greeted effusively by Captain-General Muñoz Grandes and the Taiwanese community in Madrid and they carried out several activities in Spain. Some of the highlights of those were the politico-military meetings with Franco, the Spanish

32 In the collective imagination of Franco’s regime, the siege of the Alcázar of Toledo symbolizes the myth of resistance and heroism of Franco’s regime against the onslaught of the Republican government forces. The siege of the Alcázar of Toledo took place in the context of the Spanish Civil War, concretely between July and September of 1936. About this episode see, Alberto Reig Tapia, “El asedio del Alcázar. Mito y símbolo del franquismo”, *Revista de Estudios Políticos* 101(1998): pp. 101-29.

33 It should be noted that the monument would not be inaugurated until October 1962; “Homenaje a la China Nacionalista”, *ABC*, Oct. 9, 1962.

34 The plaque is currently inventoried and stored, not publicly exhibited anymore, in the Army Museum located in the Alcázar of Toledo (Spain). Also, the plaque was accompanied by a banner that read “Bandera el Alcázar saluda a Quemoy de China Nacionalista”. We are grateful for the information provided by the Documentation Area of the Army Museum.



Visit of Francisco Coloma Gallegos to Taiwan (1972). From right to left: General Ying Chuen (Commander-in-Chief of the Taiwan Defense Command), Yen Chia-kan (Vice President of the ROC), Francisco Coloma Gallegos and Julio de Larracochea (Spanish Ambassador in Taipei). Photography Source: Taiwan, AH, waijiaobu dang'an, 005000001369A.

Armed Forces ministers (Air, Army and Navy), the minister of Foreign Affairs and the minister of the Presidency as well as visits to several military centres in Spain.<sup>35</sup>

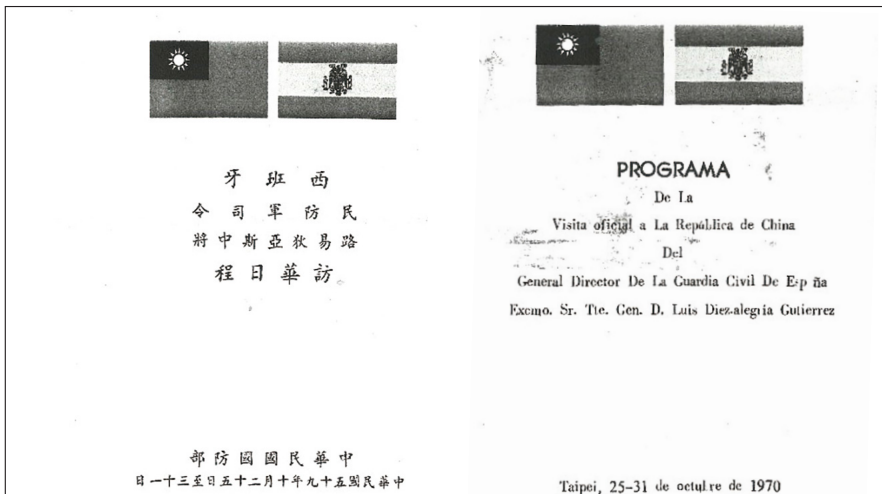
In addition, there were other exchanges by Sino-Spanish military delegations, among the most notable ones: the visit to Formosa by Captain-General of the V Military Region, Mariano Alonso, in 1962 –who met personally with CKS–; the exchange of military delegations for the realisation of specialised courses; the visit of CKS's son, Chiang Wei-kuo (Jian Weiguo), leading a military delegation of the ROC in the role of the principal of the Army Strategy and General Staff College; the visit to Taiwan of the two Spanish generals Camilo Alonso Vega and Carlos Iniesta

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35 The visit of the military mission was collected by the official Francoist newsreel, the NO-DO, and can be consulted on-line in the NO-DO Archive of RTVE under the title of “Misión China en España”, accessed January 15, 2017, <http://www.rtve.es/alacarta/videos/documentales-b-n/mision-china-espana/2846454/>

Cano in 1968; the visit of Tennant-General Luis Díez-Alegría to Taiwan in 1970;<sup>36</sup> or the visit of Assistant Secretary of the Army Francisco Coloma Gallegos in 1972.<sup>37</sup>

The aforementioned Carlos Iniesta Cano, who met with CKS in Kaohsiung, would write in his memoir about the deep impact of the Chinese *generalissimo's* figure, the almost sacred brotherhood in the fight against communism of both regimes and his satisfaction for having been able to witness the front line on the Island of Jinmen, a mandatory visit, however, to all soldiers from “friendly nations” who visited Taiwan.<sup>38</sup>



The official programme of the visit of Lt. Gen. Luis Díez-Alegría to Taiwan (October 1970). Image: Spain. Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte. Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza [AHNOB] TORRELAGUNA, C.110, D.2.

36 The news would be collected by the Taiwanese media: *Shin Sheng Pao* [Taiwan Shin Sheng Daily News] (Oct. 26, 29, 1970) and *Zhongyang ribao* [Central Daily News] (Oct. 24, 25, 27, 31, 1970).

37 Francisco Coloma Gallegos sent a letter dated 22nd December 1972 to thank Chiang Ching-kuo, as Prime Minister, for the attention he received during his visit to Taiwan; AH [Taipei, Taiwan]: wajjiaobu dang'an [Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives], doc. 005-010502-002277-001-002a (Chinese and Spanish version).

38 Carlos Iniesta Cano, *Memorias y recuerdos. Los años que he vivido en el proceso histórico de España* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1984), pp. 202-203.

#### IV. The Francoist Diplomacy in Taipei: Julio de Larracochea

In this fashion, the trips of Spanish military men almost always followed the same dynamic of protocolary visits.<sup>39</sup> Aforesaid visits were always supervised by one of the most notable figures of Spanish diplomacy in Taiwan: Julio de Larracochea.<sup>40</sup> The Basque diplomat was a key figure of Spanish diplomacy in Taipei along with the Spanish ambassadors Fermín Sanz-Orrio and Antonio Gómez-Gullón –both with a permanent residence in Manila–. Larracochea had over 20 years of experience as a permanent ambassador in Taipei (1959-1971), to which his position of *chargé d'affaires* has to be added. He was a notable member of the Spanish political, military, diplomatic, cultural, economic and academic activity in Taiwan. He was the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps of Taiwan and he participated actively in the ROC's

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39 During the visit of Díez-Alegría to Taiwan in October of 1970, in which he was accompanied by his wife, Isabel Gil Enrique and by Lieutenant Colonel Juan Giménez de Salazar and Arroyo, he would be franchised by six Chinese military officials such as Lieutenant General Chiang Shao-yu and two interpreters. Military visits to the Taiwan Garrison General Headquarters or the Ministry of Defense were accompanied by political-cultural visits such as those made to the National Revolutionary Martyrs' Shrine or to the National Palace Museum. Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza (AHNOB). Sección Nobleza del Archivo Histórico Nacional [National Historical Archive Nobility Section, Toledo, Spain], Torrelaguna, "Programa de la visita oficial a la República de China del General Director de la Guardia Civil de España Excmo. Sr. Tte. Gen. D. Luis Díez-Alegría Gutiérrez, Taipéi, 25-31 de octubre de 1970" (Spanish and Chinese version), C.110, d. 2.

