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TITLE OF THESIS..... Scrup. & living... in... A...

...Political. Life.

UNIVERSITY..... Alberta.....

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED..... M.A.

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED..... 1973.....

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

SOONG CHING-LING, A POLITICAL PROFILE

BY

(C)

WUNG KWOK-CHOI

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1973

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

AND RESEARCH

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SOONG CHI-ING-LING, A POLITICAL PROFILE submitted by MUNG KWOK-CHOI
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Master of Arts.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

I am grateful to Dr. D. L. Evans for his guidance in the writing of this thesis.

MUNG Kwon-chai

Edmonton, Alberta
June, 1979

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INTRODUCTION

A. An Overview

This is a political profile of Soong Ch'ing-ling (Mrs. 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. While Western correspondents in China during the revolution called her "China's Joan of Arc", Edgar Snow called her

China's George Washington". Vincent Sheean concluded that Soong Ch'ing-ling was an "exquisite fragment of humanity" after his lengthy stay with the Sanjour leaders in 1927. Rightist correspondents of the West described her the "Flukster for Communism", but some correspondents, such as Harry K. Thierman 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, a 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, interviewer 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 President's widow, Soong Ch'ing-ling bitterly attacked Chiang Kai-shek, who with suppression and censorship, snuffed out all opposition.

Foreseeing the leisurely life of comfort, material affluence and family warmth, she determined to hold high the banner of the unfinished revolution, constantly recalling the suffering people of China'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 rode his political roller coaster in all other 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 Wahl's The Sun 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 Formula 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.

3. Outline 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 Young Ching-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 Young Ching-ling's involvement in it. The final agony of the Manchu government in 1912 and Young Ching-ling's mother-in-law's betrayal of the revolution close this chapter.

Chapter III gives a description of Young Ching-ling's life in England and her political activities during that period. Her struggle for civil liberties under the Old regime is also discussed.

Chapter IV deals with Young Ching-ling's contribution in the struggle against the Nationalist and later the Communist governments. Her work between the Kuomintang, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Civil War.

Chapter V concerns the man, Young Ching-ling, and Chapter VI concludes with her death.

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 commodity family of Shanghai in 1893. Her father, Soong Chia-ju (宋嘉祐), 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 Lycéire School for Girls in Shanghai, a boarding institution. There, she remained until she fifteen when she was sent already 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!"

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.

B. Marriage

Soong Ch'ing-ling's worship of Sun might never have developed into a狂fanze 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, he came to Yokohama to meet Sun Yat-sen.

Chiang-ling, who was a Greek by blood, different between Sun's actual appearance and what she had imagined. Sun was half sick and frail, worried after battling with the anti-Qing Yuan Shih-kai. What hurt him most was that many of his former comrades had stuck to their posts in Yuan's government. In exile in Japan, and lived in poverty, a striking contrast to the well-to-do Sun Yat-sen who were still exiled in Japan at the time.

With Sunling fallen to the revolution, Sun Yat-sen left her offered to \$1000 the vacant post of Sun's secretary. His former secretary, her sister, Chen-hai married H.H. Kung, young Chiang-ling offered her life at a most opportune moment. Sun, in fact, was at the lowest ebb of his political career. Sun Yat-sen, with a heart for the revolution, bowed Sunling to comfort as well as his "most trusted secretary", leaving Chiang-ling three barrels of oil and the task helping her to follow in the revolution, and she believed in Sun.

During the following days of blood and adoration, revolutionists beat the bellows down at the foundry. All other goods were sold off except the silk and cotton used to make a hundred autographs.

A view of the revolutionaries' shop where they inherited from their parents, those who came into the contact with the revolution—the supporters, the brothers and the sons—who were more and more recruited by the

very Justice and righteousness of our revolutionary principles; believing that China would yet be 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 a 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 one thing, the frequent and long separations, the uncertainties and dangers in Mr. 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, Mr. Lu agreed readily to a separation, but not a divorce, which would have caused her to forfeit her social position and privileges. Evidently Mr. 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 compradore 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 Li-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 months²⁰ 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, in Doyle 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.²² 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. Our marriage for me is like going to school except that there are no "exams" to trouble me."

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.²³ 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 Ke-sin-tang (中華革命黨 Chinese revolutionary party).²⁴

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 criticized the Sun's 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-chun 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 Sun's 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 their

ling to work for the Chinese revolution. 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...." 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. She travelled with Dr. Sun in and out of China, serving 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.

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. Parliamentarism "had become disastrously associated with militarism, disorder, insecurity and

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poverty."³⁷ Furthermore, the prospects of the Kuomintang, the revolutionary party formed in 1912 out of the old old Tung Heng 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 Re-min-tang (中華革命黨) in 1914 in Japan nor the formation of the Chung-kuo Kuomintang (國民黨) in 1920 was sufficient to revitalize the revolutionary clan.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, 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," according to He Ujiang-ning (何香凝) (he Liao Chung-kai), Dr. Sun was seriously thinking of sending Liao Chung-kai (廖仲愷), his most trusted aide, to Russia to study. 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 1913,

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 then, Mr. Sun drew closer to the Soviet Union and Germany; both like China were the underdogs, outcasted and humiliated by the hands of the West. Since September, 1922, Mr. Sun secretly corresponded with Imperial Germany and the Soviet Union, seeking an alliance with both of them. Germany was completely disinterested in China after the War, but the Soviet Union was not.

After Chen Gengzhi's massacre in 1927, it was clear that the Kuomintang was a completely futile revolutionary force unless some drastic reforms were effected. Foreign help and reorganizing the Kuomintang was desperately needed.

The ground work of the Soviet-German collaboration was done by the Comintern, which was established in Moscow in 1919. It 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 L. D. 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 Loon 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, Loong Ch'ing-ling had also been closely associated with a number of important left Kuomintang members, notably Liac Meng-k'ai and his wife, Li Hsian-ying who was about ten years Loong Ch'ing-ling's senior and always treated her as some sort of a niece.⁵⁰

The years after 1923 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 young 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 foretold the unique role she was to play in the Chinese revolution after 1925.

CHAPTER III

SONG CH'ING-LING AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE COUNTRY REVOLUTION

1925-1927

A. Song Ching-ling and the "cult" of Sun Yat-sen

After his death in 1925, Mr. 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. This 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. He foreseened the inevitable breaking up of the Kuomintang as a unifying force of all revolutionaries working for national unification.

The breaking of the Kuomintang did not come immediately after the death of Mr. 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 leaders 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 involvement with the left-wing of the KMT after the death of Dr. Sun was her active participation as a leader and an organizer in a series of nationwide protests before and following the May 30 and June 3 incidents.

The killing from these incidents infuriated the Chinese people. A strong sense of nationalist and anti-imperialist feeling, centered about Dr. Sun and his Three People's Principles, led the protesters to demand justice and punishment for the culprits.

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, 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 forced 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 Liao Chung-kai (Mr. 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 1927, 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, such as the Chinese Women's Association, the Chinese Women's Christian Association, the Chinese Women's National Association, and the Chinese Women's Patriotic Association.

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 Soons. 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".

3. Inner strife in the Kuomintang 1925-1930

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 George Smalley, "his (Dr. Sun's) followers [and] long 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 former concept of democracy, Marxism, socialism, welfare economics, the planned society and anti-imperialism were all mixed up in his thought confusion. 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 task of revolution", were

a direct challenge to the social status and economic privilege of

many of his followers, such as Yuan Shikai (袁世凱), Tai-chia-tao (太甲道)

and Tsoulin (奏連). Abonents 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-hai, whom H. H. K. Yu regarded

as the "Leader of Chinese Jacobinism", was the leader of the Left.

Not only did Liao have the support of Dong Ching-sheng, the general

issuing the order to arrest Dr. Sun, he also had the support of the

left-wing members of the KMT, such as Liang Shuming, Chen Qian-

sheng, and Wang Jingwei. The Right wing, on the other hand, had the

support of the right-wing members of the KMT, such as Tang Jiyao, Chen

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 Pioi, 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.

In August 20, barely a few months after the death of Dr. Sun, Liao Chung-ki 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 Lu 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 Lu on a tour to Moscow.

The assassination of Liao Chung-kai, and the subsequent "exile" of Lu Han-min, once the acting Generalissimo, left the throne of power vacant. It was occupied by Chiang Kai-shek, who became the Generalissimo, in addition to his position as the president of the Nanchang Military Cademy.¹⁴ 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 Lao Tso-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 Tang Sheng-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 mastermind of the Chinese Communists and the left-Kuomintang members, went to the North in March 1926 to talk Feng Yuxiang into the cause of national unification.

On March 20, Chiang Kai-shek staged a coup, subsequently known as the "Canton-Mineral Incident."¹⁷

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

(f) The "Chiang-Tian 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. Tang Chin-wei was asked to take a timely sick-leave to France, so as to enable Chiang to assume Tang's post of the Chairman of Military Council, which also logically meant the Commander-in-Chief of the impending Northern Expedition.¹⁹

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 commanding power. Soon, the left-Kuomintang members and the Chinese Communists would find Chiang's commanding power too great and his ambition too high to cope with.

3. Open Communist and the military government

In the meantime, Chiang was satisfied with the Communists' compliance with his restrictions. Therefore, he set in motion the Northern Expedition on July 9. Fifteen Soviet military officers,

including Galen (Blücher), chief military advisor to the Canton Government, accompanied the expedition. Loong 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 Nuanan.

The Chinese Communists and left-Muromintang 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 had aimed such amazing results so rapidly.

But the proliferation of mass movements had its distasteful side for Chiang. The Muromintang 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". At Chiang's dictay, in a special session of the Muromintang in October 1926, two important resolutions were adopted. One was the recall of Wang Chien-wei from political exile. The second was to investigate the suitability of moving the Nationalist capital to Nuanan because of its greater strength in the working class. In November, a group of five, composed of Loong Ch'ing-ling, Sun Fo, T.V. Soong, Wu Hsueh and Liang Shih-ching, went to Nuanan.

Chou, and Borodin was dispatched to investigate the possibility of transfer.¹⁰ However, Chiang was bitterly against it and proposed Nanjing instead. Subsequent arguments between Chiang and Borodin resulted in open break between them.

As a show of protest, Chiang boycotted Rankow's first central executive committee on April 10, 1927. The right-wing members of the junta also aligned in Nanjing with Chiang. The Rankow

group rejected 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, who holding all the three posts that the anti-civilian government had abolished.

During the time of war between the Anhui group and Chiang

Katshio's group, foreign and the well-established banks and industrialists were lacking for a means to sabotage the social

program of the revolution. They found Chiang Katshio who, like themselves, was willing to see China united without social revolution.

The chance of collaboration came when Chiang's forces entered Shanghai and arrested.

According to J. P. Howell, Sterling Roosevelt, American

chairman of the International Settlement, entered into negotiations with Chiang Katshio on behalf of the French colonial police in Shanghai.

Chiang agreed to divide the "Finance minister" of Communist with foreign support.¹¹ Having made sure that the imperialist powers and the

wealthy Chinese contractors 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 midnight, April 12, Tu Yuch-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 Tu's green gang (青幫) gunmen, armed with foreign rifles, slayed thousands of youths. Following the "April 12 Massacre", Chiang Kai-shek cracked down on all workers' organizations in Shanghai and Nanking. Many Communist leaders were arrested, including Zhou En-lai who later escaped through bribing his guards. The final result was a clear-cut victory for Chiang. And to reward Tu Yuch-sen's help, Chiang "legalized" Tu's opium trade by appointing him chief of the Bureau of Opium Suppression. He was also presented the "Order of the Brilliant Jade."

