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SOONG CHING-LING, A POLITICAL PROFILE

BY

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MUNG KWOK-CHOI

A THESIS

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INTRODUCTION

A. An Overview

This is a political profile of Soong Ch'ing-ling (Mme. Sun Yat-sen) whose contribution to the Chinese revolution has so far been neglected by historians. Soong Ch'ing-ling was beautiful and accomplished. Consequently, she was often called a "doll" by Westerners in the treaty ports.[1] While Western correspondents in China during the revolution called her "China's Joan of Arc",[2] Edgar Snow called her "China's George Washington". Vincent Sheean concluded that Soong Ch'ing-ling was an "exquisite fragment of humanity"[4] after his lengthy stay with the Hankow leaders in 1927. Rightist correspondents of the West have referred to her as the "Huckster for Communism",[5] but some correspondents, such as Henry Lieberman of the New York Times Magazine called her "China's conscience" because of her undying faith in the unfinished Chinese revolution.

The above quotations reveal the divergency of opinions about Soong Ch'ing-ling. However, none of these descriptions reveal completely her unique--albeit minor--role in the Chinese Revolution. Her importance to the Chinese Revolution cannot be compared with that of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Mao Tse-tung, nor even Chiang Kai-shek; but her contribution to the liberation of the Chinese people is no less unique than any of the three. To date no systematic study of Soong Ch'ing-ling's political career has been produced. Her unique role in the Chinese Revolution has been undeservedly neglected.

The political life of Soong Ch'ing-ling begins with her marriage to

Sun Yat-sen in October, 1914. From 1914, until Sun's death in 1925 Soong Ch'ing-ling worked for the Revolution in the shadow of her respected husband; working as his secretary, translator, interpreter and even as negotiator. She did not emerge as an individual participant in the Revolution until after Sun Yat-sen's death. From 1925 to 1927, believing that the Kuomintang was in the hands of responsible and dedicated persons (the Left Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists), Soong Ch'ing-ling worked in close association with them. Thus it was only after Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolution that the importance and uniqueness of her role came into sight. Both the Left Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists were brutally butchered. Those who were fortunate to escape were driven to remote areas, at least temporarily. Soong Ch'ing-ling became the sole representative of the unfinished Revolution. Using well her invulnerable status as the Saint's widow, Soong Ch'ing-ling bitterly attacked Chiang Kai-shek, who with suppression and censorship, snuffed out all opposition.

Forswearing the leisurely life of comfort, material affluence and family warmth, she determined to hold high the beacon-fire of the unfinished revolution, constantly reminding the Chinese people of Chiang's betrayal of that revolution. Throughout the thirties, she never stopped criticizing Chiang's regime and his clique, many of whom were her own close relatives. She recognized no other priority for her all of her political activities save the good of the Chinese people.

It was for her dogged faith in the revolution, her dedication and her sense of justice in single-handedly attacking the powerful Chiang regime and for her attempt to obtain fair trial and freedom for hundreds of students and intellectuals captured by Chiang's regime that she was called "China's conscience".

There is no need to exaggerate Soong Ch'ing-ling's contribution to the Chinese revolution. The uniqueness of her role can be truly reflected by placing her political activities against the backdrop of events in China. This political profile will attempt to show what Soong Ch'ing-ling had really done in those years of turmoil, from the fall of Hankow in 1927 to the triumph of Communism in 1949. This period is the climax of Soong Ch'ing-ling's political activities, when she fought single-handedly against the injustice represented by Chiang Kai-shek's regime.

B. Sources

There are no historical studies of Soong Ch'ing-ling. Apart from Emily Hahn's The Soong Sisters and Cornelia Spencer's (Yaukey Grace) The Three Sisters, which are biographical stories in the form of popular novels, there is little. However, there is a large number of articles of varying quality scattered in various newspapers and magazines. In addition, a collection of about sixty of Soong Ch'ing-ling's speeches made since the fall of Hankow in 1927 was published by the People's Republic in 1952 under the title of The Struggle for New China. These speeches reflect Ch'ing-ling's views on the Chinese

revolution, civil liberties and on the Kuomintang-Communist struggle. Other source material concerning the Chinese revolution since 1911 is, of course, plentiful.

7. Nature of this study

In this study, emphasis is placed upon the period from the fall of Hankow to just after the birth of the People's Republic. However no study of Soong Ch'ing-ling is possible without some reference to her early life. Chapter I attempts to provide the setting of her family, schooling and her marriage to Dr. Sun.

Chapter II provides a brief sketch of the power struggle within the Kuomintang and Soong Ch'ing-ling's involvement in it. The final agony of the Sun-Wang Government in 1927 and Soong Ch'ing-ling's attitude on Chiang's betrayal of the revolution close this chapter.

Chapter III gives a description of Soong Ch'ing-ling's life in exile and her political activities during that period. Her struggle for civil liberties under the Chiang regime is also discussed.

Chapter IV deals with Soong Ch'ing-ling's contribution in the formation of the United Front and her attempt to prevent the breaking out between the two political parties throughout the Sino-Japanese war.

Chapter V concerns the work of Soong Ch'ing-ling after the establishment of the People's Republic.

The conclusion attempts to summarize and to evaluate the work Soong Ching-ling did throughout her long years of participation in the Chinese revolution.

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNING

A. Family and Schooling

Soong Ch'ing-ling was born of a rich compradore family of Shanghai in 1890. Her father, Soong Chia-ju (宋嘉樹), also called Charles Jones Soong, was educated as a minister at Vanderbilt University, but later he turned to business in Shanghai. Like most returned students, Soong Ch'ing-ling's father was dissatisfied with the ineptness of Manchu rule, and had for sometime been a personal friend of Dr. Sun Yat-sen prior to the marriage between Dr. Sun and Soong Ch'ing-ling. Therefore, in Soong Ch'ing-ling's childhood, Dr. Sun was a frequent visitor in the family and the Soong sisters treated him as a sort of an uncle.

Soong Ch'ing-ling was educated at home under a private tutor until the age of seven when she was sent to the McTyeire School for Girls in Shanghai, a boarding institution. There, she remained until age fifteen when she was sent abroad to study in a private school in Summit, New Jersey. Later she entered the Wesleyan College at Macon, Georgia, from which she obtained a B.A. degree in 1913. After this she returned to China.

Soong Ch'ing-ling had great aptitude for English and of the three Soong sisters, she was the most studious. Even as an adolescent, she had deep interest in China's problems. She often

published her views in the student literary magazine, The Wesleyan. The success of the revolution in 1911 prompted her to write an essay for The Wesleyan, in which she naively glorified the revolution as the "greatest event of the Twentieth Century". She hailed the revolution as the key to the solution of all the problems facing China, with Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, the three great principles of the French Revolution 1789, being established in China.[2]

Although Soong Ch'ing-ling's view of the revolution was too idealistic and full of wishful thinking, it did show her genuine concern and enthusiasm for the Chinese revolution. Also, when Soong Ch'ing-ling received the Five-Barred Flag of the Revolution, she emphatically tore down the Dragon Banner from the wall, crying, "Down with the dragon! Up with the flag of the Republic!"[3]

Throughout her years in the United States, Soong Ch'ing-ling nurtured an idealistic view of the Chinese revolution, and a consequent hero worship of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, whom she admired for his contentment of living in poverty, a great contrast with his contemporary politicians. Obviously, in the young mind of Ch'ing-ling, Sun was more than a national hero, but also the savior of China, who had sacrificed his personal comfort for the Chinese people.

3. Marriage

Soong Ch'ing-ling's worship of Sun might never have developed into a romance had Sun appeared as a successful national savior. When Sun, who had fled to Japan after the failure of the second revolution

In 1913 against Yuan Shih-kai, she came to Yokohama to meet Soong Ch'ing-ling. She was struck by the difference between Sun's actual appearance and what she had envisaged. Sun was half-sick and frail, worried after breaking with the ambitious Yuan Shih-kai. Most hurt him most was that many of his former comrades had stuck to their posts in Yuan's government. In exile in Japan, Sun lived in poverty, a striking contrast to the well-to-do Soong family who were also exiled in Japan at the time.

With burning faith in the revolution, Soong Ch'ing-ling offered to fill the vacant post of Sun's secretary. His former secretary, her sister, Tsing had married Sun. Soong Ch'ing-ling offered Sun's life at a most opportune moment. Sun, in 1915, was at the lowest ebb of his political career. Soong Ch'ing-ling, with a heart for the revolution, became Sun's sole comfort as well as his "most trusted secretary". Soong Ch'ing-ling threw herself into the task helping him. She believed in the revolution, and she believed in Sun.

During Soong Ch'ing-ling's childhood and adolescence, revolution meant the bringing down of the Manchus. All other problems which China suffered would be solved automatically. Such naive view of the revolution Soong Ch'ing-ling inherited from her parents. Then she came into close contact with the revolution--the difficulties, the promises and the goals--she was more and more moved by the very justice and rightness of Sun's revolutionary principles; believing that China could get to a nation free from foreign domination, and

her people free from starvation and humiliation. She had become aware of the true meaning of the revolution. Political revolution, if not accompanied by social and economic changes was but a court-intrigue.

In a letter to her sister in 1914, Mei-ling, who was still studying in Wellesley, Soong Ch'ing-ling revealed her year's experience of the revolution and its leader, Sun,

> "He (Sun) is too weary and too ill to write much in his own hand.... I am next to the very center of the Revolutionary movement, I am learning what has actually taken place, I begin to see the tremendous proportions of what will have to take place.
>
> "We get to discuss things, Dr. Sun and I. We are like father and daughter, he is so much older. And it pleases me to have him say in his quiet, appreciative way.... He is an unassuming man, Mei-ling, a man who wants no glory for himself.... He is very depressed sometimes. He hates intrigue and he hates militarism and yet he knows it will take both to make the revolution succeed."[9]

After more than a year of work with Dr. Sun, Soong Ch'ing-ling's political ideals had matured. She knew both Sun's secrets as well as his ideals. Revolution became part of her life, without which, life would be meaningless.[10]

Both Dr. Sun and Soong Ch'ing-ling knew how much that year meant to both of them. To Dr. Sun, Soong Ch'ing-ling became the sole comfort of his lonely days of political exile. His first marriage to Lu Mu-ching was a marriage of filial obedience, between a 17 year old college student in Hong Kong,[11] and an illiterate village girl.[12] Though she had borne him three children Dr. Sun was estranged from his wife throughout the long years of exile. Moreover there was the

difference in outlook and political ideals. The marriage was, in fact, a constant source of "a good deal of domestic unhappiness."[13] To Soong Ch'ing-ling, who had decided to dedicate her life to the Chinese Revolution, and, above all, to the comfort of the lonely man who made the Revolution possible, she offered to marry Dr. Sun. Still there was no thought of love, but the worship of a hero and a passionate desire to help China.[14]

Dr. Sun hesitated to accept Soong Ch'ing-ling's offer especially when the difference in age was considered. He told her just before her departure for Shanghai for a visit:

> "You are so young, I am almost an old man-I have a grown son. I live in the uncertainties of being a revolutionary leader - and you would dedicate yourself to helping me! Ch'ing-ling, I can scarcely forgive myself for bringing you again into contact with this thing - this hunger, this disease, this torment which gives the heart no rest once it is infected with it. Won't you wait! Won't you go back to Shanghai and live there a while and see then how you feel! I cannot accept now."[15]

Sun's former marriage did not constitute much of an obstacle to Sun and Ch'ing-ling. For Mme. Lu, the frequent and long separations, the uncertainties and dangers in Dr. Sun's activities were too much of an ordeal already. She had offered to choose a second wife for Sun but Sun had refused.[16] Therefore, when she was asked about the possibility of his marriage to Soong Ch'ing-ling, Mme. Lu agreed readily to a separation, but not a divorce, which would have caused her to forfeit her social position and privileges. Evidently Dr. Sun took this agreement as a moral equivalent of a divorce.[17]