40 Julio de Larracochea (1909-1999) had an outstanding diplomatic trajectory in Asia, first as an official of the Spanish Republic and later as an official of the Franco regime (not without controversy for his adherence to the republican government). It was: vice-consul in Shanghai (1931); Chief of the Consulate General in Shanghai (1948); Commissioner in Representation in Tokyo (1950); *Chargé d'Affaires* at the Embassy in Taipei (1952); Ambassador in Taipei (1959 / 1960-1971) and Dean of the Diplomatic Corps in Taipei (1965-1971). In addition, he developed a trajectory as a writer with works like *Ramonchu en Shanghai* (1941) or *Tierra y Opio* (1943), among others. See his literary side in José Eugenio Borao, "Julio de Larracochea (1901-1999); Vicecónsul de Shanghai (1932-1936) y novelista de la ciudad de Wangpú", *Encuentros en Cathay* 12 (1999): pp. 1-50; Carles Prado-Fonts, "Que redundase en beneficio de sus compatriotas": Julio de Larracochea, *Ramonchu en Shanghai y la China modelable*", *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research* 22/1 (2016): pp. 61-77. Part of his handwritten works is in his personal archive located at National Historical Archive Nobility Section (Toledo, Spain).



Spanish delegation in Taiwan (October 1970).

Photography Source: Spain. Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte. Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza [AHNOB] TORRELAGUNA, C.106, D.1.(fot.40).

official celebrations –along with his wife–,<sup>41</sup> whether it was through institutional acts with the top commanding officials, among them CKS and his wife Mayling Soong, as well as taking active part in Taiwanese press with speeches praising the figure of the Chinese generalissimo or participating in the different holidays of the regime, like “Double ten” (10th October –National Day of the ROC–), the commemorative anniversaries of the founding of the KMT or the reelections of CKS as president of the ROC.

He also celebrated the commemorative acts of Francoist onomastics like 18 de Julio, 1 de Abril (1st April, the date of celebration of the end of the Spanish Civil War) or the 25 Años de Paz (meaning “25 years of peace“ , a celebration of the 25

41 Individually, Larracochea’s wife (Maria Ángeles Jausoro) also participated in the diplomatic life of Taipei. See, for example, the celebration of Women’s Day organized by the Chinese Women’s Association; Shin Sheng Pao [Taiwan Shin Sheng Daily News], Mar. 9, 1964.



years of Francoism).<sup>42</sup> A good example that is worth mentioning was the article that Larracochea made to be broadcast on Taiwanese Voice of Chinese Air Force (CAF) / CAF Broadcasting Station to celebrate CKS's birthday on 31st October 1968:

*We are indebted to His Excellency President Chiang Kai-shek for n of the most precious contributions to modern statesmanship, illuminating, as a result of his invaluable lifelong experience and wisdom, issues that every day became more acute and more pressing to solve and cope with. Such a contribution, really twofold in its prominent aspects, must be reckoned in the first one emphasis on action and direct hits, since the years he displayed his military and political genius to avert the takeover of the continental provinces of his country by international communism, a tremendous endeavor that largely filled, with unparalleled credit for China and her leader, one quarter of our century...*<sup>43</sup>

Apart from praising CKS's work and his regime in the history of modern China and its contribution to the fight against communism, Larracochea would take advantage of any opportunity to remark the ideological affinity points in common both regimes had in the fight against global communism through their respective generalissimos. At the time of the awarding of the Order of Civil Merit to CKS (according to Franco's regime, in acknowledgement of his promotion of the sincere Sino-Spanish friendship and his defense of freedom and human dignity) and of the Grand Cross of Isabel the Catholic to Mayling Soong (according to Franco's regime,

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42 AHNOB [Toledo, Spain], Torrelaguna, "Recepción de la embajada de España en Taipéh con motivo del 18 de julio", n/d, c.122, d.1; or "Hu Guocai jingjiuhui zhu xibanya guoqing" [De Larracochea gives reception today in celebration of the National day of Spain], *Zhonghua ribao* [China Daily News], Jul. 18, 1969. For its part, Franco's regime recalled to their embassies the necessary celebration of the regime's special dates; AHNOB [Toledo, Spain], Torrelaguna, "Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores. Oficina de Información Diplomática. Circular número 2.656. Conmemoración 25 Años de Paz, Madrid. 25 de marzo de 1964", c.122, d.1.

43 AHNOB [Toledo, Spain], Torrelaguna, "Discurso natalicio Chiang Kai-shek, Taipéi. octubre, 1968", c.110, d.2.

in acknowledgement of the Sino-Spanish peace, justice and close friendship) on 2nd July 1965,<sup>44</sup> Larracochea took advantage of the occasion to show the image that Franco's regime had of CKS:

*As I mentioned two weeks ago in the presence of the President of the Republic, our admiration in Spain, has no limits when considering the heroic role of National China confronting the international communism in the advanced position of Taiwan and other islands with the integrate the stronghold for freedom of Chinese people. We see in Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, the inspired apostle of the Chinese nationalism, as the heir of founder of the Republic, the modern regimen of China, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and we are confident that under his unparalleled leadership, new triumphant expeditions will be achieved, comparable to the North, in 1927, to restore the Republic in the national territory, its unalienable patrimony...*<sup>45</sup>

Similarly, the Chinese generalissimo would not either miss any opportunity to reaffirm his regime's bond with an ally in the anti-communist fight as traditional as Franco and his regime, despite the geographic distance between them. The "Sino-Spanish friendship" formula was always mentioned to heighten the roles of permanent "sentinels" in the fight against the "red enemy" , and so

44 The decoration was picked up by the Taiwanese media, emphasizing that it was the first time that a country decorated CKS and Mayling Soong at the same celebration, see, "1st Couple Decorated by Spain", *The China Post* (English edition), Jul. 3, 1965; "Xi yuanshou yi zuigao xunzhang fengbie fongzen zongtong kangli" [Chief of State of Spain presents the highest medals to President and Madame Chiang Kai-shek respectively], *Zhongyang ribao* [Central Daily News], Jul. 3, 1965; "Xibanya yuanshou Fulangge zengxun Jiang zongtong kangli" [Chief of State of Spain Franco grants medals to President and Madame Chiang Kai-shek respectively], *Shin Sheng Pao* [Taiwan Shin Sheng Daily News], Jul. 3, 1965.