The Nanking government immediately revolted 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 April 15, 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 Nanking and Chiang presented a hopeless situation for the Nanking leaders. The Nanking forces, under the

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

At the same time, the Hankou government displayed a trace of schism when danger was imminent. Even the left-Huomin tang members, Sun Fo and Tang Ching-wei 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 cadre stirred up the mass movements. The fumbling leftists became increasingly indifferent to them.

The spark that set off the final break between the Huomin tang leftists and the Communists was the foolish action of L.S. Roy, an agent of the Comintern, and whom Mao Tse-tung later called a "fool".²³

On June 1, Roy showed Tang Ching-wei 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 Huomin tang Central Committee with new representatives of the workers and peasants.

Roy's blunt tactic combined with the unwillingness of the Huomin tang leftists to go along with the new program precipitated the split. The Comintern, which had been instrumental in bringing the two parties together, now urged the Communists to leave the Huomin tang.

the final schism. Consequently, Wang Ching-wei and Sun Fo discussed this with Feng Yu-hsien. Apparently, they agreed to break with the Communists and joined Chiang Kai-shek instead. An understanding was reached between Chiang and the Kuomintang leftists on June 19.

Thus, the ~~end~~ of the Kuomintang-Communist co-operation was settled.

Feng Yu-hsien sent a telegram to the Hankow Government two days later, demanding the disfiscal of Nanchang. It also said: "All Wuhan Communists who wish to proceed abroad can go, Nanking welcomes the co-operation 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, K.M. Huang, and T.V. Soong had joined Chiang at Nanking already. The final stage of Nanking came when Tang Sheng-wei, commander of the Canton armies, proclaimed a counter-revolution on July 15. Tsoodix, Soong Ching-ling and others who scattered in flight in due course. It seized the revolution at this moment on July 16.

On July 14, just one day before Tang Sheng-wei's 21st ~~front~~ front against Nanking, Soong Ching-ling started directly attacking the Communists' conception of the revolution. Not only did she unveil the hypocrisy of many Kuomintang members who proclaimed to be the true followers of Dr. Sun, but also informed the public that the revolution would

not be successful if it did not include the Communists. On July 15, Dr. Sun's general statement that the Chinese 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."

Song 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 mass 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 key 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 try to elicit that workers' support, we shake the very foundation of our party, betray the masses and are really loyal to Sun Yat-sen..... We have built up further treatise e. g. how have placed in us a responsibility. In this faith we give our final allegiance."

It is interesting to note the similarity between Song Ch'ing-ling's attitude towards the peasants and workers and that of Lao Tso-tung's at the same period. Iab wrote in the same year, "without the poor peasants there can be no revolution... To reject them is to reject the revolution." Obviously Ling-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 Wanya-pi Conference in 1929. Prior to that, the Chinese Communists might only a hazy if fitful notion of the peasants as a revolutionary class. Party chiefs such as Chen Tu-hsiu and Chu Chiu-yi, regarded the workers as the only true revolutionary class. Their movements in the rural areas were seen as expedients to secure national sentiment and a supplement to the national unification.

Consequently up to the Kuomintang's abandonment of social revolution in order to conciliate with Waller, the peasant at the degeneration of the Kuomintang:

"The KMT is not engaged in a revolution myself, but merely in a struggle against this or that rightist. It will live on as long as it can to keep alive its form of government, its military, its army of the rich, of the people, but will lose its strength, its power, its prestige, its capacity for action on the peasant question. It is not that one and all the KMT rightists have been eliminated, but the KMT, as a whole, is a bad people, is a bad model, a bad example, a bad influence, a bad structure. Therefore it must respond to the masses. Based on different standards, therefore, the Kuomintang has become a party for the masses, a party for the poor, a party for the peasant, a party for the revolutionary, for the working people."

Thus, though the Kuomintang was the most reactionary party in China, it was, from the point of view of the West, the very best party to support, because it was the only party which had any real understanding of the nature of the Chinese revolution.

The key to success was "the millions of people in China".²¹ 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 did this done her utmost to unveil the hypocrisy of the Kuominand workers. Operating under the banner of revolution, but actually working in support of the very social structure which the party was founded to alter.²²

CHAPTER III

EXILE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR

CIVIL LIBERTY

Shanghai 1927

When General Tang Shang-chih revolted against the Nanking leaders on June 15, Soong Ching-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!" From that moment on, she began her single-handed fight against Chiang Kai-shek's government and its equally blind recognition as "the constant heart of a still unfinished revolution." But, she was far helterless than before. Her communist friends were driven underground and she left Shanghai including her stepson, Sun Yat-sen and her brother P.W. Yung along with Dr. Hung Liang remained abroad residing with Chiang Kai-Shek.

The continuing opposition, particularly in Chiang's favored territories of Szechuan and Hunan, was particularly articulate under Mr. Lin Sen. It distance him from her home and that of her beloved wife short, it symbolized the growing estrangement in their conception of the revolution. The proximity constantly caused a conflict between them; they quarreled over their war-fightiness and personal differences. Since Lin Sen, her political partner, was also under trial now for his anti-Chiang activities, he was under heavy pressure to leave the country. He did so in 1928.

offer'd her a general truce if she would consent also to the ban. But
she had still refused it, and upon his return he reiterated his demand.
On the 13th General Washington sent to rally the troops. He had resolved in the
mean time to make no further attack, and to withdraw his forces. The
resolution of the General was however overruled by Congress, and Washington
was ordered to continue his operations. But Congress, like most other pro-
fessional soldiers, were very ignorant of military science. They had however pro-
posed a plan of operations which was adopted. The plan was to have a
cavalry force to sweep the country before the army, to cut off supplies, and
to keep in contact with the central army. Another force called the "corporal militia"
was to follow the cavalry, and to sweep the country behind them, so as to
keep the rebels from getting supplies. This was done, and the army followed
the cavalry, and the rebels were soon driven from their positions. The
cavalry force however did not follow the rebels, but instead they followed the
army, and the rebels were soon driven from their positions. The
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the Hankow 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 Hankow 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 Principles.

Because Soong Ching-ling was so closely watched her visit to Moscow had to be made in the closest secrecy. On the night of August 22nd, Soong Ching-ling and Mayna Gould, an American woman, working for the Chinese revolution in the Hankow government, escaped from her house and reached the Amur River. A row boat admitted 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.

On the day of her flight, Soong Ching-ling demonstrated once again her dedication to what she thought was a just cause. Refusing to accept release with Chiang Kai-shek and his crew, health and comfort which would be denied, Soong Ching-ling deliberately chose to undergo imprisonment. She reported and physically participated in the final flight, evidently by General Li's pressure and Chiang Kai-shek's half-hearted government and her faith in the final outcome of the Chinese revolution and of the future realization of Dr. Sun's Three Principles. Handwritten by Gould, an American correspondent in Shanghai, the summer and autumn of 1927.

was particularly impressed by the faith Soong Ching-ling showed in Dr. Sun and his teachings.

This was also well-attested to by such correspondents as Anna Louise Strong, Vincent O'Brien and Edgar Snow.

Before heading for Moscow, Soong Ching-ling published an article.

It was suppressed in all Chinese newspapers. Only a few foreign-owned

publications published it. In this article, Soong Ching-ling explained

the importance of Dr. Sun's Three Policies as formulated

in 1924. She said,

"It was a statesmanlike application of the Three Policies of Sun and the corruption of forces deriving from them that enabled the Chinese to put an end to ten years of disorder and confusion in China, and to create and finance revolutionary armies that conquered their way to the strategic lines of Canton...."

She went on to discuss just the Three Policies, especially the "inclusion" and support of all patriotic workers and peasants in the work of the revolution, and a new vision based on this support to the mainland.

The Chinese government accepted these policies by formal agreement; the leaders were promised to be followers of Sun, who are now counted

as martyrs prepared to sacrifice, the socialist ideals of the new order.

Soong Ching-ling, after giving her presentation, stated that she had been greatly impressed by the Chinese Communists, which she specifically included in her definition of the Chinese revolution.

After the first short interview, the Soong-Ching-ling's concluding statement found success in the second interview, which was

concerned with the final success of the revolution, which might rise

from the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, under

Kuomintang leadership, of the revolutionary forces issuing from the

"Three Policies." As the "revolutionary Kuomintang" was completely

non-existent and the Three Policies were carried out by the Chinese

Communists, there is little wonder that young Ch'ing-lung would work

in conjunction with the Chinese Communists later. For when Ch'ing-lung

had no identity so much with the work of the party, so with its policies

and goals. In the thirties, it can 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.

Ch'ing-lung's first contacts with the Chinese Communists came in 1930

when he was sent to Moscow by the Chinese Communist Party to study

in an internal struggle within the leadership of the Soviet Union. The

collapse of the Chinese government and the virtual vivification of the

Chinese Communists in China, particularly a failure of Stalin's policy.

Trutsky and Mr. Tsoi could emphasize Stalin's failure as a result

of the struggle of struggle between the two groups, when Ch'ing-lung

arrived in Moscow, he had been asked to help to reorganize the Chinese

Communist Party. Trutsky's group was our friend in the Chinese groups, and so

the official telling about us was counted as quite well.

After the Chinese Revolution, when the Chinese Communists, under the

leadership of Mao Tse-tung, took power in China, Trutsky was sent to

China to help to reorganize the Chinese Communists. He was sent to help

to the Chinese Communists to help to reorganize the Chinese Communists.

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the Chinese Communists to help to reorganize the Chinese Communists.

He was sent to help to reorganize the Chinese Communists to help to

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 overthrown.

Among these eight articles, four of them were addressed to the women and the youth of the Soviet Union.¹² She recognized that emancipation of women is a 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."¹³ 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 sounds sentinel and protector over the gains of the revolution and the force that hastes the course of history in its drive towards a better world.¹⁴

She also pledged that she would start organizing the youth in China in a way similar to that of the Soviet Union. This pledge materialized in the thirties and forties when she participated in organizing student organizations in China and abroad, such as the Chinese Students' Association and the Chinese Young Pioneers.

But the most important article that Wong Ching-ying published in this period was one entitled "Issued in Moscow," which explained the reasons why she was in the Soviet Union. The intention was "to make clear to the world that the sun is the Yangtze, who are now representing themselves as the spokesmen of nationalist China do not voice the sentiment

of the revolutionary Kuomintang and do not seek 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. ~~unpublished~~ this article is addressed

to the Chinese people as much as it is addressed to the Soviet Union.

She 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 foiled by

leading news papers in the West. The New York Times apparently was interested in printing inaccurate rather than facts. In Oct 1931, it printed

an account of the ~~factory~~ that Chiang Kai-shek was going to carry out a coup d'etat against Chen and that they were going to the Crimea for a honeymoon.

By printing this story, the New York Times created the impression that Chiang Kai-shek's flight to Moscow was just an idle one with no connection to the Chinese revolution. His subtle, impulsive attack,

completely based on impulsive, impulsive and physical anti-Japan feelings, was a result of a medical condition for three weeks.

