China and the Chinese American Community: The Political Dimension

The Huangliang Du Community in Northern California

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When immigrants settle abroad, they continue to be interested in developments in the land that they have left and to maintain some cultural, economic, social, and even political ties. Over a period of time, as immigrants take root in their new home, ties with the former home attenuate and gradually are overshadowed by new interests developed in the new environment. If other factors intervene, however, developments in the ancestral land may continue to play important roles influencing events in the overseas community for a lengthy period. Examples in the United States are the American Jewish community's involvement in the Zionist movement and the state of Israel, and Irish American support for the Irish Republican Army.

This essay is a survey of the evolution of changing relations between the Chinese American community and China from the nineteenth century to the 1990s and the impact of political events in China on the community and vice versa, particularly in the period after World War II. The primary focus is on the San Francisco community, which during most of this period was the political, economic, and cultural center for the Chinese in America.

IMPERIAL CHINA

When Chinese immigrants arrived and settled in their new homes, they brought along their language and customs. Most also continued to maintain close ties with their ancestral home villages. In their new home the Chinese developed institutions for mutual aid and protection. Some of these, such as native place associations (*huiguan*) and clan associations as well as their umbrella organization, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA), were derived from and congruent with the traditional social organizational structure in China.[1] Hence they continued to have an amicable relationship with the authorities in the ancestral land. Others, such as the Triads and related secret societies, were derived from groups proscribed in the celestial realms. Their ranks were also augmented by refugees forced to flee the imperial authorities' bloody repression of the Triad and Taiping rebellions of the 1850s and 1860s. The attitudes of these organizations exhibited definite antidynastic tendencies. However, for almost three decades after Chinese settled in the New World, there were no imperial government representatives stationed in America, nor had political parties yet been formed in China that sought support from Chinese abroad. Events in China played only a minor role influencing developments in Chinese communities in mainland America and Hawaii even though intergroup relationships within the communities were influenced to some degree by the attitudes of these different groups toward the Qing government.

This situation changed in 1878, when China established a diplomatic mission in Washington, D.C. and a consulate in San Francisco, followed by Honolulu in 1879 and New York in 1883. At that time China had not yet promulgated a nationality law, but traditionally it had operated on the jus sanguinis principle that regarded all with Chinese blood as being Chinese citizens. Thus Chinese diplomatic missions in America regarded the Chinese in this country as the emperor's subjects and believed that it was Qing representatives' prerogative and obligation to provide leadership and guidance to the local Chinese, regardless of place of nativity. The CCBA and *huiguan* were considered extensions of the consular service. Beginning with the 1880s titled scholars from China recruited as *huiguan* presidents traveled to America using diplomatic passports. Up to the end of the dynasty in 1911, merchants recommended to serve on the CCBA board of directors also had to be appointed officially by the Chinese consul in San Francisco.[2]

Community leaders also worked with Chinese officials in this country on major community projects. Thus, when San Francisco Chinese planned to establish a community-operated school and hospital during the 1880s, they first asked Chinese minister Zhang Yinhuan in Washington, D.C., for approval. It was the Chinese consul general who pushed San Francisco merchants to form a Chinese Chamber of Commerce in 1908. In the same year an official sent by the Chinese government traveled to various Chinese communities in North America to encourage the founding of community-operated Chinese language schools.[3]

An important function of the Chinese diplomatic missions was to work with local Chinese to further the interests of the Chinese government. When natural disasters struck various parts of China, the consul would encourage merchants and

organizations to contribute to relief efforts. For example, in 1882, 1889, 1905, and 1908 the San Francisco consul general awarded plaques to organizations and honorary offices to individuals who contributed the highest amounts.[4] This active participation of Chinese diplomatic officials in community affairs has diminished in intensity over the years but continues to be a factor up to the present.

Reformers and Revolutionaries. By the late nineteenth century, China's situation as a sovereign nation was becoming increasingly precarious. Since mid-century foreign aggressors had forced China to grant special privileges and concessions; they had seized and occupied vassal states and border territories of the empire. Toward the end of the century, dismemberment of the sick giant by the powers was threatening to become a reality. Many Chinese, deeply concerned about whether the ancient nation would survive, looked for a way to resurrect it into a prosperous modernized nation that could take its rightful place as a respected member of the international community. These developments led to a growing nationalism that frequently was expressed in terms of national salvation. Such sentiments struck sympathetic chords among Chinese overseas, since their experiences abroad had fostered feelings of a common Chinese ethnic identity. They were especially sensitive to the reality that a weak China was incapable of protecting their interests overseas, and they longed for a strong ancestral land that could help to improve their status. This theme was to be repeated time and again in the Chinese American community in the succeeding half century.

Chinese in America had reacted to events in the ancestral land ever since they established themselves in America. One of the earliest recorded instances occurred in 1885, when the prefect of Guangzhou appealed to Chinese abroad for donations to the Guangdong defense budget during the war with France over Annam. The CCBAs of San Francisco and Victoria, British Columbia, responded by donating 14,500 and 3,600 Chinese dollars respectively.[5] Two decades later, in 1908, it was Japan's turn. When Hong Kong Chinese boycotted Japanese shipping over Japan's arrogant demands on China in the *Tatsu Maru* affair, in San Francisco the newly founded Chinese Chamber of Commerce cooperated by observing the boycott and passing a resolution levying a fine on any member who violated it.[6] This was the first of numerous occasions before the end of World War II when the Japanese threat to China's sovereignty goaded Chinese in America into action.

It was, however, organized political groups advocating change in China that most often spearheaded Chinese overseas responses to events in the ancestral land. At the turn of the century, there were two such political groups. One was the Kang Youwei–led Chinese Empire Reform Association (founded in Victoria in 1899, also known as the Baohuanghui [Protect the emperor society]; its name was changed to the Chinese Constitutionalist Party in 1906), which sought to reform the imperial system from within. Its rival was the Xingzhonghui (Revive China society; founded in 1894 in Honolulu; succeeded by the Tongmenghui [United covenanters society], founded in Japan in 1905) headed by Sun Yat-sen, which called for overthrowing Manchu rule and establishing a republic.[7]

These early organized modern Chinese political movements were banned in China. However, taking their cues from the secret societies abroad that successfully defied the imperial authorities,[8] their organizations were located on soil outside the jurisdiction of the Chinese government, where they made plans for furthering their political programs in China and also actively recruited support in the Chinese overseas communities. Each movement established an extensive worldwide party network among the overseas Chinese communities with headquarters in Hong Kong and Japan. The Baohuanghui had a total of thirty-seven branches in the United States around 1905, while the Tongmenghui had about twenty-seven branches at the time of the 1911 revolution.[9] The activities of the reformers and revolutionaries competing for the allegiance of the populace split the community, with the Baohuanghui recruiting from more moderate elements in the community, such as established merchants and traditional intellectuals, while the revolutionary movement attracted many small shopkeepers, workers, and younger idealistic intellectuals influenced by the West. The Triad Society, or Chee Kung Tong (CKT), at first was sympathetic to the Baohuanghui but by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century had become allies of the Tongmenghui. These political groups often had tense or antagonistic relations with the imperial government's representatives in the Chinese community, and their activities played an important role in undermining the influence of the imperial government in the Chinese American community.

Party leaders often traveled to different branches in this far-flung network to rally support and raised funds. For example, Baohuanghui leader Liang Qichao had a lengthy visit in Hawaii and then traveled to Canada and the United States during the early 1900s. He was followed soon afterward by the titular head of the Baohuanghui, Kang Youwei, who visited Canada, the United States, and Mexico. Their rival Sun Yat-sen landed on the North American continent and Hawaii four different times between 1894 and 1911, recruiting support to overthrow the Manchu dynasty. The relationships cultivated by these political campaigns enabled the organizations connected with these movements to sink roots into the Chinese community in America. Their appeals to nationalism also sensitized Chinese in America increasingly to interpret developments in terms of their relation to the Chinese nation as a whole rather than limiting their interest to a specific area such as Xinning (Taishan), Xiangshan (Zhongshan), or Nanhai.

During the early years of the twentieth century, the Baohuanghui, especially the Honolulu and San Francisco branches, was active in helping to generate the momentum

to initiate the 1904 boycott of U.S. goods in China and some Chinese overseas communities to protest the U.S. exclusion laws. During the same period it sponsored military schools headed by Homer Lea in more than two dozen American cities to train about 2,100 men for a military uprising in China intended to restore the Guangxu emperor to the throne. However, the planned uprising never took place. Two clubs with Baohuanghui members, however, left a more lasting legacy when they founded Honolulu's Mun Lun Chinese School in 1911. By 1936 this school had become the largest Chinese school in the United States with 1,348 students. Not to be outdone, supporters of the rival Tongmenghui opened another school a few days later that later became Chung Shan School, Honolulu's second largest Chinese school.[10]

Each party also established newspapers in major Chinese communities. In San Francisco the Baohuanghui took over the existing *Chinese World*. Its other organs included Honolulu's *New China Press* (*Sun Chung Kwock Po*; founded 1900) and New York's *Chinese Reform News* (founded 1904). The Tongmenghui had Honolulu's *Liberty Press* (*Chee Yow Sun Bo*; founded 1908), San Francisco's *Young China Morning Post* (founded 1910), and New York's *Mun Hey Weekly* (founded 1915). Chee Kung Tong newspapers included San Francisco's *Chinese Free Press* (founded 1903), and Honolulu's *Kai Chee Sun Bo* (founded 1907), which later became *Hon Mun Po* (1912).[11] The objective of these journals was to propagate the political programs of the respective groups; however, in so doing, they also raised the level of political awareness among the Chinese American population. Their appearance started an era in Chinese American journalism dominated by China politics.

During the same period that saw the rise of the reform and revolutionary groups, Dick Chun in San Francisco led the formation of Native Sons of the Golden State (NSGS) in 1895 to fight for the civil rights of American-born Chinese. However, with American-born of all ages comprising only a tenth of the Chinese population at the turn of the century, their influence on community politics was negligible. Also, since they were subject to American racism, many made common cause with the immigrant generation, identified with China, and participated in Chinese political movements. For example, in 1909 the NSGS English secretary Bock You Wong and Chinese secretary Hung Fei Won both became Tongmenghui members and later became loyal followers of Sun Yat-sen.[12]

EARLY YEARS OF THE REPUBLIC

After the Republic of China was established in 1912, the Tongmenghui merged with several small political parties to form the Kuomintang (KMT) or Chinese Nationalist League (the name was changed later to Nationalist Party of China). The party gained a majority in the Republic's first parliament but soon found itself locked in a power struggle with China's authoritarian president Yuan Shikai. An abortive uprising to overthrow Yuan in 1913 gave the president a pretext to ban the party. Many party activists fled to Japan to avoid arrest. There the party regrouped under Sun Yat-sen's leadership.

In America the CCBA led the Chinese community to change the imperial dragon banner of the Qing to the republican flag with five colored horizontal bars. Chinese in America who had entertained high expectations for the republican government were against Yuan's usurpation of power. By this time the influence of the Chinese Constitutionalist Party had diminished among overseas Chinese because of a series of internal scandals during the late 1900s. Moreover, after the establishment of the Republic it did not establish a party organization in China and thus was cut out of any significant role in China's political landscape. In the meantime, the Chee Kung Tong, erstwhile ally of the Tongmenghui, had a falling out with Sun Yat-sen when it was unable to register as a political party in China after the founding of the Republic. Since both the Chinese Constitutionalists and the CKT apparently lacked the political will to rally opposition to the Yuan regime, the mantle fell on the shoulders of the KMT, which had both the organization and zealous belief in a cause. In 1914 The North American branch of the party headquartered in San Francisco founded Minguo Weichihui (Association to maintain the Republic) and established branches on the U.S. mainland and in Hawaii. It solicited funds to finance anti-Yuan activities. KMT publications launched a barrage of vitriolic propaganda designed to heighten anti-Yuan sentiments. In 1914 KMT supporters caused a near riot when they invaded and broke up a CCBA meeting that was discussing whether to welcome the impending arrival of a Yuan envoy to San Francisco. In late 1915 KMT assassins gunned down visiting Chinese journalist Huang Yuanyong, alleged to be a Yuan supporter, at San Francisco's Shanghai Low restaurant.[13]

In the meantime, the ambitious Yuan began making plans to become emperor. In order to assure himself of foreign support, Yuan agreed in 1915 to Japan's Twenty-one Demands, granting it concessions and rights in China. When the provisions became known, another round of Chinese American protests against Japanese aggression erupted. San Francisco merchants launched a boycott of Japanese goods and shipping. Since this was during World War I, when no other shipping was available, they pooled resources to found the China Mail Steamship Company. The appearance of this first Chinese American owned steamship line became at the time a source of pride to Chinese Americans, who had long resented American society's low regard for the people of a weak, nonindustrial China.

In China, as Yuan was making final preparations to ascend the dragon throne, revolts erupted throughout the nation. Yuan was forced to back down, and he died a disappointed old man shortly afterward in June 1916. A succession of governments dominated by military strongmen came to power in Beijing (Peking). Their authority was challenged by warlords

in other provinces, and as China lapsed into civil war, the nation was again victimized by the powers. In the Versailles Treaty of 1919 ending World War I, the Allied powers rewarded Japan with Germany's former concessions in China's Shandong Peninsula. This outrageous disregard for China's territorial sovereignty led angered students in Beijing to arise in protest with the famous May Fourth Movement.[14] In America the KMT again was in a leadership role in forming the Chinese National Welfare Society to present China's side of the Shandong question to the American public.

The Northern Expedition. In 1920 pro-KMT forces succeeded in capturing Guangzhou (Canton). The KMT formed a military regime in the city to prepare for a Northern Expedition to unseat the Beijing regime and to unify China. Party headquarters sent agents to America to propagandize politicians and business leaders. Within Chinese American communities, KMT activists used party organs, street meetings, and mass demonstrations to step up attacks on the Beijing regime.[15]

Throughout this period during the first quarter of the twentieth century, despite the unfavorable developments in China, the Republic remained a beacon for the hopes and aspirations of many Chinese in America. Some, frustrated with the lack of opportunities in this country, were motivated to depart for the ancestral land to help build a new nation as well as to seek suitable careers. An example was Jun Ke Choy, (commonly known as J. K. Choy), born in Hawaii in 1892. Inspired by the promise of the newly founded Republic, Choy departed for the ancestral land at the age of twenty. After coming back to the United States to complete his education at Columbia University, in 1916 Choy returned to China, where he subsequently served in various government posts for three decades. His most notable accomplishment was the reorganizing of the government-owned China Merchants Steamship Company, of which he was general manager from 1935 to 1941. Another example was Yao Guanshun, born as George Bow in Grass Valley, California, in 1887. After completing his studies at Northridge Military Academy, Bow went to China in 1912. He eventually became head of the bodyguards for Sun Yat-sen in Guangzhou.[16] Such individuals were only a minute percentage of the Chinese American population; but a small and steady flow of such individuals continued up to World War II.

The best known returnees were those in the more "glamorous" field of military aviation. As early as 1915 the first licensed Chinese American pilot, Tom Gunn of San Francisco, had gone to China to head a small air force of two airplanes to be used to in an uprising against Yuan Shikai. However, Yuan died before Tom Gunn could lead his planes into action. It was the KMT that exhibited the greatest activity in raising funds to build up a military air force and recruiting aviators from Chinese overseas. Since the United States was the only industrialized nation with a sizable Chinese population that also had an aircraft industry, it was not surprising that many of the KMT's early aviators came from this country. One of the earliest recruits was Hawaii-born Sen Yat Young, who went to Guangdong in 1917 to start a military air force for the KMT government. He was honored after his death as "Father of the Chinese Air Force." Tom Gunn and Sen Yat Young were two precursors of about two hundred Chinese Americans up to World War II who served in the Chinese Air Force.[17]

In 1924 a KMT Party Congress in Guangzhou passed resolutions to form an alliance with the Soviet Union, and to accept Communist Party members into the KMT, and to support the struggles of workers and peasants. The change encountered resistance from conservative elements within the KMT. This resistance led to the formation of left and right factions in the party even as final preparations were being made to launch the Northern Expedition.

In America a small activist group of leftists, whose key members included Qinghua (Tsinghua) University students who had come to the United States to study, joined the American Communist Party and also became active in the KMT. By 1925 an open schism occurred in the KMT in America, with the San Francisco party organ *Young China* and important leaders in the General Branch in San Francisco supporting the Right or pro–Hu Hanmin Faction. The Left or pro–Wang Jingwei Faction, led by the Seattle branch, convened a party congress in Los Angeles to form a separate General Branch in San Francisco and to establish another party organ, *Chinese Nationalist Daily of America* (*Kuo Min Yat Po*).

The Northern Expedition was launched in 1926. KMT armies advancing northward defeated successive warlords who stood in their way. By fall KMT armies had captured the middle Yangzi River basin and the national government at Guangzhou officially moved to Wuhan on January 1, 1927, with Wang Jingwei as the chairman. Other KMT armies reached the lower Yangzi River basin in spring 1927. In April their commander in chief, Chiang Kai-shek, ordered a bloody purge of the left and established a rival government in Nanjing (Nanking). By August of that year the Wuhan regime had also expelled the Communists and become part of the Nanjing government. The Communist Party in the meantime staged a military uprising at Nanchang against the Nanjing government, resulting in a civil war that in the 1990s still has not completely been resolved.