45 AHNOB [Toledo, Spain], Torrelaguna, "Imposición Grandes Cruces de Isabel la Católica y del Mérito Civil y otras altas condecoraciones a personalidades chinas, Taipéi, 21 de julio de 1965" , c.90, d.1.AHNOB [Toledo, Spain], Fondo Torrelaguna, "Embajada de España en Taipéi. Anexo al despacho núm. 98 de fecha 3 de julio de 1965 / The President of Republic of China" , c.90, d.1.

was their mutual admiration. On that note, and in such a grand occasion as the aforementioned reception of the Spanish condecorations, CKS gave a speech on that friendship:

*As your Excellency [Julio de Larracoechea] have just mentioned, although Spain and China are geographically far separated, they are standing side by side in the defense of the common cause. The close and amicable friendship between the two countries is indeed a source of gratification (...). Spain stands as a stronghold against the evil forces of international Communism in Western hemispheric. We have always followed with a sense of admiration the splendid social, political and economic progress made by Spanish people under outstanding leadership of H.E. Generalissimo Franco. The continued moral support given us by your country has also won profound appreciation of people of the Republic of China ...*<sup>46</sup>



Lt. Gen. Luis Díez-Alegría in Taiwan with Julio de Larracoechea and General Ying Chuen and wife (October 1970). Photography Source: Spain. Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte. Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza [AHNOB] TORRELAGUNA, C.106, D.1.(fot.67).

46 AHNOB [Toledo, Spain], Fondo Torrelaguna, “Embajada de España en Taipéi. Anexo al despacho núm. 98 de fecha 3 de julio de 1965 / The President of Republic of China”, c.90, d.1.



Returning to the figure of Larracochea, after announcing the end of his diplomatic services as Spanish ambassador in Taipei in June of 1971 –there already was a concocting change in Spanish diplomacy regarding the representation of China in the UN– and because of his longstanding position as Spanish ambassador and Dean of the Diplomatic Corps in Taipei, the Taiwanese media covered the news broadly. Almost all written media was full of praise for him and honoured his work in defense of the ROC’s cause in the international community, especially regarding the desire of CKS’s regime to reconquer Mainland China. Furthermore, as a token of appreciation for his services to the nationalist cause of Free China, the regime of KMT in Taiwan awarded Larracochea with farewell receptions and condecorations such as the key of the city of Taipei, awarded by mayor Henry Kao (Gao Yushu), or the Medal of the Order of the Brilliant Star with Grand Cordon, awarded by the minister of Foreign Affairs Chow Shu-kai (Zhou Shukai), for Larracochea’s work regarding the relations between the ROC and Spain. In gratitude for the regime’s honours and support for him, on the day of his depart, Larracochea stated that he felt like a “son of China” .<sup>47</sup> Finally, his successors (Fernando Morena Herrera and José Luis de la Guardia Maestro, both as a Chargé d’Affaires at the Embassy in Taipei) had to walk the path that would lead to the finalisation of the diplomatic relations between Spain and the ROC in March of 1973.

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47 “Fuzongtong juxiang jiuhui hungsong huguocai dashi” [Vice President hosted reception bidding farewell to ambassador de Larracochea], *Zhongyang ribao* [Central Daily News], Jun. 18, 1971; “Beishi jinyao zeng Hu Guocai” Golden Key of Taipei given to de Larracochea], *Shin Sheng Pao* [Taiwan Shin Sheng Daily News], Jun. 26, 1971; “Zhengfu yi dashou jingxing xunzhang zeng Hu Guocai dashi” [Our government decorated ambassador Julio de Larracochea with a medal to distinguish his promotion of sino-spanish friendship], *Zhongguo shibao* [China Times], Jun. 23, 1971.

## V. Organisations of the Masses, Supervision and Indoctrination: Interactions Between the KMT and FET-JONS

The political exchanges would also happen in the form of organising and supervision of the masses in both regimes, there being a few interactions regarding youth organisations. These interactions, and especially the ones with youth organisations, must be framed in the context of the characteristic structures of supervision of one-party far-right regimes. The treatment and care with which these regimes gave to their youth organisations was not trivial. To Spanish fascism, it was one of the most important indoctrination projects for the ideological future of the regime. What is more, as stated by Miguel A. Ruiz Carnicer, one of the Spanish specialists in fascism and university movements, to the Francoist regime as well as to the fascist Italian and German interwar regimes, fascist university organisations played a key role in their rising to power.<sup>48</sup>

In this respect, it is worth noting the official visit to Francoist Spain by the organisation of supervision and control of the youth of the KMT's regime called Chinese Anti-communist National Salvation Youth Corps (*Zhongguo qingnian fangong jiuguo tuan*)<sup>49</sup> to get to know how the organisations of the regime's FET-JONS worked. They paid special attention to their Spanish equivalents like the falangist

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48 Miguel A. Ruiz Carnicer, *El SEU, 1965-1965. La socialización política de la juventud universitaria en el franquismo* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1996), p. 21.

49 Chinese Anti-Communist National Salvation Youth Corps or The Chinese Youth Anti-Communist League (CYACL), now known as China Youth Corps, was a state youth organization until 1989, initially created and directed by Chiang Kai-Shek's son, Chiang Ching-kuo in 1952. It mobilised and controlled the youth population, especially the studying, and it was configured as an instrument of indoctrination and militarisation, being thought as the basis for future military and militant for the army and for the party, respectively. Among its activities were mixed Scouting and political-military indoctrination through camps and cultural activities. On the role of Chiang Ching-kuo in the CYACL, see Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo's Son. Chiang Ching-kuo and the Revolutions in China and Taiwan* (Cambridge / London: Harvard University Press, 2000).