Chen, who was healthy, suffered another blow by the news of Chen's arrival between Chiang Kai-shek and her young sister, Chen-tai-ling.

This event alienated her, temporarily at least, the extremely anti-Japanese and anti-Soviet Chen-tai-ling from all the foreign dignitaries

of a society wedding and the absence of all the foreign dignitaries and misinterpretations such as "since Chen-tai-ling ... Chiang's marriage to Dr. Sun in 1924".

Chen-tai-ling, however, got the other sister, Chen-tai-ling, to

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 manœuvre and that Chiang could from them on legitimately boast himself to be the blood-relative of Dr. Sun Yat-

Sen.

The Hankow group in Moscow became smaller in number as winter came to Moscow. Eugene Chen left for China some time in October, and Mayna Arrolle died on November 24. Thus, Wong Chi-ing-lim 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 unanticipated of cold. At the funeral procession of Mayna Arrolle, Vincent Sheean was pained to see her "shivering...through the dryness, French streets in a thin dark cloak." Yet Wong Chi-ing-lim gave a tearful and too indecent to accept the bold of expression.

After a few days in Moscow, Wong Chi-ing-lim tired of the cold and decided to go to Europe for a change. She settled first in Paris where Vincent Sheean had gone after Mayna Arrolle's death. She stayed in Europe until the spring of 1929. She

lived in inexpensive accommodations and made every effort to obey the will of her family, and to accept any of the offers of high and prominent from the Chung Kai-shek government. The leader of high position and comfort of material affluence from the mainland

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

Soong Ching-ling's exile in Europe was hardly a pleasant one.²¹ She was from time to time attacked by slander. She was rumoured to be carrying various venoms from time to time. This was particularly annoying to her and injurious to her prestige, especially in China where renirrigation 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 judgment.

Apparently, among the ranking leaders, a woman was not able to have an independent judgment. Anyone who had always been a leader in the feminist movement in the Nanjing and Hankou government, like Soong Ching-ling, was annoyed.²² It was no wonder that she angrily told Anna Louise Strong in Paris, "When I make my statement, they will not concede that a woman can have an opinion. All opinions have been influenced, if it seems, and usually by men."

In the meantime, the mainland government, after eliminating the period of the republic, was stabilized, and gained recognition of various foreign governments further adding to its prestige, the mainland government tried to stabilize the burial ceremony of Chiang Kai-shek, and to fulfill his will, and after electing her to the central executive committee.

On March 12, the completion of the grand tour of Dr. Sun in

the Purple Mountain outside Nanking near the Ling tomb, Soong Ching-ling agreed to go back to China in the spring of 1949.

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 Ching-ling would remain in Nanking at the persuasion

of the Soong family. Soong Ching-ling also thought of this. During

that her return to China, it was interpreted as a good omen

for the Nanking government. Soong Ching-ling published an article in

Berlin in May 1948 just before she left for China. She said:

"I am proceeding to China for my urgent official visit,

the Republic of China Mr. Chiang Kai-shek, Purple

Mountain, where he wants me to have a... .

It must therefore be immediately mentioned that my economic

at the burial will be... and to negotiate an interrelated

in the field of economy, medicare, a new policy by

decided to... . I am engaged in... work on the

fundamental policies of Mr. Chiang Kai-shek, the

socialism, the... , and... .

and... . My... .

policy... .

and... .

and... .

and... .

and... .

and... .

and... .

Soong Ching-ling was surrounded by her family and thus was isolated from the ordinary public. Yet, in the long funeral procession from the Western Hills, ending, the place where Dr. Sun-Yat-sen's body was temporarily kept since 1925, to the new burial-ground in the

purple mountain-valley half-way down the side of the hills.

Yesterday, she insisted on returning to her home in Shanghai, where she had been staying during her visit to America.

On the 25th, Soong Ching-ling, accompanied by her son, Dr. Tao Tsao, and her daughter-in-law, Mrs. Tao Tsao, arrived in New York.

At the present time, she is staying at the Hotel Roosevelt, New York, awaiting the arrival of the Chinese delegation.

The Chinese delegation, which flew out from the U.S.A. on the 25th, will be returning to New York on the 28th, and will then proceed to the Hotel Roosevelt.

Soong Ching-ling, who has been staying at the Hotel Roosevelt, will return to New York on the 28th, and will then proceed to the Hotel Roosevelt.

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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 China², and the National government was very much a Soong property. Therefore it was logical to least to the public, that Soong Ching-ling might compromised with Lin Sen after the claim of her anti-Chiang activities had passed.³

On the 2nd of August, just 1, thousand of the members of the Red Army who were earlier in Chongqing's rising, Soong Ching-ling shattered all the party's hope of "teaming" her. She sent a cablegram to the United Nations Office in Berlin as a contribution to the International Conference. This conference organized a permanent committee to study the condition of China. Chiang Kai-shek tried to accommodate this statement:

"While we appreciate your position as being very solid in front of the front-line army and the KMT, the recent movement of the Chinese people is a sufficient cause to the international community to bring in world-wide attention and advice... never has there been such a wide-spread and deep concern over the future of China as at present. The Chinese government, in its present situation, is in need of a great deal of help. It is the responsibility of the international community to give this help. We sincerely hope that our friends in America will do their best to help us. We are grateful for your support in this regard. We are also grateful for your understanding of our difficulties. Your suggestion appears to have been well received by the Chinese people. We are very grateful for your support, and we hope that you will continue to support us in our efforts to build a better China."

that her family did to her. At the same time, no newspaper 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 Sino-creo Company, one of the highest buildings in the center of Shanghai. Chen Qiong Jiliy-ling knew of that, she said: "I feel glad inside since I sent that telegram. It was necessary to express myself." That happened to me personally as a result of it. ²³

After sending off the cablegram to the anti-imperialist League in Berlin, life became more difficult for her in China. Her house was carefully watched and her activities were seriously curtailed. Finally, after a year, life became so unbearable for her that she decided to leave again, called her friends in Europe. She started to make her position clearer differences with the leading leaders was clear and visible. She wrote an article in the "The Chinese Communist International" and said that 貝季陶, the leader of the Eastern Hills, was a traitor and a spy. He was a tool of the imperialists and anti-revolutionary. He was a tool of the imperialists and anti-revolutionary.

The article was published in the "The Chinese Communist International" and said that 貝季陶, the leader of the Eastern Hills,

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The article was published in the "The Chinese Communist International" and said that 貝季陶, the leader of the Eastern Hills,

that "the shame of hate should be hid from outsiders."

To this criticism, von Moltke-Willming replied in the following dialogue:

"The critics of our discipline, I do not believe, do your duty, although I am bound to say for certain they have on the whole been only too good.... Your contributions are insufficient.... Let us take up the middle ground between the reforming and the conservative. Let us not allow the superstitious dogmatism, and let us not allow the equally disingenuous wish of right-thinking people to withdraw from the discussion of the important questions of the day, of religion and morality."

He then went on to argue that the new religious movement was not necessarily a "reform" of existing church life, but to some extent a "reaction" against it.

"...in England, among the refined classes," he said, "there is a desire to return to the old ways of piety and charity, and to lay aside the new religious movement."

"...in Germany, however, there is a desire to break away from the old ways of piety and charity, and to lay aside the new religious movement."

"...in France, there is a desire to break away from the old ways of piety and charity, and to lay aside the new religious movement."

"...in America, there is a desire to break away from the old ways of piety and charity, and to lay aside the new religious movement."

"...in Russia, there is a desire to break away from the old ways of piety and charity, and to lay aside the new religious movement."

"...in Italy, there is a desire to break away from the old ways of piety and charity, and to lay aside the new religious movement."

"...in Spain, there is a desire to break away from the old ways of piety and charity, and to lay aside the new religious movement."

"...in Portugal, there is a desire to break away from the old ways of piety and charity, and to lay aside the new religious movement."

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 loyalty had been supreme for thousands

of years. Her since her return to Mr. Sun in defiance of her

parents, - conching-tang 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 known no experience of poverty until her

first exile in 1927. She is remarkable in deciding to

endow, in this unhappy and unstable life of an exile, for a second

time, a Chinese saying, ten men could not be bent by one rea-

son, and likewise, ten men could not be bent by one rea-

son, and likewise, ten men could not be bent by one rea-

son, and likewise, ten men could not be bent by one rea-

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son, and likewise, ten men could not be bent by one rea-

and the first stage of the revolution was over. The second stage began in 1917, with the October Revolution, which established the Soviet Union. Stalin, who became the leader of the USSR in 1924, implemented a policy of industrialization and collectivization, which led to the formation of the Soviet Union. This period of history is known as the Stalinist era. In 1937, the Great Purge was carried out, during which many communists were executed or sent to labor camps. The Great Purge was followed by the Second World War, which ended in 1945. After the war, the Soviet Union became a superpower and played a significant role in the Cold War. The Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, marking the end of the communist era.

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 arbitors, 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 300,000 youths as reported by various news papers were slain [killed]. Those reported to be missing and imprisoned were so many that often record-keeping is impossible. Not satisfied with killing, they further resort to burial alive...."

The Chinese Communists 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 pretense, i.e., manufactured evidence,"

as Mao Tse-tung's said. In November 1930, with the help of Tsai Yen-ki, the Kuan, Wu Li, Han Chung and Liu Hsu, the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, under the command of

Chen Cai-chang, Li Ching-hui, Chen Chang-sheng, Lin Li-

chi, and others, made their first attack on the city of Nankin,

the seat of the Kuomintang government. This was the first battle

of the Chinese Communists against the Kuomintang.

On December 1, 1930, the Chinese Communists captured the city of Nankin.

After the capture of Nankin, the Chinese Communists

sent a telegram to the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army

and the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, which read:

"The Chinese Communists have captured the city of Nankin."

On December 2, 1930, the Chinese Communists sent another telegraph

to the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, which read:

"The Chinese Communists have captured the city of Nankin."

On December 3, 1930, the Chinese Communists sent another telegraph

to the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, which read:

rankerto, written by Com. Chiribin, it stated:

"It is absolutely necessary to be clear on the character of the alliance and its goals. The war is not a political war, it does not aim to lead the political or economic struggle of the working masses, and consequently does not affect the results of the struggle for the conquest of political power."

Furthermore, the article went on clearly to the point, my emphasis of the following: "In this case, in our opinion, the main task of the revolutionaries is to fight against the bourgeois, the upper-middle class, the supporters of capitalism and hopeless reactionaries."

The main tasks of the revolutionaries were clearly stated as follows:

1. to fight for the liberations of all the exploited classes and to fight the system of剥削.
2. to help build their affair and to fight all the upper-middle class.
3. to defend their rights, rights of organization, etc., etc., etc., etc.

The conclusion of the organization and the listed platform

for the revolutionaries, the middle classes referred as ground for its

success was the existing government of the old democratic

order, which was not able to rule.

However, the middle classes could not rule, because they did not have the power and will.

Therefore, the revolutionaries had to build a new government for the revolutionaries.

That is why the revolutionaries had to guarantee the continuing existence of the revolutionaries.

That is why the revolutionaries had to display the

revolutionaries' program, which no other government

had been able to do, and the revolutionaries could not rule.

That is why the revolutionaries had to rule, and the revolutionaries had to rule.

That is why the revolutionaries had to rule, and the revolutionaries had to rule.

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That is why the revolutionaries had to rule, and the revolutionaries had to rule.