In April 1928 the KMT launched the second stage of the Northern Expedition and began advancing into Shandong, where the Western powers had handed over to Japan Germany's former concessions and sphere of influence. On May 3 Japanese troops at Ji'nan opened fire at KMT troops that had occupied the city. Five days later a Japanese bombardment inflicted more than 11,000 casualties. When the Chinese American community received the news, the CCBA in San Francisco called an emergency meeting of community organizations during which Meizhou Kang-Ri Waijiao

Houyuanhui (Association in America to back diplomatic efforts resisting Japan) was founded. With patriotic fervor permeating the meeting, the assemblage unanimously passed a resolution to replace the Beijing government's flag with five horizontal stripes with the "blue sky, white sun, and the entire ground is red" banner of the Nanjing government. Organizations in San Francisco as well as other cities soon followed CCBA's lead. The KMT's political foes, however, refused for several years to raise the new national flag. In 1929 the *Chinese World* continued to fly the old flag on Double Ten National Day, and in 1930 the Chee Kong Tong also hoisted the old flag at its convention.[18]

The Nanjing Government. The Nanjing regime was soon recognized by the United States and the Western powers; however, it faced opposition within China and among Chinese abroad. Making extensive use of spies and informers to determine the political loyalty of individual KMT members, the regime ruthlessly sought to stamp out the opposition. In the United States the KMT Right Faction unsuccessfully tried to get the Chinese envoy in Washington, D.C., to take steps to suppress *Kuo Min Yat Po*. Since existing party organs *Chinese Nationalist* (*Mun Hey Yat Po*) in New York and *Liberty Press* in Honolulu remained sympathetic to the Left Faction, the Right Faction established rival papers *Zhongguo Ribao* in New York and *United Chinese News* in Honolulu as well as the *San Min Morning Post* in Chicago. It also provided intelligence to the Nanjing government that established the basis for banning U.S. publications of political rivals from entering China.[19]

On the left some members of the KMT Left Faction linked up with the Communists who had been expelled from the KMT in America. Together they formed Meizhou Yonghu Zhongguo Gong-Nong Geming Da Tongmeng (Grand alliance supporting the Chinese workers and peasants revolution) to express support for the Chinese revolution. In 1929 it reorganized as the All-America Alliance of Chinese Anti-Imperialists (AAACAI) to "lead and organize Chinese in the Americas in the struggle for revolution and against imperialism." The national leader of the group was Y. Y. Hsu, who had been one of the Tsinghua University students. AAACAI worked closely with the American Communist Party and founded the weekly *Chinese Vanguard* in New York in around 1930 that became the opposition voice from the left. The KMT Right Faction's response to the attacks was to encourage police and immigration authorities to harass and deport Communists and other members of the left.[20]

On the right the KMT government was attacked by the organs of the Chinese Constitutionalist Party and the Chee Kung Tong. One of the most widely read of these critics was Wu Zhuang (Wu Xianzi), head of the Chinese Constitutionalist Party's overseas organizations. In 1928 Wu became chief editor of the party's most important organ in America, San Francisco's *Chinese World*. During his eight-year editorship Wu's sharp commentaries condemning KMT policies were such an irritant that the KMT tried unsuccessfully to have him deported. Another critic, Cui Tongyue, editor at the CKT organ *Morning Sun*, was not so fortunate. After Cui published an editorial critical of the Nationalist government's consul general in San Francisco in 1931, five men invaded the Chinese school where Cui was a teacher and gave him a beating.[21] Notwithstanding these acts of resistance and defiance, these foes of the KMT on the right, with their political allies in China defeated, eventually had to reconcile themselves to the political realities.

With the founding of a national government, the KMT looked forward to reestablishing the leadership role and influence once exerted by the imperial diplomatic missions in the Chinese community. In 1929 the Nanjing government requested Chinese language schools overseas to register with the Ministry of Education to bring them under party guidance during the period of tutelage rule. In 1933 the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission made similar requests of organizations to register with it.[22]

The KMT party leadership in Nanjing also attempted to bring the dissident factions in overseas communities back under the control of party central headquarters. In 1933 party central headquarters sent Kalfred Dip Lum to inspect party affairs in the United States. When he reached San Francisco, he organized the Zhongyang Tongzhishe (Society of comrades of the party central headquarters), a conservative faction supporting Chiang Kai-shek. The group began recruiting KMT members throughout the United States and absorbed many members from the Right Faction, which was at the time preoccupied with a feud between the Ning Yung Association and the pro–Right Faction party organ *Young China*. A dispute in 1927 between the two had led the Ning Yung Association to initiate a nationwide boycott against the newspaper, sapping much of the latter's resources. It finally required mediation by the governor of Guangdong Province to end the crisis in 1935. Chinatown's Goon Dick Wong, a founder of the Zhongyang Tongzhishe, helped to bring about the successful negotiations. Wong was also a leader in the powerful secret society Bing Kung Tong; a member of the Ning Yung Association, the *huiguan* with the largest membership; and a member of the Wong clan, one of the most numerous surname groups among Chinese Americans.[23]

On the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, all the feuding parties had to shelve their differences to concentrate on national salvation activities. Within the KMT the three factions nominally reunited into a single party. After the leader of the KMT Left Faction, Wang Jingwei, defected to the Japanese in 1938, Goon Dick Wong took over the leadership of the remnants of the Left Faction and its organ *Kuo Min Yat Po*. To this group of organizations under Wong's leadership was added the western U.S. section of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps, the youth group of the KMT, when a branch of that group was established in the United States in 1940.[24]

RESISTANCE TO JAPANESE AGGRESSION

In 1931 the Japanese military took the initial step in a grandiose scheme to conquer China by seizing Manchuria. This was followed by an attack on Shanghai in 1932 and invasion of the region north of the Great Wall in 1933. The Nanjing government took the position that China was not yet ready to confront the aggressors and that it was imperative first to suppress the Communist armies fighting the Nanjing government. However, in the Chinese American community, which had experienced for years the ignoble treatment accorded members of a weak nation, public opinion as well as that of the KMT's political rivals on the right and the left were overwhelmingly in favor of armed resistance. Thus, in spite of the Nanjing government's policy of nonresistance, KMT party branches in America of the Left and Right factions went along with public sentiment and participated in community campaigns to raise funds to support those such as General Ma Zhanshan in Manchuria and General Tsai Ting-kai in Shanghai who were leading resistance to the aggressors. In Portland the Left Faction organized a school to teach basic flying skills to Chinese Americans. The graduates as well as a few Chinese American pilots from other communities were encouraged to go to China to serve in the Chinese Air Force.[25]

Factional differences, however, often marred the community's efforts at national salvation, as each group often had its own political agenda and objectives. In San Francisco the Left and Right factions of the KMT organized different groups competing for the public's support. In New York the Marxist left at first worked mainly with progressives in mainstream America. After the mid-1930s it also worked with some success to form coalitions with proresistance leaders in Chinatown organizations.[26]

Political differences also were manifested when General Tsai Ting-kai visited America in 1934. Tsai was lionized as a hero wherever he went. Chinese Americans, immigrants and American-born alike, were especially proud that Tsai was a fellow provincial from Guangdong. Meihong Soohoo, a leader in the CKT and the On Leong Association, escorted Tsai to the West Coast, where the Chinese Constitutionalist Party's Lain Chan and the Bing Kung Tong's He Shaohan became his hosts. Wherever Tsai went, he advocated resistance and attacked Chiang Kai-shek's weak response to Japanese aggression. For this reason many KMT branches were not officially represented in the welcoming ceremonies, although many members attended.[27]

However, in spite of the increasing public clamor to resist the aggressors, the Nanjing government insisted on continuing the war with the Communists. In 1936 the Young Marshal Zhang Xueliang kidnaped Chiang Kai-shek, who had come to Xi'an in Shaanxi, where troops were facing the Communists. He convinced Chiang to agree to a truce with the Communists and to prepare to resist Japan. It was none too soon, for Japan attacked at Marco Polo Bridge on July 7, 1937, to begin the Sino-Japanese War. Shortly after, the Nanjing government charged the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission with raising money from the Chinese American community to support the war effort.[28] War relief associations sprang up in many Chinatowns as longtime political foes joined together for the sake of national salvation.

During this hour of peril for the ancestral land, most Chinese in America were willing to sacrifice and contribute to support resistance to the aggressors. But the war relief associations also set obligatory quotas for individual contributors in order to achieve fund-raising goals. For those who chose to resist, the war relief associations would seek to force compliance by using a mix of persuasion and threats. Sometimes such cases escalated to public denunciation or humiliation of the recalcitrant individuals. Because of the social isolation of the Chinese American community from the mainstream, American officials were generally ignorant of or chose to ignore such violations of the law unless they received complaints from the aggrieved parties. Thus the war relief associations were able to persuade as much as an estimated 70 percent of the Chinese community to contribute to their fund-raising campaigns, and during the eight years of the War of Resistance, Chinese in America contributed approximately $25 million to the Nationalist government.[29] Some war relief donations also flowed to Yan'an for the Communist-led guerrilla areas, especially after the fragile truce between the KMT and the Communists was shattered by the New Fourth Army Incident of January 1941.[30]

The war gave the KMT an excellent opportunity to expand its influence into all areas of the Chinese American community, and its political rivals could do little to stop it. Taking advantage of patriotic feelings, the KMT recruited ambitious and opportunistic people in the community into the party, including many key community leaders from district and clan associations and secret societies. Many soon rose to be part of the local party leadership as well as members of the party's central committee in the United States.[31] Goon Dick Wong, the dominant leader in the U.S. General Branch, passed away in 1940. But by 1944 Yen Doon Wong had inherited his mantle of leadership by being elected to the General Branch's executive committee.

The war also offered an opportunity for the left to reach a wider audience in the Chinese American community. As ominous war clouds gathered over Europe in 1938, Zhao Jiansheng (Rao Shushi), editor of the Chinese Communist Party organ in Paris *China Salvation Times (Giu Guo Shibao)*, transferred its printing press and type fonts to New York, where it replaced *Chinese Vanguard* as the voice of the Chinese Marxist left in America. *China Salvation Times* in turn ceased publication in mid-1939, when Rao returned to China to participate in the war of resistance against Japan. In late 1939 a campaign to raise capital for a daily was launched by Tang Mingzhao (Chu Tong) and progressive members of the New York Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance. *China Daily*

News, the first progressive daily newspaper, began publication on July 7, 1940, using the printing press and type left by *China Salvation Times*. Tang Mingzhao was the publisher and Ji Gongquan the chief editor. This paper was the earliest Chinese newspaper in the United States to give full coverage to the New Fourth Army Incident. Its more moderate tone compared to its predecessors appealed to readers all over the Americas, and by the mid-1940s its circulation was among the highest among New York Chinese newspapers.[32]

THE CHINESE CIVIL WAR

During World War II the U.S. Congress repealed the Chinese exclusion acts. Although under the repeal act Chinese immigration was still severely limited, Chinese in America were cautiously optimistic that their status in this country would improve. After the victory over Japan in 1945, China finally was no longer dominated or threatened by foreign imperialism, and it would be rebuilt once again into a great nation. The KMT, as representative of the ruling party in a victorious China, was politically dominant in the Chinatowns. This position was consolidated by the continuous recruiting of key leaders of the *huiguan*, clan associations, and secret societies into the leadership circles of the General Branch and other branches. Its executive committee ballooned from nineteen in 1946 to twenty-eight in 1948. In 1944 the Overseas Department of the Kuomintang Central Committee and a group of U.S. KMT members gained control of New York's *Chinese Journal* and reorganized it into yet another party organ. The Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission also played a role in ensuring support of the Nationalist government by subsidizing friendly journals.[33]

The end of the war, however, had seen a war-weary China beset with corruption and runaway inflation and threatened with civil war between the KMT and the Chinese Communists. Calls for an end to one-party rule and an end to fratricidal conflicts pressured the Nationalist government and the Communists to agree to a truce. The government then convened a Political Consultative Conference in January 1946, attended by delegates from the two major parties, the KMT and the Chinese Communist Party, several small political parties, as well as nonparty individuals. Distrust between the two major protagonists soon led to a breakdown of their truce. The Communists and their ally the Democratic League subsequently boycotted a National Assembly dominated by the KMT that the Nanjing government convened in November to pass a new constitution. In the meantime the KMT's old political rivals in America—the Chee Kung Tong and the Chinese Constitutionalist Party— had stepped up activities, preparing to play a greater role in China and the Chinese American community during the postwar years.

Chee Kung Tong. The Chee Kung Tong's influence in the Chinese community had waned considerably during the first half of the twentieth century. However, a network of lodges still existed in the Americas, although greatly shrunken in numbers. In August 1945 a New York convention of delegates from lodges in the Americas reorganized the secret society into a political party, the Zhongguo Hongmen Zhigongdang. New York's eighty-year-old patriarch Meihong Soohoo, leader in the CKT and the On Leong Labor and Merchants Association, was elected chairman. Chairman Soohoo led a delegation of Hongmen lodges of the Americas to attend a Shanghai convention in July 1946 attended by Hongmen societies worldwide and in China. The decision to change the secret society into a political party, however, was by no means accepted unanimously by the entire Hongmen community in America. Important lodges such as those of San Francisco and Hawaii were conspicuously absent from this gathering and did not make the change.

The delegation's leaders were naively ignorant of the Byzantine intricacies of the Chinese political situation. The KMT, unwilling to allow the birth of an independent political party that could be a potential threat, had cultivated the support of enough secret society lodges to control the convention. Soohoo and his supporters found themselves outmaneuvered and outvoted at every turn. Despite Soohoo's protests, the convention changed the party name to Chinese Hung Men Democratic Association. Soohoo was excluded from any meaningful offices. As a consolation, Chiang Kai-shek offered him a seat in the National Assembly, which he rejected. In the meantime the KMT's Mei Youzhuo had succeeded in supplanting Soohoo in his former power base at the On Leong Association. With these developments undermining seriously the CKT's capability to be an effective alternative to the KMT, the discouraged Soohoo departed for Hong Kong in 1947. There he joined the Zhongguo Zhigongdang organization that had been reactivated in 1946 and became part of the Communist-led People's Democracy United Front in May 1947. With Soohoo gone and the party split, New York's *Chinese Republic News*, the CKT's sole remaining organ in the United States, suspended publication around 1949, leaving Vancouver's *Chinese Time* as the only CKT newspaper left in North America.[34]

Chinese Democratic Constitutionalist Party. The Chinese Constitutionalist Party also harbored ambitions of being a more meaningful player in China and in America. However, by the end of the war, Honolulu, San Francisco, and Montreal were the only party branches left in North America. In 1945 Dai Ming Lee, editor of Honolulu's *New China Press*, took over management of an ailing *Chinese World* in San Francisco, the political center for the Chinese in the continental United States. Lee's energetic leadership as well as an infusion of capital by party loyalist Quon Chun of Honolulu's C. Q. Yee Hop enterprises revitalized the party's voice in this important community. In November 1945 the party convened a convention in Montreal and reorganized as the Chinese Democratic Constitutionalist Party (CDCP). Wu Zhuang (Wu Xianzi) and Dai

Ming Lee became chairman and vice-chairman respectively. The party's objectives were (1) permanent world peace and (2) establishment of a constitutional democracy in China. In August 1946 agreement was reached to amalgamate the party with the Chinese National Socialist Party to form the Chinese Democratic Socialist Party.[35]

Later that year Dai Ming Lee attended the National Constitutional Assembly as part of the party delegation, while Quon Chun was the delegate from Hawaii. Lee was one of the party's representatives to meet with KMT and Youth Party delegates to negotiate an agreement for reorganizing the national government. However, after Lee reported the results to the party's central committee and departed for Hawaii, the central committee led by Carsun Chang vetoed the agreement and decided to limit the party's participation. This and other disagreements in policy led the CDCP to withdraw from the merger in mid-1947 and to resume its former status. CDCP leaders Wu Zhuang and Dai Ming Lee were given minor posts in the national government but boycotted the offices.[36]

Nationalist Government Politics and the Communist Victory. Late 1946 and early 1947 saw elections in China and abroad of representatives to China's National Assembly, Control Yuan, and Legislative Yuan under the new constitution. KMT dominance of the Chinese American community was evidenced by the fact that all winning candidates in the United States were prominent members of the party. Competition was fierce as the different candidates ran campaign advertisements in the U.S. Chinese press and otherwise lobbied the electorate. However, their enthusiasm only drew an indifferent response from the Chinese population. Only 9,533 ballots were cast in the United States for the candidates for the Legislative Yuan positions out of approximately 80,000 Chinese in America of voting age.[37] One probable reason for the poor showing was that Chinese in America may have regarded these political campaigns as being irrelevant to the more substantive issues facing them as they sought to improve their lot and status in this country.

China's first National Assembly under the new constitution met in Nanjing in spring 1948 to elect Chiang Kai-shek as president of the Republic of China. General Li Zongren, whom Chiang did not wish to have as a vice-president but who had rallied around himself most of the liberal and other elements in the assembly desirous of reform and changes in the government, was elected vice-president despite all the pressure that Chiang brought to bear on assembly members to vote for his candidate.

During 1948 the People's Liberation Army captured large parts of Northeast and North China. These victories were followed by the annihilation of Nationalist armies in East Central China. President Chiang resigned on January 21, 1949, ostensibly handing over the reins of power to Li Zongren, who became acting president. But with Chiang continuing to maintain independent political and military authority, Li had only limited powers.[38] The Nationalist debacle continued as the People's Liberation Army easily crossed the Yangzi River barrier on April 21 and captured the Nationalist capital Nanjing as well as Shanghai in short order. On October 1, 1949, the victors and their allies declared the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) with its capital at Beiping (Peiping), which resumed its former name Beijing (Peking). By then the Communist armies were already approaching the southern metropolis of Guangzhou (Canton).

Activities of the Left. The major opposition in China to the Nanjing government was the Chinese Communist Party. Similar to the KMT, the Chinese Communist Party also sent party members to this country, although in much smaller numbers than the KMT, to give guidance in implementation of its political objectives. Unlike the KMT the Communist Party did not form a party organization in the United States. Actions were taken chiefly through progressive organizations such as the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance and the closely affiliated Chinese Youth League in New York as well as the Chinese Workers Mutual Aid Association and Chinese American Democratic Youth League, both in San Francisco. The lone news organ was New York's *China Daily News*. What this group lacked in numbers was compensated by its close working relationship with the U.S. Communist Party and progressive organizations in mainstream American society.

Just before the war ended in 1945, high-ranking Communist leader Dong Biwu arrived in San Francisco to participate in the United Nations Conference on International Organization. Afterward he traveled in the United States for four months making speeches and giving press interviews criticizing the corruption of the Nationalists and calling for cessation of civil war and formation of a democratic coalition government. For the next few years these became the main points of attack used by the progressives against the Nationalist regime.

In 1946 KMT leader General Feng Yuxiang arrived in America ostensibly heading a delegation to investigate irrigation and water conservation projects. Feng soon dropped all pretense and began attacking the Chiang regime and American support of the regime in the civil war. He soon became allied with other KMT dissidents and Chinese Communists and their supporters in the United States and founded the Overseas Chinese League for Peace and Democracy in China in New York in November 1947 with himself at the head. The organization advocated democracy in China and opposed American interference in the Chinese civil war.[39]

As the Nationalist defeat became a rout in 1949, a Chinese American population weary of civil war, corruption, and inflation was anticipating an imminent end to the agony. Some community leaders were ready to show open support for the pending regime. Progressive students were also active on the campuses with organizations and publications urging students from China to prepare themselves to return to help in the reconstruction of the ancestral land. On May 4, 1949,

Henry Tsoi began publishing *China Weekly*, the first newspaper supporting the Chinese Communists in San Francisco's large Chinese community. After the People's Republic of China (PRC) was founded on October 1, 1949, businessmen Joe Yuey and Sam Wah You led another progressive group to outbid the KMT to purchase *Chung Sai Yat Po*, the oldest daily newspaper in the community. The new owners changed the editorial policy to one supporting the PRC. During this same period Situ Huimin, then studying film making in this country, also met with community progressives to found the World Theater in San Francisco in late 1949. It was the first theater to show progressive films from China in the Chinese American community.[40] During the year following the founding of the PRC many students from China and some idealistic Chinese Americans hastened to the ancestral land to participate in the construction of a new China.