However, the greatest obstacle to the marriage between Dr. Sun and Ch'ing-ling came from the Soong family. First of all, her parents belonged to the comprodore class, a class whose revolutionary ideals were limited to the overthrow of the monarchy and to a modest program of reform. Any social and economic revolutions which would harm their privileged positions would be the first thing to which they would object. Therefore, to allow Soong Ch'ing-ling to marry Dr. Sun meant to give a daughter away to a man who would ultimately be their enemy. Secondly, the Soongs were practical people who saw marriages as a possible family asset.[18] "Good" marriages like the one between Ai-ling and H. H. Kung, who was reputed to be a descendant of Confucius and came from a traditional banking family in Shensi, not only enhanced the wealth of the family but also provided "honor and dignity" which families like the Soong's were seeking. Dr. Sun's dubious situation and his political uncertainties did not endear him to Soong Ch'ing-ling's parents. His poverty and his "harmful" revolutionary programs constituted a dangerous liability if Dr. Sun were to become part of the family. Therefore there is no wonder that Soong Ch'ing-ling's parents flew into a rage when Soong Ch'ing-ling told them of her wish to marry Dr. Sun.[19]

Soong Ch'ing-ling stayed in Shanghai for more than three months[20] to persuade her parents to give consent to the marriage. After making sure that her parents' consent would not be granted, she secretly went back to Japan to join Dr. Sun. It was a courageous act for

a Chinese girl with a "good" family background to go against the conventions of both the Christianized and the non-Christianized society.[21] The couple was married on October 25, 1914,[22] in Seattle, in a simple ceremony. Immediately after the marriage, Soong Ch'ing-ling resumed her secretarial work and started learning cryptography, doing secret coding and decoding on behalf of Dr. Sun.[23] Apparently, she was happy with her marriage and her work for Dr. Sun. In a letter to an American school friend, she wrote:

> "It (the marriage) was the simplest possible, for we both hate surplus ceremonies and the like. I am happy and try to help my husband as much as possible with his English correspondence. My French has greatly improved and I am now able to read French papers and translate by sight easily. So you see marriage for me is like going to school except that there are no 'exams' to trouble me".[24]

One of the immediate results of the marriage was a great deal of criticism from different circles. Hu Han-min and Chu Chi-Hsun (朱執信) criticized the marriage in front of Dr. Sun.[25] Many other comrades instead chose to ignore the marriage. The most spectacular reaction was from Soong Ch'ing-ling's parents. Charlie Soong attacked Dr. Sun bitterly and tried every possible way to annul the marriage on grounds of the failure to obtain parental consent. When this failed, the Soong family broke all relations with Dr. Sun, disowned Soong Ch'ing-ling, and withdrew all financial support from the newly reorganized Chung-hua Ko-ming-tang (中華革命党 Chinese revolutionary Party).[26] There was never a complete reconciliation between the Suns and the Soongs, the latter remained aloof until the death of Dr. Sun

when he suddenly rose to be a national hero.

The Soong family's attitude toward the marriage also influenced the attitude of the Christian Societies in Shanghai. The name of Dr. Sun was no longer conjured up in missionary activities.[27] Some in the Christian communities called Ch'ing-ling an "adventuress".[28] Bishop Henry Bond Restarick even criticised the Suns in terms of Christian ethics.[29] However, all these criticisms were pointless. When Chiang Kai-shek and Soong Mei-ling (宋美齡), the youngest among the Soong sisters, married on December 1, 1927, in similar circumstance, they not only received the wildest acclaim from the wealthy Chinese circles in Shanghai, but also from church people who saw in the Generalissimo, the hope to christianize China.[30] The snobbishness and hypocrisy of Christian circles had alienated Dr. Sun and Ch'ing-ling from both the Chinese and foreign church people. A sense of distrust between them was inevitable. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why Dr. Sun, in his later years, had come to criticize the missionaries as agents of imperialism. Wang Chi-chen observed well that:

> "In Sun Yat-sen's later years his hatred of Western imperialism led him to link missionary enterprises with foreign exploitation and caused him to make public utterances that were interpreted as anti-Christian."

There was never a complete reconciliation between the Suns and the Church people, just as the relations with the Soongs did not improve during the remaining years of Dr. Sun's life. But while some former comrades of Dr. Sun regarded the marriage as disgraceful, young students all over China rejoiced at having Soong Ch'ing-

ling to work for the Chinese revolution.[3] She in the words of Vincent Sheean, had come to "share Sun's passion against injustice of every kind, his determination to organize and prolong the revolt of the masses...."[4] Because of her understanding of the youth, because of her underlying faith in the Chinese revolution, she was destined to be a symbol with which the student movements in the late twenties, thirties and forties identified.

In the years after the marriage 1914-1922, Soong Ch'ing-ling, despite her own dislike for public occasions, accompanied Dr. Sun in nearly all his public appearances.[5] She travelled with Dr. Sun in and out of China, served as Dr. Sun's interpreter, and participated with him in meetings, sharing all his joy and dangers. Several times, she barely escaped with her life.[36]

C. Dr. Sun and the Soviet Union

Unexpectedly, these years of frustration for Dr. Sun turned out to be one of the most important periods in the history of the Chinese revolution. Dr. Sun now recognized that his early optimism about the republic was totally unfounded. For more than thirty years of dedicated revolutionary work, there was nothing to show but a republic without democracy. To his dismay, Chinese parliamentarism, under the control of a succession of Peiyang (北洋) generals, was the laughing-stock of the nation. Parliamentarianism became disastrously associated with militarism, disorder, insecurity and

poverty."[37] Furthermore, the prospects of the Kuomintang, the revolutionary party formed in 1912 out of the old old Tung Meng Hui were hardly encouraging. Immediately after it was formed, it fell into disunity and bureaucracy.[38] Neither the subsequent reorganizations of the Kuomintang into the Chung-hua Ko-min-tang (中華革命党) in 1914 in Japan nor the formation of the Chung-kuo Kuomintang (国民党) in 1920 was sufficient to revitalize the revolutionary elan.[39] The Party, under Sun's care, had no effective contact with the masses, nor had it any effective military power.

Dr. Sun had always counted on the help of the west and Japan to help carry out the revolution. But the prospect of help from the west and Japan was hardly encouraging. They continued to collaborate with the northern warlord governments at the expense of China's integrity and national interest.

As early as 1911, Dr. Sun had initiated official contacts with the Soviet Union by sending Lenin a letter, congratulating him on his success,[40] and stating that both the Chinese and Russian Revolutions aimed at "leading to the liberation of the peoples and to the establishment of enduring peace."[41] According to Ho Hsiang-ning (何香凝) the Liao Chung-k'ai, Dr. Sun was seriously thinking of sending Liao Chung-k'ai (廖仲愷), his most trusted aide, to Russia to study.[42] It is clear from this evidence that Dr. Sun was attracted by the success of the Russian revolution. But before turning to the Soviet Union, Dr. Sun made a final bid for obtaining aid from western nations. In 1911,

he advanced the rather naive project of "International Development of China". The central idea of the project was to industrialize China with international capital for the benefit of the world. Then all national industries would be made a Great Trust owned by the whole Chinese people. If this is to be realized, socialism in China would be created by the help of western capitalism. The plan was presented to Britain, France and the States, but these countries never took this plan seriously.

Besides his disillusion with the West, Sun was also disappointed with Japan in 1922. The Japanese Government never responded to Sun's plea of help, but in fact, made use of Sun's plea as a lever to exact concessions from Yuan Shih-kai's Government. This was the case when Japan made the Twenty-One demands in 1915.

Very since [illegible], Dr. Sun drew closer to the Soviet [illegible] and Germany; both like China were the underdogs, outcasted and humiliated by the hands of the West. Since September, 1922, Dr. Sun secretly corresponded with Weimar Germany and the Soviet Union, seeking an alliance with both of them.[45] Germany was completely disinterested in China after the war, but the Soviet [illegible].

After Chen [illegible]'s revolt in [illegible], it was clear that the Kuomintang was a completely futile revolutionary force unless some drastic reforms were effected. Foreign help in reorganizing the Kuomintang was desperately needed.

The ground work of the Soviet-Chinese collaboration was

laid by Maring (Sneevliet) who was sent to China by Lenin in 1921 as the Comintern's representative to the First Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in Shanghai.[46] After a detailed observation of the Kuomintang, he presented to Dr. Sun two concrete proposals. First, the revolutionary party must ally with all classes, especially the proletariat and peasantry. Second, a military academy must be established to provide the necessary armed forces for the revolution.[47] These proposals materialized officially in the "Joint Manifesto of Sun Yat-sen and A. A. Joffe" in 1923, stipulating the Soviet Union's commitment to lend support to the Chinese Revolution.[48] But the plan for the reorganization of the Kuomintang was not yet laid down until after a series of negotiations between Dr. Sun and Michael Borodin, the Comintern representative in China.

Perhaps the most important work that Soong Ch'ing-ling undertook in the period 1924-1925 was to actively participate in the negotiations between Dr. Sun and Borodin.[49] These led to the reorganization of the KMT along Soviet lines and the inclusion of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) members in the Kuomintang on a personal basis.

Beginning early in 1922, Soong Ch'ing-ling had also been closely associated with a number of important left Kuomintang members, notably Liao Chung-k'ai and his wife, Mme Liao Mei-ying, who was about ten years Soong Ch'ing-ling's senior and always treated her as some sort of a niece.[50]

The years after 1927 clearly revealed the trend: Dr. Sun

and consequently Soong Ch'ing-ling, were drifting towards the left. Dr. Sun's orientation towards the left was undoubtable.[51] This can be best illustrated by his letter to the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., written on his death-bed.

> "Taking my leave of you, dear comrades, I want to express the hope that the day will soon come when the U.S.S.R. will welcome a friend and ally in a mighty, free China, and that in the great struggle for the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the world both these allies will go forward to victory hand in hand."

The importance of this message lies in the fact that it had clearly reflected the true state of mind of Dr. Sun. His faith in the Soviet alliance was undoubtedly a reason for Soong Ch'ing-ling's continuing association with the left Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists after Dr. Sun's death.

The death of Dr. Sun on March 12, 1925 in Peking marked a new beginning in the Chinese Revolution and also a new beginning of the political career of Soong Ch'ing-ling. From 1914 to 1925, Soong Ch'ing-ling had worked for the revolution in the capacity of Dr. Sun's wife and personal secretary. After the death of Dr. Sun who overnight had become the "Father of Modern China", Soong Ch'ing-ling suddenly became the most respected person in China. How she acted, what she said had incalculable influence upon millions of patriotic Chinese. Her influence, her invulnerable status as the widow of Dr. Sun and her continuing association with the left Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists forecasted the unique role she was to play in the Chinese revolution after 1927.

CHAPTER II

SOONG CH'ING-LING AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE COUNTER REVOLUTION
1925-1927

1. Soong Ch'ing-ling and the "Will" of Sun Yat-sen

After his death in 1926, Dr. Sun was hailed as the "Father of Modern China". His birth and death dates were declared as national holidays by the Kuomintang. Millions of young Chinese mourned his death. His "Three Principles" and his "Will" were studied in great depth. With Sun's death, China lost the living symbol of disinterested love of the nation. His loss was particularly acute as few politicians of his time were not self-seeking. He was also the symbol of all the Chinese who hoped their country could stand up on her own feet. He symbolized the unfinished revolution which most of the Chinese were determined to realize. Above all, he was the symbol of unity in the Kuomintang. In fact, he and the common sentiment for him were the only unifying element among the left, the right and even the communists who had joined the Kuomintang on a personal basis. His death foreshadowed the inevitable breaking up of the Kuomintang as a unifying force of all revolutionaries working for national unification.