Youth Front (*Frente de Juventudes*, FFJJ) and Spanish University Syndicate (*Sindicato Español Universitario*, SEU).<sup>50</sup> The visit was led by Teng Chuan-kai (Deng Chuankai) in the capacity of the KMT's deputy secretary-general and deputy chief of the Chinese Anti-communist National Salvation Youth Corps. It was also led by the departmental chief of aforesaid organisation. It was directed by the National Movement's Foreign Service, which organised several visits to falangist youth organisations, especially to camps of the FFJJ, as well as to hostels owned by the organisation of falangist supervision of the female Spanish population (The Female Section of FET-JONS – *Sección Femenina de FET-JONS*, SF). They would also attend other activities like the closing of the 4th edition of the *Semana Deportiva Universitaria*, a week-long sports event organised by the FISU, the International Federation of University Sports.<sup>51</sup>

There is still a lot to be researched regarding the interactions between other indoctrination and supervision structures of Spanish and Chinese masses, like union or female organisations, which could open new interpretative frameworks and/or complete the map of existing connections between Franco's Spain and the Nationalist China of CKS. However, regarding the interactions between female indoctrination

50 The Youth Front (FFJJ) was created in 1940 with the aim of mobilizing and indoctrinating all the young Spaniards in the principles of Falangism. It was structured by ages (10-20 years) and origins (school / workers / peasants). Activities ranged from ideological and religious formation, to the promotion of physical education (especially camps) or the management of leisure time and culture, among others. Regarding the Spanish University Syndicate (SEU), initially born as a fascist strike force during the Second Republic by the Falange Española, it would be the official student organization of the regime –especially in the university world– dependent on the FFJJ, until its dissolution / transformation in 1956 into the Professional Association of Students (Asociación Profesional de Estudiantes) after failing in its objective of Falangist indoctrination. See on both organizations, among others, Ruiz, *El SEU, 1965-1965*; Conxita Mir, ed., *Jóvenes y dictaduras de entreguerras. Propaganda, doctrina y encuadramiento: Italia, Alemania, Japón, Portugal y España* (Lleida: Milenio, 2006); Aleix Gregori Purset, “La reacció dels estudiants. Feixisme, joves i món universitari durant la II República española (1931-1936)” (PhD diss., Autonomous University of Barcelona, 2010).

51 “Mañana llegará a España una misión juvenil de la República de China”, *Arriba*, August 12, 1955; “Regresa a su país la delegación de la Juventud China”, *Arriba*, Aug. 26, 1955.

organisations we do know about an epistolary exchange between Pilar Primo de Rivera, in the capacity of general secretary of the SF,<sup>52</sup> and Mayling Soong,<sup>53</sup> in the capacity of president of the Women's Working Committee (Zhongyang funü gonzuohui), the Chinese Women's Anti-communist Aggression League (Zhonghua funü fangong lianhehui) –also known as the Women's League– or the no longer active Helping Women Corps (Funü fuwutuan) of the New Life Movement of the 30s.<sup>54</sup> On the other hand, we have not discovered the existence of official interaction between the Francoist Spanish Trade Union Organization (Organización Sindical

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52 The Female Section of FET-JONS (SF) previously founded in 1934 by Pilar Primo de Rivera –sister of the *Falange Española* founder, José Antonio Primo de Rivera–, was the official women's organization of Franco's regime. Its role of indoctrination and mobilization under the national-syndicalist feminist political idea was based on fomenting the figure of the woman as mother and wife as an expression of the Spanish patriotic woman. About the role of SF in Franco's regime, see, among others, Rosario Sánchez, *Mujer Española, una sombra en lo universal. Trayectoria histórica de Sección Femenina de Falange* (1934-1977) (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1990); Kathleen Richmond, *Las mujeres en el fascismo español: la Sección Femenina de la Falange: 1934-1959* (Madrid, Alianza, 2003).

53 In the memoirs of Pilar Primo de Rivera there is a letter sent by Mayling Soong in 1955 thanking her for the information about SF, and congratulating her for the tasks carried out by SF in the name of "all the women of Free China"; Pilar Primo de Rivera, *Recuerdos de una vida* (Madrid, Dyrsa, 1983), pp. 391-392.

54 Doris T. Chang, *Women's Movement in Twentieth Century in Taiwan* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2009), pp. 46-75. The case of the women's organization Helping Women Corps, which was part of the KMT's New Life Movement, sought to boost the image of the Chinese "new woman". This image was very similar to the traditional but at the same time modern woman who wanted to impel the European fascist movements of the interwar period; Chen, "Els camises blaves...", pp. 25-26. About the figure of Mayling Soong and her role in the women's organizations of the KMT, see Laura Tyson Li, *Madame Chiang Kai-shek: China's Eternal First Lady* (New York: Grove Press, 2006).

Española, OSE),<sup>55</sup> and the Chinese Federation of Labour (Zhonghua minguo quanguo zong gonghui, CFL) of the KMT's regime in Taiwan.<sup>56</sup> Although it is necessary to highlight the differences in internal structuring, composing, functioning and origins of the organisations, and beyond having in common representing the vertical unionism of their respective regimes, it would be of great interest to find common points in the methodologies that Franco's Spain and CKS's Nationalist China used to integrate the labour movement in their regimes' structures. In this aspect, the recruitment of the producing masses through social policies ( "social justice" ) and the coercion/repression of those by removing the idea of a class or a class struggle –as well as those of their class political and union organisations– in favour of "social harmony" are believed to be common elements in both regimes regarding their management of the labour movement.

55 The Spanish Trade Union Organization (OSE) was officially born in 1940, as an antecedent of the fascist National-Syndicalist Workers Central (Central Obrera Nacional-Sindicalista, CONS). Under the national-syndicalist concept of "unity, totality and hierarchy" it sought to bring together workers ( "producers" ), entrepreneurs and technicians under a single vertical structure in which "social harmony" prevailed over class struggle and free relations working conditions. Under the Francoist Labour Law of 1938 (inspired by the corporatist *Carta di Lavoro* of Mussolini's fascist regime) and under the sympathies of the Nazi German Labour Front (*Deutsche Arbeitsfront*, DAF), it structured from 1941 into 26 national unions until its extinction as an organization in 1977. See, among others, Carme Molinero and Pere Ysàs, *Productores disciplinados y minorías subversivas. Clase obrera y conflictividad laboral en la España franquista* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1998); Alejandro Andreassi, "Trabajo y empresa en el nacionalsindicalismo" , in *Fascismo en España. Ensayos sobre los orígenes sociales y culturales del franquismo*, eds. Ferran Gallego and Francisco Morente (Barcelona: Intervención Cultural / El Viejo Topo, 2005), pp. 13-42; Àlex Amaya Quer, *El acelerón sindicalista. El aparato de la Organización Sindical Española entre 1957 y 1969* (Madrid: AHC / CEPYC, 2013).

56 The Chinese Federation of Labour (CFL) was founded in 1948 in Mainland China –and related to the KMT– was the official national trade union center of the ROC in Taiwan until the late 90s. It moved to Taiwan in 1950 and was initially restructured in 1975. The CFL, along with its affiliate Taiwan Provincial Federation of Labour (*Taiwan zong gonghui*, TPFL), would have more than 1.8 million workers in manufacturing enterprises, construction, transport or services in the late 80s; Tien, *The Great Transition...*, pp. 49-51.