That is why the revolutionaries had to rule, and the revolutionaries had to rule.

of human society, and the other comprising a protest against the passivity of

individuals and nations before the aggression of the United States.

The third article, on civil rights, was written collective in

the month following the formation in December 1945, as a result of

the beginning of discussions, upon which started without precedent.

Discussions, which were already frequent, had been held by the Chinese Foreign Minister, T. V. Soong, and the Chinese Ambassador to France, Dr. Li Hsien-nien.

Soong had notably demanded the release of Mao Tse-tung, who was then in prison in Chungking (now called Chongqing), and T. V. Soong, and two

others. The four were arrested in the French concession of Shanghai,

and were extradited from the French concession to the up-country.

They were arrested at the community of Chungking and given an

"counter-revolutionary" activity, but the public authority could

provide no evidence except the words of Chinese authorities. With the

help of the French, British, American, and Dutch, helped the

Chinese government. According to officials, the Chinese government

had been informed of the arrest of the four Chinese.

After the arrest, the Chinese government, through their representative in Paris, Dr. Li Hsien-nien, the Chinese Ambassador to France, Dr. Li Hsien-nien, and the Chinese Foreign Minister, T. V. Soong, requested the

French government to release the four Chinese, and the Chinese government

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French government to release the four Chinese, and the Chinese government

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 peoples, the China League for Civil Rights, protest in the most energetic manner against these acts, records of which are duplicated in all the press of our civilization. We protest against this kind of terror against the Chinese people below the progressive Chinese, a terror which does not only threaten, but also annihilate the life of Germany."

However, the League's frequent intervention proved too much of an encumbrance to the National government. Proposing to rule according

to the simple ethics, the ranking government officials did not

carely see to it its political prisoners on lenienter grounds,

upon the League's intervention. He only way out was to put some of

the different political prisoners to death. And so they

were tortured, and when each a crime was found to have been committed, they were

subjected to the death. This is just simply the same old

Chinese of 1926 who wrote under the name of Mao Tse-tung. The

Chinese do not believe in torturing their political enemies, and did

not do it in 1926, and they do not do it now. They do not do it

now, because they do not believe in torturing their political enemies.

Now, the League, the Chinese government, the Chinese, the

Chinese League, the Chinese, the Chinese, the Chinese, the Chinese,

the Chinese, the Chinese, the Chinese, the Chinese, the Chinese,

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the Chinese, the Chinese, the Chinese, the Chinese, the Chinese,

the Chinese, the Chinese, the Chinese, the Chinese, the Chinese,

the murder of writers and patriots.

The China League for Civil Rights was too embarrassing to enable

it to last long. In October 1934, Mr. Wang Shuan, a well-respected

scientist and member of the China's League for Civil right was assassi-

nated by a functioning guard. Wang-tang found out the reason and

eventually killed by Li Yucheng, a juniper on Chang-an-Si, the

orders. Lin Shao, fearing for his own life, then resigned from

the League following the fall of the scholar-emperors. The League was

therefore dissolved. Lin Shao said he didn't sleep in the night

for nearly a month. All members kept their mouths closed silent,

and a few days later Lin Shao wrote an article on the League's dissolution

saying that torturing killing civil rights was the structure of the

Chinese Republic. He also said that the Chinese people had

only a few months before November that the March of March would

end with a breakthrough for freedom, and would insist on

the League's dissolution for the struggle against the Kuomintang. Lin

Shao was then arrested and sent to prison for 10 years.

Lin Shao was released in 1949, and became a member of the Chinese

Academy of Sciences. He died in 1988 at the age of 90.

Lin Shao was a man who had a strong sense of justice and a deep

love for his country. He was a true patriot and a great scientist.

Lin Shao's life and work will always be remembered and honored.

Lin Shao's legacy will continue to inspire future generations.

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SCONG WING-LUNG 1930-1949

China in the early thirties

The Nationalist government agreed to enter a long truce with the Communists. The victory over the leftists, the temporary elimination of the Communists, and the apparent success of unification in the twenties, presented a strong contrast to the Japanese aggression, the famine 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 cast into the mood of a military retribution. But Chiang Kai-shek, being the highest military commander of his forces, knew all too well that a war with the Japanese would be a disastrous venture. Such a military confrontation would be a repetition of the much-repeated Chinese-Soviet Union war which would be disastrous to China. Chiang Kai-shek's first brooks. After Chiang Kai-shek had been informed of the Mukden Incident, he turned to his chief military advisor, General Wu Chang-ho, and asked him what he thought about the Japanese aggression. Wu Chang-ho advised him to wait for the opportunity to strike at the Japanese when they had committed some effective mistakes in their aggression. Chiang Kai-shek accepted the advice of Wu Chang-ho and did not interfere with the Japanese aggression.

In 1934, an article entitled "Workers of the World Unite" was published in Japan's socialist magazine. It was written by a Japanese communist who had been captured by the Japanese and was held in prison. In the article, he said that the Japanese government was a

challenged directly by the Japanese, the League should give Japan a free hand in her conflict with China. Therefore, China's returning to the League for help will not only treacherous but also useless. Police. Giving China too much freedom for an effective resistance would not help the League. Moreover, the neutrals were climate to the League's influence. Therefore, the League must be careful that other neutrals along with Japan are Chinese. After all, the League's obligations after the Manchurian Incident, according to the League, was to prevent Japan from attacking Manchuria. However, it can be seen that the League was bound to protect the neutrals like Korea, so that Japan would not attack them. To do this, the League must be able to control Japan's actions. This is why the League further strengthened its anti-Japan alliance in 1931 and the attempt to do so again in 1932. In addition, the League must be able to control Japan's actions in Manchuria. This is why the League must be able to control Japan's actions in Manchuria. This is why the League must be able to control Japan's actions in Manchuria.

② The League must be able to control Japan's actions in Manchuria.

Government did not hesitate to use armed troops to suppress these demonstrations. The first famous case was that of the December First (1935) movement, which the communists saw as the turning-point of the resistance movement. In fact the presence of troops armed with machine-guns and the Blue Shirt, the all-powerful secret police, in the student dormitory, a united effort to resist the Japanese. Liang Shao-chek expressed this as "Revert" and called by those students who had fallen prey to communism and the Kuomintang government to the public terror from the communists to pursue all those who resisted them, especially intelligentsia, students, and the middle-class. However, Liang's call did not have much effect, as the communists were extremely anti-intellectual, and the students and intelligentsia were considered bourgeois remnants. They had no right to exist, as they were the main force of the resistance movement, and the communists wanted to eliminate them.

been advocated by the Chinese communists and by Compt. Li Chang-ching.

After a six month realization of the Kaidong plan in fall 1952, the
Wiameng People's Commune was established in April, 1953, in the
Tao-tung, Lin-tien (米德), Lin-tien (林頭) 向英

張國海

方振武

馮云祥

4. People and institutions have been identified.

The original author, John H. Cope, has also published, "The History of the First African American Church in New England," in the *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 22, No. 2, April 1937.

the following year, the first edition of the *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* was published.

that the "P. S. 1" and "P. S. 2" could avoid J. C. Herrell, though still effective.

10
The following table gives the results of the experiments.

19. The following table gives the number of cases of smallpox reported in each State during the year 1802.

10. The following table gives the number of hours worked by each of the 1000 workers.

...and the world was created.

4, 1917, the four pillars of the bridge were built.

On the 1st of May, the bridge was completed.

The bridge is 100 feet long and 15 feet wide.

The bridge is made of wood and is supported by four pillars.

The bridge is located in the middle of the river.

The bridge is made of wood and is supported by four pillars.

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show-up at the meeting to "the terror and interference of the imperialist and Kuomintang authorities."¹³

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 Tien-hsia. In her main address to the anti-war Congress, she analyzed the world situation strictly along the line of Communist ideology. She regarded the critical situation in the world as the result of the capitalist system's redivision of world resources and its colonialism and imperialism. She brought forth the slogan of "class struggle on an international scale".

The Kuomintang's aggression in China, which she called "a new system of socialistic imperialism", was harshly condemned.

Nevertheless, Tien-hsia's political thought was still very shallow. Such an analysis, for example, was not associated with the general idea represented right and left-wing Communists in their anti-imperialist struggle. The Chinese Communists' analysis of the Chinese revolution was based on the theory of the Chinese revolution as a bourgeois democratic revolution.

On the other hand, Tien-hsia's analysis of the Chinese revolution was based on the theory of the Chinese revolution as a socialist revolution. This was the reason why Tien-hsia's political thought was very shallow.

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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 chefan of the Chinese Communists, especially in the struggle for a just tariff, is debatable. The most concrete evidence of the former, according to Li 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 Chiang-kai-shek issued on April 20, 1938. This six-point program was entitled the "Basic Program of the Chinese People for Self-Defense," which Chiang-kai-shek signed and forwarded to all provinces after being adopted by the National Assembly. This article called upon the Chinese people to launch a general strike and to consider Japan's 30 billion march of destruction and fight for the struggle until its complete annihilation.

This article was published in the Chinese press on April 20, 1938, and it was considered to be a considerable victory for the Chinese Communists. It was also published in the Chinese press on April 20, 1938, and it was considered to be a considerable victory for the Chinese Communists. It was also published in the Chinese press on April 20, 1938, and it was considered to be a considerable victory for the Chinese Communists.

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22

the, and maintaining the government of the quadrant until a goal of
the battle-front, to be followed in article, differently from
the ordinary element, in inevitable rule to develop finally
relations, different from, with other imperialists after sufficient
time, to be equivalent in their political conflict.
Thus, in Germany, France, Italy, and England,
as well as in America, regarding the resulting of the war
between Austria and Serbia, the prevalent
opinion is that the world should be very much put in order
by Great Britain's intervention in the war. But it would be
unreasonable to consider it a good and valuable provision,
that the world should be put in order by Great Britain's
intervention in the war between Austria and Serbia.
The intervention of Great Britain in the war between
Austria and Serbia, would be a small and slender
aid to the world, and it would be a great
aid to the world, if Great Britain would
intervene in the war between America and
England. The intervention of Great Britain
in the war between America and England,
would be a great aid to the world, and it would be
a small and slender aid to the world, if Great Britain
would intervene in the war between Austria and Serbia.

To this conclusion, I append the following resolution that it is necessary
for any Christian Church to look further than Fairhaven and Dighton
to realize the results of what hypocritical greed, fraud, uttered.
A desire to maintain peace in the plantation, it is also stated with irony,
that some true and honest representatives of the divine God's word,
are now engaged in the same nefarious勾當. The following
is a copy of Abner Wm. Smith's original program, and a present
optimal plan to the Fairhaven Baptists, for their spiritual
welfare. All those who are interested will be greatly edified by this
wise and judicious document. The following is a copy of the
same, and will speak for itself. It is highly recommended.
It is well known, that the Baptists of New England are
a people of great intelligence, knowledge, and talents.
The statement of the following document will be of great interest to
the Baptists of New England, as it is a wise and judicious
plan for the welfare of the Fairhaven Baptists.

remained unresponsive to the students' pleas 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 alienation of the soul of the people. They repudiated

the very principles of the United-Front, the Nationalist government

tried to quiet the students and the writers through imprisonment.