Despite the apparent growing support for the PRC in the Chinese community, developments in international and domestic events soon applied brakes to its further progress. In 1948 the cold war had begun with the Soviet Union's Berlin blockade. The same year the anti-Communist hysteria in the United States was launched by the Alger Hiss investigation of the House Un-American Activities Committee. These developments were creating an atmosphere favorable to the continued existence of the KMT in this country despite their imminent debacle on the China mainland. Thus on October 9, 1949, when San Francisco's Chinese Workers Mutual-Aid Association celebrated the founding of the People's Republic of China in Chinatown, the local KMT leadership was emboldened to hire hoodlums to break up the meeting and seize the five-starred flag of the new government. The next evening on Double Ten KMT partisans passed out leaflets calling for the eradication of fifteen progressives from the Chinese community.[41]

REFUGEE REGIME ON TAIWAN

As the defeated Nationalist regime crumbled around him, acting president Li Zongren flew to the United States in December 1949 for medical treatment. Afterward, because of his bitter experience with Chiang's manipulations in the recent past, Li refused to joined Chiang and the remnants of the Nationalist regime, who had taken refuge in Taiwan. In March 1950 Chiang arbitrarily resumed the presidency, leading the remnants of the battered Nationalist regime. In the Chinese American community KMT agents worked feverishly to organize overseas Chinese support for the hard-pressed regime. As early as March 1950 party central committeeman Huang Wenshan, who had arrived in the United States in 1949, proposed formation of an Anti-Communist National Salvation League with headquarters in New York City or San Francisco and branches in other major Chinese American communities. In September Zheng Yanfen, director of the Overseas Party Affairs Section of the KMT, also came from Taiwan to organize further anti-Communist activities.[42]

Initially these actions failed to receive much response in the Chinese American community. However, political developments soon changed the situation. In May 1950 Albert Chow, KMT General Branch executive committee member and also activist in Democratic Party politics in America, visited with Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan. Afterward he met with President Truman on June 26, 1950, to report on his visit and to urge more support for the Nationalist government to fight the Communists.[43] It so happened that on the previous day fighting had broken out in the Korean Peninsula with North Korean troops thrusting into South Korea. On June 27, when the president ordered U.S. troops to come to the aid of the retreating South Korean armies, he also ordered the U.S. Seventh Fleet to deploy in the Taiwan Straits to block the PRC from attacking Taiwan. It is not known whether Chow's discussion with Truman had any bearing on the U.S. decision regarding Taiwan, but the decision came in the nick of time for the beleaguered KMT regime.

In November, after General Douglas MacArthur ordered his troops to cross the thirty-eighth parallel and approach the Chinese border, Chinese armies entered the conflict to succor North Korea. The U.S. government then issued orders to freeze Chinese government assets in this country, embargo trade with the PRC, and restrain Chinese students in the United States from leaving for mainland China. It also resumed military aid to the Nationalist regime. After cessation of the Korean War in 1953, the departure of a number of Chinese scientists became the subject of high-level negotiations between the United States and the PRC. Among those returning to China was rocket scientist Qian Xueshen, who was to become the father of the PRC's missile program.[44]

After the PRC entered the Korean War, scattered anti-Chinese incidents began to occur in the United States. Many Chinese Americans became apprehensive that they would suffer the fate of Japanese Americans during World War II and be incarcerated in concentration camps. The time was ripe for the KMT to act. On December 28, 1950, Yen Doon Wong, central committeeman of the KMT General Branch in the United States, as well as director of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association and the Ning Yung Association, led the formation of the first Anti-Communist League in the United States. Wong became its first president. There was little open opposition to its formation. Other Chinese communities soon followed with local leagues. Wong became the chief liaison between the KMT in America and in Taiwan, and made frequent trips to Taipei for consultations on strategies and policies for political work among the Chinese in America. In the 1960s the Taiwan regime gave him the title of Advisor on National Affairs.[45]

While war ravaged the Korean Peninsula from 1950 to 1953, the shattered KMT regrouped in Taiwan. In November 1953 the third plenary session of the seventh central committee passed a "Plan to Strengthen Overseas Work" to guide

overseas branches. The central task of overseas work was seen as "uniting and organizing the overseas Chinese to support the anti-Communist national salvation struggle." The aim was "to strengthen our side, win over the neutrals, and to disintegrate the enemy." The United States became one of the principal centers for KMT party activity. Party work was to be supervised by the Cell for Direction of Overseas Activities.[46]

Some of the major tasks for overseas party work were as follows: (1) gather intelligence in overseas Chinese communities; (2) win over anti-Communist elements in the community and establish a united front for anti-Communist national salvation activities; (3) eliminate pro-Communists from Chinese organizations and use various means to break up or wrest control in pro-Communist organizations; (4) strengthen cultural propaganda and provide support and guidance for Chinese newspapers and Chinese schools; (5) support enterprises of loyalists and encourage them to invest in Taiwan; (6) assist party branches and loyal Chinese organizations to establish enterprises for trading with Taiwan with the profits to finance local anti-Communist "national salvation" activities; (7) partially or completely subsidize certain types of activities among the Chinese overseas; (8) train local cadres periodically in Taiwan or by specialists sent from central headquarters.[47]

The Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission became an important medium for carrying out these policies. Important party leaders and conservative leaders in traditionalist organizations were appointed as commissioners or as advisors to the commission to buy their loyalty; they also functioned as the eyes and ears of the Taiwan regime. This practice had begun before World War II, but the number of appointees increased greatly after World War II, particularly after the KMT regime fled to Taiwan.

After the KMT regime's debacle on the Chinese mainland, many party members did not go to Taiwan but emigrated abroad. Some entered the Chinese American community and reinforced overseas party branches. Many of these new immigrants were better educated than earlier Chinese immigrants. Some newcomers had been experienced in the political arena as minor officials or KMT party workers. These individuals came at a time when Chinese American society was entering a new era, changing from a bachelor-oriented society to a family-oriented one. As discriminatory laws and practices were gradually being repealed, Chinese Americans found their horizons widening as they increasingly entered the American mainstream. Chinatown traditional institutions were finding they were faced with declining memberships as Chinese Americans moved away from Chinatown and increasingly found association activities not relevant to their lives. The associations themselves were also drifting as they sought to define their roles in a changing community. Under these circumstances the leadership in many associations fell into the hands of a few. Thus as pro-Taiwan partisans among the newcomers became active in these organizations, a number of them easily entered the leadership circles. Many pro-KMT intellectuals also became principals and teachers in Chinese language schools or editors of Chinese-language newspapers. Under these conditions and given the prevailing anti-Communist atmosphere in the United States and the fact that the PRC's land reform program, political movements, and socialist economic reforms of the 1950s were seen by many Chinese Americans as adversely affecting the interests of their families and relatives, a large part of the community acquiesced to the conversion of many community institutions to KMT-controlled tools to be used in Taiwan's struggle with the PRC.

Some newcomers who were formerly high- and middle-rank officials were able to do even more to help the Taiwan regime. When Chen Lifu, formerly a powerful figure in the KMT, settled in the United States, he and seven other loyalists purchased New York's *Chinese Tribune* to further tighten KMT control over the Chinese-language press. Former KMT official Pan Gongzhan (Pan Kung-chan) became the paper's chief editor in April 1951. Others who were academicians found positions in institutions of higher learning, positions that helped to shape America's China policy. One example was former diplomat Paul K. T. Sih, who arrived in New York in 1949. In 1959 he became founding director of the Institute of Asian Studies (changed to Center of Asian Studies in 1964) at St. John's University in New York. Sih continued to have close relations with the Taiwan government and became an apologist for its policies.[48]

Even more influential were Chiang Kai-shek's brothers-in-law, H. H. Kung and T. V. Soong, who had fled China in 1947 and 1949 respectively to take up residence in exile in New York, where they became active backers of the China Lobby. The foundation for this group was laid around 1940, when the Nationalist government began establishing agencies and missions in Washington to publish pro-Nationalist propaganda and to lobby for more military aid to China. After World War II, when defeat was looming for the Nationalists in the civil war, Madame Chiang Kai-shek arrived in the United States in December 1948 to guide the reorganization and expansion of lobbying efforts to shore up the sinking regime. Soong and Kung became key players cultivating and financially backing a group of pro-KMT lobbyists and politicians (such as Senator William Knowland of California and Congressman Walter H. Judd of Minnesota) that eventually became known collectively as the China Lobby. This group became extremely influential in U.S. politics and was able to tie U.S. policy to support of the Nationalist regime and to prevent normal diplomatic relations between the United States and the PRC for over two decades.[49]

Toward the end of the 1950s, as the protective shield provided by the U.S. Seventh Fleet and massive doses of American aid enabled Taiwan to attain some semblance of stability, the KMT regime initiated a variety of low-keyed tactics to win over the uncommitted majority in U.S. Chinese communities. In early 1957 New York CCBA president and KMT member

Shing Tai Leung exchanged views with western U.S. KMT leaders on convening a national conference to discuss anti-Communist actions and support for Taiwan. They reached the conclusion that, in view of the ongoing U.S. government investigation of Chinese immigration fraud in which many Chinatown leaders were implicated, such a conference would have broader support if it focused on immigration and refugee issues. Accordingly the National Conference of Chinese Communities in America was convened in Washington, D.C. This conference gave birth to the National Chinese Welfare Council. At first there were high hopes and expectations among Chinese Americans for this organization; however, by the second convention of the Council in 1959, KMT supporters were in firm control, with the organization parroting the Taiwan propaganda line.[50]

Taiwan's propaganda was directed primarily toward showing the world that it was the defender of freedom and traditional Chinese culture. But it was also aimed at showing that the regime enjoyed overwhelming overseas Chinese support. In San Francisco and other major Chinatowns, it became the annual practice for the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association and the Anti-Communist League to issue proclamations on Double Ten affirming the resolve of "all Chinese to support the fight against communism and restore the nation." Later the Anti-Communist League in San Francisco also held public "memorial services for victims of Communist barbarities on the mainland." A symbolic act in some of these ceremonies was the public burning of Chairman Mao Zedong's portrait. In conventions convened by various traditionalist organizations, KMT members would propose resolutions pledging "undying loyalty to President Chiang and everlasting allegiance to the Republic of China." Other propaganda campaigns were promoted among the overseas Chinese as reactions to events on the Chinese mainland.

Destruction of the Left. During this critical period of the 1950s the anti-Communist hysteria and the delicate political situation of Chinese in the United States during the Korean War discouraged any exhibition of support for the PRC. U.S. government agents increased surveillance and harassment of PRC supporters. The situation was favorable for the KMT to eliminate their rivals. In New York, the KMT masterminded a boycott against the *China Daily News*, the major pro-PRC Chinese newspaper in the United States. News vendors were threatened. Cooperating government investigators lent a helping hand by harassing subscribers and advertisers. In 1952 *China Daily News* managing editor Eugene Moy, business manager Albert Wong, three Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance members who were on the newspaper's board of directors, and several others were indicted by the Justice Department and convicted for violation of the Trading with the Enemy Act, a law passed by Congress in 1917 that had never been enforced until then! By 1962 the paper had to go to semiweekly publication.[51]

During this period the Immigration and Naturalization Service was investigating Chinese for immigration fraud, widespread among Chinese during the exclusion era to gain entry into the United States. They particularly targeted pro-PRC individuals, and a number had their citizenship status stripped and were threatened with deportation, a situation that discouraged many individuals from participation in progressive activities.[52]

Failure of the Third Force. As the United States entered the cold war era the Chinese Democratic Constitutionalist Party (CDCP) organ *Chinese World* under Dai Ming Lee's leadership became a major focal point for non-Communists and anti-Communists disenchanted with the KMT regime. The paper enjoyed increased circulation throughout the 1950s. Lee was joined by J. K. Choy, who had returned to the United States in 1945 after serving the KMT government in China for almost three decades. Possessing an astute political sense honed by decades of experience in republican officialdom in mainland China, he became advisor to the CDCP. In 1949 he helped organize an English edition of *Chinese World* to influence a wider audience. He also became a director of the paper from 1953 to 1955. In 1954 Choy founded the anti–Chiang Kai-shek, anti-Communist Crusade for Free Democratic China, Inc., with himself as executive director.[53]

In 1954 former acting president Li Zongren, who had broken with Chiang Kai-shek and stayed in the United States, was urged by former Nationalist official Wu Shangying to organize an anti-Communist anti-Chiang third force that would be looked on with favor by the United States. Wu and Li flew to San Francisco to confer with Dai Ming Lee. On their arrival, KMT supporters distributed handbills in Chinatown signed by a Quanqiao Chujiantuan (All-Overseas Chinese kill-traitor corps) warning Li not to organize an opposition party. Disregarding the warnings, the Free China Political Organizations (FCPO) were formed, including the Committee for Revival of the KMT, the CDCP, and the CKT, together with the Freedom Front of Hong Kong and Chinese Democratic Alliance. Li became the chairman. The objectives of the group were to overthrow the Communist regime and to force Chiang Kai-shek from power in Taiwan. However, the group fell apart the following year when Li disclosed at a June 11, 1955, New York press conference that he had proposed to the governments of the United States, Great Britain, and India that Formosa, the Pescadores, Quemoy, and Matsu be demilitarized and that the status of these territories be guaranteed by the Big Four Powers during negotiations between the Chinese Nationalists and the Chinese Communists. In the event that such negotiations should fail, an internationally supervised plebiscite would be called in Formosa on the question of whether Formosa should remain autonomous or go over to the Communists. The Nationalist representative at the United Nations, Tingfu F. Tsiang, immediately denounced the proposal, which he attributed to the "leftist press." Not wishing to be associated with a move that

could be interpreted as overthrowing the Republic of China, the CDCP and the CKT jointly announced their withdrawal from FCPO.[54] However, by that time Chiang Kai-shek already appeared to be in firm control in Taiwan, and the United States quickly lost interest in Li as head of an alternative force.

Still ambitious to extend CDCP's influence, Dai Ming Lee launched an East Coast edition of *Chinese World* in 1957. The effort failed in two years, incurring heavy financial losses. It proved to be CDCP's last major initiative. In 1961 Dai Ming Lee passed away and with him went the principal driving force behind the CDCP. The party rapidly declined. *Chinese World* closed down in 1969, and the party headquarters building was sold in 1975. Honolulu's *New China Press* managed to struggle along until 1978.[55]

CHANGING WINDS

As the KMT regime's situation in Taiwan improved, it continued to work through its diplomats and party branches to consolidate control of the Chinese American traditional organizations. However, in spite of the absence of dissident opinions in the Chinese American community, neither did the community exhibit enthusiastic support for the Taiwan regime. The party organs faced increasing financial losses. As circulation dropped, they ceased publication one by one.

The Taiwan government, however, found Chinese Americans to be more receptive to the less political realm of arts and culture. It began to send teachers to instruct music, drama, and dance to Chinese language school students and encouraged the organization of music, drama, and other types of cultural and social groups. Their primary function was to propagate Chinese culture substantially in consonance with Taiwan's ideological guidelines. In 1960 the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission also began supplying textbooks to Chinese language schools. These books used the traditional Chinese characters in contrast to the simplified characters introduced in the PRC in 1956. They also included political propaganda.[56] KMT control of the Chinese schools and key Chinatown institutions as well as the U.S. embargo imposed on the PRC ensured the exclusion of cultural imports from the PRC.

Challenges from the New Middle Class. By the 1960s the old political rivals of the KMT could no longer mount effective challenges to KMT domination. Other challengers, however, manifested themselves. During America's postwar era of prosperity, Chinese had been entering many fields closed to them during the exclusion era. Many became professionals or were employed in clerical, technical, and engineering positions. These conditions fostered the growth of a Chinese American middle class rooted in American society and also accelerated the Americanization of Chinese in America. Many Chinese began to find their horizons expanding beyond the bounds of Chinatown. However, the KMT-imposed pro-Taiwan anti-Communist orthodoxy in Chinatown resulted in an ultraconservative community leadership in the traditional organizational structure that was more interested in political support for Taiwan than in providing effective leadership to a changing community. Thus it was to be expected that others would attempt to fill the void.

The spark was provided by the Civil Rights movement, which served to heighten political and social awareness among the new Chinese American middle class. The push for equality in American society sparked a renewed interest in Chinese American issues as well as a push for greater participation of Chinese Americans in mainstream politics. Because of their connections to politicians in the mainstream, these members of the middle class became regarded as potential threats to the hegemony of the conservative traditional organizations. In most communities these antagonistic relations led to tension, but direct conflicts were usually avoided. In San Francisco, however, the antagonisms over community domestic issues became confrontations intertwined with Chinese politics.

One of the first challengers of the established traditional order in Chinatown during this period was J. K. Choy, who in 1957 had founded and become manager of the highly successful Chinatown branch of San Francisco Federal Savings and Loan Association. In 1960 Choy established a Chinese Community Center at the Association building as a launching pad for social and political action in Chinatown.[57] He began to make and publish statements attacking ineptitude and corruption in Chinatown's traditional associations. In 1962, as a member of the Chinese Hospital's board of directors, he invited the Presbyterian Medical Center to survey and study the workings of the institution. The report was very critical of the hospital, but the traditional organizations that dominated the hospital board managed to shelve the report. Such actions led conservative Chinatown circles to regard Choy as a threat to their vested interests in the community status quo.

In 1963, inspired by the promise of the Kennedy presidency, Choy teamed up with Joe Yuey and others concerned with improving the Chinese community to found the San Francisco Greater Chinatown Community Service Association (SFGCCSA) "to keep pace with the times by providing the maximum amount of social and other community services to help the underprivileged in communities throughout the country." Among SFGCCSA's founders were activists connected with churches and community groups as well as prominent businesspersons, professionals, and enlightened community leaders. SFGCCSA became a platform independent of the CCBA and traditional associations that could advocate and launch community projects. Choy and Joe Yuey became respectively the founding president and executive vice-president.[58]

Using SFGCCSA as a platform Choy, Joe Yuey, and a diverse group of interested people founded the Chinese Culture Foundation of San Francisco (CCF) in 1965. This new

institution tried to steer a middle-of-the-road course in the PRC-Taiwan struggle. KMT partisans, however, perceived it as an attempt to evade KMT control in the field of culture and to provide an entry point for PRC cultural activities into the Chinese American community. They seized every available opportunity to discredit the organization's leaders or to attack the organization itself. In 1966 they struck at the outspoken founder J. K. Choy. On October 12, 1966, rumors circulated in Chinatown that the Chinatown branch of San Francisco Savings and Loan Association was about to fail and that Choy, the manager, had fled to Mexico. A run started on the Chinatown branch as anxious Chinese Americans flocked to withdraw their hard-earned savings. More than $3 million in funds was disbursed in three days before the panic subsided. Again in 1969 the Chinese community buzzed with talk alleging that one of the CCF founders, Alan Wong, was affiliated with Communist and radical groups. Wong was a community activist who was also a member of the SFGCCSA board He was active in the War on Poverty Program, where he had often clashed with conservative board members from the CCBA. He had also openly advocated better understanding between the United States and the PRC. Wong finally had to run a personal advertisement in the Chinese newspapers to refute these groundless allegations.[59]

The KMT partisans also struck at the Chinese Culture Foundation. A pretext was provided by Joe Yuey, who was quoted in an interview in the February 23, 1970, issue of *Newsweek* as saying: "It's a question of what a government can do for the people. The Nationalists were in power for forty years and nothing happened. Look at China now, after only twenty years. No matter how you look at it, the Communists are helping the people."[60] Pro-Taiwan directors on the CCBA board thereupon immediately pushed through a resolution to withdraw CCBA support from the CCF and instigated a boycott by the traditional organizations against the Foundation's facilities and events that lasted into the 1980s. In 1971 the San Francisco KMT leaders Yen Doon Wong and C. T. Shew also wrote to President Chiang Kai-shek on Taiwan to halt shipment of cultural objects and decorations that had been promised to CCF by the Taiwan authorities in 1970.[61]

The CCF was not the only new group in the Chinese community. The Civil Rights movement of the early 1960s had led to congressional passage of President Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty program. Chinatown social agencies funded by noncommunity sources proliferated. By the end of the decade the struggle of ethnic minorities for equal rights had sparked the appearance of many activist groups in the community. These organizations based on Western models forged numerous ties to mainstream politicians and groups as well as to other ethnic community organizations. They represented the changing pattern of political and social currents among the new Chinese American middle class and during this period they were often at loggerheads over community issues with the traditional associations led by the CCBA.