The breaking up of the Kuomintang did not come immediately after the death of Dr. Sun. In fact, the Kuomintang tried to use the

Sun Yat-sen cult" as an instrument for national unification. Young Chinese were specially urged to imitate Dr. Sun's life-long dedication to the revolution. The ruling members of the Kuomintang, hoped that by hailing Dr. Sun as a sort of a saint, cohesion among the different factions in the Kuomintang would be created.[1]

As the widow of the "infallible Dr. Sun", Soong Ch'ing-ling also became sacred, and commanded the respect of millions of patriotic youth. As later events were to prove, Soong Ch'ing-ling was to be the focal point from which many of the student movements drew their inspiration.

Before the death of Dr. Sun, Soong Ch'ing-ling held no official position in the Kuomintang. She acted as his secretary and for most times, interviewed and negotiated on behalf of Dr. Sun. Since 1923, Soong Ch'ing-ling had also associated herself with the left- Kuomintang and the communists. After 1925, she renewed her ties with the left-KMT and the communists, especially those working in the communist-dominated Shanghai University, headed by Ch'u Chiu-pai (瞿秋白).

The first clear indication of Soong Ch'ing-ling's [illegible] the left [illegible] of the KMT after the death of Dr. Sun was her active participation as a leader and an organizer in a series of nation-wide protests before and following the May 30 and June 23 incidents.

The killings from these incidents infuriated the Chinese people. A strong wave of nationalist and anti-imperialist feeling, centered about Dr. Sun and his Three People's Principles was created. Protests

and strikes of Hong Kong workers, which in effect had paralyzed the Colony, were organized by Borodin and the left factions of Kuomintang under the leadership of Liao Chung-kai who was also the head of the Labour Department of the Canton Government.[4] Throughout this tempestuous period of protests and strikes, Soong Ch'ing-ling stayed in Canton and participated in the planning of the workers' movements. She also worked at the Revolutionary Schools in the Bureau of Propaganda,[5] a department of the Canton Government which had come heavily under the domination of the Chinese communists. In short, long before the Convention of the Second Congress of the Kuomintang in 1926, Soong Ch'ing-ling's orientation towards the left was unmistakable.

In spite of Soong Ch'ing-ling's strong desire to lead a semi-retired life in Shanghai, her devotion to Dr. Sun compelled her to do the utmost for the Chinese Revolution. In the Second Kuomintang Congress in January 1926, she was elected a member of the Central Executive Committee and took office in a number of government bodies, including the Political Council. She was also asked to head the Women's Department. However, she declined this post in favour of Madame Liao Chung-kai, who was undoubtedly more experienced. Nevertheless, Soong Ch'ing-ling was keenly interested in the feminist movement. Between 1926 and the beginning of the Northern Expedition in July 1926, Soong Ch'ing-ling stayed in Canton for most of the time, and worked for more educational opportunities for women. She was also responsible for setting up many women's

organizations which were later grouped into the Women's Institute of Political Training in Hankow - an important creation in her early political career.

The sudden emergence of Dr. Sun as a national hero also affected the attitude of Soong Ch'ing-ling's parents. Being practical people, they recognized that Dr. Sun was a much bigger asset to the family than they had expected. Honour and glory would be profuse for the Soong family if Soong Ch'ing-ling agreed to go back to the Soongs. Several telegrams were sent to ask her to go back to Shanghai. But she turned a deaf-ear to all these pleas. She knew clearly that her family belonged to a class that was destined to be the enemy of the revolution, that their class interest must be wiped out before the livelihood of the mass could be bettered. Family ties were not enough to take her away from the Chinese revolution nor were they enough to harness her anti-Chiang activities and speeches after 1927. In short, Soong Ch'ing-ling recognized no other principle in her activities than what she thought would be good to the Chinese people. As one foreign correspondent observed, Soong Ch'ing-ling herself was "China's conscience".

2. <u>Inner struggle within Kuomintang 1925-1929</u>

The upsurge of nationalism after the death of Dr. Sun did infuse a sense of cohesion among the Kuomintang members. Nearly all members vowed to follow Dr. Sun's Three Principles and Three Policies. But

this sense of cohesion was short-lived. In the words of Agnes Smedley, "His (Dr. Sun) followers and clique within the KMT set out to distort and finally wreck the revolutionary structure that Sun had built for all his life". This was primarily due to the fact that the KMT lacked an ideology to unite all the various elements and to give them a sense of direction. Dr. Sun had been vague in defining his political ideology. His political theory was a combination of many incompatible ideas. The Western concept of democracy, Marxism, socialism, welfare economics, the planned society and anti-imperialism were all mixed up in his Three Principles. Dr. Sun's followers could easily cite his work to support their own political views, no matter what their political beliefs were. Naturally, the divergent elements had come into open conflict with the passing away of Dr. Sun - the only unifying force among his followers. Moreover, Dr. Sun's Three Policies which included the "inclusion and support of the nation's workers and peasants in the work of revolution", were a direct challenge to the social status and economic privilege of many of his followers, such as Hu Han-min (胡漢民), Tai Chi-tao (戴季陶) and Tsou Lu (鄒魯). Opponents and followers of these Three Policies soon split the Kuomintang into two opposing camps, the Right and the Left. Hu Han-min, acting Generalissimo and Foreign Minister was the leader of the Right, while Liao Chung-kai, whom H.H. Roy regarded as the "leader of Chinese Jacobinism",[10] was the leader of the Left. Only did Liao have the support of Soong Ch'ing-ling, the sacred

widow of Dr. Sun, who was also the head of the Labor Department, the Minister of Finance and the Party's Political Representative to the Kuomintang army.[11] According to Professor Chung-Gi Kwei, who had actually participated in the struggle between the Left and Right factions, Liao Chung-kai in 1925 was holding thirteen important concurrent posts in the Kuomintang.[12] Liao was the most influential member of the Kuomintang.

Bitter struggle between the Left and Right factions of the Kuomintang led to the use of warlord tactics by the Right faction. On August 20, barely a few months after the death of Dr. Sun, Liao Chung-kai was assassinated at the entrance to the Central Party Headquarters. A special committee composed of Wang Ching-wei, Hsu Chung-chi and Chiang Kai-shek, was set up to investigate the assassination. When it was known that Hu Han-min's implication was evident,[13] the Left faction and the Chinese communists requested the special committee to arrest him. Instead, the Special Committee sent Hu on a tour to Moscow.[14]

The assassination of Liao Chung-kai, and the subsequent "exile" of Hu Han-min, once the acting Generalissimo, left the throne of power vacant. It was occupied by Chiang Kai-shek, who became the General Military Commander, in addition to his position as the president of the Whampoa Military Academy.[15] Both the Chinese Communists and the Left faction of Kuomintang members did not object to Chiang's assumption of the military power because Chiang was,

at the time, among the most vociferous of those advocating strong measures against the Right.[16]

C. Chiang Kai-shek and the Power Struggle 1925-1927

It is true that the Second Kuomintang Congress in January 1926 resulted in the domination of the Kuomintang by leftists and the Chinese Communists. But this domination had no real foundation. In a time when only military power counts, domination in the Congress, without the backing of the army, was illusory. By letting Chiang Kai-shek monopolize the Kuomintang armies after Hu Han-min's exile, the left Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists had committed a serious mistake, a mistake for which they had to pay dearly in 1927. Ever since then, the Chinese Communists, especially Mao Tse-tung, have made sure that politics have to take command of the gun.

Meanwhile, Chiang Kai-shek fully recognized his new power as General Military Commander of the Kuomintang's armed forces. With the military power in his hand, he could challenge Wang Ching-wei, the nominal head of the Canton Government, for the supreme position in the Kuomintang at any time he saw fit. The time came when Michael Borodin, the master-mind of the Chinese Communists and the left-Kuomintang members, went to the North in March 1926 to talk Feng Yu-hsiang 馮玉祥 into the cause of national unification. On March 20, Chiang Kai-shek staged his coup, subsequently known as the "Canton Incident."[17]

The intention of Chiang's move was clear. The "Chung-Chan Incident" was but a show of force to the left Kuomintang members, the Chinese Communists, and the Russians that if the KMT-CCP United-Front was to be preserved, it had to be on terms agreeable to Chiang, i.e. more power centralized in his hands.

The "Chung-Chan Incident" resulted in a clear cut victory for Chiang. Not only did the Soviet Union reshuffle the Comintern agents in China, the Chinese Communists led by Chen-Tu-hsiu, were also told to adopt a conciliatory attitude towards Chiang. Wang Ching-wei was forced to take a timely sick-leave to France, so as to enable Chiang to assume Wang's post of the Chairman of Military Council, which also logically meant the Commander-in-Chief of the impending Northern Expedition.[18]

By adopting the policy of appeasement towards Chiang, the left-Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists were destined to suffer its consequence. Allowing Chiang to have more power and prestige meant increasing his bargaining power. Soon, the left-Kuomintang members and the Chinese Communists would find Chiang's bargaining power too strong and his ambition too high to cope with.

[illegible] Chiang-Wang and the Nanking Government

In the meantime, Chiang was satisfied with the Communists' compliance with his restrictions. Therefore, he set in motion the Northern Expedition on July [illegible]. Fifteen Soviet military officers,

including Galen (Blücher), chief military adviser to the Canton Government, accompanied the expedition. Soong Ch'ing-ling also participated in various parts of the military preparations, and she organized the Wounded Soldiers' Relief Association, of which she was the chairman.

The Northern Expedition forces scored victory after victory. Changsha and the whole of Hunan fell rapidly and in mid-September, Chiang's forces took Wuhan.

The Chinese Communists and left-Kuomintang members concentrated their effort in organizing mass movements. The appeal of nationalism and prospect of social revolution not only helped to consolidate the revolutionary bases but also helped to lure the warlord armies to defect. This is one of the reasons why the revolutionary forces obtained such amazing results so rapidly.

But the proliferation of mass movements had its distasteful side for Chiang. The Kuomintang took a decidedly left-wing turn at the expense of the Right faction, of which Chiang was definitely the leader after the "Chung-Shan Incident". To Chiang's dismay, in a special session of the Kuomintang in late October 1926, two important resolutions were adopted. One was the recall of Wang Ching-wei from political exile. The second was to investigate the suitability of moving the Nationalist capital to Wuhan because of its greater strength in the working class. In November, a group of five, composed of Soong Ch'ing-ling, Sun Fo, T.V. Soong, Wang Ch

Chou, and Borodin was dispatched to investigate the possibility of transfer.[10] However, Chiang was bitterly against it and proposed Nanchang instead. Bureaucrat arguments between Chiang and Borodin resulted an open break between them.

As a show of protest, Chiang boycotted Hankow's first Central Executive Committee on March 10, 1927. The right-wing members of the Kuomintang also stayed in Nanchang with Chiang. The Hankow group reacted by abolishing the chairmanship of the Government Council, Political Council and of the Military Council, and instituted a system of group leadership. Chiang, at that time, was holding all the three posts that the Hankow civilian government had abolished.