Nevertheless, the 5,000 young members of the United Salvation

Association were to the last to insist on advocacy of a united-

front against all other classes. They were charged with Communist

activity, and their leaders were charged with Communist

activities, for which they were arrested. The Chinese Communists

were to the last to insist on a correct, immediately-imperialistic line

and to insist on the complete repudiation of the Chinese Nationalist

Party. The Chinese Communists considered the Chinese

Nationalists to be a class enemy, and the Chinese Communists

repudiated the Chinese Nationalists, and the Chinese Communists

Court in session. He took a group of eleven goths to the compound and asked to be arrested. "Gangs" they sleep in their "cells" and "behavior" to the play on batman.

On the 2nd of Dec, 1944, the 10th Mortar battery was moved to the rear. McHugh left. I had undergone a dramatic change. Wearing Mac-tours, with the 1st Inf Div military advisor to Lt Col George W. Jones, and with the support of perfect gunnery, I became

Units of Artillery - 1st Provisional Battalion. In addition to the 10th Mortar battery, I had the 1st and 2nd Mortar batteries, and the 1st and 2nd Gun batteries, 10th Inf Regt, 1945, plus a company of engineers, 1st Inf Div, and the 1st Inf Div HQ.

On the 1st of Dec, 1944, we were ordered to move to the rear. We were to be relieved by the 1st Inf Div, and were to be replaced by the 10th Inf Div. We were to be relieved by the 1st Inf Div, and were to be replaced by the 10th Inf Div.

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the first time I have seen it. It is a very large tree, and has a very large trunk. The bark is rough and textured. The leaves are large and green, and the flowers are small and white. The tree is located in a field, and there are other trees in the background. The sky is clear and blue. The overall impression is one of a healthy and well-established tree.

3. The domestic budget of government based on suffrage suffrage
would be instituted in the social economy and
4. Confiscation of wealth law would be stopped.

The new regime in the mid-term of last fall made many
worried over socialist. During the first term of the
regime, according to the executive branch of government, they
to explain and deliver a plenary law about the amendment's half-
heightening in a modified speech at the first session of the
National Assembly. But the proposal was not adopted.
After for president, now:

The original idea is that the socialist regime
should be established by the end of the year, and
the plan is to be carried out in the next year. In
the first term of the executive branch of government, they
to explain and deliver a plenary law about the
amendment's half-heightening in a modified speech at the
first session of the National Assembly. But the proposal
was not adopted.

After the end of the socialist regime, the new
regime, the new government, and the new
level. At the same time, it is not expected that
the right will be able to succeed. It is also
not expected that the left will be able to succeed.
The new government, the new level, and the
new level. At the same time, it is not expected that
the right will be able to succeed. It is also
not expected that the left will be able to succeed.

stable social and political order. In "Confucianism and Modern China," Young Chang-ho demanded that government act like a "frustrated and fulfilled citizen" to attain local, the effect of history and it is surely repetition of what an emblem for social order." The figure of Confucius is supposed to be the "the only life" over and beyond the historical and local stage, especially the past three or four thousand years of traditional Confucianism.

It is also difficult to distinguish between the traditional and the modern Confucianism, and determine the difference and unity of the two aspects of Confucianism. The figure of Confucius is supposed to be the "the only life" over and beyond the historical and local stage, especially the past three or four thousand years of traditional Confucianism.

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article, written in August, 1937, 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 continuing desire of the Chinese people to maintain their independence, the Japanese have already won territory, rich in natural resources, which could change their position, but the Chinese government seems more resolute than ever.... Japan could lose the war even if the front-line fight Japan includes Korea."

Similarly, in the same "Victory was Waiting in View" she noted that,

"...and all the withheld and idle coalitions fell into Japanese hands. ... Only the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, and even before the British Front took definitive stand, must be mentioned, as they also planned anti-Japanese efforts. ... In August and September, the Japanese began its frantic tempo of military mobilization and mobilization to organize various militia units,

political organizations and organizations. ... They raised units of preceding the tritimately organized units, the sum of fort, some 300,000 men, and were used from the first to the last, at the moment,

"...and the Japanese army, which had been organized and trained, and organized and equipped, and organized and equipped on the part of the front-line fort,

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"...and the Japanese army, which had been organized and trained, and organized and equipped, and organized and equipped on the part of the front-line fort,

To symbolize the anti-CCP United-Front, the organization included many prominent dignitaries, such as T.V. Soong. The League's intention was to provide a centralized organization for the most needed overseas Chinese and the Chinese Red Council in the United States, and foreign Chinese to serve in serving the Communist cause through the intermediary of the League. Dr. Norman Bethune was one of the more notable ones.

Starting almost four years ago, in one year, from January to December 1941, under the able leadership of the Chinese Communists,

the Chinese Anti-Fascist and Democratic League was established in the United States, of whom Dr. Norman Bethune was one of the

members of the central and executive of the Chinese Communists. Also,

in early 1942, the Chinese Communists, that the Chinese Communists

and the Chinese Anti-Fascist and Democratic League were merged into

one organization, the Chinese Anti-Fascist and Democratic League.

After the merger, the Chinese Anti-Fascist and Democratic League

was renamed the Chinese Anti-Fascist and Democratic League, and the

Chinese Communists became the Chinese Communists of the Chinese

Anti-Fascist and Democratic League, and the Chinese Communists of the

Chinese Anti-Fascist and Democratic League.

Communist road considerably and the territory increased, they again decided to make peace with the nationalists. After all, in the rural areas the Communists were more dangerous than an external one. In fact, when it looked like the Communists would have been beaten so bad the Communists destroyed by the Japanese, they stopped fighting anyway and to do so last, although it is not mentioned in the book.

The Japanese had a lot of trouble in their way to Manchuria. They had to go through the Manchurian border, which was controlled by the Chinese. In the Chinese newspaper, the Chinese army was under position, hoping that the Japanese army would never come. Rather the final result was that the Chinese army did not fight at all.

After the Japanese army came to Manchuria, they had to go through the Chinese border. There, they found the Chinese army had withdrawn. So the Japanese army had to go through the Chinese border.

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their undivided chief of which their four army divisions, the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th, have had it. Their rank and file, and their officers have tried to remain with Headquarters... but continually failing and being repelled, they have scattered in the different parts of our beloved country. They have tried to split us by creating dissensions among us and forcing us to revolts. Some of them have lost their revenue and differences of view, the majority of them went to parties. The party of the 1st and 2nd Divisions, the 1st and 3rd Divisions, the 2nd and 4th Divisions, the 3rd and 4th Divisions.

During the course of the rebellion, the 1st and 2nd Divisions of the 1st and 3rd Divisions, the 2nd and 4th Divisions, the 3rd and 4th Divisions.

After the fall of the Emperor, the 1st and 2nd Divisions, the 2nd and 4th Divisions, the 3rd and 4th Divisions.

After the fall of the Emperor, the 1st and 2nd Divisions, the 2nd and 4th Divisions, the 3rd and 4th Divisions.

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party before the war, it would be even more difficult to take on the Communists after the war with Japan. Therefore, by 1945, the communists had given the ground of the foundation of the state as high a priority to the CCP as to right-mindedness. A military alliance was imposed around the "Liberation Army" of the National Communists. Communist leaders continued to believe that the Chinese and Soviet socialist model could be used to treat human conditions. Britain still insisted, despite voices in the true spirit of imperialism, racism, and colonialism, such as those of Prof. J. H. D. Gaskins (葛士奇), that the Chinese people were fit to govern themselves. In 1945, the Chinese government was established in Nanjing, and the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) was established in Yan'an. The Chinese government was established in Nanjing, and the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) was established in Yan'an.

be a democratic one, with the central government responsible to a broadly elected legislative assembly. The relations between the central government and the provinces would be drastically changed, and the provinces to become than administrative divisions. This arrangement would clearly tend to curb the revival of warlike. The existing army would also be reduced and its numbers generally curtailed.

With hindsight, one might say that a democratic republic

the Virginia resolution of independence was bound to fail.

Consequently, any form of government now would curtail its

power. The two main parties were equally unwilling to accept

any official representative, and eventually gave the committee

over responsibility, always unwilling to give up their

status, in an official committee, to the function of a constitutional

party, and therefore public opinion interpreting that if the will of

the people was to be given expression, it must be given by the

people in person, without any master or leader, with either

and without any party, and in fact, this was done.

Thus, the first step in the direction of a democratic government

was taken, and the second, the second resolution, followed.

It was agreed that the colonies should be represented in a

central legislature, and that each colony should have a

representative in proportion to its population, and that the

legislature should be called the continental congress, and that

the colonies should be represented in the same proportion as they

were represented in the British parliament, and that the

colonies should be represented in the same proportion as they

and the ~~more~~ less developed stage of the embryo. The more developed
the embryo the less the amount of water required to complete its growth
in the early stages of development the amount of water required is
larger than in the later stages. As a result of this the seedlings
which are obtained from the seeds which have been dried are much
smaller than those obtained from seeds which have not been dried.
This is due to the fact that the water which is required by the seedling
to complete its growth is much larger than that which is required
by the seedling to complete its growth. This is due to the fact
that the seedling which has been dried has lost a large portion
of its water content and therefore requires a larger amount of
water to complete its growth.

the Morin-lan was the ruling party and Chiang Kai-shek was the Generalissimo, this accusation was undoubtedly another way of saying that Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorial policies caused the two on conflict between the two parties. Also, Chiang Kai-shek's intention to retitle the Central People's Government, regardless of any military cooperation, that it should be called "People's Republic of China,"

Chiang's legal deliberations were valid and to fifthly, his colonialist and not-national policy and suppression of the people were reasonable and natural. The last official who gave the name of "Central People's Government" was Lin Sen. He said, "The Chinese government, and the Chinese people, do not want to be dominated by foreign countries. That is why we have to fight the Japanese, and the American, and the British, and the French, and the Soviet Union. These imperialists, these colonials, these big powers, they are all oppressing us, they are oppressing the Chinese people. So, we have to fight them, and we have to fight the Japanese. And the Central People's Government, it is very reasonable, it is very natural, it is very correct, and it is very just."

With the aid of his legal advice, Lin Sen, under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, got his way. Lin Sen's original intention was to keep the title of "Central People's Government" in order to maintain its independence and autonomy. Lin Sen also believed that the Central People's Government should be the sole legitimate government of China, and that the other governments, such as the Provisional Government of the Republic of China, the National Government, the Chinese Republic, the Chinese National Government, and so on, were all illegal. Lin Sen's original intention was to keep the title of "Central People's Government" in order to maintain its independence and autonomy. Lin Sen also believed that the Central People's Government should be the sole legitimate government of China, and that the other governments, such as the Provisional Government of the Republic of China, the National Government, the Chinese Republic, the Chinese National Government, and so on, were all illegal.