In San Francisco conflicts over community issues became open confrontations. In 1971 the two sides were pitted against each other over desegregation in public schools and in the board election for the Chinatown–North Beach Economic Opportunity Council. In both cases the conservatives, who had more resources, beat off the liberal challengers.[62] But in spite of these setbacks in face of entrenched KMT control of the Chinese community, the new groups succeeded in establishing themselves as another component in the power structure of the Chinese American community by avoiding further direct confrontations with the old guard, and cultivating the support of members of the new Chinese American middle class, opponents of the KMT, and liberal politicians in the mainstream.

Since their primary focus was the American political scene, the liberals who were in these new groups professed an open-minded attitude on Chinese politics. In 1972, just before President Richard Nixon embarked on his historic visit to the PRC, Joe Yuey, attorney Gordon Lau, and CCBA director Ernest Wong headed a Chinese Americans for Better U.S.-China Relations Committee to gather signatures in the community petitioning Nixon to improve U.S.-China relations. All three at the time also were directors on the CCF board. This action was naturally unacceptable to the KMT ideologues, and the KMT organ *Young China* attacked the group in an editorial.[63]

Militant Activist Groups. The end of the 1960s also saw the rise of militant groups with an Asian American orientation. Asian American militant groups active in Chinatown included the Red Guards Party (RGP; founded 1969 in San Francisco), I Wor Kuen (IWK; founded 1969 in New York; established a branch in San Francisco in 1971 and combined with the RGP; spawned the Chinese Progressive Association in 1972), the Asian Community Center (ACC; founded 1970 in San Francisco; changed to Wei Min She in 1971), and Asian Studies Group (founded 1972 in New York; changed to Workers Viewpoint Organization [WVO] in 1973; spawned Asian Americans for Equal Employment [AAFEE] in 1974).[64] The membership was mostly Chinese Americans of college age who had been influenced by the Civil Rights movement and the anti–Vietnam War movement in the United States as well as the teachings of Mao Zedong and an idealized image of egalitarian Marxist rhetoric and of the Cultural Revolution in the PRC. Among their supporters were also pro-PRC elements surviving from the early cold war period.

Chinese students from abroad and immigrant intellectuals comprised another group affected by the changing domestic and international situation. In 1970 a dispute between Japan and China over sovereignty of the Diaoyutai (Tiao Yu Tai) Islands (known as Senkaku Islands to the Japanese) set off a wave of protests and demonstrations led by Chinese in many countries. This Tiao Yu Tai movement was particularly strong in the United States, where hitherto politically inactive stu-

dents and intellectuals were influenced greatly by the social unrest of the time. Most of the initial leaders and participants were from Taiwan, but few were native Taiwanese. The movement soon split with the majority expressing support for the PRC and against the Taiwan government. The movement was dealt a further blow when the United States, in accordance with its interpretation of the U.S.-Japan Peace Treaty of 1950, turned over control of the islands to Japan. As the movement faded, some of the idealistic participants joined pro-PRC activists in the Chinese community.[65]

Possessing the impetuous spirit of the proverbial newly born calf who is not yet worldly wise enough to fear the tiger, the militants did not hesitate to confront the traditional organizational structure. What these groups lacked in numbers and resources they made up with their messianic zeal. Although their foci were mainly on community issues, these militants also openly espoused the PRC revolution. In 1970 RGP was first to stage a public celebration of the PRC's October 1 National Day. Around the same period IWK and ACC were first to show PRC-produced feature films in their respective communities. ACC also opened Everybody's Bookshop to sell publications from the PRC as well as other radical literature. Although these groups lacked a broad base of support in the community and remained only annoying gadflies to the KMT, they successfully breached the KMT's ideological blockade. Their activities declined during the mid-1970s with the rising tide of conservatism in America. Some were also disillusioned by the turn of events in the PRC, where a coup d'état overthrew and arrested the leaders of the Cultural Revolution after the death of Chairman Mao Zedong.[66]

Toward Normalization of Relations with the PRC. The development of events encouraged a coalition of activists and pro-PRC elements to establish the weekly *Chinese Voice* under the editorship of John Ong in 1969. It became the first openly pro-PRC newspaper in San Francisco in two decades. The newspaper became a daily in 1971; however, financial difficulties exacerbated by internal power struggles led to its demise in 1972. Before the paper's demise, Maurice Chuck, one of its editors, founded the weekly *San Francisco Journal* with a similar political slant.

Liberal activists comprised another group challenging the status quo. The primary focus was the American political scene. As the tense relations between the United States and the PRC continued to ease, political winds in the Chinese communities began to shift. In New York activists from the Protect Diaoyutai movement joined the struggling *China Daily News*. After the PRC displaced Taiwan from the United Nations in 1971, Tang Mingzhao (Chu Tong) from the PRC, former publisher of *China Daily News*, became Under-Secretary General for Political Affairs and Decolonization at the United Nations in 1972. His office encouraged formation of a committee headed by Kenneth T. C. Moy, Chen Jinjian of the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance, and Chen Tianxuan of the *China Daily News* to raise additional capital. Daily publication resumed January 1, 1977.[67]

After President Nixon's visit to China in 1972, many restrictions formerly imposed on U.S.-China relations were removed. Chinese Americans could once again visit their relatives in mainland China. The trade embargo was lifted. Cultural and educational exchanges were initiated. Chinese Americans began to be less wary about expressing their opinions on China politics. In 1977 Chinese American professionals and academicians founded the National Association of Chinese Americans. One of its objectives was to promote U.S.-China friendship. The first president of the organization was Nobel Prize winner Chen-ning Yang. The KMT, however, was still able to maintain control in the Chinatown traditional organizational structure by adroit manipulations and maneuvers. For example, in 1973 KMT elements on the Sue Hing Association board of directors revised the bylaws so as to block Joe Yuey from serving as president of San Francisco's Sue Hing Association and hence eventually becoming president of the CCBA. Joe Yuey was the first nominee to be rejected by the Sue Hing Association board in its century-old history.[68]

After the United States resumed normal diplomatic relations with the PRC in 1979, PRC diplomats took actions similar to those taken by the Taiwan regime to court the traditional associations—visiting the associations, inviting the leaders to functions at the consulate and to go on junkets in China. The competition with Taiwan sometimes lead to tension and conflict within the organizations. For example, a power struggle in San Francisco's Tsung Tsin Association between PRC and KMT supporters during the early 1980s resulted in several court cases that ended with victory for the KMT supporters and secession of the pro-PRC faction to form the Sanfanshi Keshu Lianyihui (San Francisco Hakka friendship association).[69] Similar confrontations and polarization in other organizations also continued to surface from time to time.

On other occasions Chinese representatives encouraged the formation of new organizations friendly to the PRC in parallel to existing ones with similar function. Some examples during the early 1980s were San Francisco's Chinese American Association of Commerce (founded 1980) and similar merchant groups in major Chinese communities. There were also associations such as Zhongshan Quanxian Zhongxue Tongxuehui (Chung Chung Alumni Association; founded 1982) and Wuyi Tongxiang Lianyihui (Friendship association of fellow villagers from the five counties; founded 1988) in the San Francisco Bay Area.[70]

TAIWANESE DISSIDENTS

The anti-KMT government movement among native Taiwanese can be traced to February 28, 1947, when the Nationalist army brutally repressed a Taiwanese protest

against KMT corruption and KMT treatment of native Taiwanese as if they were a conquered people.[71] Leaders of the protests fled abroad. One group joined the People's Consultative Conference headed by the Chinese Communists. In 1950 another group in Japan headed by Liao Wenyi was first to advocate independence for Taiwan. Advocates for independence were also among the fifty or so Taiwanese students who had come to study in the United States. Three of these students—Lin Rongxun, Chen Yide, and Li Tianfu (original name Lu Zhuyi)—began organizing the underground Committee for Formosans' Free Formosa (3F) in the East at the end of 1955. Reorganized as United Formosans for Independence (UFI), it came out into the open in 1961, when it called a press conference on the anniversary of the February 28 repression. In August seven to eight people participated in a demonstration, the first organized by UFI, against the Taiwan government's Vice-President Chen Cheng, then visiting the United Nations in New York. The same year in fall the first Formosan Students Club was secretly formed at Kansas State University.[72] Many students from Taiwan in the United States at this time were affected by the political ferment then current in American society, and many were critical of the lack of democracy in Taiwan. The number interested in exploring the independence issue increased, and a number of Taiwan Yanjiuhui (Taiwan study societies) were formed.

As the repression in Taiwan increased, independence groups in the United States met in Philadelphia in 1966 to found United Formosans in America for Independence (UFAI) and published "Taiwan zijiu xuanyan" (Declaration of Taiwan's own salvation) in the *New York Times*.[73] On January 1, 1970, UFAI and independence groups from other countries formed World United Formosans for Independence with headquarters in New York. In April of the same year UFAI members organized a demonstration against Chiang Ching-kuo when he visited Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., and New York. In the latter city two members tried unsuccessfully to assassinate Chiang. In August 1979 a bomb destroyed the telecommunications system of the KMT government's New York office. The Kaohsiung Incident of December 10, 1979, in response to the Taiwan government's crackdown on the opposition periodical *Formosa Weekly*, touched off a rash of terrorist acts in the United States. A week later an unknown gunman sprayed the Washington office of the KMT government with bullets, followed by a bomb explosion two days later. Other bombings occurred in New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago in January 1980. In July 1980 a bomb blast at Torrance, California, killed the brother-in-law of the mayor of Kaohsiung, Taiwan. These incidents led the FBI to treat UFAI as a terrorist organization.[74]

After 1979 immigration from Taiwan, especially of non-students, increased greatly. Many new immigrants were prominent dissidents who joined the Taiwanese community of former students who had acquired permanent status and citizenship and had begun to establish families and careers as professionals and entrepreneurs. A growing number of these proindependence activists were against the use of terrorism and advocated the use of democratic political action within the legal system to gain independence. Others simply advocated self-determination for Taiwan. Various publications reflected the different philosophies. In 1980 Xu Xinliang revived *Formosa Weekly* in Los Angeles, after which UFAI published *Taiwan Tribune* in New York at the end of 1981.

In 1982 leaders in the independence movement lobbied Congress successfully for a separate immigration quota of twenty thousand for Taiwan. The same year Taiwanese leaders met to form the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA).[75] FAPA became very active lobbying politicians such as U.S. Representative Stephen J. Solarz of New York to pressure the Taiwan regime to take steps to democratize. Another accomplishment of FAPA in its push for Taiwan independence was to convince the U.S. Bureau of the Census to add "Taiwanese" as a reporting category in the 1990 Federal Census separate from "Chinese." In the 1990s it also encouraged Taiwanese to give their country of birth as Taiwan rather than China, an act that sometimes caused bearers of such passports to be barred from entry into the PRC.

After Taiwan lifted martial law in the late 1980s, Taiwanese were allowed to resume contacts with the China mainland and to organize opposition political parties to the KMT. Many proindependence Taiwanese dissidents returned to the island, where they became active in the Democratic Progressive Party.

The reaction of the Taiwan authorities to the political unrest among Taiwanese students and academics in the United States was to develop and maintain an extensive network of informants to gather intelligence on political activities of students and intellectuals. Informers were mostly KMT members and were usually paid for their services. The information was funneled through the various consulates to the Taiwan government to take action. Through such intelligence, Huang Qiming, a University of Wisconsin Ph.D. candidate, was arrested when he visited Taipei in 1966. He was accused of leading a Taiwan Study Society at the university and also of attending a UFI meeting in Chicago. He was sentenced to five years imprisonment. Pressure exerted by the United States secured his release, but he was forbidden to leave Taiwan.[76]

Another political case was that of Chen Yuxi, who had participated in anti–Vietnam War demonstrations and also allegedly read Communist materials in the university library when he was attending the East-West Center in Hawaii. When he sought to renew his Taiwan passport to continue his graduate studies, his application was rejected, and he had to leave the United States. On his way to Taiwan he stopped over in Japan, where he applied for admission at Hosei University in Tokyo. Two weeks after he was accepted, Japanese immigration officers turned him over to Taiwan agents, who forcibly returned him to Taiwan. A military court tried and convicted Chen in 1967 for sedition and sentenced him to death. After protests from concerned people in Japan and the

United States, Chen's sentence was reduced to seven years' imprisonment. Continued pressure from the international community finally led to his release in 1971.[77]

Taiwan government surveillance related to pro-PRC and Taiwan independence activities among students and intellectuals intensified after the Tiao Yu Tai movement of the early 1970s. In 1978 Rita Yeh, a graduate student in the social sciences at the University of Minnesota, returned to Taiwan after four years of study. She was arrested on her arrival and accused of plotting to overthrow the government and spreading communist propaganda. In 1980 a military court convicted her of sedition and sentenced her to fourteen years in thought reform prison. An even more tragic fate awaited Professor Chen Wencheng of Carnegie-Mellon University, who returned to Taiwan with his child for a visit in 1981. Chen died under mysterious circumstances after being detained by the police for interrogations.[78]

After each of these cases there was a brief flurry of exposé articles, usually in university newspapers. Although Taiwan officials routinely denied the accusations, during the 1970s bad publicity caused by overzealous implementation of the surveillance system resulted in the transfer out of the country of several Taiwan government officials stationed in New York.[79] However, the system remained in operation until martial law was lifted in Taiwan during the late 1980s. These activities cowed many students and intellectuals. They also served to spur demands for democratization and, in some cases, for the independence of Taiwan.

In addition to students, the Taiwan authorities did not hesitate to take action against intellectuals. The most notorious case was the assassination of journalist Henry Liu, an immigrant from Taiwan and a frequent critic of the Chiang government. In 1984 Vice-Admiral Wang Xiling, head of military intelligence in Taiwan, sent members of Taiwan's Bamboo Gang to kill Liu at his home in South San Francisco allegedly because he was suspected of being a double agent for Taiwan and the PRC. The next year Lee Ya-ping, publisher of *International Daily News*, was arrested when she visited Taiwan for allegedly publishing articles supporting PRC overtures for the reunification of Taiwan with the mainland. She was released after nine days in custody when the U.S. State Department exerted strong pressure on the Taiwan government.[80]

Dissidents and critics were also put on a blacklist, with orders issued for their arrest. Most of these were individuals associated with the Taiwan Independence and Taiwan Democratization movements. However, according to one source the list also included individuals such as publisher of the liberal *Centre Daily News*, Fu Chaoshu, in New York and San Francisco Tai-chi master Guo Lianyin (Lien-ying Kuo), who had been elected to the National Assembly and then became a supporter of the PRC. None of these lists were ever made public officially, but their existence was confirmed by the fact that certain individuals were banned from entering Taiwan. The blacklists were alleged to have been abolished in 1991, after martial law had been lifted in Taiwan in 1987.[81]

TAIWAN CONNECTIONS

Normal diplomatic relations were resumed between the United States and the PRC in 1979. The Taiwan diplomatic mission was downgraded to become the Coordinating Council for North American Affairs (CCNAA; name changed to Coordinating Council for North American Affairs, Headquarters for Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States in 1994). Manifestations of China politics in the Chinese American community also changed accordingly.