During the time of war between the Hankow group and Chiang Kai-shek's group, foreigners and the wealthy Chinese bankers and industrialists were looking for a means to sabotage the special program of the revolution. They found Chiang Kai-shek who, like themselves, was willing to see China united without social revolution. The chance of collaboration came when Chiang's forces entered Shanghai and Nanking.[11]

According to J. F. Powell, Sterling Fessenden, American chairman of the International Settlement, entered into negotiations with Chiang Kai-shek on behalf of the French and British police in Shanghai. Chiang agreed to subdue the "Red monster" of Communism with foreign support.[12] Having made sure that the imperialist powers and the wealthy Chinese compradores would support the national unification,

Chiang Kai-shek did not hesitate to strike at the Communists and at the mass movements which had been the very foundation of Kuomintang success so far. At mid-night, April 12, Du Yueh-sen (杜月笙), the leading gangster in Shanghai, who practically monopolized Shanghai's opium trade, gambling and prostitute business, attacked the unprepared Shanghai workers. Thousands of Du's green gang (青帮) gunmen, armed with foreign rifles, slayed thousands of youths. Following the "April 12 Massacre", Chiang Kai-shek crashed down on all workers' organizations in Shanghai and Nanking. Many Communist leaders were arrested, including Chou En-lai who later escaped through bribing his guards. The final result was a clear-cut victory for Chiang. And to reward Du Yueh-sen's help, Chiang "legalized" Du's opium trade by appointing him chief of the Bureau of Opium Suppression. He was also presented the "Order of the Brilliant Jade."

The Hankow government immediately reacted by expelling Chiang Kai-shek from the Kuomintang party. But Chiang, whose prestige had been so great among the Rightists, found no difficulty in setting up a rival government in Nanking. The Rightist elements of the Kuomintang elected Chiang to head the Nanking government on 18th April, only six days after the massacre. At this point, the unity of Kuomintang had virtually collapsed; and the death of the revolution followed closely.

The break between Hankow and Nanking presented a hopeless situation for the Hankow leaders. The Hankow forces, under the

command of T'ang Sheng-chih, was weak. It could neither defend Hankow from the warlords' attack, nor from Chiang's [illegible] forces. The only hope of survival was General Feng [illegible] whom Vincent Sheean described as a "big, slow brute with a highly developed sense of his own power."

At the same time, the Hankow government displayed a trace of schism when danger was imminent. Even the left-Kuomintang members, Sun Fo and Tang Ching-sung were of the opinion that the mass movements had been carried too far. Peasants in the countryside started seizing lands and waged a sort of class war against the landlords. In the cities, factories were closed and the labor unions assumed police functions while the Chinese Communist cadres stirred up the mass movements. The Kuomintang leftists became increasingly indifferent to them.

The spark that set off the final break between the Kuomintang leftists and the Communists was the foolish action of [illegible] Roy, an agent of the Comintern, and whom Mao Tse-tung later called a "fool".[23] On June 1, Roy showed Tang Ching-sung a Comintern telegram demanding a further extension of land reforms, the creation of a new army composed of peasants and workers, and the displacement of the old members of the Kuomintang Central Committee with new representatives of the workers and peasants.

Roy's blunt tactic combined with the unwillingness of the Kuomintang leftists to go along with the new program precipitated

the final schism. Consequently, Wang Ching-wei and Sun Fo discussed this with Feng Yu-hsiang. Apparently, they agreed to break with the Communists and joined Chiang Kai-shek instead. In understanding [illegible] reached between Chiang and the Kuomintang leftists on June 19. Thus, the [illegible] of the Chiang-Communist cooperation was sealed. Feng Yu-hsiang sent a telegram to the Hankow Government two days later, demanding the dismissal of Borodin. It also said: "All Wuhan Communists who wish to proceed abroad can go, Nanking welcomes the cooperation of those remaining, but requests the earliest decision to hasten the formation of a unified front against the north." Chiang also sent an ultimatum to Hankow at the same time. The collapse of the Hankow Government - the symbol of Dr. Sun's Three Principles, and the symbol of Kuomintang-Communist cooperation - could come in any minute. Wang Ching-wei, Sun Fo, [illegible] Hung, and T.V. Soong had joined Chiang at Nanking already. The final drop of Hankow came when Wang Ching-wei, commander of the Hankow armies, proclaimed a counter-revolution on July 15. Borodin, Madame Ch'ing-ling and [illegible] scattered in flight in disguise. Thus ended the revolution [illegible].

July 14, just one day before Madame Ch'ing-ling's flight from Hankow, she [illegible] to get directly attacking the Comintern's betrayal of the revolution. Not only did she unveil the hypocrisy of many opportunist members who proclaimed to be the true followers of Dr. Sun, but she also [illegible] the faith that the revolution would

succeed in the end. Attacking those who self-deceivingly hold the view that the revolution meant national unification only, she said:

> "Today we face a crisis and we must probe searchingly into fundamental questions for fundamental answers. We must answer the questions of the nature of revolution, and what changes are involved.
>
> In the last analysis, all revolution must be social revolution, based upon fundamental changes in society; otherwise it is not a revolution, but merely a change of government."

Soong Ch'ing-ling also upheld the importance of the masses in the revolution. This was meant to be an attack on the rightists who regarded the masses and the mass movements harmful to the revolution. She said:

> "In this principle (of livelihood), we find his (Dr. Sun's) analysis of social values and the place of the laboring and peasant class defined. These classes become the basis of our strength in our struggle to overthrow imperialism and cancel the unequal treaties that enslave us, and effectively unify the country. These are the new pillars for the building up of a new, free China. Without their support, the Kuomintang, as a revolutionary party, becomes weak, chaotic and illogical in its social platform; without their support, political issues are vague. If we don't have policy that weakens these supports, we shake the very foundation of our party, betray the masses and profoundly depart from Sun Yat-sen..... We have built up in them a great hope. They have placed in us a great faith. In this faith we pledge our final allegiance."[22]

It is interesting to note the similarity between Soong Ch'ing-ling's attitude towards the peasants and workers and that of Mao Tse-tung's at the same period. Mao wrote in the same year, "Without the poor peasants there can be no revolution. To reject them is to reject the revolution."[23] Soong Ch'ing-ling's view on the importance of the peasants and workers shows her deep understanding of the nature

of the Chinese revolution. In the twenties, neither the Kuomintang leftists nor the Chinese Communists had any real understanding of the nature of the peasants as a revolutionary class, at least not until Mao Tse-tung assumed control of the Chinese Communist party after the Tsunyi Conference in 1935. Prior to that, the Chinese Communists [illegible] only a hesitant attitude towards the peasantry as a revolutionary class. Party chiefs such as Chen Tu-hsiu and Chu Chiu-pei, regarded the workers as the only true revolutionary class. The peasant movements in the rural areas were seen as expedients to secure national sentiment and as a supplement to the national unification.

Commenting upon the Kuomintang's abandonment of social revolution in order to compromise with China, Mao lamented at the degeneration of the Kuomintang:

> "The Kuomintang is no longer a revolutionary party, but rather has become a tool in the hands of those who [illegible]. It will have proved to be only a temporary phenomenon for the future welfare of the masses of people, but will become a monument, the point of departure, a landmark for [illegible] on the present chaotic situation."

[illegible] the Kuomintang [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] a revolutionary [illegible] [illegible]. Indeed, [illegible], the Kuomintang [illegible] to a revolutionary force [illegible] for a decade.

[illegible], [illegible] the end of the revolution.

The key to success was "the millions of people in China".[31] In the years following the fall of Hankow and up to 1929, Soong Ch'ing-ling continuously challenged the credentials of the Kuomintang as a true revolutionary party after abandoning the "Principles of the People's Livelihood." She had also done her utmost to unveil the hypocracy of the Kuomintang members "operating under the banner of revolution, but actually working in support of the very social structure which the party was founded to alter."[32]

CHAPTER III

EXILE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL LIBERTY

A. Shanghai 1927

When General Tang Shang-chih revolted against the Wuhan leaders on June 15, Soong Ch'ing-ling returned in secret to her home in Shanghai, a house located in the French Concession bequeathed to her by Dr. Sun. Before she left for Shanghai, she told her friends, the Communists, "...we shall never for a moment forget. The real revolution has not yet begun!"[1] From that moment on, she began her single-handed fight against Chiang Kai-shek's government and for equality, political recognition and the constant heart of a still unfinished revolution.[2] But, she was more helpless than before. Her communist friends were driven underground and the left Kuomintang including her step-son, Sun Fo and her brother T.V. Soong along with Mme. Sun Yat-sen revolted a new rupture with Chiang Kai-shek.

The contrast between Soong Ch'ing-ling's [illegible] revolutionary [illegible] and her particularly [illegible] character. Although the distance between her [illegible] and that of her relatives was short, it symbolized the gap in their conception of the revolution. The family constantly criticized Soong Ch'ing-ling for her early and [illegible] refusal to compromise. Chiang Kai-shek, her political rival, was also [illegible] Soong Ch'ing-ling [illegible] the Nanking government. He

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

the Nanking government without her knowledge. In fact, her staying in Shanghai might be used as a proof of her compromise with the Chiang Kai-shek's regime. Something had to be done to show her dissent from the Nanking government with which her family was so closely associated. Finally, she decided at the end of August, to make a public visit to Moscow, a self-imposed exile, to demonstrate her loyalty to Dr. Sun's Three Policies.

Because Soong Ch'ing-ling was so closely watched her visit to Moscow had to be made in the closest secrecy. On the night of August 22nd, Soong Ch'ing-ling and Mayna Crohne, an American woman, working for the Chinese Revolution in the Nankow government, escaped from her house and reached the Chang-pu River. A row boat awaited them there, to take them down river to a Soviet ship which subsequently took them to Vladivostok, from whence they took a train to Moscow.

By her flight, Soong Ch'ing-ling demonstrated once again her dedication to what she thought was a just cause. Refusing to compromise with Chiang Kai-shek and her family's power, wealth and comfort which would be hers, Soong Ch'ing-ling deliberately chose the uncertain path of exile. She departed as physically fragile Soong Ch'ing-ling but her flight against her family's pressure and Chiang Kai-shek's all-powerful government was her faith in the final outcome of the Chinese revolution and of the future realization of Dr. Sun's three principles. Randall Gould, an American correspondent in China in the [illegible] and thirties

was particularly impressed by the faith Soong Ch'ing-ling showed in Dr. Sun and his teachings. This was also well-attested to by such correspondents as Anna Louise Strong, Vincent Sheean and Edgar Snow.

Before heading for Moscow, Soong Ch'ing-ling published an article. It was suppressed in all Chinese newspapers. Only a few foreign owned publications published it. In this article, Soong Ch'ing-ling explained in depth the importance of Dr. Sun's three policies as formulated in 1924. She said,

> "It was a statesmanlike application of these three policies of Sun Yat-sen combination of forces deriving from them that enabled the Kuomintang power to put an end to ten years of disorder and reconstruction in Canton, and to create and finance revolutionary armies that conquered the [illegible] by the historic [illegible] ...."

She went on to show how the three policies, especially the inclusion and support of the nation's workers and peasants in the work of the revolution, [illegible] mass support to the Kuomintang. [illegible] of these policies by these opportunists [illegible] to be collapse of Sun, [illegible] are now [illegible] [illegible], the secret plots and claims of the new [illegible] [illegible] even under occupation, it has [illegible] [illegible] excluded [illegible] and [illegible].