Although not on the same level as the OSE and the CFL, we can get an idea of the image that the KMT's regime might have of Franco's Spain on a date as early as 1954, especially regarding labour. In a report by K.T. Kuo, a member of the nationalist government, he praised the policies of Franco's regime in that aspect. It started with "Spain is the only successful anti-communist nation in the world" and it praised Spain's national policies of industrialisation and mechanisation of agriculture and the alleged Spanish economic growth. According to Kuo, the cornerstone of the "Spanish resurgence" was "Spain's new national soul" which Franco's government and its victory in the Civil War against "international bolshevism" represented. This resurgence had favoured the national policies regarding labour. Some of the most notable social achievements were the building of houses for labourers, schools destined for the labourers' children as well as subsidies and medical insurance for workers. Therefore, Kuo did not hesitate to state that "the working class of Spanish people are all leading a peaceful and happy life which has eliminated the possibility of communist infiltration and activity". Continuing his ode to Franco's government, Kuo justified the political form of Franco's regime, describing it as somewhat different from a conventional dictatorship and calling it a "revolutionary government", because of its socio-economic achievements after the end of the Civil War in 1939, especially by the means of a very remarkable industrial, agricultural and energetic production scale, according to the KMT's nationalist politician. Regarding Spanish diplomacy, he highlighted the influence on the region of Central America and South America, the most important points of connection being the Spanish language and Catholic religion, to which the large amount of Spanish immigrants in those areas had to be added, according to the Chinese politician. The report ended with a few words in favour of the union of forces between Franco's Spain and CKS's Nationalist China regarding everything that had to do with the fight

against communism.<sup>57</sup> Aside from the anecdotal quality of the document, it is worth noting and mentioning that the KMT's nationalist government had a lot of interest in the Spanish situation, notably in Spain's policies for labour control. Naturally, Spain's experience could be used by the KMT's government (which, just like the Spanish regime, came from a war –although with different results–) when having to face the global structuring of the regime as a consequence of its relocation to the island of Taiwan as of 1949.

Regarding the specificities of the Taiwanese labour movement, a more extensive paper would be necessary to cover it, especially for such an important topic as the reason behind the weak initial structuring of the anti-KMT labour movement and its ethereal articulation as an organised socially aware working class. It is very different from the case of Spain, where the union and labour movements, notably through the Spanish Communist Party (Partido Comunista de España, PCE) and the Workers' Commission (Comisiones Obreras, CCOO), established themselves as the main workers' representatives in the anti-Franco movement. In the case of Taiwan, there are explanations on the labour movement's weakness which would be affected by very diverse areas from politics and culture to economy or sociology. For example: the concept of hierarchic subordination in Confucianism; the demobilization of the workers by the KMT's dictatorship through repression; the impossibility of a working class conscience as a consequence of the ephemeral persistence of the workers in factories and when socialising (while some of them were peasants who were at the factory sporadically to complete the family economy, others saw the factory as a temporary workplace to save money to open their own

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57 AHNOB [Toledo, Spain], Torrelaguna, "The Revolution and Renaissance of Spain, by Mr. K. T. Kuo in his report on the International Labor Organization, October 1954", c.94, d.1.

business); the imposition of a share of workers who sympathised with the regime (especially demobilised soldiers in the 50s and afterwards) to the detriment of the indigenous Taiwanese working class; the self-exploration, or in the case of females their silencing as workers as a consequence of the traditional patriarchal and family system.<sup>58</sup> Regarding the aforementioned points, we believe generalised repression and the KMT's strict supervision to be, without undermining the other points, basic for the workers' demobilisation, which would affect other movements like the peasant. In this aspect, the control of union candidates, the ban of strikes encoded in the National Mobilisation Law, as well as all the demobilisation laws of workers and peasants like the Union Act, the Factory Act, the Labour Disputes Management Act, the Collective Bargaining Act and the Minimum Wage Act, structured the labour legal base of the KMT's regime and the consequent impossibility of an organised working class. It would not be until the late 80s, along with the irruption of the social movements opposing the KMT's regime (consumers, ecologists, feminists, indigenous, Taiwanese independentists, the student movement or the human rights movement), that the labour movement became an anti-regime force, especially after the suppression of the Martial Law in July of 1987 and the consequent appearance of independent unions of workers in the industrial areas of Kaohsiung, Hsinchu, Taoyuan or Maoli like the Brotherhood Association in the North of Taiwan or the

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58 Ming-sho Ho, *Working class formation in Taiwan. Fractured Solidarity in State-Owned Enterprises, 1945-2012* (New York / Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).



Union Cadres Solidarity Association in Kaohsiung.<sup>59</sup>

As stated above, due to the extension of this topic and it needing a broader framework, we will not go more deeply into it, although we did believe necessary to highlight it for future comparative research on the articulation of the labour movement in Spain and Taiwan, especially in its role as bearer and ally of democratic values.

## VI. Academic and Cultural Exchanges Between Spain's Franco and Nationalist China

At last, and leaving behind the political, military and diplomatic exchanges and focusing on the academic, cultural and economic side, a thorough research is still needed. However, some known notable events were the Commercial Agreement between Spain and the ROC in 1956, which made the exchange of goods easier and regulated the methods of payment between the two countries,<sup>60</sup> or the Cultural Agreement signed by both regimes in 1957, which stated that some texts of the ROC had to be translated to Spanish by the Francoist publishing house, Editora Nacional,

59 About the workers movement in Taiwan, see among others, apart from Ming-sho Ho's book (Working class formation in Taiwan), Michael Hsiao Hsin-huang, "The Labor Movement in Taiwan: A retrospective and prospective Look", in *Taiwan: Beyond the Economic Miracle*, eds. Denis F. Simon & Michael Ying-mao Kau (New York / London: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1992), pp. 151-76; Stephen Frenkel, Jon-chao Chao and Bih-ling Lee, "The Resurgence and Fragility of Trade Unions in Taiwan", in *Organized Labor in the Asia-Pacific region. A comparative study of Trade Unions in nine countries*, ed. Stephen Frenkel (Ithaca/ New York: ILP Press, 1993), pp. 163-86; Nai-teh Wu, "Class Identity without Class Consciousness? Working-Class Orientations in Taiwan", in *Putting Class in Its Place. Worker. Identities in East Asia*, ed. Elisabeth J. Perry (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies / University of California, 1996), pp. 77-102; Yu-jen Wu, "The Contemporary Context of Taiwanese Industrial Relations: The Legacies of an Authoritarian Regime", *Labor, Capital and Society / Travail, Capital Et Société* 32/1 (1999): pp. 6-33; John Rice, "The Emergence of an Industrial Relation System in Taiwan: Historical and Contextual Challenges", in *Employment Relations in the Asia-Pacific Region*, eds. Peter Holland, Julian Teicher and Richard Gough (New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 43-54.