The PRC displaced Taiwan from the United Nations in 1971. In order to overcome Taiwan's international isolation, the government greatly increased its lobbying efforts, especially in America. The effectiveness of this successor effort to the China Lobby to influence U.S. national politics was such that it was judged by *U.S. News and World Report* to be second only to that of the state of Israel.[82]

The Taiwan regime continued to cultivate and nurture political, economic, and cultural connections in the Chinese American community. In 1972 it established a Guojia Jianshe Yanjiuhui (National construction research association; also referred to as Guojianhui) that annually invited one to two hundred Chinese scholars and professionals from abroad in various fields to meet in Taipei to give their views on political, economic, cultural, and diplomatic issues regarding Taiwan. In 1974 the participants from the eastern United States formed the Meidong Guojian Lianyihui (National construction friendship association of the eastern United States). In 1977 membership was opened to all Chinese scholars and professionals, and the name was changed to Meidong Huaren Xueshu Lianyihui (Chinese American association of professionals and scientists of the eastern United States). Related associations sprang from the Guojianhui in the Midwest, the South, and the West during the same period. Each of these associations had up to several hundred members and periodically organized conferences attended by Chinese scholars and professionals.[83]

In 1989 CCNAA's Science Group worked with individuals and corporations in San Francisco Bay Area high technology industries to form the Monte Jade Science and Technology Association. The group's objective is to promote the cooperation and the mutual flow of technology and investment between Taiwan and the United States, in part echoing Taiwan's need for advanced technology transfer. In 1993 it became a national organization with branches in the West, East, Southeast, Middle West, Washington, D.C., New England, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia. In the 1980s and 1990s the CCNAA also encouraged and assisted in the formation of organizations such as Zhonghua Guang-Dian Xuehui (Chinese society on light and electricity; founded 1989), Xigu

Hua-Mei Bandaoti Xiehui (Silicon Valley Chinese American association of semiconductor industries; founded 1991), and Beijiazhou Hua-Mei Hangtai Xuehui (Chinese American aerospace society of North America; founded 1991). CCNAA also maintained liaison with numerous other organizations of Chinese scholars, professionals, and scientists that were predominantly supporters of Taiwan. In the 1990s as the PRC's developing economy flourished, some of these organizations also began dialogues with specialists in corresponding fields in the PRC.[84]

After the United States recognized the PRC and severed diplomatic ties with Taiwan on January 1, 1979, KMT activists in America initiated the annual practice of performing a flag raising ceremony on October 10 National Day to demonstrate continued support for the Republic of China. It also used other means to attract a following in the Chinese American community. In 1985 the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission (OCAC) established and staffed a Chinese Culture Center (not the same as the Chinese Culture Center operated by the Chinese Culture Foundation of San Francisco) in San Francisco. Since then nineteen such centers have been founded worldwide. Ten were in the United States with another three centers taken over from the KMT and operated as community activity centers. In 1987 OCAC announced a plan to act as guarantor to facilitate overseas Chinese to secure capital for businesses. Formation of a NT$1 billion Overseas Chinese Credit Guarantee Fund for Loans to was announced in 1988. The fund began accepting applicants in 1989. After ten years, thirty loan service offices world-wide, of which twenty were in the United States, had granted loans totaling $408 million. About 85 percent of the recipients were immigrants from Taiwan. The remainder were from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Immigrants from the PRC were excluded from consideration. After 1993 the Taiwan government also encouraged its supporters to lobby for Taiwan to be admitted to the United Nations as the Republic of China on Taiwan. Although this lobbying effort failed, it together with the efforts of Taiwan lobbyists in Washington helped to generate enough political pressure to force the U.S. State Department to grant a visa to Taiwan President Li Teng-hui to speak at Cornell University in 1995.[85]

Taiwan's two largest opposition parties, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and the New Party, both established party branches and support groups in this country to compete with the KMT organization. The DPP was founded in 1986 in Taipei by several groups opposed to the KMT. In 1991 the party established branches in the eastern and western United States. DPP found most of its support in the existing organizations of native Taiwanese that had long been active in opposition to the KMT and were sympathetic toward independence for Taiwan.[86]

The New Party was formed in Taipei in 1993 by KMT members who disagreed with Taiwan President Li Teng-hui's policy favoring the native Taiwanese. It also included many who favored eventual reunification with the Chinese mainland. In 1994 the party established its first overseas branch in the San Francisco Bay Area, where a Haiwai Xingzhonghui (Revive China society overseas) had been founded in 1990. The latter consisted of KMT members who were troubled by political trends in Taiwan since the accession of Li Teng-hui to the presidency and had established the group within the KMT in 1990. Its objective was to support party reform in order to promote prosperity and stability in Taiwan and eventually to reunite the Chinese nation. Because of the similarity in political philosophy of the two groups, many in the Haiwai Xingzhonghui became active members of the San Francisco branch of the New Party. In 1994 Dai Qi (Chi Tai), who headed the branch and was also a Haiwai Xingzhonghui member, began publishing the semimonthly *Taipei Report*, with articles highly critical of Li Teng-hui's administration. Cecilia Yen, another former KMT member, was editorial writer for the publication. The branch also led the organization of Friends of the New Party in North American Chinese communities, which raised $70,000 for the party's 1995 election campaign in Taiwan. By 1996 forty such support groups were said to exist in the United States. In 1994 Friends of the New Party founded the New Association of Chinese Americans to promote Chinese culture, to influence Taiwan and mainland China, and to support U.S. candidates.[87] The New Party's following in the United States appeared to be considerable among immigrants originally from mainland China who had gone to Taiwan with the Nationalist government. In the late 1990s the party is a weak third in Taiwan compared to the KMT and the DPP.

When the opposition, especially the New Party, began to make inroads into support for the KMT in the Chinese American community, President Li Teng-hui supporters organized Bei Meizhou Li Denghui Zongtong zhi You Lianyihui (Friendship association in North America of friends of President Li Teng-hui) in August 1996. Its mission was to voice support for Li's policies and to bolster Li's image among Chinese Americans. The association was headquartered in Los Angeles and had seven regional branches in other parts of the United States and one each in Mexico and Canada. By early 1997 the number of U.S. branches had proliferated to seventeen, as other areas vied to be recognized for their efforts by the Li administration.[88]

DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT

During the 1980s large numbers of students and scholars from the PRC came to study in the United States. Among them were dissidents, including Wang Bingzhang, a controversial figure. Wang was among the first group of government-sponsored students sent to Canada. After receiving his M.D. degree from McGill University in 1982,

Wang announced that he was "leaving the medical field to join the democratic movement to strive for spring in the ancestral land." Relocated to New York, he and other dissidents from the PRC began publishing *China Spring* in December 1982. The magazine attacked "feudal despotism" and "bureaucratic special privileges" and called for "real democracy and rule of law, freedom and human rights" in China. In December 1983 the China Spring Democratic Movement convened a convention in New York and the formally took on the name Chinese Alliance for Democracy (CAD). CAD's actions and lobbying enlisted the support of some American politicians. However, during the next few years the organization was in constant turmoil with a series of power struggles, and many founders left the organization. Wang's turn came in March 1989, when an anti-Wang group led by Hu Ping expelled him. Wang's supporters then convened a convention and founded the Zhongguo Minzhudang (Democratic party of China). Although CAD and the Democratic Party of China recombined in June 1991, Wang did not return.[89]

Another early community organization in the Democracy movement was the Chinese Democratic Education Foundation, founded in 1985 in San Francisco. Its primary driving force was Huang Yuchuan, a former PRC labor camp inmate who immigrated into the United States in the 1970s and became a successful businessman. Huang was one of the earliest in the Chinese American community to support the China Spring movement. Beginning in 1986 the Foundation annually awards a plaque and $2,000 to "outstanding fighters for democracy" in the PRC, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.[90]

Dissidents in the PRC made the headlines again in spring 1989, when sustained popular demonstrations centering on Tian'anmen Square in Beijing protested against corruption in government and demanded democracy, and the PRC government declared martial law. On June 4 a military crackdown began that resulted in loss of life and destruction of property. Owing to extensive on-the-spot coverage by foreign television network crews as well as accounts by dissidents and their supporters of bloody carnage and atrocities, many of which later proved to be highly exaggerated or of debatable veracity, many people worldwide sympathized with the demonstrators. The first newspaper of the Democracy movement in the United States, *Press Freedom Herald*, began publishing on June 9 in Southern California under the sponsorship of the Chinese Overseas Journalists Association. The chief editor was Cao Changqing, a dissident who had been a journalist in Shenzhen.

Pro-PRC ranks were in disarray as supporters differed in their evaluation of the events. On the one hand, *Centre Daily News*, a national newspaper that had tried to be evenhanded in its coverage of Taiwan and the PRC, defended the Beijing government's position. Supporters of the Democracy movement launched an organized campaign to pressure advertisers to withdraw. On July 5 Fu Chaoshu resigned as publisher and head of the newspaper's board of directors. On September 18 the paper ceased publication. On the other hand, *China Daily News* condemned the military repression in Beijing. The paper was in turn denounced by the Chinese Hand Laundry Association, some members of which had been founders of the newspaper. Firms connected with the PRC also pulled their advertising. Since the management could not find alternative sources to make up for this critical revenue, *China Daily News* had no choice but to close down on July 29. At that time it was the oldest Chinese newspaper in New York. On January 5, 1990, the newspaper resumed weekly publication as *China Press*, funded by PRC interests. By August 31 it had resumed daily publication. The newspaper also began editions in San Francisco in 1992 and Los Angeles in 1994. This paper can be considered the semiofficial voice of the PRC. The first managing publisher was Xiong Feiwen, formerly of the PRC's China News Service.[91]

Immediately after the Tian'anmen Incident organizations in the United States supporting the Democracy movement mushroomed. The membership of these groups was of various different political coloration, ranging from conservatives to liberals. Most were ad hoc groups organized principally to raise funds for the Democracy movement. Others had a more defined mission. In San Francisco a group comprising former PRC supporters founded Foundation for Chinese Democracy (FCD). In December 1989 FCD organized the first North American conference of community-based prodemocracy organizations. Afterward the Federation of Overseas Hong Kong Chinese of Washington, D.C., the Southern California Foundation for Chinese Democracy of Los Angeles, the Tian'anmen Memorial Foundation of New York/New Jersey, the Toronto Association for Democracy in China, and the Vancouver Society in Support of the Democratic Movement formed the North American Coalition for Chinese Democracy (NACCD) as an informal network. The NACCD mission was to provide coordination and support to North American community-based organizations to further the cause of human rights and democracy in China. In January 1991 NACCD began publication of the English-language quarterly *A Changing China*. A group consisting of computer manufacturer Lester Lee, attorney Edward Lau, and others led the formation of Silicon Valley for Democracy in China on July 15, 1989. SVDC frequently broadcasts to the PRC over Voice of America. It also operates a website on the Internet with news on its activities and news of dissidents. However, in the late 1990s some of the founders were no longer connected with the organization.[92]

After the Tian'anmen Incident a number of the leaders of the demonstrations in Beijing as well as other dissident intellectuals escaped from China. On September 22, 1989, they met with other dissidents abroad in Paris, to found the Federation for a Democratic China (FDC). Yan Jiaqi was elected chairman and Wan Runnan secretary-general. In February seventy delegates from twenty branches and twenty-three

liaison offices in various areas in the United States met in San Francisco to establish the U.S. chapter of FDC.[93]

Even during the FDC's convention in Paris factionalism and political infighting were already evident in the movement. Questions were raised regarding the mishandling of $561,681 donated to the FDC up to November 1989. Charges began to float that some leaders had squandered funds on extravagant office and living expenses. There were also complaints regarding arrogant, elitist attitudes of some leaders.[94] As the dissidents' tarnished images became generally known, donations from the disappointed Chinese American community fell off dramatically.

In early 1990 the FDC began exploratory talks with CAD leaders on the possibility of a merger. The two entities jointly convened a convention in Washington, D.C., in January 1993 and formed Alliance for a Democratic China (ADC); however, FDC and CAD each maintained their own organizations. Xu Bangtai became chairperson of the joint group.[95]

Going into the late 1990s the Democracy movement found time had greatly softened the initial shock on the populace of the 1989 events. It found itself with an ever-narrowing circle of supporters, mostly in student and intellectual circles. It has entered the Chinese American community's consciousness occasionally when there is a protest about an alleged human rights abuse in the PRC or when memorial services are held commemorating the Tian'anmen Incident. From time to time there have been news items concerning dissidents exiled from the PRC. Some of these have joined the ADC, while others have pursued their own individual agendas.[96] One particularly active but controversial figure was Wu Hongda (Harry Wu), who established the Laogai Research Foundation to expose alleged forced labor camps in the PRC.

The Democracy movement has remained an irritant in U.S.-PRC relations. Periodically dissidents testify on alleged abuse of human rights in the PRC before congressional committees. The human rights issue also offers the United States a weapon that can be used as leverage in negotiations with the PRC. In domestic politics it has also become a platform on which politicians such as Representative Nancy Pelosi of California generate political capital. Within the Chinese American community, however, even though there may be sympathy for efforts to improve human rights in China, there is only limited interaction between the population and the Democracy movement.

NEW IMMIGRANTS FROM THE PRC

A side effect of the Tian'anmen Incident was that it facilitated lobbying by PRC student groups and their supporters to convince Congress to pass the Chinese Students Protection Act in 1992. That act enabled approximately 50,000 students and visiting scholars to receive permanent residence status in this country, ostensibly so that they need not be forced to return to the PRC and face possible persecution.[97] It also contributed to the growth of a community of immigrants from the PRC.

Although the PRC continued to deal severely with dissidents and barred the return of most members of the Democratic movement to China, the government continued the nation's open policy that led to rapid economic development and significant improvement of living standards in many parts of China. Along with the rest of the international community, many Chinese Americans who had initially denounced the PRC government's handling of the Tian'anmen Incident began looking at the PRC more realistically as a nation that is striving hard to modernize and realize its vast potential while trying to keep from being overcome by the numerous difficult and deep-rooted problems in its society. Many Chinese Americans began to play more constructive roles in China's development by investing capital or contributing expertise or by working to achieve better understanding between the two countries.

In the meantime a great number of new immigrants, students and visiting scholars, as well as personnel and families connected with PRC enterprises, continued to arrive in America. By the last decade of the twentieth century recent immigrants from the PRC had formed a sizable community. Publications appeared expressing their viewpoints and concerns on problems and issues. In general these publications were not anti-PRC, but they often published items critical of happenings in China. Two of the earliest newspapers were the *China Journal* weekly in Los Angeles county (founded 1992) and the monthly *New Continent* in the San Francisco Bay Area. A daily *Zhong Guo Daily News* also began publishing in Los Angeles in 1997.

Newcomers belonging to the merchant and working classes founded new native place organizations and chambers of commerce. Such organizations were especially numerous among immigrants from the Fuzhou area who settled in New York City. As students, visiting scholars, and personnel of PRC enterprises settled in America, they also formed their social, professional, and business networks. There were native place associations including the Beijing U.S.A. Association in Flushing, New York (founded 1991), and Beijing Association of the U.S.A. in Sunnyvale, California (founded 1993), Los Angeles (founded 1995), Washington, D.C. (founded 1996), and Houston (founded 1997). Others formed alumni associations such as San Francisco's Northern America Guangzhou High School Alumni Association, founded in 1996 by the alumni, mostly new immigrants, from more than 120 high schools in Guangzhou. New scholarly and professional associations proliferated. A major one was the Chinese Association for Science and Technology (founded in 1992 in New York), which by the mid-1990s had more than 1,500 members and five regional branches and specialty branches such as Zhongguo Lü-Mei Dianzi ji

Xinxi Jishu Xiehui (Chinese electronics and telecommunications technology society in America; founded 1993) and Zhongguo Lü-Mei Gongcheng Xuehui (Chinese engineering society in America; founded 1995). One of the association's objectives is to promote technological cooperation and trade between the United States and the PRC. Professional organizations formed in recent years that professed similar objectives include Chicago's Association of Chinese Scientists and Engineers (USA) (founded 1992), New York's Zhong-Mei Jinrongjia Xiehui (Chinese American society of financiers in America; founded 1994), and others.[98] Owing to the comparatively recent arrival of these immigrants, their professional organizations were fewer and had much shorter histories than the ones founded by Taiwan immigrants. As tensions between the Taiwan and the PRC governments eased, there have been increased dialogues among these professional groups.

Some of these new groups, together with existing pro-PRC groups, formed new umbrella organizations in parallel to the existing CCBA organizational structure. One of the earliest was Huashengdun Huaren Gejie Lianhehui (Federation of Chinese organizations of Washington, D.C.) established in 1984. The fact that the PRC embassy was in the city may have facilitated its early debut. In 1986 the United Federation of Chinese Associations in New York was founded in the city where the PRC United Nations delegation was located. By the late 1990s the number of member organizations in this group had expanded from the founding fifteen to about sixty, including many new immigrant groups. In the Midwest Zhijiage Huaren Gejie Lianxihui (Chinese American associations of Chicago) was founded in 1998. Thus far no corresponding group has appeared in San Francisco. Most of the activities of these umbrella groups are of a social-political nature, such as organizing spring festival banquets, celebrating October 1 National Day and the return of Hong Kong to China, and welcoming delegations from the PRC.[99]

In the area of education the growth of the PRC immigrant community led to the rise of two rival school systems. When immigration from Taiwan began to increase in the 1970s, parents became concerned about their offspring preserving their Chinese heritage. Thus parents got together to establish Chinese language schools. In the 1990s there were more than four hundred such schools in the United States belonging to ten regional Chinese school associations, some of which had existed since the mid-1970s. These associations in turn formed the National Council of Associations of Chinese Language Schools (NCACLS), founded in 1994. This entire organizational structure enjoyed a close relationship with Taiwan's Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, which offers free textbooks with traditional characters and using the Chinese phonetic alphabet as a pronunciation aid. The commission also helped to organize annual teacher training sessions.[100]

As new immigrants from the PRC settled in America and began raising families, they also organized schools for their children. By the end of the 1980s members of this group had founded Chinese language schools. By 1995 the number had increased to about a hundred, forming approximately a sixth of the total number of Chinese schools in the United States. These schools formed the Chinese School Association in the United States (CSAUS) in 1994 and worked actively with Beijing's Overseas Chinese Affairs Office to develop textbooks teaching Putonghua using simplified characters and pinyin transliteration.[101] The competition between the two systems of written Chinese has given birth in the 1990s to a continuing polemic in Chinese language newspapers debating the merits and shortcomings of traditional and simplified characters.[102]

Changes in the demography of the Chinese American community as well as improvements in the PRC economy have caused the number of PRC supporters in the community to increase significantly. For example, when Taiwan President Li Teng-hui spoke at Cornell University during his controversial visit in 1994, pro-PRC students protesting his visit shared the limelight with pro-Li and pro-Taiwan independence demonstrators, a phenomenon that could not have occurred a decade earlier. The increase in support for the PRC has encouraged emulation of the flag-raising ceremonies first introduced by pro-Taiwan partisans as part of their celebration of National Day. In San Francisco Chinatown, long a strong KMT bastion, the five-starred flag of the PRC was raised in public in September 1994 at the pro-PRC Chinese American Association of Commerce. A few weeks later the flag also was hoisted over the venerable Suey Sing Labor and Merchant Association. Suey Sing elder Joe Yuey had pressed the association to pass such a resolution as 1972, but heavy pressure from the Chinatown traditional organizational structure forced the group to back down.[103] The situation had indeed changed during the two decades that had elapsed!

By the mid-1990s October 1 National Day celebrations had become larger in scale and more patriotic in theme. The 1997 celebration in Alhambra, Los Angeles county, including a parade and flag-raising ceremony, attracted a crowd of ten thousand.[104] However, many traditional associations still flew the flag of the Republic of China; others flew the organization's own flag or no flag at all. This development had been evolving since the early 1970s; the traditional community organizational structure is no longer monolithic in its attitude toward the PRC and Taiwan.

Chinese politics as reflected in the modern Chinese community are more complex than ever before. Beyond the simple issue of being for the PRC or for Taiwan, there are the demands of Democracy movement to improve human rights and democracy in the PRC, issues of support for Taiwan's reunification with China versus Taiwan independence, as well as the competition among the KMT, the Democratic Progressive Party, and the New Party for supporters among the Chinese in America.

CONCLUDING WORDS

The Chinese American community has had a high percentage of immigrants ever since it came into existence one-and-a-half centuries ago. Thus it is not surprising that many in the community continue to maintain many ties to their ancestral land and retained an interest in developments there. However, during this entire period the relationship between China and the Chinese in America was also in a state of dynamic change, resulting in changes in attitudes. Thus the responses of Chinese Americans to events in China tended to vary during different periods in the community's history.

The Chinese in America encountered white racism soon after they arrived in California in large numbers during the mid–nineteenth century. The United States government also demonstrated that it was reluctant to permit them to be equal partners in American society. In 1882 this situation culminated in the passage of the first Chinese Exclusion Act. For the next sixty-one years, Chinese were not considered desirable immigrants and Chinese, regardless of social class and place of birth, were often subjected to prejudice and discrimination in America. Many Chinese, alienated by their rejection by American society, thus continued to regard China as their home. During this period many willingly made heavy financial commitments to support developments in the ancestral land. A significant number also became active participants working to further political objectives in China.