[illegible] part of this article was Soong Ch'ing-ling's conclusion that [illegible] success in the struggle [illegible] right [illegible] [illegible] collapse were not correctness, under

Kuomintang leadership, of the revolutionary forces issuing from the Three Policies."[illegible] As the "revolutionary Kuomintang" was completely non-existant and the Three Policies were carried out by the Chinese Communists, there is little wonder that Soong Ch'ing-ling would work in conjunction with the Chinese Communists later. For Soong Ch'ing-ling did not identify so much with the party as with its policies and goals. In the thirties, it could easily seem that the work of the Chinese Communist Party was much closer to the ideal of Dr. Sun than was that of the Kuomintang.[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] in Moscow, Soong Ch'ing-ling and her friends were caught in an internal struggle among the leaders of the Soviet Union. The collapse of the Canton government and the virtual elimination of the Soviet influence in China was clearly a failure of Stalin's policy. Trotsky and his group sought to exploit Stalin's failures as a result of the bitter struggle between the two groups, Soong Ch'ing-ling [illegible] Trotsky's group was her friends, but the Stalin group, [illegible] the official attitude seems very courteous and quite cold.[illegible]

[illegible] Soong Ch'ing-ling, [illegible] very alive to the [illegible] and the Three Policies. [illegible] to the Soviet [illegible]

the Chinese revolution. Also by identifying herself as the representative of the Left Kuomintang, she refused to acknowledge the "death" of the Left Kuomintang, even though the left Kuomintang was completely overless. Among these eight articles, four of them were addressed to the women and the youth of the Soviet Union. She recognized that emancipation of women was basic to any social revolution. This was especially so in China where hundred of millions of women were still in the "bondage of semi-feudal and medieval social ideas and customs."[12] Real revolutionary change could not be effected unless the Chinese women were rescued from that pitiable state. In "Youth and Revolution", another article she wrote in Moscow in September, she explained how she came to recognize the importance of youth as the vanguard of the revolution. In her words, "Youth is the bulwark of the revolution." It forms the guard that stands sentinel and protector over the gains of the revolution and the force that hastens the course of history in its drive towards a better world."[13] She also hoped that she would start organising the youth in China in a way similar to that of the Soviet Union. This hope materialized in the thirties and forties when she participated in organising student movements.

But the most important article that she wrote while published in this period was a statement issued in Moscow[14] which explained the reasons why she was in the Soviet Union. The intention was "to make clear to the world that the communists the Yanan who are now representing themselves as the spokesmen of nationalist China do not voice the sentiment

of the revoltuionary Kuomintang and do not speak for China's masses." The second reason was to fulfill one of the most cherished desires of Dr. Sun "to confer with the strong revolutionary friends of China (the Soviet Union) personally." Apparently, this article was addressed to the Chinese people as much as it was addressed to the Soviet Union. Sun hoped that by touring the Soviet Union, her disagreement with the Nanking regime would be known to the Chinese people, and the true nature of the regime would thus be reflected.

But the intention of her self-imposed exile was ignored by leading newspapers in the West. The New York Times apparently was interested in printing innuendo rather than facts. In October, it printed on its front page a story that Soong Ai-ling was going to marry Hu Hanmin and that they were going to the Orient for a honeymoon. By printing this story, the New York Times created the impression that Soong Ai-ling's flight to Moscow was just an elopement with no connection to the Chinese revolution. This article, in fact as well as in attitude, completely based on innuendo, was published at a time when Soong Ai-ling was physically ill. As a result, she fell ill in Moscow for three weeks.[15] During her recovery, she suffered another blow by the news of the marriage between Chiang Kai-shek and her youngest sister, Soong Mei-ling. The event celebrated on November 1, with all the extravagant displays of a "society wedding" and the presence of all the foreign dignitaries and missionaries who had once condemned Soong Ai-ling's marriage to Dr. Sun as "sinful."[16] The marriage between her sister and the man

she thought of as the arch-enemy of the revolution was an irony that she found hard to accept. What hurt her most was that she knew the marriage was purely a political manouver and that Chiang could from then on legitimately boast himself to be the blood-relative of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.[17]

The Hankow group in Moscow became smaller in number as winter came to Moscow. Eugene Chen left for China some time in October, and Mayma Borodine died on November 24. Thus, Soong Ch'ing-ling was left alone in Moscow without personal friends. Her situation was worsened by the fact that her income had been cut off from China, and she had no winter clothing. What little money she had had to be reserved for the unknown period of exile. At the funeral procession of Mayma Borodine, Vincent Sheean was pained to see her "shivering...through the dreary, frozen streets in a thin dark cloak."[18] Yet Soong Ch'ing-ling was too proud and too independent to accept the help of strangers.

After several months in Moscow, Soong Ch'ing-ling tired of the hardships and decided to go to Europe for a change. She settled in Berlin and later in Paris where Vincent Sheean had gone after Mayma Borodine's death. She stayed in Europe until the spring of 1929. She lived in inexpensive accommodations and steadily refused to accept the aid of her family, and to accept any of the offers of help and friendliness from the Nanking Kuo-min-tang government. The danger of degradation and the temptation of material affluence from the Nanking

government were regarded as a betrayal of all that her husband had lived for. Anna Louise Strong aptly described her actions in this period as a flight from victory.[20]

Soong Ch'ing-ling's exile in Europe was hardly a pleasant one. She was from time to time attacked by slander. She was rumoured to be marrying various persons from time to time. This was particularly annoying to her and injurious to her prestige, especially in China where remarriage of a widow was considered a loss of dignity. Besides these slanderous attacks, she was also accused as being the mouthpiece of the communists, and thus denying her any independent judgement. Apparently, among the ranking leaders, a woman was not able to have independent judgement. As one who had always been a leader in the feminist movement in the Canton and Nanking government, Soong Ch'ing-ling was annoyed. It was no wonder that she angrily told Anna Louis Strong in Paris, "When I make my statement, they will not concede that I, a woman of 40, have an opinion. All my opinions have been influenced, it seems, and usually by Moscow."[21]

In the meantime, the Nanking government, after eliminating opposition from the rightists, was stabilized, and earned recognition by various foreign governments. Further wishing to enhance its prestige, the Nanking government tried to utilize the burial ceremony of Dr. Sun to recall Ch'ing-ling, and also elected her to the Central Executive Committee.

A brief of the evolution of the grand tomb of Dr. Sun in

the Purple Mountain outside Nanking near the Ming tomb, Soong Ch'ing-ling agreed to go back to China in the spring of 1929. At once, the Nanking government was in jubilant mood, for Chiang Kai-shek had become a member of the Soong family and nearly all the Soong brothers and sisters had joined the Nanking government. Therefore they were confident that Soong Ch'ing-ling would remain in Nanking at the persuasion of the Soong family. Soong Ch'ing-ling also thought of this. Fearing that her return to China might be interpreted as a move to sanction the Nanking government, Soong Ch'ing-ling published an article in Berlin in May 1929 just before she left for China. She said:

> "I am proceeding to China for the purpose of attending the removal of the remains of Dr. Sun Yat-sen to the Purple Mountain where he desired to be buried.....
>
> It must therefore be clearly understood that my association at the burial with [illegible] is not----to be interpreted as implying [illegible] political [illegible] by decision of [illegible] Kuomintang,.... [illegible] to the fundamental principles of Dr. Sun, [illegible] principle of democracy and anti-imperialism, the [illegible] and [illegible] they.... [illegible] the three policies [illegible] the [illegible] .....

Soong Ch'ing-ling was surrounded by her family and thus was isolated from the ordinary public. Yet, in the long funeral procession from the Western Hills, Peking, the place where Dr. Sun Yat-sen's body was temporarily kept since 1925, to the new burial ground in the [illegible] tried the [illegible] [illegible], to [illegible] from the [illegible] of her family. Afterwards, she [illegible] on returning to her home in Shanghai [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

able to add her name to the list of supporters of Chiang's regime. After all, family interest and filial piety were still supreme in China and the Nanking government was very much a Soong property.[2] Therefore it was logical to lay it to the public, that Soong Ch'ing-ling might be provoked with Chiang after the elimination of her anti-Chiang activities had passed.

Suddenly, on August 1, the day of the formation of Red Army [illegible] earlier in Ch[illegible] Nanchang rising, Soong Ch'ing-ling shattered all the Kuomintang's hope of "winning" her. She sent a cable from the anti-imperialist [illegible] Berlin as a contribution to the International [illegible]. This cable was [illegible] a great [illegible] to Chiang if [illegible] Ch'ing-ling had tried to assassinate him. It stated that:

> "While [illegible] solid front [illegible] the reactionary [illegible] brutal [illegible] the counter-revolution [illegible] ....

[illegible] Kuomintang was [illegible] by the [illegible] pressure applied by the [illegible] responsibility for the [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible]

what her family did to her. At the same time, no newspapers in China was allowed to publish the cablegram. However, this suppression was again frustrated when someone threw handbills with a Chinese version of the article from the roof of the Sincere Company, one of the highest buildings in the center of Shanghai. When upon [illegible] knew of that, she said: "I feel [illegible] inside since I sent that telegram. It was necessary to express myself. What happens to me personally as a result is not important."[27]

After sending off the cablegram to the Anti-Imperialist League in Berlin, life became more difficult for her in China. Her house was carefully guarded and her activities were seriously curtailed. Finally, by October, life became so unbearable for her that she decided to leave [illegible] in Europe. She [illegible] to make her [illegible] differences with the [illegible] leaders so clear to [illegible]. The [illegible] article in the [illegible] dialogue between [illegible] and [illegible] 戴季陶, [illegible] of the Western Hills [illegible] of the [illegible] movement. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

that "the shame of [illegible] should be hid from outsiders."

To this criticism, [illegible] replied in the imaginary dialogue:

> [illegible] do not belong to your [illegible], although [illegible] on the [illegible] are [illegible] ....
> [illegible] ....
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> address of the [illegible] the interests of the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

odds with her family and waged a battle single-handedly against such a powerful government as the Chiang's, she was remarkable and brave in the fullest sense of the words, especially in a Chinese background where unfortunately, family [illegible] had been supreme for thousands of years. [illegible] since her marriage to Mr. Sun in defiance of her parents, [illegible] had for many times proved herself to be one who obeyed no one's order but followed her own conscience. Coming from a rich family she had had no experience of poverty until her first exile in [illegible] in [illegible]. She was remarkable in deciding to [illegible] this uneasy and unstable life of an exile for a second time. [illegible], [illegible] could not be beaten by poverty and hardship or [illegible] influence is [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Investigation and Statistics of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang and the Bureau of Investigation and Statistics of the Military Affairs Commission (also known as the Blue Shirts) were set up.[36] Literally thousands of young agitators, not necessarily communists, were put into jail and even executed without trial. A joint report by eleven university student organizations, headed by the Peking Hua Student Association stated;

> "Since the moving of the capital (i.e. the setting up of Nanking government in 1927), nearly 200,000 youths as reported by various newspapers were slaughtered. Those reported to be missing and imprisoned were so many that often recording was impossible. Not satisfying with killing, they further resort to burial alive....."

Soong Chi-ling recognized the limitation of denouncing the Kuomintang by articles alone. Something concrete had to be done in order to save the thousands of youths who were put into prison "on the flimsiest pretext or on manufactured evidence," of "Black Hand-Green" [illegible]. In [illegible] 1931, with the help of Tsai Yuan-pei, Lin Yu-tang, [illegible], Chang Chun and [illegible], the [illegible] League [illegible] with [illegible] "Black Hand-Green" [illegible], all the other [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] of political prisoners. This [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] or [illegible]. [illegible] "Black Hand-Green" [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

manifesto, written by [illegible], it stated:

> "It is absolutely necessary to be clear on the character of the [illegible] for civil rights. The [illegible] is not a political [illegible], it does not aim to lead the political or economic struggle of the [illegible] masses, and consequently does not aim at leadership of the struggle for the conquest of political power."

Furthermore, [illegible] clear that the prime concern of the [illegible] was to [illegible] the interest in [illegible], the masses of unknown and nameless prisoners.

The aims of the [illegible] were clearly stated as:

1. to fight for the liberation of political prisoners and to abolish the system of torture.
2. to [illegible] their trials [illegible] their [illegible] for all political prisoners.
3. to struggle for civil rights, rights of organization, speech, [illegible] and assembly.

The combination of the organization and the limited platform of the [illegible] for civil liberties offered a ground for [illegible] support from the United Government [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible], however, [illegible] the [illegible] government had the power and will [illegible] [illegible] of the movement for [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] differences [illegible] [illegible] to display [illegible] the "militarist return", which no doubt government [illegible] to [illegible] others would only refute. [illegible], however, [illegible], in the [illegible], [illegible], that the [illegible] for the movement

of human society," and the other concerned with "to assist the causes of [illegible] and political prisoners."