60 "Firma de un acuerdo comercial hispano-chino", *ABC*, Dec. 4, 1956.

like Soviet Russia in China by CKS in 1961 (*La Rusia Soviética en China*, Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1961). The translation of these texts complemented the little amount of translated books by leaders of the KMT's regime in Spain, like *This is our China*, a book written by Mayling Soong (*Nuestra China*, Barcelona: Ariel, 1950), as well as books written by third parties like Philip Paneth's *Chiang Kai-shek carries on* (*Chiang Kai-shek avanza*, Barcelona: Los Libros de Nuestro Tiempo, 1945). It was the first cultural agreement that Franco's regime signed with a country from the Far East and it was presented to the Spanish public opinion as "the expression of the common goals of peace and prosperity in the political order" of Spain and the ROC. It eased the exchange of students and both academic and technical professors between the two countries as well as the mutual sending of publications. This agreement made it possible to structure university courses about oriental studies in Madrid and Hispanic studies in Taipei, as well as the convalidation and mutual recognition of studies and issued certificates in both countries.<sup>61</sup> It is worth remembering that the first Chinese students to come to Spain with a scholarship did so thanks to the scholarships that the archbishop of Nanjing, Yu Bin, obtained from Franco in 1949. They were 30 studying scholarships, mainly granted to Chinese priests and seminarians, who were placed in different Spanish locations. One of those places was the University of Comillas, as one of those first students, P. Chao Ya-po, recalls. A new set of scholarships would be granted to students of Nationalist China for the 1956-57 year, 50 scholarships to be specific, which were managed in Taipei by Julio de Larracochea. Thanks to those Sino-Spanish academic exchanges, the first Spanish language departments would start developing in universities of Taiwan like Tamkang (1963) and Fu Jen (1964). In Spain, Chinese students obtained their first doctorates like P. Chao Ya-po's in 1952 (on filial piety in China) or Koan

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61 "Firma de un tratado cultural hispano-chino", *ABC*, Feb. 8, 1957.

Kung's in 1965 (on Confucius's figure).<sup>62</sup> In this educational context, two institutions stand out as key for the integration of those first students from Nationalist China in Spain, one of them being the Residential College of San Francisco Javier in Madrid, where the Chinese students in Madrid lived. The College was founded by order of Franco's regime in 1952 with the following end:

*The founding of a Residential College, which allows the cohabitation of small minorities, carefully and objectively selected, of young university students of the countries of the East, with Spanish youth and families, may be the most effective mean for a spiritual and cultural action on those same countries, thus offering them the values that Spain represents in the world, and at the same time to fuel the conscience among university students of unity of the Christian family and the vocation for the highest missionary ventures.*<sup>63</sup>

The aforementioned Residential College would lead to the inauguration of the Residential College Siao-Sin ( “Star of the Morning“ ) which would be inaugurated in December of 1969 by Sino-Spanish political and ecclesiastic authorities like Yu Bin –archbishop of Nanjing and principal of Catholic University of Fu Jen–, cardinal Tabera –archbishop of Pamplona and president of the Patronato–, Alberto Martín Artajo –Spanish ex-minister of Foreign Affairs and vice-president of the Patronato– or the ambassador of the ROC in Madrid, Zhu Fusong. According to the speeches that were given, abovemention college symbolised a notable focal point of the Sino-Spanish mutual understanding, as well as the first step in sinologist formation in

62 Borao, España y China..., pp. 195-205. Another set of scholarships (three concretely) would be granted for the academic course 1967-68 by the Francoist regime to Chinese students. In this sense, the Spanish government asked Julio de Larracochea to administer the scholarships; AHNOB [Toledo, Spain], Torrelaguna, “Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales, Oferta tres becas estudiantes chinos curso 67-68, Madrid, 11 de febrero de 1967” , c. 91, d.1.

63 Decreto de 3 de octubre de 1952 por el que se crea en la Universidad de Madrid el Colegio Mayor de “San Francisco Javier” , BOE 314 (1952): p. 5160.

Spain shaped after the existing one in Western Europe at that time. The enriching cultural interactions between Spain and Nationalist China, so often mentioned in the inauguration, did not leave aside the Christian nature of that exchange. According to cardinal Tabera's words, the Residential College of Siao-Sin was an institution so that "Chinese people carry their souls full of enriching Christianity and a better comprehension of the West", and also that Spanish students could acquire "a more open and broader view of Christian life and a more authentic knowledge of the Chinese people".<sup>64</sup> Among this proselytism of Sino-Taiwanese culture in Spain, an institution of Catholic nature stands out: the Apostolic Formation Programme of Chinese University Students (*Obra de Formación Apostólica de Universitarios Chinos*, OFAUC) and one of their founders Juan Pao.<sup>65</sup> Afor said organisation was related to the National Catholic Action of Propagandists (*Acción Católica Nacional de Propagandistas*, ACNP) of Ángel Herrera Oria and several Jesuit priests of the city of Anking. It was recognised as an association by the Spanish government in 1960 and approved by decree under the patronage of the bishopric of Madrid on 13th April 1961, their main goals being:

*the religious and intellectual formation of Chinese Catholic students with aptitudes and spirit, in order for them to eventually promote a Catholic ideology in China, which resuscitates the Chinese traditional moral thanks to the light of our religion. In other words, a national but Christian ideology.*<sup>66</sup>

Thanks to its connections with political and ecclesiastic high-ranking people, the OFAUC became the main spokesperson of students from Nationalist China in

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64 "El Colegio Mayor de Siao-Sin, promotor del entendimiento mutuo chino-español", *Ya*, Dec. 18, 1969.

65 Juan Pao would state in an interview to the Spanish press in 1966: "we thought to make of Spain the focus of most important Chinese culture of the West"; "El Siao-Sin, primer Colegio Mayor chino en España", *Ya*, Oct. 29, 1966.

66 *Ibid*

Spain. It was one of the main promoters of cultural activity of the Catholic side in the Sino-Taiwanese community in Spain along with the ROC's embassy in Madrid.