This psychology began to change during and after World War II. The Chinese Exclusion Acts were repealed. The social and economic status of Chinese Americans began to improve owing to the changing situation in America and internationally. They began to participate increasingly in American mainstream society. In the meantime the Chinese civil war resulted in the founding of the Communist-led People's Republic of China (PRC) on the China mainland and a refugee Kuomintang regime in Taiwan. Shortly afterward the Chinese American community became a victim of the cold war when the United States imposed an embargo on the PRC, cutting off communications of Chinese Americans with the ancestral land. Supporters of the Taiwan regime took advantage of the tense Sino-American relations to muzzle dissident opinions in the Chinese American community and to use the community as a ploy voicing ostensible support for the Taiwan regime in its struggle with the PRC. The community was relegated to a passive and impotent role.

With the opening of China, democratization of Taiwan and the influx of a large immigrant population during and after the 1970s, there was a resurgence of activism in the Chinese American community in connection with Chinese political developments. Activities also became more diverse and complex. Besides the main protagonists, the PRC and Taiwan, each vying to win the support of the Chinese American community, there were also voices advocating Taiwan independence or demanding more democracy in China. The Chinese in America in the meanwhile also changed. Activists supporting these causes dwindled in number. As for the rest of the community, even though interest in developments in the ancestral land continued, most individuals were looking at events in China with the perspective that America, rather than China, was their permanent home. That was a basic change of attitude from that which existed only a half century earlier.

NOTES

1. For a detailed discussion of these organizations and their interrelationships see Him Mark Lai, "Historical Development of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association/*Huiguan* System," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives 1987* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1987), 13–51.

   In this essay Chinese geographical names and names of individuals and institutions are generally given in the spellings commonly used in the United States. Where only the Chinese characters are known, the terms are transliterated into the pinyin system. Transliterated Chinese names are given with the surname first per Chinese practice.
2. Lai, "Historical Development of the *Huiguan* System"; Pei Chi Liu, *An Anecdotal History of the Chinese in the United States of America* (Taipei: Liming wenhua shiye gufen youxian gongsi, 1984), 275–80.

   In 1907–8 a dispute arose between the Dutch and Chinese governments concerning the national status of Chinese born in the Dutch East Indies. The Dutch claimed that all such Chinese were Dutch subjects under the jus soli principle. The Dutch argued their case by claiming that China had no code of nationality. It was to refute the Dutch argument and to make good China's claims that Chinese wherever born and wherever resident were Chinese subjects under the jus sanguinis principle that the nationality law was proclaimed in 1909.

   The issuing of diplomatic passports to *huiguan* presidents traveling to America was continued up to the 1920s, when the United States refused to accord them diplomatic status. Huang Zunxian and other Chinese consuls took the lead in persuading the merchant *huiguan* leaders to take measures to correct abuses of power in their organizations.
3. Pei Chi Liu, *A History of the Chinese in the United States of America* (Taipei: Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission of the Legislative Yuan, 1976), 213–14, 355–59; Liu, *An Anecdotal History*, 579.
4. Liu, *An Anecdotal History*, 497.
5. David T. H. Lee, *A History of Chinese in Canada* (Vancouver: Jianada ziyou chubanshe, 1967), 455–56.
6. *Chung Sai Yat Po*, Mar. 26, 30, Apr. 27, 29, June 22, 1908; *Chinese World*, Oct. 2, 1911, Sept. 3, 1912. The Japanese ship *Tatsu Maru*, smuggling a consignment of munitions into the Pearl River Delta for a Chinese merchant was intercepted near Macao by a Chinese gunboat and its cargo was confiscated. The Japanese government demanded that the Chinese government pay for damages and issue an official apology. People in Guangdong considered these demands humiliating. Hong Kong merchants initiated a boycott of Japanese goods that lasted about eight months. San Francisco's Chinese Chamber of Commerce also passed a resolution supporting the boycott. The resolution was not repealed by the Chamber until September 1912.
7. In 1898 the Guangxu emperor called on reform advocates led by Kang Youwei to implement reform programs to modernize

the nation. After a hundred days antireform archconservatives led by the Empress Dowager launched a coup d'état and placed the emperor under house arrest. Reformers were jailed, executed, or forced to flee abroad. In 1899 Kang and supporters in Canada founded the Chinese Empire Reform Association to continue advocacy of the reform program and to show support for the emperor.

In 1894 Sun Yat-sen organized the Xingzhonghui in Hawaii with the objective of overthrowing the Manchu rulers and restoring Han Chinese rule. In 1895 he launched an uprising in Guangzhou that failed. Sun fled to Hong Kong and then Japan to continue seeking support for the national revolution. In 1905 the Xingzhonghui and other revolutionary groups met in Tokyo and voted to merge as the Tongmenghui with Sun at the head.

8. Liu, *A History of the Chinese in the United States of America*, 228–30. Qing officials were completely impotent in their attempts to curb assassinations and murders by secret societies, popularly known as tong wars, that were common during this period. In 1888 all imperial minister Zhang Yinhuan could do was to issue an edict admonishing and appealing to the secret societies. It fell on deaf ears.
9. Pei Chi Liu, *A History of the Chinese in the United States of America, II* (Taipei: Liming wenhua shiye gufen youxian gongsi, 1981), 469, 471–73.
10. Eve Armentrout Ma, *Revolutionaries, Monarchists, and Chinatowns: Chinese Politics in the Americas and the 1911 Revolution* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990), 33–35, 114; Silas K. C. Geneson, "Cry Not in Vain," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives 1997*, 27–45; Eugene Anschel, *Homer Lea, Sun Yat-sen, and the Chinese Revolution* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1984), 37–49; Kongsun Lum, ed., *Hawaii Chinese in the Foreign Language School Case: A Memorial Publication* (Honolulu: Hawaii Chinese Educational Association and Chung Wah Chung Kung Hui, 1950), 220–40.
11. H. M. Lai, "The Chinese American Press," in *The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook*, ed. Sally M. Miller (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 27–43.
12. Betty Lee Sung, *Mountain of Gold* (New York: MacMillan Co., 1967), 269; Him Mark Lai, *The Kuomintang in Chinese American Communities before World War II*, in *Entry Denied: Exclusion and the Chinese Community in America, 1882–1943*, ed. Sucheng Chan (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 170–212.
13. Lai, *The Kuomintang in Chinese American Communities*; Sam Ark Wong, *Hongmen geming shi* [Revolutionary history of the Triads] (San Francisco: n.p., 1936), 23–25, 31; *Chinese World*, July 25, 1914; *Young China*, Dec. 26, 1915.

The five bars in the Republic's flag stood for what at the time were considered the five principal nationalities of China: Han, Manchu, Mongolian, Hui (Chinese Moslem), and Tibetan.

After establishment of the Republic in 1912, CKT leader Sam Ark Wong returned to Guangzhou and sought to register the CKT as a legal political party. He was given the runaround by Sun Yat-sen and his lieutenant, Hu Hanmin, the commander in chief in Guangdong. Wong Sam Ark was unable to complete his mission successfully. Another sore point was that the KMT did not repay funds donated for revolutionary activities that were raised by the CKT in Canada by mortgaging real estate.

14. China had declared war on Germany during World War I, hoping to recover privileges and concessions that had been forcibly obtained by the latter in the Shandong Peninsula. However, the Allies at the Paris Peace Conference assigned Germany's rights to Japan. Hearing that the Beijing government was about to sign the peace treaty, students from Beijing universities and colleges gathered at Tian'anmen and staged a demonstration on May 4, 1919, calling on the people to fight for the nation's sovereignty and to punish the traitors who would sign the treaty. This action was soon followed by protests all over China. Yielding to popular sentiment, the Beijing government did not become a signatory.
15. "Zhu Meiguo Zongzhibu dangwu yange gaiyao" [Outline history of party affairs of the U.S. General Branch], in Zhongguo Guomindang Zhongyang Weiyuanhui Disan Zu [Section 3, Central Committee of the KMT], *Zhongguo Guomindang zai haiwai* [The KMT overseas], vol. 2 (Taipei, 1961), 12–39. Section 3 has jurisdiction over overseas Chinese party affairs. Referenced hereafter as "Outline History of Party Affairs."
16. Jun Ke Choy, *My China Years, 1911–1945: Practical Politics in China after the 1911 Revolution* (San Francisco: East/West Publishing Co., 1974); Yao Manchang, "Aiguo Huaqiao Yao Guanshun jiashi" [Family history of the patriotic overseas Chinese George Bow], *Huaqiao Huaren yanjiu wenji*, ed. Sichuan Sheng Guichao Huaqiao Lianhehui [Sichuan Province Federation of returned overseas Chinese] and Sichuan Sheng Huaqiao Huaren Xuehui [Sichuan Province learned society for the study of overseas Chinese and people of Chinese ancestry] (Chengdu: Chengdu Keji Daxue chubanshe, 1992), 202–5.
17. Fang Xiongpu, *Huaqiao hangkong shihua* [Historical account of Chinese from abroad in aviation] (Beijing: Zhongguo Huaqiao chuban gongsi, 1991), 73–75, 93–102.

A more detailed account of the role of Chinese American aviators in military aviation in China can be found in Him Mark Lai, "Sprouting Wings on the Dragon: Some Chinese Americans Who Contributed to the Development of Aviation in China," *The Annals of the Chinese Historical Society of the Pacific Northwest*, ed. Douglas W. Lee (Bellingham, Wash.: Chinese Historical Society of the Pacific Northwest, 1984), 179–83.

18. *Chung Sai Yat Po*, May 14, June 8, 11, July 3, 4, 6, 17, 1928; *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 23, 1929; *Chinese Times*, June 9, 1930.
19. *Chung Sai Yat Po*, June 8, 1929 A list of banned U.S. Chinese publications was published in *Leifeng zazhi* [Thunderous Wind] (Hong Kong), Dec. 5, 1928, 49–52, and Dec. 20, 1928, 51–54. Another list (1928?) can be found among KMT documents, Special Collections, University Library, University of California at Davis. The following is compiled from these sources. Constitutionalist Party publications: *Chinese World* (San Francisco), *Humorist* (San Francisco), *Sun Chung Kwock Po* (Honolulu). Chee Kung Tong publications: *Morning Sun* (San Francisco), *Chinese Republic News* (New York City), *Hon Mun Po* (Honolulu). Communist publication: *Chinese Vanguard* (San Francisco). Anarchist publication: *Equality*. KMT, pro–Wang Jingwei faction publications: *Mun Hey Yat Po* and *Kuo Min Yat Po*. Others: *Ou-Mei Tongxin* (San Francisco) and *Chung Sai Yat Po* (San Francisco).
20. *Chinese Vanguard*, Nov. 16, 1935; Him Mark Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China, to Build a Better America: The Chinese Marxist Left in America to the 1960s," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives, 1992*, 3–82.
21. "Wu Xianzi," in *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, ed. Howard L. Boorman (New York: Columbia University, 1970), 3:433–36; "China Wants Editor Back," *New York Times*, June 23, 1929; Cui Tongyue, *Canghai shengping* [On the sea of life] (Shanghai: self-published, 1935), 98–100.

22. Sun Yat-sen, *Guomin zhengfu jianguo dagang* [National government's outline for national construction] (April 12, 1924), see Zhongguo Guomindang Zhongyang Weiyuanhui Dangshi Weiyuanhui [Party history committee of the Chinese Nationalist party central committee], ed. *Guofu quanji* [Complete works of the father of the nation] (Taipei: Zhongguo Guomindang Zhongyang Weiyuanhui Dangshi Weiyuanhui, 1973), vol. 1, 751-53; *Haiwai Huawen jiaoyu* [Chinese Language School Education Abroad] (Taipei: Qiaowu Weiyuanhui Qiaowu Yanjiushi [Overseas Chinese Affairs Research Office, Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission], 1969), 31–32; *Qiaowu ershiwu nian* [Twenty-five Years of Overseas Chinese Affairs] (Taipei: Haiwai chubanshe, 1957), 15–16.

    Later, supervision of Chinese overseas education was transferred to the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission.

    The National Government Outline for National Construction specified three stages: (1) military rule, where military force is used to unify the nation; (2) tutelage rule, where the government assists and guides the people toward self-government; (3) constitutional rule, with an elected government ruling in accordance with provisions of the constitution.
23. Liu, *A History of the Chinese in the United States of America II*, 489–90; Him Mark Lai, *The Kuomintang in Chinese American Communities*, 170–212.
24. Liu, *A History of the Chinese in the United States of America II*, 491–92.
25. Ibid., 669–82.
26. Him Mark Lai, "Roles Played by Chinese in America during China's Resistance to Japanese Aggression and during World War II," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives 1997*, 75–123.
27. Liu, *A History of the Chinese in the United States of America II*, 320–21. After the Nineteenth Route Army withdrew from Shanghai in 1932, it was ordered to Fujian to fight the Communist insurrection. In November 1933 Tsai Ting-kai, Li Jishen, Eugene Chen, and others opposed to the Chiang Kai-shek–led regime formed a People's Government that advocated resistance to Japanese aggression and overthrow of the Nanjing government. However, the new government proved to be no match for the superior forces sent against it and fell within two months. Tsai went to Hong Kong, whence he embarked on a trip around the world.
28. *Chinese World*, Aug. 14, 1937.
29. A detailed discussion of Chinese community activities supporting the War of Resistance to Japanese aggression in China is found in Him Mark Lai, "Roles Played by Chinese in America," 75–125.
30. When the Nationalists retreated from East and Central China in face of the Japanese advance, Communist guerrillas expanded their activities into the Nationalist government's former seat of power. Soon friction occurred between the two forces, and beginning in mid-1939 scattered fighting began to occur between Nationalist troops and the New Fourth Army. After negotiations with the Nationalist government, the New Fourth Army agreed to withdraw north of the Yangzi River. Approximately a thousand sick and wounded were sent ahead, followed in January 1941 by the remainder of the army, numbering about eight thousand. As the army was traveling in southern Anhui, it was surrounded and attacked by Nationalist troops. After a week of fighting, only somewhat more than a thousand broke through to safety, leaving almost seven thousand casualties. Their commander, Ye Ting, was captured by the Nationalists. This event shocked the Chinese abroad, who pled for continued unity to face the common enemy, Japan.
31. "Outline History of Party Affairs."
32. Wang Shigu, "Meizhou *Huaqiao ribao* de chuangjian he fazhan [The founding and development of *China Daily News*] (unpublished manuscript, 1998). Referenced hereafter as Wang, "Founding and Development of *China Daily News*."
33. Liu, *A History of the Chinese in the United States of America II*, 391; "Jintie haiwai qiaobao banfa" [Plan for subsidizing overseas Chinese newspapers], resolution by the standing committee of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, Oct. 26, 1948, *Qiaowu fagui* [Overseas Chinese affairs regulations] (Taipei: Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, 1956), 95.
34. Ye Hanming, "Huaqiao huidang yu Guo-Gong tongzhan: Meizhou Hongmen de lizi" [Chinese overseas secret societies and the united front tactics of the KMT and the Chinese Communist Party: The Hongmen of the Americas as an example] in *Zhanhou haiwai Huaren bianhua guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* [Collected essays from the international scholarly conference on changes in Chinese overseas society after World War II], ed. Guo Liang (Beijing: Zhongguo Huaqiao Chuban Gongsi, 1990), 251–57; Liu, *A History of the Chinese in the United States of America II*, 370.
35. "Li Ta-ming," in *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, ed. Howard L. Boorman, 2:333–35; Liu, *A History of the Chinese in the United States of America II*, 370; *Chinese World*, Mar. 20, 1961, Apr. 11, 1961; J. K. Choy, *The Chinese Democratic Constitutionalist Party* (San Francisco: Chinese Democratic Constitutionalist Party, 1948); Wu Xianzi, *Zhongguo Minzhu Xianzhengdang dangshi* (San Francisco: Chinese World, 1963), 144; "Chang Chia-sen," in *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 1:30–35.

    Dai Ming Lee was a political figure active on both sides of the Pacific. Born in Kauai in 1904, Lee went with his parents to China in 1909, returned to Honolulu in 1918, and departed again for China in 1919. In 1921 Lee founded *Datong ribao* in Hong Kong and joined the Chinese Constitutionalist Party. He also became a noted political commentator. In 1926 Lee traveled to Hawaii, the United States and Europe to assess the party's activities and to direct anti-KMT propaganda campaigns. In 1928 he traveled to San Francisco to assist Wu Xianzi at the *Chinese World*. Beginning in1929 he also became principal of the newly established Confucian Chinese Language School there. After returning to Hong Kong in 1932, Lee crossed the Pacific again in 1938 to become editor of the *New China Press* of Honolulu and to teach at the Mun Lun School. It was under Lee's editorship that the paper changed from triweekly to daily publication in 1942.

    The establishment of a National Socialist Party was formally announced in Tientsin by Zhang Junmai (Carsun Chang) and others in the fall of 1934. The party advocated a modified Western parliamentary system of government and a modified form of state socialism for China. Since the KMT banned all dissenting political parties, it was a secret underground organization until 1938 during the Sino-Japanese War. In 1941 it joined with other Chinese minority parties to form the League of Chinese Democratic Political Groups. When Wu Zhuang returned from the United States before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, he had discussed with Carsun Chang a possible amalgamation of the Chinese Constitutionalist Party with the Chinese National Socialist Party. Discussions resumed between Chang and Dai Ming Lee in 1945, when the former attended the United Nations Conference in San Francisco. Agreement was reached in August 1946 to merge as the Chinese Democratic Socialist Party with Chang as the head. The Chinese Democratic Socialist Party's platform opposed civil

war and one-party or one-class dictatorship, and advocated national unity under a central government and state socialism in major industries.

36. Wu Xianzi, *Zhongguo Minzhu Xianzhengdang dangshi*, 143–148; Chen Kwong Min, *The Chinese in the Americas* (New York: Overseas Chinese Culture Publishing Co., 1950), 67.
37. *Chung Sai Yat Po*, Dec. 17, 1947, Apr. 8, May 11, 28, 1948. According to the U.S. Census the Chinese population in the continental United States was 77,504 in 1940 and 117,629 in 1950 with approximately 61,080 and 90,369 respectively of age fifteen or greater. National Assembly representatives elected from the western United States were Yen Doon Wong, Chen Duzhou, and Cai Fengyou (Mrs. Albert Chow). Mei Youzhuo was elected from the Midwest, and Wu Tiansheng and Chen Zhonghai from the eastern United States; the representative from the United States, Hawaii, and Canada to the Control Yuan was Kuang Yaopu (Yue Po Fong); the two representatives from the United States to the Legislative Yuan were Chen Ruzhou (N. J. Chan) and Pan Chaoying.
38. United States Relations with China, with Special Reference to the Period 1944–1949 (Washington, D.C.: Dept. of State, 1949), 303.
39. Feng Hongda, Yu Huaxin, *Feng Yuxiang jiangjun huan gui Zhonghua* [The soul of General Feng Yuxiang returns to China] (Beijing: Wenshi ziliao chubanshe, 1981), 123–29; James E. Sheridan, *Chinese Warlord, The Career of Feng Yu-hsiang* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), 279–80; Wu Maosun, "Feng jiangjun zui guanghui de yi ye" [The most glorious page in the life of General Feng], in *Feng Yuxiang jiangjun jiniance* [Album in memory of General Feng Yuxiang] (Hong Kong: n.p., 1948), 112–21.
40. *Situ Huimin tongzhi shengping* [Obituary of comrade Situ Huimin] (Beijing: Office of Funeral Arrangements for Comrade Situ Huimin, 1987). Situ Huimin was born in Kaiping to the family of an overseas Chinese. He joined the Young Communist League in 1925. In 1928 he became interested in film making while attending school in Japan. Situ returned to Shanghai in 1930. In 1932 he began his film-making career. At the time he was already part of the Communist Party cell in the film industry. One of his films, *Fengyun er-nü* [Children of the storm; 1935] had as its theme song Nie Er's *March of the Volunteers*. After World War II Situ participated in the organization of the Kunlun Film Company in 1946 and then left for the United States to study film making. When the World Theater opened its doors in 1949, the first film shown was *Yi jiang chun shui xiang dong liu* [The river flows east], an epic produced by Kun Lun Film Company. Situ returned to China in 1952 by way of Europe and afterward served in various capacities in the Chinese film industry. He died in 1987.
41. *San Francisco Chronicle*, Oct. 10, 13, 1949. On July 24, 1948 Soviet Union occupation forces in Germany cut off all rail and highway access between West Germany and Berlin. The United States and the United Kingdom then began an airlift to bring in more than 4,500 tons of food and supplies daily for the population in Berlin. The airlift lasted until September 1949.