The [illegible] League of Civil Rights was quite active in the months following its formation in December 1932. As a result of the League's [illegible], some thousand political prisoners were freed, [illegible] through the release of [illegible]. Perhaps notable were those concerned the release of Liao [illegible] Heng-chih (son of Liao Chung-kai), [illegible], [illegible] and two others. The four were arrested in the French concession of Shanghai, and were expelled from the French concession to Nanking. They were accused of being Communist propagandists and engaged in "counter-revolutionary activities," but the Nanking authorities could provide no evidence except the words of Chiang Kai-shek's informers. With the help of the press and foreign [illegible], and with pressure behind the scene from [illegible] officials, the four were released.

[illegible] League's fight for civil rights was not [illegible] by [illegible], [illegible] and political [illegible]. [illegible] Lu Hsun, [illegible] and [illegible], [illegible] a protest [illegible]. [illegible] article, entitled "Formalities and the Prosecution of Ten Prominent Political Leaders," was published in Shanghai. The contents of this [illegible] article were [illegible] the [illegible] of the events

of injustice and terror. It stated, rather emotionally:

> "In the name of the human, social and cultural advancement of mankind, and in an effort to help preserve the social and cultural achievements of men and movements, the China League for Civil Rights, protest in the most emphatic manner against these facts, reports of which are publicated in all the press of [illegible] world. We protest against this [illegible] terror [illegible] and [illegible] relaxing [illegible] repressive [illegible], a terror which [illegible] the social, intellectual and cultural life of Germany."

However, the League's frequent intervention proved too much of an embarrassment to the Nanking government. Professing to rule according to the Three Principles, the Nanking government found it difficult not to release some of its political prisoners on humanitarian grounds, under the League's intervention. [illegible] to put some of the important political prisoners to death. [illegible] they were released, for [illegible] were found to be [illegible] the [illegible]. [illegible] of left-wing writers [illegible] in Shanghai. [illegible] to [illegible], [illegible] political [illegible], [illegible] such political torture and [illegible]. [illegible] of [illegible], [illegible] that the [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible]. [illegible] of [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

the murder of writers and patriots.

The China League for Civil Rights was too embarrassing to enable it to last long. In November 1933, Dr. [illegible] Chang, a western-educated scientist and founder of the China's League for Civil Right was assassinated by a [illegible] gunman. [illegible]-tang found out that [illegible] was actually killed by [illegible] Tuch-[illegible]'s gunmen on Chiang Kai-Shek's orders. [illegible]-tang, fearing for his own life, then resigned from the League followed by most of the other members. The League was therefore dissolved. [illegible] Lu-Hsun, who took place in the fight for civil liberties. [illegible] all such [illegible] the League remained silent, [illegible] Lu-Hsun wrote another article on the [illegible] saying that torture and killing could happen to strong [illegible] of this [illegible], [illegible] civil [illegible] a [illegible]. [illegible] further [illegible] that the death of [illegible] could not crush the [illegible] for freedom, but would inspire [illegible] to struggle until [illegible] victory [illegible] death [illegible].

SHORT BY

SOONG MEI-LING 1933-1943

. China in the early thirties

The Nationalist government appeared to enter a low trough in the thirties. The victory over the Reds, the temporary elimination of the Communists, and the apparent success of unification in the twenties represented a strong contrast to the Japanese aggrandizement, the famines and the dislocated economy of the thirties. The immediate difficulty facing Chiang Kai-shek's government was the ever-growing ambition of the Japanese. Since the Mukden Incident, September 18, 1931, the whole nation especially the students were sucked into the mood of a military resistance. But Chiang Kai-shek, being the highest military commander of his country, knew clearly that a war with the Japanese would [illegible] disastrous. Such a military adventure [illegible] would [illegible] the hard-pressed Chinese but unless they would [illegible] Chiang Kai-shek's best troops, Chiang Kai-shek [illegible] turned [illegible] to find any effective counterpoise to the [illegible] Chiang turned the [illegible] Kai-shek's allegiance.[1] [illegible] in an article entitled "Archives of [illegible]", [illegible] Chiang's modern [illegible] the argument [illegible]

challenged directly by the Japanese, the Japanese would give Japan a free hand in her military venture in China. Therefore, Chiang's turning to the Soviet for help was not only treacherous but a useless policy. China should look inside herself for an effective resistance against the invaders. The workers and the peasants were China's [illegible] and [illegible].

[illegible] but [illegible] Chiang's anti-Soviet [illegible] were the Japanese actions after the Mukden incident. [illegible] the anti-Soviet [illegible] on the [illegible], there was no [illegible] to exploit the resistance by a [illegible] in Manchuria. To [illegible] further [illegible], [illegible] the [illegible] to detach the Northern provinces from [illegible] North China autonomous [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

government did not hesitate to use armed troops to suppress these demonstrations. The most famous case was that of the December 9th (1935) movement, which the Communist now view as the turning point of the resistance movement. Despite the presence of troops armed with machine-guns and the Blue Shirts, the all-powerful secret police, the students demonstrated united effort to resist the Japanese. Chiang Kai-shek expressed that his "heart" was pained by these students who had fallen prey to Communism and the Blue Shirts commenced the "white terror" from the Communists to the pursuit of all those who participated in the movement, especially actually found in the universities. However, Chiang's attempt to [illegible] the movement [illegible] students [illegible] resolution. [illegible]

[illegible]

been advocated by the Chinese communists and by Doctor Sun Yat-sen. After a [illegible] publication of the Kuomintang manifesto in April 1922, the Kiangsi Soviet followed this by [illegible] proposal, [illegible] Tse-tung, Hu-tsi (朱德), [illegible] 向英 [illegible] 張國燾. [illegible] expression. [illegible] 馮玉祥 [illegible] 方振武 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] could avoid it. Therefore, [illegible]

[illegible] front from below for [illegible]

[illegible] effect on the Chinese [illegible]

[illegible] front of the [illegible]

show-up at the meeting to "the terror and interference of the imperialist and Kuomintang authorities."[10]

Nevertheless, this poorly attended anti-war Congress on September 20, 1933 provides us with substantial information to show the changes in the political thinking of Soong Ching-ling. In her main address to the [illegible] Congress, she [illegible] the world situation strictly along the line of Communist ideology. She regarded the critical situation in the world as the result of the right-wing [illegible] predomination of [illegible] imperialism [illegible] pressure it and brought forth the alternative to such it--the proletariat. The world situation in [illegible] which the birth of a new system of socialism. [illegible] and her [illegible] knowledge of [illegible] smaller, [illegible] divided, [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Chinese Communist Party at this time was still unclear. There is no question that she had regarded the Chinese Communists as the true inheritors of Sun Yat-sen's ideas. But whether she had worked in the thirties as a sympathizer of the Chinese Communists, especially in the struggle for a United Front, is debatable. The most concrete evidence that Soong Ch'ing-ling worked in close conjunction with the Chinese Communist Party in this period is a six-point program for a resistance war against Japan, which she and [illegible] issued on April 20, [illegible]. This six-point program was entitled the "[illegible] of the Chinese People for [illegible] Japan", a publication of the Council of the Chinese People for [illegible] Resistance, which Soong Ch'ing-ling claimed had [illegible] with a group of her [illegible] friends. This document called upon the Chinese people to launch a [illegible] war against Japan and to combine to drive the Japanese out of China. The strange thing is that this article was signed by [illegible] Ch'ing-ling as well as by [illegible] Ch'ing-ling [illegible] official publication in 1937. [illegible]

[illegible]

To this accusation, something-like replied the [illegible] not necessary for any [illegible] to look further than [illegible] and [illegible] to realize the [illegible] of man's hypocritically and [illegible] uttered desire to [illegible] peace in the [illegible] and also at [illegible] irony that some true and [illegible] representatives of the [illegible] people were [illegible] as [illegible] and [illegible] people [illegible].

[illegible] Mr. [illegible]'s side-point regarding [illegible] at [illegible] political [illegible] to the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

remained unresponsive to the students' plea for a united-front, they began to shift more and more to the left and eventually accepted the Chinese Communist Party as a spiritual leader in the national salvation.

The greatest shortcoming of the Nationalist government was their total [illegible] of the mood of the people. [illegible] by the [illegible] for a United-Front, the Nationalist government tried to quiet the students and the writers through imprisonment. In November, [illegible], seven leading members of the National Salvation Association [illegible] resist the advocacy of a united-front [illegible]. These seven leaders were charged with Communist activities [illegible] which could [illegible] death. The seven [illegible] case [illegible] United-Front, [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Court-in-[illegible]. [illegible] a group of [illegible] youths to the [illegible] and [illegible] to be arrested because they showed [illegible] behavior' to the [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]

3. A democratic system of government based on universal suffrage would be instituted in the special primary and

4. compulsory military [illegible] would be stopped.

The slave represents the [illegible] of a world united- [illegible] worried out [illegible]. Taking the [illegible] to [illegible] to [illegible] deliver a philippic against the [illegible] half-[illegible] [illegible] for [illegible]:

> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]

stable social and political order. In "Confucianism and Modern China," [illegible] denounced the Kuomintang's policy as a "fruitless and futile effort to turn back the clock of history" and as a "reaction directed against the concern for social order." The Communists proposed to replace the old life style with a "revolutionary movement [illegible] revolution."

[illegible] reconcile all the differences between the Communists and the Nationalists, and between the [illegible] and [illegible] parties, [illegible] on [illegible] 7, 1937.

[illegible]

[illegible]

article, written in August, 1[illegible], she gave an extensive survey of Japan's economic and social structure and concluded,

> "Japanese economic and social conditions are not robust enough for a long war. And certainly, the Japanese militarists cannot hope to conquer China in a war of short duration..... With the unanimous desire of the Chinese people to unify the country, with China's vast and rich territory, rich in natural resources, [illegible] and people, [illegible] organized and a [illegible] there..... China could not be defeated even if she should be first driven into the hinterlands."

[illegible] in the final victory was standing in view of the fact that [illegible] all the vital arteries of the country fell into Japanese hands in only [illegible] time.

[illegible] before the Pacific War broke out [illegible] August 1[illegible], [illegible] the Japanese [illegible] the war effort. [illegible] August and October, [illegible] to [illegible] patriotic [illegible] to incorporate them into the war effort, [illegible] directly to organize various political units, [illegible] organizing the traditionally [illegible] into the war effort, [illegible] [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] organizing [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] Japan had [illegible] 1[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] and organized [illegible] of [illegible] or [illegible] for the war effort. [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

To symbolize the [illegible] United-Front, the organization included many Kuomintang dignitaries, such as T.V. Soong. The League's intention was to provide a centralized organization for the most needed war zones. The League was most effective in obtaining funds from overseas Chinese and the China Aid Council in the United States. Many foreign medical personnel were to serve in the [illegible] through the intermediary of the League. Dr. Norman Bethune was one of the more notable cases.