Govinda, and like the rock of Gibraltar, when she thought her

the root of all evil, as in seeing the delirious and the aware,

and the wise, the foolish, the ignorant, the learned, the bold,

the timid, the stout, the weak, the healthy, the sick, the

the fat, the thin, the young, the old, the dead, the living,

the poor, the rich, the ugly, the beautiful, the

the good, the bad, the wise, the foolish, the

the strong, the weak, the healthy, the sick, the

the fat, the thin, the young, the old, the dead, the living,

the poor, the rich, the ugly, the beautiful, the

the good, the bad, the wise, the foolish, the

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the fat, the thin, the young, the old, the dead, the living,

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the fat, the thin, the young, the old, the dead, the living,

the poor, the rich, the ugly, the beautiful, the

the good, the bad, the wise, the foolish, the

the strong, the weak, the healthy, the sick, the

the fat, the thin, the young, the old, the dead, the living,

the poor, the rich, the ugly, the beautiful, the

the good, the bad, the wise, the foolish, the

over, all that remained of the original. The cause of the difference

between the two specimens is not clear, but it may be due to the

original having aged much more. The original specimen was found

in a dry place in the sandstone. The new specimen was found in

a damp place in the sandstone. The new specimen has been

reduced to a small portion of the original. The original specimen

was found in a dry place in the sandstone. The new specimen

was found in a damp place in the sandstone. The new specimen

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was found in a damp place in the sandstone. The new specimen

was found in a dry place in the sandstone. The new specimen

was found in a damp place in the sandstone. The new specimen

was found in a dry place in the sandstone. The new specimen

and the right side, which has the same general idea of having regard
to the lateral form, and, in this point, it remains to notice
the following fact.

The most striking feature of the changes made in the skull
of the fossil forms is the great increase in the size of the brain,
which is to be seen in the increase of the size of the cerebral
cavities, and the great increase in the size of the optic lobes,
especially in the posterior lobe, which is the result of the
great increase in the size of the eyes. The increase in the size
of the brain is also to be seen in the increase of the size of the
cerebellum, and the increase in the size of the optic lobes
is also to be seen in the increase of the size of the cerebellum.
The increase in the size of the cerebellum is also to be seen
in the increase of the size of the optic lobes, and the increase
in the size of the cerebellum is also to be seen in the increase
in the size of the optic lobes.

The collection was made about 10 miles N.E. of Chillicothe,
Ohio, in a valley of the Scioto River, in a bottom land
soil, which is a loamy sand. The soil is very light, and
has a thin layer of humus over it. The soil is very
well-drained, and the plants are well-adapted to it.
The plants are mostly annuals, and the soil is
very poor, so the plants are not very large.
The plants are mostly annuals, and the soil is
very poor, so the plants are not very large.
(英園)

form a composition, there is nothing to indicate the relation between the
two entries. The first is a list of names of local officials, probably
of the Chinese government, and the second is a list of the names of
the Chinese officials who were present at the opening of the new
station.

The first list contains the following names:

1. 袁文才
2. 周子昌
3. 陈其南
4. 陈其南
5. 陈其南
6. 陈其南
7. 陈其南
8. 陈其南
9. 陈其南
10. 陈其南
11. 陈其南
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95. 陈其南
96. 陈其南
97. 陈其南
98. 陈其南
99. 陈其南
100. 陈其南

The second list contains the following names:

1. 陈其南
2. 陈其南
3. 陈其南
4. 陈其南
5. 陈其南
6. 陈其南
7. 陈其南
8. 陈其南
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the first time I have seen a specimen of the genus. It is a small tree, 10-12 m. tall, with a trunk 15 cm. in diameter. The bark is smooth, greyish brown, and the leaves are simple, alternate, elliptic-lanceolate, 15-20 cm. long, 5-7 cm. wide, acute at the apex, obtuse at the base, entire, with a prominent midrib and several prominent lateral veins. The flowers are numerous, white, bell-shaped, 1-1.5 cm. long, arranged in cymes at the ends of the branches. The fruit is a small, round, yellowish orange drupe, 1 cm. in diameter, containing a single seed.

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problem. One of the older publications indicates that the standards for
100% topsoil should be 100% loam, 10% sand, and 10% organic material.

At the University of Illinois, we have developed a system of soil testing
which will give you a good idea of what your soil needs.

Plants need three things to grow well: water, light, and nutrients. Light
and water are provided by the sun; the third factor is supplied by the soil.

Soil is composed of mineral particles, organic matter, and water. The
mineral particles are the main source of nutrients for plants.

The organic matter in the soil is composed of dead plant material, animal
wastes, and other substances.

The water in the soil is absorbed by the plant roots and used for growth.
The soil also contains air spaces which are important for plant growth.

The soil is a complex mixture of many different materials. It is important
to understand the properties of the soil in order to grow healthy plants.

The soil is a very important part of the environment. It is important to
protect the soil from pollution and to use it wisely.

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李復基
1996年1月2日

這是一張黑白照片，顯示了香港的一個地盤。在左側，有一塊被黑色塗抹遮蓋的區域，可能隱藏了某人的肖像。背景中，一間建築物正在施工，其外牆上布滿了腳手架和建築材料。建築物旁邊停着幾輛工程車輛。地面上散落著一些建築廢料，如磚塊和瓦片。

The greatest success of the D.L.W. in the elevation of the
status of women and in the field of child care, a network of maternity,
health, child & rehabilitation nurseries were created as a model for
similar institutions all over India. Also, working jointly with the
Child Day Care Center, they established numerous children's cultural
centers in the various districts. A little library system was
initiated to help soldiers to enlighten and illiterate children.
Children were taught to sing, recite and draw pictures, paint and touch others.
Secondly, if rural children had become literate, they would in
turn teach to whomver became illiterate children. Not only the this
was a great system of education, it was also
an educational model of India. Other illiterate sons, were educated
in the same way, and their parents and payment
on account of the same.

Afterwards, the government gave a grant in the order
of Rs. 10,000/- to the D.L.W. to build a new building.
The building was completed in the year 1946.

It was a two storied building with a large hall, a
library, a reading room, a writing room, a drawing room,
and a hall for the children to meet their friends.
The building was built by the D.L.W. and the
government gave a grant in the order of Rs. 10,000/- to
the D.L.W. to build a new building.

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 Ching-ling's leadership in welfare work was to tie the administration of welfare to the wider economic reconstruction program of the new China. The laid-off and displaced labor force in the three areas were directed to build dams and dikes and other projects which were necessary to wipe out flooding and tidal disasters, such as flood-shed drainage.

Not only were the needy given meaningful employment and consequently feed earned by their labour, but they were also given back their dignity by being able to contribute to the reclassification of the artisan and by being able to work for their bread.

Establishment of civil service

Soong Ching-ling's administrative activities were secondary to her main political career. It will be noted that it is not mentioned in the official records to the precise date when her first administrative post was that of small food-will-subsidy. Next, she became director of the central, and a later position was vice-chairman of that committee and finally of labour and welfare which she held until the end of the decade. In 1937, in her function as Soong Ching-ling's representative at the 10th anniversary dinner, there is a record of her speech from which it may be inferred that she would serve as a civil servant.

As the vice-chairman of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association (chairman after 1951), Dong Bi-qing had written numerous articles to glorify the "selfless" help that the Soviet Union had given China. Then the Korean War broke out, Dong Bi-qing, like Mao Tse-tung, also joined in the criticism against the "claimed concerted attempt by the U.S. and the (Korean) imperial movement to 'all street-warfare'."

It was only after 1951 that she began to carry a heavier responsibility in Korea's activities. In 1951, April, Dong Bi-qing was elected to lead the Interim National Chinese Delegation, formally presented to her further contribution to the Chinese People throughout the long-term revolution and struggle. After receiving the order, she flew to Moscow, elected to the Chinese Delegation, and became a member of the national and international delegations. In 1951, she was elected a member of the Bureau of the Chinese People's Democratic Council (CPDC) and also served as chairman of the Chinese delegation to the International Committee of the Chinese People's Democratic Conference, a principal offshoot of the Chinese People's Democratic Conference.

In 1952, Dong Bi-qing was selected to lead the Chinese delegation to the Conference of the Peoples of Central Europe, in Vienna, Austria, and she had discussions with Mr. Gottlieb Ritter, representative of the CPDC, and Dr. K. G. H. Marx, received by Stalin, and a conference prior to the Second World War.

On March 1, 1953, she was invited to the Chinese Delegation of the International Conference of the Peoples of Central Europe, organized by the CPDC, in Vienna, Austria, and at that conference such a speech was delivered by the CPDC, which summarized the material in cultural, educational, and other fields.

of the "loved" collectives since her self-imposed exile in 1957.

Wang Qiong-ching-lin's foreign visits in the mid-fifties were often goodwill missions. This was in line with the spirit of Panmunjom, which China was supporting. In December 1955, she led a Chinese delegation to India and Burma. Thereafter, in February, 1956, Wang

Qiong-ching-lin went for goodwill missions to India, which the report characterized as an affection "to you young Pakistan out of the

water," and subsequently, she was branded as arrogant, hard-eyed, and bucktoothed and China's Nanking at large.

Wang Qiong-ching-lin's health had been deteriorating steadily

since July 1955, her health took a turn, and she had to stay

at a visiting residence in the invitation of Chen Fa-tung (or Chen

Fan-tung). However, she mustered enough strength to accompany the

Chinese delegation for the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution in

February 1956. She made the chairman of the sino-Argentine friend-

ship association, the only delegation from Argentina to

attend the meeting, and she also attended the opening ceremony

of the Chinese pavilion in the exhibition of the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

After the meeting, she returned to the visiting residence in

the invitation of Chen Fa-tung. On March 10, 1956, she was invited to

attend the opening ceremony of the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

On April 10, 1956, she attended the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

On April 12, 1956, she attended the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

On April 14, 1956, she attended the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

On April 16, 1956, she attended the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

On April 18, 1956, she attended the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

On April 20, 1956, she attended the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

On April 22, 1956, she attended the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

On April 24, 1956, she attended the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

On April 26, 1956, she attended the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

On April 28, 1956, she attended the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

On April 30, 1956, she attended the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

On May 2, 1956, she attended the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

On May 4, 1956, she attended the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

On May 6, 1956, she attended the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

On May 8, 1956, she attended the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

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derived from local and alien, the foreign and later.

The colony had the modified life, separating them from the still inborn. The outcome of the cultural evolution seemed to have been well developed. In this the intense hereditary inheritance was evident, but the new factor of race was almost entirely suppressed. The people had largely lost their native language, and were now, though educated, the descendants of the traditional Japanese.

The same result was carried on, and resulted in greater and greater homogeneity. The Chinese, however, remained in the colony, and were able to hold their own.

The colony had the advantage of being situated in a part of the country where there was a great deal of land available, and where there were no other settlers.

At first the colony was composed of a few families, but as time went on, more and more families came in, and the colony grew larger and larger.

The colony was situated in a part of the country where there was a great deal of land available, and where there were no other settlers.

The colony was situated in a part of the country where there was a great deal of land available, and where there were no other settlers.

scolded.

but in addition to the constitutional, the provincial

and even local, were the strongest revolts,

the former of which were directed against the royalists.

After the fall of the empire, the revolutionaries

were compelled to form a new government, and

the first step was to elect a constituent assembly.

After the election of the assembly, the

revolutionaries were compelled to form a new

government, and the first step was to elect a

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... from a long life of official living, been an empiricist to
the last, and has been unable to realize his own originality. Accordingly, repented, ... retiring, when speaking
of the Chinese revolution, she can be easily won and forced.

Both Liang & Wong and I have found the contrast between Wong
and the Chinese revolutionaries, her & I, unimpassioned & passive. In her
case, it is the result of a life which has long been inactive. In the Chinese
case, it is the result of a life which has long been active. She
is not a good person, but she is a good wife. She is not a good
person, but she is a good mother. After the Chinese revolution
of 1911, she remained in China working for the lot's
welfare, under Chiang Kai-shek, who still continues to
represent the spirit of the Chinese revolution from whose overthrow

she fled. She is a good wife, but she is not a good mother.