    Whittaker Chambers, *Time* magazine senior editor and self-confessed Communist spy, testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) in August 1948 that Alger Hiss supplied U.S.S.R. agents with classified U.S. documents while working with the U.S. State Department in the 1930s. Hiss sued Chambers for slander. Chambers subsequently produced a microfilm claiming these were the documents Hiss had given to him. A New York grand jury indicted Hiss for perjury. Representative Richard Nixon built political capital by being the HUAC member who pushed the Hiss investigation.

    October 10, the anniversary of the Wuchang Uprising leading to the overthrow of the Qing dynasty, is celebrated in the Republic of China annually as National Day.
42. *Chinese American Weekly*, Sept. 8, 1949; Nov. 10, 1949; Huang Wenshan, "Zuzhi Meizhou Huaqiao fan-Gong jiuguohui jihua" [Plan for organizing an overseas Chinese anti-Communist national salvation association in the Americas], in Huang Wenshan, *Huang Wenshan lü-Mei luncong* [Essays published by Huang Wenshan while sojourning in the United States] (Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), 641–42; "Outline History of Party Affairs."
43. Pei Chi Liu, *Zhou Jinchao guomin waijiao jishi* [An account of Albert Chow's diplomatic efforts as a citizen] (San Francisco: n.p., 1992). Albert Chow (1902–1957) was born in Fresno, California. He became an interpreter for the Immigration Service when he was twenty-one. Later he joined the law firm opened by Jack Chow, his brother, and Jack Sing Wong and dealt with immigration cases. He joined the KMT before World War II and was elected to the executive committee of the General Branch in 1948 and 1949 and was close to Yen Doon Wong. Chow was also active in the Democratic Party and attended the 1944 party convention in Chicago. There he became friends with Senator Truman, who was nominated for vice-president. Chow went to Taiwan to meet with Chiang Kai-shek or other government high officials five times between 1949 and 1954. In 1956 Chow was summoned before a federal grand jury investigating Chinese immigration fraud. He was also indicted for tax evasion; however, he passed away from a heart attack in 1957 before the case could come to trial.
44. Iris Chang, *Thread of the Silkworm* (New York: Basic Books, 1995), 188–90.
45. Section 3 of the KMT, *Zhongguo Guomindang zai haiwai*, vol. 1, 242–43; Victor Nee and Brett de Bary, *Longtime Californ'* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973), 217–22; Victor Nee and Brett de Bary, "Chiang's Last Sphere of Influence," *San Francisco Journal*, April 5, 1972. For a sampling of the state of mind of many U.S. Chinese, see letters to the editor in the *Chinese American Weekly*, Dec. 21, 1950; Dec. 28, 1950; January 4, 1951; June 1, 1953; and editorials Nov. 30, 1950; Dec. 14, 1950.

    The official public ceremony establishing the Anti-Communist League in San Francisco took place on January 14, 1951. Pei Chi Liu claimed credit for suggesting the formation of the League in San Francisco. A league was also established in the Philippines in December 1950. San Francisco was followed by New York City, Chicago, Mexico City, Mexicali (Mexico), Guadalajara (Mexico), Taegu (Korea), Tahiti, Barranquillo (Colombia), Reunion, and Rangoon (Burma). See : *Huaqiao Zhi* Bianzuan Weiyuanhui [Overseas Chinese gazetteer editorial committee], ed., *Huaqiao zhi* [Overseas Chinese gazetteer] (Taipei: *Huaqiao Zhi* Bianzuan Weiyuanhui, 1964), 458–59.

    Yen Doon Wong came from Portland in 1937 as Goon Dick Wong's heir apparent. He became identified with the *Kuo Min Yat Po* faction during World War II. Later he became variously a delegate to the Taiwan National Assembly, a member of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Committee, and a central committeeman of the KMT. See Huang Wenshan. "Huang Renjun xiansheng zhuan lüe" [Short biography of Mr. Yen Doon Wong], in *Huang Renjun xiansheng bazhikaiyi shouqing jiniance* [Commemorative album celebrating the seventy-first birthday of Mr. Yen Doon Wong] (Taipei: n.p., 1967), 14–15.

46. Section 3 of the KMT, *Zhongguo Guomindang zai haiwai*, vol. 1, 313–26. The head of the group in the early 1970s was Chen Yuqing. In 1976 he became a member of the KMT central committee in Taiwan (*Young China*, Nov. 19, 1976) and also headed the board of directors of *Young China* (*Sun Yat-sen News*, Feb. 17, 1978). Lin Qingjiang and Zeng Guangshun then successively headed the overseas group. See *Young China*, Mar. 12, 1977; *Sun Yat-sen News*, Jan. 6, 1978.
47. Section 3 of the KMT, *Zhongguo Guomindang zai haiwai*, vol. 1, 313–26.
48. Chen Lifu, *Chengbai zhi jian; Chen Lifu huiyilu* [The mirror of success and failure: Reminiscences of Chen Lifu] (Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1994), 384–85; "Chen Lifu," in *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, ed. Howard L. Boorman, 1: 206–11; "P'an Kung-chan," in *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 3: 63–65; "Pan Gongzhan," in *Minguo renwu xiaozhuan* [Brief biographies of personalities of the Republic] (Taipei: Zhuanji wenxue chubanshe, 1981), 3: 308–10; 10 Paul K. T. Sih, *Kun xing yi wang* [Overcoming difficulties in action and reminiscing about the past] (Taipei: Zhuanji wenxue chubanshe, 1984), 315–16.

    Chen Lifu and his brother headed the so-called C.C. Clique that was intimately identified with the central nucleus of the KMT from the establishment of the Nanjing government. He was a staunch anti-Communist who was elected a member of the party's powerful central committee in 1929 and held that post until 1950. When the shattered KMT met in Taiwan to form a new Central Reform Committee, Chen was left out of the new body, and he left with his family to attend a Moral Rearmament Conference in Europe, whence they went to the United States and eventually settled in New Jersey.

    Pan Gongzhan was editor of a number of Shanghai newspapers from the 1920s to 1949. He was closely allied with Chen Bulei, Chiang Kai-shek's confidential assistant and an important member of the KMT. In 1942 he became a standing committee member of the KMT's Central Executive Committee. From 1942 to 1945 he was director of the Executive Yuan's committee concerned with censorship of books and magazines. When the Communist army reached the outskirts of Shanghai in 1949 during the civil war, Pan left for Hong Kong and then went by way of Canada to the United States where he took up residence in New York.
49. Ross Y. Koen, *The China Lobby in American Politics* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 35; Stanley D. Bachrack, *The Committee of One Million: "China Lobby" Politics, 1953–1971* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 6; Sterling Seagrave, *The Soong Dynasty* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984), 441–48. When the Koen book was first published in 1960, elements connected with the China Lobby enjoined distribution of the book. Over four thousand copies were destroyed by the publisher and fewer than three hundred circulated. See R. C. Kagan, "Introduction," in the 1974 edition, ix.
50. Mai Liqian (Him Mark Lai), *Cong Huaqiao dao Huaren* [From overseas Chinese to Chinese American] (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co., 1992), 360–62. Referenced hereafter as Him Mark Lai, *From Overseas Chinese to Chinese American*.
51. The Committee to Support the *China Daily News*, *The Chinese Daily News Case* (New York, 1952?).
52. A detailed discussion of activities of the Marxist left from the 1920s to the 1960s is found in Him Mark Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China, to Build a Better America: The Chinese Marxist Left in America to the 1960s," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives 1992*, 3–82.
53. Circulation figures reported in *N. W. Ayer and Son's Directory, Newspapers and Periodicals* (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer and Son, Inc.) for applicable years; Jun Ke Choy, *My China Years, 1911–1945: Practical Politics in China after the 1911 Revolution* (San Francisco: East/West Publishing Co., 1974), 248; *Chinese World*, August 13, 1954; *Chinese Times*, Jan. 1, 1972. Choy was identified as advisor to the Chinese Democratic Constitutionalist Party on a press release from the party dated January 18, 1948.

    Choy (1892–1981) was born in Hawaii in 1892. He came back to the United States permanently after World War II. Still very interested in participation in social service and political and financial activities, he became involved in the promotion of the One World organization for international peace shortly after he landed. While on a visit to San Francisco in 1949, he was invited by editor Dai Ming Lee of the *Chinese World* to participate in the organization of an English edition of the paper, making it the first bilingual daily Chinese newspaper. Choy became a director of the newspaper from 1953 to 1955. From 1952 to 1953 he was general manager of the Wo Kee Company, then the oldest Chinese importing firm in San Francisco Chinatown, and helped to reorganize the business. At the time the United States had imposed an embargo on trade with the People's Republic of China (PRC). Choy went to Hong Kong, where he negotiated successfully with British and American trade representatives for comprehensive "certificates of origin" to indicate that his merchandise did not come from the PRC. After his retirement at sixty-five from Wo Kee, he and his wife settled down in San Francisco.

    In 1954–1955 Choy became the first executive director of the anti-Chiang Kai-shek, anti-Communist Crusade for Free Democratic China, Inc. He also became assistant vice-president at San Francisco Savings and Loan Association. Recognizing the potential of deposits from the thrifty Chinese in the Chinatown community, in 1956 Choy began planning the first branch to be established by a savings and loan association in Chinatown. The branch opened operations in 1957 and was an instant success. By the time Choy retired in 1971, deposits at the branch had reached $60 million, to top all Chinatown financial institutions.
54. *Chinese World*, Aug. 20, 21, 1954; June 18, 20, 1955.
55. Liu, *A History of Chinese in the United States of America II*, 371, 472.
56. Ibid., 357–58.
57. *Chinese World*, June 22, 1960; *San Francisco Examiner*, June 26, 1960.
58. *Chinese World*, Feb. 26, 1963; *Chinese Pacific Weekly*, Mar. 7, 1963.
59. *Chinese Times*, Oct. 12, 13, 14, 1966; Apr. 4, 1969. The Federal Home Loan Bank of San Francisco, which guaranteed the deposits, had to run advertisements in Chinatown newspapers on October 13 and 14 to reassure depositors that their money was safe.
60. *Chinese Times*, Sept. 25, 1970; L. Ling-chi Wang, "Six Companies Withdraw Backing for Culture Foundation," *East/West*, Sept. 30, Oct. 7, 1970.
61. *Mon War Weekly*, Aug. 13, 1971.
62. Philip A. Lum, "The Creation and Demise of the San Francisco Chinatown Freedom Schools: One Response to Desegregation," *Amerasia Journal*, vol. 5, no. 1 (1978), 57–73; *Pacific Weekly*, Sept. 16, 1971; *East/West*, Oct. 20, 1971.
63. *East/West*, Jan. 19, 1972.
64. "Dabu Hongweibingdang zhengzhi shi" [A short political history of the Red Guards Party in San Francisco], *Getting*

Together, Feb. 17, Mar. 3, 17, 1973 [Referenced hereafter as "Short History of the Red Guards Party"]; interview with Prof. Peter Kwong of Hunter College, Dec. 22, 1985; William Wei, *The Asian American Movement* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 210–25; interview with Teo Ng, manager of Eastwind Bookstore, San Francisco, May 9, 1984; July 1, 1988; ACC pamphlet, ca. 1974; "Gongren Guangdian Zuzhi ye zhuangchu zhichi Zong-Mei bangjiao zhengchanghua liao" [Even the Workers Viewpoint Organization is pretending it supports the normalization of U.S.-China diplomatic relations], *Getting Together*, Oct. 1977.

65. James Lee, "The Story of the Tiao Yu Tai Movement," *Bridge*, 1, no. 3 (Nov./Dec. 1971): 4–16; Him Mark Lai, *From Overseas Chinese to Chinese American*, 482–84. Diaoyutai is the name for a group of eight small islands between Okinawa and Taiwan.
66. "Short History of the Red Guards Party"; Him Mark Lai, *From Overseas Chinese to Chinese American*, 484–92.
67. "Meizhou *Huaqiao ribao* chuangkan sanshiba zhounian jinian tekan" [Special publication celebrating the thirty-eighth anniversary of the founding of *China Daily News*], *China Daily News*, July 7, 1987; Wang, "Founding and Development of *China Daily News*."
68. *San Francisco Journal*, Nov. 22, Dec. 6, 1972; *Chinese Pacific Weekly*, Dec. 21, 1972.
69. *China Times*, Mar. 24, 1983; *Centre Daily News*, Oct. 1, 1984; *World Journal*, Oct. 18, 1984; *International Daily News*, Dec. 3, 1984; *San Francisco Journal*, Oct. 9, Dec. 1, 1984; June 28, July 25, Aug. 5, Aug. 20, Sept. 18, 21, 1985; Jan. 21, Feb. 3, Apr. 19, June 14, 1986; *Chinese Times*, Jan. 12, 1985.
70. *Chinese American Association of Commerce Sixteenth Anniversary Celebration* (San Francisco: Chinese American Association of Commerce, 1996), 8; "Jiujinshan Dongwanqu Wuyi Tongxiang Lianyihui chengli xuanyan" [Declaration on the founding of the Wuyi fellow villagers friendship association of the East San Francisco Bay] (Oakland: Jiujinshan Dongwanqu Wuyi Tongxiang Lianyihui, 1998); *Chinese Times*, Apr. 13, 1998.
71. In this essay the term "native Taiwanese" refers to people of Chinese stock who migrated from mainland China before World War II. Most of these are speakers of the Minnan dialect of southern Fujian. A minority speak Hakka and other dialects. The aboriginal Taiwanese are only a minute percentage of the Taiwan population.
72. Chen Mingcheng, *Haiwai Taidu yundong sishinian* [Forty years of the Taiwan independence movement abroad] (Taipei: Zili wanbao wenhua chubanbu, 1992), 80–87, 103. Referenced hereafter as Chen, *Forty Years of the Taiwan Independence Movement Abroad*.
73. The declaration was published in 1964 by Taiwan University professor Peng Mingmin and his students Xie Congmin and Wei Tingchao in Taiwan. It advocated that all on Taiwan regardless of provincial origin cooperate to build a new nation, establish a new and democratic government, select a head of state by a general election in accordance with normal democratic processes, protect the legal status of opposition political parties, and allow multiparty politics. The authors were arrested and sentenced to eight years of imprisonment for sedition. One year later Peng was released on parole. In 1969 he escaped to the Sweden, and in 1970 he was given a position at the University of Michigan's Center for Chinese Studies.
74. Chen, *Forty Years of the Taiwan Independence Movement Abroad*, 100–02, 119–20, 139–50, 212, 215–17. In September 1979 opponents of the KMT Huang Xinjie (Huang Hsin-chieh), Xu Xinliang (Hsu Hsin-liang), and others established *Formosa Weekly* in Kaohsiung. The KMT soon began to harass and make threats against the publishers. On December 10 *Formosa Weekly* sponsored and organized a demonstration in Kaohsiung commemorating World Human Rights Day. The demonstrators clashed with the military police ordered in by the Taiwan authorities and more than two hundred people were injured. The police then arrested 152 opposition leaders, tried them on charges of sedition, and meted out sentences varying from one to fourteen years. Xu Xinliang had already left for the United States.
75. Chen, *Forty Years of the Taiwan Independence Movement Abroad*, 219.
76. *China Daily News*, July 29, 1981; Cathy Panagoulias, "Taiwan 'Informers' May Be on Campus," *The Cornell Daily Sun* (Cornell Univ.), May 6, 1976; Chen, *Forty Years of the Taiwan Independence Movement Abroad*, 96–98.
77. Donald McNeil, "Taiwanese Spies in US Universities, *The Daily Californian* (Univ. of California at Berkeley), Mar. 15, 1976; Jueqi, "Chen Yuxi shijian: liangxin de chouren" [Prisoner of conscience, the Chen Yuxi affair], *Tung Feng*, Feb. 1974, 14–17.
78. Zhong Zhaoyang, "Ye Daolei an fenxi" [An analysis of and comments on the Rita Yeh case], *Hsintu*, no. 27 (Feb./Mar. 1981), 28–34; Terry Caine, "Much Reason to Care: The Case of Rita Yeh," *Minnesota Daily* (Univ. of Minnesota), Mar. 29, 1981; *China Times Weekly*, Sept. 30, 1989; *Chinese American News*, Sept. 5, 1997.
79. *China Daily News*, July 29, 1981.
80. *In Memorial of Henry Liu* (San Francisco: Jiangnan Affair Committee, 1985), 1–97; *Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 20, 1985; "Li Yaping shijian" [The Lee Ya-ping incident], in *Tai-Gang-Ao shouce* [Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao handbook], vol. 1, ed. Chen Guoshao, Xiao Xing, Chang Gong (Beijing: Huayi chubanshe, 1990), 105. The last source will be referenced hereafter as *Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao Handbook*, vol. 1.
81. *Metro Chinese Journal*, July 1987; *World Journal*, Nov. 29, 1991.
82. *U.S. News and World Report*, July 24, 1995; *New York Times*, April 13, 1996.
83. "Guojianhui," in *Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao Handbook*, vol. 1, 49; *USAsia News*, Feb. 28, 1986; *World Journal Weekly*, July 15, 1990; Sept. 8, 1996; *Chinese American News*, June 21, 1996.
84. *World Journal*, April 29, 1988; June 30, 1989; Oct. 4, 1990; June 1, 1991; Dec. 23, 1992; Oct. 24, 1994; Feb. 6, 1996; *Chinese American News*, April 13, 1991; *China Times Weekly*, Feb. 17, 1993; information from Monte Jade webpage, Feb. 11, 1996; *Sing Tao Daily*, April 22, 1993; *China Press*, Mar. 18, 1995.
85. *Sing Tao Daily News*, July 15, 1998; Qiu Xiuwen, "Qiaojiao zhongxin 'duanchui zhen tong' you lai liao" [The pain of going hungry is coming again for the culture center], *Chinese American News*, Apr. 3, 1998; address list of culture centers, dated Aug. 2, 1996, from the Republic of China Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission webpage; *Young China*, July 2, 1987; *New Kwong Tai Press*, Aug. 5, 1988; *China Times Weekly*, Oct. 28, 1989; *International Daily News*, July 22, 1994; Mar. 9, June 6, 1995; *World Journal*, Aug. 8, 18, 19, 1998. Culture centers are located in San Francisco, Sunnyvale, Los Angeles (two), New York, Chicago, Boston, Houston, Seattle, and Atlanta. Activity centers taken over from the KMT are located in Detroit, Dallas, and St. Louis.
86. *China Times Weekly*, June 29, 1991; *World Journal*, July 12, 1991
87. *Ta Kung Pao* (North American Edition), Aug. 13, 1993; *World Journal*, Aug. 10, 1993; Nov. 2, Dec. 9, 1997; *International Daily News*, Nov. 27, 1995; *Sing Tao Daily*, Sept. 1, 1996.