During the almost four years in our land, [illegible] December 1941, [illegible] by [illegible] the Kuomintang party, the [illegible] and [illegible], [illegible] and the [illegible] of years [illegible]. However, [illegible] the needs and [illegible] of the [illegible] units. Also, [illegible], that [illegible] in the United-Front [illegible]. [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible], [illegible] volunteers; [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Communists rose considerably and the territory increased, they [illegible] became the supreme [illegible] of the nationalists. After all, an [illegible] road [illegible] is more dangerous than an external one. In fact, Chiang Kai-shek would have been happy to see the Communists destroyed by the Japanese, [illegible] to do. In 1937, Chiang Kai-shek agreed [illegible] Communists. [illegible] troops [illegible] to the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia border region, hoping that the Japanese expansion would [illegible]. Rather than [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

party before the war, it would be even more difficult to take on the Communists after the war with them. Therefore, by 1946, the core of the group of the [illegible] had become highly [illegible] to the [illegible] as to fight [illegible] the [illegible]. [illegible] blood around the [illegible] by the Communists. [illegible] extended to [illegible] to treat [illegible]. [illegible] to value the true state of affairs [illegible]. [illegible] 馬寅初 [illegible]

....

be a democratic one, with the central government responsible to a broadly elected national assembly. The relations between the central government and the provinces would be drastically changed, and the provinces would become more than administrative divisions. This arrangement was clearly designed to curb the revival of warlords. The army would also [illegible] and its numbers greatly curtailed.[illegible]

[illegible] with hindsight, [illegible] democratic republic [illegible] a product of radical thinking [illegible] mainland [illegible] not [illegible] to [illegible] form of government [illegible] would curtail its power. [illegible] equally unwilling to accept [illegible] political [illegible] would eventually give [illegible] the power to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

the Kuomintang was the ruling party and Chiang was the Generalissimo, this accusation was undoubtedly another way of saying that Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorial policy caused the open conflict between the two parties. Also, [illegible] to refute the Kuomintang's [illegible] for the military defeating, but it should bear [illegible] of blame. [illegible]

> Chiang's [illegible] is valid only to fifth column [illegible] and potential co[illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] Chiang's [illegible] of the [illegible] the [illegible], our [illegible] of [illegible] to [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible] their [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

央图

[illegible]

李俊彥

The greatest success of the [illegible] in the elevation of the status of women and in the field of child care. A net-work of maternity, health, child-care institutions, nurseries were created as a model for similar institutions all over China. Also, together jointly with the [illegible], they established numerous children's cultural centers in the workers' districts. A little teacher system was inaugurated in these centers to help wipe out illiteracy. Children were taught the [illegible] of [illegible], and taught others. A second generation of children had become literate, they could in turn [illegible] to teach illiterate children. Not only was this [illegible] of [illegible] education, but the children, by [illegible] and illiteracy of their mother illiterate [illegible], were educated [illegible] and [illegible]. [illegible] government [illegible].

[illegible]

Therefore the basic way to administer welfare was to educate the people in the principle of salvation through self-help, and self-help through production. In fact, the most distinguished feature of Soong Ch'ing-ling's leadership in welfare work was to tie the administration of welfare to the entire economic reconstruction program of the new China. Unemployed and excess labor force in the farm areas were directed to build dams and dikes and other projects which were necessary to wipe out forever which typical disasters, such as flood and drought. Not only were the people given a meaningful employment and consequently food earned by their labor, but they were also given back their dignity by being able to contribute to the reconstruction of the nation and by being able to work for their bread.

[illegible] Soong Ch'ing-ling's [illegible] activities were necessarily [illegible] the many [illegible] different. [illegible] that [illegible] was not [illegible] official role [illegible] to the [illegible] Her [illegible] and good-will [illegible]. Yet, [illegible] and other activities [illegible] the chairman of the [illegible] and [illegible] around [illegible] pushed [illegible]. [illegible] Soong Ch'ing-ling's [illegible] that [illegible] the real political [illegible] would serve as [illegible].

[illegible] as the vice-chairman of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association (chairman after 1953), Soong Ching-ling had written numerous articles to glorify the "selfless" help that the Soviet Union had given China.[10] When the Korean War broke out, Soong Ching-ling, also joined in the criticism against the "planned concerted attack against the (Korean) popular movement by the Wall Street-rulers".[11]

It was only after 1961 that she began to carry the view of peaceful possibility in foreign relations. In 1961, April, Soong Ching-ling [illegible] the International Children's Day, formally presented to her former contribution to the Chinese people throughout the long-drawn revolutionary struggle. After reading the speech, she [illegible] devoted to her political main [illegible] International or anti-[illegible]. In 1962, she was elected a member of the Bureau of the National Peace Council (NPC) and also served as chairman of the Chinese delegation to the [illegible] Committee for [illegible] Pacific Regions, a quasi-official off-shoot. In [illegible] Soong Ching-ling was selected to lead the Chinese delegation to the [illegible] for [illegible] Vienna, a meeting [illegible] discuss the [illegible]. In the [illegible] Soong Ching-ling was received by [illegible] and a [illegible] prior to [illegible] the Foreign Affairs Committee of the China Peace Committee, [illegible], and at that [illegible] much [illegible] by the [illegible] the material [illegible] cultural [illegible]

of the Soviet [illegible] since her self-imposed exile in 1[illegible]7.

Soong Ching-ling's foreign visits in the mid-fifties were often good-will missions. This was in line with the spirit of Bandung which China was [illegible]. In December 1955, she led a Chinese delegation to India and Burma. Afterwards, in February, 1956, Soong Ching-ling led a [illegible] good-will mission to Hanoi which the press characterized as a mission "to pour warring Indochina out of the [illegible]." Shortly, she was a [illegible], bird-eyed huckster [illegible] China's [illegible].[illegible]

Soong Ching-ling's health has been deteriorating since early [illegible]. [illegible], her health took a [illegible] turn, and she [illegible] visit to Japan on the invitation of [illegible] for nearly a month. However, she mustered enough strength to accompany the Chinese [illegible] for the 40th anniversary of the Russian Revolution in October 1957. For reasons of her chairman of the Peace-Loving Friendship [illegible] overseas [illegible] finally [illegible] [illegible] peace-loving [illegible].

For [illegible], Soong Ching-ling's [illegible] [illegible] -recognition. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

would not dare to think of. Such is her unfoundness. Not even the powerful warlords, nor the Ise-tung could do the same. In a time when only [illegible] might counts, it is [illegible] that such a powerless and [illegible] woman could defy the forceful persuasion of Fuhiji, the [illegible] of [illegible], and the flattery of the dictator. [illegible] such a difference [illegible] the [illegible] to the Chinese revolution, to which her husband had dedicated forty years.

[illegible] Ideology for the revolution appeals to [illegible] Ise-tung's, which [illegible] other semi-[illegible], [illegible] to victory [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Soong Ching-ling's political life has been in contrast to her [illegible] reserved; [illegible] retiring, when speaking of the Chinese revolution, she can be [illegible] strong and forceful. Both these [illegible] and their [illegible] found the contrast between Soong Ching-ling's [illegible] her [illegible] in reality. She [illegible] with [illegible] in the thirties and forties, [illegible] the Communist victory and the exiting from [illegible] for the [illegible] le's [illegible], [illegible] eight-hundred [illegible], she still continues to [illegible] the Chinese revolution [illegible] overthrow [illegible] Chiang Kai-shek's [illegible].

FOOTNOTES

Introduction

1. Vincent Sheean, Personal History (New York: Doubleday, 1935), 231

2. Vincent Sheean, "Are People Real Anyone," Note and the Question, XVII, No. 1937, [illegible].

3. [illegible], Down to the [illegible] (New York: Random House, 1957), [illegible]5.

4. Ibid., [illegible]2.

5. Newsweek, February [illegible], 1957, 3[illegible].

6. [illegible] Lieberman, "Adrenaline - Thief's Conscience," [illegible], August 12, 1[illegible], [illegible].

Chapter

1. There are some contradictions in dates in this chapter. In a written interview with [illegible], [illegible] tried to order what she [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] by [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

9. Cited in Cornelia Spencer, Three Interns, 151-152.

10. Ibid., 159.

11. Bernard Martin, [illegible] (London: William Heinemann Ltd., [illegible]), [illegible].

12. [illegible], [illegible], (Taiwan: Commercial Press, [illegible]), [illegible].

13. [illegible], [illegible] (London, [illegible]), [illegible].

14. In an interview with [illegible], [illegible] told him that [illegible] did not [illegible] [illegible]. He considered [illegible] [illegible] and cited to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible], Journey to the Interior, (London: Jonathan Cape, [illegible]), [illegible].

15. Cornelia Spencer, Three Interns, [illegible]. A similar account can also be found in [illegible] (Taiwan: [illegible]), [illegible], [illegible].

16. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] (New York: [illegible], [illegible]), [illegible].

17. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

18. Cornelia Spencer, [illegible], [illegible].

19. [illegible].

20. Ibid., [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

- His first wife before was [illegible] Chi'ing-ling, but actually [illegible] claimed that [illegible] and gone back to take care of his [illegible] after the divorce. Actually, [illegible] parents were dead at that time.

- [illegible]

- [illegible]

- [illegible]

- [illegible] 中华革命党 [illegible]

- [illegible]

- [illegible]

- [illegible]

- [illegible]

- [illegible]

- [illegible]

- [illegible]

- [illegible]

- [illegible]

- [illegible]

27. Claude G. Bowers, [illegible] (New York: Macmillan, 1955), 150.

28. Gao Chung-[illegible] and [illegible] Palmer, [illegible],

29. For a detailed discussion of Dr. Sun's work in the reorganization of his party, see [illegible], [illegible] Revolution, [illegible].

30. [illegible] Sun [illegible] Soviet [illegible] (New York: [illegible] Publishing Co., [illegible]).

31. Jane [illegible] (ed.), [illegible] (London: [illegible] University Press, [illegible]).

32. [illegible], [illegible] (New York: [illegible] Co., [illegible]).

33. [illegible], [illegible] (New York: [illegible] Co., [illegible]).

34. [illegible], [illegible] ([illegible]: [illegible] University Press, [illegible]).

35. [illegible], [illegible].

36. [illegible], [illegible] (New York: [illegible] Co., [illegible]).

37. [illegible], [illegible] (London: [illegible], [illegible]).

38. [illegible], [illegible] (New York: [illegible] University Press, [illegible]).

39. [illegible], [illegible] (London: [illegible] University Press, [illegible]).

50. According to a biographical sketch of Ho Hsiang-ning who had just died in September 1972, Ho Hsiang-ning had even pledged to take care of Soong Ch'ing-ling at the death-bed of Dr. Sun in 1925. The relation between Ho Hsiang-ning and Ch'ing-ling in the 20's was a mixture of comradeship and personal friendship. Apparently, Soong Ch'ing-ling in the twenties was clearly oriented towards the left Kuomintang already. See Liao Heng-chun (廖恒隆), My mother - Ho Hsiang-ning, Hong Kong, Hua Wen Pao, August 11, 1972.

51. In an interview with Edgar Snow, Soong Ch'ing-ling told Snow that before Chen Ch'iung-mei's revolt she believed that China should follow a different path from Russia. But after 1926, she recognized the necessity of a dominant revolution in China. Snow, Journey to the Beginning, 22.

52. The Hu Han Min Chun, Nov 24, 1925. The authenticity of this message cannot be doubted. At the writing of this letter (drafted by Eugene Ch'en), both the right and left wing members were present. Sun himself signed the letter.

Chapter III

1. Leon Pleasant, "Sun Yat-sen Cult," Asiatic Review, July, [illegible].

2. [illegible] Clark, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

3. Chinese workers of Japanese cotton-mills in Shanghai had a disagreement on a wage strike and to [illegible] a leader of this strike was brutally killed by Japanese police. Students held a demonstration in the International Settlement in Shanghai to protest the homicide. A number of students were arrested and they were scheduled for trial on May 31, 1925. Other students demonstrated in sympathy with the victims of strike. The British police fired on the demonstrators, resulting in many wounded and thirteen killed. [illegible] direct result of the anti-British movement. The news of the incident revived anti-British feeling among thousands of students and workers. They assembled under the leadership of the Communist and held a demonstration on May 30, in the British Settlement in Shanghai. The British [illegible] opened fire at the crowd resulting 12 killed and 17 wounded. [illegible], Hedley, [illegible], (editor: [illegible]), [illegible], [illegible], [illegible],

4. The strikes in Hong Kong were primarily aimed at giving a blow to Britain's world [illegible] in China. The Canton Government, notably Borodin, had [illegible] a [illegible] which could [illegible] the whole system of foreign [illegible] in China. See Lewis Fischer, The Revolution in World Affairs (London: 1930), [illegible], 124.