Finally, among the cultural interactions, and always in accordance with the set of political interests that united Franco's Spain and the ROC of CKS, there were journalistic exchanges between Spanish and Chinese press. Regarding those exchanges, it is necessary to note those between the press agencies in Formosa and Spain between 1951 and 1952, when the Central News Agency (CNA) of the KMT's regime in Taiwan started exchanging photographs and pieces of news with Spanish news agency EFE (*Agencia Cifra*).<sup>67</sup> It is in that context that, for example, the visit of Chiu Nan, director of Radio Formosa and programme manager of the Radio Broadcast of the Republic of China, took place. In his visit to Spain, Chiu Nan took advantage of the occasion to remark the ideological union between both regimes against communism, to praise the figure of Franco –for whose victory in the Spanish Civil War he had prayed– and his regime –which he said he respected deeply for its “experience in the Civil War“ and for “its religious and patriotic spirit“ –, as well as to reiterate the idea of CKS as the liberator of China. His farewell words were essentially a mix of the official speech both regimes gave about their allies: “of course we need the support of our friends, but I can tell you that we will value more the spiritual support of our anti-communist friends, among them those I say goodbye to in Spain after my short visit“ .<sup>68</sup>

In the case of journalists and representatives of the Spanish media in Taiwan, it is worth noting the visits to Formosa by the director of the official newspaper of the regime (Arriba) the falangist, Sabino Alonso-Fueyo in 1965, and the journalist of the monarchic diary of the regime (ABC), Luis María Ansón in 1967. In his visit

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67 Borao, *España y China...*, p. 197.

68 “Ha llegado a Madrid el director de Radio Formosa“, *Arriba*, Feb. 24, 1954.

to Taiwan, the director of *Arriba* would be astonished by many aspects of life on the island, from the agrarian reform -so longed for by Spanish falangists- carried out by the KMT's regime in the 50s and which had allowed the development of a "scientific and efficient agriculture" and the modernity of a "provisional capital city" like Taipei to the historical presence of Spanish people in Formosa or its orographic, cultural and culinary structure. Furthermore, the falangist met with several public figures of Taiwan, the most notable ones being with CKS -who took advantage of the opportunity to praise Franco-, with the future ambassador of the ROC in Spain, Zhu Fusong -whose level of Spanish the falangist journalist would question despite praising his diplomatic career-, as well as with the Bishop of Taipei -of whom he would note his words on the growing diffusion of Catholicism in Formosa-.<sup>69</sup>

On the other hand, the visit of Luis Maria Ansón followed the same route but he did not meet with public figures of the nationalist regime. He wrote about it starting with an expression of his admiration for classic philosophers like Confucius and the agrarian reform carried out by the KMT, as well as the educational labour of the nationalist regime and finishing by stating, after noting the Spanish presence on the island, that "truly, if one wishes to know the authentic traditional life of the Chinese people, one must visit Formosa" and "Taiwan is the China of nostalgia, the China of

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69 Sabino Alonso-Fueyo would relate his experience in Taiwan through four articles published in the newspaper *Arriba* under the title of "Viaje de ida y vuelta a Formosa" throughout August 1965. He noted that his experience in Taiwan would be decisive for the conference that the falangist pronounced under the title of *Imagen sobre Formosa* in the commemorative act of Sun Yat-sen's birth carried out in Madrid, November 12, 1965; "Acto de recuerdo del fundador de la República de la China", *Arriba*, Nov. 13, 1965.

exile and hope”.<sup>70</sup> Naturally, the Spanish journalists’ words about their visits were heavily imbued with a Western vision of Taiwan and everything regarding Chinese culture and history. It was a vision full of preconceived ideas that mixed mysticism and astonishment in the face of such a physically and historically distant country.

## VII. The Endpoint Between Franco and CKS (1973)

The anti-communist bond between Franco’s Spain and the Nationalist China of CKS would come to its end in March of 1973 after the UN recognised the PRC as the only legitimate government of all Chinese territory after the United National General Assembly Resolution 2758 on 25 October 1971. Franco’s Spain, the friend and ally of the ROC in the West in the fight against global communism, abstained from voting in the UN General Assembly (76 votes in favour, 35 against and 17 abstentions), showing a low profile in international autonomy regarding the USA’s

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70 “Diez días de viaje por Taiwán”, ABC, May 31, 1967. The agrarian reform of the KMT’s regime would be one of the most outstanding subjects by the Spanish press of the moment, see “Formosa: una reforma agraria convincente”, El Alcázar, Jul. 19, 1965, or the publication in Spanish of the book by the Vice-President of the ROC, Chen Cheng (*La reforma agraria en Taiwan*, Madrid: Compañía China de Publicaciones, 1964). The agrarian reform of the KMT was based on: (1) the confiscation of land from large Japanese landowners, who went to the state and later sold to small Taiwanese farmers; (2) land limitation per owner; (3) improvements in technical and structural performance (high yield, fertilization, irrigation systems); (4) the socio-political control exercised over the peasantry by the KMT that prevented a free and class organization of the peasants. All these items facilitated that between 1946 and 1976 the production grew up (it quintupled) and it diversified, the surplus created for the development of Taiwanese industrial capitalism being determinant. To this must be added the planning and economic support provided to the reform by the USA through the Chinese-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR), see, inter alia, the agrarian reform of the KMT under the so-called “Taiwanese Economic Miracle”, among others, Eric Horbecke, *Agricultural Development. In Economic Growth and Structural Change in Taiwan* (London: Cornell University Press, 1979); Thomas B. Gold, *State and Society in the Taiwan Miracle* (London / New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1986); Simon and Kau, eds., *Taiwan*; John F. Cooper, *Taiwan: nation or province* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2013) [revised and updated edition]; Kung-chin Lee, *Taiwan zhengzhi fazhan shi* (*History of Political Development in Taiwan*) (Taipei: Youshi, 2013).

shifting foreign policy on the PRC in its quest to isolate the Soviet Union initiated in 1971. Geopolitics and the little importance of Spain in the international community, as well as its historical mimicking of the USA, would lead to Franco's Spain acknowledgement of the "Red China" of Mao Zedong to the detriment of the "Free China" of CKS, which ironically had voted in favour of Francoist Spain's entrance in the UN in 1955.<sup>71</sup> "The ROC's most loyal European friend" would establish purely economic and cultural relations with the ROC, leaving behind the "anti-communist brotherhood" as a symbolic element of history,<sup>72</sup> much to the chagrin of several Francoist politicians.<sup>73</sup> That disappointment with Franco's regime was well summed up in the words that the son of CKS, Chiang Ching-kuo, wrote in his diary on 1st December 1975 when he found out about Franco's death on 20th November 1975:

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71 The diplomatic role of Francoist Spain in the United Nations in the "Taiwan Issue" can be followed, in Herrera, *España y China (1973-2005)*..., pp. 55-79, and more widely, in Laura M. Sáez, "El proceso de legitimación de la República Popular de China en el sistema internacional a principios de la década de 1970. La postura española ante dicho evento" (PhD diss., Complutense University of de Madrid, 2005).