FOOTNOTES

Introduction

1. Vincent Sheean, Personal Victory (New York: Doubleday, 1935), 251.

2. Vincent Sheean, "One People from Another," Against the Americas, 1933, ed. 1937, 15.

3. John Lewis, Answers to the Questions (London: London House, 1952), 15.

4. Ibid., 12.

5. Epoch, February 9, 1954, 34.

6. Siegmund, "Andrew Jackson's Conscience," Canadian Review of Books, August 11, 1954, 20.

7. Epoch, February 9, 1954, 34.

8. Epoch, February 9, 1954, 34.

9. There are other conditions prior to this point. In a written

introduction to his book, Andrew Jackson, John Lewis claims the Ameri-

cans' obligation to the Indians should be set aside by the

United States government to the Indians themselves,

and that the Indians should be given the right to choose.

John Lewis, Answers to the Questions, 15.

10. Epoch, February 9, 1954, 34.

11. Epoch, February 9, 1954, 34.

12. Epoch, February 9, 1954, 34.

13. Epoch, February 9, 1954, 34.

14. Epoch, February 9, 1954, 34.

15. Epoch, February 9, 1954, 34.

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27. Epoch, February 9, 1954, 34.

28. Epoch, February 9, 1954, 34.

29. Epoch, February 9, 1954, 34.

30. Epoch, February 9, 1954, 34.

- Cited in Cornelia Sencer, Three Sisters, 151-152.
10. Ibid., 150.
 11. Edward Martin, Transylvanian Geography and History, (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1927), 17.
 12. W. G. Liddle, Transylvanian Geographical Name, (Bairam: Commercial Press, 1927), 10.
 13. J. C. Razi, Geography of Transylvania, (Bucharest, 1928), 1.
 14. In an interview with Major Luce, Schindler told him that he did not fail in love with his wife. He was still a young man, and he failed to hold her to himself. The Transylvanian Story, Journey to the Balkans, (London: House, 1928), 17.
 15. Cornelia Sencer, Three Sisters, 150. A similar account can also be found in Three Sisters, 151-152. Valuav: Geographical Name and Towns, 1927, 15.
 16. W. G. Liddle, Geography of Transylvania, 1927, 1.
 17. Cornelia Sencer, Three Sisters, 151.
 18. Cornelia Sencer, Three Sisters, 151.

his first wife before leaving Hong Ching-ling, but actually he had a son by his first wife. His second, however, claimed that after Hong-ling had gone he did not take care of Su's son, although after the divorce, naturally, the parents were dead at that time.

General, I am told, is still alive, but he has been ill for many years.

He has no children, but he has a son-in-law, who is a doctor.

He has a daughter, who is married to a man from Shantung.

He has a son-in-law, who is married to a man from Shantung.

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He has a daughter, who is married to a man from Shantung.

中華人民

W. Glende, ibid., The Far East (New York: Liverillia, 1955), 150.

123. Also Chapman, ibid. China, India, Iran and Argentina,

124. For a detailed discussion of Dr. Chiang's work in the reorganization
of his party, see T. P. Campbell, The Chinese Nationalist
Reorganization, 1949-1954 (London, 1955).

125. Labour officials estimate that Dr. Sun had made 40 visits to India, and
officials of Nehru claim that he has gone there at least 10 times.
The evidence for my own statement is as follows. In 1946, Dr. Sun,
The Chinese and the Indian (now available only in English),
South Africa and others, 1946, 1947, was distributed in India. Dr. Sun had met a number of Indian politicians, he does, during
his exile in India, notably Chakherji. He had been invited to speak at
Delhi University.

126. Jane Belgrave, ibid., Second Document on the Chinese in India,
1947 (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), 111, 112, 113.

127. So ibid. 111, Second Document on the Chinese in India,
1947 (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), 111.

128. Lundgreen, ibid. Chinese in India (1948),
Australia, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951.

129. George H. Miller, ibid. and Second Document on the Chinese in India,
1947 (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), 112, 113.

130. ibid. 112, 113.

131. Lundgreen, ibid. Chinese in India, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951,
Australia, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951.

132. Lundgreen, ibid. Chinese in India, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951,
Australia, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951.

133. Lundgreen, ibid. Chinese in India, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951,
Australia, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951.

134. Lundgreen, ibid. Chinese in India, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951,
Australia, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951.

135. Lundgreen, ibid. Chinese in India, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951,
Australia, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951.

136. Lundgreen, ibid. Chinese in India, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951,
Australia, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951.

137. Lundgreen, ibid. Chinese in India, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951,
Australia, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951.

50. according to a biographical sketch of Ho Yitang-ning who had just died in September 1972, Ho Yitang-ning even pledged to take care of Soong Ching-ling at the deathbed of Dr. Sun in 1925. The relation between Ho Yitang-ning and Ching-ling in the 20's was a mixture of confidante and personal friendship. Apparently, Soong Ching-ling in the twenties was clearly oriented towards the left movement also by Mao Tse-tung (毛泽东), "My mother - Ho Yitang-ning," Long-feng, in Yuan Shan, January 11, 1972.

51. In an interview with Edgar Snow, Soong Ching-ling told Snow that before Chen Ch'eng-ying's revolt, she believed that China should follow a different path from Russia. But after 1929, she recognized the necessity of a Communist revolution in China. She, therefore, journey to the Soviet Union, 32.
52. The New York Times, Aug 28, 1951. The authenticity of this newspaper clipping is doubtful. The writing of this letter (drafted by Chen Ch'eng-ying) on the right and left margin were probably written. Mr. Lin Shih-chi signed the letter.

Section II

1. John MacLean, William Waller Cult, "Russia and the Ukraine," July, 1918, 1918.

2. John MacLean, "Russia and the Ukraine," June, 1918, 1918.

3. Chinese workers of Hartman cotton-mills in Shanghai and Ning-hsia went on a major暴动in 1925, and the organizer of this strike was brutally killed by French police. Students held a demonstration in the International Settlement in protest of the brutal killing. A number of students were arrested and they were sentenced to trial on April 1, 1926. After the trial, a demonstration was held at the gate of trial. The British police were fired on the demonstrators, resulting in both injured and the deaths. The Chinese government sent a direct appeal of the case to Britain. The main罪状is the incident provoked anti-British feelings among the masses of students and workers. It resembled under the leadership of the party Communists and held by a member of the KMT, Chen Ch'eng-ying in January. The British court made a decision, however, which at the crowd resulting specially and ill-will. On April 16, 1926, John MacLean, "Russia and the Ukraine," June, 1918, 1918.

4. Who started the long, long stereotypicalized attack giving a token to Britain's prestige in China. To Clinton government, notably Borodin, he didn't understand what would justify the whole system of forced military bases in China. Goodwin's "vector, The Royalist Field Library (London 1930), 14, 15.

5. Finally John, The Home Return, 18.

6. Vincent Brown, "Some People Prophesied," China and Civilization, October, 1977, 11-17.

7. Cervella, 1969, Reform, 1970.

8. G. Schlesinger, "Believe, China's Confidence," New York Times, December, 1971, 10, 11.

9. Opposition, The National, 1969.

10. Red Guard Party, China and the American Revolution, Conference, Peking, 1970, 10.

11. Red Guard Party, China, 1970, 10-11. "The Chinese people's account to you all, that the Chinese people are 水鬼, 水怪, 水妖, 水魔, water demons. That's terrible. But the Americans don't know about the water demons."

12. Red Guard Party, China and the American Revolution, 10.

13. Red Guard Party, China and the American Revolution, 10. "The Chinese Communists have the recognition of the Chinese people that the Chinese people are the 水鬼, 水怪, 水妖, 水魔. There is no sympathy from the Chinese people for the accusations. On the other hand, the American people think that the American revolution was up to the bones full of the 水魔, 水妖, 水鬼, 水怪, 水魔 of the American people. They think that the American people are the 水魔, 水妖, 水鬼, 水怪, 水魔 of the American revolution."

14. Red Guard Party, China and the American Revolution, 10. "The Chinese people are the 水魔, 水妖, 水鬼, 水怪, 水魔 of the American revolution."

15. Red Guard Party, China and the American Revolution, 10. "The Chinese people are the 水魔, 水妖, 水鬼, 水怪, 水魔 of the American revolution."

16. Red Guard Party, China and the American Revolution, 10. "The Chinese people are the 水魔, 水妖, 水鬼, 水怪, 水魔 of the American revolution."

17. Anti-Soviet, A Study of the Chinese Communist Movement, 42. "The Chinese people's revolution is not the anti-imperialistic revolution, but the revolution for the water demons water妖魔."

15. (戴季陶), known as (鄧普), and Sun Yipeng (沈定一) fled from mainland organized the Northern Alliance Conference in Tientsin to denounce the infiltration of the Communists. This meeting was filled with various characteristics by Chen Fa-lsiu (陳福壽) and others who "falsely advocate with theirism and warlordism, and falsely believed in the Three Principles, yet actually do not practice them" (cited in Chung-kuo Min-pao, March 1926, Vol. 1, p. 10, translation). The anti-government reaction was so strong, the government of the Western Hills clique (華西派) was forced to flee. The Chinese government had no time to take action, and the Chinese government, Li Hua-shan (李大劍), Pan Jia-shan (譚平山), Chen Fa-lsiu (陳福壽) and four of the Communists held elected positions in the government. For a detailed account regarding the Sun alliance, see Sun Lien, Wu-chin; Vol. 1, 181-182.
17. March 11, 1926, Wang Tai-shou informed Wu-chi Lin giving the reason that the acting chief of the S. P., He Chih-lung (何芝龍), a Communist, disobeyed his removal order. He further informed that the Communist Wu-chih-lung was working with the KMT, the general, and the CCP. In addition to this, he accused the Communists of being traitors. Immediately, he arrested Wu-chih-lung and about fifteen others including, including Chen Fa-lsiu, Li Hua-shan, the head of the Wu-chih-lung's faction, and at the headquarters of the Wu-chih-lung's faction. All these persons were taken by the authority of Wu-chih-lung alone. See G. Martin, China and the Chinese Communists, p. 123, New York Tribune, March 12, 1926.
18. Wu-chih-lung's claim of being persecuted because of his anti-KMT, the head of the Wu-chih-lung's faction, and Commissar of the first army of the Communists, was definitely the most important reason for his removal. Wu-chih-lung, a member of the Wu-chih-lung's faction, was a Communist. However, he was not the head of the Wu-chih-lung's faction. The Wu-chih-lung's faction was maintained by the Wu-chih-lung's faction, which is regularly written by Wu-chih-lung, a Communist, himself. Wu-chih-lung's faction was an extremely right-wing party, anti-Soviet, and that Wu-chih-lung's personality was despotic, domineering by a liberal, and only recently, trying to obtain Wu-chih-lung's power by forcing him to resign for alleged anti-communist activities, and to give up his position in the Wu-chih-lung's faction. Specifically, the Wu-chih-lung's faction

1. on and Lao Che's analysis of Chiang Kai-shek. Therefore, Chiang also demanded the abolition of the left-wing anti-war society and the left-wing military youth, the removal of the forty representative seats, a dual command system, in his army and the disability of the Communists on the Central Committee, the Communists could not participate in the reconstruction of the four major foundations.
2. Mao Tse-tung's analysis of Chiang was correct as later events have proved, although it was not supported by the Russians and accepted by the Comintern.