5. [illegible] Hahn, The [illegible], 1[illegible].

6. Vincent Sheean, "Some People from Canton," [illegible], October, 1[illegible], 112-7.

7. Cornelia [illegible], The [illegible], 2[illegible].

8. [illegible] Eisenstein, [illegible], "Ship's Conference," [illegible], [illegible] 11, 1[illegible], [illegible].

9. [illegible], The [illegible], 1[illegible].

10. Cited in [illegible], [illegible] (Peking: [illegible], 1[illegible]), [illegible].

11. [illegible], [illegible] (Shanghai: [illegible], 1[illegible]), 70-1. [illegible] 孫水先, [illegible], [illegible] powerful [illegible] the [illegible] of his [illegible].

12. [illegible], [illegible].

13. [illegible] sense of [illegible] the reorganization of the [illegible] which [illegible] the [illegible] trade [illegible]. [illegible] there [illegible] occur [illegible]. On the other hand, [illegible] the reorganization was [illegible] side of the [illegible] brother, [illegible] 胡漢民 [illegible] of the [illegible] (Peking, [illegible]), [illegible].

14. [illegible], [illegible].

15. [illegible], [illegible] (Peking: [illegible]), [illegible].

16. [illegible], The [illegible] of the Chinese [illegible] Movement, [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] by [illegible]

15. 戴季陶, Tsou [illegible] (邹鲁) and Chen Tien-yi (沈定一) fled from Canton and organized the Western Hills Conference in Peking to denounce the infiltration of the Communists. The Western Hills Clique were characterized by Chen Tu-hsiu (陳獨秀) as a group who falsely advocate anti-imperialism and nationalism, [illegible] believed in the three principles, yet actually do not wish to realize them" (cited in [illegible] Hsien-tai Chung-kuo Shih, [illegible], '01. [illegible] translation). The Canton Government retaliated by outlawing the political activity of the Western Hills Clique. [illegible] Second the Kiangsu Chamber of Commerce [illegible] and the Shanghai Commercial [illegible] Tai-ching (李大釗), [illegible] (譚平山), [illegible] Hsu-ch'ang (Ch'en Chiung-ming) and four other Communists were elected to [illegible] positions in the Kuomintang. For a detailed account of the Western Hills Clique, see [illegible], Vol. 1, 141-152.

17. March 11, 1926, Wang Pei-shih informed Chiang Kai-shek that the reason that the acting chief of the [illegible], Li Chih-lung (李芝龍), a Communist, disobeyed his command order. He further reported that the [illegible] Vertiron [illegible] Chiang, the [illegible], [illegible] Tien [illegible] Chiang, he accused the [illegible] Communists [illegible] Immediately, he arrested Li Chih-lung and about [illegible] other [illegible], including [illegible] Yun-lai. Towards the end [illegible] Russian advisors and at the departure of the Kuomintang [illegible] officers [illegible] These sequences were taken by the authority of Chiang alone. See [illegible] Martin Bloch and [illegible], [illegible] (Hong Kong: [illegible], 1957), 71.

18. Chiang's [illegible] strongly made some [illegible] Chiang, being the [illegible] of the [illegible] on [illegible] ideology, and [illegible] of the first [illegible] Nationalists, [illegible] with the [illegible] of the [illegible] - Chiang [illegible]. [illegible] depict [illegible] Chiang [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] which [illegible] are written by [illegible], [illegible] avoid [illegible] [illegible] Bloch and [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] Chiang [illegible] an extremely [illegible] and [illegible] that [illegible] 's personality [illegible] by a [illegible] only. [illegible] certain Chiang's [illegible] [illegible] for [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

C

1. on [illegible] analysis of China [illegible].
Therefore, the Chinese also demanded the abolition of the feudal-inspired anti-semitic society and the use of military power, the removal of the [illegible] reactionary system, a dual command system in the army and the disbanding of the Comintern [illegible] committees, the Communists could not with [illegible] such arrogance.
[illegible] to gov't analysis of China was correct at later events [illegible] adopted by the Russians [illegible].

1. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

2. [illegible] taken [illegible] by organized workers led by [illegible] the city [illegible]. [illegible], three hundred [illegible] 00,000 organized workers [illegible] attention [illegible] the problem of [illegible] China [illegible] type. [illegible] a delay to [illegible] anti-s[illegible]. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

[illegible] (New York: [illegible] Allen [illegible], [illegible].

The [illegible], [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible] (New York: [illegible], [illegible]).

[illegible] (Cambridge: [illegible] Press, [illegible]).

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [

30. [illegible], 1, [illegible] (London: [illegible] Lebrecht, [illegible]), [illegible].

31. [illegible] "[illegible] Vietnam of an Anti-[illegible] Revolutionary Tripod Legal Policies," [illegible].

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid., 2.

Chapter III

1. Arnold [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

2. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

3. Vincent [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

4. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

5. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

6. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

7. [illegible], [illegible].

8. [illegible], [illegible].

9. [illegible], [illegible].

10. [illegible]

10. Agnes Smedley, [illegible], 231.

11. Vincent Sheean, [illegible], 2[illegible].

12. Soong Ch'ing-ling, 'Women and Revolution,' [illegible], 2[illegible].

13. Soong Ch'ing-ling, 'Women and Revolution,' [illegible], 2[illegible].

14. Soong Ch'ing-ling, 'Statement Issued in Moscow,' [illegible], 1[illegible].

15. Vincent Sheean, [illegible], 2[illegible].

16. The wedding was held in the ballroom of the [illegible] Hotel, the most extravagant hotel in Shanghai. Over 1[illegible]0 guests were invited, including nearly all representatives of foreign [illegible] and others whose vested interests in China were [illegible] the revolution had vowed to destroy. [illegible] diplomatic guests such as [illegible] Hamburger (Chinese [illegible]), [illegible] (Belgian-Chinese [illegible]), [illegible] (Japanese [illegible]), [illegible] (Russian [illegible]). For a detailed description of the wedding, see [illegible], No. 2, [illegible].

17. [illegible] political [illegible] were [illegible] should [illegible]. [illegible] consider [illegible] account [illegible]: [illegible] of [illegible] middle-class [illegible] political [illegible]; [illegible] conditions [illegible] little [illegible] [illegible] Christian [illegible] [illegible], [illegible].

18. Vincent Sheean, [illegible], [illegible].

19. [illegible].

20. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

21. [illegible].

22. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

21. Betty Lumsden, "Sun's Soong Sisters," [illegible], February 1947, 15.

22. Carrel [illegible], "Madame Sun-Sen's Echo," Christian Century, [illegible].

26. The close relation between the Soong family and the Nanking government could only be understood by the [illegible] of the Soong family. [illegible] of the [illegible] reported that, [illegible], [illegible] Soong, combined an [illegible]. See Betty Lumsden, "Sun's Soong Sisters," [illegible], 15.

27. Cited in [illegible], "Mme. Sun Yat-sen Keeps Faith," 11a.

27. Cited in Betty Lumsden, [illegible], 15.

28. Carrel [illegible], "Mme. Sun Yat-sen Speaks," 17.

29. Ibid., 17.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. [illegible], [illegible] (California: [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

34. [illegible], "[illegible] Political [illegible]," [illegible], [illegible].

35. Ibid., [illegible].

36. [illegible] Ibid., [illegible] [illegible]: [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

37. [illegible] Ibid., [illegible].

38. [illegible], "[illegible]," [illegible], [illegible].

39. Ibid., [illegible].

40. Ibid., [illegible].

41. Soong Ch'ing-ling, "Address to the Press at a Meeting of the China League for Civil Rights," Struggle for Democracy, 50.

42. Ibid.

43. To this accusation, Mo Teng-hsien, one of the accused, replied: "I shall tell you my record. I helped organize the Long March strike in 1925. I have just returned from Fukien where I fought with volunteers (against the Japanese). I have helped organize strikes in the Kuomintang-controlled mills in Shanghai. That is all part of the struggle against imperialism. Is this what is meant when I am charged with engaging in 'counter-revolutionary' activities?" Cited in Soong Ch'ing-ling's press release to the Chinese people," Struggle for Democracy, 54.

44. Soong Ch'ing-ling, "Denunciation of the Persecution of German Progressives and the Jewish People," Struggle for Democ[illegible], 50.

45. Edgar Snow, Journey to the Beginning, 57-[illegible].

46. Soong Ch'ing-ling, "Statement on the Assassination of Yang [illegible]," Struggle for Democ[illegible], [illegible].

[illegible]

1. Soong Ch'ing-ling, "Orphans of China, Unite!" Struggle for Democ[illegible], [illegible].

2. [illegible] the Sian Incident. [illegible] report [illegible] Chiang's confession in [illegible], stating [illegible] reflections on Japan's [illegible] the [illegible] Communists. [illegible] Army, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

3. Chiang's policy of aggression [illegible] consequences. [illegible] Chiang [illegible] allied [illegible] soldiers of the country. [illegible], [illegible].

4. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

5. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

6. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

7. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

7. Movement: A Study of Documents, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1951), 221-225.

8. Soong Ch'ing-Ling, "Workers of China, Unite!", Struggle for New China, 61-65.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. Soong Ch'ing-Ling, "Statement Issued in China by Representative of the World Committee against Imperialism War," Struggle for New China, [illegible]

13. Soong Ch'ing-Ling, "China's Needs and the World Anti-Imperialist War," (main address delivered before the World Anti-War Congress), Struggle for New China, 72.

14. Ibid., 72

15. Ibid., [illegible]

16. Ibid.,

17. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

18. Ibid., August [illegible], [illegible].

19. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]: [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

20. [illegible], "[illegible]," [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

21. [illegible], [illegible].

22. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

23. [illegible], [illegible].

24. [illegible], "[illegible] the over [illegible]," [illegible], [illegible].

25. Ibid., [illegible]

26. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

27. [illegible] (Tai ci: [illegible], 19[illegible]), [illegible].

28. [illegible], [illegible], 211-212. See also [illegible], [illegible] February 27, 1937, [illegible].

29. [illegible], "Follow the Will of [illegible] Speech Delivered to the [illegible] Kuomintang," [illegible], [illegible].

30. [illegible], "[illegible] and Modern China," [illegible], [illegible].

31. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], 197.

32. [illegible].

33. [illegible], [illegible] to the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible].

34. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

吳國

4. Edgar Snow, a friend of Soong Ch'ing-ling since the early thirties, reported in 1941 that Soong Ch'ing-ling's health was in an "acute state." [illegible], The Other Side of the River (London, 1943), 594.

5. Soong Ch'ing-ling, "A Message From New China," Struggle for New China, 273-274.

6. Ibid.

7. Soong Ch'ing-ling, "China's Children in the Liberation Struggle," Struggle for New China, 280.

8. Soong Ch'ing-ling, "A Message from New China," 274.

9. Ibid.

10. While Soong [illegible] Soviet friendship, [illegible] the natural [illegible] Soviet friendship [illegible] good times; friendship [illegible]. [illegible] collected in the Struggle for New China.

11. Soong Ch'ing-ling, "The Children's Struggle Must Be [illegible]," [illegible], [illegible].

12. Soong Ch'ing-ling [illegible] at a meeting of the [illegible] Committee, [illegible], February [illegible], 1950, [illegible].

13. Ibid., February [illegible], 1950, [illegible].

14. Ibid.

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