72 "Continuarán las relaciones económicas y culturales entre España y Taiwán", *Arriba*, Mar. 13, 1973. After the diplomatic break-off, the unofficial relations between Spain and Taiwan in Madrid would be carried out through a new institution called Sun Yat-sen Center (*Centro Sun Yat-sen*), which was renamed in 1991 to Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Madrid (*Oficina Económica y Cultural de Taipéi en Madrid*). In the case of the Spanish presence in Taiwan, relations were established through the Spanish Chamber of Commerce in Taipei (consular section dependent on the Consulate General of Spain in Manila-Philippines).

73 Several Francoist politicians did not agree with the political turn to communist China and the abandonment of the Taiwanese friend. As an example, we can find the letter that Blas Piñar, a prominent pro-Franco politician of the most ultra-Catholic side and leader of Fuerza Nueva, sent to the ROC's ambassador in Madrid—Xue Yuqi on 12th March 1973—after the rupture of diplomatic relations between both countries. In the abovementioned letter, he lamented and criticized the political turn of the Spanish government and asked that the stones of the Alcázar of Toledo located on the Island of Jinmen were not returned to Spain and that they were maintained as a representation of the faithful friendship and the anti-Communist camaraderie of both countries in the past; Blas Piñar, *Escrito para la Historia (I)* (Madrid: FN Editorial, 2000), pp. 241-43. On the other hand, Blas Piñar published the letter in his magazine *Fuerza Nueva* (no.324, March 24, 1973), but the Franco regime in show of disapproval censored the magazine and the article; José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez, "La prensa de extrema derecha en la transición del franquismo a la democracia (1973-1982)", *El Argonauta Español* 9 (2012): 45, accessed February 5, 2017, <https://argonauta.revues.org/1421#text>



*Franco died late last month. He bases his career on opposition to Communism and called himself an anti-Communist leader. Yet he subsequently failed to resist the adverse current and betrayed us and recognized Communist China. It is hard to keep one's faith and adhere to one's principles in politics. There is a saying: "A person's behavior in his old age shows his true character". There is a great deal of truth in this.*<sup>74</sup>

The breaking-off of the official relations between both regimes would mean a new phase for both countries. They would have different synergies beyond coincidences like the deaths of CKS and Franco in 1975, the same year, as well as their transitions from their dictatorships to democracy in different ways.

### VIII. Conclusions: Spain and Taiwan, Beyond the Dictatorship

To sum up, as we have seen, the relations between Spain and the ROC went through different phases throughout the 20th century. The initial tense relationship between CKS and Franco in the context following the Spanish Civil War in 1939, would disappear in the context of the Cold War to forge an ideological brotherhood whose defining point would be anti-communism. The initial Christian connection between Franco and CKS through the Archbishop of Nanjing, Yu Bin, and the posterior managing by the United States', would result in the establishment of diplomatic relations between Franco's Spain and the Nationalist China of CKS in 1953 after a very different evolution of both regimes: while Franco and his regime had won the Spanish Civil War –despite associating with European fascist powers

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74 Chiang Ching-kuo, *A year to remember: Reflections on my seventieth birthday* (Taipei: Kwang Hwa Pub. Co., 1981), pp. 136-37.

during World War II, consequently becoming marginalised in the international community in 1945–, the nationalist regime of the KMT, despite being on the winning side in the context of World War II –and thus being included in international assemblies like the UN–, lost the Chinese Civil war in 1949 and was relocated to the island of Formosa, awaiting to carry out a military reconquest of Mainland China. In that context of the Cold War, Franco and CKS found in the USA a new legitimator and saviour. They went from representing low profile agents in the international community –residual in the case of Spain– and being in danger of disappearing after World War II to being notable members of the anti-communist structure in the East and the West, especially after the Korean War (1950-1953) and the treaties of friendship with the USA signed by both regimes in the early 50s. Therefore, the USA would be seen as the saviour and supporter of the Spanish and Chinese regimes. After that, the Sino-Spanish connection came easily through military, diplomatic, political and cultural exchanges that reached their peak in the 60s. The relations between both regimes were perceived, especially by the press, as something remarkable yet curious, exotism being the common point of each, beyond the anti-communist affinity. The Sino-Spanish twilight, finally, would be determined once again by the changing international situation as a consequence of the ROC's exclusion from the UN in 1971. The anti-communist brotherhood would break off because of realpolitik definitively in 1973. After that, both countries developed “aseptic” cultural and economic unofficial relations.

The later evolution of each regime towards democracy, through different paths, and without any apparent connection, would develop in a new international context where the Cold War was in another plane, thus Sino-Spanish relations becoming a product of the irreversible global political scene. In the international framework, Spain would progressively integrate itself in the international community thanks

to, among other factors, its progressive democratisation after the transition process and its democratic consolidation in the mid to late 70s and early 80s (1973/1975-1982). This process would lead to the entrance of Spain into the European Economic Community (EEC) and the NATO. On the other hand, despite its process of democratisation and political transition from the dictatorship to democracy (1986-1996) –more delayed and following very different phases in comparison with Spain, like keeping the dictatorship through the figure of Chiang Ching-kuo after the death of CKS–, Taiwan would still continue to be progressively excluded from the international community in detriment of the PRC, remaining on a diplomatic limbo as a product of realpolitik and of the Cold War despite its relentless efforts to maintain the legitimacy of the nationalist cause in the international community.

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# 西班牙和中華民國（臺灣）： “西方和東方的哨兵”（1953-1973）

Miguel A. del Río Morrillas \*

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## 摘要

本文旨在研究全球冷戰時期兩個極右反共政權，及從1953年到1973年雙方交流關係。這兩個威權政府是佛朗西斯科·佛朗哥（Francisco Franco）主政的西班牙，和蔣介石在臺灣統治的中華民國。兩者不論是在歷史、文化、宗教和地理位置都相差甚遠，但事實上，雙方建立了一個意識形態惺惺相惜的合作關係，兩者甚至有著非常相似的統治手段。本文研究這兩個政權之間的官方外交關係，以及他們在政治、外交、軍事和文化層面的聯繫與交流，一直到1973年外交關係中止。

關鍵詞：反共主義、蔣介石、佛朗哥、中華民國、西班牙

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\* 西班牙巴塞隆納自治大學（UAB）現代與當代史學系助理教授，以及同校獨裁與民主研究中心（CEDID）成員