88. *World Journal*, Aug. 19, 1996; *International Daily News*, Jan. 27, 1997.
89. Chen Li and Luwei, "Zhongguo Minzhu Tuanjie Lianmeng shinian jianshi" [A brief history of ten years of the Democratic Unity Alliance of China], *China Spring*, no. 117 (Feb. 1993): 97–103; no. 118 (Mar. 1993): 93–100; no. 119 (Apr. 1993): 89–96; No. 120 (May 1993): 93–98; *Beijing Spring*, no. 1 (June 1993): 72–80; no. 2 (July 1993): 79–86.
90. *Sing Tao Daily*, Mar. 21, 22, 1998. Huang Yuchuan was a graduate of Zhongshan University in Guangzhou in Nationalist China. In the late 1940s he accepted a teaching position in Canada, where he married. Later he went to New York University. In the 1950s Huang answered the call to return to help in the construction of China and worked at the *Renmin huabao* [People's pictorial] in Beijing. He was denounced in the anti-right movement and sent to a labor camp in Heilongjiang Province. Huang went to Hong Kong in the mid-1960s and then immigrated to the United States in the early 1970s. He was at different times a real estate agent, apartment house owner, travel service operator, and restaurateur.
91. *Centre Daily New*, July 5, 1989; *World Journal*, July 30, Sept. 17, 1989; *Asia Weekly*, Aug. 20, 1989; *China Times Weekly*, Sept. 23, 1989; *China Press*, May 29, 1993; June 1, 1994; *China Press*, Jan. 5, 1991; Jan. 5, 1996. The loss of advertisements may have provided a pretext for Fu Chaoshu to bow out, since for at least two years before the closure the paper had had serious financial problems.
92. *A Changing China*, vol. 1, no. 1 (winter 1991): 2, 12; *World Journal*, June 21, 1989; Dec. 28, 1997.
93. *World Journal*, Sept. 24, 25, 1989; *Young China*, Feb. 20, 1990.
94. *World Journal*, Dec. 29, 1989; *China Times Weekly*, Oct. 21, Nov. 4, 1989; Jan. 6, 1990.
95. *World Journal*, Jan. 31, 1990; *China Spring*, no. 118 (Mar. 1993): 6.
96. Some were permitted to go abroad as "visiting scholars," while others left to receive "medical attention." Among those who left China were well-known dissidents such as journalists Dai Qing (1991) and Zhang Weiguo (1993), Wang Juntao (1994), Wu Hongda (Harry Wu; 1985), Ni Yuxian (1987), Wei Jingsheng (1997), and Wang Dan (1998).
97. *International Daily News*, July 1, 1994.
98. *World Journal*, July 7, 12, Aug. 16, 1992; *China Press*, Sept. 27, 1991; Apr. 27, 1993; Mar. 10, 1994; Mar. 23, June 13, 24, 1995; Jan. 30, Mar. 4, 23, Sept. 16, 1996; Sept. 23, 1997; *International Daily News*, Nov. 12, 1996, Jan. 13, 1997; Shen Lixin, "Meiguo Huaren xinyimin zhuangkuang yanjiu" [A study on the condition of new Chinese immigrants in the United States], *Overseas Chinese History of Bagui*, 1996, no. 2, 26–30.
99. *China News Service*, June 26, 1984; *China Daily News*, Feb. 3, 1986; *Chinese Times*, Apr. 8, 1996; *China Press*, May 11, 1998.
100. *World Journal Weekly*, Apr. 21, May 26, 1996.
101. *China Press*, July 6, Nov. 27, 1995; *International Daily News*, Jan. 17, 1995; *Sampan*, Oct. 20, 1995.
102. Such articles were frequently published in the literary section of *International Daily News* during the late 1990s.
103. *Chinese Tribune*, Mar. 3, 1972; *Chinese Times*, Mar. 10, 1972; Sept. 22, 1994; *China Press*, Sept. 5, 1994; *World Journal*, June 10, 1995.
104. *International Daily News*, Sept. 30, 1996.

Chinese Glossary:

People, Institutions, Special Terms

Advisor on National Affairs 國策顧問
All-America Alliance of Chinese Anti-Imperialists 美洲華僑反帝大同盟
Alliance for a Democratic China 中國民主聯合陣線
Anti-Communist National Salvation League 反共救國總會
Asian Americans for Equal Employment 亞洲人平等會
Asian Community Center 亞洲人民中心
Association of Chinese Scientists and Engineers (USA) 旅美中國科學家工程師協會
Baohuanghui 保皇會
Bei Meizhou Li Denghui Zongtong zhi You Lianyihui 北美洲李登輝總統之友誼會
Beijiazhou Hua-mei Hangtai Xuehui 北加洲華美航太學會
Beijing Association of the U.S.A 旅美北京同鄉會
Beijing U.S.A. Association 旅美北京聯誼會
Bing Kung Tong 秉公堂
Bow, George. See Yao Guanshun
C. Q. Yee Hop 思喬義合
Cai Fengyou 蔡鳳有
Cao Changqing 曹長青
Centre Daily News 中報
Chai Ling 柴玲
Chan, N. J. 陳汝舟
Chan, Sucheng 陳素貞
Chang, Carsun 張君邁
Chee Kung Tong 致公堂
Chee Yow Sun Bo 自由新報
Chen Jinjian 陳金堅
Chen Lifu 陳立夫
Chen Tianxuan 陳天璇
Chen Wencheng 陳文成
Chen Yide 陳以德
Chen Yuqing 陳裕清
Chen Yuxi 陳玉璽
Chen Zhonghai 陳中海
Chen, Duzhou 陳篤周
Chen, Eugene 陳友仁
Chiang Ching-kuo 蔣經國
Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石
China Daily News 美洲華僑日報
China Journal 神州時報
China Mail Steamship Company 中國郵船公司
China News Service 中國新聞社
China Press 僑報
China Salvation Times 救國時報
China Spring 中國之春
China Times Weekly 時報週刊
China Weekly 金門僑報
Chinese America Association of Commerce 華商總會
Chinese American Associations of Chicago 芝加哥華人各界聯席會
Chinese American Democratic Youth League (San Francisco) 三藩市華僑民主青年團
Chinese American News 美中新聞
Chinese American Weekly 中美週報
Chinese Association for Science and Technology 北美華人科技協會
Chinese Chamber of Commerce 中華總商會
Chinese Community Center 中文閱書報室
Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association 中華會館，中華公所
Chinese Constitutionalist Party 中國憲政黨
Chinese Culture Center 中華文化中心
Chinese Culture Foundation of San Francisco 舊金山中華文化基金會
Chinese Democratic Alliance 中國民主大同盟
Chinese Democratic Constitutionalist Party 中國民主憲政黨
Chinese Democratic Education Foundation 中國民主教育基金會
Chinese Democratic League 中國民主同盟
Chinese Democratic Socialist Party 中國民主社會黨
Chinese Empire Reform Association 中國維新會
Chinese Free Press 大同日報
Chinese Hospital 東華醫院
Chinese Hung Men Democratic Association 中國洪門民治黨
Chinese Journal 美洲日報
Chinese National Socialist Party 中國國家社會黨
Chinese Nationalist Daily of America. See *Kuo Min Yat Po*
Chinese Nationalist Daily. See *Mun Hey Yat Po*
Chinese Overseas Journalists Association 海外中國新聞從業者協會
Chinese Progressive Association 華人進步會
Chinese Reform News 中國維新報
Chinese Republic News 民國公報，國權報，紐約公報，五洲公報 at different periods
Chinese School Association in the United States 全美中文學校協會
Chinese Times 金山時報
Chinese Tribune 華美日報
Chinese Vanguard 先鋒報
Chinese Voice 華聲報
Chinese Workers Mutual Aid Association 加省華工合作會
Chinese World 世界日報
Chinese Youth League (New York City) 紐約華僑青年團
Chow, Albert 周錦潮
Choy, Jun Ke 蔡增基
Chuck, Maurice 黃運基(卓忠民)
Chun, Dick 陳德
Chun, Quon 陳滾
Chung Chung Alumni Association 中山全縣中學同學會
Chung Sai Yat Po 中西日報
Chung Shan School 中山學校
Committee for Revival of the Kuomintang 中國國民黨復興同志會
Coordinating Council for North American Affairs, Headquarters for Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States 北美事務協調委員會駐美國台北經濟文化代表處
Crusade for Free Democratic China, Inc. 自由中國協會
Cui Tongyue 崔東約
Dai Qi 戴錡
Dai Qing 戴晴
Datong ribao 大同日報

Democratic Progressive Party 民主進步黨
Dong Biwu 董必武
Double Ten 雙十節
East/West 東西報
Eastwind Bookstore 東風書店
Equality 平等
Fang Lizhi 方勵之
Federation for a Democratic China 民主中國陣線
Federation of Overseas Hong Kong Chinese 華盛頓海外香港華人聯會
Feng Yuxiang 馮玉祥
Fengyun er-nü 風雲兒女
Fong, Yue Po 鄺瑤普
Formosa Weekly 美麗島
Formosan Students Club 台灣同學會
Foundation for Chinese Democracy 民主中華基金會
Free China Political Organizations 中國民主政團同盟
Free Formosans' Formosa 台灣人之自由台灣
Freedom Front 自由陣線
Friends of the New Party 新黨之友
Fu Chaoshu 傅朝樞
Getting Together 團結報
Guangxu 光緒
Guo Lianyin 郭連蔭
Guojianhui 國建會
Haiwai Xingzhonghui 海外興中會
Hakka 客家
Hon Mun Po 漢民報
Hongmen 洪門
Hosei University 法政大學
Hsu, Y. Y. 徐永瑛
Hu Hanmin 胡漢民
Hu Ping 胡平
Hu Shuying 胡樹英
Huang Qiming 黃啓明
Huang Wenshan 黃文山
Huang Xinjie 黃信介
Huang Yuchuan 黃雨川
Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲
Huashengdun Huaren Gejie Lianhehui 華盛頓華人各界聯合會
huiguan 會館
Humorist 趣怪
I Wor Kuen 義和拳
International Daily News 國際日報
Ji Gongquan 冀貢泉
Joe Yuey 周銳
Jung, Oi Won 張靄蘊
Kai Chee Sun Bo 啓智新報
Kang Youwei 康有爲
Kaohsiung 高雄
Kung, H. H. 孔祥熙
Kuo Lien-yin. See Guo Lianyin
Kuo Min Yat Po 美洲國民日報
Kuomintang 中國國民黨
Kwong, Peter 鄺治中
Laogai Research Foundation 勞改基金會
Lau, Edward 劉中原
Lau, Gordon 劉貴明
Lee, Dai Ming 李大明
Lee, Lester 李心培
Lee, Ya-ping 李亞頻
Leung, Shing Tai 梁聲泰
Li Jichen 李濟琛
Li Lu 李祿
Li Teng-hui 李登輝
Li Tianfu 李天福
Li Zongren 李宗仁
Liberty Press 自由新報
Lin Rongxun 林榮勳
Liu Binyan 劉賓雁
Liu, Henry 劉宜良
Liu, Pei Chi 劉伯驥
Lu Zhuyi 盧主義
Lum, Kalfred Dip 林疊
Ma Zhanshan 馬占山
Mao Zedong 毛澤東
March of the Volunteers 義勇軍進行曲
Mei Youzhuo 梅友卓
Meidong Guojian Lianyihui 美東國建聯誼會
Meidong Huaren Xueshu Lianyuhui 美東華人學術聯誼會
Meizhou Kang-Ri Waijiao Houyuanhui 美洲抗日外交後援會
Meizhou Yonghu Zhongguo Gong-Nong Geming Da Tongmeng 美洲擁護中國工農革命大同盟
Metro Chinese Journal 華府郵報
Minguo Weichihui 民國維持會
Minnan 閩南
Mon War Weekly 文華週報
Monte Jade Science and Technology Association 玉山科技協會
Moy, Eugene 梅參天
Moy, Kenneth T. C. 梅子強
Mun Hey Weekly 民氣週報
Mun Hey Yat Po 民氣日報
Mun Lun School 明倫學校
National Association of Chinese Americans 美國華人學會
National Council of Associations of Chinese Language Schools 全美中文學校聯合總會
National Day 國慶日
Native Sons of the Golden State 同源總局，同源總會
New Association of Chinese Americans 華美新社
New China Press see *Sun Chung Kwock Po*
New Continent 新大陸
New Kwong Tai Press 新光大報
New Party 新黨
New York Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance 紐約華僑衣館聯合會
Ng, Teo 黃達
Ni Yuxian 倪育賢
Nie Er 聶耳
Nineteenth Route Army 十九路軍
Ning Yung Association 寧陽會館
North American Coalition for Chinese Democracy 北美支援中國民運組織聯盟
On Leong Labor and Merchants Association 安良工商會
Ong, John 翁紹裘
Ou-Mei Tongxun 歐美通訊
Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission 華僑事務委員會
Overseas Chinese Affairs Office 華僑事務辦公室
Pan Chaoying 潘朝英
Pan Gongzhan 潘公展
Pan Kung-chan. See Pan Gongzhan
Peng Mingmin 彭明敏
People's Political Consultative Conference 人民政治協商會議
Press Freedom Herald 新聞自由導報
Qian Xueshen 錢學森
Quanqiao Chujian tuan 全僑鋤奸團
Red Guards Party 紅衛兵黨
Red Turbans 紅巾
Renmin huabao 人民畫報
San Francisco Greater Chinatown Community Service Association Organization 三藩市華埠服務總會

San Francisco Journal 時代報
San Min Morning Post 三民晨報
Sanfanshi Keshu Lianyihui 三藩市客屬聯誼會
Shanghai Low 上海樓
Shen Tong 沈桐
Shenzhen 深圳
Shew, C. T. 朱昌東
Sih, Paul K. T. 薛光前
Silicon Valley for Democracy 矽谷中國民主促進會
Sing Tao Daily 星島日報
Situ Huimin 司徒慧敏
Soohoo Meihong 司徒美堂
Soong, T. V. 宋子文
Southern California Foundation for Chinese Democracy 南加州民主中華基金會
Sue Hing Association 肇慶會館
Suey Sing Labor and Merchant Association 萃勝工商會
Sun Chung Kwock Po 新中國報
Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙(孫中山)
Tai Chi see Dai Qi
Tai-chi 太極拳
Taipei Report 台北情報
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Taiwan Tribune 台灣論壇報
Taiwan Yanjiuhui 台灣研究會
Taiwan zijiu xuanyan 台灣自救宣言
Tatsu Maru 二辰丸
Tian'anmen 天安門
Tian'anmen Memorial Foundation 天安門紀念基金會
Tiao Yu Tai Movement 保衛釣魚台運動
Tom Gunn 譚根
Tong, Chu. See Tang Mingzhao
Tongmenghui 中國同盟會
Toronto Association for Democracy in China 多倫多支援中國民運會
Triad Society 三合會
Truth Semi-Weekly 正言半週刊
Tsai Ting-kai 蔡廷鍇
Tsiang, Tingfu F. 蔣廷黻
Tsoi, Henry 蔡福就(蔡荇洲)
Tsung Tsin Association 崇正會
United Chinese News 聯合日報
United Federation of Chinese Associations in New York 紐約華人社團聯合會
United Formosans for Independence 台灣獨立聯盟
United Formosans in America for Independence 全美台灣獨立聯盟
Vancouver Society in Support of Democratic Movement 溫哥華支援民主聯合會
Wah You, Sam 周森
Wan Runnan 萬潤南
Wang Bingzhang 王炳章
Wang Dan 王丹
Wang Jingwei 汪精衛
Wang Juntao 王軍濤
Wang Xiling 王希齡
Wang, L. Ling-chi 王靈智
Wei Jingsheng 魏京生
Wei Min She 爲民社
Wei Tingchao 魏庭朝
Won, Hung Fei 溫雄飛
Wong, Albert 黃文耀(余直民)
Wong, Bock You 黃伯耀
Wong, Ernest 黃德慶
Wong, Goon Dick 黃君迪
Wong, Yen Doon 黃仁俊
Workers Viewpoint Organization 工人觀點組織
World Journal 世界日報
World Theater 世界戲院
World United Formosans for Independence 台灣獨立聯盟
Wu Hongda 吳宏達
Wu Shangying 吳尚鷹
Wu Tiansheng 伍天生
Wu Xianzi 伍憲子
Wu Zhuang 伍莊
Wu, Harry. See Wu Hongda
Wuerkaixi 吾爾開希
Wuyi Tongxiang Lianyihui 五邑同鄉聯誼會
Xie Congmin 謝聰敏
Xigu Hua-Mei Bandaoti Xiehui 矽谷華美半導體協會
Xingzhonghui 興中會
Xiong Feiwen 熊斐文
Xu Bangtai 徐邦泰
Xu Qin 徐勤
Yan Jiaqi 嚴家其
Yang, C. N. 楊振寧
Yao Guanshun 姚觀順
Yeh, Rita 葉島蕾
Yen, Cecilia 延惠君
Yi jiang chun shui xiang dong liu 一江春水向東流
Young China Morning Post 少年中國晨報
Young, Sen Yat 楊仙逸
Yuan Shikai 袁世凱
Zhang Weiguo 張偉國
Zhang Yinhuan 張蔭桓
Zheng Yanfen 鄭彥芬
Zhong Guo Daily News 中國時報
Zhongguo Hongmen Zhigongdang 中國洪門致公黨
Zhongguo Jinrongjia Xiehui 中國金融家協會
Zhongguo Lü-Mei Dianzi ji Xinxi Jishu Xiehui 中國旅美電子及信息技述協會
Zhongguo Lü-Mei Gongcheng Xuehui 中國旅美工程學會
Zhongguo Minzhudang 中國民主黨
Zhongguo Ribao 中國日報
Zhongguo Zhigongdang 中國致公黨
Zhonghua Guang-Dian Xuehui 中國光電學會
Zhong-Mei Jinrongjia Xiehui 中美金融家協會
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