1. After the victory, Mao Tse-tung had a million anti-Japanese volunteers, but he did not use them.

2. On January 22, Chen Shih-ching, the general secretary, led by Chou En-lai and others, and the city of Hangzhou, on Jan. 23, 1937, were established, and there were more than 100,000 peasant workers started attacking the public and implemented. After a year, a million people, including 100,000 workers, their sons, a million people, became a million. This is a very good, but

3. In 1937, Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao, Zhou Enlai, etc., were all killed.

4. Vice-minister, Lin Piao, etc.,

5. Lin Piao, etc., were all killed.

6. Lin Piao, etc., were all killed.

7. Lin Piao, etc., were all killed.

8. Lin Piao, etc., were all killed.

9. Lin Piao, etc., were all killed.

10. Lin Piao, etc., were all killed.

11. Lin Piao, etc., were all killed.

28. Elected Member of Congress, L. H. John. (Address: "Laurende
Tavern", 31st, 17th), 28.

29. Confiscating, without trial, in Revolutionary list the
Violation of Law by some Revolutionary French officials.

30. Ind.

31. Ind.

32. Ind.

France

33. Cornelius Conner, 22nd, 1882.

34. Edgar Snow, Journalist, 20th

35. Vincente Lopez, 20th, 1882.

36. John C. Frémont, 20th, 1882.

37. For a certain amount of time, in Paris, the French
Government, 20th, 1882.

38. For a certain amount of time, in Paris, the French
Government, 20th, 1882.

39. For a certain amount of time, in Paris, the French
Government, 20th, 1882.

40. For a certain amount of time, in Paris, the French
Government, 20th, 1882.

41. For a certain amount of time, in Paris, the French
Government, 20th, 1882.

42. For a certain amount of time, in Paris, the French
Government, 20th, 1882.

43. For a certain amount of time, in Paris, the French
Government, 20th, 1882.

44. For a certain amount of time, in Paris, the French
Government, 20th, 1882.

45. For a certain amount of time, in Paris, the French
Government, 20th, 1882.

46. For a certain amount of time, in Paris, the French
Government, 20th, 1882.

47. For a certain amount of time, in Paris, the French
Government, 20th, 1882.

48. For a certain amount of time, in Paris, the French
Government, 20th, 1882.

49. For a certain amount of time, in Paris, the French
Government, 20th, 1882.

10. Giles Medly, The Great Void, 231.
11. Vincent Sheean, Lowered Spirits, 26.
12. George K. Liang, "Revolting Revolution," Chronicle of China, 12.

13. George K. Liang, "Death and Revolution," Chronicle of China, 27.

14. George K. Liang, "Rebel and Rogue in Moscow," Chronicle of China, 1-1.

15. Vincent Sheean, Lowered Spirits, 21.

16. Sir Frederick Trichall in the ballroom of the Majestic Hotel, the most ornate hotel in Shanghai. (April 1930) In the picture, including nearly all representatives of foreign imperial powers, whose vested interests in China were endangered by revolution and vowed to destroy. Foreign diplomats such as Sir J. Huntingdon (Viceroy of Bengal), Sir Charles Hart (Viceroy of India), Sir Edward Grey, Sir Arthur Gwynne-Jones (High Commissioner for South Africa), Sir Alexander Cadogan (Foreign Secretary), Sir Edward Grey (Secretary of State for War) were present. See the entry of a detailed description of the wedding, see sheean, 22, page 12, 1930.

17. All over the firmament a political atmosphere hangs, such is life in the new. Current consider the present epoch as accountants do: As a financial editor will say, "The economic situation is a middleman affair which is not so bad." And though the Chinese particularly regarded it as a political issue; they can consider this as a financial issue, little does finitude furnish us with a characteristic of the Chinese mind! See also sheean, 22, page 12, 1930.

18. Vincent Sheean, Lowered Spirits.

19. Vincent Sheean, Lowered Spirits, 27. Until now the people of the world have been told that the Chinese are a backward people, but the Chinese themselves are not so backward as we have been told.

20. Vincent Sheean, Lowered Spirits, 27. The Chinese are not backward, but the Chinese are not forward either.

21. Vincent Sheean, Lowered Spirits, 27. The Chinese are not backward, but the Chinese are not forward either.

22. Vincent Sheean, Lowered Spirits, 27. The Chinese are not backward, but the Chinese are not forward either.

23. Betty Currier, "Liberty Bonds, Citizens," Independent Woman, February 1937, 15.

24. Marceline Hart, "The Anti-Laissez-Faire," Christian Century, 1.

25. The close relation between the Young family and the banking government could easily be understood by the editor of the Young family's newspaper, the Anti-Corporation, who wrote that, "There, in the paper published by the present, could well appear an opportunity for our editor, Mr. Betty Currier, Christian Century, to add his voice to ours."

26. Quoted in Industrial Socialism, June, from Matron Magazine, 110.

27. Quoted in Industrial Socialism, 110.

28. Marceline Hart, "The Anti-Corporation," 110.

29. Industrial Socialism, 110.

30. Industrial Socialism, 110.

31. Industrial Socialism, 110.

32. Industrial Socialism, 110.

33. Industrial Socialism, 110.

34. Industrial Socialism, 110.

35. Industrial Socialism, 110.

36. Industrial Socialism, 110.

37. Industrial Socialism, 110.

38. Industrial Socialism, 110.

39. Industrial Socialism, 110.

40. Industrial Socialism, 110.

41. Industrial Socialism, 110.

42. Industrial Socialism, 110.

43. Industrial Socialism, 110.

44. Industrial Socialism, 110.

45. Industrial Socialism, 110.

41. Soon Chih-ling, "dires to the press at a meeting of the China League for Civil Rights," Memorial for Democracy, 50.

42. Ibid.

43. To this accusation, Ho Teng-hsien, one of the accused, replied: "I shall tell you my record. I helped organize the long March strike in 1935. I have just returned from west where I fought with volunteers (including the Japanese). I have helped organize strikes in the Yangtze Valley, hills in Szechuan. Right shall went with the struggle against imperialism. Is this what is meant when I am charged with engaging in 'counter-revolutionary' activities?" Cited in Epoch, Million-Plus's press release to the Chinese people, "Struggle for Freedom," 50.

44. Ho-ping-chin-ling, "Denunciation of the persecution of German progressives and the Jewish people," Memorial for Justice, 50.

45. Peter Chow, Memorandum to the Secretary, 50.

46. Soon Chih-ling, "Statement upon the assassination of Dr. Sun Yat-sen," Memorial for Democracy, 50.

47. Soon Chih-ling, "Statement upon the assassination of Dr. Sun Yat-sen," Memorial for Democracy, 50.

48. Soon Chih-ling, "Points of China, United Memorial for Democracy, 50.

49. The same document, after mentioning the Yuan-tian Incident, report "the return of Li-tsun's concession in 1932," listing all his collections on James' conduct in concurred with the right-wing, while the left-wing writers do not accept James' accusations. And he added "it is difficult to believe that James, a Chinese, is a spy." Cited in Epoch, Million-Plus's press release to the Chinese people, "Struggle for Freedom," 50.

50. Ho-ping-chin-ling, "Memorial for Justice," 50.

51. The same, "The Appeal," 50.

52. The same, "The Appeal," 50.

53. The same, "The Appeal," 50.

7. Movement of Students of Peiping, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1951), 22-235.

8. Tung Ch'ing-lien, "Workers of China, unite!", Struggle for China, 1950.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. Tung Ch'ing-lien, "Student League in China: its reformative effect", The World Committee Against Imperialism, Struggle for China, 1950.

13. Tung Ch'ing-lien, "China's Appeal and the Great Chinese War", (main address delivered before the World Anti-Hitler Congress, Struggle for China, 1950).

14. Ibid., 72.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. Struggle for China, August 11, 1950, Struggle for China, August 24, 1950, 7.

18. Ibid.

19. Struggle for China, General Secretary, 1950, 4.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

27. Zao Lin-tsu, ed., Hsiung-chia Lin-chang ka Lin-chi-chi (Tai-pei: Shih-chih She, 1957), 20.

28. Selected Works of Soong Ching-ling, I, 211-212. See also Lin Ching-ling, February 27, 1957, 42.

29. Soong Ching-ling, "Follow the Will of Comrades-in-a-Poach-Delivered to the Party Army, especially the Guards," Guards' Journal, 1957, 1.

30. Lin Ching-ling, "On Modernization and Modern China," Guards' Journal, 1957, 1.

31. Soong Ching-ling, "China's Guerrilla," Guards' Journal, 1957, 1.

32. —.

33. Soong Ching-ling, "Letter to the British Labor Party Relating to Conducting a Survey of Soviet Impression in China," Guards' Journal, 1957, 1.

34. —, "The First Five-Year Plan of the People's Republic of China," Guards' Journal, 1957, 1. In this article, Soong Ching-ling, who was then Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, said that the first five-year plan was to be carried out in three stages. First, the mobilizing and organizing stage, which would have last seven years before the actual construction began. Second, the period of actual construction, which would last eight years.

35. Soong Ching-ling, "On the First Five-Year Plan," Guards' Journal, 1957, 1.

36. —, "Guards' Journal," Guards' Journal, 1957, 1.

37. —, "Guards' Journal," Guards' Journal, 1957, 1.

38. —, "Guards' Journal," Guards' Journal, 1957, 1.

39. —, "Guards' Journal," Guards' Journal, 1957, 1.

40. —, "Guards' Journal," Guards' Journal, 1957, 1.

41. —, "Guards' Journal," Guards' Journal, 1957, 1.

12. THE HALLS, 191-193.

13. THE HALLS, 191-193.

14. THE HALLS, 191-193.

15. THE HALLS, 191-193., 191-193, 191-193.

16. THE HALLS, 191-193., 191-193, 191-193.

17. THE HALLS, 191-193., 191-193, 191-193.

18. THE HALLS, 191-193., 191-193, 191-193.

19. THE HALLS, 191-193., 191-193, 191-193.

20. THE HALLS, 191-193., 191-193, 191-193.

21. THE HALLS, 191-193., 191-193, 191-193.

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37. THE HALLS, 191-193., 191-193, 191-193.

38. THE HALLS, 191-193., 191-193, 191-193.

39. THE HALLS, 191-193., 191-193, 191-193.

40. THE HALLS, 191-193., 191-193, 191-193.

吳國

Dear Sirs, a friend of Wong Ching-ling since the early thirties, reported in 1947 that Wong Ching-ling's health was in an "acute stage" of her illness, The two sides of the author (London, 1946), p. 1.

5. Wong Ching-ling, "Message From Fan Chia-hua," Struggle for China, 272-281.

6. Wong Ching-ling.

7. Wong Ching-ling, "Masses' children by the Liberation struggle," Struggle for China, 282-283.

8. Wong Ching-ling, "Received from Fan Shih-pa," 276.

9. Wong Ching-ling.

10. Available open air "in fine quiet surroundings," which made for the "natural development of the white-tailed kite from its sacred tiered right wing to its full wingspan." All were collected in the Shantung area.

11. Wong Ching-ling, "The other side of the 'author,'" Struggle for China, 284.

12. Wong Ching-ling, "Received a notice of the China Press Committee," Struggle for China, 285, 286.

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